
**Rhetorica ad Herennium**

Translated by Harry Caplan

Among modern students of rhetoric, the canons of delivery and memory have seldom been accorded the respect or emphasis given them by some of the ancients. Except for brief comments on rehearsal in public speaking texts, the subject of memory as a formal part of rhetoric has all but disappeared, so that now memoria is commonly referred to as the “lost canon.” But as one critic points out, “at least a third of the justification for outlining which appears in modern textbooks is undeclared talk about Memoria. The ancients did not have our concepts of ‘outline’ or ‘logical structure’ and were conditioned by their culture in other ways to concentrate on words. Their problem, then, was to command masses of word detail, where we think of commanding relations of ideas. Hence, theories of Memoria and advice about learning to command one’s discourse were very different from ours. The canon did not die out, the considerations changed.” Because of an embarrassing overemphasis on delivery by nineteenth-century elocutionists, and because they wish to direct students to ideas rather than techniques, most modern writers on public speaking have been wary of too explicit instruction on management of voice and body during the speech. Aristotle, too, had his doubts about the dignity of studying delivery and passed over the subject with the hope that some actor would one day produce a work on delivery. Recent writers on oral interpretation have demonstrated the extent to which the concept of vocal delivery can aid in the analysis of both prose and poetry, and communication theorists are newly interested in the “silent language” of gesture. It appears that delivery, though not so important as the canons of invention, arrangement, and style, needs to be given due consideration in both written and oral composition.
XI. Many have said that the faculty of greatest use to the speaker and the most valuable for persuasion is Delivery. For my part, I should not readily say that any one of the five faculties is the most important; that an exceptionally great usefulness resides in the delivery I should boldly affirm. For as how we deliver it:” 11. 3. 7: “Cicero also thinks action to be the dominant element in oratory;” 11. 3. 5-6: “For my part I would affirm that a mediocre speech supported by all the power of delivery will have more force than the best speech devoid of that power. That is why Demosthenes, asked what was primary in the whole task of oratory, gave the palm to delivery, and gave it second and third place as well. . . . So that we may assume that he thought it to be not merely the first, but the only virtue of oratory” (cf. also Philodemus, Rhet., ed. Sudhaus, 1. 196; Cicero, Brutus 37.
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skilful invention, elegant style, the artistic arrangement of the parts comprising the case, and the careful memory of all these will be of no more value without delivery, than delivery alone and independent of these. Therefore, because no one has written carefully on this subject—a—all have thought it scarcely possible for voice, mien, and gesture to be lucidly described, as appertaining to our sense-experience—and because the mastery of delivery is a very important requisite for speaking, the whole subject, as I believe, deserves serious consideration.

Delivery, then, includes Voice Quality and Physical Movement. Voice Quality has a certain character of its own, acquired by method and application. It has three aspects: Volume, Stability, and Flexibility. Vocal volume is primarily the gift of nature; cultivation augments it somewhat, but chiefly conserves it.

fourth officium oratoris (adding to it Invention, Style, and Arrangement; Aristotle’s scheme in the Rhetoric); Aristotle (see Rhet. 3. 1, 1403 b) did not fully develop the theory of delivery. The Stoics followed Theophrastus; for their scheme see note on 1. ii. 3 above. See also Philodemus on delivery, in H. M. Hubbell, The Rhetorica of Philodemus, New Haven, 1929, pp. 300–1.

The divisions are probably Theophrastan (ἡ κίνησις τοῦ σώματος καὶ ὁ τόνος τῆς φωνῆς); see Athanasius, in Rabe, Proleg. Syll., p. 177. Cf. Longinus, in Spengel-Hammer 1 (2). 194: διάθεσις σώματος τε καὶ τόνου φωνῆς, and Dionysius Halic., De Demosthen. 53: τα πάθη τα τῆς φωνῆς καὶ τα σχῆμα τοῦ σώματος.

Cf. Cicero’s study of Voice in De Oratore 3. 56. 213–58. 219, 3. 60. 224–61. 227, and Orator 17. 56–18. 60; Quintilian’s in 11. 3. 14–65.

curta comprised methods derived from rhetoric, music, and acting, but was in part also dietetic and medical in nature; see Armin Krumbacher, Die Stimmbildung der Redner in Altertum bis auf die Zeit Quintilians, Paderborn, 1920, esp. pp. 101–7.

142, Orator 17. 56; Plutarch, Vitae Dec. Orat. 845 B; Longinus, in Spengel-Hammer 1 (2), 195; Theon 5, in Spengel 2. 104 ff.). Our author is probably following Theophrastus; Athanasius (Rabe, Proleg. Syll., p. 177) says that to Theophrastus “the most important thing for persuasion in rhetoric is delivery.” Cf. Philodemus, Rhet., ed. Suchaus 1. 198 (I use Gomperz’ restoration): “Of the six, or as some hold, seven parts of rhetoric, Athenaeus [second century B.C.] said that the most important is delivery;” Longinus, in Spengel-Hammer 1 (2). 194: “Delivery is of greatest importance for proof.” Thrasy machus maintained that delivery is given us by nature, not by art (Quintilian, 3. 3. 4).

Diogenes Laertius, 5. 48, lists a work on delivery by Theophrastus. L. Plotius Gallus, friend of Marius, wrote about Gesture as practised in his day (Quintilian, 11. 3. 143); whether this work antedated our treatise we do not know. Theophrastus was probably the first to make Delivery a
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vocis maxime comparat cura; nonnihil adauget, et maxime conservat exercitatio declamationis.1 Mollitudinem vocis, hoc est ut eam torquere in dicendo nostro commodo possimus, maxime faciet exercitatio declamationis. Quapropter de magnitudine vocis et firmitudinis parte, quoniam altera natura paritum, altera cura comparatur, nihil nos adiinet commoneren nisi ut ab ipsis qui non insei sunt eius artifici ratio curandae vocis petatur. XII. De ea parte firmitudinis quae conservatur ratione declamationis, et de mollitudine vocis, quae maxime necessaria est oratori, quoniam ea quoque moderatione declamationis comparatur, dicendum videtur.

