

## Index

- Academy, New, *see also* Carneades  
 skeptical freedom as substitute for civic freedom, 145  
 skeptical methods of, 33, 194, 222
- Aelius Stilo, 32
- akrasia*, 17, 150, 225
- amicitia*, 79, 98, *see also* friendship  
 interpretations of modern scholars, 81  
 Stoic accounts of, 210
- animus*  
 correspondence with *voluntas* in Cicero, 44–45, 49, 147
- Antiochus of Ascalon  
 account of the soul, 147, 151  
 division of world into two principles, 5  
 role in Academic tradition, 5  
 teleological view of moral progress, 151, 167
- Antony (Marcus Antonius), 64, 68
- Appius Claudius Pulcher, 95–96
- Arendt, Hannah, 10, 167
- Aristotle, 55, 108  
 definition of the *polis*, 124  
 influence of rhetorical works on Cicero, 43  
 theory of action, 18, 23, 152, 164, 167, 169  
 theory of friendship, 80–81, 83, 85, 88
- Athenian democracy, 20–23, 57, 107  
 absence of a governing class, 21  
 Cicero's views regarding, 125  
*dogmata tou dêμου* (decisions of the people), 22, 108  
*eunoia* (goodwill), 22  
 role of *boulê*, 21
- Atticus, Titus Pomponius  
 as character in *De legibus*, 136  
 as correspondent with Cicero, 182, 184, 186  
 his choice of life (*voluntas institutae vitae*), 211  
 relationship with Cicero, 211–12
- Augustine of Hippo, 1, 220–29  
 influence of Cicero, 2, 222  
 influence of Paul, 221  
 notion of will, 168, 221–29
- original sin, doctrine of, 227  
 political views of, 10, 228  
 preference of Latin over Greek, 222  
 role in historical accounts of will, 1, 17, 165
- boulêsis*, 19, 108, 167, *see also* Aristotle; Stoicism  
 in Aristotle, 19, 80, 164  
 correspondence to *voluntas* in Cicero, 9, 149, 157, 159, 174, 219  
 in Homer, 19  
 potential equivalents in Latin, 158  
 in Stoicism, 9, 149, 157–58, 218
- Brunt, Peter, 81, 83
- Brutus, Marcus Junius, 94
- Caelius Rufus, 61, 140
- Caesar, Gaius Julius, 62, 90  
*Bellum Gallicum*, 75  
*voluntas Caesaris*, 4, 66, 75–77, 140
- Calpurnius Piso (Roman historian), 26
- Carneades, *see also* Academy, New  
 as leader of Academy, 33  
 skeptical methods of, 194  
 views on fate and moral responsibility, 170, 176
- Catiline (Lucius Sergius Catilina), 62, 66
- Cato, Marcus Porcius (Cato the Younger)  
 as character in *De finibus*, 155–56, 195  
 as exemplar in *De officiis*, 190, 204, 206  
 in political affairs, 62  
 in Roman political affairs, 157
- Chrysippus  
 Cicero's appraisal of, 178–79, 200  
 political views of, 124  
 theory of causality (cylinder metaphor), 178  
 views on fate and moral responsibility, 153, 170, 176–77, 200
- Cicero, Marcus Tullius  
 as *novus homo*, 46, 186  
 as orator, 6  
 attitude toward the common citizen, 46, 88, 93, 117, 137–40

- Cicero, Marcus Tullius (cont.)  
