

A Photo in a Photo: The Optics, Politics and Powers of Hand-held Portraits in Claims for Justice and Solidarity

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Abstract

This paper is about a popular kind of photograph associated with demonstrations for the cause of missing persons. It focuses on Cyprus, where the demonstrators are often women who lost family members in the events before and during the Turkish Army invasion of 1974. In documenting these demonstrations, photojournalists capture a typical kind of image, here called 'the photographic Pietà'. Although the photographic Pietà first came to the author's attention in Cyprus it is not limited to that country, and this paper will establish some of the political, temporal and religious parameters in which it is prevalent. The paper establishes links with similar forms of representation in protests that appear in the context of other wars, and it isolates the uniqueness of the photographic Pietà among other kinds of photographs. One of the main attributes of the photographic Pietà is a kind of disappearance, which is related both to the basic rules of visual perspective and the mechanisms of photographic reproduction, and this is described here by way of example and experiment, then reviewed in the contexts of social science, political photography, gender and the media.

Keywords: gender, media, photography, demonstration, human rights, politics, Cyprus

Introduction

At the motorcycle rally of 1997,¹ one year after the killing of Tassos Isaac within the barbed wire no-mans' land of the Nicosia Buffer Zone, I witnessed a traditionally dressed widow drive a tractor into the same barbed wire. Mrs Panayiota Pavlou Solomi sat high up on the blue agricultural tractor that was decorated with a banner, which read, 'ΤΙΑΜΕ ΝΑ ΣΠΙΡΟΥΜΕ ΤΑ ΧΟΡΑΦΙΑ ΜΑΣ' (Let's go plant our fields). In addition to this banner, the tractor was pinned with flapping black and white photographs of the scores of missing persons from the village of Komi Kepir, many of whom are her relatives (see Fragko, 2002). In Mrs Pavlou Solomi's lap, she cradled the largest of her portrait photographs: her husband and her son who both are still, as of February 2016, officially

1 See 'Motor Bike Rally to Kyrenia in Occupied Cyprus 1996'. Available at: [<http://www.argyrou.eclipse.co.uk/Rally.htm>].



Image 1: *Berlin–Nicosia Motorcycle Rally 1997, Mrs Panayiota Pavlou Solomi at Buffer Zone*
© photograph: Elizabeth Hoak-Doering

missing. She was acting alone, and handling the jolting tractor with the skill of a lady who had farmed her entire life. Behind, and on both sides of her there was a crowd of people with cameras. This isolated act, within the context of a charged political demonstration, projected symbolic meanings that related to Mrs Pavlou Solomi personally, as a Cypriot civilian, and as a Greek Cypriot woman. Her attention-getting performance was about Cypriot Missing Persons and the ongoing military occupation of the north part of Cyprus, but it also figuratively pushed at the heavily protected boundaries of Cypriot norms for women's self-expression.

The media-driven image of a bereaved or worried person holding the photograph of a missing relative has recently become fairly common, even though the disappearance of individuals is certainly not limited to modern warfare, or to warfare itself. Similarly, people have been posing for photographs holding older photos in their hands since the popularisation of photography as a medium. However, it was not until well into the twentieth century – and specifically in Cyprus and Argentina – when relatives of missing persons began to hold personal photographs up to the photojournalist's lens: a phenomenon that came about after the invention of the portable camera, the spread of global media and common understanding of individual human rights. For Ariella Azoulay (2012) this kind of photograph is a gesture that illustrates 'the event of photography par excellence'. But the gesture in this particular composition is only one aspect of the present analysis and, departing from Azoulay's work, the paper will look at events outside of the

Israel–Palestine binary, and also outside of Cyprus, presenting different paths for analysing embedded imagery in photographic theory.

This kind of photo within a photo is presented here as the ‘photographic Pietà’, and I work on several levels to describe, contextualise and explore it. To do so, I begin with a discussion of photography, showing how repetition modifies a prototype, both perceptually and actually. I distinguish the effect of this repetition from any perceptual and theoretical modifications to an original that take place during mass printing. I build these optical effects onto social science observations that Paul Sant Cassia makes in his work, *Bodies of Evidence* (2005), where he discusses the modalities and strategies of pictorial enunciation among displaced Cypriots in the context of Cypriot inter-communal strife and the war of 1974. Then, working through Azoulay and also Jalal Toufic (particularly 2004), this study broadens into an examination of how different modalities of photography can construct, or define a discourse between disempowered parts of society and the mainstream, and how it seems to amplify the cause of missing persons. This paper takes substance from, updates and revises the theoretical approach of a work previously published (Hoak-Doering, 2014).

Temporal Dislocation and Historical Distance

Temporal dislocation is part of a photograph’s charm: it says something about the past, while physically existing in the present. The current popularity of the ‘selfie’ demonstrates that even the passing of a few seconds describes an interesting gap in time. Temporal dislocation can awaken a momentary existential crisis about memory and human experience that reaches back to the origins of recording media in the late nineteenth century. With the invention of the Phonograph, for example, people questioned how real or experienced time could be ‘kept’, and ‘used’ later. Some wondered what, then, is the role of human memory? (see Daniels, 2011). Similar questions give photography, as a recording medium, its aura ‘... a strange tissue of space and time: the unique apparition of a distance, however near it may be ...’ (Benjamin, 2003 [1935], p. 23). In addition to the historical distance created in the gap between the exposure of the photograph and the viewer’s gaze, old photographs also bear their age through physical decay. The dissipation of the chemical processes or substrates – of glass paper, board or metal plate – also demonstrate the existence of historical distance. Of course historical distance also appears in the contents of the photographic image, and these can also create bridges between past and present.²

2 Barthes finds this historical dis-continuity in the Winter Garden photograph, in which his mother was a child. He says, ‘no anamnesis could ever make me glimpse this time starting from myself’ (Barthes, 2000, p. 65).



