

**COINS, CULTS, HISTORY
AND INSCRIPTIONS III**
Studies in Honor of Al. N. Oikonomides

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Philip II's Assassination and Funeral

* Αλκη χαριστήριον

In a late second century A.D. papyrus fragment of a popular (?) history of Alexander (*P. Oxy.* XV 1798, fr. 1=*FGrH* 148 F 1),¹ which may be part of the *Romance* tradition, there is preserved what seems to have followed immediately after Philip II had been stabbed to death, with Alexander apparently in full command of the situation.

Nicholas G. L. Hammond, ὁ συμπολίτης ἡμῶν κατὰ τὸν μέγαν πόλεμον καὶ νῦν τιμῆς ἔνεκεν, in discussing and interpreting *P. Oxy.* 1798, fr. 1, obtained the text given below, first published in *GRBS* 19, 1978, p. 348=*Coll(ected) St(udies)* II, Amsterdam 1993, p. 268, with the *editio princeps* on p. 343=*Coll. St.* II, p. 263 (=pp. 343-349=263-269 respectively).

τοὺς μ[ετ' αὐ-
τοῦ ἐν θ]εάτ[ρ]ωι κα[ὶ ἀ-
κολούθ]ους ἀπέ[λυ-
σαν τοὺς τ]ε περὶ θρόν[ον].
5 τὸν δὲ μάντ]ιν τοῖς Μ[α-
κεδόσι π]αρέδωκε [κο-
λάσαι, οἱ δ'] ἀπετυπάν[ι-
σαν αὐτό]ν. τὸ δὲ σώμ[α
τοῦ Φιλ]ίππου θερά-
10 πουσι θάψ]αι παρέδωκ[ε
..... π]ερὶ τὴν [τα-
φήν]σκλ[

He also gave a translation of his restored text, p. 348=*Coll. St.* II, p. 268: "Those with him in the theatre and his followers they acquitted, and those round the throne. The diviner he delivered to the Macedones to punish, and they crucified him. The body of Philip he delivered to attendants to bury ... [and] by the burial"²

As the text's restoration and translation show, Hammond has seen in *P. Oxy.* XV 1798, fr. 1, the trial(s) after Philip's assassination, the ἀποτυ(μ)πανισμός of the μάντις, and the burial of Philip.³

¹See also Fr. Bilabel, *Die klein. histor. auf Papyrus* (Kleine Texte 149; Bonn 1922) 16-17, under 7; U. Wilcken, *SB Ak. Berlin*, 1923, 151-157, 2=*Berliner Ak. zur Alten Gesch. und Papyr.*, Teil I (Leipzig 1970) 175-181, 2; F. Jacoby, *FGrH* IID (1930) 533, under 148; C. B. Welles, *Diodorus*, LoebCL VIII (Cambridge, MA 1983) 101, note 2; J. R. Hamilton, *Plutarch: Alexander; a Commentary* (Oxford 1969) 27, under 6; A. B. Bosworth, *CQ* 21 (1971) 93-94; J. R. Fears (below, under LINES 11-12); J. R. Ellis, *Philip II and Macedonian Imperialism* (London 1976) 307, note 59; and E. M. Anson, *Historia* 40 (1991) 232, note 12, with a reference to *POxy.* 1798. Cf. also W. Will, *Festschrift G. Wirth*, I (Amsterdam 1987) 219-232. R. Develin, "The Murder of Philip II," *Antichthon* 15 (1981) 88, note 8 (86-99), and A. B. Bosworth, *CAH*² VI (1994) 794, note 3.

²Cf. also his comments under notes 41 and 42.

³Hammond republished his restored text in *Φίλιππος Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων*, ed. by L. D. Loukopoulou-M. B. Hatzopoulos (Athens 1980=1992) 171 [166-175], *A History of Macedonia*, III (Oxford 1988) 5, *Historia* 40 (1991) 401 [399-403]=*Coll. St.* II (1993) 184 [182-186], and a translation in *Philip of Macedon* (Baltimore 1994) 177.

Soon after Hammond's restoration and interpretation of *P. Oxy.* XV 1798, fr. 1, P. J. Parsons published a new fragment (fr. 17), which joins fr. 1 at the bottom, in *AJAH* 4, 1979, pp. 97-99, with the *editio princeps* and *apparatus* on pp. 100-101 [cf. also the editor's comments therein]. The texts of frs. 1 and 17 are reproduced below, as they appear on p. 100.

