GREEK SERIES · VOLUME 33

Politics

Aristotle

ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΑ

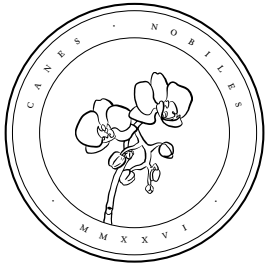
Politics

Part One: Books I–IV

---

with a word-for-word interlinear English translation

preserving the original word order

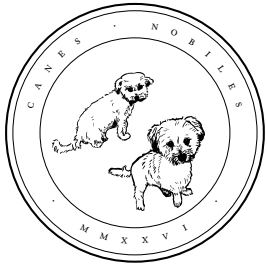


CANES NOBILES · MMXXVI

Copyright © 2026 Christopher Hench
All rights reserved

Published by Canes Nobiles
canesnobiles.com

The source text is used under a Creative Commons
Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License
creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0



Volume 33 of the Canes Nobiles Greek interlinear texts

The Greek text follows Otto Immisch's Teubner *Politics* (Leipzig, 1909)

Set from the Perseus Digital Library, with corrections

Translated and composed with AI, edited by Christopher Hench
Artwork by Esther Steves

Words Immisch secludes are not printed, but Book IV, chapters 3 and 4, which he secludes after Susemihl, are printed; words he supplies are printed without their brackets; † marks a passage he holds corrupt; ∗∗∗ marks a gap in the text.

CONTENTS

BOOK I

I · The City as Community 9
II · From Household to City 11
III · The Parts of Household Management 17
IV · The Slave as Instrument 19
V · Slavery by Nature 21
VI · Slavery by Law 26
VII · The Master's Knowledge 30
VIII · Natural Acquisition 32
IX · Exchange and Money 37
X · Usury 45
XI · The Practice of Wealth-Getting 47
XII · Wife and Children 52
XIII · The Virtues of the Ruled 54

BOOK II

I · How Much to Share 61
II · The Unity of Plato's City 63

BOOK II

(continued)

III · All Saying "Mine" 66
IV · Wives and Children in Common 70
V · Property in Common 74
VI · The Laws 84
VII · Phaleas of Chalcedon 93
VIII · Hippodamus of Miletus 101
IX · Sparta 111
X · Crete 124
XI · Carthage 130
XII · Lawgivers 136

BOOK III

I · Who Is a Citizen? 143
II · Citizens in Practice 148
III · The Identity of the City 150
IV · The Good Man and the Good Citizen 153
V · The Mechanic as Citizen 160
VI · Right and Deviant Constitutions 164
VII · The Six Constitutions 168
VIII · Wealth, Not Number 170
IX · Justice and the End of the City 173
X · Who Should Be Sovereign? 179
XI · The Wisdom of the Many 181
XII · Claims to Office 188

BOOK III

(continued)

XIII · The Outstanding Man 191
XIV · Kinds of Kingship 201
XV · Law or the Best Man? 206
XVI · The Rule of Law 213
XVII · When Kingship Is Just 218
XVIII · Toward the Best Constitution 221

BOOK IV

I · The Tasks of Political Science 223
II · The Plan of the Inquiry 227
III · Why There Are Many Constitutions 230
IV · The Kinds of Democracy 233
V · The Kinds of Oligarchy 245
VI · The Kinds and Their Causes 247
VII · Aristocracy 251
VIII · Polity 253
IX · How Polity Is Mixed 257
X · Tyranny 261
XI · The Middle Constitution 263
XII · Which Constitution Suits Whom 271
XIII · Devices of the Constitutions 274
XIV · The Deliberative Element 278
XV · The Offices 284
XVI · The Courts 293

BOOK I

I · THE CITY AS COMMUNITY

Every city is a community, and every community is formed for the sake of some good; the city, the most sovereign community and the one that embraces all the others, aims at the most sovereign good. Those who think the statesman, the king, the household manager, and the master differ only in the number of those they rule are wrong, as will be clear when the city is analyzed into its smallest parts.

Ἐπειδὴ πᾶσαν πόλιν ὁρῶμεν κοινωνίαν τινὰ οὖσαν καὶ
since every city we-see community some being and
πᾶσαν κοινωνίαν ἀγαθοῦ τινος ἕνεκεν συνεστηκυῖαν (τοῦ
every community of-good some for-the-sake constituted for-the
γὰρ εἶναι δοκοῦντος ἀγαθοῦ χάριν πάντα πράττουσι
for to-be seeming good for-the-sake all-things do
πάντες), δῆλον ὡς πᾶσαι μὲν ἀγαθοῦ τινος στοχάζονται,
all-men plain that all indeed good some aim-at
μάλιστα δὲ καὶ τοῦ κυριωτάτου πάντων ἡ πασῶν
most and also of-the most-sovereign of-all the of-all
κυριωτάτη καὶ πάσας περιέχουσα τὰς ἄλλας. αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν
most-sovereign and all embracing the others this and is
ἡ καλουμένη πόλις καὶ ἡ κοινωνία ἡ πολιτική. Ὅσοι
the called city and the community the political as-many-as
μὲν οὖν οἴονται πολιτικὸν καὶ βασιλικὸν καὶ οἰκονομικὸν
indeed then think statesman and king and household-manager
καὶ δεσποτικὸν εἶναι τὸν αὐτόν, οὐ καλῶς λέγουσιν (πλήθει
and master to-be the same not well speak by-number
γὰρ καὶ ὀλιγότητι νομίζουσι διαφέρειν ἀλλ' οὐκ εἴδει τούτων
for and by-fewness they-think to-differ but not in-kind of-these
ἕκαστον, οἷον ἂν μὲν ὀλίγων, δεσπότην, ἂν δὲ πλειόνων,
each such-as if indeed of-few master if and of-more

οἰκονόμον, ἂν δ' ἔτι πλειόνων, πολιτικὸν ἢ βασιλικόν,
household-manager if and still of-more statesman or king
ὡς οὐδὲν διαφέρουσαν μεγάλην οἰκίαν ἢ μικρὰν πόλιν· καὶ
as nothing differing great household or small city and
πολιτικὸν δὲ καὶ βασιλικόν, ὅταν μὲν αὐτὸς ἐφεστήκῃ,
statesman and and king when indeed himself presides
βασιλικόν, ὅταν δὲ κατὰ τοὺς λόγους τῆς ἐπιστήμης
king when but according-to the principles of-the science
τῆς τοιαύτης κατὰ μέρος ἄρχων καὶ ἀρχόμενος, πολιτικόν·
of-the such by turns ruling and being-ruled statesman
ταῦτα δ' οὐκ ἔστιν ἀληθῆ)· δῆλον δ' ἔσται τὸ λεγόμενον
these-things but not is true plain and will-be the said
ἐπισκοποῦσι κατὰ τὴν ὑφηγημένην μέθοδον. ὥσπερ γὰρ
to-those-examining according-to the laid-down method just-as for
ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ σύνθετον μέχρι τῶν ἀσυνθέτων ἀνάγκη
in the others the composite as-far-as the uncompounded necessary
διαιρεῖν (ταῦτα γὰρ ἐλάχιστα μόρια τοῦ παντός), οὕτω
to-divide these for smallest parts of-the whole so
καὶ πόλιν ἐξ ὧν σύγκειται σκοποῦντες ὀψόμεθα καὶ περὶ
also city from what it-is-composed examining we-shall-see also about
τούτων μᾶλλον, τί τε διαφέρουσιν ἀλλήλων, καὶ εἴ
these more what both they-differ from-one-another and whether
τι τεχνικὸν ἐνδέχεται λαβεῖν περὶ ἕκαστον τῶν ῥηθέντων.
any technical it-is-possible to-grasp about each of-the things-said

Seen as it grows, the city begins in pairs: male and female for offspring, and ruler and ruled for safety. From them comes the household, then the village, and from villages the city, complete and self-sufficient, which arises for living and exists for living well. The city is by nature, and man is a political animal, who alone has speech to declare just and unjust; the city is prior to the individual, and justice is its order.

Εἰ δή τις ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὰ πράγματα φυόμενα βλέψειεν,
if indeed one from the-beginning the things growing should-look-at
ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις, καὶ ἐν τούτοις κάλλιστ' ἂν οὕτω
just-as in the others also in these most-finely — thus
θεωρήσειεν. ἀνάγκη δὴ πρῶτον συνδυάζεσθαι τοὺς ἄνευ
he-would-study it-is-necessary indeed first to-be-paired those without
ἀλλήλων μὴ δυναμένους εἶναι, οἷον θῆλυ μὲν καὶ ἄρρεν
one-another not able to-exist such-as female indeed and male
τῆς γενέσεως ἕνεκεν (καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐκ προαιρέσεως,
of-the generation for-the-sake and this not from choice
ἀλλ' ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῴοις καὶ φυτοῖς φυσικὸν
but just-as also in the other animals and plants natural
τὸ ἐφίεσθαι, οἷον αὐτό, τοιοῦτον καταλιπεῖν ἕτερον), ἄρχον
the to-desire as itself such to-leave-behind another ruler
δὲ φύσει καὶ ἀρχόμενον διὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν. τὸ μὲν
and by-nature and ruled for-the-sake-of the preservation the indeed
γὰρ δυνάμενον τῇ διανοίᾳ προορᾶν ἄρχον φύσει καὶ
for able with-the intellect to-foresee ruler by-nature and
δεσπόζον φύσει, τὸ δὲ δυνάμενον ταῦτα τῷ σώματι
master by-nature the and able these-things with-the body
ποιεῖν ἀρχόμενον καὶ φύσει δοῦλον· διὸ δεσπότῃ καὶ
to-do ruled and by-nature slave therefore for-master and
δούλῳ ταὐτὸ συμφέρει. φύσει μὲν οὖν διώρισται τὸ θῆλυ
for-slave the-same is-advantageous by-nature indeed then are-distinguished the female

καὶ τὸ δοῦλον (οὐθὲν γὰρ ἡ φύσις ποιεῖ τοιοῦτον οἷον
and the slave nothing for the nature makes such as
οἱ χαλκοτύποι τὴν Δελφικὴν μάχαιραν, πενιχρῶς, ἀλλ' ἓν
the bronze-smiths the Delphian knife meagerly but one
πρὸς ἕν· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἀποτελοῖτο κάλλιστα τῶν ὀργάνων
for one thus for — would-be-perfected most-finely of-the instruments
ἕκαστον, μὴ πολλοῖς ἔργοις ἀλλ' ἑνὶ δουλεῦον)· ἐν δὲ
each not for-many tasks but for-one serving among but
τοῖς βαρβάροις τὸ θῆλυ καὶ τὸ δοῦλον τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει τάξιν.
the barbarians the female and the slave the same has rank
αἴτιον δ' ὅτι τὸ φύσει ἄρχον οὐκ ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ γίνεται
cause and that the by-nature ruler not they-have but becomes
ἡ κοινωνία αὐτῶν δούλης καὶ δούλου. διό φασιν οἱ
the community of-them of-female-slave and of-male-slave therefore say the
ποιηταὶ "βαρβάρων δ' Ἕλληνας ἄρχειν εἰκός," ὡς ταὐτὸ
poets over-barbarians and Greeks to-rule fitting as the-same
φύσει βάρβαρον καὶ δοῦλον ὄν. ἐκ μὲν οὖν τούτων τῶν δύο
by-nature barbarian and slave being from indeed then these the two
κοινωνιῶν οἰκία πρώτη, καὶ ὀρθῶς Ἡσίοδος εἶπε ποιήσας
communities household first and rightly Hesiod said having-written
"οἶκον μὲν πρώτιστα γυναῖκά τε βοῦν τ' ἀροτῆρα," ὁ
house indeed first-of-all wife and ox and plowman the
γὰρ βοῦς ἀντ' οἰκέτου τοῖς πένησίν ἐστιν. Ἡ μὲν οὖν εἰς
for ox instead-of servant for-the poor is the indeed then for
πᾶσαν ἡμέραν συνεστηκυῖα κοινωνία κατὰ φύσιν οἶκός
every day constituted community according-to nature household
ἐστιν, οὓς Χαρώνδας μὲν καλεῖ ὁμοσιπύους, Ἐπιμενίδης
is whom Charondas indeed calls bread-sharers Epimenides
δὲ ὁ Κρὴς ὁμοκάπους· ἡ δ' ἐκ πλειόνων οἰκιῶν κοινωνία
and the Cretan manger-sharers the but from several households community
πρώτη χρήσεως ἕνεκεν μὴ ἐφημέρου κώμη. μάλιστα δὲ
first of-use for-the-sake not daily village most and

κατὰ φύσιν ἔοικεν ἡ κώμη ἀποικία οἰκίας εἶναι, οὓς
according-to nature seems the village a-colony of-household to-be whom
καλοῦσί τινες ὁμογάλακτας, παῖδάς τε καὶ παίδων παῖδας.
call some milk-sharers children both and of-children children
διὸ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐβασιλεύοντο αἱ πόλεις, καὶ νῦν ἔτι
therefore also at-the first were-ruled-by-kings the cities and now still
τὰ ἔθνη· ἐκ βασιλευομένων γὰρ συνῆλθον· πᾶσα γὰρ
the nations from ruled-by-kings for they-came-together every for
οἰκία βασιλεύεται ὑπὸ τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου, ὥστε καὶ αἱ
household is-ruled-as-by-a-king by the eldest so-that also the
ἀποικίαι, διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ὃ λέγει
colonies through the kinship and this is what says
Ὅμηρος "θεμιστεύει δὲ ἕκαστος παίδων ἠδ' ἀλόχων."
Homer gives-law and each to-children and to-wives
σποράδες γάρ· καὶ οὕτω τὸ ἀρχαῖον ᾤκουν. καὶ τοὺς
scattered for and thus in-the ancient-time they-dwelt and the
θεοὺς δὲ διὰ τοῦτο πάντες φασὶ βασιλεύεσθαι, ὅτι καὶ
gods and for this all say to-be-ruled-by-a-king because also
αὐτοὶ οἱ μὲν ἔτι καὶ νῦν οἱ δὲ τὸ ἀρχαῖον
themselves the(-ones) indeed still also now the(-others) and in-the ancient-time
ἐβασιλεύοντο, ὥσπερ δὲ καὶ τὰ εἴδη ἑαυτοῖς ἀφομοιοῦσιν
were-ruled-by-kings just-as and also the forms to-themselves liken
οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς βίους τῶν θεῶν.
the men so also the lives of-the gods
Ἡ δ' ἐκ πλειόνων κωμῶν κοινωνία τέλειος πόλις, ἤδη
the but from several villages community complete city already
πάσης ἔχουσα πέρας τῆς αὐταρκείας ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν,
of-all having limit of-the self-sufficiency so word to-say
γινομένη μὲν οὖν τοῦ ζῆν ἕνεκεν, οὖσα δὲ τοῦ εὖ ζῆν.
coming-to-be indeed then of-the living for-the-sake being and of-the well to-live
διὸ πᾶσα πόλις φύσει ἐστίν, εἴπερ καὶ αἱ πρῶται
therefore every city by-nature is if-indeed also the first

κοινωνίαι. τέλος γὰρ αὕτη ἐκείνων, ἡ δὲ φύσις τέλος ἐστίν·
communities end for this of-them the and nature end is
οἷον γὰρ ἕκαστόν ἐστι τῆς γενέσεως τελεσθείσης, ταύτην
what for each is the generation having-been-completed this
φαμὲν τὴν φύσιν εἶναι ἑκάστου, ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπου ἵππου
we-say the nature to-be of-each just-as of-man of-horse
οἰκίας. ἔτι τὸ οὗ ἕνεκα καὶ τὸ τέλος βέλτιστον·
of-household further the that-for-which for-the-sake and the end best
ἡ δ' αὐτάρκεια καὶ τέλος καὶ βέλτιστον. ἐκ τούτων οὖν
the and self-sufficiency both end and best from these then
φανερὸν ὅτι τῶν φύσει ἡ πόλις ἐστί, καὶ ὅτι ἄνθρωπος
evident that of-the-things by-nature the city is and that man
φύσει πολιτικὸν ζῷον, καὶ ὁ ἄπολις διὰ φύσιν καὶ οὐ
by-nature political animal and the cityless through nature and not
διὰ τύχην ἤτοι φαῦλός ἐστιν ἢ κρείττων ἢ ἄνθρωπος·
through chance either base is or better than man
ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ ὑφ' Ὁμήρου λοιδορηθεὶς "ἀφρήτωρ
just-as also the(-one) by Homer reviled clanless
ἀθέμιστος ἀνέστιος" ἅμα γὰρ φύσει τοιοῦτος καὶ πολέμου
lawless heartless at-once for by-nature such also of-war
ἐπιθυμητής, ἅτε περ ἄζυξ ὢν ὥσπερ ἐν πεττοῖς.
a-lover inasmuch as unyoked being just-as in checkers
διότι δὲ πολιτικὸν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ζῷον πάσης μελίττης
why and political the man animal than-every bee
καὶ παντὸς ἀγελαίου ζῴου μᾶλλον, δῆλον. οὐθὲν γάρ, ὡς
and every herding animal more plain nothing for as
φαμέν, μάτην ἡ φύσις ποιεῖ· λόγον δὲ μόνον ἄνθρωπος
we-say in-vain the nature makes speech but alone man
ἔχει τῶν ζῴων· ἡ μὲν οὖν φωνὴ τοῦ λυπηροῦ καὶ ἡδέος
has of-the animals the indeed then voice of-the painful and pleasant
ἐστὶ σημεῖον, διὸ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑπάρχει ζῴοις (μέχρι
is a-sign therefore also to-the other belongs animals as-far-as

γὰρ τούτου ἡ φύσις αὐτῶν ἐλήλυθε, τοῦ ἔχειν αἴσθησιν
for this the nature of-them has-come of-the to-have perception
λυπηροῦ καὶ ἡδέος καὶ ταῦτα σημαίνειν ἀλλήλοις), ὁ δὲ
of-painful and pleasant and these to-signify to-one-another the but
λόγος ἐπὶ τῷ δηλοῦν ἐστι τὸ συμφέρον καὶ τὸ βλαβερόν,
speech for the to-make-clear is the advantageous and the harmful
ὥστε καὶ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ ἄδικον· τοῦτο γὰρ πρὸς
so-that also the just and the unjust this for compared-to
τὰ ἄλλα ζῷα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἴδιον, τὸ μόνον ἀγαθοῦ καὶ
the other animals to-the men peculiar the alone of-good and
κακοῦ καὶ δικαίου καὶ ἀδίκου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἴσθησιν
of-evil and of-just and of-unjust and of-the others perception
ἔχειν· ἡ δὲ τούτων κοινωνία ποιεῖ οἰκίαν καὶ πόλιν. Καὶ
to-have the and of-these community makes household and city also
πρότερον δὲ τῇ φύσει πόλις ἢ οἰκία καὶ ἕκαστος ἡμῶν
prior and — by-nature city than household and each of-us
ἐστιν. τὸ γὰρ ὅλον πρότερον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τοῦ μέρους·
is the for whole prior necessary to-be to-the part
ἀναιρουμένου γὰρ τοῦ ὅλου οὐκ ἔσται ποὺς οὐδὲ χείρ, εἰ
being-destroyed for the whole not there-will-be foot nor hand if
μὴ ὁμωνύμως, ὥσπερ εἴ τις λέγει τὴν λιθίνην· διαφθαρεῖσα
not homonymously just-as if one speaks-of the stone having-been-destroyed
γὰρ ἔσται τοιαύτη, πάντα δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ ὥρισται καὶ τῇ
for it-will-be such all-things and by-the function are-defined and by-the
δυνάμει, ὥστε μηκέτι τοιαῦτα ὄντα οὐ λεκτέον τὰ αὐτὰ
capacity so-that no-longer such being not one-must-say the same
εἶναι ἀλλ᾽ ὁμώνυμα. ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἡ πόλις καὶ φύσει καὶ
to-be but homonymous that indeed then the city both by-nature and
πρότερον ἢ ἕκαστος, δῆλον· εἰ γὰρ μὴ αὐτάρκης ἕκαστος
prior than each plain if for not self-sufficient each
χωρισθείς, ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις μέρεσιν ἕξει πρὸς τὸ ὅλον,
separated alike to-the other parts it-will-be toward the whole

ὁ δὲ μὴ δυνάμενος κοινωνεῖν ἢ μηδὲν δεόμενος δι᾽
the(-one) but not able to-share or nothing needing through
αὐτάρκειαν οὐθὲν μέρος πόλεως, ὥστε ἢ θηρίον ἢ θεός.
self-sufficiency no part of-a-city so-that either a-beast or a-god
Φύσει μὲν οὖν ἡ ὁρμὴ ἐν πᾶσιν ἐπὶ τὴν τοιαύτην
by-nature indeed then the impulse in all toward the such
κοινωνίαν· ὁ δὲ πρῶτος συστήσας μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν
community the(-one) and first having-founded of-greatest goods
αἴτιος. ὥσπερ γὰρ καὶ τελεωθὲν βέλτιστον τῶν ζώων
cause just-as for also when-perfected best of-the animals
ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν, οὕτω καὶ χωρισθὲν νόμου καὶ δίκης
man is so also separated from-law and justice
χείριστον πάντων. χαλεπωτάτη γὰρ ἀδικία ἔχουσα ὅπλα· ὁ
worst of-all most-dangerous for injustice having weapons the
δὲ ἄνθρωπος ὅπλα ἔχων φύεται φρονήσει καὶ ἀρετῇ, οἷς
and man weapons having is-born for-practical-wisdom and virtue which
ἐπὶ τἀναντία ἔστι χρῆσθαι μάλιστα. διὸ ἀνοσιώτατον
for the-opposite-things is-possible to-use most therefore most-unholy
καὶ ἀγριώτατον ἄνευ ἀρετῆς, καὶ πρὸς ἀφροδίσια καὶ ἐδωδὴν
and most-savage without virtue and for sex and food
χείριστον. ἡ δὲ δικαιοσύνη πολιτικόν· ἡ γὰρ δίκη πολιτικῆς
worst the but justice political the for justice of-political
κοινωνίας τάξις ἐστίν, ἡ δὲ δίκη τοῦ δικαίου κρίσις.
community the-order is the and justice of-the just the-judgment

Since every city is composed of households, household management comes first. Its parts are master and slave, husband and wife, and father and children, and also wealth-getting, which some think is household management itself and others its greatest part. Some think mastership a science, the same as statesmanship and kingship; others think it against nature and unjust, since slave and free differ only by law and the rule rests on force.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ φανερὸν ἐξ ὧν μορίων ἡ πόλις συνέστηκεν,
since and evident from what parts the city is-composed
ἀναγκαῖον πρῶτον περὶ οἰκονομίας εἰπεῖν· πᾶσα γὰρ
necessary first about household-management to-speak every for
σύγκειται πόλις ἐξ οἰκιῶν. οἰκονομίας δὲ μέρη, ἐξ
is-composed city from households of-household-management and parts from
ὧν πάλιν οἰκία συνέστηκεν· οἰκία δὲ τέλειος ἐκ δούλων
which in-turn household is-composed household and complete from slaves
καὶ ἐλευθέρων. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν τοῖς ἐλαχίστοις πρῶτον ἕκαστον
and free-men since and in the smallest-things first each
ζητητέον, πρῶτα δὲ καὶ ἐλάχιστα μέρη οἰκίας δεσπότης
must-be-sought first and and smallest parts of-household master
καὶ δοῦλος, καὶ πόσις καὶ ἄλοχος, καὶ πατὴρ καὶ τέκνα,
and slave and husband and wife and father and children
περὶ τριῶν ἂν τούτων σκεπτέον εἴη τί ἕκαστον
about three — these must-be-examined it-would-be what each
καὶ ποῖον δεῖ εἶναι. ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ δεσποτικὴ καὶ
and of-what-sort must to-be these and are mastership and
γαμική (ἀνώνυμον γὰρ ἡ γυναικὸς καὶ ἀνδρὸς σύζευξις)
marital unnamed for the of-woman and of-man union
καὶ τρίτον πατρική (καὶ γὰρ αὕτη οὐκ ὠνόμασται ἰδίῳ
and third paternal and for this not has-been-named by-its-own
ὀνόματι). ἔστωσαν δὴ αὗται τρεῖς ἃς εἴπομεν. ἔστι
name let-them-be indeed these three which we-said there-is

δέ τι μέρος ὃ δοκεῖ τοῖς μὲν εἶναι οἰκονομία,
and some part which seems to-the(-ones) indeed to-be household-management
τοῖς δὲ μέγιστον μέρος αὐτῆς· ὅπως δ' ἔχει,
to-the(-others) but greatest part of-it how but it-stands
θεωρητέον. λέγω δὲ περὶ τῆς καλουμένης χρηματιστικῆς.
must-be-studied I-mean and about the so-called wealth-getting
Πρῶτον δὲ περὶ δεσπότου καὶ δούλου εἴπωμεν, ἵνα τά
first and about master and slave let-us-speak that the
τε πρὸς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν χρείαν ἴδωμεν, κἂν εἴ τι πρὸς
both for the necessary use we-may-see even if anything for
τὸ εἰδέναι περὶ αὐτῶν δυναίμεθα λαβεῖν βέλτιον τῶν
the to-know about them we-may-be-able to-grasp better than-the
νῦν ὑπολαμβανομένων. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ δοκεῖ ἐπιστήμη
now supposed to-the(-ones) indeed for seems a-science
τέ τις εἶναι ἡ δεσποτεία, καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ οἰκονομία καὶ
both some to-be the mastership and the same household-management and
δεσποτεία καὶ πολιτικὴ καὶ βασιλική, καθάπερ εἴπομεν
mastership and statesmanship and kingship just-as we-said
ἀρχόμενοι· τοῖς δὲ παρὰ φύσιν τὸ δεσπόζειν. νόμῳ
at-the-beginning to-the(-others) but against nature the to-be-master by-law
γὰρ τὸν μὲν δοῦλον εἶναι τὸν δ' ἐλεύθερον, φύσει
for the(-one) indeed slave to-be the(-other) and free by-nature
δ' οὐθὲν διαφέρειν. διόπερ οὐδὲ δίκαιον· βίαιον γάρ.
but nothing to-differ therefore nor just forcible for

Property is part of the household, since without necessities one can neither live nor live well, and its instruments are lifeless or living. If shuttles wove of themselves, as the tripods of Hephaestus moved, master builders would need no assistants and masters no slaves. Possessions are instruments of action, not of production, and the slave, who belongs wholly to another, is a living possession and an instrument of action.

Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἡ κτῆσις μέρος τῆς οἰκίας ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ κτητικὴ
since then the property part of-the household is and the acquisition
μέρος τῆς οἰκονομίας (ἄνευ γὰρ τῶν ἀναγκαίων
part of-the household-management without for the necessities
ἀδύνατον καὶ ζῆν καὶ εὖ ζῆν), ὥσπερ δὲ ταῖς ὡρισμέναις
impossible both to-live and well to-live just-as and for-the determinate
τέχναις ἀναγκαῖον ἂν εἴη ὑπάρχειν τὰ οἰκεῖα ὄργανα, εἰ
arts necessary — it-would-be to-be-at-hand the proper instruments if
μέλλει ἀποτελεσθήσεσθαι τὸ ἔργον, τῶν δ' ὀργάνων τὰ
is-to to-be-accomplished the work of-the and instruments the(-ones)
μὲν ἄψυχα τὰ δὲ ἔμψυχα (οἷον τῷ κυβερνήτῃ ὁ μὲν
indeed lifeless the(-others) and living such-as for-the helmsman the indeed
οἴαξ ἄψυχον ὁ δὲ πρωρεὺς ἔμψυχον· ὁ γὰρ ὑπηρέτης ἐν
tiller lifeless the and lookout living the for assistant in
ὀργάνου εἴδει ταῖς τέχναις ἐστίν), οὕτω καὶ τῷ οἰκονομικῷ
instrument's form in-the arts is so also for-the household-manager
τὸ κτῆμα ὄργανον πρὸς ζωήν ἐστι, καὶ ἡ κτῆσις πλῆθος
the possession instrument for life is and the property multitude
ὀργάνων ἐστί, καὶ ὁ δοῦλος κτῆμά τι ἔμψυχον. καὶ ὥσπερ
of-instruments is and the slave possession a living and as-it-were
ὄγρανον πρὸ ὀργάνων πᾶς ὑπηρέτης. εἰ γὰρ ἠδύνατο ἕκαστον
instrument before instruments every assistant if for could each
τῶν ὀγράνων κελευσθὲν ἢ προαισθανόμενον ἀποτελεῖν τὸ
of-the instruments bidden or perceiving-beforehand to-accomplish the

αὐτοῦ ἔργον, ὥσπερ τὰ Δαιδάλου φασὶν ἢ τοὺς τοῦ
its-own work just-as the(-statues) of-Daedalus they-say or the —
Ἡφαίστου τρίποδας, οὓς φησιν ὁ ποιητὴς αὐτομάτους
of-Hephaestus tripods which says the poet of-their-own-accord
θεῖον δύεσθαι ἀγῶνα, οὕτως αἱ κερκίδες ἐκέρκιζον αὐταὶ
divine to-enter contest so the shuttles would-weave themselves
καὶ τὰ πλῆκτρα ἐκιθάριζεν, οὐδὲν ἂν ἔδει οὔτε τοῖς
and the plectra would-play-the-lyre nothing — would-need neither the
ἀρχιτέκτοσιν ὑπηρετῶν οὔτε τοῖς δεσπόταις δούλων.
master-builders of-assistants nor the masters of-slaves
τὰ μὲν οὖν λεγόμενα ὄργανα ποιητικὰ ὄργανά ἐστι, τὸ δὲ
the indeed then so-called instruments productive instruments are the and
κτῆμα πρακτικόν· ἀπὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς κερκίδος ἕτερόν τι
possession practical from indeed for the shuttle other something
γίνεται παρὰ τὴν χρῆσιν αὐτῆς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐσθῆτος καὶ
comes-to-be beside the use of-it from but the garment and
τῆς κλίνης ἡ χρῆσις μόνον. ἔτι δ' ἐπεὶ διαφέρει ἡ ποίησις
the bed the use alone further and since differs the production
εἴδει καὶ ἡ πρᾶξις, καὶ δέονται ἀμφότεραι ὀργάνων, ἀνάγκη
in-kind and the action and need both instruments necessary
καὶ ταῦτα τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν διαφοράν. ὁ δὲ βίος πρᾶξις, οὐ
also these the same to-have difference the and life action not
ποίησίς ἐστιν· διὸ καὶ ὁ δοῦλος ὑπηρέτης τῶν πρὸς
production is therefore also the slave assistant of-the-things for
τὴν πρᾶξιν. Τὸ δὲ κτῆμα λέγεται ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ μόριον. τό
the action the and possession is-spoken-of just-as also the part the
τε γὰρ μόριον οὐ μόνον ἄλλου ἐστὶ μόριον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλως
both for part not only of-another is part but also wholly
ἄλλου· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸ κτῆμα. διὸ ὁ μὲν δεσπότης τοῦ
of-another likewise and also the possession therefore the indeed master of-the

δούλου δεσπότης μόνον, ἐκείνου δ' οὐκ ἔστιν· ὁ δὲ δοῦλος
slave master only of-that-one but not is the but slave
οὐ μόνον δεσπότου δοῦλός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλως ἐκείνου.
not only of-master slave is but also wholly of-that-one
Τίς μὲν οὖν ἡ φύσις τοῦ δούλου καὶ τίς ἡ δύναμις,
what indeed then the nature of-the slave and what the capacity
ἐκ τούτων δῆλον· ὁ γὰρ μὴ αὑτοῦ φύσει ἀλλ' ἄλλου
from these plain the for not of-himself by-nature but of-another
ἄνθρωπος ὤν, οὗτος φύσει δοῦλός ἐστιν, ἄλλου δ'
man being he by-nature slave is of-another and
ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος, ὃς ἂν κτῆμα ᾖ ἄνθρωπος ὤν, κτῆμα
is man who — possession is man being possession
δὲ ὄργανον πρακτικὸν καὶ χωριστόν.
and instrument practical and separable

V · SLAVERY BY NATURE

Ruling and being ruled are necessary and advantageous, and run through all of nature: the soul rules the body, reason the appetite, man the tame animals, and the male the female. Those who differ from others as the body from the soul, sharing in reason enough to perceive it but not to have it, are slaves by nature. Nature means to make the bodies of free men and slaves differ, though often it fails, and for natural slaves slavery is advantageous and just.

Πότερον δ' ἐστί τις φύσει τοιοῦτος ἢ οὔ, καὶ πότερον
whether and is any by-nature such or not and whether
βέλτιον καὶ δίκαιόν τινι δουλεύειν ἢ οὔ, ἀλλὰ πᾶσα
better and just for-anyone to-be-a-slave or not but all
δουλεία παρὰ φύσιν ἐστί, μετὰ ταῦτα σκεπτέον. οὐ
slavery against nature is after these-things must-be-examined not
χαλεπὸν δὲ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ θεωρῆσαι καὶ ἐκ τῶν
hard and also by-the reasoning to-study and from the

γινομένων καταμαθεῖν. τὸ γὰρ ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι οὐ
things-that-happen to-learn the for to-rule and to-be-ruled not
μόνον τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν συμφερόντων ἐστί.
only of-the necessary-things but also of-the advantageous is
καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκ γενετῆς ἔνια διέστηκε τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ
and straightway from birth some are-set-apart the(-ones) indeed for the
ἄρχεσθαι τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρχειν. καὶ εἴδη πολλὰ καὶ
to-be-ruled the(-others) but for the to-rule and kinds many both
ἀρχόντων καὶ ἀρχομένων ἐστίν (καὶ ἀεὶ βελτίων ἡ ἀρχὴ
of-rulers and of-ruled there-are and always better the rule
ἡ τῶν βελτιόνων ἀρχομένων, οἷον ἀνθρώπου ἢ θηρίου·
the over-the better ruled such-as of-man than of-beast
τὸ γὰρ ἀποτελούμενον ἀπὸ τῶν βελτιόνων βέλτιον ἔργον·
the for accomplished by the better better work
ὅπου δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄρχει τὸ δ' ἄρχεται, ἔστι τι
where and the(-one) indeed rules the(-other) and is-ruled there-is some
τούτων ἔργον)· ὅσα γὰρ ἐκ πλειόνων συνέστηκε καὶ
of-these work as-many-as for from several are-composed and
γίνεται ἕν τι κοινόν, εἴτε ἐκ συνεχῶν εἴτε ἐκ διῃρημένων,
become one some common whether from continuous or from discrete
ἐν ἅπασιν ἐμφαίνεται τὸ ἄρχον καὶ τὸ ἀρχόμενον, καὶ τοῦτο
in all appears the ruler and the ruled and this
ἐκ τῆς ἁπάσης φύσεως ἐνυπάρχει τοῖς ἐμψύχοις· καὶ γὰρ
from the whole nature belongs-to the living-things even for
ἐν τοῖς μὴ μετέχουσι ζωῆς ἔστι τις ἀρχή, οἷον ἁρμονίας.
in the not sharing in-life there-is some rule such-as of-a-harmony
ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἴσως ἐξωτερικωτέρας ἐστὶ σκέψεως·
but these indeed perhaps of-a-more-external are inquiry
τὸ δὲ ζῷον πρῶτον συνέστηκεν ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος,
the and animal first is-composed from soul and body
ὧν τὸ μὲν ἄρχον ἐστὶ φύσει τὸ δ' ἀρχόμενον. δεῖ
of-which the indeed ruler is by-nature the and ruled one-must

δὲ σκοπεῖν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ φύσιν ἔχουσι μᾶλλον τὸ φύσει,
and to-look-for in the according-to nature being rather the by-nature
καὶ μὴ ἐν τοῖς διεφθαρμένοις. διὸ καὶ τὸν βέλτιστα
and not in the corrupted therefore also the best
διακείμενον καὶ κατὰ σῶμα καὶ κατὰ ψυχὴν ἄνθρωπον
disposed both in body and in soul man
θεωρητέον, ἐν ᾧ τοῦτο δῆλον· τῶν γὰρ μοχθηρῶν ἢ
must-be-studied in whom this plain of-the for depraved or
μοχθηρῶς ἐχόντων δόξειεν ἂν ἄρχειν πολλάκις τὸ σῶμα
depravedly disposed would-seem — to-rule often the body
τῆς ψυχῆς διὰ τὸ φαύλως καὶ παρὰ φύσιν ἔχειν.
the soul through the being-badly and against nature to-be-disposed
ἔστι δ' οὖν, ὥσπερ λέγομεν, πρῶτον ἐν ζῴῳ θεωρῆσαι
it-is-possible and then just-as we-say first in animal to-observe
καὶ δεσποτικὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ πολιτικήν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ψυχὴ
both master's rule and political the indeed for soul
τοῦ σώματος ἄρχει δεσποτικὴν ἀρχήν, ὁ δὲ νοῦς τῆς
the body rules with-master's rule the and intellect the
ὀρέξεως πολιτικὴν καὶ βασιλικήν· ἐν οἷς φανερόν ἐστιν ὅτι
desire with-political and kingly in which evident it-is that
κατὰ φύσιν καὶ συμφέρον τὸ ἄρχεσθαι τῷ σώματι ὑπὸ
according-to nature and advantageous the to-be-ruled for-the body by
τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῷ παθητικῷ μορίῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ νοῦ καὶ
the soul and for-the affective part by the intellect and
τοῦ μορίου τοῦ λόγον ἔχοντος, τὸ δ' ἐξ ἴσου ἢ ἀνάπαλιν
the part the reason having the and from equal or reversed
βλαβερὸν πᾶσιν. πάλιν ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῴοις
harmful to-all again in man and the other animals
ὡσαύτως· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἥμερα τῶν ἀγρίων βελτίω τὴν
likewise the indeed for tame than-the wild better the
φύσιν, τούτοις δὲ πᾶσι βέλτιον ἄρχεσθαι ὑπ' ἀνθρώπου·
nature for-these and all better to-be-ruled by man

τυγχάνει γὰρ σωτηρίας οὕτως. ἔτι δὲ τὸ ἄρρεν πρὸς τὸ
they-obtain for safety thus further and the male toward the
θῆλυ φύσει τὸ μὲν κρεῖττον τὸ δὲ χεῖρον καὶ τὸ μὲν
female by-nature the indeed better the and worse and the indeed
ἄρχον τὸ δ' ἀρχόμενον. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον ἀναγκαῖον
ruler the but ruled the same and manner necessary
εἶναι καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων. ὅσοι μὲν οὖν
to-be also in-the-case-of all men as-many-as indeed then
τοσοῦτον διεστᾶσιν ὅσον ψυχὴ σώματος καὶ ἄνθρωπος
so-much differ as-much-as soul from-body and man
θηρίου (διάκεινται τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, ὅσων ἐστὶν ἔργον ἡ
from-beast are-disposed in-this the manner whose is function the
τοῦ σώματος χρῆσις, καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν βέλτιστον),
of-the body use and this is from them best
οὗτοι μέν εἰσι φύσει δοῦλοι, οἷς βέλτιόν ἐστιν
these indeed are by-nature slaves for-whom better it-is
ἄρχεσθαι ταύτην τὴν ἀρχήν, εἴπερ καὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις.
to-be-ruled this the rule if-indeed also for-the things-mentioned
ἔστι γὰρ φύσει δοῦλος ὁ δυνάμενος ἄλλου εἶναι (διὸ
is for by-nature slave the(-one) able of-another to-be therefore
καὶ ἄλλου ἐστίν) καὶ ὁ κοινωνῶν λόγου τοσοῦτον
also of-another is and the(-one) sharing in-reason so-much
ὅσον αἰσθάνεσθαι ἀλλὰ μὴ ἔχειν. τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα ζῷα
as to-perceive but not to-have the for other animals
οὐ λόγῳ αἰσθανόμενα, ἀλλὰ παθήμασιν ὑπηρετεῖ. καὶ ἡ
not by-reason perceiving but feelings serve and the
χρεία δὲ παραλλάττει μικρόν· ἡ γὰρ πρὸς τἀναγκαῖα
use and differs little the for for the-necessaries
τῷ σώματι βοήθεια γίνεται παρ' ἀμφοῖν, παρά τε τῶν
for-the body help comes from both from both the
δούλων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἡμέρων ζῴων. βούλεται μὲν οὖν
slaves and from the tame animals wishes indeed then

ἡ φύσις καὶ τὰ σώματα διαφέροντα ποιεῖν τὰ τῶν
the nature also the bodies differing to-make those of-the
ἐλευθέρων καὶ τῶν δούλων, τὰ μὲν ἰσχυρὰ πρὸς τὴν
free and of-the slaves the(-ones) indeed strong for the
ἀναγκαίαν χρῆσιν, τὰ δ' ὀρθὰ καὶ ἄχρηστα πρὸς τὰς
necessary use the(-others) and upright and useless for the
τοιαύτας ἐργασίας, ἀλλὰ χρήσιμα πρὸς πολιτικὸν βίον
such labors but useful for political life
(οὗτος δὲ καὶ γίνεται διῃρημένος εἴς τε τὴν πολεμικὴν
this and also becomes divided into both the military
χρείαν καὶ τὴν εἰρηνικήν), συμβαίνει δὲ πολλάκις καὶ
use and the peaceful happens but often also
τοὐναντίον, τοὺς μὲν τὰ σώματα ἔχειν ἐλευθέρων τοὺς
the-contrary the(-ones) indeed the bodies to-have of-free-men the(-others)
δὲ τὰς ψυχάς· ἐπεὶ τοῦτό γε φανερόν, ὡς εἰ τοσοῦτον
and the souls since this at-least evident that if so-much
γένοιντο διάφοροι τὸ σῶμα μόνον, ὅσον αἱ τῶν
they-should-become different in-the body alone as-much-as the of-the
θεῶν εἰκόνες, τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους πάντες φαῖεν ἂν ἀξίους
gods images those falling-short all would-say — worthy
εἶναι τούτοις δουλεύειν. εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος
to-be to-these to-be-slaves if and in-the-case-of the body
τοῦτ' ἀληθές, πολὺ δικαιότερον ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦτο
this true much more-justly in-the-case-of the soul this
διωρίσθαι· ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁμοίως ῥᾴδιον ἰδεῖν τό τε τῆς ψυχῆς
to-be-determined but not equally easy to-see the both of-the soul
κάλλος καὶ τὸ τοῦ σώματος. Ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν εἰσὶ φύσει
beauty and that of-the body that indeed therefore are by-nature
τινὲς οἱ μὲν ἐλεύθεροι οἱ δὲ δοῦλοι, φανερόν,
some the(-ones) indeed free the(-others) and slaves evident
οἷς καὶ συμφέρει τὸ δουλεύειν καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστιν.
for-whom also is-advantageous the to-be-a-slave and just it-is

Those who say the opposite are in a way right, for there is also slavery by law: the convention that the conquered in war belong to the victors, which many jurists indict. Since virtue with resources can use force, and the victor always excels in some good, the dispute is only about justice. Yet those who call war slavery just deny that an undeserving man is a slave, and so call barbarians slaves but not Greeks; they are seeking the slave by nature. Where master and slave are so by nature, they share an advantage and friendship; where law and force made them, they do not.

Ὅτι δὲ καὶ οἱ τἀναντία φάσκοντες τρόπον τινὰ λέγουσιν
that and also those the-contrary asserting in-a-way some speak
ὀρθῶς, οὐ χαλεπὸν ἰδεῖν. διχῶς γὰρ λέγεται τὸ δουλεύειν
rightly not hard to-see in-two-ways for is-spoken-of the to-be-a-slave
καὶ ὁ δοῦλος. ἔστι γάρ τις καὶ κατὰ νόμον δοῦλος
and the slave there-is for some also by law slave
καὶ δουλεύων· ὁ γὰρ νόμος ὁμολογία τίς ἐστιν, ἐν ᾧ
and being-a-slave the for law agreement some is in which
τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον κρατούμενα τῶν κρατούντων εἶναί
the(-things) in war conquered of-the conquerors to-be
φασιν. τοῦτο δὴ τὸ δίκαιον πολλοὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις
they-say this indeed the just many of-those in the laws
ὥσπερ ῥήτορα γράφονται παρανόμων, ὡς δεινὸν εἰ τοῦ
just-as an-orator indict for-illegality as dreadful if of-the-one
βιάσασθαι δυναμένου καὶ κατὰ δύναμιν κρείττονος ἔσται
to-use-force able and in power superior will-be
δοῦλον καὶ ἀρχόμενον τὸ βιασθέν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν οὕτως
slave and ruled the forced and to-the(-ones) indeed thus
δοκεῖ τοῖς δ' ἐκείνως, καὶ τῶν σοφῶν. αἴτιον δὲ ταύτης
it-seems to-the(-others) and otherwise even of-the wise the-cause and of-this
τῆς ἀμφισβητήσεως, καὶ ὃ ποιεῖ τοὺς λόγους ἐπαλλάττειν,
the dispute and what makes the arguments to-overlap

ὅτι τρόπον τινὰ ἀρετὴ τυγχάνουσα χορηγίας καὶ βιάζεσθαι
that in-a-way some virtue obtaining resources also to-use-force
δύναται μάλιστα, καὶ ἔστιν ἀεὶ τὸ κρατοῦν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ
is-able most and is always the conquering in superiority
ἀγαθοῦ τινος, ὥστε δοκεῖν μὴ ἄνευ ἀρετῆς εἶναι τὴν
of-good some so-as to-seem not without virtue to-be the
βίαν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ δικαίου μόνον εἶναι τὴν ἀμφισβήτησιν
force but about the just only to-be the dispute
(διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο τοῖς μὲν εὔνοια δοκεῖ τὸ δίκαιον
because-of for this to-the(-ones) indeed goodwill seems the just
εἶναι, τοῖς δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο δίκαιον, τὸ τὸν κρείττονα
to-be to-the(-others) and itself this just the the stronger
ἄρχειν)· ἐπεὶ διαστάντων γε χωρὶς τούτων τῶν λόγων
to-rule since being-set-apart at-least apart these the arguments
οὔτε ἰσχυρὸν οὐθὲν ἔχουσιν οὔτε πιθανὸν ἄτεροι λόγοι,
neither strong nothing have nor persuasive the-other arguments
ὡς οὐ δεῖ τὸ βέλτιον κατ' ἀρετὴν ἄρχειν καὶ δεσπόζειν.
that not must the better in virtue to-rule and to-be-master
ὅλως δ' ἀντεχόμενοί τινες, ὡς οἴονται, δικαίου τινός
generally and clinging some as they-think to-justice some
(ὁ γὰρ νόμος δίκαιόν τι) τὴν κατὰ πόλεμον δουλείαν
the for law just something the in war slavery
τιθέασι δικαίαν, ἅμα δ' οὔ φασιν. τήν τε γὰρ ἀρχὴν
they-set-down as-just at-once but not they-say the both for beginning
ἐνδέχεται μὴ δικαίαν εἶναι τῶν πολέμων, καὶ τὸν ἀνάξιον
it-is-possible not just to-be of-the wars and the unworthy
δουλεύειν οὐδαμῶς ἂν φαίη τις δοῦλον εἶναι· εἰ δὲ μή,
to-be-a-slave in-no-way — would-say anyone slave to-be if but not
συμβήσεται τοὺς εὐγενεστάτους εἶναι δοκοῦντας δούλους
it-will-happen that-the most-noble to-be seeming slaves
εἶναι καὶ ἐκ δούλων, ἐὰν συμβῇ πραθῆναι ληφθέντας.
to-be and from slaves if it-happen to-be-sold having-been-captured

διόπερ αὐτοὺς οὐ βούλονται λέγειν δούλους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς
therefore them not they-wish to-call slaves but the
βαρβάρους. καίτοι ὅταν τοῦτο λέγωσιν, οὐθὲν ἄλλο
barbarians and-yet when this they-say nothing other
ζητοῦσιν ἢ τὸ φύσει δοῦλον ὅπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἴπομεν·
they-seek than the by-nature slave which-very from the-beginning we-said
ἀνάγκη γὰρ εἶναί τινας φάναι τοὺς μὲν πανταχοῦ
necessary for to-be some to-say the(-ones) indeed everywhere
δούλους τοὺς δ' οὐδαμοῦ. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ
slaves the(-others) but nowhere the same and manner also
περὶ εὐγενείας· αὑτοὺς μὲν γὰρ οὐ μόνον παρ' αὑτοῖς
about nobility themselves indeed for not only among themselves
εὐγενεῖς ἀλλὰ πανταχοῦ νομίζουσιν, τοὺς δὲ βαρβάρους
noble but everywhere they-think the but barbarians
οἴκοι μόνον, ὡς ὄν τι τὸ μὲν ἁπλῶς εὐγενὲς καὶ
at-home only as being some the indeed simply noble and
ἐλεύθερον τὸ δ' οὐχ ἁπλῶς, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ Θεοδέκτου
free the but not simply just-as also the of-Theodectes
Ἑλένη φησὶ "θείων δ' ἀπ' ἀμφοῖν ἔκγονον ῥιζωμάτων τίς
Helen says of-divine and from both offspring roots who
ἂν προσειπεῖν ἀξιώσειεν λάτριν;" ὅταν δὲ τοῦτο λέγωσιν,
— to-call would-think-fit servant when and this they-say
οὐθενὶ ἀλλ' ἢ ἀρετῇ καὶ κακίᾳ διορίζουσι τὸ δοῦλον
by-nothing but except virtue and vice they-distinguish the slave
καὶ ἐλεύθερον καὶ τοὺς εὐγενεῖς καὶ τοὺς δυσγενεῖς. ἀξιοῦσι
and free and the noble and the low-born they-claim
γάρ, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀνθρώπου ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἐκ θηρίων
for just-as from man man and from beasts
γίνεσθαι θηρίον, οὕτω καὶ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθόν. ἡ δὲ φύσις
to-be-born beast so also from good-men good the but nature
βούλεται μὲν τοῦτο ποιεῖν πολλάκις, οὐ μέντοι δύναται.
wishes indeed this to-do often not however can

Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἔχει τινὰ λόγον ἡ ἀμφισβήτησις, καὶ οὐκ
that indeed then has some reason the dispute and not
εἰσὶν οἱ μὲν φύσει δοῦλοι οἱ δ' ἐλεύθεροι, δῆλον,
are the(-ones) indeed by-nature slaves the(-others) and free plain
καὶ ὅτι ἔν τισι διώρισται τὸ τοιοῦτον, ὧν συμφέρει
and that in some is-distinguished the such of-whom is-advantageous
τῷ μὲν τὸ δουλεύειν τῷ δὲ τὸ δεσπόζειν καὶ
for-the-one indeed the to-be-a-slave for-the-other and the to-be-master and
δίκαιον, καὶ δεῖ τὸ μὲν ἄρχεσθαι τὸ δ' ἄρχειν,
just and must the indeed to-be-ruled the(-other) and to-rule
ἧν πεφύκασιν ἀρχὴν ἄρχειν, ὥστε καὶ δεσπόζειν, τὸ δὲ
which they-are-born rule to-rule so-that also to-be-master the but
κακῶς ἀσυμφόρως ἐστὶν ἀμφοῖν (τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ συμφέρει
badly disadvantageously is for-both the for same is-advantageous
τῷ μέρει καὶ τῷ ὅλῳ καὶ σώματι καὶ ψυχῇ, ὁ δὲ
for-the part and for-the whole and body and soul the and
δοῦλος μέρος τι τοῦ δεσπότου, οἷον ἔμψυχόν τι τοῦ
slave part some of-the master as-it-were living some of-the
σώματος κεχωρισμένον δὲ μέρος· διὸ καὶ συμφέρον
body separated but part therefore also advantage
ἐστί τι καὶ φιλία δούλῳ καὶ δεσπότῃ πρὸς ἀλλήλους
there-is some and friendship for-slave and for-master toward one-another
τοῖς φύσει τούτων ἠξιωμένοις, τοῖς δὲ μὴ τοῦτον τὸν
for-those by-nature of-these thought-worthy for-those but not in-this the
τρόπον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ νόμον καὶ βιασθεῖσι, τοὐναντίον).
manner but according-to law and forced the-contrary

Mastership and statesmanship are therefore not the same, for one rules slaves and the other free men by nature, and a man is a master not by knowledge but by being a certain kind of man. There may be a slave's knowledge, like the service taught at Syracuse, and a master's knowledge of using slaves, which is nothing great; those who can afford it leave it to a steward and engage in politics or philosophy. Acquiring slaves justly is a kind of war or hunting.

Φανερὸν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τούτων, ὅτι οὐ ταὐτόν ἐστι δεσποτεία
evident and also from these that not the-same is mastership
καὶ πολιτική, οὐδὲ πᾶσαι ἀλλήλαις αἱ ἀρχαί, ὥσπερ τινές
and statesmanship nor all to-one-another the rules just-as some
φασιν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐλευθέρων φύσει ἡ δὲ δούλων ἐστίν,
say the indeed for of-free-men by-nature the and of-slaves is
καὶ ἡ μὲν οἰκονομικὴ μοναρχία (μοναρχεῖται γὰρ πᾶς
and the indeed household-management monarchy is-ruled-by-one for every
οἶκος), ἡ δὲ πολιτικὴ ἐλευθέρων καὶ ἴσων ἀρχή. ὁ μὲν οὖν
house the but political of-free and of-equal rule the indeed then
δεσπότης οὐ λέγεται κατ' ἐπιστήμην, ἀλλὰ τῷ τοιόσδ'
master not is-called in-virtue-of science but by-the such
εἶναι, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ δοῦλος καὶ ὁ ἐλεύθερος. ἐπιστήμη
to-be likewise and also the slave and the free-man science
δ' ἂν εἴη καὶ δεσποτικὴ καὶ δουλική, δουλικὴ μὲν
but — there-would-be both a-master's and a-slave's slave's indeed
οἵαν περ ὁ ἐν Συρακούσαις ἐπαίδευεν· ἐκεῖ γὰρ
such-as indeed the(-man) in Syracuse taught there for
λαμβάνων τις μισθὸν ἐδίδασκε τὰ ἐγκύκλια διακονήματα
receiving someone pay taught the routine services
τοὺς παῖδας· εἴη δ' ἂν καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον τῶν τοιούτων
the boys there-might-be and — also for more of-the such-things
μάθησις, οἷον ὀψοποικὴ καὶ τἆλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα γένη τῆς
learning such-as cookery and the-other the such kinds of-the

διακονίας. ἔστι γὰρ ἕτερα ἑτέρων τὰ μὲν ἐντιμότερα
service there-are for some than-others the(-ones) indeed more-honorable
ἔργα τὰ δ' ἀναγκαιότερα, καὶ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν
tasks the(-others) and more-necessary and according-to the proverb
"δοῦλος πρὸ δούλου, δεσπότης πρὸ δεσπότου."
slave before slave master before master
αἱ μὲν οὖν τοιαῦται πᾶσαι δουλικαὶ ἐπιστῆμαί εἰσι·
the indeed then such all slave's sciences are
δεσποτικὴ δ' ἐπιστήμη ἐστὶν ἡ χρηστικὴ δούλων. ὁ γὰρ
master's but science is the using of-slaves the for
δεσπότης οὐκ ἐν τῷ κτᾶσθαι τοὺς δούλους, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ
master not in the to-acquire the slaves but in the
χρῆσθαι δούλοις. ἔστι δ' αὕτη ἡ ἐπιστήμη οὐδὲν μέγα
to-use slaves is and this the science nothing great
ἔχουσα οὐδὲ σεμνόν· ἃ γὰρ τὸν δοῦλον ἐπίστασθαι
having nor dignified what-things for the slave to-know
δεῖ ποιεῖν, ἐκεῖνον δεῖ ταῦτα ἐπίστασθαι ἐπιτάττειν.
must to-do that-one must these to-know to-command
διὸ ὅσοις ἐξουσία μὴ αὐτοὺς κακοπαθεῖν, ἐπίτροπος
therefore for-as-many-as power not themselves to-suffer-hardship a-steward
λαμβάνει ταύτην τὴν τιμήν, αὐτοὶ δὲ πολιτεύονται
takes this the office they-themselves but engage-in-politics
ἢ φιλοσοφοῦσιν. ἡ δὲ κτητικὴ ἑτέρα ἀμφοτέρων τούτων,
or philosophize the and acquisition other than-both these
οἷον ἡ δικαία πολεμική τις οὖσα ἢ θηρευτική. Περὶ μὲν
such-as the just warlike some being or hunting about indeed
οὖν δούλου καὶ δεσπότου τοῦτον διωρίσθω τὸν τρόπον.
then slave and master in-this let-it-be-determined the manner

Wealth-getting is not household management, which uses what it provides; whether it is a part is disputed. Nature gives animals different foods, and men live accordingly as nomads, hunters, fishers, brigands, or farmers. Plants exist for animals and animals for man, so the art of war is by nature a mode of acquisition, used against men born to be ruled who refuse. This acquisition belongs to household management, and true wealth has a limit, whatever Solon's verse says.

Ὅλως δὲ περὶ πάσης κτήσεως καὶ χρηματιστικῆς
generally and about all property and wealth-getting
θεωρήσωμεν κατὰ τὸν ὑφηγημένον τρόπον, ἐπείπερ καὶ
let-us-study according-to the laid-down manner since-indeed also
ὁ δοῦλος τῆς κτήσεως μέρος τι ἦν. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν
the slave of-the property part some was first indeed then
ἀπορήσειεν ἄν τις πότερον ἡ χρηματιστικὴ ἡ αὐτὴ
would-raise-the-question — one whether the wealth-getting the same
τῇ οἰκονομικῇ ἐστιν ἢ μέρος τι ἢ ὑπηρετική, καὶ εἰ
as-the household-management is or part some or ancillary and if
ὑπηρετική, πότερον ὡς ἡ κερκιδοποιικὴ τῇ ὑφαντικῇ ἢ
ancillary whether as the shuttle-making to-the weaving or
ὡς ἡ χαλκουργικὴ τῇ ἀνδριαντοποιίᾳ (οὐ γὰρ ὡσαύτως
as the bronze-founding to-the statue-making not for in-like-manner
ὑπηρετοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν ὄργανα παρέχει, ἡ δὲ
they-serve but the(-one) indeed instruments provides the(-other) and
τὴν ὕλην· λέγω δὲ ὕλην τὸ ὑποκείμενον, ἐξ οὗ τι
the material I-mean and material the underlying-thing from which some
ἀποτελεῖται ἔργον, οἷον ὑφάντῃ μὲν ἔρια ἀνδριαντοποιῷ
is-accomplished work such-as for-a-weaver indeed wool for-a-statue-maker
δὲ χαλκόν). Ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐχ ἡ αὐτὴ οἰκονομικὴ
and bronze that indeed then not the same household-management
τῇ χρηματιστικῇ, δῆλον (τῆς μὲν γὰρ τὸ πορίσασθαι,
as-the wealth-getting plain of-the(-one) indeed for the to-provide

τῆς δὲ τὸ χρήσασθαι· τίς γὰρ ἔσται ἡ χρησομένη
of-the(-other) and the to-use what for will-be the one-to-use
τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν παρὰ τὴν οἰκονομικήν;)·
the(-things) in the house beside the household-management
πότερον δὲ μέρος αὐτῆς ἐστί τι ἢ ἕτερον εἶδος, ἔχει
whether and part of-it is some or other kind has
διαμφισβήτησιν· εἰ γάρ ἐστι τοῦ χρηματιστικοῦ θεωρῆσαι
dispute if for it-is of-the wealth-getter to-study
πόθεν χρήματα καὶ κτῆσις ἔσται. ἡ δὲ κτῆσις πολλὰ
whence money and property will-be the and property many
περιείληφε μέρη καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος, ὥστε πρῶτον ἡ γεωργικὴ
embraces parts and the wealth so-that first the farming
πότερον μέρος τι τῆς οἰκονομικῆς ἢ ἕτερόν τι γένος;
whether part some of-the household-management or other some kind
καὶ καθόλου ἡ περὶ τὴν τροφὴν ἐπιμέλεια καὶ κτῆσις.
and generally the about the food care and property
Ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴδη γε πολλὰ τροφῆς, διὸ καὶ βίοι πολλοὶ καὶ
but indeed kinds at-least many of-food therefore also lives many both
τῶν ζῴων καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰσίν· οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε ζῆν ἄνευ
of-the animals and of-the men are not for possible — to-live without
τροφῆς, ὥστε αἱ διαφοραὶ τῆς τροφῆς τοὺς βίους πεποιήκασι
food so-that the differences of-the food the lives have-made
διαφέροντας τῶν ζῴων. τῶν τε γὰρ θηρίων τὰ μὲν ἀγελαῖα
different of-the animals of-the both for beasts the indeed gregarious
τὰ δὲ σποραδικά ἐστιν, ὁποτέρως συμφέρει πρὸς τὴν
the(-others) and scattered are whichever-way is-advantageous for the
τροφὴν αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ τὰ μὲν ζωοφάγα τὰ δὲ
food for-them through the the(-ones) indeed carnivorous the(-others) and
καρποφάγα τὰ δὲ παμφάγα αὐτῶν εἶναι, ὥστε πρὸς
fruit-eating the(-others) and omnivorous of-them to-be so-that for
τὰς ῥαστώνας καὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν τὴν τούτων ἡ φύσις τοὺς
the conveniences and the choice the of-these the nature the

βίους αὐτῶν διώρισεν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐ ταὐτὸ ἑκάστῳ ἡδὺ κατὰ
lives of-them distinguished since and not the-same to-each pleasant by
φύσιν ἀλλὰ ἕτερα ἑτέροις, καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ζῳοφάγων
nature but different-things to-different and very of-the carnivorous
καὶ τῶν καρποφάγων οἱ βίοι πρὸς ἄλληλα διεστᾶσιν·
and the fruit-eating the lives from one-another differ
ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. πολὺ γὰρ διαφέρουσιν
likewise and also of-the men much for differ
οἱ τούτων βίοι. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀργότατοι νομάδες εἰσίν (ἡ
the of-these lives the indeed then laziest nomads are the
γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμέρων τροφὴ ζῴων ἄνευ πόνου γίνεται
for from the tame food animals without toil comes
σχολάζουσιν· ἀναγκαίου δ' ὄντος μεταβάλλειν τοῖς κτήνεσι
to-them-at-leisure necessary and being to-move for-the herds
διὰ τὰς νομὰς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀναγκάζονται συνακολουθεῖν,
through the pastures also themselves are-compelled to-follow
ὥσπερ γεωργίαν ζῶσαν γεωργοῦντες)· οἱ δ' ἀπὸ θήρας
as-if farming living farming the(-others) and from hunting
ζῶσι, καὶ θήρας ἕτεροι ἑτέρας, οἷον οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ
live and hunting different-ones different such-as the(-ones) indeed from
λῃστείας, οἱ δ' ἀφ' ἁλιείας, ὅσοι λίμνας καὶ ἕλη
piracy the(-others) and from fishing as-many-as lakes and marshes
καὶ ποταμοὺς ἢ θάλατταν τοιαύτην προσοικοῦσιν, οἱ
and rivers or sea such dwell-beside the(-others)
δ' ἀπ' ὀρνίθων ἢ θηρίων ἀγρίων· τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον γένος
and from birds or beasts wild the and most kind
τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ζῇ καὶ τῶν ἡμέρων καρπῶν.
of-the men from the earth lives and the cultivated fruits
οἱ μὲν οὖν βίοι τοσοῦτοι σχεδόν εἰσιν, ὅσοι γε
the indeed then lives so-many nearly are as-many-as at-least
αὐτόφυτον ἔχουσι τὴν ἐργασίαν καὶ μὴ δι' ἀλλαγῆς καὶ
self-grown have the work and not through exchange and

καπηλείας πορίζονται τὴν τροφήν, νομαδικὸς γεωργικὸς
trade provide the food nomadic farming
λῃστρικὸς ἁλιευτικὸς θηρευτικός. οἱ δὲ καὶ μιγνύντες
piratical fishing hunting the(-others) and also mixing
ἐκ τούτων ἡδέως ζῶσι, προσαναπληροῦντες τὸν ἐνδεέστερον
from these pleasantly live filling-up the more-deficient
βίον, ᾗ τυγχάνει ἐλλείπων πρὸς τὸ αὐτάρκης εἶναι, οἷον
life where it-happens falling-short toward the self-sufficient to-be such-as
οἱ μὲν νομαδικὸν ἅμα καὶ λῃστρικόν, οἱ δὲ
the(-ones) indeed nomadic at-once and piratical the(-others) and
γεωργικὸν καὶ θηρευτικόν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἄλλους·
farming and hunting likewise and also about the others
ὡς ἂν ἡ χρεία συναναγκάζῃ, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον διάγουσιν.
as — the need compels-together in-this the manner they-live
ἡ μὲν οὖν τοιαύτη κτῆσις ὑπ᾽ αὐτῆς φαίνεται τῆς φύσεως
the indeed then such property by itself appears the nature
διδομένη πᾶσιν, ὥσπερ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην γένεσιν εὐθύς,
given to-all just-as at the first birth straightway
οὕτω καὶ τελειωθεῖσιν. καὶ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γένεσιν
so also to-the-full-grown and for at the from beginning birth
τὰ μὲν συνεκτίκτει τῶν ζῴων τοσαύτην τροφὴν ὡς
the(-ones) indeed produce-with-them of-the animals so-much food as
ἱκανὴν εἶναι μέχρις οὗ ἂν δύνηται αὐτὸ αὑτῷ πορίζειν τὸ
sufficient to-be until which — is-able itself for-itself to-provide the
γεννηθέν, οἷον ὅσα σκωληκοτοκεῖ ἢ ᾠοτοκεῖ· ὅσα
offspring such-as as-many-as produce-larvae or lay-eggs as-many-as
δὲ ζῳοτοκεῖ, τοῖς γεννωμένοις ἔχει τροφὴν ἐν αὑτοῖς
and bear-live-young for-the offspring have food in themselves
μέχρι τινός, τὴν τοῦ καλουμένου γάλακτος φύσιν.
until some-point the of-the so-called milk nature

ὥστε ὁμοίως δῆλον, ὅτι καὶ γενομένοις οἰητέον, τά τε
so-that likewise plain that also to-them-born one-must-suppose the both
φυτὰ τῶν ζώων ἕνεκεν εἶναι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ζῷα τῶν
plants of-the animals for-the-sake to-be and the other animals of-the
ἀνθρώπων χάριν, τὰ μὲν ἥμερα καὶ διὰ τὴν χρῆσιν καὶ
men for-the-sake the indeed tame both for the use and
διὰ τὴν τροφήν, τῶν δ' ἀγρίων, εἰ μὴ πάντα, ἀλλὰ τά
for the food of-the and wild if not all but the
γε πλεῖστα τῆς τροφῆς καὶ ἄλλης βοηθείας ἕνεκεν, ἵνα
at-least most of-the food and other help for-the-sake so-that
καὶ ἐσθὴς καὶ ἄλλα ὄργανα γίνηται ἐξ αὐτῶν. εἰ οὖν ἡ
both clothing and other instruments may-come from them if then the
φύσις μηθὲν μήτε ἀτελὲς ποιεῖ μήτε μάτην, ἀναγκαῖον τῶν
nature nothing neither incomplete makes nor in-vain necessary of-the
ἀνθρώπων ἕνεκεν αὐτὰ πάντα πεποιηκέναι τὴν φύσιν.
men for-the-sake them all to-have-made the nature
διὸ καὶ ἡ πολεμικὴ φύσει κτητική πως ἔσται (ἡ
therefore also the art-of-war by-nature acquisitive in-a-way will-be the
γὰρ θηρευτικὴ μέρος αὐτῆς), ᾗ δεῖ χρῆσθαι πρός τε
for hunting part of-it which one-must to-use against both
τὰ θηρία καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅσοι πεφυκότες ἄρχεσθαι
the beasts and of-the men as-many-as being-born to-be-ruled
μὴ θέλουσιν, ὡς φύσει δίκαιον τοῦτον ὄντα τὸν πόλεμον.
not are-willing as by-nature just this being the war
Ἓν μὲν οὖν εἶδος κτητικῆς κατὰ φύσιν τῆς
one indeed then kind of-acquisition according-to nature of-the
οἰκονομικῆς μέρος ἐστίν, καθὸ δεῖ ἤτοι ὑπάρχειν ἢ
household-management part is in-so-far-as must either to-be-at-hand or
πορίζειν αὐτὴν ὅπως ὑπάρχῃ, ὧν ἐστι θησαυρισμὸς
to-provide it that it-may-be-at-hand of-which is storing
χρημάτων πρὸς ζωὴν ἀναγκαίων καὶ χρησίμων εἰς
of-goods for life necessary and useful for

κοινωνίαν πόλεως ἢ οἰκίας. καὶ ἔοικεν ὅ γ' ἀληθινὸς
community of-city or of-household and seems the at-least true
πλοῦτος ἐκ τούτων εἶναι. ἡ γὰρ τῆς τοιαύτης κτήσεως
wealth from these to-be the for of-the such property
αὐτάρκεια πρὸς ἀγαθὴν ζωὴν οὐκ ἄπειρός ἐστιν, ὥσπερ
self-sufficiency for good life not unlimited is just-as
Σόλων φησὶ ποιήσας "πλούτου δ' οὐδὲν τέρμα
Solon says having-written of-wealth and no limit
πεφασμένον ἀνδράσι κεῖται." κεῖται γὰρ ὥσπερ καὶ ταῖς
appointed for-men lies lies for just-as also for-the
ἄλλαις τέχναις· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὄργανον ἄπειρον οὐδεμιᾶς ἐστι
other arts no for instrument unlimited of-any is
τέχνης οὔτε πλήθει οὔτε μεγέθει, ὁ δὲ πλοῦτος ὀργάνων
art neither in-number nor in-size the and wealth of-instruments
πλῆθός ἐστιν οἰκονομικῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν. Ὅτι μὲν
number is of-household-managers and of-statesmen that indeed
τοίνυν ἔστι τις κτητικὴ κατὰ φύσιν τοῖς οἰκονόμοις
therefore there-is some acquisition according-to nature for-the household-managers
καὶ τοῖς πολιτικοῖς, καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίαν, δῆλον.
and for-the statesmen and for what cause plain

IX · EXCHANGE AND MONEY

The other kind, wealth-getting proper, seems to have no limit. Each possession has two uses, as a shoe is worn or exchanged; barter arose by nature to supply what was lacking, money came in with trade over distances, and retail trade seeks coin without limit. Some think coin is wealth, others that it is a mere convention, since Midas starved amid gold. The confusion comes from caring for living rather than living well, and turning courage and generalship to making money.

Ἔστι δὲ γένος ἄλλο κτητικῆς, ἣν μάλιστα καλοῦσι, καὶ
there-is and kind other of-acquisition which most they-call and
δίκαιον αὐτὸ καλεῖν, χρηματιστικήν, δι' ἣν οὐδὲν δοκεῖ
just it to-call wealth-getting through which no seems
πέρας εἶναι πλούτου καὶ κτήσεως. ἣν ὡς μίαν καὶ τὴν
limit to-be of-wealth and of-property which as one and the
αὐτὴν τῇ λεχθείσῃ πολλοὶ νομίζουσι διὰ τὴν γειτνίασιν·
same with-the said many think through the neighborhood
ἔστι δ' οὔτε ἡ αὐτὴ τῇ εἰρημένῃ οὔτε πόρρω ἐκείνης.
it-is but neither the same as-the stated nor far from-that
ἔστι δ' ἡ μὲν φύσει ἡ δ' οὐ φύσει αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ
it-is and the indeed by-nature the(-other) and not by-nature of-them but
δι' ἐμπειρίας τινὸς καὶ τέχνης γίνεται μᾶλλον. λάβωμεν
through experience some and art comes-to-be rather let-us-take
δὲ περὶ αὐτῆς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐντεῦθεν. ἑκάστου γὰρ κτήματος
and about it the beginning from-here of-each for possession
διττὴ ἡ χρῆσίς ἐστιν, ἀμφότεραι δὲ καθ' αὑτὸ μὲν ἀλλ'
double the use is both and in itself indeed but
οὐχ ὁμοίως καθ' αὑτό, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν οἰκεία ἡ δ' οὐκ
not alike in itself but the(-one) indeed proper the(-other) and not
οἰκεία τοῦ πράγματος, οἷον ὑποδήματος ἥ τε ὑπόδεσις καὶ
proper of-the thing such-as of-a-shoe the both wearing and
ἡ μεταβλητική. ἀμφότεραι γὰρ ὑποδήματος χρήσεις· καὶ
the exchange both for of-a-shoe uses and
γὰρ ὁ ἀλλαττόμενος τῷ δεομένῳ ὑποδήματος ἀντὶ
for the(-one) exchanging with-the-one needing a-shoe for
νομίσματος ἢ τροφῆς χρῆται τῷ ὑποδήματι ᾗ ὑπόδημα, ἀλλ'
currency or food uses the shoe as shoe but
οὐ τὴν οἰκείαν χρῆσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἀλλαγῆς ἕνεκεν γέγονε.
not the proper use not for of-exchange for-the-sake it-has-come-to-be

τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον ἔχει καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων κτημάτων.
the same and manner it-holds also about the other possessions
ἔστι γὰρ ἡ μεταβλητικὴ πάντων, ἀρξαμένη τὸ μὲν
there-is for the exchange of-all having-begun the indeed
πρῶτον ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν, τῷ τὰ μὲν πλείω
first from the according-to nature by-the the(-ones) indeed more
τὰ δὲ ἐλάττω τῶν ἱκανῶν ἔχειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.
the(-others) and less than-the sufficient to-have the men
ᾗ καὶ δῆλον, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι φύσει τῆς χρηματιστικῆς
by-which also plain that not is by-nature of-the wealth-getting
ἡ καπηλική· ὅσον γὰρ ἱκανὸν αὐτοῖς, ἀναγκαῖον ἦν
the trade as-much-as for sufficient for-them necessary it-was
ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀλλαγήν. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ πρώτῃ κοινωνίᾳ
to-make the exchange in indeed then the first community
(τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν οἰκία) φανερὸν ὅτι οὐδέν ἐστιν ἔργον αὐτῆς,
this and is household evident that no is work of-it
ἀλλ' ἤδη πλείονος τῆς κοινωνίας οὔσης. οἱ μὲν γὰρ
but already larger of-the community being the(-ones) indeed for
τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκοινώνουν πάντων, οἱ δὲ κεχωρισμένοι
of-the their-own shared all the(-others) and separated
πολλῶν πάλιν καὶ ἑτέρων· ὧν κατὰ τὰς δεήσεις
of-many again and of-other-things of-which according-to the needs
ἀναγκαῖον ποιεῖσθαι τὰς μεταδόσεις, καθάπερ ἔτι πολλὰ
necessary to-make the exchanges just-as still many
ποιεῖ καὶ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν ἐθνῶν, κατὰ τὴν ἀλλαγήν.
do also of-the barbarian nations according-to the exchange
αὐτὰ γὰρ τὰ χρήσιμα πρὸς αὑτὰ καταλλάττονται,
themselves for the useful-things for themselves exchange
ἐπὶ πλέον δ' οὐθέν, οἷον οἶνον πρὸς σῖτον διδόντες καὶ
for more but nothing such-as wine for grain giving and
λαμβάνοντες, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων ἕκαστον.
receiving and of-the others the such each

ἡ μὲν οὖν τοιαύτη μεταβλητικὴ οὔτε παρὰ φύσιν οὔτε
the indeed then such exchange neither against nature nor
χρηματιστικῆς ἐστιν εἶδος οὐδέν (εἰς ἀναπλήρωσιν γὰρ
of-wealth-getting is kind any to replenishment for
τῆς κατὰ φύσιν αὐταρκείας ἦν)· ἐκ μέντοι ταύτης
of-the according-to nature self-sufficiency it-was from however this
ἐγένετ᾽ ἐκείνη κατὰ λόγον. ξενικωτέρας γὰρ γενομένης
arose that according-to reason more-foreign for having-become
τῆς βοηθείας τῷ εἰσάγεσθαι ὧν ἐνδεεῖς ἦσαν καὶ
the help by-the to-import what lacking they-were and
ἐκπέμπειν ὧν ἐπλεόναζον, ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἡ τοῦ νομίσματος
to-export what they-had-in-excess from necessity the of-the currency
ἐπορίσθη χρῆσις. οὐ γὰρ εὐβάστακτον ἕκαστον τῶν
was-provided use not for easily-carried each of-the
κατὰ φύσιν ἀναγκαίων· διὸ πρὸς τὰς ἀλλαγὰς
according-to nature necessaries therefore for the exchanges
τοιοῦτόν τι συνέθεντο πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διδόναι
such something they-agreed with one-another themselves to-give
καὶ λαμβάνειν, ὃ τῶν χρησίμων αὐτὸ ὂν εἶχε τὴν
and to-receive which of-the useful-things itself being had the
χρείαν εὐμεταχείριστον πρὸς τὸ ζῆν, οἷον σίδηρος καὶ
use easy-to-handle for the living such-as iron and
ἄργυρος κἂν εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ἕτερον, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
silver even if any such other the indeed first
ἁπλῶς ὁρισθὲν μεγέθει καὶ σταθμῷ, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον καὶ
simply defined by-size and by-weight the and finally also
χαρακτῆρα ἐπιβαλλόντων, ἵνα ἀπολύσῃ τῆς μετρήσεως
a-stamp putting-on so-that it-might-release from-the measuring
αὐτούς· ὁ γὰρ χαρακτὴρ ἐτέθη τοῦ ποσοῦ σημεῖον.
them the for stamp was-set of-the quantity sign

πορισθέντος οὖν ἤδη νομίσματος ἐκ τῆς ἀναγκαίας
having-been-provided then already currency from the necessary
ἀλλαγῆς θάτερον εἶδος τῆς χρηματιστικῆς ἐγένετο, τὸ
exchange the-other kind of-the wealth-getting arose the
καπηλικόν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἁπλῶς ἴσως γινόμενον,
trading the indeed first simply perhaps occurring
εἶτα δι' ἐμπειρίας ἤδη τεχνικώτερον, πόθεν καὶ πῶς
then through experience already more-technically whence and how
μεταβαλλόμενον πλεῖστον ποιήσει κέρδος. διὸ δοκεῖ
exchanged most it-will-make profit therefore seems
ἡ χρηματιστικὴ μάλιστα περὶ τὸ νόμισμα εἶναι, καὶ
the wealth-getting most about the currency to-be and
ἔργον αὐτῆς τὸ δύνασθαι θεωρῆσαι πόθεν ἔσται πλῆθος
work of-it the to-be-able to-study whence there-will-be abundance
χρημάτων· ποιητικὴ γὰρ εἶναι τοῦ πλούτου καὶ χρημάτων.
of-money productive for to-be of-the wealth and of-money
καὶ γὰρ τὸν πλοῦτον πολλάκις τιθέασι νομίσματος
and for the wealth often they-set-down of-currency
πλῆθος, διὰ τὸ περὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι τὴν χρηματιστικὴν καὶ τὴν
abundance through the about this to-be the wealth-getting and the
καπηλικήν. ὁτὲ δὲ πάλιν λῆρος εἶναι δοκεῖ τὸ νόμισμα
trading at-other-times and again nonsense to-be seems the currency
καὶ νόμος παντάπασι, φύσει δ' οὐθέν, ὅτι μεταθεμένων
and convention altogether by-nature but nothing because having-changed
τε τῶν χρωμένων οὐθενὸς ἄξιον, οὔτε χρήσιμον πρὸς οὐδὲν
both the users of-nothing worth nor useful for nothing
τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐστὶ καὶ νομίσματος πλουτῶν πολλάκις
of-the necessaries is and in-currency rich often
ἀπορήσει τῆς ἀναγκαίας τροφῆς· καίτοι ἄτοπον τοιοῦτον
will-lack the necessary food and-yet absurd such
εἶναι πλοῦτον οὗ εὐπορῶν λιμῷ ἀπολεῖται, καθάπερ
to-be wealth of-which having-plenty with-hunger one-will-perish just-as

καὶ τὸν Μίδαν ἐκεῖνον μυθολογοῦσι διὰ τὴν ἀπληστίαν τῆς
also — Midas that-one they-tell-the-tale through the insatiability of-the
εὐχῆς πάντων αὐτῷ γιγνομένων τῶν παρατιθεμένων χρυσῶν.
prayer all for-him becoming the set-before-him golden
διὸ ζητοῦσιν ἕτερόν τι τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ τὴν
therefore they-seek other something the wealth and the
χρηματιστικήν, ὀρθῶς ζητοῦντες. ἔστι γὰρ ἑτέρα ἡ
wealth-getting rightly seeking is for different the
χρηματιστικὴ καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος ὁ κατὰ φύσιν, καὶ αὕτη
wealth-getting and the wealth the according-to nature and this
μὲν οἰκονομική, ἡ δὲ καπηλικὴ ποιητικὴ χρημάτων οὐ
indeed household-management the but trading productive of-money not
πάντως, ἀλλ' ἢ διὰ χρημάτων μεταβολῆς. καὶ δοκεῖ
in-every-way but except through of-goods exchange and it-seems
περὶ τὸ νόμισμα αὕτη εἶναι· τὸ γὰρ νόμισμα στοιχεῖον καὶ
about the currency this to-be the for currency element and
πέρας τῆς ἀλλαγῆς ἐστιν. καὶ ἄπειρος δὴ οὗτος ὁ πλοῦτος
limit of-the exchange is and unlimited indeed this the wealth
ὁ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς χρηματιστικῆς. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡ ἰατρικὴ
the from this the wealth-getting just-as for the medicine
τοῦ ὑγιαίνειν εἰς ἄπειρόν ἐστι καὶ ἑκάστη τῶν τεχνῶν
of-the to-be-healthy to unlimited is and each of-the arts
τοῦ τέλους εἰς ἄπειρον (ὅτι μάλιστα γὰρ ἐκεῖνο βούλονται
of-the end to unlimited as most for that they-wish
ποιεῖν), τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὸ τέλος οὐκ εἰς ἄπειρον (πέρας γὰρ
to-make of-the but toward the end not to unlimited limit for
τὸ τέλος πάσαις), οὕτω καὶ ταύτης τῆς χρηματιστικῆς οὐκ
the end for-all so also of-this the wealth-getting not
ἔστι τοῦ τέλους πέρας, τέλος δὲ ὁ τοιοῦτος πλοῦτος καὶ
is of-the end limit end and the such wealth and

χρημάτων κτῆσις. τῆς δ' οἰκονομικῆς οὐ χρηματιστικῆς
of-money acquisition of-the but household-management not wealth-getting
ἔστι πέρας· οὐ γὰρ τοῦτο τῆς οἰκονομικῆς ἔργον.
there-is limit not for this of-the household-management work
διὸ τῇ μὲν φαίνεται ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι παντὸς
therefore in-one-way indeed it-appears necessary to-be of-all
πλούτου πέρας, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν γινομένων ὁρῶμεν
wealth limit in-the-case-of but the things-that-happen we-see
συμβαῖνον τοὐναντίον· πάντες γὰρ εἰς ἄπειρον αὔξουσιν οἱ
happening the-contrary all for to unlimited increase the
χρηματιζόμενοι τὸ νόμισμα. αἴτιον δὲ τὸ σύνεγγυς αὐτῶν.
money-makers the currency the-cause and the closeness of-them
ἐπαλλάττει γὰρ ἡ χρῆσις τοῦ αὐτοῦ οὖσα ἑκατέρας τῆς
overlaps for the use of-the same being of-each the
χρηματιστικῆς. τῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐστι κτήσεως χρῆσις, ἀλλ' οὐ
wealth-getting of-the for same is property use but not
κατὰ ταὐτόν, ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν ἑτερον τέλος, τῆς δ'
in the-same-way but of-the(-one) indeed other end of-the(-other) and
ἡ αὔξησις. ὥστε δοκεῖ τισι τοῦτ' εἶναι τῆς οἰκονομικῆς
the increase so-that it-seems to-some this to-be of-the household-management
ἔργον, καὶ διατελοῦσιν ἢ σῴζειν οἰόμενοι δεῖν ἢ
work and they-continue either to-preserve thinking to-be-necessary or
αὔξειν τὴν τοῦ νομίσματος οὐσίαν εἰς ἄπειρον. αἴτιον δὲ
to-increase the of-the currency substance to unlimited the-cause and
ταύτης τῆς διαθέσεως τὸ σπουδάζειν περὶ τὸ ζῆν, ἀλλὰ μὴ
of-this the disposition the to-be-eager about the living but not
τὸ εὖ ζῆν· εἰς ἄπειρον οὖν ἐκείνης τῆς ἐπιθυμίας οὔσης, καὶ
the well to-live to unlimited then that the desire being also
τῶν ποιητικῶν ἀπείρων ἐπιθυμοῦσιν. ὅσοι δὲ καὶ τοῦ εὖ
the productive unlimited-things they-desire as-many-as and also the well
ζῆν ἐπιβάλλονται, τὸ πρὸς τὰς ἀπολαύσεις τὰς σωματικὰς
to-live aim-at what for the enjoyments the bodily

ζητοῦσιν, ὥστ᾽ ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἐν τῇ κτήσει φαίνεται
they-seek so-that since also this in the property appears
ὑπάρχειν, πᾶσα ἡ διατριβὴ περὶ τὸν χρηματισμόν ἐστι, καὶ
to-be-present all the occupation about the money-making is and
τὸ ἕτερον εἶδος τῆς χρηματιστικῆς διὰ τοῦτ᾽ ἐλήλυθεν.
the other kind of-the wealth-getting through this has-come
ἐν ὑπερβολῇ γὰρ οὔσης τῆς ἀπολαύσεως, τὴν τῆς
in excess for being the enjoyment the of-the
ἀπολαυστικῆς ὑπερβολῆς ποιητικὴν ζητοῦσιν· κἂν μὴ
enjoyable excess productive they-seek and-if not
διὰ τῆς χρηματιστικῆς δύνωνται πορίζειν, δι᾽ ἄλλης
through the wealth-getting they-can to-provide through other
αἰτίας τοῦτο πειρῶνται, ἑκάστῃ χρώμενοι τῶν δυνάμεων
cause this they-try each using of-the capacities
οὐ κατὰ φύσιν. ἀνδρείας γὰρ οὐ χρήματα ποιεῖν
not according-to nature of-courage for not money to-make
ἐστιν ἀλλὰ θάρσος, οὐδὲ στρατηγικῆς καὶ ἰατρικῆς, ἀλλὰ
it-is but confidence nor of-generalship and of-medicine but
τῆς μὲν νίκην τῆς δ᾽ ὑγίειαν. οἱ δὲ πάσας
of-the(-one) indeed victory of-the(-other) and health the(-ones) and all
ποιοῦσι χρηματιστικάς, ὡς τοῦτο τέλος ὄν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ
make money-making as this end being for and the
τέλος ἅπαντα δέον ἀπαντᾶν.
end all-things it-being-necessary to-meet

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς τε μὴ ἀναγκαίας χρηματιστικῆς,
about indeed then the both not necessary wealth-getting
καὶ τίς, καὶ δι᾽ αἰτίαν τίνα ἐν χρείᾳ ἐσμὲν αὐτῆς,
both what and through cause what in need we-are of-it
εἴρηται, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀναγκαίας, ὅτι ἑτέρα μὲν αὐτῆς
it-has-been-said and about the necessary that other indeed than-it

οἰκονομικὴ δὲ κατὰ φύσιν ἡ περὶ τὴν τροφήν, οὐχ
household-management and according-to nature the about the food not
ὥσπερ αὐτὴ ἄπειρος ἀλλὰ ἔχουσα ὅρον.
just-as this unlimited but having a-limit

X · USURY

The question raised at the start is now plain: wealth-getting belongs to the household manager only as nature supplies the material, as wool is given to the weaver. Of the two kinds, the one that serves the household is necessary and praised, and the one that lives by exchange is justly blamed. Usury is hated most, since it makes gain from currency itself and not from the use for which currency was invented, so that this mode of money-making is the most against nature.

