

## *Index*

- Achaean 135  
 acquisitiveness 39, 61, 73–74, 89, 168, 176–77,  
 192, 227, 289, 290  
*see also* desire  
 active life *see vita activa*  
 Aetolians 135  
 Agathocles 202  
 Agnadello, battle of 155  
 Alamanni, Lodovico 87, 119  
 Alba 275–76  
 Alberti, Leon Battista 22, 200, 209  
 Alexander VI, Pope 85, 105, 154, 174, 183, 229  
 Alexander the Great 176, 177, 191–92  
 Alfonso of Aragon 154  
 Alighieri, Dante 206, 230–31  
 allies 63, 78, 96, 138, 141, 146  
 ambiguity  
   Florence 112  
   Tuscan league 137  
*see also* Machiavelli  
 Anghiari 100  
 appearance  
   Cesare Borgia 203  
   of legitimacy 78, 83  
   of necessity 95–96  
   and the political man 90  
   rhetorical 3, 27, 31  
   of virtue 21, 28, 72, 206, 207  
*see also* concealment  
 Appian 153  
 Aquinas, Thomas 78, 199  
 arcana imperii 84, 289  
 Ardinghelli, Piero 282  
 Arezzo 63–64  
   acquired by Florence in 1384 49, 54  
   Florentine subject city 40, 45, 144, 145  
   opposing Florence 59  
   rebellion in 1502 103–07, 109–10, 116, 117, 145,  
   280–81  
   regaining its liberty in 1343 140–41  
*see also* imperialist strategies, two extremes  
 Aristotle 4, 20, 205–07, 218, 226–27  
   ethics 21, 99, 168, 169, 170, 171–72, 173–74,  
   178–79, 274  
   republicanism 39, 196, 221  
   rhetoric 13, 23, 27, 30, 208, 210–11, 215, 218,  
   225  
   on tyranny 199, 204, 205, 206–07, 209, 211,  
   213, 282  
*see also* cosmology; Machiavelli; middle  
   way  
 Arno 149, 237  
*arte dello stato* 271  
 Ascoli, Albert 13, 14, 255  
 astrology 229, 236  
 astuteness 91, 139  
 Athens 123, 127, 135, 139, 221  
 Augustine 39, 47, 78  
 Bacon, Sir Francis 76, 148, 150  
 Baglioni, the 120  
 Barberi Squarotti, Giorgio 5  
 Baron, Hans 41, 42, 50, 58, 64, 74, 133–34, 139,  
 187, 201, 225, 259  
*see also* civic humanism  
 Bartolus of Sassoferrato 92  
 Bayley, C. C. 42  
 Becker, Marvin 43  
 Bentivoglio, Annibale 215–17  
 Bentivoglio, Giovanni 142  
 Bernardo di Diacceto 114  
 Bible 78, 79, 260  
 big giver 167, 170–71, 176–81  
 Biondo, Flavio 154  
 Bliese, John 92  
 Boesche, Roger 202  
 Boethius 231, 234  
 Bologna 49, 146, 155, 243  
 Bondanella, Peter 167, 172  
 Bonsi, Domenico 92  
 Booth, Wayne 4  
 booty, *see* spoils

Borgia, Cesare 28, 90, 99–100, 155  
 combining contrary qualities 241  
 Florentine *condotta* 100, 102, 116  
 means and ends 202–04  
 potential founder 203  
 proposing a league 146  
 rule of Romagna 142, 206  
 threatening Florence and Tuscany 105, 142, 146  
*see also* Machiavelli  
 Borgia, Girolamo 229  
 Borgia, Lucrezia 155  
 Borgo Sansepolcro 100  
 Bracci, Braccio 51  
 Bracciolini, Poggio 24  
 Brown, Alison 43, 69  
 Brucker, Gene 43  
 Bruges 161  
 Bruni, Leonardo 21–22, 52, 74, 101, 111, 148  
 compared with Machiavelli 270, 272  
 on Florence's regime as mixed 196  
*Historiae* 61–64  
*Laudatio* 55–57  
 liberty and empire 61, 74–75  
 worldly outlook 82  
 Bruscaccio of Rovizzano 51  
 Budé, Guillaume 96  
 Bullard, Melissa 89  
 Burke, Kenneth 5  
 Butters, Humphrey 167  
  
 Cadoni, Giorgio 224  
 Cambrai, league of 97  
 Camillus, Lucius Furius 103, 109, 276  
*see also* triumphators  
 Cancellieri, the 142  
 Canneschi, *see* conspiracy  
 capitalism 289  
 Capitoline tablets 150, 152  
 Capua 123, 131–33  
 Carpaccio, Vittore 86  
 Carthage 123  
*see also* Hannibal  
 Cassirer, Ernst 4, 200  
 Castiglione (Tuscan city) 140  
 Castiglione, Baldesar 25, 33  
 Cerretani, Bartolomeo 71  
 chance 233, 236  
 charisma 152, 153, 165  
 Charlemagne 46  
 Charles VIII, king of France 70, 84–85, 86, 161, 230  
 chickens, sacred 83–84, 86

