

## THE EDUCATION OF ARTISTS IN ANCIENT GREECE

### Introductory Remarks

The aim of this article is to collect the written evidence which may help us to understand what type of education and training ancient Greek artists enjoyed throughout the different ages and in the most important artistic centres.

As I shall point out several documents may be also enlightening about the relations between masters and pupils and may indicate the influence of philosophical ideas on this phenomenon.

I believe that this topic has been little studied and that several relevant sources have not yet been fully used in order to enhance our knowledge of this issue.<sup>1</sup>

These considerations hopefully justify the present study of this topic.

### Masters and pupils in the workshops of artists of archaic Greece

In archaic Greece the rivalry among craftsmen who work with the same materials and the same techniques was very harsh.

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<sup>1</sup> I delivered lectures on the education of ancient Greek artists in the University of Pavia in March, 2007 as well as at Saint-Petersburg, in the *Bibliotheca Classica*, in September, 2007. I thank Prof. Harari, who invited me to deliver my lecture in Pavia, as well as Profs. Kazansky, Gavrilov, Verlinsky, who encouraged me to talk about the results of my research in Saint-Petersburg. About workshops in ancient Greece, see S. Nolte, *Steinbruch–Werkstatt–Skulptur* (Göttingen 2006) 9–303 who cites the most important previous bibliography. About workshops of painters see A. Anguissola, “La bottega dell’artista”, in: C. Gallazzi and S. Settis (eds.), *Le tre vite del Papiro di Artemidoro* (Milan 2006) 124–131 with relevant previous bibliography. About workshops of sculptors, see G. Bejor, “Nella bottega del marmorario”, in: G. Bejor (ed.), *Botteghe e artigiani* (Milan 2012) 1–26 and M. Castoldi, “Nella bottega del bronzista”, *ibid.*, 23–63. The education of ancient artists as well as their social and economic status have been considered by K. Seaman, *Rhetoric and Innovation in the Art of the Hellenistic Courts* (Berkeley 2010) with good previous bibliography (the whole book is pertinent to this problem).

Hesiod, *Op.* 11–26 illustrated at length this phenomenon:

So there was not just one birth of Strife after all, but upon the earth there are two Strifes. One of these a man would praise once he got to know it, but the other is blameworthy; and they have thoroughly opposed spirits. For the one forsters evil war and conflict—cruel one, no mortal loves that one, but it is by necessity that they honor the oppressive Strife, by the plans of the immortals. But the other one gloomy Night bore first; and Cronus' high-throned son, who dwells in the aether, set it in the roots of the earth, and it is much better for man. It rouses even the helpless man to work. For a man who is not working, but who looks at some other man, a rich one who is hastening to plow and plant and set his house in order, he envies him, one neighbor envying his neighbor who is hastening towards wealth: and this Strife is good for mortals. And potter is angry with potter, and builder with builder, and beggar begrudges beggar, and poet poet (transl. Loeb).<sup>2</sup>

The situation described by Hesiod is also the social background of an anecdote attributed to the father of the artists, Daedalus: this artist is told to have become the master of Talos or Perdix, the son of his sister. This boy was so skilled that very soon Daedalus became jealous of him and eventually killed his promising pupil (D. S. 4. 76; Hyg. *Fab.* 244; Schol. E. *Or.* 161).

This legend reveals already for the period which for us is the Orientalizing one a few aspects of the training of artists:

- 1) the relationship between masters and pupils;
- 2) the transmission of an art inside a specific family: Talos or Perdix was the son of Daedalus' sister;
- 3) the *artificis invidia* which may lead even to the slying of the rival—no matter if he is in fact the best pupil of the killer: this driving force—which Hesiod interprets as the negative Eris—is also one of the founding features of the life of artisans.<sup>3</sup>

For the archaic period the literary tradition gives emphasis to relations between masters and pupils: the latter are supposed to have been trained under the former and for this reason to have followed styles and techniques which characterized the oeuvre of their masters. In this way artistic schools, characterized by certain peculiarities (relations with patrons, subjects,

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<sup>2</sup> See about the reference of this passage to the rivalry among craftsmen, B. Schweitzer, “Der bildende Künstler und der Begriff des Künstlerischen in der Antike”, in: id., *Zur Kunst der Antike* 1 (Tübingen 1963) 18–40 and Seaman (n. 1).

<sup>3</sup> On Daedalus, see D. Vollkommer-Glökler, “Daidalos (I)”, in: R. Vollkommer (ed.), *Künstlerlexikon der Antike* I (Munich 2001) 151–152.

styles, technical features) were formed and sometimes had a long existence spanning for several generations.<sup>4</sup>

In the field of bronze sculpture the tradition of schools begins with Rhoecus who educated in this art his sons Telecles and Theodoros: this tradition was then continued by the son of Telecles, another Theodoros (Hdt. 3. 41; D.S. 1. 98; Paus. 8. 14. 8; D.L. 2. 103).<sup>5</sup> This genealogy illustrates eloquently that the transmission of a specific τέχνη and style took place preferably within the same οἶκος.

In the field of marble sculpture the school of Chios was supposed to have begun this activity, lasting for 4 generations with the sculptors Melas, Micciades, Archermus, Boupalus and Athenis (*IG*<sup>3</sup> 683; *I. Delos* 9; *I. Pergamon* 46; *IG* 12. 5. 147; *CIG* 6141; Hor. *Epod.* 6. 13–14; Acron. Schol. Hor. *ad loc.*; Plin. *NH.* 36. 11; Paus. 4. 30. 6 and 9. 35. 6; Suid. s. v. Ἴππώνοξ and schol. Ar. *Av.* 573).<sup>6</sup>

The school of Daedalus continues with Dipoenus and Scyllis from Gortys (Paus. 2. 15. 1): these two students are regarded to have been the sons of Daedalus.<sup>7</sup>

These sculptors had as students Theocles (Paus. 5. 17. 2),<sup>8</sup> Dontas (Paus. 6. 19. 12),<sup>9</sup> Dorycleidas and Medon, all from Sparta (Paus. 5. 17. 1).<sup>10</sup>

Clearchus from Rhegium was regarded student of Daedalus or of Dipoenus and Scyllis or of Euchirus from Corinth as well as of Chilon of Patras (Paus. 3. 17. 6 and Suid. s. v. Σώστρατος).<sup>11</sup> Euchirus had also been

<sup>4</sup> Concerning the flourishing of schools of artists in Greece throughout the archaic period the bibliography is of course extensive. Here I cite only C. Bol, *Frühgriechische Bilder* (Munich 2005) and P. Bol (ed.), *Frühgriechische Plastik I* (Mainz 2002) 71–269.

<sup>5</sup> See H. J. Kienast, “Rhoikos”, in: Vollkommer (n. 3) II (2004) 351–352; S. Ebbinghaus, “Telekles”, *ibid.*, 437–438 and “Theodoros (i)”, 445–447; K. Kilinski, “Theodoros (ii)”, 447–448.

<sup>6</sup> See R. Vollkommer, “Melas (i)”, in: Vollkommer (n. 3) II (2004) 60; A. Bohne, “Mikkiades”, *ibid.* 82; R. Vollkommer, “Archermos”, *ibid.*, I (2001) 76–77; V. Müller, “Bupalos”, *ibid.* 125–126; G. Bröker, “Athenis”, *ibid.*, 104–105. See also M. D’Acunto, “Ipponatte e Boupalos, e la dialettica tra poesia e scultura in età arcaica”, *RA* (2007) 227–268.

<sup>7</sup> On Dipoenus, see A. Hermay, “Dipoinos”, in: Vollkommer (n. 3) I (2001) 184–185; on Scyllis, id., “Skylis”, *ibid.*, II (2004) 398. While the historicity of the figure of Daedalus is controversial, the existence of Dipoenus and Scyllis and of the other students of this school is generally accepted.

<sup>8</sup> On Theocles see R. Vollkommer, “Theokles”, in: Vollkommer (n. 3) II (2004) 455.

<sup>9</sup> On Dontas, see A. Herr, “Dontas”, in: Vollkommer (n. 3) I (2001) 192.

<sup>10</sup> On Dorycleidas, see E. Raming, “Dorykleidas”, in: Vollkommer (n. 3) I (2001) 193; On Medon, O. Gülcky, “Medon”, *ibid.*, II (2004) 57.

<sup>11</sup> On Clearchus see D. Vollkommer-Glökler, “Klearchos”, in: Vollkommer (n. 3) I (2001) 413.

a student of Dipoenus and Scyllis (Paus. 6. 4. 4).<sup>12</sup> Finally these two Cretan sculptors educated in the art of marble sculpture Tectaeus and Angelion (Paus. 2. 32. 5).<sup>13</sup>

The Athenian Endoeus was also thought to have been a student of Daedalus (Paus. 1. 26. 4 and Athenagoras, *Legatio pro Christianis* 14. 61).<sup>14</sup>

A relative of Daedalus, Eucheir, was supposed to have ‘found’ painting (Arist. in Plin. *NH* 7. 205).<sup>15</sup>

Thus the school of Daedalus was supposed to have trained both the first sculptors and the first painters: his school would have been the dominant one in the period which for us is the early archaic one and through its students it would have established its prestige on Crete (with Dipoenus and Scyllis), in Sparta (with Theocles, Dontas, Dorycleidas, Medon), in Corinth (with Euchirus), in Attica (with Endoeus), on the Cyclades (with Tectaeus and Angelion) and in southern Italy (with Clearchus).

In the late archaic period the process of learning the ‘art’ of making bronze statues from fathers is referred to the Argive sculptors Eutelidas and Chrysothemis in an inscription on the base of the statues of two Olympic winners (Olympia, inscription no. B 10471 and Paus. 6. 10. 5–6).<sup>16</sup>

From this inscription the transmission of the skills of making works of art according to a specific τέχνη inside the οἶκος, from fathers to sons, appears obvious and explains why the archaic sculpture is essentially a phenomenon characterized by schools.<sup>17</sup>

Another renowned archaic school in the art of making bronze statues is that of Sicyon: the two brothers Canachus and Aristocles are the founders of this tradition (Paus. 6. 9. 1).<sup>18</sup> Then Aristocles taught the art to the Aeginetan Synnoon who handed it down to his son Ptolichus.

<sup>12</sup> On Euchirus, see R. Vollkommer, “Eucheiros (i)”, in: Vollkommer (n. 3) I (2001) 221.

<sup>13</sup> On these two sculptors, see E. Paul, W. Müller, “Angelion und Tektaios”, in: Vollkommer (n. 3) I (2001) 45.

<sup>14</sup> See P. A. Marx, “Acropolis 625”, *Hesperia* 70 (2001) 221–254; A. K. Andreiomenou, “Zur Werkstatt des Endoios”, *AM* 115 (2000) 83–113 and C. Keesling, “Endoios Painting from the Themistoklean Wall”, *Hesperia* 68 (1999) 509–548.

<sup>15</sup> See N. J. Koch, *De picturae initiis* (Munich 1996) 7–185 and R. Vollkommer, “Eucheir (i)”, in: Vollkommer (n. 3) I (2001) 220.

<sup>16</sup> See the comment by C. Zizza, *Le iscrizioni nella Periegesi di Pausania* (Pisa 2006) 282–285, no. 33.

<sup>17</sup> See Bol, *Frühgriechische Plastik* (n. 4).

<sup>18</sup> About Canachus, see J. Meischner, *Späte Archaic und früher Strenger Stil* (Bremen 2009); V. M. Strocka, “Der Apollo des Kanachos”, *JdI* 117 (2002) 81–125; P. Schollmeyer, “Kanachos (i)”, in: Vollkommer (n. 3) I (2001) 400–402. About Aristocles, see G. Bröker, “Aristokles (iii)”, *ibid.*, 86–87.

