

Department of History and Archaeology

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Age Palaces to the Hellenistic Kingdoms

Key Themes in Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology

The Depiction of Ancient Greek Education in Classical Period Attic Vase-Painting

MA Dissertation

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Introduction

“Your first duty, in completing your service to your race, is to feel all your ancestors within you. Your second duty is to throw light on their driving force and to continue their work. Your third duty is to pass on to your son the great mandate to surpass you.”

In his *Askitiki*, (or *The Saviors of God: Spiritual Exercises*) Nikos Kazantzakis (translated by Kimon Friar, New York 1960) very wisely referred to knowledge as that which gives rise to the greatest of ethical values, driving the evolution of man. The acquisition of knowledge involves a process whereby the heritage of our ancestors is imparted to and carried forward by the generations that follow. His words would appear to spring from the very cells of our existence, rooted in the expression and adoption of a cultural background from thousands of years earlier, that of the educational system of Classical Athens.

Leading on from the words of Kazantzakis, the focus of the present dissertation is on the ancient Greek education of boys and girls in Athens during the Classical period. Previous work on education has concentrated either on a historical or on an iconographical analysis. The critical difference of this dissertation is its combinative research both the literary sources and the visual material of pottery. Specifically, I will investigate the depiction of the teaching of letters and music through their representation in Attic vase-painting. I will not include the representation of the third discipline of education, physical training, due to the large number of related images available. Fortunately, iconography is able to provide us with images of education that allow us to see Athenian society's view of education. We should of course not treat vase-paintings as if they are photographs. It is important to remember that these representations may not reflect the ancient reality with objective accuracy. In order to balance the information transmitted by the pictorial evidence, I also intend to incorporate literary sources. With this component approach as a tool I am hoping to further improve our understanding of educational practices in Classical Athens, which is going to present a more precise overall picture of ancient Greek society. Most of all, I hope that this dissertation will motivate others to further research the field of education in antiquity.

This dissertation will put a chronological focus on the Classical period which is essential for analysis of the subject. Fifth-century Athens underwent many transitions, socio-political events arising from the governmental shift from tyranny to democracy, placed human nature center stage. A good Athenian citizen was expected to be equipped with cultural values and literary knowledge in order to actively participate in the everyday life of the *polis*.¹ It was these new standards, above all, that led to the creation of a school incorporating three disciplines; letters, music, and physical training. As will be discussed later in this dissertation the above would be a formal education appropriate for boys. The education of girls was, however, a completely separate and different issue.

In the first chapter I will explore the historical background of moral virtues of an educational character that were transmitted to the young throughout the centuries in ancient Greece, starting from the late seventh century BC up until the civic revolution of the fifth century. Chapter 2 attempts to investigate in detail the new educational practices of the fifth century through literary sources of the Classical period. The intellectual, moral and social virtues subsumed in the three disciplines lead to Chapter 3, which discusses the purpose of ancient Greek education. Next, in order to examine the pottery evidence related to school scenes, Chapter 4 presents the iconographical criteria of educational scenes recognized in Attic vase-painting. In Chapter 5, I will submit results from the catalogue, as well as make conclusions about the representation of school scenes. Through the analysis of Athenian iconography I will study subjects such as the teacher, the lessons, the writing equipment and the manner in which they are all depicted on the vases. Specific attention will additionally be given to the education of girls and women as manifested in household settings, either reading or playing music. Chapter 6 discusses the general conclusions drawn both from the catalogue and from literary sources, which will shed light on the overall topic. The final chapter includes the catalogue of the preserved pots which display educational motifs and school scene imagery, some images of which are, however, potentially open to different interpretations. Nevertheless, all the depictions are related to the subject of the dissertation and can make valuable contributions to the research.

¹Beaumont 2012, 135

Overview of the education in Ancient Greece in the Archaic and Classical Periods: Written Sources

During the seventh and sixth centuries education in ancient Greece mainly involved the transmission of ideals of conduct, bravery and physical strength through the narration of the Homeric epics.² However, matters changed when a more intellectual focus was given in the early fifth century, one which was associated with male aristocracy. Education began to place emphasis on the reflection on one's social status and focus on

²Lee Too 2001, 23

musical instruction along with physical training. Passages from Aristophanes play, *Clouds*, refer to the so-called *αρχαία παιδεία* (meaning Old Education). In the speech of the *kreitton logos* (*Clouds* 961ff) in his effort to decry sophistic rhetoric, Aristophanes nostalgically mentions older educational practices and the youths who used to be disciplined but also physically well formed. However, it is important to notice that there is no mention of letters as part of students training.³ In 508/7 BC Athens was at the height of greatest international power and economic prosperity, having introduced the new political system of democracy. The city-state was also at its intellectual peak, with literature, philosophy and architecture flourishing. This is also when we learn about the existence of schools both from literary sources and pottery. Scholars have drawn a connection between the two developments and suggested that the shift from the Old Education to a more standard schooling program was a direct result of the rise of democracy. As the Athenians were now speaking and voting in the *Ekklesia* (Assembly), a higher need for reading and writing was created. This new political development propelled Athenian families to send their children to school in order for them to acquire a formal education.⁴

It is not clear where teaching was conducted, but there are three possible scenarios: either in private homes, in private rooms or in the palaistra.⁵ We also have no evidence about the date of the appearance of the first schools. However, in *Historiai* 6.27, Herodotus informs us about an accident that occurred around 494 BC in Chios, where the roof of a building collapsed on a group of a hundred boys while they were being taught *grammata*. Therefore, we can assume that by that time people were already gathering in a building for schooling, although it is not sure if the building had been specifically designed for that purpose:

φιλέει δέ κως προσημαίνειν, εὖτ' ἂν μέλλῃ μεγάλα κακὰ ἢ πόλις ἢ ἔθνεϊ ἔσεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ Χίοισι πρὸ τούτων σημήνια μεγάλα ἐγένετο. [6.27.2] τοῦτο μὲν σφί πέμψασι ἐς Δελφοὺς χορὸν νεηνίων ἑκατὸν δύο μῶνοι τούτων ἀπενόστησαν, τοὺς δὲ ὀκτώ τε καὶ ἐνενήκοντα αὐτῶν λοιμὸς ὑπολαβὼν ἀπήνεκε· τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον, ὀλίγον πρὸ τῆς ναυμαχίας, παισὶ γράμματα διδασκομένοισι ἐνέπεσε ἡ στέγη, ὥστε ἀπ' ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι παιδῶν εἷς μῶνος ἀπέφυγε.⁶

³Beck 1964, 79

⁴Beaumont 2003, 65-67

⁵Beck 1975, 14

⁶http://www.greek-language.gr/digitalResources/ancient_greek/library/browse.html?text_id=30&page=146

It is common for some sign to be given when great ills threaten cities or nations; for before all this plain signs had been sent to the Chians. [6.27.2] Of a band of a hundred youths whom they had sent to Delphi only two returned, ninety-eight being caught and carried off by pestilence; moreover, at about this same time, a little before the sea-fight, the roof fell in on boys learning their letters: of one hundred and twenty of them one alone escaped.⁷

Athenian education of the Classical period was universal, in the sense that it was available for all free young boys. Until about the age of seven, Athenian boys were taken care of their families.⁸ After this point, and although there was no specific division into educational grades in Athens, young boys would begin going to school.⁹ Wealthy families provided their children with the guidance of an entrusted slave, the *paidagogos*, who was responsible for the former's security.¹⁰ At the age of seven they began their formal education, which was divided into three main branches: *grammata* (letters), *mousike* (music) and *gymnastike* (physical training). Sometimes after this schooling, between their fifteenth and eighteenth year, youths were taught higher education, which included grammar, rhetoric, mathematics, astronomy, music and gymnastics.¹¹ When reaching the age of eighteen the young man was old enough to engage in military service for two years, both as part of a rite to manhood and as a preparation for warfare.¹² The responsibility for the children's education lay with the parents, since the Athenian state did not finance schooling for its citizens. Thus, the parents would decide on the master and number of years according to their financial stability and social class.¹³ In *Protagoras* (326c), Plato talks about wealth playing an important role in education, as families had to have enough money to pay for the teachers' tuition fees in all three disciplines. As this would be costly, education was mostly considered as a privilege of the elite. It was their sons who were able to attend schools from a very young age and stop doing so when they were old enough¹⁴:

⁷<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Hdt.+6.27&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0126>

⁸Foxhall 2013, 55

⁹Hibler 1988, 61

¹⁰Plato *Lysis*, 208c1-d2

¹¹Hilber 1988, 72

¹²Forbes 1929, 109

¹³Beck 1964, 81

¹⁴Pritchard 2013, 56-57

καὶ ταῦτα ποιοῦσιν οἱ μάλιστα δυνάμενοι «μάλιστα» —μάλιστα δὲ δύνανται οἱ πλουσιώτατοι— καὶ οἱ τούτων ὑεῖς, προφαίτατα εἰς διδασκάλων τῆς ἡλικίας ἀρξάμενοι φοιτᾶν, ὁψιαίτατα ἀπαλλάττονται.¹⁵

This is what people do, who are most able; and the most able are the wealthiest. Their sons begin school at the earliest age, and are freed from it at the latest. ¹⁶

From the following passage we can ascertain the importance that the ancient Greeks placed on educating their youth, even in difficult times. In *Themistocles*, 10 Plutarch describes how in 480 BC young boys were provided schooling by the Troezenians when the Athenians were threatened by the Persians and had to send their women and children to Troizena:

κυρωθέντος δὲ τοῦ ψηφίσματος οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπεξέθεντο γενεὰς καὶ γυναῖκας εἰς Τροιζῆνα, φιλοτίμως πάνυ τῶν Τροιζηνίων ὑποδεχομένων· καὶ γὰρ τρέφειν ἐψηφίσαντο δημοσίᾳ, δύο ὀβολοὺς ἐκάστῳ διδόντες, καὶ τῆς ὁπώρας λαμβάνειν ἐξεῖναι τοὺς παῖδας πανταχόθεν, ἔτι δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διδασκάλοις τελεῖν μισθοὺς.¹⁷

Upon the passage of this bill, most of the Athenians bestowed their children and wives in Troezen, where the Troezenians very eagerly welcomed them. They actually voted to support them at the public cost, allowing two obols daily to each family, and to permit the boys to pluck of the vintage fruit everywhere, and besides to hire teachers for them.¹⁸

The education of girls

¹⁵http://www.greek-language.gr/digitalResources/ancient_greek/library/browse.html?text_id=27&page=11

¹⁶<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0178%3Atext%3DProt.%3Asection%3D326c>

¹⁷http://www.greek-language.gr/digitalResources/ancient_greek/library/browse.html?text_id=100&page=8

¹⁸<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2008.01.0066%3Achapter%3D10%3Asection%3D3>

The context in which children were brought up differed between the two genders and different roles were suggested for girls and boys.¹⁹ In classical Greece, females were secluded within the household²⁰ and therefore we have very little information about the type of education that they received. Their main roles reflected the social structures of ancient Greece, as they were taught the arts of spinning, weaving and cooking from a young age.²¹

After marriage, the responsibility of a woman's education lays on the husband. Ischomachus, for instance, married his wife when she was fifteen years old but, as he states, the only form of education that she received from her mother was that she obtained the virtue of being discreet: (Xenophon, *Oeconomicus*, 7.4-7.7)

- Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο, ἔφην, ἔγωγε, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, πάννυ ἂν ἡδέως σου πυθοίμην, πότερα αὐτὸς σὺ ἐπαίδευσας τὴν γυναῖκα ὥστε εἶναι οἷαν δεῖ ἡ ἐπισταμένην ἔλαβες παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῆς μητρὸς διοικεῖν τὰ προσήκοντα αὐτῇ.

- Καὶ τί ἂν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐπισταμένην αὐτὴν παρέλαβον, ἡ ἔτη μὲν οὐπω πεντεκαίδεκα γεγονυῖα ἦλθε πρὸς ἐμέ, τὸν δ' ἐμπροσθεν χρόνον ἔζη ὑπὸ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας ὅπως ὡς ἐλάχιστα μὲν ὄψοιτο, ἐλάχιστα δ' ἀκούσοιτο, ἐλάχιστα δ' ἔροιτο; οὐ γὰρ ἀγαπητόν σοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, εἰ μόνον ἦλθεν ἐπισταμένη ἔρια παραλαβοῦσα ἱμάτιον ἀποδείξαι, καὶ ἑωρακυῖα ὡς ἔργα ταλάσια θεραπαίνας δίδοται; ἐπεὶ τὰ γε ἀμφὶ γαστέρα, ἔφη, πάννυ καλῶς, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἦλθε πεπαιδευμένη· ὅπερ μέγιστον ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ παιδεῦμα εἶναι καὶ ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικί.²²

- Ah! (said I), Ischomachus, that is just what I should like particularly to learn from you. Did you yourself educate your wife to be all that a wife should be, or when you received her from her father and mother was she already a proficient well skilled to discharge the duties appropriate to a wife?

