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PLAUTUS' *CASINA*: THE PUNISHMENT
OF *RAPHANIDOSIS* AND THE REVERSAL
OF THE WIFE'S ROLE*



ABSTRACT: In *Casina*, Cleostrata threatens to punish her unfaithful husband Lysidamus by *raphanidosis*. Though she would never actually have had such legal authority in Roman society, in the context of comedy a wronged wife is thus permitted to usurp the male role in punishing adultery. This enables her to exact revenge on her husband, who has spurned her through his infatuation with Casina. Rather than actually suffer *raphanidosis*, Lysidamus is beaten by his slave Chalinus, and threatened with other future punishments if he relapses. In composing the final scenes of the play, Plautus may have been inspired by mime theatre or Greek texts including Aristophanic comedy.

IN THE PLAUTINE COMEDY *Casina*, a bailiff named Olympio and his elderly master Lysidamus both woo the beautiful slave-girl of the title, in the mistaken belief that they will manage to bed her; in actual fact they suffer beatings and humiliation administered by Chalinus, who takes her place as bride in a fake wedding ceremony. Chalinus assumes the disguise as part of a plan devised by Lysidamus' wife Cleostrata, who wants to teach her cheating husband a harsh lesson.

This paper aims to show that the predicament of the two would-be lovers, and of Lysidamus in particular, points to a specific punishment for adultery: (*ἀπο*)*ραφανίδωσις*, which involved inserting a radish or other substitutes for a penis¹ into the offender's anus. To the best of my knowledge, this detail has escaped the notice of earlier scholars. I shall begin with a

* I was inspired to write this paper after reading an article by Stavros Tsitsiridis entitled "*Μίμος, κίναιδοι και κίναιδολόγοι (I)*", *Logeion* 4 (2014) 201-26; I am also grateful to him for his valuable comments on an earlier draft of my text. Thanks are due to the anonymous reader of *Logeion* for helpful observations, as well as to Dana F. Sutton for warmly endorsing the paper.

1. See Hubbard (2003) 87 and 98 n. 45.

discussion of Greek and Roman sources on *raphanidosis*, as well as on the other kinds of punishment for adultery that appear in the text alongside the one in focus. I then go on to examine the text itself, in an attempt to show how the wife's planned retribution is adjusted for incorporation into what is a comedy: in contemporary Roman society, Cleostrata could not possibly have orchestrated the meting out of a punishment that was an exclusively male prerogative. In essence, the appropriation of such action by a feminine character warrants a specific reading of the last Act, whereby the wife is transformed into a husband. The paper ends with a short discussion on how the Act originated as regards adultery in general and *raphanidosis* in particular.

In elucidating the nature of punishments for adultery, it is useful to invoke both legal and literary evidence. Let us start with the former, noting that the term *raphanidosis* is not directly attested in legal texts.² In cases of adultery, Greek laws permitted a *κύριος* or 'lord' of a woman, i.e. the man under whose legal protection she lay (her husband or companion if she was a concubine; her father or master if she was a slave-girl), to exact revenge on the adulterer by inflicting severe, possibly lethal punishments on him, though the form these would take is not specified.³ On the other hand, no legal texts have survived from Plautus' era. The earliest one is the *lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis* (18 B.C.), which is partially preserved in later traditions. It probably refers to legal practices prior to the first century B.C., and introduced *ius occidendi*, according to which the father and, to a lesser degree, the husband of a woman who committed adultery was permitted to kill both her and her lover.⁴ Later on, Valerius Maximus (1st century A.D.) gives instances of men who punished adulterers by whipping, castration and rape by slaves (*familiaei stuprandum obiecit*, 6.1.13). Thus *raphanidosis* as such is neither prescribed nor directly discussed in the surviving corpus of Greek and Roman law.

By contrast, the punishment is attested in at least three Greek literary texts, all of which are comedies.⁵ The earliest is Aristophanes' *Nubes*. In

2. Carey (1993) 53-55 claims that this silence is due to the sexual nature of the punishment.

3. Demosthenes (*Against Aristocrates* 53) invokes a law of Dracon referring to the murder of an adulterer, whereas Lysias (*On the Murder of Eratosthenes* 31) quotes a law permitting the injured party to take whichever revenge on the adulterer they wished if they apprehended him (ἐάν τις μοιχὸν λάβῃ, ὅ,τι ἂν βούληται χρῆσθαι).

4. See Nixon (2012) 64-65. Actually, in Plautus' *Bacchides* (850-924), according to Chrysalus' intrigue, a soldier, the supposed husband of a *meretrix*, threatens to kill her and her lover for committing adultery.

