

Women in an Ancient Greek History Course: From Cameo to Part of the Whole

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Permanent link to this version <https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.14078/2882>

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Abstract:

Current pedagogical models for ancient history/civilization courses treat women as a “tourist topic” (Mohanty 2003) as they are slotted into the course with little to no connection to the course of Greek/Roman history. Despite any intentions to diversify survey courses, tourist topics reinforce unquestioned binaries of power whereby (citizen) men act in ancient history while women (and others) are objects acted upon. This paper reviews current pedagogical models for ancient survey courses alongside C. T. Mohanty’s Tourist model of teaching before turning to strategies for integrating non-hegemonic groups into survey courses in a consistent fashion.

This article addresses how ancient women appear in the ancient Greek history/civilization survey course. While my focus is on Greek history for the sake of space, the arguments presented here apply generally to survey courses which take a class or two to present Others—women, slaves, free non-citizens, and foreigners—as seen in the ancient Mediterranean world. Current pedagogical methods segment ancient Greek women (citizen-class, free non-citizen, slave) away from the main narrative of the survey course by presenting women’s experiences in one or two classes, while the remainder of the course focuses on the lives of Greek citizen men (cf. Evans 2013: x). By separating ancient Greek women from the main narrative of the course, instructors reinforce two beliefs: one, that women in ancient Greece (slave, free, and citizen) contributed little, even nothing, to ancient Greek civilization, and two, that all women in the Greek *poleis* had similar experiences, regardless of time period, location, race, age, or status. At the end of the

course, students leave with the confirmed belief that “history” is that done by (citizen) men and that women as well as slaves and free non-citizen residents are objects within history. Thus, regardless of the instructor’s or students’ intention, existing teaching practices in survey courses reinforce the idea that men *act* in history as individuals and women as a category *are acted upon*.

In Greek history and history-type civilization¹ survey textbooks and syllabi, the ancient Greece that takes form is, for the most part, similar to popular media depictions of ancient Greece: racially and ethnically pure, where adult citizen men accomplish the only things of worth. Slaves and women operate silently in the background to appear only when/if their actions significantly impact the lives of citizen men. Attempting to correct Hollywood or those who expect a homogenous, androcentric ancient world does little to no good in the long run; rather, a viable long-term solution involves diversifying survey courses so that the experiences of citizen women as well as slaves and free non-citizen residents of both genders are integrated into the course throughout the semester in a thoughtful and constructive manner. This solution approaches Greek history as more than just the history of citizen men (cf. Taylor and Vlassopoulos 2015: 3-4) and presents it as such to students.

I begin this article with a discussion of current pedagogical models for teaching Greek history survey courses and why such approaches to teaching Greek history are problematic. I draw on the work of Chandra Talpade Mohanty (2003; also 1986 and 2006), particularly as concerns a Tourist pedagogical model where the Other is taught in one or two classes that depart from the main narrative of a course. Tourist courses treat the Other as a discrete entity separate from the central topic of the course and the structures of knowledge that define that topic. I then turn to suggestions for moving forward and rectifying the current practice whereby citizen-class

women as well as slaves and free non-citizens (male and female) are taught separate from the citizen- and androcentric narrative that has dominated Greek history scholarship and pedagogy.²

1. Current Pedagogical Methods for Greek history/civilization survey courses.

Greek history and history-type civilization survey courses proceed fairly straightforwardly³: they either begin with an introduction to ancient Greece as an idea/place or with the Bronze Age. They then proceed chronologically through the Bronze Age to the death of either Socrates or Alexander, while a few continue to the Hellenistic period or the coming of Rome to Greece. Political changes within the *poleis* dominate the narrative early on, while wars and conflicts over hegemony pick up the plot with the Greco-Persian Wars until Alexander or the imposition of Roman rule.⁴ Along the way social or cultural history topics are introduced to the course (e.g., Homer and aristocratic culture, philosophy and Greek thought, drama in Classical Athens); history-type civilization courses have more of these topics due to the ancient culture focus, but they proceed in a similarly chronological fashion as the history surveys do.

Ancient Greek history and history-type civilization surveys, for the most part, “deal with women only if the instructor wants that to happen” (Richlin 2014: 25). In a review of Greek history syllabi available online, about half of the syllabi explicitly devote a dedicated lecture or week to the subject of women in ancient Greece as seen in the lecture titles.⁵ This lecture space may also contain material on children and/or slaves, or it might pair with another lecture on slaves in ancient Greece/Athens⁶ to introduce students to the Others who inhabited the Greek *poleis*. Several syllabi title the lecture or unit as some variation on “Others in Greece/Athens,” and the title both highlights and reinforces the distinction between the “citizen-as-center” and the peripheries held by citizen women and children as well as slaves and free non-citizen residents that the ancient sources take as a matter of course.

