Women’s Life
in Greece and Rome

A Source Book in Translation

Third Edition

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To our mothers, Mena Rosenthal and Nancy Brown

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may find fault with her hard hands. She was content with nothing but what she did for herself. There was never a topic she thought she knew well enough. She remained virtuous because she never committed any crime.

While she lived she so guided her two young lovers that they became like the example of Pythias and Orestes – one house would hold them both and one spirit. But now that she is dead, they will separate, and each is growing old by himself. Now instants damage what such a woman built up; look at Troy, to see what a woman once did. I pray that it be right to use such grand comparisons for this lesser event.

These verses for you your patron – whose tears never end – writes in tribute. You are lost, but never will be taken from his heart. These are the gifts he believes the lost will enjoy. After you no woman can seem good. A man who has lived without you has seen his own death while alive. He carries your name in gold back and forth on his arm, where he can keep it, possessing Potestas. As long as these published words of ours survive, so long will you live in these little verses of mine.

In your place I have only your image as solace; this we cherish with reverence and lavish with flowers. When I come with you, it follows in attendance. But to whom in my visiting can I trust a thing so venerable? If there ever is anyone to whom I can entrust it, I shall be fortunate in this alone now that I have lost you. But – woe is me – you have won the contest – my fate and yours are the same.

The man who tries to harm this tomb dares to harm the gods: believe me, this woman, made famous by this inscription, has divinity.


Good Athenodora of Attica, wife of Thaumasius, filled with God’s influence. She bore children and nursed them when they were infants. Earth took this young mother and keeps her, though the children need her milk.

49. Urbana, housewife. Rome, 3rd cent. AD (CIL VI.29580 = ILS 8450. L)

Sacred to the gods of the dead. To Urbana my sweetest, chastest, and rarest wife. Surely no one more distinguished ever existed. She deserved honour also for this reason, that she lived every day of her life with me with the greatest kindness and the greatest simplicity, both in her conjugal love and the industry typical of her character. I added this so that those who read may understand how much we loved one another. Paternus set this up in honour of his deserving wife.

II. Men’s Opinions

50. Macria Helike, a Christian. Rome, 2nd/3rd cent. AD (Greek verses in Kaibel 727 = Peek 1164. G)

Her husband, who is still alive, has in his heart a memorial to his own wife after her irrevocable fate. Wayfarer, I have written this on a stone tablet, [a record] of what she was like. She had looks like golden Aphrodite, but she also had a simple soul dwelling in her breast. She was good, and abided by all God’s laws. She absolutely broke none of them. She has brought joy to her survivors. She began as a slave, but now has won the crown of freedom. She bore three live children, and she was the mother of two sons. After she had seen the third, a female, she left her life painlessly, on the eleventh day. She had an incredible beauty, like an Amazon’s, to inspire passion more when she was dead than when she was alive. She lived simply for 20 years. This dark tomb conceals Macria Helike.

Literary sources

‘A woman who never had women’s defects’

Daughter of a hero, wife of an aristocrat and mother of champions of the Roman people, Cornelia was admired for her virtue, fidelity and, not least, her intelligence. She was the standard by which Roman matrons were measured and has been remembered as the ideal of Roman womanhood for two millennia. For other texts on Cornelia, see nos. 259, 260.


(4.3) The people of Rome honoured her not less for her children than for her father, and in later times set up a bronze statue of her with the inscription, ‘Cornelia, Mother of the Gracchi’.

(19.1-3) Cornelia is said to have borne these and all her misfortunes nobly and magnanimously, and to have said about the shrines where they were buried that their bodies had received worthy tombs. She herself spent her days in the area called Misenum, and did not change her customary way of life. She had many friends and entertained her friends, and there were always Greeks and learned men in her company, and all the kings exchanged gifts with her. She particularly enjoyed discussing with visitors and friends the life and habits of her father Scipio Africanus, and she was most admirable because she did not grieve for her sons and talked to her audience without weeping about their sufferings and their accomplishments, as if she were telling stories to them about the ancient heroes of Rome.

Some thought that she had lost her mind because she was old and had suffered so greatly, and that she had become insensible because of her misfortunes, but these people were themselves insensible of how much
nobility and good birth and education can help people in times of sorrow, and that for all the attempts of virtue to prevent it, she may be overcome by fortune, but in her defeat she cannot be deprived of the power of rational endurance.