Fr. 1

.
 [.....]τους μ[.].[..
 [..... θ]εατ[ρ]ωι κα[..
 [.....]ους απε[..
 [.....]ε περι θρον[ον
 5 [.....]ιν τοις μ[..
 [..... π]αρεδωκε [
 [.....] απετυπαν[ι
 [σαν αυτο]ν το δε σωμ[α
 [του Φιλ]ιππου θερα [
 10 [πουσι θαψ]αι παρεδωκ[ε
 [..... π]ερι την [..
 [.....]σκλ[....

Fr. 17

.
] . ντα[
 σκε]ναζε[
]νης δε
]ν ελατι

PARSONS: "Fr. 17.4. Some case of ἐλατι/νος presumably."

The combined text of frs. 1 and 17, with an *apparatus* (p. 99), appears on p. 98, with a photograph of the two joined fragments.

P. Oxy 1798 fr. 1 + 17

- - - - -
 1]ου[]σ....[
]εατ[.]ωικ.[
]ουσαπε[
]επεριθρο.[
 5]ιγτοις.[
].ρεδωκε.[
].πετυπα.[
].τοδεσωμ[
].ππουθερα[
 10]αιπαρεδωκ[
]εριτηγτ.[
].σκ[.]ναζ.[

.ησδε[
].ελατι [
foot

From the photograph on p. 98, (above, from a Xerox copy), this writer recovers the following text of frg. 1 + 17:

1]|ουζ μ. | [
]εατ[.]ωι κα[
]ουζ απε[
]ε περι θρο[| [
5]ιν τοις μ[
]αρεδωκε | [
]απετυπαν[
]ντο δε σωμ[
].ππου θερα
10]αι παρεδωκ[
]ερι την τ[| [
]σκ[]υαζε[
]|ης δε
]| ελατι
vacat

Parson's partially paraphrased *apparatus* (p. 99, above): "Line 1: beginning: gamma or tau?;-probably ... as mu; end: e.g. εγ. Line 2, end: probably alpha (too angular for epsilon), Line 4, end: most suggesting the left side of lambda or mu (θρομ/[β-, περιθρομ/[β-?); ... given the irregularity of the writing nu may not be excluded. Line 5, end: lambda or mu. Line 6, beginning: tail of alpha, lambda or similar; end: e.g. foot of tau; or letter beginning after punctuation-space. Line 7, beginning: right side of alpha, lambda, mu - vertical at the end (nu suitable). Line 8, beginning: probably foot of diagonal and right vertical, of nu (junction too low for alpha iota). Line 9: traces of upright on the broken edge. Line 11, end: probably alpha (τα[φήν?]). Line 12, beginning: end of horizontal joining sigma at two-thirds height (epsilon rather than alpha?) - end: part of an upright (of vowels, epsilon or eta: -]εσκ[ε]υα-ζε(?). Line 13: top of short vertical, probably nu (too short for iota). And Line 14: probably foot of diagonal, and lower part of right vertical, of nu."

The *apparatus*, with the *editio princeps*, of *P. Oxy. XV 1798*, pp. 125 and 131 respectively, is also reproduced here.

Fr. 1

.
[.....]τους μ[.]..[..
[..... θ]εατ[ρ]ωι κα[..
[.....]ουζ απε[...
[.....]ε περι θρον[ον
5 [.....]ιν τοις μ[..
[..... π]αρεδωκε [
[.....]απετυπαν[ι
[σαν αυτο]ν το δε σωμ[α
[του Φιλ]ιππου θερα [
10 [πουσι θαψ]αι παρεδωκ[ε
[..... π]ερι την [..
[.....]σκλ[....
.

The editors, B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, of the *editio princeps* (published in 1922), recognized that fr. 1 referred to Philip's death, but preserving "unfamiliar details." For Philip's assassination, Diodorus, XVI.94, and Justin, IX.6, were cited. They also commented that space seems to exclude Pausanias' (assassin's) name and Diodorus' information of Pausanias' end. Then, they concluded, the object of ἀπετυπαν[ισαν appears to be "some other person," with a reference to Justin, XI.2.1. Their *apparatus*: "lsqq. The length of the lacunae is estimated on the basis of ll. 8-10, which can be restored with probability. In ll. 1-4 τους μ[ε]ν/ [εν τωι θ]εατ[ρ]ωι κα/[θημεν]ους απε[λυ]σε τους (or τοις) δ]ε may be suggested. 5.]ν:]ων is not possible, and]αν is unlikely. The doubtful μ may be λ. Both this line and l. 9 look as if they were complete at the end, but there is not margin enough to be certain. If l. 6 ended with -κε, it was rather shorter than its neighbors. 7. The spelling ἀποτυπανίζω seems to be novel; τύπανον is a poetic form."

