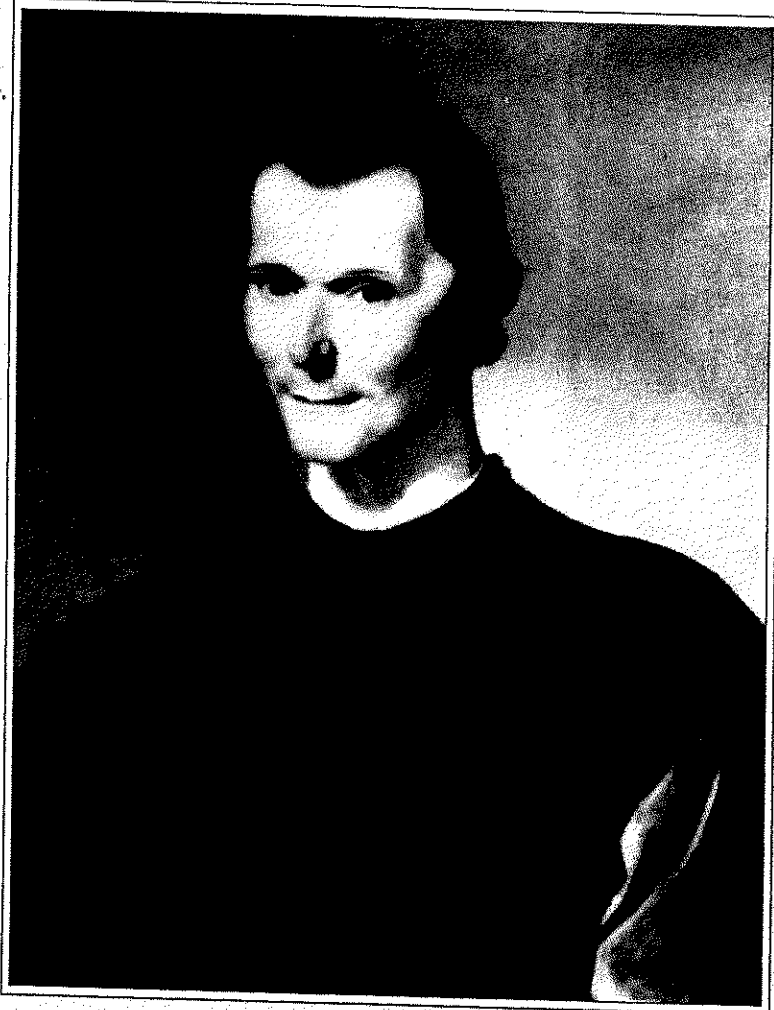


NICCOLÒ MACHIAVELLI

The Qualities of the Prince



NICCOLÒ MACHIAVELLI (1469–1527) was an aristocrat whose fortunes wavered according to the shifts in power in Florence. Renaissance Italy was a collection of powerful city-states, which were sometimes volatile and unstable. When Florence's famed Medici princes were returned to power in 1512 after eighteen years of banishment, Machiavelli did not fare well. He was suspected of crimes against the state and imprisoned. Even though he was not guilty, he had to learn to support himself as a writer instead of continuing his career in civil service.

His works often contrast two forces: luck (one's fortune) and character (one's virtues). His own character outlasted his bad luck in regard to the Medicis, and he was returned to a position of responsibility. *The Prince* (1513), his most celebrated work, was a general treatise on the qualities the prince (that is, ruler) must have to maintain his power. In a more particular way, it was directed at the Medicis to encourage them to save Italy from the predatory incursions of France and Spain, whose troops were nibbling at the crumbling Italian principalities and who would, in time, control much of Italy.

The chapters presented here contain the core of the philosophy for which Machiavelli became famous. His instructions to the prince are curiously devoid of any high-sounding moralizing or any encouragement to be good as a matter of principle. Instead, Machiavelli recommends a very practical course of action for the prince: secure power by direct and effective means. It may be that Machiavelli fully expects that the prince will use his power for good ends—certainly he does not recommend tyranny. But he also supports using questionable means to achieve the final end of becoming

From *The Prince*. Translated by Peter Bondanella and Mark Musa.

and remaining the prince. Although Machiavelli recognizes that there is often a conflict between the ends and the means used to achieve them, he does not fret over the possible problems that may accompany the use of "unpleasant" means, such as punishment of upstarts, or the use of repression, imprisonment, and torture.

