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WILLIAM JAMES STILLMAN. IMAGES IN THE ARCHIVES OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

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Previous discussions of collections printed in Archaeological Reports have consisted of catalogues of antiquities. This contribution does not deal with antiquities per se, but with objects depicting antiquities – 46 glass plate photographic negatives dating to the nineteenth century. However, these objects are also culturally-produced artefacts. Most of them are large, approximately 20 cm by 20 cm, glass plates, though some are rectangular of both smaller and larger dimensions. In addition, there are seventeen duplicated images in a British standard 8.25 cm by 8.25 cm lantern slide format. These glass artefacts are remnants of a much larger collection of negatives and slides amassed by the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies (hereafter Hellenic Society) in the late nineteenth to the first half of the twentieth century.

The majority of the negatives depict monuments of Athens and can be attributed to the American photographer William James Stillman (1828–1901). Stillman is well-known for his album of 25 images of the Athenian Acropolis, photographed in 1869 and published by F.S. Ellis of London in 1870 as The Acropolis of Athens, Illustrated Picturesquely and Architecturally in Photography. Numerous photographic publishing firms, such as the Autotype Co., Marion & Co. and Bedford-Lemere, also reproduced and sold Stillman’s Athenian images as individual albumen prints. The images were highly regarded and avidly collected. Stillman’s photographs of Athens can be found in various archives of scholars such as those of Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema (1836–1912) and Sir John Beazley (1885–1970).

Stillman’s views of the monuments of the Acropolis are considered to be aesthetic and romantic observations, distinct from those of contemporary photographers who catered to the buying public. In his autobiography, Stillman indicates the difference between his views of the Acropolis and others: ‘I set about photographing the ruins of Athens, which I found had never been treated intelligently by the local photographers.’

Observations based on the subtitle of The Acropolis of Athens stress Stillman’s intention ‘to illustrate architecturally’, implying his desire to show the elements of the architecture in relation to space as seen in the absolute symmetry of some of the images (for example, nos 3001, 3003) and in the strong shadows and light. The term ‘picturesquely’ in the subtitle has been associated with Stillman’s aesthetic philosophy, strongly influenced by Ruskin, implying that Stillman strove to combine inherent beauty and artistic interpretation in his photographs.

In addition to his photographic work, Stillman was a journalist, diplomat, art critic and painter, who lived for most of his adult life outside his native United States, in Italy, Greece, Crete and England. Most studies of Stillman stress his ties to literary and artistic circles of the nineteenth century and his connections, in particular, with Ruskin and Rossetti. Indeed, Stillman is often described as the ‘first American pre-Raphaelite painter’ and his photographs are discussed in artistic terms.

Though he has also been called an American phillhellene, there have not been extensive studies on Stillman’s interest in Classical antiquities and the emerging discipline of archaeology. Stillman had attained distinction in the field at least by 1879 when he was invited to become one of the founding members of the Hellenic Society. Between 1880, in the first volume of the Journal of Hellenic Studies (hereafter JHS), and 1901, the year of his death, Mr. W.J. Stillman was listed as a member of the Hellenic Society, his name marked with an asterisk denoting founding status. Some of his published works during this time reflect his interest in Classical antiquity where he makes use of his keen skill of artistic observation, his first-hand knowledge of the landscape and his familiarity with the people and politics involved in conducting archaeology in Italy and Greece.

Stillman’s scholarly publications are few in number. In the first annual report of the newly formed Archæological Institute of America (hereafter AIA) in 1880, Stillman contributed an article describing his investigation of the ‘Cyclopean’ or ‘Pelasgic’ walls of Monte Leone in Grosseto, Italy. Stillman’s second report to the AIA is better known, primarily as a precursor to Arthur Evans’s excavations at Knossos. With AIA financial support, Stillman had planned to excavate Knossos, but, failing to secure permission, he submitted observations on the site, describing Kalokairinos’ excavations, and remarked on linear signs found on building blocks that were printed as an appendix in the second annual report of the AIA in 1881. A publication in the Bulletin de correspondance hellénique describing a chance find of an Archaic decorative bronze cuirass (no. 3043) followed in 1883. Several years later, Stillman was asked by the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society of New York to provide a report on the Cenon collection, primarily responding to the disputed issues of attribution and repairs and alterations. However, the bulk of Stillman’s archaeological writings during this period consisted of short articles and letters to various popular periodicals, most notably The Nation.

In the formative days of the profession, when there was little distinction between professionals and amateurs, the archaeological community acknowledged Stillman’s contributions and he is occasionally referred to in JHS. The first mention of Stillman at a Hellenic Society meeting in London is in the proceedings for the 1882 annual meeting, where his remarks on W.M. Ramsay’s Phrygian Expedition are noted. Walter Leaf’s note on Homeric armour in JHS 1883 indicates that Leaf discussed with Stillman the bronze cuirass published that same year. Thirteen years after Stillman’s observations of a writing system at Knossos appeared in the second annual report of the AIA, Arthur Evans delivered a paper to a meeting of the Hellenic Society on ‘primitive pictographs’ of Crete, elevating the signs Stillman recorded and sketched from ‘mere mason’s marks’ to script.