With this writer's text (above, page 83) in mind and previous readings in lines 5 (τ), 10 (τ), 13 (ι) and 16 (α), a new restoration and interpretation of *P. Oxy.* XV 1798, frs. 1 + 17, is presented below.

[-----]
 [-- τότε δὲ Παιισανίας]
 [προσδραμῶν μάχαιραι]
 [Φίλιππον ἀνείλε· Φιλίπ]-
 4 [που δὲ θανόντος, Ἄλε]-
 [ξανδρος] τοὺς Μ[α]κ[εδό]-
 [νας ἐν θ]εάτ[ρ]ωι κα[ι]
 [τοὺς ἄλλ]ους ἀπέ[λυ]-
 8 [σε^v τὴν δ]ὲ περὶ θρόν[ωι]
 [αὐτῶι ὕβρ]ιν τοῖς Μ[α]-
 [κεδόσι π]αρέδωκε τ[είσα]-
 [σθαι· φονέα δ'] ἀπετυπάγ[ι]-
 12 [σαν ἄρδη]ν^v τὸ δὲ σῶμ[α]
 [τοῦ τε Φιλ]ίππου θερα-
 [πείαι λοῦσ]αι παρέδωκ[ε]
 [τοῖς δὲ π]ερὶ τὴν τὰ[φην]
 16 [πυρὰν κατ]ασκ[ε]υάξ[ει]ν
 [εἶπε· συ]ννεμημέ[νης δὲ]
 [τῆς πυρᾶς ξύλω]ν ἐλατί-
 vacat
 [νων ξηρῶν, κτλ. -----]

The line lengths are approximated as closely as possible, with line 19 beginning another column.

COMMENTARY:

LINES 1-3: cf. Diodorus, XVI.94: (3) ἵππους παραστησάμενος (=Παιισανίας) ταῖς πύλαις παρήλθε πρὸς τὰς εἰς τὸ θέατρον εἰσόδους ἔχων κεκρυμμένην Κελτικὴν μάχαιραν ..., ὁρῶν τὸν βασιλέα (=Φίλιππον) μεμονωμένον προσέδραμε καὶ διὰ τῶν πλευρῶν διανταίαν ἐνέγκας πληγὴν τὸν μὲν βασιλέα νεκρὸν ἐξέτεινε, ...; and Plutarch, *Alexander* X.6: Ἐπεὶ δὲ Παιισανίας Ἀττάλου γνώμη καὶ Κλεοπάτρας ὕβρισθῆις καὶ μὴ τυχῶν δίκης ἀνείλε Φίλιππον, ... Cf. also Pseudo-Callisthenes, I.24 (Chicago 1979), where also Olympias figures in a "love abduction motif" in Pausanias' plot: καὶ ἐπιβάς (=Παιισανίας) αὐτὸν (=Φίλιππον) ἔπληξεν αὐτὸν ξίφει κατὰ πλευράν, οὐ (μέντοι) ἀνῆρεν αὐτόν (3). Cf. further Justin IX.7.10-11, for Olympias' behavior toward Pausanias' body.

LINE 6: [ἐν θ]εάτ[ρ]ωι . Cf. Xenophon, *Hellenica*, IV.4.3: τὸν δὲ τινα ἐν θεάτρῳ, and Plutarch, *Moralia* 458 A (*On the Control of Anger*): κωμωδηθεὶς ἐν θεάτρῳ; *idem*, *On the Fortune*

of Alexander, 338 C: ἐν θεάτρους, and 341 A: ἐν πομπαῖς καὶ θεάτρους. Pseudo-Callisth., I.24 (above): ἐν τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ θεάτρῳ, εἰς τὸ θεάτρον, ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ (3). Cf. also Cornelius Nepos, XXI (*On Kings*).2.1.