5. *Raphanidosis* is also attested in Greek texts later than Plautus, such as Lucian *Peregr.* 9, Alciphron 3.62 and *A.P.* 9.520; from Alciphron we deduce that an adulterer could buy off his punishment if the husband was lenient.

lines 1076-84, the Inferior Argument points out to the Superior Argument that if the adulterous young Pheidippides takes his advice, he can always use the example of unfaithful Zeus if he is caught (*ἐλήφθης*). The Superior Argument rebuts this as follows (1083-84):

τί δ' ἦν ῥαφανιδωθῆ πιθόμενός σοι τέφρα τε τιλθῆ;
ἔξει τινὰ γνώμην λέγειν τὸ μὴ εὐρύπρωκτος εἶναι;

But say he listens to you and then gets violated with a radish and depilated with hot ash? What line of argument will he have on hand to avoid becoming wide-arsed?⁶

Here Aristophanes is actually describing two different punishments for adultery: *ἀποραφανίδωσις* is combined with *παρατιλμοί*, the pulling out of anal hair, which in this instance is burnt with hot ash.⁷

The second Greek play is anonymous; all that survives of it are three lines transmitted by Hesychius in his *Lexicon* (adesp. *418 K.-A.):

Τίς γὰρ <ἄν>
ἀντὶ ῥαφανίδος ὀξυθύμι' εἰσορῶν
ἔλθοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς;

Kassel and Austin explain that these lines are *mulieris verba*, quoting Vossius, who understands them as follows: *si pro raphano moechis crux statuatur, nemo nos accedet*. A possible translation of the fragment would be: "Who would approach us if he sees (a future) punishment by gallows instead of a radish?" Here *raphanidosis* is presented as a lighter punishment than death by hanging (*ὀξυθύμια*), yet one still comparable to execution. That these lines presuppose the particular sexual punishment is evident from Hesychius, who brings them up in his attempt to explain the term *ῥαφανιδωθῆραι*.

The third Greek play is *Ἀποκλειομένη* by Posidippus (4 K.-A.). One line of the comedy includes the proverb:

ὦ Λακιάδαι καὶ στειλῆαι.

Zenobius the proverb compiler explains that large *raphanides* produced in the Attic deme of Laciadai were used for the punishment of adulterers; when these were not available, the handles of mattocks (*στειλῆαι*) were used

6. The translation is from Henderson (1998).

7. On these terms see Σ Ar. *Plut.* 168.

instead. A mattock handle is also described as a large *raphanis* by Antiphanes in *Κιθαρωδός*, while Philippides also refers to the deme in question in one of his plays. The above authors belong to either Middle or New Comedy and obviously used *raphanidosi*s in comic contexts.

A fourth possible source is a line from an anonymous Greek comedy (adesp. *105 K.-A.):

† στελεω ῥαφανίδας, σικνὸς τέτταρας

The number “four” (τέτταρας) could mean that we are dealing with a catalogue of items, but the sequence of the words (“mattock handle, radishes, cucumbers”) seems far from accidental. In view of the previous fragment, the first two words are in all probability used for *raphanidosi*s; “cucumber” as a possible substitute for a penis is attested in literary texts (including *Casina*) — as will be shown later.

That the Romans must have been aware of *raphanidosi*s can be deduced from the poet Catullus, who came after Plautus. In poem 15 (lines 17-19) Catullus demands that Aurelius stay away from his beloved boy, or else: *a tunte miserum malique fati! / quem attractis pedibus patente porta / percurrent raphanique mugilesque* (“then let misery and evil fate be yours! Of him whom, with feet dragged apart, radishes and mullet fish pass through an open door”). The mullet fish (*mugiles*) is mentioned in combination with the radish (*raphanus*) as an equivalent means of punishing an adulterer. *Mugiles* also appear in this role in Juvenal (10, 314-17). In commenting on the above comic adesp. 418 Kassel and Austin quote Vossius, who believes it to be hidden behind Catullus’ poem.

Besides *raphanidosi*s, other punishments were inflicted upon adulterers. Horace (*Sat.* 1.2.41-46) offers a survey of such penalties: “One throws himself headfirst from a roof; another is whipped to death; somebody else when fleeing falls into an angry group of robbers; a fourth gives money to save his skin; another is abused by the bullies; it’s even happened that a husband with a sword reaped the lover’s lusty cock and balls (*hunc perminxerunt calones*)”. Verse 44 is to be interpreted in the light of verse 133, in which Horace mentions the ruin of the adulterer’s *puga*, i.e. his rape (*ne nummi pereant aut puga aut denique fama*).⁸

In *Casina*, three of the above punishments are encountered as imminent

8. See the discussion in Tsitsiridis (2014) 223. On more Latin sources describing punishments for adultery see Nixon (2012).

threats to the terrified husband. Although the Act of interest here is the last one, it might be useful to briefly narrate the events running up to it. Lysidamus is a *senex amator* in love with Casina. In his attempt to conquer her, he has sent away his son, Eythynicus, who is also smitten with the girl, and thus a rival; this information is in the play's backstory. The interests of the absent son are protected by his mother Cleostrata, who is suspicious of her husband's motives. The plot revolves around the conflict between the two spouses and their respective allies: Lysidamus persuades his bailiff Olympio to marry Casina, so that he himself can enjoy the first night with the bride, whereas Cleostrata wants to marry the girl to her son's loyal slave Chalinus. A casting of lots initially grants Casina to Olympio, but undeterred by this, Cleostrata plots with her slave Pardalisca and her neighbor Myrrhina to replace Casina with Chalinus, whom they dress up as a bride.

The mock wedding procession ends at the house of Lysidamus' neighbor and friend Alcesimus (husband to Myrrhina), as the two men have planned. It is probably Pardalisca who informs the audience that "Casinus" is approaching (*iam oboluit Casinus procul*, 814)⁹; to the strains of her parodistic song of Hymenaeus, Olympio and Lysidamus escort the bride to her new home, which is in reality the house next door.

