



**The Casts of the Parthenon Frieze in the Hellenic Gallery
of the
Western Australian Museum**

Kevin J O'Toole

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For the Art Gallery of Western Australia
and the
Western Australian Museum

Kevin J O'Toole
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With photographs of the casts by Norah Cooper

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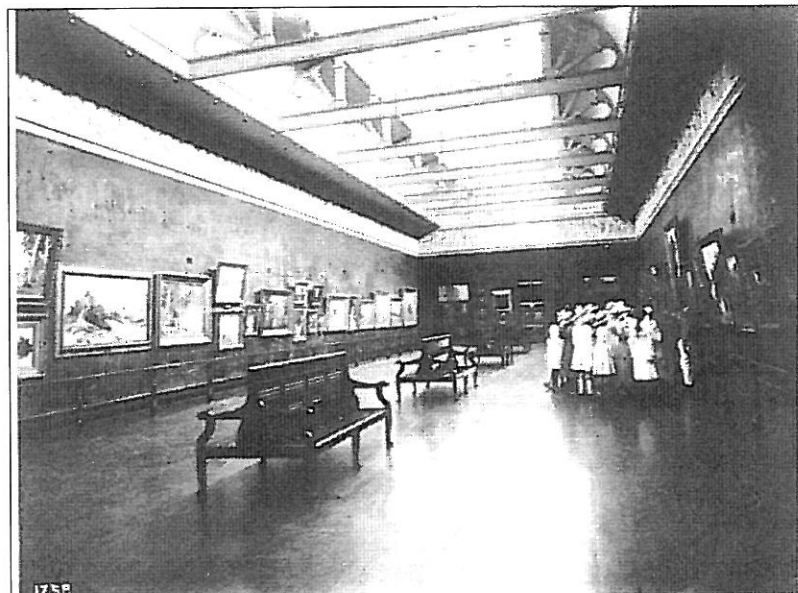
In 1908 when the speed and forms of travel and communication bore no real comparison with today, Perth was by far the most isolated city in the Western world. By then Western Australia had a population of some 200,000, a population that had grown from about 50,000 in 1890, a year which marked the beginning of a gold rush decade that would see the population triple.

It was a century earlier in the first decade of the 19th century that Lord Elgin's agents removed 47% (75.3m of 159.7m) of the Ionic Frieze from the Parthenon in Athens, shipping the stones off to London. It would be nearly three decades later in 1829 before the Swan River Colony was officially established (the designation 'Western Australia' would wait until 1832). Twenty years later again the colony was proclaimed a British penal settlement. Within a single generation of the arrival into the colony of the first convicts in 1850, the town of Perth had accumulated a modest but not insignificant collection of Indian, Asian and European art and artefacts. The formal opening of the Western Australian Museum in 1891 would be the first of a three phase development, the second phase in 1899 and the third in 1907, of a Museum and Art Gallery complex on a site that had been in part occupied by the colony's old gaol. Against this background, the city of Perth, by then capital of the federated State of Western Australia, acquired and put up for display in the first decade of the 20th century full sized casts made in London of some 57% of the Parthenon Frieze. Thus, by the energy and imagination of the members of the managing committee formed in 1895 of the Museum, including members John Winthrop Hackett (later Sir John Winthrop Hackett), an Irish immigrant to Western Australia in 1882, and the London born Bernard Henry Woodward, the Museum's first curator, the actions of Lord Elgin in the first decade of the 19th century would have their effect in Perth in the first decade of the 20th century.

A further century has now passed since Perth's acquisition of its Parthenon Frieze casts and it is timely to revisit the casts which remain where they were fixed for display in 1908 but which subsist in an era as different from theirs as the era from which they chanced to spring.

(a) The Commissioning and Construction of an Annex to the WA Museum and Art Gallery

The first public display of Perth's casts of the Parthenon frieze was an occasion of great celebration and publicity. The government of Western Australia had commissioned the construction of a new annex to the then Museum and Art Gallery in the city. The commencement of construction of the building in 1907 was 6 years overdue, the foundation stone with gilded inscription having been laid on 21 July 1901 following Australia's federation, by HRH the Prince of Wales (then Duke of Cornwall and York). The new annex built in the Federation Romanesque style included a capacious upper floor room, to be called 'the Hellenic Gallery', 33.8m long, 11.6m wide and 8.7m high, with a lantern ceiling running the whole length of the Gallery. The purpose of the new annex with its upper floor picture gallery and its ground floor sculpture gallery was to accommodate the display of some original and some cast replicas of classical art works,



The Hellenic Gallery in its original conception. The Frieze casts can be just made out lining the top of the walls. Light floods in from the lantern ceiling above. (Photo courtesy Art Gallery of Western Australia)

along with some 70 original canvases and numerous other artefacts which, because of the inadequate spaces available, had not been able to be appropriately displayed, or had long been in storage. From the mid-1890s, the Museum and Art Gallery had been acquiring casts of classical art works by order from Brucciani & Co cast makers in London. John Hackett, a lawyer by profession, and by 1900, a prominent citizen of Western Australia, played an instrumental part in this. By 1908 he had had a significant career in Western Australian politics, had been granted an honorary doctor of laws by Dublin University, was a co-proprietor of the West Australian newspaper, and was a director of the Western Australian Museum and Art Gallery. The correspondence held in the archives of the Western Australian Museum indicates that the Museum and Art Gallery was dealing with Brucciani & Co from at least as early as 1895 and that John Hackett had personally attended on Brucciani & Co in London to order casts for himself and for the Museum.

