A TRADITIONAL PATTERN OF IMITATION IN SALLUST AND HIS SOURCES

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WE NOW recognize that in the view of the ancients a poet's originality was not diminished by his use of old material, but rather displayed in his ingenious adaptation of that material to his own purposes; what is true of poetic technique is also true of thought."[1] What Lloyd-Jones here states of ancient poetry is equally applicable to ancient prose. In the case of Sallust, it was already known in antiquity that his writings contained many imitations of earlier authors, both Greek and Roman; and, while the old sneer of Pompeius Lenaeus, "priscorum Catonis verborum ineruditissimus fur," is familiar, the judgment of a modern critic, Eiliv Skard, is both fairer and more accurate: ". . . für Sallust war das Wichtigste nicht, durch Neues zu glänzen, sondern im Bekannten gross zu sein."[2] In his imitations Sallust does not confine himself merely to borrowing lapidary *phrases* introduced arbitrarily into his work. Rather, his borrowings are sometimes taken from passages which show a *context* similar to that of the corresponding Sallustian passage. To take an obvious example, in discussing the decline of morals at Rome, Sallust makes much use of Thucydides' famous Corcyrean Digression. Perrochat correctly remarks ". . . Salluste se sert de ces textes [sc. Thucydides 3. 81–85], sur les révolutions et la décadence morale et civique des cités grecques, pour parler de faits analogues à Rome."[3] Clearly, by taking over expressions which Thucydides uses in his account of Greek *stasis* and applying them to *res Romanae*, Sallust is making an implicit judgment on Rome: As Greece was then, so Rome is now. This technique of criticizing indirectly, by means of an artistic use of traditional material, is far more effective than a bald statement of opinion would have been. It seems to have gone all but unnoticed that Sallust is a master of this delicate device. The purpose of the present paper is to attempt to demonstrate his mastery from examples. In each instance an examination of the original context of the borrowed material will reveal a value-judgment of Sallust himself, a judgment which has determined the choice of the particular passage to be imitated.

Sallust and Aeschylus

Sallust's famous σύγκρισις of Caesar and Cato contains the words "esse quam videri bonus malebat [sc. Cato]" (*Cat.* 54. 6). In view of the often rabid partisanship of the Romans, it has seemed surprising to some that Sallust, who had been one of Caesar's officers in the civil war, should be so

1. H. Lloyd-Jones, *The Justice of Zeus* (Berkeley, 1971), pp. 44–45.
2. E. Skard, *Sallust und seine Vorgänger* = *SO, fasc. supplet.* 15 (Oslo, 1956), p. 108.
3. P. Perrochat, *Les modèles grecs de Salluste* (Paris, 1949), p. 15. For Sallust's Greek models, see, in addition to Perrochat's work, the paper of W. Avenarius, "Die griechischen Vorbilder des Sallust," *SO* 33 (1957): 48–86.

generous in praising the great republican, Cato Uticensis.[4] The words cited above are of course an imitation of a famous verse of Aeschylus, οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν ἄριστος ἀλλ' εἶναι θέλει (*Sept.* 592). The verse was a very familiar one, as other imitations and citations show. For this reason commentators have been content to assume that Sallust is here rendering a well-known Greek *bon mot*, whose ultimate source may have been a matter of indifference, or even quite unknown, to him. The assumption is not justified. Consider Shakespeare. Hundreds of his verses and phrases are now common coin in the English language. While it is true that ὁ ἐπιτυχών may be familiar with only the saying and not the source, a cultured person still knows the play in which, say, "Sweets to the sweet" first occurred. Sallust was such a cultured, well-read person; the numerous imitations of earlier writers in his works are themselves sufficient proof of that. It is legitimate to assume a priori that he knew the source of the verse which he is imitating here. An inspection of the context in Aeschylus will confirm the assumption.

