



## BOOK VIII

"All right. This much has been agreed, Glaucon: for a city that is going to be governed on a high level, women must be in common, children and their entire education must be in common, and similarly the practices in war and peace must be in common, and their kings must be those among them who have proved best in philosophy and with respect to war."

543 *a*

"Yes," he said, "it has been agreed."

"Furthermore, we also accepted that when the rulers are once established, they must take the lead and settle the soldiers in houses—such as we spoke of before—that have nothing private for anyone but are common for all. And, in addition to such houses, as to possessions, if you remember, we presumably came to an agreement about what sort they are to have."

*b*

"Yes, I do remember," he said, "that we supposed that no one must possess any of the things the others nowadays have; but that like champions of war and guardians, they will receive a wage annually from the others consisting of the bare subsistence required for their guarding, and for this wage they must take care of themselves and the rest of the city."

*c*

"What you say is right," I said. "But come, since we have completed this, let's recall where we took the detour that brought us here so that we can go back to the same way."

543 c "That's not hard," he said. "You were presenting your arguments pretty much as you are doing now, as though you had completed your description of what concerns the city, saying that you would class a city such as you then described, and the man like it, as good. And you did  
d this, as it seems, in spite of the fact that you had a still finer city and  
544 a man to tell of. Anyhow, you were saying that the other cities are mistaken if this one is right. Concerning the remaining regimes, as I remember, you asserted that there are four forms it is worthwhile to have an account of, and whose mistakes are worth seeing; and similarly with the men who are like these regimes; so that, when we have seen them all and agreed which man is best and which worst, we could consider whether the best man is happiest and the worst most wretched, or  
b whether it is otherwise. And just as I was asking which four regimes you meant, Polemarchus and Adeimantus interrupted. That's how you picked up the argument and got here."

"What you remember," I said, "is quite correct."

"Well, then, like a wrestler, give me the same hold again; and when I put the same question, try to tell what you were going to say then."

"If I am able," I said.

"And, in fact," he said, "I myself really desire to hear what four regimes you meant."

c "It won't be hard for you to hear them," I said. "For those I mean are also the ones having names; the one that is praised by the many, that Cretan and Laconian regime; and second in place and second in praise, the one called oligarchy, a regime filled with throngs of evils; and this regime's adversary, arising next in order, democracy; and then the noble tyranny at last, excelling all of these, the fourth and extreme illness of a city. Or have you some other *idea* of a regime that fits into  
d some distinct form? For dynasties and purchased kingships and certain regimes of the sort are somewhere between these, and one would find them no less among the barbarians than the Greeks."<sup>1</sup>

"At any rate," he said, "many strange ones are talked about."

"Do you know," I said, "that it is necessary that there also be as many forms of human characters as there are forms of regimes? Or do you suppose that the regimes arise 'from an oak or rocks'<sup>2</sup> and not  
e from the dispositions of the men in the cities, which, tipping the scale as it were, draw the rest along with them?"

"No," he said. "I don't at all think they arise from anything other than this."

"Therefore if there are five arrangements of cities, there would also be five for the soul of private men."

"Surely."

"Well, we have already described the man who is like the aristocracy, a man of whom we rightly assert that he is both good and just." 544 e

"Yes, we have described him." 545 a

"Must we next go through the worse men—the man who loves victory and honor, fixed in relation to the Laconian regime; and then, in turn, an oligarchic and a democratic man, and the tyrannic man, so that seeing the most unjust man, we can set him in opposition to the most just man? If so, we can have a complete consideration of how pure justice is related to pure injustice with respect to the happiness and wretchedness of the men possessing them. In this way we may be persuaded either by Thrasymachus and pursue injustice, or by the argument that is now coming to light and pursue justice." b

"That," he said, "is most certainly what must be done."

"Then, just as we began by considering the various dispositions in the regimes before considering them in the private men, supposing that to be the more luminous way; so must we now consider first the regime that loves honor—I can give no other name that is used for it in common parlance; it should be called either timocracy or timarchy.<sup>3</sup> And, in relation to this regime, we shall consider the like man, and after that oligarchy and an oligarchic man. Later, after having looked at democracy, we'll view a democratic man; and fourth, having gone to the city that is under a tyranny and seen it, then looking into a tyrannic soul, we shall try to become adequate judges of the subject we proposed for ourselves." c

"It would, in any case," he said, "be a reasonable way for the observation and judgment to take place."

"Well, come, then," I said, "let's try to tell the way in which a timocracy would arise from an aristocracy. Or is it simply the case that change in every regime comes from that part of it which holds the ruling offices—when faction arises in it—while when it is of one mind, it cannot be moved, be it composed of ever so few?" d

"Yes, that's so."

"Then, Glaucon," I said, "how will our city be moved and in what way will the auxiliaries and the rulers divide into factions against each other and among themselves? Or do you want us, as does Homer, to pray to the Muses to tell us how 'faction first attacked,'<sup>4</sup> and shall we say that they speak to us with high tragic talk, as though they were speaking seriously, playing and jesting with us like children?" e

"How?"

"Something like this. A city so composed is hard to be moved. But, since for everything that has come into being there is decay, not even a composition such as this will remain for all time; it will be 546 a

546 a dissolved. And this will be its dissolution: bearing and barrenness of soul and bodies come not only to plants in the earth but to animals on the earth when revolutions complete for each the bearing round of circles; for ones with short lives, the journey is short; for those whose lives are the opposite, the journey is the opposite. Although they are  
 b wise, the men you educated as leaders of the city will nonetheless fail to hit on the prosperous birth and barrenness of your kind with calculation aided by sensation, but it will pass them by, and they will at some time beget children when they should not. For a divine birth there is a period comprehended by a perfect number; for a human birth, by the first number in which root and square increases, comprising three distances and four limits, of elements that make like and unlike, and that wax and wane, render everything conversable and rational. Of  
 c these elements, the root four-three mated with the five, thrice increased, produces two harmonies. One of them is equal an equal number of times, taken one hundred times over. The other is of equal length in one way but is an oblong; on one side, of one hundred rational diameters of the five, lacking one for each; or, if of irrational diameters, lacking two for each; on the other side, of one hundred cubes of the three. This whole geometrical number is sovereign of better and worse  
 d begettings.<sup>5</sup> And when your guardians from ignorance of them cause grooms to live with brides out of season, the children will have neither good natures nor good luck. Their predecessors will choose the best of these children; but, nevertheless, since they are unworthy, when they, in turn, come to the powers of their fathers, they will as guardians first begin to neglect us by having less consideration than is required, first, for music, and, second, for gymnastic; and from there your young will become more unmusical. And rulers chosen from them won't be guardians very apt at testing Hesiod's races<sup>6</sup> and yours—gold and silver  
 e and bronze and iron. And the chaotic mixing of iron with silver and of  
 547 a bronze with gold engenders unlikeness and inharmonious irregularity, which, once they arise, always breed war and hatred in the place where they happen to arise. Faction must always be said to be 'of this ancestry'<sup>7</sup> wherever it happens to rise."