Christianity 49, 65  
 ethics 21, 66, 80, 81–86, 170  
 triumph of 158–59, 189–91  
*see also* Jesus Christ; Machiavelli; Papacy;  
 Respublica Christiana  
*Chronica de Origine Civitatis* 44, 46  
 Cicero  
*De Officiis* 20  
*De Re Publica* 39  
 influencing Machiavelli 6, 28–30  
 the just war 66, 77, 78  
 and Palmieri's *Vita civile* 65  
 republicanism 39, 196, 205, 206  
 rhetoric 23, 24, 26–27, 30–31, 34, 37  
 citizen 8, 38, 39, 40, 208, 276  
 Città di Castello 120  
 Ciurini, Jacopo 149  
 civic humanism 41, 42, 50, 58, 111, 198  
*see also* Hans Baron; Leonardo Bruni  
 Coby, Patrick 187, 273  
 Cola di Rienzo 150, 154  
 Colle Val d'Elsa 47, 48, 140  
 common good 38, 39, 48, 71, 74, 165, 198, 200, 201  
 concealment  
 of bellicose objectives 89–90, 91, 94  
 of imperialist aspirations 132, 138  
 of intentions 91, 96–97  
 in rhetoric 27, 33, 34  
 of the Roman perspective 132  
 confidence, inspiring 2, 210–11, 212, 213, 217–18, 220  
 conquest  
 perpetual 168  
 sexual 32  
*see also* France; Italy; war  
 conspiracy 2, 34, 212, 213, 214–21  
 the Canneschi conspiracy 215–17  
 the Pazzi conspiracy 217  
 contado 40, 57–69, 117, 144, 145  
 containment 78, 233  
 contemplative life *see vita contemplativa*  
 Corbett, Edward 4  
 Corio, Bernardino 229  
 Coriolanus 194–95, 196–98  
 corruption 88, 89, 91, 196  
 Cortona 57  
 cosmology (Aristotelian) 229, 230, 232, 289  
 counselor 21, 22, 25, 249  
 courtier 33, 119, 283  
 Cox, Virginia 6, 166  
 Croce, Benedetto 228  
 cruelty 83, 142, 143, 149, 198, 205, 228, 235, 236, 249, 275

- cycles 232, 233, 236, 240, 280, 286  
 Cyrus 176, 177, 192, 256
- dangers 95–96, 110, 112, 141, 210, 212, 237  
*see also* Cesare Borgia; conspiracy; fear; necessity
- Dante *see* Alighieri
- D'Appiano, Jacopo 59
- Dati, Goro 58–61
- Davis, Charles 43
- De Grazia, Sebastian 87, 254, 256
- De Sanctis, Francesco 258
- deception 47, 80, 87, 205  
 as the basis of official religion 84  
 in Florentine diplomacy 89  
 in *La mandragola* 3, 34  
 in Machiavelli's imperial thinking 145, 262  
 practiced by tyrants 198–99, 205  
 Quintilian on 25  
 in rhetoric and politics 6, 90–91  
 as Roman strategy 133, 139, 275  
*see also* appearance; concealment
- deconstruction 7, 11–13, 19, 131
- Debord, Guy 264
- demystification 34, 35, 36, 85, 90, 96, 254
- desire 2, 32, 117  
 to acquire 89  
 for conquest 112  
 to dominate 72–73, 197, 200, 225  
 for glory 227  
 to grow 76, 133  
 human nature as desiring 289  
 not to be oppressed 72–73
- devil, the 199
- dictator 160
- dictatores* 46, 184, 185
- Dietz, Mary 167–68
- diplomacy 77, 89–90
- distretto* 40, 144, 145
- Duke of Athens (Walter of Brienne) 48, 63, 64, 140, 288
- Dürer, Albrecht 156
- effects 246, 247, 253, 282  
 comical 34  
 ends vs. effects 203  
 Machiavelli writing for 245  
*la verità effettuale* 6, 169  
*see also* means
- empathy, *see* rhetorical reading
- empire 51, 72, 78, 197  
 empire-building 96  
 Florentine right to 71, 75, 272  
*imperio* 38–42, 61, 110, 140, 182  
 and tyranny 74
- see also* Florence; Machiavelli; the Medici; Rome; world rule
- envy 58, 156
- Erasmus of Rotterdam 24, 96, 210
- Etruscans *see* Tuscans, ancient
- Eugenius IV, Pope 154
- exile 194, 198
- external affairs 72, 120, 147  
 defined in relation to internal and foreign affairs 144–45  
 as Machiavelli's chief occupation 116  
 extraordinary (*extraordinario*) 85, 92–93, 153, 195
- Fabius Maximus 235, 250–51
- Faenza 120
- faith 232, 249, 260
- fame 15, 64, 182, 184
- Fazio degli Uberti 51
- fear 32, 195, 207–08, 212, 213, 227, 276  
 of God 71  
 of the tyrant 208–11
- Federigo of Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino 69
- Ferdinand of Aragon 85, 91, 97, 174, 182
- Ferrara 146, 154
- Ferroni, Giulio 5
- fetial priests (*fetiales*) 77
- Fiesole 267
- Figline 66
- flexibility 133, 195, 240–41, 249–51, 265, 266
- Florence 1, 32, 40  
 constitutional reform 71, 120, 285–86  
 destiny 42, 45, 49, 57, 71, 158  
 foreign policy 63–64, 97–98  
 foreign policy thinking 81, 98–112  
 founding 44, 56  
 francophile 45, 97–98  
 imperialism 40–41, 45, 46, 47, 57, 61, 69  
 liberty and empire 54, 57, 60, 62, 67, 68, 70, 72, 111, 278  
 Milanese wars 41, 51, 57  
 myth of 42  
 new Rome 44, 51, 56, 75, 162, 269  
 new towns 45  
 patriotic tradition 15, 37, 41, 43, 44–75  
 as peace-loving 51, 58, 59  
 political debate around 1513 15, 117–22  
 Roman descent 44, 46, 55, 69, 272  
 Roman identification 41, 49, 50, 53, 55–57, 68  
 second founding 46  
*signoria* 40, 92, 196  
 spiritual revival 45, 70–71  
 Tuscan hegemony 40, 42, 47, 53, 57, 58, 130–31, 140, 141–42, 144, 287–88  
 unfulfilled promises 67  
 as weak 41, 98, 112, 270

Florence (*cont.*)  
 wealth 44, 57, 64, 157  
 world rule 42, 44, 55  
*see also* Machiavelli  
 Florentine vernacular 45, 65, 68, 78  
 Fontana, Benedetto 84  
 force 6, 80, 83, 86, 116, 141, 205, 206  
 to be used as last resort 143  
 foreign affairs  
 defined in relation to internal and external affairs 144–45  
 foresight 29, 101, 102, 119, 237  
 fortune 8, 9, 42, 83, 102, 181, 229, 233, 234–35, 236–38  
 Christian view of 231  
 from above 241  
 from below 247  
 two perspectives on 230–32  
 founding 95, 192, 222  
*see also* Machiavelli  
 fox *see* lion and fox  
 France 1, 90, 102, 174, 182, 270  
 compared with Rome 224  
 constitution of 219, 224  
 invasion of Italy in 1494 70, 79, 97, 117, 121, 228, 230, 238  
*see also* Charles VIII; Louis XII; Parlement de Paris  
 Francesco del Cossa 154  
 Francesco of Carrara, ruler of Padua 20  
 free will 236  
 friends (*amici*) 39, 120, 124, 135, 141  
 frugality 62  
 Fubini, Ricardo 43  
  