During the decade of the 1880s, Stillman became embroiled in an archaeological debate that included other Hellenic Society members over the accuracy of Schliemann’s and Dörpfeld’s interpretations. Stillman, insisting that neither Schliemann nor Dörpfeld were trained – scientific – archaeologists, believed that Hisarlık was not the true site of Troy. He also firmly believed that the dating of many walls at Mycenae and Tiryns was much later than reported by the German excavators, basing his chronology on his extensive study of wall construc-
tion techniques. In 1881 Stillman wrote in *The Nation* on the ‘True Site of Troy’ and the ‘The True Age of the Mykenae Finds’ and followed up with subsequent articles in the same periodical on similar topics related to Troy, Mycenae and Tiryns.27 In 1886, Schliemann and Dörpfeld were invited to attend a special meeting of the Hellenic Society to discuss the remains and objects that was held in the Society of Antiquaries in London on 2 July 1886.29 Stillman was also invited to attend, but he declined the offer. Stillman’s adamant position on a ‘post-Hellenic’ date and his often-intemperate language in describing his opponents continued to fuel the controversy, even after many scholars were convinced of the prehistoric antiquity of the walls at Mycenae and Tiryns.29

One of the original objectives of the Hellenic Society, stipulated in the Society’s Rules,30 was the compilation of sketches, engravings, rubbings and photographs to document Greek works of arts, inscriptions, sites and remains. Therefore, it is not surprising – given Stillman’s interests and connections – that his images would appear in the Hellenic Society’s collection. The first mention of Stillman’s images at the Hellenic Society is in the Transactions of the Society for 1886–1887.31 The report indicated that Mr Stillman had offered ‘to place at the disposal of the Society the negatives of a very important series of photographs taken by him of monuments of Athens’. Twenty five proof copies of images were mounted and placed in a portfolio to be held in the library of the Hellenic Society for members to peruse.32 The negatives were to be held by the Autotype Company and arrangements were made for Society members to order enlargements.33 By 1902, the Hellenic Society’s photographic collection had grown considerably with over 4,000 prints and over 1,500 lantern slides, gleaned from a larger negative collection. *JHS* for that year lists select sets of photographs from which enlargements could be ordered.34 The first set listed is the 25 enlargements of ancient Athens followed by a list of 23 photographs of Sicily also by Mr W.J. Stillman.35 Other photographic sets of Athens listed for sale were by Walter Leaf, R. Elsey Smith and J. Thacher Clarke.36

The existing Stillman negatives and slides all have catalogue numbers that correspond to entries in the first of six volumes of negative registers held in the Hellenic Society’s archives. These handwritten negative registers contain columns for catalogue number, number of negatives, caption, donor and for tick-marks if an image was duplicated into print and slide format. The first entry for the series of Stillman negatives (no. 3001) contains an annotation in the donor column indicating that the Hellenic Society bought the negatives from the Autotype Company who, in turn, ‘had acquired them from Mr W.J. Stillman’.37

None of the views in the Hellenic Society’s collection are exact duplicate images of those in Stillman’s 1870 publication. They are very similar compositions showing the same monuments with variations in angle and distance. It is known that Stillman returned to Athens in 1882 and rephotographed each of the monuments from the same viewpoints.38 The majority of the Hellenic Society negatives date to this later, 1882, rephotographing of the monuments. The large Franksish tower, dismantled in 1875,39 does not appear in a number of the images, including the top-right corner of the image of the Propylae in negative number 3019, but is prominent in the similar image, photographed in 1869, depicted in plate 6 of *The Acropolis of Athens*. The 1882 date has also been confirmed by comparison of the Hellenic Society collection with a photographic album labeled *Aiene 1882* in the Stillman archive at the Schaeffer Library, Union College, Schenectady, New York.39

Negative number 3042, however, may date to 1869. The negative is slightly larger and thicker than the other negatives depicting Athenian monuments and has Stillman’s signature and the date (‘69) physically scratched into the emulsion of the negative in the foreground of the image. It shows the north colonnade of the Parthenon, looking west. In the lower right corner is the painted number ‘13’. This image does not match the published plate 13 in *The Acropolis of Athens* that shows a view over the Parthenon, looking east. It is possible that negative number 3042 may have been one of numerous images taken in 1869, but ultimately rejected for publication in the album.40 If the date of 1869 is secure, speculation that Stillman initiated the rephotograph programme in 1882 because the original 1869 negatives were lost or destroyed may be incorrect.41

The Hellenic Society negative register contains 44 entries for Stillman’s Greek images, beginning with the catalogue number 3001 and concluding with 3043, with the entry for 3011 left blank. Thirteen of the captions contain enlargement numbers that ‘equal’ (or are said to ‘almost equal’) images in the numbered list of 25 photographs of ancient Athens mentioned in the 1902 edition of *JHS*. It is likely, therefore, that the negatives purchased by the Hellenic Society in 1902 were not the same negatives used to produce the enlargements. Tick-marks in columns indicate that all of these photographic images were reproduced in print format and nineteen of them in lantern slide format, which were made available to members for loan or purchase.42 All but a few are images of Athens: 3037 is said to be of Mycenae and 3043 is the bronze cuirass found near Olympia, published by Stillman in 1883. The negative register entry for 3044 has been erased, but a negative in the collection is labelled 3044 and the image looks like the Italian countryside. Entries 3045 to 3050 are completely blank. Entries begin again with 3051 to 3090, marked ‘Roman Series’. The ‘Roman Series’ entries list in the donor column a reference back to catalogue number 3001, indicating they were also acquired from the Autotype Company and were photographed by William Stillman. A further notation ‘BSR’, denoting the British School at Rome, was also added in the donor column. Only six of this series, 3085–3090, remain with the Greek images in the present Hellenic Society collection.43 A number of the existing ‘Roman Series’ negatives have two negative numbers, one corresponding to the Hellenic Society register and a second number preceded by the initials ‘AA’, possibly indicating a separate cataloguing system in use prior to their placement in the Hellenic Society. The ‘Roman Series’ is not mentioned in *JHS*. However, it is known that Stillman photographed in Rome and Italy between 1861 and 1897.44

The negatives show signs of age: chips and corner breaks, cracks, flaking emulsion and clouding caused by decomposing chemicals. Negative labels are usually catalogue numbers but sometimes include captions. They are either inked directly on the border, etched onto a corner of the image or are written onto pasted paper labels, usually on the emulsion side. Also, modifications to the negatives occurred over a long period of time. Masking with paper tape and marking with a thin ink line served as guides for cropping, highlighting the monuments in the centre of the image. Blocking out of areas, particularly the sky, on the negatives was a common alteration. Unintentional marks such as fingerprints also appear on the negatives (for example, nos 3018, 3038). The blocking, possibly to cover up dust particles on the negative, and the fingerprints indicate that, with the exception of negative number 3042, the collection is comprised of copy negatives. Given the column for number of negatives in the register, it is clear that numerous negatives
were produced for each catalogue entry. Though there are no duplicate negatives now in the collection, the label on negative number 3003 indicates that it was at one time a ‘duplicate negative to choose from’. However, only one example of each negative was saved, possibly at a time when the large-format glass negatives fell out of use. It is also possible that the column in the register may have included negatives produced from the originals for the production of lantern slides of which one example can be found in the collection (no. 3031).