Image 2: *Baker's Jubilee Philadelphia PA, USA (1898)*
Courtesy of the Library Company of Philadelphia (historical image)
© photograph: William Harvey Doering

Image 2 exemplifies historical distance. It is a street photograph of bakers carrying sticks of bread in a jubilee, marking the end of the Spanish American War. The original is a glass slide, and so historical distance is clear from the material, texture and format of the image. The content also shows historical distance; the bakers' uniforms, the style of the parade, and other cues assert that this was a long time ago (it was 1898). Still, the setting is recognisable to someone who knows the city. Often, the allure of historical distance hinges on a viewer's ability to make intellectual connections, and to engage with its content in a diachronic way. Historical distance may illustrate the viewer's distance from the past, while also making connections with it.³

Embedded Distance in Photography

Embedded distance in photography occurs when photos appear in, or as the subject of photographs. A photograph is usually the subject of other photographs because it has historical content that relates to the person holding the original. The urge to do this is

3 In contemporary documentary and films in Cyprus, E.A. Davis (2014) finds historical distance as a way to identify and assess archival material, which is embedded for effects that range from the evidentiary to reification of personal recollection, and stand-ins for evidence where none is available. In film, this shows through variations such as in cinematic quality, antiquated screen ratios and editing anomalies.

typical enough to have been featured on the cover of Anchor Books' paperback edition of Susan Sontag's *On Photography* (1989). These pictures usually show generations of a family; for example a younger person demonstrating her lineage by displaying the old photograph of relatives. As a result of this stylistic understanding, embedded distance does not readily attract attention – and so it could be interpreted or deployed in a political fashion, both intentionally and unintentionally.

Historical distance, as we have noted, is partly determined by the materiality of the image: the way the image looks faded, brown, or softened; and partly determined by the contents of the image. What, then, are the optical results of embedded distance? What happens to an image when it is re-photographed? And how does this relate to any meanings that could be conveyed in the newer image?

In the 1970s, artist Susan Hiller used the particular qualities of privacy and instantaneity in photo booths to create her Photomat series. One of the images from this series shows her looking directly at the camera, covering all but her eyes with a contact sheet of just-made self-portraits, and this work is used as a publicity image for her 2015 retrospective exhibition at the Lisson Gallery, London. Among other concerns, the Photomat series 'demonstrates the expressive peculiarities of machines' and 'disrupts conventions of representation' (Ward, 2015). What if, however, only the embedded image itself is examined as the mode and disseminator of disruption? How does the conventional understanding of portraiture change? For example: one photograph could be re-photographed and printed, and this process repeated until the original image seems to disappear. If the image fills the frame each time, the original disappears in about twenty generations; give or take a few depending on lens quality, lighting, and processing. The original disappears faster when the image includes someone holding the photograph.



Image 3: *Inter-generational pose (or the Photographic Pietà)*

© photograph: Radomir Cvetič/author

The pose in image 3 (previous page) is associated with the-younger-generation-holding-the-older-generation, and in this case the embedded original disappears in only four iterations of the process. Optically, the embedded photograph fades away; it has becomes smaller, less detailed, lower contrast, lighter and eventually disappears. These are the same qualities associated with spatial distance in the basic rules of atmospheric and linear perspective, where the subject actually is farther away. Metaphorically, one might interpret this as a younger generation showing the disappearance of an older generation, but it takes on other meanings in the politicised contexts to be addressed later.



Image 4: *Embedded digital portrait*
© photograph: Elizabeth Hoak-Doering

Digital photography leads to a different kind of distortion (image 4). When the experiment is conducted by photographing a screen image, the destruction of the original also takes place in about twenty steps, but with a very different visual result: the distorted original image becomes frontal, it is enlarged, the colours are high-contrast and saturated. Since the reproduction and embedment that are the subjects of this paper usually take place in print media, the discussion that follows deals with the original scenario of printed photographic imagery (see image 3) and addresses the operative effect of embedded images. In these, the original is gradually diminished, de-personalised and optically distanced; the distinct personality of the embedded picture dissipates as it is

simultaneously framed and re-contextualised in successive generations of photography. This framing and re-contextualisation exposes a power difference, both through pictorial quality and agency. That is, within the photograph the image of the ‘holder’ (usually a woman) is typically larger, and in higher contrast and better focus than the image held (usually a man). Importantly, the holder chooses to bring a portrait into a space for a reason. Her agendas and her agency will be discussed later. Inside the format of the photograph, the feminine holder is visually more powerful than the held image of a man. But there are also power dynamics that are external to the photograph, wherein the ‘holder’ and the ‘held’ are seen by the media and then by the media’s audience.

The Photographic Pietà

The Pietà is an icon of suffering; a motif where a mother holds the dead body of her son or husband. The classic use of this motif is religious, in paintings, and particularly sculptures of the Passion, where Mary holds the body of Jesus. Michelangelo’s (1499) *Pietà* is the quintessential example of the motif, but the motif is not always religious. After the World Wars artists also used the mother-bearing-son composition in a secular (although referential) way to symbolise sacrifice and a nation in mourning, particularly in European monumental sculpture. In another form an angel, usually the Archangel Michael, can replace the mother figure.



Image 5: Roadblock at Ledra Palace Hotel (late 1970s)

© photograph: Andreas Manolis

The *photographic Pietà* is a contemporary and secular version of that religious motif. In this case a woman is photographed holding a photograph of her son, fiancé, husband, father or another male relative. Over time, the usual chronological realities do not always confer and so, as Sant Cassia notes (2005), sometimes a woman has aged in relation to the photograph she holds: a photo of her fiancée could look like her son. The present discussion is limited to the majority of such pictures in which women hold images of men, which Sant Cassia (2005) typifies as ‘Penelopes and Vigils’. It leaves for further exploration the many variations that include children holding images of adults and vice-versa, men holding images, and women holding pictures of women (Sant Cassia, 1998–1999 and Sant Cassia, 2005; and the photo archive of Andreas Manolis).

The photographic Pietà functions in visual culture differently from the classic Pietà. In addition to its Christian modalities, the Pietà mobilises notions of national sacrifice. As such, the classic Pietà is usually mounted on behalf of a place or organisation, and any individual commemoration is often found on a cenotaph that accompanies the work. By contrast, the photographic Pietà is individually specific: a particular woman holds a portrait (or portraits) of a particular person (or people), usually but not always men. Occasionally the women are named and their stories are known, but their faces are always recognisable and intentionally exposed. Such iconic images of mothers holding pictures of relatives appear in media coverage of disappearances related to war and other catastrophic events, where there seems to be a common strategy (intentional or unintentional) for discourse with media, politicians, and the public. The political circumstances of vigils and protests where this photographic form appears vary from dissent to patriotism, and also in the ways that images substitute for, or recognise the existence of missing individuals.

