CHAPTER 7

Remembering the Way Back

The plays of Plautus express meaning not only through what is said onstage but through settings and back stories; the characters onstage have histories and travels behind them. The scenarios of slavery and enslavement require insistent questions: what is your *patria*? Where are you from? What was your name? Who were your parents? A list of locations in the plays shows two things: (1) By far the majority of the plays involve someone going far away and coming back, or just returning, or being taken from one place to another far away (table 7.1); (2) Even if these settings and journeys were lifted by the writers of the *palliata* directly from Greek originals, they were being superimposed on a Mediterranean landscape that, in the course of the 200s BCE, in central Italy, came to mean something much different from what it had meant to Greek writers of previous generations. The perspective has shifted; actors and audience are now living outside the realm of the Diadochoi, and, for some of them, the wars after Alexander have turned that realm into the Old Country. "Setting: Berlin" meant one thing to Brecht in 1923, another to Ernst Lubitsch in 1942. The trafficking, travels, and war zones in Middle and New Comedy, from Antiphanes through Menander's *Aspis*, *Misoumenos*, *Sikyonios* and beyond, looked east. Later, far to the west, locations in the *palliata* now start to collide with the Roman wars; hometowns in Italy are now war zones; many stories in the plays involve the slave trade, which went everywhere. The wars created hybrid people with new geographies.

Nicholas Horsfall, in his book on Roman oral culture, emphasizes the relationship between the theater and the life of the Roman plebs. Tertullian, Augustine, and Caesarius of Arles, he points out, all inveigh against workers' habit of singing show tunes they know by heart, and he finds traces of this practice going back at least to Ovid (2003: 13–17). He has in mind the description in the *Fasti* of the festival of Anna Perenna on

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Table 7.1 *Travels onstage*

Play	Setting	Travels
Amphitruo	Thebes	Amphitruo and Sosia return from conquering the Teleboi (101).
Asinaria	Athens	The Mercator is from Pella (333).
		The *asini* are Arcadian (333).
		Periphanes, *mercator dives* (fictive), is from Rhodes (499).
Aulularia	Athens	–
Bacchides	Athens	Chrysalus returns from two years in Ephesus (170–1).
		Bacchis' sister has been living on the island of Samos, just across the water from Ephesus (200).
		The sister has been brought from Samos to Athens by the soldier (106, 574).
		The soldier is headed for Elatia, on the island of Zacynthos, and his messenger says the sister must go with him unless she buys herself out of her contract (575–6, 590–1).
Captivi	Aetolia	Philopolemus, an Aetolian, has been captured by the Elians (25–6).
		Philocrates and Tyndarus, Elians, have been captured by the Aetolians (31–4).
		Stalagmus, a *Siculus* (888), escaped from Aetolia twenty years ago, taking Tyndarus with him to Elis and selling him there (8–10, 874–6, 881, 971–4).
		Stalagmus is captured and brought back to Aetolia (874–6).
Casina	Athens	–
Cistellaria	Sicyon	Demipho, a Lemnian *mercator*, went to Sicyon and home again (156–62).
		He has now returned to Sicyon (176–7).
Curculio	Epidaurus	Curculio has been in Caria (67); he returns (275).
		Pretending to be a soldier's freedman, he says he lost his eye in Sicyon (395).
		His fictive journeys with the soldier (437–48): from India to Caria; through Persia, Paphlagonia, Sinope, Arabia, Caria, Crete, Syria, Rhodes, Lycia, Libya, and (doubly fictive) Peredia, Perbibesia, Centauromachia, Classia Unomammia, and Conterebromnia.
		The soldier arrives from Caria (533; no arrival scene).
Epidicus	Athens	The army has returned from Thebes (53).
		The soldier has come from Euboea (153); or from Rhodes (300).

Table 7.1 (*cont.*)

Play	Setting	Travels
		Periphanes raped Philippa in Epidaurus (540a, 541a).
		Philippa took her daughter Telestis to Thebes to raise (636).
		Telestis is brought to Athens from Thebes as *praeda* (43–4).
		Philippa has come to Athens seeking her (532).
Menaechmi	Epidamnus	A *mercator* from Syracuse goes to Tarentum with his son, Menaechmus I, who is kidnapped there by a *mercator* from Epidamnus and taken back to Epidamnus (17–33).
		Menaechmus II and his slave Messenio arrive in Epidamnus, having sailed all around Italy, stopping at Histria, Hispania, Massilia, Illyria (235–8).
Mercator	Athens	The *mercator* Charinus goes to Rhodes; picks up Pasicompsa (93).
		Charinus plans to go wandering (646–7), to: Megara, Eretria, Corinth, Chalcis, Crete, Cyprus, Sicyon, Cnidus, Zacynthus, Lesbos, Boeotia.
		Mad scene (933–47): imaginary trip to Cyprus, to Chalcis, meets a man from Zacynthus, returns to Athens.
Miles Gloriosus	Ephesus	The soldier has fought in: India (25); Cilicia (42); Sardis (44); Macedonia (44); Cappadocia (52); and (doubly fictive) the fields of Curculonia (13) and Scytholatronia (43).
		Pleusicles goes from Athens to Naupactus (100–2).
		The soldier takes Philocomasium from Athens to Ephesus (113).
		Palaestrio sails to Naupactus; captured by pirates, he is taken to Ephesus (115–21).
		Palaestrio sends word to Pleusicles via *mercator* (130–3).
		Pleusicles comes to Ephesus (133–4).
Mostellaria	Athens	The *senex* returns from Egypt (440).
		The (fictive) ghost was a *transmarinus hospes* named Diapontius (497).
Persa	Athens	The pimp moved here from Megara six months ago (137).
		Sagaristio is sent to Eretria (259–60).
		Toxilus' owner's letter (fictive) comes from Persia (498).
		(Fictive) Lucris, stolen from Chrysopolis in Arabia, is brought first to Persia, then to Athens (522).
Poenulus	Calydon	Agorastocles, stolen from Carthage, is brought to Calydon and sold (66, 73).
		Adelphasium and Anterastilis, with their nurse Giddenis, are stolen from Carthage (by a *praedo Siculus*, 897) and taken to Anactorium, where they are sold to a pimp, who brings them to Calydon (84–95).
		Their father Hanno travels the world in search of them (104–11).
		The soldier has fought in (fictive) Pentetronica (471).
		The Advocati say the *vilicus* (disguised as a soldier) fought in Sparta (663).

(*continued*)

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Table 7.1 (*cont.*)

Play	Setting	Travels
Pseudolus	Athens	The soldier is from Macedonia, has been in Athens, and is now elsewhere (*peregre*, 51).
		He is paying to have Phoenicium sent to him in Sicyon (995, 1011–12, 1098).
		Harpax has just arrived (594–5) from Sicyon (1173–6).
		Simia has just arrived from Carystus in Euboea (730–1).
Rudens	Cyrene	Daemones went from Athens to exile in Cyrene (35).
		A *praedo* had stolen his daughter and sold her to a pimp (39–40).
		The pimp brought her to Cyrene (41).
		A young Athenian in Cyrene fell in love with her (42–4).
		The pimp's friend is from Agrigentum in Sicily (49–50).
		The pimp, his friend, and two slave *meretrices* set sail for Sicily (49–63), but are shipwrecked outside Cyrene.
Stichus	Athens	The two husbands have been in Asia (152).
		They return, ships laden with exotic cargo, including slaves (366–92).
		They have visitors (fictive?) from Ambracia (491).
Trinummus	Athens	Charmides has been in Seleucia (112).
		Stasimus fears he will have to leave for Asia or Cilicia (599).
		The Sycophanta says he has been to: Seleucia, Macedonia, Asia and Arabia (845); Pontus, Arabia, and Jupiter's throne (933).
Truculentus	Athens	The soldier is Babylonian (84).
		Diniarchus has come back from Lemnos to Athens (91).
		The soldier has been in Syria (530), Phrygia (536), Arabia (539), Pontus (540).
Vidularia	?	Shipwreck.

For an overview of travels focused on trade, incorporating Terence and providing maps, see (with caution) Callataÿ 2015: 19–23, based on the more comprehensive account in Knapp 1907a and 1907b.

the Ides of March, when the plebs picnics and parties on the banks of the Tiber (*F.* 3.523–42). There the people sing and dance (3.535–8):

> illic et cantant quicquid didicere theatris, 535
> et iactant faciles ad sua verba manus,
> et ducunt posito duras cratere choreas,
> cultaque diffusis saltat amica comis.

> There also they sing whatever they've learned at the theater, 535
> and toss their hands up lightly to the words,
> and, putting their glasses down, they hold a makeshift dance,
> while someone's dressed-up girlfriend leaps about with streaming hair.

We have no such reports for the 200s BCE, only the remarks by Plautine slave characters on what they have seen at the theater.[1] Still, it is not hard to believe that audience members might have taken some memories home with them, along with, perhaps, a little clay figure of the actor who sang the song: a souvenir, an *aide-mémoire*. For the plays themselves constitute a form of communal remembering, specifically of the time and place before enslavement and loss.

A story is a way of making sense of things, a kind of map or list of way-stations that traces the way here, which is also the way back, and maybe the way forward. Therapists who deal with PTSD see the retelling of traumatic events as essential for survivors, who often obsessively retell their stories in any case (Kaminer 2006). Historians who write on war and trauma see unofficial memory as a means by which damaged groups repair identities; Peter Burke suggests, "It might be useful to think in terms of different 'memory communities' within a given society. It is important to ask the question, who wants whom to remember what, and why?" (1989: 107).[2] The unnamed *lena* in *Cistellaria* tells the audience, "That's how this history went. … / I want you all to remember it" (*haec sic res gesta est. … / meminisse ego hanc rem vos volo*, 147–8); as will be seen below, she wants their help in healing an old wound (a stage wound, the finding of the child of a raped mother, a child once abandoned in an alley). The history told by this

[1] But compare Theophrastus, *Characters* 27.7, the old man who likes to do youthful things: "At street fairs he sits through three or four shows, trying to learn the songs" (trans. Rusten in Rusten and Cunningham 2002: 131). So this was youthful behavior in Athens in the late 300s, at least.

[2] For an introduction to current theory about PTSD and its possible applications to Roman warfare, I am indebted to Scott Brantner; see Brantner 2014. For discussion of the applicability of the term "PTSD" in antiquity, especially Greek, see Tritle 2014. Many essays in Prentki and Preston 2009 discuss the uses of theater for survivors of trauma; in relation to Greek tragedy, see esp. Rabinowitz 2008, 2013 on Rhodessa Jones's Medea Project. On memory and history, see essays in Olick et al. 2011.

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comedy is a low, unofficial one, for an audience who knew this story (an audience for whom abandoned children were real, leaving real wounds).

The survivors' retelling, especially a performative retelling, might then be seen as a kind of communal history-writing. Testimony itself has served as justice, where justice has been a desideratum of the state (Weschler 1998). But justice is always desired, and story-telling makes do when the real thing is unavailable and restitution is not forthcoming. Peter Meineck and others in the project on "Combat Trauma and the Ancient Stage" have argued that Greek tragedy, along with Old and New Comedy, "offered a form of performance-based collective 'catharsis' … by providing a place where the traumatic experiences faced by the spectators were reflected [in] the gaze of the masked characters performing before them" (2012: 7). The *palliata* dealt with many kinds of traumatic displacement, as enslavement changed names, broke family ties, and opened bodies to physical punishment and sexual abuse; gender displacement was enacted onstage as (possibly) slave actors played slaves both male and female, a displacement emphasized by drag, as in Bromia's joke in *Amphitruo* (chapter 5). The audience decked in victory wreaths, chanting along with insulting refrains (chapter 3), constantly addressed from the stage, asked for help, teased, insulted, praised – they are akin to the "spect-actors" Augusto Boal wanted, and the actors encased in costume and mask give a kind of "engaged performance": by the low, for the low, repurposing borrowed materials. This is not community-based theater in the sense argued by Mary-Kay Gamel for fifth-century Athens, for the actors do not belong to the community, but there is a community of status. When the *grex* at the end of *Cistellaria* says of themselves, *qui deliquit vapulabit, qui non deliquit bibet* (785), they remind the audience of who they are.[3] The Virgo in *Persa* acts out the rupture between who you used to be and who you are now. At the same time, enslaved characters are removed from home, displaced in space. Comedy obsessively jokes about these very sore points, these points of trauma; there was nothing funny about the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, so the degree to which the *palliata* is funny can serve as a measure of the depth to which this hidden transcript is hidden. The Plautine story-lines

[3] See Boal 1985: 122 for an anti-Aristotelian model aimed at bringing the spectator into the play's action. On "engaged performance," see Adamitis and Gamel 2013, esp. on classical drama and war veterans, and Gamel 2016 on community-based theater; the differences between the circumstances of production of Attic drama and of the *palliata* suggest how deep a gulf lay between the borrowed material and its original meaning. For the *Cistellaria* line, see chapter 2; note that both its form and content resemble the (undatable) children's rhyme, *rex erit qui recte faciet, qui non faciet, non erit*, much cited in studies of *versus quadratus* and Roman popular culture (e.g. Fraenkel 1927: 365; see chapter 3).

