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Politics

Aristotle

ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΑ
ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ

Politics

Part Two: Books V–VIII, with the Athenian Constitution

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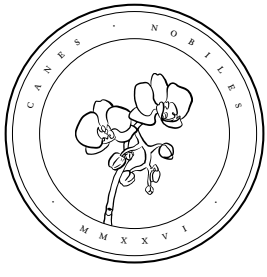
with a word-for-word interlinear English translation

preserving the original word order



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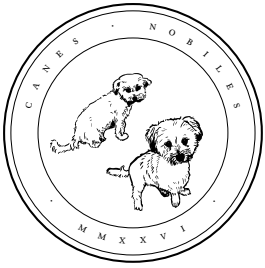

Volume 34 of the Canes Nobiles Greek interlinear texts

The Greek text follows Otto Immisch's Teubner *Politics* (Leipzig, 1909)
and Frederic G. Kenyon's Oxford text of the *Athenian Constitution* (1920)

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; words he supplies, and the letters Kenyon restores where the papyrus is lost, are printed without their brackets; ∗∗∗ marks a gap in the text or a tear in the papyrus, and Kenyon's numerals print as the letters the papyrus writes. The fragments of the lost opening of the Athenian Constitution, known from quotation, are not printed.

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ARISTOTLE

ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΑ

Politics V–VIII

BOOK V

I · THE CAUSES OF FACTION

With the constitutions treated, it remains to ask what changes them and what preserves them. All agree justice is proportional equality but differ over it: democrats think men equal in one respect are equal absolutely, oligarchs that men unequal in one respect are unequal absolutely. So faction arises when either side lacks the share it believes its due. Change may replace a constitution or alter its holders, its degree, or one part. Equality is numerical or by merit, and a city should use both; democracy is safer than oligarchy.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἄλλων ὧν προειλόμεθα σχεδὸν
about indeed then the others which we-proposed nearly
εἴρηται περὶ πάντων· ἐκ τίνων δὲ μεταβάλλουσιν
it-has-been-said about all from what and change
αἱ πολιτεῖαι καὶ πόσων καὶ ποίων, καὶ τίνες ἑκάστης
the constitutions and how-many and what-kind and what of-each
πολιτείας φθοραί, καὶ ἐκ ποίων εἰς ποίας μάλιστα
constitution destructions and from what-kind into what-kind most
μεθίστανται, ἔτι δὲ σωτηρίαι τίνες καὶ κοινῇ καὶ χωρὶς
they-change further and preservations what both in-common and separately
ἑκάστης εἰσίν, ἔτι δὲ διὰ τίνων ἂν μάλιστα σῴζοιτο
of-each are further and through what — most would-be-preserved
τῶν πολιτειῶν ἑκάστη, σκεπτέον ἐφεξῆς τοῖς εἰρημένοις.
of-the constitutions each must-be-considered next to-the things-said
Δεῖ δὲ πρῶτον ὑπολαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν, ὅτι πολλαὶ
one-must and first to-assume the beginning that many
γεγένηνται πολιτεῖαι πάντων μὲν ὁμολογούντων τὸ δίκαιον
have-arisen constitutions all indeed agreeing the just
καὶ τὸ κατ᾽ ἀναλογίαν ἴσον, τούτου δ᾽ ἁμαρτανόντων,
and the according-to proportion equal in-this and erring

ὥσπερ εἴρηται καὶ πρότερον. δῆμος μὲν γὰρ ἐγένετο
just-as has-been-said also before democracy indeed for arose
ἐκ τοῦ ἴσους ὁτιοῦν ὄντας οἴεσθαι ἁπλῶς ἴσους εἶναι
from the equal in-anything being to-think simply equal to-be
(ὅτι γὰρ ἐλεύθεροι πάντες ὁμοίως, ἁπλῶς ἴσοι εἶναι
because for free all alike simply equal to-be
νομίζουσιν), ὀλιγαρχία δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνίσους ἕν τι
they-think oligarchy and from the unequal in-one something
ὄντας ὅλως εἶναι ἀνίσους ὑπολαμβάνειν (κατ᾽ οὐσίαν γὰρ
being wholly to-be unequal to-suppose in property for
ἄνισοι ὄντες ἁπλῶς ἄνισοι ὑπολαμβάνουσιν εἶναι). εἶτα
unequal being simply unequal they-suppose to-be then
οἱ μέν, ὡς ἴσοι ὄντες πάντων τῶν ἴσων ἀξιοῦσι
the(-ones) indeed as equal being in-all the equal-things they-claim
μετέχειν· οἱ δ᾽, ὡς ἄνισοι ὄντες πλεονεκτεῖν ζητοῦσιν,
to-share the(-others) and as unequal being to-have-more they-seek
τὸ γὰρ πλεῖον ἄνισον. ἔχουσι μὲν οὖν τι πᾶσαι
the for more unequal they-have indeed then something all
δίκαιον, ἡμαρτημέναι δ᾽ ἁπλῶς εἰσιν, καὶ διὰ ταύτην
just having-erred but simply they-are and through this
τὴν αἰτίαν, ὅταν μὴ κατὰ τὴν ὑπόληψιν ἧν ἑκάτεροι
the cause whenever not according-to the conception which each
τυγχάνουσιν ἔχοντες μετέχωσι τῆς πολιτείας, στασιάζουσιν.
happen having they-share in-the constitution they-form-factions
πάντων δὲ δικαιότατα μὲν ἂν στασιάζοιεν, ἥκιστα δὲ
of-all and most-justly indeed — would-form-factions least but
τοῦτο πράττουσιν οἱ κατ᾽ ἀρετὴν διαφέροντες· μάλιστα
this do those in virtue differing most
γὰρ εὔλογον ἀνίσους ἁπλῶς εἶναι τούτους μόνον. εἰσὶ δέ
for reasonable unequal simply to-be these alone there-are and
τινες οἳ κατὰ γένος ὑπερέχοντες οὐκ ἀξιοῦσι τῶν ἴσων
some who in birth excelling not claim of-the equal-things

αὐτοὺς διὰ τὴν ἀνισότητα ταύτην· εὐγενεῖς γὰρ εἶναι
themselves through the inequality this well-born for to-be
δοκοῦσιν οἷς ὑπάρχει προγόνων ἀρετὴ καὶ πλοῦτος.
seem to-whom belongs of-ancestors virtue and wealth
Ἀρχαὶ μὲν οὖν ὡς εἰπεῖν αὗται καὶ πηγαὶ τῶν στάσεών
beginnings indeed then so to-speak these and sources of-the factions
εἰσιν, ὅθεν στασιάζουσιν (διὸ καὶ αἱ μεταβολαὶ γίνονται
are whence they-form-factions therefore also the changes come-about
διχῶς· ὁτὲ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν, ὅπως ἐκ τῆς
in-two-ways sometimes indeed for against the constitution so-that from the
καθεστηκυίας ἄλλην μεταστήσωσιν, οἷον ἐκ δημοκρατίας
established another they-may-change such-as from democracy
ὀλιγαρχίαν ἢ δημοκρατίαν ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας, ἢ πολιτείαν καὶ
oligarchy or democracy from oligarchy or polity and
ἀριστοκρατίαν ἐκ τούτων, ἢ ταύτας ἐξ ἐκείνων, ὁτὲ
aristocracy from these or these from those sometimes
δ' οὐ πρὸς τὴν καθεστηκυῖαν πολιτείαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν
and not against the established constitution but the indeed
κατάστασιν προαιροῦνται τὴν αὐτήν, δι' αὐτῶν δ' εἶναι
arrangement they-choose the same through themselves and to-be
βούλονται ταύτην, οἷον τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν ἢ τὴν μοναρχίαν·
they-wish it such-as the oligarchy or the monarchy
ἔτι περὶ τοῦ μᾶλλον καὶ ἧττον, οἷον ἢ ὀλιγαρχίαν οὖσαν
further about the more and less such-as either oligarchy being
εἰς τὸ μᾶλλον ὀλιγαρχεῖσθαι ἢ εἰς τὸ ἧττον, ἢ δημοκρατίαν
into the more to-be-oligarchic or into the less or democracy
οὖσαν εἰς τὸ μᾶλλον δημοκρατεῖσθαι ἢ εἰς τὸ ἧττον,
being into the more to-be-democratic or into the less
ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πολιτειῶν, ἢ ἵνα
likewise and also in-the-case-of the remaining constitutions either so-that
ἐπιταθῶσιν ἢ ἀνεθῶσιν· ἔτι πρὸς τὸ μέρος τι κινῆσαι
they-may-be-tightened or loosened further for the part some to-change

τῆς πολιτείας, οἷον ἀρχήν τινα καταστῆσαι ἢ ἀνελεῖν, ὥσπερ
of-the constitution such-as office some to-establish or to-abolish just-as
ἐν Λακεδαίμονί φασι Λύσανδρόν τινες ἐπιχειρῆσαι καταλῦσαι
in Lacedaemon they-say Lysander some to-have-attempted to-abolish
τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ Παυσανίαν τὸν βασιλέα τὴν ἐφορείαν, καὶ
the kingship and Pausanias the king the ephorate also
ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ δὲ μετέβαλεν ἡ πολιτεία κατὰ μόριον, ἀντὶ
in Epidamnus and changed the constitution by part instead-of
γὰρ τῶν φυλάρχων βουλὴν ἐποίησαν, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἡλιαίαν
for the tribe-rulers council they-made into and the assembly-court
ἐπάναγκές ἐστιν ἔτι τῶν ἐν τῷ πολιτεύματι βαδίζειν τὰς
compulsory it-is still of-those in the governing-body to-go the
ἀρχάς, ὅταν ἐπιψηφίζηται ἀρχή τις, ὀλιγαρχικὸν δὲ καὶ
officials whenever is-put-to-vote office some oligarchic and also
ὁ ἄρχων ὁ εἷς ἦν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ ταύτῃ).
the official the one was in the constitution this
πανταχοῦ γὰρ διὰ τὸ ἄνισον ἡ στάσις, οὗ μὴ τοῖς
everywhere for through the unequal the faction where not for-the
ἀνίσοις ὑπάρχει ἀνάλογον (ἀίδιος γὰρ βασιλεία ἄνισον, ἐὰν
unequal exists proportionally perpetual for kingship unequal if
ᾖ ἐν ἴσοις)· ὅλως γὰρ τὸ ἴσον ζητοῦντες στασιάζουσιν.
it-is among equals wholly for the equal seeking they-form-factions
ἔστι δὲ διττὸν τὸ ἴσον· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀριθμῷ τὸ δὲ
is and twofold the equal the indeed for in-number the and
κατ᾽ ἀξίαν ἐστίν. λέγω δὲ ἀριθμῷ μὲν τὸ πλήθει ἢ
according-to merit is I-mean and in-number indeed the in-multitude or
μεγέθει ταὐτὸ καὶ ἴσον, κατ᾽ ἀξίαν δὲ τὸ τῷ λόγῳ,
in-magnitude the-same and equal according-to merit and the in-the ratio
οἷον ὑπερέχει κατ᾽ ἀριθμὸν μὲν ἴσῳ τὰ τρία τοῖν δυοῖν
such-as exceeds in number indeed by-equal the three the two
καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ ἑνός, λόγῳ δὲ τὰ τέτταρα τοῖν δυοῖν καὶ
and these the one in-ratio and the four the two and

ταῦτα τοῦ ἑνός· ἴσον γὰρ μέρος τὰ δύο τῶν τεττάρων
these the one equal for part the two of-the four
καὶ τὸ ἓν τοῖν δυοῖν· ἄμφω γὰρ ἡμίση. ὁμολογοῦντες δὲ
and the one of-the two both for halves agreeing and
τὸ ἁπλῶς εἶναι δίκαιον τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν, διαφέρονται,
the simply to-be just the according-to merit they-differ
καθάπερ ἐλέχθη πρότερον, οἱ μὲν ὅτι, ἐὰν κατὰ τὶ
just-as was-said before the(-ones) indeed that if in something
ἴσοι ὦσιν, ὅλως ἴσοι νομίζουσιν εἶναι, οἱ δ' ὅτι, ἐὰν
equal they-are wholly equal they-think to-be the(-others) and that if
κατὰ τὶ ἄνισοι, πάντων ἀνίσων ἀξιοῦσιν ἑαυτούς.
in something unequal in-all unequal-things they-claim themselves
διὸ καὶ μάλιστα δύο γίνονται πολιτεῖαι, δῆμος καὶ
therefore also most two arise constitutions democracy and
ὀλιγαρχία· εὐγένεια γὰρ καὶ ἀρετὴ ἐν ὀλίγοις, ταῦτα
oligarchy good-birth for and virtue among few these
δ' ἐν πλείοσιν· εὐγενεῖς γὰρ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ οὐδαμοῦ
and among more well-born for and good nowhere
ἑκατόν, εὔποροι δὲ πολλαχοῦ. τὸ δὲ ἁπλῶς πάντῃ
a-hundred well-off but in-many-places the and simply in-every-way
καθ' ἑκατέραν τετάχθαι τὴν ἰσότητα φαῦλον. φανερὸν
by either to-be-arranged the equality bad clear
δ' ἐκ τοῦ συμβαίνοντος· οὐδεμία γὰρ μόνιμος ἐκ τῶν
and from the result none for lasting from the
τοιούτων πολιτειῶν. τούτου δ' αἴτιον ὅτι ἀδύνατον ἀπὸ
such constitutions of-this and cause that impossible from
τοῦ πρώτου καὶ τοῦ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἡμαρτημένου μὴ ἀπαντᾶν
the first and the in beginning erred not to-meet
εἰς τὸ τέλος κακόν τι. διὸ δεῖ τὰ μὲν
at the end evil something therefore one-must in-some-things indeed
ἀριθμητικῇ ἰσότητι χρῆσθαι, τὰ δὲ τῇ κατ' ἀξίαν.
arithmetical equality to-use in-others and the according-to merit

ὅμως δὲ ἀσφαλεστέρα καὶ ἀστασίαστος μᾶλλον ἡ
nevertheless and safer and free-from-faction more the
δημοκρατία τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις
democracy than-the oligarchy in indeed for the oligarchies
ἐγγίνονται δύο, ἥ τε πρὸς ἀλλήλους στάσις καὶ ἔτι
arise two the both against one-another faction and also
ἡ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, ἐν δὲ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ἡ πρὸς
the against the people in and the democracies the against
τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν μόνον, αὐτῷ δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅ τι καὶ
the oligarchy only itself and against itself what ever also
ἄξιον εἰπεῖν, οὐκ ἐγγίνεται τῷ δήμῳ στάσις· ἔτι δὲ
worth to-mention not arises in-the people faction further and
ἡ ἐκ τῶν μέσων πολιτεία ἐγγυτέρω τοῦ δήμου ἢ τῶν
the from the middle constitution nearer to-the people than to-the
ὀλίγων, ἥπερ ἐστὶν ἀσφαλεστάτη τῶν τοιούτων πολιτειῶν.
few which is safest of-the such constitutions

II · THE SOURCES OF CHANGE

Three things must be grasped: the state of mind of those in faction, what they aim at, and the beginnings of disturbance. They are moved by inequality, aiming at gain and honor or at escaping loss and dishonor; and the occasions are gain and honor seen in others' hands, insolence, fear, preeminence, contempt, disproportionate growth, election intrigue, neglect, small changes, and dissimilarity.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ σκοποῦμεν ἐκ τίνων αἵ τε στάσεις γίνονται
since and we-are-examining from what the both factions arise
καὶ αἱ μεταβολαὶ περὶ τὰς πολιτείας, ληπτέον καθόλου
and the changes about the constitutions one-must-take generally
πρῶτον τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς αἰτίας αὐτῶν. εἰσὶ δὲ
first the beginnings and the causes of-them there-are and

σχεδὸν ὡς εἰπεῖν τρεῖς τὸν ἀριθμόν, ἃς διοριστέον καθ'
nearly so to-speak three in-the number which must-be-defined by
αὑτὰς τύπῳ πρῶτον. δεῖ γὰρ λαβεῖν πῶς τε ἔχοντες
themselves in-outline first one-must for to-grasp how both being-disposed
στασιάζουσι καὶ τίνων ἕνεκεν, καὶ τρίτον τίνες ἀρχαὶ
they-form-factions and of-what for-the-sake and third what beginnings
γίνονται τῶν πολιτικῶν ταραχῶν καὶ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους
arise of-the political disturbances and of-the against one-another
στάσεων. Τοῦ μὲν οὖν αὐτοὺς ἔχειν πως πρὸς τὴν
factions of-the indeed then themselves to-be-disposed somehow toward the
μεταβολὴν αἰτίαν καθόλου μάλιστα θετέον περὶ ἧς ἤδη
change cause generally most one-must-posit about which already
τυγχάνομεν εἰρηκότες. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἰσότητος ἐφιέμενοι
we-happen having-spoken the(-ones) indeed for equality aiming-at
στασιάζουσιν, ἂν νομίζωσιν ἔλαττον ἔχειν ὄντες ἴσοι τοῖς
form-factions if they-think less to-have being equal to-those
πλεονεκτοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ τῆς ἀνισότητος καὶ τῆς ὑπεροχῆς,
having-more the(-others) and the inequality and the superiority
ἂν ὑπολαμβάνωσιν ὄντες ἄνισοι μὴ πλέον ἔχειν ἀλλ' ἴσον
if they-suppose being unequal not more to-have but equal
ἢ ἔλαττον (τούτων δ' ἔστι μὲν ὀρέγεσθαι δικαίως,
or less these-things and it-is-possible indeed to-desire justly
ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀδίκως)· ἐλάττους τε γὰρ ὄντες ὅπως
it-is-possible and also unjustly lesser both for being so-that
ἴσοι ὦσι στασιάζουσι, καὶ ἴσοι ὄντες ὅπως μείζους.
equal they-may-be form-factions and equal being so-that greater
Πῶς μὲν οὖν ἔχοντες στασιάζουσιν, εἴρηται· περὶ
how indeed then being-disposed they-form-factions it-has-been-said about
ὧν δὲ στασιάζουσιν, ἐστὶ κέρδος καὶ τιμὴ καὶ τἀναντία
what and they-form-factions is gain and honor and the-opposites
τούτοις, καὶ γὰρ ἀτιμίαν φεύγοντες καὶ ζημίαν, ἢ
to-these and for dishonor fleeing and loss either

ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἢ τῶν φίλων, στασιάζουσιν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν.
on-behalf-of themselves or of-the friends they-form-factions in the cities
Αἱ δ' αἰτίαι καὶ ἀρχαὶ τῶν κινήσεων, ὅθεν αὐτοί τε
the and causes and beginnings of-the motions whence themselves both
διατίθενται τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον καὶ περὶ τῶν λεχθέντων,
are-disposed in-the stated manner and about the things-mentioned
ἔστι μὲν ὡς τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἑπτὰ τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι,
there-are indeed in-a-way in-the number seven they-happen being
ἔστι δ' ὡς πλείους. ὧν δύο μέν ἐστι ταὐτὰ
there-are and in-a-way more of-which two indeed are the-same
τοῖς εἰρημένοις, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡσαύτως· διὰ κέρδος γὰρ
to-the things-said but not in-the-same-way through gain for
καὶ διὰ τιμὴν παροξύνονται πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐχ ἵνα
and through honor they-are-provoked against one-another not so-that
κτήσωνται σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ εἴρηται πρότερον, ἀλλ'
they-may-acquire for-themselves themselves just-as was-said before but
ἑτέρους ὁρῶντες τοὺς μὲν δικαίως τοὺς δ' ἀδίκως
others seeing the(-ones) indeed justly the(-others) and unjustly
πλεονεκτοῦντας τούτων· ἔτι διὰ ὕβριν, διὰ φόβον,
having-more these-things further through insolence through fear
διὰ ὑπεροχήν, διὰ καταφρόνησιν, διὰ αὔξησιν τὴν
through superiority through contempt through growth the
παρὰ τὸ ἀνάλογον· ἔτι δὲ ἄλλον τρόπον δι' ἐριθείαν,
beyond the proportion further and another way through election-intrigue
δι' ὀλιγωρίαν, διὰ μικρότητα, διὰ ἀνομοιότητα.
through negligence through smallness through dissimilarity

Insolence and gain stir men against those in office; honor given unjustly; one man's preeminence, which ostracism checks; fear of punishment or of wrong; contempt, as at Thebes and Megara; disproportionate growth of a part, as at Tarentum and Argos; election intrigue; neglect, small changes, and the mixing of peoples not of one stock, as Sybaris, Thurii, and Amphipolis learned. Even topography divides a city, as the Piraeus and the town.

Τούτων δὲ ὕβρις μὲν καὶ κέρδος τίνα ἔχουσι δύναμιν
of-these and insolence indeed and gain what have power
καὶ πῶς αἴτια, σχεδόν ἐστι φανερόν· ὑβριζόντων τε γὰρ
and how causes nearly it-is clear being-insolent both for
τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ πλεονεκτούντων στασιάζουσι καὶ
those in the offices and having-more they-form-factions both
πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς τὰς πολιτείας τὰς διδούσας τὴν
against one-another and against the constitutions the giving the
ἐξουσίαν· ἡ δὲ πλεονεξία γίνεται ὁτὲ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν
license the and overreaching arises sometimes indeed from the
ἰδίων ὁτὲ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν. δῆλον δὲ καὶ ἡ τιμή,
private sometimes and from the common clear and also the honor
καὶ τί δύναται καὶ πῶς αἰτία στάσεως· καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ
both what it-can and how cause of-faction and for themselves
ἀτιμαζόμενοι καὶ ἄλλους ὁρῶντες τιμωμένους στασιάζουσιν·
being-dishonored and others seeing honored form-factions
ταῦτα δὲ ἀδίκως μὲν γίνεται ὅταν παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν
these-things and unjustly indeed happen whenever against the merit
ἢ τιμῶνταί τινες ἢ ἀτιμάζωνται, δικαίως δὲ ὅταν
either are-honored some or are-dishonored justly and whenever
κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν. δι' ὑπεροχὴν δέ, ὅταν τις ᾖ τῇ
according-to the merit through superiority and whenever someone is in-the
δυνάμει μείζων (ἢ εἷς ἢ πλείους) ἢ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν
power greater either one or more than according-to the city

καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ πολιτεύματος· γίνεσθαι γὰρ εἴωθεν
and the power of-the governing-body to-arise for is-wont
ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων μοναρχία ἢ δυναστεία· διὸ ἐνιαχοῦ
from the such monarchy or dynasty therefore in-some-places
εἰώθασιν ὀστρακίζειν, οἷον ἐν Ἄργει καὶ Ἀθήνησιν· καίτοι
they-are-wont to-ostracize such-as in Argos and at-Athens and-yet
βέλτιον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁρᾶν ὅπως μὴ ἐνέσονται τοσοῦτον
better from beginning to-see so-that not there-will-be so-much
ὑπερέχοντες, ἢ ἐάσαντας γενέσθαι ἰᾶσθαι ὕστερον.
exceeding than having-allowed to-arise to-heal later
διὰ δὲ φόβον στασιάζουσιν οἵ τε ἠδικηκότες, δεδιότες
through and fear they-form-factions the(-ones) both having-done-wrong fearing
μὴ δῶσι δίκην, καὶ οἱ μέλλοντες ἀδικεῖσθαι, βουλόμενοι
lest they-pay penalty and the(-ones) about to-be-wronged wishing
φθάσαι πρὶν ἀδικηθῆναι, ὥσπερ ἐν Ῥόδῳ συνέστησαν οἱ
to-anticipate before to-be-wronged just-as in Rhodes combined the
γνώριμοι ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον διὰ τὰς ἐπιφερομένας δίκας.
notables against the people through the impending lawsuits
διὰ καταφρόνησιν δὲ καὶ στασιάζουσι καὶ ἐπιτίθενται,
through contempt and both they-form-factions and attack
οἷον ἔν τε ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις, ὅταν πλείους ὦσιν οἱ
such-as in both the oligarchies whenever more are the(-ones)
μὴ μετέχοντες τῆς πολιτείας (κρείττους γὰρ οἴονται εἶναι),
not sharing in-the constitution stronger for they-think to-be
καὶ ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις οἱ εὔποροι καταφρονήσαντες
and in the democracies the well-off having-despised
τῆς ἀταξίας καὶ ἀναρχίας, οἷον καὶ ἐν Θήβαις μετὰ τὴν
the disorder and anarchy such-as also in Thebes after the
ἐν Οἰνοφύτοις μάχην κακῶς πολιτευομένοις ἡ δημοκρατία
at Oenophyta battle badly being-governed the democracy
διεφθάρη, καὶ ἡ Μεγαρέων δι' ἀταξίαν καὶ ἀναρχίαν
was-destroyed and the of-Megarians through disorder and anarchy

ἡττηθέντων, καὶ ἐν Συρακούσαις πρὸ τῆς Γέλωνος
having-been-defeated and in Syracuse before the of-Gelon
τυραννίδος, καὶ ἐν Ῥόδῳ ὁ δῆμος πρὸ τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως.
tyranny and in Rhodes the people before the uprising
γίνονται δὲ καὶ δι᾽ αὔξησιν τὴν παρὰ τὸ ἀνάλογον
arise and also through growth the beyond the proportion
μεταβολαὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν. ὥσπερ γὰρ σῶμα ἐκ μερῶν
changes of-the constitutions just-as for body from parts
σύγκειται καὶ δεῖ αὐξάνεσθαι ἀνάλογον, ἵνα μένῃ
is-composed and must to-grow proportionally so-that may-remain
ἡ συμμετρία, εἰ δὲ μή, φθείρεται, ὅταν ὁ μὲν ποὺς
the symmetry if and not it-is-destroyed whenever the indeed foot
τεττάρων πηχῶν ᾖ τὸ δ᾽ ἄλλο σῶμα δυοῖν σπιθαμαῖν,
of-four cubits is the and other body of-two spans
ἐνίοτε δὲ κἂν εἰς ἄλλου ζῴου μεταβάλλοι μορφήν, εἰ
sometimes and even into of-another animal should-change shape if
μὴ μόνον κατὰ ποσὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὸ ποιὸν αὐξάνοιτο
not only in quantity but also in the quality it-should-grow
παρὰ τὸ ἀνάλογον, οὕτω καὶ πόλις σύγκειται ἐκ μερῶν,
beyond the proportion so also city is-composed from parts
ὧν πολλάκις λανθάνει τι αὐξανόμενον, οἷον τὸ τῶν
of-which often escapes-notice some growing such-as the of-the
ἀπόρων πλῆθος ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις καὶ πολιτείαις.
poor multitude in the democracies and polities
συμβαίνει δ᾽ ἐνίοτε τοῦτο καὶ διὰ τύχας, οἷον ἐν Τάραντι
it-happens and sometimes this also through chances such-as in Tarentum
ἡττηθέντων καὶ ἀπολομένων πολλῶν γνωρίμων ὑπὸ
having-been-defeated and having-perished many notables by
τῶν Ἰαπύγων μικρὸν ὕστερον τῶν Μηδικῶν δημοκρατία
the Iapygians a-little after the Persian-Wars democracy
ἐγένετο ἐκ πολιτείας, καὶ ἐν Ἄργει τῶν ἐν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ
arose from polity and in Argos those in the seventh

ἀπολομένων ὑπὸ Κλεομένους τοῦ Λάκωνος ἠναγκάσθησαν
having-perished by Cleomenes the Laconian they-were-compelled
παραδέξασθαι τῶν περιοίκων τινάς, καὶ ἐν Ἀθήναις
to-admit of-the perioeci some and in Athens
ἀτυχούντων πεζῇ οἱ γνώριμοι ἐλάττους ἐγένοντο διὰ τὸ
being-unfortunate on-land the notables fewer became through the
ἐκ καταλόγου στρατεύεσθαι ὑπὸ τὸν Λακωνικὸν πόλεμον.
from the-list to-serve in the Laconian war
συμβαίνει δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις, ἧττον δέ·
happens and also this in the democracies less but
πλειόνων γὰρ τῶν εὐπόρων γινομένων ἢ τῶν οὐσιῶν
more for the well-off becoming or the properties
αὐξανομένων μεταβάλλουσιν εἰς ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ δυναστείας.
growing they-change into oligarchies and dynasties
μεταβάλλουσι δ' αἱ πολιτεῖαι καὶ ἄνευ στάσεως διά τε
change and the constitutions also without faction through both
τὰς ἐριθείας, ὥσπερ ἐν Ἡραίᾳ (ἐξ αἱρετῶν γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο
the election-intrigues just-as in Heraea from elected for through this
ἐποίησαν κληρωτάς, ὅτι ᾑροῦντο τοὺς ἐριθευομένους),
they-made chosen-by-lot because they-elected those canvassing
καὶ δι' ὀλιγωρίαν, ὅταν ἐάσωσιν εἰς τὰς ἀρχὰς τὰς
and through negligence whenever they-allow into the offices the
κυρίας παριέναι τοὺς μὴ τῆς πολιτείας φίλους, ὥσπερ
sovereign to-pass those not the constitution friendly just-as
ἐν Ὠρεῷ κατελύθη ἡ ὀλιγαρχία τῶν ἀρχόντων γενομένου
in Oreus was-dissolved the oligarchy of-the officials having-become
Ἡρακλεοδώρου, ὃς ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας πολιτείαν καὶ δημοκρατίαν
Heracleodorus who from oligarchy polity and democracy
κατεσκεύασεν· ἔτι διὰ τὸ παρὰ μικρόν. λέγω δὲ παρὰ
established further through the by little I-mean and by
μικρόν, ὅτι πολλάκις λανθάνει μεγάλη γινομένη μετάβασις
little that often escapes-notice great becoming change

τῶν νομίμων, ὅταν παρορῶσι τὸ μικρόν, ὥσπερ ἐν
of-the customs whenever they-overlook the small just-as in
Ἀμβρακίᾳ μικρὸν ἦν τὸ τίμημα, τέλος δ' ἀπ' οὐθενὸς
Ambracia small was the property-qualification finally and from nothing
ἦρχον, ὡς ἔγγιον ἢ μηθὲν διαφέρον τοῦ μηθὲν τὸ μικρόν.
they-held-office as nearer or nothing differing the nothing the small
στασιωτικὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ μὴ ὁμόφυλον, ἕως ἂν συμπνεύσῃ·
factional and also the not of-the-same-stock until — it-breathes-together
ὥσπερ γὰρ οὐδ' ἐκ τοῦ τυχόντος πλήθους πόλις γίγνεται,
just-as for not-even from the chance multitude city arises
οὕτως οὐδ' ἐν τῷ τυχόντι χρόνῳ· διὸ ὅσοι ἤδη
so not-even in the chance time therefore as-many-as already
συνοίκους ἐδέξαντο ἢ ἐποίκους, οἱ πλεῖστοι διεστασίασαν·
joint-settlers received or later-settlers the most fell-into-faction
οἷον Τροιζηνίοις Ἀχαιοὶ συνῴκησαν Σύβαριν, εἶτα πλείους
such-as with-Troezenians Achaeans co-founded Sybaris then more
οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ γενόμενοι ἐξέβαλον τοὺς Τροιζηνίους, ὅθεν τὸ ἄγος
the Achaeans having-become expelled the Troezenians whence the curse
συνέβη τοῖς Συβαρίταις· καὶ ἐν Θουρίοις Συβαρῖται τοῖς
befell the Sybarites and in Thurii Sybarites with-those
συνοικήσασιν (πλεονεκτεῖν γὰρ ἀξιοῦντες ὡς σφετέρας τῆς
having-settled-with-them to-have-more for claiming as their-own the
χώρας ἐξέπεσον)· καὶ Βυζαντίοις οἱ ἔποικοι ἐπιβουλεύοντες
land were-expelled and at-Byzantium the later-settlers plotting
φωραθέντες ἐξέπεσον διὰ μάχης· καὶ Ἀντισσαῖοι τοὺς
having-been-detected were-expelled through battle and Antissaeans the
Χίων φυγάδας εἰσδεξάμενοι διὰ μάχης ἐξέβαλον· Ζαγκλαῖοι
of-Chians exiles having-received through battle expelled Zanclaeans
δὲ Σαμίους ὑποδεξάμενοι ἐξέπεσον αὐτοί· καὶ Ἀπολλωνιᾶται
and Samians having-taken-in were-expelled themselves and Apolloniates
οἱ ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ ἐποίκους ἐπαγαγόμενοι ἐστασίασαν·
those on the Euxine sea later-settlers having-brought-in fell-into-faction

καὶ Συρακούσιοι μετὰ τὰ τυραννικὰ τοὺς ξένους καὶ
and Syracusans after the tyrannical(-period) the foreigners and
τοὺς μισθοφόρους πολίτας ποιησάμενοι ἐστασίασαν καὶ
the mercenaries citizens having-made fell-into-faction and
εἰς μάχην ἦλθον· καὶ Ἀμφιπολῖται δεξάμενοι Χαλκιδέων
into battle came and Amphipolitans having-received of-Chalcidians
ἐποίκους ἐξέπεσον ὑπὸ τούτων οἱ πλεῖστοι αὐτῶν.
later-settlers were-expelled by these the most of-them
στασιάζουσι δὲ ἐνίοτε αἱ πόλεις καὶ διὰ τοὺς τόπους,
form-factions and sometimes the cities also through the places
ὅταν μὴ εὐφυῶς ἔχῃ ἡ χώρα πρὸς τὸ μίαν εἶναι
whenever not naturally is-suited the land for the one to-be
πόλιν, οἷον ἐν Κλαζομεναῖς οἱ ἐπὶ Χυτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν
city such-as in Clazomenae those at Chytum against those on
νήσῳ, καὶ Κολοφώνιοι καὶ Νοτιεῖς· καὶ Ἀθήνησιν οὐχ
island and Colophonians and Notians and at-Athens not
ὁμοίως εἰσίν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον δημοτικοὶ οἱ τὸν Πειραιᾶ
alike they-are but more democratic those the Piraeus
οἰκοῦντες τῶν τὸ ἄστυ. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις
inhabiting than-those the town just-as for in the wars
αἱ διαβάσεις τῶν ὀχετῶν, καὶ τῶν πάνυ σμικρῶν,
the crossings of-the ditches even of-the very small
διασπῶσι τὰς φάλαγγας, οὕτως ἔοικε πᾶσα διαφορὰ
break-up the phalanxes so seems every difference
ποιεῖν διάστασιν. μεγίστη μὲν οὖν ἴσως διάστασις ἀρετὴ
to-make division greatest indeed then perhaps division virtue
καὶ μοχθηρία, εἶτα πλοῦτος καὶ πενία, καὶ οὕτως δὴ
and wickedness then wealth and poverty and so indeed
ἑτέρα ἑτέρας μᾶλλον, ὧν μία καὶ ἡ εἰρημένη ἐστί.
one than-another more of-which one also the stated is

Factions arise from small matters but are about great ones; small quarrels among the powerful grow, as at Syracuse over a love affair, Hestiaea over an inheritance, and Delphi over a marriage. A body that wins renown, like the Areopagus in the Persian Wars or the sailors at Salamis, changes the constitution its own way. Rich and poor evenly matched also bring change. Change comes by force, or by deceit, as the Four Hundred deceived the people.

Γίγνονται μὲν οὖν αἱ στάσεις οὐ περὶ μικρῶν ἀλλ' ἐκ
arise indeed then the factions not about small-things but from
μικρῶν, στασιάζουσι δὲ περὶ μεγάλων. μάλιστα δὲ καὶ αἱ
small-things they-form-factions and about great-things most and also the
μικραὶ ἰσχύουσιν, ὅταν ἐν τοῖς κυρίοις γένωνται,
small(-factions) have-strength whenever among the sovereign(-people) they-arise
οἷον συνέβη καὶ ἐν Συρακούσαις ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρόνοις.
such-as happened also in Syracuse in the ancient times
μετέβαλε γὰρ ἡ πολιτεία ἐκ δύο νεανίσκων στασιασάντων,
changed for the constitution from two young-men having-quarreled
ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὄντων, περὶ ἐρωτικὴν αἰτίαν. θατέρου
in the offices being about amatory cause of-the(-one)
γὰρ ἀποδημοῦντος ἑταῖρος ὤν τις τὸν ἐρώμενον
for being-abroad a-comrade being someone the beloved
αὐτοῦ ὑπεποιήσατο, πάλιν δ' ἐκεῖνος τούτῳ χαλεπήνας
of-him seduced in-turn and that-one this-one having-been-angered
τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἀνέπεισεν ὡς αὑτὸν ἐλθεῖν· ὅθεν
the wife of-him persuaded to himself to-come whence
προσλαμβάνοντες τοὺς ἐν τῷ πολιτεύματι διεστασίασαν
taking-in those in the governing-body they-split-into-factions
πάντας. διόπερ ἀρχομένων εὐλαβεῖσθαι δεῖ τῶν τοιούτων,
all therefore beginning to-guard-against one-must the such
καὶ διαλύειν τὰς τῶν ἡγεμόνων καὶ δυναμένων στάσεις·
and to-dissolve the of-the leaders and powerful factions

ἐν ἀρχῇ γὰρ γίνεται τὸ ἁμάρτημα, ἡ δ' ἀρχὴ λέγεται
in beginning for arises the error the and beginning is-said
ἥμισυ εἶναι παντός, ὥστε καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ μικρὸν ἁμάρτημα
half to-be of-all so-that also the in it small error
ἀνάλογόν ἐστι πρὸς τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις μέρεσιν. ὅλως
proportionate is to the(-errors) in the other parts generally
δὲ αἱ τῶν γνωρίμων στάσεις συναπολαύειν ποιοῦσι καὶ
and the of-the notables factions to-share-the-consequences make also
τὴν ὅλην πόλιν, οἷον ἐν Ἑστιαίᾳ συνέβη μετὰ τὰ Μηδικά,
the whole city such-as in Hestiaea happened after the Persian-Wars
δύο ἀδελφῶν περὶ τῆς πατρῴας νομῆς διενεχθέντων· ὁ
two brothers about the paternal distribution having-quarreled the
μὲν γὰρ ἀπορώτερος, ὡς οὐκ ἀποφαίνοντος τὴν οὐσίαν
indeed for poorer as not declaring the property
οὐδὲ τὸν θησαυρὸν ὃν εὗρεν ὁ πατήρ, προσήγετο τοὺς
nor the treasure which found the father won-over the
δημοτικούς, ὁ δ' ἕτερος ἔχων οὐσίαν πολλὴν τοὺς εὐπόρους.
democrats the and other having property much the well-off
καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐκ κηδείας γενομένης διαφορᾶς ἀρχὴ
and in Delphi from marriage-alliance arising quarrel beginning
πασῶν ἐγένετο τῶν στάσεων τῶν ὕστερον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ
of-all became of-the factions the later the indeed for
οἰωνισάμενός τι σύμπτωμα, ὡς ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν νύμφην, οὐ
having-taken-as-omen some mishap when he-came to the bride not
λαβὼν ἀπῆλθεν, οἱ δ' ὡς ὑβρισθέντες ἐνέβαλον
having-taken(-her) went-away the(-others) and as having-been-insulted put-in
τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων θύοντος, κἄπειτα ὡς ἱερόσυλον
of-the sacred property while-he-sacrificed and-then as temple-robber
ἀπέκτειναν. καὶ περὶ Μυτιλήνην δὲ ἐξ ἐπικλήρων στάσεως
they-killed also about Mytilene and from heiresses faction
γενομένης πολλῶν ἐγένετο ἀρχὴ κακῶν καὶ τοῦ πολέμου
arising of-many became beginning evils and of-the war

τοῦ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, ἐν ᾧ Πάχης ἔλαβε τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν·
the against Athenians in which Paches took the city of-them
Τιμοφάνους γὰρ τῶν εὐπόρων τινὸς καταλιπόντος δύο
Timophanes for of-the well-off one having-left two
θυγατέρας, ὁ περιωσθεὶς καὶ οὐ λαβὼν τοῖς υἱέσιν
daughters the(-one) pushed-aside and not having-taken(-them) for-the sons
αὐτοῦ Δέξανδρος ἦρξε τῆς στάσεως καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους
of-himself Dexander began the faction and the Athenians
παρώξυνε, πρόξενος ὢν τῆς πόλεως. καὶ ἐν Φωκεῦσιν ἐξ
provoked proxenus being of-the city and among Phocians from
ἐπικλήρου στάσεως γενομένης περὶ Μνασέαν τὸν Μνάσωνος
heiress faction arising about Mnaseas the of-Mnason
πατέρα καὶ Εὐθυκράτη τὸν Ὀνομάρχου, ἡ στάσις αὕτη
father and Euthycrates the of-Onomarchus the faction this
ἀρχὴ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πολέμου κατέστη τοῖς Φωκεῦσιν.
beginning of-the sacred war became for-the Phocians
μετέβαλε δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ ἡ πολιτεία ἐκ γαμικῶν·
changed and also in Epidamnus the constitution from marriage-matters
ὑπομνηστευσάμενος γάρ τις, ὡς ἐζημίωσεν αὐτὸν ὁ τοῦ
having-betrothed for someone as fined him the of-the
ὑπομνηστευθέντος πατὴρ γενόμενος τῶν ἀρχόντων, ἄτερος
betrothed father having-become of-the officials the(-other)
συμπαρέλαβε τοὺς ἐκτὸς τῆς πολιτείας ὡς ἐπηρεασθείς.
took-in-as-partners those outside the constitution as having-been-insulted
μεταβάλλουσι δὲ καὶ εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν καὶ εἰς δῆμον καὶ
they-change and also into oligarchy and into democracy and
εἰς πολιτείαν ἐκ τοῦ εὐδοκιμῆσαί τι ἢ αὐξηθῆναι ἢ
into polity from the to-have-won-repute some or to-have-grown either
ἀρχεῖον ἢ μόριον τῆς πόλεως, οἷον ἡ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ
office or part of-the city such-as the on Ares' hill
βουλὴ εὐδοκιμήσασα ἐν τοῖς Μηδικοῖς ἔδοξε συντονωτέραν

ποιῆσαι τὴν πολιτείαν, καὶ πάλιν ὁ ναυτικὸς ὄχλος
to-make the constitution and again the naval mob
γενόμενος αἴτιος τῆς περὶ Σαλαμῖνα νίκης καὶ διὰ
having-become cause of-the at Salamis victory and through
ταύτης τῆς ἡγεμονίας διὰ τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν δύναμιν
this of-the leadership through the by sea power
τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἰσχυροτέραν ἐποίησεν, καὶ ἐν Ἄργει οἱ
the democracy stronger made and in Argos the
γνώριμοι εὐδοκιμήσαντες περὶ τὴν ἐν Μαντινείᾳ μάχην
notables having-won-repute about the at Mantinea battle
τὴν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπεχείρησαν καταλύειν τὸν
the against Lacedaemonians attempted to-overthrow the
δῆμον, καὶ ἐν Συρακούσαις ὁ δῆμος αἴτιος γενόμενος
people and in Syracuse the people cause having-become
τῆς νίκης τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἐκ πολιτείας
of-the victory of-the war the against Athenians from polity
εἰς δημοκρατίαν μετέβαλεν, καὶ ἐν Χαλκίδι Φόξον τὸν
into democracy changed and in Chalcis Phoxus the
τύραννον μετὰ τῶν γνωρίμων ὁ δῆμος ἀνελὼν
tyrant with the notables the people having-done-away-with
εὐθὺς εἴχετο τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ ἐν Ἀμβρακίᾳ πάλιν
at-once took-hold of-the constitution and in Ambracia again
ὡσαύτως Περίανδρον συνεκβαλὼν τοῖς ἐπιθεμένοις ὁ
likewise Periander having-joined-in-expelling with-those having-attacked the
δῆμος τὸν τύραννον εἰς ἑαυτὸν περιέστησε τὴν πολιτείαν.
people the tyrant into itself brought-round the constitution
καὶ ὅλως δὴ δεῖ τοῦτο μὴ λανθάνειν, ὡς οἱ δυνάμεως
and generally indeed one-must this not to-escape-notice that those of-power
αἴτιοι γενόμενοι, καὶ ἰδιῶται καὶ ἀρχαὶ καὶ φυλαὶ καὶ
causes having-become both private-men and offices and tribes and
ὅλως μέρος καὶ ὁποιονοῦν πλῆθος, στάσιν κινοῦσιν·
generally part and whatsoever multitude faction stir-up

ἢ γὰρ οἱ τούτοις φθονοῦντες τιμωμένοις ἄρχουσι τῆς
either for those these envying being-honored begin the
στάσεως, ἢ οὗτοι διὰ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν οὐ θέλουσι μένειν
faction or these through the superiority not are-willing to-remain
ἐπὶ τῶν ἴσων. κινοῦνται δ' αἱ πολιτεῖαι καὶ ὅταν
on the equal-terms are-changed and the constitutions also whenever
τἀναντία εἶναι δοκοῦντα μέρη τῆς πόλεως ἰσάζῃ ἀλλήλοις,
the-opposite to-be seeming parts of-the city are-equal to-one-another
οἷον οἱ πλούσιοι καὶ ὁ δῆμος, μέσον δ' ᾖ μηθὲν ἢ
such-as the rich and the people middle and is nothing or
μικρὸν πάμπαν· ἂν γὰρ πολὺ ὑπερέχῃ ὁποτερονοῦν τῶν
small altogether if for much exceeds either-one of-the
μερῶν, πρὸς τὸ φανερῶς κρεῖττον τὸ λοιπὸν οὐ θέλει
parts against the evidently stronger the remaining not is-willing
κινδυνεύειν. διὸ καὶ οἱ κατ' ἀρετὴν διαφέροντες οὐ
to-run-risk therefore also those in virtue differing not
ποιοῦσι στάσιν ὡς εἰπεῖν· ὀλίγοι γὰρ γίγνονται πρὸς
make faction so to-speak few for they-become against
πολλούς. Καθόλου μὲν οὖν περὶ πάσας τὰς πολιτείας
many generally indeed then about all the constitutions
αἱ ἀρχαὶ καὶ αἰτίαι τῶν στάσεων καὶ τῶν μεταβολῶν
the beginnings and causes of-the factions and of-the changes
τοῦτον ἔχουσι τὸν τρόπον· κινοῦσι δὲ τὰς πολιτείας
this have the manner they-change and the constitutions
ὁτὲ μὲν διὰ βίας ὁτὲ δὲ δι' ἀπάτης, διὰ βίας
sometimes indeed through force sometimes and through deceit through force
μὲν ἢ εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἢ ὕστερον ἀναγκάζοντες.
indeed either at-once from beginning or later compelling
καὶ γὰρ ἡ ἀπάτη διττή. ὁτὲ μὲν γὰρ ἐξαπατήσαντες
and for the deceit twofold sometimes indeed for having-deceived
τὸ πρῶτον ἑκόντων μεταβάλλουσι τὴν πολιτείαν, εἶθ'
the first of-willing(-people) they-change the constitution then

ὕστερον βίᾳ κατέχουσιν ἀκόντων, οἷον ἐπὶ
later by-force they-hold-it of-unwilling(-people) such-as in-the-case-of
τῶν τετρακοσίων τὸν δῆμον ἐξηπάτησαν φάσκοντες τὸν
the four-hundred the people they-deceived saying the
βασιλέα χρήματα παρέξειν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν
king money to-be-going-to-provide for the war the
πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους, ψευσάμενοι δὲ κατέχειν ἐπειρῶντο
against Lacedaemonians having-lied and to-hold they-tried
τὴν πολιτείαν· ὁτὲ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε πείσαντες καὶ
the constitution sometimes and from beginning both having-persuaded and
ὕστερον πάλιν πεισθέντων ἑκόντων ἄρχουσιν αὐτῶν.
later again having-been-persuaded willing they-rule them
Ἁπλῶς μὲν οὖν περὶ πάσας τὰς πολιτείας ἐκ τῶν
simply indeed then about all the constitutions from the
εἰρημένων συμβέβηκε γίνεσθαι τὰς μεταβολάς.
things-said it-has-happened to-arise the changes

V · DEMOCRACIES OVERTHROWN

Democracies are overthrown chiefly by the insolence of demagogues, who harass the rich until they unite, as at Cos, Rhodes, Heraclea, Megara, and Cyme. In old times a demagogue who was also a general made himself tyrant, as Pisistratus, Theagenes, and Dionysius; now, with orators who are not soldiers, this is rare. Democracies also change into the newest kind when offices are elected by all and demagogues court the people.

