

# TEISIAS AND THEODOROS: EAST BOIOTIAN POTTERS

(PLATES 64–68)

A BOIOTIAN black-glazed cup-kantharos in the private collection of Paul Canellopoulos in Athens is of unusual shape and bears the unique inscription ΘΕΟΔΟΡΟΣ ΕΠΟΕΞΕ.<sup>1</sup> The vase is virtually intact except for a chip, now blackened, on the inscription side of the vase rim.

Cup-kantharos (Fig. 1:a, Pl. 64:a–c).

Athens, Coll. P. Canellopoulos. H. at rim, 15.5, H. with handles, 23.0 cm.; Diam. of rim, 15.5, Diam. with handles, 23.5 cm. ΘΕΟΔΟΡΟΣ ΕΠΟΕΞΕ.

The four-handled vase includes a pair of horizontal cup handles which curve gently upward at the outer tips. These handles are attached to the lowest section of the bowl of the vase. The second pair are high-swung handles which flank and rise above the flaring walls of the body; they are attached to the vase at the top and base of the rim. Their straplike shape is slightly concave, and short spurs emerge from shallow depressions. Reinforcing these handles

are spool-shaped struts, which are positioned horizontally on a level immediately above the rim. The vase rests on a solid stem supported by a ring foot. The stem is decorated with several grooved bands rising above the midpoint of the shaft and with a molded disk just below the bowl. The foot has a single grooved line circling its lower extremity. The vase is covered with lustrous black glaze inside and out except for the underside of the lower handles, the grooved area of the stem, and the underside of the foot. Purple paint applied over the black glaze is seen in a line around the top of the rim, another immediately beneath the signature, and still others above and below the reserved grooves on the stem.

The signature of Theodoros is not previously known on Greek vases and can be added to those of other Boiotian potters thoroughly analyzed by Raubitschek, Maffre, and Lazzarini.<sup>2</sup> The letters are small, even shapes, for the most part neatly spaced across the rim on

<sup>1</sup> I wish to express my gratitude to Mr. Paul Canellopoulos for allowing me to examine, photograph, and publish this vase. Portions of this article were presented in a paper on December 30, 1981 at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America held in San Francisco (abstract, *AJA* 86, 1982, p. 272). I also wish to thank Christof Boehringer (University of Göttingen), John Hayes (Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum), and Barbara Philippaki (Athens, National Museum) for photographs published here.

Works frequently cited are abbreviated as follows:

- Agora* XII = B. A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *The Athenian Agora*, XII, *Black and Plain Pottery*, Princeton 1970  
 Burrows and Ure = R. M. Burrows and P. N. Ure, "Excavations at Rhitsóna in Boeotia," *BSA* 14, 1907/1908, pp. 226–318  
 Carpenter 1986 = T. H. Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery in Archaic Greek Art*, Oxford 1986  
 Hoppin 1924 = J. C. Hoppin, *A Handbook of Greek Black-Figured Vases*, Paris 1924  
 Sparkes 1967 = B. A. Sparkes, "The Taste of a Boeotian Pig," *JHS* 87, 1967, pp. 116–130  
 Ure 1913 = P. N. Ure, *Black Glaze Pottery from Rhitsona in Boeotia*, Oxford 1913  
 Ure 1927 = *Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery from Rhitsona*, P. N. Ure, ed., London 1927

<sup>2</sup> I. K. Raubitschek, "Early Boeotian Potters," *Hesperia* 35, 1966, pp. 154–165; M. L. Lazzarini, "Una serie di vasetti arcaici della Boezia," *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Roma: Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 25, 1970, pp. 455–460; J. M. Fossey, «Η υπογραφή ενός Βοιωτού κεραμέως», *AAA* 3, 1970, pp. 320–322; R. A. Tomlinson and J. M. Fossey, "Ancient Remains on Mount Mavrovouni, South Boeotia," *BSA* 65, 1970 (pp. 243–263), pp. 250–251, fig. 4:20; J. J. Maffre, "Collection Paul Canellopoulos VIII: vases béotiens," *BCH* 99, 1975 (pp. 409–520), pp. 415–425; *idem*, "Collection Paul Canellopoulos X: vases béotiens II," *BCH* 102, 1978 (pp. 263–284), pp. 264–270.

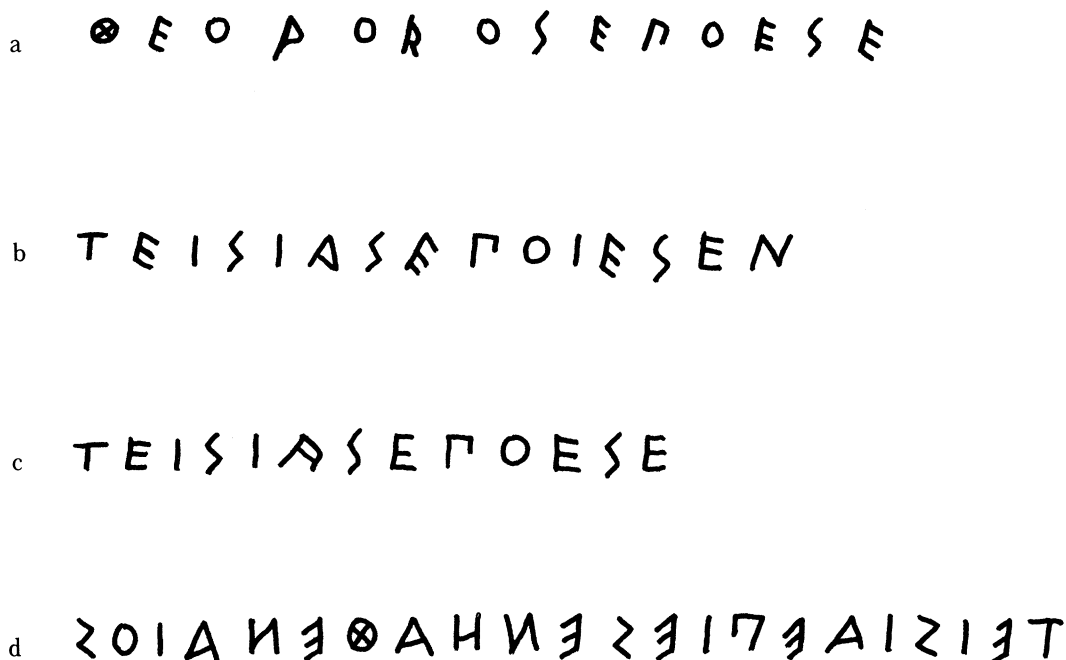


FIG. 1. Signatures of Theodoros and Teisias: a. Theodoros, cup-kantharos. b. Teisias, kantharos No. 1. c. Teisias, kantharos No. 7. d. Teisias, skyphos No. 13

one side of the vase (Pl. 64:a–c). They are incised immediately above the flanged edge of the bowl between the lower attachments of the upper handles. The letter forms are typically Boiotian and indicate a date in the late Archaic period. This can be seen in the crossed theta, the rounded delta, the three-barred sigmas, crooked pi, and tailed rho and epsilons (Fig. 1:a).<sup>3</sup> In addition to the distinctive letter forms, the missing iota in ἐπόμε is also absent in the signatures of the potters Gamedes and Polon. The lack of a nu ephelkustikon is universal among known Boiotian potters' signatures of the Archaic period, and Theodoros' signature is no exception.<sup>4</sup>