Later exponents of the same school were the Chian Sostratus and his son Pantias. Chanachus was also the master of Ascarus of Thebes according to Paus. 5. 24. 1 (see also Paus. 6. 3. 11 and 9. 3).<sup>19</sup> From this picture it is clear that a renowned school such as that of Sicyon attracted talents also from faraway: Aegina, Thebes and even Chius.

According to the ancient tradition there was a continuity from the Daedalic school to the most important school of sculptors in late archaic Greece: that of Aegina. Callon, the most important master of Aegina in the late 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC, was a student of Tectaeus and Angelion (Paus. 2. 32. 5).<sup>20</sup>

The ancient sources do not give evidence for the continuity of schools from the late archaic to the early classical period.

In fact only one master of the late 6<sup>th</sup> c. is said to have had a student who became important in the 5<sup>th</sup> c.: Clearchus of Rhegium, student of Euchirus from Corinth and, as I shall point out below, master of Pythagoras of Rhegium.

Thus it seems that the ancient tradition was fully aware that there had been a clear change of art and styles from the archaic to the classical period.<sup>21</sup>

### The Early Classical Period

From the early 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC there are new and prestigious schools.

One is that established by the Aeginetan bronze sculptor Onatas, whose most important pupil probably had been Calamis (Paus. 6. 12. 1).<sup>22</sup>

A second school is that established at Athens by the bronze sculptor Hegias who had Phidias as his most important student (D. Chrys. 55. 1. 282).<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> About Synnoon, see E. Walter-Karydi, "Synnoon", in: *Vollkommer* (n. 3) II (2004) 430; about Ptolichus, see ead., "Ptolichos (i)", *ibid.*, 329–330. About Sostratos, see A. Villing, "Sostratos (i)", *ibid.*, 413–414; about Pantias, see U. W. Gottsche, "Pantias", *ibid.*, 182. About Ascarus, see G. Bröker, "Askaros", *ibid.*, 1 (2001) 98.

<sup>20</sup> On the Aeginetan school of sculpture see E. Walter Karydi, *Die Aeginetische Bildhauerschule* (Mainz am Rhein 1987) 13–18 on Callon. About this bronze sculptor, see also ead., "Kalon (i)", in: *Vollkommer* (n. 3) I (2001) 397–399.

<sup>21</sup> About this change of art and styles see A. Stewart, "The Persian and Carthaginian Invasions of 480 B.C. E. and the Beginning of the Classical Style", *AJA* 112 (2008) 377–412 and 581–615.

<sup>22</sup> About Onatas, see E. Walter-Karydi, "Onatas (I)", in: *Vollkommer* (n. 3) II (2004) 155–159. About Calamis, see P. Moreno, "Kalamis (i)", *ibid.*, I (2001) 373–382.

<sup>23</sup> About Hegias, see D. Vollkommer-Glökler, "Hegias (I)", in: *Vollkommer* (n. 3) I (2001) 289. Of course about Phidias see C. Cullen, *Phidias* (London 2009) particularly 755 about his studentship under Hegias.

However the rise of strong personalities such as that of Phidias, which characterizes the art of the classical period, involves that the pupil does not always follow the artistic path of his master but establishes his own style, thus becoming “rival” (*aemulus*) of his master. Thus Phidias became rival of Hegias according to Pliny, *NH* 34. 49, although he had previously been a student of this master.

A third school was that founded also at Athens by the bronze sculptors Critius and Nesiotes.<sup>24</sup> The most important of the two was Critius who late in his career became also a rival of Phidias, as it is stated by Pliny, *NH* 34. 49: indeed the establishment in the same social environment of strong personalities must have exasperated the rivalry among schools and sculptors operating in the same field and for the same market.

The most important pupil of Critius had been Ptolichus from Corcyra, then Ptolichus had Amphion of Cnossus as his best student, then Amphion taught the art of bronze sculpture to Pison from Calauria and eventually Damocritus from Sicyon had been a student of Pison (Paus. 6. 3. 5).<sup>25</sup> Thus the school of Critius lasted for at least five generations spanning throughout most of the classical period.

Other students of Critius had been Diodorus and Skyninus (Plin. *NH* 34. 85).<sup>26</sup>

The fact that at least three bronze masters are recorded as having been students of Critius gives an idea of the importance of his school.

An old school descending from Daedalus which still flourished was that of Euchirus from Corinth who had as student Clearchus of Rhegium: the latter became the master of Pythagoras of Rhegium (Paus. 6. 4. 3 and Suid s. v. Σώστρατος).<sup>27</sup>

The most important school of bronze sculptors established in this period probably has been that of Hageladas from Argus: he became the master of Phidias (Suid. s. v. Γελάδας; Scholiast to Ar. *Ra.* 504; Tz. *H.* 7. 921–928),<sup>28</sup> Myron and Polycleitus (Plin. *NH* 34. 10. 55 and 57).<sup>29</sup> Thus

<sup>24</sup> About Critius, see C. Maderna, “Aristodikos und Kritios-Knabe”, in: H. von Steuben *et alii* (eds.), *Museum* (Möhnesee 2007) 173–185.

<sup>25</sup> About Ptolichus, see R. Vollkommer, “Ptolichos (ii)”, in: Vollkommer (n. 3) II (2004) 330; about Amphion, see E. Paul, “Amphion”, *ibid.*, I (2001) 33–34; about Pison, see R. Vollkommer, “Pison”, *ibid.*, II (2004) 264; finally about Damocritus see *id.*, “Damokritos (I)”, *ibid.*, 157.

<sup>26</sup> About Diodorus, see W. Müller, “Diodoros (I)”, in: Vollkommer (n. 3) I (2001) 171. About Skyninus, see D. Vollkommer-Glökler, “Skyninos”, *ibid.*, II (2004) 398.

<sup>27</sup> See n. 11.

<sup>28</sup> See Cullen (n. 23) 700–701 and 987–988. About Hageladas, see P. Moreno, “Hageladas (ii)”, in: Vollkommer (n. 3) I (2001) 276–280.

<sup>29</sup> See ns. 40 and 45.

his artistic research should be regarded as the basis of the passage from the severe style to the classical one.<sup>30</sup>

The students of Hageladas were all strong personalities which is why they became soon rivals according to Pliny, *NH* 34. 10: Myron and Polykleitus “were of the same age and students of the same master, but there had been rivalry between them”.

In painting the school of Polygnotus is the most important of this period. It included members of the same family from Thasus (Aglaophon the Elder, Polygnotus, Aglaophon the Younger, Aristophon),<sup>31</sup> perhaps also Micon,<sup>32</sup> Panaenus – brother of Phidias,<sup>33</sup> – Plistaenetus – another brother of Phidias<sup>34</sup> – and the same Phidias when he was young (Plin. *NH* 35. 54).<sup>35</sup>

Despite the provenance from Thasus of the most important master of this school – Polygnotus – as well as of other exponents it is likely that for much of its activity span the school was based in Athens: this conclusion is suggested by the circumstances that several important paintings accomplished by these masters had been set up in Athens,<sup>36</sup> that Polygnotus had been honoured with the Athenian citizenship (Artemon, Περὶ ζωγράφων and Jubas, Περὶ γραφικῆς in Harp. Schol. Lycurg. 155 B = 254 D)<sup>37</sup> and finally that he enjoyed the protection of the political circle of Cimon, whose sister Elpinice became his lover (Plu. *Cim.* 4. 6–7):<sup>38</sup> the latter gossip implies that at least for some time this painter spent his daily life in this city. The probable settling of the Thasian school in Athens

<sup>30</sup> About the important function performed by Hageladas in preparing the art of the next generation, see P. Moreno, *Les bronzes de Riace. Le maître d'Olympie et les sept à Thebes* (Paris 1999).

<sup>31</sup> See A. Reinach, *Textes grecs et latins relatifs à l'histoire de la peinture ancienne. Recueil Milliet* (Paris 1985) 80–154, sources nos. 86–134. See also C. Roscino, *Polignoto di Taso* (Rome 2010).

<sup>32</sup> See Reinach (n. 31) 154–167, sources nos. 135–160.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 168–173, nos. 162–168.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 172–173, no. 169.

<sup>35</sup> About Phidias see the chapter about the middle classical times.

<sup>36</sup> The most noteworthy of these paintings are: a. the paintings in the *Stoa poikile*; b. those in the Theseion; c. those in the Anakeion; and d. those in the so-called Pinacothèque of the Propylaea to the Acropolis. See Roscino (n. 31). Moreover K. Kopanias, “Kimon, Mikon und die Datierung des Athener Theseion”, in: W. Gauer (ed.), *Tekmeria* (Münster 2006) 155–163. See also U. Koch-Brinkmann, “Polygnotos (I)”, in: Vollkommer (n. 3) II (2004) 272–274; G. Bröker, “Aglaophon (i)”, *ibid.*, I (2001) 13; id., “Aristophon”, *ibid.*, 93; R. Vollkommer, “Mikon”, *ibid.*, II (2004) 82–84; id., “Pleistainetos”, *ibid.*, 266.

<sup>37</sup> See n. 31.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

is perhaps due to the fact that this city from the Cimonian time onwards became the cradle of many enterprises in the field of visual arts as well as the most lively cultural centre of the Greek world. Since Polygnotus portrayed his beloved Elpinice in the Iliupersis of the *Stoa poikile* as the Trojan Laodice—the most beautiful among Priam’s daughters—, with this school the art of painting acquires the licence of the artist to pour the feelings of his own personal life into his work. Moreover, since he painted gratis in the *Stoa poikile* and perhaps also in the Theseion and in the Anakeion of Athens (Melanthius in Plu. *Cim.* 4. 6–7), the profession of painter as it is now conceived in the environment of Polygnotus is no longer just money oriented but aims rather for the acquisition on the side of the painter of a social *status*.

The school of Polygnotus must have set the example of a large workshop where several artisans worked and which establishes itself in the market of artistic enterprises for a very long time.

### The middle classical times

Very soon Myron will leave Argus, where he learned the art of bronze sculpture under Hageladas, and also will settle in Athens, where he worked for important commissions.<sup>39</sup>

At Athens he educated his son Lycius to the art of bronze sculpture (Plin. *NH* 34. 79).<sup>40</sup> Styppax from Cyprus<sup>41</sup> and the painter Philiscus<sup>42</sup> perhaps became also his pupils. The likely pupil of Lycius will be Strongylion.<sup>43</sup> The bronze sculptors of this school depicted young figures surprised by the viewer in the middle of their actions, whose pictures are enlarged on the sides.

Another famous pupil of Hageladas, Polycleitus, on the contrary settled at Argus and continued the work of his master. He also had several students whose activity will continue for at least four generations, until the third quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>44</sup>

His school taught a conception of the human body standing but endowed with the power of moving, moreover advertised a concept of harmony of

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<sup>39</sup> See P. Bol, “Myron”, in: Vollkommer (n. 3) II (2004) 96–104 and A. Corso, “Mirone ovvero dell’arte animata”, *NumAntCl* 35 (2006) 475–504.

<sup>40</sup> About Lycius, see A. Corso, *The Art of Praxiteles* I (Rome 2004) 44–54.

<sup>41</sup> See Corso (n. 40) 40–44.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 44.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 55–75.