21 Firmam ergo maxime poterimus in dicendo vocem conservare si quam maxime sedata et depressa voce principia dicemus. Nam laeditur arteriae si antequam voce leni permulta est acer clamore compleetur. Et intervallis longioribus uti convenit; recreatur enim spiritu vox et arteriae reticendo adquiescent. Et in continuo clamore remittere et ad sermonem transire oportet; commutationes enim faciunt ut nullo genere vocis effuso in omni voce integri simus. Et acuta vocis exclamationes vitare debemus; ictus enim fit et tumultus arteriae acuta atque adtemuata nimis adclamatione, et qui splendor est vocis consuirit unum clamore universum. Et uno spiritu continenter multa dicere in extrema convenit oratone; fauces

1 declamationis P3FrFk: imitationis M Mx.

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Stability is primarily gained by cultivation; declamatory exercise augments it somewhat, but chiefly conserves it. Vocal flexibility—the ability in speaking to vary the intonations of the voice at pleasure—is primarily achieved by declamatory exercise.a Thus with regard to vocal volume, and in a degree also to stability, since one is the gift of nature and the other is acquired by declamation, it is pointless to give any other advice than that the method of cultivating the voice should be sought from those skilled in this art.b XII. It seems, however, that I must discuss stability in the degree that it is conserved by a system of declamation, and also vocal flexibility (this is especially necessary to the speaker), because it too is acquired by the discipline of declamation.

21 We can, then, in speaking conserve stability mainly by using for the Introduction a voice as calm and composed as possible. For the windpipe is injured if filled with a violent sound before it has been soothed by soft intonations. And it is appropriate to use rather long pauses—the voice is refreshed by respiration and the windpipe is rested by silence. We should also relax from continual use of the full voice and pass to the tone of conversation; for, as the result of changes, no one kind of tone is spent, and we are complete in the entire range. Again, we ought to avoid piercing exclamations, for a shock that wounds the windpipe is produced by shouting which is excessively sharp and shrill,c and the brilliance of the voice is altogether used up by one outburst. Again, at the end of the speech it is proper to deliver long periods in one unbroken

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a Note that these references to declamatio, the earliest in extant Latin literature, appear in connection with delivery. Declamatio = probably διαμαθέας. See S. F. Bonner, Roman Declamation in the Late Republic and Early Empire, Liverpool, 1949, p. 20, note 3.

b The phonesei, teachers of singing and declamation.

c The Rhodian school opposed the overloud delivery of the Asiatic orators.

* Cf. Dionysius Halic., De Composit. Verb., ch. 23, on the smooth mode of composition: "It limits . . . the measure of the period so that a man's full breath will be able to encompass it;" Cicero, Brutus 8, 34.  
* Our author repeats the thought of the first sentence of Sect. 21 immediately above.  
* He proceeds at once to do so; see 3. xiii. 23–xiv. 25. The detailed rules that follow belong to a rhetoric later than that of Theophrastus, who apparently did not hand down many

breath, for then the throat becomes warm, the wind-pipe is filled, and the voice, which has been used in a variety of tones, is restored to a kind of uniform and constant tone. How often must we be duly thankful to nature, as here! Indeed what we declare to be beneficial for conserving the voice applies also to agreeableness of delivery, and, as a result, what benefits our voice likewise finds favour in the hearer's taste. A useful thing for stability is a calm tone in the Introduction. What is more disagreeable than the full voice in the Introduction to a discourse? Pauses strengthen the voice. They also render the thoughts more clear-cut by separating them, and leave the hearer time to think. Relaxation from a continuous full tone conserves the voice, and the variety gives extreme pleasure to the hearer too, since now the conversational tone holds the attention and now the full voice rouses it. Sharp exclamation injures the voice and likewise jars the hearer, for it has about it something ignoble, suited rather to feminine outcry than to manly dignity in speaking. At the end of the speech a sustained flow is beneficial to the voice. And does not this, too, most vigorously stir the hearer at the Conclusion of the entire discourse? Since, then, the same means serve the stability of the voice and agreeableness of delivery, my present discussion will have dealt with both at once, offering as it does the observations that have seemed appropriate on stability, and the related observations on agreeableness. The rest I shall set forth somewhat later, in its proper place.  

precepts of delivery. See Johannes Stroux, De Theophrasti virtutibus dicendi, Leipzig, 1912, p. 70; Maximilian Schmidt, Commentatio de Theophrasto rhetore, Halle, 1839, p. 61.
XIII. Mollitudo igitur vocis, quoniam omnis ad rhetoris praeceptionem pertinent, diligentius nobis consideranda est. Ilam dividimus in sermonem, contentionem, amplificationem. Sermo est oratio remissa et finitima cotidianae locutioni. Contentio est oratio acri et ad confirmandum et ad confutandum accommodata. Amplificatio est oratio quae aut in iracundiam inducit, aut ad misericordiam trahit auditoris animum.

Sermo dividitur in partes quattuor: dignitatem, demonstrationem, narrationem, locutionem. Dignitas est oratio cum aliqua gravitate et vocis remissione. Demonstrationis est oratio quae docet remissa voce quomodo quid fieri potuerit aut non potuerit. Narratio est rerum gestarum aut proinde ut gestarum expositio. Locatio est oratio quae ex aliqua re rison pudendem et liberalen potest comparare.

Contentio dividitur in continuationem et in distributionem. Continuatio est orationis enuntiandae acceleratio clamosa. Distributio est in contentione oratio frequens cum raris et brevibus intervallis, acri vociferatione.

Amplificatio dividitur in cohortationem et in questionem. Cohortatio est oratio quae aliquod

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AD HERENNIUM, III. xii. 23-24

23 XIII. Now the flexibility of the voice, since it depends entirely on rhetorical rules, deserves our more careful consideration. The aspects of flexibility are Conversational Tone, Tone of Debate, and Tone of Amplification. The Tone of Conversation is relaxed, and is closest to daily speech. The Tone of Debate is energetic, and is suited to both proof and refutation. The Tone of Amplification either rouses the hearer to wrath or moves him to pity.