Καθ' ἕκαστον δ' εἶδος πολιτείας ἐκ τούτων μερίζοντας
by each and kind of-constitution from these dividing
τὰ συμβαίνοντα δεῖ θεωρεῖν. Αἱ μὲν οὖν δημοκρατίαι
the results one-must to-consider the indeed then democracies
μάλιστα μεταβάλλουσι διὰ τὴν τῶν δημαγωγῶν ἀσέλγειαν·
most change through the of-the demagogues wantonness

τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἰδίᾳ συκοφαντοῦντες τοὺς τὰς οὐσίας
the(-times) indeed for privately bringing-false-charges-against those the properties
ἔχοντας συστρέφουσιν αὐτούς (συνάγει γὰρ καὶ τοὺς
having they-unite them brings-together for even the
ἐχθίστους ὁ κοινὸς φόβος), τὰ δὲ κοινῇ τὸ πλῆθος
bitterest-enemies the common fear the(-times) and publicly the multitude
ἐπάγοντες. καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἄν τις ἴδοι γιγνόμενον
bringing-on(-them) and this in many — one might-see happening
οὕτω. καὶ γὰρ ἐν Κῷ ἡ δημοκρατία μετέβαλε πονηρῶν
thus also for in Cos the democracy changed wicked
ἐγγενομένων δημαγωγῶν (οἱ γὰρ γνώριμοι συνέστησαν)·
having-arisen demagogues the for notables combined
καὶ ἐν Ῥόδῳ· μισθοφοράν τε γὰρ οἱ δημαγωγοὶ ἐπόριζον,
and in Rhodes pay both for the demagogues provided
καὶ ἐκώλυον ἀποδιδόναι τὰ ὀφειλόμενα τοῖς τριηράρχοις,
and prevented to-pay-back the things-owed to-the trierarchs
οἱ δὲ διὰ τὰς ἐπιφερομένας δίκας ἠναγκάσθησαν
the(-ones) and through the impending lawsuits were-compelled
συστάντες καταλῦσαι τὸν δῆμον. κατελύθη δὲ καὶ ἐν
having-combined to-overthrow the people was-overthrown and also in
Ἡρακλείᾳ ὁ δῆμος μετὰ τὸν ἀποικισμὸν εὐθὺς διὰ
Heraclea the people after the colonization at-once through
τοὺς δημαγωγούς· ἀδικούμενοι γὰρ ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν οἱ γνώριμοι
the demagogues being-wronged for by them the notables
ἐξέπιπτον, ἔπειτα ἀθροισθέντες οἱ ἐκπίπτοντες καὶ
were-expelled then having-gathered the(-ones) being-expelled and
κατελθόντες κατέλυσαν τὸν δῆμον. παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ
having-returned overthrew the people similarly and also
ἡ ἐν Μεγάροις κατελύθη δημοκρατία· οἱ γὰρ δημαγωγοί,
the in Megara was-overthrown democracy the for demagogues
ἵνα χρήματα ἔχωσι δημεύειν, ἐξέβαλον πολλοὺς τῶν
so-that money they-might-have to-confiscate expelled many of-the

γνωρίμων, ἕως πολλοὺς ἐποίησαν τοὺς φεύγοντας, οἱ
notables until many they-made the exiles the(-exiles)
δὲ κατιόντες ἐνίκησαν μαχόμενοι τὸν δῆμον καὶ κατέστησαν
and returning conquered fighting the people and established
τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν. συνέβη δὲ ταὐτὸν καὶ περὶ Κύμην
the oligarchy happened and the-same also about Cyme
ἐπὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἣν κατέλυσε Θρασύμαχος.
in-the-time-of the democracy which overthrew Thrasymachus
σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄν τις ἴδοι θεωρῶν
nearly and also in-the-case-of the others — one might-see observing
τὰς μεταβολὰς τοῦτον ἐχούσας τὸν τρόπον. ὁτὲ μὲν
the changes this having the manner sometimes indeed
γάρ, ἵνα χαρίζωνται, ἀδικοῦντες τοὺς γνωρίμους
for so-that they-may-gratify(-the-people) wronging the notables
συνιστᾶσιν, ἢ τὰς οὐσίας ἀναδάστους ποιοῦντες ἢ τὰς
they-unite(-them) either the properties redistributed making or the
προσόδους ταῖς λειτουργίαις, ὁτὲ δὲ διαβάλλοντες, ἵν᾽
revenues by-the public-services sometimes and slandering so-that
ἔχωσι δημεύειν τὰ κτήματα τῶν πλουσίων.
they-may-have to-confiscate the possessions of-the rich
ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἀρχαίων, ὅτε γένοιτο ὁ αὐτὸς
in-the-time-of and the old(-days) whenever there-was the same
δημαγωγὸς καὶ στρατηγός, εἰς τυραννίδα μετέβαλλον· σχεδὸν
demagogue and general into tyranny they-changed nearly
γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀρχαίων τυράννων ἐκ δημαγωγῶν
for the most of-the ancient tyrants from demagogues
γεγόνασιν. αἴτιον δὲ τοῦ τότε μὲν γίγνεσθαι νῦν δὲ μή, ὅτι
have-arisen cause and of-the then indeed to-happen now but not that
τότε μὲν οἱ δημαγωγοὶ ἦσαν ἐκ τῶν στρατηγούντων (οὐ
then indeed the demagogues were from those serving-as-generals not
γάρ πω δεινοὶ ἦσαν λέγειν), νῦν δὲ τῆς ῥητορικῆς ηὐξημένης
for yet clever they-were to-speak now and the rhetoric having-grown

οἱ δυνάμενοι λέγειν δημαγωγοῦσι μέν, δι᾽ ἀπειρίαν δὲ
those able to-speak court-the-people indeed through inexperience but
τῶν πολεμικῶν οὐκ ἐπιτίθενται, πλὴν εἴ που βραχύ
of-the military-matters not they-make-attempts except if anywhere slight
τι γέγονε τοιοῦτον. ἐγίγνοντο δὲ τυραννίδες πρότερον
something has-happened such arose and tyrannies formerly
μᾶλλον ἢ νῦν καὶ διὰ τὸ μεγάλας ἀρχὰς ἐγχειρίζεσθαί
more than now also through the great offices to-be-entrusted
τισιν, ὥσπερ ἐν Μιλήτῳ ἐκ τῆς πρυτανείας (πολλῶν γὰρ
to-some just-as in Miletus from the prytany of-many for
ἦν καὶ μεγάλων κύριος ὁ πρύτανις). ἔτι δὲ διὰ τὸ μὴ
was and great sovereign the prytanis further and through the not
μεγάλας εἶναι τότε τὰς πόλεις, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν οἰκεῖν
large to-be then the cities but on the fields to-live
τὸν δῆμον ἄσχολον ὄντα πρὸς τοῖς ἔργοις, οἱ προστάται
the people busy being with the works the leaders
τοῦ δήμου, ὅτε πολεμικοὶ γένοιντο, τυραννίδι ἐπετίθεντο.
of-the people whenever warlike they-became tyranny aimed-at
πάντες δὲ τοῦτο ἔδρων ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου πιστευθέντες, ἡ δὲ
all and this did by the people trusted the and
πίστις ἦν ἡ ἀπέχθεια ἡ πρὸς τοὺς πλουσίους, οἷον Ἀθήνησί
trust was the hostility the toward the rich such-as at-Athens
τε Πεισίστρατος στασιάσας πρὸς τοὺς πεδιακούς, καὶ
both Pisistratus having-formed-a-faction against the plain-men and
Θεαγένης ἐν Μεγάροις τῶν εὐπόρων τὰ κτήνη ἀποσφάξας,
Theagenes in Megara of-the well-off the cattle having-slaughtered
λαβὼν παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπινέμοντας, καὶ Διονύσιος
having-caught(-them) beside the river grazing and Dionysius
κατηγορῶν Δαφναίου καὶ τῶν πλουσίων ἠξιώθη τῆς
accusing Daphnaeus and the rich was-thought-worthy of-the
τυραννίδος, διὰ τὴν ἔχθραν πιστευθεὶς ὡς δημοτικὸς ὤν.
tyranny through the enmity trusted as democratic being

μεταβάλλουσι δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς πατρίας δημοκρατίας εἰς
they-change and also from the ancestral democracy into
τὴν νεωτάτην· ὅπου γὰρ αἱρεταὶ μὲν αἱ ἀρχαί, μὴ ἀπὸ
the newest where for elected indeed the offices not from
τιμημάτων δέ, αἱρεῖται δὲ ὁ δῆμος, δημαγωγοῦντες
property-qualifications but elects and the people courting-the-people
οἱ σπουδαρχιῶντες εἰς τοῦτο καθιστᾶσιν ὡς κύριον εἶναι
those seeking-office into this bring-it as sovereign to-be
τὸν δῆμον καὶ τῶν νόμων. ἄκος δὲ τοῦ μὴ γίνεσθαι ἢ
the people even over-the laws remedy and of-the not to-come-about or
τοῦ γίνεσθαι ἧττον τὸ τὰς φυλὰς φέρειν τοὺς ἄρχοντας,
of-the to-come-about less the the tribes to-elect the officials
ἀλλὰ μὴ πάντα τὸν δῆμον. Τῶν μὲν οὖν δημοκρατιῶν αἱ
but not all the people of-the indeed then democracies the
μεταβολαὶ γίγνονται πᾶσαι σχεδὸν διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας.
changes come-about all nearly through these the causes

VI · OLIGARCHIES OVERTHROWN

Oligarchies fall in two chief ways: by wronging the multitude, when any champion serves, even an oligarch; or by rivalry among the rich, when some are excluded from office, when oligarchs court a mob, when they waste their substance, or when an inner group narrows. In war they must arm soldiers whose captain may seize power; in peace they hand the guard to a neutral officer who may master both. Quarrels over marriages and lawsuits, harsh rule, and property qualifications that prosperity outgrows also change them.

Αἱ δ' ὀλιγαρχίαι μεταβάλλουσι διὰ δύο μάλιστα τρόπους
the and oligarchies change through two most ways
τοὺς φανερωτάτους. ἕνα μὲν ἐὰν ἀδικῶσι τὸ πλῆθος· πᾶς
the most-evident one indeed if they-wrong the multitude everyone

γὰρ ἱκανὸς γίνεται προστάτης, μάλιστα δ' ὅταν ἐξ αὐτῆς
for adequate becomes leader most and whenever from itself
συμβῇ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας γίνεσθαι τὸν ἡγεμόνα, καθάπερ ἐν
it-happens the oligarchy to-arise the leader just-as in
Νάξῳ Λύγδαμις, ὃς καὶ ἐτυράννησεν ὕστερον τῶν Ναξίων.
Naxos Lygdamis who also was-tyrant later of-the Naxians
ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐξ ἄλλων ἀρχὴ στάσεως διαφοράς. ὁτὲ
has and also the from others beginning of-faction differences sometimes
μὲν γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν εὐπόρων, οὐ τῶν ὄντων δ'
indeed for from themselves the well-off not of-those being but
ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς, γίγνεται κατάλυσις, ὅταν ὀλίγοι σφόδρα
in the offices arises overthrow whenever few very
ὦσιν οἱ ἐν ταῖς τιμαῖς, οἷον ἐν Μασσαλίᾳ καὶ ἐν Ἴστρῳ
are those in the honors such-as in Massalia and in Istrus
καὶ ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις πόλεσι συμβέβηκεν· οἱ
and in Heraclea and in other cities it-has-happened those
γὰρ μὴ μετέχοντες τῶν ἀρχῶν ἐκίνουν, ἕως μετέλαβον
for not sharing in-the offices agitated until shared
οἱ πρεσβύτεροι πρότερον τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ὕστερον δ' οἱ
the elder first of-the brothers later and the
νεώτεροι πάλιν· οὐ γὰρ ἄρχουσιν ἐνιαχοῦ μὲν ἅμα πατήρ
younger again not for hold-office in-some-places indeed at-once father
τε καὶ υἱός, ἐνιαχοῦ δὲ ὁ πρεσβύτερος καὶ ὁ νεώτερος
both and son in-some-places and the elder and the younger
ἀδελφός· καὶ ἔνθα μὲν πολιτικωτέρα ἐγένετο ἡ ὀλιγαρχία,
brother and there indeed more-constitutional became the oligarchy
ἐν Ἴστρῳ δ' εἰς δῆμον ἀπετελεύτησεν, ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ δ' ἐξ
in Istrus but into democracy it-ended in Heraclea and from
ἐλαττόνων εἰς ἑξακοσίους ἦλθεν· μετέβαλε δὲ καὶ ἐν Κνίδῳ
fewer to six-hundred it-came changed and also in Cnidus
ἡ ὀλιγαρχία στασιασάντων τῶν γνωρίμων αὐτῶν πρὸς
the oligarchy having-formed-factions the notables themselves against

αὐτοὺς διὰ τὸ ὀλίγους μετέχειν καὶ καθάπερ εἴρηται, εἰ
themselves through the few to-share and just-as has-been-said if
πατήρ, υἱὸν μὴ μετέχειν, μηδ' εἰ πλείους ἀδελφοί, ἀλλ' ἢ
father son not to-share nor if more brothers but except
τὸν πρεσβύτατον· ἐπιλαβόμενος γὰρ στασιαζόντων
the eldest having-seized-the-opportunity for of-those-in-faction
ὁ δῆμος, καὶ λαβὼν προστάτην ἐκ τῶν γνωρίμων,
the people and having-taken leader from the notables
ἐπιθέμενος ἐκράτησεν, ἀσθενὲς γὰρ τὸ στασιάζον· καὶ ἐν
having-attacked prevailed weak for the being-in-faction also in
Ἐρυθραῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν Βασιλιδῶν ὀλιγαρχίας ἐν
Erythrae and in-the-time-of the of-the Basilids oligarchy in
τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρόνοις, καίπερ καλῶς ἐπιμελομένων τῶν
the ancient times although well taking-care those
ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, ὅμως διὰ τὸ ὑπ' ὀλίγων ἄρχεσθαι
in the constitution nevertheless through the by few to-be-ruled
ἀγανακτῶν ὁ δῆμος μετέβαλε τὴν πολιτείαν.
being-indignant the people changed the constitution
κινοῦνται δ' αἱ ὀλιγαρχίαι ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ διὰ φιλονικίαν
are-changed and the oligarchies from themselves also through rivalry
δημαγωγούντων (ἡ δημαγωγία δὲ διττή, ἡ μὲν ἐν
of-those-courting-the-people the demagoguery and twofold the(-one) indeed in
αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὀλίγοις — ἐγγίγνεται γὰρ δημαγωγὸς κἂν πάνυ
themselves the few arises for demagogue even-if very
ὀλίγοι ὦσιν, οἷον ἐν τοῖς τριάκοντα Ἀθήνησιν οἱ περὶ
few they-are such-as in the thirty at-Athens those around
Χαρικλέα ἴσχυσαν τοὺς τριάκοντα δημαγωγοῦντες, καὶ ἐν
Charicles were-strong the thirty courting and in
τοῖς τετρακοσίοις οἱ περὶ Φρύνιχον τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον—,
the four-hundred those around Phrynichus in-the same way
ἢ ὅταν τὸν ὄχλον δημαγωγῶσιν οἱ ἐν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ
or whenever the mob court those in the oligarchy

ὄντες, οἷον ἐν Λαρίσῃ οἱ πολιτοφύλακες διὰ τὸ αἱρεῖσθαι
being such-as in Larisa the citizen-guards through the to-elect
αὐτοὺς τὸν ὄχλον ἐδημαγώγουν, καὶ ἐν ὅσαις ὀλιγαρχίαις
them the mob courted(-it) and in as-many oligarchies
οὐχ οὗτοι αἱροῦνται τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐξ ὧν οἱ ἄρχοντές
not these elect the offices from whom the officials
εἰσιν, ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν ἀρχαὶ ἐκ τιμημάτων μεγάλων
are but the indeed offices from property-qualifications great
εἰσὶν ἢ ἑταιριῶν, αἱροῦνται δ' οἱ ὁπλῖται ἢ ὁ δῆμος,
are or clubs elect and the hoplites or the people
ὅπερ ἐν Ἀβύδῳ συνέβαινεν, καὶ ὅπου τὰ δικαστήρια μὴ
which-very in Abydos happened and where the law-courts not
ἐκ τοῦ πολιτεύματός ἐστι — δημαγωγοῦντες γὰρ πρὸς
from the governing-body are courting-the-people for for
τὰς κρίσεις μεταβάλλουσι τὴν πολιτείαν, ὅπερ καὶ ἐν
the judgments they-change the constitution which also in
Ἡρακλείᾳ ἐγένετο τῇ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ—, ἔτι δ' ὅταν
Heraclea happened the in the Pontus further and whenever
ἔνιοι εἰς ἐλάττους ἕλκωσι τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν· οἱ γὰρ τὸ ἴσον
some into fewer drag the oligarchy those for the equal
ζητοῦντες ἀναγκάζονται βοηθὸν ἐπαγαγέσθαι τὸν δῆμον).
seeking are-compelled as-helper to-bring-in the people
γίνονται δὲ μεταβολαὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ ὅταν
arise and changes of-the oligarchy also whenever
ἀναλώσωσι τὰ ἴδια ζῶντες ἀσελγῶς· καὶ γὰρ οἱ
they-spend the private(-property) living wantonly and for the
τοιοῦτοι καινοτομεῖν ζητοῦσι, καὶ ἢ τυραννίδι ἐπιτίθενται
such to-make-innovations seek and either tyranny aim-at
αὐτοὶ ἢ κατασκευάζουσιν ἕτερον (ὥσπερ Ἱππαρῖνος
themselves or set-up another just-as Hipparinus
Διονύσιον ἐν Συρακούσαις, καὶ ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει, ᾧ ὄνομα
Dionysius in Syracuse and in Amphipolis to-whom name

ἦν Κλεότιμος, τοὺς ἐποίκους τοὺς Χαλκιδέων ἤγαγε, καὶ
was Cleotimus the later-settlers the of-Chalcidians brought and
ἐλθόντων διεστασίασεν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τοὺς εὐπόρους, καὶ
they-having-come set-at-faction them against the well-off and
ἐν Αἰγίνῃ ὁ τὴν πρᾶξιν τὴν πρὸς Χάρητα πράξας
in Aegina the(-man) the transaction the with Chares having-done
ἐνεχείρησε μεταβαλεῖν τὴν πολιτείαν διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν)·
attempted to-change the constitution through such cause
ὁτὲ μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς ἐπιχειροῦσί τι κινεῖν, ὁτὲ δὲ
sometimes indeed then at-once they-attempt something to-change sometimes and
κλέπτουσι τὰ κοινά, ὅθεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς στασιάζουσιν ἢ
they-steal the public(-funds) whence against themselves they-form-factions either
οὗτοι ἢ οἱ πρὸς τούτους μαχόμενοι κλέπτοντας, ὅπερ
these or those against these fighting stealing which-very
ἐν Ἀπολλωνίᾳ συνέβη τῇ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ. ὁμονοοῦσα
in Apollonia happened the on the Pontus being-of-one-mind
δὲ ὀλιγαρχία οὐκ εὐδιάφθορος ἐξ αὐτῆς. σημεῖον δὲ ἡ
and oligarchy not easily-destroyed from itself sign and the
ἐν Φαρσάλῳ πολιτεία· ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ὀλίγοι ὄντες πολλῶν
at Pharsalus constitution those for few being of-many
κύριοί εἰσι διὰ τὸ χρῆσθαι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καλῶς.
sovereign are through the to-treat themselves themselves well
καταλύονται δὲ καὶ ὅταν ἐν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ ἑτέραν
are-overthrown and also whenever in the oligarchy another
ὀλιγαρχίαν ἐμποιῶσιν. τοῦτο δ' ἔστιν ὅταν τοῦ παντὸς
oligarchy they-create this and is whenever of-the whole
πολιτεύματος ὀλίγου ὄντος τῶν μεγίστων ἀρχῶν μὴ
governing-body small being in-the greatest offices not
μετέχωσιν οἱ ὀλίγοι πάντες, ὅπερ ἐν Ἤλιδι συνέβη ποτέ·
share the few all which-very in Elis happened once
τῆς πολιτείας γὰρ δι' ὀλίγων οὔσης τῶν γερόντων
the constitution for through few being of-the elders

ὀλίγοι πάμπαν ἐγίνοντο διὰ τὸ ἀιδίους εἶναι ἐνενήκοντα
few altogether became through the for-life to-be ninety
ὄντας, τὴν δ᾽ αἵρεσιν δυναστευτικὴν εἶναι καὶ ὁμοίαν
being the and election dynastic to-be and similar
τῇ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι γερόντων. γίγνεται δὲ μεταβολὴ
to-that of-the in Lacedaemon elders arises and change
τῶν ὀλιγαρχιῶν καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ. ἐν μὲν
of-the oligarchies both in war and in peace in indeed
πολέμῳ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἀπιστίαν στρατιώταις
war through the toward the people distrust soldiers
ἀναγκαζομένων χρῆσθαι (ᾧ γὰρ ἂν ἐγχειρίσωσιν, οὗτος
being-compelled to-use to-whom for — they-entrust(-them) this-one
πολλάκις γίνεται τύραννος, ὥσπερ ἐν Κορίνθῳ Τιμοφάνης·
often becomes tyrant just-as in Corinth Timophanes
ἂν δὲ πλείους, οὗτοι αὑτοῖς περιποιοῦνται δυναστείαν),
if and more these for-themselves secure dynasty
ὁτὲ δὲ ταῦτα δεδιότες μεταδιδόασι τῷ πλήθει τῆς
sometimes and these-things fearing they-give-a-share to-the multitude of-the
πολιτείας διὰ τὸ ἀναγκάζεσθαι τῷ δήμῳ χρῆσθαι· ἐν δὲ τῇ
constitution through the to-be-compelled the people to-use in and the
εἰρήνῃ διὰ τὴν ἀπιστίαν τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐγχειρίζουσι
peace through the distrust the toward one-another they-entrust
τὴν φυλακὴν στρατιώταις καὶ ἄρχοντι μεσιδίῳ, ὃς ἐνίοτε
the guard to-soldiers and to-official neutral who sometimes
γίνεται κύριος ἀμφοτέρων, ὅπερ συνέβη ἐν Λαρίσῃ
becomes sovereign over-both which-very happened in Larisa
ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀλευαδῶν ἀρχῆς τῶν περὶ Σῖμον, καὶ
in-the-time-of the of-the Aleuads rule of-those around Simus and
ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ἐπὶ τῶν ἑταιριῶν ὧν ἦν μία ἡ Ἰφιάδου.
in Abydos in-the-time-of the clubs of-which was one the of-Iphiades

γίνονται δὲ στάσεις καὶ ἐκ τοῦ περιωθεῖσθαι ἑτέρους ὑφ᾽
arise and factions also from the to-be-pushed-aside some by
ἑτέρων τῶν ἐν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ αὐτῶν καὶ καταστασιάζεσθαι
others of-those in the oligarchy themselves and to-be-split-into-faction
κατὰ γάμους ἢ δίκας, οἷον ἐκ γαμικῆς μὲν αἰτίας αἱ
over marriages or lawsuits such-as from marriage indeed cause the(-ones)
εἰρημέναι πρότερον, καὶ τὴν ἐν Ἐρετρίᾳ δ᾽ ὀλιγαρχίαν
mentioned before and the in Eretria and oligarchy
τὴν τῶν ἱππέων Διαγόρας κατέλυσεν ἀδικηθεὶς περὶ
the of-the knights Diagoras overthrew having-been-wronged about
γάμον, ἐκ δὲ δικαστηρίου κρίσεως ἡ ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ στάσις
marriage from and law-court judgment the in Heraclea faction
ἐγένετο καὶ ἡ ἐν Θήβαις, ἐπ᾽ αἰτίᾳ μοιχείας δικαίως
arose and the in Thebes on charge of-adultery justly
μὲν στασιαστικῶς δὲ ποιησαμένων τὴν κόλασιν τῶν
indeed factiously but having-made the punishment those
μὲν ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ κατ᾽ Εὐετίωνος, τῶν δ᾽ ἐν Θήβαις
indeed in Heraclea against Euetion those and in Thebes
κατ᾽ Ἀρχίου (ἐφιλονίκησαν γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐχθροὶ ὥστε
against Archias they-were-rivals for them the enemies so-that
δεθῆναι ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἐν τῷ κύφωνι). πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ διὰ
to-be-bound in market-place in the pillory many and also through
τὸ ἄγαν δεσποτικὰς εἶναι τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ
the too despotic to-be the oligarchies by those in the
πολιτείᾳ τινῶν δυσχερανάντων κατελύθησαν, ὥσπερ ἡ ἐν
constitution some having-been-annoyed were-overthrown just-as the in
Κνίδῳ καὶ ἡ ἐν Χίῳ ὀλιγαρχία. γίγνονται δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ
Cnidus and the in Chios oligarchy arise and also from
συμπτώματος μεταβολαὶ καὶ τῆς καλουμένης πολιτείας καὶ
accident changes both of-the so-called polity and

τῶν ὀλιγαρχιῶν ἐν ὅσαις ἀπὸ τιμήματος βουλεύουσι
of-the oligarchies in as-many-as from property-qualification they-deliberate
καὶ δικάζουσι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἄρχουσιν.
and judge and the other offices hold
πολλάκις γὰρ τὸ ταχθὲν πρῶτον τίμημα πρὸς
often for the having-been-fixed first property-qualification for
τοὺς παρόντας καιρούς, ὥστε μετέχειν ἐν μὲν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ
the present circumstances so-that to-share in indeed the oligarchy
ὀλίγους ἐν δὲ τῇ πολιτείᾳ τοὺς μέσους, εὐετηρίας γιγνομένης
few in and the polity the middle prosperity arising
δι' εἰρήνην ἢ δι' ἄλλην τιν' εὐτυχίαν συμβαίνει
through peace or through other some good-fortune it-happens
πολλαπλασίου γίγνεσθαι τιμήματος ἀξίας τὰς αὐτὰς
many-times to-become of-property-qualification worth the same
κτήσεις, ὥστε πάντας πάντων μετέχειν, ὁτὲ μὲν ἐκ
possessions so-that all in-all to-share sometimes indeed from
προσαγωγῆς καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν γινομένης τῆς μεταβολῆς καὶ
gradual-advance and by little happening the change and
λανθανούσης, ὁτὲ δὲ καὶ θᾶττον. Αἱ μὲν οὖν ὀλιγαρχίαι
escaping-notice sometimes and also faster the indeed then oligarchies
μεταβάλλουσι καὶ στασιάζουσι διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας (ὅλως
change and form-factions through such causes generally
δὲ καὶ αἱ δημοκρατίαι καὶ αἱ ὀλιγαρχίαι ἐξίστανται
and both the democracies and the oligarchies depart
ἐνίοτε οὐκ εἰς τὰς ἐναντίας πολιτείας ἀλλ' εἰς τὰς ἐν
sometimes not into the opposite constitutions but into the(-ones) in
τῷ αὐτῷ γένει, οἷον ἐκ τῶν ἐννόμων δημοκρατιῶν καὶ
the same kind such-as from the law-abiding democracies and
ὀλιγαρχιῶν εἰς τὰς κυρίους καὶ ἐκ τούτων εἰς ἐκείνας).
oligarchies into the sovereign(-ones) and from these into those

Aristocracies change when too few share honor, as at Sparta with the Partheniae, or when a great man is dishonored, like Lysander, or some are very poor and others rich. Both aristocracy and polity fall chiefly from a departure from justice in the constitution itself, a polity toward democracy and an aristocracy toward oligarchy, and small neglects grow, as at Thurii. Outside powers too impose their own kind of constitution.

Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀριστοκρατίαις γίνονται αἱ στάσεις αἱ
in and the aristocracies arise the factions the(-ones)
μὲν διὰ τὸ ὀλίγους τῶν τιμῶν μετέχειν, ὅπερ εἴρηται
indeed through the few in-the honors to-share which-very has-been-said
κινεῖν καὶ τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας, διὰ τὸ καὶ τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν
to-change also the oligarchies through the also the aristocracy
ὀλιγαρχίαν εἶναί πως (ἐν ἀμφοτέραις γὰρ ὀλίγοι οἱ
oligarchy to-be in-a-way in both for few the
ἄρχοντες, οὐ μέντοι διὰ ταὐτὸν ὀλίγοι)· ἐπεὶ δοκεῖ
rulers not however through the-same(-cause) few since it-seems
γε διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἡ ἀριστοκρατία ὀλιγαρχία εἶναι.
at-least through these also the aristocracy oligarchy to-be
μάλιστα δὲ τοῦτο συμβαίνειν ἀναγκαῖον, ὅταν ᾖ τι
most and this to-happen necessary whenever there-is some
πλῆθος τῶν πεφρονηματισμένων ὡς ὁμοίων κατ' ἀρετήν,
multitude of-those proud as equals in virtue
οἷον ἐν Λακεδαίμονι οἱ λεγόμενοι Παρθενίαι (ἐκ τῶν
such-as in Lacedaemon the so-called Partheniae from the
ὁμοίων γὰρ ἦσαν), οὓς φωράσαντες ἐπιβουλεύσαντας
equals for they-were whom having-detected having-plotted
ἀπέστειλαν Τάραντος οἰκιστάς, ἢ ὅταν τινὲς ἀτιμάζωνται
they-sent-away of-Tarentum settlers or whenever some are-dishonored
μεγάλοι ὄντες καὶ μηθενὸς ἧττους κατ' ἀρετὴν ὑπό τινων
great being and than-none inferior in virtue by some

ἐντιμοτέρων, οἷον Λύσανδρος ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων, ἢ ὅταν
more-honored such-as Lysander by the kings or whenever
ἀνδρώδης τις ὢν μὴ μετέχῃ τῶν τιμῶν, οἷον Κινάδων
manly someone being not shares of-the honors such-as Cinadon
ὁ τὴν ἐπ᾽ Ἀγησιλάου συστήσας ἐπίθεσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς
the(-man) the under Agesilaus having-organized attack against the
Σπαρτιάτας· ἔτι ὅταν οἱ μὲν ἀπορῶσι λίαν οἱ
Spartiates further whenever the(-ones) indeed are-poor very the(-others)
δ᾽ εὐπορῶσιν (καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις τοῦτο γίνεται·
and are-rich and most in the wars this happens
συνέβη δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ὑπὸ τὸν Μεσηνιακὸν
happened and also this in Lacedaemon during the Messenian
πόλεμον· δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς Τυρταίου ποιήσεως
war clear and this from the of-Tyrtaeus poem
τῆς καλουμένης Εὐνομίας· θλιβόμενοι γάρ τινες διὰ τὸν
the called Eunomia being-pressed for some through the
πόλεμον ἠξίουν ἀνάδαστον ποιεῖν τὴν χώραν)· ἔτι ἐάν τις
war claimed redistributed to-make the land further if someone
μέγας ᾖ καὶ δυνάμενος ἔτι μείζων εἶναι, ἵνα μοναρχῇ,
great is and powerful still greater to-be so-that he-may-rule-alone
ὥσπερ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι δοκεῖ Παυσανίας ὁ στρατηγήσας
just-as in Lacedaemon seems Pausanias the(-one) having-been-general
κατὰ τὸν Μηδικὸν πόλεμον, καὶ ἐν Καρχηδόνι Ἄννων.
in the Persian war and in Carthage Hanno
λύονται δὲ μάλιστα αἵ τε πολιτεῖαι καὶ αἱ ἀριστοκρατίαι
are-dissolved and most the both polities and the aristocracies
διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πολιτείᾳ τοῦ δικαίου παρέκβασιν.
through the in itself the constitution of-the just deviation
ἀρχὴ γὰρ τὸ μὴ μεμεῖχθαι καλῶς ἐν μὲν τῇ πολιτείᾳ
beginning for the not to-have-been-mixed well in indeed the polity
δημοκρατίαν καὶ ὀλιγαρχίαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀριστοκρατίᾳ
democracy and oligarchy in and the aristocracy

ταῦτά τε καὶ τὴν ἀρετήν, μάλιστα δὲ τὰ δύο· λέγω δὲ
these both and the virtue most and the two I-mean and
τὰ δύο δῆμον καὶ ὀλιγαρχίαν. ταῦτα γὰρ αἱ πολιτεῖαί
the two democracy and oligarchy these for the polities
τε πειρῶνται μιγνύναι καὶ αἱ πολλαὶ τῶν καλουμένων
both try to-mix and the many of-the so-called
ἀριστοκρατιῶν. διαφέρουσι γὰρ τῶν ὀνομαζομένων
aristocracies differ for from-the so-named
πολιτειῶν αἱ ἀριστοκρατίαι τούτῳ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' εἰσὶν
polities the aristocracies in-this and through this are
αἱ μὲν ἧττον αἱ δὲ μᾶλλον μόνιμοι αὐτῶν·
the(-ones) indeed less the(-others) and more lasting of-them
τὰς γὰρ ἀποκλινούσας μᾶλλον πρὸς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν
the(-ones) for inclining more toward the oligarchy
ἀριστοκρατίας καλοῦσιν, τὰς δὲ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος
aristocracies they-call the(-ones) and toward the multitude
πολιτείας· διόπερ ἀσφαλέστεραι αἱ τοιαῦται τῶν ἑτέρων
polities therefore safer the such than-the others
εἰσίν· κρεῖττόν τε γὰρ τὸ πλεῖον, καὶ μᾶλλον ἀγαπῶσιν
are stronger both for the more and more they-are-content
ἴσον ἔχοντες, οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς εὐπορίαις, ἂν ἡ πολιτεία
equal having those and in the wealth if the constitution
διδῷ τὴν ὑπεροχήν, ὑβρίζειν ζητοῦσι καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν.
gives the superiority to-be-insolent seek and to-have-more
ὅλως δ' ἐφ' ὁπότερον ἂν ἐγκλίνῃ ἡ πολιτεία, ἐπὶ ταῦτα
generally and to whichever — inclines the constitution to these
μεθίσταται ἑκατέρων τὸ σφέτερον αὐξανόντων, οἷον ἡ
it-changes each the their-own increasing such-as the
μὲν πολιτεία εἰς δῆμον, ἀριστοκρατία δ' εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν·
indeed polity into democracy aristocracy and into oligarchy
ἢ εἰς τἀναντία, οἷον ἡ μὲν ἀριστοκρατία εἰς δῆμον (ὡς
or into the-opposites such-as the indeed aristocracy into democracy as

ἀδικούμενοι γὰρ περισπῶσιν εἰς τοὐναντίον οἱ ἀπορώτεροι),
being-wronged for they-drag-it into the-opposite the poorer
αἱ δὲ πολιτεῖαι εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν (μόνον γὰρ μόνιμον τὸ κατ'
the and polities into oligarchy only for lasting the according-to
ἀξίαν ἴσον καὶ τὸ ἔχειν τὰ αὑτῶν)· συνέβη δὲ τὸ εἰρημένον
merit equal and the to-have the their-own happened and the thing-said
ἐν Θουρίοις· διὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἀπὸ πλείονος τιμήματος
in Thurii through indeed for the from greater property-qualification
εἶναι τὰς ἀρχὰς εἰς ἔλαττον μετέβη καὶ εἰς ἀρχεῖα πλείω,
to-be the offices into smaller it-changed and into boards more
διὰ δὲ τὸ τὴν χώραν ὅλην τοὺς γνωρίμους συγκτήσασθαι
through and the the land whole the notables to-have-bought-up
παρὰ τὸν νόμον (ἡ γὰρ πολιτεία ὀλιγαρχικωτέρα ἦν,
against the law the for constitution more-oligarchic was
ὥστε ἐδύναντο πλεονεκτεῖν), ∗∗∗ ὁ δὲ δῆμος γυμνασθεὶς
so-that they-could to-have-more (lacuna) the and people trained
ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν φρουρῶν ἐγένετο κρείττων, ἕως
in the war than-the guards became stronger until
ἀφεῖσαν τῆς χώρας ὅσοι πλείω ἦσαν ἔχοντες.
they-gave-up of-the land as-many-as more were having
ἔτι διὰ τὸ πάσας τὰς ἀριστοκρατικὰς πολιτείας
further through the all the aristocratic constitutions
ὀλιγαρχικὰς εἶναι μᾶλλον πλεονεκτοῦσιν οἱ γνώριμοι, οἷον
oligarchic to-be more have-more the notables such-as
καὶ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι εἰς ὀλίγους αἱ οὐσίαι ἔρχονται· καὶ
also in Lacedaemon into few the properties go and
ἔξεστι ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν θέλωσι τοῖς γνωρίμοις μᾶλλον,
it-is-allowed to-do what ever — they-wish to-the notables more
καὶ κηδεύειν ὅτῳ θέλουσιν, διὸ καὶ ἡ Λοκρῶν
and to-marry to-whomever they-wish therefore also the of-Locrians
πόλις ἀπώλετο ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Διονύσιον κηδείας, ὃ ἐν
city perished from the with Dionysius marriage-alliance which in

δημοκρατίᾳ οὐκ ἂν ἐγένετο, οὐδ' ἂν ἐν ἀριστοκρατίᾳ
democracy not — would-have-happened nor — in aristocracy
εὖ μεμειγμένῃ. μάλιστα δὲ λανθάνουσιν αἱ ἀριστοκρατίαι
well mixed most and escape-notice the aristocracies
μεταβάλλουσαι τῷ λύεσθαι κατὰ μικρόν, ὅπερ εἴρηται
changing by-the to-be-dissolved by little which-very has-been-said
ἐν τοῖς πρότερον καθόλου κατὰ πασῶν τῶν πολιτειῶν,
in the earlier(-parts) generally about all the constitutions
ὅτι αἴτιον τῶν μεταβολῶν καὶ τὸ μικρόν ἐστιν· ὅταν
that cause of-the changes also the small is whenever
γάρ τι προῶνται τῶν πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν,
for something they-let-go of-the(-things) bearing-on the constitution
μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλο μικρῷ μεῖζον εὐχερέστερον κινοῦσιν,
after this also another a-little greater more-easily they-change
ἕως ἂν πάντα κινήσωσι τὸν κόσμον. συνέβη δὲ τοῦτο
until — all they-change the order happened and this
καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Θουρίων πολιτείας. νόμου γὰρ ὄντος
also in-the-case-of the of-Thurians constitution law for being
διὰ πέντε ἐτῶν στρατηγεῖν, γενόμενοί τινες πολεμικοὶ
through five years to-be-general having-become some warlike
τῶν νεωτέρων καὶ παρὰ τῷ πλήθει τῶν φρουρῶν
of-the younger(-men) and among the multitude of-the guards
εὐδοκιμοῦντες, καταφρονήσαντες τῶν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ
having-good-repute having-despised those in the affairs and
νομίζοντες ῥᾳδίως κατασχήσειν, τοῦτον τὸν νόμον λύειν
thinking easily to-prevail this the law to-repeal
ἐπεχείρησαν πρῶτον, ὥστ' ἐξεῖναι τοὺς αὐτοὺς συνεχῶς
attempted first so-that to-be-allowed the same continuously
στρατηγεῖν, ὁρῶντες τὸν δῆμον αὐτοὺς χειροτονήσοντα
to-be-general seeing the people them about-to-elect
προθύμως. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ τεταγμένοι τῶν ἀρχόντων, οἱ
eagerly those and over this appointed of-the officials the

καλούμενοι σύμβουλοι, ὁρμήσαντες τὸ πρῶτον ἐναντιοῦσθαι
so-called councilors having-set-out the first to-oppose
συνεπείσθησαν, ὑπολαμβάνοντες τοῦτον κινήσαντας τὸν
were-persuaded-along supposing this having-changed the
νόμον ἐάσειν τὴν ἄλλην πολιτείαν, ὕστερον δὲ
law to-leave-alone the other constitution later and
βουλόμενοι κωλύειν ἄλλων κινουμένων οὐκέτι πλέον
wishing to-prevent others being-changed no-longer more
ἐποίουν οὐθέν, ἀλλὰ μετέβαλεν ἡ τάξις πᾶσα τῆς
they-accomplished nothing but changed the order whole of-the
πολιτείας εἰς δυναστείαν τῶν ἐπιχειρησάντων νεωτερίζειν.
constitution into dynasty of-those having-attempted to-make-revolution
Πᾶσαι δ' αἱ πολιτεῖαι λύονται ὁτὲ μὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν
all and the constitutions are-dissolved sometimes indeed from themselves
ὁτὲ δ' ἔξωθεν, ὅταν ἐναντία πολιτεία ᾖ ἢ πλησίον
sometimes and from-outside whenever opposite constitution is either near
ἢ πόρρω μὲν ἔχουσα δὲ δύναμιν. ὅπερ συνέβαινεν
or far indeed having but power which-very happened
ἐπ' Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων· οἱ μὲν γὰρ
in-the-case-of Athenians and Lacedaemonians the indeed for
Ἀθηναῖοι πανταχοῦ τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας, οἱ δὲ Λάκωνες τοὺς
Athenians everywhere the oligarchies the and Laconians the
δήμους κατέλυον. Ὅθεν μὲν οὖν αἱ μεταβολαὶ γίγνονται
democracies overthrew whence indeed then the changes arise
τῶν πολιτειῶν καὶ αἱ στάσεις, εἴρηται σχεδόν.
of-the constitutions and the factions it-has-been-said nearly

Constitutions are preserved by guarding against small lawlessness, by not trusting devices meant to deceive the people, and by treating the excluded and those in office decently. Fear keeps citizens alert; offices should be short; the property assessment should be revised; no one should grow too great; a magistracy should watch the private lives of men; offices must not be a source of gain, the rich must be spared in a democracy, and the poor must be cared for in an oligarchy.

