LUCAN AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION: THE *BELLUM CIVILE* AS A POLITICAL MIRROR

ROBERT A. TUCKER

IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY England during the reign of Charles I, the great baroque[1] Latin epic of the Neronian poet Lucan, the *Bellum civile*, which relates the story of the civil warfare that began with the conflict between Caesar and Pompey in 49 B.C. but was never completed—the poet having been "allowed" by the Emperor to commit suicide for his part in the Pisonian conspiracy against Nero's life—attained such popularity that it was continued in both Latin and English verse, down to the death of Caesar in Rome, by Thomas May, who had previously translated Lucan's unfinished poem and was now accorded the honor of dedicating his continuation[2] of it to the King. In this same century in France during the reign of Louis XIV, the *Bellum civile* was translated into French verse by G. de Brébeuf,[3] who also contemplated but never consummated a continuation of the epic down to the death of Caesar. Brébeuf's French version appeared in several editions richly illustrated with handsome engravings, little gems of baroque art depicting outstanding scenes in each of the ten books.[4] In the late eighteenth century, after the French Revolution and during the early years of the Republic, Brébeuf's translation was published again, this time together with Lucan's Latin text, and was again beautifully illustrated with engravings depicting scenes from all ten books, with, however, a significant difference both in the choice of scenes for illustration and in the manner of their presentation. The purpose of this study is to examine the engravings in the 1670 edition of Brébeuf's French version of Lucan's *Bellum civile* (Paris: Jean Ribou)[5] and those in J. B. L. J. Billecocq's

1. On the implications of the adjective "baroque," see E. Fraenkel, "Lucan als Mittler des antiken Pathos," *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, IV (1924–25), 229–57, where Latin epic is characterized as falling into three periods: the archaic (represented by Ennius), the classical (represented by Vergil), and the postclassical, counterclassical, or baroque (represented by Lucan). It seems significant that Lucan's baroque epic achieved such popularity during the baroque era of the seventeenth century. See also my article, "Lucan and the Baroque: A Revival of Interest," *CW*, LXII (1969), 295–97.

2. May's translation of Lucan had appeared in 1627. On the anteriorness of May's *Continuation* in English to his *Supplementum* in Latin, see R. T. Bruère, "The Latin and English Versions of Thomas May's *Supplementum Lucani*," *CP*, XLIV (1949), 145–63, where the date of first publication of the *Continuation* is given as 1630 and that of first publication of the *Supplementum* as 1640. Bruère argues that the English *Continuation* was not only published but also written before the Latin *Supplementum*; furthermore, he contends that the *Supplementum* constitutes a revision rather than a mere translation of the *Continuation*.

3. It is disputed whether the first name of Brébeuf (1618–61) is Georges or Guillaume. For Brébeuf's life and an inconclusive discussion of his first name, see the introduction to J. B. L. J. Billecocq's edition of Lucan (Paris, 1796). Cf. the article on Brébeuf in *Les trois siècles de notre littérature* by A. Sabatier de Castres (Paris, 1772), I, 171–73, where the first name is given as Guillaume. However, both the *Catalogue général des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1935) and the *British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books* (London, 1965) show the French poet's name as Georges de Brébeuf.

4. The illustrations in all these seventeenth-century editions are the same, except that some editions include fewer of the engravings than others. Four editions, 1656, 1659, 1670, and 1682, are shown by S. and A. Tchemerzine, *Répertoire de livres à figures rares et précieux édités en France au XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1933), pp. 55–57, where one or two plates are reproduced from each edition. Cf. n. 5 below.

5. The engravings of the 1670 edition published by Ribou under license from J.-B. Loyson, who held the *privilège du Roy* and also produced an edition with these plates in 1670, are discussed here principally because this was the earliest edition available to me. However, it is also true that, of the various editions included by Tchemerzine and Tchemerzine (see n. 4 above), the 1670 editions are the first to contain all twelve plates. The *Catalogue général des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale* mentions an edition as early as 1663 containing engraved plates but does not say how many. Since the 1663 edition was published by A. de Sommaville, who produced the 1659 edition mentioned by Tchemerzine and Tchemerzine, it is probable that this also contains some of the same plates found in our 1670 edition. These illustrations are by various artists, most of whom are not named.

