

*ἀποτυμπαρίζω, ἀποτυμπανισμός (τυμπανισμός),  
τυμπαρίζω, τύμπανον (τύπανον).*

WHEN in the course of my work on the Greek Patristic Lexicon I reached *ἀποτυμπαρίζω, ἀποτυμπανισμός*, I found on looking into the new edition of L. and S. that a complete change had taken place in the view held of the meaning of these puzzling words. This change was the result of a pamphlet by the Greek scholar M. Antonios D. Keramopoulos, entitled *ὁ ἀποτυμπανισμός* (Athens 1923). In this pamphlet he described the discovery in 1915 in an ancient cemetery close to the old harbour of Phalerum of seventeen bodies heaped together without any sign of funeral rites. Round the throat, wrists, and ankles of each body, but not piercing the body as in the Roman method of crucifixion, were iron staples, five in all, still bearing traces of the wood into which they had once been fastened. Clearly these unhappy men had suffered the punishment described fully in Aristoph. *Thesm.* 930 foll., where Mnesilochus, caught red-handed in impiety by the women, is crucified, so to speak, on a plank (or a framework of planks), called *σανίς*, by the public executioner, precisely like these seventeen at Phalerum, except that the *σανίδες* to which they had been fastened have rotted away. The following dialogue between Mnesilochus and the executioner (*Τοξότης*) shows clearly the nature of the punishment (1003-4):—

MNHΣ. *χάλασον τὸν ἦλον.* TOΞ. *ἀλλὰ ταῦτα δράσ' ἐγώ.*

MNHΣ. *οἶμοι κακοδαίμων, μᾶλλον ἐπικρούεις σὺ γε—* the effect of driving in the *ἦλος*, or staple, was to increase the pressure on throat, or wrist, or ankle. Again, Hdt. 7. 33 and 9. 120, the Athenians under Xanthippus in 478 B. C. at the request of the people of Sestos punished in this way for impiety towards the shrine of Protesilaus Artayctes the Persian—*ζώοντα πρὸς σανίδα διεπασσάλευσαν*. Thirdly, Plutarch (*Pericl.* 28) quotes the Samian historian Duris (born c. 340 B. C.) as saying that Pericles after the revolt of Samos in 440 B. C. took the Samian trierarch and marines into the market-place of Miletus—*καὶ σανίσι προσδήσας ἐφ' ἡμέρας δέκα κακῶς ἦδη διακειμένους προσέταξεν ἀνελεῖν*.

These are the three leading passages. [M. Keramopoulos, indeed, regards τὸ πεντεσύριγγον ξύλον in Aristoph. *Hipp.* 1049 as referring to this punishment. It appears, however, certain that the scholiast is right in explaining it of the *ποδοκάκκη* (*stocks* or *pillory*) with its five apertures for head, arms, and feet.] They shew that such a punishment was in use at Athens, and the passage from Aristophanes further indicates that it must have been sufficiently familiar in 411 B. C. to make it

suitable for dramatic representation in a comedy. M. Keramopoulos goes much farther than this. He declares that before the introduction of death by the hemlock during the Tyranny of the Thirty (404 B.C.), 'there was no other method of putting to death by legal process in Athens' (pp. 46, 47, v. schol. in Aristoph. *Ran.* 541). It was put in force, he believes, against murderers, robbers, thieves, kidnappers, impious and sacrilegious persons, traitors, pirates. It was for piracy probably that the seventeen at Phalerum suffered. It was a very ancient punishment, probably enacted by Draco (621 B.C.), the date of the entombment at Phalerum being between Draco and Solon (594 B.C.).

