XENOPHON

HIERO
ΙΕΡΩΝ

The Greek text of E. C. Marchant
Xenophontis Opera Omnia, tomus V: *Opuscula*
(Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920)

with a new English translation and notes

THE COMPLETE DIALOGUE

1.1–11.15

Translation by Diotimos Editions

2026

CONTENTS

Introduction **v**

Key Words of the Dialogue **xiii**

The Text, 1.1–11.15 **2**

Later Readings of the *Hiero* **53**

Outline **59**

Editorial Note **65**

Glossary of Key Terms **69**

Note on this Edition **73**

INTRODUCTION

The dialogue

The *Hiero* is a conversation between two men, the poet Simonides of Ceos and Hiero, tyrant of Syracuse, and it begins from a single question: how the tyrant's life and the private man's differ "in enjoyments and pains for human beings" (1.2). Simonides puts the question to a man who has lived both lives, and Hiero's answer is not the one Simonides expects. Tyrants, he says, "enjoy themselves far less than private men who live in moderate circumstances, and feel far more and greater pains" (1.8). For seven chapters Hiero makes that case, against Simonides' objections. Then Simonides turns the conversation round, and for the last four chapters he tells Hiero how a tyrant might rule so as to be loved, and ends by promising him that he would be "happy without being envied" (11.15).

Xenophon tells the story in the third person, and his narrator never speaks of himself. There is no audience and no Socrates: only the two speakers and the occasion, a moment when "both had leisure" (1.1). The dialogue does not say where they meet. The meeting is Xenophon's invention, set in the 470s, when Simonides was at the court of Hiero (the first tyrant of that name, not Hiero II, the patron of Archimedes), and written about a century later, when tyranny was again a living question: Dionysius I and his son ruled Syracuse, Plato and his friend Dion had tried their hand at advising them, and in Thessaly the tyrants of Pherae were killing one another (see the note at 3.8). It is the only one of Xenophon's dialogues in which Socrates has no part. It runs to eleven chapters in the modern division, and falls into two parts of unequal length: Hiero's case against the tyrant's life (chapters 1–7), and Simonides' counsel (chapters 8–11). Hiero speaks most of the first part, Simonides almost all of the second, and the dialogue ends with Simonides' words. Hiero does not reply.

Marchant prints the title as *Hierōn ē tyrannikos*, "Hiero, or the Tyrannical", that is, the discourse on the tyrant; the second title was already known to Diogenes Laertius (2.57) and to Athenaeus, as he notes in his apparatus, though Stobaeus' heading omits it. When it was written is not known. Marchant, on the page facing his text, dates it about 359 BC, without giving his grounds; it is

often placed among Xenophon's later works, in the late 360s or the early 350s.

Hiero's case (chapters 1–7)

Simonides asks Hiero to explain how the two lives differ "in enjoyments and pains for human beings" (1.2), and Hiero asks Simonides, who is still a private man, to remind him of what belongs to the private life, so that he can show the differences (1.3). Simonides lists them by the senses: sight, hearing, smell, taste, the pleasures of Aphrodite, the whole body's sense of heat and cold, and the soul's pleasure and pain in good and bad things; of sleep he says he seems to himself more ignorant (1.4–6). Hiero can name no other source of pleasure for a tyrant (1.7). Then, Simonides says, the tyrant must enjoy many times more through each of them, and suffer less. Hiero denies it outright, and when Simonides asks why, then, so many able men desire tyranny, he answers that they judge without experience of both lives (1.8–10).

The conversation follows Simonides' list, though not quite in his order. Hiero raises sight himself; from hearing to the pleasures of Aphrodite, it is Simonides who proposes each topic and Hiero who answers. A tyrant sees less, because it is not safe for him to travel to the festivals (1.11–13). He hears praise, but cannot believe it (1.14–16). His meals bring no feast day's increase and an earlier satiety (1.17–20), and the sharp and pungent dishes served to tyrants are "the cravings of a soft and sickly soul" (1.22–23). When Simonides suggests that the pleasures of Aphrodite alone make men want to be tyrants (1.26), Hiero answers at greater length than on any other pleasure: a tyrant, unless he marries a foreign woman, must marry beneath him (1.27–28), and love takes pleasure in what is hoped for, not in what is ready to hand (1.30). At this Simonides laughs: how then is Hiero in love with Dailochus (1.31)? Because, Hiero answers, he wants from the boy only what is given "with friendship and from one who is willing", and a tyrant can never trust that he is loved, since those who serve from fear imitate those who love (1.32–38).

Simonides sets all this aside as "quite small", and names what he takes to be the tyrant's real advantages: great designs quickly carried out, horses, arms, houses, servants, and the power to harm enemies and benefit friends (2.1–2). From here Hiero's complaint turns from the pleasures of the body to the tyrant's whole condition, in a speech that runs almost unbroken to 6.8. The crowd judges by what it sees, he says; tyranny displays its possessions and keeps its hardships hidden in the souls of tyrants (2.3–5). The

tyrant has the least share of peace and the largest of war: he travels everywhere as if through enemy country, is among the most enemies in his own city, and is not safe even in his own house (2.6–11). In war he shares the hardships of the man in the cities but not his pleasure in victory, for when he puts suspects to death he only rules over fewer (2.12–18). He has the smallest share in friendship, the greatest good, since tyrants have killed, and been killed by, their children, their brothers, their wives and their comrades (3.1–9), and in trust, since his food must be tasted before he eats (4.1–2). Citizens guard one another without pay, but the cities honor the man who kills a tyrant (4.3–5). His wealth gives him no pleasure, since he measures himself against other tyrants, and his needs are so great that he is poorer than the private man and must despoil temples and human beings (4.6–11). He fears the valiant, the wise and the just, and is left to use the unjust, those without self-mastery and the slavish (5.1–2). He has lost the company of friends, the drinking party and sleep itself; he fears the crowd and solitude, the unguarded hour and the guards (6.1–8). His guards serve for pay, like reapers, and those he benefits would gladly be out of his sight (6.9–16).

Simonides tries again. Honor, he says, is what tyrants really want, and the love of honor is what makes a man more than a human being (7.1–4). Hiero answers that honors paid from fear are no more honors than forced pleasures of Aphrodite are sweet, and draws the portrait of the man honored freely, whom he calls blessed, against the tyrant, who lives "as one condemned by all human beings to die for his injustice" (7.5–10). Then why not give tyranny up? Because, says Hiero, it is not possible: no tyrant could repay what he has taken or suffer in return what he has inflicted, and if it profits anyone to hang himself, it profits a tyrant most (7.11–13).

Simonides' answer (chapters 8–11)

Simonides now undertakes to teach Hiero that ruling does not prevent being loved, and even comes off better than the private station. The same greeting, praise, sacrifice or gift is worth more from a ruler than from a private man; even the beloved minds a ruler's ugliness least (8.1–7). Hiero replies that rulers are compelled to do the things by which men incur odium: to exact money, to compel and punish, and to keep mercenaries, the heaviest burden of all for the citizens (8.8–10). Simonides answers with a division of labor. A ruler should give the prizes himself and leave the punishing to others, as the chorus contests are arranged; and prizes could be

set for the divisions of the city, for farming, for trade and for new revenues, at small cost (9.1–11). The mercenaries are still needed, but they could be made the bodyguards of all the citizens, guarding the countryside and standing guard in front of the citizens on campaign (10.1–8). Hiero should spend even his private wealth on the city, which will adorn him more than his own house, arms or chariots (11.1–5); his contest is not against private men but against other leaders of cities, and he wins by making the city he leads the happiest (11.6–7). Then he would be loved, sung of and admired; he could see the sights at home, and human beings would be in love with him (11.8–12). A sentence breaks off where words have been lost (11.13), and Simonides ends: consider your fatherland your household and the citizens your comrades, outdo your friends in doing them good, and "you will be happy without being envied" (11.14–15).

What a reader should watch

First, the occasion. Hiero speaks to a man he has called wise (1.1), and in the course of the dialogue he says that tyrants fear the wise, "lest they contrive something" (5.1). A tyrant might have reasons to tell such a visitor that tyranny is not to be envied, and Simonides, for his part, praises honor rather than wisdom when he tries to explain why men want to be tyrants (7.1–4). How far either man says what he thinks is a question the dialogue raises without settling, and readers have answered it in very different ways (see "Later readings", below).

Second, the measure changes as the conversation goes on. It begins with pleasure, and with the pleasures of the body first (1.4–6); it moves to war and peace, friendship, trust, wealth and fear (chapters 2–6), then to honor (chapter 7), and Simonides' counsel ends with happiness and envy. The opening question asked how the two lives differ in enjoyments and pains; the last word is about who is happy without being envied.

Third, the words for the ruler shift. When Simonides begins his counsel he speaks of "ruling" (8.1) and "the ruler" (8.2–6, 9.3), though he still sets "the private man and the tyrant" side by side (8.2), and Hiero answers in the old words: "a man who is tyrant needs mercenaries" (8.10). In chapters 9 and 10 neither man says "tyrant", and Hiero himself asks about "a ruler" (10.1). The word returns only at 11.1 and 11.6, in Hiero's phrase "a man who is tyrant", where Hiero is also told to compete with "other leaders of cities" (11.7). The English keeps these words apart, so that the reader can see where each is used.

Fourth, Simonides' counsel answers Hiero's complaints point by point, often in their own words: the sightseeing and festivals of 1.11–13 return at 11.10, the love Hiero despaired of at 1.29–38 at 11.11, the fear of chapter 6 at 11.11, and the gazing crowd and willing service of 7.2 and 7.9 at 11.9 and 11.12. Simonides' own list of the tyrant's advantages at 2.2, horses, arms and houses, returns at 11.2–5, where he tells Hiero how to spend on them. He also tells Hiero what Hiero wants, "since you desire to be loved" (8.1), "which is just what you happen to desire" (11.8); Hiero has not said so in those words.

Fifth, law. Xenophon's Socrates distinguishes kingship, rule over willing subjects according to the laws, from tyranny, rule over the unwilling, not by law but as the ruler wishes (*Memorabilia* 4.6.12). Simonides promises Hiero willing obedience (11.12), but he never speaks of law, and never asks Hiero to give up his power; the laws appear only in Hiero's mouth (3.9, 4.4, 6.10).

Sixth, the dialogue does not say whether the counsel could be followed. Hiero has said that a tyrant cannot lay down his tyranny (7.12–13); Simonides' last speech is broken by a gap in the manuscripts (11.13), and the dialogue ends before Hiero answers.

The manner

Xenophon's prose is plain and even, and the conversation is courteous: a poet who knows how to address a tyrant, and a tyrant who chooses to speak frankly to a poet. Hiero's case is built from homely particulars, the table that feast days cannot improve, the tyrant's sharp and pungent fare, the thirsty man's drink, the boy who returns a look, the reaper hired for the harvest, the good but dangerous horse, hard to kill and hard to use. The first chapter moves by short exchanges, each answered or conceded; the middle of the dialogue is one long speech of Hiero's (2.3–6.8), and its end one long speech of Simonides' (10.2–11.15), built the same way from chorus contests, prizes for farming and the herald at the games. The comedy is quiet. Simonides teases more than he contradicts; he praises praise, and a reader may remember that praise was a poet's trade (1.14); his single laugh comes when Hiero, having argued that love is least of all willing to arise in a tyrant, is reminded that he is in love (1.31). The translation keeps the repeated speech tags ("he said"), which the Greek repeats, and the repeated words on which the argument turns, and it adds nothing to make the dialogue livelier.

Later readings

The *Hiero* was read in antiquity chiefly as a source of sayings: Athenaeus and Stobaeus quote passages from it, as Marchant's apparatus shows. Its larger career began in Florence. Leonardo Bruni's Latin version, finished by May 1403 and dedicated to Niccolò Niccoli, survives in some two hundred manuscripts, and was read in a debate about the difference between kings and tyrants. Machiavelli sends the reader of his *Discourses* (II.2) to Xenophon's treatise on tyranny for the harm a tyrant does to his own city, and Montaigne draws on Hiero's complaints about pleasure, friendship and travel in the essay "De l'inequalité qui est entre nous", "Of the inequality among us" (I.42). Some later editors and translators softened the tyrant into a king: an edition printed at Glasgow in 1745 calls the dialogue *Hiero, sive de regno*, "Hiero, or on kingship", and an English version of 1793 *Hiero; on the condition of royalty*.

In 1948 Leo Strauss published *On Tyranny*, an interpretation of the dialogue, arguing that modern political science had failed to recognize tyranny for what it was and that the classics could teach it again. He read the *Hiero* as a conversation between a wise man and a tyrant, in which what each man says has to be weighed against what he wants from the other. On his reading, Xenophon held that the rule of a tyrant guided by the wise was preferable in principle to the rule of law, but thought that it could hardly ever be realized, and preferred the rule of law in practice, at least among Greeks. The French philosopher Alexandre Kojève answered in a long review, revised as "Tyranny and Wisdom" for the French edition of 1954, arguing from Hegel that the philosopher must act in history, and that the tyrant's desire for universal recognition leads toward a universal and homogeneous state; Strauss replied in his "Restatement on Xenophon's *Hiero*". Their exchange, with the letters the two friends wrote each other for more than thirty years, has been much discussed since, and has brought the *Hiero* readers it would not otherwise have had.

Scholars of Xenophon since then have often argued against Strauss's ironic reading, among them Vivienne Gray, who reads the dialogue as a meeting of the wise man and the tyrant in a long Greek tradition and as one of Xenophon's studies of good leadership. The essay at the back of this volume, "Later Readings of the *Hiero*", tells the story more fully.

On reading this edition

Each left-hand page is a page of Marchant's Oxford text, line for

line, with his apparatus at the foot; each right-hand page translates it. The dialogue is cited, as Marchant prints it, by chapter and section: "1.30" is the thirtieth section of the first chapter. The section numbers stand in the left margin of the Greek and in the right margin of the English, and the numbers of every fifth line stand in the right margin of the Greek, because Marchant's apparatus is keyed by the lines of each page. In the Greek, square brackets enclose words Marchant thought spurious, which the English does not translate; angle brackets, words not in the principal manuscripts, added from Stobaeus, from later manuscripts or by earlier editors; the obelus at 2.14, a word he thought corrupt; and the three spaced points at 11.13, a gap in the manuscripts. The notes under the English explain names, customs and words, and say where Marchant's choice of reading changes the sense. The Key Words of the Dialogue, which follow, explain the words on which the argument turns and how they are rendered. At the back stand the essay on later readings, the Outline of the argument by section, the Editorial Note on the conventions of both pages, the Glossary of renderings, and the Note on this Edition, which says how the volume was made.

A note on the persons

The dialogue itself establishes little about its speakers. Hiero has been a private man and is now a tyrant (1.2). Simonides is a poet (1.1) and still a private man (1.3); he speaks of campaigning as one who has known it (6.9), and Hiero calls him a wise man (1.1). Dailochus is a beautiful boy with whom Hiero is in love (1.31–33).

The rest comes from other sources. Simonides (c. 556–468 BC), from Iulis on the island of Ceos, was among the most famous poets of his day, the author of victory odes, dirges and epigrams, and he spent his last years in Sicily; a later tradition says that he made peace between Hiero and Theron of Acragas. Antiquity remembered him as the first poet to compose for pay, and as a wit. Aristotle preserves his answer to Hiero's wife, who asked whether it was better to be rich or wise: rich, he said, for he saw the wise spending their days at the doors of the rich (*Rhetoric* 1391a). Cicero tells how Hiero asked him what god is, and how Simonides asked for a day to consider, then two, and went on doubling the days, saying that the longer he considered, the more obscure the matter seemed (*On the Nature of the Gods* 1.60).

Hiero, son of Deinomenes, succeeded his brother Gelon as tyrant of Syracuse in 478 BC and ruled until his death in 467/6. In 476/5 he refounded Catana, beneath the volcano, as a new city named

Aetna, and in 474 his fleet defeated the Etruscans off Cumae. His court was one of the most brilliant in the Greek world: Pindar, Bacchylides and Aeschylus, as well as Simonides, worked for him, and Pindar's first *Olympian* and first three *Pythian* odes are addressed to him. Hiero was also remembered as harsh and suspicious: Aristotle says that he sent out eavesdroppers to report what was said (*Politics* 5.11, 1313b), and Diodorus contrasts him, greedy and violent, with his brother Gelon (11.67). Dailochus is known only from this dialogue.

Xenophon (c. 430–c. 354 BC), an Athenian, was a companion of Socrates, and wrote about him in the *Memorabilia*, the *Symposium*, the *Oeconomicus* and the *Apology*. In 401 he joined the expedition of Cyrus the Younger against his brother, the king of Persia, and was one of the generals who led the Greek mercenaries home, as he tells in the *Anabasis*. Exiled from Athens, he lived for many years on an estate at Scillus near Olympia under Spartan protection. His other works include the *Hellenica*, a history of Greece from 411 to 362; the *Education of Cyrus*, a portrait of an ideal monarch; the *Agesilaus*, in praise of the Spartan king; the *Ways and Means*, on new revenues for Athens; and short treatises on hunting, horsemanship, the cavalry commander and the Spartan constitution.

KEY WORDS OF THE DIALOGUE

These notes are for orientation, not reference: each explains a word the argument leans on, what it meant in Xenophon's Greek, and what the dialogue does with it. The Glossary at the back lists the renderings with the places where they matter.

Tyrant (tyrannos)

A *tyrannos* was a man who held sole power in a Greek city outside the city's laws and customs, usually having seized it himself or inherited it from a father or brother who had. The word did not of itself mean a cruel ruler, and some tyrants, Hiero among them, were remembered as patrons of poets and builders of cities; but by Xenophon's time it had come to carry the suspicion of illegitimate and fearful rule. It is rendered "tyrant" throughout, one word for one word, and its family accordingly: *tyrannis*, "tyranny" (2.3–4, 7.2, 7.11–12, 8.1), *tyrannein*, "to be tyrant" (1.9, 1.26, 7.11), *tyrannikos*, "the tyrant's" ("the tyrant's life", 1.2, 1.7). Hiero speaks of tyrants as "we" (1.17, 1.27, 8.8–9) without embarrassment. Simonides, in his counsel, mostly avoids the word (see "Ruler and leader").

Ruler and leader (archōn, prostatēs)

Archōn is "ruler", the man who holds rule (*archē*), and *archein* "to rule"; *hoi archomenoi* are "those who are ruled" (7.2) or "those you rule" (11.8). The word was also the title of the magistrates of Athens, and Simonides' example of the chorus contests (9.4) recalls that use. Hiero had spoken of a tyrant's "rule" (*archē*, 1.12) and of "ruling" (2.17, 6.14). When Simonides begins his counsel he speaks of "ruling" (8.1) and of "the ruler" (8.2–6, 9.3), though he still sets "the private man and the tyrant" side by side (8.2); at 9.4–5 the same word is used of the magistrate who sets out the chorus prizes and of the officers of the city's divisions. Hiero first takes up the noun "ruler" at 10.1. In chapter 11 Simonides speaks of "a man who is tyrant" (11.1, 11.6), Hiero's own phrase from 8.10, and tells Hiero that his contest is against "other leaders of cities" (*prostatēs*, "leader", and *prostateuein*, "to lead", 11.5, 11.7), words used of the man who stands at the head of a city or a people; Hiero had used a word of the same family of the just, whom the multitude might want to have as "its leaders" (5.1). The English keeps

the three words apart.

Private man (idiōtēs)

The *idiōtēs* is the man who holds no office and lives his own life (*idios*, "one's own"): the man in private life as against the ruler, and in other contexts the layman as against the expert, a sense Hiero plays on at 4.6, where an athlete's *idiōtai* are those who do not compete. Simonides, though among the most famous poets in Greece, is a private man (1.3). The word is rendered "private man" wherever it occurs, *ho idiōtikos bios* "the private life", and *idiōteia* "the private station" (8.1), so that the reader can follow the comparison on which the whole dialogue rests. Its last appearances turn the comparison round: a tyrant, Simonides says, should not even compete against private men (11.6), and would be cherished "not by private men only but by many cities" (11.9).

The private man is not the same as the citizen. Greek has a separate word for the citizen, *politēs*, the member of a city who shares in its life, and the dialogue uses it when Hiero speaks of citizens who guard one another without pay (4.3) and when Simonides tells him to consider the citizens his comrades (11.14); the English keeps "citizen" for it, and "fatherland" for *patris*, the city a man is born to (4.3–4, 5.3, 11.14). Simonides, a Cean at Hiero's court, is a private man there but not a citizen. A third word stands beside these: *eleutheros*, "free" (with *eleutheria*, "freedom"), which the English also keeps throughout: the sweetest praise comes "from the freest men" (1.16), the courageous are feared lest they dare something "for the sake of freedom" (5.1), and the tyrant desires "to hold free men as slaves" and is compelled "to make slaves free" (6.5). Plato uses the same words in the *Republic* (IX 578c–579c; see the note at 1.12).

Pleasure and enjoyment (hēdonē, euphrosynē)

Two families of words carry the comparison, and the English keeps them apart. *Hēdonē* is "pleasure", *hēdesthai* "to take pleasure", *hēdys* "sweet" and its superlative "sweetest" ("the sweetest thing to hear, praise", 1.14; "the sweetest pleasures of Aphrodite", 1.30). *Euphrosynē*, good cheer (from *euphrōn*, "cheerful"), is "enjoyment", and *euphrainesthai* "to enjoy oneself", or, used actively, "to give enjoyment" (1.15, 1.28–29, 4.6, 8.3). Their opposite is *lypē*, "pain", and *lypeisthai*, "to feel pain"; *achthesthai*, a milder word, is "to feel distress" or "to be vexed". Simonides frames the question in terms of enjoyment and pain (1.2), and both speakers move freely between the two families; the reader of the English can see

when they do. A third verb, *apolauein*, to have the benefit or the relish of something, is rendered "relish" (1.24, 1.26, 1.30, 1.36, 7.9), so that it is not confused with either. Simonides' phrase for the enjoyment that concerns honors, "nearer to the divine" than any other human pleasure (7.4), joins this vocabulary to the vocabulary of honor.

Come off worse, come off better (meionektein, pleonektein)

Meionektein is "to have less", to get the smaller share; *pleonektein*, its opposite, "to have more", is also the root of *pleonexia*, the grasping desire for more than one's share, a vice often ascribed to tyrants. Hiero's whole case is that the tyrant, who is supposed to have more of everything, in fact has less, and the verb recurs as a refrain (1.11, 1.14, 1.18–19, 1.27, 1.29, 3.6, 4.1). It is rendered "come off worse" every time, and *pleonektein* "come off better" (1.14, 8.1). When Simonides says at 2.1 that many of "those who are thought to be real men" are "willingly coming off worse" in food and drink, he uses Hiero's word against him; when he says that ruling "comes off better than the private station" (8.1), he answers Hiero in it; and when Hiero says that the citizens think mercenaries are kept "for the sake of coming off better" (8.10), the word for it is *pleonexia*.

The pleasures of Aphrodite (ta aphrodisia)

Ta aphrodisia, "the things of Aphrodite", is the ordinary Greek for sexual pleasure, neither coarse nor euphemistic. It is rendered "the pleasures of Aphrodite" throughout, so that the goddess remains audible where the Greek names her, and so that the word can be distinguished from *erōs*, love. The difference matters to Hiero's argument: the tyrant can have all the pleasures of Aphrodite he wants, but not the love that, by his account, makes them sweetest (1.29–30), and forced pleasures of Aphrodite are no more sweet than honors paid from fear are honors (7.5–6). The verb *aphrodisiazesthai*, formed from it, is used at 3.4.

Love and friendship (erōs, philia)

Greek has several verbs where English has "love". *Eran* is to be in love, with desire; its noun is *erōs*. *Philein* is to love as a friend or a parent loves, and its noun *philia* is "friendship"; *agapan*, to be content with or fond of, is "cherish" (1.28, 11.9). In this edition *erōs* is "love", *eran* is always "to be in love", *philein* is "to love", and *antiphilein* "to love in return"; so that when Hiero says that he is in love with Dailochus (1.33) and that a tyrant "can never trust that he is loved" (1.37), the reader can see which verb he uses. Friend-

ship is the subject of chapter 3, where Hiero says that even the cities know it to be the greatest and sweetest good for human beings (3.3), and being loved is what Simonides promises in chapters 8 and 11: at the end he says that Hiero would be not only loved but loved with *erōs*, "human beings would be in love with you" (11.11). *Ta paidika*, used of the boy who is loved, and *ho erōmenos* are both rendered "the beloved"; "loves for boys" at 1.31 renders *paidikōn erōtas*, the plural of *erōs* with the genitive of *ta paidika*, and the adjective *paidikos* is "with boys" (1.29). The relation in question, between a grown man and an adolescent boy, was widely accepted in the Greek upper class, though custom differed from city to city, and Xenophon describes it often.

Favor (charis)

Charis is a favor freely given, and the gratitude that answers it; *charizesthai* is "to grant a favor". Hiero uses it of a beloved's favors, which are sweet only when given willingly (1.34, 1.37), and of services from those who do not love in return, which "did not seem to us to be favors" (7.6). Simonides makes it the measure of his counsel: the same act wins more favor from a ruler than from a private man (8.2–7), and some kinds of care "go entirely by way of favor" while others lead to enmity (9.1–2).

Honor (timē, philotimia)

Timē is "honor", both the esteem in which a man is held and the marks of it: rising from one's seat, making way in the streets, crowns and gifts (7.2, 7.7–9). *Philotimia*, literally "love of honor", is the ambition that Simonides says distinguishes a man from the other animals (7.3); at 1.27, of a bridegroom's satisfaction in a great match, the same word is rendered "pride", with a note, an English word that also renders other verbs of self-satisfaction (2.17, 8.5). Honor is Simonides' last explanation of why men want to be tyrants, and Hiero's answer, that honors paid from fear are not honors (7.5–8), leads to his portrait of the man truly honored, whom he calls blessed (7.9–10). In the counsel honor becomes a tool of rule: prizes and honors for the best (9.2–10).

Fear (phobos)

Phobos is "fear", *phobeisthai* "to fear". Fear is the tyrant's condition in Hiero's account: he fears the valiant, the wise and the just (5.1), the crowd and solitude, the unguarded and the guards (6.4), and fear spoils every sweet thing it comes near (6.6). It is also what makes his honors and services worthless, since those who serve

from fear imitate those who love (1.38, 7.6–8). Simonides' counsel promises the reversal: Hiero would have no fear, but would cause others to fear lest he suffer anything (11.11).

Envy and happiness (phthonos, eudaimonia)

Phthonos is envy, the grudging ill will felt toward another's good, and it is the word on which the dialogue ends: Hiero would be "happy without being envied" (11.15). It appears also where Hiero describes the man truly honored, who passes his life "without being envied" (7.10), and where Simonides warns that a tyrant who beat private men at the games "would not be admired but envied" (11.6). A different verb, *zēloun*, to count another's lot enviable, is used when Simonides asks how all men could count the tyrants enviable (1.9) and when Hiero recalls it (6.12); it is rendered "count enviable", so that "envy" is kept for *phthonos*. *Eudaimōn*, "happy", is the word for the good fortune of a whole life; the crowd thinks it can see who is happy (2.3–4), and Simonides ends by making the happiness of the city the means of Hiero's victory (11.5–7) and by promising Hiero his own (11.15).

Bodyguards and mercenaries (doryphoroi, misthophoroi)

The *doryphoroi*, "spear-carriers", were the bodyguards of kings and tyrants, and *misthophoroi*, "wage-earners", are the mercenaries, usually foreigners (*xenoi*, 5.3), who served for pay. Hiero says that citizens guard one another without pay (4.3), while tyrants make foreigners more formidable than the citizens and use them as bodyguards (5.3), trust them more than citizens (6.5), and keep guards for pay, like reapers (6.10–11); the mercenaries are the heaviest burden on the citizens (8.10). Simonides gives the whole of chapter 10 to them: they could be made the bodyguards of all the citizens (10.4).

Human beings and men (anthrōpoi, andres)

Anthrōpos is a human being, of either sex; *anēr* is a man, and often a man in the full sense, a man of standing or courage. The English keeps the distinction where the Greek makes it: Simonides asks about "enjoyments and pains for human beings" (1.2), but the men reputed "most capable", who desire tyranny, are *andres* (1.9), and so are "those who are thought to be real men" who abstain from the pleasures of Aphrodite (2.1). At 7.3 Simonides makes the distinction explicit: those in whom the love of honor grows "are thought men, and no longer merely human beings". Two cautions: *anēr* is also "husband" where the sense requires it (3.3–4, 3.7, 4.1),

and English "men" sometimes supplies a noun the Greek leaves out ("the freest men", 1.16; "free men", 6.5); *anthrōpos* is never rendered "man".