Περὶ δὲ σωτηρίας καὶ κοινῇ καὶ χωρὶς ἑκάστης
about and preservation both in-common and separately of-each
πολιτείας ἐχόμενόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν δῆλον
constitution next it-is to-speak first indeed then clear
ὅτι, εἴπερ ἔχομεν δι' ὧν φθείρονται αἱ πολιτεῖαι, ἔχομεν
that if-indeed we-know through what are-destroyed the constitutions we-know
καὶ δι' ὧν σῴζονται· τῶν γὰρ ἐναντίων τἀναντία
also through what they-are-preserved of-the for opposites the-opposites
ποιητικά, φθορὰ δὲ σωτηρίᾳ ἐναντίον. ἐν μὲν οὖν
productive destruction and to-preservation opposite in indeed then
ταῖς εὖ κεκραμέναις πολιτείαις ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι δεῖ
the well blended constitutions just-as other anything one-must
τηρεῖν ὅπως μηθὲν παρανομῶσι, καὶ μάλιστα τὸ μικρὸν
to-watch-for that nothing they-transgress and most the small
φυλάττειν· λανθάνει γὰρ παραδυομένη ἡ παρανομία,
to-guard escapes-notice for creeping-in the lawlessness
ὥσπερ τὰς οὐσίας τὸ μικρὸν δαπάνημα ἀναιρεῖ πολλάκις
just-as the properties the small expenditure destroys often
γινόμενον. λανθάνει γὰρ ἡ δαπάνη διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀθρόα
occurring escapes-notice for the expense through the not all-at-once
γίγνεσθαι· παραλογίζεται γὰρ ἡ διάνοια ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ
to-occur is-misled for the mind by them just-as
ὁ σοφιστικὸς λόγος· εἰ ἕκαστον μικρόν, καὶ πάντα. τοῦτο
the sophistical argument if each small also all this

δ' ἔστι μὲν ὥς, ἔστι δ' ὡς οὔ· τὸ γὰρ ὅλον καὶ
and is indeed in-a-way is and in-a-way not the for whole and
τὰ πάντα οὐ μικρόν, ἀλλὰ σύγκειται ἐκ μικρῶν.
the all not small but is-composed from small(-things)
μίαν μὲν οὖν φυλακὴν πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν δεῖ
one indeed then guard against this the beginning one-must
ποιεῖσθαι· ἔπειτα μὴ πιστεύειν τοῖς σοφίσματος χάριν πρὸς
to-make then not to-trust the of-sophistry for-the-sake against
τὸ πλῆθος συγκειμένοις, ἐξελέγχεται γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἔργων
the multitude composed(-devices) are-refuted for by the facts
(ποῖα δὲ λέγομεν τῶν πολιτειῶν σοφίσματα, πρότερον
what-kind and we-mean of-the constitutions sophistries before
εἴρηται). ἔτι δ' ὁρᾶν ὅτι ἔνιαι μένουσιν οὐ μόνον
it-has-been-said further and to-see that some remain not only
ἀριστοκρατίαι ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀλιγαρχίαι οὐ διὰ τὸ ἀσφαλεῖς
aristocracies but also oligarchies not through the secure
εἶναι τὰς πολιτείας, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ εὖ χρῆσθαι τοὺς ἐν ταῖς
to-be the constitutions but through the well to-treat those in the
ἀρχαῖς γινομένους καὶ τοῖς ἔξω τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τοῖς ἐν
offices being both those outside the constitution and those in
τῷ πολιτεύματι, τοὺς μὲν μὴ μετέχοντας τῷ μὴ ἀδικεῖν
the governing-body the(-ones) indeed not sharing by-the not to-wrong
καὶ τῷ τοὺς ἡγεμονικοὺς αὐτῶν εἰσάγειν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν
and by-the the leaders of-them to-bring-in into the constitution
καὶ τοὺς μὲν φιλοτίμους μὴ ἀδικεῖν εἰς ἀτιμίαν τοὺς δὲ
and the indeed ambitious not to-wrong in dishonor the and
πολλοὺς εἰς κέρδος, πρὸς αὑτοὺς δὲ καὶ τοὺς μετέχοντας
many in gain toward themselves and and those sharing
τῷ χρῆσθαι ἀλλήλοις δημοτικῶς. ὃ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ
by-the to-treat one-another democratically what for in-the-case-of the

πλήθους ζητοῦσιν οἱ δημοτικοί, τὸ ἴσον, τοῦτ' ἐπὶ
multitude seek the democrats the equal this in-the-case-of
τῶν ὁμοίων οὐ μόνον δίκαιον ἀλλὰ καὶ συμφέρον ἐστίν.
the alike not only just but also advantageous is
διὸ ἐὰν πλείους ὦσιν ἐν τῷ πολιτεύματι, πολλὰ συμφέρει
therefore if more are in the governing-body many are-advantageous
τῶν δημοτικῶν νομοθετημάτων, οἷον τὸ ἑξαμήνους τὰς
of-the democratic enactments such-as the six-monthly the
ἀρχὰς εἶναι, ἵνα πάντες οἱ ὅμοιοι μετέχωσιν· ἔστι γὰρ
offices to-be so-that all the alike may-share it-is for
ὥσπερ δῆμος ἤδη οἱ ὅμοιοι (διὸ καὶ ἐν τούτοις
just-as a-people already the alike therefore also among these
ἐγγίγνονται δημαγωγοὶ πολλάκις, ὥσπερ εἴρηται πρότερον),
arise demagogues often just-as was-said before
ἔπειθ' ἧττον εἰς δυναστείας ἐμπίπτουσιν αἱ ὀλιγαρχίαι
then less into dynasties fall the oligarchies
καὶ ἀριστοκρατίαι (οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως ῥᾴδιον κακουργῆσαι
and aristocracies not for equally easy to-do-mischief
ὀλίγον χρόνον ἄρχοντας καὶ πολύν, ἐπεὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν
little time holding-office and much since through this in
ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις καὶ δημοκρατίαις γίγνονται τυραννίδες·
the oligarchies and democracies arise tyrannies
ἢ γὰρ οἱ μέγιστοι ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ ἐπιτίθενται τυραννίδι,
either for the greatest in each attack tyranny
ἔνθα μὲν οἱ δημαγωγοὶ ἔνθα δ' οἱ δυνάσται, ἢ οἱ τὰς
there indeed the demagogues there and the dynasts or those the
μεγίστας ἔχοντες ἀρχάς, ὅταν πολὺν χρόνον ἄρχωσιν).
greatest holding offices whenever long time they-hold-office
σῴζονται δ' αἱ πολιτεῖαι οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸ πόρρω εἶναι
are-preserved and the constitutions not only through the far to-be
τῶν διαφθειρόντων, ἀλλ' ἐνίοτε καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐγγύς·
from-the destroying(-things) but sometimes also through the near

φοβούμενοι γὰρ διὰ χειρῶν ἔχουσι μᾶλλον τὴν πολιτείαν.
fearing for in hands they-hold more the constitution
ὥστε δεῖ τοὺς τῆς πολιτείας φροντίζοντας φόβους
so-that one-must those for-the constitution caring fears
παρασκευάζειν, ἵνα φυλάττωσι καὶ μὴ καταλύωσιν ὥσπερ
to-provide so-that they-may-guard and not dissolve just-as
νυκτερινὴν φυλακὴν τὴν τῆς πολιτείας τήρησιν, καὶ τὸ
night watch the of-the constitution guarding and the
πόρρω ἐγγὺς ποιεῖν. ἔτι τὰς τῶν γνωρίμων φιλονικίας καὶ
far near to-make further the of-the notables rivalries and
στάσεις καὶ διὰ τῶν νόμων πειρᾶσθαι δεῖ φυλάττειν,
factions also through the laws to-try one-must to-guard
καὶ τοὺς ἔξω τῆς φιλονικίας ὄντας πρὶν παρειληφέναι
and those outside the rivalry being before to-have-taken-it-on
καὶ αὐτούς, ὡς τὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ γινόμενον κακὸν γνῶναι οὐ
also themselves since the in beginning arising evil to-recognize not
τοῦ τυχόντος ἀλλὰ πολιτικοῦ ἀνδρός. πρὸς δὲ τὴν διὰ
of-the chance(-man) but of-a-political man against and the through
τὰ τιμήματα γιγνομένην μεταβολὴν ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας
the property-qualifications arising change from oligarchy
καὶ πολιτείας, ὅταν συμβαίνῃ τοῦτο μενόντων μὲν τῶν
and polity whenever happens this remaining indeed the
αὐτῶν τιμημάτων εὐπορίας δὲ νομίσματος γιγνομένης,
same property-qualifications abundance and of-money arising
συμφέρει τοῦ τιμήματος ἐπισκοπεῖν τοῦ καινοῦ τὸ
it-is-advantageous of-the property-qualification to-examine of-the new the
πλῆθος πρὸς τὸ παρελθόν, ἐν ὅσαις μὲν πόλεσι
amount in-comparison-with the past in as-many-as indeed cities
τιμῶνται κατ᾽ ἐνιαυτόν, κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, ἐν δὲ
they-are-assessed by year by this the time in and
ταῖς μείζοσι διὰ τριετηρίδος ἢ πενταετηρίδος, κἂν ᾖ
the larger every third-year or fifth-year and-if it-is

πολλαπλάσιον ἢ πολλοστημόριον τοῦ πρότερον, ἐν ᾧ
many-times-greater or many-times-less than-the former in which
αἱ τιμήσεις κατέστησαν τῆς πολιτείας, νόμον εἶναι καὶ τὰ
the assessments were-established of-the constitution law to-be also the
τιμήματα ἐπιτείνειν ἢ ἀνιέναι, ἐὰν μὲν ὑπερβάλλῃ,
property-qualifications to-raise or to-lower if indeed it-exceeds
ἐπιτείνοντας κατὰ τὴν πολλαπλασίωσιν, ἐὰν δ' ἐλλείπῃ,
raising according-to the multiplication if and it-falls-short
ἀνιέντας καὶ ἐλάττω ποιοῦντας τὴν τίμησιν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ
lowering and less making the assessment in indeed for
ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις καὶ ταῖς πολιτείαις μὴ ποιούντων, οὕτως
the oligarchies and the polities not doing thus
μὲν ἔνθα μὲν ὀλιγαρχίαν ἔνθα δὲ δυναστείαν γίνεσθαι
indeed there indeed oligarchy there and dynasty to-arise
συμβαίνει, ἐκείνως δὲ ἐκ μὲν πολιτείας δημοκρατίαν,
it-happens in-the-other-way and from indeed polity democracy
ἐκ δ' ὀλιγαρχίας πολιτείαν ἢ δῆμον.
from and oligarchy polity or democracy
κοινὸν δὲ καὶ ἐν δήμῳ καὶ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ καὶ πάσῃ πολιτείᾳ
common and both in democracy and oligarchy and every constitution
μήτ' αὐξάνειν λίαν μηθένα παρὰ τὴν συμμετρίαν, ἀλλὰ
neither to-increase too-much no-one beyond the proportion but
μᾶλλον πειρᾶσθαι μικρὰς καὶ πολυχρονίους διδόναι τιμὰς
rather to-try small and long-lasting to-give honors
ἢ ταχὺ μεγάλας (διαφθείρονται γάρ, καὶ φέρειν οὐ παντὸς
than quickly great are-corrupted for and to-bear not of-every
ἀνδρὸς εὐτυχίαν), εἰ δὲ μή, μή τοί γ' ἀθρόας δόντας
man good-fortune if and not not surely at-least all-at-once having-given
ἀφαιρεῖσθαι πάλιν ἀθρόας, ἀλλ' ἐκ προσαγωγῆς· καὶ
to-take-away again all-at-once but by gradual-advance and
μάλιστα μὲν πειρᾶσθαι τοῖς νόμοις οὕτω ῥυθμίζειν ὥστε
most indeed to-try by-the laws so to-regulate so-that

μηδένα ἐγγίγνεσθαι πολὺ ὑπερέχοντα δυνάμει μήτε φίλων
no-one to-arise much exceeding in-power neither of-friends
μήτε χρημάτων, εἰ δὲ μή, ἀποδημητικὰς ποιεῖσθαι τὰς
nor of-money if and not abroad to-make the
παραστάσεις αὐτῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἰδίους βίους
removals of-them since and also through the private lives
νεωτερίζουσιν, δεῖ ἐμποιεῖν ἀρχήν τινα τὴν ἐποψομένην
they-make-revolution one-must to-create office some the about-to-oversee
τοὺς ζῶντας ἀσυμφόρως πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν, ἐν μὲν
those living inexpediently for the constitution in indeed
δημοκρατίᾳ πρὸς τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ἐν δὲ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ πρὸς τὴν
democracy for the democracy in and oligarchy for the
ὀλιγαρχίαν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτειῶν ἑκάστῃ. καὶ
oligarchy likewise and also of-the other constitutions for-each and
τὸ εὐημεροῦν δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀνὰ μέρος φυλάττεσθαι διὰ
the prospering and of-the city in turn to-guard-against through
τὰς αὐτὰς αἰτίας· τούτου δ' ἄκος τὸ αἰεὶ τοῖς ἀντικειμένοις
the same causes of-this and remedy the always to-the opposed
μορίοις ἐγχειρίζειν τὰς πράξεις καὶ τὰς ἀρχάς (λέγω δ'
parts to-entrust the actions and the offices I-mean and
ἀντικεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς τῷ πλήθει, καὶ τοὺς ἀπόρους τοῖς
to-be-opposed the decent to-the multitude and the poor to-the
εὐπόροις) καὶ τὸ πειρᾶσθαι ἢ συμμιγνύναι τὸ τῶν ἀπόρων
well-off and the to-try either to-mix the of-the poor
πλῆθος καὶ τὸ τῶν εὐπόρων ἢ τὸ μέσον αὔξειν (τοῦτο γὰρ
multitude and the of-the well-off or the middle to-increase this for
διαλύει τὰς διὰ τὴν ἀνισότητα στάσεις). μέγιστον δὲ ἐν
dissolves the through the inequality factions greatest and in
πάσῃ πολιτείᾳ τὸ καὶ τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ οἰκονομίᾳ
every constitution the both by-the laws and by-the other management
οὕτω τετάχθαι ὥστε μὴ εἶναι τὰς ἀρχὰς κερδαίνειν.
so to-have-been-arranged so-that not to-be-possible the offices to-profit

τοῦτο δὲ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχικαῖς δεῖ τηρεῖν. οὐ
this and most in the oligarchic(-ones) one-must to-watch-for not
γὰρ οὕτως ἀγανακτοῦσιν εἰργόμενοι τοῦ ἄρχειν οἱ πολλοί,
for so are-indignant being-kept-from the to-rule the many
ἀλλὰ καὶ χαίρουσιν ἐάν τις ἐᾷ πρὸς τοῖς ἰδίοις
but even rejoice if someone allows with the private(-affairs)
σχολάζειν, ὡς ἐὰν οἴωνται τὰ κοινὰ κλέπτειν τοὺς
to-be-at-leisure as if they-think the public(-funds) to-steal the
ἄρχοντας, τότε δ' ἀμφότερα λυπεῖ, τό τε τῶν τιμῶν μὴ
officials then and both grieve the both of-the honors not
μετέχειν καὶ τὸ τῶν κερδῶν· μοναχῶς δὲ καὶ ἐνδέχεται
to-share and the of-the gains in-one-way-only and also it-is-possible
ἅμα εἶναι δημοκρατίαν καὶ ἀριστοκρατίαν, εἰ τοῦτο
at-once to-be democracy and aristocracy if this
κατασκευάσειέ τις. ἐνδέχοιτο γὰρ ἂν καὶ τοὺς γνωρίμους
should-arrange anyone it-would-be-possible for — both the notables
καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἔχειν ἃ βούλονται ἀμφοτέρους. τὸ μὲν γὰρ
and the multitude to-have what they-wish both the indeed for
ἐξεῖναι πᾶσιν ἄρχειν δημοκρατικόν, τὸ δὲ τοὺς γνωρίμους
to-be-allowed to-all to-rule democratic the and the notables
εἶναι ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἀριστοκρατικόν, τοῦτο δ' ἔσται ὅταν
to-be in the offices aristocratic this and will-be whenever
μὴ ᾖ κερδαίνειν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχῶν· οἱ γὰρ ἄποροι οὐ
not it-is-possible to-profit from the offices the for poor not
βουλήσονται ἄρχειν τῷ μηδὲν κερδαίνειν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῖς
will-wish to-rule by-the nothing to-profit but with the
ἰδίοις εἶναι μᾶλλον, οἱ δὲ εὔποροι δυνήσονται διὰ τὸ
private(-affairs) to-be rather the and well-off will-be-able through the
μηδενὸς προσδεῖσθαι τῶν κοινῶν· ὥστε συμβήσεται τοῖς
of-nothing to-need-in-addition of-the public(-funds) so-that it-will-happen for-the

μὲν ἀπόροις γίγνεσθαι εὐπόροις διὰ τὸ διατρίβειν πρὸς τοῖς
indeed poor to-become well-off through the to-spend-time at the
ἔργοις, τοῖς δὲ γνωρίμοις μὴ ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων.
works for-the and notables not to-be-ruled by the chance(-people)
τοῦ μὲν οὖν μὴ κλέπτεσθαι τὰ κοινὰ ἡ παράδοσις
of-the indeed then not to-be-stolen the public(-funds) the handing-over
γιγνέσθω τῶν χρημάτων παρόντων πάντων τῶν πολιτῶν,
let-take-place of-the money being-present all the citizens
καὶ ἀντίγραφα κατὰ φατρίας καὶ λόχους καὶ φυλὰς
and copies by brotherhoods and companies and tribes
τιθέσθωσαν· τοῦ δὲ ἀκερδῶς ἄρχειν τιμὰς εἶναι δεῖ
let-them-deposit of-the and without-profit to-rule honors to-be must
νενομοθετημένας τοῖς εὐδοκιμοῦσιν. δεῖ δ' ἐν μὲν ταῖς
legally-established for-those having-good-repute one-must and in indeed the
δημοκρατίαις τῶν εὐπόρων φείδεσθαι, μὴ μόνον τῷ τὰς
democracies the well-off to-spare not only by-the the
κτήσεις μὴ ποιεῖν ἀναδάστους, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τοὺς καρπούς,
possessions not to-make redistributed but not-even the fruits
ὃ ἐν ἐνίαις τῶν πολιτειῶν λανθάνει γιγνόμενον, βέλτιον
which in some of-the constitutions escapes-notice happening better
δὲ καὶ βουλομένους κωλύειν λειτουργεῖν τὰς δαπανηρὰς
and even wishing to-prevent to-perform-public-services the expensive
μὲν μὴ χρησίμους δὲ λειτουργίας, οἷον χορηγίας καὶ
indeed not useful but public-services such-as choregies and
λαμπαδαρχίας καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι τοιαῦται· ἐν δ' ὀλιγαρχίᾳ
torch-race-masterships and as-many-as other such in and oligarchy
τῶν ἀπόρων ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖσθαι πολλὴν καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀφ'
of-the poor care to-take much and the offices from
ὧν λήμματα ἔστι τούτοις ἀπονέμειν, κἄν τις ὑβρίσῃ τῶν
which profits are to-these to-assign and-if anyone insults of-the
εὐπόρων εἰς τούτους, μείζω τὰ ἐπιτίμια εἶναι ἢ ἂν σφῶν
well-off against these greater the penalties to-be than if of-them

αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰς κληρονομίας μὴ κατὰ δόσιν εἶναι ἀλλὰ
themselves and the inheritances not by bequest to-be but
κατὰ γένος, μηδὲ πλειόνων ἢ μιᾶς τὸν αὐτὸν κληρονομεῖν.
by kin nor of-more than one the same to-inherit
οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ὁμαλώτεραι αἱ οὐσίαι εἶεν καὶ τῶν ἀπόρων
so for — more-level the properties would-be and of-the poor
εἰς εὐπορίαν ἂν καθίσταιντο πλείους. συμφέρει δὲ καὶ
into prosperity — would-come more it-is-advantageous and also
ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ καὶ ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ τῶν ἄλλων ἢ ἰσότητα
in democracy and in oligarchy of-the other(-things) either equality
ἢ προεδρίαν νέμειν τοῖς ἧττον κοινωνοῦσι τῆς πολιτείας,
or precedence to-assign to-those less sharing in-the constitution
ἐν μὲν δήμῳ τοῖς εὐπόροις, ἐν δ' ὀλιγαρχίᾳ τοῖς
in indeed democracy to-the well-off in and oligarchy to-the
ἀπόροις, πλὴν ὅσαι ἀρχαὶ κύριαι τῆς πολιτείας, ταύτας
poor except as-many-as offices sovereign of-the constitution these
δὲ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας ἐγχειρίζειν μόνοις ἢ πλείοσιν.
and to-those from the constitution to-entrust only or to-more

IX · LOYALTY, VIRTUE, AND EDUCATION

Those in the highest offices need loyalty, capacity, and the virtue and justice that suit the constitution. Whatever strengthens it saves it, above all a majority wanting it to last and the mean, since extremes destroy. Demagogues should seem to speak for the rich, and oligarchs should swear not to wrong the people. Greatest is education in the spirit of the constitution: an oligarch's son who lives softly and a democrat who lives as he likes undo their own constitutions.

Τρία δέ τινα χρὴ ἔχειν τοὺς μέλλοντας ἄρξειν τὰς
three and some-things must to-have those about to-hold the
κυρίας ἀρχάς, πρῶτον μὲν φιλίαν πρὸς τὴν καθεστῶσαν
sovereign offices first indeed friendship toward the established

πολιτείαν, ἔπειτα δύναμιν μεγίστην τῶν ἔργων τῆς ἀρχῆς,
constitution then capacity greatest of-the tasks of-the office
τρίτον δ' ἀρετὴν καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐν ἑκάστῃ πολιτείᾳ
third and virtue and justice in each constitution
τὴν πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν (εἰ γὰρ μὴ ταὐτὸν τὸ δίκαιον
the(-one) relative-to the constitution if for not the-same the just
κατὰ πάσας τὰς πολιτείας, ἀνάγκη καὶ τῆς δικαιοσύνης
in all the constitutions necessary also of-the justice
εἶναι διαφοράς). ἔχει δ' ἀπορίαν, ὅταν μὴ συμβαίνῃ
to-be differences it-has and difficulty whenever not happen
ταῦτα πάντα περὶ τὸν αὐτόν, πῶς χρὴ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν
these all about the same(-man) how one-must to-make the
αἵρεσιν· οἷον εἰ στρατηγικὸς μέν τις εἴη, πονηρὸς δὲ
choice such-as if fit-to-command indeed someone should-be wicked but
καὶ μὴ τῇ πολιτείᾳ φίλος, ὁ δὲ δίκαιος καὶ φίλος,
and not to-the constitution friendly the(-other) and just and friendly
πῶς δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν αἵρεσιν; ἔοικε δὲ δεῖν
how one-must to-make the choice it-seems and to-be-necessary
βλέπειν εἰς δύο, τίνος πλεῖον μετέχουσι πάντες καὶ τίνος
to-look to two of-what more share all and of-what
ἔλαττον· διὸ ἐν στρατηγίᾳ μὲν εἰς τὴν ἐμπειρίαν
less therefore in generalship indeed to the experience
μᾶλλον τῆς ἀρετῆς (ἔλαττον γὰρ στρατηγίας μετέχουσι,
more than-the virtue less for in-generalship they-share
τῆς δ' ἐπιεικείας πλεῖον), ἐν δὲ φυλακῇ καὶ ταμιείᾳ
in-the and decency more in and guarding and treasurership
τἀναντία (πλείονος γὰρ ἀρετῆς δεῖται ἢ ὅσην οἱ
the-opposite more for virtue it-needs than as-much-as the
πολλοὶ ἔχουσιν, ἡ δὲ ἐπιστήμη κοινὴ πᾶσιν).
many have the and knowledge common to-all

ἀπορήσειε δ' ἄν τις κἂν δύναμις ὑπάρχῃ καὶ τῆς
might-be-at-a-loss and — anyone even-if capacity exists and of-the
πολιτείας φιλία, τί δεῖ τῆς ἀρετῆς; ποιήσει γὰρ τὰ
constitution friendship what need of-the virtue will-do for the
συμφέροντα καὶ τὰ δύο. ἢ ὅτι ἐνδέχεται τοὺς τὰ δύο
advantageous(-things) even the two or because it-is-possible those the two
ταῦτα ἔχοντας ἀκρατεῖς εἶναι, ὥστε καθάπερ καὶ αὑτοῖς
these having uncontrolled to-be so-that just-as also themselves
οὐχ ὑπηρετοῦσιν εἰδότες καὶ φιλοῦντες αὑτούς, οὕτω καὶ
not they-serve knowing and loving themselves so also
πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν οὐθὲν κωλύει ἔχειν ἐνίους; ἁπλῶς δέ,
toward the common nothing prevents to-be some simply and
ὅσα ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ὡς συμφέροντα λέγομεν ταῖς
as-many-as in the laws as advantageous we-speak-of to-the
πολιτείαις, ἅπαντα ταῦτα σῴζει τὰς πολιτείας, καὶ τὸ
constitutions all these preserve the constitutions and the
πολλάκις εἰρημένον μέγιστον στοιχεῖον, τὸ τηρεῖν ὅπως
often stated greatest element the to-watch that
κρεῖττον ἔσται τὸ βουλόμενον τὴν πολιτείαν πλῆθος
stronger will-be the wishing the constitution multitude
τοῦ μὴ βουλομένου. παρὰ πάντα δὲ ταῦτα δεῖ μὴ
than-the not wishing beside all and these one-must not
λανθάνειν, ὃ νῦν λανθάνει τὰς παρεκβεβηκυίας πολιτείας,
to-escape-notice which now escapes-notice the deviant constitutions
τὸ μέσον· πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν δοκούντων δημοτικῶν λύει
the mean many for of-the seeming democratic(-measures) dissolve
τὰς δημοκρατίας καὶ τῶν ὀλιγαρχικῶν τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας. οἱ
the democracies and of-the oligarchic the oligarchies those
δ' οἰόμενοι ταύτην εἶναι μίαν ἀρετὴν ἕλκουσιν εἰς τὴν
and thinking this to-be the-only virtue drag(-it) to the
ὑπερβολήν, ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι καθάπερ ῥίς ἐστι παρεκβεβηκυῖα
excess not-knowing that just-as nose is having-deviated

μὲν τὴν εὐθύτητα τὴν καλλίστην πρὸς τὸ γρυπὸν ἢ τὸ
indeed from-the straightness the most-beautiful toward the hooked or the
σιμόν, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἔτι καλὴ καὶ χάριν ἔχουσα πρὸς τὴν
snub but nevertheless still beautiful and grace having to the
ὄψιν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἐπιτείνῃ τις ἔτι μᾶλλον εἰς τὴν
sight not indeed but if increases-it anyone still more toward the
ὑπερβολήν, πρῶτον μὲν ἀποβαλεῖ τὴν μετριότητα τοῦ
excess first indeed it-will-throw-away the moderation of-the
μορίου, τέλος δ' οὕτως ὥστε μηδὲ ῥῖνα ποιήσει φαίνεσθαι
part finally and so that not-even nose it-will-make to-appear
διὰ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν καὶ τὴν ἔλλειψιν τῶν ἐναντίων, τὸν
through the excess and the deficiency of-the opposites in-the
αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον ἔχει καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων μορίων,
same and manner it-is also about the other parts
συμβαίνει δὴ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας πολιτείας.
happens indeed this also about the other constitutions
καὶ γὰρ ὀλιγαρχίαν καὶ δημοκρατίαν ἔστιν ὥστ' ἔχειν
and for oligarchy and democracy it-is-possible so-as to-be
ἱκανῶς, καίπερ ἐξεστηκυίας τῆς βελτίστης τάξεως· ἐὰν δέ
adequately although having-departed-from the best order if but
τις ἐπιτείνῃ μᾶλλον ἑκατέραν αὐτῶν, πρῶτον μὲν χείρω
someone increases more each of-them first indeed worse
ποιήσει τὴν πολιτείαν, τέλος δ' οὐδὲ πολιτείαν. διὸ δεῖ
he-will-make the constitution finally and not-even a-constitution therefore must
τοῦτο μὴ ἀγνοεῖν τὸν νομοθέτην καὶ τὸν πολιτικόν, ποῖα
this not to-be-ignorant-of the lawgiver and the statesman what-kind
σῴζει τῶν δημοτικῶν καὶ ποῖα φθείρει τὴν δημοκρατίαν,
preserve of-the democratic(-measures) and what-kind destroy the democracy
καὶ ποῖα τῶν ὀλιγαρχικῶν τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν. οὐδετέραν μὲν
and what-kind of-the oligarchic the oligarchy neither indeed
γὰρ ἐνδέχεται αὐτῶν εἶναι καὶ διαμένειν ἄνευ τῶν εὐπόρων
for it-is-possible of-them to-be and to-endure without the well-off

καὶ τοῦ πλήθους, ἀλλ᾽ ὅταν ὁμαλότης γένηται τῆς οὐσίας,
and the multitude but whenever levelness arises of-the property
ἄλλην ἀνάγκη εἶναι ταύτην τὴν πολιτείαν, ὥστε φθείροντες
other necessary to-be this the constitution so-that destroying
τοῖς καθ᾽ ὑπεροχὴν νόμοις φθείρουσι τὰς πολιτείας.
by-the according-to excess laws they-destroy the constitutions
ἁμαρτάνουσι δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς
err and both in the democracies and in the
ὀλιγαρχίαις, ἐν μὲν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις οἱ δημαγωγοί, ὅπου
oligarchies in indeed the democracies the demagogues where
τὸ πλῆθος κύριον τῶν νόμων· δύο γὰρ ποιοῦσιν ἀεὶ τὴν
the multitude sovereign over-the laws two for they-make always the
πόλιν, μαχόμενοι τοῖς εὐπόροις, δεῖ δὲ τοὐναντίον αἰεὶ
city fighting with-the well-off one-must but the-opposite always
δοκεῖν λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῶν εὐπόρων, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις
to-seem to-speak on-behalf-of the well-off in and the oligarchies
ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τοὺς ὀλιγαρχικούς, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους
on-behalf-of the people the oligarchs and the oaths
ἐναντίους ἢ νῦν ὀμνύναι τοὺς ὀλιγαρχικούς· νῦν μὲν γὰρ
opposite than now to-swear the oligarchs now indeed for
ἐν ἐνίαις ὀμνύουσι "καὶ τῷ δήμῳ κακόνους ἔσομαι καὶ
in some they-swear and to-the people ill-disposed I-shall-be and
βουλεύσω ὅ τι ἂν ἔχω κακόν," χρὴ δὲ καὶ ὑπολαμβάνειν
I-shall-plan what ever — I-have evil one-must but both to-suppose
καὶ ὑποκρίνεσθαι τοὐναντίον, ἐπισημαινομένους ἐν τοῖς
and to-play-the-part-of the-opposite declaring in the
ὅρκοις ὅτι "οὐκ ἀδικήσω τὸν δῆμον."
oaths that not I-shall-wrong the people
μέγιστον δὲ πάντων τῶν εἰρημένων πρὸς τὸ διαμένειν τὰς
greatest and of-all the things-said for the to-endure the
πολιτείας, οὗ νῦν ὀλιγωροῦσι πάντες, τὸ παιδεύεσθαι πρὸς
constitutions which now neglect all the to-be-educated relative-to

τὰς πολιτείας. ὄφελος γὰρ οὐθὲν τῶν ὠφελιμωτάτων νόμων
the constitutions benefit for none of-the most-beneficial laws
καὶ συνδεδοξασμένων ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν πολιτευομένων, εἰ
and approved-together by all the sharing-in-government if
μὴ ἔσονται εἰθισμένοι καὶ πεπαιδευμένοι ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ,
not they-will-be habituated and educated in the constitution
εἰ μὲν οἱ νόμοι δημοτικοί, δημοτικῶς, εἰ δ' ὀλιγαρχικοί,
if indeed the laws democratic democratically if and oligarchic
ὀλιγαρχικῶς. εἴπερ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐφ' ἑνὸς ἀκρασία, ἔστι
oligarchically if-indeed for there-is in-the-case-of one-man incontinence there-is
καὶ ἐπὶ πόλεως. ἔστι δὲ τὸ πεπαιδεῦσθαι πρὸς τὴν
also in-the-case-of a-city it-is and the to-have-been-educated relative-to the
πολιτείαν οὐ τοῦτο, τὸ ποιεῖν οἷς χαίρουσιν οἱ ὀλιγαρχοῦντες
constitution not this the to-do what enjoy the oligarchs
ἢ οἱ δημοκρατίαν βουλόμενοι, ἀλλ' οἷς δυνήσονται
or those democracy wishing but by-which they-will-be-able
οἱ μὲν ὀλιγαρχεῖν οἱ δὲ δημοκρατεῖσθαι. νῦν δ'
the(-ones) indeed to-be-oligarchic the(-others) and to-be-democratic now and
ἐν μὲν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις οἱ τῶν ἀρχόντων υἱοὶ τρυφῶσιν, οἱ
in indeed the oligarchies the of-the officials sons live-luxuriously the
δὲ τῶν ἀπόρων γίγνονται γεγυμνασμένοι καὶ πεπονηκότες,
and of-the poor become trained and having-toiled
ὥστε καὶ βούλονται μᾶλλον καὶ δύνανται νεωτερίζειν·
so-that both they-wish more and are-able to-make-revolution
ἐν δὲ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ταῖς μάλιστα εἶναι δοκούσαις
in and the democracies the most to-be seeming
δημοκρατικαῖς τοὐναντίον τοῦ συμφέροντος καθέστηκεν,
democratic the-opposite of-the advantageous is-established
αἴτιον δὲ τούτου ὅτι κακῶς ὁρίζονται τὸ ἐλεύθερον.
cause and of-this that badly they-define the free

δύο γάρ ἐστιν οἷς ἡ δημοκρατία δοκεῖ ὡρίσθαι,
two for there-are by-which the democracy seems to-have-been-defined
τῷ τὸ πλεῖον εἶναι κύριον καὶ τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ
by-the the majority to-be sovereign and by-the freedom the indeed for
δίκαιον ἴσον δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἴσον δ' ὅ τι ἂν δόξῃ τῷ πλήθει,
just equal seems to-be equal and what ever — seems to-the multitude
τοῦτ' εἶναι κύριον, ἐλεύθερον δὲ τὸ ὅ τι ἂν βούληταί τις
this to-be sovereign free and the what ever — wishes anyone
ποιεῖν· ὥστε ζῇ ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις δημοκρατίαις ἕκαστος ὡς
to-do so-that lives in the such democracies each as
βούλεται, καὶ εἰς ὃ χρήζων, ὡς φησὶν Εὐριπίδης· τοῦτο δ'
he-wishes and for what craving as says Euripides this and
ἐστὶ φαῦλον· οὐ γὰρ δεῖ οἴεσθαι δουλείαν εἶναι τὸ ζῆν
is bad not for one-must to-think slavery to-be the to-live
πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν, ἀλλὰ σωτηρίαν. Ἐξ ὧν μὲν οὖν
according-to the constitution but preservation from what indeed then
αἱ πολιτεῖαι μεταβάλλουσι καὶ φθείρονται, καὶ διὰ τίνων
the constitutions change and are-destroyed and through what
σῴζονται καὶ διαμένουσιν, ὡς ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν τοσαῦτά ἐστιν.
are-preserved and endure as simply to-say so-much is

X · HOW MONARCHIES FALL

Kingship arose to protect the better sort against the people and is like aristocracy; tyranny arose from the people against the notables and gathers the vices of extreme democracy and oligarchy. Monarchies are attacked through injustice, fear, and contempt, as the Pisistratids and Philip were; a few are attacked for glory. A tyranny falls to a stronger opposite constitution or to faction in its own house, chiefly through hatred and contempt. Kingships fall by royal faction or tyrannical rule.

Λείπεται δ' ἐπελθεῖν καὶ περὶ μοναρχίας, ἐξ ὧν τε
it-remains and to-go-through also about monarchy from what both
φθείρεται καὶ δι' ὧν σῴζεσθαι πέφυκεν. σχεδὸν δὲ
it-is-destroyed and through what to-be-preserved it-is-natural nearly and
παραπλήσια τοῖς εἰρημένοις περὶ τὰς πολιτείας ἐστὶ καὶ
similar to-the things-said about the constitutions are also
τὰ συμβαίνοντα περὶ τὰς βασιλείας καὶ τὰς τυραννίδας.
the things-happening about the kingships and the tyrannies
ἡ μὲν γὰρ βασιλεία κατὰ τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν ἐστίν,
the indeed for kingship according-to the aristocracy is
ἡ δὲ τυραννὶς ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας τῆς ὑστάτης σύγκειται καὶ
the and tyranny from oligarchy the extreme is-composed and
δημοκρατίας· διὸ δὴ καὶ βλαβερωτάτη τοῖς ἀρχομένοις
democracy therefore indeed also most-harmful to-the ruled
ἐστίν, ἅτε ἐκ δυοῖν συγκειμένη κακῶν καὶ τὰς
it-is inasmuch-as from two composed evils and the
παρεκβάσεις καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἔχουσα τὰς παρ' ἀμφοτέρων
deviations and the errors having the from both
τῶν πολιτειῶν. ὑπάρχει δ' ἡ γένεσις εὐθὺς ἐξ ἐναντίων
the constitutions exists and the origin at-once from opposites
ἑκατέρᾳ τῶν μοναρχιῶν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ βασιλεία πρὸς
for-each of-the monarchies the indeed for kingship for
βοήθειαν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῖς ἐπιεικέσι γέγονεν, καὶ
help the against the people for-the decent has-arisen and
καθίσταται βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐπιεικῶν καθ' ὑπεροχὴν ἀρετῆς
is-established king from the decent by superiority of-virtue
ἢ πράξεων τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἢ καθ' ὑπεροχὴν τοιούτου
or of-actions the from the virtue or by superiority of-such
γένους, ὁ δὲ τύραννος ἐκ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἐπὶ
family the and tyrant from the people and the multitude against
τοὺς γνωρίμους, ὅπως ὁ δῆμος ἀδικῆται μηδὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν.
the notables so-that the people may-be-wronged nothing by them

φανερὸν δ' ἐκ τῶν συμβεβηκότων. σχεδὸν γὰρ οἱ
evident and from the things-that-have-happened nearly for the
πλεῖστοι τῶν τυράννων γεγόνασιν ἐκ δημαγωγῶν ὡς εἰπεῖν,
most of-the tyrants have-arisen from demagogues so to-speak
πιστευθέντες ἐκ τοῦ διαβάλλειν τοὺς γνωρίμους. αἱ μὲν γὰρ
having-been-trusted from the to-slander the notables the indeed for
τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον κατέστησαν τῶν τυραννίδων, ἤδη τῶν
in-this the way were-established of-the tyrannies already the
πόλεων ηὐξημένων, αἱ δὲ πρὸ τούτων ἔκ τε τῶν βασιλέων
cities having-grown the and before these from both the kings
παρεκβαινόντων τὰ πάτρια καὶ δεσποτικωτέρας ἀρχῆς
transgressing the ancestral(-customs) and more-despotic rule
ὀρεγομένων, αἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν αἱρετῶν ἐπὶ τὰς κυρίας ἀρχάς
desiring the and from those elected to the sovereign offices
(τὸ γὰρ ἀρχαῖον οἱ δῆμοι καθίστασαν πολυχρονίους τὰς
the for anciently the peoples appointed long-lasting the
δημιουργίας καὶ τὰς θεωρίας), αἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν ὀλιγαρχιῶν,
magistracies and the embassies the and from the oligarchies
αἱρουμένων ἕνα τινὰ κύριον ἐπὶ τὰς μεγίστας ἀρχάς. πᾶσι
choosing one someone sovereign over the greatest offices to-all
γὰρ ὑπῆρχε τοῖς τρόποις τούτοις τὸ κατεργάζεσθαι ῥᾳδίως,
for existed in-the ways these the to-accomplish easily
εἰ μόνον βουληθεῖεν, διὰ τὸ δύναμιν προϋπάρχειν τοῖς
if only they-wished through the power to-exist-beforehand to-some
μὲν βασιλικῆς ἀρχῆς τοῖς δὲ τὴν τῆς τιμῆς· οἷον Φείδων
indeed of-kingly office to-others and the of-the honor such-as Pheidon
μὲν περὶ Ἄργος καὶ ἕτεροι τύραννοι κατέστησαν βασιλείας
indeed about Argos and other tyrants were-established kingship
ὑπαρχούσης, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν καὶ Φάλαρις
existing the(-ones) and about — Ionia and Phalaris
ἐκ τῶν τιμῶν, Παναίτιος δ' ἐν Λεοντίνοις καὶ Κύψελος
from the honors Panaetius and in Leontini and Cypselus

ἐν Κορίνθῳ καὶ Πεισίστρατος Ἀθήνησι καὶ Διονύσιος ἐν
in Corinth and Pisistratus at-Athens and Dionysius in
Συρακούσαις καὶ ἕτεροι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐκ δημαγωγίας.
Syracuse and others in-the same way from demagoguery
καθάπερ οὖν εἴπομεν, ἡ βασιλεία τέτακται κατὰ τὴν
just-as then we-said the kingship is-ranked according-to the
ἀριστοκρατίαν. κατ᾽ ἀξίαν γάρ ἐστιν, ἢ κατ᾽ ἰδίαν
aristocracy according-to merit for it-is either by private
ἀρετὴν ἢ κατὰ γένους, ἢ κατ᾽ εὐεργεσίας, ἢ κατὰ ταῦτά
virtue or by birth or by benefactions or by these
τε καὶ δύναμιν. ἅπαντες γὰρ εὐεργετήσαντες ἢ δυνάμενοι
both and power all for having-done-benefits or being-able
τὰς πόλεις ἢ τὰ ἔθνη εὐεργετεῖν ἐτύγχανον τῆς τιμῆς
the cities or the nations to-benefit obtained the honor
ταύτης, οἱ μὲν κατὰ πόλεμον κωλύσαντες δουλεύειν,
this the(-ones) indeed in war having-prevented to-be-enslaved
ὥσπερ Κόδρος, οἱ δ᾽ ἐλευθερώσαντες, ὥσπερ Κῦρος,
just-as Codrus the(-ones) and having-freed just-as Cyrus
ἢ κτίσαντες ἢ κτησάμενοι χώραν, ὥσπερ οἱ Λακεδαιμονίων
or having-founded or having-acquired land just-as the of-Lacedaemonians
βασιλεῖς καὶ Μακεδόνων καὶ Μολοττῶν. βούλεται δ᾽
kings and of-Macedonians and of-Molossians wishes and
ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶναι φύλαξ, ὅπως οἱ μὲν κεκτημένοι τὰς
the king to-be guardian so-that those indeed having-acquired the
οὐσίας μηθὲν ἄδικον πάσχωσιν, ὁ δὲ δῆμος μὴ ὑβρίζηται
properties nothing unjust may-suffer the and people not be-insulted
μηθέν· ἡ δὲ τυραννίς, ὥσπερ εἴρηται πολλάκις, πρὸς
in-nothing the and tyranny just-as has-been-said often to
οὐδὲν ἀποβλέπει κοινόν, εἰ μὴ τῆς ἰδίας ὠφελείας χάριν.
nothing looks common if not of-the private benefit for-the-sake
ἔστι δὲ σκοπὸς τυραννικὸς μὲν τὸ ἡδύ, βασιλικὸς δὲ τὸ
is and aim tyrannical indeed the pleasant kingly and the

καλόν. διὸ καὶ τῶν πλεονεκτημάτων τὰ μὲν χρήματα
noble therefore also of-the advantages the indeed money
τυραννικά, τὰ δ' εἰς τιμὴν βασιλικὰ μᾶλλον· καὶ
tyrannical the(-ones) and for honor kingly rather and
φυλακὴ βασιλικὴ μὲν πολιτική, τυραννικὴ δὲ διὰ ξένων.
guard kingly indeed of-citizens tyrannical and through foreigners
ὅτι δ' ἡ τυραννὶς ἔχει κακὰ καὶ τὰ τῆς δημοκρατίας
that and the tyranny has evils both the(-evils) of-the democracy
καὶ τὰ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας, φανερόν· ἐκ μὲν ὀλιγαρχίας
and the(-evils) of-the oligarchy clear from indeed oligarchy
τὸ τὸ τέλος εἶναι πλοῦτον (οὕτω γὰρ καὶ διαμένειν
the the end to-be wealth so for also to-endure
ἀναγκαῖον μόνως τήν τε φυλακὴν καὶ τὴν τρυφήν), καὶ
necessary only the both guard and the luxury and
τὸ τῷ πλήθει μηδὲν πιστεύειν (διὸ καὶ τὴν παραίρεσιν
the the multitude in-nothing to-trust therefore also the removal
ποιοῦνται τῶν ὅπλων, καὶ τὸ κακοῦν τὸν ὄχλον καὶ τὸ ἐκ
they-make of-the arms and the to-maltreat the mob and the from
τοῦ ἄστεως ἀπελαύνειν καὶ διοικίζειν ἀμφοτέρων κοινόν,
the town to-drive-out and to-disperse of-both common
καὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ τῆς τυραννίδος), ἐκ δημοκρατίας
both of-the oligarchy and of-the tyranny from democracy
δὲ τὸ πολεμεῖν τοῖς γνωρίμοις καὶ διαφθείρειν λάθρᾳ καὶ
and the to-make-war on-the notables and to-destroy secretly and
φανερῶς καὶ φυγαδεύειν ὡς ἀντιτέχνους καὶ πρὸς τὴν
openly and to-banish as rivals and to the
ἀρχὴν ἐμποδίους, ἐκ γὰρ τούτων συμβαίνει γίγνεσθαι καὶ
rule obstacles from for these it-happens to-arise also
τὰς ἐπιβουλάς, τῶν μὲν ἄρχειν αὐτῶν βουλομένων,
the plots of-the(-ones) indeed to-rule themselves wishing
τῶν δὲ μὴ δουλεύειν. ὅθεν καὶ τὸ Περιάνδρου πρὸς
of-the(-others) and not to-be-slaves whence also the of-Periander to

