

Dagmar Hofmann: Griechische Weltgeschichte auf Latein. Iustins “*Epitoma historiarum Pompei Trogi*” und die Geschichtskonzeption des Pompeius Trogus. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag 2018 (Hermes-Einzelschriften 114). 456 p. € 69.00. ISBN: 978-3-515-12143-9.

The work represents the revised version of the *Habilitationsschrift* by Dagmar Hofmann defended at the University of Cologne in the spring of 2016. Previously, Hofmann has worked on different subjects, notably suicide in late antiquity, research culminating in a monograph that appeared in 2007 by the same publisher.¹ This volume therefore represents Hofmann’s *début* on Pompeius Trogus and Justin.

The book contains 456 pages, which should not scare the reader, since just under half of it consists of the essay itself. The book is organized into six sections (13–226) and complemented by an extensive apparatus of tables taking up more than 150 pages (227–380).² This is followed by the bibliography (380–403), indices (405–445), and a series of maps in colour (449–456).

Section no. 1 (“Einleitung”, 13–22) introduces the topic with a brief account of the history of the scholarship. Of the subsequent sections, three are about Justin, while one deals with Pompeius Trogus. In Section no. 2 (“Der Epitomator und seine Vorlage”, 23–62), Hofmann tries to reconstruct Justin’s epitomatory technique and to enhance its role in the composition of the *Epitoma*. Section no. 3 (“Die Einordnung Iustins in den sprachlichen und literarischen Kontext”, 63–98) is mostly devoted to linguistic aspects. The starting point is the fundamental work of John Yardley, who compared the language of the *Epitoma* with the Latin literature gathered in the database of the Packard Humanities Institute (PHI), a tool that collects ancient texts up

1 D. Hofmann: Suizid in der Spätantike. Seine Bewertung in der lateinischen Literatur. Stuttgart 2007 (Altertumswissenschaftliches Kolloquium 18).

2 7.1 “Die Handschriften der *Epitome* und *Prologi*” (227–234); 7.2 “*Prologi* und *Epitome* im Vergleich” (235–251); 7.3 “Sprachliche Parallelen der *Epitome*” (252–285); 7.4 “Personen in der *Epitome*” (286–319); 7.5 “Exempla in der *Epitome*” (320–329); 7.6 “Frauen in der *Epitome*” (330–340); 7.7 “Ethnographische Beschreibungen in der *Epitome*” (341–365); 7.8 “Die Römer in den *Prologi* und in der *Epitome*” (366–368); 7.9 “Die Reden in der *Epitome* und ihr Kontext” (369–372); 7.10 “Die geographische und chronologische Struktur nach den *Prologi*” (373–380).

to the second century AD.³ More than fifteen years later, thanks to advances in the field of digital humanities, Hofmann has broadened the time span of this research using the Library of Latin Texts (LLT), a database covering part of late antiquity.⁴ Section no. 4 (“Geschichtsdarstellung bei Justin”, 99–163) is about Justin’s representation of history: here Hofmann, on the basis of two previous German studies,⁵ focuses particularly on the frequency of female figures in Justin; another point is the process of rewriting history according to *exempla*. Section no. 5 finally turns to Trogus (“Die Geschichtskonzeption des Trogus”, 165–222): here Hofmann also adds her voice to those who reject the idea that Trogus was hostile towards Rome. She underlines how the original work focused particularly on Eastern–Greek history, and engages with previous criticism⁶ of the idea of ‘römische Weltgeschichte’ – an expression made famous by the title of the well-known monograph by Otto Seel⁷ – by arguing that Trogus’ history should not be seen as a universal Roman history but rather as a Greek world history written in Latin. This kind of text resembles the type of Greek universal history established by Herodotus and mostly focuses on all that is related to Greece following a geographical and chronological path. Section no. 6 (“Weltgeschichte und Geschichtsabriss: Fazit”, 223–226), the last and the shortest part, collects and reiterates some of the considerations already set out in the volume.

