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Roberta Stewart, Plautus and Roman Slavery.

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a loose coalition of Greek city-states. Without a strong, historical narrative to help us understand its importance, Cyrus' death becomes just another tale of outlandish peoples and their barbarian customs. Conversely, Cyrus' ignominious defeat helps to build up the larger story of the Persians' eventual failure. Without a strong historical narrative, it is difficult for the reader to understand the full impact of Herodotus' work.

In conclusion, this is a valuable book, but its goals are imperfectly realized. While Hamel provides a good sampling of stories, helpful background information, and insightful explanations of key themes in the *History*, she does not adequately convey Herodotus' distinctive voice or his historical insights. But perhaps a classicist is not the best person to review a book intended for a popular audience. If Hamel's book inspires new readers to seek out Herodotus' *History*, then it will be a success.

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Roberta Stewart, *Plautus and Roman Slavery*. Malden, Massachusetts and Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012. Pp. ix + 229. Cloth (ISBN 978-1-4051-9628-4) \$89.95.

In this book Stewart proposes to contextualize Plautus' representation of slavery as a part of the larger discourse surrounding the Roman slave society of the third and early second centuries BCE. In order to do so, she juxtaposes readings of legal and historical documents with readings from comedy. The premise, as stated in the introduction, is that comedy documents this discourse about Roman slavery as it was at the moment when Rome was becoming a slave society in which the common good is equated with the interests of slave holders (cf. Finley's *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology*). Comedy, according to Stewart, was not merely an impartial witness to these developments, but rather "formed, supported, and perpetuated the political, social, and legal institutions of slave society," thus functioning as an Althusserian ISA, Ideological State Apparatus (19). Stewart's critical move produces fresh insights into comedy as a reflection of social discourse, but does not embrace the full range of Roman comedy's responses to slavery. The following account of Stewart's useful findings will point to some reading strategies that might supplement and modify her conclusions.

In chapter 1, "Human Property," Stewart's point of departure is

a second century BCE edict that made the seller responsible for the slave's physical and psychological faults, thus radically depriving the slave of agency and personhood. This attitude, she argues, is reflected in two Plautine scenes representing the sale of young female slaves, a *meretrix* in the *Mercator* and a captive in the *Persa*. Both scenes reflect stories of deracination, social death, and objectification. In chapter 2, "Enslavement: 'Seasoning' Slaves," Stewart scrutinizes Cato's discussion of the elite slave owner's desire to dominate completely his slave proxy, the *vilicus*. Her interpretation of the *Captivi* reveals the slaves' diverse responses to this desire: the resignation of the Lorarius is helpfully contrasted with the stubborn resistance of Stalagmus. The main plot, which features a noble slave, Tyndarus, who is eventually discovered to be a freeborn man, is shown to evince the Aristotelian distinction between natural and conventional slavery. In chapter 3, "Violence, Private and Communal," Stewart discusses the role of violence in shaping the slave's position in slave society. She offers a survey of legal and religious testimonies to the construction of the citizen body as protected against violence and sexual penetration, and of the slave's body, conversely, as vulnerable to such violence. This discourse is brought to bear on Plautine scenes from the *Aulularia* and the *Miles* in which free men threaten slaves whom they do not own with physical violence. Stewart then turns to the *Asinaria* and the scene in which Libanus abuses his fellow slave, Leonida, in order to trick a stranger into believing that he is the overseer of the other slaves. To Stewart, this scene is an example of an appropriation of the discourse of slavery by a slave.

Stewart is right to conclude that the *Persa*, *Captivi*, and *Asinaria* feature scenes that reflect contemporary discourse about slavery. These scenes, however, function within the larger semantic and thematic structures of the plays and are affected by numerous literary strategies and comedic devices. A quick look at the pervasive Plautine devices of role reversal and role playing reveals the ways in which these devices invite readings that complicate and enrich Stewart's conclusions. As an example, the scene in the *Persa*, which Stewart analyzes as a testimony to the slave's deracination, is complicated by the fact that the girl who is put on sale in the play is in fact a citizen. Her sale is a hoax arranged by Toxilus, the clever slave in love who desires to obtain money to buy his girlfriend. This startling reversal of the principles of slave society subordinates the interests of a citizen girl to a slave's sexual needs. The realistic portrayal of enslavement and deracination is thus put at the service of a fantasy in which slaves are free agents, while free people are tools. Plautus' treatment of the roles of free and slave as functioning independently from the characters' actual status suggests that such roles might be interchangeable. This interchangeability of status is dramatized most spectacularly in the *Captivi*. The captive slave Tyndarus pretends to be freeborn; his slave identity is then revealed, but only

to be cancelled out by the further revelation that he is a freeborn man after all. His young owner becomes his fellow captive, but regains his freedom—by posing as a slave. Surely, such dizzying transformations destabilize the discourse about slavery, stressing that the roles of slaves and masters are contingent. The ironic moment of recognition, in which Hegio, the owner of the captives, discovers that the slave whom he was about to torture is in fact his own son, emphasizes the play's message that slavery is a system that might potentially victimize anyone. A similar argument could be made about the *Asinaria*, a play in which Libanus and Leonida abuse their young master, forcing him to act as though he were a slave. Stewart's thorough scholarship references several of these situations. However, her focus on comedic echoes of specific aspects of the official discourse of slavery steers attention away from Plautus' persistent and clear efforts to portray the dynamics of slavery in ways that make them recognizable yet different. Marxist critics, including Brecht (*Brecht on Theatre*, trans. and ed. John Willett, 1964) and Althusser ("For Karl Marx," 1962) highly recommend such altered, or "estranged," representations of social structures as effective at raising social awareness and alerting theatrical audiences to the oppressive workings of the ISAs. Thus, from a Marxist point of view, one should acknowledge Plautus' portrayal of the mechanisms of slavery as an effort to identify and resist its discourse.

