

A Funerary Epigram for Diokles the Rhodian Dramatist

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Riassunto Questa iscrizione funeraria in versi, trovata nel 1976, è per il drammaturgo precedentemente sconosciuto Diokles di Rodi. Questa scheda riesamina il testo sulla base di un esame autoptico dell'iscrizione, propone un nuovo supplemento all'ultimo verso e contestualizza il componimento nelle tradizioni dell'epitafio letterario ed epigrafico per i poeti defunti (tragediografi in particolare). Considera anche cosa ci dice questo epigramma sulle competizioni drammatiche nel periodo ellenistico, sulla poesia del sud-est dell'Egeo, e la ricezione di epigrammi funerari letterari di autori classici in epoca ellenistica.

Abstract This funerary verse inscription, found in 1976, is for the previously unknown dramatist Diokles of Rhodes. This entry re-examines the text based on visual autopsy, proposes a new supplement on the last line, and sets the poem within the literary and inscribed epitaphic traditions for deceased poets (tragedians in particular). It also considers what this poem tells us about Rhodian dramatic competitions in the Hellenistic period. It looks at the interplay between inscribed and literary epigrams, what this epigram tells us about poetry of the south-east Aegean, and the reception of literary funerary epigrams of Classical authors in the Hellenistic era.

Keywords Rhodes. Diokles. Sophocles. Simmias. Epigram. Verse inscription. Lenaea. Dramatic festivals. Classical and Hellenistic Tragedy.



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Object type Altar, epigram inscribed upon Rhodian Rectangular Funerary Altar; grey marble of lartos; 47 × 57 × 42 cm. Intact, small part of left side missing at line 8 of epigram.

Chronology 200/199-150/149 a.C.

Type of inscription Funerary epigram.

Findspot and circumstances Found on 8th June 1976 during the construction of a new large building within the Giakra-Hatzimiachali plot in the area of the Agios Ioannis/Ai Yanni ravine along the course of the southern Hellenistic walls of Rhodes and part of the Hellenistic urban necropoleis (Marky Steno). Greece, Rhodes Island.

Preservation place Greece, Rhodes, Archaeological Museum, nr. inv. 565.

Script

- Structure: metric, hexameters, pentameters.
- Layout: Four elegiac couplets.
- Execution technique: engraving.
- Letter size: between 1 and 1.8 cm.
- Arrangement: progressive.

Language The dialect of the inscription is a mix of Doric and Attic, e.g. γενέταν (6) and Λάθας (7).

Lemma Trypanis 1977 [SEG LXIV, 730].

Text

⊗ οὐ μόνον ἐν τρα[γ]ικοῖσι φέ[ρες] κλέος ἔξοχον ὕμνοις
ἐνπλοκάμων, Διοκλῆ, φρ[ον]τίσι Πιερίδων,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν νίκαις σατύρων περὶ κρατὶ καθᾶψ[α]ς
κισσὸν ληναϊκῶν ἀψάμενος χαρίτων·
γνήσια δ' ἐν θυμέλαισιν ἑλών ἀκροθίνια Βάκχου, 5
πατρ[ίδα] καὶ γενέταν ἠγλαΐσας, Διοκλῆ·
ἱμ[ε]ρ[τὸς] δὲ φίλοισιν ἔβης θαλάμους ὑπο Λάθας
[- ∞ -] στέρξας ἔργα δικαιοσύνας.

Apparatus 1-7 omnia suppl. ed. pr. || 8 [προφρονέως] ed. pr., spatio non convenit | [εὐθυμῶς] vel [εὐνοίᾳ] Coward | [ἀενάως] Prodi per litteras.

Translation Diokles, thanks to the attention of the Pierian Muses with their beautiful locks, you have not only won outstanding glory in tragic hymns, but you, having attained Lenaeian achievements, also were accustomed to have your head covered with the ivy (crown) in victories in satyr dramas. And, Diokles, having taken the lawful first-fruits in the theatre of Bacchus, and you glorified your native-land and ancestors; however the man beloved by his friends you went down to the chambers of Lethe [*lacuna*] having loved the works of righteousness.

Figures

Fig. 1: Dreliossi-Heraklidou (2014, fig. 5). <https://mizar.unive.it/axon/public/upload/000436/immagini/Diokles%20original.png>

Fig. 2: Inscription with the supplement of Trypanis inserted. © Thomas R.P. Coward <https://mizar.unive.it/axon/public/upload/000436/immagini/Diokles%20with%20Trypanis.png>

Fig. 3: Inscription with [εὐθυμῶς] supplement. © Thomas R.P. Coward. [https://mizar.unive.it/axon/public/upload/000436/immagini/Diokles%20Inscription%20with%20\[εὐθυμῶς\]%20supplement%20.png](https://mizar.unive.it/axon/public/upload/000436/immagini/Diokles%20Inscription%20with%20[εὐθυμῶς]%20supplement%20.png)

Fig. 4: Inscription with [εὐνοίᾳ] supplement. © Thomas R.P. Coward. [https://mizar.unive.it/axon/public/upload/000436/immagini/Diokles%20Inscription%20with%20\[εὐνοίᾳ\]%20supplement%20.png](https://mizar.unive.it/axon/public/upload/000436/immagini/Diokles%20Inscription%20with%20[εὐνοίᾳ]%20supplement%20.png)

Fig. 5: Inscription with [ἀενάως] supplement. © Thomas R.P. Coward. [https://mizar.unive.it/axon/public/upload/000436/immagini/Diokles%20Inscription%20with%20\[ἀενάως\]%20supplement.png](https://mizar.unive.it/axon/public/upload/000436/immagini/Diokles%20Inscription%20with%20[ἀενάως]%20supplement.png)

Commentary

1 Introduction

Diokles the Rhodian, a previously unknown dramatist, is commemorated in this funerary epigram from the first half of 2nd century BC (200-150 BC). It was discovered on 8th June 1976 during building works in the city of Rhodes. In particular it was found in the Gikra-Hatzimiachali plot of the Agios Ioannis/Ai Yanni ravine along the course of the southern Hellenistic walls of Rhodes and the western part of the Hellenistic urban necropoleis (Marky Steno/Makris Simone).¹ The site was immediately excavated and investigated by the Dodecanese Archaeological Service which gave permission to C.A. Trypanis to publish the inscription, who was just finishing his stint as the Minister of Culture. This inscription is currently on display in the Epigraphy Room of the Archaeological Museum in Rhodes (No. 565). It recently made its way into *SEG* LXIV in 2018 via Dreliossi-Herak-

I thank Silvia Barbantani, James Morton, Enrico Emanuele Prodi, and the audiences at Ca' Foscari and Cattolica Milan for their comments on this inscription. I thank Reviewer One for their helpful comments and good manners; on the latter, the same cannot be said of Reviewer Two. I thank the staff at the Ephorate of the Dodecanese for their hospitality and their permission to inspect and photograph the inscription. This publication is derived from my project *ILLR - Intellectual Life and Learning on Rhodes (168BC-AD44)*, which has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement no. 79257.

