FORUM

ROLE-PLAYING IN ROMAN CIVILIZATION AND ROMAN COMEDY COURSES: HOW TO IMAGINE A COMPLEX SOCIETY*

One thing that always bothers me in accounts of Roman society, from student papers to published scholarship, is the tendency to make generalizing statements about "the Romans" or "the Roman audience." We often read, for example, about "the Romans and their wives" (all Romans are men, and married?), or about what would make "the Roman audience" laugh. In teaching, it has long been a goal of mine to give undergraduates practice in thinking of "Rome" as a complex place; if "Romans" means "the people who lived in the city of Rome"—or, even more complicated, "the people who lived in the Roman empire"—then the experience of being "Roman" varied a great deal. I must admit, however, that I use role-playing exercises not only in order to jar students out of simplicity, but also to keep things interesting for myself in teaching and assessing lecture courses.[1]

Teaching Roman Civilization Courses

My experience with these courses is limited to lectures of eighty to a hundred students, but the same exercises would also work well, I think, in discussion sections for bigger lectures. The main target, however, is the course that involves blue-book exams, or any required in-class essay. The first time I taught a big civ lecture (big for me, anyway), I thought, "I cannot stand to read one hundred blue-book essays on the same question." Desperation was the mother of invention: I decided to give each student a Roman identity, and

---

* Thanks to Jeanne Neumann for patience and good humor; to my great Roman civ TAs, Del Chrol (now at Marshall University) and Kristina Meinking (now at Elon University); and to Sharon James, Timothy Moore, and the whole group at the 2012 NEH Summer Institute on "Roman Comedy in Performance," for their warm welcome.

[1] This exercise in role-playing is nothing like as elaborate as the complex games available in the "Reacting to the Past" curriculum, started in the late 1990s by Mark C. Carnes of the History Department at Barnard University (http://reacting.barnard.edu/). The Athens game will be the topic of a panel at the 2013 APA meeting, led by Paula K. Lazarus and Saundra Schwartz; for one of the Roman games, see Anderson and Dix (2008).

require students to write the essays on the midterm and final exams from the standpoint of that identity. It then dawned on me that I could use this setup in order to make the lectures themselves more effective.

First, a logistical issue: how do you make eighty Roman identities? The design here is modest: each student is assigned a Roman name, a place in the Roman class structure, and a bit of background information: "Annia, wife of senator M. Laelius, mother of four children;" "Pugnax, slave, member of a gladiatorial *ludus*, originally from Thrace;" "M. Calidius Chrysanthus, freed slave, proprietor of a small dry-cleaning establishment." Naturally, everybody wants to be a gladiator; too bad. The roles are allotted so as to accord, at least in a sort of symbolic way, with the demographics of the actual city (or Roman Italy, or the empire): about a third of the class are slaves or freed slaves, and ideally only about 10% of the class are members of the equestrian or senatorial *ordines*. (Yes, at schools where fraternity files play a big role, these identities do have to be re-invented for each instantiation of the course.) When invention fails, the lists of names in Treggiari's book on Roman freedmen, or in *PLRE*, or the indices of the *CIL*, come in handy, but the point is definitely not to match up students with particular Roman identities on which they can do research — no one is assigned to be Marcus Tullius Tiro or Claudia Severa, although a student might well be assigned to be a freed slave secretary to a senator from Greece, or the wife of a Roman officer stationed in Syria.[2] That way, reading (as we do) Cicero's letters to Tiro, or Claudia Severa's letter to Sulpicia Lepidina, will make a basis for a student's thinking, but only to a certain extent

