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Ἀποτυμπανιδμός : just death by exposing on the plank?

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Constantinos Balamoshev

**ΑΠΟΤΥΜΠΑΝΙΣΜΟΣ:
JUST DEATH BY EXPOSING ON THE PLANK?***

PAPYRUS *P. Enteux*. 86 dated to 26/27 February 221 BC (the first year of Ptolemy II Philopator) and concerned with the intimidation of witnesses by a certain Apollodoros, contains an interesting threat hurled by the accused that he ἀποτυμπανιᾶί the witnesses. Two other papyri preserve the verb: *P. Mich. inv. 6979* (= *SB xx 15001*) and *UPZ 1 119* respectively. This reminds us of the debate over the meaning of ἀποτυμπανισμός/ἀποτυμπανίζω, which remains still somewhat obscure, despite serious efforts to define it, as for instance the fundamental study by Antonios Keramopoulos¹ suggesting (based on archeological finds) that ἀποτυμπανισμός constituted a formal way of punishment of criminals at least in archaic and classical Athens. The criminals were attached to a plank with iron clamps around their wrists, ankles, and the neck, and then exposed outside the city limits, suffering a tormenting death. The

* I owe gratitude to Tomasz DERDA (Warsaw) and Jakub URBANIK (Warsaw) for their valuable suggestions and remarks, and to Adam ŁAJTAR (Warsaw) for assistance in the translation of some German references. I am also indebted to Giovanni RUFFINI (Fairfield) for his assistance in the linguistic amelioration of this article.

¹ A. ΚΕΡΑΜΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Ὁ ἀποτυμπανισμός· συμβολὴ ἀρχαιολογικὴ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τοῦ ποινικοῦ δικαίου καὶ τὴν λαογραφίαν*, Athens 1923.

evidence this study brings forward is impressive. Textual, historical, archaeological, anthropological, and folklore material combined truly elucidate this form of punishment as it was practiced in ancient Athens. Louis Gernet² reviewing this work despite some disagreements or minor improvements sides with Keramopoulos in most of his conclusions,³ and Józef Méléze Modrzejewski⁴ in another important study argues that the meaning ‘beating with club’ advocated by various commentators should be excluded.⁵ However probable their arguments might sound, I believe that certain points need to be clarified regarding the later use of ἀποτυμπανισμός/ἀποτυμπανίζω. I will deal especially with the papyrological evidence in parallel with later literary examples

In all we have three instances of ἀποτυμπανίζω in the documentary papyri and one in a literary papyrus. The first is the aforementioned *P. Enteux*. 86 (221 BC), where a certain Apollodoros is accused of threatening and intimidating a woman named Tetosiris, who lodged a complaint against him in a petition (ἐντευξις), and the witnesses in her case, hurling threats of ἀποτυμπανισμός to them:

Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐπισύσ[τ]ασιν ποιησάμενος πλέονος ποιῶν τοὺς μάρτυράς μου ἀνεσόβησεν πάντας, λέγ[ω]ν ἀποτυπανιῶν⁶ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐμὲ καὶ ἔγβα-

² L. GERNET, ‘Sur l’exécution capitale: à propos d’un ouvrage récent’, *REG* 37 (1924), pp. 261–293 [reprinted in L. GERNET, *Anthropologie de la Grèce antique*, Paris 1968, pp. 302–329].

³ Other scholars accepting KERAMOPOULOS’ conclusions are, e.g., Iulia VELISSAROPOULOU, ‘Ἡ ποιὴ τοῦ θανάτου’, *Αρχαιολογία* 2 (1984), pp. 42–46; Eva CANTARELLA, *I supplizi capitali in Grecia e a Roma*, Milan 1991; Margaretha D. HALL, ‘Even the dogs have Erinyes: Sanctions in Athenian practice and thinking’, [in:] L. FOXALL & A. D. E. LEWIS (eds.), *Greek Law in Its Political Setting: Justifications Not Justice*, Oxford 1996, pp. 73–90. A slightly different approach supported by K. LATTE in *RE Suppl.* VII, s.v. ‘Todesstrafe’.

⁴ J. MÉLÈZE MODRZEJEWSKI, ‘L’apotypanismos’, [in:] IDEM, *Droit et justice dans le monde grec et hellénistique* [= *JJurP Supplement Series* 10], Warsaw 2011, pp. 317–338 (the article originally appeared in *Symposion 2007. Actes du XVI^e Colloque international d’histoire du droit grec et hellénistique* [Durham, 3–5 septembre 2007], Vienna 2008, pp. 229–245).

⁵ In his words: ‘Les coups de bâtons imaginés par des commentateurs mal avertis disparaissent définitivement’.

⁶ Here and in the next sentence I retain the original word spelling, because it is another variant and not a scribal mistake or a barbarism, and thus it is unnecessary to correct it

λεῖν ἐκ τῆς κώμης· ἔτι δὲ καὶ Βιοῦ[.]αν τινα (ἑκατοντάρουρον) μέλλοντ[ά] μοι μαρτυρῆσαι ἐλοιδόρησεν πολλά καὶ ἔφη καὶ τοῦτον ἀποτυπανιεῖν, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν οὐκ [ἐ]μαρτύρησέ μ[οι· πα]ρὰ τὸ δὲ εἶναι τοὺς μέλλοντάς μοι μαρτυρ[ε]ῖν Α[ἰγ]υπτίους, εὐλαβηθέντε[s] ἀνεχώρησαν [ᾧστε] μὴ μαρτυρῆσαι.

Apollodorus came down vehemently and managed to intimidate all my witnesses, saying that he would crush them and me, and would kick us out from the village; furthermore, he insulted greatly a certain Biou[.]as holder of 100 *arourae*, who was going to testify in favor of me, and said that he would crush him too, hence he did not testify for me. Since the people who were going to testify for me were Egyptians, they left out of fear and so did not testify.⁷

The editor Octave Guéraud translates the word as ‘bâtonner’ and ‘frapper à coups de bâton’, but in his commentary he invokes Alexandros Keramopoulos’ study saying that the arguments presented there ‘semblent fort sérieux et sont impressionnants’.⁸ However, and to his confusion, he admits that Apollodoros could not literally threaten to ‘crucify’ his opponent and the witnesses, but that he might be exaggerating, though at the same time the translation ‘beating with clubs’ should not be entirely overruled. Certainly, Apollodoros could not just put the Egyptians on the plank by himself, or via a summary procedure like ἀπαγωγή in Athens have them hung by the Eleven. The point crucial to understanding the meaning of ἀποτυπανίζω in this particular document is what follows: καὶ ἐγβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς κώμης. It is obviously impossible that Apollodoros could threaten the witnesses with putting them to death and afterwards expelling them from the village. So, here the notion of ἀποτυπανίζω should be connected with severe assault on the people supporting the Tetosiris case. And in that period (221 BC) Apollodoros, evidently a Greek

into ἀποτυπανιεῖ. Moreover, all our scarce examples coming from the papyri present the τυπ- spelling and not τυμπ-. See also LATTE, ‘Todesstrafe’ (cit. n. 3), who indicates this spelling in some of Aristotle’s and Demosthenes’ manuscripts.

