Funeral strategies for women at the end of the Roman Republic: the case of Turia
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- Caesar’s «mourning policy»

«While giving eulogies for elderly women was an old custom among the Romans, it was not customary for young women. Caesar did it for the first time in honour of his deceased female relatives».

2. Svet. Iul. 6, 1: Amitae meae Iuliae maternum genus ab regibus ortum, paternum cum diis inmortalibus coniunctum est. Nam ab Anco Marcio sunt Marcii Reges, quo nomine fuit mater; a Venere Iulii, cuius gentis familia est nostræ. Est ergo in genere et sanctita regum, qui plurimum inter homines pollent, et caerimonia deorum, quorum ipsi in potestate sunt reges.
«My aunt Julia’s maternal lineage descend from the kings, her paternal lineage is connected with the immortal gods. For the Marcii kings descended from Anco Martius, and their mother had that name; from Venus the Iulii, and our family is of that line. There is therefore in the lineage the sacredness of the kings, who have the greatest authority among men, and the veneration of the gods, under whose power the kings themselves are».

«Caesar brought Marius’ dignity back to the city after a long time, as it were from Hades».

4. CIL, VI 41025
[--- statuam ---] [---statue---]
[--] post mortem ponendum cen[suit] [---] decreed that it should be placed after death
[sepe]liri que eam in campo Martio iu[s]sit and ordered to bury her in the Campus Martius.
------? ------?

5. Liv. Per. 106: Iulia, Caesaris filia, Pompei uxor, decessit, honosque ei a populo habitus est, ut in campo Martio sepeliretur.
«Julia, Caesar’s daughter and Pompey’s wife, died and the people honoured her by burying her in the Campus Martius».

«(Caesar) offered public spectacles and banquets in memory of his daughter, as no one before him had ever done».

«He also organised gladiatorial games and naumachiae in memory of his long-dead daughter Julia».

- Turia’s domestica bona


* LT translation by E. Wistrand, *The so-called Laudatio Turiae: Introduction, text, translation, commentary*, Lund 1976; the other translations are provided by the author.

«Why should I mention your domestic virtues? Your loyalty, obedience, affability, reasonableness, industry in working wool, religion without superstition, sobriety of attire, modesty of appearance? Why dwell on your love for your relatives, your devotion to your family? You have shown the same attention to my mother as you did to your own parents and have taken care to secure an equally peaceful life for her as you did for your own people, and you have innumerable other merits in common with all married women who care for their good name. It is your very own virtues that I am asserting, and very few women have encountered comparable circumstances to make them endure such sufferings and perform such deeds. Providentially fate has made such hard tests rare for women».

- Turia’s «male» virtues: praesentia/firmitas animí

1. **LT rr. 13-17**: Temptatae deinde estis ut testamen[tum patris], quo nos eramus heredés, rupt[um diceretur] coemptione facta cum uxore: ita necessario te cum universis pat[ris bonis in] tutelam eorum qui rem agitabant recídisse; sororem omni[um rerum] fore expertem, quod emancupata esset Cluvio. Qua mente ista acc[eperis, qua iis pra-]sentia animí restiteris, etsi afuí, compertum habeo.

«Then pressure was brought to bear on you and your sister to accept the view that your father’s will, by which you and I were heirs, had been invalidated by his having contracted a coempio with his wife. If that was the case, then you together with all your father’s property would necessarily come under the guardianship of those who pursued the matter; your sister would be left without any share at all of that inheritance, since she had been transferred to the potestas of Cluvius. How you reacted to this, with what presence of mind you offered resistance, I know full well, although I was absent».


«You begged for my life when I was abroad; it was your courage that urged you to this step, and because of your entreaties I was shielded by the clemency of those against whom you marshalled your words. But whatever you said was always said with undaunted courage».

3. **Cic. Mur. 12**: mulieres omnis propter infirmitatem consili maiores in tutorum potestate esse voluerunt.

«Our ancestors wanted all women to be subject to guardianship (tutela) because of their weakness of character».

- Turia’s «male» virtues: liberalitas

Your generosity you had manifested to many friends and particularly to your beloved relatives. On this point someone might mention with praise other women, but the only equal you have had has been your sister. For you brought up your female relations who deserved such kindness in your own houses with us. You also prepared marriage-portions for them so that they could obtain marriages worthy of your family. The dowries you had decided upon Cluvius and I by common accord took upon ourselves to pay, and since we approved of your generosity, we did not wish you should let your own patrimony suffer diminution but substituted our own money and gave our own estates as dowries. I have mentioned this not from a wish to commend ourselves but to make clear that it was a point of honour for us to execute with our means what you had conceived in a spirit of generous family affection.