"And we'll say," he said, "that what the Muses answer is right."

"Necessarily," I said. "For they are Muses."

b "What," he said, "do the Muses say next?"

"Once faction had arisen," I said, "each of these two races, the iron and bronze, pulled the regime toward money-making and the possession of land, houses, gold, and silver; while the other two, the gold and the silver—not being poor but rich by nature—led the souls toward virtue and the ancient establishment. Struggling and straining against one another, they came to an agreement on a middle way: they



distributed land and houses to be held privately, while those who previously were guarded by them as free friends and supporters they then enslaved and held as serfs and domestics; and they occupied themselves with war and with guarding against these men."

547 c

"In my opinion," he said, "this is the source of this transformation."

"Wouldn't this regime," I said, "be a certain middle between aristocracy and oligarchy?"

"Most certainly."

"This will be the way of the transformation. But once transformed, how will it be governed? Or is it evident that in some things it will imitate the preceding regime; in others oligarchy, because it is a middle; and that it will also have something peculiar to itself?"

d

"That's the way it is," he said.

"In honoring the rulers, and in the abstention of its war-making part from farming and the manual arts and the rest of money-making; in its provision for common meals and caring for gymnastic and the exercise of war—in all such ways won't it imitate the preceding regime?"

"Yes."

"But in being afraid to bring the wise to the ruling offices—because the men of that kind it possesses are no longer simple and earnest, but mixed—and in leaning toward spirited and simpler men, men naturally more directed to war than to peace; in holding the wiles and stratagems of war in honor; and in spending all its time making war; won't most such aspects be peculiar to this regime?"

e

"Yes."

"And such men," I said, "will desire money just as those in oligarchies do, and under cover of darkness pay fierce honor to gold and silver, because they possess storehouses and domestic treasuries where they can deposit and hide them; and they will have walls around their houses, exactly like private nests, where they can make lavish expenditures on women and whomever else they might wish."

548 a

b

"Very true," he said.

"Then they will also be stingy with money because they honor it and don't acquire it openly; but, pushed on by desire, they will love to spend other people's money; and they will harvest pleasures stealthily, running away from the law like boys from a father. This is because they weren't educated by persuasion but by force—the result of neglect of the true Muse accompanied by arguments and philosophy while giving more distinguished honor to gymnastic than music."

c

"You certainly speak of a regime," he said, "which is a mixture of bad and good."

"Yes, it is mixed," I said, "but due to the dominance of

548 c spiritedness one thing alone is most distinctive in it: love of victories and of honors."

"Very much so," he said.

"Then," I said, "this is the way this regime would come into being and what it would be like—given the fact that we are only outlining a regime's figure in speech and not working out its details precisely, since even the outline is sufficient for seeing the justest man and the unjustest one, and it is an impractically long job to go through all regimes and all dispositions and leave nothing out."

"Right," he said.

"Who, then, is the man corresponding to this regime? How did he come into being and what sort of man is he?"

"I suppose," said Adeimantus, "that as far as love of victory goes, he'd be somewhere near to Glaucon here."

e "Perhaps in that," I said, "but in these other respects his nature does not, in my opinion, correspond to Glaucon's."

"Which respects?"

549 a "He must be more stubborn," I said, "and somewhat less apt at music although he loves it, and must be a lover of hearing although he's by no means skilled in rhetoric. With slaves such a man would be brutal, not merely despising slaves as the adequately educated man does. But with freemen he would be tame and to rulers most obedient. He is a lover of ruling and of honor, not basing his claim to rule on speaking or anything of the sort, but on warlike deeds and everything connected with war; he is a lover of gymnastic and the hunt."

"Yes," he said, "that is the disposition belonging to this regime."

b "Wouldn't such a man," I said, "when he is young also despise money, but as he grows older take ever more delight in participating in the money-lover's nature and not be pure in his attachment to virtue, having been abandoned by the best guardian?"

"What's that?" Adeimantus said.

"Argument mixed with music," I said. "It alone, when it is present, dwells within the one possessing it as a savior of virtue throughout life."

"What you say is fine," he said.

"Such, then," I said, "is the timocratic youth, like the timocratic city."

c "Most certainly."

"And this is how he comes into being," I said. "Sometimes he is the young son of a good father who lives in a city that is not under a good regime, a father who flees the honors, the ruling offices, the law-

suits, and everything of the sort that's to the busybody's taste, and who is willing to be gotten the better of so as not to be bothered." 549 c

"In what way, then, does he come into being?" he said.

"When," I said, "in the first place, he listens to his mother complaining. Her husband is not one of the rulers and as a result she is at a disadvantage among the other women. Moreover, she sees that he isn't very serious about money and doesn't fight and insult people for its sake in private actions in courts and in public but takes everything of the sort in an easygoing way; and she becomes aware that he always turns his mind to himself and neither honors nor dishonors her very much. She complains about all this and says that his father is lacking in courage and too slack, and, of course, chants all the other refrains such as women are likely to do in cases of this sort." d e

"Yes, indeed," said Adeimantus, "it's just like them to have many complaints."

"And you know," I said, "that the domestics of such men—those domestics who seem well-disposed—sometimes also secretly say similar things to the sons, and if they see someone who owes him money or does some other injustice and whom the father doesn't prosecute, they urge the son to punish all such men when he becomes a man, and thus to be more of a man than his father. And when the son goes out, he hears and sees other similar things—those in the city who mind their own business called simpletons and held in small account, and those who don't, honored and praised. Now when the young man hears and sees all this, and, on the other hand, hears his father's arguments and sees his practices at close hand contrasted with those of the others, he is drawn by both of these influences. His father waters the calculating part of his soul, and causes it to grow; the others, the desiring and spirited parts. Because he doesn't have a bad man's nature, but has kept bad company with others, drawn by both of these influences, he came to the middle, and turned over the rule in himself to the middle part, the part that loves victory and is spirited; he became a haughty-minded man who loves honor." 550 a b

"In my opinion," he said, "you have given a complete description of this man's genesis."

"Therefore," I said, "we have the second regime and the second man." c

"We have," he said.