In the 1970s three main groups emerged that began using photographs of their missing relatives to communicate through the media: Greek Cypriot relatives of missing persons, the Mothers of the Plaza del Mayo (Argentina) and the National League of POW/MIA Families (USA). Since then, the use of a personal photograph within a media-publicised vigil can now be found in many other parts of the world: Mexico, Thailand, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Nepal, East Timor, Indonesia and Kashmir to name but a few (Thornhill, 2014; Mugiyanto *et al.*, 2008). The common factor among all these groups is the use of the personal photograph to create political awareness of missing persons, and to communicate this injustice to a larger public. The photographic Pietà can be seen where it reinforces official government narratives as in Cyprus and the United States of America, but it can also be seen where official government narratives are denounced – as in Argentina (Sant Cassia, 2005) and Asia (Mugiyanto *et al.*, 2008). In each of these groups the function of the embedded image in vigils and demonstrations is slightly different, possibly revealing perceptual differences among these cultures with regard to photography.

Vigils in Argentina by the Mothers of the Plaza del Mayo explicitly aim to expose the government's complicity in, and to end official silence about the *disparecidos* – civilians who disappeared by force during the Dirty War of 1976 through 1983. There is no agreed-upon number of *disparecidos* from the Dirty War; estimates of missing range between 9,000 and 30,000. Mothers of the *disparecidos* gather on Thursday afternoons at the political hub of Buenos Aires, the Plaza del Mayo, in front of the presidential palace, wearing white scarves and carrying or wearing photographs of their missing relatives. Their scarves are embroidered with the names of missing persons, symbolising baby's blankets, and these notorious headscarves have become an emblem of the group. The Mothers of the Plaza del Mayo have received international accolades for their human rights activities and they have been the subjects of academic research (there are many: see Guzman Bouvard, 1994, and Fisher, 1989). They have also inspired pop artists, Sting and U2 among others. Their activism and the causes they stand for can only be summarised here, but Sant Cassia generously develops this topic in relation to Cypriot vigils in *Bodies of Evidence* (2005, pp. 267, 273). Here, these large-scale actions are acknowledged and referenced as vital points of comparison with Cypriot women's demonstrations on behalf of missing persons.

In the USA, the National League of POW/MIA (Prisoners of War/Missing in Action) Families are among many well-organised American support groups for relatives of American missing servicemen. More than 83,000 military personnel are currently listed as POW/MIA from modern American wars; this number excludes current and recent military engagements in Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan and elsewhere (United States Department of Defense Prisoner of War/Missing Personnel Office). Unlike the Mothers of the Plaza del Mayo, mothers from this group maintain personal vigilance that demonstrates their patriotism. They do not protest or stage vigils, instead they perform in a way that reminds civilians about the sacrifices that military families make and this performance includes using the POW/MIA emblem in different ways on a daily basis. The emblem is a silhouette of a serviceman and a watchtower, framed in a barbed wire motif, and the portrait profile is based on a particular serviceman, graphically transformed. The emblem of the POW/MIA is most often seen as a black flag (Leepson, 2015; see also Sturken, 1997). Like the symbolic headscarves of the Mothers of the Plaza del Mayo, this distinctive black flag is also a logo; that is, the flag most often hangs below the American flag, but it also is transformed into automobile stickers, charms for bracelets and other paraphernalia (for the controversy about this flag see Perlstein, 2015). When the National League of POW/MIA Families participate in public acts of commemoration they tend to use this black and white symbol rather than photographs of their individual missing relative(s), so the photographic Pietà here is transformed in an interesting way

where a symbol, not a portrait, is held up to the camera.⁴ As a result, these women seem more like the classical *Pietà*: a patriotic mother and a symbolic model of sacrifice for the nation. Nevertheless these are not idealised mothers, but rather named individuals who pose with a symbol of the cause more often than a personal photo. The National League of POW/MIA Families present themselves in compliance with the sacrifices and honours of military life, trusting their government and the aims of the military, which pledges to 'Keep the promise', 'Fulfill their Trust' and 'No one left behind' (US Department of Defense Prisoner of War/Missing Personnel Office). The difference in the way these people use symbols rather than photographs of their missing may be tied to cultural and perceptual differences about photography, as will be shown later. Importantly, however, the American missing are servicemen and women: They were lost while on military duty, and this is different from the Argentine missing who are civilians.

In contrast to the other examples, the Cypriot missing are both civilian and military. With few exceptions, the images used in researching this paper come from Andreas Manolis who has worked as a press photographer in Cyprus since 1975. He captured multiple types of embedded images from demonstrations, vigils and funerals on both sides of the UN Buffer Zone, among Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. The phenomenon is more common in post-war Greek Cypriot media than in Turkish Cypriot media, and the subjects of the photographs here discussed are all Greek Cypriot. This is emphatically not to imply that there are no Turkish Cypriot missing from events before and during the war in 1974 and the intercommunal fighting that intensified around 1963 (see Sant Cassia, 2005, p. 149 and the archives of Andreas Manolis). Officially, 493 Turkish Cypriots disappeared during the period 1963–1974 (CMP, 2015). Nor is it to imply that there is a cultural difference in the Turkish Cypriot affective response to missing family members. Instead, the media coverage of Turkish Cypriot missing reflects an official narrative about the Turkish army invasion of 1974, and it demonstrates that Turkish Cypriots were expected to remember – and in a different way from Greek Cypriots – to forget aspects of their recent history (see Papadakis, 1993). The official Turkish Cypriot stance on their missing persons is that they are martyrs who died for the sake of establishing a separate, new Turkish Cypriot state (Sant Cassia, 2005). Greek Cypriots now claim 1,508 military and civilians who disappeared during intercommunal unrest around 1963, and during the invasion in 1974 (CMP, 2016). Since July of 2007, mortal remains are being recovered and returned through the efforts of the bicomunal

4 Graphic symbols transforming into representation also happens with the girls kidnapped from their secondary school in Chibok, Nigeria (14 April 2014). In protests against government inaction and awareness campaigns for the 219 girls still missing, the logo 'Bring Back Our Girls' essentialises their disappearance. This is especially true with the hashtag, #bringbackourgirls. Both the phrase and the hashtag are held up to cameras more often than images of individuals.