In Act V, Cleostrata, Pardalisca and Myrrhina anxiously await the outcome of their intrigue. The brief conversation between them centers on the shrewdness of their scheme, covering the necessary time for the post-nuptial encounter between "Casina" and Olympio. The hapless groom soon rushes on stage, and, under the impression that he is alone, repeatedly bemoans his fate: the disgrace in which he has participated (*dedecu'*, 875; *flagitio*, 876; *pudeo*, 877) makes him feel shame without precedent (*puget quem priu' non pudistumst unquam*, 878), frightens him (*paueo*, 877), and has made fools of both him and his master (*inridiculo sumus ambo*, 877). Olympio begins to

9. The Latin text is from Lindsay's edition (Oxford 1904), though he attributes the line to Chalinus; on the contrary, MacCary & Willcock join others in attributing it to Pardalisca (1976) 82; see their comment on p. 186-87. O'Bryhim (1989) 91-96 accepts that the line is uttered by Chalinus. However, contrary to the general trend in bibliography (see e.g. MacCary & Willcock [1976] 187), he assumes that Casinus is the *senex*, whose name "Lysidamus" is derived only from the scene headings of the Ambrosian palimpsest. Yet if we consider that Casinus is the name of the old man (by analogy to Casina, who was raised almost as his daughter) the joke is gone: the candidate lovers expect to see Casina and instead face a Casinus! The same joke is made a little later by Pardalisca, who wonders what Chalinus the he-bride is doing (*nouum nuptum*, 859), thus using a male ending on a word that only has a feminine one; see MacCary & Willcock (1976) 194, cf. de Melo (2011) 102.

narrate how he tried to seduce “Casina” behind his master’s back, but suddenly realizes he is not alone. At this point Pardalisca intervenes and urges the bailiff to recount exactly what has happened, thus giving him another opportunity to voice his shame (*puget dicere*, 898; *puget hercle*, 900; *flagitium est*, 902).

What has brought about such a marked change in the hitherto shameless Olympio? All is soon revealed: while lustfully caressing “Casina”, he came across something *maximum* (907), which could not have been a sword (*non habuit gladium*, 910), i.e. the weapon that Pardalisca deceitfully claims Casina brandished against her imaginary suitor. The thing he touched was not cold, as he realized when he attempted to grasp its hilt (*capulum*, 909). Pardalisca, who knows exactly what the object was, teases Olympio by asking whether it was a radish (*radix*, 911) or a cucumber (*cucumis*, 911). Olympio replies that it could not possibly have been a vegetable: it was so well grown that no blight seemed ever to have affected it. Although the text is corrupted at this point, it is clear that the slave then tells of his continued attempts to seduce his bride, and that when he attempted to kiss her, a beard as tough as hog’s bristles prickled his face. “She” then jumped up and punched him in the face.¹⁰ Olympio then fled, determined not to disclose his experience to his master, so that he too would get a taste of the same medicine (929-32).

Having believed himself to be a dominant male about to deflower a young bride, Olympio suddenly finds himself reduced to the status of persecuted slave, attacked by someone who batters and kicks him, holding something that, according to Pardalisca, resembles a radish or cucumber. It seems clear that the reference to a radish is far from coincidental. Besides contributing to the recurrent food metaphor in the text,¹¹ it also alludes to the particular form of punishment for adultery discussed above; this interpretation is

10. This off-stage scene, which is presented in a narration by Olympio, is the reversal of another earlier one, also related by the same character, in which the bailiff imagines a sexual encounter with Casina that is witnessed by the tormented, jealous Chalinus. Beacham (1992) 93 observes that this earlier scene foreshadows Chalinus’ subsequent revenge upon Olympio.

11. In commenting on the references to the sword and the vegetables, Cody (1976) 460 states that “the military and culinary imagery of the play come together strikingly in this climactic scene”. According to Andrews (2004) 46, what we have here is the phallic imagery of cucumber and radish, mirroring the male characters’ fantasies about Casina that were also expressed via food imagery at the beginning of the play. The same scholar earlier compares the fictive narration by Pardalisca on the terrified Casina and the threatening sword with what the shameful Olympio relates, and reaches the conclusion that “the sense of horror, however, in both performances derives from the threat of sexual violation”.

corroborated by the examination of the following scene. It should be pointed out that no real radish is used to punish Olympio or Lysidamus. Instead, the threat is embodied in Chalinus' phallus, which functions on two levels, as a penis and as a radish, both of which imply the rape and sexual humiliation of the adulterer as their ultimate goal.¹² In *Casina* all four associated words have sexual connotations: the *radix* (like *raphanus* in Catullus¹³), the *cucumis*, the *capulus* and the *gladius*.¹⁴ The last two also appear in other Latin texts as synonyms for the penis.¹⁵ As we have already seen, the radish also appears in a sexual context in Aristophanes' *Nubes*; the cucumber,¹⁶ the sword¹⁷