Δῆλον δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀπορούμενον ἐξ ἀρχῆς, πότερον τοῦ
plain and also the question-raised from the-beginning whether of-the
οἰκονομικοῦ καὶ πολιτικοῦ ἐστιν ἡ χρηματιστικὴ ἢ οὔ, ἀλλὰ
household-manager and statesman is the wealth-getting or not but
δεῖ τοῦτο μὲν ὑπάρχειν (ὥσπερ γὰρ καὶ ἀνθρώπους οὐ ποιεῖ
must this indeed to-be-at-hand just-as for also men not makes
ἡ πολιτικὴ ἀλλὰ λαβοῦσα παρὰ τῆς φύσεως χρῆται αὐτοῖς,
the statesmanship but having-taken from the nature uses them
οὕτω καὶ τροφὴν τὴν φύσιν δεῖ παραδοῦναι γῆν ἢ θάλατταν
so also food the nature must to-hand-over land or sea
ἢ ἄλλο τι), ἐκ δὲ τούτων, ὡς δεῖ ταῦτα διαθεῖναι
or other something from and these as must these-things to-dispose
προσήκει τὸν οἰκονόμον. οὐ γὰρ τῆς ὑφαντικῆς ἔρια
belongs-to the household-manager not for of-the weaving wool
ποιῆσαι ἀλλὰ χρήσασθαι αὐτοῖς, καὶ γνῶναι δὲ τὸ ποῖον
to-make but to-use it and to-know and the what-sort
χρηστὸν καὶ ἐπιτήδειον ἢ φαῦλον καὶ ἀνεπιτήδειον. καὶ
good and suitable or base and unsuitable and

γὰρ ἀπορήσειεν ἄν τις διὰ τί ἡ μὲν χρηματιστικὴ
for would-raise-the-question — one through what the indeed wealth-getting
μόριον τῆς οἰκονομίας, ἡ δ' ἰατρικὴ οὐ μόριον· καίτοι
part of-the household-management the but medicine not part and-yet
δεῖ ὑγιαίνειν τοὺς κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ὥσπερ ζῆν ἢ ἄλλο τι
must to-be-healthy those in the household just-as to-live or other anything
τῶν ἀναγκαίων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔστι μὲν ὡς τοῦ οἰκονόμου καὶ
of-the necessaries since and there-is indeed a-way of-the household-manager and
τοῦ ἄρχοντος καὶ περὶ ὑγιείας ἰδεῖν, ἔστι δ' ὡς οὔ ἀλλὰ
of-the ruler also about health to-see there-is and a-way not but
τοῦ ἰατροῦ, οὕτω καὶ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἔστι μὲν ὡς τοῦ
of-the doctor so also about the money there-is indeed a-way of-the
οἰκονόμου, ἔστι δ' ὡς οὔ ἀλλὰ τῆς ὑπηρετικῆς· μάλιστα
household-manager there-is and a-way not but of-the ancillary most
δέ, καθάπερ εἴρηται πρότερον, δεῖ φύσει τοῦτο ὑπάρχειν.
and just-as has-been-said before must by-nature this to-be-at-hand
φύσεως γάρ ἐστιν ἔργον τροφὴν τῷ γεννηθέντι παρέχειν·
of-nature for it-is work food to-the born to-provide
παντὶ γάρ, ἐξ οὗ γίνεται, τροφὴ τὸ λειπόμενόν ἐστι.
to-everything for from which it-is-born food the residue is
διὸ κατὰ φύσιν ἐστὶν ἡ χρηματιστικὴ πᾶσιν ἀπὸ τῶν
therefore according-to nature is the wealth-getting for-all from the
καρπῶν καὶ τῶν ζῴων. Διπλῆς δ' οὔσης αὐτῆς, ὥσπερ
fruits and the animals double and being it just-as
εἴπομεν, καὶ τῆς μὲν καπηλικῆς τῆς δ' οἰκονομικῆς,
we-said and the(-one) indeed trading the(-other) and household-management
καὶ ταύτης μὲν ἀναγκαίας καὶ ἐπαινουμένης, τῆς δὲ
and this indeed necessary and praised the but
μεταβλητικῆς ψεγομένης δικαίως (οὐ γὰρ κατὰ φύσιν ἀλλ'
exchange blamed justly not for according-to nature but
ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἐστίν), εὐλογώτατα μισεῖται ἡ ὀβολοστατικὴ
from one-another it-is most-reasonably is-hated the usury

διὰ τὸ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοῦ νομίσματος εἶναι τὴν κτῆσιν καὶ
through the from itself the currency to-be the acquisition and
οὐκ ἐφ᾽ ὅπερ ἐπορίσθη. μεταβολῆς γὰρ ἐγένετο χάριν,
not for which-very it-was-provided of-exchange for it-came-to-be for-the-sake
ὁ δὲ τόκος αὐτὸ ποιεῖ πλέον. ὅθεν καὶ τοὔνομα τοῦτ᾽
the but interest it makes more whence also the-name this
εἴληφεν· ὅμοια γὰρ τὰ τικτόμενα τοῖς γεννῶσιν αὐτά
it-has-taken like for the offspring to-the parents them
ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ τόκος γίνεται νόμισμα ἐκ νομίσματος. ὥστε
are the and interest becomes currency from currency so-that
καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ φύσιν· οὗτος τῶν χρηματισμῶν ἐστιν.
also most against nature this of-the money-makings is

XI · THE PRACTICE OF WEALTH-GETTING

The useful parts of wealth-getting are knowledge of livestock, farming, and beekeeping; trade, lending, and wage labor; and, between the two, forestry and mining. Chares of Paros and Apollodorus of Lemnos have written on farming, and the stories of men who grew rich should be collected. Thales, mocked for his poverty, foresaw an olive harvest, hired all the presses, and showed that a philosopher can easily be rich, and a Sicilian bought up all the iron. Cities too need revenues, so that some statesmen engage in politics only in these matters.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ πρὸς τὴν γνῶσιν διωρίκαμεν ἱκανῶς,
since and the(-things) for the knowledge we-have-defined sufficiently
τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν δεῖ διελθεῖν. πάντα δὲ τὰ
the(-things) for the use one-must to-go-through all and the
τοιαῦτα τὴν μὲν θεωρίαν ἐλεύθερον ἔχει, τὴν δ᾽ ἐμπειρίαν
such the indeed theory free has the and experience
ἀναγκαίαν. ἔστι δὲ χρηματιστικῆς μέρη χρήσιμα· τὸ περὶ
necessary there-are and of-wealth-getting parts useful the about

τὰ κτήματα ἔμπειρον εἶναι, ποῖα λυσιτελέστατα καὶ ποῦ
the possessions experienced to-be what-sort most-profitable and where
καὶ πῶς, οἷον ἵππων κτῆσις ποία τις ἢ βοῶν ἢ προβάτων,
and how such-as of-horses acquisition what-sort some or of-oxen or of-sheep
ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ζῴων (δεῖ γὰρ ἔμπειρον εἶναι
likewise and also of-the remaining animals one-must for experienced to-be
πρὸς ἄλληλά τε τούτων τίνα λυσιτελέστατα, καὶ ποῖα
in-relation-to one-another both of-these which most-profitable and what-sort
ἐν ποίοις τόποις· ἄλλα γὰρ ἐν ἄλλαις εὐθηνεῖ χώραις)· εἶτα
in what-sort places some for in other thrive regions then
περὶ γεωργίας, καὶ ταύτης ἤδη ψιλῆς τε καὶ πεφυτευμένης,
about farming and of-this already bare both and planted
καὶ μελιττουργίας, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων τῶν πλωτῶν ἢ
and bee-keeping and of-the other animals the swimming or
πτηνῶν ἀφ' ὅσων ἔστι τυγχάνειν βοηθείας. τῆς μὲν
flying from as-many-as it-is-possible to-obtain help of-the indeed
οὖν οἰκειοτάτης χρηματιστικῆς ταῦτα μόρια καὶ πρῶτα·
then most-proper wealth-getting these parts and first
τῆς δὲ μεταβλητικῆς μέγιστον μὲν ἐμπορία (καὶ ταύτης
of-the but exchange greatest indeed commerce and of-this
μέρη τρία, ναυκληρία φορτηγία παράστασις· διαφέρει δὲ
parts three ship-owning carrying retailing differs and
τούτων ἕτερα ἑτέρων τῷ τὰ μὲν ἀσφαλέστερα εἶναι,
of-these some from-others by-the the(-ones) indeed safer to-be
τὰ δὲ πλείω πορίζειν τὴν ἐπικαρπίαν), δεύτερον δὲ
the(-others) and more to-provide the profit second and
τοκισμός, τρίτον δὲ μισθαρνία (ταύτης δ' ἡ μὲν τῶν
lending-at-interest third and wage-earning of-this and the indeed of-the
βαναύσων τεχνῶν, ἡ δὲ τῶν ἀτέχνων καὶ τῷ
vulgar arts the(-other) and of-the unskilled and with-the
σώματι μόνῳ χρησίμων)· τρίτον δὲ εἶδος χρηματιστικῆς
body alone useful third and kind of-wealth-getting

μεταξὺ ταύτης καὶ τῆς πρώτης (ἔχει γὰρ καὶ τῆς κατὰ
between this and the first it-has for both of-the according-to
φύσιν τι μέρος καὶ τῆς μεταβλητικῆς), ὅσα ἀπὸ γῆς
nature some part and of-the exchange as-many-as from earth
καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς γιγνομένων, ἀκάρπων μὲν χρησίμων
and of-the from earth things-arising fruitless indeed useful
δέ, οἷον ὑλοτομία τε καὶ πᾶσα μεταλλευτική.
but such-as timber-cutting both and all mining
αὕτη δὲ πολλὰ ἤδη περιείληφε γένη· πολλὰ γὰρ εἴδη
this and many already embraces kinds many for kinds
τῶν ἐκ γῆς μεταλλευομένων ἐστίν. περὶ ἑκάστου δὲ
of-the from earth mined there-are about each and
τούτων καθόλου μὲν εἴρηται καὶ νῦν, τὸ δὲ κατὰ
of-these generally indeed it-has-been-said also now the but in
μέρος ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι χρήσιμον μὲν πρὸς τὰς ἐργασίας,
particular to-go-into-detail useful indeed for the occupations
φορτικὸν δὲ τὸ ἐνδιατρίβειν. εἰσὶ δὲ τεχνικώταται μὲν
vulgar but the to-dwell-on-it are and most-skilled indeed
τῶν ἐργασιῶν ὅπου ἐλάχιστον τύχης, βαναυσόταται δ'
of-the occupations where least of-chance most-vulgar and
ἐν αἷς τὰ σώματα λωβῶνται μάλιστα, δουλικώταται δὲ
in which the bodies are-maimed most most-slavish and
ὅπου τοῦ σώματος πλεῖσται χρήσεις, ἀγεννέσταται δὲ
where of-the body most uses most-ignoble and
ὅπου ἐλάχιστον προσδεῖ ἀρετῆς.
where least is-needed-besides of-virtue
ἐπεὶ δ' ἐστὶν ἐνίοις γεγραμμένα περὶ τούτων, οἷον Χάρητι
since and there-are by-some writings about these such-as by-Chares
δὴ τῷ Παρίῳ καὶ Ἀπολλοδώρῳ τῷ Λημνίῳ περὶ γεωργίας
indeed the of-Paros and by-Apollodorus the of-Lemnos about farming
καὶ ψιλῆς καὶ πεφυτευμένης, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις περὶ
both bare and planted likewise and also by-others about

ἄλλων, ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ τούτων θεωρείτω ὅτῳ ἐπιμελές· ἔτι
other-things these indeed from these let-him-study to-whom of-concern further
δὲ καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα σποράδην, δι' ὧν ἐπιτετυχήκασιν
and also the(-things) said scattered by which have-succeeded
ἔνιοι χρηματιζόμενοι, δεῖ συλλέγειν. πάντα γὰρ ὠφέλιμα
some money-making one-must to-collect all for useful
ταῦτ' ἐστὶ τοῖς τιμῶσι τὴν χρηματιστικήν, οἷον καὶ
these are to-those honoring the wealth-getting such-as also
τὸ Θάλεω τοῦ Μιλησίου· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι κατανόημά
the(-story) of-Thales the of-Miletus this for is device
τι χρηματιστικόν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ μὲν διὰ τὴν σοφίαν
some of-wealth-getting but to-him indeed through the wisdom
προσάπτουσι, τυγχάνει δὲ καθόλου τι ὄν. ὀνειδιζόντων
they-attribute-it it-happens and generally something being reproaching
γὰρ αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν πενίαν ὡς ἀνωφελοῦς τῆς φιλοσοφίας
for him for the poverty as useless the philosophy
οὔσης, κατανοήσαντά φασιν αὐτὸν ἐλαιῶν φορὰν ἐσομένην
being having-observed they-say him of-olives crop to-be
ἐκ τῆς ἀστρολογίας, ἔτι χειμῶνος ὄντος εὐπορήσαντα
from the astronomy still winter being having-provided-himself
χρημάτων ὀλίγων ἀρραβῶνας διαδοῦναι τῶν ἐλαιουργείων
with-money little deposits to-distribute of-the olive-presses
τῶν τ' ἐν Μιλήτῳ καὶ Χίῳ πάντων, ὀλίγου μισθωσάμενον
of-the both in Miletus and Chios all for-little having-hired
ἅτ' οὐθενὸς ἐπιβάλλοντος· ἐπειδὴ δ' ὁ καιρὸς ἦκε,
inasmuch-as no-one bidding when and the season came
πολλῶν ζητουμένων ἅμα καὶ ἐξαίφνης, ἐκμισθοῦντα ὃν
many being-sought at-once and suddenly letting-out in-what
τρόπον ἠβούλετο, πολλὰ χρήματα συλλέξαντα ἐπιδεῖξαι
manner he-wished much money having-collected to-show

ὅτι ῥᾴδιόν ἐστι πλουτεῖν τοῖς φιλοσόφοις, ἂν βούλωνται,
that easy it-is to-be-rich for-the philosophers if they-wish
ἀλλ᾽ οὐ τοῦτ᾽ ἐστὶ περὶ ὃ σπουδάζουσιν.
but not this is about which they-are-eager
Θαλῆς μὲν οὖν λέγεται τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐπίδειξιν
Thales indeed then is-said in-this the manner a-display
ποιήσασθαι τῆς σοφίας· ἔστι δ᾽, ὥσπερ εἴπομεν, καθόλου τὸ
to-have-made of-the wisdom it-is but just-as we-said generally the
τοιοῦτον χρηματιστικόν, ἐάν τις δύνηται μονοπωλίαν αὐτῷ
such money-making if one is-able a-monopoly for-himself
κατασκευάζειν. διὸ καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἔνιαι τοῦτον ποιοῦνται
to-establish therefore also of-the cities some this make
τὸν πόρον, ὅταν ἀπορῶσι χρημάτων· μονοπωλίαν γὰρ τῶν
the resource when they-lack money a-monopoly for of-the
ὠνίων ποιοῦσιν. ἐν Σικελίᾳ δέ τις τεθέντος παρ᾽
wares they-make in Sicily and someone having-been-deposited with
αὐτῷ νομίσματος συνεπρίατο πάντα τὸν σίδηρον ἐκ τῶν
him money bought-up all the iron from the
σιδηρείων, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὡς ἀφίκοντο ἐκ τῶν ἐμπορίων
iron-mines after and these-things when came from the markets
οἱ ἔμποροι, ἐπώλει μόνος, οὐ πολλὴν ποιήσας ὑπερβολὴν
the merchants he-sold alone not great having-made excess
τῆς τιμῆς· ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως ἐπὶ τοῖς πεντήκοντα ταλάντοις
of-the price but nevertheless on the fifty talents
ἐπέλαβεν ἑκατόν. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὁ Διονύσιος αἰσθόμενος
he-made a-hundred this indeed then — Dionysius having-perceived
τὰ μὲν χρήματα ἐκέλευσεν ἐκκομίσασθαι, μὴ μέντοι γε
the indeed money he-bade-him to-take-away not however at-least
ἔτι μένειν ἐν Συρακούσαις, ὡς πόρους εὑρίσκοντα τοῖς
still to-remain in Syracuse as resources finding for-the
αὐτοῦ πράγμασιν ἀσυμφόρους· τὸ μέντοι ὅραμα Θάλεω καὶ
his-own affairs disadvantageous the however idea of-Thales and

τοῦτο ταὐτόν ἐστιν· ἀμφότεροι γὰρ ἑαυτοῖς ἐτέχνασαν
this the-same is both for for-themselves contrived
γενέσθαι μονοπωλίαν. χρήσιμον δὲ γνωρίζειν ταῦτα καὶ
to-come-to-be a-monopoly useful and to-know these-things also
τοῖς πολιτικοῖς. πολλαῖς γὰρ πόλεσι δεῖ χρηματισμοῦ
for-the statesmen for-many for cities there-is-need of-money-making
καὶ τοιούτων πόρων ὥσπερ οἰκίᾳ, μᾶλλον δέ. διόπερ
and of-such resources just-as for-a-household more but therefore
τινὲς καὶ πολιτεύονται τῶν πολιτευομένων ταῦτα μόνον.
some also engage-in-politics of-those engaging-in-politics in-these only

XII · WIFE AND CHILDREN

Household management has three parts: mastership, paternal rule, and marital rule. A man rules his wife as a statesman rules citizens, and his children as a king, since the male is by nature fitter to lead than the female, and the older and full-grown than the younger and unformed. In political rule ruler and ruled change places, but between male and female the relation is permanent; the father's rule is kingly, as Homer calls Zeus father of gods and men.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τρία μέρη τῆς οἰκονομικῆς ἦν, ἓν μὲν
since and three parts of-the household-management were one indeed
δεσποτική, περὶ ἧς εἴρηται πρότερον, ἓν δὲ πατρική,
of-mastership about which it-has-been-said before one and paternal
τρίτον δὲ γαμική· καὶ γὰρ γυναικὸς ἄρχειν καὶ τέκνων, ὡς
third and marital also for over-wife to-rule and over-children as
ἐλευθέρων μὲν ἀμφοῖν, οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς ἀρχῆς,
over-free indeed both not the same but manner of-the rule
ἀλλὰ γυναικὸς μὲν πολιτικῶς τέκνων δὲ βασιλικῶς·
but over-wife indeed constitutionally over-children and royally
τό τε γὰρ ἄρρεν φύσει τοῦ θήλεος ἡγεμονικώτερον,
the both for male by-nature than-the female more-fit-to-lead

εἰ μή που συνέστηκε παρὰ φύσιν, καὶ τὸ πρεσβύτερον
if not somewhere it-is-constituted against nature and the older
καὶ τέλειον τοῦ νεωτέρου καὶ ἀτελοῦς. ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς
and complete than-the younger and incomplete in indeed then the
πολιτικαῖς ἀρχαῖς ταῖς πλείσταις μεταβάλλει τὸ ἄρχον
political rules the most changes-places the ruler
καὶ τὸ ἀρχόμενον (ἐξ ἴσου γὰρ εἶναι βούλεται τὴν φύσιν
and the ruled from equal for to-be wishes the nature
καὶ διαφέρειν μηδέν), ὅμως δέ, ὅταν τὸ μὲν ἄρχῃ
and to-differ nothing nevertheless but when the(-one) indeed rules
τὸ δ' ἄρχηται, ζητεῖ διαφορὰν εἶναι καὶ σχήμασι καὶ
the(-other) and is-ruled it-seeks difference to-be both in-bearing and
λόγοις καὶ τιμαῖς, ὥσπερ καὶ Ἄμασις εἶπε τὸν περὶ
in-forms-of-address and in-honors just-as also Amasis told the about
τοῦ ποδανιπτῆρος λόγον· τὸ δ' ἄρρεν ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ θῆλυ
the foot-basin story the but male always toward the female
τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον. ἡ δὲ τῶν τέκνων ἀρχὴ βασιλική·
this has the relation the and of-the children rule royal
τὸ γὰρ γεννῆσαν καὶ κατὰ φιλίαν ἄρχον καὶ κατὰ
the for begetter both in-virtue-of affection ruling and in-virtue-of
πρεσβείαν ἐστίν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ βασιλικῆς εἶδος ἀρχῆς. διὸ
seniority is which-very is of-royal kind rule therefore
καλῶς Ὅμηρος τὸν Δία προσηγόρευσεν, εἰπὼν "πατὴρ
well Homer — Zeus addressed saying father
ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε", τὸν βασιλέα τούτων ἁπάντων.
of-men both of-gods and the king of-these all
φύσει γὰρ τὸν βασιλέα διαφέρειν μὲν δεῖ, τῷ γένει δ'
by-nature for the king to-differ indeed must by-the race but
εἶναι τὸν αὐτόν· ὅπερ πέπονθε τὸ πρεσβύτερον πρὸς
to-be the same which-very is-the-case-with the older toward
τὸ νεώτερον καὶ ὁ γεννήσας πρὸς τὸ τέκνον.
the younger and the begetter toward the child

XIII · THE VIRTUES OF THE RULED

Household management cares more for people than for property, and more for the free than for slaves. All share in virtue, but differently: the slave has no deliberative faculty, the woman has it without authority, and the child has it incomplete, so a woman's courage and moderation are not a man's. The slave needs little virtue, and his master must be its cause. Since the household is part of the city, women and children must be educated with the constitution in view. Next come the best constitutions others have proposed.

Φανερὸν τοίνυν ὅτι πλείων ἡ σπουδὴ τῆς οἰκονομίας
evident therefore that greater the concern of-the household-management
περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἢ περὶ τὴν τῶν ἀψύχων κτῆσιν, καὶ
about the men than about the of-the lifeless property and
περὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τούτων ἢ περὶ τὴν τῆς κτήσεως, ὃν
about the virtue of-these than about the of-the property which
καλοῦμεν πλοῦτον, καὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων μᾶλλον ἢ δούλων.
we-call wealth and of-the free rather than of-slaves
Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν περὶ δούλων ἀπορήσειεν ἄν τις,
first indeed then about slaves would-raise-the-question — one
πότερον ἔστιν ἀρετή τις δούλου παρὰ τὰς ὀργανικὰς καὶ
whether there-is virtue some of-a-slave beside the instrumental and
διακονικὰς ἄλλη τιμιωτέρα τούτων, οἷον σωφροσύνη καὶ
serving other more-honorable than-these such-as temperance and
ἀνδρεία καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων ἕξεων,
courage and justice and of-the other the such states
ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεμία παρὰ τὰς σωματικὰς ὑπηρεσίας. ἔχει
or not there-is none beside the bodily services it-has
γὰρ ἀπορίαν ἀμφοτέρως· εἴτε γὰρ ἔστιν, τί διοίσουσι
for difficulty both-ways whether for there-is in-what will-they-differ
τῶν ἐλευθέρων; εἴτε μὴ ἔστιν, ὄντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ λόγου
from-the free or not there-is being men and in-reason

κοινωνούντων ἄτοπον. σχεδὸν δὴ ταὐτόν ἐστι τὸ ζητούμενον
sharing absurd nearly indeed the-same is the sought
καὶ περὶ γυναικὸς καὶ παιδός, πότερα καὶ τούτων εἰσὶν
also about woman and child whether also of-these there-are
ἀρεταί, καὶ δεῖ τὴν γυναῖκα εἶναι σώφρονα καὶ ἀνδρείαν καὶ
virtues and must the woman to-be temperate and brave and
δικαίαν, καὶ παῖς ἐστι καὶ ἀκόλαστος καὶ σώφρων, ἢ οὔ;
just and child is both licentious and temperate or not
καὶ καθόλου δὴ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐπισκεπτέον περὶ ἀρχομένου
and generally indeed this is to-be-examined about ruled
φύσει καὶ ἄρχοντος, πότερον ἡ αὐτὴ ἀρετὴ ἢ ἑτέρα. εἰ
by-nature and ruler whether the same virtue or different if
μὲν γὰρ δεῖ ἀμφοτέρους μετέχειν καλοκαγαθίας, διὰ τί
indeed for must both to-share nobility through what
τὸν μὲν ἄρχειν δέοι ἂν τὸν δὲ ἄρχεσθαι καθάπαξ;
the(-one) indeed to-rule would-need — the(-other) and to-be-ruled once-for-all
(οὐδὲ γὰρ τῷ μᾶλλον καὶ ἧττον οἷόν τε διαφέρειν·
nor for by-the more and less possible — to-differ
τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἄρχειν εἴδει διαφέρει, τὸ δὲ
the indeed for to-be-ruled and to-rule in-kind differs the but
μᾶλλον καὶ ἧττον οὐδέν)· εἰ δὲ τὸν μὲν δεῖ τὸν
more and less not-at-all if and the(-one) indeed must the(-other)
δὲ μή, θαυμαστόν· εἴτε γὰρ ὁ ἄρχων μὴ ἔσται σώφρων
and not wonderful whether for the ruler not will-be temperate
καὶ δίκαιος, πῶς ἄρξει καλῶς; εἴθ' ὁ ἀρχόμενος, πῶς
and just how will-be-rule well or the ruled how
ἀρχθήσεται καλῶς; ἀκόλαστος γὰρ ὢν καὶ δειλὸς οὐδὲν
will-be-be-ruled well licentious for being and cowardly nothing
ποιήσει τῶν προσηκόντων. φανερὸν τοίνυν ὅτι ἀνάγκη μὲν
he-will-do of-the fitting evident therefore that necessity indeed
μετέχειν ἀμφοτέρους ἀρετῆς, ταύτης δ' εἶναι διαφοράς,
to-share both virtue of-this but to-be differences

ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν φύσει ἀρχομένων. καὶ τοῦτο εὐθὺς
just-as also of-the by-nature ruled and this at-once
ὑφήγηται περὶ τὴν ψυχήν· ἐν ταύτῃ γάρ ἐστι φύσει τὸ
is-indicated about the soul in this for is by-nature the(-one)
μὲν ἄρχον τὸ δ' ἀρχόμενον, ὧν ἑτέραν φαμὲν
indeed ruling the(-other) and ruled of-which different we-say
εἶναι ἀρετήν, οἷον τοῦ λόγον ἔχοντος καὶ τοῦ ἀλόγου.
to-be virtue such-as of-the reason having and of-the irrational
δῆλον τοίνυν ὅτι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἔχει καὶ ἐπὶ
plain therefore that the same manner it-holds also in-the-case-of
τῶν ἄλλων. ὥστε φύσει τὰ πλείω ἄρχοντα καὶ ἀρχόμενα.
the others so-that by-nature the more ruling and ruled
ἄλλον γὰρ τρόπον τὸ ἐλεύθερον τοῦ δούλου ἄρχει καὶ τὸ
in-other for manner the free the slave rules and the
ἄρρεν τοῦ θήλεος καὶ ἀνὴρ παιδός. καὶ πᾶσιν ἐνυπάρχει
male the female and man child and in-all are-present
μὲν τὰ μόρια τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλ' ἐνυπάρχει διαφερόντως.
indeed the parts of-the soul but are-present differently
ὁ μὲν γὰρ δοῦλος ὅλως οὐκ ἔχει τὸ βουλευτικόν, τὸ δὲ
the indeed for slave wholly not has the deliberative the but
θῆλυ ἔχει μὲν ἀλλ' ἄκυρον, ὁ δὲ παῖς ἔχει μὲν ἀλλ'
female has indeed but without-authority the and child has indeed but
ἀτελές. ὁμοίως τοίνυν ἀναγκαίως ἔχειν καὶ περὶ τὰς ἠθικὰς
incomplete likewise therefore necessarily to-hold also about the moral
ἀρετὰς ὑποληπτέον, δεῖν μὲν μετέχειν πάντας ἀλλ'
virtues must-be-supposed to-be-necessary indeed to-share all but
οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἑκάστῳ πρὸς τὸ αὐτοῦ
not the same manner but as-much-as for-each toward the his-own
ἔργον. διὸ τὸν μὲν ἄρχοντα τελέαν ἔχειν δεῖ τὴν ἠθικὴν
work therefore the indeed ruler complete to-have must the moral
ἀρετήν (τὸ γὰρ ἔργον ἐστὶν ἁπλῶς τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος, ὁ
virtue the for work is simply of-the master-builder the

δὲ λόγος ἀρχιτέκτων), τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἕκαστον ὅσον
and reason master-builder of-the and others each as-much-as
ἐπιβάλλει αὐτοῖς. ὥστε φανερὸν ὅτι ἐστὶν ἠθικὴ ἀρετὴ
falls-to them so-that evident that there-is moral virtue
τῶν εἰρημένων πάντων, καὶ οὐχ ἡ αὐτὴ σωφροσύνη
of-the said all and not the same temperance
γυναικὸς καὶ ἀνδρός, οὐδ' ἀνδρεία καὶ δικαιοσύνη, καθάπερ
of-woman and of-man nor courage and justice just-as
ᾤετο Σωκράτης, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν ἀρχικὴ ἀνδρεία ἡ δ'
thought Socrates but the(-one) indeed ruling courage the and
ὑπηρετική, ὁμοίως δ' ἔχει καὶ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας.
serving likewise and it-holds also about the others
δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο καὶ κατὰ μέρος μᾶλλον ἐπισκοποῦσιν·
plain and this also in particular more to-those-examining
καθόλου γὰρ οἱ λέγοντες ἐξαπατῶσιν ἑαυτοὺς ὅτι τὸ εὖ
generally for those saying deceive themselves that the well
ἔχειν τὴν ψυχὴν ἀρετή, ἢ τὸ ὀρθοπραγεῖν, ἤ τι τῶν
being the soul virtue or the to-act-rightly or something of-the
τοιούτων· πολὺ γὰρ ἄμεινον λέγουσιν οἱ ἐξαριθμοῦντες τὰς
such much for better speak those enumerating the
ἀρετάς, ὥσπερ Γοργίας, τῶν οὕτως ὁριζομένων. διὸ
virtues just-as Gorgias than-those thus defining therefore
δεῖ, ὥσπερ ὁ ποιητὴς εἴρηκε περὶ γυναικός, οὕτω νομίζειν
must just-as the poet has-said about woman so to-think
ἔχειν περὶ πάντων· "γυναικὶ κόσμον ἡ σιγὴ φέρει," ἀλλ'
to-hold about all to-woman ornament the silence brings but
ἀνδρὶ οὐκέτι τοῦτο. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ παῖς ἀτελής, δῆλον ὅτι
to-man no-longer this since and the child incomplete plain that
τούτου μὲν καὶ ἡ ἀρετὴ οὐκ αὐτοῦ πρὸς αὐτόν ἐστιν ἀλλὰ
of-this indeed also the virtue not of-himself toward himself is but
πρὸς τὸ τέλος καὶ τὸν ἡγούμενον. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ δούλου
toward the end and the leader likewise and also of-slave

πρὸς δεσπότην. Ἔθεμεν δὲ πρὸς τἀναγκαῖα χρήσιμον εἶναι
toward master we-laid-down and for the-necessities useful to-be
τὸν δοῦλον, ὥστε δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἀρετῆς δεῖται μικρᾶς, καὶ
the slave so-that plain that also virtue he-needs little and
τοσαύτης ὅπως μήτε δι' ἀκολασίαν μήτε διὰ δειλίαν
so-much that neither through licentiousness nor through cowardice
ἐλλείψῃ τῶν ἔργων. ἀπορήσειε δ' ἄν τις, τὸ νῦν
he-may-fall-short of-the tasks would-raise-the-question and — one the now
εἰρημένον εἰ ἀληθές, ἆρα καὶ τοὺς τεχνίτας δεήσει ἔχειν
said if true then also the craftsmen will-need to-have
ἀρετήν· πολλάκις γὰρ δι' ἀκολασίαν ἐλλείπουσι τῶν ἔργων.
virtue often for through licentiousness they-fall-short of-the tasks
ἢ διαφέρει τοῦτο πλεῖστον; ὁ μὲν γὰρ δοῦλος κοινωνὸς
or differs this very-much the indeed for slave partner
ζωῆς, ὁ δὲ πορρώτερον, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπιβάλλει ἀρετῆς
of-life the but farther-removed and so-much falls-to of-virtue
ὅσον περ καὶ δουλείας· ὁ γὰρ βάναυσος τεχνίτης
as-much-as indeed also of-slavery the for vulgar craftsman
ἀφωρισμένην τινὰ ἔχει δουλείαν, καὶ ὁ μὲν δοῦλος τῶν
a-limited some has slavery and the indeed slave of-those
φύσει, σκυτοτόμος δ' οὐθείς, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνιτῶν.
by-nature shoemaker but no-one nor of-the other craftsmen
φανερὸν τοίνυν ὅτι τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρετῆς αἴτιον εἶναι
evident therefore that of-the such virtue cause to-be
δεῖ τῷ δούλῳ τὸν δεσπότην, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν διδασκαλικὴν
must to-the slave the master but not the teaching
ἔχοντα τῶν ἔργων δεσποτικήν. διὸ λέγουσιν οὐ καλῶς
having of-the tasks of-a-master therefore they-speak not well
οἱ λόγου τοὺς δούλους ἀποστεροῦντες καὶ φάσκοντες
those of-reason the slaves depriving and asserting

ἐπιτάξει χρῆσθαι μόνον· νουθετητέον γὰρ μᾶλλον τοὺς
with-command to-use only must-be-admonished for more the
δούλους ἢ τοὺς παῖδας.
slaves than the children
Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων διωρίσθω τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον·
but about indeed these let-it-be-determined the manner this
περὶ δ' ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ τέκνων καὶ πατρός,
about but man and woman and children and father
τῆς τε περὶ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς πρὸς σφᾶς
the both about each of-them virtue and the toward themselves
αὐτοὺς ὁμιλίας, τί τὸ καλῶς καὶ μὴ καλῶς ἐστι, καὶ πῶς
themselves intercourse what the well and not well is and how
δεῖ τὸ μὲν εὖ διώκειν τὸ δὲ κακῶς φεύγειν, ἐν τοῖς
must the indeed well to-pursue the but badly to-flee in the-discussions
περὶ τὰς πολιτείας ἀναγκαῖον ἐπελθεῖν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἰκία
about the constitutions it-is-necessary to-go-through since for household
μὲν πᾶσα μέρος πόλεως, ταῦτα δ' οἰκίας, τὴν δὲ τοῦ
indeed every part of-city these and of-household the but of-the
μέρους πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὅλου δεῖ βλέπειν ἀρετήν, ἀναγκαῖον
part toward that of-the whole must to-look virtue necessary
πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν βλέποντας παιδεύειν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας
toward the constitution looking to-educate both the children
καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, εἴπερ τι διαφέρει πρὸς τὸ τὴν
and the women if-indeed at-all it-makes-a-difference toward the the
πόλιν εἶναι σπουδαίαν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας εἶναι σπουδαίους
city to-be excellent and the children to-be excellent
καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας σπουδαίας. ἀναγκαῖον δὲ διαφέρειν· αἱ
and the women excellent necessary and to-differ the
μὲν γὰρ γυναῖκες ἥμισυ μέρος τῶν ἐλευθέρων, ἐκ δὲ τῶν
indeed for women half part of-the free from and the
παίδων οἱ κοινωνοὶ γίνονται τῆς πολιτείας. ὥστ' ἐπεὶ περὶ
children the partners come-to-be of-the constitution so-that since about

μὲν τούτων διώρισται, περὶ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐν ἄλλοις
indeed these it-has-been-determined about but the remaining in other-places
λεκτέον, ἀφέντες ὡς τέλος ἔχοντας τοὺς νῦν λόγους, ἄλλην
must-be-said letting-go as end having the present discussions another
ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενοι λέγωμεν· καὶ πρῶτον ἐπισκεψώμεθα
beginning making let-us-speak and first let-us-examine
περὶ τῶν ἀποφηναμένων περὶ τῆς πολιτείας τῆς ἀρίστης.
about those having-declared about the constitution the best

BOOK II

I · HOW MUCH TO SHARE

The inquiry seeks the best political community for those able to live as they wish, and so must examine the constitutions in use and those that others have proposed. Citizens must share everything, nothing, or some things; nothing is impossible, since they share at least a place. The question is whether wives, children, and property should be shared, as in Plato's Republic*, or kept as now.*

Ἐπεὶ δὲ προαιρούμεθα θεωρῆσαι περὶ τῆς κοινωνίας τῆς
since and we-propose to-study about the community the
πολιτικῆς τίς κρατίστη πασῶν τοῖς δυναμένοις ζῆν ὅτι
political which best of-all for-those able to-live as
μάλιστα κατ᾽ εὐχήν, δεῖ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπισκέψασθαι
most according-to wish one-must also the other to-examine
πολιτείας, αἷς τε χρῶνταί τινες τῶν πόλεων τῶν
constitutions which both use some of-the cities those
εὐνομεῖσθαι λεγομένων κἂν εἴ τινες ἕτεραι τυγχάνουσιν
to-be-well-governed said even if some others happen
ὑπὸ τινῶν εἰρημέναι καὶ δοκοῦσαι καλῶς ἔχειν, ἵνα
by some to-have-been-described and seeming well to-be that
τό τ᾽ ὀρθῶς ἔχον ὀφθῇ καὶ τὸ χρήσιμον, ἔτι δὲ τὸ
the both rightly being may-be-seen and the useful further and the
ζητεῖν τι παρ᾽ αὐτὰς ἕτερον μὴ δοκῇ πάντως εἶναι
to-seek something beside them other not may-seem at-all to-be
σοφίζεσθαι βουλομένων, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μὴ καλῶς ἔχειν
to-play-the-sophist wishing but through the not well to-be
ταύτας τὰς νῦν ὑπαρχούσας, διὰ τοῦτο ταύτην δοκῶμεν
these the now existing through this this we-may-seem
ἐπιβαλέσθαι τὴν μέθοδον. Ἀρχὴν δὲ πρῶτον ποιητέον, ἥ
to-have-undertaken the inquiry beginning and first must-be-made which

περ πέφυκεν ἀρχὴ ταύτης τῆς σκέψεως. ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἤτοι
ever is-naturally beginning of-this the inquiry necessary for either
πάντας πάντων κοινωνεῖν τοὺς πολίτας, ἢ μηδενός, ἢ τινῶν
all of-all to-share the citizens or of-nothing or of-some
μὲν τινῶν δὲ μή. τὸ μὲν οὖν μηδενὸς κοινωνεῖν φανερὸν
indeed of-some and not the indeed then of-nothing to-share evident
ὡς ἀδύνατον (ἡ γὰρ πολιτεία κοινωνία τίς ἐστι, καὶ πρῶτον
that impossible the for constitution community some is and first
ἀνάγκη τοῦ τόπου κοινωνεῖν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ τόπος εἷς ὁ τῆς
necessary the place to-share the indeed for place one the of-the
μιᾶς πόλεως, οἱ δὲ πολῖται κοινωνοὶ τῆς μιᾶς πόλεως)· ἀλλὰ
one city the and citizens sharers of-the one city but
πότερον ὅσων ἐνδέχεται κοινωνῆσαι πάντων βέλτιον
whether of-as-many-as it-is-possible to-share all better
κοινωνεῖν τὴν μέλλουσαν οἰκήσεσθαι πόλιν καλῶς, ἢ τινῶν
to-share the about-to-be to-be-governed city well or of-some
μὲν τινῶν δ' οὔ βέλτιον; ἐνδέχεται γὰρ καὶ τέκνων καὶ
indeed of-some and not better it-is-possible for both children and
γυναικῶν καὶ κτημάτων κοινωνεῖν τοὺς πολίτας ἀλλήλοις,
women and possessions to-share the citizens with-one-another
ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τῇ Πλάτωνος· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ὁ Σωκράτης
just-as in the republic the of-Plato there for — Socrates
φησὶ δεῖν κοινὰ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας εἶναι καὶ
says to-be-necessary common the children and the women to-be and
τὰς κτήσεις. τοῦτο δὴ πότερον ὡς νῦν οὕτω βέλτιον
the possessions this indeed whether as now thus better
ἔχειν, ἢ κατὰ τὸν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ γεγραμμένον νόμον;
to-be or according-to the in the republic written law

Socrates' proposal has many difficulties, and its premise, that the city should be as much one as possible, is mistaken: a city made too much one becomes a household and then a single man. A city is made of men different in kind, unlike an alliance, and is preserved by reciprocal equality, as free and equal men rule and are ruled in turn. Too much unity is also worse: the more self-sufficient community, which is the less one, is preferable.

ἜΕχει δὴ δυσχερείας ἄλλας τε πολλὰς τὸ πάντων εἶναι
has indeed difficulties other both many the of-all to-be
τὰς γυναῖκας κοινάς, καὶ δι᾽ ἣν αἰτίαν φησὶ δεῖν
the women common and through which cause says to-be-necessary
νενομοθετῆσθαι τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ὁ Σωκράτης, οὐ
to-have-been-legislated in-the manner this — Socrates not
φαίνεται συμβαῖνον ἐκ τῶν λόγων. ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τὸ τέλος
appears following from the arguments further and for the end
ὅ φησι τῇ πόλει δεῖν ὑπάρχειν, ὡς μὲν εἴρηται
which he-says for-the city to-be-necessary to-be-present as indeed it-has-been-said
νῦν, ἀδύνατον, πῶς δὲ δεῖ διελθεῖν, οὐδὲν διώρισται.
now impossible how and one-must to-go-through nothing has-been-determined
λέγω δὲ τὸ μίαν εἶναι τὴν πόλιν ὡς ἄριστον ὂν ὅτι μάλιστα
I-mean and the one to-be the city as best being as most
πᾶσαν· λαμβάνει γὰρ ταύτην ὑπόθεσιν ὁ Σωκράτης. Καίτοι
all he-takes for this assumption — Socrates and-yet
φανερόν ἐστιν ὡς προϊοῦσα καὶ γινομένη μία μᾶλλον οὐδὲ
evident it-is that advancing and becoming one more not-even
πόλις ἔσται· πλῆθος γάρ τι τὴν φύσιν ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις,
city it-will-be multitude for some the nature is the city
γινομένη τε μία μᾶλλον οἰκία μὲν ἐκ πόλεως ἄνθρωπος δ᾽
becoming and one more household indeed from city man and
ἐξ οἰκίας ἔσται· μᾶλλον γὰρ μίαν τὴν οἰκίαν τῆς πόλεως
from household it-will-be more for one the household than-the city

φαίημεν ἄν, καὶ τὸν ἕνα τῆς οἰκίας· ὥστ᾽ εἰ καὶ δυνατός
we-would-say — and the one-man than-the household so-that if even able
τις εἴη τοῦτο δρᾶν, οὐ ποιητέον· ἀναιρήσει γὰρ τὴν πόλιν.
one were this to-do not must-be-done it-will-destroy for the city
οὐ μόνον δ᾽ ἐκ πλειόνων ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις,
not only and from more men is the city
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ εἴδει διαφερόντων, οὐ γὰρ γίνεται πόλις
but also from in-kind differing not for comes-to-be a-city
ἐξ ὁμοίων. ἕτερον γὰρ συμμαχία καὶ πόλις· τὸ μὲν γὰρ
from similar-ones different for alliance and city the indeed for
τῷ ποσῷ χρήσιμον, κἂν ᾖ τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ εἴδει (βοηθείας
by-the quantity useful even-if it-be the same in-the kind of-help
γὰρ χάριν ἡ συμμαχία πέφυκεν), ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ σταθμὸς
for for-the-sake the alliance is-by-nature just-as — if a-weight
πλεῖον ἑλκύσει (διοίσει δὲ τῷ τοιούτῳ καὶ πόλις ἔθνους,
more will-pull it-will-differ and in-the such also city from-a-nation
ὅταν μὴ κατὰ κώμας ὦσι κεχωρισμένοι τὸ πλῆθος ἀλλ᾽
when not by villages they-are separated the multitude but
οἷον Ἀρκάδες)· ἐξ ὧν δὲ δεῖ ἓν γενέσθαι, εἴδει διαφέρει.
as Arcadians from which and must one to-come-to-be in-kind differ
διόπερ τὸ ἴσον τὸ ἀντιπεπονθὸς σῴζει τὰς πόλεις, ὥσπερ
therefore the equal the reciprocal preserves the cities just-as
ἐν τοῖς ἠθικοῖς εἴρηται πρότερον. ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν τοῖς
in the ethics it-has-been-said before since also among the
ἐλευθέροις καὶ ἴσοις ἀνάγκη τοῦτ᾽ εἶναι· ἅμα γὰρ οὐχ
free and equal necessary this to-be at-once for not
οἷόν τε πάντας ἄρχειν, ἀλλ᾽ ἢ κατ᾽ ἐνιαυτὸν ἢ κατά
possible — all to-rule but except by year or by
τινα ἄλλην τάξιν ἢ χρόνον. καὶ συμβαίνει δὴ τὸν τρόπον
some other order or time and it-happens indeed the manner
τοῦτον ὥστε πάντας ἄρχειν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ μετέβαλλον οἱ
this so-that all to-rule just-as — if changed-places the

σκυτεῖς καὶ οἱ τέκτονες καὶ μὴ ἀεὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ σκυτοτόμοι
shoemakers and the carpenters and not always the same shoemakers
καὶ τέκτονες ἦσαν (ἐπεὶ δὲ *** βέλτιον οὕτως ἔχειν
and carpenters were since and (lacuna) better thus to-be
καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν τὴν πολιτικήν, δῆλον ὡς
also the(-things) about the community the political plain that
τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀεὶ βέλτιον ἄρχειν, εἰ δυνατόν·
the same always better to-rule if possible
ἐν οἷς δὲ μὴ δυνατὸν διὰ τὸ τὴν φύσιν ἴσους εἶναι
among whom but not possible through the the nature equal to-be
πάντας, ἅμα δὴ καὶ δίκαιον, εἴτ' ἀγαθὸν εἴτε φαῦλον
all at-once indeed also just whether good or base
τὸ ἄρχειν, πάντας αὐτοῦ μετέχειν· τοῦτο δὲ μιμεῖται τὸ ἐν
the to-rule all in-it to-share this and imitates the in
μέρει τοὺς ἴσους εἴκειν τό θ' ὡς ὁμοίους εἶναι ἔξω ἀρχῆς)·
turn the equal to-yield the and as alike to-be outside rule
οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄρχουσιν οἱ δ' ἄρχονται κατὰ μέρος
the(-ones) indeed for rule the(-others) and are-ruled by turn
ὥσπερ ἂν ἄλλοι γενόμενοι. τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον ἀρχόντων
just-as — others having-become the same indeed manner of-rulers
ἕτεροι ἑτέρας ἄρχουσιν ἀρχάς. φανερὸν τοίνυν ἐκ τούτων
different-ones different rule offices evident therefore from these
ὡς οὔτε πέφυκε μίαν οὕτως εἶναι τὴν πόλιν ὥσπερ λέγουσί
that neither is-natural one thus to-be the city just-as say
τινες, καὶ τὸ λεχθὲν ὡς μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὅτι
some and the said as greatest good in the cities that
τὰς πόλεις ἀναιρεῖ· καίτοι τό γε ἑκάστου ἀγαθὸν σῴζει
the cities it-destroys and-yet the at-least of-each good preserves
ἕκαστον. ἔστι δὲ καὶ κατ' ἄλλον τρόπον φανερὸν ὅτι τὸ
each it-is and also in other manner evident that the
λίαν ἑνοῦν ζητεῖν τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἔστιν ἄμεινον. οἰκία μὲν
too-much unifying to-seek the city not is better household indeed

γὰρ αὐταρκέστερον ἑνός, πόλις δ' οἰκίας, καὶ βούλεταί
for more-self-sufficient than-one city and than-household and wishes
γ' ἤδη τότε εἶναι πόλις, ὅταν αὐτάρκη συμβαίνῃ τὴν
at-least already then to-be a-city when self-sufficient it-happens the
κοινωνίαν εἶναι τοῦ πλήθους· εἴπερ οὖν αἱρετώτερον τὸ
community to-be of-the multitude if-indeed then more-choiceworthy the
αὐταρκέστερον, καὶ τὸ ἧττον ἓν τοῦ μᾶλλον αἱρετώτερον.
more-self-sufficient also the less one than-the more more-choiceworthy

III · ALL SAYING "MINE"

Even if unity is best, it is not shown by all saying "mine" and "not mine" at once, for "all" is ambiguous, and what is common to most receives the least care. Each citizen would have a thousand sons, and all would neglect them alike; it is better to be a real cousin than a son in Socrates' way. Nor could likenesses be kept from revealing kin, as is reported of some Upper Libyans and of the mare at Pharsalus called Just.

Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' εἰ τοῦτο ἄριστόν ἐστι, τὸ μίαν ὅτι
but indeed not-even if this best is the one as
μάλιστ' εἶναι τὴν κοινωνίαν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀποδείκνυσθαι
most to-be the community not-even this to-be-demonstrated
φαίνεται κατὰ τὸν λόγον, ἐὰν πάντες ἅμα λέγωσι τὸ ἐμὸν
appears by the argument if all at-once say the mine
καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐμόν· τοῦτο γὰρ οἴεται ὁ Σωκράτης σημεῖον
and the not mine this for thinks — Socrates sign
εἶναι τοῦ τὴν πόλιν τελέως εἶναι μίαν. τὸ γὰρ πάντες
to-be of-the the city completely to-be one the for all
διττόν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ὡς ἕκαστος, τάχ' ἂν εἴη μᾶλλον
double if indeed then as each perhaps — would-be rather
ὃ βούλεται ποιεῖν ὁ Σωκράτης (ἕκαστος γὰρ υἱὸν
what wishes to-do — Socrates each for son

ἑαυτοῦ φήσει τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ γυναῖκα δὴ τὴν αὐτήν, καὶ
his-own will-say the same and wife indeed the same and
περὶ τῆς οὐσίας καὶ περὶ ἑκάστου δὴ τῶν συμβαινόντων
about the property and about each indeed of-the things-happening
ὡσαύτως)· νῦν δ' οὐχ οὕτως φήσουσιν οἱ κοιναῖς
likewise now but not thus will-say those common
χρώμενοι ταῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις, ἀλλὰ πάντες μέν,
using the wives and the children but all indeed
οὐχ ὡς ἕκαστος δ' αὐτῶν ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν
not as each but of-them likewise and also the property
πάντες μέν, οὐχ ὡς ἕκαστος δ' αὐτῶν. ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν
all indeed not as each but of-them that indeed therefore
παραλογισμός τίς ἐστι τὸ λέγειν πάντας, φανερόν (τὸ
fallacy some is the to-say all evident the
γὰρ πάντες καὶ ἀμφότερα καὶ περιττὰ καὶ ἄρτια διὰ τὸ
for all and both and odd and even through the
διττὸν καὶ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἐριστικοὺς ποιεῖ συλλογισμούς·
double also in the arguments contentious makes syllogisms
διό ἐστι τὸ πάντας τὸ αὐτὸ λέγειν ὠδὶ μὲν καλὸν
therefore is the all the same to-say in-one-way indeed fine
ἀλλ' οὐ δυνατόν, ὠδὶ δ' οὐδὲν ὁμονοητικόν)· πρὸς
but not possible in-another-way and nothing conducive-to-concord besides
δὲ τούτοις ἑτέραν ἔχει βλάβην τὸ λεγόμενον.
and these other has harm the said(-thing)
ἥκιστα γὰρ ἐπιμελείας τυγχάνει τὸ πλείστων κοινόν· τῶν
least for of-care obtains the of-most common of-the
γὰρ ἰδίων μάλιστα φροντίζουσιν, τῶν δὲ κοινῶν ἧττον ἢ
for own(-things) most they-take-thought of-the but common less or
ὅσον ἑκάστῳ ἐπιβάλλει· πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὡς ἑτέρου
as-much-as to-each falls besides for the others as another
φροντίζοντος ὀλιγωροῦσι μᾶλλον, ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς οἰκετικαῖς
taking-thought they-neglect(-it) more just-as in the household

διακονίαις οἱ πολλοὶ θεράποντες ἐνίοτε χεῖρον ὑπηρετοῦσι
services the many servants sometimes worse serve
τῶν ἐλαττόνων. γίνονται δ' ἑκάστῳ χίλιοι τῶν πολιτῶν
than-the fewer become and to-each a-thousand of-the citizens
υἱοί, καὶ οὗτοι οὐχ ὡς ἑκάστου ἀλλὰ τοῦ τυχόντος ὁ τυχὼν
sons and these not as of-each but of-the chance-one the chance-one
ὁμοίως ἐστὶν υἱός· ὥστε πάντες ὁμοίως ὀλιγωρήσουσιν.
alike is son so-that all alike will-neglect(-them)
ἔτι οὕτως ἕκαστος ἐμὸς λέγει τὸν εὖ πράττοντα τῶν
further thus each mine says the well faring of-the
πολιτῶν ἢ κακῶς ὁπόστος τυγχάνει τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὤν,
citizens or badly whatever-number he-happens the number being
οἷον ἐμὸς ἢ τοῦ δεῖνος, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον λέγων καθ'
such-as mine or of-the so-and-so this the way saying for
ἕκαστον τῶν χιλίων, ἢ ὅσων ἡ πόλις ἐστί, καὶ τοῦτο
each of-the thousand or as-many-as the city is and this
διστάζων· ἄδηλον γὰρ ᾧ συνέβη γενέσθαι τέκνον καὶ
doubting unclear for to-whom it-happened to-be-born a-child and
σωθῆναι γενόμενον. καίτοι πότερον οὕτω κρεῖττον τὸ ἐμὸν
to-be-saved having-been-born and-yet whether thus better the mine
λέγειν ἕκαστον, τὸ αὐτὸ †μὲν προσαγορεύοντας δισχιλίων
to-say each the same indeed addressing of-two-thousand
καὶ μυρίων, ἢ μᾶλλον ὡς νῦν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τὸ ἐμὸν
and of-ten-thousand or rather as now in the cities the mine
λέγουσιν; ὁ μὲν γὰρ υἱὸν αὑτοῦ ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸν
they-say the(-one) indeed for son his-own the(-other) and brother
αὑτοῦ προσαγορεύει τὸν αὐτόν, ὁ δ' ἀνεψιόν, ἢ
his-own addresses the same the(-other) and cousin or
κατ' ἄλλην τινὰ συγγένειαν, ἢ πρὸς αἵματος ἢ κατ'
by other some kinship or by blood or by
οἰκειότητα καὶ κηδείαν αὑτοῦ πρῶτον ἢ τῶν αὑτοῦ,
affinity and marriage-relation his-own first or of-the his-own

πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἕτερος φράτορα φυλέτην. κρεῖττον γὰρ
besides and these another clansman tribesman better for
ἴδιον ἀνεψιὸν εἶναι ἢ τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον υἱόν. οὐ μὴν
own cousin to-be than the manner this son not indeed
ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ διαφυγεῖν δυνατὸν τὸ μή τινας ὑπολαμβάνειν
but not-even to-escape possible the not some to-suppose
ἑαυτῶν ἀδελφούς τε καὶ παῖδας καὶ πατέρας καὶ μητέρας·
their-own brothers both and children and fathers and mothers
κατὰ γὰρ τὰς ὁμοιότητας αἳ γίνονται τοῖς τέκνοις πρὸς
by for the resemblances which arise to-the children toward
τοὺς γεννήσαντας, ἀναγκαῖον λαμβάνειν περὶ ἀλλήλων τὰς
the parents necessary to-take about one-another the
πίστεις. ὅπερ φασὶ καὶ συμβαίνειν τινὲς τῶν τὰς τῆς
proofs which-very they-say also to-happen some of-the the of-the
γῆς περιόδους πραγματευομένων· εἶναι γάρ τισι τῶν
earth circuits treating to-be for among-some of-the
ἄνω Λιβύων κοινὰς τὰς γυναῖκας, τὰ μέντοι γενόμενα
upper Libyans common the wives the however born
τέκνα διαιρεῖσθαι κατὰ τὰς ὁμοιότητας. εἰσὶ δέ τινες
children to-be-divided by the resemblances are and some
καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων, οἷον ἵπποι καὶ βόες,
also women and of-the other animals such-as horses and cows
αἳ σφόδρα πεφύκασιν ὅμοια ἀποδιδόναι τὰ τέκνα τοῖς
which strongly are-by-nature like to-render the offspring to-the
γονεῦσιν, ὥσπερ ἡ ἐν Φαρσάλῳ κληθεῖσα Δικαία ἵππος.
parents just-as the at Pharsalus called Just mare

Assaults, homicides, and unlawful loves are harder to guard against where kin are unknown, and offenses against kin go unexpiated. Community of wives and children would suit the farmers better than the guardians, since it weakens affection, and affection keeps cities from faction. Aristophanes' lovers long to grow into one, but here affection is watered down, like a little sweetness in much water, and transferring children between classes is hard to manage.

Ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰς τοιαύτας δυσχερείας οὐ ῥᾴδιον εὐλαβηθῆναι
further and also the such difficulties not easy to-guard-against
τοῖς ταύτην κατασκευάζουσι τὴν κοινωνίαν, οἷον αἰκίας
for-those this constructing the community such-as assaults
καὶ φόνους ἀκουσίους τοὺς δὲ ἑκουσίους καὶ μάχας καὶ
and homicides involuntary the(-ones) and voluntary and fights and
λοιδορίας· ὧν οὐδὲν ὅσιόν ἐστι γίνεσθαι πρὸς πατέρας καὶ
abuses of-which none holy is to-happen toward fathers and
μητέρας καὶ τοὺς μὴ πόρρω τῆς συγγενείας ὄντας, ὥσπερ
mothers and those not far of-the kinship being just-as
πρὸς τοὺς ἄποθεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ πλεῖον συμβαίνειν ἀναγκαῖον
toward those far-off but also more to-happen necessary
ἀγνοούντων ἢ γνωριζόντων, καὶ γενομένων τῶν μὲν
of-those-not-knowing than recognizing and having-happened the(-ones) indeed
γνωριζόντων ἐνδέχεται τὰς νομιζομένας γίνεσθαι λύσεις,
recognizing it-is-possible the customary to-take-place expiations
τῶν δὲ μηδεμίαν. ἄτοπον δὲ καὶ τὸ κοινοὺς ποιήσαντα
the(-ones) but none strange and also the common having-made
τοὺς υἱοὺς τὸ συνεῖναι μόνον ἀφελεῖν τῶν ἐρώντων, τὸ δ'
the sons the to-be-together only to-take-away from-the lovers the but
ἐρᾶν μὴ κωλῦσαι, μηδὲ τὰς χρήσεις τὰς ἄλλας, ἃς πατρὶ
to-love not to-prevent nor the uses the other which for-a-father
πρὸς υἱὸν εἶναι πάντων ἐστὶν ἀπρεπέστατον καὶ ἀδελφῷ
toward son to-be of-all is most-unseemly and for-a-brother

πρὸς ἀδελφόν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ ἐρᾶν μόνον. ἄτοπον δὲ καὶ τὸ τὴν
toward brother since also the to-love alone strange and also the the
συνουσίαν ἀφελεῖν δι᾽ ἄλλην μὲν αἰτίαν μηδεμίαν, ὡς λίαν
intercourse to-take-away through other indeed cause none as too
δὲ ἰσχυρᾶς τῆς ἡδονῆς γινομένης· ὅτι δ᾽ ὁ μὲν πατὴρ
but strong the pleasure becoming that and the(-one) indeed father
ἢ υἱός, οἱ δ᾽ ἀδελφοὶ ἀλλήλων, μηδὲν οἴεσθαι διαφέρειν.
or son the(-ones) and brothers of-one-another nothing to-think to-differ
ἔοικε δὲ μᾶλλον τοῖς γεωργοῖς εἶναι χρήσιμον τὸ κοινὰς
it-seems and rather to-the farmers to-be useful the common
εἶναι τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἢ τοῖς φύλαξιν·
to-be the wives and the children than to-the guardians
ἧττον γὰρ ἔσται φιλία κοινῶν ὄντων τῶν τέκνων καὶ τῶν
less for will-be friendship common being the children and the
γυναικῶν, δεῖ δὲ τοιούτους εἶναι τοὺς ἀρχομένους πρὸς τὸ
wives must and such to-be the ruled for the
πειθαρχεῖν καὶ μὴ νεωτερίζειν. ὅλως δὲ συμβαίνειν ἀνάγκη
to-obey and not to-make-revolution generally and to-happen necessity
τοὐναντίον διὰ τὸν τοιοῦτον νόμον ὧν προσήκει τοὺς
the-opposite through the such law of-which it-befits the
ὀρθῶς κειμένους νόμους αἰτίους γίνεσθαι, καὶ δι᾽ ἣν
rightly laid-down laws causes to-become and through which
αἰτίαν ὁ Σωκράτης οὕτως οἴεται δεῖν τάττειν τὰ
cause — Socrates thus thinks to-be-necessary to-arrange the(-things)
περὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας. φιλίαν τε γὰρ οἰόμεθα
about the children and the wives friendship both for we-think
μέγιστον εἶναι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ταῖς πόλεσιν (οὕτως γὰρ ἂν
greatest to-be of-the goods for-the cities thus for —
ἥκιστα στασιάζοιεν), καὶ τὸ μίαν εἶναι τὴν πόλιν ἐπαινεῖ
least they-would-fall-into-faction and the one to-be the city praises
μάλισθ᾽ ὁ Σωκράτης, ὃ καὶ δοκεῖ κἀκεῖνος εἶναί φησι
most — Socrates which also seems and-he to-be says

τῆς φιλίας ἔργον, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς λόγοις ἴσμεν
of-the friendship work just-as in the erotic speeches we-know
λέγοντα τὸν Ἀριστοφάνην ὡς τῶν ἐρώντων διὰ τὸ σφόδρα
saying — Aristophanes that the lovers through the strongly
φιλεῖν ἐπιθυμούντων συμφυῆναι καὶ γενέσθαι ἐκ δύο ὄντων
to-love desiring to-grow-together and to-become from two being
ἀμφοτέρους ἕνα· ἐνταῦθα μὲν οὖν ἀναγκαῖον ἀμφοτέρους
both one there indeed then necessary both
ἐφθάρθαι †ἢ τὸν ἕνα, ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει τὴν φιλίαν ἀναγκαῖον
to-have-perished or the one in and the city the friendship necessary
ὑδαρῆ γίνεσθαι διὰ τὴν κοινωνίαν τὴν τοιαύτην, καὶ
watery to-become through the community the such and
ἥκιστα λέγειν τὸν ἐμὸν ἢ υἱὸν πατέρα ἢ πατέρα υἱόν.
least to-say the mine either son father or father son
ὥσπερ γὰρ μικρὸν γλυκὺ εἰς πολὺ ὕδωρ μειχθὲν ἀναίσθητον
just-as for little sweet into much water mixed imperceptible
ποιεῖ τὴν κρᾶσιν, οὕτω συμβαίνει καὶ τὴν οἰκειότητα τὴν
makes the mixture thus happens also the relationship the
πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνομάτων τούτων, διαφροντίζειν
toward one-another the from the names these to-take-thought-for
ἥκιστα ἀναγκαῖον ὂν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τῇ τοιαύτῃ ἢ πατέρα
least necessary being in the constitution the such either father
ὡς υἱῶν ἢ υἱὸν ὡς πατρός, ἢ ὡς ἀδελφοὺς ἀλλήλων. δύο
as of-sons or son as of-father or as brothers of-one-another two
γάρ ἐστιν ἃ μάλιστα ποιεῖ κήδεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
for are things-which most make to-care the men
καὶ φιλεῖν, τό τε ἴδιον καὶ τὸ ἀγαπητόν· ὧν οὐδέτερον
and to-love the both own and the beloved of-which neither
οἷόν τε ὑπάρχειν τοῖς οὕτω πολιτευομένοις. ἀλλὰ μὴν
possible — to-belong to-those thus governed but indeed
καὶ περὶ τοῦ μεταφέρειν τὰ γινόμενα τέκνα, τὰ μὲν
also about the to-transfer the born children the(-ones) indeed

ἐκ τῶν γεωργῶν καὶ τεχνιτῶν εἰς τοὺς φύλακας, τὰ
from the farmers and craftsmen to the guardians the(-ones)
δ' ἐκ τούτων εἰς ἐκείνους, πολλὴν ἔχει ταραχὴν τίνα
and from these to those much has confusion in-what
ἔσται τρόπον· καὶ γινώσκειν ἀναγκαῖον τοὺς διδόντας καὶ
will-be manner and to-know necessary those giving and
μεταφέροντας τίσι τίνας διδόασιν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ
transferring to-whom whom they-give further and also the(-things)
πάλαι λεχθέντα μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τούτων ἀναγκαῖον συμβαίνειν,
long-ago said more in these necessary to-happen
οἷον αἰκίας ἔρωτας φόνους· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι προσαγορεύουσιν
such-as assaults loves homicides not for any-longer they-call
ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τέκνα καὶ πατέρας καὶ μητέρας τοὺς φύλακας
brothers and children and fathers and mothers the guardians
οἵ τε εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας δοθέντες καὶ πάλιν οἱ
those both to the other citizens given and again those
παρὰ τοῖς φύλαξι τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας, ὥστ' εὐλαβεῖσθαι
among the guardians the other citizens so-as to-beware-of
τῶν τοιούτων τι πράττειν διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν.
the such anything to-do through the kinship
Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς περὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας
about indeed then the about the children and the wives
κοινωνίας διωρίσθω τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον.
community let-it-be-determined the manner this

V · PROPERTY IN COMMON

Common ownership breeds quarrels, as among fellow travelers. Private ownership with common use is better, as at Sparta, and the lawgiver's task is to make men disposed to share. Love of self is natural, and liberality needs property of one's own. The evils blamed on private property come from wickedness. Socrates seeks too much unity, like a harmony made unison, leaves the farmers' place unclear, makes two opposed cities in one, keeps the same rulers always, and takes happiness from the guardians.

Ἐχόμενον δὲ τούτων ἐστὶν ἐπισκέψασθαι περὶ τῆς κτήσεως
next and to-these is to-examine about the property
τίνα τρόπον δεῖ κατασκευάζεσθαι τοῖς μέλλουσι
in-what manner it-is-necessary to-be-arranged for-those intending
πολιτεύεσθαι τὴν ἀρίστην πολιτείαν, πότερον κοινὴν ἢ
to-live-under the best constitution whether common or
μὴ κοινὴν εἶναι τὴν κτῆσιν. τοῦτο δ' ἄν τις καὶ χωρὶς
not common to-be the property this and — one also separately
σκέψαιτο ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας
might-examine from the(-laws) about the children and the wives
νενομοθετημένων, λέγω δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν κτῆσιν πότερον
having-been-legislated I-mean and the(-things) about the property whether
κἂν ᾖ ἐκεῖνα χωρίς, καθ' ὃν νῦν τρόπον ἔχει πᾶσι, τάς
even-if are those separate in which now manner it-is for-all the
τε κτήσεις κοινὰς εἶναι βέλτιον καὶ τὰς χρήσεις ***,
both possessions common to-be better and the uses (lacuna)
οἷον τὰ μὲν γήπεδα χωρίς, τοὺς δὲ καρποὺς εἰς τὸ κοινὸν
such-as the indeed plots separate the and crops into the common
φέροντας ἀναλίσκειν (ὅπερ ἔνια ποιεῖ τῶν ἐθνῶν)· ἢ
bringing to-consume which-very some do of-the peoples or
τοὐναντίον τὴν μὲν γῆν κοινὴν εἶναι καὶ γεωργεῖν κοινῇ,
the-opposite the indeed land common to-be and to-farm in-common

τοὺς δὲ καρποὺς διαιρεῖσθαι πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας χρήσεις
the and crops to-be-divided for the private uses
(λέγονται δέ τινες καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον κοινωνεῖν τῶν
are-said and some also this the manner to-share of-the
βαρβάρων)· ἢ καὶ τὰ γήπεδα καὶ τοὺς καρποὺς κοινούς.
barbarians or both the plots and the crops common
ἑτέρων μὲν οὖν ὄντων τῶν γεωργούντων ἄλλος ἂν
other indeed then being the farmers other —
εἴη τρόπος καὶ ῥᾴων· αὐτῶν δ' αὐτοῖς διαπονούντων
would-be manner and easier themselves but for-themselves toiling
τὰ περὶ τὰς κτήσεις πλείους ἂν παρέχοι δυσκολίας.
the(-things) about the possessions more — would-cause difficulties
καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἀπολαύσεσι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις μὴ
also for in the enjoyments and in the works not
γινομένων ἴσων ἀλλ' ἀνίσων ἀναγκαῖον ἐγκλήματα
becoming equal but unequal necessary complaints
γίνεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀπολαύοντας μὲν ἢ λαμβάνοντας
to-arise against those enjoying indeed or taking
πολλὰ ὀλίγα δὲ πονοῦντας τοῖς ἐλάττω μὲν λαμβάνουσι
much little and toiling by-those less indeed taking
πλείω δὲ πονοῦσιν. ὅλως δὲ τὸ συζῆν καὶ κοινωνεῖν
more and toiling generally and the to-live-together and to-share
τῶν ἀνθρωπικῶν πάντων χαλεπόν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν
the human-affairs all difficult and most the
τοιούτων. δηλοῦσι δ' αἱ τῶν συναποδήμων κοινωνίαι·
such show and the of-the fellow-travelers partnerships
σχεδὸν γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοι διαφερόμενοι ἐκ τῶν ἐν ποσὶ
nearly for the most quarreling from the(-things) at foot
καὶ ἐκ μικρῶν προσκρούοντες ἀλλήλοις, ἔτι δὲ τῶν
and from small(-things) colliding with-one-another further and of-the

θεραπόντων τούτοις μάλιστα προσκρούομεν οἷς πλεῖστα
servants with-these most we-collide whom most
προσχρώμεθα πρὸς τὰς διακονίας τὰς ἐγκυκλίους.
we-use for the services the everyday
τὸ μὲν οὖν κοινὰς εἶναι τὰς κτήσεις ταύτας τε καὶ ἄλλας
the indeed then common to-be the possessions these both and other
τοιαύτας ἔχει δυσχερείας· ὧν δὲ νῦν τρόπον ἔχει καὶ
such has difficulties which but now manner it-is and
ἐπικοσμηθὲν ἤθεσι καὶ τάξει νόμων ὀρθῶν, οὐ μικρὸν
adorned with-characters and order of-laws right not little
ἂν διενέγκαι. ἔξει γὰρ τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἀγαθόν, λέγω
— would-differ it-will-have for the from both good I-mean
δὲ τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τὸ ἐκ τοῦ κοινὰς εἶναι τὰς κτήσεις
and the from both the from the common to-be the possessions
καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίας. δεῖ γὰρ πὼς μὲν εἶναι κοινάς, ὅλως
and the from the private must for in-a-way indeed to-be common generally
δ' ἰδίας. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιμέλειαι διηρημέναι τὰ ἐγκλήματα
but private the indeed for cares divided the complaints
πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐ ποιήσουσιν, μᾶλλον δ' ἐπιδώσουσιν ὡς
against one-another not will-make rather and will-increase as
πρὸς ἴδιον ἑκάστου προσεδρεύοντος· δι' ἀρετὴν δ' ἔσται
to own each attending through virtue and it-will-be
πρὸς τὸ χρῆσθαι κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν κοινὰ τὰ
for the to-use according-to the proverb common the(-things)
φίλων. ἔστι δὲ καὶ νῦν τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ἐν ἐνίαις πόλεσιν
of-friends is and also now the manner this in some cities
οὕτως ὑπογεγραμμένον, ὡς οὐκ ὂν ἀδύνατον, καὶ μάλιστα
thus sketched as not being impossible and especially
ἐν ταῖς καλῶς οἰκουμέναις τὰ μὲν ἔστι τὰ
in the well governed the(-things) indeed are the(-others)
δὲ γένοιτ' ἄν· ἰδίαν γὰρ ἕκαστος τὴν κτῆσιν ἔχων
and might-come-to-be — private for each the property having

τὰ μὲν χρήσιμα ποιεῖ τοῖς φίλοις, τοῖς δὲ χρῆται
the(-things) indeed useful makes to-the friends the(-things) and uses
κοινοῖς, οἷον καὶ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι τοῖς τε δούλοις χρῶνται
as-common such-as also in Lacedaemon the both slaves they-use
τοῖς ἀλλήλων ὡς εἰπεῖν ἰδίοις, ἔτι δ' ἵπποις καὶ κυσίν,
the of-one-another so to-speak own further and horses and dogs
κἂν δεηθῶσιν ἐφοδίων, ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς κατὰ τὴν χώραν.
and-if they-need provisions in the fields throughout the country
φανερὸν τοίνυν ὅτι βέλτιον εἶναι μὲν ἰδίας τὰς κτήσεις,
evident therefore that better to-be indeed private the possessions
τῇ δὲ χρήσει ποιεῖν κοινάς· ὅπως δὲ γίνωνται τοιοῦτοι,
by-the but use to-make common so-that and they-may-become such
τοῦ νομοθέτου τοῦτ' ἔργον ἴδιόν ἐστιν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ
of-the lawgiver this work proper is further and also
πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀμύθητον ὅσον διαφέρει τὸ νομίζειν
with-regard-to pleasure unspeakable how-much makes-a-difference the to-think
ἴδιόν τι. μὴ γὰρ οὐ μάτην τὴν πρὸς αὑτὸν αὐτὸς ἔχει
own something surely for not in-vain the toward himself himself has
φιλίαν ἕκαστος, ἀλλ' ἔστι τοῦτο φυσικόν. τὸ δὲ φίλαυτον
love each but is this natural the but self-loving
εἶναι ψέγεται δικαίως· οὐκ ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ φιλεῖν
to-be is-blamed justly not is and this the to-love
ἑαυτὸν ἀλλὰ τὸ μᾶλλον ἢ δεῖ φιλεῖν, καθάπερ καὶ
oneself but the more than one-should to-love just-as also
τὸν φιλοχρήματον, ἐπεὶ φιλοῦσί γε πάντες ὡς εἰπεῖν
the money-loving since love at-least all so to-speak
ἕκαστον τῶν τοιούτων. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸ χαρίσασθαι καὶ
each of-the such(-things) but indeed also the to-do-favors and
βοηθῆσαι φίλοις ἢ ξένοις ἢ ἑταίροις ἥδιστον· ὃ γίνεται
to-help friends or guests or comrades most-pleasant which happens
τῆς κτήσεως ἰδίας οὔσης. ταῦτά τε δὴ οὐ συμβαίνει
the property own being these(-things) both indeed not happen

τοῖς λίαν ἓν ποιοῦσι τὴν πόλιν, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις
to-those too-much one making the city and besides these
ἀναιροῦσιν ἔργα δυοῖν ἀρεταῖν φανερῶς, σωφροσύνης μὲν
they-destroy works of-two virtues evidently of-temperance indeed
τὸ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας (ἔργον γὰρ καλὸν ἀλλοτρίας οὔσης
the about the women work for fine another's being
ἀπέχεσθαι διὰ σωφροσύνην), ἐλευθεριότητος δὲ τὸ
to-abstain through temperance of-liberality and the(-work)
περὶ τὰς κτήσεις· οὔτε γὰρ ἔσται φανερὸς ἐλευθέριος
about the possessions neither for he-will-be evident liberal
ὤν, οὔτε πράξει πρᾶξιν ἐλευθέριον οὐδεμίαν· ἐν τῇ γὰρ
being nor he-will-do action liberal none in the for
χρήσει τῶν κτημάτων τὸ τῆς ἐλευθεριότητος ἔργον ἐστίν.
use of-the possessions the of-the liberality work is
Εὐπρόσωπος μὲν οὖν ἡ τοιαύτη νομοθεσία καὶ φιλάνθρωπος
attractive indeed then the such legislation and humane
ἂν εἶναι δόξειεν· ὁ γὰρ ἀκροώμενος ἄσμενος ἀποδέχεται,
— to-be would-seem the for hearer gladly accepts(-it)
νομίζων ἔσεσθαι φιλίαν τινὰ θαυμαστὴν πᾶσι πρὸς ἅπαντας,
thinking there-will-be friendship some wonderful for-all toward all
ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅταν κατηγορῇ τις τῶν νῦν ὑπαρχόντων
especially both and when accuses someone of-the now existing
ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις κακῶν ὡς γινομένων διὰ τὸ μὴ κοινὴν
in the constitutions evils as arising through the not common
εἶναι τὴν οὐσίαν, λέγω δὲ δίκας τε πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ
to-be the property I-mean and suits both against one-another about
συμβολαίων καὶ ψευδομαρτυριῶν κρίσεις καὶ πλουσίων
contracts and of-false-witness trials and of-the-rich
κολακείας. ὧν οὐδὲν γίνεται διὰ τὴν ἀκοινωνησίαν
flatteries of-which none arises through the absence-of-community
ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν μοχθηρίαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς κοινὰ
but through the wickedness since also those common(-things)

κεκτημένους καὶ κοινωνοῦντας πολλῷ διαφερομένους
having-acquired and sharing much quarreling
μᾶλλον ὁρῶμεν ἢ τοὺς χωρὶς τὰς οὐσίας ἔχοντας· ἀλλὰ
more we-see than those separately the properties having but
θεωροῦμεν ὀλίγους τοὺς ἐκ τῶν κοινωνιῶν διαφερομένους
we-observe few those from the partnerships quarreling
πρὸς πολλοὺς συμβάλλοντες τοὺς κεκτημένους ἰδίᾳ
compared-with many comparing those having privately
τὰς κτήσεις. ἔτι δὲ δίκαιον μὴ μόνον λέγειν ὅσων
the possessions further and just not only to-say of-how-many
στερήσονται κακῶν κοινωνήσαντες ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσων
they-will-be-deprived evils having-shared but also of-how-many
ἀγαθῶν· φαίνεται δ' εἶναι πάμπαν ἀδύνατος ὁ βίος.
goods it-appears and to-be altogether impossible the life
Αἴτιον δὲ τῷ Σωκράτει τῆς παρακρούσεως χρὴ νομίζειν
cause and — for-Socrates of-the error one-must to-think
τὴν ὑπόθεσιν οὐκ οὖσαν ὀρθήν. δεῖ μὲν γὰρ εἶναί πως
the assumption not being right must indeed for to-be in-a-way
μίαν καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' οὐ πάντως.
one both the household and the city but not altogether
ἔστι μὲν γὰρ ὡς οὐκ ἔσται προϊοῦσα πόλις· ἔστι δ' ὡς
is indeed for as not will-be advancing a-city is and as
ἔσται μέν, ἐγγὺς δ' οὖσα τοῦ μὴ πόλις εἶναι χείρων
it-will-be indeed near but being to-the not city to-be worse
πόλις· ὥσπερ κἂν εἴ τις τὴν συμφωνίαν ποιήσειεν
city just-as even if someone the harmony should-make
ὁμοφωνίαν ἢ τὸν ῥυθμὸν βάσιν μίαν. ἀλλὰ δεῖ πλῆθος
unison or the rhythm beat one but must multitude
ὄν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται πρότερον, διὰ τὴν παιδείαν κοινὴν
being just-as has-been-said before through the education common
καὶ μίαν ποιεῖν· καὶ τόν γε μέλλοντα παιδείαν εἰσάγειν
and one to-make and the at-least intending education to-introduce

καὶ νομίζοντα διὰ ταύτης ἔσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν σπουδαίαν
and thinking through this to-be the city excellent
ἄτοπον τοῖς τοιούτοις οἴεσθαι διορθοῦν ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῖς ἔθεσι
strange by-the such(-means) to-think to-correct(-it) but not by-the customs
καὶ τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ τοῖς νόμοις· ὥσπερ τὰ περὶ
and by-the philosophy and by-the laws just-as the(-things) about
τὰς κτήσεις ἐν Λακεδαίμονι καὶ Κρήτῃ τοῖς συσσιτίοις ὁ
the possessions in Lacedaemon and Crete by-the common-meals the
νομοθέτης ἐκοίνωσε. δεῖ δὲ μηδὲ τοῦτο αὐτὸ ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι
lawgiver made-common must and not-even this itself to-be-ignorant that
χρὴ προσέχειν τῷ πολλῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν,
one-must to-attend to-the much time and to-the many years
ἐν οἷς οὐκ ἂν ἔλαθεν εἰ ταῦτα καλῶς εἶχεν·
in which not — it-would-have-escaped-notice if these-things well were
πάντα γὰρ σχεδὸν εὕρηται μέν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν οὐ
all for nearly have-been-discovered indeed but the(-ones) indeed not
συνῆκται, τοῖς δ' οὐ χρῶνται γινώσκοντες. μάλιστα
have-been-collected the(-others) and not they-use knowing most
δ' ἂν γένοιτο φανερόν, εἴ τις τοῖς ἔργοις ἴδοι τὴν
and — would-become evident if someone the deeds should-see the
τοιαύτην πολιτείαν κατασκευαζομένην· οὐ γὰρ δυνήσεται μὴ
such constitution being-constructed not for be-will-be-able not
μερίζων αὐτὰ καὶ χωρίζων ποιῆσαι τὴν πόλιν, τὰ μὲν
dividing them and separating to-make the city the(-ones) indeed
εἰς συσσίτια τὰ δὲ εἰς φατρίας καὶ φυλάς. ὥστε οὐδὲν
into common-meals the(-others) and into brotherhoods and tribes so-that nothing
ἄλλο συμβήσεται νενομοθετημένον πλὴν μὴ γεωργεῖν τοὺς
other will-result legislated except not to-farm the
φύλακας· ὅπερ καὶ νῦν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποιεῖν ἐπιχειροῦσιν.
guardians which-very also now Lacedaemonians to-do attempt

οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ ὁ τρόπος τῆς ὅλης πολιτείας τίς ἔσται
not indeed but not-even the manner of-the whole constitution what will-be
τοῖς κοινωνοῦσιν, οὔτ᾽ εἴρηκεν ὁ Σωκράτης οὔτε ῥᾴδιον
for-those sharing neither has-said — Socrates nor easy
εἰπεῖν. καίτοι σχεδὸν τό γε πλῆθος τῆς πόλεως τὸ τῶν
to-say and-yet nearly the at-least multitude of-the city the of-the
ἄλλων πολιτῶν γίνεται πλῆθος, περὶ ὧν οὐδὲν διώρισται,
other citizens becomes multitude about whom nothing has-been-determined
πότερον καὶ τοῖς γεωργοῖς κοινὰς εἶναι δεῖ τὰς κτήσεις ἢ
whether also for-the farmers common to-be must the possessions or
καθ᾽ ἕκαστον ἰδίας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας ἰδίους
by each private further and also wives and children private
ἢ κοινούς. εἰ μὲν γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον κοινὰ πάντα
or common if indeed for the same manner common all(-things)
πάντων, τί διοίσουσιν οὗτοι ἐκείνων τῶν φυλάκων; ἢ τί
of-all in-what will-differ these from-those the guardians or what
πλεῖον τοῖς ὑπομένουσι τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν; ἢ τί μαθόντες
more for-those submitting-to the rule their or what having-learned
ὑπομενοῦσι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐὰν μή τι σοφίζωνται τοιοῦτον
will-they-submit-to the rule if not something they-devise such
οἷον Κρῆτες; ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ τἆλλα ταὐτὰ τοῖς δούλοις ἐφέντες
as Cretans they for the-rest the-same to-the slaves having-allowed
μόνον ἀπειρήκασι τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅπλων κτῆσιν.
only have-forbidden the gymnasia and the of-the arms possession
εἰ δέ, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι, καὶ παρ᾽ ἐκείνοις
if but just-as in the other cities also among them
ἔσται τὰ τοιαῦτα, τίς ὁ τρόπος ἔσται τῆς κοινωνίας;
will-be the such(-things) what the manner will-be of-the community
ἐν μιᾷ γὰρ πόλει δύο πόλεις ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι, καὶ ταύτας
in one for city two cities necessary to-be and these
ὑπεναντίας ἀλλήλαις. ποιεῖ γὰρ τοὺς μὲν φύλακας οἷον
opposed to-one-another he-makes for the indeed guardians as

