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Julius Caesar in Medieval France:  
The Textual Sources and Iconography  
of the Faits des Romains

by

Mark Nelson

Marcia L. Colish  
and  
William E. Hood  
Thesis Advisors

Oberlin College  
26 April 1980



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Picture Credits

- Figures 1-3. Kurt Weitzmann, Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination (New York: George Braziller, 1977), plates 2-4.
- Figure 4. Hugo Buchthal, Miniatures of the Paris Psalter: A Study in Middle Byzantine Painting (London: Warburg Institute, 1938), fig. 13.
- Figure 5. Kurt Weitzmann, Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination, Herbert L. Kessler, ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), fig. 159.
- Figure 6. Joachim E. Gaelde, Carolingian Painting (New York: George Braziller, 1976), plate 21.
- Figure 7. Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale, 1955. Les manuscrits à peintures en France du VII<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, plate III.
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- Figures 12, 14-36. Robert Wyss, Die Caesarteppiche und ihr ikonographisches Verhältnis zur Illustration der "Faits des Romains" im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert (Bern: K. J. Wyss Erben, 1957), Abb. 3-10, 12-16, 18-22, 24-27.

## INTRODUCTION

Calpurnia. When beggars die, there are no comets seen.  
The heavens themselves blaze forth the death of princes.  
Caesar. Cowards die many times before their deaths;  
The valiant never taste of death but once.  
Of all the wonders that I yet have heard,  
It seems to me most strange that men should fear;  
Seeing that death, a necessary end,  
Will come when it will come.

-- Shakespeare  
Julius Caesar, II.ii

The Julius Caesar of Shakespeare's day was a figure who believed that fame transcended mortality. Long after Caesar the man was dead, Caesar the legend lived on. It was a legend which in many ways was an analogue of the man. The legend maintained all of Caesar's stubborn persistence, and to some extent his power, his influence, and his ability to provoke controversy. This legend was borne across the Middle Ages by a mere handful of literary manuscripts. Just as the historical Caesar had survived the many pitfalls of his career, these manuscripts somehow escaped the numerous fates that could have retarded or prevented their transmission in medieval Europe. What was a handful of manuscripts in the ninth century grew both in numbers and in varieties of expression until by the thirteenth century the legend of Caesar experienced something of a metamorphosis, a fundamental change which assured Caesar's popularity for another three centuries.

Caesar's transformation in the thirteenth century was precipitated by an anonymous text called the Faits des Romains. The author of this text redefined the Latin literary tradition of Caesar in entirely new and different terms. Before the Faits

des Romains, Caesar was known principally through the writings of Sallust and Lucan, both of which were used as texts in the schools. Not only was close familiarity with Caesar confined to the formally educated, but his image was defined almost exclusively by these two texts. Because neither of these works is devoted exclusively to Caesar and because each covers a relatively short period of Caesar's life, his legend in the Latin tradition was at best sketchy. The author of the Faits des Romains extended the acquaintance with Caesar beyond the limits of Latin education. Not only did he compile virtually every source of Caesar's legend, he also translated his sources into the French vernacular. The impact of his work was rapid and far-reaching.

Caesar's dévotés changed from the literati to those who saw the uses to which Caesar might be put by contemporary society -- namely, the ruling class. Caesar provided a model for many of the concerns of emerging monarchs. His administration overcame the numerous obstacles which threatened his power and became an effective and, in some circles, a popular government. Caesar showed the medieval monarchs how to establish power and influence through military conquests and through the maintenance of an army. His writings described specific military maneuvers, military discipline, and the distribution of power among secondary commanders. As Caesar became better known, medieval leaders also discovered that identifying themselves with Caesar's image enhanced their own image among their subjects.

This attempt on the part of rulers to associate themselves with the image of Caesar accounts for the emergence of illustrations

of the deeds of Caesar in manuscripts and tapestries from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. In Northern Europe, these illustrations are almost exclusively related to the Faits des Romains and the numerous texts which were derived from it. The iconography of this text was invented in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. By contrast, the Latin sources about Caesar were rarely if ever accompanied by narrative illustrations. But just as the Latin sources for the text of the Faits traveled from Rome into the high Middle Ages, so can the visual material be linked with antiquity. Pre-Christian artists began the practice of using narrative picture cycles to illustrate classical texts. The Faits des Romains thus represents the point of convergence of two traditions which had origins in antiquity -- the literary tradition composed of texts about Julius Caesar, and the tradition of narrative text illustration.

An understanding of these traditions and their manifestation in medieval France must begin with an analysis of the roots of the tradition -- the Latin literature about Julius Caesar and its meaning within the context of its own time. The author of the Faits des Romains had four important texts about Caesar at his disposal. These were Caesar's own writings on the Gallic and Civil Wars; Sallust's War with Catiline; Lucan's epic poem, the Pharsalia, and Suetonius' biography, the Deified Julius. Each of these texts had something to say about Caesar as a personality and as a leader, and they reflect the often complex political attitudes and circumstances of the authors. The acclaim and popularity of this literature in its own day is an important com-

ponent of its passage into the Middle Ages.

Even though Lucan and Sallust achieved the status of texts used in the Roman schools of rhetoric, the numbers of copies of their works that were available later in the Middle Ages were limited. Copies of Caesar and Suetonius were even fewer; Suetonius reached Carolingian scholars in the form of a unique manuscript. These texts nevertheless saw the day when they were copied and disseminated to libraries throughout Northern Europe. It was the rising Capetian monarchy in France which first recognized the political potential of this literature, and it was the kings who were responsible for the appearance of the Faits des Romains in the thirteenth century.

Similar observations can be made about the visual tradition. In their travels from antiquity into the Middle Ages, texts often were passed along with the modes of expression which were used to illustrate them in antiquity. The points of intersection of the literary and artistic tradition from antiquity are the same: the scriptoria of the Carolingians. From there, twelfth-century France becomes the focal point of both Caesarian literature and artistic representation. Classical literature experienced a revival in the twelfth century, primarily in schools in the Ile-de-France, and was followed in the thirteenth by a boom in the illustration of manuscripts in Paris. The Faits des Romains is a result of the favorable reception of these two traditions in medieval France. Caesar became primarily associated with the Faits to the exclusion of the Latin sources. And the Faits was the springboard for the revitalized vernacular tradition that

carried Caesar into the courts of his most lavish patrons.

It was not the kings of France who adopted Caesar in the fifteenth century but four men who had the aspirations of kings, the four dukes of Burgundy -- Philip the Bold (1363-1404), John the Fearless (1404-19), Philip the Good (1420-67), and Charles the Bold (1467-77). These dukes had political goals almost as ambitious as Caesar's, and Caesar provided the perfect model for them. The Burgundian dukes treated the thirteenth-century Faits des Romains as the principal authority on the life of Caesar. Even though all the Latin texts were available to them, and several Latin texts were included in their library, their patronage of the Faits and the texts derived from it overshadows that of any Latin source. Charles the Bold had stories about Caesar read to him before retiring and several of his chroniclers speak of his desire to learn from and imitate Caesar. Not only did he commission copies of the Faits and a French translation of Caesar's Gallic War, but he decorated his throne room with a cycle of four tapestries which depicted the major successes of Caesar's career.

These tapestries, now located in the Historical Museum in Bern, are direct descendants of the Faits des Romains. The inscriptions above each scene of these tapestries are versified excerpts from the Faits. Perhaps more importantly the iconography of the tapestries is derived directly from manuscripts of the Faits.

The popularity of the Faits des Romains over so long a period as described here is a curious fact. The thirteenth-

century texts continued to be the preferred medium of learning about Caesar during an age in which a return to the Latin sources can be noticed, particularly in Italy. This literary preference cannot be seen to affect Caesar in the least. The popularity of Julius Caesar and of the Faits des Romains has more to do with the politics of the dukes and the interests of the common people than it has to do with any current intellectual fashion. The literary quality of the Latin sources, even in translation, and patronage of works with Caesarian themes by some of the wealthiest people in Europe were main components of Caesar's survival. Caesar remained popular because he became and remained contemporary. The author of the Faits des Romains brought a complex group of Latin texts within the range of the common people. He thus extended the life of a tradition which began in the first century B.C. up to the end of the fifteenth century.



## CHAPTER I: THE SPELL OF CAESAR

### 1. Caesar and his Writings

The legacy of Julius Caesar has been a constituent of Western thought for two millennia. As a fulcrum in the political history of his world and as an ever-popular subject of literature, Caesar can confidently be called one of the most influential figures of all time. Caesar's legacy, however, is not one that pays a relentlessly positive tribute to him; his cataclysmic career has been surrounded by controversy ever since Caesar first entered public life around 70 B.C. Caesar was an enigma. The brilliant military hero and statesman was also a pretentious autocrat and the destroyer of the Roman Republic. Perhaps it was Caesar's genius that saved a decaying government for another four hundred years; or perhaps it was he who insured Rome's ultimate demise. One thing is certain: Caesar never completely succeeded in legitimizing his rule. His power became his shroud of death, but his tragic end was only the beginning of a literary heritage which sealed his immortality.

Understanding the literature spurred by the Caesarian controversy means understanding an important division in Roman politics which Caesar's administration inherited and intensified.<sup>1</sup> This division began with the tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus (d. 133 B.C.), who came to power as the protector of the people against the abuses of the Senate. After Gracchus, the separation of the people from the Senate, or of populares from optimates, became a regular feature of Roman political affairs. Caesar's

rise to power, two generations after Gracchus' death, was patronized in part by the populares party. They saw Caesar in the tradition of Gracchus and the generations who followed him -- Gracchus' brother Gaius as well as Marius, Cinna and Pompey. All of these men used the popular assembly to overcome powerful opposing factions in the Senate, a model which Caesar found extremely helpful in his political career.

It would be fallacious to suppose, however, that these men rose to power totally devoted to the interests of the populares. Marius, Cinna, Pompey, and especially Julius Caesar, were relentless seekers of personal power. Caesar's patrons, therefore, were a complex and diverse group -- not just the spellbound masses, but wealthy and important brokers of power at all levels of Roman society. Caesar gained their support in appropriately diverse ways. He made promises, threats, bribes, and military conquests, just to mention the "legitimate" methods. He pleased the masses with civic works and social reforms and controlled the Senate by packing it with his supporters. He managed to get himself elected by popular vote or Senate approval to almost every position he held in Roman government, from quaestor to perpetual dictator. Yet, Caesar was never completely successful in gaining the support of the aristocratic classes, for it was they who were displaced by Caesar's far-reaching powers.

Caesar had the ability to evoke the support of even those whose power he undermined, and he valued the power of visual and verbal propaganda as a political tool. He conducted extensive campaigns to legitimize his rule and to gain a broad-based support

for his political programs. He first gained a foothold in Roman government through the position of aedile compaigne, the official in charge of the public games. Financed by his wealthy friend Crassus, Caesar won considerable popularity in this position by his lavish public displays. Later in his career, Caesar's propagandizing intensified to such a point that many of the Roman historians said that Caesar's assassination came as a result of his self-glorification.<sup>2</sup> Caesar's writings about his military campaigns initiated his own legend by showing his brilliance as a military leader and his compassion as a human being. He had himself apotheosized during his own lifetime with a temple built to his glory, and his face appeared on Roman coins with the inscription "Perpetual Dictator." Caesar knew that so absurd a notion as a perpetual dictator would have difficulty finding credence in Rome; this proclamation was Caesar's most blatant attack on the Roman constitution and on those who held it dear. No propaganda was strong enough to make this idea an acceptable one.

Caesar first learned the value of propaganda early in his career on his military campaigns in Gaul. His most famous writings, the Gallic War and the Civil War, were written to report and justify his military activities. The Gallic War was written between 52 and 51 B.C., consisting of seven books with a one-book continuation by Hirtius. It is commonly held that the first seven books were compiled from Caesar's daily dispatches to the Senate, rewritten and published in one group in 51.<sup>3</sup> Caesar's political circumstances at this time encouraged him to use these writings to vindicate his actions in the eyes of the Senate and

to glorify his own military prowess. These writings, therefore, were propaganda for two groups -- for Caesar's supporters at large and for his enemies in the Senate.

Caesar's political circumstances at the time the Gallic War was written mark the pivotal point in his career. Caesar's provincial command in Gaul was coming to an end, and he did not want to lay it down to become a private citizen. If he had done so, he would have been liable to prosecution in the courts for illegal acts he had committed as a magistrate, but he was legally secure as long as he held public office. Caesar's plan was to be elected to a second consulship while he was still proconsul of Gaul, even though the holding of both offices simultaneously was illegal.

Caesar convinced one of his triumvirs, Pompey, to sponsor a bill which would allow him to run in absentia in the elections of 49 B.C. This bill did not, however, allow him to retain his proconsulship. Since his first Gallic consulship ended in 50, he would still be without legal claim to office for two years, between 50 and 48. The publishing of the Gallic War was meant to prove to the Senate that Caesar would have the means and public support to retain his post during the two-year interim. The Senate's refusal to accept this logic was the beginning of the dissolution of the Republic.<sup>4</sup>

The style and content of the Gallic War are the chief instruments of a subtle and ingenious manipulation of language and fact for Caesar's purposes. Caesar's history has the cool objectivity of journalism. He always speaks of himself in the third

person, presenting a seemingly balanced consideration of facts. A more careful examination of the material, however, shows that Caesar has continuously controlled the unfolding narrative. One is forced to see things as Caesar wishes.

Caesar's concern that his actions in Gaul be perceived as beneficial to the Roman people is evident in the following example:

Upon the conclusion of the Helvetian campaign, deputies from well nigh the whole of Gaul, the chief men of the various states, assembled in Caesar's camp to congratulate him. They perceived, they said, that, although Caesar had by the campaign required satisfaction of the Heloctii for past outrages suffered by the Roman people at their hands, the result had been as beneficial to the land of Gaul as to the Roman people; for the Helvetii had left their homes at a time of exceeding prosperity with the express design of making war upon the whole of Gaul and obtaining an empire; they purposed from an ample field to select for their abode the spot which they judged to be the most convenient and the most productive in all Gaul, and to make the rest of the states tributary.<sup>5</sup>

Caesar's narrative is one in which he continuously emerges as brilliant and compassionate, one whose interests are unflinchingly identified with those of Rome. It is a tale of speed and violent action, strings of battles which allow the imagination a vivid play. Caesar's enemies are always more numerous and better equipped or suited to battle than his own troops; his men often find themselves in seemingly hopeless circumstances. Caesar painstakingly describes every detail -- the geography, the customs of the enemies, and his own strategic plans. It is a technique which brings the reader close to the action and close to the motivations, joys, and even disappointments of the hero. The Gallic War is more than a carefully constructed drama; it is one of Caesar's most effective advertisements of himself.

It is a rare form of political propaganda which in its subtlety is all the more believable.

Caesar's next major work was the Civil War, written between 49 and 44 B.C. This work describes the events following Caesar's failure to influence the Senate in his behalf regarding the elections of 49. This work in three books is straightforward, even blatant, in its defense of Caesar's most irreverent act against the Roman polity, civil war. The subtlety of the Gallic War is replaced with a carefully constructed justification for Caesar's actions. Caesar begins with a discussion of his confrontation with the Senate, his search for all possible alternatives to military action, and his moral dilemma at the thought of destroying peace. But, under Caesar's pen, the Senate and Pompey become the forces of evil and corruption, and Caesar's actions ironically the means of preserving the ideals of the Republic.

The change in Caesar's style from the Gallic War is indicative not only of Caesar's maturing literary capabilities, but of his new solidified position in Rome. Whereas the Gallic War is a compilation of military dispatches, the Civil War is written in a more synthetic, reflective style removed from the action of war and after Caesar had established himself as Rome's dictator. Caesar is still interested in swaying the public in his direction, but the need for the clever, hidden persuasion of the Gallic account is no longer present. Caesar's rhetoric is well illustrated by the following example in which he sets the stage for his attack on Rome:

"As for myself," he said [Caesar quotes himself], "I have always reckoned the dignity of the republic of first importance and pre-

ferable to life. I was indignant that a benefit conferred on me by the Roman people was being insolently wrested from me, and that, robbed of my six months' command, I was being dragged back to the city, when the people had directed that I should be allowed to be a candidate in absence in the next election. Nevertheless, for the sake of the state I have borne with equanimity this infringement of my prerogative; when I sent a dispatch to the senate proposing that all should give up arms I failed to obtain even this request. Levies are being held throughout Italy, two legions which had been filched from me under the pretence of a Parthian war are being held back, the state is in arms. To what does all this tend but to my own ruin? Still I am prepared to resort to anything, to submit to anything, for the sake of the commonwealth."<sup>6</sup>

What Caesar said and what he did are two different things. By the time the above passage was written, the Republic was dead and the Roman constitution only a tool for Caesar to use if he needed it. But if Caesar ended the Republic, he also ended the bankrupt and corrupt rule of the Roman aristocracy. This paradox is the central and motivating force in the legend of Caesar and in his historical reputation after his own time.

Even though Caesar manipulates history in his writings, the information presented is essentially accurate. Much of what he writes is supported by other documents or historical accounts. Later Roman historians who concerned themselves with aspects of Caesar's administration had a plethora of sources of information at their disposal. The Roman Senate preserved texts of laws and senatus consulta in the archives. Caesar saw the acta senatus and the acta populi published in 59, and newsletters were written regularly reporting Roman activities to foreign lands.<sup>7</sup> The political speeches of Cicero and Hortensius and the histories by Sallust, Livy and Tacitus were also important sources of information about Roman history during the age of Caesar. For all their known bias, however, Caesar's writings

still served as the principal point of departure for later historians who examined his career.

## 2. Sallust and the War with Catiline

The writings of Sallust (86-35/34 B.C.) contribute to Caesar's legacy as the first-hand account of one of Caesar's supporters. Sallust's work partakes of history, politics, and literature and unifies these elements into a tight interdependence. Sallust recognized that his rich and eventful political career was a valuable literary commodity. He spent the last decade of his life recording the account which proved in the sequel to be the best read of the Roman histories.

Sallust is an example of one who overcame the liabilities of plebian birth. A "New Man," he rose to membership in the Roman Senate and became associated with the most powerful personage of his day, Julius Caesar. This rise to power, however, was not without its obstacles. Sallust appeared early in his career as an impetuous and controversial figure. When he was tribune in 52 B.C., Sallust's speeches and other political activities against Cicero and Milo resulted in Pompey's election as sole consul. In 50, Sallust was expelled from the Senate for alleged immoral conduct by the censor Appius Claudius Pulcher. It was then that Sallust turned to Caesar for help.

In 49 B.C., Sallust was reappointed to the quaestorship by Caesar and thus regained his position in the Senate. Caesar appointed Sallust to one military command after another, first in Illyricum, then Campania, all of which were disasters. In 46,



Sallust succeeded in a battle on the island of Cercina, in return for which Caesar appointed him governor of Numidia and Africa. Sallust seems to have misused his power in these provinces, for he soon had to face charges of extortion and plundering. He was exculpated either through the mercy of Caesar or his own lavish bribery.<sup>8</sup> Undoubtedly a weary man, Sallust retired in the mid-40's B.C. to devote himself to literature.

Sallust's writings recapture the tumultuous nature of his own political career. Besides his Histories, of which only fragments survive, his two most famous works are the War with Catiline and the War with Jugurtha. These two works exhibit Sallust's flair for bold and dramatic narrative enriched by his intimate familiarity with military feats, political intrigues, and conspiracy. Sallust says that he wanted to "write a history of the Roman people, selecting such portions as seemed . . . worthy of record."<sup>9</sup> A closer examination of his motives, however, reveals that his purpose may be more complex than this statement would imply. In fact, the intertwined relationship of political, historical, and literary values in Sallust's writings is one of the most fascinating aspects of his treatment of Caesar.

The work which deals specifically with the epoch of Caesar is the War with Catiline, written between 42 and 41 B.C.<sup>10</sup> This "historical monograph" tells the story of Catiline, a ruthlessly ambitious politician who tried to seize power in an elaborate conspiracy in 63 B.C. Sallust chose this episode in Roman history, he says, "for I regard that event as worthy of special

notice because of the extraordinary nature of the crime and of the danger arising from it."<sup>11</sup> Sallust describes Catiline's bold and swift movements in gaining support, his serious challenge to the Roman army, and Rome's narrow escape from the threat. Sallust tries to recapture the speed and urgency of the event. This emphasis on the dramatic content of the Catilinian conspiracy is an important component of Sallust's writing, but Sallust is concerned with more than good story-telling. He states early in his discourse the problem which he sees behind the Catilinian affair: it is not just Catiline's personal ambition, but the pervasive corruption of the public morality at all levels of Roman society. Sallust's work is a commentary on the state of affairs in Rome, the sources and manifestations of political and moral decay.

Sallust is careful to place blame where he feels it is due. He begins his description of Catiline:

Lucius Catilina, scion of a noble family, had great vigor both of mind and of body, but an evil and depraved nature. From youth up he revelled in civil wars, pillage, and political dissension; . . . his mind was reckless, cunning, treacherous, capable of any form of pretence or concealment.<sup>12</sup>

Sallust goes on to say that Catiline was not alone to blame:

He was spurred on, also, by the corruption in public morals, which were being ruined by two great evils of an opposite character, extravagance and avarice . . . The nature of my theme seems to suggest that I go back and give a brief account of the institutions of our forefathers . . . and how by gradual changes [the commonwealth] has ceased to be the noblest and best, and has become the worst and most vicious.<sup>13</sup>

In the above context, Catiline is only a symptom, a singular example of a widespread problem that Sallust sees in Roman society. As such, Catiline offers the opportunity for

comment on a wide range of issues. The War with Catiline is not a reliable historical account, but a commentary which manipulates an historical event for a specific purpose. Comparison of other historical data with Sallust's account shows that his attention to chronology and documentation is not to be trusted. For instance, he assigns the beginning of the conspiracy to the year 64, instead of 63, with the inevitable distortion of facts.<sup>14</sup> This kind of use of an historical record is similar to Caesar's accounts of the Gallic and Civil Wars. In fact, it has been to the role of Caesar in the War with Catiline that scholars have looked for any specific political motives that Sallust might have had in writing this account.

Caesar's participation in the War with Catiline is limited both in terms of its duration and in terms of its effect on the outcome of events. Sallust's Caesar appears in the halls of the Senate to deliver his oration on the treatment of the conspirators after they had been captured by the Roman army. Caesar's position is one of moderation. Action against the conspirators, he says, should not be taken in the anger and heat of the moment. He reminds the Senate of laws which forbade execution of criminals without trial, and he proposes that the conspirators be held outside Rome until they could be brought safely to a legal hearing.<sup>15</sup> Sallust portrays Caesar as a cool-headed, logical leader pushing for tolerance and clemency, a presentation that is reminiscent of Caesar's depiction of himself in his own writings.

Cato's oration, which follows Caesar's, is another example

of gentle and persuasive reasoning. Sallust seems to be quietly manipulating the evidence at this point. It is unlikely that Cato's oration would be so polite to Caesar; Plutarch says that Cato felt that it was Caesar who should have been on trial.<sup>16</sup> Cato's plan to execute the conspirators wins the approval of the Senate. However, Sallust follows this victory with a discourse which compares "two men of towering merit."<sup>17</sup> Caesar and Cato, as if they had equal influence and compatible views:

In birth then, in years and in eloquence, they were about equal; in greatness of soul they were evenly matched, and likewise in renown, although the renown of each was different. Caesar was held great because of his benefactions and lavish generosity, Cato for the uprightness of his life.<sup>18</sup>

In fact, Cato and Caesar had become embodiments of the two poles of a society headed toward civil war. Cato consistently protected the "old order" -- the Republican constitution, the rights of the Senate. Caesar, almost a decade before Sallust writes his account, had ended Cato's Republic and had provided him with the occasion for his suicide. To show these two men in an equal light is to exploit Cato's respected reputation for Caesar's advantage.

The War with Catiline became one of the principal means by which succeeding generations in antiquity remembered the epoch of Caesar. Sallust's mastery of style and literary construction became a model for students of rhetoric and grammar. The study of this work in the schools helped to solidify the image not only of Caesar but of other important personages of the time. Much of Sallust's popularity is based on the literary powers displayed in this work; his choice of subject and development of characters

had a wide appeal in his own day and in later generations. Sallust's picture of Cato was much admired in antiquity and was a source for later writers, such as Lucan, who saw Cato as the last noble representative of the Republic. Cato, and especially Sallust's idealized Cato, who carried the split between populares and optimates into the era of the Principate, saw Caesar as the detestable instigator of the tyranny of the emperors.