Law and nature (nomos, physis)

Nomos is "law", and also custom, what is held and done in a city; *physis* is "nature". Hiero pairs them when he says that tyrants are hated by those whom "nature has made most apt to love them and whom law compels to it" (3.9), and it is Hiero who speaks of the laws that bar the murderer's companion from purity (4.4) and of the laws that stand guard over a city's guards (6.10). Simonides, in all his counsel, never speaks of law; he speaks of prizes, honors and willing obedience. Xenophon's Socrates makes law the mark that distinguishes the king from the tyrant (*Memorabilia* 4.6.12), and the reader may notice its absence from the advice given to Hiero.

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

ΙΕΡΩΝ

Η ΤΥΡΑΝΝΙΚΟΣ

1 Σιμωνίδης ὁ ποιητὴς ἀφίκετό ποτε πρὸς Ἱέρωνα τὸν τύραννον. σχολῆς δὲ γενομένης ἀμφοῖν εἶπεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης· Ἆρ' ἄν μοι ἐθελήσαις, ὦ Ἱέρων, διηγήσασθαι ἃ εἰκὸς εἰδέναι σε βέλτιον ἐμοῦ; Καὶ ποῖα ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, ὁποῖα δὴ ἐγὼ βέλτιον ἂν εἰδείην σοῦ οὕτως ὄντος σοφοῦ ἀνδρός; **2** Οἶδά σε, ἔφη, ἐγὼ καὶ ἰδιώτην γεγενημένον καὶ νῦν τύραννον ὄντα· εἰκὸς οὖν ἀμφοτέρων πεπειραμένον καὶ εἰδέναι σε μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ πῇ διαφέρει ὁ τυραννικός τε καὶ ὁ ἰδιωτικὸς **3** βίος εἰς εὐφροσύνας τε καὶ λύπας ἀνθρώποις. Τί οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, οὐχὶ καὶ σύ, ἐπεὶ νῦν γε ἔτι ἰδιώτης εἶ, ὑπέμνησάς με τὰ ἐν τῷ ἰδιωτικῷ βίῳ; οὕτως γὰρ ἄν σοι οἶμαι μάλιστα **4** ἐγὼ δύνασθαι δηλοῦν τὰ διαφέροντα ἐν ἑκατέρῳ. οὕτω δὴ ὁ Σιμωνίδης εἶπεν· Τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἰδιώτας ἔγωγε, ὦ Ἱέρων, δοκῶ μοι καταμεμαθηκέναι διὰ μὲν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ὁράμασιν ἡδομένους τε καὶ ἀχθομένους, διὰ δὲ τῶν ὤτων ἀκούσμασι, διὰ δὲ τῶν ῥινῶν ὀσμαῖς, διὰ δὲ τοῦ στόματος σίτοις τε καὶ **5** ποτοῖς, τὰ δ' ἀφροδίσια δι' ὧν δὴ πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα· τὰ δὲ ψύχη καὶ θάλπη καὶ σκληρὰ καὶ μαλακὰ καὶ κοῦφα καὶ βαρέα ὅλῳ τῷ σώματί μοι δοκοῦμεν, ἔφη, κρίνοντες ἥδεσθαί

Τιτ. ἢ *τυραννικός* om. Stob. lemm.; agnoscunt Diog. Laert. ii. 57, Athenaeus §§ 1–10 Σ*ιμωνίδης* . . . *λέγω* = Stob. *Fl.* 49. 30 (iv, p. 305 Hense) 4 *ὁποῖα ἂν ἐγὼ βέλτιον εἰδείην* Stob. 5 *δὴ* om. C 8 *τε* del. Cobet *ὁ* om. Stob. et det. 16 *τε* om. C 18 post *σκληρὰ* add. *καὶ στριφνὰ* Stob.

Simonides the poet once came to Hiero the tyrant.[1] When both had leisure, Simonides said: "Would you be willing, Hiero, to explain to me things that you are likely to know better than I?" 1.1

"And what sort of things are these," said Hiero, "that I, of all people, could know better than you, a man as wise as you are?"

"I know," he said, "that you have been a private man[2] and are now a tyrant. Since you have tried both, then, you are likely to know better than I how the tyrant's life and the private life differ in enjoyments and pains for human beings." 2

"Why then," said Hiero, "since you are still a private man now, do you not, for your part, remind me of what belongs to the private life? That way, I think, I could best show you the differences between the two." 3

So Simonides said: "Private men, Hiero, I think I have observed taking pleasure and feeling distress at things seen, through the eyes; at things heard, through the ears; at odors, through the nostrils; at food and drink, through the mouth; and at the pleasures of Aphrodite, through the parts that we all, of course, know of.[3] Cold and heat, hard and soft, light and heavy, we judge, it seems to me," he said, "with the whole body, and take pleasure 4 5

1. Simonides of Ceos (c. 556–468 BC), the lyric poet of epigrams, dirges and victory odes, was remembered as the first poet to write for pay; he spent his last years in Sicily. Hiero, brother of Gelon, ruled Gela and then, from 478, Syracuse as tyrant until his death in 467/6 BC, and Pindar, Bacchylides and Aeschylus as well as Simonides were at his court. The Second Letter ascribed to Plato (311a) names Hiero, with Pausanias, among rulers remembered for their company with Simonides.

2. *Idiōtēs*, the man who holds no office and lives in private, as against the ruler; the word recurs on nearly every page, always rendered "private man", and *ho idiōtikos bios*, "the private life", is its partner.

3. *Ta aphrodisia*, "the things of Aphrodite", the ordinary Greek for sexual pleasure, is rendered "the pleasures of Aphrodite" throughout. The parts "that we all know of" are a decorous periphrasis.

τε καὶ λυπεῖσθαι ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς· ἀγαθοῖς δὲ καὶ κακοῖς ἔστι μὲν ὅτε δι᾽ αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς μοι δοκοῦμεν ἥδεσθαι, ὁτὲ δ᾽ αὖ λυπεῖσθαι, ἔστι δ᾽ ὅτε κοινῇ [καὶ] διά τε τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ
6 διὰ τοῦ σώματος. τῷ δ᾽ ὕπνῳ ὅτι μὲν ἡδόμεθα δοκῶ μοι αἰσθάνεσθαι, ὅπως δὲ καὶ ᾧτινι καὶ ὁπότε, ταῦτα μᾶλλόν 5
πως, ἔφη, δοκῶ μοι ἀγνοεῖν. καὶ οὐδὲν ἴσως τοῦτο θαυμαστόν, εἰ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἐγρηγορέναι σαφεστέρας ἡμῖν τὰς
7 αἰσθήσεις παρέχεται ἢ τὰ ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ. πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ ὁ Ἱέρων ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, ἔξω τούτων ὧν εἴρηκας σύγε οὐδ᾽ ὅπως ἂν αἴσθοιτό τινος 10
ἄλλου ὁ τύραννος ἔχοιμ᾽ ἂν εἰπεῖν, ὥστε μέχρι γε τούτου οὐκ οἶδ᾽ εἴ τινι διαφέρει ὁ τυραννικὸς βίος τοῦ ἰδιωτικοῦ
8 βίου. καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης εἶπεν· Ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τοῖσδε, ἔφη, διαφέρει· πολλαπλάσια μὲν δι᾽ ἑκάστου τούτων εὐφραίνεται, πολὺ δὲ μείω τὰ λυπηρὰ ἔχει. καὶ ὁ Ἱέρων εἶπεν· Οὐχ 15
οὕτως ἔχει, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, ταῦτα, ἀλλ᾽ εὖ ἴσθ᾽ ὅτι μείω πολὺ εὐφραίνονται οἱ τύραννοι τῶν μετρίως διαγόντων ἰδιωτῶν,
9 πολὺ δὲ πλείω καὶ μείζω λυποῦνται. Ἄπιστα λέγεις, ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης. εἰ γὰρ οὕτως ταῦτ᾽ εἶχε, πῶς ἂν πολλοὶ μὲν ἐπεθύμουν τυραννεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα τῶν δοκούντων ἱκανω- 20
τάτων ἀνδρῶν εἶναι; πῶς δὲ πάντες ἐζήλουν ἂν τοὺς τυράν-
10 νους; Ὅτι ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δί᾽, ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, ἄπειροι ὄντες ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἔργων σκοποῦνται περὶ αὐτοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ πειράσομαί σε διδάσκειν ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψεως· ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ καὶ σὲ δοκῶ μεμνῆσθαι ἀρξάμενον 25
11 λέγειν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς διὰ τῆς ὄψεως θεάμασι λογιζόμενος εὑρίσκω μειονεκτοῦντας τοὺς τυράννους. ἄλλα

---

2 ὁτὲ δ᾽ αὖ] τε καὶ Stob. 3 ἔστι δ᾽ ὅτε om. C κοινῇ om. M καὶ om. Stob.: καὶ κοινῇ det. 6 οὐδὲν δὴ ἴσως Stob. 10 σὺ Stob. ἂν Stob.: om. codd. 11 ἄλλου om. Stob. 12 ἐν τίνι Franke: εἴ τι M in mg.: ὅ τι Stob. βίος om. Stob. 13 ἀλλὰ ἐν μὲν τοῖσδε διαφέροι ἂν εἰ πολλαπλάσια Stob. τοῖσδε] τούτοις C 16 πολὺ μείω C et Stob. 17 ἰδιωτῶν] ὑπηρετῶν Stob. 19 εἶχε Stob.: ἔχει A C M 21 πάντας A 22 τὸν om. Stob. 24 ὅτι] ὡς Stob. §§ 11–12 πρῶτον . . . ἀσφαλές = Stob. l. c. 26 διὰ τῆς ὄψεως del. Schenkl

and feel pain at them. At good things and bad, there are times when we seem to me to take pleasure, and times again to feel pain, through the soul by itself, and times when we do so in common, through the soul and through the body.[1] That we take pleasure in 6
sleep I seem to perceive; but how, and by what, and when—of this," he said, "I seem to myself somehow more ignorant. And perhaps it is no wonder if the things of waking give us clearer perceptions than the things of sleep."

To this Hiero replied: "For my part, Simonides," he said, "I could 7
not even say how a tyrant would perceive anything beyond what you yourself have named, so that up to this point, at least, I do not know whether the tyrant's life differs in anything from the private life."

And Simonides said: "But it differs in this," he said: "through 8
each of these he enjoys himself many times more, and has far fewer painful things."

And Hiero said: "That is not so, Simonides; rather, be sure of it: tyrants enjoy themselves far less than private men who live in moderate circumstances, and feel far more and greater pains."

"What you say is beyond belief," said Simonides. "For if this 9
were so, how would many desire to be tyrants, and that, men reputed to be among the most capable? How would everyone count the tyrants enviable?"

"Because, yes, by Zeus," said Hiero, "they look into the mat- 10
ter without having experienced both in deed.[2] But I shall try to teach you that I speak the truth, beginning from sight; for I think I remember that you too began there. For first, in the spectacles 11
that come through sight, I find on reckoning that tyrants come off worse.[3]

1. Marchant brackets the *kai* ("and") before "through the soul" as spurious, following Stobaeus, who omits it (apparatus, line 3); the English does not translate it.

2. *Erga*, "deeds", the actual facts as opposed to what is said or supposed about them. Hiero speaks from experience of both lives; Simonides, as Hiero has reminded him (1.3), has known only one.

3. *Meionektein*, "to have the smaller share", rendered "come off worse" wherever it occurs; it is the refrain of Hiero's case. Its opposite, *pleonektein*, "come off better", appears at 1.14.

μέν γε ἐν ἄλλῃ χώρᾳ ἐστὶν ἀξιοθέατα· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων ἕκαστα οἱ μὲν ἰδιῶται ἔρχονται καὶ εἰς πόλεις ἃς ἂν βούλωνται θεαμάτων ἕνεκα, καὶ εἰς τὰς κοινὰς πανηγύρεις, ἔνθα γ' ἃ ἀξιοθεατότατα δοκεῖ εἶναι ἀνθρώποις συναγείρεται. 12 οἱ δὲ τύραννοι οὐ μάλα ἀμφὶ θεωρίας ἔχουσιν. οὔτε γὰρ 5 ἰέναι αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλὲς ὅπου μὴ κρείττονες τῶν παρόντων μέλλουσιν ἔσεσθαι, οὔτε τὰ οἴκοι κέκτηνται ἐχυρά, ὥστε ἄλλοις παρακαταθεμένους ἀποδημεῖν. φοβερὸν γὰρ μὴ ἅμα τε στερηθῶσι τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀδύνατοι γένωνται τιμω- 13 ρήσασθαι τοὺς ἀδικήσαντας. εἴποις οὖν ἂν ἴσως σύ, ἀλλ' 10 ἄρα ἔρχεται αὐτοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ οἴκοι μένουσι. ναὶ μὰ Δία, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, ὀλίγα γε τῶν πολλῶν καὶ ταῦτα τοιαῦτα ὄντα οὕτω τίμια πωλεῖται τοῖς τυράννοις ὥστε οἱ ἐπιδεικνύ- μενοι καὶ ὁτιοῦν ἀξιοῦσι πολλαπλάσια λαβόντες ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ ἀπιέναι παρὰ τοῦ τυράννου ἢ ὅσα ἐν παντὶ τῷ βίῳ 15 14 παρὰ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων κτῶνται. καὶ ὁ Σιμω- νίδης εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' εἰ ⟨ἐν⟩ τοῖς θεάμασι μειονεκτεῖτε, διά γέ τοι τῆς ἀκοῆς πλεονεκτεῖτε. ἐπεὶ τοῦ μὲν ἡδίστου ἀκροάματος, ἐπαίνου, οὔποτε σπανίζετε· πάντες γὰρ οἱ παρόντες ὑμῖν πάντα καὶ ὅσα ἂν λέγητε καὶ ὅσα ἂν ποιῆτε 20 ἐπαινοῦσι. τοῦ δ' αὖ χαλεπωτάτου ἀκροάματος, λοιδορίας, ἀνήκοοί ἐστε· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐθέλει τυράννου κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς 15 κατηγορεῖν. καὶ ὁ Ἱέρων εἶπε· Καὶ τί οἴει, ἔφη, τοὺς μὴ λέγοντας κακῶς εὐφραίνειν, ὅταν εἰδῇ τις σαφῶς ὅτι οἱ σιωπῶντες οὗτοι πάντες κακὰ νοοῦσι τῷ τυράννῳ; ἢ τοὺς 25 ἐπαινοῦντας τί δοκεῖς εὐφραίνειν, ὅταν ὕποπτοι ὦσιν ἕνεκα

---

2 ἃς a C M et Stob.: ὡς A B ἂν βούλωνται] βούλονται a 3–4 ἔνθα . . . συναγείρεσθαι om. Stob. 4 γ' ἃ scripsi: τὰ codd.: ἅ γ' Leoncl. ἀξιοθεώτατα A C εἶναι del. Reuchlin συναγείρεται Leoncl.: συναγείρεσθαι codd. 8–10 φοβερὸν . . . ἀδικήσαντας del. Richter 9 τε om. A C 10 ἂν οὖν C 10–§ 30 ἀλλ' . . . ἀφροδισίων = Stob. l. c. 11–12 ναὶ . . . Σ. om. Stob. 12 γε Stob.: τε codd. 12–16 multa om. Stob. 15 παρὰ om. C 17 ἐν ex Stob. add. Thalheim 17–18 διὰ . . . ἀκοῆς] ἐν ταῖς ἀκοαῖς Stob. 18 ἐπειδὴ Stob. 20 ὑμῖν om. Stob. 22–23 τύραννον . . . κακηγορεῖν Cobet 23 καταφρονεῖν C 25 πάντα Stob.

Different lands have different things worth seeing; and private men go to each of them, both to whatever cities they please, for the sake of the spectacles, and to the common festivals, where the things that seem to human beings most worth seeing are gathered together.[1] But tyrants are not much given to sightseeing. For it 12
is not safe for them to go where they will not be stronger than those present, nor do they possess what is at home so securely that they can entrust it to others and go abroad.[2] For it is to be feared that they may at one and the same time be deprived of their rule and be unable to take vengeance on those who had done them injustice. Perhaps you would say, 'But then, surely, such 13
things come to them even while they stay at home.' Yes, by Zeus, Simonides, a few, at least, of the many; and these, such as they are, are sold to tyrants at so high a price that those who exhibit anything whatever expect to go away from the tyrant having received in a short time many times more than they get from all other human beings in their whole life."[3]

And Simonides said: "But if you come off worse in spectacles, 14
through hearing at least you come off better. For of the sweetest thing to hear, praise, you are never short: all who are with you praise everything you say and everything you do. And the hardest thing to hear, abuse, you never hear: no one is willing to accuse a tyrant to his face."[4]

And Hiero said: "And what enjoyment do you think," he said, 15
"men give by not speaking ill, when one knows clearly that these silent men all intend harm to the tyrant? Or what enjoyment do you think those who praise give, when they are under suspicion

1. The *panēgyreis* are the great gatherings of all the Greeks, such as those at Olympia and Delphi. Hiero's horses and chariots won at both, and Pindar (*Olympian* 1, *Pythian* 1) and Bacchylides (odes 3–5) celebrated his victories. An owner did not need to attend: his horses and drivers competed for him.
2. Plato gives the same picture in the *Republic*: the tyrannical man who does not live out a private man's life (*idiōtēn bion*) but becomes a tyrant is the only one in his city who may neither travel abroad nor go to see the sights that the other free men long to see (IX 578c–579c).
3. *Epideiknysthai*, "to exhibit" oneself or one's art, was the word for a display performance. Hiero's words may glance at his guest: Simonides was notorious for his fees.
4. *Akroama*, "a thing heard", was also the word for a recital or entertainment (as in Xenophon's *Symposium* 2.2), and praise was a poet's trade. A reader may find Simonides' choice of example pointed; the text leaves it at that.

16 τοῦ κολακεύειν τοὺς ἐπαίνους ποιεῖσθαι; καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης
εἶπεν· Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δία ἔγωγέ σοι, Ἱέρων,
πάνυ συγχωρῶ, τοὺς ἐπαίνους παρὰ τῶν ἐλευθερωτάτων
ἡδίστους εἶναι, ἀλλ', ὁρᾷς; ἐκεῖνό γε οὐκ ἂν ἔτι πείσαις
ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα ὡς οὐ δι' ὧν τρεφόμεθα οἱ ἄνθρωποι, πολὺ 5
17 πλείω ὑμεῖς ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐφραίνεσθε. Καὶ οἶδά γ', ἔφη,
ὦ Σιμωνίδη, ὅτι τούτῳ κρίνουσιν οἱ πλεῖστοι ἥδιον ἡμᾶς
καὶ πίνειν καὶ ἐσθίειν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, ὅτι δοκοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ
ἥδιον ἂν δειπνῆσαι τὸ ἡμῖν παρατιθέμενον δεῖπνον ἢ τὸ
ἑαυτοῖς· τὸ γὰρ τὰ εἰωθότα ὑπερβάλλον, τοῦτο παρέχει τὰς 10
18 ἡδονάς. διὸ καὶ πάντες ἄνθρωποι ἡδέως προσδέχονται
τὰς ἑορτὰς πλὴν οἱ τύραννοι· ἔκπλεῳ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀεὶ παρε-
σκευασμέναι οὐδεμίαν ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς ἔχουσιν αἱ τράπεζαι
αὐτῶν ἐπίδοσιν· ὥστε ταύτῃ πρῶτον τῇ εὐφροσύνῃ τῆς
19 ἐλπίδος μειονεκτοῦσι τῶν ἰδιωτῶν. ἔπειτα δ', ἔφη, ἐκεῖνο 15
εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ σὺ ἔμπειρος εἶ ὅτι ὅσῳ ἂν πλείω τις παραθῆται
τὰ περιττὰ τῶν ἱκανῶν, τοσούτῳ καὶ θᾶττον κόρος ἐμπίπτει
τῆς ἐδωδῆς· ὥστε καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς ἡδονῆς μειονεκτεῖ
20 ὁ παρατιθέμενος πολλὰ τῶν μετρίως διαιτωμένων. Ἀλλὰ
ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης, ὅσον ἂν χρόνον ἡ ψυχὴ 20
προσίηται, τοῦτον πολὺ μᾶλλον ἥδονται οἱ ταῖς πολυτελε-
στέραις παρασκευαῖς τρεφόμενοι τῶν τὰ εὐτελέστερα παρα-
21 τιθεμένων. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, τὸν ἑκάστῳ
ἡδόμενον μάλιστα, τοῦτον οἴει καὶ ἐρωτικώτατα ἔχειν τοῦ
ἔργου τούτου; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. Ἦ οὖν ὁρᾷς τι τοὺς 25
τυράννους ἥδιον ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν παρασκευὴν ἰόντας ἢ τοὺς

---

1 *ποιούμενοι* Stob. 2–3 *τοῦτο . . . πάνυ* om. Stob. 3 *τὸ τοὺς* Stobaei M A *ἐλευθεριωτάτων* Stob. 5 *οὐχὶ* Stob. §§ 17–20 = Athen. iv, p. 144 c 7 *πλεῖστοι ἥδιον*] *οι* et *ήδιον* in ras. a 8–10 *ὅτι . . . ἑαυτοῖς* om. Stob. 12 *παρεσκευασμέναι* Athen. et Stob.: *παρεσκευασμένα* codd. 15 δ' om. Athen. *ἐκείνου* Stob. 16 *τις παραθῆται*] *παραθῆτε* Stobaei codd. 17 *καὶ* Athen et Stob.: om. codd. 18 *ἡδονῆς* Athen.: *ἐδωδῆς* codd. et Stob. *μειονεκτεῖ ὁ* a et Athen. et Stob.: *μειονεκτεῖς* A M: *μειονεκτεῖ* C 22 *τῶν . . . παρατιθεμένων* om. Stob. 23–25 *ὦ . . . ἢ οὖν* om. Stob. 25 *τι* om. C 26 *αὐτῶν* Stob.

of offering their praises in order to flatter?"

16 And Simonides said: "This, yes, by Zeus, I do grant you entirely, Hiero: the sweetest praises come from the freest men. But, you see, of that, at least, you could not persuade any human being any longer—that in the things by which we human beings are nourished you do not enjoy yourselves far more."[1]

17 "Yes," he said, "and I know, Simonides, that most men judge that we drink and eat with more pleasure than private men by this, that they think they themselves would dine with more pleasure on the dinner set before us than on their own; for what exceeds the customary is what provides the pleasures. That is why 18 all human beings look forward with pleasure to feast days, except tyrants: their tables, always furnished in abundance, allow of no increase on feast days, so that, first, in this enjoyment of hope they come off worse than private men. And then," he said, "I know well 19 that you too have experienced this: the more superfluities beyond what is sufficient a man has set before him, the sooner, too, satiety with eating falls upon him, so that in the duration of his pleasure, too, the man who has much set before him comes off worse than those who live moderately."[2]

20 "But yes, by Zeus," said Simonides, "for as long as the soul accepts it, those who are nourished on the more costly fare take far more pleasure than those who have the cheaper set before them."

21 "Then do you not think, Simonides," said Hiero, "that the man who takes most pleasure in each thing is also the one most passionately disposed toward that activity?"[3]

"Certainly," he said.

"Then do you see tyrants going to their own fare with any more pleasure than

1. Marchant prints *eleutherōtatōn*, "the freest", with the manuscripts; Stobaeus has *eleutheriōtatōn*, "the most liberal", that is, the most like a free gentleman.
2. "Of his pleasure" is Athenaeus' reading, which Marchant prints; the manuscripts and Stobaeus have "of eating" (*edōdēs*), perhaps caught from a few words earlier, so that the man comes off worse "in the duration of his eating".
3. *Erōtikōtata*, "most passionately", is the superlative adverb of *erōtikos*, the adjective from *erōs*, love; the word looks ahead to the pleasures of Aphrodite (1.26) and to love (1.29–30).

ἰδιώτας ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν; Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δί᾽, ἔφη, οὐ μὲν οὖν,
22 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγλευκέστερον, ὡς πολλοῖς ἂν δόξειεν. Τί γάρ,
ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, τὰ πολλὰ ταῦτα μηχανήματα κατανενόηκας
ἃ παρατίθεται τοῖς τυράννοις, ὀξέα καὶ δριμέα καὶ στρυφνὰ
καὶ τὰ τούτων ἀδελφά; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης, 5
καὶ πάνυ γέ μοι δοκοῦντα παρὰ φύσιν εἶναι ταῦτα ἀνθρώποις.
23 Ἄλλο τι οὖν οἴει, ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, ταῦτα τὰ ἐδέσματα εἶναι
ἢ μαλακῆς καὶ ἀσθενούσης ψυχῆς ἐπιθυμήματα; ἐπεὶ εὖ
οἶδ᾽ ἔγωγε ὅτι οἱ ἡδέως ἐσθίοντες καὶ σύ που οἶσθα ὅτι
24 οὐδὲν προσδέονται τούτων τῶν σοφισμάτων. Ἀλλὰ μέντοι, 10
ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης, τῶν γε πολυτελῶν ὀσμῶν τούτων, αἷς
χρίεσθε, τοὺς πλησιάζοντας οἶμαι μᾶλλον ἀπολαύειν ἢ
αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς, ὥσπερ γε καὶ τῶν ἀχαρίτων ὀσμῶν οὐκ αὐτὸς
ὁ βεβρωκὼς αἰσθάνεται, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον οἱ πλησιάζοντες.
25 Οὕτω μέντοι, ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, καὶ τῶν σίτων ὁ μὲν ἔχων 15
παντοδαπὰ ἀεὶ οὐδὲν μετὰ πόθου αὐτῶν λαμβάνει· ὁ δὲ
σπανίσας τινός, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ μετὰ χαρᾶς πιμπλάμενος,
26 ὅταν αὐτῷ προφανῇ τι. Κινδυνεύουσιν, ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης,
αἱ τῶν ἀφροδισίων μόνον ὑμῖν ἀπολαύσεις τοῦ τυραννεῖν
τὰς ἐπιθυμίας παρέχειν· ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν ὅ τι ἂν 20
27 κάλλιστον ἴδητε τούτῳ συνεῖναι. Νῦν δή, ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων,
εἴρηκας ἐν ᾧ γε, σάφ᾽ ἴσθι, μειονεκτοῦμεν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν.
πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ γάμος ὁ μὲν ἐκ μειζόνων δήπου καὶ πλούτῳ
καὶ δυνάμει κάλλιστος δοκεῖ εἶναι καὶ παρέχειν τινὰ τῷ

---

1 *ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν* om. Stob. *οὖν*] δὴ Stob. 2–6 *ἀλλὰ . . . ἀνθρώποις* om. Stob. *ἀγλευκέστερον* Suidas: *ἀγλυκέστερον* codd. §§ 22–23 = Athen. iii, p. 121 e 4 *στριφνὰ* A 6 *ἀνθρώπῳ* Athen. 7 *οὖν* om. Athen. 8 *ἢ* det. et Athen. et Stob.: om. A C M *μαλακῆς*] *ἅμα κακῆς* Stob.: *μὴ διὰ κακῆς* Athen. *ἀσθενοῦς τῆς* Stob. *τρυφῇ ψυχῆς* C (sed *ὑπὸ τρυφῆς* etiam coni. C): *τρυφῆς ψ.* codd.: *τρυφῆς* om. Athen. et Stobaei A: *ψυχῆς τροφῆς* Stobaei S M *ἐνθυμήματα* Hartman 8–9 *εὖ . . . οἱ*] *οἵ γε* Athen. 11 *γε* Stob.: *τε* codd. 13 *ἀχαρίστων* Stobaei M A 15 *οὕτω*] *τούτων* cit. Thalheim *τῶν σίτων*] *τοιούτων* Schenkl 17 *μετὰ χαρᾶς*] *καὶ χαρμονῆς* Stob. *ἐμπιπλάμενος* M et Stob 18 *τι* del. Hartman *κινδυνεύουσιν οὖν* C 19 *μόνον* om. C 21 *δή*] *γε* Stob.: *δὲ* C 22 *γε* Reuchlin: ras. in A (*δὲ* B): *δὴ* Stob.: om. C M *σάφ᾽ ἴσθι*] *πλεῖστον* Stob. 22–§ 29 *τῶν . . . τύραννος* om. Stob. 24 *κάλλιστον* C *παρέχει* A in mg.

private men to theirs?"