¹ See Fraser 1977, 1-8 for a summary of the urban *necropoleis* of Hellenistic Rhodes.

leidou (2014). While Trypanis' reconstruction of the text was mostly correct (though see commentary on l. 8 below), the literary study of the work was limited to Classical and some Hellenistic authors, rather than including the literary and inscribed epigrammatic traditions.

The epigram is carved upon a piece of mottled grey Lartian stone and is of the rectangular altar type of Rhodian funerary monument with upper and lower profiles and pedimental sides, but no decorative elements.² Based on the letter forms, the epigram dates from the first half of 2nd century BC, likely the early 2nd century BC.³ The dialect of the inscription is a mix of Doric and Attic, e.g. $\gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\nu$ (6) and $\Lambda\acute{\alpha}\theta\alpha\varsigma$ (7), and there are several poetic phrases, e.g. $\lambda\eta\nu\alpha\acute{\iota}\kappa\omega\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\psi\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \chi\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\tau\omega\nu$ (4) and $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\iota\sigma\iota\nu\ \dots\ \beta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\chi\omicron\upsilon$ (5). The epigram consists of four elegiac couplets and is laid out on the stone according to the colometry. The pentameters are not indented but aligned with the left margin.⁴ Lines 1-6 concern the activities of Diokles, his victories, and his reputation. No details are given about his family or background. Funerary inscriptions mark the sum of a human life by mentioning an essential quality or accomplishment, as it is here, or by acknowledging the family's grief for their loss. Lines 7-8 note his death and that he was beloved by his friends (who may have set up this stele?) and that he carried out a righteous life. All the lines are metrically excellent with each line fully realised, though the last line, which is damaged, may not have been (see below on l. 8). The literary register of this epigram is learned and indicates the poet's awareness of the literary epigrammatic tradition for epitaphs composed for canonical tragedians.

An expected epitaph for a tragedian would be something like the one for Euandrides from Miletus (middle of the second century BC).

τὸν Ἑστιάου τῆς τραγωιδίας γραφῆ
Εὐανδρίδαν κέκρυφ' ὁ τυμβίτας πέτρος,
ζήσαντα πρὸς πάντ' εὐσεβῶς ἀνὰ πτόλιν
ἑτῶν ἄριθμὸν ὀγδοήκοντ' ἄρτίων.

Steinepigramme 01/20/25 = Peek, *GVI* 2018

The funerary stone conceals Euandrides, son of Hestaios, the writer of tragedy, who lived in the city piously in every way, for the full count of eighty years.

The trimeters simply note his name, his patronymic, his age, the conduct of his life, and that he was a writer of tragedy.⁵ Another short ep-

² See Fraser 1977, 13-25 on this type and shape of funerary monument (p. 13 fn. 52 on the label).

³ See Badoud 2015 on the chronology of letter forms of Rhodian inscriptions.

⁴ See Garulli 2014 and 2019 on book roll layout and inscribed poems.

⁵ See Hunter 2016, 269-73 on this inscription.

igram, preserved in Stephanus of Byzantium (φ 40, s.v. Φάσηλις), for the tragedian Theodectes of Phaselis likewise keeps things simple.

ἦδε χθῶν κόλποισι Φασηλίτην Θεοδέκτην
κρύπτει, ὃν ἠΰξησαν Μοῦσαι Ὀλυμπιάδες.
ἐν δὲ χορῶν <τραγικῶν> ἑραῖς τρισὶ καὶ δεχ' ἀμίλλαις
ὀκτῶ ἀγηράτους ἀμφεθέμην στεφάνους

Anon. 125 FGE = Peek, GVI 547 = 72 T2 TrGF II

This patch of earth hides in its bosom Theodectes of Phalesis, he who the Olympian Muses made to flourish. In thirteen sacred contests of [tragic] choruses I put on eight immortal crowns of victory.

The first couplet (= fr. 520 SH) refers to Theodectes' origin and that he was blessed by the Muses, and the second couplet states the number of his victories, though shifts to a first-person narrative. There are many epigrams and funerary epitaphs composed for dramatists, which were more elaborate than the examples above. Some were for contemporaries like Diokles and some were for canonical Athenian dramatists.⁶

Epicharmus: Theocritus 17 HE = Anth. Pal. 9.600

Eudoxus: Euphorion 1 Lightfoot/HE = Anth. Pal. 6.279

Aeschylus: Dioscorid. 21 HE = Anth. Pal. 7.411 = Aesch. T163 TrGF III; Antip. Thess. 13 GP = Anth. Pal. 7.39 = Aesch. T164 TrGF III; Diod. 13 GP = Anth. Pal. 7.40

Sophocles: Simmias 4-5 HE = Anth. Pal. 7.21-2; Dioscord. 22 HE = Anth. Pal. 7.37;

Erucius 11 GP = Anth. Pal. 7.36

Euripides: Bianor 1 GP = Anth. Pal. 7.49; Ion Chius **138-9 Leurini = 'Ion' 1-2 FGE

Cratinus: Nicaenetus 5 HE = Anth. Pal. 13.29

Aristophanes: Antip. Thess. 103 GP = Anth. Pal. 9.186

Sositheus = Dioscord. 23 HE = Anth. Pal. 7.707 = 99 T2 TrGF I

Theodectas of Phalesis: Anon. 125 FGE = Peek, GVI 547 = 72 T2 TrGF II

Homer of Byzantium: Hom. Byz. 98 T5 TrGF I /Kotlińska-Toma = Anth. Pal. 2.407-13

Philicus of Corcyra: 980 SH = T7 Kotlińska-Toma

Menander: Diod. 15 GP = Anth. Pal. 7.370

Lycon of Scarphea: Phalaecus 3 HE = Anth. Pal. 13.6

Rhinthon: Nossis 10 HE = Anth. Pal. 7.414

Machon = Dioscord. 24 HE = Anth. Pal. 7.708

Theaitetos of Halicarnassus: Call. 57 HE = Anth. Pal. 9.565 with *Steinepigramme* 01/12/02.48

Euandrides of Miletus: *Steinepigramme* 01/20/25.1-4 = Peek, GVI 2018.1-4 (200 BC).