- Well skilled! (he replied). What proficiency was she likely to bring with her, when she was not quite fifteen at the time she wedded me, and during the whole prior period of her life had been most carefully brought up to see and hear as little as possible, and to ask the fewest questions? or do you not think one should be satisfied, if at marriage her whole experience consisted in knowing how to take the wool and make a dress, and seeing how her mother's handmaidens had their daily spinning-tasks assigned them? For (he added), as regards control

¹⁹Μανακίδου 2015, 32

²⁰Walker 1993, 81

²¹Beck 1964, 85

²²http://www.greek-language.gr/digitalResources/ancient_greek/library/browse.html?text_id=113&page=14

of appetite and self-indulgence, she had received the soundest education, and that I take to be the most important matter in the bringing-up of man or woman.²³

From literary texts we know that girls did not acquire a formal education and did not attend school as boys did. The only occasion where females perhaps could get an education was if they were from an elite family and even that would happen at home.²⁴ In the case of boys, social status did not matter that much: poor or rich, a male child would have the ability to receive some form of education.²⁵

Letters

A boy started his education by learning and writing the names of letters. Once he understood them, he would continue with more complex combinations of syllables and sentences.²⁶ After that, the teachers, or the so-called *grammatistes*, would proceed with the memorization and recitation of poems written by great men.²⁷ This method is illustrated in Plato, *Protagoras* 325e-326a:

καὶ ἐπειδὴν αὖ γράμματα μάθωσιν καὶ μέλλωσιν συνήσειν τὰ γεγραμμένα ὥσπερ τότε τὴν φωνήν, παρατιθέασιν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν βάθρων ἀναγιγνώσκειν ποιητῶν ἀγαθῶν ποιήματα καὶ ἐκμανθάνειν ἀναγκάζουσιν, ἐν οἷς πολλὰ μὲν νουθετήσεις ἔνεισιν πολλὰ δὲ διέξοδοι καὶ ἔπαινοι καὶ ἐγκώμια παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἵνα ὁ παῖς ζηλῶν μιμῇται καὶ ὀρέγεται τοιοῦτος γενέσθαι.²⁸

The masters take pains accordingly, and the children, when they have learnt their letters and are getting to understand the written word as before they did only the spoken, are furnished with works of good poets to read as they sit in class, and are

²³<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/1173/1173-h/1173-h.htm>

²⁴Μανακίδου 2015, 32

²⁵Cribiore 2001, 4

²⁶Hibler 1988, 62

²⁷Dobson 1932, 37

²⁸http://www.greek-language.gr/digitalResources/ancient_greek/library/browse.html?text_id=27&page=11

made to learn them off by heart²⁹:here they meet with many admonitions, many descriptions and praises and eulogies of good men in times past, that the boy in envy may imitate them and yearn to become even as they.³⁰

Niceratus' claims in Xenophon's *Symposion* 3.5 constitute another proof of the educational role of the Homeric poems:

καὶ ὃς εἶπεν: ὁ πατήρ ὁ ἐπιμελούμενος ὅπως ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γενοίμην ἡνάγκασέ με πάντα τὰ Ὅμηρου ἔπη μαθεῖν: καὶ νῦν δυναίμην ἂν Ἰλιάδα ὅλην καὶ Ὀδύσσειαν ἀπὸ στόματος εἰπεῖν.³¹

My father was anxious to see me develop into a good man," said Niceratus, "and as a means to this end he compelled me to memorize all of Homer; and so even now I can repeat the whole *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* by heart.³²

Ancient Greek poems were therefore not treated as literary texts, as they are nowadays, but rather there was a focus on their moral aspects as guides for education of the youths. The great men of the Homeric epics were considered role models for the students, since their achievements reflected virtues of nobility, courage and manliness.³³ In addition, the protagonists of the epics spent their spare time on athletic training as well as on musical activities.³⁴ The Homeric poems were the focal point of Greek ethical values and they provided the definition of a respectable man. As a result, they were used to teach manners and good behavior. The glorious stories of the heroes were worthy of emulation and set the example for the young school boys. There is literary evidence in Aristophanes' *Frogs*, where Hesiod, Mousaios and Orpheus are mentioned as other poets that were also studied.³⁵ There is also very sparse evidence that the studying of arithmetic was part of schooling, although we know that it was taught on a basic level for practices of everyday life.³⁶

²⁹<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0178%3Atext%3DProt.%3Asection%3D325e>

³⁰<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0178%3Atext%3DProt.%3Asection%3D326a>

³¹[https://el.wikisource.org/wiki/%CE%A3%CF%85%CE%BC%CF%80%CF%8C%CF%83%CE%B9%CE%BF%CE%BD_\(%CE%9E%CE%B5%CE%BD%CE%BF%CF%86%CF%8E%CE%BD\)#III](https://el.wikisource.org/wiki/%CE%A3%CF%85%CE%BC%CF%80%CF%8C%CF%83%CE%B9%CE%BF%CE%BD_(%CE%9E%CE%B5%CE%BD%CE%BF%CF%86%CF%8E%CE%BD)#III)

³²<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0212%3Atext%3DSym.%3Achapter%3D3%3Asection%3D5>

³³Hibler 1988, 62

³⁴Ισηγόνης 1964, 9-15

³⁵Beck 1964, 121

³⁶Beck 1964, 125

As concerns the appearance of the classroom, the pottery indicates that it must have been very simple. In the catalogue that follows vase-paintings depict both the *grammatistes* and the boys writing on wax-coated writing tablets with a stylus³⁷ and with ink. According to Attic pottery evidence, the writing-tablets seem to have been rested on the students' knees, as they had no desks. The teacher would sit on a high chair, whereas the young on stools or benches.³⁸ Lastly, the classroom was decorated with a number of objects that were hanging on the wall. Such objects were writing-tablets, writing-tablet cases, lyres, aulos cases, sandals, knucklebone bags and even strigils, sponges and aryballoi. All of them were connected to the three disciplines of ancient education.

Music

Music was always of fundamental importance for the ancient Greeks. The art of playing musical instruments had been in their cultural tradition from the time of Homer and it can be seen as an essential part in a variety of vase paintings of the Archaic period involving events such as festivals, music contests and symposia.³⁹ Furthermore, an emphasis on music instruction can be traced as far back as in the sixth century, where along with physical training it was the basic discipline of the so-called *archaia paideia*. At the time it was a privilege of the elite, as it would highlight one's culture and social status.⁴⁰ This instruction of a cultural tradition was passed on to become part of the educational "system" of the fifth century, when it was taught by the *kitharistes*. *Mousike* was very important for the ancient Greeks because it was considered highly influential in the development of character. Its educational and moral role, which is mentioned in Plato's *Protagoras* 326a-b, was to inspire

³⁷Legras 2005, 89

³⁸Dobson 1932, 35

³⁹Bundrick 2005, 8-9

⁴⁰Bundrick 2005, 49

sophrosene in youths, filling them with harmony and rhythm.⁴¹ Therefore, the purpose of the lyre-school was spiritual rather than intellectual.⁴²

ἐν οἷς πολλαὶ μὲν νοουθετήσεις ἔνεισιν πολλαὶ δὲ διέξοδοι καὶ ἔπαινοι καὶ ἐγκώμια παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἵνα ὁ παῖς ζηλῶν μιμῆται καὶ ὀρέγεται τοιοῦτος γενέσθαι. οἷ τ' αὖ κιθαρισταί, ἕτερα τοιαῦτα, σωφροσύνης τε ἐπιμελοῦνται καὶ ὅπως ἂν οἱ νέοι μηδὲν κακουργῶσιν· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, ἐπειδὴν κιθαρίζειν μάθωσιν, ἄλλων αὖ ποιητῶν ἀγαθῶν ποιήματα διδάσκουσι μελοποιῶν, εἰς τὰ κιθαρίσματα ἐντείνοντες, καὶ τοὺς ῥυθμούς τε καὶ τὰς ἀρμονίας ἀναγκάζουσιν οἰκαιοῦσθαι ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν παιδῶν, ἵνα ἡμερώτεροί τε ᾧσιν, καὶ εὐρυθμότεροι καὶ εὐαρμοσσότεροι γιγνόμενοι χρήσιμοι ᾧσιν εἰς τὸ λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν· πᾶς γὰρ ὁ βίος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εὐρυθμίας τε καὶ εὐαρμοστίας δεῖται. ἔτι τοίνυν πρὸς τούτοις εἰς παιδοτρίβου πέμπουσιν, ἵνα τὰ σώματα βελτίω ἔχοντες ὑπηρετῶσι τῇ διανοίᾳ χρηστῇ.⁴³

here they meet with many admonitions, many descriptions and praises of good men in times past, that the boy in envy may imitate them and yearn to become even as they. Then also the music-masters, in a similar sort, take pains for their self-restraint, and see that their young charges do not go wrong: moreover, when they learn to play the harp, they are taught the works of another set of good poets⁴⁴, the song-makers, while the master accompanies them on the harp; and they insist on familiarizing the boys' souls with the rhythms and scales, that they may gain in gentleness, and by advancing in rhythmic and harmonic grace may be efficient in speech and action; for the whole of man's life requires the graces of rhythm and harmony.⁴⁵

Physical Training

⁴¹Dobson 1932, 40

⁴²Beck 1964, 127

⁴³http://www.greek-language.gr/digitalResources/ancient_greek/library/browse.html?text_id=27&page=11

⁴⁴<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0178%3Atext%3DProt.%3Asection%3D326a>

⁴⁵<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0178%3Atext%3DProt.%3Asection%3D326b>

The ideal concept of *kalokagathia* which was cultivated among men in ancient Greek society, was the concept that physical strength should be harmoniously paired with beauty and virtue.⁴⁶ It is therefore no surprise that athleticism was central to the lives of the Athenians. Physical training was not only valuable for preparing the young boy to be better able to defend his city in case of war, but its aim was also to build up a man's ethical strength and courage. The ancient Greeks believed that a well-conditioned body had a direct affect to a man's character. Therefore, it seems only natural that such an important aspect of their ideals would be reflected in education. *Gymnastike* was one of the three courses that young boys were expected to attend to and it would usually take place in a *palaistra*. This was the space where young boys would go and exercise with the assistance of their instructor, the so-called *paidotribes*, who would teach them sports like javelin, boxing, running, discus throwing, jumping and wrestling.⁴⁷ Boys would participate in athletic competitions during the four Panhellenic games and they would be categorized as *paides* (boys) or *ageanoi* (beardless). Similarly, boys took part in festivals where athletic events were being hosted.⁴⁸ In the *Antidosis* (15.183-5), Isocrates describes the close connection between physical training and athletic competition in local or Panhellenic festivals, as the former was the necessary step for the latter⁴⁹:

ἐπειδὴν γὰρ λάβωσι μαθητάς, οἱ μὲν παιδοτρίβαι τὰ σχήματα τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀγωνίαν εὐρημένα τοὺς φοιτῶντας διδάσκουσιν, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ὄντες τὰς ἰδέας ἀπάσας, αἷς ὁ λόγος τυγχάνει χρώμενος (...) τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον ἐπιμελόμενοι καὶ παιδεύοντες μέχρι μὲν τοῦ γενέσθαι βελτίους αὐτοὺς αὐτῶν τοὺς μαθητάς καὶ ἔχειν ἄμεινον, τοὺς μὲν τὰς διανοίας τοὺς δὲ τὰς τῶν σωμάτων ἕξεις, ἀμφοτέρωθεν δύνανται προαγαγεῖν· ἐκείνην δὲ τὴν ἐπιστήμην οὐδέτεροι τυγχάνουσιν ἔχοντες, δι' ἧς ἂν οἱ μὲν ἀθλητάς οὓς βουλευθεῖεν, οἱ δὲ ῥήτορας ἱκανοὺς ποιήσαιεν, ἀλλὰ μέρος μὲν ἂν τι συμβάλωιντο, τὸ δ' ὅλον αἱ δυνάμεις αὗται παραγίγνονται τοῖς καὶ τῇ φύσει καὶ ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις διενεγκοῦσιν.⁵⁰

⁴⁶Marrou 1956, 44

⁴⁷Dobson 1932, 37

⁴⁸Golden 1990, 67-69

⁴⁹Pritchard 2013, 48

⁵⁰[https://el.wikisource.org/wiki/%CE%A0%CE%B5%CF%81%CE%AF_%CF%84%CE%B7%CF%82_%CE%B1%CE%BD_%CF%84%CE%B9%CE%B4%CF%8C%CF%83%CE%B5%CF%89%CF%82_\(%CE%99%CF%83%CE%BF%CE%BA%CF%81_%CE%AC%CF%84%CE%B7%CF%82\)](https://el.wikisource.org/wiki/%CE%A0%CE%B5%CF%81%CE%AF_%CF%84%CE%B7%CF%82_%CE%B1%CE%BD_%CF%84%CE%B9%CE%B4%CF%8C%CF%83%CE%B5%CF%89%CF%82_(%CE%99%CF%83%CE%BF%CE%BA%CF%81_%CE%AC%CF%84%CE%B7%CF%82))

For when they take their pupils in hand, the physical trainers instruct their followers in the postures which have been devised for bodily contests, while the teachers of philosophy impart all the forms of discourse in which the mind expresses itself⁵¹ (...)Watching over them and training them in this manner, both the teachers of gymnastic and the teachers of discourse are able to advance their pupils to a point where they are better men and where they are stronger in their thinking or in the use of their bodies. However, neither class of teachers is in possession of a science by which they can make capable athletes or capable orators out of whomsoever they please. They can contribute in some degree to these results, but these powers are never found in their perfection save in those who excel by virtue both of talent and of training.⁵²

The Purpose of Ancient Greek Education

The aim of ancient Greek education was to cultivate certain qualities and convey the Athenian ideal of the *kalos k'agathos*, the “wise and good” man, to future citizens, so that they would then, by extension become integrated into the social sphere as people who were whole.⁵³ The significance of ancient Greek *paideia* ran deep. Its purpose was not to impart professional knowledge of specific subjects; something that would not contribute to the goal of making someone part of the community. Ancient Greek education aimed to develop the character of individuals. Everyone possessed a body, and one had to make it as efficient as possible. Similarly, everyone had qualities, which could be cultivated. Most importantly everyone had a character to develop. On one hand, teachers were tasked equally with overseeing a child’s good conduct and the formation of his character as with directing progress in the various subjects that were being taught.⁵⁴ On the other hand, the three disciplines themselves were designed to develop mind and character. Their function was mostly as the means, and not as the goal. Poetry served to transmit all traditional wisdom. The latter focused on citizen ethics, as expressed in the moralizing epics and the old Homeric ideal of the

⁵¹<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0144%3Aspeech%3D15%3Asection%3D183>

⁵²<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0144%3Aspeech%3D15%3Asection%3D185>

⁵³Schnapp 1997, 12

⁵⁴Cribriore 2001, 8

value of competition and heroic exploits. Music served to yield harmony and ethos⁵⁵ and gymnastics to develop physical well-being. These subjects all helped to form an ideal equilibrium between the education of the body and of the mind, one which was accessible to all, and to anyone who could afford it.

Iconographical Criteria: Identification of Educational Scenes in Attic Pottery

In order to better understand the nature of the classroom and by extension the educational “system” in ancient Greek society, we should also pay attention to the pictorial evidence. In most cases the identification of a school scene in vase-painting is complicated, since there is usually not one particular object depicted on a vase that instantly indicates a school setting, but rather a combination of items that contribute to that recognition.