"Then, next, shall we, with Aeschylus, tell of 'another man set against another city,'<sup>8</sup> or rather, shall we follow our plan and tell first of the city?"

550 c "Most certainly," he said.

"And, I suppose, oligarchy would come after such a regime."

"What kind of arrangement do you mean by oligarchy?" he said.

d "The regime founded on a property assessment,"<sup>9</sup> I said, "in which the rich rule and the poor man<sup>10</sup> has no part in ruling office."

"I understand," he said.

"Mustn't it first be told how the transformation from timarchy to oligarchy takes place?"

"Yes."

"And really," I said, "the way it is transformed is plain even to a blind man."

"How?"

"The treasure house full of gold," I said, "which each man has, destroys that regime. First they seek out expenditures for themselves and pervert the laws in that direction; they themselves and their wives disobey them."

"That's likely," he said.

e "Next, I suppose, one man sees the other and enters into a rivalry with him, and thus they made the multitude like themselves."

"That's likely."

"Well, then," I said, "from there they progress in money-making, and the more honorable they consider it, the less honorable they consider virtue. Or isn't virtue in tension with wealth, as though each were lying in the scale of a balance, always inclining in opposite directions?"

"Quite so," he said.

551 a "Surely, when wealth and the wealthy are honored in a city, virtue and the good men are less honorable."

"Plainly."

"Surely, what happens to be honored is practiced, and what is without honor is neglected."

"That's so."

"Instead of men who love victory and honor, they finally become lovers of money-making and money; and they praise and admire the wealthy man and bring him to the ruling offices, while they dishonor the poor man."

"Certainly."

b "Therefore, don't they then set down a law defining an oligarchic regime by fixing an assessment of a sum of money—where it's more of an oligarchy, the sum is greater, where less of an oligarchy, less? Prescribing that the man whose substance is not up to the level of the fixed assessment shall not participate in the ruling offices, don't

they either put this into effect by force of arms or, before it comes to that, they arouse fear and so establish this regime? Or isn't it that way?" 551 b

"It certainly is."

"This is, then, speaking generally, its establishment."

"Yes," he said. "But what is the character of the regime? And what are the mistakes which we were saying it contains?" c

"First," I said, "the very thing that defines the regime is one. Reflect: if a man were to choose pilots of ships in that way—on the basis of property assessments—and wouldn't entrust one to a poor man, even if he were a more skilled pilot—"

"They would make a poor sailing," he said.

"Isn't this also so for any other kind of rule whatsoever?"

"So I suppose, at least."

"Except for a city?" I said. "Or does it also apply to a city?"

"Certainly," he said, "most of all, insofar as it is the hardest and greatest kind of rule."

"Then oligarchy would contain this one mistake that is of such proportions." d

"It looks like it."

"And what about this? Is this a lesser mistake than the former one?"

"What?"

"Such a city's not being one but of necessity two, the city of the poor and the city of the rich, dwelling together in the same place, ever plotting against each other."

"No, by Zeus," he said, "that's no less of a mistake."

"And further, this isn't a fine thing: their being perhaps unable to fight any war, first, on account of being compelled either to use the multitude armed and be more afraid of it than the enemy, or not to use it and thus show up as true oligarchs<sup>11</sup> on the field of battle; and, besides, on account of their not being willing to contribute money because they love it." e

"No, it's not a fine thing."

"And what about this? That tendency to be busybodies we were condemning long ago—the same men in such a regime engaged in farming, money-making and war-making at the same time—does that seem right?" 552 a

"In no way whatsoever."

"Now see whether this regime is the first to admit the greatest of all these evils."

552 a "What?"

"Allowing one man to sell everything that belongs to him and another to get hold of it; and when he has sold it, allowing him to live in the city while belonging to none of its parts, called neither a money-maker, nor a craftsman, nor a knight, nor a hoplite, but a poor man without means."

b "Yes," he said, "it is the first."

"Then this sort of thing is at least not prevented in oligarchies. Otherwise some wouldn't be super rich while others are out-and-out poor."

"Right."

"Reflect on this. When such a man was wealthy and was spending, was he then of any more profit to the city with respect to the functions we were mentioning just now? Or did he seem to belong to the rulers, while in truth he was neither a ruler nor a servant of the city but a spender of his means?"

c "That's the way it was," he said, "he seemed, but was nothing other than a spender."

"Do you wish us," I said, "to say of him that, as a drone growing up in a cell is a disease of a hive, such a man growing up in a house is a drone and a disease of a city?"

"Most certainly, Socrates," he said.

d "Hasn't the god made all drones with wings stingless, Adeimantus, but only some drones with feet stingless while others have terrible stings? From the stingless ones come those who end up as beggars in old age, while from those who have stings come all who are called wrongdoers."

"Very true," he said.

"It's plain, therefore," I said, "that in a city where you see beggars, somewhere in the neighborhood thieves, cutpurses, temple robbers, and craftsmen of all such evils are hidden."

"It is plain," he said.

"What then? In cities under oligarchies don't you see beggars present?"

"Just about everyone except the rulers," he said.

e "Aren't we to suppose," I said, "that there are also many wrongdoers with stings among them, whom the ruling offices diligently hold down by force?"

"We must certainly suppose so," he said.

"Shall we assert that such men arise there as a result of want of education, bad rearing, and a bad arrangement of the regime?"

"We shall assert it."

552 *e*

"Well, anyhow, such would be the city under an oligarchy and it would contain all these evils, and perhaps even more."

"That's pretty nearly it," he said.

"Then let's take it," I said, "that we have developed the regime called oligarchy, one that gets its rulers on the basis of a property assessment, and next let's consider how the man similar to it comes into being and what he's like once he has come into being."

553 *a*

"Most certainly," he said.

"Is this the principal way in which the transformation from that timocratic man to an oligarchic one takes place?"

"How?"

"When his son is born and at first emulates his father and follows in his footsteps, and then sees him blunder against the city as against a reef and waste his property as well as himself. He had either been a general or had held some other great ruling office, and then got entangled with the court—suffering at the hands of sycophants—and underwent death, exile, or dishonor<sup>12</sup> and lost his whole substance."

*b*

"That's likely," he said.

"And the son, my friend, seeing and suffering this and having lost his substance, is frightened, I suppose, and thrusts love of honor and spiritedness headlong out of the throne of his soul; and, humbled by poverty, he turns greedily to money-making; and bit by bit saving and working, he collects money. Don't you suppose that such a man now puts the desiring and money-loving part on the throne, and makes it the great king within himself, girding it with tiaras, collars, and Persian swords?"<sup>13</sup>

*c*

"I do," he said.