52. Tiberius chooses to die in place of Cornelia. Rome, 2nd cent. BC (Plutarch, Life of Tiberius Gracchus, I.2-5. G)

[Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus] were the sons of Tiberius Gracchus, who had been censor and twice consul in Rome and had celebrated two triumphs, but derived the greatest honour from his virtue. Because of this, Scipio, the general who fought against Hannibal, offered Tiberius his daughter Cornelia in marriage, even though he had not been Tiberius’ friend, but rather the opposite.

A story is told that Tiberius once caught a pair of snakes on his bed; the soothsayers considered the omen and did not let him kill or free both of them, but instead offered him a choice, that if the male were killed it would cause Tiberius’ death, and if the female, Cornelia’s. So Tiberius, both because he loved his wife, and because he thought that it was more fitting for him to die since he was older, and she was still young, killed the male snake, and let the female go. And not long after that he died, leaving twelve children who had been born to him and Cornelia.

Cornelia took over the children and the household, and proved herself so sensible and motherly and generous that it seemed that Tiberius had made a good decision when he chose to die on behalf of such a woman. When Ptolemy\textsuperscript{12} offered to share his kingdom with her and proposed marriage, Cornelia refused. She remained a widow, and of her children, only a daughter survived, who married Scipio the younger, and the two sons, the subjects of these biographies, Tiberius and Gaius. After they were born she raised them in such a laudable manner that, although they were generally agreed to be the most naturally gifted of all Romans their virtue was regarded as having come from their education rather than their birth.


The historian Valerius Maximus chooses three examples of womanly virtue. Loyalty to a husband appears to have been the highest excellence a woman could attain (cf. Arria, no. 170, and Fannia, no. 172)

Tertia Aemilia, the wife of Scipio Africanus and the mother of Cornelia,\textsuperscript{13} was a woman of such kindness and patience that, although she knew that her husband was carrying on with a little serving girl, she looked the other way, [as she thought it unseemly for] a woman to prosecute her great husband, Africanus, a conqueror of the world, for a dalliance. So little was she interested in revenge that, after Scipio’s death, she freed the girl and gave her in marriage to one of her own freedmen.\textsuperscript{14}

When Quintus Lucretius [Vespillo] was proscribed by the triumvirs, his wife Turia\textsuperscript{15} hid him in her bedroom above the rafters. A single maidservant knew the secret. At great risk to herself, she kept him safe from imminent death. So rare was her loyalty that, while the other men who had been proscribed found themselves in foreign, hostile places, barely managing to escape the worst tortures of body and soul, Lucretius was safe in that bedroom in the arms of his wife.\textsuperscript{16}

Sulpicia, despite the very close watch her mother Julia was keeping on her so that she would not follow her husband to Sicily (he was Lentulus Cruscello, proscribed by the triumvirs), nevertheless put on slave’s clothing and, taking two maids and the same number of manservants, fled secretly and went to him. She was not afraid to risk proscription herself, and her fidelity to her proscribed spouse was firm.\textsuperscript{17}

54. Pandora. Boeotia, early 7th cent. BC (Hesiod, Works and Days 42-105. G)

In an epic that explains how and why man’s life is now so hard, read as a school text throughout antiquity, Hesiod describes how woman was given to man’s representative Epimetheus (‘Afterthinker’) as punishment for his brother Prometheus (‘Forethinker’) crimes against Zeus. Later in the poem he offers advice on picking a wife.

For the gods have hidden away and are hiding from men the means of life. If they weren’t, you could easily work just for a day to get what would keep you for a year, even if you remained idle – you could put your rudder away over the fireplace, and the work of oxen and of toiling mules would disappear.

But Zeus hid the means of life because he was angry in his heart, because crooked-minded Prometheus deceived him. That is why he devised for men these miserable sorrows. Zeus had hidden fire. But good Prometheus son of Iapetus stole it back for men, away from Zeus the Deviser; he hid it from Thunderer Zeus in a hollow reed.

