

```
absolutism, 127
                                                 audiences
affective polarization, 185-6
                                                    autonomy of, eloquence and, 45-50
algorithmic rhetoric, 3-4
                                                    decorum and, 67-8
  criticism of, 8, 48
                                                    for Institutio oratoria, 81
Allen, Danielle, 11-12
                                                    for rhetoric, 6-7
anaphora, 33, 174
                                                    rhetorical situation and, 41
Ancien Régime and the Revolution, The
                                                  Aurelian, 142
      (Tocqueville), 122-3, 147-55
                                                  authority, 164-6
  as anti-rhetorical, 148-50
  archival research for, 153-4
                                                  Bacon, Francis, 135
  centralization of power in, 150-1
                                                  Barthes, Roland, 60-1, 160, 163
  human agency in, 149
                                                  Beiner, Ronald, 112
  persuasion in, 152-3
                                                  Biden, Joe, 3
  secrecy as theme in, 153
                                                  Boileau-Despréaux, Nicolas (Boileau), 105-6
anti-rhetoric, 104, 109, 116
                                                  Bonald, Louis de, 147
  Ancien Régime and the Revolution, The, and,
                                                  Bossuet, Bishop, 162-7, 177
                                                  Bourdieu, Pierre, 7
       148-50
Antonius, Marcus, 27, 29-30, 37-8, 41, 123-4
                                                  Bromwich, David, 107
                                                  Brutus, 56, 62-3
aporia, 49-50
Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs,
                                                  Brutus (Cicero), 25, 42, 55, 58, 63, 156
      An (Burke), 112
                                                  Burke, Edmund, 106-7, 118, See also
Arena, Valentina, 65
                                                         Philosophical Enquiry Into the
argumentative public discussion, 160-3
                                                         Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime
Aristotle, 112
                                                        and Beautiful, A
  Cicero and, 39
                                                    aesthetics for, 90
  on rhetoric, 5
                                                    Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs, An, 112
Asianists, 56
                                                    on British constitutionalism, 97
                                                    Cicero and, study of, 89
Atticists (Atticism)
                                                    on defective deliberation, 109-17
  Caesar and, 62
  Cicero and, 65, 177
                                                    deliberative democracy and, 89-90
  Demosthenes and, 57-8
                                                    on deliberative sublime, 90, 113-15
  Eighteenth-century rebirth of, 91
                                                    on eloquence, 90-7
  Orator and, 52-3, 56-7, 64-5
                                                    on imaginative judgment, 109-17
```



Burke, Edmund (cont.)	novus homo, 89, 103–4
impeachment of Warren Hastings and,	Orator, 25
99–102, 111	on oratory
on mass politics, 118-19	foundational requirements of, 180
on natural law, 101-2	myths of, 29-30
"On American Taxation," 89, 99, 110	origins of, 29-31
"On Conciliation with the Colonies," 88,	violence and, 30
98-9, 110-11, 171	Quintilian and, 78–9, 180–1
"On Taste," 112–13	res and verba, 69-70
"On the Nabob of Arcot's Debt's," 101	rhetorical situation and, 40, 65-6, 96
on pain of judgment, 189–90	rhetorical theory, 24-6
Reflections on the Revolution in France,	unpredictability as part of, 152
102-3	self-conception for, 24
rhetoric and, 97–104	self-justification for, 24
public response to, 103-4	on skepticism, 47
	verbal style for, 26
Caesar, Julius, 26, 41-4, See also De analogia	virtus, 25–6, 37
Atticists and, 62	reconception of, 27-31
Cicero and, 62-4	civility, 90-1, 94, 103
in Orator, 64-5	classicism, 165, 193
ornatus and, 63-4	Clinton, Hillary, 8-9
Calasso, Roberto, 162	Clive, John, 144
Calvus, Gaius Licinius, 56, 61-2	Constitutional History of England (Hallam), 139
Cambridge Analytica, 3, 192	constitutional theory, 95
campaign analytics, political, 2-4	constitutionalism, 94-6
candor, decorum compared to, 11	British, 97
Carrère, Emmanuel, 190	flexible, 96
Cato, 66	Roman, 96
Cato's Letters (Trenchard and Gordon), 91	conversation, oratory compared to, 13
cedant arma togae, 193	copia, 54, 57
Chambers, Simone, 4-5	Crassus, Lucius Licinius, 25-9, 32, 35-41, 45
Charles I (King), 137–8	Crisis of Parliamentary Democracy, The
Chua, Amy, 187	(Schmitt), 158–67
Cicero, 6-7, 23, See also De oratore	deliberative speech in, 160
Aristotle and, 39	formality of speech in, 160-1
Atticists and, 65, 177	parliamentarism in, 162, 164
Brutus, 25, 42, 55, 58, 63, 156	Cruz, Ted, 2-3
Burke influenced by, 89	
Caesar and, 62-4	data mining, for political campaigns, 2-3
cedant arma togae, 193	by Cambridge Analytica, 3
De amicitia, 48	rhetoric and, 3-4
De inventione, 27, 29, 38	data-driven rhetoric, 3-4
orators in, 28-9	De amicitia (Cicero), 48
De legibus, 96	De analogia (Caesar), 26, 63
De officiis, 66	diction in, 42-3
on decorum, 62–70	ornatus in, 42
deliberative rhetoric and, 25	public speech in, 43-4
Demosthenes and, 51-3, 68	rational criterion for speech in, 41-4, 47
doctrine of the three styles and, 52-62	De inventione (Cicero), 27, 29, 38
judicial rhetoric and, 25	orators in, 28-9
libertas and, 92	De legibus (Cicero), 96
Macaulay influenced by, 125-6	De officiis (Cicero), 66