The general pattern in course syllabi mirrors that of English-language textbooks and sourcebooks for ancient Greek history.⁷ About half again include separate sections on women or gender in ancient Greece as seen from the table of contents, with the indexes showing in general a low engagement with ancient women's experiences throughout the textbook.⁸ Chronologically-based textbooks mostly "sandwich[...] brief snapshots of 'women' into the old war-to-war narrative" (Richlin 2014: 320 n. 11).⁹ The master narrative of politics and wars as the driving force of Greek history and of citizens as the only actors in the development of Greek society dominate current textbook offerings.¹⁰

The inclusion of lectures on women and other non-hegemonic groups accords with Laura McClure's (2000: 55) suggestions for bringing feminist pedagogy into a Classics course (namely to include such topics into a survey course, as well as to introduce individual courses on women in antiquity into the curriculum). However, when the inclusion of marginalized groups into a course is not integrated into the main narrative of that course, this pedagogical strategy actually ends up reinforcing the naturalness of the citizen/non-citizen divide as well as androcentric narratives framing men as actors in history and women as objects. This is compounded if students learn about ancient citizen-class women, slaves, or free non-citizens predominately/only from the instructor's lectures and not from the textbook. The fact stands that textbooks have considerable power over students, to the point that regardless of what supplementary readings, lectures, or special projects instructors include, "if it's not in the textbook, it's not important" (Bennet 2006: 131). Existing practices, then, fail to fully meet the goals set by feminist and critical pedagogy of challenging hegemonic discourses that configure power in regard to gender, race, and class.¹¹ Introducing the Other to Greek history and civilization courses is a start to this project, but it cannot also be the end.

2. “Women in Ancient Greece” and the Tourist model of teaching: where the problem lies

Current approaches to teaching women and non-hegemonic groups in Greek history and civilization courses align with what Chandra Talpade Mohanty (2003: 239-40) calls a Tourist pedagogical model.¹² In this model, a single class or week within an entire course departs from the main narrative to discuss the Other—so women, slaves, and/or free, non-citizen residents (often glossed by the Athenian term “metic”) in a Greek history survey—and then return with the main narrative of the course untouched. While Tourist classes may examine the marginalized or oppressed status of the Other, they do not then turn to examine how the center maintains the structures that normalize its status as center. Nor do they question the power hierarchies that marginalize those on the peripheries. Because these practices of power are not interrogated by the learners (and possibly also the instructor), Tourist classes accept the center as such and do not question the ways the positions of center and periphery are reproduced to benefit the former at the expense of the latter. As noted above, this is generally how we see women integrated into a survey course. Classes on women and/or slaves then do not overly impact the normative assumption that citizen men are central, even total, to the course of Greek history as citizen-class women, slaves, free non-citizen residents, and non-Greeks remain relegated to cameo appearances, if at all.

While tourist classes allow an instructor to vary the topics of study in a survey course and thereby diversify the narrative of the course, how the tourist topics are integrated into the course matters a great deal. If the tourist topic appears for a day or week before the class returns to the main narrative and is not returned or connected to the larger questions of the course, then the topic becomes static and separate from the main concern of that course. Furthermore, in tourist classes like a “women in ancient Greece” class within a Greek history survey course, the object

of the lesson becomes homogenized and stereotyped in accordance with the case study presented in class. Thus when Athenian women of the mid-fifth century offer a typical example in a class titled, for example, “Women’s roles in ancient Greece/Athens,” they come to stand for the totality of women in ancient Greece across the entire timespan covered by the course (usually c. 3000-300 BCE).¹³ This phenomenon whereby one sub-group comes to stand for the totality of the larger group is not unique to women in Greek history/civilization courses; we see it also in the eclipse of non-elite citizens and their experiences by their elite counterparts as well as in the slippage between “Athens and the rest of Greece” and “Athens as Greece.”

One result of the homogenization of ancient women’s experiences into those of the Ancient Woman is that ancient women tend to appear in one of two ways: as victims of a generally misogynistic society¹⁴ or as powerful women (individually, such as Sappho or Aspasia, or as a group, i.e. Spartan women) whose exceptionality proves the rule of ancient Greek men’s oppression of women. This oppression is generalized and, for students at least, usually couched in the passive voice: “ancient Greek women were oppressed.” In such cases, there is little contextualization of the particulars by which the Greek *poleis* and Greek citizen men maintained their power over/against women of free and slave status, and how those power strategies changed over time and in response to what circumstances (cf. Mohanty 1986: 338-39). Nor does it inspire awareness of how free women may have found agency and benefit in their free status (or that of wife, mother, business woman, priestess, etc.), or how free women exerted power over male and female slaves and how they were complicit in maintaining the power hierarchies separating free from enslaved,¹⁵ citizens from non-citizens. Furthermore, the simplified view of ancient Greek women’s experiences across Greek history that tourist-model courses inspire offers students of all genders an easy separation between now and then. Instead of fostering a critical awareness of

how hegemonic discourses construct power and reify groups as Other (in this case, along gender and class lines as well as in regard to how gender is constructed), students can comfort themselves “that we have left behind the primitive and iniquitous stages of antiquity” (Lateiner 2003: 431) since, after all, “this is 2020.”¹⁶

A solution to this problem may be sought in the adoption/extension of upper-level topics courses on Women in Antiquity or Women in ancient Greece/Rome, which are now common in American and Canadian curricula.¹⁷ Such courses, however, align with the Explorer model of teaching (Mohanty 2003: 240-42), the counterpart to the Tourist model. Explorer courses devote a full term to the study of the Other within a particular discipline, such as a course on Greek and Roman women or ancient slavery in a Classics department. Explorer courses add a level of diversity to a curriculum, as they allow students the chance to step out of a discipline’s main focus (citizen men, for Classics) for an entire course rather than a single class or two. At the same time, however, the separation between marked Explorer courses (e.g., Women in Antiquity) and the “regular” material of the discipline (citizen men, wars, politics, etc.) engenders the same marginalization of the Other and normalization of the center as the Tourist model. The Other that is the subject of the course remains exotic and separate, while the power structures that establish it as such continue to operate unquestioned. Upper-level topics courses examining the experiences of non-hegemonic groups in ancient Greece and Rome have aided in diversifying the curriculum and the discipline. They are not, however, in and of themselves a solution to the problems raised by Tourist approaches to teaching, for both the Tourist and Explorer models reinforce the separation between center and periphery.