φρουρούς, τοὺς δὲ γεωργοὺς καὶ τοὺς τεχνίτας καὶ
garrison the(-others) and farmers and the craftsmen and
τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας. ἐγκλήματα δὲ καὶ δίκαι, καὶ ὅσα
the other citizens complaints and and lawsuits and whatever
ἄλλα ταῖς πόλεσιν ὑπάρχειν φησὶ κακά, πάνθ' ὑπάρξει
other to-the cities to-exist he-says evils all will-exist
καὶ τούτοις. καίτοι λέγει ὁ Σωκράτης ὡς οὐ πολλῶν
also among-these and-yet says — Socrates that not many
δεήσονται νομίμων διὰ τὴν παιδείαν, οἷον ἀστυνομικῶν καὶ
they-will-need regulations through the education such-as city-police and
ἀγορανομικῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων, ἀποδιδοὺς
market-police and the other the such(-regulations) assigning
μόνον τὴν παιδείαν τοῖς φύλαξιν. ἔτι δὲ κυρίους ποιεῖ
only the education to-the guardians further and masters he-makes
τῶν κτημάτων τοὺς γεωργοὺς ἀποφορὰν φέροντας· ἀλλὰ
of-the possessions the farmers tribute bringing but
πολὺ μᾶλλον εἰκὸς εἶναι χαλεποὺς καὶ φρονημάτων
much more likely to-be(-them) difficult and of-pride
πλήρεις ἢ τὰς παρ' ἐνίοις εἱλωτείας τε καὶ πενεστείας
full than the among some helotries both and serfdoms
καὶ δουλείας. ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἴτ' ἀναγκαῖα ταῦθ' ὁμοίως
and slaveries but for whether necessary these(-things) likewise
εἴτε μή, νῦν γε οὐδὲν διώρισται, καὶ περὶ τῶν
or not now at-least nothing has-been-determined and about the(-things)
ἐχομένων, τίς ἡ τούτων τε πολιτεία καὶ παιδεία καὶ νόμοι
adjoining what the of-these both constitution and education and laws
τίνες. ἔστι δ' οὔθ' εὑρεῖν ῥᾴδιον, οὔτε τὸ διαφέρον μικρόν,
what is and neither to-find easy nor the difference small
τὸ ποίους τινὰς εἶναι τούτους, πρὸς τὸ σῴζεσθαι τὴν τῶν
the of-what-sort some to-be these toward the to-be-preserved the of-the
φυλάκων κοινωνίαν. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴ γε τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας
guardians community but indeed if at-least the indeed wives

ποιήσει κοινὰς τὰς δὲ κτήσεις ἰδίας, τίς οἰκονομήσει
he-will-make common the but possessions private who will-manage(-the-house)
ὥσπερ τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν οἱ ἄνδρες αὐτῶν; κἂν
just-as the(-things) in the fields the husbands theirs even
εἰ κοιναὶ αἱ κτήσεις καὶ αἱ τῶν γεωργῶν γυναῖκες
if common the possessions and the of-the farmers wives
∗∗∗. ἄτοπον δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῶν θηρίων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν
(lacuna) strange and also the from the beasts to-make the
παραβολήν, ὅτι δεῖ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπιτηδεύειν τὰς γυναῖκας
comparison that must the same(-things) to-pursue the women
τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, οἷς οἰκονομίας οὐδὲν μέτεστιν.
as-the men to-whom of-household-management nothing belongs
ἐπισφαλὲς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὡς καθίστησιν ὁ
hazardous and also the rulers as appoints —
Σωκράτης. ἀεὶ γὰρ ποιεῖ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἄρχοντας· τοῦτο
Socrates always for makes the same rulers this
δὲ στάσεως αἴτιον γίνεται καὶ παρὰ τοῖς μηδὲν ἀξίωμα
and of-faction cause becomes even among those no worth
κεκτημένοις, ἤπουθεν δὴ παρά γε θυμοειδέσι καὶ
having-acquired surely indeed among at-least spirited and
πολεμικοῖς ἀνδράσιν. ὅτι δ' ἀναγκαῖον αὐτῷ ποιεῖν τοὺς
warlike men that and necessary for-him to-make the
αὐτοὺς ἄρχοντας, φανερόν· οὐ γὰρ ὁτὲ μὲν ἄλλοις
same rulers evident not for sometimes indeed in-some
ὁτὲ δὲ ἄλλοις μέμεικται ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὁ παρὰ τοῦ
sometimes and in-others has-been-mixed in-the souls the from the
θεοῦ χρυσὸς ἀλλ' ἀεὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς. φησὶ δὲ τοῖς μὲν
god gold but always in-the same says and for-the(-ones) indeed
εὐθὺς γινομένοις μεῖξαι χρυσόν, τοῖς δ' ἄργυρον,
directly being-born to-mix gold for-the(-others) and silver
χαλκὸν δὲ καὶ σίδηρον τοῖς τεχνίταις μέλλουσιν ἔσεσθαι
bronze and and iron for-the craftsmen intending to-be

καὶ γεωργοῖς. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἀφαιρούμενος
and farmers further and also the happiness taking-away
τῶν φυλάκων, ὅλην φησὶ δεῖν εὐδαίμονα ποιεῖν τὴν
from-the guardians whole he-says to-be-necessary happy to-make the
πόλιν τὸν νομοθέτην. ἀδύνατον δὲ εὐδαιμονεῖν ὅλην, μὴ
city the lawgiver impossible but to-be-happy as-a-whole not
τῶν πλείστων ἢ μὴ πάντων μερῶν ἢ τινῶν ἐχόντων τὴν
of-the most or not all parts or some having the
εὐδαιμονίαν. οὐ γὰρ τῶν αὐτῶν τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν ὥνπερ
happiness not for of-the same the to-be-happy of-which-very
τὸ ἄρτιον· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἐνδέχεται τῷ ὅλῳ ὑπάρχειν,
the even this indeed for is-possible to-the whole to-belong
τῶν δὲ μερῶν μηδετέρῳ, τὸ δὲ εὐδαιμονεῖν ἀδύνατον. ἀλλὰ
of-the but parts to-neither the but to-be-happy impossible but
μὴν εἰ οἱ φύλακες μὴ εὐδαίμονες, τίνες ἕτεροι; οὐ γὰρ
indeed if the guardians not happy who others not for
δὴ οἵ γε τεχνῖται καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ τῶν βαναύσων. Ἡ
indeed the at-least craftsmen and the multitude the of-the mechanics the
μὲν οὖν πολιτεία, περὶ ἧς ὁ Σωκράτης εἴρηκεν, ταύτας
indeed then constitution about which — Socrates has-spoken these
τε τὰς ἀπορίας ἔχει καὶ τούτων οὐκ ἐλάττους ἑτέρας.
both the difficulties has and than-these not fewer others

VI · THE LAWS

The later Laws *mostly gives laws, with little on the constitution, which drifts back toward the* Republic*'s. Five thousand idle men would need a territory like Babylon's, and neighbors are ignored. Property should allow living temperately and liberally, and the* Laws *limits it but not procreation, though Pheidon of Corinth kept both fixed. The constitution, meant as a polity between democracy and oligarchy, has no monarchic element and leans toward oligarchy, as its council election shows; electing from elected candidates is dangerous.*

Σχεδὸν δὲ παραπλησίως καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους
nearly and similarly also the(-things) about the laws
ἔχει τοὺς ὕστερον γραφέντας, διὸ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐνταῦθα
are the later written therefore also about the there
πολιτείας ἐπισκέψασθαι μικρὰ βέλτιον. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ
constitution to-examine a-little better also for in the
πολιτείᾳ περὶ ὀλίγων πάμπαν διώρικεν ὁ Σωκράτης, περί
republic about few(-things) altogether has-determined — Socrates about
τε γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων κοινωνίας, πῶς ἔχειν δεῖ, καὶ
both of-wives and of-children community how to-be it-is-necessary and
περὶ κτήσεως, καὶ τῆς πολιτείας τὴν τάξιν (διαιρεῖται γὰρ
about property and of-the constitution the order is-divided for
εἰς δύο μέρη τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οἰκούντων, τὸ μὲν εἰς τοὺς
into two parts the multitude of-the inhabitants the(-one) indeed into the
γεωργούς, τὸ δὲ εἰς τὸ προπολεμοῦν μέρος· τρίτον δ'
farmers the(-other) and into the fighting-in-defense part a-third and
ἐκ τούτων τὸ βουλευόμενον καὶ κύριον τῆς πόλεως), περὶ
from these the deliberating and sovereign of-the city about
δὲ τῶν γεωργῶν καὶ τῶν τεχνιτῶν, πότερον οὐδεμιᾶς ἢ
and the farmers and the craftsmen whether in-none or
μετέχουσί τινος ἀρχῆς, καὶ πότερον ὅπλα δεῖ κεκτῆσθαι καὶ
share some office and whether arms must to-possess also
τούτους καὶ συμπολεμεῖν ἢ μή, περὶ τούτων οὐδὲν διώρικεν
these and to-fight-together or not about these nothing has-determined
ὁ Σωκράτης, ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας οἴεται δεῖν
— Socrates but the indeed women he-thinks to-be-necessary
συμπολεμεῖν καὶ παιδείας μετέχειν τῆς αὐτῆς τοῖς φύλαξιν,
to-fight-together and in-education to-share the same with-the guardians
τὰ δ' ἄλλα τοῖς ἔξωθεν λόγοις πεπλήρωκε τὸν λόγον
the and other(-things) with-the extraneous discussions he-has-filled the discourse
καὶ περὶ τῆς παιδείας, ποίαν τινὰ δεῖ γίνεσθαι τῶν φυλάκων.
and about the education what-sort some must to-be of-the guardians

τῶν δὲ νόμων τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον μέρος νόμοι τυγχάνουσιν
of-the and laws the indeed greatest part laws happen
ὄντες, ὀλίγα δὲ περὶ τῆς πολιτείας εἴρηκεν. καὶ ταύτην
being few(-things) and about the constitution he-has-said and this
βουλόμενος κοινοτέραν ποιεῖν ταῖς πόλεσι κατὰ μικρὸν
wishing more-common to-make for-the cities by little
περιάγει πάλιν πρὸς τὴν ἑτέραν πολιτείαν. ἔξω γὰρ τῆς
he-brings-round back to the other constitution except for the
τῶν γυναικῶν κοινωνίας καὶ τῆς κτήσεως, τὰ ἄλλα ταὐτὰ
of-the wives community and of-the property the other(-things) the-same
ἀποδίδωσιν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς πολιτείαις· καὶ γὰρ παιδείαν
he-assigns to-both the constitutions also for education
τὴν αὐτήν, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπεχομένους
the same and the from-the works the necessary abstaining
ζῆν, καὶ περὶ συσσιτίων ὡσαύτως. πλὴν ἐν ταύτῃ φησὶ
to-live and about common-meals likewise except in this he-says
δεῖν εἶναι συσσίτια καὶ γυναικῶν, καὶ τὴν μὲν
to-be-necessary to-be common-meals also of-women and the(-one) indeed
χιλίων τῶν ὅπλα κεκτημένων, ταύτην δὲ πεντακισχιλίων.
of-a-thousand of-those arms having this(-one) and of-five-thousand
Τὸ μὲν οὖν περιττὸν ἔχουσι πάντες οἱ τοῦ Σωκράτους
the indeed then extraordinary have all the — of-Socrates
λόγοι καὶ τὸ κομψὸν καὶ τὸ καινοτόμον καὶ τὸ ζητητικόν,
discourses and the clever and the innovative and the inquiring
καλῶς δὲ πάντα ἴσως χαλεπόν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ νῦν εἰρημένον
well and all perhaps difficult since also the now said
πλῆθος δεῖ μὴ λανθάνειν ὅτι χώρας δεήσει τοῖς τοσούτοις
multitude must not to-escape-notice that country it-will-need for-the so-many
Βαβυλωνίας ἤ τινος ἄλλης ἀπεράντου τὸ πλῆθος, ἐξ ἧς
of-Babylonia or some other boundless the multitude from which
ἀργοὶ πεντακισχίλιοι θρέψονται, καὶ περὶ τούτους γυναικῶν
idle five-thousand will-be-fed and around these of-women

καὶ θεραπόντων ἕτερος ὄχλος πολλαπλάσιος. δεῖ μὲν οὖν
and of-servants another crowd many-times-as-great must indeed then
ὑποτίθεσθαι κατ᾽ εὐχήν, μηδὲν μέντοι ἀδύνατον. λέγεται
to-assume according-to wish nothing however impossible it-is-said
δ᾽ ὡς δεῖ τὸν νομοθέτην πρὸς δύο βλέποντα τιθέναι
and that must the lawgiver to two looking to-lay-down
τοὺς νόμους, πρός τε τὴν χώραν καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους·
the laws to both the country and the men
ἔτι δὲ καλῶς ἔχει προσθεῖναι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς γειτνιῶντας
further and well it-is to-add also to the neighboring
τόπους, πρῶτον μὲν εἰ δεῖ τὴν πόλιν ζῆν βίον πολιτικὸν
places first indeed if must the city to-live a-life political
μὴ μονωτικόν· (οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν αὐτὴν
not solitary not for only necessary it-is it
τοιούτοις χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὅπλοις ἃ χρήσιμα
such to-use for the war arms which useful
κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν χώραν ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἔξω
for the own country are but also against the outside
τόπους)· εἰ δέ τις μὴ τοιοῦτον ἀποδέχεται βίον, μήτε
places if but someone not such accepts life neither
τὸν ἴδιον μήτε τὸν κοινὸν τῆς πόλεως, ὅμως οὐδὲν ἧττον
the private nor the common of-the city still nothing less
δεῖ φοβεροὺς εἶναι τοῖς πολεμίοις, μὴ μόνον ἐλθοῦσιν εἰς
must formidable to-be to-the enemies not only having-come into
τὴν χώραν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπελθοῦσιν.
the country but also having-gone-away
καὶ τὸ πλῆθος δὲ τῆς κτήσεως ὁρᾶν δεῖ, μή ποτε
and the amount also of-the property to-see one-must lest ever
βέλτιον ἑτέρως διορίσαι τῷ σαφῶς μᾶλλον. τοσαύτην γὰρ
better otherwise to-define by-the clearly rather so-great for
εἶναί φησι δεῖν ὥστε ζῆν σωφρόνως, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ
to-be he-says to-be-necessary so-as to-live temperately just-as — if

τις εἶπεν ὥστε ζῆν εὖ, τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι καθόλου μᾶλλον·
someone said so-as to-live well this for is general rather
ἔτι δ' ἔστι σωφρόνως μὲν ταλαιπώρως δὲ ζῆν. ἀλλὰ
further and it-is-possible temperately indeed wretchedly and to-live but
βελτίων ὅρος τὸ σωφρόνως καὶ ἐλευθερίως (χωρὶς γὰρ
better definition the temperately and liberally apart for
ἑκάτερον τὸ μὲν τῷ τρυφᾶν ἀκολουθήσει, τὸ δὲ
each the(-one) indeed the to-luxuriate will-follow the(-other) and
τῷ ἐπιπόνως), ἐπεὶ μόναι γ' εἰσὶν ἀρεταὶ περὶ τὴν
the(-living) laboriously since only at-least are virtues about the
τῆς οὐσίας χρῆσιν αὗται, οἷον οὐσίᾳ πράως ἢ ἀνδρείως
of-the property use these such-as property gently or courageously
χρῆσθαι οὐκ ἔστιν, σωφρόνως δὲ καὶ ἐλευθερίως ἔστιν,
to-use not is-possible temperately but and liberally it-is-possible
ὥστε καὶ τὰς ἕξεις ἀναγκαῖον περὶ αὐτὴν εἶναι ταύτας.
so-that also the states necessary about it to-be these
ἄτοπον δὲ καὶ τὸ τὰς κτήσεις ἰσάζοντα τὸ περὶ τὸ
strange and also the the possessions equalizing the(-matter) about the
πλῆθος τῶν πολιτῶν μὴ κατασκευάζειν, ἀλλ' ἀφεῖναι τὴν
number of-the citizens not to-arrange but to-leave the
τεκνοποιίαν ἀόριστον ὡς ἱκανῶς ἂν ὁμαλισθησομένην εἰς
childbearing unlimited as sufficiently — being-about-to-be-leveled to
τὸ αὐτὸ πλῆθος διὰ τὰς ἀτεκνίας ὁσωνοῦν γεννωμένων,
the same number through the childlessnesses however-many being-born
ὅτι δοκεῖ τοῦτο καὶ νῦν συμβαίνειν περὶ τὰς πόλεις.
because it-seems this also now to-happen about the cities
δεῖ δὲ τοῦτ' οὐχ ὁμοίως ἀκριβῶς ἔχειν περὶ τὰς πόλεις τότε
must but this not similarly exactly to-hold about the cities then
καὶ νῦν· νῦν μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἀπορεῖ διὰ τὸ μερίζεσθαι τὰς
and now now indeed for no-one is-in-want through the to-be-divided the
οὐσίας εἰς ὁποσονοῦν πλῆθος, τότε δὲ ἀδιαιρέτων οὐσῶν
properties among however-great number then but undivided being

ἀνάγκη τοὺς παράζυγας μηδὲν ἔχειν, ἐάν τ' ἐλάττους
necessity those extra(-children) nothing to-have if both fewer
ὦσι τὸ πλῆθος ἐάν τε πλείους. μᾶλλον δὲ δεῖν
they-are the number if and more rather and to-be-necessary
ὑπολάβοι τις ἂν ὡρίσθαι τῆς οὐσίας τὴν τεκνοποιίαν,
would-suppose one — to-be-limited than-the property the childbearing
ὥστε ἀριθμοῦ τινὸς μὴ πλείονα γεννᾶν· τοῦτο δὲ τιθέναι
so-as of-number some not more to-beget this and to-set
τὸ πλῆθος ἀποβλέποντα πρὸς τὰς τύχας, ἂν συμβαίνῃ
the number looking to the chances if it-happens
τελευτᾶν τινας τῶν γεννηθέντων, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἄλλων
to-die some of-those born and to the of-the others
ἀτεκνίαν. τὸ δ' ἀφεῖσθαι, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς πλείσταις
childlessness the but to-be-let-go just-as in the most
πόλεσι, πενίας ἀναγκαῖον αἴτιον γίνεσθαι τοῖς πολίταις, ἡ
cities of-poverty necessary cause to-become for-the citizens the
δὲ πενία στάσιν ἐμποιεῖ καὶ κακουργίαν. Φείδων μὲν οὖν
and poverty faction produces and wrongdoing Pheidon indeed then
ὁ Κορίνθιος, ὢν νομοθέτης τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων, τοὺς οἴκους
the Corinthian being lawgiver of-the most-ancient the households
ἴσους ᾠήθη δεῖν διαμένειν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολιτῶν,
equal thought to-be-necessary to-remain and the number of-the citizens
καὶ εἰ τὸ πρῶτον τοὺς κλήρους ἀνίσους εἶχον πάντες
even if the first the allotments unequal had all
κατὰ μέγεθος· ἐν δὲ τοῖς νόμοις τούτοις τοὐναντίον ἐστίν.
in size in but the laws these the-opposite is
ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων πῶς οἰόμεθα βέλτιον ἂν ἔχειν,
but about indeed these how we-think better — to-be
λεκτέον ὕστερον· ἐλλέλειπται δὲ τοῖς νόμοις τούτοις καὶ
must-be-said later has-been-omitted and the laws these also
τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας πῶς ἔσονται διαφέροντες
the(-things) about the rulers how they-will-be differing

τῶν ἀρχομένων. φησὶ γὰρ δεῖν, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἑτέρου
from-the ruled he-says for to-be-necessary just-as from different
τὸ στημόνιον ἐρίου γίνεται τῆς κρόκης, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς
the warp wool is-made than-the woof thus also the
ἄρχοντας ἔχειν δεῖν πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχομένους. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν
rulers to-be to-be-necessary toward the ruled since and the
πᾶσαν οὐσίαν ἐφίησι γίνεσθαι μείζονα μέχρι πενταπλασίας,
whole property he-permits to-become greater up-to five-fold
διὰ τί τοῦτ᾽ οὐκ ἂν εἴη ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς μέχρι τινός;
through what this not — would-it-be in the land up-to a-certain(-point)
καὶ τὴν τῶν οἰκοπέδων δὲ διαίρεσιν δεῖ σκοπεῖν, μή ποτ᾽
and the of-the house-plots and division one-must to-examine lest ever
οὐ συμφέρει πρὸς οἰκονομίαν· δύο γὰρ οἰκόπεδα ἑκάστῳ
not it-is-advantageous for household-management two for house-plots to-each
ἔνειμε διελὼν χωρίς, χαλεπὸν δὲ οἰκίας δύο οἰκεῖν.
he-allotted having-divided separately difficult and houses two to-inhabit
ἡ δὲ σύνταξις ὅλη βούλεται μὲν εἶναι μήτε δημοκρατία
the and arrangement whole wishes indeed to-be neither democracy
μήτε ὀλιγαρχία, μέση δὲ τούτων, ἣν καλοῦσι πολιτείαν·
nor oligarchy midway but between-these which they-call polity
ἐκ γὰρ τῶν ὁπλιτευόντων ἐστίν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ὡς κοινοτάτην
from for those serving-as-hoplites it-is if indeed then as most-common
ταύτην κατασκευάζει ταῖς πόλεσι τῶν ἄλλων πολιτειῶν,
this he-constructs for-the cities of-the other constitutions
καλῶς εἴρηκεν ἴσως· εἰ δ᾽ ὡς ἀρίστην μετὰ τὴν πρώτην
well he-has-spoken perhaps if but as best after the first
πολιτείαν, οὐ καλῶς. τάχα γὰρ τὴν τῶν Λακώνων ἄν τις
constitution not well perhaps for the of-the Laconians — someone
ἐπαινέσειε μᾶλλον, ἢ κἂν ἄλλην τινὰ ἀριστοκρατικωτέραν.
would-praise rather or even another some more-aristocratic
ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν λέγουσιν ὡς δεῖ τὴν ἀρίστην πολιτείαν ἐξ
some indeed then say that must the best constitution from

ἁπασῶν εἶναι τῶν πολιτειῶν μεμειγμένην, διὸ καὶ τὴν
all to-be of-the constitutions mixed therefore also the
τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπαινοῦσιν (εἶναι γὰρ αὐτὴν οἱ
of-the Lacedaemonians they-praise to-be for it the(-ones)
μὲν ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ μοναρχίας καὶ δημοκρατίας φασίν,
indeed from oligarchy and monarchy and democracy say
λέγοντες τὴν μὲν βασιλείαν μοναρχίαν, τὴν δὲ τῶν
calling the indeed kingship monarchy the and of-the
γερόντων ἀρχὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν, δημοκρατεῖσθαι δὲ κατὰ
elders office oligarchy to-be-democratically-governed and by
τὴν τῶν ἐφόρων ἀρχὴν διὰ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ δήμου εἶναι τοὺς
the of-the ephors office through the from the people to-be the
ἐφόρους· οἱ δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐφορείαν εἶναι τυραννίδα,
ephors the(-others) and the indeed ephorate to-be tyranny
δημοκρατεῖσθαι δὲ κατά τε τὰ συσσίτια καὶ τὸν
to-be-democratically-governed and by both the common-meals and the
ἄλλον βίον τὸν καθ' ἡμέραν)· ἐν δὲ τοῖς νόμοις εἴρηται
other life the by day in but the laws it-is-said
τούτοις ὡς δέον συγκεῖσθαι τὴν ἀρίστην πολιτείαν
these that it-is-necessary to-be-composed the best constitution
ἐκ δημοκρατίας καὶ τυραννίδος, ἃς ἢ τὸ παράπαν
from democracy and tyranny which either the altogether
οὐκ ἄν τις θείη πολιτείας ἢ χειρίστας πασῶν.
not — one would-posit constitutions or worst of-all
βέλτιον οὖν λέγουσιν οἱ πλείους μιγνύντες· ἡ γὰρ
better then speak those more mixing the for
ἐκ πλειόνων συγκειμένη πολιτεία βελτίων. ἔπειτ' οὐδ'
from more composed constitution better then not-even
ἔχουσα φαίνεται μοναρχικὸν οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ὀλιγαρχικὰ καὶ
having it-appears monarchic(-element) any but oligarchic and
δημοκρατικά· μᾶλλον δ' ἐγκλίνειν βούλεται πρὸς τὴν
democratic(-elements) rather and to-incline it-wishes to the

ὀλιγαρχίαν. δῆλον δὲ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀρχόντων καταστάσεως·
oligarchy clear and from the of-the rulers appointment
τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ αἱρετῶν κληρωτοὺς κοινὸν ἀμφοῖν, τὸ
the indeed for from elected(-candidates) chosen-by-lot common to-both the
δὲ τοῖς μὲν εὐπορωτέροις ἐπάναγκες ἐκκλησιάζειν εἶναι
but for-the indeed better-off compulsory to-attend-the-assembly to-be
καὶ φέρειν ἄρχοντας ἤ τι ποιεῖν ἄλλο τῶν πολιτικῶν,
and to-vote-for rulers or something to-do other of-the political(-duties)
τοὺς δ' ἀφεῖσθαι, τοῦτο δ' ὀλιγαρχικόν, καὶ τὸ πειρᾶσθαι
the and to-be-exempt this and oligarchic and the to-try
πλείους ἐκ τῶν εὐπόρων εἶναι τοὺς ἄρχοντας, καὶ τὰς
more from the well-off to-be the rulers and the
μεγίστας ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων τιμημάτων. ὀλιγαρχικὴν
greatest(-offices) from the greatest property-qualifications oligarchic
δὲ ποιεῖ καὶ τὴν τῆς βουλῆς αἵρεσιν. αἱροῦνται μὲν γὰρ
and he-makes also the of-the council election elect indeed for
πάντες ἐπάναγκες ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου τιμήματος, εἶτα
all compulsorily but from the first property-qualification then
πάλιν ἴσους ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου, εἶτ' ἐκ τῶν τρίτων,
again an-equal(-number) from the second then from the third
πλὴν οὐ πᾶσιν ἐπάναγκες ἦν τοῖς ἐκ τῶν τρίτων ἢ
except not for-all compulsory it-was for-those from the third or
τετάρτων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τετάρτου μόνοις ἐπάναγκες τοῖς
fourth from but the fourth only compulsory for-the
πρώτοις καὶ τοῖς δευτέροις· εἶτ' ἐκ τούτων ἴσον ἀφ'
first and the second then from these an-equal(-number) from
ἑκάστου τιμήματος ἀποδεῖξαί φησι δεῖν ἀριθμόν.
each property-qualification to-appoint he-says to-be-necessary number
ἔσονται δὴ πλείους οἱ ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων τιμημάτων
will-be indeed more those from the greatest property-qualifications
καὶ βελτίους διὰ τὸ ἐνίους μὴ αἱρεῖσθαι τῶν δημοτικῶν
and better through the some not to-elect of-the commons

διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπάναγκες. ὡς μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἐκ δημοκρατίας
through the not compulsory that indeed then not from democracy
καὶ μοναρχίας δεῖ συνιστάναι τὴν τοιαύτην πολιτείαν, ἐκ
and monarchy must to-constitute the such constitution from
τούτων φανερὸν καὶ τῶν ὕστερον ῥηθησομένων, ὅταν
these evident and from-the later to-be-said when
ἐπιβάλλῃ περὶ τῆς τοιαύτης πολιτείας ἡ σκέψις· ἔχει δὲ
falls-to about the such constitution the inquiry it-has and
καὶ περὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν τῶν ἀρχόντων τὸ ἐξ αἱρετῶν
also about the election of-the rulers the from elected(-candidates)
αἱρετοὺς ἐπικίνδυνον. εἰ γάρ τινες συστῆναι θέλουσι καὶ
elected dangerous if for some to-combine wish even
μέτριοι τὸ πλῆθος, αἰεὶ κατὰ τὴν τούτων αἱρεθήσονται
moderate the number always by the of-these they-will-be-elected
βούλησιν. Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν τὴν ἐν
wish the(-things) indeed then about the constitution the in
τοῖς νόμοις τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον.
the laws this has the manner

VII · PHALEAS OF CHALCEDON

Other schemes come from private men, philosophers, and statesmen. Phaleas of Chalcedon first proposed that citizens' property be equal, leveled by dowries. But the number of children must be fixed, and desires leveled more than property; Phaleas' equal education is useless unless its kind is stated. Men do wrong from desire and for honor, not only from need, and the greatest crimes come from excess. Phaleas also ignores war, equalizes only land, and makes all craftsmen public workers.

Εἰσὶ δέ τινες πολιτεῖαι καὶ ἄλλαι, αἱ μὲν ἰδιωτῶν
are and some constitutions also other the(-ones) indeed of-private-men
αἱ δὲ φιλοσόφων καὶ πολιτικῶν, πᾶσαι δὲ τῶν
the(-others) and of-philosophers and of-statesmen all but than-the

καθεστηκυιῶν καὶ καθ' ἃς πολιτεύονται νῦν ἐγγύτερόν
established and according-to which they-are-governed now nearer
εἰσι τούτων ἀμφοτέρων. οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὔτε τὴν περὶ τὰ τέκνα
are than-these both no-one for neither the about the children
κοινότητα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἄλλος κεκαινοτόμηκεν, οὔτε
community and the wives other has-innovated nor
περὶ τὰ συσσίτια τῶν γυναικῶν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναγκαίων
about the common-meals of-the women but from the necessary(-things)
ἄρχονται μᾶλλον. δοκεῖ γάρ τισι τὸ περὶ τὰς οὐσίας εἶναι
they-begin rather it-seems for to-some the about the properties to-be
μέγιστον τετάχθαι καλῶς· περὶ γὰρ τούτων ποιεῖσθαί
greatest to-be-arranged well about for these to-make
φασι τὰς στάσεις πάντας. διὸ Φαλέας ὁ Χαλκηδόνιος
they-say the factions all therefore Phaleas the Chalcedonian
τοῦτ' εἰσήνεγκε πρῶτος· φησὶ γὰρ δεῖν ἴσας εἶναι
this introduced first he-says for to-be-necessary equal to-be
τὰς κτήσεις τῶν πολιτῶν. τοῦτο δὲ κατοικιζομέναις
the possessions of-the citizens this and for-those-being-settled
μὲν εὐθὺς οὐ χαλεπὸν ᾠ̓ετο ποιεῖν, τὰς δ' ἤδη
indeed at-once not difficult he-thought to-do the(-cities) but already
κατοικουμένας ἐργωδέστερον μέν, ὅμως δὲ τάχιστ' ἂν
settled more-laborious indeed still but most-quickly —
ὁμαλισθῆναι τῷ τὰς προῖκας τοὺς μὲν πλουσίους διδόναι
to-be-leveled by-the the dowries the indeed rich to-give
μὲν λαμβάνειν δὲ μή, τοὺς δὲ πένητας μὴ διδόναι μὲν
indeed to-receive but not the but poor not to-give indeed
λαμβάνειν δέ. Πλάτων δὲ τοὺς νόμους γράφων μέχρι
to-receive but Plato and the laws writing up-to
μέν τινος ᾠ̓ετο δεῖν ἐᾶν, πλεῖον δὲ τοῦ
indeed a-certain(-point) thought to-be-necessary to-allow more but than-the

πενταπλασίαν εἶναι τῆς ἐλαχίστης μηδενὶ τῶν πολιτῶν
five-fold to-be of-the smallest to-no-one of-the citizens
ἐξουσίαν εἶναι κτήσασθαι, καθάπερ εἴρηται καὶ πρότερον.
license to-be to-acquire just-as has-been-said also before
Δεῖ δὲ μηδὲ τοῦτο λανθάνειν τοὺς οὕτω νομοθετοῦντας, ὃ
must and not-even this to-escape-notice those thus legislating which
λανθάνει νῦν, ὅτι τὸ τῆς οὐσίας τάττοντας πλῆθος προσήκει
escapes-notice now that the of-the property arranging amount it-befits
καὶ τῶν τέκνων τὸ πλῆθος τάττειν· ἐὰν γὰρ ὑπεραίρῃ τῆς
also of-the children the number to-arrange if for exceeds than-the
οὐσίας τὸ μέγεθος ὁ τῶν τέκνων ἀριθμός, ἀνάγκη τόν γε
property the size the of-the children number necessity the at-least
νόμον λύεσθαι, καὶ χωρὶς τῆς λύσεως φαῦλον τὸ πολλοὺς
law to-be-broken and apart-from the breaking bad the many
ἐκ πλουσίων γίνεσθαι πένητας· ἔργον γὰρ μὴ νεωτεροποιοὺς
from rich to-become poor hard for not revolutionaries
εἶναι τοὺς τοιούτους. διότι μὲν οὖν ἔχει τινὰ δύναμιν εἰς τὴν
to-be the such because indeed then has some power for the
πολιτικὴν κοινωνίαν ἡ τῆς οὐσίας ὁμαλότης, καὶ τῶν πάλαι
political community the of-the property equality also of-the ancients
τινὲς φαίνονται διεγνωκότες, οἷον καὶ Σόλων ἐνομοθέτησεν,
some appear having-recognized such-as also Solon legislated
καὶ παρ᾽ ἄλλοις ἔστι νόμος ὃς κωλύει κτᾶσθαι γῆν
and among others is a-law which prevents to-acquire land
ὁπόσην ἂν βούληταί τις, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν
as-much-as — wishes anyone similarly and also the property
πωλεῖν οἱ νόμοι κωλύουσιν, ὥσπερ ἐν Λοκροῖς νόμος ἐστὶ
to-sell the laws prevent just-as in Locri law is
μὴ πωλεῖν, ἐὰν μὴ φανερὰν ἀτυχίαν δείξῃ συμβεβηκυῖαν,
not to-sell if not evident misfortune he-shows having-happened
ἔτι δὲ τοὺς παλαιοὺς κλήρους διασῴζειν (τοῦτο δὲ λυθὲν
further and the ancient allotments to-preserve this and broken

καὶ περὶ Λευκάδα δημοτικὴν ἐποίησε λίαν τὴν πολιτείαν
also about Leucas democratic made too the constitution
αὐτῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι συνέβαινεν ἀπὸ τῶν ὡρισμένων
their not for any-longer it-happened from the defined
τιμημάτων εἰς τὰς ἀρχὰς βαδίζειν)· ἀλλ' ἔστι τὴν
property-qualifications to the offices to-go but it-is-possible the
ἰσότητα μὲν ὑπάρχειν τῆς οὐσίας, ταύτην δ' ἢ λίαν εἶναι
equality indeed to-exist of-the property this but either too to-be
πολλήν, ὥστε τρυφᾶν, ἢ λίαν ὀλίγην, ὥστε ζῆν γλίσχρως.
much so-as to-luxuriate or too little so-as to-live meanly
δῆλον οὖν ὡς οὐχ ἱκανὸν τὸ τὰς οὐσίας ἴσας ποιῆσαι τὸν
clear then that not sufficient the the properties equal to-make the
νομοθέτην, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μέσου στοχαστέον. ἔτι δ' εἴ τις καὶ
lawgiver but the mean one-must-aim-at further and if someone even
τὴν μετρίαν τάξειεν οὐσίαν πᾶσιν, οὐδὲν ὄφελος· μᾶλλον
the moderate should-assign property to-all no use rather
γὰρ δεῖ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ὁμαλίζειν ἢ τὰς οὐσίας, τοῦτο
for one-must the desires to-level than the properties this
δ' οὐκ ἔστι μὴ παιδευομένοις ἱκανῶς ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων.
but not is-possible not being-educated sufficiently by the laws
ἀλλ' ἴσως ἂν εἴπειεν ὁ Φαλέας ὅτι ταῦτα τυγχάνει λέγων
but perhaps — might-say — Phaleas that these-things be-happens saying
αὐτός· οἴεται γὰρ δυοῖν τούτοιν ἰσότητα δεῖν ὑπάρχειν
himself he-thinks for of-two these equality to-be-necessary to-exist
ταῖς πόλεσιν, κτήσεως καὶ παιδείας. ἀλλὰ τήν τε παιδείαν
for-the cities of-property and of-education but the both education
ἥτις ἔσται δεῖ λέγειν, καὶ τὸ μίαν εἶναι καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν
what will-be one-must to-say and the one to-be and the same
οὐδὲν ὄφελος· ἔστι γὰρ τὴν αὐτὴν μὲν εἶναι καὶ μίαν,
no use it-is-possible for the same indeed to-be and one

ἀλλὰ ταύτην εἶναι τοιαύτην ἐξ ἧς ἔσονται προαιρετικοὶ
but this to-be such from which they-will-be inclined-to
τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν ἢ χρημάτων ἢ τιμῆς ἢ συναμφοτέρων.
the to-have-more either of-money or of-honor or of-both-together
ἔτι στασιάζουσιν οὐ μόνον διὰ τὴν ἀνισότητα τῆς
further they-fall-into-faction not only through the inequality of-the
κτήσεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν τιμῶν, τοὐναντίον δὲ περὶ
property but also through the of-the honors the-opposite but about
ἑκάτερον· οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ διὰ τὸ περὶ τὰς κτήσεις
each the indeed for many through the about the possessions
ἄνισον, οἱ δὲ χαρίεντες περὶ τῶν τιμῶν, ἐὰν ἴσαι· ὅθεν
unequal the but refined about the honors if equal whence
καὶ "ἐν δὲ ἰᾷ τιμᾷ ἠμὲν κακὸς ἠδὲ καὶ ἐσθλός". οὐ μόνον
also in and one honor both bad and also good not only
δ' οἱ ἄνθρωποι διὰ τἀναγκαῖα ἀδικοῦσιν, ὧν ἄκος
and the men through the-necessities do-wrong of-which cure
εἶναι νομίζει τὴν ἰσότητα τῆς οὐσίας, ὥστε μὴ λωποδυτεῖν
to-be he-thinks the equality of-the property so-as not to-steal-clothes
διὰ τὸ ῥιγοῦν ἢ πεινῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπως χαίρωσι καὶ
through the to-be-cold or to-be-hungry but also so-that they-may-enjoy and
μὴ ἐπιθυμῶσιν· ἐὰν γὰρ μείζω ἔχωσιν ἐπιθυμίαν τῶν
not they-may-desire if for greater they-have desire than-the
ἀναγκαίων, διὰ τὴν ταύτης ἰατρείαν ἀδικήσουσιν, οὐ
necessities through the of-this cure they-will-do-wrong not
τοίνυν διὰ ταύτην μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ, ἵνα χαίρωσι ταῖς
therefore through this only but also so-that they-may-enjoy the
ἄνευ λυπῶν ἡδοναῖς. τί οὖν ἄκος τῶν τριῶν τούτων;
without pains pleasures what then cure of-the three these
τοῖς μὲν οὐσία βραχεῖα καὶ ἐργασία, τοῖς δὲ
for-the(-ones) indeed property small and work for-the(-others) and

σωφροσύνη· τρίτον δ', εἴ τινες βούλοιντο δι' αὑτῶν
temperance a-third and if any should-wish through themselves
χαίρειν, οὐκ ἂν ἐπιζητοῖεν εἰ μὴ παρὰ φιλοσοφίας ἄκος.
to-enjoy not — they-would-seek if not from philosophy a-cure
αἱ γὰρ ἄλλαι ἀνθρώπων δέονται. ἐπεὶ ἀδικοῦσί γε
the for others men need since they-do-wrong at-least
τὰ μέγιστα διὰ τὰς ὑπερβολάς, ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τὰ
the greatest(-wrongs) through the excesses but not through the
ἀναγκαῖα (οἷον τυραννοῦσιν οὐχ ἵνα μὴ ῥιγῶσιν· διὸ
necessities such-as they-become-tyrants not so-that not they-may-be-cold therefore
καὶ αἱ τιμαὶ μεγάλαι, ἂν ἀποκτείνῃ τις οὐ κλέπτην ἀλλὰ
also the honors great if kills someone not a-thief but
τύραννον)· ὥστε πρὸς τὰς μικρὰς ἀδικίας βοηθητικὸς μόνον
a-tyrant so-that against the small wrongs helpful only
ὁ τρόπος τῆς Φαλέου πολιτείας. ἔτι τὰ πολλὰ βούλεται
the manner of-the of-Phaleas constitution further the most(-things) he-wishes
κατασκευάζειν ἐξ ὧν τὰ πρὸς αὐτοὺς πολιτεύσονται
to-arrange from which the(-things) toward themselves they-will-govern
καλῶς, δεῖ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς γειτνιῶντας καὶ τοὺς
well must and also toward the neighbors and the
ἔξωθεν πάντας. ἀναγκαῖον ἄρα τὴν πολιτείαν συντετάχθαι
outside all necessary then the constitution to-be-ordered
πρὸς τὴν πολεμικὴν ἰσχύν, περὶ ἧς ἐκεῖνος οὐδὲν
with-a-view-to the military strength about which he nothing
εἴρηκεν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς κτήσεως. δεῖ γὰρ οὐ
has-said similarly and also about the property must for not
μόνον πρὸς τὰς πολιτικὰς χρήσεις ἱκανὴν ὑπάρχειν, ἀλλὰ
only for the political uses sufficient to-exist but
καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἔξωθεν κινδύνους· διόπερ οὔτε τοσοῦτον
also for the outside dangers therefore neither so-great
δεῖ πλῆθος ὑπάρχειν ὧν οἱ πλησίον καὶ κρείττους
must amount to-exist which the near and stronger

ἐπιθυμήσουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἔχοντες ἀμύνειν οὐ δυνήσονται τοὺς
will-desire the and having to-repel not will-be-able those
ἐπιόντας, οὔθ' οὕτως ὀλίγην ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι πόλεμον
attacking nor so small so-as not to-be-able war
ὑπενεγκεῖν μηδὲ τῶν ἴσων καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων.
to-sustain not-even of-the equal and of-the similar
ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν διώρικεν, δεῖ δὲ τοῦτο μὴ λανθάνειν,
he indeed then nothing has-determined must but this not to-escape-notice
ὅτι συμφέρει πλῆθος οὐσίας. ἴσως οὖν ἄριστος ὅρος τὸ
what is-advantageous amount of-property perhaps then best limit the
μὴ λυσιτελεῖν τοῖς κρείττοσι διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν πολεμεῖν,
not to-profit to-the stronger through the excess to-make-war
ἀλλ' οὕτως ὡς ἂν καὶ μὴ ἐχόντων τοσαύτην οὐσίαν. οἷον
but so as — even not having so-much property such-as
Εὔβουλος Αὐτοφραδάτου μέλλοντος Ἀταρνέα πολιορκεῖν
Eubulus Autophradates being-about Atarneus to-besiege
ἐκέλευσεν αὐτόν, σκεψάμενον ἐν πόσῳ χρόνῳ λήψεται
ordered him having-considered in how-much time he-will-take
τὸ χωρίον, λογίσασθαι τοῦ χρόνου τούτου τὴν δαπάνην·
the place to-calculate of-the time this the expense
ἐθέλειν γὰρ ἔλαττον τούτου λαβὼν ἐκλιπεῖν ἤδη τὸν
to-be-willing for less than-this having-taken to-abandon at-once —
Ἀταρνέα· ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν ἐποίησε τὸν Αὐτοφραδάτην
Atarneus these-things and having-said he-made — Autophradates
σύννουν γενόμενον παύσασθαι τῆς πολιορκίας.
thoughtful having-become to-cease from-the siege
ἔστι μὲν οὖν τι τῶν συμφερόντων τὸ τὰς οὐσίας ἴσας
is indeed then something of-the advantageous(-things) the the properties equal
εἶναι τοῖς πολίταις πρὸς τὸ μὴ στασιάζειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους,
to-be for-the citizens toward the not to-fall-into-faction against one-another
οὐ μὴν μέγα οὐδὲν ὡς εἰπεῖν. καὶ γὰρ ἂν οἱ χαρίεντες
not however great nothing so to-speak also for — the refined

ἀγανακτοῖεν ἂν ὡς οὐκ ἴσων ὄντες ἄξιοι, διὸ καὶ
would-be-indignant — as not of-equal being worthy therefore also
φαίνονται πολλάκις ἐπιτιθέμενοι καὶ στασιάζοντες· ἔτι δ'
they-appear often attacking and falling-into-faction further and
ἡ πονηρία τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄπληστον, καὶ τὸ πρῶτον μὲν
the wickedness of-the men insatiable and the first indeed
ἱκανὸν διωβολία μόνον, ὅταν δ' ἤδη τοῦτ' ᾖ πάτριον, ἀεὶ
sufficient two-obols only when but already this is ancestral always
δέονται τοῦ πλείονος, ἕως εἰς ἄπειρον ἔλθωσιν. ἄπειρος
they-need the more until to infinity they-come infinite
γὰρ ἡ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας φύσις, ἧς πρὸς τὴν ἀναπλήρωσιν
for the of-the desire nature of-which toward the filling
οἱ πολλοὶ ζῶσιν. τῶν οὖν τοιούτων ἀρχή, μᾶλλον τοῦ
the many live of-the then such(-things) beginning rather than-the
τὰς οὐσίας ὁμαλίζειν, τὸ τοὺς μὲν ἐπιεικεῖς τῇ φύσει
the properties to-level the the indeed decent by-the nature
τοιούτους παρασκευάζειν ὥστε μὴ βούλεσθαι πλεονεκτεῖν,
such to-prepare so-as not to-wish to-have-more
τοὺς δὲ φαύλους ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι· τοῦτο δ' ἐστίν, ἂν
the but base so-as not to-be-able this and is if
ἧττους τε ὦσι καὶ μὴ ἀδικῶνται. οὐ καλῶς δὲ οὐδὲ τὴν
inferior both they-are and not are-wronged not well but nor the
ἰσότητα τῆς οὐσίας εἴρηκεν. περὶ γὰρ τὴν τῆς γῆς κτῆσιν
equality of-the property he-has-said about for the of-the land possession
ἰσάζει μόνον, ἔστι δὲ καὶ δούλων καὶ βοσκημάτων
he-equalizes only is but also of-slaves and of-cattle
πλοῦτος καὶ νομίσματος, καὶ κατασκευὴ πολλὴ τῶν
wealth and of-money and furnishing much of-the
καλουμένων ἐπίπλων· ἢ πάντων οὖν τούτων ἰσότητα
so-called movables either of-all then these equality
ζητητέον ἢ τάξιν τινὰ μετρίαν, ἢ πάντα ἐατέον.
one-must-seek or arrangement some moderate or all(-things) one-must-let-be

φαίνεται δ' ἐκ τῆς νομοθεσίας κατασκευάζων τὴν πόλιν
he-appears and from the legislation constructing the city
μικράν, εἴ γ' οἱ τεχνῖται πάντες δημόσιοι ἔσονται καὶ μὴ
small if at-least the craftsmen all public will-be and not
πλήρωμά τι παρέξονται τῆς πόλεως. ἀλλ' εἴπερ δεῖ
complement any will-provide of-the city but if-indeed it-is-necessary
δημοσίους εἶναι, τοὺς τὰ κοινὰ ἐργαζομένους δεῖ
public to-be those the common(-works) doing it-is-necessary
(καθάπερ ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ τε, καὶ Διόφαντός ποτε κατεσκεύαζεν
just-as in Epidamnus both and Diophantus once was-arranging
Ἀθήνησι) τοῦτον ἔχειν τὸν τρόπον. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς
at-Athens this to-have the manner about indeed then the
Φαλέου πολιτείας σχεδὸν ἐκ τούτων ἄν τις θεωρήσειεν,
of-Phaleas constitution nearly from these(-things) — one might-observe
εἴ τι τυγχάνει καλῶς εἰρηκὼς ἢ μὴ καλῶς.
whether anything he-happens well having-said or not well

VIII · HIPPODAMUS OF MILETUS

Hippodamus of Miletus, who invented the division of cities and laid out the Piraeus, was the first non-statesman to write on the best constitution: ten thousand citizens in three classes, land in three parts, three kinds of lawsuit, a court of appeal, and honors for discoveries. Unarmed farmers and craftsmen become nearly slaves, and split verdicts confuse jurors. The arts gain by changing ancestral ways, but law's strength is habit, so a small gain does not justify changing law.

Ἱππόδαμος δὲ Εὐρυφῶντος Μιλήσιος (ὃς καὶ τὴν τῶν
Hippodamus and of-Euryphon a-Milesian who also the of-the
πόλεων διαίρεσιν εὗρε καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατέτεμεν,
cities division invented and the Piraeus laid-out
γενόμενος καὶ περὶ τὸν ἄλλον βίον περιττότερος διὰ
having-become also about the other life more-extravagant through

φιλοτιμίαν οὕτως ὥστε δοκεῖν ἐνίοις ζῆν περιεργότερον
love-of-honor so so-as to-seem to-some to-live too-affectedly
τριχῶν τε πλήθει καὶ κόσμῳ πολυτελεῖ, ἔτι δὲ
of-hair both with-abundance and with-ornament costly further and
ἐσθῆτος εὐτελοῦς μὲν ἀλεεινῆς δὲ οὐκ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι
of-clothing cheap indeed warm but not in the winter
μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοὺς θερινοὺς χρόνους, λόγιος δὲ
only but also about the summer times learned and
καὶ περὶ τὴν ὅλην φύσιν εἶναι βουλόμενος) πρῶτος τῶν
also about the whole nature to-be wishing first of-those
μὴ πολιτευομένων ἐνεχείρησέ τι περὶ πολιτείας εἰπεῖν
not engaged-in-politics attempted something about constitution to-say
τῆς ἀρίστης. κατεσκεύαζε δὲ τὴν πόλιν τῷ πλήθει μὲν
the best he-constructed and the city in-the number indeed
μυρίανδρον, εἰς τρία δὲ μέρη διῃρημένην· ἐποίει γὰρ
of-ten-thousand-men into three and parts divided he-made(-it) for
ἓν μὲν μέρος τεχνίτας, ἓν δὲ γεωργούς, τρίτον δὲ τὸ
one indeed part craftsmen one and farmers a-third and the
προπολεμοῦν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἔχον. διῄρει δ' εἰς τρία μέρη
fighting-in-defense and the arms having he-divided and into three parts
τὴν χώραν, τὴν μὲν ἱερὰν τὴν δὲ δημοσίαν τὴν
the country the(-one) indeed sacred the(-other) and public the(-third)
δ' ἰδίαν· ὅθεν μὲν τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιήσουσι πρὸς τοὺς
and private whence indeed the customary(-rites) they-will-perform toward the
θεούς, ἱεράν, ἀφ' ὧν δ' οἱ προπολεμοῦντες βιώσονται,
gods sacred from which and the fighting-in-defense will-live
κοινήν, τὴν δὲ τῶν γεωργῶν ἰδίαν.
common the and of-the farmers private
ᾤετο δ' εἴδη καὶ τῶν νόμων εἶναι τρία μόνον· περὶ
he-thought and kinds also of-the laws to-be three only about
ὧν γὰρ αἱ δίκαι γίνονται, τρία ταῦτ' εἶναι τὸν ἀριθμόν,
which for the lawsuits arise three these to-be the number

ὕβριν βλάβην θάνατον. ἐνομοθέτει δὲ καὶ δικαστήριον
outrage damage death he-legislated and also law-court
ἓν τὸ κύριον, εἰς ὃ πάσας ἀνάγεσθαι δεῖν
one the sovereign to which all to-be-referred to-be-necessary
τὰς μὴ καλῶς κεκρίσθαι δοκούσας δίκας· τοῦτο δὲ
the not well to-have-been-judged seeming suits this and
κατεσκεύαζεν ἐκ τινῶν γερόντων αἱρετῶν. τὰς δὲ κρίσεις
he-constructed from some elders elected the and judgments
ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις οὐ διὰ ψηφοφορίας ᾤετο γίγνεσθαι
in the law-courts not through voting he-thought to-take-place
δεῖν, ἀλλὰ φέρειν ἕκαστον πινάκιον, ἐν ᾧ γράφειν,
to-be-necessary but to-bring each a-tablet on which to-write
εἰ καταδικάζοι ἁπλῶς, τὴν δίκην, εἰ δ' ἀπολύοι ἁπλῶς,
if he-condemn simply the suit if but he-acquit simply
κενόν, εἰ δὲ τὸ μὲν τὸ δὲ μή, τοῦτο διορίζειν. νῦν
empty if but the(-one) indeed the(-other) and not this to-specify now
γὰρ οὐκ ᾤετο νενομοθετῆσθαι καλῶς· ἀναγκάζειν γὰρ
for not he-thought to-have-been-legislated well to-compel for
ἐπιορκεῖν ἢ ταῦτα ἢ ταῦτα δικάζοντας. ἔτι δὲ νόμον
to-perjure either these-things or these-things judging further and a-law
ἐτίθει περὶ τῶν εὑρισκόντων τι τῇ πόλει συμφέρον,
he-laid-down about those discovering something for-the city advantageous
ὅπως τυγχάνωσι τιμῆς, καὶ τοῖς παισὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ
that they-obtain honor and for-the children of-those in the war
τελευτώντων ἐκ δημοσίου γίνεσθαι τὴν τροφήν, ὡς οὔπω
dying from public(-funds) to-be the maintenance as not-yet
τοῦτο παρ' ἄλλοις νενομοθετημένον· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἀθήναις
this among others having-been-legislated is but also in Athens
οὗτος ὁ νόμος νῦν καὶ ἐν ἑτέραις τῶν πόλεων. τοὺς δ'
this the law now and in other of-the cities the and
ἄρχοντας αἱρετοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου εἶναι πάντας. δῆμον δ'
rulers elected by the people to-be all people and

ἐποίει τὰ τρία μέρη τῆς πόλεως· τοὺς δ' αἱρεθέντας
he-made the three parts of-the city the(-others) and elected
ἐπιμελεῖσθαι κοινῶν καὶ ξενικῶν καὶ ὀρφανικῶν.
to-take-care-of common(-affairs) and of-foreigners and of-orphans
Τὰ μὲν οὖν πλεῖστα καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀξιόλογα τῆς
the indeed then most and the most noteworthy(-things) of-the
Ἱπποδάμου τάξεως ταῦτ' ἐστίν· ἀπορήσειε δ' ἄν τις
of-Hippodamus arrangement these are might-raise-difficulty and — one
πρῶτον μὲν τὴν διαίρεσιν τοῦ πλήθους τῶν πολιτῶν. οἵ
first indeed the division of-the multitude of-the citizens the
τε γὰρ τεχνῖται καὶ οἱ γεωργοὶ καὶ οἱ τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοντες
both for craftsmen and the farmers and those the arms having
κοινωνοῦσι τῆς πολιτείας πάντες, οἱ μὲν γεωργοὶ οὐκ
share-in the constitution all the indeed farmers not
ἔχοντες ὅπλα, οἱ δὲ τεχνῖται οὔτε γῆν οὔτε ὅπλα, ὥστε
having arms the and craftsmen neither land nor arms so-as
γίνονται σχεδὸν δοῦλοι τῶν τὰ ὅπλα κεκτημένων. μετέχειν
they-become nearly slaves of-those the arms having-acquired to-share
μὲν οὖν πασῶν τῶν τιμῶν ἀδύνατον (ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἐκ
indeed then all the offices impossible necessity for from
τῶν τὰ ὅπλα ἐχόντων καθίστασθαι καὶ στρατηγοὺς καὶ
those the arms having to-be-appointed both generals and
πολιτοφύλακας καὶ τὰς κυριωτάτας ἀρχὰς ὡς εἰπεῖν)·
guardians-of-the-citizens and the most-sovereign offices so to-speak
μὴ μετέχοντας δὲ τῆς πολιτείας πῶς οἷόν τε φιλικῶς
not sharing and in-the constitution how possible — friendly
ἔχειν πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν; ἀλλὰ δεῖ καὶ κρείττους εἶναι
to-be toward the constitution but must also stronger to-be
τοὺς τὰ ὅπλα γε κεκτημένους ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν·
those the arms at-least having-acquired than-both the parts
τοῦτο δ' οὐ ῥᾴδιον μὴ πολλοὺς ὄντας· εἰ δὲ τοῦτ' ἔσται,
this but not easy not many being if but this will-be

τί δεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους μετέχειν τῆς πολιτείας καὶ κυρίους
why must the others to-share-in the constitution and sovereign
εἶναι τῆς τῶν ἀρχόντων καταστάσεως;
to-be of-the of-the rulers appointment
ἔτι οἱ γεωργοὶ τί χρήσιμοι τῇ πόλει; τεχνίτας μὲν
further the farmers how useful to-the city craftsmen indeed
γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι (πᾶσα γὰρ δεῖται πόλις τεχνιτῶν),
for necessary to-be every for needs city craftsmen
καὶ δύνανται διαγίγνεσθαι καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν
and they-can to-make-a-living just-as in the other cities
ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης· οἱ δὲ γεωργοὶ πορίζοντες μὲν τοῖς
from the craft the but farmers providing indeed for-those
τὰ ὅπλα κεκτημένοις τὴν τροφὴν εὐλόγως ἂν ἦσάν τι
the arms having-acquired the food reasonably — would-be some
τῆς πόλεως μέρος, νῦν δ' ἰδίαν ἔχουσιν καὶ ταύτην
of-the city part now but private(-land) they-have and this
ἰδίᾳ γεωργήσουσιν. ἔτι δὲ τὴν κοινήν, ἀφ' ἧς
privately they-will-farm further and the common(-land) from which
οἱ προπολεμοῦντες ἕξουσι τὴν τροφήν, εἰ μὲν αὐτοὶ
those fighting-in-defense will-have the food if indeed themselves
γεωργήσουσιν, οὐκ ἂν εἴη τὸ μάχιμον ἕτερον καὶ τὸ
will-farm(-it) not — would-be the fighting(-part) different and the
γεωργοῦν, βούλεται δ' ὁ νομοθέτης· εἰ δ' ἕτεροί τινες
farming wishes but the lawgiver if but others some
ἔσονται τῶν τε τὰ ἴδια γεωργούντων καὶ τῶν
will-be from-those both the private(-lands) farming and the
μαχίμων, τέταρτον αὖ μόριον ἔσται τοῦτο τῆς πόλεως,
fighters a-fourth again part will-be this of-the city
οὐδενὸς μετέχον, ἀλλὰ ἀλλότριον τῆς πολιτείας· ἀλλὰ
in-nothing sharing but alien to-the constitution but
μὴν εἴ τις τοὺς αὐτοὺς θήσει τούς τε τὴν ἰδίαν
indeed if one the same will-make those both the private(-land)

καὶ τοὺς τὴν κοινὴν γεωργοῦντας, τό τε πλῆθος ἄπορον
and those the common farming the both amount insufficient
ἔσται τῶν καρπῶν ἐξ ὧν ἕκαστος γεωργήσει δύο
will-be of-the crops from which each will-farm for-two
οἰκίας, καὶ τίνος ἕνεκεν οὐκ εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν
households and of-what for-the-sake not at-once from the land and the
αὐτῶν κλήρων αὑτοῖς τε τὴν τροφὴν λήψονται καὶ
same allotments for-themselves both the food they-will-take and
τοῖς μαχίμοις παρέξουσιν;
to-the fighters will-provide
ταῦτα δὴ πάντα πολλὴν ἔχει ταραχήν. οὐ καλῶς δ' οὐδ'
these indeed all much has confusion not well and nor
ὁ περὶ τῆς κρίσεως ἔχει νόμος, τὸ κρίνειν ἀξιοῦν διαιροῦντα
the about the judgment is law the to-judge to-require dividing
τῆς δίκης ἁπλῶς γεγραμμένης καὶ γίνεσθαι τὸν δικαστὴν
the suit simply written and to-become the juror
διαιτητήν. τοῦτο δὲ ἐν μὲν τῇ διαίτῃ καὶ πλείοσιν ἐνδέχεται
an-arbitrator this and in indeed the arbitration even for-more is-possible
(κοινολογοῦνται γὰρ ἀλλήλοις περὶ τῆς κρίσεως), ἐν
they-confer for with-one-another about the judgment in
δὲ τοῖς δικαστηρίοις οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὐναντίον
but the law-courts not it-is(-possible) but also the-opposite
τούτου τῶν νομοθετῶν οἱ πολλοὶ παρασκευάζουσιν ὅπως
of-this of-the lawgivers the most arrange so-that
οἱ δικασταὶ μὴ κοινολογῶνται πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ἔπειτα πῶς
the jurors not confer with one-another then how
οὐκ ἔσται ταραχώδης ἡ κρίσις, ὅταν ὀφείλειν μὲν ὁ
not will-be confused the judgment when to-owe indeed the
δικαστὴς οἴηται, μὴ τοσοῦτον δ' ὅσον ὁ δικαζόμενος;
juror thinks not so-much but as-much-as the plaintiff
ὁ μὲν γὰρ εἴκοσι μνᾶς, ὁ δὲ δικαστὴς κρινεῖ δέκα
the(-one) indeed for twenty minas the and juror will-judge ten

μνᾶς (ἢ ὁ μὲν πλέον ὁ δ' ἔλασσον), ἄλλος δὲ
minas or the(-one) indeed more the(-other) and less another and
πέντε, ὁ δὲ τέτταρας (καὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τρόπον
five the(-other) and four and this indeed the way
δῆλον ὅτι μεριοῦσιν), οἱ δὲ πάντα καταδικάσουσιν,
clear that they-will-divide the(-ones) and all will-condemn
οἱ δ' οὐδέν. τίς οὖν ὁ τρόπος ἔσται τῆς διαλογῆς
the(-others) and nothing what then the manner will-be of-the counting
τῶν ψήφων; ἔτι δ' οὐδεὶς ἐπιορκεῖν ἀναγκάζει τὸν ἁπλῶς
of-the votes further and no-one to-perjure compels the simply
ἀποδικάσαντα ἢ καταδικάσαντα, εἴπερ ἁπλῶς τὸ ἔγκλημα
acquitting or condemning if-indeed simply the charge
γέγραπται, δικαίως· οὐ γὰρ μηδὲν ὀφείλειν ὁ ἀποδικάσας
has-been-written justly not for nothing to-owe the acquitter
κρίνει, ἀλλὰ τὰς εἴκοσι μνᾶς· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος ἤδη ἐπιορκεῖ
judges but the twenty minas but that-one already perjures
ὁ καταδικάσας μὴ νομίζων ὀφείλειν τὰς εἴκοσι μνᾶς.
the condemner not thinking to-owe the twenty minas
περὶ δὲ τοῦ τοῖς εὑρίσκουσί τι τῇ πόλει συμφέρον
about and the for-those discovering something for-the city advantageous
ὡς δεῖ γίνεσθαί τινα τιμήν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀσφαλὲς τὸ
that must arise some honor not it-is safe the
νομοθετεῖν, ἀλλ' εὐόφθαλμον ἀκοῦσαι μόνον· ἔχει γὰρ
to-legislate but attractive to-hear only it-has for
συκοφαντίας καὶ κινήσεις, ἂν τύχῃ, πολιτείας. ἐμπίπτει
false-accusations and movements if it-happen of-constitution it-falls
δ' εἰς ἄλλο πρόβλημα καὶ σκέψιν ἑτέραν· ἀποροῦσι
and into another problem and inquiry other are-at-a-loss
γάρ τινες πότερον βλαβερὸν ἢ συμφέρον ταῖς πόλεσι τὸ
for some whether harmful or advantageous for-the cities the
κινεῖν τοὺς πατρίους νόμους, ἂν ᾖ τις ἄλλος βελτίων.
to-change the ancestral laws if is some other better

διόπερ οὐ ῥᾴδιον τῷ λεχθέντι ταχὺ συγχωρεῖν, εἴπερ μὴ
therefore not easy to-the said(-proposal) quickly to-agree if-indeed not
συμφέρει κινεῖν, ἐνδέχεται δ' εἰσηγεῖσθαί τινας νόμων
it-is-advantageous to-change it-is-possible and to-propose some of-laws
λύσιν ἢ πολιτείας ὡς κοινὸν ἀγαθόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πεποιήμεθα
dissolution or of-constitution as common good since and we-have-made
μνείαν, ἔτι μικρὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ διαστείλασθαι βέλτιον. ἔχει
mention further a-little about it to-distinguish better it-has
γάρ, ὥσπερ εἴπομεν, ἀπορίαν, καὶ δόξειεν ἂν βέλτιον
for just-as we-said a-difficulty and would-seem — better
εἶναι τὸ κινεῖν. ἐπὶ γοῦν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιστημῶν τοῦτο
to-be the to-change in at-least the other sciences this
συνενήνοχεν, οἷον ἰατρικὴ κινηθεῖσα παρὰ τὰ πάτρια
has-proved-beneficial such-as medicine changed beyond the ancestral(-ways)
καὶ γυμναστικὴ καὶ ὅλως αἱ τέχναι πᾶσαι καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις,
and gymnastics and generally the arts all and the faculties
ὥστ' ἐπεὶ μίαν τούτων θετέον καὶ τὴν πολιτικήν,
so-that since one of-these one-must-place also the political(-art)
δῆλον ὅτι καὶ περὶ ταύτην ἀναγκαῖον ὁμοίως ἔχειν.
clear that also about this necessary similarly to-be
σημεῖον δ' ἂν γεγονέναι φαίη τις ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν
sign and — to-have-happened might-say one in the-very the
ἔργων· τοὺς γὰρ ἀρχαίους νόμους λίαν ἁπλοῦς εἶναι καὶ
facts the for ancient laws too simple to-be and
βαρβαρικούς. ἐσιδηροφοροῦντό τε γὰρ οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ
barbaric they-carried-iron both for the Greeks and
τὰς γυναῖκας ἐωνοῦντο παρ' ἀλλήλων, ὅσα τε λοιπὰ τῶν
the wives bought from one-another whatever and remains of-the
ἀρχαίων ἐστί που νομίμων, εὐήθη πάμπαν ἐστίν, οἷον
ancient is somewhere customs silly altogether are such-as
ἐν Κύμῃ περὶ τὰ φονικὰ νόμος ἐστίν, ἂν πλῆθός τι
in Cyme about the homicide(-cases) a-law is if number some

παράσχηται μαρτύρων ὁ διώκων τὸν φόνον τῶν αὑτοῦ
furnishes of-witnesses the prosecutor the murder of-the his-own
συγγενῶν, ἔνοχον εἶναι τῷ φόνῳ τὸν φεύγοντα. ζητοῦσι
kinsmen liable to-be to-the murder the defendant seek
δ' ὅλως οὐ τὸ πάτριον ἀλλὰ τἀγαθὸν πάντες· εἰκός
and generally not the ancestral but the-good all likely
τε τοὺς πρώτους, εἴτε γηγενεῖς ἦσαν εἴτ' ἐκ φθορᾶς
and the first(-men) whether earth-born they-were or from destruction
τινος ἐσώθησαν, ὁμοίους εἶναι καὶ τοὺς τυχόντας καὶ τοὺς
some were-saved alike to-be and the ordinary and the
ἀνοήτους, ὥσπερ καὶ λέγεται κατὰ τῶν γηγενῶν, ὥστε
foolish just-as also it-is-said of the earth-born so-that
ἄτοπον τὸ μένειν ἐν τοῖς τούτων δόγμασιν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις
strange the to-remain in the of-these opinions besides and these
οὐδὲ τοὺς γεγραμμένους ἐᾶν ἀκινήτους βέλτιον. ὥσπερ
not-even the written(-laws) to-leave unmoved better just-as
γὰρ καὶ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας, καὶ τὴν πολιτικὴν τάξιν
for also about the other arts also the political order
ἀδύνατον ἀκριβῶς πάντα γραφῆναι· καθόλου γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον
impossible exactly all(-things) to-be-written universally for necessary
γράφειν, αἱ δὲ πράξεις περὶ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστόν εἰσιν.
to-write the but actions about the(-things) in each are
ἐκ μὲν οὖν τούτων φανερὸν ὅτι κινητέοι καὶ τινὲς καὶ
from indeed then these evident that must-be-changed both some and
ποτὲ τῶν νόμων εἰσίν· ἄλλον δὲ τρόπον ἐπισκοποῦσιν
at-times of-the laws are other but way to-those-examining
εὐλαβείας ἂν δόξειεν εἶναι πολλῆς. ὅταν γὰρ ᾖ τὸ μὲν
of-caution — would-seem to-be much when for is the indeed
βέλτιον μικρόν, τὸ δ' ἐθίζειν εὐχερῶς λύειν τοὺς
improvement small the but to-accustom easily to-dissolve the
νόμους φαῦλον, φανερὸν ὡς ἐατέον ἐνίας ἁμαρτίας
laws bad evident that one-must-let-be some errors

καὶ τῶν νομοθετῶν καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων· οὐ γὰρ τοσοῦτον
both of-the lawgivers and of-the rulers not for so-much
ὠφελήσεται κινήσας, ὅσον βλαβήσεται τοῖς ἄρχουσιν
he-will-be-benefited having-changed as-much-as he-will-be-harmed the rulers
ἀπειθεῖν ἐθισθείς. ψεῦδος δὲ καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα τὸ περὶ
to-disobey accustomed false and also the example the about
τῶν τεχνῶν· οὐ γὰρ ὅμοιον τὸ κινεῖν τέχνην καὶ νόμον·
the arts not for alike the to-change art and law
ὁ γὰρ νόμος ἰσχὺν οὐδεμίαν ἔχει πρὸς τὸ πείθεσθαι παρὰ
the for law strength none has toward the to-be-obeyed except
τὸ ἔθος, τοῦτο δ' οὐ γίνεται εἰ μὴ διὰ χρόνου πλῆθος,
the habit this and not arises if not through of-time length
ὥστε τὸ ῥᾳδίως μεταβάλλειν ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων νόμων
so-that the easily to-change from the existing laws
εἰς ἑτέρους νόμους καινοὺς ἀσθενῆ ποιεῖν ἐστι τὴν τοῦ
to other laws new weak to-make is the of-the
νόμου δύναμιν. ἔτι δ' εἰ καὶ κινητέοι, πότερον πάντες
law power further and if indeed must-be-changed whether all
καὶ ἐν πάσῃ πολιτείᾳ, ἢ οὔ; καὶ πότερον τῷ τυχόντι ἢ
and in every constitution or not and whether by-the chance-one or
τισίν; ταῦτα γὰρ ἔχει μεγάλην διαφοράν. Διὸ νῦν μὲν
by-some these-things for have great difference therefore now indeed
ἀφῶμεν ταύτην τὴν σκέψιν· ἄλλων γάρ ἐστι καιρῶν.
let-us-dismiss this the inquiry of-other for is occasions

A constitution may be judged by the best order and by its own aim. At Sparta the helots are always a danger; the women live without restraint; the land has fallen to a few, two-fifths of it to the women; the population has shrunk; the ephors, drawn from all, are often poor and bribable; the elders hold office for life and are unaccountable; the common meals exclude the poor; and the admirals are almost a second kingship. The laws aim only at war, so the Spartans fell once they ruled, and the treasury is empty.

Περὶ δὲ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείας καὶ τῆς Κρητικῆς,
about and the of-Lacedaemonians constitution and the Cretan
σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτειῶν δύο εἰσὶν αἱ
nearly and also about the other constitutions two are the
σκέψεις, μία μὲν εἴ τι καλῶς ἢ μὴ καλῶς πρὸς
inquiries one indeed whether anything well or not well with-regard-to
τὴν ἀρίστην νενομοθέτηται τάξιν, ἑτέρα δ' εἴ τι πρὸς
the best has-been-legislated order other and whether anything to
τὴν ὑπόθεσιν καὶ τὸν τρόπον ὑπεναντίως τῆς προκειμένης
the principle and the character contrary of-the proposed
αὐτοῖς πολιτείας. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν δεῖ τῇ μελλούσῃ
for-them constitution that indeed then must for-the(-city) intending
καλῶς πολιτεύεσθαι τὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὑπάρχειν σχολήν,
well to-be-governed the from-the necessities to-exist leisure
ὁμολογούμενόν ἐστιν· τίνα δὲ τρόπον ὑπάρχειν, οὐ ῥᾴδιον
agreed is in-what but manner to-exist not easy
λαβεῖν. ἥ τε γὰρ Θετταλῶν πενεστεία πολλάκις ἐπέθετο
to-grasp the both for of-Thessalians serf-class often attacked
τοῖς Θετταλοῖς, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοῖς Λάκωσιν οἱ εἵλωτες
the Thessalians similarly and also the Laconians the helots
(ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐφεδρεύοντες τοῖς ἀτυχήμασι διατελοῦσιν)·
as-if for lying-in-wait for-the misfortunes they-continue

περὶ δὲ τοὺς Κρῆτας οὐδέν πω τοιοῦτον συμβέβηκεν. αἴτιον
about but the Cretans nothing yet such has-happened cause
δ' ἴσως τὸ τὰς γειτνιώσας πόλεις, καίπερ πολεμούσας
and perhaps the the neighboring cities although warring
ἀλλήλαις, μηδεμίαν εἶναι σύμμαχον τοῖς ἀφισταμένοις
with-one-another none to-be ally to-those revolting
διὰ τὸ μὴ συμφέρειν καὶ αὐταῖς κεκτημέναις περιοίκους,
through the not to-be-advantageous also themselves having-acquired perioeci
τοῖς δὲ Λάκωσιν οἱ γειτνιῶντες ἐχθροὶ πάντες ἦσαν,
for-the but Laconians the neighbors enemies all were
Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Μεσήνιοι καὶ Ἀρκάδες· ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς
Argives and Messenians and Arcadians since also from-the
Θετταλοῖς κατ' ἀρχὰς ἀφίσταντο διὰ τὸ πολεμεῖν ἔτι
Thessalians at first they-revolted through the to-be-at-war still
τοῖς προσχώροις, Ἀχαιοῖς καὶ Περραιβοῖς καὶ Μάγνησιν.
with-the bordering Achaeans and Perrhaebians and Magnesians
ἔοικε δὲ καὶ εἰ μηδὲν ἕτερον, ἀλλὰ τό γε τῆς ἐπιμελείας
it-seems and even if nothing else but the at-least of-the management
ἐργώδες εἶναι, τίνα δεῖ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁμιλῆσαι τρόπον·
troublesome to-be in-what must toward them to-associate manner
ἀνιέμενοί τε γὰρ ὑβρίζουσι καὶ τῶν ἴσων ἀξιοῦσιν
being-relaxed both for they-become-insolent and the equal(-things) claim
ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς κυρίοις, καὶ κακοπαθῶς ζῶντες ἐπιβουλεύουσι
themselves to-the masters and wretchedly living they-plot
καὶ μισοῦσιν. δῆλον οὖν ὡς οὐκ ἐξευρίσκουσι τὸν βέλτιστον
and hate clear then that not discover the best
τρόπον, οἷς τοῦτο συμβαίνει περὶ τὴν εἱλωτείαν.
manner for-whom this happens about the helot-system
ἔτι δ' ἡ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἄνεσις καὶ πρὸς τὴν
further and the about the women license both toward the
προαίρεσιν τῆς πολιτείας βλαβερὰ καὶ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν
purpose of-the constitution harmful and toward happiness

πόλεως. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἰκίας μέρος ἀνὴρ καὶ γυνή, δῆλον
of-city just-as for of-household part man and woman clear
ὅτι καὶ πόλιν ἐγγὺς τοῦ δίχα διῃρῆσθαι δεῖ νομίζειν
that also city nearly the in-two to-have-been-divided one-must to-think
εἷς τε τὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν πλῆθος καὶ τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν,
into both the of-the men multitude and the of-the women
ὥστ᾽ ἐν ὅσαις πολιτείαις φαύλως ἔχει τὸ περὶ τὰς
so-that in as-many constitutions badly is the(-matter) about the
γυναῖκας, τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς πόλεως εἶναι δεῖ νομίζειν
women the half of-the city to-be one-must to-think
ἀνομοθέτητον. ὅπερ ἐκεῖ συμβέβηκεν· ὅλην γὰρ τὴν πόλιν
unlegislated which-very there has-happened whole for the city
ὁ νομοθέτης εἶναι βουλόμενος καρτερικήν, κατὰ μὲν
the lawgiver to-be wishing hardy in-respect-to indeed
τοὺς ἄνδρας φανερός ἐστι τοιοῦτος ὤν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν
the men evident is such being in-the-case-of but the
γυναικῶν ἐξημέληκεν· ζῶσι γὰρ ἀκολάστως πρὸς ἅπασαν
women he-has-neglected(-it) they-live for licentiously in every
ἀκολασίαν καὶ τρυφερῶς. ὥστ᾽ ἀναγκαῖον ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ
licentiousness and luxuriously so-that necessary in the such
πολιτείᾳ τιμᾶσθαι τὸν πλοῦτον, ἄλλως τε κἂν τύχωσι
constitution to-be-honored the wealth especially both if-also they-happen-to-be
γυναικοκρατούμενοι, καθάπερ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν
woman-ruled just-as the most of-the military
καὶ πολεμικῶν γενῶν, ἔξω Κελτῶν ἢ κἂν εἴ τινες ἕτεροι
and warlike races except Celts or even if some others
φανερῶς τετιμήκασι τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἄρρενας συνουσίαν.
openly have-honored the with the males intercourse
ἔοικε γὰρ ὁ μυθολογήσας πρῶτος οὐκ ἀλόγως
it-seems for the(-one) having-told-the-myth first not unreasonably
συζεῦξαι τὸν Ἄρην πρὸς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην· ἢ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν
to-have-yoked — Ares with — Aphrodite either for to the

τῶν ἀρρένων ὁμιλίαν ἢ πρὸς τὴν τῶν γυναικῶν φαίνονται
of-the males company or to the of-the women appear
κατακώχιμοι πάντες οἱ τοιοῦτοι. διὸ παρὰ τοῖς Λάκωσι
possessed all the such therefore among the Laconians
τοῦθ' ὑπῆρχεν, καὶ πολλὰ διῳκεῖτο ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν
this existed and many(-things) were-administered by the women
ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν. καίτοι τί διαφέρει γυναῖκας ἄρχειν
in the rule their and-yet what differs women to-rule
ἢ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἄρχεσθαι; ταὐτὸ γὰρ
or the rulers by the women to-be-ruled the-same for
συμβαίνει. χρησίμου δ' οὔσης τῆς θρασύτητος πρὸς οὐδὲν
results useful but being the boldness for nothing
τῶν ἐγκυκλίων, ἀλλ' εἴπερ, πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, βλαβερώταται
of-the everyday(-things) but if-at-all for the war most-harmful
καὶ πρὸς ταῦθ' αἱ τῶν Λακώνων ἦσαν. ἐδήλωσαν
and for these(-things) the(-women) of-the Laconians were they-showed
δ' ἐπὶ τῆς Θηβαίων ἐμβολῆς· χρήσιμοι μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν
and in the of-Thebans invasion useful indeed for nothing
ἦσαν, ὥσπερ ἐν ἑτέραις πόλεσιν, θόρυβον δὲ παρεῖχον πλείω
were just-as in other cities confusion but they-caused more
τῶν πολεμίων. ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν οὖν ἔοικε συμβεβηκέναι
than-the enemy from beginning indeed then it-seems to-have-happened
τοῖς Λάκωσιν εὐλόγως ἡ τῶν γυναικῶν ἄνεσις. ἔξω γὰρ
to-the Laconians reasonably the of-the women license outside for
τῆς οἰκείας διὰ τὰς στρατείας ἀπεξενοῦντο πολὺν χρόνον,
the own(-land) through the campaigns they-were-abroad long time
πολεμοῦντες τόν τε πρὸς Ἀργείους πόλεμον καὶ πάλιν
warring the both against Argives war and again
τὸν πρὸς Ἀρκάδας καὶ Μεσηνίους· σχολάσαντες δὲ αὑτοὺς
the(-war) against Arcadians and Messenians having-had-leisure and themselves
μὲν παρεῖχον τῷ νομοθέτῃ προωδοπεποιημένους διὰ τὸν
indeed they-offered to-the lawgiver prepared through the

στρατιωτικὸν βίον (πολλὰ γὰρ ἔχει μέρη τῆς ἀρετῆς), τὰς
military life many for has parts of-the virtue the
δὲ γυναῖκάς φασι μὲν ἄγειν ἐπιχειρῆσαι τὸν Λυκοῦργον
but women they-say indeed to-bring to-have-attempted — Lycurgus
ὑπὸ τοὺς νόμους, ὡς δ' ἀντέκρουον, ἀποστῆναι πάλιν.
under the laws when but they-resisted to-have-desisted again
αἰτίαι μὲν οὖν εἰσιν αὗται τῶν γενομένων, ὥστε δῆλον
causes indeed then are these of-the things-that-happened so-that clear
ὅτι καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἁμαρτίας· ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς οὐ τοῦτο
that also of-this the error but we not this
σκοποῦμεν, τίνι δεῖ συγγνώμην ἔχειν ἢ μὴ ἔχειν,
examine to-whom one-must pardon to-have or not to-have
ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ ὀρθῶς καὶ μὴ ὀρθῶς. τὰ δὲ περὶ
but about the rightly and not rightly the(-things) and about
τὰς γυναῖκας ἔχοντα μὴ καλῶς ἔοικεν, ὥσπερ ἐλέχθη καὶ
the women being not well seems just-as was-said also
πρότερον, οὐ μόνον ἀπρέπειάν τινα ποιεῖν τῆς πολιτείας
before not only unseemliness some to-make of-the constitution
αὐτῆς καθ' αὑτὴν ἀλλὰ συμβάλλεσθαί τι πρὸς τὴν
itself by itself but to-contribute something to the
φιλοχρηματίαν. μετὰ γὰρ τὰ νῦν ῥηθέντα τοῖς
love-of-money after for the(-things) now said the(-things)
περὶ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν τῆς κτήσεως ἐπιτιμήσειεν ἄν τις.
about the unevenness of-the property might-censure — one
τοῖς μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν συμβέβηκε κεκτῆσθαι πολλὴν
to-the(-ones) indeed for of-them it-has-happened to-have-acquired much
λίαν οὐσίαν, τοῖς δὲ πάμπαν μικράν· διόπερ εἰς
too property to-the(-others) and altogether little therefore into
ὀλίγους ἦκεν ἡ χώρα. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν νόμων
few came the land this and also through the laws
τέτακται φαύλως· ὠνεῖσθαι μὲν γὰρ ἢ πωλεῖν τὴν
has-been-arranged badly to-buy indeed for or to-sell the

ὑπάρχουσαν ἐποίησεν οὐ καλόν, ὀρθῶς ποιήσας, διδόναι
existing(-land) he-made not honorable rightly having-done to-give
δὲ καὶ καταλείπειν ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκε τοῖς βουλομένοις·
but and to-bequeath license he-gave to-those wishing
καίτοι ταὐτὸ συμβαίνειν ἀναγκαῖον ἐκείνως τε καὶ οὕτως.
and-yet the-same to-result necessary that-way both and this-way
ἔστι δὲ καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν σχεδὸν τῆς πάσης χώρας τῶν
is and also of-the women nearly of-the whole country of-the
πέντε μερῶν τὰ δύο, τῶν τ᾽ ἐπικλήρων πολλῶν γινομένων,
five parts the two the both heiresses many becoming
καὶ διὰ τὸ προῖκας διδόναι μεγάλας. καίτοι βέλτιον ἦν
and through the dowries to-give great and-yet better it-was
μηδεμίαν ἢ ὀλίγην ἢ καὶ μετρίαν τετάχθαι. ∗∗∗ νῦν δ᾽
none or small or even moderate to-have-been-fixed (lacuna) now but
ἔξεστι δοῦναί τε τὴν ἐπίκληρον ὅτῳ ἂν βούληται· κἂν
it-is-possible to-give both the heiress to-whomever — he-wishes and-if
ἀποθάνῃ μὴ διαθέμενος, ὃν ἂν καταλίπῃ κληρονόμον,
he-dies not having-made-a-will whomever — he-leaves heir
οὗτος ᾧ ἂν θέλῃ δίδωσιν. τοιγαροῦν δυναμένης τῆς
this(-man) to-whom — he-wishes gives therefore being-able the
χώρας χιλίους ἱππεῖς τρέφειν καὶ πεντακοσίους καὶ ὁπλίτας
country a-thousand cavalry to-feed and five-hundred and hoplites
τρισμυρίους, οὐδὲ χίλιοι τὸ πλῆθος ἦσαν. γέγονε δὲ διὰ
thirty-thousand not-even a-thousand the number were it-has-become and through
τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν δῆλον ὅτι φαύλως αὐτοῖς εἶχε τὰ
the facts themselves evident that badly for-them was the(-things)
περὶ τὴν τάξιν ταύτην· μίαν γὰρ πληγὴν οὐχ ὑπήνεγκεν
about the arrangement this one for blow not it-withstood
ἡ πόλις, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπώλετο διὰ τὴν ὀλιγανθρωπίαν. λέγουσι
the city but it-perished through the shortage-of-men they-say
δ᾽ ὡς ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν προτέρων βασιλέων μετεδίδοσαν
and that in-the-time indeed of-the earlier kings they-gave-a-share