De oratore (Cicero), 24-5, 27-8	demagoguery, 182, See also demagogic rhetoric
anaphora in, 33	demagogues, 48–9, 91, 94, 182
Crassus in, 32, 35–8	"weighty" speakers compared to, 48
decorum in, 40-1	Demetrius, 33
elocutio in, 34	Democracy in America (Tocqueville), 149, 152
Gracchus in, 182	democratic ideology, <i>parrhesia</i> and, 71–2, 74
historiography in, 123–4	democratic rhetoric, 4–5
Orator compared to, 52	demos, 73
orators in, 28–9, 39–40	Demosthenes, 23, 59, 194
ornatus in, 32–5	Atticists and, 57–8
Phaedrus as influence on, 38–40	doctrine of the three styles and, 61–2
polysemous elements in, 33–4	in Orator, 51-3, 57-8
purpose of, 31–2	parrhesia and, 70–7
status theory in, 37	negative connotations of, 70–1
topos of civilization in, 28	on personae, 76
uncertainties of language in, 31–41	Dialogus de oratoribus (Tacitus), 82-4, 90-1
mechanisms and, 33	diction, in De analogia, 42–3 Diocletian, 8
micro-qualities of speech, 32–4	
for rhetorical knowledge, 32	Dionysus of Halicarnassus, 58–9
for rhetorical success, 32	dispositio, 172–3
sentence structure, 36–7	doctrine of the three styles (three styles)
debatability, 144	Cicero and, 52–62
declamatory disquisition, 16, 122	Demosthenes and, 61–2
in History of England (Macaulay), 135, 138,	grandiloquent style, 56
141	Orator and, 55–6
decorum. See also spontaneous decorum	persona/personae in, 61-2
audiences' power over speaker and, 67–8	Rhetorica ad Herennium and, 54-5, 59
candor compared to, 11	social class and, 52-3
Cicero on, 62–70	Domitian, 78
in De oratore, 40–1	Dugan, John, 30-1, 57
ethical dimensions of, 52	15. 15.5 1 201 7
practices of, 66–8	elites, political, surveillance of, 11
refusal of, 66–7	elocutio, 12-13, 34, 45-6, 172-3
rhetorical, 66	eloquence, 10–11
standards of, 11	audience autonomy and, 45–50
defective deliberation, 109–17	Barthes on, 163
deliberation	Burke on, 90–7
Burke on, 89–90	classical conception of, 163
debatability and, 144	elocutio and, 45-6
defective, 109–17	etymology of, 60–1
democracy and, 89–90	failure and, 46
in public sphere, 144–5	figures of speech and, 47
undeliberative speech and, 5	hierarchy and, 163-4
deliberative rhetoric, 25	idealization of rhetoric and, 45-6
deliberative speech, 160	loss and, 46
deliberative sublime, 90, 113–15	methodological approach to, 11-13
demagogic rhetoric, 8–10	old, 74, 83, 92–3
Clinton and, 8–9	parrhesia, 74–7
criticism of, difficulties in, 10	rhetorical bargain and, 11
incautious speech in, 10	Schmitt on, 164–5
recklessness in, 9–10	skepticism and, 45-7
Trump and, 8–10	spontaneous decorum and, 10