So far M. Keramopoulos's conclusions, except the statement that this form of crucifixion was the only legal method of execution before 404 B.C., seem to be well founded. His pamphlet is not only very learned and illustrated by interesting details from many fields, but of great value. It must modify our view of the character of the Athenians. The lavish encomiums bestowed upon their humanity can stand no longer in face of the existence of a punishment so brutal, inflicting such abominable torture, which might be prolonged for ten days or more (v. sup. Plut. *Pericl.* 28). But he further maintains that the plank (*σανίς* or *σανίδες* fastened together) was known as *τύμπανον* (*τύπανον*), that the criminal was said *ἀποτυμπανίζεσθαι*, and that the punishment was known as *ἀποτυμπανισμός*. This, the true sense of the words, was, he considers, lost after the time of the orators and Aristotle (*d.* 322 B.C.), when the punishment itself had gone out of use (p. 34), and the terms were applied to a new form of punishment, beating to death with sticks or cudgels, or even used, especially in Plutarch, quite generally in the sense of *putting to death* (*φονεύειν*). It is this identification that I wish to contest. The word *ἀποτυμπανίζω* is not infrequently used in the Fathers, to whom M. Keramopoulos makes scarcely any reference, and the quotations that will be given from them should throw some light on the meaning of this difficult group of words. It will be necessary to examine carefully the meanings of each of these words, and all the passages, not the patristic examples only, in which they occur:—

A. *τύμπανον* (*τύπανον*) means

1. properly *drum*, Hdt. 4. 76, &c.

2. *pom-pous phrases*, the *big drum*, *Anth. Pal.* 13. 21.

3. the *block* or *stake* to which those who were beaten were fastened. This sense seems to be clearly found in 2 Macc. vi. 19 and 28 (*ἐπὶ τὸ τύμπανον προσῆγε, ἐπὶ τὸ τύμπανον . . . ἤλθε*) and probably in Luc. *Colaph.* 6 *τοὺς ἐκ τυμπάνου καὶ τοὺς ἀνεσκολοπισμένους*, and Lucil. ap. *Anth. Pal.* 11. 160 *ἀξιοὶ εἶσι τυχεῖν πάντες ἐνὸς τυπάνου*, where the schol. says *ξύλον ἐν ᾧ ἐτύπαντο ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις*, and so Hemsterh. *ad loc.*;

and in Sext. *c. rhet.* 30. 295. So possibly Hesych. [but v. 4] τύ[μ]πανον' ξύλον τι ἐν ᾧ τυμπανίζουσιν, and certainly schol. in Aristoph. *Plut.* 476 [in the first of his two explanations, for the second see 4. *inf.*] τύμπανα' ξύλα, ἐφ' οἷς ἐτυμπανίζον' ἐχρῶντο γὰρ ταύτη τῇ τιμωρίᾳ [cf. Suid. *inf.* 4].

4. a *stick* or *cudgel*, schol. in Aristoph. *Plut.* 476 ἢ βάκλα· παρὰ τὸ τύπτειν' ἦγον ξύλα, οἷς τύπτονται ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις οἱ τιμωρούμενοι . . . κολαστήρια ὄργανα ἀμφότερα, τὰ τύμπανα καὶ οἱ κύφωνες . . . τὰ δὲ τύμπανα, ὡς τινὲς φασιν, ξύλα, δι' ὧν τοὺς καταδίκους ἔτυπτον. The passage in Aristoph. *Plut.* is ὃ τύμπανα καὶ κύφωνες οὐκ ἀρήξετε; The κύφων is a kind of *stocks* or *pillory* in which the neck was confined. Pollux 10. 45. 177 says ἐν τῷ κύφῳ τὸν αἰχένα ἔχων, . . . ᾧ τὸν αἰχένα ἐνθέντα δεῖ μαστιγοῦσθαι; and his explanation of κύφων suggests that the translation of τύμπανα in the above passage as *whipping-blocks* or *cudgels* is right; the combination of τύμπανα with so comparatively light a punishment as the pillory makes the view (p. 35) that τ. denotes this most horrible form of crucifixion very improbable. Suidas τύμπανα· βάκλα· παρὰ τὸ τύπτειν' ξύλα ἐν οἷς ἐτυμπανίζον' ἐχρῶντο γὰρ ταύτη τῇ τιμωρίᾳ. Phot. τὸ τοῦ δημίου ξύλον, ᾧ τοὺς παραδιδόμενους διεχειρίζετο (and so *Etym. Magn.*) καὶ τὸ ἀποτυμπανίζειν ἐντεῦθεν. *Lex. Rhet.* ap. Bekker *anecd. Gr.* vol. 1. 198 ἀποτυμπανίσαι· τὸ τυμπάνῳ ἀποκτείνειν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ ξύλον ὡσπερ ῥόπαλον (cf. *ib.* 438 . . . ὡσπερ σκύταλον' τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ξύλοις ἀνήρουν τοὺς κατακρίτους ὕστερον δ' ἔδοξε τῷ ξίφει (cf. *Etym. Magn.*) ἀποτυμπανίσων' ἀνελε, ὃ ἐστὶ φόνευσον). Damascius (end of fifth century A. D.) ap. Phot. *bibl. cod.* 242, p. 347<sup>a</sup>. (Cf. J. J. Scal. in *Canon Isagog.* [ap. *Thesaurus Temporum*] lib. 3 pt. ii ch. 1. 65 pp. 290-291.)