⁶ Cf. also *Steinepigramme* 01/12/02.47-52 for dramatists from Halicarnassus, 131 T1 TrGF I a biography of Melanthius the Rhodian tragedian and philosopher; 985 SSH a papyrus anthology of epigrams on early Athenian dramatists, and IG XII.4 1166 = SEG LXIII, 662 for Helenos the kitharode.

Hellenistic epigrammatists knew the conventions of their inscriptional models well, and were perfectly capable of composing poems that resembled them.⁷ Callimachus, Asclepiades, and Dioscorides composed epigrams about dramatic authors (whether contemporary or of generations past), as well as about theatrical activity in general, in a way that primarily stresses their self-asserting mastery. For example, Theaitetos of Halicarnassus was a contemporary of Callimachus who wrote an epigram to his memory (57 *HE* = *Anth. Pal.* 9.565), and Theaitetos' poetic skill is also mentioned in the Salmacis inscription (*Steinepigramme* 01/12/02.48) as one of the illustrious dramatists of the city. The composer of this epigram for Diokles made use of the tropes and imagery of epigrams for famous tragedians in order to place the deceased within the same pedigree. Most tellingly, the closest parallels to our epigram for Diokles are epigrams by the earlier Rhodian poet-scholar, Sim(m)ias (*fl.* 300 BC), for Sophocles (4-5 *HE*).⁸ The first Simmian epigram remarks on Sophocles' activities and on the survival of his works.

Τόν σε χοροῖς μέλψαντα Σοφοκλέα, παῖδα Σοφίλλου,
τὸν τραγικῆς Μούσης ἀστέρα Κεκρόπιον,
πολλάκις ὄν θυμέλῃσι καὶ ἐν σκηνῇσι τεθηλῶς
βλαισὸς Ἀχαρνίτης κισσὸς ἔρεψε κόμην,
τύμβος ἔχει καὶ γῆς ὀλίγον μέρος, ἀλλ' ὁ περισσὸς (5)
αἰῶν ἀθανάτοις δέρκεται ἐν σελίσιν.
Simmias 4 *HE*

You who sang in the choruses, Sophocles, son of Sophillus, Cecropian [i.e. Athenian] star of the tragic Muse, whose hair the twisting Achaean ivy, blossom-bedecked, often crowned by the orchestra's altar and on the stage, a tomb and a little plot of earth now holds you; but the rest of time beholds you in the deathless columns of your writing.

The epigram emphasises Sophocles as a singer (4.1 *HE*) and a performer (4.3-4 *HE*), and refers to his many dramatic victories. In the closing couplet, Simmias shifts attention to Sophocles' eternal life guaranteed by the columns of writing (σελίδες) in the papyrus scrolls of his plays. It illustrates Simmias' reflection on how another author's

⁷ See Meyer 2005 and Schmitz 2010, and see also Díaz de Cerio 1999 on the development, from inscriptional to literary funerary epigram, of discursive modes, whether they are narrative, or direct, or addresses to the passerby, or exchanges between the deceased or the tomb and the passerby, or dialogues.

⁸ On these epigrams, see Gabathuler 1937, 46-8; Bing 2008, 59-61; and Kwapisz 2019, 29-30, 41-2, and on the problem of their authorship, see *HE* II.513-14. Cf. also Erucius 11 *GP* for another epigram for Sophocles.

poetry enters the domain of the book.⁹ Likewise, the opening four lines of the epigram for Diokles refer to his victories and the last two to his burial and reputation. It seems that the overall structure of Simmias' epigram is being imitated, although the last two lines focus on Diokles' death and on his reputation and way of life, whereas Simmias focuses on the burial and permanence of Sophocles' plays, yet both end on the posthumous legacies of their addressees. There are points of contact between this epigram and the one for Diokles: τὸν τραγικῆς Μούσης ἀστέρα Κεκρόπιον (4.1 HE) ~ εὐπλοκάμων... φρ[ον]τίσι Πιερίδων (l. 2); Ἀχαρνίτης κισσὸς ἔρεψε κόμην (4.2 HE) ~ περὶ κρατὶ καθᾶψ[α]ς κισσὸν; πολλάκις ὄν θυμέλησι καὶ ἐν σκηνῆσι τεθλιῶς (4.3 HE) ~ γνήσια δ' ἐν θυμέλαισιν ἔλων ἀκροθίνια Βάκχου (l. 5); and τύμβος ἔχει καὶ γῆς ὀλίγον μέρος (4.5 HE) ~ ἔβης θαλάμους ὑπο Λάθας (l. 7).

By closely imitating this epigram, Diokles is being equated with Sophocles, and so being placed *in situ* with a successful and canonical tragedian of the past, and so the attributes of the great Sophocles are being placed onto Diokles and Diokles' own successes are further enhanced by the Sophoclean association. The poet of the epigram may have had access to editions of tragedians, which contained biographies and epigrams commemorating those authors, or a compilation of epigrams and biographies. For example, the poet may have had something like fr. 985 SSH, a papyrus anthology (3rd century BC), which contains a set of epigrams on early Athenian dramatic poets, preserving at least nine tetrastichs composed on individual dramatists or individual tragedies and comedies (the names Aristarchus, Astydamas, and Cratinus are clearly legible). See Maltomini (2001) on this anthology. It is possible that the anthology represents a collection of epigrams which prefaced texts of single dramatic works and was edited by a philologist or librarian for practical reasons.¹⁰ The second epigram by Simmias focuses on the tomb of Sophocles:

Ἡρέμ' ὑπὲρ τύμβοιο Σοφοκλέος, ἡρέμα, κισσέ,
ἐρπύζοις χλοερούς ἐκπροχέων πλοκάμους,
καὶ πέταλον πάντη θάλλοι ῥόδου ἢ τε φιλορρῶξ
ἄμπελος ὑγρὰ πέριξ κλήματα χευαμένη,
εἶνεκεν εὐμαθίης πινυτόφρονος, ἦν ὁ μελιχρὸς
ἤσκησεν Μουσῶν ἄμμιγα καὶ Χαρίτων. 5

Simmias 5 HE

⁹ Bing 2008, 59-61; see Finglass 2012, 10-14 on the early transmission of Sophocles and Pietruczuk 2019 in general on tragedy. Cf. also Antipat. Thess. 103 GP = Ar. T131 PCG 3.2 on the textual permanence of Aristophanes' comedies.

¹⁰ Cf. also P.Meyer 27 (2nd-3rd century AD) which may be a copy of several funerary inscriptions.

Gently over the tomb of Sophocles, gently creep, o ivy, flinging forth your green curls, and all about let the petals of the rose bloom, and the vine that loves her fruit shed her pliant tendrils around, for the sake of that wise-hearted learnedness that the Muses and Graces in common bestowed on the sweet singer.