### 3. Lucan

With Lucan, the epic poem became a genre, like historical prose, in which the legend of Caesar was embodied. Lucan's writings were as much a product of his life and times as those of Sallust. Lucan was born in Spain in 39 A.D. Although of provincial origin, Lucan was reared in Rome under the watchful eye of his uncle, Seneca, who was the most influential and wealthy statesman in Nero's reign. Nero, who was two years older than Lucan, was the sixth in the line of emperors beginning with Julius Caesar. Seneca no doubt encouraged the association between Lucan and Nero, and for a time they were close friends. They shared interests in literature and poetry and exchanged praise for one another in laudatory speeches on Lucan's part, and imperial favors to Lucan on Nero's part. These friendly relations died an early death; Lucan was transformed, perhaps because of Nero's personal pique, into one of the severest of his critics. Nero forbade Lucan to publish his poetry, no doubt because he thought it put his own in the shade.

Lucan's resentment was deep and took violent form. He

joined the ranks of Calpurnius Piso, an eminent nobleman who was plotting to assassinate Nero. The plot, however, was discovered and the conspirators arrested. Lucan tried to save himself by incriminating his own mother, but he was sentenced to death anyway. Allowed to choose his own manner of death, he elected the same end as Nero was "forced to choose" three years later, suicide.<sup>19</sup>

Lucan's unfinished epic poem The Civil War, or Pharsalia, is a manifestation of his hostility to Nero. This poem, in ten books, is Lucan's only surviving work, written between 61 and 65 A.D.<sup>20</sup> It covers the years between the crossing of the Rubicon -- Caesar's symbolic act which began the Civil War -- and the events in Alexandria in 48 B.C. In eight thousand lines, Lucan covers only two years, culminating in Caesar's victory over Pompey at the battlefield of Pharsalia. Lucan sets out to locate the roots of the oppressive Neronian rule. Working backwards, his quest ends with Caesar's "fierce orgy of slaughter,"<sup>21</sup> the Civil War. Lucan's choice of a particular historic episode as a moral and constitutional turning point is reminiscent of Sallust. Discounting their formal differences, the similarities go even further. As is true for Sallust, Lucan's personal motives must be grasped in order to understand his writing, even though they are beneath the surface and between the lines.

Lucan's poem is a clash of the vivid and intense personalities who wove the tangled political webs in Rome during the Civil War. Lucan's message is set forth primarily through his delineation of character; the plot is only a framework to accomo-

date their personalities. Caesar is the protagonist, but two other leading figures, Pompey and Cato, challenge Caesar's role. Lucan has structured the Pharsalia in such a way that any one of these three main characters has the potential to dominate the action. But it becomes immediately evident that it is Caesar who will succeed, much as a plague succeeds in destroying the lives of many.

Lucan's Caesar is a complex, many-faceted character. By his day, Caesar's legacy was too well established to allow him to depart completely from the historical record. Therefore, Lucan stuck to the historical image of Caesar as closely as possible, but emphasized a completely different side of it than Sallust. For Lucan, Caesar is the destroyer of the political values that Lucan holds sacred. At the same time, he is forced to recognize Caesar as a great military hero and strategist, as a performer of great deeds, and as a man of clemency. The result is that Lucan's Caesar comes across as a misdirected genius. In one situation he acts with great personal fortitude and in another he is ruthless and manipulative. The split in Caesar's character is less historically based than it is an attempt by Lucan to vilify Caesar in the presence of evidence which extols him.

Lucan's description of Caesar is presented in images which show both the good and bad sides of Caesar's character. Caesar is early described as a thunderbolt, whose super-human energy was purely destructive:

But Caesar had more than a mere name and military reputation; his energy could never rest . . . Even so the lightning is driven forth by wind through the clouds: with noise of the smitten heaven and the crashing of the firmament it flashes

out and cracks the daylight sky, striking fear and terror into mankind and dazzling the eye with slanting flame. It rushes to its appointed quarter of the sky; nor can any solid matter forbid its free course, but both falling and returning it spreads its destruction far and wide and gathers again its scattered fires.<sup>22</sup>

The necessity for making Caesar historically plausible led Lucan to record events between 50 and 48 B.C. with a more or less historical accuracy. The basic shape of the narrative agrees with Caesar's own accounts and those of other historians of the period. Lucan could not deny Caesar's military reputation nor his claims to clemency, but he often tried to emphasize other issues. His treatment of a famous incident of Caesar's clemency is a good case in point. The troops of Caesar and Pompey find themselves encamped so close together that they can see each other from their respective forts. Caesar's account of this incident says that while Pompey's commanders are temporarily away from camp, their troops venture into Caesar's camp to thank him for sparing their lives and to negotiate a surrender. Caesar promises to spare them and their leaders. Pompey's commander is angered, however, and executes some of Caesar's men whom he finds hiding in his camp. Hostilities resume; Caesar surrounds and cuts off the enemy camp, and forces their surrender. But Caesar keeps his word; he spares the troops and commanders.<sup>23</sup>

While Caesar uses this incident to show his personal strength, military prowess, and clemency, Lucan uses it to lament the horrors of civil war, of brother fighting against brother. Lucan writes:

the two camps with low ramparts were pitched not far apart. When their eyes met, undimmed by distance, and they saw one another's faces clearly, then the horror of civil war was



unmasked. For a short time fear kept them silent, and they greeted their friends only by nodding their heads and waving their swords; but soon, when warm affection burst the bonds of discipline with stronger motives, the men ventured to climb over the palisade and stretch out eager hands for embraces.<sup>24</sup>

Lucan later bids these men to ignore the bugle's call to war. "Then in a moment the frenzy of civil war will collapse, and Caesar, in private station, will be friends with his daughter's husband [Pompey]." <sup>25</sup> The remainder of the story agrees with Caesar's account, but in this context, Caesar's clemency is considerably de-emphasized.

Lucan's attack on Caesar is not directed only against his ambitions, but against his immoral behavior -- his act of war against the Republic and his impiety against the gods. Caesar had the power to turn kindred against kindred, men against their country, and mortals against their gods. One of Caesar's soldiers, in an outburst of fanatical loyalty to Caesar, summarizes the corruption which Lucan sees embodied in Caesar:

"By your standards, victorious in ten campaigns, and by your triumphs I swear, whoever be the foe whom you triumph over -- if you bid me bury my sword in my brother's breast or my father's throat or the body of my teeming wife, I will perform it all, even if my hand be reluctant. If you bid me plunder the gods and fire their temples, the furnace of the military mint shall melt down the statues of the deities!"<sup>26</sup>

Not only could Caesar inspire this kind of behavior among men, but even the gods mete out no retribution:

In very truth there are no gods who govern mankind: though we say falsely that Jupiter reigns, blind chance sweeps the world along. Shall Jupiter, though he grasps the thunderbolt, look on idly from high heaven at the slaughter of Pharsalia? Shall he forsooth aim his fires at Pholoc and Oeta, at the pines of Mimas and the innocent forest of Rhodope, and shall Cassius, rather than he, strike Caesar down?<sup>27</sup>

Lucan's attack on Caesar, therefore, is less on Caesar's actions

and more on the moral climate which surrounds him. Caesar does not use his talents to heal or strengthen the dying Republic; his policy is an outrage committed at the expense of the best interests of Rome. Lucan initially states that it was wrong to assassinate Caesar.<sup>28</sup> He later retracts that statement, saying that Caesar's assassination was a precedent for others to follow.<sup>29</sup> Caesar is not depicted as one ogre in a population otherwise composed of angels. He is surrounded on all sides by decadence and irresponsibility. His antagonist, Pompey, is also an exponent of this moral decay.

Even though Pompey in some respects represents the forces of the Republic, his act of war is a bid for his own power, undertaken against the best interests of the State. Pompey is a somewhat tragic figure who relies on his past success rather than keeping in touch with the real world. He is like an old oak tree vulnerable on every front to Caesar's lightning:

The two rivals [Caesar and Pompey] were ill matched. [Pompey] was somewhat tamed by declining years;<sup>30</sup> for long he had worn the toga and forgotten in peace the leader's part; courting popularity and lavish to the common people, he was swayed entirely by the breath of popularity and delighted in the applause that hailed him in the theater he built; and trusting fondly to his former greatness, he did nothing to support it by fresh power. The mere shadow of a mighty name he stood. Thus an oak-tree, laden with the ancient trophies of a nation and the consecrated gifts of conquerors, towers in a fruitful field; but the roots it clings by have lost their toughness, and it stands by its weight alone, throwing out bare boughs into the sky and making a shade not with its leaves but with its trunk; though it totters doomed to fall at the first gale while many trees with sound timber rise beside it, yet it alone is worshipped.<sup>31</sup>

Pompey is a man out of touch with reality, deluded by bad judgment, ambition, selfishness, patriotism, and love. He is neither completely dedicated to the state nor a powerful or in-

fluent leader. Pompey can be characterized by the term amor, a love that both gives to his friends, his family, and his country and demands much of others. Pompey is desperate in his need for love, yet is unable to express himself or understand the sentiment in others. Consistently, Pompey's judgments are clouded by his emotions.

Pompey's relationship with his wife Cornelia shows this confusion in his character. Pompey reveals himself to be a tender and loving husband, and he often laments his separation from his wife. Yet his better judgment is overcome by this emotion when his desire to have Cornelia by his side leads him to bring her into a battle zone.<sup>23</sup> Pompey is Lucan's portrait of human frailty who is caught in the conflict of the destructive furor of Caesar and the dedicated pietas of Cato. Pompey is the representative of a society which is decaying from within, just one of many of the exponents of a corruption which Lucan saw as the downfall of Rome.

Of all of Lucan's major and minor characters, there is but one example of virtue, one character of unfaltering moral uprightness. Cato had already become somewhat idealized in Sallust's writings, but, with Lucan, Cato assumes an almost super-human stature. Cato alone knows how to cure the ills of the Republic, and only he seems to recognize the moral ruin that civil war represents. Cato is selflessly dedicated to the state, the family, and the laws of the gods. His dedication to Rome is so great that he chooses to join forces with Pompey, even though he recognizes the inherent evil of civil war. Since the Phar-

salia is unfinished, one can suppose that Lucan's treatment of Cato was incomplete. Cato's suicide at Utica would have provided the perfect ending to Lucan's vision of Rome's downfall.

Lucan's three paradigms of heroism, Caesar, Pompey, and Cato, are the core of the Pharsalia. These three characters also form the backbone of Lucan's popularity in succeeding ages. Yet Lucan's achievement cannot be wholly reduced to this simple formula. The Pharsalia has been praised both in its own day and in modern times as an outstanding example of Latin verse which incorporates the learned style of Latin rhetoric of the Roman schools; Cato, Caesar, and Pompey each make much admired speeches.<sup>33</sup> Perhaps this accounts for the fact that the Pharsalia became a school text in the schools of rhetoric, a position which it held through the Middle Ages. Lucan's popularity is also based on his taste for a style which foreshadows medieval romance, tales of heroes in exotic and dangerous lands. Lucan writes with high color about events both natural and supernatural, a taste that not all readers have shared. He makes frequent and lengthy digressions. Yet Lucan accomplishes his task. His picture of Caesar and Rome's state of affairs is vivid and direct. Lucan never leaves one in doubt about where he stands.

#### 4. Suetonius

Although Suetonius was born four years after Lucan in 69 A.D., both his life and his work mark an abrupt contrast with Lucan's brief and climactically ended career and his long, impassioned epic. Suetonius lived much of his long, rather quiet

life under the agreeable rules of the emperors Trajan (98-117 A.D.) and Hadrian (117-38 A.D.).<sup>34</sup> He was ostensibly apolitical. A military tribuneship, received through Pliny's good offices, he transferred to a relative. He did serve for a number of years as Hadrian's secretary, a position which he seemed to value more because of the access to the imperial archives which that position allowed than because of any political advantage that it afforded. Suetonius wrote on a variety of subjects, from biographies of famous men to subjects like Roman festivals and clothing, natural history, and grammar.<sup>35</sup> Suetonius enjoyed the popularity befitting his accomplished prose style. Hadrian accorded him several honors for writing;<sup>36</sup> and Suetonius kept company with one of the literary giants of the day, the historian Pliny. Unfortunately, most of his works are lost, except for scattered fragments and the complete Lives of the Caesars. The Lives, which is a collection of biographies of the twelve Caesars from Julius to Domitian, was published between 119 and 121 A.D.<sup>37</sup>

Suetonius' first book, The Deified Julius, tells the story of Caesar's life and career. The structure of this work, which exerted a strong influence on medieval biographies of Caesar, differs from earlier works, as from the nearly contemporary Lives of Plutarch, in being arranged per species rather than chronologically. Although the first few chapters of Julius were lost between the sixth and the ninth centuries,<sup>38</sup> the work no doubt followed the pattern established in each of the other eleven biographies. After a section on the subject's ancestors,

a chronological passage outlines his life from infancy to his rise to power. In Julius this section begins with Caesar's sixteenth year. Then, Suetonius proceeds to treat topically Caesar's activities and characteristics, illustrated by a number of relevant anecdotes. The chronological sequence is resumed in the end for an account of Caesar's death. This structure, which varies little from one emperor to the next, discourages Suetonius from treating his subjects as unique individuals or from synthesizing the various details of a life into a whole. Suetonius rarely adds a personal commentary. Rather, he presents what ostensibly appears to be a balanced and scholarly treatment of information. In reality, however, he has simply arranged a large quantity of evidence without analyzing the relative importance or even the reliability of his data.<sup>39</sup>

That Suetonius is not a reliable historian is not necessarily a criticism of him. Still, this knowledge is important in understanding his purpose in the Deified Julius. Suetonius seems to be more attracted by curiosities of every sort than by major historical events or characters. His choice of material, therefore, is influenced by his taste for the sensational, the unusual, or the scandalous. His access to the Imperial archives gave Suetonius a wide range of sources of information. He was certainly a diligent searcher of records, as evidenced by the fact that he turns up so much information not found in other readily available sources. Among many other things, Suetonius recounts Caesar's dream of doing violence to his mother (Chapter 7), the jokes told about Caesar's political abuses (Chapter 20),

and his treatment of his soldiers (Chapters 65-69). Most scholars agree that Suetonius is not fabricating this information, but rather choosing it carefully according to his own fancy.<sup>40</sup>

Suetonius' taste for the unusual led him to include both the positive and negative aspects of Caesar's personality, career, and administration. His treatment of Caesar's rise to power in the first chapters of the work shows an unscrupulous politician who sought supreme power from his earliest years and who was willing to attempt any means of obtaining it. He says in reference to Caesar in Chapter 30:

Some think that habit [turning to his army for help] had given him a love of power, and that weighing the strength of his adversaries against his own, he grasped the opportunity of usurping the despotism which had been his heart's desire from early youth.<sup>41</sup>

And, according to Suetonius, Caesar was ready to join any attempt at revolution which seemed to promise success.<sup>42</sup> Even though Suetonius is willing to praise Caesar for his military victories, his devotion to his friends, and his successes all along his rise to power, the picture is one of a ruthlessly ambitious man whose extravagances were extreme.

The second part of Suetonius' treatment of Caesar, which begins around Chapter 39, is a topical presentation of Caesar's life and style of administration. Suetonius delights in describing Caesar's lavish entertainments and athletic competitions, one of which was so popular that "many were crushed to death, including two senators."<sup>43</sup> He praises Caesar's administrative skills, governmental reforms, and judicial system. Chapters 45 and 46 describe Caesar's personal appearance, emphasizing in particular

Caesar's improvident expenditures on his personal comfort and adornment. Although these few chapters are rather hesitant in criticizing Caesar, they are an important introduction for the chapters which follow, delving deeply into Caesar's personal habits and interpersonal relationships.

The practice of scandal-mongery and interest in the intimate personal details of the lives of important men is a feature of the development of realism in the writings of the imperial period. Other writers during Suetonius' time, including Tacitus, display the same interest in the analysis of character from every possible angle.<sup>44</sup> Suetonius does not seem to take any particular pleasure in his discussion of Caesar's sexual activities; his descriptions are by no means pornographic. He simply lays out the facts with no ostensible attempt at analysis or conclusions on his part, although his rhetoric makes his opinion clear.

Suetonius spends a considerable amount of time discussing Caesar's love life, and it would be difficult to believe that these descriptions would have been regarded as positive aspects of Caesar's character to a second-century Roman audience. His homosexual affair with King Nicomedes of Bithynia is mentioned early in the work (Chapter 2) and reappears later in a variety of contexts. Suetonius spares few of the details; even the nicknames Caesar received because of the affair are mentioned:

There was no stain on his reputation for chastity except for his intimacy with King Nicomedes, but that was a deep and lasting reproach, which laid him open to insults from every quarter. I say nothing of the notorious lines of Licinius Calvus:

"Whate'er Bithynia had, and Caesar's paramour."<sup>45</sup>



Suetonius continues to levy insults at Caesar by quoting others. He says that Bibulus called Caesar "the queen of Bithynia," and that a certain Octavius, after saluting Pompey as "King" in a crowded assembly, greeted Caesar as "Queen." He even repeats a verse that was said to have been chanted at the Gallic triumph:

"All the Gauls did Caesar vanquish, Nicomedes vanquished him;  
Lo! now Caesar rides in triumph, victor over all the Gauls,  
Nicomedes does not triumph, who subdued the conqueror."<sup>46</sup>

Suetonius' treatment of Caesar's sexual experiences with women is no less disparaging: "That he was unbridled and extravagant in his intrigues is the general opinion, and that he seduced many illustrious women . . ."<sup>47</sup> Suetonius tells of Caesar's affairs with the wives of his colleagues, including those of Pompey and Curio. He was in love with Brutus' mother, who was prostituting her daughter to him. Suetonius continues to present evidence of Caesar's sexual aberrations for two additional chapters; there is little possibility that Suetonius could have been innocent of how this information would have been received by his readers.

From Chapter 76 to the end, Suetonius treats Caesar's assassination, beginning with a statement which colors the entire following discussion: "Yet after all, his other actions and words so turn the scale, that it is thought that he abused his power and was justly slain."<sup>48</sup> Suetonius names some very serious charges against Caesar. Not only had Caesar accepted an uninterrupted consulship, but he was named, through his own designs, dictator for life. The honors he accepted, says Suetonius, were too great for any mortal man. He was glorified as

one of the gods and refused to rise before the temple of Venus Genetrix when he was presented an honorary decree.<sup>49</sup> His concept of himself as a god elicits a direct attack from Suetonius, an issue made ever more obvious by the title of his work, the Deified Julius.

The evidence seems to show that Suetonius saw Caesar as a vainglorious leader whose excesses cost him his life. It is, however, difficult to go further than this statement. Suetonius' studious avoidance of commentary and analysis makes his personal opinion something that has to be inferred. Suetonius was primarily an assembler of information. Certain conclusions can be drawn from his choice of material and the emphasis which he places on key issues. If it is true that Suetonius' purpose was in part to defame Caesar, his case is muddled by his unqualified praise of Caesar's military and administrative talents. Suetonius' point of view is almost hidden behind the strictures of the form of biography and the burgeoning spirit of realism, which could have encouraged Suetonius to include all the facts, the good and the bad. But behind this façade, there seems to be a note of disdain for the man who disregarded his friends, the state, and the gods in a search for unbridled personal power.

## 5. Conclusion

These four authors -- Caesar, Sallust, Lucan, and Suetonius -- were the agents who carried the spell of Julius Caesar into the Latin Middle Ages. Although other Roman historians treated Caesar's administration -- Tacitus is an example -- their works

were not as closely associated with Caesar as the four works discussed above. Caesar's image is composed of more than historical facts; it is an image which is inseparable from the emphases and biases of those writers who chose him as a subject.

This body of literature settles few questions about Caesar. Caesar's own writings say that Caesar did not just the best that he could do, but brilliantly. Sallust fortifies this image by giving Caesar the moral integrity of Cato. Lucan, on the other hand, ranks Caesar one step above a demon. And Suetonius does little to settle the controversy. What Caesar was really like is a question which, after two thousand years, is still unsettled.

The controversy which characterizes this literature has no doubt contributed to its vitality. Caesar was a man for everybody and every purpose. Caesar says he protected the Republic; Lucan says he destroyed it. Suetonius draws attention to Caesar's multi-faceted personality, while Lucan paints fanciful pictures of his military triumph at Pharsalia. Caesar is a hero, a god, a genius, a demagogue, a tyrant, and a lecher. He can be loved and hated almost simultaneously, and his story has fascinated people for generations.

The Caesar literature lies somewhere between factual historical writing and what was to become the romance of the Middle Ages. The stories told about Caesar are basically credible. No one who wrote about him hesitated to emphasize a sometimes controversial point, but the general thrust had to be believable. Caesar knew that the truth, or its appearance, was more convincing than inflated claims. He thus began his own literary legacy with

writings that purported more or less to observe the facts. None of the writers who followed him tried to challenge his accuracy; they simply moved on to other issues and, in so doing, turned Caesar, for better or worse, into an ideal type. Whether their approach was positive or negative, each writer was forced to use superlatives to describe him. In choosing this brilliant figure as a subject, they themselves came to share in Caesar's reflected glory.

CHAPTER II: JULIUS CAESAR IN THE MIDDLE AGES  
AND IN THE COURTS OF BURGUNDY: THE LITERARY IMAGE

Francis I of France was twenty-five years old and had been king of France for four years when his mother, Louise of Savoy, presented him with a gift to commemorate his new position. His mother, who had raised Francis alone after the death of his father in 1496, knew of Francis' passion for the image of the medieval knight-king. She therefore saw to the commission of a small, very precious illustrated manuscript (now MS. Fr. 13429, Bibliothèque Nationale) which glorified her son's feats of valor and love of adventure. This manuscript contains dialogues and illustrations of Francis romping about with his medieval knightly friend, none other than Julius Caesar. Even though manuscripts were something of an anachronism in this time of the dawn of printing, Julius Caesar's appearance in this context is hardly curious. Caesar had appeared in medieval France centuries before Francis I, and his image helped solidify the idea of the monarchy that Francis could then enjoy. Francis owed his introduction to Caesar not so much to the kings of France who preceded him, but rather to the dukes of Burgundy. It was they who in the fifteenth century received the classical and medieval image of Caesar and translated it into contemporary significance.

The arrival of Caesar at the court of Burgundy is a story of how the Middle Ages wove the scattered threads of the ancient past into the fabric of their own intellectual life. The writings of Caesar, Sallust, Lucan, and Suetonius can be found in virtually all important medieval educational centers, and the

preservation of this literature must be credited to a broad range of institutions and individuals. These writings are located at the core of two of the most important intellectual pursuits of the high Middle Ages -- the study of Latin literature and the study of ancient history. And perhaps even more significantly, this literature becomes a source of ideas for the rise and development of the idea of centralized government and French national cultural identity. Thus it is through the combined efforts of institutions -- the schools, the monasteries, and the courts -- and of individuals -- scholars, teachers, and monarchs -- that this literature was valued and preserved.

#### 1. Manuscript Traditions Up to the Twelfth Century

Modern editions of the works of Caesar, Sallust, Lucan, and Suetonius all rely on manuscripts of the Middle Ages. The reasons that this literature was copied and preserved are often obscure or complex, but it can be safely asserted that pragmatic considerations are by far the most commonly encountered. The transmission of classical literature was not simply a haphazard or random process; a specific purpose can often be linked to the preservation of a text. The appeal of certain classical texts made medieval people eager to learn the secrets of their classical past. Monasteries adopted the liberal arts curriculum of the Roman schools, and with this tradition, the literature that was in pedagogical use. As the European population became increasingly literate, Latin literature moved out of the schools into other sectors of the society. A renaissance of classical

literature was instigated by the Carolingian dynasty in the eighth and ninth centuries, increasing the availability in Western Europe of a huge quantity of first-rate classical material. The Carolingian Renaissance revived interest in the classical past and devoted energy to making it accessible. Ancient history became a popular study. The heroes of antiquity became the heroes of the Middle Ages, and monarchs discovered the power of justifying themselves in terms of the established and revered image of an antique hero. This was the age when Einhard wrote his life of Charlemagne modeled on the biography of Augustus in Suetonius' Lives of the Caesars.