218 Index

eloquence (cont.) Hampsher-Monk, Iain, 110 spontaneous humor and, 46 Hastings, Warren, 98-100, 102 systematization of, 24 impeachment trial of, 93-101 theoretical approach to, 11-13 Hendrickson, George L., 42-3 tropes, 18-19 Henry, John, 24 virtus and, 45-6 historical determinism, rejection of, 150 historiography, 123-6 Elster, Jon, 33, 148 Encomium of Helen (Gorgias), 30 in De oratore, 123-4 England. See also History of England for Macaulay, 126-9 Civil War in, 137-8 persuasion in, 125 Reform Act of 1832, 119, 128-9, 131 probability in, 124-5 truth in, 124-5 Roman Catholic Relief Act, 133 "History" (Macaulay), 126-9 Erskine, Thomas, 103-4 ethos, 12, 60 History of England (Hume), 156-7 History of England (Macaulay), 118, 126-9, Fantham, Elaine, 55, 69-70, 72-3 134-47, 154-5 Federalist 58 (Madison), 93-4 Charles I in, 137-8 declamatory disquisition in, 135, 138, 141 Ferguson, Adam, 128 figures of speech Habermas and, 144 James II in, 138-40 eloquence and, 47 periodic sentences, 36-7, 40, 47 narration in, 134-5 filter bubble, polarization and, 188 nostalgia in, 147 orators in, 147 flexible constitutionalism, 96 formality of speech, 160-1 polyvocal writing in, 140-1 Foucault, Michel, 70 public sphere in, 144-7 Frank, Jason, 107 social history in, 128-9 the frank speaker. See parrhesiastes Tories in, 139, 141-2 frank speech. See parrhesia Whigs in, 139-42, 156 French Revolution. See Ancien Régime and the History of the Revolution in England in 1688 Revolution, The (Mackintosh), 139 Furet, François, 148-9 Howard, Sir Robert, 139 Hume, David, 92, 127, 156-7 humor. See spontaneous humor Garsten, Bryan, 11-12, 191 Gibbon, Edward, 8 hypophora, 34 Gingrich, Newt, 24 Gopen, George, 36 Ibn al-Muqaffa, 73 Gordon, 91 imagination, taste and, 115-16 Gorgias (Plato), 30, 40 imaginative judgment, 109-17 Gormley, Steven, 6 incautious speech, in demagogic rhetoric, 10 Gotoff, Harold C., 55 indirect parrhesia, 73-4 Gracchi, 49-50 information fallacy, about voters, 4 Gracchus, Gaius, 29, 182 Institutio oratoria (Quintilian), 51-76 Gracchus, Tiberius, 29 audiences for, 81 Green, Jeffrey, 188 orators in, 62-77 Greene, Lane, 9, 11 prose rhythm of, 81 Grenville, George, 110 rhetorical uncertainty in, 80-1 inventio, 125, 172-3 Grube, G. M. A., 34 Isocrates, 70-1 Habermas, Jürgen, 145, 166 History of England (Macaulay) and, 144 James II (King), 138-40 on public sphere, 144–5, 194 Jaume, Lucien, 152 Hallam, Henry, 139 Jesus Christ, 142



