Sophia's double: photography, archaeology, and modern Greece

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In the context of the entangled productions of scientific archaeology, photographic technologies, and the Greek nation-state, this article analyses the ancient Greek idea of the eidōlon (image, phantom, double) as a paradigm for photography. Sophia Engastromenou Schliemann presented herself for the camera as Helen of Troy and mobilized an ancient textual debate about Helen and her double and the Trojan War. This image of Sophia adorned in Trojan gold is widely known and little studied and, as this essay will explore, it circulated far beyond Sophia's control. Undergirding this article's historical contingencies is an exploration of the photograph as eidōlon.

On a day in the mid-1870s, likely in Athens, Greece, Sophia Engastromenou Schliemann, a young Greek woman, adorned herself in elaborate jewellery to sit for a photograph in the studio. (Fig. 1) A diadem runs around her forehead and her dark hair has been gathered high up behind its band. Linked strands of metal hang from the diadem down over each of her shoulders. A similar earring dangles from her right ear, and the angle leaves her left ear in shadow. A second pair of earrings hangs from the fabric of her dress between her collarbones, like a brooch. Rows of necklaces form a breastplate across her chest. Sophia displays this collection of jewellery for the camera.

This photograph was reproduced as an engraving and printed in the centre of a two-page spread in the British illustrated weekly paper *The Graphic* on 20 January 1877.[1] (Figs. 2–3) While the photograph on which this engraving is based circulated widely and is now well-known, this engraving appears to be the earliest extant dated print of its image.[2] The original negative is missing and its photographer unidentified, but Sophia must have adorned herself with the jewellery and sat for the photographer sometime between the summer of 1873 and the image's publication as an engraving in 1877. On 5 August 1873, her husband Heinrich, a businessman and

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[1] Edwards (1877: 62).

[2] In consultation with the archivist of the Gennadius Library, which holds the Heinrich and Sophia Schliemann Archives, Dr Natalia Vogeikoff-Brogan, I have determined no earlier dated contexts for the photograph.

Fig. 1. Unknown, *Sophia Schliemann wearing gold jewelry from Troy.* Photograph. American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Archives and Personal Papers, Sophia Schliemann Papers.

antiquarian, published a long, unillustrated article in the *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung*.[3] In his essay, 'Priam's treasure', Heinrich recounted discovering and removing jewellery from the site of Hisarlık (modern Çanakkale) in Ottoman Turkey, a site that he sought to associate with the ancient city of Troy, the home of King Priam and the site of the Trojan war recounted in the Homeric epic *The Iliad*. By first

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[3] Schliemann (1873: 1–2). This article drew on a diary entry dated 17 June 1873 in which Heinrich originally recorded his location at the time of writing as Athens but crossed this out and replaced it with Troja to suggest he wrote from the site in the immediate wake of discovery. See Easton (1994: 226) and Poole and Poole (1966: 144).

Fig. 2. Detail, *Mdme. Schliemann in the Parure of Helen of Troy*. Amelia Edwards, 'Dr. Schliemann's Discoveries at Mycenae', *The Graphic* (20 January 1877). Printed engraving.

publishing the archaeological discovery in a lengthy essay peppered with Homeric Greek in a widely read German newspaper, Heinrich sought to associate the site of Hisarlık and the ancient city of Troy in the public imagination and to link the soil from which he had lifted the gold and silver objects he described with a topographical layer of earth at the site that he claimed corresponded to the chronological time of the Trojan King Priam.
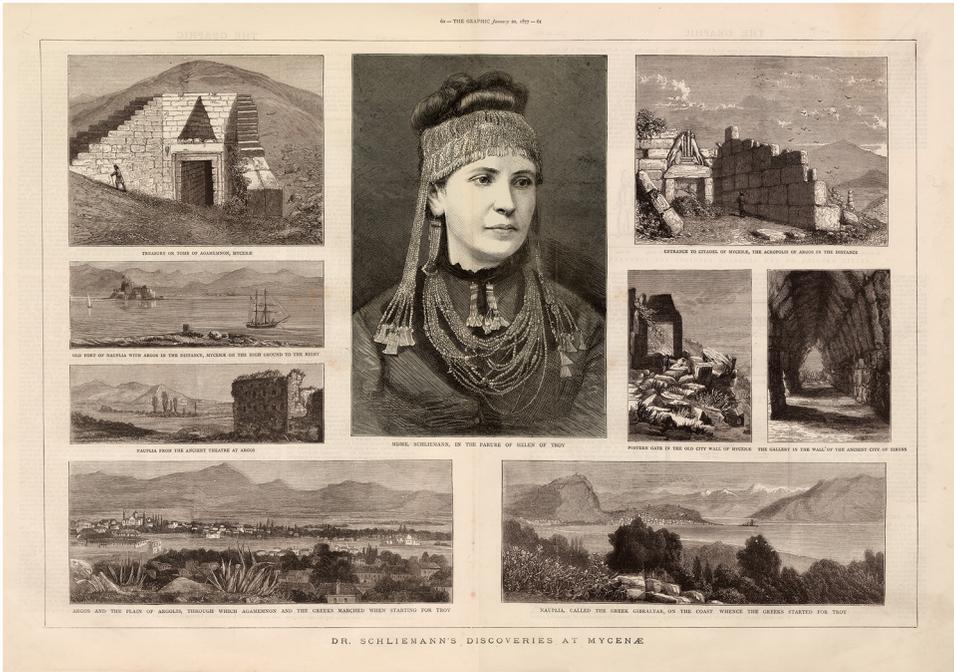
Fig. 3. *Mdme. Schliemann in the Parure of Helen of Troy*. Amelia Edwards, 'Dr. Schliemann's Discoveries at Mycenae', *The Graphic* (20 January 1877). Printed engraving.

Three years after this first, unillustrated announcement in the German press, *The Graphic* ran its engraving of Sophia adorned in jewellery with the caption: 'Mdme Schliemann in the parure of Helen of Troy'. Popular in the nineteenth century CE, a 'parure' is a set of jewellery, often earrings, necklace, and a brooch, designed to be worn together.[4] Staging the second pair of earrings as a brooch facilitated presenting this jewellery as such a set. In labelling the parure Helen's, the caption associated the jewellery and by extension its place of discovery with the mythical ancient Greek woman, Helen, the wife of Mycenaean King Menelaus whom Aphrodite trafficked to the Trojan prince Paris and over whom the decade-long war between the Greeks and Trojans that formed the plotline of *The Iliad* had been fought. The photograph, this engraving based on it, and its subsequent replications circulated an image of Sophia *as* Helen of Troy. In a note written from Heinrich to Sophia in 1876, he writes '[many] have admired a hundred times your photograph which I carry in my pocket book … ', perhaps referring to this photograph in particular.[5] Created, printed, and circulated sometime after Heinrich had reported the jewellery's discovery and removal from Hisarlık in the 1873 article, this photograph of Sophia and

[4] 'parure, n.'. OED Online. September 2021. Oxford University Press. https://www-oed-com.proxy1.library.jhu.edu/view/Entry/138359?redirectedFrom=parure (accessed 30 November 2021).

[5] Sophia Schliemann Archive, Gennadius Library. Box 1, folder 1, #69a.

its subsequent iterations produced a strange form of evidence for ancient Troy's material culture.

Through its staging the photograph also mobilized an ancient tradition about Helen's image (*eidōlon*) circulating in her stead. An *eidōlon* is the ancient Greek term for an image, double, or phantom.[6] Visual artists in the ancient Mediterranean represented an *eidōlon* either as a small figure with wings adjacent to the full-scale figure of which it serves as a double, or as a marked full-scale figure that acts within the scene alongside other figures.[7] As Ruth Bardel writes of encounters with *eidōla*, 'Each ghost story is, in fact, two stories: the story of how the ghost came to be a ghost and the story of one's encounter with the ghost (the Nekuia)'.[8] Fashioning herself as Helen of Troy in the late nineteenth century mobilized the ancient textual tradition of Helen's *eidōlon*, an animate image that moved through the world independently but maintained a tie to its living double. Crafted by non-human forces, an *eidōlon* stands in for the presence of its subject and moves across different times and geographies. Helen's ancient *eidōlon* resurfaces in this late nineteenth century photograph of Sophia.

As with Helen, decisions by men structured many of Sophia's circumstances, but within those circumstances she asserted her own power. At the age of forty-seven Heinrich had secured a 'copper bottom divorce' from his first wife, Ekaternina Petrovina Lyshin, by briefly establishing residency in Indianapolis.[9] Seeking a new, Greek wife, he selected Sophia, then seventeen, from a set of photographs of young Greek women shared with him by Archbishop Vimbos.[10] While photography formed the basis on which Sophia came to Heinrich's attention, photography also emerged as among the tools at Sophia's disposal to shape her future within circumstances initially determined by men. Our encounter with Sophia's image as Helen is both an encounter with the story of how Sophia came to present herself as Helen, and also the story of our encounter with an *eidōlon*.