τῆς πολιτείας, ὥστ' οὐ γίνεσθαι τότε ὀλιγανθρωπίαν
of-the citizenship so-that not to-arise then shortage-of-men
πολεμούντων πολὺν χρόνον, καί φασιν εἶναί ποτε τοῖς
warring long time and they-say to-have-been once to-the
Σπαρτιάταις καὶ μυρίους· οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἴτ' ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ
Spartiates even ten-thousand not indeed but whether is true
ταῦτα εἴτε μή, βέλτιον τὸ διὰ τῆς κτήσεως ὠμαλισμένης
these-things or not better the through the property leveled
πληθύειν ἀνδρῶν τὴν πόλιν. ὑπεναντίος δὲ καὶ ὁ περὶ τὴν
to-be-full of-men the city contrary and also the about the
τεκνοποιίαν νόμος πρὸς ταύτην τὴν διόρθωσιν. βουλόμενος
child-producing law to this the correction wishing
γὰρ ὁ νομοθέτης ὡς πλείστους εἶναι τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας,
for the lawgiver as many-as-possible to-be the Spartiates
προάγεται τοὺς πολίτας ὅτι πλείστους ποιεῖσθαι παῖδας·
he-encourages the citizens as many-as-possible to-produce children
ἔστι γὰρ αὐτοῖς νόμος τὸν μὲν γεννήσαντα τρεῖς υἱοὺς
is for for-them a-law the(-one) indeed having-begotten three sons
ἄφρουρον εἶναι, τὸν δὲ τέτταρας ἀτελῆ πάντων.
exempt-from-guard-duty to-be the(-one) and four free-from-taxes of-all
καίτοι φανερὸν ὅτι πολλῶν γινομένων, τῆς δὲ χώρας
and-yet evident that many being-born the and country
οὕτω διῃρημένης, ἀναγκαῖον πολλοὺς γίνεσθαι πένητας.
thus divided necessary many to-become poor
Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐφορείαν ἔχει φαύλως.
but indeed also the(-things) about the ephorate are badly
ἡ γὰρ ἀρχὴ κυρία μὲν αὐτὴ τῶν μεγίστων αὐτοῖς
the for office sovereign indeed itself over-the greatest(-matters) for-them
ἐστιν, γίνονται δ' ἐκ τοῦ δήμου παντός, ὥστε πολλάκις
is they-come and from the people whole so-that often
ἐμπίπτουσιν ἄνθρωποι σφόδρα πένητες εἰς τὸ ἀρχεῖον, οἳ
fall-into men very poor into the office who

διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν ὤνιοι ἦσαν. ἐδήλωσαν δὲ πολλάκις μὲν
through the want for-sale were they-showed and often indeed
καὶ πρότερον, καὶ νῦν δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ἀνδρίοις· διαφθαρέντες
both before and now and in the Andrian(-affair) corrupted
γὰρ ἀργυρίῳ τινές, ὅσον ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς, ὅλην τὴν πόλιν
for with-money some as-far-as on themselves whole the city
ἀπώλεσαν. καὶ διὰ τὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναι λίαν μεγάλην
they-ruined and through the the office to-be too great
καὶ ἰσοτύραννον δημαγωγεῖν αὐτοὺς ἠναγκάζοντο καὶ οἱ
and equal-to-tyranny to-court-the-people them were-compelled even the
βασιλεῖς, ὥστε καὶ ταύτῃ συνεπιβλάπτεσθαι τὴν πολιτείαν·
kings so-that also in-this-way to-be-damaged-besides the constitution
δημοκρατία γὰρ ἐξ ἀριστοκρατίας συνέβαινεν. συνέχει
democracy for from aristocracy resulted holds-together
μὲν οὖν τὴν πολιτείαν τὸ ἀρχεῖον τοῦτο (ἡσυχάζει γὰρ ὁ
indeed then the constitution the office this keeps-quiet for the
δῆμος διὰ τὸ μετέχειν τῆς μεγίστης ἀρχῆς, ὥστ' εἴτε
people through the to-share the greatest office so-that whether
διὰ τὸν νομοθέτην εἴτε διὰ τύχην τοῦτο συμπέπτωκεν,
through the lawgiver or through chance this has-happened
συμφερόντως ἔχει τοῖς πράγμασιν· δεῖ γὰρ τὴν πολιτείαν
advantageously it-is for-the affairs must for the constitution
τὴν μέλλουσαν σώζεσθαι πάντα βούλεσθαι τὰ μέρη τῆς
the intending to-be-preserved all to-wish the parts of-the
πόλεως εἶναι καὶ διαμένειν αὐτά· οἱ μὲν οὖν βασιλεῖς διὰ
city to-be and to-remain them the indeed then kings through
τὴν αὑτῶν τιμὴν οὕτως ἔχουσιν, οἱ δὲ καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ διὰ
the their-own honor thus are-disposed the and noble and-good through
τὴν γερουσίαν — ἆθλον γὰρ ἡ ἀρχὴ αὕτη τῆς ἀρετῆς
the council-of-elders prize for the office this of-the virtue
ἐστιν—, ὁ δὲ δῆμος διὰ τὴν ἐφορείαν — καθίσταται
is the and people through the ephorate it-is-appointed

γὰρ ἐξ ἁπάντων)· — ἀλλ᾽ αἱρετὴν ἔδει τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναι
for from all but elective it-should the office to-be
ταύτην ἐξ ἁπάντων μέν, μὴ τὸν τρόπον δὲ τοῦτον ὃν νῦν
this from all indeed not the manner but this which now
(παιδαριώδης γάρ ἐστι λίαν). ἔτι δὲ καὶ κρίσεών εἰσι
childish for is too further and also of-judgments they-are
μεγάλων κύριοι, ὄντες οἱ τυχόντες, διόπερ οὐκ αὐτογνώμονας
great sovereign being the chance-ones therefore not on-their-own-judgment
βέλτιον κρίνειν ἀλλὰ κατὰ γράμματα καὶ τοὺς νόμους.
better to-judge but according-to writings and the laws
ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ δίαιτα τῶν ἐφόρων οὐχ ὁμολογουμένη
is and also the way-of-life of-the ephors not consistent
τῷ βουλήματι τῆς πόλεως· αὐτὴ μὲν γὰρ ἀνειμένη
with-the intent of-the city itself indeed for relaxed
λίαν ἐστίν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις μᾶλλον ὑπερβάλλει ἐπὶ τὸ
too is in but the others rather it-exceeds toward the
σκληρόν, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι καρτερεῖν ἀλλὰ λάθρᾳ τὸν
harsh so-that not to-be-able to-endure but secretly the
νόμον ἀποδιδράσκοντας ἀπολαύειν τῶν σωματικῶν ἡδονῶν.
law escaping to-enjoy the bodily pleasures
ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν τῶν γερόντων ἀρχὴν οὐ
are and also the(-things) about the of-the elders office not
καλῶς αὐτοῖς. ἐπιεικῶν μὲν γὰρ ὄντων καὶ πεπαιδευμένων
well for-them decent indeed for being and educated
ἱκανῶς πρὸς ἀνδραγαθίαν τάχ᾽ ἂν εἴπειέ τις συμφέρειν
sufficiently toward manly-virtue perhaps — might-say one to-be-advantageous
τῇ πόλει, καίτοι τό γε διὰ βίου κυρίους εἶναι
to-the city and-yet the at-least for life sovereign to-be
κρίσεων μεγάλων ἀμφισβητήσιμον (ἔστι γάρ, ὥσπερ καὶ
of-judgments great disputable is for just-as also
σώματος, καὶ διανοίας γῆρας)· τὸν τρόπον δὲ τοῦτον
of-body also of-mind old-age the manner and this

πεπαιδευμένων ὥστε καὶ τὸν νομοθέτην αὐτὸν ἀπιστεῖν
educated so-that even the lawgiver himself to-distrust
ὡς οὐκ ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν, οὐκ ἀσφαλές. φαίνονται δὲ
as not good men not safe they-appear and
καὶ καταδωροδοκούμενοι καὶ καταχαριζόμενοι πολλὰ τῶν
also taking-bribes and showing-favor-with many of-the
κοινῶν οἱ κεκοινωνηκότες τῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτης. διόπερ
common(-things) those having-shared the office this therefore
βέλτιον αὐτοὺς μὴ ἀνευθύνους εἶναι· νῦν δ' εἰσίν. δόξειε
better them not unaccountable to-be now but they-are would-seem
δ' ἂν ἡ τῶν ἐφόρων ἀρχὴ πάσας εὐθύνειν τὰς ἀρχάς·
and — the of-the ephors office all to-hold-to-account the offices
τοῦτο δὲ τῇ ἐφορείᾳ μέγα λίαν τὸ δῶρον, καὶ τὸν τρόπον
this but for-the ephorate great too the gift and the manner
οὐ τοῦτον λέγομεν διδόναι δεῖν τὰς εὐθύνας. ἔτι δὲ
not this we-say to-give to-be-necessary the audits further and
καὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν ἣν ποιοῦνται τῶν γερόντων, κατά τε
also the election which they-make of-the elders according-to both
τὴν κρίσιν ἐστὶ παιδαριώδης, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸν αἰτεῖσθαι τὸν
the judgment is childish and the himself to-canvass the(-one)
ἀξιωθησόμενον τῆς ἀρχῆς οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔχει· δεῖ γὰρ καὶ
to-be-deemed-worthy of-the office not rightly is must for both
βουλόμενον καὶ μὴ βουλόμενον ἄρχειν τὸν ἄξιον τῆς ἀρχῆς.
wishing and not wishing to-rule the worthy of-the office
νῦν δ' ὅπερ καὶ περὶ τὴν ἄλλην πολιτείαν ὁ νομοθέτης
now but which-very also about the other constitution the lawgiver
φαίνεται ποιῶν· φιλοτίμους γὰρ κατασκευάζων τοὺς πολίτας
appears doing honor-loving for making the citizens
τούτῳ κέχρηται πρὸς τὴν αἵρεσιν τῶν γερόντων. οὐδεὶς
this he-has-used for the election of-the elders no-one
γὰρ ἂν ἄρχειν αἰτήσαιτο μὴ φιλότιμος ὤν. καίτοι τῶν γ'
for — to-rule would-ask not honor-loving being and-yet of-the at-least

ἀδικημάτων τῶν ἑκουσίων τὰ πλεῖστα συμβαίνει σχεδὸν
wrongs the voluntary the most happen nearly
διὰ φιλοτιμίαν καὶ διὰ φιλοχρηματίαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.
through love-of-honor and through love-of-money to-the men
περὶ δὲ βασιλείας, εἰ μὲν μὴ βέλτιόν ἐστιν ὑπάρχειν
about and kingship whether indeed not better it-is to-exist
ταῖς πόλεσιν ἢ βέλτιον, ἄλλος ἔστω λόγος· ἀλλὰ μὴν
for-the cities or better another let-be discussion but indeed
βέλτιόν γε μὴ καθάπερ νῦν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ
better at-least not just-as now but according-to the his-own
βίον ἕκαστον κρίνεσθαι τῶν βασιλέων. ὅτι δ' ὁ νομοθέτης
life each to-be-judged of-the kings that and the lawgiver
οὐδ' αὐτὸς οἴεται δύνασθαι ποιεῖν καλοὺς κἀγαθούς,
not-even himself thinks to-be-able to-make noble and-good
δῆλον· ἀπιστεῖ γοῦν ὡς οὐκ οὖσιν ἱκανῶς ἀγαθοῖς
evident he-distrusts at-any-rate as not being sufficiently good
ἀνδράσιν· διόπερ ἐξέπεμπον συμπρεσβευτὰς τοὺς ἐχθρούς,
men therefore they-sent-out as-fellow-envoys the enemies
καὶ σωτηρίαν ἐνόμιζον τῇ πόλει εἶναι τὸ στασιάζειν
and safety they-thought for-the city to-be the to-quarrel
τοὺς βασιλεῖς. οὐ καλῶς δ' οὐδὲ περὶ τὰ συσσίτια τὰ
the kings not well and nor about the common-meals the
καλούμενα φιδίτια νενομοθέτηται τῷ καταστήσαντι
called phiditia it-has-been-legislated by-the one-having-established(-them)
πρῶτον. ἔδει γὰρ ἀπὸ κοινοῦ μᾶλλον εἶναι τὴν
first should for from common(-funds) rather to-be the
σύνοδον, καθάπερ ἐν Κρήτῃ· παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Λάκωσιν
gathering just-as in Crete among but the Laconians
ἕκαστον δεῖ φέρειν, καὶ σφόδρα πενήτων ἐνίων ὄντων καὶ
each must to-bring and very poor some being and
τοῦτο τὸ ἀνάλωμα οὐ δυναμένων δαπανᾶν, ὥστε συμβαίνει
this the expense not being-able to-spend so-that results

τοὐναντίον τῷ νομοθέτῃ τῆς προαιρέσεως. βούλεται μὲν
the-opposite to-the lawgiver of-the purpose he-wishes indeed
γὰρ δημοκρατικὸν εἶναι τὸ κατασκεύασμα τῶν συσσιτίων,
for democratic to-be the institution of-the common-meals
γίνεται δ' ἥκιστα δημοκρατικὸν οὕτω νενομοθετημένον.
it-becomes but least democratic thus legislated
μετέχειν μὲν γὰρ οὐ ῥᾴδιον τοῖς λίαν πένησιν, ὅρος δὲ
to-share indeed for not easy for-the too poor definition and
τῆς πολιτείας οὗτός ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ὁ πάτριος, τὸν μὴ
of-the citizenship this is for-them the ancestral the(-one) not
δυνάμενον τοῦτο τὸ τέλος φέρειν μὴ μετέχειν αὐτῆς. τῷ δὲ
being-able this the contribution to-bear not to-share in-it the but
περὶ τοὺς ναυάρχους νόμῳ καὶ ἕτεροί τινες ἐπιτετιμήκασιν,
about the admirals law also others some have-censured
ὀρθῶς ἐπιτιμῶντες. στάσεως γὰρ γίνεται αἴτιος· ἐπὶ γὰρ
rightly censuring of-faction for it-becomes cause beside for
τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, οὖσι στρατηγοῖς ἀιδίοις ἡ ναυαρχία σχεδὸν
the kings being generals perpetual the admiralty nearly
ἑτέρα βασιλεία καθέστηκεν. καὶ ὧδὶ δὲ τῇ ὑποθέσει
another kingship has-been-established and in-this-way and the principle
τοῦ νομοθέτου ἐπιτιμήσειεν ἄν τις, ὅπερ καὶ Πλάτων ἐν
of-the lawgiver might-censure — one which-very also Plato in
τοῖς νόμοις ἐπιτετίμηκεν· πρὸς γὰρ μέρος ἀρετῆς ἡ πᾶσα
the laws has-censured toward for a-part of-virtue the whole
σύνταξις τῶν νόμων ἐστί, τὴν πολεμικήν· αὕτη γὰρ χρησίμη
system of-the laws is the military this for useful
πρὸς τὸ κρατεῖν. τοιγαροῦν ἐσῴζοντο μὲν πολεμοῦντες,
for the to-prevail therefore they-were-preserved indeed while-warring
ἀπώλλυντο δὲ ἄρξαντες διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπίστασθαι σχολάζειν
perished but having-ruled through the not to-know-how to-be-at-leisure
μηδὲ ἠσκηκέναι μηδεμίαν ἄσκησιν ἑτέραν κυριωτέραν τῆς
nor to-have-practiced any training other more-sovereign than-the

πολεμικῆς. τούτου δὲ ἁμάρτημα οὐκ ἔλαττον· νομίζουσι
military than-this and error not less they-think
μὲν γὰρ γίνεσθαι τάγαθὰ τὰ περιμάχητα δι᾽ ἀρετῆς
indeed for to-come-about the-goods the fought-over through virtue
μᾶλλον ἢ κακίας, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καλῶς, ὅτι μέντοι
rather than vice and this indeed well that however
ταῦτα κρείττω τῆς ἀρετῆς ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, οὐ καλῶς.
these(-goods) better than-the virtue they-suppose not well
φαύλως δ᾽ ἔχει καὶ περὶ τὰ κοινὰ χρήματα τοῖς
badly and is also about the public funds for-the
Σπαρτιάταις. οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τῆς πόλεως
Spartiates neither for in the treasury of-the city
ἔστιν οὐδὲν πολέμους μεγάλους ἀναγκαζομένοις πολεμεῖν,
is anything wars great compelled to-wage
εἰσφέρουσί τε κακῶς· διὰ γὰρ τὸ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν
they-contribute and badly through for the of-the Spartiates
εἶναι τὴν πλείστην γῆν οὐκ ἐξετάζουσιν ἀλλήλων τὰς
to-be the most land not they-scrutinize of-one-another the
εἰσφοράς. ἀποβέβηκέ τε τοὐναντίον τῷ νομοθέτῃ τοῦ
contributions has-turned-out and the-opposite for-the lawgiver of-the
συμφέροντος· τὴν μὲν γὰρ πόλιν πεποίηκεν ἀχρήματον,
advantageous the indeed for city he-has-made moneyless
τοὺς δ᾽ ἰδιώτας φιλοχρημάτους. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς
the and private-citizens money-loving about indeed then the
Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείας ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω·
of-Lacedaemonians constitution to so-much let-it-have-been-said
ταῦτα γάρ ἐστιν ἃ μάλιστ᾽ ἄν τις ἐπιτιμήσειεν·
these-things for are which most — one might-censure

The Cretan constitution is close to the Spartan, which copied it, though less finished. The island seems made to rule the Greek sea, as Minos did. The Cretan perioeci farm as the helots do, the kosmoi answer to the ephors, and the elders to the elders; the common meals are better, publicly funded. But the kosmoi are chosen from certain families, and the powerful, to escape justice, suspend the kosmoi's office and fall into faction, a dynasty rather than a constitution; Crete is saved by its distance.

Ἡ δὲ Κρητικὴ πολιτεία πάρεγγυς μέν ἐστι ταύτης, ἔχει
the and Cretan constitution close indeed is to-this it-has
δὲ μικρὰ μὲν οὐ χεῖρον, τὸ δὲ πλεῖον ἧττον γλαφυρῶς.
and small(-points) indeed not worse the but more less elegantly
καὶ γὰρ ἔοικε καὶ λέγεται δὲ τὰ πλεῖστα μεμιμῆσθαι τὴν
and for it-seems and is-said and in-the most to-have-imitated the
Κρητικὴν πολιτείαν ἡ τῶν Λακώνων· τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα τῶν
Cretan constitution the(-one) of-the Laconians the but most of-the
ἀρχαίων ἧττον διήρθρωται τῶν νεωτέρων. φασὶ γὰρ τὸν
old(-things) less are-articulated than-the newer they-say for —
Λυκοῦργον, ὅτε τὴν ἐπιτροπείαν τὴν Χαρίλλου τοῦ βασιλέως
Lycurgus when the guardianship the of-Charillus the king
καταλιπὼν ἀπεδήμησεν, τότε τὸν πλεῖστον διατρῖψαι χρόνον
having-left he-went-abroad then the most to-have-spent time
περὶ Κρήτην διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν· ἄποικοι γὰρ οἱ Λύκτιοι
about Crete through the kinship colonists for the Lyctians
τῶν Λακώνων ἦσαν· κατέλαβον δ' οἱ πρὸς τὴν ἀποικίαν
of-the Laconians were found and those to the colony
ἐλθόντες τὴν τάξιν τῶν νόμων ὑπάρχουσαν ἐν τοῖς τότε
having-come the order of-the laws existing among those then
κατοικοῦσιν. διὸ καὶ νῦν οἱ περίοικοι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον
dwelling therefore also now the perioeci the same manner
χρῶνται αὐτοῖς, ὡς κατασκευάσαντος Μίνω πρώτου τὴν
use them as having-established Minos first the

τάξιν τῶν νόμων. δοκεῖ δ' ἡ νῆσος καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν
order of-the laws it-seems and the island also for the rule
τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν πεφυκέναι καὶ κεῖσθαι καλῶς· πάσῃ γὰρ
the Greek to-be-fitted-by-nature and to-lie well all for
ἐπίκειται τῇ θαλάσσῃ, σχεδὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἱδρυμένων
it-lies-over the sea nearly the Greeks being-settled
περὶ τὴν θάλασσαν πάντων· ἀπέχει γὰρ τῇ μὲν
about the sea all it-is-distant for on-the(-one-side) indeed
τῆς Πελοποννήσου μικρόν, τῇ δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας τοῦ
from-the Peloponnese little on-the(-other) and — from-Asia the
περὶ Τριόπιον τόπου καὶ Ῥόδου. διὸ καὶ τὴν τῆς
about Triopium region and Rhodes therefore also the of-the
θαλάσσης ἀρχὴν κατέσχεν ὁ Μίνως, καὶ τὰς νήσους τὰς
sea rule held — Minos and the islands the(-ones)
μὲν ἐχειρώσατο τὰς δ' ᾤκισεν, τέλος δὲ ἐπιθέμενος
indeed he-subdued the(-others) and he-colonized at-last and having-attacked
τῇ Σικελίᾳ τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησεν ἐκεῖ περὶ Καμικόν.
— Sicily the life he-ended there near Camicus
Ἔχει δ' ἀνάλογον ἡ Κρητικὴ τάξις πρὸς τὴν Λακωνικήν.
it-has and analogous the Cretan order to the Laconian
γεωργοῦσί τε γὰρ τοῖς μὲν οἱ εἵλωτες τοῖς δὲ
farm both for for-the(-ones) indeed the helots for-the and
Κρησὶν οἱ περίοικοι, καὶ συσσίτια παρ' ἀμφοτέροις ἔστιν,
Cretans the perioeci and common-meals among both is
καὶ τό γε ἀρχαῖον ἐκάλουν οἱ Λάκωνες οὐ 'φιδίτια'
and the at-least old called the Laconians not phiditia
ἀλλὰ 'ἄνδρια', καθάπερ οἱ Κρῆτες, ᾗ καὶ δῆλον ὅτι
but andria just-as the Cretans whereby also clear that
ἐκεῖθεν ἐλήλυθεν. ἔτι δὲ τῆς πολιτείας ἡ τάξις. οἱ μὲν
from-there it-has-come further and of-the constitution the order the indeed
γὰρ ἔφοροι τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχουσι δύναμιν τοῖς ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ
for ephors the same have power as-those in — Crete

καλουμένοις κόσμοις, πλὴν οἱ μὲν ἔφοροι πέντε τὸν ἀριθμὸν
called kosmoi except the indeed ephors five the number
οἱ δὲ κόσμοι δέκα εἰσίν· οἱ δὲ γέροντες τοῖς γέρουσιν οὓς
the but kosmoi ten are the and elders to-the elders whom
καλοῦσιν οἱ Κρῆτες βουλὴν ἴσοι· βασιλεία δὲ πρότερον
call the Cretans council equal kingship and formerly
μὲν ἦν, εἶτα κατέλυσαν οἱ Κρῆτες, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν οἱ
indeed was then abolished(-it) the Cretans and the leadership the
κόσμοι τὴν κατὰ πόλεμον ἔχουσιν· ἐκκλησίας δὲ μετέχουσι
kosmoi the in war have of-the-assembly and share
πάντες, κυρία δ' οὐδενός ἐστιν ἀλλ' ἢ συνεπιψηφίσαι
all sovereign but of-nothing it-is but except to-vote-together-on
τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς γέρουσι καὶ τοῖς κόσμοις.
the(-things) resolved by-the elders and by-the kosmoi
Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν συσσιτίων ἔχει βέλτιον τοῖς Κρησὶν
the(-things) indeed then of-the common-meals are better for-the Cretans
ἢ τοῖς Λάκωσιν· ἐν μὲν γὰρ Λακεδαίμονι κατὰ κεφαλὴν
than for-the Laconians in indeed for Lacedaemon by head
ἕκαστος εἰσφέρει τὸ τεταγμένον, εἰ δὲ μή, μετέχειν νόμος
each contributes the fixed(-amount) if but not to-share law
κωλύει τῆς πολιτείας, καθάπερ εἴρηται καὶ πρότερον· ἐν
prevents in-the citizenship just-as has-been-said also before in
δὲ Κρήτῃ κοινοτέρως· ἀπὸ πάντων γὰρ τῶν γινομένων
but Crete more-commonly from all for the produced
καρπῶν τε καὶ βοσκημάτων ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων καὶ
crops both and cattle from the public and
*** φόρων οὓς φέρουσιν οἱ περίοικοι, τέτακται μέρος
(lacuna) tributes which bring the perioeci is-assigned a-part
τὸ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὰς κοινὰς λειτουργίας,
the(-one) indeed for the gods and the public services
τὸ δὲ τοῖς συσσιτίοις, ὥστ' ἐκ κοινοῦ τρέφεσθαι
the(-other) and for-the common-meals so-that from common(-funds) to-be-fed

πάντας, καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας καὶ ἄνδρας· πρὸς δὲ
all both women and children and men for and
τὴν ὀλιγοσιτίαν ὡς ὠφέλιμον πολλὰ πεφιλοσόφηκεν ὁ
the scanty-eating as beneficial much has-philosophized the
νομοθέτης, καὶ πρὸς τὴν διάζευξιν τῶν γυναικῶν, ἵνα μὴ
lawgiver and for the separation of-the women so-that not
πολυτεκνῶσι, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἄρρενας ποιήσας ὁμιλίαν,
they-have-many-children the with the males having-made intercourse
περὶ ἧς εἰ φαύλως ἢ μὴ φαύλως, ἕτερος ἔσται τοῦ
about which whether badly or not badly other will-be of-the
διασκέψασθαι καιρός. ὅτι δὴ τὰ περὶ τὰ συσσίτια
to-examine occasion that indeed the(-things) about the common-meals
βέλτιον τέτακται τοῖς Κρησὶν ἢ τοῖς Λάκωσι, φανερόν·
better are-arranged for-the Cretans than for-the Laconians evident
τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς κόσμους ἔτι χεῖρον τῶν ἐφόρων.
the(-things) but about the kosmoi still worse than-the ephors
ὃ μὲν γὰρ ἔχει κακὸν τὸ τῶν ἐφόρων ἀρχεῖον, ὑπάρχει
what indeed for has bad the of-the ephors office belongs
καὶ τούτοις (γίνονται γὰρ οἱ τυχόντες)· ὃ δ' ἐκεῖ συμφέρει
also to-these become for the chance-ones what but there is-advantageous
πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν, ἐνταῦθ' οὐκ ἔστιν. ἐκεῖ μὲν γάρ, διὰ τὸ
for the constitution here not is there indeed for through the
τὴν αἵρεσιν ἐκ πάντων εἶναι, μετέχων ὁ δῆμος τῆς μεγίστης
the election from all to-be sharing the people in-the greatest
ἀρχῆς βούλεται μένειν τὴν πολιτείαν· ἐνταῦθα δ' οὐκ ἐξ
office wishes to-remain the constitution here but not from
ἁπάντων αἱροῦνται τοὺς κόσμους ἀλλ' ἐκ τινῶν γενῶν,
all they-choose the kosmoi but from certain families
καὶ τοὺς γέροντας ἐκ τῶν κεκοσμηκότων, περὶ ὧν τοὺς
and the elders from those having-been-kosmoi about whom the
αὐτοὺς ἄν τις εἴπειε λόγους καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι
same — one might-say arguments also about those in Lacedaemon

γινομένων (τὸ γὰρ ἀνυπεύθυνον καὶ τὸ διὰ βίου μεῖζόν
coming-to-be the for unaccountability and the for life greater
ἐστι γέρας τῆς ἀξίας αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸ μὴ κατὰ γράμματα
is privilege than-the merit for-them and the not by writings
ἄρχειν ἀλλ' αὐτογνώμονας ἐπισφαλές). τὸ δ' ἡσυχάζειν μὴ
to-rule but on-their-own-judgment dangerous the but to-keep-quiet not
μετέχοντα τὸν δῆμον οὐδὲν σημεῖον τοῦ τετάχθαι καλῶς.
sharing the people no sign of-the to-be-arranged well
οὐδὲν γὰρ λήμματός τι τοῖς κόσμοις ὥσπερ τοῖς ἐφόροις,
nothing for of-gain any for-the kosmoi just-as for-the ephors
πόρρω γ' ἀποικοῦσιν ἐν νήσῳ τῶν διαφθερούντων.
far at-least dwelling in island from-those who-would-corrupt(-them)
ἣν δὲ ποιοῦνται τῆς ἁμαρτίας ταύτης ἰατρείαν, ἄτοπος καὶ
which but they-make of-the error this remedy strange and
οὐ πολιτικὴ ἀλλὰ δυναστευτική. πολλάκις γὰρ ἐκβάλλουσι
not political but dynastic often for they-expel
συστάντες τινὲς τοὺς κόσμους ἢ τῶν συναρχόντων αὐτῶν
having-combined some the kosmoi either of-the colleagues their-own
ἢ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν· ἔξεστι δὲ καὶ μεταξὺ τοῖς κόσμοις ἀπειπεῖν
or of-the private-men it-is-possible and also in-between for-the kosmoi to-resign
τὴν ἀρχήν. ταῦτα δὴ πάντα βέλτιον γίνεσθαι κατὰ
the office these-things indeed all better to-take-place according-to
νόμον ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπων βούλησιν· οὐ γὰρ ἀσφαλὴς
law than according-to of-men will not for safe
ὁ κανών. πάντων δὲ φαυλότατον τὸ τῆς ἀκοσμίας ἣν
the rule of-all but worst the of-the anarchy-of-kosmoi which
καθιστᾶσι πολλάκις οἳ ἂν μὴ δίκας βούλωνται δοῦναι τῶν
they-establish often who — not penalties wish to-pay of-the
δυνατῶν· ᾗ καὶ δῆλον ὡς ἔχει τι πολιτείας ἡ τάξις,
powerful whereby also clear that it-has something of-constitution the order
ἀλλ' οὐ πολιτεία ἐστὶν ἀλλὰ δυναστεία μᾶλλον. εἰώθασι
but not constitution is but dynasty rather they-are-accustomed

δὲ διαλαμβάνοντες τὸν δῆμον καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἀναρχίαν
and dividing-up the people and the friends anarchy
ποιεῖν καὶ στασιάζειν καὶ μάχεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους· καίτοι
to-make and to-fall-into-faction and to-fight with one-another and-yet
τί διαφέρει τὸ τοιοῦτον ἢ διά τινος χρόνου μηκέτι
what differs the such(-state) or through some time no-longer
πόλιν εἶναι τὴν τοιαύτην, ἀλλὰ λύεσθαι τὴν πολιτικὴν
city to-be the such but to-be-dissolved the political
κοινωνίαν; Ἔστι δ' ἐπικίνδυνος οὕτως ἔχουσα πόλις, τῶν
community is and in-danger thus being city from-those
βουλομένων ἐπιτίθεσθαι καὶ δυναμένων. ἀλλὰ καθάπερ
wishing to-attack and being-able but just-as
εἴρηται, σῴζεται διὰ τὸν τόπον· ξενηλασίας γὰρ
has-been-said it-is-preserved through the place expulsion-of-foreigners for
τὸ πόρρω πεποίηκεν. διὸ καὶ τὸ τῶν περιοίκων
the distance has-made therefore also the(-institution) of-the perioeci
μένει τοῖς Κρησίν, οἱ δ' εἵλωτες ἀφίστανται πολλάκις.
remains for-the Cretans the but helots revolt often
οὔτε γὰρ ἐξωτερικῆς ἀρχῆς κοινωνοῦσιν οἱ Κρῆτες,
neither for of-external rule share the Cretans
νεωστί τε πόλεμος ξενικὸς διαβέβηκεν εἰς τὴν νῆσον, ὃς
recently both war foreign has-crossed into the island which
πεποίηκε φανερὰν τὴν ἀσθένειαν τῶν ἐκεῖ νόμων. Περὶ
has-made evident the weakness of-the there laws about
μὲν οὖν ταύτης εἰρήσθω τοσαῦθ' ἡμῖν τῆς πολιτείας·
indeed then this let-it-have-been-said so-much by-us the constitution

Carthage is thought well governed and is like Sparta in many respects: it has common meals of clubs, the Hundred and Four like the ephors but chosen by merit, kings and elders, and it has never had serious faction or a tyrant. Its departures from aristocracy lean toward democracy and oligarchy: offices are bought, wealth is preferred to virtue, and one man holds several offices. Its wealth lets it send the people out to colonies, but good luck saves it.

Πολιτεύεσθαι δὲ δοκοῦσι καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι καλῶς καὶ
to-be-governed and seem also Carthaginians well and
πολλὰ περιττῶς πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους, μάλιστα δ᾽
many(-things) extraordinarily compared-with the others most and
ἔνια παραπλησίως τοῖς Λάκωσιν. αὗται γὰρ αἱ
some(-things) similarly to-the Laconians these for the
πολιτεῖαι τρεῖς ἀλλήλαις τε σύνεγγύς πώς εἰσι καὶ τῶν
constitutions three to-one-another both close somehow are and from-the
ἄλλων πολὺ διαφέρουσιν, ἥ τε Κρητικὴ καὶ ἡ Λακωνικὴ
others much differ the both Cretan and the Laconian
καὶ τρίτη τούτων ἡ τῶν Καρχηδονίων. καὶ πολλὰ τῶν
and third of-these the of-the Carthaginians and many of-the
τεταγμένων ἔχει παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς καλῶς· σημεῖον δὲ πολιτείας
arranged(-things) are among them well a-sign and of-constitution
συντεταγμένης τὸ τὸν δῆμον ἑκούσιον διαμένειν ἐν τῇ τάξει
well-ordered the the people willingly to-remain in the order
τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ μήτε στάσιν, ὅ τι καὶ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν,
of-the constitution and neither faction what ever also worth to-mention
γεγενῆσθαι μήτε τύραννον. Ἔχει δὲ παραπλήσια τῇ
to-have-occurred nor tyrant it-has and similar(-features) to-the
Λακωνικῇ πολιτείᾳ τὰ μὲν συσσίτια τῶν ἑταιριῶν τοῖς
Laconian constitution the indeed common-meals of-the clubs to-the
φιδιτίοις, τὴν δὲ τῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ τεττάρων ἀρχὴν τοῖς
phiditia the and of-the hundred and four office to-the

ἐφόροις (πλὴν οὐ χεῖρον· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν τυχόντων
ephors except not worse the indeed for from the chance-ones
εἰσί, ταύτην δ' αἱροῦνται τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀριστίνδην), τοὺς δὲ
are this and they-elect the office by-merit the and
βασιλεῖς καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν ἀνάλογον τοῖς ἐκεῖ βασιλεῦσι καὶ
kings and the council-of-elders analogous to-the there kings and
γέρουσιν, καὶ βέλτιον δὲ τοὺς βασιλεῖς μήτε κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ
elders and better and the kings neither by the same
εἶναι γένος μήτε τοῦτο τὸ τυχόν, εἴ τε διαφέρον ***
to-be a-family nor this the chance(-one) if both differing (lacuna)
ἐκ τούτων αἱρετοὺς μᾶλλον ἢ καθ' ἡλικίαν. μεγάλων γὰρ
from these elected rather than by age great for
κύριοι καθεστῶτες, ἂν εὐτελεῖς ὦσι, μεγάλα βλάπτουσι,
sovereign set-over if worthless they-are greatly they-harm
καὶ ἔβλαψαν ἤδη τὴν πόλιν τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων.
and have-harmed already the city the of-the Lacedaemonians
Τὰ μὲν οὖν πλεῖστα τῶν ἐπιτιμηθέντων ἂν διὰ
the indeed then most of-the(-things) that-might-be-censured — through
τὰς παρεκβάσεις κοινὰ τυγχάνει πάσαις ὄντα ταῖς
the deviations common happen to-all being the
εἰρημέναις πολιτείαις· τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῆς
mentioned constitutions of-the and with-reference-to the principle of-the
ἀριστοκρατίας καὶ τῆς πολιτείας τὰ μὲν εἰς δῆμον
aristocracy and of-the polity the(-ones) indeed toward democracy
ἐκκλίνει μᾶλλον, τὰ δ' εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ
incline rather the(-others) and toward oligarchy of-the indeed for
τὰ μὲν προσάγειν τὰ δὲ μὴ προσάγειν πρὸς
the(-matters) indeed to-bring the(-others) but not to-bring before
τὸν δῆμον οἱ βασιλεῖς κύριοι μετὰ τῶν γερόντων, ἂν
the people the kings are-sovereign with the elders if
ὁμογνωμονῶσι πάντες, εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ τούτων ὁ δῆμος. ἃ
agree all if but not also of-these the people what

δ' ἂν εἰσφέρωσιν οὗτοι, οὐ διακοῦσαι μόνον ἀποδιδόασι τῷ
and — they-introduce these not to-hear only they-grant to-the
δήμῳ τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἀλλὰ κύριοι κρίνειν
people the(-things) resolved by-the rulers but sovereign to-judge
εἰσὶ καὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ τοῖς εἰσφερομένοις ἀντειπεῖν
they-are and to-the wishing the introduced(-measures) to-speak-against
ἔξεστιν, ὅπερ ἐν ταῖς ἑτέραις πολιτείαις οὐκ ἔστιν. τὸ
it-is-permitted which-very in the other constitutions not is the
δὲ τὰς πενταρχίας κυρίας οὔσας πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ὑφ'
and the boards-of-five sovereign being over-many and great(-matters) by
αὑτῶν αἱρετὰς εἶναι, καὶ τὴν τῶν ἑκατὸν ταύτας αἱρεῖσθαι
themselves elected to-be and the of-the hundred these to-elect
τὴν μεγίστην ἀρχήν, ἔτι δὲ ταύτας πλείονα ἄρχειν
the greatest office further and these longer to-rule
χρόνον τῶν ἄλλων (καὶ γὰρ ἐξεληλυθότες ἄρχουσι καὶ
time than-the others and for having-gone-out-of-office they-rule and
μέλλοντες) ὀλιγαρχικόν· τὸ δὲ ἀμίσθους καὶ μὴ κληρωτὰς
intending oligarchic the but unpaid and not chosen-by-lot
ἀριστοκρατικὸν θετέον, καὶ εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ἕτερον,
aristocratic one-must-regard and if anything such other
καὶ τὸ τὰς δίκας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχείων δικάζεσθαι πάσας
and the the suits by the boards to-be-judged all
(καὶ μὴ ἄλλας ὑπ' ἄλλων, καθάπερ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι).
and not different by different just-as in Lacedaemon
παρεκβαίνει δὲ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ἡ τάξις τῶν
deviates and from-the aristocracy the order of-the
Καρχηδονίων μάλιστα πρὸς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν κατά τινα
Carthaginians most toward the oligarchy according-to a-certain
διάνοιαν ἣ συνδοκεῖ τοῖς πολλοῖς· οὐ γὰρ μόνον
idea which seems-good-also to-the many not for only
ἀριστίνδην ἀλλὰ καὶ πλουτίνδην οἴονται δεῖν αἱρεῖσθαι
by-merit but also by-wealth they-think to-be-necessary to-elect

τοὺς ἄρχοντας· ἀδύνατον γὰρ τὸν ἀποροῦντα καλῶς ἄρχειν
the rulers impossible for the poor-man well to-rule
καὶ σχολάζειν. εἴπερ οὖν τὸ μὲν αἱρεῖσθαι πλουτίνδην
and to-have-leisure if-indeed then the indeed to-elect by-wealth
ὀλιγαρχικὸν τὸ δὲ κατ' ἀρετὴν ἀριστοκρατικόν, αὕτη τις
oligarchic the but by virtue aristocratic this some
ἂν εἴη τάξις τρίτη, καθ' ἥνπερ συντέτακται καὶ
— would-be order a-third according-to which-very are-arranged also
τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις τὰ περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν· αἱροῦνται
for-the Carthaginians the(-things) about the constitution they-elect
γὰρ εἰς δύο ταῦτα βλέποντες, καὶ μάλιστα τὰς μεγίστας,
for to two these looking and especially the greatest(-offices)
τούς τε βασιλεῖς καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς.
the both kings and the generals
δεῖ δὲ νομίζειν ἁμάρτημα νομοθέτου τὴν παρέκβασιν εἶναι
must and to-think error of-lawgiver the deviation to-be
τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ταύτην. ἐξ ἀρχῆς γὰρ τοῦθ' ὁρᾶν
of-the aristocracy this from beginning for this to-see
ἐστι τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων, ὅπως οἱ βέλτιστοι δύνωνται
is of-the most-necessary(-things) that the best be-able
σχολάζειν καὶ μηδὲν ἀσχημονεῖν, μὴ μόνον ἄρχοντες
to-have-leisure and in-nothing to-behave-unseemly not only ruling
ἀλλὰ μηδ' ἰδιωτεύοντες. εἰ δὲ δεῖ βλέπειν καὶ πρὸς
but nor being-private-citizens if but it-is-necessary to-look also to
εὐπορίαν χάριν σχολῆς, φαῦλον τὸ τὰς μεγίστας ὠνητὰς
wealth for-the-sake of-leisure bad the the greatest purchasable
εἶναι τῶν ἀρχῶν, τήν τε βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν.
to-be of-the offices the both kingship and the generalship
ἔντιμον γὰρ ὁ νόμος οὗτος ποιεῖ τὸν πλοῦτον μᾶλλον
honored for the law this makes the wealth more
τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην φιλοχρήματον. ὅ τι
than-the virtue and the city whole money-loving what ever

δ' ἂν ὑπολάβῃ τίμιον εἶναι τὸ κύριον, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὴν
and — supposes honorable to-be the sovereign(-body) necessity also the
τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν δόξαν ἀκολουθεῖν τούτοις· ὅπου δὲ
of-the other citizens opinion to-follow these where but
μὴ μάλιστα ἀρετὴ τιμᾶται, ταύτην οὐχ οἷόν τε βεβαίως
not most virtue is-honored this not possible — securely
ἀριστοκρατεῖσθαι τὴν πολιτείαν. ἐθίζεσθαι δ' εὔλογον
to-be-aristocratically-governed the constitution to-be-accustomed and reasonable
κερδαίνειν τοὺς ὠνουμένους, ὅταν δαπανήσαντες ἄρχωσιν·
to-profit those buying when having-spent they-rule
ἄτοπον γὰρ εἰ πένης μὲν ὢν ἐπιεικὴς δὲ βουλήσεται
strange for if poor indeed being decent and he-will-wish
κερδαίνειν, φαυλότερος δ' ὢν οὐ βουλήσεται δαπανήσας.
to-profit baser but being not he-will-wish having-spent
διὸ δεῖ τοὺς δυναμένους ἄριστ' ἄρχειν, τούτους ἄρχειν.
therefore must those being-able best to-rule these to-rule
βέλτιον δ', εἰ καὶ προεῖτο τὴν εὐπορίαν τῶν ἐπιεικῶν ὁ
better and if even neglected the wealth of-the decent the
νομοθέτης, ἀλλὰ ἀρχόντων γε ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς σχολῆς.
lawgiver but of-rulers at-least to-care-for the leisure
Φαῦλον δ' ἂν δόξειεν εἶναι καὶ τὸ πλείους ἀρχὰς τὸν
bad and — would-seem to-be also the more offices the
αὐτὸν ἄρχειν· ὅπερ εὐδοκιμεῖ παρὰ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις.
same(-man) to-hold which-very is-well-regarded among the Carthaginians
ἓν γὰρ ὑφ' ἑνὸς ἔργον ἄριστ' ἀποτελεῖται. δεῖ
one for by one work best is-accomplished it-is-necessary
δ' ὅπως γίνηται τοῦθ' ὁρᾶν τὸν νομοθέτην, καὶ μὴ
and that it-happen this to-see the lawgiver and not
προστάττειν τὸν αὐτὸν αὐλεῖν καὶ σκυτοτομεῖν. ὥσθ'
to-assign the same(-man) to-play-the-pipe and to-make-shoes so-that
ὅπου μὴ μικρὰ πόλις, πολιτικώτερον πλείονας μετέχειν τῶν
where not small city more-political(-it-is) more to-share the

ἀρχῶν, καὶ δημοτικώτερον· κοινότερόν τε γὰρ καθάπερ
offices and more-democratic more-common both for just-as
εἴπομεν καὶ κάλλιον ἕκαστον ἀποτελεῖται τῶν αὐτῶν
we-said and more-finely each is-accomplished of-the same(-tasks)
καὶ θᾶττον. δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν καὶ τῶν
and more-quickly clear and this in the military and the
ναυτικῶν· ἐν τούτοις γὰρ ἀμφοτέροις διὰ πάντων ὡς
naval(-affairs) in these for both through all so
εἰπεῖν διελήλυθε τὸ ἄρχειν καὶ τὸ ἄρχεσθαι. Ὀλιγαρχικῆς
to-speak has-passed the to-rule and the to-be-ruled oligarchic
δ' οὔσης τῆς πολιτείας ἄριστα ἐκφεύγουσι τῷ πλουτεῖν,
but being the constitution best they-escape by-the to-be-rich
αἰεί τι τοῦ δήμου μέρος ἐκπέμποντες ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις.
always some of-the people part sending-out to the cities
τούτῳ γὰρ ἰῶνται καὶ ποιοῦσι μόνιμον τὴν πολιτείαν.
by-this for they-heal(-it) and they-make stable the constitution
ἀλλὰ τουτί ἐστι τύχης ἔργον, δεῖ δὲ ἀστασιάστους εἶναι
but this is of-fortune work must and free-from-faction to-be
διὰ τὸν νομοθέτην. νῦν δέ, ἂν ἀτυχία γένηταί τις καὶ τὸ
through the lawgiver now but if misfortune occur some and the
πλῆθος ἀποστῇ τῶν ἀρχομένων, οὐδέν ἐστι φάρμακον διὰ
multitude revolt of-the ruled none is remedy through
τῶν νόμων τῆς ἡσυχίας. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων
the laws of-the quiet about indeed then the of-Lacedaemonians
πολιτείας καὶ Κρητικῆς καὶ τῆς Καρχηδονίων, αἴπερ
constitution and Cretan and the of-Carthaginians which-very
δικαίως εὐδοκιμοῦσι, τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον·
justly are-well-regarded this has the manner

Of those who have written on constitutions, some were private men and some lawgivers. Some praise Solon for ending oligarchy and mixing the ancestral democracy, keeping the Areopagus and elected offices and founding the popular courts. Others blame him for the democracy of Ephialtes and Pericles, but sea power caused that; Solon gave the people only necessary power. Zaleucus, Charondas, Philolaus, Phaleas, Draco, Pittacus, and Androdamas are noticed, and Plato's peculiar proposals, the sharing of wives, sober presidents of drinking, and training to use both hands.

Τῶν δὲ ἀποφηναμένων τι περὶ πολιτείας ἔνιοι μὲν
of-those and having-declared anything about constitution some indeed
οὐκ ἐκοινώνησαν πράξεων πολιτικῶν οὐδ' ὡντινωνοῦν,
not shared in-actions political not-even in-any-whatever
ἀλλὰ διετέλεσαν ἰδιωτεύοντες τὸν βίον, περὶ ὧν εἴ
but continued being-private-citizens the life about whom if
τι ἀξιόλογον, εἴρηται σχεδὸν περὶ πάντων· ἔνιοι δὲ
anything noteworthy has-been-said nearly about all some and
νομοθέται γεγόνασιν, οἱ μὲν ταῖς οἰκείαις πόλεσιν
lawgivers have-been the(-ones) indeed for-the own cities
οἱ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀθνείων τισί, πολιτευθέντες αὐτοί·
the(-others) and also of-the foreign for-some having-engaged-in-politics themselves
καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν νόμων ἐγένοντο δημιουργοὶ μόνον,
and of-these the(-ones) indeed of-laws became craftsmen only
οἱ δὲ καὶ πολιτείας, οἷον καὶ Λυκοῦργος καὶ Σόλων·
the(-others) and also of-constitution such-as both Lycurgus and Solon
οὗτοι γὰρ καὶ νόμους καὶ πολιτείας κατέστησαν. περὶ μὲν
these for both laws and constitutions established about indeed
οὖν τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων εἴρηται, Σόλωνα δ' ἔνιοι μὲν
then the of-Lacedaemonians it-has-been-said Solon and some indeed
οἴονται νομοθέτην γενέσθαι σπουδαῖον. ὀλιγαρχίαν τε
think lawgiver to-have-become excellent oligarchy both

γὰρ καταλῦσαι λίαν ἄκρατον οὖσαν, καὶ δουλεύοντα τὸν
for to-have-dissolved too unmixed being and enslaved the
δῆμον παῦσαι, καὶ δημοκρατίαν καταστῆσαι τὴν πάτριον,
people to-have-stopped and democracy to-have-established the ancestral
μείξαντα καλῶς τὴν πολιτείαν· εἶναι γὰρ τὴν μὲν ἐν
having-mixed well the constitution to-be for the indeed on
Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ βουλὴν ὀλιγαρχικόν, τὸ δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς αἱρετὰς
Ares' hill council oligarchic the and the offices elective
ἀριστοκρατικόν, τὰ δὲ δικαστήρια δημοτικόν. ἔοικε δὲ
aristocratic the and law-courts democratic seems but
Σόλων ἐκεῖνα μὲν ὑπάρχοντα πρότερον οὐ καταλῦσαι,
Solon those(-things) indeed existing before not to-have-dissolved
τήν τε βουλὴν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀρχῶν αἵρεσιν, τὸν δὲ δῆμον
the both council and the of-the offices election the but people
καταστῆσαι, τὰ δικαστήρια ποιήσας ἐκ πάντων.
to-have-established the law-courts having-made from all
διὸ καὶ μέμφονταί τινες αὐτῷ· λῦσαι γὰρ θάτερον,
therefore also blame some him to-have-dissolved for the-other
κύριον ποιήσαντα τὸ δικαστήριον πάντων, κληρωτὸν
sovereign having-made the law-court over-all chosen-by-lot
ὄν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἴσχυσεν, ὥσπερ τυράννῳ τῷ δήμῳ
being since for this grew-strong just-as to-a-tyrant to-the people
χαριζόμενοι τὴν πολιτείαν εἰς τὴν νῦν δημοκρατίαν
gratifying the constitution into the present democracy
κατέστησαν· καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ βουλὴν
brought and the indeed on Ares' hill council
Ἐφιάλτης ἐκόλουσε καὶ Περικλῆς, τὰ δὲ δικαστήρια
Ephialtes curtailed and Pericles the and law-courts
μισθοφόρα κατέστησε Περικλῆς, καὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν
paid established Pericles and this indeed the
τρόπον ἕκαστος τῶν δημαγωγῶν προήγαγεν αὔξων εἰς
way each of-the demagogues advanced increasing to

τὴν νῦν δημοκρατίαν. φαίνεται δ' οὐ κατὰ τὴν
the present democracy it-appears but not according-to the
Σόλωνος γενέσθαι τοῦτο προαίρεσιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀπὸ
of-Solon to-have-happened this intention but rather from
συμπτώματος (τῆς ναυαρχίας γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Μηδικοῖς ὁ
accident of-the naval-supremacy for in the Persian-wars the
δῆμος αἴτιος γενόμενος ἐφρονηματίσθη καὶ δημαγωγοὺς
people cause having-become grew-proud and demagogues
ἔλαβε φαύλους ἀντιπολιτευομένων τῶν ἐπιεικῶν), ἐπεὶ
it-took base opposing-in-politics the decent since
Σόλων γε ἔοικε τὴν ἀναγκαιοτάτην ἀποδιδόναι τῷ
Solon at-least seems the most-necessary to-give to-the
δήμῳ δύναμιν, τὸ τὰς ἀρχὰς αἱρεῖσθαι καὶ εὐθύνειν
people power the the offices to-elect and to-call-to-account
(μηδὲ γὰρ τούτου κύριος ὢν ὁ δῆμος δοῦλος ἂν εἴη
not-even for of-this sovereign being the people a-slave — would-be
καὶ πολέμιος), τὰς δ' ἀρχὰς ἐκ τῶν γνωρίμων καὶ τῶν
and an-enemy the and offices from the notables and the
εὐπόρων κατέστησε πάσας, ἐκ τῶν πεντακοσιομεδίμνων
well-off he-established all from the five-hundred-bushel-men
καὶ ζευγιτῶν καὶ τρίτου τέλους τῆς καλουμένης ἱππάδος· τὸ
and yoke-men and third class of-the called knights the
δὲ τέταρτον τὸ θητικόν, οἷς οὐδεμιᾶς ἀρχῆς μετῆν.
and fourth the laborer(-class) to-whom of-no office was-there-a-share
Νομοθέται δ' ἐγένοντο Ζάλευκός τε Λοκροῖς τοῖς
lawgivers and became Zaleucus both for-Locrians the
ἐπιζεφυρίοις, καὶ Χαρώνδας ὁ Καταναῖος τοῖς αὑτοῦ
western and Charondas the Catanaean for-the his-own
πολίταις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ταῖς Χαλκιδικαῖς πόλεσι ταῖς
citizens and for-the other the Chalcidian cities the
περὶ Ἰταλίαν καὶ Σικελίαν. πειρῶνται δέ τινες καὶ
about Italy and Sicily try and some also

συνάγειν ὡς Ὀνομακρίτου μὲν γενομένου πρώτου δεινοῦ
to-connect(-them) as Onomacritus indeed having-become first skilled
περὶ νομοθεσίαν, γυμνασθῆναι δ' αὐτὸν ἐν Κρήτῃ Λοκρὸν
in legislation to-have-been-trained and him in Crete a-Locrian
ὄντα καὶ ἐπιδημοῦντα κατὰ τέχνην μαντικήν· τούτου
being and visiting for the-art prophetic of-him
δὲ γενέσθαι Θάλητα ἑταῖρον, Θάλητος δ' ἀκροατὴν
and to-have-become Thales companion of-Thales and pupil
Λυκοῦργον καὶ Ζάλευκον, Ζαλεύκου δὲ Χαρώνδαν. ἀλλὰ
Lycurgus and Zaleucus of-Zaleucus and Charondas but
ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσιν ἀσκεπτότερον τῷ χρόνῳ λέγοντες·
these-things indeed they-say rather-carelessly by-the time speaking
ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ Φιλόλαος ὁ Κορίνθιος νομοθέτης Θηβαίοις.
became and also Philolaus the Corinthian lawgiver for-Thebans
ἦν δ' ὁ Φιλόλαος τὸ μὲν γένος τῶν Βακχιαδῶν, ἐραστὴς
was and — Philolaus the indeed by-family of-the Bacchiads lover
δὲ γενόμενος Διοκλέους τοῦ νικήσαντος Ὀλυμπίασιν, ὡς
and having-become of-Diocles the having-won at-Olympia when
ἐκεῖνος τὴν πόλιν ἔλιπε διαμισήσας τὸν ἔρωτα τὸν
he the city left having-come-to-hate the love the
τῆς μητρὸς Ἀλκυόνης, ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Θήβας· κἀκεῖ τὸν
of-the mother Alcyone he-went-away to Thebes and-there the
βίον ἐτελεύτησαν ἀμφότεροι. καὶ νῦν ἔτι δεικνύουσι τοὺς
life ended both and now still they-show the
τάφους αὐτῶν ἀλλήλοις μὲν εὐσυνόπτους ὄντας, πρὸς
tombs of-them with-one-another indeed easily-seen being toward
δὲ τὴν τῶν Κορινθίων χώραν τοῦ μὲν συνόπτου τοῦ δ'
and the of-the Corinthians country of-the indeed visible of-the and
οὐ συνόπτου· μυθολογοῦσι γὰρ αὐτοὺς οὕτω τάξασθαι
not visible they-tell-the-story for them thus to-have-arranged
τὴν ταφήν, τὸν μὲν Διοκλέα διὰ τὴν ἀπέχθειαν τοῦ
the burial — indeed Diocles through the hatred of-the

πάθους, ὅπως μὴ ἄποπτος ἔσται ἡ Κορινθία ἀπὸ τοῦ
experience so-that not visible will-be the Corinthian(-land) from the
χώματος, τὸν δὲ Φιλόλαον ὅπως ἄποπτος.
mound — and Philolaus so-that visible
ᾤκησαν μὲν οὖν διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην αἰτίαν παρὰ τοῖς
they-dwelt indeed then through the such cause among the
Θηβαίοις, νομοθέτης δ' αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο Φιλόλαος περί τ'
Thebans lawgiver and for-them became Philolaus about both
ἄλλων τινῶν καὶ περὶ τῆς παιδοποιίας, οὓς καλοῦσιν
other some(-things) and about the child-production which call
ἐκεῖνοι νόμους θετικούς· καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἰδίως ὑπ' ἐκείνου
they laws of-adoption and this is specially by him
νενομοθετημένον, ὅπως ὁ ἀριθμὸς σῴζηται τῶν κλήρων.
legislated so-that the number may-be-preserved of-the allotments
Χαρώνδου δ' ἴδιον μὲν οὐδέν ἐστι πλὴν αἱ δίκαι τῶν
of-Charondas and peculiar indeed nothing is except the suits of-the
ψευδομαρτυριῶν (πρῶτος γὰρ ἐποίησε τὴν ἐπίσκηψιν),
false-witnesses first for he-made the denunciation
τῇ δ' ἀκριβείᾳ τῶν νόμων ἐστὶ γλαφυρώτερος καὶ τῶν
in-the but exactness of-the laws he-is more-polished even than-the
νῦν νομοθετῶν.
present lawgivers
Φαλέου δ' ἴδιον ἡ τῶν οὐσιῶν ἀνομάλωσις, Πλάτωνος δ'
of-Phaleas and peculiar the of-the properties equalization of-Plato and
ἥ τε τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων καὶ τῆς οὐσίας κοινότης
the both of-the wives and children and of-the property community
καὶ τὰ συσσίτια τῶν γυναικῶν, ἔτι δ' ὁ περὶ τὴν
and the common-meals of-the women further and the about the
μέθην νόμος, τὸ τοὺς νήφοντας συμποσιαρχεῖν, καὶ τὴν ἐν
drunkenness law the the sober to-preside-at-symposia and the in
τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἄσκησιν ὅπως ἀμφιδέξιοι γίνωνται κατὰ
the military(-matters) training so-that ambidextrous they-become by

τὴν μελέτην, ὡς δέον μὴ τὴν μὲν χρήσιμον εἶναι
the practice as it-being-necessary not the(-one) indeed useful to-be
τοῖν χεροῖν τὴν δὲ ἄχρηστον. Δράκοντος δὲ νόμοι μὲν
of-the two-hands the(-other) and useless of-Draco and laws indeed
εἰσί, πολιτείᾳ δ' ὑπαρχούσῃ τοὺς νόμους ἔθηκεν· ἴδιον
are for-a-constitution but existing the laws he-laid-down peculiar
δ' ἐν τοῖς νόμοις οὐδέν ἐστιν ὅ τι καὶ μνείας ἄξιον,
and in the laws nothing is what ever also of-mention worthy
πλὴν ἡ χαλεπότης διὰ τὸ τῆς ζημίας μέγεθος. ἐγένετο δὲ
except the harshness through the of-the penalty magnitude became and
καὶ Πιττακὸς νόμων δημιουργὸς ἀλλ' οὐ πολιτείας· νόμος
also Pittacus of-laws craftsman but not of-constitution law
δ' ἴδιος αὐτοῦ τὸ τοὺς μεθύοντας, ἄν τι πταίσωσι,
and peculiar of-his the the drunk if any-wrong they-commit
πλείω ζημίαν ἀποτίνειν τῶν νηφόντων· διὰ γὰρ τὸ
greater penalty to-pay than-the sober through for the
πλείους ὑβρίζειν μεθύοντας ἢ νήφοντας οὐ πρὸς τὴν
more to-commit-outrage drunk(-men) than sober not to the
συγγνώμην ἀπέβλεψεν, ὅτι δεῖ μεθύουσιν ἔχειν μᾶλλον,
pardon he-looked that one-must to-the-drunk to-have(-it) rather
ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ Ἀνδροδάμας
but to the advantageous became and also Androdamas
Ῥηγῖνος νομοθέτης Χαλκιδεῦσι τοῖς ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης, οὗ τὰ
of-Rhegium lawgiver for-Chalcidians the toward Thrace whose the(-laws)
περί τε τὰ φονικὰ καὶ τὰς ἐπικλήρους ἐστίν· οὐ μὴν
about both the homicide(-cases) and the heiresses are not however
ἀλλὰ ἴδιόν γε οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ λέγειν ἔχοι τις ἄν. Τὰ
but peculiar at-least nothing of-him to-say could-have one — the(-things)
μὲν οὖν περὶ τὰς πολιτείας, τάς τε κυρίας καὶ τὰς ὑπὸ
indeed then about the constitutions the both in-force and those by
τινῶν εἰρημένας, ἔστω τεθεωρημένα τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον.
some stated let-be considered the manner this

BOOK III

I · WHO IS A CITIZEN?

Whoever studies constitutions must first ask what a city is, since a constitution is an ordering of those who live in the city, and a city is a multitude of citizens. A citizen is not defined by residence or by the right to sue; in the strict sense he is one who shares in judging and office, including indefinite office, like the juror's and the assemblyman's. This fits a democracy best; elsewhere a citizen is one entitled to deliberative or judicial office, and a city is a multitude of such men sufficient for life.

Τῷ περὶ πολιτείας ἐπισκοποῦντι, καὶ τίς ἑκάστη καὶ
for-one about constitution examining both what each and
ποία τις, σχεδὸν πρώτη σκέψις περὶ πόλεως ἰδεῖν, τί
of-what-sort some nearly first inquiry about city to-see what
ποτέ ἐστιν ἡ πόλις. νῦν γὰρ ἀμφισβητοῦσιν, οἱ μὲν
ever is the city now for they-dispute the(-ones) indeed
φάσκοντες τὴν πόλιν πεπραχέναι τὴν πρᾶξιν, οἱ δ' οὐ
asserting the city to-have-done the deed the(-others) but not
τὴν πόλιν ἀλλὰ τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν ἢ τὸν τύραννον· τοῦ δὲ
the city but the oligarchy or the tyrant of-the and
πολιτικοῦ καὶ τοῦ νομοθέτου πᾶσαν ὁρῶμεν τὴν πραγματείαν
statesman and of-the lawgiver all we-see the activity
οὖσαν περὶ πόλιν, ἡ δὲ πολιτεία τῶν τὴν πόλιν οἰκούντων
being about city the and constitution of-those the city inhabiting
ἐστὶ τάξις τις. ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ πόλις τῶν συγκειμένων, καθάπερ
is arrangement some since but the city of-the composite(-things) just-as
ἄλλο τι τῶν ὅλων μὲν συνεστώτων δ' ἐκ πολλῶν μορίων,
other any of-the wholes indeed constituted but from many parts
δῆλον ὅτι πρότερον ὁ πολίτης ζητητέος· ἡ γὰρ πόλις
clear that first the citizen must-be-sought the for city
πολιτῶν τι πλῆθός ἐστιν. ὥστε τίνα χρὴ καλεῖν πολίτην
of-citizens some multitude is so-that whom one-must to-call citizen

καὶ τίς ὁ πολίτης ἐστὶ σκεπτέον. καὶ γὰρ ὁ πολίτης
and who the citizen is must-be-examined also for the citizen
ἀμφισβητεῖται πολλάκις· οὐ γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμολογοῦσι
is-disputed often not for the same agree
πάντες εἶναι πολίτην· ἔστι γάρ τις ὃς ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ
all to-be citizen there-is for someone who in democracy
πολίτης ὢν ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ πολλάκις οὐκ ἔστι πολίτης.
citizen being in oligarchy often not is citizen
τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄλλως πως τυγχάνοντας ταύτης τῆς
the(-ones) indeed then otherwise somehow obtaining this the
προσηγορίας, οἷον τοὺς ποιητοὺς πολίτας, ἀφετέον· ὁ
appellation such-as the made citizens one-must-set-aside the
δὲ πολίτης οὐ τῷ οἰκεῖν που πολίτης ἐστίν (καὶ γὰρ
and citizen not by-the to-dwell somewhere citizen is also for
μέτοικοι καὶ δοῦλοι κοινωνοῦσι τῆς οἰκήσεως), οὐδ' οἱ
resident-aliens and slaves share the dwelling nor those
τῶν δικαίων μετέχοντες οὕτως ὥστε καὶ δίκην ὑπέχειν καὶ
in-the rights sharing so so-as also suit to-undergo and
δικάζεσθαι (τοῦτο γὰρ ὑπάρχει καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ συμβόλων
to-bring-suit this for belongs also to-those from treaties
κοινωνοῦσιν — καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα τούτοις ὑπάρχει—· πολλαχοῦ
sharing and for these to-these belong in-many-places
μὲν οὖν οὐδὲ τούτων τελέως οἱ μέτοικοι μετέχουσιν,
indeed then not-even these(-rights) fully the resident-aliens share
ἀλλὰ νέμειν ἀνάγκη προστάτην, ὥστε ἀτελῶς πως
but to-assign necessity a-patron so-that incompletely somehow
μετέχουσι τῆς τοιαύτης κοινωνίας), ἀλλὰ καθάπερ καὶ
they-share the such community but just-as also
παῖδας τοὺς μήπω δι' ἡλικίαν ἐγγεγραμμένους καὶ τοὺς
children those not-yet through age enrolled and the
γέροντας τοὺς ἀφειμένους φατέον εἶναι μέν πως πολίτας,
old those released one-must-say to-be indeed somehow citizens

οὐχ ἁπλῶς δὲ λίαν ἀλλὰ προστιθέντας ‘τοὺς μὲν ἀτελεῖς
not simply but too but adding the(-ones) indeed incomplete
τοὺς δὲ παρηκμακότας’ ἤ τι τοιοῦτον ἕτερον (οὐδὲν
the(-others) and past-their-prime or something such other nothing
γὰρ διαφέρει· δῆλον γὰρ τὸ λεγόμενον). ζητοῦμεν γὰρ
for it-matters clear for the said(-thing) we-seek for
τὸν ἁπλῶς πολίτην καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοντα τοιοῦτον ἔγκλημα
the simply citizen and nothing having such charge
διορθώσεως δεόμενον, ἐπεὶ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀτίμων καὶ
of-correction needing since also about the disfranchised and
φυγάδων ἔστι τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ διαπορεῖν καὶ λύειν.
exiles it-is-possible the such(-things) both to-raise-difficulties and to-solve
πολίτης δ’ ἁπλῶς οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁρίζεται μᾶλλον ἢ
citizen and simply by-nothing of-the other is-defined more than
τῷ μετέχειν κρίσεως καὶ ἀρχῆς. τῶν δ’ ἀρχῶν αἱ μέν
by-the to-share in-judgment and office of-the and offices the(-ones) indeed
εἰσι διῃρημέναι κατὰ χρόνον, ὥστ’ ἐνίας μὲν ὅλως δὶς
are divided by time so-that some indeed altogether twice
τὸν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἄρχειν, ἢ διὰ τινῶν ὡρισμένων
the same(-man) not it-is-permitted to-hold or through certain defined
χρόνων· ὁ δ’ ἀόριστος, οἷον ὁ δικαστὴς καὶ
times the(-other) and indefinite such-as the juror and
ἐκκλησιαστής. τάχα μὲν οὖν ἂν φαίη τις οὐδ’ ἄρχοντας
assemblyman perhaps indeed then — might-say one not-even rulers
εἶναι τοὺς τοιούτους, οὐδὲ μετέχειν διὰ ταῦτ’ ἀρχῆς·
to-be the such nor to-share through these-things of-office
καίτοι γελοῖον τοὺς κυριωτάτους ἀποστερεῖν ἀρχῆς. ἀλλὰ
and-yet ridiculous the most-sovereign to-deprive of-office but
διαφερέτω μηδέν· περὶ ὀνόματος γὰρ ὁ λόγος· ἀνώνυμον
let-it-make-difference nothing about name for the argument nameless
γὰρ τὸ κοινὸν ἐπὶ δικαστοῦ καὶ ἐκκλησιαστοῦ, τί
for the common(-element) in juror and assemblyman what

δεῖ ταῦτ' ἄμφω καλεῖν· ἔστω δὴ διορισμοῦ χάριν
one-must these-things both to-call let-it-be indeed of-definition for-the-sake
ἀόριστος ἀρχή. τίθεμεν δὴ πολίτας τοὺς οὕτω μετέχοντας.
indefinite office we-set indeed citizens those thus sharing
Ὁ μὲν οὖν μάλιστ' ἂν ἐφαρμόσας πολίτης ἐπὶ πάντας
the indeed then most — would-fit citizen to all
τοὺς λεγομένους πολίτας σχεδὸν τοιοῦτός ἐστιν· δεῖ δὲ
those called citizens nearly such is must and
μὴ λανθάνειν ὅτι τῶν πραγμάτων ἐν οἷς τὰ ὑποκείμενα
not to-escape-notice that of-the things in which the underlying(-things)
διαφέρει τῷ εἴδει, καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐστι πρῶτον
differ in-the kind and the(-one) indeed of-them is first
τὸ δὲ δεύτερον τὸ δ' ἐχόμενον, ἢ τὸ παράπαν
the(-other) and second the(-other) and following either the altogether
οὐδ' ἔνεστιν ᾗ τοιαῦτα, τὸ κοινόν, ἢ γλίσχρως. τὰς
not-even is-in-them in-so-far-as such the common or meagerly the
δὲ πολιτείας ὁρῶμεν εἴδει διαφερούσας ἀλλήλων, καὶ
and constitutions we-see in-kind differing from-one-another and
τὰς μὲν ὑστέρας τὰς δὲ προτέρας οὔσας· τὰς γὰρ
the(-ones) indeed later the(-others) and earlier being the for
ἡμαρτημένας καὶ παρεκβεβηκυίας ἀναγκαῖον ὑστέρας εἶναι
erroneous and deviant necessary later to-be
τῶν ἀναμαρτήτων (τὰς δὲ παρεκβεβηκυίας πῶς λέγομεν,
than-the faultless the but deviant how we-mean
ὕστερον ἔσται φανερόν). ὥστε καὶ τὸν πολίτην ἕτερον
later will-be evident so-that also the citizen different
ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὸν καθ' ἑκάστην πολιτείαν. διόπερ ὁ
necessary to-be the in each constitution therefore the
λεχθεὶς ἐν μὲν δημοκρατίᾳ μάλιστ' ἐστὶ πολίτης, ἐν δὲ ταῖς
said(-citizen) in indeed democracy most is citizen in but the
ἄλλαις ἐνδέχεται μέν, οὐ μὴν ἀναγκαῖον. ἐν ἐνίαις γὰρ οὐκ
others it-is-possible indeed not however necessary in some for not

ἔστι δῆμος, οὐδ' ἐκκλησίαν νομίζουσιν ἀλλὰ συγκλήτους, καὶ
is people nor assembly they-recognize but summoned-councils and
τὰς δίκας δικάζουσι κατὰ μέρος, οἷον ἐν Λακεδαίμονι τὰς
the suits they-judge by part such-as in Lacedaemon the(-suits)
τῶν συμβολαίων δικάζει τῶν ἐφόρων ἄλλος ἄλλας, οἱ δὲ
of-the contracts judges of-the ephors one other(-suits) the and
γέροντες τὰς φονικάς, ἑτέρα δ' ἴσως ἀρχή τις ἑτέρας.
elders the homicide(-cases) another and perhaps office some another(-kind)
τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ περὶ Καρχηδόνα· πάσας γὰρ
the same and manner also about Carthage all for
ἀρχαί τινες κρίνουσι τὰς δίκας. ἀλλ' ἔχει γὰρ διόρθωσιν
offices some judge the suits but has for correction
ὁ τοῦ πολίτου διορισμός. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἄλλαις πολιτείαις
the of-the citizen definition in for the other constitutions
οὐχ ὁ ἀόριστος ἄρχων ἐκκλησιαστής ἐστι καὶ δικαστής,
not the indefinite official assemblyman is and juror
ἀλλὰ ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὡρισμένος· τούτων γὰρ ἢ
but the by the office defined of-these for either
πᾶσιν ἢ τισὶν ἀποδέδοται τὸ βουλεύεσθαι καὶ δικάζειν
to-all or to-some is-assigned the to-deliberate and to-judge
ἢ περὶ πάντων ἢ περὶ τινῶν. τίς μὲν οὖν ἐστιν ὁ
either about all or about some who indeed then is the
πολίτης, ἐκ τούτων φανερόν· ᾧ γὰρ ἐξουσία κοινωνεῖν
citizen from these evident to-whom for license to-share
ἀρχῆς βουλευτικῆς ἢ κριτικῆς, πολίτην ἤδη λέγομεν εἶναι
in-office deliberative or judicial citizen now we-say to-be
ταύτης τῆς πόλεως, πόλιν δὲ τὸ τῶν τοιούτων πλῆθος
of-this the city city and the of-the such multitude
ἱκανὸν πρὸς αὐτάρκειαν ζωῆς, ὡς ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν.
sufficient for self-sufficiency of-life so simply to-speak

In practice a citizen is defined as one born of citizens on both sides, for two or three generations; Gorgias of Leontini joked that Larisaeans were made by their magistrates, as mortars by mortar-makers. But this cannot apply to the first inhabitants. Those enrolled by Cleisthenes after the tyrants' expulsion raise the question whether one can be a citizen unjustly; those who share in office as defined are citizens.

Ὁρίζονται δὲ πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν πολίτην τὸν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων
they-define and for the practice citizen the(-one) from both
πολιτῶν καὶ μὴ θατέρου μόνον, οἷον πατρὸς ἢ μητρός,
citizens and not of-the-other only such-as of-father or of-mother
οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ πλέον ζητοῦσιν, οἷον ἐπὶ πάππους
the(-others) and also this to further seek such-as to grandfathers
δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἢ πλείους. οὕτω δὲ ὁριζομένων πολιτικῶς καὶ
two or three or more thus and defining politically and
ταχέως, ἀποροῦσί τινες τὸν τρίτον ἐκεῖνον ἢ τέταρτον,
quickly raise-the-question some the third that or fourth
πῶς ἔσται πολίτης. Γοργίας μὲν οὖν ὁ Λεοντῖνος, τὰ μὲν
how he-will-be citizen Gorgias indeed then the Leontine partly indeed
ἴσως ἀπορῶν τὰ δ' εἰρωνευόμενος, ἔφη, καθάπερ ὅλμους
perhaps being-at-a-loss partly and being-ironical said just-as mortars
εἶναι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ὁλμοποιῶν πεποιημένους, οὕτω καὶ
to-be those by the mortar-makers made so also
Λαρισαίους τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν δημιουργῶν πεποιημένους· εἶναι
Larisaeans those by the craftsmen made to-be
γάρ τινας λαρισοποιούς. ἔστι δ' ἁπλοῦν. εἰ γὰρ μετεῖχον
for some Larisa-makers it-is but simple if for they-shared
κατὰ τὸν ῥηθέντα διορισμὸν τῆς πολιτείας, ἦσαν
according-to the stated definition in-the constitution they-were

πολῖται· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ δυνατὸν ἐφαρμόττειν τὸ ἐκ πολίτου
citizens and for not-even possible to-apply the from citizen-father
ἢ ἐκ πολίτιδος ἐπὶ τῶν πρώτων οἰκησάντων ἢ κτισάντων.
or from citizen-mother to the first having-settled or having-founded
Ἀλλ' ἴσως ἐκεῖνο μᾶλλον ἔχει ἀπορίαν, ὅσοι μετέσχον
but perhaps that rather has difficulty as-many-as shared
μεταβολῆς γενομένης πολιτείας, οἷον Ἀθήνησιν ἐποίησε
change having-occurred of-constitution such-as at-Athens did
Κλεισθένης μετὰ τὴν τῶν τυράννων ἐκβολήν· πολλοὺς
Cleisthenes after the of-the tyrants expulsion many
γὰρ ἐφυλέτευσε ξένους καὶ δούλους μετοίκους. τὸ δ'
for he-enrolled-in-tribes foreigners and slaves resident-aliens the but
ἀμφισβήτημα πρὸς τούτους ἐστὶν οὐ τίς πολίτης, ἀλλὰ
dispute about these is not who citizen but
πότερον ἀδίκως ἢ δικαίως. καίτοι κἂν τοῦτό τις ἔτι
whether unjustly or justly and-yet even this someone further
προσαπορήσειεν, ἆρ' εἰ μὴ δικαίως πολίτης, οὐ πολίτης,
might-raise-as-a-question whether if not justly citizen not citizen
ὡς ταὐτὸ δυναμένου τοῦ τ' ἀδίκου καὶ τοῦ ψευδοῦς. ἐπεὶ δ'
as the-same meaning the both unjust and the false since and
ὁρῶμεν καὶ ἄρχοντάς τινας ἀδίκως, οὓς ἄρχειν μὲν φήσομεν
we-see also rulers some unjustly whom to-rule indeed we-shall-say
ἀλλ' οὐ δικαίως, ὁ δὲ πολίτης ἀρχῇ τινὶ διωρισμένος ἐστίν
but not justly the and citizen by-office some defined is
(ὁ γὰρ κοινωνῶν τῆς τοιᾶσδε ἀρχῆς πολίτης ἐστίν, ὡς
the for sharing the such office citizen is as
ἔφαμεν), δῆλον ὅτι πολίτας μὲν εἶναι φατέον καὶ τούτους,
we-said clear that citizens indeed to-be one-must-say also these

When has the city acted, as when an oligarchy becomes a democracy and some refuse to pay its debts? The city is not identified by its place or walls; Babylon had been taken three days before part of it noticed. Since the city is a community of citizens in a constitution, when the constitution changes the city is not the same, as a chorus differs in comedy and tragedy; whether it should discharge its obligations is another question.

περὶ δὲ τοῦ δικαίως ἢ μὴ δικαίως συνάπτει πρὸς τὴν
about and the justly or not justly connects to the
εἰρημένην πρότερον ἀμφισβήτησιν· ἀποροῦσι γάρ τινες
stated earlier dispute raise-the-question for some
πόθ' ἡ πόλις ἔπραξε καὶ πότε οὐχ ἡ πόλις, οἷον ὅταν
when the city did(-it) and when not the city such-as when
ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας ἢ τυραννίδος γένηται δημοκρατία. τότε γὰρ
from oligarchy or tyranny comes-to-be democracy then for
οὔτε τὰ συμβόλαια ἔνιοι βούλονται διαλύειν, ὡς οὐ τῆς
neither the contracts some wish to-discharge as not the
πόλεως ἀλλὰ τοῦ τυράννου λαβόντος, οὔτ' ἄλλα πολλὰ
city but the tyrant having-taken(-them) nor other many
τῶν τοιούτων, ὡς ἐνίας τῶν πολιτειῶν τῷ κρατεῖν
of-the such(-things) as some of-the constitutions by-the to-dominate
οὔσας, ἀλλὰ οὐ διὰ τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον. εἴπερ οὖν καὶ
being but not through the in-common advantageous if-indeed then also
δημοκρατοῦνταί τινες κατὰ τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον, ὁμοίως
are-democratically-governed some in the manner this similarly
τῆς πόλεως φατέον εἶναι ταύτης τὰς τῆς πολιτείας
of-the city one-must-say to-be this the of-the constitution
ταύτης πράξεις καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ τῆς
this acts and the(-acts) from the oligarchy and the
τυραννίδος. ἔοικε δ' οἰκεῖος ὁ λόγος εἶναι τῆς ἀπορίας
tyranny it-seems and proper the argument to-be to-the difficulty

ταύτης, πῶς ποτὲ χρὴ λέγειν τὴν πόλιν εἶναι τὴν αὐτὴν
this how ever one-must to-say the city to-be the same
ἢ μὴ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀλλ᾽ ἑτέραν. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπιπολαιοτάτη τῆς
or not the same but different the indeed then most-superficial of-the
ἀπορίας ζήτησις περὶ τὸν τόπον καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐστίν·
difficulty inquiry about the place and the men is
ἐνδέχεται γὰρ διαζευχθῆναι τὸν τόπον καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους,
it-is-possible for to-be-separated the place and the men
καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἕτερον τοὺς δ᾽ ἕτερον οἰκῆσαι τόπον.
and the(-ones) indeed another the(-others) and another to-inhabit place
ταύτην μὲν οὖν πραοτέραν θετέον τὴν ἀπορίαν
this indeed then milder one-must-consider the difficulty
(πολλαχῶς γὰρ τῆς πόλεως λεγομένης, ἐστί πως εὐμάρεια
in-many-ways for the city being-spoken-of is somehow ease
τῆς τοιαύτης ζητήσεως)· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν τὸν αὐτὸν
of-the such inquiry similarly and also of-those the same(-place)
κατοικούντων ἀνθρώπων πότε δεῖ νομίζειν μίαν εἶναι
inhabiting men when one-must to-think one to-be
τὴν πόλιν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῖς τείχεσιν· εἴη γὰρ ἂν
the city not for indeed by-the walls it-would-be for —
Πελοποννήσῳ περιβαλεῖν ἓν τεῖχος. τοιαύτη δ᾽ ἴσως ἐστὶ
for-Peloponnese to-throw-round one wall such and perhaps is
καὶ Βαβυλὼν καὶ πᾶσα ἥτις ἔχει περιγραφὴν μᾶλλον
also Babylon and every(-city) which has circumference rather
ἔθνους ἢ πόλεως· ἧς γέ φασιν ἑαλωκυίας
of-a-nation than of-a-city of-which at-least they-say having-been-captured
τρίτην ἡμέραν οὐκ αἰσθέσθαι τι μέρος τῆς πόλεως.
the-third day not to-have-perceived some part of-the city
ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν ταύτης τῆς ἀπορίας εἰς ἄλλον καιρὸν
but about indeed this the difficulty for another occasion
χρήσιμος ἡ σκέψις (περὶ γὰρ μεγέθους τῆς πόλεως, τό
useful the inquiry about for size of-the city the

τε πόσον καὶ πότερον ἔθνος ἓν ἢ πλείω συμφέρει, δεῖ μὴ
both how-great and whether nation one or more is-advantageous must not
λανθάνειν τὸν πολιτικόν)· ἀλλὰ τῶν αὐτῶν κατοικούντων
to-escape-notice the statesman but of-the same inhabiting
τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον, πότερον ἕως ἂν ᾖ τὸ γένος ταὐτὸ
the same place whether as-long-as — is the race the-same
τῶν κατοικούντων, τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι φατέον πόλιν, καίπερ
of-those inhabiting the same to-be one-must-say city although
αἰεὶ τῶν μὲν φθειρομένων τῶν δὲ γινομένων, ὥσπερ
always the(-ones) indeed perishing the(-others) and coming-to-be just-as
καὶ ποταμοὺς εἰώθαμεν λέγειν τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ κρήνας
also rivers we-are-accustomed to-say the same and springs
τὰς αὐτάς, καίπερ ἀεὶ τοῦ μὲν ἐπιγινομένου νάματος
the same although always the indeed coming-on stream
τοῦ δ' ὑπεξιόντος, ἢ τοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους φατέον εἶναι
the and going-out or the indeed men one-must-say to-be
τοὺς αὐτοὺς διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην αἰτίαν, τὴν δὲ πόλιν
the same through the such cause the but city
ἑτέραν; εἴπερ γάρ ἐστι κοινωνία τις ἡ πόλις, ἔστι δὲ
different if-indeed for is community some the city is and
κοινωνία πολιτῶν πολιτείας, γινομένης ἑτέρας τῷ εἴδει
community of-citizens of-a-constitution becoming different in-the kind
καὶ διαφερούσης τῆς πολιτείας ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι δόξειεν ἂν
and differing the constitution necessary to-be would-seem —
καὶ τὴν πόλιν εἶναι μὴ τὴν αὐτήν, ὥσπερ γε καὶ χορὸν
also the city to-be not the same just-as at-least also chorus
ὁτὲ μὲν κωμικὸν ὁτὲ δὲ τραγικὸν ἕτερον εἶναί
at-one-time indeed comic at-another and tragic different to-be
φαμεν, τῶν αὐτῶν πολλάκις ἀνθρώπων ὄντων, ὁμοίως
we-say of-the same often men being similarly
δὲ καὶ πᾶσαν ἄλλην κοινωνίαν καὶ σύνθεσιν ἑτέραν, ἂν
and also every other community and composition different if

εἶδος ἕτερον ᾖ τῆς συνθέσεως, οἷον ἁρμονίαν τῶν αὐτῶν
form different is of-the composition such-as harmony of-the same
φθόγγων ἑτέραν εἶναι λέγομεν, ἂν ὁτὲ μὲν ᾖ Δώριος
notes different to-be we-say if at-one-time indeed it-is Dorian
ὁτὲ δὲ Φρύγιος. εἰ δὴ τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον,
at-another and Phrygian if indeed this has the manner
φανερὸν ὅτι μάλιστα λεκτέον τὴν αὐτὴν πόλιν εἰς τὴν
evident that most one-must-speak-of the same city to the
πολιτείαν βλέποντας· ὄνομα δὲ καλεῖν ἕτερον ἢ ταὐτὸν
constitution looking name but to-call different or the-same
ἔξεστι καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν κατοικούντων αὐτὴν καὶ πάμπαν
it-is-possible both of-the same inhabiting it and altogether
ἑτέρων ἀνθρώπων. εἰ δὲ δίκαιον διαλύειν ἢ μὴ διαλύειν,
different men whether but just to-discharge or not to-discharge
ὅταν εἰς ἑτέραν μεταβάλῃ πολιτείαν ἡ πόλις, λόγος ἕτερος.
when to another changes constitution the city argument other

IV · THE GOOD MAN AND THE GOOD CITIZEN

Is the virtue of a good man the same as a good citizen's? The citizen's virtue is relative to the constitution, as a sailor's to his post, so it is not one, while the good man's is. Even in the best city not every citizen is a good man. The two coincide in the prudent ruler; Jason hungered when not a tyrant. The citizen rules free men and is ruled, learning to command by obeying, and the ruled need only true opinion.