The Dionysiac foliage abundantly and densely creeping on the tomb corresponds with the tragedian's εὐμαθία. Simmias singles out Sophocles' εὐμαθία πινυτόφρονος, some sort of learnedness which one would more readily associate with philological activity than with tragic poetry (5.5 *HE*).¹¹ The addressee of the epigram is the ivy (κισσέ) growing around the tomb (along with roses and vines), which evokes the ivy crown of victory in dramatic competitions: thus, Sophocles remains crowned as the tragic victor. There is a point of contact: εἶνεκεν εὐμαθίης πινυτόφρονος, ἦν ὁ μελιχρὸς | ἤσκησεν Μουσῶν ἄμμιγα καὶ Χαρίτων (5.5-6 *HE*) ~ ἐυπλοκάμων...φρ[ον]τίσι Πιερίδων (l. 2), but the patronage of deities of inspiration and creativity is a common topos. Diokles' skill is not the focus of his epitaph, rather his victories; although it is implied that through these victories he had skill, there is no extant reference is given to his εὐμαθία or σοφία. This, nevertheless, highlights a difference between Simmias' epigrams for Sophocles and the one for Diokles. Simmias was a poet-scholar with a range of poetic outputs (lyric, hymnic, epigrams, *technopaignia*) and prose works, while the poet of the epigram for Diokles focuses on Diokles' victories in line with the conventions of both real and literary imitations of tombs. Nevertheless, the closeness between these two epigrams is also a previously unnoted example of the reception of Simmias' poetry on Rhodes itself and a clear example of the interplay between literary and inscribed epigrams.

Epigrams for post-classical dramatists likewise make a connection between the dramatist who is commemorated and a canonical predecessor or the classical tradition. An anonymous funerary epigram for Philicus of Corcyra, one of the tragic Pleiad (T7 Kotlińska-Toma = fr. 980 *SH* = Anon. 148 *FGE*) is preserved on papyrus. In this demonstrative, not inscriptional, epigram, the opening four lines present Philicus both as a poet and priest of Dionysus in a Dionysiac *kōmos* (cf. 104 T4 *TrGF* I = Callix. Rhod. *BNJ* 627 fr. 2), perhaps also indicating he was in charge of a guild of Dionysian *technitai*. Lines 5-8 focus on his Corcyrean background and origin with Odyssean references to Phaeacia, Alcinous and Demodocus, probably to stress the themes of hospitality and the old age of Alcinous and the poetic talent of Demodocus in order to make comparative associations with Philicus. The date of the pa-

¹¹ Fantuzzi 2006, 76-7 and 2007, 481-2.

pyrus (3rd century BC) is soon after the presumed death of Philicus.¹²

Dioscorides composed a series of epigrams for dramatists (20-24 *HE*). His dates are uncertain, but he was in any case active in the second half of the third century BC after the death of the comic poet Machon who he commemorates (24 *HE*). In an epigram for the tomb of Sophocles (22 *HE*), he uniquely attributes the development of satyric drama to Sophocles, and, like Aristotle (*Poet.* 1449a.20), thinks that tragedy developed from satyric drama. Dioscorides (23 *HE* = *Anth. Pal.* 7.707 = 99 T2 *TrGF* I/Kotlińska-Toma), in a fictitious funerary epigram for Sositheus (ca. 315-260 BC), another member of the Tragic Pleiad, has a satyr statue recount the poet's contributions to drama.¹³ The statue is the speaking voice and it remarks that he is fulfilling the same duty as the satyr that guards the tomb of Sophocles in Athens, who is the speaking voice of Dioscorid. 22 *HE* for the tomb of Sophocles. Sositheus is commended for reverting to an earlier form of drama (both tragedy and satyr play) and is by implication and association presented as a new Sophocles. Dioscorides' epitaph for Machon the comedian (24 *HE*) remarks how he continues the traditions of Attic tragedy in Alexandria. Likewise, the second epigram by Simmias (5 *HE*) above focuses on Sophocles' poetic skill. The key difference here is that there is no explicitly named comparison between Diokles and Sophocles, rather there are intertexts or echoes that would cue these connections for some readers of the epitaph and for those readers who do not make such connections Diokles is presented in a stylised manner that enhances his achievements.

Along with the epigram, there may have been a catalogue of Diokles' victories that the epigram refers to, e.g. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν νίκαις σατύρων...ληναϊκῶν ἀψάμενος χαρίτων (3-4), which is a poetic way of stating that Diokles had won at the dramatic festivals. A parallel is a later agonistic inscription (dated shortly after AD 161) from Chios containing an epigram for M. Aurelius Heras and the catalogue of his victories.¹⁴ The closing couplet of the funerary epigram for Theodectes of Phalesis quoted above notes his victories in eight out of

¹² See Kotlińska-Toma 2015, 69-71 on the dating and T2 Kotlińska-Toma for other Homeric associations with Philicus.

¹³ See Kotlińska-Toma 2015, 93-110 on Sositheus.

¹⁴ See no. 79 Ebert for the epigram and *SEG* XXXVII, 712 for the prose catalogue of victories. Cf. also *SEG* XXV, 501, a list of victors at the Sarapieia games (ca. 90 BC) and *F.Delphes* III 1 478 = *Syll.*³ no. 424, a list of victors at the Soteria at Delphi (254-253 BC). For the straightforward recollection of a victory in a competition, compare e.g. *IG* XII.4 1166.5-15 with *SEG* LXIII, 662 (1st century AD), an inscription from Halasarna on Kos which lists the various contests that Helenos the citharode won including on Rhodes (νεική[σα]γτος Ἄκτια, Κλαυδεῖτα ἐν Ῥόδωι, *IG* XII.4 1166.4-5), νικάσας Νέμεα συνωρίδι τελείαι (*SEG* XLIX 1075 i.2-3) from an honorary statue for a Rhodian equestrian victor (350-300 BC), and *P.Oxy.* 79.5202.4-5 καὶ ἐν Συρακούσαις σφεφραγωθ[ε]ντα] τρ[αγ]ωδῖαι. *P.Oxy.* 79.5202 (1st century AD) is a transcription of an honorific inscription for Apion

thirteen competitions (Anon. 125.3-4 *FGE* = Peek, *GVI* 547.3-4 = 72 T2.3-4 *TrGF* II). These victories are backed up with epigraphic evidence, cf. *IG* II².2.2 2325.45 = *Did.* A3a.45 *TrGF* I, indicating that seven of these victories were at the Dionysia.¹⁵

Similar examples of the poetic embellishment of a victory statement are a Hellenistic literary epigram (Theocr. 4 *HE* = *Anth. Pal.* 6.339) dated to the beginning of the third century BC, which commemorates a dedication of a tripod and a statue (or relief) to the god Dionysus by a Damomenes who had been victorious in a choral competition (χορῶν δ' ἔκτησατο νίκαν | ἀνδρῶν, Theocr. 4.3-4 *HE*), and another example is from the Salmacis inscription which refers to Phanostratus the tragedian as a servant of Dionysus who had won tragic competitions in Athens (δμῶα Διονύσιου Φανόστρατον ἔσχεν αἰοιδόν, | Κερροπιδῶν ἱεροῖς ἀβρὸν ἐνὶ στεφάνοις, *Steinepigramme* 01/12/02.51-2).