This photograph of Sophia as Helen asserted several claims — to establish a genealogical continuity between ancient and modern Greeks via the body of modern Sophia costumed as ancient Helen, to authenticate the historicity of Homer and Homeric epic and to mark modern Hisarlık as the specific location of ancient Troy, and to facilitate

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[6] Examples of *eidōla* in literature include Homer *Odyssey* 4.796, 4.824, 4.835, 11.83, 11.213, 11.476, 11.602, 20.355, 24.14, *Iliad* 5.449, 5.451, 23.72; Herodotus *Histories* 1.51.23, 5.92.23, 6.58.20, Euripides *Phoenissae* 1543, Sophocles *Ajax* 126, *Philoctetes* 947, *Oedipus Coloneus* 110; Aristophanes *Clouds* 976, *Birds* 1393, throughout the Platonic dialogues, Plutarch *Life of Sulla* 27.4, 38.2, *Life of Agesilaus* 19.5, *Life of Galba* 22.5. Isocrates *Orat Nicocles* 7.9, *Antidosis* 255.9 and specific references to Helen's *eidōlon* includes Euripides *Electra* 1283 and Euripides *Helen* 34, 582, 683, 1136.

[7] Citing the example of Aeëtes's *eidōlon* on the 'Medea Vase,' Bardel (2000: 140–60) lays out the visual possibilities of depicting *eidōla* in ancient Greek art, with bibliography.

[8] Bardel (2000: 152).

[9] Traill (1982: 336–42); Taylor (2015).

[10] Traill (1993: 65).

German Philhellenism, as well as Franco- and Anglophone investments in Trojan heritage. Moving through the world as an *eidōlon*, Sophia's photograph, thus, traversed a vast timescale and also a wide geography, and this *eidōlon* continues to circulate and to expand its reach. Each section of this article is organized around a different aspect or moment of this *eidōlon* to trace both the story it circulates and the connection it maintains to the bodies of Sophia and Helen. Through the figure of Sophia, modern Greek light traced the concurrent developments of photographic technologies, scientific archaeologies, and the modern Greek nation state onto the photographic plate, producing an *eidōlon* that also circulated a theoretical paradigm for photography.[11]

One: Ancient Helen

The ancient Greek noun *eidōlon* has a rich and layered history.[12] In Homeric Greek the word refers to a divinely crafted double. In the *Iliad*, for example, Apollo crafts a double of the Trojan Aeneas to distract the Greek fighters (*Il.* 5.451). In the *Odyssey*, Athena crafts a double of Iphthime to calm Penelope (*Od.* 4.796). Herodotus uses the word to describe a gold statue dedicated at Delphi (*Histories* 1.51). An *eidōlon* in the Epicurean philosophical tradition refers to a transitional material form that moves between objects and a beholding eye (Epicur.Ep.1p.10U), eventually taking on the resonance of a dematerialized image in the mind's eye (Xenophon *Smp.* 4.21). Consistent across these different uses of *eidōlon* are concepts of crafting figural representation, doubling, and animacy. The *eidōlon* doubles its subject, and as this double it moves and acts quasi-independently in the world. These various meanings of *eidōlon* coalesce in ancient literary debates about the story of Helen, the mythical, half-mortal, superlatively beautiful woman of the Greek-speaking Bronze Age.[13]

To the Trojan prince Paris, the goddess Aphrodite promised her human counterpart, Helen, in exchange for Paris selecting her as 'the most beautiful' over Hera and Athena. This transaction set in motion the war between her husband Menelaus and his Greek-speaking allies and the Trojans, who are described by the Greeks as *barbarophōnos* ('strange-speaking').[14] Married to Menelaus, trafficked to Paris, returned to Sparta after the conclusion of the war fought over her, ancient Greek writers

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[11] The *eidōlon* as a paradigm for photography is distinct from earlier theorizations, such as the dialectic of *studium/punctum* (Barthes) or of photographies Foucauldian violence (Sontag, Tagg, Pinney), and more recent analysis of photography's world-making futurity (Silverman, Bajorek), light-driven movement, performance, and memory (Thompson). Notably, Barthes introduces the word *eidōlon* in connection with simulacrum on page nine but does not mobilize the term beyond that mention. Barthes and Dyer (2010: 9). Tagg (2009); Pinney (1997); Silverman (2015); Thompson (2015); Bajorek (2020). Yannis Hamilakis and Fotis Ifthantidis argue, as does Christopher Pinney in the context of India, that photography and archaeology in the Mediterranean were 'linked right from the start': Hamilakis and Ifthantidis (2015: 134).

[12] For a working definition, see Liddell, Scott, and Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon s.v. eidōlon*.

[13] Austin (1994); Segal (1971); Bassi (1993: 51–75); Nagy (2016).

[14] On attempts to reconstruct an Aryan language for the Trojans, see Baker (2020: 20).

remained divided about Helen's culpability in her own abduction and the possibility that she might have come to love her captor, Paris. Many Greek dramatists held Helen responsible for the effects of her exceptional face and the ensuing deaths of the war.[15]

The poet Stesichorus, however, wrote a palinode, preserved in a Hellenistic commentary (POxy 2506.26.1) and through citations by Plato (*Phaedrus* 243 A–B), in which he argued that Helen was never actually present at Troy. A palinode is a recantation or counterfactual mode of poetic composition that expresses different views from those expressed in an earlier poem.[16] The Hellenistic commentator faults Homer for telling the story as if the living Helen and not her image (*eidōlon*) were at Troy before recounting that Stesichorus wrote of an *eidōlon* of Helen that went to Troy to endure her forced marriage. Her real body remained in Egypt for the duration of the war, untouched by Trojan hands. Just as the palinode depends and acts on its ode, so does the *eidōlon* depend and act on the subject it doubles. In this, the *eidōlon* offers a way of thinking about photography.

Although theorists of photography do not name the Stesichorus tradition, they have engaged the idea of the palinode since Roland Barthes, who structured *Camera Lucida* (1980) in two equal sections of twenty-four chapters. Chapter Twenty-Four, 'Palinode,' marks the turning point in his book and some historians of photography have mobilized the palinode in their own analyses, although not always situating the term within its ancient Greek literary context.[17] Barthes also mentions the word *eidōlon* early in the book, and its cognate term, *eidos*, in the second half, organizing *eidōlon/eidos* in the ode/palinode of his text.[18] In the reception of Barthes's work on photography his latinate distinction between the *studium* (interest, study) and the metaphorical *punctum* (prick, cut, tiny hole) of a photograph has dominated.[19] As his brief mention of the *eidōlon* suggests, however, the idea (*eidos*) of the *eidōlon* floated over Barthes' text and through this over subsequent theories of photography that built from Barthes' work. The poetic relationship between ode and palinode, as demonstrated in Stesichorus's counter-narrative of Helen's double taking her place at Troy, figures the relationship between subject and *eidōlon*, a relationship also activated by photography.

Two: Sophia as Helen

Although Helen's ancient *eidōlon* is understood as three-dimensional (sculpted from air), it manifests in the nineteenth century as a two-dimensional photograph and its

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[15] Herodotos *Histories* 2.120; Sappho *Fragment* 16; Aeschylus *Agamemnon*.

[16] For an analysis of counterfactuals through the lens of Euripides and the story of Helen, see Wohl (2014: 142–159).

[17] In response to Barthes's structure, Gregory Batchen titles his introduction 'Palinode: an introduction to Photography Degree Zero' in Batchen (2009: 3–30). See also Batchen (2009–2010).

[18] Barthes and Dyer (2010: 9, 15, 60).

[19] Ibid., pp. 26–27.

subsequent prints and replications. Like an ancient *eidōlon*, a photograph asserts truth claims and partially authenticates its subject's being-in-the-world by offering a material witness to their presence. Costumed in the Trojan jewellery, Sophia posed herself for the camera to produce a photographic image of this 'face that launched a thousand ships'. The photograph of Sophia offered up a new kind of artistic visualization of Helen, whose beauty posed an artistic problem. Roman writers Cicero (*De Inv.* II.i.1–3) and Pliny (*NH* 35.64) both recount the story of the Greek painter Zeuxis, active in the fifth century BCE, who painted a portrait of Helen by assembling a group of attractive young women and painting the best part of each to assemble an image (latin: *simulacrum*) of superlative beauty. In contrast to this story in which Helen's beauty can only be realized through assemblage, Sophia's photograph presents her beauty all at once.[20] Instead, the pieced-together jewellery of the parure displace the pieced-together body-parts of Zeuxis's painting to mark Sophia as Helen in the image.

Sophia's photograph made several connected archaeological and historical claims: that the jewellery belonged together as a set (a parure), that this jewellery belonged to the chronological time and archaeological depth associated with the Trojan War, and that the jewellery had once touched the flesh of the mythological Helen, just as it now touched Sophia's flesh. Through the substitution of modern for ancient touch, this photograph presents Helen as a historical figure, fitting with Heinrich's investment in corroborating the historicity of Homer.[21] Taken potentially a year or more after Heinrich had illegally removed the jewellery from Hisarlık, the photograph nonetheless shored up Heinrich's claim that Sophia had been present at the moment of the jewellery's excavation. As archival documents show, however, Sophia was not actually a part of the jewellery's excavation and theft, nor was she even present at Hisarlık when Heinrich uncovered them.[22] Despite his public claims that Sophia had participated in the discovery, she had been at home in Athens. Heinrich's accounts of her role in the discovery and removal, like the photograph of Sophia in the jewellery, had been staged. Her photograph in the jewellery offered itself as an *eidōlon*, or substitute witness, just as Stesichorus claimed Helen's *eidōlon* had once journeyed to Troy in her stead.