LINES 7-8: ἀπέ[λυ/σε]. The verb ἀπολύω carries the meaning of acquitting, but also that of dismissing. Cf. Polybius, IV.87.13: τὰς τε δυνάμεις ἀπέλυσεν (=Φίλιππος V) εἰς Μακεδονίαν, and V.29.5: τοὺς μὲν Μακεδόνας διὰ Θετταλίας ἀπέλυσε; Bion, I.96 (*Lament for Adonis*): Κώρα δέ νιν οὐκ ἀπολύει; Diodorus, XVII.114.1: Ἀπολύσας δὲ τὰς πρεσβείας περὶ τὴν ταφὴν ἐγένετο τοῦ Ἡφαιστίωνος; Plutarch, *Alexander* XLII.5: ἀπέλυσε τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς οἰκαδε; and Matthew, XIV.22: ἕως οὗ ἀπολύσῃ τοὺς ὄχλους (23) καὶ ἀπολύσας τοὺς ὄχλους ...

LINES 8-9: περὶ θρόν[ω/ αὐτῶι]. Cf. Herodotus, VIII.99: ὡς περὶ αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ δειμαίνοντες.

LINES 9-11: [ὑβρ]ιν .../... τ[είσα/σθαι], although perhaps some trace of the rho should have been visible. Cf. Homer, *Iliad*, XV.116: τίσασθαι φόνον υἱὸς ἰόντ' ..., and *Odyssey*, XXIV.352: εἰ ἐτεδὸν μνηστῆρες ἀτάσθαλον ὑβριν ἔτισαν. Pausanias, X.33.2: ... ὤλισθον Ἴλιον μὲν διὰ τὴν ἐς Μενέλαον ὑβριν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου. Arrian, IV.13.3: οὐ βιωτόν οἱ (=Ἐρμολάφ) ἐστι μὴ τιμωρησαμένῳ Ἀλέξανδρον τῆς ὑβρεως. Diodorus, XVII.79.6: τὴν κρίσιν ὑπὲρ τούτου (=Φιλῶτου) τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἐπέτρεψεν. Polybius, II.4.4: ταῦτα πράττειν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις παρέδωκεν (ἢ τύχη). It should be noted that Pausanias is being punished for his assault on the throne rather than on Philip's person, as lines 9-11 are restored and interpreted. Aris. *Politics* 1311a-b (ὑβρις).

Hammond has restored [μάντ]ιν in line 9 (above). The Lacedaemonians, according to the Argives, killed Epimenides, because σφίσις οὐκ αἴσια ἐμαντεύετο (Pausanias, *Korinthiaka*, XXI.3), while Alexander ἀνεσταύρωσεν Glaucus, the doctor, at the death of Hephaestion (Plutarch, *Alexander* LXXII.2-3).

After Pausanias' act of killing Philip, Diodorus continues, XVI.94.4, under LINES 1-3 above:

εὐθύς δὲ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων οἱ μὲν πρὸς τὸ σῶμα τοῦ βασιλέως ὤρμησαν, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ σφαγέως διωγμὸν ἐξεχύθησαν, and XVII.2.1: ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων (=ἄρχοντος-ὑπάτων) Ἀλέξανδρος διαδεξάμενος τὴν βασιλείαν πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς φονεῖς τοῦ πατρὸς τῆς ἀρμοζούσης τιμωρίας ἤξιωσε [the φονεῖς has apparently the support of ἵππους in XVI.94.3 (under LINES 1-3 above), implying that others were also involved in the plot against Philip; on the other hand, Pausanias may have posted horses variously for a convenient escape (however, cf. Arrian, I.25.1); Pausanias, of course, did the actual killing (cf. also Josephus, *Jewish Ant.*, XI.304)]. Cf. further Justin, XI.2.1: *Prima illi (=Alexandro) cura paternarum exequiarum fuit, in quibus ante omnia caedis conscios ad tumultum patris occidi iussit*, and Diodorus, XVII.51.3: τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Φιλίππου φονεῖς ἅπαντας τετευχέναι τιμωρίας.