judgment, 97, 112–16, 133–5	Maguire, Matthew, 149
imaginative, 109-17	Mantel, Hilary, 166
pain of, 89, 113, 115, 145	Markovits, Elizabeth, 75–6
judicial rhetoric, 25	mass democracy, Macaulay's criticism of,
	131-2
kairos, 108, 162, 173-4	mass politics, 16, 118–19, 122–3
Kant, Immanuel, 23	Maternus, Curiatius, 82–4
Kennedy, George, 79–80	Mélonio, François, 149
Klein, Ezra, 186	Metcalf, Stephen, 186–7
knowledge. See rhetorical knowledge	Mill, John Stuart, 146
Kramnick, Isaac, 113	Milo, Titus Annius, 193
Krostenko, Brian, 46	Milton, John, 18, 100–1, 103, 108, 134
- 1 - 2 - 1	Montesquieu, 92
Landauer, Matthew, 71	morality, polarization and, 187–8
language, in De oratore, uncertainties of, 31-41	Müller, Adam, 176–7
mechanisms of language, 33	
micro-qualities of speech, 32-4	narratio, 123-4
for rhetorical knowledge, 32	narration, in History of England (Macaulay),
for rhetorical success, 32	134-5
through sentence structure, 36–7	natural law, 101-2
"Language" (Gingrich), 24	nostalgia, in History of England (Macaulay),
Lanham, Richard, 136, 171-2	147
Latinitas, 42–3	novus homo, 89, 103-4
Lewis, C. S., 167	
libertas, 92	Obama, Barack, 1–2, 187
Livy, 125	campaign analytics and, 2
Lock, F. P., 104-5	political eloquence of, 2
London, Jennifer, 73	"Of Eloquence" (Hume), 92
Longinus, 69, 89, 105-6	"Of Eloquence, Considered Politically"
low rhetoric, 170	(Trenchard), 91
Luntz, Frank, 24	old eloquence, 92–3
Lysias, 67	"On American Taxation" (Burke), 89, 99, 110 "On Conciliation with the Colonies" (Burke),
Macaulay, Thomas Babington. See also History	88, 98–9, 110–11, 171
of England (Macaulay)	"On Taste" (Burke), 112–13
absolutism and, 127	"On the Crown" (Demosthenes), 57–60, 105,
on Bacon, 135	194
Cicero as influence on, 125–6	"On the Nabob of Arcot's Debt's" (Burke), 101
elitism of, 131	On the Style of Demosthenes (Dionysus of
historiography for, 126-9	Halicarnassus), 58–9
"History," 126-9	On the Sublime (Peri hypsous) (Longinus), 89,
mass democracy, criticism of, 131-2	105-6
on mass politics, 16, 122–3	Orator (Cicero), 25
on parliamentarism, 129–30	Atticists and, 52–3, 56–7, 64–5
Peterloo Massacre and, 119	Caesar in, 64–5
on Reform Act of 1832, advocacy for, 119,	De oratore compared to, 52
128-9, 131	Demosthenes in, 51-3, 57-8
rhetorical history for, critiques of, 154–7	doctrine of the three styles and, 55–6
on Thucydides, 136	orators
Mackintosh, James, 139	Athenian, 60
Madison, James, 93–4	classical view of, 13
on constitutionalism, 94	in De inventione, 28–9
	- /