A lengthy text recounting a version of the jewellery's extraction from Hisarlık accompanied the engravings of 1877 printed in *The Graphic*. This ran: 'Miss Amelia B. Edwards, author of "A Thousand Miles Up the Nile" sends us, with the portrait of Mrs. Schliemann, which we engrave, the following interesting account of her visit to the great antiquarian discoverer in Athens … '.[23] Edwards's account as recorded by the reporter differs from the version that Heinrich had previously laid out.[24] In this version, Sophia refilled the wine glasses of the Turkish labourers from whom he

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[20] On colour-marks running up against each other as a kind of painterly assemblage in modern painting, see Tuma (2002: 65).

[21] Wood (1824: 114).

[22] Traill (1993: 100, 238).

[23] Edwards (1877: 62).

[24] Schliemann (1873).

had wished to hide his discovery, serving as hostess to distract them while Heinrich extracted and hid the gold.[25] In contrast, in the German article of August 1873, Heinrich described using a bowie knife to remove gold objects and jewellery from the dirt at Hisarlık and passing each piece to Sophia ('always ready'), who tucked each object into her shawl.[26] Between Heinrich's German language article of 1873 and the English language account reported in 1877, Sophia's role remained central to the story of the extraction of the jewellery, but had shifted from that of excavator to distractor. Just as multiple versions of the story circulated, so did multiple forms or *eidōla* of Sophia's person.

In addition to sharing this account with Mrs. Edwards, Heinrich 'presented the writer with a photographic portrait of his wife, attired in the golden frontlet and head-chains and other precious ornaments identified by Mr. Gladstone with the *ampux* (frontlet) and *anadesmé* ('headband') of Homer. "I give you as a souvenir of this visit,' said Dr. Schliemann, 'a portrait of Madame Schliemann in the parure of Helen."'[27] Edwards corroborates the 'excellent likeness' of the photograph to Sophia Schliemann, offering her own eye-witness account of Sophia's appearance to emphasize the truth claims of the photographic *eidōlon*. The photograph offers an alibi for Heinrich's lie that Sophia was not only present, but active in his excavation of the jewellery from the soil at Hisarlık. [28] In this sense, the photograph works on Sophia's behalf — doubling her and allowing her to remain elsewhere while it moves through the world. If the animate ancient *eidōlon sculpted from air* moved and breathed, the photograph achieved animacy through its capacity to replicate and circulate, producing from a single *eidōlon* many *eidōla*.

Sophia dressed and sat for this portrait photograph and the image labours on her behalf, replicating and circulating to move about in the world. Replication and circulation were among of the most important aspects of photographic technology. While the positive image of the daguerreotype could not be replicated mechanically, the negative of Fox Talbot's calotype enabled serially printing positive images onto paper.[29] Such replications could circulate widely as Sophia's *eidōlon* did. As it circulates, the photograph also acts independently of its subject and circulates beyond her authorial control.[30] This was also true for Helen and her ancient *eidōlon*, which

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[25] Edwards (1877: 62).

[26] In the article Heinrich described Sophia as 'immer bereit': Schliemann (1873).

[27] Edwards (1877: 62).

[28] The published list of Sophia's incoming correspondence in 1873 and David Traill' s extensive analysis of the Schliemann archive demonstrate that Sophia was not in Turkey at the time of the jewellery's excavation. See American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Archives and Personal Papers, Sophia Schliemann Papers and Trail (1993: 155–66).

[29] Fox Talbot named his process the calotype from the ancient Greek *kalos* (beautiful). On daguerrotypes and antiquarians in Greece see Bohrer (2015: 96–7).

[30] This difficulty that subjects, especially women, have in retaining control of their images extends to modernity: Ratajkowski (2020).

moved about independently from her, but could not be fully separated from her. Neither Helen nor Sophia escapes the actions of and reactions to their *eidōla*. Across space and time, each *eidōlon* remains connected to its subject even as it circulates and acts beyond its subject.

Three: Prints and death masks

Sophia's *eidōlon* in *The Graphic* did not operate alone. Costumed as Helen, she looks out from the largest and most central engraving at the centre of the page, and seven other engravings frame her image.[31] These engravings picture landscapes and sea-scapes of modern Greece populated by ancient ruins filtered through the mytho-his-torical Homeric past. The newspaper's fold creases through Sophia's face, dividing the image vertically, straight through to the caption underpinning the whole set to split the 'S' of 'Schliemann's Discoveries at Mycenae'. Rather than pairing her image with scenes from the excavations at Hisarlık, this set of engravings visualized the connection between Troy and Mycenae that the Schliemanns sought to docu-ment archaeologically.[32] Helen's movement between Mycenae and Troy sets off the war that forms the basis for *The Iliad*, and Sophia's Helen stages that connection in modernity. In addition, the layout in *The Graphic* not only supported her supposed role in excavating the jewellery at Troy, but also published accounts of her work excavating Mycenae.[33] Centring Sophia in the Trojan gold and situating her through the surrounding images at Mycenae affirmed the Homeric connection between the two cities forged in and through the trafficked body of Helen and made visible in modernity through Sophia.

Framing Sophia's *eidōlon* with images from the excavations at Mycenae asserted two visual claims. First, these engravings situated the Schliemanns's archaeological work in Ottoman Turkey within the mytho-historical framework of the Mycenaean Greek Bronze Age world in which Helen or her *eidōlon* moved between Sparta and Troy and Greek-speaking allies followed, returning home again after the war. Second, framing Sophia's *eidōlon* with scenes of Greek Mycenae staked a modern Greek claim to this jewellery that Heinrich had removed from Ottoman Turkey on the basis of a mythical ancient Greek victory in the Trojan War. Helen, wife of Menelaus of Sparta, returned to Mycenae after the war had ended. This assemblage of prints suggest that Helen returned to Mycenae with her parure. In reality, the col-lection of jewellery worn by Sophia in the image had been removed from Ottoman

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[31] The captions of the seven engravings framing the portrait of Sophia read as follows: 'Treasury, or tomb, of Agamemnon, Old Fort of Nauplia … ', 'Entrance to the Citadel … ', 'Postern Gate in the Old City Wall … ', 'The Gallery in the Ancient City of Tiryns', — 'Nauplia from the ancient theater at Argos', 'Argos and the plain of Argolis Through Which Agamemnon and the Greeks Marched When Starting for Troy', and 'Nauplia, called the Greek Gibralter, Whence the Greeks Started for Troy'.

[32] Baker (2020: 22).

[33] Edwards (1877: 62).

soil in the summer of 1873 and then smuggled to Athens. Removing the jewellery from Turkey violated the terms of Heinrich's excavation permit and alienated the Ottoman government.[34] Amidst ongoing negotiations in pursuit of future permits to continue excavating at Hisarlık, Heinrich began excavating at Mycenae. By juxtaposing Sophia's image as Helen with scenes from the excavations at Mycenae, *The Graphic* situates Helen as home again and implies that both Helen and her jewellery belong there, returned from their long sojourn at Troy.

While Sophia's photograph worked to authenticate archaeological claims about the site of Troy and its relationship to Homeric epic, at Mycenae Heinrich negotiated this relationship between archaeology and epic through the death mask. There, Heinrich reportedly discovered a series of gold death masks, including one that he claimed traced the face of Menelaus's brother, Agamemnon.[35] Although debates about the gold mask's authenticity persist, the facial features pressing out from the gold sheeting continue to capture public imagination.[36]

In a process that required taking a mould from the ancient gold death mask, Emile Gilliéron produced electroform copies manufactured in Baden-Württemburg that presented themselves as traces of a trace of the dead Mycenaean king.[37] The relationship between death masks and photography has been well-documented as media that both bear indexical traces of their subjects.[38] Both technologies also allowed for replications of the original to circulate widely, the negative as photographic prints and the death mask as casts in materials from plaster to electroform.[39] Modern death masks, as Patrick Crowley explores, aligned with ancient practices of taking a mould of the face of the corpse, and these ancient death masks embody photographic processes in the deep past.[40] The relationship between the technology of the death mask and the technology of the photograph has also been loosely triangulated through the association of the *eidōlon* with phantoms and death. For example, Barthes briefly invokes the term *eidōlon*, calling it 'a kind of little simulacrum'.[41] This invocation reinforces the spectral materiality of such doubles.

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[34] On the Ottoman Empire and cultural heritage, see Eldem (2011: 281–330). On the role of the Ottoman governor of Morea, Veli Pasha, in the dispersal of Greek antiquities and 'cross-cultural, trans-imperial encounters,' see Neumeier (2017: 135–39).

[35] Traill (1995).

[36] On the claim that the mask is fake, see Harrington, Calder, Traill, Demarkopoulou, and Lapatin (1999: 51–59). For a counter-argument see Dickinson (2005: 299–308).

[37] On the copy, which was manufactured by and sold by the Württemberg Electroplate Company, see Abramitis (2011). Both the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the British Museum are among the museums that have collected these early twentieth century copies: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Dodge Fund, 1906 (06.224), The British Museum 1908,1230.3.

[38] Krauss (1978: 30). See also Athanassoglou-Kallmyer (2001).

[39] Lindsay (2000: 481).

[40] Crowley (2016: 64–103).

[41] Barthes and Dyer (2010: 9).

In both the death mask of Agamemnon and the photograph of Sophia as Helen, however, gold, an unchanging material of endurance, counters the spectral ambiguity of these technologies. Called the touchstone (*basanos*), gold was celebrated in antiquity for not tarnishing or losing its colour over time.[42] Moulded on the face of the corpse, the gold death mask claims contact with the Mycenaean king and remains as bright and untarnished in modernity as it would have been in antiquity.[43] What would have been realized through the touch of the gold against dead flesh, we see in the form given to the gold material of the mask, merging haptic and optic evidence. Through a related haptic operation, the gold jewellery touches Sophia's face and hair in the photograph, replicating its possible contact with Helen's face and hair in the past. Visualizing touch through the materiality of gold, both the photograph and the death mask claim evidentiary status.