3. Integrating Others: moving beyond the Tourist Model

In contrast to the Tourist-model for teaching survey courses, we can look to a pedagogical model that attends to the specifics of local/individual particularities and which also seeks to analyze “the directionality of power no matter what the subject of the ... course is” (Mohanty 2003: 242). For ancient Greece, this pedagogical model, which Mohanty (2003: 242-44) calls the “feminist solidarity” or “Comparative Feminist Studies model” and which I shall call an “integrated studies model,” is particularly helpful in moving beyond the “*polis* as citizen club” approach to Greek history (cf. Taylor and Vlassopoulos 2015: 2); it can also aid in addressing charges of Eurocentrism,¹⁸ which are often lodged alongside charges of androcentrism. This integrated pedagogical model looks to situate the local experiences of men and women in the Greek *poleis* within the “global” experiences of the wider Mediterranean and environs. An integrated approach balances the local experiences of particular groups within a specific *polis* or *ethnos* against the panhellenic, Mediterranean, Near Eastern, and European contexts in which that *polis* or *ethnos* operated.

In contrast to Roman or Jewish history, Greek history involves the stories of a variety of small states scattered across the Mediterranean and Black Seas united by a common, but not homogenous, culture and language that was not promoted by a single institution such as the Roman imperial court or the Jewish Temple (Vlassopoulos 2007: 3). An integrated studies model where the local dynamics of a single *polis/ethnos* are compared to those of another *polis/ethnos* or neighboring polity (e.g., Scythia for the Black Sea region or Lydia for Ionia) in order to understand local particularities as well as panhellenic (or more global, Mediterranean-wide) similarities can expand our understanding of Greek socio-political organizations beyond the traditional, Eurocentric and citizen-centric model of the *polis*.¹⁹ Furthermore, in attending to the particularities of non-hegemonic groups as well as their connections to hegemonic groups within

the same *polis/ethnos* and to non-hegemonic groups outside of their *polis/ethnos*, instructors and students can develop a better understanding of how citizen-class women and children, slaves, and free non-citizen residents acted within the Greek world as well as how their historical experiences evolved over time in conjunction with and/or in opposition to those of citizen men.

The integrated studies model would mean emphasizing how citizen men, women, and non-citizens (free and slave) *together* acted, resisted, maintained, and shaped their societies in ancient Greece and Rome. It strives to view the Greek *poleis* and *ethnē* as a collection of *oikoi*, where the full *oikos* (free men, women, and children as well as the slaves belonging to the *oikos*) participated whether the *oikos* was a citizen or non-citizen *oikos* (cf. Cohen 2016: 715-16). This approach would also mean focusing on women of all statuses and non-citizen men (free, slave) as both distinct from and connected to their citizen-class counterparts and not just on how citizen men discuss them (or not) in the extant sources. It would entail demonstrating the ways women and other minority groups acted, made, and did things, and not just with exemplars such as Sappho, Aspasia, or Cleopatra. This pedagogical approach integrates women and other minority groups into the historical narrative in a consistent and ongoing fashion, repopulating the streets of the ancient world bit by bit. Finally, to help instructors and students better understand how women and other marginalized groups operated within ancient society, it also seeks comparative examples from across history and the world.

Thus instead of a single class on women (or slaves or free non-citizen residents) or a week on Others in Athens, a Greek history/history-type civilization survey course might weave in the ways by which internal others—Greek women, children, free non-citizen residents, and slaves (both bought slaves and serf-type slaves such as *helots*)²⁰—are defined by Greek citizen men so that the latter consolidate themselves as the center and the former as periphery, paying attention

to local and regional variations as well as changes over time. Students could examine how class differences among citizen men are eclipsed and perhaps even erased (or attempted to be) by identity practices asserting a sameness among citizens. They might question whether poor citizens saw themselves as more similar to their better-off citizen peers or to their economic peers outside of the citizen group (slaves and non-citizen residents)²¹ or even to the women they might have labored alongside.²²

This course might investigate how Greek women of varying statuses fit within the economic system of their *polis/ethnos*²³ through land ownership,²⁴ textile production,²⁵ agricultural work,²⁶ the production and sale of food and other goods,²⁷ and/or money-lending and other banking activities.²⁸ The course might examine the ways communal events—whether *symposia*, assembly meetings, festivals, and ritual occasions, among others—create exclusive groups (as assembly meetings separate citizens from non, men from women) as well as inclusive groups, linking multiple disparate groups under a large umbrella identity (as with Spartan identity and the Hyacinthia). It could look at how non-dominant groups use such occasions to assert their own agency and identity, whether as linked to the dominant citizen groups or as distinct from them.²⁹ Or, as a final suggestion, it might prompt students to engage in rhetorical analyses of discursive and material practices that define non-Greek men in terms also used for Greek women, feminizing non-Greeks in addition to racializing them.