Τῶν δὲ νῦν εἰρημένων ἐχόμενόν ἐστιν ἐπισκέψασθαι πότερον
of-the and now said(-things) next is to-examine whether
τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρετὴν ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ πολίτου σπουδαίου
the same virtue of-man good and of-citizen excellent
θετέον, ἢ μὴ τὴν αὐτήν. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴ γε τοῦτο τυχεῖν
one-must-posit or not the same but indeed if at-least this to-obtain

δεῖ ζητήσεως, τὴν τοῦ πολίτου τύπῳ τινὶ πρῶτον
it-must investigation the of-the citizen in-outline some first
ληπτέον. ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ πλωτὴρ εἷς τις τῶν κοινωνῶν
must-be-grasped just-as then the sailor one some of-the partners
ἐστιν, οὕτω καὶ τὸν πολίτην φαμέν. τῶν δὲ πλωτήρων
is so also the citizen we-say of-the and sailors
καίπερ ἀνομοίων ὄντων τὴν δύναμιν (ὁ μὲν γάρ ἐστιν
although unlike being in-the capacity the(-one) indeed for is
ἐρέτης, ὁ δὲ κυβερνήτης, ὁ δὲ πρῳρεύς, ὁ
rower the(-other) and steersman the(-other) and look-out the(-other)
δ' ἄλλην τιν' ἔχων τοιαύτην ἐπωνυμίαν) δῆλον ὡς ὁ μὲν
and other some having such title clear that the indeed
ἀκριβέστατος ἑκάστου λόγος ἴδιος ἔσται τῆς ἀρετῆς, ὁμοίως
most-exact of-each definition peculiar will-be of-the virtue similarly
δὲ καὶ κοινός τις ἐφαρμόσει πᾶσιν. ἡ γὰρ σωτηρία τῆς
and also common some will-fit all the for safety of-the
ναυτιλίας ἔργον ἐστὶν αὐτῶν πάντων· τούτου γὰρ ἕκαστος
voyage work is of-them all this for each
ὀρέγεται τῶν πλωτήρων. ὁμοίως τοίνυν καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν,
aims-at of-the sailors similarly therefore also of-the citizens
καίπερ ἀνομοίων ὄντων, ἡ σωτηρία τῆς κοινωνίας ἔργον
although unlike being the safety of-the community work
ἐστί, κοινωνία δ' ἐστὶν ἡ πολιτεία· διὸ τὴν ἀρετὴν
is community and is the constitution therefore the virtue
ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τοῦ πολίτου πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν. εἴπερ
necessary to-be of-the citizen relative-to the constitution if-indeed
οὖν ἔστι πλείω πολιτείας εἴδη, δῆλον ὡς οὐκ ἐνδέχεται
then there-are more of-constitution kinds clear that not it-is-possible
τοῦ σπουδαίου πολίτου μίαν ἀρετὴν εἶναι τὴν τελείαν· τὸν
of-the excellent citizen one virtue to-be the perfect the
δ' ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα φαμὲν κατὰ μίαν ἀρετὴν εἶναι τὴν τελείαν.
but good man we-say by one virtue to-be the perfect

ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἐνδέχεται πολίτην ὄντα σπουδαῖον μὴ κεκτῆσθαι
that indeed then it-is-possible citizen being excellent not to-possess
τὴν ἀρετὴν καθ' ἣν σπουδαῖος ἀνήρ, φανερόν· οὐ μὴν
the virtue according-to which excellent(-is) a-man evident not indeed
ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' ἄλλον τρόπον ἔστι διαποροῦντας ἐπελθεῖν
but also in other manner it-is-possible raising-difficulties to-go-over
τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον περὶ τῆς ἀρίστης πολιτείας. εἰ γὰρ δυνατὸν
the same argument about the best constitution if for possible
ἐξ ἁπάντων σπουδαίων ὄντων εἶναι πόλιν, δεῖ δ' ἕκαστον
from all excellent being to-be a-city must and each
τὸ καθ' αὑτὸν ἔργον εὖ ποιεῖν, τοῦτο δὲ ἀπ' ἀρετῆς· ἐπεὶ
the by himself work well to-do this and from virtue since
δὲ ἀδύνατον ὁμοίους εἶναι πάντας τοὺς πολίτας, οὐκ ἂν
and impossible alike to-be all the citizens not —
εἴη μία ἀρετὴ πολίτου καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ. τὴν μὲν
would-be one virtue of-citizen and of-man good the(-virtue) indeed
γὰρ τοῦ σπουδαίου πολίτου δεῖ πᾶσιν ὑπάρχειν (οὕτω γὰρ
for of-the excellent citizen must in-all to-exist thus for
ἀρίστην ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὴν πόλιν), τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
best necessary to-be the city the(-virtue) but of-the man
τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἀδύνατον, εἰ μὴ πάντας ἀναγκαῖον ἀγαθοὺς
the good impossible if not all necessary good
εἶναι τοὺς ἐν τῇ σπουδαίᾳ πόλει πολίτας. ἔτι ἐπεὶ ἐξ
to-be the in the excellent city citizens further since from
ἀνομοίων ἡ πόλις, ὥσπερ ζῷον εὐθὺς ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ
unlike(-parts) the city just-as animal at-once from soul and
σώματος καὶ ψυχὴ ἐκ λόγου καὶ ὀρέξεως καὶ οἰκία ἐξ
body and soul from reason and appetite and household from
ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ κτῆσις ἐκ δεσπότου καὶ δούλου,
man and woman and property from master and slave
τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ πόλις ἐξ ἁπάντων τε τούτων
the same manner also city from all both these

καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἐξ ἄλλων ἀνομοίων συνέστηκεν εἰδῶν·
and besides these from other unlike consists kinds
ἀνάγκη μὴ μίαν εἶναι τὴν τῶν πολιτῶν πάντων ἀρετήν,
necessity not one to-be the of-the citizens all virtue
ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τῶν χορευτῶν κορυφαίου καὶ παραστάτου.
just-as not-even of-the chorus-dancers of-leader and of-side-man
διότι μὲν τοίνυν ἁπλῶς οὐχ ἡ αὐτή, φανερὸν ἐκ
that indeed therefore simply not the same evident from
τούτων· ἀλλ' ἆρα ἔσται τινὸς ἡ αὐτὴ ἀρετὴ πολίτου τε
these but then will-be of-someone the same virtue of-citizen both
σπουδαίου καὶ ἀνδρὸς σπουδαίου; φαμὲν δὴ τὸν ἄρχοντα
excellent and of-man excellent we-say indeed the ruler
τὸν σπουδαῖον ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ φρόνιμον, τὸν δὲ πολιτικὸν
the excellent good to-be and prudent the and statesman
ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι φρόνιμον. καὶ τὴν παιδείαν δ' εὐθὺς ἑτέραν
necessary to-be prudent and the education and at-once different
εἶναι λέγουσί τινες ἄρχοντος, ὥσπερ καὶ φαίνονται οἱ τῶν
to-be say some of-ruler just-as also appear the of-the
βασιλέων υἱεῖς ἱππικὴν καὶ πολεμικὴν παιδευόμενοι, καὶ
kings sons in-horsemanship and in-war being-educated and
Εὐριπίδης φησὶ "μή μοι τὰ κόμψ', ἀλλ' ὧν πόλει
Euripides says not for-me the refinements but of-what for-the-city
δεῖ", ὡς οὖσάν τινα ἄρχοντος παιδείαν. εἰ δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ
there-is-need as being some of-ruler education if but the same
ἀρετὴ ἄρχοντός τε ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ, πολίτης
virtue of-ruler both good and of-man good citizen
δ' ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ ἀρχόμενος, οὐχ ἡ αὐτὴ ἁπλῶς ἂν εἴη
and is also the ruled not the same simply — would-be
πολίτου καὶ ἀνδρός, τινὸς μέντοι πολίτου· οὐ γὰρ ἡ αὐτὴ
of-citizen and of-man of-some however citizen not for the same

ἄρχοντος καὶ πολίτου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἴσως Ἰάσων ἔφη
of-ruler and of-citizen and through this perhaps Jason said
πεινῆν ὅτε μὴ τυραννοῖ, ὡς οὐκ ἐπιστάμενος ἰδιώτης εἶναι.
to-be-hungry when not he-was-tyrant as not knowing-how private-man to-be
ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐπαινεῖταί γε τὸ δύνασθαι ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι,
but indeed is-praised at-least the to-be-able to-rule and to-be-ruled
καὶ πολίτου δοκεῖ που ἡ ἀρετὴ εἶναι τὸ δύνασθαι καὶ
and of-citizen seems somehow the virtue to-be the to-be-able both
ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι καλῶς. εἰ οὖν τὴν μὲν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ
to-rule and to-be-ruled well if then the indeed of-the good
ἀνδρὸς τίθεμεν ἀρχικήν, τὴν δὲ τοῦ πολίτου ἄμφω, οὐκ
man we-posit ruling the and of-the citizen both not
ἂν εἴη ἄμφω ἐπαινετὰ ὁμοίως. ἐπεὶ οὖν ποτε δοκεῖ
— would-be both praiseworthy alike since then sometimes it-seems
ἀμφότερα καὶ οὐ ταὐτὰ δεῖν τὸν ἄρχοντα μανθάνειν
both and not the-same to-be-necessary the ruler to-learn
καὶ τὸν ἀρχόμενον, τὸν δὲ πολίτην ἀμφότερ' ἐπίστασθαι
and the ruled the and citizen both to-know
καὶ μετέχειν ἀμφοῖν, *** τοὐντεῦθεν ἂν κατίδοι τις. ἔστι
and to-share-in both (lacuna) thereupon — might-observe one is
γὰρ ἀρχὴ δεσποτική· ταύτην δὲ τὴν περὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα
for rule despotic this and the about the necessities
λέγομεν, ἃ ποιεῖν ἐπίστασθαι τὸν ἄρχοντα οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον,
we-mean which to-do to-know the ruler not necessary
ἀλλὰ χρῆσθαι μᾶλλον· θάτερον δὲ καὶ ἀνδραποδῶδες·
but to-use rather the-other and also servile
λέγω δὲ θάτερον τὸ δύνασθαι καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν τὰς διακονικὰς
I-mean and the-other the to-be-able also to-perform the menial
πράξεις. δούλου δ' εἴδη πλείω λέγομεν· αἱ γὰρ ἐργασίαι
actions of-slave and kinds more we-say the for occupations
πλείους. ὧν ἓν μέρος κατέχουσιν οἱ χερνῆτες· οὗτοι
more of-which one part hold the manual-laborers these

δ' εἰσίν, ὥσπερ σημαίνει καὶ τοὔνομ' αὐτούς, οἱ ζῶντες
and are just-as signifies also the-name them those living
ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν, ἐν οἷς ὁ βάναυσος τεχνίτης ἐστίν.
from the hands among whom the mechanical craftsman is
διὸ παρ' ἐνίοις οὐ μετεῖχον οἱ δημιουργοὶ τὸ παλαιὸν
therefore among some not shared the artisans the old(-time)
ἀρχῶν, πρὶν δῆμον γενέσθαι τὸν ἔσχατον. τὰ μὲν οὖν
offices before democracy to-come-to-be the extreme the indeed then
ἔργα τῶν ἀρχομένων οὕτως οὐ δεῖ τὸν ἀγαθὸν οὐδὲ τὸν
works of-the ruled thus not must the good nor the
πολιτικὸν οὐδὲ τὸν πολίτην τὸν ἀγαθὸν μανθάνειν, εἰ μή
statesman nor the citizen the good to-learn if not
ποτε χρείας χάριν αὐτῷ πρὸς αὑτόν· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι
ever of-need for-the-sake for-himself toward himself not for any-longer
συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι τοτὲ μὲν δεσπότην τοτὲ δὲ δοῦλον.
it-results to-come-to-be sometimes indeed master sometimes and slave
ἀλλ' ἔστι τις ἀρχὴ καθ' ἣν ἄρχει τῶν ὁμοίων
but there-is some rule according-to which one-rules over-the alike
τῷ γένει καὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων. ταύτην γὰρ λέγομεν εἶναι
in-the birth and over-the free this for we-say to-be
τὴν πολιτικὴν ἀρχήν, ἣν δεῖ τὸν ἄρχοντα ἀρχόμενον
the political rule which must the ruler being-ruled
μαθεῖν, οἷον ἱππαρχεῖν ἱππαρχηθέντα, στρατηγεῖν
to-learn such-as to-command-cavalry having-served-in-cavalry to-be-general
στρατηγηθέντα καὶ ταξιαρχήσαντα καὶ λοχαγήσαντα.
having-served-under-a-general and having-led-a-regiment and having-led-a-company
διὸ λέγεται καὶ τοῦτο καλῶς, ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν εὖ ἄρξαι
therefore it-is-said also this well that not it-is-possible well to-rule
μὴ ἀρχθέντα. τούτων δὲ ἀρετὴ μὲν ἑτέρα, δεῖ δὲ τὸν
not having-been-ruled of-these and virtue indeed different must but the
πολίτην τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἐπίστασθαι καὶ δύνασθαι καὶ ἄρχεσθαι
citizen the good to-know and to-be-able both to-be-ruled

καὶ ἄρχειν, καὶ αὕτη ἀρετὴ πολίτου, τὸ τὴν τῶν
and to-rule and this virtue of-citizen the the over-the
ἐλευθέρων ἀρχὴν ἐπίστασθαι ἐπ᾽ ἀμφότερα. καὶ ἀνδρὸς
free rule to-know in both(-directions) and of-man
δὴ ἀγαθοῦ ἄμφω, καὶ εἰ ἕτερον εἶδος σωφροσύνης καὶ
indeed good both even if different kind of-temperance and
δικαιοσύνης ἀρχικῆς. καὶ γὰρ ἀρχομένου μὲν ἐλευθέρου
of-justice ruling also for of-ruled indeed free
δὲ δῆλον ὅτι οὐ μία ἂν εἴη τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἀρετή, οἷον
but clear that not one — would-be of-the good virtue such-as
δικαιοσύνη, ἀλλ᾽ εἴδη ἔχουσα καθ᾽ ἃ ἄρξει καὶ
justice but kinds having according-to which he-will-rule and
ἄρξεται, ὥσπερ ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς ἑτέρα σωφροσύνη
will-be-ruled just-as of-man and of-woman different temperance
καὶ ἀνδρεία (δόξαι γὰρ ἂν εἶναι δειλὸς ἀνήρ, εἰ οὕτως
and courage would-seem for — to-be cowardly man if so
ἀνδρεῖος εἴη ὥσπερ γυνὴ ἀνδρεία, καὶ γυνὴ λάλος, εἰ
courageous he-were just-as woman courageous and woman talkative if
οὕτω κοσμία εἴη ὥσπερ ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ ἀγαθός· ἐπεὶ καὶ
so orderly she-were just-as the man the good since also
οἰκονομία ἑτέρα ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικός· τοῦ μὲν
household-management different of-man and of-woman of-the(-one) indeed
γὰρ κτᾶσθαι τῆς δὲ φυλάττειν ἔργον ἐστίν). ἡ δὲ
for to-acquire of-the(-other) and to-guard work is the but
φρόνησις ἄρχοντος ἴδιος ἀρετὴ μόνη. τὰς γὰρ ἄλλας
prudence of-ruler peculiar virtue alone the for others
ἔοικεν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι κοινὰς καὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων καὶ τῶν
it-seems necessary to-be common both of-the ruled and of-the
ἀρχόντων, ἀρχομένου δέ γε οὐκ ἔστιν ἀρετὴ φρόνησις,
rulers of-ruled but at-least not is virtue prudence
ἀλλὰ δόξα ἀληθής· ὥσπερ αὐλοποιὸς γὰρ ὁ ἀρχόμενος, ὁ
but opinion true just-as flute-maker for the ruled the

δ' ἄρχων αὐλητὴς ὁ χρώμενος. Πότερον μὲν οὖν ἡ αὐτὴ
but ruler flute-player the user whether indeed then the same
ἀρετὴ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ πολίτου σπουδαίου ἢ ἑτέρα,
virtue of-man good and of-citizen excellent or different
καὶ πῶς ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ πῶς ἑτέρα, φανερὸν ἐκ τούτων.
and how the same and how different evident from these

V · THE MECHANIC AS CITIZEN

Is the mechanic a citizen? Then not every citizen has the citizen's virtue, and the best city will not make him one. Citizens differ as constitutions do: an aristocracy admits no mechanic, and an oligarchy admits the rich craftsman but not the laborer. Thebes barred a trader for ten years, while cities short of men admit bastards and the sons of foreign mothers. He is most a citizen who shares in honors, and the good man and the good citizen coincide only in some cities, in the statesman.

Περὶ δὲ τὸν πολίτην ἔτι λείπεταί τις τῶν ἀποριῶν. ὡς
about and the citizen still remains one of-the difficulties as
ἀληθῶς γὰρ πότερον πολίτης ἐστὶν ᾧ κοινωνεῖν
truly for whether citizen is he-to-whom to-share
ἔξεστιν ἀρχῆς, ἢ καὶ τοὺς βαναύσους πολίτας θετέον; εἰ
it-is-permitted in-office or also the mechanics citizens one-must-posit if
μὲν οὖν καὶ τούτους θετέον οἷς μὴ μέτεστιν ἀρχῶν,
indeed then also these one-must-posit to-whom not belongs-a-share of-offices
οὐχ οἷόν τε παντὸς εἶναι πολίτου τὴν τοιαύτην ἀρετήν
not possible — of-every to-be citizen the such virtue
(οὗτος γὰρ πολίτης)· εἰ δὲ μηδεὶς τῶν τοιούτων πολίτης, ἐν
this(-man) for is-a-citizen if but none of-the such citizen in
τίνι μέρει θετέος ἕκαστος; οὐδὲ γὰρ μέτοικος οὐδὲ ξένος.
what part must-be-placed each not-even for resident-alien nor foreigner
ἢ διά γε τοῦτον τὸν λόγον οὐδὲν φήσομεν συμβαίνειν
or through at-least this the argument nothing shall-we-say to-result

ἄτοπον; οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ δοῦλοι τῶν εἰρημένων οὐδέν, οὐδ'
strange not-even for the slaves of-the said(-classes) none(-are) nor
οἱ ἀπελεύθεροι. τοῦτο γὰρ ἀληθές, ὡς οὐ πάντας θετέον
the freedmen this for true that not all one-must-posit
πολίτας ὧν ἄνευ οὐκ ἂν εἴη πόλις, ἐπεὶ οὐδ' οἱ παῖδες
citizens whom without not — would-be a-city since not-even the children
ὡσαύτως πολῖται καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἁπλῶς
likewise citizens as the men but the(-ones) indeed simply
οἱ δ' ἐξ ὑποθέσεως· πολῖται μὲν γάρ εἰσιν, ἀλλ'
the(-others) and on assumption citizens indeed for they-are but
ἀτελεῖς. ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρόνοις παρ' ἐνίοις ἦν
incomplete in indeed then the ancient times among some was
δοῦλον τὸ βάναυσον ἢ ξενικόν, διόπερ οἱ πολλοὶ τοιοῦτοι
slave the mechanic or foreign therefore the many such
καὶ νῦν· ἡ δὲ βελτίστη πόλις οὐ ποιήσει βάναυσον πολίτην.
also now the but best city not will-make mechanic citizen
εἰ δὲ καὶ οὗτος πολίτης, ἀλλὰ πολίτου ἀρετὴν ἦν εἴπομεν
if but also this(-man) citizen but of-citizen virtue which we-spoke-of
λεκτέον οὐ παντὸς οὐδ' ἐλευθέρου μόνον ἀλλ' ὅσοι
must-be-said not of-every(-man) nor of-free only but as-many-as
τῶν ἔργων εἰσὶν ἀφειμένοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων. τῶν δ' ***
from-the works are released the necessary of-the and (lacuna)
ἀναγκαίων οἱ μὲν ἑνὶ λειτουργοῦντες τὰ τοιαῦτα
necessary(-works) the(-ones) indeed for-one performing the such(-tasks)
δοῦλοι, οἱ δὲ κοινῇ βάναυσοι καὶ θῆτες. φανερὸν δ'
slaves the(-others) and in-common mechanics and laborers evident and
ἐντεῦθεν μικρὸν ἐπισκεψαμένοις πῶς ἔχει περὶ αὐτῶν· αὐτὸ
hence a-little to-those-having-examined how it-is about them itself
γὰρ φανὲν τὸ λεχθὲν ποιεῖ δῆλον. ἐπεὶ γὰρ πλείους εἰσὶν
for having-appeared the thing-said makes clear since for more are
αἱ πολιτεῖαι, καὶ εἴδη πολίτου ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πλείω, καὶ
the constitutions also kinds of-citizen necessary to-be more and

μάλιστα τοῦ ἀρχομένου πολίτου, ὥστ᾽ ἐν μὲν τινὶ πολιτείᾳ
most of-the ruled citizen so-that in indeed some constitution
τὸν βάναυσον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι καὶ τὸν θῆτα πολίτας, ἐν τισὶ
the mechanic necessary to-be and the laborer citizens in some
δ᾽ ἀδύνατον, οἷον εἴ τίς ἐστιν ἡν καλοῦσιν ἀριστοκρατικὴν
but impossible such-as if any is which they-call aristocratic
καὶ ἐν ᾗ κατ᾽ ἀρετὴν αἱ τιμαὶ δίδονται καὶ κατ᾽
and in which according-to virtue the honors are-given and according-to
ἀξίαν· οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τ᾽ ἐπιτηδεῦσαι τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς
merit not for possible — to-practice the(-things) of-the virtue
ζῶντα βίον βάναυσον ἢ θητικόν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις
living life mechanical or laborer's in but the oligarchies
θῆτα μὲν οὐκ ἐνδέχεται εἶναι πολίτην (ἀπὸ τιμημάτων
laborer indeed not it-is-possible to-be citizen from property-qualifications
γὰρ μακρῶν αἱ μεθέξεις τῶν ἀρχῶν), βάναυσον δὲ
for high(-ones) the participations of-the offices mechanic but
ἐνδέχεται· πλουτοῦσι γὰρ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν τεχνιτῶν.
it-is-possible are-rich for also many of-the craftsmen
ἐν Θήβαις δὲ νόμος ἦν τὸν δέκα ἐτῶν μὴ ἀπεσχημένον
in Thebes and law was the(-one) ten years not having-kept-away
τῆς ἀγορᾶς μὴ μετέχειν ἀρχῆς. ἐν πολλαῖς δὲ πολιτείαις
from-the market not to-share in-office in many but constitutions
προσεφέλκεται καὶ τῶν ξένων ὁ νόμος· ὁ γὰρ ἐκ πολίτιδος
draws-in even of-the foreigners the law the for from citizen-mother
ἔν τισι δημοκρατίαις πολίτης ἐστίν, τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον ἔχει
in some democracies citizen is the same and manner holds
καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόθους παρὰ πολλοῖς. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽
also the(-things) about the bastards among many not however but
ἐπεὶ δι᾽ ἔνδειαν τῶν γνησίων πολιτῶν ποιοῦνται πολίτας
since through lack of-the legitimate citizens they-make citizens
τοὺς τοιούτους (διὰ γὰρ ὀλιγανθρωπίαν οὕτω χρῶνται τοῖς
the such through for shortage-of-men thus they-use the

νόμοις), εὐποροῦντες δὴ ὄχλου κατὰ μικρὸν παραιροῦνται
laws having-plenty indeed of-crowd by little they-strip-away
τοὺς ἐκ δούλου πρῶτον ἢ δούλης, εἶτα τοὺς ἀπὸ γυναικῶν,
those from slave first or slave-woman then those from women
τέλος δὲ μόνον τοὺς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἀστῶν πολίτας ποιοῦσιν.
at-last but only those from both townsmen citizens they-make
ὅτι μὲν οὖν εἴδη πλείω πολίτου, φανερὸν ἐκ τούτων, καὶ ὅτι
that indeed then kinds more of-citizen evident from these and that
λέγεται μάλιστα πολίτης ὁ μετέχων τῶν τιμῶν, ὥσπερ
is-said most citizen the(-one) sharing in-the honors just-as
καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐποίησεν "ὡς εἴ τιν' ἀτίμητον μετανάστην·"
also Homer wrote as if some dishonored vagrant
ὥσπερ μέτοικος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ τῶν τιμῶν μὴ μετέχων.
just-as resident-alien for is the(-one) in-the honors not sharing
ἀλλ' ὅπου τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπικεκρυμμένον ἐστίν, ἀπάτης
but where the such concealed is of-deception
χάριν τῶν συνοικούντων ἐστίν. Πότερον μὲν οὖν ἑτέραν
for-the-sake of-the fellow-inhabitants it-is whether indeed then different
ἢ τὴν αὐτὴν θετέον, καθ' ἣν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός ἐστι καὶ
or the same one-must-posit according-to which man good is and
πολίτης σπουδαῖος, δῆλον ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων, ὅτι τινὸς
citizen excellent clear from the(-things) said that of-some
μὲν πόλεως ὁ αὐτὸς τινὸς δ' ἕτερος, κἀκεῖνος οὐ πᾶς
indeed city the same of-some and different and-that not every(-one)
ἀλλ' ὁ πολιτικὸς καὶ κύριος ἢ δυνάμενος εἶναι κύριος, ἢ
but the statesman and sovereign or able to-be sovereign either
καθ' αὑτὸν ἢ μετ' ἄλλων, τῆς τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμελείας.
by himself or with others of-the of-the common(-affairs) care

Is there one constitution or several? A constitution is an ordering of the offices, above all the sovereign one, so the governing body is the constitution. Men live together even without need, chiefly for living well. A master rules for his own advantage, but household rule and rule among equals are for the ruled, though officers now cling to office for gain. Constitutions aiming at the common advantage are right; those aiming at the rulers' are deviant and despotic, but a city is a community of free men.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα διώρισται, τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα
since and these-things have-been-determined the(-thing) after these
σκεπτέον, πότερον μίαν θετέον πολιτείαν ἢ πλείους,
must-be-examined whether one one-must-posit constitution or more
κἂν εἰ πλείους, τίνες καὶ πόσαι, καὶ διαφοραὶ τίνες αὐτῶν
even if more what and how-many and differences what of-them
εἰσιν. ἔστι δὲ πολιτεία πόλεως τάξις τῶν τε ἄλλων
are is and constitution of-city arrangement of-the both other
ἀρχῶν καὶ μάλιστα τῆς κυρίας πάντων. κύριον μὲν γὰρ
offices and especially of-the sovereign over-all sovereign indeed for
πανταχοῦ τὸ πολίτευμα τῆς πόλεως, πολίτευμα δ' ἐστὶν ἡ
everywhere the governing-body of-the city governing-body and is the
πολιτεία. λέγω δ' οἷον ἐν μὲν ταῖς δημοκρατικαῖς κύριος
constitution I-mean and such-as in indeed the democratic sovereign
ὁ δῆμος, οἱ δ' ὀλίγοι τοὐναντίον ἐν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις·
the people the and few on-the-contrary in the oligarchies
φαμὲν δὲ καὶ πολιτείαν ἑτέραν εἶναι τούτων· τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ
we-say and also constitution different to-be of-these the same and
τοῦτον ἐροῦμεν λόγον καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων. Ὑποθετέον δὴ
this we-shall-say argument also about the others one-must-assume indeed
πρῶτον τίνος χάριν συνέστηκε πόλις, καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς
first of-what for-the-sake has-been-constituted city and of-the rule

εἴδη πόσα τῆς περὶ ἄνθρωπον καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν
kinds how-many of-the(-rule) concerning man and the community
τῆς ζωῆς. Εἴρηται δὴ κατὰ τοὺς πρώτους λόγους, ἐν
of-the life it-has-been-said indeed in the first discourses in
οἷς περὶ οἰκονομίας διωρίσθη καὶ δεσποτείας, καὶ ὅτι
which about household-management it-was-determined and mastership also that
φύσει μέν ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος ζῷον πολιτικόν — διὸ καὶ
by-nature indeed is man animal political therefore even
μηδὲν δεόμενοι τῆς περὶ ἀλλήλων βοηθείας ὀρέγονται τοῦ
nothing needing the about one-another help they-desire the
συζῆν — οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον συνάγει,
living-together not indeed but also the in-common advantageous brings-together
καθ' ὅσον ἐπιβάλλει μέρος ἑκάστῳ τοῦ ζῆν καλῶς.
by as-much-as falls share to-each of-the living well
μάλιστα μὲν οὖν τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τέλος, καὶ κοινῇ πᾶσι
most indeed then this is end both in-common for-all
καὶ χωρίς· συνέρχονται δὲ καὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἕνεκεν αὐτοῦ
and separately they-come-together and also of-the living for-the-sake itself
καὶ συνέχουσι τὴν πολιτικὴν κοινωνίαν, ἴσως γὰρ ἔνεστί
and they-hold-together the political community perhaps for is-in
τι τοῦ καλοῦ μόριον καὶ κατὰ τὸ ζῆν αὐτὸ μόνον,
some of-the noble portion even in the living itself alone
ἂν μὴ τοῖς χαλεποῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον ὑπερβάλλῃ λίαν,
if not with-the hardships of the life exceeds too
δῆλον δ' ὡς καρτεροῦσι πολλὴν κακοπάθειαν οἱ πολλοὶ
clear and that endure much suffering the many
τῶν ἀνθρώπων γλιχόμενοι τοῦ ζῆν, ὡς ἐνούσης τινὸς
of-the men clinging to-the living as being-in some
εὐημερίας ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ γλυκύτητος φυσικῆς.
well-being in it and sweetness natural

Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς γε τοὺς λεγομένους τρόπους
but indeed also of-the rule at-least the so-called modes
ῥᾴδιον διελεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἐξωτερικοῖς λόγοις
easy to-distinguish also for in the external discourses
διοριζόμεθα περὶ αὐτῶν πολλάκις. ἡ μὲν γὰρ δεσποτεία,
we-define about them often the indeed for mastership
καίπερ ὄντος κατ' ἀλήθειαν τῷ τε φύσει δούλῳ καὶ τῷ
although being in truth for-the both by-nature slave and for-the
φύσει δεσπότῃ ταὐτοῦ συμφέροντος, ὅμως ἄρχει πρὸς
by-nature master the-same advantageous nevertheless rules for
τὸ τοῦ δεσπότου συμφέρον οὐδὲν ἧττον, πρὸς δὲ τὸ τοῦ
the of-the master advantage nothing less for but the of-the
δούλου κατὰ συμβεβηκός (οὐ γὰρ ἐνδέχεται φθειρομένου
slave by accident not for it-is-possible being-destroyed
τοῦ δούλου σῴζεσθαι τὴν δεσποτείαν)· ἡ δὲ τέκνων ἀρχὴ
the slave to-be-preserved the mastership the but of-children rule
καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ τῆς οἰκίας πάσης, ἣν δὴ καλοῦμεν
and of-wife and of-the household whole which indeed we-call
οἰκονομικήν, ἤτοι τῶν ἀρχομένων χάριν ἐστὶν ἢ
household-management either of-the ruled for-the-sake is or
κοινοῦ τινὸς ἀμφοῖν, καθ' αὑτὸ μὲν τῶν ἀρχομένων,
of-common something of-both in itself indeed of-the ruled
ὥσπερ ὁρῶμεν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας, οἷον ἰατρικὴν καὶ
just-as we-see also the other arts such-as medicine and
γυμναστικήν, κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς δὲ κἂν αὐτῶν εἶεν.
gymnastics by accident but even of-themselves they-might-be
οὐδὲν γὰρ κωλύει τὸν παιδοτρίβην ἕνα τῶν γυμναζομένων
nothing for prevents the trainer one of-those exercising
ἐνίοτ' εἶναι καὶ αὐτόν, ὥσπερ ὁ κυβερνήτης εἷς ἐστιν ἀεὶ
sometimes to-be also himself just-as the steersman one is always
τῶν πλωτήρων· ὁ μὲν οὖν παιδοτρίβης ἢ κυβερνήτης
of-the sailors the indeed then trainer or steersman

σκοπεῖ τὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἀγαθόν, ὅταν δὲ τούτων εἷς
looks-to the of-the ruled good when and of-these one
γένηται καὶ αὐτός, κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς μετέχει τῆς ὠφελείας.
he-becomes also himself by accident he-shares-in the benefit
ὁ μὲν γὰρ πλωτήρ, ὁ δὲ τῶν γυμναζομένων εἷς
the(-one) indeed for sailor the(-other) and of-those exercising one
γίνεται παιδοτρίβης ὤν. διὸ καὶ τὰς πολιτικὰς ἀρχάς,
becomes trainer being therefore also the political offices
ὅταν ᾖ κατ᾽ ἰσότητα τῶν πολιτῶν συνεστηκυῖα καὶ
when it-is according-to equality of-the citizens constituted and
καθ᾽ ὁμοιότητα, κατὰ μέρος ἀξιοῦσιν ἄρχειν, πρότερον
according-to similarity by part they-claim to-rule earlier
μέν, ᾗ πέφυκεν, ἀξιοῦντες ἐν μέρει λειτουργεῖν, καὶ σκοπεῖν
indeed as is-natural claiming in turn to-serve and to-look-after
τινα πάλιν τὸ αὐτοῦ ἀγαθόν, ὥσπερ πρότερον αὐτὸς
someone again the his-own good just-as before himself
ἄρχων ἐσκόπει τὸ ἐκείνου συμφέρον· νῦν δὲ διὰ τὰς
ruling looked-after the of-that-one advantage now but through the
ὠφελείας τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς
benefits those from the common(-funds) and those from the office
βούλονται συνεχῶς ἄρχειν, οἷον εἰ συνέβαινεν ὑγιαίνειν
they-wish continuously to-rule such-as if it-happened to-be-healthy
ἀεὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσι νοσακεροῖς οὖσιν· καὶ γὰρ ἂν οὕτως
always for-the rulers sickly being also for — thus
ἴσως ἐδίωκον τὰς ἀρχάς. Φανερὸν τοίνυν ὡς ὅσαι
perhaps they-would-pursue the offices evident therefore that as-many-as
μὲν πολιτεῖαι τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον σκοποῦσιν, αὗται μὲν
indeed constitutions the in-common advantageous look-to these indeed
ὀρθαὶ τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι κατὰ τὸ ἁπλῶς δίκαιον· ὅσαι
right happen being by the simply just as-many-as
δὲ τὸ σφέτερον μόνον τῶν ἀρχόντων, ἡμαρτημέναι καὶ
but the their-own only of-the rulers erroneous and

πᾶσαι παρεκβάσεις τῶν ὀρθῶν πολιτειῶν· δεσποτικαὶ γάρ,
all deviations of-the right constitutions despotic for
ἡ δὲ πόλις κοινωνία τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἐστίν.
the but city community of-the free is

VII · THE SIX CONSTITUTIONS

Rule by one, few, or many for the common advantage is kingship, aristocracy, and polity, which bears the common name of all constitutions. A multitude can excel only in military virtue, so in polity the armed, the fighting part, are sovereign. The deviations are tyranny, oligarchy, and democracy, aiming at the advantage of the monarch, the well-off, and the poor, and none at the common good.

Διωρισμένων δὲ τούτων ἐχόμενόν ἐστι τὰς πολιτείας
having-been-determined and these next is the constitutions
ἐπισκέψασθαι, πόσαι τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ τίνες εἰσί, καὶ
to-examine how-many the number and what are and
πρῶτον τὰς ὀρθὰς αὐτῶν· καὶ γὰρ αἱ παρεκβάσεις ἔσονται
first the right of-them also for the deviations will-be
φαναὶ τούτων διορισθεισῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολιτεία μὲν καὶ
evident these having-been-determined since and constitution indeed and
τὸ πολίτευμα σημαίνει ταὐτόν, πολίτευμα δ' ἐστὶ τὸ κύριον
the governing-body signifies the-same governing-body and is the sovereign
τῶν πόλεων, ἀνάγκη δ' εἶναι κύριον ἢ ἕνα ἢ ὀλίγους
of-the cities necessity and to-be sovereign either one or few
ἢ τοὺς πολλούς· ὅταν μὲν ὁ εἷς ἢ οἱ ὀλίγοι ἢ οἱ πολλοὶ
or the many when indeed the one or the few or the many
πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν συμφέρον ἄρχωσι, ταύτας μὲν ὀρθὰς
for the common advantage rule these indeed right
ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὰς πολιτείας, τὰς δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον
necessary to-be the constitutions the(-others) but for the private

ἢ τοῦ ἑνὸς ἢ τῶν ὀλίγων ἢ τοῦ πλήθους παρεκβάσεις.
either of-the one or of-the few or of-the multitude deviations
ἢ γὰρ οὐ πολίτας φατέον εἶναι τοὺς μετέχοντας, ἢ δεῖ
either for not citizens one-must-say to-be those sharing or must
κοινωνεῖν τοῦ συμφέροντος. καλεῖν δ' εἰώθαμεν τῶν μὲν
to-share-in the advantage to-call and we-are-accustomed of-the indeed
μοναρχιῶν τὴν πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν ἀποβλέπουσαν συμφέρον
monarchies the(-one) to the common looking advantage
βασιλείαν, τὴν δὲ τῶν ὀλίγων μὲν πλειόνων δ' ἑνὸς
kingship the and of-the few indeed more but than-one
ἀριστοκρατίαν (ἢ διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἄρχειν, ἢ διὰ τὸ
aristocracy either through the the best to-rule or through the
πρὸς τὸ ἄριστον τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς κοινωνοῦσιν αὐτῆς),
toward the best for-the city and for-those sharing it
ὅταν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν πολιτεύηται συμφέρον,
when and the multitude for the common governs advantage
καλεῖται τὸ κοινὸν ὄνομα πασῶν τῶν πολιτειῶν, πολιτεία.
is-called the common name of-all the constitutions polity
(συμβαίνει δ' εὐλόγως· ἕνα μὲν γὰρ διαφέρειν κατ' ἀρετὴν
it-happens and reasonably one indeed for to-excel in virtue
ἢ ὀλίγους ἐνδέχεται, πλείους δ' ἤδη χαλεπὸν ἠκριβῶσθαι
or few it-is-possible more but already difficult to-be-perfected
πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀρετήν, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα τὴν πολεμικήν· αὕτη γὰρ
in all virtue but most the military(-virtue) this for
ἐν πλήθει γίγνεται· διόπερ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν πολιτείαν
in multitude arises therefore according-to this the constitution
κυριώτατον τὸ προπολεμοῦν καὶ μετέχουσιν αὐτῆς οἱ
most-sovereign the fighting-in-defense(-part) and share it those
κεκτημένοι τὰ ὅπλα.) παρεκβάσεις δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων
possessing the arms deviations and of-the said(-constitutions)
τυραννὶς μὲν βασιλείας, ὀλιγαρχία δὲ ἀριστοκρατίας,
tyranny indeed of-kingship oligarchy and of-aristocracy

δημοκρατία δὲ πολιτείας. ἡ μὲν γὰρ τυραννίς ἐστι
democracy and of-polity the indeed for tyranny is
μοναρχία πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον τὸ τοῦ μοναρχοῦντος, ἡ δ'
monarchy for the advantage the of-the monarch the and
ὀλιγαρχία πρὸς τὸ τῶν εὐπόρων, ἡ δὲ δημοκρατία
oligarchy for the(-advantage) of-the well-off the and democracy
πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον τὸ τῶν ἀπόρων· πρὸς δὲ τὸ τῷ
for the advantage the of-the poor for but the(-thing) to-the
κοινῷ λυσιτελοῦν οὐδεμία αὐτῶν.
common profitable none of-them

VIII · WEALTH, NOT NUMBER

There are difficulties in defining these: is democracy the rule of the many or of the poor? That the rich are few and the poor many is an accident; the real difference is wealth and poverty. Wherever men rule by wealth, whether few or many, it is oligarchy, and where the poor rule, democracy; but since few are rich, while all share freedom, these are the grounds on which both dispute the constitution.

Δεῖ δὲ μικρῷ διὰ μακροτέρων εἰπεῖν τίς ἑκάστη τούτων
must and a-little at greater-length to-say what each of-these
τῶν πολιτειῶν ἐστιν· καὶ γὰρ ἔχει τινὰς ἀπορίας, τῷ
the constitutions is also for it-has some difficulties for-the(-one)
δὲ περὶ ἑκάστην μέθοδον φιλοσοφοῦντι καὶ μὴ μόνον
and about each inquiry philosophizing and not only
ἀποβλέποντι πρὸς τὸ πράττειν οἰκεῖόν ἐστι τὸ μὴ παρορᾶν
looking to the to-act proper is the not to-overlook
μηδέ τι καταλείπειν, ἀλλὰ δηλοῦν τὴν περὶ ἕκαστον
nor anything to-leave-out but to-make-clear the about each
ἀλήθειαν. ἔστι δὲ τυραννὶς μὲν μοναρχία, καθάπερ εἴρηται,
truth is and tyranny indeed monarchy just-as has-been-said

δεσποτικὴ τῆς πολιτικῆς κοινωνίας, ὀλιγαρχία δ' ὅταν ὦσι
despotic over-the political community oligarchy and when are
κύριοι τῆς πολιτείας οἱ τὰς οὐσίας ἔχοντες, δημοκρατία
sovereign of-the constitution those the properties having democracy
δὲ τοὐναντίον ὅταν οἱ μὴ κεκτημένοι πλῆθος οὐσίας ἀλλ'
and on-the-contrary when those not having amount of-property but
ἄποροι. πρώτη δ' ἀπορία πρὸς τὸν διορισμόν ἐστιν. εἰ γὰρ
poor first and difficulty regarding the definition is if for
εἶεν οἱ πλείους ὄντες εὔποροι κύριοι τῆς πόλεως, δημοκρατία
were the more being well-off sovereign of-the city democracy
δ' ἐστὶν ὅταν ᾖ κύριον τὸ πλῆθος· ὁμοίως δὲ πάλιν κἂν εἴ
and is when is sovereign the multitude similarly and again even if
που συμβαίνοι τοὺς ἀπόρους ἐλάττους μὲν εἶναι τῶν
somewhere it-should-happen the poor fewer indeed to-be than-the
εὐπόρων, κρείττους δ' ὄντας κυρίους εἶναι τῆς πολιτείας,
well-off stronger and being sovereign to-be of-the constitution
ὅπου δ' ὀλίγον κύριον πλῆθος, ὀλιγαρχίαν εἶναί φασιν· οὐκ
where and small sovereign multitude oligarchy to-be they-say not
ἂν καλῶς δόξειεν διωρίσθαι περὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν.
— *well it-would-seem to-have-been-determined about the constitutions*
ἀλλὰ μὴν κἂν εἴ τις συνθεὶς τῇ μὲν εὐπορίᾳ τὴν
but indeed even if one combining with-the indeed wealth the
ὀλιγότητα τῇ δ' ἀπορίᾳ τὸ πλῆθος οὕτω προσαγορεύοι
fewness with-the and poverty the multitude thus should-name
τὰς πολιτείας, ὀλιγαρχίαν μὲν ἐν ᾗ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχουσιν οἱ
the constitutions oligarchy indeed in which the offices hold the
εὔποροι ὀλίγοι τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες, δημοκρατίαν δὲ ἐν ᾗ οἱ
well-off few the number being democracy and in which the
ἄποροι πολλοὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες, ἄλλην ἀπορίαν ἔχει. τίνας
poor many the number being another difficulty it-has which
γὰρ ἐροῦμεν τὰς ἄρτι λεχθείσας πολιτείας, τὴν ἐν ᾗ
for shall-we-call the just mentioned constitutions the(-one) in which

πλείους εὔποροι καὶ ἐν ᾗ ἐλάττους οἱ ἄποροι, κύριοι δ'
more well-off and in which fewer the poor sovereign but
ἑκάτεροι τῶν πολιτειῶν, εἴπερ μηδεμία ἄλλη πολιτεία παρὰ
each of-the constitutions if-indeed no other constitution beside
τὰς εἰρημένας ἔστιν; ἔοικε τοίνυν ὁ λόγος ποιεῖν δῆλον ὅτι
the said is it-seems therefore the argument to-make clear that
τὸ μὲν ὀλίγους ἢ πολλοὺς εἶναι κυρίους συμβεβηκός ἐστιν,
the indeed few or many to-be sovereign accidental is
τὸ μὲν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις τὸ δὲ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις,
the(-one) indeed to-the oligarchies the(-other) and to-the democracies
διὰ τὸ τοὺς μὲν εὐπόρους ὀλίγους, πολλοὺς δ' εἶναι τοὺς
through the the indeed well-off few many and to-be the
ἀπόρους πανταχοῦ (διὸ καὶ οὐ συμβαίνει τὰς ῥηθείσας
poor everywhere therefore also not happens the stated
αἰτίας γίνεσθαι διαφορᾶς), ᾧ δὲ διαφέρουσιν ἥ τε
causes to-be of-difference by-what and they-differ the both
δημοκρατία καὶ ἡ ὀλιγαρχία ἀλλήλων, πενία καὶ πλοῦτός
democracy and the oligarchy from-one-another poverty and wealth
ἐστιν, καὶ ἀναγκαῖον μέν, ὅπου ἂν ἄρχωσι διὰ πλοῦτον ἄν
is and necessary indeed where — they-rule through wealth if
τ' ἐλάττους ἄν τε πλείους, εἶναι ταύτην ὀλιγαρχίαν, ὅπου δ'
both fewer if and more to-be this oligarchy where but
οἱ ἄποροι, δημοκρατίαν, ἀλλὰ συμβαίνει, καθάπερ εἴπομεν,
the poor democracy but it-happens just-as we-said
τοὺς μὲν ὀλίγους εἶναι τοὺς δὲ πολλούς. εὐποροῦσι
the(-ones) indeed few to-be the(-others) and many are-well-off
μὲν γὰρ ὀλίγοι, τῆς δὲ ἐλευθερίας μετέχουσι πάντες.
indeed for few of-the but freedom share all
δι' ἃς αἰτίας ἀμφισβητοῦσιν ἀμφότεροι τῆς πολιτείας.
through which causes dispute both of-the constitution

Both sides grasp a part of justice: the democrats hold it equality, the oligarchs inequality, and each is right for equals or unequals, but they judge badly in their own case. The city exists not for life alone, nor for alliance or trade, as Tyrrhenians and Carthaginians have treaties, nor for living in one place, but for noble actions, so that those who contribute most to these deserve more than those equal or greater in freedom, birth, or wealth but less in virtue.

Ληπτέον δὲ πρῶτον τίνας ὅρους λέγουσι τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας
one-must-grasp and first what definitions they-state of-the oligarchy
καὶ δημοκρατίας, καὶ τί τὸ δίκαιον τό τε ὀλιγαρχικὸν
and democracy and what the just the both oligarchic
καὶ δημοκρατικόν. πάντες γὰρ ἅπτονται δικαίου τινός,
and democratic all for lay-hold-of justice some
ἀλλὰ μέχρι τινὸς προέρχονται, καὶ λέγουσιν οὐ πᾶν
but to a-certain(-point) they-go and they-state not all
τὸ κυρίως δίκαιον. οἷον δοκεῖ ἴσον τὸ δίκαιον εἶναι, καὶ
the properly just such-as it-seems equal the just to-be and
ἔστιν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ πᾶσιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἴσοις· καὶ τὸ ἄνισον δοκεῖ
it-is but not for-all but for-the equal and the unequal seems
δίκαιον εἶναι, καὶ γὰρ ἔστιν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ πᾶσιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς
just to-be and for it-is but not for-all but for-the
ἀνίσοις· οἱ δὲ τοῦτ᾽ ἀφαιροῦσι, τὸ οἷς, καὶ κρίνουσι
unequal the(-ones) but this take-away the for-whom and they-judge
κακῶς. τὸ δ᾽ αἴτιον ὅτι περὶ αὑτῶν ἡ κρίσις· σχεδὸν δ᾽
badly the and cause that about themselves the judgment nearly and
οἱ πλεῖστοι φαῦλοι κριταὶ περὶ τῶν οἰκείων. ὥστ᾽ ἐπεὶ
the most base judges about the own(-affairs) so-that since
τὸ δίκαιον τισίν, καὶ διῄρηται τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον
the just for-some(-persons) and is-divided the same manner
ἐπί τε τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ οἷς, καθάπερ εἴρηται
in both the things and for-whom just-as has-been-said

πρότερον ἐν τοῖς ἠθικοῖς, τὴν μὲν τοῦ πράγματος ἰσότητα
before in the ethics the indeed of-the thing equality
ὁμολογοῦσι, τὴν δὲ οἷς ἀμφισβητοῦσι· μάλιστα
they-agree-on the(-equality) but for-whom they-dispute most
μὲν διὰ τὸ λεχθὲν ἄρτι, διότι κρίνουσι τὰ
indeed through the(-thing) said just-now because they-judge the(-things)
περὶ αὑτοὺς κακῶς, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ λέγειν μέχρι
about themselves badly then and also through the to-speak to
τινὸς ἑκατέρους δίκαιόν τι νομίζουσι δίκαιον
a-certain(-point) each just something they-think just
λέγειν ἁπλῶς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἂν κατά τι ἄνισοι
to-speak simply the(-ones) indeed for if in something unequal
ὦσιν, οἷον χρήμασιν, ὅλως οἴονται ἄνισοι εἶναι· οἱ
they-are such-as in-money wholly think unequal to-be the(-others)
δ' ἂν κατά τι ἴσοι, οἷον ἐλευθερίᾳ, ὅλως ἴσοι.
and if in something equal such-as in-freedom wholly equal
τὸ δὲ κυριώτατον οὐ λέγουσιν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν
the but most-sovereign(-point) not they-state if indeed for of-the
κτημάτων χάριν ἐκοινώνησαν καὶ συνῆλθον, τοσοῦτον
possessions for-the-sake they-formed-a-community and came-together so-much
μετέχουσι τῆς πόλεως ὅσον περ καὶ τῆς κτήσεως,
they-share in-the city as-much-as indeed also of-the property
ὥσθ' ὁ τῶν ὀλιγαρχικῶν λόγος δόξειεν ἂν ἰσχύειν (οὐ
so-that the of-the oligarchs argument would-seem — to-be-strong not
γὰρ εἶναι δίκαιον ἴσον μετέχειν τῶν ἑκατὸν μνῶν τὸν
for to-be just equally to-share of-the hundred minas the(-one)
εἰσενέγκαντα μίαν μνᾶν τῷ δόντι τὸ λοιπὸν πᾶν,
having-contributed one mina with-the(-one) having-given the rest all
οὔτε τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὔτε τῶν ἐπιγινομένων)· εἰ δὲ μήτε
neither of-the from beginning nor of-the accruing(-interest) if but neither
τοῦ ζῆν μόνον ἕνεκεν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τοῦ εὖ ζῆν (καὶ
of-the living only for-the-sake but rather of-the well to-live also

γὰρ ἂν δούλων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων ἦν πόλις· νῦν
for — of-slaves and of-the other animals there-would-be a-city now
δ' οὐκ ἔστι διὰ τὸ μὴ μετέχειν εὐδαιμονίας μηδὲ τοῦ
but not is through the not to-share in-happiness nor in-the
ζῆν κατὰ προαίρεσιν), μήτε συμμαχίας ἕνεκεν, ὅπως
living according-to choice nor of-alliance for-the-sake so-that
ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἀδικῶνται, μήτε διὰ τὰς ἀλλαγὰς καὶ
by no-one they-may-be-wronged nor through the exchanges and
τὴν χρῆσιν τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους — καὶ γὰρ ἂν Τυρρηνοὶ
the dealing the with one-another also for — Tyrrhenians
καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ πάντες οἷς ἔστι σύμβολα πρὸς
and Carthaginians and all for-whom are treaties with
ἀλλήλους, ὡς μιᾶς ἂν πολῖται πόλεως ἦσαν. εἰσὶ γοῦν
one-another as of-one — citizens city would-be are at-any-rate
αὐτοῖς συνθῆκαι περὶ τῶν εἰσαγωγίμων καὶ σύμβολα περὶ
for-them agreements about the imports and treaties about
τοῦ μὴ ἀδικεῖν καὶ γραφαὶ περὶ συμμαχίας·
the not to-do-wrong and written-covenants about alliance
ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἀρχαὶ πᾶσιν ἐπὶ τούτοις κοιναὶ καθεστᾶσιν, ἀλλ'
but neither offices for-all over these common are-established but
ἕτεραι παρ' ἑκατέροις, οὔτε τοῦ ποίους τινὰς εἶναι δεῖ
different among each nor of-the of-what-sort some to-be they-must
φροντίζουσιν ἄτεροι τοὺς ἑτέρους, οὐδ' ὅπως μηδεὶς ἄδικος
take-thought the-ones the other nor that no-one unjust
ἔσται τῶν ὑπὸ τὰς συνθήκας μηδὲ μοχθηρίαν ἕξει
will-be of-those under the agreements nor wickedness will-have
μηδεμίαν, ἀλλὰ μόνον ὅπως μηδὲν ἀδικήσουσιν ἀλλήλους.
any but only that nothing they-will-wrong one-another
περὶ δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας πολιτικῆς διασκοποῦσιν ὅσοι
about but virtue and vice civic they-examine as-many-as
φροντίζουσιν εὐνομίας. ᾗ καὶ φανερὸν ὅτι δεῖ περὶ
take-thought-for good-order whereby also evident that must about

ἀρετῆς ἐπιμελὲς εἶναι τῇ γ' ὡς ἀληθῶς ὀνομαζομένῃ
virtue concerned to-be the at-least as truly so-named
πόλει, μὴ λόγου χάριν. γίγνεται γὰρ ἡ κοινωνία
city not of-name for-the-sake becomes for the community
συμμαχία, τῶν ἄλλων τόπῳ διαφέρουσα μόνον τῶν
alliance from-the others in-place differing only the
ἄποθεν συμμάχων. καὶ ὁ νόμος συνθήκη καὶ καθάπερ ἔφη
far-off allies and the law agreement and just-as said
Λυκόφρων ὁ σοφιστής, ἐγγυητὴς ἀλλήλοις τῶν δικαίων,
Lycophron the sophist guarantor to-one-another of-the just
ἀλλ' οὐχ οἷος ποιεῖν ἀγαθοὺς καὶ δικαίους τοὺς πολίτας.
but not such-as-to to-make good and just the citizens
ὅτι δὲ τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον, φανερόν. εἰ γάρ τις
that and this has the manner evident if for someone
καὶ συναγάγοι τοὺς τόπους εἰς ἕν, ὥστε ἅπτεσθαι τὴν
even should-bring-together the places into one so-as to-touch the
Μεγαρέων πόλιν καὶ Κορινθίων τοῖς τείχεσιν, ὅμως οὐ μία
of-Megarians city and of-Corinthians with-the walls still not one
πόλις. οὐδ' εἰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπιγαμίας ποιήσαιντο·
city not-even if with one-another rights-of-intermarriage they-should-make
καίτοι τοῦτο τῶν ἰδίων ταῖς πόλεσι κοινωνημάτων ἐστίν.
and-yet this of-the peculiar to-the cities partnerships is
ὁμοίως δ' οὐδ' εἴ τινες οἰκοῖεν χωρὶς μέν, μὴ μέντοι
similarly and not-even if some should-dwell separately indeed not however
τοσοῦτον ἄποθεν ὥστε μὴ κοινωνεῖν, ἀλλ' εἴησαν αὐτοῖς
so-much far so-as not to-associate but there-should-be for-them
νόμοι τοῦ μὴ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀδικεῖν περὶ τὰς μεταδόσεις,
laws of-the not them themselves to-wrong about the exchanges
οἷον εἰ ὁ μὲν εἴη τέκτων ὁ δὲ γεωργὸς ὁ
such-as if the(-one) indeed were a-carpenter the(-other) and farmer the(-other)
δὲ σκυτοτόμος ὁ δ' ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον, καὶ τὸ
and shoemaker the(-other) and other something such and the

πλῆθος εἶεν μύριοι, μὴ μέντοι κοινωνοῖεν ἄλλου μηδενὸς
number were ten-thousand not however they-should-share in-other nothing
ἢ τῶν τοιούτων, οἷον ἀλλαγῆς καὶ συμμαχίας, οὐδ'
than in-the such(-things) such-as exchange and alliance not-even
οὕτω πω πόλις.
so yet a-city
διὰ τίνα δή ποτ' αἰτίαν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ διὰ τὸ μὴ
through what indeed ever cause not for indeed through the not
σύνεγγυς τῆς κοινωνίας· εἰ γὰρ καὶ συνέλθοιεν οὕτω
near of-the community if for even they-should-come-together thus
κοινωνοῦντες (ἕκαστος μέντοι χρῷτο τῇ ἰδίᾳ οἰκίᾳ ὥσπερ
associating each however should-use the own household just-as
πόλει) καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐπιμαχίας οὔσης βοηθοῦντες
city and to-themselves themselves as defensive-alliance being helping
ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας μόνον, οὐδ' οὕτως ἂν εἶναι
against those wronging only not-even so — to-be
δόξειεν πόλις τοῖς ἀκριβῶς θεωροῦσιν, εἴπερ ὁμοίως
it-would-seem a-city to-those precisely observing if-indeed similarly
ὁμιλοῖεν συνελθόντες καὶ χωρίς. φανερὸν τοίνυν ὅτι
they-should-associate having-come-together and separately evident therefore that
ἡ πόλις οὐκ ἔστι κοινωνία τόπου καὶ τοῦ μὴ ἀδικεῖν
the city not is community of-place and of-the not to-wrong
σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ τῆς μεταδόσεως χάριν· ἀλλὰ ταῦτα
them themselves and of-the exchange for-the-sake but these-things
μὲν ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν, εἴπερ ἔσται πόλις, οὐ μὴν
indeed necessary to-exist if-indeed there-will-be a-city not however
οὐδ' ὑπαρχόντων τούτων ἁπάντων ἤδη πόλις, ἀλλ' ἡ τοῦ
even existing these all already a-city but the of-the
εὖ ζῆν κοινωνία καὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις καὶ τοῖς γένεσι, ζωῆς
well to-live community both for-the households and for-the families of-life
τελείας χάριν καὶ αὐτάρκους. οὐκ ἔσται μέντοι τοῦτο
complete for-the-sake and self-sufficient not will-be however this

μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἕνα κατοικούντων τόπον καὶ χρωμένων
not the same and one inhabiting place and using
ἐπιγαμίαις. διὸ κηδεῖαί τ' ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὰς
intermarriages therefore marriage-connections both arose in the
πόλεις καὶ φατρίαι καὶ θυσίαι καὶ διαγωγαὶ τοῦ συζῆν.
cities and brotherhoods and sacrifices and pastimes of-the living-together
τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον φιλίας ἔργον· ἡ γὰρ τοῦ συζῆν
the and such(-thing) of-friendship work the for of-the living-together
προαίρεσις φιλία. τέλος μὲν οὖν πόλεως τὸ εὖ ζῆν, ταῦτα
choice friendship end indeed then of-city the well to-live these-things
δὲ τοῦ τέλους χάριν· πόλις δὲ ἡ γενῶν καὶ κωμῶν
but of-the end for-the-sake city and the of-families and villages
κοινωνία ζωῆς τελείας καὶ αὐτάρκους χάριν. τοῦτο δ' ἐστίν,
community of-life complete and self-sufficient for-the-sake this and is
ὡς φαμέν, τὸ ζῆν εὐδαιμόνως καὶ καλῶς. τῶν καλῶν ἄρα
as we-say the to-live happily and nobly of-the noble then
πράξεων χάριν θετέον εἶναι τὴν πολιτικὴν κοινωνίαν,
actions for-the-sake one-must-posit to-be the political community
ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦ συζῆν. διόπερ ὅσοι συμβάλλονται πλεῖστον
but not of-the living-together therefore as-many-as contribute most
εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην κοινωνίαν, τούτοις τῆς πόλεως μέτεστι
to the such community to-these in-the city belongs
πλεῖον ἢ τοῖς κατὰ μὲν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ γένος ἴσοις ἢ
more than to-those in indeed freedom and birth equal or
μείζοσι κατὰ δὲ τὴν πολιτικὴν ἀρετὴν ἀνίσοις, ἢ τοῖς κατὰ
greater in but the political virtue unequal or to-those in
πλοῦτον ὑπερέχουσι κατ' ἀρετὴν δ' ὑπερεχομένοις. Ὅτι μὲν
wealth exceeding in virtue but being-exceeded that indeed
οὖν πάντες οἱ περὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν ἀμφισβητοῦντες μέρος
then all those about the constitutions disputing part
τι τοῦ δικαίου λέγουσι, φανερὸν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων.
some of-the just state evident from the(-things) said

X · WHO SHOULD BE SOVEREIGN?

Who should be sovereign, the multitude, the rich, the decent, the one best man, or a tyrant? Each answer has difficulties. If the poor divide the property of the rich, that destroys the city, and it is unjust when the rich do the like; if the decent rule, the rest are dishonored, and one ruler dishonors more. If law is sovereign, the law itself may be oligarchic or democratic, and the same difficulties result.

Ἔχει δ' ἀπορίαν, τί δεῖ τὸ κύριον εἶναι τῆς πόλεως. ἢ
it-has and a-difficulty what must the sovereign to-be of-the city either
γάρ τοι τὸ πλῆθος, ἢ τοὺς πλουσίους, ἢ τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς, ἢ
for surely the multitude or the rich or the decent or
τὸν βέλτιστον ἕνα πάντων, ἢ τύραννον. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα
the best one of-all or a-tyrant but these all
ἔχειν φαίνεται δυσκολίαν. τί γάρ; ἂν οἱ πένητες διὰ τὸ
to-have appears difficulty what for if the poor through the
πλείους εἶναι διανέμωνται τὰ τῶν πλουσίων, τοῦτ' οὐκ
more to-be divide-up the(-things) of-the rich this not
ἄδικόν ἐστιν; ἔδοξε γὰρ νὴ Δία τῷ κυρίῳ δικαίως.
unjust is it-seemed-good for by Zeus to-the sovereign(-body) justly
τὴν οὖν ἀδικίαν τί χρὴ λέγειν τὴν ἐσχάτην; πάλιν τε
the then injustice what one-must to-call the extreme again and
πάντων ληφθέντων, οἱ πλείους τὰ τῶν ἐλαττόνων ἂν
all being-taken the more the(-things) of-the fewer if
διανέμωνται, φανερὸν ὅτι φθείρουσι τὴν πόλιν· ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐχ
divide-up evident that they-destroy the city but indeed not
ἥ γ' ἀρετὴ φθείρει τὸ ἔχον αὐτήν, οὐδὲ τὸ δίκαιον
the at-least virtue destroys the(-thing) having it nor the just
πόλεως φθαρτικόν· ὥστε δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τὸν νόμον τοῦτον
of-city destructive so-that clear that also the law this
οὐχ οἷόν τ' εἶναι δίκαιον. ἔτι καὶ τὰς πράξεις ὅσας ὁ
not possible — to-be just further also the acts as-many-as the

τύραννος ἔπραξεν, ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πάσας δικαίας· βιάζεται
tyrant did necessary to-be all just he-uses-force
γὰρ ὢν κρείττων, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τοὺς πλουσίους.
for being stronger just-as also the multitude the rich
ἀλλ᾽ ἆρα τοὺς ἐλάττους δίκαιον ἄρχειν καὶ τοὺς πλουσίους;
but then the fewer just to-rule and the rich
ἂν οὖν κἀκεῖνοι ταῦτα ποιῶσι καὶ διαρπάζωσι καὶ τὰ
if then even-they these-things do and plunder and the
κτήματα ἀφαιρῶνται τοῦ πλήθους, τοῦτ᾽ ἐστὶ δίκαιον;
possessions take-away of-the multitude this is just
καὶ θάτερον ἄρα. ταῦτα μὲν τοίνυν ὅτι πάντα φαῦλα
and the-other then these-things indeed therefore that all bad
καὶ οὐ δίκαια, φανερόν· ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς ἄρχειν δεῖ
and not just evident but the decent to-rule must
καὶ κυρίους εἶναι πάντων; οὐκοῦν ἀνάγκη τοὺς ἄλλους
and sovereign to-be over-all then necessity the others
ἀτίμους εἶναι πάντας, μὴ τιμωμένους ταῖς πολιτικαῖς
dishonored to-be all not being-honored with-the political
ἀρχαῖς· τιμὰς γὰρ λέγομεν εἶναι τὰς ἀρχάς, ἀρχόντων
offices honors for we-say to-be the offices ruling
δ᾽ αἰεὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τοὺς ἄλλους ἀτίμους.
and always the same necessary to-be the others dishonored
ἀλλ᾽ ἕνα τὸν σπουδαιότατον ἄρχειν βέλτιον; ἀλλ᾽ ἔτι
but one the most-excellent to-rule better but still
τοῦτο ὀλιγαρχικώτερον· οἱ γὰρ ἄτιμοι πλείους. ἀλλ᾽ ἴσως
this more-oligarchic the for dishonored more but perhaps
φαίη τις ἂν τὸ κύριον ὅλως ἄνθρωπον εἶναι ἀλλὰ
might-say someone — the sovereign wholly a-man to-be but
μὴ νόμον φαῦλον, ἔχοντά γε τὰ συμβαίνοντα πάθη
not law bad having at-least the resulting affections
περὶ τὴν ψυχήν. ἂν οὖν ᾖ νόμος μὲν ὀλιγαρχικὸς δὲ
about the soul if then be law indeed oligarchic but

ἢ δημοκρατικός, τί διοίσει περὶ τῶν ἠπορημένων;
or democratic what will-it-differ about the difficulties-raised
συμβήσεται γὰρ ὁμοίως τὰ λεχθέντα πρότερον.
will-result for similarly the(-things) said before

XI · THE WISDOM OF THE MANY

The many, none excellent alone, may be better together, as a feast to which many contribute beats one man's, and they judge music and poetry better in a body. This may not hold of every multitude. Shutting out the many fills a city with enemies, so they deliberate and judge, as Solon gave them elections and audits. The user judges a house, the guest a feast, and the assembly outweighs any officer. Rightly made laws should be sovereign, and laws follow the constitution.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἄλλων ἔστω τις ἕτερος λόγος· ὅτι δὲ
about indeed then the others let-be some other discussion that but
δεῖ κύριον εἶναι μᾶλλον τὸ πλῆθος ἢ τοὺς ἀρίστους μὲν
must sovereign to-be rather the multitude than the best indeed
ὀλίγους δέ, δόξειεν ἂν λύεσθαι καί τιν' ἔχειν ἀπολογίαν,
few but would-seem — to-be-solved and some to-have defense
τάχα δὲ κἂν ἀλήθειαν. τοὺς γὰρ πολλούς, ὧν ἕκαστός
perhaps but even truth the for many of-whom each
ἐστιν οὐ σπουδαῖος ἀνήρ, ὅμως ἐνδέχεται συνελθόντας
is not excellent man still it-is-possible having-come-together
εἶναι βελτίους ἐκείνων, οὐχ ὡς ἕκαστον ἀλλ' ὡς σύμπαντας,
to-be better than-those not as each but as all-together
οἷον τὰ συμφορητὰ δεῖπνα τῶν ἐκ μιᾶς δαπάνης
such-as the jointly-contributed dinners than-those from one expense
χορηγηθέντων· πολλῶν γὰρ ὄντων ἕκαστον μόριον ἔχειν
furnished many for being each part to-have
ἀρετῆς καὶ φρονήσεως, καὶ γίνεσθαι συνελθόντων ὥσπερ ἕνα
of-virtue and of-prudence and to-become having-come-together just-as one

ἄνθρωπον τὸ πλῆθος, πολύποδα καὶ πολύχειρα καὶ πολλὰς
man the multitude many-footed and many-handed and many
ἔχοντ᾽ αἰσθήσεις, οὕτω καὶ περὶ τὰ ἤθη καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν.
having senses so also about the characters and the intellect
διὸ καὶ κρίνουσιν ἄμεινον οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ τὰ τῆς μουσικῆς
therefore also judge better the many both the of-the music
ἔργα καὶ τὰ τῶν ποιητῶν· ἄλλοι γὰρ ἄλλο τι μόριον,
works and the(-works) of-the poets others for other some part
πάντα δὲ πάντες. ἀλλὰ τούτῳ διαφέρουσιν οἱ σπουδαῖοι τῶν
all and all but in-this differ the excellent of-the
ἀνδρῶν ἑκάστου τῶν πολλῶν, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν μὴ καλῶν
men from-each of-the many just-as also from-the not beautiful
τοὺς καλούς φασι καὶ τὰ γεγραμμένα διὰ τέχνης τῶν
the beautiful they-say and the painted(-things) by art from-the
ἀληθινῶν, τῷ συνῆχθαι τὰ διεσπαρμένα χωρὶς εἰς ἕν,
real by-the to-have-been-collected the scattered separately into one
ἐπεὶ κεχωρισμένων γε κάλλιον ἔχειν τοῦ γεγραμμένου
since separated at-least more-beautiful to-be than-the painted
τουδὶ μὲν τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἑτέρου δέ τινος ἕτερον μόριον.
of-this-one indeed the eye of-another and some another part
εἰ μὲν οὖν περὶ πάντα δῆμον καὶ περὶ πᾶν πλῆθος
whether indeed then about every people and about every multitude
ἐνδέχεται ταύτην εἶναι τὴν διαφορὰν τῶν πολλῶν πρὸς τοὺς
it-is-possible this to-be the difference of-the many against the
ὀλίγους σπουδαίους, ἄδηλον, ἴσως δὲ νὴ Δία δῆλον ὅτι περὶ
few excellent unclear perhaps but by Zeus clear that about
ἐνίων ἀδύνατον (ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς κἂν ἐπὶ τῶν θηρίων ἁρμόσειε
some impossible the for same even to the beasts would-fit
λόγος· καίτοι τί διαφέρουσιν ἔνιοι τῶν θηρίων ὡς ἔπος
argument and-yet what differ some from-the beasts so a-word
εἰπεῖν;)· ἀλλὰ περὶ τί πλῆθος οὐδὲν εἶναι κωλύει τὸ λεχθὲν
to-say but about some multitude nothing to-be prevents the said(-thing)

ἀληθές. διὸ καὶ τὴν πρότερον εἰρημένην ἀπορίαν λύσειεν
true therefore also the earlier stated difficulty might-solve
ἄν τις διὰ τούτων καὶ τὴν ἐχομένην αὐτῆς, τίνων δεῖ
— someone through these and the following it over-what must
κυρίους εἶναι τοὺς ἐλευθέρους καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολιτῶν·
sovereign to-be the free and the multitude of-the citizens
τοιοῦτοι δ' εἰσὶν ὅσοι μήτε πλούσιοι μήτε ἀξίωμα
such and are as-many-as neither rich nor worth
ἔχουσιν ἀρετῆς μηδὲ ἕν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ μετέχειν αὐτοὺς τῶν
have of-virtue not-even one the indeed for to-share them of-the
ἀρχῶν τῶν μεγίστων οὐκ ἀσφαλές (διά τε γὰρ ἀδικίαν
offices the greatest not safe through both for injustice
καὶ δι' ἀφροσύνην τὰ μὲν ἀδικεῖν ἂν τὰ δ'
and through folly in-some-things indeed to-do-wrong — in-others and
ἁμαρτάνειν αὐτούς)· τὸ δὲ μὴ μεταδιδόναι μηδὲ μετέχειν
to-err them the but not to-give-a-share nor to-share
φοβερόν (ὅταν γὰρ ἄτιμοι πολλοὶ καὶ πένητες ὑπάρχωσι,
formidable when for dishonored many and poor exist
πολεμίων ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πλήρη τὴν πόλιν ταύτην).
of-enemies necessary to-be full the city this
λείπεται δὴ τοῦ βουλεύεσθαι καὶ κρίνειν μετέχειν αὐτούς.
remains indeed in-the to-deliberate and to-judge to-share them
διόπερ καὶ Σόλων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινὲς νομοθετῶν τάττουσιν
therefore both Solon and of-the other some lawgivers assign(-them)
ἐπί τε τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας καὶ τὰς εὐθύνας τῶν ἀρχόντων,
to both the elections and the audits of-the rulers
ἄρχειν δὲ κατὰ μόνας οὐκ ἐῶσιν. πάντες μὲν γὰρ ἔχουσι
to-rule but by alone not they-allow all indeed for have
συνελθόντες ἱκανὴν αἴσθησιν, καὶ μιγνύμενοι τοῖς βελτίοσι
having-come-together sufficient perception and mixed with-the better
τὰς πόλεις ὠφελοῦσιν, καθάπερ ἡ μὴ καθαρὰ τροφὴ
the cities benefit just-as the not pure food

μετὰ τῆς καθαρᾶς τὴν πᾶσαν ποιεῖ χρησιμωτέραν τῆς
with the pure the whole makes more-useful than-the
ὀλίγης· χωρὶς δ' ἕκαστος ἀτελὴς περὶ τὸ κρίνειν ἐστίν.
little separately but each incomplete about the to-judge is
ἔχει δ' ἡ τάξις αὕτη τῆς πολιτείας ἀπορίαν πρώτην μὲν
has and the arrangement this of-the constitution difficulty first indeed
ὅτι δόξειεν ἂν τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἶναι τὸ κρῖναι τίς ὀρθῶς ἰάτρευκεν,
that would-seem — of-the same to-be the to-judge who rightly has-treated
οὗπερ καὶ τὸ ἰατρεῦσαι καὶ ποιῆσαι ὑγιᾶ τὸν κάμνοντα
whose-very also the to-treat and to-make healthy the(-one) suffering
τῆς νόσου τῆς παρούσης· οὗτος δ' ἐστὶν ἰατρός. ὁμοίως
from-the disease the present this and is physician similarly
δὲ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐμπειρίας καὶ τέχνας. ὥσπερ
and this also about the other experiences and arts just-as
οὖν ἰατρὸν δεῖ διδόναι τὰς εὐθύνας ἐν ἰατροῖς, οὕτω καὶ
then physician must to-give the audits among physicians so also
τοὺς ἄλλους ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις. ἰατρὸς δ' ὅ τε δημιουργὸς
the others among the like physician and the both craftsman
καὶ ὁ ἀρχιτεκτονικὸς καὶ τρίτος ὁ πεπαιδευμένος περὶ
and the master-builder and third the(-one) educated about
τὴν τέχνην (εἰσὶ γάρ τινες τοιοῦτοι καὶ περὶ πάσας ὡς
the art are for some such also about all so
εἰπεῖν τὰς τέχνας)· ἀποδίδομεν δὲ τὸ κρίνειν οὐδὲν ἧττον
to-say the arts we-assign and the to-judge no less
τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις ἢ τοῖς εἰδόσιν. ἔπειτα καὶ περὶ τὴν
to-the educated than to-those knowing then also about the
αἵρεσιν τὸν αὐτὸν ἂν δόξειεν ἔχειν τρόπον. καὶ γὰρ τὸ
election the same — would-seem to-have manner also for the
ἑλέσθαι ὀρθῶς τῶν εἰδότων ἔργον ἐστίν, οἷον γεωμέτρην
to-choose rightly of-those knowing work is such-as geometer
τε τῶν γεωμετρικῶν καὶ κυβερνήτην τῶν κυβερνητικῶν.
both of-the geometers and steersman of-the steersmen

εἰ γὰρ καὶ περὶ ἐνίων ἔργων καὶ τεχνῶν μετέχουσι καὶ
if for even about some works and arts share also
τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τινες, ἀλλ᾽ οὔ τι τῶν εἰδότων γε
of-the laymen some but not anything than-those knowing at-least
μᾶλλον. ὥστε κατὰ μὲν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον οὐκ ἂν εἴη
more so-that by indeed this the argument not — would-be
τὸ πλῆθος ποιητέον κύριον οὔτε τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν οὔτε
the multitude must-be-made sovereign neither of-the elections nor
τῶν εὐθυνῶν. ἀλλ᾽ ἴσως οὐ πάντα ταῦτα λέγεται καλῶς
of-the audits but perhaps not all these-things are-said well
διά τε τὸν πάλαι λόγον, ἂν ᾖ τὸ πλῆθος μὴ λίαν
through both the old argument if be the multitude not too
ἀνδραποδῶδες (ἔσται γὰρ ἕκαστος μὲν χείρων κριτὴς
slavish will-be for each indeed worse judge
τῶν εἰδότων, ἅπαντες δὲ συνελθόντες ἢ βελτίους ἢ
than-those knowing all but having-come-together either better or
οὐ χείρους), καὶ ὅτι περὶ ἐνίων οὔτε μόνον ὁ ποιήσας
not worse and that about some neither only the(-one) having-made
οὔτ᾽ ἄριστ᾽ ἂν κρίνειεν, ὅσων τἄργα γινώσκουσι καὶ οἱ
nor best — would-judge of-which the-works know also those
μὴ ἔχοντες τὴν τέχνην, οἷον οἰκίαν οὐ μόνον ἐστὶ γνῶναι
not having the art such-as house not only is to-know
τοῦ ποιήσαντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ βέλτιον ὁ χρώμενος αὐτῇ
of-the maker but also better the user of-it
κρινεῖ (χρῆται δ᾽ ὁ οἰκονόμος), καὶ πηδάλιον κυβερνήτης
will-judge uses and the household-manager and rudder steersman
τέκτονος, καὶ θοίνην ὁ δαιτυμὼν ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ ὁ μάγειρος.
than-carpenter and feast the guest but not the cook
ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἀπορίαν τάχα δόξειέ τις ἂν οὕτω
this indeed then the difficulty perhaps might-seem someone — thus
λύειν ἱκανῶς· ἄλλη δ᾽ ἐστὶν ἐχομένη ταύτης. δοκεῖ γὰρ
to-solve sufficiently another and is following this it-seems for

ἄτοπον εἶναι τὸ μειζόνων εἶναι κυρίους τοὺς φαύλους
strange to-be the over-greater(-things) to-be sovereign the base
τῶν ἐπιεικῶν, αἱ δ' εὔθυναι καὶ αἱ τῶν ἀρχῶν αἱρέσεις
than-the decent the and audits and the of-the offices elections
εἰσὶ μέγιστον· ἃς ἐν ἐνίαις πολιτείαις, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, τοῖς
are greatest which in some constitutions just-as has-been-said to-the
δήμοις ἀποδιδόασιν· ἡ γὰρ ἐκκλησία κυρία πάντων τῶν
peoples they-assign the for assembly sovereign of-all the
τοιούτων ἐστίν. καίτοι τῆς μὲν ἐκκλησίας μετέχουσι καὶ
such(-matters) is and-yet the indeed assembly share and
βουλεύουσι καὶ δικάζουσιν ἀπὸ μικρῶν τιμημάτων καὶ
deliberate and judge from small property-qualifications and
τῆς τυχούσης ἡλικίας, ταμιεύουσι δὲ καὶ στρατηγοῦσι καὶ
the chance age act-as-treasurers but and are-generals and
τὰς μεγίστας ἀρχὰς ἄρχουσιν ἀπὸ μεγάλων. ὁμοίως δή
the greatest offices hold from great(-ratings) similarly indeed
τις ἂν λύσειε καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἀπορίαν. ἴσως γὰρ ἔχει καὶ
someone — might-solve also this the difficulty perhaps for are also
ταῦτ' ὀρθῶς. οὐ γὰρ ὁ δικαστὴς οὐδ' ὁ βουλευτὴς οὐδ' ὁ
these-things rightly not for the juror nor the councilor nor the
ἐκκλησιαστὴς ἄρχων ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ τὸ δικαστήριον καὶ ἡ βουλὴ
assemblyman ruler is but the law-court and the council
καὶ ὁ δῆμος· τῶν δὲ ῥηθέντων ἕκαστος μόριόν ἐστι τούτων
and the people of-the but said each part is of-these
(λέγω δὲ μόριον τὸν βουλευτὴν καὶ τὸν ἐκκλησιαστὴν καὶ
I-mean and part the councilor and the assemblyman and
τὸν δικαστήν)· ὥστε δικαίως κύριον μειζόνων τὸ πλῆθος·
the juror so-that justly sovereign over-greater(-things) the multitude
ἐκ γὰρ πολλῶν ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ τὸ δικαστήριον.
from for many the people and the council and the law-court

καὶ τὸ τίμημα δὲ πλεῖον τὸ πάντων τούτων ἢ τὸ
and the property-qualification and greater the of-all these than the
τῶν καθ᾽ ἕνα καὶ κατ᾽ ὀλίγους μεγάλας ἀρχὰς ἀρχόντων.
of-those by one and by few great offices holding
ταῦτα μὲν οὖν διωρίσθω τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον· ἡ δὲ
these-things indeed then let-be-determined this the manner the and
πρώτη λεχθεῖσα ἀπορία ποιεῖ φανερὸν οὐδὲν οὕτως ἕτερον
first stated difficulty makes evident nothing so other
ὡς ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς νόμους εἶναι κυρίους κειμένους
as that it-is-necessary the laws to-be sovereign laid-down
ὀρθῶς, τὸν ἄρχοντα δέ, ἄν τε εἷς ἄν τε πλείους ὦσι, περὶ
rightly the ruler and if both one if and more be about
τούτων εἶναι κυρίους περὶ ὅσων ἐξαδυνατοῦσιν οἱ νόμοι
these to-be sovereign about as-many-as are-unable the laws
λέγειν ἀκριβῶς διὰ τὸ μὴ ῥᾴδιον εἶναι καθόλου διορίσαι
to-speak precisely through the not easy to-be universally to-define
περὶ πάντων. ὁποίους μέντοι τινὰς εἶναι δεῖ τοὺς ὀρθῶς
about all of-what-sort however some to-be must the rightly
κειμένους νόμους, οὐδέν πω δῆλον, ἀλλ᾽ ἔτι μένει τὸ πάλαι
laid-down laws nothing yet clear but still remains the long-ago
διαπορηθέν. ἅμα γὰρ καὶ ὁμοίως ταῖς πολιτείαις ἀκάγκη
raised-as-a-difficulty at-once for also similarly to-the constitutions necessity
καὶ τοὺς νόμους φαύλους ἢ σπουδαίους εἶναι καὶ δικαίους
also the laws bad or excellent to-be and just
ἢ ἀδίκους. πλὴν τοῦτό γε φανερὸν ὅτι δεῖ πρὸς τὴν
or unjust except this at-least evident that must to the
πολιτείαν κεῖσθαι τοὺς νόμους. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰ τοῦτο, δῆλον
constitution to-be-laid-down the laws but indeed if this clear
ὅτι τοὺς μὲν κατὰ τὰς ὀρθὰς πολιτείας ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι
that the(-laws) indeed according-to the right constitutions necessary to-be
δικαίους τοὺς δὲ κατὰ τὰς παρεκβεβηκυίας οὐ δικαίους.
just the(-ones) and according-to the deviant not just

The political good is justice, which is equality for equals; but equality in what? Not every superiority, of height or color, gives a claim, as the best flutes go to the best player, not the well-born. Claims must rest on what makes up the city, birth, freedom, and wealth, and also justice and military virtue; without the former a city cannot exist, and without the latter it cannot be well governed.