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themselves are no joke, as is evident when their bones are removed from the jolly wrappings.

Human Trafficking and the Road Home

Franco Moretti began *Atlas of the European Novel* with the observation that "geography is not an inert container, is not a box where cultural history 'happens', but an active force, that pervades the literary field and shapes it in depth" (1998: 3). Plays are not books – not a "literary field" in the sense Moretti means; yet the *palliata* was a form of cultural cargo conveyed by actors, some of whom were themselves human cargo, and all of whom were performing plays *about* human cargo, to audiences who knew what that meant. Geography was an active force that shaped the entire experience out of which the *palliata* was made.

Traffic

Five common processes by which free people became slaves feature in the plots (table 7.2): exposure of an infant, capture in war, kidnapping, piracy, sale by parents. In addition, some slaves move around through trade, their previous origins being unspecified. Sixteen of the twenty extant plays incorporate enslavement or trafficking somewhere in the back story or onstage action – all but *Asinaria*, *Aulularia*, *Mostellaria*, and *Trinummus*. Just as enslavement itself is a drastic movement between statuses, so it constitutes a rupture in the life story of an enslaved character, while trafficking involves long-distance movement around the Mediterranean.

The plays about kidnapped children tell and retell the story of how they were lost. Where age is specified, all the children are taken young: Agorastocles at seven (*Poen*. 66), Menaechmus at seven (*Men*. 24; 1116, just losing his baby teeth), Adelphasium and Anterastilis at five and four (*Poen*. 85), Tyndarus at four (*Capt*. 8, 760, 981–2), Palaestra at three (*Rud*. 744). The pimp describes Planesium as *parvolam* when he bought her (*Cur*. 528). As in the story of Neaira (ps.-Demosthenes *Against Neaira* 59.18, c. 343–340 BCE), training starts in childhood.[4] The festivals

[4] On the implications of the capture of children in the aftermath of siege warfare, see Gaca 2010–11; for the sexual use of children in Roman culture, see Richlin 2015a, and chapter 2. As seen in chapter 4, the *puer* in *Pseudolus* describes himself as too young to have sex: "Alas, how tiny I still am now for that thing" (*eheu, quam illae rei ego etiam nunc sum parvolus*, 783). For an overview of *Against Neaira*, see Robson 2013: 68–9, 186–91; he adduces Metagenes fr. 4 K-A (late 400s), a comic description of barely pubescent girl prostitutes.

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Table 7.2 *Processes of natal alienation and enslavement in the plautine corpus*

exposure/ abandonment:	Casina in *Casina*: picked up and made into a household slave-woman
	Selenium in *Cistellaria*: picked up and given to a prostitute, to be a prostitute
	baby boy in *Truculentus*: given to a prostitute by an *ancilla*, to be her son
capture in war:	Tyndarus, Philocrates, Aristophontes, Philopolemus in *Captivi*: prisoners, quarries; Elis ↔ Aetolia
	? Stalagmus in *Captivi*: household slave-boy, sex slave; Sicily → Aetolia
	Telestis in *Epidicus*: bought for sex; Thebes → Athens
	? "Lucris" in *Persa*: bought by a trader for sale to a pimp; Arabia → Persia
	Harpax in *Pseudolus*: soldier's slave (origin unspecified)
	two unnamed Syrian women in *Truculentus*: given to a prostitute to be household slave-women; Syria → Athens
kidnapping:	Tyndarus in *Captivi*: sold to a family as a household slave-boy; Aetolia → Elis
	Planesium in *Curculio*: sold to a pimp; (unspecified) → Epidaurus
	Menaechmus I in *Menaechmi*: adopted; Tarentum → Epidamnus
	Agorastocles in *Poenulus*: sold, then adopted; Carthage → Calydon
	Adelphasium, Anterastilis, Giddenis in *Poenulus*: sold to a pimp – Adelphasium and Anterastilis, to become prostitutes; Giddenis as a household slave-woman; Carthage → Anactorium → Calydon
	Palaestra in *Rudens*: sold to a pimp to become a prostitute; Athens → Cyrene
piracy:	Palaestrio in *Miles*: given to a soldier; Athens → ~~Naupactus~~ → Ephesus
sale by parents:	the Virgo in *Persa*: in exchange for a meal
	~ Mercurius in *Amphitruo*: becomes his father's body slave (176–8)
trade/trafficking:	Bacchis' sister in *Bacchides*: contracted to a soldier; Samos → Athens [→ Elatia] (a free prostitute)
	Pasicompsa in *Mercator*: bought for sex; Rhodes → Athens
	"Lucris" in *Persa*: sold to a pimp to become a prostitute; Persia → Athens
	Phoenicium in *Pseudolus*: is to be sold to a soldier; Athens → Sicyon
	Palaestra and Ampelisca in *Rudens*: moved to a better market; Cyrene → Sicily
	the cargo of music girls and comedians in *Stichus*: Asia → Athens

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themselves are risky places for children: Planesium's wet-nurse had taken her to see the Dionysia (*ea me spectatum tulerat per Dionysia*, *Cur*. 644–5); Menaechmus wanders away from his father at the *ludei*, to which people have come from all over (*Men*. 29–31). The Dionysia and other festivals are also sometimes the scenes of rape, always of girls unmarried (and therefore very young): the young girl in *Aulularia* is raped at night "at the vigil of Ceres" (*noctu, Cereris vigiliis*, *Aul.* 36); Phanostrata as a young girl was raped at the Dionysia (*Cist*. 156–8), and the daughter born of that rape meets the young man she now loves when "my mother took me to watch the parade at the Dionysia" (*per Dionysia / mater pompam me spectatum duxit*, *Cist*. 89–90); that is, her adoptive mother, a freed prostitute.[5] Note the presence of a prostitute and her adolescent daughter among the spectators, along with Planesium and her *nutrix*, just as *nutrices* and babies are addressed in the *Poenulus* prologue. It should be emphasized that all the female characters who claim virginity in the plays would have been staged as pubescent; even the freed prostitute Acroteleutium, who is to play the part of a wife, fits the job requirement for a woman who is pretty, sexually experienced and a good earner, "juicy," and "as young as possible": she is presented as a "teenage prostitute" (*forma lepida*; *quaestuosa, quae alat corpus corpore*; *consucidam*; *quamque adulescentem maxume*; *meretricem adulescentulam*, *Mil.* 782–9).[6]

The stories of kidnapping tend to involve travel across state lines, often travel by sea (table 7.2).[7] Tyndarus is taken from his father in Aetolia by a household slave, Stalagmus, and sold to a family in Elis (*Capt*. 978–92). Planesium winds up in Epidaurus, her origin (if elsewhere) unspecified, having been snatched from her *nutrix* by a man who sold her to the pimp Cappadox, whose own name is an ethnonym like those typically given to slaves, and one that locates him at a crossroads of the slave trade (*Cur*. 528–30, 644–50).[8] Menaechmus is taken by his father from his home in Syracuse

[5] Whatever the relation of these festivals to Attic practice, in the 200s in Rome they would have evoked, for native Romans, the joint worship of Ceres, Liber, and Libera on the Aventine (dating back to the early Republic), and specifically the *ludi Ceriales* organized by the plebeian *aediles Cereris*, which at some point came to feature dramatic performance (see Taylor 1937: 288–9, "probably instituted after the beginning of the Second Punic war," due to the increased demand for drama; Cornell 1995: 263 on the plebeian connections to the cult). On an early (pre-300) start date for dramatic *ludi*, see Richlin 2014b: 214–15. Wiseman (1998: 37–9), in a discussion of Liber, posits dramatic performance at the Liberalia. But the names of these festivals would have meant different things to people from different places.

[6] On the youth of the women who are sex objects in the plays, see Rosivach 1998: 5, 94.

[7] For maps of travels in Plautus and Terence, see Callataÿ 2015: 19–23 (not entirely accurate); for a full listing of travels, esp. as related to trade, see Knapp 1907a and 1907b.

[8] For examples of Cappadocian ethnonyms see Lewis 2011: 109, 111 no. 8, 113 no. 15 (from the Laureum mines); on Cappadocia generally, Scheidel 2011: 304; Thompson 2003: 18.

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on a trading voyage to Tarentum, where he is picked up and taken home by a wealthy trader from Epidamnus, who adopts him, makes him his heir, and gives him a well-dowered wife (*Men*. 24–33, 60–6). Agorastocles is stolen from his home in Carthage and brought to Calydon, where he is sold to a *senex* who frees him and then adopts him (*Poen*. 66, 72–7; retold by Milphio, 901–4; and by Agorastocles, 986–7, 1037–8, 1054–5; and by Hanno and Agorastocles together, 1055–65); his two cousins are kidnapped, along with their *nutrix*, from Carthage by a Sicilian *praedo* and brought to Anactorium, where they are sold to a pimp who brings them to Calydon (*Poen*. 84–95; retold by Syncerastus, 894–900; confirmed by Hanno, 1104–5, 1344–6; and by the pimp, 1347–9, 1378–9, 1380–1, 1391–3).[9] Palaestra is stolen by a *praedo* from her home in Athens and sold to a pimp, who brings her to Cyrene, has her trained to be a *fidicina*, and then proposes to bring her to Sicily, where, he is told, the people are *voluptuarii*, so "that's where there's the biggest profit to be made off prostitutes" (*Rud*. 39–43, 49–57, 541–2; *ibi esse quaestum maxumum meretricibus*, 56, cf. 541). So Toxilus coaches Saturio on the tale his daughter is to tell (*fabuletur*): where she was born, who were her parents, where she was stolen, far away from Athens (i.e. far away from "here"), "and that she should weep when she recounts it" (*et ut adfleat quom ea memoret*, *Per*. 149–52). So Milphio coaches Hanno that he is to identify the two prostitutes as his daughters and to claim that they were stolen as "little girls" (*parvolas*) from Carthage (*Poen*. 1100–3), and when Hanno weeps, Milphio congratulates him on the skill and trickiness of his acting (*ut adflet*, 1109).

Similar geographic dislocations mark the stories of captives and exposed infants. In *Epidicus*, the poor girl Philippa who was raped in Epidaurus (540a–b, 554–7) moves to Thebes to bear and raise her daughter Telestis (636), who is then captured in war and winds up in Athens, where Philippa

[9] The two girls are stolen *a Magaribus* (86), which de Melo renders as "from Magara" and glosses as "a suburb of Carthage" (2012: 27). The root *magar-* or *magal-* is genuine Punic, and the specific naming of a Carthaginian place points to what lies ahead in Act 5, with its torrent of onstage Punic and jokes about unintelligibility and bilingualism (cited in the prologue as a tricky trait in the title character, 112–13). Appian's account of movements by Scipio Aemilianus in 147 BCE (see Mineo 2011: 126 for the source issues) has him attacking Μέγαρα, "a large district in the city abutting the wall" (*Lib*. 117–18); it is described as a "suburb" at least as early as Leo 1896 *ad loc.*, but in Appian's account it is clearly inside the wall, if full of truck gardens. The word *magalia* elsewhere in Latin refers to Carthaginian native dwellings (esp. Vergil *A*. 1.421); Leo rejects *Magalibus* as a correction, with reference to ancient commentary on Vergil. See Moodie 2015 *ad loc.* for further bibliography. The presence of "Megara" on archaeological maps derives from Appian, as in Harden 1939. The dim ghost of a pun making this exotic name into a dramatic festival (~ *a Megalensibus*; cf. *Cur*. 644–5) is perhaps visible at *Poen*. 86.

