THE IDEAL ROMAN DAUGHTER THROUGH THE LIFE COURSE:

THREE CASE STUDIES

THE IDEAL ROMAN DAUGHTER THROUGH THE LIFE COURSE: THREE CASE STUDIES

By EMILY A. LAMOND, B.A.

A Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Master of Arts

McMaster University MASTER OF ARTS (2015) Hamilton, Ontario (Classics)

TITLE: The Ideal Roman Daughter through the Life Course: Three Case Studies

AUTHOR: Emily A. Lamond, B.A. (McMaster University)

SUPERVISOR: Dr. Michele George

NUMBER OF PAGES: (vii) (95)

ABSTRACT

The following thesis is a collection of three case studies which shed light on the ideal roles of a daughter in the Roman family over the course of her life. Plentiful recent scholarship on children in the Roman world exists, but few scholars have focused exclusively on girls and women *qua* daughters. The case studies are centred on epistolary sources which span the late Republic to the second century CE. The chapters of this thesis concern Timoxena, the two-year-old daughter of Plutarch; Minicia Marcella, the teenage daughter of Fundanus; and Tullia, the adult daughter of Cicero. These case studies will illustrate primarily that adult behaviours were constantly idealized throughout the life course of a daughter, but the expectations for a daughter did change to accommodate the actual age of the daughter concerned. In addition, the ideal behaviours expected of a daughter did not necessarily become more gendered as she grew older and became a full member of society, but her contribution to the bond of reciprocal obligation with her parents, dictated by *pietas*, was expected to intensify as she matured.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I thank my supervisor, Dr. Michele George, for her guidance and patience throughout the writing process. Her timely and concise advice, and her direct constructive comments, helped me to maintain the right perspective in approaching this thesis. Such a mindset was absolutely essential and rendered my experience more rewarding than arduous. I thank also Dr. Martin Beckmann and Dr. Evan Haley for their constructive criticism of the thesis. The efforts of this thesis committee, and of Dr. George especially, have together lent my research fresh vigor, for which I am indebted. I would also like to thank Dr. Sean Corner. His criticism has proven a whetstone for my intellect, and his insistent encouragement a bulwark for my confidence. I am deeply thankful also for the efficient, but accommodating, Carmen Camilleri, whose personal and professional support has been invaluable to me and to this department. On that note, I am grateful for the Department of Classics at McMaster: there is a veritable constellation of faculty and students who have contributed positively and profoundly to my experience at this university, all of whom deserve great thanks. Last, but certainly not least, I wish to express my gratitude to my parents, to my sisters, Ashley and Victoria, and to Owen Phillips, for keeping my feet on the ground and a smile on my face.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Abbreviations.....vi

Introduction.....1

Chapter One: Timoxena the Toddler.....6

Timoxena's Qualities.....8

Timoxena's Relationships with Others.....19

Conclusion.....29

Chapter Two: Minicia Marcella the Maiden.....31

Minicia Marcella's Qualities.....34

Minicia Marcella's Relationships with Others.....45

Conclusion.....51

Chapter Three: Tullia the *Matrona*.....52

Tullia's Qualities.....54

Tullia's Relationships with Others.....62

Conclusion.....75

Conclusion.....77

Bibliography.....81

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.
CJ	Classical Journal.
ClAnt	Classical Antiquity.
CPh	Classical Philology.
CQ	Classical Quarterly.
CW	Classical World.
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies.

DECLARATION OF ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

The author declares that this thesis has been completed by Emily A. Lamond, with recognition of the contributions of the supervisory committee comprising Dr. Michele George, Dr. Evan Haley, and Dr. Martin Beckmann.

INTRODUCTION

"...I delight in my daughter; you are moved by a similar feeling and kindness towards your daughters. What is there that nature meant to be pleasanter and dearer to us? What more deserves all our care and kindness?"[1] As illustrated by Cicero so eloquently in his second speech against Verres, daughters in the Roman world had value.[2] However, the nature of that value and the ways in which it changed over a daughter's life course requires exploration. Plentiful recent scholarship on children in the Roman world exists, but few scholars have focused exclusively on girls *qua* daughters. Phillips (1978) and Hallett (1984) have done so, but the development of the daughter's role in the family over the life course was not central to either work. Phillips writes about the adult daughter and her relationship with her mother, and Hallett is most concerned to account for the paradox of "filiafocality"[3] in a society based on patriarchal principles.

The following thesis is a collection of three case studies which have been organized to provide an understanding of the ideal roles of a daughter in the Roman family over the course of her life. The time period discussed spans the late Republic to the second century CE,[4] and the scope is limited, as the case studies centre on elite

[1] Cicero, *In Verrem* 2.1.112. Translation from Treggiari 2007: 38.

[2] For daughters who were elected to be raised. The reality of female infanticide and exposure is not explored in this thesis, but see Harris (1994: esp. 11) and Evans Grubbs (2013: esp. 90-92) for further information on the subject.

[3] A term of Hallett's own coinage, intended to mean "daughter-focus."

[4] Although two of the case studies are from around the turn of the second century CE, while the third is from the Late Republic, the difference in time is not insurmountable. The time period of the Late Republic

daughters whose fathers had the luxury to study philosophy. I shall show that, although it is true that adult behaviours were constantly idealized throughout the life course of a daughter, the expectations for a daughter did change to accommodate the actual age of the daughter concerned. The ideal behaviours expected of a daughter were not gendered more intensely as she grew older and became a full member of society, but her contribution to the bond of reciprocal obligation with her parents, dictated by *pietas*, was expected to intensify as she matured.

Pietas can best be translated as a reciprocal devotion and duty between family members, especially from child to parent.[5] Children in particular were expected to maintain the family fortune, reputation, and cult once their parents had passed away.[6] This is not to reiterate DeMause's argument that children were only used for the parents' advantage, however.[7] Plutarch specifically unseats this model in *De amore prolis*, arguing that children were intended to be loved and not used, which reveals affection as the ideal. In addition, as Rawson puts it, children too had "interests which must be protected - financial, emotional, educational, maintaining certain social standing."[8] The reciprocal nature of *pietas* was vital. The thesis to follow illustrates not only that this reciprocal

---

to the second century CE is often treated as relatively homogeneous in the study of the Roman family, and debates about an increase in affection for children centre on the transition into the Late Republic. In addition, I use evidence from throughout this period in each of the case studies.

[5] Saller 1997: esp. 105-114.

[6] Dixon 1991: 103.

[7] DeMause 1974.

[8] Rawson 2003: 73.

relationship would ideally become more balanced over time, as the daughter could more capably provide for her parents the duties already mentioned, but also that, even as toddlers, children could contribute to the reciprocal relationship with their parents: by the time a child could speak, the relationship of mutual devotion had already been established as reciprocal.

Each of the three daughters in the case studies died during a different stage of life. Life stages were not necessarily fixed to particular ages, but rather to developments in the abilities of the individual concerned, and so the following ages I provide here are but vague guidelines.[9] For the Romans, infancy (*infantia*) lasted until around the age of seven, when the capacity for understanding speech developed. *Pueritia* was the next stage, in which formal education would take place. For boys, this stage would last until he took up the *toga virilis* in a coming-of-age ceremony around the age of fifteen, but girls, as they had no official coming-of-age ceremony, would remain in this stage of life until marriage.[10] Upon marriage, which typically occurred in her teen years, a girl would become a woman.[11]

---

[9] Rawson 2003: 136. See especially Chapter 4 of her work for a thorough exploration of the life stages in the Roman view.

[10] *Ibid.* 140. Cicero's joke on the occasion of his marriage to the young girl, Publilia, plays upon the Roman understanding of a girl's marriage as a rite of passage into adulthood: upon being criticized for marrying one so young while in his sixties, he replied, "Tomorrow she'll be a woman" (Quint. *Inst.* 6.3.75).

[11] The age of Roman girls at first marriage is debated. See Hopkins (1965), Shaw (1987), and Scheidel (2007) for more extensive discussion on the topic.

The chapters of this thesis are arranged in the sequence of the life course. Chapter one, representing the earliest stage of the life course, *infantia*, is the case study of Timoxena, daughter of Plutarch. As I shall show, her gender is of little consequence to the characterization she receives at her father's hands, and, young as she is, she is depicted as a worthy representation of her father's philosophical virtues and as a delight to her family.

Chapter two is centred on Minicia Marcella, daughter of Fundanus. Minicia Marcella would not have been recognized by the Romans as an adolescent, as she was still technically a child. However, I treat her in the chapter as an adolescent, because she was as close to adolescence as a Roman girl could have been: her marriage was imminent, by Pliny the Younger's assertion,[12] and she was therefore on the brink of adulthood. Pliny's characterization of her, with an evenly balanced combination of mature qualities and delightfully childlike features, reflects that she was viewed by others as being in a transitional period. I shall show that the daughter's role toward the end of childhood and on the cusp of womanhood was twofold: she ought to serve as an affective link between her father and other men of importance, and to represent her father well. I shall show also that, in this stage of life more than in any other, a daughter's gender was of greatest interest to her parents.

This conclusion supports the understanding that gender separation occurred for Roman children concurrently with the beginning of *pueritia*,[13] as gender was not as vital

[12] Pliny, *Letters* 5.16.

[13] Rawson 2003: 141. This could potentially illustrate a difference from the Greeks: Beaumont (2013: 198) attests gender separation in Greek iconography around the age of three.

to the characterization of the *infans* Timoxena as it was for the marriageable but unmarried Minicia Marcella. The fact that Tullia, the daughter of Cicero and adult subject of chapter three, is also not as heavily gendered as Minicia Marcella can perhaps be attributed to the fact that the ideal gender in Rome was not feminine, but masculine: to mourn a daughter who had all the promise of a son might have evoked more sympathy, except when one could mourn a daughter who was about to achieve the life goal dictated by her sex.

Chapter three, as was mentioned, explores the ideal behaviours Tullia exhibited in her adult life. This stage of life brought with it the greatest expectations of a daughter. She should fulfill the roles of earlier stages by representing her family well, and providing herself as an affective connection between her parents and other men by marriage and bearing sons, but in addition she should also act as an advocate and an advisory companion for her parents.

Throughout these case studies, the daughter is continually characterized as a combination of masculine and feminine traits, and of mature and childish qualities. Despite this constant, however, the ideal daughter's role was dynamic. As she grew, the roles she was expected to fulfill for her family in accordance with *pietas* grew in number and variety.

CHAPTER ONE

Timoxena the Toddler

Timoxena, the daughter of Plutarch, died at the tender age of two.[14] Her father was away at the time of her death, and so wrote a letter, the *Consolatio ad uxorem*, to console his wife. Scholars have already commented on what this work says of Plutarch's wife, Timoxena the elder, particularly in her role as wife, but the same attention has not been paid to his daughter.[15] Likewise, scholars have written about the death of small children in Rome, but not about the extent to which these children are gendered in funerary commemoration.[16] I hope to elucidate the role of the daughter in the earliest stages of the life course through little Timoxena's representation in the letter, and through the reaction of her respective parents to their daughter's death. Three conclusions become clear: a daughter of Timoxena's age was ideally a source of happiness and pride to her parents; despite her young age, her place in the family was not easily forgotten; and although the gender of such a young child was not irrelevant, its importance lay primarily in the prospective gender roles of adulthood and likely did not affect the everyday experience of a child of Timoxena's age.[17] Plutarch's letter of consolation in context illustrates that the very young Roman daughter fulfilled roles which were important to the household but were not yet heavily gendered.

[14] There is no available information about how she died.

[15] E.g., Hani 1979, Impara and Manfredini 1991.

[16] On the death of small children: Rawson 2003; Parkin 2013; Carroll 2012; Laes 2011; Wiedemann 1989.

[17] These qualifications are necessary, as Timoxena did not live to the age at which children typically would pursue education. Education was certainly gendered, but toddlers were not formally educated.

Using Plutarch for a case study on Roman daughters is not straightforward, as Plutarch was originally Greek, and Greek conceptions of gender were arguably more rigid than Roman.[18] However, his letter of consolation can still aid in the exploration of attitudes toward the Roman daughter as a small child, especially if his Greek origin is kept in mind and if the text is considered in the context of other, Roman evidence. It must be remembered, after all, that Plutarch moved in Roman literary circles and "was also L. Mestrius Plutarchus, a Roman citizen who knew Latin and who during his life traveled extensively in the Roman Empire."[19]

In fact, Plutarch was traveling at the time in which he wrote the *Consolatio ad uxorem*: according to this letter, Plutarch was at Tanagra when he received the news of his daughter Timoxena's death. Plutarch wrote the letter at Tanagra to his wife Timoxena at Chaeronea, in around 90 CE.[20] Ostensibly the letter he wrote had the purpose of comforting his bereaved wife, but he also used the letter to explain how one should behave when a loved one, and so young a loved one, died. Such a literary exercise of offering both comfort and advice places the work undoubtedly within the consolation

[18] Rawson (2003:2) gives Plutarch a wide berth for this reason. For example, there were regulators of women's conduct, *gynaikonomoi*, in Chaeronea, where Plutarch and his wife lived for at least some time. These regulators were attributed to Solon and enforced sumptuary and behavioural standards among women (Pomeroy 1999: 41). Plutarch approved of these regulators, and thought segregation along lines of gender was desirable (Pomeroy 1999: 75-80). See McNamara (1999:151-161) for the tension in Plutarch between traditional views of women and the new reality in his time of socially mobile Romano-Greek women.

[19] Bradley 1999:191.

[20] According to Martin and Phillips (1978: 395), the date of Timoxena's death is indefinite.

genre, a literary genre for both Romans and Greeks.[21] The letter's central message of restraint in the face of sorrow arguably overwhelms mentions of the little girl herself, but the available references to Timoxena's attributes are useful for reconstructing her place in the family.

Timoxena's Qualities

The focus of Plutarch's letter is by no means his eulogy of the little girl herself, but Plutarch does eulogize her through intermittent references to her behaviour. It is clear that Timoxena's representation at the hands of Plutarch is neither as fully juvenile nor fully adult, and is only gendered in prolepsis. Prolepsis is the representation of something anticipated as though it were already existing. In this case, Plutarch ascribes specifically female qualities to Timoxena only when alluding to the adult gender roles she would never fulfill. At this age, the daughter was not expected to be different from a son, and while she did have a role to play in the household, the ideal, and non-gender-specific, role for a daughter of this age group was merely to be a delight to her family. The manner in which Timoxena brought delight is ill defined in the letter, but I assert that this delight comprised three things above all: the physical connection a parent could have with the child; her parents' observation of potentially adult qualities in her, even as she engaged in

[21] Martin and Phillips 1978, Kassel 1958. See the section below on the reaction to Timoxena's death for further exposition of the consolation genre.

activities primarily attributed to children; and the security the child would have provided for aged parents had she lived.[22]

Plutarch asserts that Timoxena brought delight as all children of her age do.[23] In this statement, it is obvious that the role of bringing delight was not dependent upon gender, and that, for the most part, the ability of toddlers to provide joy was understood. Plutarch does characterize this joy in the letter as "pure, guileless, and untainted by any passions or reproaches," but concrete ways in which children bring such joy are not as thoroughly explained.[24] Likewise, in the correspondence of Fronto with his former pupil Marcus Aurelius, Fronto's daughter is reported to have been a source of calm to Marcus Aurelius and his family as a toddler, although there is no indication of what she actually did to produce such positive feelings.[25]

Plutarch's only explanations of how Timoxena specifically brought pleasure are that "her way of responding to friendship and of bestowing favours gave us pleasure," and

---

[22] Dixon (1992:102) also provides a breakdown of the "characteristically childish features" for which children were of interest to the Romans: "prattling speech, little bodies, impulsiveness, and a love of play."

[23] *Consolatio ad uxorem* 608C. Plutarch's language reflects here not only the joy that Timoxena brought, but that which children of her age generally bring (Hani 1979:251).

[24] Author's own translation.

[25] *Ad Marc. Caes*. 2.13. Gratia, Fronto's daughter, is not confirmed to have been a toddler during this episode, but Haines (1919: 153, n. 1) provides a compelling argument that she was. If not a toddler, she would still have been a child, and not yet marriageable, therefore placing her in the appropriate age bracket for this chapter.

that Timoxena was "the most delightful thing in the world to embrace, to see, to hear." [26] The joy children can provide, then, includes the joy derived from observation of the child, and from embraces of the child. Observing the child's sounds and appearance as a point of amusement or source of delight was common: in an epigram by Martial (7.96), the little child Urbicus cries, "What did my beauty, my prattle, my tender years avail me?", highlighting the attractive appearance and adorable, childish speech of the young boy; the little Flavius Hermes would charm his grandfather with his childish voice (*CIL* 6.18086); and Suetonius (*Gaius* 9), when describing Caligula, wrote that "The mere sight of Gaius calmed [the mutinying soldiery]." Hence, as depicted in Timoxena's characterization and in the Roman imagination, even the appearance and sounds of a small child held the power to delight.

A particular example of the physical closeness of children bringing joy comes to us in Fronto's correspondence: he and Marcus Aurelius discuss the exchange of kisses between them and their respective daughters, and Fronto describes Marcus Aurelius' daughter's funny reaction to having her feet kissed.[27] Given this evidence, it was at least one role of the small daughter to be held or mollycoddled. This is not to say that the provision of physical affection was the particular province of daughters, of course: Lucretius describes one of the joys of life as coming home to children, not specifically

[26] *Consolatio ad uxorem* 608D-E. Translation from De Lacy and Einarson 1959. All translations of the *Consolatio ad uxorem* will be from this source unless otherwise specified.