 period of exile, 186  
 relationship with Atticus, 186, 211–12
- Cicero, Quintus Tullius, 66  
 views on friendship in *Commentariolum  
 petitionis*, 99
- Cicero, works of  
*Academica*, 5, 152–57  
*Brutus*, 202  
*Consolatio*, 151  
*De amicitia*, 84, 101  
*De divinatione*, 175  
*De domo sua*, 120  
*De fato*, 3, 148, 170, 200  
*De finibus*, 3, 8, 147, 152, 195  
*De inventione*, 9, 34–35, 39–41, 46–54, 98, 165  
*De lege Manilia*, 109  
*De legibus*, 3, 59, 100, 109, 132  
*De natura deorum*, 3, 148, 175, 223  
*De officiis*, 8, 10, 84, 102, 146, 148, 188  
*De oratore*, 43, 139  
*De partitione oratoria*, 54, 101  
*De provinciis consularibus*, 66  
*De republica*, 3, 59–60, 74, 123–32, 170  
*Epistolae ad familiares*, 182, 184  
*Hortensius*, 222  
*In Vatinius*, 37  
*In Verrem*, 35, 105–7, 175, 209  
*Orator*, 201  
*Philippics*, 64, 68, 184  
*Pro Balbo*, 37, 111  
*Pro Cluentio*, 36, 38  
*Pro Flacco*, 53, 114, 116  
*Pro Fonteio*, 53, 110  
*Pro Lege Manilia*, 120  
*Pro Ligario*, 4  
*Pro Murena*, 65  
*Pro Plancio*, 75, 83, 88, 99, 118  
*Pro Quinctio*, 35  
*Pro Rabirio Postumo*, 38, 53  
*Pro rege Deiotaro*, 86  
*Pro Roscio Amerino*, 99  
*Pro Scauro*, 54  
*Pro Sestio*, 67, 110, 118, 120–22, 142  
*Pro Sulla*, 205  
*Topica*, 55  
*Tusculan Disputations*, 3, 8, 146, 148, 157
- Clodius Pulcher, Publius, 64, 66, 111
- collective intelligence, 132, 244
- Commentariolum petitionis*, 99, *see also* Cicero,  
 Quintus Tullius  
*concordia ordinum*, 6, 106, 116, 121, 150  
*consensus bonorum*, 6, 121, 142  
*consilium*  
 correspondence with *voluntas* in Cicero, 44, 53
- controversia ex scripto et sententia*, 26, 34, 38–41, 86
- Cornelius Sisenna (Roman historian), 26
- De Lacy, Phillip, 190, 216  
*decorum*, 84, 102, 140, 188, *see also* *De officiis*  
 (Cicero, works of) democracy, *see*  
 Athenian democracy
- Diodorus Cronus, 176
- eleutheria*  
 absence from free will debate in Greek, 24  
 absence from Stoic political theory, 124  
 political connotations, 169  
 embassy of the philosophers (155 BCE), 5, 33  
*eph'emin*, 24, 164, 169, *see also libera voluntas*
- Epicetetus, 168, 221, *see also* Stoicism
- Epicureanism, 5  
 Cicero's objections to, 81, 84, 96, 101, 155,  
 176, 191  
 notion of freedom, 174, 176  
 theory of *atoma*, 171  
 theory of *clinamen* or swerve of atoms, 171,  
 176
- eunoia*, 212  
 in Aristotle, 80, 88  
 as a binary concept, 8, 82  
 in political context, 22  
 in Polybius, 22  
 in theatrical context, 30
- Foucault, Michel, 214–16
- Frede, Michael, 23, 168–69, 221
- freedom, *see libertas*
- free will, *see libera voluntas*
- friendship, *see also* amicitia  
 Aristotle's theory of, 80, 83  
 Cicero's evolving views on, 98–104  
 Epicurean theory of, 84  
 Stoic theory of, 84, 100
- Gill, Christopher, 194, 214, 216
- Gracchus, Gaius, 69, 107, 115, 118
- Gracchus, Tiberius, 6, 58, 107, 115
- Graver, Margaret, 159
- Griffin, Miriam, 85
- Grotius, Hugo, 229
- hekōn*, 24, 160  
 in Aristotle, 80, 160, 169  
 as a binary concept, 8, 23  
 correspondence to *voluntas* in Cicero, 160  
 different from “willing,” 23
- Hellenistic philosophy, *see* Academy, New;  
 Epicureanism; Stoicism
- Hobbes, Thomas, 229

- hormē*, 19  
 in Cicero, 9, 167, 198  
 correspondence to *volō*, 19  
 differences with *boulēsis*, 19  
 in Stoicism, 158  
 Hortensius, Quintus, 32
- iudicium*  
 correspondence with *voluntas* in Cicero, 35,  
 44, 148, 159
- ius naturae*, 6, 13, 59, 100, 130, 133, 135, *see also*  
 Stoicism; *De legibus* (Cicero, works of)
- Jefferson, Thomas, 238–41  
 embrace of political innovation, 241  
 idea of “natural *aristoi*,” 240  
 notion of “will of the people,” 239  
 measurability of, 239  
 need for representatives, 240  
 republicanism of, 238  
 views on Roman republic, 241
- Kahn, Charles, 164
- Laelius, Gaius  
 as character in *De republica*, 61, 74, 124, 129,  
 132  
 as exemplar of *voluntas dicendi*, 202  
 as protagonist of *De amicitia*, 101
- Lazy Argument (*ignava ratio*), 177, 180–81
- Lévy, Carlos, 6, 194, 197  