The vase and signature of Theodoros have much in common with those of the potter Teisias, who called himself an Athenian but worked in Boiotia during the later years of the 6th century B.C.<sup>5</sup> Signed vases by Teisias have been studied for over a century since the first examples were retrieved by the Greek Archaeological Service from the necropolis of Tanagra in the 1870's.<sup>6</sup> At present, 15 whole or fragmentary Boiotian vases have been assigned

<sup>3</sup> L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Oxford 1961, pp. 89–90.

<sup>4</sup> This is also true for the Boiotian signature of Theozotos on a small Attic vase in Paris (Louvre F 69): Raubitschek (note 2 above), pl. 52:c–d. Note J. D. Beazley's comment in "Groups of Mid-Sixth-Century Black-Figure," *BSA* 32, 1931/1932 (pp. 1–22), p. 22.

<sup>5</sup> The name Teisias also appears on a lip cup in London and may be part of a signature (potter or painter): J. D. Beazley, "Some Inscriptions on Vases, III," *AJA* 39, 1935 (pp. 475–488), p. 475, fig. 1. Despite compatible chronology, no evidence supports a connection with the Teisias discussed here.

<sup>6</sup> O. Rayet, "Sur quelques noms d'artistes lus sur des vases de la Grèce propre," *RA* 29, 1875 (pp. 171–174), p. 173; M. Collignon, "Signature du céramiste Teisias," *BCH* 5, 1881, pp. 178–179; M. Clerc,

to Teisias or his workshop.<sup>7</sup> Of these there are three distinct vase shapes: kantharos, kotyle, and skyphos.

#### KANTHAROI

- 1 (Fig. 1:b, Pl. 65). Athens, N.M. 2239 (N 1150), from Tanagra. H. at rim 17.0, with handles 23.0 cm.; Diam. of rim 17.0 cm. G. Nicole, *Supplément au catalogue des vases peints du Musée National d'Athènes*, Paris 1911, p. 267; Sparkes 1967, p. 122, pl. 18:c. ΤΕΙΣΙΑΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ.
2. Athens, N.M. (C 787), from Tanagra. Fragments. Hoppin 1924, no. 2:a, p. 347. [ΤΕΙΣΙ]ΑΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ.
3. Athens, N.M. (C 801), from Tanagra. Fragments. Hoppin 1924, no. 2:b, p. 347. [ΤΕΙΣΙ]ΑΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ.
4. Athens, N.M., from Tanagra. Fragments. Hoppin 1924, no. 2:c, p. 347; Collignon, *loc. cit.* (note 6 above). ΤΕΙΣΙΑΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ ΙΙ[ΑΘΕΝΑΙΟΣ] (ret.).
5. Athens, N.M., from Tanagra. Fragments. Hoppin 1924, no. 2:d, p. 347; Collignon (note 6 above), p. 179. [ΤΕΙΣΙΑΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΣ]ΕΝ ΗΑΘΕΝΑΙΟΣ (ret.).
6. Thebes Museum, 18.133, from Rhitsona. H. at rim 14.5, with handles 21.0 cm.; Diam. of rim 13.0 cm. Burrows and Ure 1907/1908, p. 263, fig. 12:31 and pp. 292–293, fig. 18; K. Demakopoulou and D. Konsola, *Archaeological Museum of Thebes*, Athens 1981, p. 56, fig. 16. ΤΕΙΣΙΑΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕ.
- 7 (Fig. 1:c, Pl. 64:d). Thebes Museum, 18.134, from Rhitsona. H. at rim 14.5, with handles 20.5 cm.; Diam. of rim 13.0 cm. Burrows and Ure 1907/1908, p. 263, fig. 12:32 and pp. 292–293; Ure 1913, pp. 9 and 17, pl. 6. ΤΕΙΣΙΑΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕ.
8. Thebes Museum, 18.135, from Rhitsona. H. at rim 15.0, with handles 21.5 cm.; Diam. of rim 14.0 cm. Burrows and Ure 1907/1908, p. 263, fig. 12:33 and pp. 292–293; Ure 1913, pp. 9 and 17, pl. 6. ΤΕΙΣΙ[ΑΣ ΕΠΟΙ]ΙΕΣΕ.
9. Thebes Museum, 18.155, from Rhitsona. Fragments. Ure 1927, pp. 34, 99, 103, fig. 6. ΤΕΙ[ΣΙΑΣ ...].
10. Skimatari Museum, from Tanagra. Fragments. Ure 1927, p. 34, note 2; A. D. Ure (note 7 above), p. 371, "Tanagra Museum".
- 11 (Pl. 66:a, b). Göttingen University. Fragments; handles only. J. F. Crome, "Ein Kantharos des Teisias," *AA (JdI 53)* 1938, pp. 68–77, figs. 1–5. Relief appliqué in the form of a satyr's head on each handle.

#### KOTYLE

- 12 (Pl. 67:a). Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, 919.5.135 (C.319), from Tanagra. H. at rim 22.5, Diam. of rim 30.0 cm. Hoppin 1924, p. 350; D. M. Robinson *et al.*, *A Catalogue of the Greek Vases in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology*, Toronto, Toronto 1930, p. 151, pl. 52. Rays from foot. [ΤΕΙΣΙ]ΑΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ ΗΑΘΕΝΑΙΟΣ.

#### SKYPHOI

- 13 (Fig. 1:d, Pl. 67:b, d). Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, 919.5.134 (C.318), from Tanagra.

<sup>7</sup> "Inscriptions: variétés," *BCH* 7, 1883, pp. 279–280; W. Klein, *Die griechischen Vasen mit Meistersignaturen*, 2nd ed., Vienna 1887, pp. 212–213.