Committee for Missing Persons (CMP). The 2016 CMP report states that 1,064 individuals have been exhumed, and through DNA testing the remains of 480 Greek Cypriots and 149 Turkish Cypriots have been identified (CMP, 2016). In contrast with the official Turkish Cypriot narrative of martyrdom, the official Greek Cypriot narrative is that the remaining persons missing are possibly alive. As will be discussed later, aspirations for the return of Greek Cypriot missing persons is sometimes officially conflated with aspirations for the return of the north part of the island and a future as a re-unified Cyprus (Sant Cassia, 1998–1999 and Sant Cassia, 2005).

The photographic Pietà is linked with a group of Greek Cypriots who self-identify as Cypriot relatives of missing persons. While not all of these people take part in public demonstrations and vigils, there are roughly two bodies of people who do; and they differ in the intensity and in the ways that they stage their vigils. The general body is known as the Pancyprian Committee for the Return of Missing Relatives and Undeclared/Missing Prisoners of War [Pankypria Epitropi Syngenon Adiliton kai Adhiloton Aichmaloton], and it is a mixed group of families and relatives – both men and women – of the Greek Cypriot missing, who are usually from working and middle class families (Sant Cassia, 1998–1999, p. 274). Of these, a contingent known colloquially as the Mothers of Cyprus – *Oi Manadhes tis Kyprou* – will be discussed later.

The Pancyprian Committee for the Return of Missing Relatives and Undeclared / Missing Prisoners of War uses as its emblem a stylized image of a woman holding a photograph – a direct link between the photographic Pietà and the motivation behind the cause. This graphic image functions as the group's symbol, but it is not manifest in an overarching way like the headscarf of the Argentinian mothers, or the POW/MIA flag. The Cyprus government, though, did use iconic examples of the photographic Pietà to support its own agenda and ideological aims. Sant Cassia (1998–1999) relates how the post-invasion government symbolically conflated the loss of territory in the north of the island with the cause of Greek Cypriot missing persons. Thus, people participating in vigils also – perhaps unintentionally – also participated in an official narrative of waiting for return of property, even though they were not necessarily internally displaced. While Sant Cassia rightly points out that public demonstration was one of only a few means to communication between marginalised people and the political elite, I will emphasise that the Cyprus government co-opted photographic Pietà images for its own agenda. Cypriot relatives of the missing may or may not trust that the government is acting in their interests, and they may or may not be concerned with the reunification of the island and return of land under Turkish military control. The motive behind demonstrations for the Missing was most often personal: individual pleas for justice and human rights.

In July of 2007 the bicomunal Committee on Missing People in Cyprus began exhumations, DNA identification, and return of mortal remains, and at that point the official discourse that symbolically linked missing property with missing people had to

change. As with the return of mortal remains, so the government introduced public discourse about compromises in the return of territory. This was during the time of the direct talks between the leaders of the two communities (beginning in 2002) and the Annan Plan referendum (2004). Along with this change in political climate vigils became less frequent, mortal remains are gradually being returned to families and absolute faith in the government's official narrative about the so-called Cyprus Problem (unresolved land and human rights disputes from 1974 and before, and the continued presence of United Nations Peacekeepers) seems to be softening. Demonstrations by the families of Cypriot Missing never reached the point of large-scale protests that crossed social and economic strata, nor were they able to directly confront the government's opacity on the plight of the missing as directly as the mothers of the Argentinian missing do. Instead, these vigils balanced patriotism with criticism by posing existential, subjective questions about human rights to institutions: to the Cyprus government, foreign powers, and the United Nations. Although strident, their demands were posed within frameworks of government and civil society that were acceptable at that time.



Image 6: *Roadblock #2, at Ledra Palace Hotel (late 1970s)*
© photograph: Andreas Manolis

The photographic Pietà reflects a shift in focus from group to individual iconography, possibly related to a modern, popular understanding of individual rights. Crafted in the aftermath of World War II, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) came about as a result of the Holocaust, but popular understanding of these rights apparently did not happen immediately. Azoulay counts only three instances where

Palestinian ‘plaintiffs’ demonstrated their loss to Jewish photographers during the violent displacement of Palestinians and the establishment of the state of Israel (the *Nakba*, 1948; Azoulay, 2012 p. 229). Thus, the emergence of the photographic Pietà shows that there may have been a gradual change in the ways individuals learned to relate injustice through mass media via photography. Azoulay’s narrow focus may not be a fair gauge on the latter observation, however; it begs further exploration especially into the profound archives of Jewish peoples as photographic subjects during and after the Holocaust. On another level, the photographic Pietà’s emergence may also reflect changes in the camera itself. Sontag (2003) writes that before about 1940 cameras were not portable enough to take pictures of individuals in varied environments, and so the photographic Pietà would have evolved along with photojournalism, too: not only in terms of what can be photographed, but also in terms of a new critical relationship between subjects, their agency and role in picture-making. The photographic Pietà is a performative motif – that is most effective when the object of a demonstration – whether large or small. And it is in direct discourse with the media, whose coverage broadcasts both the cause and individual experiences.



Image 7: *Ledra Palace roadblock, observation post by police barracks late 1970s*
© photograph: Andreas Manolis

The Distant Subject

A woman in the photographic Pietà is not holding the embedded photo as a *memento mori*, an image of the dead. In a departure from the classic Pietà, she is holding the portrait of a missing person whose fate is unknown, and whose partial-presence is emphasised by the optical effects of both embedded and historical distance. Sant Cassia describes the state of her unknowing as ‘having an existential ambiguity’ which is different from the classic ‘liminality’ that anthropologists use to describe the transitory state between life and death (Sant Cassia, 1998–1999). Jalal Toufic (2014) approaches liminality through the Tibetan concept of Bardo, but the uncertainty that his work proposes includes several kinds of partial states of human presence. It is through such theories as Quantum physics that he builds an existential uncertainty, which in turn becomes a theoretical escape from radical and state violence in Israel, Palestine and Lebanon. One such proposition (*ibid.*) is about witnessing an astronaut crossing the event horizon of a black hole. To the viewer, the astronaut leaves our space-time and is out of communication, even though they appear to be frozen, and two-dimensional, on our side of the black hole. Here, in Toufic’s scientifically-rooted narrative, the universe acts as a kind of photographer, presenting time that has stopped, and he equates our nostalgia about old photographs with ‘the irretrievable loss to the universe of one who has been thus photographed’ (*ibid.*, p. 2). He says that nostalgia comes from ‘an intuition of the resonance’ of that crossing of the event horizon, and the freezing of time. The word ‘resonance’ figures heavily for Toufic, because the photographic act resonates through the universe, and its effects are implicit from the theoretical end of science through the mundane. It is in this sense of resonance that Toufic’s highly speculative interpretation of physics can be incorporated here, with respect to actual loss and grief. The mother figure in the photographic Pietà personifies and inhabits the perceptual ambiguity just described of a witness, and her missing relative is resonating as a collected set of memories; seen as a two-dimensional image that cannot communicate (for acoustic resonance in this context see Hoak-Doering, 2014, pp. 168–170, 187–188). In Toufic’s scenario, the mother-witness also takes up Barthes’ assertion that a photograph actually contains and projects luminous elements reflected from the subject of the image: it ‘... belongs to that class of laminated objects whose two leaves cannot be separated without destroying them both: the windowpane and the landscape ...’ (Barthes, p. 6). The photograph is an actual living memory:

‘In the picture, the person’s still alive, it’s a memory. I hold the picture because he’s still alive ... without a picture, the memory fades, it flows away after years ... Can you imagine if the picture wasn’t discovered? The memory [would be] ... narrow, limited ...’ (Andreas Manolis, conversation about his missing brother 10 September 2010).

For Barthes, portrait photographs are literally animated by and invested with a human presence, conveyed through light in the eyes. Anyone else who sees the portrait of a

missing person must become a partial witness: ‘... the *Spectrum* of the Photograph ... retains ... a relation to “spectacle” and adds to [the photograph] that rather terrible thing which there is in every photograph: the return of the dead’ (Barthes, p. 9). Looking again to Toufic, at the edge of the universe where a body would cross the event horizon into a black hole ‘the universe automatically takes the astronaut’s photograph as he crosses its border, the event horizon, in a sort of paradigmatic farewell’ (Toufic, 2014). The held picture, the portrait, is historically and visually distant and however important the picture is to the woman holding it, the viewer is not particularly able to gather much information about the individual in the portrait; nor would such details be likely to determine a character without memories that may be attached to them.



Image 8: *Ledra Palace Roadblock. Observation post by police barracks late 1970s*
© photograph: Andreas Manolis

Embedded photos of missing men are often but not always black and white, formal like an official military or passport photo or wedding picture, or a school photo. Collars and close shaves, a modest smile – these are usual characteristics of the held pictures and, although not quite sombre, these portraits often conform to general practical and professional standards. Why are such photos chosen? Sometimes they are not chosen: sometimes they are the only photos that remain after the upheaval of a war (conversation with Andreas Manolis, 10 September 2010). Given a choice, a formal picture is often more desirable even though less indicative of the man as a particular character. Such formalities add to the effects of embedding that begin to erase the individual. These icons of men are provocative in the way that they stand in for a particular person; the way they seem to emanate, or encapsulate his ghost. The viewer gleans little about the individual, and is probably not expected to. By implication though, the viewer is expected to respond to the idea of losing someone whose portrait we would so tenderly hold ourselves.

Three examples of the photographic Pietà that will be discussed here – in Cyprus, Argentina, and the USA – are all Christian societies, although respectively Greek

Orthodox, Catholic and predominantly Protestant (The Pew Forum report, 2007). It is interesting to look at the faiths of these societies and reflect on the deployment of the photographic Pietà in relation to variations in Christian beliefs about iconography. Greek Orthodox people, for example, often compare the practice of kissing icons (veneration) to kissing a picture of a loved person.

‘... In using an icon in devotion, one could legitimately accord it honor, because of the one portrayed in it ... All such honor was directed to the one portrayed in the icon, and not to the painted materials themselves. In making this distinction ... they were recognizing a common human phenomenon. Whether ... in the way one responds to the picture of the emperor, or in the way a young man might treat the picture of his girlfriend back home, people distinguish between the picture itself and the one portrayed, and yet they do not hesitate to treat those pictures with special honor, as having a unique connection to the ones pictured in them’ (Payton, pp. 189–190).

The Catholic practice of veneration changed slightly with regard to religious art and objects after Vatican II (1962–1965):

‘... The net result of ... evolutionary developments was that the church building housed a whole series of foci for people who visited the church outside the time of the liturgy or even during the liturgy. It was not uncommon in the past to see people at side altars or burning candles before an image even during mass. It is precisely because churches lost a certain sense of focus that the 2nd Vatican Council foresaw a return to the fundamental needs of the church ...’ (Cunningham, 2009, p. 97).

Nevertheless, accepted understandings about the Incarnation make Catholic and Orthodox churches more similar than different in the ways believers interact with religious art and material, including the sacramental bread and wine. This is particularly so when they stand in comparison to Protestants. For Orthodox and Catholics, the bread and wine are believed to become, through consecration, actual elements of the body of Christ. Among Orthodox Christians, veneration of icons and religious artefacts reflects the idea that God can be manifest in human flesh (Jesus).

‘... since Christ became true man, it is legitimate to *depict his face* (sic) upon the holy ikons; and, since Christ is one person and not two, these ikons do not just show us his humanity in separation from his divinity, but they show us one person of the eternal Logos incarnate’ (Ware, 1979, p. 72).

This departs from the positions of the iconoclasts (and thus all Protestants) who believe that the sacrament and religious imagery are only symbolic.

Differences in the way the photographic Pietà appears in Orthodox/Catholic populations compared to predominantly Protestant populations may speak to minor differences in the accepted understanding of a photographic portrait. That is, that

Orthodox and Catholic people may read into a photograph something closer to Barthes' proposition that photographs hold the light from the eyes of the deceased (Barthes, 2000). By contrast, Americans (and even post-Vatican II Catholics) are much more likely to show restraint toward religious imagery, and caution in expressing such an embodied understanding of a photograph; suggesting, perhaps, another reason for the POW/MIA mothers to be photographed with the symbol of the cause rather than a photograph of their relative(s).



Image 9: *By the roadblock at Ledras Street in 2001–2002, Night demonstration by the Green Line military observation post (contact sheet series)*
© photograph: Andreas Manolis

The Media and the Pietà

As opposed to the photographs that are held in hand, which are cherished personal possessions, the photographic Pietà is not personal. It is public and demonstrative, because photojournalists capture and format the image, and the media amplifies it, along with the cause. This, according to the photographer Andreas Manolis is perhaps not intentional. He remarks that ‘... [the women] are not looking at me. They are looking through me’ (personal conversation, 30 September 2010). However, as is clear from the example above (image 9), the photojournalist can choose how to frame the embedded image, shaping meaning around the public act of showing a personal photograph. This embedded picture of the missing person describes the temporal, physical and metaphysical distance from a demonstration. A woman who is demonstrating may hope that her face will tell her story with human appeal; that the embedded image may add authenticity to the story, and she may also seek purpose in a more general search for justice.