1796 edition (Paris: Crapelet)[6] with the aim of discovering what effect, if any, the political climate in France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the French Revolution in particular, had on the content, style, and outlook of these illustrations.

What episodes from Lucan's poem were chosen to be illustrated in each of the two editions? What personages are shown, and in what light are they shown? What conclusions can be drawn from the selection of different episodes to illustrate the same books of the two editions? Where the same scenes are depicted in both editions, how is the treatment similar or different? Can any theme be detected running through all the illustrations of either or both of the editions? Finally, in what way can the political climate before and after the French Revolution be postulated as a moving factor behind such themes? These are some of the questions which will be considered.

The differences between the Louis XIV edition and the postrevolutionary edition are apparent immediately upon opening the two. The former begins with a splendid and thoroughly baroque frontispiece showing the head of the poet Lucan in a medallion surrounded by two eagles facing each other and two groups of javelins, with banners bearing the monogram S. P. Q. R. pointed toward each other, illustrative of the line appearing at the bottom of the page, ". . . pares aquilas, et pila minantia pilis" (1. 7), the concluding verse of Lucan's much-discussed[7] introduction. Besides the natural appropriateness of this famous introductory line for a frontispiece to the *Bellum civile*, there is also the particular suitability of the idea of equal but opposing eagles and javelins to the baroque concepts of parallel opposites, symmetry, and a central focal point so characteristic of seventeenth-century art and design.[8] The two eagles are standing on the floor in front of a paneled wall in the center of which is set the medallion displaying the laurel-crowned head of the poet surrounded by his name in capital letters, M. AN. LUCANUS. The talons of the eagles are magnificently spread on the floor, the menacing claws in full view; their bodies, facing each other, are reared upward, their necks arched, their eyes flashing, and their open beaks almost touching just beneath the portrait of Lucan. The eagles' wings sweep up and around the medallion, beautifully and symmetrically framing the lower two thirds of this central focal point; above the poet's head the opposing Roman javelins and banners complete the frame.

Following this frontispiece and preceding the regular title page is another full-page plate which might be considered a second frontispiece but is more properly an elaborate, engraved, preliminary title page, since the title, *La Pharsale de Lucain*,[9] appears on the shield carried by a sword-wielding female deity[10] hovering in mid-air above Caesar, who is mounted on a

6. Billecocq's 1796 edition, which includes both Lucan and Brébeuf, appears to be the first to have these plates. Although engraved by various men, they were all designed by C. Perrin, one of the outstanding historical painters of the Revolution and the Napoleonic era. Neither the *Catalogue général des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale* nor the *British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books* reveals any eighteenth-century edition of Brébeuf's translation prior to this one. The last seventeenth-century edition appeared in 1683, but no mention is made of any plates later than those published in 1682 (see n. 4 above).

7. Recent comments as well as a bibliography of previous discussions of the first seven lines and of the entire prologue (l. 1–66) will be found in the notes on these lines in the edition of Book 1 of Lucan by P. Wuilleumier and H. Le Bonniec (Paris, 1962). Cf. the note of A. Bourgery on l. 1–7, in his third edition of Lucan in the Budé series (Paris, 1962).

8. For an excellent presentation of the characteristics of baroque style, see M. Kitson, *The Age of Baroque* (New York, 1966).

9. *Pharsalia* is the traditional title of Lucan's epic.

10. Precisely what deity this represents is not clear. On first thought, she appears to be Bellona, goddess of war; but, since Lucan is careful to exclude divine machinery from his epic, perhaps she might better be construed as Fortune, whom Caesar promises to follow after he has crossed the Rubicon: "Te, Fortuna, sequor. . ." (l. 226). Although one does not usually think of the sword, shield, and helmet as attributes of

rearing horse and is being confronted by the figure of Rome personified, as he starts to cross the river Rubicon. Next comes the title page proper, which has in the center a small baroque basket of symmetrically arranged stylized flowers and at the bottom the place of publication, Paris, the publisher's name and address, and the date 1670 followed by the significant phrase "avec privilège du Roy."

By contrast, the postrevolutionary edition is presented in a somewhat larger, two-volume format, containing alternately the French and the Latin version of each of the ten books and one full-page illustration for each book, but having no frontispiece and no pictured title. Moreover, the simple, unembellished title page bears two marks which place this edition of the *Bellum civile* squarely in early republican France: the epithet *Citoyen français* following the name of the editor, Billecocq, and the date of publication given as the year IV, the fourth year of the French Republic, followed, however, by "1796" for clarification.

