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Divico in Oil and Metal: Caesar and the Helvetians in Nineteenth-Century Swiss Painting and Contemporary Folk-Death Metal

CHRISTOPHER M. MCDONOUGH
The University of the South

“Needless cruelty and bloodshed at times stained his conduct, but these cannot obscure the greatness of his personality or essentially alter the measure of his achievements” (Bennett xiii). So wrote classicist Charles E. Bennett about Julius Caesar in the introduction to his standard edition of *Gallic Wars* (1903). The Helvetii (Helvetians), an ancient people who suffered much needless cruelty and shed much needless blood at his hands, might have felt differently about the greatness of Caesar’s personality. As their viewpoint has no ancient literary account and no standard edition, however, how the Helvetians felt about Caesar can never be recovered. Instead it must be imagined and, as an effort of the imagination, is the work of painters and musicians and not of historians. This essay concerns conjectures about those unrecorded perspectives by two artists who, though separated by more than a century, are united by place: Charles Gleyre (a French artist of the nineteenth century) and Chrigel Glanzmann (the frontman and principal songwriter of the contemporary folk-metal band Eluveitie) both hail from Switzerland, the nation the Helvetii once occupied and which even today refers to itself as *Helvetia* or *Confoederatio Helvetica* on its stamps and coins. With free use of poetic license in supplying emotion to ancient events, and the employment of unusual supplementary material to add texture to their work, both Gleyre and Glanzmann try to supply the missing Helvetian half of the story told in *Gallic Wars*.[1]

Recovering the lives of any ancient people is a daunting task, even more so when those lives have been deliberately effaced by a work like *Gallic Wars*, the purpose of which is to justify and even glorify its author. History, as Bennett’s quotation above shows, has largely exonerated Caesar of his wrong-doing in Gaul, and the record beyond his own casting of events is mostly mute about the Helvetians. Generations of Latin students have read Caesar in Bennett’s edition or others like it and, perhaps beset by the grammatical complexities of the author’s style, not stopped to question the validity of the assumption about “the measure of his achievements.” *Gallic Wars* is a book about Gaul and war, of course, but even more, it is a book by Caesar and about Caesar. The non-

Romans encountered in *Gallic Wars*, not being the heroes of the narrative, are rendered in quick thumb-nail sketches and, though some notable enemy figures stand out, command no more of our sympathy than do the countless storm-troopers killed in *Star Wars*.

"Propaganda?" asked historian Hubert Martin, Jr., in his treatment of Caesar's text fifty years ago. "Certainly, and we can be sure that [the Gallic leaders] Orgetorix, Dumnorix, and Ariovistus would have told a different story" (67). What the story might have been for Divico, the Helvetian chieftain who subjugated the Romans in 107 BC but lived to see his own people cut down in retaliation fifty years later, has fired the imagination of both Gleyre (1806–1874) and Glanzmann (born 1975). To render an alternative version to Caesar's account of the events in a way that is more than simple guesswork requires that recourse be made to evidence beyond what is found in *Gallic Wars.* Gleyre and Glanzmann permit themselves, in the ancient situations described by Caesar, to react emotionally, whether it is the *Schadenfreude* of triumph or the fury felt in defeat. In addition, for both of these artists—the one a nineteenth-century painter schooled at Paris's École des Beaux-Art, the other a broadly-trained musician of both folk and metal—the desire to transcend the limits of the Roman sources leads them to incorporate non-traditional "Celtic" materials into their work: in his large-scale painting, *Les Romains Passant sous Le Joug* (1858), Gleyre reproduces weapons known from Swiss archaeology to give some sense of local flavor to his work, while Eluveitie interweave Irish, Scottish, and other folk-tunes into their often angry songs narrated from an ancient Helvetian perspective. The value of using anachronistic archaeological or musical material in this way will be discussed more fully below.