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eventually finds her (see chapter 5). Telestis has been bought by a fickle young man, even if not by a pimp, and so reasonably still feels, when she is recognized, that she has escaped ruin: "By the gods' will, I once was lost but now am saved" (*di me ex perdita servatam cupiunt*, *Epid.* 644). The trader who raped the girl in Sicyon in *Cistellaria* runs away to his home in Lemnos afterwards (160–2); years later, he returns to Sicyon, where the two parents search for the now-grown baby girl, Selenium, who had been exposed to die (*ad necem*, 166, 665). Unlike Philippa, this mother had assigned a slave to put her new baby in the street, just as the nameless girl in *Truculentus*, raped by Diniarchus, hands off her baby to the Ancilla to be disposed of. The baby winds up with the prostitute Phronesium, who wants the reward promised her if she bears a child and does not kill it (*si quod peperissem id <non> necarem ac tollerem*, 399). Selenium's story is told from different perspectives: by the *lena* who picked her up and gave her to her foster mother, both of them then prostitutes (*Cist*. 133–48); by the prologue speaker Auxilium (156–87); and by the slave who exposed the baby (616–21). Tyndarus, kidnapped as a child from Aetolia and sold in Elis, as a young man is captured in war with his young owner by the Aetolians and purchased from the spoils by his own father, while his brother is captured at the same time by the Eleans and sold to an associate of the man who had owned Tyndarus (*Capt*. 7–10, 17–34). "Lucris" in *Persa* is supposedly kidnapped or captured from Arabia by the Persians, picked up by a dealer in Persia, and brought by him to Athens to be sold to a pimp (134–6, 506–27). Stalagmus, who as a *puer* belonged to Tyndarus' father Hegio (875–6, 966), came originally from Sicily (888), though no other details are given. The kin of these lost children sometimes travel even more circuitous routes in search of them (below). The only lost child who occasions no wanderings is Casina, who never appears onstage: exposed by a woman and seen by a neighboring slave (like Selenium in reverse), she is taken in by the slave's *era*, who treats her "as if she were her own daughter, not much differently" (*quasi si esset ex se nata, non multo secus*, *Cas*. 46), until, sixteen years later, it is time for her to be married off to one of the household slaves (37–59, 79–82); she is, after all, a fellow slave-woman (*conservam*, 108), actually quite different from a daughter. Whichever slave she is given to, everyone in the play knows she is meant for the sexual use of one of her male owners. After the play's action ends, she will be found to be the neighbor's child and will be married off to the son of the *era* instead, thus giving him the sexual access to her he had been after all along (81–2, 1013–14). Casina is widely believed to be the daughter of the *era*'s friend

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who unknowingly helps in the scheme; like Hegio, like the mother in *Cistellaria*, she does not know her own child.[10]

Just as Palaestra and her fellow prostitute Ampelisca are being conveyed from Cyrene to Sicily in search of a better market, and "Lucris" is (fictively) brought from Persia to Athens for resale as exotic goods, so the sex trade in itself routinely involves involuntary displacement. The slave prostitute Phoenicium puts it most clearly when, in her letter to her lover, she warns him that the pimp "has sold me abroad" (*peregre … vendidit*, *Ps*. 51–2), listing the price and the buyer, a mercenary soldier. Phoenicium does not want to go. The same is true, as Anne Feltovich points out, for Bacchis' sister in *Bacchides*; she is free, but under contract to a soldier who has brought her from Samos to Athens, where Bacchis lives, and what motivates the action is her eagerness to get out of the contract so that she will not be moved again, this time to Elatia on Zacynthos (see table 7.1). Adelphasium and her sister in *Poenulus*, on the other hand, are primping to get ready for the *mercatus meretricius* at the temple of Venus, to show themselves off for the *mercatores*, prompting a joke about Adelphasium as *mers*, "goods" (339–42); even if this is all figurative, it accurately suggests the relation between the business model and the shipping trade: the traffic in women. Pasicompsa in *Mercator* (a telling title) is taken home by a trader like a souvenir, and changes hands repeatedly in the course of the play's action; the mute and unnamed music girls in *Stichus* are simply cargo.[11]

The stolen boys in the tales of kidnapping are never sold to pimps (although Tyndarus is enslaved), and the girls are never adopted the way Menaechmus I and Agorastocles are; Selenium is adopted, but into a life of prostitution, although, like all the other girls who will find a husband at the end of a play, she is said to have been raised "well and chastely" (*Cist.* 133–44; *bene ac pudice*, 173). The illegitimate son of Diniarchus is used by Phronesium as her own pretended child, in order to get money out of the soldier by telling him he is the father (*Truc*. 18–19, 198–201, 389–411, 789–809, and Phronesium's cynical song at 448–81); when Diniarchus is forced to marry the child's mother, he tries to ingratiate himself with Phronesium by telling her she can keep the baby for a while, to serve her own ends (872–80). Selenium's adoptive mother is said to have used a plot

[10] For Casina's parentage, see chapter 5; on the titillation created by the prologue's reveal of her status, see Marshall 2015: 129 (arguing, however, that the play legitimizes the owner's desire for her).

[11] On the issue of a prostitute's control over her own movements in *Bacchides*, see Feltovich 2015: 134–8, and Marshall 2015: 126–7 on geographic dislocation in both the *palliata* and Menander. James 2010 charts Pasicompsa's exchanges in *Mercator*.

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like Phronesium's in order to produce a baby (*Cist.* 133–44), as if she had gotten the idea by going to see *Truculentus*.

Trafficking can expedite the plot, and even minor characters, even names, have back stories. Palaestrio in *Miles*, when his owner's *amica* is carried off from Athens to Ephesus while the owner is in Naupactus, leaves Athens to bring him the news, and on his way is captured by pirates and given as a gift to the soldier who has the *amica*, thus reaching Ephesus himself (*Mil.* 111–20). Harpax in *Pseudolus* proudly tells the pimp that he was not purchased by the soldier, but captured by him in battle, "for I was the top general at home, in my fatherland" (*nam ego eram domi imperator summus in patria mea*, 1170–1); Ballio sneers that this *patria* was the prison (*carcerem*, 1172). The soldier, a Macedonian (*Ps.* 51, 1152), has sent Harpax to Athens from Sicyon to bring back his new purchase, the prostitute Phoenicium (1173). As seen in chapter 2, the soldier in *Truculentus*, arriving in Athens from the East, presents Phronesium with exotic gifts, loot from his campaigns, including two Syrian women to be her *ancillae* (531–2). The presence of ethnic slave names in the plays – most stereotypically *Syra* and *Syrus* – addresses the community's consciousness of the long history of slave-taking in Asia, especially after Alexander, and its long enactment on the comic stage: like "Sambo" on the American stage in the nineteenth century.[12] When Sosia calls himself "son of Davus" (*Am.* 365, 614), he is milking this consciousness for a joke.[13] *Asinaria* has no trafficking, but one of the central slaves is named Libanus, "Frankincense" – exotic cargo; *Bacchides* has no trafficking, but the slave Lydus is marked "Made in Lydia." Hanno in *Poenulus*, searching for his daughters, travels the world, and in each city he rents each prostitute for a night, so he can ask each one (*Poen.* 109–10)

> und' sit, quoiatis, captane an surrupta sit,
> quo genere gnata, qui parentes fuerint. 110

> Where she comes from, from what country, was she captured
>   in war or kidnapped,
> born of what family, who her parents were. 110

[12] On Syrian slaves onstage, see Starks 2010; on the geography of the Athenian slave trade, Lewis 2011, and *IG* I³ 421, l. 33–49, for sixteen slaves listed by ethnic identity in one Athenian household in 414 BCE, including two slaves identified as *Suros*, three as *Thraitta*, a Carian *pais*, and a Carian *paidion*. For slave names in Plautus' plays, see chapter 2, tables 2.1 and 2.2. For "Sambo" on the American stage, see Nathans 2009.

[13] On *Daos* as a Greek slave name, see Tordoff 2013: 25–7 (common onstage, rare in the epigraphic record). It belongs to the class of ethnonyms associated with comic slaves; see chapter 2 above. Knox in Headlam 2001[1922]: 259 comments, *ad* Herodas *Mim.* 5.67–8, another metatheatrical joke: "Phrygian apparently."

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Behind every prostitute, an untold story; every one somebody's lost child.[14]

The transformation of war captives into slaves is described in the plays in some detail (see chapter 5 on the sale scene in *Persa*). When Epidicus tells his owner that the troops are back from Thebes and describes the procession of soldiers and their loot (*Epid.* 210–12), he says that "there was a mob along the streets, / everybody went to see their sons" (*fit concursus per vias, / filios suos quisque visunt*). His owner Periphanes – father, as it turns out, of a captive like those displayed in the parade – sends up a cheer: "By God, well done!" (*hercle rem gestam bene*!, 212). Thus there is a certain ambiguity in *filios suos quisque visunt* – the soldiers, yes, but then the captives are also somebody's children. Otherwise the parade is remarkable for the number of prostitutes it draws out to greet the troops (213–18) – again, mingling with the crowd at a spectacle.

Telestis has not actually been captured directly by Periphanes' son; rather, although he is himself a returning soldier, he has bought her from the spoils (43–4).[15] This process appears in *Captivi* as well; Hegio, who is trying to find captives he can trade for his captured son, buys in bulk from the quaestors (*Capt*. 34, 508–9a). A normal purchase, but not a respectable trade: Ergasilus flatly calls this practice *inhonestum*, not proper to Hegio's nature (98–101), and dubs it "a trade belonging to the prison" (*quaestum carcerarium*, 129) – though he says he would let Hegio go into business as a *carnufex* if it would get Philopolemus back (132). For although in theory it is right for soldiers to take captives, who are then sold, in the world of the plays the soldiers who boast of their conquests are ridiculed,

[14] That this notion was in wide circulation in the Hellenistic Mediterranean is indicated (e.g.) by Seneca Rhetor, *Controv.* 10.4, about a Fagan-like man who picks up exposed children, cripples them to make them more pitiful, and lives on the proceeds of their begging; the speakers harp on the point that a parent might give alms (or not) to his or her own child. At times the culprit strongly resembles Ballio in the parade scene (10.4.7, 10, 24), but no explicit analogy is drawn, and Seneca emphasizes the popularity of the theme in contemporary Greek declamation (10.4.18–23). Here as always the kinship in plotline among declamation, New Comedy, and the novel is evident; Hanno's plotline animates novels and folk narratives around the Mediterranean, from *The History of Apollonius, King of Tyre* to the *Life of Mary the Harlot* to the story of Beruria, wife of Rabbi Meir. The story appears sentimental/melodramatic due to our consciousness of similar motifs in the Victorian period, from Rossetti's *Found* to the parodic "There Once Was a Poor Young Girl," but melodramatic reunions were formed by the historical circumstances of rural-to-urban migration, while the ancient versions were formed by human trafficking. On *Apollonius*, see Schmeling 1999; on *Mary the Harlot*, see Miller 2003; on Beruria, see Boyarin 1993: 190. See Nochlin 1988: 57–85 on *Found* and the motif of the rescue of the fallen woman in its social context. On the grim background to "Poor Young Girl," written by the blackface vaudeville comedian Charlie Case before 1916, see Cullen 2007: 203–4, Spaeth 1926: 242–3, Stewart 2005: 153; Richlin forthcoming a. I learned it at camp in the 1960s. Content is stable, context makes meaning.

[15] On the documentary evidence for soldiers owning slave-women under the empire, see Phang 2001, an exhaustive survey.

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nor is it right to steal children; kidnappers never prosper. The prologue speaker in *Menaechmi* goes out of his way to tell us that the trader who kidnapped little Menaechmus came to a fittingly bad end (63–6). The middleman in *Curculio* is missing, believed dead (529–30); the man who bought Agorastocles is dead (*Poen*. 77 = *Men.* 62). The pimps who buy Planesium, Hanno's daughters, Palaestra, and even the counterfeit Lucris are prosecuted offstage and/or subjected to corporal punishment. When Messenio thinks his owner is being kidnapped in the streets of Epidamnus – "a man who arrived here a free man!" (*qui liber ad vos venerit*!, *Men*. 1006) – he and Menaechmus I lay into the slaves of the *senex* with much eye-gouging and punching (1006–18): *em tibi etiam*! The only kidnapper who is himself a slave, Stalagmus in *Captivi*, is re-enslaved and shackled (1025–8).

The culprits repeatedly avow the same callous attitude, an index of their badness. Like the bankers seen in chapter 3, they will do anything for money. So the pimp Cappadox, reflecting on Planesium's chain of purchase: "What does it matter to me? I've got the cash" (*quid id mea refert? ego argentum habeo*, *Cur*. 530). So Stalagmus, asked whether the boy he sold is still alive: "I took the cash, I didn't care about the rest" (*argentum accepi, nil curavi ceterum*, *Capt*. 989). So, more elaborately, the pimp Labrax, responding to Daemones' sad recollection of his stolen daughter (*Rud*. 745–7):

> argentum ego pro istisce ambabus quoiae erant domino dedi; 745
> quid mea refert Athenis natae haec an Thebis sient,
> dum mihi recte servitutem serviant?

> I paid cash for both of those girls to their legal owner, who
> they belonged to; 745
> what does it matter to me whether they were born at Athens or Thebes,
> just as long as they slave their slavery right for me?

Trachalio, responding indignantly, calls him *feles virginalis* (748); so Saturio calls the pimp Dordalus *scelesta feles virginaria* (*Per*. 751): "criminal virgin-stealing polecat." It is not only *Captivi*, then, that problematizes enslavement, for these plotlines all ask how it can be legitimate for a free person to be enslaved.