The photographic Pietà suggests a truncated grieving process for missing persons that is highlighted by, even created by the media. As the embedded image of the missing person becomes optically distanced, the woman holding the portrait in a demonstration in a way enacts her relative's disappearance. This optical and performative repositioning of the person in the photograph (its content) mobilises new layers of meaning, new viewpoints: the effect of which is to 'meaningfully reorder everyday life' (Sturken and Cartwright, p. 89). The demonstrating woman also acts out the im/possibility of taking on the traditional feminine gender role of mourning over a body (Sant Cassia, 1998–1999, p. 272), and exhumations that have taken place since 2007 result in a transformation of the photographic Pietà. Burials re-prioritise the portrait photograph as ambiguity lessens along with the return of mortal remains (image 10).



Image 10: 27 August 2007 funeral of a man in the catalogue of Missing Persons whose mortal remains were returned
© photograph: Andreas Manolis

A Citizenry of Photography?

Ariella Azoulay's notion of a 'civil contract of photography' provides the basis for a discussion of ownership and civic participation in the photographic Pietà. Her work is entertained with caution however, because while she deals precisely with the relationship between viewer, photographic moment and content, her writing style distances the reader in a way analogous to the photographic one with which she finds fault. Readers of *The Civil Contract of Photography* will find, for example, her observation that '[t]here has always been a regard for the visible. The world has a visible dimension; human beings are

equipped with eyes and conduct themselves, to a large extent, in and through the world in keeping with the ways they observe it' (2008, p. 94). This kind of padding, or patronising, functions as the literary equivalent of a weak state photographer's distance from the distasteful content of the picture he must record (this distance is illuminated in her 2012 work, especially pp. 227–228). Furthermore, her theoretical 'citizenship of photography' is difficult to grasp because its '... members are ... anyone and everyone who bears any relationship whatsoever to photographs – as a photographer, a viewer of photographs, or a photographed person ... the citizenry of photography is borderless and open' (2008, p. 97). Is the citizenry of photography really all-inclusive? How can it have meaning if it is indistinguishable? Foundational questions aside, looking at the photographic Pietà in the context of Azoulay's perspectives on ownership and civic duty exposes a space where photographic actors, agents and subjects do not fit in with her so-called citizenry. This space is outside of the Israel-Palestine binary, which is the stage for her work. Perhaps through these departures, her 'citizenship of photography' may find a comprehensible, even if less comprehensive constituency.

Azoulay's work functions in this discussion where she talks about framing the 'event of photography' (2012) and individuals using photography as part of anti-state petitioning (2008). She says, '[a]s long as photographs exist, I will contend, we can see in them and through them the way in which ... a contract ... enables the injured parties to present their grievances, in person or through others, now or in the future' (2008, p. 86), and while this makes sense in terms of exposing injustice, this is the context in which Azoulay declares that all photographs are public property by nature. She attempts to revise the traditional notion that the photograph '... was recognized as belonging to whomever possessed the instrument that created the photographic image and the support on which the original image was printed, rather than to the one who stood in front of the camera ...' (2008, p. 99). The photographic Pietà contrasts with the notion of photographs as public property. In the environment where a woman holds a picture at a demonstration, and where the subject of that picture is missing, for an academic to say that woman's photograph could be public property is a misunderstanding of the situation. Speaking almost directly to this scenario she writes, 'At the same time that a photograph lies in someone's hands, someone else can always claim the deposited image for themselves, or at least demand to participate in its safekeeping ... [which] stems from a duty toward the deposit as such ...' (2008, p. 103). Safe-keeping of photos is, for Azoulay, a civic duty and this extends even to institutional or journalistic control and deployment of images where the identity of a person in the content is unknown. That said, the people in the photographic Pietà have other things at stake, especially if the embedded portrait is the only one left after the upheaval of war and internal displacement (as previously suggested here, p. 29), and especially where it could be locally understood as a physical,

and spiritual link to the missing person. Although Azoulay proclaims, 'the concepts of property and ownership are ontologically foreign to photography' (2008, p. 103), ownership of these particular hand-held portraits cannot be massaged into the property of an intellectualised citizenry. The essence of demonstrating a portrait to a camera is that a woman is showing physical, kin-ownership; and loss of kin, after all, is the message of the photographic Pietà. Portraits of the missing are definitely not something that 'someone else can always claim', even in the name of civic duty, without losing meaning. Until the image becomes the sub-content of a 'photographic event', these photographic portraits clearly belong to families. Civic duty comes into play depending on how the portraits are mobilised, and this discussion follows.

What does participation in the 'citenry of photography' look like? Azoulay's civic duty is best shown in photographs where a person gestures at the circumstances of a catastrophe (2012, p. 229). This would naturally include the photographic Pietà, except that the latter begs for a deeper reading. In the scenario of the photographic Pietà, the catastrophe and victim are convoluted by the state of un-knowing, and the gesture is part of a performance that may only be personal interest, or it may come from a sense of civic or national duty. For sure, these pictures are deliberately made along with the media. The women 'give the photographer the right to turn them into a photographic image' but Azoulay's issue with them 'receiv[ing] no material reward' (2008, p. 106; see also p. 116) seems irrelevant compared with the other power transactions that are taking place. In fact, where she elaborates to say that 'the photographer ... may even become wealthy ...' her argument loses traction in the environment of these photographs. This is not to say that the people who become 'the content' (2008, p. 100) of photographs do not deserve better, or more recognition – rather it is to say that in the present case what is sought out is exactly this high-profile portrait photo. The subject of the photographic Pietà is not 'abandoned ... unable to determine [the photograph's] composition and the modes of distribution'. Quite the opposite: this kind of photograph, which Azoulay dismisses, (quoted later, p. 229) embodies the subject's empowerment, not her victimhood. Azoulay's fixation on the specific controversy with Florence Owens Thompson and Dorothy Lange, eclipses other possible discourses in which the photographic subject is not a victim but rather a participant and an agent. In the photographic Pietà a woman is taking control of the 'deposit' (2008, p. 103) of her private image by deliberately exposing it and re-framing it in yet a larger body of like-minded political activity. Although it could be seen as a concrete example of Azoulay's 'civic duty' it is also – importantly – a gendered civic duty accomplished in spite of paternalistic cultural norms, and while maintaining the privilege of image ownership on all levels. In the personal, performative context of the photographic Pietà, Azoulay's presumptive citizenry of photography has a subgroup of women non-conformists who participate in collective, often anti-state efforts as discreet individuals with private claims, and personal photographs.

