A FAMILY OF SCULPTORS FROM TYRE

The Athenian pancratiast Menodoros, son of Gnaios, has fared well. He won more athletic. victories than any other known Greek of his century; and he was awarded honorary crowns by a king and three cities. In the Athenian Agora a group of sculpture in his honor was set up on the largest inscribed base now known from that site. Of this base six scattered fragments were eventually collected,¹ and they sufficed to prove that Menodoros was honored also in Delos by a second elaborate monument the pedestal of which, with its 36 crowns carved in relief, is preserved almost intact.²

In contrast, the two sculptors of Menodoros’s Athenian base have fared ill.³ A century ago Pittakys failed to read one name in their signature and misread another. Soon thereafter all but three letters of this signature were broken away and probably destroyed. The name of one of the sculptors was restored in an inscription on lead, extracted from a statue found in the sea, the “Apollo of Piombino,” and that statue was assigned to the sculptor in question; but the lettering is Roman whereas the statue is archaic, so that doubts arose as to the genuineness of the inscription, and it has been generally dismissed. Whatever it says, however, the inscription appears to be genuine and its place of finding makes it one of the curiosities of archaeology.

Recently Hiller corrected the reading by Pittakys of the signature on the Menodoros base, but concealed his correction in Pauly-Wissowa, R.E., Suppl. V, s.v. Rhodos. In 1935, publishing the Athenian monument, I overlooked Hiller’s correction and made no identification of the names. In fact the sculptors seemed to me to be mere journeymen masons who, since they had done so much lettering on the Athenian base, were probably glad to pick up a job as letter-cutters (which would make them the only letter-cutters known to us by name in Athens). Meanwhile Kirchner, also in 1935, was collecting and improving the evidence that the two sculptors belonged to a large and apparently famous family of sculptors,—they should hardly therefore be described as mere letter-cutters,—but Kirchner thought the Athenian fragments were from separate monuments of different dates (I.G., II², 3147 and 3150); and he neglected, as has everyone, some observations by Hirschfeld and two new bases

¹ S. Dow, Hesperia, IV, 1935, pp. 81-87.
³ A new edition of Loewy, Inschr. gr. Bildhauer (1885) is needed, but is so large an undertaking that one hopes it may be preceded by a simple, easily compiled, check-list supplementing Loewy.
⁴ As was pointed out by A. Koerte when he discussed the Menodoros monument in his review of Kirchner’s fascicule (Gnomo, XI, 1935, p. 627).
from Rhodes. Consequently his *stemma* (*I.G.*, II², 3147, commentary) runs from 155 B.C. backward into the late third century, whereas it ought rather to come down, as we shall see, into the first century B.C. Lippold added only a little in Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, articles on Artemidoros, Menodotos, and Charmolas.

A really satisfactory study of the family is still beyond our reach, but if these Tyrians have a certain high distinction (*infra*, p. 360) which I think belongs to them as a family, then an effort is warranted to set in order all that can now be learned about them. The data are tenuous and require patient handling. What is needed first of all is a complete critical list of the known members of the family, a list which shall not identify as of one man two signatures which *may* belong to two different but homonymous men; for, as will be seen at the end of this study, the profession of sculptor was sometimes followed by many generations of one family, so that several different sculptors might bear the same name.

The following abbreviations are used:


The verb used with the names is *ἐπόνοσ* (or *ἐποίησαν*) and it appears in every instance except (?) Maiuri's base signed merely (?) Χαρμόλας. "Senior partner" indicates the name which appears first when two sign together. The Notes follow after the Lists.

**LIST OF TYRIAN SCULPTORS**

*ca. 155 B.C.*¹

ʻΑρτεμίδωρος Μνυδότου Τύριος.

(one base)

Kinch, p. 23: two bases each having this signature; Lindos.

*1st cent. B.C.*²

ʻΑρτεμίδωρος Μνυδότου Τύριος.