To be born into slavery left no route to freedom other than manumission; Trachalio in *Rudens* several times insists that both the shipwrecked girls should by rights be free (649, 714, 736, 1104), but has to admit to the pimp that Ampelisca's right is relative at best: "This other one – what her fatherland might be I really don't know, / except I know that she's a better person than you are, you giant piece of filth" (*huic alterae quae patria sit*

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profecto nescio, / nisi scio probiorem hanc esse quam te, inpuratissime, 750–1). He does assume that she has a *patria* other than Cyrene, where the play is set. The pimp sneers in reply, "Are those girls yours?" (*tuae istae sunt*?) – emphasizing his ownership (chapter 6); Trachalio then challenges the pimp to compare backs and see who has scars, impugning the pimp's free status (752–8, cf. 737) and implying that he himself is worthy of freedom. Like Ampelisca, he might be said to look *liberalis*. In *Captivi*, goaded by Aristophontes' insistence that he had never been free, Tyndarus snaps back, "How do you know? Or maybe you were my mother's midwife?" (*qui tu scis? an tu fortasse fuisti meae matri obstetrix*?, 629) – a reminder that women know the secrets of birth. Neither of them knows who Tyndarus was before he came to Elis, in the place where he was born.

Even those whose parents are not coming for them, or who are not saving up for manumission, sometimes speak lines that show a sense of slavery as a temporary condition rather than an inborn quality. Pseudolus, pretending to be the trusted slave Syrus, says grandly when Harpax asks if he is slave or free, "For now, I'm still a slave" (*nunc quidem etiam servio*, *Ps*. 610). This is a metatheatrical gesture towards his role-playing (in this scene playing Syrus; as an actor playing a slave), but he also speaks as Pseudolus claiming freedom, and perhaps likewise as a slave actor: a slave playing a slave playing a slave. A typical joke in which the speaker tells a disguised truth to an uncomprehending interlocutor, and Pseudolus' dupe Harpax replies that Pseudolus does not "look worthy to be free" (*non videre dignus qui liber sies*, 611), but Harpax is a fool, and the audience knows better. *Captivi* is full of jokes like this in situations that enact the arbitrary and possibly transitory nature of slave status. The peculiar name "Epidicus" – "Under Litigation" – suggests, like the name "Stamp Paid" in Toni Morrison's *Beloved*, a (self-)consciousness of slaves as traded goods.[16]

Road Maps

The travels laid out in the back stories to the plays belong to a century which saw an explosion in geographical knowledge, alongside the explosion in the slave market – indeed, one went along with the other. The wars of Alexander and of his successors inspired journeys of exploration and funded scholarship like that of the geographer Eratosthenes in Alexandria, born a generation before Plautus and active as a geographer from the 240s

[16] On "Epidicus," see Schmidt 1902a: 187–8, with reference to the joke on the name at *Epid.* 25–6 (on which see further Lefèvre 2001: 117–19).

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to around 200.[17] It is a good question whether those who were trafficked understood where they were going or what route they had taken, especially across language barriers, especially if they were loaded onto a wagon or ship, as we see at times explicitly in the plays (*St.* 380–1, possibly *Rud.* 930–3), and implicitly in many of the stories seen above. Based on papyri dating to the Principate, Keith Bradley outlines the process of "deracination," demonstrating that sales often moved slaves over long distances, and more specifically that the well-attested sales of individual children would have produced persons with no memory of *patria*, "travelling into the unknown."[18] How audience members envisioned the travels in the plays would have varied according to their level of education and experience, yet the plays arguably constitute a memory map in themselves, as the plotline runs from point to point, and the characters retrace the route taken. Certainly this kind of point-to-point thinking was commonplace in the 200s, when a writer now known as Heraclides Creticus or ps.-Dicaearchus conveyed his advice on how to get around in central Greece. His itinerary goes from town to town, giving distances, condition of the roads, local sights and attractions, advice on customs collectors and the danger of robbers, and estimates of travel time, for example: "From there [Oropus] to Tanagra is 130 stades. The road [goes] through country planted with olive trees and thickly wooded; completely free from the fear of thieves" (1.8).[19] His concern for safety reminds us that travelers and traders were among those most vulnerable to capture.

The acting troupes themselves were experienced travelers, and the landscape of war can be traced through their jokes. Turning a Greek oath into an Italian road trip (*Capt.* 880–3), the parasite Ergasilus swears "By Apollo, by the Maiden" (μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω, ναὶ τὰν Κόραν) – and then, punning on *Kora* (Persephone) and *Cora* (the town in Latium), "by Praeneste, by Signia, by Frusino, by Aletrium" (ναὶ τὰν Πραινέστην, ναὶ τὰν Σιγνέαν, ναὶ τὰν Φρουσινῶνα, ναὶ τὸν Ἀλάτριον, *Capt.* 880–3).[20] A map of the via Latina (map 1) shows how this joke depends on familiarity with the valley of the Trerus River (now the Sacco), "the main corridor connecting Latium with Campania" (Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 116); after Cora, over the hills to the west, the towns on the list look across the valley at each other, with

[17] For background on Eratosthenes' life, study, and travels, see Roller 2010: 7–15.
[18] Bradley 1984: 52–62, 116, and 1994: 46; cf. Joshel 2010: 93–4.
[19] For English translation and notes, see Austin 1981: 151–4; for the text, German trans., and commentary, see Pfister 1951 (for 1.8, see 76–7, 135, with useful parallels on the "fear of thieves").
[20] This passage has attracted attention mainly due to its dependence on Greek/Latin code-switching (Adams 2003: 21; Shipp 1953: 105–6). See also Dench 1995: 75, with remarks below.

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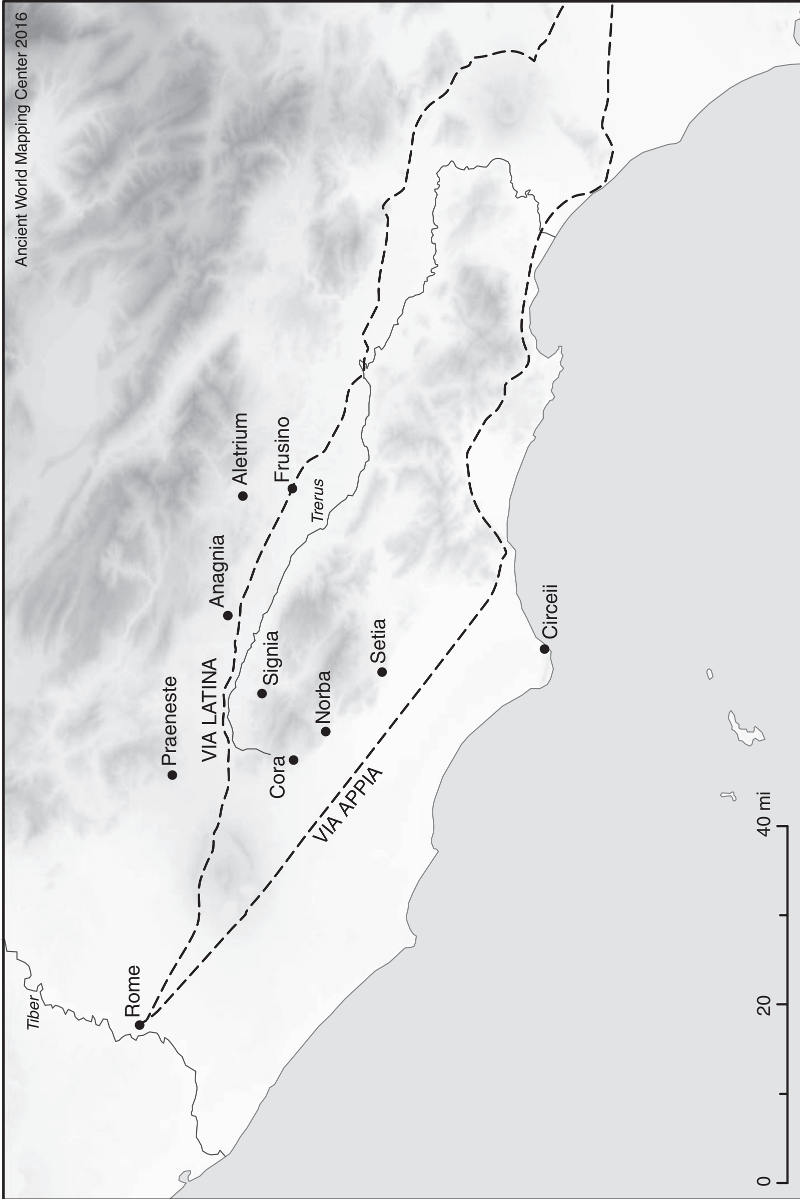

Map 1 The via Latina and the valley of the Trerus River. Map courtesy of the Ancient World Mapping Center, UNC-Chapel Hill.

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Rome's powerful ally Praeneste at the head.[21] As it continued southward on the way to Capua, the road passed through Cales. The audience needed to know the road to get the joke, and the troupe knew it as well, because they put the joke into the play – a strong suggestion of life on tour.[22] If so, actors in the time of Naevius, Plautus, and the young Ennius would have been dodging both Carthaginian and Roman troops: Fabius came through Praeneste and down the via Latina in 217 (Livy 22.12.2), and Hannibal came up it in 211 (26.8.10), including Frusino and Anagnia in his trail of destruction (26.9.11), just as Pyrrhus had come up it in 280, getting as far as Anagnia.[23] Both towns reported frightening prodigies from 207 through 202 (27.37.5–6, 30.2.11–12, 30.38.9); the surges of panic described at length for Rome surely also affected the ruins of Latium. Along the via Appia, in the 190s, actors would have found rebels and more soldiers, for the slave uprisings of 198 started at Setia with Carthaginian captives bought from the *praeda* and spread to Norba, even as far as Circeii and Praeneste (32.26.4–18). The rising at Setia, according to Livy, started under cover of the *ludi* going on there (32.26.7). Through this landscape traveled a *grex*, a joke, an audience.

The meaning of roads to both actors and audience cannot be taken for granted.[24] The road network expanded from the late 300s through the 200s BCE as Roman armies moved against towns and peoples in central and northern Italy; even the via Latina belongs to the period in the 330s–320s when colonies were established to ring in the Samnites (Patterson 2006: 608), while the via Appia marks the same process in 312 (Cornell 1995: 354). The roads took the armies where they needed to go, and traders followed behind them, picking up the slaves the armies made (Thompson 2003: 79); the *palliata* spread along with both (see chapter 1). The roads

[21] For the status history of the towns on Ergasilus' list, see Salmon 1982: 51–5, 60, 66; Cornell 1995: 300, 357. On the route of the via Latina, see Quilici 1990: 52–6.

[22] On plays as group projects and the problem of who the adapter actually is, see Hutcheon 2006: 79–111. On Plautus' plays as at least partly improvised by the troupe, see Marshall 2006: 273–9, and Richlin 2017b; this joke bears all the earmarks, and would have been easily adaptable to runs in different towns. On touring, see Rawson 1985: 109–10; Taylor 1937: 303–4; Goldberg 2005: 65; Richlin 2014b: 215. Lucilius 1034M does not appear to concern "taking [a] Roman show on the Italian road," as suggested by Habinek 1998: 43, welcome as that would be. See Marx *ad loc.* (1904–1905.2: 331).

[23] Anagnia: Appian *Samn.* 10.3 (*Roman History* 3.10.3), as most conveniently presented in Horace White's 1912 Loeb (reprinted through 1982; the passage is 3.10.10 in the 1962 Teubner, ed. Viereck and Roos). The detail is both late and fragmentary, this part of Appian being preserved only in a Byzantine compilation c. 950, but in any case there is no doubt that Pyrrhus reached central Italy.

[24] For the account of Roman colonization that follows, see Cornell 1995, Hoyos 1976, Dyson 1985, Rosenstein 2012, Salmon 1982; Eckstein 2006a, esp. 133ff., emphasizes that the Celtic tribes constituted a serious threat to Rome. For a model of connectivity around 200 BCE, see Scheidel and Meeks 2012.