"And, I suppose, he makes the calculating and spirited parts sit by it on the ground on either side and be slaves, letting the one neither calculate about nor consider anything but where more money will come from less; and letting the other admire and honor nothing but wealth and the wealthy, while loving the enjoyment of no other honor than that resulting from the possession of money and anything that happens to contribute to getting it."

*d*

"There is," he said, "no other transformation so quick and so sure from a young man who loves honor to one who loves money."

"Is this, then," I said, "the oligarchic man?"

*e*

"At least he is transformed out of a man who was like the regime out of which oligarchy came."

"Then, let's consider if he would be like."

554 a "Yes, let's consider that."

"In the first place, wouldn't he be similar in giving the highest place to money?"

"Of course."

"And, further, in being stingy and a toiler, satisfying only his necessary desires and not providing for other expenditures, but enslaving the other desires as vanities."

"Most certainly."

b "A sort of squalid man," I said, "getting a profit out of everything, filling up his storeroom—exactly the kind of men the multitude praises—isn't this the one who is like such a regime?"

"In my opinion, at least," he said. "Money, in any event, is held in honor above all by the city and by the man like it."

"For I don't suppose," I said, "such a man has devoted himself to education."

"Not in my opinion," he said. "Otherwise he wouldn't have set a blind leader<sup>14</sup> over the chorus and honored it above all."

c "Good," I said. "But consider this. Won't we say that due to lack of education dronelike desires come to be in him—some of the beggar variety, others of the wrongdoing variety—held down forcibly by his general diligence."

"Surely," he said.

"Do you know," I said, "to what you must look if you want to see the wrongdoings of these men?"

"To what?" he said.

"To their guardianship of orphans and any occasion of the kind that comes their way and gives them a considerable license to do injustice."

"True."

d "Isn't it plain from this that when such a man has a good reputation in other contractual relations—because he seems to be just—he is forcibly holding down bad desires, which are there, with some decent part of himself. He holds them down not by persuading them that they 'had better not' nor by taming them with argument, but by necessity and fear, doing so because he trembles for his whole substance."

"Very much so," he said.

"And, by Zeus, my friend," I said, "you'll find the desires that are akin to the drone present in most of them when they have to spend what belongs to others."

"Indeed you most certainly will," he said.

"Such a man, therefore, wouldn't be free from faction within himself; nor would he be simply one, but rather in some sense twofold, al-



though for the most part his better desires would master his worse desires." 554 e

"That's so."

"Then on this account, I suppose such a man would be more graceful than many, but the true virtue of the single-minded and harmonized soul would escape far from him."

"That's my opinion."

"Furthermore, the stingy man is a poor contestant when with his private means he competes for some victory or any other noble object of ambition in a city; he's not willing to spend money for the sake of good reputation or any such contests. Afraid to awaken the spendthrift desires and to summon them to an alliance and a love of victory, he makes war like an oligarch, with a few of his troops, is defeated most of the time, and stays rich." 555 a

"Quite so," he said.

"Do we then still doubt," I said, "that the stingy, money-making man, in virtue of his likeness, corresponds to the oligarchic city?"

"Not at all," he said. b

"Then, democracy, must, as it seems, be considered next—in what way it comes into being and, once come into being, what it is like—so that when we know the character of such a man in his turn, we can bring him forward for judgment."

"In that," he said, "we would at least be proceeding just as we were."

"Doesn't," I said, "the transformation from an oligarchy to a democracy take place in something like the following way, as a result of the insatiable character of the good that oligarchy proposes for itself—the necessity of becoming as rich as possible?"

"How?" he said.

"I suppose that because the rulers rule in it thanks to possessing much, they are unwilling to control those among the youth who become licentious by a law forbidding them to spend and waste what belongs to them—in order that by buying and making loans on the property of such men they can become richer and more honored." c

"That they do above all."

"Isn't it by now plain that it's not possible to honor wealth in a city and at the same time adequately to maintain moderation among the citizens, but one or the other is necessarily neglected?" d

"That's fairly plain," he said.

"Then, by their neglect and encouragement of licentiousness in oligarchies, they have sometimes compelled human beings who are not ignoble to become poor."

555 d "Quite so."

"Then I suppose these men sit idly in the city, fitted out with stings and fully armed, some owing debts, some dishonored, and some both, hating and plotting against those who acquired what belongs to them and all the rest too, gripped by a love of change."

e "That's so."

"And these money-makers, with heads bent down, not seeming to see these men, wound with injections of silver any man among the remainder who yields; and carrying off from the father a multiple offspring in interest,<sup>15</sup> they make the drone and the beggar great in the city."

556 a

"Very great indeed," he said.

"And, at all events," I said, "they aren't willing to quench this kind of evil—as it is bursting into flame—either by preventing a man from doing what he wants with his property, or, alternatively, by instituting another law that resolves such cases."

"What law?"

"The one that takes second place to the former law and which compels the citizens to care for virtue. For if someone were to prescribe that most voluntary contracts are to be made at the contractor's own risk, the citizens would make money less shamelessly in the city and fewer evils of the kind we were just describing would grow in it."

b

"Far fewer," he said.

"But, as it is," I said, "for all these reasons, the rulers in the city treat the ruled in this way. And as for themselves and their own, aren't their young luxurious and without taste for work of body or of soul, too soft to resist pleasures and pains, and too idle?"

c

"What else could they be?"

"And haven't they themselves neglected everything except money-making and paid no more attention to virtue than the poor?"

"Yes, they have."

d

"When the rulers and the ruled, each prepared in this fashion, come alongside of each other—either wayfaring or in some other community, on trips to religious festivals or in campaigns, becoming ship-mates or fellow soldiers, or even observing one another in dangers themselves—the poor are now in no wise despised by the rich. Rather it is often the case that a lean, tanned poor man is ranged in battle next to a rich man, reared in the shade, surrounded by a great deal of alien flesh, and sees him panting and full of perplexity. Don't you suppose he believes that it is due to the vice of the poor that such men are rich, and when the poor meet in private, one passes the word to the other: 'Those men are ours. For they are nothing?'"

"I certainly know very well," he said, "that this is what they do." 556 e

"Just as a sickly body needs only a slight push from outside to become ill, and sometimes even without any external influence becomes divided by factions within itself, so too doesn't a city that is in the same kind of condition as that body, on a small pretext—men brought in as allies from outside, from a city under an oligarchy, by the members of one party, from a city under a democracy by the members of the other—fall sick and do battle with itself, and sometimes even without any external influence become divided by faction?"