Adopting this approach will require an overhaul of lecture notes and course materials; current textbooks and sourcebooks remain focused on citizen men and rely heavily on written sources, which likewise favor the experiences of citizen men (the two are connected). The integrated studies approach will necessitate the use of epigraphical and archaeological evidence, as well as that of visual and rhetorical materials. Students will need to learn how to use these different

types of materials, which will require time spent in class on the matter. While this is added work, introducing students to such a variety of sources and the disciplines based on them displays the proof in the claim to the inherent interdisciplinary nature of classics that not a few departmental websites make.³⁰

The general reliance on written sources dictates the familiar androcentric narrative of classics and history in general. It is no secret that the primary textual sources for Greek history were written by and for men,³¹ and they, for the most part, ignore women. As Tansy Rayner Roberts (2012: para. 7-8) notes, history, written by men, actively forgets women, whether intentionally or not. The silence of the ancient sources on women and their contributions to Greek society is part of the story classicists and ancient historians keep telling, with a few exceptions to prove the rule. Yet women in the ancient world were integral parts of their communities; they had to be, otherwise the hallmarks that we associate with the ancient world would not have happened. As Donald Lateiner (2003: 430) asks concerning Socrates and the time he had for philosophical inquiry, “Who prepared his dinner and washed his dirty chiton? Too bad for the slaves and women, then.” Yet knowing that ancient women acted within their communities and saying it, challenging the familiar story that informs the Greek history survey course and others like it, are two different things; it is time to do the latter as well as former.

4. Some Guiding Principles and Teaching Strategies

However instructors decide to integrate the historical experiences of groups other than adult citizen men into their classrooms, this process needs to be supported at the department (even faculty) level, and it needs also to be conducted by faculty of all levels and of all genders. When enacting the integrated studies model advocated above, I received some student pushback. It thus bears repeating that for pre-tenure faculty or those in contingent positions, the potential for

student pushback could be a major and deciding factor in determining whether or not to adopt such a pedagogical perspective and to challenge the dominant narrative of an androcentric and ethnically homogenous ancient Greece. As to the second point, it does little good in the long run if only faculty of marked demographics (i.e., younger faculty, female faculty, faculty of color, 2SLGBTQIA³² faculty, and especially those who identify with more than one of these categories) include the experiences of women, slaves, and foreigners alongside those of citizen men in survey courses because this approach and the history of these groups will remain gendered and othered in students' eyes.³³ All faculty need to draw on the strengths of critical pedagogical methods to reflect on how the material we teach reinforces the binary of men as historical actors versus women and minorities as objects in a historical setting before moving forward to rectify current models and the narratives they produce by adapting our classrooms as we see fit.

In closing, I can offer a few general principles for using an integrated studies approach to an ancient history or civilization course as based in my own experiences and readings on the subject, as well as a few teaching and learning strategies. Resources are included in the footnotes, with additional ones listed at the end, before the bibliography.³⁴

The main principle is that the integration of non-hegemonic groups in a survey course should be consistent and conducted throughout the course. There should not be a separate class or week that acknowledges women's contributions to the Greek *polis*, nor, ideally, should each lecture take time to step to the side and look at "women in/as X." While a start, adding a separate section to a lecture on Mycenaean history on "women in the Mycenaean period" is compensatory and, in the end, does not fully move into a holistic study of the ancient world (cf. Richlin 2014: 26-27).

In other words, the experiences and contributions of Greek citizen-class, free, and slave women should not be tacked on to a lecture and should not be easily removable.

For example, in a class on the archaic *symposion*, topics discussed could include the full range of participants—adult citizen men who reclined, their younger male kin who sat and listened, the *paidēs* who served wine, and the female entertainers (*auletrides* and *hetairai*)—and the power dynamics that dictate the positions each participant takes—reclining vs. sitting, reclining/sitting vs. standing. They could include the impact of class for the *paidēs* (when does the term refer to a slave wine-pourer and when to a citizen-class young man serving as a wine-pourer? and what power dynamics does the term impose on both groups vis-à-vis the symposiasts and seated young men?) as well as for women (how does the attendance of non-citizen women impose behavioral expectations on citizen-class women and how does it characterize the non-citizen female entertainers?). Finally, the class could look at how the sympotic group defines itself as central to the *polis* by excluding non-elite men and citizen women. It would then examine how the power the symposiasts hold over the *paidēs* and female entertainers in the *symposion* might be replicated on a larger political scale, naturalizing the power held by elite citizen men (the sympotic class) over their non-sympotic peers within the *polis* group and non-citizens as a whole.