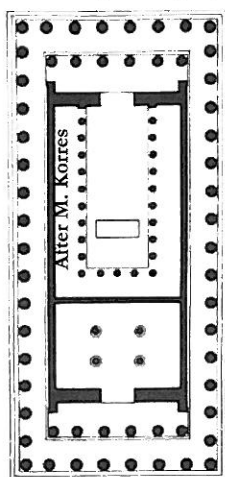
The official opening of the new annex to the Museum took place on 25 June 1908 and the opening received extensive coverage in the West Australian newspaper and its competitor the Morning Herald. The following is an extract from a very lengthy report in the West Australian on 24 June 1908:

"By the opening tomorrow of the new Art Gallery, Western Australia will at once redeem a long-standing promise to His Highness the Prince of Wales and attain an educational stage which should have been here many years ago . . . From the first floor landing swing doors give entrance to the Picture Gallery. A special feature of the Picture Gallery is a frieze of casts of about 300ft, of the famous frieze of the Parthenon . . ."

The newspaper reports also gave an extensive description of the casts and of their meaning. Before going to that description it is appropriate here to recall briefly what the Parthenon Ionic Frieze is.

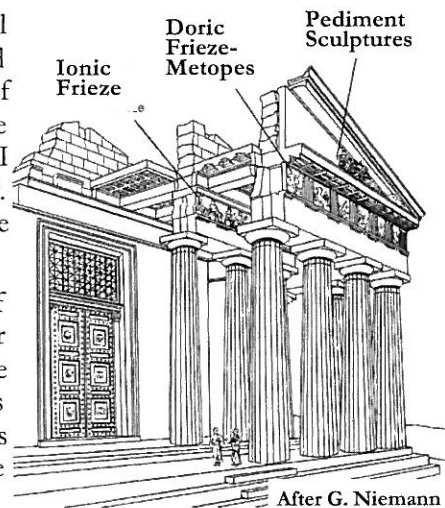
(b) The Ionic Frieze of the Parthenon

The Parthenon of Athens was built and decorated in the years 448BC—432BC. It was almost entirely constructed from marble and it differed in significant respects from the canonical Greek temple which was hexastyle and of the unalloyed Doric order. Upon its completion the Parthenon as a temple was, in technical terms, an octastyle peripteral double, with a hexastyle amphiprostyle cella, and it incorporated numerous Ionic elements, and Ionicized forms of Doric elements.



In the plan opposite, the black circles represent columns, and because the outer columns occupy all four sides of the building (that is, it has four colonnades creating an all surrounding perteron) it is said to be a 'peripteral' temple. It is octastyle because it has eight columns on each end. It is a double because the cella (the solid structure surrounded by the colonnades) is divided into two chambers. The six columns at each end of the cella give the description 'hexastyle' and because each end of the cella has a portico, the temple is said to be 'amphiprostyle'.

The Parthenon was decorated with a number of sculptural narrative schemes of which the four principal were East and West, fully in the round, Pediment schemes; a high relief Doric frieze referred to as 'the metopes'; and, a low relief (the depth is not more than 6cm) Ionic frieze, which hereinafter I shall refer to as the 'Parthenon Frieze' or just, 'the Frieze'. Where these were located on the Parthenon is indicated in the cutaway restoration drawing (opposite) of the east elevation.



The Parthenon is not believed to have been a temple for the cult worship of Athena, whether of Athena Parthenos (the Virgin Athena), or some other incarnation of Athena. There is no evidence of an altar having been built on the forecourt of the Parthenon, or any other evidence of such a cult. The building was probably not called the Parthenon (the house of the maidens/virgins) until years after its completion. There is no scholarly consensus as to the reason for the construction of the Parthenon. We can look for hints in the sculptural narratives.

The metopes (the Doric Frieze) were probably the first to be carved, in 447—442BC. There were 92 metopes (separated by structures called triglyphs): 14 across each end of the building and 32 along each of the sides (15 are in London). They were square and about 1.3 metres to the side. As far as it is possible to ascertain from what remains to be seen of the original sculptures the metope narratives appear to have been thematic, the theme being one of contest or conflict. The west metopes set the Amazons against the Athenians; the north, in part at least, the Trojans against the Athenians; the east, the Gods against the Giants, and the South, the Lapiths against the Centaurs.

The pediment sculptures were probably carved and installed last, in the years 438—432BC. We have to rely on drawings made in 1674 by the Flemish artist Jaques Carrey to make assertions as to what the narratives of the pediments were because little of the sculptures has survived (17 of the sculptures survive in London). The west pediment sculptures recalled the contest of Athena and Poseidon for Athens. The east pediment sculptures recalled the birth of Athena.

The Frieze was probably carved in the years 442—438BC. It was 160m in length and 1m in width. Its marble blocks were of varying lengths with 16 blocks on the west end, 9 blocks on the east end and 47 blocks on each of the south and north sides. The blocks were 0.6m thick. Elgin's agents sawed off the backs of the blocks that they removed from the building, thus reducing their weight and making their transport easier. In this article I shall refer to the Elgin blocks as slabs. Since the Frieze blocks were first numbered by Adolph Michaelis (*Der Parthenon*, Leipzig, 1871) it has been and continues to be the custom to use Roman numerals for the blocks and Arabic numerals for the mortals and gods appearing in the Frieze. The numbering in this article follows that of Dr Ian Jenkins first published in 1995 (*American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 99, No.3 pp. 445—456). Whilst due deference is owed to Michaelis for his groundbreaking work, the Jenkins' numbering

is now preferred. It must be emphasized however that there is still some debate about the actual sequence of the Frieze blocks given that there is no record of 13m to 14m of the Frieze, and 16m to 17m are only known by drawings of Jaques Carrey and the brilliant antiquarian James Stuart. The determination of the sequence has to rely on informed guesswork.

The elements of the narrative of the Frieze (save for *teletarchai* or marshals and various artefacts) are set out in the diagram below. The narrative begins at the south west corner and proceeds in two directions: east along the south side and north along the west side. The direction of motion of the narrative is indicated by the arrows. Note that the Frieze is on the outside of the wall and portico space it occupies and thus, for example, the east length faces east. Theories about what the narrative is are referred to below at (f).