"No, by Zeus," he said, "not at all; rather even with less zest, as many would think."[1]

"Well," said Hiero, "have you observed these many contrivances 22
that are served to tyrants: sharp things, pungent things, astringent things, and their kin?"[2]

"Certainly," said Simonides, "and they seem to me quite contrary to nature for human beings."

"Do you think, then," said Hiero, "that these foods are anything 23
other than the cravings of a soft and sickly soul? For I know well—and you too, I suppose, know—that those who eat with pleasure have no need of these sophistications."[3]

"But surely," said Simonides, "with these costly odors, at least, 24
with which you anoint yourselves, I think those who come near you relish them more than you yourselves, just as with disagreeable odors it is not the eater himself who perceives them, but rather those who come near him."

"So too," said Hiero, "with food: the man who always has ev- 25
ery kind takes none of it with longing; but the man who has gone short of something is the one who takes his fill with delight when something comes his way."

"It looks," said Simonides, "as if your relish of the pleasures of 26
Aphrodite were the only thing that gives you your desire to be tyrants; for in this it is open to you to be with whatever you see that is most beautiful."[4]

"Now indeed," said Hiero, "you have named the very thing in 27
which, be sure of it, we come off worse than private men. First, marriage: the marriage that comes from a greater family, surely, in wealth and power, is thought the finest, and brings the

1. *Agleukesteron*, literally "less sweetly", from *gleukos*, sweet new wine; Marchant prints the spelling attested in the Byzantine lexicon, the *Suda*, for the manuscripts' *aglykesteron*, from *glykys*, "sweet". The sense is the same.

2. Sicilian cookery was proverbial: Plato speaks of "a Syracusan table and Sicilian variety of dishes" (*Republic* 404d), and names Mithaecus, author of a book on Sicilian cookery (*Gorgias* 518b).

3. The manuscripts have "the cravings of a soft and sickly luxury of soul"; Marchant omits "luxury" (*tryphēs*) as a gloss, as Persson argued (his preface): the word is missing in Athenaeus and in one manuscript of Stobaeus, and C has it in another case (apparatus, line 8). *Sophismata*, "clever devices", is also the word for the sophists' tricks of argument, and Hiero is speaking to the man he has called wise (1.1).

4. "To be with" (*syneinai*) is a usual Greek euphemism for sexual intercourse.

γήμαντι φιλοτιμίαν μεθ' ἡδονῆς· δεύτερος δ' ὁ ἐκ τῶν
ὁμοίων· ὁ δ' ἐκ τῶν φαυλοτέρων πάνυ ἄτιμός τε καὶ ἄχρη-
28 στος νομίζεται. τῷ τοίνυν τυράννῳ, ἂν μὴ ξένην γήμῃ,
ἀνάγκη ἐκ μειόνων γαμεῖν, ὥστε τὸ ἀγαπητὸν οὐ πάνυ αὐτῷ
παραγίγνεται. πολὺ δὲ καὶ αἱ θεραπεῖαι αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν μέ- 5
γιστον φρονουσῶν γυναικῶν εὐφραίνουσι μάλιστα, αἱ δ'
ὑπὸ δούλων παροῦσαι μὲν οὐδέν τι ἀγαπῶνται, ἐὰν δέ τι
29 ἐλλείπωσι, δεινὰς ὀργὰς καὶ λύπας ἐμποιοῦσιν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς
παιδικοῖς ἀφροδισίοις ἔτι αὖ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν τοῖς τεκνο-
ποιοῖς μειονεκτεῖ τῶν εὐφροσυνῶν ὁ τύραννος. ὅτι ⟨μὲν⟩ 10
γὰρ τὰ μετ' ἔρωτος ἀφροδίσια πολὺ διαφερόντως εὐφραίνει
30 πάντες δήπου ἐπιστάμεθα· ὁ δὲ ἔρως πολὺ αὖ ἐθέλει ἥκιστα
τῷ τυράννῳ ἐγγίγνεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ τῶν ἑτοίμων ἥδεται ⟨ὁ⟩
ἔρως ἐφιέμενος, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐλπιζομένων. ὥσπερ οὖν [εἴ] τις
ἄπειρος ὢν δίψους τοῦ πιεῖν οὐκ ἂν ἀπολαύοι, οὕτω καὶ 15
ὁ ἄπειρος ὢν ἔρωτος ἄπειρός ἐστι τῶν ἡδίστων ἀφροδισίων.
31 ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἱέρων οὕτως εἶπεν. ὁ δὲ Σιμωνίδης ἐπιγελάσας,
Πῶς λέγεις, ἔφη, ὦ Ἱέρων; τυράννῳ οὐ φῂς παιδικῶν
ἔρωτας ἐμφύεσθαι; πῶς μὴν σύ, ἔφη, ἐρᾷς Δαϊλόχου τοῦ
32 καλλίστου ἐπικαλουμένου; Ὅτι μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, 20
οὐ τοῦ ἑτοίμου παρ' αὐτοῦ δοκοῦντος εἶναι τυχεῖν τούτου
μάλιστα ἐπιθυμῶ, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἥκιστα τυράννῳ προσήκοντος
33 κατεργάσασθαι. ἐγὼ γὰρ δὴ ἐρῶ μὲν Δαϊλόχου ὥνπερ
ἴσως ἀναγκάζει ἡ φύσις ἀνθρώπου δεῖσθαι παρὰ τῶν καλῶν,
τούτων δὲ ὧν ἐρῶ τυχεῖν, μετὰ μὲν φιλίας καὶ παρὰ βουλο- 25
μένου πάνυ ἰσχυρῶς ἐπιθυμῶ τυγχάνειν, βίᾳ δὲ λαμβάνειν
παρ' αὐτοῦ ἧττον ἄν μοι δοκῶ ἐπιθυμεῖν ἢ ἐμαυτὸν κακόν
34 τι ποιεῖν· παρὰ μὲν γὰρ πολεμίων ἀκόντων λαμβάνειν

---

1 δεύτερον A C M: corr. Hanow 2 ἄχρηστός τε καὶ ἄτιμος C 3 μὴ C in ras.: μὲν A M 7 τῶν δούλων C (non B): δουλῶν Nitsche Cf. *Cyneg.* vii. 5 adnot. 10 μὲν Stob.: om. codd. 12 πολὺ ἥκιστα ἐθέλει Stob. 13 ἐμφύεσθαι Stob. ὁ Stob.: om. codd. 14 εἰ del. Schenkl: οὐκ ἂν Thalheim 15 ὢν] fort. εἴη δίψης Stob. οὐκ ἂν ἀπολαύοι C: ἀπολαύοι cet. et Stob. 24 ἄνθρωπον C: ἀνθρώπους Reiske

bridegroom a certain pride, with pleasure;[1] second, the marriage with equals; but the marriage with inferiors is thought quite without honor and useless. Now the tyrant, unless he marries a for- 28
eign woman, must marry beneath him, so that what is to be cherished hardly comes his way.[2] Again, attentions from women of the proudest spirit give by far the most enjoyment, while those from slaves, when they are there, are not cherished at all, but if they fall short in anything they cause terrible anger and pain. In the plea- 29
sures of Aphrodite with boys,[3] again, the tyrant comes off worse in his enjoyments still far more than in those that beget children. For that the pleasures of Aphrodite that come with love give enjoyment beyond comparison, we all know, I suppose; but love, on 30
the contrary, is least of all willing to arise in a tyrant. For love takes pleasure in reaching not for what is ready to hand, but for what is hoped for. So just as a man without experience of thirst would not relish drinking, so too the man without experience of love is without experience of the sweetest pleasures of Aphrodite."

So Hiero spoke. And Simonides laughed at this and said: "What 31
do you mean, Hiero? You say that loves for boys do not grow in a tyrant? How then," he said, "are you in love with Dailochus, who is called 'the most beautiful'?"[4]

"Because, by Zeus, Simonides," he said, "what I most desire is 32
not what seems ready to hand to obtain from him, but what is least fitting for a tyrant to achieve. For I am in love with Dailochus for 33
those things which human nature perhaps compels one to want from the beautiful; but those things which I am in love with obtaining, I very strongly desire to obtain with friendship and from one who is willing; and to take them from him by force I think I would desire less than to do myself some harm. For to take from 34
enemies against their will

1. "Pride" renders *philotimia*, literally "love of honor", the word Simonides uses at 7.3; here it is the satisfaction a great match brings.
2. A tyrant's equals were to be found among the leading families of other cities. Dionysius I of Syracuse, for instance, married Doris of Locri and Aristomache of Syracuse on the same day (Diodorus 14.44.6–45.1; Plutarch, *Dion* 3).
3. The love of a grown man for an adolescent boy was widely accepted among the Greek upper classes, though custom differed from city to city, and Xenophon writes of it often (*Symposium* 8; *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* 2.12–14).
4. Dailochus is known only from this passage. *Epikaloumenos* means "surnamed": "the most beautiful" was his byname.

πάντων ἥδιστον ἔγωγε νομίζω εἶναι, παρὰ δὲ παιδικῶν
35 βουλομένων ἥδισταί οἶμαι αἱ χάριτές εἰσιν. εὐθὺς γὰρ
παρὰ τοῦ ἀντιφιλοῦντος ἡδεῖαι μὲν αἱ ἀντιβλέψεις, ἡδεῖαι
δὲ αἱ ἐρωτήσεις, ἡδεῖαι δὲ αἱ ἀποκρίσεις, ἥδισται δὲ καὶ
36 ἐπαφροδιτόταται αἱ μάχαι τε καὶ ἔριδες· τὸ δὲ ἀκόντων 5
παιδικῶν ἀπολαύειν λεηλασίᾳ, ἔφη, ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ἐοικέναι
μᾶλλον ἢ ἀφροδισίοις. καίτοι τῷ μὲν λῃστῇ παρέχει τινὰς
ὅμως ἡδονὰς τό τε κέρδος καὶ τὸ ἀνιᾶν τὸν ἐχθρόν· τὸ δὲ
οὗ ἂν ἐρᾷ τις τούτῳ ἥδεσθαι ἀνιωμένῳ καὶ φιλοῦντα μισεῖ-
σθαι καὶ ἄπτεσθαι ἀχθομένου, πῶς οὐχὶ τοῦτο ἤδη δυσχερὲς 10
37 τὸ πάθημα καὶ οἰκτρόν; καὶ γὰρ δὴ τῷ μὲν ἰδιώτῃ εὐθὺς
τεκμήριόν ἐστιν, ὅταν ὁ ἐρώμενός τι ὑπουργῇ, ὅτι ὡς φιλῶν
χαρίζεται, διὰ τὸ εἰδέναι ὅτι οὐδεμιᾶς ἀνάγκης οὔσης ὑπηρετεῖ,
38 τῷ δὲ τυράννῳ οὔποτ' ἔστι πιστεῦσαι ὡς φιλεῖται. ἐπι-
στάμεθα γὰρ δὴ τοὺς διὰ φόβον ὑπηρετοῦντας ὡς ᾗ μάλιστ' 15
ἂν δύνωνται ἐξεικάζουσιν αὑτοὺς ταῖς τῶν φιλούντων ὑπουρ-
γίαις. καὶ τοίνυν αἱ ἐπιβουλαὶ ἐξ οὐδένων πλέονες τοῖς
τυράννοις εἰσὶν ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν μάλιστα φιλεῖν αὐτοὺς προσποιη-
σαμένων.

II Πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης· Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν πάνυ 20
ἔμοιγε μικρὰ δοκεῖ εἶναι ἃ σὺ λέγεις. πολλοὺς γάρ, ἔφη,
ἔγωγε ὁρῶ τῶν δοκούντων ἀνδρῶν εἶναι ἑκόντας μειον-
2 εκτοῦντας καὶ σίτων καὶ ποτῶν καὶ ὄψων καὶ ἀφροδισίων
γε ἀπεχομένους. ἀλλ' ἐκείνῃ γε πολὺ διαφέρετε τῶν ἰδιω-
τῶν, ὅτι μεγάλα μὲν ἐπινοεῖτε, ταχὺ δὲ κατεργάζεσθε, 25
πλεῖστα δὲ τὰ περιττὰ ἔχετε, κέκτησθε δὲ διαφέροντας μὲν
ἀρετῇ ἵππους, διαφέροντα δὲ κάλλει ὅπλα, ὑπερέχοντα δὲ
κόσμον γυναιξί, μεγαλοπρεπεστάτας δ' οἰκίας, καὶ ταύτας
κατεσκευασμένας τοῖς πλείστου ἀξίοις, ἔτι δὲ πλήθει καὶ

---

2 *αἱ* om. C 4 *ὑποκρίσεις* A 5 *ἐπαφροδιτώταται* a (B) C *καὶ αἱ* a M 15 *δὴ τοὺς* scripsi: *αὐτοὺς* codd.: *αὖ τοὺς* Stephanus: *τοὺς* Dind. 20 post *ταῦτα* add. δὲ C 24–§ 3 *ἀλλ' . . . εἶπεν* = Stob. *Fl.* 49. 36 (iv. 307 Hense) 24 *ἐκείνῃ* C: *ἐν ἐκείνοις* A M et Stob. 25 post δὲ add. *ταῦτα* Stob. 26 *τὰ* om. C 29 *πλήθει*] fort. *ἄνθει*: *εἴδει* Ernesti *πλήθει τε καὶ* Stob.

is, I think, the sweetest thing of all; but from a beloved who is willing, favors are, I think, the sweetest. For from one who loves in 35
return, to begin with, the answering looks are sweet, the questions are sweet, the answers are sweet; and sweetest and most charming are the quarrels and the strifes.[1] But to relish a beloved against his 36
will seems to me," he said, "more like plunder than the pleasures of Aphrodite. And yet to the robber the gain and the paining of his enemy give some pleasures all the same; but to take pleasure in the one you are in love with while he is pained, to be hated while you love him, and to touch one who is vexed—how is this not, by now, a disagreeable thing to suffer, and a pitiable one? For to the 37
private man, whenever his beloved does him some service, it is at once a sign that he grants the favor as one who loves him, since the private man knows that the beloved serves under no compulsion; but the tyrant can never trust that he is loved. For we know, 38
of course, that those who serve from fear make themselves as like as they possibly can to the services of those who love. And indeed plots against tyrants come from no one more than from those who have most pretended to love them."

To this Simonides said: "But these things you speak of seem to 2.1
me quite small. For I see many," he said, "of those who are thought to be real men willingly coming off worse in food and drink and dishes, and even abstaining from the pleasures of Aphrodite.[2] But 2
in this, at least, you differ greatly from private men: you conceive great things and achieve them quickly; you have the most superfluities; you possess horses surpassing in excellence, arms surpassing in beauty, finery outstanding for your women, the most magnificent houses, and those furnished with things of the greatest worth; and further, in number and

1. "Questions", *erōtēseis*, sounds like *erōs*, and Plato plays on the likeness (*Cratylus* 398c–d). "Most charming", *epaphroditotatai*, is literally "most full of Aphrodite".
2. *Opsa*, "dishes", were whatever was eaten with bread: meat, fish, relishes. "Real men" renders *andres*, men in the full sense, as against *anthrōpoi*, "human beings".

ἐπιστήμαις θεράποντας ἀρίστους κέκτησθε, ἱκανώτατοι δ'
3 ἐστὲ κακῶσαι μὲν ἐχθρούς, ὀνῆσαι δὲ φίλους. πρὸς ταῦτα
δὲ ὁ Ἱέρων εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ⟨τὸ⟩ πλῆθος τῶν ἀνθρώπων,
ὦ Σιμωνίδη, ἐξαπατᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς τυραννίδος οὐδέν τι
θαυμάζω· μάλα γὰρ ὁ ὄχλος μοι δοκεῖ δοξάζειν ὁρῶν καὶ
4 εὐδαίμονάς τινας εἶναι καὶ ἀθλίους· ἡ δὲ τυραννὶς τὰ μὲν
δοκοῦντα πολλοῦ ἄξια κτήματα εἶναι ἀνεπτυγμένα θεᾶσθαι
φανερὰ πᾶσι παρέχεται, τὰ δὲ χαλεπὰ ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν
τυράννων κέκτηται ἀποκεκρυμμένα, ἔνθαπερ καὶ τὸ εὐδαι-
5 μονεῖν καὶ τὸ κακοδαιμονεῖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀπόκειται. τὸ
μὲν οὖν τὸ πλῆθος περὶ τούτου λεληθέναι, ὥσπερ εἶπον, οὐ
θαυμάζω· τὸ δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ταῦτ' ἀγνοεῖν, οἳ διὰ τῆς γνώμης
δοκεῖτε θεᾶσθαι κάλλιον ἢ διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τὰ πλεῖστα
6 τῶν πραγμάτων, τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ θαυμαστὸν εἶναι. ἐγὼ δὲ
πεπειραμένος σαφῶς οἶδα, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, καὶ λέγω σοι ὅτι οἱ
τύραννοι τῶν μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν ἐλάχιστα μετέχουσι, τῶν
7 δὲ μεγίστων κακῶν πλεῖστα κέκτηνται. αὐτίκα γὰρ εἰ μὲν
εἰρήνη δοκεῖ μέγα ἀγαθὸν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἶναι, ταύτης
ἐλάχιστον τοῖς τυράννοις μέτεστιν· εἰ δὲ πόλεμος μέγα
8 κακόν, τούτου πλεῖστον μέρος οἱ τύραννοι μετέχουσιν. εὐθὺς
γὰρ τοῖς μὲν ἰδιώταις, ἂν μὴ ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν κοινὸν πόλεμον
πολεμῇ, ἔξεστιν ὅποι ἂν βούλωνται πορεύεσθαι μηδὲν φοβου-
μένους μή τις αὐτοὺς ἀποκτείνῃ, οἱ δὲ τύραννοι πάντες
πανταχῇ ὡς διὰ πολεμίας πορεύονται. αὐτοί τε γοῦν
ὡπλισμένοι οἴονται ἀνάγκην εἶναι διάγειν καὶ ἄλλους ὁπλο-
9 φόρους ἀεὶ συμπεριάγεσθαι. ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ μὲν ἰδιῶται, ἐὰν
καὶ στρατεύωνταί που εἰς πολεμίαν, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐπειδάν γε

---

3 *τὸ* add. Richards 4 *τι* om. M 6–10 *ἡ . . . ἀπόκειται* = Stob. l. c. 8 *καὶ φανερὰ* Stephanus: *φανερὰ* del. Ernesti coll. Hesych. *ἀνάπτυκτα φανερά*. 9 *κέκτηται* om. Stob. *ἔνθαπερ*] *ἐν αἷσπερ* Stob. *εὖδαιμον* Stob. 10 *καὶ τὸ κακοδαιμονεῖν* om. B et Stob. *κακοδαιμονᾶν* a 11 *τὸ* om. C *περὶ τούτου*] malim *ταῦτα* § 7 = Stob. l. c. 18 *τοῖς* om. Stob. 19 *ἐλάχιστον μέρος* Stob. 20 *μέρος* om. Stob. *μετέχομεν οἱ τύραννοι* Stob. 21 *κοινωνὸν* A 23 *πάντες* om. C 27 *ποι* Heindorf *γε* om. C

in skill you possess the best servants; and you are most able to harm your enemies and to benefit your friends."

To this Hiero said: "But that the multitude of human beings is de- 3
ceived by tyranny, Simonides, I do not wonder at all; for the crowd seems to me to form its opinion very much by what it sees, both that some men are happy and that some are wretched. But tyranny 4
displays the possessions that are thought to be worth much spread open to view, plain for all to see, while it possesses the hardships hidden away in the souls of tyrants, where both happiness and unhappiness are stored up for human beings. That this has escaped 5
the multitude, then, as I said, I do not wonder; but that you too are ignorant of it, you who are thought to see most things better through your understanding than through your eyes, this seems to me a wonder.[1]

"But I know clearly from experience, Simonides, and I tell you, 6
that tyrants have the least share in the greatest goods and possess the most of the greatest ills. For example, if peace is thought a great 7
good for human beings, tyrants have the smallest share in it; and if war is a great ill, tyrants have the largest part in it. To begin with, 8
private men, unless their city is fighting a common war, may travel wherever they wish without any fear that someone will kill them; but all tyrants everywhere travel as if through enemy country. At any rate they think it necessary to go about armed themselves and always to take other armed men around with them. Then again, 9
private men, even if they march somewhere into enemy country, still, once

1. "You" is plural: Hiero speaks to Simonides as one of the wise, the men who are thought to see with the understanding (*gnōmē*) rather than with the eyes.

ἔλθωσιν οἴκαδε, ἀσφάλειαν σφίσιν ἡγοῦνται εἶναι, οἱ δὲ τύραννοι ἐπειδὰν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν πόλιν ἀφίκωνται, τότε ἐν πλείστοις πολεμίοις ἴσασιν ὄντες. ἐὰν δὲ δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι στρατεύωσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν κρείττονες, ἐὰν ἔξω τοῦ τείχους ὄντες οἱ ἧττονες ἐν κινδύνῳ δοκῶσιν εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐπειδάν γε εἴσω τοῦ ἐρύματος ἔλθωσιν, ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ πάντες νομίζουσι καθεστάναι, ὁ δὲ τύραννος οὐδ' ἐπειδὰν εἴσω τῆς οἰκίας παρέλθῃ ἐν ἀκινδύνῳ ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ μάλιστα φυλακτέον οἴεται εἶναι. ἔπειτα τοῖς μὲν ἰδιώταις καὶ διὰ σπονδῶν καὶ δι' εἰρήνης γίγνεται πολέμου ἀνάπαυσις, τοῖς δὲ τυράννοις οὔτε εἰρήνη ποτὲ πρὸς τοὺς τυραννευομένους γίγνεται οὔτε σπονδαῖς ἄν ποτε πιστεύσας ὁ τύραννος θαρρήσειε. καὶ πόλεμοι μὲν δή εἰσιν οὕς τε αἱ πόλεις πολεμοῦσι καὶ οἷς οἱ τύραννοι πρὸς τοὺς βεβιασμένους· τούτων δὴ τῶν πολέμων ὅσα μὲν ἔχει χαλεπὰ ὁ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι, ταῦτα καὶ ὁ τύραννος ἔχει· καὶ γὰρ ἐν ὅπλοις δεῖ εἶναι ἀμφοτέρους καὶ φυλάττεσθαι καὶ κινδυνεύειν, καὶ ἄν τι πάθωσι κακὸν ἡττηθέντες, λυποῦνται ἐπὶ τούτοις ἑκάτεροι. μέχρι μὲν δὴ τούτου ἴσοι οἱ πόλεμοι· ἃ δὲ ἔχουσιν ἡδέα οἱ †συνόντες ⟨ταῖς⟩ πόλεσι πρὸς τὰς πόλεις, ταῦτα οὐκέτι ἔχουσιν οἱ τύραννοι. αἱ μὲν γὰρ πόλεις δήπου ὅταν κρατήσωσι μάχῃ τῶν ἐναντίων, οὐ ῥᾴδιον εἰπεῖν ὅσην μὲν ἡδονὴν ἔχουσιν ἐν τῷ τρέψασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους, ὅσην δ' ἐν τῷ διώκειν, ὅσην δ' ἐν τῷ ἀποκτείνειν τοὺς πολεμίους, ὡς δὲ γαυροῦνται ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ, ὡς δὲ δόξαν λαμπρὰν ἀναλαμβάνουσιν, ὡς δ' εὐφραίνονται τὴν πόλιν νομίζοντες ηὐξηκέναι. ἕκαστος δέ τις προσποιεῖται καὶ τῆς βουλῆς μετεσχηκέναι καὶ πλείστους ἀπεκτονέναι, χαλεπὸν δὲ εὑρεῖν ὅπου οὐχὶ καὶ ἐπιψεύδονται, πλέονας φάσκοντες ἀπεκτονέναι ἢ ὅσοι ἂν τῷ ὄντι ἀπο-

3 δὴ om. C 5 *δοκοῦσιν* A C M: corr. Dind. § 11 = Stob. l. c. 9 *ἔπειτα* δὲ Stob. 15 *ὁ ἐν* Reuchlin: *σὺν* A C M 19 *πόλεμοι* a: *πολέμιοι* A C M 20 *συνόντες* A C M: *ἐν ταῖς* Reuchlin: *κοινοὶ ταῖς* Thalheim, sed vix credit sufficere 24 *τοὺς πολεμίους* del. Richards 25 *λαμβάνουσι* Cobet 27 *τροπῆς* cit. Thalheim

they come home, consider themselves in safety; but tyrants, when they arrive in their own city, know that they are then among the most enemies of all. And if, further, others who are stronger march 10
against the city, even if the weaker think they are in danger while they are outside the wall, yet once they come inside the fortification they all consider themselves established in safety; but the tyrant is not out of danger even when he passes inside his house, and there, indeed, he thinks he must be most of all on his guard. Then, 11
for private men there comes a rest from war both through truces and through peace; but for tyrants there is never peace with those they rule as tyrants, nor could a tyrant ever trust a truce and be confident.

"There are wars, then, that cities wage, and wars that tyrants 12
wage against those they have subjected by force. In these wars, whatever hardships the man in the cities has, the tyrant has too:[1]
for both must be under arms, be on their guard and run risks, and 13
if they suffer some harm in defeat, each feels pain at it. Up to this 14
point, then, the wars are equal; but the sweet things that those who are joined in cities have in wars against cities, these the tyrants have no longer.[2] For when cities, surely, overcome their opponents in 15
battle, it is not easy to say how much pleasure they have in routing the enemy, how much in pursuing them, how much in killing the enemy; how they exult in the deed, how they take on a brilliant reputation, how they enjoy themselves in the thought that they have increased the city. Each one claims to have had a share in the plan 16
and to have killed the most, and it is hard to find a place where they do not add lies as well, saying they have killed more than have actually died:

1. "The man in the cities" (*ho en tais polesi*) is the member of a free city, as against the tyrant. Marchant prints Reuchlin's correction; the manuscripts have *syn*, "with".

2. Marchant marks *synontes*, "being with" the cities, as corrupt and supplies *tais*, "the". Reuchlin read *en tais*, "those in the cities", as at 2.12; Thalheim *koinoi tais*, "those in common with the cities", though he doubted it was enough. The sense, citizens at war as members of their cities, is not in doubt.

θάνωσιν· οὕτω καλόν τι αὐτοῖς δοκεῖ εἶναι τὸ πολὺ νικᾶν.
17 ὁ δὲ τύραννος ὅταν ὑποπτεύσῃ καὶ αἰσθανόμενος τῷ ὄντι
ἀντιπραττομένους τινὰς ἀποκτείνῃ, οἶδεν ὅτι οὐκ αὔξει ὅλην
τὴν πόλιν, ἐπίσταταί τε ὅτι μειόνων ἄρξει, φαιδρός τε οὐ
δύναται εἶναι οὐδὲ μεγαλύνεται ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ
μειοῖ καθ' ὅσον ἂν δύνηται τὸ γεγενημένον, καὶ ἀπολογεῖται
ἅμα πράττων ὡς οὐκ ἀδικῶν πεποίηκεν. οὕτως οὐδ' αὐτῷ
18 δοκεῖ καλὰ τὰ ποιούμενα εἶναι. καὶ ὅταν ἀποθάνωσιν οὓς
ἐφοβήθη, οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον τοῦτο θαρρεῖ, ἀλλὰ φυλάττεται
ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ πρόσθεν. καὶ πόλεμον μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον
ἔχων διατελεῖ ὁ τύραννος ὢν ἐγὼ δηλῶ.