The second principle pertains to word choice and the language used for different groups in the Greek *poleis*. Often when instructors say “the Greeks” they mean “Greek citizen men,” and since this is the case, the latter should be used to refer to Greek citizen men and the former or “Greek men and women” to refer to both genders. Likewise, if speaking about a single *polis/ethnos*, the specific *polis* or ethnic group should be used: “Corinthian citizen men,” “Ionian citizen men,” and especially “Athenian citizen men.” The shorthand of “the Greeks” elides all

demographic groups into a single group while focusing on the experiences of the most prominent in the historical record, namely citizen men. It also homogenizes the histories and development of the many *poleis* across the Mediterranean into a single or a few tracks that are dominated by a few big names: Athens and Sparta, perhaps also Miletus, Thebes, and Corinth. Finally, this shorthand imposes a nation-state narrative on the ancient Greek world³⁵ when no such concept existed; the Greek *poleis* were manifold and diverse, fragmented across the Mediterranean world but connected by ties of language, cult, trade, and political dependency. Obscuring this by referring to the ancient *poleis* as a collective, quasi-nation-state removes one of the most fascinating things about the ancient Greek world: how these many quarrelsome *poleis* and *ethnē* functioned individually and as a unit (albeit a fractious one).

Acknowledging and naming the other groups and regions to Greek history beyond citizen men and the most prominent *poleis* is perhaps the easiest way to begin integrating non-hegemonic groups into a course. Judith Bennet (2006: 135-37) recommends such an approach for revising textbooks and their master narratives; remembering that there are women in the masculine master narratives humanizes textbooks and courses. This practical principle is effective when conducted throughout a course (see principle 1 above) and a fairly easy way to introduce students to the complex web of Greek *poleis* and *ethnē*. It is also, however, limited (cf. Bennet 2006: 137) and needs to be supplemented with other strategies in order to effect a change in the perception that women's history is separate from "history" as such.

The third principle holds that the integration of women (citizen-class, free, slave) and non-hegemonic groups should be source-based as much as possible and draw on the non-canonical sources available for groups other than citizen men. The sourcebook *Women's Life in Greece and Rome* (Lefkowitz and Fant 2016)³⁶ includes a variety of sources on women's lives beyond

the usual, male-written historical sources which are the bread and butter of history survey courses. An instructor could draw on the collected resources throughout the term, offering them to students as needed and as short exercises in source analyses. Male and female authors could be compared: how does Sappho present Mytilenian relationships with Lydia versus Alcaeus, for example? Visual representations of women could be juxtaposed against textual ones, such as the frequent representations of women (free and slave) engaging in textile crafts indoors and water collection outdoors against (negative) references in comedies and Athenian oratory to women working outside the home. What ideals do these references show, what realities might they obscure, and how does class (citizen, free, slave) come into effect? Same with male and female activities: Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway (1987) has examined Greek women's patronage of architectural projects and their dedications of statues and other similar offerings; students could discuss how women's engagement in such public-facing activities, alongside and in contrast to men's, challenges the traditional model of a domestic-sphere (women) vs. a public, political-sphere (men).

Engaging in the analysis of these sources in class presents the project of a holistic historical narrative to students as part of the skill set that they are expected to develop, which is the fourth and final principle. The study of non-hegemonic groups and the analytical skills needed to do so benefit researchers and students engaged in the study of all levels of ancient society, including citizens. By learning to look at/for the less visible groups in Greek society, the networks that define the different groups and which make those groups dependent on one another become visible (cf. Mohanty 2003: 231): citizen men exist as a group only in opposition to non-citizens, while identities revolving around free-status need slaves to give them power, and "masculine" identity depends on definitions of "feminine." These ideological networks are invisible most of

the time because they are normalized by groups in power; by looking at non-hegemonic groups, however, the impact of hegemonic ideologies and their identity practices on the development of Greek society and history become apparent.

In addition to in-class source analyses, I have found Think-Pair-Share (TPS) exercises to be effective for engaging with historical problems on all topics, but especially those related to non-hegemonic groups. TPS exercises involve students pairing up to discuss a question posed to them, with or without accompanying sources, before they then share their findings with the class; this can be done by calling on either a selection of pairs or each group. The benefit of TPS lies in the fact that students are given a warm-up to the full class discussion so that they can fully develop their responses to the question; they are thereby more likely to engage in the discussion that completes a TPS exercise. An additional benefit exists for large lecture classes: in classes over fifty students and especially over one hundred, TPS can help to overcome the basic fact that not everyone can participate in a class discussion and reap the learning benefits of doing so. By discussing a question with a partner, even if that group does not share their answer, the pair will still have participated in a discussion on a question related to the lecture.³⁷

A TPS exercise that I use in Greek history courses on women's experiences in Athens during the Peloponnesian War is as follows. Students are given selections from Thucydides (2.45.2, 3.74.1) as well as from Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (vv. 587-90). They are asked first to consider why Pericles advocates silence of the Athenian widows and then whether the other material offers any additional reasons for why Pericles advocates silence and anonymity. This exercise challenges students to consider the non-citizen experience of the Peloponnesian War: who fought, who protested or supported the war, who defended their homes, and who was at risk for (sexual) violence, slavery, and death.