First of all, certain objects are frequent indicators of a schoolroom setting in a vase-painting. Writing-tablets in particular, but also book rolls, styluses, bag of knucklebones, lyres and *auloi* are commonly found as they were educational tools for *grammata* and *mousike*. Sporting paraphernalia such as sponges, aryballoi and strigils often appear as they were part of the youths’ basic equipment for the palaistra. Sometimes we find a cross-shaped object hung on the wall, which is usually identified as a measuring rule.⁵⁶ A second indicator is, naturally, the presence of a student. In vase-paintings students are portrayed either as young boys or youths, but the distinction cannot be easily determined from their iconographic representation. In her book *Childhood in Ancient Athens*, Beaumont has developed some criteria that help to identify the age of the students in some cases. One such criterion is the presence or absence of facial hair: boys are depicted as smooth-cheeked whereas youths are shown with the fledgling facial hair that starts to grow after puberty.⁵⁷ Other criteria are the size of the figure (often in relation to the rest of the figures in the scene), the bodily form, and the dress.⁵⁸ The depiction of the male figure, which in school scenes is usually identified as the teacher, has the following characteristics: the beard, which

⁵⁵Bundrick 2005, 10

⁵⁶Beaumont 2012, 25

⁵⁷Beaumont 2012, 137

⁵⁸Beaumont 2012, 24-25

signifies his age, and the staff that shows his status. Younger teachers may also appear on vase iconography. Although they are often depicted beardless they are identified by their attributes and items that they hold that act as a more specific clue to the identity. However, in some cases, the male figure is accompanied by no attributes, which means that interpretation is rendered more difficult. What we might suggest here is that, since he is usually depicted as turned towards a student, the male figure could be either a teacher checking a student's work or a *paidagogos* watching over a boy.⁵⁹

The Depiction of Education in Attic Vase-Painting Iconography

The depiction of the teacher

Most of the time the teacher is depicted with his body turned towards the right. He is either standing, or sitting on a *klismos* or *diphros* chair. Moreover, he wears a *himation*, leaving his upper body or right arm bare. The majority of times the teacher is depicted bearded.⁶⁰ The teacher usually carries a staff, which he is either holding, or is using as a support. Less often the staff is simply somewhere in the field, close to the teacher.

The teacher's identity is clarified by the objects that he holds. Specifically, when seen with a musical instrument, most probably a lyre⁶¹ or an *aulos*⁶², we understand that the male figure is a *kitharistes*. Similarly, when seen with any sort of writing

⁵⁹Bénétos 2013, 87-88

⁶⁰ Fig. 2, 3, 6, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 23, 24, 27, 29, 31, 38

⁶¹Fig. 2, 3, 12, 29

⁶²Fig. 6, 11, 13, 18, 19, 25, 27

equipment, such as a writing-tablet (fig. 1, 6) or a papyrus roll (fig. 6), then it becomes clear that this is a *grammatistes*.

The difference in age between teachers and pupils can occasionally be indicated by the figures' stature. Particularly, children and sometimes youths are depicted as smaller in size than their teacher, which could signify their childhood age. However, on other vases the young pupils appear to be equal in stature to their teacher. The images are a source of controversy and so, as a result, the stature of the figures as an indicator of age remains in question.⁶³

The depiction of the student

In iconography, the profile of the student is quite similar among the vase-painters. In most cases the student is depicted as turned towards the left. He is usually standing, while sometimes he is seen seated on a diphros chair or a stool. Himation is the most common dress of the student.

Once again the objects held reveal the discipline that the student is being taught. When the student is shown holding or playing the lyre⁶⁴ or the *aulos* (fig. 24), we know that he is learning *mousike*. On the other hand when depicted reading⁶⁵ or writing on his writing-tablets⁶⁶, or holding a scroll⁶⁷ we come to the conclusion that the student is having a letters lesson.

According to Manakidou, the age difference between boys and youths can be distinguished by the way they wear their himation. The former tend to be fully draped from top to bottom⁶⁸, in order to enhance the modesty of their character, whereas the

⁶³ Beaumont 2012, 25-26

⁶⁴ Fig. 2, 3, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 22, 27, 31, 33, 36, 38

⁶⁵ Fig. 4, 8, 11, 20, 35, 36

⁶⁶ Fig. 1, 5, 8, 3, 10

⁶⁷ Fig. 4, 7, 8, 11, 20, 21, 30, 32, 36

⁶⁸ Fig. 2, 6, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 34

latter tend to wear their himation loosely⁶⁹, leaving some parts of the body bare, in the manner of adult men.⁷⁰ Only a couple of times is the student depicted naked.⁷¹

Images can also sometimes show a pupil studying alone, without the presence of the teacher. These differ from typical school scenes with their recurring classroom instruction motifs. They depict, instead, a pupil reading in his leisure time. It is important to note that such scenes do include education features, especially when there are schoolroom objects present that remind one of a school setting.⁷² The scenes illustrate a student holding or reading from a scroll or a writing-tablet. In most of the firsts instances, almost no inscription on the scrolls can be identified. Only one red-figure lekythos from Neuchatel (fig. 7) clearly shows an inscription that refers to a hymn to Hermes (HERMEN AEIDO). When the student has a writing-tablet he is depicted either seated, with it placed on his lap, or he is depicted standing and holding it.

In general, the young boys seem to be serious during class and not talking to each other as they are paying attention to the teacher.⁷³ An interpretation of this depiction of good behavior could simply be that it reflects the fact that ancient Greeks loved school. However, it might be hard to believe that every young boy in school was as well-behaved as they are depicted to be on the vases. We must not forget that iconography is not photographs, and it should not be treated as such.

The depiction of the *paidagogos*

Many times in school scenes where the teacher is present, there is another bearded male figure in the field, who is usually identified by scholars as the *paidagogos*. However, the representation of the figure of the *paidagogos* is very similar to that of the teacher, and does not allow for easy interpretation. The verification of the

⁶⁹ Fig. 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 16, 22, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 38

⁷⁰ Μανακίδου 2016, 14

⁷¹ Fig. 19, 33, 35, 36, 37

⁷² Bundrick 2005, 60

⁷³ Hibler 1988, 62

paidagogos’ identity comes from the general scenery of the depiction, as there are no specific type of features to allow for a distinction to be made between the two male figures. The *paidagogos* is depicted wearing a himation. Sometimes he is seated on a diphros chair, while at other times he is standing, supported by his staff or resting on a column. In most representations the *paidagogos* is shown on the left of the scene, while there are a few vase-paintings that depict him at the center or on the right side. In order to distinguish this figure from that of the teacher, we usually look at the attributes that the latter holds. Furthermore, the teacher sits predominantly across from student, whereas the *paidagogos* is usually located at the side of the scene.

Perhaps the frequent presence of the *paidagogoi* in school scenes gets to show the importance of the latter in the lives of children. Lastly, the figure is most commonly found in music lessons⁷⁴ and seen mostly in the first half of the fifth century BC. That coincides with the time period when the education of boys was considered essential in order to enable their participation in the everyday life of the city.⁷⁵

The teaching and learning of letters

The earliest representation of an educational scene with learning letters context first appears approximately in 520 BC. (fig.1) The image depicts a seated teacher who is writing with a stylus on his writing-tablet while a student is paying attention. Despite the simplicity of the image, the pot type, a *phormiskos*, is possibly another indicator of the subject. It is not a coincidence that the *phormiskos*-bag appears, either hanged on the wall or being held, in Attic vase-painting in numerous of scenes with educational and music context.⁷⁶ Therefore, the vase was perhaps meant to act as the ceramic equivalent of the bag.

As already mentioned, the basic equipment for a letters lesson was writing-tablets and book rolls. Based on the catalogue, throughout the fifth century there are 6 examples in vase-paintings that depict open writing-tablets⁷⁷ and 13 that depict open book

⁷⁴ Fig. 2, 24, 27, 29, 31, 38

⁷⁵ Alexandrakis 1990, 306

⁷⁶Kefalidou 2004, 29

⁷⁷Fig. 4, 5, 6, 8, 26, 37

rolls.⁷⁸ Most of the scenes show either the teacher or the pupil as seated and with writing-tablets resting on their laps or held in their hands.

Another thing that is noticed is that although there are numerous scenes of boys reading or writing, subjects like geometry are not often evident. The occasional depiction of the cross-shaped rule, which decorates the wall of the classroom indicates that the students were being taught geometry⁷⁹. However, there is only one vase that actually demonstrates the teaching of geometry.⁸⁰ (fig. 9) The scene includes a seated bearded man, most probably the teacher, a young student making some kind of a gesture and another young student who is holding a pair of geometrical compasses in his hand. The lesson is being conducted in the open-air, as is indicated by the tree in the field.

The teaching and learning of *mousike*

The earliest scenes related to the education of boys and youths in *mousike* first appear at the end of the sixth century BC, around the time when democracy had risen in Athens.⁸¹ Most images of the catalogue that depict a music lesson show a more frequent use of the lyre than any other musical instrument. This makes sense, since the lyre was the instrument which an amateur would begin with, and the lyre's small size and weight, made it suitable for young children.⁸² The *kitharistes* or the pupils usually hold the lyre in their left hand, while they sometimes hold a plectrum in their right hand. As is evident from the iconography, the teacher and the student are usually seated across from each other. The vivid images illustrate young students trying to copy their teacher's lyre playing. In all of the representations we do not see any rolls on either the students' or on the teachers' lap. This indicates that the learning process was by ear and memory, and so perhaps we could assume that the *kitharistes* would play a song and the pupil would then try to repeat it. The method of teaching music in

⁷⁸Fig. 6, 7, 10, 11, 20, 21, 29, 32, 35, 40, 42, 43, 47

⁷⁹Fig. 6, 9, 15, 22, 27, 28, 29, 31, 45, 46

⁸⁰Beck 1975, 16

⁸¹ Bundrick 2005, 60

⁸² Bundrick 2005, 17

ancient Greece might, therefore, have been completely experiential.⁸³ The *barbitos* was another type of lyre, but it is seen only four times in the catalogue. (fig. 24, 25, 29, 46) It is interesting to notice that there are no literary sources that refer to the teaching of the *barbitos* lyre. Perhaps it was not a popular musical instrument for amateur young pupils.⁸⁴

The second most popular musical instrument in school scenes is the *aulos*. It is depicted in two types of scenes: a) young boys and youths play the *aulos* under the guidance of the *kitharistes* (fig. 24) or b) they sing with the *aulos* as an accompaniment.⁸⁵ In the second case we often see the young boys leaning their heads back with their mouths open as they sing. In such scenes the figures playing the *aulos* are depicted with cheeks puffed out in their effort to blow air through the musical instrument.

The majority of images are found in the second half of the fifth century and very frequently depict women with lyres. Bundrick contrasts these with the representations of hetairai at symposia, where they are rarely playing lyres, but instead using *auloi*. The scholar then comes to the conclusion that the musical instruments that they played may be what distinguishes these two types of women. The lyre could thus symbolize the level of education of a female citizen.⁸⁶

As already mentioned, school scenes first appeared on Attic vase-painting at the end of the sixth century moving towards the early fifth century. However, just because we see their first representations at this period, does not mean that musical instruction did not occur before then. The proof comes from the play of Aristophanes', *Clouds*, that talks about the Old Education and its disciplines in musical and physical training. Apart from that, a variety of vase-paintings show people playing musical instruments in various events. Thinking logically, learning how to play a musical instrument is not something that one does by himself. One needs someone to teach him how to play. Perhaps, then we could assume that musical instruction before the fifth century had an informal character.⁸⁷

⁸³ Vazaki 2003, 43

⁸⁴ Maas&Snyder 1989, 121

⁸⁵Fig. 6, 13, 18, 19, 25, 27

⁸⁶ Bundrick 2005, 15

⁸⁷ Bundrick 2005, 10

Shortly after the middle of the fifth century scenes of musical lessons start to disappear from Attic vase-painting. Although music did not cease to be taught, it is believed that the potters' repertoire changed towards the representation of professional musicians.⁸⁸

Concurrent learning

A vase-painting in Berlin (fig. 6) shows the *grammatistes* and *kitharistes* working together. This type of depiction has led to extensive debate among scholars, as some believe that the disciplines were taught concurrently, whereas others tend to suggest that they were taught separately. On the one hand the argument that there may have been concurrent learning is supported by the images in the depictions themselves. Perhaps the two teachers did indeed share the same room for instruction, as is shown.⁸⁹ On the other hand, we must remind ourselves that one cannot view a vase-painting as completely accurate representations. Even the Douris cup, which shows such a detailed scene, may not be realistic. Logic suggests that if all courses were to be taught at the same time and in the same space, it would likely result in a state of pandemonium. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to suggest that this form of representation may have been designed by the artist in order to offer a more complete image of the ancient Greek education in Athens.⁹⁰

Mythical figures in school scenes

Very rarely do we see the childhood of mythological characters represented in Athenian vase-painting in the educational context. In one red-figure skyphos (fig. 30) Herakles is depicted on his way to his musical lesson. According to the myth his *kitharistes* was Linos, one of the most famous mythical teachers of ancient Greece. He is said to have been killed by the hero, as a result of the latter's rage.⁹¹ Another mythical figure shown on Attic iconography is Mousaios, a poet from Athens. (fig. 35)

⁸⁸Beck 1975, 24

⁸⁹ Hibler 1988, 66

⁹⁰ Beck 1975, 15

⁹¹ Bundrick 2005, 72

Chiron, on the other hand, was well-known for the upbringing and teaching of many heroic and mythic figures in a variety of subjects. His teachings must have been widely known, as is evident from the book roll in fig. 10 that shows an inscription including the word CHIRONIA.

According to Manakidou, the socio-political changes of the fifth century highlighted the newly important role of young Athenians. She further notes that the representation of young heroic figures, such as Herakles, in teaching and learning coincided with the beginning of the representation of childhood in general. It is, therefore, possible that in the context of education, such figures were depicted as role models for the youths of Athens.⁹² Lastly, as evident from the catalogue, the representation of heroic or mythical figures in connection with education must not have been very popular in Attic vase-painting. It may have been that people were more interested in the heroic deeds that they performed, which is why we see more frequent depictions of those type of scenes.