But, while we might rightly question the validity of Gleyre's and Glanzmann's inclusion of rather extraordinary evidence in building up a portrait of Divico and the Helvetians, another more fundamental set of questions arise: If we do want to know this half of the story—and those who live in the areas once conquered by the Romans have always been interested in the prehistory of the indigenous peoples—how, in the absence of evidence, is it possible to be told? If the historical record is known to be incomplete, with what can it plausibly be augmented? Consider, for instance, a comic version of this problem. In *Asterix in Switzerland*, a 1973 comic book by René Goscinny and Albert Uderzo, the ancient residents of Helvetia are represented as modern Swiss stereotypes with a marked fondness for fondue, chocolate, and cuckoo clocks. The projection onto the past is meant to be amusing and, understandably enough, there is no real attempt to visualize the lives of the ancient people.[2] But while there is certainly much to learn about modern Europe from the

Asterix series—the resistance of the indomitable Gauls seems to be more about the local experience of the Nazi invasion than that of Rome—ancient Helvetian ethnography, like so much other ethnographical works, seems inevitably bound up with the subjective position of the ethnographer. If such subjectivity is that of a painter or musician, what of it? What we will see in Gleyre's painting and hear in Eluveitie's recordings are not a portrait of the Helvetians and their leader as he was (for Caesar has made sure that such a portrait is unrecoverable), but instead a portrait as he might have been, rendered not with the assurance of historical fact but instead in the suggestive media of image and song: we have not a Divico of flesh and blood, but rather a Divico in oil and metal.

Before we proceed on to a further discussion of these very different Swiss receptions of Caesar and the Helvetians, let us recall what we find in *Gallic Wars* itself about the encounter. As anybody who has read Caesar knows, his accounts of military matters are sharp and succinct, but beneath them lurks a larger political agenda.[3] So it was that, in 58 BC, the Helvetii had sent a delegation to him, the newly arrived commander in Gaul, to explain their intention of passing through Roman territory, a passage Caesar denied them "because he remembered that the consul Lucius Cassius had been killed and his army routed and sent under the yoke by the Helvetians" (*Gallic Wars* 1.7.4).[4] To send captured enemy soldiers *sub jugum,* "under a yoke" made of spears, was considered an act of particular humiliation in antiquity, and of course, the death of a consul, the highest political office in Republican Rome, was especially an outrage.[5] But, all of this had happened when Divico had been the Helvetian chieftain, fifty years earlier, a fact that Caesar does not mention.

The Helvetians are not content with this answer, and feeling strongly the desire to migrate, unwisely decide to push on through. When it comes to Caesar's attention that they are at that very moment crossing the river Arar (the modern Saône), he takes advantage of the opportunity both to enforce his decision as well as to right a wrong from half a century earlier. Although three-quarters of the Helvetians had already crossed, Caesar fell upon the remaining fourth, a tribe called the Tigurini, and destroyed them. "It was this very tribe," writes Caesar "that, in our fathers' memory, had killed Lucius Cassius and subjugated his army. So it was either by chance or by divine design that these one, who had brought such calamity upon the Roman people, were the first to pay the penalty" (*Gallic Wars* 1.12.5). Afterwards, Caesar adds that a matter of personal honor had been at stake, because Cassius had been a member of his wife's family. The wholesale destruction of a

largely civilian population would be a shocking event to those back in Rome, of course: only a few years later, Cato would call for Caesar to be handed over to the enemy after another such atrocity, in order to avoid divine wrath.[6] But in 58 BC, Caesar was careful to depict the attack not as a massacre but rather as an act of reprisal.

What we see in the attack on the Saône is a strategy of “moral equivalence” that likens, and thus justifies, the Roman response: this tribe killed the consul, and so it was killed in turn. As so often happens with the rhetoric of reprisal, however, matters of scale have been deliberately obscured. It is a gambit depressingly familiar in modern history: “The Japanese began this war from the air in Pearl Harbor,” said Harry S. Truman in announcing the destruction of Hiroshima. “They have been repaid manifold.” The fact that 2,300 military personnel were killed on December 7th, 1941, while over 200,000 Japanese civilians died as a result of the atomic bombings in 1945 is hidden beneath the president’s faux-Biblical “manifold” (Taylor 45). In similar fashion, Caesar wonders whether the slaughter at the Saône took place “by divine design,” not specifically noting that his army slew 90,000 Helvetians, mostly unarmed civilians, in retaliation for the death of a consul and one of his officers, killed five decades earlier.[7] This utterly disproportionate response is the sort of thing that led Charles Bennett, in the quotation with which I began above, to remark upon (though not to condemn) Caesar’s “needless cruelty and bloodshed.”