The first picture in this edition, illustrating Book 1, represents the same event depicted in the engraved preliminary title page of the seventeenth-century edition, namely, Caesar's encounter with the vision of Rome personified as he is about to cross the Rubicon, but the presentation is rather different here. The scene is identified by two lines from Brébeuf's translation describing the image of Rome and giving the beginning of her speech to Caesar: "Les bras à demi nuds et les cheveux épars; / Où (dit-elle) où va-t' on porter mes étendards?" Although Brébeuf's French version of the *Bellum civile* is by no means a line-by-line rendition of the Latin, these verses correspond roughly to Lucan 1. 189–91: "caesarie lacera nudisque adstare lacertis / et gemitu permixta loqui: 'Quo tenditis ultra? / quo fertis mea signa, viri?'" The selection of these particular verses, where Rome is shown grieving at Caesar's conduct and reproaching him for starting to invade his native country, rather than some lines more favorable to Caesar, such as 195–203, where he defends himself as a patriot, is certainly in keeping with the anti-Caesarean tone of this scene as written by Lucan; but, more than that, it appears to be in keeping with a policy of the editor and the publisher, a policy which is apparent in all the illustrations of the 1796 edition, namely, to emphasize either the bad qualities of Caesar, the destroyer of the Roman Republic, or the good qualities of Pompey, who tried to save it. Although this is admittedly an appropriate interpretation of the *Bellum civile*, the fact that the epic need not be presented to the reading public in this manner can be seen from a comparison of these illustrations with the ones in our seventeenth-century edition, which, in general, depicts scenes readily lending themselves to the baroque style in art,[11] and, in particular, whenever it shows Caesar, tends to display his heroic qualities rather than demeaning him. It would appear that the fact that Caesar was the adoptive father of Octavian, who became Augustus, the first Roman emperor, was not without meaning to the Sun King, who authorized the 1670 publication. These differences in the pres-

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Fortune, Lucan clearly involves her in the war and particularly with Caesar, e.g., at l. 264–65: ". . . iustos Fortuna laborat / esse ducis motus et *causas invenit armis*." For a well-documented recent discussion of the frequent appearance of Fortune in the *Bellum civile* and her close association with Caesar, see B. F. Dick, "*Fatum* and *Fortuna* in Lucan's *Bellum civile*," *CP*, LXII (1967), 235–42.

11. Dark backgrounds, light and shade in sharp contrast, a central focal point, parallel opposites, heroism, dramatic action, strong emotion, violence, horror, bloated bodies, anguish, movement, and splendor are some of the elements of baroque art particularly noticeable in the illustrations of the 1670 edition. On these and other characteristics of the baroque style, see Kitson, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

entation of Lucan's work will become apparent from a closer examination of the engravings.

In the Louis XIV edition, it is Caesar's horse that appears apprehensive at the vision of Rome rather than Caesar himself. The general does, indeed, raise his left hand in a protective gesture across his chest, but he sits erect, his shoulders square, his staff and the horse's reins firmly grasped in his right hand, his head tilted slightly forward, and an expression on his face suggestive of curiosity rather than fear. The sword-wielding goddess in the air above them does not notice Rome, but, looking straight ahead, with her shield held forward, her sword high, and her hair streaming behind, she leads on, while the men and horses in the background appear eager to advance. On the other hand, the 1796 engraving represents the horse standing calmly with head bowed and completely unaware of the vision, while Caesar, with his body twisted to face the figure of Rome, his left hand thrown up in fright and his right hand still holding the reins but drawn up close to his body, recoils in horror, an almost childlike expression of fear on his undistinguished, bearded face. The faces of the troops in the shadows behind him also look apprehensive, and even the Roman standards are tilted backward. One more point seems significant: Rome is bare headed, whereas in the 1670 illustration she wears a mural crown. The absence of Rome's crown in the post-revolutionary picture, in spite of Lucan's clear mention of it ("*turrigero* canos effundens *vertice* crines," 1. 188) and in view of the faithful representation of the poet's description of Caesar, probably is not accidental.