While *The Graphic* assemblage does not picture the gold death mask at all, the mask hovers over the scene through the other images of Mycenae that frame the central image of Sophia as Helen. Since these images are printed in black and white, the gold colour of the jewellery must be mentally added back to the engraving. To one undated iteration of the photograph of Sophia as Helen, however, an unknown artist has added back gold colour to the jewellery, while leaving the rest of the image untouched.[44] (Fig. 4) Through the addition of yellow colour, this photograph invokes the gilding of statues and marks the steadfastness of the gold jewellery and traces a genealogy from Sophia to Helen to 'golden Aphrodite'.[45] Gold's unchanging colour contrasted sharply with the spectral instability of photographic printing and of modern colour processes. The artist added gold colour to the jewellery in the photograph but not to Sophia's face, body, or clothing.[46] Adding colour only to the jewellery casts Sophia not as the modern embodiment of living ancient Helen so much as of her marble bust, gilded only in her adornments. Constructing Sophia as a white marble bust of Helen deepened Sophia's connection to ancient Greece through her performance as a portrait bust, while also playing on early photography's investment in a monochrome marble antiquity, an investment that shored up a

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[42] Kurke (1999: 42).

[43] On the steadfastness of gold in ancient Greek thought, see Kurke (1999: 42–58). On death masks see Lindsay (2000: 482 and 494) for examples of Henri IV and Napoleon.

[44] Bahrani, Çelik, and Eldem (2011: 24–25, fig. 15).

[45] Examples include the gilded marble statues and statuettes have been discovered across the Mediterranean, including examples from Athens, Delos, and Pompeii. A white marble statue of Venus with gilded the adornments excavated by of A. Maiuri in 1954 from a house at Pompeii with gilded jewelry and adornments (first century CE, MANN 152798). On gilded marble statues excavated from Delos, see Bourgeois and Jockey (2009: 645–62). On gilded honorific statues in Athens, see Stewart (2012: 267–342). On Aphrodite's epithet, see the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite, ln 1, in Rayor (2014: 86).

[46] On adding colour to nineteenth century photographs see Machado (2010: 48–59).

Fig. 4. *Mrs. Schliemann wearing jewellery from 'Priam's Treasure.'* Undated photograph with added colour.

picture of the classical past and those claiming its inheritance in modernity as white. This subsequent addition of gold colour to the jewellery emphasized the black and white in which the rest of her image remained, crafting Sophia's body into a white sculptural bust on which to display the unchanging gold and on which to train the photographic lens.

Four: Plaster busts and stratigraphic shelves

Since photography's inception, photographers had embraced the still monochrome, forms of Greek and Roman sculpture.[47] Conditioned by replicatory technologies such as glyptic arts, cast-production, and print-making, by the mid-nineteenth century the public did not expect replicated images, whether in-the-round or on paper, to reproduce an object's polychrome materiality.[48] This rendered the black and white palette of early photography relatively unproblematic. Graeco-Roman sculptures and casts were considered ideal subjects for the long exposure times required by early photography because their colours were not deemed essential to their forms.

In *The Pencil of Nature*, a demonstration of his photographic processes that he hand-printed in fascicules between 1844 and 1846, William Henry Fox Talbot included two different photographic views of the same white plaster bust of a man.[49] The first image of the bust, a salt paper print from a calotype paper negative dated 9 August 1842, appeared in the first fascicule in 24 June 1844. (Fig. 5) Beneath it, Fox Talbot's text reads: 'Statues, busts, and other specimens of sculpture, are generally well represented by the Photographic Art; and also very rapidly, in consequence of their whiteness'.[50] The second image of this bust, Fox Talbot photographed in profile on 9 August 1843 and printed in fascicule four on 21 June 1845.[51] (Fig. 6)

Fox Talbot made dozens of images of this bust from different angles and under different lighting conditions.[52] He named this generic bust 'Patroclus', Achilles's lover and comrade in the *Iliad*. Fox Talbot's calotype offered up a portrait of the Homeric hero, much as Sophia's portrait as Helen sought to do thirty years or so later. While ancient Greek and Roman statues and their casts provided Fox Talbot with fitting subjects for his photographic experiments, and a model against which Sophia could position her self-fashioning as Helen, these photographs of statues also fit within a wider nexus of his scholarly interests.

Due to disciplinary boundaries separating the study of art practice and philology and a focus on uncovering the early technological history of photography, study of Fox Talbot's photographic archive has been cut off from material documenting his explorations in Mathematics, Botany, Philology, Entomology, Assyriology, Classics,

[47] Marcoci, Batchen, and Bezzola (2010). 'A country founded in 1830, modern Greece grew hand in hand with photographic modernity,' Carabott, Hamilakis, and Papargyriou (2015: 3). On the different photographic techniques that specialists wielded to evoke different elements of ancient Greek and Roman sculpture, see Klamm (2017: 50–66).

[48] Baker (2010: 485–500).

[49] Talbot 1844–46; Schaaf (2012: 99–120). All images in *The Pencil of* Nature were original photographic prints produced using sunlight on a specially coated salt paper: Schaaf (2012: 100); Batchen (2010: 23).

[50] Talbot 1844–46, p. 23, pl. V.

[51] The text beneath the second image reads 'another view of the bust which figures in the fifth plate of this work,' Talbot 1844–46, p. 47, pl. XVII.

[52] See the William Henry Fox Talbot Catalogue Raisonné, directed by Larry Schaaf, https://talbot.bodleian.ox.ac.uk
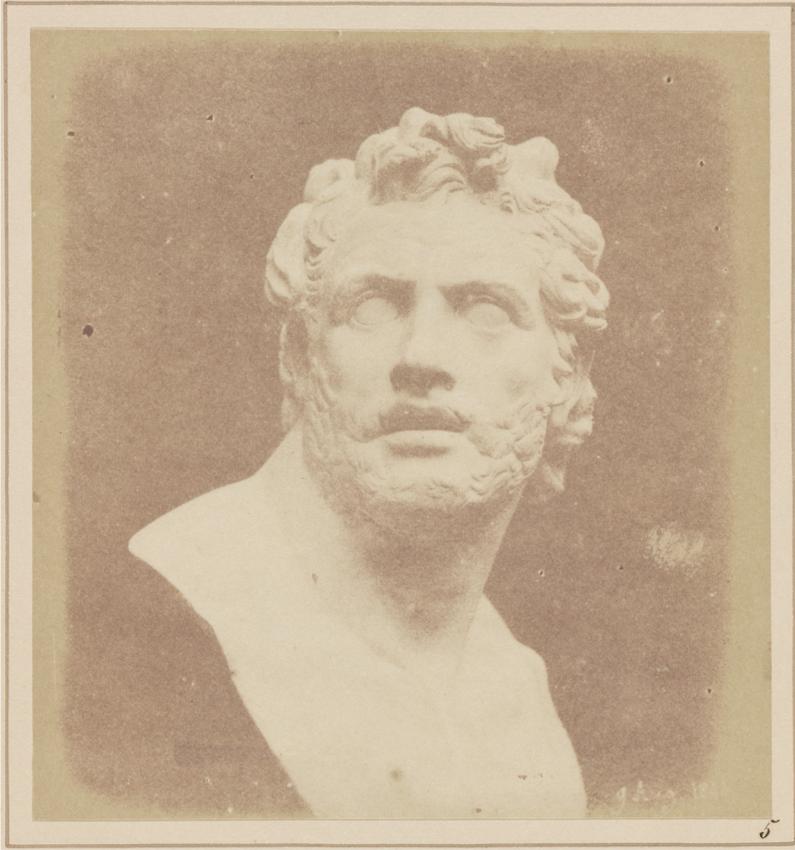
Fig. 5. William Henry Fox Talbot, *Bust of Patroclus*, 9 August 1842. Salted paper print. *The Pencil of Nature*, Plate V, p. 23. Location: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

and Photography.[53] Analysing Talbot interests together, across belated disciplinary differences, allows us to reframe Talbot's photographs as not only art, but also research, and this opens up avenues for understanding how these seemingly different areas of inquiry inflected each other in his practice.[54]

In pursuit of his interest in deciphering cuneiform, Fox Talbot repeatedly sought photographs produced by Roger Fenton for the British Museum of Henry Layard's clay tablets from Nineveh, which had begun arriving at the museum in the 1840s.[55] Although the museum put him off repeatedly, they eventually shared photographs

[53] Brusius, Dean, and Ramalingam (2013).

[54] Bringing together over 360 personal notebooks belonging to Talbot and traversing a range of subject areas, Brusius, Dean, and Ramalingam (2013) engage a framework of 'materialized epistemology' to think about the matrix of Talbot's interests as modes of research.

[55] Brusius (2013); on Fox Talbot's 'decipherment event' in Assyriology, see Robson (2013: 193–218).