Through the years Machiavelli's view of human nature has come under criticism for its cynicism. For instance, he suggests that a morally good person would not remain long in any high office because that person would have to compete with the mass of people, who, he says, are basically bad. Machiavelli constantly tells us that he is describing the world as it really is, not as it should be. Perhaps Machiavelli is correct, but people have long condemned the way he approves of cunning, deceit, and outright lying as means of staying in power.

The contrast between Machiavelli's writings and Lao-tzu's opinions in the *Tao-te Ching* is instructive. Lao-tzu's advice issues from a detached view of a universal ruler; Machiavelli's advice is very personal, embodying a set of directives for a specific prince. Machiavelli expounds upon a litany of actions that must be taken; Lao-tzu, on the other hand, advises that judicious inaction will produce the best results.

Machiavelli's Rhetoric

Machiavelli's approach is less poetic and more pragmatic than Lao-tzu's. Whereas Lao-tzu's tone is almost biblical, Machiavelli's is that of a how-to book, relevant to a particular time and a particular place. Yet, like Lao-tzu, Machiavelli is brief and to the point. Each segment of the discussion is terse and economical.

Machiavelli announces his primary point clearly, refers to historical precedents to support his point, and then explains why his position is the best one by appealing to both common sense and historical experience. When he suspects the reader will not share his view wholeheartedly, he suggests an alternate argument and then explains why it is wrong. This is a very forceful way of presenting one's views. It gives the appearance of fairness and thoroughness—and, as we learn from reading Machiavelli, he is very much concerned with appearances. His method also gives his work fullness, a quality that makes us forget how brief it really is.

Another of his rhetorical methods is to discuss opposite pairings, including both sides of an issue. From the first he explores a number of oppositions—the art of war and the art of life, liberality and stinginess, cruelty and clemency, the fox and the lion. The

method may seem simple, but it is important because it employs two of the basic techniques of rhetoric—comparison and contrast.

The aphorism is another of Machiavelli's rhetorical weapons. An aphorism is a saying—a concise statement of a principle—that has been accepted as true. Familiar examples are "A penny saved is a penny earned" and "There is no fool like an old fool." Machiavelli tells us: "A man who wishes to make a vocation of being good at all times will come to ruin among so many who are not good."

Such definite statements have several important qualities. One is that they are pithy: they seem to say a great deal in a few words. Another is that they appear to contain a great deal of wisdom, in part because they are delivered with such certainty, and in part because they have the ring of other aphorisms that we accept as true. Because they sound like aphorisms, they gain a claim to (unsubstantiated) truth, and we tend to accept them much more readily than perhaps we should. This may be why the speeches of contemporary politicians (modern versions of the prince) are often sprinkled with such expressions and illustrates why Machiavelli's rhetorical technique is still reliable, still effective, and still worth studying.

PREREADING QUESTIONS: WHAT TO READ FOR

The following prereading questions may help you anticipate key issues in the discussion of Niccolò Machiavelli's "The Qualities of the Prince." Keeping them in mind during your first reading of the selection should help focus your attention.

- Why does Machiavelli praise skill in warfare in his opening pages? How does that skill aid a prince?
- Is it better for a prince to be loved or to be feared?

The Qualities of the Prince

A Prince's Duty Concerning Military Matters

A prince, therefore, must not have any other object nor any other thought, nor must he take anything as his profession but war, its institutions, and its discipline; because that is the only profession

which befits one who commands; and it is of such importance that not only does it maintain those who were born princes, but many times it enables men of private station to rise to that position; and, on the other hand, it is evident that when princes have given more thought to personal luxuries than to arms, they have lost their state. And the first way to lose it is to neglect this art; and the way to acquire it is to be well versed in this art.

Francesco Sforza¹ became Duke of Milan from being a private citizen because he was armed; his sons, since they avoided the inconveniences of arms, became private citizens after having been dukes. For, among the other bad effects it causes, being disarmed makes you despised; this is one of those infamies a prince should guard himself against, as will be treated below: for between an armed and an unarmed man there is no comparison whatsoever, and it is not reasonable for an armed man to obey an unarmed man willingly, nor that an unarmed man should be safe among armed servants; since, when the former is suspicious and the latter are contemptuous, it is impossible for them to work well together. And therefore, a prince who does not understand military matters, besides the other misfortunes already noted, cannot be esteemed by his own soldiers, nor can he trust them.