Θρασύβουλον συμβούλευμά ἐστιν, ἡ τῶν ὑπερεχόντων
Thrasybulus advice is the of-the overtopping
σταχύων κόλουσις, ὡς δέον αἰεὶ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας τῶν
ears lopping as being-necessary always those overtopping of-the
πολιτῶν ἀναιρεῖν. Καθάπερ οὖν σχεδὸν ἐλέχθη, τὰς αὐτὰς
citizens to-do-away-with just-as then nearly was-said the same
ἀρχὰς δεῖ νομίζειν περί τε τὰς πολιτείας εἶναι τῶν
beginnings one-must to-think about both the constitutions to-be of-the
μεταβολῶν καὶ περὶ τὰς μοναρχίας· διά τε γὰρ ἀδικίαν
changes and about the monarchies through both for injustice
καὶ διὰ φόβον καὶ διὰ καταφρόνησιν ἐπιτίθενται πολλοὶ
and through fear and through contempt attack many
τῶν ἀρχομένων ταῖς μοναρχίαις, τῆς δὲ ἀδικίας μάλιστα
of-the ruled the monarchies of-the and injustice most
δι' ὕβριν, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν ἰδίων στέρησιν.
through insolence sometimes and also through the of-the private(-goods) deprivation
ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὰ τέλη ταὐτά, καθάπερ κἀκεῖ, καὶ περὶ
are and also the ends the-same just-as there-too also about
τὰς τυραννίδας καὶ τὰς βασιλείας· μέγεθος γὰρ ὑπάρχει
the tyrannies and the kingships greatness for exists
πλούτου καὶ τιμῆς τοῖς μονάρχοις, ὧν ἐφίενται πάντες.
of-wealth and honor for-the monarchs which desire all
τῶν δ' ἐπιθέσεων αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ σῶμα γίγνονται
of-the and attacks the(-ones) indeed against the body are
τῶν ἀρχόντων, αἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. αἱ
of-the rulers the(-others) and against the office the(-ones)
μὲν οὖν δι' ὕβριν ἐπὶ τὸ σῶμα. τῆς δ' ὕβρεως
indeed then through insolence against the body the and insolence
οὔσης πολυμεροῦς, ἕκαστον αὐτῶν αἴτιον γίγνεται τῆς
being many-sided each of-them cause becomes of-the
ὀργῆς· τῶν δ' ὀργιζομένων σχεδὸν οἱ πλεῖστοι τιμωρίας
anger of-those and angered nearly the most for-revenge

χάριν ἐπιτίθενται, ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ ὑπεροχῆς. οἷον ἡ μὲν
for-the-sake attack but not for-superiority such-as the indeed
τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν διὰ τὸ προπηλακίσαι μὲν τὴν
on-the Pisistratids through the to-have-insulted indeed the
Ἁρμοδίου ἀδελφὴν ἐπηρεάσαι δ᾽ Ἁρμόδιον (ὁ μὲν γὰρ
of-Harmodius sister to-have-slighted and Harmodius the indeed for
Ἁρμόδιος διὰ τὴν ἀδελφήν, ὁ δὲ Ἀριστογείτων διὰ
Harmodius through the sister — and Aristogeiton through
τὸν Ἁρμόδιον), ἐπεβούλευσαν δὲ καὶ Περιάνδρῳ τῷ ἐν
— Harmodius plotted and also against-Periander the in
Ἀμβρακίᾳ τυράννῳ διὰ τὸ συμπίνοντα μετὰ τῶν παιδικῶν
Ambracia tyrant through the drinking with the favorite
ἐρωτῆσαι αὐτὸν εἰ ἤδη ἐξ αὐτοῦ κύει, ἡ δὲ Φιλίππου
to-have-asked him if already by him she-is-pregnant the and of-Philip
ὑπὸ Παυσανίου διὰ τὸ ἐᾶσαι ὑβρισθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ
by Pausanias through the to-have-allowed to-be-insulted him by
τῶν περὶ Ἄτταλον, καὶ ἡ Ἀμύντου τοῦ μικροῦ ὑπὸ Δέρδα
those around Attalus and the of-Amyntas the little by Derdas
διὰ τὸ καυχήσασθαι εἰς τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἡ τοῦ
through the to-have-boasted about the youth of-him and the of-the
εὐνούχου Εὐαγόρᾳ τῷ Κυπρίῳ, διὰ γὰρ τὸ τὴν γυναῖκα
eunuch against-Evagoras the Cyprian through for the the wife
παρελέσθαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπέκτεινεν ὡς ὑβρισμένος.
to-have-taken-away the son of-him he-killed(-him) as having-been-insulted
πολλαὶ δ᾽ ἐπιθέσεις γεγένηνται καὶ διὰ τὸ εἰς τὸ
many and attacks have-arisen also through the in-respect-of the
σῶμα αἰσχῦναι τῶν μονάρχων τινάς. οἷον καὶ ἡ Κραταίου
body to-have-shamed of-the monarchs some such-as also the of-Crataeas
εἰς Ἀρχέλαον· αἰεὶ γὰρ βαρέως εἶχε πρὸς τὴν ὁμιλίαν,
against Archelaus always for heavily he-bore toward the intercourse
ὥστε ἱκανὴ καὶ ἐλάττων ἐγένετο πρόφασις, ἢ διότι τῶν
so-that sufficient even smaller became pretext or because of-the

θυγατέρων οὐδεμίαν ἔδωκεν ὁμολογήσας αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ τὴν
daughters none he-gave having-agreed to-him but the
μὲν προτέραν, κατεχόμενος ὑπὸ πολέμου πρὸς Σίρραν καὶ
indeed elder being-hard-pressed by war against Sirras and
Ἀρράβαιον, ἔδωκε τῷ βασιλεῖ τῷ τῆς Ἐλιμείας, τὴν δὲ
Arrabaeus he-gave to-the king the of-the Elimeia the and
νεωτέραν τῷ υἱεῖ Ἀμύντᾳ, οἰόμενος οὕτως ἂν ἐκεῖνον ἥκιστα
younger to-the son Amyntas thinking so — that-one least
διαφέρεσθαι καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας· ἀλλὰ τῆς γε
to-quarrel and the(-son) from the Cleopatra but of-the at-least
ἀλλοτριότητος ὑπῆρχεν ἀρχὴ τὸ βαρέως φέρειν πρὸς τὴν
estrangement existed beginning the heavily to-bear toward the
ἀφροδισιαστικὴν χάριν. συνεπέθετο δὲ καὶ Ἑλλανοκράτης ὁ
sexual favor attacked-with and also Hellanocrates the
Λαρισαῖος διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν· ὡς γὰρ χρώμενος αὐτοῦ
Larisaean through the same cause as for using of-him
τῇ ἡλικίᾳ οὐ κατῆγεν ὑποσχόμενος, δι' ὕβριν καὶ οὐ δι'
the youth not he-restored-him having-promised through insolence and not through
ἐρωτικὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ᾤετο εἶναι τὴν γεγενημένην ὁμιλίαν.
erotic desire he-thought to-be the having-taken-place intercourse
Πύθων δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλείδης οἱ Αἴνιοι Κότυν διέφθειραν
Python and and Heraclides the Aenians Cotys destroyed
τῷ πατρὶ τιμωροῦντες, Ἀδάμας δ' ἀπέστη Κότυος διὰ
for-the father avenging Adamas and revolted from-Cotys through
τὸ ἐκτμηθῆναι παῖς ὢν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὡς ὑβρισμένος.
the to-have-been-castrated child being by him as having-been-insulted
πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ εἰς τὸ σῶμα αἰκισθῆναι
many and also through the in-respect-of the body to-be-maltreated
πληγαῖς ὀργισθέντες οἱ μὲν διέφθειραν οἱ
with-blows having-been-angered the(-ones) indeed destroyed the(-others)
δ' ἐνεχείρησαν ὡς ὑβρισθέντες, καὶ τῶν περὶ τὰς
and attempted as having-been-insulted even of-those about the

ἀρχὰς καὶ βασιλικὰς δυναστείας. οἷον ἐν Μυτιλήνῃ
offices and kingly dynasties such-as in Mytilene
τοὺς Πενθιλίδας Μεγακλῆς περιόντας καὶ τύπτοντας
the Penthilids Megacles going-about and striking
ταῖς κορύναις ἐπιθέμενος μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἀνεῖλεν, καὶ
with-the clubs having-attacked with the friends did-away-with and
ὕστερον Σμέρδης Πενθίλον πληγὰς λαβὼν καὶ παρὰ τῆς
later Smerdis Penthilus blows having-received and from the
γυναικὸς ἐξελκυσθεὶς διέφθειρεν. καὶ τῆς Ἀρχελάου
wife having-been-dragged-away destroyed and of-the of-Archelaus
δ' ἐπιθέσεως Δεκάμνιχος ἡγεμὼν ἐγένετο, παροξύνων
and attack Decamnichus leader became urging-on
τοὺς ἐπιθεμένους πρῶτος· αἴτιον δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς ὅτι
those attacking first cause and of-the anger that
αὐτὸν ἐξέδωκε μαστιγῶσαι Εὐριπίδῃ τῷ ποιητῇ· ὁ δ'
him he-handed-over to-flog to-Euripides the poet — and
Εὐριπίδης ἐχαλέπαινεν εἰπόντος τι αὐτοῦ εἰς δυσωδίαν
Euripides was-angry having-said something him about bad-smell
τοῦ στόματος. καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ πολλοὶ διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας
of-the mouth and others and many through such causes
οἱ μὲν ἀνῃρέθησαν οἱ δ' ἐπεβουλεύθησαν.
the(-ones) indeed were-done-away-with the(-others) and were-plotted-against
ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ διὰ φόβον· ἓν γάρ τι τοῦτο τῶν αἰτίων
likewise and also through fear one for some this of-the causes
ἦν, ὥσπερ καὶ περὶ τὰς πολιτείας καὶ τὰς μοναρχίας·
was just-as also about the constitutions and the monarchies
οἷον Ξέρξην Ἀρταπάνης φοβούμενος τὴν διαβολὴν τὴν
such-as Xerxes Artapanes fearing the accusation the
περὶ Δαρεῖον, ὅτι ἐκρέμασεν οὐ κελεύσαντος Ξέρξου, ἀλλ'
about Darius that he-hanged(-him) not having-ordered Xerxes but
οἰόμενος συγγνώσεσθαι ὡς ἀμνημονοῦντα διὰ τὸ δειπνεῖν.
thinking to-be-going-to-forgive as not-remembering through the to-dine

αἱ δὲ διὰ καταφρόνησιν, ὥσπερ Σαρδανάπαλλον
the(-attacks) and through contempt just-as Sardanapallus
ἰδών τις ξαίνοντα μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν (εἰ ἀληθῆ ταῦτα
having-seen someone carding with the women if true these
οἱ μυθολογοῦντες λέγουσιν· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐπ' ἐκείνου,
the myth-tellers say if and not in-the-case-of that-one
ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἄλλου γε ἂν γένοιτο τοῦτο ἀληθές), καὶ
but in-the-case-of another at-least — might-be this true and
Διονυσίῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ Δίων ἐπέθετο διὰ τὸ καταφρονεῖν,
against-Dionysius the later Dion attacked through the to-despise
ὁρῶν τούς τε πολίτας οὕτως ἔχοντας καὶ αὐτὸν ἀεὶ
seeing the both citizens so being and him always
μεθύοντα. καὶ τῶν φίλων δέ τινες ἐπιτίθενται διὰ
drunk and of-the friends and some attack through
καταφρόνησιν· διὰ γὰρ τὸ πιστεύεσθαι καταφρονοῦσιν
contempt through for the to-be-trusted they-despise
ὡς λήσοντες. καὶ οἱ οἰόμενοι δύνασθαι κατασχεῖν
as going-to-escape-notice and those thinking to-be-able to-seize
τὴν ἀρχὴν τρόπον τινὰ διὰ τὸ καταφρονεῖν ἐπιτίθενται·
the rule in-a-way some through the to-despise attack
ὡς δυνάμενοι γὰρ καὶ καταφρονοῦντες τοῦ κινδύνου διὰ
as being-able for and despising the danger through
τὴν δύναμιν ἐπιχειροῦσι ῥᾳδίως, ὥσπερ οἱ στρατηγοῦντες
the power they-attempt easily just-as those being-generals
τοῖς μονάρχοις, οἷον Κῦρος Ἀστυάγει καὶ τοῦ βίου
to-the monarchs such-as Cyrus against-Astyages both the life
καταφρονῶν καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως διὰ τὸ τὴν μὲν δύναμιν
despising and the power through the the indeed power
ἐξηργηκέναι αὐτὸν δὲ τρυφᾶν, καὶ Σεύθης ὁ Θρᾷξ
to-have-become-idle him and to-live-luxuriously and Seuthes the Thracian
Ἀμαδόκῳ στρατηγὸς ὤν. οἱ δὲ καὶ διὰ πλείω
against-Amadocus general being the(-others) and also through more

τούτων ἐπιτίθενται, οἷον καὶ καταφρονοῦντες καὶ διὰ
of-these attack such-as both despising and through
κέρδος, ὥσπερ Ἀριοβαρζάνῃ Μιθριδάτης. μάλιστα δὲ διὰ
gain just-as against-Ariobarzanes Mithridates most and through
ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν ἐγχειροῦσιν οἱ τὴν φύσιν μὲν θρασεῖς,
this the cause attempt those the nature indeed bold
τιμὴν δ' ἔχοντες πολεμικὴν παρὰ τοῖς μονάρχοις· ἀνδρεία
honor and having military among the monarchs courage
γὰρ δύναμιν ἔχουσα θράσος ἐστίν, δι' ἃς ἀμφοτέρας,
for power having boldness is through which both
ὡς ῥᾳδίως κρατήσοντες, ποιοῦνται τὰς ἐπιθέσεις.
as easily going-to-prevail make the attacks
τῶν δὲ διὰ φιλοτιμίαν ἐπιτιθεμένων ἕτερος τρόπος ἐστὶ
of-those and through ambition attacking another manner there-is
τῆς αἰτίας παρὰ τοὺς εἰρημένους πρότερον. οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ
of-the cause beside those mentioned before not for just-as
ἔνιοι τοῖς τυράννοις ἐπιχειροῦσιν ὁρῶντες κέρδη τε μεγάλα
some the tyrants attempt seeing gains both great
καὶ τιμὰς μεγάλας οὔσας αὐτοῖς, οὕτω καὶ τῶν διὰ
and honors great being for-them so also of-those through
φιλοτιμίαν ἐπιτιθεμένων ἕκαστος προαιρεῖται κινδυνεύειν·
ambition attacking each chooses to-run-risk
ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν διὰ τὴν εἰρημένην αἰτίαν, οὗτοι δ' ὥσπερ
but those indeed through the stated cause these and just-as
κἂν ἄλλης τινὸς γενομένης πράξεως περιττῆς καὶ δι'
even-if of-other some arising action extraordinary and through
ἣν ὀνομαστοὶ γίγνονται καὶ γνώριμοι τοῖς ἄλλοις, οὕτω
which famous they-become and known to-the others so
καὶ τοῖς μονάρχοις ἐγχειροῦσιν, οὐ κτήσασθαι βουλόμενοι
also the monarchs they-attempt not to-acquire wishing
μοναρχίαν ἀλλὰ δόξαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐλάχιστοί γε τὸν
monarchy but glory not indeed but fewest at-least in-the

ἀριθμόν εἰσιν οἱ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν ὁρμῶντες·
number are those through this the cause setting-out
ὑποκεῖσθαι γὰρ δεῖ τὸ τοῦ σωθῆναι μηδὲν φροντίζειν,
to-be-presupposed for one-must the of-the to-be-saved nothing to-care
ἂν μὴ μέλλῃ κατασχήσειν τὴν πρᾶξιν. οἷς ἀκολουθεῖν
if not he-is-going to-succeed-in the action for-whom to-follow
μὲν δεῖ τὴν Δίωνος ὑπόληψιν, οὐ ῥᾴδιον δ' αὐτὴν
indeed one-must the of-Dion conception not easy but it
ἐγγενέσθαι πολλοῖς· ἐκεῖνος γὰρ μετ' ὀλίγων ἐστράτευσεν
to-arise in-many that-one for with few marched
ἐπὶ Διονύσιον οὕτως ἔχειν φάσκων ὡς, ὅπου περ ἂν
against Dionysius so to-be-disposed saying that where ever —
δύνηται προελθεῖν, ἱκανὸν αὐτῷ τοσοῦτον μετασχεῖν τῆς
he-can to-advance sufficient for-himself so-much to-have-shared of-the
πράξεως, οἷον εἰ μικρὸν ἐπιβάντα τῆς γῆς εὐθὺς συμβαίη
action such-as if a-little having-set-foot of-the land at-once it-should-happen
τελευτῆσαι, τοῦτον καλῶς ἔχειν αὐτῷ τὸν θάνατον.
to-die this well to-be for-himself the death
Φθείρεται δὲ τυραννὶς ἕνα μὲν τρόπον, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν
is-destroyed and tyranny one indeed way just-as also of-the
ἄλλων ἑκάστη πολιτειῶν, ἔξωθεν, ἐὰν ἐναντία τις ᾖ
other each constitutions from-outside if opposite some is
πολιτεία κρειττων (τὸ μὲν γὰρ βούλεσθαι δῆλον ὡς
constitution stronger the indeed for to-wish clear that
ὑπάρξει διὰ τὴν ἐναντιότητα τῆς προαιρέσεως· ἃ
will-exist through the opposition of-the choice what(-things)
δὲ βούλονται, δυνάμενοι πράττουσι πάντες), ἐναντίαι δ'
and they-wish being-able they-do all opposite and
αἱ πολιτεῖαι, δῆμος μὲν τυραννίδι καθ' Ἡσίοδον ὡς
the constitutions democracy indeed to-tyranny according-to Hesiod as
κεραμεῖ κεραμεύς (καὶ γὰρ ἡ δημοκρατία ἡ τελευταία
to-potter potter and for the democracy the last

τυραννίς ἐστιν), βασιλεία δὲ καὶ ἀριστοκρατία διὰ τὴν
tyranny is kingship and and aristocracy through the
ἐναντιότητα τῆς πολιτείας (διὸ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πλείστας
opposition of-the constitution therefore Lacedaemonians very-many
κατέλυσαν τυραννίδας καὶ Συρακούσιοι κατὰ τὸν χρόνον
overthrew tyrannies and Syracusans during the time
ὃν ἐπολιτεύοντο καλῶς)· ἕνα δ' ἐξ αὐτῆς, ὅταν οἱ
when they-were-governed well one and from itself whenever those
μετέχοντες στασιάζωσιν, ὥσπερ ἡ τῶν περὶ Γέλωνα
sharing form-factions just-as the of-those around Gelon
καὶ νῦν ἡ τῶν περὶ Διονύσιον. ἡ μὲν Γέλωνος
and now the of-those around Dionysius the indeed of-Gelon
Θρασυβούλου τοῦ Ἱέρωνος ἀδελφοῦ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Γέλωνος
Thrasybulus the of-Hiero brother the son — of-Gelon
δημαγωγοῦντος καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὰς ὁρμῶντος, ἵν' αὐτὸς
leading-as-demagogue and toward pleasures urging so-that himself
ἄρχῃ, τῶν δὲ οἰκείων συστησάντων, ἵνα μὴ τυραννὶς
he-might-rule the and kinsmen having-combined so-that not tyranny
ὅλως καταλυθῇ ἀλλὰ Θρασύβουλος, οἱ δὲ συστάντες
entirely be-overthrown but Thrasybulus those and having-combined
αὐτῶν, ὡς καιρὸν ἔχοντες, ἐξέβαλον ἅπαντας αὐτούς·
of-them as opportunity having expelled all them
Διονύσιον δὲ Δίων στρατεύσας, κηδεστὴς ὢν καὶ
Dionysius and Dion having-marched relative-by-marriage being and
προσλαβὼν τὸν δῆμον, ἐκεῖνον ἐκβαλὼν διεφθάρη.
having-taken-in the people that-one having-expelled perished
δύο δὲ οὐσῶν αἰτιῶν δι' ἃς μάλιστ' ἐπιτίθενται ταῖς
two and being causes through which most they-attack the
τυραννίσι, μίσους καὶ καταφρονήσεως, θάτερον μὲν δεῖ
tyrannies of-hatred and of-contempt the(-one) indeed must
τούτων ὑπάρχειν τοῖς τυράννοις, τὸ μῖσος, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ
of-these to-exist for-the tyrants the hatred from and the

καταφρονεῖσθαι πολλαὶ γίνονται τῶν καταλύσεων. σημεῖον
to-be-despised many arise of-the overthrows sign
δέ· τῶν μὲν γὰρ κτησαμένων οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ διεφύλαξαν
and of-those indeed for having-acquired(-them) the most also preserved
τὰς ἀρχάς, οἱ δὲ παραλαβόντες εὐθὺς ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀπολλύουσι
the rules those and having-inherited at-once so to-speak they-destroy
πάντες. ἀπολαυστικῶς γὰρ ζῶντες εὐκαταφρόνητοί τε
all pleasurably for living contemptible both
γίνονται καὶ πολλοὺς καιροὺς παραδιδόασι τοῖς
they-become and many opportunities give-over to-those
ἐπιτιθεμένοις. μόριον δέ τι τοῦ μίσους καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν
attacking part and some of-the hatred also the anger
δεῖ τιθέναι· τρόπον γάρ τινα τῶν αὐτῶν αἰτία γίνεται
one-must to-posit way for some of-the same cause becomes
πράξεων. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ πρακτικώτερον τοῦ μίσους·
actions often and also more-active than-the hatred
συντονώτερον γὰρ ἐπιτίθενται διὰ τὸ μὴ χρῆσθαι λογισμῷ
more-intensely for they-attack through the not to-use reasoning
τὸ πάθος (μάλιστα δὲ συμβαίνει τοῖς θυμοῖς ἀκολουθεῖν
the passion most and it-happens the angers to-follow
διὰ τὴν ὕβριν, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἥ τε τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν
through the insolence through which cause the both of-the Pisistratids
κατελύθη τυραννὶς καὶ πολλαὶ τῶν ἄλλων), ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον
was-overthrown tyranny and many of-the others but more
τὸ μῖσος· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὀργὴ μετὰ λύπης πάρεστιν, ὥστε
the hatred the indeed for anger with pain is-present so-that
οὐ ῥᾴδιον λογίζεσθαι, ἡ δ' ἔχθρα ἄνευ λύπης.
not easy to-reason the and enmity without pain
ὡς δὲ ἐν κεφαλαίοις εἰπεῖν, ὅσας αἰτίας εἰρήκαμεν
as and in summary to-say as-many-as causes we-have-mentioned
τῆς τε ὀλιγαρχίας τῆς ἀκράτου καὶ τελευταίας καὶ τῆς
of-the both oligarchy the unmixed and extreme and of-the

δημοκρατίας τῆς ἐσχάτης, τοσαύτας καὶ τῆς τυραννίδος
democracy the last so-many also of-the tyranny
θετέον· καὶ γὰρ αὗται τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι διαιρεταὶ
one-must-posit and for these happen being divided
τυραννίδες. Βασιλεία δ' ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν ἔξωθεν ἥκιστα
tyrannies kingship and by indeed those from-outside least
φθείρεται, διὸ καὶ πολυχρόνιός ἐστιν· ἐξ αὐτῆς δ'
is-destroyed therefore also long-lasting it-is from itself and
αἱ πλεῖσται φθοραὶ συμβαίνουσιν. φθείρεται δὲ κατὰ δύο
the most destructions happen it-is-destroyed and in two
τρόπους, ἕνα μὲν στασιασάντων τῶν μετεχόντων τῆς
ways one indeed having-formed-factions those sharing of-the
βασιλείας, ἄλλον δὲ τρόπον τυραννικώτερον πειρωμένων
kingship another and way more-tyrannically trying
διοικεῖν, ὅταν εἶναι κύριοι πλειόνων ἀξιῶσι καὶ παρὰ τὸν
to-administer whenever to-be sovereign over-more they-claim and contrary-to the
νόμον. οὐ γίγνονται δ' ἔτι βασιλεῖαι νῦν, ἀλλ' ἄν περ
law not arise and any-longer kingships now but if ever
γίγνωνται, μοναρχίαι καὶ τυραννίδες μᾶλλον, διὰ τὸ τὴν
they-arise monarchies and tyrannies rather through the the
βασιλείαν ἑκούσιον μὲν ἀρχὴν εἶναι, μειζόνων δὲ κυρίαν,
kingship voluntary indeed rule to-be over-greater(-things) and sovereign
πολλοὺς δ' εἶναι τοὺς ὁμοίους, καὶ μηδένα διαφέροντα
many and to-be the alike and no-one differing
τοσοῦτον ὥστε ἀπαρτίζειν πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα
so-much so-as to-be-fitted to the greatness and the dignity
τῆς ἀρχῆς. ὥστε διὰ μὲν τοῦτο ἑκόντες οὐχ ὑπομένουσιν·
of-the office so-that through indeed this willingly not they-endure
ἂν δὲ δι' ἀπάτης ἄρξῃ τις ἢ βίας, ἤδη δοκεῖ τοῦτο εἶναι
if and through deceit rules anyone or force at-once seems this to-be
τυραννίς. ἐν δὲ ταῖς κατὰ γένος βασιλείαις τιθέναι δεῖ
tyranny in and the by family kingships to-posit one-must

τῆς φθορᾶς αἰτίαν πρὸς ταῖς εἰρημέναις καὶ τὸ γίνεσθαι
of-the destruction cause besides the stated also the to-become
πολλοὺς εὐκαταφρονήτους, καὶ τὸ δύναμιν μὴ κεκτημένους
many contemptible and the power not having-acquired
τυραννικὴν ἀλλὰ βασιλικὴν τιμὴν ὑβρίζειν· ῥᾳδία γὰρ ἐγίνετο
tyrannical but kingly honor to-be-insolent easy for became
ἡ κατάλυσις· μὴ βουλομένων γὰρ εὐθὺς οὐκ ἔσται βασιλεύς,
the overthrow not wishing for at-once not will-be king
ἀλλ' ὁ τύραννος καὶ μὴ βουλομένων. Φθείρονται μὲν οὖν
but the tyrant and not wishing are-destroyed indeed then
αἱ μοναρχίαι διὰ ταύτας καὶ τοιαύτας ἑτέρας αἰτίας.
the monarchies through these and such other causes

XI · HOW MONARCHIES ARE PRESERVED

Kingship lasts by moderation, as the Molossian and Spartan kingships show. Tyranny is preserved in two ways. The old way cuts down outstanding men, forbids common meals and clubs, keeps subjects poor, busy, and distrustful of one another, and employs informers. The other way plays the king: the tyrant keeps public funds as a steward, appears grave and pious, honors the good, makes no one great, avoids outrage, takes the stronger party to his side, and lives temperately.

Σῴζονται δὲ δῆλον ὡς ἁπλῶς μὲν εἰπεῖν ἐκ τῶν
are-preserved and clear that simply indeed to-say from the
ἐναντίων, ὡς δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον τῷ τὰς μὲν βασιλείας
opposites as and by each by-the the indeed kingships
ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὸ μετριώτερον. ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν ἐλαττόνων
to-lead to the more-moderate by-as-much for — over-fewer
ὦσι κύριοι, πλείω χρόνον ἀναγκαῖον μένειν πᾶσαν τὴν
they-are sovereign more time necessary to-remain all the
ἀρχήν· αὐτοί τε γὰρ ἧττον γίγνονται δεσποτικοὶ καὶ τοῖς
rule themselves both for less become despotic and in-the

ἤθεσιν ἴσοι μᾶλλον, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων φθονοῦνται
characters equal more and by the ruled are-envied
ἧττον. διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ περὶ Μολοττοὺς πολὺν
less through for this also the among Molossians long
χρόνον βασιλεία διέμεινεν, καὶ ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων διὰ τὸ
time kingship endured and the of-Lacedaemonians through the
ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε εἰς δύο μέρη διαιρεθῆναι τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ
from beginning both into two parts to-have-been-divided the rule and
πάλιν Θεοπόμπου μετριάσαντος τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τὴν
again Theopompus having-moderated in-the both other(-things) and the
τῶν ἐφόρων ἀρχὴν ἐπικαταστήσαντος· τῆς γὰρ δυνάμεως
of-the ephors office having-established-in-addition of-the for power
ἀφελὼν ηὔξησε τῷ χρόνῳ τὴν βασιλείαν, ὥστε
having-taken-away he-increased in-the time the kingship so-that
τρόπον τινὰ ἐποίησεν οὐκ ἐλάττον᾽ ἀλλὰ μείζονα αὐτήν.
in-a-way some he-made not smaller but greater it
ὅπερ καὶ πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα ἀποκρίνασθαί φασιν αὐτόν,
which-very also to the wife to-have-answered they-say him
εἰποῦσαν εἰ μηδὲν αἰσχύνεται τὴν βασιλείαν ἐλάττω
having-said if not-at-all he-is-ashamed the kingship smaller
παραδιδοὺς τοῖς υἱέσιν ἢ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς παρέλαβεν·
handing-over to-the sons than from the father he-received
“οὐ δῆτα” φάναι· “παραδίδωμι γὰρ πολυχρονιωτέραν.”
not indeed to-say I-hand-over for longer-lasting
Αἱ δὲ τυραννίδες σῴζονται κατὰ δύο τρόπους τοὺς
the and tyrannies are-preserved in two ways the
ἐναντιωτάτους, ὧν ἄτερός ἐστιν ὁ παραδεδομένος
most-opposite of-which the(-one) is the handed-down
καὶ καθ᾽ ὃν διοικοῦσιν οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν τυράννων
and according-to which administer the most of-the tyrants
τὴν ἀρχήν. τούτων δὲ τὰ πολλά φασι καταστῆσαι
the rule of-these and the many(-things) they-say to-have-established

Περίανδρον τὸν Κορίνθιον· πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῆς
Periander the Corinthian many and also from the
Περσῶν ἀρχῆς ἔστι τοιαῦτα λαβεῖν. ἔστι δὲ τά
of-Persians rule it-is-possible such to-take are and the
τε πάλαι λεχθέντα πρὸς σωτηρίαν, ὡς οἷόν τε, τῆς
both of-old spoken(-things) for preservation as possible — of-the
τυραννίδος, τὸ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας κολούειν καὶ τοὺς
tyranny the the overtopping to-lop and the
φρονηματίας ἀναιρεῖν, καὶ μήτε συσσίτια ἐᾶν μήτε
proud to-do-away-with and neither common-meals to-allow nor
ἑταιρίαν μήτε παιδείαν μήτε ἄλλο μηθὲν τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ
club nor education nor other anything such but
πάντα φυλάττειν ὅθεν εἴωθε γίγνεσθαι δύο, φρόνημά
all to-guard-against whence are-wont to-arise two pride
τε καὶ πίστις, καὶ μήτε σχολὰς μήτε ἄλλους συλλόγους
both and trust and neither schools nor other gatherings
ἐπιτρέπειν γίγνεσθαι σχολαστικούς, καὶ πάντα ποιεῖν ἐξ
to-permit to-arise leisured and all to-do from
ὧν ὅτι μάλιστα ἀγνῶτες ἀλλήλοις ἔσονται πάντες (ἡ
which as most unknown to-one-another will-be all the
γὰρ γνῶσις πίστιν ποιεῖ μᾶλλον πρὸς ἀλλήλους)· καὶ
for knowledge trust makes more toward one-another and
τὸ τοὺς ἐπιδημοῦντας αἰεὶ φανεροὺς εἶναι καὶ διατρίβειν
the the residents always visible to-be and to-spend-time
περὶ θύρας (οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἥκιστα λανθάνοιεν τί
at doors so for — least they-would-escape-notice what
πράττουσι, καὶ φρονεῖν ἂν ἐθίζοιντο μικρὸν αἰεὶ
they-do and to-think — they-would-be-accustomed small always
δουλεύοντες)· καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα τοιαῦτα Περσικὰ καὶ
being-slaves and the(-other) as-many-as such Persian and
βάρβαρα τυραννικά ἐστιν (πάντα γὰρ ταὐτὸν δύναται)· καὶ
barbarian tyrannical are all for the-same can and

τὸ μὴ λανθάνειν πειρᾶσθαι ὅσα τυγχάνει τις λέγων
the not to-escape-notice to-try as-many-as happens someone saying
ἢ πράττων τῶν ἀρχομένων, ἀλλ᾽ εἶναι κατασκόπους, οἷον
or doing of-the ruled but to-be spies such-as
περὶ Συρακούσας αἱ ποταγωγίδες καλούμεναι, καὶ τοὺς
at Syracuse the informers called and the
ὠτακουστὰς ἐξέπεμπεν Ἱέρων, ὅπου τις εἴη συνουσία καὶ
eavesdroppers sent-out Hiero wherever any was meeting and
σύλλογος (παρρησιάζονταί τε γὰρ ἧττον, φοβούμενοι τοὺς
gathering speak-freely both for less fearing the
τοιούτους, κἂν παρρησιάζωνται, λανθάνουσιν ἧττον)· καὶ τὸ
such and-if they-speak-freely they-escape-notice less and the
διαβάλλειν ἀλλήλοις καὶ συγκρούειν καὶ φίλους φίλοις
to-set-at-odds with-one-another and to-make-clash and friends with-friends
καὶ τὸν δῆμον τοῖς γνωρίμοις καὶ τοὺς πλουσίους ἑαυτοῖς.
and the people with-the notables and the rich with-themselves
καὶ τὸ πένητας ποιεῖν τοὺς ἀρχομένους τυραννικόν, ὅπως
and the poor to-make the ruled tyrannical so-that
μήτε φυλακὴ τρέφηται καὶ πρὸς τῷ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ὄντες
neither guard be-maintained and with the by day being
ἄσχολοι ὦσιν ἐπιβουλεύειν. παράδειγμα δὲ τούτου αἵ
occupied they-may-be to-plot example and of-this the
τε πυραμίδες αἱ περὶ Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα τῶν
both pyramids the in Egypt and the offerings of-the
Κυψελιδῶν καὶ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου ἡ οἰκοδόμησις ὑπὸ τῶν
Cypselids and of-the Olympian the building by the
Πεισιστρατιδῶν, καὶ τῶν περὶ Σάμον, ἔργα Πολυκράτεια,
Pisistratids and of-the about Samos works Polycratean
(πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα δύναται ταὐτόν, ἀσχολίαν καὶ πενίαν
all for these can the-same lack-of-leisure and poverty
τῶν ἀρχομένων)· καὶ ἡ εἰσφορὰ τῶν τελῶν, οἷον ἐν
of-the ruled and the levy of-the taxes such-as in

Συρακούσαις (ἐν πέντε γὰρ ἔτεσιν ἐπὶ Διονυσίου τὴν οὐσίαν
Syracuse in five for years under Dionysius the property
ἅπασαν εἰσενηνοχέναι συνέβαινεν). ἔστι δὲ καὶ πολεμοποιὸς
whole to-have-paid-in it-happened is and also war-making
ὁ τύραννος, ὅπως δὴ ἄσχολοί τε ὦσι καὶ ἡγεμόνος ἐν
the tyrant so-that indeed occupied both they-may-be and of-a-leader in
χρείᾳ διατελῶσιν ὄντες. καὶ ἡ μὲν βασιλεία σῴζεται διὰ
need may-continue being and the indeed kingship is-preserved through
τῶν φίλων, τυραννικὸν δὲ τὸ μάλιστ᾽ ἀπιστεῖν τοῖς φίλοις,
the friends tyrannical and the most to-distrust the friends
ὡς βουλομένων μὲν πάντων, δυναμένων δὲ μάλιστα τούτων.
as wishing indeed all being-able and most these
καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν δὲ γιγνόμενα τὴν
and the(-things) about the democracy also happening the
τελευταίαν τυραννικὰ πάντα, γυναικοκρατία τε περὶ τὰς
last tyrannical all rule-of-women both in the
οἰκίας, ἵν᾽ ἐξαγγέλλωσι κατὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ δούλων
households so-that they-may-report against the husbands and of-slaves
ἄνεσις διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν· οὔτε γὰρ ἐπιβουλεύουσιν
license through the same cause neither for plot
οἱ δοῦλοι καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες τοῖς τυράννοις, εὐημεροῦντάς
the slaves and the women against-the tyrants faring-well
τε ἀναγκαῖον εὔνους εἶναι καὶ ταῖς τυραννίσι καὶ
both necessary well-disposed to-be both to-the tyrannies and
ταῖς δημοκρατίαις· καὶ γὰρ ὁ δῆμος εἶναι βούλεται
to-the democracies and for the people to-be wishes
μόναρχος. διὸ καὶ ὁ κόλαξ παρ᾽ ἀμφοτέροις ἔντιμος,
monarch therefore also the flatterer with both honored
παρὰ μὲν τοῖς δήμοις ὁ δημαγωγός (ἔστι γὰρ ὁ
with indeed the peoples the demagogue is for the
δημαγωγὸς τοῦ δήμου κόλαξ), παρὰ δὲ τοῖς τυράννοις οἱ
demagogue of-the people flatterer with and the tyrants those

ταπεινῶς ὁμιλοῦντες, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἔργον κολακείας. καὶ γὰρ
humbly associating which is work of-flattery and for
διὰ τοῦτο φιλοπόνηρον ἡ τυραννίς· κολακευόμενοι γὰρ
through this fond-of-the-wicked the tyranny being-flattered for
χαίρουσιν, τοῦτο δ' οὐδ' ἂν εἷς ποιήσειε φρόνημα ἔχων
they-rejoice this and not-even — one would-do pride having
ἐλεύθερον, ἀλλὰ φιλοῦσιν οἱ ἐπιεικεῖς ἢ οὐ κολακεύουσιν.
free but love the decent or not flatter
καὶ χρήσιμοι οἱ πονηροὶ εἰς τὰ πονηρά· ἥλῳ γὰρ ὁ
and useful the wicked for the wicked(-things) by-nail for the
ἦλος, ὥσπερ ἡ παροιμία. καὶ τὸ μηδενὶ χαίρειν σεμνῷ μηδ'
nail just-as the proverb and the in-no-one to-delight dignified nor
ἐλευθέρῳ τυραννικόν· αὑτὸν γὰρ εἶναι μόνον ἀξιοῖ τοιοῦτον
free tyrannical himself for to-be alone claims such
ὁ τύραννος, ὁ δ' ἀντισεμνυνόμενος καὶ ἐλευθεριάζων
the tyrant the(-one) and acting-with-counter-dignity and acting-freely
ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν ὑπεροχὴν καὶ τὸ δεσποτικὸν τῆς τυραννίδος·
takes-away the superiority and the despotism of-the tyranny
μισοῦσιν οὖν ὥσπερ καταλύοντας τὴν ἀρχήν. καὶ τὸ
they-hate then as-if overthrowing the rule and the
χρῆσθαι συσσίτοις καὶ συνημερευταῖς ξενικοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ
to-use messmates and companions foreign rather than
πολιτικοῖς τυραννικόν, ὡς τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους τοὺς
citizen tyrannical as the(-ones) indeed enemies the(-others)
δ' οὐκ ἀντιποιουμένους. ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τυραννικὰ
and not contending these and the such tyrannical
μὲν καὶ σωτήρια τῆς ἀρχῆς, οὐθὲν δ' ἐλλείπει μοχθηρίας.
indeed and preservative of-the rule nothing and lacks of-wickedness
ἔστι δ' ὡς εἰπεῖν πάντα ταῦτα περιειλημμένα τρισὶν
are and so to-speak all these comprised in-three
εἴδεσιν. στοχάζεται γὰρ ἡ τυραννὶς τριῶν, ἑνὸς μὲν τοῦ
kinds aims for the tyranny at-three one indeed the

μικρὰ φρονεῖν τοὺς ἀρχομένους (οὐθενὶ γὰρ ἂν μικρόψυχος
small to-think the ruled no-one for — small-souled
ἐπιβουλεύσειεν), δευτέρου δὲ τοῦ διαπιστεῖν ἀλλήλοις (οὐ
would-plot second and the to-distrust one-another not
καταλύεται γὰρ πρότερον τυραννὶς πρὶν ἢ πιστεύσωσί
is-overthrown for before tyranny before than trust
τινες ἑαυτοῖς· διὸ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιεικέσι πολεμοῦσιν ὡς
some themselves therefore also on-the decent they-make-war as
βλαβεροῖς πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀξιοῦν
harmful to the rule not only through the not to-claim
ἄρχεσθαι δεσποτικῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ πιστοὺς καὶ
to-be-ruled despotically but also through the faithful both
ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις εἶναι καὶ μὴ καταγορεύειν μήτε
to-themselves and to-the others to-be and not to-inform neither
ἑαυτῶν μήτε τῶν ἄλλων)· τρίτον δ' ἀδυναμία τῶν
on-themselves nor on-the others third and incapacity of-the
πραγμάτων (οὐθεὶς γὰρ ἐπιχειρεῖ τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις, ὥστε
affairs no-one for attempts the impossible so-that
οὐδὲ τυραννίδα καταλύειν μὴ δυνάμεως ὑπαρχούσης). εἰς
not-even tyranny to-overthrow not power existing to
οὓς μὲν οὖν ὅρους ἀνάγεται τὰ βουλήματα τῶν τυράννων,
which indeed then marks are-referred the wishes of-the tyrants
οὗτοι τρεῖς τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες· πάντα γὰρ ἀναγάγοι τις
these three happen being all for would-refer anyone
ἂν τὰ τυραννικὰ πρὸς ταύτας τὰς ὑποθέσεις, τὰ
— the tyrannical(-measures) to these the hypotheses the(-ones)
μὲν ὅπως μὴ πιστεύωσιν ἀλλήλοις, τὰ δ' ὅπως μὴ
indeed that not they-may-trust one-another the(-ones) and that not
δύνωνται, τὰ δ' ὅπως μικρὸν φρονῶσιν.
they-may-be-able the(-ones) and that small they-may-think

Ὁ μὲν οὖν εἷς τρόπος δι᾽ οὗ γίγνεται σωτηρία
the indeed then one way through which arises preservation
ταῖς τυραννίσι τοιοῦτός ἐστιν· ὁ δ᾽ ἕτερος σχεδὸν ἐξ
for-the tyrannies such is the and other nearly from
ἐναντίας ἔχει τοῖς εἰρημένοις τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν. ἔστι δὲ
opposite has to-the things-said the care it-is-possible and
λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς φθορᾶς τῆς τῶν βασιλειῶν. ὥσπερ
to-grasp it from the destruction of-the of-the kingships just-as
γὰρ τῆς βασιλείας εἷς τρόπος τῆς φθορᾶς τὸ ποιεῖν
for of-the kingship one way of-the destruction the to-make
τὴν ἀρχὴν τυραννικωτέραν, οὕτω τῆς τυραννίδος σωτηρία
the rule more-tyrannical so of-the tyranny preservation
ποιεῖν αὐτὴν βασιλικωτέραν, ἓν φυλάττοντα μόνον,
to-make it more-kingly one(-thing) guarding only
τὴν δύναμιν, ὅπως ἄρχῃ μὴ μόνον βουλομένων ἀλλὰ
the power so-that he-may-rule not only willing(-people) but
καὶ μὴ βουλομένων. προϊέμενος γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο προΐεται
also not willing having-let-go for also this he-lets-go
καὶ τὸ τυραννεῖν. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ὥσπερ ὑπόθεσιν δεῖ
also the to-be-tyrant but this indeed just-as hypothesis must
μένειν, τὰ δ᾽ ἄλλα τὰ μὲν ποιεῖν τὰ δὲ δοκεῖν
to-remain the and others the(-things) indeed to-do the(-things) and to-seem
ὑποκρινόμενον τὸν βασιλικὸν καλῶς. πρῶτον μὲν φροντίζειν
playing-the-part-of the kingly well first indeed to-care-for
τῶν κοινῶν, μήτε δαπανῶντα εἰς δωρεὰς τοιαύτας ἐφ᾽
the public(-funds) neither spending on gifts such at
αἷς τὰ πλήθη χαλεπαίνουσιν, ὅταν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν μὲν
which the multitudes are-angry whenever from them indeed
λαμβάνωσιν ἐργαζομένων καὶ πονούντων γλίσχρως, διδῶσι
they-take working and toiling stingily they-give
δ᾽ ἑταίραις καὶ ξένοις καὶ τεχνίταις ἀφθόνως, λόγον τε
and to-courtesans and foreigners and craftsmen lavishly account both