Fig. 6. William Henry Fox Talbot, *Bust of Patroclus*, 9 August 1843. Salted paper print. *The Pencil of Nature*, Plate XVII, p. 47. Location: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

of a selection of cuneiform tablets, and Fox Talbot wrote directly on these prints in pencil, annotating the photographs of the cuneiform texts with his own writing.[56] While Fox Talbot annotated these photographs for his personal use as part of his efforts to decipher and translate the cuneiform texts, Heinrich used a similar strategy of hand annotating photographs in his 1874 publication of a volume of photographic images, *Atlas trojanischer Alterthümer: Photographische Abbildungen zu den Berichte über die Ausgrabungen in Troja.*

Between his initial publication of the discovery of the jewellery in 1873 and the longer essay in *The Graphic* in 1877, Heinrich sought to counter those who doubted his identification of Hisarlık with Troy and of his discoveries there with the Late Bronze Age world of the Trojan War by thoroughly illustrating his

[56] Brusius (2013, fig. 90). His work on decipherment continued into the 1870s, contemporary with Heinrich's publication of the *Atlas* and Sophia engraving as Helen appearing in *The Graphic*, and, as Eleanor Robson argues, images of Assyrian creatures coming out of the field in addition to the growing cuneiform lexicon inflected his translation choices.

archaeological finds.[57] Notably, Heinrich's title combined the mapping of an atlas with the documentary possibility of photography. He was among the first archaeologists to use photography in combination with drawing in the field, a practice for which Fox Talbot had advocated with other archaeologists.[58] The album does not include the photograph of Sophia wearing the gold. Instead, towards the very end, Henrich hand labelled a series of plates 'Treasure of Priam' (198–207). Plate 204, for example, depicts a set of wooden shelves on which Heinrich arranged an assemblage of objects. The pieces of jewellery have been hooked into flat boards that have been propped up on the shelves to render them more visible amidst the vessels, tools, and sculptures sitting on the shelves.[59] (Fig. 7) While Sophia's image had gathered the jewellery together on her face and torso, now each item has been spread out for display on placards, suggesting a parallel between Sophia and the placard as material support for the jewellery.

On the print of the shelves, Heinrich handwrote (in French) the depth (8.5 m) at which he claimed to have excavated each of the objects laid out on the shelves.[60] This emphasis on depth connected his photographs with the practice of stratigraphic excavation, which associated vertical changes in the soil and material with temporal shifts.[61] Rather than photographing his deep cut into the archaeological site, Heinrich photographed the objects he had removed from the earth on rows of shelves and then added a handwritten measurement of depth to craft a different, no less subjective, sort of stratigraphy.[62]

With his handwritten annotations, Heinrich recorded a trace of his own presence while also creating something between a photograph and a diagram for the *Atlas*. Photo-diagrams in early twentieth century press photographs overlaid explanatory diagrams over photographs in order to clarify indecipherable images without losing the evidentiary claims of photography, and Heinrich deploys a related practice in the *Atlas*.[63] Heinrich's handwritten notes augmented the evidentiary possibility of the

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[57] Schliemann (1873). Despite the title, many of the plates were photographs of archaeological drawings of ceramics, terracotta vessels, stone tools, flints, pot sherds, and depictions of archaeological labor. Photographs in *Atlas trojanischer Alterthümer* were reserved for several stelai and a relief, the objects on shelves, and landscape scenes of Hisarlık. In the English translation of Heinrich's *Atlas*, the editor, Philip Smith, had draftsmen redraw the images that he selected from the original photographs, Smith, 'Introduction', *v-vi*. On the role of the atlas and the Trojan exhibition, see Baker (2020: 50–51; 60–94).

[58] Marchand (1996: 106–07). On Fox Talbot encouraging Charles Fellows to use photography in the field at Halicarnassos, see Brusius (2013).

[59] On the use of dark cardboard in the photography of antiquities, see Klamm (2017: 51).

[60] On Heinrich's use of depths in the South Kensington exhibition, see Baker (2020: 45–54, fig. 7).

[61] Guidi and Tarantini (2017: 139–54); Harris (1979).

[62] In the English translation of *Atlas*, the editor reproduced all photographs as drawings, and added Heinrich's depths. Smith (1885: vi–xi). On the subjectivity of stratigraphic photography, see Naginski (2001: 151).

[63] Bear (2011: 325–44).

Fig. 7.   Heinrich Schliemann, 'Trésor de Priam découvert a 8 1/2 mètres du profondeur', in *Atlas trojanischer Alterthümer: Photographische Abbildungen zu den Berichte über die Ausgrabungen in Troja*. 1874. Photograph with ink. American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Archives and Personal Papers, Heinrich Schliemann Papers.

Fig. 8.   William Henry Fox Talbot, *Articles of China*, 1844. Salted paper print. Detroit Institute of Art. Founders Society Purchase, Lee and Tina Hills Graphic Arts Fund.

archaeological photograph with additional information that the image could not capture by photographic means alone. He authored a new document with his overlaid handwriting, one that derived its authority from the combination of handwriting, measurements, collection, and the photographic trace.

In relation to the images of the shelves from Heinrich's *Atlas*, two images from Fox Talbot's *The Pencil of Nature* bear mention — 'Articles of China' (1844) and 'Articles of Glass on Three Shelves' (before June 1844).[64] (Figs. 8–9) Both photographs depict objects arrayed on shelves, a setup that Fox Talbot appreciated for its all-at-once-ness.[65] In his *Atlas*, Heinrich collected, arranged, and photographed excavated objects and jewellery on shelves to produce a similar 'all-at-once-ness' that he sought to associate with Priam's treasure and the time of the Trojan War.

Although Sophia does not appear in the annotated photograph of objects on shelves in the *Atlas*, the combination of textual accounts of her presence at the time of the jewellery's excavation and circulation of her photograph wearing the jewellery

[64]   Fox Talbot also produced a standalone image *Classical Statuettes on Three Shelves* (1841), on which see Batchen (2010: 23).

[65]   William Henry Fox Talbot, *Articles of China*. Salted paper print. 1844. J. Paul Getty Museum 84.XO.1369.3.

connects her to these images of stratigraphic shelves without being pictured. To stage her own portrait as Helen, Sophia combined two different photographic strategies from Fox Talbot's *The Pencil of Nature* that had also informed Heinrich's publication of objects in the *Atlas* — the portrait bust and the assemblage. The photographic strategies both of Fox Talbot's 'Bust of Patroclus' and of 'Articles of China' merge in Sophia's portrait. Sophia unhooked the gold jewellery from its arrangement on placards and adorned herself in the diadem, many necklaces, and earrings, unifying the assemblage through its shared arrangement on her person. She held herself still for the camera to produce her own *eidōlon*. These haptic procedures establish Sophia as a material witness to the gold jewellery's status as a touchstone and make her into Helen's *eidōlon*. The photograph touches and authenticates the jewellery, Sophia, and Helen. Just as Heinrich's handwritten measurements of depth blur the distinction between photography and drawing, so did the engraving of Sophia's photograph as Helen in *The Graphic* draw on the evidentiary claims of photography, while mobilizing the clarity of engraving. Engravings of photographs, photographs

Fig. 9. William Henry Fox Talbot, *Articles of Glass*, 1844. Salted paper print from calotype negative. Andrew R. and Martha Holden Jennings Fund 1992.121, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio, USA.

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of drawings, and writing onto the photographic print operate in tandem as evidentiary modes of archaeological documentation that craft Sophia's *eidōlon*.

Five: Performing Hellenism

Sophia's self-fashioning as Helen drew on her existing experience with photography and costuming, and, by the time she posed adorned in the jewellery, she was already a veteran subject of the photographic lens.[66] In 1870, for example, Sophia dressed in traditional modern Greek folk clothes — ankle-length dress, patterned apron, long sleeved jacket, head-covering — and posed in the studio of prominent photographer Petros Moraites for a carte de visite.[67] (Fig. 10) Three years after posing for Moraites in folk dress, Sophia posed for the Rhomaides brothers in a flounced Victorian day dress, accompanied by her daughter Andromache.[68] (Fig. 11) Throughout her life, Sophia fashioned herself in various modes for the camera, including wearing German *Tracht* (folk costume), Victorian day and evening dresses, and pictured against artificial landscape backdrops. Thus, Sophia's self-fashioning as Helen was one among many images she chose to perform in a moment of photography's increasing technological maturity and accessibility.

Fuelled by increasing shutter speeds and greater print traction, antiquarian photographers such as Francis Frith, Maxime du Camp, and Frances Bedford had documented streetscapes and archaeological remains throughout the Middle East, Egypt, and the Mediterranean.[69] Victorian photography was not only, however, a colonizing practice of consumption, but also one of local self-fashioning.[70] Indigenous and itinerant photographers in the Mediterranean region in the nineteenth century set up studios in major cities, including Istanbul, Cairo, Beirut, and Athens.[71] These studios often included costumes for sitters, and in combination with the financial accessibility of the medium, these afforded patrons the opportunity to try on different costumes and with them the possibility of different subject positions.[72]

In addition to photographing Sophia in folk dress, the photographer Petros Moraites captured the complexities of modern Greek self-fashioning within the

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[66] See Stathatos (2015: 28). For a select corpus of photographs of Sophia Schliemann from the Melas collection, see: https://www.ascsa.edu.gr/archives/schliemann-photos-series-j

[67] The carte de visite is inscribed in Greek 'To my dear spouse from your beloved wife.' On Moraites, who eventually became the official court photographer of the Greek monarchy, see Stathatos (2015: 30).

[68] Moraites' other studio subjects included then Duke of Edinburgh. Moraites also collaborated with Pascal Sebah, who practiced in Istanbul and Cairo: Hannoosh (2016: 5).