 Galilei, Galileo 289  
 Gambacorta, Pietro 59  
 Garver, Eugene 4, 9, 11  
 Gauls 135  
 Genoa 55  
 Gherardi, Giovanni 52  
 Gilbert, Felix 87, 267  
 Giordano, Antonio 146  
 Girolami, Raffaello 101  
 Giustinian, Sebastian 25  
 glory 57, 155, 165–66, 182  
 external aim 38, 61, 74  
 military 88, 117, 164, 197  
 personal 38, 282  
 princely pursuit of 15, 21  
 republican desire for 166  
 Roman 51  
 of the triumphator 149, 153, 191  
 worldly 78, 189–90

God and the divine 21, 83, 229, 232–33, 236–37  
 divine providence 79–80, 230–32  
 speaking with 84, 85, 86  
 Gonfalonierate, the 120  
 Gonzalvo de Cordoba 154  
 good, the 22, 31, 257  
 good intentions 195  
*see also* the honorable virtue  
 Gragno, mountain of 122  
 Granada, fall of 182  
*grandi* 72  
 Grassis, Paris de 155  
 Great Council, the 118, 119, 120  
 great things (*gran cose*) 174, 175–76, 182  
 greatness (*grandezza*) 38, 39, 42, 44, 46, 51, 74, 181–92  
 greatness of spirit (*grandezza dello animo*) 190, 191–92  
 Greece, ancient 77, 123–24, 125  
 Greene, Thomas 11–12, 13, 244–45, 253  
 Guasti, Cesare 179  
 Guelf party 67, 196  
 Guelfism 45–49, 58, 74  
 Guicciardini, Francesco 25, 80  
 commissioner general of the Papal army 80  
 criticism of Machiavelli 286–87  
 on the desire to dominate 72–73  
*Dialogo* 69–70, 72–73, 82, 118–19  
 on the events of 1494 228, 229  
 on Florentine love of liberty 118–19  
 on justice 93  
 on liberty and empire 69–70  
 on the Medici regime 1434–94 119  
 on the mixed constitution 99  
 on Piero, his father 108  
 political pragmatism 82  
 on war 83, 86–87  
 Guicciardini, Piero 100, 102, 107–10, 113, 280  
*see also* *savi*  
 Guingigi, Paolo 65  
 Guittone of Arezzo, Friar 44  
  
 Hankins, James 43  
 Hannibal 51, 154, 235, 236, 249, 250–51  
 hatred 105, 127, 129, 177, 207  
 heavens (*cieli*), the 229, 230, 231, 232–33  
 Henry VIII, king of England 25  
*here and now*, the 248, 264  
 advice applied to 129, 226  
 descent towards 236, 238, 239, 247  
 failure to address 195  
 first principles and 272  
 general principles applied to 248–49, 252  
 Machiavelli's theory applied to other 289  
 prudence as ability to adapt to 265

- hermeneutics 35  
 Hiero, ruler of Syracuse 209  
 Holy League 97–98, 102  
*Homo rhetoricus* 2, 24  
 honor 15, 60, 86, 182  
 honorable, the 24  
 hope 2, 23, 32, 210, 276  
 Hulliung, Mark 42, 139, 187–88, 191, 202  
 Hydra, the 218
- Ilardi, Vincent 261–62  
 imitation 10, 87  
 imperialism *see* Florence; Machiavelli; Milan;  
 Rome; world rule  
 imperialist strategies  
 acquisition of subjects 135, 136  
 benefits 58, 59, 103, 107, 120  
 colonialization 58, 103, 107, 109, 110  
 deportation 58, 103, 110, 113  
 destruction 103, 110, 122, 123–24, 127, 128,  
 129–31, 132  
 extension of citizenship 66, 103, 110  
 factions 109, 121, 142  
 fortresses 58, 107, 109, 121, 128–29  
 fraternization 63–64, 129–31, 132, 135, 136,  
 138–39, 140–44, 145, 277  
 good government 72, 107, 203–04  
 league 135–39  
 local elites 120, 122–24  
 residing there 122, 127–28, 129  
 two extremes, the 103, 105, 107, 108, 131, 147,  
 275–77, 280  
*see also* middle way
- innovations 86, 212  
 intention 4, 10  
 authorial 16, 35–37, 278  
 cloaking of 90, 91, 96–97  
 interpretation of 3, 35, 89–90  
 rhetorical speech as intended 11  
*see also* deception; demystification
- interest 3, 21, 35, 96  
 Florentine 98, 121–22, 140, 262–63, 278, 284  
 self-interest 93, 188, 199–200, 201, 203–04,  
 216, 282, 289  
*see also* common good; mixed constitution;  
 reason of state
- internal affairs, defined in relation to external  
 and foreign affairs 144–45  
 internal discord 48, 67, 88, 198  
 internal unity 39, 67, 88, 143, 198  
 Italian wars 79, 86–87, 93, 155  
*see also* France
- Italy 258–59  
 city-state system 50, 64, 133–34, 135, 144  
 conquest and liberation 259  
 liberation 254  
 unity 51, 131, 134, 258  
 weakness 137  
*iudice terzo* 219, 224  
*iure vivere* 53
- Jeanne d'Arc 84–85  
 Jerusalem 159  
 Jesus Christ 78, 161  
*see also* Christianity; triumphators
- Jews, expulsion from Spain 85  
 judgment 9, 30, 36, 101, 283  
 modern 137, 143  
 Roman 104, 143  
 test of judgment 246  
*see also* prudence
- Julius II, Pope 97–98, 174, 235, 242–43, 246, 248  
*see also* triumphators
- Julius Caesar 44, 56, 175, 176, 177  
*see also* triumphators
- Jupiter 77, 151–52, 153, 190  
 just war, the 78, 81  
*bellum justum* 77  
*bellum pium* 77  
 Christian conception of 78–79, 81  
 Cicero on 77  
 claimed by Florentines 55, 58, 97, 114–15  
 Guicciardini on 83  
 humanist critique of 96  
 Machiavelli on 92, 254  
 Palmieri reiterating Cicero 66
- justice 20, 21, 25, 31, 39, 58, 60, 66, 71, 77, 79,  
 92–94, 256–57
- Kahn, Victoria 9–11, 43, 202, 252  
 Kocis, Robert 202
- Lang von Wellenburg, bishop of Gurk 155  
 Lanham, Richard 2  
 Latin 1, 65  
 Latium, the pacification of 275, 276–77  
 Laurana, Francesco 154  
 Laurentian paradigm *see* Lorenzo de' Medici  
 leagues 63, 131–47  
*see also* allies; Tuscan league
- Lefort, Claude 255  
 legitimacy, legitimation 17, 48, 60, 61, 66,  
 76–77, 78, 83  
*see also* rhetoric, justificatory
- Leo X, Pope *see* Giovanni de' Medici
- Lentulus, Lucius 93
- levels, interpretative 16, 37, 81, 112, 264, 278, 280  
 ideological 18–19, 37, 81, 264, 270, 271–78  
 ideological manipulation 81  
 manifest text vs. subtext 218