ἀποδιδόντα τῶν λαμβανομένων καὶ δαπανωμένων, ὅπερ
rendering of-the things-received and spent which-very
ἤδη πεποιήκασί τινες τῶν τυράννων (οὕτω γὰρ ἄν τις
already have-done some of-the tyrants so for — anyone
διοικῶν οἰκονόμος ἀλλ᾽ οὐ τύραννος εἶναι δόξειεν· οὐ
administering household-manager but not tyrant to-be would-seem not
δεῖ δὲ φοβεῖσθαι μή ποτε ἀπορήσῃ χρημάτων, κύριος
one-must and to-fear lest ever he-be-at-a-loss for-money sovereign
ὢν τῆς πόλεως· ἀλλὰ τοῖς γ᾽ ἐκτοπίζουσι τυράννοις
being of-the city but for-the at-least leaving-their-country tyrants
ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας καὶ συμφέρει τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἢ
from the home also it-is-advantageous this more than
καταλιπεῖν ἀθροίσαντας· ἧττον γὰρ ἂν οἱ φυλάττοντες
to-leave-behind having-collected less for — those guarding
ἐπιτιθεῖντο τοῖς πράγμασιν, εἰσὶ δὲ φοβερώτεροι τῶν
would-attack the affairs are and more-fearsome of-the
τυράννων τοῖς ἀποδημοῦσιν οἱ φυλάττοντες τῶν
tyrants to-those going-abroad those guarding than-the
πολιτῶν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ συναποδημοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ ὑπομένουσιν)·
citizens the indeed for go-abroad-with(-them) the and stay-behind
ἔπειτα τὰς εἰσφορὰς καὶ τὰς λειτουργίας δεῖ φαίνεσθαι
then the levies and the public-services one-must to-appear
τῆς τε οἰκονομίας ἕνεκα συνάγοντα, κἄν ποτε δεηθῇ
of-the both household-management for-the-sake collecting and-if ever he-needs
χρῆσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμικοὺς καιρούς, ὅλως τε αὑτὸν
to-use for the military occasions generally both himself
παρασκευάζειν φύλακα καὶ ταμίαν ὡς κοινῶν ἀλλὰ
to-prepare guardian and steward as of-common(-funds) but
μὴ ὡς ἰδίων· καὶ φαίνεσθαι μὴ χαλεπὸν ἀλλὰ σεμνόν,
not as of-private and to-appear not harsh but dignified
ἔτι δὲ τοιοῦτον ὥστε μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας
further and such so-that not to-fear those meeting(-him)

ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον αἰδεῖσθαι, τούτου μέντοι τυγχάνειν οὐ ῥᾴδιον
but more to-respect this however to-attain not easy
ὄντα εὐκαταφρόνητον, διὸ δεῖ κἂν μὴ τῶν ἄλλων
being contemptible therefore one-must even-if not of-the other
ἀρετῶν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιῆται ἀλλὰ τῆς πολεμικῆς, καὶ
virtues care he-takes but of-the military and
δόξαν ἐμποιεῖν περὶ αὑτοῦ τοιαύτην· ἔτι δὲ μὴ μόνον
reputation to-create about himself such further and not only
αὐτὸν φαίνεσθαι μηθένα τῶν ἀρχομένων ὑβρίζοντα, μήτε
himself to-appear no-one of-the ruled insulting neither
νέον μήτε νέαν, ἀλλὰ μηδ' ἄλλον μηδένα τῶν
young-man nor young-woman but not-even other anyone of-those
περὶ αὐτόν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰς οἰκείας ἔχειν γυναῖκας
around him likewise and also the of-his-household to-have women
πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας, ὡς καὶ διὰ γυναικῶν ὕβρεις πολλαὶ
toward the other(-women) since also through women's insults many
τυραννίδες ἀπολώλασιν· περί τε τὰς ἀπολαύσεις τὰς
tyrannies have-perished about both the enjoyments the
σωματικὰς τοὐναντίον ποιεῖν ἢ νῦν τινες τῶν τυράννων
bodily the-opposite to-do than now some of-the tyrants
ποιοῦσιν (οὐ γὰρ μόνον εὐθὺς ἕωθεν τοῦτο δρῶσιν, καὶ
do not for only at-once from-dawn this they-do and
συνεχῶς πολλὰς ἡμέρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ φαίνεσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις
continuously many days but also to-appear to-the others
βούλονται τοῦτο πράττοντες, ἵν' ὡς εὐδαίμονας καὶ
they-wish this doing so-that as happy and
μακαρίους θαυμάσωσιν), ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν μετριάζειν
blessed they-may-admire(-them) but most indeed to-be-moderate
τοῖς τοιούτοις, εἰ δὲ μή, τό γε φαίνεσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις
in-the such-things if and not the at-least to-appear to-the others
διαφεύγειν (οὔτε γὰρ εὐεπίθετος οὔτ' εὐκαταφρόνητος
to-avoid neither for easy-to-attack nor easy-to-despise

ὁ νήφων, ἀλλ' ὁ μεθύων, οὐδ' ὁ ἄγρυπνος, ἀλλ' ὁ
the sober(-man) but the drunk nor the wakeful but the
καθεύδων)· τοὐναντίον τε ποιητέον τῶν πάλαι λεχθέντων
sleeping the-opposite both must-be-done of-the long-ago things-said
σχεδὸν πάντων· κατασκευάζειν γὰρ δεῖ καὶ κοσμεῖν τὴν
nearly all to-build-up for one-must and to-adorn the
πόλιν ὡς ἐπίτροπον ὄντα καὶ μὴ τύραννον· ἔτι δὲ τὰ
city as guardian being and not tyrant further and the(-things)
πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς φαίνεσθαι ἀεὶ σπουδάζοντα διαφερόντως
relating-to the gods to-appear always being-zealous exceptionally
(ἧττόν τε γὰρ φοβοῦνται τὸ παθεῖν τι παράνομον
less both for they-fear the to-suffer anything unlawful
ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων, ἐὰν δεισιδαίμονα νομίζωσιν εἶναι τὸν
by the such if god-fearing they-think to-be the
ἄρχοντα καὶ φροντίζειν τῶν θεῶν, καὶ ἐπιβουλεύουσιν
ruler and to-care-for the gods and they-plot
ἧττον ὡς συμμάχους ἔχοντι καὶ τοὺς θεούς), δεῖ δὲ
less as allies having also the gods one-must and
ἄνευ ἀβελτερίας φαίνεσθαι τοιοῦτον· τούς τε ἀγαθοὺς
without foolishness to-appear such the both good
περί τι γιγνομένους τιμᾶν οὕτως ὥστε μὴ νομίζειν ἄν
in something becoming to-honor so so-that not to-think —
ποτε τιμηθῆναι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν αὐτονόμων
ever to-have-been-honored more by the citizens autonomous
ὄντων, καὶ τὰς μὲν τοιαύτας τιμὰς ἀπονέμειν αὐτόν, τὰς
being and the indeed such honors to-assign himself the
δὲ κολάσεις δι' ἑτέρων ἀρχόντων καὶ δικαστηρίων.
and punishments through other officials and law-courts
κοινὴ δὲ φυλακὴ πάσης μοναρχίας τὸ μηθένα ποιεῖν ἕνα
common and safeguard of-every monarchy the no-one to-make one
μέγαν, ἀλλ' εἴπερ, πλείους (τηρήσουσι γὰρ ἀλλήλους), ἐὰν δ'
great but if-indeed more they-will-watch for one-another if and

ἄρα τινὰ δέῃ ποιῆσαι μέγαν, μή τοι τό γε ἦθος
after-all someone it-is-necessary to-make great not surely the at-least character
θρασύν (ἐπιθετικώτατον γὰρ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἦθος περὶ πάσας
bold most-enterprising for the such character about all
τὰς πράξεις), κἂν τῆς δυνάμεώς τινα δοκῇ παραλύειν, ἐκ
the actions and-if of-the power someone he-decides to-strip by
προσαγωγῆς τοῦτο δρᾶν καὶ μὴ πᾶσαν ἀθρόον ἀφαιρεῖσθαι
gradual-advance this to-do and not all all-at-once to-take-away
τὴν ἐξουσίαν. ἔτι δὲ πάσης μὲν ὕβρεως εἴργεσθαι, παρὰ
the license further and of-all indeed insolence to-refrain beyond
πάσας δὲ δυοῖν, τῆς τε εἰς τὰ σώματα καὶ τῆς εἰς τὴν
all but two the both on the bodies and the on the
ἡλικίαν. μάλιστα δὲ ταύτην ποιητέον τὴν εὐλάβειαν περὶ
youth most and this must-be-made the caution about
τοὺς φιλοτίμους· τὴν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰ χρήματα ὀλιγωρίαν
the ambitious the indeed for for the money slight
οἱ φιλοχρήματοι φέρουσι βαρέως, τὴν δ' εἰς ἀτιμίαν οἵ
the money-lovers bear heavily the and for dishonor the
τε φιλότιμοι καὶ οἱ ἐπιεικεῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων. διόπερ ἢ
both ambitious and the decent of-the men therefore either
μὴ χρῆσθαι δεῖ τοῖς τοιούτοις, ἢ τὰς μὲν κολάσεις
not to-use one-must the such or the indeed punishments
πατρικῶς φαίνεσθαι ποιούμενον καὶ μὴ δι' ὀλιγωρίαν,
paternally to-appear making and not through slight
τὰς δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡλικίαν ὁμιλίας δι' ἐρωτικὰς αἰτίας
the and with the youth associations through erotic causes
ἀλλὰ μὴ δι' ἐξουσίαν, ὅλως δὲ τὰς δοκούσας ἀτιμίας
but not through license generally and the seeming dishonors
ἐξωνεῖσθαι μείζοσι τιμαῖς. τῶν δ' ἐπιχειρούντων ἐπὶ τὴν
to-buy-off with-greater honors of-those and attempting against the
τοῦ σώματος διαφθορὰν οὗτοι φοβερώτατοι καὶ δέονται
of-the body destruction these most-fearsome and need

πλείστης φυλακῆς, ὅσοι μὴ προαιροῦνται περιποιεῖσθαι
most guard as-many-as not choose to-preserve
τὸ ζῆν διαφθείραντες. διὸ μάλιστα εὐλαβεῖσθαι δεῖ
the to-live having-destroyed(-him) therefore most to-beware-of one-must
τοὺς ὑβρίζεσθαι νομίζοντας ἢ αὐτοὺς ἢ ὧν κηδόμενοι
those to-be-insulted thinking either themselves or those-whom caring-for
τυγχάνουσιν· ἀφειδῶς γὰρ ἑαυτῶν ἔχουσιν οἱ διὰ θυμὸν
they-happen unsparingly for of-themselves are those through anger
ἐπιχειροῦντες, καθάπερ καὶ Ἡράκλειτος εἶπε, χαλεπὸν
attempting just-as also Heraclitus said hard
φάσκων εἶναι θυμῷ μάχεσθαι, ψυχῆς γὰρ ὠνεῖσθαι.
saying to-be with-anger to-fight with-life for to-buy
ἐπεὶ δ' αἱ πόλεις ἐκ δύο συνεστήκασι μορίων, ἔκ
since and the cities from two consist parts from
τε τῶν ἀπόρων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν εὐπόρων, μάλιστα
both the poor men and the well-off most
μὲν ἀμφοτέρους ὑπολαμβάνειν δεῖ σῴζεσθαι διὰ τὴν
indeed both to-suppose one-must to-be-preserved through the
ἀρχήν, καὶ τοὺς ἑτέρους ὑπὸ τῶν ἑτέρων ἀδικεῖσθαι
rule and the ones by the others to-be-wronged
μηδέν, ὁπότεροι δ' ἂν ὦσι κρείττους, τούτους ἰδίους
in-nothing whichever and — are stronger these his-own
μάλιστα ποιεῖσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὡς, ἂν ὑπάρξῃ τοῦτο τοῖς
most to-make of-the rule as if exists this for-the
πράγμασιν, οὔτε δούλων ἐλευθέρωσιν ἀνάγκη ποιεῖσθαι
affairs neither of-slaves liberation necessary to-make
τὸν τύραννον οὔτε ὅπλων παραίρεσιν· ἱκανὸν γὰρ θάτερον
the tyrant nor of-arms removal sufficient for the(-one)
μέρος πρὸς τῇ δυνάμει προστιθέμενον ὥστε κρείττους εἶναι
part to the power added so-that stronger to-be
τῶν ἐπιτιθεμένων. περίεργον δὲ τὸ λέγειν καθ' ἕκαστον
than-the attackers superfluous and the to-speak by each

τῶν τοιούτων· ὁ γὰρ σκοπὸς φανερός, ὅτι δεῖ μὴ
of-the such the for aim clear that one-must not
τυραννικὸν ἀλλ' οἰκονόμον καὶ βασιλικὸν εἶναι φαίνεσθαι
tyrannical but household-manager and kingly to-be to-appear
τοῖς ἀρχομένοις καὶ μὴ σφετεριστὴν ἀλλ' ἐπίτροπον, καὶ
to-the ruled and not usurper but guardian and
τὰς μετριότητας τοῦ βίου διώκειν, μὴ τὰς ὑπερβολάς,
the moderations of-the life to-pursue not the excesses
ἔτι δὲ τοὺς μὲν γνωρίμους καθομιλεῖν, τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς
further and the indeed notables to-cultivate the and many
δημαγωγεῖν. ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀναγκαῖον οὐ μόνον τὴν
to-lead-as-demagogue from for these necessary not only the
ἀρχὴν εἶναι καλλίω καὶ ζηλωτοτέραν τῷ βελτιόνων ἄρχειν
rule to-be finer and more-enviable by-the better(-people) to-rule
καὶ μὴ τεταπεινωμένων μηδὲ μισούμενον καὶ φοβούμενον
and not humbled nor hated and feared
διατελεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναι πολυχρονιωτέραν, ἔτι
to-continue but also the rule to-be longer-lasting further
δ' αὐτὸν διακεῖσθαι κατὰ τὸ ἦθος ἤτοι καλῶς πρὸς ἀρετὴν
and himself to-be-disposed in the character either well toward virtue
ἢ ἡμίχρηστον ὄντα, καὶ μὴ πονηρὸν ἀλλ' ἡμιπόνηρον.
or half-good being and not wicked but half-wicked

XII · THE SHORTEST-LIVED CONSTITUTIONS

Oligarchy and tyranny are the shortest-lived constitutions. The longest tyranny was that of Orthagoras and his sons at Sicyon, then the Cypselids at Corinth and the Pisistratids at Athens. Socrates' account of change in the Republic *is criticized: he gives no change peculiar to the best constitution, makes changes follow a single order, ignores that tyranny may become oligarchy, democracy, or aristocracy, wrongly calls oligarchy two cities, and names a single cause, the impoverishment of the prodigal, where changes have many causes.*

Καίτοι πασῶν ὀλιγοχρονιώτεραι τῶν πολιτειῶν εἰσιν
and-yet of-all shorter-lived of-the constitutions are
ὀλιγαρχία καὶ τυραννίς. πλεῖστον γὰρ ἐγένετο χρόνον ἡ
oligarchy and tyranny longest for was time the
περὶ Σικυῶνα τυραννίς, ἡ τῶν Ὀρθαγόρου παίδων καὶ
at Sicyon tyranny the of-the of-Orthagoras sons and
αὐτοῦ Ὀρθαγόρου· ἔτη δ' αὕτη διέμεινεν ἑκατόν. τούτου δ'
of-himself Orthagoras years and this lasted a-hundred of-this and
αἴτιον ὅτι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐχρῶντο μετρίως καὶ πολλὰ
cause that the ruled they-treated moderately and in-many(-things)
τοῖς νόμοις ἐδούλευον, καὶ διὰ τὸ πολεμικὸς γενέσθαι
the laws they-were-slaves-to and through the warlike to-have-been
Κλεισθένης οὐκ ἦν εὐκαταφρόνητος, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ταῖς
Cleisthenes not was contemptible and the most(-things) by-the
ἐπιμελείαις ἐδημαγώγουν. λέγεται γοῦν Κλεισθένης τὸν
attentions they-courted-the-people is-said at-least Cleisthenes the
ἀποκρίναντα τῆς νίκης αὐτὸν ὡς ἐστεφάνωσεν· ἔνιοι δ'
having-judged-against of-the victory him that crowned some and
εἰκόνα φασὶν εἶναι τοῦ κρίναντος οὕτως τὸν ἀνδριάντα
statue say to-be of-the having-judged thus the statue
τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καθήμενον. φασὶ δὲ καὶ Πεισίστρατον
the in the market-place seated they-say and also Pisistratus
ὑπομεῖναί ποτε προσκληθέντα δίκην εἰς Ἄρειον πάγον.
to-have-submitted once summoned to-trial to Ares' hill
δευτέρα δὲ περὶ Κόρινθον ἡ τῶν Κυψελιδῶν· καὶ γὰρ αὕτη
second and at Corinth the of-the Cypselids for also this
διετέλεσεν ἔτη τρία καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἓξ μῆνας· Κύψελος
lasted years three and seventy and six months Cypselus
μὲν γὰρ ἐτυράννησεν ἔτη τριάκοντα, Περίανδρος δὲ
indeed for was-tyrant years thirty Periander and
τετταράκοντα καὶ ἥμισυ, Ψαμμήτιχος δ' ὁ Γόργου τρία
forty and a-half Psammetichus and the (son)-of-Gorgus three

ἔτη. τὰ δ' αἴτια ταὐτὰ καὶ ταύτης· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Κύψελος
years the and causes the-same also of-this the indeed for Cypselus
δημαγωγὸς ἦν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν διετέλεσεν ἀδορυφόρητος,
demagogue was and during the rule continued without-bodyguard
Περίανδρος δ' ἐγένετο μὲν τυραννικός, ἀλλὰ πολεμικός.
Periander and became indeed tyrannical but warlike
τρίτη δ' ἡ τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν Ἀθήνησιν. οὐκ ἐγένετο
third and the of-the Pisistratids at-Athens not was
δὲ συνεχής· δὶς γὰρ ἔφυγε Πεισίστρατος τυραννῶν· ὥστ'
and continuous twice for fled Pisistratus being-tyrant so-that
ἐν ἔτεσι τριάκοντα καὶ τρισὶν ἑπτακαίδεκα ἔτη τούτων
in years thirty and three seventeen years of-these
ἐτυράννησεν, ὀκτωκαίδεκα δὲ οἱ παῖδες, ὥστε τὰ πάντα
he-was-tyrant eighteen and the sons so-that the all
ἐγένετο ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε. τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἡ
became years thirty and five of-the and remaining the(-tyranny)
τῶν περὶ Ἱέρωνα καὶ Γέλωνα περὶ Συρακούσας. ἔτη δ'
of-those around Hiero and Gelon at Syracuse years and
οὐδ' αὕτη πολλὰ διέμεινεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ σύμπαντα δυοῖν
not-even this many lasted but the altogether two
δέοντα εἴκοσι· Γέλων μὲν γὰρ ἑπτὰ τυραννήσας τῷ
lacking twenty Gelon indeed for seven having-been-tyrant in-the
ὀγδόῳ τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησεν, δέκα δ' Ἱέρων, Θρασύβουλος
eighth the life ended ten and Hiero Thrasybulus
δὲ τῷ ἑνδεκάτῳ μηνὶ ἐξέπεσεν. *** αἱ δὲ πολλαὶ τῶν
and in-the eleventh month was-expelled (lacuna) the and most of-the
τυραννίδων ὀλιγοχρόνιαι πᾶσαι γεγόνασι παντελῶς.
tyrannies short-lived all have-been entirely
Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὰς πολιτείας καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς
the(-things) indeed then about the constitutions and the(-things) about the
μοναρχίας, ἐξ ὧν τε φθείρονται καὶ πάλιν σῴζονται,
monarchies from what both they-are-destroyed and again are-preserved

σχεδὸν εἴρηται περὶ πάντων. Ἐν δὲ τῇ Πολιτείᾳ λέγεται
nearly it-has-been-said about all in and the Republic is-spoken
μὲν περὶ τῶν μεταβολῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σωκράτους, οὐ μέντοι
indeed about the changes by — Socrates not however
λέγεται καλῶς. τῆς τε γὰρ ἀρίστης πολιτείας καὶ πρώτης
is-spoken well of-the both for best constitution and first
οὔσης οὐ λέγει τὴν μεταβολὴν ἰδίως. φησὶ γὰρ αἴτιον εἶναι
being not he-tells the change peculiarly he-says for cause to-be
τὸ μὴ μένειν μηθὲν ἀλλ᾽ ἔν τινι περιόδῳ μεταβάλλειν,
the not to-remain anything but in some cycle to-change
ἀρχὴν δ᾽ εἶναι τούτων ὧν ἐπίτριτος πυθμὴν πεμπάδι
beginning and to-be of-these of-which four-thirds base with-five
συζυγεὶς δύο ἁρμονίας παρέχεται, λέγων ὅταν ὁ τοῦ
conjoined two harmonies furnishes saying whenever the of-the
διαγράμματος ἀριθμὸς τούτου γένηται στερεός, ὡς τῆς
diagram number of-this becomes solid as the
φύσεώς ποτε φυούσης φαύλους καὶ κρείττους τῆς
nature at-some-time producing bad and stronger than-the
παιδείας, τοῦτο μὲν οὖν αὐτὸ λέγων ἴσως οὐ κακῶς
education this indeed then itself saying perhaps not badly
(ἐνδέχεται γὰρ εἶναί τινας οὓς παιδευθῆναι καὶ γενέσθαι
it-is-possible for to-be some whom to-be-educated and to-become
σπουδαίους ἄνδρας ἀδύνατον), ἀλλ᾽ αὕτη τί ἂν ἴδιος εἴη
excellent men impossible but this what — peculiar would-be
μεταβολὴ τῆς ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου λεγομένης ἀρίστης πολιτείας
change of-the by him called best constitution
μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἄλλων πασῶν καὶ τῶν γιγνομένων πάντων;
rather than of-the others all and of-the coming-to-be all
καὶ διά γε τοῦ χρόνου, δι᾽ ὃν λέγει πάντα
and through at-least the time through which he-says all
μεταβάλλειν, καὶ τὰ μὴ ἅμα ἀρξάμενα γίγνεσθαι ἅμα
to-change even the not at-once having-begun to-come-to-be at-once

μεταβάλλει, οἷον εἰ τῇ προτέρᾳ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγένετο τῆς
change such-as if on-the before day it-came-to-be of-the
τροπῆς, ἅμα ἄρα μεταβάλλει; πρὸς δὲ τούτοις διὰ τίν'
solstice at-once then it-changes besides and these through what
αἰτίαν ἐκ ταύτης εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν μεταβάλλει; πλεονάκις
cause from this into the Laconian it-changes more-often
γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἐναντίαν μεταβάλλουσι πᾶσαι αἱ πολιτεῖαι
for into the opposite change all the constitutions
ἢ τὴν σύνεγγυς. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων
than the neighboring the and same argument also about the other
μεταβολῶν. ἐκ γὰρ τῆς Λακωνικῆς, φησί, μεταβάλλει εἰς τὴν
changes from for the Laconian he-says it-changes into the
ὀλιγαρχίαν, ἐκ δὲ ταύτης εἰς δημοκρατίαν, εἰς τυραννίδα δὲ
oligarchy from and this into democracy into tyranny and
ἐκ δημοκρατίας. καίτοι καὶ ἀνάπαλιν μεταβάλλουσιν, οἷον
from democracy and-yet also conversely they-change such-as
ἐκ δήμου εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν, καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ εἰς μοναρχίαν.
from democracy into oligarchy and more than into monarchy
ἔτι δὲ τυραννίδος οὐ λέγει οὔτ' εἰ ἔσται μεταβολὴ
further and of-tyranny not he-says neither if there-will-be change
οὔτ' εἰ μὴ ἔσται, οὔτ' εἰ ἔσται, διὰ τίν' αἰτίαν καὶ
nor if not there-will-be nor if there-will-be through what cause and
εἰς ποίαν πολιτείαν. τούτου δ' αἴτιον ὅτι οὐ ῥᾳδίως ἂν
into what-kind constitution of-this and cause that not easily —
εἶχε λέγειν· ἀόριστον γάρ, ἐπεὶ κατ' ἐκεῖνον δεῖ
he-would-be-able to-say indeterminate for since according-to him it-must
εἰς τὴν πρώτην καὶ τὴν ἀρίστην· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἐγίγνετο
into the first and the best so for — would-come-about
συνεχὲς καὶ κύκλος. ἀλλὰ μεταβάλλει καὶ εἰς τυραννίδα
continuous and circle but changes also into tyranny
τυραννίς, ὥσπερ ἡ Σικυῶνος ἐκ τῆς Μύρωνος εἰς τὴν
tyranny just-as the of-Sicyon from the of-Myron into the

Κλεισθένους, καὶ εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν, ὥσπερ ἡ ἐν Χαλκίδι ἡ
of-Cleisthenes and into oligarchy just-as the in Chalcis the
Ἀντιλέοντος, καὶ εἰς δημοκρατίαν, ὥσπερ ἡ τῶν Γέλωνος
of-Antileon and into democracy just-as the of-the of-Gelon
ἐν Συρακούσαις, καὶ εἰς ἀριστοκρατίαν, ὥσπερ ἡ Χαριλάου
in Syracuse and into aristocracy just-as the of-Charilaus
ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, καὶ ἐν Καρχηδόνι. καὶ εἰς τυραννίδα
in Lacedaemon and in Carthage and into tyranny
μεταβάλλει ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας, ὥσπερ ἐν Σικελίᾳ σχεδὸν αἱ
changes from oligarchy just-as in Sicily nearly the
πλεῖσται τῶν ἀρχαίων, ἐν Λεοντίνοις εἰς τὴν Παναιτίου
most of-the ancient in Leontini into the of-Panaetius
τυραννίδα καὶ ἐν Γέλᾳ εἰς τὴν Κλεάνδρου καὶ ἐν Ῥηγίῳ εἰς
tyranny and in Gela into the of-Cleander and in Rhegium into
τὴν Ἀναξιλάου καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις πολλαῖς πόλεσιν ὡσαύτως.
the of-Anaxilaus and in other many cities likewise
ἄτοπον δὲ καὶ τὸ οἴεσθαι εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν διὰ τοῦτο
absurd and also the to-think into oligarchy through this
μεταβάλλειν ὅτι φιλοχρήματοι καὶ φιλοχρηματισταὶ οἱ
to-change because money-loving and money-makers those
ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅτι οἱ πολὺ ὑπερέχοντες ταῖς
in the offices but not because those much exceeding in-the
οὐσίαις οὐ δίκαιον οἴονται εἶναι ἴσον μετέχειν τῆς πόλεως
properties not just think to-be equal to-share in-the city
τοὺς κεκτημένους μηθὲν τοῖς κεκτημένοις· ἐν πολλαῖς
those having-acquired nothing with-those having-acquired in many
τε ὀλιγαρχίαις οὐκ ἔξεστι χρηματίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ νόμοι
and oligarchies not it-is-allowed to-make-money but laws
εἰσὶν οἱ κωλύοντες, ἐν Καρχηδόνι δὲ δημοκρατουμένῃ
there-are which prevent in Carthage and being-democratically-governed
χρηματίζονται καὶ οὔπω μεταβεβλήκασιν.
they-make-money and not-yet have-changed

ἄτοπον δὲ καὶ τὸ φάναι δύο πόλεις εἶναι τὴν ὀλιγαρχικήν,
absurd and also the to-say two cities to-be the oligarchic
πλουσίων καὶ πενήτων. τί γὰρ αὖτη μᾶλλον τῆς
of-rich and of-poor what for this more than-the
Λακωνικῆς πέπονθεν ἢ ὁποιασοῦν ἄλλης, οὗ μὴ πάντες
Laconian has-suffered or than-any-whatever other where not all
κέκτηνται ἴσα ἢ μὴ πάντες ὁμοίως εἰσὶν ἀγαθοὶ
have-acquired equal(-shares) or not all alike are good
ἄνδρες; οὐδενὸς δὲ πενεστέρου γενομένου ἢ πρότερον
men nobody and poorer having-become than before
οὐδὲν ἧττον μεταβάλλουσιν εἰς δῆμον ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας, ἂν
nothing less they-change into democracy from oligarchy if
γένωνται πλείους οἱ ἄποροι, καὶ ἐκ δήμου εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν,
become more the poor and from democracy into oligarchy
ἐὰν κρεῖττον ᾖ τοῦ πλήθους τὸ εὔπορον καὶ οἱ μὲν
if stronger is than-the multitude the well-off and the(-ones) indeed
ἀμελῶσιν οἱ δὲ προσέχωσι τὸν νοῦν. πολλῶν τε οὐσῶν
neglect the(-others) and apply the mind many both being
αἰτιῶν δι' ὧν γίγνονται αἱ μεταβολαί, οὐ λέγει ἀλλὰ
causes through which come-about the changes not he-tells but
μίαν, ὅτι ἀσωτευόμενοι κατατοκιζόμενοι γίγνονται πένητες,
one that being-prodigal being-ruined-by-interest they-become poor
ὡς ἐξ ἀρχῆς πλουσίων ὄντων πάντων ἢ τῶν πλείστων.
as from beginning rich being all or the most
τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ ψεῦδος· ἀλλ' ὅταν μὲν τῶν ἡγεμόνων
this and is falsehood but whenever indeed of-the leaders
τινὲς ἀπολέσωσι τὰς οὐσίας, καινοτομοῦσιν, ὅταν δὲ τῶν
some lose the properties they-make-innovations whenever and of-the
ἄλλων, οὐθὲν γίγνεται δεινόν, καὶ μεταβάλλουσιν οὐθὲν
others nothing happens terrible and they-change nothing
μᾶλλον οὐδὲ τότε εἰς δῆμον ἢ εἰς ἄλλην πολιτείαν. ἔτι
more not-even then into democracy than into other constitution further

δὲ κἂν τιμῶν μὴ μετέχωσιν, κἂν ἀδικῶνται ἢ ὑβρίζωνται,
and even-if in-honors not they-share even-if they-are-wronged or are-insulted
στασιάζουσι καὶ μεταβάλλουσι τὰς πολιτείας, κἂν μὴ
they-form-factions and change the constitutions even-if not
καταδαπανήσωσι τὴν οὐσίαν. *** διὰ τὸ ἐξεῖναι ὅ τι
they-have-squandered the property (lacuna) through the to-be-allowed what ever
ἂν βούλωνται ποιεῖν· οὗ αἰτίαν τὴν ἄγαν ἐλευθερίαν εἶναί
— they-wish to-do of-which cause the excessive freedom to-be
φησιν. πλειόνων δ' οὐσῶν ὀλιγαρχιῶν καὶ δημοκρατιῶν, ὡς
he-says more and being oligarchies and democracies as
μιᾶς οὔσης ἑκατέρας λέγει τὰς μεταβολὰς ὁ Σωκράτης.
one being each he-tells-of the changes — Socrates

BOOK VI

I · THE VARIETIES OF DEMOCRACY

It remains to consider how to establish each kind of democracy and oligarchy and how the parts of government combine. Democracies differ by their people (farmers, mechanics, or laborers) and by which democratic features they combine. Knowing each feature helps a lawgiver found or correct a democracy, and founders err when they gather every feature at once.

Πόσαι μὲν οὖν διαφοραὶ καὶ τίνες τοῦ τε βουλευτικοῦ
how-many indeed then differences and what of-the both deliberative
καὶ κυρίου τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τάξεως
and sovereign of-the constitution and of-the about the offices arrangement
καὶ περὶ δικαστηρίων, καὶ ποία πρὸς ποίαν συντέτακται
and about law-courts and what-kind to what-kind is-coordinated
πολιτείαν, ἔτι δὲ περὶ φθορᾶς τε καὶ σωτηρίας τῶν
constitution further and about destruction both and preservation of-the
πολιτειῶν, ἐκ ποίων τε γίνεται καὶ διὰ τίνας αἰτίας,
constitutions from what-kind both it-arises and through what causes
εἴρηται πρότερον· ἐπεὶ δὲ τετύχηκεν εἴδη πλείω
it-has-been-said before since and it-has-happened kinds more
δημοκρατίας ὄντα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοίως πολιτειῶν, ἅμα
of-democracy being and of-the other likewise constitutions at-once
τε περὶ ἐκείνων εἴ τι λοιπόν, οὐ χεῖρον ἐπισκέψασθαι,
both about those if anything remaining not worse to-examine
καὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον καὶ τὸν συμφέροντα τρόπον ἀποδοῦναι πρὸς
and the proper and the advantageous way to-assign for
ἑκάστην. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν τῶν εἰρημένων
each further and also the combinations of-them of-the stated
ἐπισκεπτέον πάντων τῶν τρόπων· ταῦτα γὰρ συνδυαζόμενα
must-be-examined all the ways these for combined

ποιεῖ τὰς πολιτείας ἐπαλλάττειν, ὥστε ἀριστοκρατίας τε
make the constitutions to-overlap so-that aristocracies both
ὀλιγαρχικὰς εἶναι καὶ πολιτείας δημοκρατικωτέρας. λέγω
oligarchic to-be and polities more-democratic I-mean
δὲ τοὺς συνδυασμούς, οὓς δεῖ μὲν ἐπισκοπεῖν, οὐκ
and the combinations which one-must indeed to-examine not
ἐσκεμμένοι δ' εἰσὶ νῦν, οἷον ἂν τὸ μὲν βουλευόμενον
having-been-examined but they-are now such-as if the indeed deliberating
καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας ὀλιγαρχικῶς ᾖ συντεταγμένον,
and the about the elections oligarchically is arranged
τὰ δὲ περὶ τὰ δικαστήρια ἀριστοκρατικῶς, ἢ ταῦτα μὲν
the and about the law-courts aristocratically or these indeed
καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸ βουλευόμενον ὀλιγαρχικῶς, ἀριστοκρατικῶς
and the about the deliberating oligarchically aristocratically
δὲ τὸ περὶ τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας, ἢ κατ' ἄλλον τινὰ τρόπον
and the about the elections or in other some way
μὴ πάντα συντεθῇ τὰ τῆς πολιτείας οἰκεῖα.
not all are-put-together the of-the constitution proper(-things)
Ποία μὲν οὖν δημοκρατία πρὸς ποίαν ἁρμόττει πόλιν,
what-kind indeed then democracy to what-kind fits city
ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ποία τῶν ὀλιγαρχιῶν ποίῳ πλήθει, καὶ
likewise and also what-kind of-the oligarchies to-what-kind multitude and
τῶν λοιπῶν δὲ πολιτειῶν τίς συμφέρει τίσιν, εἴρηται
of-the remaining also constitutions which is-advantageous for-which it-has-been-said
πρότερον· ὅμως δ' ἐπεὶ δεῖ γενέσθαι δῆλον μὴ μόνον
before nevertheless but since it-must to-become clear not only
ποία τούτων τῶν πολιτειῶν ἀρίστη ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἀλλὰ
what-kind of-these the constitutions best for-the cities but
καὶ πῶς δεῖ κατασκευάζειν καὶ ταύτας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας,
also how one-must to-establish both these and the others
ἐπέλθωμεν συντόμως. καὶ πρῶτον περὶ δημοκρατίας εἴπωμεν·
let-us-go-through briefly and first about democracy let-us-speak

ἅμα γὰρ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀντικειμένης πολιτείας φανερόν,
at-once for also about the opposite constitution clear
αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἣν καλοῦσί τινες ὀλιγαρχίαν. Ληπτέον δὲ
this and is which call some oligarchy one-must-take and
πρὸς ταύτην τὴν μέθοδον πάντα τὰ δημοτικὰ καὶ τὰ
for this the inquiry all the democratic(-features) and the
δοκοῦντα ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ἀκολουθεῖν· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων
seeming the democracies to-accompany from for these
συντιθεμένων τὰ τῆς δημοκρατίας εἴδη γίνεσθαι συμβαίνει,
being-combined the of-the democracy kinds to-arise it-happens
καὶ πλείους δημοκρατίας μιᾶς εἶναι καὶ διαφόρους. δύο
and more democracies than-one to-be and differing two
γάρ εἰσιν αἰτίαι δι' ἃσπερ αἱ δημοκρατίαι πλείους εἰσί,
for are causes through which the democracies more are
πρῶτον μὲν ἡ λεχθεῖσα πρότερον, ὅτι διάφοροι οἱ δῆμοι
first indeed the stated before that different the peoples
(γίνεται γὰρ τὸ μὲν γεωργικὸν πλῆθος, τὸ δὲ βάναυσον καὶ
arises for the indeed farming multitude the and mechanic and
θητικόν· ὧν τοῦ πρώτου τῷ δευτέρῳ προσλαμβανομένου,
laboring of-which the first to-the second being-added
καὶ τοῦ τρίτου πάλιν τοῖς ἀμφοτέροις, οὐ μόνον διαφέρει
and the third again to-the both not only it-differs
τῷ βελτίω καὶ χείρω γίνεσθαι τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ἀλλὰ
by-the better and worse to-become the democracy but
καὶ τῷ μὴ τὴν αὐτήν), δευτέρα δὲ περὶ ἧς νῦν λέγομεν.
also by-the not the same(-one) second and about which now we-speak
τὰ γὰρ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ἀκολουθοῦντα καὶ δοκοῦντ'
the for the democracies accompanying and seeming
εἶναι τῆς πολιτείας οἰκεῖα ταύτης ποιεῖ συντιθέμενα τὰς
to-be of-the constitution proper of-this make combined the
δημοκρατίας ἑτέρας· τῇ μὲν γὰρ ἐλάττω, τῇ
democracies different to-the(-one) indeed for fewer to-the(-other)

δ' ἀκολουθήσει πλείονα, τῇ δ' ἅπαντα ταῦτα.
and will-accompany more to-the(-other) and all these
χρήσιμον δ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν γνωρίζειν πρός τε τὸ
useful and each of-them to-know for both the
κατασκευάζειν ἣν ἄν τις αὐτῶν τύχῃ βουλόμενος,
to-establish whichever — anyone of-them happens wishing
καὶ πρὸς τὰς διορθώσεις. ζητοῦσι μὲν γὰρ οἱ τὰς
and for the corrections seek indeed for those the
πολιτείας καθιστάντες ἅπαντα τὰ οἰκεῖα συναγαγεῖν
constitutions establishing all the proper(-features) to-collect
πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, ἁμαρτάνουσι δὲ τοῦτο ποιοῦντες,
for the hypothesis err but this doing
καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὰς φθορὰς καὶ τὰς σωτηρίας
just-as in the(-discussions) about the destructions and the preservations
τῶν πολιτειῶν εἴρηται πρότερον. νυνὶ δὲ τὰ ἀξιώματα
of-the constitutions it-has-been-said before now and the claims
καὶ τὰ ἤθη καὶ ὧν ἐφίενται λέγωμεν.
and the characters and what they-aim-at let-us-speak

II · THE MARKS OF DEMOCRACY

Democracy's principle is liberty: ruling and being ruled in turn, numerical equality rather than equality by merit, and living as one likes. Its marks follow: all choose officers from all, by lot, with no property qualification or a low one, short terms, and no office for life; the people judge, the assembly is sovereign, and attendance is paid. Its equality gives the poor no more power than the rich.

Ὑπόθεσις μὲν οὖν τῆς δημοκρατικῆς πολιτείας ἐλευθερία
hypothesis indeed then of-the democratic constitution freedom
(τοῦτο γὰρ λέγειν εἰώθασιν, ὡς ἐν μόνῃ τῇ πολιτείᾳ
this for to-say they-are-accustomed that in alone the constitution

ταύτῃ μετέχοντας ἐλευθερίας· τούτου γὰρ στοχάζεσθαί φασι
this sharing freedom at-this for to-aim they-say
πᾶσαν δημοκρατίαν)· ἐλευθερίας δὲ ἓν μὲν τὸ ἐν μέρει
every democracy of-freedom and one indeed the in turn
ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἄρχειν. καὶ γὰρ τὸ δίκαιον τὸ δημοτικὸν
to-be-ruled and to-rule and for the just the democratic
τὸ ἴσον ἔχειν ἐστὶ κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀλλὰ μὴ κατ᾽
the equal to-have is according-to number but not according-to
ἀξίαν, τούτου δ᾽ ὄντος τοῦ δικαίου τὸ πλῆθος ἀναγκαῖον
merit this and being the just the multitude necessary
εἶναι κύριον, καὶ ὅ τι ἂν δόξῃ τοῖς πλείοσι, τοῦτ᾽ εἶναι
to-be sovereign and what ever — seems to-the majority this to-be
τέλος καὶ τοῦτ᾽ εἶναι τὸ δίκαιον· φασὶ γὰρ δεῖν ἴσον
final and this to-be the just they-say for to-be-necessary equal
ἔχειν ἕκαστον τῶν πολιτῶν· ὥστε ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις
to-have each of-the citizens so-that in the democracies
συμβαίνει κυριωτέρους εἶναι τοὺς ἀπόρους τῶν εὐπόρων·
it-happens more-sovereign to-be the poor than-the well-off
πλείους γάρ εἰσι, κύριον δὲ τὸ τοῖς πλείοσι δόξαν.
more for they-are sovereign and the to-the majority having-seemed
ἓν μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐλευθερίας σημεῖον τοῦτο, ὃν τίθενται
one indeed then of-the freedom mark this which set
πάντες οἱ δημοτικοὶ τῆς πολιτείας ὅρον· ἓν δὲ τὸ ζῆν
all the democrats of-the constitution definition one and the to-live
ὡς βούλεταί τις. τοῦτο γὰρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἔργον εἶναί
as wishes anyone this for of-the freedom work to-be
φασιν, εἴπερ τοῦ δουλεύοντος τὸ ζῆν μὴ ὡς βούλεται.
they-say if-indeed of-the slave the to-live not as he-wishes
τῆς μὲν οὖν δημοκρατίας ὅρος οὗτος δεύτερος· ἐντεῦθεν
of-the indeed then democracy definition this second from-here
δ᾽ ἐλήλυθε τὸ μὴ ἄρχεσθαι, μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ μηθενός,
and has-come the not to-be-ruled most indeed by no-one

εἰ δὲ μή, κατὰ μέρος. καὶ συμβάλλεται ταύτῃ πρὸς τὴν
if but not by turn and contributes in-this-way toward the
ἐλευθερίαν τὴν κατὰ τὸ ἴσον.
freedom the according-to the equal
Τούτων δ' ὑποκειμένων καὶ τοιαύτης οὔσης τῆς ἀρχῆς
these and being-laid-down and such being the principle
τὰ τοιαῦτα δημοτικά· τὸ αἱρεῖσθαι τὰς ἀρχὰς πάντας ἐκ
the such(-things) democratic the to-elect the offices all from
πάντων, τὸ ἄρχειν πάντας μὲν ἑκάστου ἕκαστον δ' ἐν
all the to-rule all indeed over-each each and in
μέρει πάντων, τὸ κληρωτὰς εἶναι τὰς ἀρχὰς ἢ πάσας
turn over-all the chosen-by-lot to-be the offices either all
ἢ ὅσαι μὴ ἐμπειρίας δέονται καὶ τέχνης, τὸ μὴ ἀπὸ
or as-many-as not experience need and skill the not from
τιμήματος μηθενὸς εἶναι τὰς ἀρχὰς ἢ ὅτι μικροτάτου,
property-qualification any to-be the offices or as smallest
τὸ μὴ δὶς τὸν αὐτὸν ἄρχειν μηδεμίαν ἢ ὀλιγάκις ἢ ὀλίγας
the not twice the same to-hold none or seldom or few
ἔξω τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον, τὸ ὀλιγοχρονίους εἶναι τὰς ἀρχὰς
except those in war the short-term to-be the offices
ἢ πάσας ἢ ὅσας ἐνδέχεται, τὸ δικάζειν πάντας καὶ
either all or as-many-as it-is-possible the to-judge all and
ἐκ πάντων καὶ περὶ πάντων ἢ περὶ τῶν πλείστων καὶ
from all and about all or about the most and
τῶν μεγίστων καὶ τῶν κυριωτάτων, οἷον περὶ εὐθυνῶν
the greatest and the most-sovereign such-as about audits
καὶ πολιτείας καὶ τῶν ἰδίων συναλλαγμάτων, τὸ τὴν
and constitution and the private contracts the the
ἐκκλησίαν κυρίαν εἶναι πάντων ἀρχὴν δὲ μηδεμίαν μηθενὸς
assembly sovereign to-be of-all office and none over-nothing
ἢ ὅτι ὀλιγίστων, ἢ τῶν μεγίστων βουλὴν κυρίαν (τῶν
or as over-fewest or of-the greatest council sovereign of-the

δ' ἀρχῶν δημοτικώτατον βουλή, ὅπου μὴ μισθοῦ εὐπορία
and offices most-democratic council where not of-pay abundance
πᾶσιν· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἀφαιροῦνται καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς τὴν
for-all there for they-take-away also of-this the office the
δύναμιν· εἰς αὑτὸν γὰρ ἀνάγει τὰς κρίσεις πάσας ὁ δῆμος
power to itself for brings the judgments all the people
εὐπορῶν μισθοῦ, καθάπερ εἴρηται πρότερον ἐν τῇ μεθόδῳ
abounding in-pay just-as was-said before in the inquiry
τῇ πρὸ ταύτης), ἔπειτα τὸ μισθοφορεῖν μάλιστα μὲν
the before this then the to-receive-pay most indeed
πάντας, ἐκκλησίαν δικαστήρια ἀρχάς, εἰ δὲ μή, τὰς ἀρχὰς
all assembly law-courts offices if and not the offices
καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια καὶ βουλὴν καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας τὰς
and the law-courts and council and the assemblies the
κυρίας, ἢ τῶν ἀρχῶν ἃς ἀνάγκη συσσιτεῖν μετ' ἀλλήλων.
sovereign or of-the offices which necessary to-mess with one-another
ἔτι ἐπειδὴ ὀλιγαρχία καὶ γένει καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ παιδείᾳ
further since oligarchy both by-birth and by-wealth and by-education
ὁρίζεται, τὰ δημοτικὰ δοκεῖ τἀναντία τούτων εἶναι,
is-defined the democratic(-features) seem the-opposite of-these to-be
ἀγένεια πενία βαναυσία. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἀρχῶν τὸ
low-birth poverty vulgarity in-the-case-of and the offices the
μηδεμίαν ἀίδιον εἶναι, ἐὰν δέ τις καταλειφθῇ ἐξ ἀρχαίας
none perpetual to-be if and any is-left from ancient
μεταβολῆς, τότε περιαιρεῖσθαι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς καὶ ἐξ
change then to-strip-away the power of-it and from
αἱρετῶν κληρωτοὺς ποιεῖν. τὰ μὲν οὖν κοινὰ ταῖς
elected chosen-by-lot to-make the(-things) indeed then common to-the
δημοκρατίαις ταῦτ' ἐστί· συμβαίνει δ' ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου τοῦ
democracies these are it-results and from the just the
ὁμολογουμένου εἶναι δημοκρατικοῦ (τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἴσον
agreed to-be democratic this and is the equal

ἔχειν ἅπαντας κατ᾽ ἀριθμόν) ἡ μάλιστ᾽ εἶναι δοκοῦσα
to-have all by number the most to-be seeming
δημοκρατία καὶ δῆμος. ἴσον γὰρ τὸ μηθὲν μᾶλλον ἄρχειν
democracy and people equal for the in-nothing more to-rule
τοὺς ἀπόρους ἢ τοὺς εὐπόρους, μηδὲ κυρίους εἶναι μόνους
the poor than the well-off nor sovereign to-be alone
ἀλλὰ πάντας ἐξ ἴσου κατ᾽ ἀριθμόν· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ὑπάρχειν
but all from equal by number so for — to-exist
νομίζοιεν τήν τ᾽ ἰσότητα τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.
they-would-think the both equality in-the constitution and the freedom

III · EQUALITY IN DEMOCRACY

How is the equality of democracy to be realized? Democrats call just what the majority decides, oligarchs what the wealthier decide; both are unjust. A just rule combines both, so that what is decided by a majority both of citizens and of property prevails, and where the vote is equal a lot decides. The weaker always seek equality and justice; the stronger take no heed of them.

