



KONA'S HAND

Bengal 1858

# Exhibit A: Notes on a Forensic Turn in Contemporary Art

- Charles Stankieveh

## Packaging vs. Aesthetics

As part of the 'FORENSIS' exhibition at the arts centre Haus der Kulturen der Welt (HKW), Berlin in March of 2014, curators Eyal Weizman and Anselm Franke organised a conference mainly composed not of voices from the art world but of lawyers, activists and forensic specialists. In the opening keynote with legal scholar Brenna Bhandar, first chief prosecutor at the International Criminal Court Luis Moreno Ocampo endorsed the work in 'FORENSIS' as necessary means to present evidence in the controversial court proceedings in which he participated. But in endorsing the work he also called it 'packaging' - a term Thomas Keenan, the moderator of the talk and author of *Forensic Aesthetics*, took issue with, instead suggesting he might have meant 'aesthetics'.<sup>1</sup> Disagreement over such terms acutely articulates a perennial debate about art. To crudely state the extreme positions: has art become flattened and instrumentalised in the political arena or does it resonate as an ambiguous aesthetic object in the art world? Such debates often occur in longstanding discussions around art's relation to activism and propaganda, but the current practice of art using forensic processes or inversely the aesthetic processing of evidence provides a contemporary case study with a long and complicated history connected to rhetoric. Throughout history Aristotelean scholarship disagrees on locating rhetoric as a theoretical science (*theoria*), a practical art (*praxis*) or a productive art (*poesis*) - or even in a fourth more flexible category as a tool (*organa*).<sup>2</sup> What is clear is that according to Aristotle, rhetoric as an art of persuasion has three species: deliberative, epideictic, juridical. While some scholarship translates juridical as forensic, classicist and philologist George A. Kennedy

argues such a limiting translation should be resisted: "Forensic" is inappropriate since the forum (as in Rome) was the scene of all three species of oratory; it is also open to confusion with "forensics," meaning mock debates, and "forensics," meaning medical

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## Charles Stankieveh dissects the intertwined histories of forensics, ethics and aesthetics in relation to recent art practice.

evidence.<sup>3</sup> Importantly, rhetoric fundamentally recognises that each species in its individual forum demands unique strategies; this is the essence of rhetoric: knowing which strategy to use depending on who is the speaker and who is the listener. As forensic objects (along with their expert interpretations) transfer from the forums of public assembly, the art gallery or the court room, what are the advantages and dangers of these objects functioning in new environments?<sup>4</sup> What are the benefits and weakness of forums overlapping? How does one create a new forum? And finally, what are the different criteria for judging the value, validity and ethics of forensic artefacts functioning in different forums?

## Exhibēre

Deriving from the Latin *exhibēre* - to hold out, especially in a court of law - 'exhibit' was first used in 1490 to refer to a religious administrative act. In 1526 it gained its lasting meaning as a legal submission in parliament. Moving beyond the theo-juridical, in the

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1 Keenan co-authored with Weizman the short manuscript *Mengele's Skull: The Advent of Forensic Aesthetics*, Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2012. The first part of the conversation following the keynote between Bhandar and Ocampo and moderated by Keenan - before the controversial question and answer period with the audience and the above-mentioned discussion with Keenan - is on the HKW website available at <https://www.hkw.de/en/app/mediathek/video/26379> (last accessed on 22 January 2019).

2 Aristotle and George A. Kennedy, *On Rhetoric: a Theory of Civic Discourse*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007, p.16.

3 *Ibid.*, p.47.

4 It would be too convenient if deliberative, epideictic, juridical mapped easily onto the more modern public assembly, the gallery or the court room, but the divisions are a useful place to start and for understanding that these forums are different ecologies.



eighteenth century, the word announced a theatre performance and described scientific illustrations.<sup>5</sup> By the nineteenth century it was widely used for world expositions, and then common currency in the twentieth-century art gallery context. By the end of the twentieth century, legal, scientific and theatrical traits coalesced into the procedural crime teleplays in which the introduction of an ‘exhibit a’ as forensic evidence often dramatically pivoted the narrative.<sup>6</sup> At the beginning of the next century, forensic examination of such exhibits was the premise of the most watched television show in the world.<sup>7</sup>

Against this cultural background an explosion of forensic exhibitions manifested in the last few years spanning the entire spectrum: scientific, tourist, historical, art prizes and biennials. In 2015, the Wellcome Collection, a medical and scientific archive, produced an exhibition called ‘Forensics’ (including a unique mix of scientific artefacts and contemporary artworks); that same year, the Museum of London publicly exhibited the Scotland Yard’s Crime Museum collection, which had been closed to the public since its inception 140 years ago.<sup>8</sup> A year later, the Smithsonian Museum in Washington DC presented an exhibition of Frances Glessner Lee’s doll house crime scenes, which she laboriously crafted as didactic forensic exercises for the country’s first Department of Legal Medicine, which she endowed at the Harvard Medical School in the 1930s.<sup>9</sup> Enough exhibitions have been mounted for curators and legal scholars to theorise a curatorial strategy for forensic display (and

Installation view, ‘Forensis’, 2014, Haus der Kulturen der Welt, Berlin. Photograph: Laura Fiorio/HKW. Courtesy Haus der Kulturen der Welt

5 One could also compare the history of the recently prolific use of the word ‘curate’ - a relatively new term applied to art with a longer history of *curing* souls and *caring* for artefacts before being applied to the ghosts of *ikonlogia* (Aby Warburg).

6 Not limited to fictional drama - though no less spectacle - the high-profile, televised court proceedings of O.J. Simpson’s murder trial in 1995 theatrically culminated with the exhibit of a glove as evidence with the scripted line: ‘If it doesn’t fit, you must acquit!’ Of course, the 1961 trial of Nazi Adolf Eichmann is considered the first televised proceedings. Hannah Arendt described a scene that ‘obviously had a theatre in mind, complete with orchestra and balcony, with proscenium and stage, and with side doors for the actors’ entrances’. H. Arendt, ‘Eichmann in Jerusalem’, *The New Yorker*, 16 February 1963, available at <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/1963/02/16/eichmann-in-jerusalem-i> (last accessed on 22 January 2019).

7 *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation* ran for fifteen seasons on CBS from 6 October 2000 to 27 September 2015 and resulted in three spin-off TV series. In 2014, *CSI* episode ‘Kitty’ debuted the franchise’s ‘cybercrime forensic’ focus and broke records for its simultaneous broadcast in 171 countries. See <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/csi-breaks-guinness-world-record/> (last accessed on 22 January 2019).

8 Due to their historic nature, both of these exhibitions focused on evidence post-trial, but the Wellcome exhibition’s inclusion of artworks complicated the artefacts, introducing ‘juridical failure’ with the works by Teresa Margolles, Taryn Simon, Angela Strassheim, Sally Man and Jenny Holzer.