Ancient history first became the domain of early Christian scholars. Just as the classical historians had seen themselves as purveyors of moral instruction, Christian scholars saw the same didactic possibilities in history. The main goal was no longer civic virtue and patriotism, but pointing the way to another and better life -- that is, heaven. The early Church Fathers undertook the task of combining the Jewish and classical traditions, giving credence to the Christian notion of the fundamental unity of mankind. Eusebius' Chronica attempted to incorporate the whole course of human history, including sacred and secular events, into one continuous chronological system. Eusebius' history, which was translated into Latin by St. Jerome, was based on two parallel chronologies, synchronizing important figures of pagan and Jewish history to 325 A.D. St. Augustine added his theory of the six ages of the world, corresponding to the six days of Creation, with the impending seventh day of

eternity. In the City of God, Augustine draws on sacred and secular historical events, especially Roman history, to paint a picture of the beginnings, course, and destined ends of the two invisible societies of the elect and the damned. Orosius in the fifth century (Seven Books Against the Pagans) and Isidore of Seville in the seventh century (Etymologies) adopted and further developed the systems of Augustine and Eusebius, adding their own perspective to an historical past that, whether Greek, Roman, or Jewish, was understood to form a single Christian heritage.<sup>1</sup>

The teachers of Latin in the schools of the Middle Ages adopted the texts of the Roman schools of rhetoric. Since these texts so often referred to historical subjects, the study of grammar and rhetoric incited the study of ancient history. Ancient history was found to have many and diverse uses. Just as in the classical schools, monastery schools used history as a means to moral edification; studying the virtues and vices of great men offered examples for the instruction of youth. Furthermore, ancient history was studied in order to understand better the style and content of the Scriptures. Glosses of medieval historical manuscripts show that this literature was also considered an authority on geography, natural history, and science. The fact that these texts were so well known by those who completed a medieval education accounts in part for the preservation and popularity of the body of literature.

Those texts which had already achieved in antiquity the status of school texts, Sallust and Lucan, were of course the



earliest and best known in the Middle Ages. Among Roman historians, Sallust had no rivals for popularity in the Middle Ages; his works were more widely read than any other Latin historian.<sup>3</sup> Although the earliest available manuscripts of the War with Catiline or the War with Jugurtha date from the ninth century, the presence in Western Europe of earlier copies is attested to by quotations in various early medieval authors. Jerome wrote that Sallust was the "most reliable" (certissimus).<sup>3</sup> Augustine called him the "most distinguished and truthful historian" (nobilitatae veritatis historicus),<sup>4</sup> and he quoted Sallust often in the City of God.<sup>5</sup> Grammarians of the first through sixth centuries used Sallust as an example.<sup>6</sup> Extant manuscripts dating after the ninth century are numerous, as are references to manuscripts in the catalogues of medieval libraries.<sup>7</sup> By the late eleventh century, Sallust was a common possession of libraries of France and the Rhineland.<sup>8</sup>

Lucan's Pharsalia enjoyed a similar fame. Nero's ban on Lucan did not affect the popularity of his poem any more in the Middle Ages than it had in antiquity. Suetonius read Lucan in school,<sup>9</sup> and it was in the medieval schools that Lucan's fame spread north of the Alps. Lucan, like Sallust, was a medieval authority on grammar, rhetoric, ancient history, natural science, and geography. The Pharsalia was second only to Vergil's Aeneid as the most popular classical epic in the Middle Ages.<sup>10</sup> In certain areas of medieval thought, Lucan has been considered even more influential than Vergil, particularly as regards the marvels of science and the wonders of the universe.<sup>11</sup> Lucan is

quoted in medieval works in both Latin and the vernacular and was popular both in the East and the West, from the Egyptian delta to the monasteries of France.<sup>12</sup> The path which the Pharsalia followed from its own time to the scholars of the Carolingian Renaissance was a hazardous one. The manuscripts of the ninth through the eleventh centuries show in their numerous discrepancies the wide range of exemplars upon which medieval scribes drew. By the eleventh century, nevertheless, Lucan, like Sallust, was a common feature of northern European libraries.<sup>13</sup>

The writings of neither Caesar nor Suetonius can claim the same degree of renown in the early Middle Ages. Although Suetonius was available in France perhaps as early as the eighth century,<sup>14</sup> all European copies can be traced to a single exemplar. It is not until the twelfth century that Suetonius was widely copied and disseminated throughout Europe. Since Suetonius was not tied to the school tradition, he was early used in an original and creative way. Einhard (b. 770) used Suetonius as a model for his Life of Charlemagne. There is some evidence that Charlemagne had access to the copy of Suetonius even before Einhard's biography, and that the idea of composing his biography after that model was his own.<sup>15</sup> The idea of using a classical model for a biographical work was not an original idea, in any case; the "Mirror of the Prince," drawing on classical and medieval images of the ideal ruler, was an established literary form by the ninth century. Charlemagne saw himself as restoring the glories of ancient Rome in a new empire, and he looked to Rome for both his literary and administrative models. Sue-

tonius provided a clearly defined structure and consistent method to outline the life and accomplishments of a ruler.

Caesar's writings, like Suetonius', found a rather select audience in the early Middle Ages. The earliest manuscripts date from the ninth and tenth centuries and are exclusively confined to the Gallic War. The Gallic War is mentioned in eleventh-century inventories in most principal French libraries, and the archetype of all these early copies seems to have originated in a French scriptorium. The Civil War appears in the eleventh century, but its popularity is limited. The audience for the Gallic War seems to be confined to those areas whose specific geographical and cultural characteristics are mentioned in the work. This intimates a burgeoning spirit of local patriotism in Gaul and Germany. Perhaps for this reason, the Gallic War was unknown to the English until the twelfth century.<sup>16</sup>

## 2. The Caesar Literature and the Twelfth-Century Context

Since each of the sources -- Caesar, Sallust, Lucan, and Suetonius -- was available to Western Europe by the beginning of the twelfth century, the story of the image of Caesar should now focus on how this literature was received, how it was used, and how and why it became or remained popular. It was in the twelfth century and afterwards that a well-developed image of Caesar began to emerge based on the synthesis of a wide range of information handed down from the past. It was also during the twelfth century that the classical tradition became intertwined

with indigenous forms of expression and vernacular language, adding a new vitality and energy to the intellectual development of the West.

The Caesar literature continued to be used throughout the high Middle Ages as school literature, to teach Latin grammar, rhetoric, moral values, and history. The study and memorization of Sallust and Lucan were the key links to the tradition. Caesar and Suetonius became increasingly popular and widely available after the twelfth century. Students heard the stories of Caesar in the schools from Lucan and Sallust, which no doubt helped to popularize the other non-school texts. The connection of the image of Caesar to the schools cannot be overestimated. Glosses in the margins of medieval manuscripts are a source of vital information as to how the Caesar literature was understood and used in the schools. Magister Arnulfus, who was a lecturer on Ovid and Lucan at the cathedral school of Orléans in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, wrote an important gloss on the Pharsalia.<sup>17</sup> Arnulfus calls Lucan an authority on grammar, rhetoric, astronomy, and natural history. He supports these premises with marginal comments in his Pharsalia manuscript showing those passages which can be used to teach each of these subjects. His glosses include additional information not included in Lucan -- facts about historical and geographical passages, and notes on plants and animals. Arnulfus shows that Lucan could be used for a wide variety of pedagogical purposes, not just the traditional teaching of grammar and rhetoric. As this literature was used for more diverse purposes, the image of

Caesar was disseminated into more and more areas of medieval thought. Indeed, the most distinctive feature of the twelfth century and after is the use of the images found in classical literature in totally original and thoroughly medieval ways.

The twelfth century saw the propagation of a number of forms of literature which, although newly written, borrowed ideas from classical sources. Although the Middle Ages often rejected the form of things classical, no one rejected the storehouses of information available from ancient writings. Lives of Saints and Gesta of local leaders drew on classical literature for formal models and ways to present the descriptions of deeds. The chansons de geste and romances of the period describe the noble feats of local heroes caught in romantic and fantastic situations, a kind of writing which also found precedent in the writings of antiquity. Ancient heroes could appear with their own names or disguised with the name of a local lord or bishop. Contemporary leaders were invested with the traits and personal friendship with the greatest heroes of all time. Local history took on an aura of great significance as medieval writers began to trace elements of their world back to classical antiquity. This literature was original in its form, contemporary in focus, and written in the vernacular language of the common people. It was not for lack of imagination that these writers looked to the past for literary material. On the contrary, the creative genius of this literature lies in its ability to weave the authority and wisdom of the past into descriptions of thoroughly contemporary persons and events and to create a medieval literature which re-

flects the tastes of contemporary popular society.

Both Latin and vernacular literature were used to express the growing sentiments of local identity. As early as the seventh century, Gregory of Tours' Historia Francorum had attempted to record the history of the Franks. Other early medieval figures such as Isidore of Seville and Cassiodorus wrote histories of local Germanic groups, while early medieval Celtic and Norse authors had traced the genealogy of their groups back to ancient Troy. Aimoin de Fleury's Historiae Francorum, written around 1100, describes the transfer of Rome's power to the Franks.<sup>18</sup> Numerous other local histories traced local origins back to ancient times.

This type of national history in Latin, however, is less common than the various forms which emerged in the vernacular. Chronicles of various royal or ducal courts attempted to solidify the ruler's image by connecting him with a glorious, and often classical, past. Lives of saints described the works and miracles of popular saints, and annals recorded the natural and political history of a region -- droughts, floods, famines, deaths of bishops, and accession of kings. The expansion of the subject matter of vernacular history to include events of the ancient past became popular in the twelfth century amidst the flourishing of popular historical literature. This fact is not surprising. Not only did classical texts offer a subject matter that had demonstrated its popularity in the schools, but the drawing of connections between the Middle Ages and ancient Rome proved to be one of the best ways to assert regional identity

and independence. Ancient history thus moved from the circles of the highly educated into the hands of the lay public.

### 3. The Faits des Romains

At the intersection of the various manuscript traditions of Caesar, Sallust, Lucan, and Suetonius is the thirteenth-century French text, the Faits des Romains. This text, of which the complete, thirteenth-century title is Li fet des Romains compile ensemble de Saluste et de Suetoine et de Lucan, is a compilation not only of Sallust, Suetonius, and Lucan, but also of Caesar and virtually every other source of information available in the thirteenth century about Julius Caesar. The intention of the author of this work was a twelve-book treatment of each of the twelve Caesars, a fact which helps explain the broad title, "Deeds of the Romans." In many manuscripts, a subtitle follows the above title: Cist premiers livres est de Juille Cesar,<sup>19</sup> and the final lines of the prologue read:

Et comencerons nostre conte principalment a Juille Cesar,  
et le terminerons a Domicien, qui fu li douziemes empereres . . .<sup>20</sup>

(and our story begins principally with Julius Caesar and ends with Domitian, who was the twelfth emperor.)

The author had ostensibly envisioned a treatment of the twelve Caesars modeled after Suetonius, a subject which will be treated in detail below. If this first volume is any indication as to the scope of the intended work, however, it is not surprising that it is unfinished. The modern edition is 744 pages long with over 22,000 lines.

The author of the Faits des Romains is unknown, as is the place where it was written. None of the more than forty-five manuscripts gives any indication as to the particulars of its composition. A reference in an Oxford manuscript (Canonicianus Misc. 450), written in 1384, attributes the work to Ludovic de Porcilia. This attribution, however, has been proved false, since Ludovic was born in the late fourteenth century. Several Faits manuscripts contain original dates almost one hundred years earlier.<sup>21</sup>

A rather precise date for the work can nevertheless be determined. Paul Meyer showed that the date was somewhere in the mid-thirteenth century based on a reference in the Trésor of Brunetto Latini, written in 1266. Brunetto cites a passage which he attributes to Sallust, but which in fact was taken directly from the Faits des Romains. The date 1266 is therefore the terminus ante quem for the Faits.<sup>22</sup>

The terminus post quem was also determined by Meyer based on a specific reference in the Faits. In the chapter entitled "Que Cesar fist quant il fu ediles" ("What Caesar did when he was aedile"), the following passage appears:

Quant je lis de Juille Cesar que Lucus Silla l'apeloit le valet mau ceint, si me membre de monseignor Phelipe le roi de France.<sup>23</sup>

(When I read that Lucius Sulla called Julius Caesar the badly girded youth, I remember my lord, Philip the King of France.)

If the Faits were written before the Trésor of Brunetto, "Phelipe le roi de France" can be none other than Philip II, Augustus (1180-1223). A later reference is even more specific. The de-



struction of a Roman amphitheater is described under the title "Comment Labienus assist la cité de Paris" ("How Labienus aided the city of Paris"), a passage taken from Caesar's Gallic War (7:57-62):

La citez seoit en un isle en mi Saine, si come ele fet anquore, et estoient les entrees mout boeuses . . . Entour le mont Seint Estiene Sainte Genevieve n'avoit lors nul habitant; mes au tens Seinte Crehelt, qui fonda le mostier dou mon<t> en honor de Seint Pierre l'apostre, ou Flodoveus ses barons gist, i commença l'en [a] habiter et meesment puis que li rois Chilperiz, qui fu fuiz de lor fill, ot fet un theaitre es vignes qui or sont entré Seinte Genevieve et Seinte Victor. De ce theaitre duroit encore une partie en estant au jor que li rois Phelipe[s] commença Paris a ceindre de mur par devers Petit Pont.<sup>24</sup>

(The city was situated on an island in the middle of the Seine, just as it is today, and had very muddy approaches. Around mounts St. Stephen and St. Genevieve there were no inhabitants; but at the time of St. Crehelt, who founded the church in honor of St. Peter the Apostle, where Flodovius<sup>25</sup> laid his nobles [to rest], people began to live there and similarly since King Chilperic, who was his son, had constructed a theater in the vineyards which are now between St. Genevieve and St. Victor. A portion of this theater still stood when King Philip began walling in Paris over by the Petit Pont [Little Bridge].)

This theater, which, according to the author of the Faits, was constructed by Chilperic I (d. 584), is actually a Roman amphitheater of which an important fragment was discovered in 1870 in the spot described above in Paris (presently la rue Monge).<sup>26</sup> The wall mentioned above, reconstructed by Philip II, was completed in 1211.<sup>27</sup> The Faits des Romains, therefore, had to have been written between 1211 and 1266.

An even greater precision of date is possible in the light of a passage which mentions "Ottes li escommuniez," Holy Roman Emperor Otto IV, who was excommunicated by Pope Innocent III in 1210. Otto allied with King John of England, also Duke of Nor-

mandy, against Philip II in 1213. The Faits says the English are fools if they think that Otto would ever attack France:

Je tieng por fox et Anglois et Normanz, qui ont fole  
esperance et quident que Octes li escomeniez, que Diex  
et seinte Eglise ont degité, doie France envair per itel  
gent.<sup>28</sup>

(I hold for fools those English and Normans who have the foolish hope and believe that Otto the Excommunicated, whom God and the Holy Church have cast out, would invade France.)

Otto and John did attack Bouvines, unsuccessfully, on 27 July 1214. Since this passage occurs more than midway through the Faits, one could safely assert that the work was completed after 1213, when the coalition was formed, and before July, 1214, when the Anglo-German attack had been repelled by Philip II.<sup>29</sup>

The preceding passages are important not only in determining a date for the Faits, but also in indicating a place of composition and even a possible patron. The passage which describes Philip's reconstruction of the wall of the amphitheater shows that the author is not only quite familiar with the landscape of the city of Paris, but that he is interested in showing the king in a good light. Philip II was a king who could have easily seen himself in the image of Julius Caesar. Not only is he known for his military ventures in Normandy and in the Albigensian Crusade, he was also considered by many of his subjects a good king and administrator.<sup>30</sup> Paris was a great center of culture and scholarship during his reign. Paris is a strong possibility as a location for this translation of classical sources since it was there, during the reign of Saint Louis

(1226-70), that the Bible was first translated into French. In fact, Paris was the center of all important French translations and compilations done during the thirteenth century.<sup>31</sup> Given these circumstances, and understanding Philip's style of leadership, it is plausible to suggest that he was the patron of the Faits des Romains.

The style, contents, and structure of the Faits can help clarify how classical literature was understood in thirteenth-century France. The work is drawn from a wide range of classical and medieval sources. The author worked directly with the Latin sources; there is no other Latin or vernacular compilation that could have been used. As is indicated by the title, Sallust, Suetonius, and Lucan form the backbone of the structure. Other sources include Caesar's writings on the Gallic and Civil Wars and their different continuations in the wars of Alexandria, Africa, and Spain; the writings on Jewish history by Flavius Josephus (first century A.D.), the Etymologies of Isidore of Seville; the Bible; Alexandri magni iter ad paradism, an anonymous text of the first quarter of the twelfth century; and the City of God of St. Augustine.<sup>32</sup> The author's purpose seems to be to collect the complete medieval corpus of Caesar literature and to construct a continuous narrative which makes maximum use of each of the sources. The result is a remarkable collage of classical and early medieval literature sewn together with tales of purely contemporary significance.

The prologue consists of a rather free translation of the first chapters of Sallust's Catiline. Following, in the manner

of an introduction, is a chapter entitled "Qels dignetez il ot a Rome avant" ("What worthy things there were in Rome before"). This brief description of Roman government is borrowed from the ninth book of the Etymologies of Isidore of Seville. Also from Isidore comes "Coment Juille Cesar nasqui" ("How Caesar was born"), which is accompanied in many manuscripts by an illumination of this story of Caesar's miraculous birth: he was cut from his mother's womb with a full head of hair ("mout granz chevex"). Immediately thereafter begins the translation of the work which is to form the overarching structure of the entire remainder of the Faits des Romains, the Deified Julius of Suetonius.<sup>33</sup>

Suetonius seems to have been used as a structural model in two ways in the Faits. It has already been noted that the author intended to continue his first volume with eleven additional ones, like Suetonius covering the lives of each of the twelve Caesars. Early in the Faits des Romains it becomes obvious that Suetonius also provides the structural framework of the book on Caesar. The Deified Julius begins and ends the Faits des Romains: missing details are filled in from other sources.

This explains why Isidore is consulted for Caesar's birth: Suetonius begins, at least in the version that came down to the Middle Ages, with Caesar's sixteenth year. Suetonius supplies the details (Books 1-14) of Caesar's youth and early public career. After Chapter 14, Suetonius left a convenient hole in his brief discussion of the conspiracy of Catiline, and the author looked to the obvious author, Sallust, to supply the missing narrative. So he inserted not just the sections dealing with

Caesar, but the whole text of Catiline, carefully translated with only a few departures from the Latin text.

After Catiline, the compiler returns to Suetonius (Books 15-23) to tell the story of Caesar's election as consul and his alliance with Pompey. Then follows a series of chapters borrowed from Flavius Josephus' Antiquitates judaicae and Bellum judaicum, narrating Pompey's expedition against the Jews. After a chapter on the formation of the Triumvirate, the author turns to Caesar's conquest of Gaul, taken from the Gallic War of Caesar.

The treatment of the Gallic War is similar to that of the other texts utilized up to this point, a rather straightforward translation of the Latin source. In this section, like the section based on Sallust, the author abandons his technique of combining authorities; he translates the entire Gallic War from start to finish, with little added or omitted. The battle scenes are changed to conform with medieval notions of warfare, adding horses and medieval armor, but the remainder, composing over one-third the entire length of the Faits des Romains, is a French translation of Caesar's account.<sup>34</sup>

The next large section is called in the majority of the manuscripts "le livre de Lucan" and is an imitation of the Pharsalia. The first chapter is entitled "Coment Cesar et li soen passerent Rubicon au premier livre de Lucan" ("How Caesar and his troops crossed the Rubicon from the first book of Lucan"). The material for this chapter, however, is taken from Suetonius, Chapter 32, even though the same episode appears in Lucan

(I:183-205). Lucan's account is perhaps a bit too portentous to begin a major section of the Faits and conveys too negative an image of Caesar, who up to this point has suffered no criticism. In Lucan, the passing of the Rubicon is bewailed by a female representation of Rome who warns of the impending horror and destruction of Caesar's act of war. In Suetonius, the creature is a beautiful man,<sup>35</sup> who plays music on a reed. Caesar and his men understand the apparition as a sign that the gods are sympathetic to his cause, the opposite of the opinion offered by Lucan. The author settles the problem by retaining Lucan's image of a beautiful woman as a symbol of Rome, but he uses Suetonius' interpretation of what it means.<sup>36</sup>

The author of the Faits chooses a more powerful image to begin his translation of Lucan:

. . . et autresi come li lions qui est a estal, quant il voit son anemi devant soi cui il voit corre sus, conquieust sa force et son mautalent, bat la terre de sa queue et soi meisme, esdrece la creste et fremist ne ne se doute a metre parmi un trenchant espié; ensemment Cesar, quant il ot ce veü et il ot son hardement coilli, il hurte cheval des esperons et se met en l'iaue a eslés et passe outre vistement.<sup>37</sup>

(. . . and like the lion who is poised for combat, when he sees before him his enemy toward whom he would rush, he musters his strength and fierceness, beats the ground with his tail and his body, bristles his mane and shivers, and does not fear running toward a cutting sword; likewise Caesar, when he had seen this and had summoned his courage, spurred his horse and runs forth into the water galloping and crosses over quickly.)

This passage, as translated from Lucan by J. D. Duff (Pharsalia I:205ff):

So on the untilled fields of sultry Libya, when the lion sees his foe at hand, he crouches down at first uncertain till he gathers all his rage; but soon, when he has maddened himself with the cruel lash of his tail, and made

his mane stand up, and sent forth a roar from his cavernous jaws, then, if the brandished lance of a nimble Moor stick in his flesh or a spear pierce his great chest, he passes on along the length of the weapon, careless of so sore a wound.<sup>38</sup>

Not only does this passage reveal the side of Caesar's image in the Pharsalia that the author of the Faits wants to emphasize, but it points to an important aspect of the technique of this translation. The translation of the prose of Caesar or Suetonius into French is not a task that would surpass the capabilities of a well-educated person of the thirteenth century. To render the complicated and intense language of Lucan's epic into medieval French, however, is arduous, especially since the expressive capabilities of medieval French were not highly developed by the thirteenth century.<sup>39</sup> Just as the modern reader is compelled to seek the advice of authorities to understand Lucan, so did the author seek the aid of the authorities of his day. It was the glossed manuscript and commentary on Lucan of Magister Arnulfus, lecturer at Orléans, which aided the author.<sup>40</sup> There is manifold evidence that his understanding of obscure passages, connotations, and meanings relies on Arnulfus. The author of the Faits is concerned with making his translation as clear and accessible as possible, choosing from among Arnulfus' numerous possible readings of difficult passages the most direct and simple. This technique led the author to repeat several of Arnulfus' errors, but at the same time it allowed him to accomplish an impressive task -- a French translation of Lucan that preserves not only the content, but certain of the stylistic qualities of the original.

Lucan's long-winded digressions in effect legitimize the interpolations of the author of the Faits. He adds a story of two lieutenants of Alexandria who take a trip to Paradise, taken from Alexandri magni iter ad paradisum, inserted in the midst of Lucan's discussion of Pompey's alliances with other nations.<sup>41</sup> He likewise inserts favorite proverbs, geographical details, allusions to Christ and the saints, and epic descriptions of battle. After the brusque end of Lucan's Pharsalia, the author makes his most independent and daring effort of the Faits. Using short quotations from Suetonius (Chapter 64) and then the works covering Caesar's last military campaigns -- the Civil War, the Alexandrian War, the African War, and the Spanish War -- the author writes a sequel to Suetonius that is a veritable medieval novel. The exploits of Caesar and Cleopatra trapped by Achilles in a tower; the metamorphosis of Ganymede into an Egyptian soldier who rescues Cleopatra's sister from prison and takes the throne; the battles of Thapsus and Munda turned into chansons de geste -- this entire section of the work completely transforms the few facts taken from Latin into medieval epic and romance.<sup>42</sup> The author, however, somehow regains control and returns to a translation of the last chapters (37-89) of Suetonius, ending with Suetonius' most positive images of Caesar, his efficient administration and his tragic death.

The point of view of the author is no secret in the Faits des Romains. He uses every opportunity to tilt the evidence in Caesar's favor. The opportunities, however, are sometimes rare



in the sources which he chooses, especially certain passages from Lucan and Suetonius. And the author's style of translation is more concerned with making the literature understandable and up to date than with rewriting each source to conform to a uniform interpretation. Why would the author choose writings with evidence which contradicted his point of view? Part of this is explained in the careful but nevertheless illogical combination of sources into one narrative. The author treats these sources as if they were equal, as if they contributed to one collective and positive image of Caesar. The author is not interested in Lucan's republican sentiments or Caesar's propagandistic inaccuracies. In fact, he hardly concerns himself with historical accuracy at all, except in terms of a rigid observance of a chronological sequence in the events of Caesar's life. Even in this respect, he relies more heavily on the structural model of Suetonius than on his own designs in organizing the information on Caesar's life into a narrative. The fact remains that the author had only a superficial interest in the political implications of this literature.

This is hardly a criticism in comparison with the magnitude of the accomplishment of an anonymous thirteenth-century author. He gathered and compiled a staggering number of sources. Almost every word available in France about Julius Caesar was at his disposal and was included somehow in his work. He infuses this literature with a new life, contemporary in focus and interesting both to the educated and to the non-educated reader. He makes the legend of Caesar accessible to almost all people conversant

with French by using the vernacular tongue. It could be read by laymen with little education or read aloud to those with no education. The disparate viewpoints of his sources are not at issue in this context. The Faits des Romains is not a work of historical scholarship, but a work of literature which brings a collection of well-known classical sources into the realm of vernacular society. As such, it pays as great a tribute to its sources as to the interest evoked by its subject.