In strong contrast to this picture of a frightened Caesar being reproached by Rome herself for daring to invade Italy, the 1670 illustration for Book 1 shows Caesar confident and almost regal, already having crossed the Rubicon, looking back and gesturing authoritatively to his men to follow; even his horse seems proud, arching its neck and prancing forward. The army following him extends across the Rubicon and back into the distance as far as the eye can see, displaying both the great power of Caesar as a leader of men and the devotion of his soldiers to him. There is also a brilliant sunrise in the background, perhaps intended to suggest a new era dawning for Rome. Since, according to Lucan, it was still night when Caesar crossed the Rubicon (*noctis tenebris*, 1. 228)[12] and day was just beginning to dawn by the time that he arrived at Ariminum ("invadit Ariminum, et ignes / solis Lucifero fugiebant astra relicto," 1. 231 f.), it seems fair to suppose that the artist has deliberately taken the license of showing the sunrise here at Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon in order to clothe this event with an aura of glory and promise. Thus, a second time, the seventeenth-century edition represents Caesar in a heroic manner, not as a tyrant and the fomenter of civil war.

The subtle differences in the depiction of the character of Caesar in the two editions of the *Bellum civile* are again apparent in Book 2. The selection of the same scene for illustration in both editions, that is, Caesar's release of a captive Pompeian general handed over by his own mutinous men, Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, whose treatment by Lucan was probably colored by the knowledge that he was an ancestor of Nero, affords an opportunity for direct comparison. The

12. It should be noted that, in spite of the artistic license taken by the illustrators of this edition, the translator has faithfully retained the sense of Lucan's work. This phrase *noctis tenebris*, is rendered by Brébeuf as "dans l'effroi de la nuit."

scene as written by Lucan (2. 507 ff.) imputes to Caesar the motive not of showing clemency but of humiliating Domitius by letting him go, "scit Caesar poenamque peti veniamque timeri" (2. 511). This point seems to have been in the mind of the artist who drew the 1796 illustration, for he shows Caesar astride his horse, his hand raised in a magnanimous gesture as he addresses Domitius; yet Caesar's chin is drawn down, his face partly hidden behind his arm, as though he is half ashamed of dealing thus with the Pompeian general. Domitius stands proudly, his chin up and his eyes fixed on Caesar, although the expression on his face betrays his anguish. The tone of the picture is set by a line from Brébeuf's version of the speech of Caesar to Domitius (2. 512–15), "Retourne, si tu veux, sous les lois de Pompée." This decidedly unheroic—indeed, adverse—representation of Caesar, together with this particular verse, where Caesar shows his contempt of both the Roman Republic ("les lois de Pompée") and one of its defenders (by addressing Domitius with the familiar pronoun, *tu*, instead of the polite form, *vous*), follows the apparent policy of this early French-republican edition of Lucan (mentioned above) of subtly vilifying Caesar, the destroyer of a republic.

The first thing that one notices in the seventeenth-century illustration for Book 2 is its remarkable similarity to the later one just discussed: Caesar mounted on his horse on the left side of the picture, looking toward Domitius and the men guarding him on the right side, the fortified city of Corfinium in the background. The strong suspicion—in fact, the likelihood—that the postrevolutionary artist was familiar with the earlier engraving and took inspiration from it is increased when one observes that the position and the stance of Caesar's horse are almost precisely the same in the two pictures, even to the lifting of the horse's right hind hoof from the ground. However, in addition to the fact that the earlier plate shows more of the city walls, including the gate through which Domitius was brought by his own men, and more of Caesar's troops in the background, there are several important differences. Whereas the 1796 illustration gives prominence only to Caesar and Domitius, keeping all the other men, including Domitius' guards, in the shadows, the 1670 picture gives equal importance to the two guards, placing one on either side of the Pompeian general and bringing them into the foreground together with him and Caesar. The result is a totally different effect: the earlier illustration makes Domitius a pitiable captive in the power of the mighty Caesar, who is generously ordering him to be set free; the impression of Domitius in the later illustration is of a muscular, powerful, and proud general, temporarily subdued but determined to continue to fight for the Republic once he is released and to redeem himself from this disgrace. Caesar, depicted as villainous and mean in the later engraving, is clearly the hero in the Louis XIV version: sitting confidently on his horse, with the breeze stirring his cloak slightly, he looks directly at the three figures standing before him, points toward Domitius, and appears to be ordering the guards to release him. Thus, the 1670 picture of Caesar as a noble leader generously releasing a pitiable enemy, who has been unfairly handed over by his own soldiers, is changed in the 1796 version to emphasize Caesar's mean attempt to disgrace a great defender of the Republic, who, nevertheless, displays steadfastness and courage in a difficult situation.