Diokles had competed in dramatic festivals in Athens and presumably elsewhere including on Rhodes. Rhodian dramatists competed at home and abroad: e.g. the comedian Anaxandrides of Kamiros, (4th century BC) lived in Athens; Akesios the tragedian took part in a Delian *Dionysia* in 281 BC (*IG* XI.2 108.19); Kleonikos the tragedian was honoured with a *proxenia* in Oropos (*IG* VII 275, ca. 221-204 BC); and the philosopher Melanthios of Rhodes (ca. 145 BC onwards, 131 *TrGF* I) also composed tragedies. Epigraphic evidence attests to the sponsorship of educational, athletic, and dramatic contests: *Clara Rhodos* 1932, nos. 21, 24, 33 (pp. 193, 196, 201); *Rodi e Cos* nos. 18-19; *Tit. Camirenses* 209, no. 63b; *I.Lindos* II no. 696; *I.Rhodes Kontorini* no. 73. Diodorus Siculus mentions a theatre in the city of Rhodos in connection with the 'tsunami' of 316 BC (19.45.5) which he later mentions again in connection with the siege of 305 BC (20.84.3, 20.93.1, 20.98.7). Although the theatre is attested in literary sources, it has not been found yet in Rhodos. By the 380s, Rhodes, following the Athenian model, had a *Dionysia* festival of its own, see *Tit. Cam.* no. 106 = *SEG* XIX, 317; *IG* XII.1 6; *IGUR* I nos. 215-34 = *Did.* A5 *TrGF* I = Dxi Csapo-Wilson. Drama was also performed in the second century BC at the *Alexandreia* (Pugliese Carratelli 1939-1940, 155 no. 16), and at the *Alexandreia* and *Dionysia* (*IG* XII.1 71; *I.Lindos* II no. 233; *Rodi e Cos* no. 18; *Suppl. Rodio*, no. 20; *SEG* XXXIX, 759), a festival created out of the combination of

of Alexandria the poet-victor, Homeric scholar, and opponent of Alexandrian Jews (*fl.* first half of 1st century AD). See Benaïssa 2014 on this papyrus.

15 For a more detailed 'epigram', see Antigones 1 *FGE* = *Anth. Pal.* 13.28, which commemorates a victory in the dithyrambic competition in Athens with mention of the poet, the aulete, and the chorus leader. Contrast Callimachus' epigrams (57-9 *HE* = *Anth. Pal.* 9.565-6, 11.362) where defeat in dramatic competition or fear thereof is the main or implicit theme of the poem.

the earlier separate festivals at some time between 156 and 129 BC.¹⁶

An interesting find from the Hellenistic *gymnasion* on the acropolis of Rhodes is a cylindrical base (1st century BC) for a lost statuette, which contains an inscription with a quotation of several verses of Aristophanes.¹⁷ The quotation served a religious and literary purpose, as well as being an interesting *testimonium* on the ancient transmission of Aristophanes. The statue base is now on display in the Archaeological Museum. A commemorative statue of Menander was also found on Rhodes (1st century AD).¹⁸ A similar copy is also found in the Archaeological Museum in Venice, and comic masks, often linked by a garland, appear on mosaics.¹⁹ This statue base for Aristophanes and other evidence above testifies not only to the rich literary culture of Hellenistic Rhodes, on which see Coward (forthcoming), but further evidence of a classicising Greek culture attested in both literary and visual sources.

The phrases and structure of the epigram for Diokles is indebted to earlier epigrams for tragedians, in particular those for Sophocles by Simmias, an earlier Rhodian poet. There are signs of poetic skill in that the poet varies up the stock phrases of literary epitaphs with the metonyms (ληναϊκῶν ἀψάμενος χαρίτων) and periphrases (ἐν τρα[γ]ικοῖσι...ῦμνοις and θαλάμους ὑπο Λάθας), some of which are *hapax legomena*. The epigram also demonstrates the interplay between literary and inscribed verse epigrams by adapting literary epitaphs found in book rolls onto rectangular funerary altars. Diokles is thereby equated with Sophocles and is placed within the literary and biographical traditions of Attic drama as a successful dramatist.

2 Commentary

1. οὐ μόνον For another verse epigram beginning the same way, see *SEG* LIV, 783 ~ *IG* XII.4.2 837, a poem in honour of the poetess Delphis from Kos (late 3rd century BC).

ἐν τρα[γ]ικοῖσι...ῦμνοις A *hapax* referring to the tragedies of Diokles, but cf. τραγική...ἄοιδή (Dioscorid. 20.1 *HE* = *Anth. Pal.* 7.410.1 = Thespis 1 T8.1 *TrGF* I, cf. also Hor. *AP* 275-7). Trypanis

16 See Csapo, Wilson 2019-2020, II.687-98 for further information on drama on Hellenistic Rhodes.

17 *Ar. Ran.* 454-9. See Pace 2010 and Matijašić 2017 on this inscription with *SEG* LX, 888 for a summary. The missing statuette could have been of Dionysus, Helios, or Aristophanes.