[69] Frith (1862a; 1862b; 1862c); Thompson and Francis (2015); Du Camp (2016).

[70] On the layered social stratigraphy of indigeneity, see Neumeier (2017: 134–60). On the history of nineteenth century photography in Greece, see Tsirgialou (2015: 77–94). Hamilakis, Anagnostopoulos and Ifantidis (2009: 283–309).

[71] Hannoosh (2016: 3–27). Çelik and Eldem (2015).

[72] Hannoosh (2016: 16–17). On the colonial powers of photography, see Cole (2019).

Π. ΜΩΡΑΪΤΗΣ   ΦΩΤΟΓΡΑΦΟΣ.

Fig. 10.   Petros Moraites, *Portrait of Sophia Schliemann, née Engastromenos, in Greek costume*, carte de visite, ca. 1870. Inscribed in Greek 'To my dear spouse from your beloved wife, Sophia Schliemann'. American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Archives and Personal Papers, Heinrich Schliemann Papers.

Fig. 11. Rhomaides brothers, *Sophia Schliemann, née Engastromenos, and her daughter Andromache*, carte de visite, ca. 1877. American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Heinrich Schliemann Papers.

studio and also at the archaeological site. Many nineteenth century photographers working in Greece, including Moraites, often emphasized the special quality of 'Greek light', which 'became a topos, an identifiable trademark, and, eventually, a commodity'.[73] Like many traveling and local photographers, Moraites captured

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[73] Carabott, Hamilakis and Papargyriou (2015: 4).

Fig. 12. Petros Moraites, *Parthenon, from the northwest*, 1870, Albumen silver print 37.3 × 50.5 cm (14 11/16 × 19 7/8 in.), 85.XM.368.1 The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

this light in the context of topographical images of ancient ruins in Athens.[74] These include buildings like the Temple of Zeus, the Hephaisteon, the Erechtheion, the monument to Philopappos, and a series on the Parthenon.[75] The Acropolis marked the modern Greek state's ties to its ancient past and emerged as a favourite subject of photographers.[76] In the same year that he photographed Sophia in traditional Greek folk dress in his studio, 1870, Moraites also produced two different albumen prints of the Parthenon.[77] In one viewed from the Northwest, seven men have positioned themselves amidst the ancient stones on the Acropolis, standing on the steps and between the columns of the outer colonnade of the Parthenon. (Fig. 12) In the

[74] Petros Moraites, *Figure from the Frieze, at the Parthenon*, ca. 1860s. Albumen silver print. Location: SFMOMA; Petros Moraites, *The Philopappos Monument*. Athens, Greece. 1860s. Albumen silver print. 24.6 × 24.9 cm. Location: The Getty Museum.

[75] On photographs of the Parthenon see Bohrer (2015: 96–105).

[76] Hamilakis and Ifantidis (2015: 135).

[77] The oldest extant daguerreotype of the Acropolis dates to 1842 taken by Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey, while several aquatint images based in daguerrotypes were taken by de Lothbinière in 1840–44. On these see Pinson et al. (2019: plates 34–43, and p. 167).

[78] *The Parthenon from the southwest*, 1870, 2013.019.63. On the exclusion of human presence, Tsirgialou (2015: 83).

Fig 13. Petros Moraites. *The Parthenon from the Southwest from an album of photographs entitled Egypt, Turkey, Greece.* 1870. albumen print. Image Size: 9 5/8 x 13 3/16 inches Object Size: 12 15/16 x 18 inches. Middlebury College 2013.019.63, Purchase with funds provided by the Fine Arts Acquisition Fund.

second viewed from the Southwest, Moraites has rid the image of modern bodies to isolate the ancient architectural body.[78] (Fig. 13) The first image staged the complexity of late nineteenth century Athens in which modern subjects negotiated ancient sites and their relationship to that deep past. The second image, in contrast, offered up the ancient ruin sanitized of any modern inhabitants.[79] In producing these *eidōla* of modern citizens and classical ruins, photographers like Moraites contributed to the process of nation-building, not only enticing travellers, but also establishing claims to this heritage.[80]

More recently, Jean-François Bonhomme's photograph *Photographer on the Acropolis* (IX) (Fig. 14) took up this practice of photographing the Acropolis, a practice woven into the early history of photography. Bonhomme's photograph depicts a photographer seated, legs crossed and chin tucked, on a stone block up on the

[79] Between the studio and the archaeological site, Moraites's practice traces the entanglement of the seemingly distinct categories of photography of Greece and Greek photography, Carabott, Hamilakis, and Papargyriou (2015: 3).

[80] Photography aided the construction of Greek national identity, on which see Stathatos (2015: 32).

Fig. 14. Jean-François Bonhomme. *Photographer on the Acropolis* (IX). 1996. © 2022 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / ADAGP, Paris

Acropolis, with his camera standing on a tripod to his right, draped for shade and displaying small photographs along the side of the camera. This setup evokes Girault de Prangey's daguerrotype of the façade and north colonnade of the Parthenon (1842), the earliest extant photograph of the Acropolis, in which a tripod and camera may be visible in the centre of the frame, while ongoing scaffolding remains visible

Fig. 15.   Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey. *Facade and North Colonnade of the Parthenon on the Acropolis, Athens*, 1842, Daguerreotype. 18.8 × 24 cm (7 3/8 × 9 7/16 in.), 2003.82.2. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

at left.[81] (Fig. 15) While de Prangey's daguerreotype could not be serially replicated, Bonhomme stages a different kind of replicatory possibility in his evocation of de Prangey's setup and the idea that the Acropolis complex might be a site of continuous construction and photographic work. In his commentary to accompany the series of Bonhomme's photographs, *Athens, Still Remains*, Derrida takes *Photographer on the Acropolis* (IX) as the central image of the series. He writes: 'Configured on the scene or stage of a single image, accumulated in the studied disorder of a pre-arranged taxonomy, there's an example, a representative, a sample of all visible aspects, of all the *species, idols, icons,* or *simulacra* of possible things, of "ideas," if you will, of all those shown in this book'.[82] Derrida, like Cicero and Barthes, uses the Latinate word *simulacra* to describe the ideas that Bonhomme captured in *Photographer on the Acropolis* (IX). Unnamed in his text is the very word, *eidōla*, that his string of alternatives — species, idols, icons, simulacra, ideas — seeks to define, performing the double's presence through cognates and etymologies. *Photographer on the Acropolis*

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[81]   Pinson et al. (2019: Plate 39).

[82]   Derrida (2010: 21).

Fig. 16. Jean–François Bonhomme. *The Parthenon* (XI). 1996. © 2022 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / ADAGP, Paris

(IX) evokes many of the other images and ideas of the book and in this way works as an *eidōlon* of Bonhomme's photographic series and Derrida's commentary.

Another photograph in Bonhomme's series, *The Parthenon* (XI), (Fig. 16) highlights a large camera draped for shade and set up in front of the Parthenon. Small photographs, including those of the Parthenon reminiscent of those taken by Moraites and others in the nineteenth century, are displayed along the side of

the camera, as in *Photographer on the Acropolis* (IX). To photograph the Parthenon, Bonhomme argues, is to join and replicate a practice active since the early days of photography. Each individual photograph can be replicated serially, allowing the image to circulate, while each photographer, as Bonhomme's images capture, also replicates the practice of photographing this subject.

In his analysis of Bonhomme's series, Derrida cites three temporalities of the photography of Athens, the 'ancient, archaeological, or mythological Athens that is gone and that shows the body of its ruins', the present Athens that will pass, and the future Athens that will also eventually die. 'Three deaths, three instances, three temporalities of death in the eyes of photography—or, if you prefer—since photography makes appear in the light of the *phainesthai*, three 'presences' of disappearance, three phenomena of the being that has "disappeared" or is "gone": the first *before* the shot, the second *since* the shot was taken, and the last later still, for another day, though it is imminent, *after* the appearance of the print'.[83] Similarly, Sophia's *eidōlon* also compresses different temporalities — the mythical past, her nineteenth century present, and her future (now-realized) death. And yet, while each *eidōlon* holds within death's imminence, it also holds the possibility of immanence. Helen resurfaces as a nineteenth century photograph, millennia after her mythical time, while Sophia's *eidōlon* circulated widely in her lifetime, and it continues to circulate long after her death.

Among the subjects of Bonhomme's series are not only people and objects in Athens, but also the sun and its light, for 'every photograph is of the sun' (or, perhaps, every photograph is an *eidōlon* of the sun).[84] Photography's theoreticians have long sought to account for its partnership with the sun, configuring the sun as both subject and instrument of photography. In his early serial publication, for example, Fox Talbot described photography as a practice of drawing powered by the sun, configuring the sun as his titular 'pencil of nature'.[85] As Bonhomme's *Photographer on the Acropolis* and *The Parthenon* emphasize, both the photographer and the sun are also a subject of photography. Bonhomme, working in the wake of the long tradition of photographing Athens, takes the endurance of Greek light as his subject, an endurance that cannot persist indefinitely. Just as Hera sculpts Helen's *eidōlon* from air (Euripides *Helen* 34), so does the sun draw Sophia's *eidōlon* as Helen onto the photographic plate, recording the assemblage of the jewellery collected together on Sophia's body and her and its presence and belonging in Athens. If every photograph is of the sun, Sophia's *eidōlon* affords evidence of the sun's endurance, while also mourning its inevitable future extinguishment, after which the sun will no longer trace and no more *eidōla* will circulate.