Images in the format of lantern slides in the Hellenic Society reached a wider audience as part of the slide loan collection since they were heavily used in public demonstrations and in teaching. Not all of Stillman’s images were reproduced as lantern slides. Most of the seventeen existing slides, reproduced from Stillman’s negatives, were cropped. This was perhaps done to accommodate a smaller format, but more significantly, was a way of focusing on those elements of the view that were considered to be worthy of attention. In the early twentieth century, sets of slides based on popular topics were formed, accompanied by lectures or annotated slide lists written by a ‘recognized authority on the subject’ that boosted borrowing and sales of lantern slides. At least two of Stillman’s images (nos 3005, 3006) were included in the slide set The Parthenon and two more (nos 3019, 3022) in the set The Acropolis of Athens.

Stillman’s images, reproduced as photographs and lantern slides were part of a nineteenth-century practice of scholarly exchange, collection and arrangement of photographs in learned institutions. Photographs and other forms of representation such as casts and reproductions were compiled as documentary images, a product of the nineteenth-century empirical drive for categorizing and recording, particularly as a way of expanding knowledge of the visible world with the growth of the British Empire. The masking and other alterations to the negatives, seemingly contradictory to the concept of objective observation, is rationalized by an expectation to view the monuments in a particular way or to focus on particular elements in the scene. In a series of essays on visual anthropology and historical photographs, Elizabeth Edwards points out that the formation of photographic collections and the exchange of images are processes ‘enmeshed within a visual economy that reflected complex and wide-reaching scientific and social networks’ which, in turn, gave authority to the image. These cultural artefacts – Stillman’s negatives – were formalized into an image library, and became part of the visual economy of the late nineteenth century that allowed intellectual communities, such as the Hellenic Society, control of the dissemination of knowledge through imagery.

CATALOGUE

3001: Parthenon: W. front (a). Pencilled note in the negative register says ‘Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema (?) in doorway’ and a later note added ‘probably not A-T v. different style from fig. in 3012’. Register lists four negatives and a print copy. Union College Stillman photographic album Atene 1882, no. 28a: ‘Parthenon west Façade’.

NEGATIVE: 20cm x 20.2cm. Label ‘3001’ appears both top and bottom, inked into the borders on the emulsion side. (Fig. 1).


NEGATIVE: 20cm x 20cm. Masked on emulsion side by black cloth tape, top (2.5cm wide), bottom (2cm wide), right and left (each 0.5cm wide). Paper label, with inked ‘3002’, pasted onto top mask. (Fig. 2). LANTERN SLIDE: Catalogue number in rectangular label in upper-right corner, circular white sticker in upper-left corner. The image has been cropped from the negative along the bottom, and the E end of the structure cut off. The effect is to focus on the centre depicting the entrance to the W end of the Parthenon. (Fig. 2b).
3003: Parthenon: E. front. Register indicates that the negative corresponds closely to enlargement no. 8: ‘Parthenon – East Front’ (JHS 1902). Register lists four negatives and a print copy.

NEGATIVE: 20cm x 20.2cm. Three paper pasted labels, one with ‘3003’ on emulsion side, top-right corner. Two other labels are perhaps older ones, pasted on the glass side, one top left with caption ‘Façade of Parthenon from front (Duplicate to choose from)’ and other top centre repeating ‘Duplicate to choose from’. Emulsion is wearing off in upper-left corner and bottom two corners. Fingerprint in lower left corner of emulsion. (Fig. 3).

3004: Parthenon: from N.E. Register indicates that the negative corresponds to enlargement no. 9: ‘Parthenon – from the N.E.’ (JHS 1902). Register lists three negatives, a print copy and a lantern slide. Appears in the 1913 Slide Catalogue also listed as no. 14 in The Parthenon set of select slides. Union College Stillman photographic album Aten 1882, no. 46: ‘Parthenon from north east’.

NEGATIVE: 21cm x 12.1cm. Label ‘3004’ is inked on emulsion side, upper-left corner. Emulsion silvering or clouding. Black paint with fingerprints on glass side, covering parts of the sky. Some chips in the centre-top plate. (Fig. 4a).

LANTERN SLIDE: Catalogue number in rectangular label in upper-right corner, circular white sticker in upper-left corner. No cropping of the image. (Fig. 4b).

3005: Parthenon: from S.E. Register lists four negatives, a print copy and a lantern slide. Appears in the 1913 Slide Catalogue and is also listed as no. 15 in The Parthenon set of select slides. Union College Stillman photographic album Aten 1882, no. 33: ‘Interior of Parthenon looking south east, Hymettus in the distance’.
NEGATIVE: 20.1cm x 20cm. Inked lines on the emulsion side, top and bottom. Two paper labels, both inked with ‘3005’, on glass side, upper left and lower centre. (Fig. 5a).

LANTERN SLIDE: Catalogue number in circular label in upper-right corner, circular white sticker in upper-left corner. Image has been cropped along the marked lines indicated on the negative plus more on the right side. The effect is to centre the image on the corner of the colonnade. (Fig. 5b).


LANTERN SLIDE: Catalogue number in circular label in upper-right corner, circular white sticker in upper-left corner. (Fig. 6).


NEGATIVE: 20.1cm x 20.1cm. Black paper tape masking on emulsion side top (4.6cm wide), left (1cm wide), bottom (2.5cm wide) and some remaining on right (0.5cm wide). Paper label ‘3007’ is affixed to the top mask on the right. Emulsion is silvering or clouding. Another paper mask, perhaps a later addition, is attached to the glass side of the negative on top (5.8cm wide) with ‘3007’ written on it. (Fig. 7a).