The words οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν ἄριστος ἀλλ' εἶναι θέλει are said of Amphiaraus, whose story will be recalled: Amphiaraus had sworn that, whenever he and Adrastus disagreed, he would abide by the decision of his wife Eriphyle. When Adrastus wished to lead an expedition against Thebes, Amphiaraus opposed it since, being a seer, he knew that the campaign would cost him his life. Eriphyle, bribed by Polynices, came out in support of the expedition. Whereupon Amphiaraus, faithful to his oath, joined the expedition, preferring to lose his life rather than his honor. The verse which we are considering occurs in a messenger's speech in which it is reported that Amphiaraus is one of the Seven. Here are the beginning verses of Eteocles' reply to the messenger (597 ff.):

> Alas, the luck which among human beings
> conjoins an honest man with impious wretches!
> In every enterprise is no greater evil
> than bad companionship: there is no fruit
> that can be gathered. The field of doom
> bears death as its harvest.
> Indeed, a pious man, going on board
> as shipmate of a crew of rascal sailors
> and of some mischief they have perpetrated,
> has often died with the God-detested breed;
> or a just man, with fellow citizens
> themselves inhospitable, forgetful of the Gods,
> has fallen into the same snare as the unrighteous,
> and smitten by the common scourge of God
> has yielded up his life. Even so this seer,
> this son of Oecles, wise, just, good, and holy,
> a prophet mighty, mingling with the impious—
> against his better reason—with loud-mouthed
> men who pursue a road long to retrace,
> with God's will shall be dragged to their general doom.[5]

4. Sallust prepares us at the beginning of the passage for the praise to come: "sed memoria mea ingenti virtute, divorsis moribus fuere viri duo, M. Cato et C. Caesar" (*Cat.* 53. 6). I do not know whether it is significant that Cato is here mentioned before Caesar.

5. Trans. by David Grene, *The Complete Greek Tragedies*, vol. 1 (Chicago, 1959), pp. 283–84.

It seems obvious that Sallust must have had this very passage in mind and judged that it applied perfectly to Cato—the just man who came to ruin because of his association with unjust fellow citizens. And like Amphiaraus, Cato, after Thapsus, chose an honorable end of life: *βίου πονηροῦ θάνατος εὐκλεέστερος*. These agreements are too good to be coincidence. I do not regard it as extravagant to state that Sallust, by his choice of a tragic verse (592) from this tragic context, subtly reveals his belief that his opponent Cato had demonstrated, in life and in death, some of the qualities of a Greek tragic hero.[6]

Sallust and Cicero

The resemblance of *Catilina* 20. 9, "quas quo usque tandem patiemini, o fortissumi viri," to the famous opening of Cicero's First Catilinarian ("quo usque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra") has long been remarked. Whether this is a coincidence or not is disputed. Skard,[7] pointing out that Sallust uses *quo usque* elsewhere (*Hist.* 1. 77. 17M) and that Livy has "quo usque tandem ignorabitis vires vestras" (6. 18. 5), concludes that both historians took the expression from an older *Geschichtswerk*. This is unnecessary and undemonstrable, since *quo usque* is normal—and common—Latin. The present case is different. Observe first that the parallelism between the First Catilinarian of Cicero and Sallust's *Catiline* 20. 9 is very close: *quo usque tandem=quo usque tandem; abutere patientia nostra~patiemini; Catilina~o fortissumi viri.* Neither of Skard's parallels is so close. In Livy 6. 18. 5 there is neither a vocative nor a verb corresponding in sense to *patiemini;* in Sallust *Histories* 1. 77. 17 there is no *tandem.* Here again a comparison of the two contexts is decisive. Cicero's words occur (1) in a speech (2) directed against Catiline (3) in condemnation of his conspiracy. In Sallust the words appear (1) in a speech (2) spoken by Catiline (3) in exhortation of his fellow conspirators. It is certain that Sallust was familiar with the First Catilinarian.[8] If he remembered any of it, he would surely have remembered the impressive opening. When he puts into the mouth of Catiline the words "quae quo usque tandem patiemini," the echo of Cicero must be intentional. Otherwise, we have to maintain that Sallust himself failed to perceive the close parallelism of language and of pointedly opposed contexts. Such a coincidence would be too remarkable to be probable. Rather, the reader is expected to make the association. This is parody. To be sure, as Syme has written, "If that is malice, it is not very noxious."[9] Nevertheless, the ironical allusion implies an attitude on Sallust's part toward Cicero—a disrespectful one, and thus the passage becomes a valuable

6. I point out an excellent example of the practice of reworking and "capping" older material here. Just as Sallust has taken over a line from Aeschylus, so Tacitus in turn in the *Agricola*—a work inspired in good part by Sallust's monographs—has imitated directly "esse quam videri bonus malebat." Tacitus says of Agricola that he "maluit videri invenisse bonos quam fecisse" (7. 3). *Bonos* and *maluit* clearly go back to Sallust's *bonus* and *malebat,* not to Aeschylus' *ἄριστος* and *θέλει.* (Cf. also *Cat.* 51. 38.) It would perhaps be farfetched to suggest that Tacitus here intends to compliment Agricola by comparison with Cato.