Τὸ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀπορεῖται πῶς ἕξουσι τὸ ἴσον;
the and after this is-a-question how they-will-have the equal
πότερον δεῖ τὰ τιμήματα διελεῖν χιλίοις τὰ
whether one-must the property-qualifications to-divide for-a-thousand those
τῶν πεντακοσίων καὶ τοὺς χιλίους ἴσον δύνασθαι τοῖς
of-the five-hundred and the thousand equal to-have-power to-the
πεντακοσίοις; ἢ οὐχ οὕτω δεῖ τιθέναι τὴν κατὰ
five-hundred or not so one-must to-set the according-to
τοῦτο ἰσότητα, ἀλλὰ διελεῖν μὲν οὕτως, ἔπειτα ἐκ τῶν
this equality but to-divide indeed so then from the
πεντακοσίων ἴσους λαβόντα καὶ ἐκ τῶν χιλίων,
five-hundred equal(-numbers) having-taken and from the thousand

τούτους κυρίους εἶναι τῶν αἱρέσεων καὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων;
these sovereign to-be over-the elections and the law-courts
πότερον οὖν αὕτη ἡ πολιτεία δικαιοτάτη κατὰ τὸ
whether then this the constitution most-just according-to the
δημοτικὸν δίκαιον, ἢ μᾶλλον ἡ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος;
democratic just or rather the(-one) according-to the multitude
φασὶ γὰρ οἱ δημοτικοὶ τοῦτο δίκαιον ὅ τι ἂν δόξῃ τοῖς
say for the democrats this just what ever — seems to-the
πλείοσιν, οἱ δ' ὀλιγαρχικοὶ ὅ τι ἂν δόξῃ τῇ πλείονι
majority the and oligarchs what ever — seems to-the greater
οὐσίᾳ. κατὰ πλῆθος γὰρ οὐσίας φασὶ κρίνεσθαι δεῖν.
property by amount for of-property they-say to-be-decided to-be-necessary
ἔχει δ' ἀμφότερα ἀνισότητα καὶ ἀδικίαν· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὅ
has and both inequality and injustice if indeed for what
τι ἂν οἱ ὀλίγοι, τυραννίς (καὶ γὰρ ἐὰν εἷς ἔχῃ πλείω
ever — the few tyranny and for if one has more
τῶν ἄλλων εὐπόρων, κατὰ τὸ ὀλιγαρχικὸν δίκαιον
than-the other well-off according-to the oligarchic just
ἄρχειν δίκαιος μόνος), εἰ δ' ὅ τι ἂν οἱ πλείους κατ'
to-rule just alone if and what ever — the more by
ἀριθμόν, ἀδικήσουσι δημεύοντες τὰ τῶν πλουσίων
number they-will-wrong confiscating the(-properties) of-the rich
καὶ ἐλαττόνων, καθάπερ εἴρηται πρότερον.
and fewer just-as was-said before
τίς ἂν οὖν εἴη ἰσότης ἣν ὁμολογήσουσιν ἀμφότεροι,
what — then would-be equality which will-agree both
σκεπτέον ἐξ ὧν ὁρίζονται δικαίων ἀμφότεροι. λέγουσι
must-be-considered from which they-define justice both say
γὰρ ὡς ὅ τι ἂν δόξῃ τοῖς πλείοσι τῶν πολιτῶν, τοῦτ'
for that what ever — seems to-the majority of-the citizens this
εἶναι δεῖ κύριον· ἔστω δὴ τοῦτο, μὴ μέντοι πάντως, ἀλλ'
to-be must sovereign let-it-be indeed this not however entirely but

ἐπειδὴ δύο μέρη τετύχηκεν ἐξ ὧν ἡ πόλις, πλούσιοι καὶ
since two parts it-happens from which the city rich and
πένητες, ὅ τι ἂν ἀμφοτέροις δόξῃ ἢ τοῖς πλείοσι, τοῦτο
poor what ever — to-both seems or to-the majority this
κύριον ἔστω, ἐὰν δὲ τἀναντία δόξῃ, ὅ τι ἂν οἱ πλείους
sovereign let-it-be if and the-opposite seems what ever — the more
καὶ ὧν τὸ τίμημα πλεῖον. οἷον εἰ οἱ μὲν δέκα
and whose the property-qualification greater such-as if the(-ones) indeed ten
οἱ δὲ εἴκοσιν, ἔδοξε δὲ τῶν μὲν πλουσίων τοῖς ἓξ
the(-others) and twenty it-seemed and of-the indeed rich to-the six
τῶν δ' ἀπορωτέρων τοῖς πεντεκαίδεκα, προσγεγένηνται
of-the and poorer to-the fifteen have-joined
τοῖς μὲν πένησι τέτταρες τῶν πλουσίων, τοῖς δὲ πλουσίοις
to-the indeed poor four of-the rich to-the and rich
πέντε τῶν πενήτων· ὁποτέρων οὖν τὸ τίμημα
five of-the poor of-whichever then the property-qualification
ὑπερτείνει συναριθμουμένων ἀμφοτέρων ἑκατέροις, τοῦτο
exceeds being-counted-together both for-each this
κύριον. ἐὰν δὲ ἴσοι συμπέσωσι, κοινὴν εἶναι ταύτην
sovereign if and equal they-fall-out common to-be this
νομιστέον ἀπορίαν ὥσπερ νῦν, ἐὰν δίχα ἡ ἐκκλησία
must-be-thought difficulty just-as now if in-two the assembly
γένηται ἢ τὸ δικαστήριον· ἢ γὰρ ἀποκληρωτέον ἢ ἄλλο
is or the law-court either for one-must-cast-lots or other
τι τοιοῦτον ποιητέον. Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τοῦ ἴσου καὶ
something such must-be-done but about indeed the equal and
τοῦ δικαίου, κἂν ᾖ πάνυ χαλεπὸν εὑρεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν
the just even-if it-is very hard to-find the truth
περὶ αὐτῶν, ὅμως ῥᾷον τυχεῖν ἢ συμπεῖσαι τοὺς
about them nevertheless easier to-hit-upon than to-persuade those

δυναμένους πλεονεκτεῖν· ἀεὶ γὰρ ζητοῦσι τὸ ἴσον καὶ τὸ
able to-have-more always for seek the equal and the
δίκαιον οἱ ἥττους, οἱ δὲ κρατοῦντες οὐδὲν φροντίζουσιν.
just the weaker the and prevailing in-nothing care

IV · THE BEST DEMOCRACY

The best democracy is the oldest, of farmers, who are too busy to attend the assembly often and are content to elect the best men and audit them. Laws limiting landholding help create such a people. Herdsmen come next; mechanics, traders, and laborers are far worse. The last democracy enrolls bastards and those with one citizen parent, but should stop once the people outnumber the notables and the middle. It multiplies tribes and merges private cults, as Cleisthenes did at Athens.

Δημοκρατιῶν δ' οὐσῶν τεττάρων βελτίστη μὲν ἡ πρώτη
of-democracies and being four best indeed the first
τάξει, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τούτων ἐλέχθη λόγοις· ἔστι
in-order just-as in the before these was-said discussions is
δὲ καὶ ἀρχαιοτάτη πασῶν αὕτη. λέγω δὲ πρώτην ὥσπερ
and also oldest of-all this I-mean and first just-as
ἄν τις διέλοι τοὺς δήμους. βέλτιστος γὰρ δῆμος ὁ
— anyone would-divide the peoples best for people the
γεωργικός ἐστιν, ὥστε καὶ ποιεῖν ἐνδέχεται δημοκρατίαν
farming is so-that also to-make it-is-possible democracy
ὅπου ζῇ τὸ πλῆθος ἀπὸ γεωργίας ἢ νομῆς. διὰ μὲν γὰρ
where lives the multitude from farming or herding through indeed for
τὸ μὴ πολλὴν οὐσίαν ἔχειν ἄσχολος, ὥστε μὴ πολλάκις
the not much property to-have occupied so-that not often
ἐκκλησιάζειν· διὰ δὲ τὸ ἔχειν ταναγκαῖα πρὸς τοῖς
to-attend-assembly through and the to-have the-necessities at the
ἔργοις διατρίβουσι καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων οὐκ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν,
works they-spend-time and of-the others'(-goods) not desire

ἀλλ᾽ ἥδιον αὐτοῖς τὸ ἐργάζεσθαι τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι
but pleasanter to-them the to-work than-the to-take-part-in-government
καὶ ἄρχειν, ὅπου ἂν μὴ ᾖ λήμματα μεγάλα ἀπὸ τῶν
and to-rule where — not are profits great from the
ἀρχῶν. οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ μᾶλλον ὀρέγονται τοῦ κέρδους ἢ
offices the for many more desire the gain than
τῆς τιμῆς. σημεῖον δέ· καὶ γὰρ τὰς ἀρχαίας τυραννίδας
the honor sign and and for the ancient tyrannies
ὑπέμενον καὶ τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας ὑπομένουσιν, ἐάν τις αὐτοὺς
they-endured and the oligarchies they-endure if anyone them
ἐργάζεσθαι μὴ κωλύῃ μηδ᾽ ἀφαιρῆται μηθέν· ταχέως γὰρ
to-work not prevents nor takes-away anything quickly for
οἱ μὲν πλουτοῦσιν αὐτῶν οἱ δ᾽ οὐκ ἀποροῦσιν.
the(-ones) indeed become-rich of-them the(-others) and not are-poor
ἔτι δὲ τὸ κυρίους εἶναι τοῦ ἑλέσθαι καὶ εὐθύνειν
further and the sovereign to-be of-the to-elect and to-audit
ἀναπληροῖ τὴν ἔνδειαν, εἴ τι φιλοτιμίας ἔχουσιν, ἐπεὶ παρ᾽
fills-up the deficiency if any ambition they-have since among
ἐνίοις δήμοις, κἂν μὴ μετέχωσι τῆς αἱρέσεως τῶν ἀρχῶν
some peoples even-if not they-share in-the election of-the offices
ἀλλά τινες αἱρετοὶ κατὰ μέρος ἐκ πάντων, ὥσπερ ἐν
but some elected by turn from all just-as in
Μαντινείᾳ, τοῦ δὲ βουλεύεσθαι κύριοι ὦσιν, ἱκανῶς ἔχει
Mantinea of-the and to-deliberate sovereign they-are sufficiently it-is
τοῖς πολλοῖς. (καὶ δεῖ νομίζειν καὶ τοῦτ᾽ εἶναι σχῆμά
for-the many and one-must to-think also this to-be form
τι δημοκρατίας, ὥσπερ ἐν Μαντινείᾳ ποτ᾽ ἦν.) διὸ δὴ
some of-democracy just-as in Mantinea once it-was therefore indeed
καὶ συμφέρον ἐστὶ τῇ πρότερον ῥηθείσῃ δημοκρατίᾳ καὶ
also advantageous it-is for-the earlier mentioned democracy and
ὑπάρχειν εἴωθεν, αἱρεῖσθαι μὲν τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ εὐθύνειν
to-exist is-wont to-elect indeed the offices and to-audit

καὶ δικάζειν πάντας, ἄρχειν δὲ τὰς μεγίστας αἱρετοὺς
and to-judge all to-hold and the greatest elected(-men)
καὶ ἀπὸ τιμημάτων, τὰς μείζους ἀπὸ μειζόνων, ἢ καὶ
and from property-qualifications the greater from greater or also
ἀπὸ τιμημάτων μὲν μηδεμίαν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς δυναμένους.
from property-qualifications indeed none but those able
ἀνάγκη δὲ πολιτευομένους οὕτω πολιτεύεσθαι καλῶς (αἵ
necessary and those-governed so to-be-governed well the
τε γὰρ ἀρχαὶ αἰεὶ διὰ τῶν βελτίστων ἔσονται, τοῦ δήμου
both for offices always through the best will-be the people
βουλομένου καὶ τοῖς ἐπιεικέσιν οὐ φθονοῦντος), καὶ τοῖς
wishing and to-the decent not envying and for-the
ἐπιεικέσι καὶ γνωρίμοις ἀρκοῦσαν εἶναι ταύτην τὴν τάξιν·
decent and notables sufficient to-be this the arrangement
ἄρξονται γὰρ οὐχ ὑπ᾽ ἄλλων χειρόνων, καὶ ἄρξουσι
they-will-be-ruled for not by others worse and they-will-rule
δικαίως διὰ τὸ τῶν εὐθυνῶν εἶναι κυρίους ἑτέρους. τὸ
justly through the of-the audits to-be sovereign others the
γὰρ ἐπανακρέμασθαι, καὶ μὴ πᾶν ἐξεῖναι ποιεῖν ὅ τι
for to-be-dependent and not everything to-be-allowed to-do what ever
ἂν δόξῃ, συμφέρον ἐστίν· ἡ γὰρ ἐξουσία τοῦ πράττειν ὅ
— seems advantageous is the for license of-the to-do what
τι ἂν ἐθέλῃ τις οὐ δύναται φυλάττειν τὸ ἐν ἑκάστῳ τῶν
ever — wishes anyone not can to-guard-against the in each of-the
ἀνθρώπων φαῦλον. ὥστε ἀναγκαῖον συμβαίνειν ὅπερ ἐστὶν
men bad so-that necessary to-result which-very is
ὠφελιμώτατον ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις, ἄρχειν τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς
most-beneficial in the constitutions to-rule the decent
ἀναμαρτήτους ὄντας, μηδὲν ἐλαττουμένου τοῦ πλήθους.
faultless being in-nothing being-diminished the multitude

ὅτι μὲν οὖν αὕτη τῶν δημοκρατιῶν ἀρίστη, φανερόν,
that indeed then this of-the democracies best clear
καὶ διὰ τίν' αἰτίαν, ὅτι διὰ τὸ ποιόν τινα εἶναι τὸν
and through what cause that through the of-a-kind some to-be the
δῆμον· πρὸς δὲ τὸ κατασκευάζειν γεωργὸν τὸν δῆμον τῶν
people for and the to-establish farming the people of-the
τε νόμων τινὲς τῶν παρὰ πολλοῖς κειμένων τὸ ἀρχαῖον
both laws some of-the among many laid-down the ancient-time
χρήσιμοι πάντως, ἢ τὸ ὅλως μὴ ἐξεῖναι κεκτῆσθαι
useful altogether either the wholly not to-be-allowed to-possess
πλείω γῆν μέτρου τινὸς ἢ ἀπό τινος τόπου πρὸς τὸ
more land than-a-measure some or from some place toward the
ἄστυ καὶ τὴν πόλιν (ἦν δὲ τό γε ἀρχαῖον ἐν πολλαῖς
town and the city it-was and the at-least ancient-time in many
πόλεσι νενομοθετημένον μηδὲ πωλεῖν ἐξεῖναι τοὺς
cities enacted not-even to-sell to-be-allowed the
πρώτους κλήρους· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὃν λέγουσιν Ὀξύλου νόμον
first lots is and also which they-call of-Oxylus law
εἶναι τοιοῦτόν τι δυνάμενος, τὸ μὴ δανείζειν εἴς τι
to-be such something meaning the not to-lend on some
μέρος τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ἑκάστῳ γῆς), νῦν δὲ δεῖ διορθοῦν
part of-the belonging to-each land now and one-must to-correct
καὶ τῷ Ἀφυταίων νόμῳ, πρὸς γὰρ ὃ λέγομέν ἐστι
also by-the of-Aphytaeans law for for what we-are-saying it-is
χρήσιμος· ἐκεῖνοι γάρ, καίπερ ὄντες πολλοὶ κεκτημένοι δὲ
useful they for although being many having-acquired but
γῆν ὀλίγην, ὅμως πάντες γεωργοῦσιν· τιμῶνται γὰρ οὐχ
land little nevertheless all farm they-are-assessed for not
ὅλας τὰς κτήσεις, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τηλικαῦτα μόρια διαιροῦντες
whole the possessions but in such parts dividing
ὥστ' ἔχειν ὑπερβάλλειν ταῖς τιμήσεσι καὶ τοὺς πένητας.
so-that to-be-able to-exceed in-the assessments even the poor

μετὰ δὲ τὸ γεωργικὸν πλῆθος βέλτιστος δῆμός ἐστιν ὅπου
after and the farming multitude best people is where
νομεῖς εἰσι καὶ ζῶσιν ἀπὸ βοσκημάτων· πολλὰ γὰρ
herdsmen are and they-live from flocks many(-things) for
ἔχει τῇ γεωργίᾳ παραπλησίως, καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὰς
it-has with-the farming similarly and the(-things) for the
πολεμικὰς πράξεις μάλισθ' οὗτοι γεγυμνασμένοι τὰς ἕξεις
military actions most these trained in-the habits
καὶ χρήσιμοι τὰ σώματα καὶ δυνάμενοι θυραυλεῖν. τὰ δ'
and useful the bodies and able to-live-outdoors the and
ἄλλα πλήθη πάντα σχεδόν, ἐξ ὧν αἱ λοιπαὶ δημοκρατίαι
other multitudes all nearly from which the remaining democracies
συνεστᾶσι, πολλῷ φαυλότερα τούτων· ὁ γὰρ βίος φαῦλος,
consist by-much worse than-these the for life bad
καὶ οὐθὲν ἔργον μετ' ἀρετῆς ὧν μεταχειρίζεται τὸ
and no work with virtue of-which handles the
πλῆθος τό τε τῶν βαναύσων καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀγοραίων
multitude the both of-the mechanics and the of-the market
ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὸ θητικόν, ἔτι δὲ διὰ τὸ περὶ τὴν
men and the laboring further and through the about the
ἀγορὰν καὶ τὸ ἄστυ κυλίεσθαι πᾶν τὸ τοιοῦτον γένος ὡς
market-place and the town to-roll-around all the such class so
εἰπεῖν ῥᾳδίως ἐκκλησιάζει· οἱ δὲ γεωργοῦντες διὰ τὸ
to-speak easily attends-assembly those and farming through the
διεσπάρθαι κατὰ τὴν χώραν οὔτ' ἀπαντῶσιν οὔθ' ὁμοίως
to-be-scattered over the country neither meet nor equally
δέονται τῆς συνόδου ταύτης. ὅπου δὲ καὶ συμβαίνει τὴν
need of-the meeting this where and also it-happens the
χώραν τὴν θέσιν ἔχειν τοιαύτην ὥστε τὴν χώραν πολὺ
country the position to-have such so-that the land far
τῆς πόλεως ἀπηρτῆσθαι, ῥᾴδιον καὶ δημοκρατίαν ποιεῖσθαι
of-the city to-be-separated easy also democracy to-make

χρηστὴν καὶ πολιτείαν· ἀναγκάζεται γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος ἐπὶ
good and polity is-compelled for the multitude on
τῶν ἀγρῶν ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀποικίας, ὥστε δεῖ, κἂν
the fields to-make the settlements so-that one-must even-if
ἀγοραῖος ὄχλος ᾖ, μὴ ἐπιπολάζειν ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατικαῖς
market mob there-is not to-swarm in the democratic
ἐκκλησίαις ἄνευ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν χώραν πλήθους.
assemblies without the in the country multitude
Πῶς μὲν οὖν δεῖ κατασκευάζειν τὴν βελτίστην καὶ
how indeed then one-must to-establish the best and
πρώτην δημοκρατίαν, εἴρηται· φανερὸν δὲ καὶ πῶς τὰς
first democracy it-has-been-said clear and also how the
ἄλλας. ἑπομένως γὰρ δεῖ παρεκβαίνειν καὶ τὸ χεῖρον
others in-sequence for one-must to-deviate and the worse
ἀεὶ πλῆθος χωρίζειν. Τὴν δὲ τελευταίαν, διὰ τὸ πάντας
always multitude to-separate the and last through the all
κοινωνεῖν, οὔτε πάσης ἐστὶ πόλεως φέρειν, οὔτε ῥᾴδιον
to-share neither of-every is city to-bear nor easy
διαμένειν μὴ τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσιν εὖ συγκειμένην
to-endure not by-the laws and the customs well composed
(ἃ δὲ φθείρειν συμβαίνει καὶ ταύτην καὶ τὰς ἄλλας
what and to-destroy happens both this and the other
πολιτείας, εἴρηται πρότερον τὰ πλεῖστα σχεδόν). πρὸς
constitutions it-has-been-said before the most nearly for
δὲ τὸ καθιστάναι ταύτην τὴν δημοκρατίαν καὶ τὸν δῆμον
and the to-establish this the democracy and the people
ποιεῖν ἰσχυρὸν εἰώθασιν οἱ προεστῶτες προσλαμβάνειν ὡς
to-make strong are-accustomed the leaders to-take-in as
πλείστους καὶ ποιεῖν πολίτας μὴ μόνον τοὺς γνησίους ἀλλὰ
many-as-possible and to-make citizens not only the legitimate but
καὶ τοὺς νόθους καὶ τοὺς ἐξ ὁποτερουοῦν πολίτου, λέγω
also the bastards and those from either citizen I-mean

δὲ οἷον πατρὸς ἢ μητρός· ἅπαν γὰρ οἰκεῖον τοῦτο τῷ
and such-as of-father or mother all for akin this to-the
τοιούτῳ δήμῳ μᾶλλον. εἰώθασι μὲν οὖν οἱ δημαγωγοὶ
such people rather are-accustomed indeed then the demagogues
κατασκευάζειν οὕτω, δεῖ μέντοι προσλαμβάνειν μέχρι
to-arrange so one-must however to-take-in until
ἂν ὑπερτείνῃ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν γνωρίμων καὶ τῶν μέσων,
— exceeds the multitude of-the notables and of-the middle
καὶ τούτου μὴ πέρα προβαίνειν· ὑπερβάλλοντες γὰρ
and of-this not beyond to-advance exceeding for
ἀτακτοτέραν τε ποιοῦσι τὴν πολιτείαν, καὶ τοὺς γνωρίμους
more-disorderly both they-make the constitution and the notables
πρὸς τὸ χαλεπῶς ὑπομένειν τὴν δημοκρατίαν παροξύνουσι
to the hardly to-endure the democracy provoke
μᾶλλον, ὅπερ συνέβη τῆς στάσεως αἴτιον γενέσθαι περὶ
more which-very happened of-the faction cause to-become about
Κυρήνην· ὀλίγον μὲν γὰρ πονηρὸν παρορᾶται, πολὺ δὲ
Cyrene little indeed for wicked is-overlooked much and
γινόμενον ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς μᾶλλόν ἐστιν.
becoming in eyes more is
ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα κατασκευάσματα χρήσιμα πρὸς
further and also the such devices useful for
τὴν δημοκρατίαν τὴν τοιαύτην, οἷς Κλεισθένης τε
the democracy the such which Cleisthenes both
Ἀθήνησιν ἐχρήσατο βουλόμενος αὐξῆσαι τὴν δημοκρατίαν,
at-Athens used wishing to-increase the democracy
καὶ περὶ Κυρήνην οἱ τὸν δῆμον καθιστάντες. φυλαί τε
and about Cyrene those the people establishing tribes both
γὰρ ἕτεραι ποιητέαι πλείους καὶ φατρίαι, καὶ τὰ τῶν
for other must-be-made more and brotherhoods and the of-the
ἰδίων ἱερῶν συνακτέον εἰς ὀλίγα καὶ κοινά, καὶ
private rites must-be-brought-together into few and common and

πάντα σοφιστέον ὅπως ἂν ὅτι μάλιστα ἀναμειχθῶσι
all must-be-contrived so-that — as most may-be-mixed
πάντες ἀλλήλοις, αἱ δὲ συνήθειαι διαζευχθῶσιν αἱ
all with-one-another the and associations may-be-broken-up the
πρότερον. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ τυραννικὰ κατασκευάσματα
earlier further and also the tyrannical devices
δημοτικὰ δοκεῖ πάντα, λέγω δ' οἷον ἀναρχία τε δούλων
democratic seem all I-mean and such-as license both of-slaves
(αὕτη δ' ἂν εἴη μέχρι του συμφέρουσα) καὶ γυναικῶν
this and — would-be up-to a-point advantageous and of-women
καὶ παίδων, καὶ τὸ ζῆν ὅπως τις βούλεται παρορᾶν·
and of-children and the to-live as anyone wishes to-overlook
πολὺ γὰρ ἔσται τὸ τῇ τοιαύτῃ πολιτείᾳ βοηθοῦν· ἥδιον
much for will-be the to-the such constitution helping pleasanter
γὰρ τοῖς πολλοῖς τὸ ζῆν ἀτάκτως ἢ τὸ σωφρόνως.
for to-the many the to-live disorderly than the moderately

V · PRESERVING DEMOCRACY

The lawgiver's task is to preserve a democracy more than to establish it. Confiscations should go to the gods, not the people, and where revenues are lacking, assemblies and courts should be few. A true democrat keeps the people from poverty, pooling surpluses to set the poor up in farming or trade. Carthage enriches its poor, and Tarentum shares the use of property and fills offices both by lot and by election.

Ἔστι δ' ἔργον τοῦ νομοθέτου καὶ τῶν βουλομένων
it-is and task of-the lawgiver and of-those wishing
συνιστάναι τινὰ τοιαύτην πολιτείαν οὐ τὸ καταστῆσαι
to-establish some such constitution not the to-establish
μέγιστον οὐδὲ μόνον, ἀλλ' ὅπως σῴζηται μᾶλλον· μίαν
greatest nor only but that it-may-be-preserved rather one

γὰρ ἢ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἡμέρας οὐ χαλεπὸν μεῖναι πολιτευομένους
for or two or three days not hard to-remain being-governed
ὁπωσοῦν. διὸ δεῖ, περὶ ὧν τεθεώρηται πρότερον,
in-any-way-whatever therefore one-must about which has-been-studied before
τίνες σωτηρίαι καὶ φθοραὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν, ἐκ τούτων
what preservations and destructions of-the constitutions from these
πειρᾶσθαι κατασκευάζειν τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, εὐλαβουμένους
to-try to-establish the security guarding-against
μὲν τὰ φθείροντα, τιθεμένους δὲ τοιούτους νόμους καὶ
indeed the destroying(-things) laying-down and such laws both
τοὺς ἀγράφους καὶ τοὺς γεγραμμένους οἳ περιλήψονται
the unwritten and the written which will-include
μάλιστα τὰ σῴζοντα τὰς πολιτείας, καὶ μὴ νομίζειν
most the preserving(-things) the constitutions and not to-think
τοῦτ' εἶναι δημοτικὸν μηδ' ὀλιγαρχικὸν ὃ ποιήσει τὴν
this to-be democratic nor oligarchic which will-make the
πόλιν ὅτι μάλιστα δημοκρατεῖσθαι ἢ ὀλιγαρχεῖσθαι, ἀλλ'
city as most to-be-democratic or to-be-oligarchic but
ὃ πλεῖστον χρόνον. οἱ δὲ νῦν δημαγωγοὶ χαριζόμενοι
which longest time the and now demagogues gratifying
τοῖς δήμοις πολλὰ δημεύουσι διὰ τῶν δικαστηρίων.
the peoples many(-things) confiscate through the law-courts
διὸ δεῖ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντιπράττειν τοὺς κηδομένους τῆς
therefore one-must against these to-act-counter those caring-for the
πολιτείας, νομοθετοῦντας μηδὲν εἶναι δημόσιον τῶν
constitution legislating nothing to-be public of-the(-property)
καταδικαζομένων καὶ φερόμενον πρὸς τὸ κοινόν,
of-those-condemned and brought to the common(-treasury)
ἀλλ' ἱερόν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀδικοῦντες οὐθὲν ἧττον εὐλαβεῖς
but sacred the indeed for wrongdoers nothing less careful
ἔσονται (ζημιώσονται γὰρ ὁμοίως), ὁ δ' ὄχλος ἧττον
will-be they-will-be-fined for equally the and mob less

καταψηφιεῖται τῶν κρινομένων, λήψεσθαι μηθὲν μέλλων.
will-condemn those being-tried to-get nothing being-about
ἔτι δὲ τὰς γινομένας δημοσίας δίκας ὡς ὀλιγίστας
further and the arising public lawsuits as fewest
αἰεὶ ποιεῖν, μεγάλοις ἐπιτιμίοις τοὺς εἰκῇ γραφομένους
always to-make with-great penalties those recklessly bringing-indictments
κωλύοντας· οὐ γὰρ τοὺς δημοτικοὺς ἀλλὰ τοὺς γνωρίμους
preventing not for the democrats but the notables
εἰώθασιν εἰσάγειν, δεῖ δὲ καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πολιτείᾳ
they-are-accustomed to-bring-to-trial one-must and also to-this the constitution
πάντας μάλιστα μὲν εὖνους εἶναι τοὺς πολίτας, εἰ δὲ
all most indeed well-disposed to-be the citizens if and
μή, μή τοί γε ὡς πολεμίους νομίζειν τοὺς κυρίους.
not not surely at-least as enemies to-consider those sovereign
ἐπεὶ δ' αἱ τελευταῖαι δημοκρατίαι πολυάνθρωποί τέ
since and the last democracies populous both
εἰσι καὶ χαλεπὸν ἐκκλησιάζειν ἀμίσθους, τοῦτο δ' ὅπου
are and hard to-attend-assembly unpaid this and where
πρόσοδοι μὴ τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι πολέμιον τοῖς γνωρίμοις
revenues not happen being hostile to-the notables
(ἀπό τε γὰρ εἰσφορᾶς καὶ δημεύσεως ἀναγκαῖον γίνεσθαι
from both for levy and confiscation necessary to-come
καὶ δικαστηρίων φαύλων, ἃ πολλὰς ἤδη δημοκρατίας
and of-law-courts bad which many already democracies
ἀνέτρεψεν)· ὅπου μὲν οὖν πρόσοδοι μὴ τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι,
overturned where indeed then revenues not happen being
δεῖ ποιεῖν ὀλίγας ἐκκλησίας, καὶ δικαστήρια πολλῶν
one-must to-make few assemblies and law-courts of-many
μὲν ὀλίγας δ' ἡμέρας (τοῦτο γὰρ φέρει μὲν καὶ πρὸς
indeed few but days this for brings indeed both toward
τὸ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τοὺς πλουσίους τὰς δαπάνας, κἂν οἱ
the not to-fear the rich the expenses even-if the(-ones)

μὲν εὔποροι μὴ λαμβάνωσι δικαστικόν, οἱ δ' ἄποροι,
indeed well-off not take jury-pay the(-ones) and poor
φέρει δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ κρίνεσθαι τὰς δίκας πολὺ βέλτιον· οἱ
brings and also toward the to-be-judged the lawsuits much better the
γὰρ εὔποροι πολλὰς μὲν ἡμέρας οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν
for well-off many indeed days not are-willing from the
ἰδίων ἀπεῖναι, βραχὺν δὲ χρόνον ἐθέλουσιν), ὅπου δ'
private(-affairs) to-be-away short but time are-willing where and
εἰσὶ πρόσοδοι, μὴ ποιεῖν ὃ νῦν οἱ δημαγωγοὶ ποιοῦσιν
are revenues not to-do what now the demagogues do
(τὰ γὰρ περιόντα νέμουσιν· λαμβάνουσι δὲ ἅμα, καὶ πάλιν
the for surpluses they-distribute they-take and at-once and again
δέονται τῶν αὐτῶν· ὁ τετρημένος γάρ ἐστι πίθος ἡ
they-need the same the having-holes for is jar the
τοιαύτη βοήθεια τοῖς ἀπόροις), ἀλλὰ δεῖ τὸν ἀληθινῶς
such help for-the poor but one-must the truly
δημοτικὸν ὁρᾶν ὅπως τὸ πλῆθος μὴ λίαν ἄπορον ᾖ·
democratic(-man) to-see that the multitude not too poor be
τοῦτο γὰρ αἴτιον τοῦ μοχθηρὰν εἶναι τὴν δημοκρατίαν.
this for cause of-the wretched to-be the democracy
τεχναστέον οὖν ὅπως ἂν εὐπορία γένοιτο χρόνιος. ἐπεὶ δὲ
must-be-contrived then that — prosperity may-arise lasting since and
συμφέρει τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς εὐπόροις, τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν
is-advantageous this also for-the well-off the(-things) indeed from the
προσόδων γινόμενα συναθροίζοντας ἀθρόα χρὴ διανέμειν
revenues arising collecting all-together one-must to-distribute
τοῖς ἀπόροις, μάλιστα μὲν εἴ τις δύναται τοσοῦτον
to-the poor most indeed if anyone can so-much
ἀθροίζειν ὅσον εἰς γηδίου κτῆσιν, εἰ δὲ μή, πρὸς ἀφορμὴν
to-collect as-much-as for of-a-plot acquisition if and not for start
ἐμπορίας καὶ γεωργίας, καὶ εἰ μὴ πᾶσι δυνατόν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ
of-trade and of-farming and if not to-all possible but by

φυλὰς ἤ τι μέρος ἕτερον ἐν μέρει διανέμειν, ἐν δὲ τούτῳ
tribes or some part other in turn to-distribute in and this
πρὸς τὰς ἀναγκαίας συνόδους τοὺς εὐπόρους εἰσφέρειν τὸν
for the necessary meetings the well-off to-contribute the
μισθόν, ἀφειμένους τῶν ματαίων λειτουργιῶν. τοιοῦτον
pay released from-the useless public-services such
δέ τινα τρόπον Καρχηδόνιοι πολιτευόμενοι φίλον κέκτηνται
and some way Carthaginians being-governed friendly have-acquired
τὸν δῆμον· ἀεὶ γάρ τινας ἐκπέμποντες τοῦ δήμου πρὸς
the people always for some sending-out of-the people to
τὰς περιοικίδας ποιοῦσιν εὐπόρους. χαριέντων δ' ἐστὶ
the outlying-towns they-make well-off gracious and it-is
καὶ νοῦν ἐχόντων γνωρίμων καὶ διαλαμβάνοντας τοὺς
and sense having of-notables also taking-in-hand the
ἀπόρους ἀφορμὰς διδόντας τρέπειν ἐπ' ἐργασίας.
poor resources giving to-turn to works
καλῶς δ' ἔχει μιμεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ Ταραντίνων. ἐκεῖνοι
well and it-is to-imitate also the(-ways) of-Tarentines they
γὰρ κοινὰ ποιοῦντες τὰ κτήματα τοῖς ἀπόροις ἐπὶ τὴν
for common making the possessions for-the poor for the
χρῆσιν εὔνουν παρασκευάζουσι τὸ πλῆθος· ἔτι δὲ τὰς
use well-disposed they-make the multitude further and the
ἀρχὰς πάσας ἐποίησαν διττάς, τὰς μὲν αἱρετὰς τὰς
offices all they-made double the(-ones) indeed elected the(-ones)
δὲ κληρωτάς, τὰς μὲν κληρωτὰς ὅπως ὁ δῆμος αὐτῶν
and chosen-by-lot the(-ones) indeed chosen-by-lot so-that the people in-them
μετέχῃ, τὰς δ' αἱρετὰς ἵνα πολιτεύωνται βέλτιον.
may-share the(-ones) and elected so-that they-may-be-governed better
ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς μερίζοντας,
it-is-possible and this to-do also of-the same office dividing

τοὺς μὲν κληρωτοὺς τοὺς δ' αἱρετούς. Πῶς μὲν
the(-holders) indeed chosen-by-lot the(-others) and elected how indeed
οὖν δεῖ τὰς δημοκρατίας κατασκευάζειν, εἴρηται.
then one-must the democracies to-establish it-has-been-said

VI · ESTABLISHING OLIGARCHY

Oligarchy is established on the reverse principles. The best kind, nearest polity, has two assessments, a lower for the necessary offices and a higher for the sovereign ones; the worst, a dynasty, needs the most care, since bad constitutions, like unsound bodies and ships, need the most guarding. Oligarchies are preserved by good order rather than numbers.

Σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας πῶς δεῖ φανερὸν
nearly and also about the oligarchies how one-must clear
ἐκ τούτων. ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων γὰρ δεῖ συνάγειν ἑκάστην
from these from the opposites for one-must to-construct each
ὀλιγαρχίαν, πρὸς τὴν ἐναντίαν δημοκρατίαν ἀναλογιζόμενον,
oligarchy against the opposite democracy reckoning-by-analogy
τὴν μὲν εὔκρατον μάλιστα τῶν ὀλιγαρχιῶν καὶ πρώτην —
the indeed well-tempered most of-the oligarchies and first
αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ σύνεγγυς τῇ καλουμένῃ πολιτείᾳ, ᾗ
this and is the near to-the so-called polity which
δεῖ τὰ τιμήματα διαιρεῖν, τὰ μὲν ἐλάττω τὰ
one-must the property-qualifications to-divide the(-ones) indeed smaller the(-others)
δὲ μείζω ποιοῦντας, ἐλάττω μὲν ἀφ' ὧν τῶν ἀναγκαίων
and greater making smaller indeed from which the necessary
μεθέξουσιν ἀρχῶν, μείζω δ' ἀφ' ὧν τῶν κυριωτέρων·
will-share offices greater and from which the more-sovereign(-ones)
τῷ τε κτωμένῳ τὸ τίμημα μετέχειν ἐξεῖναι τῆς
to-the both acquiring the property-qualification to-share to-be-allowed in-the

πολιτείας, τοσοῦτον εἰσαγομένους τοῦ δήμου πλῆθος διὰ
constitution so-much admitted of-the people number through
τοῦ τιμήματος, μεθ' οὗ κρείττονες ἔσονται τῶν μὴ
the property-qualification with which stronger they-will-be than-those not
μετεχόντων· ἀεὶ δὲ δεῖ παραλαμβάνειν ἐκ τοῦ βελτίονος
sharing always and one-must to-take-in from the better
δήμου τοὺς κοινωνούς. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐχομένην
people the partners likewise and also the next
ὀλιγαρχίαν ἐπιτείνοντας δεῖ μικρὸν κατασκευάζειν.
oligarchy tightening one-must a-little to-establish
τῇ δ' ἀντικειμένῃ τῇ τελευταίᾳ δημοκρατίᾳ, τῇ
to-the and opposite to-the last democracy the
δυναστικωτάτῃ καὶ τυραννικωτάτῃ τῶν ὀλιγαρχιῶν,
most-dynastic and most-tyrannical of-the oligarchies
ὅσῳ περ χειρίστη, τοσούτῳ δεῖ πλείονος φυλακῆς.
by-as-much indeed worst by-so-much it-needs more guard
ὥσπερ γὰρ τὰ μὲν εὖ σώματα διακείμενα πρὸς ὑγίειαν καὶ
just-as for the indeed well bodies disposed for health and
πλοῖα τὰ πρὸς ναυτιλίαν καλῶς ἔχοντα τοῖς πλωτῆρσιν
ships the for navigation well being for-the sailors
ἐπιδέχεται πλείους ἁμαρτίας ὥστε μὴ φθείρεσθαι δι'
admit more errors so-that not to-be-destroyed through
αὐτάς, τὰ δὲ νοσερῶς ἔχοντα τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τὰ τῶν
them the and diseased being of-the bodies and the of-the
πλοίων ἐκλελυμένα καὶ πλωτήρων τετυχηκότα φαύλων
ships loosened-up and of-sailors having-got bad
οὐδὲ τὰς μικρὰς δύνανται φέρειν ἁμαρτίας, οὕτω καὶ
not-even the small they-can to-bear errors so also
τῶν πολιτειῶν αἱ χείρισται πλείστης δέονται φυλακῆς.
of-the constitutions the worst most need guard
Τὰς μὲν οὖν δημοκρατίας ὅλως ἡ πολυανθρωπία σῴζει
the indeed then democracies generally the populousness preserves

(τοῦτο γὰρ ἀντίκειται πρὸς τὸ δίκαιον τὸ κατὰ τὴν
this for is-opposed to the just the according-to the
ἀξίαν)· τὴν δ' ὀλιγαρχίαν δῆλον ὅτι τοὐναντίον ὑπὸ τῆς
merit the and oligarchy clear that the-opposite by the
εὐταξίας δεῖ τυγχάνειν τῆς σωτηρίας.
good-order must to-obtain the preservation

VII · OLIGARCHY AND THE ARMY

The multitude has four parts, and war four forces: cavalry suits a strong oligarchy, hoplites the next, while light troops and sailors are democratic. Generals should join fitting light troops to the cavalry and hoplites, and oligarchs should train their own sons in light arms. They should admit the people by assessment or merit and attach costly duties to the highest offices, so that office brings sacrifices and public works rather than profit.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τέτταρα μέν ἐστι μέρη μάλιστα τοῦ πλήθους,
since and four indeed are parts most of-the multitude
γεωργικὸν βαναυσικὸν ἀγοραῖον θητικόν, τέτταρα δὲ τὰ
farming mechanic market laboring four and the(-parts)
χρήσιμα πρὸς πόλεμον, ἱππικὸν ὁπλιτικὸν ψιλὸν ναυτικόν,
useful for war cavalry hoplite light-armed naval
ὅπου μὲν συμβέβηκε τὴν χώραν εἶναι ἱππάσιμον, ἐνταῦθα
where indeed it-happens the country to-be fit-for-horses there
μὲν εὐφυῶς ἔχει κατασκευάζειν τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν ἰσχυράν
indeed naturally it-is-suited to-establish the oligarchy strong
(ἡ γὰρ σωτηρία τοῖς οἰκοῦσι διὰ ταύτης ἐστὶ τῆς δυνάμεως,
the for safety to-the inhabitants through this is the power
αἱ δ' ἱπποτροφίαι τῶν μακρὰς οὐσίας κεκτημένων εἰσίν),
the and horse-breedings of-those large properties having-acquired are
ὅπου δ' ὁπλῖτιν, τὴν ἐχομένην ὀλιγαρχίαν (τὸ γὰρ
where and hoplite(-land) the next oligarchy the for

ὁπλιτικὸν τῶν εὐπόρων ἐστὶ μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἀπόρων), ἡ
hoplite(-force) of-the well-off is more than of-the poor the
δὲ ψιλὴ δύναμις καὶ ναυτικὴ δημοτικὴ πάμπαν. νῦν μὲν
and light-armed force and naval democratic altogether now indeed
οὖν ὅπου τοιοῦτον πολὺ πλῆθος ἔστιν, ὅταν διαστῶσι,
then where such large multitude there-is whenever they-split
πολλάκις ἀγωνίζονται χεῖρον· δεῖ δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο
often they-contend worse one-must and against this
φάρμακον παρὰ τῶν πολεμικῶν λαμβάνειν στρατηγῶν, οἳ
remedy from the military to-take generals who
συνδυάζουσι πρὸς τὴν ἱππικὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ὁπλιτικὴν
combine with the cavalry force and the hoplite
τὴν ἁρμόττουσαν τῶν ψιλῶν. ταύτῃ δ' ἐπικρατοῦσιν ἐν
the fitting of-the light-armed in-this and prevail in
ταῖς διαστάσεσιν οἱ δῆμοι τῶν εὐπόρων· ψιλοὶ γὰρ
the splits the peoples over-the well-off light-armed for
ὄντες πρὸς ἱππικὴν καὶ ὁπλιτικὴν ἀγωνίζονται ῥᾳδίως.
being against cavalry and hoplite they-contend easily
τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τούτων καθιστάναι ταύτην τὴν δύναμιν
the indeed then from these to-establish this the power
ἐφ' ἑαυτούς ἐστι καθιστάναι, δεῖ δὲ διῃρημένης τῆς
against themselves is to-establish one-must and divided the
ἡλικίας, καὶ τῶν μὲν ὄντων πρεσβυτέρων τῶν δὲ
age and of-the(-ones) indeed being older the(-others) and
νέων, ἔτι μὲν ὄντας νέους τοὺς αὐτῶν υἱεῖς διδάσκεσθαι
young while indeed being young the of-themselves sons to-be-taught
τὰς κούφας καὶ τὰς ψιλὰς ἐργασίας, ἐκκεκριμένους
the light and the light-armed exercises having-been-selected
δὲ ἐκ παίδων ἀθλητὰς εἶναι αὐτοὺς τῶν ἔργων. τὴν
and from childhood athletes to-be themselves of-the works the
δὲ μετάδοσιν γίνεσθαι τῷ πλήθει τοῦ πολιτεύματος
and sharing to-take-place for-the multitude of-the governing-body

ἤτοι καθάπερ εἴρηται πρότερον, τοῖς τὸ τίμημα
either just-as was-said before for-those the property-qualification
κτωμένοις, ἢ καθάπερ Θηβαίοις, ἀποσχομένοις χρόνον τινὰ
acquiring or just-as for-Thebans having-abstained time some
τῶν βαναύσων ἔργων, ἢ καθάπερ ἐν Μασσαλίᾳ κρίσιν
from-the mechanic works or just-as in Massalia judgment
ποιουμένους τῶν ἀξίων τῶν ἐν τῷ πολιτεύματι καὶ τῶν
making of-the worthy of-those in the governing-body and of-those
ἔξωθεν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ταῖς κυριωτάταις, ἃς
outside further and also to-the offices the most-sovereign which
δεῖ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ κατέχειν, δεῖ προσκεῖσθαι
must those in the constitution to-hold one-must to-be-attached
λειτουργίας, ἵν' ἑκὼν ὁ δῆμος μὴ μετέχῃ καὶ συγγνώμην
public-services so-that willingly the people not may-share and indulgence
ἔχῃ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ὡς μισθὸν πολὺν διδοῦσι τῆς ἀρχῆς.
may-have for-the rulers as pay much giving of-the office
ἁρμόττει δὲ θυσίας τε εἰσιόντας ποιεῖσθαι μεγαλοπρεπεῖς
it-is-fitting and sacrifices both entering-office to-make magnificent
καὶ κατασκευάζειν τι τῶν κοινῶν, ἵνα τῶν περὶ τὰς
and to-build some of-the public-works so-that of-the(-things) about the
ἑστιάσεις μετέχων ὁ δῆμος καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁρῶν κοσμουμένην
feasts sharing the people and the city seeing adorned
τὰ μὲν ἀναθήμασι τὰ δὲ οἰκοδομήμασιν ἄσμενος
the(-things) indeed with-offerings the(-things) and with-buildings gladly
ὁρᾷ μένουσαν τὴν πολιτείαν· συμβήσεται δὲ καὶ τοῖς
sees remaining the constitution it-will-happen and also for-the
γνωρίμοις εἶναι μνημεῖα τῆς δαπάνης. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο νῦν
notables to-be memorials of-the expense but this now
οἱ περὶ τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας οὐ ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον·
those about the oligarchies not do but the-opposite
τὰ λήμματα γὰρ ζητοῦσιν οὐχ ἧττον ἢ τὴν τιμήν.
the profits for they-seek not less than the honor

διόπερ εὖ ἔχει λέγειν ταύτας εἶναι δημοκρατίας μικράς.
therefore well it-is to-say these to-be democracies small
Πῶς μὲν οὖν χρὴ καθιστάναι τὰς δημοκρατίας καὶ
how indeed then one-must to-establish the democracies and
τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας, διωρίσθω τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον.
the oligarchies let-it-be-defined in-the way this

VIII · THE OFFICES

A city needs offices over the market, the town's streets and buildings, the countryside, revenues, records, and the exaction of penalties and custody of prisoners, which decent men avoid; then generals and other commands, auditors, and a council that prepares business. Priests and officials of public sacrifices tend the gods. Leisured, prosperous cities add supervisors of women and children, guardians of the law, and directors of gymnasia and festivals.