LANTERN SLIDE: Catalogue number in circular label in upper-right corner, circular white sticker in upper-left corner. Image shows some cropping along the left side of the slide. (Fig. 7b).

3008: Parthenon: E. Colonnade, from N. showing curvature of Stylobate. Register lists four negatives and a print copy.

NEGATIVE: 20.2cm x 20.1cm. Paper label ‘3008’ is on emulsion side, lower left. Inked lines appear across the top and bottom on emulsion side. The negative is in an advanced stage of decomposition; emulsion beginning to fade and yellow. Some emulsion beginning to peel along the bottom. (Fig. 8).


NEGATIVE: 20cm x 20.1cm. Paper label ‘3009’ appears on the emulsion side, upper left. On the emulsion side, the areas between the columns and around the structure have been blackened out with ink. On the glass side, further blocking, perhaps a later alteration with the use of orange paper and black paper tape, appears over the sky areas and the areas between the columns. (Fig. 9).
3010: Parthenon: W. Colonnade, interior looking N.W. Register indicates that it corresponds closely to enlargement no. 4: ‘Acropolis – from the Hill of the Nymphs’. However, it is likely to be enlargement no. 12: ‘West Portico of the Parthenon’ (JHS 1902). Register lists four negatives, a print copy and a lantern slide.

**NEGATIVE:** 20.1cm x 20.1cm. Paper label ‘3010’ appears on the emulsion side, upper right. (Fig. 10a).

**LANTERN SLIDE:** Catalogue number in rectangular label in upper-right corner, rectangular white sticker in upper-left corner. (Fig. 10b).

3011: Blank entry in negative register. No negatives listed and no tick-marks in the columns for print and lantern slide.

3012: Parthenon: W. door. Notation in negative register identifies the figure to the left of the doorway as Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema. Register lists three negatives, a print copy and a lantern slide. Appears in the 1913 Slide Catalogue. Union College Stillman photographic album Atene 1882, no. 35: ‘Door of the Parthenon (Byzantine)’.

**NEGATIVE:** 10cm x 20.1cm. Paper label ‘3012’ appears on emulsion side, upper left. Emulsion is beginning to
3013: Erechtheum: general view from N.E. angle of Parthenon. Register indicates that the negative corresponds to enlargement no. 13: ‘Erechtheion – from the Parthenon’ (JHS 1902). Register lists four negatives, one duplicate negative, a print copy and a lantern slide. Appears in the 1913 Slide Catalogue. Union College Stillman photographic album Atene 1882, no. 50a: ‘Erectheum from the Parthenon’.

NEGATIVE: 20.1cm x 20.1cm. Label ‘3013’ is scratched into the emulsion, upper left, and inked on the border on the emulsion side, upper right. (Fig. 12a).

LANTERN SLIDE: Catalogue number in rectangular label in upper-right corner, circular white sticker in upper-left corner. The image has been cropped on all sides, primarily top and bottom giving the effect of placing the structure in the centre of the entire top half of the slide. (Fig. 12b).

3014: Erechtheum: Ionic colonnade on E. Register indicates that the negative corresponds to enlargement no. 15: ‘Erechtheion – East Side’ (JHS 1902). Register lists four negatives and a print copy. Union College Stillman photographic album Atene 1882, no. 51b: ‘Temple of Minerva Polias’.

NEGATIVE: 20.1cm x 20.1cm. Paper label ‘3014’ appears on the emulsion side, lower right. (Fig. 13).
3015: Erechtheum: Karyatid Porch from W. Register lists four negatives, one duplicate negative, a print copy and a lantern slide. Union College Stillman photographic album Atene 1882, no. 44: ‘The Tribune of the Caryatids’.

NEGATIVE: 20.1cm x 20.1cm. Paper label ‘3015’ appears in lower-right corner on the emulsion side. (Fig. 14a).

LANTERN SLIDE: Catalogue number in rectangular label, on its side, in upper-right corner, circular white sticker in upper-left corner. (Fig. 14b).

3016: Erechtheum: Karyatid. Register indicates that the negative corresponds to enlargement no. 18: ‘Caryatid. Single Figure from the Erechtheion’ (JHS 1902). Register lists four negatives, a print copy and a lantern slide. Union College Stillman photographic album Atene 1882, no. 49: ‘Caryatid’.

NEGATIVE: 20.1cm x 20.1cm. Partial paper label ‘3016’ appears on the emulsion side, lower left, and an etched ‘3016’ appears in the lower right. Masked black paper tape (ca. 0.5cm wide) indicates the cropping line along the left on the glass side. (Fig. 15a).

LANTERN SLIDE: Catalogue number in rectangular label in upper-right corner, square white sticker, partly scraped off, with the number ‘22’ in upper-left corner. The image is cropped following the mask mark on the negative and cropped top and bottom. The effect is to focus on the single caryatid, now in centre of image. (Fig. 15b).
3017: *Erechtheum: N. porch: general view*. Register lists four negatives and a print copy. Union College Stillman photographic album *Atene 1882*, no. 54: ‘Facade of the Panarosium’.

**Negative:** 20.1cm x 20cm. Paper label ‘3017’ appears on the emulsion side, lower right. In the lower-left corner, on the emulsion side with the emulsion peeled away, is another paper label with ‘33’. Cropping line marked on the emulsion side with an inked line along the right side. (Fig. 16).

3018: *Erechtheum: N. porch from E.* Register lists four negatives and a print copy.

**Negative:** 20.1cm x 20.1cm. Paper label ‘3018’ appears on the emulsion side, upper left. Another label, with the number ‘42’, appears on the glass side, top right. Inked lines on the emulsion side, indicating cropping guides, appear on both right and left sides; a faint line also appears at the top. Fingerprints are found along the top of the negative on the emulsion side. Chemicals are beginning to degrade, causing some clouding and there is some flaking of the emulsion. (Fig. 17).