Conversational tone comprises four kinds: the Dignified, the Explicative, the Narrative, and the Facetious. The Dignified, or Serious, Tone of Conversation is marked by some degree of impressiveness and by vocal restraint. The Explicative in a calm voice explains how something could or could not have been brought to pass. The Narrative sets forth events that have occurred or might have occurred. The Facetious can on the basis of some circumstance elicit a laugh which is modest and refined.

In the Tone of Debate are distinguishable the Sustained and the Broken. The Sustained is fullvoiced and accelerated delivery. The Broken Tone of Debate is punctuated repeatedly with short, intermittent pauses, and is vociferated sharply.

The Tone of Amplification includes the Hortatory and the Pathetic. The Hortatory, by amplifying

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* Cf. the definition of dignitas, 4. xiii. 18 below.
* The same definition of narratio as in I. iii. 4 above.
* The Facetious belongs naturally to sermo; see note on contentio above. The definition recalls the difference (e.g., Aristotle, Eth. Nic. 4. 14, 1128) between the wit whose jests are in good taste (πράσατος), and the buffoon (μοσρός).
peccatum amplificans auditorem ad iracundiam adducit. Conquestio est oratio quae incommmodorum amplificatione animum auditoris ad misericordiam perducit.

Quoniam igitur multitudine vocis in tres partes divisa est, et eae partes ipsae sunt in octo partes alias distributae, harum octo partium quae cuiusque idonea pronuntiatio sit demonstrandum videtur.

XIV. Sermo cum est in dignitate, plenis faucibus quam sedatissima et depressissima vocet uti conveniet, ita tamen ut ne ab oratoria consuetudine ad tragicam transeamus. Cum autem est in demonstratione, voce paululum attenuata, erebris intervallis et divisionibus oportet uti, ut in ipsa pronuntiatione eas res quas demonstrabimus inserere atque insecare videamur in animis auditorum. Cum autem est sermo in narratione, voce varietates opus sunt, ut quo quidque paeso gestum sit ita narrare videamur.1 Strenue quod volumus ostendere factum, celeriusque dicemus; at aliud otiose, retardabimus. Deinde modo acriter, tunc clementer, maeste, hilare in omnes partes commutabimus ut verba item pronunciationem. Si qua incident in narrationem dicta, rogata, responda, si quae admirationes de quibus nos narrabimus, diligenter animum adverteremus ut omnium personarum sensus atque animos

1 videamur id: videatur other MSS. Mx.

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some fault, incites the hearer to indignation. The Pathetic, by amplifying misfortunes, wins the hearer over to pity.a

Since, then, vocal flexibility is divided into three tones, and these in turn subdivide into eight others, it appears that we must explain what delivery is appropriate to each of these eight subdivisions.

XIV. (1) For the Dignified Conversational Tone it will be proper to use the full throat but the calmest and most subdued voice possible, yet not in such a fashion that we pass from the practice of the orator to that of the tragedian.b (2) For the Explicative Conversational Tone one ought to use a rather thin-toned voice, and frequent pauses and intermissions, so that we seem by means of the delivery itself to implant and engrave in the hearer's mind the points we are making in our explanation. (3) For the Narrative Conversational Tone varied intonations are necessary, so that we seem to recount everything just as it took place. Our delivery will be somewhat rapid when we narrate what we wish to show was done vigorously, and it will be slower when we narrate something else done in leisurely fashion. Then, corresponding to the content of the words, we shall modify the delivery in all the kinds of tone, now to sharpness, now to kindness, or now to sadness, and now to gaiety. If in the Statement of Facts there occur any declarations, demands, replies, or exclamations of astonishment concerning the facts we are narrating, we shall give careful attention to expressing with the voice the

a Amplification and Appeal to Pity are separated in 2. xxx. 47 and 2. xxxi. 50 above; cf. 4. viii. 11 (the Grand Style), 4. xxviii. 38 (Reduplication), 4. liii. 66 (Personification), and also 4. xxxix. 51 (Vivid Description) below.

b On the speaker's delivery as against the actor's see 3. xv. 26 below; Cicero, Orator 25. 86; Quintilian, 11. 3. 57, 181 ff.
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25 voce exprimamus. Sin erit sermo in locatione, leviter tremebunda voce, cum parva significatione risus, sine ulla suspicione nimiae cachinnationis leniter oportebit ab sermone serio torquere verba ad liberalem locum.

Cum autem contendere oportebit, quoniam id aut per continuationem aut per distributionem facienda est, in continuatione, adaudoct mediocriter sono vocis,1 verbis continuandis vocem quoque iungere 2 oportebit et torquere sonum et celeriter cum clamore verba conficere, ut vim volubilem orationis vociferatio consequi possit. In distributione vocis ab imis faucibus exclamationem quam clarissimam adhibere oportet, et quantum spatii in singulas exclamationes sumperimus, tantum in singula intervalla spatii consumere lumbemur.

In amplificationibus cum cohoratione utemur voce adnervatisima, clamore leni, sono aquebili, communicatiis crebris, maxima celeritate. In conclusione utemur voce depressa, inclinato sono, crebris intervallis, longis spatiiis, magnis commutationibus.

XV. De figura vocis satis dictum est; nunc de corporis motu dicendum videtur.

26 Motus est corporis gestus et vultus moderatio quaedam quaee probabiliora reddit ea quaee pronuntiantur. Convenit igitur in vultu pudorem et acriomiam esse, in gestu nec venustatatem consipi

1 vocis P C III E Mx ed. mai. : vocis M Mx.
2 iungere P B2 II : adiungere d : augere CE Mx : rugere M.

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25 feelings and thoughts of each personage. (4) For the Facetious Conversational Tone, with a gentle quiver in the voice, and a slight suggestion of a smile, but without any trace of immoderate laughter, one ought to shift one's utterance smoothly from the Serious Conversational tone to the tone of gently- manly jest.