⁷ To most of the passages mentioned I attach my own translation, except for P. Mich. inv. 6979 and some of the texts mentioned in the catalogue of various meanings of ἀποτυπανίζω.

⁸ O. GUÉRAUD, *Ἐντεύξεις. Requêtes et plaintes adressées au roi d’Égypte au III^e siècle avant Jésus-Christ*, Cairo 1931, p. 213.

(πα)ρὰ τὸ δὲ εἶναι τοὺς μέλλοντάς μοι μαρτυρ[ε]ῖν Ἀ[ίγ]υπτίους, εὐλαβηθέντε[ς] ἀνεχώρησαν [ὥστε] μὴ μαρτυρήσαι), could allow himself to think that he could punish or treat the Egyptians as inferiors.⁹

Fortunately, we have the evidence of the other two papyri to confirm our interpretation, which brings us to the second document, P. Mich. inv. 6979 (= SB xx 15001) from 215 BC. Approximately from the same period as P. *Enteux*. 86, it was published in a set of three documents concerning complaints of police brutality by Tracy Caulfield, Anita Estner, and Susan Stephens.¹⁰ I am not going to describe the entirety of the complaints, but just the points of significance to this article. So, in the text a fuller named Peteuris accuses the ἐπιστάτης of Lysimachis Tettaphos and his associates of breaking into his shop and attacking him:

... [ἀλλὰ ἐπιπηδήσας πρὸς με ἐν τῇ προγεγραμμένῃ κώμῃ] μετ[ὰ] Μενίσκου καὶ Ξεννί[ο]υ τὰς χε[ί]ράς μοι | [προσῆνεγκεν 25-30 π]υγμαῖς [καὶ] λακτίσμασιν εἰς ὃ τύχ[ο]μι μου μέρος τ[οῦ] σώματος | [30-35 παρ-]έδωκ[έ] μ[ε] το[ῖς] φυλακίταις, ἱερομηνίας οὔση[ς] | [35-40 εἰς Κρο-]κοδίλων πόλιν τῇ γ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μη[νός] | [23-28] Τέτταφος, ὡ ἐγκαλῶ, [παρα]λαβὼν Πετεῦριν τὸ[ν] φυλ[α]κ[ί]την κ[αὶ] | [20-25]. ου ἡρένων ζητ[ουντ(?)]έξ με ὅπως προσαποτυπα[νί]σωσ[ίν] με, | [ἀλλ' οὐχ εὐρόντες με] διὰ τὸ ἐν Κροκοδίλων πόλει [εἶναι ἐ]τήρουν ἕως του ... καμν ..τ[.....] | [..... εἰς τὸ ἐργαστ]ήριον. καὶ οὕτως Τέτταφος [καὶ Ξεν]νίας καὶ Μενί-σκο[ς] καὶ Ἐρμιππ[ο]ς καὶ Π[.....] | [15-20] ἔχοντες ῥοπάλια εἰσῆλθον εἰς [τὸ ἐργ]αστῆ[ρι]όν μ[ου] καὶ καθικόμενοί μου π[.....] | [10-15 διε-]σκόρπισαν τὴν ἐμπολὴν παρόντος Π[ετεύρι]ο[ς] [τοῦ] φυλακίτου περὶ ὧν ἐπεμαρτυ[ράμην].

... but attacking me in the aforesaid village with Meniskos and Xenias, [he laid hands on me --- striking me] with fists and kicks on whatever part [of my body] he chanced [---. When (?) he had given [me] into the custody

⁹ Cf., e.g., the ‘isolation’ of the Greeks in the first century of the Ptolemaic dominion or the privileges conveyed to soldiers of Greek-Macedonian descent at least for the period before the battle of Rafia in 217 BC, after which Egyptians were admitted to military posts. More in N. LEWIS, *Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt: Case Studies in the Social History of the Hellenistic World*, Oxford 1986.

¹⁰ Tracy CAULFIELD, Anita ESTNER, & Susan STEPHENS, ‘Complaints of police brutality (P. Mich. no. 6957, 6961, and 6979)’, *ZPE* 76 (1989), pp. 241–254.

of the *phylakites*, since it was the *hieromenia*, [I was released and I went (?) to] Krokodilopolis on the third of the same month. [---] Tettaphos, against whom I lodge this complaint, taking Peteuris, the *phylakites*, and [---] searched, looking for me in order to beat me up, [but not finding me] because [I was] in Krokodilopolis, they lay in wait for me until --[- I returned to my work]shop. Thus Tettaphos, Xennias, Meniskos, Mermippos and P[---] entered [my workshop] carrying clubs, attacked¹¹ me [with numerous blows, and] scattered my inventory in the presence of [Peteuris, the] *phylakites*, on which matters I called him to witness (tr. Tracy Caulfield, Anita Estner, & Susan Stephens).

The editors of the text in the commentary relate this *προσαποτυπανίσωσιν* to *ἀποτυμπανίζω* of *P. Enteux*. 86, assuming it has the meaning of beating (with clubs), as the phrase *ρόπάλια ἔχοντες* later in the text suggests. This should obviously be the explanation. The compound verb used here suggests something further (*προσ-*) than what the perpetrators had previously done to Peteuris or else an additional act. The text is clear about their deeds *τὰς χεῖρας μοι* | [*προσῆνεγκεν 25-30 π*] *υγμαῖς [καὶ] λακτίσμασιν εἰς ὃ τύχ[ο]ι μου μέρος τ[οῦ σώματος]*, which means that they wanted to beat Peteuris ‘black and blue’.

Our third text is *UPZ* 1 119 from 156 BC, a report of extreme police violence by Arembasnis and his brother Pachrates, both police officials. Their violent methods were denounced after some incidents at the Sarapeum by a certain Onnophris, who witnessed Arembasnis’ use of authority against Orchnouphis (he was whipped on the street) and his threats that he would kill them (*ἀποκτενεῖν αὐτούς*) hurled to the fellow castor-oil workers (*κικιουργῶν*) protesting about his behaviour. Onnophris also reported that he had told the *κικιουργοί* to be cautious not to sleep in the *παστοφόριον* of Aphrodite, so they would not *ἀποτυπανισθῶσιν*.