LINES 11-12: ἀπετυπάν[ι/σαν]. Cf. Plutarch, *Sulla* VI.8: ἐξ ὧν ἔτυχεν αἰτιῶν ἀποτυμπανίζοντος αὐτοῦ, and *idem*, *Moralia* 1049 D: ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς ... ἀλλὰ ... καὶ αὐξήσας ἀποτυμπανίζει; and Souda, under ἀποτυμπάνισον ἠγηλῶς τι φόνευσον (and also under τυμπανίζεται). Diodorus, XVI.94.4 (under LINES 9-11 above), continues: ὁ δὲ Πανσανίας προλαβὼν τῆς διώξεως ἐφθασεν ἂν ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀναπηδήσας, εἰ μὴ τῆς ὑποδέσεως περὶ ἄμπελόν τινα περιπλακείσης ἔπεσεν διόπερ οἱ περὶ τὸν Περδίκκαν καταλαβόντες αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀνιστάμενον καὶ συγκεντήσαντες ἀνείλον.

Συγκεντήσαντες undoubtedly defines ἀπετυπάν[ι/σαν]; otherwise ἀνεσταύρωσαν would have been employed, if "crucifixion" was meant. Cf. Herodotus, VII.194: Δαρείος ... ἀνεσταύρωσε ... ἀνακρεμασθέντος ὧν αὐτοῦ; and Diodorus, XVI.35.6: ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος τὸν μὲν Ὀνόμαρχον ἐκρέμασε, κτλ. (LoebCL). However, see also Justin, IX.7.10: *in cruce pendentis Pausaniae capiti ...* (Philip's murder, 6.1-8.1). It may be that Pausanias' body was displayed or "crucified" after they had killed him, as an act of disgrace and warning to others (see also, J. R. Fears, "Pausanias,

the Assassin of Philip II," *Athenaeum* 53, 1975, p. 134, note 80 [pp. 111-135]). According to Justin, IX.7.11, Olympias burned Pausanias' body upon Philip's remains and erected tomb for him at the same spot. See further, E. Carney in *Women's History and Ancient History*, ed. by S. B. Pomeroy, Chapel Hill 1991, pp. 164, note 5, and 165, note 7; E. Metropoulou, *Anc. Macedonia* V, II, 1993, p. 945, under IXa; Chr. Theodoridis *ZPE* 103 (1994) 11-12; and N. G. L. Hammond, *Philip of Macedon*, Baltimore 1994, p. 178.

In Pseudo-Callisth., I.24 (above), Philip, who has not yet died, kills Pausanias: ... 'Αλέξανδρος μάχαιραν ἀνέθηκεν εἰς τὴν χεῖρα Φιλίππου, καὶ προσήγαγεν τὸν Παισαυσιανὸν καὶ κρατήσας αὐτὸν Φίλιππος ἐσφαξεν αὐτόν. Cf. also the Armenian version, translated by A. M. Wolohojian, *The Romance of Alexander the Great by Pseudo-Callisthenes*, New York 1969, pp. 44-45, chs. 67-69.

LINES 11-12 (*bis*): ἀπετυπάν[ι/σαν ἄρδην]. On ἄρδην, cf., for example, Euripides, *Alcestis*, line 608: φέρουσιν ἄρδην εἰς τάφον τε καὶ πυράν, and *Phoenissae*, line 1620: τί μ' ἄρδην ὦδ' ἀποκτείνεις, Κρέον; Polybius, I.82.2: τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἄρδην ἀφανίσαι, and IV.17.12: ... καὶ τὴν θρέψασαν ἄρδην ἀπολέσαι. Diodorus, V.71.6: Δία ... ἄρδην ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανίσαι, XIV.40.3: ἑλληνίδας πόλεις ἄρδην ἀνηρημένας, and XVIII.48.4: τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ (= Ἀμύντα) πάντας ἄρδην ἀνείλον.

LINES 12-13: τὸ δὲ σῶμα[α/ τοῦ Φιλίππου] [in lines 12-14 it may be possible to read also τὸ δὲ σῶμα[α/ τοῖς τε Φιλίππου θερά/[πουσι ρίψ]αι παρέδωκε], that is, Pausanias' body, but this would alter the interpretation of what follows; on the other hand, it may agree with Justin, under LINES 11-12 above. Cf. Diodorus, XVII.118.2: Ὀλυμπιάδα φονεύσαντα (= Κάσσανδρον) ἄταφον ρίψαι; Plutarch, *Alexander* LXXVII.2: τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα..., ἐκρίψαι δὲ τὰ λείψανα τοῦ Ἰόλα τεθηκότος; and *FHG* III, p. 697 (4.2), Porphyrius: Ὀλυμπιάδα δὲ καὶ ἄταφον ἐκρίψας (= Κάσσανδρος)]. Diodorus, XVII.110.8: τὸ σῶμα τοῦ τετελευτηκότος (= Ἡφαιστίωνος) Περδίκκα παρέδωκεν (= Ἀλέξανδρος) εἰς Βαβυλῶνα κομίσει, κτλ.