<sup>44</sup> About the school of Polycleitus, see C. Maderna, “Die letzten Jahrzehnte der spätklassischen Plastik”, in: P. Bol (ed.), *Klassische Plastik* (Mainz am Rhein 2004) 303–382, particularly 317–321.

the human body obtained thanks to many measures of the single parts of the body related among them. His large school which lasted for around a century (450–350 BC) testifies both to the emphasis which is being given in the middle and late classical times on the teaching of the arts and to the importance of the theoretical, philosophical background concerning the concept of human body and movement, which now is regarded an essential introduction to the art of making statues.<sup>45</sup>

The school of Polycleitus includes first of all Patrocles<sup>46</sup> and his sons Daedalus<sup>47</sup> and Naucydes:<sup>48</sup> Daedalus is declared the son of Patrocles by Paus. 6. 3. 4 as well as *I. Olympia* 161 and 635, in *I. Ephesos* 111 and in *F. Delphes* 3. 4. 202. Pausanias also specifies that he was a student of Patrocles. Naucydes is declared the son of Patrocles in *I. Olympia* 159. Since Naucydes is also said to have been the brother of Polycleitus (Paus. 2. 22. 7), this family may have been the same οἶκος of the great Argive master. The ethnic given to Naucydes is that of Argus (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 4172)<sup>49</sup> while that of Daedalus is Sicyon (Paus. 6. 3. 4; *I. Olympia* 161 and 635; *I. Ephesos* 111; *F. Delphes* 3. 4. 202):<sup>50</sup> this differentiation reflects the fact that Polycleitus was both Argive (*I. Olympia* 162–163; *IGUR* 1580; Paus. 6. 13. 7; *Tz. H.* 8. 319)<sup>51</sup> and Sicyonian (Plin. *NH* 34. 55).<sup>52</sup> According to Pliny *NH* 34. 50, other students of Polycleitus were Argius, Asopodorus, Alexis, Aristides, Phrynon, Athenodorus and Demeas. Most of these pupils were Argive, except for Aristides, who perhaps was an exponent of a famous school of artists from Thebes, as well as for Athenodorus and Demeas, who were from Cleitor.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> On this issue see W. Sonntagbauer, “Kanon und rechter Winkel. Theoretische Überlegungen zum Kanon des Polyklet”, in: *Temenos* (Vienna 2002) 123–130.

<sup>46</sup> See R. Vollkommer, “Patrokles (i)”, in: id. (n. 2) II (2004) 196–197. The family relations among the single exponents of the school of Polycleitus are controversial in the modern scholarship. Here I refer only to the conclusions which appear to me the most likely.

<sup>47</sup> See R. Vollkommer, “Daidalos (ii)”, in: Vollkommer (n. 3) II (2001) 153–154.

<sup>48</sup> About Naucydes, see P. C. Bol, “Naukydes (i)”, in: Vollkommer (n. 3) II (2004) 110–112.

<sup>49</sup> See n. 48.

<sup>50</sup> See n. 47.

<sup>51</sup> See n. 44.

<sup>52</sup> Paus. 2. 22. 7 declares Naucydes Μόθωνος: since the ethnic of Mothone is Μοθωνάιος, Μόθωνος should be the patronymic of Mothon. Perhaps Naucydes, although he was the son of Patrocles (see *I. Olympia* 159), had been adopted at a later moment by a certain Mothon.

<sup>53</sup> About the analytical reconstruction of the school of Polycleitus, see A. Linfert, “Die Schule des Polyklet”, in: P. C. Bol (ed.), *Polyklet* (Frankfurt am Main 1990) 240–297.

Another important student of Polycleitus was the Sicyonian Canachus, who learned the art of bronze sculpture from Polycleitus according to Paus. 6. 13. 7.

Another student was Periclytus, who became the master of the Argive Antiphanes, whose student was Cleon of Sicyon according to Paus. 5. 17. 3.

Naucydes had as students Alypus of Sicyon according to Paus. 6. 1. 3 and Polycleitus the Younger according to Paus. 6. 6. 2.

The importance of the school of Polycleitus (fig. 1), its great impact on the debate concerning making bronze statues and the problem of representing human figures, finally its prestige not only in the Peloponnese but also in Attica,<sup>54</sup> in western Greece<sup>55</sup> and in Asia Minor<sup>56</sup> explain the fact that the example of this school entered the debate, which is typical of the age of Sophists, whether knowledge can be taught or not.

In the *Dissoi Logoi* 6. 8—a Sophistic essay of the late 5<sup>th</sup> c.—the circumstance that Polycleitus taught how to make bronze statues to his son is noticed.<sup>57</sup> Of course this observation lends support to the opinion that knowledge can be taught. Plato retorts to this opinion in the *Protagoras*: Socrates in this dialogue cites Phidias and Polycleitus as examples of ἀγαλαματοποιοί who teach the art of sculpture upon payment (311 c). However Protagoras objects that the sons of Polycleitus are much inferior to their father. That is explained through the privilege accorded to the concept of φύσις which in the specific case is understood as natural talent: if the pupil has no talent for this learning, despite the greatness of the teacher he will be much inferior to him.

This skepticism about the possibility to hand down a given branch of knowledge leads to a crisis of the system of transmission of knowledge in the field of visual arts through schools. This teaching does not guarantee also the transmission of high quality.

This theoretical difficulty is coupled also by a more down to earth consideration which becomes clear by looking at the school of Phidias in Athens.

Phidias, as we have seen, had been the pupil of Hegias at Athens and then of Hageladas at Argus. However very soon the most famous bronze

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<sup>54</sup> See A. Corso, “The Argive Masters at Athens from Pericles to Thrasybulus”, *NumAntCl* 31 (2002) 91–112.

<sup>55</sup> See Polycleitus’ Canephoroe carved for a private sanctuary in Messana (Cic. *Ver.* 2. 4. 2. 4–3. 6).

<sup>56</sup> Polycleitus reported a victory in the famous competition of the Amazons at Ephesus: Plin. *NH* 34. 53.

<sup>57</sup> See E. Ghisellini, “Note in margine a due fonti su Policleto”, *Xenia* 20 (1990) 33–40.

sculptors of the previous generation became his rivals: Pliny *NH* 34. 49 informs that Critius, Nesiotes, Hegias, Hageladas, Callon and Gorgias became his *aemuli*.<sup>58</sup> Thus even his two masters, Hegias and Hageladas, developed a tense and conflictual relationship with him. This is certainly the result of the strong personality of Phidias, who could hardly have been a pupil docilely ready to follow the teaching of his masters.

He had been trained as a painter in his youth (Plin. *NH* 35. 54) as were his two brothers, Panaenus and Plistaenetus.<sup>59</sup>

During his maturity he took part to the competition of Ephesus for the best bronze statue of an Amazon: his rivals were Polycleitus, Cresilas, Phradmon, Cydon (Plin. *NH* 34. 53).<sup>60</sup> He lost to Polycleitus. These rivalries must have been made even more fearsome with the establishment of the habit to hold competitions among artists sharing the same specialization, which became trendy around the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC.<sup>61</sup>

Phidias had also several important pupils. The older one was probably Alcamenes:<sup>62</sup> when he was young he had been a pupil of Phidias (Plin. *NH* 36. 16–17), but at a later moment he became his rival (Plin. *NH* 34. 49 and Tz. *H.* 8. 333–362). Alcamenes lost to Phidias in a competition for statues of Athena held at Athens (Tz. *H.* 8. 333–362), but prevailed against the beloved pupil of Phidias, Agoracritus, in the *agon* for making the statue of Aphrodite in the Gardens (Plin. *NH* 35. 17).

Again, the strong personality of Alcamenes could not be reconciled with his status of follower of his master. Thus the same concept of school and of transmission of teaching from master to pupil is troubled by the strength and originality of younger artists.

Probably at a later moment Agoracritus became the beloved pupil and lover of Phidias (Antig. in Zen. 5. 82; Plin. *NH* 36. 17; Paus. 9. 34. 1; Suid and Phot. s. vv. Ῥαμνουσίᾱ Νέμεσις; Tz. *H.* 7. 921–928 and *Epistulae* 21). His status at the same time of pupil and lover, which is

<sup>58</sup> About the youth of Phidias, see Cullen (n. 23) 617–622. Plin. *NH* 34. 49 mentions among the *aemuli* of Phidias also the less renowned Lacon (see R. Vollkommer, “Lakon”, in: Vollkommer [n. 3] II [2004] 3).

<sup>59</sup> See W. Ehrhardt, “Panainos”, in: Vollkommer (n. 3) II (2004) 180–181 and R. Vollkommer, “Pleistainetos”, *ibid.*, 266.

<sup>60</sup> R. Bol, *Amazones vulneratae* (Mainz am Rhein 1998).

<sup>61</sup> Pliny informs that the competitions among painters had been instituted in the years 448–445 BC (Plin. *NH* 35. 58). About competitions among artists, see N. Kaltsas, “Art Competitions”, in: id. (ed.), *Agon* (Athens 2004) 58–63 and M. Mattei, “Artistic Contests”, *ibid.*, 312–314.

<sup>62</sup> He may have been active already around 460 BC, when he carved the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia (Paus. 5. 10. 8): see P. Moreno, *I bronzi di Riace, il maestro di Olimpia e i sette a Tebe* (Milan 1998).

handed down by a long tradition,<sup>63</sup> sheds light on the phenomenon of the paederastia between the older master and the younger student, which must have occurred quite a lot in classical workshops. It is not impossible that the privileged relationship of Phidias with Agoracritus contributed to the transformation of Alcamenes from pupil of the former to rival of both.

Phidias trained Colotes in the chryselephantine technique: the latter helped the former both at Olympia in the carving of the Olympian Zeus (Plin. *NH* 34. 87 and 35. 54)<sup>64</sup> and at Elis in the making of the Phidian chryselephantine Athena (Plin. *NH* 35. 54 and Paus. 6. 26. 3). The statue of Athena at Elis was the result of the collaboration among three artists, because Panaenus the painter, brother of Phidias, also took part to the enterprise by painting the internal side of the goddess' shield (Plin. 35. 54).

Finally he trained Theocosmus from Megara also in the chryselephantine technique, and the two artists made the statue of the Olympian Zeus at Megara together (Paus. 1. 40. 4).

What we know of the school of Phidias gives us an idea of the spreading power of the teaching of a very renowned classical master: the son of Charmides had students from Lemnus (Alcamenes), Parus (Agoracritus), Megara (Theocosmus), Heracleia, probably of Ionia (Colotes). This evidence is an eloquent testimony of the diffusion of the Phidian style everywhere in Greece.

The attitude of Phidias to his art is well illustrated by Tzetzes, *H.* 8. 344–345: he was totally concentrated in his art and could not stand the life in the Athenian agora. Tzetzes' depiction of Phidias' exclusive love for his art can be compared to Thucydides' information that Antiphon disliked to go to the assembly and to take part in public contexts (Th. 8. 68. 1) as well as to Euripides who disliked the Athenian population and preferred to spend his days in a cave on the island of Salamis (*Vita Euripidis* 4. 23–5. 1 and Gel. 15. 20. 5).<sup>65</sup>

These three cases speak about the sunset of the ideal of the citizen keen to take part to his political and social duties and of the rise of the figure of the expert who specialized in a specific τέχνη in which he reaches the

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<sup>63</sup> The tradition was already codified by Antigonus from Carystus towards the end of the 3rd c. BC.

<sup>64</sup> See Cullen (n. 24).

<sup>65</sup> The archaeological discovery of the cave on Salamis where Euripides used to spend his time confirms this information handed down by the *Life of Euripides*: see Γ. Γ. Λώλος, “Σπήλαιον αναπνοήν έχον ες την θάλασσαν”, *Δωδώνη* 26 (1997) 287–326.

highest possible level. While the civic ideal may have been still strong in important quarters of the Athenian society, the fact that important intellectuals as Phidias, Antiphon and Euripides preferred to stay clear of the masses suggests that a more disengaged life style was on the rise.

The evidence concerning Phidias who becomes a rival of his former masters Hegias and Hageladas as well as Alcámenes who also turns against his former teacher Phidias suggests that the transmission of learning and styles from teacher to pupil was no longer obvious because sometimes extremely talented pupils wanted to be the first and to impose themselves above everybody else including their own teachers. While episodes of rivalry between masters and pupils did happen even earlier (see above the story of Daedalus and his nephew), now the opposition of young artists to the ‘old authorities’ in their field looks more systematic and may have to do with the emergency of the exceptional individual which is typical of the age of Alcibiades.