<sup>7</sup> P. N. Ure (Ure 1927, p. 34, note 2) refers to more than one kantharos in Skimatari, but A. D. Ure ("Boeotian Pottery from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 31, 1962 [pp. 369–377], p. 371) cites only one, implying that it was signed. Exploration of the Skimatari collection revealed only one such fragmentary kantharos which, in its present state, lacks the portion of the vase that normally carries the signature. R. M. Burrows and P. N. Ure (Burrows and Ure 1907/1908, nos. 136–137, p. 293 and Ure 1913, p. 10) found the lustrous black glaze, fabric, and added-purple lines of two kylikes to be remarkably similar to that of Teisias' vases. The kylikes were recovered from the same Rhitsona grave in which three of Teisias' kantharoi were found. It is tempting to follow Ure in considering these vases possible products of the Teisian workshop, especially in light of the cup-kantharos signed by Theodoros. Conclusive evidence, however, is lacking. Ure's reference (1913, p. 10, note 1) to "a kylix signed by Teisias" is an erroneous listing by Collignon ([note 6 above] pp. 178–179) and actually refers to kantharos no. 4 here.

H. at rim 19.5, Diam. of rim 26.0 cm. Hoppin 1924, ill. on p. 349; Robinson *et al.* (under No. 12 above), pp. 150–151, pl. 52; W. J. Graham, *Black-figure and Red-figure Greek Pottery*, Toronto 1950, pl. 1A; Sparkes 1967, p. 122, pl. 18:b. Laurel (or myrtle?) wreath on lip. Rays from foot. ΤΕΙΣΙΑΣ ΕΠΙΕΞΕΝ ΗΑΘΕΝΑΙΟΣ (ret.).

14 (Pl. 67:c). Thebes Museum 31.217, from Rhitsona. H. at rim 14.5, Diam. of rim 21.0 cm.

Burrows and Ure 1907/1908, p. 278; Ure 1913, p. 10, pl. 6. Laurel (or myrtle?) wreath on lip.

15. Athens, Agora Museum P 3899. Diam. of rim (restored) 21.0 cm. Fragments. A. D. Ure (note 7 above), p. 371, fig. 1:5 and pl. 111:5. Laurel (or myrtle?) wreath on lip.

Of the 11 kantharoi, four (Nos. 1, 6–8) have survived with sufficient parts to present clear images of their original shape. The fragmentary pieces (mostly handles, lower portions of the bowl, and feet) of the other seven provide additional confirmation of Teisias' potting style. All the kantharoi can be classified with Ure's Group B (i.e. late) shallow-bottomed type in which a tall rim rests on a shallow bowl, itself supported by a stemmed foot.<sup>8</sup> The bowl of Teisias' kantharoi is set off from the rim by a raised edge (Pls. 64:d, 65:a). The rim flares gently outward as it rises from the bowl. Attached to its upper and lower extremities are uniquely shaped handles, triangular in section with the inner sides flat and the outer ones slightly convex. The apex of each handle has been truncated to create a smooth horizontal surface. The handles lack spurs, but those now in Göttingen (No. 11, Pl. 66:a, b) are unmistakably associated with the others and are endowed with carefully modeled satyr heads accented with purple paint, an appropriate ornament for a wine cup. The flat ring foot is attached to the bowl by a sturdy stem with a molded ring positioned approximately two-thirds up the shaft. The stem on No. 1 has a more clearly pronounced cylindrical shape and a more modest stem-ring than those on Nos. 6–9 (cf. Pls. 64:d, 65:a). The foot of No. 1 is also different in that it has a ridge on its upper rim and the edge is glazed black. Otherwise the kantharoi are completely covered with black glaze inside and out. A thin purple line highlights the top of the rim, and another is positioned at its base, on the edge of the bowl just beneath the signature. A third purple band decorates the molded ring on the stem and, on No. 7, a fourth edges the foot. The overall effect of these kantharoi is that of a highly articulated form, punctuated by five clearly defined horizontal levels and set within the graceful curves created by the handles, bowl, and foot.

Although Teisias' kantharoi fit into the category of late shallow-bottomed types, the high quality of their craftsmanship sets them apart from their contemporaries, as noted by Ure.<sup>9</sup> The placement of a molded ring on the stem of these vases is not common among contemporary kantharoi but does appear on the earliest shallow-bottomed examples in Boiotia (e.g. Pl. 68:b) from about 580 B.C.<sup>10</sup> There is no stem to speak of on these early kantharoi, but the potters use the ring to punctuate the join between the bowl and the conical foot.

<sup>8</sup> Ure 1913, pp. 5–11.

<sup>9</sup> Ure 1913, p. 9.

<sup>10</sup> P. N. Ure, *Aryballoi and Figurines from Rhitsona in Boeotia*, Cambridge 1934, pp. 50–51, pl. 11, from grave 86 (580–570 B.C.); Sparkes 1967, p. 128 for the date. Other early examples are CVA, Heidelberg 1 [Germany 10], 24 [458]:5–6; C. Albizzati, *Vasi antichi dipinti del Vaticano*, Rome n.d., pl. 20:22; CVA, Berlin 4 [Germany 33], pp. 72–73 (there dated too late), pls. 199–200 [1625–1626]:1–2.

Others of this shape in the Boiotian Dancers Group (Pl. 66:c) testify to the continued inclusion of the ring on shallow-bottomed kantharoi of the second quarter of the 6th century. By the mid-century mark, however, the practice of including a molded ring on the ever growing stem of shallow-bottomed kantharoi has all but died out. In their place a few deep-bottomed kantharoi of this period include the ring, fitted tightly between the foot and the bowl or at the top of the stem, as a fillet.<sup>11</sup> Following these examples are 20 to 25 years in which Boiotian kantharoi regularly appear without a molded ring on the stem. This applies to both the shallow-bottomed and deep-bottomed varieties. The resulting chronological gap between the mid-6th-century kantharoi with a molded ring stem and those by Teisias in the late century remains unresolved. After him the molded ring stem appears frequently on tall stemmed Boiotian kantharoi of the 5th century B.C.<sup>12</sup> A further stylistic connection between Teisias' kantharoi and those in the Boiotian Dancers Group is their unusually designed handles. These are pentagonal in section and anticipate the triangular-section handles on Teisias' kantharoi. Those in the Boiotian Dancers Group, however, are rectangular in shape but are like those by Teisias in that they are shaved off at the top. Black-glazed kantharoi with similarly designed handles were discovered in Rhitsona grave 18, which also yielded three kantharoi by Teisias (Nos. 6–8).<sup>13</sup> No other Boiotian kantharos handles duplicate these distinctive, angular forms. These stylistic connections are strengthened by the evidence for provenience (discussed below) which places both the Boiotian Dancers Group and the workshop of Teisias in the area of Tanagra. The chronological gap between the last vases in the Boiotian Dancers Group, which are datable to the 550's B.C., and the date of *ca.* 500 B.C. for grave 18 at Rhitsona is still a major hindrance.

The single kotyle (No. 12; Pl. 67:a) or Corinthian-type skyphos is larger than the other skyphoi but is more sparsely decorated. Thin black rays or lines spring from the foot over the lower part of the body, which is totally black inside and out except for this area. A purple line circles the vase below the rays.

