

```
Book of the Courtier (Castiglione), 117
Agricola (Tacitus), 122, 134-7, 144, 146, 150,
     165-6, 168
                                                Brunt, P.A., 3, 96, 112
Allen, Danielle, 18–19, 55, 79, 84, 110
                                                Brutus (Cicero), 1, 138
Annals (Tacitus), 147-8, 150-1, 163-4,
                                                Carthage, 41. See Sallust, on Carthage
     166-8, 170
                                                Castiglione, Baldessare, 117
Arendt, Hannah, 131
                                                Catiline, L. See Sallust, on Catiline;
Areopagiticus (Isocrates), 87
                                                      See Hobbes, Thomas, on Catiline
Aristotle
  on epideictic oratory, 151, 153
                                                Cato the Elder
  on ethos, 85
                                                   and the destruction of Carthage, 39, 41
                                                Cato the Younger. See Sallust, on Cato the
  on freedom, 112
  on goodwill, 86
                                                     Younger
  on pathos, 86
                                                Cato's Letters (Trenchard), 112
  on political friendship, 83
                                                Cicero
  on redescription, 57-8
                                                   on Atticism, 36
  on tyranny, 104
                                                   on benevolentia, 87-8, 102, 105
  on virtue and vice, 57-8
                                                   on clementia, 154-7
                                                   on concordia, 73, 83
auctoritas, 4, 96-7
  and libertas, 4
                                                   on dignitas, 118
  senatus auctoritas, 45
                                                   on eloquence's relationship to peace, 37
Austin, J.L., 18
                                                   on epideictic oratory, 151
avaritia. See Livy, on avaritia; See Sallust, on
                                                   on flattery, 103, 107, 112
     avaritia
                                                   on friendship, 102
                                                   on Hortensius, 1
Bartsch, Shadi, 132
                                                   on love and fear, 104-5
Batstone, William, 75
                                                   on mercy and leadership, 154-7
benevolentia. See Livy, on benevolentia; See
                                                   on Numa Pompilius, 73, 155
     Cicero, on benevolentia: See Rhetoric to
                                                   on prudentia, 62
     Herennius, benevolentia in
                                                   on redescription, 62
Berlin, Isaiah, 9
                                                   on Romulus, 73
```



Cicero (cont.)	Discourses on the First Ten Books of Livy
on social and political conflict, 76	(Machiavelli), 82-3, 146
on Socrates, 116	Domitian, 119–20. See Pliny, on Domitian;
on Tarquinius, 104	See Tacitus, on Domitian; See
on the development of Rome, 73	Suetonius, on Domitian
on the Gracchi, 107	Domitian (Suetonius), 119
on the honorable and the	Downs, Anthony, 14
advantageous, 62–3	Dyck, Andrew, 155
on the lion and the fox, 106	
on the perfect orator, 78	epideictic oratory, 151-3