"That is very much the case." 557 a

"Then democracy, I suppose, comes into being when the poor win, killing some of the others and casting out some, and share the regime and the ruling offices with those who are left on an equal basis; and, for the most part, the offices in it are given by lot."

"Yes," he said, "this is the establishment of democracy, whether it comes into being by arms or by the others' withdrawing due to fear."

"In what way do these men live?" I said. "And what is the character of such a regime? For it's plain that the man who is like it will turn out to be democratic." b

"Yes, it is plain," he said.

"In the first place, then, aren't they free? And isn't the city full of freedom and free speech? And isn't there license in it to do whatever one wants?"

"That is what is said, certainly," he said.

"And where there's license, it's plain that each man would organize his life in it privately just as it pleases him."

"Yes, it is plain."

"Then I suppose that in this regime especially, all sorts of human beings come to be." c

"How could they fail to?"

"It is probably the fairest of the regimes," I said. "Just like a many-colored cloak decorated in all hues, this regime, decorated with all dispositions, would also look fairest, and many perhaps," I said, "like boys and women looking at many-colored things, would judge this to be the fairest regime."

"Quite so," he said.

"And, what's more, you blessed man," I said, "it's a convenient place to look for a regime." d

"Why is that?"

"Because, thanks to its license, it contains all species of regimes, and it is probably necessary for the man who wishes to organize a city, as we were just doing, to go to a city under a democracy. He would choose the sort that pleases him, like a man going into a general store

557 d of regimes, and, once having chosen, he would thus establish his regime."

e "Perhaps," he said, "he wouldn't be at a loss for patterns at least."

"And the absence of any compulsion to rule in this city," I said, "even if you are competent to rule, or again to be ruled if you don't want to be, or to make war when the others are making war, or to keep peace when the others are keeping it, if you don't desire peace; and, if some law prevents you from ruling or being a judge, the absence of any  
558 a compulsion keeping you from ruling and being a judge anyhow, if you long to do so—isn't such a way of passing the time divinely sweet for the moment?"

"Perhaps," he said, "for the moment."

"And what about this? Isn't the gentleness toward<sup>16</sup> some of the condemned exquisite? Or in such a regime haven't you yet seen men who have been sentenced to death or exile, nonetheless staying and carrying on right in the middle of things; and, as though no one cared or saw, stalking the land like a hero?"<sup>17</sup>

"Yes, many," he said.

b "And this regime's sympathy and total lack of pettiness in despising what we were saying so solemnly when we were founding the city—that unless a man has a transcendent nature he would never become good if from earliest childhood his play isn't noble and all his practices aren't such—how magnificently it tramples all this underfoot and doesn't care at all from what kinds of practices a man goes to  
c political action, but honors him if only he says he's well disposed toward the multitude?"

"It's a very noble regime," he said.

"Then, democracy," I said, "would have all this and other things akin to it and would be, as it seems, a sweet regime, without rulers and many-colored, dispensing a certain equality to equals and unequals alike."

"What you say," he said, "is quite well known."

"Reflect, then," I said, "who is the private man like this? Or, just as we did in the case of the regime, must we first consider how he comes to be?"

"Yes," he said.

d "Isn't it this way? I suppose a son would be born to that stingy, oligarchic man, a son reared by his father in his dispositions."

"Of course."

"Now, this son too, forcibly ruling all the pleasures in himself that are spendthrift and do not conduce to money-making, those ones that are called unnecessary—"

"Plainly," he said.

"So that we don't discuss in the dark," I said, "do you want us to define the necessary and the unnecessary desires?" 558 d

"Yes," he said, "that's what I want."

"Wouldn't those we aren't able to turn aside justly be called necessary, as well as all those whose satisfaction benefits us? We are by nature compelled to long for both of these, aren't we?" e

"Quite so."

"Then we shall justly apply the term necessary to them." 559 a

"That is just."

"And what about this? If we were to affirm that all those are unnecessary of which a man could rid himself if he were to practice from youth on and whose presence, moreover, does no good—and sometimes even does the opposite of good—would what we say be fine?"

"Fine it would be."

"Then shall we choose an example of what each of them is so that we can grasp their general types?"

"Yes, we must."

"Wouldn't the desire of eating—as long as it is for health and good condition, the desire of mere bread and relish—be necessary?" b

"I suppose so."

"The desire for bread, at least, is presumably necessary on both counts, in that it is beneficial and in that it is capable of putting an end to life."

"Yes."

"And so is the desire for relish, if in any way it is beneficial to good condition."

"Most certainly."

"But what about the desire that goes beyond toward sorts of food other than this, of which the many can be rid if it is checked in youth and educated, and is harmful to the body and to the soul with respect to prudence and moderation? Wouldn't it rightly be called unnecessary?" c

"Most rightly indeed."

"Then wouldn't we also assert that the latter desires are spendthriftly, while the former are money-making because they are useful<sup>18</sup> for our works?"

"Surely."

"Then won't we also assert the same about sex and the other desires?"

"Yes, we'll assert the same."

"And weren't we also saying that the man we just named a drone is full of such pleasures and desires and is ruled by the unnecessary ones, while the stingy oligarchic man is ruled by the necessary ones?" d

559 d

"Of course we were."

"Well, then, going back again," I said, "let's say how the democratic man comes out of the oligarchic one. And it looks to me as though it happens in most cases like this."

"How?"

e

"When a young man, reared as we were just saying without education and stingily, tastes the drones' honey, and has intercourse with fiery, clever beasts who are able to purvey manifold and subtle pleasures with every sort of variety, you presumably suppose that at this point he begins his change from an oligarchic regime within himself to a democratic one."

"Most necessarily," he said.

"Then, just as the city was transformed when an alliance from outside brought aid to one party, like to like, is the young man also transformed in the same way when desires of a kindred and like form from without bring aid to one party of desires within him?"

"That's entirely certain."

560 a

"And, I suppose, if a counteralliance comes to the aid of the oligarchic party in him, either from the advice and scolding of his father or from other relatives, then faction and counterfaction arise in him and he does battle with himself."

"Surely."

"And I suppose that at times the democratic party gives way to the oligarchic; and, with some of the desires destroyed and others exiled, a certain shame arose in the young man's soul, and order was re-established."

"Sometimes that does happen," he said.

b

"But I suppose that once again other desires, akin to the exiled ones, reared in secret due to the father's lack of knowledge about rearing, came to be, many and strong."

"At least," he said, "that's what usually happens."

"Then, drawn to the same associations, their secret intercourse bred a multitude."