When Caesar finally arrives in Rome and proceeds with his army to the temple of Saturn, where the state gold is stored, he is opposed in the almost deserted city by the

tribune Metellus, who places his sacrosanct person between Caesar and the doors of the temple. This dramatic encounter between Caesar and Metellus is the subject of the engraving for Book 3 in both of our editions of the *Bellum civile*, again suggesting that the artist of the later edition may have been inspired by the earlier one and again showing a marked difference in treatment. In the earlier picture Metellus stands on the temple steps, his left hand thrown out toward Caesar with a gesture to stop and his right hand held up before the temple doors, but a very bland expression on his face. Caesar stands before him with one foot on the bottom step, his right hand grasping his sheathed sword and his left hand extended toward Metellus. Even though Metellus is two steps above him, Caesar is as tall as he. Standing erect, confident and poised, his eyes on Metellus and a trace of a smile on his face, Caesar appears dignified, manly, even majestic. In fact, there is an air of courtliness about this whole scene that is suggestive of the meeting of two noble persons at Versailles rather than a general and a tribune in ancient Rome.

The postrevolutionary artist likewise shows Metellus with his left hand thrown out toward Caesar and his right hand up toward the temple doors, but this time the hand opposing Caesar is closed in a fist, and the right hand is spread open in an appeal, while Metellus' face wears a stern scowl. Metellus clearly is the dominant figure here, and two lines from Brébeuf's version of his speech to Caesar (3. 123–33) appear below the picture: "Avant que d'enlever les trésors des Romains, / Il faut au sacrilège accoutumer tes mains." He refers obviously to the fact that Caesar would be committing sacrilege if he should injure or kill Metellus, a tribune. Caesar is visibly shaken and draws back in fear and amazement, his outstretched hand dropping and his mouth agape, even though his soldiers are standing by. Thus, again, the Louis XIV illustration presents Caesar in a heroic and regal attitude, while the republican engraving depicts him as a malefactor.

The illustration for Book 4 in the 1670 edition shows the friendly mingling of Caesar's soldiers with the Pompeians in Petreius' camp in Spain (described at lines 168 ff.). In the foreground men are sitting down together, and two—perhaps father and son—are embracing, while, on the right, one man speaks to another standing before the tent (the latter may or may not be intended to represent Petreius) and points toward the soldiers shaking hands and befriending each other throughout the camp. The total effect is one of strong emotional appeal, the sort of thing that is characteristic of much baroque art. The 1796 artist chooses almost the same scene but shows it a short time later, after Petreius has discovered what is happening and has determined to put a stop to it. Petreius is shown riding wildly through the camp, waving his sword, and upbraiding his troops for consorting with Caesar's men, the enemies of the Republic. The two lines below the picture are from the French version of Petreius' speech to his soldiers (Lucan 4. 212 ff.): "Ingrates légions, cohortes infidelles, / Est-ce ainsi qu'on travaille à dompter les rebelles?" Thus, the postrevolutionary artist has taken the same event used to illustrate Book 4 in the seventeenth-century edition, but, by picking it up at a slightly later point, he has shifted the emphasis from peace, friendship, and harmony to a condemnation of those who would destroy the Roman Republic.

In contrast with the practice of the eighteenth-century artist—whether intentionally or accidentally—of representing essentially the same events in Books 1–4 as

those shown in the 1670 edition, albeit with a pronounced difference of emphasis and sometimes at a different moment in the action, the engravings for Books 5–10 show entirely different scenes in the two editions. As with the illustrations previously discussed, the seventeenth-century engravings in the last six books reveal a tendency to select scenes which, in one way or another, are peculiarly suited to the baroque style in art and, secondarily, never tend to represent Caesar in other than a heroic manner. If we assume that the later artist was familiar with the earlier illustrations and was influenced by them in his choice of subjects for the first four books, then it must be supposed either that he decided to be more independent in his selection of events from Books 5–10 or that he found it difficult to endow the scenes shown in the earlier edition with the prorepublican bias which is apparent in all the 1796 plates.