The Cella and Porticoes of the Parthenon in Plan view: Length 59.7m Width 20.8m

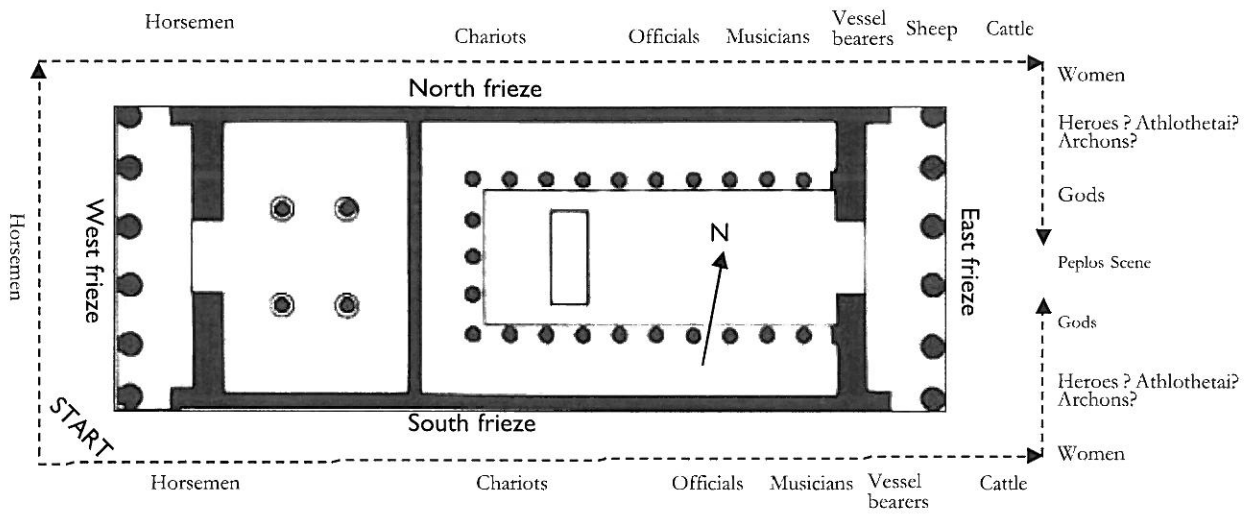


Diagram not precisely to scale

(c) The Parthenon Frieze Casts in the Hellenic Gallery

The casts are sited at the top of the walls beginning some 7.5m metres above floor level. The rectangular Hellenic Gallery is essentially oriented North/South on its long side with its entrance facing north. Thus, the long walls are to the west (left) and east (right) respectively as a visitor enters the room. As can be seen in the diagram above the Parthenon is orientated not north/south but east/west. Furthermore, the Hellenic Gallery has roughly only half the length per side (59.7m), and the width per side (20.8m), that the Parthenon required for the Frieze.

In deciding on the arrangement of the casts in the Hellenic Gallery the curator B. H. Woodward (or perhaps it was the architect Hillson Beasley) was clearly aware of the orientation of the Parthenon. Like the great majority of Greek temples, the Parthenon, although in other respects as mentioned above significantly non-canonical, faced the east. The east section of the Ionic frieze of the Parthenon is the culmination of the narrative of the frieze and it was in intimate association with inter alia the entrance to the east chamber of the Parthenon within which was located a massive chryselephantine statue of the Athena Parthenos (the Virgin Athena).

Thus, in relation to placement of the casts in the Hellenic Gallery, what was important to the arranger was not the relative length of the available walls but the geographical orientation of the walls. He considered that the casts of the East frieze should be on the east side, and those of the West on the west side, even though the east side and west side are the long walls (see diagram opposite). Hence, what a visitor on entering the

**The Hellenic Gallery
Western Australian Museum**

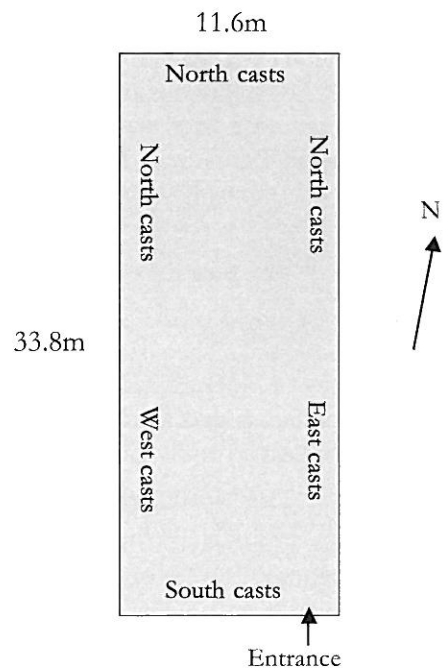


Diagram not precisely to scale

Hellenic Gallery immediately finds are the casts of the East frieze on the visitor's right, and those of the West frieze on the visitor's left. Unsurprisingly, the visitor will also find the casts of the North frieze around the northern section of the Gallery (on the space left on the west and east walls, and on the northern wall), and the casts of the South frieze on the southern wall which contains the entrance to the Gallery.

(i) The West Frieze Casts

More specifically, the visitor, upon entering the Gallery and looking up and to the left will see casts of whole or part of West frieze blocks I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XV, and XVI in that order beginning at the junction of the south and west walls. The first two are casts of West slabs I and II in the British Museum in London and the rest are casts of West blocks in Athens that escaped removal by Elgin's agents. The West length of casts gives a good impression of the width of the original frieze because the West casts in the Gallery are a complete set. That is, the Gallery has casts representing all 16 of the original West blocks of the Frieze.



West cast IV. Notice the different manes. Did two sculptors with distinct styles work on West block IV?