Ἀκόλουθον δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐστὶ τὸ διῃρῆσθαι
following and to-the things-said is the to-have-been-divided
καλῶς τὰ περὶ τὰς ἀρχάς, πόσαι καὶ τίνες καὶ
well the(-matters) about the offices how-many and what and
τίνων, καθάπερ εἴρηται καὶ πρότερον. τῶν μὲν γὰρ
over-what just-as was-said also before of-the indeed for
ἀναγκαίων ἀρχῶν χωρὶς ἀδύνατον εἶναι πόλιν, τῶν δὲ
necessary offices without impossible to-be city of-the and
πρὸς εὐταξίαν καὶ κόσμον ἀδύνατον οἰκεῖσθαι καλῶς.
for good-order and decorum impossible to-be-managed well
ἔτι δ' ἀναγκαῖον ἐν μὲν ταῖς μικραῖς ἐλάττους εἶναι
further and necessary in indeed the small fewer to-be
τὰς ἀρχάς, ἐν δὲ ταῖς μεγάλαις πλείους, ὥσπερ τυγχάνει
the offices in and the large more just-as it-happens
πρότερον εἰρημένον· ποίας οὖν ἁρμόττει συνάγειν καὶ
before having-been-said which then it-is-fitting to-combine and

ποίας χωρίζειν, δεῖ μὴ λανθάνειν. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν
which to-separate one-must not to-escape-notice first indeed then
ἐπιμέλεια τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἡ περὶ τὴν ἀγοράν, ἐφ' ᾗ
care of-the necessary(-things) the about the market-place over which
δεῖ τινα ἀρχὴν εἶναι τὴν ἐφορῶσαν περί τε τὰ
one-must some office to-be the overseeing about both the
συμβόλαια καὶ τὴν εὐκοσμίαν· σχεδὸν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον
contracts and the good-order nearly for necessary
πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσι τὰ μὲν ὠνεῖσθαι τὰ δὲ
for-all the cities the(-things) indeed to-buy the(-things) and
πωλεῖν πρὸς τὴν ἀλλήλων ἀναγκαίαν χρείαν, καὶ τοῦτ'
to-sell for the of-one-another necessary need and this
ἐστὶν ὑπογυιότατον πρὸς αὐτάρκειαν, δι' ἣν δοκοῦσιν
is readiest for self-sufficiency through which they-seem
εἰς μίαν πολιτείαν συνελθεῖν. ἑτέρα δὲ ἐπιμέλεια
into one constitution to-have-come-together another and care
ταύτης ἐχομένη καὶ σύνεγγυς ἡ τῶν περὶ τὸ
to-this next and near the of-the(-things) about the
ἄστυ δημοσίων καὶ ἰδίων, ὅπως εὐκοσμία ᾖ, καὶ
town public and private that good-order may-be and
τῶν πιπτόντων οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ ὁδῶν σωτηρία καὶ
of-the falling buildings and roads preservation and
διόρθωσις, καὶ τῶν ὁρίων τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὅπως
repair and of-the boundaries the toward one-another that
ἀνεγκλήτως ἔχωσιν, καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ἄλλα τῆς
without-complaint they-may-be and as-many-as to-these other of-the
ἐπιμελείας ὁμοιότροπα.
care similar
καλοῦσι δ' ἀστυνομίαν οἱ πλεῖστοι τὴν τοιαύτην ἀρχήν,
they-call and town-management the most the such office
ἔχει δὲ μόρια πλείω τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὧν ἑτέρους
it-has and parts more in-the number of-which different(-officials)

ἐφ᾽ ἕτερα καθιστᾶσιν ἐν ταῖς πολυανθρωποτέραις
over different(-things) they-appoint in the more-populous
πόλεσιν, οἷον τειχοποιοὺς καὶ κρηνῶν ἐπιμελητὰς καὶ
cities such-as wall-builders and of-springs overseers and
λιμένων φύλακας. ἄλλη δ᾽ ἀναγκαία τε καὶ παραπλησία
of-harbors guards another and necessary both and similar
ταύτῃ· περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν μὲν γάρ, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὴν χώραν
to-this about the same indeed for but about the country
ἐστὶ καὶ περὶ τὰ ἔξω τοῦ ἄστεως· καλοῦσι δὲ τοὺς
is and about the(-things) outside the town they-call and the
ἄρχοντας τούτους οἱ μὲν ἀγρονόμους οἱ δ᾽
officials these the(-ones) indeed field-wardens the(-others) and
ὑλωρούς. αὗται μὲν οὖν ἐπιμέλειαί εἰσι τούτων τρεῖς,
forest-wardens these indeed then cares are of-these three
ἄλλη δ᾽ ἀρχὴ πρὸς ἣν αἱ πρόσοδοι τῶν κοινῶν
another and office to which the revenues of-the public(-funds)
ἀναφέρονται, παρ᾽ ὧν φυλαττόντων μερίζονται πρὸς
are-brought from whom guarding they-are-allotted for
ἑκάστην διοίκησιν· καλοῦσι δ᾽ ἀποδέκτας τούτους καὶ
each administration they-call and receivers these and
ταμίας. ἑτέρα δ᾽ ἀρχὴ πρὸς ἣν ἀναγράφεσθαι δεῖ
treasurers another and office to which to-be-registered must
τά τε ἴδια συμβόλαια καὶ τὰς κρίσεις τὰς ἐκ τῶν
the both private contracts and the judgments the from the
δικαστηρίων· παρὰ δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις καὶ τὰς γραφὰς
law-courts with and the same these also the indictments
τῶν δικῶν γίνεσθαι δεῖ καὶ τὰς εἰσαγωγάς. ἐνιαχοῦ
of-the lawsuits to-take-place must and the introductions in-some-places
μὲν οὖν μερίζουσι καὶ ταύτην εἰς πλείους, ἔστι δ᾽ οὗ
indeed then they-divide also this into more there-is and where
μία κυρία τούτων πάντων· καλοῦνται δὲ ἱερομνήμονες
one sovereign over-these all are-called and sacred-recorders

καὶ ἐπιστάται καὶ μνήμονες καὶ τούτοις ἄλλα ὀνόματα
and superintendents and recorders and to-these other names
σύνεγγυς.
near
μετὰ δὲ ταύτην ἐχομένη μὲν ἀναγκαιοτάτη δὲ σχεδὸν
after and this next indeed most-necessary but nearly
καὶ χαλεπωτάτη τῶν ἀρχῶν ἐστιν ἡ περὶ τὰς
also most-difficult of-the offices is the about the
πράξεις τῶν καταδικασθέντων καὶ τῶν προτιθεμένων
exactions of-those condemned and of-those posted
κατὰ τὰς ἐγγραφὰς καὶ περὶ τὰς φυλακὰς τῶν
according-to the registers and about the custody of-the
σωμάτων. χαλεπὴ μὲν οὖν ἐστι διὰ τὸ πολλὴν ἔχειν
persons difficult indeed then it-is through the much to-have
ἀπέχθειαν, ὥστε ὅπου μὴ μεγάλα ἔστι κερδαίνειν,
hatred so-that where not great it-is-possible to-profit
οὔτ' ἄρχειν ὑπομένουσιν αὐτὴν οὔθ' ὑπομείναντες ἐθέλουσι
neither to-hold they-endure it nor having-endured are-willing
πράττειν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους· ἀναγκαία δ' ἐστίν,
to-act according-to the laws necessary and it-is
ὅτι οὐδὲν ὄφελος γίνεσθαι μὲν δίκας περὶ τῶν
because no benefit to-arise indeed lawsuits about the
δικαίων, ταύτας δὲ μὴ λαμβάνειν τέλος, ὥστ' εἰ μὴ
rights these but not to-receive accomplishment so-that if not
γιγνομένων κοινωνεῖν ἀδύνατον ἀλλήλοις, καὶ πράξεων
happening to-associate impossible with-one-another also exactions
μὴ γιγνομένων. διὸ βέλτιον μὴ μίαν εἶναι ταύτην
not happening therefore better not one to-be this
τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλ' ἄλλους ἐξ ἄλλων δικαστηρίων, καὶ
the office but others from other law-courts and
περὶ τὰς προθέσεις τῶν ἀναγεγραμμένων ὡσαύτως
about the postings of-the registered likewise

πειρᾶσθαι διαιρεῖν, ἔτι δ' ἔνια πράττεσθαι καὶ τὰς
to-try to-divide further and some to-exact also the
ἀρχὰς τάς τε ἄλλας καὶ τὰς τῶν ἔνων μᾶλλον τὰς
offices the both other and the(-fines) of-the outgoing rather the
νέας, καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐνεστώτων ἑτέρας καταδικασάσης
new and the(-fines) of-the incumbent another having-condemned
ἑτέραν εἶναι τὴν πραττομένην, οἷον ἀστυνόμους τὰς
another to-be the exacting such-as town-wardens the(-fines)
παρὰ τῶν ἀγορανόμων, τὰς δὲ παρὰ τούτων
from the market-controllers the(-fines) and from these
ἑτέρους.
others
ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν ἐλάττων ἀπέχθεια ἐνῇ τοῖς πραττομένοις,
by-as-much for — less hatred is-in the exactions
τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον λήψονται τέλος αἱ πράξεις· τὸ
by-so-much more will-receive accomplishment the exactions the
μὲν οὖν τοὺς αὐτοὺς εἶναι τοὺς καταδικάσαντας καὶ
indeed then the same to-be those having-condemned and
πραττομένους ἀπέχθειαν ἔχει διπλῆν, τὸ δὲ περὶ
exacting hatred has double the and about
πάντων τοὺς αὐτοὺς *** πολεμίους πᾶσιν. πολλαχοῦ
all the same (lacuna) enemies to-all in-many-places
δὲ δὴ προσήρτηται καὶ ἡ φυλάττουσα πρὸς τὴν
and indeed is-attached also the guarding(-office) to the
πραττομένην, οἷον Ἀθήνησιν τῶν ἕνδεκα καλουμένων.
exacting such-as at-Athens of-the eleven so-called
διὸ βέλτιον καὶ ταύτην χωρίζειν, καὶ τὸ σόφισμα
therefore better also this to-separate and the device
ζητεῖν καὶ περὶ ταύτην. ἀναγκαία μὲν γάρ ἐστιν
to-seek also about this necessary indeed for it-is
οὐχ ἧττον τῆς εἰρημένης, συμβαίνει δὲ τοὺς μὲν
not less than-the stated it-happens and the indeed

ἐπιεικεῖς φεύγειν μάλιστα ταύτην τὴν ἀρχήν, τοὺς δὲ
decent to-avoid most this the office the and
μοχθηροὺς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ποιεῖν κυρίους· αὐτοὶ γὰρ
wicked not safe to-make sovereign themselves for
δέονται φυλακῆς μᾶλλον ἢ φυλάττειν ἄλλους δύνανται.
need guarding more than to-guard others are-able
διὸ δεῖ μὴ μίαν ἀποτεταγμένην ἀρχὴν εἶναι πρὸς
therefore one-must not one assigned office to-be over
αὐτοῖς, μηδὲ συνεχῶς τὴν αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ τῶν τε νέων,
them nor continuously the same but of-the both young
ὅπου τις ἐφήβων ἢ φρουρῶν ἔστι τάξις, καὶ τῶν
where some of-ephebes or guards there-is arrangement and of-the
ἀρχῶν δεῖ κατὰ μέρη ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν
offices one-must by parts to-make the care
ἑτέρους.
different(-ones)
ταύτας μὲν οὖν τὰς ἀρχὰς ὡς ἀναγκαιοτάτας θετέον
these indeed then the offices as most-necessary one-must-posit
εἶναι πρώτας, μετὰ δὲ ταύτας τὰς ἀναγκαίας μὲν
to-be first after and these the necessary indeed
οὐθὲν ἧττον, ἐν σχήματι δὲ μείζονι τεταγμένας· καὶ
none less in rank but greater arranged also
γὰρ ἐμπειρίας καὶ πίστεως δέονται πολλῆς. τοιαῦται
for experience and trust need much such
δ' εἶεν ἂν αἵ τε περὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως,
and would-be — the both about the guard of-the city
καὶ ὅσαι τάττονται πρὸς τὰς πολεμικὰς χρείας.
and as-many-as are-assigned for the military needs
δεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ πυλῶν τε καὶ
one-must and both in peace and in war of-gates both and
τειχῶν φυλακῆς ὁμοίως ἐπιμελητὰς εἶναι καὶ ἐξετάσεως
walls of-guard likewise overseers to-be and of-inspection

καὶ συντάξεως τῶν πολιτῶν. ἔνθα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ πᾶσι
and organization of-the citizens there indeed then over all
τούτοις ἀρχαὶ πλείους εἰσίν, ἔνθα δ' ἐλάττους, οἷον
these offices more are there and fewer such-as
ἐν ταῖς μικραῖς πόλεσι μία περὶ πάντων. καλοῦσι δὲ
in the small cities one about all they-call and
στρατηγοὺς καὶ πολεμάρχους τοὺς τοιούτους. ἔτι δὲ
generals and polemarchs the such further and
κἂν ὦσιν ἱππεῖς ἢ ψιλοὶ ἢ τοξόται ἢ ναυτικόν,
if there-are cavalry or light-armed or archers or navy
καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων ἑκάστων ἐνίοτε καθίσταται ἀρχή, αἳ
also over these each sometimes is-appointed office which
καλοῦνται ναυαρχίαι καὶ ἱππαρχίαι καὶ ταξιαρχίαι,
are-called admiralties and cavalry-commands and taxiarchies
καὶ κατὰ μέρος δὲ αἱ ὑπὸ ταύτας τριηραρχίαι
and by part also the(-offices) under these trierarchies
καὶ λοχαγίαι καὶ φυλαρχίαι καὶ ὅσα τούτων μόρια.
and captaincies and tribe-commands and as-many-as of-these parts
τὸ δὲ πᾶν ἕν τι τούτων ἐστὶν εἶδος, ἐπιμελείας
the and whole one some of-these is kind of-care
πολεμικῶν.
of-military(-matters)
περὶ μὲν οὖν ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχει τὸν τρόπον
about indeed then this the office it-has the way
τοῦτον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔνιαι τῶν ἀρχῶν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πᾶσαι,
this since and some of-the offices if even not all
διαχειρίζουσι πολλὰ τῶν κοινῶν, ἀναγκαῖον ἑτέραν εἶναι
handle many of-the public(-funds) necessary another to-be
τὴν ληψομένην λογισμὸν καὶ προσευθυνοῦσαν, αὐτὴν
the(-office) going-to-receive account and to-audit itself
μηθὲν διαχειρίζουσαν ἕτερον· καλοῦσι δὲ τούτους οἱ
nothing handling other they-call and these the(-ones)

μὲν εὐθύνους οἱ δὲ λογιστὰς οἱ δ' ἐξεταστὰς
indeed auditors the(-others) and accountants the(-others) and examiners
οἱ δὲ συνηγόρους. παρὰ πάσας δὲ ταύτας τὰς
the(-others) and advocates besides all and these the
ἀρχὰς ἡ μάλιστα κυρία πάντων ἐστίν· ἡ γὰρ αὐτὴ
offices the most sovereign of-all is the for same
πολλάκις ἔχει τὸ τέλος καὶ τὴν εἰσφοράν, ἢ προκάθηται
often has the completion and the introduction or presides-over
τοῦ πλήθους, ὅπου κύριός ἐστιν ὁ δῆμος· δεῖ γὰρ
the multitude where sovereign is the people must for
εἶναι τὸ συνάγον τὸ κύριον τῆς πολιτείας. καλεῖται
to-be the convening the sovereign of-the constitution is-called
δὲ ἔνθα μὲν πρόβουλοι διὰ τὸ προβουλεύειν,
and there indeed preliminary-councilors through the to-deliberate-beforehand
ὅπου δὲ πλῆθός ἐστι, βουλὴ μᾶλλον. αἱ μὲν οὖν
where and multitude is council rather the indeed then
πολιτικαὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν σχεδὸν τοσαῦταί τινές εἰσιν· ἄλλο
political of-the offices nearly so-many some are other
δ' εἶδος ἐπιμελείας ἡ περὶ τοὺς θεούς, οἷον ἱερεῖς
and kind of-care the about the gods such-as priests
τε καὶ ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν περὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τοῦ σῴζεσθαί
both and overseers of-the about the temples of-the to-be-preserved
τε τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ ἀνορθοῦσθαι τὰ πίπτοντα τῶν
both the existing and to-be-restored the falling of-the
οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα τέτακται πρὸς
buildings and of-the other as-many-as are-assigned for
τοὺς θεούς.
the gods
συμβαίνει δὲ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ταύτην ἐνιαχοῦ μὲν
it-happens and the care this in-some-places indeed
εἶναι μίαν, οἷον ἐν ταῖς μικραῖς πόλεσιν, ἐνιαχοῦ
to-be one such-as in the small cities in-some-places

δὲ πολλὰς καὶ κεχωρισμένας τῆς ἱερωσύνης, οἷον
and many and separated from-the priesthood such-as
ἱεροποιοὺς καὶ ναοφύλακας καὶ ταμίας τῶν ἱερῶν
sacrificers and temple-guardians and treasurers of-the sacred
χρημάτων. ἐχομένη δὲ ταύτης ἡ πρὸς τὰς
funds next and to-this the(-office) for the
θυσίας ἀφωρισμένη τὰς κοινὰς πάσας, ὅσας μὴ
sacrifices set-apart the common all as-many-as not
τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἀποδίδωσιν ὁ νόμος, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς
to-the priests assigns the law but from the
κοινῆς ἑστίας ἔχουσι τὴν τιμήν· καλοῦσι δ' οἱ
common hearth they-have the honor they-call and the(-ones)
μὲν ἄρχοντας τούτους οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς οἱ δὲ
indeed archons these the(-others) and kings the(-others) and
πρυτάνεις.
prytaneis
αἱ μὲν οὖν ἀναγκαῖαι ἐπιμέλειαί εἰσι περὶ τούτων, ὡς
the indeed then necessary cares are about these so
εἰπεῖν συγκεφαλαιωσαμένους, περί τε τὰ δαιμόνια καὶ
to-speak having-summed-up about both the divine(-matters) and
τὰ πολεμικὰ καὶ περὶ τὰς προσόδους καὶ τὰ
the military(-matters) and about the revenues and the(-things)
ἀναλισκόμενα, καὶ περὶ ἀγορὰν καὶ περὶ τὸ ἄστυ
spent and about market-place and about the town
καὶ λιμένας καὶ τὴν χώραν, ἔτι τὰ περὶ τὰ
and harbors and the country further the(-things) about the
δικαστήρια καὶ συναλλαγμάτων ἀναγραφὰς καὶ πράξεις
law-courts and of-contracts registrations and exactions
καὶ φυλακὰς καὶ ἐπὶ λογισμούς τε καὶ ἐξετάσεις καὶ
and custodies and for accounts both and examinations and
πρὸς εὐθύνας τῶν ἀρχόντων, καὶ τέλος αἷ περὶ
for audits of-the officials and finally the(-offices) about

τὸ βουλευόμενόν εἰσι τῶν κοινῶν· ἴδιαι δὲ ταῖς
the deliberating are the public(-matters) peculiar and to-the
σχολαστικωτέραις καὶ μᾶλλον εὐημερούσαις πόλεσιν, ἔτι
more-leisured and more prospering cities further
δὲ φροντιζούσαις εὐκοσμίας, γυναικονομία νομοφυλακία
and caring-for good-order control-of-women law-guardianship
παιδονομία γυμνασιαρχία, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις περὶ ἀγῶνας
control-of-children gymnasiarchy in-addition and to-these about contests
ἐπιμέλεια γυμνικοὺς καὶ Διονυσιακούς, κἂν εἴ τινας
care athletic and Dionysiac even if some
ἑτέρας συμβαίνει τοιαύτας γίνεσθαι θεωρίας. τούτων δ'
other it-happens such to-take-place spectacles of-these and
ἔνιαι φανερῶς εἰσιν οὐ δημοτικαὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν, οἷον
some evidently are not democratic of-the offices such-as
γυναικονομία καὶ παιδονομία· τοῖς γὰρ ἀπόροις ἀνάγκη
control-of-women and control-of-children for-the for poor necessary
χρῆσθαι καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν ὥσπερ ἀκολούθοις διὰ
to-use both women and children just-as attendants through
τὴν ἀδουλίαν. τριῶν δ' οὐσῶν ἀρχῶν καθ' ἃς αἱροῦνταί
the lack-of-slaves three and being offices by which choose
τινες ἀρχὰς τὰς κυρίους, νομοφυλάκων προβούλων
some offices the sovereign of-law-guardians of-preliminary-councilors
βουλῆς, οἱ μὲν νομοφύλακες ἀριστοκρατικόν, ὀλιγαρχικὸν
of-council the indeed law-guardians aristocratic oligarchic
δ' οἱ πρόβουλοι, βουλὴ δὲ δημοτικόν. Περὶ μὲν
and the preliminary-councilors council and democratic about indeed
οὖν τῶν ἀρχῶν, ὡς ἐν τύπῳ, σχεδὸν εἴρηται περὶ
then the offices as in outline nearly it-has-been-said about
πασῶν.
all

BOOK VII

I · THE BEST LIFE

Before the best constitution, the best life must be known. Goods are external, of the body, and of the soul, and the happy man needs all three; but men acquire and keep the external goods by virtue, not virtue by them, and happiness belongs more to those of cultivated character and mind. The best life, for an individual and for a city, is the life of virtue with enough equipment to act on it.

Περὶ πολιτείας ἀρίστης τὸν μέλλοντα ποιήσασθαι τὴν
about constitution best the(-one) about to-make the
προσήκουσαν ζήτησιν ἀνάγκη διορίσασθαι πρῶτον τίς
appropriate inquiry necessary to-define first what
αἱρετώτατος βίος. ἀδήλου γὰρ ὄντος τούτου καὶ τὴν
most-choiceworthy life unclear for being this also the
ἀρίστην ἀναγκαῖον ἄδηλον εἶναι πολιτείαν· ἄριστα γὰρ
best necessary unclear to-be constitution best for
πράττειν προσήκει τοὺς ἄριστα πολιτευομένους ἐκ τῶν
to-fare it-befits those best being-governed from the(-things)
ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς, ἐὰν μή τι γίγνηται παράλογον.
available to-them if not something happens unexpected
διὸ δεῖ πρῶτον ὁμολογεῖσθαι τίς ὁ πᾶσιν ὡς
therefore one-must first to-agree what the for-all so
εἰπεῖν αἱρετώτατος βίος, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο πότερον κοινῇ
to-speak most-choiceworthy life after and this whether in-common
καὶ χωρὶς ὁ αὐτὸς ἢ ἕτερος. Νομίσαντας οὖν ἱκανῶς
and separately the same or different having-thought then sufficiently
πολλὰ λέγεσθαι †καὶ τῶν† ἐν τοῖς ἐξωτερικοῖς
many(-things) to-be-said also of-the(-things) in the exoteric
λόγοις περὶ τῆς ἀρίστης ζωῆς, καὶ νῦν χρηστέον αὐτοῖς.
discussions about the best life also now one-must-use them

ὡς ἀληθῶς γὰρ πρός γε μίαν διαίρεσιν οὐδεὶς
as truly for with-respect-to at-least one division no-one
ἀμφισβητήσειεν ἂν ὡς οὐ τριῶν οὐσῶν μερίδων, τῶν τε
would-dispute — that not three being parts the both
ἐκτὸς καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ σώματι καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ,
external and the(-goods) in the body and the(-goods) in the soul
πάντα ταῦτα ὑπάρχειν τοῖς μακαρίοις χρή. οὐδεὶς γὰρ
all these to-belong to-the blessed it-is-necessary no-one for
ἂν φαίη μακάριον τὸν μηθὲν μόριον ἔχοντα ἀνδρείας
— would-call blessed the(-man) no part having of-courage
μηδὲ σωφροσύνης μηδὲ δικαιοσύνης μηδὲ φρονήσεως, ἀλλὰ
nor of-moderation nor of-justice nor of-practical-wisdom but
δεδιότα μὲν τὰς παραπετομένας μυίας, ἀπεχόμενον δὲ
fearing indeed the flying-by flies abstaining but
μηθενός, ἂν ἐπιθυμήσῃ τοῦ φαγεῖν ἢ πιεῖν, τῶν ἐσχάτων,
from-nothing if he-desires of-the to-eat or to-drink of-the extreme(-things)
ἕνεκα δὲ τεταρτημορίου διαφθείροντα τοὺς φιλτάτους
for-the-sake and of-a-farthing destroying the dearest
φίλους, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν διάνοιαν οὕτως
friends likewise and also the(-things) about the mind so
ἄφρονα καὶ διεψευσμένον ὥσπερ τι παιδίον ἢ μαινόμενον.
senseless and deceived just-as some child or madman
ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν λεγόμενα ὥσπερ πάντες ἂν συγχωρήσειαν,
but these indeed being-said just-as all — would-agree
διαφέρονται δ' ἐν τῷ ποσῷ καὶ ταῖς ὑπεροχαῖς. τῆς μὲν
they-differ but in the quantity and the superiorities of-the indeed
γὰρ ἀρετῆς ἔχειν ἱκανὸν εἶναι νομίζουσιν ὁποσονοῦν,
for virtue to-have enough to-be they-think any-amount-whatever
πλούτου δὲ καὶ χρημάτων καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης καὶ
of-wealth but and money and power and reputation and
πάντων τῶν τοιούτων εἰς ἄπειρον ζητοῦσι τὴν ὑπερβολήν.
all the such to infinity they-seek the excess

ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐροῦμεν ὅτι ῥάδιον μὲν περὶ τούτων
we and to-them will-say that easy indeed about these
καὶ διὰ τῶν ἔργων λαμβάνειν τὴν πίστιν, ὁρῶντας ὅτι
also through the facts to-take the proof seeing that
κτῶνται καὶ φυλάττουσιν οὐ τὰς ἀρετὰς τοῖς ἐκτὸς ἀλλ᾽
they-acquire and keep not the virtues by-the externals but
ἐκεῖνα ταύταις, καὶ τὸ ζῆν εὐδαιμόνως, εἴτ᾽ ἐν τῷ
those by-these and the to-live happily whether in the
χαίρειν ἐστὶν εἴτ᾽ ἐν ἀρετῇ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἴτ᾽ ἐν ἀμφοῖν,
to-rejoice is or in virtue for-the men or in both
ὅτι μᾶλλον ὑπάρχει τοῖς τὸ ἦθος μὲν καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν
that more it-belongs to-those the character indeed and the mind
κεκοσμημένοις εἰς ὑπερβολήν, περὶ δὲ τὴν ἔξω κτῆσιν
adorned to excess about but the external possession
τῶν ἀγαθῶν μετριάζουσιν, ἢ τοῖς ἐκεῖνα μὲν κεκτημένοις
of-the goods being-moderate than to-those those indeed having-acquired
πλείω τῶν χρησίμων, ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἐλλείπουσιν· οὐ μὴν
more than-the useful in and these falling-short not indeed
ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὸν λόγον σκοπουμένοις εὐσύνοπτόν ἐστιν.
but also according-to the argument for-those-examining easy-to-see it-is
τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκτὸς ἔχει πέρας, ὥσπερ ὄργανόν τι (πᾶν
the indeed for external have limit just-as instrument some all
δὲ τὸ χρήσιμον εἴς τι)· ὧν τὴν ὑπερβολὴν ἢ
and the useful for something of-which the excess either
βλάπτειν ἀναγκαῖον ἢ μηθὲν ὄφελος εἶναι τοῖς ἔχουσιν,
to-harm necessary or no benefit to-be for-those having
τῶν δὲ περὶ ψυχὴν ἕκαστον ἀγαθῶν, ὅσῳ περ ἂν
of-the and about soul each goods by-as-much ever —
ὑπερβάλλῃ, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον χρήσιμον εἶναι, εἰ δεῖ
exceeds by-so-much more useful to-be if one-must
καὶ τούτοις ἐπιλέγειν μὴ μόνον τὸ καλὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ
also to-these to-apply not only the noble but also the

χρήσιμον. ὅλως τε δῆλον ὡς ἀκολουθεῖν φήσομεν τὴν
useful generally and clear that to-follow we-shall-say the
διάθεσιν τὴν ἀρίστην ἑκάστου πράγματος πρὸς ἄλληλα
disposition the best of-each thing to one-another
κατὰ τὴν ὑπεροχήν, ἥνπερ εἴληχε διάστασιν ὧν
according-to the superiority which-very has-obtained distance of-which
φαμεν αὐτὰς εἶναι διαθέσεις ταύτας. ὥστ' εἴπερ ἐστὶν ἡ
we-say them to-be dispositions these so-that if-indeed is the
ψυχὴ καὶ τῆς κτήσεως καὶ τοῦ σώματος τιμιώτερον
soul both than-the possession and than-the body more-precious
καὶ ἁπλῶς καὶ ἡμῖν, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν τὴν ἀρίστην
both simply and for-us necessary also the disposition the best
ἑκάστου ἀνάλογον τούτων ἔχειν. ἔτι δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς
of-each proportionately of-these to-hold further and of-the soul
ἕνεκεν ταῦτα πέφυκεν αἱρετὰ καὶ δεῖ πάντας αἱρεῖσθαι
for-the-sake these are-by-nature choiceworthy and must all to-choose
τοὺς εὖ φρονοῦντας, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνων ἕνεκεν τὴν ψυχήν.
those well thinking but not of-those for-the-sake the soul
Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἑκάστῳ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἐπιβάλλει τοσοῦτον
that indeed then to-each of-the happiness falls so-much
ὅσον περ ἀρετῆς καὶ φρονήσεως καὶ τοῦ πράττειν
as-much indeed of-virtue and of-practical-wisdom and of-the to-act
κατὰ ταύτας, ἔστω συνωμολογημένον ἡμῖν, μάρτυρι τῷ
according-to these let-it-be agreed by-us as-witness the
θεῷ χρωμένοις, ὃς εὐδαίμων μέν ἐστι καὶ μακάριος, δι'
god using who happy indeed is and blessed through
οὐθὲν δὲ τῶν ἐξωτερικῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀλλὰ δι' αὑτὸν αὐτὸς
nothing but of-the external goods but through himself himself
καὶ τῷ ποιός τις εἶναι τὴν φύσιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν εὐτυχίαν
and by-the of-a-kind some to-be in-the nature since also the good-fortune
τῆς εὐδαιμονίας διὰ ταῦτ' ἀναγκαῖον ἑτέραν εἶναι (τῶν
than-the happiness through these necessary different to-be of-the

μὲν γὰρ ἐκτὸς ἀγαθῶν τῆς ψυχῆς αἴτιον ταὐτόματον καὶ
indeed for external goods of-the soul cause chance and
ἡ τύχη, δίκαιος δ' οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ σώφρων ἀπὸ τύχης οὐδὲ
the fortune just but no-one nor moderate from fortune nor
διὰ τὴν τύχην ἐστίν)· ἐχόμενον δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν
through the fortune is next and is also of-the same
λόγων δεόμενον καὶ πόλιν εὐδαίμονα τὴν ἀρίστην εἶναι
arguments needing also city happy the best to-be
καὶ πράττουσαν καλῶς. ἀδύνατον δὲ καλῶς πράττειν
and acting well impossible and well to-act
τοῖς μὴ τὰ καλὰ πράττουσιν· οὐθὲν δὲ καλὸν ἔργον
for-those not the noble(-things) doing nothing and noble work
οὔτ' ἀνδρὸς οὔτε πόλεως χωρὶς ἀρετῆς καὶ φρονήσεως·
neither of-man nor of-city without virtue and practical-wisdom
ἀνδρεία δὲ πόλεως καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ φρόνησις τὴν
courage and of-a-city and justice and practical-wisdom the
αὐτὴν ἔχει δύναμιν καὶ μορφήν, ὧν μετασχὼν ἕκαστος
same has power and form of-which having-shared each
τῶν ἀνθρώπων λέγεται δίκαιος καὶ φρόνιμος καὶ σώφρων.
of-the men is-called just and prudent and moderate
Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἔστω πεφροιμιασμένα
but for these indeed to so-much let-them-be prefaced
τῷ λόγῳ· οὔτε γὰρ μὴ θιγγάνειν αὐτῶν δυνατόν, οὔτε
to-the argument neither for not to-touch them possible nor
πάντας τοὺς οἰκείους ἐπεξελθεῖν ἐνδέχεται λόγους, ἑτέρας
all the proper(-ones) to-go-through it-is-possible arguments of-another
γάρ ἐστιν ἔργον σχολῆς ταῦτα· νῦν δὲ ὑποκείσθω
for is task of-leisure these now and let-it-be-assumed
τοσοῦτον, ὅτι βίος μὲν ἄριστος, καὶ χωρὶς ἑκάστου καὶ
so-much that life indeed best both separately for-each and
κοινῇ ταῖς πόλεσιν, ὁ μετ' ἀρετῆς κεχορηγημένης
in-common for-the cities the(-one) with virtue furnished

ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὥστε μετέχειν τῶν κατ' ἀρετὴν πράξεων,
to so-much so-as to-share of-the according-to virtue actions
πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀμφισβητοῦντας, ἐάσαντας ἐπὶ τῆς νῦν
against and those disputing having-let-be in-the-case-of the present
μεθόδου, διασκεπτέον ὕστερον, εἴ τις τοῖς εἰρημένοις
inquiry it-must-be-examined later if anyone the things-said
τυγχάνει μὴ πειθόμενος.
happens not being-persuaded

II · THE ACTIVE LIFE AND CONQUEST

Happiness is the same for one man and for a city. Is the best life then the political and active one, or one released from the city, such as the philosopher's? Some think ruling neighbors despotically unjust, others think the active life alone fits a man, and many cities, Sparta and Crete among them, aim at war and conquest. But a statesman should not study how to master his neighbors, willing or not; a city could be happy alone under good laws, and war is to be prepared for, not as the end.

Πότερον δὲ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι φατέον ἑνός
whether and the happiness the same to-be one-must-say of-one
τε ἑκάστου τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ πόλεως ἢ μὴ τὴν αὐτήν,
both each of-the men and of-a-city or not the same
λοιπόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν. φανερὸν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, πάντες γὰρ ἂν
remaining it-is to-say clear and also this all for —
ὁμολογήσειαν εἶναι τὴν αὐτήν. ὅσοι γὰρ ἐν πλούτῳ τὸ
would-agree to-be the same as-many-as for in wealth the
ζῆν εὖ τίθενται ἐφ' ἑνός, οὗτοι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην,
to-live well place in-the-case-of one-man these also the city whole
ἐάν ᾖ πλουσία, μακαρίζουσιν· ὅσοι τε τὸν τυραννικὸν
if it-is rich call-blessed as-many-as both the tyrannical
βίον μάλιστα τιμῶσιν, οὗτοι καὶ πόλιν τὴν πλείστων
life most honor these also city the over-most

ἄρχουσαν εὐδαιμονεστάτην ἂν εἶναι φαῖεν· εἴ τέ τις τὸν
ruling happiest — to-be would-say if and anyone the
ἕνα δι' ἀρετὴν ἀποδέχεται, καὶ πόλιν εὐδαιμονεστέραν
one-man through virtue approves also city happier
φήσει τὴν σπουδαιοτέραν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτ' ἤδη δύο ἐστὶν ἃ
will-say the more-excellent but these already two are which
δεῖται σκέψεως, ἓν μὲν πότερος αἱρετώτερος βίος, ὁ
need consideration one indeed which more-choiceworthy life the(-one)
διὰ τοῦ συμπολιτεύεσθαι καὶ κοινωνεῖν πόλεως ἢ μᾶλλον
through the to-be-a-fellow-citizen and to-share-in a-city or rather
ὁ ξενικὸς καὶ τῆς πολιτικῆς κοινωνίας ἀπολελυμένος,
the foreign(-one) and from-the political community released
ἔτι δὲ τίνα πολιτείαν θετέον καὶ ποίαν διάθεσιν
further and what constitution one-must-posit and what-kind disposition
πόλεως ἀρίστην, εἴτε πᾶσιν ὄντος αἱρετοῦ κοινωνεῖν
of-city best whether for-all being choiceworthy to-share-in
πόλεως εἴτε καὶ τισὶ μὲν μὴ τοῖς δὲ πλείστοις.
a-city or also for-some indeed not for-the and most
ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς πολιτικῆς διανοίας καὶ θεωρίας τοῦτ' ἐστὶν
since and of-the political thought and theory this is
ἔργον, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ περὶ ἕκαστον αἱρετόν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ταύτην
task but not the about each choiceworthy we and this
προῃρήμεθα νῦν τὴν σκέψιν, ἐκεῖνο μὲν πάρεργον ἂν εἴη
have-chosen now the inquiry that indeed incidental — would-be
τοῦτο δὲ ἔργον τῆς μεθόδου ταύτης. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἀναγκαῖον
this and task of-the inquiry this that indeed then necessary
εἶναι πολιτείαν ἀρίστην ταύτην τὴν καθ' ἣν τάξιν κἂν
to-be constitution best this the according-to which order even
ὁστισοῦν ἄριστα πράττοι καὶ ζῴη μακαρίως, φανερόν
whoever-it-may-be best might-fare and might-live blessedly clear
ἐστιν· ἀμφισβητεῖται δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν ὁμολογούντων
it-is it-is-disputed and by themselves those agreeing

τὸν μετ᾽ ἀρετῆς εἶναι βίον αἱρετώτατον, πότερον ὁ
the(-life) with virtue to-be life most-choiceworthy whether the
πολιτικὸς καὶ πρακτικὸς βίος αἱρετὸς ἢ μᾶλλον ὁ
political and practical life choiceworthy or rather the(-life)
πάντων τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀπολελυμένος, οἷον θεωρητικός τις, ὢν
from-all the externals released such-as contemplative some which
μόνον τινές φασιν εἶναι φιλόσοφον. σχεδὸν γὰρ τούτους τοὺς
alone some say to-be philosophic nearly for these the
δύο βίους τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ φιλοτιμότατοι πρὸς ἀρετὴν
two lives of-the men the most-ambitious for virtue
φαίνονται προαιρούμενοι, καὶ τῶν προτέρων καὶ τῶν νῦν·
appear choosing both of-the earlier and of-the present
λέγω δὲ δύο τόν τε πολιτικὸν καὶ τὸν φιλόσοφον. διαφέρει
I-mean and two the both political and the philosophic it-differs
δὲ οὐ μικρὸν ποτέρως ἔχει τὸ ἀληθές· ἀνάγκη γὰρ τόν
and not little in-which-way is the truth necessary for the
γε εὖ φρονοῦντα πρὸς τὸν βελτίω σκοπὸν συντάττεσθαι
at-least well thinking to the better aim to-be-arranged
καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἕκαστον καὶ κοινῇ τὴν πολιτείαν.
both of-the men each and in-common the constitution
νομίζουσι δ᾽ οἱ μὲν τὸ τῶν πέλας ἄρχειν δεσποτικῶς
think and the(-ones) indeed the over-the neighbors to-rule despotically
μὲν γιγνόμενον μετ᾽ ἀδικίας τινὸς εἶναι τῆς μεγίστης,
indeed happening with injustice some to-be the greatest
πολιτικῶς δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄδικον οὐκ ἔχειν, ἐμπόδιον δὲ ἔχειν τῇ
politically and the indeed injustice not to-have hindrance but to-have to-the
περὶ αὐτὸν εὐημερίᾳ· τούτων δ᾽ ὥσπερ ἐξ ἐναντίας ἕτεροι
about himself well-being these and as-it-were from opposite others
τυγχάνουσι δοξάζοντες· μόνον γὰρ ἀνδρὸς τὸν πρακτικὸν
happen holding-the-opinion only for of-a-man the practical
εἶναι βίον καὶ πολιτικόν, ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστης γὰρ ἀρετῆς οὐκ
to-be life and political in-the-case-of each for virtue not

εἶναι πράξεις μᾶλλον τοῖς ἰδιώταις ἢ τοῖς τὰ κοινὰ
to-be actions more for-the private-men than for-those the public(-affairs)
πράττουσι καὶ πολιτευομένοις. οἱ μὲν οὖν οὕτως
doing and taking-part-in-politics the(-ones) indeed then so
ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, οἱ δὲ τὸν δεσποτικὸν καὶ τυραννικὸν
suppose the(-others) and the despotic and tyrannical
τρόπον τῆς πολιτείας εἶναι μόνον εὐδαίμονά φασιν. παρ'
manner of-the constitution to-be alone happy say among
ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ τῆς πολιτείας οὗτος ὅρος τῶν νόμων, ὅπως
some and also of-the constitution this definition of-the laws that
δεσπόζωσι τῶν πέλας. διὸ καὶ τῶν πλείστων νομίμων
they-may-be-masters of-the neighbors therefore also of-the most customs
χύδην ὡς εἰπεῖν κειμένων παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις, ὅμως
indiscriminately so to-speak laid-down among the most nevertheless
εἴ πού τι πρὸς ἓν οἱ νόμοι βλέπουσι, τοῦ κρατεῖν
if anywhere some to one the laws look at-the to-dominate
στοχάζονται πάντες, ὥσπερ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι καὶ Κρήτῃ
they-aim all just-as in Lacedaemon and Crete
πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους συντέτακται σχεδὸν ἥ τε παιδεία
for the wars is-arranged nearly the both education
καὶ τὸ τῶν νόμων πλῆθος· ἔτι δ' ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι πᾶσι
and the of-the laws mass further and in the nations all
τοῖς δυναμένοις πλεονεκτεῖν ἡ τοιαύτη τετίμηται δύναμις,
the able to-have-more the such has-been-honored power
οἷον ἐν Σκύθαις καὶ Πέρσαις καὶ Θρᾳξὶ καὶ Κελτοῖς.
such-as among Scythians and Persians and Thracians and Celts
ἐν ἐνίοις γὰρ καὶ νόμοι τινές εἰσι παροξύνοντες πρὸς
in some for also laws some are inciting to
τὴν ἀρετὴν ταύτην, καθάπερ ἐν Καρχηδόνι φασὶ τὸν ἐκ
the virtue this just-as in Carthage they-say the from
τῶν κρίκων κόσμον λαμβάνειν ὅσας ἂν στρατεύσωνται
the rings decoration to-receive as-many-as — they-serve