Since the Tone of Debate is to be expressed either through the Sustained or the Broken, when the (5) Sustained Tone of Debate is required, one ought moderately to increase the vocal volume, and, in maintaining an uninterrupted flow of words, also to bring the voice into harmony with them, to inflect the tone accordingly, and to deliver the words rapidly in a full voice, so that the voice production can follow the fluent energy of the speech. (6) For the Broken Tone of Debate we must with deepest chest tones produce the clearest possible exclamations, and I advise giving as much time to each pause as to each exclamation.

For (7) the Hortatory Tone of Amplification we shall use a very thin-toned voice, moderate loudness, an even flow of sound, frequent modulations, and the utmost speed. (8) For the Pathetic Tone of Amplification we shall use a restrained voice, deep tone, frequent intermissions, long pauses, and marked changes.

XV. On Voice Quality enough has been said. Now it seems best to discuss Physical Movement.

26 Physical movement a consists in a certain control of gesture and mien which renders what is delivered more plausible. Accordingly the facial expression should show modesty and animation, and the gestures should not be conspicuous for either elegance or

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a For the fullest extant treatment of gesture in ancient rhetoric see Quintilian, Bk. 11, ch. 3.
ciendam nec turpitudinem esse, ne aut histriones aut operarii videamur esse. Ad easdem igitur partes in quas vox est distributa motus quoque corporis ratio videtur esse adcommodanda. Nam si erit sermo cum dignitate, stantis in vestigio, levi dexterae manu, loqui oportebit, hilaritate, tristitia, mediocritate vultus ad sermonis sententias ad commodata. Sin erit in demonstratione sermo, paululum corpus a cervicibus demittemus; nam est hoc datum ut quam proxime tum vultum admoveamus ad auditores si quam rem docere eos et vehementer instigare velimus. Sin erit in narratione sermo, idem motus poterit idoneus esse qui paulo ante demonstrabatur in dignitate. Sin in locacione, vultu quandam debemus hilaritatem significare sine commutacione gestus.

27 Sin contendemus per continuationem, brachio celeri, mobilii vultu, acr an aspectu utemur. Sin contentio fiet per distributionem, porrectione perceleri brachii, inambulatione, pedis dexteri rara supplusione, acri et defixo aspectu uti oportet. Sin utemur amplificatione per cohortationem, paulo tardiore et consideratiori gestu conveniet uti, similibus ceteris rebus atque in contentione per continuationem. Sin utemur amplificatione per

1 supplusione βd, subplusione PαΠβB: supplusione Ηd, subplusione ΠβΜξ: subplusione C.

AD HERENNIUM, III. xv. 26-27

grossness, a lest we give the impression that we are either actors or day labourers. It seems, then, that the rules regulating bodily movement ought to correspond to the several divisions of tone comprising voice. To illustrate: (1) For the Dignified Conversational Tone, the speaker must stay in position when he speaks, lightly moving his right hand, his countenance expressing an emotion corresponding to the sentiments of the subject—gaiety or sadness or an emotion intermediate. (2) For the Explicative Conversational Tone, we shall incline the body forward a little from the shoulders, since it is natural to bring the face as close as possible to our hearers when we wish to prove a point and arouse them vigorously. (3) For the Narrative Conversational Tone, the same physical movement as I have just set forth for the Dignified will be appropriate. (4) For the Facetious Conversational Tone, we should by our countenance express a certain gaiety, without changing gestures.

27 (5) For the Sustained Tone of Debate, we shall use a quick gesture of the arm, a mobile countenance, and a keen glance. (6) For the Broken Tone of Debate, one must extend the arm very quickly, walk up and down, occasionally stamp the right foot, and adopt a keen and fixed look.

(7) For the Hortatory Tone of Amplification, it will be appropriate to use a somewhat slower and more deliberate gesticulation, but otherwise to follow the procedure for the Sustained Tone of Debate. (8) For the Pathetic Tone of Amplification,

that Theophrastus gave free play to gestures in his own delivery. Cf. 3. xiv. 24 above; also Cicero, De Oratore 2. 59. 242, 3. 59. 220; Quintilian, 11. 3. 89; Gellius 1. 5.
conquestionem, feminis plangore et capitis icu, nonnumquam sedato et constanti gestu, maesto et conturbato vultu uti oportebit.

Non sum nescius quantum susceperim negotii qui motus corporis exprimere verbis et imitari scriptura conatus sim voces. Verum nec hoc confusis sum posse fieri ut de rebus satis commodo scribi posset, nec, si id fieri non posset, hoc quod feci fore inutile putabam, propere quod hic adhonester voluntus quid oporteret; reliqua trademus exercitationi. Hoc tamen scire oportet, pronuntiationem bonam id proficere, ut res ex animo animum videatur.

28 XVI. Nunc ad thesaurum inventorum atque ad omnium partium rhetoricae custodem, memoriam, transcamus.

Memoria utrum habeat quiddam artificiosi, an omnis ab natura proficiscatur, alid dicendi tempus magis idoneum dabitur. Nunc proinde atque constet in hac re multum valere artem et praeceptionem, ita de ea re loquemur. Placet enim nobis esse artificio

1 proficiere M: perficere other MSS. Mz.

AD HERENNIUM, III. xv. 27–xvi. 28

one ought to slap one’s thigh and beat one’s head, and sometimes to use a calm and uniform gesticulation and a sad and disturbed expression.

I am not unaware how great a task I have undertaken in trying to express physical movements in words and portray vocal intonations in writing. True, I was not confident that it was possible to treat these matters adequately in writing. Yet neither did I suppose that, if such a treatment were impossible, it would follow that what I have done here would be useless, for it has been my purpose merely to suggest what ought to be done. The rest I shall leave to practice. This, nevertheless, one must remember: good delivery ensures that what the orator is saying seems to come from his heart.

28 XVI. Now let me turn to the treasure-house of the ideas supplied by Invention, to the guardian of all the parts of rhetoric, the Memory.