orators (cont.)	Philosophical Enquiry Into the Origin of
in De oratore, 28-9, 39-40	Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful,
in History of England (Macaulay),	A (Burke), 90, 104–9
147	imitation in, 106
in Institutio oratoria, 62–77	purpose of, 106–7
prose rhythm of, 81	sympathy in, 106
Schmitt on, 164, 178	phronesis, 112
oratory	plain rhetoric, 170
Cicero on	Plato, 30, 38-40
foundational requirements of, 180	polarization, political, 3-4, 185-9
myths of, 29–30	affective, 185-6
origins of, 29-31	filter bubble, 188
violence and, 30	moral responsibility for, 187-8
conversation compared to, 13	popular treatment of, 186
ornatus, 32-5, 42, 54, 57, 171-2	as regression, 187
Caesar and, 63-4	social science of, 185-6
, , ,	tribalism and, 187
pain of judgment, 89, 113, 115, 145	in United States, 18, 184-5
Burke on, 189–90	political citizens, 118
parliamentarism	political redlining, 3–4
assessments of, 161	Political Romanticism (Schmitt), 159, 176
in Crisis of Parliamentary Democracy, The,	political tribalism, 18, 185
162, 164	Political Tribes (Chua), 187
"golden age" of, 163	politics
institutions of, 146	judgment-oriented, 126–9
Macaulay on, 129-30	mass, 16, 118-19, 122-3
secrecy of, 164	quantified persuasion in, 4
parrhesia (frank speech)	redlining in, 3–4
democratic ideology and, 71-2, 74	technologization of, 3, 193
Demosthenes and, 70-7	polysemous elements, in De oratore, 33-4
negative connotations for, 70-1	polyvocal writing, 140-1
eloquent, 74-7	Pompey the Great, 35
indirect, 73-4	Potkay, Adam S., 91–2
personae and, 76	Priestley, Joseph, 92-3
public speech and, 71	prose rhythm, 81
risks of, 73-4	Protestant Reformation, 127
sincerity and, 75-6	Protestantism, 161
tropes and, 75	public speech, 13, 38, 42-4
parrhesiastes (the frank speaker), 70-3	in De analogia, 43–4
Foucault on, 70	parrhesia and, 71
periodic sentences, 36-7, 40, 47	participation in, 47
persona/personae, 61-2, 76	science of, 44
persuasion	public sphere, 3–4
in Ancien Régime and the Revolution, The,	deliberation in, 144-5
152-3	Habermas on, 144-5, 194
defense as element of, 190–1	in History of England (Macaulay), 144-7
in historiography, 125	ideal of, 145
power of, 30	reconstruction of, 122
systematization of, 23	recreation of, 16
Peterloo Massacre, 119	republican, collapse of, 46
Phaedrus (Plato), 38-40	Structural Transformation of the Public
Philip of Macedon, 72	Sphere. The. 145



quantified persuasion, 4	rhetorical theory, for Cicero, 24-6
Quintilian, 59, 170, See also Institutio oratoria	unpredictability as part of, 152
Cicero and, 78–9, 180–1	rhetorical tradition, marginalization of, 13
on rhetorical tradition, 181	rhetorical uncertainty. See uncertainty
	rhythm. See prose rhythm
recklessness, in demagogic rhetoric, 9–10	risk shift, rhetoric and, 7
Reflections on the Revolution in France (Burke),	ritual
102-3	repetition of, 168–9, 176–83
Reform Act (1832), England, 119, 128–9, 131	Schmitt on, 164–7
Remer, Gary, 4–5, 67	repetition of, 176–83
representation, substantive, 161, 163-4	rhetoric through, 169–75
representative discourse, 158–9, 162–3	speech as, 160-1
res, verba and, 69–70, 170	speech as ritual, 160–1
res publica, 64	as subjunctive action, 167–9, 178, 181
rhetoric. See also persuasion; rhetoric revival;	tragedy and, 176–83
specific topics	as subjunctive action, 167–9, 178, 181
algorithmic, 3-4	Roman Catholic Relief Act, England (1829),
criticism of, 8, 48	133
Aristotelian view of, 5	Roman Catholicism and Political Form
as audience-centered, 6-7	(Schmitt), 159-64
for Burke, 97–104	rhetoric in, 162-3
public response to, 103-4	Roman Republic, 24-6, 28, 45, 51, 79
data-driven, 3-4	virtus in, 30–1
declamatory disquisition, 16, 122, 135, 138,	Rooney, Sally, 175
141	Rufus, Rutilius, 182
definition of, 12	
deliberative, 25	scars, display of, 41, 174-5
demagogic, 8–10, 29, 48–9, 185	Schiesaro, Alessandro, 43-4
democratic, 4-5	Schmitt, Carl, 158-9
evaluation of, 6-7	on authority, 164-6
idealization of, 45-6	on classicism, 165
judicial, 25	Crisis of Parliamentary Democracy, The,
Kant denunciation of, 23	158-67
low/plain, 170	on eloquence, 164-5
modern routinization of, 7-8, 24	on orators, 164, 178
rationalized, 162-3	Political Romanticism, 159, 176
risk shift and, 7	rhetorical crisis and, construction of, 159
Rhetoric (Aristotle), 39	on ritual, 164–7
rhetoric revival, 12	repetition of, 176-83
Rhetorica ad Herennium, 34, 37	rhetoric through, 169-75
doctrine of the three styles and, 54-5, 59	speech as, 160-1
hypophora in, 34	as subjunctive action, 167-9, 178, 181
rhetorical bargain, 5-7, 11, 192	tragedy and, 176-83
classical notion of, 8	Roman Catholicism and Political Form,
eloquence and, 11	159-64
routinization of rhetoric and, 7-8	Scott, James, 187
rhetorical decorum, 66	Scott, Walter, 127
rhetorical knowledge, 32	Scottish Enlightenment, 128
rhetorical situation, 5, 13, 156	secrecy
audiences and, 41	in Ancien Régime and the Revolution, The, as
Cicero and, 40, 65-6, 96	theme, 153
kairos and, 173-4	of parliamentarism, 164