4. Continuations of the Faits des Romains:  
Caesar at the Court of Burgundy

The Faits des Romains and other vernacular translations of the Caesar literature introduced Caesar both to a new audience and to a new set of patrons after the thirteenth century. Caesar became a mentor of the rising courts of Europe, from the Italian peninsula to Germany. The medium of his image was principally the popular, direct, and powerful vernacular of the Faits des Romains.

The Faits des Romains was by no means the only vernacular translation of works based on the life of Caesar that appeared between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. Jean de Thuin wrote a life of Caesar in the thirteenth century in ten books modeled after Lucan. Even though it copied portions of the Faits, this work had a limited audience due to its crudeness of style and lack of linguistic sophistication.<sup>43</sup> Jean de Meung, Jean de Vignay, Pierre Bersuire and Nicole Oresme -- all of the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries -- undertook to rewrite

various classical sources about Caesar, attempting to come as close as possible to verbatim translations. Oresme and Bersuire were so careful in translating terms for which they could find no equivalents that they attached a glossary to explain them, a technique which never caught on among *dévotés* of Caesar. The medievalized Faits continued to be the preferred text about Julius Caesar until the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>44</sup>

Copies of the Faits des Romains in manuscripts between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries show the evolution of the idea that linked the courts of the Middle Ages to the Roman Empire. Copyists, noticing that the Faits had been intended to continue up to the period of Domitian, took the task in hand to "complete" the obviously unfinished work. In general, these continuations are very brief, lacking the color or refinement of the original text. Nevertheless, these appendices are indicative of how these copyists and their patrons understood the Faits.

One manuscript, discussed by Flutre,<sup>45</sup> continued the Faits from Augustus to Domitian. The author borrowed his material mostly from other medieval authors -- Jean Mansel (La fleur des histoires) and Vincent de Beauvais (Speculum historiale) -- even though he cites only his ancient sources. He ends his treatment of Domitian in these words:

. . . selon les escripts de Orose, Justin, Lucan, Suetoine, Eutrope, Eusebe et autres aucteurs, les fais de Romains jusques a la fin de l'empire Domicien, le douzieme des empereurs surnommez Cesariens.<sup>46</sup>

(according to the writings of Orosius, Justinus, Lucan, Suetonius, Eutropius, Eusebius, and other authors, the deeds of the Romans up to the end of the empire of Domitian, the twelfth of the emperors called Caesar.)

Other versions continue to different chronological termini past the age of Domitian -- one to the capture of Rome by Alaric.<sup>47</sup> The most interesting, however, are those manuscripts which continue up to the time of composition, as does a manuscript of the late thirteenth century copied in Rome in 1293. This writer includes principal events of French and German history, stopping in 1270 with the eighth crusade and the death of Saint Louis. The author cites as his sources Orosius, Suetonius, St. Jerome, Juvenal, Isidore of Seville, St. Ambrose and St. Gregory.<sup>48</sup> Underlying this historical account is the implication of a genealogical line extending from Julius Caesar to the kings of France. In the context of the Faits des Romains, with its medievalized characters and "Frenchified" descriptions, this genealogy is hardly out of place. If the numbers of manuscripts of the Faits and works modeled after it are any indication, the monarchy and nobility of France thought highly of this story.

The Faits des Romains was copied, translated, imitated, and plagiarized for a period of over three centuries. It was an extraordinarily popular work of literature. The borrowings of Brunetto Latini and Jean de Thuim have already been mentioned. Both of these writers profited from the success accorded to the Faits. Historians who wrote Histoires Universelles during this period began to consult the Faits rather than Latin authors directly for a history of the Roman Empire. This is evidenced by paraphrases, direct quotations, and even mistaken notions from the Faits used in the Histoires. A thirteenth-century Flemish scribe plagiarized the work, copying outright a large

section and summarizing the rest, in his Chronique dite de Baudouin d'Avesnes. The chroniclers of Tournai and of other Flemish cities turned to the Faits rather than to Caesar's own writings to write the proud stories of their ancestors who caused Caesar so much trouble in his Gallic War.<sup>49</sup>

The diffusion of the Faits des Romains is even more significant in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Commentaires et Chroniques de César, the Histoires des douze Cesariens, the Miroer du Monde, the Histoire de Romme, and the Trésor de Sapience are all compilations which refer to the Faits. Nicolas de Vérone and others put the principal episodes of the Faits in verse. Fernand Flutre says of this poetry: "L'auréole de la poésie vient couronner la brillante carrière fournie par l'anonyme compilation, carrière qui, du reste, n'est pas encore à cette date complètement parcourue."<sup>50</sup>

Indeed, it was at the court of the Dukes of Burgundy in the fifteenth century that the literature and image of Caesar attained its medieval apogee. The legend of Caesar was patronized to some degree at the courts of each of the four dukes, but it was the last two dukes, Philip the Good and Charles the Bold, who devoted significant time and energy to literary pursuits. The literary interests of the dukes are known because of inventories of the ducal libraries made regularly throughout the fifteenth century.

The literature of antiquity composed a significant portion of the ducal holdings by the end of the fifteenth century. Although Philip the Bold and John the Fearless added relatively

little classical literature to their libraries,<sup>51</sup> large acquisitions were made during the rule of Philip the Good. He interested himself in the literature connecting the Franks to Greek origins, especially the Roman d'Alexandre and the Histoires de Thèbes, d'Athènes, de Troie, and d'Enéas. He also acquired a copy of the Histoire ancienne jusqu'a César, which covered the period from the Creation to the epoch of Caesar. Philip's copy of the Histoire ancienne was supplemented by the Faits des Romains, making the whole volume into a Histoire Universelle. Jean Mansel was commissioned by Philip to write a Hystores rommaines, which incorporated not only Orosius, Sallust, Lucan, and Suetonius, but Livy, a newly-popular source of information about Caesar. Philip also added certain Latin volumes, among which were Sallust's Catiline.<sup>52</sup>

During the reign of Philip, the ducal library grew in size from 250 volumes to over 900.<sup>53</sup> The library of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless had consisted mainly of religious works, chivalrous literature, books on hunting, and a few moralizing works and books on poetry.<sup>54</sup> Philip the Good added works not only relevant to the Caesar literature, but biblical, liturgical, philosophical, judicial, didactic, and historical works. These were written in French, Flemish, and Latin and were often magnificently bound and illuminated. The library was considered part of the ducal treasure and manuscripts were held by the duke's keeper of jewels. In fact, the library seems to have been valued more highly for its artistic treasures than as a collection of reading materials for the duke. Philip, nevertheless, had his

favorite literary subjects, as is attested by one of his favorite authors and copyists, David Aubert, in the prologue of his Chronicle:

The very renowned and very virtuous prince Philip of Burgundy has long observed the custom of having ancient history read out to him daily; and in order to have at his disposal a library unequaled by any other, he has since his youth employed a number of translators, learned men, expert orators, historians and writers, hard at work in great numbers in various lands; to the point that he is today without any reservation the prince of Christendom who is the best provided with an authentic and rich library, as can be fully ascertained; and while, in the light of his tremendous magnificence, this may be but a small thing, it should nevertheless be a matter of perpetual record, so that all should be aware of his great virtues.<sup>55</sup>

Charles the Bold inherited Philip's taste for ancient history. Philip's interests had centered on the great moral and political lessons of history. Charles, on the other hand, preferred the heroic aspects of history. As a child, he listened with great interest to stories about the dawn of chivalry -- the Knights of the Round Table and other legends. As he grew older, his interests turned to the heroes of antiquity. Olivier de la Marche, one of Charles' chief chroniclers, says of him:

Jamis [il] ne se couchoit qu'il ne fist lire deux heures devant luy, et lisoit souvent devant luy le seigneur de Humbercourt, qui moult bien lisoit et retenoit; et faisoit lors lire les haultes histoires de Romme et prenoit moult grand plaisir es faitz des Romains.<sup>56</sup>

(He never went to bed before having someone read aloud to him for two hours, and often it was the Lord of Humbercourt, who read well and remembered [what he had read]; he [Charles] had read the noble stories of Rome and took great pleasure in the deeds of the Romans.)

Another chronicler, Philippe Wielant, says of Charles' taste:

Il estoit rude et dur en telles matières et ne prenoit plaisir qu'en histoires romaines et ès faitz de Jule Cesar, de Pompée, de Hannibal, d'Alexandre le Grand et de telz autres grandz et haultz hommes, lesquelz il vouloit ensuyre et contrefaire.<sup>57</sup>

(He was rude and difficult in certain matters and didn't like anything except Roman history and the deeds of Caesar, Pompey, Hannibal, Alexander the Great, and other such great and noble men, whom he wanted to follow and imitate.)

Charles' ambitious military exploits could have easily found justification in the model of these heroes and especially in Julius Caesar. Charles nearly succeeded during his ten-year rule in freeing the Duchy of Burgundy from French rule and raising it to the status of a kingdom. Each of the three dukes before Charles had shared these ambitions to some degree. The dukes envisioned a reinstatement of the Middle Kingdom of Lotharingia, making Burgundy independent of the domination of either France or the Holy Roman Empire. The power and size of the duchy had been favorably increased by Philip the Bold, whose marriage to Margaret of Flanders brought Flanders under Burgundian jurisdiction, but none of the dukes had such mighty territorial ambitions as Charles. Louis XI of France, along with the Swiss and German forces, repeatedly resisted Charles' attempts to extend his power, even though the threat he posed was very much a real one. And even after Charles had succeeded in extending his rule into the Rhineland, the Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick III, refused to crown him King of Burgundy.<sup>58</sup>

Charles found encouragement for his pursuits and consolation for his failures in the vernacular literature about Julius Caesar. Apart from the texts that had been added to the library during the reign of the three previous dukes, he also commissioned one of the court writers, Jean du Chesne, to translate the Gallic War of Caesar. The duke's copy appeared in 1474, one year after



Frederick III refused to crown him king.<sup>59</sup> Also produced during Charles' reign, in 1460, was Sébastien Mamerot's Histoire des neuf Preux. Both of these texts borrowed passages from the Faits des Romains.<sup>60</sup> Jean Molinet, the chief poet of Burgundy, completed his Le trosne d'honneur in 1467 linking the house of Burgundy to the neuf preux. Charles learned from Caesar certain strategies of battle and exercises for his troops. He decorated his residences with tapestries that recounted the successes of his hero. He could aspire to Caesar's greatness and even, according to the tradition he inherited, claim genealogical connections to him. But, like Caesar, Charles' ambitions met a fatal blow; he was killed in battle at Nancy in 1477.

It was principally the Faits des Romains that transferred Caesar, Sallust, Lucan, and Suetonius to the court of Charles. And it was through Charles that this particular tradition of identity with the Roman past was passed on to the Holy Roman Empire. No text makes this story clearer than one of the last copies of the Faits des Romains, manuscript 20312 bis in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. This beautifully illuminated manuscript, executed in Flanders in the second half of the fifteenth century,<sup>61</sup> contains on folios 305-315 a Histoire sommaire des empereurs depuis Auguste jusqu'a Frédéric III. The manuscript is a final tribute to Charles the Bold, whose daughter Mary, his sole heiress, married Maximilian Habsburg, and whose death brought part of the Duchy of Burgundy into the fold of the Holy Roman Empire.

The following passage shows how, according to the Faits,

the French inherited Rome:

Constantin et sa mere Yrene, ou temps du pape Zacharie, fut emperor dix ans deux mois et deux jours; apres la mort duquel l'empire vint aux Franchois, c'est assavoir a Charlemagne, filz de Pepin, pour la tirannie qu'ilz firent contre le pape Leon.

Charlemagne, roy de France ou temps du pape Leon, fut empereur de Romme .xiiij. ans ung mois et trois jours. Avant ce qu'il fust empereur il vint au pape Adrian qui l'en avoit prié et envay les Lombars en Pavie. Il deffia le roy et sa femme, lesquelz il prist et les emmena prisonniers en France. Puis vint a Romme et conferma toutes les choses que son pere Pepin avoit données a Saint Pierre et adjousta la preduchiée de Spoletain et Bonnaventin, et pour ce fut patrice des Rommains l'an de l'incarnacion Nostre Seigneur .viij. et .xiiij. Il rengna .xlviij. ans roy de France et empereur. Il surmonta tous ses predecesseurs en vertus et en proesse.<sup>62</sup>

(Constantine and his mother Irene, at the time of Pope Zachary, was emperor ten years, two months, and two days; after the death of whom the empire went to the French, that is to say to Charlemagne, son of Pepin, for the tyranny they [the Byzantines] perpetrated against Pope Leo.

Charlemagne, King of France at the time of Pope Leo, was emperor of Rome fourteen years, one month, and three days. Before he was emperor, he came to Pope Adrian, who had asked him to attack the Lombards in Pavia. He challenged the king and his wife, whom he captured and took as prisoners to France. Then he went to Rome and confirmed all the things that his father Pepin had given to St. Peter's and added the duchies of Spoleto and Benevento and for that deed was made a patrician of the Romans the year of the incarnation of our Lord 814. He reigned forty-seven years as the king of France and emperor. He surpassed all his predecessors in virtue and valor.)

The end of this manuscript marks the end of Burgundian patronage of the legend of Caesar in literature on a grand scale; after 1490, no other vernacular works about Caesar appear in the ducal court.<sup>63</sup> There could be no better epitaph for Charles, whose entire life was reflected in the acts of Caesar as recorded in the Faits des Romains, than this ending to a later Faits manuscript:

Frederic le tiers de ce nom fut duc d'Austrice, lequel fut esleut en roy d'Alemaigne, et longuement differa d'estre couronné pour la scisme du pape. Toutefois enfin faite

la union de l'eglise, il fut par le pape Nicolas V<sup>e</sup> de ce non couronné en la cité de Romme a grant triumphe. Il fut homme merueilleusement plaisible et de grand pascience. Il eut a femme la fille du roy du Portugal, de laquelle il demoura ung beau fils. En son temps fu la noble et puissant cité de Constantinople destruite par les Turks, et la duchié de Ghebres prise et conquise par Charles, duc de Bourgoingne, qui lui en fist l'ommage.<sup>64</sup>

(Frederick III was duke of Austria and was elected king of Germany, and put off being crowned because of the schism of the papacy [in 1452]. Finally, after the union of the Church, he was crowned by Pope Nicolas V in the city of Rome with much pomp. He was a very pleasant man of great patience. He was married to the daughter of the king of Portugal, by whom he had a beautiful son. In his time, the noble and powerful city of Constantinople was destroyed by the Turks, and the duchy of Ghebres was taken and conquered by Charles, Duke of Burgundy, which, because of this, paid homage to him.)

However, if the literary expression of the Burgundian legend of Caesar ends at this point, its expression in the visual arts transferred the theme to a new medium.

CHAPTER III: CAESAR AT THE COURT OF BURGUNDY:  
THE INFLUENCE OF TEXT ON IMAGE

The history of the literature about Julius Caesar runs parallel to a visual tradition which was equally important to Caesar's popularity in the Middle Ages. Understanding the impact of the Caesar myth on medieval Europe is greatly enhanced by a study of manuscript illustrations. Although text illustration was an art which traveled with classical literature into medieval scriptoria, it is principally with the vernacular literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that secular heroes such as Caesar appeared in the illuminations of manuscripts. The illuminators of Caesar texts during this period, having no models to copy from the early Middle Ages, were compelled to invent an original vocabulary to represent Caesar and his cohorts. The tradition of Early Christian and Carolingian emperor portraits is not related to the narrative miniature cycles which became popular in the high Middle Ages. The invention of this new vocabulary was less confined to established iconographical traditions than sacred text illustration and could be used to interpret and intensify the desired didactic and propagandistic themes of the Caesar literature. Iconographical invention was also used to demonstrate Caesar's affinity and relevance to the contemporary world. And since the visual image ignored the boundaries of spoken and written language, Caesar's message could be understood by virtually anyone who saw it, an important advantage to those rulers whose territorial ambitions were likewise unbounded. The visual image of Caesar became an

important political tool of the dukes of Burgundy.

1. The Sources of Caesar Iconography  
and the Illustrations of the Faits des Romains

The connections between classical representations of Caesar and the illuminations of the high Middle Ages are impossible to document with any degree of certitude. In fact, there is no reason to believe that such relationships exist, given the wide variety of iconographical solutions that evolved during the Middle Ages to represent scenes from the Caesar literature. The concept of textual illustration and the methods used to represent texts visually, however, can be traced to antiquity and followed through the Middle Ages. This tradition must be pieced together from a variety of sources; a coherent history of text illustration, describing the many and various styles of late antiquity and the early Middle Ages, cannot be written. The numbers of antique manuscripts and fragments are severely limited, and even the few manuscripts which can be considered reliable copies of lost, datable works do not suffice to fill the gaps.<sup>1</sup> It is not surprising that no illustrated manuscripts of the writings of Caesar, Sallust, Lucan, or Suetonius were available to medieval illuminators. Yet the most vigorous artistic influence affecting the illuminators of the high Middle Ages was the traditions which began in late antiquity and extended through the Middle Ages. Even if the visual image of Caesar was not a part of this development, Caesar's appearance in the thirteenth century depended upon it.

Numerous literary references and a few remaining examples indicate that illustrated texts were produced in large numbers in pre-Christian times. Pliny's Naturalis Historia asserts that Varro, in the first century B.C., "inserted in a prolific output of volumes portraits of seven hundred famous people,"<sup>2</sup> adding that these were spread all over the world. These portraits were undoubtedly done on papyrus scrolls, a widely-used format both in Greece, after Alexander imported it from conquered Egypt, and later in Rome. Few of these scrolls survived the passage of the centuries, however. During the time of Julius Caesar, the library of Alexandria, containing 700,000 scrolls, was destroyed by fire. Most other scrolls were lost in the process of the deterioration of papyrus.<sup>3</sup>

The introduction of the codex in the first century A.D. was one of the most important events in the history of books. This innovation also had important ramifications on the style and manner of text illustration. No longer were texts written over long continuous rolls, and no longer could illustrations be spread over the same continuous space. Text and illustration had to be broken into distinct units, resulting in a tighter relationship of words and pictures. The most logical place to include an illustration of a person or an event was on the page where he or it was described. Narrative cycles, which with scrolls could be continuous, were broken into their component parts and spread over several or many pages. This practice not only encouraged illuminators to remain faithful to the literary description, but confined these illustrations to the geometrical shape

and spatial limitations of a page. The book became the principal means used by scholars of the Middle Ages to learn about the past and to record their thoughts for the future.

The ancient tradition of book illumination was both widespread and long-lived, extending over several centuries. Early Christian book illumination was not a new art. Early Christian illumination made a strong effort to absorb the classical tradition in both its technical and stylistic aspects. The illuminators of this time borrowed established compositional formulae whenever possible as well as ideas for extensive, narrative picture cycles.<sup>4</sup>

Although no antique illustrations of the Caesar literature proper seem to exist, a number of illustrated texts with related subject matter are known. A Western manuscript of Vergil of the fifth century, known as the Vergilius Vaticanus, contains illuminations which illustrate how the character and subject matter of an heroic poem were treated by late classical artists. This manuscript, which is probably a copy of a second-century original,<sup>5</sup> illustrates the important scenes from the Aeneid composing a visual summary of the text. Two scenes which have counterparts in the Caesar literature, the battle scene of the Sack of Troy (Fig. 1) and the Trojan Council (Fig. 2) show compositional modes common in late classical frescoes, panels, and mosaics.<sup>6</sup> Spatial recession is implied by the circular wall which encloses both scenes, by the circular arrangement of figures, and by the use of aerial perspective. The foreground figures in Figure 2 are larger than the background figures, a technique which further

clarifies the spatial proportions. The Death of Dido (Fig. 3) carries the illusion of spatial recession even further by using a receding linear perspective in an architectural setting. Plasticity is achieved by highlighting shapes with bright colors and by alternating light and dark tones. That the illustrations are carefully matched to the text is particularly evident in Figure 2, where the important characters are identified not only by dress and position, but by name.

Late antique style in manuscript illumination survived along with the Roman Empire in Byzantium, and, as late as the tenth century, antique formulae of expression are an essential component of the Byzantine artistic vocabulary. No example demonstrates this relationship better than the manuscript known as the Paris Psalter (Bibliothèque Nationale, codes graecus 139). This manuscript is most likely a copy of a Roman original, a point which is evidenced by the Prayer of Isaiah (Fig. 4). The affinity of this miniature with a Roman Endymion sarcophagus (Fig. 5) leaves little doubt as to its stylistic models.<sup>7</sup>

The deliberate evocation of classical models in Byzantine illuminated manuscripts was so recurrent that scholars speak, for example, of a Macedonian Renaissance in the ninth century. This revival of antique forms in the East had an important influence on the Carolingian scriptoria of the ninth century. Charlemagne's marriage to the Byzantine Princess Judith and his many trips to Constantinople initiated a lively interchange between East and West. The intimate ties that the East maintained with the classical tradition were a vital resource in the Carolingians' search



for a classical past. The same scriptoria that copied the works of Lucan, Sallust, and Suetonius rediscovered and revived the modes of late antique and Early Christian book illumination. While scribes recopied texts, miniaturists copied and assimilated representational schemes; the two activities were often carried out in the same room. Scribes and illuminators thus worked together to revitalize the words and images of ancient Rome.

The process of faithful copying did not inhibit the creative capacity and individual development of Carolingian miniaturists. In fact, it was their ability to reorganize and reinterpret the representational techniques of their models that allowed the ninth-century miniaturists to create their own original artistic language. These artists learned how to reinterpret the words with visual images. They by no means confined themselves to subjects for which they had models. Artists, therefore, could instill the lessons they learned from the East and from Rome with a contemporary significance, as is the case in the scenes from the life of St. Jerome from the preface of the Vivian Bible (Fig. 6). The artist of this miniature demonstrates a close familiarity with late antique painting in his renderings of the buildings, the ships, the figures, and the attempted atmospheric perspective. This miniature cannot be shown to have been a copy of an earlier work, however, since no late antique narrative scenes of Jerome's life are known.<sup>8</sup> The artist seems to have borrowed ideas from a variety of contexts to translate antique style into medieval style. For example, figures wear Carolingian garb rather than Early Christian togas. The use in late antique

art of delicate gradations of color to model figures gives way here to linear geometric patterns in the drapery. Thus, the artist has applied an essentially classical technique to totally medieval subjects and figures.<sup>9</sup>

Iconographical invention is an inherent component of an art which applies old forms and techniques to new purposes. The development of schemes to illustrate episodes in the Bible occupies an important position in medieval manuscript illumination. The earliest Bible illustrations, most often miniature cycles for an individual book, first appeared in late antiquity. Bible illustration was an art which was characterized by widespread patronage, rapid dissemination and change. Bible illumination ran parallel to the illustration of classical texts, often borrowing techniques and themes from ancient sources. The production of Bibles increased rapidly between the ninth and twelfth centuries, and, because of the official recognition by the Church of the didactic value of illustration, it was largely through Biblical miniatures that elements of the classical tradition in book illumination reached the high Middle Ages.<sup>10</sup>

The renewed interest in classical literature in twelfth-century France and the boom of illuminated book production in Paris during the reigns of Philip II and Louis IX form the immediate background into which visual images of Julius Caesar appeared. The increased patronage of secular book illumination occurs at a time when book production reached an unprecedented level in Western Europe. This greater demand for books can be related to the relative peace and prosperity that France began

to enjoy under Philip II and to the growing importance of the University of Paris as one of the main European centers of culture and learning. Much more than in other parts of Europe, the French school of illumination freed itself from the traditional motifs connected to the traditional patron, the Church, and began to satisfy the new lay patrons in the courts. Sacred book production continued on an even grander scale than any time previously, and this momentum also incorporated the demand for secular illuminated texts.