III Φιλίας δ' αὖ καταθέασαι ὡς κοινωνοῦσιν οἱ τύραννοι.
πρῶτον μὲν εἰ μέγα ἀγαθὸν ἀνθρώποις ἡ φιλία, τοῦτο
2 ἐπισκεψώμεθα. ὃς γὰρ ἂν φιλῆται δήπου ὑπό τινων,
ἡδέως μὲν τοῦτον οἱ φιλοῦντες παρόντα ὁρῶσιν, ἡδέως δ'
εὖ ποιοῦσι, ποθοῦσι δέ, ἤν που ἀπῇ, ἥδιστα δὲ πάλιν
προσιόντα δέχονται, συνήδονται δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἀγαθοῖς,
3 συνεπικουροῦσι δέ, ἐάν τι σφαλλόμενον ὁρῶσιν. οὐ μὲν
δὴ λέληθεν οὐδὲ τὰς πόλεις ὅτι ἡ φιλία μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν
⟨καὶ⟩ ἥδιστον ἀνθρώποις ἐστί· μόνους γοῦν τοὺς μοιχοὺς
νομίζουσι πολλαὶ τῶν πόλεων νηποινεὶ ἀποκτείνειν, δῆλον
ὅτι διὰ ταῦτα ὅτι λυμαντῆρας αὐτοὺς νομίζουσι τῆς τῶν
4 γυναικῶν φιλίας πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας εἶναι. ἐπεὶ ὅταν γε
ἀφροδισιασθῇ κατὰ συμφοράν τινα γυνή, οὐδὲν ἧττον τού-
του ἕνεκεν τιμῶσιν αὐτὰς οἱ ἄνδρες, ἐάνπερ ἡ φιλία δοκῇ
5 αὐταῖς ἀκήρατος διαμένειν· τοσοῦτον δέ τι ἀγαθὸν κρίνω
ἔγωγε τὸ φιλεῖσθαι εἶναι ὥστε νομίζω τῷ ὄντι αὐτόματα
τἀγαθὰ τῷ φιλουμένῳ γίγνεσθαι καὶ παρὰ θεῶν καὶ παρὰ

---

1 *παρὰ πολὺ* cit. Weiske 3 *ἀντιπράττοντας* Cobet *αὔξει* det.: *ἄξει* A C M 6 *δύναται* A 9 *τοῦτο* Iacobs: *τούτου* A M: *τότε* C corr. (*τούτων* ut vid. C pr.): *τούτῳ* Weiske: fort. *τούτους* 10 *τὸ* om. C 12 *ὡς* Ernesti: *ἃς* A C M 13 *μὲν*] *μέντοι* C, unde *μὲν τοίνυν* Kalinka 16 *ἀπίῃ* codd.: corr. Cobet 17 *ἑαυτοῦ* A C M 20 *καὶ* add. det. 21 *νηποινὴ* M: *νήποινα* C 26 *αὐτοῖς* a in mg. (Ha) § 5 = Stob. *Fl.* 49. 40 (iv, p. 313 Hense) 27 *ὥστε*] *ὡς* Stob. 28 *τἀγαθὰ* Stob.: *ἀγαθὰ* codd.

so fine a thing does a great victory seem to them. But the tyrant, 17
when he suspects, and, perceiving that some are in fact working against him, puts them to death, knows that he does not increase the city as a whole, and understands that he will rule over fewer; he cannot be cheerful or take pride in the deed, but even makes what has happened as small as he can, and while he does it he defends himself, saying that he has done it without doing injustice. So not even to himself do his deeds seem fine. And when those he feared 18
have died, he is not any more confident for that, but is on his guard still more than before. Such is the war, then, that the tyrant goes on waging, as I am showing.

"Consider, again, how tyrants share in friendship. First let us 3.1
look into whether friendship is a great good for human beings. For 2
whoever is loved by some, surely, those who love him see him with pleasure when he is present, do him good with pleasure, long for him if he is away somewhere, receive him back with the greatest pleasure when he returns, share his pleasure in his good things, and come together to his aid if they see him stumbling in anything. Nor indeed has it escaped cities that friendship is the greatest and 3
sweetest good for human beings: many cities, at any rate, have the custom of letting adulterers alone be killed with impunity, plainly because they consider them destroyers of the friendship of wives toward their husbands.[1] For when a woman has been subjected to 4
the pleasures of Aphrodite through some misfortune, their husbands honor them no less on that account, provided that their friendship seems to remain undefiled.[2] So great a good do I for my 5
part judge being loved to be that I think good things really come of their own accord to the one who is loved, both from gods and from

1. At Athens a law ascribed to Draco permitted a man to kill one he caught with his wife, mother, sister or daughter, or with a concubine kept for free children (Demosthenes 23.51, 53; Lysias 1.30–31).
2. The verb, *aphrodisiazesthai*, is formed from *ta aphrodisia*; "through some misfortune" implies that the woman did not consent. Lysias (1.32–33) says that Athenian law punished the seducer more heavily than the man who used force, because the seducer corrupts the wife's affection for her husband.

6 ἀνθρώπων· καὶ τούτου τοίνυν τοῦ κτήματος τοιούτου ὄντος
μειονεκτοῦσιν οἱ τύραννοι πάντων μάλιστα. εἰ δὲ βούλει,
7 ὦ Σιμωνίδη, εἰδέναι ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, ὧδε ἐπίσκεψαι. βε-
βαιόταται μὲν γὰρ δήπου δοκοῦσι φιλίαι εἶναι γονεῦσι πρὸς
παῖδας καὶ παισὶ πρὸς γονέας καὶ ἀδελφοῖς πρὸς ἀδελφοὺς 5
8 καὶ γυναιξὶ πρὸς ἄνδρας καὶ ἑταίροις πρὸς ἑταίρους· εἰ
τοίνυν ἐθέλεις κατανοεῖν, εὑρήσεις τοὺς μὲν ἰδιώτας ὑπὸ
τούτων μάλιστα φιλουμένους, τοὺς δὲ τυράννους πολλοὺς
μὲν παῖδας ἑαυτῶν ἀπεκτονότας, πολλοὺς δ' ὑπὸ παίδων
αὐτοὺς ἀπολωλότας, πολλοὺς δὲ ἀδελφοὺς ἐν τυραννίσιν 10
ἀλληλοφόνους γεγενημένους, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ γυναικῶν
τῶν ἑαυτῶν τυράννους διεφθαρμένους καὶ ὑπὸ ἑταίρων γε
9 τῶν μάλιστα δοκούντων φίλων εἶναι. οἵτινες οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν
φύσει πεφυκότων μάλιστα φιλεῖν καὶ νόμῳ συνηναγκασμένων
οὕτω μισοῦνται, πῶς ὑπ' ἄλλου γέ τινος οἴεσθαι χρὴ αὐτοὺς 15
φιλεῖσθαι;

IV Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ πίστεως ὅστις ἐλάχιστον μετέχει, πῶς
οὐχὶ μεγάλου ἀγαθοῦ μειονεκτεῖ; ποία μὲν γὰρ ξυνουσία
ἡδεῖα ἄνευ πίστεως τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ποία δ' ἀνδρὶ καὶ
γυναικὶ τερπνὴ ἄνευ πίστεως ὁμιλία, ποῖος δὲ θεράπων 20
2 ἡδὺς ἀπιστούμενος; καὶ τούτου τοίνυν τοῦ πιστῶς πρός
τινας ἔχειν ἐλάχιστον μέτεστι τυράννῳ· ὁπότε γε οὐδὲ
σιτίοις καὶ ποτοῖς πιστεύων διάγει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων πρὶν
ἀπάρχεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς τοὺς διακόνους πρῶτον κελεύουσιν
ἀπογεύεσθαι διὰ τὸ ἀπιστεῖν μὴ καὶ ἐν τούτοις κακόν τι 25

---

§ 7–iv. 1 *βεβαιόταται . . . μειονεκτεῖ* = Stob. l. c. 4 *γὰρ* om. Stob. *δήπου* C M et Stob.; cf. c. x. 4: om. A 5 *γονέας* Stob.: *γονεῖς* codd. 7 *τοὺς μὲν* C et Stob.: *μὲν τοὺς* A M 8 *τούτων πάντων* Stob. 9 *ἀπεκτονότας* Stob.: *ἀπεκτονηκότας* codd. *πολλοὺς*] *πολλῶν* A 10 *αὐτοὺς* om. C 12 *τυράννους* del. Cobet 14 *φύσει τε* Stobaei S M *φιλεῖσθαι* A C M et Stob.: corr. Zeune 15 *χρὴ* Stob.: *χρῆν* codd. 21–25 *καὶ . . . ἀπογεύεσθαι* = Stob. l. c. § 2 *οὐδὲ . . . πίωσιν* = Athen. iv, p. 171 e 22 *οὐδὲ* Stob.: *οὔτε* codd. et Athen. 23 *σίτοις* Stob. *καὶ ποτοῖς* Athen.: *κρατίστοις* codd.: *οὐδὲ ποτοῖς* Stob. *πρὶν*] *ἀντὶ τοῦ* Athen. (*πρὶν . . . θεοῖς* om. Stob.) 24 *τοῖς* om. Athen. *πρῶτον* om. Stob. 25 *ἀπογεύσασθαι* det.

human beings. And in this possession too, great as it is, tyrants come off worse than anyone. If you wish, Simonides, to know that I speak the truth, look into it this way. 6

"For the firmest friendships are thought, surely, to be those of parents toward children and children toward parents, of brothers toward brothers, of wives toward husbands and of comrades toward comrades. If, then, you are willing to observe, you will find that private men are loved most by these, but that many tyrants have killed their own children, many have themselves perished at the hands of their children, many brothers in tyrannies have become murderers of one another, and many tyrants have been destroyed even by their own wives, and by comrades too, those thought to be most their friends.[1] Those, then, who are so hated by those whom nature has made most apt to love them and whom law compels to it, how should one think that they are loved by anyone else?[2] 7 8 9

"Again, whoever has the least share in trust, how does he not come off worse in a great good? For what company is sweet without trust in one another, what association between husband and wife agreeable without trust, what servant sweet who is distrusted? And in this, the trusting relation toward others, a tyrant has the smallest share; seeing that he does not even live trusting his food and drink, but even of these, before offering the first portion to the gods, they order their attendants to taste first, because they distrust them, lest even in these they should 4.1 2

1. Xenophon tells such stories himself of the tyrants of Pherae in Thessaly: of Jason's brothers, Polydorus died suddenly, thought to have been killed by Polyphron, and Polyphron was then killed by Alexander, who was himself killed by his wife's brothers at her instigation (*Hellenica* 6.4.33–37).

2. "Nature" (*physis*) and "law" (*nomos*), more often set against each other in Greek argument, here work together: kinship binds by nature, marriage by law.

3 φάγωσιν ἢ πίωσιν· ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ αἱ πατρίδες τοῖς μὲν
ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις πλείστου ἄξιαι. πολῖται γὰρ δορυφοροῦσι
μὲν ἀλλήλους ἄνευ μισθοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους, δορυφοροῦσι
δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς κακούργους, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδένα τῶν πολιτῶν
4 βιαίῳ θανάτῳ ἀποθνῄσκειν. οὕτω δὲ πόρρω προεληλύθασι 5
φυλακῆς ὥστε πεποίηνται πολλοὶ νόμον τῷ μιαφόνῳ μηδὲ
τὸν συνόντα καθαρεύειν· ὥστε διὰ τὰς πατρίδας ἀσφαλῶς
5 ἕκαστος βιοτεύει τῶν πολιτῶν. τοῖς δὲ τυράννοις καὶ τοῦτο
ἔμπαλιν ἀνέστραπται. ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ τιμωρεῖν αἱ πόλεις
αὐτοῖς μεγάλως τιμῶσι τὸν ἀποκτείναντα τὸν τύραννον, καὶ 10
ἀντί γε τοῦ εἴργειν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν, ὥσπερ τοὺς τῶν ἰδιωτῶν
φονέας, ἀντὶ τούτου καὶ εἰκόνας ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἱστᾶσιν αἱ
πόλεις τῶν τοιοῦτόν τι ποιησάντων.

6 Εἰ δὲ σὺ οἴει ὡς πλείω ἔχων τῶν ἰδιωτῶν κτήματα ὁ
τύραννος διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πλείω ἀπ' αὐτῶν εὐφραίνεται, οὐδὲ 15
τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχει, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ ἀθληταὶ οὐχ
ὅταν ἰδιωτῶν γένωνται κρείττονες, τοῦτ' αὐτοὺς εὐφραίνει,
ἀλλ' ὅταν τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν ἥττους, τοῦτ' αὐτοὺς ἀνιᾷ,
οὕτω καὶ ὁ τύραννος οὐχ ὅταν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν πλείω φαίνηται
ἔχων, τότ' εὐφραίνεται, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἑτέρων τυράννων ἐλάττω 20
ἔχῃ, τούτῳ λυπεῖται· τούτους γὰρ ἀνταγωνιστὰς ἡγεῖται
7 αὑτῷ τοῦ πλούτου εἶναι. οὐδέ γε θᾶττόν ⟨τι⟩ γίγνεται τῷ
τυράννῳ ἢ τῷ ἰδιώτῃ ὧν ἐπιθυμεῖ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἰδιώτης
οἰκίας ἢ ἀγροῦ ἢ οἰκέτου ἐπιθυμεῖ, ὁ δὲ τύραννος ἢ πόλεων
ἢ χώρας πολλῆς ἢ λιμένων ἢ ἀκροπόλεων ἰσχυρῶν, ἅ ἐστι 25
πολὺ χαλεπώτερα καὶ ἐπικινδυνότερα κατεργάσασθαι τῶν
8 ἰδιωτικῶν ἐπιθυμημάτων. ἀλλὰ μέντοι καὶ πένητας ὄψει

---

1 *ἀλλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ πατρίδες* a in mg. (Ha) 2 *οἱ πολῖται* Frotscher 4–13 *τοῦ . . . πόλεις* = Stob. l. c. 5 δὲ om. Stob. 7 *ὥστε*] *ὅθεν* Stob. 9 *ἀντέ(στραπται)* a in mg. 9–10 *αὐτοῖς. αἱ πόλεις* Weiske *αὐτοῖς* del. Richter posterius *τὸν* om. C 13 *τοιοῦτό τι* C: *τοιούτω* A: *τοιοῦτο* a M: *τοῦτο* det. 18 *ἧττον* A 21 *ἤγηται* A C M: corr. det. 22 *αὐτῷ* A C §§ 7–11 *χρημάτων* = Stob. l. c. 22 *τι* add. Stob. 24 *ἢ οἰκίας* cit. Hense *οἰκίας* om. Stob. *ἀγροὺς ἢ οἰκέτας* A *πόλεως* Stob. 26 *κατεργάζεσθαι* Stob. 27 *μέντοι*] *μὴν* Stob.

eat or drink something harmful. Again, to other human beings 3
their fatherlands are worth the most. For citizens act as body-
guards for one another without pay against the slaves, and act as
bodyguards against evildoers, so that none of the citizens may
die a violent death.[1] They have gone so far in their guarding that 4
many have made a law that not even the man who keeps company
with the bloodstained is pure; so that because of their fatherlands
each of the citizens lives in safety. For tyrants, this too is turned 5
upside down. For instead of avenging them, the cities give great
honor to the man who kills the tyrant, and instead of barring him
from the temples, as they do the murderers of private men, the
cities even set up statues in the temples of those who have done
such a thing.[2]

"And if you think that because the tyrant has more possessions 6
than private men he therefore also enjoys himself more from them,
this too is not so, Simonides. Rather, just as with athletes it is not
when they prove stronger than private men that this gives them en-
joyment, but when they prove weaker than their competitors, this
pains them, so the tyrant too does not enjoy himself when he is
seen to have more than private men, but feels pain when he has
less than other tyrants; for these he considers his competitors in
wealth.[3] Nor does what he desires come to the tyrant any faster 7
than to the private man. For the private man desires a house or a
field or a servant, but the tyrant desires cities or much land or har-
bors or strong citadels, which are far harder and more dangerous
to achieve than the desires of private men. And yet you will also 8
see poor men

1. *Doryphorein*, "to carry the spear", is the verb for a bodyguard's service, and the *doryphoroi* were the bodyguards of kings and tyrants, in a tyranny usually hired; citizens, Hiero says, do it for one another unpaid.
2. The best-known tyrant-slayers' statues were those of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, who killed Hipparchus, brother of the tyrant Hippias, in 514 BC; they stood not in a temple but in the Athenian Agora.
3. Hiero turns the word *idiōtēs* to its other sense: to an athlete the *idiōtēs* is the layman, the man who does not compete.

[οὐχ] *οὕτως ὀλίγους τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ὡς πολλοὺς τῶν τυράννων. οὐ γὰρ τῷ ἀριθμῷ οὔτε τὰ πολλὰ κρίνεται οὔτε τὰ ὀλίγα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς χρήσεις· ὥστε τὰ μὲν ὑπερβάλλοντα τὰ ἱκανὰ πολλά ἐστι, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἱκανῶν ἐλλείποντα ὀλίγα.*
9 *τῷ οὖν τυράννῳ τὰ πολλαπλάσια ἧττον ἱκανά ἐστιν εἰς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα δαπανήματα ἢ τῷ ἰδιώτῃ. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἰδιώταις ἔξεστι τὰς δαπάνας συντέμνειν εἰς τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν ὅπῃ βούλονται, τοῖς δὲ τυράννοις οὐκ ἐνδέχεται. αἱ γὰρ μέγισται αὐτοῖς δαπάναι καὶ ἀναγκαιόταται εἰς τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς φυλακάς εἰσι· τὸ δὲ τούτων τι συντέμνειν ὅλεθρος δοκεῖ*
10 *εἶναι. ἔπειτα δὲ ὅσοι μὲν δύνανται ἔχειν ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαίου ὅσων δέονται, τί ἂν τούτους οἰκτίροι τις ὡς πένητας; ὅσοι δ' ἀναγκάζονται δι' ἔνδειαν κακόν τι καὶ αἰσχρὸν μηχανώμενοι ζῆν, πῶς οὐ τούτους ἀθλίους ἄν τις καὶ πένητας δικαίως*
11 *νομίζοι; οἱ τύραννοι τοίνυν ἀναγκάζονται πλεῖστα συλᾶν ἀδίκως καὶ ἱερὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπους διὰ τὸ εἰς τὰς ἀναγκαίας δαπάνας ἀεὶ προσδεῖσθαι χρημάτων. ὥσπερ γὰρ πολέμου ὄντος ἀεὶ ἀναγκάζονται στράτευμα τρέφειν ἢ ἀπολωλέναι.*

V *Χαλεπὸν δ' ἐρῶ σοι καὶ ἄλλο πάθημα, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, τῶν τυράννων. γιγνώσκουσι μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἧττον τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τοὺς ἀλκίμους τε καὶ σοφοὺς καὶ δικαίους. τούτους δ' ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄγασθαι φοβοῦνται, τοὺς μὲν ἀνδρείους, μή τι τολμήσωσι τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἕνεκεν, τοὺς δὲ σοφούς, μή τι μηχανήσωνται, τοὺς δὲ δικαίους, μὴ ἐπιθυμήσῃ τὸ πλῆθος*
2 *ὑπ' αὐτῶν προστατεῖσθαι. ὅταν δὲ τοὺς τοιούτους διὰ τὸν φόβον ὑπεξαιρῶνται, τίνες ἄλλοι αὐτοῖς καταλείπονται χρῆσθαι ἀλλ' ἢ οἱ ἄδικοί τε καὶ ἀκρατεῖς καὶ ἀνδραποδώδεις;*

---

1 *οὐχ* del. Bremi *ἰδιωτικῶν* C *ὡς πολλοὺς*] *πολλοὺς* δὲ Stob. 2 *ὀλίγα* Coppello: *ἱκανά* codd. et Stob. 5 *εἰς . . . ἢ*] *ἢ τἀναγκαῖα δαπανήματα* Stob. 6 *καὶ γὰρ τοῖς μὲν* Stob. 7 *ὅπῃ β*. om. Stob. 10 *τι* C et Stob.: om. A M 12 *ὅσων* C M: *ὅσον* A (Ha: *ὅσου* B): *ὧν* Stob. *ἂν* M et Stob.: om. A C *οἰκτ(ε)ίροι τις*] *οἰκτείροις* Stob. 15 *πλεῖστα* om. Stob.: *τὰ πλεῖστα* Richards 20–25 *γιγνώσκουσι . . . προστατεῖσθαι* = Stob. l. c. 21 *ἀλκίμους* Stob.: *κοσμίους* codd. *γε* A C *τε καὶ σοφοὺς καὶ*] *καὶ τοὺς σοφοὺς καὶ τοὺς* Stob. 26 *ὑπεξαίρωνται* codd.: corr. Schneider

as few among the private men as you will see many among the tyrants. For much and little are judged not by number but in relation to use; so that what exceeds what is sufficient is much, and what falls short of what is sufficient is little.[1] For the tyrant, then, 9
many times as much is less sufficient for his necessary expenses than for the private man. For private men may cut down their daily expenses in whatever way they wish, but for tyrants this is not possible; for their greatest and most necessary expenses go to guarding their lives, and to cut any of these seems to be ruin. Then again, 10
those who are able to have what they need by just means, why should anyone pity them as poor? But those who are compelled through want to live by contriving something bad and shameful, how would one not justly consider them wretched and poor? Now 11
tyrants are compelled to despoil a great deal, unjustly, both temples and human beings, because they are always in need of more money for their necessary expenses. For, as if there were always a war, they are compelled to maintain an army or perish.

"And I will tell you of another hard thing that tyrants suffer, Si- 5.1
monides. For they recognize the valiant and the wise and the just no less than private men do; but instead of esteeming them they fear them: the courageous, lest they dare something for the sake of freedom; the wise, lest they contrive something; and the just, lest the multitude desire to have them as its leaders. And when they 2
quietly remove such men because of their fear, whom else are they left to use but the unjust, those without self-mastery, and the slavish?

1. Marchant, following Bremi, brackets *ouch*, "not", which the manuscripts have before "so few"; without it, Hiero says that poor private men are as few as poor tyrants are many.

οἱ μὲν ἄδικοι πιστευόμενοι, διότι φοβοῦνται ὥσπερ οἱ τύραννοι τὰς πόλεις μήποτε ἐλεύθεραι γενόμεναι ἐγκρατεῖς αὐτῶν γένωνται, οἱ δ' ἀκρατεῖς τῆς εἰς τὸ παρὸν ἐξουσίας ἕνεκα, οἱ δ' ἀνδραποδώδεις, διότι οὐδ' αὐτοὶ ἀξιοῦσιν ἐλεύθεροι εἶναι. χαλεπὸν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ πάθημα ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ εἶναι, τὸ ἄλλους μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, ἄλλοις δὲ
3 χρῆσθαι ἀναγκάζεσθαι. ἔτι δὲ φιλόπολιν μὲν ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸν τύραννον εἶναι· ἄνευ γὰρ τῆς πόλεως οὔτ' ἂν σῴζεσθαι δύναιτο οὔτ' εὐδαιμονεῖν· ἡ δὲ τυραννὶς ἀναγκάζει καὶ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν πατρίσιν ἐνοχλεῖν. οὔτε γὰρ ἀλκίμους οὔτ' εὐόπλους χαίρουσι τοὺς πολίτας παρασκευάζοντες, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ξένους δεινοτέρους τῶν πολιτῶν ποιοῦντες ἥδονται μᾶλλον
4 καὶ τούτοις χρῶνται δορυφόροις. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἂν εὐετηριῶν γενομένων ἀφθονία τῶν ἀγαθῶν γίγνηται, οὐδὲ τότε συγχαίρει ὁ τύραννος. ἐνδεεστέροις γὰρ οὖσι ταπεινοτέροις αὐτοῖς οἴονται χρῆσθαι.

VI Βούλομαι δέ σοι, ἔφη, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, κἀκείνας τὰς εὐφροσύνας δηλῶσαι ὅσαις ἐγὼ χρώμενος ὅτ' ἦν ἰδιώτης, νῦν ἐπειδὴ τύραννος ἐγενόμην, αἰσθάνομαι στερόμενος αὐτῶν.
2 ἐγὼ γὰρ ξυνῆν μὲν ἡλικιώταις ἡδόμενος ἡδομένοις ἐμοί, συνῆν δὲ ἐμαυτῷ, ὁπότε ἡσυχίας ἐπιθυμήσαιμι, διῆγον δ' ἐν συμποσίοις πολλάκις μὲν μέχρι τοῦ ἐπιλαθέσθαι πάντων εἴ τι χαλεπὸν ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῳ βίῳ ἦν, πολλάκις δὲ μέχρι τοῦ ᾠδαῖς τε καὶ θαλίαις καὶ χοροῖς τὴν ψυχὴν συγκατα-
μιγνύναι, πολλάκις δὲ μέχρι κοίτης ἐπιθυμίας ἐμῆς τε καὶ
3 τῶν παρόντων. νῦν δὲ ἀπεστέρημαι μὲν τῶν ἡδομένων ἐμοὶ διὰ τὸ δούλους ἀντὶ φίλων ἔχειν τοὺς ἑταίρους, ἀπεστέρημαι δ' αὖ τοῦ ἡδέως ἐκείνοις ὁμιλεῖν διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν ἐνορᾶν εὔνοιαν ἐμοὶ παρ' αὐτῶν· μέθην δὲ καὶ ὕπνον

---

6 τὸ] *τοὺς* A 10 *ἐνοχλεῖν* scripsi, coll. *Inst.* V. iv. 34 et *Exped.* II. v. 13: *ἐγκαλεῖν* codd.: *ἐγκαλεῖσθαι ὅτι οὔτε ἀλκίμους* Nitsche *ἐνόπλους* C 12 *δυνατωτέρους* C 15 *συγχαίρει* det.: *συγχωρεῖ* A C M 25 *κοινῆς* A C M: corr, Hermann 28 *αὖ* C: *αὐτοὺς* A a (B): *αὐτὸς* M

The unjust are trusted because they fear, as the tyrants do, that the cities may some day become free and become masters of them; those without self-mastery, for the sake of license for the moment; and the slavish, because they themselves do not think they deserve to be free. This too, then, seems to me a hard thing to suffer: to think some men good, and to be compelled to use others.[1] Again, 3
the tyrant too must love his city, for without the city he could neither be kept safe nor be happy; but tyranny compels them to make trouble even for their own fatherlands. For they do not rejoice in making the citizens valiant or well armed, but take more pleasure in making the foreigners more formidable than the citizens, and these they use as bodyguards.[2] Nor indeed, if good seasons come 4
and there is an abundance of good things, does the tyrant share in the rejoicing even then; for they think that the needier the citizens are, the more submissive they will find them to use.

"I want to show you, Simonides," he said, "those enjoyments too 6.1
that I had when I was a private man and that now, since I became tyrant, I perceive I am deprived of. For I used to keep company 2
with those of my own age, taking pleasure in them as they took pleasure in me; I kept company with myself whenever I desired quiet; and I passed my time at drinking parties, often until I forgot everything hard in human life, often until I mingled my soul with songs and feasting and dances, often until I and those present desired our beds. Now I am deprived of those who take pleasure in 3
me, because I have slaves instead of friends for comrades; and I am deprived in turn of associating with them with pleasure, because I see no goodwill toward me in them; and drunkenness and sleep

1. The Greek plays on *akrateis*, men without mastery of themselves, and *enkrateis*, masters of others: the unjust fear that the cities, once free, may become their masters.

2. "Make trouble for" (*enochlein*) is Marchant's own correction; the manuscripts' *enkalein* would mean "bring charges against" their fatherlands. The "foreigners" (*xenoi*) are mercenaries; the Greek tyrant's guard was typically a hired foreign force.