5. *The panel of a door*, Vitruv. 4. 6. 48.

6. *The sunken triangular space enclosed by the cornice of the pediment*, Vitruv. 4. 7. 55.

7. *A wagon-wheel made of a solid piece of wood*, Verg. *Georg.* 2. 444.

B. τυμπανίζω means

1. properly *to beat a drum*, Eupol. Βαπτ. 1: cf. Strab. 712.

2. *to drum with the hand*, 1 Sam. xxi. 13 ἐτυμπανίζεν ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις τῆς πόλεως.

3. *to beat to death*, or *beat*. So probably in Heb. xi. 35 ἄλλοι δὲ ἐτυμπανίσθησαν (so R. V. marg.). Plut. 60 A τυμπανίζοντος καὶ στρεβλοῦντος (MS τελούντος). Luc. *Zeus Trag.* 19 p. 664 ἀνασκοποπιζομένους καὶ τυμπανιζομένους. ps.-Epiph. *de vit. proph.* 12 (repeated in *Chron. pasch.* p. 148) Ἀμασίας . . . συχνῶς αὐτὸν (sc. Amos) τυμπανίσας . . . εἰς τέλος δὲ ἀνέλεν αὐτὸν ὁ υἱὸς Ἀμασίου ἐν ῥοπάλῳ πλήξας αὐτὸν κατὰ τοῦ κροτάφου.

4. of orators, *to use violent language*, *to beat the big drum*, Philostr. p. 520: cf. Quint. 5. 12. 21 'tympana eloquentiae'.

5. *to behead*. So Heb. xi 35 is explained in ps.-Ath. *qu. in ep. Pauli*

*prop.* 128 vol. 2. 279, and so Theophyl. *in loc.*, though he adds that others translate *beaten to death* (the latter is much more probable, as *beheading* is mentioned *v.* 37): Zonaras gives the same alternatives.

6. ps.-Ath. *hom. in patr. et proph.* 1 vol. 2 p. 388 fin. explains it in Heb. xi 35 as 'broken on the wheel', owing to his having identified the *τύμπανον* of 2 Macc. vi 19, 28 with the *τροχός* of 4 Macc. ix 19, but wrongly, as *τύμπανον* there means the *block*, or *stake*, to which the sufferer was fastened before being beaten, as is evident from vi 30.

7. Diod. Tars. *in ps.* 67 (68). 26 (25) mystically explains *τυμπανιστριάς*, 'the damsels playing with the timbrels', as those who 'mortified their members' (Col. iii 5) *διὰ τὸ ἀρχὴν ἔχειν τοῦ τυμπανίζειν, τοῦτέστι νεκρῶν τὰ μέλη*, apparently taking *τυμπανίζω* to mean *kill*, in a general sense, like *ἀποτυμπανίζω inf.* 3.