- levels, interpretative (*cont.*)  
 rhetorical 16, 18–19, 37, 81, 264, 272, 278–85  
 theoretical 264, 272  
*see also* Machiavelli, mode of teaching;  
 perspectives; rhetorical reading, duality
- liberalism 41
- liberty 47, 49–50  
 communal 45, 46, 114  
 dual meaning of 39  
 Florentine 47, 49, 51, 61, 72, 87, 117  
 Guelf 47–48  
 Guicciardini on 72  
 Italian 49–50, 53–54, 57–69  
 as justification for war 94  
 love of 73, 88, 124  
 memory of 118–19, 125, 127  
 negative 39  
 positive 39  
 as republican value 38–42  
 Roman 56  
*see also* Florence; Machiavelli; Pisa
- lion and fox 206, 220
- Livorno 57
- Livy 38, 46, 61, 103, 135, 148, 153, 157, 191–92,  
 256–57, 275, 276
- Lodi, peace of 97
- Lombardy 90, 98, 135, 136, 273
- Loschi, Antonio 52, 56
- Louis XII, king of France 89, 102, 174, 220  
*see also* triumphators
- love 21, 71, 116, 207, 216, 260
- Lucca 45, 46, 63, 65, 115, 122, 130, 144, 146–47
- Lycurgus 222
- Lyons 161
- McCanles, Michael 9, 10, 11
- Machiavelli, Niccolò 25, 62, 73, 74, 80, 83, 87,  
 93–94, 228  
 Aristotle, subverting 226–27  
 on Cesare Borgia 268  
 on Girolamo Savonarola 84, 85–86, 268  
 on human nature 72, 73–74, 112, 235–36, 241,  
 244, 250, 265, 282, 289  
 on Piero Soderini 268
- Christianity  
 attack on 82  
 Christ as triumphant 189–91  
 on God 255–56  
 seen in analogy with Roman religion 84–86
- cosmology  
 cyclical view 88–89  
 on fortune 235–36, 250  
 on heavenly omens 232  
 zero-sum world 74, 88–89, 92, 174, 176–77,  
 178, 179, 289
- Discourses, The* 8, 10, 111, 143, 265, 271  
*grandezza* in 185–87  
 imperialism of 105, 263  
 republicanism of 72, 81, 111, 197, 252  
 on war and peace 88  
 as work of rhetoric 8, 10  
 I, preface 105, 134–35  
 II.2 73, 88, 189–90  
 II.4 134–39, 146, 147, 192, 223, 261, 283  
 III.9 240
- on Florence  
 the Florentine context of his work 8, 17–18  
 Florentine readership 287  
 on the foreign policy of 94, 112  
 on the foundation of 267, 287  
 general advice applied to 97, 226, 248  
 political debate around 1513 110, 111, 118–22,  
 127–28  
 principles applied to 37, 271, 279  
 on the Roman legacy of 272  
 St. John's Day of 1513 179–80  
 as unfounded 267–68, 269, 278, 287
- on Florentine imperialism 143, 263  
 behind papal facade 262–63  
 criticism of 115, 139–40, 277–78  
 destroy Pisa 128, 143, 278  
 liberty and empire 116, 140, 184, 198  
 the Pisan question 115, 116, 117, 127, 128,  
 129–31, 143–44, 145  
*see also* imperial strategies; middle way
- mode of teaching  
 adapted speech 16, 280  
 ambiguities and contradictions 11–13, 132,  
 144, 147, 212, 218, 244–45, 248, 253, 255,  
 256, 258, 284  
 irony 284  
 method 265  
 silences 15, 121, 252, 279, 281, 282–84  
 subtext 139, 218, 283  
 suddenness 127, 243  
*see also* sublunarity
- political thought  
 city and empire 270  
 civic humanism, compared with 269, 271  
 continuity of his thought 81  
 imperialism 81, 89, 94, 105, 112, 184, 192, 198  
 laws 205, 219  
 mixed constitution 225, 226  
 patriotism 4, 201, 254, 258–63, 272  
 the predatory republic 133, 192, 198  
 processual view 138–39, 181, 222, 223, 262,  
 266; *poco a poco* 247; *ad un tratto* 247  
 republic vs. principality 10, 81, 186–87,  
 191–92, 200–02, 250–52, 269, 271, 280,  
 284