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12. Rei (1998) 102, without touching on the particular punishment of adultery, observes that Chalinus threatens to sexually assault the two would-be lovers: "When both Olympio and Lysidamus approach the bride for sex, Chalinus beats them and threatens to rape them"; cf. Pierce (1998) 143.
 13. The word *radix* means edible root, especially a radish (see Lewis & Short, s.v. 2) as does *raphanus*.
 14. On *gladius*, *radix* and *cucumis* as symbols of penis in this scene see, for instance, Fontaine (2010) 217.
 15. See Adams (1982) 24, 19-21, 27; on the sword see also Franko (2001) 173 n. 2. Chiarini (1978) 109 holds that with the sword of "Casina", Lysidamus faces a sexual death more fierce and humiliating than the one he might suffer in a real battle. In discussing the meaning of *Apocolocyntosis* as used in the title of the work by Seneca, Ramelli (2001) 479 n. 6 cites Bennert's view (based on Wagenwoort) that the particular title alludes to the term ἀποραφανίδωσις; if the latter view is correct, then in Roman literature we have one more vegetable, the pumpkin, being used with a similar sexual meaning to that of the radish.
 16. As Henderson (1991) 125 n. 94 observes, the cucumber (σίκνος) is characterized as ἐδνόχιος (castrated) in the comic poet Plato (64.4), and by contrast as σπερματίας (full of sperm) in Cratinus (136); in *A.P.* it denotes the phallus (12.197.3), while in Athenaeus (6.257a) the name Σικώας is abusive. Athenaeus also preserves a proverb: τὸν σικκὸν τρώγουσα, γίναι, τὴν χλαῖναν ἔφαινε (3.73d); a Latin translation of this is found in P. Pierrugues, *Glossarium eroticum linguae latinae*, Berlin 1908, p. 158: *cucumere vescens mulier lanam texe* (lemma "*cucumis*: —*pro mentula, ratione formae*"). The sexual connotation Pierrugues finds in the phrase "woman, weave your textiles while eating cucumber" is due to an Aristotelian opinion that weavers are promiscuous women ("*quia textrices parte plurima veneriae errant*"). In attempting to elucidate the meaning of the adjective Σικωνία (a pair of Sikyonian shoes) in the seventh *Mime* of Herondas, Sumler (2010) 468-69 holds that, like the rest of the shoes in the catalogue, which have sexual connotations, it is a double entendre also meaning phallus or dildo; he associates them with σίκνος and mentions other sources where the cucumber has a sexual meaning (Phrynichus fr. 26 K-A; Athen. 3.74c; Zenob. 4.21).
 17. On the sword as a symbol of male sexuality in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, in addition to Adams (1982) 21 see also Anderson (1983) 20 and n. 18. On the contrary, O'Bryhim (1989) 89 n. 28 holds that the sword as sexual symbol in *Casina* has no Greek equivalent, discounting Henderson's understanding of the sword as a euphemism for the

and its hilt¹⁸ appear as further synonyms of the penis in other Greek texts.

Olympio's punishment becomes all the more hilarious and absolute if he is threatened with suffering a humiliation he attempted to inflict on someone else. The slave is a ludicrous substitute for Lysidamus. Although Cleostrata's revenge primarily targets her husband, his conspiracy with Olympio renders the slave the first victim, in a crescendo leading up to the eagerly awaited downfall of his master.¹⁹ So despite having been chosen by lot to marry Casina, Olympio is punished as an adulterer. This is apparently because none of the women in the play — including Casina — really believes it is lawful or just for him to be marrying the girl, especially since the real groom and claimant of the *ius primae noctis* was his master.

As a woman, Cleostrata has no true authority in law to punish her cheating husband with a real *raphanidosis*-rape; such a fate simply hangs over the adulterer as an extremely embarrassing threat. Plautus is consequently limited to showing other types of punishment meted out to adulterers: torment by slaves, as expressed via the beating and kicking Chalinus gives both would-be lovers.

Let us now examine the scene with Lysidamus. The conversation between the two women and Olympio mentioned earlier allows time for the older man's encounter with "Casina". In turn, Lysidamus rushes on stage soliloquizing about how he is burning at the enormity of the disgrace he has

penis in lines 156 and 632 of the Aristophanic play. In support of the view correlating the Latin play with the Greek one, I should like to add that in *Vespaе*, when Bdelycleon successfully rebuts his father Philocleon's line of argument, the latter says that he can feel something akin to paralysis creeping over his hand, so that he cannot hold his sword, and has gone limp (*καὶ τὸ ξίφος οὐ δύναμαι κατέχειν, ἀλλ' ἤδη μαλθακός εἰμι*, 714). It seems to me that Philocleon is here implicitly identifying the sword with his drooping penis.

18. In *Lysistrata* (672) we find the word *λαβήν*, which surely corresponds to *capulum*; in its specific context, the Greek word suggests the penis, which women would very gladly like to get hold of, no matter how small; cf. Henderson (1991) 122 who considers the Greek word to be a double entendre suggesting *λαβεῖν* in its common sexual sense. Finally, I would like to note that in terms of imagery, the seizing of the alleged sword (*arripio capulum*, 909) recalls the seizing of the chickpea of Xanthias by Dionysus in *Ranae* (*τοῦρεβίνθου ἰδραττόμην*, 545); the word *ἐρέβινθος* alludes to the erect penis (see Henderson [1991] 119), though it seems to me more likely to mean "small penis".
19. Cf. Franko (2001) 184: "Although the real target of Cleostrata's deception was Lysidamus, Olympio's sexual misadventures are a delightfully unexpected bonus that heightens our eagerness to see the old man caught in the same trap".