The skyphoi with canted handles (Nos. 13–15; Pl. 67:b, c) are large examples of the type. A low, flaring foot supports the rapidly swelling walls of the body, which has a slightly concave rim. This is not sharply offset from the body but undergoes a smooth outward, then inward, curve before reaching the crest of the vase. The handles are joined at the highest level of the body, immediately below the concave rim. The Toronto skyphos, No. 13, is covered with black glaze on the interior and on the exterior, with the exception of a reserved band above the foot filled with base rays alternating in black outline and silhouette. Above and below this band are purple lines. The Thebes skyphos, No. 14, like the kantharoi, is

<sup>11</sup> Cf. New York, M.M.A. 06.1021.28: *AM* 78, 1963, pl. 56:1 and K. Kilinski II, *Boeotian Black Figure Vase Painting of the Archaic Period*, Mainz 1990, pl. 20:2; Berlin, S.M. 314359: *CVA*, Berlin 4 [Germany 33], pl. 205 [1631]:1–2.

<sup>12</sup> Robinson *et al.* ([under No. 12 above] pp. 151–152) suggest that two finely made black-glazed kantharoi in Toronto (C.359) and Boston (M.F.A. 01.8081) are products of Teisias' workshop. These would be too late, dating to the last third of the 5th century B.C. (Robinson notes "probably dating later than 500 B.C."). Cf. K. Kilinski II, "Boeotian Trick Vases," *AJA* 90, 1986, pl. 11, figs. 8–10, all of this late date.

<sup>13</sup> Thebes Museum, 18.233 and 18.234. Burrows and Ure 1907/1908, pp. 293–294 and Ure 1913, p. 9, pl. 6. Ure describes them as being "hexagonal" and notes the parallels with kantharoi in the Boiotian Dancers Group. Another of these black-glazed kantharoi comes from Rhitsona grave 80, which is contemporary with grave 18: Ure 1927, no. 225, p. 34; Sparkes 1967, p. 130 for the date.

covered with black glaze inside and out. A third black-glazed skyphos in Athens, No. 15, is missing the handles and lower portion of the body. It may or may not have had base rays, but it, like Nos. 13 and 14, is carefully decorated on the concave rim with a delicate laurel(?) wreath in black polychrome. On each of the three vases the purple leaves face right, are fully incised, and sprout from a single purple stem which bisects the rim. Alternating with the leaves are white berries, each on a separate, incised stalk. Marking the base of the rim, both inside and out, is a purple line. This technique of decoration has a long history in Boiotia and was applied to several vase shapes over much of the 6th century B.C. One of these is a phiale (Pl. 68:a), the decoration of which has been compared to that on Teisias' cups.<sup>14</sup> The shape of the skyphoi recalls those initially made by Hermogenes in Athens. Other Attic potters following his lead developed the shape into slimmer types more closely paralleled by Teisias' skyphoi.<sup>15</sup>

The signatures of Teisias consist of neatly shaped letters set horizontally. On the kantharoi the lettering, with few miscalculations between individual letters, is spaced evenly across one side of the rim and consistently set immediately above the ridge of the bowl between the lower extremities of the handles (Pls. 64:d, 65). On the lone kotyle (No. 12; Pl. 67:a) and on the skyphos (No. 13; Pl. 67:d) the letters are evenly placed without interruption, on one side of the vase starting from a handle. Although the letters in each inscription were incised with great care on every vase, there are several inconsistencies in spelling, letter forms, and content. On No. 13 the omicron is missing from ἐποίησεν. The iota is missing from the verb on No. 7 (Pl. 64:d), which gives it a spelling used by Theodoros as well as by other Boiotian potters (e.g., Gamedes and Polon). The nu ephelkustikon is used on Nos. 1–5 but is lacking from the signatures on Nos. 6–8, a universal phenomenon among known Boiotian potters' signatures. On most of the vases an Attic alpha was used (Fig. 1:b, d, Pls. 65:b, 67:a, d), but on Nos. 6 and 7 a Boiotian alpha is quite clear (Fig. 1:c, Pl. 64:d). On at least four vases (Nos. 4, 5, 12, 13) Teisias included a reference to himself as an Athenian, but on at least three others (Nos. 6–8) it is certain that he did not include this epithet. Three of the four inscriptions bearing this epithet are written retrograde; none of his other signatures are written in this manner.

These facts and other observations presented here give cause for some conjectures regarding Teisias' activity in Boiotia. Grave 18 at Rhitsona provides a *terminus ante quem* of ca. 500 B.C. for kantharoi Nos. 6–8. None of the signatures on these vases have the nu ephelkustikon or the epithet Ἀθηναῖος, nor are they written retrograde. Nos. 6 and 7 have a Boiotian alpha in the spelling of Teisias, and No. 7 lacks the iota in the spelling of the verb, which has already been noted among the practices of Boiotian potters, including Theodoros. It seems clear that Teisias made Boiotian vases prior to those from grave 18 since skyphos No. 14 was found in Rhitsona grave 31, datable by its contents to ca. 515 B.C., and kantharos

<sup>14</sup> J. Boardman and J. Hayes (*Excavations at Tocra: The Archaic Deposits II*, Oxford 1973, pp. 52–54) cite the known examples and consider them Boiotian, and I concur. The archaeological contexts for those from Corinth and Tocra date to the third quarter of the 6th century B.C. None have a Boiotian provenience, and their date, metallic black glaze, and crude style effectively eliminate them as candidates for the Teisian workshop.

<sup>15</sup> *Agora* XII, no. 332, pp. 83–84, 258, pl. 15, dated to ca. 500 B.C. Teisias' models are not so slim as no. 332, which the authors believe "may be among the latest"; thus his would seem to be somewhat earlier.

No. 9 comes from Rhitsona grave 133, not much later in date.<sup>16</sup> The inscription on No. 9 is almost entirely lost (all but the first three letters) and is of little help. The skyphoi Nos. 14 (Pl. 67:c) and 15, although lacking signatures, are very close in shape and decoration, albeit smaller, to No. 13 (Pl. 67:b) and must be near it in date.<sup>17</sup> No. 13 carries the full inscription with epithet, all written retrograde. It seems plausible that Teisias, newly arrived in Boiotia from Athens, advertised himself as an Athenian at first in a manner befitting his training, spelling out the verb *ἐποίησεν* and often writing retrograde as is common among Attic vase signatures but not among known Boiotian ones. As the years passed he would have adopted more typical Boiotian forms of writing, perhaps from his Boiotian associates like Theodoros, and no longer felt the need to herald his origin by including the epithet *Ἀθηναῖος* on his vases.