He must, therefore, never raise his thought from this exercise of war, and in peacetime he must train himself more than in time of war; this can be done in two ways: one by action, the other by the mind. And as far as actions are concerned, besides keeping his soldiers well disciplined and trained, he must always be out hunting, and must accustom his body to hardships in this manner; and he must also learn the nature of the terrain, and know how mountains slope, how valleys open, how plains lie, and understand the nature of rivers and swamps; and he should devote much attention to such activities. Such knowledge is useful in two ways: first, one learns to know one's own country and can better understand how to defend it; second, with the knowledge and experience of the terrain, one can easily comprehend the characteristics of any other terrain that is necessary to explore for the first time; for the hills, valleys, plains, rivers, and swamps of Tuscany,² for instance, have certain similarities to those of other provinces; so that by knowing the lay of the land in one province one can easily understand it in others. And a prince who lacks this ability lacks the most important quality in a

¹Francesco Sforza (1401–1466) Became duke of Milan in 1450. He was, like most of Machiavelli's examples, a skilled diplomat and soldier. His court was a model of Renaissance scholarship and achievement.

²Tuscany Florence is in the region of Italy known as Tuscany.

leader; because this skill teaches you to find the enemy, choose a campsite, lead troops, organize them for battle, and besiege towns to your own advantage.

Philopoemon, Prince of the Achaeans,³ among the other praises given to him by writers, is praised because in peacetime he thought of nothing except the means of waging war; and when he was out in the country with his friends, he often stopped and reasoned with them: "If the enemy were on that hilltop and we were here with our army, which of the two of us would have the advantage? How could we attack them without breaking formation? If we wanted to retreat, how could we do this? If they were to retreat, how could we pursue them?" And he proposed to them, as they rode along, all the contingencies that can occur in an army; he heard their opinions, expressed his own, and backed it up with arguments; so that, because of these continuous deliberations, when leading his troops no unforeseen incident could arise for which he did not have the remedy.

But as for the exercise of the mind, the prince must read histories and in them study the deeds of great men; he must see how they conducted themselves in wars; he must examine the reasons for their victories and for their defeats in order to avoid the latter and to imitate the former; and above all else he must do as some distinguished man before him has done, who elected to imitate someone who had been praised and honored before him, and always keep in mind his deeds and actions; just as it is reported that Alexander the Great imitated Achilles; Caesar, Alexander; Scipio, Cyrus.⁴ And anyone who reads the life of Cyrus written by Xenophon then realizes how important in the life of Scipio that imitation was to his glory and how much, in purity, goodness, humanity, and generosity, Scipio conformed to those characteristics of Cyrus that Xenophon had written about.

Such methods as these a wise prince must follow, and never in peaceful times must he be idle; but he must turn them diligently to

³Philopoemon (252?–182 B.C.), Prince of the Achaeans Philopoemon, from the city-state of Megalopolis, was a Greek general noted for skillful diplomacy. He led the Achaeans, a group of Greek states that formed the Achaean League, in several important expeditions, notably against Sparta. His cruelty in putting down a Spartan uprising caused him to be reprimanded by his superiors.

⁴Cyrus (585?–529? B.C.) Cyrus II (the Great), Persian emperor. Cyrus and the other figures featured in this sentence—Alexander the Great (356–323 B.C.); Achilles, hero of Homer's *Iliad*; Julius Caesar (100?–44 B.C.); and Scipio Africanus (236–184/3 B.C.), legendary Roman general—are all examples of politicians who were also great military geniuses. Xenophon (431–350? B.C.) was one of the earliest Greek historians; he chronicled the lives and military exploits of Cyrus and his son-in-law Darius.

his advantage in order to be able to profit from them in times of adversity, so that, when Fortune changes, she will find him prepared to withstand such times.

On Those Things for Which Men, and Particularly Princes, Are Praised or Blamed

Now there remains to be examined what should be the methods and procedures of a prince in dealing with his subjects and friends. And because I know that many have written about this, I am afraid that by writing about it again I shall be thought of as presumptuous, since in discussing this material I depart radically from the procedures of others. But since my intention is to write something useful for anyone who understands it, it seemed more suitable to me to search after the effectual truth of the matter rather than its imagined one. And many writers have imagined for themselves republics and principalities that have never been seen nor known to exist in reality; for there is such a gap between how one lives and how one ought to live that anyone who abandons what is done for what ought to be done learns his ruin rather than his preservation: for a man who wishes to make a vocation of being good at all times will come to ruin among so many who are not good. Hence it is necessary for a prince who wishes to maintain his position to learn how not to be good, and to use this knowledge or not to use it according to necessity.