Seligman, Adam, 160, 167–8, 178	taste
Selinger, William, 146	good, 115
sentences. See periodic sentences	imagination and, 115–16
Seymour, Sir Robert, 139	technologization of politics, 3, 193
shame/shamelessness, 10, 38-40, 71	Tetricus, 142
Sheridan, Richard Brinsley, 98	Theophrastus, 53-5
sincerity, 75–6	Thiers, Adolphe, 149
Sinclair, Patrick, 44	Thompson, Mark, 3, 24
Siroker, Dan, 2	three styles. See doctrine of the three styles
skepticism, eloquence and, 47	Thucydides, 122, 135-6, 143
skilled speech. See eloquence	Macaulay on, 136
Skinner, Quentin, 33–4, 193	Tocqueville, Alexis de, 122-3, 147-54, See also
Smith, Adam, 92–3, 130	Ancien Régime and the Revolution, The
Smith, Jonathan, 178	historical determinism and, rejection of,
Smith, William, 105–6	150
sociology of Protestantism. See Protestantism	rhetorical history for, critiques of,
speech. See also figures of speech; persuasion;	154-7
rhetoric	Tories, in History of England (Macaulay), 139,
in De analogia	141-2
public speech, 43-4	Trenchard, John, 91
rational criterion for, 41–4, 47	tribalism
deliberative, 160	abuse of term, 187
formality of, 160-1	polarization and, 187
incautious, in demagogic rhetoric, 10	political, 18, 185
micro-qualities of, 32-4	as stigma, 191
ownership of, 26	Trilling, Lionel, 76
public, 13, 38, 42-4	tropes, 125
in De analogia, 43–4	eloquence, 18–19
parrhesia and, 71	parrhesia and, 75
participation in, 47	Trump, Donald, 3
science of, 44	Cambridge Analytica and, 192
stylized, 160	demagogic rhetoric and, 8–10
Spirit of the Laws (Montesquieu), 92	truth, in historiography, 124-5
spontaneous <i>decorum</i> , eloquence and, 10	tradit, in instorrography, 124
spontaneous humor, 46	uncertainty, rhetorical, 80-1
stadial theory of human development,	undeliberative speech, 5
128	United States (US), political polarization in, 18,
status theory, 37	184–5
Stevenson, Adlai, 4	104)
Stewart, Dugald, 128	verba. See res
Straumann, Benjamin, 96	Vickers, Brian, 33–4
Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere,	virtus
The (Habermas), 145, 166	Cicero and, 25–6, 37
subjunctive, ritual as, 167–9, 178,	
181	reconception of, 27–31
	eloquence and, 45–6 political debate as, 95
sublime/sublimity, 98–9, 101–2, 104, 106–9, See also deliberative sublime	
see also denderative subline	Roman notion of, 30–1
Tacitus 82-4 00-1	Wallace, David Foster, 184
Tacitus, 82–4, 90–1 discourse of civility influenced by, 91	Wealth of Nations, The (Smith, Adam), 130
Taine. Hippolyte. 162	Weber, Max. 161
1 anic, 1 HDD017 tc, 104	W CDCI. IVIAA. IUI



Index 223

Weimar Germany. See Crisis of Parliamentary
Democracy, The; Schmitt, Carl
Whigs, in History of England (Macaulay), 139,
141-2, 156
Wilkes, John, 103-4
William of Orange, 138
Wisse, Jakob, 42-3
Wolf Hall (Mantel), 166

Wolin, Sheldon, 3, 95 Wood, Neal, 115 Woodman, A. J., 123–4 Xunzi, 178, 183 Zenobia, 142 Zerba, Michelle, 39–40