- 3 J. C. Yardley: Justin and Pompeius Trogus: A Study of the Language of Justin’s Epitome of Trogus. Toronto 2003 (Phoenix Supplementary Volumes 41). The PHI cd-rom for many years was a proprietary (and quite expensive) database, and running it required the installation of specific software such as Musaios or Diogenes. It is now freely available online: <http://latin.packhum.org/index>.
- 4 <http://www.brepols.net/Pages/BrowseBySeries.aspx?TreeSeries=LLT-O>.
- 5 S. Comploi: Frauendarstellungen bei Fremdvölkern in den *Historiae Philippicae* des Pompeius Trogus/Justin. In: C. Ulf/R. Rollinger (edd.): *Geschlechter, Frauen, fremde Ethnien in antiker Ethnographie, Theorie und Realität*. Innsbruck 2002, 331–359; P. Emberger: Schwache Männer – starke Frauen? Große Frauengestalten des Altertums im Geschichtswerk des Pompeius Trogus/Justinus. In: *GB* 26, 2008, 31–49.
- 6 Notably P. Jal: À propos des Histoires Philippiques: quelques remarques. In: *REL* 65, 1987, 194–209.
- 7 O. Seel: *Eine römische Weltgeschichte. Studien zum Text der Epitome des Justinus und zur Historik des Pompejus Trogus*. Nürnberg 1972.

In the German-speaking world, Hofmann's work would perhaps be heir to the extensive and famous studies of Otto Seel, despite overturning his perspective (as we have just seen). The problem is that the results achieved by Hofmann sometimes risk being significantly weakened by bibliographic deficiencies, combined with a certain lack of familiarity with current critical debate. The book opens with a paragraph (11) in which Hofmann declares that she finished the manuscript in December 2017 and has not been able to take subsequent scholarship into consideration. However, her bibliography and discussion lack much more than reference to the contributions that have appeared in the months between the completion of the manuscript and the actual publication of the volume (autumn 2018). Studies on Trogus and Justin have flourished over the last decade, an element Hofmann seems to miss. This creates a gap that can hardly be dismissed as the absence of 'few' titles,⁸ given that the number of neglected works is close to ten, including an important multilingual miscellaneous volume.⁹ But another gap stands out further: the complete absence of the new critical edition of Justin from the series *Les Belles Lettres*, edited by Bernard Mineo and with historical notes by Giuseppe Zecchini, the first volume of which (of three) was published in

8 As claimed by J. Scherr, the author of the review published in the Bryn Mawr Classical Review (<http://www.bmcreview.org/2019/10/20191045.html>).