Loewy, no. 309; Halikarnassos.

ʻΑρτεμίδωρος; Χαρμο<λ>ον Ῥώδης.

Senior partner of Μνυδότου ʻΑρτεμίδωρον.

*ca. 130 B.C.*

S. Dow, *Hesp.*, IV, 1935, pp. 81-87 = *I.G.*, II², 3147

(Loewy, no. 308) + 3150 + new fragments; Athens.

ʻΑρτεμίδωρος; Χαρμόλ; Τύριος.

Senior partner of Χαρμ<λ>ον Ῥώδης Αρτεμίδωρον.

ʻΑρτεμίδωρος, father of Μνυδότου.

ʻΑρτεμίδωρος, father of Ταλέστης.

¹ Numbers refer to notes (not footnotes) on pp. 354-357.
A FAMILY OF SCULPTORS FROM TYRE

'Αρτεμίδωρος, father of Χαρμόλας.
Μηνόδοτος 'Αρτεμιδώρου Τύριος.

ca. 130 B.C.
S. Dow, Hesperia, IV, 1935, pp. 81-87 = I.G., II², 3147
(Loewy, no. 308), etc.; Athens.

Μηνόδοτος 'Αρτεμιδώρου Τύριος.

Kinch, p. 24: two bases (one apparently uncertain) having
this signature; Lindos.

Μηνόδοτος 'Αρτεμιδώρου Τύριος.

First half of 1st cent. B.C.⁶
Junior partner of Χαρμόλας 'Αρτεμιδώρου.

G. Jacopi in Clara Rhodos, II, 1932, no. 19, pp. 190-192;
Rhodes.

Μηνόδοτος Χαρμόλας 'Ρόδιος.
Kinch, p. 24; Lindos.

Μηνόδοτος, father of 'Αρτεμίδωρος.

1st ? cent. B.C.⁸ ?

Ταλέστης 'Αρτεμιδώρου.⁶
Loewy, no. 299 = Hirschfeld, no. 900; Halikarnassos.

Χαρμόλας 'Αρτεμιδώρου 'Ρόδιος.
Kinch, p. 25: two bases each having this signature; Lindos.

Χαρμόλας 'Αρτεμιδώρου Τύριος.
Kinch, p. 25; Lindos.

<Χ>αρμ<όλ>ας ['Αρτεμιδώρ']ο [v] Τύριος.
Junior partner of ['Αρτεμιδώρος Χαρμόλ]ου.
I.G., XII, 1, 109; Rhodes (?).

Χαρμόλας 'Αρτεμιδώρου Τύριος.

First half of 1st cent. B.C.⁶
Senior partner of Μηνόδοτος 'Αρτεμιδώρου.

G. Jacobi in Clara Rhodos, II, 1932, no. 19, pp. 190-192;
Rhodes.

2nd ? cent. B.C.¹⁰ Χαρμόλας.¹⁰
A. Mainri, Nuova Silloge Epigraphica di Rodi e Cos (Firenze,
1925), p. 43, no. 31; Rhodes.

Χαρμόλας, father of ['Αρτεμίδωρος].

Though their names are included in the above List, it may be convenient to set
down here the precise forms of the signatures of

PARTNERSHIPS

ca. 130 B.C.
['Αρτεμίδωρος'] Χαρμ<όλ>ον καὶ Μηνόδοτος 'Αρτεμιδώρου Τύριοι
ἐποίησαν.
Hesperia, IV, 1935, pp. 81-87.
NOTES ON THE LIST

1. The inscriptions, of which Kinch records only the signatures, are not published. The date ca. 155 B.C. is given by Hiller on the basis of a connection with a priest of Athena (Pauly-Wissowa, R. E., Suppl. V, col. 831). The text not being published, he could not divulge the name of the priest; I assume his date is correct.