I like to use sourcebooks rather than textbooks; in particular, I have used Shelton, *As the Romans Did*, along with larger-scale primary sources like Petronius' *Satyrica* and Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, and historians ranging from the usual (Livy, Tacitus) to the less commonly read (Appian, Valerius Maximus, Procopius' *Secret History*—always the top-rated text in student evaluations).[3] Students with little experience in reading primary sources, especially freshmen, tend to be especially baffled by sourcebooks, and need some coaching in order to learn how to amalgamate the reading—even to recognize the difference between the grout provided by the editors and the sources themselves. The role-playing exercises help them learn how to select from the reading in order to make a point. A similar approach could certainly be taken in teaching courses on women in antiquity, where, for sourcebooks, I use Lefkowitz and Fant along with Kraemer, *Women's Religions in the Greco-Roman World*.[4] And, I hasten to add, the same could certainly be done with courses in Greek civilization, and I must say it might help get some slaves into the landscape of Athenian democracy.

---

[2] Treggiari (1969).

[3] Shelton (1998).

In lecture, when it is pertinent to the issue at hand, students can be asked to sit in blocks that reflect their social status: senators and their families in the front row, slaves together at the back; or, everyone together who is in or with the army; or, inhabitants of Italy on the right, everyone else on the left; or, *matronae* together; or, farmers on the left, tradespeople on the right, everybody else in the back. This is useful, for example, when we read Livy on the Hannibalic Wars, or the material in Shaw's collection *Spartacus and the Slave Wars*; the different experiences of war, the complicated ties and divisions between slave and free, elite and plebs, urban and rural, can be embodied in the classroom.[5] When we read Roman comedy (on which more below), students can be asked to sit according to the arrangements described by Livy as introduced in 194 BCE, or according to the arrangements described by Suetonius as introduced by Augustus.[6] An episode of the *Opera Vinfreda Show* devoted to survivors of the proscriptions, when we are reading Appian's *Civil Wars*, elicits comments from the studio audience based on their various points in common with the various guests on the show. In section meetings, students in small-group work can evolve reactions to the week's readings based on their shared or opposing social perspectives; I vividly remember my former TA, Del Chrol (whose essay on Pandora recently appeared in these pages), organizing a spirited small-group debate on the Sicilian uprisings.[7]

This is all geared toward preparing students to write the essay questions on the midterm and final, which are generally set up something like this: on the midterm, students are asked to describe their daily life, in relation to food, housing, family, work, and in contrast with a person unlike themselves, and with an ancestor; on the final, students are asked to discuss their identity and personal history in relation to historical issues (say, the Hannibalic Wars or the proscriptions or the rise of Christianity). The study guide for the exams includes a list of aspects students will need to prepare, so that the essays can be assessed using a checklist. Here is the pertinent section on one midterm review sheet:

---

[4] Lefkowitz and Fant (2005); Kraemer (2004).

[5] Shaw (2001).

[6] Livy 34.44.4-8 and 34.54.3-8; Suet. *Aug.* 44.

[7] Chrol (2012).

> *Part 3: prepared essay on your Roman identity* (40 points). This will be presented to you as a questionnaire in the format given below (without the parenthetical prompts). If you have not been given a date with your i.d., please choose one during the principate and plan your responses to fit with that date. Don't just make things up—base this in the readings/lectures/sections. No question will be optional—but there's some flexibility in how much you say on some questions. Don't devote so much time to this that you skimp on the rest of the exam.
>
> - Name, date, location, age: 1 point each—for each of these, we'll expect a comment on its significance (My name is …, which indicates that …; I live in the year …, a time when …; I live in …, which means that …; I am … years old, which means that ….)
> - If you come from someplace other than Rome or Italy: What stereotypes do Romans hold about you, and how does that affect you? (2 points)
> - Status: Tell your status—slave? freeborn? freed? peregrine?—and what that means to you. (3-5 points)
> - Family: Tell about the structure of your family, explaining how that's related to your status. (3-5 points)
> - Occupation: What do you do for a living? What is the significance of the kind of work you do: for yourself? For others? (3-5 points)
> - Contemporary political events important to you and how so: (5-10 points)
> - Living conditions: Tell us about where you live and how that's tied to your status. (2-3 points)
> - What do you do for fun? Tie to your status. (2 points)
> - Clothing: What do you wear? How is this tied to your status? (2 points)
> - Education: Are you literate? Tie to status. (2 points)
> - What language(s) do you speak? Tie to status. (1 point)
> - Tell us about someone you know well whose status is quite different from yours: For example, your owner, your slave, your governor, your spouse, someone you've met in your travels … (5 points)
> - Tell about an ancestor who lived before the time of Hannibal: How is your life different from his/hers? What beliefs do you hold about those long-ago times? (5-10 points)