"Of course."

"And, finally, I suppose they took the acropolis of the young man's soul, perceiving that it was empty of fair studies and practices and true speeches, and it's these that are the best watchmen and guardians in the thought of men whom the gods love."

c

"They are by far the best," he said.

"Then, in their absence, false and boasting speeches and opinions ran up and seized that place in such a young man."

"Indeed they did," he said.

“Doesn’t he go back again to those Lotus-eaters and openly settle among them? And if some help should come to the stingy element in his soul from relatives, those boasting speeches close the gates of the kingly wall within him; they neither admit the auxiliary force itself nor do they receive an embassy of speeches of older<sup>19</sup> private men, but doing battle they hold sway themselves; and naming shame simplicity, they push it out with dishonor, a fugitive; calling moderation cowardliness and spattering it with mud, they banish it;<sup>20</sup> persuading that measure and orderly expenditure are rustic and illiberal, they join with many useless desires in driving them over the frontier.” 560 c

“Indeed they do.”

“Now, once they have emptied and purged these from the soul of the man whom they are seizing and initiating in great rites, they proceed to return insolence, anarchy, wastefulness, and shamelessness from exile, in a blaze of light, crowned and accompanied by a numerous chorus, extolling and flattering them by calling insolence good education;<sup>21</sup> anarchy, freedom; wastefulness, magnificence; and shamelessness, courage. Isn’t it in some such way,” I said, “that a man, when he is young, changes from his rearing in necessary desires to the liberation and unleashing of unnecessary and useless pleasures?” 561 a

“Yes,” he said, “it’s quite manifestly that way.”

“Then, I suppose that afterward such a man lives spending no more money, effort, and time on the necessary than on the unnecessary pleasures. However, if he has good luck and his frenzy does not go beyond bounds—and if, also, as a result of getting somewhat older and the great disturbances having passed by, he readmits a part of the exiles and doesn’t give himself wholly over to the invaders—then he lives his life in accord with a certain equality of pleasures he has established. To whichever one happens along, as though it were chosen by the lot, he hands over the rule within himself until it is satisfied; and then again to another, dishonoring none but fostering them all on the basis of equality.” b

“Most certainly.”

“And,” I said, “he doesn’t admit true speech or let it pass into the guardhouse, if someone says that there are some pleasures belonging to fine and good desires and some belonging to bad desires, and that the ones must be practiced and honored and the others checked and enslaved. Rather, he shakes his head at all this and says that all are alike and must be honored on an equal basis.” c

“That’s exactly,” he said, “what a man in this condition does.”

“Then,” I said, “he also lives along day by day, gratifying the desire that occurs to him, at one time drinking and listening to the

561 *c* flute, at another downing water and reducing; now practicing gymnastic, and again idling and neglecting everything; and sometimes *d* spending his time as though he were occupied with philosophy. Often he engages in politics and, jumping up, says and does whatever chances to come to him; and if he ever admires any soldiers, he turns in that direction; and if it's money-makers, in that one. And there is neither order nor necessity in his life, but calling this life sweet, free, and blessed he follows it throughout."<sup>22</sup>

*e* "You have," he said, "described exactly the life of a man attached to the law of equality."

"Well," I said, "I suppose that this man is all-various and full of the greatest number of dispositions, the fair and many-colored man, like the city. Many men and women would admire his life because it contains the most patterns of regimes and characters."

"Yes, that is he," he said.

562 *a* "What then? Shall we set the man of this sort over against democracy as the one who would rightly be called democratic?"

"Let's do so," he said.

"Then," I said, "the fairest regime and the fairest man would be left for us to go through, tyranny and the tyrant."

"Certainly," he said.

"Come, now, my dear comrade, what is the manner of tyranny's coming into being? For it is pretty plain that it is transformed out of democracy."

"Yes, it is plain."

*b* "Does tyranny come from democracy in about the same manner as democracy from oligarchy?"

"How?"

"The good that they proposed for themselves," I said, "and for the sake of which oligarchy was established, was wealth, wasn't it?"

"Yes."

"And then the greediness for wealth and the neglect of the rest for the sake of money-making destroyed it."

"True," he said.

"And does the greediness for what democracy defines as good also dissolve it?"

"What do you say it defines that good to be?"

*c* "Freedom," I said. "For surely in a city under a democracy you would hear that this is the finest thing it has, and that for this reason it is the only regime worth living in for anyone who is by nature free."

"Yes indeed," he said, "that's an often repeated phrase."



"Then," I said, "as I was going to say just now, does the insatiable desire of this and the neglect of the rest change this regime and prepare a need for tyranny?"

562 c

"How?" he said.

"I suppose that when a democratic city, once it's thirsted for freedom, gets bad winebearers as its leaders and gets more drunk than it should on this unmixed draught, then, unless the rulers are very gentle and provide a great deal of freedom, it punishes them, charging them with being polluted and oligarchs."

d

"Yes," he said, "that's what they do."

"And it spatters with mud those who are obedient, alleging that they are willing slaves of the rulers and nothings," I said, "while it praises and honors—both in private and in public—the rulers who are like the ruled and the ruled who are like the rulers. Isn't it necessary in such a city that freedom spread to everything?"

e

"How could it be otherwise?"

"And, my friend," I said, "for it to filter down to the private houses and end up by anarchy's being planted in the very beasts?"

"How do we mean that?" he said.

"That a father," I said, "habituates himself to be like his child and fear his sons, and a son habituates himself to be like his father and to have no shame before or fear of his parents—that's so he may be free; and metic is on an equal level with townsman and townsman with metic, and similarly with the foreigner."<sup>23</sup>

563 a

"Yes," he said, "that's what happens."

"These and other small things of the following kind come to pass," I said. "As the teacher in such a situation is frightened of the pupils and fawns on them, so the students make light of their teachers, as well as of their attendants. And, generally, the young copy their elders and compete with them in speeches and deeds while the old come down to the level of the young; imitating the young, they are overflowing with facility and charm, and that's so that they won't seem to be unpleasant or despotic."

b

"Most certainly," he said.

"And the ultimate in the freedom of the multitude, my friend," I said, "occurs in such a city when the purchased slaves, male and female, are no less free than those who have bought them. And we almost forgot to mention the extent of the law of equality and of freedom in the relations of women with men and men with women."

