TEXTUAL NOTES ON JUSTIN (TROGUS)

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THE following attempts to improve the text of Justin's third(?)-century epitome of Pompeius Trogus are subject to a general caveat: often the possibility cannot be excluded that the guilty scribe was none other than the epitomator himself. For an editor that raises a question of principle, which I take leave pragmatically to ignore. F. Ruehl's Teubner edition of 1915 has been followed by two from Otto Seel of 1935 and 1972. I cite the text from the latest of these, also Seel's translation (*Bibliothek der Alten Welt*, 1972).

Praef. 4. omissis his, quae nec cognoscendi voluptate iucunda nec exemplo erant necessaria, breve veluti florum corpusculum *feci*

veluti om. ι D. Read *veluti florum ⟨excerptorum⟩ corpusculum.*

Praef. 5 quod ad te non tam cognoscendi magis quam emendandi causa transmisi, simul ut et otii mei, cuius et Cato reddendam operam *putat, apud te ratio constaret.*

Ruehl, a less uncritical editor than Seel, did well to obelize *operam*. Cato's saying is thus cited by Cicero, *Planc.* 66: *etenim M. Catonis illud, quod in principio scripsit Originum suarum, semper magnificum et praeclarum putavi, clarorum virorum atque magnorum non minus oti quam negoti rationem exstare oportere.* Omission of *operam* produces an exceptionally, but not perhaps incredibly, bold brachylogy of the ἀπὸ κοινοῦ kind illustrated in Kühner–Stegmann 2.560 ff. The best example I can quote from Justin is 31.3.10 *Italiam notiorem sibi nunc* (sc. *esse*) *quam pridem fuisse.* A puzzled copyist or reader may be supposed to have filled what he thought to be a gap with the first feminine noun that came to mind.

There can be little doubt that this text has suffered more than most from interpolation. Ruehl registered some twenty-five (exclusive of words of one or two syllables) by square brackets; almost all of them have been reinstated by his chalcenteric successor.

2.1.20 *Aegyptum autem, quae tot regum, tot saeculorum cura inpensaque munita sit et adversum vim incurrentium aquarum tantis structa molibus, tot fossis concisa, ut, cum his arceantur, illis recipiantur aquae, nihilo minus coli nisi* excluso Nilo *non potuerit, nec possit videri hominum vetustate ultima, quae* sqq.

Read with Ruehl *non potuerit nec possit, videri . . . ultimam* (D). The Scythians claimed that, if the earth originally lay under water, *their* land emerged before Egypt, which would indeed have been the last to emerge.

For despite all the dykes and trenches made by man to control the Nile, the land was still incapable of cultivation until the usual annual inundation abated. J. Šorn (*Jahresb. des K. K. Staatsgymnasiums in Marburg* [1910], 4) proposed *effuso* (anticipated by Ortwin), which gives a sense opposite to that required. Read *refuso*. Only when the flood receded and the river flowed within its banks could farmers get to work.

2.2.6 *nullum scelus apud eos furto gravius: quippe sine tecti munimento pecora et armenta habentibus quid inter silvas superesset, si furari liceret?*

"Ineptum et a re alienum *inter silvas*, quasi in patentibus campis tutiores res futurae essent; nec silvarum in tota hac Scytharum descriptione ulla mentio aut est aut esse debuit, quoniam nullae ibi essent. videtur scribendum: *quid inter* se salvi *superesset*" (Madvig, *Advers.* 2.260). I had thought of *inter solitudines* (becoming *solines*), but the objections turn out to be inconclusive. Herodotus (4.61) reports Scythia as "dreadfully lacking in wood," but Trogus' near-contemporary Valerius Maximus thought otherwise: *plaustris vagos et silvarum latebris corpora sua tegentes* (5.4. Ext. 6). And forests do provide cover for thieves.

2.8.1 *interea Megarenses memores* inlati Atheniensibus *belli et deserti, ne frustra arma movisse viderentur, matronas Atheniensium in Eleusinis sacris noctu oppressuri naves conscendunt.*

Ruehl obelized *deserti*. The previous chapter tells how the Athenians finally took Salamis from the Megarians. Evidently Justin's epitome has suppressed a passage relating the resumption of the struggle by Megara, only to give it up again. *deserti* (*veriti* Graevius) is certainly sound; cf. 2.12.19 *deserto bello*, 5.2.10 *ne* (*bellum*) *inopia deseratur*, al. But *ex integro* seems to have fallen out, or been omitted by Justin, after *inlati*; cf. 2.15.17 *ex integro bellum instituit.*

2.10.2 *ex his Ariamenes maximus natu aetatis privilegio regnum sibi vindicabat, quod ius et ordo nascendi et natura ipsa* gentibus *dedit.*

"Quomodo enim ordo iste gentibus hoc dare potuit?" (Scheffer). Delete *gentibus*. There is still some inconcinnity about the sequence in which *ordo nascendi* (the fact) separates *ius* and *natura* (both operative in virtue of the fact), but it can pass.

2.11.11–13 *dimissis igitur sociis hortatur Spartanos, meminerint qualitercumque proeliatis cadendum esse; caverent, ne fortius mansisse quam dimicasse videantur; nec exspectandum, ut ab hoste circumvenirentur, sed dum nox occasionem daret, securis et laetis superveniendum; nusquam* victores *honestius quam in castris hostium perituros.*

The least that can be done with the offensive *victores* is to put it after *quam*. But it is probably an intrusion inspired by s. 16 *per omnia castra*

victores vagantur; cf. also s. 18 *ad postremum non victi, sed vincendo fatigati inter ingentes stratorum hostium catervas occiderunt.*

2.13.2 *hortatur ut in regnum abeat, ne quid seditionis moveat fama adversi belli* et *in maius, sicuti mos est, omnia extollens.*

Delete *et*.

3.5.5–10 *porro Athenienses, cum responsum cognovissent, in contemptum Spartanorum Tyrtaeum, poetam claudo pede, misere, qui tribus proeliis fusus eo usque desperationis Spartanos adduxit, ut servos suos ad supplementum exercitus manumitterent . . . sed reges Lacedaemoniorum, ne contra fortunam pugnando maiora detrimenta civitati infunderent, reducere exercitum voluerunt, nisi intervenisset Tyrtaeus, qui conposita carmina exercitui pro contione recitavit* sqq.

Asked to supply a general (s. 4) to Sparta, the Athenians send Tyrtaeus in mockery. But plainly Trogus did not follow that version of the story which makes Tyrtaeus actually command the Spartan army. The statement *qui . . . adduxit* cannot apply to him. It must apply to the Messenian leader Aristomenes (read *fusos* with ιD and Ruehl). Something is missing after *misere*, but the omission may be due to our epitomator bungling his work.

5.2.6 *erat enim et aetatis flore et formae* veneratione *nec minus eloquentia etiam inter Athenienses insignis*

Read *venustate* and translate with Seel: "durch blühende Jugendfrische und hinreissende schöne Gestalt."

5.3.5–6 *itaque permittente populo imperium ad senatum transfertur. qui cum* insita genti *superbia crudeliter in plebem consuleret, . . . ab exercitu Alcibiades exul revocatur*

Faber rightly objected to *genti*, which obviously cannot refer to *senatum* ("mit der diesen Leuten eigenen Brutalität gegen den einfachen Mann"). Graevius' contention that *genti = Atheniensibus* is no less unacceptable *per se* and unhelpful to the context. Rather than substitute *nobilitati* (Faber), supply *nobilium* before *genti*, comparing Juv. 10.331 *optimus hic et formosissimus idem/gentis patriciae.*

5.4.5–6 *interea et Syracusanorum auxilia inlatum a Karthaginiensibus Siciliae bellum domum revocavit. quibus* rebus *destitutis Lacedaemoniis Alcibiades cum classe victrici Asiam vastat*

Syracusans are not "things." Delete *rebus* (a misguided gloss), leaving *quibus* (sc. *auxiliis*) *destitutis.*

6.1.4–5 *hanc rem Pharnabazus apud communem regem criminatur: ut Lacedaemonios Asiam ingressos non reppulerit* (sc. *Tissaphernes*) *armis, sed inpensis regiis aluerit merce-*

turque ab his, ut differant bella quam *gerant, tamquam non ad unius summam imperii detrimentum omne perveniat.*

quam gerant τ, *quae g-* πιD. Seel's reading (rendered "dass sie den Krieg lieber hinauszögerten als gleichführten") is drivel. The words *tamquam . . . perveniat* show the gravamen of Pharnabazus' complaint to have been that by the agreement with the Spartan general the war had been diverted from Tissaphernes to himself. So Xenophon, *Hell.* 3.1.9 κοινολογησάμενος τῷ Τισσαφέρνει ἀπήγαγεν εἰς τὴν Φαρναβάζου χώραν τὸ στράτευμα (the actual armistice came later; cf. ibid. 3.2.20). Read therefore *ut differant bella ⟨alibi⟩que gerant.*

6.2.14 *agit tamen cum eo per internuntios et queritur opulentissimi regis bella inopia dilabi, et qui exercitum parem hostibus habeat, pecunia vinci,* qua praestet, *inferioremque eum ea parte virium inveniri, qua longe superior sit.*

This verbiage ("Pompeiana abundantia") needs pruning. Dismiss *qua praestet.*

8.4.3 *ex ceteris quoque Graeciae civitatibus non pacis amore, sed belli* metu *legationes venere; siquidem crudescente ira Thessali Boeotiique orant, ut professum adversum Phocenses ducem Graeciae exhibeat; tanto odio Phocensium ardentes, ut obliti cladium suarum perire ipsi quam non perdere eos praeoptarent*

timore belli D. Lovers of peace are usually afraid of war and vice versa. Why the contrast? Furthermore, *siquidem* sqq., instead of illustrating *belli metu*, as a clause beginning *siquidem* has to do, contradicts. The missions from Thessaly and Boeotia, so far from fearing war, did their best to stir it up. Read *belli cupidine? metu* and *timore* were stopgaps or perhaps psychological errors prompted by familiarity (cf. 9.2.2, 9.3.8). Or perhaps, as Professor Tarrant suggests, we could get by with *non pacis amore, sed belli.*

11.4.3 *nunc senum feminarumque sicuti infirmum, ita innoxium restare vulgus, quod ipsum stupris contumeliisque ita vexatum esse, ut nihil amarius* umquam sint *passi.*

Conquered by Alexander the Thebans *gravissima quaeque supplicia miserrimae captivitatis experti sunt* (11.3.7). The men were massacred, the women and children raped and otherwise abused so badly that they had never known a more painful experience! It seems almost a pity to spoil this resounding anticlimax by adding *ulli* after *umquam.*

11.14.12 *data potestate redeundi agros accipere maluerunt, ne non tam* gaudium parentibus *quam detestandum sui conspectum reportarent.*

Perhaps *gaudium parentibus ⟨ferentem⟩.* But I prefer *gaudendum,* on the Latinity of which see Kühner-Stegmann 1.261 and cf. 13.1.7 *non ut civem ac tantae maiestatis regem, verum ut hostem amissum gaudebant.*

12.13.9 *elatusque convivio semianimis tanto dolore cruciatus est, ut ferrum in remedia posceret* tactumque *hominum velut* vulnera *indolesceret*.

The accusatives seem to be unparalleled and the plural *vulnera* is uncalled-for. Read *tactuque . . . vulnere* ("bei menschlicher Berührung empfand er Schmerz wie an einer Wunde")?

14.1.12 *ceterum salutem suam in omnium potestate esse,* nec *Antigonum nec quemquam ducum sic velle vincere, ut ipse in se exemplum pessimum statuat.*

Part of a short reported speech by Eumenes of Cardia to his army. Copies of a letter offering a reward to anyone who brought his head to Antigonus had been found distributed in the camp. Eumenes craftily claimed authorship, explaining that he had wanted to test his men's loyalty.

As the sentence stands, the first *nec* has to be connective. But the two statements, that every soldier held the general's life in his hands and that none of the opposing leaders would instigate assassination, are not consecutive but antithetic. Any soldier could kill the general, *but* he need expect no reward. *sed* has fallen out after *esse*.

16.3.9 *cum rerum potirentur Athenienses victisque Persis Graeciae et Asiae tributum in tutelam classis* descripsissent *sqq.*

"Sub *discr-* eos locos solos reperies, quibus *distribuendi et dividendi* notio praevalere videtur; omnes loci qui *definiendi et constituendi* notionem exhibent, sub *discr-* congessi" (Vetter, *ThLL* 5.1.1354.45). On this principle *discripsissent* should be read here, but the paradosis can be retained in 9.5.4 *auxilia deinde singularum civitatum describuntur.* The copyists, who constantly confuse the two prefixes, have no legitimate say in our choices.

18.2.4 *sed Mago Punico ingenio post paucos dies tacitus, quasi pacificator* Karthaginiensium, *Pyrrum adiit speculaturus consilia eius de Sicilia*

Karthaginiensium seems unnecessary, since Mago *was* a Carthaginian, and even misleading. According to Justin's account he had brought a Carthaginian fleet to the aid of Rome against Pyrrhus, which assistance the Senate had declined with thanks (cf. Val. Max. 3.7.7). When he then approached Pyrrhus "as peacemaker," he would surely pretend to be trying to bring about a *general* peace including Rome and Syracuse. Note that *Karthaginienses* in various cases occurs five times elsewhere in this chapter, including the sentences immediately before and after this one. The interpolation here might be a mere mechanical reminiscence of *Mago, dux Karthaginiensium* in s. 1.

At the same time some second thoughts arise about the phrase *paci-*

ficatorem Allobrogum in Cic. *Att.* 1.13.2 of January 61, alluding to C. Calpurnius Piso, cos. 67. This has generally been understood to mean "the pacifier of the Allobroges," with reference, probably ironical, to Piso's government or misgovernment of Transalpine Gaul in 66–65. But in Ciceronian Latin *pacificator* and *pacificare* are used of peace-making, not pacifying; though Catullus (68.76) has *hostia caelestis pacificasset eros* (= *pacem deorum impetrasset*). So the genitive is likely to be subjective and have to do with a recent or contemporary activity of Piso on behalf of the tribe, which was in revolt at this time (see Broughton, *MRR* 2.176). Had they appealed to him as *patronus* to make their peace with the Senate?

18.3.9 *cum velut occisos* (sc. *eos*) *alienasset*

alienare = ὑπεκτίεθσθαι is hard to swallow, though supported by 13. 6.10 *alienatis regibus in Cappadociam*, where Ruehl reads *adlatis* (better Madvig *ablegatis*). Here *abdidisset* would be palaeographically preferable to *celasset* (*Baehrens*).

18.7.14 *quoniam igitur tu in patre nihil nisi exulis nomen agnoscis, ego quoque imperatorem me magis quam patrem iudicabo statuamque in te exemplum, ne quis posthac infelicibus miseriis patris inludat.*

A father may be unfortunate, not his miseries. Read *infelicis*; cf. s. 11 *sordes patris et exilii infelicis aerumnae*.

22.7.5 *itaque cum ad belli societatem cum ingenti exercitu ipse venisset, Agathocles blando adloquio et humili adulatione, cum saepius simul cenassent adoptatusque filius eius ab Ophella esset, incautum interficit*

blando . . . adulatione must be taken with *incautum* as ablative of cause, but the long intervening clause makes this very awkward. I think it likely that *acceptum* fell out between *adulatione* and *cum*.

23.2.6 *igitur Agathocles . . . desperatis rebus uxorem suam Theoxenam genitosque ex ea duos parvulos cum omni pecunia . . . navibus inpositos Aegyptum . . . remittit, timens*, ne praedonem *regni sui hostem paterentur.*

As the sentence stands, *praedonem regni sui* is a pointless alias for Agathocles' grandson, who had seized power as the king lay dying. Read *ne ⟨nepotem⟩, praedonem regni sui, hostem.*

23.2.11 *inter haec regia omins* adsistentium fletibus tam crudelis discidii *inpleta resonabat*

fletibus discidii, "the tears of parting," is an acceptable phrase; cf. Cic. *Q. Fr.* 1.3.4 *congressus nostri lamentationem pertimui.* But there is no satisfactory way of combining it with *adsistentium*, which should perhaps be omitted. Alternatively, *miseratione* could be added after *discidii*.

29.2.8–9 *itaque ne eodem tempore multis bellis detineretur, pacem cum Aetolis facit, non quasi alio bellum translaturus, sed ut Graeciae quieti consulturus, quam numquam in maiore periculo fuisse adfirmabat,* siquidem *consurgentibus ab Occidente novis Poenorum ac Romanorum imperiis, quibus una haec a Graecia atque Asia sit mora, dum inter se bello discrimen imperii faciunt; ceterum statim victoribus transitum in Orientem fore.*

siquidem lacks a verb. Read *adfirmabat is quidem, consurgentibus* sqq. Sense would be equally well served by simply omitting the word (so Professor Tarrant).

31.8.9 *captas civitates inter socios divisere,* muneri Romano *aptiorem Asiam quam* possessioni voluptariae *iudicantes; quippe victoriae gloriam Romano nomini vindicandam, opum luxuriam sociis relinquendam.*

So Seel, after Galdi's conjecture, for the paradosis *muneris Romani aptiorem Asiam quam possessiones voluptarias;* he adds: "plurimae coniecturae virorum doct., v. Rue., quarum nulla habet veri speciem." The genitive *muneris* is strongly supported by 42.5.8 *iuris Romanorum futuram Parthiam adfirmans, si eius regnum muneris eorum fuisset.* Could we translate "judging that Asia as a Roman gift served them better than pleasure-properties"? Cf. Cic. *Att.* 12.25.1 *voluptarias enim possessiones nolet Silius.*

32.2.1 *interea in Syria rex Antiochus, cum gravi tributo pacis* a Romanis victus oneratus *esset, sqq.*

tributo pacis ("durch die beim Friedensschluss festgesetzten Tributzahlungen") is a verbal monstrosity. Read *pacis ⟨legibus⟩*; cf. *ThLL* 7.2.1243.70.

32.3.13–14 *Histrorum gentem fama est originem a Colchis ducere, missis ab Aeëta rege ad Argonautas, raptores filiae, persequendos; qui ut a Ponto intraverunt Histrum, alveo Savi fluminis penitus invecti vestigia Argonautarum insequentes naves suas umeris per iuga montium usque ad litus Adriatici maris transtulerunt,* cognito quod Argonautae idem propter magnitudinem navis *priores fecissent.*

The words in Roman seem to have been interpolated. They imply that the Argo was an exceptionally large ship, which would indeed explain why her crew transported her by land after the river had become too narrow for passage, but would not explain why the Colchians with their presumably smaller ships followed this example. They only make it more difficult for the reader to understand that when the Colchians could go no further by river they did what their quarry had done before them.

33.1.1 *minore quidem rerum motu Romani Macedonicum quam Punicum bellum gesserunt, sed tanto clarius, quanto nobilitate Macedones Poenos antecesserunt; quippe cum gloria Orientis domiti, tum et auxilio* omnium regum *iuvabantur.*

The statement that the Macedonians in their third war against Rome were helped by "all kings" is blatantly untrue. Neither Eumenes of Pergamum nor Antiochus of Syria nor any other monarch except Gentius of Illyria (whom Justin does not mention, though Trogus doubtless did), were Perseus' allies. Whereas in the very next sentence Masinissa and Eumenes (wrongly described as king of Bithynia, if the text is sound) are ordered by the Romans to give them all the help in their power. *omnium regum* is best regarded as a conjectural stop-gap which has replaced something missing in the text, namely *Gallorum* (cf. 32.3.5 and Liv. 44.26). *auxilio gallorum/auxiliorum/auxilio.*

37.1.4 *namque Laodice ex numero sex filiorum, quos virilis sexus ex Ariarathe rege susceperat, timens, ne non diutina administratione regni* adultis quibusdam *potiretur, quinque parricidali veneno necavit.*

"Da einige davon schon ziemlich erwachsen waren." The children are described as *parvuli* in the previous sentence, and there is nothing in the Latin corresponding to "schon ziemlich." *adultis quibusdam* appears to be another intrusion. We can hardly understand "after certain of them had come of age;" in the normal course of things the regency would end as soon as the eldest was old enough to rule.

37.3.3 *auctus igitur viribus* Pontum *quoque ac deinceps* Cappadociam *occupavit.*

The author is narrating the early achievements of Mithridates the Great's reign. The first was the conquest of the Scythians (s. 2). According to this text, Pontus and Cappadocia (*Cappadociam* is obelized in Ruehl) were the next acquisitions. Pontus, however, was Mithridates' hereditary kingdom and Cappadocia was acquired at a much later stage (38.1.2). *Cappadociam* here has replaced *Colchida* (von Gutschmid) and *Pontum* has replaced *Bosporum* (cf. 38.7.10 *quod solus regum non paterna solum, verum etiam externa regna hereditatibus propter munificentiam adquisita possideat, Colchos, Paphlagoniam, Bosphorum*). For the other source-material see Geyer, *RE* 15 (1932) 2164–2166. But *Pontum* is not Justin's error or that of his copyists. It reflects a mistake or corruption in the prologue to Trogus' Book 37, which runs as follows: *Septimo et tricensimo volumine continentur haec. repetitis regum Ponticorum originibus, ut ad ultimum Mithridaten Eupatora series imperii deducta sit, atque ut ingressus ille regnum subegit Pontum et Paphlagoniam, priusquam in bella Romana descendit. dictaeque in excessu regum Bosporanorum et Colchorum origines et res gestae.* Mithridates' virtual annexation of Paphlagonia is recounted at the end of Justin's Book 37, in which the section on the origins of the Bosporans and Colchians is omitted.

37.3.7 *siquidem Laodice* soror, *cum perisse eum crederet, in concubitus amicorum proiecta . . . venenum advenienti paravit.*

Delete *soror*. In the previous sentence this woman is referred to as *eius* (i.e., *Mithridatis*) *soror uxorque Laodice*. The repetition of the designation is uncalled-for and the repetition of only part of it objectionable.

38.3.11 *quam orationem dignam duxi, cuius exemplum brevitati huius operis insererem; quam obliquam Pompeius Trogus exposuit, quoniam in Livio et in Sallustio reprehendit, quod contiones directas* pro sua *oratione operi suo inserendo historiae modum excesserint.*

pro sua oratione ππ: *ac ratione* ι: *propria oratione* C. Ruehl obelizes *pro sua oratione*, Seel renders "nach Massgabe ihres eigenen Stiles"! The best available conjecture is Castiglioni's: *directa operi suo oratione*. I would simply excise the offending *pro sua* and read *directa oratione*.

38.5.5 *cum inter hanc decretorum amaritudinem parendo* non tamen *eos* mitigaret, quin *acerbius in dies gerant, non obtinuisse.*

Again Ruehl obelizes. Madvig's exclusion of *non* does not suffice. Rather, *non tamen* is someone's misguided effort to make the sentence intelligible after *mitigare vellet* had become *mitigaret*.

38.6.1–2 *quippe non delicta regum illos, sed vires ac maiestatem insequi, neque in uno se, sed in aliis quoque omnibus hac saepe arte grassatos. sic et avum suum Pharnacen per cognitionum arbitria succidaneum regi Pergameno Eumeni datum; sic rursus Eumenen, sqq.*

The translation "dem König von Pergamon, Eumenes, als nachfolger aufgenötigt worden" is traditional. It is also impossible. Mithridates is plainly alluding to Roman diplomatic interference in the war between Pharnaces I of Pontus and Eumenes in 183–180, which ended badly for the former; cf. E. Diehl, *RE* 19 (1938) 1849 f. That the Romans forced Eumenes to nominate Pharnaces as his successor is the merest moonshine. If they had, it would have been a favour to Pharnaces, making nonsense of Mithridates' denunciation of Roman cruelty to kings. *succidaneus* or *succed-* means a substitute sacrificial victim, hence any substitute. The sense here must be that the Romans discharged an obligation to Eumenes at Pharnaces' expense, handing over his territory as a substitute for something that belonged to themselves.

38.6.6. *tamen cum huius nepote bellum modo in Africa gestum adeo inexpiabile, ut ne victum quidem* patris *memoriae donarent, quin carcerem et triumphi spectaculum experiretur.*

Jugurtha was Masinissa's (*huius*) grandson, so *patris* is obelized by Ruehl. It is, I suggest, a blundering gloss on *eius*, which it replaced in the text.

39.2.10 natus *deinde illi est aemulus regni, frater ipsius Cyzicenus, eadem matre genitus, sed ex Antiocho patruo susceptus*

Read *ortus* ("entstand")?

43.4.11 *exinde Massilienses festis diebus portas clausere, vigilias agere, stationes in muris observare, peregrinos recognoscere,* curas *habere, ac veluti bellum habeant, sic urbem pacis temporibus custodire.*

"Und geben bei alledem die grösste Mühe." Whence comes "bei alledem"? Read ⟨*omnia*⟩ *curae habere* (*cognoscere curae habere* C).

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