Another teaching and learning strategy that has a benefit for the integrated studies model is the use of role-play exercises and/or assignments. The Reacting to the Past series has helped to mainstream such exercises;³⁸ the course “The Threshold of Democracy: Athens in 403 BCE” (Ober et al. 2015), for example, immerses students in the aftermath of the Peloponnesian War and the Thirty. This course is beneficial in that it engages students and inspires a sense of intrinsic motivation (in that they want to “win” the game and direct policy). At the same time, however, all the characters are men and all but one are citizens;³⁹ citizen-class women as well as slaves and metics are discussed in a seven page summary and then ignored for the course of the game, with the exception of the character Lysias if he is played. A more inclusive role-play approach is advocated by Amy Richlin (2013), where each student in a lecture course is given a Greek⁴⁰ or Roman identity based on a Greek or Roman name, place in a *polis* or Roman class structure, and some background information (e.g., Telesilla, widow and mother of three, known for her weaving; Thrax, 20s, Thracian male slave). The roles should be allocated roughly according to ancient demographics: thus if taking fourth-century Athens as the *polis* of choice for this exercise, about one-third of the class should be slaves, 15-20% metics, and the remainder citizen-class men and women.⁴¹ The in-class role-playing exercises and discussions on sources are geared towards the midterm and final essay questions, where students respond to questions on their daily experiences and their identity in relation to a historical event or issue. When incorporated into a course, this approach, Richlin (2013: 351) states, “gives all of us a chance to tangle ourselves in the multiplicity of history” and offers students a view of a complicated, multi-cultural Mediterranean world.

Finally, instructors can offer students the opportunity to analyze trends in scholarship and the assumptions behind them. If using a textbook, students can investigate where Greek women,

slaves, and free non-citizens are, where female slaves and female free non-citizens are; instructors can then ask why they think these groups are not included in the narrative. TPS exercises can be beneficial here if the class is hesitant in speaking on the subject; minute papers, where students have one to two minutes to write down whatever they can think of in response to a (usually big) question before then discussing that question as a class, can also be helpful.⁴²

To conclude then, current pedagogical models for teaching survey history and history-type civilization courses are problematic; they maintain a master narrative of history as performed by citizen men, with citizen-class women as well as slaves and free non-citizens visible only if their actions impact those of citizen men. Furthermore, when lectures on these non-hegemonic groups are included, they fit with a Tourist model of teaching which homogenizes the experiences of disparate groups into a single, universal category. Thus classes on women in ancient Greece tend to collapse all Greek women of all statuses, periods, and regions into the history of citizen-class women in fifth-century Athens. The proposed solution to this trend is an integrated model of teaching, where the contributions of citizen-class women, slaves, and free non-citizens as well as the networks linking them to citizen men and other non-hegemonic groups are incorporated into the course as equal to the traditional narrative of political developments and wars. The benefits to this approach lie in its ability to uncover performances of power that normalize citizen men as the center and non-dominant groups as the periphery along with the ways by which citizenship-based identity rhetoric categorizes groups as similar/different and privileges citizenship over all other forms of communal identity and ways of participating in the *polis*.

Additional Resources for Teaching Ancient Greek Women

“Women in Antiquity: An Online Resource for the Study of Women in the Ancient World.”

<https://womeninantiquity.wordpress.com/>

“Diotima: Materials for the Study of Women and Gender in the Ancient World.”

<https://diotimawcc.wordpress.com/>

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¹ By "history-type civilization courses" I refer to those taking a chronological approach to the subject. They are distinguished from history courses by the number of social/cultural topics they include within the framework of a historical narrative; history-type civilization courses differ from civilization courses in that the latter are structured primarily by social/cultural topics with minimal structure from chronological periods.

² For which see Skinner 1987, McManus 1997: 67 and 77-78, and Richlin 2014: 24-25. Ancient history is doubly impacted by androcentric foundations. First, Latin and especially Greek were "men-only" languages taught to the upper classes and those aspiring to join them; knowledge of Latin and Greek thus distinguished an elite male group (Gold 2000: 67). Second, history as an academic discipline defined itself as an empirical, masculine craft in opposition to the popular histories often written by women (Bennet 2006: 128). Through Latin, Greek, and the writing of "professional history," ancient history defined itself as masculine and focused on the deeds of men.

³ This discussion of Greek history/history-type civilization survey courses proceeds from a review of Greek history and history-type civilization syllabi available online and discoverable through a Google search using the search terms "(ancient) Greek history," "(ancient) Greek

civilization,” and “introduction to Greek history” with the Boolean modifier AND linking the first set of search terms with “syllabus.” The search produced 47 syllabi originally, of which 36 were usable, in that I could identify the university and they adhered to the chronological focus from the Bronze Age to the deaths of Socrates/Alexander (or beyond). These syllabi cover the years from 2002-2019 (4 have unknown dates), with 33 pertaining to fall/spring courses and 3 for summer courses. 1 syllabus covers a study abroad course, 1 a continuing studies course and the remainder from undergraduate courses taught at US (32) and Canadian (4) institutions.

⁴ Cf. Richlin 2014: 320n11 for Roman history courses.

⁵ The numbers come to 16 out of 36.

⁶ The ancient Greece/Athens that occurs repeatedly in this section reflects the fact that the majority of the syllabi surveyed included the material on women, slaves, and metics in the period of the course devoted to the 5th century, usually in the midst of Periclean Athens (as the use of the Athenian term “metic” rather than a generic “free non-citizen residents” indicates).