The question whether memory has some artificial quality, or comes entirely from nature, we shall have another, more favourable, opportunity to discuss. At present I shall accept as proved that in this matter art and method are of great importance, and shall treat the subject accordingly. For my part I am

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* Cf. Quintilian, I. 3. 123: “Slapping the thigh, which, it is believed, Cleon [see Plutarch, Nicia 8] was the first to introduce at Athens, is in common use; it is becoming a sign of indignation and also excites the hearer. Cicero [Brutus 10. 278] misses this in Galadius.” In Lucian, Rhetor, Preceptor C.; the young learner is satirically encouraged to make use of this gesture.

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satisfied that there is an art of memory—the grounds of my belief I shall explain elsewhere. For the present I shall disclose what sort of thing memory is. There are, then, two kinds of memory: one natural, and the other the product of art. The natural memory is that memory which is imbedded in our minds, born simultaneously with thought. The artificial memory is that memory which is strengthened by a kind of training and system of discipline. But just as in everything else the merit of natural excellence often rivals acquired learning, and art, in its turn, reinforces and develops the natural advantages, so does it happen in this instance. The natural memory, if a person is endowed with an exceptional one, is often like this artificial memory, and this artificial memory, in its turn, retains and develops the natural advantages by a method of discipline. Thus the natural memory must be strengthened by discipline so as to become exceptional, and, on the other hand, this memory provided by discipline requires natural ability. It is neither more nor less true in this instance than in the other arts that science thrives by the aid of innate ability, and nature by the aid of the rules of art. The training here offered will therefore also be useful to those who by nature have a good memory, as you will yourself soon come to understand. But even if these, relying on their natural talent, did not need our help, we should still be justified in wishing to aid the less well-endowed. Now I shall discuss the artificial memory.

\[\text{AD HERENNIUM, III. xvi. 28–29}\]

XVII. Quemadmodum igitur qui litteras scint possunt id quod dictatur eis scribere, et recitare quod scripserunt, item qui mnemonic 2 didicerunt possunt quod audierunt in locis conlocare et ex his memoriter pronuntiare. Nam loci cerae aut chartae simillimi sunt, imagines litteris, dispositio et conlocatio imaginum scripturae, pronuntiatio lectioni. Oportet igitur, si volumus multa meminisse, multos nos nobis locos comparare, uti multis locis multas imagines conlocare possimus. Item putamus oportere ex ordine hos locos habere, ne quando perturbatione ordinis

1 ex locis M: locis et E Mx.
2 qui mnemonic Aldus: qui nemenica Mx: quinimmodica P: qui immmodica Hb: qui immmodica H C ld.

AD HERENNIUM, III. xvi. 29–xvii. 30

The artificial memory includes backgrounds and images. By backgrounds I mean such scenes as are naturally or artificially set off on a small scale, complete and conspicuous, so that we can grasp and embrace them easily by the natural memory—for example, a house, an intercolumnar space, a recess, an arch, or the like. An image is, as it were, a figure, mark, or portrait of the object we wish to remember; for example, if we wish to recall a horse, a lion, or an eagle, we must place its image in a definite background. Now I shall show what kind of backgrounds we should invent and how we should discover the images and set them therein.

XVII. Those who know the letters of the alphabet can thereby write out what is dictated to them and read aloud what they have written. Likewise, those who have learned mnemonics can set in backgrounds what they have heard, and from these backgrounds deliver it by memory. For the backgrounds are very much like wax tablets a or papyrus, the images like the letters, the arrangement and disposition of the images like the script, and the delivery is like the reading. We should therefore, if we desire to memorize a large number of items, equip ourselves with a large number of backgrounds, so that in these we may set a large number of images. I likewise think it obligatory to have these backgrounds in a series, so that we may never by confusion in their order be prevented from following the images—

450 ab. Cf. also, in Theophrastus, De Sens. 51–2, Democritus' theory that in vision the air is moulded like wax, and see the interpretation of this passage by Paul Friedländer, Die platonischen Schriften, Berlin and Leipzig, 1930, p. 448, note 1.

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450 ab. Cf. also, in Theophrastus, De Sens. 51–2, Democritus' theory that in vision the air is moulded like wax, and see the interpretation of this passage by Paul Friedländer, Die platonischen Schriften, Berlin and Leipzig, 1930, p. 448, note 1.
[CICERO]

inpediamur quo setius quoque quoque loco¹ libebit, vel ab superiore vel ab inferiore parte, imagines sequi, et ea quae mandata locis erunt edere possimus; XVII. nam ut, si in ordine stantes notos complures viderimus, nihil nostra interist utrum ab summum an ab imo an ab medio nomina eorum dicere incipiamus, item in locis ex ordine conlocatis eveniet ut in quandlibet partem quoque loco libebit, imaginibus commoneit, dicere possimus id quo locis manda-

31 verimus. Quare placet et ex ordine locos conparare.

Locos quos sumperimns egregie committari oportebit, ut perpetuo nobis haerere possint; nam imagines, sicuti litterae, delentur ubi nihil utimur; loci, tamquam cera, remanere debent. Et ne forte in numero locorum falli possimus, quintum quemque placet notari; quod genus si in quinto loco manum auream conlocemus, si in decimo aliquem notum cui praenomen sit Decimo, deinde facile erit deinceps² similis notas quinto quoque³ loco conlocare. XIX. Item commodius est in derelicta quam in celebri regione locos conparare, propetrea quod frequentia et obambulatio hominum conturbat et infirmat imaginum notas, solitudine conservat integras simulacrorum figuratas. Praeterea dissimiles forma atque natura loci conparandi sunt, ut distincti interlocere

AD HERENNIIUM, III. xvii. 30–xix. 31

proceeding from any background we wish, whatsoever its place in the series, and whether we go forwards or backwards—nor from delivering orally what has been committed to the backgrounds. XVIII. For example, if we should see a great number of our acquaintances standing in a certain order, it would not make any difference to us whether we should tell their names beginning with the person standing at the head of the line or at the foot or in the middle. So with respect to the backgrounds. If these have been arranged in order, the result will be that, reminded by the images, we can repeat orally what we have committed to the backgrounds, proceeding in either direction from any background we please. That is why it also seems best to arrange the backgrounds in a series.