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destruction).<sup>10</sup> Most recently, two high-profile examples inflected the forensic turn in art: the inclusion of the Forensic Architecture agency as a Turner Prize nominee, and documenta 14 artistic director Adam Szymczyk's positioning of the 2017 iteration of the mega-exhibition before it opened as the ideal forum for 'witnessing' or 'evidentiary objects'.<sup>11</sup>

### Fig. A: Illustration vs. Academic Analysis

Beyond mimesis and illustration of an argument, the academic field has developed an ecology to foster visual thinking. Despite universities privileging the written document for archival and communication purposes, visual analysis has evolved beyond 'exhibit A' supplementing an argument into a method and tool to conduct analysis.<sup>12</sup> Political scientist and graphic designer Edward Tufte has for decades been reverse engineering historical case studies in order to establish a methodology that balances the power of visualising data to both *communicate* but also to *construct* understanding. For instance, Tufte uses John Snow's successful intervention in a cholera outbreak in 1854 to demonstrate the role of mapping and diagrammatic thinking in making casual connections: 'Along with a good idea and a timely problem, there was a good method. Snow's scientific detective work *exhibits* a shrewd intelligence about evidence, a clear logic of data display and analysis.'<sup>13</sup> Case in point, Tufte demonstrates how different mappings of a neighbourhood plagued by cholera in London would result in different tallies of deaths per block. In other words, different spatial organising of data aggregates deaths around different locations and thus would radically create different conclusions as to the source of the deaths. In the end, it was Snow's spatial-visual understanding that created the causal connection and thus the ability to create an effective intervention. His visual renderings explain causality, and 'the reason we seek causal explanations is in order to intervene, to govern the cause so as to govern the effect.'<sup>14</sup> We create pictures of the world in order to change the world.

### Diagrams of Power

One of the greatest shifts in visualising the world occurred roughly half a millennium earlier with the systemisation of linear perspective as a projective geometry. Architect Leon Battista Alberti encoded Filippo Brunelleschi's experiments into a manual and in doing so elevated the practice of art to a scientific method.<sup>15</sup> The architect framed the world with a gridded window parsing square-by-square the view in order to be recombined for a virtual rendering. The process additionally sliced reality into multiple depths of field: between the world, the painting and the mind's eye. A feedback loop of sensing/thinking/making created a hallucinatory oscillation between the *imago* and *pictura*.<sup>16</sup> Before René Descartes rationalised space, artists and architects were already playing chess in the court, and the *conquistadores* described the Incan territory as a chessboard.<sup>17</sup> Recognising modernism's inherent colonial gaze challenges the convenient art-historical narrative that perspective

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- 9 For the best history of these works see architectural historian and curator Laura J. Miller's 'Denatured Domesticity: An Account of Femininity and Physiognomy in the Interiors of Frances Glessner Lee', in H. Heynen and G. Baydar (ed.) *Negotiating Domesticity: Spatial Productions of Gender in Modern Architecture*, London: Routledge, 2005, pp.196-214.
- 10 See Katherine Biber, *In Crime's Archive: The Cultural Afterlife of Evidence*, London: Taylor & Francis, 2018. For another text asking questions about the relation between forensics and the curatorial, see the interview between contemporary art curators Beatrice von Bismark, Jörn Schaffaff and Eyal Weizman (ed.), 'Exhibition, Forensics, and the Agency of Objects', *Cultures of the Curatorial*, Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2012, pp.84-95. However, this latter article is less about evidential objects and more about designed objects as *loci* of rhetoric. Also Laura J. Miller is a professor and curator at Architecture & Design Gallery at the John H. Daniels Faculty of Architecture, Landscape and Design at the University of Toronto, where she also teaches a graduate course on the 'artefact'.
- 11 Adam Szymczyk quoted in 'The Indelible Presence of the Gurlitt Estate: Adam Szymczyk in conversation with Alexander Alberro, Maria Eichhorn, and Hans Haacke', in *South as a State of Mind: documenta 14 #1*, no.6, Fall/Winter 2015, available at [https://www.documenta14.de/en/south/59\\_the\\_indelible\\_presence\\_of\\_the\\_gurlitt\\_estate\\_adam\\_szymczyk\\_in\\_conversation\\_with\\_alexander\\_alberro\\_maria\\_eichhorn\\_and\\_hans\\_haacke](https://www.documenta14.de/en/south/59_the_indelible_presence_of_the_gurlitt_estate_adam_szymczyk_in_conversation_with_alexander_alberro_maria_eichhorn_and_hans_haacke) (last accessed on 22 January 2019).
- 12 See Bruno Latour on the primacy of the published paper with its text and inscriptions as engine for development: B. Latour, 'Visualization and Cognition: Thinking with Eyes and Hands', in Michael Lynch and Steve Woolgar (ed.), *Representation in Scientific Practice*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990, pp.19-68.
- 13 Edward R. Tufte, *Visual Explanations: Images and Quantities, Evidence and Narrative*, Cheshire, CT: Graphic Press, 1997, p.29. Emphasis mine.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p.28.
- 15 Erwin Panofsky, *Perspective as Symbolic Form*, New York: Zone Books, 1991, p.66.
- 16 See Anne Friedberg's historical contextualisation of the concept of 'virtual', particularly in early theories of vision where Galileo, Kepler, Descartes et al. try to connect retinal images with paintings as material *pictura* and virtual mental images with projected virtual objects in the illusionary depth of the painting as *imago*. A. Friedberg, *The Virtual Window: From Alberti to Microsoft*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006, pp.8-9.

John Snow, *Map of Mortality from Report on the cholera outbreak in the Parish of St. James, Westminster, during the autumn of 1854*, published 1855, pages 106-07. Courtesy Wellcome Library, London



was subservient to the trajectory of realism. Instead, linear perspective's history and cartography's history form an intersecting projective geometry as a colonial system of vision. As Erwin Panofsky famously pointed out, perspective is symbolic.

Arguably, such symbolic renderings are diagrammatic in their double function as both framing the world but also creating plans for it. The literal overlap of the strategies of the mapmaking and architectural rendering would of course be the blueprint: part representational and part abstract drawings.<sup>18</sup> Since the 1980s architects and artists with a penchant for philosophy have been keenly interested in the use of the term 'diagram'.<sup>19</sup> Gilles Deleuze's influential use of the concept was first sketched out in his writing describing Foucault as a 'new cartographer' of the 'microphysics of power'.<sup>20</sup> At the centre of this map lies, of course, Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon: 'a display of the relations between forces which constitute power.'<sup>21</sup> In this particular case, Foucault-Deleuze map the superimposition of the *discursive* and the *non-discursive* – respectively the written penal code and the environment of the prison – and in doing so are able to comprehend the advent of the surveillance society

17 Note a history of virtually controlled spaces correlates to war games as various models mapping the history of empires: first, oblique orthogonal perspective and the game go in China (control of territory), then linear perspective and the game chess in Europe (control of hierarchy) and now virtual reality and videogames in North America (control of network).

18 "Assembly drawing" is how engineers call the invention of the blueprint.' B. Latour, 'From Realpolitik to Dingpolitik: or How to Make Things', in B. Latour and Peter Weibel, *Making Things Public: Atmospheres of Democracy*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005, p.24. Latour's quote references Wolfgang Iser's book *Picturing Machines 1400-1700*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004.

19 As a good starting point, see Peter Eisenman and Silvia Kolbowski, *Idea as model*, New York: Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies, 1981. The book includes work by Eisenman from the 1976 exhibition that uses the 'diagrammatic' as the conceptual framework for his decomposition/deconstruction.