In the field of painting, the teaching of this art was influenced by the new, higher status acquired by this art especially thanks to the strong personality of Polygnotus. The Thasian master painted gratis for Athens (Melanth. Hist. in Plu. *Cim.* 4. 6–7) and was lavished with the citizenship of this city (Harp. s. v. Πολύγνωτος), thus establishing the notion of the painter as a professional figure above those of the craftsmen (Plut. *Cim.* 4. 6–7).

This process ripened with the generation after Polygnotus. In the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. Parrhasius learned the art of painting from his father Euenor (Plin. *NH* 35. 60 and Harp. s. v. Παρράσιος), but brought his wish for self-realization to an extreme.<sup>66</sup> He, Apollodorus and Zeuxis each think that they are the best painters who ever appeared, compose poems, are familiar with philosophers, criticize harshly one the other, become rich, show up their lavish cloths.<sup>67</sup>

Zeuxis was regarded student either of Damophilus from Himera or of Neseus of Thasus and was told to have followed the art of his masters (Plin. *NH* 35. 61–62). This fact, which in previous periods would have been regarded normal, became a fault in the criticism of Apollodorus—handed down by Pliny—who claimed that Zeuxis ‘stole’ his art from his teachers.

This observation leads to the following conclusion: that the transmission of instruction from master to pupil in painting knows a crisis

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<sup>66</sup> About Parrhasios, see J. M. Blazquez, “Parrhasios”, in: Vollkommer (n. 3) II (2004) 186–188.

<sup>67</sup> About Apollodorus, see W. Müller, “Apollodoros (ii)”, in: Vollkommer (n. 3) I (2001) 64–65. About Zeuxis, see U. Koch-Brinkmann, “Zeuxis (i)”, in: Vollkommer (n. 3) II (2004) 534–536.

because the originality becomes the primary value in the common opinion of the time. Another feature of this ‘season’ is the social admiration of the exceptional painter. This phenomenon can be appreciated especially in the public enthusiasm towards Zeuxis’ original idea to paint a centauress (Lucian, *Zeux.* 3–8). Finally the above described behavioural patterns are coupled with contempt towards the evaluation of paintings expressed by the incompetent public. This feature becomes clear especially in the story of Zeuxis ordering his student Miccion to remove his picture with the Centauress from the exhibition area of his studio because people admired only the singularity of the subject and not the art of the painting (Lucian, *Zeux.* 7): of course this is also the result of the hyper-specialization reached in the single arts. As we have seen above, already Phidias was no longer spending his life together with his fellow citizens in the agora but preferred to live in his own world, filled by his artistic ideals.

The dialogue of Parrhasius with Socrates handed down by Xenophon (*X. Mem.* 3. 10) reveals that the exceptional painter was by now perceived worthy from an intellectual point of view to contribute important ideas to the discussion with a renowned philosopher such as Socrates.<sup>68</sup>

In this context of clear split between the exceptional artist and the general evaluation of works of art, the outcomes of the commissions deciding the winners in the competitions among artists begin to be regarded sometimes unfair and are no longer accepted: the comments of Parrhasius against the decision in an *agon* held on Samus to prefer a picture by Timanthes to his own painting on Ajax at the Award of the Arms became famous (Plin. *NH* 35. 72). It is perhaps not by chance that in the same period Euripides was usually defeated in the Athenian dramatic *agones* by obscure tragic poets (Βίος καὶ γένος Εὐριπίδου 3. 4 and Var. fig. 298 Funaioli).<sup>69</sup> Thus the last decades of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. see a growing gap between the value of the exceptional individual and the popular opinion. It goes without saying that this trend is coupled with the above mentioned phenomenon concerning the love of a few learned men for a life far from that of the masses.

Still in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> c., the marble sculptor Sophroniscus trained his young son Socrates in his own art, as it is known from a well represented literary tradition (Valerius Maximus 3. 4. *ext.* 1; Plin. *NH* 36. 32; Lucian *Somn.* 12; D.L. 2. 18–19; Paus. 1. 22. 8 and 9. 35. 3; Schol.

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<sup>68</sup> See F. Preisshofen, “Sokrates im Gespräch mit Parrhasios und Kleiton”, in: K. Döring (ed.), *Studia Platonica* (Amsterdam 1974) 21–40. While Socrates tended to speak with everybody, the wealth of ideas attributed to Parrhasius in Xenophon’s dialogue is outstanding and implies the concept that the painter developed his own theory of this art.

<sup>69</sup> See also the *testimonia* collected by R. Kannicht, *TGF* 5 (Göttingen 2004) 80.

Ar. *Nub.* 773; Hsch s. v. Ἑρμῆς ἀμύητος and Suid s. v. Σωκράτης).<sup>70</sup> The likeliness that Socrates switched from sculptor to philosopher implies that the status of the best established marble sculptors was not so apart from that of philosophers and could be regarded a job with an intellectual component.

During the last phase of the Peloponnesian War one of the most important architectural enterprises which were accomplished is certainly that of the Erechtheum on the Acropolis of Athens. The accounts concerning the marble workers who carved the architectural sculpture of the building are relatively well preserved.

Early exponents of marble workshops which will be renowned for a very long time are mentioned in these reports (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 476* ll. 163–164): thus the Athenian Praxias is mentioned as one of the carvers of the frieze.<sup>71</sup> This Praxias is probably an ancestor—perhaps the grandfather—of the namesake who worked on the late classical pediments of the temple of Apollo at Delphi.<sup>72</sup>

Moreover a Phyromachus is also mentioned for the carving of the frieze (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 476* ll. 161–162; 168–169 and 176–177) and is also probably the first known exponent of a dynasty of Phyromachi which will be active until the middle Hellenistic times.<sup>73</sup>

Finally Micon the Younger—perhaps the grandson of Micon the collaborator of Polygnotus—also worked on the Erechtheum (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 476* l. 399). Perhaps he coincides with the painter with the same name who is recorded by Pliny 35. 59 and 147 because his daughter Timarete is the first Greek paintress we are aware of.<sup>74</sup>

This paintress appears first in a catalogue of paintresses which is handed down by Pliny *NH* 35. 147. Thus it is possible to argue that the art

<sup>70</sup> This tradition has been rejected and it has been suggested that Socrates the Philosopher is confused with an earlier Socrates from Thebes (see e. g. M. C. Monaco, “Atene, Museo dell’Acropoli 1341+2594. Ancora sui rilievi con le Charites di Sokrates”, *Archeologia Classica* 51 [1999–2000] 85–104). However there is no serious reason to reject the ancient tradition (see O. Palagia, “A New Relief of the Graces and the Charites of Socrates”, in: M. Geerard (ed.), *Opes Atticae* [The Hague 1990] 347–356). See also S. Ackermann, “Sokrates (ii)”, in: Vollkommer (n. 3) II (2004) 405.

<sup>71</sup> See *IG I<sup>3</sup> 476*, ll. 163–164.

<sup>72</sup> See M. Flashar, “Praxias (i)“ and “Praxias (ii)”, in: Vollkommer (n. 3) II (2004) 303–304.

<sup>73</sup> See A. Stewart, *Attika* (London 1979) 3–33 and 161; R. Vollkommer, “Phyromachos (i)”, in: Vollkommer (n. 3) II (2004) 258–259 and B. Andreae, “Phyromachos (ii)”, *ibid.*, 259–263.

<sup>74</sup> See R. Vollkommer, “Mikon (iii)”, “Mikon (v)”, in: id. (ed.) II (2004) 84–85 and id., “Timarete”, *ibid.*, 472.

of painting became accessible to women at least in some cases at the latest by 400 BC or earlier.

Many reasons explain why a few women practiced the painting but were not engaged in other visual arts:

a. Because the art of painting was perceived less heavy than making bronze statues or carving marble, thus probably it had been regarded more appropriate to women.

b. Because painting in the ancient art criticism was often compared to weaving (Plin. *NH* 35. 150)—a typically female art—and thus was for this reason recommended as essential in the education of girls who without this cultural background cannot be properly prepared in weaving and lacing (Var. *Cato vel de liberis educandis* in Non. 2 s. v. *plumarium*).

c. Because painting was also assimilated to poetry at least from the times of Simonides<sup>75</sup> because of the narrative content of both arts: thus since poetesses did exist, it must have been thought to be natural that paintresses could also work. It is noteworthy that, as a catalogue of the most important Greek poetesses has been constituted,<sup>76</sup> equally a catalogue of the most important Greek paintresses has been preserved by Pliny *NH* 35. 147.

d. Finally the fact that at least three paintresses are said to have been daughters of painters should be noticed:<sup>77</sup> this fact may be explained with the hypothesis that a girl could be encouraged to become a paintress when her father was a painter and had no sons, so she had to pick up and continue his business.

e. Besides these considerations, probably the establishment of the phenomenon of paintresses is partly influenced by the general revaluation of the importance of a few exceptional women which characterized late classical society: the heterosexual love is re-valuated when compared to homosexual love from the late 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC, priestesses and courtesans are admired and portrayed by important masters.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> About the *ut pictura poesis* see Simonides, *testimonia* 47 a and b Campbell: see H. A. Shapiro, *Myth into Art* (London 1994) 7–10.

<sup>76</sup> See F. De Martino, *Poetesse greche* (Bari 2006) 48–89.

<sup>77</sup> I am referring to the cases of Timarete the daughter of Micon, of Irene the daughter of Cratinus as well as of Aristarete the daughter of Nearchus (see Plin. *NH* 35. 147).

<sup>78</sup> About the prevalence of heterosexual love *versus* homosexual love from the late 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC onwards, see A. Corso, “Love as Suffering”, *BICS* 42 (1997–98) 63–91. About female portraits throughout late classical times, see J. B. Connelly, *Portrait of a Priestess* (Princeton 2007) 129–135 and 227–240 and S. Dillon, *The Female Portrait Statue in the Greek World* (Cambridge 2010) 9–52; 60–102; 126–134; 169–170. About the importance of women in cult activities, see N. Kaltsas (ed.), *Worshipping Women* (New York 2008) 31–37; 79–89; 97–101; 107–123; 187–212; 243–251; 289–305; 324–329.

### The late classical times

The late classical times saw the establishment of two important schools of painting: the Sicyonian and the Theban / Attic one.

The former was founded by Eupompus probably at the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC.<sup>79</sup> Despite his institution of a school, he asserted that artists had to follow the nature and not the model embodied by a specific predecessor (Duris, *De toreutice frg.* 32 Jacoby in Plin. *NH* 34. 61).

This idea confines the function of the teacher of a visual art just to the technical training because any theoretical model which does not stem from natural observation is regarded inappropriate.

It is obvious that this concept is in keeping with new philosophical trends of the age, aiming to recommend a life adherent to the natural needs of humans: I refer to those of the Cynics as well as to hedonistic philosophers such as Aristippus and Eudoxus. Moreover this new notion of an art directly inspired by nature foreshadows the tendency towards the deep and analytical investigation of any realm of nature which will peak with Aristotle. Eupompus already had great authority as it is known from Pliny *NH* 35. 75 and imposed the Sicyonian tradition of painting as a specific branch of this art.<sup>80</sup>

The theory of the prevalence of φύσις upon νόμος which is implicit in Eupompus' theory, is similar to the widespread opinion about the superiority by nature of the nobles (ἀγαθοί) versus the commoners (κακοί) in the society: thus it is in keeping with the oligarchic philosophy and is perfectly understandable in the Peloponnese during the decades of the Spartan rule.

Eupompus, presumably when he was old, encouraged the young Lysippus to become a bronze sculptor by imitating nature itself and not a previous artist (Duris, cited above). He also taught painting to Pamphilus (Plin. *NH* 35. 75)<sup>81</sup> who flourished throughout the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

He was a Macedonian from Amphipolis (Plin. *NH* 35. 76 and Suid. s. v. Πάμφιλος) and this fact reveals that, after Zeuxis' journey to that region when Archelaus was still the king (Ael. *VH* 14. 17), one of the greatest Greek painters of the time grew up there. His importance relies especially on the fact that the art of painting acquired a new, higher status with him.