7. *Sallust und seine Vorgänger,* p. 24.

8. "Tum M. Tullius consul, sive praesentiam eius timens sive ira conmotus, orationem habuit luculentam atque utilem rei publicae, quam postea scriptam edidit" (*Cat.* 31. 6).

9. Ronald Syme, *Sallust* (Berkeley, 1964), p. 106.

piece of evidence. Could one imagine Sallust parodying Caesar or Cato? In fact, to the best of my knowledge, this is the only specimen of parody in Sallust: here the Roman Thucydides laughed.[10]

This passage is, incidentally, evidence for something else, if the interpretation presented here is correct. Parody is not practiced *in vacuo;* Sallust wished his readers to savor it. Clearly this would be possible only if Cicero's words were well known not only to Sallust, but to his audience. We may therefore conclude that "quo usque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra" had already become a familiar quotation at the time of the composition of Sallust's *Catilina.* It has remained such ever since.

Sallust and Herodotus

"Qui [sc. Iugurtha] ubi primum adolevit, pollens viribus, decora facie, sed multo maxume ingenio validus, non se luxu neque inertiae conrumpendum dedit, sed, uti mos gentis illius est, equitare, iaculari" (*Iug.* 6. 1). The final words, describing the customs of the Numidians, seem modeled on Herodotus' description of the customs of the Persians: παιδεύουσι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας ἀπὸ πενταέτεος ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι εἰκοσαέτεος τρία μοῦνα, ἱππεύειν καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀληθίζεσθαι.[11] In Sallust the infinitive *equitare* corresponds to ἱππεύειν and *iaculari* to τοξεύειν; nothing answers to ἀληθίζεσθαι. Recall that for Sallust the Numidians in general and Jugurtha in particular were notoriously treacherous,[12] and the omission will appear no accident. The historian is implying a contrast between the truthful Persians and the deceitful Numidians. The ethnographical and geographical excursus was an essential part of historiography for Sallust; an allusion to Herodotus, the first great model for such excursuses, is not surprising.

Sallust and Plato's Seventh Letter

Sallust incorporates into the *Catilina* and the *Iugurtha* a number of imitations of Plato's Seventh Letter; the passages are listed by Perrochat.[13] Here I wish to consider the implications of *Cat.* 3. 3–4. 2, a passage which is under heavy debt to Plato, as the following parallels will show:

Cat. 3. 3 sed ego adulescentulus initio, sicuti plerique, studio ad rem publicam latus sum, ibique mihi multa advorsa fuere.	*Ep.* 7. 324B When I was young I expected, as the young often do, that as soon as I was grown up I should at once take part in the public life of the city. And I was confronted with certain developments in the political situation . . .
Cat. 3. 4–5 quae tametsi animus asperna-batur insolens malarum artium . . . quom ab relicuorum malis moribus dissentirem . . .	*Ep.* 7. 325A Seeing, then, all these events, and many other crimes by no means negligible, I was disgusted and withdrew myself from the wickedness of the times.

10. As, so we are told, Thucydides did once: . . . τινες θαυμάσαντες εἶπον ὅτι λέων ἐγέλασεν ἐνταῦθα (Σ Thuc. 1. 126. 3).

11. Hdt. 1. 136. I first compared the two passages in *RhM* 105 (1962): 257. For a comparable passage see Hippocr. *Airs Waters Places* 17.

12. *Iug.* 46. 3 *genus Numidarum infidum;* ibid. 26. 2 *omnia potiora fide Iugurthae.* See also ibid. 46. 8, 48. 1, 53. 6, 56. 5, 61. 5, 91. 7.

13. *Les modèles grecs,* pp. 48–53.

Cat. 4. 1–2 igitur ubi . . . mihi relicuam aetatem a re publica procul habendam decrevi . . . a quo incepto studioque me ambitio mala detinuerat, eodem regressus statui res gestas populi Romani carptim, ut quaeque memoria digna videbantur, perscribere . . .