The death of Cassius and the Helvetian subjugation of the Roman army is the subject of Charles Gleyre’s *Les Romains Passant sous Le Joug,* “The Romans Passing Under the Yoke,” a masterpiece of the Academic School in which Neoclassical topics were rendered in a decidedly Romantic manner. A native of Lausanne, Gleyre had been commissioned by the authorities of the Swiss canton of Vaud in 1850 to produce a new work that “should visualize an aspect of Swiss national history” although “the choice of subject was left to the painter’s discretion.”[8] Avoiding hackneyed themes such as the legend of William Tell, Gleyre chose to depict the Helvetian chieftain Divico celebrating his victory over Lucius Cassius. A large painting (measuring 94.5 × 75.6 inches), *Les Romains* features over forty individual human and animal figures, at the center of which can be seen the humiliated Roman soldiers being forced beneath an oxen-yoke alongside the heads of Cassius and one of his officers on stakes. Around them dozens of Helvetians are celebrating—a set of trumpet-blowing warriors in the upper left hand is balanced by a bacchic female group making mocking gestures with singing Druid bards in the upper right, before whom are depicted various cherubic children taunting the Romans. His face partially obscured by a

sword-bearing arm, Divico himself sits on a horse in a commanding position down front; above him rises a large oak, a tree sacred to the Druids, decorated with Roman spoils, to dominate the scene. Behind the throng of people in the far background is painted the Dents du Midi, thus situating the scene by the southeastern shore of a just visible Lake Geneva.[9]

Charles Gleyre, *Les Romains Passant sous le Joug* (1858)

While the passage of Gallic Wars in which the subjugation is described is brief, Gleyre sought to impart to *Les Romains* a sense of credibility by the meticulous use of authenticizing detail. In order to supplement the scant literary record, Gleyre made creative use of both Celtic and classical images in his replication of the scene. Most prominent is the face of one of the soldiers, modeled after the Capitoline Brutus—"the source and the allusion are unmistakable" (1.227), remarks William Hauptman, in his magisterial study of Gleyre's *oeuvre*—but also identifiable is the Chimera of Arezzo in the form of Divico's snarling dog. Other ancient busts, of the emperors Nero and Caracalla, can be picked out among the soldiers as well. In addition to allusions to classical portraiture, however, Gleyre included numerous items of Celtic archaeological material in the painting, among them "a variety of Helvetian daggers and dagger handles from excavations in Vidy and Oleyres, both near Lausanne, which he has in fact incorporated into the canvas" (Hauptman 1.229–230). Other objects, including musical horns and sword handles, also derive from verifiable Celtic prototypes.

Much of his knowledge of Vaudois archaeology derived from the work of the eminent local historian, Frédéric-Louis Troyon, with whom Gleyre apparently conferred at great length. Troyon possessed a large personal collection of locally excavated artefacts; in addition, he travelled throughout Scandinavia and Russia, making sketches and watercolors of ancient Celtic weapons and articles of dress that he collected into extensive albums for reference. A careful look at *Les Romains* reveals the artist's clear debt to the images found in Troyon's albums, and indicates visually his ambition to depict the ancient Helvetii not as Caesar's exotic tribesmen but as cultural characters in their own right. "Gleyre opted to include details that were specifically Swiss in origin which added significantly to the local historical consciousness that imbues the imagery," Hauptmann aptly observes (1.230).[10]

As a sort of cultural pastiche, the older materials from classical and Helvetian contexts are masterfully gathered by Gleyre into a whole that rises above its collection of individual artistic references to offer an image of national pride that the nineteenth-century Swiss, newly liberated from Napoleon, took instantly to heart. It was a "painting representing the united resistance of the Swiss people against foreign domination in an earlier age, crucially situated in a local (and clearly identifiable) Vaud," as classicist Richard Warren explains (11). The painting was celebrated with fireworks at his unveiling and remained popular for many decades, but today *Les Romains* is not so well-known. When I went to visit the Musée Cantonal des Beaux-Arts in Lausanne in 2015, *Les*

Romains was no longer on display and museum officials were not quite sure where it had been stored. That is not to say that the picture lacks for admirers, however. When asked about it recently by e-mail, musician Chrigel Glanzmann called *Les Romains* a "really awesome painting" and "one of my favorites."