### C. ἀποτυμπανίζω,

1. *to beat to death*, sometimes merely *to beat*, with a  *cudgel* (or similar instrument). (The lexicographers mostly treat *τυμπανίζω* and *ἀποτυμπανίζω* indifferently.) Hesych. *τυμπανίζεται· πλήσsetai, ἐκδέρεται καὶ κρεμνάται (κρεμάται)*, and so Suid. and *Etym. Magn.* Suid. *ἀποτυμπανισσὸν· ἀνηλεῶς τι φόνευσσον· ἔστιν ἐν τῷ τύμπανίζεσθαι.* Cf. *Lex. Rhet.* ap. Bekker *anecd.* 1. 198, 438, and other passages under *τύμπανον* sup. Probably in this sense, though the context does not admit of certainty, in Plut. 778 E, 523 A, *Dion.* 28. Eus. *H. E.* 5. 1. 47 (*ep. eocl. Vien. et Lugd.*) *ἐπιστειλαντος . . . τοῦ Καίσαρος τοὺς μὲν ἀποτυμπανισθῆναι.* The governor (*ib. inf.*) *beheaded* them. What did the Emperor order? The choice lies between giving to *ἀ.* here the less usual sense *behead*, or, as on the whole seems best, keeping the ordinary sense, and assuming the governor to have disobeyed the emperor, a not unprecedented proceeding, especially, it is said, under Marcus Aurelius. Cels. ap. Or. *c. Cels.* 8. 54 οὐδ' "εἰκὴ παρέχομεν τὸ σῶμα στρεβλοῦν καὶ ἀποτυμπανίζειν", and *ib. paul. inf.* τὸ διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν "ἀποτυμπανίζεσθαι" καὶ "στρεβλοῦσθαι" καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν. Cels. ap. Or. *ib.* 2. 31 (of Christ) *ἄνθρωπον ἀτιμώτατα ἀπαχθέντα καὶ ἀποτυμπανισθέντα* (it would be possible to take *ἀποτ.* here as *crucified*, but it may just as well mean, by a slight extension of its proper meaning, *scourged*). Eph. Syr. *de virt. cap. dec. cap. 2* (Rome 1732, vol. 1, p. 218) οἱ πλείστοι . . . τῶν ἐν πόλεσι κολαζομένων ὑπὸ ἀρχόντων δι' ἀνυποτάγην καὶ ἀπειθειαν καὶ σκληροκαρδίαν ἀποτυμπανίζονται. Chrys. *in Matt. hom.* 40 Ben. 7. 440 E τούτους . . . οὐ καταλεύει καὶ ἀποτυμπανίζειν ἄξιον, ὡς κύνας λυτῶντας; Nilus *ep.* 1. 198 τὸν λυτῆσαντα (*sc. κύνα*) . . . ἀποτυμπανισθῆναι προσέταξεν. Theod. *gr. aff. cur.* 9 Sch. 4. 929 τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπετυμπάνισαν, τοὺς δὲ ἀνεσκολόπισαν. *id. ib.* 3 Sch. 4. 773 τοὺς ἀνδροφόνους ἀνασκολοπίζοντες καὶ ἀποτυμπανίζοντες. *id. ib.* 8 Sch. 4. 902 ἀποτυμπανισθῆναι . . . καὶ ἀνασκινδαλεῦσθαι.

(The conjunction of *ἀποτ.* in these passages from Theodoret with words denoting crucifixion is natural enough, as crucifixion was frequently preceded by beating, as in the case of our Lord: cf. Jos. *bell. Iud.* 5. 11. 1 *μαστιγιούμενοι . . . ἀνεσταυροῦντο.*) The sense of the passages from Chrys. in *Matt.* and Nilus is quite unequivocal.