2. Hirschfeld, pp. 58 and 77, dates the inscription in the first century B.C. because he takes the Drakon of his no. 892 to be the same as, or closely related to, the Drakon in Loewy, no. 309. The Drakon in Hirschfeld, no. 892, has no patronymic and hence the identification is far from proved. Hirschfeld’s Drakon could be the descendant, some five (or less) generations later, of the Drakon of Loewy, no. 309. But the lettering of Loewy, no. 309, was thought by Rochette to be of the Roman Empire (Loewy, commentary), and at present this testimony must lead us to adopt a date in the first century B.C.

3. It is probably correct to follow Kirchner, the master of prosopography, in not restoring the name of Charmolas, since there is no proved instance in this family of a son named for his father; nor Menodotos (suggested by Lippold, Pauly-Wissowa, R. E., s. v. Μηνόδοτος [7]), which would create a second Menodotos apparently in the same generation.

4. Read by Pittakys, L’ancienne Athènes, p. 67, as ΧΑΡΜΗΔΟΥ. Corrected to Χαρμόδου by Hiller in Pauly-Wissowa, R. E., Suppl. V, col. 831, line 56. S. Dow in Hesperia, IV, 1935, p. 87, saw that a correction was needed but overlooked Hiller’s; proof sent by Kirchner, however, arrived in time for an addendum, ibid., p. 90.

Jacopi's inscription (Clara Rhodos, II, p. 190) introduces a new problem. The signature (supra) is perfectly legible on his photograph. If on the Athenian monument Pittakys misread ΧΑΡΜΗΔΟΥ for ΧΑΡΜΟΛΑΣ (and not for ΧΑΡΜΟΛΟΥ), and if he were mistaken in supposing that a name preceded this name, then the
signature on the Athenian monument would be identical with that on the Rhodian; which would simplify the relationships of the Tyrian sculptors. Notoriously Pittakys was fallible. Further, the ending -ov might be questioned (infra, Note 7).

Of the signature on the Athenian monument there are now preserved the letters ΠΟI of ἐποίησαν. (They lie on the stone in the precise position relative to the other letters which the printer has given them on p. 84 of Hesperia, IV, 1935; Pittakys’s printed version has them approximately in the correct position.) Reckoning on this slight basis, one can arrive at the conclusion that if the signature was symmetrically placed, a name was inscribed before Χαρμόλων. It may be accidental, but my reckoning brings Χαρμόλων almost precisely where Pittakys placed it in his printed version. The spatial evidence therefore favors a name before Χαρμόλων. Apart from the genitive form, Pittakys showed plainly that he believed another name once existed before it: the stone was doubtless preserved at that point, since letters were read by him just above, but he could not read the first name, so he indicated its presence by a row of dots. Furthermore the lettering on the Athenian monument, if considered abstractly, would be dated perhaps as much as a century earlier than the lettering on the Rhodian monument, which accordingly need not compel us to emend Pittakys’s reading. For these reasons Pittakys is to be upheld: the ending in -ov is correct, and a name must be restored before Χαρμόλων.

5. The inscription itself is lost and is known only from a copy by a Dr. Saradakes, reprinted as follows (photostat) in I.G., XII, 1, 109:

ΣΕΙΔΑΝΙΑ
ΟΝΚΑΙ
ΟΥΚΑΙΚΑΡΜΕΛΑΣ
ΟΤΥΡΙΟΥΕΠΟΙΗΣΕ

Restorations have been proposed without being tested spatially. They may be laid out exempli gratia to give the following text:

[----- Πο]σειδάν Α[-----]
[-----]ΟΝΚΑΙ ['Αρτεμίδωρος]
[Χαρμόλ]ου καὶ Χαρμόλ[λ]ας ['Αρτε]
[μιδάρ]ο[υ] Τύρωξ<ν> ἐποίησ<α>[υ]

Line 1. Hitherto unrestored, but surely worth suggesting, is Πο]σειδάν, followed by an epithet (though I find no Poseidon Α[-----] in Rhodes), or more likely ἀ[παρχάν] or ἀ[νέθηκε].