[ὁ] δ’ ἔφη ..[.].[10] | τὰς <...> πίστεις λάβ(ωσι) παρὰ τοῦ βασιλ[έως 8] | ἀποκτεν[εῖ]ν αὐτούς, αὐτὸν δ[ε] {τὸν Ὀννώφριν} | τὸν Ὀννώφριν εἰρηκέναι τοῖς κικιουρ[γοῖς] εὐλαβεῖσθαι(?) | μὴ ὑπνώσαι ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης πασ[τοφορίωι, ἕνα] | μὴ ἀκποτυπανισθῶσιν.

¹¹ Literally ‘came down upon me’. See D. ΒΑΙΝ, ‘Καθικνοῦμαι «Come down upon» in P. Michigan inv. 6979’, *ZPE* 79 (1989), pp. 71-72.

And he said... [if they do not] receive a safe-conduct letter from the king, [---] he will kill them, and that the same Onnophris told the castor-oil makers to be careful not to sleep in the *pastophorion* of Aphrodite, in order not to be violently treated.

Ulrich Wilcken translated the verb as ‘crucified’, and in his commentary he mentions another case from *P. Edg.* 33 [= *P. Cair. Zen.* II 59202], where Apollonius addresses Zenon and asks him to look into the case of Amenneus the ζυτοποιός, accused by the ταμίης of ζυτοπωλεῖον of something unknown to us. Apollonius closes his letter with:

ἐὰν γὰρ φαίνεται κατ’ ἀλήθειαν | ὁ Ἀμεινεὺς εἰρηκῶς ἂ ἔγραψας πρὸς ἡμᾶς |
περιαχθεῖς κρεμῆσεται.

For, if Amenneus appears in truth to have said the things you have written, he will be transferred to us and will be hung.¹²

Wilcken implies that this might be an expression equivalent to ἀποτυπανισθῶσι of our text.¹³ My perception is somewhat different, as I believe that the verb here is connected directly with the sort of previous actions committed by the brothers and their associates. We are told that they were observed stabbing someone with daggers in the street [ἐπ]ὶ το[ῦ] δρόμου μαχαίραις τύπτοντάς τι[νας] (l. 10) and then continuing their assault:

[εἰσπεπ]ηδηκέναι μαχαίραις πολλάς πληγ[ὰς 8] | [4 καταβα]λόντας αὐτὸν
καὶ βίαι ἐξε[σπακέναι ...] | [...]σαντας ἕως τοῦ περιβολίου ...

Burst in with daggers (caused) a lot of wounds ... throwing him down and dragging him out vehemently ... to the precinct.

¹² The translation depends on whether we accept that *πρὸς ἡμᾶς* belongs to *ἔγραψας* or to *περιαχθεῖς*. I prefer the latter. MÉLÈZE MODRZEJEWSKI, ‘*Ἀποτυπανισμός*’ (cit. n. 4), p. 333, proposes a reverse interpretation, suggesting that the *ταμίης* will be hung and not Amenneus. This is indeed interesting, although I hold some doubts and it would not be significant for the present discussion.

¹³ See also MÉLÈZE MODRZEJEWSKI, ‘*Ἀποτυπανισμός*’ (cit. n. 4), pp. 332–335, who offers a more thorough interpretation, but one still not completely convincing in my opinion for equating hanging with ἀποτυπανισμός.

Later on, they persisted with their violent manners, hence the whipping of Orchnouphis Ἀρεμβάσιν[ν πάλιν ? εὖ][ρηκ]έναι τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ δρόμου τοῦ Σα[ράπιδος καὶ] | [μεμ]αστιγκέναι Ὀρχνουφιν ἐπὶ τοῦ δρόμου. Afterwards, Arembasnis threatens to kill the castor-oil workers and Onnophris warns them to be very careful not to sleep in the παστοφόριον of Aphrodite, in order not to be aggressively and violently treated. Therefore, I am of the opinion that ἀποτυπανισθῶσιν has this culminating meaning ‘severely punished’ or ‘violently treated’ with both interpretations complementing each other.

The literary papyrus mentioned in the beginning is *P. Oxy.* xv 1798, which dates from the late second century AD, according to the editors Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt. It contains a fragmentary text of a historical work dealing with Alexander the Great and presents some peculiarities, divergences from the widely accepted versions. So, fragment no. 1 refers, as some keywords suggest, to the death of Philip II of Macedon. There appears to be the word ἀπετυπάνισαν:

[.....]τους μ[...].[...].θ]εάτ[ρ]ωι κα[...].[.....]ους απε[...].[.....]ε περιθρόν[ον |]ιν τοῖς Μ[α]κεδόσι π[α]ρέδωκε[ν. | οἱ τοι δ'] ἀπετυπάν[ι]σαν αὐτόν. τὸ δὲ σώμ[α | τοῦ Φιλ]ίππου θερά[[πουσι θάψ]αι παρέδωκε ...

at the theater (?) ... at the throne ... (he) gave (him) into the hands of Macedonians (for execution),¹⁴ and they put him to death. He then gave the body of Philip to the attendants for burial.

The story, known from Diodorus, tells us about Pausanias, who assassinated Philip. In his attempt to escape after Philip's murder he stumbled upon some vine and fell down, resulting in being captured by Perdicas' assistants and put to death on the spot. Actually, they speared him at once:

Diod. XVI 94.4: Ὁ δὲ Πausανίας προλαβὼν τῆς διώξεως ἔφθασεν ἂν ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀναπηδήσας, εἰ μὴ τῆς ὑποδέσεως περὶ ἄμπελόν τινα περιπλα-

¹⁴ Or anything similar. It is likely that]ιν after the lacuna is actually the last part of an infinitive in -ειν. This construction παραδίδωμι + inf. + dat. is frequently attested, e.g. Dem. 28.1: οὐδ' ἂν τῇ μὲν μητρί μου ταῦτα φυλάττειν παρέδωκεν. And of course it reappears later in the restored part of our papyrus: θερά[[πουσι θάψ]αι παρέδωκε[ε.

κείσης ἔπεσεν. διόπερ οἱ περὶ τὸν Περδίκκαν καταλαβόντες αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀνιστάμενον καὶ συγκεντήσαντες ἀνείλον.¹⁵

Pausanias, who managed to escape before the pursuit, was about to jump on the horse, had he not fallen down, when his foot-gear got entangled in a vine. Hence, Perdiccas' assistants caught him trying to get up and speared him to death.