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<sup>79</sup> About Eupompus, see I. Scheibler, "Eupompos", in: Vollkommer (n. 3) I (2001) 236.

<sup>80</sup> About the Sicyonian school, see Σ. Λυδάκης, *Αρχαία ελληνική ζωγραφική* (Athens 2002) 139–145.

<sup>81</sup> About Pamphilus, see J. Scheibler, "Pamphilos (i)", in: Vollkommer (n. 3) II (2004) 178–179.

His treatise *Περὶ γραφικῆς καὶ ζωγράφων ἐνδόξων* (Suid. s. v. Πάμφιλος)<sup>82</sup> is no longer just a book on his conception of the art as it had been used in the Polycleitan tradition. The mention in the title of the “famous painters” suggests that, probably for the first time, the most important painters of the past were illustrated in this work.

Moreover Pliny *NH* 35. 76 informs us that he was the first painter who was very learned in every field, especially in arithmetic and geometry. Thus we have here the beginning of the figure of the *artifex doctus*.

His focus on arithmetic and geometry and his specification that his art cannot be perfect without knowledge in these disciplines aligns him with Polycleitus and his tradition. As we have seen, the latter had also been rooted in Sicyon.

Finally he opened a school at Sicyon in which he charged his students a fee which was never smaller than a talent for each year (Polem. Hist. in Plu. *Arat.* 13. 1). He established the technique on the picture on wood in the first stage of the curriculum of studies for boys first of all at Sicyon, then in the rest of Greece. The teaching of this art was reserved to upper class people or at least to free citizens. Slaves were not accepted (Plin. *NH* 35. 77).

The high fee charged and the fact that this school targeted young people of high rank (the *honesti* of Pliny) are in keeping with the oligarchic orientation of this school. We cannot forget that this is the period of the Spartan hegemony!

The change of status of the renowned painter promoted by Pamphilus explains the great importance of painting during the following period: the ‘Alexanderzeit’ will see the great prestige of painters such as Apelles and Protogenes.

Pamphilus himself taught painting to Apelles, Melanthus and Pausias (Plin. *NH* 35. 76 and 123 and Suid. s. v. Ἀπέλλης). The latter had been initially pupil of his father Bryes (Plin. *NH* 35. 123), but later learned encaustic painting from the most famous Pamphilus (fig. 2). This fact shows that the prestige of the Sicyonian school was such to overcome even the traditional rooting of artists inside their own οἴκοι.

The second important school of painting in late classical Greece was the Theban–Attic one:<sup>83</sup> it was established by Euxenidas in the late 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Plin. *NH* 35. 75) but it acquired renown especially thanks to the student of Euxenidas, Aristides the Elder.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> See J. Tanner, *The Invention of Art History in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge 2006) 173–174.

<sup>83</sup> See Λυδάκης (n. 80) 137–138.

<sup>84</sup> G. Bröker, “Aristides (i)”, in: Vollkommer (n. 3) 81–82.

This Theban pupil had also been trained as a bronze sculptor in the school of Polycleitus (Plin. *NH* 34. 50 and 72; Paus. 6. 20. 14 and *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 3018) and thus flourished around 400 BC.

His pupils included his sons Nicerus and Aristion the Elder, probably Aristiacus, moreover Antoridas and the Isthmian Euphranor, who is the most important exponent of this school throughout the second third of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (fig. 3).<sup>85</sup> He inherited from his master the specialization in both bronze sculpture and painting. Moreover he derived from the Polycleitan tradition his interest in problems of symmetry and proportions, his search for a new canon of human body (Plin. *NH* 128), finally his need to publish a book on his new ‘canon’ of proportions (Euphranor, *De symmetria et coloribus* in Vitruv. 7. *Praef.* 14 and Plin. *NH* 1. 35 and 35. 129).<sup>86</sup>

Since his most important works had been made for Athens (the paintings with the Twelve Gods, Theseus, Demos and Democracy, and the Battle of Mantinea for the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios in the Agora) (Valerius Maximus 8. 11. *ext.* 5; Plin. *NH* 35. 129; Plut. *De gloria Atheniensium* 2; Lucian. *Im.* 7–8; Paus. 1. 3. 3 and 8. 9. 8; Eust. *In Iliadem* 145. 11), and since he got the Athenian citizenship,<sup>87</sup> his workshop must have been based in Athens. Thus with him the Theban school became the best established school of painting in Athens.

These highly specialized schools – such as the Sicyonian and the Theban / Attic – were increasingly required by the tendency to the specialization of every τέχνη, which is by now conceived as an independent branch, which characterizes the age of Aristotle. Thus every ‘art’, in order to be practiced at the highest possible level, is felt to require a particular training and learning.

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<sup>85</sup> See my own reconstruction of the development of the Theban / Attic school in A. Corso, “Libro trentacinquesimo. Introduzione e note”, in: G. B. Conte (ed.), *Gaio Plinio Secondo. Storia Naturale* 5 (Turin 1988) 287–509, particularly 375. About Euphranor, see W. Müller, “Euphranor (i)”, in: *Vollkommer* (n. 3) I (2001) 229–230 and N. Humble, “Re-dating a Lost Painting: Euphranor’s Battle of Mantinea”, *Historia* 57 (2008) 347–366.

<sup>86</sup> Concerning his activity as painter, see Reinach (n. 31) 280–285, nos. 350–357. The evidence about his activity as sculptor has been collected by M. Muller-Dufeu, *La sculpture grecque* (Paris 2002) 558–563, nos. 1637–1650.

<sup>87</sup> He is defined Athenian by the Scholiast to Juv. 3. 217. Moreover his son Sostratus signed in Attica without ethnic and is given the affiliation to the *phile Oeneis*, what of course implies that he was an Athenian. It is likely that Euphranor was awarded the Athenian citizenship after he made his renowned paintings in the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios (evidence in A. Corso, *The Art of Praxiteles* II [Rome 2007] 247 n. 131).

On the contrary in sculpture throughout the late classical period the emphasis is still on single masters rather than on the schools they attended. However relationships between masters and pupils are known also in this field.

The Megaran expert in chryselephantine technique Theocosmus, who collaborated with Phidias, trained in bronze sculpture his own son, Callicles (Paus. 6. 7. 1). The latter taught bronze sculpture to his son Apellas who flourished in the early 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (*I. Olympia* 160 and 634 and *Anth. Gr.* 13. 16).

Moreover another school of bronze sculptors flourished at Sicyon: Aristocles, the brother of the late classical bronze sculptor Canachus (Paus. 6. 7. 1), trained in his own art his son Cleoetias (Paus. 6. 20. 14) who also trained in his art his son Aristocles (Paus. 5. 24. 5).

Pythagoras of Rhegium instructed in his own art—bronze sculpture—Sostratus, the son of his sister (Plin. *NH* 34. 60). Towards the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC, the Athenian Strongylion, when he became old, collaborated with Cephisodotus the Elder, at the time a young master, as well as with Olympiosthenes (Paus. 9. 30. 1): thus it is likely that Cephisodotus and Olympiosthenes were pupils of Strongylion.

Cephisodotus trained in both bronze sculpture and marble carving Praxiteles, who probably was his son<sup>88</sup> and educated in marble sculpture also the Athenian Xenophon (Paus. 8. 30. 1). The latter worked at Thebes, where he enjoyed the collaboration of the Theban Callistonicus (Paus. 9. 16. 1).

Aristander of Paros probably educated in the art of carving Parian marble his son Scopas.<sup>89</sup>

Praxiteles trained in bronze sculpture Herodotus from Olynthus (Tatian 33. 35) who at a later moment worked alone.<sup>90</sup>

The wealth acquired by Praxiteles with his art is implied by his inclusion among the 300 or so Athenians who had to pay the public dues:<sup>91</sup> thus his case shows the social prestige which an exceptionally gifted sculptor

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<sup>88</sup> This is argued by the circumstance that Praxiteles' elder son had also the name Cephisodotus.

<sup>89</sup> About Aristander see Paus. 3. 18. 7: he informs that this sculptor worked for a Spartan dedication for the victory at Aegospotami. About Scopas and his genealogy see G. Calcani, *Skopas of Paros* (Rome 2009) particularly 3–46.

<sup>90</sup> Evidence collected in A. Corso, *The Art of Praxiteles I* (Rome 2004) 308–317, no. 20.

<sup>91</sup> See Corso (n. 90) 111–114 and 175–185, no. 11. About the social and economic status of late classical sculptors, see P. Schultz, “Style and Agency in an Age of Transition”, in: R. Osborne (ed.), *Debating the Athenian Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge 2007) 144–187.

could achieve in late classical Athens. The fact that—after Zeuxis and Parrhasius—he also composed at least one poem (Ath. 13. 591 a–b = *Anth. Gr.* 16. 204), his closeness to the environment of Plato,<sup>92</sup> finally his expression of his own loves and emotions through his art<sup>93</sup> reveal the acquisition thanks to him of the figure of the exceptional sculptor as an intellectual star: his love affairs as well as his scandalous statues<sup>94</sup> and the public show of his own condition as love slave of an exceptionally beautiful woman—of course Phryne<sup>95</sup>—are matter of gossip of the most learned quarter of his own society.

Thus single masters are felt more important than the schools in marble sculpture during late classical times, while in painting for the same period there are two clearly recognizable important schools and the bronze sculpture of the time is dominated by the Polycleitan school: probably this difference in perceiving schools and masters according to the different visual arts is due to the fact that the targets of painting and bronze sculpture are those of constructing something which previously did not exist: thus a training towards learning how to make these objects properly was felt of primary importance.

On the contrary marble sculpture was felt to be discovery of what already existed rather than creation of something new:<sup>96</sup> thus the itinerary of the single artist towards the knowledge of the true forms of gods and heroes kept inside the marble was regarded pre-eminent *versus* technical education.

The competitiveness among the most important late classical workshops of marble sculpture can be seen particularly in their fight in order to secure the generous commissions offered by the satraps of Asia Minor. Praxiteles, Scopas, Bryaxis, Leochares, Timotheus became “rivals” (*aemuli*: Plin. *NH* 36. 30–31; see also Vitruvius 7. *praef.* 13) when they took part to the enterprise of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus.

Praxiteles, Bryaxis and Scopas, perhaps also Leochares became rivals also in securing commissions of statues in Cnidus (Plin. *NH* 36. 20–22). Praxiteles and Scopas probably became rivals even in establishing their names and reputation in Troad and Mysia.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> See Corso (n. 78) 63–91.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>94</sup> See A. Corso, “The Monument of Phryne at Delphi”, *NumAntCl* 26 (1997) 123–149.

<sup>95</sup> See n. 92.

<sup>96</sup> On marble sculpture felt as discovery, see A. Corso, “Praxiteles and the Parian Marble”, in: D. U. Schilardi (ed.), *Paria Lithos* (Paros 2010) 227–236.

<sup>97</sup> The evidence about this rivalry has been collected in A. Corso, “The Apollo Sauroctonus by Praxiteles”, *NumAntCl* 38 (2009) 51–69.

Around the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC a few changes are noteworthy. First of all the rise of Lysippus as first rate star in bronze sculpture must have established the previously mentioned theory—which this master took from Eupompus—that it is necessary to follow the nature and not a previous master. This conception is in keeping with the interest in the investigation of nature which prevails in the ‘Zeitgeist’ of Aristotle.

Moreover some of the best established workshops began producing works at an industrial pace: of course not any work made in these ateliers was by the hands of the main masters but often assistants did much of these products, while in other cases not all of their parts were properly finished.