[27] Kisses of the children: as in *Ad Marc. Caes.* 5.33; Marcus' daughter's reaction to her feet being kissed: *Ad Marc. Caes.* 4.12.

daughters, running for one's first kiss (3.894-6); Statius talks of stooping to kiss the slave boy he treated as his own (*Silvae* 5); and Augustus mourned the loss of one of Germanicus' children by having a statue made of him, which Augustus could kiss each time he entered his bedroom (Suetonius *Gaius* 7). Such joys of cuddling and kissing children and, as mentioned above, of observing the way children behave, are not so alien to a modern audience.

Another way in which children afforded joy to their parents, which might prove less relatable to a modern audience, was the security they provided for posterity. Plutarch mentions that Timoxena "made it possible for [him] to call her by [his wife's] name," and expresses his pleasure at this prospect.[28] The theme of a child representing the parent in posterity was not uncommon, and in fact one of the woes especially attributed to the loss of children was the sorrow that the parents would have no one to care for them in old age, to afford them proper burial rites, or to carry on the family line.[29] As part of the lattermost duty, children were also responsible for perpetuating the family name, fortune, reputation and cult.[30] Thankfully for Plutarch and his wife, as Plutarch makes sure to mention in his letter, they do have other children.[31] Timoxena and Plutarch had four sons before the younger Timoxena was born. Two of these sons are revealed to be dead in the letter, and at least one, the "fair Charon," to have died at an early age.[32] Hani believes Plutarch had

[28] *Consolatio ad uxorem* 608C.

[29] Hope 2009: 140, Rawson 2003: 354.

[30] Name: Pliny *Letters* 8.10. Fortune, reputation, cult: Dixon 1991:103.

[31] *Consolatio ad uxorem* 611B.

[32] *Consolatio ad uxorem* 608C, 609D.

more daughters than Timoxena on the basis of his using *thugatride* to describe a relative he was visiting, and *thugatride* is usually translated as the descendant of a daughter. However, this very letter describes the elder Timoxena's desire for a daughter after having so many sons, which would negate the suggestion that she had already given birth to a girl.[33] Plutarch does not say that he and the elder Timoxena should be content with the other surviving children for the reason of security specifically, but it would be foolish to discount the notion that such anxiety about posterity might motivate Plutarch's thankfulness for his remaining children.

At times, the continuity of the family line could also be reflected in the child's physical likeness to the parent. Plutarch at no point uses this characteristic to represent Timoxena, as he never asserts that she looked or acted like him, but such a *topos* was used frequently by Romans.[34] As Catullus 61 relates, the idea behind such an observation was that, by intimating that the child looked like his father, one might praise the fidelity of the child's mother and therefore the honour of the family: perhaps the very fact that this letter was addressed to the mother of the child negated the need for such a sentiment.

When Plutarch writes of his own observations of Timoxena, his daughter is represented very much as a child. In arguably the most vivid episode in the letter,

> ...[Timoxena] would invite the nurse to offer the breast and feed with it not only other infants, but even the inanimate objects and playthings she took pleasure in,

[33] Ibid. Hani 1979: 176.

[34] E.g., Cicero, *Philippics* 9.12; Fronto, *ad Marc. Caes*. 5.52, 5.53; Catullus 61; Virgil *Aeneid* 4.328, and Cassius Dio 56.3.4; cf. Statius, *Silvae* 5.

> as though serving them at her own table, dispensing in her kindness what bounty she had and sharing her greatest pleasures with whatever gave her delight.[35]

This episode shows several features which distinguish Timoxena as a child: she played with toys, she believed childishly that inanimate objects and playthings could be fed from her nurse's breast, and she was so young at the time that she still was not yet weaned.[36]

The gendered nature of toys in our modern world, and the idea that dolls in particular were gendered objects in the Roman world, might prompt the thought that Timoxena's playthings themselves were part of a gendered socialization.[37] She is described as playing with "*παιγνία*," but unfortunately this term refers only to "playthings" and can have meanings as varied as toys, pets (as in darling people), or even playful verses.[38] Plutarch uses the same term, *παιγνία*, later in the letter to describe mothers who do not care for their children themselves but merely receive them into their

---

[35] *Consolatio ad uxorem* 608D.

[36] We know that Timoxena at the time of the episode had a lactating wet nurse, as Timoxena still understands that her nurse's breasts yield food, and that she died before the age at which children were likely to have been weaned. According to Parkin (2013: 55), who uses both the medical author Soranus and supporting bioarchaeological evidence, the weaning age range was ideally between 18 months and 2 years. As Greeks counted inclusively, and for the reasons already mentioned, I conclude that she was not yet weaned at this stage.

[37] This has certainly been an issue in the discovery of dolls in graves, as Harlow (2013: 324) notes: grave goods used to be taken as an indicator of the sex of the remains, but the sex of the remains would be used to inform which grave goods were gendered.

[38] Liddell and Scott 1940: "*παίγνιον*".

laps, cleaned and cared for by another, "like *παιγνία*."[39] In the context of the wet nurse episode, *παιγνία* are distinguished from other infants and inanimate objects, and therefore *παιγνία* in this case most likely denote objects specifically designed for play. Perhaps surprisingly for a modern audience, Roman toys were gender neutral for the most part.[40] The only kind of toy which was not gender neutral was the doll, but dolls usually accompanied girls older than Timoxena to the grave as burial offerings. [41] Therefore, even when depicting Timoxena playing with toys, Plutarch does not directly gender his toddler.

Moreover, Plutarch does not gender Timoxena even as he labels her, save once. The Greek word used to introduce Timoxena at first (*παῖς*) does not identify her sex, and aside from the one occasion when she is referred to as a daughter (*θυγάτηρ*), she is labelled in gender-neutral terms (*παῖς* and *τέκνον*). [42] *Παῖς* and *τέκνον* are both used elsewhere in the letter to describe Plutarch's other deceased children as well. *Θυγάτηρ* is only used once to describe Timoxena, and this occasion demands a distinction of gender: Plutarch is describing the elder Timoxena's hope for a girl in particular after her multiple

[39] *Consolatio ad uxorem* 609E.

[40] Dolansky 2012: 258 n.8.

[41] Dolansky asserts that dolls were typically for girls, and although the typical age range of doll owners in grave contexts should not be treated as perfectly representative, girls in graves began to own dolls around the age of 5 (2012: 257 n. 4).

[42] *Παῖς* as a gender-neutral term: Pomeroy 1999: 78. A Roman parallel for this is when Cicero, seemingly unfeelingly, describes his own grandson as "quod" (*ad Atticum* 10.18.1).

sons.[43] This desire itself shows that Timoxena's gender was not irrelevant, although the features and role of Timoxena are not heavily gendered in Plutarch's account.

It would be foolish to suggest that no difference existed at all between the childhoods of boys and those of girls, but I assert that the fact of gender became less important almost directly after birth. The stages of growth *in utero* and in the first months of life were gendered in medical texts, as girls took a longer time to "set" because of their cold and wet natures, and boys and girls received different ritual treatment shortly after being born. [44] For example, the official name day (*dies lustricus*) for a Roman girl would take place on the eighth day of life, but that for a boy on the ninth day.[45] When Statius states, "Yet a girl [at birth] brings happiness to a young father (achievement belongs to the sons, but she will grant grandsons swiftly)," the nature of gender's importance is expressed.[46] There is a profound sense that, although there is valuation for both a son and

[43] *Consolatio ad uxorem* 608C.

[44] Dasen 2013: 18.

[45] According to Parkin (2013: 45), Plutarch (*Quaes. Rom.* 102) and Pliny (*NH* 7.37-8, 40-2) have different opinions on the gender difference of the *dies lustricus*. Also, at the birth of a child among the ancient Greeks, infants' respective sexes were announced to the community by means of a wreath being placed on the door: olive wreaths would be put up for a boy, and wool wreaths for a girl (Beaumont 2013: 198). This difference in material was meant to represent their gendered potential as adults: the olive wreath signified the future achievement of athletic goals, and the wool wreath the future achievement of domestic goals. It is not clear if the same gendered aspect of announcement carried over in Rome, but it is certain that Romans did adorn their doorposts in the event of a birth (Statius 4.8.35; Juvenal 9.84-86), and Juvenal tells us the wreaths to announce a little Lentulus were wreaths of laurel (6.78-81).

[46] Statius, *Silvae* 4.

a daughter, a son will achieve many admirable things and a daughter is only worthy if she can herself produce high-achieving sons: neither of these goals refer to activities in which a child would be engaged. Therefore, after the stages of growth and initial ritual treatment and before the usual age to begin formal education, the gender of a child was not built upon a notion of female and male children being fundamentally different *qua* children: it was built rather upon ideas of the child eventually achieving gendered goals when he or she reached adulthood. Thus I argue that, for a child past infancy and in the earliest stage of childhood as Timoxena was, gender only played an important role for the adult woman Timoxena would never become.

There are adult qualities attributed to Timoxena by her father. When Timoxena is shown to already possess these attributes, they are not pointed out to be adult qualities, nor are they in every case tied to specific gender roles, as sometimes was the case for memorials of older children.[47] The most undoubtedly gendered and adult feature of these is highlighted when Plutarch says to his wife,

> If you pity [little Timoxena] for departing unmarried and childless, you can find comfort for yourself in another consideration, that you have lacked fulfilment of and participation in neither of these satisfactions... your Timoxena has been deprived of little, for what she knew was little, and her pleasure was in little things; and as for those things of which she had acquired no perception, which she

[47] See chapter below on Minicia Marcella.

> had never conceived, and to which she had never given thought, how could she be said to be deprived of them?[48]

For a parent to mention such adult activities as marriage and childbearing in the consolation for a child who had not yet weaned was not strange: lost opportunity for future, adult experiences was very much on the minds of Romans when commemorating young children.[49] Often deceased children, sometimes asserted to have been taken by *mors immatura* or untimely death, would be portrayed with adult features: in private art, children were seldom represented as infants, and the characterization of children as possessing adult dignity, such as in the *puer senex* motif, pervades both artistic and literary commemoration of children.[50] In these cases, the children had achieved so little in the eyes of society that their parents in their commemoration relied upon what their children might have achieved had they grown. What is fundamentally interesting about Plutarch's treatment of the standard of adult female achievement is the way in which he separates Timoxena from it: he declares that his wife should not measure their little Timoxena against such a standard because Timoxena had never conceived of it. This very separation, however, importantly reveals that the adult standard did exist for toddlers of Timoxena's age. That is, it would not be out of the ordinary for a parent to mourn that her female toddler was never able to marry or bear children.

---

[48] *Consolatio ad uxorem* 611C-D.

[49] Rawson 2003: 353; Hawley 1999: 127.

[50] Rarity of infants in art: Rawson 2003: 42. *Puer senex* motif: Carp 1980, Huskinson 1996: 237.

When Plutarch writes of the other adult qualities which Timoxena did attain, he shows that Timoxena's personality was admirable by the standard of adults, or, if her personality was not yet fully formed, it would have become admirable. Throughout the letter, he stresses her "surprising gift of mildness and good temper," her kindness, and her generosity (*φιλανθρωπία*). This latter quality was especially brought out for Plutarch in the wet nurse episode mentioned above: what the toddler Timoxena had in her jurisdiction, little though it was, she offered to share with those dear to her. Crucially, such characteristics are praised consistently in Plutarch's moral essays and biographies. In Plutarch's view, for example, a civilized man should possess the quality of *φιλανθρωπία*.[51] Thus, although she was a two-year-old girl, Plutarch elevates her in the letter by imbuing her with a quality admired in adult men. It is clear that, just as Plutarch was concerned about presenting his wife as a model of virtue, he desired to portray his daughter as fulfilling his highest expectations of moral good. Gender seems to play little part in this. I can conceive of gender as relevant in this case only in order to render his wife and child's attainment of this moral good more surprising and impressive, but such reasoning is not made explicit by Plutarch.

In addition to illustrating the little girl's *φιλανθρωπία*, the wet nurse episode also illustrates Timoxena's ability to understand her status within the household with respect to

[51] Hawley 2013: 127; Hani 1979: 251.

her nurse.[52] Pomeroy notes that, through the use of the verb *προκαλέω*, Timoxena is shown to be able to order her nurse around;[53] I add to Pomeroy my own assertion that *κελεύω*, a verb used also in this section, suggests the same idea. Wet nurses could be slaves, ex-slaves, or poor, freeborn women, and so to assume Timoxena came from a higher échelon in society than her wet nurse is a fairly safe conjecture.[54] In Plutarch's representation, then, Timoxena at the tender age of two is already aware that her wet nurse is her own resource to command, and thus is in some way aware of her place in the household. Cicero explores this kind of negotiation of one's relationship with the wet nurse as a responsibility of adulthood. According to him, one must learn to treat one's wet nurse and pedagogue as they ought to be treated: namely, with a kind of distant respect which acknowledges one's own superior position in society.[55] Therefore, wittingly or not, Plutarch has characterized his daughter's relationship with her nurse as one implying his daughter's nascent and appropriate socialization, according with her social status.

---

[52]On the wet nurse as a socializing force: McWilliam 2013: 273; Bradley 1991:13-36. See Harlow 2013 and Dolansky 2012 on toys and dolls respectively for an investigation of how playthings, like those Timoxena feeds in the anecdote, could also inform or develop ideologies in children.

[53] Pomeroy 1999: 79.

[54] By "higher echelon," I am deliberately non-specific as to whether the hierarchy would be defined by slave/free status or socio-economic class; certainly she could have been "above" her wet nurse in either respect or both. For further discussion on the position of the wet nurse, see Bradley 1991: 13-36, 1987: 203; Joshel 1986.

[55] Cicero *De Amicitia* 20.74.

Another aspect of Timoxena's socialization in the wet nurse episode is her play-acting at the administration of hospitality. This is the only potentially gendered, adult quality which Plutarch characterizes Timoxena as already possessing. She pretends to provide guests with food in the same way that young boys might play-act at being adult, political figures.[56] A modern analogy might be the child's tea party, if the assumption that *παιγνία* means "toys" is left to stand. The gendered element comes into play when one considers that, for both Romans and Greeks *mutatis mutandis*, the household was in part the preserve of the responsible matron.[57] The inclusion of this detail partially illustrates that there was an innate amusement in the image of a child affecting adult roles to which they were not yet suited. Just so in the case of Gaius when he received the nickname Caligula ("Little Boots"), he received it because he wore little military boots "as an appeal to the fancy of the rank and file."[58]

Thus, from childlike attributes and adult qualities, Plutarch constructs the ideal image of Timoxena as having been a source of delight to her parents in several ways, but in ways that were only loosely gendered. She was delightful to hold, to see, and to hear,

[56] Plutarch in *Rules for Politicians* 17 provides just such an image.

[57] Greek: the *kourios* of the household operated with a wife as "yoke-mate" to govern the house, and she required education from her husband to take proper charge of the estate (see Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*); Roman: the *matrona* had a great deal of jurisdiction over the affairs of the house. For example, Pomponia, wife of Quintus Cicero, was quite put out when her husband's freedman Statius took over preparations for a luncheon (Cic. *ad Att.* 5.1).

[58] Tacitus *Annales* 1.41.

and also delighted her parents when exhibiting the adult, and only sometimes gendered, qualities she was too young to have fully realized.

It also becomes clear when looking at comparative evidence for boys around Timoxena's age group that this conclusion stands for children of both sexes. I use specifically Fronto's lament for his dead grandson and Quintilian's account of how his younger son died. In Fronto's correspondence, letters written by Fronto and his correspondents Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus reveal that Fronto lost a three-year-old grandson who dwelt far off in Germany. Perhaps because of this distance and because the boy had not yet done anything in society worthy of note, Fronto does not focus much on the little boy himself. He confesses that he has never seen the child's face, but he "makes do" by imagining the appearance and voice of the lost grandson in the figure of the other grandson whom he is rearing.[59] This shows that the appearance and voice of the child is of importance to the relative mourning him, and thence that these qualities were fundamentally important to the role of the child.

Similarly Quintilian describes the loss of his younger son, a lad of five years of age who affirmed his place in Quintilian's affections with "the charm of his face, the sweetness of his speech, his first flashes of promise, and his actual possession of a calm and, incredible though it may seem, a powerful mind."[60] The qualities of appearance and voice again appear as important in Quintilian's account, and Quintilian attributes both untapped potential and a surprising maturity to his five year old in the same way Plutarch

[59] Fronto, *De nepote amisso* 2.6.

[60] Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria* VI.Pr.7.

does for his Timoxena. These illustrate respectively the twofold role for the ideal child, no matter his or her sex: to be adorable, and yet to exhibit adult qualities.

Timoxena's Relationships with Others

The letter's representation of Timoxena's relationships with others also contributes to the reconstruction of the attitudes to Timoxena's death and a greater understanding of the role of the ideal daughter. In truth, the letter provides a more concrete sense of the nurse's everyday relationship to the little girl than that of either Plutarch's or the elder Timoxena's everyday relationship to their daughter. Caregiver-child relationships of course complicate our conceptions of parent-child relationships in the Roman family: I am not the first to assert that conceptualizing the total social experience of a child is difficult if parental relationships would have formed only a small part of the household for that child. Unfortunately, the limited scope of the letter necessarily limits my investigation to the three primary relationships of father-daughter, mother-daughter, and nurse-nursling depicted in the letter, and the depictions of father-daughter and mother-daughter relationships alone intimate a reaction to Timoxena's death.

Of the attitudes surrounding the burial and commemoration of very young children, Carroll asserts that there exists a discrepancy between the literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence: despite the stance of the literary sources, including Plutarch, which advocated for steely composure at the death of very small children, the archaeological and epigraphic record show that ancients did care for their children.[61] In this very consolation, Plutarch asserts that,

[61] Carroll 2012.