Leaving aside, therefore, the imagined things concerning a prince, and taking into account those that are true, I say that all men, when they are spoken of, and particularly princes, since they are placed on a higher level, are judged by some of these qualities which bring them either blame or praise. And this is why one is considered generous, another miserly (to use a Tuscan word, since "avaricious" in our language is still used to mean one who wishes to acquire by means of theft; we call "miserly" one who excessively avoids using what he has); one is considered a giver, the other rapacious; one cruel, another merciful; one treacherous, another faithful; one effeminate and cowardly, another bold and courageous; one humane, another haughty; one lascivious, another chaste; one trustworthy, another cunning; one harsh, another lenient; one serious, another frivolous; one religious, another unbelieving; and the like. And I know that everyone will admit that it would be a very praiseworthy thing to find in a prince, of the qualities mentioned above, those that are held to be good, but since it is neither possible to have them nor to observe them all completely, because human nature does not permit

it, a prince must be prudent enough to know how to escape the bad reputation of those vices that would lose the state for him, and must protect himself from those that will not lose it for him, if this is possible; but if he cannot, he need not concern himself unduly if he ignores these less serious vices. And, moreover, he need not worry about incurring the bad reputation of those vices without which it would be difficult to hold his state; since, carefully taking everything into account, one will discover that something which appears to be a virtue, if pursued, will end in his destruction; while some other thing which seems to be a vice, if pursued, will result in his safety and his well-being.

On Generosity and Miserliness

Beginning, therefore, with the first of the above-mentioned qualities, I say that it would be good (to be considered) generous; nevertheless, generosity used in such a manner as to give you a reputation for it will harm you; because if it is employed virtuously and as one should employ it, it will not be recognized and you will not avoid the reproach of its opposite. And so, if a prince wants to maintain his reputation for generosity among men, it is necessary for him not to neglect any possible means of lavish display; in so doing such a prince will always use up all his resources and he will be obliged, eventually, if he wishes to maintain his reputation for generosity, to burden the people with excessive taxes and to do everything possible to raise funds. This will begin to make him hateful to his subjects, and, becoming impoverished, he will not be much esteemed by anyone; so that, as a consequence of his generosity, having offended many and rewarded few, he will feel the effects of any slight unrest and will be ruined at the first sign of danger; recognizing this and wishing to alter his policies, he immediately runs the risk of being reproached as a miser.

A prince, therefore, unable to use this virtue of generosity in a manner which will not harm himself if he is known for it, should, if he is wise, not worry about being called a miser; for with time he will come to be considered more generous once it is evident that, as a result of his parsimony, his income is sufficient, he can defend himself from anyone who makes war against him, and he can undertake enterprises without overburdening his people, so that he comes to be generous with all those from whom he takes nothing, who are countless, and miserly with all those to whom he gives nothing, who are few. In our times we have not seen great deeds accomplished except by those who were considered miserly; all others were done away

with. Pope Julius II,⁵ although he made use of his reputation for generosity in order to gain the papacy, then decided not to maintain it in order to be able to wage war; the present King of France⁶ has waged many wars without imposing extra taxes on his subjects, only because his habitual parsimony has provided for the additional expenditures; the present King of Spain,⁷ if he had been considered generous, would not have engaged in nor won so many campaigns.

Therefore, in order not to have to rob his subjects, to be able to defend himself, not to become poor and contemptible, and not to be forced to become rapacious, a prince must consider it of little importance if he incurs the name of miser. for this is one of those vices that permits him to rule. And if someone were to say: Caesar with his generosity came to rule the empire, and many others, because they were generous and known to be so, achieved very high positions; I reply: you are either already a prince or you are on the way to becoming one; in the first instance such generosity is damaging; in the second it is very necessary to be thought generous. And Caesar was one of those who wanted to gain the principality of Rome; but if, after obtaining this, he had lived and had not moderated his expenditures, he would have destroyed that empire. And if someone were to reply: there have existed many princes who have accomplished great deeds with their armies who have been reputed to be generous; I answer you: a prince either spends his own money and that of his subjects or that of others; in the first case he must be economical; in the second he must not restrain any part of his generosity. And for that prince who goes out with his soldiers and lives by looting, sacking, and ransoms, who controls the property of others, such generosity is necessary; otherwise he would not be followed by his troops. And with what does not belong to you or to your subjects you can be a more liberal giver, as were Cyrus, Caesar, and Alexander; for spending the wealth of others does not lessen your reputation but adds to it; only the spending of your own is what harms you. And there is nothing that uses itself up faster than generosity, for as you employ it you lose the means of employing it, and you become either poor or despised or, in order to escape

⁵ **Pope Julius II (1443–1513)** Giuliano della Rovere, pope from 1503 to 1513. Like many of the popes of the day, Julius II was also a diplomat and a general.