For example Praxiteles in the late phase of his production used to leave unfinished parts of statues which were destined not to be visible.<sup>98</sup>

In bronze sculpture Lysippus is known to have made 1500 works (Plin. *NH* 34. 37). Of course a lot of them must have been made not by himself but by his assistants.

Finally the painter Nicomachus invented a particularly fast painting technique: the so called *pictura compendiaris*. He was an exponent of the Theban / Attic school of painting. Pliny, *NH* 35. 108 reports that he was the son of a painter, whose name in the best manuscript tradition (that of the *codex Bambergensis*) is given as Aristiacus but is often corrected as Aristides. His ideal of life as a continuous artistic research and improvement explains the fact that his most admired picture was also his last work, left unfinished by his death (Plin. *NH* 35. 145).<sup>99</sup>

Of course his fast technique was exactly what was needed by the contemporary increasing industrial pace of production of works of art.

As other exponents of his school he was both a painter and a bronze sculptor:<sup>100</sup> since he signed at Athens without ethnic, probably he was

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<sup>98</sup> See Chor. *Declamationes* 8. 59 (about the unfinished bronze Aphrodite made by Praxiteles for the Spartans); see also *Codex Vaticanus Graecus* 989 (about the enthroned Leto of Myra carved by Praxiteles, which was left unfinished in her feet, in her back and on the throne); see also the Hermes of Olympia which was not finished in his back (see N. Σταμπολίδης, “Σύμπλεγμα Ερμή και μικρού Διονύσου”, in: E. N. Κάλτσας, Γ. Δεσπίνης [eds.], *Πραξιτέλης* [Athens 2007] 90–97 no. 14). The quality of the baby Dionysus carried by the Hermes of Olympia is not outstanding and thus is hardly by the hand of such a renowned master as Praxiteles: very probably it had been carved by assistants (see A. Corso, “The Hermes of Praxiteles”, *NumAntCl* 25 [1996] 131–153).

<sup>99</sup> About Nicomachus, see J. H. Oakley, “Nikomachos (i)”, in: Vollkommer (n. 3) II (2004) 139–140.

<sup>100</sup> See Muller-Dufeu (n. 86) 564–565 nos. 1664–1665.

an Athenian and his workshop was settled at least for a long time in this town.

He trained in the art of painting his brother Ariston, his son Aristides the Younger as well as Philoxenus of Eretria (Plin. *NH* 35. 110) and Coroebus (Plin. *NH* 35. 146): his several pupils reveal the importance of his school.

Philoxenus continued the research of his master by devising an even faster painting technique (Plin. *NH* 35. 110) which of course was demanded by the never ending need of new paintings of the royal courts (he worked for Cassander).

His son Aristides became also famous: he conceived of a pathetic style which met the demands of a market which was increasingly conditioned by the dominant theatrical mentality (Plin. *NH* 35. 98–100).<sup>101</sup>

Moreover his painting depicting a Persian battle included no fewer than 100 figures (Plin. *NH* 35. 99): probably his colossal paintings were meant to satisfy the grandeur of the new rulers (in the case of the Persian battle the grandeur of Mnason, the tyrant of Elatea, had to be pleased).

It is not surprising that a painter who tuned so well with his own ‘Zeitgeist’ was privileged by the early collectors of works of art: Alexander the Great brought to Pella Aristides’ picture with a baby who is sucking from the breasts of his dying mother in a besieged city (Plin. *NH* 35. 98–99).<sup>102</sup>

Another exponent of the Theban / Attic school – Euphranor – trained in the art of painting Antidotus (Plin. *NH* 35. 130), his son Charmantides (Plin. *NH* 35. 146) and Leonidas (St. Byz. s. v. Ἀνθηδών and Eust. *In Iliadem* 271. 38). His other son Sostratus inherited Euphranor’s specialization in bronze sculpture.<sup>103</sup>

The former of his four pupils is famous because he became the teacher of Nicias. The latter, when he was young, worked in the ἐργαστήριον of Praxiteles, painting his statues (Plin. *NH* 35. 133), and developed the interest of this sculptor towards representing female subjects (Plin. *NH* 35. 130–131). Moreover his picture of Homer’s *Nekyia* (Antip. *Anth. Gr.* 9. 792; Plin. *NH* 35. 132; Plut. *Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum* 11. 2) reflects the growing need to be faithful to literary texts, which accords well with the philological culture of the times.

Finally the story that the painter was so concentrated in his accomplishment of the *Nekyia*, that he forgot to eat (Plut. *Non posse suaviter vivi*

<sup>101</sup> G. Bröker, “Aristeides (ii)”, in: Vollkommer (n. 3) I (2001) 82–83.

<sup>102</sup> About the collections of works of art in late classical times see A. Corso, “Il collezionismo di scultura nell’antichità”, in: A. Giuliano (ed.), *I Giustiniani e l’antico* (Rome 2001) 101–129, particularly 104–105.

<sup>103</sup> See Muller-Dufeu (n. 86) 564–565 nos. 1666–1667.

*secundum Epicurum* 11. 2), reveals the continuity of the ideal of the greatest artists to live just for their own research and artistic study which already characterized Phidias, as it has been reported above.

Nicias' refusal to sell his picture of the *Nekyia*, despite the high price which he was offered (Plin. *NH* 35. 132 and Plut. *Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum* 11. 2) puts him in continuity with Praxiteles' gift of his Eros of Thespieae to Phryne (Praxiteles in Ath. 13. 591 a–b; Leon. *Anth. Gr.* 16. 206; Tull. *Gem. ibid.* 16. 205 and 6. 260; Paus. 1. 20. 1–2 and 9. 27. 3–5; Ath. 13. 591 a–b and Jul. Aegypt. *Anth. Gr.* 16. 203]: both masters conceived of their creations not just as workshop's products to sell, but having a value which was beyond the financial considerations.

The circumstance that Nicias' student Omphalion was also his lover (Paus. 4. 31. 11) testifies to the continuity of the phenomenon of masters having love affairs with their own pupils which is well known from the relationship between Phidias and Agoracritus.

In the same age, the personality of Cratinus is noteworthy: as other masters he is both a bronze sculptor (Paus. 6. 9. 4) and painter (Plin. *NH* 35. 140). The fact that he painted comic actors (Plin. *NH* 35. 140) lends support to his identification with Cratinus the Younger, a comic poet who flourished in the same period (Cratin Jun. *frgg.* 1–14 K–A).

Thus this case should be added to the dossier of artists who were also poets (such as Zeuxis, Parrhasius, Praxiteles) or thinkers (Socrates).

Cratinus is important also because his activity as painter was continued by his daughter Eirene (Plin. *NH* 35. 147): thus this case reveals the continuity of the activity of painters in the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

The Sicyonian school, in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c., continues with the Sicyonian Melanthius, a student of Pamphilus: he is noteworthy for the issue of this essay because Polemon in Plutarch, *Aratus* 13. 1–2 testifies that he used to paint helped by all of his students, and that Apelles also used to collaborate with this group-enterprise. He continued the Sicyonian tradition of painters writing treatises on their own art with his treatise *Περὶ ζωγραφικῆς* (D. L. 4. 18).

Pausias trained in the encaust painting his son Aristolaus (Plin. *NH* 35. 137) as well as Nicophanes (Plin. *NH* 35. 137).

Other relations between masters and pupils of the same period are that of Athenion from Maroneia, a student of Glaucion from Corinth: his works listed by Pliny at Athens and Eleusis suggest that he had his workshop at Athens (Plin. *NH* 35. 134).

Asclepiodorus and Theomnestus are relevant because of the high prices paid by the tyrant Mnason to them (Plin. *NH* 35. 107): thus they should be considered in the dossier of artists who became wealthy through their own art.

After Euripides, who had been painter in his youth (*Vita Euripidis* and Suid s. v. Εὐριπίδης) and Socrates, who had been a marble sculptor in his youth, the philosopher Pyrrhon was trained as painter (Apollod. and Antig. in D. L. 9. 61) as well as the musician Polyeydos (D. S. 14. 46) and the same philosopher Plato (D. L. 3. 5 and Apul. *Pl.* 1. 568): these examples reveal that the painting and in a lesser degree sculpture were regarded not unworthy to be practiced by the best brains of these periods.

### The Early Hellenistic Times

During the ‘Alexanderzeit’ the school of Praxiteles continued through his elder son Cephisodotus the Younger, who inherited his ‘art’ (Plin. *NH* 36. 24), his younger son Timarchus<sup>104</sup> as well as Papyrus (Plin. *NH* 36. 33).

Among the relations between masters and pupils which are known in the sculpture of the period that between Silanion and his student Zeuxiades should be mentioned. Silanion, as Lysippus, became established without having been a pupil of a specific master (Plin. *NH* 35. 51).

The school of Calamis—probably the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC sculptor—continued until around 330 BC when a late exponent of this tradition is known: Praxias who carved sculptures for the pediments of the late classical temple of Apollo at Delphi. His collaborator was Androsthene, a student of Eucadmus. Praxias taught his art to his son with the same name (Paus. 10. 19. 4).<sup>105</sup>

With the personality of Lysippus the habit of handing down the expertise in a peculiar visual art from master to pupil reaches a point of crisis. This renowned bronze sculptor was in fact nobody’s pupil because he followed Eupompus’ advice to learn from nature rather than from a specific master (Duris in Plin. *NH* 34. 61). Moreover he elaborated a conception of human agency which was based on catching the flying moment rather than on being trained.<sup>106</sup> Thus the typically early Hellenistic concept of Tyche as the ruler of the world changes also the way of conceiving the visual arts. The best works of art are regarded the result of a passing by ‘state of grace’ of the master rather than of a disciplined learning of a peculiar technique.

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<sup>104</sup> See B. Andreae, “Kephisodotos (ii)”, in: Vollkommer (n. 3) I (2001) 410–411 and id., “Timarchos (i)”, *ibid.*, II (2004) 472.

<sup>105</sup> See E. Paul, “Androsthene”, in: Vollkommer (n. 3) I (2001) 45 and M. Flashar, “Praxias (ii) and (iii)”, *ibid.*, II (2004) 303–304.

<sup>106</sup> See P. Moreno, “Lysippos (i)”, in: Vollkommer (n. 3) II (2004) 27–39.

Despite that Lysippus had many pupils: his brother Lysistratus was renowned as inventor of exact casts (Plin. *NH* 35. 153) which were needed by the growing industrialization of the artistic production requiring serial products.

Other students were his sons Daepus, Boedas and Euthykrates as well as Phanis, Euthychides and Chares. Second generation students were Tisicrates and Cantharus, pupils of Euthykrates.<sup>107</sup>

Needless to say, the large diffusion of the school of Lysippus and its long duration guaranteed the widespread impact of the Lysippan style throughout the early Hellenistic period.<sup>108</sup>

At the same time of the flourishing of Lysippus, the idea that someone can become an excellent artist through the learning and the teaching of a master is challenged also in painting.

Apelles, a pupil first of all of Ephorus at Ephesus, then of Pamphylus (Plin. *NH* 35. 76 and 123 and Suid s. v. Ἀπέλλης) and school-fellow of Melanthis of Sicyon (Plut. *Arat.* 13), asserted that the essence of art relies in the χάρις or grace (Plin. *NH* 35. 79): a virtue which cannot be taught and learned but which arises from the natural talent of the artist.<sup>109</sup>

Apelles is important also because we have an idea of how his workshop looked like and how his young pupils were trained.