> ...our people do not bring libations to those of their children who die in infancy, nor do they observe in their case any of the other rites that the living are expected to perform for the dead, as such children have no part in earth or earthly things; nor yet do they tarry where the burial is celebrated, at the graves, or at the laying out of the dead, and sit by the bodies. For the laws forbid us to mourn for infants, holding it impiety to mourn for those who have departed to a dispensation and a region too that is better and more divine.[62]

Legal sources did restrict mourning, as children the age of Timoxena would not have been buried with full funeral rites.[63] For example, in Plutarch's reconstruction of the mandates of Numa, the lawgiving king of Rome, Numa restricts the mourning of children (*Numa* 12.2), and, for a child of less than three years as Timoxena was, there was to be no mourning whatsoever.

Especially in Plutarch's case, the laws alone did not curb mourning: Plutarch was a staunch proponent of Stoic values, which advocated that a person accept the vicissitudes of life with equanimity.[64] Plutarch reveals his philosophical commitments especially when he commends his wife for her conduct in grief over Timoxena and for her previous

---

[62] *Consolatio ad uxorem* 612A. By "our people," Plutarch is referring to his wife and himself as participants in the cult of Dionysus, but there are other, Roman views which accord with this.

[63] For example, Ulpian *FIRA*^{2} 2.536. See Rawson 2003: 343-344 for instances of the law's stance on mourning children.

[64] This ideal is illustrated in art, as parents of deceased children on sarcophagi are depicted as poised in their grief, in contrast to the emotionally unrestrained, and hence vulgar, slave child-minders (George 2000, esp. 197).

behaviour on the death of their eldest son and their son Charon; in fact, he remarks that in the latter case she arranged all of the funeral arrangements so discreetly that no one suspected a funeral had taken place.[65] Many Romans shared this view. Cicero, for example, comments that one should refrain from even noticing a child who dies in the cradle, although he was not the only Roman author to confess he struggled with the Stoic ideal when steeped in his own grief.[66] The emperor Nero certainly did not follow these tenets and put his heartbreak at the death of his daughter Poppaea, who died as an infant, on vulgar display; he is subsequently characterized by Tacitus in the *Annales* (15.23) as reprehensible.

Part of the motivation behind such legislation and philosophy must have been the high mortality rate for the very young at this time. One estimate suggests that roughly 30% of children could be expected to die before the age of one year, and around 50% by the age of ten.[67] Parkin's 2013 article on the demographic reality for children in Rome opens with the chilling but telling quotation of Epictetus from Marcus Aurelius' *Meditations* (11.34): "When you kiss your child, you should say to yourself, 'Perhaps it will be dead in the morning.'"[68] This Stoic ideal is unemotional, and likely was difficult to implement for those who felt the pain of loss acutely.

---

[65] *Consolatio ad uxorem* 608F, 609E.

[66] Child in the cradle: Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 1.39. Struggling with the Stoic ideal: Cicero, *Ad familiares* 4.6.1; Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria* VI.Pr.7. For further exploration of Cicero's grief, see chapter below on Tullia.

[67] Parkin 1992: 92.

[68] Parkin 2013: 41.

I am of the same view as Golden: in Golden's perspective, it cannot be proven that the ancients did not care for their children, but rather that the legal and literary sources we have likely were responding in some way to the mortality rate.[69] Such is made clear in Fronto's correspondence (4.11-12), when he confesses to Marcus Aurelius that, after he thought Aurelius' daughter's ill health was in fact Aurelius' own ill health, and after he realized "only" the little girl was in peril of her life, he was relieved. He spends time in the letter accounting for his relief by asserting his greater care for Marcus Aurelius than for Aurelius' daughter, but still maintains that he cares for little Faustina. As awkward as such a sentiment might seem, it communicates in part the danger high mortality posed to adult and child alike, rendering the death of the child the more acceptable, and in part the delicate balance between the valuation of children and weighted indifference toward their deaths. Addressing these very questions, Carroll's aforementioned article suggests that the manner of a private burial could show deep caring, however much in the literary sources the public face of mourning one's children was exhorted to be less caring.[70]

Timoxena's funeral itself, and the manner of it, remains a mystery, as the literal translation of Plutarch's reference to the "funeral" is merely "the things about the *τάφος*." Likewise, even the manner of her death is mysterious, as Plutarch obliquely refers to "the thing having happened," which could either mean Timoxena's death or the whole funeral experience.[71] As was mentioned, Plutarch conceived of the funereal treatment of toddlers

[69] Golden 1988.

[70] Carroll 2012.

[71] Pomeroy (1999:77) points out that there is nothing available in the letter to explain how she died.

as a matter of little ritual moment. Indeed, two scholars make the salient point that this text was written after Plutarch arrived at Tanagra, and was written to Plutarch's wife at Chaeronea: even though it would likely have taken a shorter time for Plutarch to go home himself than to compose an epistolary essay of this length and have it sent along, he chose to do the latter.[72] It was of course possible that Plutarch wrote and sent a short missive which he edited later,[73] but I think the greatest likelihood was that there would have been little point for him to rush home. First, the letter informs us that the funeral affairs already likely took place before the letter was sent, and, although the death of such a small child was sad, it would not have been reason enough for Plutarch to dash away from whatever brought him to Tanagra.

Indeed, the relationship between Plutarch and his daughter is perhaps the most difficult to reconstruct simply because Plutarch sets himself at such a remove from the little girl.[74] In writing a consolation (*παραμυθία* or *consolatio*), an author sought to comfort the bereaved, but also to provide the bereaved with a "philosophical toolbox,"[75] as it were, as a bulwark against such adversities in the future. Often the author will

[72] Pomeroy 1999:75; Martin and Phillips 1978:394-5.

[73] As posited by Martin and Phillips 1978:395. It is also asserted that the paucity of references in the work reflect a more extemporaneous quality (Hani 1979: 179).

[74] Evaluation of this text by Bradley (1986: 218), with such questions of affective relationships in mind: he explains the complicated interplay between traditional suppression of grief and the genuine sorrow of the parents' loss.

[75] Kassel 1958: 3.

dedicate more of the consolation to the latter point.[76] In addition, on account of its nature as a specific literary genre, there are common *topoi* which identify the consolation. Working within a literary genre means that at the same time as a consolation might in fact have comforted the bereaved, it also showcased the writing skill and philosophical learning of the author. Therefore, Plutarch's consolation as a construction must be considered just as much as his consolation as a compassionate missive.

This is not to say that Plutarch's writing is a form letter, of course. Plutarch manipulates many of the traditional *topoi* in a liberal way, sometimes showing "touching" affect; and Plutarch's consolation certainly differs in tone from the gruff consolation of Seneca on the death of his friend's infant son.[77] Plutarch also uses the Homeric reference that "he is not made of stone or wood" to assure his wife that he feels the loss as deeply as she does, and it is clear that Plutarch was in the habit of observing Timoxena because of the attention he paid to her actions and personality in the wet nurse episode.[78] Perhaps, like Cicero's consolation to himself on the death of his beloved daughter Tullia, the consolation letter was "a coping mechanism for the philosopher-father."[79]

Although he is not unfeeling, Plutarch never writes of a personal, individual relationship with his daughter: if Plutarch talks about raising Timoxena, he always involves his other children and his wife. He asserts that the elder Timoxena "has taken a

[76] Kassel 1958: 3; Martin and Phillips 1978.

[77] Liberal manipulation of *topoi:* Hani 182. "Touching" use of the *topoi*: Kassel 1958: 4. Seneca's consolation to Marullus: Seneca *Letters* 99.

[78] See Bradley (1999) for a detailed excursis on Plutarch's attention to the behaviour of children.

[79] Bradley 1999: 194. Cicero's consolation to himself is unfortunately lost.

share in the upbringing of such children with [him]," and, immediately following, he claims that all of their children were raised in the house by both him and his wife.[80] From these claims we cannot assert with any strength an individual characterization of his own relationship with Timoxena. We can assert that Plutarch felt the need to mention the relationship of his children to his house, and the fact that they were jointly raised within the house, to represent an ideal household involving his children, his wife, and himself.

Plutarch renders this idea in the most touching way when he advises his wife to remember Timoxena in 608E-F. He writes, "For just as she provided herself for us as the sweetest thing of all to embrace, to see, to hear, just so it is necessary that the thought of her dwell and live together with us..."[81] The verbs here are charged with a sense of Timoxena belonging in the home physically as part of the family unit. Therefore, although Plutarch's personal and individual engagement with Timoxena is not explicit in the letter, Plutarch does characterize Timoxena as belonging to his house and to his family in an integral way.[82]

---

[80] Here, I interpret "us" to denote the husband and wife because of the context of the letter. However, I know this is contentious in the field of the Roman family, not only because households themselves comprised so many people who were not even blood related, but also because the debate about whether nuclear or extended families lived together in Roman households is worthy of debate (Saller and Shaw 1984).

[81] Author's own translation.

[82] To have integration with children at home was certainly an ideal. Pliny the Younger writes admiringly of Trajan, "And how you live with your fellow citizens as a parent does with his children!" *Panegyricus* 21.

This sentimental ideal of a young child embedded in a close-knit nuclear family, and of such a family held together by strong affective ties, is attested for the Roman family by other scholars.[83] Plutarch paints a portrait of Cato as painstakingly involved in the upbringing of his children at home, overseeing everything from individual bathing and swaddling to the entirety of his son's education, and Plutarch casts Cato's familial interest as ideal. In addition, when Fronto and Tacitus describe the raising of a child "in my own bosom" and "in [one's] lap" respectively, the purpose of such statements is to attest an ideal and enviable closeness, both physical and emotional, which parents might have aspired to achieve with their own children.

Plutarch also makes explicit that the elder Timoxena had a personal and individual relationship with her daughter. It must be said that the nature of the relationship between mother and daughter is not made as clear as the fact of the relationship. The letter was *prima facie* written for Timoxena's mother's benefit, to alleviate the grief she would be feeling on the occasion of Timoxena's death. Such anticipation of her grief on the part of Plutarch surely means that Plutarch believed in the elder Timoxena's care for her child. He furthermore alludes to this care on two occasions. On the first occasion, he describes the little girl as belonging to his wife, with the use of "your." On the second, he contrasts the elder Timoxena, who cared personally for her child in life but mourned her modestly in death, with vain women, who care nothing at all for their children in life but mourn them extravagantly in death.

[83] Scholars such as Dixon (1991) and George (2000: esp. 197-199).

The little Timoxena is described by Plutarch twice in the course of the letter as belonging to her mother, and never as belonging solely to her father. She is first "your longed-for daughter" (lit. "the daughter belonging to you longing") when Plutarch mentions the fact that he and his wife were at last given the opportunity to call a child by Timoxena's name, and second "your Timoxena" when Plutarch is asserting that she "was little and delighted in little things." It is difficult to discern the force of this. Partly it must be an effort on the part of Plutarch to display the affect the elder Timoxena showed for the little girl in life, in order to vivify the consolation, but partly too it renders the relationship between mother and daughter more exclusive than that between father and daughter: Timoxena is only ever "yours" or "ours," and never "mine" alone. In this way, gender might bear on the parental relationship with Timoxena because she was the elder Timoxena's only daughter.

Exclusive relationships between a child and a parent of the same gender feature also in the aforementioned episodes of Fronto's correspondence and Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*: when Fronto writes of the death of his three-year-old grandson, he imagines in detail his son-in-law's reaction to the boy's death and only mentions his daughter to explain how she must depend on her husband in her grief; and in the description of his younger son's death Quintilian mentions the fact that the boy preferred him, his father, to even his nurse and grandmother, even though those parties had a legitimate claim on the

boy's affections.[84] These exclusive connections between father and son, and the aforementioned relationship between Timoxena the elder and her daughter, might be motivated by gender. Regardless of whether or not this is the case, Plutarch sets himself at a remove from his child and promotes the relationship between the mother and daughter as more intimate.

Central to the care Plutarch claims Timoxena the elder provided is breastfeeding. This might seem incongruous, as the little Timoxena was breastfed by a wet nurse, but Plutarch makes sure to mention the elder Timoxena's willingness to suckle her children: according to the letter, Timoxena was in the habit of breastfeeding her children herself until one of her babies bit her on the nipple, necessitating some kind of surgery.[85] The fact that Plutarch mentions this incident, which occurred with one of their other deceased children, suggests that Timoxena the elder would have suckled her daughter, were it not for the breast injury.

Plutarch and his wife in this respect would have belonged to a noble minority among Romans, as, for Romans, wet-nursing by a slave or hired hand was a widespread practice. Plutarch's need to mention Timoxena's breastfeeding highlights the fact that breastfeeding itself was a charged action. The action was certainly also charged for the Romans: the multivalent virtues of breastfeeding, which might have prompted only a few

[84] Fronto, *De nepote amisso* 3, 7. Quintilian *Institutio Oratoria* VI.Pr.8. The affection for his father over the nurse especially could also represent the nascent socialization of Quintilian's son in the same way that Timoxena's behaviour did for her.

[85] *Consolatio ad uxorem* 609E.

women to do it, were threefold: the first virtue was in adhering to old-fashioned Republican values; the second, in bonding with one's child; and the third, in exemplifying *caritas*. For the sake of such virtues, Cato lauds his wife for her breastfeeding practices, and Favorinus agitates to have an exhausted young mother, fresh out of labour, suckle her own infant despite her fatigue and despite her mother's insistence to refrain.[86] In keeping with the second virtue in particular, Plutarch elsewhere makes clear his belief that there is a strong connection between breastfeeding and the affective bonds between mother and child.[87] Also, the Romans believed that the popular *exemplum* of a woman breastfeeding her own starving parent to keep the parent alive in prison epitomized *caritas* above all.[88] These virtuous associations work alongside Plutarch's implication that the elder Timoxena would indeed have breastfed the younger Timoxena, were it not for her past injury: the mother and daughter had as close a connection as they could have.

Thus Timoxena's death is characterized as a sad moment, but a fleeting one. Even as Plutarch shows that both he and the elder Timoxena cared for their daughter, and perhaps cared for their daughter more than most others cared for their children, he emphasizes the overarching Stoic ideal of reticence in the face of adversity. The only aspect of the attitudes to her death which might suggest that gender played a role in little Timoxena's everyday experiences is Plutarch's insistence on the exclusivity of the

[86] Plutarch, *Life of Cato* 20.3; Aulus Gellius 12.1.

[87] Plutarch, *De amore prolis* 3.

[88] Pliny (*NH* 7.36) reports that an unnamed woman suckled her mother, but (Valerius Maximus 5.4.ext.1) reports that a woman named Mycona suckled her father, as did Pero, daughter of Cimon.

relationship between mother and daughter. Beyond this, she was a barely-gendered child of a certain age who succumbed, as many other children like her, to a *mors immatura*.

Conclusion

Timoxena was a part of the family: that much cannot be denied. Her role would eventually have been to marry and to bear children, but even as a toddler she had a place in the house and in the hearts of her parents. Obviously she did not have adult responsibilities and was very much engaged in childish things, but Plutarch does hint at adult qualities she possessed even as she was engaged in childish play. The primary expectations of her as a child were only to be delightful: to be held and kissed, and to prattle and be viewed by her parents as the child she was. Such expectations were not gendered for her as a toddler, and only her adult qualities hinted at a potential gendered identity. In addition, the reaction to Timoxena's death is not itself directly gendered beyond Plutarch's characterization of the elder Timoxena's relationship with her little girl. This suggests that the extent to which children in Timoxena's age group were valued would likely be the same in death, and that gender did not play an extensive role in the children's characterization as children.[89]

From both the representation of Timoxena and the reconstruction of her relationships with others, then, the following conclusion becomes clear: the daughter in the earliest stages of the life course had important roles to fulfill as part of the family and these roles in themselves were not directly gendered. To put it simply, Timoxena's age

[89] Bradley 2005: 68. This statement does not reflect the attitude toward children who were exposed, but only the attitude toward those children who were elected to be raised.

group rendered her in a kind of limbo, as she was not young enough that her sex was the only individual trait observable in her,[90] but at the same time, she was not old enough that her socialization had been heavily gendered.

As I shall show in the following chapters, gender plays a pivotal role in the representation of the teenage daughter and frames the expectations of the adult daughter. In adolescence and adulthood, although the daughter is expected still to bring delight to her parents, what comprises that delight changes, and is defined by the different roles attributed to the ideal daughter as she grows up.

[90] I.e., she did not die immediately after birth, which would render a characterization of her challenging beyond citing her sex.

CHAPTER TWO

Minicia Marcella the Maiden

The roles of the daughter as a toddler were limited and were not shaped in the same way as the roles of the daughter on the brink of womanhood. Over the course of her childhood, the ideal daughter's social circle would expand, she would likely have received some form of formal education, and her viability as a bride and future mother of children came more into focus. This chapter is focused on "adolescence," or late childhood in the Roman view, when a young girl would be at the proper age for marriage.

After a long illness and shortly before her much-anticipated wedding, Minicia Marcella followed her mother to the grave, leaving behind at least an older sister and her father Fundanus. The memory of this unmarried girl is immortalized not only in Pliny the Younger's *Letters* 5.16, but also in an epitaph found in the 19th century.[91] Scholars have already identified her as a clear representative of gender ideals,[92] but these ideals can also be used to reconstruct the daughter's role in the family at this particular stage of the life course. I will compare aspects of this letter with Pliny's letter on the death of Junius Avitus, and, where possible, set Minicia's particular case in the context of other representations of elite Roman women of a similar age.[93] From this study, the role of the

[91] The epitaph was found on an funeral altar in 1881. Builders clearing the site in Monte Mario outside Rome found it alongside two other family urns (*CIL* 6.16631).

[92] Authors such as Carlon (2009) and Shelton (2013) especially.