20 While the term 'diagram' is nebulous in both Foucault's and Deleuze's writing due to the lack of a direct meditation and rather a sporadic use of the term over several texts, I am primarily working from Deleuze's first review of Foucault's *Discipline and Punishment* from 1977 and reworked in his book *Foucault* from 1983. This is not to negate his later reworking of the concept in his discussion of Francis Bacon's paintings: 'Bacon: "Very often the involuntary marks are much more deeply suggestive than others, and those are the moments when you feel that anything can happen."' The inscription and the scrape are both paths. G. Deleuze, *Francis Bacon: The Logic of Sensation*, London: Continuum, 2003, p.184.

21 G. Deleuze, *Foucault* (trans. Sean Hand), Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988, p.36.



*The Evidence Room.*  
Venice Biennale,  
2016. Photograph:  
Fred Hunsberger.  
Courtesy Anne  
Bordeleau, Donald  
McKay and Robert  
Jan van Pelt

by conducting an ‘archaeology of knowledge’.<sup>22</sup> Here the diagram functions as an apparatus that both *communicates* and *creates* a schema for the world by both *designing* a prison but also *concretising* the practice of surveillance. The optical dynamic of ‘seeing without being seen’ functions as the core to the diagram’s content but also folds with the visual display of the diagram. This doubling is why the panopticon is Foucault’s paragon of a diagram.<sup>23</sup> While it is difficult to cleanly articulate Deleuze’s definition of the ‘diagram’, one of the more direct phrasings could fittingly be applied to a definition of forensics: ‘The diagram or abstract machine is the map of relations between forces, a map of destiny, or intensity.’<sup>24</sup> In this case the forensic diagram maps the destiny of forces between perpetrator and victim.

With the panopticon as a diagrammatic blueprint, art in the late 1980s and after utilised Foucauldian methods to investigate the power structures around them. Artists such as Harun Farocki, Alexander Kluge, Hans Haacke, Allan Sekula, Black Audio Film Collective, Errol Morris, Laura Kurgan, Mark Lombardi, Bureau d’études, Atlas Group, Raqs Media Collective, Maria Eichhorn and so on started to establish methods of working that used various combinations of archival research, diagrammatic analysis, scientific gazing, institutional language and narrative reconstruction along with their various audio-visual poetics. Such figures created the milieu for contemporary art’s embracing of forensic concerns, strategies and aesthetics.<sup>25</sup> Initially, a certain documentary or informational aesthetic prevailed in such practices – perhaps as a result of the work’s influence from Conceptualism in the 1960 and 1970s as much as from the documentary tradition.<sup>26</sup> As a direct precursor to the forensic turn, the ‘archival turn’ of the 1990s already started

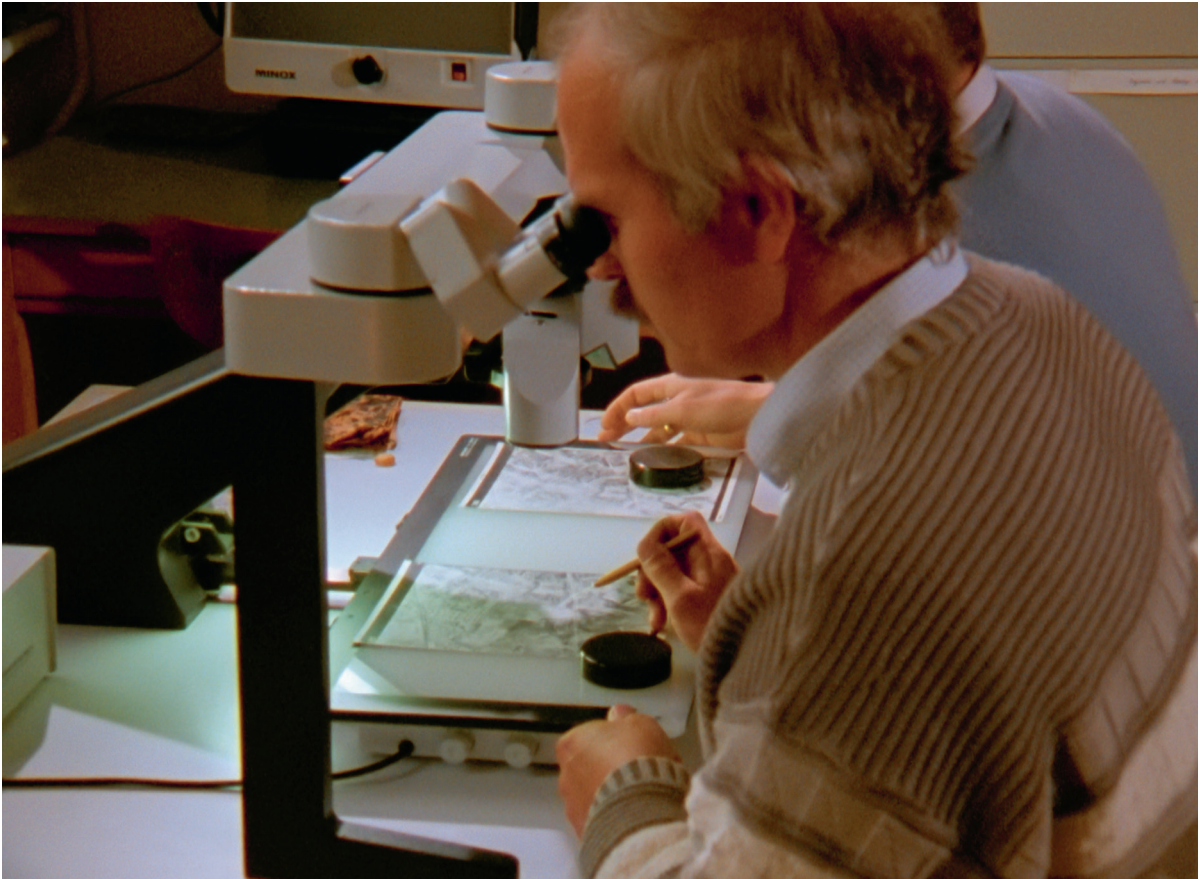
22 Forensics have been related to archaeology as a methodology. See Eyal Weizman, ‘Forensic Architecture is an Archeology of the Very Recent Past’, *Forensic Architecture*, Kassel: Documenta, 2012, p.10; and my own ‘forensic analysis – as accelerated archaeology’, in ‘Piercing the Screen of the Vegetable Kingdom: Remarks on Infrared’, *Richard Mosse: Supplement to the Enclave*, Berlin: Broken Dimanche Press, 2014, p.17.

23 I have written elsewhere that while ‘systems of light’ are key to Bentham’s concept and receive almost exclusively the attention of writers and artists (the prison is called *panopticon* after all), the panopticon also had a sonic system to both eavesdrop and project disembodied commands. See my *The Centre Cannot Hold*, Kingston: Queen’s University and Berlin: K. Verlag, 2015.

24 G. Deleuze, *Foucault*, *op.cit.*, p.36.

25 This is far from an exhaustive list and only a sample of practices established in the twentieth century – some evolving into a more direct forensic practice in the twenty-first century.