Caesar's attempt to cross from Greece to Italy in a small boat at night (5. 500–677) presented to the seventeenth-century illustrator of Book 5 the opportunity of including at least two things frequently found in baroque art: violent action and the use of black to blot out the background and focus attention on a single idea. The boat extends across the whole picture, the bow rising high on a black wave ominously capped with white. Caesar sits calmly in the bow and points toward Amyclas, the owner, apparently encouraging him to sail on. The picture is nicely balanced by having Amyclas seated in the stern sheets, stretching one arm out toward Caesar, and the design is completed by a single mast amidships with a sail and several halyards flying furiously in the wind. The sea and the sky are black, thus focusing attention on the courageous pair in the boat, particularly on Caesar, who occupies the high position atop the wave.

Disdaining to show this heroic venture of Caesar, the 1796 illustrator chooses to show the republican hero Pompey taking leave of his wife Cornelia, whom he is sending to Lesbos for her safety. Pompey, wearing his armor, stands tall, extending his arm to Cornelia, a look of sorrow and compassion on his face and a victor's laurel wreath on his head. Cornelia, half sitting and half kneeling, touches her husband's arm and looks at him sadly. Two lines from Brébeuf's version of her speech to Pompey (5. 762–90) are given below the picture: "Ne vous promettez pas que cette affreuse absence / Puisse de mes douleurs tromper la violence." Pompey's shield and helmet rest on the floor on one side, and in the background the statue of a man, holding one arm over his head and wearing a pained expression, echoes the sorrow of Pompey and Cornelia. The general impression is one of the republican hero who is both concerned for his wife's welfare and dedicated to the performance of his duty despite the hardships.

This republican hero, Pompey, is likewise the principal figure in the next three illustrations of the 1796 edition. In Book 6 he is shown nobly preventing his soldiers from massacring Caesar's troops, who had been trapped near Dyrrhachium, even though allowing them to escape would eventually lead to his own defeat. Three lines from Brébeuf's translation (6. 299 ff.) set the mood: "Mais Pompée aussitôt calme leurs mouvemens, / Trop heureux à son gré d'assurer sa victoire, / Sans qu' un hideux carnage ensanglante sa gloire." This humane and noble reluctance of Pompey to slaughter Caesar's troops, who are, after all, his fellow citizens and kinsmen, is seen again in the engraving for Book 7 in this edition, where the hesitant Pompey is shown being urged by another great republican, Cicero, to attack Caesar at Pharsalus. Two lines from Cicero's speech (7. 68–85)

are given in French: "Tu vois dans ton armée un zèle impétueux, / Tâche d'en prévenir l' effort tumultueux." The concern of Pompey for his wife shown in the engraving for Book 5 is repeated in Book 8: here the hero, fearing for Cornelia's safety, is depicted refusing to allow her to accompany him from his ship to the Egyptian landing craft upon their arrival in Egypt, where Pompey hopes that Ptolemy will give them sanctuary.[13] The reader will know that Pompey's concern is not baseless, for he is killed by the treacherous Egyptians shortly after stepping into their boat. The caption for the illustration is from the French translation of Cornelia's plea not to be parted from her husband (8. 584 ff.): "Où fuyez vous sans moi (dit elle en soupirant) Changeons nous l' Emathie en un malheur plus grand?"

In contrast to these late eighteenth-century pictures of the greatness of the republican hero Pompey, the illustrations for the seventeenth-century edition represent scenes more suited to baroque taste, scenes of horror and violence. Witchcraft is the subject of the engraving for Book 6, and appropriately so, since this topic occupies more than half of the book (lines 413–830); the particular scene is one described near the end (lines 777–820), where a dead Pompeian soldier, temporarily restored to life by the witch Erictho, prophesies to Sextus Pompeius. The violence and horror of pitched battle are vividly represented in the illustration for Book 7, which displays the clash between the Caesareans and the Pompeians at Pharsalus in gory detail. The scene illustrated in Book 8 is the brutal murder of Pompey in the Egyptian landing craft: he sits with his head pitifully covered while the smiling murderers transfix him with swords; the persons aboard Pompey's ship in the background can be seen raising their arms in horror at the grisly sight.