4 ὁμοίως ἐνέδρᾳ φυλάττομαι. τὸ δὲ φοβεῖσθαι μὲν ὄχλον,
φοβεῖσθαι δ' ἐρημίαν, φοβεῖσθαι δὲ ἀφυλαξίαν, φοβεῖσθαι
δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς φυλάττοντας, καὶ μήτ' ἀόπλους ἔχειν
ἐθέλειν περὶ αὑτὸν μήθ' ὡπλισμένους ἡδέως θεᾶσθαι, πῶς
5 οὐκ ἀργαλέον ἐστὶ πρᾶγμα; ἔτι δὲ ξένοις μὲν μᾶλλον ἢ 5
πολίταις πιστεύειν, βαρβάροις δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ Ἕλλησιν, ἐπιθυ-
μεῖν δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐλευθέρους δούλους ἔχειν, τοὺς δὲ δούλους
ἀναγκάζεσθαι ποιεῖν ἐλευθέρους, οὐ πάντα σοι ταῦτα δοκεῖ
6 ψυχῆς ὑπὸ φόβων καταπεπληγμένης τεκμήρια εἶναι; ὅ γέ
τοι φόβος οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς ἐνὼν ταῖς ψυχαῖς λυπηρός ἐστιν, 10
ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἡδέων συμπαρακολουθῶν λυμεὼν
7 γίγνεται. εἰ δὲ καὶ σὺ πολεμικῶν ἔμπειρος εἶ, ὦ Σιμωνίδη,
καὶ ἤδη ποτὲ πολεμίᾳ φάλαγγι πλησίον ἀντετάξω, ἀνα-
μνήσθητι ποῖον μέν τινα σῖτον ᾔροῦ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ,
8 ποῖον δέ τινα ὕπνον ἐκοιμῶ. οἷα μέντοι σοὶ τότ' ἦν τὰ 15
λυπηρά, τοιαῦτά ἐστι τὰ τῶν τυράννων καὶ ἔτι δεινότερα·
οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἐναντίας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντοθεν πολεμίους
9 ὁρᾶν νομίζουσιν οἱ τύραννοι. ταῦτα δ' ἀκούσας ὁ Σιμωνίδης
ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν· Ὑπέρευ μοι δοκεῖς ἔνια λέγειν. ὁ γὰρ
πόλεμος φοβερὸν μέν, ἀλλ' ὅμως, ὦ Ἱέρων, ἡμεῖς γε ὅταν 20
ὦμεν ἐν στρατείᾳ, φύλακας προκαθιστάμενοι θαρραλέως
10 δείπνου τε καὶ ὕπνου λαγχάνομεν. καὶ ὁ Ἱέρων ἔφη· Ναὶ
μὰ Δία, ὦ Σιμωνίδη· αὐτῶν μὲν γὰρ προφυλάττουσιν οἱ
νόμοι, ὥστε περὶ ἑαυτῶν φοβοῦνται καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν· οἱ δὲ
11 τύραννοι μισθοῦ φύλακας ἔχουσιν ὥσπερ θεριστάς. καὶ 25
δεῖ μὲν δήπου τοὺς φύλακας μηδὲν οὕτω ποιεῖν δύνασθαι ὡς
πιστοὺς εἶναι· πιστὸν δὲ ἕνα πολὺ χαλεπώτερον εὑρεῖν ἢ

---

§§ 4–6 = Stob. l. c. 3 *φύλακας* Stob. *ἀόπλους* a et Stob.: *ἀνόπλους* A C M 3–4 *ἐθέλειν ἔχειν* C 4 *περὶ αὑτὸν* om. Stob. *αὐτὸν* C 5 *ἀργαλέον*] *χαλεπόν* Stob. *μὲν* om. Stob. 6 δὲ Bach: *τε* A C M: om. Stob. 9 post *φόβων* in A erasum *τε παραπεπληγμένης* Stob. 11 *συμπαρομαρτῶν λυμαντήρ ἐστιν* Stob. 16 *εἰσὶ* C (et B) 19 *ὑπὲρ εὖ* A pr. 20 *τε* A C M: corr. Iunt. 21 *στρατείᾳ* Frotscher: *στρατιᾷ* A C M; cf. *Inst.* V. ii. 19 22 *τυγχάνομεν* A in mg. (Ha)

I guard against as against an ambush. To fear the crowd, and fear 4
solitude, to fear being unguarded, and fear the very guards, to
be unwilling to have them about one unarmed and not to look
with pleasure on them armed: how is this not a grievous thing?
Again, to trust foreigners more than citizens, barbarians more 5
than Greeks, to desire to hold free men as slaves and be compelled
to make slaves free: do not all these seem to you signs of a soul
stricken by fears? Fear, surely, is not only painful in itself when 6
it is present in souls, but follows close beside all sweet things
and becomes their destroyer. If you too have experience of war, 7
Simonides, and have ever stood in line close to an enemy phalanx,
recall what kind of food you took at that time, and what kind of
sleep you slept. Such as the painful things were for you then, such 8
are the tyrants', and still more terrible; for tyrants think that they
see enemies not only in front of them but on every side."

Hearing this, Simonides took him up and said: "Some of what 9
you say seems to me exceedingly well said. For war is a fearful
thing; but all the same, Hiero, we at least, when we are on cam-
paign, post guards before us and take our share of dinner and sleep
with confidence."

And Hiero said: "Yes, by Zeus, Simonides; for the laws stand 10
guard over the guards themselves, so that they fear for themselves
as well as on your behalf. But tyrants keep guards for pay, like
reapers.[1] And guards, surely, should be able to do nothing so well 11
as be trustworthy; but one trustworthy man is much harder to find
than

1. Reapers were hired hands, taken on for the harvest for a wage and bound by nothing else.

πάνυ πολλοὺς ἐργάτας ὁποίου βούλει ἔργου, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὁπόταν χρημάτων μὲν ἕνεκα παρῶσιν οἱ φυλάττοντες, ἐξῇ δ' αὐτοῖς ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ πολὺ πλείω λαβεῖν ἀποκτείνασι τὸν τύραννον ἢ ὅσα πολὺν χρόνον φυλάττοντες
12 παρὰ τοῦ τυράννου λαμβάνουσιν. ὃ δ' ἐζήλωσας ἡμᾶς 5
ὡς τοὺς μὲν φίλους μάλιστα εὖ ποιεῖν δυνάμεθα, τοὺς δὲ ἐχθροὺς πάντων μάλιστα χειρούμεθα, οὐδὲ ταῦθ' οὕτως
13 ἔχει. φίλους μὲν γὰρ πῶς ἂν νομίσαις ποτὲ εὖ ποιεῖν, ὅταν εὖ εἰδῇς ὅτι ὁ τὰ πλεῖστα λαμβάνων παρὰ σοῦ ἥδιστ' ἂν ὡς τάχιστα ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν σου γένοιτο; ὅ τι 10
γὰρ ἄν τις λάβῃ παρὰ τυράννου, οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ἑαυτοῦ νομίζει πρὶν ἂν ἔξω τῆς τούτου ἐπικρατείας γένηται.
14 ἐχθροὺς δ' αὖ πῶς ἂν φαίης μάλιστα τοῖς τυράννοις ἐξεῖναι χειροῦσθαι, ὅταν εὖ εἰδῶσιν ὅτι ἐχθροὶ αὐτῶν εἰσι πάντες οἱ τυραννούμενοι, τούτους δὲ μήτε κατακαίνειν 15
ἅπαντας μήτε δεσμεύειν οἷόν τε ᾖ (τίνων γὰρ ἔτι ἄρξει;)
15 ἀλλ' εἰδότα ὅτι ἐχθροί εἰσι, τούτους ἅμα μὲν φυλάττεσθαι δέῃ, καὶ χρῆσθαι δ' αὐτοῖς ἀναγκάζηται; εὖ δ' ἴσθι καὶ τοῦτο, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, ὅτι καὶ οὓς τῶν πολιτῶν δεδίασι χαλεπῶς μὲν αὐτοὺς ζῶντας ὁρῶσι, χαλεπῶς δ' ἀποκτεί- 20
νουσιν· ὥσπερ γε καὶ ἵππος εἰ ἀγαθὸς μὲν εἴη, φοβερὸς δὲ μὴ ἀνήκεστόν τι ποιήσῃ, χαλεπῶς μὲν ἄν τις αὐτὸν
16 ἀποκτείναι διὰ τὴν ἀρετήν, χαλεπῶς δὲ ζῶντι χρῷτο, εὐλαβούμενος μή τι ἀνήκεστον ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἐργάσηται, καὶ τἆλλά γε κτήματα ὅσα χαλεπὰ μὲν χρήσιμα δ' ἐστίν, 25
ὁμοίως ἅπαντα λυπεῖ μὲν τοὺς κεκτημένους, λυπεῖ δὲ ἀπαλλαττομένους.

VII Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ ἤκουσεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης, εἶπεν· Ἔοικεν, ἔφη, ὦ Ἱέρων, μέγα τι εἶναι ἡ τιμή, ἧς ὀρεγόμενοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι πάντα μὲν πόνον ὑποδύονται, πάντα δὲ κίνδυνον 30

---

5 δὲ *ζηλώσας* A C M 11 *τοῦ τυράννου* C M 15 *κατακτείνειν* codd.: corr. Cobet 17 *φυλάττεσθαί τε* A M 18 *ἀναγκάζεσθαι* codd.: corr. Bahrdt 21 *γε* Reuchlin: *γὰρ* codd. 22 *μὴ . . . ποιήσῃ* del. Richter fort. *ποιήσαι*

a great many workmen for whatever work you please, especially when those who guard are there for money, and it is open to them in a short time to get much more by killing the tyrant than all they get from the tyrant for guarding him a long time.

"As for why you counted us enviable, that we are best able to do 12
good to our friends, and that we subdue our enemies more than anyone, this too is not so. For how could you ever think that you 13
do good to friends, when you know well that the one who gets the most from you would with the greatest pleasure be out of your sight as fast as he could? For whatever anyone gets from a tyrant, no one thinks anything his own until he is out of reach of his power. And again, how could you say that tyrants are most of all able to 14
subdue their enemies, when they know well that all those they rule as tyrants are their enemies, and it is not possible either to kill them all or to imprison them all (for over whom will he still rule?), but, knowing that they are enemies, he must at one and the 15
same time guard against them and is compelled to use them? And know this too, Simonides: the citizens they fear, too, they find it hard to see alive, and hard to kill; just as with a horse, if it were good but feared lest it do something past remedy, one would find it hard to kill it because of its excellence, and hard to use it while it 16
lived, being wary lest it do something past remedy in time of danger; and the other possessions too that are hard but useful, all of them alike cause pain to those who possess them, and cause pain to them when they have parted with them."

When Simonides had heard this from him, he said: "It seems, 7.1
Hiero," he said, "that honor is something great, reaching for which human beings undergo every toil, and every danger

2 ὑπομένουσι. καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὡς ἔοικε, τοσαῦτα πράγματα
ἐχούσης ὁπόσα λέγεις τῆς τυραννίδος, ὅμως προπετῶς
φέρεσθε εἰς αὐτήν, ὅπως τιμᾶσθε καὶ ὑπηρετῶσι μὲν ὑμῖν
πάντες πάντα τὰ προσταττόμενα ἀπροφασίστως, περι-
βλέπωσι δὲ πάντες, ὑπανιστῶνται δ' ἀπὸ τῶν θάκων ὁδῶν 5
τε παραχωρῶσι, γεραίρωσι δὲ καὶ λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις πάντες
οἱ παρόντες ἀεὶ ὑμᾶς· τοιαῦτα γὰρ δὴ ποιοῦσι τοῖς τυράν-
νοις οἱ ἀρχόμενοι καὶ ἄλλον ὅντιν' ἂν ἀεὶ τιμῶντες τυγχάνωσι.
3 καὶ γάρ μοι δοκεῖ, ὦ Ἱέρων, τούτῳ διαφέρειν ἀνὴρ τῶν
ἄλλων ζῴων, τῷ τιμῆς ὀρέγεσθαι. ἐπεὶ σιτίοις γε καὶ 10
ποτοῖς καὶ ὕπνοις καὶ ἀφροδισίοις πάντα ὁμοίως ἥδεσθαι
ἔοικε τὰ ζῷα· ἡ δὲ φιλοτιμία οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζῴοις
ἐμφύεται οὔτ' ἐν ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις· οἷς δ' ἄν ἐμφύῃ τιμῆς
τε καὶ ἐπαίνου ἔρως, οὗτοί εἰσιν ἤδη οἱ πλεῖστον μὲν τῶν
βοσκημάτων διαφέροντες, ἄνδρες δὲ καὶ οὐκέτι ἄνθρωποι 15
4 μόνον νομιζόμενοι. ὥστε ἐμοὶ μὲν εἰκότως δοκεῖτε ταῦτα
πάντα ὑπομένειν ἃ φέρετε ἐν τῇ τυραννίδι, ἐπείπερ τιμᾶσθε
διαφερόντως τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων. καὶ γὰρ οὐδεμία ἀνθρω-
πίνη ἡδονὴ τοῦ θείου ἐγγυτέρω δοκεῖ εἶναι ἢ ἡ περὶ τὰς
5 τιμὰς εὐφροσύνη. πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ εἶπεν ὁ Ἱέρων· Ἀλλ', 20
ὦ Σιμωνίδη, καὶ αἱ τιμαὶ τῶν τυράννων ὅμοιαι ἐμοὶ δοκοῦσιν
εἶναι οἷάπερ ἐγώ σοι τὰ ἀφροδίσια ὄντα αὐτῶν ἀπέδειξα.
6 οὔτε γὰρ αἱ μὴ ἐξ ἀντιφιλούντων ὑπουργίαι χάριτες ἡμῖν
ἐδόκουν εἶναι οὔτε τὰ ἀφροδίσια τὰ βίαια ἡδέα ἐφαίνετο.
ὡσαύτως τοίνυν οὐδὲ αἱ ὑπουργίαι ⟨αἱ⟩ ὑπὸ τῶν φοβουμένων 25
7 τιμαί εἰσι. πῶς γὰρ ἂν φαίημεν ἢ τοὺς βίᾳ ἐξανισταμένους
θάκων διὰ τὸ τιμᾶν τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας ἐξανίστασθαι, ἢ τοὺς
ὁδῶν παραχωροῦντας τοῖς κρείττοσι διὰ τὸ τιμᾶν τοὺς

---

5 *ὑπανιστῶνται δὲ θάκων* cit. Nitsche 7 *τοὺς τυράννους* Heindorf 8 *ὅντιν' ἂν* Frotscher: *ὅντινα* codd. *τυγχάνωσι* A: *τυγχάνουσι* a C M 10 *γε* Schneider: *τε* codd. 11–12 *ἔοικεν ἥδεσθαι* C 13 *ἐμφυῇ* codd. 14 *τῶν* om. C 17 post *φέρετε* del. *πάντα* A (habet B): *τῇ* om. C 19 *ἢ* om. A (add. a: habet B) 23 *ἡμῖν* om. C 25 *αἱ* add. Weiske *ὑπὸ*] *παρὰ* A in mg. 28 *ὁδοῦ*, *οῦ* in ras. C

they endure. And you too, it seems, although tyranny has as many 2
troubles as you say, nevertheless rush headlong into it, so that you may be honored, and all may serve you without excuse in all that is commanded, and all may gaze at you, and rise from their seats and make way for you in the streets, and all who are present may always pay you homage in words and deeds; for such are the things that those who are ruled do for tyrants, and for anyone else whom at any time they happen to honor. For it seems to me, Hi- 3
ero, that a man differs from the other animals in this, in reaching for honor. For in food and drink, at least, and sleep and the pleasures of Aphrodite all animals alike seem to take pleasure; but the love of honor does not grow in the animals without reason, nor in all human beings; and those in whom a love of honor and praise grows, these are by now the ones who differ most from the beasts, and are thought men, and no longer merely human beings.[1] So it 4
seems to me reasonable that you endure all these things that you bear in tyranny, since you are honored beyond other human beings. For no human pleasure seems to come nearer to the divine than the enjoyment that concerns honors."

To this Hiero said: "But, Simonides, the honors of tyrants 5
too seem to me to be like what I showed you their pleasures of Aphrodite to be. For services that do not come from those who 6
love in return did not seem to us to be favors, nor did forced pleasures of Aphrodite appear sweet. In the same way, then, services from those who are afraid are not honors either.[2] For 7
how could we say either that those who are forced to rise from their seats rise because they honor those who do them injustice, or that those who make way in the streets for the stronger make way because they honor

1. Here Simonides makes explicit the distinction the edition keeps between *anēr*, "man", and *anthrōpos*, "human being"; see the Key Words. *Philotimia* is "love of honor" (at 1.27, of a bridegroom's satisfaction, "pride"), and the "love" (*erōs*) of honor and praise that follows is the word Hiero used for love of a beloved.
2. Hiero refers back to 1.33–38.

8 ἀδικοῦντας παραχωρεῖν; καὶ δῶρά γε διδόασιν οἱ πολλοὶ τούτοις οὓς μισοῦσι, καὶ ταῦτα ὅταν μάλιστα φοβῶνται μή τι κακὸν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν πάθωσιν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οἶμαι δουλείας ἔργα εἰκότως ἂν νομίζοιτο· αἱ δὲ τιμαὶ ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσιν ἐκ
9 τῶν ἐναντίων τούτοις γίγνεσθαι. ὅταν γὰρ ἄνθρωποι ἄνδρα ἡγησάμενοι εὐεργετεῖν ἱκανὸν εἶναι, καὶ ἀπολαύειν αὐτοῦ ἀγαθὰ νομίσαντες, ἔπειτα τοῦτον ἀνὰ στόμα τε ἔχωσιν ἐπαινοῦντες, θεῶνταί τ᾽ αὐτὸν ὡς οἰκεῖον ἕκαστος ἀγαθόν, ἑκόντες τε παραχωρῶσι τούτῳ ὁδῶν καὶ θάκων ὑπανιστῶνται φιλοῦντές τε καὶ μὴ φοβούμενοι, καὶ στεφανῶσι κοινῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐεργεσίας ἕνεκα, καὶ δωρεῖσθαι ἐθέλωσιν, οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσι τιμᾶν τε τοῦτον ἀληθῶς οἳ ἂν τοιαῦτα ὑπουργήσωσι καὶ ὁ τούτων ἀξιούμενος τιμᾶσθαι τῷ ὄντι.
10 καὶ ἔγωγε τὸν μὲν οὕτω τιμώμενον μακαρίζω· αἰσθάνομαι γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπιβουλευόμενον ἀλλὰ φροντιζόμενον μή τι πάθῃ καὶ ἀφόβως καὶ ἀνεπιφθόνως καὶ ἀκινδύνως καὶ εὐδαιμόνως τὸν βίον διάγοντα· ὁ δὲ τύραννος ὡς ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων κατακεκριμένος δι᾽ ἀδικίαν ἀποθνῄσκειν, οὕτως, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, εὖ ἴσθι, καὶ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν διάγει.
11 ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα πάντα διήκουσεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης, Καὶ πῶς, ἔφη, ὦ Ἱέρων, εἰ οὕτως πονηρόν ἐστι τὸ τυραννεῖν καὶ τοῦτο σὺ ἔγνωκας, οὐχ ἁπαλλάττῃ οὕτω μεγάλου κακοῦ, ἀλλ᾽ οὔτε σὺ οὔτε ἄλλος μὲν δὴ οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἑκὼν εἶναι τυραννίδος
12 ἀφεῖτο, ὅσπερ [ἂν] ἅπαξ κτήσαιτο; Ὅτι, ἔφη, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, καὶ ταύτῃ ἀθλιώτατόν ἐστιν ἡ τυραννίς· οὐδὲ γάρ ἀπαλλαγῆναι δυνατὸν αὐτῆς ἐστι. πῶς γὰρ ἄν τίς ποτε ἐξαρκέσειε τύραννος ἢ χρήματα ἐκτίνων ὅσους ἀφείλετο ἢ δεσμοὺς ἀντιπάσχων ὅσους δὴ ἐδέσμευσεν, ἢ ὅσους κατέκανε
13 πῶς ἄν ἱκανὰς ψυχὰς ἀντιπαράσχοιτο ἀποθανουμένας; ἀλλ᾽

---

1 γε] δὲ cit. Thalheim 7 *ἔχουσιν* A 11–12 *ἐθέλωσιν οἱ αὐτοί, οὗτοι* Reuchlin 22 *οὕτω* om. C *ἀλλ᾽* om. A M 23 *ἄλλος*; *οὐ μὲν δὴ* cit. Thalheim 24 *ἂν* del. Frotscher *κτήσηται* a. 25 *καὶ* Reuchlin: *ἐν* A C M 28 *ἀντιπαράσχοι* A C M: corr. Schneider *κατέκτανε*(*ν*) A C M: corr. Dind. 29 *ἀποθανουμένας* del. Dind.

those who do them injustice? And gifts too the many give to those 8
they hate, and that when they most fear that they may suffer some harm from them. But these things, I think, would reasonably be considered the works of slavery; honors, it seems to me, come from the opposite of these. For when human beings, thinking a man able 9
to be their benefactor, and believing that they relish good things at his hands, then have him on their lips in praise, and each looks upon him as his own good, and they willingly make way for him in the streets and rise from their seats out of love and not fear, and crown him for his public excellence and beneficence, and are willing to give him gifts, these same people who render such services seem to me truly to honor him, and the man who is thought worthy of them to be honored in fact. And for my part I call the man so 10
honored blessed. For I perceive that he is not plotted against, but that people are anxious lest he suffer anything, and that he passes his life without fear, without being envied, without danger and happily; but the tyrant, Simonides, be sure of it, passes night and day as one condemned by all human beings to die for his injustice."

When Simonides had heard all this through, he said: "And how 11
is it, Hiero, if being tyrant is so bad a thing and you have recognized this, that you do not rid yourself of so great an ill, and that neither you nor anyone else ever yet willingly gave up a tyranny, once he had acquired it?"

"Because, Simonides," he said, "in this too tyranny is most 12
wretched: it is not even possible to be rid of it. For how could any tyrant ever pay back in full the money of all he despoiled, or suffer in return the bonds of all he imprisoned, or how could he provide in return lives enough to die for all he killed? But 13

εἴπερ τῳ ἄλλῳ, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, λυσιτελεῖ ἀπάγξασθαι, ἴσθι, ἔφη, ὅτι τυράννῳ ἔγωγε εὑρίσκω μάλιστα τοῦτο λυσιτελοῦν ποιῆσαι. μόνῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ οὔτε ἔχειν οὔτε καταθέσθαι τὰ κακὰ λυσιτελεῖ.

VIII Καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν νῦν, ὦ Ἱέρων, ἀθύμως ἔχειν σε πρὸς τὴν τυραννίδα οὐ θαυμάζω, ἐπείπερ ἐπιθυμῶν φιλεῖσθαι ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ἐμποδών σοι τούτου νομίζεις αὐτὴν εἶναι. ἐγὼ μέντοι ἔχειν μοι δοκῶ διδάξαι σε ὡς τὸ ἄρχειν οὐδὲν ἀποκωλύει τοῦ φιλεῖσθαι,
2 ἀλλὰ καὶ πλεονεκτεῖ γε τῆς ἰδιωτείας. ἐπισκοποῦντες δὲ αὐτὸ εἰ οὕτως ἔχει μήπω ἐκεῖνο σκοπῶμεν, εἰ διὰ το μεῖζον δύνασθαι ὁ ἄρχων καὶ χαρίζεσθαι πλείω δύναιτ' ἄν, ἀλλ' ἂν τὰ ὅμοια ποιῶσιν ὅ τε ἰδιώτης καὶ ὁ τύραννος, ἐννόει πότερος μείζω ἀπὸ τῶν ἴσων κτᾶται χάριν. ἄρξομαι δέ σοι
3 ἀπὸ τῶν μικροτάτων παραδειγμάτων. ἰδὼν γὰρ πρῶτον προσειπάτω τινὰ φιλικῶς ὅ τε ἄρχων καὶ ὁ ἰδιώτης· ἐν τούτῳ τὴν ποτέρου πρόσρησιν μᾶλλον εὐφραίνειν τὸν ἀκούσαντα νομίζεις; ἴθι δὴ ἐπαινεσάντων ἀμφότεροι τὸν αὐτόν· τὸν ποτέρου δοκεῖς ἔπαινον ἐξικνεῖσθαι μᾶλλον εἰς εὐφροσύνην; θύσας δὲ τιμησάτω ἑκάτερος· τὴν παρὰ ποτέρου
4 τιμὴν μείζονος ἄν χάριτος δοκεῖς τυγχάνειν; κάμνοντα θεραπευσάτωσαν ὁμοίως· οὐκοῦν τοῦτο σαφὲς ὅτι αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν δυνατωτάτων θεραπεῖαι καὶ χαρὰν ἐμποιοῦσι μεγίστην; δότωσαν δὴ τὰ ἴσα· οὐ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ σαφὲς ὅτι αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν δυνατωτάτων ἡμίσειαι χάριτες πλέον ἢ ὅλον τὸ παρὰ τοῦ
5 ἰδιώτου δώρημα δύνανται; ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ καὶ ἐκ θεῶν τιμή τις καὶ χάρις συμπαρέπεσθαι ἀνδρὶ ἄρχοντι. μὴ γὰρ

---

1 fort. *εὖ ἴσθι*; cf. *Inst.* I. vi. 25; *Hipparch.* ix. 8; *Inst.* I. vi. 19 adnot. 4 *λυσιτελεῖ*] requiritur fere *ἔξεστι* vel *ἐγχωρεῖ* Hartman: possis etiam *ἐνδέχεται* 8 *μοι ἔχειν* C 10 *πλεονεκτεῖ* a M: *πλεονεκτεῖν* A C: *πλεονεκτεῖν γε ποιεῖ* Reiske 14 *σοι* om. C 18 *ἀμφότεροι* Frotscheri amicus: *ἀμφοτέρων* codd. 20 *δ' ἑστιασάτω* Nitsche *παρ' ὁποτέρου* A C M: corr. Dind. 21 *ἐντυγχάνειν* C 22 et 24 *θεραπευσάτωσαν* et *δότωσαν*] vide Gautier, *La Langue de Xén.* p. 81

if it profits anyone else to hang himself, Simonides, know," he said, "that I find it profits a tyrant most of all to do so. For to him alone it profits neither to keep his ills nor to lay them down."

And Simonides took him up and said: "That you are disheart- 8.1
ened about tyranny at present, Hiero, I do not wonder, since you desire to be loved by human beings and think that it stands in your way. I think, however, that I can teach you that ruling does not at all prevent being loved, but even comes off better than the private station. In looking into whether this is so, let us not yet 2
consider whether, because he has greater power, the ruler could also grant more favors; but if the private man and the tyrant do the same things, consider which of the two gains the greater favor from equal acts. And I shall begin with the smallest examples. Suppose, first, that the ruler and the private man each see someone 3
and greet him in a friendly way: in this case whose greeting do you think gives more enjoyment to the one who hears it? Come then, let both praise the same man: whose praise do you think reaches further toward enjoyment? Let each honor someone with a sacrifice: whose honor do you think would meet with greater favor? Let 4
them attend a sick man alike: is it not clear that attentions from the most powerful also produce the greatest delight? Let them give equal gifts: is it not clear in this too that half-favors from the most powerful count for more than the whole gift from the private man? Indeed it seems to me that from the gods too a certain honor and 5
favor attend a man who rules. For not only

ὅτι καλλίονα ποιεῖ ἄνδρα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ἥδιον θεώμεθά τε ὅταν ἄρχῃ ἢ ὅταν ἰδιωτεύῃ, διαλεγόμενοί τε ἀγαλλόμεθα τοῖς προτετιμημένοις μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ
6 ἴσου ἡμῖν οὖσι. καὶ μὴν παιδικά γε, ἐν οἷς δὴ καὶ σὺ μάλιστα κατεμέμψω τὴν τυραννίδα, ἥκιστα μὲν γῆρας 5
ἄρχοντος δυσχεραίνει, ἥκιστα δ' αἶσχος, πρὸς ὃν ἂν τυγχάνῃ ὁμιλῶν, τούτου ὑπολογίζεται. αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ τετιμῆσθαι μάλιστα συνεπικοσμεῖ, ὥστε τὰ μὲν δυσχερῆ ἀφανίζειν, τὰ
7 δὲ καλὰ λαμπρότερα ἀναφαίνειν. ὁπότε γε μὴν ἐκ τῶν ἴσων ὑπουργημάτων μειζόνων χαρίτων ὑμεῖς τυγχάνετε, 10
πῶς οὐκ ἐπειδάν γε ὑμεῖς πολλαπλάσια μὲν διαπράττοντες ὠφελεῖν δύνησθε, πολλαπλάσια δὲ δωρεῖσθαι ἔχητε, ὑμᾶς
8 καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον φιλεῖσθαι τῶν ἰδιωτῶν προσήκει; καὶ ὁ Ἱέρων εὐθὺς ὑπολαβών, Ὅτι νὴ Δί', ἔφη, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἀπεχθάνονται ἄνθρωποι, ἡμᾶς πολὺ πλείω τῶν 15
9 ἰδιωτῶν ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ πραγματεύεσθαι. πρακτέον μέν γε χρήματα, εἰ μέλλομεν ἕξειν δαπανᾶν εἰς τὰ δέοντα, ἀναγ-
καστέον δὲ φυλάττειν ὅσα δεῖται φυλακῆς, κολαστέον δὲ τοὺς ἀδίκους, κωλυτέον δὲ τοὺς ὑβρίζειν βουλομένους· καὶ ὅταν γε τάχους καιρὸς παραστῇ ἢ πεζῇ ἢ κατὰ θάλατταν 20
10 ἐξορμᾶσθαι, οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέον τοῖς ῥᾳδιουργοῦσιν. ἔτι δὲ μισθοφόρων μὲν ἀνδρὶ τυράννῳ δεῖ· τούτου δὲ βαρύτερον φόρημα οὐδέν ἐστι τοῖς πολίταις. οὐ γὰρ τυράννοις ἰσοτιμίας, ἀλλὰ πλεονεξίας ἕνεκα νομίζουσι τούτους τρέφεσθαι.