This is an extremely flexible setup, one that could be adjusted by any instructor to address any course goals. Of course it is not all we do in the course —I have always incorporated a writing component involving stepped assignments, aimed at teaching students to analyze primary sources, and the exams include a time-line and short identification questions—but it gives all of us a chance to tangle ourselves in the multiplicity of history. Teaching, as I do now, in a big, multi-cultural city, to multi-cultural students, I like to show my students an ancient Mediterranean that is complicated in some of the same ways as their own city. But I think the students I used to teach at Dartmouth, or at Lehigh, would have benefited by the exercise as well. In any case students' ability to visualize such a city is now greatly expedited by HBO's *Rome*.

Talking about Roman Comedy

This is a topic on which I feel even more strongly than I do about generic "Romans" in general. The question of who was sitting in Plautus' audience is hotly debated these days, and I hold a position at one end of the spectrum. The answer to the question depends, first of all, on how you interpret the prologue to *Poenulus,* where the prologue speaker addresses members of the audience (17-44): in turn, male prostitutes (not allowed to sit on the stage), lictors, the usher, house slaves, unspecified free people, wet-nurses with babies, *matronae,* their husbands, and *pedisequi.* Maybe he's just kidding? Maybe he really wants everybody but the elite citizen males to leave? Scholars base their arguments on a reading of the whole corpus, but recent findings range from Fontaine, who holds that the plays' elaborate bilingual jokes could only be understood by a highly-educated elite audience—a small, exclusive audience; to McCarthy and Stewart, who take the plays to be addressing the needs and desires of elite slave-owners, partly because the *ludi* were organized by the aediles; to Moore, whose book on the plays and their audience works out who is being addressed where; to my argument that the plays, based on their content, the status of the actors and playwrights, and the probable demographics of the city of Rome around 200 BCE, often address the subject position of slaves, freed slaves, and poor people.[8] The same kinds of questions have now been addressed for Greek theater by Roselli.[9]

In any case, suppose that, like me, you want to work out, with a group, what it means to have a diverse audience. It is a basic tenet of performance theory that audiences are not monolithic, a fact which is evident to anyone who has ever gone to the theater with a group of friends.[10] Of course different venues come with different rules; the structure of classical Athenian theater spaces indeed seems to have determined who sat where; the audience for Broadway theater is limited by the astronomical ticket prices; obviously there are many ways in which the diversity of a theater audience can be limited.[11] It seems to me that those ways are lacking to the dramatic shows in the city of Rome in Plautus's lifetime. The *ludi* were put on for the benefit of the city as a whole; no one has suggested that attendance at the other shows (the Circus, the gladiatorial bouts, tragedies) was restricted, or that there was any sort of charge for admission; Goldberg's authoritative argument about how people were seated at the Megalensia shows only that people sat squashed together on the steps of a temple and watched a show performed on a relatively small, temporary wooden stage, nor does he believe either that this was the only venue or that plays were performed only once per festival.[12] Indeed, nowhere does it say that theater troupes *only* performed at *ludi,* and how would actors have made a living if that were the case? I do not think they could have been too choosy about their audience.

---

[8] Fontaine (2010), esp. 184-85; McCarthy (2000); Stewart (2012); Moore (1998); Richlin (2005), esp. 9-30, and Richlin (forthcoming II). Many other critics are more or less in line with McCarthy and Stewart, a position which was the *communis opinio* until recently; more complex versions go back at least to Chalmers (1965). Treatment of the audience as "Romans," undifferentiated, is very common; the meaning of the term has ranged narrowly between "crude urban plebs" and "Roman citizens" meaning "upper middle-class like me."