2. *to behead*, Euphron (b. 274 B. C.) ap. Athen. *Dign.* 4. 40 *παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προτίθεσθαι πέντε μῶς τοῖς ὑπομένειν βουλομένοις τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποκοπῆναι πελέκει, ὥστε τοὺς κληρονόμους κομίσασθαι τὸ ἄθλον καὶ πολλάκις ἀπογραφομένους πλείους δικαιολογεῖσθαι καθ' ὃ δικαιοτάτος ἐστὶν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἀποτυμπανισθῆναι, and so probably Athen. 5. 52 fin. Chrys. *de verb. ap. hab. eund. sp.* 3. 9 Ben. 3. 287 *τοὺς ἀποτυμπανισθέντας, τοὺς καταλευσθέντας* (a ref. to Heb. xi 35, and therefore probably to be translated *beheaded* in view of Chrysostom's interpretation of that passage given in his commentary on the Ep. to the Hebrews, v. *ἀποτυμπανισμός inf.*: otherwise the collocation of words would suggest *beaten to death*, as in Chrys. in *Matt.* p. 440 E sup.). Theod. in *Deut. int.* 42 Sch. 1. 291 *τὸν ἔτερον Ἰάκωβον Ἡρώδης ἀπετυμπάνισε* (v. Act. Apost. xii 2). And perhaps Eus. *H. E.* 5. 1. 47 sup.*

3. *to put to death, destroy* (esp. *with cruelty*, cf. said sup.), 3 Macc. iii 27 *αἰσχίστοις βασάνοις ἀποτυμπανισθήσεται.* Plut. 1049 D *ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς . . . φύσας αὐτὸς καὶ ἀξίησας ἀποτυμπανίζει, id.* 968 E, 170 A, *Sull.* 6. 12, *Gall.* 8. 4. Dan. vii. 11 ap. Just. Mart. *Tryph.* 31 *ἀπετυμπανισθῆ* (Sept. *ἀνηρέθη*) *τὸ θηρίον.* Chrys. in *Matt. hom.* 23 Ben. 7. 384 B *ὡς κοινὸς τῆς οἰκουμένης λυμῶνας οὕτως ἀποτυμπανίζειν ἐπεχείρου* (of the Christians).

I have reserved to the end ten examples of *ἀποτυμπανίζω* and one of *τύπανον* quoted by M. Keramopoulos, or L. and S., or both, as examples of *crucifixion on a plank*. In *Lys.* 13. 56 it is a murderer (*ἀνδροφόνος*) who is condemned to death, and whom, says the orator, *τῷ δημίῳ παρέδοτε καὶ ἀπετυμπανίσθη*; in *id. ib.* 67 it is a traitor in Sicily who had been signalling to the enemy, and a footpad (*λωποδύτης*) who were thus executed. In *Dem.* 8. 61, 9. 61, 19. 137 the orator suggests this as an appropriate punishment for traitors. In these five passages the translation *death by beating* would suit the context as well as *death by crucifixion*, and it is worth noticing that Demosthenes in one passage *c. Mid.* 105 p. 549 uses quite another word, *προσηλωσθαι*, for *crucifixion*. Aristotle *Rhet.* 1383<sup>a</sup>5 says 'suffering is not expected . . . by those who fancy that they have already suffered every horror, and are callous to the future, like those who are on the point of being beaten to death' (Jebb's trans.), *οἱ ἤδη πεπονημένοι πάντα νομίζοντες τὰ δεινὰ καὶ ἀπεφυγμένοι πρὸς τὸ μέλλον, ὥσπερ οἱ ἀποτυμπανιζόμενοι.* M. Keramopoulos urges that the punishment of crucifixion, which was lingering, suits this passage, whereas that of death 'under violent blows from a club' does not. I do not think there is much in this, death by beating is quite lingering