3019: *Propylaea: front from W. general view*. Register lists four negatives, a print copy and a lantern slide. Appears in the 1913 Slide Catalogue, also listed as no. 17 in *The Acropolis of Athens* set of select slides. The lantern slide version is cropped with most of the left side missing. Union College Stillman photographic album *Atene 1882*, no. 18: ‘Approach to Propylaea’.
NEGATIVE: 20.1cm x 20.1cm. Paper label ‘3019’ appears on the emulsion side, lower right. Paper labels, top and bottom, are on the glass side, perhaps marking the cropping line. Faint inked lines are across bottom and top on the emulsion side, also marking the same cropping line. Top-left corner broken and both bottom corners are missing. There are some ink marks in the sky. The emulsion is beginning to cloud. (Fig. 18a).

LANTERN SLIDE: Catalogue number in rectangular label in upper-right corner, top half of a circular white sticker in upper-left corner. The image is cropped, removing the labelled areas of the negative along top and bottom. Also cropped on the left side. The focus of the image now lies on the stairs leading up to the entrance. (Fig. 18b).

3020: Propylaea: N. wing from S.S.W. Register indicates that the negative corresponds closely to enlargement no. 23: ‘Propylea and North Wing’ (JHS 1902). Register lists four negatives and a print copy. Union College Stillman photographic album Atene 1882, no. 21: ‘Propylaia & Bibliothek’.

NEGATIVE: 20.2cm x 20.1cm. Paper label ‘3020’ appears on the emulsion side, upper right. Negative number is also inked in the border on top. Inked line on the emulsion side is across the top just above the roof of the Propylaea and another along the bottom of the negative, indicating guides for cropping. There is some flaking of emulsion. (Fig. 19).
NEGATIVE: 20.1cm x 20.2cm. Paper label ‘3022’ appears on the emulsion side, lower left. Inked guidelines on emulsion side on top and bottom. Paper tape (3.2cm wide) appears along the top on the glass side. The upper-left corner has been broken off, but later repaired with scotch tape. (Fig. 21a).

LANTERN SLIDE: Catalogue number is in rectangular label in upper-right corner, square white sticker in upper-left corner labelled with the number ‘14’, corresponding to the number in the slide set The Acropolis of Athens. (Fig. 21b).

3023: Temple of Wingless Victory from the Propylaea. Register indicates that the negative corresponds to enlargement no. 5: ‘Temple of Wingless Victory – from the Propylaea’ (JHS 1902). Register lists four negatives, a print copy and a lantern

**NEGATIVE:** 20cm x 20cm. Paper label ‘3023’ appearing on the emulsion side on paper tape, upper left. Paper tape on emulsion side appears on top (2.5cm wide), left (0.5cm wide) and bottom (1.4cm wide). The bottom tape is partly peeled away to reveal an inked line. (*Fig. 22a*).

**LANTERN SLIDE:** Catalogue number in rectangular label in upper-right corner, circular white sticker in upper-left corner. Image follows the masking mark of the negative and is cropped on left. The cropping removes the impression that the temple is high on a bastion and focuses instead on the structure itself. (*Fig. 22b*).

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**3024: Temple & Precincts of Asklepios.** Register indicates that the negative corresponds closely to enlargement no. 24: ‘Temple and Precincts of Asklepos’ (*JHS* 1902). Register lists four negatives, a print copy and a lantern slide. Union College Stillman photographic album *Atene 1882*, no. 15: ‘Aesculapeion’.

**NEGATIVE:** 20.1cm x 20.2cm. Paper label ‘3024’ appears on the emulsion side, upper left. (*Fig. 23a*).

**LANTERN SLIDE:** Catalogue number in rectangular label in upper-right corner, rectangular white sticker in upper-left corner. (*Fig. 23b*).
3025: Theatre of Dionysus fr. S. showing Auditorium. Register indicates that the negative corresponds to enlargement no. 21: ‘Theatre of Dionysos – from the South, showing the Auditorium’ (JHS 1902). Register lists four negatives, a print copy and a lantern slide. Union College Stillman photographic album Atene 1882, no. 10: ‘Theatre of Bacchus’.

NEGATIVE: 20cm x 20.1cm. Paper label ‘3025’ appears on the emulsion side, lower left. Black ink covers in the area above the Acropolis wall on the emulsion side. Black paper tape along the top on the glass side. The emulsion is beginning to silver or cloud along the edges. (Fig. 24a).

LANTERN SLIDE: Catalogue number in rectangular label, on its side, in upper-right corner, circular white sticker in upper-left corner. Cropped on right side removing most of the paved interior of the theatre, focusing on the rows of seats up to the wall of the Acropolis. (Fig. 24b).

3026: Theatre of Dionysus from E. general view of interior. Register indicates that the negative corresponds closely to enlargement no. 20: ‘Theature of Dionysos – General View of Interior’ (JHS 1902). Register lists four negatives, one duplicate negative, a print copy and a lantern slide. Lantern slide does not exist in the collection. Union College Stillman photographic album Atene 1882, no. 9: ‘Theatre of Bacchus’.

NEGATIVE: 20.1cm x 20.1cm. Paper label ‘3026’ appears on the emulsion side, lower right. The negative number is written in pencil on the emulsion side, upper right. There is some flaking of the emulsion along the edges. Emulsion is beginning to silver. (Fig. 25).

3027: Acropolis & Temple of Olympian Zeus from the Stadium. Register indicates that the negative corresponds closely to enlargement no. 3: ‘Acropolis – from the Stadion’ (JHS 1902). Register lists four negatives and a print copy. Union College Stillman photographic album Atene 1882, no. 3: ‘View from the Stadium Hill’.

NEGATIVE: 20cm x 20cm. Paper label pasted on the glass side along the entire right side of the negative with the inked negative number, ‘3027’, and the caption ‘Acropolis from the Gardens of Illyssus. Athens’. There is some silvering of the emulsion along the edges. (Fig. 26).

3028: Acropolis & Olympeion from the King’s Garden. Register lists four negatives and a print copy. Union College Stillman photographic album Atene 1882, no. 4: ‘View from the gardens of Illyssus’.