"Won't we," he said, "with Aeschylus, 'say whatever just came to our lips'?"<sup>24</sup>

c

"Certainly," I said, "I shall do just that. A man who didn't have

563 c the experience couldn't be persuaded of the extent to which beasts subject to human beings are freer here than in another city. The bitches follow the proverb exactly and become like their mistresses;<sup>25</sup> and, of course, there come to be horses and asses who have gotten the habit of making their way quite freely and solemnly, bumping into whomever they happen to meet on the roads, if he doesn't stand aside, and all else is similarly full of freedom."

d "You're telling me my own dream," he said. "I, myself, repeatedly suffer that very thing when journeying to the country."

"Then, summing up all of these things together," I said, "do you notice how tender they make the citizens' soul, so that if someone proposes anything that smacks in any way of slavery, they are irritated and can't stand it? And they end up, as you well know, by paying no attention to the laws, written or unwritten, in order that they may avoid having any master at all."

e "Of course, I know it," he said.

"Well, then, my friend," I said, "this is the beginning, so fair and heady, from which tyranny in my opinion naturally grows."

"It surely is a heady beginning," he said, "but what's next?"

"The same disease," I said, "as that which arose in the oligarchy and destroyed it, arises also in this regime—but bigger and stronger as a result of the license—and enslaves democracy. And, really, anything that is done to excess is likely to provoke a correspondingly great change in the opposite direction—in seasons, in plants, in bodies, and, in particular, not least in regimes."

564 a

"That's probable," he said.

"Too much freedom seems to change into nothing but too much slavery, both for private man and city."

"Yes, that's probable."

"Well, then," I said, "tyranny is probably established out of no other regime than democracy, I suppose—the greatest and most savage slavery out of the extreme of freedom."

"Yes," he said, "that's reasonable."

b "But I suppose you weren't asking that," I said, "but rather what disease, growing naturally in oligarchy and democracy alike, enslaves the latter."

"What you say is true," he said.

"Well, then," I said, "I meant that class of idle, extravagant men. The most courageous part of them leads, the less courageous part follows. It's just these whom we liken to drones, some equipped with stings, others without stings."

"That's right," he said.

"Well, then," I said, "when these two come into being in any regime, they cause trouble, like phlegm and bile in a body. And it's against them that the good doctor and lawgiver of a city, no less than a wise beekeeper, must take long-range precautions, preferably that they not come into being, but if they do come into being, that they be cut out as quickly as possible, cells and all."

564 b

"Yes, by Zeus," he said, "completely."

c

"Well, then," I said, "let's take it like this so that we may more distinctly see what we want."

"How?"

"In the argument let's divide the city under a democracy into three parts, which is the way it actually is divided. One class is surely that which, thanks to the license, grows naturally in it no less than in the oligarchic city."

d

"That's so."

"But it's far fiercer here than in the other."

"How's that?"

"There, due to its not being held in honor but being driven from the ruling offices, it is without exercise and isn't vigorous. But in a democracy, presumably, this class, with few exceptions, leads, and its fiercest part does the speaking and the acting, while the rest alight near the platform and buzz and don't endure the man who says anything else; the result is that everything, apart from a certain few exceptions, is governed by this class in such a regime."

e

"Quite so," he said.

"Well, there is also another class that always distinguishes itself from the multitude."

"What class?"

"Presumably when all are engaged in money-making, the men most orderly by nature become, for the most part, richest."

"Likely."

"Then I suppose that it is there that the most honey, and that easiest to get to, can be squeezed out by the drones."

"How," he said, "could one squeeze it out of those who have little?"

"Then I suppose such rich men are called the drones' pasture."

"Just about," he said.

"And the people would be the third class, all those who do their own work, don't meddle in affairs, and don't possess very much. Whenever they assemble, they constitute the most numerous and most sovereign class in a democracy."

565 a

"Yes, they do," he said. "But they aren't willing to assemble very frequently unless they get some share of the honey."

565 a        "Therefore, they always get a share," I said, "to the extent that the leaders, in taking away the substance of those who have it and distributing it among the people, are able to keep the greatest part for themselves."

b        "Yes," he said, "they do get a share in that way."

      "Then I suppose that those men whose property is taken away are compelled to defend themselves by speaking before the people and by doing whatever they can."

      "Of course."

      "For this they are charged by the others, even if they don't desire to make innovations, with plotting against the people and being oligarchs."

      "Of course."

c        "And, therefore, when they see that the people are trying to do them an injustice, not willingly but out of ignorance and because they are deceived by the slanderers, they at last end up, whether they want to or not, by becoming truly oligarchs; they do not do so willingly, but the drone who stings them engenders this evil too."

      "That's entirely certain."

      "And then come impeachments, judgments, and contests against one another."

      "Quite so."

      "Aren't the people always accustomed to set up some one man as their special leader and to foster him and make him grow great?"

      "Yes, they are accustomed to do that."

d        "It's plain, therefore," I said, "that when a tyrant grows naturally, he sprouts from a root of leadership and from nowhere else."

      "That is quite plain."

      "What is the beginning of the transformation from leader to tyrant? Or is it plainly when the leader begins to act out the tale that is told in connection with the temple of Lycaean Zeus in Arcadia?"<sup>26</sup>

      "What's that?"

e        "That the man who tastes of the single morsel of human inwards cut up with those of other sacrificial victims must necessarily become a wolf. Or haven't you heard that speech?"

      "I have."

      "Isn't it also the same for the leader of a people who, taking over a particularly obedient mob, does not hold back from shedding the blood of his tribe but unjustly brings charges against a man—which is exactly what they usually do—and, bringing him before the court, murders him, and, doing away with a man's life, tastes of kindred blood

with unholy tongue and mouth, and banishes, and kills, and hints at cancellations of debts and redistributions of land; isn't it also necessarily fated, I say, that after this such a man either be slain by his enemies or be tyrant and turn from a human being into a wolf?" 565 e  
566 a

"Quite necessarily," he said.

"Then this," I said, "is the man who incites faction against those who have wealth."

"This is he."

"If he's exiled and comes back in spite of his enemies, does he come back a complete tyrant?"

"Plainly."

"But if they are unable to exile him or to kill him by slandering him to the city, they plot to do away with him stealthily by a violent death." b

"At least," he said, "that's what usually happens."

"All those, then, whose careers have progressed to this stage now hit upon the notorious tyrannical request—to ask the people for some bodyguards to save the people's defender for them."

"Quite so," he said. c

"Then I suppose the people grant the request, frightened for him and sure of themselves."

"Quite so."

"Consequently when a man sees this, one who possesses money and is charged not only with having money but also with hating the people, he, my comrade, then follows the oracle that was given to Croesus and

Flees along many-pebbled Hermus;

He doesn't stay nor is he ashamed to be a coward."<sup>27</sup>

"For he couldn't be ashamed a second time," he said.