[9] Roselli (2011).

Furthermore, actors in plays direct their lines at different audience members as the play rolls along. Plautus's plays are full of asides, and quite often these lines, addressed to the audience, have specific targets. Note that "address" here does not just mean a literal, second-person address—even such lines, as will be seen, implicate other addressees—but includes lines aimed at particular constituencies —lines that would make certain people take notice. Here is what I said on the subject in *Rome and the Mysterious Orient,* a book I wrote for college students with no knowledge of Latin—students in large civilization classes, and, thanks to an inspirational group of Theater professors, students in the history of drama (2–3):[13]

> With texts that were performed, their meaning must largely have been determined by how they worked *in performance.* … Many studies of Plautus treat the text as a read text, as if the audience would have been composed of college professors (or the second-century BCE equivalent) reading along with libretto in hand—or just reading, without any performance at all to distract

---

[10] Bennett (1990), esp. at 163-69.

[11] Roselli (2011) 73-75; cf. his general arguments against various views that hold seating to have been rigorously restricted.

[12] Goldberg (1998).

[13] Richlin (2005) 2-3.

> them from the job of analysis. … [But a]ny analysis we do must include an attempt to visualize what was a visual as well as a textual performance, to imagine it in a specific space at a specific historical moment … Or, rather, during a series of moments: plays shoot forward like cannonballs, while textual analysis moves back and forth over a text frozen in time. … [S]ince this audience was composed of many different kinds of people, *the plays interpellate the audience segmentally and intermittently*. That is, different lines of the play address different audience members in their various social roles, thereby reinforcing those roles, and not all audience members are being addressed at any one time.

Here I was using Althusser's concept of "interpellation" in a non-Althusserian way. As he put it, "*all ideology hails or interpellates concrete individuals as concrete subjects*, by the functioning of the category of the subject;" and, by implication, he included theater among the "ideological state apparatuses" that support the power of the state by teaching people their place in the hierarchy.[14] Althusser's closed, pessimistic idea that an apparatus like theater must always serve the ideology of the ruling class resembles the anthropological model whereby rituals of reversal serve a conservative social purpose, associated with Turner; a less monolithic notion of ideology is presented, for example, by Eagleton, and of theater by Scott, and for Plautine theater I think Scott's model is certainly the best.[15] Theater around 200 BCE was, as always, an ideological apparatus, but who controlled the apparatus was, as always, up for grabs.

So, for example, we might ask who is addressed by the slave Sosia in *Amphitruo*, in the song he sings as he enters for the first time (163-75):

> My owner's lack of self-control
> forces me to do this,
> he who woke me up when I didn't want to
> and made me leave the harbor, at this time of night.
> He couldn't send me here in daylight?
> Slavery to a rich man is hard in this way,
> yes, in this way the slave of a rich man is more miserable:
> day and night, nonstop, there's enough and to spare
> of what he needs said or done right now, so you shouldn't get a rest.
> The rich owner himself, unfamiliar with chores or work,
> thinks that whatever a guy happens to want, can be done;

---

[14] Althusser (1971) 143 and 173.
[15] Eagleton (1991); Scott (1990).

> he thinks it's fair, he doesn't think about how much work it is,
> or reflect upon whether what he commands is fair or unfair.
> And so in slavery many unfair things happen:
> And this burden has to be lived with and borne along with the work.