(ii) The East Frieze Casts

Looking up and to the right the visitor will see commencing at the junction of the south and east walls casts of whole or part of East frieze blocks VIII, VII, VI, V, IV, III, II and I in that order. These are all casts of slabs in London, save for II which is in Athens (although there is a fragment in London) and VII, which is in the Louvre in Paris. The cast of VI is especially complicated. In the original block VI there are 11 figures, 5 deities and 6 mortals. A highly significant part is not represented in the Perth casts, namely the gods Poseidon, Apollo and Artemis, although there is in the Perth cast a cast of the fragment that, until returned to Athens last month, had been in Palermo, Sicily, of the lower right leg of Artemis. Most of the goddess Aphrodite is missing from the original frieze and the Perth cast does not contain an Athens' fragment of Aphrodite. The Perth cast does however contain a cast of a Paris cast (the original stone has been long lost) of Aphrodite's right arm and of Eros on whose left shoulder Aphrodite's arm rests and points northwards. Thus, the Perth cast preserves the extraordinarily casual, even domestic, scene in the Frieze, of Eros in repose with Aphrodite, his right arm resting on her left lap (see photo opposite). The three fragments in Athens that are all that remain of block IX are not represented in the Perth casts. It should be noted that the widths of the cast blocks do not necessarily coincide with the width of the slab from which they were cast. For example, slab East IV is represented by a combination of three segments of cast.



(iii) The South Frieze Casts

Only 9 of the 47 blocks of the South frieze (much of which is entirely lost) are represented in the Perth casts and they all occupy the south wall. The visitor who, upon entering the Gallery, turns around 180 degrees and looks up will see casts of the remnants of blocks XXIX, X, XXXI, XXXII, XLI, XLIII, XLIV, XLV and XLVI in that order, beginning at the junction of the South and East walls. All of these are casts of the original slabs in London. The cast of slab X (from scenes of horsemen) is oddly out of sequence, set as it is between chariot race scenes.

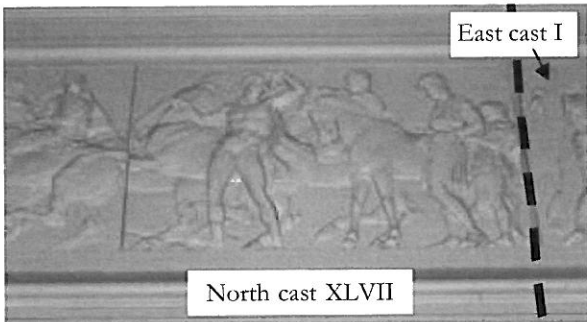
(iv) The North Frieze Casts

Only 33 of the 47 blocks of the North frieze are represented in the Perth Casts. The sequence of north casts begins about three quarters of the way along the west wall immediately following West cast XVI. The sequence is as follows with the location of the original stone indicated in brackets:

On the West Wall of the Gallery: II (Athens), IV (Athens), V (London), VI (Athens), IX (Athens), X (Athens), XI (Athens), XII (London), XXXV (Athens), XV (London), XXIII (Athens), XXIV (London). The placement of XXXV, admittedly from little more than a fragment of the original stone, is anomalous; a horseman between chariot race scenes.

On the North Wall of the Gallery: XIX (Athens), XXVI (London), XXVII (London and Athens), XXVIII (London), XXIX (London (Athens)), XXX (London), XXXI (London), XXXIII (London), XXXIV (Athens).

On the East Wall of the Gallery: XXXVI (Athens), XXXVII (London), XXXVIII (London), XXXIX (London), XL (London), XLI (London), XLII (London), XLIII (London), XLIV (London), XLV (London), XLVI (London), XLVII (London).



See also diagram below

The junction of North cast XLVII and East cast I. The direction of the motion on the North casts is away from the east, again in contradiction to the arrangement of the Frieze on the Parthenon. The contrapposto of the naked figure illustrates the naturalistic rendering of the human figure, evident almost without exception throughout the Frieze, that is the distinguishing feature of Classical Greek art relative to the Archaic. This cast also captures the truly remarkable achievement of the Frieze sculptors in creating multiple planes of space in a mere 6 cm of carving depth.

(d) The Arrangement of the Casts Relative to the Parthenon Arrangement of the Originals

Whilst the arranger's decision to prefer geographical location over the spatial characteristics of the Hellenic Gallery by placing the east length of the Frieze casts on the east wall and the west length on the west wall was perhaps a promising start (assuming it was a start) to the decisions about how to display the casts, the subsequent decisions seem to have been calculated to obscure the narrative flow of the original Frieze to the maximum possible degree and, in addition, to betray a misunderstanding as to the significance of the east location of the east length of the Frieze. It will be recalled that in the Parthenon Frieze the narrative begins at the south/west corner of the space it occupies and flows in two directions: (a) northwards along the short west side, then eastwards along the long north side; and, (b) eastwards along the long south side. In both cases the destination is the short east side. In the Perth arrangement the flows are precisely in the opposite direction. The north casts flow away from the beginning (the cast of slab I) of the East casts and towards the West casts (see diagram opposite). The West casts flow in the same direction as the North casts and, because the South casts also flow away from the East casts, the West casts 'collide' with the South casts at the junction of the south and west walls. In short, instead of flowing into the East casts, the North, South and West casts all 'flee' from the East casts. It was the ingenuity of the design of the Parthenon Frieze that despite the rectangular pathway that it had to traverse the direction of motion of the narrative at all times avoided a westward heading. The ingenious solution was to split the procession into two, a southern procession and a northern procession, each commencing at the south west corner of the rectangle.

If the Perth casts were each rotated 180 degrees in the vertical and there was an appropriate reversal of the order of the South, West and North casts, the outcome would be consistent with the original relative arrangement of the lengths of the original Frieze. However, the casts would then be facing (and abutting) their respective walls. Like the beautifully crafted posteriors, which faced the tympanum, of the 'in the round' pediment sculptures of the Parthenon, the cast faces would never be seen except by the all seeing gods.