While for Gleyre the story of the Romans' subjugation near Lake Geneva was an aspect of Swiss history to be wrested from its presentation in the *Gallic Wars,* the encounters with Caesar himself a half-century later have been of greater interest to Eluveitie, the band which Glanzmann fronts.[12] Formed in 2002, Eluveitie is a contemporary folk-metal band whose music fuses the usual growling, drum, and guitar-work of metal with traditional folk-tunes played on Celtic instruments. In 2012, the band released *Helvetios,* a concept album based on the imagined Helvetian reaction to the Roman incursion of 58 BC, which reached the top ten on the Swiss charts, top hundred in other European countries and Canada, and #143 in the United States (Wikipedia). In *Helvetios*, it seems, a current generation has discovered what older generations had found appealing about *Les Romains,* a reimagined engagement with the ancient history of middle Europe as told only by its Roman conquerors. Asked by an interviewer for *Metal Underground* about how he imagined fans would react to the album's subject matter, which is "somewhat removed from our everyday twenty-first-century lives," Glanzmann responded:

> I would say, in a way, the lyrics ARE connected to here and now. Especially with the songs we've written about the Gaulish wars, for example. Digging into history, it's kind of striking to see how many parallels to today you can find. It's sometimes quite shocking to realize how little we learned in the past 2,000 years, because it's the same crazy things going on, over and over again. So I wouldn't say the things we're singing about don't have anything to do with our everyday lives; I think they actually do. (OverkillExposure)

At first glance, we might expect to be able to single out one-for-one correspondences between ancient and modern events in Eluveitie's work, the way that Warren was able to do with *Les Romains* as an anti-Napoleonic allegory. When I pressed Glanzmann recently to be more specific about the parallels, however, he evaded a direct answer. This is not entirely surprising, for as Michelle Phillipov remarks, "Metal fans' reluctance to channel their disaffections toward

identifiable political goals" is a cause of concern among critics, yet remains a defining feature of the genre (58).

Thus, though a metal band like Eluveitie avoids the highly-politicized comments common to punk or hip hop, there remains in their historically-aware, almost erudite lyrics an expression of deeply-felt rage about events in antiquity that fans find entirely applicable to modern society. Such passionate anger can certainly be sensed in songs like "Meet the Enemy," about the slaughter of the Tigurini described above:

> There at these ominous shores of river Saône
> There at these shores the die has been cast
> Valor and honor were stripped of their meaning
> We will not know innocence again
> At somber nightfall the defenseless
> Were bestially run down
> Saône stained with Helvetic blood
> You will not shake hands with arrant beliers
> You'd rather die than turn into minions.

Beneath the fury conveyed by the rapid-fire drumming and distorted guitars, it is clear that Eluveitie have read and ruminated upon the massacre described so dispassionately by Caesar in *Gallic Wars.* Caesar may well be looking at the Helvetians with a cold, strategic eye, but the songs on *Helvetios* reflect a Caesar who is a brutal blood-thirsty monster.

Beyond calling for resistance and channeling rage, Glanzmann is also drawing connections with the rest of Caesar's career and making a variety of incisive allusions in "Meet the Enemy." A decade after the events sung of here, Caesar will famously say *Alea iacta est,* "The die is cast," upon crossing the Rubicon river to initiate the Roman civil war. Even as he began his tenure in Rome, Glanzmann indicates, the general was already predisposed toward ignoring legal boundaries. It is a valid point of international relations, as scholars have noted before. "The modern reader, sensitive to legality, notes at once that the war-making crossing of the frontier is set down without a word of apology," writes classicist John H. Collins of Caesar at the Saône. "[This] would

suffice to hang him in a modern war-crimes trial" (927). Later in the same song, another allusion to Roman culture is made:

> It was like playing *ludus latrunculorum*
> The pieces were made of flesh and of blood
> Valor and honor bereft of their meaning
> The blood on your hands will forever stay

The reference to the board-game, *ludus latrunculorum,* "the game of brigands," is a surprisingly apt description of Caesar's treatment of the Helvetians.[13] After they sue for peace, in fact, Caesar is quite clear about preventing the migration "because he did not want the place that the Helvetii had left behind to be abandoned, for fear that the Germans, living on the other side of the Rhine, would cross over from their own territories into those of the Helvetii" (*Gallic Wars* 1.28.3). That is to say, Caesar blocks the Helvetians as part of a larger strategic desire to preserve a "buffer state" between the powerful Germans and Roman Gaul. In his bitter reference to the *ludus latrunculorum,* Glanzmann is quite right, then: Caesar has in fact treated the Helvetii as pawns in a game of geopolitical chess.

After the attack at the Saône, Caesar writes, "the Helvetians sent a delegation to him, at the head of which was Divico, who had been the leader of the Helvetians in the war with Cassius" (*Gallic Wars* 1.13). While it is quite surprising that the old leader would still be living these many years later, he has evidently lost none of his hard-bitten determination, and a tense diplomatic exchange follows. Divico warns the Roman leader not to make too much out of defeating an unarmed tribe taken by surprise, and indicates that Helvetians "fight more with courage than relying upon deceit and trickery." With sangfroid, Caesar proposes that the Helvetians ought to offer hostages, given the situation; with equal sangfroid, Divico responds that his people were more accustomed to receive than to give hostages. Later in "Meet the Enemy," Glanzmann imagines still further the exchange:

> It's not us to go under the yoke
> Of that fact the Roman people are witness
> We will not bow (meet the liar)

In these lines, it is hard not to think of the ferocious leader with his people gloating over the subjugated soldiers in *Les Romains*. Whatever happened to Divico, beyond his vowing no surrender, we do not know. Caesar does not mention his end, and presumably he died in the ensuing battle of Bibracte. Glanzmann features him again in an eponymous song that, while not found on the *Helvetios* album, was released as a single concurrently in 2012 to great success. In it, Glanzmann channels the Helvetian chieftain's thoughts at the end of his days:

> [*Choir*:]
> I was king
> [*Singer*:]
> Like the ancient oak
> Like the raven soaring
> Across your meadows
> Like the bear
> Roaming through your woods
> [*Choir*:]
> I was king
> [*Singer*:]
> Like the ancient oak
> Standing enthroned
> This old man
> I have become

As with "Meet the Enemy," the lines here are sung with the ferocious guttural growl that is characteristic of the death metal subgenre.[14] The fury of the vocal style is entirely fitting the subject matter—while the anger in metal can sometimes seem unfocused, Eluveitie's rage rather offers a powerful and appropriate response to Caesar's violent military recklessness. That such fury applies not just to atrocities committed in antiquity seems clear enough, and fans no doubt supply their own analogies to current events.

It should be noted that, as musicians, Eluveitie are interested equally in the genres of death metal and Celtic folk: in addition to guitars, bass, and drums, they employ traditional instruments such as fiddles, tin whistles, *uilleann pipes*, flutes, bagpipes, hurdy-gurdies, bodhráns, and the like. Beyond their careful reading of ancient history, Eluveitie employs older Celtic melodies as a way of conjuring a more vivid sense of the imagined ancient Helvetian past. Commenting on this phenomenon, Glanzmann explained in one interview,

> Of course, old traditions and ancient cultures and especially the one of our ancestors mean a lot to us. But we're not that much into mead-blessed, corny hymns about brawny, unbelievably brave warriors jumping joyously at war and stuff like that. Also regarding musical aspects, I think we stand out from the masses to some degree. Our metal is pretty elaborate (for example the riffing) and not "old schoolish" at all (like it is often heard in Pagan Metal); the "folk aspect" in our sound receives a remarkable large room in our music—it's on equal footing with the metal instruments and it's also very important to us, that it's implemented in a really traditional and authentic way.