The editors of the text did not realise that ἀπετυπάνισαν¹⁶ here could have the same meaning as ἀνείλον. On the contrary, they suggest that the object is somebody else and not Pausanias, comparing the information provided by another source on Alexander, Justin (XI 2), that Alexander while arranging the funeral obsequies for his father ordered the accomplices of the murder to be slain on his grave.¹⁷ Thus, it does not seem to be a discrepancy with Diodorus' version but a synonymic expression comparable to ἀνείλον. There are parallels for this use of ἀποτυ(μ)πανίζω, which confirm our assertion. Plutarch in his work *Περὶ Στωικῶν ἐναντιωμάτων* (*De Stoicorum repugnantiis*) discussing the way Zeus destroys men states:

Plut. *De Stoic.* 1049.D: ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς οὐ μόνον ἑάσας καὶ περιυδῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γενομένους ἀλλὰ καὶ φύσας αὐτὸς καὶ αὐξήσας ἀποτυμπανίζει, φθορᾶς καὶ δόλεθρου μηχανώμενος προφάσεις, δέον αἰτίας καὶ ἀρχὰς γενέσεως μὴ παρασχέιν.

Zeus not only allows and overlooks us until we reach manhood, but he also begets and brings us up, and then destroys us, devising pretexts of ruin and destruction, even if he does not need to provide any justifications and causes.

And again in Plutarch's *Πότερα τῶν ζώων φρονιμώτερα, τὰ χερσαία ἢ τὰ ἔνυδρα* (*De sollertia animalium*) there is a description of an incident,

¹⁵ See LATTE, 'Todesstrafe' (cit. n. 3), who refers to the way the Macedonians executed Philotas with κατακοντισμός, i.e. speared him.

¹⁶ As for the editors' suggestion that this is rather a poetic form, there is the evidence of the other papyri that this is a variant form, if not the commonest.

¹⁷ 'Prima illi cura paternarum exequiarum fuit, in quibus ante omnia caedis conscios ad tumulum patris occidi iussit.'

when an elephant, after being provoked by some children in Rome who were pricking its trunk with their pens, reacted, grabbed one of them with its trunk and was prepared to strike it dead.

Plut. *De soll.* 968.E: ὁ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν παιδαρίων προπηλακισθεὶς ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοῖς γραφεῖοις τὴν προβοσκίδα κεντούντων ὃν συνέλαβε μετέωρον ἐξάρας ἐπίδοξος ἦν ἀποτυμπανίσειν· κραυγῆς δὲ τῶν παρόντων γενομένης ἀτρέμα πρὸς τὴν γῆν πάλιν ἀπηρέισατο καὶ παρήλθεν, ἀρκοῦσαν ἡγούμενος δίκην τῷ τηλικούτῳ φοβηθῆναι.

And after being treated with contumely by little children in Rome who were pricking its trunk with their pens, it seized one and raised it from off the ground just about to strike it dead; but when the people present started screaming, it gently placed it on the ground and moved away, considering fright to be a sufficient punishment for such an age.

If this small survey showed that the interpretation of ἀποτυμπανισμός as something other than ‘hang and expose on the plank’ is probable, this should lead us to accept of an addition to the meaning of the word. As Keramopoulos’ evidence from archaic and classical Athens is impressive and we would hesitate to argue about their value, I believe it is necessary to understand what happened later. Méléze Modrzejewski’s mention¹⁸ of the episode in Plutarch about the punishment of Samian generals by Pericles as a case of ἀποτυμπανισμός does not take into account that already in Plutarch¹⁹ the notion is somewhat different, as the above examples suggest. Here is what Plutarch quotes:

¹⁸ MÉLÈZE MODRZEJEWSKI, ‘*Apotypanismos*’ (cit. n. 4), p. 328.

¹⁹ There are plenty of examples showing this, like *Galb.* 8.5: τῷ δὲ δήμῳ χαριζόμενος οὐκ ἐκώλυε τὸν παραπίπτοντα τῶν Νέρωνος ἀποτυμπανίζειν. Σπῆκλον μὲν οὖν τὸν μονομάχον ἀνδριάσι Νέρωνος ἐλκομένοις ὑποβαλόντες ἐν ἀγορᾷ διέφθειραν, Ἀπόιον δὲ τινα τῶν κατηγορικῶν ἀνατρέψαντες ἀμάξας λιθοφόρους ἐπήγαγον, ἄλλους δὲ διέσπασαν πολλούς, ἐνίους μὲν δὲν ἀδικούντας.

Dia. 28.1-2: Τῶν δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει Συρακοσίων οἱ μὲν γνώριμοι καὶ χαρίεντες ἐσθῆτα καθαρὰν ἔχοντες ἀπήντων ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τοῖς (τοῦ) τυράννου φίλοις ἐπετίθεντο καὶ συνήραζον τοὺς καλουμένους προσαγωγίδας, ἀνθρώπους ἀνοσίους καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθροὺς, οἱ περιενόστουν ἐν τῇ πόλει καταμειγμένοι τοῖς Συρακοσίοις, πολυπραγμο-

Plut. *Per.* 28.2: Δούρις δ' ὁ Σάμιος τούτοις ἐπιτραγωδεῖ, πολλὴν ὠμότητα τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ Περικλέους κατηγορῶν, ἣν οὔτε Θουκυδίδης ἰστόρηκεν οὔτ' Ἐφορος οὔτ' Ἀριστοτέλης· ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀληθεύειν ἔοικεν, ὡς ἄρα τοὺς τριηράρχους καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας τῶν Σαμίων εἰς τὴν Μιλησίων ἀγορὰν καταγαγῶν καὶ σανίσι προσδήσας ἐφ' ἡμέρας δέκα κακῶς ἦδη διακειμένους προσέταξεν ἀνελεῖν, ξύλοις τὰς κεφαλὰς συγκόψαντας, εἶτα προβαλεῖν ἀκήδευτα τὰ σώματα.

To these details Duris the Samian adds stuff for tragedy, accusing the Athenians and Pericles of great brutality, which is recorded neither by Thucydides, nor Ephorus, nor Aristotle. But he appears not to speak the truth when he says, forsooth, that Pericles had the Samian trierarchs and marines brought into the market-place of Miletus and bound fast to boards,²⁰ and that then, when they had already suffered grievously for ten days, he gave orders to break their heads in with clubs and make an end of them, and then cast their bodies forth without burial rites.