18 See Bairami 2017, 256-8 = no. 74 (= Museum of Rhodes No. Γ2748) and Πiv. 249 for the image.

19 E.g. at Delos (Bruneau 1972, nos. 68, 215, 347) and Rhodes (see Konstantinopoulos 1986, pls. 27, 50).

(1977, 833) states that οἱ τραγικοὶ ὕμνοι (*sc.* τραγικά) refers to the whole tragedy, rather than just the choral odes. Antipater of Thessalonica (13.1 *GP*= Aesch. T164 *TrGF* III) refers to the sung and spoken parts of a tragedy in a funerary epitaph for Aeschylus as two separate elements (Ὁ τραγικὸν φώνημα καὶ ὄφρυόεσσαν ἀοιδίην). Gow and Page (*GP* II, 31) note that Antipater is following Aristophanic literary criticism on Aeschylus (see *Ar. Ran.* 924, 1004). The parts (εἶδος *vel* μέρος *vel* μόριον) of tragedy are divided into six qualitative parts by Aristotle (*Poet.* 6.1450a.8-10, *cf. De Poet.* fr. 2727 Janko, *cf.* also Phld. *On Poets* 4 col.119.12-30-120.1-12 with Janko 2011, 309 fn. 2), see Silk 1994 and Janko 2011, 352 on these parts. These parts include *lexis* ('diction') and *melopoia* or *melos* ('song', see *Poet.* 6.1450a.12-14 and *De Poet.* fr. 2724 Janko on the latter) as part of the art-form. The means of tragic *mimēsis* are rhythm, song, and verse (*Arist. De Poet.* fr. 277 Janko and *Poet.* 1.1447b.24-7). Aristotle (*Poet.* 18.1456a25-9) also praises the integration of the Sophoclean chorus song into the tragedy as a whole, in comparison to Euripides, which may have influenced one of Simmias' epigrams for Sophocles, one of the models for this epigram of Diokles. The opening of Simmias' epigram likewise draws attention to the tragedian's choral song (4.1 *HE*, Τὸν σε χοροῖς μέλψαντα Σοφοκλέα..., 'You who sang in the choruses, Sophocles...'). See Kwapisz 2018 on some further connections between Aristotle and Simmias. The evolutionary theory of tragedy, according to Aristotle, was that Aeschylus perfected the form, while Sophocles embodied absolute perfection itself. Here the poet of our epigram equates Diokles with Sophocles from the beginning.

φε[ρες] κλέος *Ar. Av.* 1278; *Hom. Il.* 22.217; *Hes. Op.* 657; *Eur. IA* 565-6, *cf.* also *Hom. Od.* 1.283, 2.217, 17.131 (ἦ τε μάλιστα φέρει κλέος ἀνθρώποισιν). κλέος ἔξοχον, see *Greg. Naz. Carm.* 1533.11; *Anth. Gr. Append.* 1.219.4 and 2.656.7 Cougny = *IG* II.2 2021 and *IG* XIV 2469 = Peek, *GVI* 735 with *SEG* XLVI, 1630, *cf.* also *IG* XII.1 737 = *CEG* no. 459 with *SEG* LXIV, 2177 (Rhodes, ca. 600-575 BC). It is a variation of κλέος ἀθάνατον/ἄφθιτον, see e.g. a funerary epigram for the architect Amphilochos of Rhodes: ἦκει καὶ Νείλου προχοῶς καὶ ἐπ' ἔσχατον Ἴνδον | τέχνας Ἀμφιλόχοιο μέγα κλέος ἄφθιτον ἀεὶ (*IG* XII.1 144 = Peek, *GVI* 904 with *SEG* XXXII, 814, 3rd-2nd cent. BC) and κλέος ἄφθονον (*IG* XII.1 33.5, before 2nd century BC). For other references in Rhodian funerary inscriptions, see *I.Lindos* II no. 699 with *SEG* XIV, 513 (ca. 172 BC) and *Rodi e Cos* no. 19 (ca. 200 BC). On fame/reputation in funerary inscriptions, see Tsagalis 2008, 158-9, and Ecker 1990, 34-40, 189-217 for κλέος in early Greek sepulchral epigrams.

2. ἐυπλοκάμων...Πιερίδων This epithet is a variation for groups of female deities found in literature and inscriptions: *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 194 (ἐυπλόκαμοι Χάριτες); *Pind. Pae.* 5.45 (ἠύκομοι...Χάριτες); *Eur. IA* 1040-41 (αἱ καλλιπλόκαμοι | Πιερίδες); *IG* XII.4.2 515 (Χαρίτεσσιν ἐυπλοκάμοις, early 4th century BC); *Call. fr.* 75.73 Harder (Χαρίτων...

ἐυπλοκάμων); Q.S. *Post.* 1.50 (Ὁράων μετ' ἐυπλοκάμων). Simmias' epigrams for Sophocles also remark on the patronage of the Muses: τραγικῆς Μούσης ἀστέρα (4.2 *HE*) and εἶνεκεν εὐμαθίης πινυτόφρονος, ἦν ὁ μελιχρὸς | ἥσκησεν Μουσῶν ἄμμιγα καὶ Χαρίτων (Simmias 5.5-6 *HE*). Cf. also Theodectes δὴν ἠϋξήσαν Μοῦσαι Ὀλυμπιάδες (Anon. 125.2 *FGE* = Peek, *GVI* 547.2) for a similar phrase of patronage by the Muses. Silvia Barbantani notes that δὴν ἠϋξήσαν Μοῦσαι Ὀλυμπιάδες is similar, although with an inversion, to a peculiar expression in an epigram for Sopolis (καὶ λόγον αὐξήσαντα κατ' ἐν λιγυαχέσι Μοῦσαις, *IG IX.1².2* 314.1, 2nd century BC), see Barbantani 2018, 298-9 for further discussion.

Διοκλῆ Diokles (*LGPN* I no. 86) is named here for the first time; he is named again at l. 6. Funerary inscriptions usually identified the dead person on whose tomb they stood; the identification normally included certain details, established by social conventions which sometimes varied from one region to another, or depended on the sex and the age of the deceased (Fantuzzi, Hunter 2004, 291). There is no patronymic preserved here, though this likely would have been placed elsewhere on the stele, cf. e.g. *IG XII.1* 144 = Peek, *GVI* 904 and Peek, *GVI* 1397a. It was common practice to place the name of the dead, usually together with patronymic and nationality, on the tomb but not in the metrical epigram as it reduced problems of making the names fit the metre, see e.g. 615 *SH*, 278, and Peek, *GVI* 1326. The name is attested on Rhodes for the time period, see *LGPN* I nos. 84, 88, 89-90, 93, 110. There is a contemporary Diokles who was a representative of the Rhodians before the Romans to negotiate peace in 169-168 BC (Polyb. 29.10.4), but little else is known of this Diokles and no connexion can be made between Diokles the ambassador and Diokles the dramatist other than that they may have been contemporaries.