The depiction of the education of girls and women

Attic vase-painting is an extremely useful source for our understanding of the nature of education of girls in the fifth and fourth century BC. It is still unclear what type of education girls would receive in classical Athens and which were the girls that benefited from it. It is generally accepted that women in ancient Greece were brought up to become housewives. They were secluded in the home and had little interaction with the outside world as well as limited participation in community life.⁹³ Their duties were simple tasks that they had to do within the household.⁹⁴

Literary evidence refers to training in domestic arts for women⁹⁵, but it does not provide adequate or reliable information about literacy levels among women.⁹⁶ However, there are visual representations of girls or women, from about 475 BC

⁹²Manakidou 2016, 9-10

⁹³ Wolicki 2015, 317

⁹⁴ Wolicki 2015, 289

⁹⁵ Klein 1932, 30

⁹⁶ Lewis 2002, 157

onwards, that depict them reading from scrolls⁹⁷ or playing a musical instrument⁹⁸. Often women are labeled as “Muses” or “Sappho”, transporting the female image into the mythical sphere (ARV²: 1080.6, 618.6, 623.70). We cannot, therefore, use such cases to discuss or draw general conclusions about education of the female citizen. In other depictions there are no inscriptions to suggest that the female figures might be free women.⁹⁹ It is important to notice though, the representations of the Muses appear concurrently with representations of women reading.¹⁰⁰

All images on the classical red-figure vase-paintings are set inside the household. The domestic artifacts decorating the walls or close to female figures demonstrated this. Moreover, women in such scenes are always seen either alone (fig. 47) or in the company of other women.¹⁰¹ Consequently, if we interpret these images as scenes of women being educated, it has to be noted that there is no professional teacher present, unlike in the case of young boys.¹⁰²

The cup by the Painter of Bologna 417 (fig. 39) is the only source that has been associated with the education of girls outside of the household. Two young women are walking in an unknown direction, while one of them is holding a writing case. The interpretation of the image has been controversial and has caused much scholarly debate. It has been suggested by some scholars that this is an image where two women are going to school. As boys are typically represented as being led up to school by their *paidagogos*, Klein suggests that the same case could be depicted here.¹⁰³ However, this scene is so unique that we cannot simply conclude that there might have been special schools for girls, the same way that there were for boys. The only way that we can treat this image is by imagining that the woman holding the writing-case could be literate. If we also consider the presence of the *krotala* on the exterior of the cup, then the interpretation becomes more complicated. In some situations, *krotala* have tended to indicate that a woman was a hetaira. In other cases, it has appeared as the basic instrument that a woman danced with.

⁹⁷Fig. 40, 42, 43, 47

⁹⁸Fig. 40, 41, 44, 45, 46

⁹⁹ Beaumont 2012, 146

¹⁰⁰ Lewis 2002, 158

¹⁰¹ Fig. 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46

¹⁰² Griffith 2001, 67

¹⁰³ Klein 1932, 29

Training in dancing was something that every Athenian woman could do and it is commonly depicted in iconography.¹⁰⁴

Immerwahr argues that depictions of women with book rolls indicates an interest in literature on their part. He adds that these women were probably ladies of good families in a domestic setting. According to the scholar, their representation in vase-paintings is symbolic of a world where literature was becoming more feminine.¹⁰⁵ On the other hand, Cole states that the interpretation of these scenes should be made with caution, as they might represent an idealistic approach.¹⁰⁶

Although we see representations of women reading, their level of literacy is something that cannot be determined with accuracy. As a result, we can only draw general conclusions, after considering both literary and pottery sources, as well as the general ideas in ancient Greek culture. If we look at the women from the perspective of the men, their primary duties were considered to be procreation and managing the household. Therefore, women had no need to learn letters or to be able to read. Literacy may have been a privilege of women in the elite class, since they had more free time.¹⁰⁷ It can be confirmed, as a general statement, that among the ancient Greeks, the people that could read and write were mostly men, and few were women. Literacy was a privilege of all male citizens, but there is no similar evidence for women. Female literacy was probably dependent on social status.¹⁰⁸

As already mentioned, Attic pottery shows female figures in domestic settings playing or holding musical instruments.¹⁰⁹ It is therefore possible that some women did receive an education in music. The important role of women in religious festivals, where musical skills were often required reinforces this argument.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁴ Beaumont 2012, 148-149

¹⁰⁵ Immerwahr 1964, 27-28

¹⁰⁶ Cole 1992, 223

¹⁰⁷ Wolicki 2015, 310

¹⁰⁸ Griffith 2015, 69

¹⁰⁹ Foxhall 2013, 55

¹¹⁰ Ρουμπή 2012, 89

Furthermore, most pots that illustrate scenes of female education are hydriae¹¹¹ since they were connected to a great degree with women's lives. Similar scenes are also depicted on lekythoi, red-figure and white-ground, (fig. 44,47) and cups (fig. 39,41). Petersen has suggested that domestic scenes with women reading from scrolls or playing music were possibly designed for a female audience.¹¹² Webster also argues that the images were designed to illustrate the various occupations in their lives.

It is interesting to notice how the vase-painters' repertoire changes with the approach of the Classical period by placing a new emphasis on the representation of Athenian women. There is no evidence for what caused that increased interest. It may have been due to a shift of attitude towards female figure or a development of art in general.¹¹³ Scenes of women playing music appear frequently in the Niobid Painter's workshop. Later on, followers of the Niobid Painter (the Polygnotos Group) continue with the same subject on hydriai.¹¹⁴

To conclude, it is a complex matter to reach a comprehensive understanding of what the nature of female education was. Possibly only a small percentage of women of the elite class had the privilege of training in letters and music. Lastly, it is also not without significance that the possibility of obtaining some form of education was not denied to women.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹Fig. 40, 43, 45, 46

¹¹² Petersen 1997, 61-69

¹¹³ Webster 1972, 241-242

¹¹⁴ Oakley 2014, 275

¹¹⁵ Alexandrakis 1990, 213

General observations

Choes after the middle-fifth century BC

Towards the end of the fifth century we find several choes depicting images of education. It is said that choes jars were specifically made for children, as they were linked to Anthesteria, an Athenian festival in honour of Dionysos that celebrated the beginning of spring.¹¹⁶ During the second day of Anthesteria, named Choes, children that had completed their third year of life participated in a wine-drinking ceremony that symbolized their enrolment to their clans. The choes were the indispensable drinking pot for that ceremony. The vase-painters depicted on them parts of children's everyday life, one of which was apparently school. In the choes of the catalogue are illustrated children crowned with flowers and ivy, which possibly refer to the participation of children in the Anthesteria festival.¹¹⁷

Painters that favored school scenes

As evident from the catalogue there are a few vase-painters that showed preference for educational scenes. One of them was Douris. According to Pottier, Douris had a tendency for everyday scenes, as this theme dominates in half of his vase-paintings. Although his most common subjects were palaistra scenes¹¹⁸, Douris has painted one of the most detailed images of school.¹¹⁹ In his famous cup from Berlin (fig. 6), the painter manages to depict a composite image of Greek education, including recitation of poetry, instruction in the lyre, singing with the *aulos* and teaching of letters. Many scholars have focused on the open scroll held by the teacher. The scroll contains an epic verse that probably refers to an episode of the Iliad, involving Achilles' battle in the Trojan river, Skamandros.¹²⁰ The epic nature of the verse is also highlighted by the word "Μοῖσα". This is the Aeolic version of the Attic Μοῦσα (Muse), which was frequently used by lyric poets.¹²¹ Inscribed scrolls are not seen very commonly and usually are meaningless. So what Douris shows in this occasion, along with some other vases is that he was literate. Douris continues his pictorial tradition with images

¹¹⁶Hoorn 1951, 15

¹¹⁷Hatzivasilliou 2001, 121-122

¹¹⁸ Pottier 1909, 73

¹¹⁹ Cribiore 2015, 150

¹²⁰ Sider 2010, 546

¹²¹ Sider 2010, 544

of school scenes through his followers, such as the painter of Munich 2660 and Akestorides Painter.¹²²

Why do school scenes become popular in the fifth century and when do they disappear from the potters' repertoire?

If one examines representations of school scenes from the Archaic period up until the late Classical period, it becomes clear that they reached a peak in the fifth century. Whereas in the Archaic period there are relatively sparse depictions of educational scenes, there is an explosion of school scenes from ca. 500 BC and especially on Athenian red-figure vases.¹²³ This time period coincides with one of economic growth and cultural flourishing in Athens, as well as with the rise of democracy that comes after the end of the Persian Wars. The new socio-political changes were then reflected in all forms of art (literature, sculpture and pottery).

The greatest innovation in the red-figure technique occurred around 530 BC.¹²⁴ As would be expected, the earliest red-figure vases portrayed subjects that were already popular in the black-figure and so, mythological scenes were very common. Later, however, scenes of everyday life became the central interest of the vase-painters.¹²⁵ At the same time, childhood and adolescent age began to appear in iconography. The emerging prominence of younger Athenians does not come as a surprise. Athens had just come out of the Persian Wars and was thus focusing anew on the integration of children into Athenian society. The renewed approach is illustrated in vase-paintings as well, with the depiction of mythological figures at childhood age.

The late fifth century style coincided with the Peloponnesian War (431-404 BC) and its aftermath. Athens lost its extensive power and its commercial activities diminished.¹²⁶ Boardman states that, as a result, the craft of vase-painting also

¹²² Immerwahr 1964, 21-23

¹²³ Griffith 2015, 48

¹²⁴ Richter 1958, 36

¹²⁵ Richter 1958, 7

¹²⁶ Richter 1958, 139-141

declined and the repertoire of the potters became one with “a more sober and less ambitious approach”.¹²⁷

Why are the majority of the vases sympotic?

Out of the total number of 47 vases in the catalogue, 23 are red-figure cups. As it is known, the majority of the drinking-cups were the most used symposium paraphernalia. In addition, even though one side of fig. 2 is shown a typical school scene, two hetairai are depicted on the other side of the vase playing the sympotic kottabos game. This should not come as a surprise, as symposium and education were highly connected in ancient Greece.¹²⁸

The symposium was one of the most fundamental expressions of social life in ancient Greece and an opportunity for gathering for the males of the high social class.¹²⁹ They were politicians, poets, artists and philosophers. At symposia, male citizens would dinner, drink, sing and engage in jokes and games.¹³⁰ However, apart from entertainment, the guests also engaged in more intellectual pursuits including poetry recital, particularly works by the lyric poets Alkaios, Theognis, Anakreon and Archilochos. The participants discussed myths, war and politics. The symposium was a place where men would learn about the history of the heroes of the Homeric past and follow their good behavior in their own lives. This means that symposium was not just a drinking-party, but it was used to create values and therefore to educate men in order to reinforce the ancient Greek society.¹³¹

All the above was the consequence of the formal education, that a young Athenian received from school.¹³² Instead of feeling aversion or impassiveness for the subjects that were taught at school, the ancient Greeks apparently had a strong love for them. Boys that turned into men followed the same path and continued to improve

¹²⁷ Boardman 1989, 144

¹²⁸ Neer 1990, 10

¹²⁹ Neer 1990, 4

¹³⁰ Neers 1990, 12

¹³¹ Χατζάρας 2003, 101

¹³² Κουράκου-Δραγώνα 1998, 70

themselves by learning and reciting the deeds of the heroic men, as that love was transferred at the symposia.¹³³ This shows how significant education was for ancient Greeks and how important was for them to produce well-rounded individuals that would then become beneficial for the polis.

Conclusions

The iconography of the examined period reflects to a certain extent the reality of the times. In vase-painting representations, young boys are depicted as being taught literature and music in a schoolroom setting, which responds to the information drawn from literary evidence and reflects the new beliefs and values of the Classical period. School scenes display a recurring motif. The teacher and the student appear together in scenes of letters education as well as music education. The teacher is most often bearded and loosely wearing a himation, while sitting on a chair facing the student. The student is similarly turned towards the teacher, either standing or seated, and wearing a himation. The furniture and the objects suspended in the field help us to better understand the schoolroom space in ancient Greece. Moreover, the objects held by the teacher and/or the student make for an easier identification of a school scene and distinction of the discipline being taught.

In contrast to the education of boys in classical Athens, the education of girls is a debatable subject. The literary sources do not frequently mention or give clear information about that part of women's life. Similarly, on pottery women are not shown in a schoolroom environment, as often as boys are. Women are mostly depicted holding musical instruments or scrolls in a household setting, which can cause problems of interpretation. Sometimes women in such contexts are labeled as Muses, while other times they are presented as free women. If the latter was the case, we can then assume that citizen women could actually receive some form of education in music and literature.

The ancient Greeks valued a holistic form of education which championed human values. They sought to cultivate a well-rounded individual who would personify the

¹³³Beaumont 2003, 68

ideal of *kalos kagathos* and would be of benefit for the polis. Their three disciplines in education served as molding tools and contributed to the development of ethical values and good manners. Through great admiration of the Homeric epics, the educational system aimed to shape the character of the young so that they would become good future citizens of Athenian society, characterized by virtue. The educational practices of Athens constituted the basis for political and social stability. *Paideia* and *polis* were directly connected.

Unfortunately, today's reality does not seem to be born of similar attitudes. Twenty-first-century Western society educates the young to fill their minds with knowledge alone, making them more self-centered and more individualistic before integrating them into the world of work. Education nowadays amounts to teaching and learning of one-dimensional, limited fields of knowledge. However, it is essential to make the advancement of the overall personality of the young be made a core priority of the educational process, and that curricula be restructured in ways suggested by ancient Athens. That is precisely the greatest value and offering of the ancient Greek education. Ultimately, the educational system of ancient Greece was an extraordinary accomplishment, imparting ethos and principles that were and will always be timeless and non-perishable humanistic values on which a sound society depends.