[93] Letter on Junius Avitus: Pliny, *Letters* 8.23. Pliny also communicates with Junius Avitus directly in *Letters* 2.6 to encourage the young man to emulate him, but I will focus on the letter about the deceased in this chapter.

daughter in this life stage emerges: a marriageable, but not yet married, maiden like Minicia would ideally strive to represent her father well, and to serve as an affective connection between her father and other men. Although only the lattermost role is specifically the preserve of ideal female children, and although a number of Minicia Marcella's laudable qualities overlap with those of Junius Avitus and could be taken as praises for her father Fundanus, the representation of Minicia Marcella at Pliny's hands is always gendered in a feminine way.

Using Pliny the Younger as a source presents challenges, but these are not hazardous for my particular study. The first complication is a debate about Minicia's precise age at death, which has arisen from a discrepancy between what Pliny asserts and what survives on the epitaph. Pliny laments in the letter that Minicia Marcella "had not yet completed fourteen years" when she died, but her epitaph states in unequivocal terms that she lived twelve years, eleven months, and seven days.[94] Whether she was twelve or thirteen years of age at the time of her death is immaterial, however: she was in either case of legal marriageable age and not quite at the conventional age for marriage.

[94] Sherwin-White (1966) does not problematize the age discrepancy, Stout (1954: 209) blames the stonecutter for inaccuracy, and Dressel (1881: 16) and Goold (1963: 144) cite manuscript transmission error as a possible reason for the discrepancy. Challenging these earlier claims, Bodel (1995) asserts that accuracy about the deceased was probably not important either to Pliny or to his correspondent Aefulanus Marcellinus: they were interested in the rhetorical flourish of the letter and Pliny merely intended to invoke an age conveying her incipient puberty. I am inclined to agree with Bodel but also to provide an additional explanation: because Pliny was only a family friend, it is not unreasonable that Pliny might not have known her exact age.

Lawyers stipulated the legal minimum to be twelve years of age, while medical writers and popular opinion both advocated for marriage at fourteen years.[95] Because both assertions fall between these two ages, her precise age is not of great moment.

In addition, Pliny wrote his private correspondence with the intent to publish.[96] Because of this, he styled his letters so as to present himself in commendable ways. Throughout both of the letters I will explore in this chapter, Pliny's efforts to consciously construct his relationships with the deceased, and the characters and behaviour of the deceased, become obvious. This work is therefore affected and self-conscious, but not problematically so: I am not so much concerned with recreating the reality of the living, breathing youths as I am with exploring the ideals surrounding them.

Both of the letters I shall use in this chapter, one about Minicia Marcella and the other about Junius Avitus, are addressed to the same man, a certain Aefulanus Marcellinus.[97] Marcellinus and Pliny were mutual friends of Fundanus, the father of Minicia Marcella and a future consul of 107 CE who features prominently in *Letters* 5.16.[98] Helpfully for this study, the letter about Junius Avitus, an equestrian youth with

[95] This minimum was not always respected, as child brides in the Empire were certainly a reality. See Scheidel (2007), Shaw (1987), and Hopkins (1965) for discussions on the actual ages at first marriage outside of the elite population.

[96] Pliny's intent to publish his epistolary works is treated by Shelton (2013: 5).

[97] Sherwin-White 1966: 346, 475. The latter letter on Junius Avitus is only addressed to one "Marcellinus," but Sherwin-White finds Aefulanus Marcellinus to be the most likely recipient.

[98] In their circle, too, was Plutarch, who wrote Fundanus into his moral "dialogue" *On the Control of Anger*. Plutarch provides a portrait of Fundanus as a formerly wrathful man who has learned to control his temper

political aspirations, bears striking similarities to the letter about Minicia Marcella. Not only were these letters addressed to the same man, they were also likely roughly contemporaneous in date;[99] both subjects of the letters were exemplary youths laid low by illness; both are represented as cheated of their potential in life; and although the young man was married and had recently become a father, Pliny describes both individuals as adolescents. Therefore, a comparison of these letters enables the exploration of gender norms of Minicia's age.

---

through reason, and in the work Fundanus cites his daughters and wife as weaker creatures who deserve better than to endure his unmitigated rage (455F).

[99] The dating of these letters is uncertain. Sherwin-White (1966) admits that there is no specific indication of date, but uses rough age estimates to assert that, if one takes the ordinary age of senatorial marriage to be 24 and the minimum age of consulship to be 40, Fundanus' first child would likely be thirteen years of age by 105 or 106 CE. There are at least two problems with this. First, Fundanus might not have become consul as soon as he was eligible; second, Minicia Marcella was not Fundanus' first child. Pliny explains in the first line of his letter that Fundanus' younger daughter has died, indicating the existence of an older sibling who is later in the letter revealed to be a sister (*Letters* 5.16.4). Therefore, this letter cannot be precisely dated, but even by Sherwin-White's reasoning the estimate should be revised to the year before or earlier. The other letter on the death of Junius Avitus is dated to sometime after 108 CE (Sherwin-White 1966: 38). I think this is reasonable because he is included as a beneficiary of 2 pounds of gold in the so-called *Will of 'Dasumius'* dated to between May and August of 108 CE (*CIL* 6.10229). Jo-Ann Shelton (2013: 145) suggests that this might not be a secure date, because the will might not have been revised in the interim between the death of Junius Avitus and the death of "Dasumius." I am inclined to think that, if Shelton's theory is correct, the time would likely not have constituted a significant margin: the dispensation of property was a serious consideration for the Roman elite. Therefore, I cautiously estimate that the letters were written no more than a decade apart and so were roughly contemporaneous.

Minicia Marcella's Qualities

The letter and supporting evidence from other sources reflect that Minicia Marcella's gender was of great significance at this point in her life. Throughout the letter, Pliny characterizes Minicia both directly and indirectly as possessing masculine or gender-neutral virtue, but feminine appeal. This portrayal artfully indicates that Minicia imitated her father in said virtue, but also that, had she lived, she would have been perfectly suited as an affective link between her father and other men by marrying.[100]

From the outset, her very identification is gendered. Her name appears nowhere in the letter, because she is referred to only as "the younger daughter of Fundanus."[101] As a result, scholars only know Minicia's name from the tombstone commemorating her. If one looks only at the letter about Minicia, one might assume that this omission has little to do with gender: the "excellent young man" to whom Minicia was betrothed is not named either, and no description of the young man, beyond "excellent," is included. Fundanus alone, who was friends with Pliny and his interlucutor, is named and receives extensive treatment in the letter.

However, in the case of Junius Avitus, the deceased youth is named. It could be argued that the reason for this disparity lies in the relationship Pliny had with the two young people. The method in which Pliny could best praise Minicia Marcella was to describe her in terms of her father because he did not personally know her, whereas, for Junius Avitus' commemoration, Pliny could cite his own very personal interactions with

[100] For more on fathers- and sons-in-law especially, see the next chapter on Tullia.

[101] Pliny, *Letters* 5.16.1.

him and thereby illustrate the tragedy of Junius' death with his own deep grief.[102] However, Junius Avitus' letter likewise lacks other names, save that of the man under whom he served as military tribune. Importantly, the nameless figures mentioned in the letter are women, defined in relation to Junius Avitus: his wife, his young daughter, and his mother. All of these women lack names, which illustrates that they were only important insofar as they were tied to Junius Avitus. One might argue that Roman naming practices rendered the inclusion of women's names redundant in letters and histories, as one could reasonably infer a daughter's name from her father's. Indeed, like a freeborn Roman woman in her time ought to have been, Minicia was addressed by a feminized portion of her father's name.[103] Either way, Minicia was only defined by the identity most appropriate for her, which was as a daughter to Fundanus.

In the letter, Pliny describes two activities of Minicia Marcella by exclaiming, "*quam studiose, quam intellegenter lectitabat! ut parce custoditeque ludebat*!"[104] Pliny gives Minicia's frequent, studious, and intelligent reading primacy in his exclamation, highlighting above all her admirable sobriety and education. He also reveals elsewhere in the letter that she had *praeceptores* to teach her.[105]

---

[102] Illustrations of Pliny's deep grief for the loss of Junius Avitus include philosophical paralysis, just the same experience as Fundanus endures, and his especial sorrow on being absent for Junius Avitus' final illness.

[103] As she is in her epitaph at Rome. See *CIL* 6.16331.

[104] *Letters* 5.16.3.

[105] *Ibid.*

Although educated women were elsewhere railed against, as in Juvenal's *Satire* 6.434-456, there are plenty of instances of young girls receiving education.[106] Pliny's letters alone, as Sherwin-White puts it, "are full of educated ladies," including Pliny's own wife: she dutifully recites his works and listens to his recitations, but modestly, from behind a curtain.[107] Two Republican examples of educated girls include Pompey's daughter, who was said to have recited a portion of *The Iliad* to her father upon his return from the war, and Verginia, who unwittingly caught the eye of an unscrupulous man on the way to "school."[108] The nature and purpose of this education become clear through Musonius Rufus' discourse on the education of girls. Musonius Rufus was a contemporary of Fundanus, and believed that women were worth teaching, insofar as they would become more virtuous wives and mothers.[109] Therefore, we can assume that Minicia and other elite girls like her, if they received an education at all, received a basic one.[110]

A qualification of Minicia's character is required. Although Minicia is depicted as educated in her own right throughout the letter, she is then praised for her likeness in

---

[106] Caldwell discusses the education of girls in her first chapter especially (2014:15-44).

[107] Sherwin-White 1966: 347. Calpurnia's feminine flattering of Pliny's literary ego: *Letters* 4.19.2-3.

[108] Pompeia: Plutarch, *Table Talks* 9.1.3. Verginia: Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* beginning at 3.44. That Verginia would be educated outside seems odd, as one would expect that elite girls would have been educated privately at home (Shelton 2013: 281).

[109] Pliny writes about Musonius Rufus as a contemporary. For Musonius Rufus' views on the education of women, see Musonius Rufus 3 and 4.

[110] Sherwin-White (1966: 347) compares the level of education to that of a grammar school education.

appearance, manners, and habits to her father, whom we know also to have been of philosophical bent.[111] Therefore, Pliny's rendering of Minicia is, in large part, a layered portrait of Fundanus as a man of learning. However this fact might obscure Minicia's actual character, it need not necessarily be disentangled from Minicia's ideal role as a daughter. Ultimately, Minicia represented her father, and in order to represent her father well, she emulated him in appearance and behaviour.[112]

Although both daughter and son could play this role of representing the father,[113] it is useful to observe that in Junius Avitus' letter, no mention is made of how like his father he was, whereas in Minicia's letter, this role dominates the letter and she only shows personal agency through her modesty and affectionate nature. Pliny commends Junius Avitus for seeking out people of excellent character to emulate, including himself, and because Pliny viewed himself as a kind of father to the young man,[114] one might

[111] Pliny describes the father as unable to continue the activities in which he had been so invested, after a long description of how wise and educated he is.

[112] Shelton (2013: 281) also makes an interesting point on this score, saying that all the reader can know is that Minicia received an education, that she loved her teachers appropriately, and that she worked hard, but not whether or not she was actually well educated and erudite.

[113] See chapter one.

[114] Pliny especially hints at this parental role for himself when he mentions twice his essential involvement in Junius Avitus' *latus clavus* ceremony. He says first that Junius Avitus put on the *latus clavus* in his house (*Letters* 8.23.2), and then that he remembers when Junius Avitus undertook the *latus clavus* among his household gods (*Letters* 8.23.6). Presumably, had Junius Avitus' father been alive, he would have been responsible for arranging the ceremony, as progressive rituals such as the adoption of the *toga virilis* were decided by the father (Harrill 2002: 255).

argue that Pliny does, in fact, compliment Junius Avitus on his imitation of a father figure. However, no mention is made of Junius Avitus' actual father,[115] and Pliny does not provide a portrait of himself in the way he provides a portrait of Fundanus, drawing the focus away from the deceased. Furthermore, Junius Avitus is characterized as actively choosing people to imitate, while Minicia emulates her father alone. This could reveal that Pliny desired to depict Junius Avitus as possessing more agency, or that a daughter most appropriately should imitate the most important man in her life and need not seek others.

Caldwell asserts that the strong comparison between Minicia and her father allows Pliny to depict Minicia as an educated adolescent girl without depicting her as masculine.[116] I agree, and add that the feminine aspects of Minicia's character so prominently highlighted, especially her modesty, delicately sidestep this potential problem. A daughter should therefore be educated enough to be a credit to her father by being like him, but not to be so like him that she is unfeminine and therefore undesirable as a wife and mother.

The second exclamation of Pliny's, how Minicia "*ludebat* sparingly and guardedly," carries along the same lines as the first.[117] The interpretation of the verb "*ludo*" in this exclamation is crucial to Pliny's characterization of the little girl. Although

[115] The father was probably deceased.

[116] Caldwell 2015: 23.

[117] As cited earlier from *Letters* 5.16.3.: *quam studiose, quam intellegenter lectitabat! ut parce custoditeque ludebat!*

"*ludo*" probably does not denote that Minicia is telling dirty jokes,[118] the question of whether Pliny intends clever conversational play or play with games or toys lies open to debate. Sherwin-White, for example, contends that Minicia's abilities in witty conversation, and not physical leisure activities, are being described. He supports his claim with Pliny's use of "*ludo*" elsewhere in the *Letters* and with Pliny's reports of his own wife, Calpurnia, "reciting his *ludus* in private."[119] Carlon supports this perspective in her work, and Shelton, although she ultimately takes "*ludo*" differently, contributes to the same view: both Carlon and Shelton draw attention to the parallels in the *Letters* between Pliny's young wife and Fundanus' deceased daughter. Shelton offers the datum that two of the qualities Pliny uses to describe Minicia, "sweetness" and "charm," he uses also of his wife Calpurnia, and Carlon argues that Pliny's portraits of Minicia and that of Calpurnia were together intended to illustrate the traits of the ideal bride.[120] Therefore, as Calpurnia engaged in witty conversation and Minicia is depicted as 'cut from the same cloth' as Calpurnia, it is certainly possible that witty conversation or joking would not be objectionable in respectable young ladies of marriageable age. Such an assertion would merely suggest that Pliny is building upon his characterization of Minicia as educated.

However, in resolving the question of interpreting "*ludo,*" another question must be asked: did young women ever "play" in the sense that we know children did?[121]

---

[118] It would be difficult to tell dirty jokes so "*parce custoditeque*," and, more importantly, such a sentiment would hardly accord with Pliny's other views of Minicia.

[119] Sherwin-White 1966: 347.

[120] Shelton 2013: 122; Carlon 2009: esp. 14, 16, 153, 165, 168, 183.

[121] See previous chapter.

Playing with toys was certainly the special province of childhood: reputedly, girls about to be married would consecrate their dolls, symbolizing the abandonment of childhood playthings and hence of childish play.[122] It is not clear of what "childish play" consisted, but the Greek medical author Rufus of Ephesus also associates the onset of puberty and the fact that "on account of modesty [girls] d[id] not play childhood games anymore."[123] Therefore, although Minicia Marcella had not yet rendered up her toys, and so would likely still be in possession of dolls and other such trinkets, she had perhaps become less interested in playing like a younger child.[124] We must not imagine that she would gambol about in the way small children did.

Despite this abandonment of typical childish games, Pliny could still be hinting that Minicia Marcella used to play in a physical way. Playing ball seems to have been popular among young women, and Caldwell has found that the activity of playing ball, when done in a seemly manner, was deemed by medical authors to be an appropriate

[122] In Caldwell (2015: 102), the literary evidence (Pers. 2.69-70 and Varro Nonius 863.15) supporting this ritual ideal and the archaeological evidence, specifically that of a mature woman buried with a doll (Crepereia Tryphaena), come into conflict.

[123] Rufus of Ephesus, *Regimen for Girls* ap. Orib. *Coll. Med. lib. inc.* 18.10 (*CMG* 6.2.2, 4.107 Raeder). Translation from Caldwell 2015: 89. The verb used for "playing childhood games" is from παίζω. Childhood games might have encompassed playing with nuts: Amedick (1991: no. 116) shows girls on sarcophagi playing with nuts just as little boys did, and knucklebones and nuts are included in the graves of some girls (Harlow 2013: 326).

[124] See n. 26. More attestation for this "growing up" phenomenon can be understood in Epictetus *Ench.* 40. Pets were also held by women of married age (Catullus 2, 3), so although playing with animals appears as a motif in the visual representation of some children, the activity was not necessarily exclusive to childhood.

activity for girls of Minicia's age. When done aggressively, the usually tame activity of ball-playing was condemned, but Pliny says explicitly that Minicia played *parce custoditeque*.[125] Dolansky asserts, with examples of boys and girls playing games in the decoration of sarcophagi, that feminine passivity even in play was inculcated in girls early on. Therefore, the verb "*ludo*" here could very reasonably be taken to denote game-playing, and Minicia's reserve, so emphasized by Pliny, shows the especially modest and feminine side of her character: she did play games, which shows that she was lively, but she did not play in a masculine way because she played "*parce custoditeque*."[126]

Because Minicia's education is at the forefront of the text, "*ludo*" meaning "plays with words" would reinforce the idea that she was an accomplished young lady, but it cannot be denied that Pliny is concerned to present Minicia with an especial liveliness, however tempered by her modesty. The words "*festivius*" and "*amabilius*" are used to describe her, which respectively and loosely mean "more genial" and "more amiable."[127] The latter word, meaning literally "lovable" or "worthy of love," was used often of

[125] Caldwell 2015: 90-92. Martial disdains aggressive ball-playing when describing the activities of the overly masculine and sexually predatory Philaenis in Martial 7.67.

[126] I take a different stance from Shelton (2013: 278-9), who asserts that Pliny's mention of Minicia playing "*parce custoditeque*" should lead one to infer Minicia's poor health. As support for this claim, and despite the fact that she asserts elsewhere (384, n. 76) that *novissima* can merely mean "last/final," Shelton translates the word *novissima*, which describes Minicia's fatal illness, as "most recent," implying that there were more illnesses before.