Jalal Toufic's *Vampires* (2003) presents a welcome contrast to Azoulay's choreography of camera, photographer, image, victim and viewer. Toufic gets around such framing by pursuing multiple understandings of human presence. No more imaginary than Azoulay's 'citizenry', Toufic's references centre on film, where '[the] definite embodiment in cinema is undone' (2004, p. 41), and as mentioned earlier, on liminal states (Bardo) that are enacted by such figures as vampires and the undead (2004, p. 20). Elsewhere, Toufic outlines a 'disconnection of the sensory functions' that is both the result and the cause of experiencing extraordinary injustice (see Toufic, 2005, pp. 64–66). Being part of such threshold events presents challenges to perceptual certainties that are taken for granted in most everyday life, but for Toufic, to witness violence, or to commit it, opens up parallel realities such as described in Quantum physics (Schroedinger's cat). Following this, images may only be likenesses, and states of altered consciousness – madness, hypnosis, yoga trance or psychological experimentation – suggest alternative understandings of human presence. Threshold experiences of violence trigger multiple possibilities for existence that include liminal zones, vampires, and bodies-double and through these dynamics Toufic presents the reader with a way out of Azoulay's camera-victim-viewer circumstance. By talking about disembodiment, he unhitches a picture's human subject from individual presence (Toufic, 2003, pp. 36–37). That is, where Azoulay calls a person in a photograph the 'content', Toufic sees a spectrum of possibilities: it may be a likeness but not an actual individual; the individual may exist in this, or another universe. Moreover, the image may be a cinematic matte (*ibid.*, pp. 46–47), created strategically over time: a likeness meaningfully installed in a semantic environment with other objects. Where Azoulay's voice corrals a fictional 'citizenry' in response to [official Israeli] photographers framing [Palestinian] victims, Toufic takes a Houdini-like position that comes from inside that frame – that escapes the frame – that might even declare the frames never existed. The tools he uses to stage the disembodiment necessary for escape appear in physics, writing, fiction, and cinema. This is most notable in his reference to the 1956 speech by Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser, where Nasser's voice was 'broadcast on radio and reaching the Israeli-occupied territories in Palestine – not so much the body, its source, as a land, a country, without which even when incarnated in a body it remains a voice-over [an exiled voice]' (*ibid.*, 2003, pp. 49–50). Toufic's writing comes from within the frame and escapes it, presenting endless ways to understand the energy behind the photographic Pietà and its dissemination.

Framing and Dissemination: External and Internal Reproduction

Distribution of images from demonstrations about the missing is a central feature of the photographic Pietà, yet this functional complicity with the media may come at a cost.

Does reprinting a photo in the media diminish the sense that the missing person represented is a unique individual? In the context of ephemeral and popular consumption, Benjamin (1935) describes a scenario in which a reproduction passes as a satisfactory copy of an original, and multiplying this ersatz causes certain losses in the original's authenticity. Benjamin's concerns about mass production of images – and Sontag (2003) shares these – do apply to the photographic Pietà (see also Hoak-Doering, 2014, pp. 184–185). That is to say, the photographic Pietà may now be considered a hackneyed trope in the international news about missing people and even Azoulay's condescension is evident where she dismisses it as a 'tactic familiar from the 1980s (sic) onward where the photographed person shows his or her catastrophe to the camera' (2012, p. 229). The uniqueness that is arguably compromised is not in the image of the missing person, but rather in the uniqueness of the context; the demonstration, the sheer numbers of which, appearing in the press diminishes the originality of each demonstration, whether in Cyprus, Argentina or elsewhere in the world. Manufacture of many copies of an original is different from the mechanism of embedded distance. Embedded distance comes from multiple generations of an image, not multiple copies, and in the media, the embedded picture is always only second generation, no matter how many copies are printed. Thus, on one hand the embedded distance visually articulates the loss of a person: embedded reproduction actually authenticates the photographic Pietà image as a representation of a missing person. On the other hand, Benjamin's warning about the loss of authenticity through mass production does apply where the photographic Pietà is appropriated as propaganda.

Following the war in 1974, as previously noted, the Cyprus Government used versions of the photographic Pietà for its own purposes, and it became an icon of the Greek Cypriot agenda for resolving the Cyprus Problem. As such it was aimed at educating foreigners and students, and for instilling patriotism. In the year 2000, for example, the Press and Information Office (PIO) printed pamphlets titled 'Cyprus, Humanitarian Issues', which feature a vignette photo-montage including women demonstrating with images of their missing relatives. The pamphlet substantially links humanitarian issues with the unresolved political and military occupation of the north part of Cyprus, saying '... the consequences of Turkey's illegal aggression were devastating. Not least among these was the gross violation of human rights' (PIO 138/2000–30.000).

Government use of the photographic Pietà separated it from personal claims for justice and human rights. It appeared that the larger Greek Cypriot national agenda – which attempted to mobilise international outrage about the injustices of the Turkish Army invasion and occupation – co-opted the more personal, and specific demand for the return of missing relatives. According to sociologist Maria Hadjipavlou, 'institutions of the state, the church and the media played up the [role] of women to promote the nationalist project, which is partly to dehumanize the enemy and project its barbarity; and

to abstain from any responsibility in the creation of this human and political issue, especially in the long delay this entailed after 1974' (personal correspondence, 5 September 2011). One effect of the government's co-option of the matter was to problematise the way some Cypriots feel about the cause of the missing in Cyprus and about the cause promoted by the Relatives of Missing Persons in particular. Sant Cassia suggests, on a somewhat positive note, that a claim to having a missing relative sometimes acted as a way for marginalised classes to exercise connection to the political elite, since their own experiences embody and substantiate the Greek Cypriot official narrative of loss and imminent return (Sant Cassia, 1998–1999, p. 270). And yet those who did not agree with the government's approach to solving the Cyprus Problem could point to the Relatives of Missing Persons as having been made tools of propaganda. Sant Cassia describes this kind of cynicism and its origins in practice:

'... With relatively few exceptions, the westernized middle classes do not demonstrate much, and having a missing son/father appears more as something to be concealed rather than displayed. They are also more resigned to their death. It is these people that the UN and other diplomats meet on the Nicosia cocktail circuit. It is easy for them to conclude that the issue is a cynical political ploy and divest it of its internal political dynamics and cultural resonances' (Sant Cassia, 1998–1999, p. 274).