IX Πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ πάλιν εἶπεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης· Ἀλλ' ὅπως 25
μὲν οὐ πάντων τούτων ἐπιμελητέον, ὦ Ἱέρων, οὐ λέγω. ἐπιμέλειαι μέντοι μοι δοκοῦσιν αἱ μὲν πάνυ πρὸς ἔχθραν
2 ἄγειν, αἱ δὲ πάνυ διὰ χαρίτων εἶναι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ διδάσκειν

---

1 *ἥδιον* a (Ha): om. A C M 6 δ' a (Ha) det.: δ' *ἂν* A C M 7 *τοῦτο* A C M: corr. Weiske 14 *δία* A pr. C 15 ante *ἄνθρωποι* add. *οἱ* a (Ha) C 17 *μέλλομεν* Weiske: *μέλλομεν* A C M 23 *ἰσοτιμίας* det.: *ἰσότιμος* A: *ἰσοτίμους* a (B Ha) C M: *ἰσότητος* Thalheim: *τιμῆς* Leoncl.: *σωτηρίας* Zeune (*salutis suae causa* Aretinus) 24 *τρέφειν* A in mg. 27–§ 5 *περαίνεσθαι* = Stob. *Fl.* 46. 109 (iv, p. 236 Hense) 27 *γε μέντοι* Stob. 28 *διδάσκειν τε* Stob.

does ruling make a man more beautiful, but we look with more pleasure at this same man when he rules than when he is a private man, and we take more pride in conversing with those honored above us than with those who are on an equal footing with us. And the beloved, surely, the very matter in which you found 6
most fault with tyranny, is least disgusted by a ruler's old age, and least takes into account the ugliness of the one with whom he happens to associate. For the very fact of having been honored adorns a man most of all, so as to make what is disagreeable disappear and make what is beautiful shine out more brilliantly. Since, then, you 7
obtain greater favors from equal services, how is it not fitting that you, when you are able to benefit others by accomplishing many times as much and have many times as much to give, should also be loved far more than private men?"

And Hiero at once took him up: "Because, by Zeus, Simonides," 8
he said, "we are compelled to busy ourselves far more than private men with the things by which human beings incur odium too. We 9
must exact money, if we are to have the means to spend on what is needed; we must compel the guarding of whatever needs guarding; we must punish the unjust and stop those who wish to commit outrage; and when the moment for speed comes, to set out by land or by sea, we must not give way to the easygoing. Again, a man 10
who is tyrant needs mercenaries; and there is no heavier burden than this for the citizens. For they think that these are maintained for tyrants not for the sake of equal honor but for the sake of coming off better."

To this Simonides spoke again: "I do not say, Hiero, that all these 9.1
things should not be cared for. But of the kinds of care, some seem to me to lead straight to enmity, and others to go entirely by way of favor. For to teach 2

ἅ ἐστι βέλτιστα καὶ τὸν κάλλιστα ταῦτα ἐξεργαζόμενον ἐπαινεῖν καὶ τιμᾶν, αὕτη μὲν ἡ ἐπιμέλεια διὰ χαρίτων γίγνεται, τὸ δὲ τὸν ἐνδεῶς τι ποιοῦντα λοιδορεῖν τε καὶ ἀναγκάζειν καὶ ζημιοῦν καὶ κολάζειν, ταῦτα δὲ ἀνάγκη δι'
3 ἀπεχθείας μᾶλλον γίγνεσθαι. ἐγὼ οὖν φημι ἀνδρὶ ἄρχοντι τὸν μὲν ἀνάγκης δεόμενον ἄλλοις προστακτέον εἶναι κολάζειν, τὸ δὲ τὰ ἆθλα ἀποδιδόναι δι' αὐτοῦ ποιητέον. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα
4 καλῶς ἔχει μαρτυρεῖ τὰ γιγνόμενα. καὶ γὰρ ὅταν χοροὺς ἡμῖν βουλώμεθα ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ἆθλα μὲν ὁ ἄρχων προτίθησιν, ἀθροίζειν δὲ αὐτοὺς προστέτακται χορηγοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις διδάσκειν καὶ ἀνάγκην προστιθέναι τοῖς ἐνδεῶς τι ποιοῦσιν. οὐκοῦν εὐθὺς ἐν τούτοις τὸ μὲν ἐπίχαρι διὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος
5 ἐγένετο, τὰ δ' ἀντίτυπα δι' ἄλλων. τί οὖν κωλύει καὶ τἆλλα τὰ πολιτικὰ οὕτως περαίνεσθαι; διῄρηνται μὲν γὰρ ἅπασαι αἱ πόλεις αἱ μὲν κατὰ φυλάς, αἱ δὲ κατὰ μόρας, αἱ δὲ κατὰ λόχους, καὶ ἄρχοντες ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ μέρει ἐφεστήκασιν.
6 οὐκοῦν εἴ τις καὶ τούτοις ὥσπερ τοῖς χοροῖς ἆθλα προτιθείη καὶ εὐοπλίας καὶ εὐταξίας καὶ ἱππικῆς καὶ ἀλκῆς τῆς ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ δικαιοσύνης τῆς ἐν συμβολαίοις, εἰκὸς καὶ ταῦτα
7 πάντα διὰ φιλονικίαν ἐντόνως ἀσκεῖσθαι. καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία ὁρμῷντό γ' ἂν θᾶττον ὅποι δέοι, τιμῆς ὀρεγόμενοι, καὶ χρήματα θᾶττον ⟨ἂν⟩ εἰσφέροιεν, ὁπότε τούτου καιρὸς εἴη, καὶ τὸ πάντων γε χρησιμώτατον, ἥκιστα δὲ εἰθισμένον διὰ φιλονικίας πράττεσθαι, ἡ γεωργία αὐτὴ ἂν πολὺ ἐπιδοίη, εἴ τις ἆθλα προτιθείη κατ' ἀγροὺς ἢ κατὰ κώμας τοῖς κάλλιστα τὴν γῆν ἐξεργαζομένοις, καὶ τοῖς εἰς τοῦτο τῶν πολιτῶν
8 ἐρρωμένως τρεπομένοις πολλὰ ἂν ἀγαθὰ περαίνοιτο· καὶ

---

1 *ἐργαζόμενον* C 6 *τὸν* Thalheim: *τὸ* codd. et Stob. 7 *αὐτοῦ* C 9 *προστίθησι* A 12 *τὰ μὲν ἐπιχάριτα* Stob. 14 *πολιτικὰ* Stob.: *κωλυτικὰ* codd. 15 *μοίρας* C M 17–§ 8 (p. seq.) *ἆθλα . . . ἐμφύονται* = Stob. l. c. *προστιθείη* A pr.: *προτεθείη* Stob. 19 *ἐν τοῖς* Stob. 20 *φιλονεικίας* Stob. *ἐντόνως* A et Stob.: *εὐτόνως* a M *νὴ Δία* Stob. 21 *γ' ἂν* Stob.: *γε* A C: *ἂν* a in mg. ante *γε* (*ἂν τό γε* Ha): *ἂν* M *ὅποι* a C M: *ὅπου* A et Stob. 22 *ἂν* Stob.: om. codd. *εἰσφέροντο* Stob. 24 *καὶ αὐτὴ* Stob.: *αὕτη* C *ἐπιδιδοίη* Richards 25 *μάλιστα* Stob.

what is best, and to praise and honor the one who carries it out most finely, this kind of care goes by way of favor; but to abuse and compel and fine and punish the one who does something deficiently, these things must rather go by way of odium. So I say that 3
a man who rules should assign to others the punishing of whoever needs compulsion, but should do the giving of prizes himself. That this is a fine arrangement, what actually happens bears witness. For when we wish choruses to compete, the ruler sets out 4
prizes, but the gathering of them is assigned to chorus-producers, and to others the teaching of them and the applying of compulsion to those who do anything deficiently. So at once in these matters what is pleasing came about through the ruler, and what is harsh through others.[1]

"What then prevents the other affairs of the city from being ac- 5
complished in this way too? For all cities are divided, some by tribes, some by regiments, some by companies, and rulers are set over each part.[2] If, then, one were to set out prizes for these too, as 6
for the choruses, for good armor and good order and horsemanship and valor in war and justice in contracts, it is likely that all these too would be practiced keenly out of rivalry. And yes, by 7
Zeus, they would set out more quickly wherever they had to, reaching for honor, and they would pay in money more quickly whenever the moment came for it; and the most useful of all things, though the least accustomed to be practiced out of rivalry, farming itself would greatly increase, if one were to set out prizes by farms or by villages for those who work the land most finely; and for those of the citizens who turned to it vigorously many good things would be accomplished; for 8

1. *Archōn*, "ruler", was also the title of the Athenian magistrates, and the picture fits Athens: there the archon assigned wealthy citizens as chorus-producers (*chorēgoi*) for the contests of the Dionysia; they recruited and paid for the choruses, and trainers taught them.
2. Tribes (*phylai*) were the civic divisions of Athens and many other cities; the *mora* was a division of the Spartan army, and the *lochos* a company.

γὰρ αἱ πρόσοδοι αὔξοιντ' ἄν, καὶ ἡ σωφροσύνη πολὺ μᾶλλον σὺν τῇ ἀσχολίᾳ συμπαρομαρτεῖ. καὶ μὴν κακουργίαι γε
9 ἧττον τοῖς ἐνεργοῖς ἐμφύονται. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐμπορία ὠφελεῖ τι πόλιν, τιμώμενος ἂν ὁ πλεῖστα τοῦτο ποιῶν καὶ ἐμπόρους ἂν πλείους ἀγείροι. εἰ δὲ φανερὸν γένοιτο ὅτι καὶ ὁ πρόσ- 5
οδόν τινα ἄλυπον ἐξευρίσκων τῇ πόλει τιμήσεται, οὐδ'
10 αὕτη ἂν ἡ σκέψις ἀργοῖτο. ὡς δὲ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, εἰ καὶ κατὰ πάντων ἐμφανὲς εἴη ὅτι ὁ ἀγαθόν τι εἰσηγούμενος οὐκ ἀτίμητος ἔσται, πολλοὺς ἂν καὶ τοῦτο ἐξορμήσειεν ἔργον ποιεῖσθαι τὸ σκοπεῖν τι ἀγαθόν. καὶ ὅταν γε πολλοῖς περὶ 10
τῶν ὠφελίμων μέλῃ, ἀνάγκη εὑρίσκεσθαί τε μᾶλλον καὶ
11 ἐπιτελεῖσθαι. εἰ δὲ φοβῇ, ὦ Ἱέρων, μὴ ἐν πολλοῖς ἆθλων προτιθεμένων πολλαὶ δαπάναι γίγνωνται, ἐννόησον ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμπορεύματα λυσιτελέστερα ἢ ὅσα ἄνθρωποι ἆθλων ὠνοῦνται. ὁρᾷς ἐν ἱππικοῖς καὶ γυμνικοῖς καὶ χορηγικοῖς 15
ἀγῶσιν ὡς μικρὰ ἆθλα μεγάλας δαπάνας καὶ πολλοὺς πόνους καὶ πολλὰς ἐπιμελείας ἐξάγεται ἀνθρώπων;

X Καὶ ὁ Ἱέρων εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μέν, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, καλῶς μοι δοκεῖς λέγειν· περὶ δὲ τῶν μισθοφόρων ἔχεις τι εἰπεῖν ὡς μὴ μισεῖσθαι δι' αὐτούς; ἢ λέγεις ὡς φιλίαν κτησάμενος 20
2 ἄρχων οὐδὲν ἔτι δεήσεται δορυφόρων; Ναὶ μὰ Δία, εἶπεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης, δεήσεται μὲν οὖν. οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι ὥσπερ ἐν ἵπποις οὕτως καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώποις τισὶν ἐγγίγνεται, ὅσῳ ἂν ἔκπλεα τὰ δέοντα ἔχωσι, τοσούτῳ ὑβριστοτέροις εἶναι.
3 τοὺς μὲν οὖν τοιούτους μᾶλλον ἂν σωφρονίζοι ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν 25
δορυφόρων φόβος. τοῖς δὲ καλοῖς κἀγαθοῖς ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ἄν μοι δοκεῖς τοσαῦτα ὠφελήματα παρασχεῖν ὅσα ἀπὸ τῶν
4 μισθοφόρων. τρέφεις μὲν γὰρ δήπου καὶ σὺ αὐτοὺς σαυτῷ φύλακας· ἤδη δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ δεσπόται βίᾳ ὑπὸ τῶν δούλων

---

2 *σὺν* del. Sauppe *συμπαρομαρτοῖ* A et Stob. 6 *ἄλυπον* om. C § 10 *ὡς . . . ἐπιτελεῖσθαι* = Stob. l. c. 8 *πάντα* Victorius, sed confert *Inst.* I. ii. 16 Thalheim 10 *τὸ* Stob. et det.: *τοῦ* A C M *σκοπεῖσθαι* Stob. *γε* om. Stob. 12 *ἐπιτελεῖσθαι* Stob.: *ἐπιμελεῖσθαι* codd. *ἐν*] *ἐπὶ* Cobet 13 *προτεθειμένων* A C M: corr. Cobet

the revenues would grow, and temperance goes along far more with being occupied. And evildoing, at any rate, grows less in those who are busy.[1] And if trade too benefits a city at all, the man 9
who does the most of it, if he were honored, would gather more traders as well. And if it became clear that the man who discovers some revenue for the city that brings no pain will be honored, this inquiry too would not lie idle.[2] To put it briefly, if it were plain in 10
all things that the man who introduces something good will not go unhonored, this too would urge many to make it their work to look for something good. And when many care about what is beneficial, it must be found and carried out the more. And if you 11
fear, Hiero, that if prizes are set out in many things there will be much expense, consider that no wares are more profitable than those that human beings buy with prizes. Do you see in the horse races and the athletic and choral contests how small prizes draw out from human beings great expenses and many toils and much care?"

And Hiero said: "In these things, Simonides, you seem to me to 10.1
speak well. But about the mercenaries, have you anything to say, so that I may not be hated because of them? Or do you say that a ruler who has won friendship will no longer need bodyguards?"

"No, by Zeus," said Simonides, "he will certainly need them. For 2
I know that just as in horses, so in some human beings too it is ingrained that the more fully they have what they need, the more given to outrage they become. Such people, then, the fear of the 3
bodyguards would rather bring to temperance. And to the beautiful and good it seems to me that you could provide as many benefits from nothing else as from the mercenaries.[3] For you too, surely, 4
maintain them as guards for yourself; and many masters too before now have, by violence, at the hands of their slaves,

1. *Sōphrosynē*, "temperance", rendered as in the Diotimos *Charmides*. *Ascholia*, "being occupied", is literally the lack of *scholē*, the "leisure" in which the dialogue itself began (1.1).
2. Xenophon's own *Ways and Means* (*Poroi*) is such an inquiry: a set of proposals for new revenues for Athens, including honors for useful traders (3.4).
3. *Kaloi kagathoi*, "the beautiful and good", the stock phrase for gentlemen, kept literally as in the Diotimos *Charmides*.

ἀπέθανον. ἐν οὖν ἂν πρῶτον τοῦτ᾽ εἴη τῶν προστεταγμένων τοῖς μισθοφόροις, ὡς πάντων ὄντας δορυφόρους τῶν πολιτῶν βοηθεῖν πᾶσιν, ἄν τι τοιοῦτον αἰσθάνωνται. γίγνονται δέ που, ὡς πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα, κακοῦργοι ἐν πόλεσιν· εἰ οὖν καὶ τούτους φυλάττειν εἶεν τεταγμένοι, καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἂν εἰδεῖεν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ὠφελούμενοι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐργάταις καὶ κτήνεσιν οὗτοι ἂν εἰκότως καὶ θάρρος καὶ ἀσφάλειαν δύναιντο μάλιστα παρέχειν, ὁμοίως μὲν τοῖς σοῖς ἰδίοις, ὁμοίως δὲ τοῖς ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν. ἱκανοί γε μήν εἰσι καὶ σχολὴν παρέχειν τοῖς πολίταις τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, τὰ ἐπίκαιρα φυλάττοντες. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ πολεμίων ἐφόδους κρυφαίας καὶ ἐξαπιναίας τίνες ἑτοιμότεροι ἢ προαισθέσθαι ἢ κωλῦσαι τῶν ἀεὶ ἐν ὅπλοις τε ὄντων καὶ συντεταγμένων; ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ τί ἐστιν ὠφελιμώτερον πολίταις μισθοφόρων; τούτους γὰρ προπονεῖν καὶ προκινδυνεύειν καὶ προφυλάττειν εἰκὸς ἑτοιμοτάτους εἶναι. τὰς ⟨δ᾽⟩ ἀγχιτέρμονας πόλεις οὐκ ἀνάγκη διὰ τοὺς ἀεὶ ἐν ὅπλοις ὄντας καὶ εἰρήνης μάλιστα ἐπιθυμεῖν; οἱ γὰρ συντεταγμένοι καὶ σῴζειν τὰ τῶν φίλων μάλιστα καὶ σφάλλειν τὰ τῶν πολεμίων δύναιντ᾽ ἄν. ὅταν γε μὴν γνῶσιν οἱ πολῖται ὅτι οὗτοι κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν ποιοῦσι τὸν μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντα, τοὺς δὲ κακουργεῖν βουλομένους κωλύουσι, βοηθοῦσι δὲ τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις, προνοοῦσι δὲ καὶ προκινδυνεύουσι τῶν πολιτῶν, πῶς οὐκ ἀνάγκη καὶ δαπανᾶν εἰς τούτους ἥδιστα; τρέφουσι γοῦν καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἐπὶ μείοσι τούτων φύλακας.

XI Χρὴ δέ, ὦ Ἱέρων, οὐδ᾽ ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων κτημάτων ὀκνεῖν δαπανᾶν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἀγαθόν. καὶ γὰρ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ τὰ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀναλούμενα μᾶλλον εἰς τὸ δέον τελεῖσθαι ἢ τὰ εἰς τὸ ἴδιον ἀνδρὶ τυράννῳ. καθ᾽ ἓν δ᾽ ἕκαστον σκο-

1 ἓν *οὖν ἂν* scripsi, coll. *Hipparch.* v. 5: *εἰ οὖν ἓν* codd.: *τί οὖν εἰ ἓν* cit. Thalheim, coll. *Oec.* vi. 12, *Conv.* ii. 3 4 *πάντες* post *εἰδεῖεν* transp. Haeberlin 10 *ἰδίων*] *ων* in ras. C: *ἰδιωτῶν* A M 12 *ἐφόδου* C 14 *τῇ* om. det. *στρατείᾳ* Leoncl. 17 δ᾽ add. det.

died. So this one thing would be the first of those assigned to the mercenaries: to help all the citizens, as the bodyguards of all, if they perceive anything of the kind. And evildoers arise somewhere in cities, as we all know; if, then, they were posted to guard against these too, the citizens would know that in this too they were benefited by them. Besides this, they could reasonably provide confidence and safety, most of all, to the workers and the flocks in the country, alike to your own and to those throughout the countryside. And they are able, moreover, to give the citizens leisure to take care of their own affairs, by guarding the strategic points. Besides this, who are readier to perceive in advance, or to prevent, the secret and sudden attacks of enemies than those who are always under arms and in formation? And again, on campaign what is more beneficial to citizens than mercenaries? For it is likely that they are the readiest to toil, to run risks and to stand guard in front of them. And must not the neighboring cities, because of the men who are always under arms, also desire peace most of all? For men in formation would be most able both to preserve what belongs to friends and to overthrow what belongs to enemies. And when the citizens recognize that these men do no harm to anyone who does no injustice, but prevent those who wish to do evil, help those who suffer injustice, and take forethought and run risks for the citizens, how must they not spend on them with the greatest pleasure? At any rate they maintain guards even privately for lesser things than these.

5 6 7 8

"You should not hesitate, Hiero, to spend even from your private possessions for the common good. For it seems to me that, for a man who is tyrant, what is laid out on the city goes to what is needed more than what is laid out on his private affairs. Let us look into it point by point.

11.1

πῶμεν. οἰκίαν πρῶτον ὑπερβαλλούσῃ δαπάνῃ κεκαλλωπισμένην μᾶλλον ἡγῇ κόσμου ἄν σοι παρέχειν ἢ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν τείχεσί τε καὶ ναοῖς καὶ παστάσι καὶ ἀγοραῖς καὶ
3 λιμέσι κατεσκευασμένην; ὅπλοις δὲ πότερον τοῖς ἐκπαγλοτάτοις αὐτὸς κατακεκοσμημένος δεινότερος ἂν φαίνοιο τοῖς
4 πολεμίοις ἢ τῆς πόλεως ὅλης εὐόπλου σοι οὔσης; προσόδους δὲ ποτέρως ἂν δοκεῖς πλείονας γίγνεσθαι, εἰ τὰ σὰ ἴδια μόνον ἐνεργὰ ἔχοις ἢ εἰ τὰ πάντων τῶν πολιτῶν με-
5 μηχανημένος εἴης ἐνεργὰ εἶναι; τὸ δὲ πάντων κάλλιστον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατον νομιζόμενον εἶναι ἐπιτήδευμα ἁρματοτροφίαν, ποτέρως ἂν δοκεῖς μᾶλλον κοσμεῖν, εἰ αὐτὸς πλεῖστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἅρματα τρέφοις τε καὶ πέμποις εἰς τὰς πανηγύρεις, ἢ εἰ ἐκ τῆς σῆς πόλεως πλεῖστοι μὲν ἱπποτρόφοι εἶεν, πλεῖστοι δ' ἀγωνίζοιντο; νικᾶν δὲ πότερα δοκεῖς κάλλιον εἶναι ἅρματος ἀρετῇ ἢ πόλεως ἧς προστατεύεις
6 εὐδαιμονίᾳ; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ προσήκειν φημὶ ἀνδρὶ τυράννῳ πρὸς ἰδιώτας ἀγωνίζεσθαι. νικῶν μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν θαυμάζοιο ἀλλὰ φθονοῖο, ὡς ἀπὸ πολλῶν οἴκων τὰς δαπάνας ποιού-
7 μενος, νικώμενος δ' ἂν πάντων μάλιστα καταγελῷο. ἀλλ' ἐγώ σοί φημι, ὦ Ἱέρων, πρὸς ἄλλους προστάτας πόλεων τὸν ἀγῶνα εἶναι, ὧν ἐὰν σὺ εὐδαιμονεστάτην τὴν πόλιν ἧς προστατεύεις παρέχῃς, κηρυχθήσῃ νικῶν τῷ καλλίστῳ καὶ
8 μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγωνίσματι. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν εὐθὺς κατειργασμένος ἂν εἴης τὸ φιλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων, οὗ δὴ σὺ ἐπιθυμῶν τυγχάνεις· ἔπειτα δὲ τὴν σὴν νίκην οὐκ ἂν εἷς εἴη ὁ ἀνακηρύττων, ἀλλὰ πάντες
9 ἄνθρωποι ὑμνοῖεν ἂν τὴν σὴν ἀρετήν. περίβλεπτος δὲ ὢν οὐχ ὑπὸ ἰδιωτῶν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν πόλεων ἀγαπῷο ἄν, καὶ θαυμαστὸς οὐκ ἰδίᾳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ δημοσίᾳ

---

1 *πρῶτον* B C: *πότερον* (sic) a M 3 *παστάσι* Ernesti, coll. *Comm.* III. viii. 9 (ubi *παραστάδας* Stob.) et Poll. VII. 122: *παραστάσι* codd. 4 *πρότερον* A 7 *εἰ* om. A (B Ha) 22 *κηρυχθήσῃ* scripsi, coll. *Conv.* viii. 37: *εὖ ἔσῃ(ι)* codd.: *σὺ ἔσει* (malim *σὺ εἴσῃ*) Nitsche: *εὖ ἴσθι ἔσει ὁ* Richards 23 *τῶν ἐν* Schneider

First, a house adorned at extravagant expense: do you think it 2
would bring you more adornment than the whole city furnished
with walls and temples and colonnades and marketplaces and
harbors? In arms, would you appear more formidable to the 3
enemy if you yourself were adorned with the most splendid, or
if your whole city were well armed? Revenues: in which way do 4
you think they would become greater, if you kept only your own
private property at work, or if you had contrived that the property
of all the citizens be at work? And the pursuit that is thought the 5
finest and most magnificent of all, the keeping of chariot teams, in
which way do you think it would adorn you more: if you yourself
kept more chariots than any of the Greeks and sent them to the
festivals, or if from your city there came the most horse-breeders
and the most competitors? And do you think it finer to win by the
excellence of a chariot, or by the happiness of the city you lead?[1]
For my part I say that it is not even fitting for a man who is tyrant 6
to compete against private men. For if you won, you would not
be admired but envied, as one who made his expenditure from
many households; and if you lost, you would be laughed at more
than anyone. But I say, Hiero, that your contest is against other 7
leaders of cities; and if, among them, you make the city you lead
the happiest, you will be proclaimed victor in the finest and most
magnificent contest among human beings.[2]

"And first, you would at once have achieved being loved by those 8
you rule, which is just what you happen to desire; then, your vic-
tory would not be proclaimed by one herald, but all human beings
would sing of your excellence.[3] Gazed at, you would be cherished 9
not by private men only but by many cities, and you would be ad-
mired not in private only but in public

1. The real Hiero did the first: his chariot won at Delphi in 470 and at Olympia in 468, victories celebrated, for Delphi, by Pindar (*Pythian* 1) and Bacchylides (ode 4), and for Olympia by Bacchylides (ode 3).
2. "You will be proclaimed victor" (*kērychthēsēi*) is Marchant's own correction, after *Symposium* 8.37; the manuscripts have *eu esēi*, "you will be well".
3. "Sing" (*hymnein*) is to celebrate in song, properly a poet's work; and the herald's proclamation of the victor was a feature of the games.

παρὰ πᾶσιν ἂν εἴης, καὶ ἐξείη μὲν ἄν σοι ἕνεκεν ἀσφαλείας, εἴ ποι βούλοιο, θεωρήσοντι πορεύεσθαι, ἐξείη δ' ἂν αὐτοῦ μένοντι τοῦτο πράττειν. ἀεὶ γὰρ ἂν παρὰ σοὶ πανήγυρις εἴη τῶν βουλομένων ἐπιδεικνύναι εἴ τίς τι σοφὸν ἢ καλὸν
11 ἢ ἀγαθὸν ἔχοι, τῶν δὲ καὶ ἐπιθυμούντων ὑπηρετεῖν. πᾶς δὲ ὁ μὲν παρὼν σύμμαχος ἂν εἴη σοι, ὁ δὲ ἀπὼν ἐπιθυμοίη ἂν ἰδεῖν σε. ὥστε οὐ μόνον φιλοῖο ἄν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐρῷο ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τοὺς καλοὺς οὐ πειρᾶν, ἀλλὰ πειρώμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀνέχεσθαι ἄν σε δέοι, φόβον δ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις
12 ἀλλ' ἄλλοις παρέχοις μή τι πάθῃς, ἑκόντας δὲ τοὺς πειθομένους ἔχοις ἂν καὶ ἐθελουσίως σου προνοοῦντας θεῷο ἄν, εἰ δέ τις κίνδυνος εἴη, οὐ συμμάχους μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ προμάχους καὶ προθύμους ὁρῴης ἄν, πολλῶν μὲν δωρεῶν ἀξιούμενος, οὐκ ἀπορῶν δὲ ὅτῳ τούτων εὐμενεῖ μεταδώσεις, πάντας μὲν συγχαίροντας ἔχων ἐπὶ τοῖς σοῖς ἀγαθοῖς,
13 πάντας δὲ πρὸ τῶν σῶν [ἰδίων] ὥσπερ τῶν ἰδίων μαχομένους. θησαυρούς γε μὴν ἔχοις ἂν πάντας τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς φίλοις πλούτους. ἀλλὰ θαρρῶν, ὦ Ἱέρων, πλούτιζε μὲν τοὺς φίλους· σαυτὸν γὰρ πλουτιεῖς· αὖξε δὲ τὴν πόλιν· σαυτῷ γὰρ δύναμιν περιάψεις· κτῶ δὲ αὐτῇ συμμάχους· . . .
14 νόμιζε δὲ τὴν μὲν πατρίδα οἶκον, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας ἑταίρους, τοὺς δὲ φίλους τέκνα σεαυτοῦ, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας ὅ τιπερ τὴν σὴν ψυχήν, καὶ τούτους πάντας πειρῶ νικᾶν εὖ ποιῶν.
15 ἐὰν γὰρ τοὺς φίλους κρατῇς εὖ ποιῶν, οὐ μή σοι δύνωνται ἀντέχειν οἱ πολέμιοι. κἂν ταῦτα πάντα ποιῇς, εὖ ἴσθι, πάντων τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις κάλλιστον καὶ μακαριώτατον κτῆμα κεκτήσει· εὐδαιμονῶν γὰρ οὐ φθονηθήσῃ.