Having the sculpted surface of the casts turned to face the walls was, needless to say, not a real option however there was a simple solution that would have produced a far less unsatisfactory result to that of the arrangement that was finally adopted. The arranger of the casts was advised correctly when giving weight to the geographical orientation of the Frieze lengths (north, west, south and east), however, what was clearly overlooked was the fact that, when the East casts were placed on the east wall, they were not facing east – they were facing west! By the equivalent effect, the West

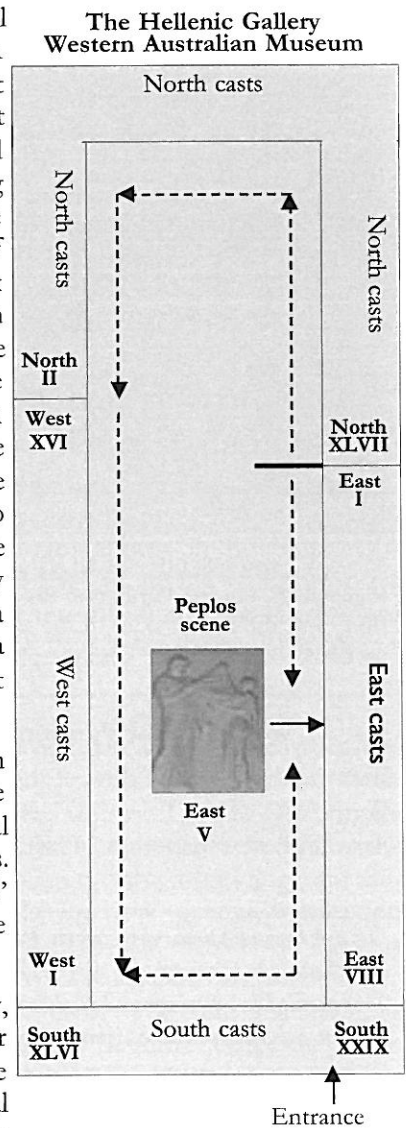


Diagram not precisely to scale



The SE corner of the Hellenic Gallery: East cast VIII (women in the procession—the leading figure carries an incense burner), and South cast XXIX (a chariot). The direction of motion of the figures in the south casts is away from the east in contradiction to the arrangement of the Frieze on the Parthenon.



The SW corner: South cast XLVI (sacrificial cattle) and West cast I (a marshal). On the Parthenon the marshal is ushering the procession onto the North side. In the arrangement here the procession on the west is 'colliding' with the procession on the south.

casts were facing east. Had the arranger placed the East casts on the west wall (with East I at the junction of the south and west walls) and placed the West casts on the east wall, the arrangement would still have been an 'outside in' but an otherwise faithful relative arrangement of the four lengths (see the diagram on page 10). There would also have been the pleasing effect of the light from the rising sun entering through the eastern side of the beautiful lantern ceiling of the Gallery and illuminating the east length of the Frieze casts. If the Greek temple faced east, and it almost without exception did, it did not do so for nothing.

As it is, the arrangement of the Perth casts only permits a more or less faithful view in isolation of the east and west lengths of the Frieze. The viewer must entirely discount in her/his mind when looking at the east length, or west length as the case may be, that there is any faithful spatial relationship between that view and any other part of the arrangements of the casts in the Gallery. In short, the arrangement, of itself, does not permit of any sensible overall perspective of the Frieze narrative. On the contrary it confuses at best and completely misleads at worst. Interestingly, much the same can be said about the arrangement of the Frieze in the British Museum. However, there is an issue here that could be easily overlooked. Are we dealing with art or with archaeology? When in 1929 Lord Duveen offered to endow the British Museum with monies to build a new gallery for the display of the Elgin Marbles the endowment was accompanied by strict rules about how the marbles would be displayed. The rules required all cast infill on the stone to be removed so that what had been an effort in the British Museum over many years to reconstruct the Frieze was to be brought to an end. The stone was to be viewed as art rather than as architectural sculpture. In effect, each slab was to be primarily an isolated 'picture', and a slab's relationship to a greater conception was a secondary consideration. In the 'Duveen philosophy' it is of no importance that the Perth casts are out of order and that their arrangement gives an incorrect impression of the spatial relationships of the original Frieze.

(e) What Was the Parthenon Frieze About?

Because the narrative flow of the Frieze was known in Perth at the time, it is intriguing that the final arrangement of the Perth casts of the Frieze makes no real concession to that knowledge. Here is a description of the Frieze in the West Australian newspaper on 24 June 1908, the day before the official opening of the newly built gallery:

"In this frieze Pheidias depicted the Panathenaic Procession which was carried out on the last day of the games held every fourth year in honour of Athena, the Protectress of the city. In this procession a new peplos — the sacred robe of the goddess — was brought to adorn her statue. It was accompanied by offerings and victims for sacrifice under the guidance of the chief magistrates. The procession is conceived as starting from the western side, where the knights are making ready themselves and their horses, and advancing along the northern and southern sides and converging on the eastern, where the continuity is broken by two groups of seated deities who are to be presumed as presiding over the scene from a distance. The knights are preceded by warriors and chariots. In front of these are various bodies of men. Then come the victims — cows and sheep — and maidens, with their sacrificial vessels and other insignia, advancing to meet the archons. The two groups of deities, with Zeus and Athena in the post of honour, and the priest receiving the embroidered peplos, complete the immortal work."