This song is a solo. Mercurius, dressed up to look just like Sosia, is onstage at the same time, having just finished speaking the prologue; he is eavesdropping, and will interject his own jibe at the end of the song; but Sosia sings his song to the audience.[16] Suppose the audience is made up of people of different social classes and civil status, including slaves — slaves being themselves divided up in many ways, by language, origin, kind of owner, kind of work, just as most slave-owners would not have identified themselves as "rich." How would it play to different people? The speaker certainly speaks from the subject category "slave," for whom the "rich man," as owner, is the problem; the experience of rich men's slaves is directly addressed, the behavior of rich slave owners is mocked. At this moment in the play, the apparatus does not serve the ruling ideology, although it does perform a kind of policing function.

When it comes to gender, interpellation from the Plautine stage often performs a more conservative policing function. Philolaches in *Mostellaria,* son of the slave Tranio's owner, comments to the audience on a speech in which the old slave woman Scapha has just explained that only old, ugly women need to use perfume (279-81):

> How brilliantly smart she is about everything! Nothing is more brilliant than
> this brilliant woman.
> It's true, what she says: and a very big group of you know it—
> who have old women as wives at home, who earned you with their
> dowry.

It seems safe to say that this speech is directed, at least ostensibly, at married men, and, while making fun of them, it teaches them how to think about wives. On another level, this speech is directed at women, and teaches them, as does so much Roman invective, how to think about their bodies.[17] How would Philolaches' hilarious quip play to the *matronae* in the audience?

---

[16] See Moore (2012) 113 for a fascinating argument on this passage as probably involving "cinaedic dancing," on the basis of its meter; the dance would imply that sexual use is included in what the slave has to bear from his owner.

Yet at other times the plays address the subject category "married women" in surprisingly sympathetic ways. The old slave woman Syra in *Mercator* expresses sympathy for her owner, whose husband, as the two women believe, wishes to install a prostitute in their house (817-29):

> My goodness, women live by a hard law,
> and, poor things, a much less fair way than men.
> If a husband hires a whore and hides it from his wife,
> if the wife finds out, no problem for the husband;
> but if a wife goes out the front door and hides it from her husband,
> the husband has grounds to kick her out of the marriage.
> I wish the law was the same for husbands as for wives;
> for a wife is satisfied, if she's good, with just one husband:
> why shouldn't a husband be satisfied with one wife?
> My goodness, I'd fix it, if husbands were hit the same way—
> whoever hired a whore and hid it from his wife—
> the same way women are kicked out who've been guilty,
> there'd be more husbands on their own than there are wives now.

The character Syra, as James remarks, "voices sentiments not recorded elsewhere in antiquity," and it is a good question why; while Philolaches directly addresses married men, Syra here, if less directly, addresses married women. [18]

Whether in a lecture class or when speaking to a group about Plautus and his audience, I like to assign the audience members who are present right there in the room to impersonate possible members of the Plautine audience, and then have them react to some quick scenes. Indeed, when we put on Plautus's *Rudens* at the Getty in the fall of 2007, I wished that we could have gotten the Getty audience to do the same thing, and I think it would be highly educational for any production of an ancient play to try it. I would particularly like to see it done with a Greek tragedy. The audience is a major component in any production, and it seems to me to be a big problem to put on Roman comedies without taking seriously the presence of slaves and freed slaves in the society to which those comedies belonged. For most high school Latin clubs, slavery itself is just a funny joke; I was happy to be a slave at our Roman banquet my junior year, I sewed myself a little tunic and hoped I would bring a good price at the slave auction. It is a great strength of Parker's well-known essay "Crucially Funny" that he set the jokes about slave torture in the context of the wars and slave uprisings of the early 2nd century BCE, but he argued that these jokes addressed the slave-owning audience's fear of slaves; I think it is at least as likely that they addressed the slave audience's fear of beatings.[19] For, if the *Poenulus* prologue is read straightforwardly, along with the thousands of lines in the plays that address slave experience, there were people in the audience who had experienced the beatings—and the rapes—that went along with ancient slavery. Students really need to think about this.

---

[17] For discussion of how these lines addressed members of the audience, see Moore (1998), esp. 20 and 160; on the policing function of Roman invective against women, see Richlin (1984) with further remarks in Richlin (forthcoming I).