We shall need to study with special care the backgrounds we have adopted so that they may cling lastingly in our memory, for the images, like letters, are effaced when we make no use of them, but the backgrounds, like wax tablets, should abide. And that we may by no chance err in the number of backgrounds, each fifth background should be marked. For example, if in the fifth we should set a golden hand, and in the tenth some acquaintance whose first name is Decimus, it will then be easy to station like marks in each successive fifth background. XIX. Again, it will be more advantageous to obtain backgrounds in a deserted than in a populous region, because the crowding and passing to and fro of people confuse and weaken the impress of the images, while solitude keeps their outlines sharp. Further, backgrounds differing in form and nature must be secured, so that, thus distinguished, they

¹ quoque loco ² deinceps ³ quoque

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1: quoque loco
2: deinceps
3: quoque
possint; nam si qui multa intercolumnia sumpserit, conturbabitur similitudine ut ignoret quid in quoque loco conlocaret. Et magnitudo modica et mediocres locos habere oportet; nam et praeter modum ampli vagas imagines reddent, et nimirum angusti saepe non videntur posse capere imaginum con-
locationem. Tum nunc nimirum illustres nec vehementer obscuros locos habere oportet, ne aut opeaeentur tenebris imagines aut splendore praefulgeant. Intervalla locorum medioeria placet esse, fere paulo plus aut minus pedum trienun; nam ut aspectus item cogitatio minus valet sive nimirum procul removeris sive vehementer prope admovetis id quod oportet videri.

Sed quamquam facile est el qui paulo plura noverit quamvis multos et idoneos locos comparare, tamen si qui satis idoneos invenire se non putabat, ipse sibi constituit quam volet multos liebit. Cogitationem enim quamvis regionem potest amplecti, et in ea situm loci cuiusdam ad suum arbitrium fabricare et architectur. Quare liebit, si haec prompta copia contenti non erimus, nosmet ipsos cogitatione nostra regionem constituere, et idonearum locorum commodissimam distinctionem comparare.

De locis satis dictum est; nunc ad imaginum rationem transeamus.

XX. Quoniam ergo rerum similis imaginum esse oportet, ex omnibus rebus nosmet nobis similitudines eligere debemus. Duplices igitur similitudines esse

1 quoque MI: uno quoque d: quoque bMx.
debent, unae rerum, alterae verborum. Rerum similitudines exprimuntur cum summamiam ipsorum negotiorum imaginem comparatum; verborum similitudines constituuntur cum unius eiusque nominis et vocabuli memoriae imagine notatur.

Rei totius memoriam saepe una nota et imagine simplici comprehendimus; hoc modo, ut si accusator dixerit ab reo hominem veneno necatum et hereditatis causa factum arguerit et eius rei multos dixerit testes et conscius esse. Si hoc primum, ut ad defendendum nobis expiditum sit, meminisse volemus, in primo loco rei totius imaginem conformabimus; aegrotum in lecto cubantem faciemus ipsum illum de quo agerur, si formam eius detinebimus; si cum non agnoerimus, at aliquem aegrotum non de minimis loco sumemus, ut cito in mentem venire possit. Et reum ad lectum eius additnemus, dextera pocium, sinistra tabulas, medico tectulis arietinos tenentem. Hoc modo et testium et hereditatis et veneno necati memoriam habere poterimus. Item deinceps cetera crimina ex ordine in locis ponemus et quotiescumque rem meminisse volemus, si formarum dispositione et imaginum diligenti notatione utemur, facile ea quae volemus memoria consequemur.

1. agnoerimus E: other MSS. Mx omit.

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be of two kinds, one of subject-matter, the other of words. Likenesses of matter are formed when we enlist images that present a general view of the matter with which we are dealing; likenesses of words are established when the record of each single noun or appellative is kept by an image.

Often we encompass the record of an entire matter by one notation, a single image. For example, the prosecutor has said that the defendant killed a man by poison, has charged that the motive for the crime was an inheritance, and declared that there are many witnesses and accessories to this act. If in order to facilitate our defence we wish to remember this first point, we shall in our first background form an image of the whole matter. We shall picture the man in question as lying ill in bed, if we know his person. If we do not know him, we shall yet take some one to be our invalid, but not a man of the lowest class, so that he may come to mind at once. And we shall place the defendant at the bedside, holding in his right hand a cup, and in his left tablets, and on the fourth finger a ram’s testicles. In this way we can record the man who was poisoned, the inheritance, and the witnesses. In like fashion we shall set the other counts of the charge in backgrounds successively, following their order, and whenever we wish to remember a point, by properly arranging the patterns of the backgrounds and carefully imprinting the images, we shall easily succeed in calling back to mind what we wish.

(witnesses). Of the scrotum of the ram purses were made; thus the money used for bribing the witnesses may perhaps also be suggested.

At 3. xvi. 29 above formae is used to describe the images.
XXI. Cum verborum similitudines imaginibus exprimere volemus, plus negotii suscipiendum est magis ingenium nostrum exerceremus. Id nos hoc modo facere oportebit:

Iam domum itionem reges Atriea parant.

Hunc versum meminisse si volemus, conveniet primo in loco constitueo manus ad caelum tollentem Domition cum a Regibus Marciis loris caedatur—hoc erit "Iam domum itionem reges;" in altero loco Aesopum et Cimbrum subornari ut ad Iphigeniam in Agamemnonem et Menelaum—hoc erit "Atriea parant." Hoc modo omnia verba erunt expresse. Sed haec imaginum conformatio tum valet si naturalen memoriae adhuc tesserit haec notatone, ut versus positio ipsi nobis quantum transeamus bis aut tertum versus, deinde locis imaginibus verba exprimamus. Hoc modo naturae suppediitatur doctrina. Nam utraque altera separata minus erit firma, ita tamen ut multo plus in doctrina atque arte praedidit sit. Quod docere non gravaremur, ni

XXI. When we wish to represent by images the likenesses of words, we shall be undertaking a greater task and exercising our ingenuity the more. This we ought to effect in the following way:

Iam domum itionem reges Atriea parant.