Besides the evidence provided by the inscriptions, the vases themselves support these conclusions. Kotyle No. 12 (Pl. 67:a), bearing Teisias' Athenian epithet, is a Corinthian-inspired Attic shape which was rarely produced in Athens after the mid-6th century.<sup>18</sup> Other than miniatures decorated in silhouette, there are very few Boiotian examples of this shape.<sup>19</sup> These Boiotian kotylai are Attic inspired in shape and decoration and appear decades before the proposed dates for Teisias. The design of the skyphoi with canted handles (Nos. 13–15) is purely Attic, with black-glazed parallels from the Athenian Agora. The *terminus ante quem* of ca. 515 B.C. for No. 14 is compatible with the dates for the Attic vases.<sup>20</sup> In short, Nos. 12–15 are Attic shapes, owing nothing to Boiotia in form, and should be placed among the earlier works produced by Teisias after immigrating to Boiotia. There is no evidence that any of Teisias' kantharoi precede them in date. At some point in his new location, Teisias began making kantharoi. These owe nothing to Athens but are clearly enhancements of a traditional Boiotian stock. Internal and external evidence for the kantharoi places them later than the skyphoi. It is regrettable that the datable contexts of the Tanagran kantharoi were not recorded, especially in light of the subtle differences between No. 1 and those from Rhitsona (Nos. 6–9). This kantharos (Pl. 65:a), with bowl broader in proportion to foot, wider arc of handles, and taller stem, falls short of the refined synthesis exhibited in its Rhitsona counterpart, No. 7 (Pl. 64:d), which could have come about in working with a new shape over time.

The dazzling cup-kantharos of Theodoros can be readily associated with the Teisias workshop. Not only is it well proportioned in its component parts and covered with a lustrous black glaze reflecting the high standards of Teisias' own work but a number of elements of the vase link it more directly with Teisias' established style. The most striking of these is the signature. The meticulously incised letters and their even forms, for the most

<sup>16</sup> Sparkes 1967, p. 129 for the dates.

<sup>17</sup> A. D. Ure (note 7 above), p. 371, dates the Agora fragments (No. 15) unnecessarily late at ca. 500 B.C. See note 15 above.

<sup>18</sup> Sparkes and Talcott (*Agora* XII, p. 82) compare black-glazed examples from the Agora with the kotyle by Teisias (No. 12) and note the difficulty in dating due to the scarcity of finds, including some by Nikosthenes, in the latter half of the 6th century B.C. (Their note 8 refers to Toronto C.318, in error for C.319.)

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Louvre, MNC 675 (*CVA*, Louvre 17 [France 26], pl. 29 [1152]:1–4). For miniatures see Maffre 1975 (note 2 above), p. 429, fig. 7, and p. 433.

<sup>20</sup> *Agora* XII, *loc. cit.* (note 15 above); Ure (1927, no. 18.75, p. 71, pl. 22) lists one from grave 18, decorated in silhouette, which is close to the CHC Group. It is also slimmer than those by Teisias, which is in agreement with its date of ca. 500 B.C.; Sparkes 1967, p. 129 for the date.

part judiciously spaced and set across the bottom of the rim on the kantharos portion of the vase, are executed in precisely the manner employed by Teisias on his own kantharoi. The handle-struts are spool shaped and set horizontally, like those on Teisias' kantharoi, although they are placed a little higher above the rim of the vase. Also Teisian are the molded ring on the stem and the placement of purple lines at specific points on the vase. There is little doubt that Theodoros performed his trade in the same workshop with Teisias: a competent craftsman learning from a master.

There is no reason to suspect Theodoros of being an immigrant. In addition to his thoroughly Boiotian letter forms, his cup-kantharos reveals a number of traditional Boiotian elements. The handle-spurs seen here but lacking from Teisias' vases are typically Boiotian. The outer side of the handle is slightly concave, a Boiotian feature found on models dating back to the early 6th century B.C. Also, the multiple grooves on the stem recall those on the lower portions of other Boiotian kantharoi of contemporary or slightly earlier date.<sup>21</sup> Theodoros did not absorb traditional Boiotian pottery designs or perfect his craft to the level exemplified in his cup-kantharos overnight. Other vases by his hand are lacking, but the exquisite styling and balanced form apparent in this one surviving vessel testify to his superior competence as a practiced ceramist. What non-Attic elements of Teisias' style may be indebted to Theodoros? What was the duration of Theodoros' productivity in relation to that of Teisias? Lacking other vases by Theodoros for the present and having no externally datable context to associate with his one vase, the questions remain unanswered.

The inevitable question is, what inspired Theodoros to design and fashion such an elaborately shaped vase? The surviving vases by Teisias provide no indication that he produced a similar shape. There are no parallels among the abundant black-glazed vessels from the Athenian Agora.<sup>22</sup> Nor is there a clear precedent for this shape in Boiotia. Boiotian bird cups frequently have four handles, but they are all on the same level, attached horizontally to the rim of the wide bowl. The cup-kantharos perhaps recalls a Chiot chalice with its high foot, small horizontal handles, and tall flaring rim, to which Theodoros would have applied the more familiar Boiotian kantharos handles. Chiot chalices sometimes have molded heads attached to their handles, an enhancement repeated on Teisias' kantharos handles in Göttingen (No. 11), which have molded satyr heads. The interiors of Chiot chalices are often decorated in black polychrome, and occasional examples carry this technique on the exterior. One Chiot chalice was retrieved from a grave at Rhitsona, placing it in the territory of the Teisian workshop (see pp. 262–263 below), where the black polychrome technique was employed on skyphoi.<sup>23</sup>

Another possible East Greek source of influence is multiple bowls. These vessels give the impression of two identical bowls, one set inside the other, but they are actually one unit crafted and fired as a single vase.<sup>24</sup> The viewer sees two pairs of identical handles stacked

<sup>21</sup> Ure 1913, nos. 353–355, p. 12, pl. 8, from Rhitsona grave 31, datable to ca. 515 B.C.; Sparkes 1967, p. 129 for the date.

<sup>22</sup> Theodoros' vase seems to anticipate 4th-century Attic cup-kantharoi with only two handles (*Agora* XII, esp. nos. 675–676, pl. 28).

<sup>23</sup> R. M. Burrows and P. N. Ure, "Excavations at Rhitsóna in Boeotia," *JHS* 29, 1909 (pp. 308–353), pp. 332–338, fig. 15, pl. 25, from grave 50, datable to 560–550 B.C.; Sparkes 1967, p. 128 for the date.