Secular illuminators flourished in France even before the thirteenth century. These laymen were usually employed either by a monastery that lacked enough competent clerics or by a university town. The University of Paris had an established guild of binders, scribes, and illuminators already in the twelfth century.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, histories, chronicles, romances, chansons de geste, and other works were produced in decorated form even before the workshops of thirteenth-century Paris began producing these works in large numbers. Many examples of thirteenth-century secular book illumination are available; two illustrations from the thirteenth-century text Histoire des Macchabées are included as Figure 7. The ateliers of the early thirteenth century are characterized by the multiplicity of styles that grew suddenly or migrated to Paris from various parts of France and beyond. The strongest stylistic and iconographic influences on the emergence of secular text illustration were the various remnants of the traditions of sacred illumination, which, by and large, were passed into Paris from Carolingian times. By the time that the

Latin texts about Julius Caesar had been reworked and translated into the French of the Faits des Romains, the classical foundations of book illumination had been also translated into a form that, while upholding certain basic principles, was totally contemporary in application and meaning. This parallelism in text and image is the central issue for understanding the popularity that Julius Caesar enjoyed in France between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Representations of the life and deeds of Caesar first occurred in manuscripts of the Faits des Romains in the thirteenth century. The only extant thirteenth-century manuscript with a complete cycle of miniatures, however, is MS. 10168-72 in the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels.<sup>12</sup> Other copies are decorated principally with historiated or filigreed initials.<sup>13</sup>

In the fourteenth century the development of a standard cycle of illustrations for the Faits began in Northern Europe and was passed into Italy. A Venetian manuscript of the fourteenth century, now MS. franç. III in the Biblioteca San Marco, is a copy of a French manuscript by an Italian atelier.<sup>14</sup> The cycle of miniatures in this manuscript can be seen to be related iconographically and stylistically to later, principally northern, versions of the Faits. This cycle of miniatures, reflecting the Faits text itself, places emphasis on Caesar's northern campaigns. Caesar is shown dressed most often as a medieval knight who fights under the traditional Roman standard of the eagle. The cycle summarizes what were understood to be the major events in Caesar's life -- his birth, his Gallic campaign, his

meeting with the Gallic leader Ariovistus, his crossing of the Rubicon, the battle of Pharsalia, his ruling over the Senate in Rome, and his assassination.

Fifteenth-century manuscripts of the Faits adopted this schema developed in the fourteenth century. The close iconographical ties between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries apply not only to the events which are most commonly illustrated, but also to the basic formulae used to arrange figures in space. Thus the evolution that may be observed in Faits miniatures from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries is principally an evolution of style, not iconography. Iconographical adjustments can be seen as a means to accommodate changes in artistic style or tastes of particular patrons.

The iconography of Caesar at the court of Burgundy can be seen to follow the same lines as in other parts of France. The inventory of 1447 of the Bruges libraries mentions five copies of the Faits, a list which is probably incomplete.<sup>15</sup> It is nevertheless clear that Caesar's image came into the court by way of its traditional pathway, the miniature cycles of the Faits des Romains.

## 2. The Bern Caesar Tapestries and their Relationships to Illustrations of the Faits des Romains

The most lavish example of fifteenth-century patronage of the tradition of Julius Caesar is the set of four tapestries illustrating scenes from the Faits des Romains now located at the Historical Museum in Bern (Figs. 8-14). These tapestries

mark the apogee of Caesar's presence in Northern Europe. Not only are they the most extensive known examples of art devoted to Caesar, but they bring Caesar out of the private format of illustrated manuscripts into the public eye. These tapestries, however, depended heavily on the manuscript tradition of the Faits des Romains and, to a certain extent, assume that the story of Caesar is already well known. The tapestries present in highly concentrated format the principal events of Caesar's career, with emphasis on his northern campaigns. Each of the four tapestries contains two separate scenes with three inscriptions, mostly taken from the Faits des Romains, at the top of each tapestry. The subjects of the tapestry in chronological order are as follows:

- I. A. Departure of Caesar for Gaul while Pompey presides over the Senate.
- B. Caesar receives Gallic ambassadors.
- II. A. Victory of Caesar over Ariovistus.
- B. Caesar's campaign in Britain; the battle against Drappes Brenno.
- III. A. Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon.
- B. The battle of Pharsalia.
- IV. A. Triumph of Caesar.
- B. Caesar reigns over the Senate on the Ides of March.

Even with the aid of the descriptive passages inscribed on each scene, it would be difficult to decipher the crowded images of the tapestries without a basic familiarity with the story. The artist therefore used not only the most popular textual source about Caesar, but borrowed the images directly from illuminated manuscripts of the Faits. These tapestries provide a dramatic conclusion in the North both to the textual and visual image of Caesar from antiquity to the late fifteenth century.

No documents survive concerning the commission or execution of the Caesar tapestries. Yet certain information has removed their history from the realm of pure speculation. Two names have been offered as possible commissioners of the Caesar cycles -- Charles the Bold whose name is hardly a surprise, and Louis of Luxembourg, count of St. Pol and constable of France. Two early studies on these tapestries, the first by Jakob Stammer in 1889 and the second by Arthur Weese in 1911, agreed that the evidence pointed towards the patronage of Louis of Luxembourg. Louis was decapitated on 19 December 1475 in Paris after having provoked the wrath of Louis XI while serving as one of the King's advisors. Louis was said to have owned four tapestries showing the history of Julius Caesar, and when his possessions were divided between Louis XI and Charles the Bold, the latter received "quatre tapis de la Salle de l'Histoire de Julius César," as mentioned in documents of the court of Burgundy.<sup>16</sup> One of these tapestries is later mentioned in a gift inventory from Charles the Bold to his wife and is said to contain a "trionfles des dames."<sup>17</sup> Both Weese and Stammer, accepting the first document as proof of provenance, considered the latter reference as a mistake in the gift inventory, since the Bern cycle contains no subject that could be confused with a trionfles des dames. This document, however, must be seen as questioning, if not disproving, the theory that the Louis of Luxembourg cycle is the same as the one now in Bern.

Robert Wyss proposed Charles the Bold as the commissioner of the Bern cycle.<sup>18</sup> This theory is supported by an array of

indirect evidence, the most important of which being the popularity of the Faits des Romains and other illustrated manuscripts during Charles's reign. This theory may also be supported by stylistic evidence and by the later history of the tapestries.

According to an entry in the city register of Arras, Charles the Bold made an entrée solennelle into that city on 31 October 1468. The city commemorated Charles's arrival with fourteen tableaux vivants illustrating scenes from "la sainte escripture et les faits des Romains."<sup>19</sup> Such spectacles were common in Northern Europe for joyeuses venues et entrées; similar mimes had commemorated Philip the Good's entrée into Ghent in 1458.<sup>20</sup> The Arras presentations, which had lined both sides of the main street, were created by the vicar of Saint-Jean-en-Ronville, Clement du Bos, who in turn commissioned Jacques Pillet, Robert de Monchaux and Collart Boutevillain to sketch cartoons and paint the fourteen scenes. Pillet, who had taken over the shop of the renowned Baudin de Bailleul after his death, was paid twice as much per each scene as Monchaux and Collart. The Arras document refers to the fourteen scenes as histoires, and each was to contain three chapters of text. The record also mentions an unspecified number of citizens of Arras who were given a small remuneration for acting in the mimed dramas; the record mentions neither their names nor their roles.<sup>21</sup>

It is highly likely that some of the scenes from the Faits des Romains named in the Arras document concentrated on the life and works of Julius Caesar. In Chapter II, it has been shown that the title "Faits des Romains" was commonly used when



"La vie de Julius César" would have been more appropriate, and it is plausible to assume that by the fifteenth century "Faits des Romains" was understood to refer to the life of Caesar. Moreover, given Charles the Bold's fondness for Caesar, it seems likely that Caesar would have been a perfect choice of a subject to honor the duke, especially immediately after he and King Louis XI had together conquered Liège.<sup>22</sup>

Baudin de Bailleul, whose workshop was taken over by Pillet and his two underlings, Monchaux and Boutevillain, had worked on numerous occasions for the Court of Burgundy and was among the best known designers of tapestries in the fifteenth century. In 1449, Bailleul designed a series of tapestries for Philip the Good, recounting the history of Jason, the patron protector of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Jacques Pillet worked under Bailleul before taking over the workshop and probably continued to associate with the Burgundian court, principally as a designer of tapestries. Both Monchaux and Boutevillain had also been employed on occasion by the court; several projects are documented under the reign of Philip the Bold. It is unlikely that Charles the Bold ended this close association with these artists.<sup>23</sup> Unfortunately, no example of the work of Bailleul, Pillet, Monchaux, or Boutevillain, neither the cartoons nor the tapestries, is extant, eliminating the possibility of stylistic identification.<sup>24</sup>

Monchaux and Boutevillain worked for Philip the Good's Feast of the Pheasant in 1454 to design and coordinate one of the fameux entremets. The fameux entremets were entertainments popular with Philip the Bold which could have involved almost any

form of art, drama, or music.<sup>25</sup> At the event of 1454, scenes from the family legend of the "Knight of the Swan" were enacted for the entremet, from which came the commission of a set of tapestries on the same subject executed by Pasquier Grenier in 1462.<sup>26</sup> This sequence of events shows not only that the duke had dramatic scenes made into tapestries, but that two artists who are known to have sketched scenes from the Faits des Romains were in close association with the court in the mid-fifteenth century.

Another detail which connects the Caesar tapestries directly with the court of Burgundy can be found in the inscription above the triumph scene in the fourth tapestry. This inscription reminds the reader that Caesar is one of the neuf preux:

Entre neuf des milleurs du monde preus et vaillans a la  
reonde le dit Julle Chesar est ung com le appreve le  
dit commun.

(Among nine of the world's greatest and altogether valiant heroes, said Julius Caesar is one as proved by universal agreement.)

The neuf preux had been referred to throughout the high Middle Ages, but, as noted in Chapter II, this theme received a significant revival under Charles the Bold. The writings of Sébastien Mamerot and the anonymous author of Triomphe des neuf preux show the sudden revival of interest in this theme during the 1460's. Jean Molinet's Le trosne d'honneur, an epic poem by the chief poet of the dukes, was completed for the death of Philip the Good in 1467. This poem shows how each of the neuf preux, from Alexander the Great to Charlemagne, acknowledged the dukes of Burgundy as the legitimate heirs to their glory. It ends with Philip the

Good assuming his throne alongside the neuf preux, crowned with laurel, "le grand duc d'occident." Molinet does not forget his new patron, however, writing the lines that may have inspired Charles's visual imagination:

Honneur au Filz.  
 Vis en glorieuse spere,  
 Regne en triumphe et prospere  
 Gloir appere  
 En tes fais, Charles, son filz  
 Quiers les cieux après ton père,  
 Qui siet a ma main dextere,  
 Par mystere,  
 Seras de joye assoufis;  
 Ton nom, tes armes, tes cris  
 Sont sus ta chaïere escrips  
 Et flouris,  
 Vis en glorieuse spere;  
 Et en terre on Dieu t'a mis,  
 En paix, loing des ennemis,  
 Pres d'amis,  
 Regne en triumphe et prospere!<sup>27</sup>

(Honor to the son,  
 May you live in glorious sphere,  
 Reign and triumph and prosper.  
 May glory appear  
 In your deeds, Charles his son  
 Seek the skies after your father,  
 Who sits at my right hand  
 In mystery.  
 You will be nourished with joy;  
 Your name, your arms, your battle cries  
 Are written on your chair.  
 And may you flourish,  
 May you live in glorious sphere;  
 And on earth where God put you,  
 In peace, far from enemies,  
 Close to friends,  
 May you reign and triumph and prosper!)

Since Caesar's triumph is not emphasized in the Faits des Romains, the designer of the Bern tapestries looked to other sources to supply both the text and imagery for the final scene. The literature which emphasized the triumph was that about the neuf preux, several examples of which were written during the

1460's at the court of Burgundy. The designer of the tapestries was undoubtedly familiar both with this literature and with Charles the Bold's preferences for antique heroes. Given the close ties of Jacques Pillet and his workshop to the court of Burgundy, familiarity with even the most recent court literature would have been possible. The reference to the neuf preux in the last scene of the tapestries, therefore, supports not only Charles the Bold as the patron, but Jacques Pillet and his shop as the designers. The importance of this scene for the meaning of the entire cycle, a subject to be discussed in more detail below, suggests that the triumph scene and its connections to the neuf preux -- a relatively new image both in the Caesar tradition and at the court of Burgundy -- could have provided the central and motivating force in the commission and execution of the tapestries.

The later history of the Bern cycle also tends to confirm the theory that the original owner was Charles the Bold. An inventory of the Cathedral of Lausanne dated 19 September 1536 and done by the notaries P. Wavre and Johannes Benedicti lists as item number 31: "Item les grandes tapisseries que l'on a accoustumé mettre sur les formes souz cueur deca et dela en nombre de quatres Pièces on sont les histoyres de Cesar ayent les armes d'Erlens."<sup>29</sup> The mentioned coat of arms, which appears between the second and third verse of the inscription on each of the four tapestries, belongs to the family de la Beaume de Montreval. "Erlens" refers to the lordship "Illens" which was held by Guillaume de la Beaume. Guillaume was in the service of Charles the

Bold and in 1469 took part in the siege of Liège. He was a close friend and associate of Charles, was named his principal advisor and chamberlain, and was chosen to carry Philip the Good's personal flag when his skeleton was transported in a funeral celebration in 1473. He maintained very close relations with Charles throughout his career. Since the coat of arms was added after the tapestry was completed, attested to by a five-point star in white on the underside of the coat of arms -- and since Guillaume de la Beume was a close personal friend of Charles, it seems reasonable to assume that the tapestries were given as a gift to Guillaume. One cannot rule out the possibility that Guillaume was himself the commissioner of the tapestry. However, an inventory of the valuables belonging to the household of Guillaume made in 1475 does not mention any tapestries.<sup>30</sup> It is possible that Charles held the tapestries in his possession for several years and then gave them to Guillaume.

On Easter Sunday, 15 April 1476, a mass was held at the Cathedral of Lausanne to proclaim the peace between the Emperor Frederick III and Charles, Duke of Burgundy. The Cathedral was decorated with tapestries illustrating the glories of both Burgundy and the Empire, for it was this occasion that the engagement of Mary of Burgundy to Maximilian Hapsburg was announced. Since Charles had lost many of his most valuable possessions after his defeat at Grandson, he would have turned to a close friend to supply an appropriate tapestry for his contribution to the decorations of the Cathedral. Robert Wyss suggests that Guillaume de la Beume supplied the Caesar tapestries and then en-

trusted their care to the Cathedral, since his own castle was in constant conflict with neighbors. At any rate, the tapestries had arrived in the Bern city hall by 1612 and were placed in the Historical Museum in 1882.<sup>31</sup>

Illustrated manuscripts of the Faits des Romains had been in existence for over two hundred years in both France and Italy when the Caesar tapestries were commissioned in the late 1460's. This body of manuscripts, of which more than 45 are still extant,<sup>32</sup> created an extensive vocabulary for illustrating scenes from the Faits. Even though the Caesar tapestries, measuring 14 x 21-24 feet, by definition of size alone, present totally different stylistic problems than manuscript miniatures, it is the manuscripts which exert the strongest iconographical and stylistic influence on these tapestries. The reworking of manuscript miniatures into the monumental size of tapestries illustrating the Caesar cycle was no doubt influenced by the sketches done of the mimed scenes in Arras in October of 1468. It is also likely that other tapestries and wall paintings were done illustrating scenes from Caesar's life; a wall painting illustrating Caesar's history was commissioned in 1355 for the Duke of Normandy to be painted by Jehan Coste.<sup>33</sup> Since none of these sketches, tapestries, or paintings survived to be studied, the extent of their influence can only be speculative. The iconographical language, however, can be convincingly linked to manuscript miniatures which revert to the same source as the inscriptions above each scene, the Faits des Romains.

a. First Tapestry

The verses of the first tapestry read as follows: <sup>34</sup>

Lucan recite presperant Romme et a tout los aspirant  
 Un conseil de nobles Rommains fu jadis en Romme et haultains,  
 Ou Brutus, Cathon et pluseurs furent pour exceller de honneurs  
 Tant pour Rome com de l'empire trois dicateurs volrent eslire.

Deus pour signouries conquerre loing hors de lor contree et terre.  
 Pompee en Rome demora, quy asses poissanment rengna.  
 Crasus en ala vers Turquie et Jullius Cesar de ost furnie  
 Combatant vainquy Helvecois de oultre Rosne, nommés Franchois.

D'aultres Franchois une ambassade vint vers Julle Chesar moult rade,  
 Nommés Senaquois; lui requirent et de fait a lui obeirete  
 Adfin que ilz les volsist desfendre d'Arriovistus et se prendre  
 A lui pour les Sennes mater com ilz fist en brief sans douter.

(Lucan tells how while Rome flourished and aspired to every honor,  
 A council of noble and proud Romans was once in Rome,  
 To which Brutus, Cato and others belonged bringing themselves honor  
 They wanted, as much as for Rome's sake as for the Empire, to elect  
 three dictators.

Two gentlemen went forth to conquer lands far from their home and  
 country  
 Pompey remained in Rome and reigned with great power.  
 Crassus went to Turkey and Julius Caesar  
 Conquered with a strong army the Helvetii from the other side of  
 the Rhone, called the Franks.

From other Franks, ambassadors named Senaqui came directly to  
 Julius Caesar,  
 They surrendered themselves to Caesar and asked that he help  
 defend them from Ariovistus,  
 And joined forces with Caesar to kill the Senoni, which he did  
 (without delay.)

The left side of the first tapestry (Figs. 8 and 9) depicts three separate events: Pompey presiding over the Senate, Crassus leaving for Turkey, and Caesar departing for Gaul. At the top of the tapestry, in an open hall, Pompey presides over the Senate. Standing under a late Gothic arch, he is accompanied by other senators; to his left sit Brutus and Curio, to his right, Scipio and Cato. These five figures are identified by name: "popée [sic],

bructus, curio, cipio, [and] caton." Pompey wears a white and red figured cloak typical of those worn in the fifteenth-century Burgundian court,<sup>35</sup> complete with white ermine lining and gold jewelry. Each of the senators wears a long Burgundian cloak; Scipio and Brutus also wear jewels around their necks. Only the tribunes of the people, Cato and Curio, are dressed simply without jewels.

The lower section of the composition is divided into two groups. On the left, Crassus holds his horse by the bridle and prepares to leave for Turkey, while his seemingly sad knights bid him farewell. A white dog stands between Crassus' group and the group on the right, which helps Caesar prepare to leave for Gaul. Caesar, who has one foot in the stirrup of his saddle, is dressed in very expensive clothing similar to that of Pompey. Down the narrow street which lies directly in front of Caesar's horse, Caesar's troops stand waiting to accompany their leader into Gaul.

These three scenes are contained by a low circular wall with battlements, which serves not only to give the impression of three-dimensionality, but to separate the left side of the tapestry from the right. Caesar's army connects the two sides by passing through the gate in the center into the right side, where Caesar meets the Gallic ambassadors.

Caesar's meeting with the Gallic ambassadors lacks the unified architectural arrangement characteristic of the left side of the tapestry. The meeting portrayed here, described in the third verse of the inscription, shows the Senaqui ambassadors on



their knees bidding Caesar to defend them from Ariovistus. Caesar has come down from his horse to receive the embassy and speaks to them with a friendly gesture from his left hand. Over his golden armor Caesar wears a yellow-gold tunic with a double eagle on the front. According to Caesar's Civil War and the Faits des Romains, Diviciacus acts as spokesman for the group, which surrenders to Caesar and asks him to defend them from Ariovistus. In the background, another apocryphal scene is shown. Another delegation, from the city, the walls and towers of which are depicted in the upper right corner, seeks Caesar in his camp to give him the key to their city. This represents Caesar's total conquest of Gaul and the willingness of the people to submit to his rule.<sup>36</sup>

Robert Wyss has discovered certain prototypes for these two scenes in illustrations of the Faits des Romains. The left portion of this tapestry can be related to several miniatures from the Faits. One of the most striking relationships is with the fourteenth-century Venetian codex. The miniature on folio 20 of this manuscript (Fig. 15) combines the three identical scenes as the tapestry -- Pompey in the Senate, Crassus leaving for Turkey, and Caesar leaving for Gaul. The central scene, as in the tapestry, shows Pompey surrounded by senators in an open, semicircular architectural setting. Crassus and his men ride through an identical gate on the right. The tapestry preserves the essential symmetrical arrangement of the three groups as well as the gates to define the geographical confines of the city. Whereas the miniature arranges the three scenes on one horizontal

level, the tapestry compresses the components of the narrative into a triangle. The tapestry also compresses the architecture and fills every empty space with rich fabrics, brilliant foliage, and highly ornamental architecture. Most of these differences result from the use of a miniature composition on a monumental scale.

Folio 7 of MS. Fr. 279 in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Fig. 16) shows a fifteenth-century solution of the same scene. This representation employs both the circular miniature battlements as in the tapestry, as well as the brick road which circles from the left along the lower edge of the picture space and leads perpendicularly away from the picture plane on the right. The landscape is filled, as in the tapestry, with architecture -- towers, walls and houses, of various sizes -- with some attempt to indicate spatial recession. Pompey is identified "pompee," sitting under an ornamental arch to the left, while Caesar, "cesar," waits with his horse in the background of the right side of the miniature. Crassus, unidentified, addresses his troops wearing a costume similar to Caesar's in the tapestry, and assuming the same relative position in the composition. The rear view of Crassus' horse in the miniature is also remarkably similar to that of Caesar's in the tapestry. Such obvious affinity between the two miniatures discussed so far and the tapestry scene are not to be dismissed as common stylistic formulae; the two miniatures reflect two solutions to a difficult iconographic problem, both of which influence the treatment of the scene in the tapestry. The most important issue to be explored in this relationship of miniature to tapestry is this: In what format did these two

miniatures reach the designer of the Caesar tapestries? Is there a missing manuscript which served as a model for both these two miniatures as well as for the Caesar tapestry?

The transitional scene in the middle of the first tapestry showing Caesar's men passing through a gate and indicating their passage from Rome into Gaul, is related to MS. 769 of the Musée Condée in Chantilly, folio 23 (Fig. 17). Here, in this late fourteenth-early fifteenth-century manuscript, the architecture indicates a common model for manuscript and tapestry. Both examples show a wall at a 45-degree angle to the picture plane with a raised gate, through which armored soldiers on horses pass. A short wall juts out from the main wall at 90 degrees under which passes a river. The architecture in both tapestry and miniature is decorated with a long vertical line terminated by a short horizontal line at the top and a circle at the bottom. Besides these blatant parallelisms, the two examples are stylistically dissimilar.

The right half of the first tapestry has no model in existing copies of the Faits des Romains.<sup>37</sup> Manuscripts including representations of Caesar's meeting with the Senaqui ambassadors usually centered the action around Caesar's throne, with the ambassadors kneeling before it.<sup>38</sup> It is likely that the designer of the Bern cycle avoided the throne image for formal reasons, since Pompey's throne would have been next to Caesar's. It will be shown later that the artist had a specific formal design in mind which would have been destroyed by the use of a throne in the second scene.

b. Second Tapestry

Cesar vers Ariovistus vint a force, et lors fu vaincus  
 Ariovistus sans attendre, lors fuiant vint es nefes descendre.  
 Ainsi sans grand force ou doulour ot Julle Chesar par amour  
 Le demaine entre les François qu'ils trouva leaus a son chois,

Et triumphans en son aide et preus et hardis en subside.  
 D'Ariovistus fu l'exploit tel qui François subjughier voloit.  
 Cezar puis racacha sans doute Drapes Brenno et s'aroute  
 Es bailles et portes de Sens et o lui les François d'assens,

Aus quels douchement se aconpaigne; et a lui subjuga Bretagne  
 La grande et oussi la petite par la puissante gent de eslitte.  
 Tout mist en la subjection des Romains a son option  
 Les pais de susdis a force par lui et des Frans la consorce.

(Caesar attacked Ariovistus with great force and defeated  
 him immediately

After which Ariovistus ran away to get on to his ships.  
 Thereby, without great effort or pain, and in a friendly  
 manner, Julius Caesar established  
 The dominion over the French, whom he found, as he wished,  
 loyal,

Joyful in helping him, brave and bold in aid.

Ariovistus' actions were such that he wanted to subjugate  
 the Franks.

Caesar then drove Drappes Brenno back without delay and set out  
 Against the walls and doors of Sens with the approval of the  
 French,

Whom he took along happily; and both

Great and Small Britain were conquered by his powerful and  
 select troops.

All of the above mentioned lands were placed under the sub-  
 jugation of Rome through the power and assistance of the  
 French.)

The left half of the second tapestry (Fig. 10) shows the battle between Caesar and Ariovistus. This scene recreates the visual and dramatic intensity of the height of a battle. Caesar's troops leave their tents on the far left in carefully organized battalions under the flag of the double eagle. Foot soldiers with swords and lances are led in by the cavalry, which is depicted at the moment when the lances and bows are drawn. Wyss

identifies the wheeled cart in the lower left corner as a gunpowder cart.<sup>39</sup> Caesar's troops are infused with the energy and confidence that accompany victory.

The treatment of Caesar is in vivid contrast to the cowardly portrait of Ariovistus. Caesar and his horse, both attired in gold armor, occupy the center of this half of the tapestry. He is identified by the double eagle on his breastplate, ending the need for an identifying name-tag. Caesar's lance is thrust into the breastplate of the collapsed figure designated "con-nabre" as two of his men support their dying commander.