3-4. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν νίκαις...ληναϊκῶν ἀψάμενος χαρίτων Diokles is a victorious composer of tragedies and satyr dramas. From the 4th century onwards, satyr drama was separated from the tragic trilogy, see Kotlińska-Toma 2015, 43-8 with Shaw 2014 and Cohn 2015 for further reading, e.g. Archenomos the Rhodian (2nd century BC) was ποιητῆς καινῶν τραγωιδιῶν (*IG XII.6.1* 173), and composer of new Satyr-plays;²⁰ *SEG* LIV, 516.18-19 (Ἀθηναγόρας Δημητρίου Θηβαῖ[ος] | ποιητῆς σατύρων, ca. 120 BC); and *Tit. Cam.* no. 63.21-32; *fort. SEG* LV, 1466 col. iii.2. For announcements of victories in dramatic competitions, cf. e.g. *Steinepigramme* 01/12/02.51-2 (the Salmacis inscription); *ID* 1959; *Tit. Cam.* no. 63 (from Rhodes); *I.Samos* 166; Eudoxus (the Sicilian) fr. 1 *PCG*⁵ = Apollod. *BNJ* 244 fr. 48. Examples of more prosaic references, some with references to victories in the Lenaea festival, include: *Vita Sophoclis* 8 Radt = Carys-

²⁰ See McCabe, Brownson, Ehrmann 1986, 170.

tius fr. 2 Bagordo: νίκας δὲ ἔλαβεν κ', ὥς φησι Καρύστιος, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ δευτερεῖα, τρίτα δὲ οὐδέποτε ('He won twenty victories, according to Carystius. He often won second prize, but never third'); schol. Ar. Ran. 479c Chantry (ἐνίκησε) ἐν τοῖς Ληναϊκοῖς ἀγῶσι(ν) οἱ ἐνίκησε διὰ Ληναϊκὰς; νίκας ἑλὼν Ληναϊκὰς (cf. Apollod. BNJ 244 fr. 48); and Θρασίβουλος Λή[νια] ἐνίκα and Λή[νια] ἐνίκα Εὐδ[] (IGUR I.223.10, 229.6 = *Did.* A5a.10, A5g.6 *TrGF* I = Dxi 1.10, 7.6 Csapo-Wilson).

περὶ κρατὶ καθᾶψ[α]ς κισσὸν The closest parallel is κισσὸν ἐφ' ἱμερτῶ κρατὶ καταπτόμενος for Priapus (Theocr. 19.4 *HE* = *Anth. Pal.* 9.338.4, cf. also Dion. Perieg. 573).

4. κισσὸν The ivy crown of Dionysus was a symbol of victory and was a frequent topos in many epigrams of the early and mid-3rd century about earlier dramatists, e.g. Simmias 4.3-4, 5.1-2 *HE*, Phalaecus 3.1-4 *HE*, Nossis 10.3-4 *HE*, Nicaenetus 5.5-6 *HE*, and fr. 980.3 *SH*, which the poet of our epigram drew upon. Cf. also Dioscorid. 23-4 *HE*; Call. 57.1 *HE*; Euphorion fr. 1.4 Lightfoot/*HE* for a crown of victory. The ivy wreath is also the plant from which sympotic wreaths were formed, see Philip 58.4 *GP*, Nicaenetus 5.5 *HE* = *Anth. Pal.* 11.33.4, 13.29.5 with Blech (1982), 63-74. Here Diokles' crown of ivy refers to victories in the dramatic competitions, cf. Theocr. 19.4 *HE* = *Anth. Pal.* 9.338.4 above for Priapus, and *SEG* XLVII, 893.3-4 (Ἴπποκλέους δὲ ἀρετὰ με τεθαλότα καὶ νέον ὧδε | θῆκῃ γέ τε ἐκ προγόνων κισσὸν ἀναψάμενος) for similar periphrases. Diokles is a κισσοφόρος having won at dramatic competitions. Other variants of this title are ἐκ κισσηρεφῆος κεφαλῆς (fr. 980.3 *SH*) for Philicus, and ἐκισσοφόρησε γὰρ ὦνήρ (Dioscorides 23.3 *HE*) for Sophocles. The epitaph for Philicus of Corcyra (fr. 980 *SH*) celebrates his piety as an initiate to the mysteries of Dionysus and their uninterrupted dancing with him crowned by the ivy seems to replace the absent mention of his glory as a tragic poet by possibly implying that the latter was a natural outcome of the imitation, see Fantuzzi 2006. Dionysus himself also is κισσοφόρος (Pind. *Ol.* 2.31; Ar. *Thesm.* 988) and a dithyrambic chorus is also one (Antigen. 1.2 *FGE*).

ληναϊκῶν ἀψάμενος χαρίτων The metonym indicates that Diokles was a non-Athenian tragic victor at the Athenian Lenaea in the latter half of the 2nd century BC, which also did involve Satyr drama. The adjective Ληναϊκός, ἡ, ὄν is used by Posidippus (fr. 121.8 Austin, Bastianini) to qualify Kalliope as the Muse of comedy, i.e. the comic stage; cf. also Apollod. BNJ 244 fr. 17; schol. Ar. Ran. 479c Chantry, and by Pollux (4.121) for the theatre. The periphrasis and metonyms used for Phanostratus in the Salmacis inscription are similar to those used for Diokles here (δμῶα Διονύσιου Φανόστρατον ἔσχεν αἰοιδόν, | Κεκροπιδῶν ἱεροῖς ἀβρὸν ἐνὶ στεφάνοις, *Steinperigramme* 01/12/02.51-2). Fragments of the year-by-year records of performances of tragedy and comedy at the City Dionysia and the Lenaea in Athens from 421-420 to ca. 140-130 BC survive, but Diok-

les cannot be found or securely supplemented into the record. See Millis, Olson 2012 on the Athenian *didascaliae* lists (*IG* II².2.2 2319-2323a + *SEG* XXVI, 203 + *SEG* XXXVIII, 162 with *SEG* LVI, 215; LVI-II, 173; LIX, 180). For other non-Athenian competitors at the Lenaea, see e.g. Phanostratus of Halicarnassus (94 *TrGF* I), a tragic victor in the Lenaea in 307-306 BC (*IG* II².2.2 2325.173 = *Did.* B7.3 *TrGF* I), who is described in the Salmacis inscription above as a slave of Dionysus and a celebrated writer of tragedies. An honorary statue was set up near the theatre of Dionysus in Athens by the Halicarnassians, and he also was a *proxenos* at Delphi (*IG* XI.4 528 = 94 T3 *TrGF* I). Menestheus (of Halicarnassus, *Steinepigramme* 01/12/02.47) is perhaps the third century comic poet (*PCG*⁷ p. 3), and victor at the Lenaea (*IG* II².2.2 2325.173 = 2325e col.vi.100). A Dionysios of Halikarnassos (*Steinepigramme* 01/12/02.49), a comedian (*PCG*⁵, 41), 2nd century BC) may be the same one listed as a victor in two competitions in *IG* II².2.2 2325.185 = 2325e col.viii.131. Millis, Olson 2012 have missed out on some of these connections between the dramatists named in the Salmacis inscription (*Steinepigramme* 01/12/02) and those in the Athenian *didascaliae* lists.