 distinction between notion and concept, 3
- libera voluntas*  
 in Cicero, 175–81  
 in Lucretius, 171–74
- libertas*  
 in Cicero  
*In Verrem*, 175  
 curtailed by Caesar, 76, 141, 145, 170  
 etymology of, 169  
 in *De fato*, 13, 170, 177  
 in *De legibus*, 136, 139  
 in *De republica*, 109, 123, 125–28  
*licentia* as outer limit, 125, 139  
 in Lucretius, 174, 176, 182  
 skeptical freedom of New Academy. *See*  
 Academy, New
- Livius Andronicus (Roman dramatist), 27
- Lucretius (Titus Lucretius Caro), 170, 191  
 personal relationship with Cicero, 170–71
- Marius, Gaius, 33, 106–7  
 mixed constitution theory, 126, 129, *see also De*  
*republica* (Cicero, works of)
- Moatti, Claudia, 33
- Modestinus (jurist), 77, *see also* Roman law  
*mos maiorum*, 32, 57, 60, 70, 72, 115, 134, 145
- natural law, *see ius naturae*
- Octavian Caesar, Gaius (later Augustus), 58
- Panaetius, *see also* Stoicism  
 association with Scipio Aemilianus, 29, 157,  
 216  
 influence on *De finibus*, 160  
 influence on *De officiis*, 189–94, 204, 216  
 influence on idea of *decorum*, 84  
 relationship to orthodox Stoicism, 157, 192,  
 196, 200  
 theory of four *personae*, 10, 146, 189–95, 212
- Peripatetics  
 kinship with Academic tradition in Cicero,  
 151  
 views on external goods, 152
- perturbationes voluntariae*, 9, 149, 160, 183
- Peripatetic school, *see* Aristotle
- Philo of Larissa, 33, 150, 222, *see also* Academy,  
 New
- Pitkin, Hanna, 128
- Plato, 125, 139  
 definition of the *polis*, 124  
 importance of unity in the state, 116, 138  
 “rule of reason,” 138, 151  
 theory of *askēsis*, 167  
 theory of divided soul, 17, 138, 147, 149–50,  
 157, 163, 198  
 theory of self-moving soul, 151, 153, 167,  
 176, 179
- Plato, works of  
*Phaedrus*, 151  
*Politicus*, 237  
*Republic*, 17, 124, 150, 167  
*The Laws*, 138
- Plautus, Titus Maccius, 4, 27–29, 32, 35, 68,  
 110, 208  
*mutuom argentum*, 82
- political theory, *see De legibus, De republica, Pro*  
*Sestio* (Cicero, works of); *libertas*; mixed  
 constitution theory; *voluntas populi*
- Polybius, 22, 108, 125, 128, 139
- Pompey (Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus), 61, 73,  
 113
- potestas*, 109, 112, 126
- powermapping, 60
- prohairesis*, 108  
 in Aristotle, 18, 80, 86, 152, 164, 169  
 as choice of a manner of life, 67  
 correspondence to *voluntas* in Cicero, 18, 149,  
 174, 219

- prohairesis* (cont.)  
 in Epictetus, 168, 222  
 etymology of, 20  
 in Polybius, 22  
*prohairesis kai boulēsis* in Panaetius, 212  
 in Stoicism, 200, 224  
 Pythagoreanism, 148, 157
- Remer, Gary, 128, 140, 188  
*Rhetorica ad Herennium*, 26, 34, 38, 41–42  
 republicanism, *see De legibus, De republica, Pro Sestio* (Cicero, works of); *libertas*; mixed constitution theory; *voluntas populi*
- Rhodes, P. J., 21
- Roman constitution, *See De legibus, De republica, Pro Sestio* (Cicero, works of); *mos maiorum*
- Roman law, 24, *see also* Modestinus, Ulpian (jurists)  
 Cicero's use of, 12, 32, 46–55  
 emergence of “constitutional” claims in republican period, 70  
 in imperial period, 77  
 letter versus spirit of a law. *See controversia ex scripto et sententia*  
 notion of trusteeship, 129  
*voluntas patris* (will of the father), 24
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 229  
 ambivalence toward citizen judgment, 238  
 arguments for direct citizen participation in government, 235  
 desirability of revolution, 238  
 notion of will  
 as force or “desire-in-motion,” 233–34  
 basis of political sovereignty, 230  
 infallibility of *volonté générale*, 234  
 influence of Diderot, 231  
 measurability of, 233  
 role in origins of human society, 232  
*volonté générale* versus *volonté du peuple*, 235  
 references to Cicero, 231  
 role of will in the origin of society, 230  
 views on Roman republic, 229, 235
- Scaevola, Quintus Mucius, 32
- Schofield, Malcolm, 124, 169, 175
- Scipio Aemilianus, 32, 187  
 as exemplar in *De officiis*, 216  
 as exemplar of *voluntas dicendi*, 201  
 as patron of Terence, 29  