His workshop consisted of the area where the pictures were prepared and the young pupils made colours (Plin. *NH* 35. 85 and Plut. *Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur* 15. 58 d–e) and of a lodge in front of the atelier and open to the street: there the painter exposed his pictures when he finished them and visitors or passersby observed his new works and commented on them (Plin. *NH* 35. 84).<sup>110</sup>

Already the young pupils who prepared the colours must have possessed a certain degree of knowledge about painting because they laughed when a visitor to the workshop spoke without any competence on the matter (Plin. *NH* 35. 85). Moreover Apelles corrected and criticized the first works of his students (Clem. Al. *Paed.* 2. 125. 246 P = 1. 232. 17 S). Finally a few students of Apelles became well established painters as well: Ctesilochus (Plin. *NH* 140) and Perseus. The latter dedicated his own treatise on painting to his teacher (Plin. *NH* 35. 111). The

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<sup>107</sup> About the school of Lysippus see Muller-Dufeu (n. 86) 628–643 nos. 1854–1905.

<sup>108</sup> See P Moreno, *Scultura ellenistica* (Rome 1994) 70–167.

<sup>109</sup> On the concept of χάρις see J. J. Pollitt, *The Ancient View of Greek Art* (New Haven 1974) 297–301 and 380–381.

<sup>110</sup> See Anguissola (n. 1) 124–131.

continuity of the practice by a student of Apelles to write a treatise on his own art may have been indebted to the Sicyonian education of Apelles because—as it has been stressed above—in the school of Sicyon the habit to combine artistic activity and reflection on visual arts was particularly strong.

The late 4<sup>th</sup> c. is characterized by the dominant thought that the world is ruled by Tyche: by consequence even excellence in art is now thought to be the result of luck rather than of a training towards competence in a specific art.

The case of the painter Protogenes is an eloquent example of this new attitude to visual arts.

He was trained as a painter by nobody (Plin. *NH* 35. 101), not differently from Silanion and Lysippus. His masterpiece was the picture of Ialysus who was represented accompanied by his dog: the painter was able to represent the foam on the dog's mouth with satisfying results only when moved by anger he flung his sponge full of colours exactly on that spot of the picture (Plin. *NH* 35. 103).

In the same way Apelles got a satisfactory painting of the foam on the mouth of a horse (D. Chr. 63. 4–5 and S. E. *P.* 1. 28) and again Nealces was able to obtain the lather of a horse in his picture of a boy who holds the horse (Val. Max. 8. 11. *ext.*; Plin. *NH* 35. 104; Plut. *De fortitudine* 2. 4).

The view of the highest accomplishments in art as being the result of luck is indebted to Aristotle's sentence (*EN* 6. 4) that fortune is complementary to skills in making products.

The theory that stone statues exist inside the blocks of stone and are 'discovered' by sculptors with the removal of the superfluous material (Carneades in Cic. *Div.* 1. 23 and 2. 48; Plin. *NH* 36. 14 and Quint. *Inst.* 2. 19. 3) may also depend on the conception that not only personal skills but also fortune is the basis of the best images.

Finally probably in the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. the bronze sculptor Mnasitimus opened on Rhodes a workshop of bronze sculpture which will be held by the same family until the early Roman imperial times (fig. 4)<sup>111</sup> and begins the tradition of the Hellenistic bronze sculpture of Rhodes, produced in workshops managed by well established families for long periods.<sup>112</sup>

During the Hellenistic times, the phenomenon of schools as places for education and learning takes stronger ground: the gymnasia become a well established institution.

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<sup>111</sup> Evidence in G. Zimmer, K. Μπαϊράμη, *Ροδιακά εργαστήρια χαλκοπλαστικής* (Athens 2008) 88–89.

<sup>112</sup> See Zimmer, Μπαϊράμη (n. 111) 79–91.

Thus it is hardly surprising that schools of painters, bronze sculptors and marble sculptors are known to have been operating in all the most important centres of the ancient world: from Athens to Delus, from Rhodes to Pergamum, from Alexandria to Rome.<sup>113</sup>

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Статья посвящена вопросам обучения античных художников, начиная с периода ранней архаики и вплоть до эпохи эллинизма. С учетом всех античных свидетельств на эту тему обсуждается влияние философской мысли и менталитета на обучение художников в каждый из рассматриваемых периодов. Таким образом, статья представляет собой обзор истории данного вопроса с VIII по III вв. до н. э., сопровождаемый материалом из всех доступных источников.

In this article, the issues concerning the education of ancient artists from the early archaic period until the early Hellenistic times are addressed. The whole corpus of passages of ancient authors concerning this topic is cited and discussed as well as the influence of philosophical ideas and of the mentality of different periods upon the training and learning of artists. Thus the history of this subject from the 8th c. BC until the early 3rd c. BC is attempted as far as it is allowed by the available surviving evidence.

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<sup>113</sup> Evidence in Reinach (n. 31) 376–421 and Muller-Dufeu (n. 86) 78–1023. Moreover there are a lot of specific studies concerning families of Hellenistic artists: for example about the Boethoi, see A. Linfert, “Boethoi”, in: G. Hellenkemper Salies (ed.), *Das Wrack* (Köln 1994) 831–847; about the Cleomenes’ family see G. Bevilacqua, “La firma di Kleomenes”, in: A. Romualdi (ed.), *Galleria degli Uffizi. Studi e restauri* (Florence 2006) 27–46; about most sculptors with an Attic education, see A. Stewart, *Attika* (London 1979) 101–174.

a)

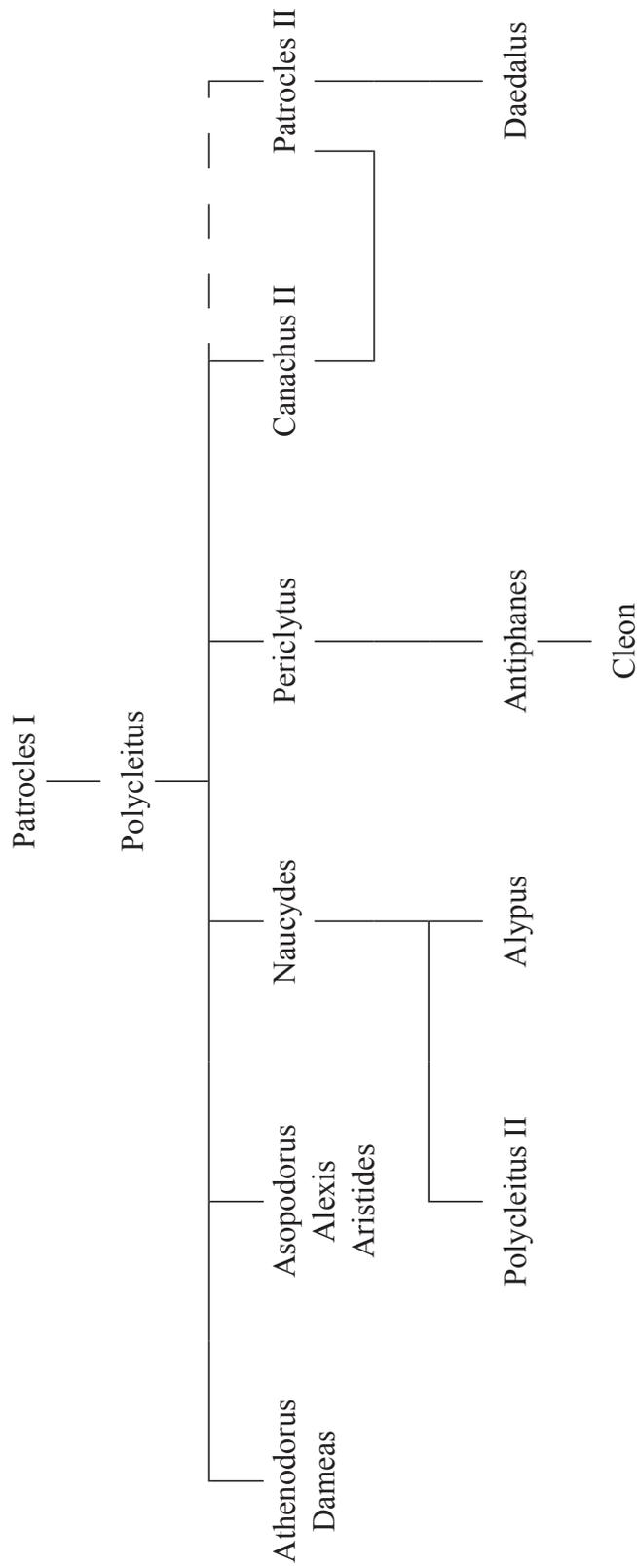


Fig. 1 a–b. The genealogical tree of the school of Polycleitus according to two different reconstructions suggested by Linfert

b)

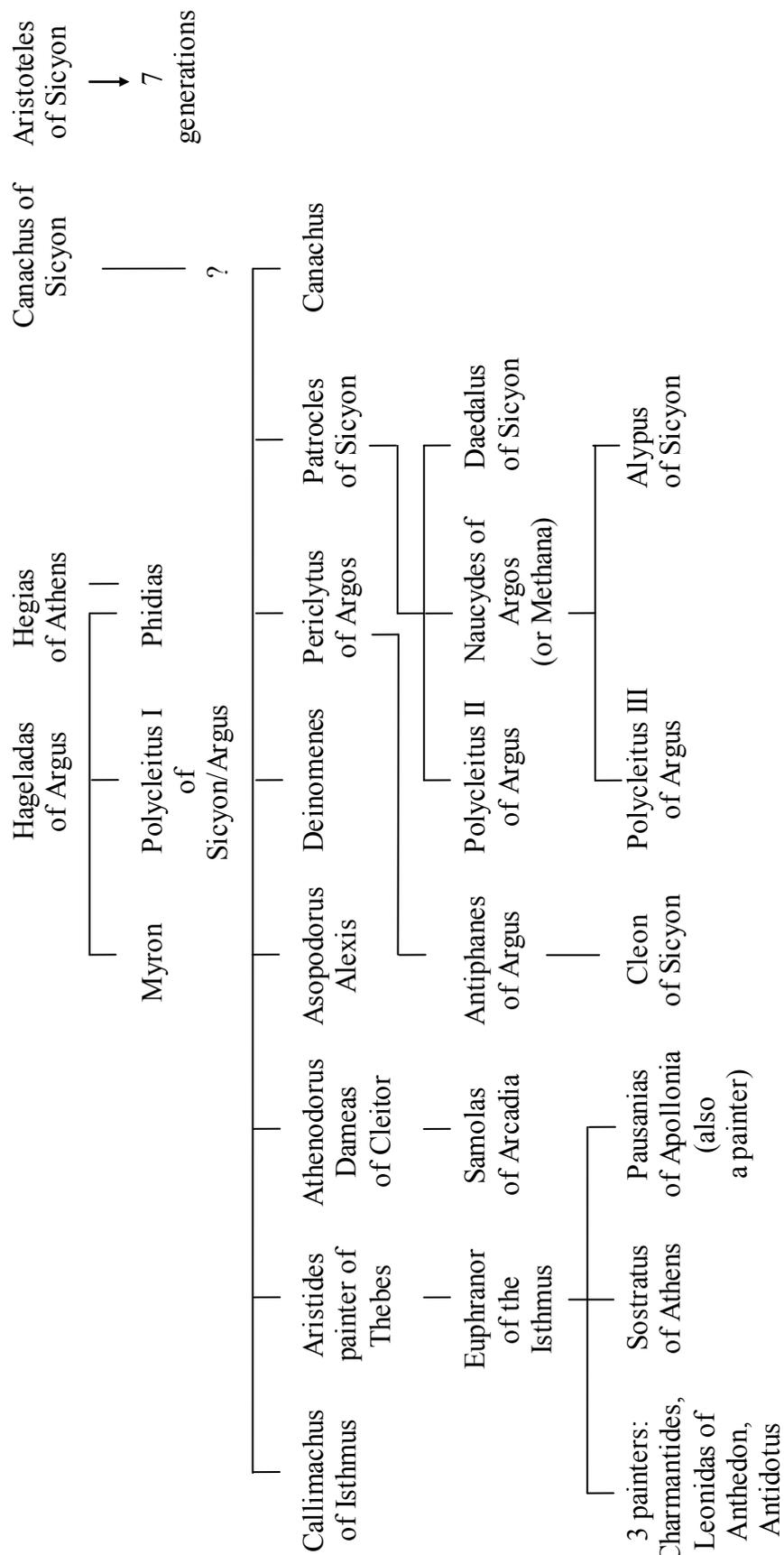


Fig. 1 a-b. The genealogical tree of the school of Polycleitus according to two different reconstructions suggested by Linfert

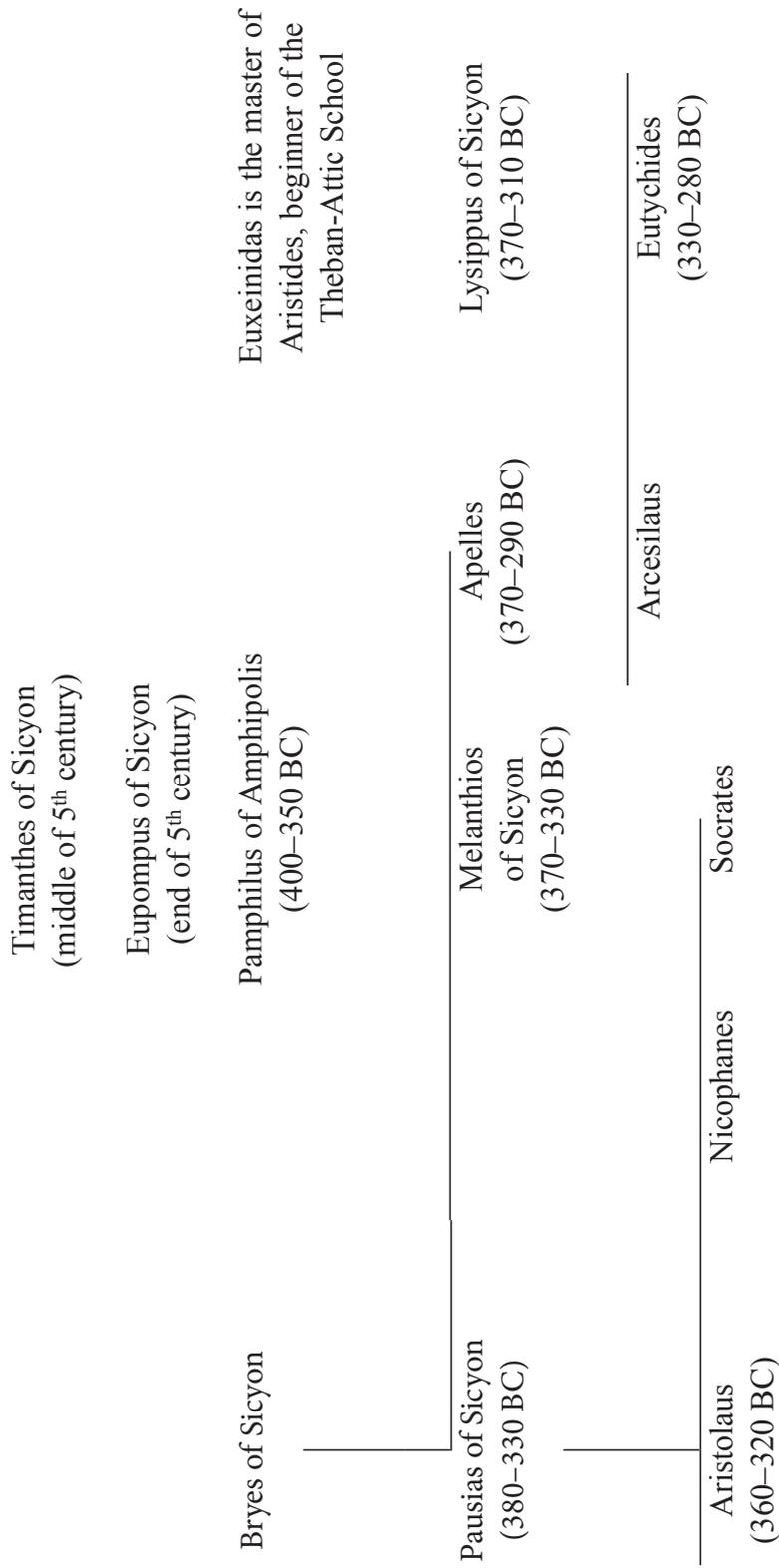


Fig. 2. The genealogical tree of the Sicyonian school of painters according to the reconstruction suggested by Reinach

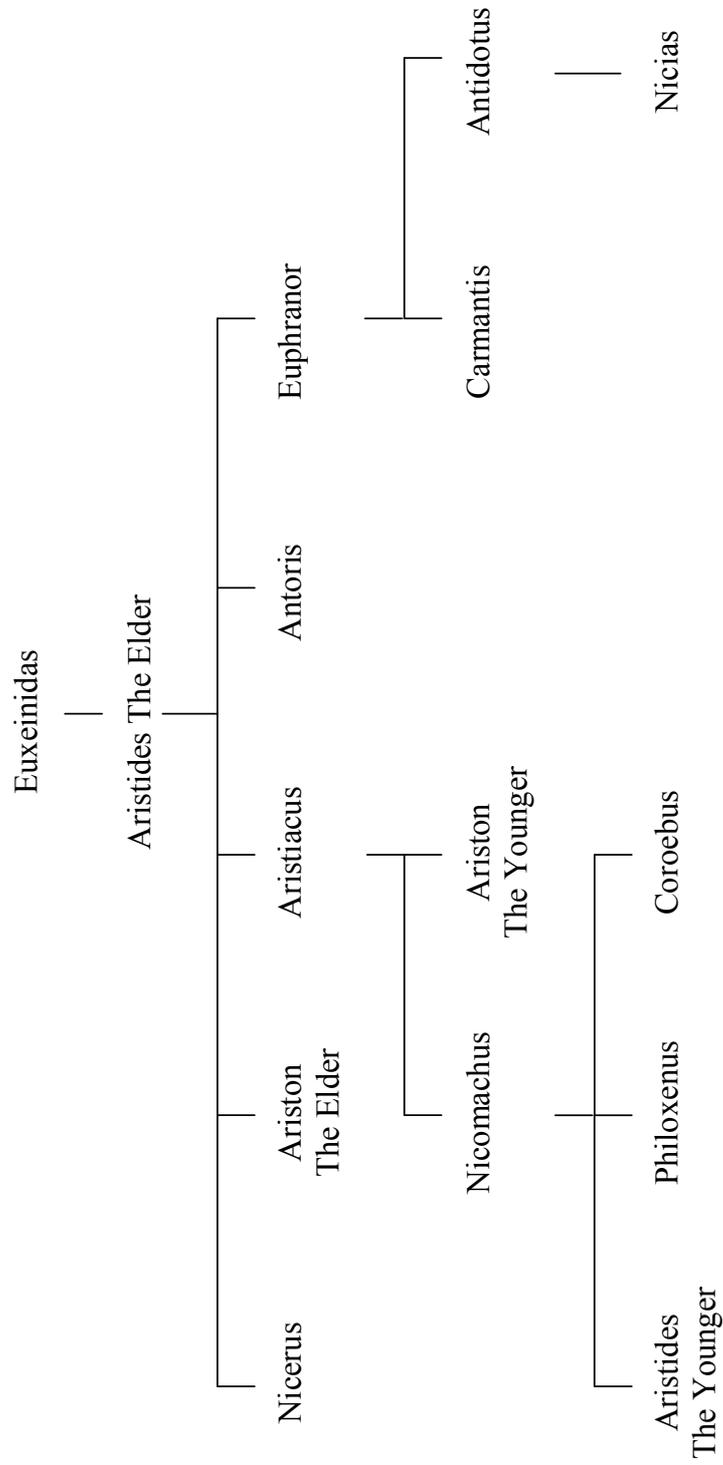


Fig. 3. The genealogical tree of the Theban / Attic school of painters according to the reconstruction suggested by Corso

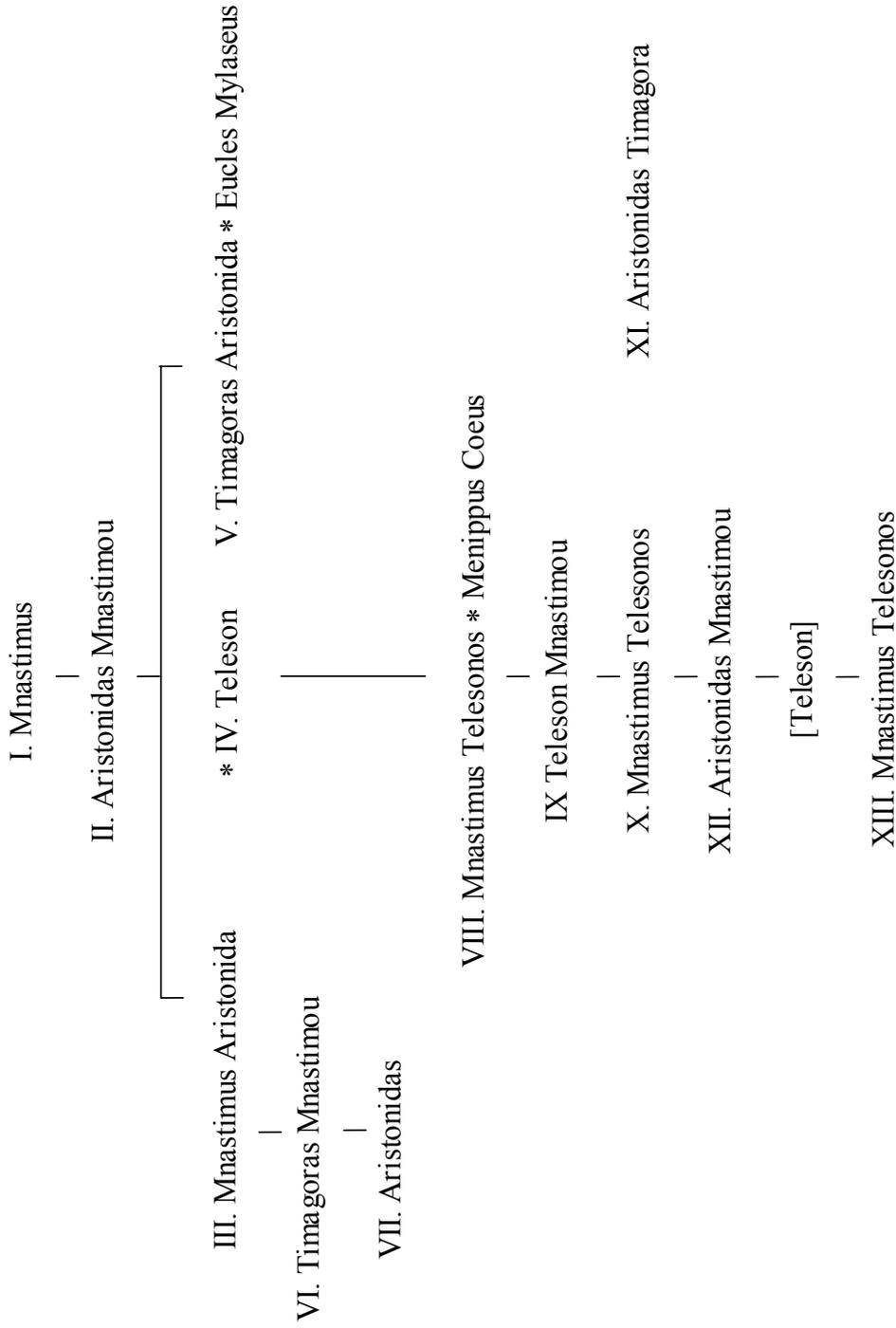


Fig. 4. The genealogical tree of the school of bronze sculptors of Mnastimus on Rhodes according to the reconstruction suggested by Zimmer and Μπαϊράμης