The final two chapters of Stewart's book deal with the slave's chances to overcome his enslavement via manumission or display of intellectual acumen. The masculine pronoun reflects the focus on male slaves to the exclusion of, say, Planesium's interest in gaining her freedom or Pardalisca's skill at outsmarting her master. In chapter 4, "Release from Slavery," Stewart reviews laws and policies of manumission. Despite the famous case of the *volones*, the slave volunteer recruits, who obtained freedom and citizenship on account of their merits, she argues that the official discourse presented release from slavery as the master's generous and benevolent gift, while omitting in silence the slave's merits and his or her work. Stewart analyzes two examples of Plautine manumission—that of the thieving slave Gripus in the *Rudens*, who is freed by his generous master, and of Messenio in the *Menaechmi*, who undergoes triple manumission—to illustrate her point that Plautine slaves do not obtain freedom on the basis on merit. Chapter 5, "The Problem of Action," juxtaposes a discussion of the first slave revolt in Sicily (136–32 BCE) with an analysis of the trickster figure, which focuses on the *Pseudolus* and incorporates comparative material from New World narratives. Stewart contrasts the historical accounts and their tendency

to dismiss any successful actions by rebel slaves as the result of owners' negligence and incompetence with the (much later) evidence of the Digest and the numerous laws meant to curb the resourcefulness of slaves. Her analysis of the Plautine trickster draws attention to the clever slave's verbal mastery and his ability to adopt strategies for survival: his seemingly deferential speech in fact serves the slave's own purposes. Stewart argues that Plautus, however, presents this trickster's independent slave subjectivity as immoral. As evidence for this systematic disapproval, she cites the fact that Plautine tricksters, with the exception of Epidicus, do not ultimately receive freedom in exchange for their services.

Both chapters stress the lack of correlation between the slaves' action and their formal reward. Stewart views the unfairness of Plautus' poetic justice as a direct reflection of the official discourse of slavery. One might, however, cite the findings of several studies of ideologically invested literature, which point out that literature that functions as ISA tends to overuse positive language and overstress the orderliness and stability of the promoted system (e.g., A. Van Bijl, "Poetry as an Element of the Apartheid Military Discourse," *Scientia Militaris* 39.1, 2011). A Plautine literature supportive of the official discourse of slavery might thus logically be expected to show that slavery works, that obedience is systematically rewarded, and arrogance is, as Cato advised, duly punished. This, as Stewart herself observes, is emphatically not the case. Compliant and disobedient slaves alike are randomly granted freedom, while tricksters obtain the comedic rewards of food, sex, drink, and belching into the master's face (*Pseudolus*). Such an inconsistency would be hardly surprising, however, in a genre that at times portrays slavery as unfair and dysfunctional, a genre that would speak to the slaves as well as to the elites in the audience. Amy Richlin, in "Talking to Slaves in the Plautine Audience," offers a robust argument for reading Plautus as precisely such a text (CA, forthcoming).

A quibble, then, is that Stewart's reading of comedy brackets out both this genre's dialogic potential to articulate diverse and contradictory ideological positions and its subversive humor. The result is a provocative book, which, however, does not always do justice to the complexity of the Plautine text and leaves untried those avenues of interpretation that point to critical attitudes towards the discourse of slavery that are clearly embedded in the text. This may, however, be an unfair quibble. Stewart defines her project very clearly from the beginning: she promises to document comedy's engagement with the dominant discourse of the Roman state, and she does so in an elegant and erudite manner. The wealth of historical data that

Stewart presents and her attention to the silences that conceal the slaves' perspective will make her book immensely useful to any scholar of early Latin literature.

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Alessandro Garcea, *Caesar's De Analogia. Edition, Translation, and Commentary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. Pp. xiii + 304. Cloth (ISBN 978-0-19-960397-8) \$150.00.

Alessandro Garcea's monograph on Caesar's *De Analogia* assembles and analyzes the disparate sources which testify to the *quondam* importance of a text now largely lost to modern observers of ancient grammar and rhetoric. This volume is a revised English version of the author's 2007 French *thèse d'habilitation à diriger des recherches* (similar to the German *Habilitation*). The collection includes *testimonia* and the known, or proposed, fragments with translation and extensive commentary, a lengthy discussion of various contexts billed as an introduction, detailed bibliography, a conspectus gauged to the editions of Funaioli and Klotz, and indices. Garcea adds further material to the growing list of studies which seek to put together the role of Caesar as a preeminent cultural authority of the late republic, as opposed to the more narrowly political aspects which have tended to find greater popularity in the scholarship.

Although the total number of fragments is not large (35 in Garcea's numbering, but some contain multiple fragments), later grammarians and rhetoricians eagerly cited Caesar on questions such as derivation (fr. 8), gender (fr. 10), and number (fr. 11A-B), as well as case endings or verbal and pronominal forms. Garcea includes considerable material on attitudes to grammar in the later tradition and among Caesar's contemporaries, often directing the reader, for example, to similar discussions in Varro's *De Lingua Latina*; see, e.g., the excurses for fragments 10 and 11A-B. The emphasis likely reflects the interest of the original *thèse* in the vibrant intellectual, especially grammatical and philosophical, culture of the late republic. The translations of the fragments into English are often taken or adapted (successfully) from other English translators. Scholars with an interest in the details preserved by the grammarians and the capacious range of seemingly minor aspects which