5. τὰ ἀκροθίνια ('first-fruits'/'choicest offering') is common in literary texts and historical votive inscriptions to characterise the offerings of enemy weapons paid to the gods in gratitude, e.g. *FD* III 2:1 (490? BC); *IG* I³.2 1463A (post 450 BC), 1463B; *SEG* XXIV, 318 (ca. 500-450 BC); Pind. *Nem.* 7.40-1; Hdt. 8.121-2; Pl. *Leg.* 946b-c; *Dediche* no. 981; and the soldiers of Tlepolemos and Meriones both dedicated ἀκροθίνια as recorded in the *Lindian Chronicle* (*I.Lindos* II.2.B59, 79 = *BNJ* 532 fr. 2.59, 79 [100-99 BC]). The word is not attested in Homer and Hesiod but does feature in other poetry: Eum. *Eur.* 28 *EGEF*; Pind. *Nem.* 7.40-1, [Pind.] fr. 357.2 S-M; Aesch. *Eum.* 834; Eur. *Phoen.* 203, *IT* 459; 'Sim.' 76ab *FGE*. Cf. also Eur. *HF* 476 for Euripides' verbal form.

ἐν θυμέλαισιν...Βάκχου A periphrasis for the Theatre of Dionysus (in Athens), cf. *Prat.* 4 fr. 3.2-3 *TrGF* I; Posidipp. fr. 118.4 Austin, Bastianini, cf. also *EM* s.v. «σκήνη» Gaisford (p.743.37). A close parallel is Simmias 4.3-4 *HE* (πολλάκις ὄν θυμέλῃσι καὶ ἐν σκηνῇσι τεθλιῶς | βλαισὸς Ἀχαρνίτης κισσὸς ἔρεψε κόμην, 'whose hair the twisting Achaean ivy, blossom-bedecked, often crowned by the orchestra's altar and on the stage').

6. πατρ[ίδα] καὶ γενέταν ἠγλάϊσας Diokles' victories have brought fame and standing to his family and to Rhodes, a common trope of victory, see Svenbro 1988; Barbantani 2018, 2020. Cf. also *IG* II² 3101.3 where victory in the competition for comedies at the Athenian Dionysia brings glory on the deme as a whole.

7. θαλάμους ὑπὸ Λάθας the phrase is a *hapax* and portmanteau of Λάθας δόμους ('house of Lethe') and Φερσεφόνης θάλαμος ('chambers of Persephone'). On the former see *Adespot.* fr. *372 *TrGF* II;

'Sim.' 67.6 *FGE*; Q.S. 14.167; Peek, *GVI* 868.6, 1366.6, 1823.4; *SEG XX-VII*, 436.8, cf. also Ar. *Ran.* 186; *IK Knidos* I.303; and on the latter see Lattimore 1962, 33-6; Tsagalis 2008, 86-134, and González González 2019, 134-7. Cf. also fr. 980.1 *SH* (καλοὺς χώρους εὖσεβέων) for Philicrus; and *Steinepigramme* 01/20/25.12 = Peek, *GVI* 2018.12 (εὖσε[βέ]ων τοὺς ἱερούς θαλάμου[ς]) for other descriptions of the Underworld.

8. [– ∞ –] Trypanis' [προφρονέω] going with στέρξας is philologically sound: it is based on a synonymous use of προφρονέως + φιλέω (cf. Theogn. 786, Pind. *Pyth.* 2.16), it makes sense contextually and syntactically, and metrically it continues the fully realised elegiac couplets. [προσφιλέω] also would be possible, cf. *Anth. Gr. Append.* 2.276.4 Coungy = *IG IX.1* 234/235.4; *Anth. Pal.* 7.23b. Unfortunately, there is not enough space for all the letters, see [fig. 2]. The supplement would fit in the preceding lines, but the letters become larger, as noted above, therefore the scribe realised that there was more space for the epigram after each line. The lacuna [– ∞ –] can accommodate up to six or seven letters, not nine.

Therefore, a word is needed of three or four syllables and up to seven letters in length. Context suits a word meaning either 'kindly', 'lovingly', 'sincerely' or 'always' going with στέρξας. I propose the adverb [εὐθύμω] or the dative singular [εὐνοίαι], which would be – – –, and both fit the available space (see figs. 3-4), though the latter could be too small to fit the space. On metre, it is just as likely that the poet broke the sequence of the fully realised lines to mark the ending of the epigram than continue the fully realised lines. On [εὐθύμω] see Aesch. *Ag.* 1592; Ion fr. 26.13 *IEG* = fr. 89.13 Leurini = fr. 1.13 Valerio (*qua* εὐφρων), and Leon. Tar. 79 *HE* = *Anth. Gr. Append.* 4.39 Coungy. On [εὐνοίαι], see Aesch. *Sept.* 1007; Men. *Samia* 735, fr. 691 *PCG*; Apollod. fr. 14 *PCG*. Enrico Emanuele Prodi also suggests [ἀενάω] ('everlasting'), cf. e.g. Sim. fr. 531.9 *PMG* = fr. 261.9 Poltera; Pind. *Ol.* 14.12; Eur. *Or.* 1299-1300; Cratinus fr. 327 *PCG*; Arist. *Oec.* 1346b15. This would scan – ∪ ∪ – and fits the available space (see fig. 5). Pindar (*Nem.* 11.8) uses the adjective for public hospitality (ἀενάοις ἐν τραπέζαις), which is also used to describe a funeral stele (στῆλα... αἰενάω, *Anth. Gr. Append.* 2.213 Coungy = Peek, *GVI* 848, cf. also *CEG* 822.1 for the spelling). ἀενάω is the equivalent of the Homeric αἰὲν ἑόντες (cf. Hom. *Od.* 13.109 with Heubeck and Hoekstra *ad loc.* for further examples). Another possibility is for an adjective qualifying ἔργα and/or δικαιοσύνας, i.e. Diokles loved the <insert adj.> ἔργα δικαιοσύνας, cf. οὗ τὰ κατὰ χρυσέας ἔργα δικ[αι]οσύνας (*Tit. Calymnii* no. 130C,a.4, ca. 260 BC) from the temple of Apollo on Kalymna and ἔργ[α] δικ[αι]οσύνης ἀγὼν ἔχ[ο]υσα τρόπον (*IG XII.5.1* 291.9, 2nd-3rd cent. AD) from Paros. Any proposed supplement remains confined to the apparatus, but based on available space, [εὐθύμω] would be a better fit, although [ἀενάω] is better paralleled.

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