"And I suppose," I said, "that if he's caught, he's given death."

"Necessarily."

"And surely it's plain that this leader himself doesn't lie 'great in his greatness' on the ground, but, having cast down many others, stands in the chariot of the city, now a perfected tyrant instead of a leader."<sup>28</sup> d

"Of course," he said.

"Then let us," I said, "go through the happiness of the man and the city in which such a mortal comes to be."

"Most certainly," he said, "let's go through it."

"In the first days of his time in office," I said, "doesn't he smile at and greet whomever he meets, and not only deny he's a tyrant but prom-

566 e      ise much in private and public, and grant freedom from debts and distribute land to the people and those around himself, and pretend to be gracious and gentle to all?"

"Necessarily," he said.

"But I suppose that when he is reconciled with some of his enemies outside and has destroyed the others, and there is rest from concern with them, as his first step he is always setting some war in motion, so that the people will be in need of a leader."

"That's likely."

567 a      "And, also, so that, becoming poor from contributing money, they will be compelled to stick to their daily business and be less inclined to plot against him?"

"Plainly."

"Then, too, I suppose—if he suspects certain men of having free thoughts and not putting up with his ruling—so that he can have a pretext for destroying them by giving them to the enemy? For all these reasons isn't it necessary for a tyrant always to be stirring up war?"

"It is necessary."

b      "And is, consequently, all this activity a preparation for being more hateful to the citizens?"

"Of course."

"Also, don't some of those who helped in setting him up and are in power—the manliest among them—speak frankly to him and to one another, criticizing what is happening?"

"That's likely."

"Then the tyrant must gradually do away with all of them, if he's going to rule, until he has left neither friend nor enemy of any worth whatsoever."

"Plainly."

c      "He must, therefore, look sharply to see who is courageous, who is great-minded, who is prudent, who is rich. And so happy is he that there is a necessity for him, whether he wants to or not, to be an enemy of all of them and plot against them until he purges the city."

"A fine purgation," he said.

"Yes," I said, "the opposite of the one the doctors give to bodies. For they take off the worst and leave the best, while he does the opposite."

"For it seems," he said, "to be a necessity for him, if he is to rule."

d      "Therefore," I said, "he is bound by a blessed necessity that prescribes that he either dwell with the ordinary many, even though hated by them, or cease to live."

"That is precisely his situation," he said.

"To the extent that he is more hateful to the citizens for doing these things, won't he have more need of more—and more trustworthy—armed guards?" 567 d

"Of course."

"Who are these trustworthy men? And where will he send for them?"

"On their own, many will come flying," he said, "if he gives the wages."

"These are drones, by the dog," I said, "of whom you are, in my opinion, again speaking, foreign ones of all sorts." e

"Your opinion is true," he said.

"And who are the trustworthy ones on the spot? Wouldn't he be willing—"

"What?"

"—to take away the slaves from the citizens, free them and include them among the armed guards surrounding himself?"

"Oh, he would be very willing," he said, "since these are, doubtless, the men most trustworthy for him."

"The tyrant of whom you speak," I said, "is a blessed thing, if he uses such men as friends and trustworthy helpers after he has destroyed his former ones." 568 a

"But he certainly does use such men," he said.

"And these companions admire him," I said, "and the new citizens have intercourse with him, while the decent men hate him and flee from him."

"What else would they do?"

"It's not for nothing," I said, "that tragedy in general has the reputation of being wise and, within it, Euripides of being particularly so."

"Why is that?"

"Because, among other things, he uttered this phrase, the product of shrewd thought, 'tyrants are wise from intercourse with the wise.'<sup>29</sup> And he plainly meant that these men we just spoke of are the wise with whom a tyrant has intercourse." b

"And he and the other poets," he said, "extol tyranny as a condition 'equal to that of a god'<sup>30</sup> and add much else, too."

"Therefore," I said, "because the tragic poets are wise, they pardon us, and all those who have regimes resembling ours, for not admitting them into the regime on the ground that they make hymns to tyranny."

"I suppose," he said, "they pardon us, at least all the subtle ones among them." c

"And I suppose that, going around to the other cities, gathering

568 c crowds, and hiring fine, big and persuasive voices, they draw the regimes toward tyrannies and democracies."

"Quite so."

d "And, besides this, they get wages and are honored too, most of all by tyrants, as is to be expected, and, in the second place, by democracy. But the higher they go on the slope of the regimes, the more their honor fails, as though it were unable to proceed for want of breath."

"Most certainly."

"But here we've digressed," I said. "Let's return to the tyrant's camp, that fair, numerous, many-colored thing that is never the same, and tell from where its support will come."

"It's plain," he said, "that if there is sacred money in the city, he'll spend it as long as it lasts, along with the property of the men he has destroyed,<sup>31</sup> so that people won't be compelled to bring in such large contributions."

e "And what happens when that source gives out?"

"It's plain," he said; "that he and his drinking fellows and comrades, male and female, will get their support from his father's property."

"I understand," I said. "The people that begot the tyrant will support him and his comrades."

"A great necessity will compel it," he said.

569 a "But what do you have to say to this?" I said. "What if the people are discontented and say that it is not just for a son in his prime to be supported by his father, but the reverse, the father should be supported by the son; and that they didn't beget and set him up so that when he had grown great they should be slaves to their own slaves and support him and the slaves along with other flotsam, but so that with him as leader they would be freed from the rich and those who are said to be gentlemen in the city; and they now bid him and his comrades to go away from the city—like a father driving a son along with his troublesome drinking fellows out of the house?"

b "By Zeus, how this kind of a people will then know," he said, "the kind of a beast they have begotten, welcomed, and made great, and that they are the weaker driving out the stronger!"

"What are you saying?" I said. "Will the tyrant dare to use force on his father, and if he doesn't obey, strike him?"

"Yes," he said, "once he's taken away his father's arms."

"You speak of the tyrant as a parricide and a harsh nurse of old age,"<sup>32</sup> I said, "and, as it seems, this would at last be self-admitted tyranny and, as the saying goes, the people in fleeing the smoke of



enslavement to free men would have fallen into the fire of being under the mastery of slaves; in the place of that great and unseasonable freedom they have put on the dress of the harshest and bitterest enslavement to slaves."

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"That's exactly what happens," he said.

"Well then," I said, "wouldn't we be speaking appropriately if we asserted that we have given an adequate presentation of how a tyranny is transformed out of a democracy, and what it is like when it has come into being?"

"Most certainly," he said, "it was adequate."