26 For a brief history of the documentary aesthetic see Olivier Lugon, ‘Documentary: Authority and Ambiguities’, in Maria Lind and Hito Steyerl (ed.), *The Green Room: Reconsidering the Documentary and Contemporary Art #1*, Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2008, pp.28–38.



to develop techniques of visual analysis within ‘both art production as well as curatorial activity’, where ‘it became common by the end of that decade to find ephemera from police, public, medical, and social science institutions... within the aesthetic repertoire of the contemporary art museum’.<sup>27</sup> ‘Scene of the Crime’, curated by Ralph Rugoff in 1997 at the Hammer Museum at UCLA in Los Angeles, is a curiosity of an exhibition that perhaps first attempted to craft a ‘forensic aesthetic’ using contemporary art. For the most part the works were not about crime, but rather framed – rather suitably for the geography that spawned the genre of ‘Film Noir’ – a West Coast survey exhibition as the place to treat artwork as clues for hidden meanings.<sup>28</sup> At the turn of the millennium, two major research exhibitions would provide catalysts in contemporary art with a political urgency that moved beyond the archival – both at the ZKM | Center for Art and Media in Karlsruhe. The lesser known, first exhibition curated by Thomas Y. Levin in 2001 directly used the panopticon as the inspiration for an exhibit called ‘CTL[Space]. Rhetorics of Surveillance’ and a book under the same title: ‘the first state-of-the-art survey of the full range of panopticism – in digital culture, architecture, video, painting, photography, conceptual art, cinema, installation work, television, robotics, and satellite imaging.’<sup>29</sup> In 2005, ‘Making Things Public: Atmospheres of Democracy’ curated by Peter Weibel and Bruno Latour (with exhibition design by Nikolaus Hirsch and Michel Müller) became a curatorial touchstone for concepts and strategies on the relationship between exhibition making and politics. In an exhibition with over 100

Harun Farocki,  
*Bilder der Welt und  
Inscription des Krieges  
(Images of the World  
and the Inscription  
of War)*, 1988,  
film, 1h 15min. ©  
Harun Farocki GbR.  
Courtesy the artist

27 Cheryl Simon, ‘Introduction: Following the Archival Turn’, *Visual Resources*, vol.18, no.2, January 2002, pp.101-02. Hal Foster’s essay ‘The Archive Without Museums’ provides key articulation to the end of the century’s zeitgeist, *October*, vol.77, 1996, pp.97-119. Ariella Azoulay later writes about the archival image: ‘What the photograph shows exceeds that which the participants in the event of photography attempted to inscribe in it. Moreover, their attempt to determine and shape what will be seen in the frame and the power relations between those participants within it leaves traces that enable one to reconstruct the complexity of the event of photography.’ A. Azoulay, ‘Potential History: Thinking through Violence’, *Critical Inquiry*, vol.39, no.3, Spring 2013, p.556, emphasis mine.

28 Ralph Rugoff, Anthony Vidler and Peter Wollen, *Scene of the Crime*, Cambridge, MA: UCLA/Armand Hammer Museum of Art, 1997.

29 Description from the ZKM website, available at <https://zkm.de/en/event/2001/10/ctrl-space-rhetorics-of-surveillance> (last accessed on 22 January 2019).

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‘contributors’ (the show expanded beyond curating art) and a catalogue over 1000 pages, Latour and Weibel outlined nothing short of a new model of politics: *Dingpolitik*. With the intention to suggest new forums of assembly as generated out of an attendance to the complexity of the world around us, Latour in the opening essay writes: ‘We want to imagine a *new eloquence*. Is it asking too much of our public conversation? It’s great to be convinced, but it would be even better to be convinced *by some evidence*.’<sup>30</sup>

### God in the Details/Devil in the Details

The microhistoriographer Carlo Ginzburg astutely observed: ‘The art connoisseur and the detective may well be compared, each discovering, from clues unnoticed by others, the author in one case of a crime, in the other of a painting.’<sup>31</sup> The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York offers a course – taught by an art historian and lawyer – to detectives in order to sharpen their deductive observational skills by looking at paintings from their collection.<sup>32</sup> The connection between detective work and art history is not such a leap if one considers the influence of art historian Aby Warburg, who is often attributed with the expression: ‘*Der liebe Gott steckt im Detail*’ (‘God dwells in minutiae’).<sup>33</sup> At the beginning of the twentieth century when forensics as a field of criminology was being invented by looking at the smallest traces, Warburg developed his eccentric *iconology*: ‘analysis that can range freely, with no fear of border guards, and can treat the ancient, medieval, and modern worlds as a coherent historical unity – an analysis that can scrutinise the purest and the most utilitarian of arts as equivalent documents of expression – how such a method, by taking pains to illuminate one single obscurity, can cast light on great and universal evolutionary processes in all their interconnectedness.’<sup>34</sup> Warburg’s final project, the *Mnemosyne Atlas*

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***The validity of forensics is always how well the predictive and conjectural align – or at least rhetorically efface each other.***

(1924–29), became the ideal expression of his method as an open-ended series of presentation screens composed of groups of images (drawn from an archive of 25,000 reproductions) collected loosely under a theme and yet subject to fluid rearrangement. Most importantly, the assemblage of images did not follow a typical iconographic relationship with static

taxonomies (an image’s linear historical trajectory or an arborescent attribution to a master artist) but rather followed a *combinatory* and *complimentary* logic that redefined ‘graphic montage as the construction of meanings rather than the arrangement of form’.<sup>35</sup> Difficult to explain a novel method that exists between images and not necessarily in the image, the logic can perhaps best be understood by Warburg’s ‘law of the good neighbour’. Addressing the idiosyncratic research library intimately tied to the *Atlas*, the law could be summed up as: ‘The book of which one knew was in most cases not the book which one needed. The unknown neighbour on the shelf contained the vital information, although from its title one might not have guessed this.’<sup>36</sup>

The law of the good neighbour: sitting beside Warburg on the shelf is Walter Benjamin’s also unfinished work *Arcades Project* written between 1927 and 1940. The literal reader browsing the library becomes the allegorical *flâneur* strolling through the

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- 30 B. Latour, ‘From Realpolitik to Dingpolitik: or How to Make Things’, *op.cit.*, p.21.  
31 Carlo Ginzburg, ‘Morelli, Freud and Sherlock Holmes: Clues and Scientific Method’, *History Workshop*, no.9, Spring 1980, p.8.  
32 See Neil Hirschfeld, ‘Teaching Cops to See’, *Smithsonian Magazine* [online journal], October 2009, available at <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/arts-culture/teaching-cops-to-see-138500635/> (last accessed on 22 January 2019).  
33 See Gombrich for the source of most citations with a nod to Gustav Flaubert, see William S. Heckscher for a meditation on the importance of the phrase in Warburg, and see Wuttke for the most comprehensive etymology of the phrase. E. H. Gombrich and Fritz Saxl, *Aby Warburg: an Intellectual Biography*, London: The Warburg Institute, 1970, p.13; W. S. Heckscher, ‘Petites Perceptions: An Account of Sortes Warburgianae’, *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, vol.4, 1974, pp.101–34; D. Wuttke, ‘Aby warburg und seine bibliothek – zum gedenken anlässlich warburgs 100. geburtstag am 13. juni 1966’ *Arcadia*, vol.1, no.3, 1966, p.326.  
34 Aby Warburg, *The Renewal of Pagan Antiquity: Contributions to the Cultural History of the European Renaissance* (trans. David Britt), Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 1999, p.585.  
35 A quote by the English editor of Warburg’s work, Kurt Forster in Benjamin H.D. Buchloh’s ‘Gerhard Richter’s “Atlas”: The Anomic Archive.’, *October*, vol.88, 1999, p.127. Buchloh’s essay attempts to contextualise Warburg’s method within a poetics of avant-garde Russian and German collage: from Schwitters, Lissitzky, and Malevich to Gerhard Richter.  
36 F. Saxl, ‘The History of Warburg’s Library (1886–1944)’, in E.H. Gombrich and Fritz Saxl (ed.), *Aby Warburg, op. cit.*, p.328.