[18] James (2012).

I have discussed this elsewhere at length, along with the historical background; for now, I would just describe the role-playing exercise I use in class to help students think about diversity in the audience of Roman comedy. I ask for brave volunteers to be the actors, and apportion to them lines like Sosia's song or Philolaches' joke or Syra's speech, or even a whole scene, like the sale of the Virgo in *Persa*. I assign the rest of the group to different roles belonging to Rome around 200 BCE (see below): a few war veterans; some freed slaves who do artisanal work on the Aventine Hill; the slaves who belong to them and work alongside them; a public slave, there to clean up the theater space; some members of the urban *plebs*, male and female, along with their families (a group that overlaps with the freed slaves); one or two senators, one or two equestrians, with their personal slaves; some parents of sons taken prisoner in a recent battle; a few refugees from one of the Italian cities sacked by the Carthaginians or the Romans in the Hannibalic Wars, who know that some of their fellow townspeople, or relatives, were enslaved during the sack; and, following the *Poenulus* prologue, some male prostitutes (probably slaves), some lictors, an usher, some house slaves, some unspecified free people, some wet-nurses (probably slaves) with babies (probably elite), some *matronae*, their husbands, some *pedisequi*.

Let me push further into dangerous terrain and argue that students especially need to think about this in a world from which slavery has not disappeared, a world in which sex trafficking is a huge problem, and a nation in which illegal immigrants do the same work slaves used to do in Roman Italy: agricultural labor, dangerous and dirty factory work.[20] Not all classicists believe that it is a good thing to teach students to draw analogies between then and now; many believe that students should learn that the past is strange, or that the past should be studied for its own sake. Many students, for that matter, come to Classics because they want to study something safely irrelevant to current concerns. Apart from the theoretical problems posed by "own-sakism" for the study of history, I do not think it is our job to provide students with a cocoon.[21] The city of Rome was not inhabited exclusively by Stepford Ciceros, a mass of white togas. It was a real city, and we should, in our teaching, real-ize it.[22]

---

[19] Parker (1989).

[20] On trafficking, see Marshall (forthcoming).

Appendix: Roles for the Audience

Here are some roles I made up for use in a class at the 2012 NEH Summer Institute on "Roman Comedy in Performance." After we discussed assigned readings on Roman history in the 200s BCE, each class member was handed a slip with one of these roles on it, and the main group had ten minutes to figure out who they were and who they were sitting next to, before another group acted out a scene from *Persa*. Audience members were then asked about their reactions. Groups of friends and acquaintances bonded, especially the section from the Aventine; the wagon-maker's family, led by Jeanne Neumann, got somewhat rowdy.

1. I am an army veteran, back from the Second Punic War; my family was gone and my farm was wrecked when I got back, and I don't know where my family is. I came to the city five years ago to look for them.
2. I am a navy veteran, back from the First Macedonian War; it's great to be back in Rome with my family, though they've suffered terribly from the food shortages. We hope the war with Carthage will end soon.
3. I am a blacksmith with a smithy on the Aventine Hill. The wars have kept me in business. I am a freed slave and so is my wife; I came originally from Sicily, and she came from Apulia, so we speak both Latin and Greek at home. I am here with my head workman, a slave.
4. I belong to a blacksmith on the Aventine Hill, and work in the smithy; I'm hoping to be freed by the time I'm forty. My native language was Celtic, but nobody in the shop speaks it.

---

[21] For an introduction to the discussion around "own-sakism," see Jenkins (1995) 9ff.

[22] For another kind of student-friendly approach to realizing Rome, this time through the (virtual) material city, see the work of my UCLA colleague, Christopher Johanson, for example Johanson (2011), or his website http://romelab.etc.ucla.edu.