9 Cf. L. Ballesteros Pastor: The Speeches in Justin's *Corpusculum florum*. The Selection and Manipulation of Trogus' *Historiae Philippicae*. In: J.-C. Iglesias-Zoido/V. Pineda (edd.): *Anthologies of Historiographical Speeches from Antiquity to Early Modern Times. Rearranging the Tesserae*. Leiden/Boston 2017 (International Studies in the History of Rhetoric 7), 79–94; B. Bartlett: Justin's *Epitome*: The Unlikely Adaptation of Trogus' World History. In: *Histos* 8, 2014, 246–283, URL: <https://research.ncl.ac.uk/histos/documents/2014A09BartlettJustinsEpitome.pdf>; A. Borgna: Abbiamo davvero bisogno di leggi? Il punto di vista di Pompeo Trogo. In: *RPL* 2, 2012, 1–14; Ead.: Il *de animalibus* e la leggenda delle origini in Pompeo Trogo (Iust. 43.2). In: *Athenaeum* 102.2, 2014, 475–489; Ead.: Uno sguardo originale intorno a Roma: Pompeo Trogo e Giustino. In: *La biblioteca di ClassicoContemporaneo* 1, 2014, 52–77, URL: <https://www.classicocontemporaneo.eu/PDF/116.pdf>; Ead.: Scrivere del nemico. Pompeo Trogo e la storia dei Parti (Iust., XLI–XLII). In: *DHA* 41.2, 2015, 87–116; Ead.: Quando la storia è noiosa. Giustino e lo strano caso delle morti in stock. In: A. Busetto/S. C. Loukas (edd.): *Ricerche a confronto. Dialoghi di Antichità Classiche e del Vicino Oriente* (Bologna – Roma Tre – Torino, 2012). Vicenza 2015 (Il tempo nel tempo 10), 280–295; A. Borgna/S. Costa: *Omnia vincit virtus*. Avanzare per merito da Pompeo Trogo a Tacito. In: *SIFC* 14.1, 2016, 121–140; A. Busetto: La testimonianza agostiniana sull'*Epitoma* di Giustino. In: *La biblioteca di ClassicoContemporaneo* 1, 2014, 78–85, URL: <https://www.classicocontemporaneo.eu/PDF/117.pdf>. The miscellaneous volume is A. Galimberti/G. Zecchini (edd.): *Studi sull'Epitome di Giustino III. Il tardo ellenismo. I Parti e i Romani*. Milano 2016 (Contributi di storia antica 14).

2016.¹⁰ Even in terms of the scholarship published prior to the last decade there are some noticeable absences.¹¹ On a more general level, Hofmann moves with greater confidence in the field of German bibliography, while she seems to deal poorly with scholarship written in other languages.¹² There

- 10 Abrégé des Histoires Philippiques de Trogue Pompée. Tome I: Livres I–X. Texte établi et traduit par B. Mineo, notes de G. Zecchini. Paris 2016. The second volume (books XI–XXIII) appeared in 2018, while the third is expected in 2020.
- 11 For example, S. Mazzarino: *Il pensiero storico classico* II.1. Bari 1966 (especially 484–492); A. Momigliano: *Livio, Plutarco e Giustino su virtù e fortuna dei Romani. Contributo alla ricostruzione della fonte di Trogo Pompeo*. In: *Athenaeum* 12, 1934, 45–56 (= *Id.*: *Terzo contributo alla storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico*. Roma 1966, 499–511). Even the first edition by Otto Seel for Teubner (1935) certainly deserved to be mentioned. Hofmann is unfortunately silent about it: as a result, upon consulting her bibliography (pp. 382: “Texteditionen und Übersetzungen”) one is led to think that between the edition by Marco Galdi (1923 – Hofmann dates this edition to 1921, the year to which the preface is dated. The book, however, came out only in 1923, as evidenced by the fact that the bibliography also includes works published in 1922 and 1923) and that of Seel in 1972, there is hiatus of more than fifty years. Hofmann indicates that Seel’s 1972 work is a second edition but fails to give any information about the first edition (nor its date!), even though the differences between the two are not few, as Seel himself points out in the introduction to his second edition (xv): “haud raro nunc contextum ipse albescente capillo retractans horum aliorumque monitis morem gessi plus quam quinquagies alias varias lectiones, apparatu critico accomodato, recipiens atque olim calidus iuventa”.
- 12 Chapter 5.2.3 (“Die chronologische und geographische Struktur bei Trogus”, 200–211) would have benefited from the knowledge of L. Santi Amantini: *Il tempo e i tempi nelle Storie Filippiche di Pompeo Trogo*. In: *RSA* 33, 2003, 99–110. Similarly, the section where Hofmann deals with Timagenes and his controversial relationship with Trogus (195–198) lacks the in-depth works by F. Muccioli (most of all F. Muccioli: *Timagene, un erudito tra Alessandria e Roma. Nuove riflessioni*. In: V. Costa [ed.]: *Tradizione e trasmissione degli storici greci frammentari II: Atti del III workshop internazionale*, Roma, 24–26 febbraio 2011. Roma 2013 [Themata 12], 365–388) and A. Mecca: *Trogo, Timagene e Polieno*. In: *QS* 54, 2001, 199–222. About *Iust. 41,4,3* (discussed synchronism commented by Hofmann on p. 204 n. 189), I had already proposed a solution in A. Borgna: *Scrivere del nemico* (op. cit. n. 9), 98–101. According to Hofmann (217 n. 273), scholarly work on the *Vocontii* stopped in 1984; however, fortunately it has gone ahead, cf. for example A. L. F. Rivet: *Gallia Narbonensis with a Chapter on Alpes Maritimae. Southern France in Roman Times*. London 1988; J. Planchon/M. Tarpin: *La formation de la civitas des Voconces*. In: M.-J. Lambert-Roulière/A. Daubigney/P.-Y. Milcent/M. Talon/J. Vital (edd.): *De l’âge du Bronze à l’âge du Fer en France et en Europe occidentale (Xe–VIIIe siècle av. J.-C.) et la moyenne vallée du Rhône aux âges du Fer. Actualité de la recherche. Actes du XXXe colloque international de l’A.F.E.A.F., Saint-Romain-en-Gal, 26–28 mai 2006*. Dijon 2009 (*Revue archéologique de l’Est. Supplément* 27), 67–82; B. Rémy/H. Desaye: *Les Voconces et l’Empire. Attestations épigraphiques et littéraires*