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν πάσαις μὲν ταῖς ἐπιστήμαις καὶ τέχναις ἀγαθὸν
since and in all indeed the sciences and arts good
τὸ τέλος, μέγιστον δὲ καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῇ κυριωτάτῃ πασῶν,
the end greatest and and most in the most-sovereign of-all
αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ πολιτικὴ δύναμις, ἔστι δὲ πολιτικὸν
this and is the political faculty is and political
ἀγαθὸν τὸ δίκαιον, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον,
good the just this and is the in-common advantageous
δοκεῖ δὴ πᾶσιν ἴσον τι τὸ δίκαιον εἶναι, καὶ μέχρι
it-seems indeed to-all equal something the just to-be and up-to
γέ τινος ὁμολογοῦσι τοῖς κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν λόγοις,
at-least a-certain(-point) they-agree with-the by philosophy arguments
ἐν οἷς διώρισται περὶ τῶν ἠθικῶν· τὶ γὰρ καὶ
in which it-has-been-determined about the ethical(-matters) something for and
τισὶ τὸ δίκαιον, καὶ δεῖν τοῖς ἴσοις ἴσον εἶναί φασιν·
for-some the just and to-be-necessary for-the equal equal to-be they-say
ποίων δ' ἰσότης ἐστὶ καὶ ποίων ἀνισότης, δεῖ μὴ
of-what-sort and equality is and of-what-sort inequality must not
λανθάνειν. ἔχει γὰρ τοῦτ' ἀπορίαν καὶ φιλοσοφίαν πολιτικήν.
to-escape-notice has for this difficulty and philosophy political
ἴσως γὰρ ἂν φαίη τις κατὰ παντὸς ὑπεροχὴν ἀγαθοῦ
perhaps for — might-say one by every superiority of-good
δεῖν ἀνίσως νενεμῆσθαι τὰς ἀρχάς, εἰ πάντα
to-be-necessary unequally to-have-been-distributed the offices if all

τὰ λοιπὰ μηδὲν διαφέροιεν ἀλλ᾽ ὅμοιοι τυγχάνοιεν
the remaining(-respects) in-nothing they-should-differ but alike should-happen
ὄντες· τοῖς γὰρ διαφέρουσιν ἕτερον εἶναι τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ
being for-the for differing different to-be the just and the
κατ᾽ ἀξίαν. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰ τοῦτ᾽ ἀληθές, ἔσται καὶ κατὰ
according-to merit but indeed if this true will-be also by
χρῶμα καὶ κατὰ μέγεθος καὶ καθ᾽ ὁτιοῦν τῶν ἀγαθῶν
color and by size and by any-whatever of-the goods
πλεονεξία τις τῶν πολιτικῶν δικαίων τοῖς ὑπερέχουσιν.
advantage some of-the political rights for-those exceeding
ἢ τοῦτο ἐπιπόλαιον τὸ ψεῦδος; φανερὸν δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων
or this superficial the falsehood evident and in the other
ἐπιστημῶν καὶ δυνάμεων· τῶν γὰρ ὁμοίων αὐλητῶν τὴν
sciences and faculties of-the for alike flute-players in-the
τέχνην οὐ δοτέον πλεονεξίαν τῶν αὐλῶν τοῖς εὐγενεστέροις·
art not must-be-given advantage of-the flutes to-the better-born
οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐλήσουσι βέλτιον, δεῖ δὲ τῷ κατὰ τὸ ἔργον
nothing for they-will-play-the-flute better must but to-the in the work
ὑπερέχοντι διδόναι καὶ τῶν ὀργάνων τὴν ὑπεροχήν. εἰ δὲ
excelling to-give also of-the instruments the superiority if but
μήπω δῆλον τὸ λεγόμενον, ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτὸ προαγαγοῦσιν
not-yet clear the said(-thing) still more it for-those-advancing
ἔσται φανερόν. εἰ γὰρ εἴη τις ὑπερέχων μὲν κατὰ τὴν
will-be evident if for there-were someone excelling indeed in the
αὐλητικήν, πολὺ δ᾽ ἐλλείπων κατ᾽ εὐγένειαν ἢ κάλλος, εἰ καὶ
flute-playing far but falling-short in good-birth or beauty if even
μεῖζον ἕκαστον ἐκείνων ἀγαθόν ἐστι τῆς αὐλητικῆς (λέγω
greater each of-those good is than-the flute-playing I-mean
δὲ τήν τ᾽ εὐγένειαν καὶ τὸ κάλλος), καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν
and the both good-birth and the beauty and in the proportion
ὑπερέχουσι πλέον τῆς αὐλητικῆς ἢ ἐκεῖνος κατὰ τὴν
they-exceed more than-the flute-playing than he in the

αὐλητικήν· ὅμως τούτῳ δοτέον τοὺς διαφέροντας τῶν
flute-playing still to-this-one must-be-given the superior of-the
αὐλῶν. δεῖ γὰρ εἰς τὸ ἔργον συμβάλλεσθαι τὴν ὑπεροχὴν
flutes must for to the work to-contribute the superiority
καὶ τοῦ πλούτου καὶ τῆς εὐγενείας, συμβάλλονται δ' οὐδέν.
both of-the wealth and of-the good-birth contribute but nothing
ἔτι κατά γε τοῦτον τὸν λόγον πᾶν ἀγαθὸν πρὸς πᾶν
further by at-least this the argument every good with every
ἂν εἴη συμβλητόν. εἰ γὰρ μᾶλλον τὸ τὶ μέγεθος, καὶ
— would-be comparable if for more the some size and
ὅλως ἂν τὸ μέγεθος ἐνάμιλλον εἴη καὶ πρὸς πλοῦτον
generally — the size in-competition would-be both with wealth
καὶ πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν. ὥστ' εἰ πλεῖον ὁδὶ διαφέρει κατὰ
and with freedom so-that if more this(-one) differs in
μέγεθος ἢ ὁδὶ κατ' ἀρετήν, εἰ καὶ πλεῖον ὑπερέχει
size than that(-one) in virtue if even more exceeds
ὅλως ἀρετὴ μεγέθους, εἴη ἂν συμβλητὰ πάντα. τοσόνδε
generally virtue than-size would-be — comparable all(-things) so-much
γὰρ εἰ κρεῖττον τοσοῦδε, τοσόνδε δῆλον ὡς ἴσον. ἐπεὶ δὲ
for if better than-so-much so-much clear that equal since but
τοῦτ' ἀδύνατον, δῆλον ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν εὐλόγως
this impossible clear that also in the political(-matters) reasonably
οὐ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀνισότητ' ἀμφισβητοῦσι τῶν ἀρχῶν (εἰ γὰρ
not by every inequality they-dispute of-the offices if for
οἱ μὲν βραδεῖς οἱ δὲ ταχεῖς, οὐδὲν διὰ τοῦτο δεῖ
the(-ones) indeed slow the(-others) and swift nothing through this must
τοὺς μὲν πλεῖον τοὺς δ' ἔλαττον ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς
the(-ones) indeed more the(-others) and less to-have but in the
γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἡ τούτων διαφορὰ λαμβάνει τὴν τιμήν)·
gymnastic contests the of-these difference gets the honor
ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν πόλις συνέστηκεν, ἐν τούτοις ἀναγκαῖον
but from which city is-constituted in these necessary

ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀμφισβήτησιν. διόπερ εὐλόγως ἀντιποιοῦνται
to-make the dispute therefore reasonably lay-claim
τῆς τιμῆς οἱ εὐγενεῖς καὶ ἐλεύθεροι καὶ πλούσιοι. δεῖ γὰρ
to-the honor the well-born and free and rich must for
ἐλευθέρους τ' εἶναι καὶ τίμημα φέροντας (οὐ γὰρ ἂν
free both to-be and property-qualification bearing not for —
εἴη πόλις ἐξ ἀπόρων πάντων, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἐκ δούλων)·
would-be a-city from poor all just-as not-even from slaves
ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰ δεῖ τούτων, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ δικαιοσύνης
but indeed if there-is-need of-these clear that also justice
καὶ τῆς πολεμικῆς ἀρετῆς. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων
and the military virtue not-even for without these
οἰκεῖσθαι πόλιν δυνατόν· πλὴν ἄνευ μὲν τῶν προτέρων
to-be-inhabited city possible except without indeed the former
ἀδύνατον εἶναι πόλιν, ἄνευ δὲ τούτων οἰκεῖσθαι καλῶς.
impossible to-be city without and these to-be-inhabited well

XIII · THE OUTSTANDING MAN

All have some claim, but none an absolute one: the rich, the free, the well-born, and the good each claim justly in part, and the many together may be better than the few. A man surpassing all in virtue is like a god among men, and law is not for him, as Antisthenes' lions answered the hares. Democracies ostracize such men, as tyrants lop them on Periander's advice to Thrasybulus. In the best constitution such a man should be king for life, gladly obeyed.

Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὸ πόλιν εἶναι δόξειεν ἂν ἢ πάντα
with-regard-to indeed then the city to-be would-seem — either all
ἢ ἔνιά γε τούτων ὀρθῶς ἀμφισβητεῖν, πρὸς μέντοι
or some at-least of-these rightly to-dispute with-regard-to however
ζωὴν ἀγαθὴν ἡ παιδεία καὶ ἡ ἀρετὴ μάλιστα δικαίως ἂν
life good the education and the virtue most justly —

ἀμφισβητοίησαν, καθάπερ εἴρηται καὶ πρότερον. ἐπεὶ δ'
would-dispute just-as has-been-said also before since but
οὔτε πάντων ἴσον ἔχειν δεῖ τοὺς ἴσους ἕν τι μόνον
neither in-all equal to-have must the equal one something only
ὄντας οὔτε ἄνισον τοὺς ἀνίσους καθ' ἕν, ἀνάγκη πάσας
being nor unequal the unequal in one necessity all
εἶναι τὰς τοιαύτας πολιτείας παρεκβάσεις. εἴρηται μὲν
to-be the such constitutions deviations it-has-been-said indeed
οὖν καὶ πρότερον ὅτι διαμφισβητοῦσι τρόπον τινὰ δικαίως
then also before that they-dispute in-a-way some justly
πάντες, ἁπλῶς δ' οὐ πάντες δικαίως. οἱ πλούσιοι μὲν
all simply but not all justly the rich indeed
ὅτι πλεῖον μέτεστι τῆς χώρας αὐτοῖς, ἡ δὲ χώρα
because more belongs-a-share of-the land to-them the and land
κοινόν, ἔτι πρὸς τὰ συμβόλαια πιστοὶ μᾶλλον ὡς ἐπὶ
common further toward the contracts trustworthy rather as for
τὸ πλέον· οἱ δὲ ἐλεύθεροι καὶ εὐγενεῖς ὡς ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων
the most(-part) the and free and well-born as near one-another
(πολῖται γὰρ μᾶλλον οἱ γενναιότεροι τῶν ἀγεννῶν,
citizens for more the nobler than-the low-born
ἡ δ' εὐγένεια παρ' ἑκάστοις οἴκοι τίμιος· ἔτι διότι
the and good-birth among each at-home honored further because
βελτίους εἰκὸς τοὺς ἐκ βελτιόνων, εὐγένεια γάρ ἐστιν
better likely those from better(-parents) good-birth for is
ἀρετὴ γένους)· ὁμοίως δὴ φήσομεν δικαίως καὶ τὴν
excellence of-family similarly indeed we-shall-say justly also the
ἀρετὴν ἀμφισβητεῖν, κοινωνικὴν γὰρ ἀρετὴν εἶναί φαμεν
virtue to-dispute social for virtue to-be we-say
τὴν δικαιοσύνην, ᾗ πάσας ἀναγκαῖον ἀκολουθεῖν τὰς
the justice which all necessary to-follow the
ἄλλας· ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ οἱ πλείους πρὸς τοὺς ἐλάττους,
others but indeed also the more against the fewer

καὶ γὰρ κρείττους καὶ πλουσιώτεροι καὶ βελτίους εἰσίν,
also for stronger and richer and better are
ὡς λαμβανομένων τῶν πλειόνων πρὸς τοὺς ἐλάττους.
as being-taken the more against the fewer
ἆρ' οὖν εἰ πάντες εἶεν ἐν μιᾷ πόλει, λέγω δ' οἷον οἵ τ'
whether then if all should-be in one city I-mean and such-as the both
ἀγαθοὶ καὶ οἱ πλούσιοι καὶ εὐγενεῖς, ἔτι δὲ πλῆθος ἄλλο
good and the rich and well-born further and multitude other
τι πολιτικόν, πότερον ἀμφισβήτησις ἔσται τίνας ἄρχειν
some political whether dispute will-there-be whom to-rule
δεῖ, ἢ οὐκ ἔσται; καθ' ἑκάστην μὲν οὖν πολιτείαν τῶν
must or not will-there-be in each indeed then constitution of-the
εἰρημένων ἀναμφισβήτητος ἡ κρίσις τίνας ἄρχειν δεῖ (τοῖς
said(-ones) undisputed the judgment whom to-rule must by-the
γὰρ κυρίοις διαφέρουσιν ἀλλήλων, οἷον ἡ μὲν
for sovereign(-bodies) they-differ from-one-another such-as the(-one) indeed
τῷ διὰ πλουσίων ἡ δὲ τῷ διὰ τῶν σπουδαίων
by-the through rich(-men) the(-other) and by-the through the excellent
ἀνδρῶν εἶναι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἑκάστη τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον)·
men to-be and of-the others each the same manner
ἀλλ' ὅμως σκοποῦμεν, ὅταν περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ταῦθ' ὑπάρχῃ
but still we-examine when at the same these(-classes) exist
χρόνον, πῶς διοριστέον. εἰ δὴ τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἶεν
time how one-must-determine if indeed the number should-be
ὀλίγοι πάμπαν οἱ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχοντες, τίνα δεῖ διελεῖν
few altogether those the virtue having in-what must to-divide
τρόπον; ἢ τὸ ὀλίγοι πρὸς τὸ ἔργον δεῖ σκοπεῖν, εἰ
manner or the few in-relation-to the work one-must to-examine if
δυνατοὶ διοικεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἢ τοσοῦτοι τὸ πλῆθος ὥστ'
able to-administer the city or so-many the number so-as

εἶναι πόλιν ἐξ αὐτῶν; ἔστι δὲ ἀπορία τις πρὸς ἅπαντας
to-be a-city from them there-is and difficulty some for all
τοὺς διαμφισβητοῦντας περὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν τιμῶν.
those disputing about the political honors
δόξαιεν γὰρ ἂν οὐδὲν λέγειν δίκαιον οἱ διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον
would-seem for — nothing to-say just those through the wealth
ἀξιοῦντες ἄρχειν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ κατὰ γένος· δῆλον γὰρ
claiming to-rule similarly and also those by birth clear for
ὡς εἴ τις πάλιν εἷς πλουσιώτερος ἁπάντων ἐστί, δηλονότι
that if someone again one richer than-all is clearly
κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ δίκαιον τοῦτον ἄρχειν τὸν ἕνα ἁπάντων
by the same just this(-man) to-rule the one over-all
δεήσει, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸν εὐγενείᾳ διαφέροντα
it-will-be-necessary similarly and also the(-one) in-good-birth excelling
τῶν ἀμφισβητούντων δι' ἐλευθερίαν. ταὐτὸ δὲ
of-those disputing on-the-ground-of freedom the-same and
τοῦτο ἴσως συμβήσεται καὶ περὶ τὰς ἀριστοκρατίας
this perhaps will-result also about the aristocracies
ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς· εἰ γάρ τις εἷς ἀμείνων ἀνὴρ εἴη
in-the-case-of the virtue if for someone one better man should-be
τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τῷ πολιτεύματι σπουδαίων ὄντων,
than-the others those in the governing-body excellent being
τοῦτον εἶναι δεῖ κύριον κατὰ ταὐτὸ δίκαιον. οὐκοῦν εἰ
this(-man) to-be must sovereign by the-same just then if
καὶ τὸ πλῆθος εἶναί γε δεῖ κύριον διότι κρείττους
also the multitude to-be at-least must sovereign because stronger
εἰσὶ τῶν ὀλίγων, κἂν εἷς ἢ πλείους μὲν τοῦ ἑνὸς
they-are than-the few even-if one or more indeed than-the one
ἐλάττους δὲ τῶν πολλῶν κρείττους ὦσι τῶν ἄλλων,
fewer but than-the many stronger be than-the others
τούτους ἂν δέοι κυρίους εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ πλῆθος.
these — would-need sovereign to-be rather than the multitude

πάντα δὴ ταῦτ' ἔοικε φανερὸν ποιεῖν ὅτι τούτων τῶν
all indeed these-things seem evident to-make that of-these the
ὅρων οὐδεὶς ὀρθός ἐστι, καθ' ὃν ἀξιοῦσιν αὐτοὶ
definitions none right is according-to which they-claim themselves
μὲν ἄρχειν τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ὑπὸ σφῶν ἄρχεσθαι πάντας.
indeed to-rule the and others by themselves to-be-ruled all
καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κατ' ἀρετὴν ἀξιοῦντας κυρίους
also for indeed also against those by virtue claiming sovereign
εἶναι τοῦ πολιτεύματος, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς κατὰ πλοῦτον,
to-be of-the governing-body similarly and also those by wealth
ἔχοιεν ἂν λέγειν τὰ πλήθη λόγον τινὰ δίκαιον· οὐδὲν γὰρ
could-have — to-say the multitudes argument some just nothing for
κωλύει ποτὲ τὸ πλῆθος εἶναι βέλτιον τῶν ὀλίγων καὶ
prevents sometimes the multitude to-be better than-the few and
πλουσιώτερον, οὐχ ὡς καθ' ἕκαστον ἀλλ' ὡς ἀθρόους. διὸ
richer not as by each but as all-together therefore
καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀπορίαν, ἣν ζητοῦσι καὶ προβάλλουσί τινες,
also toward the difficulty which seek and put-forward some
ἐνδέχεται τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἀπαντᾶν (ἀποροῦσι γάρ τινες
it-is-possible this the way to-meet are-at-a-loss for some
πότερον τῷ νομοθέτῃ νομοθετητέον, βουλομένῳ τίθεσθαι
whether for-the lawgiver must-legislate wishing to-lay-down
τοὺς ὀρθοτάτους νόμους, πρὸς τὸ τῶν βελτιόνων συμφέρον
the most-right laws for the of-the better advantage
ἢ πρὸς τὸ τῶν πλειόνων), ὅταν συμβαίνῃ τὸ λεχθέν. τὸ
or for the of-the more when happens the said(-thing) the
δ' ὀρθὸν ληπτέον ἴσως· τὸ δ' ἴσως ὀρθὸν πρὸς τὸ τῆς
but right must-be-taken equally the and equally right for the of-the
πόλεως ὅλης συμφέρον καὶ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τὸ τῶν πολιτῶν·
city whole advantage and for the common the of-the citizens
πολίτης δὲ κοινῇ μὲν ὁ μετέχων τοῦ ἄρχειν καὶ
citizen and in-common indeed the(-one) sharing in-the to-rule and

ἄρχεσθαί ἐστι, καθ' ἑκάστην δὲ πολιτείαν ἕτερος, πρὸς
to-be-ruled is in each but constitution different with-regard-to
δὲ τὴν ἀρίστην ὁ δυνάμενος καὶ προαιρούμενος
but the best the(-one) able and choosing
ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἄρχειν πρὸς τὸν βίον τὸν κατ' ἀρετήν.
to-be-ruled and to-rule with-a-view-to the life the according-to virtue
Εἰ δέ τίς ἐστιν εἷς τοσοῦτον διαφέρων κατ' ἀρετῆς
if but someone is one so-much excelling by of-virtue
ὑπερβολήν, ἢ πλείους μὲν ἑνὸς μὴ μέντοι δυνατοὶ
excess or more indeed than-one not however able
πλήρωμα παρασχέσθαι πόλεως, ὥστε μὴ συμβλητὴν εἶναι
complement to-furnish of-a-city so-that not comparable to-be
τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετὴν πάντων μηδὲ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν
the of-the others virtue all nor the power of-them
τὴν πολιτικὴν πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων, εἰ πλείους, εἰ δ' εἷς,
the political with that of-those if more if but one
τὴν ἐκείνου μόνον, οὐκέτι θετέον τούτους μέρος
with-that of-him alone no-longer one-must-posit these part
πόλεως· ἀδικήσονται γὰρ ἀξιούμενοι τῶν ἴσων,
of-city they-will-be-wronged for being-deemed-worthy of-the equal(-things)
ἄνισοι τοσοῦτον κατ' ἀρετὴν ὄντες καὶ τὴν πολιτικὴν
unequal so-much in virtue being and in-the political
δύναμιν· ὥσπερ γὰρ θεὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εἰκὸς εἶναι τὸν
power just-as for god among men likely to-be the
τοιοῦτον. ὅθεν δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τὴν νομοθεσίαν ἀναγκαῖον
such(-man) whence clear that also the legislation necessary
εἶναι περὶ τοὺς ἴσους καὶ τῷ γένει καὶ τῇ δυνάμει, κατὰ
to-be about the equal both in-the birth and in-the power against
δὲ τῶν τοιούτων οὐκ ἔστι νόμος· αὐτοὶ γάρ εἰσι νόμος·
but the such not is law themselves for are law
καὶ γὰρ γελοῖος ἂν εἴη νομοθετεῖν τις πειρώμενος
also for ridiculous — would-be to-legislate someone trying

κατ᾽ αὐτῶν. λέγοιεν γὰρ ἂν ἴσως ἅπερ Ἀντισθένης
against them they-would-say for — perhaps what-very Antisthenes
ἔφη τοὺς λέοντας δημηγορούντων τῶν δασυπόδων καὶ
said the lions haranguing the hares and
τὸ ἴσον ἀξιούντων πάντας ἔχειν.
the equal claiming all to-have
διὸ καὶ τίθενται τὸν ὀστρακισμὸν αἱ δημοκρατούμεναι
therefore also institute the ostracism the democratically-governed
πόλεις, διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην αἰτίαν· αὗται γὰρ δὴ
cities through the such cause these for indeed
δοκοῦσι διώκειν τὴν ἰσότητα μάλιστα πάντων, ὥστε τοὺς
seem to-pursue the equality most of-all so-that those
δοκοῦντας ὑπερέχειν δυνάμει διὰ πλοῦτον ἢ πολυφιλίαν
seeming to-excel in-power through wealth or many-friends
ἤ τινα ἄλλην πολιτικὴν ἰσχὺν ὠστράκιζον καὶ μεθίστασαν
or some other political strength they-ostracized and removed
ἐκ τῆς πόλεως χρόνους ὡρισμένους. μυθολογεῖται δὲ καὶ
from the city for-times fixed it-is-told-in-myth and also
τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας τὸν Ἡρακλέα καταλιπεῖν διὰ τοιαύτην
the Argonauts — Heracles to-have-left-behind through such
αἰτίαν· οὐ γὰρ ἐθέλειν αὐτὸν ἄγειν τὴν Ἀργὼ μετὰ τῶν
cause not for to-be-willing him to-carry the Argo with the
ἄλλων, ὡς ὑπερβάλλοντα πολὺ τῶν πλωτήρων. διὸ
other as exceeding much than-the sailors therefore
καὶ τοὺς ψέγοντας τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ τὴν Περιάνδρου
also those blaming the tyranny and the of-Periander
Θρασυβούλῳ συμβουλίαν οὐχ ἁπλῶς οἰητέον ὀρθῶς
to-Thrasybulus advice not simply one-must-think rightly
ἐπιτιμᾶν (φασὶ γὰρ τὸν Περίανδρον εἰπεῖν μὲν οὐδὲν πρὸς
to-censure they-say for — Periander to-say indeed nothing to
τὸν πεμφθέντα κήρυκα περὶ τῆς συμβουλίας, ἀφαιροῦντα
the sent herald about the advice taking-away

δὲ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας τῶν σταχύων ὁμαλῦναι τὴν ἄρουραν·
but the overtopping of-the ears-of-corn to-have-leveled the field
ὅθεν ἀγνοοῦντος μὲν τοῦ κήρυκος τοῦ γιγνομένου τὴν
whence not-knowing indeed the herald of-the happening the
αἰτίαν, ἀπαγγείλαντος δὲ τὸ συμπεσόν, συννοῆσαι τὸν
cause having-reported but the occurrence to-have-understood —
Θρασύβουλον ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας ἄνδρας ἀναιρεῖν).
Thrasybulus that must the overtopping men to-destroy
τοῦτο γὰρ οὐ μόνον συμφέρει τοῖς τυράννοις, οὐδὲ μόνον
this for not only is-advantageous to-the tyrants nor only
οἱ τύραννοι ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὁμοίως ἔχει καὶ περὶ τὰς
the tyrants do(-it) but similarly it-is also about the
ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ τὰς δημοκρατίας· ὁ γὰρ ὀστρακισμὸς
oligarchies and the democracies the for ostracism
τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει δύναμιν τρόπον τινὰ τῷ κολούειν τοὺς
the same has power in-a-way some by-the to-lop-off the
ὑπερέχοντας καὶ φυγαδεύειν. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ περὶ τὰς
overtopping and to-banish the and same also about the
πόλεις καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ποιοῦσιν οἱ κύριοι τῆς δυνάμεως, οἷον
cities and the nations do the sovereign of-the power such-as
Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν περὶ Σαμίους καὶ Χίους καὶ Λεσβίους (ἐπεὶ
Athenians indeed toward Samians and Chians and Lesbians when
γὰρ θᾶττον ἐγκρατῶς ἔσχον τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐταπείνωσαν αὐτοὺς
for sooner firmly they-held the rule they-humbled them
παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας), ὁ δὲ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς Μήδους
contrary-to the agreements the and of-Persians king Medes
καὶ Βαβυλωνίους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς πεφρονηματισμένους
and Babylonians and of-the others those having-grown-proud
διὰ τὸ γενέσθαι ποτ' ἐπ' ἀρχῆς ἐπέκοπτε πολλάκις.
through the to-have-been once in rule cut-down often

τὸ δὲ πρόβλημα καθόλου περὶ πάσας ἐστὶ τὰς πολιτείας,
the and problem universally about all is the constitutions
καὶ τὰς ὀρθάς· αἱ μὲν γὰρ παρεκβεβηκυῖαι πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον
also the right the indeed for deviant to the private
ἀποσκοποῦσαι τοῦτο δρῶσιν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ περὶ τὰς τὸ
looking-off this do not indeed but about those the
κοινὸν ἀγαθὸν ἐπισκοπούσας τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει τρόπον. δῆλον δὲ
common good looking-to the same it-has manner clear and
τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνῶν καὶ ἐπιστημῶν· οὔτε γὰρ
this also in the other arts and sciences neither for
γραφεὺς ἐάσειεν ἂν τὸν ὑπερβάλλοντα πόδα τῆς συμμετρίας
a-painter would-allow — the exceeding foot the symmetry
ἔχειν τὸ ζῷον, οὐδ' εἰ διαφέροι τὸ κάλλος, οὔτε ναυπηγὸς
to-have the animal not-even if it-excelled the beauty nor shipwright
πρύμναν ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τι μορίων τῶν τῆς νεώς, οὐδὲ δὴ
stern or of-the other any parts of-the of-the ship nor indeed
χοροδιδάσκαλος τὸν μεῖζον καὶ κάλλιον τοῦ παντὸς χοροῦ
chorus-master the louder and more-beautiful than-the whole chorus
φθεγγόμενον ἐάσει συγχορεύειν. ὥστε διὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲν
singing will-allow to-sing-with(-it) so-that through this indeed nothing
κωλύει τοὺς μονάρχους συμφωνεῖν ταῖς πόλεσιν, εἰ τῆς
prevents the monarchs to-be-in-harmony with-the cities if the
οἰκείας ἀρχῆς ὠφελίμου ταῖς πόλεσιν οὔσης τοῦτο δρῶσιν.
own rule beneficial to-the cities being this they-do
διὸ κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογουμένας ὑπεροχὰς ἔχει τι δίκαιον
therefore in-the-case-of the acknowledged superiorities has some justice
πολιτικὸν ὁ λόγος ὁ περὶ τὸν ὀστρακισμόν. βέλτιον μὲν
political the argument the about the ostracism better indeed
οὖν τὸν νομοθέτην ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὕτω συστῆσαι τὴν πολιτείαν
then the lawgiver from beginning so to-constitute the constitution

ὥστε μὴ δεῖσθαι τοιαύτης ἰατρείας· δεύτερος δὲ πλοῦς,
so-that not to-need such cure second but voyage
ἂν συμβῇ, πειρᾶσθαι τοιούτῳ τινὶ διορθώματι διορθοῦν.
if it-happen to-try with-such some correction to-correct(-it)
ὅπερ οὐκ ἐγίγνετο περὶ τὰς πόλεις· οὐ γὰρ ἔβλεπον
which-very not happened in the cities not for they-looked
πρὸς τὸ τῆς πολιτείας τῆς οἰκείας συμφέρον, ἀλλὰ
to the of-the constitution the own advantage but
στασιαστικῶς ἐχρῶντο τοῖς ὀστρακισμοῖς. ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς
factiously they-used the ostracisms in indeed then the
παρεκβεβηκυίαις πολιτείαις ὅτι μὲν ἰδίᾳ συμφέρει καὶ
deviant constitutions that indeed privately it-is-advantageous and
δίκαιόν ἐστι, φανερόν, ἴσως δὲ καὶ ὅτι οὐχ ἁπλῶς δίκαιον,
just is evident perhaps and also that not simply just
καὶ τοῦτο φανερόν· ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρίστης πολιτείας
also this evident but in-the-case-of the best constitution
ἔχει πολλὴν ἀπορίαν, οὐ κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν τὴν
it-has much difficulty not in-respect-of the other goods the
ὑπεροχήν, οἷον ἰσχύος καὶ πλούτου καὶ πολυφιλίας, ἀλλὰ
superiority such-as of-strength and of-wealth and of-many-friends but
ἄν τις γένηται διαφέρων κατ᾽ ἀρετήν, τί χρὴ ποιεῖν; οὐ
if someone become excelling in virtue what must to-do not
γὰρ δὴ φαῖεν ἂν δεῖν ἐκβάλλειν καὶ μεθιστάναι
for indeed they-would-say — to-be-necessary to-expel and to-remove
τὸν τοιοῦτον· ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ᾽ ἄρχειν γε τοῦ τοιούτου·
the such(-man) but indeed not-even to-rule at-least over-the such(-man)
παραπλήσιον γὰρ κἂν εἰ τοῦ Διὸς ἄρχειν ἀξιοῖεν,
similar for even if — over-Zeus to-rule they-claimed
μερίζοντες τὰς ἀρχάς. λείπεται τοίνυν, ὅπερ ἔοικε
dividing the offices remains therefore which-very seems

πεφυκέναι, πείθεσθαι τῷ τοιούτῳ πάντας ἀσμένως, ὥστε
to-be-natural to-obey the such(-man) all gladly so-that
βασιλέας εἶναι τοὺς τοιούτους ἀιδίους ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν.
kings to-be the such perpetual in the cities

XIV · KINDS OF KINGSHIP

Kingship is one of the right constitutions, and has several kinds: the Spartan, a lifelong generalship; the barbarian, despotic but lawful and hereditary; the elected tyranny of the aesymnetes, as Pittacus at Mytilene, whom Alcaeus attacked; the heroic kingship of the early age over willing subjects; and absolute kingship, in which one man manages a city or nation as a household is managed.

Ἴσως δὲ καλῶς ἔχει μετὰ τοὺς εἰρημένους λόγους
perhaps and well it-is after the said arguments
μεταβῆναι καὶ σκέψασθαι περὶ βασιλείας· φαμὲν γὰρ τῶν
to-pass-over and to-examine about kingship we-say for of-the
ὀρθῶν πολιτειῶν μίαν εἶναι ταύτην. σκεπτέον δὲ πότερον
right constitutions one to-be this must-be-examined and whether
συμφέρει τῇ μελλούσῃ καλῶς οἰκήσεσθαι καὶ
it-is-advantageous for-the(-city) intending well to-be-administered both
πόλει καὶ χώρᾳ βασιλεύεσθαι, ἢ οὔ, ἀλλ' ἄλλη τις πολιτεία
city and country to-be-ruled-by-a-king or not but other some constitution
μᾶλλον, ἢ τισὶ μὲν συμφέρει τισὶ δ' οὐ συμφέρει.
rather or for-some indeed it-is-advantageous for-others but not it-is-advantageous
δεῖ δὲ πρῶτον διελέσθαι πότερον ἕν τι γένος ἐστὶν
one-must and first to-distinguish whether one some kind is
αὐτῆς ἢ πλείους ἔχει διαφοράς. Ῥᾴδιον δὴ τοῦτό γε
of-it or more it-has differences easy indeed this at-least
καταμαθεῖν, ὅτι πλείω τε γένη περιέχει καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς
to-learn that more both kinds it-includes and of-the rule

ὁ τρόπος ἐστὶν οὐχ εἷς πασῶν. ἡ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ
the manner is not one of-all the for in the Laconian
πολιτείᾳ δοκεῖ μὲν εἶναι βασιλεία μάλιστα τῶν κατὰ
constitution seems indeed to-be kingship most of-those according-to
νόμον, οὐκ ἔστι δὲ κυρία πάντων, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἐξέλθῃ τὴν
law not is but sovereign over-all but when he-goes-out the
χώραν, ἡγεμών ἐστι τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον· ἔτι δὲ
country leader he-is of-the(-things) for the war further and
τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀποδέδοται τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν. αὕτη
the(-things) toward the gods are-assigned to-the kings this
μὲν οὖν ἡ βασιλεία οἷον στρατηγία τις αὐτοκρατόρων καὶ
indeed then the kingship like generalship some of-plenipotentiaries and
ἀίδιός ἐστιν· κτεῖναι γὰρ οὐ κύριος, εἰ μὴ ἔν τινι ἐλάσει
perpetual is to-kill for not sovereign if not in some expedition
(καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐν ταῖς πολεμικαῖς ἐξόδοις, ἐν
just-as in the ancient(-times) in the military expeditions by
χειρὸς νόμῳ· δηλοῖ δ' Ὅμηρος· ὁ γὰρ Ἀγαμέμνων κακῶς
hand's law shows and Homer — for Agamemnon badly
μὲν ἀκούων ἠνείχετο ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, ἐξελθόντων
indeed being-spoken-of endured in the assemblies having-gone-out
δὲ καὶ κτεῖναι κύριος ἦν. λέγει γοῦν "ὃν δέ κ' ἐγὼν
but also to-kill sovereign he-was he-says at-any-rate whom but — I
ἀπάνευθε μάχης…, οὔ οἱ ἄρκιον ἐσσεῖται φυγέειν κύνας
apart from-battle not for-him sufficient it-will-be to-escape dogs
ἠδ' οἰωνούς· πὰρ γὰρ ἐμοὶ θάνατος").
and birds with for me death
ἓν μὲν οὖν τοῦτ' εἶδος βασιλείας, στρατηγία διὰ βίου,
one indeed then this kind of-kingship generalship for life
τούτων δ' αἱ μὲν κατὰ γένος εἰσὶν αἱ δ' αἱρεταί·
of-these and the(-ones) indeed by family are the(-others) and elective
παρὰ ταύτην δ' ἄλλο μοναρχίας εἶδος, οἷαι παρ' ἐνίοις
beside this and another of-monarchy kind such-as among some

εἰσὶ βασιλεῖαι τῶν βαρβάρων. ἔχουσι δ' αὗται τὴν δύναμιν
are kingships of-the barbarians have and these the power
πᾶσαι παραπλησίαν τυραννίσιν, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ κατὰ νόμον
all similar to-tyrannies are and both according-to law
καὶ πατρικαί· διὰ γὰρ τὸ δουλικώτεροι εἶναι τὰ ἤθη
and hereditary through for the more-slavish to-be the characters
φύσει οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οἱ δὲ περὶ
by-nature the indeed barbarians than-the Greeks the(-others) and about
τὴν Ἀσίαν τῶν περὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην, ὑπομένουσι τὴν
— Asia than-those about — Europe they-endure the
δεσποτικὴν ἀρχὴν οὐδὲν δυσχεραίνοντες. τυραννικαὶ μὲν
despotic rule in-nothing being-annoyed tyrannical indeed
οὖν διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτόν εἰσιν, ἀσφαλεῖς δὲ διὰ τὸ πάτριαι
then through the such they-are secure but through the ancestral
καὶ κατὰ νόμον εἶναι. καὶ ἡ φυλακὴ δὲ βασιλικὴ καὶ
and according-to law to-be and the guard and royal and
οὐ τυραννικὴ διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν. οἱ γὰρ πολῖται
not tyrannical through the same cause the for citizens
φυλάττουσιν ὅπλοις τοὺς βασιλεῖς, τοὺς δὲ τυράννους
guard with-arms the kings the and tyrants
ξενικόν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ νόμον καὶ ἑκόντων
foreign(-troops) the(-ones) indeed for according-to law and over-willing(-subjects)
οἱ δ' ἀκόντων ἄρχουσιν. ὥσθ' οἱ μὲν παρὰ τῶν
the(-others) but over-unwilling rule so-that the(-ones) indeed from the
πολιτῶν οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς πολίτας ἔχουσι τὴν φυλακήν.
citizens the(-others) but against the citizens have the guard
δύο μὲν οὖν εἴδη ταῦτα μοναρχίας, ἕτερον δ' ὅπερ ἦν
two indeed then kinds these of-monarchy another and which-very was
ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις Ἕλλησιν, οὓς καλοῦσιν αἰσυμνήτας. ἔστι
among the ancient Greeks whom they-call aesymnetes is
δὲ τοῦθ' ὡς ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν αἱρετὴ τυραννίς, διαφέρουσα δὲ
and this so simply to-speak an-elective tyranny differing and

τῆς βαρβαρικῆς οὐ τῷ μὴ κατὰ νόμον ἀλλὰ τῷ μὴ
from-the barbarian not by-the not according-to law but by-the not
πάτριος εἶναι μόνον. ἦρχον δ' οἱ μὲν διὰ βίου τὴν
ancestral to-be only ruled and the(-ones) indeed for life the
ἀρχὴν ταύτην, οἱ δὲ μέχρι τινῶν ὡρισμένων χρόνων
office this the(-others) and up-to some defined times
ἢ πράξεων, οἷον εἵλοντό ποτε Μυτιληναῖοι Πιττακὸν πρὸς
or actions such-as chose once Mytilenaeans Pittacus against
τοὺς φυγάδας ὧν προειστήκεσαν Ἀντιμενίδης καὶ Ἀλκαῖος
the exiles whom led Antimenides and Alcaeus
ὁ ποιητής. δηλοῖ δ' Ἀλκαῖος ὅτι τύραννον εἵλοντο τὸν
the poet shows and Alcaeus that tyrant they-chose —
Πιττακὸν ἔν τινι τῶν σκολιῶν μελῶν· ἐπιτιμᾷ γὰρ ὅτι "τὸν
Pittacus in one of-the drinking songs he-reproaches for that the
κακοπάτριδα Πίττακον πόλιος τᾶς ἀχόλω καὶ βαρυδαίμονος
base-born Pittacus of-the-city the gall-less and ill-starred
ἐστάσαντο τύραννον μέγ' ἐπαινέοντες ἀόλλεες."
they-set-up tyrant greatly praising all-together
αὗται μὲν οὖν εἰσί τε καὶ ἦσαν διὰ μὲν τὸ δεσποτικαὶ
these indeed then are both and were through indeed the despotic
εἶναι τυραννικαί, διὰ δὲ τὸ αἱρεταὶ καὶ ἑκόντων
to-be tyrannical through but the elective and over-willing(-subjects)
βασιλικαί· τέταρτον δ' εἶδος μοναρχίας βασιλικῆς αἱ
royal a-fourth and kind of-monarchy royal those
κατὰ τοὺς ἡρωικοὺς χρόνους ἑκούσιαί τε καὶ πάτριαι
in the heroic times voluntary both and ancestral
γιγνόμεναι κατὰ νόμον. διὰ γὰρ τὸ τοὺς πρώτους
becoming according-to law through for the the first
γενέσθαι τοῦ πλήθους εὐεργέτας κατὰ τέχνας ἢ πόλεμον,
to-have-become of-the multitude benefactors in arts or war
ἢ διὰ τὸ συναγαγεῖν ἢ πορίσαι χώραν, ἐγίγνοντο βασιλεῖς
or through the to-bring-together or to-provide land they-became kings

ἑκόντων καὶ τοῖς παραλαμβάνουσι πάτριοι. κύριοι δ'
over-willing(-subjects) and to-those succeeding ancestral sovereign and
ἦσαν τῆς τε κατὰ πόλεμον ἡγεμονίας καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν,
they-were of-the both in war leadership and of-the sacrifices
ὅσαι μὴ ἱερατικαί, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τὰς δίκας ἔκρινον.
as-many-as not priestly and besides these the lawsuits they-judged
τοῦτο δ' ἐποίουν οἱ μὲν οὐκ ὀμνύοντες οἱ δ'
this and they-did the(-ones) indeed not swearing the(-others) and
ὀμνύοντες· ὁ δ' ὅρκος ἦν τοῦ σκήπτρου ἐπανάτασις.
swearing the and oath was of-the scepter lifting-up
οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων χρόνων καὶ τὰ κατὰ
they indeed then in the ancient times both the(-affairs) in
πόλιν καὶ τὰ ἔνδημα καὶ τὰ ὑπερόρια συνεχῶς
city and the(-affairs) at-home and the(-affairs) abroad continuously
ἦρχον· ὕστερον δὲ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν παριέντων τῶν
ruled later and the(-powers) indeed of-them giving-up the
βασιλέων, τὰ δὲ τῶν ὄχλων παραιρουμένων, ἐν
kings the(-others) and the crowds taking-away in
μὲν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν αἱ θυσίαι κατελείφθησαν τοῖς
indeed the other cities the sacrifices were-left to-the
βασιλεῦσι μόνον, ὅπου δ' ἄξιον εἰπεῖν εἶναι βασιλείαν, ἐν
kings only where but worth to-say to-be kingship in
τοῖς ὑπερορίοις τῶν πολεμικῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν μόνον εἶχον.
the abroad(-affairs) of-the military(-affairs) the leadership only they-had
Βασιλείας μὲν οὖν εἴδη ταῦτα, τέτταρα τὸν ἀριθμόν,
of-kingship indeed then kinds these four the number
μία μὲν ἡ περὶ τοὺς ἡρωικοὺς χρόνους (αὕτη δ' ἦν
one indeed the(-one) in the heroic times this and was
ἑκόντων μέν, ἐπὶ τισὶ δ' ὡρισμένοις· στρατηγός τε
over-willing(-subjects) indeed in some but defined(-matters) general both
γὰρ ἦν καὶ δικαστὴς ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς
for was and judge the king and of-the(-things) toward the

θεοὺς κύριος), δευτέρα δ' ἡ βαρβαρική (αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν
gods sovereign second and the barbarian this and is
ἐκ γένους ἀρχὴ δεσποτικὴ κατὰ νόμον), τρίτη δὲ
from family rule despotic according-to law third and
ἣν αἰσυμνητείαν προσαγορεύουσιν (αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν αἱρετὴ
which aesymneteia they-call this and is elective
τυραννίς), τετάρτη δ' ἡ Λακωνικὴ τούτων (αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν
tyranny fourth and the Laconian of-these this and is
ὡς εἰπεῖν ἁπλῶς στρατηγία κατὰ γένος ἀίδιος). αὗται μὲν
so to-speak simply generalship by family perpetual these indeed
οὖν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον διαφέρουσιν ἀλλήλων· πέμπτον
then this the manner differ from-one-another fifth
δ' εἶδος βασιλείας, ὅταν ᾖ πάντων κύριος εἷς ὤν, ὥσπερ
and kind of-kingship when is of-all sovereign one being just-as
ἕκαστον ἔθνος καὶ πόλις ἑκάστη τῶν κοινῶν, τεταγμένη
each nation and city each of-the common(-affairs) ordered
κατὰ τὴν οἰκονομικήν· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡ οἰκονομικὴ
according-to the household-management just-as for the household-management
βασιλεία τις οἰκίας ἐστίν, οὕτως ἡ παμβασιλεία πόλεως
kingship some of-household is so the absolute-kingship of-city
καὶ ἔθνους ἑνὸς ἢ πλειόνων οἰκονομία.
and of-nation of-one or of-more household-management

XV · LAW OR THE BEST MAN?

Two kinds need examining, the Spartan and absolute kingship. Is it better to be ruled by the best man or by the best laws? Law is without passion but speaks only in general, and a multitude, like a feast many contribute to, judges better and is harder to corrupt. Aristocracy beats kingship where many good men exist; kings ruled when such men were rare, and cities then passed through oligarchy and tyranny to democracy. Hereditary succession is a danger, and a king needs a force stronger than any one man or several together but weaker than the multitude.

Σχεδὸν δὴ δύο ἐστὶν ὡς εἰπεῖν εἴδη βασιλείας περὶ ὧν
nearly indeed two are so to-speak kinds of-kingship about which
σκεπτέον, αὕτη τε καὶ ἡ Λακωνική. τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων αἱ
one-must-inquire this both and the Laconian of-the for others the
πολλαὶ μεταξὺ τούτων εἰσίν· ἐλαττόνων μὲν γὰρ κύριοι
most between these are over-fewer(-things) indeed for sovereign
τῆς παμβασιλείας, πλειόνων δ' εἰσὶ τῆς Λακωνικῆς.
than-the absolute-kingship over-more but are than-the Laconian
ὥστε τὸ σκέμμα σχεδὸν περὶ δυοῖν ἐστιν, ἓν μὲν πότερον
so-that the inquiry nearly about two is one indeed whether
συμφέρει ταῖς πόλεσι στρατηγὸν ἀίδιον εἶναι, καὶ τοῦτον
it-is-advantageous for-the cities general perpetual to-be and this
ἢ κατὰ γένος ἢ κατὰ αἵρεσιν, ἢ οὐ συμφέρει, ἓν
either by family or by election or not it-is-advantageous one
δὲ πότερον ἕνα συμφέρει κύριον εἶναι πάντων, ἢ οὐ
and whether one it-is-advantageous sovereign to-be over-all or not
συμφέρει. τὸ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς τοιαύτης στρατηγίας
it-is-advantageous the indeed then about the such generalship
ἐπισκοπεῖν νόμων ἔχει μᾶλλον εἶδος ἢ πολιτείας (ἐν
to-examine of-laws has rather form than of-constitution in
ἁπάσαις γὰρ ἐνδέχεται γίγνεσθαι τοῦτο ταῖς πολιτείαις),
all for it-is-possible to-arise this the constitutions
ὥστ' ἀφείσθω τὴν πρώτην· ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς τρόπος τῆς
so-that let-it-be-dismissed the first the but remaining manner of-the
βασιλείας πολιτείας εἶδός ἐστιν, ὥστε περὶ τούτου δεῖ
kingship of-constitution form is so-that about this one-must
θεωρῆσαι καὶ τὰς ἀπορίας ἐπιδραμεῖν τὰς ἐνούσας. Ἀρχὴ δ'
to-consider and the difficulties to-run-over the inherent beginning and
ἐστὶ τῆς ζητήσεως αὕτη, πότερον συμφέρει μᾶλλον ὑπὸ
is of-the inquiry this whether it-is-advantageous more by
τοῦ ἀρίστου ἀνδρὸς ἄρχεσθαι ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρίστων νόμων.
the best man to-be-ruled or by the best laws

δοκοῦσι δὴ τοῖς νομίζουσι συμφέρειν βασιλεύεσθαι
seem indeed to-those thinking it-is-advantageous to-be-ruled-by-a-king
τὸ καθόλου μόνον οἱ νόμοι λέγειν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ πρὸς τὰ
the universal only the laws to-state but not for the(-cases)
προσπίπτοντα ἐπιτάττειν, ὥστ᾽ ἐν ὁποιᾳοῦν τέχνῃ τὸ
arising to-prescribe so-that in any-whatever art the
κατὰ γράμματ᾽ ἄρχειν ἠλίθιον· καί πως ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ
according-to writings to-rule foolish and somehow in Egypt
μετὰ τὴν τετρήμερον κινεῖν ἔξεστι τοῖς ἰατροῖς,
after the fourth-day to-change(-treatment) it-is-allowed for-the physicians
(ἐὰν δὲ πρότερον, ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτοῦ κινδύνῳ). φανερὸν τοίνυν ὡς
if but earlier at the his-own risk evident therefore that
οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ κατὰ γράμματα καὶ νόμους ἀρίστη πολιτεία
not is the according-to writings and laws best constitution
διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν. ἀλλὰ μὴν κἀκεῖνον δεῖ ὑπάρχειν τὸν
through the same cause but indeed also-that must to-exist the
λόγον τὸν καθόλου τοῖς ἄρχουσιν. κρεῖττον δ᾽ ᾧ μὴ
principle the universal for-the rulers better and that-to-which not
πρόσεστι τὸ παθητικὸν ὅλως ἢ ᾧ συμφυές· τῷ μὲν
belongs the emotional altogether than that-to-which innate to-the indeed
οὖν νόμῳ τοῦτο οὐχ ὑπάρχει, ψυχὴν δ᾽ ἀνθρωπίνην ἀνάγκη
then law this not belongs soul but human necessary
τοῦτ᾽ ἔχειν πᾶσαν. ἀλλ᾽ ἴσως ἂν φαίη τις ὡς ἀντὶ
this to-have every but perhaps — might-say someone that instead-of
τούτου βουλεύσεται περὶ τῶν καθ᾽ ἕκαστα κάλλιον. ὅτι μὲν
this be-will-deliberate about the by each better that indeed
τοίνυν ἀνάγκη νομοθέτην αὐτὸν εἶναι, δῆλον, καὶ κεῖσθαι
therefore necessary lawgiver him to-be clear and to-be-laid-down
νόμους, ἀλλὰ μὴ κυρίους ᾗ παρεκβαίνουσιν, ἐπεὶ περὶ τῶν
laws but not sovereign where they-deviate since about the
γ᾽ ἄλλων εἶναι δεῖ κυρίους· ὅσα δὲ μὴ δυνατὸν
at-least others to-be they-must sovereign as-many-as but not possible

τὸν νόμον κρίνειν ἢ ὅλως ἢ εὖ, πότερον ἕνα τὸν ἄριστον
the law to-judge either altogether or well whether one the best
δεῖ ἄρχειν ἢ πάντας; καὶ γὰρ νῦν συνιόντες δικάζουσι καὶ
must to-rule or all also for now coming-together they-judge and
βουλεύονται καὶ κρίνουσιν, αὗται δ' αἱ κρίσεις εἰσὶ πᾶσαι
deliberate and decide these but the judgments are all
περὶ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστον. καθ' ἕνα μὲν οὖν συμβαλλόμενος
about the by each by one indeed then compared
ὁστισοῦν ἴσως χείρων· ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις ἐκ πολλῶν,
any-whatever perhaps worse but is the city from many
ὥσπερ ἑστίασις συμφορητὸς καλλίων μιᾶς καὶ ἁπλῆς. διὰ
just-as a-feast jointly-contributed finer than-one and simple through
τοῦτο καὶ κρίνει ἄμεινον ὄχλος πολλὰ ἢ εἷς ὁστισοῦν.
this also judges better a-crowd many-things than one any-whatever
ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀδιάφθορον τὸ πολύ· καθάπερ ὕδωρ τὸ
further more incorruptible the much just-as water the
πλεῖον, οὕτω καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὀλίγων ἀδιαφθορώτερον·
more so also the multitude than-the few more-incorruptible
τοῦ δ' ἑνὸς ὑπ' ὀργῆς κρατηθέντος ἤ τινος ἑτέρου πάθους
of-the but one by anger being-overcome or some other passion
τοιούτου ἀναγκαῖον διεφθάρθαι τὴν κρίσιν· ἐκεῖ δ'
such necessary to-have-been-corrupted the judgment there but
ἔργον ἅμα πάντας ὀργισθῆναι καὶ ἁμαρτεῖν. ἔστω δὲ τὸ
hard-work at-once all to-become-angry and to-err let-be and the
πλῆθος οἱ ἐλεύθεροι, μηδὲν παρὰ τὸν νόμον πράττοντες,
multitude the free nothing contrary-to the law doing
ἀλλ' ἢ περὶ ὧν ἐκλείπειν ἀναγκαῖον αὐτόν. εἰ δὲ δὴ
but except about what to-fall-short necessary it if but indeed
τοῦτο μὴ ῥᾴδιον ἐν πολλοῖς, ἀλλ' εἰ πλείους εἶεν ἀγαθοὶ
this not easy in many but if more were good
καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ πολῖται, πότερον ὁ εἷς ἀδιαφθορώτερος
both men and citizens whether the one more-incorruptible

ἄρχων, ἢ μᾶλλον οἱ πλείους μὲν τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀγαθοὶ
ruler or rather the more indeed the number good
δὲ πάντες; ἢ δῆλον ὡς οἱ πλείους; ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν
but all or clear that the more but the(-latter) indeed
στασιάσουσιν ὁ δὲ εἷς ἀστασίαστος. ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦτ'
will-fall-into-faction the and one free-from-faction but against this
ἀντιθετέον ἴσως ὅτι σπουδαῖοι τὴν ψυχήν, ὥσπερ κἀκεῖνος
one-must-set perhaps that excellent the soul just-as also-that-one
ὁ εἷς. εἰ δὴ τὴν μὲν τῶν πλειόνων ἀρχὴν ἀγαθῶν δ'
the one if indeed the indeed of-the more rule good but
ἀνδρῶν πάντων ἀριστοκρατίαν θετέον, τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἑνὸς
men all aristocracy one-must-posit the and of-the one
βασιλείαν, αἱρετώτερον ἂν εἴη ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀριστοκρατία
kingship more-choiceworthy — would-be for-the cities aristocracy
βασιλείας, καὶ μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ χωρὶς δυνάμεως οὔσης
than-kingship both with power and without power being
τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἂν ᾖ λαβεῖν πλείους ὁμοίους.
the rule if is-possible to-get more alike
καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἴσως ἐβασιλεύοντο πρότερον, ὅτι
and through this perhaps they-were-ruled-by-kings formerly because
σπάνιον ἦν εὑρεῖν ἄνδρας πολὺ διαφέροντας κατ' ἀρετήν,
rare it-was to-find men much excelling in virtue
ἄλλως τε καὶ τότε μικρὰς οἰκοῦντας πόλεις. ἔτι δ' ἀπ'
especially both and then small inhabiting cities further and from
εὐεργεσίας καθίστασαν τοὺς βασιλεῖς, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἔργον
benefaction they-appointed the kings which-very is work
τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνέβαινε γίγνεσθαι πολλοὺς
of-the good men since and it-happened to-become many
ὁμοίους πρὸς ἀρετήν, οὐκέτι ὑπέμενον ἀλλ' ἐζήτουν κοινόν
alike in virtue no-longer they-endured(-it) but sought common
τι καὶ πολιτείαν καθίστασαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ χείρους γιγνόμενοι
something and constitution established since and worse becoming

ἐχρηματίζοντο ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν, ἐντεῦθέν ποθεν εὔλογον
they-made-money from the common(-funds) thence somehow reasonable
γενέσθαι τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας· ἔντιμον γὰρ ἐποίησαν τὸν πλοῦτον.
to-have-arisen the oligarchies honored for they-made the wealth
ἐκ δὲ τούτων πρῶτον εἰς τυραννίδας μετέβαλλον, ἐκ δὲ
from and these first into tyrannies they-changed from and
τῶν τυραννίδων εἰς δημοκρατίαν· αἰεὶ γὰρ εἰς ἐλάττους
the tyrannies into democracy always for into fewer
ἄγοντες δι᾽ αἰσχροκέρδειαν ἰσχυρότερον τὸ πλῆθος
bringing(-power) through love-of-base-gain stronger the multitude
κατέστησαν, ὥστ᾽ ἐπιθέσθαι καὶ γενέσθαι δημοκρατίας. ἐπεὶ
they-made so-as to-attack and to-arise democracies since
δὲ καὶ μείζους εἶναι συμβέβηκε τὰς πόλεις, ἴσως οὐδὲ
and also larger to-be has-happened the cities perhaps not-even
ῥᾴδιον ἔτι γίγνεσθαι πολιτείαν ἑτέραν παρὰ δημοκρατίαν.
easy any-longer to-arise constitution other beside democracy
εἰ δὲ δή τις ἄριστον θείη τὸ βασιλεύεσθαι ταῖς
if but indeed someone best should-posit the to-be-ruled-by-a-king for-the
πόλεσιν, πῶς ἕξει τὰ περὶ τῶν τέκνων; πότερον καὶ
cities how will-be the(-matters) about the children whether also
τὸ γένος δεῖ βασιλεύειν; ἀλλὰ γιγνομένων ὁποῖοί τινες
the family must to-reign but becoming whatever-sort some
ἔτυχον, βλαβερόν. ἀλλ᾽ οὐ παραδώσει κύριος ὢν τοῖς
they-happen harmful but not he-will-hand-over sovereign being to-the
τέκνοις. ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἔτι τοῦτο ῥᾴδιον πιστεῦσαι· χαλεπὸν
children but not any-longer this easy to-believe hard
γάρ, καὶ μείζονος ἀρετῆς ἢ κατ᾽ ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν. ἔχει
for and of-greater virtue than according-to human nature it-has
δ᾽ ἀπορίαν καὶ περὶ τῆς δυνάμεως, πότερον ἔχειν δεῖ τὸν
and difficulty also about the power whether to-have must the(-one)
μέλλοντα βασιλεύειν ἰσχύν τινα περὶ αὑτόν, ᾗ δυνήσεται
intending to-reign strength some around himself by-which he-will-be-able

βιάζεσθαι τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους πειθαρχεῖν, ἢ πῶς ἐνδέχεται
to-force those not wishing to-obey or how is-it-possible
τὴν ἀρχὴν διοικεῖν; εἰ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ νόμον εἴη κύριος,
the rule to-administer if for even according-to law he-were sovereign
μηδὲν πράττων κατὰ τὴν αὑτοῦ βούλησιν παρὰ τὸν νόμον,
nothing doing according-to the his-own will against the law
ὅμως ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ δύναμιν ᾗ φυλάξει
nevertheless necessary to-exist for-him power by-which he-will-guard
τοὺς νόμους. τάχα μὲν οὖν τὰ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα τὸν
the laws perhaps indeed then the(-matters) about the king the
τοιοῦτον οὐ χαλεπὸν διορίσαι· δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν μὲν ἔχειν
such not difficult to-determine must for him indeed to-have
ἰσχύν, εἶναι δὲ τοσαύτην τὴν ἰσχὺν ὥστε ἑκάστου μὲν καὶ
strength to-be but so-great the strength so-that than-each indeed both
ἑνὸς καὶ συμπλειόνων κρείττω τοῦ δὲ πλήθους ἥττω,
one and several-together stronger than-the but multitude weaker
καθάπερ οἵ τ᾽ ἀρχαῖοι τὰς φυλακὰς ἐδίδοσαν, ὅτε καθισταῖέν
just-as the both ancients the guards gave when they-appointed
τινα τῆς πόλεως ὃν ἐκάλουν αἰσυμνήτην ἢ τύραννον,
someone of-the city whom they-called aesymnete or tyrant
καὶ Διονυσίῳ τις, ὅτ᾽ ἤτει τοὺς φύλακας, συνεβούλευε
and for-Dionysius someone when he-asked the guards advised
τοῖς Συρακουσίοις διδόναι τοσούτους τοὺς φύλακας.
the Syracusans to-give so-many the guards

Some hold that absolute kingship over equals is against nature, and that law should rule, with officials as its guardians and servants. Law is reason without desire: whoever bids law rule bids god and reason rule, and whoever bids a man rule adds a beast. The physician's case fails, since physicians are not swayed by friendship, and customary law outranks any man. One man cannot see everything, so a monarch takes friends as fellow rulers. These are the arguments against kingship.

Περὶ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ κατὰ τὴν αὑτοῦ βούλησιν
about and the king the according-to the his-own will
πάντα πράττοντος ὅ τε λόγος ἐφέστηκε νῦν καὶ ποιητέον
all doing the both argument has-arrived now and one-must-make
τὴν σκέψιν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ νόμον λεγόμενος βασιλεὺς
the inquiry the indeed for according-to law so-called king
οὐκ ἔστιν εἶδος, καθάπερ εἴπομεν, πολιτείας (ἐν πάσαις γὰρ
not is a-form just-as we-said of-constitution in all for
ὑπάρχειν ἐνδέχεται στρατηγίαν ἀίδιον, οἷον ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ
to-exist it-is-possible generalship perpetual such-as in democracy
καὶ ἀριστοκρατίᾳ, καὶ πολλοὶ ποιοῦσιν ἕνα κύριον τῆς
and aristocracy and many make one sovereign of-the
διοικήσεως· τοιαύτη γὰρ ἀρχή τις ἔστι καὶ περὶ Ἐπίδαμνον,
administration such for office some is both about Epidamnus
καὶ περὶ Ὀποῦντα δὲ κατά τι μέρος ἔλαττον)· περὶ δὲ τῆς
and about Opus but in some part less about but the
παμβασιλείας καλουμένης, αὕτη δ' ἐστὶ καθ' ἣν ἄρχει
absolute-kingship so-called this and is according-to which rules
πάντων κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βούλησιν ὁ βασιλεύς. δοκεῖ δέ
over-all according-to the his-own will the king it-seems and
τισιν οὐδὲ κατὰ φύσιν εἶναι τὸ κύριον ἕνα πάντων εἶναι
to-some not-even according-to nature to-be the sovereign one over-all to-be
τῶν πολιτῶν, ὅπου συνέστηκεν ἐξ ὁμοίων ἡ πόλις· τοῖς
of-the citizens where is-composed from like(-men) the city for-the

γὰρ ὁμοίοις φύσει τὸ αὐτὸ δίκαιον ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν
for like by-nature the same justice necessary and the same
ἀξίαν κατὰ φύσιν εἶναι, ὥστ' εἴπερ καὶ τὸ ἴσην ἔχειν
worth according-to nature to-be so-that if-indeed also the equal to-have
τοὺς ἀνίσους τροφὴν ἢ ἐσθῆτα βλαβερὸν τοῖς σώμασιν,
the unequal food or clothing harmful for-the bodies
οὕτως ἔχειν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς τιμάς, ὁμοίως τοίνυν
thus to-be also the(-things) about the honors similarly therefore
καὶ τὸ ἄνισον τοὺς ἴσους· διόπερ οὐδένα μᾶλλον ἄρχειν
also the unequal the equal therefore no-one more to-rule
ἢ ἄρχεσθαι δίκαιον, καὶ τὸ ἀνὰ μέρος τοίνυν ὡσαύτως.
than to-be-ruled just and the by turn therefore likewise
τοῦτο δ' ἤδη νόμος· ἡ γὰρ τάξις νόμος. τὸν ἄρα
this and already law the for order law the then
νόμον ἄρχειν αἱρετώτερον μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν πολιτῶν ἕνα
law to-rule more-choiceworthy rather than of-the citizens one
τινά, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ λόγον τοῦτον, κἂν εἴ τινας
some by the same and argument this even if some
ἄρχειν βέλτιον, τούτους καταστατέον νομοφύλακας καὶ
to-rule better these must-be-appointed guardians-of-the-laws and
ὑπηρέτας τοῖς νόμοις· ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ εἶναί τινας ἀρχάς,
servants to-the laws necessary for to-be some offices
ἀλλ' οὐχ ἕνα τοῦτον εἶναί φασι δίκαιον ὁμοίων γε
but not one this to-be they-say just alike at-least
ὄντων πάντων. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅσα γε μὴ δοκεῖ δύνασθαι
being all but indeed as-many-as at-least not seems to-be-able
διορίζειν ὁ νόμος, οὐδ' ἄνθρωπος ἂν δύναιτο γνωρίζειν.
to-determine the law nor a-man — could to-discern
ἀλλ' ἐπίτηδες παιδεύσας ὁ νόμος ἐφίστησι τὰ
but purposely having-educated(-them) the law sets the
λοιπὰ τῇ δικαιοτάτῃ γνώμῃ κρίνειν καὶ διοικεῖν
remaining(-matters) by-the most-just judgment to-decide and to-administer

τοὺς ἄρχοντας. ἔτι δ' ἐπανορθοῦσθαι δίδωσιν, ὅ τι
the rulers further and to-correct it-grants what ever
ἂν δόξῃ πειρωμένοις ἄμεινον εἶναι τῶν κειμένων. ὁ
— may-seem to-those-trying better to-be than-the laid-down(-laws) the
μὲν οὖν τὸν νόμον κελεύων ἄρχειν δοκεῖ κελεύειν ἄρχειν
indeed then the law bidding to-rule seems to-bid to-rule
τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὸν νοῦν μόνους, ὁ δ' ἄνθρωπον κελεύων
— god and the intellect alone the but man bidding
προστίθησι καὶ θηρίον· ἥ τε γὰρ ἐπιθυμία τοιοῦτον, καὶ
adds also a-beast the both for appetite such and
ὁ θυμὸς ἄρχοντας διαστρέφει καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἄνδρας.
the spirit rulers distorts even the best men
διόπερ ἄνευ ὀρέξεως νοῦς ὁ νόμος ἐστίν. τὸ δὲ τῶν
therefore without appetite intellect the law is the but of-the
τεχνῶν εἶναι δοκεῖ παράδειγμα ψεῦδος, ὅτι τὸ κατὰ
arts to-be seems example false that the by
γράμματα ἰατρεύεσθαι φαῦλον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱρετώτερον
writings to-be-treated bad but even more-choiceworthy
χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἔχουσι τὰς τέχνας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν
to-use those having the arts the(-physicians) indeed for nothing
διὰ φιλίαν παρὰ τὸν λόγον ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἄρνυνται
through friendship contrary-to the reason do but earn
τὸν μισθὸν τοὺς κάμνοντας ὑγιάσαντες· οἱ δ' ἐν
the fee the sick having-healed the(-ones) but in
ταῖς πολιτικαῖς ἀρχαῖς πολλὰ πρὸς ἐπήρειαν καὶ
the political offices many(-things) with-a-view-to spite and
χάριν εἰώθασι πράττειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς ὅταν
favor are-accustomed to-do since even the physicians when
ὑποπτεύωσι πεισθέντας τοῖς ἐχθροῖς διαφθείρειν διὰ
they-suspect(-them) having-been-persuaded by-the enemies to-destroy(-them) for
κέρδος, τότε τὴν ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων θεραπείαν ζητήσαιεν
gain then the from the writings treatment they-would-seek

ἂν μᾶλλον. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰσάγονταί γ' ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς οἱ
— *rather but indeed bring-in at-least for themselves the*
ἰατροὶ κάμνοντες ἄλλους ἰατροὺς καὶ οἱ παιδοτρίβαι
physicians being-sick other physicians and the trainers
γυμναζόμενοι παιδοτρίβας, ὡς οὐ δυνάμενοι κρίνειν τὸ
exercising trainers as not being-able to-judge the
ἀληθὲς διὰ τὸ κρίνειν περί τε οἰκείων καὶ ἐν πάθει
truth through the to-judge about both their-own(-cases) and in passion
ὄντες. ὥστε δῆλον ὅτι τὸ δίκαιον ζητοῦντες τὸ μέσον
being so-that clear that the just seeking the mean
ζητοῦσιν· ὁ γὰρ νόμος τὸ μέσον. ἔτι κυριώτεροι καὶ περὶ
they-seek the for law the mean further more-sovereign and about
κυριωτέρων τῶν κατὰ γράμματα νόμων οἱ κατὰ
more-sovereign(-matters) than-the according-to writings laws those according-to
τὰ ἔθη εἰσίν, ὥστ' εἰ τῶν κατὰ γράμματα ἄνθρωπος
the customs are so-that if than-the according-to writings a-man
ἄρχων ἀσφαλέστερος, ἀλλ' οὐ τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἔθος.
ruling safer but not than-those according-to the custom
ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ ῥᾴδιον ἐφορᾶν πολλὰ τὸν ἕνα·
but indeed not-even easy to-oversee many(-things) the one
δεήσει ἄρα πλείονας εἶναι τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
it-will-be-necessary then more to-be those by him
καθισταμένους ἄρχοντας, ὥστε τί διαφέρει τοῦτο ἐξ
appointed rulers so-that what does-it-differ this from
ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς ὑπάρχειν ἢ τὸν ἕνα καταστῆσαι τοῦτον τὸν
beginning at-once to-exist or the one to-appoint this the
τρόπον; ἔτι, ὃ καὶ πρότερον εἰρημένον ἐστίν, εἴπερ ὁ
way further what also before has-been-said is if-indeed the
ἀνὴρ ὁ σπουδαῖος, διότι βελτίων, ἄρχειν δίκαιος, τοῦ δὲ
man the excellent because better to-rule just than-the and
ἑνὸς οἱ δύο ἀγαθοὶ βελτίους· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ "σύν τε δύ'
one the two good better this for is the together and two

ἐρχομένω" καὶ ἡ εὐχὴ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος "τοιοῦτοι δέκα μοι
going and the prayer — of-Agamemnon such ten to-me
συμφράδμονες". εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ νῦν περὶ ἐνίων αἱ ἀρχαὶ κύριαι
counselors are and also now about some the offices sovereign
κρίνειν, ὥσπερ ὁ δικαστής, περὶ ὧν ὁ νόμος ἀδυνατεῖ
to-judge just-as the juror about which the law is-unable
διορίζειν, ἐπεὶ περὶ ὧν γε δυνατός, οὐδεὶς ἀμφισβητεῖ
to-determine since about which at-least able no-one disputes
περὶ τούτων ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἄριστα ὁ νόμος ἄρξειε καὶ κρίνειεν.
about these that not — best the law would-rule and would-judge
ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τὰ μὲν ἐνδέχεται περιληφθῆναι τοῖς νόμοις
but since the(-things) indeed it-is-possible to-be-comprehended by-the laws
τὰ δὲ ἀδύνατα, ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἃ ποιεῖ διαπορεῖν καὶ
the(-others) but impossible these are what makes to-raise-the-difficulty and
ζητεῖν πότερον τὸν ἄριστον νόμον ἄρχειν αἱρετώτερον ἢ τὸν
to-inquire whether the best law to-rule more-choiceworthy or the
ἄνδρα τὸν ἄριστον. περὶ ὧν γὰρ βουλεύονται νομοθετῆσαι
man the best about what for they-deliberate to-legislate
τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἐστίν. οὐ τοίνυν τοῦτό γ' ἀντιλέγουσιν,
of-the impossible(-things) it-is not therefore this at-least they-contend
ὡς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἄνθρωπον εἶναι τὸν κρινοῦντα περὶ
that not necessary a-man to-be the(-one) who-will-judge about
τῶν τοιούτων, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐχ ἕνα μόνον ἀλλὰ πολλούς.
the such but that not one only but many
κρίνει γὰρ ἕκαστος ἄρχων πεπαιδευμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου
judges for each ruler educated by the law
καλῶς, ἄτοπον τ' ἴσως ἂν εἶναι δόξειεν εἰ βέλτιον ἴδοι τις
well strange and perhaps — to-be would-seem if better should-see one
δυοῖν ὄμμασι καὶ δυσὶν ἀκοαῖς κρίνων, καὶ πράττων δυσὶ
with-two eyes and with-two hearings judging and acting with-two
ποσὶ καὶ χερσίν, ἢ πολλοὶ πολλοῖς· ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν ὀφθαλμοὺς
feet and hands than many with-many since even now eyes

πολλοὺς οἱ μόναρχοι ποιοῦσιν αὑτῶν καὶ ὦτα καὶ χεῖρας
many the monarchs make of-themselves and ears and hands
καὶ πόδας. τοὺς γὰρ τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ αὐτοὺς φίλους ποιοῦνται
and feet those for to-the rule and them friends they-make
συνάρχους. μὴ φίλοι μὲν οὖν ὄντες οὐ ποιήσουσι κατὰ
fellow-rulers not friends indeed then being not they-will-act according-to
τὴν τοῦ μονάρχου προαίρεσιν· εἰ δὲ φίλοι κἀκείνου καὶ
the of-the monarch purpose if but friends both-of-him and
τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὅ γε φίλος ἴσος καὶ ὅμοιος, ὥστ᾽ εἰ τούτους
of-the rule the at-least friend equal and alike so-that if these
οἴεται δεῖν ἄρχειν, τοὺς ἴσους καὶ ὁμοίους ἄρχειν οἴεται
he-thinks to-be-necessary to-rule the equal and alike to-rule he-thinks
δεῖν ὁμοίως. Ἃ μὲν οὖν οἱ διαμφισβητοῦντες
to-be-necessary similarly the(-things) indeed then those disputing
πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν λέγουσι, σχεδὸν ταῦτ᾽ ἐστίν·
against the kingship say nearly these are

XVII · WHEN KINGSHIP IS JUST

Some peoples are fit by nature for a master's rule, some for a king's, and some for political rule; tyranny and the other deviations are against nature. Among equals no one man should be sovereign. A people that bears a family preeminent in virtue suits kingship, one that free men of virtue can rule suits aristocracy, and a warlike multitude that rules and is ruled by law suits polity. A family or one man surpassing all others in virtue should be king, since he cannot rightly be killed, banished, or ruled in turn.

Ἀλλ᾽ ἴσως ταῦτ᾽ ἐπὶ μὲν τινῶν ἔχει τὸν τρόπον
but perhaps these-things in-the-case-of indeed some have the manner
τοῦτον, ἐπὶ δὲ τινῶν οὐχ οὕτως. ἔστι γάρ τι
this in-the-case-of but others not thus is for something

φύσει δεσποστὸν καὶ ἄλλο βασιλευτὸν καὶ ἄλλο πολιτικὸν
by-nature fit-for-mastership and another fit-for-kingship and another fit-for-polity
καὶ δίκαιον καὶ συμφέρον· τυραννικὸν δ' οὐκ ἔστι κατὰ
and just and advantageous tyrannical but not is according-to
φύσιν, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτειῶν ὅσαι παρεκβάσεις εἰσί·
nature nor of-the other constitutions as-many-as deviations are
ταῦτα γὰρ γίνεται παρὰ φύσιν. ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων
these for arise contrary-to nature but from the(-things) said
γε φανερὸν ὡς ἐν μὲν τοῖς ὁμοίοις καὶ ἴσοις οὔτε
at-least evident that among indeed the alike and equal neither
συμφέρον ἐστὶν οὔτε δίκαιον ἕνα κύριον εἶναι πάντων, οὔτε
advantageous is nor just one sovereign to-be over-all neither
μὴ νόμων ὄντων, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ὡς ὄντα νόμον, οὔτε νόμων
not laws being but himself as being law nor laws
ὄντων, οὔτε ἀγαθὸν ἀγαθῶν οὔτε μὴ ἀγαθῶν μὴ ἀγαθόν,
being nor good over-good nor not over-good not good
οὐδ' ἂν κατ' ἀρετὴν ἀμείνων ᾖ, εἰ μὴ τρόπον τινά. τίς δ'
nor-even if in virtue better he-be if not in-a-way some what but
ὁ τρόπος, λεκτέον· εἴρηται δέ πως ἤδη καὶ πρότερον.
the way must-be-said it-has-been-said and somehow already also before
πρῶτον δὲ διοριστέον τί τὸ βασιλευτὸν καὶ τί
first and one-must-determine what the fit-for-kingship and what
τὸ ἀριστοκρατικὸν καὶ τί τὸ πολιτικόν. βασιλευτὸν
the aristocratic and what the fit-for-polity fit-for-kingship
μὲν οὖν τὸ τοιοῦτόν ἐστι πλῆθος ὧ πέφυκε φέρειν
indeed then the such is multitude which is-of-a-nature to-bear
γένος ὑπερέχον κατ' ἀρετὴν πρὸς ἡγεμονίαν πολιτικήν,
a-family excelling in virtue for leadership political
ἀριστοκρατικὸν δὲ πλῆθος ἄρχεσθαι δυνάμενον τὴν τῶν
aristocratic and multitude to-be-ruled able the of-the
ἐλευθέρων ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ τῶν κατ' ἀρετὴν ἡγεμονικῶν πρὸς
free rule by those in virtue fitted-to-lead for

πολιτικὴν ἀρχήν, πολιτικὸν δὲ πλῆθος πολεμικὸν δυνάμενον
political rule polity-fit and multitude warlike able
ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἄρχειν κατὰ νόμον τὸν κατ᾽ ἀξίαν
to-be-ruled and to-rule according-to law the(-law) according-to merit
διανέμοντα τοῖς εὐπόροις τὰς ἀρχάς. ὅταν οὖν ἢ γένος
distributing to-the well-off the offices when then either family
ὅλον ἢ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕνα τινὰ συμβῇ διαφέροντα
whole or also of-the others one some happen excelling
γενέσθαι κατ᾽ ἀρετὴν τοσοῦτον ὥσθ᾽ ὑπερέχειν τὴν ἐκείνου
to-become in virtue so-much so-as to-exceed the of-that-one
τῆς τῶν ἄλλων πάντων, τότε δίκαιον τὸ γένος εἶναι
than-the of-the others all then just the family to-be
τοῦτο βασιλικὸν καὶ κύριον πάντων καὶ βασιλέα τὸν ἕνα
this royal and sovereign over-all and king the one
τοῦτον. καθάπερ γὰρ εἴρηται πρότερον, οὐ μόνον οὕτως
this just-as for has-been-said before not only thus
ἔχει κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον, ὃ προφέρειν εἰώθασιν οἱ
it-holds according-to the justice which to-put-forward are-accustomed those
τὰς πολιτείας καθιστάντες, οἵ τε τὰς ἀριστοκρατικὰς
the constitutions establishing those both the aristocratic
καὶ οἱ τὰς ὀλιγαρχικὰς καὶ πάλιν οἱ τὰς δημοκρατικάς·
and those the oligarchic and again those the democratic
πάντῃ γὰρ καθ᾽ ὑπεροχὴν ἀξιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ ὑπεροχὴν οὐ
in-every-way for by superiority they-claim but superiority not
τὴν αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὸ πρότερον λεχθέν.
the same but also according-to the earlier said(-thing)
οὔτε γὰρ κτείνειν ἢ φυγαδεύειν οὐδ᾽ ὀστρακίζειν δή
neither for to-kill or to-exile nor to-ostracize indeed
που τὸν τοιοῦτον πρέπον ἐστίν, οὔτ᾽ ἀξιοῦν ἄρχεσθαι
I-suppose the such(-man) fitting is nor to-require to-be-ruled
κατὰ μέρος· οὐ γὰρ πέφυκε τὸ μέρος ὑπερέχειν τοῦ
by turn not for is-of-a-nature the part to-exceed the

παντός, τῷ δὲ τὴν τηλικαύτην ὑπερβολὴν ἔχοντι
whole for-the(-one) but the so-great excess having
τοῦτο συμβέβηκεν. ὥστε λείπεται μόνον τὸ πείθεσθαι τῷ
this has-happened so-as remains only the to-obey the
τοιούτῳ καὶ κύριον εἶναι μὴ κατὰ μέρος τοῦτον ἀλλ'
such(-man) and sovereign to-be not by turn this(-man) but
ἁπλῶς. Περὶ μὲν οὖν βασιλείας, τίνας ἔχει διαφοράς,
simply about indeed then kingship what has differences
καὶ πότερον οὐ συμφέρει ταῖς πόλεσιν ἢ συμφέρει,
and whether not it-is-advantageous for-the cities or it-is-advantageous
καὶ τίσι, καὶ πῶς, διωρίσθω τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον·
and for-whom and how let-it-be-determined the manner this

XVIII · TOWARD THE BEST CONSTITUTION

Of the three right constitutions the best is the one governed by the best men, whether one, a family, or a multitude excelling in virtue. Since in the best city the virtue of a man and of a citizen is the same, the same education and habits make a man good and fit to be a statesman or a king. Next one must speak of the best constitution, how it naturally arises and is established.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τρεῖς φαμεν εἶναι τὰς ὀρθὰς πολιτείας, τούτων
since and three we-say to-be the right constitutions of-these
δ' ἀναγκαῖον ἀρίστην εἶναι τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρίστων
and necessary best to-be the(-one) by the best
οἰκονομουμένην, τοιαύτη δ' ἐστὶν ἐν ᾗ συμβέβηκεν ἢ
administered such and is in which it-has-happened either
ἕνα τινὰ συμπάντων ἢ γένος ὅλον ἢ πλῆθος ὑπερέχον
one some of-all or family whole or multitude excelling
εἶναι κατ' ἀρετήν, τῶν μὲν ἄρχεσθαι δυναμένων τῶν
to-be in virtue the(-ones) indeed to-be-ruled able the(-others)

δ' ἄρχειν πρὸς τὴν αἱρετωτάτην ζωήν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρώτοις
and to-rule for the most-choiceworthy life in and the first
ἐδείχθη λόγοις ὅτι τὴν αὐτὴν ἀναγκαῖον ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν
it-was-shown discourses that the same necessary of-man virtue
εἶναι καὶ πολίτου τῆς πόλεως τῆς ἀρίστης· φανερὸν ὅτι
to-be and of-citizen of-the city the best evident that
τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀνήρ τε γίνεται
in-the same manner and through the same(-means) man both becomes
σπουδαῖος καὶ πόλιν συστήσειεν ἄν τις ἀριστοκρατουμένην
excellent and city would-establish — one aristocratically-governed
ἢ βασιλευομένην, ὥστ' ἔσται καὶ παιδεία καὶ ἔθη ταὐτὰ
or kingly-ruled so-as will-be both education and habits the-same
σχεδὸν τὰ ποιοῦντα σπουδαῖον ἄνδρα καὶ τὰ ποιοῦντα
nearly those making excellent man and those making
πολιτικὸν καὶ βασιλικόν. διωρισμένων δὲ τούτων περὶ
statesman and kingly having-been-determined and these about
τῆς πολιτείας ἤδη πειρατέον λέγειν τῆς ἀρίστης, τίνα
the constitution now one-must-try to-speak the best in-what
πέφυκε γίγνεσθαι τρόπον καὶ καθίστασθαι πῶς.
is-of-a-nature to-arise manner and to-be-established how

BOOK IV

I · THE TASKS OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Like every complete art, political science must study the best constitution simply, the best under given circumstances, the best on a hypothesis, and the one most suited to all cities. Most writers neglect what is useful; the statesman must be able to reform existing constitutions, and so must know how many kinds there are. The same wisdom sees which laws suit each, since laws are framed for constitutions, not constitutions for laws, and there is not one democracy and one oligarchy only.