Catalogue of the Preserved Pots Depicting Scenes of Education in the Attic Vase-Painting

525-500 BC

1. Attic black-figure phormiskos, Brussels, Musees Royaux A1013, 525-475 BC

This is the earliest surviving representation and the only black-figured vase that shows a depiction of education. A boy watches as a draped teacher is seated writing in his writing tablet.¹³⁴

¹³⁴Klein 1932, 29

Bibliography: BAPD: 2881

2. Attic red figure hydria, Munich, Antikensammlungen 2421, from Vulci, Italy, Phintias, ca. 510 BC

On the body is a scene consisted of four figures. Specifically, two of them are seated across each other playing the lyre, while the standing boy is probably listening to the music. Behind those figures is a standing bearded man with a staff, perhaps the paidagogos. All the figures are decorated with an inscription along their side that bares their name. The shoulder of the pot, however, has a sympotic setting, which is very interesting. Here two reclining hetarai are playing kottabos, a truly sympotic game where one had to throw the cup at a target by tossing wine at it.¹³⁵

Bibliography: BAPD: 200126 and ARV² 23.7, 1620

3. Attic red-figure hydria, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1914.734, Triptolemos Painter, 500-475 BC

A music lesson is depicted between an elderly, bearded man and a youth. They are both seating and facing each other, holding a lyre in their hands. Here it might be a private lesson, since there are only two people depicted on the scene.

Bibliography: BAPD: 203814 and ARV² 362.23

4. Attic red-figure cup, Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano AST656, Eucharides Painter, 500-450 BC

Here, a seated, draped youth, is reading alone a scroll. Unfortunately, the context of the open scroll cannot be identified.

¹³⁵Lissarrague 2001, 29

Bibliography: BAPD: 202277 and ARV²231.83

500-450 BC

5. Attic red-figure cup, Tübingen, Eberhard Karls Universität, Arch. Inst. S10.1536B, Douris, ca. 500 BC

A youth is writing on his writing-tablet with his stylus.

Bibliography: BAPD: 205050 and ARV² 427.6

6. Attic red-figure cup, Berlin, Antikensammlung Museum F2285, from Cerveteri, Italy, Douris, ca. 480 BC

This is one of the most detailed images of school scenes that illustrates the life of a classroom. Both sides of this kylix depict two pairs of teachers and their students. In particular, on one side of the kylix and on the left a teacher and a young boy are seated across each other, playing the lyre. In the center of the same scene is the bearded teacher, seated in a backed chair, as he holds an open scroll. On it are inscribed the following lines:

ΜΟΙΣΑΜΟΙ

ΑΦΙΣΚΑΜΑΝΔΡΟΝ

ΕΥΡΩΝΑΡΧΟΜΑΙ

ΑΕΙΝΔΕΝ

The verse is translated to “O Muse, I begin to sing of broad Scamander” and it is said that it belongs to a lost poem by Stesichorus.¹³⁶ Before that man, a student is standing and probably reciting the lyrics of the poem. The young student is fully draped in himation, whereas the teacher’s himation is covering only the lower part of his body. Behind the boy is seated the *paidagogos*, identifiable by his staff. The furniture of the scene are signs of a schoolroom, especially the wall in the background, which is elaborately decorated with two hanging lyres, two kylikes a basket and a flute case. On the other side we have two teachers that seem younger than the previous ones, as they do not have a beard. The one on the left is a *kitharistes* having a music lesson. The one in the center is a *grammatistes*, since he is holding a writing tablet on his hand and a stylus on the other. On the right sits a bearded man on a stool, holding a staff. On the wall we can see once again furniture of a school class, such as a hanging scroll, a lyre, a writing tablet, a sack and a cross-shaped object that is usually regarded as a sort of a measuring rule. Furthermore, on the interior of the cup a youth is taking off his sandals. In front of him is a chair, where he has put his himation. His staff rests on the *louterion* behind him. A sponge and an aryballos hang above the stool. The youth has finished his exercise and is just about to take a bath. The depiction on the interior of the cup is suggested that symbolizes the third discipline of education, which was the physical training¹³⁷ and the entire cup shows the all-round training of a young Athenian male in *grammatike*, *mousike* and *gymnastike*.¹³⁸

Bibliography: Beaumont 2003, 67 and BAPD: 205092 and ARV² 431.48, 426

7. Attic red-figure lekythos, Neuchatel, Seyrig, Douris, ca. 470 BC

This lekythos is another good example of inscriptions on scrolls with a mythical context. Here a youth, lightly draped in himation, is seated as he reads a hymn to Hermes. The first two words are recognizable and say: HEPMEN AEIDAO (HERMEN AEIDO), which translates to “I sing to Hermes”.

Bibliography: BAPD: 205382 and ARV²: 452

¹³⁶McDougall et al. 2008, 46

¹³⁷Beaumont 2003, 67

¹³⁸Beaumont 2003, 246

8. Attic red-figure cup, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania 4842, from Orvieto, Italy, Eucharides Painter, ca. 480 BC

A single seated figure who wears a himation, is writing in his writing-tablet with a stylus.

Bibliography: Neils & Oakley, 2003, 249 and BAPD: 202276 and ARV² 231.82

9. Attic red-figure cup, Paris, Louvre G318, Cage Painter, 500-450 BC

On one side of this pot is a seated youth with a staff together with two other youths standing. Although this scene is too simple to interpret, it has been suggested by Beck that it depicts the arrival of students at school. The posture of the seated youth and its attributes seem familiar with other images of educational context. A reason to lean towards this kind of interpretation, despite the fact that there are little evidence is the other side of the same cup. Here we see a bald man seated by the side of a youth that is standing, and making a gesture with his hand. On the left, a youth is holding a pair of geometrical compasses. This is one of the reasons for including such scene into the catalogue, as it gives instantly an academic atmosphere. The stylus in the field is another object that we usually find on a schoolroom. Finally, the tree at left seems to indicate an open-air venue for the lesson.

Bibliography: BAPD: 203643 and ARV² 348.3

10. Attic red-figure kyathos, Berlin, Antikensammlung Museum F2322, from Vulci, Italy, Onesimos, ca. 490 BC

Here are shown three male figures. In the center of the scene, a youth is looking into a book scroll. Before him is a chest, on top of which is placed a scroll. On either side of the figure, there are two youths leaning on their stick, probably listening to the young boy at the center. The schoolroom objects found in the depiction are the reason for including this pot into the catalogue, as they can all transfer us into a schoolroom setting. Such objects are the scroll, the chest that is located before the youth and has another scroll on top, the strigil and the sponges decorated on the background. Furthermore, the scroll on the chest has the inscription CHIRONEIA, which comes

from the, notable for his youth-training skills, centaur, Chiron.¹³⁹ From that it is understood that indeed the education of young boys included the recitation of passages that referred to heroic and mythical stories.

Bibliography: BAPD: 203389 and ARV² 329, 134

11. Attic red-figure cup fragments, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum G138.5, from Naucratis, Egypt, Onesimos, ca. 485 BC

The fragmented interior shows parts of two figures: a bearded man, who is probably dictating, and a youth sitting on the left with his head down. On one side of the exterior of the cup a man is playing the flute, while a seated youth reads from an open book roll. On there can be traced the following lines: ΣΤΕΣΙΧΟΡΟΝ ΥΜΝΟΝ ΑΓΟΙΣΑΙ (STESICHORON YMNON AGOISAI). On the right the cup has been damaged and there can only be seen the hand of a figure writing with a stylus on a tablet. Another fragment of the same cup depicts the left part of the exterior. A nude youth is holding a reticule with an aryballos and strigil inside, as he leans against an Ionic column. To his right is another figure that appears to be seated.

Bibliography: BAPD: 203345 and ARV² 326.93

12. Attic red-figure hydria, London, British Museum E172, from Camiros, Rhodes, Pig Painter, 480-470 BC

Located on the shoulder of this hydria is a representation of a music lesson. In the centre of the scene two seated male figures are playing the lyre, the one is a bearded man (most probably the instructor) and the other one is his student, clearly younger than the former.¹⁴⁰ On the student's left a youth is holding a *sybene*, a leopard-skin

¹³⁹

¹⁴⁰http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=191593001&objectId=399144&partId=1#more-views

bag that carried the aulos and a *glottocomeion*, a box that held the reeds.¹⁴¹ On the right another youth sits in a chair, above of which it is written “ΚΑΛΟΣ” (kalos). On the instructor’s left a youth is standing, holding a lyre, while next to him a bearded man (perhaps the *paidagogos*) is resting on a stele. Beside the instructor and on the right hangs a pair of tablets wound round with a cord.¹⁴²

Bibliography: BAPD: 206472 and ARV²: 565.42

13. Attic red-figure neck amphora, Oionocles Painter, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR8.1955, 480-470 BC

On side A a bearded man is seated on a klismos chair playing the *aulos*, while a youth is standing with his head turned towards the back (probably singing). A lyre and an *aulos*-case are suspended on the wall.

Bibliography: BAPD: 207540 and ARV² 648.28

14. Attic red-figure cup, London, British Museum E99, from Camiros, Rhodes, Painter of London E99, 475-450 BC

On one side are portrayed two draped youths and a man. One of the youths is holding the lyre, whereas the other one is holding a staff. The older man (identified from the beard) is leaning on his staff. In the field as a background are hung a sponge, a strigil and an aryballos. The other side depicts a draped youth, the head of which is missing, playing the lyre and two draped men that are leaning on their staffs.

Bibliography: ARV² 788.1

15. Attic red-figure cup, Berkeley, CA, Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum of Anthropology 8.922, from Falerii, Italy, Clinic Painter, 475-450 BC

¹⁴¹Bundrick 2005, 35

¹⁴²http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=399144&partId=1&searchText=education+pottery&page=2

The exterior of the cup has two school scenes. In the first one, a boy with his lyre moves towards a bearded man who is leaning on his stick. On the wall is a cross-shaped rule. The second school scene includes once again a youth with a lyre, standing between two youths, one seated and one standing. The two male figures, due to the fact that they are beardless and thus very young, they could probably be the teacher's assistants. The interior of the cup shows a warrior. As mentioned above, when a youth reached the age of eighteen he would then admit into the so-called *ephebeia* to start his military training as a preparation for war. The warrior therefore could possibly signify the next stage in the youths' education.

Bibliography: BAPD: 209699 and ARV² 808, 811.38

16. Attic red-figure cup, Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco PD272, from Chiusi, Italy, Painter of London E100, 475-450 BC

Side A of the kylix shows a man accompanied by two youths. The former is seated at the right, as he holds his staff, while the other two younger figures are standing, holding their lyre with their right hand. On side B are three youths, the first of which is seated completely draped in himation and holds a lyre. One of the two other standing figures is holding a lyre, while the other is holding a staff.

Bibliography: BAPD: 205811 and ARV² 834.4

17. Attic red-figure column-krater, Paris, Louvre, G349, from Nola, Italy, Syracuse Painter, 475-450 BC

Here is depicted another music lesson with two young boys that are standing and wearing a heavy himation. One of them is holding a lyre. Perhaps they are heading towards their bearded master, the kitharistes, who is holding a staff.

Bibliography: BAPD: 205811 and ARV² 518.6

18. Attic red-figure amphora, Brussels, Musees Royaux R339, from Vulci, Italy, Providence Painter, ca. 475 BC

Here a seated bearded man is playing the flutes, while a young draped boy is standing in front of him, with his head leaning back. This might be the case of a recitation lesson where the boy sings passages of a poem and the teacher plays music. On the wall is hung a flute-case.

Bibliography: BAPD: 207399 and ARV²638.48

19. Attic red-figure cup, Leiden Rijksmuseum van Oudheden PC91, from Vulci, Italy, Akestorides Painter, 475-450 BC

The scene in this cup is actually very similar to fig. 15 in matters of context. Again a seated figure is playing flutes and a young boy stands with his head towards back. The same attribute is hanging on the wall. The only difference between the fig. 15 and fig. 16 is that here the seated male appears to be a youth, as he is beardless. Moreover, the young boy is naked, whereas in fig. 15 he is wearing a himation.

Bibliography: BAPD: 209613 and ARV²781.3

20. Attic red-figure cup fragment, Malibu, CA, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 86.AE.324, Akestorides Painter, 470-450 BC

On this cup the only surviving fragment shows a seated boy reading (probably reciting) from a scroll. On his right we can only see the himation of a man that is standing in front of the youth. The scroll is open and says in 4 lines: HOIHAM' EPAKΛEEIIIOΛEO[Σ]: Companions of Herakles).

Bibliography: BAPD: 275373 and Beck 1975, 19

21. Attic red-figure cup, Washington, Smithsonian Institution 136373, from Orvieto, Italy, Akestorides painter, ca. 460 BC

This cup depicts a youth with writing-tablets and his companion that are on their way to school. On the other side, a seated youth is reading an open scroll in the presence of a youth with lyre and a bearded master.

Bibliography: BAPD: 209614 and ARV²781.4

22. Attic red-figure cup, Laon, Musee Archeologique Municipal, 37.1059, Near the Villa Giulia Painter, 475-450 BC

This cup shows very detailed images of school scenes that are represented not only in the exterior, but also the interior part of the pot. The one side of the cup illustrates three standing youths, each of them holding an object in their hands. The two on the sides hold a lyre and the central figure a flute-case. In the field we can see a cross-shaped rule that adds to the verification of an schoolroom setting. The other side of the pot is extremely similar to the previous one. The only difference is the holding objects. Here one is holding a writing-case and a flute-case, the other one a lyre and the youth at the right some sprigs. The interior of the cup further enhances the academic atmosphere. A single young boy holds a flute, which in combination with the flute-case suspended, could indicate a music school setting.

Bibliography: BAPD: 207277 and ARV²627

23. Attic red-figure cup, Paris, Louvre G448, Penthesilea Painter, 475-450 BC

One side of the cup are shown four standing youths, draped in himation and a bearded man sitting on a stool and holding a staff. Behind the man is a geometrical U-shaped object that cannot be accurately identified. On the other side of the cup are three youths with staffs that surround a man with a Thracian cap and a horse. The writing-case, which here is located near the pillar, is known to have been the basic equipment for a pupil. Therefore, and in combination with the educational subject of the previous side of the cup, it would not be inaccurate to suggest that the scene could be a riding lesson for the young males.