LINES 13-14: θερά/[πείαι], which can stand for θερά/[πουσι]. Cf. Diodorus, XVIII.27.1: περὶ δὲ τὸν βασιλέα μία μὲν ὑπῆρχε θεραπεία καθωπλισμένη Μακεδόνων, κτλ., and XIX.11.3: Φίλιππος (Ἀρριδαῖος) ... ὁ βασιλεὺς ... ἤλω μετὰ τῆς θεραπείας; and Arrian, IV.13.1: Ἐκ Φιλίππου ..., τῶν ... Μακεδόνων τοὺς παῖδας ..., καταλέγεσθαι ἐς θεραπείαν τοῦ βασιλέως.

LINE 14: [λοῦσαι]. Λοῦσαι is preferable to the previous [θάψ]αι, and καῦσαι is also excluded, because the καῦσις and the ταφή would have taken place after the dead underwent the traditional preparation for burial. Other pre-burial and appropriate infinitives than λοῦσαι, but precluded by space, are κλαῦσαι (Homer, *Iliad*, XXIII.9: Πάτροκλον κλαίωμεν), κοσμήσαι and κηδεῦσαι.

For λοῦσαι, cf. Herodotus, II.86: λούσαντες τὸν νεκρὸν ...; Euripides, *Trojan Women*, line 1152: ἔλουσα νεκρὸν; and Sophocles, *Antigone*, lines 1196-1205: ἐγὼ (= ἄγγελος) δὲ σὺ ποδαγὸς ἐσπόμεν πόσει/πεδίον ἐπ' ἄκρον, ἔνθ' ἔκειτο νηλεὲς/κυνοσπάρρακτον σῶμα Πολυνείκουσ' ἔτι/καὶ τὸν μὲν, αἰτήσαντες ἐνοδίαν θεὸν/Πλούτωνά τ' ὄργας εὐμενεῖς κατασχιθεῖν,/λούσαντες ἀγνὸν λουτρόν, ἐν νεοσπάσιν/θαλλοῖς ὃ δὴ ἔλειπτο συγκατήθομεν,/καὶ τύμβον ὀρθόκρανον οἰκείας χθονὸς/χώσαντες αὖθις πρὸς λιθόστρωτον κόρης/νυμφεῖον Ἄιδου κοῖλον εἰσεβαίνομεν.

LINE 16: [πυράν κατ]ασκ[ε]υάξ[ε]ιν. Cf. Homer, *Iliad*, XXIII.164: ποίησαν δὲ πυρήν. Diodorus, XVII.115.1: ... καὶ τὸν δεχόμενον τὴν πυράν τόπον ὁμαλὸν κατασκευάσας ὑποδόμησε τετράπλευρον πυράν, κτλ. (Hephaestion's funeral). [Polybius, IX.30.4: βουλόμενοι τὴν πάτριον ἡγεμονίαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑμῖν συγκατασκευάξουσιν.] [Κλίην, i.e., νεκρικὴν κλίην, κατ]ασκ[ε]υάξ[ε]ιν does not seem to fit, and the same applies to τάφον.

LINE 17: [συννενημέ]λης, from συννέω. Cf. Herodotus, I.86 and VII.107: συννήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην, and Thucydides, VII.87.2: τῶν νεκρῶν ὁμοῦ ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ξυννενημένων.

LINES 18-19: ἐλατί[ων]. Cf. Homer, *Iliad*, XXIII.111: οὐρήσας τ' ὄτρυνε (= Ἀγαμέμνων) καὶ ἀνέρας ἀξέμεν ὕλην, but the ὕλη here is δρυς (line 118). Stella G. Miller

has discussed the evidence of cremation in Macedonian tombs in *The Tomb of Lyson and Kallikles: A Painted Macedonian Tomb*, Mainz am Rhein 1993, pp. 1, 15-16 and 61-65 (Ch. V: The Funerary Pyres). Though pieces of wood have been recovered from the pyres, Miller does not specify what kind of wood was used. See also J. H. Musgrave, "Cremation in Ancient Macedonia," *Anc. Macedonia* V, II, 1993, pp. 1131-1142.