on the place of eloquence in	exempla, 23, 92, 102
the republic, 1, 27	Agricola as exemplum, 134
on the political role of the orator, 114–18	Cato's use of, 70
on the rector rei publicae, 101	in rhetoric, 93
on the relationship of eloquence	in Tacitus' Histories, 150
to wisdom, 116	Livy's use of, 92
on the tasks of the orator, 34	
on tyranny, 104	Fantham, Elaine, 123
on verecundia, 101	fear. See Sallust, on collective fear; See
Cincinnatus. See Livy, on Cincinnatus	metus hostilis; See Livy, on collective
clementia. See Sallust, on clementia; See	fear; See political fear; See Polybius,
Cicero, on clementia; See Seneca, on	on political fear
clementia; See Pliny, on clementia; See	Federalist 1 (Hamilton), 4
Tacitus, on clementia	flattery. See Pliny, on flattery; See Cicero,
concordia, 86. See Livy, on concordia; See	on flattery; See Plato, on flattery; See
Cicero, on concordia; See Sallust, on	Tacitus, on flattery
concordia	and servitude, 112
Conflict of the Orders, 76, 94	Fontana, Benedetto, 44
Connolly, Joy, 21, 29, 44, 76–7	For Marcellus (Cicero), 155-7
Considerations of the Causes of the Greatness	For Sulla (Cicero), 112
of the Romans and their Decline	forensic oratory, 47
(Montesquieu), 28	friendship. See Cicero, on friendship;
contio, 44	See Aristotle, on political
Cox, Virginia, 61	friendship
	From the Founding of the City (Livy),
Dahl, Robert, 14	89-90, 92-103, 107-9
deliberative democracy, 14	
deliberative oratory, 47, 61–5	Garsten, Bryan, 20–1, 56, 79
and the conflict between the honorable	Garver, Eugene, 86
and the advantageous, 61	Goldberg, Sander, 123
Dialogue on Orators (Tacitus), 3, 123-9,	goodwill. See Isocrates, on goodwill; See
132–3, 169	Livy, on goodwill; See Cicero, on
dignitas, 46, 66, 118, 137	benevolentia; See Livy, on benevolentia;
and lihertas 46	See Rhetoric to Herennius, benevolentia in



and leadership, 105–6	Annals, 163
Gorgias (Plato), 20, 130–1	and dignitas, 46
Gracchi. See Tacitus, on the Gracchi; See	and eloquentia in Tacitus' Histories, 140
Cicero, on the Gracchi; See Sallust,	and free speech, 3
on the Gracchi	and rule of law, 99
Griffin, Mirriam, 157	and the example of Agricola, 135
, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	Camillus' invocation of, 107
Habermas, Jurgen, 14–16	in Tacitus' Dialogue on Orators,
Hammer, Dean, 26, 82	125, 128
Hamilton, Alexander, 4	love of the people for, 44
Herodotus	the Gracchi and, 46
on the function of history, 22	Life of Marcus Cato (Plutarch), 41
Histories (Herodotus), 22	Life of Pericles (Plutarch), 149
Histories (Polybius), 23, 39, 149	Livy
Histories (Sallust), 49–50	compared to Machiavelli, 82–3
Histories (Tacitus), 122, 147–8, 150, 169–70	compared to Sallust, 90–1
History of the Peloponnesian War	on history as a visual monument, 92
(Thucydides), 23, 40–1, 80	influence of, 6–7
Hobbes, Thomas	on Alexander, 94
his attitude towards rhetoric, 33	on avaritia, 91
his reading of Sallust, 25, 32–4	on benevolentia, 97
on Catiline, 33	on Brutus, 99
on collective fear, 43	on Camillus, 89–90, 95
on eloquence and logic, 37	on Capitolinus, 107
on Nero, 171	on Cincinnatus, 91–2
on rhetoric and tumult, 33	on collective fear, 94
Hortensius, I	on <i>concordia</i> , 83, 89–90, 93, 95–6, 109
Tiorcensias, i	on goodwill, 97
in utramque partem, 78, 173	on goodwill and the observation of
Institutes (Quintilian), 56–7, 121, 152, 160	character, 95–9, 108
Isocrates, 86–7	on imperium, 96–7
on goodwill, 86–7	on love and fear in political