Bibliography: BAPD: 211569 and ARV²880.5

24. Attic red-figured hydria, London, British Museum E171, from Camiros, Rhodes, Agrigento Painter, 470-460 BC

Another image of a music lesson is illustrated. In the center a bearded man, possibly the *kitharistes*, is seated on his chair, playing a lyre and singing with his head thrown back. His staff rests against the back of the chair. Confronting him, is a seated youth playing the flute together with the teacher. Most of the figures of the scene seem to be holding some kind of a musical instrument, which is another indication of being a music lesson. Two inscriptions have been traced. One is slanting above the left youth who is holding the flutes and says καλός (kalos) issuing from the teacher's mouth. The other inscription is above the youth playing the flutes says καλος, too.¹⁴³

Bibliography: BAPD: 206689 and ARV²579.87

25. Attic red-figure cup, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 48.93, London D12, 470-460 BC

On the exterior side are shown two scenes with a musical context. On one side and on the left, a youth sits to the right on a chair holding a barbiton on his lap with his left hand and a plectrum with his right. A bag hangs behind him. An older youth in the center sits frontally on a chair. In his outstretched right hand he holds a staff, and in his left one he holds a bag, which he has put on his lap. Between them hangs a pair of sandals, one in profile, the other shown from the bottom. On the right another youth is standing while holding a lyre in his right hand. On the other side of the cup three youths are once again depicted in a music lesson. On the left, a youth is playing the auloi. He sits on a stool and his body is turned in profile towards the right. A pair of sandals hangs behind him. In the center a youth is standing, watching at the seated figure. A flute case and a bag hang between them. On the right, a third youth stands with a direction to the left, holding a lyre in his right hand.

Bibliography: BAPD: 213019 and ARV²960.23

¹⁴³http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=400065&partId=1&images=true&place=40600&subject=16819&page=1

26. Attic red-figure cup, Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria 1644.4, Splanchnopt Painter, ca. 450 BC

On one side are illustrated six figures, five of which are standing. The only one who is sitting is also the only one who is playing the flutes. In front of him stands a young boy. Two bearded men on the left are holding a staff and a boy is holding a lyre. The scene reminds us of previous representations of music lessons. The other side of the cup is very similar, since the figures are holding the same attributes as before and therefore suggest their status. Lastly, the tondo of the pot seems like a private music lesson. An extra indication for all three scenes are the schoolroom objects in the field.

Bibliography: BAPD: 211758 and ARV²: 892.7

27. Attic red-figure cup, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Arthur M. Sackler Museum 2266, Splanchnopt Painter, 450-440 BC

The exterior side of this cup represents three youths. The one in the center is holding a basket, while the other two are leaning on their sticks. In the field are a scarf, three sandals and a writing case. The other side of the cup is very similar to the former. The only difference here is one of the youths who is leaning on his staff is holding a cross-shaped rule. Lastly, the interior of the cup shows two youths, one seated and fully draped and another one that stands beside the former with a staff.

Bibliography: BAPD: 211783 and ARV²: 893.31

28. Attic red-figure cup, Bologna, Museo Civico Archaeologico, 376, From Bologna, Italy, Near the Splanchnopt Painter, 465-455 BC

The interior of this cup is very simple, as it portrays two seated youths. A sponge and a strigil are decorated in the background wall, making the scene hard to interpret since we have no more detail than that. However, the exterior part of the cup gives us more information. On one side a youth is leaning on a stick, while another one offers some writing-tablets to a seated youth. In the field there is a tablet, a sponge and a strigil. The

other side of the cup shows three standing youths, one of which holds writing-tablets. the writing-tablets in the hands of the figures along with the objects on the wall may indicate a schoolroom setting.

Bibliography: BAPD: 211911 and ARV²: 900.5

450-410 BC

29. Attic red-figure hydria, Schwerin, Staatliches Museum 1294, Pig Painter, ca. 460 BC

The scene represents a music lesson. It is very similar with fig. 20 in terms of context and representation. Here are depicted seven figures in total, consisting of two groups of two (a teacher and a pupil) having a recitation lesson. Both of the *kitharistes* are holding a musical instrument. A bearded man towards the centre of the scene is shown standing, supporting himself with a staff. Very close to him is a cross-shaped rule hung on the wall. On the right is another group of two that carries no musical

instrument this time. On the contrary, one of the figures has his head turn towards left looking at the rest of the people of the scene.

Bibliography: BAPD: 206472 and ARV²565.41

30. Attic red-figure stemless cup, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 17.23.10, Painter of Munich 2660, ca. 460 BC

On the exterior is depicted a group of three male figures. The scene is interpreted by Klein as children that play school. According to the scholar, the seated boy that holds the staff plays the role of the teacher, while the two other boys are approaching him, holding papyrus rolls.¹⁴⁴ The seated figure looks very young, maybe as much as the other two figures, hence why scholars do not mention a school scene, but rather talk about a game that the boys are playing, pretending to be teachers and students. Although this might be true, the evidence for this kind of interpretation, from a first glance, are very little, making the image controversial. However, looking at the inside of the pot, is depicted a boy that carries his writing tablet¹⁴⁵, an equipment that was necessary for learning *grammata*. The same school equipment is illustrated in the exterior, with the addition of the staff, which is something that a teacher would hold. Although we cannot say for sure that the scholar's interpretation for the exterior side is accurate, if we consider the context of both sides of the cup, then we can see at least the image as a link with education.

Bibliography: BAPD: 209660 and ARV²784.25

31. Attic red-figure skyphos, Schwerin, Staatliches Museum, from Cerveteri, Italy, Pistoxenos Painter, ca. 455 BC

This pot is actually one of the two preserved vase-paintings that incorporates a school scene within a mythological context. Specifically, it depicts on one side Linos, who teaches Iphicles to play the lyre and on the other side Herakles going to school. The

¹⁴⁴Klein 1932, 29

¹⁴⁵<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/250548>

names all of the four figures are inscribed on the pot along with the addition of the painter's signature "Pistoxenos epoiesen". On the first scene, Linos and Iphicles, the half-brother of Herakles, are having a musical lesson very much like any other scene with that theme. Both the teacher and the pupil are sitting attentively. The only difference is that here Linos is carrying a phorminx, perhaps as an indication of his excellent musical skills. It could also act as an emphasis on the mythical nature of the scene, since this musical instrument was for the singers of the Homeric epics. On the other hand, the young Herakles is depicted on a completely different state. He is on his way to his musical lesson (the evidence for that is the lyre, held by his nurse, Geropso), but he looks rather haughty and unwilling to go to school. This case might be perhaps because the painter wanted to foreshadow the viewer about the events that are about to come: after Linos' reprimands, the young Herakles seized by anger kills his teacher.¹⁴⁶

Bibliography: BAPD: 211358 and ARV²859, 862.30, 863

32. Attic red-figure cup, Berlin, Antikensammlung F2549, ca. 450 BC

On one side a seated youth with a lyre is confronted by two youths, one with closed and one with open roll. On the other side are three draped standing youths, one of which is holding a flute. On the interior of the cup is a single figure, a young boy in particular dressed in himation with a yo-yo.

Bibliography: BAPD: 3407

33. Attic red-figure chous, Leipzig, Antikenmuseum d.Universitat Leipzig T4776, Kassel Painter, 440-430 BC

This red-figure chous is not well-preserved. As parts of the figures are missing this results to a harder interpretation. Particularly, the chous shows three figures. In the center is a bearded man sitting. Unfortunately, we cannot see what he could have possibly held, since this part is destroyed. Next to him is preserved the head of a young

¹⁴⁶Bundrick 2005, 71-72

boy, which is leaning slightly backwards. Behind the man is a youth who holds in his extended left hand a lyre.

Bibliography: BAPD: 214577 and ARV²1085.36

34. Attic red-figure cup, Paris, Louvre G457, Eretria Painter, ca. 430 BC

On the tondo of this cup is depicted a scene with two mythological figures incorporated into an educational context. Here the teacher Linos (named on the right) is reading from a papyrus scroll, while his student Mousaios, (named on the left) reads from his writing tablet. Behind him, there is a box which has been suggested that is a storage container for papyrus rolls.

Bibliography: BAPD: 217018 and ARV²1254.80, 1562

35. Attic red-figure chous, London, British Museum E525, from Viterbo, Italy, Shuvalov Painter, ca. 425 BC

On the body a youth is seating on a chair, reading from a scroll, in which is written the word AΛΟ. On the right facing him is a nude boy with his left hand rested on his hip and a lyre in his right hand, probably reciting his lesson. Above, in the field, is decorated a hanging knucklebone bag.¹⁴⁷

Bibliography: BAPD: 209534 and ARV²1208.38

36. Attic red-figure chous, Brussels, Musees Royaux A1911, 425-420 BC

Here a naked boy is depicted showing a writing tablet, perhaps his work, to a draped youth. The writing case suspended on the wall together with the writing tablet in the youth's hands are an indication of a school setting.

¹⁴⁷Beck 1975, 16

Bibliography: BAPD: 3409

37. Attic red-figure chous, Melbourne University 1931.0004, Manner of Meidias Painter, 420-400 BC

Here are demonstrated three figures holding a lyre. This vase is placed in the catalogue of educational scenes not only because of the presence of musical instruments, but also for the typical stature of the figures (older youth seated, young boys standing) that indicates the act of teaching in school scenes.¹⁴⁸

Bibliography: BAPD: 2540

38. Attic red-figure pelike, Eleusis, Archaeological Museum 626, from Eleusis, Attica, Kadmos Painter, 420-410 BC

Two bearded men, one of which is standing and holding a staff. The other one in the center is seated in klismos chair, holding a lyre. On his right is a standing boy who is holding a lyre as well. On the wall is decorated another lyre.

Bibliography: BAPD: 215721 and ARV² 1186.31BIS

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¹⁴⁸<http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/xdp/ASP/browse.asp?tableName=gryData&newwindow=&BrowseSession=1&companyPage=Contacts&newwindowsearchclosefrombrowse=>

39. Attic red-figure cup, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 06.1021.167, Painter of Bologna 417, 460-450 BC

In the tondo is a young woman being led by another woman. The woman at the left is holding a writing-case and a stylus, which is wrapped up with a string. Both women wear a chiton and himation. The exterior of the cup shows twelve women converse. In the field are suspended writing-tablets, wreaths, a sandal and *krotala*.

Bibliography: BAPD: 212067 and ARV² 908.13

40. Attic red-figure hydria, New York, Solow Art and Architecture Foundation, Painter of Niobid, 460-450 BC

Three women are depicted. The one at the left is holding an open book roll, showing it to the seated woman at the center who plays the lyre. Beside her is an open chest and above her head a lyre is hung. The woman at the right is also holding a lyre and a chest. The scene is located in a domestic setting, as the column and the open door suggest.

Bibliography: Γουλάκη-Βουτυρά, 2012, 34 and BAPD: 11020

41. Attic red-figure cup, Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico PU271, from Vulci, Italy, Painter of Louvre G456, 460-450 BC

The tondo of the cup shows two women. The woman at the left is standing and holding on one hand a lyre and on the other double-flutes. The woman at the right is seated, while she is trying to grab the flutes with her extended arm. On each side of the exterior of the cup shows a group of five women. They are all occupied with a musical instrument in their hands, such as the lyre and the double-flutes.

Bibliography: Γουλάκη-Βουτυρά, 2012, 95 and BAPD: 200236

42. Attic red-figure hydria, London, British Museum E190, from Kimissala, Rhodes, Manner of Niobid Painter, ca. 450 BC

Four female figures are depicted. The one sitting in the middle seems like she is reading from the scroll that she holds in her hands. The other three figures are standing close to her. Each of them is holding an object such as a box, a flower and perhaps an alabastron.

Bibliography: BAPD: 207083 and ARV²611.36

43. Attic red-figure hydria, London, British Museum E209, from Nola, Italy, Shuvalov Painter, 450-420 BC

This red-figure hydria shows a domestic scene with two women. Specifically, one woman is seated on a chair, reading from a scroll and the other one is standing beside her holding an alabastron.

Bibliography: BAPD: 216542 and ARV²1212.4

44. Attic red-figure white-ground lekythos, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum V266, from Sicily, Gela, Achilles Painter, 450-420 BC

This pot depicts two female figures. On the left a woman is shown seated, as she teaches the younger girl how to play the cithara. Above her are indicators of a domestic setting, such as a mirror and an oinochoe hung on the wall. Between the two female figures is written the following inscription: ΑΛΚΙΜΗΔ[Η]Σ ΚΑΛΟΣ ΑΙΣΧΥΛΙΔΟ (ALKIMEDES KALOS AISCHYLIDO).

Bibliography: BAPD: 214017 and ARV²1000.195

45. Attic red-figure hydria, London, British Museum E189, from Rhodes, Group of Polygnotos, 440-430 BC

A group of four women are shown in a domestic environment. The woman at left is standing while playing double-flutes. The woman at the center is the only one that

appears to be seated and playing the lyre. Two other women are shown at her right, one of which holds a lyre as well.

Bibliography: BAPD: 213779 and ARV² 1030.147

46. Attic red-figure hydria, Gotha, Schlossmuseum 53, from Capua, Italy, Group of Polygnotos, 440-430 BC

Here are depicted three women in a domestic environment. The female figure in the center is the only one seated and she is playing the lyre. The other two women are surrounding her from the sides, one is holding a box and one a flute-case. We can also see a lyre placed on the ground, as well as a sash and a cross decorated on the wall.

Bibliography: BAPD: 213618 and ARV²1049.49

47. Attic red-figure lekythos, Paris, Louvre CA2220, Klümann Painter, 440-430 BC

The cup demonstrates a single woman standing and reading from her scroll. At her left is an open chest.