⁶ **present King of France** Louis XII (1462–1515). He entered Italy on a successful military campaign in 1494.

⁷ **present King of Spain** Ferdinand V (1452–1516). A studied politician; he and Queen Isabella (1451–1504) financed Christopher Columbus's voyage to the New World in 1492.

poverty, rapacious and hated. And above all other things a prince must guard himself against being despised and hated; and generosity leads you to both one and the other. So it is wiser to live with the reputation of a miser, which produces reproach without hatred, than to be forced to incur the reputation of rapacity, which produces reproach along with hatred, because you want to be considered as generous.

On Cruelty and Mercy and Whether It Is Better to Be Loved than to Be Feared or the Contrary

Proceeding to the other qualities mentioned above, I say that every prince must desire to be considered merciful and not cruel; nevertheless, he must take care not to misuse this mercy. Cesare Borgia⁸ was considered cruel; nonetheless, his cruelty had brought order to Romagna,⁹ united it, restored it to peace and obedience. If we examine this carefully, we shall see that he was more merciful than the Florentine people, who, in order to avoid being considered cruel, allowed the destruction of Pistoia.¹⁰ Therefore, a prince must not worry about the reproach of cruelty when it is a matter of keeping his subjects united and loyal; for with a very few examples of cruelty he will be more compassionate than those who, out of excessive mercy, permit disorders to continue, from which arise murders and plundering; for these usually harm the community at large, while the executions that come from the prince harm one individual in particular. And the new prince, above all other princes, cannot escape the reputation of being called cruel, since new states are full of dangers. And Virgil, through Dido, states: "My difficult condition and the newness of my rule make me act in such a manner, and to set guards over my land on all sides."¹¹

Nevertheless, a prince must be cautious in believing and in acting, nor should he be afraid of his own shadow; and he should proceed in such a manner, tempered by prudence and humanity, so

⁸ **Cesare Borgia (1476–1507)** He was known for his brutality and lack of scruples, not to mention his exceptionally good luck. He was a firm ruler, son of Pope Alexander VI.

⁹ **Romagna** Region northeast of Tuscany; includes the towns of Bologna, Ferrara, Ravenna, and Rimini. Borgia united it as his base of power in 1501.

¹⁰ **Pistoia** (also known as Pistoria) A town near Florence, disturbed in 1501 by a civil war that could have been averted by strong repressive measures.

¹¹ The quotation is from the *Aeneid* (II. 563–564), the greatest Latin epic poem, written by Virgil (70–19 B.C.). Dido, a woman general, ruled Carthage.

that too much trust may not render him imprudent nor too much distrust render him intolerable.

From this arises an argument: whether it is better to be loved than 14
to be feared, or the contrary. I reply that one should like to be both
one and the other; but since it is difficult to join them together, it is
much safer to be feared than to be loved when one of the two must
be lacking. For one can generally say this about men: that they are
ungrateful, fickle, simulators and deceivers, avoiders of danger,
greedy for gain, and while you work for their good they are com-
pletely yours, offering you their blood, their property, their lives, and
their sons, as I said earlier, when danger is far away; but when it
comes nearer to you they turn away. And that prince who bases his
power entirely on their words, finding himself stripped of other
preparations, comes to ruin; for friendships that are acquired by a
price and not by greatness and nobility of character are purchased
but are not owned, and at the proper moment they cannot be spent.
And men are less hesitant about harming someone who makes him-
self loved than one who makes himself feared because love is held
together by a chain of obligation which, since men are a sorry lot, is
broken on every occasion in which their own self-interest is con-
cerned; but fear is held together by a dread of punishment which
will never abandon you.