are also cases in which papers and books mentioned in the bibliography are not taken into real consideration where it would have been appropriate to do so.¹³

The effect of this significant flaw is easy to see. Often basing her arguments on an incomplete picture,¹⁴ Hofmann frequently runs the risk of presenting

de l'activité des Voconces en dehors de leur cité (République et Haut-Empire). Bordeaux 2016 (Scripta antiqua 83). From the section on Armenia (145–161) at least two fundamental works are missing: G. Dédéyan (dir.): Histoire du peuple arménien. Toulouse 2007 (1ère éd. 1982) (especially the chapter written by M.-L. Chaumont and G. Traina: Les Arméniens entre l'Iran et le monde gréco-romain. Ve siècle av. J.-C. – vers 300 ap. J.-C., 101–162) and G. Traina: L'impero di Tigran d'Armenia nella versione di Trogo-Giustino. In: A. Galimberti/G. Zecchini (edd.): Studi sull'Epitome di Giustino III (op. cit. n. 9), 99–116. About the of myth in the *Epitoma* (chapter 4.2.2, 143–150) I wrote quite extensively in A. Borgna: *Il de animalibus* (op. cit. n.9).

- 13 For example, in the section on *Prologi* (2.3, pp. 42–63) there is no reference to either M. Galdi: *L'epitome nella letteratura latina*. Napoli 1922 (especially 105–107), nor to L. Santi Amantini (ed.): *Giustino. Storie Filippiche*. Milano 1981 (I classici di storia 15), 15–18. Both texts should have received more attention, as they already reached results not dissimilar to what Hofmann is proposing.
- 14 The section on direct speech (5.1.2 “Die Reden”) is missing a fundamental book such as R. Utard: *Le discours indirect chez les historiens latins: écriture ou oralité? Histoire d'un style*. Leuven/Paris 2004 (Bibliothèque d'études classiques 43) (partial recovery and completion of C. Hyart: *Les origines du style indirect latin et son emploi jusqu'à l'époque de César*. Bruxelles 1954 [Mémoire de la Classe des Lettres de l'Académie Royale de Belgique. Collection in 8°. Sér. 2, t. 48,2]). When discussing *exempla* in Justin and the role of rhetoric, Hofmann does not seem to know any of the milestones in scholarship, such as the works of Laurent Pernot (see at least L. Pernot/J. Jouanna/M. Zink [edd.]: *Charmer, convaincre: La rhétorique dans l'histoire*. Paris 2014 (Cahiers de la villa Kérylos 25). Useful would also have been (among many others) W. M. Bloomer: *A preface to the History of Declamation: Whose speech? Whose history?* In: T. Habinek/A. Schiesaro (edd.): *The Roman Cultural Revolution*. Cambridge 1997, 199–215; F. Gasti: *La forma breve della prosa nella storiografia latina d'età imperiale e tarda*. In: *Koinonia* 39, 2015, 345–365; C. A. Gibson: *Learning Greek History in the Ancient Classroom: The Evidence of the Treatises on Progymnasmata*. In: *CPh* 99, 2004, 103–129; R. Nicolai: *La storiografia nell'educazione antica*. Pisa 1992 (Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici 10) (of which Hofmann merely quotes the reviews by W. Ameling published in *Gnomon* 90, 1998, 318–322 and by M. Vielberg published in *GGA* 246, 1994, 173–183); M. van der Poel: *The Use of exempla in Roman Declamation*. In: *Rhetorica* 27.3, 2009, 332–353; D. K. van Mal-Maeder: *La fiction des déclamations*. Leiden/Boston 2007 (Mnemosyne Supplementum 290).

results that have already been obtained by other scholars as her own original achievements. A few examples will suffice to illustrate the point. The revaluation of Justin's authorial role offered by Hofmann as an innovative element (16), as well as the analysis of his epitomatory technique, have already been proposed by me, not only in a monograph published in spring 2018,¹⁵ but also in a series of previous papers published well before 2018. Other scholars, too, have addressed the topic, but Hofmann ignores all of this.¹⁶ Another argument that Hofmann regards as an innovation – the dating of Justin to the fourth century on the basis of the alleged similarity of the *Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum* to other epitomes and breviaries circulating at that time (63–98), a theory that has its roots in the work of Ronald Syme – is an idea that has already been rediscovered and re-proposed (with not dissimilar arguments) by Giuseppe Zecchini in a paper in 2016. Zecchini's argument has also been extensively quoted by Bernard Mineo in the introduction to the new *Belles Lettres* edition. Hofmann (as we have already said) shows no awareness of either text, even though they were published well before December 2017.¹⁷

Interesting and quite original, on the other hand, is the proposal to reject the title '*Historiae Philippicae*', known to us only from a part of the manuscript tradition and usually accepted as an allusion to the *Philippika* of the Greek historian Theopompus. Hofmann notes that none of the ancient sources mentioning Trogus uses the adjective '*Philippicus*' (174–181); therefore, *Historia* or *Historia Graeca* seems to be the only plausible title (180–181). The hypothesis is quite attractive, considering that the text also circulated in the sixteenth century with the title *De Bellis Externis* or *Historiae Externae*.¹⁸

15 A. Borgna: *Ripensare la Storia Universale. Giustino e l'epitome delle Storie Filippiche di Pompeo Trogo*. Hildesheim/Zürich/New York 2018 (Spudasmata 176).

16 Justin's habit of shifting the focus from political history to a familial level was already underlined in A. Borgna: *Uno sguardo originale intorno a Roma* (op. cit. n. 9), 61–69 (where I also already comment on the episode of the *peroratio* by Tryphaena proposed by Hofmann at pp. 129–132) and in A. Borgna: *Quando la storia è noiosa* (op. cit. n. 9). See also B. Bartlett: *Justin's Epitome* (op. cit. n. 9).

17 Cf. G. Zecchini: *Per la datazione di Giustino*. In: A. Galimberti/G. Zecchini (edd.): *Studi sull'Epitome di Giustino III* (op. cit. n. 9), 221–232.

18 Cf. *Giustino: Storie Filippiche. Florilegio da Pompeo Trogo. Premessa di G. Traina. Saggio introduttivo, nuova traduzione e note a cura di A. Borgna*. Sant'Arcangelo di Romagna 2019, XXIX–XXX.

However, the true strength of the volume certainly lies in the extensive apparatus of tables (although even in this case there are some redundancies with previous studies).¹⁹ Table 7.3 (252–285), in which Hofmann completes Yardley’s work, constitutes an undoubted advancement in our knowledge of the language of the *Epitoma*.²⁰ All the tables that list the appearances of the various characters within the text (7.4, pp. 286–319) are also interesting, as is the comparison between the *exempla* in Justin and Ampelius (7.5.2, pp. 322–329). It should also be noted that some of these tables are freely downloadable (in colour and in high definition) from the publisher’s website, a truly commendable initiative that will greatly contribute to the progress of scholarship.²¹ In addition, the maps that close the volume will generate significant interest, since they show how the alleged disproportion between the West and the East usually found in Trogus must be resized, at least in part: the toponyms and ethnonyms present in both the *Epitoma* and in the *Prologues* show that the West (albeit a Mediterranean West) is much more represented than previously thought.

To sum up, the book is quite accurate²² and especially noteworthy for the apparatus of tables. On a more general level, however, it does not succeed

19 For example, the comparison between *Epitoma* and *Prologi* has been widely made, see L. Ferrero: *Struttura e metodo dell’Epitome di Giustino*. Torino 1957 (Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia 9,2), 17–153; G. Forni: *Valore storico e fonti di Pompeo Trogo. Per le guerre greco-persiane*. Urbino 1958 (Pubblicazioni dell’Università di Urbino. Serie di lettere e filosofia 7), 45–48; J.M. Alonso-Núñez: *La historia universal de Pompeyo Trogo. Coordenades espaciales y temporales*. Madrid 1992, 27–46; M.-P. Arnaud-Lindet: *Marcus Junianus Justinus. Abrégé des Histoires Philippiques de Trogue Pompée* (digital edition 2003, <http://www.forumromanum.org/literature/justin/index.html>), Annexe 1a and 1b; B. Mineo: *Abrégé des Histoires Philippiques* (op. cit. n. 10), XLVII–XLIX. Even the table on the speeches in the *Epitoma* was already proposed by M.-P. Arnaud-Lindet (Annexe 3).

20 It is a pity that Hofmann limits her research to the texts offered by LLT (65 n. 12). She does not seem aware of the existence of other databases that are especially dedicated to late antiquity (such as DigilibLT, Digital library of late-antique Latin texts, <http://digiliblt.uniupo.it>) or that include a vast part of it, such as *Musisque deoque* (<http://www.mqdq.it>) which hosts the poetic production in Latin from its origins to the Italian Renaissance.

21 http://steiner-verlag-extras.de/t_KY8164.

22 The typos mostly confirm the general lack of familiarity with foreign languages (e.g. p. 384 *subre las fuentes*; p. 385 *Bannchich*; p. 386 *la storia <di> Cartagine*; p. 388 *nell tradizionii*; *Studi sull’XI libro die Geographika di Strabone*; p. 390: *orignes*; p. 394: *intono a Giustino*; p. 395 *Chigaco; delgli*; p. 396 *prospettivi di ricerca*). A few formatting errors (p. 383; 400; Spanish written without accents at p. 385). Luigi Santi

in establishing itself as an original and innovative work. The cause of this weakness is Hofmann's substantial extraneousness to a debate that, in recent years, has produced a flowering of studies, a sort of explosion of which Hofmann seems to be unaware, since she often deals with a dated and national bibliography. As a consequence, some of her achievements are not her own significant innovations, but rather results already acquired by others in previous works, that, unfortunately, she did not read; that they are not written in German could hardly be an excuse. This lack of engagement with current critical debate is astounding in the era of the internet and digital humanities, where a growing attention to open access and dissemination makes scholarship more accessible than in the past.

Amantini: *Fonti e valore storico di Pompeo Trogo (Iustin. XXXV–XXXVI)* was published in Genua, not in Genf (398).

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Empfohlene Zitierweise

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