on goodwin, oo /	relationships, 98
Javitch, Daniel, 117	on <i>luxuria</i> , 91–2, 100, 102
javicen, z amei, 117	on Menenius Agrippa, 95, 108
Kant, Immanuel	on mores, 89, 108
on rhetoric, 17	on Numa Pompilius, 100–1
Konstan, David, 155	on piety, 100
Holistan, David, 133	on shame and fear, 96
Levene, D.S., 70, 77	on Tarquinius, 98
Leviathan (Hobbes), 32, 43	on the Appii Claudii, 96
libertas	on the body politic, 95
and auctoritas, 4	on Valerius, 102–3
and Cremutius Cordus in Tacitus'	his use of exempla, 92
and Cramatian Corado in racitas	1110 and OI evenipus, 92



love and fear in political relationships,	On the Ideal Orator (Cicero), 5, 27, 34-7
98, 153–62	61, 76, 78, 87–9, 93, 114–18, 152
Luce, T.J., 91, 148–9	On the Laws (Cicero), 96
luxuria. See Sallust, on luxuria; See Livy,	On the Peace (Isocrates), 87
on <i>luxuria</i>	Orator (Cicero), 36, 88-9
	Origins (Cato), 39
Machiavelli, Niccolo	
compared to Livy, 82-3	Pagán, Victoria, 136
on Caesar, 146	Panegyricus (Pliny), 120, 160–2
on Catiline, 146	pathos. See Aristotle, on pathos
MacIntyre, Alisdair, 9	Pettit, Philip, 109
Madison, James, 29	on common interests, 21
Manin, Bernard, 16–17	on republican liberty, 11
Maternus. See Tacitus, on Maternus	on servility, 113
compared to Socrates, 132-3	on the common good, 13
Mayer, Roland, 137	Phaedrus (Plato), 59
metus hostilis, 38–43, 91, 93, 95. See also	Plato, 19
political fear; See also Sallust, on	attitude toward conventional
collective fear; See also Livy, on	rhetoric, 19
collective fear	on flattery, 131
Millar, Fergus, 4	on redescription and moral
moderatio. See Tacitus, on moderatio	corruption, 59
Momigliano, Arnaldo, 83	on the contrast between philosophy
Mommsen, Theodor	and rhetoric, 130
on Sallust, 34	Pliny, 142-4, 160-2
Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat	on clementia, 160–2
Considerations of the Causes of the Greatness	on Domitian, 160–2
of the Romans and their Decline, 28	on flattery, 160
mores. See Livy, on mores	on history and oratory, 142-4
·	on love and virtue, 162
Nelson, Eric, 13	on Trajan, 161–2
Nicomachean Ethics (Aristotle), 57–8	Plutarch
Numa Pompilius. See Cicero, on Numa	on Cato and Scipio Nasica, 41
Pompilius; See Livy, on Numa	on Cato the Younger, 136
Pompilius	on the difficulties of writing history,
•	149
On Duties (Cicero), 2, 104, 106	Pocock, J.G.A., 28
On Friendship (Cicero), 102, 105, 107, 112	political fear, 38–43
On Invention (Cicero), 62-3	Politics (Aristotle), 104
On Mercy (Seneca), 157–60	Polybius
On the Agrarian Law (Cicero), 4	on flattering history, 149
On the Citizen (Hobbes), 33, 37, 142, 171	on political fear, 39–40
On the Commonwealth (Cicero), 28, 71-3,	on the function of history, 23
83, 101–2, 104	on the Roman constitution, 39–40



INDEX

Posidonius, 38-9 Plato's attitude toward conventional, on the fall of Carthage, 38 prudentia. See Cicero, on prudentia; See redescription in, 56-8, 63-5 Tacitus, on prudentia Rhetoric (Aristotle), 57-8, 85-6, 112, 152 Rhetoric to Herennius, 63-5 Quintilian, 56-7, 61, 160 benevolentia in, 87 on epideictic oratory, 152-3 on the honorable and the advantageous, on redescription, 57 63 - 5redescription in, 63-5 redescription. See Aristotle, on Roman political thought redescription in; See Cicero, revived interest in, 8 on redescription; See Rhetoric Romilly, Jacqueline de, 86 to Herennius, redescription; See Romulus, 76. See Cicero, on Romulus rhetoric, redescription; See