enough for the purpose. In *id. ib.* 1385<sup>a</sup>10 Antiphon μέλλον ἀπότυμ-πανίξεσθαι by Dionysius, when he saw those doomed to die with him covering their faces as they went through the gate, said, 'Why do you cover your faces? Are you afraid of some of these people seeing you to-morrow?' Surely the point of this is that they would certainly be dead, and beyond the reach of shame, to-morrow. So rapid a death was certain under beating, but far from certain under crucifixion (in Plut. 1051 A this Antiphon is spoken of as στρεβλούμενος ὑπὸ Διονυσίου). In *id. Ath. pol.* 45 Lysimachus is said to have been rescued from death at the last moment—Λυσίμαχον αὐτῆς (τῆς βουλῆς) ἀγαγούσης ὡς τὸν δῆμον καθήμενον ἤδη μέλλοντα ἀποθνήσκειν Εὐμηλίδης . . . ἀφείλετο. After which ἐπωνυμίαν ἔσχεν ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ τυπάνου. Here the expression καθήμενον is not very appropriate to either punishment, but it is less unsuitable to a man about to be beaten than to one about to be crucified. Sandys says, 'The culprit is described as seated, ready to receive the fatal blow'. In Beros. ap. Jos. *Ap.* 1. 20 (Eus. *pr. ev.* 9. 40), whose history was written in 261-246 B. C., the King of Babylon, Laborosoarchodous, is said to have ruled over the kingdom παῖς ὢν for nine months, ἐπιβουλευθεὶς δέ, διὰ τὸ πολλὰ ἐμφαίνειν κακοθήθῃ, ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ἀπετυμpanίσθη. ἀπολομένου δὲ τούτου. Here it seems inconceivable that his 'friends' should have crucified him; whatever the sense of φίλων they would scarcely have gone to such a length, nor would there have been time or opportunity for such a punishment: but that they should have beaten him so severely that he died is not out of the question. In U. Wilcken *Urkund. d. Ptolemäerzeit* (UPZ) 119 l. 37 (second century B. C.) the threat of crucifixion for so small an offence as sleeping in the temple-precincts seems impossibly severe, and Wilcken himself, though he follows M. Keramopoulos in giving this sense, is surprised at the gravity of the punishment; and it is noticeable that one of those so threatened for a similar offence, that of being in the sacred enclosure, is merely beaten (l. 29). In *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (POxy.) 1798. 1. 7 (first century A. D. or a little later) this word is used to describe the death inflicted on one of those concerned in Philip the Great's murder (the reference to Philip is almost certain, v. note *in loc.*). Pausanias, the actual murderer, was killed by the guards as he fled, and his dead body crucified (Justin *Hist.* 9. 7. 10): the accomplices were killed by Alexander's order at his father's tomb (Justin 11. 2. 1). The editor says there seems no place for the name of Pausanias here; otherwise there might be in ἀπετυπάνισαν on M. Keramopoulos's theory a reference to the crucifixion of his corpse. As it stands it apparently refers to the death by beating of one of the accomplices.

D. *ἀποτυμπανισμός*. The word is apparently only used twice in Greek literature.

1. In *cat. cod. astr.* ed. Cumont 7. 140. 11 (second century B. C.) *disaster* or *death* (cf. *ἀποτυμπανίζω* 3) seems a more natural result of the moon's eclipse than *crucifixion*, especially as the parallel version of Hephaestion has *σπάνιν dearth* (*ἐν Αἰθιοπία καὶ τοῖς προσσκηνοῦσιν αὐτὴν τόποις ἀποτυμπανισμὸς ἔσται*: Heph. *σπάνιν*).

2. *beheading*, Chrys. in *Heb.* 11. 35 Ben. 12. 248 C *ἀποτυμπανισμὸς γὰρ τοῦτο λέγεται, ὃ ἀποκεφαλισμὸς* (cf. Chrys. 3. 287 under *ἀποτυμπανίζω* 2). That Chrysostom is probably wrong in his interpretation of *ἐντυμπανίσθησαν* in this passage (v. sup. *τυμπανίζω* 3) does not alter the fact that the word could in his judgement bear this sense. *τυμπανισμὸς* is once used in the same sense in ps.-Ath. *qu. in ep. Paul. prop.* 128 vol. 2. 279 *τυμπανισμὸς γὰρ ὃ ἀποκεφαλισμὸς λέγεται*: otherwise it is only used in the literal sense of *beating of drums*.

The results of this examination may be expressed thus:—

(a) In no passage are the translations *crucify* for *ἀποτυμπανίζω*, *crucifixion* for *ἀποτυμπανισμὸς* necessary. One may go farther and say that in no passage is one of the recognized translations for *ἀποτυμπανίζω*, *beat to death* or *beat*, less commonly *behead* or *destroy*, strained or improbable. The meaning of *ἀποτυμπανισμὸς* in one passage is *beheading*, in the other is doubtful.