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bear the names of the *summi viri* who sponsored them, but they were originally built under military supervision by work gangs, either local forced labor or slave labor – sometimes the same thing, for landowners were obliged to take responsibility for maintenance of sections of highway adjacent to their land.[25] Cato lists mending the *via publica* as one of the tasks slaves can be given to occupy them on holidays (*feriae*; *De agr.* 2.4). The massive roads were so well engineered that some of them still exist, incised like the Interstate across the countryside – these roads, in the north, were built over droveways and trails made by the local inhabitants, and brought in the Roman colonists who displaced them; down those roads, in turn, went the former inhabitants, as slaves or just as displaced persons. In 234 BCE, if a young man were to set out for the south from shattered Sarsina, the via Flaminia from Rome to Ariminum would not yet have been built, but it went through in 220, when C. Flaminius was censor; Ray Laurence argues that Flaminius "created the road as a single entity as a public thing to be owned by the Roman state" (2013: 302), and notes how roads like this redefined the local geography, bypassing the pre-existing towns, while the milestones were marked in Latin, "with the distance carefully measured in Roman miles and articulated in Latin numerals" (306).[26] This is the same Flaminius who, as tribune in 232, had sponsored a plan to put Roman settlers on public land in the north, and had then, as consul in 223, led one of the armies that dealt with the concomitant risings of Celtic tribes; a popular hero, until he lost another army at Lake Trasimene in 217. The north in the 200s, as Stephen Dyson describes it (1985), was a frontier, and the Celtic tribes, especially the Boii, were fighting hard to hold onto it. By the time Polybius bore witness in the mid-100s, there were only a few of them left (2.35.4), and he thinks they had believed that the Romans were

[25] See esp. Chevallier 1976: 65, 83, 84–5, and 218 n. 59, where he cryptically remarks, "According to records from early excavations, labourers were organised in chain-gangs." I must admit that, in my own experience of archaeological excavations in the early 1970s, the actual trenches were indeed dug by a hired laborer named Paddy, although he was not shackled, while the plans were laid out by the Professor of the Archaeology of the Roman Empire, Sheppard Frere. Thompson (2003) does not deal with road-building directly, and points out the dearth of evidence for the presence of slaves even in provincial quarries, where "the military clearly provided the skilled element," and others did the hard labor; he comments, "The distinction between [slaves] and forced labour gangs is perhaps academic" (137). For condemnation to road-building (*munitiones viarum*) alongside condemnation to the mines or beasts, see Suet. *Cal.* 27.3. On the general question of slaves present with the army as non-combatants, see esp. Welwei 1988: 56–80, with instances of teamsters assigned to build walls and dig trenches, also Kampen 2013, Schumacher 2001: 189–92; except for the Polybius passage discussed in chapter 2, the evidence is all much later, although plentiful in Caesar and Livy.

[26] Laurence separates the via Flaminia from the later roads built in provinces like Macedonia and Gaul as a sign and tool of Roman domination, but surely northern Italy in the 200s was a similar space.

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bent on genocide (2.21.9): οὐχ ὑπέρ ἡγεμονίας ἔτι καὶ δυναστείας … ἀλλ᾽ ὑπέρ ὁλοσχεροῦς ἐξαναστάσεως καὶ καταφθορᾶς – an expectation he also attributes to the Romans themselves (2.31.8). An overstatement of the case, as Walbank points out, for Celtic names persist in the area (1957: 211–12); perhaps, however, as Cherokee names persist in North Carolina.

The Boii rose in 238 and were defeated; joined in the Celtic invasion of 225 that got as far as Clusium; were defeated again by Flaminius in 223, who celebrated a triumph *de Galleis* – as later sources report, by popular demand, against the will of the senate. They rose again to join Hannibal as he came down from Spain; Roman troops fought a major battle with them in 216, the year of Cannae, and the Boii went on fighting, for a triumph over them is recorded on the *Fasti Triumphales* for 191 BCE (see Appendix 1). When Ergasilus jokes in *Captivi* about his body as a *provincia* (156), he is setting himself in an active military context, and the roll call of the "army of eating" he wishes for (153) is mustered by Hegio in a series of puns that combines food-words with the names of enemies to Rome and of the Roman colonies that confronted them: *Pistorensibus* (160), "miller people," probably a play on *Pistoriensibus*, "people of Pistoriae"; *Panicis*, "cheap grits people" and (an awful pun) "Carthaginians" (162); *Placentinis*, "cake people" and "people of Placentia" (162); *Turdetanis*, "thrush people" and "the Turdetani" (a Spanish tribe, 163); *Ficedulensibus*, "people of the fig-eaters" (another bird viewed as a delicacy), probably a play on *Ficulensibus* (people of Ficulea, in Latium, 163).[27] Pistoriae – first attested in Latin in Ergasilus' speech, and not again for a century – held a strategic location at the base of the Ligurian mountains, a battleground between Roman armies and the Ligures in the 230s and 190s. Placentia, almost due north of Pistoriae on the other side of the mountains, in the battleground along the Po, was founded as a Latin colony in 218 – an enormous colony, with 6,000 families. Latin colonies served a military purpose not only defensive but offensive, constituting for the local inhabitants, as Nathan Rosenstein remarks, "an armed camp in their midst" (2012: 93), and indeed the Boii attacked Placentia, with its neighbor colony Cremona, soon after the settlers arrived.

On another front, the Turdetani, a highly urbanized tribe, lived on the coast and in the hinterlands behind what is now Gibraltar, west of New Carthage, in an area that had long been under Phoenician and Punic

[27] Lindsay glosses *Panicis* as playing on "*panis*, 'a loaf' and *Punici*, 'Carthaginians'" (1921: 79); surely rather from *panicum*, "millet," an animal fodder that could be used in a pinch to make porridge (Dalby 1998: 71). Cf. Garnsey 1988: 52, where millet appears among "famine foods."

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influence. Livy deals with them in a succinct addendum to his account of Roman victories in 214: "and the Turdetani, who had brought war with the Carthaginians down upon [the Saguntines], they reduced to subjection and sold at auction, and destroyed their city" (*et Turdetanos, qui contraxerant eis cum Carthaginiensibus bellum, in potestatem redactos sub corona vendiderunt urbemque eorum deleverunt*, 24.42.11). The Turdetani still got involved in the uprising in Spain in 195, and it was Cato who, as consul, headed the army that defeated them. Ficulea was a small town in Latium, on the way to Tibur but not on the main road, and is evidently dragged into this militarized zone to finish the joke about the Turdetani. *Captivi* is very much a black comedy, and Ergasilus' *provincia* joke here is a savage one, evoking a landscape on which Roman centuriation and the great roads were being superimposed – as harsh a transformation as all the others caused by war.[28] This run of shtick would have been useful onstage at any point from 218 onward, and jokes about the Boii would have had an even longer run – as, of course, would jokes about Carthaginians; and Sicilians.[29]

The ethnic identity of Stalagmus, the slave who had kidnapped Tyndarus, Hegio's son, as a child, comes out soon after the road-trip joke discussed above, as Ergasilus earns a meal from Hegio by reporting to him the good news that Stalagmus has been caught and is being brought back. Ergasilus turns the standard inquiry about a slave's origin into a grim joke that combines ethnicity with torture (887–9):

> ER. sed Stalagmus quoius erat tunc nationis, quom hinc abit?
> HE. Siculus. ER. et nunc Siculus non est, Boius est, boiam terit:
> liberorum quaerundorum caussa ei, credo, uxor datast.

[28] This reading of the militarization of the Italian landscape is now standard (Patterson 2006: 608–9, "the establishment of colonies in the ravaged landscape," "a violent and disruptive intervention"; Rosenstein 2012: 90–2, "palpable signs of Rome's dominion"), succeeding a more Roman-triumphalist, pro-colonialist narrative that, adopting Livy's perspective, had the Boii "pour[ing] across the central passes," and spoke of "the menace of the Cisalpine Gauls" (Salmon 1982: 76, 77). But the current reading dates back at least to Chevallier (1976: 85). Dyson explicitly compares the expansion of non-indigenous people into the American West: "The result would be a dispersed settler frontier. Flaminius was using the frontier as an escape valve in the classic sense defined by the American historian Frederick Jackson Turner. Like Turner, the Romans forgot that there were natives on these borders with claims on the land and fears of the new settlers" (Dyson 1985: 28). Horden and Purcell's remark that the point of road-building in the Mediterranean is "the effect that it achieves through proclaiming and encouraging interaction between microregions" is unhelpfully nonspecific (2000: 127).

[29] These topographical references have long been noticed, and have sometimes been used in attempts to pin the play to a specific date; see, for example, Wellesley 1955, with further details of military history.

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ER. But Stalagmus – of what ethnicity was he, when he went away from here?
HE. Sicilian. ER. And now he's not a Sicilian, he's a Boian, he's rubbing a *boia*.
She was given to him as a wife to bear him children, I think.

The *boia* was a kind of collar (< Grk. *boeia*, "oxhide"); it appears on Libanus' list of tortures in *Asinaria* (549–50). In Ergasilus' joke, Stalagmus' new identity derives from the collar he is "rubbing," or "wearing out," adding a sexual layer to the usual joke whereby slaves are said to "wear out" shackles or whips or rods; the explanatory line in the joke (889) is there to nail down the sexual meaning (although perhaps it punningly evokes the punishment of a runaway who has been given this "wife" *liberorum quaerundorum causa*, "on account of his lighting out for the free men"). The captured Stalagmus is simultaneously wearing out a collar and having sex with a Boian woman, which makes him a member of the Boii; here the word *Boia* approaches the word *scortum* in converting a woman into a hide to be tanned, pounded, pummeled, and the joke redoes the work of conquest: the violent sexual appropriation of indigenous women. Meanwhile Stalagmus, in the compression of the joke, is having sex with his collar, another poke at male slaves' sexual frustration (see chapters 2, 4).[30] Hegio ignores this joke, keeping up the straight-man role he plays throughout this scene, but the audience is meant to laugh. Most of them. Many of the Boii were enslaved after the battles they lost in the north, and they themselves were selling slaves on the market in 230 BCE (*aichmalôtous*, "war captives," by the time the story gets to Zonaras, 8.19); if some in the audience were afraid of the Boii, were even former slaves of the Boii, others might have once been Boii themselves – or Celtic neighbors of the Boii.[31] After all, unlikely as it sounds, Jerome says that Caecilius Statius himself was an Insubrian Gaul from Mediolanum (a Celtic town, "the central focus

[30] For a more specific idea of how Stalagmus could have sex with his *boia*, see the densely supported arguments by Allen (1896: 44–5, 55–7), taking the *boia* to be equivalent to the Greek *kloios*: the head is fastened into the fork in a heavy stick that hangs down in front of the prisoner (in which case, *boia* must, like *nervos* in Allen's analysis of a more complex bond, refer to the thong that tightened the bond around the slave's neck). Allen provides a horrific illustration of such bonds in use in contemporary Africa, taken from Livingstone's *Last Journals*, which shows what he has in mind. See further comments in Thalmann 1996: 135–7, to which I am indebted for the reference to Allen; Thompson 1993 provides a comprehensive illustrated catalogue of extant neck-chains, manacles, and fetters, with analysis of geographical distribution.

[31] This story about the Boii is repeated by Thompson 2003: 31, and the sale of slaves by the Gauls in exchange for wine in the 100s BCE (Diod. Sic. 5.26.3) is discussed by Horden and Purcell 2000: 390; the importation of wine is attested by archaeological evidence, the export of slaves has left no

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of Roman campaigns to subdue the Insubres," Dyson 1985: 48–9), and Gellius says he was a freed slave (4.20.13).[32]

Certainly some in the audience would have come from Sicily, and Sicily is not a neutral point of origin for Stalagmus. Although the whole Menaechmus family comes from Syracuse in Sicily (*Siculus sum Syracusanus*, *Men.* 1069), elsewhere in the plays Sicily is the butt of jokes: the pimp's friend Charmides in *Rudens* is a criminal from Agrigentum (*Siculus senex / scelestus*, *Agrigentinus*, 49–50); Sicily, as seen above, is where pimps can do the best business; good jokes come from Athens (= Rome), inferior ones from Sicily (*Per.* 395); the girls and their nurse in *Poenulus* are stolen by a "Sicilian thug" (*praedone Siculo*, 897). The prologue speaker of *Menaechmi* says that his plot summary "Greekizates, but it doesn't Atticizate, it Sicilicizitates" (*hoc argumentum graecissat, tamen / non atticissat, verum sicilicissitat*, 11–12).[33] In the 200s, there would have been plenty of former Sicilians in the audiences of the *palliata*, slave, freed, and free, to hear jokes like these, somewhat as Ergasilus' jokes about the towns along the via Latina might have been played in those towns, or played before visitors from Praeneste, say, in Rome. Like all jokes based on identity, these jokes interpellated those spectators. Stalagmus meant one thing to former Sicilians, something else to others; the position of any Boian slave present – if so, probably female, probably doing menial labor – points up the problem.[34] Polybius imagines the anger of Sicilians in Rome forced to see the loot from Syracuse (9.10.7–10).[35] Ergasilus' flippant joke here is a mean one, especially in this play, where the first utterances of the *captivi* of the title are groans of pain (200),

physical trace. But by all accounts the Gallic tribes regularly fought amongst themselves, ever a productive source of slaves. See esp. Thompson 1993: 81–3 for reliefs illustrating reciprocal trade.

[32] For sources and discussion, see Robson 1938, who argues that it is impossible that Caecilius Statius was a Celt, that "Statius" was not a slave name, whatever Gellius thought, but that, on the basis of his name, he was a Samnite: not much of a step up, around 200. He also suggests that Caecilius might have been a Samnite relocated to the Po valley, at least a useful reminder of the demographic chaos of the period. For Statius as in fact a slave name, and its kinship with other Italic slave names, see Cheesman 2009: 516, 523.

