

**O. Devillier and B. Battistin Sebastiani (eds.), *Sources et modèles des historiens anciens*. Ausonius: Bordeaux, 2021. Pp. 460. ISBN 9782356133700.**

In 2018 Devillier and Battistin Sebastiani published *Sources et modèles des historiens anciens*. The work was the result of a broad international collaboration which brought together 28 chapters by specialists in their field. Its chief aim was to provide a contribution to the studies on the writing of history in Greco-Roman antiquity from Herodotus to the Byzantine Empire. Through surveys devoted to the main historians and historical texts of this period, these different texts give rise to re-readings that take into account the historiographical projects of each. Only three years later in 2021, a second volume (*Sources et modèles des historiens anciens 2*) followed, containing thirty-five chapters, which continues where the first volume left off. Both volumes, which are multilingual (English, French, German, Italian, Spanish) are excellent additions to the field of writing history in antiquity, because of the great variety of subjects discussed (from Herodotus to the Byzantine empire and Greek as well as Roman topics).

Volume 2 starts with Martinho Soares' chapter "Savoir nomologique et récit historique ou explication et compréhension dans l'Histoire de la Guerre du Péloponnèse de Thucydide" ("Nomological knowledge and historical narrative or explanation and understanding in the Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War*"). In the chapter Soares discusses nomological knowledge in Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* while taking into account the ideas of the 20<sup>th</sup> century French philosopher Paul Ricœur on hermeneutics – a unique approach.

This is followed by Sierra Martín's chapter "Tucidides y el malestar en la cultura. Una aproximación a la relación entre individuo y sociedad en las Atenas clásica" ("Thucydides and the malaise in the culture. An approach to the relationship between individual and society in classical Athens"). The author discusses Thucydides' vision of human nature and observes that the Athenian historian, sinking his roots in Greek morality, sees the polis as an organization capable of containing human drives and redirecting individual effort towards a common goal (in Freudian terms). He 'maintains in lethargy the authentic human nature that emerges after the dissolution of the polis'. In that sense, Sierra Martín sees the thought of Thucydides as a preview of what will be the thought in Plato's *Republic* or Aristotle's *Politics* on the relationship between *physis*, *nómos*, and *politeia*. The individual is violent by nature; it is the cultural values of the polis that hold him back; moreover, Thucydides defends culture over individuals, moderation over change.

The third chapter is Andrea Gianotti's "Per un'analisi intertestuale delle fonti della battaglia di Delio: Tucidide (4.89–99) e le Supplici di Euripide (650–730)" ("For an intertextual analysis of the sources of the battle of Delos: Thucydides (4.89–99) and the *Torments* of Euripides (650–730).") Gianotti shows that sources on the battle of Delos have been long recognised as present in Euripides' *Supplices*. In fact, as the scholar states, comparing the narrations of Thucydides and Diodorus, we can find some similarities with the tragedy. Some passages show a close similarity in term of both

words and tactical dynamics, already noticed by Goossens. Other similarities concern the characterisation of the impiety of the acts: the enemies of Athens at Delium were ruthless, and their Thucydidean (and Diodorean) description seems to be the model which Euripides uses to describe the non-action as impiety, justifying the Athenian intervention at Delium. Theseus and Pagonda, in comparison, show in conclusion a similar characterisation in Thucydides and Euripides. The similarities concern the drama and tragicity of the contexts (the Athenian defeat at Delium, the injustice suffered by the beggars), the opportunity to find a ‘mythical precedent’ for Delium, exploited by Euripides, and the criticism to the Athenian gestion of the war and to the identity of the war itself as a concept, perceived as unjust and tragic.

We then move on to chapter 4: Cinzia Bearzot’s “Pseudos e aletheia in Senofonte” (“*Pseudos* and *aletheia* in Xenophon”). Bearzot shows us that we can find historical methodology in Xenophon’s work, although there is no methodological introduction. This leads to the statement that a historian should verify, where possible, the truth of an argument to report it. On a methodological plan too, in fact, it seems that *pseudos* is the exact opposite of *aletheia*: the lack of a logical argumentation and verifiability of deeds. In conclusion, *aletheia* is one of the historian’s aims in order to narrate events and argumentations, while *pseudos* is linked to the ‘rumour’ and the unverifiability of facts. Xenophon’s historical methodology, although not explicated in an introduction, is therefore very similar to Thucydides.