⁷ Textbooks reviewed are: Amos and Lang 1996, Demand 2006, Dunstan 2000, Sansone 2009, McInerney 2018, Morkot 1997, Orrieux and Schmitt Pantel 1999, Pomeroy et al. 2017 (*Ancient Greece*), Pomeroy et al. 2004 (*A Brief History of Ancient Greece*), Glazebrook and Vester 2017, Budin 2004, Waterfield 2018, Morris and Powell 2010, and Camp and Fisher 2010. These textbooks predominately take a chronological framework and introduce social/cultural history into chapters on the successive periods of Greek history; the exceptions are Glazebrook and Vester 2017 and Budin 2004, both of which have a chapter or two outlining the general historical narrative for Greek history and then spend the remainder of the textbook focusing on social/cultural history topics which themselves touch on different periods of Greek history to varying degrees. Of the textbooks included on the syllabi surveyed as “required” (all of the

above excepting Glazebrook and Vester 2017, Budin 2004, and Waterfield 2018), Pomeroy et al. 2017 (varying editions) was the most popular, followed by the condensed version (Pomeroy et al. 2004).

⁸ The exception to this is Glazebrook and Vester 2017; Morris and Powell 2010 stand at the opposite end, as their index does not include an entry for “women,” “gender,” “social relations,” or the like. On the general invisibility of women in indexes of textbooks, see Richlin 2014: 27; she labels this lack of index inclusion a “basic cognitive issue” related to both the strong male bias in ancient texts, which influences researchers, and to the generally negative attitude towards theory that Classics as a discipline adopted in the 1970s.

⁹ Richlin refers to the trend in Roman history textbooks, but the same trend can be seen in Greek history textbooks that follow a chronological narrative, including the popular textbooks by Pomeroy et al. (2017, 2004).

¹⁰ In her discussion of androcentric master narratives Bennet (2006: 129-37) notes that textbooks retain such master narratives despite new findings from the application of feminist and other critical theories because both publishers and scholars look for standard narratives, the former for a guaranteed return on investment, the latter so class lectures do not need to give a standard outline of the topic at hand. The treatment of women in classical language textbooks (particularly Latin) has also become an increasing pedagogical concern (see Gruber-Miller 2014, for example.

¹¹ For which, see McClure 2000: 54; Gold 1997: 330, and McManus 1997: 18-19; outside of Classics, see, for example, Mohanty’s discussions in 2003: 228-31 and 236; 2006: 13-18; and hooks on radical pedagogy (1994: ch. 7-9 specifically deal with feminist pedagogy and classrooms, though the goals of feminist pedagogy appear throughout the collected essays).

¹² Specifically, she calls it the “feminist as tourist” model, as her focus is feminist pedagogy and Women’s Studies curricula. However, this model can easily be applied to other disciplines, particularly those which (attempt to) include voices separate from/other to the dominant narrative of a course (see Grover 2016 for Mohanty’s models and trans-curricula; cf. Mohanty 2003: 238).

¹³ A similar homogenization occurs in handbooks, where a single chapter may deal with all classes of women in the Greek world and/or Rome over several centuries (Richlin 2014: 26-27). The usual exception to this is Spartan women, who sometimes receive their own lecture (or a highlighted part of a lecture as seen in lecture titles); however, the general practice of setting Sparta apart from the remainder of the Greek *poleis* in any number of ways (see Humble 2017: 107-8 further) suggests that this is not a solution to the above problems with tourist-model teaching on women in antiquity (at least on its own) as the separation of Spartan women from Athenian women casts Spartan citizen-class women as an exception to the rule set by Athenian women.

¹⁴ This is not to say that the ancient Greek *poleis* were not patriarchal nor that extant Greek literature is not misogynistic, but rather to acknowledge/insist upon the fact that within such societies, women are still able to respond and resist in a multitude of ways (including supporting current societal norms); see Mohanty 1986: 344-46 for an example of scholarship on the “contradictions inherent in women’s location within various structures” such as household, economic, status, and class structures.

¹⁵ See, for example, Cohen (2016: 714), where he notes the widespread exploitation of female slaves in Athenian textile production and sex trade which were both “areas in which Athenian business women achieved substantial success” (emphasis added).

¹⁶ Adapting Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau’s famous statement from his 2015 cabinet unveiling (for one report, see Chartrand 2015).

¹⁷ See McManus 1997: tables 6 & 7 for an early survey. Though note Richlin 2014: 25, where she highlights the fact that the source material that best illustrates the experiences of women of all statuses in ancient Greece and Rome is often not taught in civilization courses at the undergraduate and graduate level due to the non-canonical status of the sources.

¹⁸ For an introduction to the charges (with bibliography) and discussion of ways to address in the classroom, see Pollard 2008; see also Vlassopoulos’ introduction (2007) for the effects of Eurocentric ideologies on the study of Greek history and the *polis*. The approach discussed above is also amenable to current efforts to decolonize the Classics classroom; see Christensen 2019 on decolonizing a myth class and the special Paedagogus section on Classics and Colonialism (summarized in Lateiner 2003).

¹⁹ Vlassopoulos 2007 and the contributions collected in Taylor and Vlassopoulos 2015 offer complementary, network-based approaches to understanding Greek political organizations and history.

²⁰ As residents of the same *polis* as a group of Greek citizen men, these groups are “internal” and thus “close” Others in respect to their shared geographical position with the citizen men who define them as Other; non-Greeks outside of a *polis* (or in a foreign state, such as the Persians) stand as external others to Greek citizen men.

²¹ Comparing this process, perhaps, to that in the Reconstruction-era South, where Jim Crow policies were supported by the Bourbon interests of the southern aristocracy in order to maintain low labor costs and halt the growing Populist movement, which brought poor whites and blacks together. (King 1965: para. 10-12).