5. I run a *thermopolium* on the Aventine Hill (I'm the cook). My whole family works there, and business is booming because the place is always filled with Greek-speakers from the South. I am a freed slave and so is my wife, who's here with me. We both came originally from Sicily, so we speak both Greek and Latin at home as well as in the shop.

6. My husband and I run a *thermopolium* on the Aventine Hill (I keep the books). We're both freed slaves; both of us were used sexually by our former owner, who also owns the shop we run. All the children wait tables, and I worry about my daughter, who's fourteen.

7. I am a wagon-maker on the Aventine Hill; business is terrible due to the Second Punic War, which has torn up the countryside around Rome that used to be our main source of business. I am freeborn and so is my wife, but our parents were all freed slaves, and my mother still lives with us. We speak a mix of Latin and Greek at home, our parents came from all over Italy. My son's girlfriend is a freed slave.

8. My father is a wagon-maker on the Aventine Hill; we're freeborn, but my grandparents were not, and my grandmother lives with us. My girlfriend is a freed slave, and my family doesn't like her because she has no dowry and is not a virgin. My grandmother … [23]

9. I'm here with my boyfriend, whose father is a wagon-maker on the Aventine Hill. I was freed in my owner's will; her husband can't touch me any more, and I have good work as a skilled weaver on the Aventine. I was born in Carthage and my first language was Punic. I am saving up to get married.

10. My husband is a stonemason on the Aventine Hill. Our son has been missing since Cannae and we don't have word of him, just that a lot of POWs were enslaved.

11. My daughter was kidnapped towards the end of the Second Punic War. She was eight years old then. We are afraid she has been sold into a brothel somewhere.

12. My son was kidnapped towards the end of the Second Punic War. He was twelve years old then. We are afraid he has been sold into a brothel somewhere.

---

[23] This kind of ellipsis stimulates students' imaginations, allowing them to decide where the grandmother stands, and has proven effective in the classroom.

13. My daughter was kidnapped towards the end of the Second Punic War. She was twelve years old then. We are afraid she has been sold into a brothel somewhere.[24]
14. I belong to the city of Rome; I was taken captive near Carthage after the battle of Zama. I am here to clean the theater between shows. My first language was Punic.
15. I am a Roman senator; I love comedy because our old nanny used to bring us here when we were little. Because of her, Greek was actually my first language.
16. I am the body servant of a Roman senator and am here with him. I came originally from Illyria and nobody understands my accent.
17. I am living with my cousins on the Aventine Hill. Our family lost everything in the sack of Nuceria and we had to come here then. I am helping out in the shop, but I know they find it hard to feed us, with the food shortages.
18. I was enslaved after the Romans took Henna in Sicily, in 214. Because I was a practicing teacher of rhetoric, I now belong to a Roman senator and teach his sons Greek.
19. I was enslaved after the Romans took Henna in Sicily, in 214. I was twelve at the time, and was soon sold to a pimp here in the city. I have been a prostitute for eight years now, and am losing my good looks. We sit on the stage before the show, for obvious reasons.
20. I was enslaved after the Romans took Tarentum in 209. I was fourteen at the time, and was soon sold to a pimp here in the city. I have been a prostitute for three years now, and am starting to grow a beard. We sit on the stage before the show, for obvious reasons.
21. I am a wet-nurse in the family of a Roman equestrian; I have my current nursling with me. My owner bought me from my parents when I was sixteen with this purpose in mind. I am lactating now because my owner got me pregnant; my baby died, and I am nursing my owner's son by his wife.
22. I am a wet-nurse in the family of a Roman senator; I have my current nurslings with me. My owner bought me when I was pregnant with twins, for this reason. One of my babies died, so I am nursing my baby along with my owner's son by his wife.
23. My husband is the aedile who organized these *ludi*; he wanted me to come. I'm here with my best friend and our personal slaves.

---

[24] NB: the near-duplication from #s 11 to 13 is deliberate, to make clear to students that this was by no means an unusual occurrence.