Line 2. The letters as recorded fit no usual formula. Perhaps a name in [- - - - - - -]κ<ον>: for three sculptors working together, cf. the Laokoön, by Agesandros, Polydoros, and Athanodoros, all of Rhodes (Pliny, Nat. Hist., XXXVI, 37).
Lines 2-4. The first name was restored by Kirchner, *I.G.*, II², 3147, commentary; the second by Hiller, in *I.G.*, XII, 1, 109 and in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, Suppl. V, col. 831, line 56. The spacings show that apart from the dubious line 2, the restorations fit neatly.

6. Jacopi’s date is based on the lettering (*del principio del I sec. a. C.;* see his photograph), and on reasonably good prosopographical identifications. The difference in lettering between this monument and the Athenian (*supra*, Note 4) certainly indicates a different hand. The letters on the Athenian monument are free, spreading (*ξ, μ*), and ornamented with serifs. Those on the Rhodian monument are almost archaistic in their severe squarish forms (*Σ, Μ*) and restricted serifs. It is hard to believe that only a generation or so separates the two monuments; but I defer to Jacopi’s opinion.

7. The difference in the form of the genitive might possibly be instanced as a reason for doubting the interpretation by Pittakys of the Athenian inscription, and Kirchner’s restoration of *I.G.*, XII, 1, 109, which is from Rhodes itself. Meisterhans-Schwyzer, *Gram. d. att. Inschr.* (3rd ed., 1900), p. 120, makes the ending -οv regular in the fifth century B.C., but -α common under the Empire; to their few examples add ἐπὶ 'Αριστόλα from an Athenian inscription (*I.G.*, II², 956, line 4) of 161/0 B.C. On other grounds, however, Pittakys’s reading must be judged to be correct (*supra*). The restoration [Χαρμόλο]οv in *I.G.*, XII, 1, 109, is more doubtful: though it requires one more letter where none should be added, [Μηνοδότ]οv is almost as likely. Yet I think a mere personal difference may explain all. The author of each of the disputed instances of Χαρμόλου is named Artemidoros, a Tyrian, probably the same person. Χαρμόλα, on the other hand, is written by a Menodotos, and he had been granted Rhodian citizenship.

8. Hirschfeld’s date is based on letter forms, but his comparison, which I cannot check, is of large letters with small. Lippold (Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v. Talestas) holds that a date in the second century B.C. is possible, but his only evidence is his connection of Talestes with the Artemidoros of that century.

9. Loewy (p. 221) and Hirschfeld (p. 77, no. DCCCC, commentary) suggest that the father, Artemidoros, was one of the Tyrians. In the last line, where Loewy read only the name and patronymic, Hirschfeld read Ταλέστης Ἀρτεμιδόρου ε[ποι-η]σεν]. This restoration, rather than Ε[— ἔθνε — ἐποίησεν], is correct, since if ideal symmetry were being observed, the ethnic could have had only four letters or so, but actually the position of the next preceding line, θείς, shows that the letter-cutter tended to move such lines far to the left. Hence Talestes gave himself no ethnic. Doubtless a sculptor would usually give his ethnic if he had one, to prove that he was of citizen status. This may be conveniently tested in Kinch’s list: of 108 signatures
as to which there can be no doubt whether they had or had not ethnics, only six lack an ethnic, whereas 102 have an ethnic. It would seem therefore that Lippold was wrong in urging (Pauly-Wissowa, R.E., s.v.) that the absence of the ethnic proves Talestes had become a citizen of Halikarnassos. Hence if Talestes were related to the Tyrian Artemidoros, as by illegitimate birth, that relationship seems not to have made him a citizen of Tyre (or Rhodes); but he could use the patronymic. In deference to Hirschfeld's argument (Tituli Statuariorum Sculptorumque, p. 38) that the use of the patronymic by a sculptor meant that the father had a reputation as a sculptor (which may sometimes have been the real reason), I have kept Talestes in the list. This remains a unique occurrence of the name Ταλέστης, so far as I know.