[127] Lewis and Short 1879: "*festivus*" and "*amabilis*".

women in Pliny's other letters, indicating that the ideal woman should be "*amabilis*."[128] Pliny also indirectly characterizes Minicia as such, when he relates that she is loving, but not immodest, in the embraces she shares with her father's friends.[129]

Minicia's modesty is highlighted alongside her lively charm. This accords with Pliny's efforts to represent Minicia as an accomplished young woman who was sober in thought and modest in manner, but youthful and desirable for marriage and childbearing.[130] For example, when Pliny says of Minicia that she had the wisdom of an elderly woman, the dignity of a *matrona*, the sweetness of a girl, and the modesty of a maiden, he presents these ideal traits by dressing typically masculine characteristics in feminine terms.[131]

There are two episodes in the letter of Minicia which are *topoi* used typically to emphasize *pathos*, and which Pliny uses to bolster his portrait of Minicia as the ideal daughter: courage in the face of a long, wasting illness, and the wedding-turned-funeral.[132] Pliny asserts that Minicia left behind "more and more serious cause for longing and grief" because she bore her illness well: she was obedient to the doctors, she was unbroken "by the length of her illness or by a fear of death," and, even as she was dying,

---

[128] Shelton 2013: 277.

[129] More discussion on this point will occur later in this chapter.

[130] Carlon (2009: 153-154) agrees.

[131] Hallett (1984: 133) asserts that these qualities are motherly and wifely.

[132] I assert that dying children being brave is a *topos* after Shelton (2013: 278), who makes the suggestion that representing terminally ill children as brave in the face of death could "heighten the *pathos* of their deaths."

she reassured her father and sister.[133] The latter two points were not gendered: Quintilian's 10-year-old boy, imbued also with *constantia* and *gravitas*, comforted his father during his own terminal illness.[134] Shelton posits that, because Pliny describes Minicia encouraging her father and sister even as she languished in her final illness, he highlights her desire to comfort others even in the face of death, and that this illustrates ideal wifely qualities. Shelton also compares this to the way in which Arria the Elder concealed her grief at her son's death for the sake of her ailing husband's comfort. [135] I do not disagree that Minicia is made as admirable as Arria the Elder and hence is depicted as an ideal wife, but I would qualify the statement: Pliny is illustrating that the ideal wife adheres to Stoic principles, especially in the gravest of circumstances, but Stoic principles should govern man and woman alike. Pliny is showing that a woman of Minicia's tender age represents a Stoic ideal to which even men would aspire, and therefore Minicia again represents her father well.

In the second *topos*, that of the wedding-funeral, Pliny bemoans especially the fact that Minicia was about to get married when she died. Pliny heightens the *pathos* further by dwelling in detail on the preparations already made for the wedding. Pliny tells us,

---

[133] *Letters* 5.16.4.

[134] Shelton 2013: 278. Pliny dwells on Minicia's illness in a way he does not in the case of Junius Avitus, who also died of illness: this is perhaps because Pliny was tragically absent for Junius' illness (*Letters* 8.23.8) but presumably nearby when Minicia passed away, because he provides such detailed information about her death.

[135] *Ibid.*

> A clearly sorrowful and harsh funeral! The time of death more cruel than the death itself! Already she had been engaged to an excellent young man, already the day of the nuptials chosen, already we invited. What joy was changed to what grief! I cannot express with words the extent to which I received a wound to my spirit - (how suffering contrives many sorrows!) - when I heard Fundanus himself preparing what he had been about to spend on clothes, pearls, and jewels [for her wedding] to pay out in frankincense, and ointment, and perfumes [for her funeral].[136]

The *topos* of the wedding/funeral appears in a number of other sources including Apuleius' *Metamorphosis*, and Virgil's *Aeneid*.[137] However, as Carlon points out, the focus is usually on the bride who faces this wedding-turned-funeral and not on the father.[138] The wedding turned funeral provides enough *pathos* without involving Minicia and her own dashed hopes, and shows that, for Pliny, Fundanus' grief at losing the opportunity to see his daughter married is of greater weight. One must surmise from this portrayal of Fundanus' grief that marriage was a woman's goal in life.[139]

---

[136] *Letters* 5.16.6-7. Author's own translation.

[137] The *topos* appears in Greek tragedies first. In Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* 4.33-34, during the Cupid and Psyche story, Psyche is destined for a funereal wedding; and in Virgil's *Aeneid* 4.166-172, Dido and Aeneas are coupled in a significantly ominous wedding. For more detail on this topic, see Rehm 1994.

[138] Carlon 2009: 155.

[139] Catullus also voices the more practical perspective in 62.58 that "a girl is less burdensome by getting a husband," and such a thought in society surely would have inspired well-meaning daughters to become married in order to become less burdensome.

Evidence from the epigraphic and archaeological record supports this conclusion. The epigraphic record shows that more girls' ages are recorded around this important time of life than around any other time.[140] Parkin suggests that young women who died enjoyed "heightened social estimation" because they were more likely to have a husband and a father still living, and therefore it would be more unlikely for a young woman to go uncommemorated.[141] It is true that girls achieved a "heightened social estimation," but the especial energy with which families commemorated girls of this age group cannot be ignored. Oliver, for example, highlights an interesting phenomenon: expensive grave goods are found often with young women of marriageable age, whereas they are found less frequently with women who died later in their lives. He presents the theory that, because the young women were sometimes buried with dolls, that they had not yet dedicated their dolls and had therefore not married, and that the expensive grave goods were likely purchased by means of their dowries.[142] This particular effort on the part of families to commemorate women on the brink of marriage, together with Pliny's focus on the grief-stricken Fundanus making arrangements, indicates strongly that the life purpose of a girl was to be married.

Similarly to Minicia Marcella, Junius Avitus is represented by Pliny as not having achieved his life's potential. In both letters, this unfinished business is asserted by Pliny as the most grievous thing: Minicia's case has already been stated, but in the case of Junius

[140] Hopkins 1966.

[141] Parkin 1992: esp.104.

[142] Oliver 2000.

Avitus, he writes that the fact of Junius Avitus being snatched from the aedileship, for which Junius Avitus (and implicitly Pliny) had worked so assiduously, "especially cause[d his] grief to fester as much as possible."[143] Therefore, the most prominent gendered difference between Junius Avitus and Minicia Marcella is here made obvious: Pliny mourns Junius Avitus' lost opportunities for political greatness, whereas he mourns Minicia Marcella's lost opportunity for fertile family life.

Minicia Marcella's Relationships with Others

Of the relationships depicted in the letter, the most important appears as that between father and daughter. With this in mind, I shall explore Minicia's relationship with her father first. Pliny tells us directly about Minicia's relationship to her father: Minicia exhorted him in her final moments; looked and acted just like him; and, at times, would cling to his shoulders. Her father in turn, when Minicia passed away, gave up his usual pursuits in his grief, and, as we saw with the wedding-turned-funeral motif, provided appropriately for her.

Pliny uses the physical closeness of Minicia and her father, exclaiming at "how she would cling to her father's shoulders," not only to show an emotional closeness between Minicia and her father, but also to underline the affectionate nature of the girl. The latter point shows again that Minicia would have been the ideal, affable bride. We also see from this description that the daughter's role to be physically affectionate with

[143] *Letters* 8.23.5.

her parents, as was illustrated in the Timoxena chapter, must have persisted throughout Minicia's girlhood.[144]

Upon the death of his lovable daughter, Fundanus ceases to engage in his usual activities and becomes "*totus pietatis aliis*," which Pliny excuses and defends by asserting that Minicia's death was a great loss indeed.[145] Pliny, who styles himself as a father figure to Junius Avitus, reacts to the death of young man in a similar way, for he signs off his letter saying he cannot think or speak of anything else.[146] Pliny's allowance for sorrow when the child is remarkable is a refrain much changed from that prescribed by Plutarch on the death of Timoxena. It was more appropriate, therefore, to mourn the loss of youths about to become adults than it was to mourn the loss of young children, although the grief of the parents should be proportionate to the virtue of the deceased youth. Pliny disdains Regulus' mourning of his teenage son as excessive,[147] and although part of this censure from Pliny is likely borne of the enmity he held for Regulus to begin with, Pliny's contempt suggests that Regulus' son was not remarkable enough to deserve such a display. Minicia, on the other hand, followed so closely the ideal of what a daughter should be, as Junius Avitus did the ideal son, that deep grief in both cases was entirely understandable.

---

[144] Physical affection is explored further later in this chapter.

[145] *Letters* 5.16.8-9.

[146] *Ibid.* 8.23.8.

[147] *Ibid.* 4.2.

When Pliny describes the list of items Fundanus was going to purchase for Minicia's wedding, and those which he was impelled to buy because of her death, another aspect of the father-daughter relationship is shown: the father was intended to provide for his daughter's needs.[148] According to this picture, Fundanus set out to shower his daughter with riches for her wedding, but, when he was forced to make funeral arrangements, thoroughly fulfilled his *pietas* to his daughter. Even if Fundanus did not provide as lavishly as Pliny's literary flourish suggests,[149] the fact that Pliny dwells so much on these materials illustrates that readers would have viewed such an outpouring of resources favourably. Indeed, that Minicia was well looked after can be in no doubt; as Bradley points out, "It is evident that [Minicia] had spent her life in comfort and security," especially when one notes that, as the letter states, Minicia possessed a "retinue of nurses, pedagogues, and teachers."[150] Here, Hallett's assertion that the role of daughter to one's father "entail[ed] a large measure of self-abnegation," but special status in return, seems appropriate.[151]

Minicia's relationship with her mother receives no treatment in Pliny's letter. It is likely that Statoria Marcella was already dead at the time of her daughter's death, especially as Pliny's description of Minicia consoling her family does not mention her at all. To omit the mother but include the sister would be odd, were the mother living. It

[148] See more on the daughter's "allowance" in the Tullia chapter.

[149] Although we do know that she was furnished with a handsome funerary monument (*CIL* 6.16631), probably by her father.

[150] Bradley 1985: 314.

[151] Hallett 1984: 133.

would not be unlikely that Minicia was motherless either: to be bereft of at least one parent was a likelihood for many Roman children no matter their class or status.[152] We know that in elite families, at least, other family members could take on the role of parent, especially if the father had passed. Pliny is evidence of this. When his father passed away, his maternal uncle, Pliny the Elder, helped to raise him.[153] Unfortunately, whatever the circumstance in the case of Minicia, we do not have a sense of the mother and daughter's relationship.

Despite her appearance in the letter, we also lack any character development of Minicia's sister. Pliny mentions her in the same breath as Minicia's father, when relating how Minicia comforted her sister and father in her final illness.[154] We know that the sister was older, as Pliny also indicates at the opening of the letter that the younger daughter of Fundanus has died: this implies the existence of an older sibling and her sister is the only sibling included in the letter. Therefore, all that can be gleaned from the letter on the score of Minicia's relationship with her sister is merely that Minicia and her sister appeared to Pliny to share an affective relationship.

In the letter, Pliny does provide a rough sketch of his own relationship with Minicia, and includes himself frequently in the course of his eulogy to the girl. He opens the letter with his own powerful feelings, describing himself as *tristissimus*. He also

[152] Dixon 1988: 32. The average life span was short by modern standards (Parkin 1992: 84), contributing to this reality.

[153] Sherwin-White 1966: 69.

[154] *Letters* 5.16.4.

inserts himself, almost in the capacity of a relative, when explaining how her loss was so dreadful. He asserts that her behaviour in the face of death left "more and more serious reasons both for us to long and to grieve,"[155] suggesting that he and others are implicated in the mourning of Minicia, despite not being family; and he also says, "You would forgive, even praise [Fundanus' mourning behaviours], if you knew what he has lost."[156] This implies Pliny's privileged knowledge of how rare and wonderful Minicia was. Later, he explains that "we" had been invited to the wedding, and exclaims at how she used to lovingly but modestly embrace "us, her father's friends."[157] These efforts to insert himself into the letter, as Shelton accurately points out, "lead[] us to believe that he was well-informed about her character and activities."[158] This tactic was likely employed to lend credence to his assertions of her worth and virtue, but whether or not he was ingratiated to the level he suggests, his efforts to illustrate himself as a close friend of the family show that a girl of Minicia's age was able and expected to interact with her father's friends.

Comparing this level of socialization with Timoxena's of the previous chapter, Minicia is depicted with a widened circle of contact with the world. As was seen in the previous chapter, Plutarch's letter shows Timoxena commanding her nurse, and therefore possibly understanding her place as a superior despite her age. Likewise, Pliny relates that Minicia treated her attendants (nurses, pedagogues, and teachers) according to his or her

[155] *Ibid.* 5.16.5.

[156] *Ibid.* 5.16.9.

[157] *Ibid.* 5.16.3: *nos amicos paternos*; 5.16.6: *nos vocati.*

[158] Shelton 2013: 277.

station, *pro suo quemque officio*, and obeyed her doctors in her illness. Minicia knew her place, and precociously so. Unlike Timoxena, Pliny also develops the idea that Minicia has a partial relationship with friends of the family, indicating that Minicia's social experience was not limited to her family and the household staff.

Unfortunately, as Shelton states, Pliny does not indicate the context in which he interacted with Minicia, nor the frequency with which he would be in that context.[159] His relationship with Junius Avitus is illustrated in a similar way: the only context described by Pliny is that of the *latus clavus* ceremony, which he indicates was his own house, but such a ceremony would likely have been arranged by Junius Avitus' father, were he alive. Therefore, the letters indicate no notion of where and when Minicia and Junius Avitus would have come into contact with friends of their parents.

One of the most interesting features of Pliny's interaction with Minicia is the physical contact discussed. Pliny comments on how Minicia would embrace her father, and writes admiringly of the fact that he was the recipient of some of Minicia's "loving but modest" embraces.[160] In the previous chapter, one of Timoxena's roles as a daughter was to be embraced and mollycoddled, and it appears therefore that Minicia had a similar role. Whereas Timoxena's role was not gendered, it appears that Minicia's role was. In the letter about Junius Avitus, no physical contact is suggested whatsoever. Junius Avitus is never characterized by his physical closeness with anyone. In addition, Aulus Gellius speculates on the origins of the practice in which family members kiss a married woman

[159] *Ibid.*

[160] *Letters* 5.16.3.

on the lips, saying that family members were policing the woman by testing whether or not she had been drinking.[161] Whether or not this aetiology is accurate, there was evidently a practice of family members having this contact with their female, married relative.[162] Men did embrace one another,[163] but perhaps there was so little else to say on the subject of women's characteristics, unless they had male characteristics, that the commonplaces of embracing others became interesting. Alternatively, and more likely, Pliny's mention of Minicia's affectionate embraces underlined two important qualities. First, she maintained the role which children ideally fulfilled by being physically affectionate toward their parents. Second, and more important perhaps for Pliny, she was the ideal bride: she did not shy from physical contact, which was a necessary feature of successful Roman marriage.

Conclusion

Throughout *Letter* 5.16, Minicia's role as the ideal daughter at the age of first marriage becomes clear. Her ability to be a serious and learned young woman, and at the same time lively and fond of embraces, made her worthy to be an *exemplum* in Pliny's eyes. She was intended to represent her father well through imitation of his virtues, and at the same time to facilitate affective ties between her father and other men through

[161] Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 10.23.

[162] This level of physical closeness in public was unseemly between husband and wife, at least in the opinion of Cato the Elder: he reputedly expelled a man from the senate for embracing his wife in front of their daughter in daylight (Plutarch, *Life of Cato* 17.7). It must be remembered, however, that he represented Republican virtue in the extreme.

[163] Cicero laments how he wishes to embrace Atticus in *ad Atticum* 4.1.

marriage.[164] These ideals, as presented by Pliny, required a combination of masculine or gender-neutral values tempered by feminine modesty.

This multivalent characterization, that Minicia possessed feminine and masculine qualities and the attributes of both girl and woman, is similar to that of the daughter in adulthood, although her playful nature diminishes and her role in political life and as a companion to her father grows in prominence.

[164] By affective ties, I hear mean that marriage would incur feelings of emotional attachment between the father and the son-in-law.

CHAPTER THREE

Tullia the *Matrona*

Once a daughter had married and became an active participant in another's household, she continued to play a role in her parents' lives.[165] This role was like that of the adolescent daughter, as she had to represent her family well, and play a part in connecting her parents to other important figures in society by marriage. However, the former role of the two expanded: she not only had to seem a sober and learned imitator of her father's noble characteristics, she could also take an active part in political advocacy, provided that she did so for the sake of her family's wellbeing. Her delightful or adorable traits were still of note, but were not as pronounced as they once were in her childhood or adolescence. In addition to the roles she had possessed in her early life, the ideal daughter as an adult could also be a serious interlocutor, as Tullia was for her father.

Tullia, daughter of the illustrious *novus homo* Marcus Tullius Cicero, was in her early thirties when she died at Tusculum in February of 45 BCE, presumably of complications after giving birth to a son. Her death famously induced her father to mourn for her far beyond the limit to grief which Stoicism advocated.[166] Although Cicero's letters run dry for a brief period around Tullia's death, we have extensive written evidence about her not only from after her death, but even before, in the course of her father's

[165] There are times when, after Tullia's marriage, she spends time living with her natal family. For example, Cicero changes his travel plans in order to take Tullia to the games at Antium in 59, and she is then a married woman (*ad Att.* 2.8).

[166] See chapter on Timoxena for discussion of Stoic beliefs pertaining to the death of children.

regular correspondence with friends. In addition, Servius Sulpicius wrote a consolation to Cicero on the subject of Tullia, and fragments survive of Cicero's own consolation to himself, which he wrote in an effort to assuage his grief and to illustrate to his contemporary Stoics that he was not lost in mourning. Therefore, we have a multitude of evidence describing Tullia's personal qualities and relationships with others, from which we may draw an understanding of the role of the adult daughter in the family.