For ἐλατί/[ρων], cf. M. T. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, Chicago 1985, No. 111, lines 9-11: ξύλων/ ..., ναυπηγη/σίμων (cf. Xen., *Hell.*, V.2.16) δὲ πλὴν ἐλατίνων (alliance of Amyntas and the Chalcidians of about 393 BC), implying that the ἐλάτη was of royal privilege and, therefore, suitable for Philip's pyre. See further Nicander, *Theriaka*, lines 472-473: ἀμφ' ἐλάτησι μακεδναῖσι/ἀγραυλοὶ ψύχωσι (Homer, *Odyssey*, VII.106: οἶά τε φύλλα μακεδνῆς αἰγείροιο); and Polybius, XXXIV.3.7: ἔστι γὰρ πηκτὸν (τὸ δόρυ) ἔκ τε δρυὸς καὶ ἐλάτης (for lightness). See also *Anc. Macedonia* V, II, 1993, p. 1252, notes 20 and 22.

A translation of the anew restored *P. Oxy.* XV 1798, frs. 1 + 17 (above, pp. ~~34~~³⁴), follows:

-[at that moment, Pausanias
rushing forth with a knife killed
Philip. Philip having died, Alexander]
dismissed the Makedones and the
others (who were) in the theater.
(At the same time) he allowed (παρέδωκε)
the Makedones to punish the *hybris*
(committed) against the throne. (Thereupon)
they cruelly killed (ἀπετυπάνισαν) the murderer.⁴
(As to) Philip's body, he turned it over
to the retinue to wash (and prepare
for burial). And he ordered (εἶπε)
those who were in charge of the burial
to build a pyre. When the pyre had
been built of dry, fir wood, etc.

The joined fragments (1 + 17) appear to say that Philip's body was cremated, and this accords well with the remains in "Philip's Tomb".⁵ In Pseudo-Callisth., I.24 (above), it is said (Φίλιππος) θάπτεται οὖν βασιλικῶς, ὅλης τῆς Μακεδονίας συνελθούσης; and the variants, pp. 24 and 25, under Cap. XXIV: Καὶ τοῦτον θρήνον ἐπειπὼν, κοσμήσας αὐτῷ τάφον πολυτελῆ, κατέθετο τὸ σκήνωμα αὐτοῦ· ἐπ' αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ τάφῳ καθίδρυσε ναόν, and ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος πενθήσας τὸν Φίλιππον σὺν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ, μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἄγουσιν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ χρυσοῦ κραιβάτου, καὶ θάπτουσιν αὐτὸν (καθὼς ἔθος ἐστίν), ὅλης τῆς Μακεδονίας συνελθούσης.⁶

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⁴Cf. Welles, under note 1 above.

⁵For "Philip II's Tomb," see Manolis Andronikos, *Βεργίνα, οἱ Βασιλικοὶ Τάφοι* (Athens 1989²) 66-197, and Hammond, "The Royal Tombs at Vergina: Evolution and Identities," *ABSA* 86 (1991) 69-82 = *Coll. St.* II (1993) 289-302. See also E. Carney, *Historia* 41 (1992) 180-186 [169-189], and E. N. Borza, *In the Shadow of Olympus: The Emergence of Macedon* (Princeton 1990=1992) 312-313, Appendix C.

⁶Since the present study is concerned with the restoration and interpretation of *P. Oxy.* XV 1798, frs. 1 + 17, not every aspect of Philip's assassination may have been considered. However, cf. *FGrH* IIB, 1155, No. 255 (*Chr. v. Oxy.*), under 336/5; Suetonius, *Gaius*, IV.57.4; E. Badian, *Phoenix* 17 (1963) 244-250; and N. G. L. Hammond, *GRBS* 33 (1992) 359-361. And A. S. Riginos, *JHS* 114 (1994) 103-119; P. B. Faklaris, *AJA* 98 (1994) 611 and 616; *P. Oxy.* LVI 3823: 12, col. iii, lines 21-27; *Ps-Callisth.* (Chicago 1979), I.26.(1-5).