Plato, on Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 16 redescription and moral corruption; See Quintilian, on redescription saevitia. See Tacitus, on saevitia Remer, Gary, 78 Sallust Republic (Plato), 59 Cato and Caesar's debate, 65-70 republican political thought, 8-13 compared to Cicero's view of history, and Roman political thought, 9-11 35-6 civic virtue in, 11-12, 29-30 compared to Thucydides, 47 common good in, 12 contrasted to Livy, 90-1 corruption in, 28 his comparison of Cato and Caesar, liberty in, 9-11 73-4 perfectionist and political virtue in, his relationship to Caesar, 34 his relationship to Hobbes, 25 29, 51 republican revival and, 8 his relationship to Thucydides, 36 rhetoric influence of, 6-7 Allen on rhetoric and trust, 19, 56 on antagonism, 25, 31, 43-7, 74-7 and antagonism, 76 on avaritia, 42, 50, 60, 69 and goodwill, 85-9, 105 on Caesar, 66-8, 73-4 on Carthage, 30-1, 46-50 and political theory, 13-21 on Catiline, 37, 45, 77-8 and Roman historiography, 22-3 on Cato the Younger, 68-70, 73-4 and Roman liberty, 3 deliberative oratory, 47, 61-5 on clementia, 66 on collective fear, 42, 48-50 epideictic oratory, 151-3 on concordia, 42, 45-6, 48-50 ethos, 85 exempla in, 93 on Fortune, 43 forensic oratory, 47 on G. Memmius, 44-5 Garsten on rhetoric and judgment, on luxuria, 69 20-1, 56 on moral corruption, 47, 49 Hobbes's attitude towards, 33 on parties and factions, 46 on the breakdown of dichotomies. Kant's attitude toward, 17 pathos, 86 48-50



Sallust (cont.)	on history as judgment, 26
on the corruption of language, 45, 50	on Maternus, 3, 123–9
on the expulsion of Rome's kings, 29	on moderatio, 134
on the Gracchi, 46	on Nerva, 122
Schofield, Malcolm, 104	on poetry and eloquence, 125
Schumpeter, Joseph, 14	on prudentia, 26, 135
Second Philippic (Cicero), 139	on reading the character of rulers, 151,
Seneca, 157–60	170-1
on Augustus, 159	on saevitia, 166–7
on clementia, 157–60	on Sparta and Crete, 138-9
on love and <i>clementia</i> , 157–60	on the context of eloquence, 126–9
on Nero, 158–9	on the dilemmas facing historians, 146–8
on the distinction between emulation	on the Gracchi, 129
and fear, 161	on the principate and historiography,
Skinner, Quentin	146-7
on redescription, 57	on Tiberius, 166–8, 170
on republican liberty, 9–10	on Vespasian, 168
on republican virtue and corruption, 12	on writing history, 149–51
on the common good, 12	tensions in speeches of Maternus, 132
Socrates, 130. See Cicero, on Socrates	Thucydides
compared to Maternus, 132–3	Diodotus, 66, 68, 80
Suetonius	his relationship to Sallust, 36
on Domitian, 119	on political fear, 40–1
Syme, Ronald, 5, 75, 90, 134, 154	on the Corcyrean stasis, 40
, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	on the distortion of language, 41
Tacitus	on the function of history, 22
his comparison of Aper to Maternus,	Tiberius. See Tacitus, on Tiberius
132	Trenchard, John, 112
exempla in Histories, 150	Tusculan Disputations (Cicero), 123
history as providing markers, 26	tyranny, 104–5
influence of, 6–7	
on Agricola, 134–7, 168	War with Catiline (Sallust), 42–3, 45–6,
on Aper, 124–5, 133	48-9, 60, 65-71, 73-4, 79
on Athens, 128	War with Jugurtha (Sallust), 43-4, 46,
on clementia, 168	48–9, 60
on Cordus, 163–4	Weithman, Paul, 30, 51
on Domitian, 135–6, 144, 146, 165–6	Wiedemann, Thomas, 24
on finding a middle path, 170	Wirszubski, Chaim, 96, 154
on flattery, 167	Wisse, Jakob, 117