<sup>24</sup> D. A. Jackson, *East Greek Influence on Attic Vases*, London 1976, p. 62, fig. 27.



one on top of the other. Although there are similar elements and concepts overlapping both Theodoros' creation and the East Greek vases, neither the Chiot chalices nor the multiple bowls come close in shape to his vase. This in itself does not negate their possible influence, and Boiotian connections with East Greece were strong during the Archaic period owing to migrations and colonizations, which facilitated the transference of art forms and ideas between these two regions. The difficulty lies once again in chronology. Neither Chiot chalices nor East Greek multiple bowls can be dated into the late 6th century and therefore cannot be placed into an acceptable time frame for Theodoros to have been exposed to these vase shapes. A much simpler explanation, and much closer at hand, is that Theodoros had seen a kantharos stacked on top of a kylix ready for or perhaps actually in the kiln. His attention might even have been arrested by the superimposed black-glazed silhouettes of a kylix in front of a kantharos on the storage shelves in the workshop, resulting in the adaptation of these two ordinary forms into one uniquely shaped, four-handled cup-kantharos to which he proudly signed his name.<sup>25</sup>

What was the purpose of Teisias and Theodoros in signing black-glazed shapes? A number of the vases singled out for signatures by other Boiotian potters are remarkable mostly for their shapes, not their decoration: they are primarily plastic vases and aryballoi of various types. With one exception these vases and their potters belong to the first half of the 6th century, when the idea of signing one's work was still novel. After these early examples, there are no known signatures on Archaic Boiotian vases other than those of Teisias and Theodoros and the potter Epiche(s),<sup>26</sup> all of which belong to the last quarter of the 6th century B.C. The signature of Epiche(s) was written as part of a dedication to the gods; the intent behind the signatures of Teisias and Theodoros is less certain. At this time, the vast majority of Greek potters' signatures are Attic, and we should not forget that Teisias claims to have come from Athens. The idea of claiming responsibility for a distinctive vase may still have motivated some Boiotian potters in the late 6th century to sign their wares. The selection of a kantharos shape for production by Teisias (who probably had not made kantharoi before his arrival in Boiotia), and the specific enhancement of this traditionally Boiotian shape by him and Theodoros may be, at least in part, behind their endeavors to associate themselves with this particular form by signing their vases.

The Archaic kantharos had been produced in Boiotia from at least 580 B.C. Black-glazed models are found in great abundance, and black-figured examples (Pl. 68:b-d) appear throughout the Archaic period continuing into the second quarter of the 5th century.<sup>27</sup> The Teisian kantharoi, and in essence that of Theodoros, belong to the shallow-bottomed variety which has been thought to be influenced by Etruscan kantharoi through Attic models.<sup>28</sup> The few Attic kantharoi of the 6th century, however, are different from the Boiotian shapes, and

<sup>25</sup> Whether or not the Teisian workshop actually produced kylikes is unknown. See note 7 above.

<sup>26</sup> Maffre 1975 (note 2 above), pp. 415-425.

<sup>27</sup> Black-figured kantharoi were retrieved from grave 86 at Rhitsona: Ure 1934 (note 10 above), pl. 11 and Pl. 68:b, datable to 580-570 B.C.; Sparkes 1967, p. 128 for the date. These vases belong to Ure's Group A shallow-bottomed type which antedates the emergence of his Group A deep-bottomed type. Carpenter 1986 (pp. 119 and 121) mistakenly reverses the order of their emergence.

<sup>28</sup> P. Courbin, "Les origines du canthare attique archaïque," *BCH* 77, 1953, pp. 322-345. The evidence behind Courbin's arguments has been updated and well summarized in Carpenter 1986.

although Etruscan kantharoi appear in numerous Greek contexts from the late 7th century, none have been found in Boiotia and need not have influenced their emergence there.<sup>29</sup> Carpenter suspects a special significance given to kantharoi depicted in paintings on early Attic black-figure vases and notes that two of the artists responsible for these scenes are connected with Boiotian black-figure vase painters in that the latter imitate the styles of the Attic artists.<sup>30</sup> He also points out that Dionysos and Herakles, both with solid Boiotian ties, are furnished with the Boiotian shallow-bottomed kantharos in Attic iconography of the latter half of the 6th century.<sup>31</sup> The significance of the shape, whether it was religious or social, may not have been the same for the Athenians and the Boiotians, but the latter certainly favored it and placed hundreds of kantharoi (especially black-glazed examples) in their graves during the late Archaic period.<sup>32</sup> This may have been the primary if not the sole purpose of the black-glazed kantharoi in Boiotia, much like the white-ground lekythoi in Classical Athens. In producing refined versions of the traditional Boiotian black-glazed kantharos, Teisias, and perhaps also Theodoros, proudly signed their names to this vase shape which had particular significance to the local population. It is true that Teisias also signed a kotyle (No. 12) and a skyphos (No. 13), neither of which appear to have held the significance placed on the kantharos in Boiotia. These two vases, however, carry the Athenian epithet and appear to have been produced early in Teisias' Boiotian career (pp. 258–259 above), before he established himself as a producer of kantharoi. The other two skyphoi credited to him lack signatures. No. 14 comes from Rhitsona grave 31 datable to *ca.* 515 B.C. and is earlier than any contextual date for Teisias' kantharoi. The skyphos No. 15 from the Agora lacks proper archaeological context and can not be dated by external evidence. Stylistically it can be placed with Nos. 13 and 14.

Where was the Teisian workshop located? The evidence provided by provenience of finds strongly indicates the region around Tanagra in east Boiotia. By the mid-6th century B.C., Tanagra had expanded its territory north to include Aulis and bordered on the region of Mykalessos (modern Rhitsona).<sup>33</sup> All Teisias' 15 vases with known proveniences come from this area: eight from Tanagra and five from Rhitsona. The Göttingen handles

<sup>29</sup> Carpenter (1986, p. 120) presents the evidence for the find sites. The Boiotian kantharos was popular in the Geometric period: J. N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, London 1968, p. 204, pl. 44:a, b and A. Ruckert, *Frühe Keramik böotiens: Form und Dekoration der Vasen des späten 8. und frühen 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Bern 1976, pp. 35–37, pls. 26–28. These, however, lack a stem or a distinct foot.

<sup>30</sup> Carpenter 1986, p. 121. For the Boiotian black-figure vase painters see K. Kilinski II, "The Boeotian Dancers Group," *AJA* 82, 1978, pp. 173–191, and *idem*, "Corinthianizing Art of the Boeotian Horse-bird Painter," *Corinthiaca: Studies in Honor of Darrell A. Amyx*, M. Del Chiaro, ed., Columbia, Missouri 1986, pp. 127–133.

<sup>31</sup> Carpenter 1986, pp. 122–123.