10. Maiuri asserts that there was no patronymic or ethnic. His majuscule version shows the sculptor's name in the lower right-hand corner, an unusual position. His minuscule version reads Χαρμόλας (ἐποίησεν). The date is Maiuri's for the lettering; his majuscule letters look later.

**An Inscription on Lead**

In 1812 there was found in the sea off Piombino (ancient Populonia) a fine bronze statue which soon became known as the "Apollo of Piombino." In 1835 this piece was acquired for the Louvre, and in 1842 the interior, mostly filled with dried mud and sand, was cleaned out. The dried mud and sand were extracted, as they had entered, through the holes left for the insertion of the eyes, which were evidently made of some material other than bronze. Toward the end of the month-long period of cleaning the statue, there emerged from the interior, mixed in the dried mud, four pieces of lead. One piece, the first to appear and the largest, was cut in bits by the workmen before being extracted, and was lost before the authorities discovered that the other three pieces were inscribed. For the readings of the preserved three pieces, we must rely on the drawing published by Letronne and reproduced herewith by photostat from Loewy's faithful copy.

![Photostat from Loewy, No. 515: Inscriptions Connected with the Apollo of Piombino:](image-url)

- **a.** On the Left Foot, Incised, the Letters Inlaid with Silver;
- **b.** From the Interior of the Statue, Four Pieces of Lead.
A lively discussion, including a 200-page article, followed; the upshot was that the leads were regarded with suspicion. The most useful edition is Loewy, no. 515, in the section “Verdächtig und Falsch” (with full references, which need not be repeated here; add Kaibel, *I.G.*, XIV, 2274). Without giving reasons, Kaibel favored acceptance of the text as genuine, but all others have dismissed it as false, and today it is virtually forgotten.

The evidence would hardly seem to warrant this verdict. In the first place, it is natural to suppose, and from the first it has universally been supposed, that the four pieces were originally one, broken along the creases where they had originally been folded, in a manner usual for curse tablets: the surviving pieces had themselves been folded, and the height and general appearance of the three surviving pieces are similar. The lettering is not quite the same throughout in the drawing, but the absence of “apices” in the drawing of the first piece is not sufficient evidence to divorce that fragment from the others. Most of the letters were not scratched with a point, but were struck with the straight edge of a chisel, as usually in cutting letters in marble; and rounded tools made the rounded letters. Contrary to what Loewy and others thought, the technique of the inscriber is certainly no reason for doubting the validity of the inscription.

Doubtless the leads could have been poked into the statue through the eye-holes at some time during the thirty years between the discovery and cleaning of the statue. Yet nothing except foolish whim would account for such an act, foolish because a Greek inscription on lead could have been sold, though perhaps for no great sum. To have forged an inscription and then to have wasted it would have been equally irrational, and doubly so in the case of a text which is so perplexing. Still less can one doubt the honesty of the explicit and candid report of the responsible official in the Louvre. There seem no alternatives but to conclude that: (1) the statue itself is archaic—a fact which seemingly is vouched for by the style of the sculpture (Sikyonian, *ca.* 500 B.C.; E. Langlotz, *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen* [Nuernberg, 1927], pp. 39-41, pls. 1 and 19; latest photographs, A. Vigneaux, *Encyclopédie photographique de l’Art*, III, Louvre [Paris, 1938, Editions “Tel”], pp. 80-81) and by the silver-filled lettering inscribed on one foot (a in the photostat of the drawings; I have seen no photograph); (2) the inscription on lead, with its swallow-tail apices and square sigma, is a genuine ancient inscription dating at earliest from the first century B.C.; (3) in ancient times someone, for some reason, poked this lead inscription, already folded and broken into four pieces, into the statue. The left foot was damaged and repaired in antiquity; it was this which injured the first word of the original dedication. Can it be that two sculptors, called in to repair the damage, inserted the leads as a reminder to the god of their work? Subsequently, perhaps not long after the leads were inserted, the statue was shipped and the ship sank.