"And now their home-coming the kings, the sons of Atreus, are making ready."

If we wish to remember this verse, in our first background we should put Domitius, raising hands to heaven while he is lashed by the March Reges—that will represent "Iam domum itionem reges" ("And now their home-coming the kings"); in the second background, Aesopus and Cimber, being dressed as for the roles of Agamemnon and Menelaus in Iphigenia—that will represent "Atriea parant" ("the sons of Atreus, are making ready"). By this method all the words will be represented. But such an arrangement of images succeeds only if we use our notation to stimulate the natural memory, so that we first go over a given verse twice or three times to ourselves and then represent the words by means of images. In this way art will supplement nature. For neither by itself will be strong enough, though we must note that theory and technique are much the more reliable. I should not hesitate to

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1 loc.; hunc versum meminisse si volemus conveniet primo sugg. Mx.
2 Ephigeniam MSS. Mx.

* An iambic sonarius, whether our author's own creation or from a tragedy by an unknown author (the Iphigenia mentioned below?) is uncertain. Note that here the play is upon the form of the word, not its meaning, and that no special provision is made for the adverb iam. Quintilian, 11. 2. 25, doubts the efficacy of symbols to record a series of connected words: "I do not mention the fact that some things, certainly conjunctions, for example, cannot be represented by images."

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b The scene is doubtless our author's own creation. Rex was the name of one of the most distinguished families of the March gens; the Domitian (of plebeian origin) was likewise a celebrated gens.

c Claudius Aesopus (a friend of Cicero) was the greatest tragic actor of the first half of the first century B.C.; Cimber, mentioned only here, was no doubt also a favourite of the day. See Otto Ribbeck, Die römische Tragödie im Zeitalter der Republik, Leipzig, 1875, pp. 674-6.
metueremus ne, cum ab instituto nostro recessis-
semus, minus commode servaretur haec dilucida
brevitas praecceptionis.

35 Nunc, quoniam solet accidere ut imagines partim
firmae et acres et ad monendum idoneae sint, partim
inbecellae et infirmae quae vix memoriam possint
excitare, qua de causa utrumque fiat considerandum
est, ut, cognita causa, quas vitemus et quas sequamur
imagines scire possimus.

XXII. Docet igitur nos ipsa natura quid oporteat
fieri. Nam si quas res in vita videmus parvas, usita-
tas, cotidianas, meminisse non solemus, propertea
quod nulla nova nec admirabili re commovetur
animum; at si quid videmus aut audimus egregie
turpe, inhonestum, inusitatum, magnum, incredi-
ble, ridiculum, id dixi meminisse consuevimus. Itaque
quas res ante nos videmus aut audimus obliviscimur
plerumque; quae acciderunt in puertia meminimus
optime saepe; nec hoc alia de causa potest accidere
 nisi quod usitatae res facile e memoria elabuntur, in-
signes et novae diutius manent in animo. Solis
exortus, cursus, occasus nemo admiratur propertea
quia cotidie sunt; at eclipses solis mirantur quia
rare accident, et solis eclipses\textsuperscript{2} magis mirantur quam
lunae propertea quod haec\textsuperscript{3} crebris e sunt. Docet
ergo se natura vulgari et usitata re non exsuscitari,
novitatem et insigni quodam negotio commoveri.
Imitetur igitur natuream, et quod ea desiderat id

\textsuperscript{1} eclipses II b d Mx; eclipses HBCI: aeglypsis P.
\textsuperscript{2} eclipses b; eclipse II d Mx; eclipses HB1: aeglypsis C:
\textsuperscript{3} hae P\textsuperscript{b} BC d; haec l Mx.

\textsuperscript{a} Cf. Jerome, Apol. adv. libr. Rufini 1. 30.

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demonstrate this in detail, did I not fear that, once
having departed from my plan, I should not so well
preserve the clear conciseness of my instruction.

35 Now, since in normal cases some images are
strong and sharp and suitable for awakening recollec-
tion, and others so weak and feeble as hardly to
succeed in stimulating memory, we must therefore
consider the cause of these differences, so that, by
knowing the cause, we may know which images to
avoid and which to seek.

XXII. Now nature herself teaches us what we
should do. When we see in everyday life things that
are petty, ordinary, and banal, we generally fail to
remember them, because the mind is not being stirred
by anything novel or marvellous. But if we see or
hear something exceptionally base, dishonourable,
extraordinary, great, unbelievable, or laughable,
that we are likely to remember a long time. Accord-
ingly, things immediate to our eye or ear we com-
monly forget; incidents of our childhood we often
remember best.\textsuperscript{a} Nor could this be so for any other
reason than that ordinary things easily slip from the
memory while the striking and novel stay longer in
mind. A sunrise, the sun’s course, a sunset, are
marvellous to no one because they occur daily.\textsuperscript{b}
But solar eclipses are a source of wonder because
they occur seldom, and indeed are more marvellous
than lunar eclipses, because these are more frequent.
Thus nature shows that she is not aroused by the
common, ordinary event, but is moved by a new or

\textsuperscript{b} Cf. Lucretius 2. 1037–8: “So wondrous would this sight
have been. Yet, wearied as all are with satiety of seeing,
how truly no one now deigns to gaze up at the bright quarters
of heaven!”
inventiat, quod ostendit sequatur. Nihil est enim quod aut natura extremum invenicer aut doctrina primum; sed rerum principia ab ingenio profecta sunt, exitus disciplina conparatur.