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arcade. And then next to the *Arcades*: W.G. Sebald's *The Rings of Saturn* (1995) – echoing one of the titles of an early draft of Benjamin's *Arcades* – further provides a major inspiration for contemporary artists attempting to poetically engage with the systemic of violence balancing archival and fieldwork, fact and fiction.<sup>37</sup> In short, Warburg establishes a method that flourishes first via the writings of Anthony Blunt in London (Director of the Courtauld Institute of Art, which was host to the Warburg Institute when it fled Nazi Germany) and in America at Princeton with Erwin Panofsky, and then a generation later with the incredibly popular E.H. Gombrich who popularised Warburg.<sup>38</sup> Such a lineage was already dispersed to form the background noise of the latter part of the twentieth century. Warburg's more recent influence is felt within the relatively nascent practice of contemporary curating – a practice at times buffeted with “*Auseinandersetzungsenergie*”, the power (and the will) to react against prevailing trends' of art history.<sup>39</sup> The *Atlas* maps the migration of dialectical images across what André Malraux called *le musée imaginaire* and later surfaces in the methodology of Harald Szeemann's group exhibitions starting with the relatively unknown 'Science Fiction' (1967) through to his documenta 5 (1972).<sup>40</sup> One of the main recurring themes in the *Atlas* was the complimentary astronomical/astrological; today it is common rationale to refer to contemporary curating or artistic archival practices as 'constellations'.<sup>41</sup>

### Future Predictive vs. Past Conjecture

Warburg's *Atlas* screens and the evidence boards that cover detective's walls at first glance share a similarity in their formal characteristics, but what appears as an unrelated disciplinary crossover (between ideological and repressive apparatuses) is not as remote as it first seems. Little known, the screens were actually not Warburg's idea, although he did incorporate them into his unique methodology; they were first created and proposed to Warburg by his colleague Fritz Saxl after Saxl's time in the military, where he worked in the education unit and gleaned the idea of using the screens for didactic purposes.<sup>42</sup> The uniqueness of this process resided not between art appropriating a display technique from the military, but rather between the conjectural discipline of the social sciences versus the positivist method of the natural sciences.

Here we must return to the most important essay in understanding the contemporary *re-unification* of forensics and art: 'Morelli, Freud and Sherlock Holmes: Clues and Scientific Method' by Carlo Ginzburg. In this 1980 essay Ginzburg locates the birth of connoisseurship in the early seventeenth century, in the schism between the positivist sciences and the social sciences. At that moment in Rome, Galileo Galilei establishes a *predictive model* of science based on the repetition of results; and Giulio Mancini – the Pope's doctor *and the first art connoisseur* – establishes a *conjectural model* maintaining 'When causes cannot be repeated, there is no alternative but to infer them from their effects'.<sup>43</sup> In a sweeping historical overview, Ginzburg situates Mancini's conjectural method along an arc starting with the narrative practice of prehistoric hunters tracing animal tracks and into the advent of statistics in the eighteenth century. Ginzburg then observes how the method is refined by various authors of detective fiction until it becomes systematised as the Zadig method in 1880 by Thomas Huxley, who 'in a series of lectures aimed at publicising the discoveries of Darwin, defined as "Zadig's method" the procedure common to history, archaeology, geology, physical astronomy and palaeontology: that is, the making of retrospective prediction'.<sup>44</sup> Along the way, a discussion on prisons in the Napoleonic era (with a footnote of course on Foucault's panopticon) establishes a critique of the anthropometric methods of the earliest forensic efforts as colonial means of control.<sup>45</sup>

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37 See Walter Benjamin, *Arcades Project*, Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002, p.885.

38 For a history of Warburg's influence on the discipline of art history see Georges Didi-Huberman's foreword to Philippe-Alain Michaud's *Aby Warburg: The Image in Motion*, New York: Zone Books, 2004.

39 E.H. Gombrich, 'Aby Warburg: His Aims and Methods: An Anniversary Lecture', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol.62, 1999, p.280.

40 André Malraux, *Le musée imaginaire de la sculpture mondiale*, Paris: Gallimard, 1952.

41 Patron of Walter Benjamin, Theodor W. Adorno's 1966 book *Negative Dialectics* provides the most recent justification of the concept seen in a curator's PowerPoint: 'As a constellation, theoretical thought circles the concept it would like to unseal, hoping that it may fly open like the lock of a well-guarded safe-deposit box: in response, not to a single key or a single number, but to a combination of numbers.' Theodor W. Adorno, *Negative Dialectics*, London and New York: Routledge, 2004, p.163.

42 E. H. Gombrich and F. Saxl. *Aby Warburg*, *op.cit.*, p.261.

43 C. Ginzburg, 'Morelli, Freud and Sherlock Holmes', *op.cit.*, p.24.

44 *Ibid.*, p.23.

45 Including William Herschel, Alphonso Bertillon and Francis Galton, respectively, the figures known for developing fingerprinting / mugshot / facial composite.