Ariovistus' troops have lost all semblance of a unified front; most of his men, in fact, have turned away in retreat. Ariovistus leads the way as he climbs into the boat waiting on the River Rhine. Ariovistus, who is only visible from the rear, is designated "ariovist."

The crowded and confused battle is separated from the right portion of the tapestry again by an architectural element which serves to organize the action on the right into two scenes. In this foreground, Caesar attacks Drappes Brenno, another Senonian leader, with his sword. Drappes, who is named in the second verse of the inscription, turns around on his horse to protect himself as his troops disappear into the gate of the city wall of the chief city of Senoni Agendicium, later called Sens.<sup>40</sup>

The scene in the background shows Caesar's conquest of Britain, as mentioned in the third verse of the inscription. The designer of the tapestry chose to avoid another land-battle scene in this portion and instead shows Caesar's troops crossing the

channel into Britain. The shore of Britain is shown on the right with high cliffs in the upper left corner, and vegetation along the right edge. This scene, then, takes place just as the ships arrive at the shore. As recorded in the Faits, Caesar's ships are met by the ships of England, creating a battle at sea, ship against ship. The ships shown in this representation battle each other with long, wooden spears and axes. It is impossible, however, to distinguish between the Romans and the Britons; there are no banners of the eagle, nor is Caesar identifiable. The artist again has relied on familiarity with the text and the inscription above to clarify the iconography.

The iconographical sources for the second tapestry are linked to the Venetian codex, already mentioned in connection with the first tapestry. These connections further suggest the existence of a manuscript source which influenced or, in all likelihood, served as a model for both the Venetian manuscript and the tapestry cycle.

The only existing representation from the fourteenth century showing Caesar's battle against Ariovistus is found in Folio 31<sup>V</sup> in the Venetian codex (Fig. 18). The battle takes place in this example on the left bank of the Rhine. Caesar, identified by the sign of the eagle above his head, descends from his horse with the aid of his foot soldiers. Meanwhile, another Roman soldier stabs one of Ariovistus' two wives, a fact mentioned in the Faits, but omitted from the tapestry. Above, on the horses, one of Caesar's soldiers stabs his sword into one of Ariovistus' men, probably representing the murder of Connabres. The rest of Ario-

vistus' men spring from their horses and swim through the river to the safety of the awaiting ship. Ariovistus stands aboard the ship ready to propel it away.<sup>41</sup>

The basic shape of the two versions of this story, in the manuscript and in the tapestry, is similar in ways which indicate a closer relationship than two independent treatments of the same text. Two central components of the narrative are identical: the murder of Connabres and Ariovistus' hasty return to his boat, neither of which is dictated by the textual source. The compiler of the Faits des Romains took certain liberties in the translation of the Gallic War, which serves as the source for the battle against Ariovistus. The role of Crassus is explained by Caesar in the Gallic War as follows:

The left wing of the enemy's line was beaten and put to flight, but their right wing, by sheer weight of numbers, was pressing our line hard. Young Publius Crassus, commanding our cavalry, noticed this, and as he could move more freely than the officers who were occupied in and about the line of battle, he sent the third line in support of our struggling troops.<sup>42</sup>

The version of this story in the Faits gives Crassus a more dramatic role; he rushes forward and stabs "Connabre," whose name is not mentioned in the classical sources.<sup>43</sup> Although Crassus is not specifically identified in the representation in the Venetian manuscript, it is one of Caesar's soldiers, and not Caesar himself, who murders Connabre. The designer of the tapestry, however, chose to give this "honor" to Caesar, making Caesar the prime agent in this action. The tapestry thereby unifies the action thematically, intensifying the dramatic content of the scene.

The battle between Drappes Brenno and Caesar on the right side of the tapestry is also related to the Venetian Faits manuscript. Folio 101 (Fig. 19) depicts two events in the Drappes narrative. On the left, Caesar, with the emblem of the eagle on his shield, is knocked off his horse by Drappes, who wears a helmet with antlers. Defeated by Caesar, Drappes disappears through the gate of the city of Sens. Again the tapestry heightens the dramatic effect of this narrative by showing Caesar in pursuit of Drappes up to the city gate with his sword held high.

The treatment of the conquest of Britain in the Venetian manuscript shows Caesar's men landing at the shore without the fight at sea (Fig. 20). The Britons fight back with bows and arrows, but Caesar's men seem to ignore their presence; they descend from the boats and go ashore. Each ship is clearly identified with Caesar's flag. These differences between the miniature and the tapestry indicate that important links are missing in the attempt to associate the Venetian codex with the Bern cycle. These links can be more convincingly traced in a discussion of the third tapestry.

c. Third Tapestry (Figs. 11-12)

Puis Julle Chesar Rubicun passa tous armés en son nom,  
Trangressant des Rommains l'edit que orent ains par long  
tamps edit.

Puis tous les absentans de Romme, Brutus, Cathon, Ponpee  
en sonme

Et plusieurs aultres volt cachier Julle Chesar sans menachier.

Et dedans le port a Brandis Julle Chesar preuz et hardis  
Les assailly, saichez sans faille. Trop leur fist austere  
bataille



En Thesale ou puis les rataint et d'iceulx en fist mourir  
 maint.  
 Ainsy par l'aide des Francs que o lui furent, preuz et  
 vaillans,

Traist a soy toutes les contrees que avons cy dessus declairees,  
 Et les subjuga soubz les mains de lui et des nobles Rommains.  
 Tant fut son cuer de haulte emprise que a merveilles fut puis  
 comprise  
 Comme singulier en proesse et ung de tout le monde adresse.

(Then Julius Caesar crossed the Rubicon in his own name completely armed,  
 Violating a longstanding edict of the Romans.  
 Then all those absent from Rome, namely Brutus, Cato, and Pompey,  
 And many others wanted to banish Caesar without threatening.

And in the port of Brandis, the powerful and brave Julius Caesar  
 Attacked, know this for sure.  
 In Thessaly, where he found them again, he waged a bitter battle and killed many.  
 Thereby, with the help of the Franks who were with him, heroic and valiant,

He gained control of all the countries named above  
 And placed them under his and the noble Romans' authority.  
 He was such an enterprising man that he later was acclaimed  
 As unique in valor and one outstanding above all others.)

The third tapestry illustrates the events which began and ended the Civil War, Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon and the battle of Pharsalia. The tapestry is divided into two sections separated by the river Rubicon, with the left side occupying slightly over one-third the total area. Caesar and Roma, the female figure designated "Rome," occupy the focal point of the tapestry, filling the relatively empty space created by the Rubicon and the S-shaped river valley. Caesar is identified by the double eagle on his breast-plate, and by the name "cesar" woven into his right sleeve. He rides a white horse and leads his armed troops to the left bank of the river. The city of Rimini,

a port city on the Adriatic coast and the first city in Italy proper on the south side of the Rubicon, is visible in the background. Boats are visible behind the city.

Standing in the middle of the Rubicon up to her knees in water, Roma wears a red dress with transparent sleeves. This refers to a line in Lucan which says that her arms were bare.<sup>44</sup> The dress is bordered with a gem-studded gold band. Her long, flowing, light-colored hair hangs down over her shoulders while her hands are held up in a gesture which bids Caesar to end his campaign against Rome. A verse inscribed below her records her message to Caesar:

Toy jule chesar et les tiens,  
qui te meut prendre tes moyens  
contre moy portant mes banieres?  
fais tu de me logis frontieres?

(Lord<sup>45</sup> Julius Caesar and your followers,  
What moves you to take action  
against me, carrying my banners?  
Are you making from my home a battlefront?)

These words as well as the image of Roma are a condensation of the story in the Faits des Romains, which, as has been shown in Chapter II, is a combination of the accounts of Suetonius and Lucan. The origins of this image will become clearer in the discussion of its iconographical sources, which follows later.

Behind Caesar, traveling on horseback from the distant city tucked into the mountains, a group of figures appears from behind a low hill. This area of the tapestry is confusing in terms of its spatial relationships; the artist divides Caesar's group from the background group with a short rock formation. This, and the casual dress of the background figures, are the only indica-

tions that these two groups are unrelated. The man who leads the rear group is designated "curio," and Wyss has identified this scene as Curio's arrival in Rimini. This story appears in the Faits des Romains, but no classical sources mention the incident. According to the Faits, Curio wanted to support Caesar's bid for reelection as consul. Since Curio was conversant with the language of the common people, he could convey their wishes to the Roman aristocracy. Curio traveled to Rimini from Rome to gather support for Caesar, whom Pompey and Cato wanted to banish.<sup>46</sup> Curio's friendly relations with Caesar are indicated by his hand held high in greeting. Curio wears a burgundy-colored jacket and turban with a gold chain around his neck. He is accompanied by other tribunes in less expensive clothes, yet which show the most current fashions of Burgundy.<sup>47</sup>

The calm scenario of the left side is hardly a preparation for the turbulence of the right. The left is further separated from the right by a low wall which rises to form a high mountain in the background. This portrait of the decisive battle of Pharsalia is a crowded and restless conglomeration of men, horses, swords, and shields. The artist, while infusing this scene with as much activity and visual excitement as possible, has nevertheless succeeded in defining the historical event. Caesar's men, marked by the banner of the double eagle, descend from the background left, while Pompey's men begin to retreat to the far right. Caesar, whose name appears on his right arm, leads his men in the bitter battle in the foreground. The bright swords seem to converge at Caesar's head, again pointing to Caesar as

the protagonist of the tale. His victory becomes manifest as he raises his sword against the retreating figure of Pompey. The battle which surrounds the two leaders is difficult to decipher. Horses fall as soldiers are stabbed with flying swords. Although no indication is given as to which side any of these figures belong, the central motif seems strong enough to say that the majority of the fallen and falling are among Pompey's forces. There is no attempt to specify the precise details of the battle; the central message is that Caesar is the victor.

The development of the iconographical language which is used in the third Caesar tapestry extended over a long period of time within a broad geographical context. The Battle of Pharsalia does not exhibit any particularly new or distinctive iconographical developments. Battle scenes similar to this one appeared in a wide range of literature from the Bible to the classics to vernacular literature. Figure 21, from the Venetian codex, shows the central motif of Caesar and Pompey in direct battle, but this does not represent any unique or unexpected iconographical solution. The evolution from fourteenth-century battle scenes to those of the fifteenth century is chiefly a stylistic process, not an iconographical one. On the other hand, the left side of this tapestry, showing Caesar's crossing the Rubicon, forms an interesting iconographical survey.

Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon and the related event of the vision of Roma were first illustrated in Faits des Romains manuscripts of the fourteenth century.<sup>48</sup> This scene was in its earliest manifestations divided into two separate illustrations,

the first showing the arrival at the river and the vision of Roma, the second depicting the crossing of the Rubicon led by a male giant with a musical instrument. These two parts, which incorporated the conflicting tales of Lucan and Suetonius, were during the course of the fifteenth century simplified and united into a form similar to that used in the tapestry. The story of this development can serve as a guide for an understanding of both the specific iconography of the Caesar tapestry and the manuscript sources from which this iconography is derived.

The earliest miniature showing Caesar's arrival at the bank of the Rubicon and the vision of Roma is found in the early fourteenth-century manuscript MS. 9104-05, fol. 302<sup>v</sup>, in the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels (Fig. 22). This miniature obviously illustrates the lines in Lucan which read:

When he reached the little river Rubicon, the general saw a vision of his distressed country. Her mighty image was clearly seen in the darkness of night; her face expressed a deep sorrow, and from her head, crowned with towers, the white hair streamed abroad; she stood beside him with her tresses torn and arms bare, and her speech was broken by sobs: "Whither do ye march further? and whither do ye bear my standards, ye warriors? If ye come as law-abiding citizens, here must ye stay."<sup>49</sup>

As shown in Chapter II, the author of the Faits combines Lucan's version of this incident with Suetonius' more positive and encouraging image. The illustrator of the Brussels manuscript has preserved Lucan's image as a separate entity from that of Suetonius, even though the text mixes the two tales rather indiscriminately. Roma appears unquestionably as a woman with light-colored hair and a frown on her face. This iconography, which was used in both Italy and France, indicates a close famili-

arity among miniaturists with Lucan, understandable given Lucan's widespread dissemination during the Middle Ages.

The Venetian codex also adopts this practice of dividing the Rubicon scene into two segments. The two segments from this manuscript, which are found on folios 110<sup>v</sup> and 111 respectively, are reproduced as Figures 23 and 24. These representations differ from Figure 22 in ways which are important to the iconography of the Caesar tapestries. Even though these miniatures are severely damaged, the essential elements are distinguishable. Figure 23 shows a close relationship to the iconography of the tapestry. Caesar on his horse wears a breastplate of the eagle and stands on the left bank of the Rubicon. A clothed female figure with long, light-colored hair extends her hands in a gesture of warning. Most importantly, however, is the addition of the city gates of Ravenna from whence Caesar and his men have come. This example is the only fourteenth-century example which includes the city.<sup>50</sup>

On the facing page in the Venetian codex is the representation showing Suetonius' version of the crossing:

As he [Caesar] stood in doubt [at the bank of the Rubicon], this sign was given him. On a sudden there appeared hard by a being of wondrous stature and beauty, who sat and played upon a reed; and when not only the shepherds flocked to hear him, but many of the soldiers left their posts, and among them some of the trumpeters, the apparition snatched a trumpet from one of them, rushed to the river, and sounding the war note with a mighty blast, strode to the opposite bank. Then Caesar cried: "Take we the course which the signs of the gods and the false dealing of our foes point out. The die is cast," said he.<sup>51</sup>

The bearded, nude giant is shown just as he sounds the war note. Caesar turns to his men and points his finger forward as they

begin to cross the Rubicon. Caesar's gesture and the sense of forward movement are iconographical elements which also appear in the tapestry.

The process which resulted in the combination of these two images can be seen to begin in the 1360's with MS. nouv. acq. fr. 3576, fol. 264<sup>v</sup>, in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Fig. 25). This representation shows both the giant trumpeter who urges Caesar onward and the woman who tries to discourage him. The troops, however, are already in the middle of the river, the giant trumpeter being more convincing than the small ghostly image that lurks in the background.

The earliest manuscripts, especially the Venetian codex, exhibit iconographical traits which are directly related to the Caesar tapestry. The close relationship of the Caesar tapestry to the Venetian codex led Wyss to believe that this manuscript was copied from an unknown manuscript of French origin dating around 1350. Since the French text was carefully copied by an Italian scribe, it seems probable that the miniatures could also have come from a French source. This hypothetical source will be referred to as Manuscript X. Seven other miniatures from the fifteenth century can be shown to be related to the Crossing of the Rubicon in the tapestry. These miniatures (Figs. 26-32) fall into three groups which seem to be derived from two other missing sources, the first dating about 1400-1410 (Manuscript Y) and the second dating 1450-1470 (Manuscript Z). It was Manuscript Z which most likely served as the model for the Caesar tapestries.<sup>52</sup>

Group I includes the early fourteenth-century copies of the Faits, MS. fr. 250 in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Fig. 26), Royal 20 CI in the British Museum (Fig. 27), and MS. 769 in the Musée Condée in Chantilly. A miniature from the last-named manuscript has already been shown to be connected to the first tapestry and is reproduced as Figure 17. Figure 26 shows Caesar in armor, on his horse, and carrying the eagle emblem on his shield. The giant plays on a reed flute, as mentioned in Suetonius, while some of Caesar's trumpeters join in on the left. Even though Caesar enters from the right, in contrast to the tapestry, the river flows from left background to right foreground, giving the impression, along with the landscape elements, of a valley.

Landscape is of central concern in the scene depicted in Figure 27, which not only initiates the concept of a valley, but shows the scene at night, as the text dictates. The giant, which has been shown to be connected with Old Testament illustrations of Goliath,<sup>53</sup> is accompanied by Roma who stands in knee-deep water wearing a long dress. Roma, whose gesture is also adopted by the tapestry, is an important link between the Venetian codex and Group I, and between Group I and the Caesar tapestry.

Group II is composed of manuscripts which, like Group I, show Caesar approaching the Rubicon from the right. This convention does not mark a totally independent iconographical context, however. Important developments in the iconographical tradition which reached the Caesar tapestry can be seen in these manuscripts. The mid-fifteenth-century manuscript Inv. MS. 233, livre 8 of the Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire in Geneva



(Fig. 28), introduces into the fifteenth century several important elements. The city of Rimini appears in the background for the first time in a fifteenth-century manuscript, and a boat, similar to those seen in the tapestry around Rimini, also is depicted. The picture space is bisected by the river Rubicon, which runs from background to foreground. Of all these similarities, however, the most important is integration of Roma and the giant into one figure, presumably a female, who plays a horn. Roma is fully clothed in a long, flowing robe and stands in the middle of the Rubicon. Caesar's horse holds his leg up, ready to begin the crossing, as Caesar's troops wait for a signal from their general. This miniature, even though reversed in direction, is more closely related to the tapestry in its essential iconographical devices than any other existing representation.

Two other miniatures from Group II have been reproduced here to indicate the manner in which images passed from one manuscript to the next. Figure 29 (MS. fr. 20312 bis Bibliothèque Nationale, fol. 153), which dates from early in the second half of the fifteenth century, appears at first glance to be a direct model for Figure 30 (MS. 770 in Musée Condée, Chantilly, fol. 130), dated 1480.<sup>54</sup> These two examples show the giant and Roma as two separate figures, and even depict Caesar and his troops twice.<sup>55</sup> In the background, Caesar sits on his horse before crossing, obviously still under the spell of Roma. In the foreground, however, he is led to the call of trumpets across the river. The first miniature omits the city of Rimini; in the 1480 manuscript, the city reappears complete with the boat in front of it. This

seems to indicate that Figure 30 copied a model in common with Figure 29, rather than the former relying directly on the latter.

The two manuscripts of Group III supply several of the missing links between Group II and the tapestries. A manuscript leaf by Jean Fouquet, now at the Musée du Louvre, is reproduced as Figure 31. This leaf cannot have served as a model for the tapestry because of its late date, 1475,<sup>56</sup> but certain iconographical elements are found in this example in common with the tapestry, making this leaf a descendant of the same family. Both Roma and the giant are shown; Roma, wearing a long dress, seems to walk on the water. Caesar's troops are reduced to one group with Caesar on his white horse at the head. Caesar's group approaches from the left. Perhaps most evident in this example is the curve of the river, the deep perspective created because of this curve, and the mountainous landscape in the background. Any claim that the tapestry has to spatial recession is owing to the same devices employed by Fouquet.

The last miniature to be cited for the purposes of this discussion is from another mid-fifteenth-century manuscript illustrated by Loyset Liédet, MS. 5088 Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, fol. 192<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 32). Liédet uses the curve in the Rubicon to indicate spatial recession but includes the city of Rimini in the background rather than mountains. Roma has given way to the giant, and Caesar leads his men across the river, seeming to revert to the two-part crossing scene as in the Venetian codex.

Although none of the miniatures cited in the preceding dis-

cussion can be seen as direct models for the tapestry, the development of the essential iconographical vocabulary is a process in which each miniature can be said to participate. The miniatures of the Venetian codex are no doubt at the root of the genealogy which resulted in the Caesar tapestries; yet, as indicated in Diagram A, the addition of important pictorial elements was the work of fifteenth-century miniaturists. The interconnection of these manuscripts is perhaps best explained in Diagram B, which relates most of the manuscripts examined in this study to the hypothetical manuscripts X, Y, and Z. Given the unlikely situation that miniaturists from Group II would have access to more than one copy from Group I, the existence of Manuscript Y affords a possible iconographic model for later manuscripts which adopt traits of several manuscripts from Group I.

Manuscript Y was derived from Manuscript X and served as a model for Manuscript Z. Manuscript Y probably introduced the figure of Roma in a dress standing in water, while Manuscript Z added the boats in the water, and the S-curve in the Rubicon. The most important function that these hypothetical manuscripts serve is in an understanding of how the iconography of the fourteenth-century Venetian codex could have appeared in a tapestry of the last half of the fifteenth century. That this relationship exists, through whatever avenues, is beyond serious doubt.

d. Fourth Tapestry (Figs. 13-14)

Depuis volt en Romme rentrer, ou pour son triumphe honnourer  
 Le volret tous ceulx qui l'aymoyent et son los augmenter  
 querouiet  
 Et puis l'esluret empereur le premier pour plus sa valeur  
 Accroistre et a plain divulgier comme ung outre famé princhier.

Entre neuf des milleurs du monde preus et vaillans a la  
 reonde  
 Le dit Julle Chesar est ung com le appreuve le dit commun,  
 de sa proesse et de sa gloire durra jusqu'en fin la memoire,  
 Et la robuste vaillandise qui s'estoit en son ceur submize.

Et des fais tant chevalereux nobles come preu entre preus,  
 Sy que n'iert a nul jour estainte de sa ronnomée la teinte  
 Tant que le monde estant dura, son los et valleur ne chera.  
 Ainsy le nous ottroie cely qui donne a tous gloire et merchy.

(Then he wishes to return to Rome, where to crown his triumph  
 he sought out  
 All who loved him and desired to increase his fame  
 And they elected him the first emperor, in order to increase  
 his power,  
 And to reveal him as an extremely glorious prince.

Among nine of the world's greatest and altogether valiant  
 heroes,  
 Said Julius Caesar is one as proved by universal agreement;  
 The memory of his heroism and glory will last forever,  
 And the robust valor of which his heart was full,

And of his noble and chivalrous deeds like a hero among  
 heroes,  
 So that the brilliance of his reputation will never be ex-  
 tinguished  
 As long as the world lasts, his fame and valor will not perish.  
 So be it granted by him who gives glory and mercy to all.)

The fourth tapestry serves as the conclusion to the narrative begun in the first three; it is here that Caesar reaps the rewards and punishment for his past activities. Caesar appears enthroned twice in this tapestry, once on a curule chair for his triumph and second under a Gothic baldachin for his assassination. As in the first two tapestries, the picture-space is organized by architecture. The left side is separated from the right by a wall which forms a 90-degree angle with the picture plane, an arrangement which avoids a stiff division of the tapestry into two equally-sized rectangles. The forty elephants mentioned in

the sources are here reduced to four rather ambiguous beasts.<sup>57</sup> The elephants bear the weight of Caesar's chair, passing through the gate in the central wall and implying continuity between the two sections of the narrative. The various onlookers to Caesar's triumph procession, moreover, continue from one side to the other, on the left, peeking over the central wall, and on the right, watching out the windows of their homes. The street, which passes through the gate, continues in front of the line of houses, behind the throne where Caesar awaits Brutus' knife. Only in the first tapestry is the attempt to unify the two halves so well achieved as here.

With the exception of Roma, the only women who appear in the tapestry cycle are found in this tapestry. They and the other participants and on-lookers to the triumph scene are among the best examples of mid-fifteenth century Burgundian dress provided in the tapestry. The women's gowns are décolletés with low V-shaped necklines. Their steeple headdresses are either tall or half-height designs with flowing or stiffened transparent veils, still de rigueur in Burgundy as late as 1480.<sup>58</sup> The men wear short tunics, tightly waisted, often with pleats and padded chests and shoulders. The men and women shown in this scene are dressed in the height of Burgundian court fashion of the mid-century. This is not a portrait of the society at large, but the noble men and women who would have been seen in the courtly surroundings where the tapestry was hung.

Caesar, likewise, is dressed in a manner which testifies to his wealth and splendor. In both scenes he wears a long

damask robe belted tight at the waist. His ermine-lined cloak with brocade is attached at the neck and is adorned with huge jewels. The crown is of gold and laurel and rests on a felt hat with ermine lining.<sup>59</sup> Caesar's entourage is likewise befitting the festive occasion. He is led into town by two trumpeters and a tambourine player. His curule is surrounded by men and women on foot and horseback, some who accompany him, others who receive him.<sup>60</sup> Among those at Caesar's side is a cardinal, riding on the left wing just behind Caesar's chariot.<sup>61</sup> One can only wonder if this scene is a mirror of the occasion of Charles the Bold's entrée into Arras in 1468.

Caesar's court on the right side of the tapestry shows only faint evidence of the impending assassination. Caesar is situated directly under the verse, which does not mention his assassination, but rather praises Caesar as hero among heroes. Brutus, "bruteus," waits idly at Caesar's side holding a knife, while a figure marked "Cato" stands on Caesar's right. Cato, however, had by this time committed suicide after the Battle of Thapsus in Utica in 46 B.C.<sup>62</sup> This figure can only be Cassius, who with Brutus led the conspiracy against Caesar.<sup>63</sup> The scene is shown without action, a still-life of Caesar in all his glory. The architectural surroundings represent the city of Rome, where all seems quiet and where everyone seems to acknowledge Caesar's pre-eminence. This scene functions therefore on two levels: to illuminate the verse above citing Caesar as one of the neuf preux and to show the context of his assassination. But the first level predominates.