Livia De Martinis provided us with the chapter “La prospettiva religiosa nell’ opera storica di Senefonte e la sua matrice socratica” (“The religious perspective in the historical work of Xenophon and its Socratic basis”). As De Martinis states, religion in Xenophon is a much-discussed topic. It has been stated that Xenophon was incapable of relating to religion. There are, however, many passages in his work in which causality, or divine intervention, emerges as an important feature, both as direct divine intervention (with gods and daemons) and as fate (as *moira* or *tyche*). In fact, De Martinis argues, history and facts are often a combination of divine and human actions, with a responsibility that can be shared (and gives to the humankind an active role in historical events). She shows that Xenophon referred to religion many times in his works but maintained the concept of a man-based history in which one can see divine intervention under many forms.

Another chapter on Xenophon is provided by Paolo A. Tuci: “A Fox Abroad: Xenophon’s Portrait of Dercylidas of Sparta.” It is a survey on how Xenophon characterized the Spartan commander Dercylidas – mostly known from his Asian expeditions. The chapter, however, focuses on different periods of Dercylidas’ life. Tuci shows us that Xenophon’s portrait of the commander is unique since Xenophon knew him. Therefore, the portrait cannot have been unbiased.

J. H. Richardson added the chapter “Past and Present in Roman Historical Thought and Historiography.” The first Roman historians wrote in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE. What sources did they use and how did they know what to write about? In the chapter

Richardson discusses some of the causes and consequences of Roman anachronistic thinking. A similar discussion can be found in Daniel Barbo's "Temporal Perspective of Polybius' Historiographical Method." In the chapter Barbo shows us that the experience in time in Polybius' *Histories* was dislocated.

Next in line is John Thornton's work "Elementi erodotei in Polibio. Considerazioni preliminari" ("Herodotean elements in Polybius. Preliminary considerations") – another chapter on Polybius. This chapter discusses the *vulgata* looking at Polybius as a direct historiographic descendant of Thucydides. Scholarship, however, has pointed out many times that even Polybius, in his work, included more 'Herodotean' elements, such as accurate geographical descriptions. However, Thornton shows that we should not argue that Polybius used only Thucydides or Herodotus as his sources.

Álvaro M. Moreno Leoni's excellent article "El saber local en las Historias de Polibio: Entre fuentes de conocimiento y cosmopolitismo" ("Local Knowledge in Polybius' *Histories*: Between sources of knowledge and cosmopolitanism") explores the importance attributed to Polybius in recent years as a supposed precursor of global sociology. The overlap between Polybius' universal historical discourse and multiple local pieces of knowledge consulted by him are examined. An important argument here is – as Moreno Leoni argues – that Polybius fashioned himself as a cosmopolitan historian, stressing his own authorial competence to build a wider and deeper understanding of historical deeds.

Yet another chapter on Polybius is Eugene Teytelbaum's "Between Historiographical Tradition and Reality: Siege Accounts in Polybius' Histories." In the chapter Teytelbaum researches the interrelation between traditional literary clichés and pragmatic approach in Polybius' siege narratives. Teytelbaum shows that in Polybian siege descriptions, literary canons were just a frame for expressing the author's views on siegecraft, which were based on his personal experience.

After four chapters on Polybius the work moves on to Livy. Virginia Fabrizi provided the chapter "I limiti dell'epica: il topos del duello singolare negli *Ab Vrbe condita* di Livio" ("The limits of epic: the topic of the singular duel in Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita*"). Fabrizi examines how the narrative of duels in Livy engages with the Greek and Roman epic tradition. In particular, she analyses three famous duels from Books 7 and 8 (Manlius Torquatus the elder against a Gaul; Valerius Corvus against a Gaul; Manlius Torquatus the younger against a Latin warrior). The chapter shows that a tension exists in these episodes between the Greek epic tradition of duels and a (allegedly) more 'Roman' notion of the individual fighting not for his own glory but for the state.

Jorge Tomàs Garda contributed a chapter on genealogy and tyranny of Cleisthenes of Sicyon from a fragment of Nicholas of Damascus ("Genealogía y tiranía de Clístenes de Sicón a partir de un fragmento de Nicolás de Damasco (FGH, 61 Jacoby)"). Garda studies this fragment and observes that it provides information on three aspects of the

tyranny of Cleisthenes of Sicyon: the succession of three brothers in power in the city, the duration of each of the three tyrants' mandates, and their personal conduct.

Nelson Hom provided the chapter "La construction de l'image d'Alexandre le Grand par Trogue Pompée/Justin: perspectives morales et politiques" on the construction of the image of Alexander the Great by Pompeius Trogus and Justin. Hom argues that everything in the composition of books 11 and 12 of the *Philippic Histories* aims at blackening the figure of Alexander the Great.

This is followed by P. A. F. Almeida' "Deviating from the Sources: The Dual Character of Gaul's Society in Caesar (Gal., 6.11-19)." The chapter studies some literary aspects of these passages in order to have a better understanding of what motivated Caesar to differ from his contemporary sources on the Gauls. Almeida shows that in the case of Latin representation of foreign nations and regions, these narratives are more useful to comprehend how the Romans may have seen different peoples – including the Gauls – rather than to obtain a reliable knowledge of non-Romans.