A prince must nevertheless make himself feared in such a man- 15
ner that he will avoid hatred, even if he does not acquire love; since
to be feared and not to be hated can very well be combined; and this
will always be so when he keeps his hands off the property and the
women of his citizens and his subjects. And if he must take some-
one's life, he should do so when there is proper justification and
manifest cause; but, above all, he should avoid the property of oth-
ers; for men forget more quickly the death of their father than the
loss of their patrimony. Moreover, the reasons for seizing their prop-
erty are never lacking; and he who begins to live by stealing always
finds a reason for taking what belongs to others; on the contrary,
reasons for taking a life are rarer and disappear sooner.

But when the prince is with his armies and has under his com- 16
mand a multitude of troops, then it is absolutely necessary that he
not worry about being considered cruel; for without that reputation
he will never keep an army united or prepared for any combat.
Among the praiseworthy deeds of Hannibal¹² is counted this: that,

¹² **Hannibal (247–183 B.C.)** An amazingly inventive military tactician who led the Carthaginian armies against Rome for more than fifteen years. He crossed the Alps from Gaul (France) in order to surprise Rome. He was noted for use of the ambush and for "inhuman cruelty."

having a very large army, made up of all kinds of men, which he com-
manded in foreign lands, there never arose the slightest dissention,
neither among themselves nor against their prince, both during his
good and his bad fortune. This could not have arisen from anything
other than his inhuman cruelty, which, along with his many other
abilities, made him always respected and terrifying in the eyes of his
soldiers; and without that, to attain the same effect, his other abili-
ties would not have sufficed. And the writers of history, having con-
sidered this matter very little, on the one hand admire these deeds of
his and on the other condemn the main cause of them.

And that it be true that his other abilities would not have been 17
sufficient can be seen from the example of Scipio, a most extraordi-
nary man not only in his time but in all recorded history, whose
armies in Spain rebelled against him; this came about from nothing
other than his excessive compassion, which gave to his soldiers
more liberty than military discipline allowed. For this he was cen-
sured in the senate by Fabius Maximus,¹³ who called him the cor-
ruptor of the Roman militia. The Locrians,¹⁴ having been ruined by
one of Scipio's officers, were not avenged by him, nor was the arro-
gance of that officer corrected, all because of his tolerant nature; so
that someone in the senate who tried to apologize for him said that
there were many men who knew how not to err better than they
knew how to correct errors. Such a nature would have, in time,
damaged Scipio's fame and glory if he had maintained it during the
empire; but, living under the control of the senate, this harmful
characteristic of his not only concealed itself but brought him fame.

I conclude, therefore, returning to the problem of being feared 18
and loved, that since men love at their own pleasure and fear at the
pleasure of the prince, a wise prince should build his foundation
upon that which belongs to him, not upon that which belongs to
others: he must strive only to avoid hatred, as has been said.

How a Prince Should Keep His Word

How praiseworthy it is for a prince to keep his word and to live 19
by integrity and not by deceit everyone knows; nevertheless, one
sees from the experience of our times that the princes who have ac-
complished great deeds are those who have cared little for keeping

¹³ **Fabius Maximus (?–203 B.C.)** Roman general who fought Hannibal. He was jealous of the younger Roman general Scipio.

¹⁴ **Locrians** Inhabitants of Locri, an Italian town settled by the Greeks in c. 680 B.C.

their promises and who have known how to manipulate the minds of men by shrewdness; and in the end they have surpassed those who laid their foundations upon honesty.

You must, therefore, know that there are two means of fighting: 20 one according to the laws, the other with force; the first way is proper to man, the second to beasts; but because the first, in many cases, is not sufficient, it becomes necessary to have recourse to the second. Therefore, a prince must know how to use wisely the natures of the beast and the man. This policy was taught to princes allegorically by the ancient writers, who described how Achilles and many other ancient princes were given to Chiron¹⁵ the Centaur to be raised and taught under his discipline. This can only mean that, having a half-beast and half-man as a teacher, a prince must know how to employ the nature of the one and the other; and the one without the other cannot endure.

Since, then, a prince must know how to make good use of the 21 nature of the beast, he should choose from among the beasts the fox and the lion; for the lion cannot defend itself from traps and the fox cannot protect itself from wolves. It is therefore necessary to be a fox in order to recognize the traps and a lion in order to frighten the wolves. Those who play only the part of the lion do not understand matters. A wise ruler, therefore, cannot and should not keep his word when such an observance of faith would be to his disadvantage and when the reasons which made him promise are removed.