A discussion of the origins of the iconography for the fourth tapestry must take into consideration the contemporary significance of these two scenes from Caesar's life. Charles the Bold made numerous triumphal entries into various cities in northern Europe during his reign. The descriptions of these occasions in northern Europe and the lack of models of triumph scenes from illustrated manuscripts of the Faits des Romains suggest that the iconography of Caesar's Triumph was based in part on observations of the joyeux venues et entrées in France in the late Middle Ages.

One of the few Faits des Romains manuscripts which contain an illustration of the Triumph is shown as Figure 33 (MS. fr. 64, Bibliothèque National, fol. 418<sup>v</sup>). As shown in the discussion of the third tapestry, this manuscript of 1480 is one of the derivatives of Manuscript Z and is thus modeled after the same prototype as the tapestry. The basic iconography is the same in the tapestry as in the miniature. Caesar is seated on a throne drawn, in this case unmistakably, by a horse. Caesar's entourage includes men and one woman, in the lower left corner, either on horseback or on foot. Two pages walk on his right side, as in the tapestry, and two others can be seen on the left. His procession is led parallel to the wall of the city of Rome rather than towards it, but the archway surrounded by spectators as shown in the tapestry is included. This picture-type was invented in the fifteenth century; no fourteenth-century miniature uses a similar formula.<sup>64</sup> The origins of this iconography, therefore, were contemporaneous with, or slightly before, the commission of

the tapestry.

The antique texts used in compiling the Faits offer relatively little concerning Caesar's triumph. Suetonius, in Chapter 37, describes five triumphs celebrated by Caesar after the Civil War. "The first and most splendid," he says, "was the Gallic triumph."<sup>65</sup> The only other information that Suetonius gives about the appearance of this triumph is the already-mentioned forty elephants bearing lamps on his right and left, a fact which is repeated in the Faits des Romains. Neither Caesar nor Lucan supplies any relevant details about this triumph. This scene is the only one in the tapestry cycle of which the significant iconographic details are not supplied by the text.

Northern entrées, while increasing in frequency and complexity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, retained a number of common characteristics. The procession was made up of a splendid gathering of courtiers and dignitaries and was centered around the king or ruler. The point of interest, however, lay outside the procession in the tableaux vivants, or mimed scenes, as mentioned in connection with Charles the Bold's entrée into Arras. The procession would wind its way through the streets of a town, stopping at designated spots at which the procession became the audience. The tableaux were used to convey messages of goodwill, flattery, excuse, or whatever was required of the situation.<sup>66</sup>

Italian entrées, on the other hand, were unique in developing, by the end of the fourteenth century, an appreciation for the classical triumph. These were different from Northern



triumphs in that they were "spectator-oriented." The main points of this type lay inside the procession so that anyone standing along the path of the procession would see all the important figures pass before his eyes. It is not clear whether this type of procession represents a survival or revival, but it is clear that this type of triumphal procession was common only in Italy.<sup>67</sup>

The type of procession represented in the fourth tapestry is clearly the Italian type with Caesar occupying the point of central focus while crowds gather to watch. There are two possible sources that could have communicated this Italian fashion to Burgundy. Charles the Bold had a French translation of Petrarch's Trionfi done during the 1460's.<sup>68</sup> Petrarch's account of the Triumph of Scipio Africanus was perhaps the first post-classical attempt to reconstruct such an event. Petrarch describes a long succession of magnificent sights all contained within a moving procession.<sup>69</sup>

The other possible source, the thirteenth-century Libro Imperiale, speaks specifically of the Gallic Triumph of Caesar and explains certain elements of the iconography of the tapestry.<sup>70</sup> Also of Italian provenance, the Libro Imperiale describes each of Caesar's five triumphs as mentioned in Suetonius. The description of the Gallic Triumph, from Chapter 9, reads as follows:

Apparecchiati che ebbono gli Romani gli trionfi, Cessare si misse uno vestimento porporeo vermiglio tutto, hornato di margherite, e in chapo si misse una chorona di foglie d'alloro a chapo schoperto. Appresso salse in sun un charro tutto lavorato e messo ad oro, menato da quattro destrieri bianchi. Dinanzi andavano tutt'i ballatori, armeggiatori, et ongni giente festa faceva con infiniti stomenti. Appresso al charro andavano tutti gli ufficiali di Roma cho' luminari in

mano, e dall'altro lato andavano donne e giovane facendo festa. Drieto a lui venivano tutti li principi et baroni ch'erano stati presi nelli assedi et nelle battaglie. Et chosi andando tennono verso el Chuliseo, dove scese del charro et entrò andando tennono verso el Chuliseo, dove scese del charro et entrò dentro chon molta riverenza ringraziando gl'iddii di tanta vittoria . . . Apresso, fatto solenne sacrificio rimontò nel charro, e passò sotto all'archo trionfale, lo quale aveva fatto fare el popolo in onore di Ciessare, et era tra Palagio maggiore e 'l Chuliseo. Passato ch'ebbe l'arco disse Ciessare di sua bocha: Delli due triunfi neghati siamo all'uno, chome volessi dire: morti sono choloro che mi negharono l'onore dell'acquisito di Francia. Andando in Chanpidoglio siedè nella sieda de' dittatori, et quivi per quella notte alberghò: lo giorno all'alba tornò alle sue proprie abitazione.<sup>71</sup>

(The Romans having prepared the triumph, Caesar put on a gold-embroidered purple vestment, decorated with daisies, and on his bare head he put a crown of laurel. Next, he mounted a chariot chased and gilded, drawn by four white steeds. In front went all the dancers, joustiers, and everybody else who took part in the festival in a great crowd. Next to the chariot went all of the officials of Rome with torches in their hands, and on the other side went all the women and youths making merry. Behind him came all the princes and barons who had been captured in sieges and battles. And thus they went towards the coliseum, where Caesar got down out of the chariot and went in with much reverence thanking the gods for such a victory . . . Next, having made a solemn sacrifice, he mounted the chariot and passed under the triumphal arch that the people had made in honor of him, and it was between the great palace and the coliseum. Having passed through the arch, Caesar said with his mouth: "Of the two triumphs denied me we have arrived at one, as I wanted to say: Dead are those who deny me the honor of the acquisition of France." Going up to the Campidoglio, he sat in the seat of the dictators, and thus passed the night; the next day at dawn, he returned to his own house.)

This text describes most of the essential elements of the iconography of the miniature and the tapestry: Caesar's clothes, his chariot, his entourage, and the triumphal arch. Even though this passage says that Caesar's chariot was pulled by horses, as is shown in the miniature, the description of the fifth triumph says that the chariot was pulled by four elephants.<sup>72</sup> Two import-

ant points are made by the iconography of the miniature and of the tapestry: it is further evidence for the existence of Manuscript Z as the model for the tapestry, and it shows that the source for Caesar's Triumph, a relatively new scene in the Caesar iconography, was an Italian text used to recreate a triumph in the manière antique. Since Charles the Bold's entrée into Arras in 1468 was a northern-style procession, this scene, more than any other scene of the cycle, is an attempt to show not only the contemporary Burgundian image evident in the costumes and architecture, but also the fashionable antique image imported from Italy.

The right side of the fourth tapestry also represents something of a departure from the traditional iconography of the Faits des Romains. Manuscripts of the Faits generally end with an illustration of either Caesar's murder or his burial.<sup>73</sup> The last illustration of the tapestry cycle, however, ends with the meeting of the Senate on the Ides of March just before Caesar is killed, an image which is not found in the manuscripts. The designer of the tapestries, however, did not create a totally new iconography for this scene, but simply reworked a standard image of a meeting of the Senate. To this common formula, the artist simply added Brutus and Cassius, both holding knives. Two miniatures showing Caesar in the Senate, taken from the family tree of manuscripts discussed in connection with Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon, are reproduced as Figures 34 and 35. Figure 35, folio 126<sup>V</sup> of the Venetian codex, shows how the essential solution to the arrangement of figures had been reached in

the fourteenth century. Caesar's prominence is defined by the architectural setting which organizes the senators in a symmetrical pattern on either side of Caesar. Caesar, who stands to address the Senate, is draped in a dark-colored, ermine-lined cape.

Figure 35, dated 1400 (MS. 769, fol. 1, Musée Condée), carries the architectural formula even further. Similar to the first scene in the first tapestry where Pompey presides over the Senate, this scene is shown with an aerial perspective of Rome. The low walls allow a view of Caesar surrounded by senators in an architectural representation of the Senate chambers. The spatial concepts employed in this miniature are translated almost directly into the tapestry. Even though the ornamentation of the architecture in the tapestry is more florid, essential stylistic elements are similar. The decorative device -- a long vertical line terminated at the top by a horizontal slash and at the bottom by a circle -- reappears in this tapestry as in the first tapestry, where the Condée manuscript was also cited.

The iconography of the fourth tapestry provides a clue to the function of the tapestry in the court of Burgundy. Narrative picture cycles of the Faits des Romains do not provide a precedent for showing Caesar's assassination without violent action. The impression emphasized in this scene is of Caesar's power and glory and is not a portrait of Caesar in his weakest moment. Moreover, Caesar presiding over the Senate on the right side of the fourth tapestry is almost a mirror image of Pompey in the Senate on the left side of the first tapestry. This arrangement

is even more noticeable in a comparison of the architecture; both scenes use a low circular wall which is connected to a larger wall with a gate serving to divide left from right in each tapestry. If these two tapestries were hung facing one another, the pattern and rhythm would produce a mirror image. It seems likely that these two tapestries would have been hung on the walls of a throne room, given the emphasis on the thrones in the tapestries and the lack of violence in the fourth tapestry.

A similar parallelism can be seen to emerge from a placement of the second and third tapestries on opposite walls. The pattern created by similarities in subject matter looks like this:<sup>74</sup>

Tapestry half

|         |  |
|---------|--|
| 1 and 8 | Each a meeting of the Senate               |
| 2 and 7 | Caesar leaves Rome, Caesar returns to Rome |
| 3 and 6 | Battles                                    |
| 4 and 5 | Caesar leads his troops on horseback       |

Diagram C shows how these tapestries could have been hung to maximize the sense of symmetry and narrative continuity.<sup>75</sup> When hung in this fashion, Caesar on his horse, in tapestry-halves 4 and 5, would lead the viewer towards the two thrones in the tapestry. In walking towards the thrones one would pass a battle on each side, in tapestry-halves 3 and 6, and Caesar's coming and going from Rome in tapestry-halves 2 and 7. The arrangement therefore leads the viewer down the center of the room where the real throne would be located. A miniature from Guillaume Fillastre's Histoire de la toison d'or of 1473 showing a

meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece (Fig. 36) shows the typical shape of a Burgundian throne room of this date.<sup>76</sup>

This arrangement of the tapestries not only works to emphasize the throne in the back of the room, but the chronological narrative also receives a proper reading. Caesar departs from Rome in the first tapestry and moves toward Gaul in the second. In the second tapestry, Caesar's movement is also principally from left to right, with the exception of the horse scene in the lower right. On the opposite wall, all of Caesar's movements are towards the last scene; the crossing of the Rubicon, the battle of Pharsalia, and the triumph are not only chronological, but arranged in one continuous and interconnected sequence. To end this grand procession with a violent representation of Caesar's death would have lessened the impact of the throne imagery and would have been a rather foreboding decoration for the throne room of a man who tried to imitate Caesar.

### 3. Conclusion

The iconography of the Bern Caesar tapestries not only summarizes over two centuries of illustration of the Faits des Romains, but gives some important information about the political ambitions and artistic interests of the dukes of Burgundy. Even though it was during Charles the Bold's reign that the tapestries most likely appeared, the tradition of Caesar at the court was long established. As shown in Chapter II, Charles inherited the *majority* of his library from Philip the Good and made only limited additions to the collection. Under Philip

the Good, several copies of the Faits des Romains had already been added to the collection. Charles inherited an already popular tradition and carried it to unprecedented heights.

Even though an understanding of the tapestries must be based to a large extent on their iconographical relationship to illustrations of the Faits des Romains, it is the rare departure from this tradition which characterizes their time and place. All hints of a controversy surrounding Caesar are absent in the tapestries. By virtue of his dress and surroundings, Caesar has become a veritable member of the court of Burgundy. The designer, or the commissioner, of the tapestries has even gone so far as to underplay Caesar's assassination, emphasizing instead his inclusion among the neuf preux. The changes ameliorate not only the image of Caesar but, by implication, the image of the duke as well.

Much of the patronage of the Caesar tradition in late fifteenth-century Burgundy must be credited to Charles the Bold's own ambitions, personality, and tastes. In Caesar, Charles found not only ideas, but justification for his rule and military actions. The placement of the Caesar tapestries in the throne room of the court says it all: Charles could rule in the tradition and image of Julius Caesar. It was a literary tradition which was tested by 1500 years of time and it was a visual image, which, because of the illustration of the Faits des Romains, would have been understood over most of mainland Europe.

## CONCLUSION

Both in his own day and in succeeding generations, the truth about Julius Caesar was concealed. Caesar himself was responsible for initiating this tradition. His writings were masterfully designed to clothe his restless ambitions in a pretense of heroic behavior. Writers who followed Caesar tried to tip the scales in another direction but in vilifying Caesar, they too were forced to resort to perversions of the facts.

Caesar, Sallust, Lucan, and Suetonius were all concerned with establishing the credibility of their writings in the eyes of their readers and each assembled evidence to support his cause. Caesar's technique was to promote an aura of objectivity by writing in the third person, a third person who is unfalteringly presented sympathetically. Sallust and Lucan played to the moral sensitivities of their readers and on the moral irreproachability of Cato. For Sallust, Caesar and Cato were equals; for Lucan, they were opposites. Suetonius' strategy was to disguise his point of view behind an ostensibly straightforward "truth" that presents Caesar in a reprehensible light. All of these writers held sometimes to tenuous evidence to fabricate their version of the true image of Caesar.

The Middle Ages came to know Caesar in this literature where his controversy was still living. But the political implications of this literature were only a minor aspect of its use in the Middle Ages. In the schools it also lent itself to the study of language, ethics, geography and astronomy, to natural



and supernatural phenomena. Concern with Caesar's complex personal motivations and political ambitions were subordinated to his strategic genius, his military triumphs, his consistent success as a leader. Caesar became a legendary hero along with Pompey and Cato, and the controversy surrounding him became just another intriguing and attractive mystery attached to his character.

The Faits des Romains completed the burial of Caesar's faults. By virtue of its structure alone, the Faits ignores the central political values of its sources. Surrounded by Caesar and Suetonius, Lucan's passionate cry against the degeneration of Rome goes almost unheard. Lucan's complex lines are recast in a simplified French prose which is more akin to medieval romance than in tune with Roman politics. Caesar's toga is replaced with medieval armor and his battles are described as if they had happened in the thirteenth century. Caesar is transplanted in substance and in meaning.

In the illustrations of the Faits, the myth of Caesar became more concise, more to the point. Caesar was not only said to be a gallant hero on a white horse, he was shown this way. He became less and less removed from his contemporary world while his ambitions were more and more identified with those of his patrons. In over two hundred years of patronage of the vernacular tradition of Caesar, a new truth was established, that of the Faits des Romains.

The manuscript of the Faits shows both in text and iconography a unified tradition which began in the thirteenth century

and ended in the fifteenth. Once formulae had been invented to illustrate scenes from the Faits, these formulae were repeated in one manuscript after another, just as the text was copied from one manuscript to the next. Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon became recognizable not only because of the river, Caesar on his horse, Roma, or the giant; the formula developed for this scene also provided for the placement of figures on the page. Each new miniaturist who painted this scene consulted an earlier version, and the authority of the earlier manuscript was consistently observed. The new truth about Caesar was relocated within the iconographic tradition itself.

Caesar's image at the court of Burgundy required little modification for the dukes' purposes. The Faits tradition had already established a Caesar who was found to be well-adapted to his Burgundian surroundings. Nevertheless, the dukes also contributed to the myth of Caesar. It was not that a more historically accurate image was unavailable; it was that the truth already available about Caesar was found to be politically advantageous.

By the end of the fifteenth century, Caesar had, in a sense, come full circle. The image of Caesar was now used by the Dukes of Burgundy much as Caesar himself had used his literary image to work for his own political ends.

NOTES

Chapter I

<sup>1</sup>For information on the political climate in Rome during the age of Caesar, see: Lily Ross Taylor, Party Politics in the Age of Caesar (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949); Howard H. Scullard, From the Gracchi to Nero: A History of Rome from 133 B.C. to A.D. 68 (London: Methuen, 1960); and Matthais Gelzer, Caesar: Politician and Statesman, Peter Needham, trans. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1968).

<sup>2</sup>Suetonius is among those who cite this reason for Caesar's assassination. See J. C. Rolfe, ed., Suetonius, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1935), pp. 99-107. Subsequent textual references will be taken from this edition.

<sup>3</sup>Gelzer, p. 171.

<sup>4</sup>Information on Caesar's political circumstances can be found in Suetonius, Deified Julius, Chapter 26. See also Gelzer, pp. 151-52.

<sup>5</sup>Julius Caesar, The Gallic War, H. J. Edwards, trans. (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1917), p. 45.

<sup>6</sup>Julius Caesar, The Civil Wars, A. G. Peskett, trans. (New York: MacMillan Co., 1914), p. 17.

<sup>7</sup>H. E. Butler and M. Carey, intro. to ed., Suetonius, Divus Julius (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927), p. x.

<sup>8</sup>D. C. Earl, The Political Thought of Sallust (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), p. 1.

<sup>9</sup>Sallust, The War with Catiline, J. C. Rolfe, trans. (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1921), p. 9.

<sup>10</sup>Ronald Syme, Sallust (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964), p. 128.

<sup>11</sup>Sallust, p. 9.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

<sup>14</sup>Rolfe, intro. to ed., Sallust, p. xiii.

<sup>15</sup>Sallust, pp. 99-101.

<sup>16</sup>Syme, p. 73.

<sup>17</sup>Sallust, p. 111.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., pp. 111-13.

<sup>19</sup>Michael Grant, The Twelve Caesars (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975), p. 150.

<sup>20</sup>Frederick M. Ahl, Lucan: An Introduction (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976), p. 41.

<sup>21</sup>Lucan, The Civil War, J. D. Duff, trans. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1969), p. 3.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>23</sup>Caesar, The Civil Wars, pp. 101-105.

<sup>24</sup>Lucan, p. 189.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 31.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 403.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 413.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 615. Presumably, Lucan was heavily involved in the Pisonian controversy when he wrote Book X and would be more likely to condone Caesar's assassination.

<sup>30</sup>Pompey, born in 106 B.C., was only six years older than Caesar. Lucan implies a greater division in years, probably to enhance the old-oak imagery.

<sup>31</sup>Lucan, p. 13.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., pp. 441-43.

<sup>33</sup>O. A. W. Dilke, intro. to ed., De Bello Civili, Liber VII, by M. Annaei Lucani (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 36-38.

<sup>34</sup>The date of Suetonius' death is uncertain. The last reference to him as still living is in the year 121, but one of Pliny's letters implies that he lived to a good old age, including a part of the reign of Antonius Pius (138-61). A discussion of his death date is found in John C. Rolfe, "Suetonius and his Biographies," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 52 (1913), 210.

<sup>35</sup>Rolfe, intro. to ed., Suetonius, pp. xi-xii.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. x.

<sup>37</sup>Butler and Carey, p. vii.

<sup>38</sup>Gavin B. Townend, "Suetonius Tranquillus," Oxford Classical Dictionary, 1970 edition.

<sup>39</sup>For a more detailed discussion of Suetonius' reliability as a scholar, see Townend; Grant, pp. 3-9; and Rolfe, "Biographies," p. 214.

<sup>40</sup>See note 39.

<sup>41</sup>Suetonius, p. 43.

<sup>42</sup>Caesar's participation in revolutionary activities is mentioned in Chapters 3, 5, 8, 9, and 11.

<sup>43</sup>Suetonius, p. 55.

<sup>44</sup>Rolfe, "Biographies," p. 224. See also H. T. Peck, intro. to ed., De vita Caesarum by Suetonius (New York: Holt, 1889), pp. viii-ix.

<sup>45</sup>Suetonius, p. 67.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., p. 69.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 99.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., p. 103.

## Chapter II

<sup>1</sup>Charles H. Haskins, The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century (Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1957), pp. 227-29. See also Eva M. Sanford, "The Study of Ancient History in the Middle Ages," Journal of the History of Ideas 5 (1944), 21-43.

<sup>2</sup>Sanford, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup>M. L. W. Laistner, The Greater Roman Historians (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1947), p. 45.

<sup>4</sup>Rolfe, intro. to ed., Sallust, p. xviii.

<sup>5</sup>Alfred Ernout, intro. to ed., Salluste: Catalina, Jugurtha, fragments des Histoires (Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1947), p. 45.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 45.

<sup>7</sup>Laistner, p. 45.

<sup>8</sup>Beryl Smalley, "Sallust in the Middle Ages," Classical Influences on European Culture, R. R. Bolgar, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), p. 165.

<sup>9</sup>Dilke, p. 35.

<sup>10</sup>For a discussion of Lucan's influence on the Middle Ages, see Jessie Crosland, "Lucan in the Middle Ages," Modern Language Review 25 (1930), 32; and Eva M. Sanford, "Quotations from Lucan in Medieval Latin Authors," American Journal of Philology 55 (1934), 1.

<sup>11</sup>Crosland, p. 32.

<sup>12</sup>A. E. Housman, intro. to ed., M. Annaei Lucani Belli civilis libri decem (Oxford: Blackwell, 1927), p. vii.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. xxxvi. This source gives a listing of important medieval manuscripts of Lucan.

<sup>14</sup>E. K. Rand, "On the History of De Vita Caesarum of Suetonius in the Early Middle Ages," Harvard Studies in Classical Philology 37 (1926), 40.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., pp. 40-45.

<sup>16</sup>Virginia Brown, The Textual Transmission of Caesar's Civil War (Leiden: Brill, 1972), pp. 30-40.

<sup>17</sup>Berthe Marti, "Arnulfus and the Faits des Romains," Modern Language Quarterly 2 (1941), 15-23.

<sup>18</sup>Sanford, "Study," p. 37.

<sup>19</sup>Louis-Fernand Flutre, Les manuscrits des Faits des Romains (Paris: Hachette, 1932), p. 1.

<sup>20</sup>Louis-Fernand Flutre and K. Sneyders de Vogel, eds., Li fet des Romains compilé ensemble de Saluste et de Suetoine et de Lucan (Paris: E. Droz, 1938), I, 2. Volume I of this source will be referred to hereafter as FDR.

<sup>21</sup>Flutre, Manuscrits, pp. 3-4. Manuscript 10168-72, for example, in the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels, is dated 1293, and this is by no means the earliest manuscript.

<sup>22</sup>Paul Meyer, "Les premières compilations françaises d'histoire ancienne," Romania 14 (1885), 23-24.

<sup>23</sup>FDR, p. 18.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 274.

<sup>25</sup>"Flodoveus" appears to be a mistake. Chlotar I (d. 561) was Chilperic I's father.

<sup>26</sup>Gregory of Tours' Historia Francorum was probably the source of the confusion about who actually built the amphitheatre; Gregory also cites Chilperic. See Meyer, p. 11.

<sup>27</sup>Meyer, p. 11.

<sup>28</sup>FDR, p. 365.

<sup>29</sup>Flutre, Manuscrits, p. 8.

<sup>30</sup>F. M. Powicke, "The Reigns of Philip Augustus and Louis VIII of France," in Cambridge Medieval History, VI, J. R. Tanner, et al., eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1929), pp. 284-85.

<sup>31</sup>For a description of the Parisian manuscript market in the thirteenth century, see Robert Branner, Manuscript Painting during the Reign of Saint Louis (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977).

<sup>32</sup>Flutre, Manuscrits, pp. 9, 18.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>34</sup>Meyer, pp. 8-10.

<sup>35</sup>The pronoun "he" is used referring to the apparition. See Suetonius, p. 45.

<sup>36</sup>FDR, pp. 347-49.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 349.

<sup>38</sup>Lucan, p. 19.

<sup>39</sup>Meyer, p. 13.

<sup>40</sup>Marti, pp. 15-23.

<sup>41</sup>Flutre, Manuscrits, p. 18.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>43</sup>Meyer, p. 14.

<sup>44</sup>Louis-Fernand Flutre, Li fait des Romains dans les littératures françaises et italiennes du XIII au XVI siècle (Paris: Hachette, 1933), p. 441.

<sup>45</sup>Flutre, Manuscrits, pp. 143-45.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., p. 145.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., p. 148.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., pp. 154-55.

<sup>49</sup>Flutre, Littératures, p. 441.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 442.

<sup>51</sup>Georges Doutrepont, La littérature française à la cour des Ducs de Bourgogne (Paris: Champion, 1909), pp. 132-33.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., pp. 134-36.

