

- Caesar's «mourning policy»*

1. **Plut. Caes. 5, 4:** τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ γυναιξὶ πρεσβυτέραις λόγους ἐπιταφίους διεξιέναι πάτριον ἦν Ῥωμαίοις, <ἐπὶ> νέαις δ' οὐκ ὄν ἐν ἔθει, πρῶτος εἶπε Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὸς ἀποθανούσης. νέαις δ' οὐκ ὄν ἐν ἔθει, πρῶτος εἶπε Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὸς ἀποθανούσης.

«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 immortalibus coniunctum est. Nam ab Anco Marcio sunt Marcii Reges, quo nomine fuit mater; a Venere Iulii, cuius gentis familia est nostra. Est ergo in genere et sanctitas 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».

3. **Plut. Caes. 5, 3:** ὥσπερ ἐξ Ἅιδου διὰ χρόνων πολλῶν ἀνάγοντα τὰς Μαρίου τιμὰς εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

«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 ponendam cen[suit]

[---]decreed that it should be placed after death and ordered to bury her in the Campus Martius.

[sepe]lirique eam in campo Martio iu[ssit]

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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».

6. **Svet. Iul. 26, 3:** *Munus populo epulumque pronuntiavit in filiae memoriam, quod ante eum nemo.*

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

7. **Plut. Caes. 55, 4:** θεὰς δὲ καὶ μονομάχων καὶ ναυμάχων ἀνδρῶν παρασχῶν ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ Ἰουλίᾳ πάλαι τεθνεώση.

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

- Turia's domestica bona

1. **LT rr. 30-36:** *Domestica bona pudici[t]iae, opsequi, comitatis, facilitatis, lanificiis tuis [adsiduitatis, religionis] sine superstitione, o[r]natus non conspiciendi, cultus modici cur [memorem? Cur dicam de carit]ate, familiae pietate, [c]um aequae matrem meam ac tuos parentes col[ueris eandemque quietem] illi quam*

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

tuis curaveris, cetera innumerabilia habueris commun[ia cum omnibus] matronis dignam f[a]mam co[l]entibus? Propria sunt tua quae vindico ac [quorum paucae uxores in] similia inciderunt, ut talia paterentur et praestarent, quae rara ut essent [mulierum] fortuna cavit.

«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 animi*

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 recidisse; sororem omni[um rerum] fore expertem, quod emancupata esset Cluvio. Qua mente ista acc[eperis, qua iis prae-]sentia animi restiteris, etsi afui, 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 *coemptio* 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».

2. **LT rr. 57-59:** [Pro vita rogabas apse]ntis, quod ut conarere virtús tua te hortabatur; [pietas tua me m]únibat clementiá eorum, contra quos ea parabas; [semper tamen v]óx tua est firmitate animí émissa.

«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*

1. **LT rr. 42-51:** [Liberali]tatem tuam c[u]m plurumis necessariis tum praecipue pietati praesti[tisti in tuos. Licet cum laude item qu]is alias nominaverit, unam dumtaxat simillimam [tui] [---?] [h]abuisti sororem tuam; nam propinquas vestras d[ignas eiusmodi] [---?] [of]ficiis domibus vestris apud nos educavistis. Eaedem u[lt] condicio-nem dignam famili]ae vestrae consequi possent, dotes parastis, quas quide[m a vobis constitutas comm]uni consilio ego et C. Cluvius excepimus et probantes [liberalitatem, ne vestro patrimo]nio vos multaretis, nostram rem familiarem sub[didimus nostraque praedia] in dotes dedimus. Quod non venditandi nostri c[ausa rettuli, sed ut illa consi]lia vestra concepta pia liberalitate honori no[s duxisse consta-ret exequi de nos]tris.

«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 patrociniū susceptum 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 memorabi[lius] quam inserviēdo mihi o[peram] dedisse te] ut quom ex te líberos h[abe]re non possem, per te tamen [haberem et diffi-]dentiá partús tuí alteri[us c]oniugio pararés fecunditat[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*

1. **LT rr. 121-125:** Fructús vítae tuae nón dérun[t mi]hi. Occurrente fámá tuá firmá[tus animo et] doctus áctís tuís resistam fo[rt]unae, quae mihi non omnia érip[uit, cum laudi-]bus crescere tuí memoriā [pas]sa est. Sed quod tranquillí statús [erat mihi tecum] ámisi, quam speculatrícem e[t pr]opugnátricem meorum pericul[orum cogitans calami-]tate frangor nec permane[re i]n promisso possum.

«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 tranquility 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».

2. **Cic. Nat. deor. 3, 46:** *Speculatrices, credo, et vindices facinorum et sceleris.*

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

3. **Val. Max. 9, 8, ext. 1:** *Igitur angusti atque aestuosi maris alto e tumulo speculatrix statua quam memoriae Pelori tam Punicae 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».

4. **Apul. Plat. 2, 7:** *cum foras spectat et est fida speculatrix utilitatis alienae, iustitia nominatur.*

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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 occasione potuisset occurrere.*

«Had the opportunity arisen, he would have been a tireless champion of common freedom».

6. **Sen. Vit. 15, 4:** *Sed ne patriae quidem bonus tutor aut vindex est nec amicorum propugnator.*

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

- Turia's pietas, virtus and ultio

1. **LT rr. 3-9:** Orbata es re[pen]te ante nuptiar]um diem, utroque pa[rente in rustica soli-]tudine una o[ccis]is. Per te max]ime, cum ego in Macedo[niam abissem,] vir sororis tua[e C. Cluvius in A]fricam provinciam, [non remansit inulta] mors parentum. Tanta cum industria m[unere es p]ietatis perfuncta eff[flagitando,] vindicando ut, si praest[o fu]issemus, non ampliu[s praestitissemus. At] haec habes communia cum sanctissimá feminá, [sorore tua].

«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 been present. But these merits you have in common with that most virtuous lady your sister».

2. **LT rr. 74-84:** Acerbissimum tamen in ví[ta] mihi accidisse tuá vice fatebo[r, reddito me iam] cíve patriae beneficio et [iudi]cio apsentis Caesaris Augustí, [quom per te] de restitutione mea M. L[epid]us conlega praesens interp[ellaretur et ad eius] pedés prostrata humí, n[on m]odo non adlevata, sed trá[cta et servilem in] modum rapsáta, lívóri[bus c]orporis repleta, firmissimo [animo eum admone-]rés édicti Caesaris cum g[r]atulatione restitutionis me[ae auditisque verbis eti-]am contumeliosís et cr[ud]elibus exceptís volneribus pa[lam ea praeferes,] ut auctor meórum períc[ul]orum nótesceret. Quoi noc[uit] mox ea res.] Quid hác virtute efficáciu[s], praebere Caesarí clementia[e locum et cum cu-]stodiá spiritús meí not[a]re inportúnam crudelitatem [egregia tua] patientiá?

«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

1. **LT rr. 34-36:** Propria sunt tua quae vindico ac [quorum paucae uxores in] similia inciderunt, ut talia paterentur et praestarent, quae rara ut essent [mulierum] fortuna cavet.

«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 αἰεὶ ἐσήγεν, ὅπως ὅτι πλείστην καὶ χλευασίαν καὶ ὕβριν πρὸς τε τὴν τῆς ἰσχύος καὶ πρὸς τὴν 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».