

T1: [45] Tum ille 'non sum' inquit 'nescius, Scaevola, ista inter Graecos dici et disceptari solere; audivi enim summos homines, cum quaestor ex Macedonia venissem Athenas, florente Academia, ut temporibus illis ferebatur, cum eam Charmadas et Clitomachus et Aeschines obtinebant; erat etiam Metrodorus, qui cum illis una ipsum illum Carneadem diligentius audierat, hominem omnium in dicendo, ut ferebant, acerrimum et copiosissimum; vigebatque auditor Panaeti illius tui Mnesarchus et Peripatetici Critolai Diodorus; [46] multi erant praeterea clari in philosophia et nobiles, a quibus omnibus una paene voce repelli oratorem a gubernaculis civitatum, excludi ab omni doctrina rerumque maiorum scientia ac tantum in iudicia et contiunculas tamquam in aliquod pistrinum detrudi et compingi videbam; [47] sed ego neque illis adsentiebar neque harum disputationum inventori et principi longe omnium in dicendo gravissimo et eloquentissimo, Platoni, cuius tum Athenis cum Charmada diligentius legi Gorgiam; quo in libro in hoc maxime admirabar Platonem, quod mihi oratoribus inridendis ipse esse orator summus videbatur.' (*De or.* 1.45-47)

[Crassus:] ...[47] but I neither agreed with those [philosophers] nor with the founder of these disputes and by far the leader of all in speaking, the greatest and most eloquent Plato. In which book [sc. *Gorgias*] I admired Plato most for this, that in ridiculing orators he seemed to me to be a top orator....

T2: ...inveni sunt qui, cum ipsi doctrina et ingeniis abundarent, a re autem civili et a negotiis animi quodam iudicio abhorrerent, hanc dicendi exercitationem exagitarent atque contemnerent; [60] quorum princeps Socrates fuit, is qui omnium eruditorum testimonio totiusque iudicio Graeciae cum prudentia et acumine et venustate et subtilitate tum vero eloquentia, varietate, copia, quam se cumque in partem dedisset omnium fuit facile princeps; is iis, qui haec, quae nunc nos quaerimus, tractarent, agerent, docerent, cum nomine appellarentur uno—quod omnis rerum optimarum cognitio atque in iis exercitatio philosophia nominaretur—hoc commune nomen eripuit sapienterque sentiendi et orate dicendi scientiam, re cohaerentes, disputationibus suis separavit; cuius ingenium variosque sermones immortalitati scriptis suis Plato tradidit, cum ipse litteram Socrates nullam reliquisset. [61] Hinc discidium illud exstitit quasi linguae atque cordis, absurdum sane et inutile et reprehendendum, ut alii nos sapere, alii dicere docerent. (*De or.* 3.59-61)

[Crassus:] There were found those who, although they had an ample supply of learning and talent (but shrunk back from civil affairs and business due to a particular judgment of their mind), censured and contemned this expertise of [public] speaking. The leader of whom was Socrates, who, by the testimony of all learned men and by the judgment of Greece, was easily the leader of all on whatever side to which he devoted himself not only due to his practical wisdom, intellect, charm, and subtlety but also due to his eloquence, variety, and fullness. From those who handled, practiced, and taught these things which we are now looking into, since they were called by one name—because every thought of the best things and practice in them was named 'philosophy'—he took this shared name and in his disputes he divided the science of thinking wisely and speaking ornately, even though they fit together in substance. Plato by his own writings preserved for posterity his talent and his diverse conversations, since Socrates himself had left behind not even a single [written] letter. From him arose that quite absurd, useless, and reprehensible schism, as it were, between the tongue and the heart, so that different people teach us how to think from those who teach us how to speak.

T3: Ipse ille Leontinus Gorgias, quo patrono, ut Plato voluit, philosopho succubuit orator, qui aut non est victus umquam a Socrate neque sermo ille Platonis verus est; aut, si est victus, eloquentior videlicet fuit et disertior Socrates et, ut tu appellas, copiosior et melior orator—sed hic in illo ipso Platonis libro de omni re, quaecumque in disceptationem quaestionemque vocetur, se copiosissime dicturum esse profitetur. (*De or.* 3.129)

[Catulus:] Gorgias of Leontini himself, under whose patronage, as Plato wanted, the orator yielded to the philosopher, who either was never beaten by Socrates or that conversation of Plato's is not true; or, if he was defeated, Socrates was certainly more eloquent and skilled and, as you call him, more copious and the better orator—but this man in that very book of Plato's claims that he will speak fully about whatever is called in for dispute and investigation.

T4: Σὺ δ' οὐκ ἂν οἴός τ' εἶης λέγειν, εἰ μὴ τίς σοι ἀποκρίνοιτο; (*Grg.* 519d7-8)
[Callicles:] "And you are the one who couldn't speak unless someone answered you?"