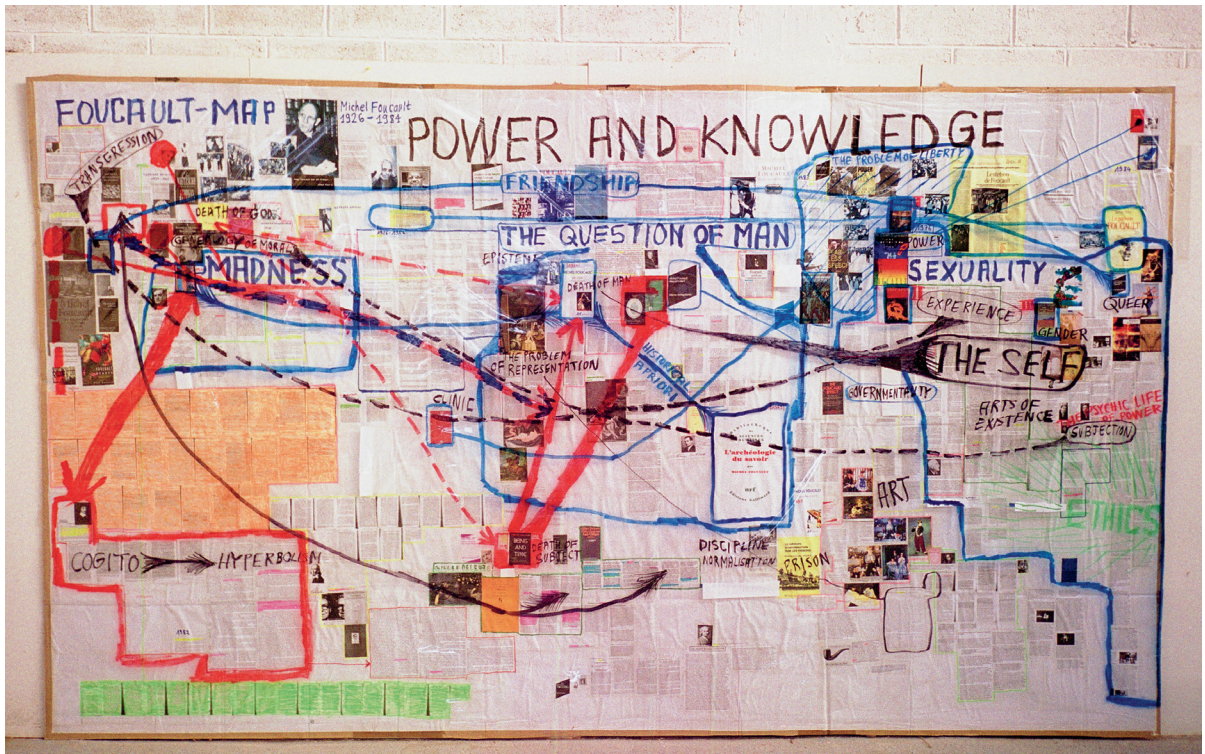


Installation view, 'Making Things Public', ZKM | Center for Art and Media, Karlsruhe, March-October 2005. © ZKM | Center for Art and Media. Photograph: Franz Wamhof. Courtesy ZKM | Center for Art and Media

While many now disavow the pseudo-sciences based on visual observation of the late-nineteenth century – and which underscore much of the thinking of some of the first forensic criminologists such as Francis Galton and Cesare Lombroso – a certain lesson lingers and continually needs to be tested. Visual analysis can be powerful but also subject to faulty premises – especially when based on the most advanced technologies, which ironically can often harbour old biases.<sup>46</sup> Forensics as it relied more and more on scientific tools found itself inherently at the cross-over between predictive and conjectural models. It uses the language of science as well as the judgement of an expert. In other words, it draws on an archive of reproducible experiments to perform a reproducible experiment in order to make a case. But of course, time is not reversible according to the second law of thermodynamics, and so time's forward march both allows for the possibility and at the same time limits forensics. On the one hand, entropy allows Edmond Locard to establish his 'exchange principle' – *everything leaves a trace* – as the 'cornerstone of the forensic sciences'.<sup>47</sup> On the other hand, entropy also leaves a shadow as we move forward in time, preventing an unmediated revisitation of the past: 'You cannot measure the sun, but you can measure a photograph of the sun with a ruler.'<sup>48</sup> When dealing with historical events, objects and actors, the forensic process must conject the most statistically likely trace of causation. The demonstration (lab test, diagram,

46 Each new technological shift goes through the same ideological issues. Racist theories of the criminal at the previous turn of the century based on photography resurfaced with introduction of artificial intelligence and facial recognition analysis to supposedly identify sexual orientation. See, for example, *The Economist's* publication of such research 'Keeping a Straight Face', 9 September 2017, available at <https://www.economist.com/science-and-technology/2017/09/09/advances-in-ai-are-used-to-spot-signs-of-sexuality> and the subsequent rebuttal by GLAAD's chief digital officer Jim Halloran 'Letters to the Editor', 14 September 2017, available at <https://www.economist.com/letters/2017/09/14/letters-to-the-editor> (both last accessed on 22 January 2019).

47 Edmond Locard, who started the first criminal laboratory in Lyon, was Alphonso Bertillon's student. See Jerry W. Chisum and Brent E. Turvey, 'Evidence Dynamics: Locard's Exchange Principle & Crime Reconstruction', *Journal of Behavioral Profiling*, vol.1, no.1, 2000, available at [http://www.profiling.org/journal/vol1\\_no1/jbp\\_ed\\_january2000\\_1-1.html](http://www.profiling.org/journal/vol1_no1/jbp_ed_january2000_1-1.html) (last accessed on 22 January 2019). It might at first appear odd that nineteenth-century criminologist Cesare Lombroso was a staunch proponent of Victorian spirit photography, but with a blind obsession he follows Locard's principle beyond its limit by recording traces that crossed the divide between the spiritual and material dimensions.



dramatisation, etc.) constructs a predicted path, which in turn is used as evidence to map a retroactive path to the obscured origin of the crime. The validity of forensics is always how well the predictive and conjectural align – or at least rhetorically eclipse each other.

### **Habitus and the Forum**

Alongside the development of early forensic practices at the end of the nineteenth century, Mancini’s ghost rematerialises in the writings of art historian Giovanni Morelli (who used a layer of pseudonyms: first Russian, then German and finally Italian). After three centuries, connoisseurship as a visual diagnostic technique for deducing the attribution of a painting (brushstrokes, signature analysis, radiography, etc.) dovetails with the new forensic methods for uncovering perpetrators according to visual analysis (fingerprinting, physiognomy, phrenology, etc.). In the twentieth century, art and forensics began to interact with and modulate each other. Historically, artists, and then designers, were resourced to create images, diagrams and models for the juridical sphere (from old fashion sketches of facial composites to CAD models).<sup>49</sup> Today, forensics is not only applied to historical artwork to determine its authorship, but inversely, the artist engages in forensic methods qua art. The appropriating of scientific methods to make art is nothing new, but traditionally such ventures are seen at best as science serving as a technique for art production and at worst bad art fetishising science. More recently, forensic strategies in art incorporate both its scientific techniques and rhetorical power (i.e., respectively, the use of ultraviolet photography to trace blood and the claims to legal efficacy as a result of its accepted conjecture). But questions should arise as artistic and forensic strategies and objects cross over and begin to function within the other’s densely constructed forums. Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of *habitus* provides a highly developed understanding of the modern forum and function of art and its related fields. A sociological term, *habitus* is useful in describing how art is concretely shaped by the

Thomas Hirschhorn with Marcus Steinweg, *Foucault Map*, 2004, 454 × 274cm. Courtesy the artist and Collection Museu Serralves, Porto

48 B. Latour, ‘Visualization and Cognition’, *op.cit.*, p.20. Latour’s analysis of the semiotic turn in science folds neatly with Ginzburg’s account of Galileo reading the book of nature. See also Harun Farocki’s intertwined history of photography and measurement as starting with Albrecht Meydenbauer in 1858. H. Farocki, ‘Reality Would Have to Begin’ (trans. Marek Wieczorek, Tom Keenan, Thomas Y. Levin), in Thomas Elsaesser (ed.), *Working on the Sight-Lines*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004, pp.193-202.