37 Imagines igitur nos in eo genere constituere oportebit quod genus in memoria diutissime posset haerere. Id accidit si quam maxime notatas similitudines constituimus; si non multas nec vagas, sed aequalit agentes imaginem ponemus; si egregiam pulcritudinem aut unicum turpitudinem elis adtribuemus; si aequalis exornabimus, ut si coronis aut veste purpurea, quo nobis notator sit similitudo; aut si qua re deformabimus, ut si cruentam aut caeno oblitam aut rubrica delibatum inducemos, quod magis insignita sit forma, aut ridiculas res aequas imaginibus adtribuemus, nam ea res quoque faciatur ut facilius meminisse valeamus. Nam quas res veras facile meminimus, casdem fictas et diligenter notatas meminisse non difficile est. Sed illud facere oportet, ut identidem primos quoque locos imaginum renovandarum causa celeriter animo pervagemus.

38 XXIII. Scio plerisque Graecos qui de memoria scripserunt fecisse ut multorum verborum imaginines conscriberent, ut qui edisci vellet paratas haberent, ne quid in quaerendo consumerent operae. Quorum rationem aliquot de causis inprobatis:

38 XXIII. I know that most of the Greeks who have written on the memory have taken the course of listing images that correspond to a great many words, so that persons who wished to learn these images by heart would have them ready without expending effort on a search for them. I disapprove of their method on several grounds. First, among the

Aurelius, Medit. 11. 10; Plotinus, Enn. 5. 8. 1; Cicero, Orator 15. 58; Quintilian, 8. 3. 71; Dante, Inferno 11. 97 ff.

\[a\] The idea is a commonplace in a variety of schools of thought: e.g., Democritus, fragm. 154, in Diels-Kranz, Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker, 6th ed., 2. 173, and Lucretius 5. 1105, 1334, 1331 ff., 1379; Aristotle, Physics 2. 2 (194 a) and 2. 8 (199 a), Meteor. 4. 3 (381 b), De mundo 3 (396 b), in Diels-Kranz I. 153; Theophrastus, De Causa Plant. 2. 18. 2; Dionysius Halic., Isaeus, ch. 16; Seneca, Epist. 65. 3; Marcus

\[b\] Precisely who these predecessors were we do not know.
primum, quod in verborum innumerabili multitudine ridiculeum est mille verborum imaginibus comparare. Quantulum enim poterunt haec valere, cum ex infinita verborum copia modo aliud modo aliud nos verbum meminisse oportebit? Deinde, cur volumus ab industria quemquam removere, ut ne quid ipsa quaerat, nos illi omnia parata quae sit tradamus? Praeclare, similitudine alia alia magis commovetur. Nam ut saepe, formam si quam similem cuipiam dixerimus esse, non omnes habemus ad sensores, quod alii videtur aliud, item fit in imaginibus ut quae nobis diligentius notata sit, ea parum videatur insignis aliis.

Quare sibi quernque suo commodo convenit imaginibus comparare. Postremo, praeceptoris est docere quem-admodum quaerunt, et unum aliquod aut alterum, non omnium quae eius generis erunt exempli causa subiere, quo res possit esse dilucidior; ut cum de proemii 1 quaerendis disputamus, rationem damus quaerendi, non mille proemii 2 generi conscribens, item arbitramur de imaginibus fieri convenire.

XXIV. Nunc, ne forte verborum memoriam aut namis difficilem aut parum utilile arbitrare, rerum ipsarum memoria contentus sis, quod et utilior sit et plus habeat facultatis, adnonendum est quare verborum memoriam non improbemus. Nam putamus oportere eos qui velint res faciores sine labore et molestia facere in rebus difficilioribus esse ante exercitatos. Nec nos hanc verborum memoriam inducimus ut versus

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innumerabili multitude of words it is ridiculous to collect images for a thousand. How meagre is the value these can have, when out of the infinite store of words we shall need to remember now one, and now another? Secondly, why do we wish to rob anybody of his initiative, so that, to save him from making any search himself, we deliver to him everything searched out and ready? Then again, one person is more struck by one likeness, and another more by another. Often in fact when we declare that some one form resembles another, we fail to receive universal assent, because things seem different to different persons. The same is true with respect to images: one that is well-defined to us appears relatively inconspicuous to others. Everybody, therefore, should in equipping himself with images suit his own convenience. Finally, it is the instructor's duty to teach the proper method of search in each case, and, for the sake of greater clarity, to add in illustration some one or two examples of its kind, but not all. For instance, when I discuss the search for Introductions, I give a method of search and do not draught a thousand kinds of Introductions. The same procedure I believe should be followed with respect to images.

XXIV. Now, lest you should perchance regard the memorizing of words either as too difficult or as of too little use, and so rest content with the memorizing of matter, as being easier and more useful, I must advise you why I do not disapprove of memorizing words. I believe that they who wish to do easy things without trouble and toil must previously have been trained in more difficult things. Nor have I included memorization of words to enable us to get
meminisse possumus, sed ut hac exercitacione illa rerum memoria quae pertinet ad utilitatem confirmetur, ut ab hac difficili consuetudine sine labore ad illam facultatem transire possimus. Sed cum in omni disciplina infirma est artis praecptio sine summa adsiduitate exercitationis, tum vero in mnemoniacis^1 minimum valet doctrina, nisi industria, studio, labore, diligentia conprobatur. Quam plurimos locos ut habeas et quam maxime ad praecpta adecommodatos curare poteris; in imaginibus conlocandis exerceri cotidie convenit. Non enim, sicut a ceteris studiis abducimur nonnumquam occupatione, item ab hac re nos potest causa deducere aliqua. Namquam est enim quin aliquid memoriae tradere velimus, et tum maxime cum aliquo maiore negotio detinemur. Quare, cum sit utile facile meminisse, non te fallit quod tantopere utile sit quanto labore sit appetendum; quod poteris existimare utilitate cognita. Pluribus verbis ad eam te horari non est sententia, ne aut tuo studio diffusi aut minus quam res postulat dixisse videamus.

De quinta parte rhotoricae deinceps dicemus. Tu maximas quasque partes in animo frequenta et, quod maxime necessis est, exercitacione confirmas.

^1 mnemoniacis Aldus: nemoniacis HBP BMx: memorias PSCe.