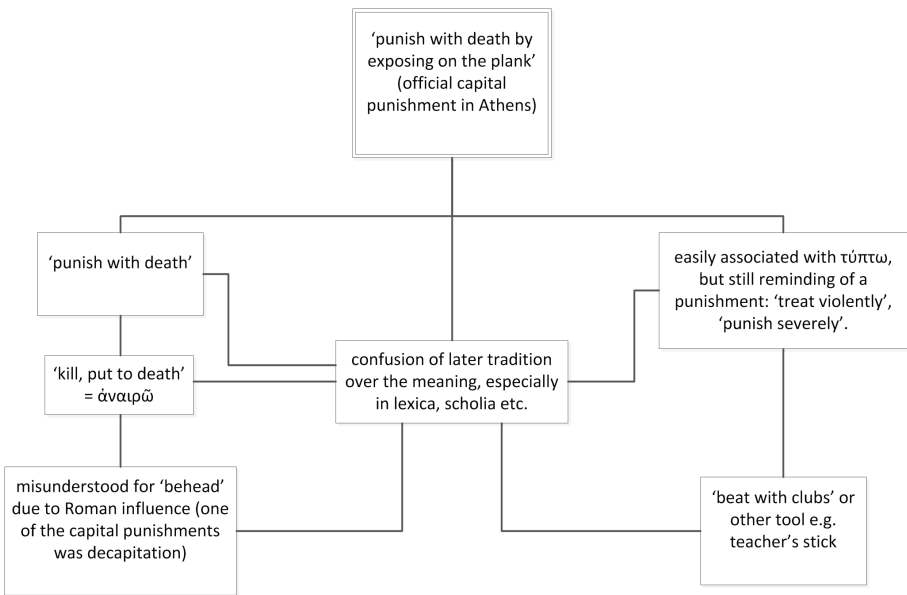
What we could infer from this passage is that even if the case described here reflects an original Athenian ἀποτυμπανισμός, it is not so evident that Plutarch perceives it as such. For there is the question why Plutarch does not point clearly to ἀποτυμπανισμός, although in other works he uses the verb ἀποτυμπανίζω in the sense of 'kill, destroy', as we observe. In the Greek version of the Book of Daniel (7:11), as Méléze Modrzejewski notes, ἀπετυμπανίσθη is used to render the Aramaean *qetiylat*, that is 'was slain' (*qetal* = 'to slay, to kill'). However, Méléze Modrzejewski believes that this was a literary preference by the Jewish translator who was undoubtedly an Alexandrian and, thus, his vocabulary reflects the legal practice in the Ptolemaic kingdom. He also mentions in

νοῦντες καὶ διαγγέλλοντες τῷ τυράννῳ τὰς τε διανοίας καὶ τὰς φωνὰς ἐκάστων. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν πρώτοι δίκην ἐδίδοσαν, ὑπὸ τῶν προστυγχανόντων ἀποτυμπανιζόμενοι.

De Cur. 522.F–523.A: Καίτοι τοὺς γε τυράννους, οἷς ἀνάγκη πάντα γνώσκων, ἐπαχθεστάτους ποιεῖ τὸ τῶν λεγομένων ὧτων καὶ προσαγωγέων γένος. ὠτακουστὰς μὲν οὖν πρώτος ἔσχεν ὁ νόθος Δαρείος ἀπιστῶν ἑαυτῷ καὶ πάντας ὑφορώμενος καὶ δεδοικῶς, τοὺς δὲ προσαγωγίδας οἱ Διονύσιοι τοῖς Συρακοσίοις κατέμψαν· ὅθεν ἐν τῇ μεταβολῇ τῶν πραγμάτων τούτους πρώτους οἱ Συρακοσίοι συλλαμβάνοντες ἀπετυμπανίζον.

²⁰ Originally 'crucified' in the Loeb translation.

a footnote the revised translation proposed by Theodotion (end of 2nd cent. AD), where the Aramaean verb is rendered as ἀνηρέθη, which is closer to the original. But this is exactly what we have shown as the meaning for the Oxyrhynchus papyrus and the examples from Plutarch. So, the question remains: was ἀποτυμπανίζω and its derivatives used in a different way after the Classical times? My opinion is that it did evolve, becoming a figurative equivalent of ἀναιρῶ, and certainly incorporating the notion of punishment, even if sometimes it was associated with τύπτω. Perhaps, we could imagine a sequence of evolutions it underwent:



This is a mere tentative reconstruction of the sources from which we derive our material. I have gathered texts which would fit one category or the other.²¹ It might be useful to mention some:

²¹ Most of the meanings are already summarised in G. W. H. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek*

1. Punish with death

Eus. *H.E.* V 1.47: ἐπιστείλαντος γὰρ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοὺς μὲν ἀποτυμπανισθῆναι, εἰ δὲ τινες ἀρνοῦντο, τούτους ἀπολυθῆναι, τῆς ἐνθάδε πανηγύρεως (ἔστι δὲ αὕτη πολυάνθρωπος ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἔθνων συνερχομένων εἰς αὐτήν) ἀρχομένης συνεστάναι ἀνήγεν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα θεατρίζων τοὺς μακαρίους καὶ ἐμπομπέων τοῖς ὄχλοις. δι' ὃ καὶ πάλιν ἀνήταξε. καὶ ὅσοι μὲν ἐδόκουν πολιτεῖαν Ῥωμαίων ἐσχηκέναι τούτων ἀπέτεμνε τὰς κεφαλὰς, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἔπεμπεν εἰς θηρία.

For Caesar sent a commandment that they should be *put to death*, but that any who might deny should be set free. Therefore, at the beginning of the public festival which took place there, and which was attended by crowds of men from all nations, the governor brought the blessed ones to the judgment seat, to make of them a show and spectacle for the multitude. Wherefore also he examined them again, and beheaded those who appeared to possess Roman citizenship, but he sent the others to the wild beasts.

2. Decapitate²²

Ath. IV 40: Εὐφορίων δ' ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς ἐν ἱστορικοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν οὕτω γράφει· 'παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προτίθεσθαι πέντε μνᾶς 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'.

Euphorion of Chalcis, in his *Historical Notes*, writes as follows: 'Among the Romans twenty pounds are offered to any who will brave decapitation with an axe, on condition that their heirs receive the prize. And often, when too many are enrolled, they dispute which of them has the best right in each case to have his *head cut off*'.

Lexicon, Oxford 1961, s.vv. ἀποτυμπανίζω, ἀποτυμπανισμός, and τυμπανισμός respectively, using Christian sources.

²² ΛΑΤΤΕ, 'Todesstrafe' (cit. n. 3) offering as an example of this meaning the Antiat-ticista's lemma: Ἀποκεφαλίζεω· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀποτυμπανίζεω, claims that this work goes back to the best Hellenistic scholarship, e.g. Aristophanes of Byzantium.