Ἐν ἁπάσαις ταῖς τέχναις καὶ ταῖς ἐπιστήμαις ταῖς μὴ κατὰ
in all the arts and the sciences those not in
μόριον γινομέναις, ἀλλὰ περὶ γένος ἕν τι τελείαις οὔσαις,
part arising but about kind one some complete being
μιᾶς ἐστι θεωρῆσαι τὸ περὶ ἕκαστον γένος ἁρμόττον,
of-one is to-consider the(-thing) about each kind fitting
οἷον ἄσκησις σώματι ποία τε ποίῳ συμφέρει, καὶ τίς
such-as training for-body what-sort both for-what-sort is-advantageous and what
ἀρίστη (τῷ γὰρ κάλλιστα πεφυκότι καὶ κεχορηγημένῳ
best for-the for most-finely endowed-by-nature and furnished
τὴν ἀρίστην ἀναγκαῖον ἁρμόττειν), καὶ τίς τοῖς πλείστοις
the best necessary to-fit and what for-the most
μία πᾶσιν (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τῆς γυμναστικῆς ἔργον ἐστίν),
one for-all also for this of-the gymnastics work is
ἔτι δ' ἐάν τις μὴ τῆς ἱκνουμένης ἐπιθυμῇ μήθ' ἕξεως
further and if someone not the appropriate should-desire neither condition
μήτ' ἐπιστήμης τῶν περὶ τὴν ἀγωνίαν μηθὲν ἧττον,
nor knowledge of-those about the contest nothing less
τοῦ παιδοτρίβου καὶ τοῦ γυμναστικοῦ παρασκευάσαι γε
of-the trainer and of-the gymnast to-provide at-least
καὶ ταύτην ἐστὶ τὴν δύναμιν. ὁμοίως δὲ τοῦτο καὶ
also this is the capacity similarly and this also

περὶ ἰατρικὴν καὶ περὶ ναυπηγίαν καὶ ἐσθῆτα καὶ περὶ
about medicine and about shipbuilding and clothing and about
πᾶσαν ἄλλην τέχνην ὁρῶμεν συμβαῖνον. ὥστε δῆλον ὅτι
every other art we-see happening so-that clear that
καὶ πολιτείαν τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστιν ἐπιστήμης τὴν ἀρίστην
also constitution of-the same is science the best
θεωρῆσαι τίς ἐστι καὶ ποία τις ἂν οὖσα μάλιστ᾽ εἴη
to-consider what it-is and of-what-sort some — being most would-be
κατ᾽ εὐχὴν μηδενὸς ἐμποδίζοντος τῶν ἐκτός, καὶ
according-to wish nothing hindering of-the external(-things) and
τίς τίσιν ἁρμόττουσα (πολλοῖς γὰρ τῆς ἀρίστης τυχεῖν
what for-whom fitting for-many for the best to-attain
ἴσως ἀδύνατον, ὥστε τὴν κρατίστην τε ἁπλῶς καὶ τὴν
perhaps impossible so-that the best both simply and the
ἐκ τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἀρίστην οὐ δεῖ λελῆθέναι τὸν
from the underlying(-conditions) best not must to-have-escaped-notice the
ἀγαθὸν νομοθέτην καὶ τὸν ὡς ἀληθῶς πολιτικόν), ἔτι
good lawgiver and the as truly statesman further
δὲ τρίτην τὴν ἐξ ὑποθέσεως (δεῖ γὰρ καὶ τὴν δοθεῖσαν
and third the from assumption must for also the given
δύνασθαι θεωρεῖν, ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε πῶς ἂν γένοιτο, καὶ
to-be-able to-consider from beginning both how — it-might-arise and
γενομένη τίνα τρόπον ἂν σῴζοιτο πλεῖστον χρόνον·
having-arisen in-what manner — might-be-preserved longest time
λέγω δὲ οἷον εἴ τινι πόλει συμβέβηκε μήτε τὴν ἀρίστην
I-mean and such-as if some city it-has-happened neither the best
πολιτεύεσθαι πολιτείαν, ἀχορήγητόν τε εἶναι καὶ τῶν
to-be-governed constitution unfurnished both to-be even of-the
ἀναγκαίων, μήτε τὴν ἐνδεχομένην ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων,
necessities nor the possible from the existing(-conditions)
ἀλλά τινα φαυλοτέραν), παρὰ πάντα δὲ ταῦτα τὴν μάλιστα
but some baser beside all and these the most

πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν ἁρμόττουσαν δεῖ γνωρίζειν. ὡς
all the cities fitting one-must to-know so-that
οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀποφαινομένων περὶ πολιτείας, καὶ εἰ
the most of-those declaring about constitution even if
τἆλλα λέγουσι καλῶς, τῶν γε χρησίμων διαμαρτάνουσιν.
the-rest they-say well of-the at-least useful(-things) miss
οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὴν ἀρίστην δεῖ θεωρεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν
not for only the best one-must to-consider but also the
δυνατήν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν ῥάω καὶ κοινοτέραν ἁπάσαις· νῦν
possible similarly and also the easier and more-common for-all now
δ' οἱ μὲν τὴν ἀκροτάτην καὶ δεομένην πολλῆς χορηγίας
but the(-ones) indeed the highest and needing much equipment
ζητοῦσι μόνον, οἱ δὲ μᾶλλον κοινήν τινα λέγοντες
seek only the(-others) but rather common some saying
τὰς ὑπαρχούσας ἀναιροῦντες πολιτείας τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἤ
the existing doing-away-with constitutions the Laconian or
τινα ἄλλην ἐπαινοῦσι· χρὴ δὲ τοιαύτην εἰσηγεῖσθαι τάξιν
some other praise must but such to-introduce order
ἣν ῥᾳδίως ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχουσῶν καὶ πεισθήσονται
which easily from the existing(-constitutions) both they-will-be-persuaded
καὶ δυνήσονται κινεῖν, ὡς ἔστιν οὐκ ἔλαττον ἔργον τὸ
and will-be-able to-change since is not less work the
ἐπανορθῶσαι πολιτείαν ἢ κατασκευάζειν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὥσπερ
to-reform constitution than to-construct from beginning just-as
καὶ τὸ μεταμανθάνειν ἢ μανθάνειν ἐξ ἀρχῆς· διὸ πρὸς
also the to-relearn than to-learn from beginning therefore besides
τοῖς εἰρημένοις καὶ ταῖς ὑπαρχούσαις πολιτείαις δεῖ δύνασθαι
the said(-things) also the existing constitutions must to-be-able
βοηθεῖν τὸν πολιτικόν, καθάπερ ἐλέχθη καὶ πρότερον. τοῦτο
to-help the statesman just-as was-said also before this
δὲ ἀδύνατον ἀγνοοῦντα πόσα πολιτείας ἔστιν εἴδη. νῦν δὲ
but impossible not-knowing how-many of-constitution are kinds now but

μίαν δημοκρατίαν οἴονταί τινες εἶναι καὶ μίαν ὀλιγαρχίαν· οὐκ
one democracy think some to-be and one oligarchy not
ἔστι δὲ τοῦτ' ἀληθές. ὥστε δεῖ τὰς διαφορὰς μὴ λανθάνειν
is but this true so-that must the differences not to-escape-notice
τὰς τῶν πολιτειῶν, πόσαι, καὶ συντίθενται ποσαχῶς.
the of-the constitutions how-many and are-combined in-how-many-ways
μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῆς αὐτῆς φρονήσεως ταύτης καὶ νόμους
after and these of-the same prudence this also laws
τοὺς ἀρίστους ἰδεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἑκάστῃ τῶν πολιτειῶν
the best to-see and those for-each of-the constitutions
ἁρμόττοντας. πρὸς γὰρ τὰς πολιτείας τοὺς νόμους
fitting with-reference-to for the constitutions the laws
δεῖ τίθεσθαι καὶ τίθενται πάντες, ἀλλ' οὐ τὰς πολιτείας
one-must to-lay-down and lay-down all but not the constitutions
πρὸς τοὺς νόμους. πολιτεία μὲν γάρ ἐστι τάξις ταῖς
with-reference-to the laws constitution indeed for is order for-the
πόλεσιν ἡ περὶ τὰς ἀρχάς, τίνα τρόπον νενέμηνται, καὶ
cities the about the offices in-what manner they-are-distributed and
τί τὸ κύριον τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τί τὸ τέλος ἑκάστης τῆς
what the sovereign of-the constitution and what the end of-each the
κοινωνίας ἐστίν· νόμοι δὲ κεχωρισμένοι τῶν δηλούντων
community is laws and separated from-those making-clear
τὴν πολιτείαν, καθ' οὓς δεῖ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἄρχειν
the constitution according-to which must the rulers to-rule
καὶ φυλάττειν τοὺς παραβαίνοντας αὐτούς. ὥστε δῆλον
and to-guard-against those transgressing them so-that clear
ὅτι τὰς διαφορὰς ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἔχειν τῆς
that the differences necessary also the number to-have of-the
πολιτείας ἑκάστης καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν νόμων θέσεις·
constitution each also with-regard-to the of-the laws enactments
οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε τοὺς αὐτοὺς νόμους συμφέρειν ταῖς
not for possible — the same laws to-be-advantageous for-the

ὀλιγαρχίαις οὐδὲ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις πάσαις, εἴπερ εἴδη
oligarchies nor for-the democracies all if-indeed kinds
πλείω καὶ μὴ μία δημοκρατία μηδὲ ὀλιγαρχία μόνον ἔστιν.
more and not one democracy nor oligarchy only is

II · THE PLAN OF THE INQUIRY

The first inquiry distinguished three right constitutions and three deviations, and aristocracy and kingship have been discussed. Of the deviations tyranny is the worst, oligarchy next, and democracy the most moderate. An earlier writer judged democracy worst of the decent kinds and best of the bad, but Aristotle calls every deviation erroneous, one only less bad than another. It remains to ask how many varieties there are, which is most common and preferable after the best, which suits whom, how each is established, and what destroys and preserves constitutions.

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ μεθόδῳ περὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν διειλόμεθα
since and in the first inquiry about the constitutions we-distinguished
τρεῖς μὲν τὰς ὀρθὰς πολιτείας, βασιλείαν ἀριστοκρατίαν
three indeed the right constitutions kingship aristocracy
πολιτείαν, τρεῖς δὲ τὰς τούτων παρεκβάσεις, τυραννίδα
polity three and the of-these deviations tyranny
μὲν βασιλείας ὀλιγαρχίαν δὲ ἀριστοκρατίας δημοκρατίαν
indeed of-kingship oligarchy and of-aristocracy democracy
δὲ πολιτείας, καὶ περὶ μὲν ἀριστοκρατίας καὶ βασιλείας
and of-polity and about indeed aristocracy and kingship
εἴρηται (τὸ γὰρ περὶ τῆς ἀρίστης πολιτείας θεωρῆσαι
it-has-been-spoken the for about the best constitution to-consider
ταὐτὸ καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν τῶν ὀνομάτων, βούλεται
the-same also about these is to-speak of-the names wishes
γὰρ ἑκατέρα κατ' ἀρετὴν συνεστάναι κεχορηγημένην),
for each by virtue to-be-constituted furnished

ἔτι δὲ τί διαφέρουσιν ἀλλήλων ἀριστοκρατία καὶ
further and in-what differ from-one-another aristocracy and
βασιλεία, καὶ πότε δεῖ βασιλείαν νομίζειν, διώρισται
kingship and when one-must kingship to-regard has-been-determined
πρότερον· λοιπὸν περὶ πολιτείας διελθεῖν τῆς τῷ κοινῷ
before remains about polity to-go-through the by-the common
προσαγορευομένης ὀνόματι, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτειῶν,
being-called name and about the other constitutions
ὀλιγαρχίας τε καὶ δημοκρατίας καὶ τυραννίδος. φανερὸν
oligarchy both and democracy and tyranny evident
μὲν οὖν καὶ τούτων τῶν παρεκβάσεων τίς χειρίστη καὶ
indeed then also of-these the deviations which worst and
δευτέρα τίς. ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὴν μὲν τῆς πρώτης καὶ θειοτάτης
second which necessity for the indeed of-the first and most-divine
παρέκβασιν εἶναι χειρίστην, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν ἀναγκαῖον
deviation to-be worst the but kingship necessary
ἢ τοὔνομα μόνον ἔχειν οὐκ οὖσαν, ἢ διὰ πολλὴν
either the-name only to-have not being or through great
ὑπεροχὴν εἶναι τὴν τοῦ βασιλεύοντος· ὥστε τὴν τυραννίδα
superiority to-be the of-the reigning so-that the tyranny
χειρίστην οὖσαν πλεῖστον ἀπέχειν πολιτείας, δεύτερον δὲ
worst being farthest to-be-distant from-constitution second and
τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν (ἡ γὰρ ἀριστοκρατία διέστηκεν ἀπὸ ταύτης
the oligarchy the for aristocracy stands-apart from this
πολὺ τῆς πολιτείας), μετριωτάτην δὲ τὴν δημοκρατίαν.
much the constitution most-moderate and the democracy
ἤδη μὲν οὖν τις ἀπεφήνατο καὶ τῶν πρότερον οὕτως,
already indeed then someone declared also of-the earlier(-writers) thus
οὐ μὴν εἰς ταὐτὸ βλέψας ἡμῖν. ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ
not however to the-same having-looked as-we he indeed for
ἔκρινε πασῶν μὲν οὐσῶν ἐπιεικῶν, οἷον ὀλιγαρχίας τε
judged all indeed being decent such-as oligarchy both

χρηστῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, χειρίστην δημοκρατίαν, φαύλων
good and the others worst democracy bad
δὲ ἀρίστην· ἡμεῖς δὲ ὅλως ταύτας ἐξημαρτημένας εἶναί
but best we but altogether these erroneous to-be
φαμεν, καὶ βελτίω μὲν ὀλιγαρχίαν ἄλλην ἄλλης οὐ
say and better indeed oligarchy one than-another not
καλῶς ἔχει λέγειν, ἧττον δὲ φαύλην. Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν
well it-is to-say less but bad but about indeed
τῆς τοιαύτης κρίσεως ἀφείσθω τὰ νῦν· ἡμῖν δὲ
the such judgment let-it-be-dismissed the(-things) now for-us but
πρῶτον μὲν διαιρετέον πόσαι διαφοραὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν,
first indeed one-must-distinguish how-many differences of-the constitutions
εἴπερ ἔστιν εἴδη πλείονα τῆς τε δημοκρατίας καὶ τῆς
if-indeed there-are kinds more of-the both democracy and of-the
ὀλιγαρχίας, ἔπειτα τίς κοινοτάτη καὶ τίς αἱρετωτάτη
oligarchy then which most-common and which most-choiceworthy
μετὰ τὴν ἀρίστην πολιτείαν κἂν εἴ τις ἄλλη τετύχηκεν
after the best constitution even if some other has-happened
ἀριστοκρατικὴ καὶ συνεστῶσα καλῶς, ἀλλὰ ταῖς πλείσταις
aristocratic and constituted well but for-the most
ἁρμόττουσα πόλεσι, τίς ἐστιν, ἔπειτα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
fitting cities which is then also of-the others
τίς τίσιν αἱρετή (τάχα γὰρ τοῖς μὲν ἀναγκαία
which for-whom choiceworthy perhaps for for-the(-ones) indeed necessary
δημοκρατία μᾶλλον ὀλιγαρχίας, τοῖς δ' αὕτη μᾶλλον
democracy rather than-oligarchy for-the(-others) and this rather
ἐκείνης), μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τίνα τρόπον δεῖ καθιστάναι τὸν
than-that after and these in-what manner must to-establish the(-one)
βουλόμενον ταύτας τὰς πολιτείας, λέγω δὲ δημοκρατίας τε
wishing these the constitutions I-mean and of-democracy both
καθ' ἕκαστον εἶδος καὶ πάλιν ὀλιγαρχίας· τέλος δέ, πάντων
by each kind and again of-oligarchy at-last and of-all

τούτων ὅταν ποιησώμεθα συντόμως τὴν ἐνδεχομένην
these when we-make concisely the possible
μνείαν, πειρατέον ἐπελθεῖν τίνες φθοραὶ καὶ τίνες σωτηρίαι
mention one-must-try to-go-over what destructions and what preservations
τῶν πολιτειῶν καὶ κοινῇ καὶ χωρὶς ἑκάστης, καὶ διὰ
of-the constitutions both in-common and separately of-each and through
τίνας αἰτίας ταῦτα μάλιστα γίνεσθαι πέφυκεν.
what causes these most to-arise are-wont

III · WHY THERE ARE MANY CONSTITUTIONS

There are many constitutions because a city has many parts: households, rich, poor, and middle, armed and unarmed, a people of farmers, traders, and mechanics, and notables distinguished by wealth, birth, and virtue. A constitution is an ordering of offices, distributed by the power of these parts. Many reduce them to democracy and oligarchy, as the winds to north and south, but there are one or two well-formed ones, and the rest deviate, the oligarchic tense and despotic, the democratic relaxed and soft.

Τοῦ μὲν οὖν εἶναι πλείους πολιτείας αἴτιον ὅτι πάσης ἐστὶ
of-the indeed then to-be more constitutions cause that of-every there-are
μέρη πλείω πόλεως τὸν ἀριθμόν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐξ οἰκιῶν
parts more city the number first indeed for from households
συγκειμένας πάσας ὁρῶμεν τὰς πόλεις, ἔπειτα πάλιν τούτου
composed all we-see the cities then again of-this
τοῦ πλήθους τοὺς μὲν εὐπόρους ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τοὺς
the multitude the(-ones) indeed well-off necessary to-be the(-others)
δ' ἀπόρους τοὺς δὲ μέσους, καὶ τῶν εὐπόρων δὲ καὶ
and poor the(-others) and middle and of-the well-off and and
τῶν ἀπόρων τὸ μὲν ὁπλιτικὸν τὸ δὲ ἄνοπλον. καὶ
of-the poor the(-part) indeed armed the(-part) and unarmed and

τὸν μὲν γεωργικὸν δῆμον ὁρῶμεν ὄντα, τὸν δ' ἀγοραῖον,
the indeed farming people we-see being the(-part) and of-the-market
τὸν δὲ βάναυσον. καὶ τῶν γνωρίμων εἰσὶ διαφοραὶ
the(-part) and mechanical and of-the notables are differences
καὶ κατὰ τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ τὰ μεγέθη τῆς οὐσίας, οἷον
also according-to the wealth and the sizes of-the property such-as
ἱπποτροφίας (τοῦτο γὰρ οὐ ῥάδιον μὴ πλουτοῦντας ποιεῖν·
of-horse-breeding this for not easy not being-rich to-do
διόπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων χρόνων ὅσαις πόλεσιν ἐν τοῖς ἵπποις
therefore in the ancient times as-many cities in the horses
ἡ δύναμις ἦν, ὀλιγαρχίαι παρὰ τούτοις ἦσαν· ἐχρῶντο δὲ
the power was oligarchies among these were they-used and
πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους ἵπποις πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας, οἷον
for the wars horses against the neighbors such-as
Ἐρετριεῖς καὶ Χαλκιδεῖς καὶ Μάγνητες οἱ ἐπὶ Μαιάνδρῳ καὶ
Eretrians and Chalcidians and Magnesians those on Maeander and
τῶν ἄλλων πολλοὶ περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν)· ἔτι πρὸς ταῖς κατὰ
of-the others many about — Asia further besides the according-to
πλοῦτον διαφοραῖς ἐστιν ἡ μὲν κατὰ γένος ἡ δὲ
wealth differences is the(-one) indeed by birth the(-other) and
κατ' ἀρετὴν κἂν εἴ τι δὴ τοιοῦτον ἕτερον εἴρηται
by virtue even if anything indeed such other has-been-said
πόλεως εἶναι μέρος ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν·
of-city to-be part in the(-discussions) about the aristocracy
ἐκεῖ γὰρ διείλομεν ἐκ πόσων μερῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐστὶ
there for we-distinguished from how-many parts necessary is
πᾶσα πόλις· τούτων γὰρ τῶν μερῶν ὁτὲ μὲν πάντα
every city of-these for the parts at-one-time indeed all
μετέχει τῆς πολιτείας ὁτὲ δ' ἐλάττω ὁτὲ δὲ πλείω.
share the constitution at-another and fewer at-another and more

φανερὸν τοίνυν ὅτι πλείους ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πολιτείας, εἴδει
evident therefore that more necessary to-be constitutions in-kind
διαφερούσας ἀλλήλων· καὶ γὰρ ταῦτ' εἴδει διαφέρει τὰ
differing from-one-another also for these in-kind differ the
μέρη σφῶν αὐτῶν. πολιτεία μὲν γὰρ ἡ τῶν ἀρχῶν τάξις
parts of-themselves themselves constitution indeed for the of-the offices order
ἐστί, ταύτην δὲ διανέμονται πάντες ἢ κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν
is this but distribute all either according-to the power
τῶν μετεχόντων ἢ κατά τιν' αὐτῶν ἰσότητα κοινήν,
of-those sharing or according-to some of-them equality common
λέγω δ' οἷον τῶν ἀπόρων ἢ τῶν εὐπόρων. ἀναγκαῖον
I-mean and such-as of-the poor or of-the well-off necessary
ἄρα πολιτείας εἶναι τοσαύτας ὅσαι περ τάξεις κατὰ
then constitutions to-be so-many as-many-as indeed orders according-to
τὰς ὑπεροχάς εἰσι καὶ κατὰ τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν μορίων.
the superiorities are and according-to the differences of-the parts
μάλιστα δὲ δοκοῦσιν εἶναι δύο, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν
most and seem to-be two just-as in-the-case-of the
πνευμάτων λέγεται τὰ μὲν βόρεια τὰ δὲ νότια,
winds are-spoken-of the(-ones) indeed northern the(-others) and southern
τὰ δ' ἄλλα τούτων παρεκβάσεις, οὕτω καὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν
the and others of-these deviations so also of-the constitutions
δύο, δῆμος καὶ ὀλιγαρχία. τὴν γὰρ ἀριστοκρατίαν τῆς
two people and oligarchy the for aristocracy of-the
ὀλιγαρχίας εἶδος τιθέασιν ὡς οὖσαν ὀλιγαρχίαν τινά, καὶ
oligarchy kind they-posit as being oligarchy some and
τὴν καλουμένην πολιτείαν δημοκρατίαν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς
the so-called polity democracy just-as in the
πνεύμασι τὸν μὲν ζέφυρον τοῦ βορέου, τοῦ δὲ νότου τὸν
winds the indeed west-wind of-the north-wind of-the and south-wind the
εὖρον. ὁμοίως δ' ἔχει καὶ περὶ τὰς ἁρμονίας, ὥς φασί τινες·
east-wind similarly and it-is also about the harmonies as say some

καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ τίθενται εἴδη δύο, τὴν δωριστὶ καὶ φρυγιστί,
also for there they-posit kinds two the Dorian and Phrygian
τὰ δ' ἄλλα συντάγματα τὰ μὲν Δώρια τὰ δὲ
the and other arrangements the(-ones) indeed Dorian the(-others) and
Φρύγια καλοῦσιν. μάλιστα μὲν οὖν εἰώθασιν οὕτως
Phrygian they-call most indeed then they-are-accustomed thus
ὑπολαμβάνειν περὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν· ἀληθέστερον δὲ καὶ
to-suppose about the constitutions truer but and
βέλτιον ὡς ἡμεῖς διείλομεν, δυοῖν ἢ μιᾶς οὔσης τῆς καλῶς
better as we distinguished of-two or of-one being the(-one) well
συνεστηκυίας τὰς ἄλλας εἶναι παρεκβάσεις, τὰς μὲν τῆς
constituted the others to-be deviations the(-ones) indeed of-the
εὖ κεκραμένης ἁρμονίας τὰς δὲ τῆς ἀρίστης πολιτείας,
well blended harmony the(-others) and of-the best constitution
ὀλιγαρχικὰς μὲν τὰς συντονωτέρας καὶ δεσποτικωτέρας,
oligarchic indeed the more-tense and more-despotic
τὰς δ' ἀνειμένας καὶ μαλακὰς δημοτικάς.
the(-ones) and relaxed and soft democratic

IV · THE KINDS OF DEMOCRACY

Democracy is rule not simply by the many but by the free and poor majority, as oligarchy is by the rich and well-born few. As animals differ by their organs, constitutions differ by their parts: farmers, mechanics, traders, laborers, soldiers, judges, councilors, and the rich, some of which Socrates' first city lacks. The kinds of democracy run down to the last, where decrees rule instead of law and demagogues flourish, and the people become a single monarch, like a tyrant, and such a democracy, where the laws do not rule, is hardly a constitution at all.

Οὐ δεῖ δὲ τιθέναι δημοκρατίαν, καθάπερ εἰώθασί τινες
not must and to-posit democracy just-as are-accustomed some
νῦν, ἁπλῶς οὕτως, ὅπου κύριον τὸ πλῆθος (καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς
now simply thus where sovereign the multitude also for in the
ὀλιγαρχίαις καὶ πανταχοῦ τὸ πλέον μέρος κύριον), οὐδ' ὀλιγαρχίαν, ὅπου κύριοι ὀλίγοι τῆς πολιτείας. εἰ γὰρ εἴησαν
oligarchies and everywhere the greater part sovereign nor oligarchy where sovereign few of-the constitution if for should-be
οἱ πάντες χίλιοι καὶ τριακόσιοι, καὶ τούτων οἱ χίλιοι
the all a-thousand and three-hundred and of-these the thousand
πλούσιοι, καὶ μὴ μεταδιδοῖεν ἀρχῆς τοῖς τριακοσίοις καὶ
rich and not should-give-a-share of-office to-the three-hundred and
πένησιν ἐλευθέροις οὖσι καὶ τἆλλα ὁμοίοις, οὐθεὶς ἂν φαίη
poor free being and in-the-rest alike no-one — would-say
δημοκρατεῖσθαι τούτους· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰ πένητες ὀλίγοι
to-be-democratically-governed these similarly and also if poor few
μὲν εἶεν, κρείττους δὲ τῶν εὐπόρων πλειόνων ὄντων,
indeed should-be stronger but than-the well-off more being
οὐδεὶς ἂν ὀλιγαρχίαν προσαγορεύσειεν οὐδὲ τὴν τοιαύτην,
no-one — oligarchy would-call nor the such
εἰ τοῖς ἄλλοις οὖσι πλουσίοις μὴ μετείη τῶν τιμῶν.
if to-the others being rich not should-belong-a-share of-the honors
μᾶλλον τοίνυν λεκτέον ὅτι δῆμος μέν ἐστιν ὅταν οἱ
rather therefore one-must-say that democracy indeed is when the
ἐλεύθεροι κύριοι ὦσιν, ὀλιγαρχία δ' ὅταν οἱ πλούσιοι, ἀλλὰ
free sovereign are oligarchy and when the rich but
συμβαίνει τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς εἶναι τοὺς δ' ὀλίγους·
it-happens the(-ones) indeed many to-be the(-others) and few
ἐλεύθεροι μὲν γὰρ πολλοί, πλούσιοι δ' ὀλίγοι. καὶ γὰρ ἂν
free indeed for many rich and few also for —
εἰ κατὰ μέγεθος διενέμοντο τὰς ἀρχάς, ὥσπερ ἐν Αἰθιοπίᾳ
if by size they-distributed the offices just-as in Ethiopia

φασί τινες, ἢ κατὰ κάλλος, ὀλιγαρχία ἦν ἄν· ὀλίγον
say some or by beauty oligarchy it-would-be — few
γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὸ τῶν καλῶν καὶ τὸ τῶν μεγάλων.
for the number also the of-the beautiful and the of-the tall
οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τούτοις μόνον ἱκανῶς ἔχει διωρίσθαι
not indeed but not-even by-these alone sufficiently it-is to-have-been-defined
τὰς πολιτείας ταύτας· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ πλείονα μόρια καὶ τοῦ
the constitutions these but since more parts both of-the
δήμου καὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας εἰσίν, ἔτι διαληπτέον ὡς οὔτ'
democracy and of-the oligarchy are further must-be-distinguished that neither
ἂν οἱ ἐλεύθεροι ὀλίγοι ὄντες πλειόνων καὶ μὴ ἐλευθέρων
if the free few being over-more and not free
ἄρχωσι, ὀλιγαρχία, οἷον ἐν Ἀπολλωνίᾳ τῇ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ
should-rule oligarchy such-as in Apollonia the in the Ionian(-Gulf)
καὶ ἐν Θήρᾳ (ἐν τούτων γὰρ ἑκατέρᾳ τῶν πόλεων ἐν ταῖς
and in Thera in of-these for each of-the cities in the
τιμαῖς ἦσαν οἱ διαφέροντες κατ' εὐγένειαν καὶ πρῶτοι
honors were those excelling in good-birth and first
κατασχόντες τὰς ἀποικίας, ὀλίγοι ὄντες πολλῶν), οὔτε ἂν
having-occupied the colonies few being of-many nor if
οἱ πλούσιοι διὰ τὸ κατὰ πλῆθος ὑπερέχειν, δῆμος, οἷον
the rich through the in number to-exceed democracy such-as
ἐν Κολοφῶνι τὸ παλαιόν (ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐκέκτηντο μακρὰν
in Colophon the old(-time) there for possessed large
οὐσίαν οἱ πλείους πρὶν γενέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς
property the more before to-arise the war the against
Λυδούς), ἀλλ' ἔστι δημοκρατία μὲν ὅταν οἱ ἐλεύθεροι καὶ
Lydians but is democracy indeed when the free and
ἄποροι πλείους ὄντες κύριοι τῆς ἀρχῆς ὦσιν, ὀλιγαρχία
poor more being sovereign of-the rule are oligarchy
δ' ὅταν οἱ πλούσιοι καὶ εὐγενέστεροι ὀλίγοι ὄντες.
and when the rich and better-born few being

Ὅτι μὲν οὖν πολιτεῖαι πλείους, καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίαν,
that indeed then constitutions more and through which cause
εἴρηται· διότι δὲ πλείους τῶν εἰρημένων, καὶ τίνες καὶ
it-has-been-said because and more than-the said(-ones) and which and
διὰ τί, λέγωμεν ἀρχὴν λαβόντες τὴν εἰρημένην πρότερον.
through what let-us-say beginning having-taken the said before
ὁμολογοῦμεν γὰρ οὐχ ἓν μέρος ἀλλὰ πλείω πᾶσαν ἔχειν
we-agree for not one part but more every to-have
πόλιν. ὥσπερ οὖν εἰ ζῴου προηρούμεθα λαβεῖν εἴδη, πρῶτον
city just-as then if of-animal we-chose to-grasp kinds first
ἂν ἀποδιωρίζομεν ὅπερ ἀναγκαῖον πᾶν ἔχειν ζῷον, οἷον
— *we-would-distinguish which-very necessary every to-have animal such-as*
ἔνιά τε τῶν αἰσθητηρίων καὶ τὸ τῆς τροφῆς ἐργαστικὸν καὶ
some both of-the sense-organs and the of-the food working-up and
δεκτικόν, οἷον στόμα καὶ κοιλίαν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, οἷς
receiving such-as mouth and belly besides and these by-which
κινεῖται μορίοις ἕκαστον αὐτῶν — εἰ δὴ τοσαῦτα εἴη μόνον,
moves parts each of-them if indeed so-many were only
τούτων δ' εἶεν διαφοραί (λέγω δ' οἷον στόματός τινα πλείω
of-these and were differences I-mean and such-as of-mouth some more
γένη καὶ κοιλίας καὶ τῶν αἰσθητηρίων, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν
kinds and of-belly and of-the sense-organs further and also of-the
κινητικῶν μορίων) ὁ τῆς συζεύξεως τῆς τούτων ἀριθμὸς ἐξ
moving parts the of-the combination of-the these number of
ἀνάγκης ποιήσει πλείω γένη ζῴων (οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε ταὐτὸν
necessity will-make more kinds of-animals not for possible — same
ζῷον ἔχειν πλείους στόματος διαφοράς, ὁμοίως δὲ οὐδ'
animal to-have more of-mouth differences similarly and nor
ὤτων), ὥσθ' ὅταν ληφθῶσιν, τούτων πάντες οἱ ἐνδεχόμενοι
of-ears so-that when are-taken of-these all the possible
συνδυασμοὶ ποιήσουσιν εἴδη ζῴου, καὶ τοσαῦτ' εἴδη τοῦ
combinations they-will-make kinds of-animal and so-many kinds of-the

ζῴου ὅσαι περ αἱ συζεύξεις τῶν ἀναγκαίων μορίων
animal as-many-as indeed the combinations of-the necessary parts
εἰσίν — τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ τῶν εἰρημένων πολιτειῶν.
are the same and manner also of-the said constitutions
καὶ γὰρ αἱ πόλεις οὐκ ἐξ ἑνὸς ἀλλ' ἐκ πολλῶν σύγκεινται
also for the cities not from one but from many are-composed
μερῶν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται πολλάκις. ἓν μὲν οὖν ἐστι τὸ
parts just-as has-been-said often one indeed then is the
περὶ τὴν τροφὴν πλῆθος, οἱ καλούμενοι γεωργοί, δεύτερον
about the food multitude the so-called farmers second
δὲ τὸ καλούμενον βάναυσον (ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ περὶ τὰς
and the so-called mechanical is and this the about the
τέχνας ὧν ἄνευ πόλιν ἀδύνατον οἰκεῖσθαι· τούτων δὲ τῶν
arts which without city impossible to-be-inhabited of-these and the
τεχνῶν τὰς μὲν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὑπάρχειν δεῖ, τὰς δὲ
arts the(-ones) indeed of necessity to-exist must the(-others) and
εἰς τρυφὴν ἢ τὸ καλῶς ζῆν), τρίτον δ' ἀγοραῖον (λέγω
for luxury or the well to-live third and market(-class) I-mean
δ' ἀγοραῖον τὸ περὶ τὰς πράσεις καὶ τὰς ὠνὰς καὶ
and market(-class) the(-class) about the sales and the purchases and
τὰς ἐμπορίας καὶ καπηλείας διατρῖβον), τέταρτον δὲ τὸ
the commerce and retail-trade engaged fourth and the
θητικόν, πέμπτον δὲ γένος τὸ προπολεμῆσον, ὃ τούτων
laborer(-class) fifth and class the fighting-in-defense which than-these
οὐθὲν ἧττόν ἐστιν ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν, εἰ μέλλουσι μὴ
nothing less is necessary to-exist if they-are-to not
δουλεύσειν τοῖς ἐπιοῦσιν. μὴ γὰρ ἓν τῶν ἀδυνάτων
to-be-slaves to-the attackers perhaps for one of-the impossible(-things)
ᾖ πόλιν ἄξιον εἶναι καλεῖν τὴν φύσει δούλην·
it-may-be city worthy to-be to-call the by-nature slave

αὐτάρκης γὰρ ἡ πόλις, τὸ δὲ δοῦλον οὐκ αὔταρκες. διόπερ
self-sufficient for the city the but slave not self-sufficient therefore
ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ κομψῶς τοῦτο, οὐχ ἱκανῶς δὲ εἴρηται.
in the Republic cleverly this not sufficiently but has-been-said
φησὶ γὰρ ὁ Σωκράτης ἐκ τεττάρων τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων
says for — Socrates from four the most-necessary
πόλιν συγκεῖσθαι, λέγει δὲ τούτους ὑφάντην καὶ γεωργὸν
city to-be-composed he-means and these weaver and farmer
καὶ σκυτοτόμον καὶ οἰκοδόμον· πάλιν δὲ προστίθησιν, ὡς
and shoemaker and builder again and he-adds as
οὐκ αὐτάρκων τούτων, χαλκέα καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις
not self-sufficient these smith and those over the necessary
βοσκήμασιν, ἔτι δ' ἔμπορόν τε καὶ κάπηλον· καὶ ταῦτα
herds further and merchant both and retailer and these
πάντα γίνεται πλήρωμα τῆς πρώτης πόλεως, ὡς τῶν
all become complement of-the first city as of-the
ἀναγκαίων τε χάριν πᾶσαν πόλιν συνεστηκυῖαν, ἀλλ'
necessary(-things) both for-the-sake every city constituted but
οὐ τοῦ καλοῦ μᾶλλον, ἴσον τε δεομένην σκυτέων τε καὶ
not of-the noble rather equally both needing shoemakers both and
γεωργῶν. τὸ δὲ προπολεμοῦν οὐ πρότερον ἀποδίδωσι
farmers the but fighting-in-defense(-part) not before he-assigns
μέρος πρὶν ἢ τῆς χώρας αὐξομένης καὶ τῆς τῶν πλησίον
as-part before than the country growing and of-the of-the neighbors
ἁπτομένης εἰς πόλεμον καταστῶσιν. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἐν τοῖς
touching into war they-come but indeed also in the
τέτταρσι καὶ τοῖς ὁποσοισοῦν κοινωνοῖς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναί
four and the however-many partners necessary to-be
τινα τὸν ἀποδώσοντα καὶ κρινοῦντα τὸ δίκαιον. εἴπερ
some the(-one) to-assign and to-judge the just if-indeed
οὖν καὶ ψυχὴν ἄν τις θείη ζῴου μόριον μᾶλλον ἢ
then also soul — one would-posit of-animal part rather than

σῶμα, καὶ πόλεων τὰ τοιαῦτα μᾶλλον θετέον τῶν
body also of-cities the such(-parts) rather one-must-posit than-those
εἰς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν χρῆσιν συντεινόντων, τὸ πολεμικὸν καὶ
to the necessary use contributing the military and
τὸ μετέχον δικαιοσύνης δικαστικῆς, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸ
the sharing of-justice judicial besides and these the
βουλευόμενον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ συνέσεως πολιτικῆς ἔργον. καὶ
deliberating which-very is of-understanding political work and
ταῦτ' εἴτε κεχωρισμένως ὑπάρχει τισὶν εἴτε τοῖς αὐτοῖς,
these whether separately belong to-some or to-the same
οὐθὲν διαφέρει πρὸς τὸν λόγον· καὶ γὰρ ὁπλιτεύειν καὶ
nothing it-matters to the argument also for to-serve-as-hoplites and
γεωργεῖν συμβαίνει τοῖς αὐτοῖς πολλάκις. ὥστε εἴπερ καὶ
to-farm it-happens to-the same often so-that if-indeed both
ταῦτα καὶ ἐκεῖνα θετέα μόρια τῆς πόλεως, φανερὸν
these and those must-be-posited parts of-the city evident
ὅτι τό γε ὁπλιτικὸν ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι μόριον τῆς πόλεως.
that the at-least hoplite(-part) necessary is part of-the city
ἕβδομον δὲ τὸ ταῖς οὐσίαις λειτουργοῦν, ὃ καλοῦμεν
seventh and the(-part) with-the properties serving which we-call
εὐπόρους. ὄγδοον δὲ τὸ δημιουργικὸν καὶ τὸ περὶ
well-off eighth and the official(-part) and the(-part) about
τὰς ἀρχὰς λειτουργοῦν, εἴπερ ἄνευ ἀρχόντων ἀδύνατον
the offices serving if-indeed without rulers impossible
εἶναι πόλιν. ἀναγκαῖον οὖν εἶναί τινας τοὺς δυναμένους
to-be a-city necessary then to-be some those able
ἄρχειν καὶ λειτουργοῦντας ἢ συνεχῶς ἢ κατὰ μέρος
to-rule and serving either continuously or by turn
τῇ πόλει ταύτην τὴν λειτουργίαν. λοιπὰ δὲ περὶ ὧν
the city this the service remaining and about which
τυγχάνομεν διωρικότες ἀρτίως, τὸ βουλευόμενον καὶ
we-happen having-determined just-now the deliberating and

κρῖνον περὶ τῶν δικαίων τοῖς ἀμφισβητοῦσιν. εἴπερ οὖν
judging about the just(-claims) for-those disputing if-indeed then
ταῦτα δεῖ γενέσθαι ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ καλῶς γενέσθαι καὶ
these must to-come-about in-the cities and well to-take-place and
δικαίως, ἀναγκαῖον καὶ μετέχοντας εἶναί τινας ἀρετῆς
justly necessary also sharing to-be some of-virtue
τῶν πολιτικῶν. τὰς μὲν οὖν ἄλλας δυνάμεις τοῖς αὐτοῖς
of-the statesmen the indeed then other capacities to-the same
ὑπάρχειν ἐνδέχεσθαι δοκεῖ πολλοῖς, οἷον τοὺς αὐτοὺς εἶναι
to-belong to-be-possible seems to-many such-as the same to-be
τοὺς προπολεμοῦντας καὶ γεωργοῦντας καὶ τεχνίτας, ἔτι
those fighting-in-defense and farming and craftsmen further
δὲ τοὺς βουλευομένους τε καὶ κρίνοντας, ἀντιποιοῦνται δὲ
and those deliberating both and judging lay-claim and
καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς πάντες, καὶ τὰς πλείστας ἀρχὰς ἄρχειν
also to-the virtue all and the most offices to-hold
οἴονται δύνασθαι· ἀλλὰ πένεσθαι καὶ πλουτεῖν τοὺς αὐτοὺς
they-think to-be-able but to-be-poor and to-be-rich the same
ἀδύνατον. διὸ ταῦτα μέρη μάλιστα εἶναι δοκεῖ πόλεως,
impossible therefore these parts most to-be seem of-city
οἱ εὔποροι καὶ οἱ ἄποροι. ἔτι δὲ διὰ τὸ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ
the well-off and the poor further and through the as for the
πολὺ τοὺς μὲν ὀλίγους εἶναι τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς ταῦτα
most(-part) the(-ones) indeed few to-be the(-others) and many these
ἐναντία μέρη φαίνεται τῶν τῆς πόλεως μορίων. ὥστε καὶ
opposite parts appear of-the of-the city parts so-that also
τὰς πολιτείας κατὰ τὰς ὑπεροχὰς τούτων καθιστᾶσι, καὶ
the constitutions according-to the superiorities of-these they-establish and
δύο πολιτεῖαι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, δημοκρατία καὶ ὀλιγαρχία.
two constitutions seem to-be democracy and oligarchy

Ὅτι μὲν οὖν εἰσὶ πολιτεῖαι πλείους, καὶ διὰ τίνας
that indeed then there-are constitutions more and through what
αἰτίας, εἴρηται πρότερον· ὅτι δὲ ἔστι καὶ δημοκρατίας
causes it-has-been-said before that and there-are also of-democracy
εἴδη πλείω καὶ ὀλιγαρχίας, λέγωμεν. φανερὸν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ
kinds more and of-oligarchy let-us-say evident and this also
ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων. εἴδη γὰρ πλείω τοῦ τε δήμου καὶ τῶν
from the said(-things) kinds for more of-the both people and of-the
λεγομένων γνωρίμων ἔστιν, οἷον δήμου μὲν εἴδη ἓν μὲν
so-called notables there-are such-as of-people indeed kinds one indeed
οἱ γεωργοί, ἕτερον δὲ τὸ περὶ τὰς τέχνας, ἄλλο δὲ τὸ
the farmers another and the(-class) about the arts another and the
ἀγοραῖον τὸ περὶ ὠνὴν καὶ πρᾶσιν διατρῖβον, ἄλλο δὲ
market(-class) the(-class) about buying and selling engaged another and
τὸ περὶ τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ τούτου τὸ μὲν πολεμικὸν
the(-class) about the sea and of-this the(-part) indeed naval
τὸ δὲ χρηματιστικὸν τὸ δὲ πορθμευτικὸν τὸ δ'
the(-part) and money-making the(-part) and ferrying the(-part) and
ἁλιευτικόν (πολλαχοῦ γὰρ ἕκαστα τούτων πολύοχλα, οἷον
fishing in-many-places for each of-these populous such-as
ἁλιεῖς μὲν ἐν Τάραντι καὶ Βυζαντίῳ, τριηρικὸν δὲ Ἀθήνησιν,
fishermen indeed in Tarentum and Byzantium trireme-crews and at-Athens
ἐμπορικὸν δὲ ἐν Αἰγίνῃ καὶ Χίῳ, πορθμικὸν ἐν Τενέδῳ),
merchant(-class) and in Aegina and Chios ferrying(-class) in Tenedos
πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸ χερνητικὸν καὶ τὸ μικρὰν ἔχον οὐσίαν
besides and these the manual-laborers and the(-class) little having property
ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι σχολάζειν, ἔτι τὸ μὴ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων
so-that not to-be-able to-have-leisure further the(-class) not from both(-parents)
πολιτῶν ἐλεύθερον, κἂν εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ἕτερον πλήθους
citizens free even if any such other of-multitude

εἶδος· τῶν δὲ γνωρίμων πλοῦτος εὐγένεια ἀρετὴ παιδεία
kind of-the and notables wealth good-birth virtue education
καὶ τὰ τούτοις λεγόμενα κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν διαφοράν.
and the(-things) with-these spoken-of by the same difference
Δημοκρατία μὲν οὖν ἐστι πρώτη μὲν ἡ λεγομένη
democracy indeed then is first indeed the(-one) said
μάλιστα κατὰ τὸ ἴσον. ἴσον γάρ φησιν ὁ νόμος ὁ τῆς
most according-to the equal equal for says the law the of-the
τοιαύτης δημοκρατίας τὸ μηδὲν μᾶλλον ὑπερέχειν τοὺς
such democracy the in-no-way more to-predominate the
ἀπόρους ἢ τοὺς εὐπόρους, μηδὲ κυρίους εἶναι ὁποτερουσοῦν,
poor than the well-off nor sovereign to-be either
ἀλλ' ὁμοίους ἀμφοτέρους. εἴπερ γὰρ ἐλευθερία μάλιστ'
but alike both if-indeed for freedom most
ἐστὶν ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ, καθάπερ ὑπολαμβάνουσί τινες, καὶ
is in democracy just-as suppose some and
ἰσότης, οὕτως ἂν εἴη μάλιστα, κοινωνούντων ἁπάντων
equality thus — would-be most sharing all
μάλιστα τῆς πολιτείας ὁμοίως. ἐπεὶ δὲ πλείων ὁ δῆμος,
most in-the constitution alike since and more the people
κύριον δὲ τὸ δόξαν τοῖς πλείοσιν, ἀνάγκη δημοκρατίαν
sovereign and the resolved by-the majority necessity democracy
εἶναι ταύτην. ἓν μὲν οὖν εἶδος δημοκρατίας τοῦτο· τὸ τὰς
to-be this one indeed then kind of-democracy this the the
ἀρχὰς ἀπὸ τιμημάτων εἶναι, βραχέων δὲ τούτων ὄντων·
offices from property-qualifications to-be low but these being
δεῖ δὲ τῷ κτωμένῳ ἐξουσίαν εἶναι μετέχειν καὶ
must and for-the(-one) acquiring license to-be to-share and
τὸν ἀποβάλλοντα μὴ μετέχειν· ἕτερον εἶδος δημοκρατίας
the(-one) losing not to-share another kind of-democracy
τὸ μετέχειν ἅπαντας τοὺς πολίτας ὅσοι ἀνυπεύθυνοι,
the to-share all the citizens as-many-as unimpeachable(-are)

ἄρχειν δὲ τὸν νόμον· ἕτερον δὲ εἶδος δημοκρατίας τὸ
to-rule but the law another and kind of-democracy the
πᾶσι μετεῖναι τῶν ἀρχῶν, ἐὰν μόνον ᾖ πολίτης,
to-all to-belong-a-share of-the offices if only he-is a-citizen
ἄρχειν δὲ τὸν νόμον· ἕτερον εἶδος δημοκρατίας τἆλλα μὲν
to-rule but the law another kind of-democracy the-rest indeed
εἶναι ταὐτά, κύριον δ' εἶναι τὸ πλῆθος καὶ μὴ τὸν νόμον.
to-be the-same sovereign but to-be the multitude and not the law
τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται ὅταν τὰ ψηφίσματα κύρια ᾖ ἀλλὰ μὴ
this and arises when the decrees sovereign are but not
ὁ νόμος. συμβαίνει δὲ τοῦτο διὰ τοὺς δημαγωγούς. ἐν
the law happens and this through the demagogues in
μὲν γὰρ ταῖς κατὰ νόμον δημοκρατουμέναις οὐ γίνεται
indeed for those according-to law democratically-governed not arises
δημαγωγός, ἀλλ' οἱ βέλτιστοι τῶν πολιτῶν εἰσιν ἐν προεδρίᾳ·
demagogue but the best of-the citizens are in precedence
ὅπου δ' οἱ νόμοι μή εἰσι κύριοι, ἐνταῦθα γίνονται δημαγωγοί.
where but the laws not are sovereign there arise demagogues
μόναρχος γὰρ ὁ δῆμος γίνεται, σύνθετος εἷς ἐκ πολλῶν·
monarch for the people becomes composite one from many
οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ κύριοί εἰσιν οὐχ ὡς ἕκαστος ἀλλὰ πάντες.
the for many sovereign are not as each but all
Ὅμηρος δὲ ποίαν λέγει οὐκ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι πολυκοιρανίην,
Homer and what-sort says not good to-be rule-of-many
πότερον ταύτην ἢ ὅταν πλείους ὦσιν οἱ ἄρχοντες ὡς
whether this or when more are the rulers as
ἕκαστος, ἄδηλον. ὁ δ' οὖν τοιοῦτος δῆμος, ἅτε μόναρχος
individuals unclear the but then such people inasmuch-as monarch
ὤν, ζητεῖ μοναρχεῖν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ νόμου, καὶ
being seeks to-rule-alone through the not to-be-ruled by law and
γίνεται δεσποτικός, ὥστε οἱ κόλακες ἔντιμοι, καὶ ἔστιν ὁ
becomes despotic so-that the flatterers honored and is the

τοιοῦτος δῆμος ἀνάλογον τῶν μοναρχιῶν τῇ τυραννίδι.
such people analogous of-the monarchies to-the tyranny
διὸ καὶ τὸ ἦθος τὸ αὐτό, καὶ ἄμφω δεσποτικὰ τῶν
therefore also the character the same and both despotic over-the
βελτιόνων, καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα ὥσπερ ἐκεῖ τὰ ἐπιτάγματα,
better and the decrees just-as there the edicts
καὶ ὁ δημαγωγὸς καὶ ὁ κόλαξ οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἀνάλογον.
and the demagogue and the flatterer the same and analogous
καὶ μάλιστα δ' ἑκάτεροι παρ' ἑκατέροις ἰσχύουσιν, οἱ μὲν
and most and each among each have-power the indeed
κόλακες παρὰ τοῖς τυράννοις, οἱ δὲ δημαγωγοὶ τοῖς δήμοις
flatterers among the tyrants the and demagogues the peoples
τοῖς τοιούτοις. αἴτιοι δέ εἰσι τοῦ εἶναι τὰ ψηφίσματα κύρια
the such causes and are of-the to-be the decrees sovereign
ἀλλὰ μὴ τοὺς νόμους οὗτοι, πάντα ἀνάγοντες εἰς τὸν δῆμον·
but not the laws these all referring to the people
συμβαίνει γὰρ αὐτοῖς γίνεσθαι μεγάλοις διὰ τὸ τὸν μὲν
it-happens for for-them to-become great through the the indeed
δῆμον πάντων εἶναι κύριον, τῆς δὲ τοῦ δήμου δόξης τούτους·
people of-all to-be sovereign of-the and of-the people opinion these
πείθεται γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος τούτοις. ἔτι δ' οἱ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς
obeys for the multitude these further and those the officials
ἐγκαλοῦντες τὸν δῆμόν φασι δεῖν κρίνειν, ὁ δὲ
accusing the people say to-be-necessary to-judge the(-people) and
ἀσμένως δέχεται τὴν πρόκλησιν· ὥστε καταλύονται πᾶσαι
gladly accepts the invitation so-as are-dissolved all
αἱ ἀρχαί. εὐλόγως δὲ ἂν δόξειεν ἐπιτιμᾶν ὁ φάσκων
the offices reasonably and — would-seem to-censure the(-one) saying
τὴν τοιαύτην εἶναι δημοκρατίαν οὐ πολιτείαν. ὅπου γὰρ
the such to-be democracy not constitution where for
μὴ νόμοι ἄρχουσιν, οὐκ ἔστι πολιτεία. δεῖ γὰρ τὸν μὲν
not laws rule not is constitution must for the indeed

νόμον ἄρχειν πάντων, τῶν δὲ καθ' ἕκαστα τὰς ἀρχάς, καὶ
law to-rule over-all the and by each the officials and
ταύτην πολιτείαν κρίνειν. ὥστ' εἴπερ ἐστὶ δημοκρατία μία
this constitution to-judge so-that if-indeed is democracy one
τῶν πολιτειῶν, φανερὸν ὡς ἡ τοιαύτη κατάστασις, ἐν ᾗ
of-the constitutions evident that the such arrangement in which
ψηφίσμασι πάντα διοικεῖται, οὐδὲ δημοκρατία κυρίως·
by-decrees all(-things) are-administered not-even democracy properly
οὐθὲν γὰρ ἐνδέχεται ψήφισμα εἶναι καθόλου. Τὰ μὲν οὖν
no for is-possible decree to-be universal the indeed then
τῆς δημοκρατίας εἴδη διωρίσθω τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον.
of-the democracy kinds let-be-determined the manner this

V · THE KINDS OF OLIGARCHY

Oligarchy too has kinds: offices open only to a high property assessment; a high assessment with vacancies filled by co-optation; son succeeding father; and, fourth, son succeeding father with the rulers sovereign instead of law, a dynasty. A constitution democratic by law may be governed oligarchically by custom, and the reverse. This happens most after a revolution, which comes by small gains, so the old laws remain while those who changed the constitution hold power.

Ὀλιγαρχίας δὲ εἴδη ἓν μὲν τὸ ἀπὸ τιμημάτων εἶναι
of-oligarchy and kinds one indeed the from property-qualifications to-be
τὰς ἀρχὰς τηλικούτων ὥστε τοὺς ἀπόρους μὴ μετέχειν
the offices so-great so-that the poor not to-share
πλείους ὄντας, ἐξεῖναι δὲ τῷ κτωμένῳ μετέχειν
more being to-be-permitted but to-the(-one) acquiring to-share
τῆς πολιτείας, ἄλλο δέ, ὅταν ἀπὸ τιμημάτων μακρῶν
of-the constitution another and when from property-qualifications high
ὦσιν αἱ ἀρχαὶ καὶ αἱρῶνται αὐτοὶ τοὺς ἐλλείποντας
are the offices and they-choose themselves those falling-short

(ἂν μὲν οὖν ἐκ πάντων τούτων τοῦτο ποιῶσι, δοκεῖ
if indeed then from all these this they-do seems
τοῦτ᾽ εἶναι μᾶλλον ἀριστοκρατικόν, ἐὰν δὲ ἐκ τινῶν
this to-be rather aristocratic if but from some
ἀφωρισμένων, ὀλιγαρχικόν)· ἕτερον εἶδος ὀλιγαρχίας, ὅταν
designated oligarchic another kind of-oligarchy when
παῖς ἀντὶ πατρὸς εἰσίῃ, τέταρτον δ᾽, ὅταν ὑπάρχῃ τε
son instead-of father enters fourth and when exists both
τὸ νῦν λεχθὲν καὶ ἄρχῃ μὴ ὁ νόμος ἀλλ᾽ οἱ ἄρχοντες.
the now said(-thing) and rules not the law but the rulers
καὶ ἔστιν ἀντίστροφος αὕτη ἐν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις ὥσπερ
and is counterpart this among the oligarchies just-as
ἡ τυραννὶς ἐν ταῖς μοναρχίαις καὶ περὶ ἧς τελευταίας
the tyranny among the monarchies and about which last
εἴπαμεν δημοκρατίας ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις· καὶ καλοῦσι
we-spoke democracy among the democracies and they-call
δὴ τὴν τοιαύτην ὀλιγαρχίαν δυναστείαν.
indeed the such oligarchy dynasty

Ὀλιγαρχίας μὲν οὖν εἴδη τοσαῦτα καὶ δημοκρατίας· οὐ
of-oligarchy indeed then kinds so-many and of-democracy not
δεῖ δὲ λανθάνειν ὅτι πολλαχοῦ συμβέβηκεν ὥστε τὴν μὲν
must and to-escape-notice that in-many-places it-has-happened that the indeed
πολιτείαν τὴν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους μὴ δημοτικὴν εἶναι, διὰ
constitution the according-to the laws not democratic to-be through
δὲ τὸ ἔθος καὶ τὴν ἀγωγὴν πολιτεύεσθαι δημοτικῶς, ὁμοίως
but the custom and the training to-be-governed democratically similarly
δὲ πάλιν παρ᾽ ἄλλοις τὴν μὲν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους εἶναι
and again among others the indeed according-to the laws to-be
πολιτείαν δημοτικωτέραν, τῇ δ᾽ ἀγωγῇ καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσιν
constitution more-democratic by-the but training and by-the customs
ὀλιγαρχεῖσθαι μᾶλλον. συμβαίνει δὲ τοῦτο μάλιστα μετὰ
to-be-oligarchically-governed rather happens and this most after

τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν πολιτειῶν· οὐ γὰρ εὐθὺς μεταβαίνουσιν,
the changes of-the constitutions not for at-once they-change
ἀλλὰ ἀγαπῶσι τὰ πρῶτα μικρὰ πλεονεκτοῦντες παρ᾽
but they-are-content the at-first small(-things) gaining from
ἀλλήλων, ὥσθ᾽ οἱ μὲν νόμοι διαμένουσιν οἱ προϋπάρχοντες,
one-another so-that the indeed laws remain the pre-existing
κρατοῦσι δ᾽ οἱ μεταβάλλοντες τὴν πολιτείαν.
hold-power and those changing the constitution

VI · THE KINDS AND THEIR CAUSES

The kinds follow from the parts. Where farmers of moderate means rule, they govern by law, having little leisure; others admit all of unimpeachable birth, or all free men, who share as they have leisure; in the last, cities have grown, revenues pay the poor to attend while the rich stay away, and the multitude rules instead of the laws. Oligarchy runs in parallel, from many with moderate property to the dynasty, the counterpart of the last democracy.

Ὅτι δ᾽ ἔστι τοσαῦτα εἴδη δημοκρατίας καὶ ὀλιγαρχίας,
that and there-are so-many kinds of-democracy and oligarchy
ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν εἰρημένων φανερόν ἐστιν. ἀνάγκη γὰρ
from the-very the said(-things) evident is necessity for
ἢ πάντα τὰ εἰρημένα μέρη τοῦ δήμου κοινωνεῖν τῆς
either all the said parts of-the people to-share in-the
πολιτείας, ἢ τὰ μὲν τὰ δὲ μή. ὅταν μὲν οὖν τὸ
constitution or the(-ones) indeed the(-others) and not when indeed then the
γεωργικὸν καὶ τὸ κεκτημένον μετρίαν οὐσίαν κύριον ᾖ
farming(-class) and the(-class) possessing moderate property sovereign is
τῆς πολιτείας, πολιτεύονται κατὰ νόμους· ἔχουσι γὰρ
of-the constitution they-govern according-to laws they-have for
ἐργαζόμενοι ζῆν, οὐ δύνανται δὲ σχολάζειν, ὥστε τὸν νόμον
working to-live not they-are-able but to-have-leisure so-that the law

ἐπιστήσαντες ἐκκλησιάζουσι τὰς ἀναγκαίας ἐκκλησίας.
having-set-up they-hold the necessary assemblies
τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις μετέχειν ἔξεστιν, ὅταν κτήσωνται τὸ
to-the and others to-share it-is-permitted when they-acquire the
τίμημα τὸ διωρισμένον ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων· διὸ
property-qualification the defined by the laws therefore
πᾶσι τοῖς κτησαμένοις ἔξεστι μετέχειν· ὅλως μὲν γὰρ
to-all those having-acquired it-is-permitted to-share generally indeed for
τὸ μὲν μὴ ἐξεῖναι πᾶσιν ὀλιγαρχικόν, τὸ δὲ δὴ
the indeed not to-be-permitted to-all oligarchic the but indeed
ἐξεῖναι σχολάζειν ἀδύνατον μὴ προσόδων οὐσῶν. τοῦτο
to-be-permitted to-have-leisure impossible not revenues being this
μὲν οὖν εἶδος ἓν δημοκρατίας διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας·
indeed then kind one of-democracy through these the causes
ἕτερον δὲ εἶδος διὰ τὴν ἐχομένην διαίρεσιν· ἔστι γὰρ
another and kind through the next division it-is for
καὶ πᾶσιν ἐξεῖναι τοῖς ἀνυπευθύνοις κατὰ τὸ γένος,
also to-all to-be-permitted to-the unimpeachable by the birth
μετέχειν μέντοι δυναμένους σχολάζειν· διόπερ ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ
to-share however being-able to-have-leisure therefore in the such
δημοκρατίᾳ οἱ νόμοι ἄρχουσι, διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι πρόσοδον.
democracy the laws rule through the not to-be revenue
τρίτον δ' εἶδος τὸ πᾶσιν ἐξεῖναι, ὅσοι ἂν ἐλεύθεροι
third and kind the to-all to-be-permitted as-many-as — free
ὦσι, μετέχειν τῆς πολιτείας, μὴ μέντοι μετέχειν διὰ τὴν
are to-share in-the constitution not however to-share through the
προειρημένην αἰτίαν, ὥστ' ἀναγκαῖον καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ ἄρχειν
aforesaid cause so-that necessary also in this to-rule
τὸν νόμον· τέταρτον δὲ εἶδος δημοκρατίας ἡ τελευταία τοῖς
the law fourth and kind of-democracy the last in-the
χρόνοις ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι γεγενημένη. διὰ γὰρ τὸ μεῖζους
times in the cities having-arisen through for the larger

γεγονέναι πολὺ τὰς πόλεις τῶν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς καὶ προσόδων
to-have-become much the cities than-the from beginning and of-revenues
ὑπάρχειν εὐπορίας, μετέχουσι μὲν πάντες τῆς πολιτείας διὰ
to-exist abundance share indeed all in-the constitution through
τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τοῦ πλήθους, κοινωνοῦσι δὲ καὶ πολιτεύονται
the superiority of-the multitude share and also govern
διὰ τὸ δύνασθαι σχολάζειν καὶ τοὺς ἀπόρους λαμβάνοντας
through the to-be-able to-have-leisure even the poor receiving
μισθόν. καὶ μάλιστα δὲ σχολάζει τὸ τοιοῦτον πλῆθος· οὐ
pay and most and has-leisure the such multitude not
γὰρ ἐμποδίζει αὐτοὺς οὐθὲν ἡ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιμέλεια,
for hinders them at-all the of-the private-affairs care
τοὺς δὲ πλουσίους ἐμποδίζει, ὥστε πολλάκις οὐ κοινωνοῦσι
the but rich it-hinders so-that often not they-share
τῆς ἐκκλησίας οὔτε τοῦ δικάζειν. διὸ γίνεται τὸ τῶν
in-the assembly nor in-the to-judge therefore becomes the of-the
ἀπόρων πλῆθος κύριον τῆς πολιτείας, ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ οἱ νόμοι.
poor multitude sovereign of-the constitution but not the laws
Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς δημοκρατίας εἴδη τοσαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα διὰ
the indeed then of-the democracy kinds so-many and such through
ταύτας τὰς ἀνάγκας ἐστίν, τὰ δὲ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας· ὅταν
these the necessities are the(-things) but of-the oligarchy when
μὲν πλείους ἔχωσιν οὐσίαν, ἐλάττω δὲ καὶ μὴ πολλὴν λίαν,
indeed more have property less and and not much too
τὸ τῆς πρώτης ὀλιγαρχίας εἶδός ἐστιν· ποιοῦσι γὰρ ἐξουσίαν
the of-the first oligarchy kind is they-make for license
μετέχειν τῷ κτωμένῳ, καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος εἶναι τῶν
to-share for-the(-one) acquiring and through the number to-be of-those
μετεχόντων τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἀνάγκη μὴ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
sharing in-the governing-body necessity not the men
ἀλλὰ τὸν νόμον εἶναι κύριον (ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν πλεῖον ἀπέχωσι
but the law to-be sovereign by-as-much for — more they-are-distant

τῆς μοναρχίας, καὶ μήτε τοσαύτην ἔχωσιν οὐσίαν ὥστε
from-the monarchy and neither so-much have property so-as
σχολάζειν ἀμελοῦντες, μήθ' οὕτως ὀλίγην ὥστε τρέφεσθαι
to-have-leisure neglecting(-it) nor so little so-as to-be-maintained
ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἀνάγκη τὸν νόμον ἀξιοῦν αὐτοῖς ἄρχειν,
by the city necessity the law to-think-fit for-them to-rule
ἀλλὰ μὴ αὐτούς)· ἐὰν δὲ δὴ ἐλάττους ὦσιν οἱ τὰς οὐσίας
but not themselves if but indeed fewer be those the properties
ἔχοντες ἢ οἱ τὸ πρότερον, πλείω δέ, τὸ τῆς δευτέρας
having than those the before more but the of-the second
ὀλιγαρχίας γίνεται εἶδος· μᾶλλον γὰρ ἰσχύοντες πλεονεκτεῖν
oligarchy becomes kind more for being-strong to-take-more
ἀξιοῦσιν, διὸ αὐτοὶ μὲν αἱροῦνται ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς εἰς
they-claim therefore themselves indeed choose from the others those into
τὸ πολίτευμα βαδίζοντας, διὰ δὲ τὸ μήπω οὕτως ἰσχυροὶ
the governing-body going through but the not-yet so strong
εἶναι ὥστ' ἄνευ νόμου ἄρχειν τὸν νόμον τίθενται τοιοῦτον.
to-be so-as without law to-rule the law they-set-up such
ἐὰν δ' ἐπιτείνωσι τῷ ἐλάττονες ὄντες μείζονας οὐσίας
if but they-intensify(-it) by-the fewer being greater properties
ἔχειν, ἡ τρίτη ἐπίδοσις γίνεται τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας, τὸ
to-have the third advance arises of-the oligarchy the
δι' αὐτῶν μὲν τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχειν, κατὰ νόμον δὲ
through themselves indeed the offices to-hold according-to law but
τὸν κελεύοντα τῶν τελευτώντων διαδέχεσθαι τοὺς
the(-law) bidding of-those dying to-succeed the
υἱεῖς. ὅταν δὲ ἤδη πολὺ ὑπερτείνωσι ταῖς οὐσίαις καὶ
sons when but already much they-exceed in-the properties and
ταῖς πολυφιλίαις, ἐγγὺς ἡ τοιαύτη δυναστεία μοναρχίας
in-the many-friendships near the such dynasty to-monarchy
ἐστίν, καὶ κύριοι γίνονται οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ
is and sovereign become the men but not the

νόμος, καὶ τὸ τέταρτον εἶδος τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας τοῦτ' ἐστίν,
law and the fourth kind of-the oligarchy this is
ἀντίστροφον τῷ τελευταίῳ τῆς δημοκρατίας.
counterpart to-the last of-the democracy

VII · ARISTOCRACY

Besides democracy and oligarchy there are two constitutions: aristocracy, one of the commonly counted four, and polity, which enumerators like Plato overlook because it is rare. Aristocracy properly is the rule of men best in virtue absolutely. Other aristocracies look to wealth, virtue, and the people, as at Carthage, or to virtue and the people, as at Sparta; a third kind is the so-called polities that incline toward oligarchy.

Ἔτι δ' εἰσὶ δύο πολιτεῖαι παρὰ δημοκρατίαν τε καὶ
further and there-are two constitutions beside democracy both and
ὀλιγαρχίαν, ὧν τὴν μὲν ἑτέραν λέγουσί τε πάντες καὶ
oligarchy of-which the indeed one mention both all and
εἴρηται τῶν τεττάρων πολιτειῶν εἶδος ἕν (λέγουσι
it-has-been-stated of-the four constitutions kind one they-say
δὲ τέτταρας μοναρχίαν ὀλιγαρχίαν δημοκρατίαν, τέταρτον
and four monarchy oligarchy democracy fourth
δὲ τὴν καλουμένην ἀριστοκρατίαν)· πέμπτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ
and the so-called aristocracy fifth and is which
προσαγορεύεται τὸ κοινὸν ὄνομα πασῶν (πολιτείαν γὰρ
is-called by-the common name of-all polity for
καλοῦσιν), ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μὴ πολλάκις γίνεσθαι λανθάνει
they-call(-it) but through the not often to-arise it-escapes-notice
τοὺς πειρωμένους ἀριθμεῖν τὰ τῶν πολιτειῶν εἴδη, καὶ
those trying to-enumerate the of-the constitutions kinds and
χρῶνται ταῖς τέτταρσι μόνον (ὥσπερ Πλάτων) ἐν ταῖς
they-use the four only just-as Plato in the

πολιτείαις. ἀριστοκρατίαν μὲν οὖν καλῶς ἔχει καλεῖν
republics aristocracy indeed then well it-is to-call
περὶ ἧς διήλθομεν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις λόγοις (τὴν γὰρ
about which we-went-through in the first discourses the for
ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων ἁπλῶς κατ' ἀρετὴν πολιτείαν καὶ μὴ
from the best simply by virtue constitution and not
πρὸς ὑπόθεσίν τινα ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν μόνην δίκαιον
with-reference-to assumption some of-good men alone just
προσαγορεύειν ἀριστοκρατίαν· ἐν μόνῃ γὰρ ἁπλῶς ὁ
to-call aristocracy in alone for simply the
αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ πολίτης ἀγαθός ἐστιν, οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς
same man and citizen good is the(-others) but in the
ἄλλαις ἀγαθοὶ πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν εἰσὶ τὴν αὑτῶν)
others good with-reference-to the constitution are the their-own
οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἰσί τινες αἳ πρός τε τὰς ὀλιγαρχουμένας
not indeed but there-are some which from both the oligarchically-governed
ἔχουσι διαφορὰς καὶ καλοῦνται ἀριστοκρατίαι καὶ πρὸς
have differences and are-called aristocracies and from
τὴν καλουμένην πολιτείαν, ὅπου γε μὴ μόνον πλουτίνδην
the so-called polity where at-least not only by-wealth
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀριστίνδην αἱροῦνται τὰς ἀρχάς.
but also by-merit they-choose the offices
αὕτη ἡ πολιτεία διαφέρει τε ἀμφοῖν καὶ ἀριστοκρατικὴ
this the constitution differs both from-both and aristocratic
καλεῖται. καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς μὴ ποιουμέναις κοινὴν
is-called also for in the(-cities) not making common
ἐπιμέλειαν ἀρετῆς εἰσὶν ὅμως τινὲς οἱ εὐδοκιμοῦντες καὶ
care of-virtue there-are still some those well-reputed and
δοκοῦντες εἶναι ἐπιεικεῖς. ὅπου οὖν ἡ πολιτεία βλέπει εἴς
seeming to-be decent where then the constitution looks to
τε πλοῦτον καὶ ἀρετὴν καὶ δῆμον, οἷον ἐν Καρχηδόνι,
both wealth and virtue and people such-as in Carthage

αὕτη ἀριστοκρατική ἐστιν, καὶ ἐν αἷς εἰς τὰ δύο
this aristocratic is and in which(-ones) to the two
μόνον, οἷον ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων, εἴς τε ἀρετὴν καὶ δῆμον,
only such-as the of-Lacedaemonians to both virtue and people
καὶ ἔστι μίξις τῶν δύο τούτων, δημοκρατίας τε καὶ
and there-is mixture of-the two these democracy both and
ἀρετῆς. Ἀριστοκρατίας μὲν οὖν παρὰ τὴν πρώτην τὴν
virtue of-aristocracy indeed then beside the first the
ἀρίστην πολιτείαν ταῦτα δύο εἴδη καὶ τρίτον ὅσαι τῆς
best constitution these two kinds and third as-many-as of-the
καλουμένης πολιτείας ῥέπουσι πρὸς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν μᾶλλον.
so-called polity incline toward the oligarchy more

VIII · POLITY

Polity and tyranny remain, tyranny last as the least a constitution. Polity mixes oligarchy and democracy; mixtures leaning to democracy are called polities and those leaning to oligarchy aristocracies, since education and birth go more with the well-off. Good laws not obeyed are not good order. Mixing rich and poor makes a polity, and mixing wealth, freedom, and virtue an aristocracy, so the two are not far apart.

Λοιπὸν δ' ἐστὶν ἡμῖν περί τε τῆς ὀνομαζομένης πολιτείας
remaining and is for-us about both the so-named polity
εἰπεῖν καὶ περὶ τυραννίδος. ἐτάξαμεν δ' οὕτως οὐκ
to-speak and about tyranny we-arranged(-it) and thus not
οὖσαν οὔτε ταύτην παρέκβασιν οὔτε τὰς ἄρτι ῥηθείσας
being neither this a-deviation nor the just mentioned
ἀριστοκρατίας, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς πᾶσαι διημαρτήκασι
aristocracies because the indeed truth all have-missed
τῆς ὀρθοτάτης πολιτείας, ἔπειτα καταριθμοῦνται μετὰ
the most-right constitution then they-are-counted with

τούτων, εἰσί τ᾽ αὐτῶν αὗται παρεκβάσεις, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς
these are and of-them these deviations just-as in the(-words)
κατ᾽ ἀρχὴν εἴπομεν. τελευταῖον δὲ περὶ τυραννίδος εὔλογόν
at beginning we-said last and about tyranny reasonable
ἐστι ποιήσασθαι μνείαν διὰ τὸ πασῶν ἥκιστα ταύτην
is to-make mention through the of-all least this
εἶναι πολιτείαν, ἡμῖν δὲ τὴν μέθοδον εἶναι περὶ πολιτείας.
to-be constitution for-us and the inquiry to-be about constitution
δι᾽ ἣν μὲν οὖν αἰτίαν τέτακται τὸν τρόπον
through which indeed then cause it-has-been-arranged the manner
τοῦτον, εἴρηται· νῦν δὲ δεικτέον ἡμῖν περὶ πολιτείας.
this it-has-been-said now and one-must-show for-us about polity
φανερωτέρα γὰρ ἡ δύναμις αὐτῆς διωρισμένων τῶν
more-evident for the power of-it having-been-determined the(-things)
περὶ ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ δημοκρατίας. ἔστι γὰρ ἡ πολιτεία
about oligarchy and democracy is for the polity
ὡς ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν μίξις ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ δημοκρατίας.
so simply to-speak mixture of-oligarchy and democracy
Εἰώθασι δὲ καλεῖν τὰς μὲν ἀποκλινούσας ὡς πρὸς
they-are-accustomed and to-call the(-ones) indeed inclining as toward
τὴν δημοκρατίαν πολιτείας, τὰς δὲ πρὸς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν
the democracy polities the(-ones) and toward the oligarchy
μᾶλλον ἀριστοκρατίας διὰ τὸ μᾶλλον ἀκολουθεῖν παιδείαν
more aristocracies through the more to-accompany education
καὶ εὐγένειαν τοῖς εὐπορωτέροις.
and good-birth the better-off
ἔτι δὲ δοκοῦσιν ἔχειν οἱ εὔποροι ὧν ἕνεκεν
further and seem to-have the well-off of-what for-the-sake
οἱ ἀδικοῦντες ἀδικοῦσιν· ὅθεν καὶ καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς
those doing-wrong do-wrong whence also noble and-good
καὶ γνωρίμους τούτους προσαγορεύουσιν. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἡ
and notables these they-call since then the

ἀριστοκρατία βούλεται τὴν ὑπεροχὴν ἀπονέμειν τοῖς
aristocracy wishes the superiority to-assign to-the
ἀρίστοις τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας εἶναί φασιν ἐκ
best of-the citizens also the oligarchies to-be they-say from
τῶν καλῶν κἀγαθῶν μᾶλλον. δοκεῖ δ' εἶναι τῶν ἀδυνάτων
the noble and-good rather it-seems and to-be of-the impossible(-things)
τὸ εὐνομεῖσθαι τὴν μὴ ἀριστοκρατουμένην πόλιν ἀλλὰ
the to-be-well-governed the not aristocratically-governed city but
πονηροκρατουμένην, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἀριστοκρατεῖσθαι
badly-governed similarly and also to-be-aristocratically-governed
τὴν μὴ εὐνομουμένην. οὐκ ἔστι δὲ εὐνομία τὸ εὖ
the not well-governed not is but good-order the well
κεῖσθαι τοὺς νόμους, μὴ πείθεσθαι δέ. διὸ μίαν μὲν
to-be-laid-down the laws not to-obey but therefore one indeed
εὐνομίαν ὑπολεπτέον εἶναι τὸ πείθεσθαι τοῖς κειμένοις
good-order one-must-suppose to-be the to-obey the laid-down
νόμοις, ἑτέραν δὲ τὸ καλῶς κεῖσθαι τοὺς νόμους οἷς
laws another and the well to-be-laid-down the laws which
ἐμμένουσιν (ἔστι γὰρ πείθεσθαι καὶ κακῶς κειμένοις).
they-abide-by is-possible for to-obey also badly laid-down(-laws)
τοῦτο δὲ ἐνδέχεται διχῶς· ἢ γὰρ τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν
this and is-possible in-two-ways either for the best of-the
ἐνδεχομένων αὐτοῖς, ἢ τοῖς ἁπλῶς ἀρίστοις.
possible for-them or the simply best
δοκεῖ δὲ ἀριστοκρατία μὲν εἶναι μάλιστα τὸ τὰς τιμὰς
seems and aristocracy indeed to-be most the the honors
νενεμῆσθαι κατ' ἀρετήν· ἀριστοκρατίας μὲν γὰρ
to-have-been-distributed according-to virtue of-aristocracy indeed for
ὅρος ἀρετή, ὀλιγαρχίας δὲ πλοῦτος, δήμου δ' ἐλευθερία (τὸ
definition virtue of-oligarchy and wealth of-people and freedom the
δ' ὅ τι ἂν δόξῃ τοῖς πλείοσιν, ἐν πάσαις ὑπάρχει· καὶ
but what ever — seems-good to-the majority in all exists also

γὰρ ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ καὶ ἐν ἀριστοκρατίᾳ καὶ ἐν δήμοις, ὅ τι
for in oligarchy and in aristocracy and in democracies what ever
ἂν δόξῃ τῷ πλείονι μέρει τῶν μετεχόντων τῆς πολιτείας,
— seems-good to-the greater part of-those sharing in-the constitution
τοῦτ' ἐστὶ κύριον). ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς πλείσταις πόλεσι τὸ τῆς
this is sovereign in indeed then the most cities the of-the
πολιτείας εἶδος καλλωπίζεται· μόνον γὰρ ἡ μίξις στοχάζεται
constitution kind prides-itself only for the mixture aims-at
τῶν εὐπόρων καὶ τῶν ἀπόρων, πλούτου καὶ ἐλευθερίας·
the well-off and the poor of-wealth and of-freedom
σχεδὸν γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις οἱ εὔποροι τῶν καλῶν
nearly for among the most the well-off of-the noble
κἀγαθῶν δοκοῦσι κατέχειν χώραν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τρία ἐστὶ τὰ
and-good seem to-hold place since and three are the(-things)
ἀμφισβητοῦντα τῆς ἰσότητος τῆς πολιτείας, ἐλευθερία
disputing the equality of-the constitution freedom
πλοῦτος ἀρετή (τὸ γὰρ τέταρτον, ὃ καλοῦσιν εὐγένειαν,
wealth virtue the for fourth which they-call good-birth
ἀκολουθεῖ τοῖς δυσίν· ἡ γὰρ εὐγένειά ἐστιν ἀρχαῖος πλοῦτος
follows the two the for good-birth is ancient wealth
καὶ ἀρετή), φανερὸν ὅτι τὴν μὲν τοῖν δυοῖν μίξιν, τῶν
and virtue evident that the indeed of-the two mixture of-the
εὐπόρων καὶ τῶν ἀπόρων, πολιτείαν λεκτέον, τὴν δὲ τῶν
well-off and of-the poor polity one-must-call the and of-the
τριῶν ἀριστοκρατίαν μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων παρὰ τὴν ἀληθινὴν
three aristocracy most of-the others beside the true
καὶ πρώτην. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἔστι καὶ ἕτερα πολιτείας
and first that indeed then there-are also other of-constitution
εἴδη παρὰ μοναρχίαν τε καὶ δημοκρατίαν καὶ ὀλιγαρχίαν,
kinds beside monarchy both and democracy and oligarchy
εἴρηται, καὶ ποῖα ταῦτα, καὶ τί διαφέρουσιν
it-has-been-said and what-sort these and in-what they-differ

ἀλλήλων αἵ τ᾽ ἀριστοκρατίαι καὶ αἱ πολιτεῖαι τῆς
from-one-another the both aristocracies and the polities from-the
ἀριστοκρατίας, καὶ ὅτι οὐ πόρρω αὗται ἀλλήλων, φανερόν.
aristocracy and that not far these from-one-another evident

IX · HOW POLITY IS MIXED

Polity is formed by taking both sides' laws, as fines for the rich who do not sit as jurors and pay for the poor who do; by taking a mean, a moderate assessment; or by taking part from each, election from oligarchy and no assessment from democracy. A good mixture can be called either, as Sparta is called a democracy for its education and common meals and an oligarchy for its elections, and it is kept by its own strength, not from outside.

Τίνα δὲ τρόπον γίνεται παρὰ δημοκρατίαν καὶ ὀλιγαρχίαν ἡ
in-what and manner arises beside democracy and oligarchy the
καλουμένη πολιτεία, καὶ πῶς αὐτὴν δεῖ καθιστάναι, λέγωμεν
so-called polity and how it must to-establish let-us-say
ἐφεξῆς τοῖς εἰρημένοις. ἅμα δὲ δῆλον ἔσται καὶ οἷς
next to-the said(-things) at-once and clear will-be also by-what
ὁρίζονται τὴν δημοκρατίαν καὶ τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν· ληπτέον
they-define the democracy and the oligarchy one-must-grasp
γὰρ τὴν τούτων διαίρεσιν, εἶτα ἐκ τούτων ἀφ᾽ ἑκατέρας
for the of-these division then from these from each
ὥσπερ σύμβολον λαμβάνοντας συνθετέον. εἰσὶ δὲ ὅροι
just-as tally taking one-must-combine are and definitions
τρεῖς τῆς συνθέσεως καὶ μίξεως. ἢ γὰρ ἀμφότερα ληπτέον
three of-the combination and mixture either for both one-must-take
ὧν ἑκάτεραι νομοθετοῦσιν, οἷον περὶ τοῦ δικάζειν. ἐν
of-which each legislate such-as about the to-judge in
μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις τοῖς εὐπόροις ζημίαν τάττουσιν,
indeed for the oligarchies for-the well-off a-fine they-impose

ἂν μὴ δικάζωσι, τοῖς δ' ἀπόροις οὐδένα μισθόν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς
if not they-judge for-the but poor no pay in but the
δημοκρατίαις τοῖς μὲν ἀπόροις μισθόν, τοῖς δ' εὐπόροις
democracies for-the indeed poor pay for-the but well-off
οὐδεμίαν ζημίαν· κοινὸν δὲ καὶ μέσον τούτων ἀμφότερα
no fine common and and middle of-these both
ταῦτα, διὸ καὶ πολιτικόν, μέμεικται γὰρ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν. εἷς
these therefore also polity-like it-is-mixed for from both one
μὲν οὖν οὗτος τοῦ συνδυασμοῦ τρόπος, ἕτερος δὲ τὸ τὸ
indeed then this of-the combination manner another and the the
μέσον λαμβάνειν ὧν ἑκάτεροι τάττουσιν, οἷον ἐκκλησιάζειν
mean to-take of-what each impose such-as to-attend-assembly
οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τιμήματος οὐθενὸς ἢ μικροῦ πάμπαν,
the(-ones) indeed from property-qualification none or small altogether
οἱ δ' ἀπὸ μακροῦ τιμήματος, κοινὸν δέ γε
the(-others) and from high property-qualification common but at-least
οὐδέτερον, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέσον ἑκατέρου τιμήματος τούτων.
neither but the middle of-each property-qualification of-these
τρίτον δ' ἐκ δυοῖν ταγμάτοιν, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ
third and from two arrangements the(-things) indeed from the
ὀλιγαρχικοῦ νόμου τὰ δ' ἐκ τοῦ δημοκρατικοῦ. λέγω
oligarchic law the(-things) and from the democratic I-mean
δ' οἷον δοκεῖ δημοκρατικὸν μὲν εἶναι τὸ κληρωτὰς εἶναι τὰς
and such-as seems democratic indeed to-be the chosen-by-lot to-be the
ἀρχάς, τὸ δ' αἱρετὰς ὀλιγαρχικόν, καὶ δημοκρατικὸν μὲν τὸ
offices the and elected oligarchic and democratic indeed the
μὴ ἀπὸ τιμήματος, ὀλιγαρχικὸν δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ τιμήματος·
not from property-qualification oligarchic and the from property-qualification
ἀριστοκρατικὸν τοίνυν καὶ πολιτικὸν τὸ ἐξ ἑκατέρας
aristocratic therefore and polity-like the from each

ἑκάτερον λαβεῖν, ἐκ μὲν τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας τὸ αἱρετὰς ποιεῖν
each(-feature) to-take from indeed the oligarchy the elected to-make
τὰς ἀρχάς, ἐκ δὲ τῆς δημοκρατίας τὸ μὴ ἀπὸ τιμήματος.
the offices from and the democracy the not from property-qualification
ὁ μὲν οὖν τρόπος τῆς μίξεως οὗτος· τοῦ δ' εὖ μεμεῖχθαι
the indeed then manner of-the mixture this of-the and well to-have-been-mixed
δημοκρατίαν καὶ ὀλιγαρχίαν ὅρος, ὅταν ἐνδέχηται λέγειν
democracy and oligarchy definition when it-is-possible to-call
τὴν αὐτὴν πολιτείαν δημοκρατίαν καὶ ὀλιγαρχίαν. δῆλον
the same constitution democracy and oligarchy clear
γὰρ ὅτι τοῦτο πάσχουσιν οἱ λέγοντες διὰ τὸ μεμεῖχθαι
for that this experience those calling(-it) through the to-have-been-mixed
καλῶς· πέπονθε δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ μέσον, ἐμφαίνεται γὰρ
well has-experienced and this also the mean appears for
ἑκάτερον ἐν αὐτῷ τῶν ἄκρων. ὅπερ συμβαίνει περὶ τὴν
each in it of-the extremes which-very happens about the
Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείαν. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐγχειροῦσι λέγειν
of-Lacedaemonians constitution many for attempt to-call(-it)
ὡς δημοκρατίας οὔσης διὰ τὸ δημοκρατικὰ πολλὰ τὴν
as democracy being through the democratic many the
τάξιν ἔχειν, οἷον πρῶτον τὸ περὶ τὴν τροφὴν τῶν
order to-have such-as first the about the rearing of-the
παίδων, ὁμοίως γὰρ οἱ τῶν πλουσίων τρέφονται τοῖς
children alike for those of-the rich are-reared with-those
τῶν πενήτων, καὶ παιδεύονται τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ὃν
of-the poor and are-educated in-the manner this which
ἂν δύναιντο καὶ τῶν πενήτων οἱ παῖδες· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ
— might-be-able also of-the poor the children similarly and also
ἐπὶ τῆς ἐχομένης ἡλικίας, καὶ ὅταν ἄνδρες γένωνται,
in-the-case-of the next age and when men they-become
τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, οὐθὲν γὰρ διάδηλος ὁ πλούσιος καὶ
the same manner in-nothing for distinguishable the rich and

ὁ πένης, οὕτω τὰ περὶ τὴν τροφὴν ταὐτὰ πᾶσιν
the poor so the(-things) about the food the-same for-all
ἐν τοῖς συσσιτίοις, καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα οἱ πλούσιοι τοιαύτην
in the common-meals and the clothing the rich such
οἵαν ἄν τις παρασκευάσαι δύναιτο καὶ τῶν πενήτων
as — someone to-provide could even of-the poor
ὁστισοῦν· ἔτι τῷ δύο τὰς μεγίστας ἀρχὰς τὴν μὲν
any-whatever further by-the two the greatest offices the(-one) indeed
αἱρεῖσθαι τὸν δῆμον, τῆς δὲ μετέχειν (τοὺς μὲν γὰρ
to-elect the people of-the(-other) and to-share the indeed for
γέροντας αἱροῦνται, τῆς δ' ἐφορείας μετέχουσιν)· οἱ
elders they-elect of-the but ephorate share the(-others)
δ' ὀλιγαρχίαν διὰ τὸ πολλὰ ἔχειν ὀλιγαρχικά, οἷον τὸ
and oligarchy through the many to-have oligarchic(-features) such-as the
πάσας αἱρετὰς εἶναι καὶ μηδεμίαν κληρωτήν, καὶ ὀλίγους
all elected to-be and none chosen-by-lot and few
εἶναι κυρίους θανάτου καὶ φυγῆς, καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα πολλά.
to-be sovereign of-death and exile and other such many
δεῖ δ' ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τῇ μεμειγμένῃ καλῶς ἀμφότερα
must and in the constitution the mixed well both
δοκεῖν εἶναι καὶ μηδέτερον, καὶ σῴζεσθαι δι' αὐτῆς
to-seem to-be and neither and to-be-preserved through itself
καὶ μὴ ἔξωθεν, καὶ δι' αὐτῆς μὴ τῷ πλείους ἔξωθεν
and not from-outside and through itself not by-the more from-outside
εἶναι τοὺς βουλομένους (εἴη γὰρ ἂν καὶ πονηρᾷ πολιτείᾳ
to-be those wishing(-it) would for — even for-a-bad constitution
τοῦθ' ὑπάρχον) ἀλλὰ τῷ μηδ' ἂν βούλεσθαι πολιτείαν
this belonging but by-the not-even — to-wish constitution
ἑτέραν μηθὲν τῶν τῆς πόλεως μορίων ὅλως. Τίνα μὲν
other none of-the of-the city parts at-all in-what indeed

οὖν τρόπον δεῖ καθιστάναι πολιτείαν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰς
then manner must to-establish polity similarly and also the
ὀνομαζομένας ἀριστοκρατίας, νῦν εἴρηται.
so-named aristocracies now it-has-been-said

X · TYRANNY

Tyranny remains to be treated, for completeness. Two kinds, among the barbarians and the elected monarchs of old Greece, were discussed with kingship, since they rule by law over willing subjects, though despotically. The third, tyranny proper, is the counterpart of absolute kingship: irresponsible rule over unwilling subjects, for the ruler's advantage and not theirs.