suffered (*maxumo ego ardeo flagitio*, 937), and soon adds that his misdeeds (*probra*, 941) have come to the fore. He is not only ashamed at the fact that his wife will discover his motive, but also at what very nearly befell him. The text of his monologue is corrupted, but it is clear that he was beaten (*uapulo hercle ego inuitus tamen | etsi malum merui*, 957-58).²⁰ The description of off-stage events is rather sparing. Plautus probably does not give details of the disgraceful surprise in store for Lysidamus for the following reasons: (a) he might want to avoid repeating things already said by Olympio; (b) even in a comedy, such public humiliation of a *senex* could well have been deemed unseemly;²¹ (c) for reasons of verisimilitude: as bridegroom, the lovestruck Olympio would have been the first to meet the bride, and would certainly not have kept his pledge to grant his master the first night with the girl, so Olympio's description would precede Lysidamus' narration; (d) in a play, stage action is more effective than the narration of off-stage events. As we shall see below, the monologue is followed by a hilarious scene in which Lysidamus is chased, mocked and threatened on stage by Chalinus. In any case, both Olympio and Lysidamus react to the unexpected unfolding of events in much the same way: the former abandons his cloak indoors and flees the "scene of the crime", while his aging master leaves both cloak and walking stick behind when making his hurried exit.

Added to this is one further piece of evidence to suggest that both master and slave suffer the same punishment. As mentioned above, as soon as Lysidamus ends his monologue, Chalinus enters in pursuit of him. His words are worth quoting (963-66):

*Ubi tu es, qui colere mores Massiliensis postulas ?
nunc tu si uis subigitare me, probast occasio.
redi sis in cubiculum; periisti hercle. age, accede huc modo.
nunc ego tecum aequom arbitrum extra considium captauero.*

Where are you, who wish to follow the customs of Marseille? If you want to get me into bed now, you have a decent opportunity. Come back to the

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20. Segal (1987) 153 notes that this is the only instance in Plautus where a slave physically injures his master. Of course, Chalinus acts according to the orders given by his mistress Cleostrata, though he might gladly have exceeded his duty. In essence, as in the scene where lots are cast, Chalinus beats Olympio on Cleostrata's demand. Here again, she is the one pulling the strings so as to permit her son's slave to assault her husband.
21. Cf. Rei (1998) 103 who notes that the audience would have found the violent mistreatment of a free man by his slave unacceptable.

bedroom, will you? You're dead. Go on, just come here. Now I'll get a fair umpire with you, outside the regular bench of judges.²²

The reference to *mores Massiliensis* is to be understood as referring to the reputation the city's men had for effeminacy.²³ It is obvious that Chalinus' words are threatening. The slave most probably enters wearing a costume with a protruding phallus, like the actors of Greek old comedy or Greco-Roman mimes.²⁴ Chalinus' threat becomes even more conspicuous by Lysidamus' reaction to it (967-68):

*perii! fusti defloccabit iam illic homo lumbos meos.
hac iter faciundumst, nam illac lumbifragiumst obuiam.*

I'm dead! He'll smash my loins with his club now. I have to turn this way:
that way a loin wreck is facing me.

Chalinus probably raises Lysidamus' abandoned walking stick against him.²⁵ The verb *defloccabit* denotes the metaphorical fleecing of the old man,²⁶ while also alluding to another form of sexual punishment.²⁷ It is evident that Chalinus is threatening the old man with sexual humiliation, and the walking stick,²⁸ along with the sexual symbols we have already discussed,

22. Translations from the Latin are from de Melo (2011).

23. Athen. 12.523c. See MacCary & Willcock (1976) 205.

24. Cf. Duckworth (1952) 328 n. 61, and Marshall (2006) 62-63, who comment on *Rudens* 429. Marshall (2006) 64 does not think that a phallus is a necessity in Olympio's narration of the event in *Casina*. On the phallus as part of the costume of mimic actors, see for instance Marshall (2006) 8. On mimes in general, see also Beare (1964) 137-38 and Panayotakis (2005) 139-46. The question of Plautus's debt to earlier drama when composing the final scenes will be discussed later.

25. See MacCary & Willcock (1976) 206 and de Melo (2011) 113.

26. See MacCary & Willcock (1976) 206, who bring up line 616 from *Epidicus*, and quote Nonius' interpretation that the term "comes from rubbing the 'nap' off cloth".

27. Franko (1999/2000) 8 n. 21 observes that *defloccabit* means the plucking out of Lysidamus' pubic hairs, a punishment of adulterers familiar from two Aristophanic plays, *Nubes* (1083) and *Plutus* (168); in commenting on the line from *Plutus*, Aristophanes' scholiast explains that the poet means the pulling out of anal hairs, whereas Plautus speaks of the hair of the *lumbus* (loins). O'Bryhim (1989) 100-101 holds that the phrase *defloccabit... lumbos meos* is ambiguous, that it may suggest either the women's practice of softening the hair of the legs, or castration (since *lumbus* signifies the genitals). When focussing on Chalinus' threat, the same author reaches the conclusion that Lysidamus is turned into a *pathicus*.