Baroque horror is likewise graphically represented in the 1670 illustration for Book 9. Here the artist shows the agony of Cato's men being attacked by snakes in the desert of northern Africa. The picture is alive with hideous snakes, and the ground is strewn with the bodies of men dead or dying, while the serpents continue their assaults. The eighteenth-century artist likewise illustrates this book with a scene of horror, the presentation of Pompey's severed head to Caesar upon the latter's arrival in Egypt. However, the aim of this plate would appear to be to drive home the great tragedy of the death of the republican leader, for even Caesar shows grief at the loss. Rather than pointing to Lucan's estimation of the insincerity of Caesar's tears (9. 1062–63), the caption for this picture emphasizes the tragic loss of Pompey by giving two lines from Caesar's doleful injunction (1064 ff.) to the bearer of the head: "Infâme scélérat que tout mon cœur déteste, / Porte loin de mes yeux un présent si funeste."

Caesar, the principal personage in the apparently unfinished Book 10 of the *Bellum civile*, is fittingly the subject of the final illustration in each of our editions. However, the difference in choice of scenes once again betrays a difference of attitude toward the character of Caesar, that is, whether he is a hero or a tyrant, a great leader or the destroyer of a republic. The engraving in the Louis XIV edition depicts Caesar's heroic escape from the Pharos at Alexandria by swimming out to the safety of his ships. Egyptian soldiers are shown in dense array around the lighthouse, some of them hurling darts at Caesar, who, in the foreground of the picture, swims courageously away, holding his sword high

13. The engraving erroneously shows Cornelia as having already stepped ashore from Pompey's ship, although (in the poem) the ship does not even approach the shore but is met by an Egyptian landing craft.

above the waves. In the background the flames and smoke of the blazing city rise to the sky, while the furiously burning light on the Pharos adds its part to the baroque quality of this scene of violent action and heroism which closes the book. Lucan had left Caesar surrounded by enemies and had broken off his narrative immediately after the appearance of Scaeva, a heroic centurion of Caesar, without resolving the situation. Brébeuf, although he did not carry out his plan to continue Lucan's epic down to Caesar's death four years later in Rome, as Thomas May had done, did add thirty-eight verses at the end of his French translation of Book 10 extricating Caesar from his perilous situation and rounding off the story by describing the courage given to Caesar by a speech of Scaeva and, finally, Caesar's heroic swim to safety. It is this dramatic conclusion (written by Brébeuf but not by Lucan) which is depicted in the 1670 engraving.[14]

On the other hand, the postrevolutionary illustrator draws a scene described near the beginning of Book 10, the meeting of Caesar and Cleopatra.[15] The caption beneath the picture quotes two lines from the French version of her first speech to Caesar (10. 85–103): "Tu vois du grand Lagus la nièce et l'héritière, / Dont un frere orgueilleux a fait sa prisonnière." The verses emphasize both Cleopatra's majesty and her recognition of the great power of the general whose help and protection she seeks. Recalling the shamefulness of Cleopatra and the part that she played in the destruction of the Roman Republic (as related at lines 59 ff.), the reader is subtly led by the 1796 illustration to visualize Caesar not as a hero but as the base consort of the loathsome queen who was the Republic's enemy.

The questions posed at the beginning of this study can now be answered, and some important conclusions can be drawn. First, it has been found that the engravings in the 1670 edition of Brébeuf's version of the *Bellum civile* tend to represent heroism, violence, horror, strong emotion, dramatic action, or a combination of these. In other words, the seventeenth-century illustrations all contain various elements of what has come to be called baroque art, and the artists seem deliberately to have selected scenes which would readily lend themselves to this style. Second, it has been demonstrated not only that six of these twelve plates show Julius Caesar[16] but also that Caesar, who became both the master of the Roman world and, by the operation of his will, the adoptive father of the first Roman emperor, is always represented in a noble and heroic manner, as a man worthy of admiration and respect.

By contrast, the republican hero Pompey, who is shown only once in the Louis XIV edition, his ghastly murder in Egypt being depicted in Book 8, is represented in four of the ten plates of the early French-republican edition—in all four of which he is drawn in a sympathetic and heroic guise. However, Caesar, who appears in five of the 1796 illustrations, is drawn unsympathetically in all five: here he is the despicable villain who brought about the downfall of a great republic. Furthermore, it has been discovered that three of the engravings in the later edition actually repeat scenes illustrated in the earlier one, but that in all three instances the character

14. Brébeuf's account of Caesar's escape differs in some particulars from that given by Plutarch (*Caes.* 49.4), who does not mention Scaeva.