Bibliography: BAPD: 215858 and ARV²1199.25

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<https://www.greek-language.gr/greekLang/index.html>

Representation of School Scenes in Attic Pottery



Fig. 1 Attic black-figure phormiskos, c. 525-475BC, Brussels, Musees Royaux (BAPD: 2881)



Fig. 2 Attic red-figure hydria, c. 510 BC, Munich, Antikensammlungen 2421, Phintias (BAPD: 200126)



Fig. 3 Attic red-figure hydria, 500-475 BC, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1914.734, Triptolemos Painter (BAPD: 203814)



Fig. 4 Attic red-figure cup, 500-450 BC, Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano AST656, Eucharides Painter (BAPD: 202277)

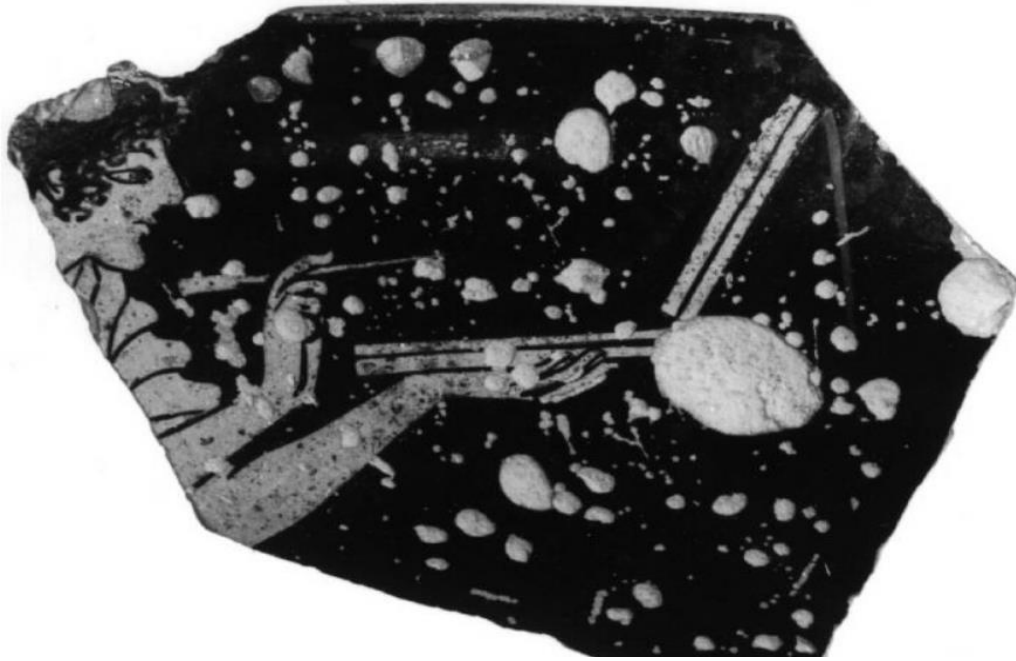


Fig. 5 Attic red-figure cup fragment, c. 500 BC, Tübingen, Eberhard Karls Universität, Arch. Inst. S10.1536B, Douris (BAPD: 205050)

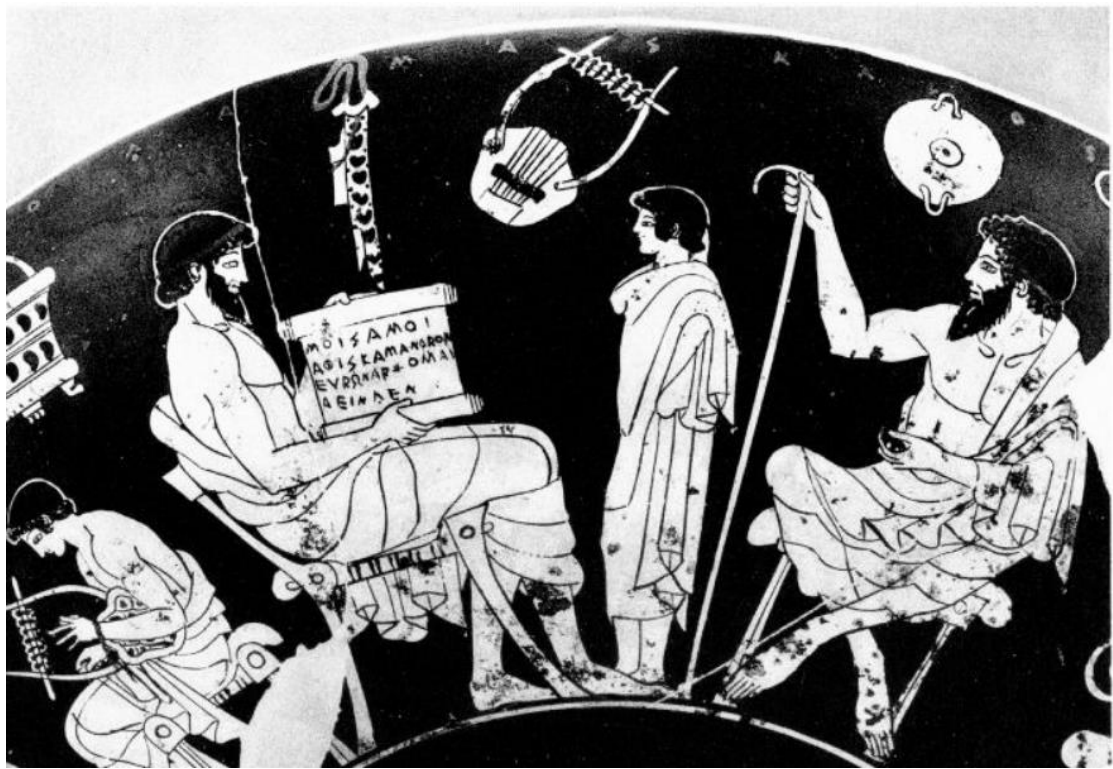




Fig. 6a-c Attic red-figure cup, c. 480 BC, Berlin, Antikensammlung F2285, Douris (BAPD: 205092 and tondo from

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/artifact?name=Berlin+F+2285&object=vase>)



Fig. 7a-b Attic red-figure lekythos, c. 470 BC, Neuchatel, Seyrig, Douris (BAPD: 205382)



Fig. 8 Attic red-figure cup, c. 480 BC, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania 4842, Eucharides Painter (BAPD: 202276)





Fig. 9a-b Attic red-figure cup, 500-450 BC, Paris, Louvre G318, Cage Painter (BAPD: 203643)



Fig. 10 Attic red-figure kyathos, c. 490 BC, Berlin, Antikensammlung Museum F2322, Onesimos (BAPD: 203389)

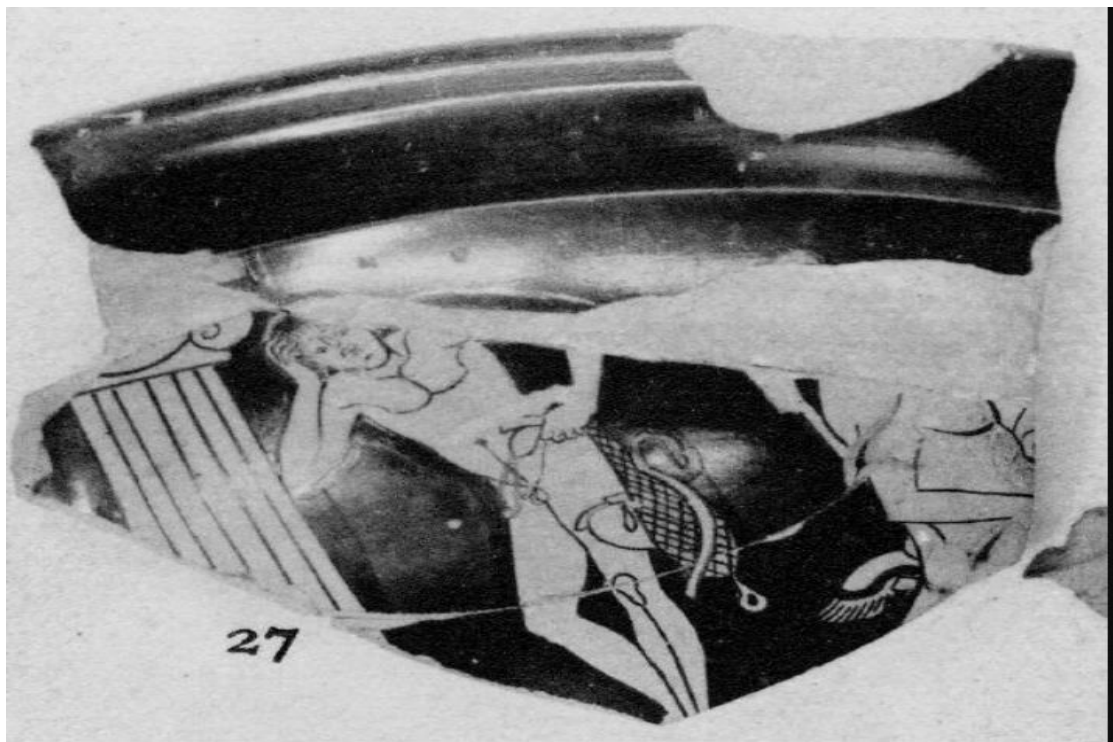
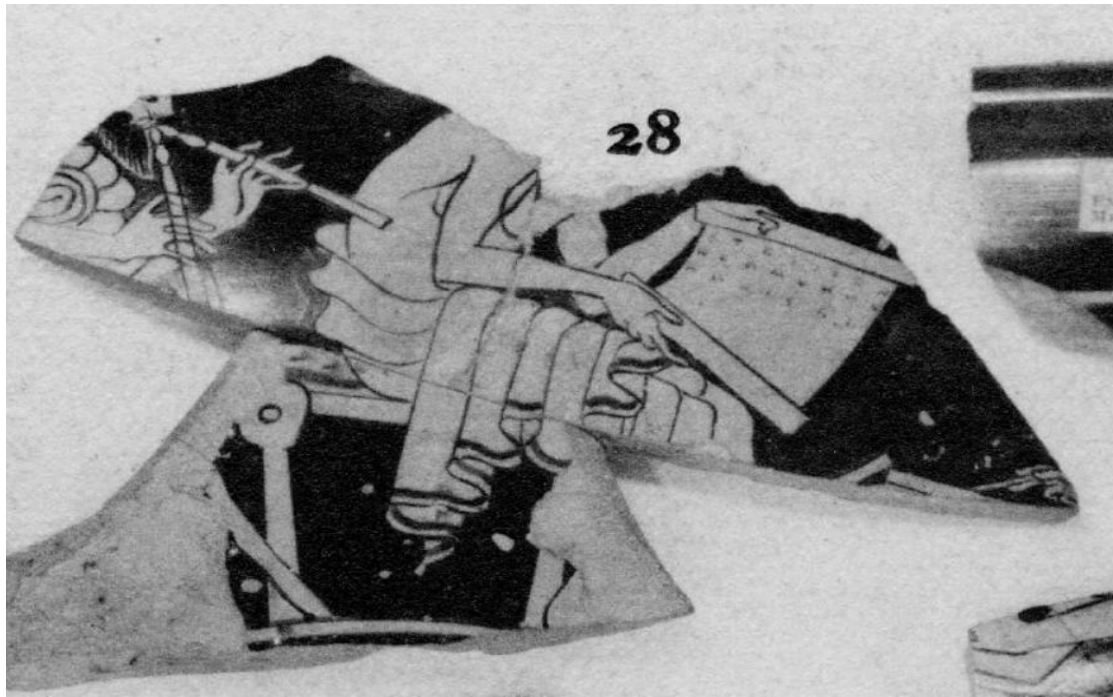




Fig. 11a-c Attic red-figure cup fragments, c. 485 BC, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum G138.5, Onesimos (BAPD: 203345)



Fig. 12 Attic red-figure hydria, 480-470 BC, London, British Museum E172, Pig Painter (BAPD: 206472)



Fig. 13 Attic red-figure neck amphora, 480-470 BC, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR8.1955, Oionocles Painter (BAPD: 207540)



Fig. 14a-b Attic red-figure cup, 475-750 BC, London, British Museum E99, Painter of London E99 (BAPD: 209699)



Fig. 15 Attic red-figure cup, 475-450 BC, Berkeley, CA, Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum of Anthropology 8.922, Clinician Painter (BAPD: 210019)





Fig. 16a-b Attic red-figure cup, 475-450 BC, Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco PD272, Painter of London E100 (BAPD: 212145)



Fig. 17 Attic red-figure column-krater, 475-450 BC, Paris, Louvre G349, Syracuse Painter (BAPD: 205811)

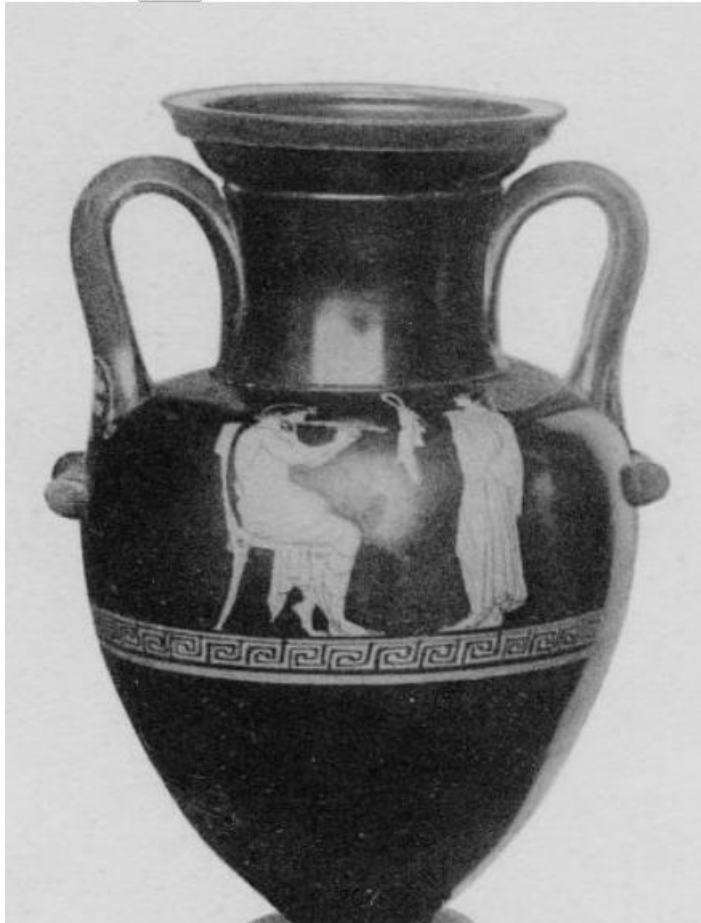


Fig. 18 Attic red-figure neck amphora, c, 475 BC, Brussels, Musees Royaux R339, Providence Painter (BAPD: 207399)



Fig. 19 Attic red-figure cup, 475-450 BC, Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden PC91, Akestorides Painter (BAPD: 209613)