So Zeus became angry at him and told him: ‘Son of Iapetus, since you can devise better than everyone, are you glad that you stole fire and tricked my mind? That theft will be a big pain for you and for men in the future, for I’ll give them in return for the fire an evil which they can all enjoy in their hearts while putting their arms round an evil of their very own.’ So Zeus spoke, and laughed, father of gods and men.
Education of females
‘She worked hard to learn letters’

213. The education of Eurydice, Philip of Macedon’s mother. Aegae, 3rd cent. BC (Pseudo-Plutarch, Moralia 14b-c. 2nd cent. AD. G)

We ought therefore to try every appropriate means of disciplining our children, following the example of Eurydice. She was an Illyrian and a complete barbarian, but late in life she became involved in education because of her children’s studies. The epigram she set up to the Muses provides adequate documentation of her love for her children: ‘Eurydice of Hierapolis set up this tablet, when she had satisfied her desire to become learned; for she worked hard to learn letters, the repository of speech, because she was a mother of growing sons.’

214. The need for educated parents. Rome, 1st cent. AD (Quintilian, Institutes of Oratory 1.1.6. L)

As for parents, I should like them to be as well educated as possible, and I am not speaking just of fathers. We know that Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, contributed greatly to their eloquence, for the erudition of her speech has been handed down even to the present day in her letters. Laelia, too, daughter of Gaius [Laelius],14 is said to have brought back the elegance of her father’s speech in her own; and the oration which Hortensia, Quintus’ daughter, made before the triumvirs is read not merely as an honour to her sex.15

215. Heraidous, a girl who is learning to read. Egypt, 2nd cent. AD (Giessen papyrus 80, 85. G)

Fragment of a letter; the names of the writer and addressee(s) are lost.

(80) Heraidous sends greetings ... so do Helen and Tinotis and her father and everyone in the household and the mother of dearest Heraidous. Send the pigeons and small fowl, which I am not accustomed to eat, to Heraidous’ teacher. Helen, Apollonius’ mother, asks you to keep her son Hermæus in hand. Whatever I did not eat send as a gift to my daughter’s teacher, so that he may take trouble over her. My best wishes to you. Choiai 17.

(95) Please see that I have the necessary equipment for school, such as a book for Heraidous to read ...

VII. Private Life

Intellectual life
‘An author of books’

216. Plato’s female pupils. Athens, 4th cent. BC (Diogenes Laertius 3.46; Themistius, Orations 295e; Oxyrhynchus papyrus 3656. G)

Diogenes names seventeen of Plato’s many male pupils:

Along with them there were two women, Lasthenia of Mantinea and Axiothea of Phlius; she dressed like a man, according to Dicearchus.16

Themistius uses the case of Axiothea as an illustration of the powerful attractions of Plato’s philosophy:

For Axiothea, when she had read some of Plato’s Republic17 left her home in Arcadia and went to Athens. She attended Plato’s lectures without anyone noticing that she was a woman ...

... after Plato’s death [Lasthenia?] also studied with Speusippus, according to Hippobotus, and then with Menedemus the Eretrian.18

Again Hieronymus of Rhodes writes about her in his treatise on Physics. Aristophanes the Peripatetic similarly tells the story in his treatise on Painlessness that the girl was pretty and full of unaffected charm.

217. A female philosopher.19 Athens, 3rd cent. BC (Diogenes Laertius 6.96-8. 3rd cent. AD. G)

Hipparchia fell in love with both Crates’ discourses and his way of life. She paid no attention to any of her suitors, their money, their high birth or their good looks. To her Crates was everything. And in fact she threatened her parents that she would kill herself, if they didn’t let her marry him. Her parents begged Crates to dissuade her. He did everything he could, but finally when he couldn’t persuade her, he stood up and took off his clothes in front of her and said: ‘This is your bridegroom; these are his possessions; plan accordingly!’ He didn’t think she would be able to be his partner unless she could share in the same pursuits.

But the girl chose him. She adopted the same dress and went about with him; she made love to him in public; she went to dinner parties with him.20 Once, when she went to a dinner party at Lysimachus’ house, she put down Theodorus called the Atheist by using the following trick of logic: if an action could not be called wrong when done by Theodorus it could not be called wrong when done by Hipparchia. Therefore, if Theodorus does nothing wrong when he hits himself, Hipparchia does nothing wrong if she hits Theodorus. He had no defence against her logic, and started to pull off her cloak.21
But Hipparchia did not get upset or excited as other women would. Then when he said to her: ‘Here I am. Agave, who left behind my shuttles beside my loom.’" Indeed it is I," said Hipparchia; ‘Theodorus – you don’t think that I have arranged my life so badly, do you, if I have used the time I would have wasted on weaving for my education?” These and many other stories are told about the woman philosopher.