Scholarship in the century that has passed since this *West Australian* account of the Frieze has thrown up dramatically different interpretations of what the Frieze depicts, although it remains the consensus of scholarly opinion that the Frieze depicts in some form or another the Panathenaic Procession of Athens. The narrative seems to be of a procession heading east with a culminating event depicted at the centre of the East length of the Frieze (see again the diagram on page 3 above). The Panathenaic festival is today believed to have been an annual event held in the ancient Athenian month of Hekatombaion (July/August) with an especially elaborate version held every fourth year and warranting the title 'the Great Panathenaia'. Where the above account in the *West Australian* newspaper refers to the 'statue' of Athena, modern scholarship refers to the '*diipetes xoanon*' a wooden (perhaps olivewood) object that was presumed by the ancient Athenians to have fallen from the sky (hence, *diipetes* – 'heaven sent') and which may actually be depicted in the Doric frieze on the Parthenon, specifically south metope 21 (see the Carrey drawing of South metope 21 opposite). The journalist is no doubt referring by the term 'knights' to the horseman although it would be incautious to readily attach to the horsemen the connotations contained in that term. Moreover, the journalist might just as well have written 'succeeded' rather than 'preceded' where he refers to the 'knights' as being "preceded by warriors and chariots", hence there can be no certainty, as the heat of scholarly debate testifies, about the temporal sequences (or spatial perspectives for that matter) the Frieze is attempting to portray, although certainly on the Frieze itself it at least appears that the horsemen bring up the rear. As to the journalist's use of the term



The Jaques Carrey drawing (1674) of South metope 21. Is the figure in the middle the *diipetes xoanon*, the wooden talisman or totem representing Athena Polias, protectress of the city, the focus of the Panathenaia thought to be the subject of the Frieze?

'chief magistrates' it is the case that often today the designation 'magistrates' is used for 'archons', of whom there were nine principal in the constitution of Periclean Athens. It is also true that there were three pre-eminent archons: the Eponymous Archon (the year was named after him), the Polemarch (by the time of Periclean Athens the Polemarch's role was overtaken by the 10 strategoi, or generals, an office to which Pericles was over and over again re-elected) and the Archon Basileus (King Archon). There is no sound basis however to argue that these three archons, or the archons in general, acted in unison 'to guide the Panathenaia'. However, the King Archon may well have had an overseeing role by reason of his jurisdiction in respect of the religious affairs of the city-state. In fact, it seems the consensus of opinion is that it is the King Archon, referred to as 'the Priest' by the *West Australian* journalist, who is depicted on the peplos slab. The journalist clearly believed that the archons are depicted on the Frieze, however, today there is great doubt that they are. Debate on that issue centres on 4 figures on block East IV, and 6 figures on block East VI. Some scholars identify these as the 9 archons preceded by a marshal. Other scholars argue that the archons do not appear on the Frieze at all. Two other groups who are contenders for the abovementioned figures in East IV and East VI are the 10 Eponymous Heroes (ten ancient heroes adopted by the classical Athenians, one for each of their ten tribes) and the 10 *athlothetai* (commissioners of the games of the Great Panathenaia)—see Athenian Officials on the Parthenon Frieze, Blaise Nagy, *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 96, No. 1 (Jan., 1992), pp. 55-69.



In the scene portrayed in the photograph opposite of Perth's cast East V (part), lies the elusive secret of the meaning of the Frieze. Who are these people? What are they doing? Why are they doing it? In his *The Parthenon Frieze*, British Museum Press, 1994, Ian Jenkins argues that the figures are indeed what the consensus of opinion, dissenters notwithstanding, says they are: the *arrephoroi* (young girls bearing stools who have spent a year weaving a new peplos for Athena), the priestess of Athena, and the Archon Basileus receiving the new peplos from a temple boy. What Jenkins argues however is that the scene is the dramatization of the myth of the three daughters of

Kekrops. Two of the daughters, defying Athena, opened a basket given them by Athena. In consequence they were frightened to their deaths by a monstrous snake they saw in the basket accompanied by Erichthonios the earthborn successor to King Kekrops of Athens. Thus, for Jenkins, the *arrephoroi* play the daughters of Kekrops, the Archon Basileus plays King Kekrops and the temple boy plays Erichthonios. Perhaps the priestess plays the obedient daughter, Pandrosos. Jenkins' theory is an important addition to theories about the Frieze however debate about what the Frieze represents is not likely to end soon.

(f) Are the Perth Casts a 'Cast of the Elgin Marbles'?

Whilst all the 6 Elgin east, the 2 Elgin west and the 22 Elgin north slabs are represented in the Perth casts, for the following reasons it is not strictly accurate to say that the Perth casts comprise a cast of the Elgin Marbles: (i) Of the 28 Elgin slabs and part slabs from the south length of the Frieze 19 are not represented as casts in Perth; (ii) the Perth casts include augmentation of the Elgin slabs by pieces of Frieze, or casts of pieces of the Frieze, found in Athens and elsewhere in Europe, or donated to the Museum from private collectors, in the decades after the Elgin slabs were brought to London, and before the moulds from which the Perth casts were made; (iii) the Elgin marbles included much more than just the Frieze slabs, but also, and dealing only with the Parthenon, pediment sculptures, much of the Doric frieze (metopes) and structural elements from the Parthenon; and, (iv) the casts in Perth include casts of 24 original blocks that are in Athens, along with casts of the block in Paris, blocks not removed by Elgin's agents. Interestingly, the cast of the Palermo fragment (see above page 4 (ii)) that is represented in the Perth casts may be a cast of an 'Elgin Marble' as, allegedly, Elgin gave that piece to a friend in Sicily.

(g) The Origin and Acquisition of the Casts

Lord Elgin did not arrange just the removal of sculptures from Athens to London. He included *formatori* to make moulds of Parthenon sculptures amongst the party he organized to do his work in Athens. The casts from these 'Elgin' moulds supplemented the actual sculptures that got to London. Thus, in relation to the 16 West blocks of the Frieze, Elgin's agents took down only Blocks I and II, however, Elgin's *formatori*, Bernadino Ledus and Vincenzo Rosati, made moulds of the other 14 blocks. The Elgin moulds therefore made it possible for there to be a more complete display of the Frieze in London, albeit in part a facsimile display, and also to make it possible to provide copies to the large number of private individuals and institutions and public institutions worldwide who sought them after it became known that much of the original Frieze and moulds was in London. However, moulds under wear and tear become unusable and if by 1869 Elgin's moulds had not been scrapped they were, at least apparently, lost. Two ways were open to replace the moulds. The replacement moulds could be made from casts that had been made from the Elgin moulds or new moulds could be commissioned from the original stones in Athens. The British Museum engaged the *formatore* Domenico Brucciani, who had set up his own cast making business in Covent Garden, to make new moulds from the Museum's casts. For a full discussion in relation to the British Museum's casts and much else of importance and interest in relation to casts see: Acquisition and Supply of Casts of the Parthenon Sculptures by the British Museum, 1835-1939, Ian Jenkins, *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 85, (1990), pp 89-114.