[33] For exegesis of *sicilicissitat*, see Fontaine 2010: 8–11, arguing that this comic nonce formation puns on the Greek *sikilizein* and Latin *sicilicus*, a word for a diacritical mark indicating a double letter, attested as "ancient" by grammarians in the very late empire; the joke is, then, about twins, a theme in this prologue. See chapter 1 on Fontaine's method.

[34] On the particular vulnerability of women and girls to slave-taking in general, see Horden and Purcell 2000: 388–9, with further reference to the excellent overview of medieval slavery by Stuard 1995; see now esp. Gaca 2010–11. Slave names in the plays lead us to look eastward in imagining slave demography in the 200s, but, as Thompson remarks, the wars in Spain and Gaul produced "vast numbers of prisoners" (2003: 20).

[35] On this passage, see Champion 2004: 51 (on the "fear and loathing" instilled in Sicilians by the Roman gutting of Sicily); Richlin 2014b: 205; Richlin 2017a: 220–2 for more on Marcellus's *ovatio* and the spoils of Syracuse.

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and where Ergasilus himself has defined his body as a conquered province. Tyndarus' own name perhaps evoked the Sicilian town of Tyndaris, site of a battle in the First Punic War – a battle won by Regulus (Plb. 1.25.1–4), who was a major exemplar of war's reverses.[36] When Tyndarus is first unbound, he tells the audience directly that "It's no inconvenience to have my neck lose its necklace now" (*hau molestumst iam, quod collus collari caret*, 357); soon he will be in chains again.

There is a story about L. Quinctius Flamininus that was often retold by writers after him; the events date to his consulship in Liguria in 192, the story emerges in the historical record in Livy's account of a speech Cato made as censor in 184 (Livy 39.42.8–12; 43.5). The outline of the story remains the same in its retellings: Flamininus had a prostitute with him on his campaign; the prostitute expressed a desire to see a man killed; Flamininus had a man brought into the dining room and killed him on the spot. In some versions, the prostitute is male, in others female; in some versions the man is a prisoner of war, in others a condemned criminal. The geography of Plautus is strongly evoked, however, by Livy's identification of the prisoner as a *Boius* and the prostitute as *Philippum Poenum, carum ac nobile scortum*: "Philip the Carthaginian, an expensive and celebrated whore."[37] This should remind us that among the slaves in Italy, going back to the First Punic War, would have been an admixture of Carthaginians; this Philip has a king name, a Greek slave name, and in the sneering identifier we may be hearing what Cato made of boys like him, the spoils of Carthage.[38] The Carthaginian slaves in the towns near Rome rose up in the early 190s, as seen above. The characters in *Poenulus* want to go home to Carthage; they joke about black faces, they joke in Punic.

[36] Schmidt (1902a: 211) notes a few Sicilian examples of related personal names, none elsewhere used for slaves. Thanks to Diana Librandi for Sicilian geography.

[37] For other versions, see Cicero *Sen*. 42, Val. Max. 2.9.3, and esp. Sen. *Controv*. 9.2, where the prostitute is a *meretrix*, the slain man is a condemned criminal, and the speakers wallow in the details of debauchery and beheading. Livy's account of the speech appears in Malcovati (Cato 87); although he does not quote from Cato on the ethnic identifiers, Livy emphasizes that he himself has seen the speech, as the historian Valerius Antias, who makes the prostitute female, has not. The account is taken (in passing) as a true account of what Cato charged by Rosenstein 2012: 253, although he replaces the specific ethnic identifiers with generics: "a Gallic chief," "a young male prostitute." The story is a notorious can of worms; for discussion of the variants and the sexual aspects, see Williams 2010: 46–9, 328–9; on the historical/fictional aspects, Damon 2007: 444. It seems at least probable that the ethnic adjectives and epithets come from Cato's speech.

[38] See Harris 1979: 63 on the scope of plunder and slave-taking in the First Punic War, and Welwei 2000: 65–81 for a thorough overview of the sources; some instances of the taking of African slaves in Thompson 2003: 21–2, and see Appendix 1.

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Wolfgang de Melo, in the most thorough and conservative analysis of the long stretches of Punic jokes at the end of *Poenulus*, concludes that not only were the speeches originally in genuine Punic, but they interact with the interlocutors' lines in Latin. The "Aetolian" characters onstage (speaking Latin) are not supposed to understand what is being said – that's the joke; but the Carthaginian Hanno understands what *they* say, and reacts to it. De Melo believes that people in the audience would not have understood the Punic, either, "apart perhaps from some sailors and merchants, who may have had a basic command of the language" (2012: 173). The actors must have understood it, though, in order to make (up) the jokes, and there was in fact another constituency in Italy that had a fluent command of the language – native, or second-generation. If de Melo is right about how the jokes work, the actors must have expected some audience members to get it. Ethnic identity in Italy in this period cannot be understood as monolithic, as Emma Dench demonstrates at length (2005, esp. at 131); this is *a fortiori* more true for slaves and freed slaves and the poor. The rape of slaves made hybrid babies, who (if they stayed with their mothers) grew up bilingual, and slaves, freed slaves, and displaced people could no longer choose a spouse from home.

Hybrid identity among actors and audience would help to explain the blackface masks and ending of *Poenulus*, when all the main characters turn out to be Carthaginian and happily go home to Carthage. The exotic appearance of Hanno (*facies quidem edepol Punicast*, 977) and the dark skin of the *nutrix* Giddenis (*corpore aquilo*, 1112; *ore atque oculis pernigris*, 1113) are marked by Agorastocles and his slave Milphio; in the recognition scene, did Agorastocles change his mask? Did Hanno's daughters change theirs? Or was half the onstage cast *ore pernigro* all along?[39] You would expect it to have come up in the bathing scene, as the two young women are spied on by Agorastocles and Milphio. The soldier who wanted to buy Anterastilis threatens to turn her black by beating her (1289–91):

> iam pol ego illam pugnis totam faciam uti sit merulea,
> ita replebo atritate, atritior multo ut siet 1290
> quam Aegyptini[40] qui cortinam ludis per circum ferunt.
>
> Now, by God, I'll turn her into a blackbird all over with my fists,

[39] See Marshall 2006: 130, 148–9 on African masks, although not on this problem in *Poenulus*; Richlin forthcoming a on the color of masks, skin color, and ethnicity.

[40] This word appears elsewhere in Latin only in Paulus Diaconus (26L), where it is simply glossed *Aethiopas*: impossible to know whether the original entry in Verrius Flaccus had been nothing but a gloss on this passage. Elsewhere, as seen in chapter 5, *Aegyptiae* are classed with Syrian women as

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I'll fill her so with darkness that she'll be much darker 1290
than the Ethiopians who carry the bucket around at the Circus,
during the games.

She is onstage as he rants, although he has not yet noticed her and Hanno, so the color-words here must be a sight gag. The soldier is not a sympathetic character; Sceparnio in *Rudens* admires the dark skin of Ampelisca (*corpus quoiusmodi, / … subaquilum*, "what a body – kind of dusky," 421–2), along with other features, and calls her the "image of Venus" (*Veneris effigia*, 420), just as Milphio describes Giddenis as "attractive" (*specie venusta*, *Poen*. 1113). Ampelisca will be freed at the end of the play and marry a freed slave. After a century of war and trade between Rome and Carthage, were there dark faces in the audience? Did Philip the Carthaginian attend the show? Did he laugh when the prologue speaker told the *scorta exoleta* to get off the stage? As Hanno says himself in reaction to Agorastocles' story, to the audience, "Very many free boys / were lost from Carthage in that way" (*Poen*. 988–9; see chapter 6). Incidentally, the soldier's joke brings in another slave presence at the *ludi*, for it seems unlikely that carrying the bucket was an elite job.[41]

Curculio complains about a city crowded with Greeks wearing the *pallium*, loaded down with books and handout-baskets, drinking in the *thermopolium*, walking around drunk, and calls them runaway slaves and thieves; he threatens to knock a "polenta fart" out of any one of them he runs into, suggesting that, wherever they come from, they are now eating poor men's food like an Italian peasant (*Cur*. 288–95).[42] The point about these Greeks – *isti Graeci palliati* – is that they do not belong "here"; they are outsiders. Not coincidentally, as seen in chapter 6, they also look like the actors onstage, and Curculio, in his *pallium* and his parasite's mask,

ugly enough to be proper slaves for a *matrona*, who also needs an *ancilla* who can take a beating (*Mer.* 415, cf. 397), so possibly here the reference is to Egyptians, after all; in any case the soldier sees the *Aegyptini* as the color of a black eye.

[41] On Punic ethnicity in *Poenulus*, see Starks 2000, esp. at 177, who sees the line about the Aegyptini as "a topical joke about recognizable Ethiopian attendants at games since the Punic Wars," as well as an "allusion to the family from African Carthage across the stage."

[42] Gowers 1993: 53–7 is surely right that the eating of porridge is strongly associated with Italians as *barbari* in Plautus' plays. However, the distinction in the Pliny passage she cites (*HN* 18.19.83–4, between *puls* as Italian and *polenta* as Greek) is not operating as a distinction in this passage in *Curculio*; see above, chapter 2, on *puls* and Nicholas Purcell's observations (2003) on this passage in Pliny (*polenta* is a translation of *alphita*, "barley porridge"). Cato in *De agricultura* lists fine-ground *polenta* as an ingredient in a remedy for colic (156.5), and Libanus talks about the mill as the place "where the worthless persons who grind *polenta* weep" (*As*. 33; picked up by his interlocutor, without surprise, at 37). *Polenta* appears alongside bread, wine, and myrrh-wine in a fragment from the probably Plautine *Acharistio* (fr. 2). See also Dench 2005: 275 on the *Curculio* passage.

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attacks his own onstage identity, embodying displacement – all the more effective if, as has been suggested, he runs in through the audience (see Moore 1998: 129). Perhaps a certain fear might have been instilled in outsiders, if the astonishing story is true, by the human sacrifices said to have been carried out in the Forum Boarium, not only in the terrible year 218, but in 228, during the First Illyrian War: two Gauls, two Greeks, in male/female couples, like a reverse Noah's ark, or the Rosenbergs.[43]

A famous postcolonial graffito in England reads, "We are here because you were there"; this sense of "here" as "not home" is present in the plays as produced for the *ludi*.[44] The settings of the plays have long fascinated readers of Roman comedy, and to an extent Adrian Gratwick's dictum that the plays take place in Plautinopolis is true (1982: 113). But they also take place "here," wherever "here" is; as will be seen below, "here" means the special world of the stage and the fantasy worlds beyond it, but in a fundamental sense "here" has a firmly deictic meaning: look around you, we are here. As with all self-conscious theater, "here" is where the performance is being staged today, right now (cf. chapter 1, and Moore 1998: 1–4, 50–66): "your great and pleasing precincts" (*vostris magnis atque amoenis moenibus*, *Truc.* 2). This you/us distinction, as seen in chapter 3, resonates with the marked avoidance in the plays of the words *Roma* and *Romani* and speaks for a troupe with the kind of hybrid makeup postulated in chapter 1. The probably Plautine *Fretum* included a flogging joke about the *ludi magni* at Arretium (fr. 75–6). Thus the plays as we have them are certainly Latin in a cultural sense, but might easily have been tailored for any town, as the troupe toured central Italy. As we have them, they make fun of Lanuvium and especially of Praeneste: "he was bragging so much, I'm sure he comes from Praeneste" (*Praenestinum opino esse, ita erat gloriosus*, *Bac.* fr. xi (viii) in de Melo 2011a); the farm slave Truculentus makes fun of the way people talk there (*Truc.* 691), as does the slave Stasimus in *Trinummus* (609).[45] When the plays were presented out of town, they presumably made fun of Rome. In any case, they make no overt political statements that could

[43] For sources and discussion, see Várhelyi 2007, who not only believes these sacrifices took place but argues that they were "providing psychological closure to the once-soldiers back in Rome" – that is, addressing popular trauma. Surely also *creating* trauma among the many with hybrid identities in the city. Cf. Eckstein 1982, 2006a: 135–6, who also takes the sacrifices to be real, a sign of Romans' serious fear of the Celts.

[44] See Cliff 1985a: 65. This slogan has served as a touchstone for a wide range of debates on colonialism and immigration since the 1980s; see most pertinently *Feminist Review* 100 (2012), a special issue of responses to Avtar Brah's 1999 article "The Scent of Memory."

[45] For Lanuvium and Praeneste jokes in Naevius and Plautus, see Wright 1974: 54–5; also discussed in Dench 1995: 74–6, on which see further below.

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be pinned down to any one event or person, although there are plenty of speeches that, like Mercurius' on *ambitio* (chapter 3), could be recycled in any year, and could apply to any Italian town in this period, like the "editorials" discussed in chapter 6. That such jokes were part of the entertainer's bag of tricks is strongly suggested by the repertoire of Stratonicus and other funnymen in the late 300s BCE.[46] The freed Advocati in *Poenulus* say piously, "Especially in a time of public peace, with the enemy killed, / it's unseemly to start a riot" (*praesertim in re populi placida atque interfectis hostibus / non decet tumultuari*, *Poen.* 524–5; cf. *Truc.* 75). They (emphatically, tongue in cheek) know their place; where is it?