Ep. 7. 325E–326A . . . and the result was that I, who at first had been full of enthusiasm for a political career, now that I observed all this . . . became finally dazed by the spectacle . . . and I was forced to say, in praise of true philosophy, that only by its help can political justice and the rights of the individual ever be discerned. . . .[14]

There are clear indications that Plato's Seventh Letter was known in first-century Rome (as one would have assumed in any event). Cicero quotes a passage from this *praeclara epistola Platonis* in *Tusculans* 5. 35. 100; he alludes to the same passage in *De finibus* 2. 28. 92. Furthermore J. Souilhé, in the Budé Plato (vol. 13.1, p. vii), has suggested that Nepos used the Seventh Letter for his life of Dion. Sallust must have realized (and therefore intended) that some at least of his readers would recognize the imitations. How are the two contexts similar? Each is autobiographical and each tells us essentially the same thing. Plato and Sallust have experienced a comparable misfortune: both with the innocence of youth naïvely approached τὰ πολιτικά, only to become disillusioned with the corruption attendant upon a public career. As a consequence they abandoned politics for more honorable pursuits—the theoretical Greek turning to philosophy and the practical Roman to the composition of history. The similarities are obvious and apt, and it should not be doubted that Sallust intended the comparison to be made. Now Plato, the *deus philosophorum*, was by Sallust's time one of the most revered figures of the ancient world; his motives in renouncing what seemed certain to be a distinguished public career were rightly regarded as noble and above reproach. The reader is meant to draw a similar conclusion about Sallust's motives for renouncing public life. What are the facts? Put baldly, they are as follows. Plato took his leave of politics when he was in his twenties, of his own volition; Sallust, when he was over forty—and then only when charges of corruption obliged him to withdraw from public life. Whatever one thinks of Sallust's morals,[15] it must be said that his use of traditional material here for apologetic purposes is an artistic *tour de force.* The choice of Plato's Seventh Letter was a brilliant one; it has fooled many readers over the centuries.

Sallust and Thucydides

The suggestion that Sallust subtly contrives to have the reader associate him with Plato in the quality of his personal life gains support from the undeniable fact that in historiography he intends a comparable association with Thucydides. Time and again he imitates Thucydides in style and

14. I quote the excerpts from the Seventh Letter in R. S. Bluck's translation (*Plato's Life and Thought* [London, 1949]).

15. *Cat.* 3. 4 is revealing: "tamen inter tanta vitia inbecilla aetas ambitione conrupta tenebatur." Sallust admits therefore to *ambitio.* But compare *Cat.* 11. 1: ". . . ambitio . . . quod tamen vitium propius virtutem erat." The only *vitium* which Sallust acknowledges in his own past he goes on to describe as *propius virtutem!* The apologist has unconsciously shown his hand.

historical attitude; sometimes he translates literally.[16] The Romans were conscious of this; to Velleius Paterculus, for instance, Sallust was *aemulus Thucydidis*.[17] Read in this light, chapter 8 of the *Catiline*—a chapter which, one must note, could have been entirely omitted without any loss of continuity between chapters 7 and 9—is instructive:

> Sed profecto fortuna in omni re dominatur; ea res cunctas ex lubidine magis quam ex vero celebrat obscuratque. Atheniensium res gestae, sicuti ego aestumo, satis amplae magnificaeque fuere, verum aliquanto minores tamen quam fama feruntur. sed quia provenere ibi scriptorum magna ingenia, per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maxumis celebrantur. ita eorum qui fecere virtus tanta habetur, quantum eam verbis potuere extollere praeclara ingenia. at populo Romano numquam ea copia fuit, quia prudentissumus quisque maxume negotiosus erat, ingenium nemo sine corpore exercebat, optumus quisque facere quam dicere, sua ab aliis bene facta laudari quam ipse aliorum narrare malebat.

The words "Atheniensium res gestae . . . celebrantur" are obviously modeled on Thucydides 1. 10. 2 and this parallelism provides the clue to Sallust's intention. Sallust is surely implying that in him Rome has at last found her Thucydides. Syme's remarks are to the point: "Because of the historical and personal situation, [Sallust] might discern a congeniality with Thucydides, which he was impelled to enhance, deliberately. Thucydides knew war and government, he failed as a general, and he wrote in exile. The subject of his history was the empire of the Athenians and how it was brought to ruin."[18]

Imitation in Sallust's Sources

Such are the examples which I have to offer in support of my thesis that consideration of the original contexts of borrowed matter can sometimes disclose a belief or attitude of Sallust himself. If the same technique can be shown to be present in those authors who were Sallust's own sources, it is not unreasonable to maintain that the thesis thereby receives further confirmation. Such is the case: I give several specimens from Isocrates, Xenophon, Polybius,[19] and (possibly) Plato.