24. My husband is a very rich man who doesn't know I'm at the festival instead of home weaving. I'm here with my best friend and our personal slaves.
25. I am a lictor, here to keep public order. My grandfather was a freed slave and came originally from Campania; my father speaks Greek to him at home, and I understand it.

AMY RICHLIN

University of California, Los Angeles, richlin@humnet.ucla.edu

WORKS CITED

Althusser, Louis. 1971. "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation)." In *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays,* trans. Ben Brewster, pp. 127-86. New York.

Anderson, Carl A., and Dix, T. Keith. 2008. "'Reacting to the Past' and the Classics Curriculum: Rome in 44 BCE." *CJ* 103: 449-55.

Bennett, Susan. 1990. *Theatre Audiences: A Theory of Production and Reception.* London.

Chalmers, Walter R. 1965. "Plautus and his Audience." In *Roman Drama,* edited by T. A. Dorey and Donald R. Dudley, pp. 21–50. New York.

Chrol, E Del. 2012. "Pandora in the Secondary and Post-Secondary Classroom." *CJ* 107: 483–98.

Eagleton, Terry. 1991. *Ideology: An Introduction.* London.

Fontaine, Michael. 2010. *Funny Words in Plautine Comedy*. Oxford.

Goldberg, Sander M. 1998. "Plautus on the Palatine." *JRS* 88: 1–20.

James, Sharon L. 2012. "Domestic Female Slaves in Roman Comedy." In *A Companion to Women in the Ancient World,* edited by Sharon L. James and Sheila Dillon, pp. 235-7. Chichester.

Jenkins, Keith. 1995. *On "What Is History?": From Carr and Elton to Rorty and White.* London.

Johanson, Christopher. 2011. "A Walk with the Dead: A Funerary Cityscape of Ancient Rome." In *A Companion to Families in the Greek and Roman Worlds,* edited by Beryl Rawson, pp. 408-30. Oxford.

Kraemer, Ross Shepard, ed. 2004. *Women's Religions in the Greco-Roman World: A Sourcebook*. Oxford.

Lefkowitz, Mary R. and Maureen B. Fant, eds. 2005. *Women's Life in Greece and Rome: A Source Book in Translation.* Third Edition. Baltimore.

McCarthy, Kathleen. 2000. *Slaves, Masters and the Art of Authority in Plautine Comedy*. Princeton, NJ.

Marshall, C.W. forthcoming. "Sex Slaves in New Comedy." In *Slaves and Slavery in Ancient Greek Comic Drama,* edited by Ben Akrigg and Rob Tordoff. Cambridge.

Moore, Timothy J. 1998. *The Theater of Plautus: Playing to the Audience.* Austin.

——. 2012. *Music in Roman Comedy*. Cambridge.

Parker, Holt N. 1989. "Crucially Funny or Tranio on the Couch: The *Servus Callidus* and Jokes about Torture." *TAPA* 119: 233-46.

Richlin, Amy. 1984. "Invective against Women in Roman Satire." *Arethusa* 17: 67–80.

——, trans. 2005. *Rome and the Mysterious Orient: Three Plays by Plautus*. Berkeley, CA.

——. forthcoming I. *Arguments with Silence: Writing the History of Roman Women*. Ann Arbor, MI.

——. forthcoming II. "Talking to Slaves in the Plautine Audience." *Classical Antiquity.*

Roselli, David Kawalko. 2011. *Theater of the People: Spectators and Society in Ancient Athens.* Austin, TX.

Scott, James C. 1990. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven, CT.

Shaw, Brent D. 2001. *Spartacus and the Slave Wars: A Brief History with Documents.* Boston.

Shelton, Jo-Ann. 1998. *As The Romans Did: A Sourcebook in Roman Social History*. Second Edition. Oxford.

Stewart, Roberta. 2012. *Plautus and Roman Slavery*. Oxford.

Treggiari, Susan. 1969. *Roman Freedmen during the Late Republic.* Oxford.