<sup>53</sup>Richard Vaughan, Philip the Good (London: Longman's, 1970), p. 155; William R. Tyler, Dijon and the Valois Dukes of Burgundy (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), pp. 87-88. These figures are based on the inventory of 1420 at the beginning of Philip's rule.

<sup>54</sup>Doutrepont, pp. 405-13.

<sup>55</sup>Tyler, p. 88.

<sup>56</sup>Quoted in Doutrepont, p. 181.

<sup>57</sup>Quoted in Doutrepont, p. 1.

<sup>58</sup>Richard Vaughan, Charles the Bold (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1973), pp. 123-55.

<sup>59</sup>Doutrepont, p. 189.

<sup>60</sup>Flutre, Littératures, p. 443.

<sup>61</sup>Flutre, Manuscrits, p. 69.

<sup>62</sup>Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Fr. 20312 bis, fol. 312.

<sup>63</sup>The Faits des Romains did, however, appear in several printed editions in the sixteenth century. See Flutre, Littératures, p. 443.

<sup>64</sup>Paris, V. N., MS. Fr. 20312 bis, fol. 315.

### Chapter III

<sup>1</sup>Kurt Weitzmann, Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination (New York: Braziller, 1977), p. 10.

<sup>2</sup>Pliny, Naturalis Historia, XXXV.II.11, quoted by Weitzmann, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup>Weitzmann, p. 9.

<sup>4</sup>For an extensive discussion of the development of ancient text illustration and the process by which classical techniques were disseminated to Early Christian artists, see Kurt Weitzmann, Illustrations in Roll and Codex (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970).

<sup>5</sup>Kurt Weitzmann, Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination, Herbert L. Kessler, ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), p. 115.



<sup>6</sup>Weitzmann, Late Antique, pp. 34-39.

<sup>7</sup>Weitzmann, Studies, pp. 176-80. See also Hugo Buchthal, The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter: A Study in Middle Byzantine Painting (London: Warburg Institute, 1938).

<sup>8</sup>Jackson E. Gaehde, Carolingian Painting (New York: Braziller, 1976), p. 77.

<sup>9</sup>A standard work on the Carolingian Renaissance in art is Erwin Panofsky's Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1960). See also Kenneth J. Conant, Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture, 800 to 1200 (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1959).

<sup>10</sup>Weitzmann, Late Antique, pp. 15-17. For a discussion of Bible production in medieval France, see Branner, pp. 15-21.

<sup>11</sup>David Diringer, The Illuminated Book: Its History and Production (New York: Praeger, 1967), pp. 379-80.

<sup>12</sup>Robert L. Wyss, Die Caesarteppiche und ihr ikonographisches Verhältnis zur Illustration der "Faits des Romains" im 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts (Bern: K. J. Wyss Erben, 1957), p. 94.

<sup>13</sup>Flutre, Manuscripts, pp. 30-74. See this source for a descriptive catalogue of the forty-seven known Faits manuscripts.

<sup>14</sup>Wyss, p. 94.

<sup>15</sup>Flutre, Manuscripts, pp. 85-86.

<sup>16</sup>Jacob Stämmler, Die Teppiche des historischen Museums in Thun (Bern: K. Stämpfli, 1891), pp. 98-110.

<sup>17</sup>Arthur Weese, Die Cäsar-teppiche im historischen Museums zu Bern (Bern: A. Francke, 1911), p. 5.

<sup>18</sup>Wyss, p. 31.

<sup>19</sup>Taken from communal archives of the city of Arras, 31 October 1468. Reprinted in Appendix of J. Lestocquoy, "l'Atelier de Baudin de Bailleul et la tapisserie de Gédéon," Revue Belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art 8 (1938), 136-37.

<sup>20</sup>Hans H. Borchardt, Das europäische Theater in Mittelalter und in der Renaissance (Leipzig: J. J. Weiler, 1935), p. 138.

<sup>21</sup>Lestocquoy, p. 137.

<sup>22</sup>Richard Vaughan, Charles the Bold: The Last Valois Duke of Burgundy (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1974), p. 55.

<sup>23</sup>Wyss, p. 32.

<sup>24</sup>Lestocquoy, p. 137.

<sup>25</sup>For a vivid description of the entremets, see Tyler, pp. 137-47.

<sup>26</sup>Wyss, p. 33.

<sup>27</sup>Quoted in Wyss, p. 34.

<sup>28</sup>Quoted in Wyss, p. 34.

<sup>29</sup>Weese, p. 5.

<sup>30</sup>Wyss, pp. 35-38.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., pp. 38-39.

<sup>32</sup>Flutre, Manuscrits, p. 27.

<sup>33</sup>Wyss, p. 50.

<sup>34</sup>The texts of the inscriptions for each of the tapestries have been altered slightly for clarity with all abbreviations written out in complete form. My thanks to Professor Janice Zinser, Department of Romance Languages, Oberlin College, for her help with the translations of the inscriptions.

<sup>35</sup>Doreen Yarwood, European Costume (New York: Larousse, 1975), pp. 86-87.

<sup>36</sup>Wyss, p. 11.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 54.

<sup>38</sup>Examples of manuscripts which employ the throne are Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Fr. 251 f. 236<sup>v</sup> and MS. Fr. 295, f. 176. See Wyss, pp. 54-55.

<sup>39</sup>Wyss, p. 12.

<sup>40</sup>Agendicum is mentioned in Caesar, Gallic War, p. 377. "Brenno" is the latinized form of Celtic "bran," "a prince." Thus, Drappes was considered by the Faits to be the prince of Sens. See "brenno" in Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities, Harry T. Peck, ed. (New York: America Book Co., 1923), p. 221.

<sup>41</sup>Wyss, p. 55.

<sup>42</sup>Caesar, Gallic War, p. 85.

<sup>43</sup>According to Meyer, p. 13, the reference to "connabre" originates from Gregory of Tours.

<sup>44</sup>Lucan, p. 17.

<sup>45</sup>"Toy" is a form of address invented by medieval poets for gods and princes. See La Curne de Sainte-Palaye, Dictionnaire historique de l'ancien langue françois (Niort: Glossarium de DuCange, n.d.), p. 72.

<sup>46</sup>Wyss, p. 18.

<sup>47</sup>Yarwood, pp. 86-87.

<sup>48</sup>Wyss, p. 61.

<sup>49</sup>Lucan, p. 17.

<sup>50</sup>Wyss, pp. 64-65.

<sup>51</sup>Suetonius, p. 45.

<sup>52</sup>Wyss, pp. 96-97.

<sup>53</sup>Theodor Ehrenstein, Das alte Testament in Bildern (Vienna: A. Kende, 1923), pp. 555-60. See Abb. 27, 28, 36, and 37.

<sup>54</sup>Flutre, Manuscrits, p. 35.

<sup>55</sup>Wyss, p. 77.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., p. 76.

<sup>57</sup>The Faits uses a translation of Suetonius' description of the Triumph, Chapter 37.

<sup>58</sup>Yarwood, p. 87.

<sup>59</sup>George L. Hunter, The Practical Book of Tapestries (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1975), p. 90.

<sup>60</sup>Wyss (p. 23) has identified the kneeling man with no hat and with hands raised in the air as the soothsayer Spurinna, mentioned in Chapter 81 of Suetonius. Spurinna foretold Caesar's assassination on the Ides of March. Spurinna's name, however, is not mentioned in the inscription above the scene.

<sup>61</sup>Wyss, p. 22.

<sup>62</sup>Gelzer, p. 269.

<sup>63</sup>Suetonius, p. 107.

<sup>64</sup>Wyss, p. 87.

<sup>65</sup>Suetonius, p. 51.

<sup>66</sup>Andrew Martindale, The Triumphs of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Hampton Court (London: Harvey Miller, 1979), p. 47.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid. For a description of an Italian secular entrée, see Jacob Burckhardt, The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy (Vienna: Phaidon, 1938), pp. 217-218.

<sup>68</sup>Doutrepont, p. 381.

<sup>69</sup>For an English translation of the Trionfi, see Ernest H. Wilkins, trans., The Triumphs of Petrarch (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963).

<sup>70</sup>Passages relevant to Julius Caesar from the Libro Imperiale are given in Arturo Graf, Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni del Medio Evo (Torino: E. Loescher, 1915), pp. 203-07.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., p. 204.

<sup>72</sup>"Cessare soli un chairò . . . tirato da quattro alifanti" (Ibid., p. 206).

<sup>73</sup>Wyss, p. 91.

<sup>74</sup>Weese, p. 3.

<sup>75</sup>Diagram modeled after Wyss, p. 41.

<sup>76</sup>Wyss, pp. 42-44.



Figure 1

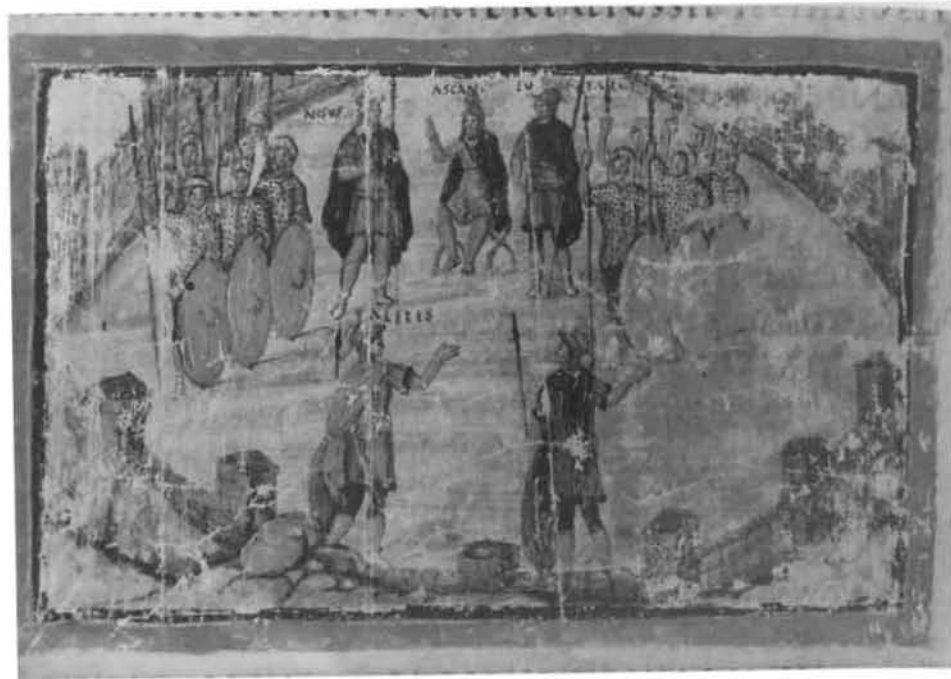


Figure 2

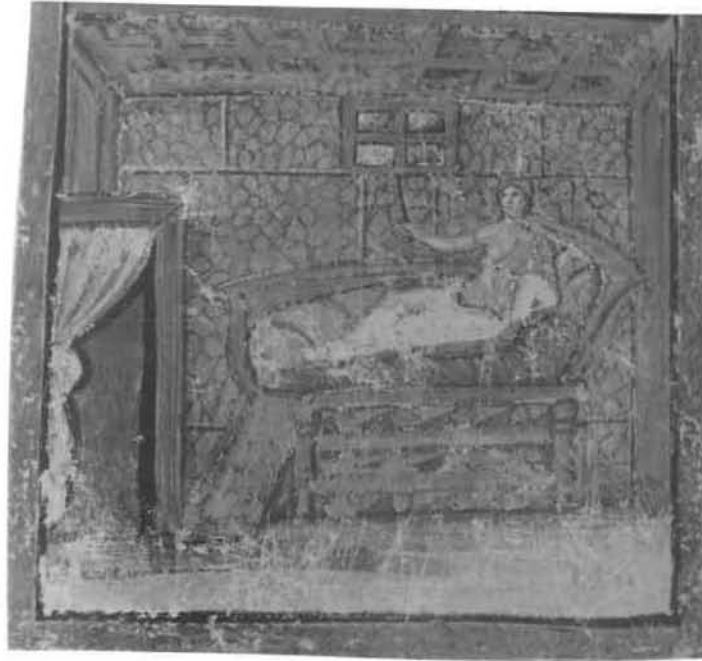


Figure 3



Figure 4



Figure 5



Figure 6



Figure 7



Figure 8



Figure 9





Figure 10



Figure 11



Figure 12



Figure 13



Figure 14

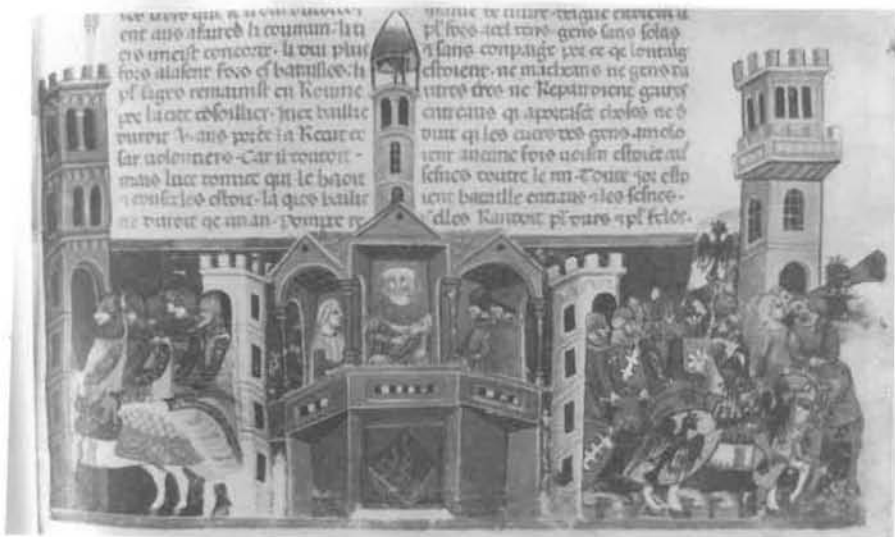


Figure 15



Figure 16



Figure 17



Figure 18



Figure 19



Figure 20



Figure 21



Figure 22



Figure 23



Figure 24

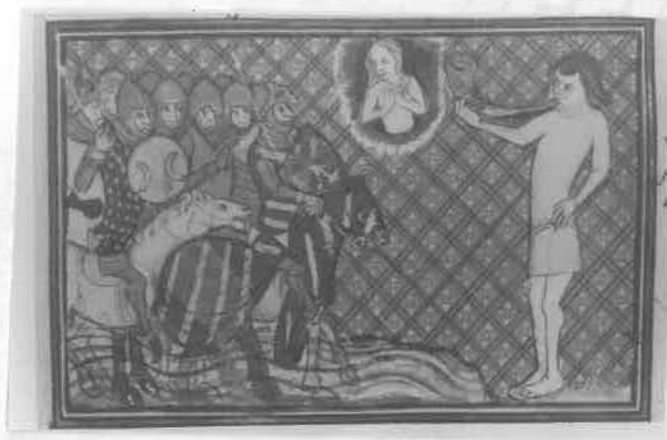


Figure 25



Figure 26

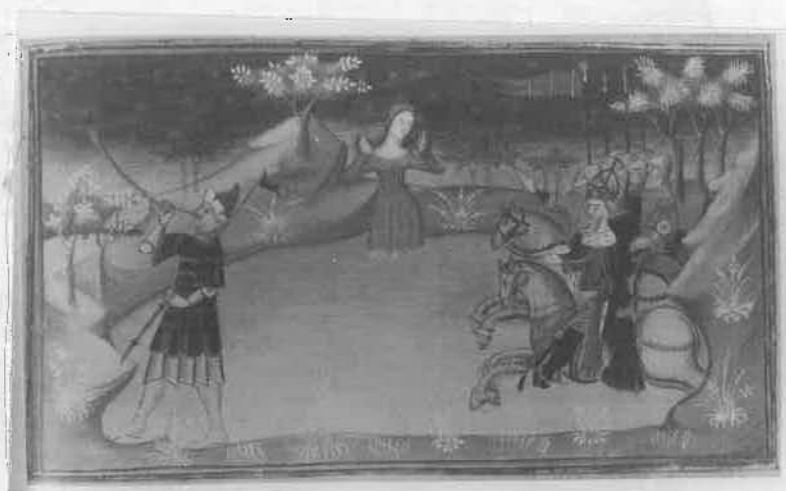


Figure 27



Figure 28





Figure 29



Figure 30



Figure 31



Figure 32



Figure 33



Figure 34



Figure 35



Figure 36



| Tapestry<br>Icon elements     | Group I                               |                              | Group II                    |                                      |  | Group III                         |                            |                                       |                            |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|
|                               | Figure 23<br>franç. III, Bib. S. Mar. | Figure 25<br>fr. 3776, B. N. | Figure 26<br>fr. 250, B. N. | Figure 27<br>Royal 20 CI, Brit. Mus. | Figure 28<br>Inv. 233, liv. 8, Bib. Pub. Univ. | Figure 29<br>fr. 20312 bis, B. N. | Figure 30<br>770 Mus. Con. | Figure 31<br>Fouquet Fragment, Louvre | Figure 32<br>5088, Arsenal |
| Caesar enters from left       | X                                     | X                            |                             |                                      |  |                                   |                            | X                                     | X                          |
| City of Rimini                | X                                     |                              |                             |                                      | X  |                                   | X                          |                                       | X                          |
| Roma in a dress               | X                                     |                              |                             | X                                    | X  | X                                 | X                          | X                                     |                            |
| Roma in water to knees        |                                       |                              |                             | X                                    |  |                                   |                            |                                       |                            |
| Boat(s) in water              |                                       |                              |                             |                                      | X  |                                   | X                          |                                       |                            |
| Caesar waits on bank of river | X                                     |                              | X                           |                                      | X  | X                                 | X                          | X                                     |                            |
| Eagle standard                | X                                     | X                            | X                           |                                      |  | X                                 | X                          | X                                     |                            |
| S-curve in river              |                                       |                              |                             |                                      |  |                                   |                            | X                                     | X                          |
| Mountains in landscape        | X                                     |                              |                             | X                                    |  | X                                 | X                          | X                                     |                            |

DIAGRAM A

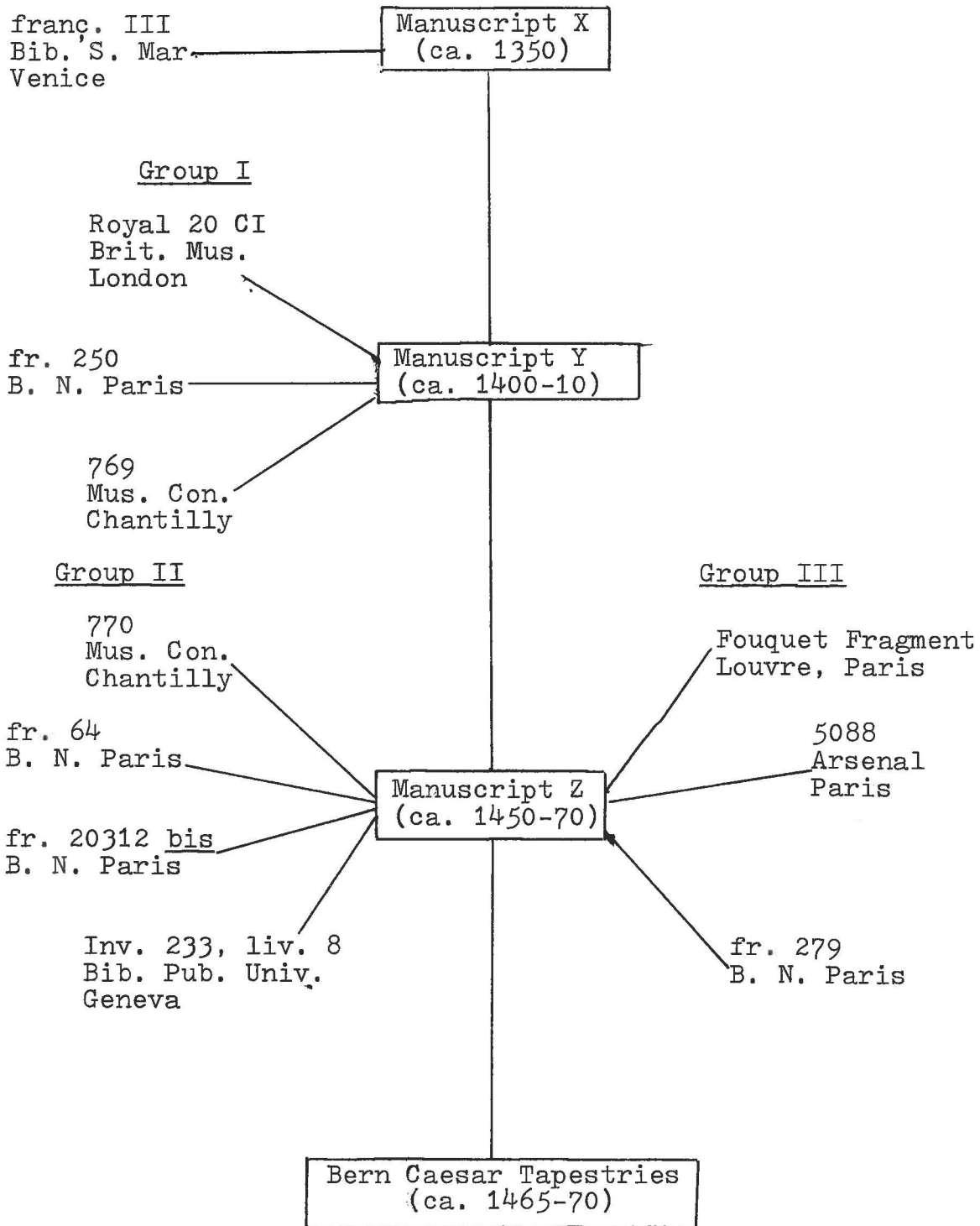


DIAGRAM B

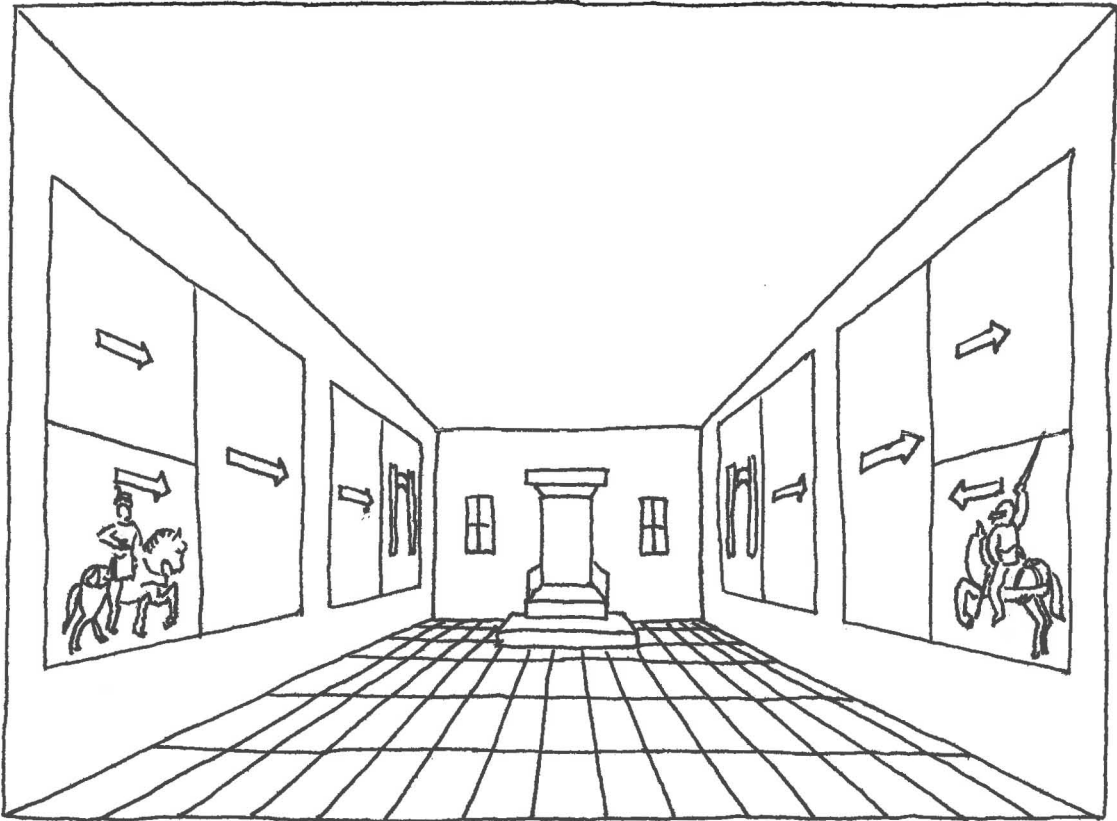


DIAGRAM C

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