Of Isocrates Werner Jaeger has written: "Plato, with the *Apology*, was the first to convert the speech of defence into a literary form in which a great man could defend his 'activity' (πρᾶγμα) and thereby utter a confession of faith. The egotistical Isocrates must have been deeply impressed by this new autobiographical pattern, and in the Antidosis speech he adapted it after his own manner. Of course, his life had none of that background of heroic struggle which sets off the noble and steadfast figure of Socrates in the *Apology;* and yet he clearly felt that his position was closely similar to Socrates', for *he took every opportunity to remind the reader of it by verbal*

16. See Perrochat, *Les modèles grecs*, pp. 1–39; Avenarius, "Die griechischen Vorbilder," pp. 49–56.
17. 2. 36. 2.
18. *Sallust*, p. 56.
19. For imitations of Isocrates in Sallust see Perrochat, *Les modèles grecs*, pp. 67–72; Avenarius, "Die griechischen Vorbilder," pp. 79–80. For imitations of Xenophon, see Perrochat, pp. 61–66; Avenarius, pp. 59–64. For an imitation of Polybius compare *Cat.* 2. 4–6 with Polyb. 10. 36. 5–7; see further Avenarius, pp. 64–66.

imitations of Plato's words and of the accusation aimed at Socrates."[20] The parallelism (Isocrates : "Socrates" :: Sallust : Plato) is striking and needs no comment.

In Book 1. 73–78 Thucydides records an Athenian speech purportedly given at Sparta shortly before the start of the Peloponnesian War; in this speech an attempt is made to explain and justify Athenian foreign policy. The orator points out, inter alia, that, if the Spartans should conquer the Athenians, the hatred which now is directed against Athens would soon be directed against Sparta (1. 77. 6). Many have seen in this a *vaticinium ex eventu.* However that may be, Xenophon in his *Hellenica* (3. 5. 8–15) puts into the mouth of a Theban envoy, pleading at Athens in the year 395 for Athenian assistance against Sparta, a speech which sets forth the fulfillment of this prophecy. This speech must be an intentional parallel to the speech in Thucydides, as Jaeger pointed out in his *Demosthenes* (Berkeley, 1938), page 208, note 12 [=p. 204, n. 12 of the German edition]: "I do not know whether anyone has as yet noticed the fact of the complete parallelism between this speech with its leitmotiv and the speech of the Athenian in Thuc. I 77,6. This parallelism cannot be other than deliberate. To mention but one example, we may point out how Xenophon connects his history with the episode of the Melians in Thuc. V 84–115, when dealing with the imminent fall of Athens in *Hell.* II 2, 10. Even if one does not see this in Xenophon's general formulation in § 10, the immediately preceding section prevents any misunderstanding; for there Lysander's recolonization of the Melians is referred to expressly. When, in the very same breath, Xenophon makes the Athenians dread the fate of the Melians for themselves, his insistence on this change of rôles is unmistakeably a reference to the argument of the Melians in Thuc. V 90 that it is to the interest of the Athenians to let equity reign, as they might easily find themselves in the same situation (*καὶ πρὸς ὑμῶν οὐχ ἧσσον τοῦτο ὅσῳ καὶ μεγίστῃ τιμωρίᾳ σφαλέντες ἂν τοῖς ἄλλοις παράδειγμα γένοισθε*). This prophecy is now fulfilled. We may conclude from these observations that Xenophon regards his work as continuing that of Thucydides in more than the mere fact that it joins on to the earlier work at a definite point of time. *It is obvious that in such passages as these he has striven for unity with Thucydides not only in his description of events, but in his inner attitude as well*" [my italics].

Paul Friedländer has published an analysis of the famous passage in Polybius (31. 23–30) in which the character and education of Scipio Africanus Minor are described.[21] It was Friedländer's merit to have observed and demonstrated that in this passage the well-known conversation between Polybius himself and young Scipio contains a number of similarities with the conversation of Socrates and the young Alcibiades in the *First Alcibiades.*[22] For details the reader may be referred to Friedländer's paper; I

20. *Paideia*, trans. G. Highet, vol. 3² (New York, 1945), p. 133; the italics are mine.