- republica perfecta* 185, 195, 224, 262, 266  
 rotation in office 252  
*Prince, The* 6, 9, 10, 17–18, 174, 180, 200, 201,  
 218, 227, 253, 265  
 empathic reading of 36  
*ethos* in 28–30  
 Florentine perspective 125–26, 284  
 and *La mandragola* 3–4, 36–37  
 and the Pisan question 115  
 the political point of 18  
 publication of 11  
 the Roman example in 111  
 scientific pretension 4, 11–14, 33, 265  
 not using the word “tyrant” in 201–05  
 as work of rhetoric 4–5, 8  
 dedicatory letter 12, 28, 29, 30, 33, 181, 184  
 ch. 3 28, 89, 109, 123, 125  
 ch. 5 117–18, 119, 121, 122–28, 129, 130,  
 132–33, 143, 145, 262  
 ch. 6 82, 268  
 ch. 7 28, 202–04, 268  
 ch. 8 202–04  
 ch. 9 202, 268  
 ch. 15 82, 166, 169–70  
 ch. 16 166–81  
 ch. 17 142, 170, 202–04, 205–08, 220  
 ch. 18 91, 205–07, 220  
 ch. 19 211–21, 223–24, 227, 242, 262  
 ch. 20 29, 121, 125–26, 127  
 ch. 21 102, 162, 182  
 ch. 23 28  
 ch. 25 236–49, 250, 251–53, 254, 262  
 ch. 26 4, 162, 184, 192, 244, 245, 253–61  
*Prince, The*, intended readers of 11, 12–13  
 analytical reader 139, 252, 258, 283–84  
 bifurcation of the readership 252  
 princely reader 6, 212, 252, 279, 282, 284  
*see also here and now*; The Medici  
 Rome, ancient 15–16  
 and contemporary Florence 101, 111, 134–35,  
 269, 280  
 in *Del modo* 104–05, 107  
 paradigmatic status 131, 137, 265  
 the practicability of the Roman model  
 134–35, 286–87  
 processual 132, 133, 262, 265–66  
 the Roman model as outmoded 289  
 on the Roman triumph 162–66  
 Rome as strategic model 75, 131, 272–74  
 Secretary, the  
 Chancery writings 5, 81, 270  
 at the court of Cesare Borgia 116–17, 204  
 diplomatic experience 28–29, 90, 155  
 diplomatic writings 81, 99  
 dismissal from office 98, 101, 102  
 external affairs, preoccupied with 115–16  
 Medicean counselor 28  
 the militia ordinance of 1506 80, 108, 115,  
 116, 117, 145, 260, 267, 281  
 rhetorical training 5  
 on virtue 88, 184, 241  
 active 164  
 conventional 170, 172, 206, 207, 239, 257,  
 275  
 and fortune 183–84  
 great deeds 83, 87, 88  
 lack of 88  
 military 166  
 and necessity 95  
 organized 237  
 redefinition of 14, 15, 168, 275  
 on war and military affairs 15, 87–88, 89, 94  
 call of war 257  
 constant war 88  
 just war, the 89, 94, 112  
 military discipline 83  
 works  
*Art of War* 84, 108, 111, 164, 273  
*Cagione dell’ordinanza* 145  
*Decennale primo* 117  
*Del modo* 103–06, 107, 111, 116, 125, 142, 145,  
 162, 280–81  
*Discursus Florentinarum Rerum* 285–86  
*Esortazione alla penitenza* 5  
*Ghiribizzi, The* 116, 235, 236, 240, 241, 242,  
 249–50, 251  
*Istorie fiorentine* 87, 88, 120, 140–41, 287–88  
*Mandragola, La* 1–4, 5, 23, 32, 34–35, 36–37,  
 79, 282, 283  
*see also Machiavelli, Discourses*; Machiavelli,  
*The Prince*  
 Macrobius 39  
 magnificence 62, 166, 167, 171–72, 178–79  
 Mallett, Michael 57  
 manipulation  
 ideological 16, 18, 19  
 in *La mandragola* 3, 34  
 political 94, 95, 143  
 religious 86  
 rhetorical 2, 5, 24, 33, 35, 36, 289  
 Manlius Torquatus 235  
*see also triumphators*  
 Mantegna, Andrea 154  
 Mansfield, Harvey 5, 110, 167, 201, 222, 274  
 Marchand, Jean-Jacques 5  
 Marcus Aurelius 162, 220, 221  
 Mars (the Roman god of war) 117, 155  
 Martines, Lauro 43, 92  
 Marzocco, the 113, 263  
 Mattingly, Garrett 200, 202, 206