The plays as we have them are placed in Rome, identified by a short list of landmarks. Although the word *Roma* does not appear in the corpus, a few locations in the city of Rome do, along with many Roman and Italian institutions and customs, turning the putative Greek locations into a running joke. This often happens in the context of a complaint about urban affairs at a local and humble level. As seen in chapter 2, Ergasilus in *Captivi* says a *parasitus* who cannot stand being punched and having jars broken on his head should go carry bags outside the Porta Trigemina (88–90). Complaining about his former patrons, he says they are all in cahoots, "like the oil-sellers in the Velabrum" (*quasi in Velabro olearii, Capt.* 489). The pimp Cappadox quips that if everybody who was a perjurer wanted to spend the night in the temple of Jupiter, there would not be enough room for them in the Capitolium (*Cur.* 268–9), and one of the old men in *Trinummus*, in an insult involving sacrilege, hooks it to the statue of Jupiter in the Capitolium (*Trin.* 83–5): insert [your local landmark] here.[47] Most famously, the Choragus in *Curculio* stands on the stage and points out where to go in the forum to find various kinds of people, many of them disreputable (461–85). Again, this is the kind of joke that could have played well in any town, with a change of street names; like *extra portam*, where the torturers are (chapter 2), often the word *forum* in a given line is not site-specific; the version we have of *Curculio* was written to be played

[46] On Stratonicus, see Gilula 2000; Richlin 2016, on Stratonicus and his peers, whose jokes sometimes caught up with them. The formulaic nature of such jokes is perhaps exemplified in ethnic threats by two *parasiti* running in: at *Cur.* 294–5, against the *Graeci palliati* (*eos ego si offendero, / ex unoquoque eorum crepitum exciam polentarium*), compared with *Capt.* 821–2 (*eum ego si in via Petronem publica conspexero, / et Petronem et dominum reddam mortalis miserrumos*). "Petro" is a Sabellian praenomen, here given to a bellwether as a pet name, like "Bubba"; so de Melo 2011a: 588–9, with which see Weiss 2002: 351–4.

[47] On the old man's speech, see Moore 1998: 82–3. Moreover, as Bispham notes (2000: 175), "*Capitolia* have rightly been identified as key markers of religious and cultural identity in Roman colonies": this was another portable local joke.

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in the Forum Romanum. It is sometimes argued that each of these place-names is substituting for Attic place-names in a putative original; better to think of location in the *palliata* as a way for comedians to relate to a local audience.

Remarkably, the Choragus' speech preserves a variant line that includes the name of a person apparently real, a great rarity in the Plautine corpus; perhaps the presence of this line suggests that, for various performances, names could be plugged in. In the Forum, you can "look for rich men and spendthrift husbands by the basilica":

dites, damnosos maritos sub basilica quaerito (472)

Or you can "look for rich men and spendthrift husbands in Leucadia Oppia's house":

dites, damnosos maritos apud Leucadiam Oppiam (485)

If this line is genuine, it performs the welcome task of preserving for history the name of a freed slave-woman whose prices as an expensive prostitute were roasted onstage at the *ludi*.[48]

Similarly, the only instance of the adjective *Romani* in the plays comes with a decidedly low perspective; the soldier in *Poenulus* says that the Carthaginian Hanno is more full of garlic than "Roman rowers," *Romani remiges* (1314; see chapter 3). Actually, the soldier says Hanno is full of two kinds of garlic – regular and African – so perhaps this insult is also a side-swipe at the hybrid nature of the Roman fleet. Built up for the First Punic War in the 260s–240s, the fleet at first used citizens to row, but, in the dire circumstances of the Second Punic War, freedmen, slaves and war captives manned the oars; in any case, citizens who rowed were in the lowest census group.[49] Polybius has Scipio, after the sack of New Carthage in 210 BCE, offer freedom after the war to the enslaved prisoners who are being sent off

[48] On the Choragus' speech, see Moore 1991, 1998: 131–9, and Marshall 2006: 40–2. On the variant lines, see Moore 1991: 358, who approves of excising line 485; compare Marshall 2006: 266–72, on textual doublets in the Plautine corpus as evidence of improvisation. On the overtones of "Leucadia" as a slave name, see Manuwald 2014: 592 on the late *palliata* by that title, probably based on one by Menander and involving the story of Sappho and Phaon; Miller 2007: 399–400 on the elegiac beloved of Varro of Atax. If this freedwoman were connected with the C. Oppius who as tribune put forward the sumptuary law of 215 against women's possession of gold, that would amplify the joke, but it was an old *gens*, active throughout Plautus' lifetime (viz. the *tibicen* Marcipor Oppii). See Culham 1982: 793, however, on *Aul.* 477–84 and the Lex Oppia: "Plautus … mainly illustrates the resentment of wealth, displayed through conspicuous consumption."

[49] On the status of rowers, Polybius 6.19.3; Libourel 1973; Rosenstein 2004: 56, 85, 185–6, 2012: 88; Welwei 1988: 28–42. See Leigh 2010: 270–2 on the effects of the catastrophic losses of ships in the First Punic War on the kin of the oarsmen.

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to row in the warships (10.17.11–16; cf. Livy 26.47.1–3). The Carthaginian colony there dates back only to 228. After the war, any of these Punic settlers from Spain who survived the navy would have been a long way from home, a home now in ruins. They were *Romani* in the same sense that the backdrop was Epidamnus.

Certainly the plays are not being staged in Greece; metatheatrical comments repeatedly insist that we are in *barbaria*, in a bravura performance of what Michelle Cliff called "claiming an identity they taught me to despise" (chapter 1). "Why do you swear by barbarian cities?" says Hegio to Ergasilus, on hearing his itinerary of places in Latium set in Greek (*quid tu per barbaricas urbis iuras?*, *Capt.* 884). *Barbaria* is *our* country, and the plays are *our* plays: the poet himself, as seen above, is *pultiphagonides*, and what he does with the Greek plays he uses is "turn them barbarian" (*Maccus vortit barbare*, *As.* 11; *Plautus vortit barbare*, *Trin.* 19); Naevius, if that is who is meant, is the sad "barbarian poet" in chains (*os columnatum poetae esse indaudivi barbaro*, *Mil.* 211). Phaedromus in *Curculio* cajoles the bolts of the brothel door as simultaneously slave door-guards and *ludii barbari*, "barbarian festival performers" (*Cur.* 150), marked as such because he wants them to jump – what distinguishes Italian dancing from Greek dancing (compare Ovid on the picnic for Anna Perenna, above).[50] At the same time, *barbaria* is (ironically) despised: drawing attention to the use of stage money – literally "funny money" (*comicum*, *Poen.* 597) – the Advocati comment to the audience, "When this gold is well soaked, oxen in *barbaria* get fat on it" (*macerato hoc pingues fiunt auro in barbaria boves*, 598; see chapter 8). "I've got no use for barbarian spinach," says the fussy Olympio (*nihil moror barbarico bliteo*, *Cas.* 748); "I've got no use for a barbarian guest for my house," says the rude Sceparnio to the wicked Sicilian (*barbarum hospitem mi in aedis nihil moror*, *Rud.* 583); "indeed, no grits-eating barbarian workman did this work," says the sly Tranio, selling unreal estate (*non enim haec pultiphagus opifex opera fecit barbarus*, *Mos.* 828). Lydus' idiotic young owner and former pupil tells him that he is "a barbarian" (*es barbarus*, *Bac.* 121) and "stupider than a barbarian [something]" (*stultior es barbaro poticio*, 123). "These words force me to learn barbarian ways," complains the starving Gelasimus, about to auction off all his worldly possessions (*haec verba subigunt med ut mores barbaros / discam*, *St.* 193–4, see chapter 3); "now I've made up my mind to go after all my rights under barbarian law," complains Ergasilus, who is likewise having a hard time scrounging a meal (*nunc barbarica lege certumst ius meum omne*

[50] So Moore 2012: 120, adducing *Aul.* 626–7 on the *artem … ludicram*.

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persequi, *Capt.* 492). They will have to go native. That the plays accurately represent both the existence and the tone of this Greek stereotype is suggested by the title of Aristotle's lost work *Nomima barbarika*, cited by Varro in his discussion of the *praefica*, the hired woman who led laments for the dead (*L.* 7.70) – and also by the protests of Cato, who in a letter to his son Marcus says that Greek doctors "habitually call us, too, 'barbarians,' and befoul us more impurely than they do others, by using the epithet *opicoi*" (*nos quoque dictitant barbaros et spurcius nos quam alios opicon appellatione foedant*, in Pliny *HN* 29.14).[51] It is the hybridity (*spurcius*) that disturbs Cato: being mixed up with Oscans, whom the Latin epithet *opici* branded as rustic boors speaking poor Latin.

The potential of *barbaria* that arises out of being simultaneously "here" and "there" is suggested by the fragment of *Faeneratrix* discussed in chapter 1: the speaker places his own defiant words as a quotation from what was said *in barbaria* by a freedman to his *patrona*; *in barbaria* is (later) glossed *in Italia* (fr. 71–3). What happens in *barbaria* stays in *barbaria*. The outspoken freedman was *there*, so he cannot be blamed, but then again the speaker is saying the same thing, and in the barbarian language. The whole project of remaking the *palliata* is defiantly claimed as *not Greek*, made by people Greek high culture despised, in a language Greek despises.[52] Like Curculio's rant, the allegiance to *barbaria* embraces a split identity. Yet the onstage stories push for homecoming.

In search of their enslaved relatives, free characters in the plays engage in Herculean travels. (Indeed, everyone onstage swears by Hercules, and by Castor and Pollux, the sailors' gods; Toxilus in *Persa*, in his opening speech, compares his sufferings with Hercules' labors, resituating the boar in Aetolia; *Amphitruo* sends up the birth of Hercules, and Mercurius, god of trade, twins the comic slave.[53]) Even the pretended slave trader, the title character in *Persa*, says he is also in town to look for his enslaved twin

[51] Cato's (reported) code-switch here notably declines Gr. *opikoi* to depend on *appellatione*; claiming an authority he pretends to despise (see Adams 2003: 576–7). His attitude is oddly replicated by scholars who, in dealing with the cultural transmission of Greek drama from Sicily and southern Italy northward, refer to the non-Greek-speaking inhabitants as "natives," and doubt that they could have understood any Greek; see Green 2012: 325–7, and, for a better model of cultural diffusion, Robinson 2004 (and further in Richlin 2017b). Cf. Connors 2004: 202–3 for discussion of Plautine mimicry in the context of colonialism, although, again, set closer to Pydna than to the 260s. My analysis of the meaning of "barbarian" here is at odds with Dench 1995: 74–6, who takes the plays to be expressions of Roman "superiority and centrality"; contrast chapter 3 above, on cheerleading. Dench discusses the Cato fragment at 1995: 44–5 and passim. On the comic meaning of *barbaria*, see Moore 1998: 53–5.

[52] Again, see Gowers 1993: 53–7 on "barbarian spinach" and Plautus' claims to identity.

[53] See Laurence 2013: 303 on Hercules as a god of travelers; Bispham 2000: 162, 164, 169, on Ostia, sets the Castores as gods of sailors in connection with the grain supply (as opposed to the equestrian

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brother and set him free (695–6); he has come a long way, from Persia to Athens. Hanno's search for his daughters takes him "everywhere on land and sea" (*mari te<rraque> usquequaque, Poen*. 105). On this model, Charinus in *Mercator* puts on a fake-hallucinatory journey into exile in search of his lost sex slave (931–47) which takes him to Cyprus and Chalcis, where he inquires of a host (*hospes*) from Zacynthos, who sends him back to Athens. Charinus had originally acquired Pasicompsa from a host (*hospes*) on a trading trip to Rhodes (93–106); C. W. Marshall takes this man to be a pimp, and analyzes the travels of Charinus as instances of sex tourism (2013: 185–8; cf. James 2010). Which, as he comments, is what Hanno's journey amounts to as well.

Menaechmus II, his slave complains, has spent more than five years on a tour of the western Mediterranean in search of his twin (*Men*. 235–8):

> Histros, Hispanos, Massiliensis, Hilurios, 235
> mare superum omne Graeciamque exoticam
> orasque Italicas omnis, qua adgreditur mare,
> sumu' circumvecti. …

> The Istrians, the Spaniards, the people of Marseilles, the Illyrians, 235
> the entire upper sea, and Greece abroad,
> the entire seacoast of Italy, wherever the sea touches it –
> that's what we've sailed around.