---

2 *ποι* C corr.: *που* cet. 11 *σοι* C 13 *καὶ* del. Heindorf: *καὶ τούτους προθύμους* Richards: *καὶ προθύμους* fort. delenda 14 *εὐμενείας* C 16 *ἰδίων* del. Schneider 17 *ἔχεις* C *ἂν* a M: om. A C 19 *αὔξει* A C M: corr. Reuchlin 20 excidisse vidit *σαυτῷ γὰρ ἕξεις συμμαχοῦντας* vel sim. Weiske 27 *κεκτῆσθαι* C M: *σθαι* in ras. a (*κέκτησο* B): corr. Reuchlin fort. *φθονήσῃ*

among all; and it would be open to you, as far as safety goes, to 10
travel to see the sights wherever you wished, and open to you to
do this while staying here. For there would always be a festival
at your court of those who wish to exhibit whatever they have
that is wise or beautiful or good, and of those who desire to serve
you.[1] Everyone present would be your ally, and everyone absent 11
would desire to see you. So you would not only be loved, but hu-
man beings would be in love with you, and you would not need
to make advances to the beautiful but to bear with their advances
to you; and you would have no fear, but would cause others to
fear lest you suffer anything; you would have those who obey you 12
willing, and you would look on them taking thought for you of
their own accord; and if there were any danger, you would see not
allies only but champions in the front line, and eager ones; you
would be thought worthy of many gifts, and would be at no loss
for a well-wisher with whom to share them; you would have all
rejoicing with you in your good things, and all fighting for what
is yours as for their own. And for treasuries you would have all 13
the wealth that is with your friends. So be confident, Hiero: enrich
your friends, for you will enrich yourself; increase the city, for you
will be investing yourself with power; win allies for it . . .[2] Consider 14
your fatherland your household, the citizens your comrades, your
friends your own children, and your sons the same as your very
life; and try to outdo all these in doing them good. For if you pre- 15
vail over your friends in doing them good, your enemies will never
be able to withstand you. And if you do all these things, be sure
of it, you will possess the finest and most blessed possession of
all among human beings: for you will be happy without being en-
vied."

1. Simonides answers Hiero's complaint at 1.11–13 in its own words: seeing the sights, the festival, those who exhibit what they have.

2. Marchant marks a gap here with three points: words have been lost from the manuscripts after "allies for it". Weiske saw that something like "for you will have them as allies for yourself" has fallen out.

LATER READINGS OF THE HIERO

A book of sayings

For most of its history the *Hiero* has been read in pieces. The ancient anthologists valued it for its sentences: Athenaeus, writing about dinners, quotes Hiero on the tyrant's table and his food-tasters (1.17–20, 1.22–23, 4.2), and Stobaeus, who compiled an anthology of Greek prose and verse for his son in the fifth century AD, copied out long stretches of it, from Hiero's complaints and from Simonides' counsel alike, as the references in Marchant's apparatus show. Diogenes Laertius, listing Xenophon's works, gives it its second title, *Tyrannikos* (2.57). What they valued most was Hiero's complaint, that the tyrant cannot travel, cannot trust and cannot be loved, though Stobaeus kept Simonides' advice on prizes and honors too.

That picture had a long life without Xenophon's name attached to it. Plato draws the tyrannical man in the ninth book of the *Republic* as the one man in his city who may not travel or see the sights (IX 578c–579c), and Cicero's story of Damocles, who was set at the tyrant Dionysius' table under a sword hung by a single horsehair, makes Hiero's point about fear and pleasure in a single image (*Tusculan Disputations* 5.61–62). Neither depends on the *Hiero*; but they show that Hiero's complaint belonged to a common stock of Greek and Roman reflection on the tyrant, a stock concerned far more with the tyrant's misery than with his reform.

The tyrant and the king

The dialogue's second life began in Florence. By May 1403 the young humanist Leonardo Bruni, who had learned Greek from Manuel Chrysoloras, had finished a Latin version of it, which he dedicated to his friend Niccolò Niccoli; it is the first of Xenophon's works known to have been put into Latin, and it survives in some two hundred manuscripts. Bruni's Florence was arguing about the difference between a king and a tyrant, over the reputation of Julius Caesar and over Dante, who had put Caesar's murderers in the jaws of Lucifer; Bruni and his older friend Coluccio Salutati agreed that the two were distinguished by their title to rule and by the quality of their rule, and the *Hiero*, read straight, said the same. Its second half could be read as a lesson in how a ruler might win

the love of his subjects, and the whole as a book in favor of good monarchy.

Two of the most influential readers of the sixteenth century took different things from it. Machiavelli, explaining in the *Discourses on Livy* (II.2) why the peoples of antiquity loved liberty, says that a tyrant who enlarges his dominions benefits himself and not his city, and sends whoever wants more arguments to Xenophon's treatise on tyranny. He took from it, that is, the first half: the tyrant and the city have opposite interests. Montaigne, in the essay "De l'inequalité qui est entre nous" (*Essais* I.42), uses Hiero's complaints to show that kings are not to be envied: they cannot travel freely, they have no friends, since everyone approaches them from fear or interest, and their pleasures are dulled because everything is at their command. In his hands the tyrant's misery becomes the common burden of royalty.

That reading left its mark on some of the dialogue's titles. An English version of 1713 still called it *Hiero, or the Condition of a Tyrant*; but an edition printed at Glasgow by Robert Foulis in 1745, with the Latin version of Leunclavius, gives the Latin title *Hiero, sive de regno*, "Hiero, or on kingship", beside the Greek; an English translation of 1793, by Richard Graves, the translator of Marcus Aurelius, calls it *Hiero; on the condition of royalty*; and a German version announces "the true condition of the royal life". For such readers the *Hiero* was a mirror for princes, a short and civilized book in which a wise man tells a monarch that he will be happier if he makes his subjects prosperous, and the word *tyrannos* could be softened to fit.

Strauss: On Tyranny

Leo Strauss restored the word. He had published a first study of Xenophon in 1939, and in 1948, near the end of his years at the New School for Social Research in New York and shortly before he moved to the University of Chicago, he published *On Tyranny: An Interpretation of Xenophon's Hiero*, with a foreword by Alvin Johnson, in a series called Political Science Classics. The book was occasioned by the tyrannies of his own century. When political science was brought face to face with tyranny, he argued, it had failed to recognize it; the classics could teach it again, and the *Hiero*, as he pointed out, is the only writing of the classical period devoted explicitly to the subject.

Strauss read the dialogue as a drama, in which what is said depends on who says it, to whom, and why. Hiero is a tyrant speaking to a famous wise man who has come to his court, and Simonides is

a wise man speaking to a tyrant; each has reasons to be careful. Hiero's indictment of tyranny may be sincere, since he is, at bottom, a citizen who has lost a citizen's pleasures, but it is also the speech of a ruler who has reason to discourage a clever visitor from envying, or wanting, what he has. Simonides' praise of honor, by contrast, Strauss took as a sign of the wise man's own preference rather than his pupil's, since what Hiero had longed for was love, not honor: it is Simonides who prefers the pleasure that comes from honor to the other pleasures he names, though not honor as such to all other things. Strauss compared Simonides in Xenophon's writings to the stranger from Elea in Plato's: a foreigner who can say, in private, things that a citizen could not.

The teaching that results is what Strauss called the "tyrannical" teaching. As he read it, Xenophon held that the rule of a tyrant who listens to the counsel of the wise is, as a matter of principle, preferable to the rule of law and of elected magistrates; but that such a tyranny could hardly ever be realized, since Xenophon names no beneficent and happy tyrant who ever existed, and since even the best tyrant needs guidance by another man, lacks unquestioned authority, and needs a bodyguard more loyal to him than to the city. For all practical purposes, at least among Greeks, Xenophon and his Socrates therefore preferred the rule of law, and the tyrannical teaching had a purely theoretical meaning. Simonides' advice is the only explicit praise of tyranny Xenophon ever wrote, and he put it in the mouth of a stranger speaking privately to a tyrant; the careful reader is left to see why it is not a program.

Kojève: Tyranny and Wisdom

Strauss's old friend Alexandre Kojève answered him. Kojève, born in Moscow in 1902, had known Strauss in Berlin since the 1920s; in Paris, between 1933 and 1939, his lectures on Hegel's *Phenomenology of Spirit* had formed a generation of French philosophers; and after the war he left teaching for the French government, where he helped to shape the country's economic and European policy until his death in 1968. In 1950 he reviewed *On Tyranny* in the journal *Critique* under the title "L'action politique des philosophes", "The political action of philosophers". He accepted Strauss's account of what Xenophon meant, and said that the book mattered less for that than for the problem it raised; and on that problem, the relation of philosophy to politics, he disagreed with him.

For Kojève, reading Hegel, truth is not something the philosopher contemplates apart from the world, but something realized in history, and the philosopher who withdraws from the city has

no way of knowing that he is not mistaken. He must therefore act, or at least advise those who act. The tyrant, for his part, wants what every human being wants, to be recognized; but the recognition he can win by force is the recognition of slaves, which cannot satisfy him, and only the recognition of free and equal citizens in a state that embraces all human beings could do so. History moves toward that universal and homogeneous state, and its instruments are rulers who carry philosophical ideas into practice, usually through intellectuals who mediate between them and the philosophers; philosophers who advised tyrants directly, Kojève thought, had had no immediate effect at all. On this view the meeting of Simonides and Hiero is not a curiosity of the fifth century but the type of a relation that history has been working out ever since. When the review was revised and enlarged as "Tyrannie et sagesse", "Tyranny and Wisdom", for the French edition of 1954, *De la tyrannie*, translated by Hélène Kern, it stood beside Strauss's essay and a translation of the dialogue.

The Restatement, and after

Strauss replied in the same volume, in a "Mise au point", published in English as "Restatement on Xenophon's *Hiero*" in *What Is Political Philosophy?* (1959) and reprinted when *On Tyranny* was republished in English in 1963. It opens with the claim that a social science unable to speak of tyranny as confidently as medicine speaks of cancer cannot understand social phenomena for what they are, and it answers two critics. To Eric Voegelin, who had praised the book in *The Review of Politics* in 1949 but seemed to him to contend that the classical idea of tyranny was too narrow to cover Caesarism, the rule that follows the breakdown of a republic, Strauss defended the classical frame of reference, while granting, as he had in 1948, that present-day tyranny, which rests on the conquest of nature made possible by modern science and on the popularization of philosophic and scientific knowledge, is fundamentally different from the tyranny the classics analyzed; to recognize it as tyranny was the first step toward understanding it, not the whole of it. To Kojève he answered that philosophy is not wisdom but the quest for it; that the philosopher's satisfaction does not depend on the admiration of others, and the check his thinking needs comes from a few competent friends, not from universal recognition. If the universal and homogeneous state were ever realized, he said, there would be no escape from its universal tyrant, and its coming would be the end of philosophy on earth.

The debate had a second audience in the letters the two friends

exchanged. They wrote to each other from 1932 to 1965, and in 1991 Victor Gourevitch, a former student of Strauss, and Michael S. Roth published a new edition of *On Tyranny* that included the correspondence and restored the Restatement's last paragraph, which the American printings had dropped; it was revised and expanded in 2000, and corrected and expanded again in 2013 with a further restored paragraph. A new French edition with the letters followed in 1997. In the meantime Kojève's idea of the end of history had found a wider public: Francis Fukuyama's essay "The End of History?" (1989) and the book that grew from it drew on Kojève's reading of Hegel, and the Strauss–Kojève exchange, with its question whether the philosopher should serve the state that claims to complete history, became a much-discussed debate of twentieth-century political thought, through which the *Hiero* has found readers it would not otherwise have had.

Xenophon's readers since Strauss

Students of Xenophon have been divided by Strauss ever since. Some followed him in reading the dialogue as a careful study of the relation between wisdom and rule, in which much is said with reserve; others have rejected his method, among them the Canadian scholar Louis-André Dorion, who in a study of Strauss's reading of the *Hiero* (2021) charges him with reading beyond the text, with speaking through Xenophon's characters like a ventriloquist, and with resting on very contestable assumptions about interpretation. The most sustained alternative has come from Vivienne Gray, who in 1986 read the *Hiero* as an instance of an old Greek story pattern, the meeting of the wise man and the tyrant, of which Solon's conversation with Croesus in Herodotus is the most famous example, and who has since edited the dialogue with a commentary (*Xenophon on Government*, 2007) and read Xenophon's works together as a theory of leadership (*Xenophon's Mirror of Princes*, 2011). Gray finds irony in Xenophon, but an open and constructive irony, not one that undoes what the text says; on her reading Simonides' counsel means what it says, and the *Hiero* is a mirror of good rule held up, unusually, to a tyrant.

Other readers have looked at the dialogue's literary setting: at the historical Hiero, patron of Pindar and Bacchylides, and at the poets who praised his victories, so that Simonides' last speech, with its herald and its chariot races, can be read as a reply to the praise poetry Hiero paid for; or at the fourth-century context in which tyranny was again a live question in Sicily, under the two Dionysii of Syracuse. The Greek text itself has been edited again

since Marchant, by R. E. Doty (2003), with a new translation.

The dialogue and its readers

What the readers of the *Hiero* have disagreed about is, in the end, what the dialogue leaves open. Its first half was read for centuries as the truth about tyranny, and its second as advice to kings; Strauss taught readers to ask why a tyrant would say these things to a wise man, and why a wise man would answer as Simonides does; Kojève asked whether the wise man should advise the tyrant at all, and what both of them want. None of these questions is settled by the text. Hiero describes the tyrant's life as one of fear, and says that tyrants fear the wise; Simonides answers with honor, prizes and a well-armed city, and promises the tyrant happiness without envy; and the tyrant is not given a reply. A reader who has followed the conversation in Xenophon's own words is in a position to judge between the readings, and to notice how much each of them depends on that silence.

OUTLINE

The divisions follow the argument. References are to chapter and section, which stand in the margins of both pages of the text. Sections I–XI give Hiero's case against the tyrant's life (chapters 1–7); sections XII–XVI, Simonides' counsel (chapters 8–11).

I. The question (1.1–1.10)

1.1–1.3 Simonides, at leisure with Hiero, asks him to explain what he is likely to know better; Hiero asks what he could know better than "a man as wise as you are". How the tyrant's life and the private life differ "in enjoyments and pains for human beings": Hiero asks Simonides, still a private man, to remind him of what belongs to the private life.

1.4–1.6 Simonides' catalogue: pleasure and distress through the eyes, ears, nostrils and mouth, the pleasures of Aphrodite, the whole body's sense of cold and heat, hard and soft, light and heavy; through the soul in good and bad things; and in sleep, of which he seems to himself more ignorant.

1.7–1.10 Hiero can name no other source of pleasure for the tyrant. Simonides: the tyrant enjoys many times more and has fewer pains. Hiero: the reverse. Then why do the most capable men desire tyranny, and all count tyrants enviable? Because they judge "without having experienced both in deed".

II. The pleasures of the senses (1.11–1.25)

1.11–1.13 Sight. Private men travel to cities and festivals to see what is worth seeing; tyrants cannot leave home safely, and the spectacles brought to them are sold at a ruinous price.

1.14–1.16 Hearing. Simonides: you never lack praise and never hear abuse. Hiero: silence means ill will, and praise is suspected of flattery. Simonides grants that the sweetest praise comes from the freest men, but insists that tyrants enjoy food and drink far more.

1.17–1.20 Food. Feast days bring no increase to a table always full; satiety comes sooner to the man served much. Simonides: while the appetite lasts, costly fare gives more pleasure.

1.21–1.25 Hiero: the man who takes most pleasure in a thing is most passionately disposed to it; Simonides grants that tyrants

go to their fare with no more pleasure than private men, even with less zest. Sauces sharp, pungent and astringent are "the cravings of a soft and sickly soul". Simonides: costly odors are relished more by those who come near than by the wearer. Hiero: so with food, which delights the man who has gone short of it.

III. The pleasures of Aphrodite, and love (1.26–1.38)

1.26–1.28 Simonides: only the pleasures of Aphrodite make tyranny desirable, since the tyrant may be with whatever he sees that is most beautiful. Hiero: here, be sure of it, tyrants come off worse. A marriage into a greater family brings pride and pleasure; the tyrant, unless he marries a foreign woman, must marry beneath him. Attentions from proud women give the most enjoyment; those of slaves are not cherished, and their failings cause anger and pain.

1.29–1.30 With boys he comes off worse still, for love is least of all willing to arise in a tyrant: it takes pleasure in what is hoped for, not in what is ready to hand; the man without experience of love is without experience of the sweetest pleasures of Aphrodite.

1.31–1.34 Simonides laughs: then how is Hiero in love with Dailochus, "who is called the most beautiful"? Hiero: he desires from Dailochus only what is least fitting for a tyrant to achieve, favors given with friendship and willingly; he would rather harm himself than take them by force.

1.35–1.36 From one who loves in return, looks, questions, answers, even quarrels are sweet; to relish a beloved against his will is more like plunder than the pleasures of Aphrodite, and worse than the robber's lot.

1.37–1.38 A private man knows that his beloved's favors are freely given; a tyrant can never trust that he is loved, since those who serve from fear imitate those who love, and plots come most from those who most pretend to love him.

IV. The tyrant's advantages, and what the crowd cannot see (2.1–2.5)

2.1–2.2 Simonides: these are "quite small" things; many real men willingly come off worse in food and drink, and abstain from the pleasures of Aphrodite. The tyrant's advantages lie elsewhere: great designs swiftly accomplished, superfluities, horses, arms, finery, houses, servants, and the power to harm enemies and benefit friends.

2.3–2.5 Hiero: the crowd judges happiness by what it sees.

Tyranny displays its possessions and keeps its hardships hidden in the souls of tyrants; that the crowd is deceived is no wonder, but that Simonides and the wise (the "you" is plural), who are thought to see better with the understanding than with the eyes, are ignorant of it is a wonder.

V. Peace and war (2.6–2.18)

2.6–2.11 Tyrants have the least share in the greatest goods and the most of the greatest ills. Private men travel safely, are safe at home and inside their walls, and have truces and peace; tyrants travel armed as through enemy country, are among the most enemies in their own city, are not safe in their own house, and never have peace with those they rule.

2.12–2.18 In wars tyrant and citizen share the hardships, but not the pleasures: citizens exult in victory and boast of it; the tyrant who kills those he suspects rules over fewer, cannot take pride in the deed, and is more on his guard than before.

VI. Friendship (3.1–3.9)

3.1–3.5 Friendship is a great good: friends see, serve and welcome the loved one with pleasure; cities let adulterers be killed, as destroyers of a wife's friendship; to be loved brings good things from gods and human beings.

3.6–3.9 In this possession tyrants come off worse than anyone: private men are loved by parents, children, brothers, wives and comrades, but tyrants have killed their own children and been killed by them, brothers in tyrannies have murdered one another, and tyrants have been destroyed by their wives and their comrades.

VII. Trust, fatherland, wealth (4.1–4.11)

4.1–4.2 Trust: the tyrant does not even trust his food and drink, and has his attendants taste them first.

4.3–4.5 Fatherland: citizens guard one another without pay, and bar murderers from the temples; for the tyrant this is turned upside down, and the cities honor the man who kills him.

4.6–4.11 Wealth: the tyrant measures himself against other tyrants; his desires are harder to achieve; his necessary expenses, above all for guards, make him poorer than the private man, and compel him to despoil temples and human beings.

VIII. The good feared, the city weakened (5.1–5.4)

5.1–5.2 Tyrants fear the courageous, the wise and the just, remove them, and are left to use the unjust, those without self-mastery and the slavish.

5.3–5.4 The tyrant must love his city, yet tyranny compels him to trouble it: he arms foreigners rather than citizens, and does not share in the rejoicing at good harvests, since needy citizens are more submissive.

IX. Lost enjoyments, fear and guards (6.1–6.16)

6.1–6.3 What Hiero had as a private man: the company of those his own age, of himself, the drinking party; now slaves instead of friends, and drunkenness and sleep guarded against like an ambush.

6.4–6.8 Fear of the crowd and of solitude, of being unguarded and of the guards; trust in foreigners and barbarians; fear spoils every sweet thing, as before a battle.

6.9–6.11 Simonides: soldiers on campaign eat and sleep with confidence. Hiero: the laws stand guard over their guards, who fear for themselves as well; a tyrant's guards are hired like reapers, and could gain more by killing him.

6.12–6.16 Simonides had counted tyrants enviable for helping friends and subduing enemies. Hiero: those they benefit long to be out of their sight; their subjects are all enemies, whom they can neither kill nor do without, like a good but dangerous horse, hard to kill and hard to use.

X. Honor (7.1–7.10)

7.1–7.4 Simonides: honor is what tyrants seek; the love of honor sets men apart from the beasts, and no human pleasure comes nearer the divine than the enjoyment of honors.

7.5–7.10 Hiero: honors from those who fear are no more honors than forced pleasures of Aphrodite are sweet. The man honored freely by those he benefits is blessed, unenvied and safe; the tyrant lives as one condemned by all to die for his injustice.

XI. Why tyranny cannot be laid down (7.11–7.13)

7.11–7.13 Why, then, does no one give up a tyranny? Because no tyrant could repay what he took or suffer in return what he inflicted; if hanging profits anyone, it profits a tyrant most.

XII. Ruling and being loved (8.1–8.10)

8.1–8.7 Simonides: ruling does not prevent being loved, and comes off better than the private station; the same greeting, praise, honor, attendance or gift wins more favor from a ruler; honor adorns him even in the eyes of the beloved.

8.8–8.10 Hiero: "we" must do the things by which human beings incur odium, exacting money, compelling, punishing; a man who is tyrant needs mercenaries, and the citizens think they are kept not for the sake of equal honor but for the sake of coming off better.

XIII. Prizes and punishments (9.1–9.11)

9.1–9.4 Some kinds of care lead to enmity, others go by way of favor. A ruler should give prizes himself and leave punishment to others, as in the chorus contests.

9.5–9.11 Prizes could be set for the divisions of the city, for armor, good order, horsemanship, valor in war and justice in contracts, for farming, trade and new revenues; small prizes call out great effort.

XIV. The mercenaries (10.1–10.8)

10.1–10.8 Hiero asks about the mercenaries. Simonides: they are still needed, but they could be the bodyguards of all the citizens, guard the countryside and the strong points, meet sudden attacks and stand in front of the citizens on campaign; the citizens would then gladly pay for them.

XV. Spending on the city; the true contest (11.1–11.7)

11.1–11.5 Spend even private wealth on the city, for what a man who is tyrant lays out on it goes to what is needed: walls and temples adorn him more than a house; a well-armed city makes him more formidable than his own arms; all the citizens' property at work brings more revenue than his own; a city of horse-breeders adorns him more than his own chariots.

11.6–11.7 A tyrant should not compete against private men: if he won he would be envied, not admired, and if he lost, laughed at. His contest is against other leaders of cities, and he wins by making the city he leads the happiest.

XVI. The rewards (11.8–11.15)

11.8–11.12 He would be loved, sung of and admired; safe to travel, with a festival at his own court; human beings would be in love

with him; he would be unafraid, obeyed willingly, served and defended by all.

11.13–11.15 Be confident: enrich your friends, increase the city, win allies for it (here words are lost); consider your fatherland your household and the citizens your comrades, and outdo your friends in doing good: "you will be happy without being envied."

The Greek text. The Greek is E. C. Marchant's, from the fifth volume of his Oxford Classical Text of Xenophon, *Xenophontis Opera Omnia*, tomus V, *Opuscula* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920). The volume carries no date on its title page; the copy reproduced, in the University of Toronto library, was received there in June 1921. It is reproduced page for page and line for line: each left-hand page of this edition is one page of Marchant, with his line-ends, his capitals at the openings of speeches, his punctuation and his apparatus criticus at the foot. The words were taken from the Perseus Digital Library's digital transcription of Marchant, and every line was then checked against the photographs of the Toronto copy; where the two differ, this edition prints what Marchant printed. In his text, square brackets [ ] enclose words he believed spurious, angle brackets ⟨ ⟩ words that are not in the manuscripts and have been supplied from the indirect tradition or by conjecture, an obelus † a word he believed corrupt (2.14), and three spaced points a gap where words have been lost (11.13). His occasional misprints are reproduced as printed, such as *το* without its accent at 8.2 (p. 19, line 11).

The numbers in the margins. Marchant divides the dialogue into chapters and sections and prints the chapter number in roman figures (I–XI) where a chapter begins and the section number in arabic beside the line on which a section begins; he also numbers every fifth line of each page, because his apparatus is keyed by page and line. On these left-hand pages the section and chapter numbers stand in the left margin and the line numbers in the right, as on Marchant's own left-hand pages.

Reading the apparatus. The notes at the foot of each Greek page are Marchant's, unaltered. Entries are keyed by the line of the page, so that "5" is the fifth line; a further entry on the same line follows without repeating the key. Many entries give only a variant and its witness, as "5 δὴ om. C", "δὴ is omitted in C". Where the reading printed in the text is given, it comes first, with its witnesses, and a colon separates it from the alternatives, each followed by its witnesses. Where the text's reading is followed by a square bracket, as in "2 ὁτὲ δ' αὖ] τε καὶ Stob.", only the alternative is given. A reading followed by a scholar's name alone is that scholar's emendation; *scripsi*, "I have written", marks Marchant's own. An entry

beginning "§§" gives the extent of a passage quoted in the indirect tradition, with its place there: "§§ 1–10 Σιμωνίδης . . . λέγω = Stob. *Fl.* 49. 30 (iv, p. 305 Hense)" means that sections 1–10 are quoted in Stobaeus' anthology, as excerpt 30 of chapter 49 of the *Florilegium* in the numbering of the older editions, printed in volume IV, page 305, of Hense's edition. Three spaced points abbreviate a passage, giving only its first and last words. The spacing of the apparatus is regularized: Marchant sets a space before a colon, which is closed up here; the words and marks are his.

The witnesses. Marchant's Preface, which stands before his text, explains his choices. He based the text on photographs of three manuscripts and on the published readings of a fourth. His sigla are: A, Vaticanus 1335 (tenth or eleventh century), the foundation of the text; B, Vaticanus 1950 (fifteenth century), a copy of A; Ha, Harleianus 5724 (fifteenth or sixteenth century), also descended from A after A had been corrected; C, Mutinensis 145 (fifteenth century), whose readings he took from Kalinka's publication of 1909; and M, Marcianus 511 (thirteenth century). A small letter (a) marks a later hand in a manuscript (*manus recens*). "Codd." means the manuscripts, all of them or all those not otherwise reported, "det." the later, inferior ones (*deteriores*), and "cet." the rest. Marchant doubted Thalheim's view that all the manuscripts descend from A, because M sometimes agrees with Stobaeus against A. Most scholars of his day held that C's many peculiar readings were the guesses of its scribe; Marchant agreed that some of them were, but noted that C shares other readings with Stobaeus, and preferred, as he put it, to leave a doubtful matter in doubt.

The *Hiero* was also quoted in antiquity, and Marchant reports these quotations. Stobaeus (fifth century AD) excerpted long passages in his *Florilegium* (*Fl.*), cited from Hense's edition; his own manuscripts are cited as S, Vindobonensis lxviii (eleventh century), M, Escorialensis xc (eleventh or twelfth century), and A, Parisinus 1984 (fourteenth century), so that "Stobaei M A" means Stobaeus' manuscripts M and A, not Marchant's. Athenaeus (Athen.), the author of the *Deipnosophists*, quotes 1.17–20, 1.22–23 and 4.2; the Byzantine lexicon *Suda* (Suidas) and Diogenes Laertius (Diog. Laert.) are cited once each. The scholars named are editors and critics from the Renaissance to Marchant's own day: among them Leunclavius (Leoncl.), Stephanus, Reiske, Ernesti, Zeune, Schneider, Weiske, Jacobs (Iacobs), Bremi, Heindorf, Hermann, L. Dindorf (Dind.), Sauppe, Cobet, Hartman, Schenkl, Richards and Thalheim. Reuchlin and Victorius are the Renaissance scholars Johann Reuchlin and Pier Vettori; Aretinus

is Leonardo Bruni of Arezzo, whose Latin translation of the *Hiero* (1403) Marchant cites once; Iunt. is the Giunta edition of Xenophon (Florence, 1516).