28. For the staff as a symbol of Lysidamus' social and sexual authority see MacCary (1974) 888.

alludes to a punishment aimed at reducing the guilty party to a female, submissive role.²⁹

The moment Lysidamus notices his wife, he feels trapped between two perilous animals: on the one side he faces a wolf, Chalinus, and on the other side a bitch, Cleostrata; he finally chooses to step towards the less dangerous animal, his wife. In the course of his interrogation, the *senex* thrice begins his sentences with the word *Bacchae* (978-81), but is unable to round off what he has to say due to continuous interruptions by Cleostrata and Myrrhina. Cleostrata correctly concludes that he is afraid, since he is terribly pale (*times ecastor...palles male*, 982). The reference to Bacchants has been seen as presupposing the common notion in Plautus' time that initiates into the cult of Dionysus were required to submit to homosexual sex; according to this view, Lysidamus is implying that Bacchants forced him to sexually assault Chalinus.³⁰ In *Casina*, the old man appears to be attempting to sexually abuse both male and female members of his household (Chalinus and Casina respectively). According to my understanding, he is not so much afraid of having a homosexual experience as of being raped. Even the prospect of suffering that particular sexual punishment strikes fear into him, exactly as it terrified Olympio. Repetition of the word *Bacchae* at the beginning of his lines underlines his unpleasant surprise, his agitation, his embarrassment and ultimately his fear.

In the course of the interrogation, Myrrhina answers for Lysidamus when their neighbor asks at precisely which point he lost his cloak and staff:

in adulterio, dum moechissat Casinam, credo perdidit (976).

He lost it in the act of adultery, I believe, while having sex with Casina.

The verb *moechissat* (*μοιχίζω) is a possible Plautine creation resembling the Greek verb μοιχεύω. It denotes more than “sex”; it means “commit adultery”, and in that respect is synonymous with the phrase *in adulterio*.³¹ But why should Plautus juxtapose two words with the same meaning in the same

29. The punishment of *raphanidosis* aimed at forcing a man to take a woman's role. See Dover (1989) 105-06.

30. See MacCary (1975) 460. Rei (1998) 105-06 observes that in using the word *Bacchae*, Plautus is alluding to mythical gender reversals, and more specifically to Pentheus' overstepping of gender boundaries when he witnesses a female ritual.

31. Nixon (2012) 142 n. 522 comments on the use of this word as follows: “Lysidamus is accused of *adulterium* with Casina, who is unmarried. *Adulterium* is either used here to refer to an unmarried woman, which would be highly unusual when compared with

sentence? The answer lies in the character each particular word refers to: Lysidamus is cheating on Cleostrata when he attempts to commit adultery with Casina. She is a foundling, who is the property of her mistress, brought up at her expense (*quae mea est, quae meo educta sumptu siet*, 194). In fact, the prologue speaker has already established Cleostrata's authority over the girl: she has raised Casina as her daughter (*educavit magna industria | quasi si esset ex se nata*, 45-46). Thus, it is only natural and right for her to have the first word as regards the girl's wedding. This is the reason why it is so difficult for Lysidamus to bypass his wife's wish, a fact which necessarily leads to the casting of lots. Thus, Cleostrata is Casina's *κνρία* and the one entitled to punish any would-be offender against her, given that in cases of adultery the *κύριοι* of women punish the guilty party. She punishes Lysidamus on the one hand because he has slighted her by falling for Casina (*uir me habet pessumis despiciatam modis*, 189), and on the other because she wants to avenge the attempted assault on the slave-girl by both Lysidamus and Olympio.

One final comment on the punishment of adultery in *Casina* should be made at this point: it is facilitated by a scheme, and the two would-be offenders are punished for their attempted act of violence. Xenophon (*Memorabilia*, II.I.5) writes that anyone entering women's quarters to commit adultery knows that he runs the risk of suffering the consequences: he might get caught in an ambush (*ἐνεδρευσθῆναι*), be apprehended (*ληφθῆντα*) and humiliated (*ὀβρισθῆναι*). In addition, in the famous first speech by Lysias (*On the Murder of Eratosthenes* 24), a cuckold named Euphiletus, who stands accused of murdering his wife's lover Eratosthenes, narrates how he gathered his friends to ensnare the man in his own house and catch him in the act, a fact which led to the offender's death. In another comedy by Plautus, *Miles Gloriosus*, the "adulterer" Pyrgopolinices is threatened with castration by the supposedly insulted husband Periplectomenus. Yet again, the lover is the victim of an ambush (*impediuit in plagas*, 1388; *paratae insidiae sunt*, 1389).³²

the use of the term by the other authors, or it is used because Lysidamus is married, which would also be an unique use of the term".

32. If we bear in mind the extent of the scene where the soldier is ridiculed, it is safe to say that Plautus favors adultery plots. The cook Cario, who participates in Periplectomenus' scheme, demands that Pyrgopolinices hand over his tunic, cloak and sword (1423), tokens of his profession; in *Casina* Olympio leaves his cloak, while Lysidamus also abandons his walking stick. Without touching on the theme of adultery, Williams (1993) 48 compares Lysidamus and Pyrgopolinices on the grounds that they are both stripped of their belongings and threatened with a beating. In *Curculio* (30-31), castration is mentioned by the slave Palinurus as a possible punishment for his young master Phaedromus if he is not more cautious in his love affairs.