(b) M. Keramopoulos's theory that these words refer to *crucifixion* on a *plank* falls to the ground unless *τύμπανον* and *σανίς* are interchangeable (p. 25), *τύμπανον* being (p. 34) the *proper* name for the punishment, and *σανίς* (or *ξύλον*) improper names denoting the whole by the part (cf. p. 31). But what are the facts? In the three *loci classici* relating to this punishment, the passages from Ar. *Thesm.*, Herodotus, and Plut. *Pericl.* (v. sup.), the word *σανίς* is repeatedly used, the word *τύμπανον* and its derivatives never; indeed, Photius treats *σανίς* as the technical word for this punishment—*σανίς καὶ ἐν ἧ τοῦς κακούργους ἔδουν* and *σανίδα: τὸ δεσμωτικὸν ξύλον*.

*Τύμπανον* then is not the *proper* name for the punishment, but neither is it *interchangeable with σανίς*. On the contrary there is no evidence, so far as I can discover, that *τύμπανον* ever means a plank (*σανίς*). It is true that in Vitruvius (whose book was written probably between 20 and 11 B. C.) the Graeco-Latin word *tympanum* means the *panel* of a door, but not only is this a very late meaning of *τύμπανον*, but a *panel* is a very different thing from a *plank*. A *panel* preserves some likeness to a *drum* in the raised rim which is common to both. The same suggestion is given by the cornice which surrounds the sunken triangular space of the pediment or *tympanum*.

(c) So much for the *a posteriori* evidence. But there is also a strong *a priori* objection. The literal meaning of a word may in course of time be whittled away by a series of metaphorical applications each removed a little farther from the original sense. It might be possible, though I doubt it, for a word meaning a *drum* to come to mean in its last transformation a *flat plank*. But M. Keramopoulos's theory is that this modification came not last but first, for, if the punishment is older than Solon, the name is not likely to be much later. On this showing *τύπανον* passes from the sense of *drum* direct to that of *plank*, and only later recovers in the senses of *block*, *stake*, and *cudgel*, the resemblance to the original meaning which it had lost. It is worth notice, moreover, that the known metaphorical senses which belong to these and allied words are *closely* connected either with a drum's shape or with the action of beating on a drum: e. g., beside those already given, *τυμπανίας*, a kind of dropsy, and *τυμπανόμοι*, to be swollen like a drum, and *τυμπάνιον*, a head-dress shaped like a drum.

(d) *Beating to death* is a not unnatural punishment for the offences for which *ἀποτυμπανισμός* is usually appointed in classical times—murder, robbery from the person, and especially treason. We know that in Rome the ancient punishment for treason and other serious offences against the state inflicted *more maiorum* was flogging to death (Tac. *Ann.* 2. 32. 5, *al.*; Suet. *Nero* 49, *Claud.* 34: the punishment awarded to Horatius, Liv. 1. 26, was flogging, followed by hanging); and that the Romans had also a military punishment called *fustuarium* for desertion and the gravest military offences, under which a soldier was beaten to death with sticks and stones by the other soldiers of the legion.

(e) It is certainly strange that there should be no certain example of the exact meaning of these words in classical Greek, but this difficulty applies to any translation; indeed a description, and not merely an allusion, is needed to give the certain sense of such words as these. It is not true that the recognized meanings are not found, as is suggested on pp. 22, 34, before Plutarch (c. A. D. 40). The meaning *behead* for *ἀποτυμπανίζω* is found certainly as early as Euphorion (ap. Athen. *Dipn.* 4. 40 v. sup.), who was born in 274 B. C., and that of *beating to death* is far the most probable translation in the passage from Berosus (v. sup.), whose history was written in 261–246 B. C.

There is no doubt of the great value to classical scholarship of M. Keramopoulos's discovery, or of the learning shewn in his attractive comments and illustrations of his main theme. But I cannot believe that there is any trustworthy evidence for his identification of this peculiar form of crucifixion with the punishment described under the words *τύπανον* (*τύπανον*), *ἀποτυμπανίζω*, *τυμπανίζω*, *ἀποτυμπανισμός* (*τυμπανισμός*).

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