The text on the first fragment could be restored [��Aθινυόδοτας], [��Zνυόδοτας],
or [M]ηρόδο[τος]. The connecting of the second and third leads by reading Ἱρὸδ[ι]ος seems indubitable; the lead was doubtless folded through the iota. Rochette was the first to suggest restoring the beginning as [M]ηρόδο[τος Τύριος] on the evidence of the Menodoros base. The notion of collaboration by Menodotos with a Rhodian sculptor now gains plausibility from the fact, unknown to Rochette, that two of Menodotos’s family became Rhodians: of these two, one was named Menodotos and may have been this very man. The crucial letters are the last four, ΕΤΤΟΥ. Until the leads are re-examined, the restoration of the unusual “Attic” imperfect, ἐπόο [ουν], despite its unlikelihood, appears to hold the field: I can find no formula in a curse inscription which will fit. Levronne was careful and explicit as to the reading, and the restoration [M]ηρόδο[τος Τύριος καὶ — — —]φῶν Ἱρὸδ[ι]ος ἐπόο [ουν] meets the requirement that the lost piece, no. 2, was the longest.

CONCLUSION

Where so few dates are known, an authoritative stemma is out of the question, and the following scheme is given merely to show that a fairly normal type of construction, which allows for the various partnerships, is possible.

Schematic Stemma

Menodotos fl. ca. 188 B.C.

| ? |
|---|---|

Charmolas | Artemidoros 155

Artemidoros

Menodotos ca. 122

Charmolas (Rhodios) | Menodotos ca. 89

Menodotos (Rhodios) | Artemidoros ca. 56

? Talestes ca. 23

These are, I believe, the only known sculptors from Tyre. Whether they were culture-Greeks of Phoenician blood, or pure Greeks, or mixed, there is no way of knowing. The odd name Talestes is too late probably to be indicative; the other names are not uncommon in the Greek world. Tyre had been resettled by Alexander and had become a half-Greek place.6

Numerous other schemes are possible, but it can hardly be an accident that between the extreme dates which seem to be demanded, at least four generations can be filled with at least two men in each who are attested as sculptors. No two of the three partnerships have identical members: this again points to several generations in the business. Except perhaps for the family of Praxiteles, there is no family of Greek sculptors of which more members are actually known by name as having practiced the craft.⁷

The Tyrian sculptors are notable also for the fact that their activity extended over many stormy decades: such was the inherent stability of the social order, and such the constancy, even in those decades, of the demand for an article of luxury, statues. Doubtless the family prospered, though we have only some 13 of their bases. Most of these are from Rhodes; it may be that the Athenian athlete, Menodoros, saw and admired their work there, for he was honored by the Demos of Rhodes. Two of the Tyrians were granted Rhodian citizenship: they must have been persons of some consequence.

Kinch lists 114 artists’ signatures recorded by him from monuments set up on the acropolis at Lindos. Few sites in Greek lands have produced so many. The Rhodian monuments attest the prosperity of Rhodes in the second century before 166 B.C., when Rome reduced her trade; but some degree of affluence persisted, so that the demand for sculpture declined but did not cease, and it revived very markedly indeed in the first century B.C. when Rhodes was again for a time wealthy.⁸ In fact the demand for sculpture persisted from as early as the middle of the third to as late as the middle of the first century B.C., to judge from the chronology given by Hiller and Lawrence to the main bulk of the known sculptors and statues.⁹ Thus to give the most famous instance, the family which produced the Laokoon (in ca. 40-30 B.C.) is known to have flourished from the middle of the second century at least until the twenties B.C. Into this general chronological framework the Tyrians now fit neatly.