49 DNA phenotyping for forensics includes taking a DNA sample to predictively construct a facial portrait. While the practice is nascent, it is already used in criminal investigations. Despite the lack of an artist’s gesture in the facial reconstruction, bias is still not excised but rather shifted to other gaps such as the lack of racial diversity in genetic archives limiting accuracy in reconstruction.

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complex forces that are specific and particular: *'l'habitus [est] défini par l'intériorisation des principes de clarification et de conciliation des contraires mais aussi comment cet habitus s'actualise concrètement dans la logique spécifique d'une pratique particulière.* (the *habitus* is defined by both the internalisation of the principles of clarification and the reconciliation of opposites, but *habitus* also concretely actualises itself in the specific logic of a particular practice.)<sup>50</sup> Echoing an understanding that different forums require different strategies first laid out by Aristotle's writing on rhetoric, Bourdieu's theories update a classical philosophy for a modern world moving from taxonomies to language games.<sup>51</sup>

Forensics already contentiously balances the forces of science and rhetoric as it moves from the lab or crime scene to the court; does shifting forensic objects and strategies into the forum of the art gallery exacerbate the divide between rigorous due process and spectacle? Recall the courthouse often has a gallery built into the architecture.<sup>52</sup> If the artist acts as a forensic expert, does the curator play the role of the prosecutor? Or if in a group exhibition, does the curator play the role of the judge if they combine opposing artistic projects? Are the gallery-going audience the jurors? It seems inane to force an analogy, but is there a consistent rhetorical logic? If one keeps the rhetorical argument the same, are audiences expected to react the same? Moreover, understanding forum as *habitus*, the corollary follows that the practice of forensics was developed and refined in relation to juridical roles that are clearly defined because they rely on their network of relations as checks and balances – at least ideally.

### Counter-Forensics as Critique

As is often the case, forensic art (defined as art that either uses forensic strategies or engages in a commentary on forensic processes) consistently functions as a counter-forensics – a strategy to contest the status quo or state power. The most discussed example of a counter-forensic artwork would be Errol Morris's film *The Thin Blue Line* (1988) about a man wrongly convicted of murder. Morris was a private investigator before he was a film-maker, and the film's exceptional critical appreciation is linked to the belief the film resulted in the protagonist's eventual release. By conducting new testimonies, revisiting evidence and re-enacting the past, Morris stitched together a strong audio-visual narrative creating a new counter-argument. With the use of re-enactments, one could say Morris constructed a counter-memory that opened the possibility for the verdict to become suspect. In relation to Morris's later film *Standard Operating Procedure* (2014) – in part concerning the attribution of the photographs of the torture in Abu Ghraib by US soldiers – W.J.T. Mitchell writes: 'As a former detective himself, Morris has established a reputation as the most gifted forensic documentarian of our time, taking his camera and sound recorder all the way into the heart of darkness that lurks in historically significant crimes.'<sup>53</sup>

In the more recent decades, the number of artists and architects engaging in counter-forensic practices has dramatically increased.<sup>54</sup> Four further case studies suffice to demonstrate the breadth of strategies. In 2002, photographer Taryn Simon produced *The Innocents* series, which restaged and documented wrongly convicted people at their crime scene or in their place of testimony such as the courtroom. Forensic Architecture, which formed in 2010, uses virtual modelling and media analysis to create videos and exhibitions

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50 Pierre Bourdieu's first defining of *habitus* emerges in the postface to Erwin Panofsky's book *Gothic Architecture*. Aside from tracing a lineage from Warburg to Panofsky to Bourdieu, my use of *habitus* highlights not only the function of a cultural object within a specific social sphere but also invokes the inherent issue of causality. Quote from Pierre Bourdieu, *Postface à Architecture gothique et pensée scolastique de E. Panofsky*, Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1967, p.157, translation mine.

51 Bourdieu himself borrowed heavily from Ludwig Wittgenstein's theory of 'language games': 'Wittgenstein is probably the philosopher who has helped me most at moments of difficulty. He's a kind of saviour for times of great intellectual distress – as when you have to question such evident things as "obeying a rule."' P. Bourdieu, 'Fieldwork in Philosophy' (1985), in P. Bourdieu, *In Other Words: Essays towards a Reflexive Sociology*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990, p.9.

52 I am playing with the double meaning of gallery: typically, on the one hand, the gallery in the courtroom hosts people, and on the other hand, an art gallery hosts objects. This shift from people to objects is worth noting. Half a step ahead of the forensic turn in art, Object Orientated Ontology (OOO) provided artists with a philosophy that challenged classical theories of causation. For a key early crossover between OOO and the art world see Graham Harman, 'Heidegger on Objects and Things', in B. Latour and P. Weibel (ed.), *Making Things Public, op.cit.*, pp.268–71.

53 In this film, Morris's own meta-forensics follows a military forensic investigator. W.J.T. Mitchell, *Image Science: Iconology, Visual Culture, and Media Aesthetics*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015, p.66.

54 Disclosure: the author's own projects *CounterIntelligence* at the University of Toronto (2014) and *No6092* at the National Gallery of Canada (2016) investigated the overlap of forensics and art and would be subject to the same inquiry laid out in the current polemic.

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arguing against state abuses and global corporate exemption in situations such as illegal drone strikes and human rights abuses from Pakistan to Palestine.<sup>55</sup> Simon's artwork relies on the state's correction of its own injustices, which are then given exposure through her artwork, while Forensic Architecture's work attempts to participate in sociopolitical forums with a hope in the balance of justice. Simon makes no claim to functioning in the legal sphere, content to function in the art world, commenting on the justice process while being self-reflective with respect to the medium of photography: 'At issue is the question of photography's function as a credible eyewitness and arbiter of justice.'<sup>56</sup> Inversely, while Forensic Architecture is based in a university visual cultures department and continually exhibits in art galleries, biennials and festivals, surprisingly their mandate omits any mention of functioning in the art world, focusing on the juridical-political sphere. 'The novelty of this project is that it brings architecture, law, media and public policy together', states founding member Eyal Weizman. 'Our evidence has also been used in important investigations and court cases.'<sup>57</sup> Ironically, Forensic Architecture's emphasis on performing in court creates a strange disconnect between the strongly stated intention of the projects and their celebrated success in the art world.<sup>58</sup> *The Evidence Room* (by University of Waterloo professors Anne Bordeleau, Sascha Hastings, Donald McKay and Robert Jan van Pelt) at the 2016 Venice Architecture Biennale manifested one of history's most sensational architectural forensic court cases. In 2000, Van Pelt was a key witness in the high-profile case of a Holocaust denier that revolved around the architectural analysis of the gas chambers at Auschwitz. He worked with a team of architects to transfer the tome of his 600-page book into an immersive one-to-one reconstruction of key aspects of the space.<sup>59</sup> Even 70 years after the atrocity, and over a decade after the court case, the room triggered strong reactions despite its consciously abstracted form reminiscent of a monochromatic architectural model. Avoiding the exhibition circuit entirely, Bellingcat (another organisation similar to Forensic Architecture) engages with spatial and media analysis, but also uses data forensic strategies like doxing and financial transaction tracing. Instead of using the gallery as a public space, they have built an online open-source platform.<sup>60</sup> Projects such as geolocating the beheading of an American journalist or doxing Russian agents that attempted to assassinate an outspoken critique of Putin were projects that received considerable exposure in the press.<sup>61</sup> Providing pedagogical support indiscriminately, additional engagement with the public occurs via do-it-yourself guides and workshops that either share resources for others to conduct the same forensic analysis or strategies to resist state and corporate abuses.