218. Epigram on Hipparchia. 3rd cent. BC (Antipater of Thessalonica, AP VII.413, 1st cent. BC. G)

I, Hipparchia, have no use for the works of deep-robed women; I have chosen the Cynics’ virile life. I don’t need capes with brooches or deep-soled slippers; I don’t like glossy nets for my hair. My wallet is my staff’s travelling companion, and the double cloak that goes with them, the cover for my bed on the ground. I’m much stronger than Atalanta from Maenalus, because my wisdom is better than racing over the mountain.

219. A learned woman. 1st cent. AD (The Suda.23 FHG 3.520 ff. G)

Pamphile was an Epidaurian, a learned woman, the daughter of Soterides, who is also said to have been an author of books.24 According to Dionysius in the thirteenth book of his History of Learning; or, as others have written, it was Socratides her husband. She wrote historical memoirs in 33 books, an epitome of Ctesias’ history is three books, many epitomes of histories and other books, about controversies, sex25 and many other things.

220. Agrippina’s memoirs. Rome, 1st cent. AD (Tacitus, Annals 4.53. L)

Agrippina the Younger, known to history as the murdered mother of the Emperor Nero, wrote the story of her life and her family in sufficient detail for it to have been of use to the historian Tacitus, who cites the work.

But Agrippina [the Elder] was still angry and ill. When Caesar26 paid her a visit, she wept long and silently, then began to berate him and plead with him by turns. He should help her out of her loneliness and give her a husband. She was still young and healthy and no other comfort was available to honest women. And there were plenty of men in Rome who would consider it an honour to take in the widow and children of Germanicus. But the emperor, who was not blind to the political aspects of her request, gave no outward sign either of displeasure or fear, and left her forthwith, despite her insistence, without a reply.

I read about this incident in the memoirs of Agrippina the Younger, mother of the Emperor Nero, in which she recorded for posterity her own life and her family’s travails.

221. A philosopher. Apollonia, Mysia, 2nd/3rd cent. AD (Pleket 30. G)

For Magnilla the philosopher, daughter of Magnus the philosopher, wife of Menius the philosopher.

222. A Roman philosopher. Rome. (CIL VI.33898 = ILS 7783. L)

Pious Euphronyse, learned in the nine Muses,27 philosopher, she lived 20 years.

223. Women’s eloquence. Rome, 46 BC (Cicero, Brutus 58.211. L)

We have read the letters of Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi; it appears that her sons were brought up not so much at their mother’s breast as by her speech. I often heard the speech of Laelia, Gaius’ daughter; we saw that she was touched by her father’s refinement and so were her two daughters, the Muciae, whose speech is also known to me, and I have heard both her granddaughters, the Liciae, one of whom, the wife of Scipio, you, Brutus, I believe, have heard speak.

224. Sulpicia. Rome, late 1st cent. AD (Martial, Epigrams 10.35. Late 1st cent. AD. L)

The work of the second Roman woman poet named Sulpicia (for the first see nos. 22 and 23), who lived in the Flavian period (AD 69–96), is not preserved. If Martial’s praise of her work is any guide, her poems must have lacked the passion and immediacy of those of her earlier namesake.

Let all girls read Sulpicia if they want to please their husbands alone. And let every husband read Sulpicia who wants to please his bride alone. She doesn’t write about the Colchian’s28 fury or Thystes’ deadly dinner; she doesn’t believe in Scylla and Byblis: but she teaches chaste and honest loves, the games, the delights, the humour of love. He who appreciates her poetry will say that no woman was more mischievous, and no woman more modest. I believe the nymph Egeria exchanged such pleasantries with Numa in his dripping cave. And, Sappho, if she’d been your teacher or classmate, you’d have learned more and kept your chastity intact. But if hard Phaon had seen you and her together at the same time, he’d have loved Sulpicia. In vain: that girl wouldn’t live as the wife of Jupiter himself or the lover of Bacchus or Apollo if her Calenus were ever taken from her.