T5: Quo etiam feci libentius, ut eum sermonem, quem illi quondam inter se de his rebus habuissent, mandarem litteris, (a) vel ut illa opinio, quae semper fuisset, tolleretur, alterum non doctissimum, alterum plane indoctum fuisse; (b) vel ut ea, quae existimarem a summis oratoribus de eloquentia divinitus esse dicta, custodirem litteris, si ullo modo adsequi complectique potuissem; (c) vel me hercule etiam ut laudem eorum iam prope senescentem, quantum ego possem, ab oblivione hominum atque a silentio vindicarem. (*De or.* 2.7)

[Cicero:] That is why I have even more willingly set the conversation they once had among themselves about these matters in writing (a) so that that opinion that has always existed about them—that the one was not the most learned [sc. Crassus] and the other was clearly unlearned [sc. Antonius]—might be removed; (b) so that I might preserve in writing those things which I judge to have been divinely spoken about eloquence by top orators, provided that I can follow and grasp them at all; and, by hercules, (c) so that I might, as much as I can, rescue their praise, already nearly waning, from people’s oblivion and silence.

T6: Nam si ex scriptis cognosci ipsi suis potuissent, minus hoc fortasse mihi esse putassem laborandum; sed cum alter non multum, quod quidem exstaret, et id ipsum adulescens, alter nihil admodum scripti reliquisset, deberi hoc a me tantis hominum ingeniis putavi, ut, cum etiam nunc vivam illorum memoriam teneremus, hanc immortalem redderem, si possem. (*De or.* 2.8)

[Cicero:] For had they been able to be known from their own writings, I would have thought that this would be less of a task that needed to be done by me; but since one [sc. Crassus] had left behind not much that survives (and which was written when we was a young man) and the other [sc. Antonius] left nothing written at all, I thought I owed this to men of such talent, so that, if I could, I might render immortal this living memory that even now I hold of them.

T7: atque ita se uterque graviorem fore, si alter contemnere, alter ne nosse quidem Graecos videretur. (*De or.* 2.4)
And so each [thought that] he would seem to be more dignified—the one [sc. Crassus] if he did not value Greeks, the other [sc. Antonius] if he did not even know of them.

T8: Neque enim quisquam nostrum, cum libros Platonis mirabiliter scriptos legit, in quibus omnibus fere Socrates exprimitur, non, quamquam illa scripta sunt divinitus, tamen maius quiddam de illo, de quo scripta sunt, suspicatur; quod item nos postulamus non a te quidem, qui nobis omnia summa tribuis, sed a ceteris, qui haec in manus sument, maius ut quiddam de L. Crasso, quam quantum a nobis exprimetur, suspicentur. (*De or.* 3.15)

[Cicero:] When reading the marvelously written books of Plato, in nearly all of which Socrates is described, we all suspect that, though they are divinely written, there was something still greater to the man about whom they are written. I ask a similar thing not of you [Quintus], who grants me the highest preference in everything, but from others who will take these books in their hands, so that they suspect there was something greater to L. Crassus than will be described by me.

T9: 'An tu, cum omnem auctoritatem universi ordinis pro pignere putaris eamque in conspectu populi Romani concideris, me his existimas pigneribus terreri? Non tibi illa sunt caedenda, si L. Crassum vis coercere: haec tibi est incidenda lingua, qua vel evulsa spiritu ipso libidinem tuam libertas mea refutabit.' (*De or.* 3.4)

[Cicero quoting Crassus:] ‘Do you suppose that I am scared by these pledges when you think the whole authority of this entire order is a pledge and cut it up in the sight of the Roman people? If you want to force Lucius Crassus, you need not cut at those pledges; you need to cut out this tongue. And even when it is ripped out, by my very breath my freedom will refute your desire.’

T10: Charmadas solebat ingenium tuum, Crasse, vehementer admirari: me sibi perfacilem in audiendo, te perpugnacem in disputando esse visum. (*De or.* 1.93)

[Antonius:] Charmadas used to admire your talent keenly, Crassus, and say that while I seemed to be easy going while listening [to him], you were very combative in arguing.