NEGATIVE: 20.1cm x 20cm. Two paper labels appear on upper border on emulsion side; ‘3028’ on the right and ‘8588’ on the left. Another label, ‘3028’, appears on the emulsion.
side, lower left, obscuring the structure (disused windmill) and probably serves as a marker for cropping. There are two versions of the same image on the same negative plate, each approximately 19.5cm x 9.5cm. The top image is marked with an inked ‘X’ on the emulsion side. (Fig. 27).

3029: Acropolis from the Hill of the Nymphs. Register lists four negatives and a print copy. Union College Stillman photographic album *Atene 1882*, no. 6: ‘View from the Musaeum Hill’.

**Negative:** 20.2cm x 20cm. Paper label ‘3029’ appears on the emulsion side, lower right. Inked line along the top on the emulsion side. The emulsion is beginning to yellow. (Fig. 28).

3030: Acropolis & Hymettus from Museum Hill. Register lists four negatives and a print copy. Union College Stillman photographic album *Atene 1882*, no. 8: ‘View from the Nymphaeum’.

**Negative:** 20cm x 20cm. Paper label ‘3030’ appears on the emulsion side on top of paper tape, upper left. Black paper masks are on the emulsion side, along the top (4cm wide), the bottom (4cm wide) and along both sides (each 0.5cm wide). (Fig. 29).

3031: Theseum with Acropolis in the background. Register indicates that the negative corresponds to enlargement no. 1: ‘Acropolis and Theseion’ (*JHS* 1902). Register lists one
negative, one duplicate negative, a print copy and a lantern slide. Lantern slide does not exist in the present Hellenic Society collection. Appears in the 1904 and 1913 Slide Catalogues. Entry in register is struck through, probably post-1913, and pencilled notation suggests the use of D101 instead.

NEGATIVE: 9cm x 10.5cm. Negative number ‘3031’ is marked in ink on the lower border on the emulsion side. This is a smaller format negative used for contact printing onto lantern slides. The image appears in the centre (approximately 7.2cm x 5.9cm) with rounded edges. The negative was found in an envelope marked ‘(size 1)’. (Fig. 30).

3032: Theseum. Register lists no negatives, but lists a print copy. No extant negative or lantern slide exist in the present Hellenic Society collection.

3033: Acropolis from N.E. Register lists four negatives and a print copy. Union College Stillman photographic album Atene 1882, no. 2: ‘Acropolis from the Hotel de Gde Bretagne’.

NEGATIVE: 20.1cm x 20.1cm. Paper label ‘3033’ appears on the emulsion side, lower right. (Fig. 31).

3034: Old Cathedral at Athens. Register lists four negatives and a print copy.

NEGATIVE: 19.9cm x 19.5cm. Paper label ‘3034’ appears on the emulsion side, lower right. On the glass side there are some orange paint spots over the sky area. The emulsion is beginning to flake and cloud. (Fig. 32).

3035: Byzantine Church of St. Theodore. Register lists four negatives and a print copy.

NEGATIVE: 20.1cm x 20cm. Paper label ‘3035’ appears on the emulsion side, lower left. On the glass side is another paper label with caption, ‘Byzantine Church. Athens’, located on the lower right. (Fig. 33).

3036: Athens: Pelasgic Houses at the back of Pnyx Hill. Register lists three negatives, a print copy and a lantern slide.

NEGATIVE: 20.1cm x 10.2cm. Paper label ‘3036’ appears on the emulsion side, upper left. Scratching on the emulsion and black ink covering part of the sky on top right. (Fig. 34a). LANTERN SLIDE: Catalogue number in circular label in upper-right corner, circular white sticker in upper-left corner. (Fig. 34b).
3037: Mycenae: entrance to Treasury of Atreus. Register lists no negatives, but lists a print copy. No extant negative or lantern slide exists in the present Hellenic Society collection.

3038: Athens: architectural fragments, Byzantine. Register lists four negatives, a print copy and a lantern slide. Union College Stillman photographic album Atene 1882, no. 56: ‘Details of architectural ornament, Acropolis’.

NEGATIVE: 20.1cm x 20.2cm. Paper label ‘3038’ appears on the glass side, upper left. The emulsion is beginning to yellow and peel from edges of the plate. Top-right corner slightly chipped. Fingerprint found on top left of image. (Fig. 35a).

LANTERN SLIDE: Catalogue number in circular label in upper-right corner, circular white sticker in upper-left corner. (Fig. 35b).

**NEGATIVE:** 20.4cm x 20.2cm. Paper label ‘3039’ appears on the emulsion side, lower right. Two versions of the same image, each approximately 20cm x 9.7cm, appear on the same negative plate. The lower image is marked with an ‘X’ on the glass side of the plate. An inked line on the emulsion side appears on the right and left through both images. There is some flaking of the emulsion. (Fig. 36).

3040: Metope from the Parthenon. Register lists four negatives and a print copy.

**NEGATIVE:** 20.2cm x 20.2cm. Paper label ‘3040’ appears on the emulsion side, lower left. The emulsion is beginning to yellow and peel at the edges. Some of the emulsion has been scraped off the top of the plate. (Fig. 37).

3041: Parthenon: interior looking E. Register lists no negatives, but lists a print copy. No extant negative or lantern slide exists in the present Hellenic Society collection.

3042: Parthenon: N. colonnade, looking W. Register lists four negatives and a print copy.

**NEGATIVE:** 25.5cm x 20.2cm. No specific label has been affixed to this negative. However, there is some marking on the negative itself. The name ‘W Stillman’ (with the W and S combined in monogram) and the date (‘69’) are reversed and lightly scratched into the negative on the lower-left side of the image (Fig. 38a). A reversed, painted ‘13’ is written on the emulsion side on the lower right of the image. All four sides of the glass plate have been masked (0.5cm wide) with black tape. The emulsion is beginning to cloud and fade. (Fig. 38b).