Fig. 20 Attic red-figure cup fragment, 470-450 BC, Malibu, CA, The J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.324, Akestorides Painter (BAPD: 275373)



Fig. 21 Attic red-figure cup, c. 460 BC, Washington (DC) National Museum of National History 136373, Akastorides Painter (BAPD: 209614)





Fig. 22 Attic red-figure cup, 475-450 BC, Laon, Musee Archeologique Municipal 37.1059, Near the Villa Giulia Painter (BAPD: 207277)





Fig. 23a-b Attic red-figure cup, 475-450 BC, Paris Louvre G448, Penthesilea Painter (BAPD: 211569)



Fig. 24 Attic red-figure hydria, 470-460 BC, London, British Museum E171, Agrigento Painter (BAPD: 206689)



Fig. 25 Attic red-figure cup, 470-460 BC, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, Painter of London D12 (BAPD: 213019)

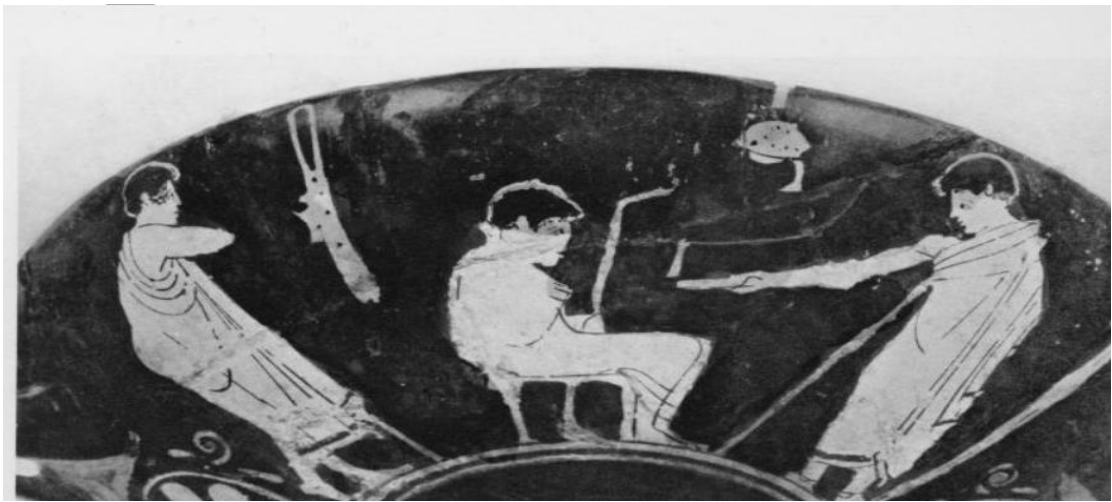
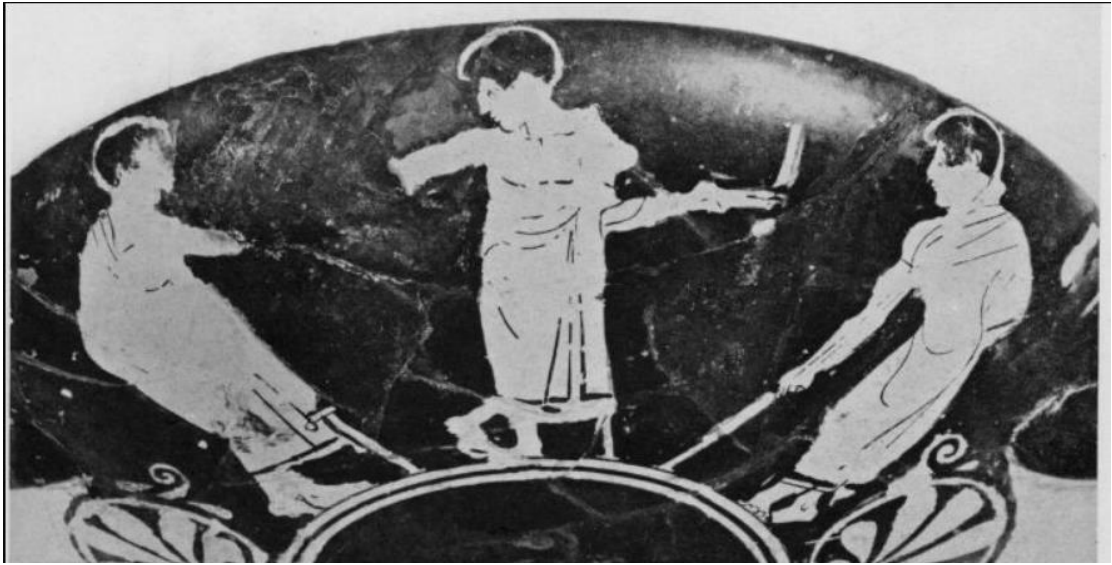


Fig. 26a-c Attic red-figure cup, 465-455 BC, Bologna, Museo Civico Archaeologico 376, Near the Splanchnopt Painter (BAPD: 211911)



Fig. 27a-b Attic red-figure cup, c. 450 BC, Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria 1644.4, Splanchnopt Painter (BAPD: 211758)





Fig. 28a-c Attic red-figure cup, 450-440 BC, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Arthur M. Sackler Museum 2266, Splanchnopt Painter (BAPD: 211783)



Fig. 29 Attic red-figure hydria, c. 460 BC, Schwerin, Staatliches Museum 1294, Pig Painter (BAPD: 206472)





Fig. 30 Attic red-figure stemless cup, c. 460 BC, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 17.23.10, Painter of Munich 2660

(From <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/250548>)



Fig. 31a-b Attic red-figure skyphos, c. 455 BC, Schwerin, Staatliches Museum 708, Pistoxenos Painter (BAPD: 211358)



Fig. 32 Attic red-figure cup, c. 450 BC, Berlin, Antikensammlung F2549 (BAPD: 3407)



Fig. 33 Attic red-figure chous, 450-400 BC, Melbourne University 1931.0004, Manner of Meidias Painter (BAPD: 2540)



Fig. 34 Attic red-figure chous, 440-430 BC, Leipzig, Antikenmuseum d. Universität Leipzig T4776, Kassel Painter (BAPD: 214577)



Fig. 35 Attic red-figure cup, c. 430 BC, Paris, Louvre G457, Eretria Painter (From Wikimedia Commons)

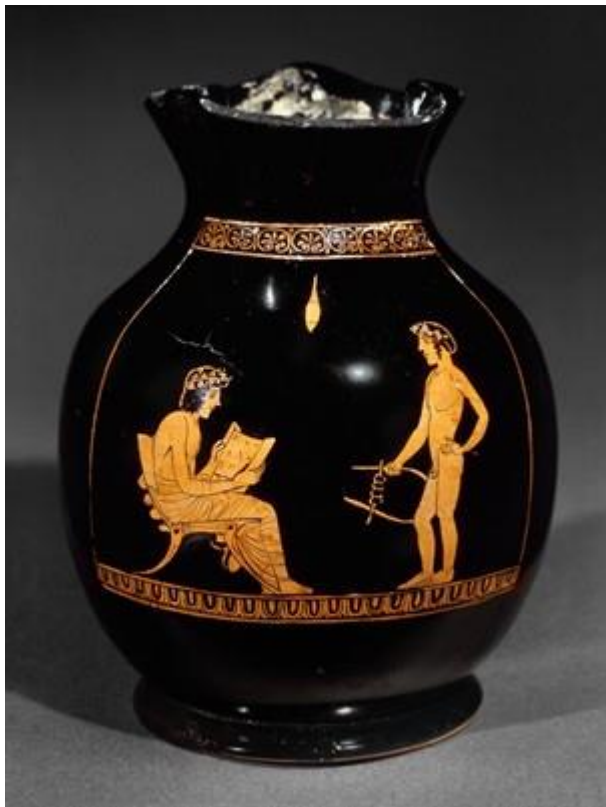


Fig. 36 Attic red-figure chous, c. 425 BC, London, British Museum E125, Shuvalov Painter

(http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=463852&partId=1&matcult=16099&sortBy=imageName&page=1)

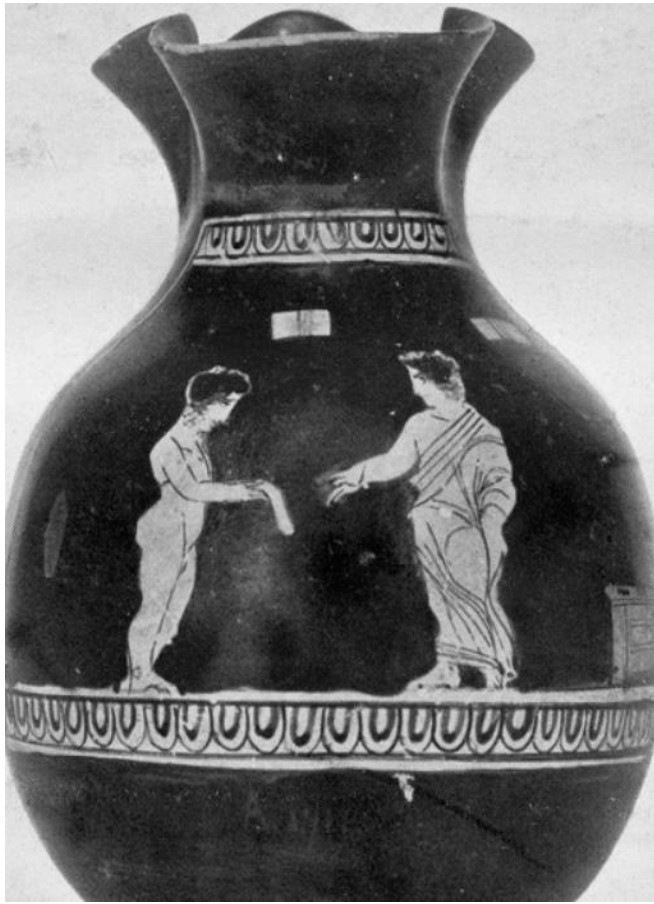


Fig. 37 Attic red-figure chous, 425-420 BC, Brussels, Musees Royaux A1911 (BAPD: 3409)



Fig. 38 Attic red-figure pelike, 420-410 BC, Eleusis, Archaeological Museum 626, Kadmos Painter (BAPD: 215721)

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Fig. 39 Attic red-figure cup, 460-450 BC, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 06.1021.167, Painter of Bologna 417 (BAPD: 212067)



Fig. 40 Attic red-figure hydria, 460-450 BC, New York, Solow Art and Architecture Foundation, Painter of Niobid (BAPD: 11020)



Fig. 41 Attic red-figure cup, 460-450 BC, Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico PU271, Painter of Louvre G456 (BAPD: 210236)

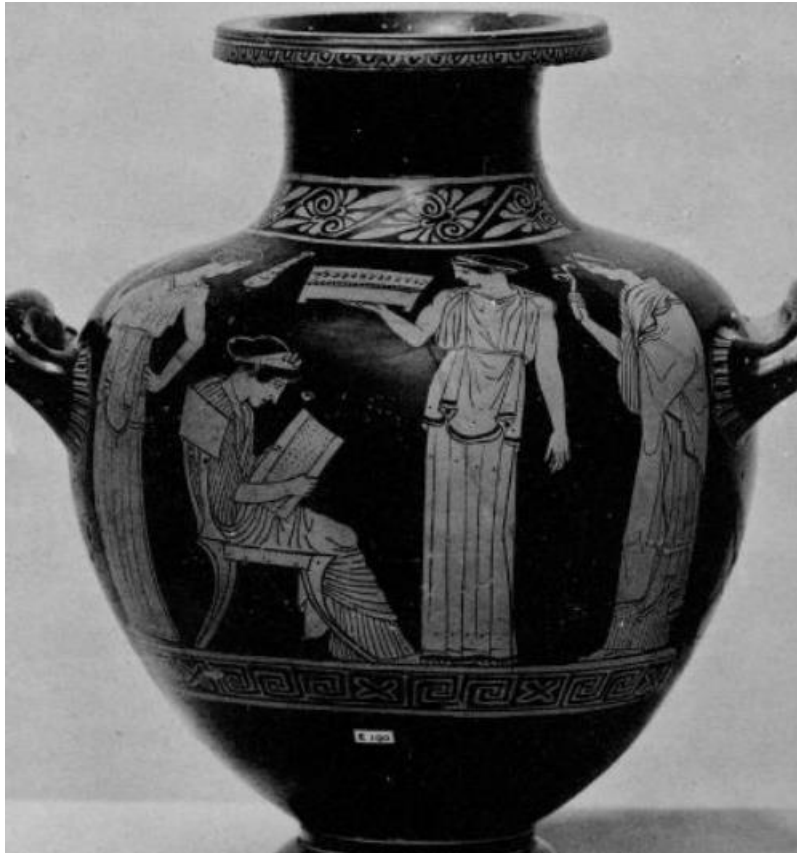


Fig. 42 Attic red-figure hydria, c. 450 BC, London, British Museum E190, Manner of Niobid Painter (BAPD: 207083)



Fig. 43 Attic red-figure hydria, 450-420 BC, London, British Museum E209, Shuvalov Painter (BAPD: 216542)

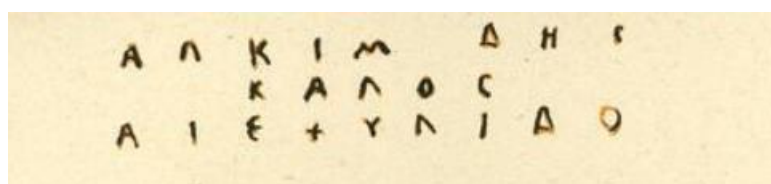


Fig. 44 Attic red-figure white-ground lekythos, 450-420 BC, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum V266, Achilles Painter (BAPD: 214017, drawing)



Fig. 45 Attic red-figure hydria, 440-430 BC, London British Museum E189, Group of Polygnotos (From the British museum

https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=461287&partId=1&images=true)



Fig. 46 Attic red-figure hydria, 440-430 BC, Gotha, Schlossmuseum 53, Group of Polygnotos (BAPD: 213618)



Fig. 47 Attic red-figure lekythos, 440-430 BC, Paris, Louvre CA2220, Klugmann Painter (BAPD: 215858)