Image 11: *Published by the Committee of Relatives of Undeclared Prisoners and Missing Persons* (obtained by the author in 2001, document undated)

The perception that the Cyprus government instrumentalised the Relatives of Missing Persons for advancing its own agendas may be partially correct, but it is also true that the women involved with the cause have been politically vocal in ways that no others had been in modern Cypriot history until recently.

Often, the photographic Pietà appeared in local and international articles about the Missing as part of the Cyprus Problem. And in many examples, these images were used to advance the cause, where publicity was taken care of by hand, literally, by handing out flyers that deploy the photographic Pietà and by writing letters (image 11). This kind of photograph still cogently articulates the demands posed by Relatives of Missing Persons because of the existential reality that it depicts. It is visually accurate, the fruit of planning, and it is a record of actions that take place within a society that offers very few stages for women's voices. This is particularly the case with a smaller group within the Relatives of the Missing who took a slightly more stringent and proactive approach to demonstration: *Oi Manadhes tis Kyprou* (the Mothers of Cyprus).



Image 12: *Demonstration by relatives and supporters next to Ledra Palace – 12 July 2002*
© photograph: Andreas Manolis

Oi Manadhes tis Kyprou

A small, yet notorious group of mourning women (image 12) are known for their stubborn petitioning, regularly except on religious holidays, at the UN Buffer Zone checkpoints and other strategic places. Originally banding together by exchanging telephone numbers in a help-network of women searching for family members at hospitals and prisoner exchange points in 1974 and 1975, these women activists for the Cypriot Relatives of Missing Persons went on to demonstrate and deliver petitions for Human Rights at places like the United Nations in New York, Buckingham Palace, No. 10 Downing Street, the White House, and other local and international seats of power. They wrote letters to, and met with politicians (image 13) and world leaders.

Until about 2003 this group – known commonly as *Oi Manadhes tis Kyprou* – could often be seen in a small group at the Ledra Palace Hotel roadblock and handing out informational pamphlets about the events of 1974 to foreigners who would cross there, from the south to the north.⁵ All the pamphlets featured photographic Pietà imagery, but the content varied from human rights to more Greek nationalist material, depending on which public action group published it. Some, published by the Committee of Relatives of Undeclared Prisoners and Missing Persons, enumerated human rights violations within both Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities, along with similar enumerations of UN resolutions about the unknown fate of civilians (see image 11). In addition to this kind of pamphlet, *oi Manadhes tis Kyprou* also used more nationalistic materials supported by the Pancyprian Anti-Occupation Movement (PAK), which were considerably different in



Image 13: *Demonstration at Ledra Checkpoint, undated with Demetris Christofias*
© photograph: Andreas Manolis

scope, and which seamlessly link the missing persons with illegal occupation of land (see also Psaltis *et al.*, 2014; and Cyprus News Agency, 96-10-20). PAK's logo is a phrase from the *Iliad*, visible on the front of the tractor driven by Mrs Panayiota Pavlou Solomi (image 1). 'Εἰς οἶωνος ἀριστός ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πατρῆς' (The best omen [to hear] is [the exhortation] to defend your country). The logo is layered evidence of the pro-Greek conceptual origins of the PAK's goals. The *Manadhes tis Kyprou* were regularly at the Ledra Palace checkpoint, not always demonstrating, but a consistent presence before crossings were permitted to Greek Cypriots in 2003. In a way, their presentations gave inroads to cultural analysis that could bluntly summarise some of the complexities about the Cypriot missing already set forth in this paper (see Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, 1990, pp. 430–431). Their promotional material included stickers and pamphlets, directly

5 See also the interview with Androulla Palma, one of the Mothers of the Missing, in *Birds of a Feather* (2012 film by Stephanos Evripidou and Stephen Nugent) cited in E.A. Davis (2014), p. 57.

engaging with visitors by asking them to examine their feelings about visiting places that were off-limits to natives.

‘You are, perhaps, planning to visit the occupied, by Turkey, part of our island. We don’t prevent you from doing so, but, nevertheless, we would like to inform you that since July 1974 we also yearn to visit our father’s homes and light a candle at the graves of our parents ... We cannot, however, do so as this is FORBIDDEN by the Turkish Occupation Army’ (PAK undated pamphlet collection of the author).

Since 2003, and especially after the exhumations began in 2006, these activists and the other Relatives of Missing Persons of Cyprus have become less visible in public and in print – partly because some of their concerns are being addressed, but more often because they are ageing.

Conclusion

The Greek Cypriot photojournalistic image of a woman holding a photograph of her missing relative is a prototypical photographic Pietà, but it is not the only example of the motif. Other cultures also protest in similar ways although under very different political and ideological circumstances. Both embedded and historical distances result from this performative media interface, heightening the impact of images used in demonstrations, and projecting the existential absence of missing persons into an optical arena that is politically meaningful. This trope highlights how individuals can operate within, and defy ideological structures; not just patriarchal, economic or nationalist ideologies, but also optical, compositional structures in the media, both of which are complicit with power. Intentional self-exposure to the photojournalist’s lens overturns the presumed victimhood of the photographic subject, and turns her into an activist. That is, the photographic Pietà exposes modalities that give disempowered people access to power through the media, and this is especially true for women. Although this discussion has focused on the photographic aspect of this performative trope, the symbolic ones mentioned are also operative in parallel ways that are becoming increasingly important with hashtags and other social media conventions that offer speed and widespread visibility. There is room for much more research on this, where symbols take the place of individuals. There is also scope for debate as to whether the photographic Pietà is perceived to be efficacious or over-used in the media. This paper is a beginning, a way to describe the photographic Pietà as a visual parsing of social science material already established on the subject, and an attempt to highlight one area in Cypriot politics where women have been vocal and visible. In that respect, the paper leaves much leeway for further work: into archival precedents for the photographic Pietà and in the many overlooked ways in which women have exerted power in Cyprus.

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