3043: Engraved bronze cuirass from Olympia. cf. Pfuhl III p. 30 or Olymp. IV pl. 59. Register lists four negatives and a print copy. Stillman originally published this Archaic cuirass, a chance find from the Alpheus valley near Olympia and at the time in a private collection of Mr Crowe, the British Consul based in Zante (Zakynthos), in the *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* (1883) and photographs of it appear in plates I–III at the end of the volume.56 In 1890, Furtwängler subsequently published – along with others found in and around Olympia – the cuirass (also called breastplate or corslet) with a fuller analysis of the design accompanied by a line drawing.57 The idea that the breastplate was of Archaic Cretan manufacture is mentioned by Pfuhl and repeated by Lamb and Benton.58 Boardman, however, showed that the ‘Crowe’ breastplate, along with the others in the Olympia series, were of Peloponnesian workmanship.59 Snodgrass classified it as an Archaic ‘Bell’-corslet and dates it to the third quarter of the seventh century, though by this time the object is listed as ‘untraceable’.60

**NEGATIVE:** 20.1cm x 20.2cm. Paper label ‘3043’ appears on the emulsion side, lower right, and an inked negative number is marked on the centre-bottom border. Inked masking is on the emulsion side, carefully marking out the top half of the image, blacking out an area just below the breast section of the cuirass. (Fig. 39).
Identify when print returns. Though this negative is grouped with the Greek negatives, the image depicted (given the architecture of the church tower) is probably not of a setting in Greece. It most resembles photographs of the Italian countryside around Sestaione taken by Stillman. Register lists four negatives and a print copy.

**NEGATIVE**: 20.2cm x 20.1cm. Paper label ‘3044’ appears on the emulsion side, lower right. An inked negative number also appears on the emulsion side, upper left. (Fig. 40).

**3044**. Erased pencilled notation in caption: ‘Identify when print returns’. Though this negative is grouped with the Greek negatives, the image depicted (given the architecture of the church tower) is probably not of a setting in Greece. It most resembles photographs of the Italian countryside around Sestaione taken by Stillman. Register lists four negatives and a print copy.

**NEGATIVE**: 20.2cm x 20.1cm. Paper label ‘3044’ appears on the emulsion side, lower right. An inked negative number also appears on the emulsion side, upper left. (Fig. 40).

**3045 to 3050**. Blank entries.

**3051 to 3084**. Beginning of the ‘Roman Series’. Not included in this catalogue.

**3085**: *Roman Series: Tiber from below the Aventine*. Register lists four negatives and a large mounted print.

**NEGATIVE**: 25.2cm x 20cm. Paper label ‘3085’ appears on the emulsion side, upper left. Inked labels ‘AA 35’ and ‘3085’ appear on the border of emulsion side, upper right. Emulsion is beginning to cloud. Lower-left corner missing. (Fig. 41).
3086: Roman Series: Tiber from below the Aventine. Register lists four negatives and a large mounted print.

Negative: 25.2cm x 20.1cm. Inked labels ‘AA 36’ and ‘3086’ appear on the emulsion side, upper right. Also, upper right, scratched into the emulsion of the image, is the negative number. (Fig. 42).

3087: Roman Series: Forum, looking E. across the Atrium Vestae. Register lists four negatives and a large mounted print.

Negative: 21.4cm x 16.2cm. Label ‘3087’ is scratched into the emulsion, upper centre, slightly to the right. The negative was found in an envelope marked with the date ‘25 Feb. 28’, possibly indicating that this slightly smaller negative was a duplicate, reproduced at a later time. (Fig. 43).
3088: Roman Series: Forum, looking N.W. from S. Maria Liberatrice. Register lists four negatives and a large mounted print.

**Negative:** 25.2cm x 20.2cm. Label ‘AA 38’ is inked on the border of the emulsion side, upper right. Below this label is ‘3038’ etched onto the top edge of the image. Emulsion is beginning to silver. *(Fig. 44).*

3089: Roman Series: Fountain of Trevi. Register lists four negatives and a large mounted print.

**Negative:** 20.2cm x 25.4cm. Paper label ‘3089’ appears on the emulsion side, lower right. Inked labels ‘AA 39’ and ‘3089’ appear on the border of the emulsion side, upper right. The emulsion is beginning to silver around the edges of the image. *(Fig. 45).*

3090: Roman Series: Column of Marcus Aurelius. Register lists four negatives, one duplicate negative and a large mounted print.

**Negative:** 20.1cm x 25.1cm. Inked labels ‘AA40’ and ‘3090’ appear on the emulsion side, in the border, top left. On the glass side, there are paper masks on both right and left sides with negative number written on pencil on right mask. *(Fig. 46).*

**NOTES**

1 I would like to acknowledge the help of a number of people in the preparation of this paper. Richella Doyle, the Executive Secretary of the Hellenic Society, allowed me unlimited access to the archives of the Hellenic Society and, throughout, encouraged me to pursue my study of the material. Ellen Fladger, head of special collections at Schaffer Library, Union College, and her student assistants kindly compared images from the Hellenic Society collections with Stillman’s photographic albums. Ian Cartwright, photographer at the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford University, provided me with valuable technical information regarding the reproduction of negatives.

2 Harlan (2008).

3 F.S. Ellis was the publisher of such nineteenth-century luminaries as Dante Gabriel Rossetti, William Morris and Wilkie Collins. It is perhaps Stillman’s friendship with Rossetti that enabled him to publish his photographs of Athens with Ellis.

4 The Autotype Company was the firm that printed Stillman’s photographs, mentioned on the title page of *The Acropolis of Athens*, for the publishing house F.S. Ellis. The Autotype Fine Art Company of London held the rights to the carbon pigment process of photographic reproduction that was coined as the ‘Autotype Process’ and the resulting print was often referred to as an ‘Autotype’. The company was known for its high quality art and photographic reproductions. See Hannavy (2008) 103–04.

5 Marion & Co. was one of the largest and most important commercial photographic firms in the late nineteenth century. See Hannavy (2008) 892–94.


7 Ehrenkranz (1988) 22.

8 The Alma-Tadema Archive at the University of Birmingham contains numerous Stillman photographs; see Pohlmann (1997) 122–23. Twenty one of Stillman’s 1869 photographs exist in the Beazley Archive, Oxford University; see http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/antiquaria/default.htm.