29
Parents and children
‘These are my jewels’

254. Posilla Senenia. Monteleone Sabino, 1st cent. BC (ILLRP 971. L)
Posilla Senenia, daughter of Quartus and Quarta Senenia, freedwoman of Gaius.
Stranger, stop and, while you are here, read what is written: that a mother was not permitted to enjoy her only daughter, whose life, I believe, was envied by some god.
Since her mother was not allowed to adorn her while she was alive, she does so just the same after death; at the end of her time, [her mother] with this monument honours her whom she loved.

255. A mother’s request. Henchir Thina, Algeria, Imperial period (CIL VIII.9491 = CLE 151. L)
My son, your mother asks you to take her with you.

256. A mother’s last wish. Philippeville, Algeria (CIL VIII.8123 = CLE 1287. L)
Here lies Pompeia Chia, who lived 25 years.
I hope that my daughter will live chastely and learn by my example to love her husband.

257. A mother’s instructions about her son’s education. 2nd/3rd cent. AD (Oxyrhynchus papyrus 930. G)
(The beginning of the letter is lost) ... hurry and write to me about what you may need. I was sad to learn from the daughter of our teacher Diogenes that he had gone down the river. I never had to worry about him because I knew that he would take the best care of you that he could. I took care to write and to ask about your health and to find out what you were reading. He said it was the sixth book [of the Iliad] and supplied me with full information about your attendant. So now, my son, you and your attendant must take care to engage a proper teacher for you. Your sisters send many greetings; so do the children (avert the evil eye!) of Theonis and all of our friends by name. My greetings to your esteemed attendant Eros. (Addressed) To her son Ptolemaeus.

258. The good old days. Rome, late 1st cent. AD (Tacitus, Dialogue 28, excerpts. L)
The historian Tacitus looks back on the time when mothers played a role in their sons’ education and thus, directly or indirectly, had a share in Rome’s greatness.

In the old days, every child born to a respectable mother was brought up not in the room of a bought nurse but at his mother’s knee. It was her particular honour to care for the home and serve her children. An older female relative, of tested character, was picked to be in charge of all the children in the house. And no one dared do or say anything improper in front of her. She supervised not only the boys’ studies but also their recreation and games with piety and modesty. Thus, tradition has it, Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, Aurelia, mother of Julius Caesar, and Atia, mother of Augustus, brought up their sons and produced princes.

259. Cornelia’s children. Rome, 2nd cent. BC (Valerius Maximus, Memorable Deeds and Sayings 4.4 pr., 1st cent. AD. L)
This familiar anecdote illustrates the perfection to which a Roman mother might aspire.

A Campanian matron who was staying with Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, was showing off her jewels, the most beautiful of that period. Cornelia managed to prolong the conversation until her children got home from school. Then she said, ‘These are my jewels.’

260. A letter from Cornelia to Gaius Gracchus. 2nd cent. BC (Cornelius Nepos, Fr. 2 Winstedt. Tr. A. Gratwick. L)
A letter from Cornelia to her son Gaius Gracchus, urging him not to seek the Tribunate, purportedly written from Misenum in 131 BC, where she had retired after the assassination of her other Tribune son, Tiberius Gracchus. He did not, however, listen to his mother, and was killed in a riot in 121 BC.

I would take a solemn oath, that apart from those who killed Tiberius Gracchus, no one has given me so much pain as you in this matter, who ought to undertake the part of all the children I have ever had, and to make sure that I should have as little worry as possible in my old age, and that, whatever your schemes might be, you should wish them to be agreeable to me, and that you should count it a sin to take any major step against my wishes, especially considering that I have only a little part of life left.

Is it quite impossible to cooperate for even that short space of time without your opposing me and ruining our country? Where will it all end? Will our family ever cease from madness? Can a bound ever be put to it? Shall we ever cease to dwell on affronts, both causing and suffering them? Shall we ever begin to feel true shame for confounding and destroying the
constitution? But if that is quite impossible, when I am dead, then seek the
Tribunate.
Do what you like so far as I am concerned, when I am not there to know
it. When I am dead, will you sacrifice to me and invoke me as your
hallowed parent. At that time will you not be ashamed to seek the
intercession of those hallowed ones whom alive and present you treated
with such abandonment and desertion? May Jove above not let you
persist in this nor let such lunacy enter your mind! But if you do persist, I
fear that through your own fault you will encounter so much trouble
throughout your whole life that at no time will you be able to rest content.