15. Some license has been taken with this scene, for Caesar is shown meeting Cleopatra as she disembarks from her ship, whereas Lucan puts their meeting in the palace, saying that she had entered without the knowledge of Caesar (10. 58).

16. Caesar may appear in seven of the plates instead of six, if we assume that he is one of the soldiers shown in the Battle of Pharsalus in the illustration for Book 7.

of Caesar is subtly changed from noble to ignoble. Another of the later engravings (the one for Book 4) repeats an event pictured in the earlier edition but changes the moment of action so as to emphasize the idea that the blame for the civil wars, and ultimately the destruction of the Roman Republic, should be cast upon Caesar.

Hence, one significant discovery of this study is a prorepublican theme running through all the illustrations in Billecocq's 1796 edition of the *Bellum civile*. Granted that this prorepublican bias is an appropriate interpretation of Lucan's epic, the fact remains that such an interpretation is not revealed in the illustrations of the 1670 edition. Although one need not see a positive royalist theme in the Louis XIV plates, the anti-Caesarean, prorepublican bias is clearly absent there.

One important conclusion, then, is that the early French-republican engravings for the *Bellum civile* do mirror the political situation in France at that time. Furthermore, although the seventeenth-century illustrations do not quite so vividly mirror the politics of 1670, they do at least passively reflect the political situation in France by pointedly omitting the anti-Caesarean feeling which is so easy to find both in Lucan's poem and in Brébeuf's translation. If one is to read anything political into the six pictures of Caesar in the 1670 edition, it must be that he is intended to represent the same sort of thing that the French king represents, or should represent, a noble leader whose authority is unquestioned.

In addition to the negative finding that the Louis XIV engravings omit the prorepublican slant evident in the later edition, marking at least a lack of antiroyalism if not a clear proroyal point of view, the positive discovery that these pictures display baroque elements such as violence, horror, heroism, and strong emotion—all of which are easy to find in the *Bellum civile*—is indeed significant. It brings to light one of the primary elements of the greatness of Lucan's epic, one of the leading reasons why this poem has survived and been read and quoted down through the centuries[17] and why it could be popular under the reign of the Sun King as well as the Reign of Terror, one of the necessary ingredients of greatness and endurance in any piece of literature, that is, its ability to be relevant. The *Bellum civile* was relevant to the people of the restless seventeenth century because they could see mirrored in it the turbulence, the drama, the color, the baroque elements, if you will, of their own times. Furthermore, if one turns for a moment from France to seventeenth-century England, one will find the anti-Caesarean element at work in the execution of Charles I, who, ironically, had favored Thomas May's translation and continuation of Lucan's poem.[18] The people of late eighteenth-century France also found the *Bellum civile* relevant: for them, as has been demonstrated, the prorepublican interpretation of the epic was the most significant factor.

Thus, a second important conclusion of this study is that the very ability of the *Bellum civile* to be used as a political

17. For a good résumé of the popularity of the *Bellum civile* through the centuries, together with a full bibliography, see the article on Lucan in Schanz-Hosius, II[4], 500–505.

18. Bruère, *op. cit.*, pp. 150–51, speaks of the "increasing republicanism" of Thomas May between the publication of his English *Continuation*, which was dedicated to Charles I, and his Latin *Supplementum*, which appeared a decade later (cf. n. 2 above). He cites passages to show that "repeatedly. . . Caesar appears to worse advantage" in the later *Supplementum* than in the earlier *Continuation*, reflecting the fact that "by 1640 [May] had . . . been twice disappointed by King Charles I." He also cites (pp. 152–63) various other revisions, e.g., a less sympathetic picture of Cleopatra and a stronger presentation of the political significance of Cato's suicide, as evidence of May's changing attitude toward the monarchy.

mirror in two widely divergent eras, that is, its ability to be made relevant to the people both before and after the French Revolution, is one mark of the greatness of Lucan's work. By extension, this perennial relevance of the poem can be applied to other countries and other eras, and it is this quality of relevance, I propose, which has placed the *Bellum civile* among the great works of literature that have continued to be read, quoted, translated, and admired by new generations of men down through the centuries.

UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA