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SALLVSTIVS
CONCERNING THE GODS AND THE
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SALLVSTIVS
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AND THE UNIVERSE

Edited with Prolegomena & Translation

by
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Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge
Sometime Scholar of Trinity

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PREFACE

THE treatise here edited has come down to us under the name of Saloustios (here called Sallustius in accordance with the conventional Latinism) with no external evidence for its date or purpose. The suggestion that it was written by a friend of the Emperor Julian and in the service of his attempt to revive ancient paganism lent it a new interest, and in 1912 Professor Gilbert Murray gave it an English dress and drew public attention to it in his *Four Stages of Greek Religion* (now reissued in a revised form as *Five Stages of Greek Religion*). In his preface he expressed the view that ‘an edition of Sallustius is urgently needed.’ Some years later Professor Praechter said in the great German encyclopaedia of classical antiquity, ‘A critical edition of the tractate is a pressing need,’ and again, ‘In addition to a convenient edition it needs a close linguistic and philosophic analysis; only by this can we learn where the writer stands, to what form of Neoplatonism he is attached, and in particular what are his relations with Iamblichus and Julian.’ The present work seeks to meet this need. Muccio’s discovery of the manuscript at Milan gives a trustworthy basis for the text: the Prolegomena are devoted to its exposition and to an attempt to place it in the right historical perspective. It is in truth not the least instructive or attractive document of the conflict of beliefs in the fourth century of our era, and the study of that conflict is surely of more than antiquarian interest.

My most sincere thanks are due to all those who have helped me, and in particular to the Managers of the Craven Fund, who by two grants enabled me to travel and to visit the libraries containing the manuscripts of Sallustius; to the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press for accepting financial responsibility for this book; to the Librarians of the Ambrosian Library at Milan and of the Vatican Library for facilitating my studies; to Professor Franz Cumont for putting his collation of the Vatican manuscript at my disposal and

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for other help and advice; to Professor A. C. Pearson for his great kindness in reading the bulk of my work in manuscript and for many useful suggestions; to Mr E. Harrison for his vigilant reading of the proofs and for much assistance to me earlier in the preparation of the book; to Professor A. E. Housman for help in astrological matters; to Dr E. H. Minns for palaeographical aid; to Mr C. T. Seltman and the Rev. W. Telfer for valuable criticism and advice; and to Mr N. H. Baynes, Mr H. I. Bell, Mr A. B. Cook, Mr F. M. Cornford, Mr H. T. Deas, Mr H. Mattingly, Mr D. S. Robertson, and Mr F. H. Sandbach for assistance of one sort or another. In so far as this edition fails to answer the requirements of criticism it is not for want of friendly help. I should finally wish to express my indebtedness to Professor Murray, to whose book I owe my interest in the subject and whose translation has been of material service to me in the revision of my own.

A. D. NOCK.

CLARE COLLEGE,
25th September, 1925.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- A. A. S. S.* = *Acta Sanctorum*, the Bollandist edition, quoted by month, volume, and page.
- Abh.* = *Abhandlung* (in shortened references to Academy publications, with the place of the Academy).
- A. J. A.* = *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1885– .
- Ann. épigr.* = *Année épigraphique*, 1888– .
- Arch. f. Pap.* = *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*.
- Arch. Jahrb.* = *Jahrbuch des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 1886– .
- A. R. W.* = *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 1898– .
- Ath. Mitth.* = *Mittheilungen des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts: athenische Abteilung*, 1876– (and *Röm. Mitth.* = *römische Abteilung*, 1886–).
- B. C. H.* = *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 1877– .
- Berl. klass. T.* = *Berliner klassiker Texte*.
- B. ph. W.* = *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*, 1885– .
- Ber. sächs. Ges. Wiss.* = *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, philologisch-historische Klasse*, 1848– .
- B. M. C.* = *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum* (followed by the name of the region, as *B. M. C. Ionia*).
- Burs.* = *Bursians Jahresberichte über die Fortschritte der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 1873– .
- Byz. Zeit.* = *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1892– .
- C. C. A. G.* = *Catalogus codicum astrologicorum graecorum* (ed. F. Cumont, F. Boll, A. Olivieri, W. Kroll), 1898– .
- Christ-Schmid = W. v. Christ, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*, ed. vi. by W. Schmid, the Jewish and Christian sections revised by O. Stählin (cited as Christ-Stählin), Munich, 1912–1924.
- C. I. G.* = *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, ed. Boeckh, 1828–1877.
- Cl. Phil.* = *Classical Philology*, 1906– .
- C. Q.* = *Classical Quarterly*, 1907– .
- C. R.* = *Classical Review*, 1887– .
- C. R. Ac. Inscr.* = *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Paris, 1859– .
- Dar. S.* = *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, Ch. Daremberg et E. Saglio, Paris, 1877–1919.

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- Dessau = H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones latinae selectae*, Berlin, 1892–1916 (inscriptions quoted by number).
- Diss. acad. Cracov.* = *Dissertationes academiae Cracoviensis* (now published as *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności*).
- Ditt. *O. G. I.* = W. Dittenberger, *Orientis graeci inscriptiones selectae*, Leipzig, 1903–1905.
- Ditt. *Syll.*³ = W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum*, ed. III., Leipzig, 1915–1924, with the help of various scholars, by F. Hiller von Gärtringen.
- D. L. Z.* = *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*.
- F. H. G.* = C. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, Paris, 1841–1873.
- Fleck. Jahrb.* = *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, ed. A. Fleckeisen, 1855–1897.
- Frazer, *G. B.*³ = J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, ed. III., London, 1911–1914 (quoted by volume).
- Geffcken, *Apologeten* = J. Geffcken, *Zwei griechische Apologeten*, Leipzig, 1907.
- Geffcken, *Ausgang* = J. Geffcken, *Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums*, Heidelberg, 1920.
- G. G. A.* = *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1753–.
- G. G. N.* = *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse*.
- Head, *H. N.*² = B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*, ed. II., Oxford, 1911.
- I. G. I.* etc. = *Inscriptiones Graecae*, edited by the Berlin Academy, 1873–.
- I. G. Rom.* = *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*, ed. Cagnat, etc., Paris, 1901–.
- Jahresh.* = *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien*, 1898–.
- J. Eg. Arch.* = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 1914–.
- J. H. S.* = *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1880–.
- J. T. S.* = *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1899–.
- Kaibel, *Epigr. gr.* = *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta*, edidit Georgius Kaibel, Berlin, 1878.
- Keil-von Premerstein I, II, III = J. Keil und A. von Premerstein, *Bericht über eine erste, zweite, dritte Reise, in Lydien, in Wien. Denkschr.* LIII. ii., LIV. ii., LVII. i.
- Krumbacher² = Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, ed. II., Munich, 1897.

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L. and S. *ed. nov.* = Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, a new edition by H. S. Jones, 1925- .

Lebas-Waddington = Ph. Le Bas et W. H. Waddington, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*, II. Partie, Inscriptions grecques et latines, iii. 5 Asie Mineure, 6 Syrie proprement dite, Paris, 1847-1876 (quoted by number of inscription).

Mitteil. schles. Ges. Volkskunde = *Mitteilungen der schlesischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde*, 1896- .

Mon. Ant. = *Monumenti antichi pubblicati per cura della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, Milan, 1889- .

Neue Jahrb. = *Neue Jahrbücher für die klassische Altertumsgeschichte und deutsche Litteratur und für Pädagogik*, 1898- .

Notizie = *Notizie degli scavi di Antichità*, Rome, 1876- .

Philol. = *Philologus*, 1847- .

Philol. Unters. = *Philologische Untersuchungen*, 1880- .

Phil. Woch. = *Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1921- .

P. Oxy. = *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, published by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt (quoted by number of papyrus).

Preisigke, S. B. = F. Preisigke, *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*, I.- , 1913- .

P. W. = Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart, 1893- .

Rev. arch. = *Revue archéologique*.

Rev. phil. = *Revue de philologie*, 1877- .

R. G. V. V. = *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, 1903- .

Rh. Mus. = *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, Neue Folge, 1842- .

Roscher = *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*...herausgegeben von W. H. Roscher, 1884- .

Sitz. Ber. Ak. Wien = *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Wien, *philosophisch-historische Klasse*.

Sitz. Ber. München = *Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1861- , *philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse*.

Sitz. Ber. preuss. Akad. = *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1882- .

Steph. Thes. = *Thesaurus Graecae linguae, ab Henrico Stephano constructus*...ediderunt C. B. Hase, G. Dindorfius et L. Dindorfius, Paris, 1831-1865.

Suppl. = *Supplementband* (as of Fleckeisen's *Jahrbücher*).

Suppl. epigr. gr. = *Supplementum epigraphicum graecum*, 1923- .

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Wien. Denkschr. = *Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Wien, 1850–, *philosophisch-historische Klasse*.

Woch. klass. Phil. = *Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie*, 1884–.

Y. W. = *Year's Work in Classical Studies*, 1907– (quoted as 1906/7–).

Zeller, III. i., ii. = E. Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, vierte Auflage, dritter Teil, erste, zweite Abteilung, Leipzig, 1909, 1903.

In references a numeral above, as Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte*¹⁰, denotes the edition used; a numeral below indicates a footnote, the number 0 being so used for footnotes which extend under a page beyond that below the text of which they start.

Julian's speeches are quoted by Spanheim's pagination, which is printed in the margin by Hertlein in the Teubner text, his *In Christianos* by Neumann's pagination (1880), his letters and decrees by the number and page of the edition by J. Bidez and F. Cumont (*Collection Budé, Textes et documents*, Paris, 1922); Hertlein's numeration is sometimes added with the letter H. For the *Protrepticus* of Iamblichus the pagination of H. Pistelli's Teubner edition (1888) is used, for the *De mysteriis* Parthey's (Berlin, 1857). Stobaeus is quoted by the pagination of Wachsmuth and Hense (Berlin, 1884–1923), abbreviated as W. or as H.: Hermetic fragments preserved by him have commonly also a reference to Scott's *Hermetica*, I. (Oxford, 1924), abbreviated as S. The *Corpus Hermeticum* has sometimes a page-reference to Scott, sometimes to Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, abbreviated as R.: in every case number of document and paragraph are given. Patristic texts other than Clement of Alexandria are usually quoted from Migne, hagiographical texts from O. von Gebhardt, *Ausgewählte Märtyreracten* (Berlin, 1902), abbreviated as G., and from Ruinart, *Acta Martyrum*, in the second edition, published at Verona in 1731: its pagination, here given as R.², is unfortunately not reproduced in later reprints. The works of Maximus Tyrius are quoted as numbered in Hobein's Teubner edition (1910), those of various rhetorical writers by the volume and page of Walz, *Rhetores Graeci* (1832–6), and the commentaries of Eustathius by the pages of the Roman edition, as indicated in the outside margin of Stallbaum's text (1827–8).