21. *AJP* 66 (1945): 337–51; reprinted with minor changes in Friedländer's *Plato*, trans. H. Meyerhoff, Bollingen Series 59, vol. 1² (New York, 1958), pp. 323–32.

22. Whether or not the *First Alcibiades* is a genuine work of Plato is a matter of indifference here. It was believed to be genuine and indeed was often used as an introduction to the "Socratic" philoso-

give here only some of his conclusions: "The event [sc. the conversation between Polybius and Scipio] . . . evoked the scene from Plato's dialogue in Polybius' mind. He saw Scipio and himself as the more fortunate counterparts of Alcibiades and Socrates. The educational work which he accomplished with the son of Aemilius and consequently with the young Roman nobility he felt to be initiated, directed, and sanctioned by the great example. And he was not mistaken of course."[23]

Once again we may set up a proportion—Alcibiades : "Socrates" :: Scipio : Polybius. As in Sallust, the proportion is founded on the use of traditional material with reference to the original context. The relevance of Polybius to our study does not end here; in another place Friedländer writes: "But Polybius not only quotes, uses, and criticizes Plato freely, he enters into a competition with him. Referring to what one may call the central postulate of the *Republic* (473C–D, 479B–C), the identity of ruler and philosopher, he demands in almost the same words [12. 28. 2–5] that the active statesman write history or that the historian have an active rule in the state: 'Until this happens there will be no end to the ignorance of the historians.' He himself is convinced that in his person are merged the philosopher and the statesman, the statesman and the historian, and his very wording shows how strongly he felt himself to be on a par with Plato. . . ."[24]

I do not know whether it has been observed how very similar, *mutatis mutandis*, are the attitudes which appear in Sallust: the contrast between the theoretic life of the philosopher and the practical life of the historian implicit in the use of the Seventh Letter, the combination of "the philosopher and the statesman, the statesman and the historian" in Sallust himself (so, at least, he would have us believe), the placing of himself, as shown "by his very wording," on a par with Thucydides as his Roman counterpart. On all this compare above; here I call attention to the fact that the analogies with Polybius show Sallust to have used, once more, traditional material in a traditional way.

Platonic examples of this technique are more difficult to establish, in part because of the complexity of the man. I confine myself to one possible illustration. Several scholars have called attention to apparent verbal echoes, in the *Apology*, of Gorgias' *Palamedes* and have drawn conclusions therefrom. Coulter summarizes the situation thus: "In a succinct and important study, Joseph Morr pointed to the verbal echoes in Plato and concluded that they are conscious allusions to the Gorgianic work; by reminding the reader, Morr argued, of an earlier account of a wise man unjustly condemned, Plato endeavored to set Socrates against the larger backdrop of myth, and to enlarge thereby the meaning of his death. Essentially the same view was held by A. H. Chroust in a later study; this scholar made a special contribution by suggesting that the conception of Palamedes as the arche-

phy in later antiquity. It is in fact a good introduction for such purposes. My own opinion is that it is spurious.

23. *AJP* 66 (1945): 347 = Friedländer, *Plato*, 1²: 332.

24. *AJP* 66 (1945): 344–45 = Friedländer, *Plato*, 1²: 330.

type of the dishonored philosopher was already current and accessible to Plato."[25]

Unfortunately, the question of the relationship of the *Apology* to the *Palamedes* is not an easy one and there are chronological uncertainties. But if these scholars are correct, then Plato also has used older material whose full significance in its Platonic surroundings can only be understood by taking into account the original context.

Plato, as Hermann Diels observed,[26] is a Proteus and with this complex genius we begin to wander too far from Sallust, whose literary artifices are simple in comparison. Let us therefore conclude here with a respectful wish that our demonstration of the presence of a traditional "imitation technique" in Sallust may be pleasing, and perhaps even convincing, to the distinguished Latinist in whose honor this paper has been written.

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25. J. A. Coulter, "The Relation of the *Apology of Socrates* to Gorgias' *Defense of Palamedes* and Plato's Critique of Gorgianic Rhetoric" in *HSCP* 68 (1964): 269. See Coulter's paper for references and further details. For Plato's attitude to the mythical Palamedes see Friedländer, *Plato*, vol. 3^2 (Princeton, 1968), p. 234.

26. I once heard Werner Jaeger attribute this observation to Diels.