Περὶ δὲ τυραννίδος ἦν ἡμῖν λοιπὸν εἰπεῖν, οὐχ ὡς ἐνούσης
about and tyranny was for-us remaining to-speak not as being-in-it
πολυλογίας περὶ αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ὅπως λάβῃ τῆς μεθόδου
much-to-say about it but so-that it-may-take of-the inquiry
τὸ μέρος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ταύτην τίθεμεν τῶν πολιτειῶν
the part since also this we-posit of-the constitutions
τι μέρος. περὶ μὲν οὖν βασιλείας διωρίσαμεν ἐν τοῖς
some part about indeed then kingship we-determined in the
πρώτοις λόγοις, ἐν οἷς περὶ τῆς μάλιστα λεγομένης
first discourses in which about the most so-called
βασιλείας ἐποιούμεθα τὴν σκέψιν, πότερον ἀσύμφορος
kingship we-made the inquiry whether disadvantageous
ἢ συμφέρει ταῖς πόλεσιν, καὶ τίνα καὶ πόθεν δεῖ
or it-is-advantageous for-the cities and whom and whence one-must
καθιστάναι, καὶ πῶς· τυραννίδος δ' εἴδη δύο μὲν
to-establish and how of-tyranny and kinds two indeed
διείλομεν ἐν οἷς περὶ βασιλείας ἐπεσκοποῦμεν, διὰ
we-distinguished in which about kingship we-examined through

τὸ τὴν δύναμιν ἐπαλλάττειν πως αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν
the the power to-overlap somehow of-them also with the
βασιλείαν, διὰ τὸ κατὰ νόμον εἶναι ἀμφοτέρας ταύτας
kingship through the according-to law to-be both these
τὰς ἀρχάς (ἔν τε γὰρ τῶν βαρβάρων τισὶν αἱροῦνται
the rules in both for of-the barbarians some they-elect
αὐτοκράτορας μονάρχους, καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐν τοῖς
plenipotentiary monarchs and the old(-times) among the
ἀρχαίοις Ἕλλησιν ἐγίγνοντό τινες μόναρχοι τὸν τρόπον
ancient Greeks arose some monarchs the manner
τοῦτον, οὓς ἐκάλουν αἰσυμνήτας), ἔχουσι δέ τινας πρὸς
this whom they-called aesymnetes have and some toward
ἀλλήλας αὗται διαφοράς, ἦσαν δὲ διὰ μὲν τὸ κατὰ
one-another these differences were and through indeed the according-to
νόμον βασιλικαὶ καὶ διὰ τὸ μοναρχεῖν ἑκόντων,
law royal and through the to-rule-alone over-willing(-subjects)
τυραννικαὶ δὲ διὰ τὸ δεσποτικῶς ἄρχειν κατὰ τὴν
tyrannical but through the despotically to-rule according-to the
αὐτῶν γνώμην· τρίτον δὲ εἶδος τυραννίδος, ἥπερ μάλιστ'
their-own judgment third and kind of-tyranny which-very most
εἶναι δοκεῖ τυραννίς, ἀντίστροφος οὖσα τῇ παμβασιλείᾳ.
to-be seems tyranny counterpart being to-the absolute-kingship
τοιαύτην δ' ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τυραννίδα τὴν μοναρχίαν, ἥτις
such and necessary to-be tyranny the monarchy which
ἀνυπεύθυνος ἄρχει τῶν ὁμοίων καὶ βελτιόνων πάντων
unaccountable rules over-the alike and better all
πρὸς τὸ σφέτερον αὐτῆς συμφέρον, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς τὸ τῶν
for the its-own its advantage but not for the of-the
ἀρχομένων. διόπερ ἀκούσιος· οὐθεὶς γὰρ ἑκὼν ὑπομένει
ruled therefore involuntary no-one for willingly endures

τῶν ἐλευθέρων τὴν τοιαύτην ἀρχήν. Τυραννίδος μὲν οὖν
of-the free the such rule of-tyranny indeed then
εἴδη ταῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα διὰ τὰς εἰρημένας αἰτίας.
kinds these and so-many through the said causes

XI · THE MIDDLE CONSTITUTION

The best constitution for most cities is judged not by exceptional virtue, but by the life most can share. The good life is a mean. The very rich are insolent and cannot obey, and the very poor are base and cannot rule; the middle class is the most stable, and the best lawgivers, Solon, Lycurgus, and Charondas, came from it. Such a constitution rarely arises, since victors in faction and the leading Greek states impose their own; others are better the nearer they stand to it.

Τίς δ' ἀρίστη πολιτεία καὶ τίς ἄριστος βίος ταῖς
what and best constitution and what best life for-the
πλείσταις πόλεσι καὶ τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων, μήτε
most cities and for-the most of-the men neither
πρὸς ἀρετὴν συγκρίνουσι τὴν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἰδιώτας, μήτε
to virtue judging the(-virtue) above the private-men nor
πρὸς παιδείαν ἣ φύσεως δεῖται καὶ χορηγίας τυχηρᾶς,
to education which nature needs and equipment fortunate
μήτε πρὸς πολιτείαν τὴν κατ' εὐχὴν γινομένην, ἀλλὰ
nor to constitution the according-to wish arising but
βίον τε τὸν τοῖς πλείστοις κοινωνῆσαι δυνατὸν καὶ
life both the(-life) for-the most to-share possible and
πολιτείαν ἧς τὰς πλείστας πόλεις ἐνδέχεται μετασχεῖν;
constitution of-which the most cities it-is-possible to-share
καὶ γὰρ ἃς καλοῦσιν ἀριστοκρατίας, περὶ ὧν νῦν εἴπομεν,
also for which they-call aristocracies about which now we-spoke
τὰ μὲν ἐξωτέρω πίπτουσι ταῖς πλείσταις τῶν πόλεων,
the(-ones) indeed further-out fall for-the most of-the cities

τὰ δὲ γειτνιῶσι τῇ καλουμένῃ πολιτείᾳ (διὸ περὶ
the(-others) and border-on the so-called polity therefore about
ἀμφοῖν ὡς μιᾶς λεκτέον). ἡ δὲ δὴ κρίσις περὶ ἁπάντων
both as one must-be-spoken the and indeed judgment about all
τούτων ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν στοιχείων ἐστίν. εἰ γὰρ καλῶς ἐν
these from the same elements is if for well in
τοῖς ἠθικοῖς εἴρηται τὸ τὸν εὐδαίμονα βίον εἶναι τὸν
the ethics it-has-been-said the the happy life to-be the(-life)
κατ᾽ ἀρετὴν ἀνεμπόδιστον, μεσότητα δὲ τὴν ἀρετήν,
according-to virtue unimpeded mean and the virtue
τὸν μέσον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι βίον βέλτιστον, τῆς ἑκάστοις
the middle necessary to-be life best of-the to-each
ἐνδεχομένης τυχεῖν μεσότητος· τοὺς δὲ αὐτοὺς τούτους
possible to-attain mean the and same these
ὅρους ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι καὶ πόλεως ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας
definitions necessary to-be also of-city virtue and vice
καὶ πολιτείας. ἡ γὰρ πολιτεία βίος τίς ἐστι πόλεως.
and of-constitution the for constitution life some is of-city
Ἐν ἁπάσαις δὴ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἔστι τρία μέρη τῆς
in all indeed the cities there-are three parts of-the
πόλεως, οἱ μὲν εὔποροι σφόδρα, οἱ δὲ ἄποροι
city the(-ones) indeed well-off very the(-others) and poor
σφόδρα, οἱ δὲ τρίτοι οἱ μέσοι τούτων. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν
very the and third the middle between-these since therefore
ὁμολογεῖται τὸ μέτριον ἄριστον καὶ τὸ μέσον, φανερὸν ὅτι
it-is-agreed the moderate best and the mean evident that
καὶ τῶν εὐτυχημάτων ἡ κτῆσις ἡ μέση βελτίστη πάντων.
also of-the good-fortunes the possession the middle best of-all
ῥᾴστη γὰρ τῷ λόγῳ πειθαρχεῖν, ὑπέρκαλον δὲ ἢ
easiest for to-the reason to-obey exceedingly-beautiful but or
ὑπερίσχυρον ἢ ὑπερευγενῆ ἢ ὑπερπλούσιον, ἢ τἀναντία
exceedingly-strong or exceedingly-well-born or exceedingly-rich or the-opposite

τούτοις, ὑπέρπτωχον ἢ ὑπερασθενῆ καὶ σφόδρα ἄτιμον,
to-these exceedingly-poor or exceedingly-weak and very dishonored
χαλεπὸν τῷ λόγῳ ἀκολουθεῖν· γίγνονται γὰρ οἱ μὲν
hard the reason to-follow become for the(-ones) indeed
ὑβρισταὶ καὶ μεγαλοπόνηροι μᾶλλον, οἱ δὲ κακοῦργοι
insolent and great-scoundrels rather the(-others) and criminals
καὶ μικροπόνηροι λίαν, τῶν δ' ἀδικημάτων τὰ μὲν
and petty-scoundrels too of-the and wrongs the(-ones) indeed
γίγνεται δι' ὕβριν τὰ δὲ διὰ κακουργίαν. ἔτι
arise through insolence the(-others) and through criminality further
δὲ ἥκισθ' οὗτοι φυγαρχοῦσι καὶ σπουδαρχοῦσι· ταῦτα δ'
and least these shun-office and are-eager-for-office these and
ἀμφότερα βλαβερὰ ταῖς πόλεσιν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οἱ
both harmful to-the cities besides and these the(-ones)
μὲν ἐν ὑπεροχαῖς εὐτυχημάτων ὄντες, ἰσχύος καὶ πλούτου
indeed in excesses of-good-fortunes being of-strength and of-wealth
καὶ φίλων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων, ἄρχεσθαι
and of-friends and of-the other the such to-be-ruled
οὔτε βούλονται οὔτε ἐπίστανται (καὶ τοῦτ' εὐθὺς οἴκοθεν
neither wish nor know-how and this at-once from-home
ὑπάρχει παισὶν οὖσιν· διὰ γὰρ τὴν τρυφὴν οὐδ' ἐν
exists for-children being through for the luxury not-even in
τοῖς διδασκαλείοις ἄρχεσθαι σύνηθες αὐτοῖς), οἱ δὲ
the schools to-be-ruled accustomed for-them the(-others) and
καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἐν ἐνδείᾳ τούτων ταπεινοὶ λίαν.
in excess in lack of-these humble too
ὥσθ' οἱ μὲν ἄρχειν οὐκ ἐπίστανται ἀλλ' ἄρχεσθαι
so-that the(-ones) indeed to-rule not know-how but to-be-ruled
δουλικὴν ἀρχήν, οἱ δ' ἄρχεσθαι μὲν οὐδεμιᾷ ἀρχῇ,
a-slavish rule the(-others) and to-be-ruled indeed by-no rule
ἄρχειν δὲ δεσποτικὴν ἀρχήν. γίνεται οὖν δούλων καὶ
to-rule but despotic rule arises then of-slaves and

δεσποτῶν πόλις, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐλευθέρων, καὶ τῶν μὲν
of-masters a-city but not of-free and the(-ones) indeed
φθονούντων τῶν δὲ καταφρονούντων. ἃ πλεῖστον
envying the(-others) and despising which farthest
ἀπέχει φιλίας καὶ κοινωνίας πολιτικῆς· ἡ γὰρ κοινωνία
is-distant from-friendship and community political the for community
φιλικόν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁδοῦ βούλονται κοινωνεῖν τοῖς
friendly(-thing) not-even for of-road they-wish to-share with-the
ἐχθροῖς. βούλεται δέ γε ἡ πόλις ἐξ ἴσων εἶναι καὶ
enemies wishes but at-least the city from equals to-be and
ὁμοίων ὅτι μάλιστα, τοῦτο δ᾽ ὑπάρχει μάλιστα τοῖς
alike as most this and belongs most to-the
μέσοις. ὥστ᾽ ἀναγκαῖον ἄριστα πολιτεύεσθαι ταύτην τὴν
middle so-that necessary best to-be-governed this the
πόλιν ἐστίν, ἐξ ὧν φαμεν φύσει τὴν σύστασιν εἶναι τῆς
city is from which we-say by-nature the composition to-be of-the
πόλεως. καὶ σῴζονται δ᾽ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οὗτοι μάλιστα
city and are-preserved and in the cities these most
τῶν πολιτῶν. οὔτε γὰρ αὐτοὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ὥσπερ
of-the citizens neither for themselves of-the others'(-goods) just-as
οἱ πένητες ἐπιθυμοῦσιν, οὔτε τῆς τούτων ἕτεροι,
the poor desire nor of-the(-property) of-these others
καθάπερ τῆς τῶν πλουσίων οἱ πένητες ἐπιθυμοῦσιν·
just-as of-the(-property) of-the rich the poor desire
καὶ διὰ τὸ μήτ᾽ ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι μήτ᾽ ἐπιβουλεύειν
and through the neither to-be-plotted-against nor to-plot
ἀκινδύνως διάγουσιν. διὰ τοῦτο καλῶς ηὔξατο Φωκυλίδης
without-danger they-live through this well prayed Phocylides
"πολλὰ μέσοισιν ἄριστα· μέσος θέλω ἐν πόλει εἶναι."
many(-things) for-the-middle best middle I-wish in city to-be

δῆλον ἄρα ὅτι καὶ ἡ κοινωνία ἡ πολιτικὴ ἀρίστη ἡ
clear then that also the community the political best the(-one)
διὰ τῶν μέσων, καὶ τὰς τοιαύτας ἐνδέχεται εὖ πολιτεύεσθαι
through the middle and the such it-is-possible well to-be-governed
πόλεις, ἐν αἷς δὴ πολὺ τὸ μέσον καὶ κρεῖττον μάλιστα μὲν
cities in which indeed great the middle and stronger most indeed
ἀμφοῖν, εἰ δὲ μή, θατέρου μέρους· προστιθέμενον γὰρ ποιεῖ
than-both if but not than-the-one part added for it-makes
ῥοπὴν καὶ κωλύει γίνεσθαι τὰς ἐναντίας ὑπερβολάς. διόπερ
turn-of-scale and prevents to-arise the opposite excesses therefore
εὐτυχία μεγίστη τοὺς πολιτευομένους οὐσίαν ἔχειν μέσην καὶ
good-fortune greatest the citizens property to-have middle and
ἱκανήν, ὡς ὅπου οἱ μὲν πολλὰ σφόδρα κέκτηνται οἱ
sufficient as where the(-ones) indeed much very possess the(-others)
δὲ μηθέν, ἢ δῆμος ἔσχατος γίγνεται ἢ ὀλιγαρχία ἄκρατος
and nothing either people extreme arises or oligarchy unmixed
ἢ τυραννὶς δι' ἀμφοτέρας τὰς ὑπερβολάς· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ
or tyranny through both the excesses also for from
δημοκρατίας τῆς νεανικωτάτης καὶ ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας γίγνεται
democracy the most-headstrong and from oligarchy arises
τυραννίς, ἐκ δὲ τῶν μέσων καὶ τῶν σύνεγγυς πολὺ ἧττον.
tyranny from but the middle and the near much less
τὴν δ' αἰτίαν ὕστερον ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὰς μεταβολὰς
the but cause later in the(-discussions) about the changes
τῶν πολιτειῶν ἐροῦμεν. ὅτι δ' ἡ μέση βελτίστη, φανερόν·
of-the constitutions we-shall-state that and the middle best evident
μόνη γὰρ ἀστασίαστος· ὅπου γὰρ πολὺ τὸ διὰ μέσου,
alone for free-from-faction where for large the through middle
ἥκιστα στάσεις καὶ διαστάσεις γίγνονται τῶν πολιτῶν.
least factions and dissensions arise of-the citizens

καὶ αἱ μεγάλαι πόλεις ἀστασιαστότεραι διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν
and the large cities more-free-from-faction through the same
αἰτίαν, ὅτι πολὺ τὸ μέσον· ἐν δὲ ταῖς μικραῖς ῥᾴδιόν
cause that large the middle in but the small easy
τε διαλαβεῖν εἰς δύο πάντας, ὥστε μηθὲν καταλιπεῖν
both to-divide into two all so-as nothing to-leave
μέσον, καὶ πάντες σχεδὸν ἄποροι ἢ εὔποροί εἰσι. καὶ αἱ
middle and all nearly poor or well-off are and the
δημοκρατίαι δὲ ἀσφαλέστεραι τῶν ὀλιγαρχιῶν εἰσι καὶ
democracies and safer than-the oligarchies are and
πολυχρονιώτεραι διὰ τοὺς μέσους (πλείους τε γάρ εἰσι
longer-lasting through the middle more both for they-are
καὶ μᾶλλον μετέχουσι τῶν τιμῶν ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις
and more share in-the honors in the democracies
ἢ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις), ἐπεὶ ὅταν ἄνευ τούτων τῷ
than in-the oligarchies since when without these in-the
πλήθει ὑπερτείνωσιν οἱ ἄποροι, κακοπραγία γίνεται καὶ
number exceed the poor ill-success arises and
ἀπόλλυνται ταχέως. σημεῖον δὲ δεῖ νομίζειν καὶ τὸ
they-perish quickly sign and one-must to-think also the
τοὺς βελτίστους νομοθέτας εἶναι τῶν μέσων πολιτῶν·
the best lawgivers to-be of-the middle citizens
Σόλων τε γὰρ ἦν τούτων (δηλοῖ δ' ἐκ τῆς ποιήσεως)
Solon both for was of-these he-shows(-it) and from the poetry
καὶ Λυκοῦργος (οὐ γὰρ ἦν βασιλεύς) καὶ Χαρώνδας
and Lycurgus not for he-was king and Charondas
καὶ σχεδὸν οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἄλλων.
and nearly the most of-the others
Φανερὸν δ' ἐκ τούτων καὶ διότι αἱ πλεῖσται πολιτεῖαι αἱ
evident and from these also why the most constitutions the(-ones)
μὲν δημοκρατικαί εἰσιν αἱ δ' ὀλιγαρχικαί. διὰ γὰρ
indeed democratic are the(-others) and oligarchic through for

τὸ ἐν ταύταις πολλάκις ὀλίγον εἶναι τὸ μέσον, αἰεὶ ὁπότεροι
the in these often small to-be the middle always whichever
ἂν ὑπερέχωσιν, εἴθ' οἱ τὰς οὐσίας ἔχοντες εἴθ' ὁ δῆμος,
— exceed whether those the properties having or the people
οἱ τὸ μέσον ἐκβαίνοντες καθ' αὑτοὺς ἄγουσι τὴν πολιτείαν,
those the middle overstepping toward themselves draw the constitution
ὥστε ἢ δῆμος γίγνεται ἢ ὀλιγαρχία. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις διὰ
so-that either democracy arises or oligarchy besides and these through
τὸ στάσεις γίγνεσθαι καὶ μάχας πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῷ δήμῳ
the factions to-arise and fights against one-another for-the people
καὶ τοῖς εὐπόροις, ὁποτέροις ἂν μᾶλλον συμβῇ κρατῆσαι
and for-the well-off whichever — rather happen to-overcome
τῶν ἐναντίων, οὐ καθιστᾶσι κοινὴν πολιτείαν οὐδ' ἴσην, ἀλλὰ
the opponents not they-establish common constitution nor equal but
τῆς νίκης ἆθλον τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τῆς πολιτείας λαμβάνουσιν,
of-the victory prize the superiority of-the constitution they-take
καὶ οἱ μὲν δημοκρατίαν οἱ δ' ὀλιγαρχίαν ποιοῦσιν.
and the(-ones) indeed democracy the(-others) and oligarchy make
ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ γενομένων τῆς Ἑλλάδος πρὸς
further and also those in leadership having-come — of-Greece toward
τὴν παρ' αὑτοῖς ἑκάτεροι πολιτείαν ἀποβλέποντες οἱ
the among themselves each constitution looking the(-ones)
μὲν δημοκρατίας ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καθίστασαν οἱ δ'
indeed democracies in the cities established the(-others) and
ὀλιγαρχίας, οὐ πρὸς τὸ τῶν πόλεων συμφέρον σκοποῦντες
oligarchies not to the of-the cities advantage looking
ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ σφέτερον αὐτῶν. ὥστε διὰ ταύτας τὰς
but to the their-own of-them so-that through these the
αἰτίας ἢ μηδέποτε τὴν μέσην γίνεσθαι πολιτείαν ἢ
causes either never the middle to-arise constitution or
ὀλιγάκις καὶ παρ' ὀλίγοις· εἷς γὰρ ἀνὴρ συνεπείσθη μόνος
seldom and among few one for man was-persuaded alone

τῶν πρότερον ταύτην ἀποδοῦναι τὴν τάξιν, ἤδη δὲ καὶ
of-those before this to-grant the order already and also
τοῖς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἔθος καθέστηκε μηδὲ βούλεσθαι
for-those in the cities custom has-been-established not-even to-wish
τὸ ἴσον, ἀλλ' ἢ ἄρχειν ζητεῖν ἢ κρατουμένους ὑπομένειν.
the equal but except to-rule to-seek or being-overcome to-endure
Τίς μὲν οὖν ἀρίστη πολιτεία, καὶ διὰ τίν' αἰτίαν, ἐκ
which indeed then best constitution and through what cause from
τούτων φανερόν· τῶν δ' ἄλλων πολιτειῶν, ἐπειδὴ πλείους
these evident of-the and other constitutions since more
δημοκρατίας καὶ πλείους ὀλιγαρχίας φαμὲν εἶναι, ποίαν
democracies and more oligarchies we-say to-be what-sort
πρώτην θετέον καὶ δευτέραν καὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τρόπον
first one-must-posit and second and this indeed the manner
ἐχομένην τῷ τὴν μὲν εἶναι βελτίω τὴν δὲ χείρω,
next by-the the(-one) indeed to-be better the(-other) and worse
διωρισμένης τῆς ἀρίστης οὐ χαλεπὸν ἰδεῖν. ἀεὶ γὰρ
having-been-determined the best not difficult to-see always for
ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι βελτίω τὴν ἐγγύτητα ταύτης, χείρω δὲ
necessary to-be better the(-one) nearness this worse and
τὴν ἀφεστηκυῖαν τοῦ μέσου πλεῖον, ἂν μὴ πρὸς
the(-one) standing-apart from-the middle more if not with-reference-to
ὑπόθεσιν κρίνῃ τις. λέγω δὲ τὸ πρὸς ὑπόθεσιν, ὅτι
assumption judges one I-mean and the with-reference-to assumption that
πολλάκις οὔσης ἄλλης πολιτείας αἱρετωτέρας ἐνίοις οὐδὲν
often being another constitution more-choiceworthy for-some nothing
κωλύει συμφέρειν ἑτέραν μᾶλλον εἶναι πολιτείαν.
prevents to-be-advantageous another rather to-be constitution

The part that wishes the constitution to last must be stronger than the part that does not. Every city has quality, meaning freedom, wealth, education, and birth, and quantity. Where the poor outnumber the rich more than they fall short in quality, democracy arises, its kind following its people, farmers or mechanics; where the rich exceed in quality, oligarchy. The lawgiver should always draw in the middle, the most trusted arbitrator; founders of aristocracies err in deceiving the people.

Τίς δὲ πολιτεία τίσι καὶ ποία συμφέρει ποίοις,
which and constitution for-which and what-kind is-advantageous for-what-kind
ἐχόμενόν ἐστι τῶν εἰρημένων διελθεῖν. ληπτέον δὴ
next is to-the things-said to-go-through one-must-take indeed
πρῶτον περὶ πασῶν καθόλου ταὐτόν· δεῖ γὰρ
first about all generally the-same-thing it-is-necessary for
κρεῖττον εἶναι τὸ βουλόμενον μέρος τῆς πόλεως τοῦ μὴ
stronger to-be the wishing part of-the city than-the not
βουλομένου μένειν τὴν πολιτείαν. ἔστι δὲ πᾶσα πόλις ἔκ
wishing to-remain the constitution is and every city from
τε τοῦ ποιοῦ καὶ ποσοῦ. λέγω δὲ ποιὸν μὲν ἐλευθερίαν
both the quality and quantity I-mean and quality indeed freedom
πλοῦτον παιδείαν εὐγένειαν, ποσὸν δὲ τὴν τοῦ πλήθους
wealth education good-birth quantity and the of-the multitude
ὑπεροχήν. ἐνδέχεται δὲ τὸ μὲν ποιὸν ὑπάρχειν ἑτέρῳ μέρει
superiority it-is-possible and the indeed quality to-belong to-one part
τῆς πόλεως, ἐξ ὧν συνέστηκε μερῶν ἡ πόλις, ἄλλῳ
of-the city from which is-composed parts the city to-another
δὲ μέρει τὸ ποσόν, οἷον πλείους τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἶναι τῶν
and part the quantity such-as more in-the number to-be than-the
γενναίων τοὺς ἀγεννεῖς ἢ τῶν πλουσίων τοὺς ἀπόρους, μὴ
well-born the low-born or than-the rich the poor not
μέντοι τοσοῦτον ὑπερέχειν τῷ ποσῷ ὅσον λείπεσθαι τῷ
however so-much to-exceed in-the quantity as-much-as to-fall-short in-the

ποιῷ. διὸ ταῦτα πρὸς ἄλληλα συγκριτέον. Ὅπου μὲν οὖν
quality therefore these with one-another must-be-compared where indeed then
ὑπερέχει τὸ τῶν ἀπόρων πλῆθος τὴν εἰρημένην ἀναλογίαν,
exceeds the of-the poor multitude the stated proportion
ἐνταῦθα πέφυκεν εἶναι δημοκρατίαν, καὶ ἕκαστον εἶδος
there it-is-natural to-be democracy and each kind
δημοκρατίας κατὰ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τοῦ δήμου ἑκάστου, οἷον
of-democracy according-to the superiority of-the people of-each such-as
ἐὰν μὲν τὸ τῶν γεωργῶν ὑπερτείνῃ πλῆθος, τὴν πρώτην
if indeed the of-the farmers exceeds multitude the first
δημοκρατίαν, ἐὰν δὲ τὸ τῶν βαναύσων καὶ μισθαρνούντων,
democracy if and the of-the mechanics and wage-earners
τὴν τελευταίαν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς μεταξὺ
the last likewise and also the others the between
τούτων· ὅπου δὲ τὸ τῶν εὐπόρων καὶ γνωρίμων μᾶλλον
these where and the of-the well-off and notables more
ὑπερτείνει τῷ ποιῷ ἢ λείπεται τῷ ποσῷ, ἐνταῦθα δὲ
exceeds in-the quality than falls-short in-the quantity there and
ὀλιγαρχίαν, καὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἕκαστον
oligarchy and of-the oligarchy in-the same manner each
εἶδος κατὰ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τοῦ ὀλιγαρχικοῦ πλήθους.
kind according-to the superiority of-the oligarchic multitude
δεῖ δ' ἀεὶ τὸν νομοθέτην ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ προσλαμβάνειν
must and always the lawgiver in the constitution to-take-in-besides
τοὺς μέσους· ἄν τε γὰρ ὀλιγαρχικοὺς τοὺς νόμους τιθῇ,
the middle if both for oligarchic the laws he-lays-down
στοχάζεσθαι χρὴ τῶν μέσων, ἐάν τε δημοκρατικούς,
to-aim-at one-must at-the middle if both democratic
προσάγεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις τούτους. ὅπου δὲ τὸ τῶν
to-bring-over to-the laws these where and the of-the
μέσων ὑπερτείνει πλῆθος ἢ συναμφοτέρων τῶν ἄκρων
middle exceeds multitude either both-together of-the extremes

ἢ καὶ θατέρου μόνον, ἐνταῦθ' ἐνδέχεται πολιτείαν
or even the-one-of-the-two only there it-is-possible constitution
εἶναι μόνιμον. οὐθὲν γὰρ φοβερὸν μή ποτε συμφωνήσωσιν
to-be lasting nothing for fearful lest ever agree
οἱ πλούσιοι τοῖς πένησιν ἐπὶ τούτους· οὐδέποτε γὰρ
the rich with-the poor against these never for
ἄτεροι βουλήσονται δουλεύειν τοῖς ἑτέροις, κοινοτέραν
the-one-group will-wish to-be-slaves to-the others more-common
δ', ἂν ζητῶσιν, οὐδεμίαν εὑρήσουσιν ἄλλην ταύτης. ἐν
and if they-seek none they-will-find other than-this in
μέρει γὰρ ἄρχειν οὐκ ἂν ὑπομείνειαν διὰ τὴν ἀπιστίαν
turn for to-rule not — they-would-endure because-of the distrust
τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους· πανταχοῦ δὲ πιστότατος ὁ διαιτητής,
the toward one-another everywhere and most-trusted the arbitrator
διαιτητὴς δ' ὁ μέσος. Ὅσῳ δ' ἂν ἄμεινον ἡ
arbitrator and the middle(-man) by-as-much and — better the
πολιτεία μειχθῇ, τοσούτῳ μονιμωτέρα. διαμαρτάνουσι
constitution is-mixed by-so-much more-lasting err
δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν τὰς ἀριστοκρατικὰς βουλομένων
and many even of-the(-ones) the aristocratic wishing
ποιεῖν πολιτείας, οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ πλεῖον νέμειν τοῖς
to-make constitutions not only in the more to-distribute to-the
εὐπόροις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ παρακρούεσθαι τὸν δῆμον.
well-off but also in the to-deceive the people
ἀνάγκη γὰρ χρόνῳ ποτὲ ἐκ τῶν ψευδῶς ἀγαθῶν
necessary for in-time at-some-point from the falsely goods
ἀληθὲς συμβῆναι κακόν· αἱ γὰρ πλεονεξίαι τῶν πλουσίων
true to-result evil the for overreachings of-the rich
ἀπολλύουσι μᾶλλον τὴν πολιτείαν ἢ αἱ τοῦ δήμου.
destroy more the constitution than the of-the people

Oligarchies devise pretexts against the people in five matters, the assembly, offices, courts, arms, and gymnastics, fining the rich and not the poor; democracies counter by paying the poor, and a fair mixture combines both. A polity should consist of those who bear arms, with an assessment set so that those sharing outnumber those who do not. The first constitutions after the kings rested on cavalry, then on hoplites, and what are now called polities were once called democracies.

Ἔστι δ' ὅσα προφάσεως χάριν ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις
there-are and as-many-as pretext for-the-sake-of in the constitutions
σοφίζονται πρὸς τὸν δῆμον πέντε τὸν ἀριθμόν, περὶ
they-devise-cleverly against the people five in-the number about
ἐκκλησίαν, περὶ τὰς ἀρχάς, περὶ δικαστήρια, περὶ
assembly about the offices about law-courts about
ὅπλισιν, περὶ γυμνασίαν· περὶ ἐκκλησίαν μὲν τὸ ἐξεῖναι
arms about gymnastics about assembly indeed the to-be-allowed
ἐκκλησιάζειν πᾶσι, ζημίαν δὲ ἐπικεῖσθαι τοῖς εὐπόροις,
to-attend-assembly to-all fine and to-be-imposed on-the well-off
ἐὰν μὴ ἐκκλησιάζωσιν, ἢ μόνοις ἢ μείζω πολλῷ, περὶ
if not they-attend-assembly either alone or greater by-much about
δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς τὸ τοῖς μὲν ἔχουσι τίμημα μὴ
and the offices the for-the indeed having property-qualification not
ἐξεῖναι ἐξόμνυσθαι, τοῖς δ' ἀπόροις ἐξεῖναι, καὶ περὶ
to-be-allowed to-decline-on-oath for-the and poor to-be-allowed and about
τὰ δικαστήρια τοῖς μὲν εὐπόροις εἶναι ζημίαν, ἂν μὴ
the law-courts for-the indeed well-off to-be a-fine if not
δικάζωσι, τοῖς δ' ἀπόροις ἄδειαν, ἢ τοῖς μὲν μεγάλην
they-sit-as-jurors for-the and poor exemption or for-the indeed large
τοῖς δὲ μικράν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς Χαρώνδου νόμοις. ἐνιαχοῦ
for-the and small just-as in the of-Charondas laws in-some-places
δ' ἔξεστι μὲν πᾶσιν ἀπογραψαμένοις ἐκκλησιάζειν καὶ
and it-is-allowed indeed to-all having-registered to-attend-assembly and

δικάζειν, ἐὰν δὲ ἀπογραψάμενοι μήτ' ἐκκλησιάζωσι μήτε
to-sit-as-jurors if and having-registered neither they-attend-assembly nor
δικάζωσιν, ἐπίκεινται μεγάλαι ζημίαι τούτοις, ἵνα διὰ
they-sit-as-jurors are-imposed great fines on-these so-that through
μὲν τὴν ζημίαν φεύγωσι τὸ ἀπογράφεσθαι, διὰ δὲ τὸ
indeed the fine they-may-avoid the to-register through and the
μὴ ἀπογράφεσθαι μὴ δικάζωσι μηδ' ἐκκλησιάζωσιν.
not to-register not they-may-sit-as-jurors nor they-may-attend-assembly
τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὅπλα κεκτῆσθαι καὶ
the same and manner also about the arms to-possess and
τοῦ γυμνάζεσθαι νομοθετοῦσιν.
the to-exercise they-legislate
τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀπόροις ἔξεστι μὴ κεκτῆσθαι, τοῖς δ'
for-the indeed for poor it-is-allowed not to-possess for-the and
εὐπόροις ἐπιζήμιον μὴ κεκτημένοις, κἂν μὴ γυμνάζωνται,
well-off penalized not possessing and-if not they-exercise
τοῖς μὲν οὐδεμία ζημία, τοῖς δ' εὐπόροις ἐπιζήμιον, ὅπως
for-the indeed no fine for-the and well-off penalized so-that
οἱ μὲν διὰ τὴν ζημίαν μετέχωσιν, οἱ δὲ διὰ
the(-ones) indeed because-of the fine may-share the(-others) and because-of
τὸ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι μὴ μετέχωσιν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὀλιγαρχικὰ
the not to-fear not may-share these indeed then oligarchic
τὰ σοφίσματα τῆς νομοθεσίας· ἐν δὲ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις
the devices of-the legislation in and the democracies
πρὸς ταῦτ' ἀντισοφίζονται. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀπόροις μισθὸν
against these they-counter-devise for-the indeed for poor pay
πορίζουσιν ἐκκλησιάζουσι καὶ δικάζουσιν, τοῖς δ' εὐπόροις
they-provide attending-assembly and sitting-as-jurors for-the and well-off
οὐδεμίαν τάττουσι ζημίαν. ὥστε φανερὸν ὅτι εἴ τις βούλεται
no they-impose fine so-that clear that if anyone wishes
μιγνύναι δικαίως, δεῖ τὰ παρ' ἑκατέροις συνάγειν καὶ
to-mix justly one-must the among each to-bring-together and

τοῖς μὲν μισθὸν πορίζειν τοῖς δὲ ζημίαν· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν
for-the indeed pay to-provide for-the and fine thus for —
κοινωνοῖεν ἅπαντες, ἐκείνως δ' ἡ πολιτεία γίγνεται τῶν
would-share all in-that-way and the constitution becomes of-the
ἑτέρων μόνον. δεῖ δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν εἶναι μὲν ἐκ τῶν τὰ
others only must and the constitution to-be indeed from the(-ones) the
ὅπλα ἐχόντων μόνον· τοῦ δὲ τιμήματος τὸ πλῆθος ἁπλῶς
arms having only of-the and property-qualification the amount simply
μὲν ὁρισαμένους οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν τοσοῦτον ὑπάρχειν,
indeed having-defined not it-is-possible to-say so-much to-exist
ἀλλὰ σκεψαμένους τὸ ποῖον ἐπιβάλλει μακρότατον ὥστε
but having-considered the what-kind admits largest so-that
τοὺς μετέχοντας τῆς πολιτείας εἶναι πλείους τῶν μὴ
the(-ones) sharing in-the constitution to-be more than-the not
μετεχόντων, τοῦτο τάττειν. ἐθέλουσι γὰρ οἱ πένητες καὶ
sharing this to-fix are-willing for the poor even
μὴ μετέχοντες τῶν τιμῶν ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν, ἐὰν μήτε ὑβρίζῃ
not sharing in-the honors quiet to-keep if neither insults
τις αὐτοὺς μήτε ἀφαιρῆται μηθὲν τῆς οὐσίας. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο
anyone them nor takes-away nothing of-the property but this
οὐ ῥᾴδιον· οὐ γὰρ ἀεὶ συμβαίνει χαρίεντας εἶναι τοὺς
not easy not for always it-happens gracious to-be the(-ones)
μετέχοντας τοῦ πολιτεύματος. καὶ εἰώθασι δέ, ὅταν
sharing in-the governing-body and they-are-accustomed and whenever
πόλεμος ᾖ, ὀκνεῖν, ἂν μὴ λαμβάνωσι τροφήν, ἄποροι
war there-is to-shrink if not they-receive sustenance poor
δὲ ὦσιν· ἐὰν δὲ πορίζῃ τις τροφήν, βούλονται πολεμεῖν.
and they-are if and provides anyone sustenance they-wish to-make-war
ἔστι δὲ ἡ πολιτεία παρ' ἐνίοις οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν
is and the constitution among some not only from the(-ones)
ὁπλιτευόντων ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὡπλιτευκότων· ἐν
serving-as-hoplites but also from the(-ones) having-served-as-hoplites among

Μαλιεῦσι δὲ ἡ μὲν πολιτεία ἦν ἐκ τούτων, τὰς δὲ
Malians and the indeed constitution was from these the and
ἀρχὰς ᾑροῦντο ἐκ τῶν στρατευομένων. καὶ ἡ πρώτη
offices they-chose from the(-ones) serving-in-campaigns and the first
δὲ πολιτεία ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐγένετο μετὰ τὰς βασιλείας
and constitution among the Greeks arose after the kingships
ἐκ τῶν πολεμούντων, ἡ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐκ τῶν
from the(-ones) fighting the indeed from beginning from the
ἱππέων (τὴν γὰρ ἰσχὺν καὶ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν ἐν τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν
cavalry the for strength and the superiority in the cavalry
ὁ πόλεμος εἶχεν· ἄνευ μὲν γὰρ συντάξεως ἄχρηστον τὸ
the war had without indeed for formation useless the
ὁπλιτικόν, αἱ δὲ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐμπειρίαι καὶ τάξεις
hoplite-force the and about the such-things experience and tactics
ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις οὐχ ὑπῆρχον, ὥστ' ἐν τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν
among the ancients not existed so-that among the cavalry
εἶναι τὴν ἰσχύν), αὐξανομένων δὲ τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῶν
to-be the strength growing and the cities and the(-ones)
ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἰσχυσάντων μᾶλλον πλείους μετεῖχον τῆς
in the arms having-grown-strong more more shared in-the
πολιτείας· διόπερ ἃς νῦν καλοῦμεν πολιτείας, οἱ πρότερον
constitution therefore which now we-call polities those earlier
ἐκάλουν δημοκρατίας· ἦσαν δὲ αἱ ἀρχαῖαι πολιτεῖαι εὐλόγως
called democracies were and the ancient constitutions reasonably
ὀλιγαρχικαὶ καὶ βασιλικαί. δι' ὀλιγανθρωπίαν γὰρ οὐκ
oligarchic and kingly through scarcity-of-men for not
εἶχον πολὺ τὸ μέσον, ὥστ' ὀλίγοι τε ὄντες τὸ πλῆθος
they-had large the middle so-that few both being in-the number
καὶ κατὰ τὴν σύνταξιν μᾶλλον ὑπέμενον τὸ ἄρχεσθαι. Διὰ
and in the organization rather they-endured the to-be-ruled through
τίνα μὲν οὖν εἰσιν αἰτίαν αἱ πολιτεῖαι πλείους, καὶ διὰ
what indeed then there-are cause the constitutions several and through

τί παρὰ τὰς λεγομένας ἕτεραι (δημοκρατία τε γὰρ οὐ μία
what beside the ones-spoken-of others democracy both for not one
τὸν ἀριθμόν ἐστι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοίως), ἔτι δὲ τίνες αἱ
in-the number is and of-the others likewise further and what the
διαφοραὶ καὶ διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν συμβαίνει, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις
differences and through what cause it-happens besides and these
τίς ἀρίστη τῶν πολιτειῶν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον εἰπεῖν, καὶ τῶν
what best of-the constitutions as for the most-part to-say and of-the
ἄλλων ποία ποίοις ἁρμόττει τῶν πολιτειῶν, εἴρηται.
others what-kind for-what-kind fits of-the constitutions it-has-been-said

XIV · THE DELIBERATIVE ELEMENT

Every constitution has three parts, the deliberative, the offices, and the courts. The deliberative rules on war, peace, alliances, laws, death, exile, confiscation, elections, and audits. All deciding everything is democratic, in ways from taking turns, as in Telecles the Milesian's scheme, to the last democracy; some deciding everything is oligarchic, and a mix is aristocratic or polity-like. Democracy deliberates better with the notables, oligarchy with some of the people or preliminary councilors.

Πάλιν δὲ καὶ κοινῇ καὶ χωρὶς περὶ ἑκάστης λέγωμεν
again and both in-common and separately about each let-us-speak
περὶ τῶν ἐφεξῆς, λαβόντες ἀρχὴν τὴν προσήκουσαν
about the things-next having-taken starting-point the appropriate
αὐτῶν. ἔστι δὴ τρία μόρια τῶν πολιτειῶν πασῶν,
of-them there-are indeed three parts of-the constitutions all
περὶ ὧν δεῖ θεωρεῖν τὸν σπουδαῖον νομοθέτην
about which it-is-necessary to-consider the excellent lawgiver
ἑκάστῃ τὸ συμφέρον· ὧν ἐχόντων καλῶς ἀνάγκη τὴν
for-each the advantageous which being well necessary the
πολιτείαν ἔχειν καλῶς, καὶ τὰς πολιτείας ἀλλήλων
constitution to-be well and the constitutions from-one-another

διαφέρειν ἐν τῷ διαφέρειν ἕκαστον τούτων. ἔστι δὲ τῶν
to-differ in the to-differ each of-these is and of-the
τριῶν τούτων ἓν μέν τι τὸ βουλευόμενον περὶ τῶν
three these one indeed some the deliberating about the
κοινῶν, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ περὶ τὰς ἀρχάς (τοῦτο δ'
common-affairs second and the about the offices this and
ἐστὶν ἃς δεῖ καὶ τίνων εἶναι κυρίας, καὶ ποίαν
is which it-is-necessary and of-what to-be sovereign and what-kind
τινὰ δεῖ γίνεσθαι τὴν αἵρεσιν αὐτῶν), τρίτον δέ
some it-is-necessary to-come-about the election of-them third and
τι τὸ δικάζον. Κύριον δ' ἐστὶ τὸ βουλευόμενον περὶ
some the judging sovereign and is the deliberating about
πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ συμμαχίας καὶ διαλύσεως, καὶ
war and peace and alliance and dissolution and
περὶ νόμων, καὶ περὶ θανάτου καὶ φυγῆς καὶ δημεύσεως,
about laws and about death and exile and confiscation
καὶ περὶ ἀρχῶν αἱρέσεως καὶ τῶν εὐθυνῶν. ἀναγκαῖον δ'
and about of-offices election and the audits necessary and
ἤτοι πᾶσι τοῖς πολίταις ἀποδίδοσθαι πάσας ταύτας τὰς
either to-all the citizens to-be-assigned all these the
κρίσεις ἢ τισὶ πάσας (οἷον ἀρχῇ τινὶ μιᾷ ἢ πλείοσιν) ἢ
decisions or to-some all such-as to-office some one or to-more or
ἑτέροις ἑτέρας ἢ τινὰς μὲν αὐτῶν πᾶσι τινὰς δὲ τισίν.
different different or some indeed of-them to-all some and to-some
Τὸ μὲν οὖν πάντας καὶ περὶ ἁπάντων δημοτικόν· τὴν
the indeed then all and about all democratic the
τοιαύτην γὰρ ἰσότητα ζητεῖ ὁ δῆμος. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ τρόποι
such for equality seeks the people there-are and the ways
τοῦ πάντας πλείους, εἷς μὲν τὸ κατὰ μέρος ἀλλὰ μὴ
of-the all several one indeed the by turn but not
πάντας ἀθρόους (ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τῇ Τηλεκλέους ἐστὶ
all together just-as in the constitution the of-Telecles is

τοῦ Μιλησίου· καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις δὲ πολιτείαις βουλεύονται
the of-Miletus and in other and constitutions deliberate
αἱ συναρχίαι συνιοῦσαι, εἰς δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς βαδίζουσι
the joint-boards coming-together into and the offices go
πάντες κατὰ μέρος ἐκ τῶν φυλῶν καὶ τῶν μορίων τῶν
all by turn from the tribes and the parts the
ἐλαχίστων παντελῶς, ἕως ἂν διεξέλθῃ διὰ πάντων),
smallest completely until — it-goes-through through all
συνιέναι δὲ μόνον περί τε νόμων θέσεως καὶ τῶν
to-come-together and only about both of-laws enactment and the(-matters)
περὶ τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ἀκουσομένους
about the constitution and the things-announced to-hear
ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων· ἄλλος δὲ τρόπος τὸ πάντας ἀθρόους,
from the officials another and way the all together
συνιέναι δὲ μόνον πρός τε τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας καὶ πρὸς τὰς
to-come-together and only for both the elections and for the
νομοθεσίας καὶ περὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ πρὸς εὐθύνας,
legislations and about war and peace and for audits
τὰ δ' ἄλλα τὰς ἀρχὰς βουλεύεσθαι τὰς ἐφ' ἑκάστοις
the and other-matters the offices to-deliberate the over each
τεταγμένας, αἱρετὰς οὔσας ἐξ ἁπάντων ἢ κληρωτάς· ἄλλος
appointed elected being from all or chosen-by-lot another
δὲ τρόπος τὸ περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς εὐθύνας ἀπαντᾶν τοὺς
and way the about the offices and the audits to-meet the
πολίτας, καὶ περὶ πολέμου βουλευσομένους καὶ συμμαχίας,
citizens and about war to-deliberate and alliance
τὰ δ' ἄλλα τὰς ἀρχὰς διοικεῖν αἱρετὰς οὔσας, ὅσας
the and other-matters the offices to-administer elected being as-many-as
ἐνδέχεται, τοιαῦται δ' εἰσὶν ὅσας ἄρχειν ἀναγκαῖον
it-is-possible such and are as-many-as to-hold necessary
τοὺς ἐπισταμένους· τέταρτος δὲ τρόπος τὸ πάντας περὶ
the(-ones) knowing fourth and way the all about

πάντων βουλεύεσθαι συνιόντας, τὰς δ' ἀρχὰς περὶ μηθενὸς
all to-deliberate coming-together the and offices about nothing
κρίνειν ἀλλὰ μόνον προανακρίνειν, ὅνπερ ἡ τελευταία
to-decide but only to-make-preliminary-inquiry in-which the last
δημοκρατία νῦν διοικεῖται τρόπον, ἣν ἀνάλογόν φαμεν
democracy now is-administered way which analogous we-say
εἶναι ὀλιγαρχίᾳ τε δυναστευτικῇ καὶ μοναρχίᾳ τυραννικῇ.
to-be to-oligarchy both dynastic and to-monarchy tyrannical
οὗτοι μὲν οὖν οἱ τρόποι δημοκρατικοὶ πάντες, τὸ δὲ τινὰς
these indeed then the ways democratic all the and some
περὶ πάντων ὀλιγαρχικόν. ἔχει δὲ καὶ τοῦτο διαφορὰς
about all oligarchic has and also this differences
πλείους. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τιμημάτων μετριωτέρων
several whenever indeed for from property-qualifications more-moderate
αἱρετοί τε ὦσι καὶ πλείους διὰ τὴν μετριότητα τοῦ
elected both they-are and more because-of the moderation of-the
τιμήματος, καὶ περὶ ὧν ὁ νόμος ἀπαγορεύει μὴ κινῶσιν
property-qualification and about which the law forbids not they-change
ἀλλ' ἀκολουθῶσι, καὶ ἐξῇ κτωμένῳ τὸ τίμημα
but follow and it-is-allowed to-one-acquiring the property-qualification
μετέχειν, ὀλιγαρχία μὲν πολιτικὴ δέ ἐστιν ἡ τοιαύτη
to-share oligarchy indeed constitutional and is the such
διὰ τὸ μετριάζειν· ὅταν δὲ μὴ πάντες τοῦ βουλεύεσθαι
because-of the to-be-moderate whenever and not all in-the to-deliberate
μετέχωσιν ἀλλὰ πρόκριτοι, κατὰ νόμον δ' ἄρχωσιν
share but preselected by law and they-rule
ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, ὀλιγαρχικόν· ὅταν δὲ καὶ αἱρῶνται
just-as also before oligarchic whenever and also choose
αὐτοὶ αὑτοὺς οἱ κύριοι τοῦ βουλεύεσθαι, καὶ ὅταν
themselves themselves the(-ones) sovereign of-the to-deliberate and whenever
παῖς ἀντὶ πατρὸς εἰσίῃ καὶ κύριοι τῶν νόμων ὦσιν,
son instead-of father enters and sovereign of-the laws they-are

ὀλιγαρχικὴν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὴν τάξιν ταύτην. ὅταν δὲ
oligarchic necessary to-be the arrangement this whenever and
τινῶν, οἷον πολέμου μὲν καὶ ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης καὶ εὐθυνῶν,
of-some such-as of-war indeed and about peace and audits
πάντες, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἄρχοντες, καὶ οὗτοι αἱρετοί,
all of-the and others officials and these elected
ἀριστοκρατία ἡ πολιτεία. ἐὰν δ' ἐνίων μὲν αἱρετοὶ ἐνίων
aristocracy the constitution if and of-some indeed elected of-some
δὲ κληρωτοί, καὶ κληρωτοὶ ἢ ἁπλῶς ἢ ἐκ προκρίτων,
and chosen-by-lot and chosen-by-lot either simply or from preselected
ἢ κοινῇ αἱρετοὶ καὶ κληρωτοί, τὰ μὲν πολιτείας
or in-common elected and chosen-by-lot the(-things) indeed of-constitution
ἀριστοκρατικῆς ἐστι τούτων, τὰ δὲ πολιτείας αὐτῆς.
aristocratic is of-these the(-things) and of-polity itself
Διῄρηται μὲν οὖν τὸ βουλευόμενον πρὸς τὰς πολιτείας
has-been-divided indeed then the deliberating for the constitutions
τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, καὶ διοικεῖ ἑκάστη πολιτεία κατὰ
this the way and administers each constitution according-to
τὸν εἰρημένον διορισμόν· συμφέρει δὲ δημοκρατίᾳ τε
the stated distinction it-is-advantageous and to-democracy both
τῇ μάλιστ' εἶναι δοκούσῃ δημοκρατίᾳ νῦν (λέγω δὲ
to-the most to-be seeming democracy now I-mean and
τοιαύτην ἐν ᾗ κύριος ὁ δῆμος καὶ τῶν νόμων ἐστίν)
such in which sovereign the people even of-the laws is
πρὸς τὸ βουλεύεσθαι βέλτιον τὸ αὐτὸ ποιεῖν ὅπερ ἐπὶ τῶν
for the to-deliberate better the same to-do which in the
δικαστηρίων ἐν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις (τάττουσι γὰρ ζημίαν
law-courts in the oligarchies they-fix for fine
τούτοις οὓς βούλονται δικάζειν, ἵνα δικάζωσιν, οἱ
for-these whom they-wish to-sit-as-jurors so-that they-may-sit-as-jurors the
δὲ δημοτικοὶ μισθὸν τοῖς ἀπόροις), τοῦτο δὲ καὶ περὶ
and democratic(-ones) pay for-the poor this and also about

τὰς ἐκκλησίας ποιεῖν (βουλεύσονται γὰρ βέλτιον κοινῇ
the assemblies to-do will-deliberate for better in-common
βουλευόμενοι πάντες, ὁ μὲν δῆμος μετὰ τῶν γνωρίμων,
deliberating all the indeed people with the notables
οὗτοι δὲ μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους), συμφέρει δὲ καὶ τὸ
these and with the multitude it-is-advantageous and also the
αἱρετοὺς εἶναι τοὺς βουλευομένους ἢ κληρωτοὺς ἴσους
elected to-be the(-ones) deliberating or chosen-by-lot equal(-numbers)
ἐκ τῶν μορίων, συμφέρει δὲ κἂν ὑπερβάλλωσι πολὺ
from the parts it-is-advantageous and even-if they-exceed much
κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος οἱ δημοτικοὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν, ἢ μὴ
in the number the democratic(-ones) of-the constitutional(-ones) either not
πᾶσι διδόναι μισθόν, ἀλλ' ὅσοι σύμμετροι πρὸς τὸ τῶν
to-all to-give pay but as-many-as proportionate to the of-the
γνωρίμων πλῆθος, ἢ ἀποκληροῦν τοὺς πλείους· ἐν δὲ ταῖς
notables multitude or to-exclude-by-lot the more in and the
ὀλιγαρχίαις ἢ προσαιρεῖσθαί τινας ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους,
oligarchies either to-co-opt some from the multitude
ἢ κατασκευάσαντας ἀρχεῖον οἷον ἐν ἐνίαις πολιτείαις
or having-set-up board such-as in some constitutions
ἐστὶν οὓς καλοῦσι προβούλους καὶ νομοφύλακας, περὶ
is whom they-call preliminary-councilors and law-guardians about
τούτων χρηματίζειν, περὶ ὧν ἂν οὗτοι προβουλεύσωσιν
these to-transact about which — these may-deliberate-beforehand
(οὕτω γὰρ μεθέξει ὁ δῆμος τοῦ βουλεύεσθαι, καὶ λύειν
thus for will-share the people in-the to-deliberate and to-undo
οὐθὲν δυνήσεται τῶν περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν), ἔτι ἢ
nothing will-be-able of-the(-things) about the constitution further either
ταὐτὰ ψηφίζεσθαι τὸν δῆμον ἢ μηθὲν ἐναντίον τοῖς
the-same-things to-vote the people or nothing contrary to-the
εἰσφερομένοις, ἢ τῆς συμβουλῆς μὲν μεταδιδόναι πᾶσι,
things-brought-forward or of-the counsel indeed to-give-a-share to-all

βουλεύεσθαι δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας, καὶ τὸ ἀντικείμενον δὲ
to-deliberate and the officials and the opposite and
τοῦ ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις γιγνομένου δεῖ ποιεῖν.
of-the in the constitutions happening one-must to-do
ἀποψηφιζόμενον μὲν γὰρ κύριον δεῖ ποιεῖν τὸ πλῆθος,
acquitting indeed for sovereign one-must to-make the multitude
καταψηφιζόμενον δὲ μὴ κύριον, ἀλλ' ἐπαναγέσθω πάλιν
condemning and not sovereign but let-it-be-referred again
ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς πολιτείαις ἀνεστραμμένως
to the officials in for the constitutions in-reverse
ποιοῦσιν· οἱ γὰρ ὀλίγοι ἀποψηφισάμενοι μὲν κύριοι,
they-do the for few acquitting indeed sovereign
καταψηφισάμενοι δὲ οὐ κύριοι, ἀλλ' ἐπανάγεται εἰς τοὺς
condemning and not sovereign but it-is-referred to the
πλείστους αἰεί. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ βουλευομένου καὶ τοῦ
most always about indeed then the deliberating and the
κυρίου δεῖ τῆς πολιτείας τοῦτον διωρίσθαι τὸν τρόπον.
sovereign one-must of-the constitution this to-have-been-defined the way

XV · THE OFFICES

The offices differ in number, sphere, and length. Not every elected person is an official, not priests, choregi, heralds, or ambassadors; an office properly commands. Large cities can give each task its own office, while small ones combine many, like a spit that is also a lampstand. Some offices belong to particular constitutions, preliminary councilors to oligarchy, a council to democracy; appointment varies by who appoints, from whom, and how, by election or lot, giving twelve ways, which are assigned to the constitutions.

Ἐχομένη δὲ τούτων ἐστὶν ἡ περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς διαίρεσις. ἔχει
next and to-these is the about the offices division has
γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μόριον τῆς πολιτείας πολλὰς διαφοράς,
for also this the part of-the constitution many differences
πόσαι τε ἀρχαί, καὶ κύριαι τίνων, καὶ περὶ χρόνου, πόσος
how-many both offices and sovereign of-what and about time how-long
ἑκάστης ἀρχῆς (οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἑξαμήνους, οἱ δὲ δι'
of-each office the(-ones) indeed for six-monthly the(-ones) and for
ἐλάττονος, οἱ δ' ἐνιαυσίας, οἱ δὲ πολυχρονιωτέρας
less the(-ones) and yearly the(-ones) and longer-lasting
ποιοῦσι τὰς ἀρχάς), καὶ πότερον εἶναι δεῖ τὰς ἀρχὰς
make the offices and whether to-be it-is-necessary the offices
ἀιδίους ἢ πολυχρονίους ἢ μηδέτερον ἀλλὰ πλεονάκις τοὺς
perpetual or long-lasting or neither but more-often the
αὐτούς, ἢ μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν δὶς ἀλλ' ἅπαξ μόνον, ἔτι δὲ περὶ
same or not the same twice but once only further and about
τὴν κατάστασιν τῶν ἀρχῶν, ἐκ τίνων δεῖ γίνεσθαι
the appointment of-the offices from whom it-is-necessary to-come-about
καὶ ὑπὸ τίνων καὶ πῶς. περὶ πάντων γὰρ τούτων δεῖ
and by whom and how about all for these one-must
δύνασθαι διελεῖν κατὰ πόσους ἐνδέχεται γενέσθαι τρόπους,
to-be-able to-distinguish in how-many it-is-possible to-come-about ways
κἄπειτα προσαρμόσαι, ποίαις ποῖαι πολιτείαις συμφέρουσιν.
and-then to-fit what-kind what-kind to-constitutions are-advantageous
ἔστι δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦτο διορίσαι ῥᾴδιον, ποίας δεῖ καλεῖν
is and not-even this to-define easy what-kind one-must to-call
ἀρχάς· πολλῶν γὰρ ἐπιστατῶν ἡ πολιτικὴ κοινωνία δεῖται,
offices many for superintendents the political community needs
διόπερ οὐ πάντας οὔτε τοὺς αἱρετοὺς οὔτε τοὺς κληρωτοὺς
therefore not all neither the elected nor the chosen-by-lot
ἄρχοντας θετέον, οἷον τοὺς ἱερεῖς πρῶτον (τοῦτο γὰρ
officials one-must-count such-as the priests first this for

ἕτερόν τι παρὰ τὰς πολιτικὰς ἀρχὰς θετέον), ἔτι
different something beside the political offices one-must-count further
δὲ χορηγοὶ καὶ κήρυκες, αἱροῦνται δὲ καὶ πρεσβευταί.
and choregi and heralds are-elected and also ambassadors
εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ μὲν πολιτικαὶ τῶν ἐμπιμελειῶν, ἢ πάντων τῶν
are and the indeed political of-the superintendences either of-all the
πολιτῶν πρός τινα πρᾶξιν, οἷον στρατηγὸς στρατευομένων,
citizens for some action such-as general of-those-campaigning
ἢ κατὰ μέρος, οἷον ὁ γυναικονόμος ἢ παιδονόμος· αἱ δ'
or by part such-as the controller-of-women or controller-of-children the and
οἰκονομικαί (πολλάκις γὰρ αἱροῦνται σιτομέτρας)· αἱ δ'
household-managing often for they-elect grain-measurers the and
ὑπηρετικαὶ καὶ πρὸς ἅς, ἂν εὐπορῶσι, τάττουσι δούλους.
subordinate and to which if they-are-well-off they-assign slaves
μάλιστα δ' ὡς ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν ἀρχὰς λεκτέον ταύτας ὅσαις
most and as simply to-say offices must-be-called these to-which
ἀποδέδοται βουλεύσασθαί τε περὶ τινῶν καὶ κρῖναι καὶ
it-has-been-assigned to-deliberate both about some(-things) and to-judge and
ἐπιτάξαι, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦτο· τὸ γὰρ ἐπιτάττειν ἀρχικώτερόν
to-command and especially this the for to-command more-proper-to-rule
ἐστιν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα διαφέρει πρὸς μὲν τὰς χρήσεις οὐδὲν ὡς
is but these differ for indeed the uses nothing as
εἰπεῖν (οὐ γάρ πω κρίσις γέγονεν ἀμφισβητούντων περὶ
to-say not for yet decision has-come-about of-those-disputing about
τοῦ ὀνόματος), ἔχει δέ τιν' ἄλλην διανοητικὴν πραγματείαν.
the name it-has and some other intellectual inquiry
ποῖαι δ' αἱ ἀρχαὶ καὶ πόσαι ἀναγκαῖαι εἰ ἔσται πόλις,
what-kind and the offices and how-many necessary if there-will-be a-city
καὶ ποῖαι ἀναγκαῖαι μὲν οὔ χρήσιμοι δὲ πρὸς σπουδαίαν
and what-kind necessary indeed not useful but for excellent
πολιτείαν, μᾶλλον ἄν τις ἀπορήσειε πρὸς ἅπασάν τε
constitution rather — anyone might-be-at-a-loss about every both

δὴ πολιτείαν καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰς μικρὰς πόλεις. ἐν μὲν
indeed constitution and indeed also the small cities in indeed
γὰρ δὴ ταῖς μεγάλαις ἐνδέχεταί τε καὶ δεῖ μίαν
for indeed the large it-is-possible both and it-is-necessary one
τετάχθαι πρὸς ἓν ἔργον (πολλούς τε γὰρ εἰς τὰ ἀρχεῖα
to-be-assigned to one task many both for into the offices
ἐνδέχεται βαδίζειν διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς εἶναι τοὺς πολίτας,
it-is-possible to-go because-of the many to-be the citizens
ὥστε τὰς μὲν διαλείπειν πολὺν χρόνον τὰς δ' ἅπαξ
so-that the(-offices) indeed to-intermit long time the(-offices) and once
ἄρχειν, καὶ βέλτιον ἕκαστον ἔργον τυγχάνει τῆς ἐπιμελείας
to-hold and better each task obtains of-the superintendence
μονοπραγματούσης ἢ πολυπραγματούσης)· ἐν δὲ ταῖς
attending-to-one-business than attending-to-many-businesses in and the
μικραῖς ἀνάγκη συνάγειν εἰς ὀλίγους πολλὰς ἀρχάς (διὰ
small necessary to-gather into few many offices because-of
γὰρ ὀλιγανθρωπίαν οὐ ῥᾴδιόν ἐστι πολλοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς
for scarcity-of-men not easy is many in the offices
εἶναι· τίνες γὰρ οἱ τούτους ἔσονται διαδεξόμενοι πάλιν;).
to-be who for the(-ones) these will-be about-to-succeed again
δέονται δ' ἐνίοτε τῶν αὐτῶν ἀρχῶν καὶ νόμων αἱ μικραὶ
need and sometimes the same offices and laws the small(-cities)
ταῖς μεγάλαις· πλὴν αἱ μὲν δέονται πολλάκις τῶν
as-the large except the(-ones) indeed need often the
αὐτῶν, ταῖς δ' ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ τοῦτο συμβαίνει.
same(-offices) for-the(-others) and in long time this happens
διόπερ οὐθὲν κωλύει πολλὰς ἐπιμελείας ἅμα προστάττειν
therefore nothing prevents many superintendences at-once to-assign
(οὐ γὰρ ἐμποδιοῦσιν ἀλλήλαις), καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὀλιγανθρωπίαν
not for they-will-hinder one-another and for the scarcity-of-men
ἀναγκαῖον τὰ ἀρχεῖα οἷον ὀβελισκολύχνια ποιεῖν.
necessary the offices like spit-lampstands to-make

ἐὰν οὖν ἔχωμεν λέγειν πόσας ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν πάσῃ
if then we-are-able to-say how-many necessary to-exist in-every
πόλει, καὶ πόσας οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον μὲν δεῖ δ' ὑπάρχειν,
city and how-many not necessary indeed must and to-exist
ῥᾷον ἄν τις εἰδὼς ταῦτα συνάγοι ποίας ἁρμόττει
more-easily — anyone knowing these might-combine what-kind it-is-fitting
συνάγειν ἀρχὰς εἰς μίαν ἀρχήν. ἁρμόττει δὲ καὶ τοῦτο
to-gather offices into one office it-is-fitting and also this
μὴ λεληθέναι, ποίων δεῖ κατὰ τόπον ἀρχεῖα
not to-have-escaped-notice of-what-kind it-is-necessary by place offices
πολλὰ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ ποίων πανταχοῦ μίαν ἀρχὴν
many to-take-care and of-what-kind everywhere one office
εἶναι κυρίαν, οἷον εὐκοσμίας πότερον ἐν ἀγορᾷ μὲν
to-be sovereign such-as of-good-order whether in market-place indeed
ἀγορανόμον, ἄλλον δὲ κατ' ἄλλον τόπον, ἢ πανταχοῦ τὸν
market-controller another and by another place or everywhere the
αὐτόν· καὶ πότερον κατὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα δεῖ διαιρεῖν ἢ
same and whether by the matter one-must to-divide or
κατὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, λέγω δ' οἷον ἕνα τῆς εὐκοσμίας,
by the people I-mean and such-as one of-the good-order
ἢ παίδων ἄλλον καὶ γυναικῶν· καὶ κατὰ τὰς πολιτείας δέ,
or of-children another and of-women and by the constitutions also
πότερον διαφέρει καθ' ἑκάστην καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀρχῶν γένος ἢ
whether differs by each also the of-the offices kind or
οὐθέν, οἷον ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ καὶ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ καὶ ἀριστοκρατίᾳ
nothing such-as in democracy and oligarchy and aristocracy
καὶ μοναρχίᾳ πότερον αἱ αὐταὶ μέν εἰσιν ἀρχαὶ κύριαι, οὐκ
and monarchy whether the same indeed are offices sovereign not
ἐξ ἴσων δ' οὐδ' ἐξ ὁμοίων, ἀλλ' ἑτέρων ἐν ἑτέραις, οἷον
from equal and nor from similar but different in different such-as
ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἀριστοκρατίαις ἐκ πεπαιδευμένων, ἐν δὲ ταῖς
in indeed the aristocracies from educated in and the

ὀλιγαρχίαις ἐκ τῶν πλουσίων, ἐν δὲ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις
oligarchies from the rich in and the democracies
ἐκ τῶν ἐλευθέρων, ἢ τυγχάνουσι μέν τινες διαφέρουσαι
from the free or happen indeed some differing
καὶ κατ' αὐτὰς τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν ἀρχῶν, ἔστι δ' ὅπου
even according-to very the differences of-the offices is and where
συμφέρουσιν αἱ αὐταὶ καὶ ὅπου διαφέρουσαι (ἔνθα μὲν
are-advantageous the same and where differing there indeed
γὰρ ἁρμόττει μεγάλας ἔνθα δ' εἶναι μικρὰς τὰς αὐτάς).
for it-is-fitting large there and to-be small the same
οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἴδιαί τινες εἰσίν, οἷον ἡ τῶν προβούλων·
not indeed but also peculiar some are such-as the of-the preliminary-councilors
αὕτη γὰρ οὐ δημοκρατική, βουλὴ δὲ δημοτικόν· δεῖ
this for not democratic council and democratic it-is-necessary
μὲν γὰρ εἶναί τι τοιοῦτον ᾧ ἐπιμελὲς ἔσται τοῦ
indeed for to-be some such to-which care there-will-be for-the
δήμου προβουλεύειν, ὅπως ἀσχολῶν ἔσται, τοῦτο δ', ἐὰν
people to-deliberate-beforehand so-that occupied it-will-be this and if
ὀλίγοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὦσιν, ὀλιγαρχικόν· τοὺς δὲ προβούλους
few in-the number they-are oligarchic the and preliminary-councilors
ὀλίγους ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὸ πλῆθος, ὥστ' ὀλιγαρχικόν. ἀλλ'
few necessary to-be in-the number so-that oligarchic but
ὅπου ἄμφω αὗται αἱ ἀρχαί, οἱ πρόβουλοι καθεστᾶσιν
where both these the offices the preliminary-councilors are-established
ἐπὶ τοῖς βουλευταῖς· ὁ μὲν γὰρ βουλευτὴς δημοτικόν,
over the councilors the indeed for councilor democratic
ὁ δὲ πρόβουλος ὀλιγαρχικόν. καταλύεται δὲ καὶ τῆς
the and preliminary-councilor oligarchic is-dissolved and also of-the
βουλῆς ἡ δύναμις ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις δημοκρατίαις ἐν αἷς
council the power in the such democracies in which
αὐτὸς συνιὼν ὁ δῆμος χρηματίζει περὶ πάντων. τοῦτο
itself coming-together the people transacts about all this

δὲ συμβαίνειν εἴωθεν, ὅταν εὐπορία τις ᾖ μισθοῦ
and to-happen is-accustomed whenever abundance some there-is of-pay
τοῖς ἐκκλησιάζουσιν· σχολάζοντες γὰρ συλλέγονταί τε
for-those attending-assembly being-at-leisure for they-assemble both
πολλάκις καὶ ἅπαντα αὐτοὶ κρίνουσιν. παιδονόμος δὲ καὶ
often and all themselves decide controller-of-children and and
γυναικονόμος, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἄρχων κύριός ἐστι τοιαύτης
controller-of-women and if any other official sovereign is of-such
ἐπιμελείας, ἀριστοκρατικόν, δημοκρατικὸν δ' οὔ (πῶς
superintendence aristocratic democratic and not how
γὰρ οἷόν τε κωλύειν ἐξιέναι τὰς τῶν ἀπόρων;) οὐδ'
for possible — to-prevent to-go-out the(-wives) of-the poor nor
ὀλιγαρχικόν (τρυφῶσι γὰρ αἱ τῶν ὀλιγαρχούντων).
oligarchic live-luxuriously for the(-wives) of-the oligarchs
ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω νῦν,
but about indeed these to so-much let-it-have-been-said now
περὶ δὲ τὰς τῶν ἀρχῶν καταστάσεις πειρατέον ἐξ
about and the of-the offices appointments one-must-try from
ἀρχῆς διελθεῖν. εἰσὶ δ' αἱ διαφοραὶ ἐν τρισὶν ὅροις, ὧν
beginning to-go-through are and the differences in three terms which
συντιθεμένων ἀναγκαῖον πάντας εἰλῆφθαι τοὺς τρόπους.
being-combined necessary all to-have-been-taken the ways
ἔστι δὲ τῶν τριῶν τούτων ἓν μὲν τίνες οἱ καθιστάντες
is and of-the three these one indeed who the(-ones) appointing
τὰς ἀρχάς, δεύτερον δὲ ἐκ τίνων, λοιπὸν δὲ τίνα τρόπον.
the offices second and from whom remaining and what way
ἑκάστου δὲ τῶν τριῶν τούτων διαφοραὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν. ἢ γὰρ
of-each and of-the three these differences three are either for
πάντες οἱ πολῖται καθιστᾶσιν ἢ τινές, καὶ ἢ ἐκ πάντων
all the citizens appoint or some and either from all
ἢ ἐκ τινῶν ἀφωρισμένων, οἷον ἢ τιμήματι ἢ
or from some marked-off such-as either by-property-qualification or

γένει ἢ ἀρετῇ ἤ τινι τοιούτῳ ἄλλῳ (ὥσπερ ἐν Μεγάροις
by-birth or by-virtue or by-some such other just-as in Megara
ἐκ τῶν συγκατελθόντων καὶ συμμαχεσαμένων πρὸς τὸν
from the(-ones) having-returned-together and having-fought-together against the
δῆμον), καὶ ταῦτα ἢ αἱρέσει ἢ κλήρῳ· πάλιν ταῦτα
people and these either by-election or by-lot again these
συνδυαζόμενα, λέγω δὲ τὰς μὲν τινὲς τὰς δὲ
combined I-mean and the(-offices) indeed some the(-offices) and
πάντες, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐκ πάντων τὰς δ' ἐκ
all and the(-offices) indeed from all the(-offices) and from
τινῶν, καὶ τὰς μὲν αἱρέσει τὰς δὲ κλήρῳ.
some and the(-offices) indeed by-election the(-offices) and by-lot
τούτων δ' ἑκάστης ἔσονται τῆς διαφορᾶς τρόποι τέτταρες.
of-these and of-each there-will-be of-the difference ways four
ἢ γὰρ πάντες ἐκ πάντων αἱρέσει, ἢ πάντες ἐκ πάντων
either for all from all by-election or all from all
κλήρῳ (καὶ ἐξ ἁπάντων ἢ ὡς ἀνὰ μέρος, οἷον κατὰ
by-lot and from all or as by turn such-as by
φυλὰς καὶ δήμους καὶ φατρίας, ἕως ἂν διέλθῃ διὰ
tribes and demes and brotherhoods until — it-goes-through through
πάντων τῶν πολιτῶν, ἢ ἀεὶ ἐξ ἁπάντων) ∗∗∗, ἢ καὶ
all the citizens or always from all (lacuna) or also
τὰ μὲν οὕτως τὰ δὲ ἐκείνως· πάλιν εἰ τινὲς οἱ
the(-offices) indeed thus the(-offices) and in-that-way again if some the(-ones)
καθιστάντες, ἢ ἐκ πάντων αἱρέσει ἢ ἐκ πάντων κλήρῳ,
appointing either from all by-election or from all by-lot
ἢ ἐκ τινῶν αἱρέσει ἢ ἐκ τινῶν κλήρῳ, ἢ τὰ μὲν
or from some by-election or from some by-lot or the(-offices) indeed
οὕτως τὰ δὲ ἐκείνως, λέγω δὲ τὰ μὲν αἱρέσει
thus the(-offices) and in-that-way I-mean and the(-offices) indeed by-election
τὰ δὲ κλήρῳ. ὥστε δώδεκα οἱ τρόποι γίνονται χωρὶς
the(-offices) and by-lot so-that twelve the ways become apart-from

τῶν δύο συνδυασμῶν. τούτων δ' αἱ μὲν δύο καταστάσεις
the two combinations of-these and the indeed two appointments
δημοτικαί, τὸ πάντας ἐκ πάντων ∗∗∗ αἱρέσει ἢ κλήρῳ ἢ
democratic the all from all (lacuna) by-election or by-lot or
ἀμφοῖν, τὰς μὲν κλήρῳ τὰς δ' αἱρέσει τῶν ἀρχῶν·
both the(-offices) indeed by-lot the(-offices) and by-election of-the offices
τὸ δὲ μὴ πάντας ἅμα μὲν καθιστάναι, ἐξ ἁπάντων δ'
the and not all at-once indeed to-appoint from all and
ἢ ἐκ τινῶν ἢ κλήρῳ ἢ αἱρέσει ἢ ἀμφοῖν, ἢ τὰς
either from some or by-lot or by-election or both or the(-offices)
μὲν ἐκ πάντων τὰς δ' ἐκ τινῶν ∗∗∗ ἀμφοῖν (τὸ
indeed from all the(-offices) and from some (lacuna) both the
δὲ ἀμφοῖν λέγω τὰς μὲν κλήρῳ τὰς δ' αἱρέσει),
and both I-mean the(-offices) indeed by-lot the(-offices) and by-election
πολιτικόν. καὶ τὸ τινὰς ἐκ πάντων ἢ αἱρέσει καθιστάναι
polity-like and the some from all either by-election to-appoint
ἢ κλήρῳ ἢ ἀμφοῖν (τὰς μὲν κλήρῳ τὰς δ' αἱρέσει·
or by-lot or both the(-offices) indeed by-lot the(-offices) and by-election
ὀλιγαρχικώτερον δέ, καὶ τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν, τὰς μὲν ἐκ
more-oligarchic and also the from both the(-offices) indeed from
πάντων τὰς δ' ἐκ τινῶν) πολιτικὸν ἀριστοκρατικῶς.
all the(-offices) and from some polity-like aristocratically
τὸ δὲ τινὰς ἐκ τινῶν ὀλιγαρχικόν, καὶ τὸ τινὰς ἐκ τινῶν
the and some from some oligarchic and the some from some
κλήρῳ (μὴ γινόμενον δ' ὁμοίως), καὶ τὸ τινὰς ἐκ τινῶν
by-lot not happening but likewise also the some from some
ἀμφοῖν. τὸ δὲ τινὰς ἐξ ἁπάντων τοτὲ δὲ ἐκ τινῶν
both the and some from all sometimes and from some
αἱρέσει πάντας ἀριστοκρατικόν. οἱ μὲν οὖν τρόποι τῶν
by-election all aristocratic the indeed then ways of-the(-things)
περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τοσοῦτοι τὸν ἀριθμόν εἰσι, καὶ διῄρηνται
about the offices so-many in-the number are and have-been-divided

κατὰ τὰς πολιτείας οὕτως· τίνα δὲ τίσι συμφέρει καὶ
according-to the constitutions thus which and for-which is-advantageous and
πῶς δεῖ γίνεσθαι τὰς καταστάσεις, ἅμα ταῖς
how it-is-necessary to-come-about the appointments together-with the
δυνάμεσι τῶν ἀρχῶν καὶ τίνες εἰσὶν ἔσται φανερόν. λέγω δὲ
powers of-the offices and what they-are will-be clear I-mean and
δύναμιν ἀρχῆς οἷον τὴν κυρίαν τῶν προσόδων καὶ τὴν κυρίαν
power of-office such-as the sovereign of-the revenues and the sovereign
τῆς φυλακῆς· ἄλλο γὰρ εἶδος δυνάμεως οἷον στρατηγίας
of-the guard other for kind of-power such-as of-generalship
καὶ τῆς τῶν περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν συμβολαίων κυρίας.
and the of-the about the market-place contracts sovereign

XVI · THE COURTS

The courts differ in who sits, which cases they try, and how the jurors are chosen, by lot or by election. There are eight kinds: for audits, public wrongs, matters touching the constitution, disputes over penalties, large private contracts, homicide, cases of foreigners, and small claims; among homicide courts is the court at Phreatto in Athens. Courts from all on all matters are democratic, from some on all oligarchic, and mixed ones aristocratic and polity-like.

Λοιπὸν δὲ τῶν τριῶν τὸ δικαστικὸν εἰπεῖν. ληπτέον δὲ
remaining and of-the three the judicial to-speak-of one-must-take and
καὶ τούτων τοὺς τρόπους κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν. ἔστι
also of-these the ways according-to the same principle is
δὲ διαφορὰ τῶν δικαστηρίων ἐν τρισὶν ὅροις, ἐξ ὧν τε
and difference of-the law-courts in three terms from whom both
καὶ περὶ ὧν καὶ πῶς. λέγω δὲ ἐξ ὧν μέν, πότερον ἐκ
and about what and how I-mean and from whom indeed whether from
πάντων ἢ ἐκ τινῶν· περὶ ὧν δέ, πόσα εἴδη δικαστηρίων·
all or from some about what and how-many kinds of-law-courts

τὸ δὲ πῶς, πότερον κλήρῳ ἢ αἱρέσει. πρῶτον οὖν διαιρείσθω
the and how whether by-lot or by-election first then let-it-be-divided
πόσα εἴδη δικαστηρίων. ἔστι δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὀκτώ, ἓν
how-many kinds of-law-courts there-are and in-the number eight one
μὲν εὐθυντικόν, ἄλλο δὲ εἴ τίς τι τῶν κοινῶν ἀδικεῖ,
indeed of-audits another and if anyone anything of-the public-matters wrongs
ἕτερον ὅσα εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν φέρει, τέταρτον ἄρχουσι
another what-things to the constitution bear fourth for-officials
καὶ ἰδιώταις ὅσα περὶ ζημιώσεων ἀμφισβητοῦσιν,
and private-men what-things about penalties they-dispute
πέμπτον τὸ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων συναλλαγμάτων καὶ ἐχόντων
fifth the about the private transactions and having
μέγεθος, καὶ παρὰ ταῦτα τό τε φονικὸν καὶ τὸ ξενικόν
magnitude and beside these the both homicide-court and the alien-court
(φονικοῦ μὲν οὖν εἴδη, ἄν τ' ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς δικασταῖς
of-homicide indeed then kinds whether both in the same jurors
ἄν τ' ἐν ἄλλοις, περί τε τῶν ἐκ προνοίας καὶ περὶ
or both in others about both the(-cases) from forethought and about
τῶν ἀκουσίων, καὶ ὅσα ὁμολογεῖται μέν, ἀμφισβητεῖται
the involuntary and what-things is-agreed indeed is-disputed
δὲ περὶ τοῦ δικαίου, τέταρτον δὲ ὅσα τοῖς φεύγουσι
and about the just fourth and what-things against-those fleeing
φόνου ἐπὶ καθόδῳ ἐπιφέρεται, οἷον Ἀθήνησι λέγεται καὶ
for-murder upon return is-brought such-as at-Athens is-said also
τὸ ἐν Φρεαττοῖ δικαστήριον, συμβαίνει δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐν
the in Phreatto law-court happens and the such in
τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ ὀλίγα καὶ ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις πόλεσιν· τοῦ
the whole time few even in the great cities of-the
δὲ ξενικοῦ ἓν μὲν ξένοις πρὸς ξένους, ἄλλο ξένοις πρὸς
and alien(-court) one indeed for-aliens against aliens another for-aliens against
ἀστούς), ἔτι δὲ παρὰ πάντα ταῦτα περὶ τῶν μικρῶν
townsmen further and beside all these about the small

συναλλαγμάτων, ὅσα δραχμιαῖα καὶ πεντάδραχμα καὶ
transactions what-things of-a-drachma and of-five-drachmas and
μικρῷ πλείονος. δεῖ μὲν γὰρ καὶ περὶ τούτων
little more it-is-necessary indeed for also about these
γίνεσθαι κρίσιν, οὐκ ἐμπίπτει δὲ εἰς δικαστῶν πλῆθος.
to-come-about judgment not it-falls and into of-jurors multitude
ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἀφείσθω καὶ τῶν φονικῶν καὶ
but about indeed these let-it-be-dismissed both the homicide-courts and
τῶν ξενικῶν, περὶ δὲ τῶν πολιτικῶν λέγωμεν, περὶ ὧν μὴ
the alien-courts about and the political(-courts) let-us-speak about which not
γινομένων καλῶς διαστάσεις γίνονται καὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν
happening well factions arise and of-the constitutions
αἱ κινήσεις. ἀνάγκη δ' ἤτοι πάντας περὶ πάντων κρίνειν
the changes necessary and either all about all to-judge
τῶν διῃρημένων αἱρέσει ἢ κλήρῳ, ἢ πάντας περὶ
of-the(-things) divided by-election or by-lot or all about
πάντων τὰ μὲν κλήρῳ τὰ δ' αἱρέσει, ἢ περὶ
all the(-cases) indeed by-lot the(-cases) and by-election or about
ἐνίων τῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν κλήρῳ τοὺς δ' αἱρετούς.
some the same the(-jurors) indeed by-lot the(-jurors) and elected
οὗτοι μὲν οὖν οἱ τρόποι τέτταρες τὸν ἀριθμόν· τοσοῦτοι
these indeed then the ways four in-the number so-many
δ' ἕτεροι καὶ οἱ κατὰ μέρος. πάλιν γὰρ ἐκ τινῶν καὶ
and other also the(-ones) by part again for from some also
οἱ δικάζοντες περὶ πάντων αἱρέσει, ἢ ἐκ τινῶν περὶ
the(-ones) judging about all by-election or from some about
πάντων κλήρῳ, ἢ τὰ μὲν κλήρῳ τὰ δὲ αἱρέσει,
all by-lot or the(-cases) indeed by-lot the(-cases) and by-election
ἢ ἔνια δικαστήρια περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκ κληρωτῶν καὶ
or some law-courts about the same from chosen-by-lot and
αἱρετῶν. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν, ὥσπερ ἐλέχθησαν, οἱ τρόποι ***
elected these indeed then just-as were-stated the ways (lacuna)

τοῖς εἰρημένοις· ἔτι δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ συνδυαζόμενα, λέγω
to-the things-said further and the same combined I-mean
δ' οἷον τὰ μὲν ἐκ πάντων τὰ δ' ἐκ τινῶν
and such-as the(-courts) indeed from all the(-courts) and from some
τὰ δ' ἐξ ἀμφοῖν, οἷον εἰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ δικαστηρίου
the(-courts) and from both such-as if of-the same law-court
εἶεν οἱ μὲν ἐκ πάντων οἱ δ' ἐκ τινῶν, καὶ
should-be the(-jurors) indeed from all the(-jurors) and from some and
ἢ κλήρῳ ἢ αἱρέσει ἢ ἀμφοῖν. ὅσους μὲν οὖν ἐνδέχεται
either by-lot or by-election or both how-many indeed then it-is-possible
τρόπους εἶναι τὰ δικαστήρια, εἴρηται· τούτων δὲ τὰ
ways to-be the law-courts has-been-said of-these and the(-ones)
μὲν πρῶτα δημοτικά, ὅσα ἐκ πάντων περὶ πάντων,
indeed first democratic as-many-as from all about all
τὰ δὲ δεύτερα ὀλιγαρχικά, ὅσα ἐκ τινῶν περὶ
the(-ones) and second oligarchic as-many-as from some about
πάντων, τὰ δὲ τρίτα ἀριστοκρατικὰ καὶ πολιτικά,
all the(-ones) and third aristocratic and polity-like
ὅσα τὰ μὲν ἐκ πάντων τὰ δ' ἐκ τινῶν.
as-many-as the(-cases) indeed from all the(-cases) and from some