The work then turns to Juan Carlos Iglesias-Zoido's chapter "Las arengas de Eleazar y et asedio de Masada en Flavio Josefo: una critica a los excesos de la retórica?" ("The harangues of Eleazar and the siege of Masada in Flavius Josephus: a critique of the excesses of rhetoric?"). In the chapter the author discusses a passage from Flavius Josephus's *Jewish War* on the Roman siege of Masada. As Iglesias-Zoido argues, the Masada episode has allowed Josephus to play with two historiographical elements of high allusive value that have not been taken into account until now by critics who have analysed this passage: the idea of 'the besieged besiegers' and the argumentative topic of military harangue. Both are taken to the extreme to show the readers the terrible consequences that the use of rhetorical persuasion could have in a context such as this in which the desperation of the defenders dominates.

Jakkojuhani Peltonen then examines the moralising digression on Babylonian prostitution to be encountered in Curtius' Latin history of Alexander the Great ("Reading Gender in Curtius' Portrait of Babylonian Prostitution (5.1.36-39)"). Peltonen shows how Curtius in this work follows the Herodotean model of writing history and promotes the Roman gender system and contemporary views of prostitution. This is followed by another chapter on Alexander the Great: Emanuele Berti's chapter "Alessandro e l'Oceano. Modelli declamatôri nelle *Historiae Alexandri Magni* di Curzio Rufo e nell'*Anabasi* di Arriano" ("Alexander and the Ocean. Declamations as Models in Curtius Rufus' *Historiae Alexandri Magni* and Arrian's *Anabasis*"). Berti argues that the fictitious theme of Seneca the Elder's *suasoria* 1 (*Deliberat Alexander an Oceanum naviget*) is primarily inspired by the historical episode of the so-called 'Hyphasis mutiny', when Alexander, on the point of entering India and possibly reaching the oriental Ocean, was forced to come back because of mutiny in his army. We read that the historical treatment of this episode by historians like Curtius Rufus and Arrian is strongly influenced by declamatory models, as shown by the many parallels with the first Senecan *suasoria*.

The volume moves on to the Flavian dynasty. Natan Henrique Taveira Baptista and Leni Ribeiro Leite analyse the representation of Domitian, contrasting the traditional image surviving in the contemporaneity with the one presented by other authors of the period, to observe the rhetorical instruments used to build the imperial *persona* in their chapter “Revisiting Domitian: Epideictic Portraits of a Controversial Emperor.”

Victoria E. Pagàn contributed a chapter on “Tacitus and the Massacre at Tarracina (Hist., 3.76–77),” on Tacitus’ sources for this account. Pagàn shows that Tacitus engaged in a process of imaginative elaboration to compose *Histories* 3. We then turn to Sergio Audano’s work “Negotio pro solaciis. Tiberio e la consolatio stoica per la morte di Druso (Ann., 4.8.2-13)’ on the Stoic consolation of Tiberius by the death of Drusus. In the chapter Audano analyses Tiberius’ ethical model after the death of his son Drusus, which is characterised by the fusion in his person of traditional phenomenology of the Stoic ‘ἀπάθεια’ with the distinctive elements of tradition Roman anchored to the heritage of the ‘*mos maiorum*’. As Audano argues, while Tiberius was aware of his role as sovereign, he was eager to assimilate as much as possible to the models of Caesar and above all of Augustus regarding the private sphere of mourning.

François Porte then analyses Pompey’s strategy against Caesar in 48 BCE and the strategic paradigm of *conctatio* in the works of Plutarch and Appian (“Cn. Pompeius Magnus Cunctator? La stratégie de Pompée face à César en 48 et le paradigme stratégique de la cunctatio chez Plutarque et chez Appien”). Porte argues that, although Pompey may have been a better strategist than Caesar, Caesar showed himself a better leader of men.

Fara Nasti analysed the *Enchiridion*: the work of Sextus Pomponius on the history of Roman law (“Sesto Pomponio storico”). Although the *Enchiridion* has been the subject of in-depth juridical studies, no attention has been given so far to Pomponius as a historian – something Nasti does in the chapter. The author argues that when looking from a historical perspective, the *Enchiridion* gives us an original reconstruction and interpretation of the story of Rome and its law.

The work then continues with Jeremy J. Swist’s study “From Romulus Conditor to Hadrianus Augustus: Livy’s Seven Kings of Rome in Florus.” In the chapter Swist argues that Florus’ reception of Livy participates in a literary and historiographical discourse whereby narratives and *exempla* of Rome’s ‘founding fathers’ are marshalled in response to the perennial imperial aspiration to be styled as a new founder of Rome.

Nuno Simões Rodrigues analyses Cassius Dio’s work on the constitutional *agon* in book 52 of Dio’s *Roman History* and contextualises it within Herodotus’ passage on the three Persians dialogue (Herodotus, *Histories*, 3.80-82) as well as the constitutional debates in Greek Philosophy and Culture (“El agôn constitucional en Dion Casio: Récorrido de un Tópico historiográfico en la biografía de Augusto”). This is followed by Karine Laporte’s chapter on the use and re-use of famous types and figures in Herodian “(R)emploi de types et figures célèbres chez Hérodien.”

The next chapter in the work is by the hand of Beatrice Girotti: “Su usi classici e su innovazioni nella rappresentazione storica dell’avaritia, dell’ambitio e della cupiditas: analisi di fonti e modelli per la storiografia latina del iv secolo d. C.” In the chapter Girotti analyses the historical transliteration (in late antiquity) of the meaning of *ambitio* and of *cupiditas regni* or *imperii*, which – Girotti argues – become in some cases synonyms of *largitas* and *munificence*. In the same way, she says, for *avaritia*, we can note a result of a precise evolution and a particular representational construction, shared by subgroups that join or divide according to political, economic, or social circumstances.

Moisés Antigueira added a chapter on “Julian in the *Historiae abbreviatae* of Aurelius Victor.” Antigueira argues that, although Aurelius Victor depicts Constantius II in a negative manner, he cannot be straightforwardly considered as a support of Constantius’ opponent Julian.

Murray Dahm continues with his chapter on “The Military Handbook of Festus: A New Look at the *Breuiarium*.” Dahm argues that the Festus’ *Breuiarium* has unfortunately attracted very little attention so far. In the chapter Dahm shows that the *Breuiarium* may be read as didactic military pamphlet for the Roman emperor on how to conduct a campaign against the Persians – a pamphlet that is full of *exempla* and actions and conduct to emulate and avoid. Jakub Pigon then continues with his chapter on “Futurum praeteritum: Narrative Prolepsis in Ammianus (and Tacitus).” In this chapter Pigon shows that the place of chapter 21 of Ammianus’ *Res Gestae* is highly significant. He argues that there are some similarities in Ammianus’ and Tacitus’ treatment of proleptical statements and that it cannot be ruled out that Tacitus exerted some influence on Ammianus in this respect.

Fabrizio Petorella studies the thin lines between facts and fiction in Late Antique hagiography (“Quomodo historia rescribenda sit. Historical Reality and Political Power in Late Antique Hagiography”). Petorella shows that a comparative analysis of hagiographies can reveal more about Late Antique conceptions of political history. Following this chapter, we have Ivan Matijasic’s study “*Conditio optima est ultimi: The Concept of Historical Cycle and Evagrius List of Ancient Historians.*” The aim of this chapter is to explore the pervasiveness of the concept of historical cycle in Late Antiquity focusing on a passage in the fifth book of Evagrius Scholasticus containing a list of secular and Christian authors. Matijasic argues that in the domain of historiography Evagrius Scholasticus both praises his predecessors in the history of the church and places himself as their heir to the secular tradition of Greek historiography.

Guillaume Flamerie’s contribution to the volume is a chapter on the reception of Florus in France in the 18<sup>th</sup> century (*Florus, modèle et contre-modèle en France, du Mémoire sur les abrégés chronologiques’ du président Hénault à la thèse de G. Bizos (1761-1876)*”). It follows up on a chapter on the reception of Florus in France in the

17<sup>th</sup> century that was published in volume 1 of *Sources et modèles des historiens anciens*.

The penultimate chapter is Breno Battistin Sebastiani's "Gandhi on Solon and Croesus. Inquiry into a Transcultural Reception of Herodotus." Battistin Sebastiani discusses a unique speech by Gandhi in which we find Herodotus' story of Solon and Croesus. The volume concludes with Paulo Donoso Johnson's chapter "Thucydides Australis: Experiencias de la traducción y recepción de Tucéides en Chile (1949–2017)." In the chapter Johnson discusses Chilean translations of Thucydides. He argues that, interestingly, these translations were not simply written for Classical scholarship but were used in political and social changes in Chile.

The 35 chapters in the book *Sources et modèles des historiens anciens 2* are a unique collection of multilingual scholarship in the writing of history in antiquity from Herodotus to the Byzantine Empire and discussing Greek as well as Latin sources – providing us with new insights into the study of the theme. This makes the volume an excellent addition to the existing scholarship on how history was written and, in *Sources et modèles des historiens anciens*, rewritten.

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