- Maximilian of Habsburg, Emperor 29, 98  
 means  
   evil or tyrannical 202–04, 206, 254, 259  
   means and ends 202–04, 282  
   rhetorical 6, 24  
   violent 212  
   *see also* rhetoric, *officia oratoris*  
 Medici, the 8, 18  
   absenteeism from Florence 121–22, 128  
   addressees of *The Prince* 4, 17, 30, 36, 37, 226, 259, 268, 279, 282; *see also* Giuliano de' Medici (the younger); Lorenzo de' Medici (the younger)  
   expulsion from Florence in 1494 69  
   favored by God 254, 255–56, 260  
   partisans 119, 120, 168  
   their *patria* 261  
   propaganda 111, 156, 160, 162  
   regime 1434–94 65, 68, 69, 82, 87, 288  
   return to Florence in 1512 98, 118–19, 120, 159, 162, 281  
   ruling from Rome 121, 124, 261  
 Medici, Cosimo de' (il Vecchio) 68, 82, 156  
 Medici, Ferdinand de', Grand Duke 148  
 Medici, Giovanni de' (Pope Leo X) 90, 120, 122, 160, 183  
   elevation to the Holy See 121, 263  
   triumph in Florence 161–62  
 Medici, Giuliano de' (the younger) 159, 160, 183  
   addressee of *The Prince* 282  
 Medici, Giulio de' (future Pope Clement VII) 122  
   constitutional reform in Florence 285–86  
 Medici, Lorenzo de' (the Magnificent) 58, 68, 69, 119–20, 121, 126, 156–57  
   disarming the Florentines 126  
   Laurentian paradigm, the 119–21, 124  
 Medici, Lorenzo de' (the younger)  
   addressee of *The Prince* 11, 28, 29, 36, 181, 183–84  
   arrival in Florence in 1513 122  
   as the New Camillus 160–61, 163  
   captain of the Florentine militia 161  
   organizing the carnival of 1513 159  
 Medici, Piero de' 142, 229  
 Medici empire 121, 126, 258, 262  
 mercenaries 64, 67, 87, 115, 126  
 middle way, the 81, 108, 137  
   and Aristotelian ethics 274  
   attacked by Machiavelli 111, 112, 128  
   and the Florentine foreign policy doctrine 99, 103, 104, 105, 110  
   and the Laurentian paradigm 121  
   rejected by Pierfrancesco Tosinchi 107  
   *see also* mixed constitution  
 Milan 50, 57, 63, 64, 97, 115, 155, 273  
   expansionism 47, 48, 49, 50, 59  
   *see also* the Visconti  
 militia 42, 67, 260, 288  
   own arms 125  
   *see also* Machiavelli; mercenaries; the Swiss  
 mirror-for-princes 15, 20–21, 166, 179, 271, 284, 285  
 mixed constitution 99, 195–98, 220  
   Sparta 196, 222, 223, 226, 262  
   Rome 222–23  
   Venice 196, 226  
   *see also* Florence; Francesco Guicciardini; Machiavelli  
 Modena 285  
 moderation 32, 99, 107, 108, 207  
 modern science 289  
 modernity 289  
 Montaigne, Michel de 25, 283  
 Monte, the 122  
 Montepulciano 49, 50, 60, 146  
 More, Sir Thomas 1, 22, 25, 96  
 Moses 84, 256  
 Moulakis, Athanasios 92  
 Mousley, Andrew 12–13  
 Musa, Mark 167, 172  
 Nabis, the Spartan 213–14, 216  
 Najemy, John 12, 13, 43, 172, 244, 245, 252, 253, 285  
 Naldi, Naldo 69  
 Naples 48, 89, 97, 154  
 natural law 76, 93, 97  
 nature 233  
   *see also* Machiavelli, human nature  
 necessity 76, 82, 94–96  
   anticipating 102  
   artificial 95–96  
 neutrality 98, 102–03, 110, 112  
 new modes and orders 86, 134, 253, 268  
 new prince (*principe nuovo*) 182, 198, 204, 206, 221, 227, 253  
   new principality 269  
   *see also* innovations  
 Numa Pompilius 235  
 Numantia 123  
 oaths 79  
 obedience 103, 126, 141, 145, 149, 203, 260, 276  
 occasion 99–100, 105  
 Oliverotto of Fermo 202, 203  
 Orsini, Paolo 203  
 Orwin, Clifford 168–69, 171  
 Ostia 154



- ottimati*, the 41, III, 226, 286  
*see also grandi; pratiche; reggimento*
- pacifism 47, 78–79  
*see also peace*
- Palmieri, Matteo 22, 65–68, 74, 78, III, 272
- Panciatiichi, the 142
- Pandolfini, Agnolo 65
- Papacy 47, 48, 49, 97, 134  
 as military power 121, 174, 182–83  
*see also world rule*
- Parel, Anthony 5, 94, 232
- Parenti, Piero 25, 122
- Parlement de Paris 219, 224
- Parma 285
- particularity 7, 8, 9, 16, 17–18, 19, 23, 24, 37  
*particulari* 239
- partisans 125
- Pazzi *see* conspiracy
- Pazzi, Cosimo 122
- peace 39, 77, 86, 87–89, 112  
 Christian view on 47, 78–79  
 Cicero on 77  
 eternal peace 103, 190–91  
 Palmieri on 66  
 peace talks 82, 90, 91  
 peaceful co-existence 91, 97  
 Roman 60, 103  
 universal peace 230  
*see also pacifism*
- Pepi, Francesco 106–07
- Perelman, Chaim 19, 22
- perspectives  
 Florentine 125–26  
 on the mixed constitution 225  
 philosophical vs. rhetorical 19–20, 22–25, 245  
 princely vs. analytical reader 284  
 Roman 132  
 Rome vs. her allies 138–39  
 sublunar change from above vs. from below 248  
 transcendental 80, 96, 190, 230, 232, 233, 254  
*see also* fortune; interest; sublunarity
- Perugia 47, 49, 120, 146
- Petrarch, Francesco 20, 21, 52, 81, 199, 209, 234  
*Italia mia* 86, 257  
*trionfi* 150, 153–54, 156, 157
- Petrucci, Pandolfo 146
- Piacenza 285
- Piero della Francesca 154
- Pisa 40, 45, 46, 47, 63, 109, 141, 144, 145  
 Council of 97  
 Florence's rule of 132
- Florentine conquest in 1406 57–64, 70  
 importance of 114–15, 117  
 liberty 59, 113–14, 125, 126, 149  
 recovered by Florence in 1509 97, 100, 102, 115, 116, 117, 125, 146
- Pistoia 40, 47, 48, 63, 109, 116, 117, 130–31, 140, 141, 144, 145  
 civil war in 1500 142–43, 145  
*see also* imperial strategies, fraternization
- Pivernates, the 277
- Plato 20, 21, 196, 199, 208
- plot *see* script
- Plutarch 153, 197
- Pocock, John 6, 7–8, 13, 19, 42, 81, 203
- Poliziano, Angelo 267
- Polybius 196, 222
- Pomponazzi, Pietro 79
- Pontano, Giovanni 21  
*popolo* 72
- popular support 214–21
- Porcari, Stefano 64
- Post, Gaines 92
- power 21, 55, 135, 147, 265, 269, 270
- pragmatism 83, 96, 141, 265
- pratiche* 92, 99, 106–08, 114
- Prato 47, 48, 63  
 Florentine rout in 1512 98
- presumption 30, 101
- Price, Russell 167, 172
- princeps 78
- Priuli, Girolamo 229
- prudence 10, 20, 55, 83, 90, 141, 195, 241, 265–66
- Pulci, Luigi 156
- punishment 22, 129, 142–43, 164  
 Divine 79, 230
- Quintilian 23, 24–25, 27, 31–32, 37
- reason 19, 21, 23, 24, 83, 232  
*see also* rhetoric, *officia oratoria*, logos
- reason of state 82, 92–93
- Rebhorn, Wayne 5
- reggimento* 16, 65, 106, 108  
*see also ottimati; pratiche*
- Reggio Emilia 285
- remedies 65, 234
- Remirro de Orco 203
- republic, the 10  
 institutions 165–66  
 republic of interest 43  
 republic of principle 43  
 two aims 38, 40, 44, 50–51, 52, 54, 61, 72, 74, 148, 186–87, 198, 225, 264, 266, 289  
 values 39  
*see also* mixed constitution