²² See, for example, Cohen 2016: 718 for his discussion of how the senior man of an *oikos* often stood as the public face of a business operated by a woman within the *oikos*, using the example of the perfume seller Hermaios, who lost his status as such when his wife transferred her affections to Aischines (Lys. Fr. 1.5).

²³ For an overview of how Athenian women operated within the economic system of 5th-century Athens, see Cohen 2016: 716-22; see Shelmerdine 2016 for women in the Mycenaean economy.

²⁴ For land ownership by women in Sparta, Arist. *Pol.* 1270a20-25; Shelmerdine 2016: 619-20 reviews the evidence for female landholders in the Mycenaean period.

²⁵ Xen. *Oecon.* 7.6; see also the discussions regarding textile production in Burke 2016, Fischer 2013, Neils 2011: 94-97, and Lewis 2002: 63-65 (Neils and Lewis include images of the visual evidence for textile production).

²⁶ Hes. *Op.* 405-6; Men. *Dys.* 329-34; Arist. *Pol.* 1323a5-7. See also Scheidel 1995: 1-5 and Lewis 2002: 83-86 on women's contributions to agricultural labor and animal husbandry.

²⁷ See Lewis 2002: 65-81 regarding women's roles regarding food production and water collecting in a domestic context. For food-sellers, Aristoph. *Ran.* 857-58, *Plut.* 427-28, *Thesm.* 387, 456, *Lys.* 457-58, 562, 564; *BGU* 4.1205, cols. ii-iii (in Bagnall and Cribiore 2006). For the sale of other goods: Aristoph. *Thesm.* 446-58; Dem. 57.31, 35; *P.Bad.* 4.48 (in Bagnall and Cribiore 2006); see also the list of references to women's trade in the *agora* collected by Cohen (2016: 717). Cohen (2016: 715) notes that Athenian ideals regarding citizenship and *andreia* hindered citizen men from participating fully and openly in business and mercantile activities, which permitted the participation of free women (citizen and non) as well as slaves in these activities.

²⁸ Aristoph. *Thesm.* 839-45; Dem. 41.7-9, 21; Dem. 36.14-16 may also indicate the participation of Phormio's wife in his banking business.

²⁹ For an example of such an analysis of identity fashioning through communal events, see Stehle's (2012: 193-96) introduction to women's religion in ancient Greece, where she reviews Goff 2004 and Stehle 2007 on the Athenian Thesmophoria and women's agency as constructed through the ritual event.

³⁰ In my five years on the classics job market, almost every department I applied to made a claim to the interdisciplinary nature of classics/classical studies in one of the following general sections: about the department, faculty research; about classics; and why study classics.

³¹ Sappho is generally not presented as a historical source in Greek history textbooks and sourcebooks; her poems are given as evidence of women's lives and experiences, and thus they appear in the separate sections dedicated to women and family which exist in a vaguely ahistorical bubble separate from the chronologically ordered material on political, martial, and economic developments.

³² Two-spirited, Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Questioning, Intersex, and Asexual

³³ Richlin (2014: 25-26) notes that "a department looking to add 'Women in Antiquity' to its curriculum is usually looking for a woman to teach it—women's work. The usual implications of 'women's work' thus apply," despite male scholars and instructors who teach and write on the subject of women in ancient Greece and Rome. The gender imbalance in teaching and scholarship also suggests to students that only female students or, for sexuality classes, 2SLBTQQA students need to be concerned with such topics, leaving the male (straight, cisgendered, white) norm as the unquestioned concern for all.

³⁴ I focus on sourcebooks and online resources as most companions and introductory collections of articles can be easily found through library websites.

³⁵ One of the more egregious examples of this nation-state narrative can be seen in Morris and Powell's (2010: 337) introduction to the Peloponnesian War: "Athens' evolution toward a unified Aegean state collapsed; Greece would never become a nation-state."

³⁶ Other sourcebooks include Fantham et al. 1994, MacLachlan 2012, and Lewis 2002, while Lightman and Lightman 2008 provides an "A to Z" of women from ancient Greece and Rome. Bagnall and Cribiore 2006 collect women's letters from Ancient Egypt and may be useful for a course spanning the Hellenistic period and later.

³⁷ I have used TPS exercises in classes ranging from 19 to 217 students. In all of the classes, but especially for the largest, I walk around the room to answer any questions students have during the exercise, course correct if needed, and to make sure that students are actually discussing the question. While the last is not always easy to ensure in lectures sitting 100+ students, an instructor walking around the lecture hall and calling on students from various parts of the hall does help keep students on task.

³⁸ Anderson and Dix 2008 review the benefits of using Reacting to the Past in a Classics program, looking at the game set in 44 BCE Rome.

³⁹ And even then, students in the early debates can decide whether to pass a motion allowing metics to speak in the Assembly; if passed, the citizen/non-citizen line that was integral to Athenian democratic identity and practices is lost, as is any awareness of the ways by which Athenian democratic practices maintained that separation.

⁴⁰ This can be done for a single *polis* over a full term, or students can change *poleis* and thus see how their character changes in response to a new *polis*.

⁴¹ Based on Hansen 1988: 7-13.

⁴² For minute papers and other strategies for encouraging student engagement, see Lang 2016.