- T11: **ΣΩ.** Οὐ μανθάνεις ὅτι ἐν ἀρχῇ ἄνδρὸς πολιτικοῦ συγγράμματι πρῶτος ὁ ἐπαινέτης γέγραπται.
ΦΑΙ. Πῶς; **ΣΩ.** “Ἐδοξέ” πού φησιν “τῆ βουλῆ” ἢ “τῶ δήμῳ” ἢ ἀμφοτέροις, καὶ “ὃς καὶ ὃς εἶπεν” —τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ λέγων μάλα σεμνῶς καὶ ἐγκωμιάζων ὁ συγγραφεὺς—ἐπειτα λέγει δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο, ἐπιδεικνύμενος τοῖς ἐπαινέταις τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σοφίαν, ἐνίοτε πάνυ μακρὸν ποιησάμενος σύγγραμμα· ἢ σοι ἄλλο τι φαίνεται τὸ τοιοῦτον ἢ λόγος συγγεγραμμένος;
ΦΑΙ. Οὐκ ἔμοιγε. **ΣΩ.** Οὐκοῦν ἐὰν μὲν οὗτος ἐμμένῃ, γενηθῶς ἀπέρχεται ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου ὁ ποιητής· ἐὰν δὲ ἐξαλειφθῆ καὶ ἄμοιρος γένηται λογογραφίας τε καὶ τοῦ ἄξιος εἶναι συγγράφειν, πενθεῖ αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ ἐταῖροι.
ΦΑΙ. Καὶ μάλα. **ΣΩ.** Διήλόν γε ὅτι οὐχ ὡς ὑπερφρονοῦντες τοῦ ἐπιτηδεύματος, ἀλλ’ ὡς τεθουμακότες.
ΦΑΙ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν. **ΣΩ.** Τί δέ; ὅταν ἱκανὸς γένηται ῥήτωρ ἢ βασιλεὺς, ὥστε λαβὼν τὴν Λυκούργου ἢ Σόλωνος ἢ Δαρείου δύναμιν ἀθάνατος γενέσθαι λογογράφος ἐν πόλει, ἄρ’ οὐκ ἰσόθεον ἡγεῖται αὐτός τε αὐτὸν ἔτι ζῶν, καὶ οἱ ἐπειτα γινόμενοι ταῦτά ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ νομίζουσι, θεώμενοι αὐτοῦ τὰ συγγράμματα;
ΦΑΙ. Καὶ μάλα. **ΣΩ.** Οἶει τινὰ οὖν τῶν τοιούτων, ὅστις καὶ ὀπωσιτοῦν δύσους Λυσία, ὄνειδίζειν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὅτι συγγράφει;
(Pl. *Phdr.* 258a1-258c8)

So: You don’t know that in the writing of a politician his approver is written at the beginning.

Phae: How? **So:** He might say, “It seemed best to the council”—or “to the people” or both—and, “so-and-so spoke”—the writer saying and praising his own name very solemnly—and then he speaks after this, displaying his wisdom to his approvers, sometimes making his document very long. Or does this kind of thing seem to you to be anything other than a written speech?

Phae: Not to me. **So:** So if this speech stands, the poet walks out of his theater glad. But if his speech is erased and he comes to have no part either in speech writing or in being valued as a writer, he and his friends grieve.

Phae: Very much so. **So:** Clearly they do this not because they look down on the pursuit, but because they are admirers of it.

Phae: Yes. **So:** Well then, when an orator or king becomes good enough to gain the power of Lycurgus or Solon or Darius and become an immortal speech writer in the city, does he not consider himself equal to a god though still living, and those who come after him believe these same things about him when they behold his writings?

Phae: Very much so. **So:** So do you think that any of these men, whoever he may be and however ill-disposed he is towards Lysias, rebukes him because he writes?

- T12: Permulta tum vehementissima contentione animi, ingeni, virium ab eo dicta esse constabat sententiamque eam, quam senatus frequens secutus est, ornatissimis et gravissimis verbis, ut populo Romano satis fieret, numquam senatus neque consilium rei publicae neque fidem defuisse ab eo dictam et eundem id quod in auctoritatibus perscriptis exstat scribendo adfuisse. Illa tamquam cycnea fuit divini hominis vox et oratio, quam quasi exspectantes post eius interitum veniebamus in curiam, ut vestigium illud ipsum, in quo ille postremum institisset, contueremur... (*De or.* 3.5-6)

[Cicero:] It is agreed that very many things were then said by him with the most vigorous exertion of his mind, his talent, and his powers, and that in the most ornate and distinguished words he gave a resolution—which the senate supported in great numbers—“that the senate never lacked counsel nor loyalty to the republic so as to give satisfaction to the Roman people,” and [it’s agreed] that he was also present for writing that [resolution] which exists in the authoritative written records. That was the, as it were, swan-like voice and speech of a divine man, and we were almost waiting [to hear] it whenever we came into the *Curia* after his death to see that very spot in which that man had last stood...

- T13: Ὁ δέ γε ἐν μὲν τῷ γεγραμμένῳ λόγῳ περὶ ἐκάστου παιδιάν τε ἡγούμενος πολλὴν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι, καὶ οὐδένα πώποτε λόγον ἐν μέτρῳ οὐδ’ ἄνευ μέτρου μεγάλης ἄξιον σπουδῆς γραφῆναι ... οὗτος δὲ ὁ τοιοῦτος, ἀνήρ κινδυνεύει, ὦ Φαῖδρε, εἶναι οἷον ἐγώ τε καὶ σὺ εὐζαίμεθ’ ἂν σέ τε καὶ ἐμέ γενέσθαι. (*Phdr.* 277e5-8, 278b2-4)

[Socrates:] But the one who thinks that in the written word about anything there is necessarily much amusement, and thinks that no speech has every been written in meter or prose that is very serious ... is likely to be such a man as you or I might pray to become.