By the time of his death in 1880 Domenico Brucciani's business, Brucciani and Co, was flourishing and making casts from the collections of the British Museum and the South Kensington Museum (the original name of the Victoria and Albert). The business continued until it was acquired by the British Board of Education in 1922 and thereafter operated until 1951 as a service of the Victoria and Albert Museum. It was from the catalogues of Brucciani & Co that the Western Australian Museum selected the Frieze casts that it acquired.

Perth's Frieze casts were acquired piecemeal. There is some evidence that a one-off Frieze cast purchase was made in 1890s as the Museum's curator B. H. Woodward began to put together a fine arts collection, however it was not until 1904-05 with the purchase of 13 slabs of the West length of the Frieze that the acquisition became systematic. There were further acquisitions annually thereafter until the opening of the new Museum and Art Gallery annex in June of 1908.

It is evident from correspondence between Woodward and Brucciani & Co that the proportions of the new gallery were not set by reference to the spatial needs of the casts.

On 11th December 1907 Woodward wrote:

" . . . I have also to thank you for your letter to me of the 22nd November stating that with three exceptions the casts of the Parthenon frieze were being shipped. I was glad to hear this as the new Art Gallery is almost complete, and the Architect is arranging to fix them in place. I hope you will let me know the exact dimensions of those to follow so that the right space may be left for them . . ."

And on 9th January 1908:

"I thank you for your letter of advice with respect to the casts, and I have also heard from the Agent General, informing me that the casts bought by Dr. Hackett would be leaving London about the 20th of last month, so that they will just be here in time for the opening of our gallery. I shall be glad if you will send me the following slabs from the south side of the Parthenon frieze in your catalogue under number 327, Nos. 10, 11, 13, 22, 29, 30, 31, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, as these will just complete the circuit of our gallery."

(h) The Significance of the Perth Casts

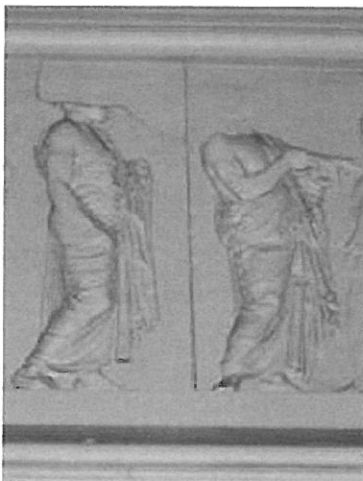
Space here does not permit even a superficial analysis of the question of whether or not the Perth casts of the Frieze are significant other than as a record of the Frieze because the question raises the deeper question of whether or not what the casts preserve is significant. All that can be done is to outline some of the matters that the question requires to be addressed.

There are various layers of historical context to consider. For example, there is the broader historical context of the Parthenon, the emergence of the Greek city states and the challenge to them by the Persian (Iranian) Achaemenid dynasty: Marathon in 490 BC and Thermopylae, Salamis and Plataea in 480/479BC. There is the formation of the Delian League and the development of an Athenian empire in the Aegean. All of these events can be seen in the architecture and sculptural narratives of the Parthenon with its non-canonical mixture of Doric, Ionic and Cycladic influences and multi-layered renderings of mythic ideas and themes. There is also the broader so-called Periclean building programme which included the construction not only of temples on the summit of the Parthenon but also of temples to Hephaestus on the Hill of the Agora, to Nemesis at Rhamnous, to Poseidon at Sounion and to Ares somewhere in the deme of Pallene. Running through all of this is the corpus of Classical Greek literature and philosophy and the extent to which it can be said that the foundations of Western civilization were established in 5th and 4th century Athens.

At a similarly lofty level there are questions to be addressed about art and architecture and their significance in the development and maintenance of civilizations.

At a less remote distance there is the question of the importance of casts in general both in terms not only of their function as providing 'back up' copies of art and architecture but in terms also of their value as art in their own right. See in that regard the Association Internationale pour la Conservation et la Promotion du Moulage, formed in Paris in 1987: <http://www.plastercastcollection.org/en/index.php>. There is also the Sculpterhalle in Basel Switzerland, a highly important centre for the study by casts of the Parthenon Frieze, which is cataloguing casts of the Frieze.

The importance of casts as preservers of what they copy cannot be doubted. At about the same time (c.1870) as Brucciani was making new moulds from the casts made from Elgin's moulds a new set of casts from the West Frieze were made by Napoleone Martinelli. When these were brought to London in 1873 and compared to the Elgin casts it was shocking to see how much the West Frieze had deteriorated in the 70 years or so since the Elgin marbles and moulds had left Athens. This of course emphasized at once the importance of casts. By 1873 there was a better record in London of blocks III to XVI of the West Frieze even though the original blocks were in Athens.