A caveat must here be made. Unlike the previous chapters, in which the eulogies about daughters dealt with the ideal almost exclusively, the evidence available about Cicero's daughter brings us closer to the "real" Tullia. This is not necessarily an issue. As Treggiari aptly notes, Cicero "never utters any criticism of [Tullia],"[167] and we may infer from Cicero's extreme grief that he felt he lost someone truly faultless. The way he praises his daughter, then, will have been framed in terms of ideals which would resonate with his correspondents. Therefore, the reactions which Cicero reports to his dearest correspondent, T. Pomponius Atticus, even about the most mundane things, can provide some insight into whether or not Tullia, or someone interacting with her, exhibited ideal, or less than ideal, behaviours.

Cicero's letters begin when Tullia is probably around the age of ten.[168] The first information we hear about her is that she has been betrothed to C. Calpurnius Piso Frugi,

[167] Treggiari 2007: 161. Macrobius 2.3.16 attests with a joke of Cicero's that Cicero only found fault with Tullia's gait: apparently, Tullia walked quickly and Piso gently, inducing Cicero to command Tullia to "walk like a man!"

[168] We know that her birthday was August 5 because of *ad Atticum* 4.1, but the year in which she was born is not clear. For example, Shuckburgh (1908) offers the date of 79, and Treggiari (2007:42) suggests 78.

whom she would marry in 63 BCE, when she would be in her early teens, and who would later widow her in 57 BCE.[169] After Piso Frugi, she married P. Furius Crassipes at an unknown time,[170] but was free again to look for another husband in 51 BCE. Her final husband was P. Cornelius Dolabella, whom she married in 50 BCE. He was an extravagant personality whose immoderate behaviour was likely the primary cause of Tullia's divorce from him four years later. He was the father of the two children Tullia did manage to bring to term, neither of whom survived long, and it is likely that the second of these two childbirths ultimately caused Tullia's death.[171]

Although her life was short, it was long enough that she managed to succeed in both marrying well and at least giving birth twice. In addition to achieving these ideal goals,[172] Tullia also exhibited ideal behaviours which induced her father to think of her as the "best... of women,"[173] and therefore an ideal daughter. She represented her father well, for she was learned and like him in form and behaviour, and she acted in his interest; and was in turn viewed as deserving that he should represent her well and provide for her. Her role as an ideal representative of the family, and hence of her father, meant that she necessarily possessed masculine virtues, for masculine virtues were perceived as superior

[169] This is a reasonable age for marriage by Roman standards. For more on this subject, see the chapter on Minicia Marcella and Treggiari 1991: .

[170] Clark (1991) even argues that Tullia might not have married Crassipes at all.

[171] Treggiari 2007: 135.

[172] i.e., the ideal in the view of society. See previous chapter on Minicia Marcella for indications of this.

[173] Lact. *Inst.* 1.15.

virtues.[174] At the same time as Tullia took on a more assertive, masculine role than the other ideal daughters in the life course I have studied, Tullia's representation in Cicero's letters is still gendered in a feminine way, although less emphatically than Minicia's in Pliny's letters. Her manner was always modest and amiable, providing comfort to her parents, and her assertions in the world are circumscribed to situations which pertain to the wellbeing of her family.

Tullia's Qualities

As has already been said, Tullia is certainly described in typically feminine terms, but she also is often involved in actions which are commonly held to be either masculine or gender-neutral. This combination is not unusual for a woman of Tullia's age. As Hemelrijk points out in her 2004 article, the so-called "*Laudatio Turiae*," a eulogy from a husband to his exceptional wife,[175] contains this combination. The eulogy describes the manifold masculine actions "Turia" undertakes for the sake of her murdered parents, her family, and her husband throughout her life, all while she occupies only the traditional purview of a modest married woman. The best illustration of this lies in the first few portions of the inscription (sections 3-12), in which "Turia" avenges her parents' murder alongside her sister, "by insistently asking and seeking vengeance with such diligent service to filial duty that if we," that is, Turia's husband and the husband of her sister, "had been readily present, we could not have done more."[176] Immediately subsequent to

[174] Hemelrijk 2004: 189.

[175] *CIL* VI.1527.

[176] *CIL* VI. 1527. Left hand column, 7-8.

Turia's valiant efforts for the sake of her parents, efforts which were by her husband considered equal to those of men, she takes refuge in the home of her new husband's mother to safeguard her modesty.[177] Turia's masculine foray into the public sphere to defend her family is tempered by her respect for her own feminine modesty. No Roman man would have had to seek his spouse's family's residence following a successful trial, for modesty did not describe the same virtues for men as the virtues women should safeguard for themselves. The most important aspect of modesty for a Roman woman was arguably sexual: although women were especially exhorted to guard their virginity militantly before marriage,[178] suspicions of a woman's lack of chastity could be suggested at any time in her life. If a woman illustrated to others that she endeavoured to protect her modesty, her reputation stood a smaller chance of being besmirched.[179]

Tullia is also characterized by her modesty, and by other admirable traits, in one of Cicero's letters to his brother, Quintus. Cicero was in exile, and therefore Tullia was around twenty years old. He describes her as having "such dutiful affection, such moderation, such character! She is the image of my face, of my conversation, of my mind."[180] Tullia's moderation here is "the discreet and well-mannered behaviour proper to

---

[177] *Ibid*, 10-12.

[178] This idea is well explained in the second chapter of Caldwell's 2014 book.

[179] Lucretia's story is a prime example: even though she was not willing to have intercourse with a man other than her husband, and her rape at the hands of Tarquinius Superbus was by definition not her fault, she still believes suicide is the only way to preserve her reputation (Livy 58.7).

[180] Cicero, *ad Quintum fratrem* 1.3.3. "*...quid, quod eodem tempore desidero, filiam? qua pietate, qua modestia, quo ingenio! effigiem oris, sermonis, animi mei*."

a specific age and sex: here the unassuming and chaste deportment of a young married woman and daughter."[181] Another term for modesty, *pudor*, is mentioned by an acquaintance of Cicero's, M. Caelius Rufus, who believes Tullia will be able to reform her husband-to-be, Dolabella, from his wild ways by means of her *pudor*.[182] In his response to Caelius' letter, Cicero refers to Tullia's comportment as *prudentia*, which can mean "wisdom" or "good sense," therefore choosing a word that not only suggests Tullia's unassuming character and modesty but also her inborn intellect. Even here, then, we see the letters describing Tullia praising her admirable prudence with a combination of traditionally masculine and feminine virtues.

Tullia's intellect was of great value to her father. Although Rawson writes truthfully that "we know nothing of her education," whereas the education of Marcus, Cicero's son, is reported and even exhibited in the letters,[183] Tullia must have been educated enough to be a suitable companion to her father. When he describes her "character" in the previous letter, for example, he also describes her intellect, as *ingenium*

[181] Treggiari 2007: 62.

[182] Modesty must have been considered a powerful virtue indeed, for Dolabella was considered a rake by some even before he married Tullia.

[183] Rawson 1983: 197. Treggiari (2007: 55) theorizes that Cicero's comments about her education lead to the conclusion that Tullia likely had as much education as an elite girl might expect. The gendered nature of formal education at Rome was already mentioned in the first chapter. Cicero writes of Marcus' education alongside that of his nephew Quintus to his brother (e.g. *ad Q.fr.* 3.3.4, 3.1.4), and there are letters of his father to Atticus in which Marcus appends bits of writing in Greek (e.g. *ad Att*. 2.9, 2.12).

encompasses both of these meanings.[184] He certainly thought of her as accomplished enough, for in his consolation to himself, he writes that she was the most learned (*doctissima*) of all women.[185] Even though this is, as Rawson points out, a eulogistic work and should be handled with care,[186] it is perfect for exploring the model daughter. Cicero wanted to depict his daughter in the eyes of his readers as the most educated or accomplished woman of all, and worthy of admiration and intense grief. This supports the idea that, as a representation of himself, and, in his own words, "of [his] *animus*," Tullia should ideally possess enough intellect to be distinguished among her sex.

Thus, even as the ideal Tullia is as modest as her own gender requires, she emulates her father as best she can. In both of the previous chapters of this thesis, I have already mentioned the importance of the child's physical and behavioural similarity to its father, not only as a reflection of how faithful the child's mother is, but also as a reflection of how well the child represents the family and will be able to perpetuate the family into the next generation.[187] Having survived her teen years, or at least nearly so by the time of

[184] Treggiari 2007: 62.

[185] Lact. *Inst.* 1.15.

[186] Rawson 1983: 197.

[187] The child's representation of the family might not have only been physical, as is shown in the case of the three generations of remarkable women praised by Pliny the Younger in his letters, Arria the Elder, Arria the Younger, and Fannia. The elder Arria was committed to the idea of dying with her husband, should he ever be forced to suicide, and upon being asked if she would wish her daughter, Arria the Younger, to do the same, she replied in the affirmative (Pliny *Letters* 3.6.9-10). As Phillips (1978: 77) puts it, Arria the

this letter, Tullia has beaten certain odds set before her by average mortality in ancient Rome.[188] This would provide increased hope to her parents that she would live to, in turn, provide for them in their old age, and to carry on the family.

In the meanwhile, as her parents were still active and capable, her devotion to, and positive representation of, the family lent impetus to a strong sense of reciprocity on the part of her parents to provide as best they could for her. Even though she was a grown woman when Cicero wrote down many of his worries, he illustrates with such anxieties that the reciprocal obligation remains just as unyielding. When Cicero is in a position to provide well for his daughter, he seems the happier for it: he sometimes thanks Atticus for his careful attentions to Tullia,[189] and once, in the matter of something he was arranging for Atticus' wife and Tullia's friend, Cicero writes, "and in managing [the matter] I shall have also an opportunity of glorifying myself in my Tullia's eyes."[190] This comment reveals how much he feels he owes Tullia for her affection, that he would seek out opportunities to do well by her.

Elder "set out the high moral principles she hoped her daughter shared..." For more information on this family of politically active women, see especially Shelton 2013: esp. chapter 2.

[188] Average life expectancy at birth was probably between 20 and 30 years at this time (Parkin 1992: 84). Rawson (1991: 197-8) points out that after the age of fifteen, death was likely harder to bear because of the decreased mortality rate.

[189] e.g. *ad Att.* 10.8.

[190] Translation from Shuckburgh 1899, vol. I. *et in eo me etiam Tulliae meae venditabo. ad Att.* 4.16. It is not clear what sort of matter he was dealing with for the sake of Pilia.

Often, however, his comments are written out of sorrow that he finds himself unable to provide for her as much as he feels she deserves.[191] Arguably the most intense of these comments is made after she has traveled a long and hard distance to Brundisium in order to see him, when he declares, "... I did not take from her virtue (*virtus*), human feeling *(humanitas*), and filial devotion (*pietas*) as much pleasure as I should take from a unique daughter, and instead I was so affected with incredible grief that such a character as she should dwell in such wretched fortune, and that this happened through my greatest fault and by no failing of hers."[192]

Were the dreadful fortune one of Tullia's own making, it is difficult to say whether his devotion would have diminished. Cicero's affection for his daughter seems too great to have ever been put aside, but there are examples of Roman fathers exacting punishment upon their daughters either for not representing the family well or for a lack of familial devotion. Two proverbial examples are Augustus sending both his daughter and granddaughter into exile for their adultery,[193] and, although it was likely an extreme tale even in Livy's own time, the story Livy relates of Horatius, the father in early Rome

---

[191] *ad Att*. 11.9, 11.17, 11.24, 14.1; *ad Fam.* 14.11, whose comment is almost the same as *ad Att.* 11.17, 14.4.

[192] *ego autem ex ipsius virtute, humanitate, pietate non modo eam voluptatem non cepi quam capere ex singulari filia debui sed etiam incredibili sum dolore adfectus tale ingenium in tam misera fortuna versari idque accidere nullo ipsius delicto summa culpa mea*. *ad Att.* 11.17. The "wretched fortune" which he laments is presumably the fall in social and economic standing he feels he has brought about for the family, as a result of his participation in the civil war between Caesar and Pompey.

[193] Suetonius *Augustus* 65 provides a most colourful account of Augustus' disdain of his relations.

who claimed his daughter was justly killed for disloyalty to the state.[194] Thus the idea of the parent-daughter reciprocal obligation was certainly on the minds of Romans.

Again citing his failure to uphold his end of their reciprocal relationship, Cicero sends what is almost a copy of letter *ad Att.* 11.17 to his wife Terentia, *ad Fam.* 14.11, but Tullia by that letter deserves better because she possesses the greatest virtue, singular gentleness, filial devotion and *dignitas*. These qualities, both from the letter to Atticus and that to Terentia, combine masculine and feminine again: although all of these terms, *humanitas, dignitas, pietas,* and *virtus*, could apply both to men and women, *virtus* and *humanitas* were typically described as belonging to men. *Virtus* is perhaps the most obviously male trait, associated with manly courage, and *humanitas*, in Cicero's usage, was a kind of civilized kindness brought about by thorough learning.[195] By the latter praise, Tullia's education, however little or much she had, again comes into view. The other impression these qualities provide is that Tullia was appropriately stoic when she had to be, and this gave her father comfort.

Further praise for Tullia supports this view, in a letter Cicero sends to Atticus, saying, "The virtue she has is indeed wonderful. How she bears the public disaster, how the private trials! Also, what spirit she bore in my departure! She has filial affection, she has the greatest sympathy.[196] However, she wishes me to do rightly and to listen well."[197]

---

[194] Livy 1.26.

[195] Pascal 1984: 351-352.

[196] Lit. she is filial affection, she is the greatest sympathy.

This quotation reveals his high estimation of her filial affection, and the fact that she provides him serious advice for the benefit of his reputation. Additionally, his assertion that she has deep sympathy with him suggests that she truly is a comfort to him as an interlocutor.

Her comfort was also that physical affection provided by both Timoxena and Minicia, although it seems attested to a lesser degree. Cicero exclaims once to Atticus, "And would that I could immediately run to the embrace of my Tullia, to the kiss of Attica!"[198] On the surface, the following suggestion from Hallett seems pertinent: to "equate[] the physical embraces of a thrice-married woman of around thirty with those of a five-year-old girl... leaves the impression of [Cicero] looking upon his mature - indeed, by Roman standards, virtually middle aged - daughter as a childlike creature quite untouched by the experiences of adulthood, of 'infantilizing' her."[199] Her point is supported by the fact that Tullia is often referred to as "little Tullia" (*Tulliola*), even though she is technically a grown woman. However, because we have already seen that Cicero takes legitimate advice from her, he does not view her simply as a child. He takes delight in her in the same way he always has from the time when she was little, as we

---

[197] *cuius quidem virtus mirifica. quo modo illa fert publicam cladem, quo modo domesticas tricas! quantus autem animus in discessu nostro! est στοργή, est summa σύντηξις. tamen nos recte facere et bene audire vult. ad Att.* 10.8.

[198] *atque utinam continuo ad complexum meae Tulliae, ad osculum Atticae possim currere! ad Att.* 12.1.

[199] Hallett 1984: 133.

have seen Plutarch and Fundanus do with Timoxena and Minicia Marcella, but he genuinely lauds her adult features.[200]

From the qualities provided in Cicero's letters, then, we have a complex picture: Tullia was feminine and gentle, but possessed typically masculine traits; at times she provided delight in the way a child of a younger age would, yet she often exhibited the behaviours of a learned philosopher. She brought comfort and filial devotion to her parents, and represented them well with her education and good nature, in return being provided for socially, economically, and, one might presume, emotionally.

Tullia's Relationships with Others

The most important relationship Cicero represents for Tullia in the letters is, perhaps naturally, her relationship with him. The sense of reciprocity for Tullia's good behaviour implicated in this connection, and her role as a companion[201] to her father, have

[200] A modern parallel we might draw is that of the "daddy's girl."

[201] I mean here companion in the platonic sense, although there were reputedly unsavory rumours that Cicero committed incest with his daughter. I am of the same opinion as Shackleton Bailey (1971: 21) and Treggiari (2007: 159) that the allegations levelled at Cicero in this vein should be passed over as mere invective. These allegations survive today courtesy of pseudo-Sallust's *Invective against Cicero* 2 and Dio 46.18.6. The exact parameters of the accusation in the *Invective against Cicero* seem odd, however. Aside from the straightforward claim of incest that she was her mother's rival for Cicero's love, the invective declares that she was more *iucunda* and *obsequens* to her father than anyone should be to her parent. This suggests that obedience to the father, despite his position as *paterfamilias*, should not be as fervent as that of one lover to another. Unfortunately, this suggestion does not help the question of the ideal daughter: it

both already been mentioned at least briefly. Their relationship throughout her short life is seemingly constantly affectionate, and Cicero's esteem for her only seems to grow over time.[202] When she is around ten years old, around the same time of her betrothal to Piso Frugi, they share a little joke with Atticus in the letters, in which Tullia demands a token from Atticus and implicates her father in the transaction.[203] Treggiari says aptly of this exchange that "one gets the impression of an attractive child and of a loving and easy relationship, full of fun and jokes."[204] As Tullia grows older, although Cicero might still be delighted by her as he might be by a child, her support for him largely transforms from that of an amusing child to that of a mature interlocutor capable of providing real consolation.

This is indeed what Cicero most laments in his response to Servius Sulpicius' letter of consolation. He writes, "... I used to have someone in whom I would take refuge, where I would relax, in whose conversation and sweetness I would set down all cares and sorrows."[205] We certainly know that Cicero did have conversations with Tullia: he writes to Atticus sometimes of the concerns or advice Tullia has to offer. For example, she

---

illustrates that a daughter should be delightful and obedient to her father only to a respectable degree, but to what degree these traits are respectable is unclear.