And if men were all good, this rule would not be good; but since 22 men are a sorry lot and will not keep their promises to you, you likewise need not keep yours to them. A prince never lacks legitimate reasons to break his promises. Of this one could cite an endless number of modern examples to show how many pacts, how many promises have been made null and void because of the infidelity of princes; and he who has known best how to use the fox has come to a better end. But it is necessary to know how to disguise this nature well and to be a great hypocrite and a liar: and men are so simpleminded and so controlled by their present necessities that one who deceives will always find another who will allow himself to be deceived.

I do not wish to remain silent about one of these recent instances. Alexander VI¹⁶ did nothing else, he thought about nothing 22 else, except to deceive men, and he always found the occasion to do

¹⁵ Chiron A mythical figure, a centaur (half man, half horse). Unlike most centaurs, he was wise and benevolent; he was also a legendary physician.

¹⁶ Alexander VI (1431–1503) Roderigo Borgia, pope from 1492 to 1503. He was Cesare Borgia's father and a corrupt but immensely powerful pope.

this. And there never was a man who had more forcefulness in his oaths, who affirmed a thing with more promises, and who honored his word less; nevertheless, his tricks always succeeded perfectly since he was well acquainted with this aspect of the world.

Therefore, it is not necessary for a prince to have all of the above-mentioned qualities, but it is very necessary for him to appear to have 23 them. Furthermore, I shall be so bold as to assert this: that having them and practicing them at all times is harmful; and appearing to have them is useful; for instance, to seem merciful, faithful, humane, forthright, religious, and to be so; but his mind should be disposed in such a way that should it become necessary not to be so, he will be able and know how to change to the contrary. And it is essential to understand this: that a prince, and especially a new prince, cannot observe all those things by which men are considered good, for in order to maintain the state he is often obliged to act against his promise, against charity, against humanity, and against religion. And therefore, it is necessary that he have a mind ready to turn itself according to the way the winds of Fortune and the changeability of affairs require him; and, as I said above, as long as it is possible, he should not stray from the good, but he should know how to enter into evil when necessity commands.

A prince, therefore, must be very careful never to let anything 24 slip from his lips which is not full of the five qualities mentioned above: he should appear, upon seeing and hearing him, to be all mercy, all faithfulness, all integrity, all kindness, all religion. And there is nothing more necessary than to seem to possess this last quality. And men in general judge more by their eyes than their hands; for everyone can see but few can feel. Everyone sees what you seem to be, few perceive what you are, and those few do not dare to contradict the opinion of the many who have the majesty of the state to defend them; and in the actions of all men, and especially of princes, where there is no impartial arbiter, one must consider the final result.¹⁷ Let a prince therefore act to seize and to maintain the state; his methods will always be judged honorable and will be praised by all; for ordinary people are always deceived by appearances and by the outcome of a thing; and in the world there is nothing but ordinary people; and there is no room for the few, while the many have a place to lean on. A certain prince¹⁸ of the present day, whom I shall refrain from naming, preaches nothing but peace and faith, and to both one and the other he is entirely opposed; and

¹⁷ The Italian original, *si guarda al fine*, has often been mistranslated as "the ends justify the means," something Machiavelli never wrote. [Translators' note]

¹⁸ A certain prince Probably King Ferdinand V of Spain (1452–1516).

both, if he had put them into practice, would have cost him many times over either his reputation or his state.

On Avoiding Being Despised and Hated

But since, concerning the qualities mentioned above, I have 25
spoken about the most important, I should like to discuss the oth-
ers briefly in this general manner: that the prince, as was noted
above, should think about avoiding those things which make him
hated and despised; and when he has avoided this, he will have car-
ried out his duties and will find no danger whatsoever in other
vices. As I have said, what makes him hated above all else is being
rapacious and a usurper of the property and the women of his sub-
jects; he must refrain from this; and in most cases, so long as you do
not deprive them of either their property or their honor, the major-
ity of men live happily; and you have only to deal with the ambi-
tion of a few, who can be restrained without difficulty and by many
means. What makes him despised is being considered changeable,
frivolous, effeminate, cowardly, irresolute; from these qualities a
prince must guard himself as if from a reef, and he must strive to
make everyone recognize in his actions greatness, spirit, dignity, and
strength; and concerning the private affairs of his subjects, he must
insist that his decision be irrevocable; and he should maintain him-
self in such a way that no man could imagine that he can deceive or
cheat him.