- republicanism  
   acquisitive 192  
   bellicose 127, 164, 192  
   deeply rooted 70, 118  
   participatory 39, 53  
   popular 72, 118, 223  
   rebellious 119, 124, 278  
   Renaissance revival 38–39  
 reputation 27, 29, 87, 91, 110, 112, 173, 182, 204, 211  
*Respublica Christiana* 49, 79  
 reversal 32, 125–26, 138, 153, 159, 190, 191, 207, 249  
 rhetoric  
   *ars oratoria* 26  
   audience 4, 7, 11, 13, 18, 19, 23–25, 26, 34–37  
   classical 3, 5, 6, 26, 30, 33, 37  
   coloring 91  
   deliberative oratory 13, 16  
   epideictic oratory 13–14  
   *exordium* 26, 27, 33  
   forensic oratory 13, 23, 30–32  
   improvisation 2  
   indirect 24, 25, 29  
   *insinuatio* 26, 28–30  
   justificatory 47, 48, 68, 81, 86, 91, 96–97, 254, 255, 258  
   *kaivos* 2, 17, 34, 35  
   *officia oratoria* 26, 30  
     *ethos* (character) 1, 2, 4, 95  
     *logos* (reason) 2, 26  
     *pathos* (emotion) 2, 3, 4, 24, 25, 26, 30–34, 35, 194, 195, 213  
   *principium* 26  
   rhetorical failure 195  
   rhetorical strategies 11, 12, 13, 30, 33, 34, 36, 97, 125  
   *see also* confidence; hope; Machiavelli, mode of teaching; manipulation  
*Rhetorica ad Herennium* 6  
 rhetorical reading 3–7, 8, 16, 19, 34–37, 169, 278  
   duality 34–37, 252, 278, 284  
   empathy 35–37  
   identification 20, 35, 36, 37, 279  
 Ridolfi, Giovanbattista 101, 102, 107, 108–10, 114  
   *see also savi*  
 Rinaldi, Luca, Bishop 28  
 Rinuccini, Cino 52, 54–55, 61  
 Romagna 142, 203–04, 259  
 Rome, ancient 10  
   condemned in Florence 281  
   constitution 95, 222–23, 250–51  
   development 38, 39, 44, 54, 132, 186, 195, 197, 222–23, 262, 266, 275–77  
   as example 51, 61, 63, 66, 71, 95  
   imperialism 77, 78, 105, 131, 134–39, 194, 266  
   mores and customs 38, 67, 165, 200  
   patriotism 67, 93  
   religion 38, 60, 66, 77, 83–84, 85, 152–53, 165, 189–90  
   victory over Carthage 62  
   on war 76–77  
   war rituals 66, 78, 83–84  
   *see also* Florence; Machiavelli; mixed constitution; world rule  
 Romulus 162, 222, 223–24, 235, 266, 269, 285  
 Roncioni, Raffaello 148–49  
 Rubinstein, Nicolai 43  
 Rucellai, Bernardo 229  
 ruin 82, 88, 91, 102, 173, 178, 236, 243  
  
 Sacchetti, Franco 51  
 sacrifices 6, 152, 190  
 St. John's Day 157, 160, 162, 179–80  
 Sallust 38–39, 46, 47, 54, 70, 185  
 Salutati, Coluccio 24, 26, 49–51, 52–54, 55, 56, 61, 74, 81, 200  
 Salviati, Alamanno 117  
 Samnites, the 256–57  
 San Gimignano 47, 48, 140  
 Sasso, Gennaro 106, 202, 244, 253  
*savi* 100, 102, 108–10, 112, 126, 128, 274  
 Savonarola, Girolamo 42, 70–71, 74, 81, 84, 85–86, 157–59, 229, 255  
   Burning of the Vanities 157  
   religious revival 111  
   republicanism 118  
   supporters 111, 118  
   *Triumph of the Cross* 190–91  
   on tyranny 200, 201, 209  
 scholasticism 7  
 Scipio Africanus 235, 236, 249, 250, 251  
   *see also* triumphators  
 script 36, 71, 282  
 secular tendencies 80, 82  
   *see also* sublunarity  
 security 12, 15, 86, 110, 112, 119, 145, 147, 223  
   justification for Florentine expansion 47, 60, 61, 106, 117  
   the purpose of tyranny 208  
   *see also* stability  
 Septimus Severus 220  
 Sertini, Simone, il Saviozzo 52  
 servitute 39, 51, 53, 59, 72, 197  
 Sforza, Ludovico 102  
 Sforza, Massimiliano 90  
 Shakespeare, William 23, 34, 194–95, 196–98, 283  
 shame 164  
 Siegel, Jerrold 7  
 Siena 44, 45, 47, 50, 63, 130, 144, 146–47