261. Seneca to his mother. Corsica, AD 41/9. (Seneca, On Consolation
16. L)

Lucius Annaeus Seneca, Stoic philosopher, politician and tutor to the young
Nero, spent eight years (AD 41-9) in Corsica, exiled because the empress
Messalina had accused him of adultery with Julia Livilla, Caligula’s sister.
During this period he wrote the long essay To Helvia on Consolation, from
which this extract is taken, to comfort his mother, Helvia. He urges her to
limit her grief on grounds that excessive grieving would be like a woman,
and she is better than that.

Do not use the excuse that you are a woman, who has the right to weep
immoderately, but not without limit; and if our ancestors gave widows by
law up to ten months for mourning, it was in reaction to the tenacity of
women’s grief. They did not forbid mourning; they limited it; for to suffer
for the rest of one’s life for the loss of a loved one is as inhuman as
showing no grief at all. The best compromise between devotion and
reason is to feel the grief and to suppress it. Do not look at certain women
whose period of bereavement ends only with their own death (you know
some who lost their children and put on mourning and never took it off).
From you, life, harder from the very beginning, requires more. A woman
who never had women’s defects cannot now plead womanhood as an
excuse.

You – unlike so many – never succumbed to immorality, the worst evil
of the century; jewels and pearls did not bend you; you never thought
wealth was the greatest gift to the human race; the bad example of lesser
women – dangerous even for the virtuous – did not lead you to stray from
the old-fashioned, strict upbringing you received at home. You never were
ashamed of your fertility, as though the number of children you had
mocked your age. You never tried to hide your pregnancy as though it
were indecent, like other women who seek to please only with their
beauty. Nor did you ever extinguish the hope of children already
conceived whom you were carrying. You never polluted yourself with
make-up, and you never wore a dress that covered about as much as it
did off. Your only ornament, the kind of beauty that time does not
tarnish, is the great honour of modesty.

So you cannot use your sex to justify your sorrow when with your virtue
you have transcended it. Keep as far away from women’s tears as from
their faults. But not even women will let you nurse your wound till it eats
you up. Once you have got over the first wave of sorrow, they will invite
you to pick yourself up, at least if you look at the examples of women who
deserve to be ranked with great men. Fortune took all but two of
Cornelia’s twelve children. If you count the numbers, she lost ten; if you
consider the value, she lost the Gracchi.61 But when those around her
weep and cursed her fate, she forbade them to blame Fortune, which had
given her the Gracchi as her sons. The man who said in public, ‘You would
speak ill of my mother, who brought me into the world? should have had
her as his mother. How much prouder the remark of the mother: for the
son what counted was the birth of the Gracchi, for the mother their death
as well.

Rutilia followed her son Cotta62 into exile and was so attached to him
that she preferred exile to separation and would not return until he did.
But when, after he returned and his career was flourishing, he died, she
bore the loss with no less courage than that she had needed to follow him,
and no one saw her crying after the funeral. She showed strength of spirit
towards her son in exile, and wisdom when she lost him. For nothing
could deter her from her maternal devotion, and nothing could detrain her
in useless and foolish sorrow.

I want you to be one of those women. You have always emulated their
life; you will do well to follow their example in suppressing your grief.

262. The death of the Helvidiae. AD 104/5 (Pliny the Younger, Letters
4.21. L)

How awful what happened to the sisters Helvidiae63 They both died
giving birth to daughters. My grief is acute, but no worse than what is
right under the circumstances. It is sad indeed to see two such fine girls
in the bloom of youth felled by their own fertility. I am very sorry too for
their infants, orphans at birth, and for their fine husbands, and even for
myself. I continue to be devoted to their late father, as my writings and
actions attest. Now only one of his three children survives, all that
remains of a family so recently supported by so many members.

It will go a long way towards assuaging my grief if Fortune keeps that
one safe and makes him as good as his father and grandfather. I am the
more anxious for his health and character now that he is all that remains
of the family. You know how soft I go, how frightened I get when someone
I love is concerned; so you won’t be surprised that where I am very afraid,
I am also full of high hopes. Farewell.