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55 See the Forensic Architecture website, available at <https://www.forensic-architecture.org/> (last accessed on 9 March 2019).

56 Taryn Simon, *The Innocents* (2002), available at <http://tarynsimon.com/works/innocents/#1> (last accessed on 22 January 2019).

57 Quote from 16 March 2018 on the European Research Council website (alongside the mention of 2 million euros of funding allocated for Forensic Architecture), available at <https://erc.europa.eu/projects-figures/stories/architects-crime-scene> (last accessed 22 January 2019). This is a different focus of intention compared to Weizman's early agenda for evidence to build forums rather than evidence to enter pre-existing forums - like a courtroom. See E. Weizman, *Forensis: The Architecture of Public Truth*, Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2014, p.20. Building new forums through exhibition making recalls Latour and Weibel's 'Making Things Public', see fn.30 in this essay. Weizman has actually expressed the negative optics of Forensic Architecture being considered a group of artists; see Phineas Harper, 'Forensic Architecture Winning the Turner Prize Would Risk Turning Sensitive Investigative Work Into Insensitive Entertainment', *Dezeen* [blog], available at <https://www.dezeen.com/2018/05/04/forensic-architecture-turner-prize-warning-phineas-harper/> (last accessed on 22 January 2019).

58 It is worth emphasising that Forensic Architecture does not prosecute cases themselves but produces reports and demonstrations to be used in legal cases. At the time of writing this article, no court cases have come to light where Forensic Architecture's contributions were utilised in a successful *verdict*. However, the failure in securing legal success can be an important demonstration in determining the pervasiveness of systemic violence: violence in the field echoed by violence in the legal system. In context, visual evidence that seems irrefutable to the public has a regular history of failing to secure convictions demonstrating the extreme difference between judgment by public opinion as found in art and media versus judgment in a legal system. Consider the classic case of the Rodney King beating that sparked the Los Angeles riots in 1992 or David Joselit's essay about Eric Garner's documented asphyxiation by a police officer and the visual evidence's failure to convict, D. Joselit, 'Material Witness: Visual Evidence and the Case of Eric Garner', *Artforum*, vol.53, no.6, February 2015, available at <https://www.artforum.com/print/201502/material-witness-visual-evidence-and-the-case-of-eric-garner-49798> (last accessed on 22 January 2019).

59 Robert Jan van Pelt, *The Case for Auschwitz: Evidence From the Irving Trial*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002 and Pelt, R. J. van, Anne Bordeleau, Sascha Hastings and Donald McKay, *The Evidence Room*, Toronto: New Jewish Press, Anne Tanenbaum Centre for Jewish Studies, University of Toronto, 2016.

60 Ned Beauman, 'How to Conduct an Open-Source Investigation, According to the Founder of Bellingcat', *The New Yorker*, 30 August 2018, available at <https://www.newyorker.com/culture/culture-desk/how-to-conduct-an-open-source-investigation-according-to-the-founder-of-bellingcat> (last accessed on 22 January 2019).

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## Traces

More than a decade ago, 'Making Things Public' ambitiously mounted a new model for the exhibition - a 'hybrid forum' where representations of the 'political, scientific and artistic' could assert themselves apropos things. A rare manifesto in the twenty-first century written by Bruno Latour, two key points from *Dingpolitik* are worth returning to: first, 'Objects become things, that is, when matters of fact give way to their complicated entanglements and become matters of concern'; and second, 'Assembling is no longer done under the already existing globe or dome of some earlier tradition of building virtual parliaments. ... It's no longer limited to properly speaking parliaments but extended to the many other assemblages in search of a rightful assembly.'<sup>62</sup> Has the forensic turn in art responded to these propositions? One argument highlights a potential disagreement between contemporary practices versus Latour's 'Parliament of Things', but this is a polemic in itself.<sup>63</sup> 'Parliament of Things' as proposed in a monographic philosophical text at the beginning of the nineties shifted to a collaborative spatial forum of an exhibition; Latour's *Dingpolitik* anticipated a new forum that became multiple. And as much as *Dingpolitik* reacted against an ironically idealistic ghost of *Realpolitik*, so spring forth arguments for forensic art today.<sup>64</sup> Are today's exhibitions any less utopic despite their incessant claims to pragmatism within the expanded field of aesthetics? By pragmatism, I mean the entire spectrum of art claiming to exit the art world via political activism, visible restructuring of the institution as curatorial gestures (often only temporarily for an exhibition or season), highlighting programming as social outreach, or any other claim that the real value of the art is its function outside the gallery space. Could this pragmatism not be the ultimate idealism today positioning itself between a speculation art market's accelerated reach and the university continually defunded by a dying welfare state? Change the context, change the packaging?

By sampling five case studies, we begin to map a topology of various strategies working in overlapping assemblages: popular media - fine art - political-juridical - historical pedagogy - crowd-sourced journalism. Of course, these simple labels gloss over the complicated entanglements that connect one strategy to the next - despite stated intentions. A pedagogical project turns into spectacle. Claims to legal importance could lack any convictions. Open-source methods have assisted oppressive regimes. Aesthetic production often capitalises on suffering. Aspirations to objectivity can quickly be drowned out by the egotistical. Free journalism bankrupts the free press. The secret leaked as a press release. A ventriloquist caught with their hand up a transparent ghost. The political inverts into the poetic. The poetic abstracts into a violent politics. Over 60 years ago, Emmanuel Levinas challenged the foundation of ontology by writing: 'In doing what I willed to do, I did a thousand and one things I hadn't willed to do. The act was not pure; I left traces. Wiping away these traces, I left others.'<sup>65</sup>

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61 'The Hills of Raqqa - Geolocating the James Foley Video', available at <https://www.bellingcat.com/resources/case-studies/2014/08/23/the-hills-of-raqqa-geolocating-the-james-foley-video/> and 'Second Skripal Poisoning Suspect Identified as Dr. Alexander Mishkin' available at <https://www.bellingcat.com/news/uk-and-europe/2018/10/09/full-report-skripal-poisoning-suspect-dr-alexander-mishkin-hero-russia/> (both last accessed on 22 January 2019).

62 B. Latour, 'From Realpolitik to Dingpolitik: or How to Make Things Public', in B. Latour and P. Weibel (ed.), *Making Things Public*, *op.cit.*, p.31.

63 David Joselit has tried to position a schism between Latour and forensic processes. See D. Joselit, 'Material Witness: Visual Evidence and the Case of Eric Garner', *op.cit.*; 'Parliament of Things' is the last section of B. Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern* (trans. Catherine Porter), Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.

64 Substitute here for forensic art, forensic aesthetics, forensic architecture and other permutations.

65 Emmanuel Levinas, 'Is Ontology Fundamental?' (1951), *Entre-Nous: Thinking-of-the-other* (trans. Michael B. Smith and Barbara Harshav), London: Continuum, 2006, p.3.

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