- signore* 39, 59  
 Signorelli, Luca 86  
 simulation 31–32, 33, 34, 89  
 sincerity 31, 89, 90  
 Skinner, Quentin 6, 7, 41, 46–47, 81, 87, 117, 166, 184–88, 191, 271  
   methodology 14–19, 37  
 Sloane, Thomas 4  
 Soderini, Piero 71–72, 235, 248  
   his regime 98, 102  
   *see also* Machiavelli  
 Solomon Ibn Verga 113  
 Spain 56, 174, 270  
 Sparta 123–24, 127, 135, 139  
   *see also* mixed constitution  
 speech act theory 7, 10  
*spegnere* 103, 127, 128, 129–31  
 spoils 149, 151, 153, 160, 164–65, 166, 197  
*sprezzatura* 33–34  
 stability 21, 42, 88  
   *see also* security, tyranny  
 Starn, Randolph 43  
 status quo 62, 109, 289  
 Stephens, John 5, 167  
 Strauss, Leo 5, 201  
 strong policies 105, 144, 266  
 subjects (*sudditi*) 135  
   Florentine 53, 54, 64, 141  
   princely 39  
   republican 40–41  
   Roman 138  
 sublunarity 112, 190, 235–36, 289  
   sublunar sphere 230–34, 240, 243, 254, 265, 289  
   sublunar writing 234, 246–47, 248  
 Sulla 56, 267  
 Sullivan, Vickie 202  
 Sumberg, Theodore 5  
 Swiss, the 90, 135, 155, 273  
  
 taxation 58, 167–68, 172  
 Taylor, Charles 16  
 temporization 90, 98–99, 100–02, 112, 250, 266  
 Theses 256  
 times, the (*tempi*) 236, 239–44, 250–51  
 Tosinghi, Pierfrancesco 106–07  
 trade 58, 74, 289  
 transcendens *see* perspectives  
 Trasymachus 21  
 Trent 155  
 Trexler, Richard 42, 43  
 Trinkler, John 13, 14  
  
 triumph, the  
   Florentine 156–62  
   interpretation of 152–53  
   Pisan 149  
   Renaissance revival 150–51, 153–56  
   republican 150, 151–52, 160, 188–89  
   Roman 151–53  
 triumphators  
   Aemilius Paulus 151, 155, 156, 157  
   Augustus 150, 159, 160  
   Camillus, Lucius Furius 150, 160, 163  
   Castracani, Castruccio 153  
   Charles V of Habsburg 161  
   as divine 153, 154, 165, 189–90, 191  
   Francis I of France 161  
   Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor 153  
   Hercules 155  
   Jesus Christ 158–59, 189, 190, 191  
   Julius II, Pope 155  
   Julius Caesar 150, 155, 159, 160  
   Leo X, Pope (Giovanni de' Medici) 161–62  
   Louis XII of France 155  
   Manlius Torquatus, Titus 150, 159  
   Maximilian II, Emperor 155–56  
   Pompey 160, 180  
   Scipio Africanus 150, 153, 155  
   Trajan 150, 159, 160, 162  
 trustworthiness 27–28  
 truth, the 31, 33, 137, 248  
 Tullus, Roman king 275  
 Tully, James 14, 16, 18, 19  
 Tuscan league, revival of 144, 145–47, 192  
 Tuscan unity 63  
 Tuscans, ancient 134, 135–37, 139, 223, 262  
 tyranny 21, 39, 48, 49, 92–93, 100, 102, 197–98  
   Bruni on the Roman emperors 61  
   classical definition 196, 198–200, 208  
   Dati on Pisa and Milan 59  
   desire to dominate turned inward 74  
   discomforting scenario 208, 218  
   Guicciardini on imperialism and 72  
   lion and fox 206  
   Lorenzo de' Medici the younger accused 161  
   Rinuccini on Milan 54  
   Salutati on Milan 53  
   *see also* fear; Machiavelli; servitude  
  
 utility 2, 61, 90, 137  
 universalism 7, 11, 20, 25, 238, 239, 243, 248, 252, 265–71  
   *universali* 239  
   *see also* perspectives  
 upside-down 139, 190, 228

Vaglianti, Piero 80, 113  
 Valerius Corvinus 235  
 Valturio, Roberto 154  
 Venice 55, 72, 97, 115, 118, 229, 273  
   *see also* mixed constitution; world rule  
 Vettori, Francesco 80, 82, 93, 155, 228,  
   252  
 Vettori, Paolo 285  
 vice 14, 21, 22, 24, 31, 197, 207  
 Villani, Giovanni 45–46, 47  
 Villani, Matteo 47–48, 49, 58, 74  
 Virgilio, Marcello 115  
 Viroli, Maurizio 6, 13–14, 18, 41, 87–88, 133, 134,  
   139, 271  
 virtue 20, 39, 71, 234–35, 238  
   Florentine 56  
   military 197  
   as persuasive 21, 28  
   Roman 56, 60, 83, 101  
   *see also* appearance; Aristotle, ethics; Christian  
   ethics; Machiavelli  
 Visconti, the 48, 49, 50, 53  
 Visconti, Giangaleazzo 41, 57  
 Vitelli, the 100, 120  
 Vitellozzo 203  
*vita activa* 83, 234  
*vita contemplativa* 234  
*vivere civile* 39, 222, 269  
*vivere libero* 39, 40, 185, 222  
*vivere politico* 39  
 Vives, Juan Luis 96

vocabularies 89, 98, 99, 186, 187, 228, 230, 272  
   *see also* Quentin Skinner, methodology  
 Volterra 47, 68–69, 140  
  
 Walker, Leslie 204  
 Walter of Brienne *see* Duke of Athens  
 war 90  
   of conquest 76–77, 88  
   logic of 79  
   Palmieri on 65–66  
   and political thought 80, 83  
   as princely pursuit 219, 227  
   in self-defense 47, 58, 185, 260  
   *see also* Machiavelli; pacifism; peace  
 War of Eight Saints 49  
 weak policies 102, 112, 142–43, 266, 274  
 Weinstein, Donald 42, 46  
 Whitfield, J. H. 201–02  
 Wilcox, Donald 63  
 Wise Men of Florence *see savi*  
 Wolsey, Cardinal of England 25  
 world rule  
   papal 48  
   Roman 50, 54, 60–61, 67, 71, 78, 91, 104, 200  
   Venetian 273  
   *see also* Florence  
  
 Xenophon 209  
  
 zero-sum world *see* Machiavelli  
 Zupan, Patricia 255