<sup>32</sup> Grave 31 at Rhitsona, which held Teisias' skyphos (No. 14), contained 126 kantharoi: Burrows and Ure 1907/1908, pp. 278–279; Sparkes 1967, p. 129. A Boiotian stele from Lebadea shows a seated man holding a kantharos: K. Friis Johansen, *Attic Grave-reliefs of the Classical Period*, Copenhagen 1951, p. 114, fig. 56, and Carpenter (1986, p. 120, note 100) has called the similar Laconian hero reliefs into the same context. A. J. B. Wace ("Laconia II—Excavations at Sparta, 1906: The Heroön," *BSA* 12, 1905/1906 [pp. 284–294], pp. 289–291) notes that about one hundred terracotta reliefs depicting a figure holding a kantharos were placed in the Spartan heroön along with miniature kantharoi.

<sup>33</sup> R. J. Buck, *A History of Boeotia*, Alberta 1979, p. 99.

(No. 11), like the cup-kantharos of Theodoros, lack known proveniences. The skyphos fragments in the Athenian Agora (No. 15) came from the floor of what once was the shop of an antiquities dealer whose stock consisted largely of Greek art of non-Attic origin and therefore can not be considered.<sup>34</sup> It has long been assumed that a terracotta industry was located in or near Tanagra, owing to the large quantities of figurines recovered from the necropoleis there. These terracottas share the brilliant colors found on the abundant Boiotian bird cups, and Boiotian black-figured vases either in plastic form or with figured relief ornament were found at Tanagra. The striking satyr heads attached to the Teisian handles in Göttingen present further evidence for a long-established collaboration between the vase-producing and terracotta industries in this region.<sup>35</sup> The large quantities of black-glazed vases, especially kantharoi, recovered from graves in this area make it at least plausible that local workshops, perhaps concentrating in this medium, supplied the needs of the mourners. Despite the distinctive character of Teisias' kantharoi, and that of Theodoros, they share enough similarities with more ordinary, contemporary models found at Tanagra and Rhitsona not to be removed from their production environment.

Because Teisias claimed to be an Athenian, some have considered him an Attic potter and excluded him from the ranks of Boiotian potters.<sup>36</sup> There would have been no need for a potter in Athens to sign himself as an Athenian. No one would exclude Lydos from the list of Attic vase painters on the basis of his name. Whatever Teisias accomplished in Athens, he became a superb and adept craftsman producing a traditional Boiotian shape in Boiotia. What else could we call him but a Boiotian potter?

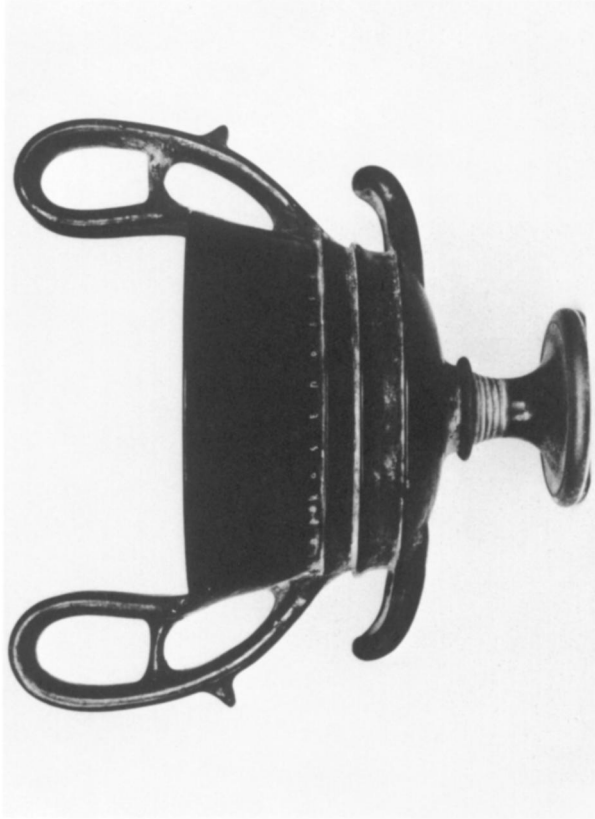
KARL KILINSKI II

SOUTHERN METHODIST UNIVERSITY  
Department of Art History  
Dallas, TX 75275

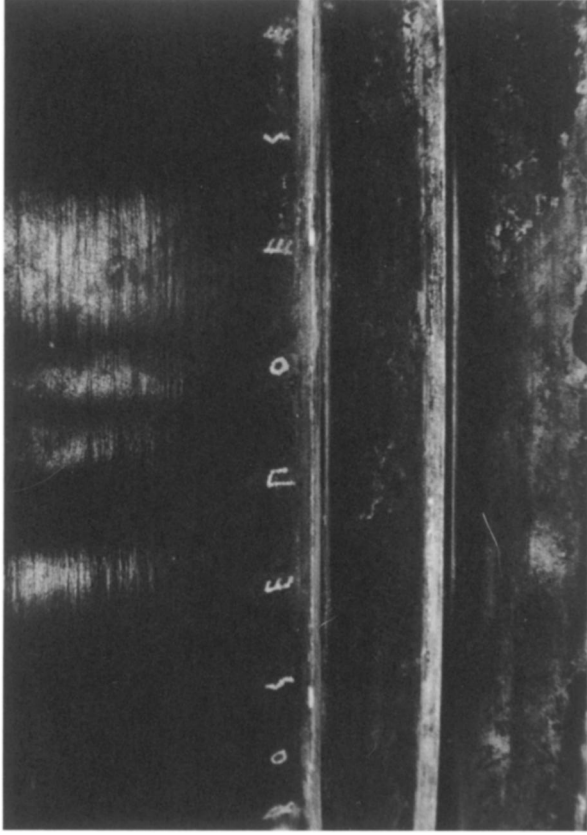
<sup>34</sup> *Agora* XII, p. 394, deposit K 14:1. I have not seen the black-glazed kylix Athens, N.M. 2492 with the inscription TIMEAZ in Corinthian letters and reportedly from Corinth as noted by Burrows and Ure ([note 23 above] p. 348, note 172), but their proposal that this may be a Corinthian corruption of Teisias and that there might have been a Teisian satellite workshop in Corinth seems unlikely.

<sup>35</sup> Kilinski (1978 [note 30 above], p. 189) summarizes the evidence for collaboration between coroplasts and ceramists in the Tanagran region. Compare especially the Boiotian oinochoe with a molded female head attached to its neck, *CVA*, Berlin 4 [Germany 33], pp. 76–77 (there dated to the third quarter of the 6th century B.C.), pl. 204 [1630]:1–3. Cf. also the Boiotian head vase (satyr), *CVA*, Berlin 4 [Germany 33], pl. 192 [1618]:6, 7.