9 Szegedy-Maszak (2005); a shorter version of this article appears in *History of Photography* 29/1 (2005) 1–34.
Stillman (1880) is following in a tradition set by an early American antiquarian, John Izard Middleton. See Norton (1885), whose tribute to Middleton by the artist, Edward Dodwell. Stillman seems to have made his name as an expert on ‘Pelasgic’ walls, as Norton ((1885) 9) stated that Stillman’s ‘studies of Pelasgic walls have probably been wider and more thorough than those of any other living archaeologist’.

18 Stillman (1881a).
19 Stillman (1883).
20 Stillman (1885).
22 Stillman (1888). The book, On the Track of Ulysses, was copiously illustrated with Stillman’s own drawings and photographs, and a favourable review of the book promptly appeared soon after publication by another founding member of the Hellenic Society, Oscar Wilde (1888).
23 JHS 3 (1882) xlvii.
24 Leaf (1883) 298; Stillman (1883).
25 Evans (1894) 282.
26 See Stillman (1884b), where fellow founding members R.C. Jebb and J.P. Mahaffy are named, on opposing sides of the controversy.
27 Stillman (1881b; 1881c; 1884a; 1886a; 1886b; 1889b).
28 JHS 7 (1886) lxv–lv.
29 Stillman’s letter defending his position is printed in Stillman (1889a) and Dörpfeld’s response to Stillman in Dörpfeld (1889).
30 JHS 1 (1880) ix; JHS 6 (1887) liv; JHS 10 (1889) xxvii.
31 JHS 8 (1887) liv–lcv.
32 As of 2009, this portfolio could not be located in the Society’s library or archives.
33 The notice states that the Autotype Co. physically held the negatives and does not indicate that the negatives were donated to or purchased by the Hellenic Society at this time. Acquisition, therefore, must have been later, though no specific confirmation of donation or purchase can be found in the JHS.
34 Enlargements were approximately 17 inches by 13 inches, at the cost of three shillings each, unmounted, and four shillings six pence, mounted.
35 Stillman is said to have donated the negatives of Sicily in 1890; see JHS 11 (1890) xxviii–xlix. However, there is no mention of these images in the Hellenic Society negative registers, nor are they among his known photographic work. Stillman, however, published a number of articles in The Nation on prehistoric Sicily in 1889 and it is likely that he may have taken photographs at this time; see Miller (1974) 243.
36 Numerous entries in the first negative register volume list Walter Leaf, Elsey Smith and Thacher Clarke as donors to the photographic collection.
39 Union College in Schenectady, New York, was Stillman’s alma mater. In 1959 and 1974, Stillman’s family donated his letters, books, photographic albums and various memorabilia to the college. See Miller (1974) and the special collections website: http://www.union.edu/Library/about/speccoll_stillman.html.
40 Other examples of Stillman photographs produced in 1869, but not published in The Acropolis of Athens, can be found in the Alma-Tadema archive at Birmingham University. Two such examples come from Portfolio 78. Alma-Tadema photograph no. 9881, marked Stillman’s initials, date (69) and the number 16 in the foreground, is the same as published plate 17, with the exception of an added figure of a boy (Stillman’s son, Russie) in the Alma-Tadema print. Alma-Tadema photograph no. 9910 also contains Stillman’s initials, date (69) and the number 26 (one more than the published number).
42 The post-1902 acquisition date is further supported by the 1923 publication date of a reference listed in the negative register caption for negative number 3043, though this reference could equally have been a later annotation. Also see n. 33, on the acquisition of the Stillman negatives.
43 Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema, a member of the Hellenic Society from 1904–1911, collected numerous prints produced from Stillman’s Hellenic Society collection in addition to the many prints reproduced from 1869 photographs; see Tomlinson (1991) 18. For example, in his archive at Birmingham University, in Portfolio 75 photograph no. 9779 is a cropped version of Hellenic Society no. 3027. The same follows for Alma-Tadema no. 9789 (Hellenic Society no. 3019) and Alma-Tadema no. 9796 (Hellenic Society no. 3022).
44 A larger number of the ‘Roman Series’ must have existed in the Hellenic Society collection as late as 1988. Ehrenkranz (1988) 26 mentions that photographic reproductions were sent to her from the secretary of the Hellenic Society and included the photographs of the Temple of Neptune. Negative no. 3078, depicting the Temple of Neptune, is no longer in the collection. In 2005, what remained of the glass negative and slide collection was dispersed to institutions in Athens and Rome where the missing negatives may be located.
46 The lantern slides were lent, as well as copied and sold, and widely used by educational establishments and individual scholars in the English-speaking world. Borrowing statistics were kept by the Hellenic Society from 1903 to 1932 and reported in the library committee’s reports in JHS.
47 Slide sets were published in the 1913 catalogue of lantern slides. Lists of available accompanying texts were periodically printed in JHS after that time: for example, JHS 46 (1926) xxviii; JHS 50 (1930) lvii. The Parthenon and The Athenian Acropolis slide sets were associated with a text written by Arthur Hamilton Smith. Typescripts of these texts, along with slide lists, can be found in the Hellenic Society archives.
51 The captions appearing in the negative register are marked in italics in the catalogue entries. Throughout the catalogue, references are made to the 1902 list of photographic enlargement sets, JHS 22(1902) i–li, and the 1913 catalogue of lantern slides, Hellenic Society (1913). Measurements are width by height. All of the lantern slides are a British standard 8.25cm by 8.25cm. Locations of marks, labels etc. are given by viewing the negative or lantern slide from the glass side, not the emulsion side, and oriented by the image. Some figures have been enhanced in Adobe Photoshop in order to show details.
52 Lawrence Alma-Tadema was an avid collector of Stillman’s photographs, but it is unclear if the two men knew each other. Pohlmann (1997) 120 speculates that they may have been social acquaintances, but Tomlinson (1991) 19 indicates they probably were not acquainted, given Stillman’s friendship with Rossetti, who was not a supporter of Alma-Tadema. See n. 53.
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