 as protagonist of *De republica*, 7, 123
- Sedley, David, 11, 176, 178
- skepticism, *See* Academy, New
- Socrates, 200  
 notion of *akrasia*, 17, 150
- soul, *See animus*; Plato; Stoicism; *Tusculan Disputations* (Cicero, works of)
- Stoicism  
 account of moral progress, 154, 156, 160, 167, 179, 193, 196  
 association of human and divine will, 224–25  
 in Cicero's education, 33, 84  
 circular orientation of Stoic thought, 194, 211, 215  
 definition of the *polis*, 124  
 four categories of an object, 194, 197  
 influence on Jefferson, 239  
 influence on *Tusculan Disputations*, 149  
 materialist explanations of mental states, 153, 161, 213  
 natural law, 13, 59, 100, 133  
 poverty of argumentative style, 149, 155, 162, 178, 197  
 role in historical accounts of the will, 18, 222  
 Stoic sage or wise man, 153, 159, 163, 167, 180, 192, 206  
 theory of assent (*synkatathesis*), 5, 153, 179  
 theory of *eupatheiai*, 155, 158  
 theory of friendship, 84, 210  
 universe as rational being, 5, 192  
 views on moral responsibility, 55, 149, 153, 161–62, 165, 167, 184, 198, 226
- Strato (Peripatetic philosopher), 6
- Straumann, Benjamin, 58, 69–70, 114, 120  
*sua sponte*, 64, 165
- Sulla, Lucius Cornelius, 33, 71, 76, 141
- Syme, Ronald, 81
- Taylor, L. R., 81, 83
- temeritas*, 61, 73–75
- Terence (Publius Terentius Afer), 4, 29–32, 35
- tribunate, 134
- trusteeship, 109, 128
- Ulpian (jurist), 77, *see also* Roman law
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights  
 notion of “will of the people,” 241
- utilitas*, 123, 130
- Varro, Marcus Terentius  
 as correspondent with Cicero, 90, 182  
 etymology of *voluntas* in *De lingua Latina*, 24, 218
- Verres, Gaius, 71, 74, 105, *see also In Verrem* (Cicero, works of)
- vis*, 47  
 duality with *voluntas*, 38, 61, 73, 97, 115, 132, 158
- Voelke, André-Jean, 18

- voluntarius*, 23, 147  
 as willingness where it would not be expected,  
 48, 55, 160  
 in criminal intent, 48
- voluntas*  
 as collective preference or intent, 115  
 as designation of political support, 63–67  
*contra voluntatem*, 73  
*sua* and *summa voluntate*, 63–67  
 as force or ‘desire-in-motion’, 24, 29, 119,  
 141, 158, 165, 207, 215, 219, 225  
 as goodwill of an audience, 42, 110  
 in court, 45  
 at the theater, 30, 119, 122  
 as lawful intent of a private individual, 27, 29,  
 36  
 injured party in a lawsuit, 37, 74  
 legal clients, 36  
*paterfamilias*, 24, 33, 72  
 in renouncing citizenship, 74  
 witness in a lawsuit, 54  
 as lawful intent of a public official, 24, 33, 39,  
 58, 62, 71  
 as mutual goodwill (*voluntas mutua*), 59,  
 79–104, 212  
 as part of criminal intent, 49–50, 52–54, 74,  
 159  
 as patriotism (*voluntas in rem publicam*), 93  
 as personal affiliation  
 to a manner of life (*voluntas institutae vitae*),  
 197, 211, 213  
 to a party or cause, 67–69  
 to a rhetorical style (*voluntas dicendi*), 201  
 as willingness or absence of compulsion,  
 29–30  
 as willpower, 160–63
- bivalence of, 8, 34, 68, 74, 138, 159, 165,  
 183, 219  
 duality with *utilitas*, 121, 130  
 durability of, 8, 40, 43–44, 55, 61, 71, 87, 93,  
 111–12, 142, 159, 207, 223  
 etymology of, 17, 19, 24  
 measurability of, 8, 53, 63, 88, 132, 225  
*recta voluntas*, good conscience, 184  
 recursive qualities of, 210  
 role in origins of human society, 73, 123  
*temeritas* as outer limit, 73–75  
 usages in Latin prior to Cicero, 24–31  
*voluntas deorum*, “the will of the gods,” 115,  
 122  
*voluntas populi*, “the will of the people,” 43,  
 106
- will, *See voluntas*  
 will of the people, *see also voluntas populi*  
 absence from classical Greek usage, 20–23,  
 108  
 approximation in Polybius, 22  
 in Cicero, 7, 12–13, 23  
 after Caesar’s rise to power, 140  
*De legibus*, 132–40  
*De republica*, 123–32  
 orations, 105–22  
 in Jefferson, 238–42  
 rejection of Ciceronian notion by Augustine,  
 229  
 role in modern politics, 143, 242  
 in Rousseau, 235–36  
 Woolf, Raphael, 155, 180
- Zeno of Citium, 154, *see also* Stoicism  
 political views of, 124