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[83] Ibid., p. 27. On spectrality and writing on photography more broadly and in particular Derrida's writing on Bonhomme, see Antal (2018: 158–59).

[84] Derrida (2010: 65).

[85] On the sun as nature's pencil, see Talbot (1839: 1–8). See also Wolf (2013: 119–42).

Traces of Sophia's negotiation of ancient and modern Greece also extended to her personal correspondence in many different languages, including Katharevousa, 'the "purified" version of Greek advanced by Adamantios Koraïs, [that] was designed to purge the foreign "barbarisms" that had, over millennia, invaded the Greek language'.[86] This dialect, which atticized demotic Greek, became the language of the new Greek constitution, and was widely used until the twentieth century.[87] Among the many languages she deployed, Sophia corresponded with friends in Katharevousa. For example, in a letter dated 04 December 1873, Aikaterini Lampridou wrote to Sophia in Katharevousa inquiring after her daughter Andromache.[88] (Fig. 17) In the early twentieth century, nationalist debates over the use of Katharevousa and demotic Greek came to a head. A performance in Athens of Aeschylus's trilogy *Oresteia* in 1903 included a prologue written and performed in demotic Greek, costumes and set designs inspired by the Schliemanns work at Mycenae, as well as non-Greek sponsors, composers, and performers.[89] The protests and debates that followed centred around the performance's foreign inputs and their disruption of a 'pure' genealogy between ancient and modern Greece, a genealogy that Sophia's *eidōlon* sought to navigate.

In addition to her extensive and multilingual private correspondence, Sophia also often wrote about her archaeological work with Heinrich for the Greek press, although Heinrich also cautioned her, in a note that he sent from Mycenae on 25 September 1876, that while her writing made the Greek nation proud, she 'cannot publish in Greek before the Times'.[90] In the studio Sophia had styled herself in various modes, and on the page she corresponded in a variety of languages, including Katharevousa, which emphasized its linguistic genealogical connection with ancient Attic Greek. She also regularly documented their archaeological work in the modern Greek press. Sophia also meticulously acquired many additional languages, working through exercises preserved in her archive and also corresponding with Heinrich and friends in a variety of languages.[91] Responding to Sophia from Stockholm on 13 August 1875 to a note that Sophia had sent to him in English, Heinrich wrote 'I have just received your charming English letter of the 5th. It is a good beginning, just continue and you will soon write a

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[86] Hanink (2017: 125).

[87] Ibid., 157.

[88] American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Archives and Personal Papers, Sophia Schliemann Papers 208 a and b. In addition, the letter that Aikaterini mentions having written to Heinrich is also extant at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Archives and Personal Papers, Heinrich Schliemann Papers, Series B Correspondence Box 64, No 453 December 17, 1869. I am grateful to Eleftheria Daleziou for following this trail with me and bringing the second letter to my attention.

[89] Leontis (2019: 83–87).

[90] Sophia Schliemann Archive, Gennadius Library, Box 1, folder 3, #80a.

[91] See the Sophia Schliemann Archive, Gennadius Library GR ASCSA GL SS 004: https://www.ascsa.edu.gr/archives/sophia-schliemann-papers.

Fig. 17.   Letter from Aikaterini Lampridou to Sophia Schliemann, 04 December 1873, written in Katharevousa Greek (280a). American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Archives, Sophia Schliemann Archive.

better letter than the Queen of England' and further down the page the somewhat less encouraging 'you write much better English than French'.[92] On the one hand, Katharevousa situated Sophia within a particular class position in the modern Greek state; on the other hand, her meticulous acquisition of additional languages, as her correspondence in many different languages and the pages of practice language exercises in her archive preserve, positioned her within a multilingual, cosmopolitan elite.

Sophia's varied belletristic pursuits and range of photographs in different costumes operate similarly to Moraites's different takes of the Parthenon. Like the Parthenon, Sophia was repeatedly photographed, and these collected images captured a range of ideas that she sought to present and circulate — of indigeneity, cosmopolitanism, maternity, and in her self-presentation as Helen, of her capacity to embody in modernity the deep, mytho-historical past.

The distribution of the photograph of Sophia as Helen built on several modes of circulating images that had gained steam throughout the nineteenth century. One of these was the carte de visite, or photographic calling card. Sophia sat for different versions of these, such as the version taken by Moraites. The distribution of the image of Sophia as Helen also drew on the practice of printing broadsheets and press images of private and public performances that were designed to capture, share, and extend an otherwise ephemeral moment. Performing tableaux vivants (individual or group performance of pictures) grew in popularity, inspired by Emma Hamilton's late eighteenth century 'Attitudes,' her performances of both ancient sculptures and characters from classical mythology for private audiences in her husband William Hamilton's home in Naples.[93] Before photography, artists strove to record these performances in drawings and prints, while performing tableaux vivants remained popular through the nineteenth century when photographs could capture one moment in a performance.[94] Helen of Troy was among the characters people chose to perform. For example, Artemis Leontis has traced Eva Palmer Sikelianos' participation in myriad tableaux vivant, including a series performed in Bar Harbor, Maine in which she took on the role of Sappho and her sister performed as Helen of Troy, captured by an extant photograph that circulated an image of the performance beyond the moment of the tableau.[95]

[92] Sophia Schliemann Archive, Gennadius Library, (47a), Box 1, 47a.

[93] For Goethe's description of seeing Emma Hamilton's 'Attitudes,' see von Goethe (1962: 208). On the 'Attitudes' within the context of the Bay of Naples in the eighteenth century, see Mattusch (2013, 6).

[94] For analyses of artists's attempt to capture Hamilton's Attitudes in drawings and prints, see van de Sandt (1998: 299–316); Lada-Richards (2004); Pop (2011: 940).

[95] Leontis (2019: 61). For Eva performing elsewhere as Chrysothemis, see p. 99 fig. 33. An earlier populist performance of Helen on the London stage in the wake of the 1857 divorce act had remade Helen as the divorced ex-wife of Menelaus now free to marry the Trojan Paris: Hall (1999: 358). Such expansive possibilities forged the backdrop against which Sophia fashioned her own performances.

Much as she wrote in different languages in different contexts and had posed for Moraites in modern Greek folk dress or a Victorian day-gown, Sophia posed for an unknown photographer costumed in the jewellery that Heinrich had smuggled out of Turkey. With this photograph, however, Sophia positioned herself not just as a generalized modern Greek female body, Indigenous or Europeanized, but as the *eidōlon* of the infamous mythical figure of the most beautiful ancient Greek woman.[96] Sophia gives modern flesh to ancient myth and claims modern Greece as the rightful home of this ancient gold. Once captured, Sophia and Heinrich distributed this image as a *carte de visite* and it circulated as printed engravings, such as the version rendered in *The Graphic*, and as photographic prints in books and newspapers.

Six: Trans-imperial claims

The circulation of Sophia's *eidōlon* also circulated a claim that the gold, like Helen, did not belong to Troy and in modernity to the Ottoman government. Heinrich's contention that the gold was safer and better understood outside of Ottoman Turkey echoed similar justifications offered by European antiquarians for looting and exporting antiquities from throughout Egypt, the Middle East, and the wider Mediterranean.[97] The Ottoman Empire, for its part, also removed antiquities from other regions to build up the collection of the National Museum, such as Osman Hamdi Bey's excavations at Sidon.[98] These archaeologies did not operate in isolation from each other.[99] To justify removal of the jewellery, Heinrich played on anti-Ottoman sentiment among Europeans, but the same prejudices also complicated Sophia's status in modernity. Objects from the ancient Mediterranean past had played an important role both in the political maneuvering in Ottoman Greece and in the wake of the Greek War of Independence (1821-1830).[100] Many European countries had expressed empathy with the Greek fight against Ottoman rule in the early nineteenth century, while at the same time working to coopt ancient Greek history from modern Greeks and Turks alike, deeming modern Greeks too Ottomanized by their long occupation. Germany, in particular, declared itself the intellectual progeny of ancient Greece.[101]

Heinrich's selection of a young Greek bride who knew her Homer and his decision to publish his claims about Hisarlık's ancient identity first in German must be

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[96] On the complex social strata comprising indignity within the nineteenth century Mediterranean, see Neumeier (2017: 134–60). On the conceptual geographic position of Greece in relation to the European Union nations, see Hanink (2017: 21–26).

[97] Hanink (2017: 135–39). Eldem (2011: 283–94).

[98] Neumeier (2017: 134–60).

[99] Hamilakis (2011: 49–69).

[100] Marchand (1996: 32) and on Wolf's construction of *Altertumswissenschaft* and separation of Greece and Rome (*Altertum*) from histories of the Jews, Persians, and other inhabitants of the ancient Near East, 16–21.

[101] Hanink (2017: 159–61).

understood against the backdrop of German philhellenism. Both choices engage this same slippery question of Greek modernity and Germany's rightful claim to the intellectual tradition of ancient Greece. His first publication of the archaeological finds at Hisarlık in a German-language newspaper asserted a kind of nationalist claim on those finds that accorded with pervasive German philhellenism of the late nineteenth century. The criterion that his modern Greek bride read ancient Greek not only ensured that she came from a class of family who could afford to educate their daughters, but also that this facility with ancient Greek might override her own modernity, offering Heinrich the closest that he might come in the late 1860s to marrying an authentic ancient Greek woman. Heinrich sought a female body that would help him to navigate modern Greek bureaucracy, bear him Greek children, and via her study of Homeric poetry, channel this ancient legacy through her modern body.

If Heinrich sought to embody German Philhellenism through his familial relationships and archaeological activities, Sophia may have sought something different, even as her public image and labours also served Heinrich's purposes. Posing in the ancient jewellery asserted her modern Greek claim to the mytho-history of Mycenaean Helen. Her photograph circulated Helen's *eidōlon* in nineteenth century Greece now in the form of Sophia's image, while also marking Sophia's national identity, claim to history, and cosmopolitan modernity.

Germany staked a direct claim to the intellectual and material legacy of ancient Greece, while other modern nations, especially Italy, Britain, and France, once within the territory of the Roman empire, filtered their philhellenism through Rome's (and Troy's) legacy. In London, where *The Graphic* images were published and where Heinrich subsequently exhibited his finds from Hisarlık and Mycenae at the South Kensington Museum, the legacy of the Trojans occupied a place of genealogical significance.[102] This produced a different engagement with the archaeology of Troy in Britain. Sophia positioned herself against this Trojan legacy, while Heinrich exploited it through the exhibition. In circulating Sophia's carte de visite to Edwards and *The Graphic* and displaying the Trojan finds in London, Heinrich sought to harness public investment in Trojan heritage. While the photographic *eidōlon* staged a modern Greek claim to the ancient gold and mythical past for Sophia, captioned in English for a British audience, the same image presented an *eidōlon* of Helen at Troy, dressed in Trojan gold, cuckolding Menelaus with a Trojan prince, and playing a critical role in a Trojan story that gave rise, via Roman Britain, to the British empire.[103]

Although she staged it, the photograph eventually eclipses Sophia herself in the historical record and regularly represents her.[104] Sophia's image embodied the many

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[102] On Troy's reception in the Victorian period see Baker (2020: 1–13; Mac Sweeney (2018); Bryant Davies (2018); Fitton, Villing, and Donnellan (2019: 200–05).

[103] Victorians debated the legacy of Troy in Britain, Bryant Davies (2018: 47–124, especially 48, 54, and 63) on Homeric poems as 'the bible of classical times'.

[104] Even her great-grandchild, Alex L. Melas, kept a photograph of Sophia as Helen on his desk. Poole and Poole (1966: vi).

different stories told about Helen over time, stories which her *eidōlon* compresses into one photographic image. Through these iterations and recursions over space and time, Sophia's *eidōlon* as Helen continues to circulate while remaining tethered to its subject. As an *eidōlon* of Helen, of the mythical war laid at her feet, and of classical genealogies constructed through Sophia's modernity, this image endures, even as, like a palinode, it acts counterfactually.

Seven: after images

The jewellery and other objects in the Schliemanns's collection have remained at the centre of international political struggles over the long twentieth into the twenty-first centuries, and these struggles have eclipsed Sophia herself, centring the jewellery instead of her image. Despite exhibiting many of the archaeological finds from Troy and Mycenae to the public, the South Kensington Museum in London declined to purchase them and Heinrich negotiated a sale to the German government.[105] The jewellery, along with the rest of the collection, arrived in Berlin on 17 January 1881, remaining in state museum collections until Soviet troops confiscated it as war booty at the end of World War II through the Red Army's trophy brigades set up as 'restitution in kind' for destruction and looting by Nazi troops of Soviet art holdings.[106] Held in secret for decades along with many other artworks, their whereabouts — holdings in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, and Zagorsk — were disclosed to the international community in a series of articles published in the 1990s by Russian journalists Konstantin Akinsha and Grigorii Kozlov.[107] Amid competing international legal claims to the Trojan gold by Turkey, Greece, and Germany, the Pushkin State Museum photographed and catalogued the jewellery and other pieces of Schliemann's collection in 1993 before staging an exhibition entitled 'Treasure of Troy: Heinrich Schliemann's Excavations' in 1996.[108] This exhibition took as its central focus the jewellery of 'Helen of Troy', dissociating it, in its representative strategies, from Sophia and her photograph.[109] Two decades after the exhibition, the Pushkin State Museum developed an online virtual reality experience of the Trojan galleries that remains accessible today.[110] (Fig. 18) In this display, the jewellery adorns

[105] Baker (2020: 61–63.)

[106] Akinsha and Kozlov (1991: 131–32, 134); Goldmann (1997: 200–03).

[107] Akinsha and Kozlov (1991, 1994: 154–59; 1998, 62); The Art News Editors (2007); Easton (1994: 236). Among those who witnessed the unloading was Irina Antonova, who went on to become director of the museum from 1961 to 2013: Easton (1994: 221); Tolstikov and Treister (1996).

[108] On preparations for the exhibit, see Tolstikov (1997: 212–13), and Tolstikov and Treister (1996); Simpson (1997: 193).

[109] For a summary of Turkey, Greece, and Germany's legal claims to the gold, see Urice (1997: 204–06).

[110] Pushkin State Museum, Moscow, Room 3: Ancient Troy and Schliemann's Excavations Virtual Tour (2014): https://virtual.arts-museum.ru/data/vtours/main/index.html?lp=3_1&lang=en

Fig. 18. Diadem and earrings on mannequin. Gold. Moscow, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts.

a black velvet mannequin, conjuring both ancient Greek and Roman portrait busts and the ancient *eidōlon* of Helen crafted from air, while maintaining the idea staged by Sophia's *eidōlon* that the jewellery belonged together.

Against the backdrop of its tumultuous geopolitical history, presenting the gold jewellery on a mannequin of black velvet in the space of a state-controlled museum opens up new possibilities for interpretation of the histories of photography and archaeology. The velvet's surface brings to mind the photographic negative onto which the light of the sun might draw new faces. The shine of that sun's light on the gold might also produce iterative after images, a term that Krista Thompson

uses in her analysis of African diasporic photographic practices 'to refer to the way light from photographic and videographic technologies sears itself into the retinal memory of viewers after their exposure to a source of illumination has ceased'.[111] Citing Audre Lorde's description of after images as visions that remain with her even after she has averted her eyes, Thompson builds up an expansive temporality of bright light and after images — two forces of lens-centred technologies important for African diasporic communities.[112]

Specifically, Thompson focuses on the ways in which bright white light from videography equipment, cameras, and cell phones invites movements, performances, and poses — and also generates after images. Like an *eidōlon*, after images 'do the work of memory over and against the possibilities of disappearance or forgetting, shaping the very matter of memory and photography through their embodied forms'.[113] These tactics undermine photography's fixed temporalites, expand lens-centred time beyond the visual, and refuse traditional photographic paradigms, such as the carte de visite, that have been mobilized as racialized indexes.[114] Although Thompson focuses on very different geographies — African diasporic communities in the USA, Jamaica, and the Bahamas — her analysis illuminates some possibilities that we might also find in the display of the gold curated within a state-sponsored museum under a restrictive government in Moscow.[115] Thompson, for example, argues that both Kehinde Wiley's series of photographs *Black Light* (2009) and Faith Ringgold's series of paintings *Black Light* (1967–69) subvert historical uses of light to elevate of whiteness and simultaneously devalue blackness, instead, claiming space for bright light and blackness together.[116] Similarly, we might see the mannequin's black velvet as countering early photography's focus on the white plaster cast and the work that Sophia's *eidōlon*, through this association, did to position modern Greek femininity within a white frame. Instead, the display presents blackness as a space of possibility.

In addition to the role of colour, the black textile on which the gold sits evokes both velvet's deep material histories and also ideas of non-violent revolution, often called a 'velvet revolution'.[117] Originating in China, likely in the thirteenth century CE, and produced and traded throughout early modern Italy, Spain, France, and Ottoman Turkey, 'velvet' describes a fabric with a silk thread pile cut to create a deep colour and bright sheen.[118] Black velvet, which required a lengthy dying process

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[111] Thompson (2015: 14).

[112] Ibid., 14–16.

[113] Ibid., 16.

[114] Ibid., 19.

[115] Ibid., 256–58.

[116] Wiley (2009); Thompson (2015: 230–58).

[117] Markwick (2017: 600–09).

[118] Monnas (2012: 8–11); Watt (2000–).

involving a number of dyes, was among the most important and in demand.[119] Its softness to the touch made velvet an apt metaphor for non-violent revolution, as for example, the Velvet Revolution of 1989 in the former Czechoslovakia (Horvath 2011). This non-violent urban revolution culminated in the end of decades of single-party Communist governance and would been particularly resonant in the early 1990s when Russia formally acknowledged the gold's presence in Moscow and St. Petersburg, and museum workers curated its public display. Velvet revolutions have continued to bring political change through peaceful protest. The mannequin supporting the Trojan gold in Moscow brings both velvet's vibrant material history and its political associations into view.

At the time of writing, however, Russia has invaded Ukraine in an act of aggression that one hundred and forty-one members of the United Nations General Assembly voted to denounce.[120] Art workers in Russia who oppose the war, including the deputy director of the Pushkin State Museum, Vladimir Opredelenov, have left their positions and in some cases the country, leaving the possibilities on display to an empty hall.[121] Gathered together on the mannequin, the jewellery carries with it a touch-claim to Helen's body, but also the whole mythical Trojan war fought in her name. In modernity, war carried the jewellery from Berlin to Moscow. Now war leaves the display isolated. What is gold if not a touchstone of war? Priam's so-called treasure marks war's endless human cost and its searing after images.

Acknowledgements

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[119] Monnas (2012: 23–25).

[120] Pamuk and Landay (2022).

[121] Kinsella (2022).

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