Much in the same way that Gleyre was eager to represent his Helvetians authentically by incorporating genuine archaeological items, the traditional melodies interwoven into the Eluveitie's songs draw upon the putative "musical remains" of ancient Celtic culture in hopes of letting the ancients "speak" for themselves.

No doubt this is a controversial, especially as many of the traditional instruments and tunes of the Celtic revival cannot be dated to a time any earlier than the eighteenth century, but Eluveitie are not alone in such fusion between musical genres. In a recent consideration of this phenomenon, Stephen P. Ashby and John Schofield commented on the incorporation of historically-attested melodies into their work of the pagan metal bands Týr and Heidevolk as a form of cultural re-enactment. As they note,

> By following Týr and Heidevolk, young people can enjoy the music, the live shows and the festivals, but they also learn. For the bands, the recorded music, and the live shows, become opportunities to inform, and to promote. […] One should perhaps

> not take this too seriously. This, after all, is entertainment, and many participants will see it only in these terms. But what is also happening here has happened over millennia. Old stories are being told and retold, invented, reshaped and recreated. (507)

Allusions to and appropriations of older poetry or music help to situate newer works like those produced by folk metal bands within a deeper cultural milieu. In this context, we should recall the prominent place given to the Druid bards and their instruments in *Les Romains sous le Joug*. The melodies may well be different, but in all likelihood the themes are the same.

While certainly even flagrantly anachronistic, these borrowings can interact with the inherited source material in a pointed and revealing fashion. This process can well be seen in Eluveitie's "Divico," which builds upon a Scottish tune called "The Haughs of Cromdale," a historical ballad about the Battle of Cromdale in 1690. This particular battle was a highly emblematic one, representing the final showdown between the Scots loyal to the Stewart king, James VII, and the English troops fighting on behalf of William of Orange. Though in fact a humiliating loss for the Scots, the ballad recounts that "the great Montrose"—James Graham, 1st Marquess of Montrose and chief of the clan Graham—appeared suddenly to lead the Scottish troops to victory over the English:

> And the loyal Stewarts, wi' Montrose,
> So boldly set upon their foes,
> Laid them low wi' Hi'land blows
> Laid them low on Cromdale.

There are two fundamental problems with the historical facts of the ballad, however. To begin with, the Scots did not lay anybody low but in fact were, as noted, badly beaten at Cromdale. Secondly, Graham did not participate in the battle, due to the fact that he had died in 1650. As the English folk singer and scholar, Ewan MacColl wrote of this ballad,

> Montrose, the hero of the song, was not present at the event. Some 45 years before, however, he won a victory at the battle of Auldearn against the Whig forces, and it

> is probable that the two events have been dovetailed to provide us with a fine, optimistic, if somewhat chronologically inaccurate song. (Silverman 56)[15]

While one can certainly understand the desire of the original balladeers to engage in some wishful thinking about the battle's outcome, the incorporation—should we call it a sample, an allusion, or a citation?—of "Haughs o' Cromdale" within Eluveitie's "Divico" suggests an intertextual reading.

If one sees the Scots as latter-day Celts and the English as latter-day Romans, then the great Montrose stands in as Divico himself, the leader who bridges half a century as a reminder of former glory. "Curious are the coincidences that throng human history!" Frederic Stanley Dunn had exclaimed in his still-useful study of the Helvetian leaders from 1909. "Forty-nine years after his first exploits on that same soil Divico now came as chief of an embassy to wait on Caesar. It is not often that Clio, in search of a hero, will turn back through the records of half a century" (194). Dunn is right—it *is* curious that the very chieftain who had defeated the Romans half a century before should now appear before Caesar, and not particularly credible upon reflection. The implied comparison of Montrose to the Helvetian leader in "Divico" prompts one to wonder whether Caesar ever really met with this individual at all. While this is not a matter that has been touched upon by classical historians, the subtle suggestion arising from the musical inference perhaps points to a genuine scholarly question. When I asked Glanzmann about the use of "Haughs of Cromdale" in "Divico" recently, however, he responded that he liked the tune, adding that the "original lyrics actually fit quite well too. ;)"