In *Casina*, too, a trap is prepared. Beyond their metatheatrical meaning,³³ Cleostrata's *ludi* at the expense of her husband, in which Pardalisca takes so much pride, can also be seen as a form of ambush against the adulterer. But since we are dealing with comedy, the ambush/intrigue is light, and the punishment takes place off-stage, in a manner presented as hilarious to the audience. And rather than being inside the house, as is often the case with betrayed husbands who ensnare the adulterer in front of witnesses, in this instance the masterminds of the plot proudly watch everything unfold while remaining out on the street. This is in line with a dramatic convention loyally observed by Plautus: all action is performed outside, and even interior scenes are enacted on the street.

Lysidamus eventually asks his wife for forgiveness, and even permits her to hang him up and beat him with rods if he ever sets eyes on another woman. Thus, as Sutton observes, the weakest members of the household prevail, i.e. the wife, the slave women and the son, and Cleostrata proves a worthy descendant of the Aristophanic Lysistrata and Praxagora for her dynamism, her intelligence and her rebellion against men's authority.³⁴ Consequently, we might argue that Cleostrata is transformed into a man. O'Bryhim correctly notes that when she threatens to punish Lysidamus physically for any future misdeed (998), she swaps roles and becomes both man and husband, since "a wife had no legal or social right to abuse her husband for committing adultery".³⁵ Apart from any future actions, it is mainly the punishment of adultery during the play which renders Cleostrata a man-avenger; the punishment culminates when the unfaithful husband faces the threat of being raped, in a manner similar to Olympio, by a slave with something resembling a radish. It is only within the comic world that a woman is allowed to conceive of something so unimaginable in Roman society as the humiliation of an errant husband for insulting a wife and the slave girl under her protection.³⁶

33. When examining Cleostrata's metatheatrical role, Slater (2000) 68 observes that she is the only *matrona* in Plautus "to seize control of the plot and become for the remainder of the play the *poeta* in charge of the action" and interprets (2000) 72 the word *ludi* as play improvised by her, with Myrrhina as co-author.

34. See Sutton (1993) 105-06 whose study shows the continuity between Greek Old and New Comedy and Roman Comedy, mainly with regard to the motif of intergenerational conflict. In discussing this particular play, he also considers that justice is done when an upper-class paterfamilias finds his comeuppance, leading to a new state of affairs in the house.

35. O'Bryhim (1989) 101.

36. It should be noted that Cleostrata confided in Myrrhina that her husband had infringed her rights to her own property, i.e. *Casina*, with his amorous designs; Myrrhina tried

But how does the play end? Instead of offering the spectators a moral lesson, Chalinus utters the following playful advice to them: those who applaud the actors can enjoy the company of a prostitute behind their wife's back, whereas those who do not applaud as much as possible will end up with a foul-smelling goat (*hircus unctus nautea*, 1018). The goat symbolizes Chalinus,³⁷ and the meaning of his lines is this: spectators applaud with all your strength, otherwise we wish you the fate of Lysidamus, who was after a delicate damsel and unexpectedly ended up in bed with me, a horny man stinking like a rutting billy goat.³⁸ Apart from his emetic smell³⁹ and sexual drive, Chalinus has one more feature in common with a goat: his beard, which, according to Olympio's narration, punctured his lips when he attempted to kiss "Casina" (929). The spectators identify themselves with the old men who long for extra-marital sex in both of Chalinus' scenarios, though ultimately more with Lysidamus than with Olympio.⁴⁰ Essentially, if they refuse to give the poet due credit, he wishes they get caught by their wife and suffer the punishment of adultery in a similarly humiliating manner.⁴¹

to bring her neighbor back to her senses, elaborating the idea of *morigera*, the obedient wife; see, for instance, Moore (1998) 160-70 and 225 n. 33, and Braund (2005) 45.

37. Cf. Sharrock (2009) 266 who writes the following: "The *hircus* may implicitly reflect on the wife herself, while the embarrassing substitution of a goat for a girl neatly repeats the high point of the play — the substitution of Chalinus for Casina".
38. Chiarini (1978) 119, O'Bryhim (1989) 95 and Franko (1999-2000) 9 believe that the *hircus* is Lysidamus; the latter adds that Lysidamus, who was likened to a boar earlier in the play, degenerates into a foul-smelling goat in the epilogue. Lysidamus is indeed previously characterized as goat, though the adjectives qualifying the animal in the relevant line are "worthless" and "toothless" (*hirqui improbi, edentuli*, 550). Yet Lysidamus has been also characterized as a gray-haired coot (*cana culex* is printed in Lindsay's text, i.e. gray-haired gnat; see however Renehan's (1976) ingenious correction of the Latin phrase to *cana fulix*), wild boar (*apros*, 476), old wether (*uetulis ueruecibus*, 535), untamable stallion (*equos...indomabilis*, 811). But the animal metaphors are not simply restricted to one character; Lysidamus shares the wild boar characterization with Olympio (476) and the old wether one with Alcesimus (535). What matters is how these metaphors are used in their respective contexts.
39. Although the word *nautea* is usually translated as "bilge water", it seems to me that it here denotes the reek of a rutting goat.
40. Cf. Moore (1998) 179 who speaks of the spectators' association with Lysidamus.
41. Chalinus' strong smell can serve as the starting point for another observation. Casina's name derives from *casia*, recalling the aromatic smell of cassia and cinnamon, to which it is related (see Connors [1997] 305). By contrast, Chalinus stinks like a goat. Bearing in mind the line uttered by Pardalisca when she announced the entrance of the fake bride (*iam oboluit Casinus procul*, 814), we can better understand Plautus' joke: despite all the perfume necessary to transform the slave into something resembling the girl, he still stinks. This is one of the signs betraying the bride's true identity during the wedding