Like the lost twin, they started out in Syracuse; by a circuitous route, they have come to Epidamnus. It is Messenio's plea that they finally go home that triggers his owner's angry response and Messenio's aside about the mark of slavery (chapter 6). He portrays Epidamnus as a den of iniquity (258–64): travel can be dangerous. Travel by sea, of course, was notoriously dangerous, and the circuitous route Messenio complains of is the feat of a world traveler like the fifth-century Hanno – a *periplous*.[54] Unlike the writer of a *periplous*, however, Messenio bounces back and forth across the breadth of Italy, or makes giant loops around it, from Histria, at the northwest edge of Illyria, to Hispania, then back east along the coast to Massilia, then back to Illyria, then (vaguely) down the Adriatic and bouncing over to Magna Graecia, then all around Italy, to wind up back in Epidamnus at the southeast edge of Illyria – a notably Italocentric journey.

connections of Castor and Pollux at Rome) alongside Hercules as god of trade. On the Aetolian boar in *Poenulus*, see Henderson 1999: 34; Richlin 2005: 193.

[54] On classical and Hellenistic *periploi*, see Dilke 1985: 130–7; on the tendency of *periplous* writers to proceed counterclockwise along the coast in keeping with the prevailing currents, see Salway 2004: 52–5. On the dangers of sea travel, see esp. Gabrielsen 2003.

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The list of stops certainly springs from the desire for wordplay (*Histros, Hispanos, Hilurios*, and the similarly sibilant *Massiliensis*), but the names are not randomly chosen; they take Messenio through yet more war zones, for the sea-raiders of Histria touched off the Second Illyrian War, the year before the Second Punic War, and inspired the joke in the *Poenulus* prologue where the speaker addresses the audience as their *imperator histricus*, simultaneously their "Histrian general" and their "actor general" (4, 44).[55] The list of stops also affords the actor playing Messenio a shot at extravagant zigzag or looping gestures ending with a complete run around in a circle. It seems unlikely that he just stood still. If he moved in accordance with the actual locations he mentions, he would have been playing off a picture he expected at least some people in his audience to have in their heads.[56] As will be seen in chapter 8, this kind of joke is not so unusual in Plautus' plays, although most commonly found in the fantastic journeys that take characters to Asia and beyond. Gripus, imagining himself as a free man, pictures a life as a wealthy trader when he will board ship and "sail the circuit of the towns" (*oppida circumvectabor*, *Rud.* 933). The verb *circumvehor* appears elsewhere in the Plautine corpus only once, as the *senex* in *Mostellaria* describes how he felt on arriving home and hearing the bad news about his son. In comparison with his actual voyage to Egypt (*in Aegyptiam … vectus fui*, 994), he laments, "I have sailed the circuit / to lonely lands and the farthest shores" (*in terras solas orasque ultumas / sum circumvectus*, 995–6). He feels lost.

[55] On the Illyrian wars, see Harris 1979: 137, 195–7, 202; for their relation to *Poenulus*, Henderson 1999: 6–7, Richlin 2005: 188, 252. Livy, writing on the year 302/1 BCE, calls the Illyrians, Liburni, and Histrians "wild tribes, and for the most part notorious for piracy" (*gentes ferae et magna ex parte latrociniis maritimis infames*, 10.2.4, with Oakley's note ad loc., 2005: 58) – Messenio is not talking about the Black Sea Istria. See Gabrielsen 2003: 401–3 for the Illyrians and Aetolians among other states that held piracy to be a legitimate means of acquiring property. He cites an instance of an exemption issued for the Dionysiac *tekhnitai* (*SIG* 3 399, 507) – another set of troupers passing through a war zone. For a passing Illyrian joke, see Plautus, *Trin.* 852 (*Hilurica facies videtur hominis*, "the guy looks like an Illyrian") – a reaction to the costume and mask of the Sycophanta, on whom see chapter 8. Two Illyrians appear on the list of the slaves of Kephisodoros sold at auction in 414 BCE (*IG* 1.3 421, 1.33–49), along with Thracian men and women, two Syrians, and a Lydian, without other nomenclature: a demonstration of how context changes meaning.

[56] For a similarly loopy journey, cf. Charinus's preliminary list of places where he might go into exile: *Megares, Eretriam, Corinthum, Chalcidem, Cretam, Cyprum, / Sicyonem, Cnidum, Zacynthum, Lesbiam, Boeotiam* (*Mer.* 646–7): bounding around within Greece, then back and forth across the sea and back on land. The list looks as if it might be partly alphabetical, as in a gazetteer (cf. Salway 2012: 200–2), but Plautus likes an alphabetical list, as in the men's names at *As.* 865–6 (see Fraenkel 2007: 302 n. 2 on the list in *Mercator*, pointing out that it is only alliterative in Latin; the same point holds for the list in *Asinaria*). See Schmidt 1902b: 362 on other name lists. These names do fit Charinus's identity as a trader.

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If Messenio's itinerary works as I have suggested, it means that the journeys onstage in the *palliata* traced a line in the minds of the spectators, a meaningful trail across a mental map. That such maps existed for "even the highest levels of civil or military authority" in antiquity has been seriously doubted, much less for the mix of people I argue were watching the *palliata*; Romans are held to have thought in lines (itineraries), as in the road trip discussed above, and not in two dimensions (a map). Yet scholars have come to believe that there are clear signs of "Roman map-consciousness" – important, because the way home, for slaves onstage, often lay across the ocean, not only down the road.[57] The *lorarius* in *Captivi* assumes that Tyndarus and Philocrates will of course want to run away to their *patria* (208), never doubting that they know how to get there.[58] The display of maps in public places is sporadically attested in the urban Mediterranean from the mid-280s onward, and the plays themselves are a way of remembering points on the map and the distance between them.[59]

The Choragus – a far cry from his wealthy Athenian cousin – is the magic man responsible for costumes; he controls the location and the identity of characters. If he puts the stage in the Forum Romanum, that is where it is, while he is pointing.[60] He has made the stage come in for a landing next to the audience. Prologues can equally well take the audience far away just by saying the word, so that the stage becomes a form of instantaneous travel. The prologue speaker of *Menaechmi* jokes that

[57] See Talbert 2008, and, among the skeptics he cites, Whittaker 2004, who presents evidence on distorted comparisons of the shapes of places; decisively rebutted by Salway 2012.

[58] On this assumption, see chapter 8, and Bradley 1989: 36: "it is as though Plautus' audience would easily understand that a first-generation Roman slave would ordinarily want to return to his country of origin as a matter of choice"; also 1989: 38, doubting that most would have known how to pull it off, and pointing out that those born into slavery "had no country of origin at all to dominate their thoughts." Tyndarus and Philocrates would have needed to go by ship, and indeed Ergasilus spots Philocrates returning down at the harbor (873–4).

[59] On the display of maps in this period, see Dilke 1985: 30–1 (Athens, c. 286 BCE, a legacy of Theophrastus); 35 (Alexandria, Eratosthenes' map); 148 (Rome, 174 BCE, map of Sardinia); also 39 (Rome, map of Italy described by Varro in 37 BCE); and now Irby 2012: 81–2. The map of Italy Varro places in the Temple of Tellus (*R.* 1.2.1, an ekphrasis) has been taken to date from soon after the temple was built (vowed 268, Florus 1.14); see Holliday 2002: 105–6. Bibliography is listed and dismissed in Roth 2007b: 286–7, holding out for a strictly "odological" understanding of geographical relations even in Varro's day. There is indeed nothing to place the map there so early; the evidence on the temple is thinner even than Roth maintains (cf. esp. Frontinus 12.3). And why Italy? Livy *Per.* 15 states that the year 268 saw the defeat of the Picentes, Umbrians, and Sallentini, the founding of *coloniae* at Ariminum and Beneventum, and the start of silver coinage (see chapter 8); the triumph over Sarsina came two years later; Italy was still a land mass, not a trophy. Cf. Plutarch, *Life of Nicias* 12.1, where "the young men in their wrestling schools and the old men in their workshops and hangouts sat down together and traced out the shape (σχῆμα) of Sicily, and the nature of the sea around it, and the harbors and places where the island faces Africa" (discussed in Vlassopoulos 2007: 41).

[60] The *choragus* handles costumes also at *Per.* 159, *Trin.* 858. On the Athenian *khorêgia*, see Wilson 2000.

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he is about to walk to Epidamnus, and asks the audience to pay him to take care of any business they have there (49–55): "Actually I'm going back where I came from and I'm standing still, in one place" (*verum illuc redeo unde abii atque uno asto in loco*, 56). The *Poenulus* prologue speaker makes the same joke (79–82): "I'm going back to Carthage again all over again" (*revortor rusus denuo Carthaginem*, 79). The *Truculentus* prologue speaker, on behalf of Plautus, asks for a little bit of land to "put Athens on without architects" (*Athenas quo sine architectis conferat*, 3), and declares that "I'm moving this stage here from Athens as is, / at least while we're acting this comedy" (*Athenis traveho, ita ut hoc est, proscaenium / tantisper dum transigimus hanc comoediam*, 10–11). The uncertainty about place created by the *scaenae frons*, the backdrop, matches the status uncertainty created by masks. Both are façades with holes in them – as the players metatheatrically remark, the stage can stand for anywhere, and that interchangeability of place is meaningful for an audience peppered with displaced persons. The final lines of the *Menaechmi* prologue make this connection clearly (72–6):

> haec urbs Epidamnus est dum haec agitur fabula:
> quando alia agetur aliud fiet oppidum;
> sicut familiae quoque solent mutarier:
> modo hic habitat leno, modo adulescens, modo senex, 75
> pauper, mendicus, rex, parasitus, hariolus,
> ****
>
> This city is Epidamnus while this play is being acted,
> when another will be acted, it will become another town;
> just as the *familiae*, too, are often changed:
> now a pimp lives here, now a young man, now an old man, 75
> a poor man, a beggar, a king, a *parasitus*, a soothsayer,
> [? list of slave and/or female characters][61]

Here the stage is the place where everything is always changing: the place, the plot, the people – the *familiae*, those who live behind the doors in the scenery. The *grex* is also a kind of *familia*, also always changing: the mask is the slave's mask, the hungry man's mask, the owner's mask, but who is behind it? Impossible to be sure; a play like *Captivi* or *Amphitruo* or *Poenulus* makes this even more confusing. In real life, the household made up of slave and free changed not only with birth and death but with purchase. "Where was your *patria*?" the pimp asks the girl he is buying;

[61] For discussion, see chapter 8 below, esp. on the king in *Men.* 76.

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she answers, "What *patria* should I have, unless this one where I am now?" (*Per.* 636; see chapter 5). She could be anywhere; home is not here. "Here," on the stage, characters are transformed from slave to free, and poor men get the better of rich men. Change is possible. Things do not have to be the way they are. You can go home again.

Family Reunion and the Memory of Freedom

In *Captivi*, Aristophontes scoffs at Tyndarus' claims to have been free once: "I suppose you're saying you were born free?" (*tun te<te> gnatum memoras liberum*?, 577). Tyndarus' free birth is precisely what is at issue, though neither speaker knows it; the literal sense of *memoro* lurks behind the speaker's words here, as the free past hides in Tyndarus' memory. As the characters travel through the setting and the plot towards the happy ending, so memory ties them to what they need to know to attain that ending.

In what follows, I will be arguing for a less monolithic form of communal memory than the "cultural memory" advocated by Karl-Joachim Hölkeskamp (2006, 2010), a form much more oriented to the bottom strata of central Italian culture in the 200s BCE, like the oral forms seen in chapter 3. Hölkeskamp's perspective is emphatically that of Scott's "public transcript," especially in its focus on monuments – conspicuous by their absence from the *palliata*, although wished for as something fantastic, out of reach, as will be seen in chapter 8; just as Sosia in *Amphitruo* jokes that a funeral with *imagines* will never include his (chapter 2). If the monuments, and collocations of monuments like the Forum Romanum, signified as sites of memory for elite Romans, this was not the only way a place like the Forum made meaning; the Forum held many more kinds of places than those meaningful to the elite, as amply demonstrated in the speech of the Choragus in *Curculio*. For some people living in Rome, it might have been where they had been sold to their current owner.[62] The temporary stage of the *palliata* was a temporary site of memory, a place where audience and actors made the story together.[63]

[62] See Bodel 2005: 186, for Coarelli's argument that there was a "traditional slave market" on the Capitolium. The tour of the Forum in *Curculio* mentions only the sale of sex. Bradley 1984: 116 n. 19 cites the younger Seneca, *De constantia sapientis* 13.4, for dealers near the Temple of Castor: two hundred years later, but in the heart of the Forum. Cf. Joshel 2010: 96–7 for a map.

[63] I say "site of memory" here rather than *lieu de mémoire* so as not to misappropriate the sense intended for this term by Pierre Nora (1989), viz., a locus at which a past is reinvented for present uses; see Gowing 2005: 132–3 for an accurate use of the term to describe how aristocratic

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