- Turia’s «male» virtues: constantia

1. LT rr. 25-26: Cessarunt constantiae tuae neque amplius rem sollicitarunt; quo facto [offici in patrem,] pietatis in sororem, fide[i] in nos patrocinium succumptum sola peregisti.
   «They gave way before your firm resolution and did not pursue the matter any further. Thus, you on your own brought to a successful conclusion the defence you took up of your duty to your father, your devotion to your sister, and your faithfulness towards me».

2. LT rr. 111-113: Tibi veró quid memorabilius quam inserviendo mihi [peram dedisse te] ut quom ex te liberos [abe]re non possem, per te tamen [haberem et diffic]-dentià partús tuí alteri[us c]oniugio pararés fecunditad[em?]
   «But on your part, what could have been more worthy of commemoration and praise than your efforts in devotion to my interests: when I could not have children from yourself, you wanted me to have them through your good offices and, since you despaired of bearing children, to provide me with offspring by my marriage to another woman».

- Turia’s «male» virtues: speculatrix et propugnatrix

   «What you have achieved in your life will not be lost to me. The thought of your fame gives me strength of mind and from your actions I draw instruction so that I shall be able to resist Fortune. Fortune did not rob me everything since it permitted your memory to be glorified by praise. But along with you I have lost the tranquillity of my existence. When I recall how you used to foresee and ward off the dangers that threatened me, I break down under my calamity and I cannot hold steadfastly by my promise».

   «Guardians, I believe, and avengers of crime and wickedness».

3. Val. Max. 9, 8, ext. 1: Igitur angusti atque aestuosi maris alto et tumulo speculatrix statua quam memoriae Pelori tam Punicæ temeritatis ultra citraque nauigantium oculis conlocatum indicium est.
   «So, from a height in that stormy strait, anyone crossing it in either direction will see a statue, set up as a testament and reminder of Pelorus and Carthaginian recklessness».

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«It is called justice because it assists publicly and is a faithful guardian of the interests of others».

5. Cic. ad Brut. 1, 11: se praestaturus fuerit acerrimum propugnatorem communis libertatis, si occasioni potuisset occurrere.
«Had the opportunity arisen, he would have been a tireless champion of common freedom».

«But neither is he a good guardian or avenger of the homeland nor a protector of friends».

- Turia’s pietas, virtus and ultio

«You became an orphan suddenly before the day of our wedding, when both your parents were murdered together in the solitude of the countryside. It was mainly due to your efforts that the death of your parents was not left unavenged. For I had left for Macedonia, and your sister’s husband Cluvius had gone to the province of Africa. So strenuously did you perform your filial duty by your insistent demands and your pursuit of justice that we could not have done more if we had not been present. But these merits you have in common with that most virtuous lady your sister».

«But I must say that the bitterest thing that happened to me in my life befell me through what happened to you. When thanks to the favour and esteem of the absent Caesar Augustus I had been restored to my country as a citizen, Marcus Lepidus, his colleague, who was present, was confronted with your request concerning my recall, and you lay prostrate at his feet, and you were not only not raised up but were dragged away and carried off brutally like a slave. But although your body was full of bruises, your spirit was unbroken and you kept reminding him of Caesar’s edict with its expression of pleasure at my reinstatement, and although you had to listen to insulting words and suffer cruel wounds, you pronounced the words of the edict in a loud voice, so that it should be known who was the cause of my deadly perils. This matter was soon to prove harmful for him. What could have been more effective than the virtue you displayed? You managed to give Caesar an opportunity to display his clemency and not only to preserve my life but also to brand Lepidus’ insolent cruelty by your admirable endurance».

- Conclusions

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«It is your very own virtues that I am asserting, and very few women have encountered comparable circumstances to make them endure such sufferings and perform such deeds. Providentially fate has made such hard tests rare for women».

2. LT rr. 88-89: Pácátó orbe terrárum, res[titut]á re publicá quieta deinde n[obis et felicia] tempora contigerunt. «When peace had been restored throughout the world and the res publica reestablished, we began to enjoy quiet and happy times».

3. D.C. 54, 15, 5: καὶ ἐς τὰς συνόδους ἀεὶ ἐσῆγεν, ὡς ὅτι πλείστην καὶ χλευασίαν καὶ ὑβρίν πρὸς τῇ τῆς ἱσχύος καὶ πρὸς τῇ τῆς ἀξιώσεως μεταβολὴν ὀφλισκάνη. «The very decision to continue summoning Lepidus to the Senate had the sole aim of forcing him to suffer as much derision and humiliation as possible in order to bring about the collapse of his power and of his noble dignity».