Abbreviations. add., added; adnot., note; agnoscunt, recognize; ante, before; c., chapter; cf., compare; cit., cited; codd., the manuscripts; coll. (*collato*), comparing; *Comm.*, Xenophon's *Memorabilia* (*Commentarii*); confert, compares; coni., conjectured; *Conv.*, Xenophon's *Symposium* (*Convivium*); corr., corrected; *Cyneg.*, Xenophon's *Cynegeticus* (*On Hunting*); del., deleted; delenda, to be deleted; det., the inferior manuscripts; erasum, erased; et, and; etiam, also; ex, from; excidisse vidit, saw that something had fallen out; *Exped.*, Xenophon's *Anabasis* (*Expeditio Cyri*); fere, roughly; fort. (*fortasse*), perhaps; Frotscheri amicus, a friend of Frotscher; habet, has; Hesych., the lexicon of Hesychius; *Hipparch.*, Xenophon's *Hipparchicus* (*The Cavalry Commander*); in mg., in the margin; in ras., written over an erasure; *Inst.*, Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* (*Institutio Cyri*); l. c. (*loco citato*), in the passage cited; lemm., the heading (lemma) of an excerpt; malim, I would prefer; multa, much; non, not; *Oec.*, Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*; om., omitted; p. seq., the following page; Poll., the *Onomasticon* of Pollux; possis etiam, one might also read; post, after; posterius, the second; pr., the first hand; ras., erasure; requiritur, is required; scripsi, I have written; sed, but; sic, so (as written); Tit., title; transp., transposed; ubi, where; unde, whence; ut vid., as it seems; vel, or; vel sim., or something similar; vide, see; vix credit sufficere, hardly believes it is enough.

The English. The translation is new. It aims to be exact, with every clause answering to a clause of the Greek, and to keep the courtesy and the quiet irony of a conversation between a poet and a tyrant: Hiero's frankness, Simonides' tact and teasing, and the steady repetition of the words on which the comparison turns. The speech tags ("he said", "said Hiero") are kept where the Greek has them, even when English would drop them. Words that Marchant brackets as spurious are not translated; words added in angle brackets are translated without marking, since none of those in this volume changes the sense. Where Marchant prints a reading from the indirect tradition, the English follows it. Where Marchant's choice of reading changes the sense, a note says so; where he marks a word as corrupt, the English gives the apparent sense and a note says what he marks and what has been proposed.

Each right-hand page translates the Greek page opposite. When a sentence runs over the turn of Marchant's page, the English breaks at the nearest point English word order allows and leaves

the sentence unfinished at the foot of the page, as the Greek does. The section numbers in the margin of the English mark where each section begins.

Tyrant. Tyrannos is rendered "tyrant" throughout, one word for one word, because the dialogue is a comparison between two lives named by two words, and the reader needs to see the same comparison made each time. The Key Words of the Dialogue say more about it and about the other words that are kept consistent.

The notes. The translator's notes at the foot of the English page identify people, places and quotations; explain what the English cannot carry; and flag the places where Marchant's choice of reading changes the sense. Where a note offers an interpretation, it says so. The notes are numbered afresh on each page.

GLOSSARY OF KEY TERMS

The English words on which the argument depends, in alphabetical order, with the Greek they render and the places where they matter, by chapter and section. Where a word has a longer entry in the Key Words of the Dialogue, the Glossary says so.

achieve, *κατεργάζεσθαι* (*katergazesthai*): 1.32, 2.2, 4.7, 11.8.

admire, *θαυμάζειν* (*thaumazein*): 11.6, 11.9; elsewhere "wonder" (1.6, 2.3, 2.5, 8.1). Esteem, *ἄγασθαι* (*agasthai*): 5.1.

Aphrodite, the pleasures of, *τὰ ἀφροδίσια* (*ta aphrodisia*): 1.4, 1.26, 1.29–30, 1.36, 2.1, 7.3, 7.5–6; the verb *ἀφροδισιάζεσθαι*, 3.4. See Key Words.

be in love, *ἐρᾶν* (*eran*): 1.31, 1.33, 1.36, 11.11. See love.

beautiful and good, *καλοὶ κἀγαθοί* (*kaloi kagathoi*): 10.3.

beloved, *τὰ παιδικά* (*ta paidika*): 1.34, 1.36, 8.6 ("loves for boys", *παιδικῶν ἔρωτας*, 1.31); *ὁ ἐρώμενος* (*ho erōmenos*): 1.37. With boys, *παιδικός*: 1.29. See Key Words, "Love and friendship".

blessed, *μακάριος* (*makarios*); call blessed, *μακαρίζειν*: 7.10, 11.15.

bodyguard, *δορυφόρος* (*doryphoros*); act as bodyguard, *δορυφορεῖν*: 4.3, 5.3, 10.1–4. See Key Words, "Bodyguards and mercenaries".

care, *ἐπιμέλεια* (*epimeleia*); take care of, *ἐπιμελεῖσθαι*: 9.1–2, 9.11, 10.5. Attentions, *θεραπεῖαι* (*therapeiai*): 1.28, 8.4.

cherish, *ἀγαπᾶν* (*agapan*); what is to be cherished, *τὸ ἀγαπητόν*: 1.28, 11.9. See Key Words, "Love and friendship".

citizen, *πολίτης* (*politēs*): 4.3–4, 5.3, 6.5, 6.15, 8.10, 9.7, 10.4–8, 11.4, 11.14. See Key Words, "Private man".

come off better, *πλεονεκτεῖν* (*pleonektein*): 1.14, 8.1; coming off better, *πλεονεξία* (*pleonexia*): 8.10. See Key Words.

come off worse, *μειονεκτεῖν* (*meionektein*): 1.11, 1.14, 1.18–19, 1.27, 1.29, 2.1, 3.6, 4.1. See Key Words.

company, keep, *συνεῖναι* (*syneinai*); company, *συνουσία* (*synousia*): 4.1, 4.4, 6.2 ("to be with", of the pleasures of Aphrodite, 1.26). Associate, *ὁμιλεῖν* (*homilein*); association, *ὁμιλία*: 4.1, 6.3, 8.6.

confident, be, *θαρρεῖν* (*tharrein*); confidence, *θάρρος*: 2.11, 2.18, 6.9, 10.5, 11.13.

count enviable, *ζηλοῦν* (*zēloun*): 1.9, 6.12. See Key Words, "Envy and happiness".

differ, *διαφέρειν* (*diapherein*): 1.2–3, 1.7–8, 7.3; "surpassing", 2.2.

dishes, *ὄψα* (*opsa*): 2.1. Foods, *ἐδέσματα* (*edesmata*): 1.23.

distress, feel, *ἄχθεσθαι* (*achthesthai*): 1.4; vexed, 1.36. See Key Words, "Pleasure and enjoyment".
enjoy, enjoy oneself, *εὐφραίνεσθαι* (*euphrainesthai*); give enjoyment, *εὐφραίνειν*: 1.8, 1.15–16, 1.28–29, 2.15, 4.6, 8.3. Enjoyment, *εὐφροσύνη* (*euphrosynē*): 1.2, 1.18, 1.29, 6.1, 7.4, 8.3. See Key Words, "Pleasure and enjoyment".
enmity, *ἔχθρα* (*echthra*): 9.1. Odium, *ἀπέχθεια* (*apechtheia*): 9.2; incur odium, *ἀπεχθάνεσθαι*: 8.8. Hate, *μισεῖν* (*misein*); be hated, *μισεῖσθαι*: 1.36, 3.9, 7.8, 10.1.
envy, *φθονεῖν* (*phthonein*): 7.10, 11.6, 11.15. See Key Words, "Envy and happiness".
excellence, *ἀρετή* (*aretē*): 2.2, 6.15, 7.9, 11.5, 11.8.
exhibit, *ἐπιδείκνυσθαι* (*epideiknysthai*): 1.13; *ἐπιδεικνύναι*, 11.10.
fare, *παρασκευή* (*paraskeuē*): 1.20–21.
fatherland, *πατρίς* (*patris*): 4.3–4, 5.3, 11.14. See Key Words, "Private man".
favor, *χάρις* (*charis*); grant a favor, *χαρίζεσθαι*: 1.34, 1.37, 7.6, 8.2–7, 9.1–2. See Key Words.
fear, *φόβος* (*phobos*); fear (verb), *φοβεῖσθαι*: 1.38, 2.8, 2.18, 5.1–2, 6.4–10, 6.15, 7.6–10, 9.11, 10.3, 11.11; also *δεδιέναι*, 6.15. See Key Words.
free, *ἐλεύθερος* (*eleutheros*); freedom, *ἐλευθερία*: 1.16, 5.1–2, 6.5. See Key Words, "Private man".
friendship, *φιλία* (*philia*): 1.33, 3.1–7, 10.1. See love.
guard, *φύλαξ* (*phylax*); guard (verb), *φυλάττειν*; guarding, *φυλακή*: 2.10, 2.13, 2.18, 4.4, 4.9, 6.3–4, 6.9–11, 6.15, 8.9, 10.4–8.
happy, *εὐδαίμων* (*eudaimōn*); happiness, *εὐδαιμονία*: 2.3–4, 5.3, 7.10, 11.5–7, 11.15. See Key Words, "Envy and happiness".
hard, *χαλεπός* (*chalepos*); hardships, *τὰ χαλεπά*: 1.14, 2.4, 2.12, 5.1–2, 6.2, 6.15–16. "Hard and soft" at 1.5 renders *σκληρά*.
honor, *τιμή* (*timē*); honor (verb), *τιμᾶν*: 3.4, 4.5, 7.1–10, 8.3–6, 9.2–10; without honor, *ἄτιμος*, 1.27; equal honor, *ἰσοτιμία*, 8.10. Love of honor, *φιλοτιμία* (*philotimia*): 7.3; "pride", 1.27 (as also *μεγαλύνεσθαι*, 2.17, and *ἀγάλλεσθαι*, 8.5). See Key Words.
human being, *ἄνθρωπος* (*anthrōpos*): 1.2, 1.11, 1.13, 1.16, 1.18, 1.22, 2.3, 3.3, 4.11, 7.3, 7.10, 8.1, 8.8, 11.8, 11.11, 11.15. Man, *ἀνήρ* (*anēr*): 1.1, 1.9, 2.1 ("real men"), 5.2, 7.3, 7.9; "a man who rules", 8.5, 9.3; "a man who is tyrant", 8.10, 11.1, 11.6; husband, 3.3–4, 3.7, 4.1. See Key Words.
law, *νόμος* (*nomos*): 3.9, 4.4, 6.10. Nature, *φύσις* (*physis*): 1.22, 1.33, 3.9. See Key Words.
lead, *προστατεύειν* (*prostateuein*): 11.5, 11.7; leader, *προστάτης*: 11.7; have as leaders, *προστατεῖσθαι*: 5.1. See Key Words, "Ruler and

leader".
leisure, σχολή (*scholē*): 1.1, 10.5; being occupied, ἀσχολία (*ascholia*): 9.8.
love (noun), ἔρως (*erōs*): 1.29–31, 7.3. Love (verb), φιλεῖν (*philein*): 1.36–38, 3.2–9, 7.9, 8.1, 8.7, 11.8, 11.11; love in return, ἀντιφιλεῖν: 1.35, 7.6; love his city, φιλόπολις εἶναι, 5.3. See Key Words, "Love and friendship".
mercenaries, μισθοφόροι (*misthophoroi*): 8.10, 10.1–6. See Key Words, "Bodyguards and mercenaries".
odor, ὀσμή (*osmē*): 1.4, 1.24.
pain, λύπη (*lypē*); feel pain, λυπεῖσθαι; cause pain, λυπεῖν: 1.2, 1.5, 1.8, 1.28, 2.13, 4.6, 6.16, 9.9. Painful things, τὰ λυπηρά: 1.8, 6.6, 6.8. Pain (verb), ἀνιᾶν: 1.36, 4.6; be pained, ἀνιᾶσθαι: 1.36. See Key Words, "Pleasure and enjoyment".
passionately, ἐρωτικῶς (*erōtikōs*): 1.21.
pleasure, ἡδονή (*hēdonē*); take pleasure, ἥδεσθαι: 1.4–6, 1.17, 1.19–21, 1.27, 1.30, 1.36, 2.15, 3.2, 5.3, 6.2–3, 7.3–4. See Key Words.
praise, ἔπαινος (*epainos*); praise (verb), ἐπαινεῖν: 1.14–16, 7.3, 7.9, 8.3, 9.2.
private man, ἰδιώτης (*idiōtēs*); the private life, ὁ ἰδιωτικὸς βίος: 1.2–4, 1.7–8, 1.11, 1.17–18, 1.21, 1.27, 1.37, 2.2, 2.8–11, 3.8, 4.5–9, 5.1, 6.1, 8.2–8, 11.6, 11.9. The private station, ἰδιωτεία: 8.1. See Key Words.
relish, ἀπολαύειν (*apolauein*); ἀπόλαυσις: 1.24, 1.26, 1.30, 1.36, 7.9. See Key Words, "Pleasure and enjoyment".
ruler, ἄρχων (*archōn*); rule, ἄρχειν (*archein*); rule (noun), ἀρχή: 1.12, 2.17, 6.14, 8.1–6, 9.3–5, 10.1; those who are ruled, οἱ ἀρχόμενοι: 7.2, 11.8. "Those they rule as tyrants" renders τυραννευόμενοι, 2.11, 6.14. See Key Words, "Ruler and leader".
see the sights, θεωρεῖν (*theōrein*); sightseeing, θεωρία: 1.12, 11.10. Festival, πανήγυρις (*panēgyris*): 1.11, 11.5, 11.10; feast day, ἑορτή: 1.18. Spectacle, θέαμα (*theama*): 1.11, 1.14. Things worth seeing, ἀξιοθέατα: 1.11.
service, ὑπουργία (*hypourgia*); render service, ὑπουργεῖν: 1.37–38, 7.6, 7.9, 8.7. Serve, ὑπηρετεῖν (*hypēretein*): 1.37–38, 7.2, 11.10.
slave, δοῦλος (*doulos*): 1.28, 4.3, 6.3, 6.5, 7.8, 10.4.
sophistications, σοφίσματα (*sophismata*): 1.23.
soul, ψυχή (*psychē*): 1.5, 1.20, 1.23, 2.4, 6.2, 6.5–6; "life", 4.9, 7.12, 11.14.
stronger, κρείττων (*kreittōn*): 1.12, 2.10, 4.6, 7.7.
superfluities, τὰ περιττά (*ta peritta*): 1.19, 2.2.
sweet, ἡδύς (*hēdys*); sweetest, ἥδιστος: 1.14, 1.16, 1.30, 1.34–35, 2.14, 3.3, 4.1, 6.6, 7.6. With more pleasure, ἥδιον: 1.17, 1.21, 8.5; with

the greatest pleasure, *ἥδιστα*: 3.2, 6.13, 10.8. See Key Words, "Pleasure and enjoyment".

temperance, *σωφροσύνη* (*sōphrosynē*): 9.8; bring to temperance, *σωφρονίζειν*: 10.3.

thing to hear, *ἀκρόαμα* (*akroama*): 1.14.

trust, *πίστις* (*pistis*); trust (verb), *πιστεύειν*: 1.37, 2.11, 4.1–2, 5.2, 6.5, 6.11.

tyrant, *τύραννος* (*tyrannos*); tyranny, *τυραννίς*; be tyrant, *τυραννεῖν*; the tyrant's, *τυραννικός*. Throughout, one English word for one Greek word. See Key Words.

unjust, *ἄδικος* (*adikos*); do injustice, *ἀδικεῖν*; injustice, *ἀδικία*: 2.17, 4.11, 5.2, 7.7, 7.10, 8.9, 10.8.

wise, *σοφός* (*sophos*): 1.1, 5.1, 11.10.

wretched, *ἄθλιος* (*athlios*): 2.3, 4.10, 7.12.

NOTE ON THIS EDITION

How the volume was made

This volume contains the whole of the dialogue in Marchant's text, with a new English translation and notes. The first seven pages of Marchant, from the beginning to the second section of chapter 2, were made first, as a trial of the form and the English; the remaining eighteen, to the end of chapter 11, were made afterwards in the same way and checked in the same way.

The Greek was taken from the Perseus Digital Library's digital transcription of Marchant and cut into Marchant's lines by reading every line-end from the photographs of his page, in the Toronto copy described in the Editorial Note. The words of the transcription were then compared with the photographs line by line. On the first seven pages they agree with Marchant's print throughout. On the later pages Marchant differs from the digital text in nine places, and this edition prints what he printed: the obelus at 2.14, which the digital text omits; the space in ὅ τιπερ at 11.14; οὐχ for οὐκ at 7.11; five accents (ἄν at 7.3, 7.13 and 8.4, γάρ at 7.12, and the circumflex of ζῷων at 7.3, a misprint, since ζῴοις follows two lines later); and το without its accent at 8.2, also a misprint. The transcription does not record Marchant's capitals at the openings of speeches, or the indented first line of a chapter; these were restored from the photographs. The section and chapter numbers in the margin were placed where Marchant prints them, and the line numbers counted from the photographs. Marchant's apparatus, which the digital transcription does not include, was transcribed from the photographs.

Each part was then checked by independent reviewers. For each, two compared the Greek and the apparatus with the page photographs letter by letter, at magnifications of up to fourteen times; the English was compared with the Greek clause by clause; and every fact and reference in the notes and in the matter before and after the text was checked against its source. Each finding was examined again against the evidence before it was adopted, and every reading of the Greek that a reviewer proposed to change was looked at in the photograph first. The volume was then rebuilt.

When the whole text was done, the volume was read through as one book. Every page turn was read as a single sentence; an inde-

pendent reviewer drew up a concordance of the recurring vocabulary across all eleven chapters and read the whole for sense, omissions and cross-references; and the Introduction, the Key Words of the Dialogue, the Outline and the Glossary were rewritten from the finished translation, the essay on later readings was written, and all of them were checked by two further reviewers, one against the text and one against outside sources.

What the checks found

The first seven pages. In the Greek, one raised point that Marchant does not print, after πολλῶν at 1.13, had entered in drafting and has been removed, and the indentation of the first line has been restored. The Greek type used for the left-hand pages has no raised point and no angle brackets, and in the first proof these had silently dropped out of the page; they are now supplied. In the apparatus, the entry for p. 4, lines 23–25, reads ἦ, not ἢ, and at p. 7, line 24, Marchant prints ἐκείνη without the iota subscript that his text has; it is now reproduced as printed. The full stops missing after "Athen" (p. 4) and "Stob" (p. 5) are missing in Marchant, and are kept. A broken letter in προσδέονται (p. 5, line 10) was confirmed as ν.

In the English of those pages, eight constructions were corrected. At 1.11 "in the spectacles" goes with "come off worse", not with "reckon up"; at 1.12 what tyrants cannot leave behind is what they hold at home, not merely their property, and they fear losing their rule and their revenge "at one and the same time"; at 1.13 the performers receive in a short time what others give them in a lifetime; at 1.16 Simonides grants one thing ("this") and refuses another ("that"); at 1.18 "first" is an adverb answered by "then" at 1.19; at 1.25 the hungry man "takes his fill with delight"; and at 1.33 Hiero is in love "with obtaining" what he desires. Small words that carry weight were restored: "of all people" (1.1), "not even" (1.7), "and that" (1.9), "at least" (1.13, 1.24), "too" (1.19, where Marchant prints *kai* from Athenaeus and Stobaeus), "even" (1.22) and "far" (1.29). The verb *apolauein* had been rendered "enjoy", the word reserved for *euphrainesthai*, and is now "relish" throughout. Other renderings were brought into line with the edition's rulings: "human beings" at 1.13, "foods" at 1.23 (so that "dishes" is kept for *opsa* at 2.1), "odors" at both 1.4 and 1.24, "fare" at both 1.20 and 1.21, and "feel pain" at 1.8. At the turn from p. 4 to p. 5 the English had brought back "private men" from the following page.

In the notes on those pages, Plato's Second Letter is now cited as a letter ascribed to him; Pindar's second and third *Pythian* odes,

which are addressed to Hiero but are not clearly victory odes, are no longer cited for his victories; the citation of Diodorus is made exact; *erōtikōtata* is described as the adverb of *erōtikos*; the note on *akroama* distinguishes the classical sense from the later one; the *Suda* is said to attest the spelling, not to quote the passage; the manuscripts' reading at 1.23 is rendered by their word order; and two remarks about Simonides (1.13, 1.14) are now offered as readings.

The rest of the dialogue. In the Greek, three of Marchant's acute accents had been made grave in transcription, as the digital text has them: *ἄν* at 7.3 and 7.13 and *γάρ* at 7.12. In the apparatus, p. 13 reads "om. Stob.", with a faintly printed full stop that had been missed. The comma in "corr, Hermann" on p. 14 is Marchant's and is kept.

In the English, sixteen places were corrected in sense. At 3.6 friendship is a possession "great as it is", not "such as it is"; at 4.9 the tyrant needs many times as much; at 2.16 the soldiers "add lies as well", rather than "do not even lie"; at 5.2 the men without self-mastery are trusted for the sake of license, and at 5.4 the tyrant does not share in the rejoicing "even then"; at 6.1 "too" belongs to the enjoyments, at 6.3 Hiero now lacks those who "take" pleasure in him, and at 6.5 the soul is "stricken" by fears; at 6.12 the claim that tyrants subdue their enemies is stated as a fact, not as an ability; at 7.7 men make way for "the stronger"; at 7.10 the man honored lives "without being envied"; at 8.9 rulers "must not give way to the easygoing"; at 8.10 the citizens think mercenaries are kept "for the sake of coming off better"; at 10.2 Simonides' answer agrees that a ruler "will certainly need" bodyguards; at 11.1 both sums of money are the tyrant's; and at 11.5 Hiero would keep "more chariots than any of the Greeks". About twenty-five small words that carry weight were restored, among them the opening "But" at 2.3, "plain" (2.4), "even" (3.8, 4.2, 10.8), the second "he said" at 7.1, "yes" at 9.7, "too" (10.4), and "never" and "of all" in the last sentence of the dialogue. Several renderings were brought into line with the edition's rulings or given rulings of their own: *zēloun* is now "count enviable" at 1.9 and 6.12, so that "envy" is kept for *phthonein*, the word on which the dialogue ends; the active *euphrainein* is "give enjoyment" at 4.6; *hēdista* is "with the greatest pleasure" at 6.13; *kektētai* is "possesses" at 2.4, as the possessions are; *chalepos* is "hard" at 6.16; *homilia* is "association" and *synousia* "company"; *echthra* is "enmity" (and *apechtheia*, after the final reading, "odium"); and "those who are ruled" replaces "subjects" at 7.2. At the turn from p. 12 to p. 13 "poor men" had been car-

ried over to the following page, and a closing quotation mark was missing at the end of chapter 9.

In the notes, new notes explain Marchant's obelus at 2.14 and his own readings at 5.3 and 11.7, which change the sense. The law on adultery is now cited from Demosthenes 23.51 as well as 23.53, where the law is quoted, and with the kinswomen it also covered; Lysias is added at 3.4 for the law's view of seduction; Alexander of Pherae is said to have been killed by his wife's brothers by her plan, not merely with her help; the pairing of nature and law at 3.9 is no longer called the standing ground of obligation in Greek thought; the bodyguards (*doryphoroi*) are described as those of kings and tyrants; reapers are no longer said to have been hired by the day; the back-reference at 7.6 is now to 1.33–38; the note on choruses at 9.4 says that the picture fits Athens, rather than that it is Athenian, and the *chorēgoi* in the text are now "chorus-producers", as the note describes them; Bacchylides' fourth ode is added for Hiero's Delphic victory; and Bremi (4.8) and Weiske (11.13) are named for the observations Marchant reports. At 1.12 Plato's subject is now given as the tyrannical man.

In the Key Words, the entry on the private man had said that the tyrant "must" hold free men as slaves; at 6.5 he desires to, and is compelled to make slaves free. Simonides is no longer placed at Syracuse, which the dialogue does not name; Plato is said to use the same words as Xenophon, not to draw the same lines; and the private man is no longer glossed as the "private citizen", here or in the note at 1.2.

The final reading. No word was lost or repeated at any of the twenty-four page turns. The concordance found renderings that had drifted, most of them between the first seven pages and the rest. "Yes, by Zeus" had been reduced to "by Zeus" at 1.10, 1.16 and 1.20; the perfect of *ktasthai* had been rendered "hold", "have" and "acquired" at 1.12, 6.16 and 11.15, where elsewhere it is "possess"; *adikein* was "wronged" at 1.12, where everywhere else it is "do injustice"; *phoberon* was "danger" at 1.12, the word kept for *kindynos*; *chalepos* was "harshest" at 1.14; *tharrein* was "take heart" at 11.13, which lost Simonides' answer to Hiero's complaint that a tyrant can never "be confident" (2.11, 2.18); and "all men" at 1.9 supplied a word for men where the Greek has none. All are now aligned. In six places one English word had come to stand for two Greek words, and the second now has its own: "feast days" for *heortai* (1.18), so that "festival" is kept for *panēgyris*; "care" for *epimeleia* (9.1–2, 9.11, 10.5), so that "attentions" is kept for *therapeia* (1.28, 8.4); "odium" for *apechtheia* and its verb (8.8, 9.2), so

that "hated" is kept for *misein*; "agreeable" for *terpnos* (4.1); "esteem" for *agasthai* (5.1); and "destroyer" for *lymeōn* (6.6). At 8.10 "for tyrants" had been attached to "equal honor" instead of to the keeping of mercenaries; at 5.4 "their subjects" supplied a word the Greek does not have, and now reads "the citizens"; small words were restored at 3.7, 5.1, 8.4 and 10.7, and the referents made clear at 1.37, 8.5 and 11.7. A note now explains why *philotimia* is "pride" at 1.27 and "love of honor" at 7.3, and the note at 11.10 quotes the text's own words.

The rebuilt matter. The provisional Introduction of the first seven pages was replaced, not extended. Its account of the first chapter survives, corrected; its statement that the volume contained only the first chapter, its three points on what a reader should watch, which concerned the first chapter alone, and its remark that the chapter "ends where it becomes most personal" were struck. The checks of the new matter found that it had said the word "tyrant" disappears from chapter 8, where it occurs at 8.2 and 8.10; that it had reversed the pairing at 7.6 (forced pleasures of Aphrodite are not sweet, as services from fear are not honors); that it had given Hiero "sauces", which the text does not mention, and made him ask at 1.3 for the "pleasures" of the private life rather than for what belongs to it; that it had called the words in angle brackets Marchant's own additions, when none of them is; that it had made the happiest city Hiero's prize rather than the means of his victory (11.5–7); and that it had given 11.6 as the last appearance of the private man, which is 11.9. Quotations were brought into exact agreement with the English, the account of Xenophon's works now names the *Hellenica*, and the Glossary's places were corrected (*syneinai* at 4.4, not 3.4; the pains of 1.36 belong to *anian*). The Introduction now also tells the reader that the meeting is Xenophon's invention, why tyranny was a living question when he wrote, and that Simonides never speaks of law.

In the essay on later readings, the checks found that it had misreported Strauss on Simonides' praise of honor, which Strauss took as the wise man's own preference, not as advice tailored to the tyrant; that it had put in the book of 1948 a sentence about medicine and cancer that opens the Restatement; that it had made Strauss say the philosopher needs the recognition of the few, where he says that the philosopher's satisfaction does not depend on recognition at all; that it had made Kojève's philosopher the tyrant's direct adviser, where Kojève thought such advice had had no immediate effect; and that it had misdated the restoration of the Restatement's omitted paragraphs. A quotation from Kojève that

could not be traced to his published text was removed. The essay had also overstated the eighteenth century's softening of the word "tyrant" (an English version of 1713 is called *Hiero, or the Condition of a Tyrant*), the number of manuscripts of Bruni's translation (some two hundred, not hundreds), Victor Gourevitch's studies (with Strauss, not with both men) and Louis-André Dorion's criticism, which is now given in his own terms; and it had omitted Athenaeus' quotation of 4.2, as had the Editorial Note.

What remains to be done

The apparatus is Marchant's alone. It has not been collated against the manuscripts, and readings proposed since 1920 are not reported, including those of R. E. Doty's edition of 2003. The checks described above were made by independent reviewers working from the same files and page images; the volume has not been read by a specialist outside the project, and a reader who finds an error is asked to report it.