Chrys. *Hom. in Heb.* XXVII 2: ‘Ἄλλοι δὲ ἐτυμπανίσθησαν,²³ οὐ προσδεξάμενοι τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν, ἵνα κρείττονος ἀναστάσεως τύχωσιν.’ Ἄλλ’ οὐχ ἡμεῖς ἀναστάσεως ἐτύχομεν. Ἄλλ’ ἔχω δεῖξαι καὶ ἐκείνους, φησὶν, ἀποτμηθέντας, καὶ μὴ δεξαμένους, ἵνα κρείττονος ἀναστάσεως τύχωσι. Διὰ τί γὰρ, εἶπέ μοι, παρὸν ζῆσαι, οὐκ ἠβουλήθησαν; οὐκ ἄρα ὅτι κρείττονα προσεδόκων ζωῆν; Καὶ οἱ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀναστήσαντες, αὐτοὶ εἴλοντο ἀποθανεῖν, ὥστε κρείττονος ἀναστάσεως τυχεῖν, οὐ τοιαύτης, οἷας τὰ παῖδιά τῶν γυναικῶν. Ἐνταῦθά μοι δοκεῖ καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην αἰνίττεσθαι, καὶ τὸν Ἰάκωβον· ἀποτυμπανισμὸς γὰρ λέγεται ὁ ἀποκεφαλισμὸς.

‘And others were *decapitated*,²⁴ not accepting deliverance, so that they might obtain a better resurrection.’ But we have not obtained a resurrection. I am able however, he means, to show that they also were cut off, and did not accept [deliverance], ‘so that they might obtain a better resurrection.’ For why, tell me, when they had the chance to live, did they not choose it? Were it not because they were looking for a better life? And they who had resurrected others, themselves chose to die, in order ‘to obtain a better resurrection’, not such as the children of those women. Here I think he alludes both to John and to James. For *decapitation* is called ‘*apotympanismos*’.

This meaning occurs even in Byzantine hymns, like *Canones Septembris*:²⁵

ὦδὴ ἡ'. Οἱ θεορρήμονες παῖδες ἐν καμίνῳ
 Ἱερονίκους στεφάνους ἀνεπλέξω | τυμπανιζόμενος ξίφει | καὶ ἱερῶς κλειζόμενος,
 | ἀθλητὰ Κορωνάτῃ²⁶ | μαρτύρων ἀγλαΐσμα (...) Κορυφωμένην τὴν
 πλάνην ἐτροπώσω, | τὴν ἱερὰν κεφαλὴν σου | ἀποτμηθεῖς, ἀξιάγαστε.

²³ It would be also interesting to study the difference, if any, or the reason why *τυμπανιζομαι* appears instead of *ἀποτυμπανίζομαι*.

²⁴ Originally ‘tortured’ in the translation (*The Homilies of St. John Chrysostom on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, tr. F. GARDINER, New York 1886), rendering a baffling meaning. However arguable might be the meaning of the word in the original text which John Chrysostom quotes, this is what he understands.

²⁵ A. DEBIASI GONZATO & G. SCHIRÒ, *Analecta hymnica Graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris*, I: *Canones Septembris*, Rome 1966.

²⁶ As we learn, *Κορωνάτος* is nobody else than ‘the priest-martyr Cornutus, Bishop of Nicomedia, who suffered for Christ in the persecution by Decius and Valerian in the 3rd cent. AD. The governor of Iconium, Perennius, forced Christians through his interrogations and persecution to hide themselves away in places of concealment. Saint Cornutus

Ode 8. The godly speaking children in the furnace

You wove prize-winning garlands, *decapitated* by sword, and divinely glorified, athlete Coronatus, an ornament of the martyrs. (...) You defeated the culminant deceit, having your holy head cut off, o admirable.

3. Beat by any means

Plut. *De superst.* 169.F–170.A: ἐγὼ γοῦν ἂν ἐθέλοιμι μᾶλλον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους λέγειν περὶ ἐμοῦ μῆτε γεγονέναι τὸ παράπαν μῆτ' εἶναι Πλούταρχον ἢ λέγειν ὅτι Πλούταρχός ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος ἀβέβαιος εὐμετάβολος, εὐχερῆς πρὸς ὀργήν, ἐπὶ τοῖς τυχοῦσι τιμωρητικός, μικρόλυπος· ἂν καλῶν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἑτέρους παραλίπης ἐκείνων, ἂν ἀσχολίας σοι γενομένης ἐπὶ θύρας μὴ ἔλθης ἢ μὴ προσείπης, διέδεται σου τὸ σῶμα προσφῦς ἢ συλλαβῶν ἀποτυμπανιεῖ τὸ παιδίον, ἢ θηρίον ἔχων τοῖς καρποῖς ἐφήσει καὶ λυμανεῖται τὴν ὀπώραν.

Why, for my part, I should prefer that men should say about me that I have never been born at all, and there is no Plutarch, rather than that they should say ‘Plutarch is an inconstant fickle person, quick-tempered, vindictive over little accidents, pained at trifles. If you invite others to dinner and leave him out, or if you haven't the time and don't go to call on him, or fail to speak to him when you see him, he will set his teeth into your body and bite it through, or he will get hold of your little child and *beat him up*,²⁷ or he will turn the beast that he owns into your crops and spoil your harvest.’

Themist. *Orat.* 21 (Βασανιστῆς ἢ φιλόσοφος) 251.A–B: τῷ γὰρ ὄντι πολλοῦ ἂν γέλωτος γέμοι τὸν τῆς ἀκραιφνοῦς καὶ ἀσωμάτου οὐσίας μεταποιούμενον καὶ περιφρονούντα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου προσκαθῆσθαι ταῖς συλλαβαῖς καὶ ἐκμελετᾶν διὰ βίου συγκοπᾶς τε ὀνομάτων καὶ ἀποθλίψεις καὶ ῥήματα ἀποσμιλεῦν καὶ μειράκια ἀποτυμπανίζειν καὶ παιδαγωγοῖς ἀθλίους χαλεπὸν εἶναι καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ἔξουσίᾳ ὑψηλὸν ἐξαίρειν αὐτὸν φρονηματισμοῦ ἐμπλάμενον.

came voluntarily before Perennius. The torturers tightly bound the legs of the bishop with thin cords and led him through the city. The priest-martyr underwent excruciating sufferings, and from the wounds on his legs, being cut by the cords, blood flowed. After terrible tortures Bishop Cornutus was beheaded' (<<http://www.holytrinityorthodox.com/calendar/los/September/12-06.htm>>, accessed on 22 November 2011).

²⁷ ‘Beat him to death’ in the original Loeb translation, which is a possibility but quite unlikely for this passage.

For it would really be quite ridiculous for someone who lays claim to pure and incorporeal Being and is contemptuous of the merely human to devote himself to syllables, to spend his life mastering verbal contractions and elisions and planing down phrases. Yes, it would be ridiculous for such a person to give young students *a thrashing*, to bear down on their wretched pedagogues, to be filled with arrogance and proudly to exalt himself because of his exercise of such power (tr. R. J. Penella).²⁸

Gr. Nyss. *Castig.* (PG 46, p. 312): ὀνόματα δὲ οὐκ ἄλλα τοῖς στοιχείοις ἐπιλέγει, ἀλλ' ἄπερ ἤκουσε· παντὶ δὲ τρόπῳ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ μιμείται τοῦ καθηγητοῦ τὴν παράδοσιν. Ἄν δέ που καὶ ῥαθυμῆσαν ἀποτυμπανισθῆ² τῷ σκύτει, οὐ θρασύνεται τῇ πληγῇ, οὐδὲ τὰς δέλτους τῷ διδασκάλῳ περιβρῆξαν ἀποφοιτᾷ· ἀλλ' ἐπ' ὀλίγον τῇ ἀλγηδόνι πικρὸν ἐπιστάξαν τὸ δάκρυον, ἔχεται τῶν μαθημάτων, καὶ συντονώτερον περὶ τὴν μελέτην, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀμελέστερον γίνεται.

And he does not pronounce words after letters other but the one he heard; then, in every way in word and deed he imitates the teacher's example. And if he is somewhat negligent and gets beaten with the whip, he does not become vexed with the wounds, neither he breaks the writing-tablets on his teacher and then departs, but after shedding a bitter tear because of pain, he continues his classes becoming more studious and not more negligent.

4. Kill, destroy (see also the examples from Plutarch mentioned earlier)

Joseph. *Ap.* I 147–148: μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἀναιρεθῆναι τοῦτον διαδεξάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ ἐπιβουλεύσας αὐτῷ Νηριγλίσσαρος ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη δ'. τούτου υἱὸς Λαβοροσοάρδοχος ἐκυρίευσεν μὲν τῆς βασιλείας παῖς ὦν μῆνας θ', ἐπιβουλεύθεις δὲ διὰ τὸ πολλὰ ἐμφαίνειν κακοήθη ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ἀπετυμπανίσθη.³⁰

After his assassination, Neriglisaros, who plotted against him, succeeded to the throne and reigned for 4 years. His son, Laborosoardocho, ruled the

²⁸ R. J. PENELLA, *The Private Orations of Themistius*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 2000.

²⁹ It is of course impossible that a student might be either punished by attachment to the plank or generally by any form of death for his negligence!

³⁰ Note the appearance of ἀναιρεθῆναι, which we consider synonymous to ἀποτυμπανισθῆναι.

kingdom, though only a child, for 9 months; but, since he displayed in many ways an evil character, a plot was forged and he *was slain* by the Friends.³¹

Given these pieces of evidence, I believe there needs to be a reinterpretation of ἀποτυμπανισθήσεται in 3 Macc. 3, which is thoroughly analysed by Méléze Modrzejewski in his study.³² He insists on connecting this word with the Athenian legal practice, thus implying an equivalent official Ptolemaic capital punishment practice. What we learn from the text is, as Méléze Modrzejewski points out, that after provoking king Ptolemy IV Philopator's wrath, during his visit of Jerusalem's temple, the Jews and particularly those living in Egypt are ordered to be carried to Alexandria, proclaimed traitors and barbaric enemies, and are sentenced to a sort of *damnatio ad bestias*. Whosoever attempts to offer shelter or conceal any Jew αἰσχίσταις βασάνοις ἀποτυμπανισθήσεται πανοικία, that is (according to Méléze Modrzejewski's interpretation) will be executed together with all his family on the plank (of capital punishment) after suffering the most shameful tortures. Could this be the meaning of the passage? Why are the 'traitor' Jews thrown to the beasts and their accomplices or rather harbourers condemned to this form of death? What follows is even more intriguing:

πάς δὲ τόπος, οὗ ἐὰν φωραθῆ τὸ σύνολον σκεπαζόμενος Ἰουδαῖος, ἄβατος καὶ πυριφλεγῆς γινέσθω καὶ πάση θνητῇ φύσει καθ' ἅπαν ἄχρηστος φανήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον.

Any place where a Jew is revealed to have taken shelter must become impassable and blazing, and shall be deemed entirely useless for every mortal soul once and for all.

³¹ Originally 'beaten to death' in the latest translation, Flavius Josephus, *Against Apion*, tr. J. M. G. BARCLAY [= *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary* 10], Boston 2007, which seems incongruous with the meaning. The same meaning appears in the Loeb translation.

³² MÉLÈZE MODRZEJEWSKI, 'L'apotympanismos' (cit. n. 4), pp. 322–325. With his conclusions sides Marie-Françoise BASLEZ, 'Hellenismos – Ioudaïsmos: Cross approaches of Jewish-Greek literature of martyrdom', *Henoch* 32 (2010) [= *Ancient Judaism and Christianity in Their Graeco-Roman Context: French Perspectives*], pp. 19–33.

If Méléze Modrzejewski is right at least partly in his conclusion that ‘Juif et Grec à la fois, notre Alexandrin renforce une donnée de la réalité judiciaire ptolémaïque (*apotympanismos*) par une sanction complémentaire empruntée à la loi mosaïque, la destruction matérielle du refuge allant de pair avec la destruction physique des complices des traîtres’,³³ then we could be dealing with the ideological world of a Jew, who apparently wanted to enhance his story of the Jewish martyrs, and thus reconstructed a presumably historical event³⁴ according to his own aspirations. In any case, I tend to believe that the word ἀποτυμπανισθήσεται here is a mere literary device,³⁵ which gives us the idea of a grave capital punishment inflicted upon the traitors’ harbourers, sounding more like the way Plutarch uses it or even equivalent to the proposed *αναίρω* in Dan. 7:11.

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³³ MÉLÈZE MODRZEJEWSKI, ‘*Apotympanismos*’ (cit. n. 4), p. 331.

³⁴ Some scholars find parallels in the story of the persecution by Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II ‘Physcon’ reported by Josephus in *Contra Apionem* II 5, and in the words of L. ROST, *Judaism Outside the Hebrew Canon: An Introduction to the Documents*, Abingdon 1976, pp. 106–107: ‘Although it is likely that there was some historical occasion for the celebration of the festival in Alexandria (it is mentioned also by Josephus), and although the description of the historical events at the battle of Raphia is accurate and the journey to Jerusalem appears reasonable, the rest of the story is highly unlikely. At the very least it is highly exaggerated. Furthermore, in *Contra Apionem* II.5 Josephus ascribes the attempt to take all the Jews captive and have them stand naked in readiness to be trampled by elephants to Ptolemy VII Physcon (146–117). It is naturally possible to draw the conclusion that the history of the Jews in Egypt includes situations in which the very existence of Jews was endangered and even that on some occasion command was given to have certain Jews, or the Jewish population of one or more cities, trampled by elephants. But there is no certain evidence of such an event. The permissions to slay apostate Jews is probably wholly legendary, although it is likely that such illegal executions were occasionally carried out.’

³⁵ Cf. 3 Macc. 3:1, where the Jews are ordered to be put to death with the most ignominious form of death: *προστάξαι σπεύσαντας συναγαγεῖν πάντας ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ χειρίστω μόρω τοῦ ζῆν μεταστῆσαι*. This appears similar in construction with the phrase *αἰσχίσταις βασάνοις ἀποτυμπανισθήσεται πανοικία*. Thus, *αἰσχίσταις βασάνοις* ↔ *χειρίστω μόρω* and *τοῦ ζῆν μεταστῆσαι* ↔ *ἀποτυμπανισθήσεται*. This could be a further proof that *ἀποτυμπανίζω* means nothing but ‘put to death’ in this passage.

To conclude, the main point of this article is to show the possibilities and the progressive change in the meaning of ἀποτυμπανισμός, ἀποτυμπανίζω, and the like in the post-Classical era, focusing on the papyrological evidence as compared with literary parallels. It is doubtful whether there even existed a punishment like the Athenian ἀποτυμπανισμός in Ptolemaic Egypt. The primary notion seems to have acquired advanced semantic branches, however kindred to the original. In most of the branches examined punishment is an essential ingredient, whether it is capital or figurative. The word might have become a fossil reminding of its Attic past, but not quite understandable to later generations who had not attended an execution of this kind in Athens or had not been familiar with it. The tradition, as we survey it, is extremely inconsistent, especially the late sources. The need for interpretation of this obscure notion reflects the ignorance of it in at least late Roman and Byzantine times. Lexica and scholia tend to show a fusion and a confusion of different meanings as for instance in Pseudo-Zonaras' *Lexicon*:

Τυμπανίζεται. ξύλω πλήσσεται. ἢ ἀποδέρεται τὴν κεφαλὴν. ἢ ἀποκεφαλίζεται.

Being hit by a wooden block or being scalped or decapitated.

Ἀποτυμπανίσαι. οὐχ ἀπλῶς τὸ ἀποκτείνειν, ἀλλὰ τυμπάνῳ ἀποτυμπανῶ. ἔστι δὲ ξύλον, ὅπερ σκυτάλην καλοῦσι. τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ξύλοις ἀνήρουν τοὺς πολεμίους· ὕστερον δὲ τῷ ξίφει, καὶν τε δοῦλος εἶη, καὶν τε ἐλεύθερος.³⁶

Not just to kill, but with a 'tympanon'. This is a wooden piece, which is called cudgel; for in the old times the enemies were killed with wooden blocks, but later with swords, disregarding whether it was a slave or a free man.

Or even lemmata like this in *Suda*:

⟨Τύμπανα:⟩ βάκλα. παρὰ τὸ τύπτειν. ξύλα, ἐν οἷς ἐτυμπάνιζον· ἐχρῶντο γὰρ ταύτῃ τῇ τιμωρίᾳ.

³⁶ The plenitude of sources should be thoroughly studied in the future for the various branches of the tradition.

Cudgels. From ‘typtein’ (= hit). Wooden pieces, on which they ‘tympanized’; for they used this kind of punishment.

The Modern Greek sources³⁷ supply interesting parallels with words like *τουμπανίζω* and *στούμπανίζω*, basically meaning beating, but this is simply a suggestion for the need of a further study.

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³⁷ See e.g. G. H. POPPLETON, *Vocabulaire classique français, anglais, grec moderne et ancien / Όνομαστικὸν Κλασσικὸν Τετραγλωσσον Γαλλαγγλογραικελληνικόν*, Munich 1834, in the chapter *Περὶ μηχανικῶν τεχνῶν καὶ τῶν ταύτας ἐπαγγελλομένων*, s.v. *τύπανον*, we have an interesting interpretation: ‘Τὸ τύπανον (ἀπὸ τοῦ τύπτω τὸ θεματικώτερον τύπω, τύπανον, τυπανίζω, καὶ μὲ τὴν προσθήκην τοῦ μ τύπανον, τυμπανίζω) ἐσήμαινεν εἰς τοὺς ἀρχαίους ὄχι μόνον τὸ μουσικὸν ὄργανον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐργαλεῖον εἰς τὸ ὁποῖον ἐδεσαν τοὺς κολαζομένους ἀνάλογον μὲ τὸ ἀρσενικῶς ἀπὸ ἡμᾶς καλούμενον (κατ’ εὐθείαν πτώσῃ) Φάλαγγας, πρὸς τούτοις καὶ τὸ ξύλον αὐτὸ μὲ τὸ ὁποῖον τοὺς ἔτυπτον. ‘Τύπανον ὃ αἱ Βάκχαι κρούουσιν, ἢ εἶδος τιμωρίας’ λέγει ὁ Ἡσύχιος· καὶ πάλιν ὁ αὐτός, ‘Τυμπανίζεται, πλήσσεται, ἐκδέρεται, ἰσχυρῶς τύπτεται’ ὅπου τὸ ἐκδέρεται σημαίνει τὸ ἀφαιρεῖται τυπτόμενος τὸ δέρμα. Λέγει καὶ ὁ Φώτιος ‘Τυμπανίζεται, ξύλω πλήσσεται, ἐκδέρεται καὶ κρεμάται’. Ὁ δὲ Χρυσόστομος ἐξηγεῖ τοῦ Ἀποστόλου τὸ ἐτυμπανίσθησαν διὰ τοῦ ἀπεκεφαλίσθησαν. Σημαίνει ἄρα τὸ τυμπανίζω ὄχι μόνον τὸ ξύλω τύπτω, τὸ ὁποῖον καὶ ἡ συνήθεια ἐφύλαξε, τυμπανίζω, καὶ τουμπανίζω, καὶ προσέτι στούμπανίζω, λέγουσα, ἀλλὰ τῷ ξύλω κτείνω, τὸ ὁποῖον ὁ Πολύβιος (ζ’, 37) διὰ τοῦ ξυλοκοπεῖν, ἐξέφρασεν, ὡσπερ καὶ τὸν τυμπανισμόν διὰ τοῦ ξυλοκοπία. Ὅθεν καὶ ὁ Ἐτυμολόγος (σελ. 124), ‘Ἀποτυμπανίσαι, οὐχ ἀπλῶς τὸ ἀποκτείνειν, ἀλλὰ τυμπάνω· ἀπὸ τυμπάνου, ὃ ἐστι ξύλον, ὅπερ σκυτάλην καλοῦσι. Τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ξύλου ἀνήρουν τοὺς πολεμίους, ὕστερον δὲ τῷ ξίφει Κορ. Πλουτάρχ. Μερ. 6, σελ. 400.’