It may seem odd, perhaps, to search for a better understanding of an ancient Gallic chieftain and his people either by considering a Scottish tune embedded within a twenty-first century death metal song or by examining the use of Vaudois archaeological material in an anti-Napoleonic painting. But in its attempt to comprehend antiquity more fully, classical studies have always benefited from challenging orthodoxies and experimenting with new modes of engagement. For Charles Gleyre, *Les Romains* offered a serious opportunity both to engage with the burden of classical archetypes by redeploying them in a non-triumphant (or perhaps more accurately, a reverse-triumphant) context and to represent local archaeological finds in the then-current genre of academic painting. That his work found a ready set of spectators among nineteenth-century Swiss, who took instant pride in a past so credibly and powerfully illustrated, speaks to the success

of his strategy of representation. A century and a half later, Chrigel Glanzmann and Eluveitie have sought to tap into the emotion of the same ancient past in a manner that resembles that of Gleyre. Applying their "inimitable brand of mournful, grinding Celtic fury," as *Metal Underground* has called it, Eluveitie reads between the lines of Caesar's account and fills it out with traditional music to give voice to a dispossessed ancient people; their record sales indicate as appreciative an audience as Gleyre found over a century ago, in Switzerland and beyond. If one goal of classical studies is to understand how ancient people lived, another is to uncover what has been obscured, like the Helvetians' story, or what has been excused, such as Caesar's own "needless cruelty." Those things that investigations of a strictly scholarly nature may overlook, in other words, investigations of a more imaginative sort often can fruitfully bring to light. The ancient Helvetians may not be lost to history entirely if we look beyond the library and search as well in the museum and the mosh-pit.

Notes

1. The author gratefully acknowledges the help of Osman Umurhan, Matthew Taylor, Brian Swain, and the journal's anonymous referees for all their insights and suggestions, and admits all errors to be his own.

2. See Beard on taking Asterix seriously as a matter of reception. See also the inspired chapter of Almagor on Asterix and classical ethnography.

3. On Caesar's political agenda in *Gallic Wars,* see especially Collins and Riggsby 207–214.

4. All translations from ancient authors are my own.

5. On the ritual of subjugation (i.e., sending "under the yoke"), see Versnel 138–140, with discussion of older anthropological views.

6. Plutarch, *Life of Cato the Younger* 51.3–4, where Cato proclaims that "it was not the sons of Germans or Celts whom they ought to fear, but Caesar himself if they really thought about it."

7. At *Gallic Wars* 1.29.3, Caesar reports that, after the battle at Bibracte, census records were found in the Helvetian camp indicating that the entire population had numbered 368,000.

8. Hauptman 2.380. Cf. Warren 248–249.

9. Hauptman 1.218: "Although it was never certain that the battle was actually fought on Vaudois soil, in Gleyre's time it was accepted as indisputable fact; only later was it determined through archaeological evidence that the battle was actually fought near Agen in France." Cf. Warren 254 on this matter.

10. See also Warren 261 n.5 with further bibliography.

11. For fuller discussion of Eluveitie, see Matthew Taylor, "Eternal Defiance: Celtic Identity and the Classical Past in Heavy Metal," in *Heavy Metal Classics,* eds. Osman Umurhan and Kristopher Fletcher (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), forthcoming.

12. As cited in Suetonius' *Twelve Caesars: Julius Caesar* 33; see also Plutarch's *Life of Pompey* 60.2.9.

13. See Richmond for more on *ludus latrunculorum*.

14. While the death growl vocal style has been mocked as "Cookie Monster" singing, nonetheless "unlike the garbled sound emanating from the lovable and occasionally frenetic Cookie Monster, death-metal vocals seem to come from a dark spot in a troubled soul, as if they were the narrator's voice on a tour of Dante's seventh circle of hell. Cute and funny they ain't" (Fusilli).

15. Silverman includes the lyrics and MacColl's remarks, which are to be found originally in "the liner notes of *Songs of Two Rebellions,* a 1960 Folkways recording."

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