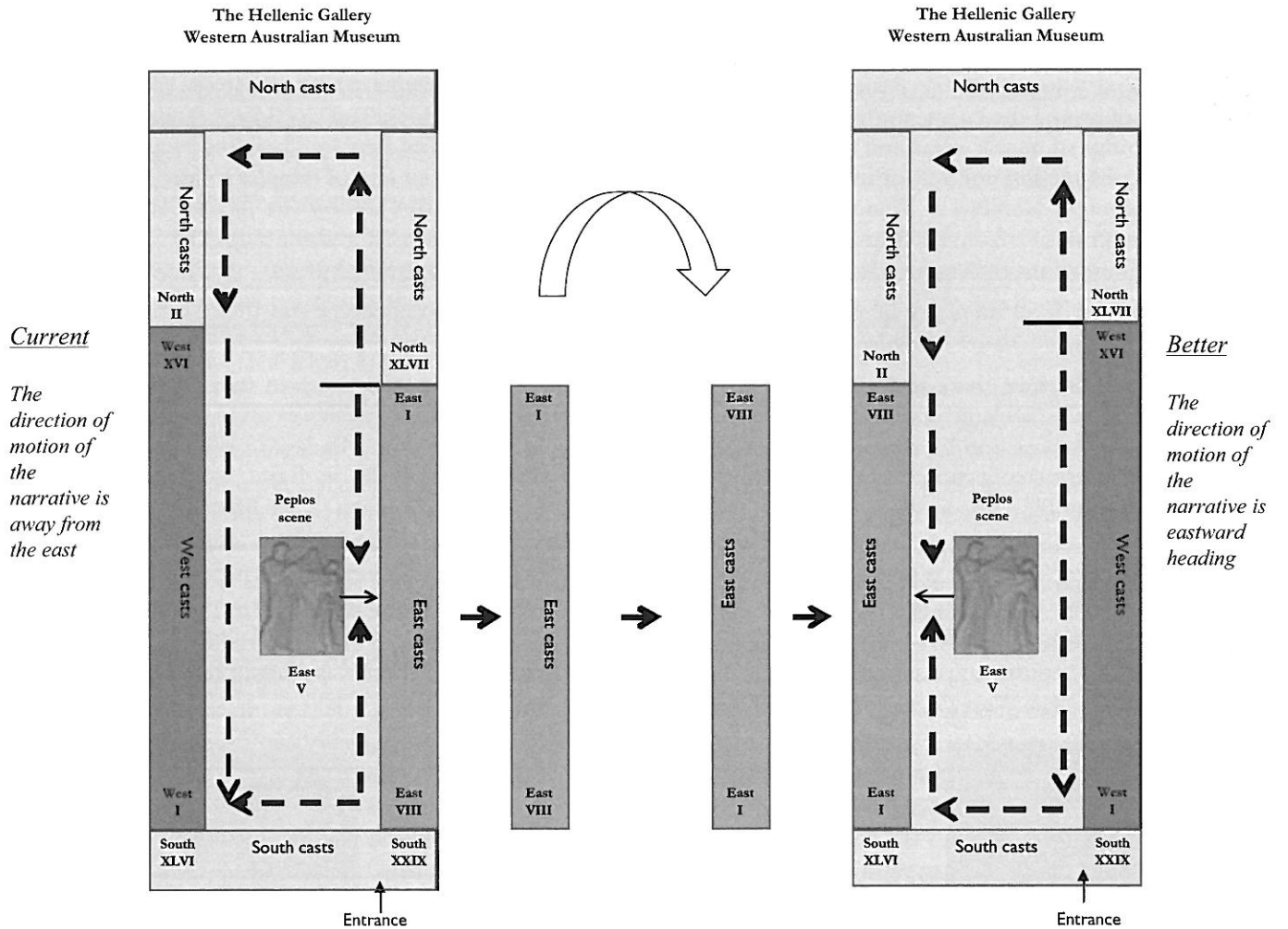
Casts can also be of great interest forensically. In the photograph left are shown the last figure in Perth's East cast VI and the first figure in Perth's cast East VII. The same figures are shown in a photograph opposite that appears in an important work published in 1910, *The Sculptures of the Parthenon*, by Arthur Hamilton Smith (then Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum). Perhaps in relation to the first figure the fragment of head that appears in the Smith photograph but not the in the cast photograph is due to breakage of the cast but what is perhaps more interesting is that although the Smith photograph was published some years later than the Perth cast, the cast contains the shoulder of figure 2, whilst the Smith photograph does not.



The original Frieze has deteriorated since the manufacture of the Perth casts. Deterioration of marble is natural in the presence of acidic agents including polluted atmospheric water. Deterioration can also occur by reason of biological attack and by abrasion due to rain and wind. Human intervention can cause deterioration or destruction by everything from outright vandalism to negligent cleaning. The Frieze has suffered from all these sources of deterioration although its remnants are far better protected today than in the past. It is therefore imperative to preserve significant records of the Frieze remnants.

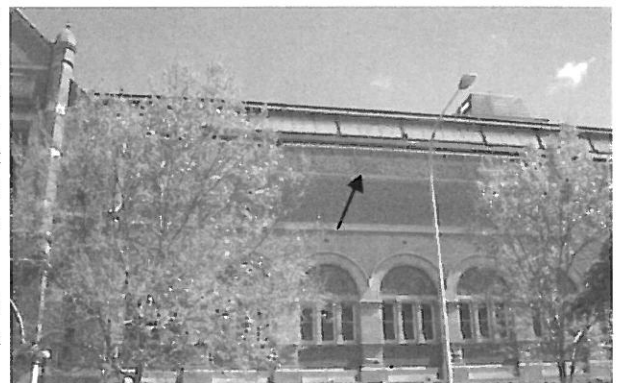
The Perth casts are just such a significant record and evidence as well that a century ago in Perth it was thought that for a city that was founded on principles heavily informed by the ideas, the art, and the history generally, of ancient Athens and Rome, it was necessary to possess and display some record of its classical heritage.

How the Perth Casts should have been arranged



The Annex Frieze

In the photograph opposite, the Beaufort Street façade of the 1907 Museum annex is reproduced. Notice that at the top of the façade just below the windows of the Gallery’s lantern ceiling there is a continuous low relief frieze (arrowed). In the Classical Greek conception it is an Ionic frieze. The frieze is about the same height above the ground, and about the same width, as the height and width of the Parthenon Ionic frieze. It also corresponds in position to the casts on the opposite internal East wall of the Gallery.



It is not unreasonable to think that the architect’s placement of the frieze in its position and dimension so similar to the Parthenon frieze was not a mere coincidence.

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Any errors are entirely mine: Kevin J O’Toole, Barrister & Solicitor, University of Western Australia, and Classics and Ancient History, University of Western Australia. kevin.otoole@uwa.edu.au