I shall end this paper by briefly touching on how the final scenes of the play originated, since they contain the associations with *raphanidosis*. There is disagreement as to where Plautus drew his inspiration: was it from one Greek original (Diphilus' *Κληρούμενοι*); two Greek originals (through contamination); or from native Roman performances, in this case Atellan farce?⁴² Although Jachmann, for instance, observed that the transvestite theme was common in Greek antiquity, and that there is evidence of it in *Thesmophoriazusae*, his opinion has been questioned by Cody on the grounds that in that play the theme is not combined with sexual encounter.⁴³ The present paper does not attempt to offer a solution to that problem. Yet *raphanidosis* is a punishment of Greek origin, and does appear in Aristophanes as well as in plays of Greek Middle and New Comedy — *Casina* being the only surviving comedy in which it is exploited at such length. What is more, the entire frame of *Casina* resembles Aristophanic comedy, or is related to Greek Comedy in general: in addition to the comic and successful rebellion of women against men, the appropriation of male institutions (cf. e.g. *Ecclesiazusae*) and to a certain extent their successful implementation, we have seen that most of the sexual symbols exploited in *Casina* within the context of punishing adultery are also traced in Greek texts, many of which are plays.

There is, however, one further possibility. The theme of adultery in general may derive from a Greek play of a different kind, the mime, which often revolved around unfaithfulness — we should not forget that the name Plautus (flat foot) alludes to mime actors who performed without *kothornoi*, i.e. barefoot.⁴⁴ Reconstruction of the plots in adultery mimes has shown that the

procession, though none are picked up by Lysidamus — others are given when Chalinus stamps on Olympio's foot, and roughly elbows him in the chest.

42. See the detailed discussion by Cody (1976) 461-76. See also O'Bryhim (1989) 81-91; cf. Konstan (2014) 3-4. On the origin of the transvestite wedding and its aftermath from Diphilus' play, and more generally from Greek mythic drama enacting the myth of Herakles and Omphale, see e.g. MacCary (1974) 884, 887-88, who accepts Skutsch's view.
43. See Cody (1976) 461-76.
44. On the theme of adultery in mime see Tsitsiridis (2014) 222 n. 56, and related bibliography there. For a discussion of Plautine references to *kinaidi* see Tsitsiridis (2015) 224-25. On general associations between Plautus and Greek mime, see e.g. Hunter (1985) 20; Marshall (2006) 7. According to Fantham (1988) 156 a favorite theme of the Roman mime was the false bride story, in which the lecher comes face to face with a bride more virile than himself. Since all we know about the themes of Roman mimes (see also the next note) pertain to those later than Plautus, I limit myself in comparing him with Greek mimes. Such an approach does not exclude the possibility that Plautus might have been influenced by early Roman mimes about which, however, we have no information.

cheated husband usually catches his wife and her lover in the act of love-making.⁴⁵ What is of interest, however, in the play examined here is that a woman is the one almost cheated, and that she then seeks revenge on her unfaithful husband. In this respect *Casina* is closer to Herondas' fifth Mimiamb, entitled *Ἡ ζηλότυπος* ('A Jealous Lady'), in which a woman named Bittina is bent on punishing her slave-lover, whom she suspects of cheating. She thus gives orders for the slave to be flogged on his back and belly, but eventually relents. The slave's begging his mistress for forgiveness this time, and agreeing to be tattooed for any future misdeed (27-28), recalls the corresponding promise made by Lysidamus to his wife regarding punishment of future infidelity (1001-03). Of course, Bitinna has the right to punish a slave, whereas Plautus has gone one step further, by bestowing this right on a woman against a free man. Yet this similarity does not prove that the particular mime influenced Plautus in writing his own play, beyond indicating that the whole idea of a jealous lady may derive from a mime.

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At the very least, the above discussion has gone some way to showing that the play's closing scenes allude to punishments of adulterers by sexual violation, including *raphanidosis*. Cleostrata assimilates men's institutions to punish her philandering husband. Lysidamus is threatened with three punishments known to the Romans: whipping, rape by slaves and *raphanidosis*; in actual fact he is beaten by Chalinus. His near rape in any case would have been a hilarious incident for the spectators. *Raphanidosis* seems a bizarre, alien form of punishment. Yet even if it derived from a Greek original it might have been appreciated by Plautus' audience: as Catullus' poem indicates, it was not entirely unknown in the Roman world. Invested with this dimension, the last Act becomes even funnier, acquiring additional comic depth if we consider the magnitude of the punishment Lysidamus is threatened with. Indeed, this even extends to any spectators who fail to bow to the magnificence of an incredibly imaginative comic genius!

45. See e.g. Reynolds (1946) 81-84 and Kehoe (1984).

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