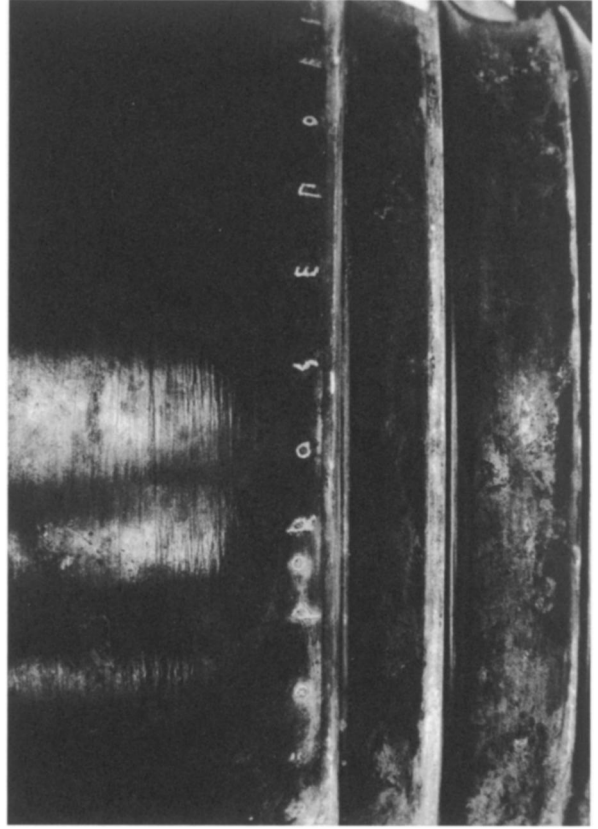
<sup>36</sup> Raubitschek (note 2 above), p. 160; Robinson *et al.* (under No. 12 above), p. 150; Hoppin 1924, p. 347.



a-c. Cup Kantharos. Athens, Paul Canellopoulos Collection



b.



c.

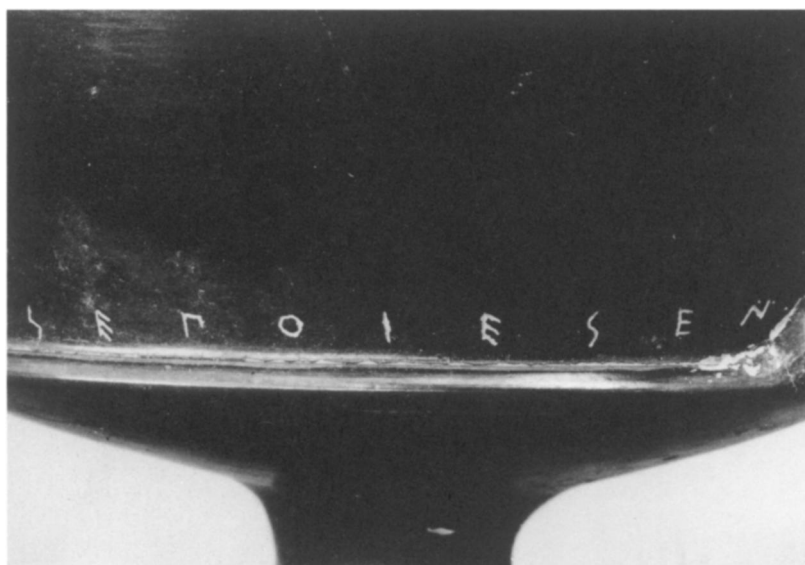


d. No. 7. Kantharos, Rhitsona grave 18. Thebes, Archaeological Museum 18.134

No.1. Kantharos, Tanagra. Athens, National Museum 2239



a.



b.



c.

KARL KILINSKI II: TEISIAS AND THEODOROS: EAST BOIOTIAN POTTERS



a.

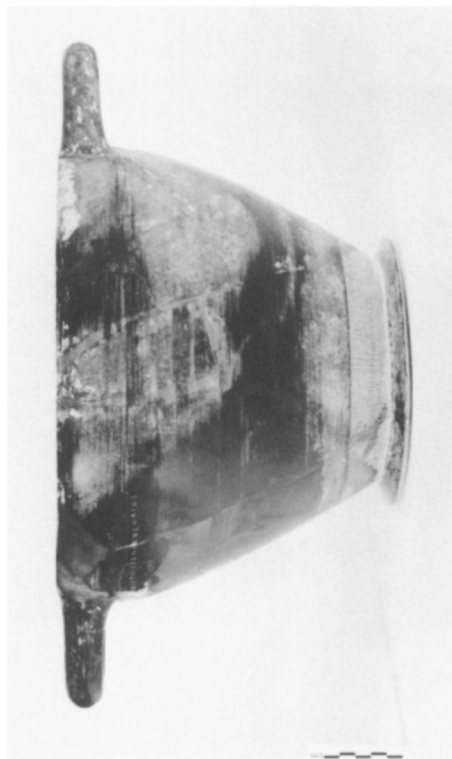


b.

a, b. No. 11. Kantharos handle. Göttingen, University



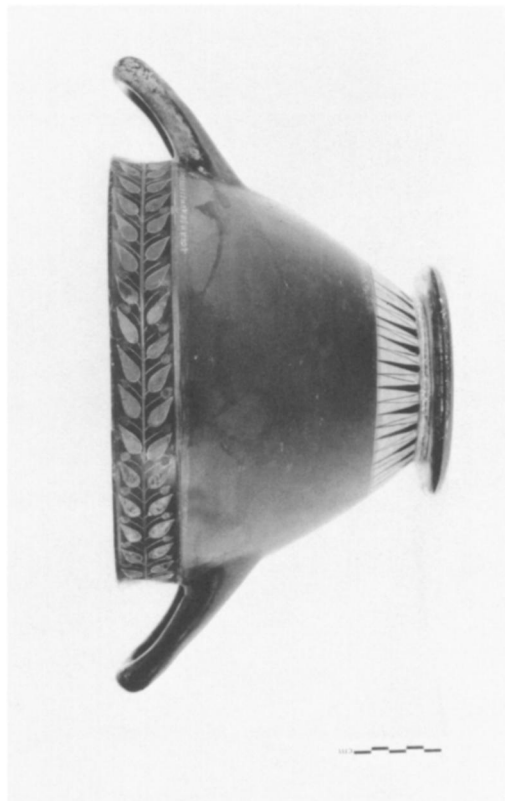
c. Kantharos. Boeotian Dancers Group. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 6010



a. No. 12. Kotyle. Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum 919.5.135



b. No. 13. Skyphos. Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum 919.5.134



c. No. 14. Skyphos, Rhitsona grave 31. Thebes, Archaeological Museum 31.217



d. Detail of No. 13





a. Phiale. Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum 321



c.

c, d. Kantharos. Copenhagen, National Museum 7603



b. Kantharos, Rhitsona grave 86. Thebes, Archaeological Museum 86.274



d.