That prince who projects such an opinion of himself is greatly 26
esteemed; and it is difficult to conspire against a man with such a
reputation and difficult to attack him, provided that he is under-
stood to be of great merit and revered by his subjects. For a prince
must have two fears: one, internal, concerning his subjects; the
other, ~~external~~, concerning foreign powers. From the latter he can
defend himself by his good troops and friends; and he will always
have good friends if he has good troops; and internal affairs will al-
ways be stable when external affairs are stable, provided that they
are not already disturbed by a conspiracy; and even if external con-
ditions change, if he is properly organized and lives as I have said
and does not lose control of himself, he will always be able to with-
stand every attack, just as I said that Nabis the Spartan¹⁹ did. But
concerning his subjects, when external affairs do not change, he has
to fear that they may conspire secretly: the prince secures himself

¹⁹Nabis the Spartan Tyrant of Sparta from 207 to 192 B.C., routed by Philopoemon and the Achaean League.

from this by avoiding being hated or despised and by keeping the
people satisfied with him; this is a necessary matter, as was treated
above at length. And one of the most powerful remedies a prince has
against conspiracies is not to be hated by the masses; for a man who
plans a conspiracy always believes that he will satisfy the people by
killing the prince; but when he thinks he might anger them, he can-
not work up the courage to undertake such a deed; for the problems
on the side of the conspirators are countless. And experience demon-
strates that conspiracies have been many but few have been con-
cluded successfully; for anyone who conspires cannot be alone, nor
can he find companions except from amongst those whom he be-
lieves to be dissatisfied; and as soon as you have uncovered your
intent to one dissatisfied man, you give him the means to make him-
self happy, since he can have everything he desires by uncovering
the plot; so much is this so that, seeing a sure gain on the one hand
and one doubtful and full of danger on the other, if he is to maintain
faith with you he has to be either an unusually good friend or a
completely determined enemy of the prince. And to treat the matter
briefly, I say that on the part of the conspirator there is nothing but
fear, jealousy, and the thought of punishment that terrifies him; but
on the part of the prince there is the majesty of the principality, the
laws, the defenses of friends and the state to protect him; so that,
with the good will of the people added to all these things, it is im-
possible for anyone to be so rash as to plot against him. For, where
usually a conspirator has to be afraid before he executes his evil
deed, in this case he must be afraid, having the people as an enemy,
even after the crime is performed, nor can he hope to find any
refuge because of this.

One could cite countless examples on this subject; but I want to 27
satisfy myself with only one which occurred during the time of our
fathers. Messer Annibale Bentivoglio, prince of Bologna and grand-
father of the present Messer Annibale, was murdered by the Can-
neschi²⁰ family, who conspired against him; he left behind no heir
except Messer Giovanni,²¹ then only a baby. As soon as this murder
occurred, the people rose up and killed all the Canneschi. This came
about because of the good will that the house of the Bentivoglio en-
joyed in those days; this good will was so great that with Annibale
dead, and there being no one of that family left in the city who
could rule Bologna, the Bolognese people, having heard that in Flo-
rence there was one of the Bentivoglio blood who was believed until

²⁰Canneschi Prominent family in Bologna.

²¹Giovanni Bentivoglio (1443-1508) Former tyrant of Bologna. In sequence
he was a conspirator against, then a conspirator with, Cesare Borgia.

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that time to be the son of a blacksmith, went to Florence to find him, and they gave him the control of that city; it was ruled by him until Messer Giovanni became of age to rule.

I conclude, therefore, that a prince must be little concerned with conspiracies when the people are well disposed toward him; but when the populace is hostile and regards him with hatred, he must fear everything and everyone. And well-organized states and wise princes have, with great diligence, taken care not to anger the nobles and to satisfy the common people and keep them contented; for this is one of the most important concerns that a prince has. 28

QUESTIONS FOR CRITICAL READING

1. The usual criticism of Machiavelli is that he advises his prince to be unscrupulous. Find examples for and against this claim.
2. Why do you agree or disagree with Machiavelli when he asserts that the great majority of people are not good? Does our government assume that to be true too?
3. Politicians—especially heads of state—are the contemporary counterparts of the prince. To what extent should successful heads of modern states show skill in war? Is modern war similar to wars in Machiavelli's era? If so, in what ways?
4. Clarify the advice Machiavelli gives concerning liberality and stinginess. Is this still good advice?
5. Are modern politicians likely to succeed by following all or most of Machiavelli's recommendations? Why or why not?