[202] It is true at least that Cicero's praise of Tullia increases substantially as she grows older (Rawson 1983: 197).

[203] *Ad Att.* 1.8 and 1.10.

[204] Treggiari 2007: 41.

[205] *...habebam, quo confugerem, ubi conquiescerem, cuius in sermone et suavitate omnes curas doloresque deponerem . ad Fam.* 4.6.

provides counsel to Cicero, telling him to observe the situation with Caesar in Spain before acting and joining Pompey.[206] Even when she is ill, she provides him with advice, for Cicero describes how she counsels him not to offend Clodius.[207] These bits of advice seem to be related to Atticus in more than partial seriousness.

Although it could seem to our modern society to be entirely feminine, Cicero's characterization of Tullia's comfort as "sweetness" is not necessarily strongly gendered. In Pliny's letters, for example, *suavitas* is used of his wife Calpurnia's conversation, and but he also uses the term for the literary work of his well-educated male friends.[208] It could be the case that using the term of a woman does denote a compliment to her pleasing femininity, as Pliny seems to praise in Minicia Marcella with the same word.[209] In addition, one scholar claims this is the "only... move in [Cicero's] letter to betray the gender of his deceased child."[210] In this case, it is probably best to understand this use of *suavitas* as merely suggesting eloquence or softness without a particularly gendered valence, or to attribute a slightly feminine aspect to an otherwise gender neutral set of praises.

As a companion, in addition to providing advice to him, Tullia traveled long distances to be with him, arriving at Brundisium to greet him not once but twice. The first

[206] *Ad Att.* 10.8.

[207] *Ad Att.* 4.15.

[208] Shelton 2013: 122. About Calpurnia's conversation: Pliny *Letters* 6.7.

[209] Pliny *Letters* 5.16.2.

[210] Wilcox 2005: 281.

time was to welcome him home from exile,[211] and the second was to meet him in the year after his return to Italy from Pompey's camp.[212] Her efforts in committing to such a "major undertaking," as Treggiari terms it, illustrate a devotion to her father which clearly delights him.[213] A further part of her dutiful affection for her father was shown in his absence in exile. Treggiari outlines Tullia's actions during this time period, reporting,

> Tullia wore mourning, to advertise the family's wrongs, and it seems that she interceded for her father (*ad Att.* 3.19)... She went with Piso to go down on her knees to the consul, who repelled his kinsman and his relative by marriage with arrogant and cruel words (*Red. Sen.* 17).[214]

Here we see another important aspect of the ideal daughter: as an advocate for her parents. To defend the reputation of one's family was a significant role for any Roman, man or woman, but this was one of the most acceptable ways in which a Roman woman could distinguish herself positively. Caldwell discusses how girls were socialized to employ manly learning "not in an intellectual context, nor in pursuit of personal pleasure, but in her social roles, where she protects her identity as virginal daughter, chaste wife, or protective mother,"[215] and this statement can be expanded: a woman also could use her manly courage to be a defender of her family's reputation.

---

[211] *Ad Att*. 4.1.

[212] *Ad Att.* 11.17.

[213] Treggiari 2007: 71. Rawson (1983: 206) also highlights the arduous nature of this journey.

[214] Treggiari 2007: 69.

[215] Caldwell 2014: 20.

Another acceptable way for a Roman woman to augment her own reputation was to provide her parents with grandchildren and therefore continue the family.[216] Tullia seems to have done as best she could to perpetuate the family, although Cicero does not dwell on her pregnancies at all, and only makes mention of them when Tullia has already given birth.[217] Despite this lack of discussion about Tullia's reproduction, however, Cicero certainly also did his part to ensure Tullia was married during as much of her reproductive time as possible.

Cicero's desperation to make marriage arrangements for Tullia highlights the role of the ideal daughter to create or solidify connections between her parents, especially her father, and other men. He most shows his concern on this score in the interim between his departure for Cilicia and Tullia's engagement to Dolabella. At one point, when exhorting Atticus to make inquiries after potential suitors, he asserts, "Truly you will have freed me from great anxiety [should you find a suitable match for Tullia]."[218] The implication here is that the selection of eligible men of suitable rank was perhaps slim, and that the pressure to marry Tullia very real.

---

[216] The role of the child as the securer of the family's posterity was explored in the chapter on Timoxena.

[217] Some reasons for Cicero's omitting mention of the pregnancy until the birth might be: one, that men of the family besides the husband might not be privy to the fact of pregnancy; two, that it was inappropriate to discuss such matters via letter, even with close family friends; three, pregnancy was simply not of interest except to the woman in question; or four, that it was best not to "count one's chickens before they hatched," as it were, because infant mortality was so high in Rome. It is difficult to know for sure.

[218] *ad Att.* 6.1.10.

There were likely a few reasons for this pressure. One, as Rawson puts it, is that "there was little function for unmarried women in Roman society and apparently they were rare."[219] This entails that Tullia, if unmarried, would have had no purpose; that is, of course, unless she already had children.[220] If a woman had children, she could elevate her own reputation by pouring her energies into the proper rearing of her offspring. For example, Cornelia, daughter of Scipio Africanus, was a *univira,*[221] but she devoted herself to raising the Gracchi and won proverbial fame.[222] Octavia, sister of Octavian and wife of Antony, was praised for undertaking the care of not only her own children from a previous marriage and the children she had borne with Antony, but also Antony's children from a previous marriage and those he had by Cleopatra, even after her divorce from him.[223] Finally, and much less famously in antiquity, Pliny the Younger esteemed the elderly Ummidia Quadratilla, despite the fact that she owned a pantomime troupe, because she had personally raised her grandson as best she could.[224]

---

[219] Rawson 1983: 166.

[220] Or, of course, if she had been selected as a Vestal Virgin in her youth.

[221] Literally a one-man woman, meaning a woman who had only married once, and therefore remained unmarried for the rest of her life in the event of her husband's death.

[222] Plutarch *Tiberius Gracchus*, 1.4-5.

[223] Plutarch *Antony* 87.1. The total seems to have been about ten children.

[224] Pliny *Letters* 7.24.

A second possible reason for the impetus behind finding a match for Tullia was the significance of a son-in-law and all of the connections he could bring to a family.[225] The important relationship a father-in-law and son-in-law should share is of interest in and of itself, as Catullus describes his own love for Lesbia in terms of the strong love a father bears his children and his sons-in-law.[226] Beyond this, as Dixon asserts, it is already understood in scholarship that marriage connections were an integral part of Roman politics in general.[227] For example, Julius Caesar married his daughter Julia to Pompey, cementing their alliance in the first triumvirate, but it was not to last. Julia died in childbirth, and her child shortly thereafter perished, and hence the connection was severed. Plutarch's account of her death attributes part of the deep grief of Caesar, Pompey, and their common friends to anxiety about the newly tenuous nature of their connection, and Suetonius depicts Caesar as keen to re-establish marriage ties with Pompey shortly thereafter by means of two marriage matches between their families.[228] This episode highlights especially the importance of the daughter's marriage as a means of solidifying political alliances.

In addition to reasons of political alliance, Treggiari posits that the importance of a good relationship with one's son-in-law was also concerned with the financial well

[225] Treggiari (1991: 109) provides a helpful set of evidence from literary sources which support the importance of father- and son-in-law relationships at Rome.

[226] Catullus 72.4.

[227] Dixon 1983: 92.

[228] Plutarch, *Julius Caesar* 23.5-7; Suetonius, *Julius Caesar* 27.

being of the daughter married to him.[229] By the *lex Voconia*, women of a certain rank could not inherit as much of an estate as men, and this was often circumvented by a *fideicommissum*: in order to ensure that his daughter and her descendants would be well looked after, a Roman man could leave his property to his son-in-law in full and entrust the son-in-law to furnish his daughter or her descendants with the entire inheritance. Therefore, although a *fideicommissum* would typically not be ignored in a will, the father-in-law would likely want to be assured of a dependable relationship with his son-in-law.[230]

Cicero's valiant efforts to secure the perfect husband for Tullia were unfortunately diminished, as Terentia and Tullia failed to receive word from Cicero in time about a young man who might have proven a better match: they already committed Tullia to the infamous, and ultimately disastrous, Publius Cornelius Dolabella. One of Dolabella's greatest faults as a husband, of which there were too many, lay in leaving Tullia in want.[231] Despite this misfortune, Cicero continued to arrange matters as best he could to ensure Tullia would be appropriately provided for. He had already granted her the *fructus* of one of his properties, as he did for his son Marcus, so that she could claim some income to cushion her situation. [232] We see once again that the father would take care of

[229] Treggiari 1991: 366.

[230] Hallett (1984: 14) argues that the succession of sons-in-law is an indicator of matriarchal origins for Roman society, but it has been shown that the succession of sons-in-law rather highlights the importance of connections between males for the securing of property or allegiance.

[231] Treggiari 2007: 115; e.g., *ad Att.* 11.23.

[232] Dixon 1986: 105; Treggiari 2007: 115.

his good daughter, and would do so especially if his son-in-law were lacking in his attentions to her.

No evidence exists beyond the income from property of Marcus receiving the same care from his father as Tullia did, or at least not receiving attention in the same fields of concern. Marcus received much attention over his schooling after Tullia's death,[233] which illustrates the gendered nature of a parent's indulgence in adulthood. The parent of a daughter was most fretful and active socially when arranging the daughter's marriage arrangements, but the parent of a son was probably most so when advancing the son's career. Although it is true that even in the case of male children, the *paterfamilias* still needed to provide his consent for marriage matches and there was likely a similar to-do in the arrangement of the marriage, a daughter had no avenue for a career. In addition, although Marcus did receive an allowance during his father's life and while at school, he would eventually have had more say than Tullia would have had in commanding property after Cicero's death.[234]

Even after Tullia died, Cicero at least aimed to provide for her memory, much in the same way Fundanus did for his daughter, Minicia Marcella.[235] However, whereas

---

[233] Bonner 1977: 91.

[234] The *peculium* was an allowance for the son of a *paterfamilias* which supported the son until such time as the son could inherit his father's property or manage his finances fully. A son could inherit on the father's death, or the son's deliberate emancipation from his *patria potestas* could afford him full control over his finances (Cantarella 2003: 286-288). As was mentioned earlier in this chapter, the *lex Voconia* limited a woman's ability to inherit fully.

[235] Pliny *Letters* 5.16.7.

Fundanus seemed to be purchasing sumptuous but perfectly acceptable materials for his daughter's funeral, Cicero was planning to take Tullia's commemoration to an intense extreme. In his grief, he began the fervent preparations for a shrine dedicated to her, sending numerous letters in quick succession dwelling on little other than the plans for the shrine. He divides the space in his letters to Atticus during this time between debating about possible land on which to put the shrine, and his new pastime of writing himself a consolation.[236] Cicero's other acquaintances by Atticus' attestation were displeased with him for persevering in his mourning to such a degree.[237] Brutus and Servius Sulpicius at least wrote him letters of consolation, urging him in the usual manner of a *consolatio* to bear up against his grief and carry on with his life. The implication we can draw from this is that a man should provide for his daughter in death, but not to the degree Cicero was attempting to do.

Servius Sulpicius' letter survives, revealing some further information about the ideal daughter. First, the seemingly callous message of Servius Sulpicius' letter is that Cicero should not be mourning a mere girl in the face of the other, more serious disasters.[238] This, taken together with the insistence of Cicero's friends that he should overcome his grief, and Cicero's own desire to hide the extent of his sorrow or at least

[236] In letters *ad Att.* 12.12, 12.18, 12.19, 12.20, 12.27, 12.35, 12.36, 12.37, 12.37A, 12.41, and 12.42, he mentions at least one thing about the plans for the shrine; and he asks particulars about children dying before their parents for use in his consolation to himself in ***ad Att.* 12.20, 12.22, 12.24, and 12.29.**

[237] *Ad Att.* 12.20.

[238] *Ad Fam.* 4.5.

fight against it,[239] illustrates that Cicero's distress at the death of his daughter was not the ideal. Servius Sulpicius advises him that his daughter, if there were an afterlife and she could see him, would not wish him to be carrying on in this manner.[240] Even in death, if she had consciousness, the ideal daughter would bravely look to the reputation of the family and exhort her parent to preserve it.

In addition, when Servius Sulpicius enumerates the life goals Cicero might have hoped Tullia to achieve had she lived,[241] he indicates the most important events in a Roman daughter's adult life. Among these are living her life "with some young, distinguished husband," because there would be a young man worthy enough to whom Cicero could entrust his children, and having children who would grow up into the same rank as she and her current family used to enjoy.[242] This implies that the ideal daughter would be delighted to marry well and to perpetuate her family, which I have already shown was of concern to Cicero.

Further, Sulpicius tries to console Cicero of the realities in Tullia's life, namely "that she saw you, her father, as praetor, consul, and augur" and "that she was a bride to young, distinguished men."[243] In Sulpicius' view, then, the model daughter ideally would have been brought joy by marrying well, as Tullia did, and by seeing the head of the

---

[239] e.g., *Ad Att.* 12.13, 12.14, 12.15.

[240] *Ad Fam.* 4.5.

[241] Which were then impossible, according to Sulpicius.

[242] *Ad Fam.* 4.5.

[243] *...te, patrem suum, praetorem, consulem, augurem vidisse, adulescentibus primariis nuptam fuisse... Ibid.*

family she represents achieving glory. This reinforces the idea that the ideal daughter lives for the reputation of her father and the connections she might make to his benefit.

Tullia's connection with her mother is not much attested, but much can be inferred. Treggiari proposes, for example, that Tullia's mother was present for her births.[244] Childbirth, as Tullia's demise proved, was a dangerous time for both the mother and child,[245] and at least three people should have been present to assist her through the labour, and therefore Treggiari's suggestion seems sound.[246]

Treggiari also suggests that perhaps Tullia and her mother were disappointed by the death of the first "seven months' boy" to whom Tullia gave birth.[247] This is a reasonable assertion, as, much later, Pliny the Younger's missive to his wife's grandfather shows. Pliny writes to tell Calpurnia's grandfather that Calpurnia has miscarried because of her youthful ignorance,[248] but Pliny assures the grandfather of his own fervent desire for children, implying that he and Calpurnia would not fail again to reproduce

---

[244] Treggiari 2007: 111.

[245] Even though Parkin (1992: 103-5) looks down on Dixon's (1988) assertions that maternal mortality was horrendously high, the more conservative estimate he provides is, by his own assertion, still high. The estimate (10 to 15 per 1000 for mothers between the ages of 15 and 49) comes from a work on English statistics from 1550 to 1800 by Schofield (1986), but Parkin uses it as a comparative benchmark for Rome.

[246] Treggiari 2007: 111. She describes that the helpers would have supported Tullia on the birthing chair and encouraged her as she gave birth.

[247] Treggiari 2007: 111.

[248] Pliny *Letters* 8.10.

successfully.[249] This assurance from Pliny, without the attendant reassurance about Calpurnia's welfare, reveals the anticipation surrounding the production of progeny, and the disappointment a fruitless pregnancy could bring.

The letters make possible such inferences, but they also do attest some facts about Terentia's relationship with Tullia. Mother and daughter traveled together a great deal, and faced problems together as Cicero's two "ladies."[250] For example, when Caesar marched on Rome, Cicero agonized for a number of letters about the best course of action for both Tullia and Terentia to take with respect to their abode, and, when he set off for Cilicia, he left the final decision-making about Tullia's marriage match in the hands of mother and daughter.[251]

The latter arrangement, in which the mother and the daughter decide the daughter's future marriage partner, was likely not unusual.[252] It is true that Tullia was still a *filia familias* because she had never married *cum manu*, and so a *paterfamilias* needed to provide the official consent, as Cicero does.[253] However Cicero's aforementioned anxiety on the subject indicates that, in the best case scenario, a father would be present to

---

[249] They did fail to reproduce.

[250] Mother and daughter traveling together is elsewhere attested: the epitaph of Julia Secunda and her mother Cornelia Tyche (*CIL* 6.20674) reveals that the parent and child drowned together off the coast of Spain, and so were likewise traveling together without the *paterfamilias*.

[251] Worrying about whether the "ladies" should stay at Rome or go elsewhere: *ad Att.* 7.12, 7.13, 7.16; *ad Fam.* 14.14, 14.18, 16.12. Marriage match: *ad Att.* 6.1.

[252] Phillips 1978: 70-73.

[253] *ad Att.* 6.1.

arrange the match, Cicero's absence was at worst awkward and probably not outlandish. A mother was expected, and expected herself, to be a part of marriage arrangement: Scipio Africanus' wife, for example, was exceedingly put out that she was not privy to the marriage negotiations for her daughter.[254] Dixon, citing this example, terms the role of women in marriage arrangement as "temporary cement," meaning that, although the consent of the father or grandfather of the family was required by law, women could contribute to the conversation about who should marry whom.[255] Unfortunately we cannot know the extent of Tullia's involvement in the choice, but she could and did rely upon her mother to some degree in the choice of a husband.

A model daughter could also expect assistance from her mother financially. In a letter from Cicero, it becomes clear that Terentia helped Tullia financially at least once, and that Tullia in turn was appropriately thankful.[256] This of course reinforces what has already been said of Tullia's relationship with her father, that proper provision for Tullia's comfort is ideally proportionate to the dutiful affection she shows her parents. According to Plutarch, although his account is not necessarily to be trusted, Cicero used Terentia's frugality with respect to Tullia as grounds for his divorce from her. Apparently, for one of Tullia's expeditions to Brundisium, Terentia had allowed her to go unfurnished with an escort or sufficient supplies.[257] However accurate or inaccurate this picture of Terentia as

[254] Livy 38.57.6-7.

[255] Dixon 1983: 105.

[256] *Ad Fam.* 14.6.

[257] Plut. *Cicero* 41.3.

a mother was, there was clearly an expectation in society that a daughter was to be provided for by both of her parents.[258]

For relationships outside of the family, Tullia's social world had expanded as much as it would for a respectable Roman woman. She interacted with her father's family friends in the way Minicia Marcella is attested to have done,[259] and had the opportunity of pursuing her own acquaintances with others beyond the family, albeit only with other women. The best two examples of this are her friendship with Atticus' wife Pilia,[260] and the specific occasion Cicero reports of Tullia attempting to pursue a business matter for the sake of her family. She discusses the matter of a house with Licinia, the wife of the man concerned, and unfortunately the business transaction does not come to fruition.[261] This latter episode, although unsuccessful, illustrates the fact that a grown woman could act in her parents' interest by approaching other women, according with Dixon's observation that Roman politics and business could be managed woman to woman and man to man.[262]

Unlike Timoxena and Minicia Marcella, no mention is made of Tullia's interactions with household staff, but presumably there was no need to discuss them. After she was a grown woman, she was probably in full charge of her own set of

[258] Dixon explores the unwritten rules of mothers bequeathing property to children in their wills, especially in chapter 3 of her 1988 work.

[259] Even when she was much younger, if one recalls the little joke with Atticus mentioned earlier.

[260] *Ad Att*. 4.16, 6.8.

[261] *Ad Fam.* 7.23.

[262] Dixon 1986: 95.

household staff, which would render her interactions with them too routine for especial comment.[263] By Cicero's own assertion, too, an adult should treat servants with a distant respect suited to his or her station: although it was of interest to Plutarch and Pliny respectively to make Timoxena or Minicia Marcella seem adult by illustrating their socialization in this regard, there was no need in the case of Tullia. She was already biologically an adult.

Ultimately, Tullia's relationships with others as depicted in the letters illustrate that a grown daughter was implicated in a reciprocal obligation with her parents, which meant that any agency she exhibited was limited to situations which could benefit the reputation of her family. Her part of the reciprocal relationship consisted of her dutiful affection, advocacy for the family, and maintenance of the family's good reputation by her own example; in exchange, her parents would seek to situate her well in life, and maintain her in that position even following her marriage. As Dixon put it, although referring specifically to mothers, the reciprocal obligations between parents and children "altered through the life cycle, but did not disappear."[264] The evidence we have seen in this chapter illustrates the nature of that *pietas*-motivated relationship at its most balanced. As an adult, Tullia was able to show all of the good qualities that Timoxena and Minicia Marcella illustrated, but in addition was able to be a true companion for her

[263] As was mentioned also in the chapter on Timoxena, a Roman *matrona* was expected to manage household affairs.

[264] Dixon 1988: 21.

father and to perform actions in the world for the sake of her family, actions which were not available to her younger counterparts.

Conclusion

Tullia did not live long enough, in Cicero's view, but in the life available to her, she did fulfill the life goals set before the ideal Roman daughter. She married men of consequence and gave birth to two sons, and therefore lived a life which the parents of Timoxena and Minicia Marcella might have wished for their daughters. In the adult stage of life, she also exhibited a complex of desirable qualities, including her intelligence, her devotion to her family, and her ability to comfort her father in a genuinely advisory role. In exchange for these attributes and the duties she fulfilled for the sake of her family, such as conversing with her father out of affection or acting alongside her husband as Cicero's representative in the political arena, her parents were expected to reward her by providing for her even after marriage and by maintaining the family reputation for her sake.

CONCLUSION

The adults who cared for Timoxena, the daughter of Plutarch, Minicia Marcella, the daughter of Fundanus, and Tullia, the daughter of Cicero, rendered the memory of these deceased daughters in ideal terms. Evidence about these daughters allow the exploration of model characteristics and behaviours for Roman girls in very early childhood, adolescence, and adulthood respectively.

In the case of Timoxena, the little girl lived almost two years, and so she had begun to display elements of her own, unique personality but had not yet weaned from her wet nurse. Her father Plutarch's letter of consolation to her mother on the occasion of her death reveals that a daughter's role in the family as a toddler is the same as a son's of the same age. She ought to be delightful and adorable, providing both physical affection and her very appearance as comfort and joy to her family. By Plutarch's account, as lightly affectionate as it is short, Timoxena is also depicted as learned and generous, representing her father's very idea of what a virtuous person should be. It seems also from Plutarch's view that she was in command of her social world, small though it was. These two facts taken together show that Timoxena was precocious: despite her young age, she exhibited adult characteristics. The only obvious indications of gender in the letter include Timoxena's relationship with her mother, which is rendered far closer than her relationship with her father, and the anticipated sorrow of her mother that Timoxena did not marry or bear children. Ultimately, although her gender was of some consequence to her young life, Timoxena was for the most part idealized in a manner dissimilar to the way little boys around her age were depicted.

A very different picture emerges for Minicia Marcella, the twelve or thirteen year old daughter of Fundanus, who died on the brink of becoming a *matrona*. She was a learned girl and obedient, by Pliny the Younger's account, and exhibited sober, matronly behaviours. By this token she did her father credit. At the same time, however, she was apparently a lively and affable creature, full of embraces and affection for her father and her father's friends. This latter point illustrates at the same time her desirability as a wife and her widening circle of contact with the world. The ideal role of the daughter at this stage becomes apparent in this letter: at the juncture between childhood and womanhood, a daughter ought to be a delight to her parents, to represent them well, and, by being attractive to suitors, to create connections between her father and other men.

The transition from childhood into adulthood for a Roman woman was defined by her first marriage, and so it is unsurprising that her gender was of the greatest consequence at this time. It was imperative that she exhibit the best features of her sex in order to attract a marriage of benefit to her own position as well as that of her family. This is not to say that in the stages of childhood and adulthood a Roman female's gender was irrelevant, for it certainly would have played a part throughout her life,[265] but it was of greatest interest to the adults in her life at that transition.

More than the daughters from the previous chapters, the adult Tullia, daughter of Cicero, was a companion for her father. She passed away presumably from complications of childbirth in her early thirties, sending her father into a spate of grief so deep that his

[265] As intimated by the gender-based connection attested between Timoxena and her mother, and the fact that Tullia and her mother were often treated together as the "ladies."

contemporaries branded it inappropriate. The daughter in this stage of the life course was more socially mobile than any other life stage, as she was able to conduct business with individuals who were neither household staff nor her father's friends. Her primary roles as a daughter were to represent the family well, as part of the reciprocal obligation demanded of parent and child by *pietas*; to be a support for her father; and to connect her father with other men by means of marriage and bearing children. She fulfilled these roles so well that Cicero tried to justify his fervent preparations for a shrine in her name by claiming that she was the "best and most learned of women."[266]

Over the life course of a Roman woman, then, we see that the expectations implicated in being a daughter culminated in the adult life stage, when she was of an age to marry and produce children. During this life stage, the *pietas*-defined relationship between parent and child was at its most balanced: as an adult, a woman could actively conduct affairs to the benefit of her family and parents, reciprocating as devotedly as possible the ways in which her parents had provided for her throughout her life socially, economically, and emotionally. In addition to what Tullia managed to do for her parents during her life, she would have been able to carry on the family name and cult and provide her parents with the proper funeral rites, had she lived. In the earlier stages of the life course, the parents received from their daughters only their good behaviour, affection, and potential for the future. As was depicted for Timoxena and Minicia Marcella, there was a concerted effort on the part of their commemorators to convey that the daughter in

[266] Lact. *Inst.* 1.15.

question possessed adult qualities. Therefore, Roman girls were esteemed for their ability to act in an adult manner, for to be an adult and fulfill adult obligations was the ideal.

At the same time, however, the Romans did enjoy children *qua* children. Even adult daughters were sometimes treated in some respect as children. The model daughter was always a tempered mixture of childlike attractiveness and of adult maturity and sobriety. Only the proportions of what was childlike and what was mature changed to suit the actual age of the daughter in question: as a child, Timoxena was adored mostly for her childlike aspects and the adult part of her representation was present but not as prominent; as an adolescent, Minicia Marcella had the most even blend of adult and childish characteristics; and as a thrice-married adult, Tullia was mostly respected for her maturity, but at times brought delight to her father as a small child would.

Thus, there were attributes which were lauded in Roman girls and women alike. However, the number and complexity of roles a daughter could fulfill for her family increased as she grew older. A Roman daughter's gender defined the spheres of society in which she could act, the goals of her life, and the nature of her relationships with others, but her ideal traits and position in the family were by no means static throughout the course of her life.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Beaumont, L. A. (2013). "Shifting gender: age and social status as modifiers of childhood gender in ancient Athens." In Judith Evans Grubbs and Tim Parkin (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World*. Oxford University Press, 195-206.

Bodel, J. (1995). "Minicia Marcella: Taken before her time." *AJPh* 116, no. 3: 453-460.

Bonner, S. (1977). *Education in Ancient Rome: From the Elder Cato to the Younger Pliny*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bradley, K. (1985). "Child labour in the Roman world." *Historical Reflections* 12, no. 2: 311-330.

--- (1986). "Wet-nursing at Rome: A study in social relations." In Beryl Rawson (ed.), *The Family in Ancient Rome: New Perspectives.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 201-229.

--- (1999). "Images of childhood: The evidence of Plutarch." In Sarah B. Pomeroy (ed.), *Plutarch's* Advice to the Bride and Groom *and* Consolation to his Wife: *English Translations, Commentary, Interpretive Essays, and Bibliography*. Oxford University Press, 183-196.

--- (2005). "The Roman child in sickness and in health." In Michele George (ed.), *The Roman Family in the Empire: Rome, Italy and Beyond.* Oxford University Press, 67-93.

Caldwell, L. (2015). *Roman Girlhood and the Fashioning of Femininity*. Cambridge University Press.

Cantarella, E. (2003). "Fathers and sons in Rome." *CW* 96, no. 3: 281-298.

Carlon, J. (2009). *Pliny's Women.* Cambridge University Press.

Carp, T. (1980). "*Puer senex* in Roman and Medieval thought." *Latomus* 39, fasc. 3: 736-739.

Carroll, M. (2012). "'No part in earthly things': The death, burial, and commemoration of newborn children and infants in Roman Italy." In Larsson Lovén and Mary Harlow (eds.), *Families in the Roman and Late Antique World*. London: Continuum, 41-63.

Clark, P. (1991). "Tullia and Crassipes." *Phoenix* 45, no. 1: 28-38.

Dasen, V. (2013) "Becoming human: From the embryo to the newborn child." In Judith Evans Grubbs and Tim Parkin (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World*. Oxford University Press, 17-39.

De Lacy, P., and B. Einarson (eds. and trans.). (1959). *Plutarch's Moralia*, vol. VII. Harvard University Press.

DeMause, L. (1974). *A History of Childhood.* New York: Harper & Row.

Dixon, S. (1983). "A family business: Women's role in patronage and politics at Rome, 80-44 BC."*Classica et Mediaevalia* 34: 91-112.

--- (1986). "Family finances: Terentia and Tullia." In Beryl Rawson (ed.), *The Family in Ancient Rome: New Perspectives.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 93-120.

--- (1988). *The Roman Mother.* London: Croom Helm.

--- (1991). "The sentimental ideal of the Roman family." In Beryl Rawson (ed.), *Marriage, Divorce, and Children in Ancient Rome*. Oxford University Press, 99-113.

--- (1992). *The Roman Family*. JHU Press.

Dolansky, F. (2012). "Playing with gender: Girls, dolls, and adult ideals in the Roman world." *ClAnt* 31, no. 2: 256-292.

Dressel, H. (1881). "Camera sepolcrale sul monte Mario." *Bullettino dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* 53: 12-17.

Evans Grubbs, J. (2013). "Infant exposure and infanticide." In Judith Evans Grubbs and Tim Parkin (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World*. Oxford University Press, 83-107.

George, M. (2000). "Family and *Familia* on Roman biographical sarcophagi." *Römische Mitteilungen* 107: 191-207.

Golden, M. (1988). "Did the ancients care when their children died?" *Greece & Rome* 35, no. 2: 152-163.

Goold, G. (1963). Review of *Plinius*, Epistulae*: A Critical Edition*, by S. Stout. *Phoenix* 17: 141-147.

Hallett, J. (1984). *Fathers and Daughters in Roman Society: Women and the Elite Family*. Princeton University Press.

Hani, J. (ed. and trans.). (1979). Plutarque, *Oeuvres Morales*, vol. VIII. Paris: Budé.

Harlow, M. (2013). "Toys, dolls, and the material culture of childhood." In Judith Evans Grubbs and Tim Parkin (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World*. Oxford University Press, 322-340.

Harris, W.V. (1994). "Child-exposure in the Roman empire." *JRS* 84: 1-22.

Hawley, R. (1999). "Practising what you preach." In Sarah B. Pomeroy (ed.), *Plutarch's* Advice to the Bride and Groom *and* Consolation to his Wife: *English Translations, Commentary, Interpretive Essays, and Bibliography*. Oxford University Press, 183-196.

Hemelrijk, E. (2004). "Masculinity and femininity in the *Laudatio Turiae*." *CQ* 54, no. 1: 185-197.

Hope, V. (2009). *Roman Death.* London: Continuum.

Hopkins, K. (1965). "The age of Roman girls at marriage." *Population Studies* 18, no. 3: 309-327.

--- (1966). "On the probable age structure of the Roman population." *Population Studies* 20, no. 2: 245-264.

Huskinson, J. (1996). *Roman Children's Sarcophagi: Their Decoration and its Social Significance.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Impara, P., and M. Manfredini (trans.). (1991). "Consolazione alla moglie." In *Corpus Plutarchi Moralium*, vol. IX. Naples: M. D'Auria, 54-75.

Joshel, S. (1986). "Nurturing the master's child: Slavery and the Roman child-nurse." *Signs* 12, no. 1: 3-22.

Kassel, R. (1958). *Untersuchungen zur griechischen und römischen Konsolationsliteratur.* Munich: C. H. Beck.

Laes, C. (2011). *Children in the Roman Empire: Outsiders Within*. Cambridge University Press.

Liddell, H., and R. Scott. (1940). *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Lewis, C., and C. Short. (1879). *A Latin Dictionary*. Oxford University Press.

Martin, H., Jr., and J. Phillips. (1978). "*Consolatio ad uxorem* (*Moralia* 608A-612B)." In Hans Dieter Betz (ed.), *Plutarch's Ethical Writings and Early Christian Literature*. Leiden: Brill, 394-441.

McNamara, J. (1999). "Gendering virtue." In Sarah B. Pomeroy (ed.), *Plutarch's* Advice to the Bride and Groom *and* Consolation to his Wife: *English Translations, Commentary, Interpretive Essays, and Bibliography*. Oxford University Press, 151-161.

McWilliam, J. (2013) "The socialization of Roman children." In Judith Evans Grubbs and Tim Parkin (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World*. Oxford University Press, 264-285.

Oliver, A. (2000). "Jewelry for the unmarried." In *I Claudia II: Women in Roman Art and Society*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 115-124.

Parkin, T. (2013) "The demography of infancy and early childhood in the ancient world." In Judith Evans Grubbs and Tim Parkin (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World*. Oxford University Press, 40-61.

--- (1992). *Demography and Roman Society.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Pascal, N. (1984). "The legacy of Roman education." *CJ* 79, no. 4: 351-355.

Phillips, J. (1978). "Roman mothers and the lives of their adult daughters." *Helios* 6: 69-80.

Pomeroy, S. (1999). "Reflections on Plutarch, *A Consolation to his Wife.*" In S. B. Pomeroy (ed.), *Plutarch's* Advice to the Bride and Groom *and* Consolation to his Wife: *English Translations, Commentary, Interpretive Essays, and Bibliography*. Oxford University Press, 75-81.

Rawson, B. (2003). *Children and Childhood in Roman Italy*. Oxford University Press.

Rawson, E. (1983). *Cicero: A Portrait*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Rehm, R. (1994). *Marriage to Death: The Conflation of Wedding and Funeral Rituals in Greek Tragedy.* Princeton University Press.

Saller, R. (1991). *Patriarchy, Property, and Death in the Roman Family.* Cambridge University Press.

Saller, R., and B. Shaw. (1984). "Tombstones and Roman family relations in the Principate: Civilians, soldiers, slaves." *JRS* 74: 124-156.

Scheidel, W. (2007). "Roman funerary commemoration and the age at first marriage." *CPh* 102, no. 4: 389-402.

Schofield, R. (1986). "Did the mothers really die? Three centuries of maternal mortality in 'the world we have lost'." In Lloyd Bonfield, Richard Smith, and Keith Wrightson (eds.), *The World We Have Gained: Histories of population and social structure*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 231-60.

Shackleton Bailey, D. (1971). *Cicero*. New York: Charles Schribner's Sons.

Shaw, B. (1987). "The age of Roman girls at first marriage: some reconsiderations." *JRS* 77: 28-46.

Shelton, J. (2013). *The Women of Pliny's Letters*. London: Routledge.

Sherwin-White, A. (1966). *The Letters of Pliny: A historical and social commentary.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Shuckburgh, E. (1908). *The Letters of Cicero: The whole extant correspondence in chronological order, in four volumes.* London: George Bell and Sons.

Stout, S. (1954). *Scribe and Critic at Work in Pliny's Letters.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Treggiari, S. (1991). *Roman Marriage:* Iusti coniuges *from the time of Cicero to the time of Ulpian.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

--- (2007). *Terentia, Tullia, and Publilia: The women of Cicero's family.* London: Routledge.

Wiedemann, T. (1989). *Adults and Children in the Roman Empire.* London: Routledge.

Wilcox, A. (2005). "Paternal grief and the public eye: Cicero *Ad familiares* 4.6." *Phoenix* 59: 267-287.