στρατείας· ἦν δέ ποτε καὶ περὶ Μακεδονίαν νόμος τὸν
campaigns was and once also about Macedonia law the(-man)
μηθένα ἀπεκταγκότα πολέμιον ἄνδρα περιεζῶσθαι τὴν
no-one having-killed enemy man to-wear the
φορβειάν· ἐν δὲ Σκύθαις οὐκ ἐξῆν πίνειν ἐν ἑορτῇ
halter in and Scythians not it-was-allowed to-drink at festival
τινι σκύφον περιφερόμενον τῷ μηθένα ἀπεκταγκότι
some cup carried-round for-the no-one having-killed
πολέμιον· ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ἴβηρσιν, ἔθνει πολεμικῷ, τοσούτους
enemy in and the Iberians nation warlike so-many
τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὀβελίσκους καταπηγνύουσι περὶ τὸν τάφον
in-the number spits they-fix around the tomb
ὅσους ἂν διαφθείρῃ τῶν πολεμίων· καὶ ἕτερα δὴ
as-many-as — he-destroys of-the enemies and other indeed
παρ᾽ ἑτέροις ἔστι τοιαῦτα πολλά, τὰ μὲν νόμοις
among others are such many the(-ones) indeed by-laws
κατειλημμένα τὰ δὲ ἔθεσιν.
established the(-others) and by-customs
Καίτοι δόξειεν ἂν ἄγαν ἄτοπον ἴσως εἶναι τοῖς
and-yet would-seem — very absurd perhaps to-be to-those
βουλομένοις ἐπισκοπεῖν, εἰ τοῦτ᾽ ἐστὶν ἔργον τοῦ πολιτικοῦ,
wishing to-consider if this is task of-the statesman
τὸ δύνασθαι θεωρεῖν ὅπως ἄρχῃ καὶ δεσπόζῃ τῶν
the to-be-able to-consider how he-may-rule and be-master of-the
πλησίον καὶ βουλομένων καὶ μὴ βουλομένων. πῶς γὰρ
neighbors both willing and not willing how for
ἂν εἴη τοῦτο πολιτικὸν ἢ νομοθετικόν, ὅ γε μηδὲ
— would-be this political or legislative which at-least not-even
νόμιμόν ἐστιν; οὐ νόμιμον δὲ τὸ μὴ μόνον δικαίως ἀλλὰ
lawful is not lawful and the not only justly but
καὶ ἀδίκως ἄρχειν, κρατεῖν δ᾽ ἔστι καὶ μὴ δικαίως.
also unjustly to-rule to-prevail and it-is-possible even not justly

ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ᾽ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπιστήμαις τοῦτο ὁρῶμεν·
but indeed not-even in the other sciences this we-see
οὔτε γὰρ τοῦ ἰατροῦ οὔτε τοῦ κυβερνήτου ἔργον ἐστὶ τὸ
neither for of-the doctor nor of-the helmsman task is the
ἢ πεῖσαι ἢ βιάσασθαι τοῦ μὲν τοὺς θεραπευομένους
either to-persuade or to-force of-the(-one) indeed the patients
τοῦ δὲ τοὺς πλωτῆρας. ἀλλ᾽ ἐοίκασιν οἱ πολλοὶ τὴν
of-the(-other) and the sailors but seem the many the
δεσποτικὴν πολιτικὴν οἴεσθαι εἶναι, καὶ ὅπερ αὑτοῖς
despotic political to-think to-be and what for-themselves
ἕκαστοι οὔ φασιν εἶναι δίκαιον οὐδὲ συμφέρον, τοῦτ᾽ οὐκ
each not say to-be just nor advantageous this not
αἰσχύνονται πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀσκοῦντες· αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ
are-ashamed toward the others practicing themselves indeed for
παρ᾽ αὑτοῖς τὸ δικαίως ἄρχειν ζητοῦσι, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς
among themselves the justly to-rule they-seek toward and the
ἄλλους οὐδὲν μέλει τῶν δικαίων.
others nothing it-matters of-the just
ἄτοπον δὲ εἰ μὴ φύσει τὸ μὲν δεσποστόν ἐστι τὸ δὲ οὐ
absurd and if not by-nature the indeed fit-for-mastership is the and not
δεσποστόν, ὥστε εἴπερ ἔχει τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον, οὐ δεῖ
fit-for-mastership so-that if-indeed it-is the way this not one-must
πάντων πειρᾶσθαι δεσπόζειν, ἀλλὰ τῶν δεσποστῶν,
all to-try to-be-master-of but the fit-for-mastership(-ones)
ὥσπερ οὐδὲ θηρεύειν ἐπὶ θοίνην ἢ θυσίαν ἀνθρώπους,
just-as not-even to-hunt for feast or sacrifice men
ἀλλὰ τὰ πρὸς τοῦτο θηρευτόν· ἔστι δὲ θηρευτὸν ὃ
but the(-things) for this huntable is and huntable what
ἂν ἄγριον ᾖ ἐδεστὸν ζῷον. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴη γ᾽ ἂν καὶ
— wild is edible animal but indeed might-be at-least — also
καθ᾽ ἑαυτὴν μία πόλις εὐδαίμων, ἣ πολιτεύεται δηλονότι
by itself one city happy which is-governed clearly

καλῶς, εἴπερ ἐνδέχεται πόλιν οἰκεῖσθαί που καθ'
well if-indeed it-is-possible city to-be-managed somewhere by
ἑαυτὴν νόμοις χρωμένην σπουδαίοις, ἧς τῆς πολιτείας
itself laws using excellent of-which of-the constitution
ἡ σύνταξις οὐ πρὸς πόλεμον οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸ κρατεῖν ἔσται
the arrangement not for war nor for the to-prevail will-be
τῶν πολεμίων· μηθὲν γὰρ ὑπαρχέτω τοιοῦτον. Δῆλον ἄρα
of-the enemies nothing for let-there-be such clear then
ὅτι πάσας τὰς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιμελείας καλὰς μὲν
that all the for the war cares fine indeed
θετέον, οὐχ ὡς τέλος δὲ πάντων ἀκρότατον, ἀλλ' ἐκείνου
one-must-posit not as end but of-all highest but of-that
χάριν ταύτας. τοῦ δὲ νομοθέτου τοῦ σπουδαίου ἐστὶ τὸ
for-the-sake these of-the and lawgiver the excellent is the
θεάσασθαι πόλιν καὶ γένος ἀνθρώπων καὶ πᾶσαν ἄλλην
to-consider city and race of-men and every other
κοινωνίαν, ζωῆς ἀγαθῆς πῶς μεθέξουσι καὶ τῆς ἐνδεχομένης
community of-life good how they-will-share and of-the possible
αὐτοῖς εὐδαιμονίας. διοίσει μέντοι τῶν ταττομένων ἔνια
for-them happiness will-differ however of-the being-laid-down some
νομίμων· καὶ τοῦτο τῆς νομοθετικῆς ἐστιν ἰδεῖν, ἐάν τινες
customs and this of-the legislative-art is to-see if some
ὑπάρχωσι γειτνιῶντες, ποῖα πρὸς ποίους ἀσκητέον ἢ
exist bordering what-kind against what-kind must-be-practiced or
πῶς τοῖς καθήκουσι πρὸς ἑκάστους χρηστέον. Ἀλλὰ
how the appropriate(-measures) toward each one-must-use but
τοῦτο μὲν κἂν ὕστερον τύχοι τῆς προσηκούσης σκέψεως,
this indeed even later would-obtain the fitting inquiry
πρὸς τί τέλος δεῖ τὴν ἀρίστην πολιτείαν συντείνειν·
to what end must the best constitution to-tend

Those who reject political office and those who praise the political life are both partly right: the free man's life is better than the master's, but not all rule is despotic, and inactivity is not happier than action. Yet seizing power over all is not best, for among equals rule passes in turn. Action need not be outward: thought pursued for its own sake is the most active, and a city cut off from others may still be active, as God and the universe are.

πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ὁμολογοῦντας μὲν τὸν μετ' ἀρετῆς εἶναι
to and those agreeing indeed the(-life) with virtue to-be
βίον αἱρετώτατον, διαφερομένους δὲ περὶ τῆς χρήσεως
life most-choiceworthy differing but about the use
αὐτοῦ, λεκτέον ἡμῖν πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους αὐτούς (οἱ μὲν
of-it it-must-be-said by-us to both them the(-ones) indeed
γὰρ ἀποδοκιμάζουσι τὰς πολιτικὰς ἀρχάς, νομίζοντες τόν
for disapprove the political offices thinking the
τε τοῦ ἐλευθέρου βίον ἕτερόν τινα εἶναι τοῦ πολιτικοῦ
both of-the free life different some to-be from-the political
καὶ πάντων αἱρετώτατον, οἱ δὲ τοῦτον ἄριστον·
and of-all most-choiceworthy the(-others) and this best
ἀδύνατον γὰρ τὸν μηθὲν πράττοντα πράττειν εὖ, τὴν δ'
impossible for the(-man) nothing doing to-do well the and
εὐπραγίαν καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν εἶναι ταὐτόν), ὅτι τὰ
doing-well and the happiness to-be the-same that the(-things)
μὲν ἀμφότεροι λέγουσιν ὀρθῶς τὰ δὲ οὐκ ὀρθῶς,
indeed both say rightly the(-things) and not rightly
οἱ μὲν ὅτι ὁ τοῦ ἐλευθέρου βίος τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ
the(-ones) indeed that the of-the free life than-the despotic
ἀμείνων, τοῦτο γὰρ ἀληθές· οὐθὲν γὰρ τό γε δούλῳ
better this for true nothing for the at-least slave
ᾗ δοῦλος χρῆσθαι σεμνόν· ἡ γὰρ ἐπίταξις ἡ περὶ τῶν
as slave to-use dignified the for command the about the

ἀναγκαίων οὐδενὸς μετέχει τῶν καλῶν. τὸ μέντοι νομίζειν
necessaries in-nothing shares of-the noble(-things) the however to-think
πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν εἶναι δεσποτείαν οὐκ ὀρθόν· οὐ γὰρ ἔλαττον
every rule to-be despotism not right not for less
διέστηκεν ἡ τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἀρχὴ τῆς τῶν δούλων ἢ
are-apart the of-the free rule from-the of-the slaves than
αὐτὸ τὸ φύσει ἐλεύθερον τοῦ φύσει δούλου. διώρισται
itself the by-nature free from-the by-nature slave it-has-been-defined
δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ἱκανῶς ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις λόγοις. τὸ δὲ
and about them sufficiently in the first discussions the and
μᾶλλον ἐπαινεῖν τὸ ἀπρακτεῖν τοῦ πράττειν οὐκ ἀληθές· ἡ
more to-praise the to-be-inactive than-the to-act not true the
γὰρ εὐδαιμονία πρᾶξίς ἐστιν, ἔτι δὲ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν
for happiness action is further and of-many and noble(-things)
τέλος ἔχουσιν αἱ τῶν δικαίων καὶ σωφρόνων πράξεις.
completion have the of-the just and moderate actions
καίτοι τάχ᾽ ἂν ὑπολάβοι τις τούτων οὕτω διωρισμένων ὅτι
and-yet perhaps — might-suppose anyone these thus defined that
τὸ κύριον εἶναι πάντων ἄριστον· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν πλείστων καὶ
the sovereign to-be over-all best so for — of-most and
καλλίστων κύριος εἴη πράξεων. ὥστε οὐ δεῖ τὸν
finest sovereign would-be actions so-that not one-must the(-man)
δυνάμενον ἄρχειν παριέναι τῷ πλησίον, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον
able to-rule to-yield to-the neighbor but rather
ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, καὶ μήτε πατέρα παίδων μήτε παῖδας πατρὸς
to-take-away and neither father of-children nor children of-father
μήθ᾽ ὅλως φίλον φίλου μηθένα ὑπόλογον ποιεῖσθαι μηδὲ
nor at-all friend of-friend any account to-make nor
πρὸς τοῦτο φροντίζειν· τὸ γὰρ ἄριστον αἱρετώτατον, τὸ δ᾽
for this to-care the for best most-choiceworthy the and
εὖ πράττειν ἄριστον. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἀληθῶς ἴσως λέγουσιν,
well to-do best this indeed then truly perhaps they-say

εἴπερ ὑπάρξει τοῖς ἀποστεροῦσι καὶ βιαζομένοις τὸ τῶν
if-indeed will-belong to-those robbing and using-force the of-the(-things)
ὄντων αἱρετώτατον· ἀλλ᾽ ἴσως οὐχ οἷόν τε ὑπάρχειν, ἀλλ᾽
being most-choiceworthy but perhaps not possible — to-belong but
ὑποτίθενται τοῦτο ψεῦδος. οὐ γὰρ ἔτι καλὰς τὰς πράξεις
they-assume this falsehood not for any-longer noble the actions
ἐνδέχεται εἶναι τῷ μὴ διαφέροντι τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἀνὴρ
it-is-possible to-be for-the(-one) not differing so-much as man
γυναικὸς ἢ πατὴρ τέκνων ἢ δεσπότης δούλων· ὥστε ὁ
from-woman or father from-children or master from-slaves so-that the(-one)
παραβαίνων οὐθὲν ἂν τηλικοῦτον κατορθώσειεν ὕστερον
transgressing nothing — so-great would-set-right later
ὅσον ἤδη παρεκβέβηκε τῆς ἀρετῆς. τοῖς γὰρ ὁμοίοις
as-much-as already he-has-departed from-the virtue to-the for alike
τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἐν τῷ ἐν μέρει, τοῦτο γὰρ ἴσον καὶ
the noble and the just in the in turn this for equal and
ὅμοιον· τὸ δὲ μὴ ἴσον τοῖς ἴσοις καὶ τὸ μὴ ὅμοιον τοῖς ὁμοίοις
alike the and not equal to-the equal and the not alike to-the alike
παρὰ φύσιν, οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν παρὰ φύσιν καλόν.
contrary-to nature nothing and of-the(-things) contrary-to nature noble
διὸ κἂν ἄλλος τις ᾖ κρείττων κατ᾽ ἀρετὴν καὶ κατὰ
therefore even-if other anyone is stronger in virtue and in
δύναμιν τὴν πρακτικὴν τῶν ἀρίστων, τούτῳ καλὸν
power the practical than-the best to-this-one noble
ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ τούτῳ πείθεσθαι δίκαιον. δεῖ δ᾽ οὐ
to-follow and this-one to-obey just one-must but not
μόνον ἀρετὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ δύναμιν ὑπάρχειν, καθ᾽ ἣν
only virtue but also power to-belong according-to which
ἔσται πρακτικός. ἀλλ᾽ εἰ ταῦτα λέγεται καλῶς καὶ τὴν
he-will-be practical but if these are-said well also the
εὐδαιμονίαν εὐπραγίαν θετέον, καὶ κοινῇ πάσης πόλεως
happiness doing-well one-must-posit both in-common of-every city

ἂν εἴη καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἄριστος βίος ὁ πρακτικός. ἀλλὰ
— *would-be and by each best life the practical but*
τὸν πρακτικὸν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πρὸς ἑτέρους, καθάπερ
the practical not necessary to-be toward others just-as
οἴονταί τινες, οὐδὲ τὰς διανοίας εἶναι μόνας ταύτας
think some nor the thoughts to-be alone these
πρακτικὰς τὰς τῶν ἀποβαινόντων χάριν γιγνομένας
practical the(-ones) of-the results for-the-sake arising
ἐκ τοῦ πράττειν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον τὰς αὐτοτελεῖς καὶ
from the to-act but much more the self-complete and
τὰς αὑτῶν ἕνεκεν θεωρίας καὶ διανοήσεις· ἡ γὰρ
the of-themselves for-the-sake contemplations and thinkings the for
εὐπραξία τέλος, ὥστε καὶ πρᾶξίς τις· μάλιστα δὲ καὶ
doing-well end so-that also action some most and also
πράττειν λέγομεν κυρίως καὶ τῶν ἐξωτερικῶν πράξεων τοὺς
to-act we-say properly even of-the external actions those
ταῖς διανοίαις ἀρχιτέκτονας. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἀπρακτεῖν
by-the thoughts master-builders but indeed not-even to-be-inactive
ἀναγκαῖον τὰς καθ' αὑτὰς πόλεις ἱδρυμένας καὶ ζῆν οὕτω
necessary the by themselves cities situated and to-live so
προῃρημένας· ἐνδέχεται γὰρ κατὰ μέρη καὶ τοῦτο συμβαίνειν·
having-chosen it-is-possible for by parts also this to-happen
πολλαὶ γὰρ κοινωνίαι πρὸς ἄλληλα τοῖς μέρεσι τῆς πόλεώς
many for communities with one-another to-the parts of-the city
εἰσιν. ὁμοίως δὲ τοῦτο ὑπάρχει καὶ καθ' ἑνὸς ὁτουοῦν
are likewise and this belongs also in-the-case-of one any-whatever
τῶν ἀνθρώπων· σχολῇ γὰρ ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἔχοι καλῶς καὶ
of-the men hardly for — the god might-have well and
πᾶς ὁ κόσμος, οἷς οὐκ εἰσὶν ἐξωτερικαὶ πράξεις παρὰ
all the universe to-whom not are external actions beside
τὰς οἰκείας τὰς αὐτῶν. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν τὸν αὐτὸν βίον
the proper(-ones) the of-themselves that indeed then the same life

ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὸν ἄριστον ἑκάστῳ τε τῶν ἀνθρώπων
necessary to-be the best for-each both of-the men
καὶ κοινῇ ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, φανερόν ἐστιν.
and in-common for-the cities and for-the men clear it-is

IV · THE SIZE OF THE CITY

The best constitution needs its materials: a population and a territory. A great city is not a populous one: a city has a size as animals and ships do, and too many cannot be well governed, as law is order. The best number is the greatest that suffices for a self-sufficient life and that can be taken in at a view, so that citizens know one another's character to judge and elect.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ πεφροιμίασται τὰ νῦν εἰρημένα περὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ
since and have-been-prefaced the now said(-things) about them and
περὶ τὰς ἄλλας πολιτείας ἡμῖν τεθεώρηται πρότερον, ἀρχὴ
about the other constitutions by-us has-been-studied before beginning
τῶν λοιπῶν εἰπεῖν πρῶτον ποίας τινὰς δεῖ τὰς ὑποθέσεις
of-the remaining to-say first what-kind some must the hypotheses
εἶναι περὶ τῆς μελλούσης κατ᾽ εὐχὴν συνεστάναι πόλεως.
to-be about the about-to by prayer to-be-constituted city
οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε πολιτείαν γενέσθαι τὴν ἀρίστην ἄνευ
not for possible — constitution to-come-about the best without
συμμέτρου χορηγίας. διὸ δεῖ πολλὰ προϋποτεθεῖσθαι
proportionate equipment therefore must many(-things) to-be-presupposed
καθάπερ εὐχομένους, εἶναι μέντοι μηθὲν τούτων ἀδύνατον·
just-as praying to-be however none of-these impossible
λέγω δὲ οἷον περί τε πλήθους πολιτῶν καὶ χώρας.
I-mean and such-as about both multitude of-citizens and territory
ὥσπερ γὰρ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δημιουργοῖς, οἷον ὑφάντῃ καὶ
just-as for also to-the other craftsmen such-as weaver and

ναυπηγῷ, δεῖ τὴν ὕλην ὑπάρχειν ἐπιτηδείαν οὖσαν πρὸς
shipbuilder must the material to-exist suitable being for
τὴν ἐργασίαν (ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν αὕτη τυγχάνῃ παρεσκευασμένη
the work by-as-much for — this happens prepared
βέλτιον, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς τέχνης εἶναι
better necessary also the coming-to-be by the art to-be
κάλλιον), οὕτω καὶ τῷ πολιτικῷ καὶ τῷ νομοθέτῃ δεῖ
finer so also to-the statesman and to-the lawgiver must
τὴν οἰκείαν ὕλην ὑπάρχειν ἐπιτηδείως ἔχουσαν.
the proper material to-exist suitably being
Ἔστι δὲ πολιτικῆς χορηγίας πρῶτον τό τε πλῆθος τῶν
is and of-political equipment first the both multitude of-the
ἀνθρώπων, πόσους τε καὶ ποίους τινὰς ὑπάρχειν δεῖ
men how-many both and what-kind some to-exist must
φύσει, καὶ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ὡσαύτως, πόσην τε εἶναι
by-nature and in-respect-of the territory likewise how-large both to-be
καὶ ποίαν τινὰ ταύτην. Οἴονται μὲν οὖν οἱ πλεῖστοι
and what-kind some this think indeed then the most
προσήκειν μεγάλην εἶναι τὴν εὐδαίμονα πόλιν· εἰ δὲ
to-befit great to-be the happy city if and
τοῦτ' ἀληθές, ἀγνοοῦσι ποία μεγάλη καὶ μικρὰ πόλις.
this true they-do-not-know what-kind great and small city
κατ' ἀριθμοῦ γὰρ πλῆθος τῶν ἐνοικούντων κρίνουσι
according-to of-number for multitude of-the inhabitants they-judge
τὴν μεγάλην, δεῖ δὲ μᾶλλον μὴ εἰς τὸ πλῆθος εἰς
the great one-must but rather not to the multitude to
δὲ δύναμιν ἀποβλέπειν. ἔστι γάρ τι καὶ πόλεως ἔργον,
but power to-look is for some also of-a-city task
ὥστε τὴν δυναμένην τοῦτο μάλιστ' ἀποτελεῖν, ταύτην
so-that the(-one) able this most to-accomplish this
οἰητέον εἶναι μεγίστην, οἷον Ἱπποκράτην οὐκ ἄνθρωπον
one-must-think to-be greatest such-as Hippocrates not man

ἀλλ᾽ ἰατρὸν εἶναι μείζω φήσειεν ἄν τις τοῦ
but doctor to-be greater would-say — anyone than-the(-one)
διαφέροντος κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ σώματος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ
differing in the size of-the body not indeed but
κἂν εἰ δεῖ κρίνειν πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ἀποβλέποντας,
even if one-must to-judge with-reference-to the multitude looking
οὐ κατὰ τὸ τυχὸν πλῆθος τοῦτο ποιητέον (ἀναγκαῖον
not by the chance multitude this must-be-done necessary
γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἴσως ὑπάρχειν καὶ δούλων ἀριθμὸν
for in the cities perhaps to-exist also of-slaves number
πολλῶν καὶ μετοίκων καὶ ξένων), ἀλλ᾽ ὅσοι πόλεώς
many and of-resident-aliens and of-foreigners but as-many-as of-the-city
εἰσι μέρος καὶ ἐξ ὧν συνίσταται πόλις οἰκείων μορίων·
are part and from which is-composed city proper parts
ἡ γὰρ τούτων ὑπεροχὴ τοῦ πλήθους μεγάλης πόλεως
the for of-these excess of-the multitude of-great city
σημεῖον, ἐξ ἧς δὲ βάναυσοι μὲν ἐξέρχονται πολλοὶ τὸν
sign from which and mechanics indeed go-out many in-the
ἀριθμὸν ὁπλῖται δὲ ὀλίγοι, ταύτην ἀδύνατον εἶναι μεγάλην·
number hoplites and few this impossible to-be great
οὐ γὰρ ταὐτὸν μεγάλη τε πόλις καὶ πολυάνθρωπος.
not for the-same great both city and populous
ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοῦτό γε ἐκ τῶν ἔργων φανερὸν
but indeed also this at-least from the facts clear
ὅτι χαλεπόν, ἴσως δ᾽ ἀδύνατον, εὐνομεῖσθαι τὴν λίαν
that hard perhaps and impossible to-be-well-governed the too
πολυάνθρωπον. τῶν γοῦν δοκουσῶν πολιτεύεσθαι καλῶς
populous of-the at-any-rate seeming to-be-governed well
οὐδεμίαν ὁρῶμεν οὖσαν ἀνειμένην πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος.
none we-see being lax with-respect-to the multitude
τοῦτο δὲ δῆλον καὶ διὰ τῆς τῶν λόγων πίστεως. ὅ
this and clear also through the of-the arguments proof the

τε γὰρ νόμος τάξις τίς ἐστι, καὶ τὴν εὐνομίαν ἀναγκαῖον
both for law order some is and the good-law necessary
εὐταξίαν εἶναι, ὁ δὲ λίαν ὑπερβάλλων ἀριθμὸς οὐ δύναται
good-order to-be the and too excessive number not can
μετέχειν τάξεως· θείας γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο δυνάμεως ἔργον, ἥτις
to-share-in order divine for indeed this power work which
καὶ τόδε συνέχει τὸ πᾶν· ἐπεὶ τό γε καλὸν ἐν πλήθει
also this holds-together the universe since the at-least beautiful in number
καὶ μεγέθει εἴωθε γίνεσθαι. διὸ καὶ πόλις, ἧς μετὰ
and magnitude is-wont to-come-about therefore also a-city of-which with
μεγέθους ὁ λεχθεὶς ὅρος ὑπάρχει, ταύτην εἶναι καλλίστην
greatness the stated limit exists this to-be finest
ἀναγκαῖον. ἀλλ' ἔστι τι καὶ πόλεως μεγέθους μέτρον,
necessary but there-is some also of-a-city of-size measure
ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων, ζῴων φυτῶν ὀργάνων· καὶ
just-as also of-the other all animals plants instruments and
γὰρ τούτων ἕκαστον οὔτε λίαν μικρὸν οὔτε κατὰ μέγεθος
for of-these each neither too small nor in size
ὑπερβάλλον ἕξει τὴν αὑτοῦ δύναμιν, ἀλλ' ὁτὲ μὲν
exceeding will-have the its-own power but sometimes indeed
ὅλως ἐστερημένον ἔσται τῆς φύσεως ὁτὲ δὲ φαύλως
wholly deprived it-will-be of-the nature sometimes and badly
ἔχον, οἷον πλοῖον σπιθαμιαῖον μὲν οὐκ ἔσται πλοῖον ὅλως,
being such-as ship of-a-span indeed not will-be ship at-all
οὐδὲ δυοῖν σταδίοιν, εἰς δὲ τὶ μέγεθος ἐλθὸν ὁτὲ μὲν
nor of-two stades to and some size having-come sometimes indeed
διὰ σμικρότητα φαύλην ποιήσει τὴν ναυτιλίαν, ὁτὲ
through smallness bad will-make the sailing sometimes
δὲ διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολήν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ πόλις ἡ μὲν
and through the excess likewise and also city the(-one) indeed
ἐξ ὀλίγων λίαν οὐκ αὐτάρκης (ἡ δὲ πόλις αὔταρκες),
from few too not self-sufficient the and city self-sufficient

ἡ δὲ ἐκ πολλῶν ἄγαν ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις
the(-one) and from many too-much in indeed the necessities
αὐτάρκης, ὥσπερ δ' ἔθνος ἀλλ' οὐ πόλις· πολιτείαν γὰρ
self-sufficient just-as and nation but not city constitution for
οὐ ῥάδιον ὑπάρχειν· τίς γὰρ στρατηγὸς ἔσται τοῦ λίαν
not easy to-exist who for general will-be of-the too
ὑπερβάλλοντος πλήθους, ἢ τίς κῆρυξ μὴ Στεντόρειος;
excessive multitude or who herald not Stentorian
διὸ πρώτην μὲν εἶναι πόλιν ἀναγκαῖον τὴν ἐκ
therefore first indeed to-be city necessary the(-one) from
τοσούτου πλήθους ὃ πρῶτον πλῆθος αὔταρκες πρὸς τὸ
so-great multitude which first multitude self-sufficient for the
εὖ ζῆν ἐστι κατὰ τὴν πολιτικὴν κοινωνίαν· ἐνδέχεται δὲ
well to-live is according-to the political community it-is-possible and
καὶ τὴν ταύτης ὑπερβάλλουσαν κατὰ πλῆθος εἶναι μείζω
also the(-one) this exceeding in multitude to-be greater
πόλιν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ὥσπερ εἴπομεν, ἀόριστον. τίς
city but this not is just-as we-said unlimited what
δ' ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς ὑπερβολῆς ὅρος, ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἰδεῖν ῥάδιον.
and is the of-the excess limit from the facts to-see easy
εἰσὶ γὰρ αἱ πράξεις τῆς πόλεως τῶν μὲν ἀρχόντων
are for the actions of-the city of-the(-ones) indeed ruling
τῶν δ' ἀρχομένων, ἄρχοντος δ' ἐπίταξις καὶ κρίσις
of-the(-others) and ruled of-ruler and command and judgment
ἔργον· πρὸς δὲ τὸ κρίνειν περὶ τῶν δικαίων καὶ πρὸς τὸ
task for and the to-judge about the just(-things) and for the
τὰς ἀρχὰς διανέμειν κατ' ἀξίαν ἀναγκαῖον γνωρίζειν
the offices to-distribute according-to merit necessary to-know
ἀλλήλους, ποῖοί τινές εἰσι, τοὺς πολίτας, ὡς ὅπου τοῦτο
one-another of-what-sort some are the citizens since where this
μὴ συμβαίνει γίγνεσθαι, φαύλως ἀνάγκη γίγνεσθαι τὰ
not happens to-come-about badly necessary to-go the(-things)

περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς κρίσεις. περὶ ἀμφότερα γὰρ οὐ
about the offices and the judgments about both for not
δίκαιον αὐτοσχεδιάζειν, ὅπερ ἐν τῇ πολυανθρωπίᾳ τῇ
just to-improvise which-very in the overpopulation the
λίαν ὑπάρχει φανερῶς. ἔτι δὲ ξένοις καὶ μετοίκοις
excessive exists evidently further and to-foreigners and to-resident-aliens
ῥᾴδιον μεταλαμβάνειν τῆς πολιτείας· οὐ γὰρ χαλεπὸν τὸ
easy to-share-in the constitution not for hard the
λανθάνειν διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ πλήθους. δῆλον τοίνυν
to-escape-notice through the excess of-the multitude clear then
ὡς οὗτός ἐστι πόλεως ὅρος ἄριστος, ἡ μεγίστη τοῦ
that this is of-a-city limit best the greatest of-the
πλήθους ὑπερβολὴ πρὸς αὐτάρκειαν ζωῆς εὐσύνοπτος. Περὶ
multitude excess for self-sufficiency of-life easily-surveyed about
μὲν οὖν μεγέθους πόλεως διωρίσθω τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον.
indeed then size of-a-city let-it-be-defined in-the way this

V · THE TERRITORY

The territory should be self-sufficient, bearing every crop, and large enough for leisure lived liberally and temperately. It should be hard for enemies to invade and easy to leave, and the city should lie well for sea and land, at the center of its land, convenient for bringing in crops, timber, and other goods.

Παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς χώρας ἔχει. περὶ
similarly and also the(-matters) about the territory are about
μὲν γὰρ τοῦ ποίαν τινά, δῆλον ὅτι τὴν αὐταρκεστάτην
indeed for the what-kind some clear that the most-self-sufficient
πᾶς τις ἂν ἐπαινέσειεν (τοιαύτην δ' ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι
every one — would-praise such and necessary to-be
τὴν παντοφόρον· τὸ γὰρ πάντα ὑπάρχειν καὶ δεῖσθαι
the all-bearing the for all to-exist and to-need

μηθενὸς αὔταρκες)· πλήθει δὲ καὶ μεγέθει τοσαύτην ὥστε
nothing self-sufficient in-multitude and also in-size so-great so-that
δύνασθαι τοὺς οἰκοῦντας ζῆν σχολάζοντας ἐλευθερίως ἅμα
to-be-able the inhabitants to-live being-at-leisure freely at-once
καὶ σωφρόνως. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν ὅρον εἰ καλῶς ἢ μὴ
and moderately this and the limit whether well or not
καλῶς λέγομεν, ὕστερον ἐπισκεπτέον ἀκριβέστερον, ὅταν
well we-state later must-be-examined more-precisely whenever
ὅλως περὶ κτήσεως καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν εὐπορίας
generally about property and the about the substance abundance
συμβαίνῃ ποιεῖσθαι μνείαν, πῶς δεῖ καὶ τίνα τρόπον
it-happens to-make mention how one-must and what way
ἔχειν πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν αὐτήν· πολλαὶ γὰρ περὶ τὴν
to-be-disposed toward the use itself many for about the
σκέψιν ταύτην εἰσὶν ἀμφισβητήσεις διὰ τοὺς ἕλκοντας
inquiry this are disputes through those dragging
ἐφ' ἑκατέραν τοῦ βίου τὴν ὑπερβολήν, τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν
to each of-the life the excess the(-ones) indeed to the
γλισχρότητα τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τρυφήν. Τὸ δ' εἶδος τῆς
stinginess the(-others) and to the luxury the and form of-the
χώρας οὐ χαλεπὸν εἰπεῖν (δεῖ δ' ἔνια πείθεσθαι
territory not hard to-say one-must and in-some-things to-trust
καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐμπείροις), ὅτι χρὴ μὲν
also those about the generalship experienced that one-must indeed
τοῖς πολεμίοις εἶναι δυσέμβολον αὐτοῖς δ' εὐέξοδον.
for-the enemies to-be hard-to-invade for-themselves and easy-to-go-out
ἔτι δ' ὥσπερ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐσύνοπτον
further and just-as the multitude the of-the men easily-surveyed
ἔφαμεν εἶναι δεῖν, οὕτω καὶ τὴν χώραν· τὸ δ'
we-said to-be to-be-necessary so also the territory the and
εὐσύνοπτον τὸ εὐβοήθητον εἶναι τὴν χώραν ἐστίν. Τῆς δὲ
easily-surveyed the easy-to-defend to-be the territory is of-the and

πόλεως τὴν θέσιν εἰ χρὴ ποιεῖν κατ᾽ εὐχήν, πρός
city the position if it-is-necessary to-make by prayer with-respect-to
τε τὴν θάλατταν προσήκει κεῖσθαι καλῶς πρός τε
both the sea it-befits to-lie well with-respect-to and
τὴν χώραν. εἷς μὲν ὁ λεχθεὶς ὅρος (δεῖ γὰρ πρὸς τὰς
the territory one indeed the stated limit must for for the
ἐκβοηθείας κοινὴν εἶναι τῶν τόπων ἁπάντων)· ὁ δὲ
sallies common to-be of-the places all the and
λοιπὸς πρὸς τὰς τῶν γινομένων καρπῶν παραπομπάς,
remaining for the of-the arising crops conveyances
ἔτι δὲ τῆς περὶ ξύλα ὕλης, κἂν εἴ τινα ἄλλην ἐργασίαν
further and of-the for timber material even if any other work
ἡ χώρα τυγχάνοι κεκτημένη τοιαύτην εὐπαρακόμιστον.
the territory happens possessing such easy-to-transport

VI · THE SEA

Whether access to the sea helps or harms good order is disputed: it brings in strangers and traders, but it aids defense and supply. A city should trade for its own needs, not be a market for others; its port should lie near it, held by walls, with laws on who may mingle. A navy is useful, and its rowers need not be citizens, for the serfs and farmers can man the fleet, as at Heraclea.

Περὶ δὲ τῆς πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν κοινωνίας, πότερον
about and the with the sea community whether
ὠφέλιμος ταῖς εὐνομουμέναις πόλεσιν ἢ βλαβερά, πολλὰ
beneficial to-the well-governed cities or harmful many
τυγχάνουσιν ἀμφισβητοῦντες· τό τε γὰρ ἐπιξενοῦσθαί τινας
happen disputing the both for to-be-visited some
ἐν ἄλλοις τεθραμμένους νόμοις ἀσύμφορον εἶναί φασι πρὸς
in other brought-up laws inexpedient to-be they-say for

τὴν εὐνομίαν, καὶ τὴν πολυανθρωπίαν· γίνεσθαι μὲν γὰρ
the good-order and the populousness to-arise indeed for
ἐκ τοῦ χρῆσθαι τῇ θαλάσσῃ διαπέμποντας καὶ δεχομένους
from the to-use the sea sending-out and receiving
ἐμπόρων πλῆθος, ὑπεναντίαν δ' εἶναι πρὸς τὸ πολιτεύεσθαι
of-merchants multitude contrary and to-be to the to-be-governed
καλῶς. ὅτι μὲν οὖν, εἰ ταῦτα μὴ συμβαίνει, βέλτιον καὶ
well that indeed then if these not happen better both
πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ πρὸς εὐπορίαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων μετέχειν
for safety and for abundance of-the necessities to-share
τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν τῆς θαλάττης, οὐκ ἄδηλον. καὶ
the city and the territory in-the sea not unclear and
γὰρ πρὸς τὸ ῥᾷον φέρειν τοὺς πολεμίους εὐβοηθήτους
for for the more-easily to-bear the enemies easy-to-help
εἶναι δεῖ κατ' ἀμφότερα τοὺς σωθησομένους, καὶ κατὰ γῆν
to-be must in both those about-to-be-saved both by land
καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν· καὶ πρὸς τὸ βλάψαι τοὺς ἐπιτιθεμένους,
and by sea and for the to-harm the attackers
εἰ μὴ κατ' ἄμφω δυνατόν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ θάτερον ὑπάρξει
if not in both possible but in the(-one) it-will-be-possible
μᾶλλον ἀμφοτέρων μετέχουσιν. ὅσα τ' ἂν μὴ τυγχάνῃ
more of-both for-those-sharing as-many-as both — not happen
παρ' αὐτοῖς ὄντα, δέξασθαι ταῦτα, καὶ τὰ πλεονάζοντα
among themselves being to-receive these and the surplus
τῶν γιγνομένων ἐκπέμψασθαι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐστίν.
of-the produce to-export of-the necessary(-things) is
αὑτῇ γὰρ ἐμπορικήν, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῖς ἄλλοις δεῖ εἶναι τὴν
for-itself for trading but not for-the others must to-be the
πόλιν· οἱ δὲ παρέχοντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς πᾶσιν ἀγορὰν
city those and providing them themselves to-all market
προσόδου χάριν ταῦτα πράττουσιν· ἣν δὲ μὴ δεῖ πόλιν
for-the-sake-of revenue these do which and not must city

τοιαύτης μετέχειν πλεονεξίας, οὐδ' ἐμπόριον δεῖ κεκτῆσθαι
such to-share-in greed nor trading-place must to-possess
τοιοῦτον. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ νῦν ὁρῶμεν πολλαῖς ὑπάρχοντα καὶ
such since and also now we-see in-many existing both
χώραις καὶ πόλεσιν ἐπίνεια καὶ λιμένας εὐφυῶς κείμενα
lands and cities ports and harbors naturally lying
πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ὥστε μήτε τὸ αὐτὸ νέμειν ἄστυ
with-respect-to the city so-that neither the same to-occupy town
μήτε πόρρω λίαν, ἀλλὰ κρατεῖσθαι τείχεσι καὶ τοιούτοις
nor far too but to-be-controlled by-walls and such
ἄλλοις ἐρύμασι, φανερὸν ὡς εἰ μὲν ἀγαθόν τι συμβαίνει
other fortifications clear that if indeed good some happens
γίνεσθαι διὰ τῆς κοινωνίας αὐτῶν, ὑπάρξει τῇ πόλει
to-arise through the community of-them will-belong to-the city
τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθόν, εἰ δέ τι βλαβερόν, φυλάξασθαι ῥᾴδιον
this the good if and some harmful to-guard-against easy
τοῖς νόμοις φράζοντας καὶ διορίζοντας τίνας οὐ δεῖ καὶ
by-the laws declaring and defining whom not must and
τίνας ἐπιμίσγεσθαι δεῖ πρὸς ἀλλήλους.
whom to-mingle must with one-another
περὶ δὲ τῆς ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως, ὅτι μὲν βέλτιστον ὑπάρχειν
about and the naval power that indeed best to-exist
μέχρι τινὸς πλήθους, οὐκ ἄδηλον (οὐ γὰρ μόνον αὑτοῖς
up-to some multitude not unclear not for only for-themselves
ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πλησίον τισὶ δεῖ καὶ φοβεροὺς εἶναι καὶ
but also of-the neighbors to-some one-must both fearsome to-be and
δύνασθαι βοηθεῖν, ὥσπερ κατὰ γῆν, καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν)·
to-be-able to-help just-as by land also by sea
περὶ δὲ πλήθους ἤδη καὶ μεγέθους τῆς δυνάμεως ταύτης
about and multitude now and size of-the power this
πρὸς τὸν βίον ἀποσκεπτέον τῆς πόλεως. εἰ μὲν γὰρ
with-respect-to the life must-be-considered of-the city if indeed for

ἡγεμονικὸν καὶ πολιτικὸν ζήσεται βίον, ἀναγκαῖον καὶ
a-leading and political it-will-live life necessary also
ταύτην τὴν δύναμιν ὑπάρχειν πρὸς τὰς πράξεις σύμμετρον.
this the power to-exist for the actions proportionate
τὴν δὲ πολυανθρωπίαν τὴν γιγνομένην περὶ τὸν ναυτικὸν
the and populousness the arising about the naval
ὄχλον οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν ταῖς πόλεσιν. οὐθὲν γὰρ
mob not necessary to-exist for-the cities nothing for
αὐτοὺς μέρος εἶναι δεῖ τῆς πόλεως. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιβατικὸν
them part to-be must of-the city the indeed for marine-force
ἐλεύθερον καὶ τῶν πεζευόντων ἐστίν, ὃ κύριόν ἐστι καὶ
free and of-the infantry is which sovereign is and
κρατεῖ τῆς ναυτιλίας· πλήθους δὲ ὑπάρχοντος περιοίκων καὶ
controls the navigation multitude and existing of-perioeci and
τῶν τὴν χώραν γεωργούντων, ἀφθονίαν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι
of-those the land farming abundance necessary to-be
καὶ ναυτῶν. ὁρῶμεν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο καὶ νῦν ὑπάρχον τισίν,
also of-sailors we-see and also this also now existing for-some
οἷον τῇ πόλει τῶν Ἡρακλεωτῶν· πολλὰς γὰρ ἐκπληροῦσι
such-as for-the city of-the Heracleots many for they-man
τριήρεις, κεκτημένοι τῷ μεγέθει πόλιν ἑτέρων ἐμμελεστέραν.
triremes possessing in-the size city than-others more-modest
Περὶ μὲν οὖν χώρας καὶ λιμένων καὶ πόλεων καὶ
about indeed then territory and harbors and cities and
θαλάττης καὶ περὶ τῆς ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως ἔστω διωρισμένα
sea and about the naval power let-it-be defined
τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· περὶ δὲ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ πλήθους, τίνα
the way this about and the political multitude what
μὲν ὅρον ὑπάρχειν χρή, πρότερον εἴπομεν, ποίους δέ
indeed limit to-exist must before we-said what-kind and
τινας τὴν φύσιν εἶναι δεῖ, νῦν λέγωμεν.
some in-the nature to-be must now let-us-speak

The nations of the cold north are spirited but lack intelligence and skill, and so stay free but cannot rule; the Asiatics are intelligent but spiritless, and so are ruled and enslaved. The Greeks, between them, are both, and could rule all if united. A lawgiver needs citizens with both, for spirit is the power by which we love: freedom and rule come from it, and it rises most against friends who wrong us.

σχεδὸν δὴ κατανοήσειεν ἄν τις τοῦτό γε, βλέψας ἐπί τε
nearly indeed might-perceive — anyone this at-least having-looked at both
τὰς πόλεις τὰς εὐδοκιμούσας τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν
the cities the well-reputed of-the Greeks and at all
τὴν οἰκουμένην, ὡς διείληπται τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ
the inhabited(-world) how it-is-divided among-the nations the indeed for
ἐν τοῖς ψυχροῖς τόποις ἔθνη καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην
in the cold places nations and the(-ones) about — Europe
θυμοῦ μέν ἐστι πλήρη, διανοίας δὲ ἐνδεέστερα καὶ τέχνης,
of-spirit indeed are full of-intelligence but more-lacking and of-skill
διόπερ ἐλεύθερα μὲν διατελεῖ μᾶλλον, ἀπολίτευτα
therefore free indeed they-continue more without-political-organization
δὲ καὶ τῶν πλησίον ἄρχειν οὐ δυνάμενα· τὰ δὲ περὶ
but and the neighbors to-rule not able the(-ones) and about
τὴν Ἀσίαν διανοητικὰ μὲν καὶ τεχνικὰ τὴν ψυχήν, ἄθυμα
— Asia intelligent indeed and skillful the soul spiritless
δέ, διόπερ ἀρχόμενα καὶ δουλεύοντα διατελεῖ· τὸ δὲ τῶν
but therefore ruled and enslaved they-continue the and of-the
Ἑλλήνων γένος ὥσπερ μεσεύει κατὰ τοὺς τόπους, οὕτως
Greeks race just-as it-is-in-the-middle in the places so
ἀμφοῖν μετέχει. καὶ γὰρ ἔνθυμον καὶ διανοητικόν ἐστιν·
of-both it-shares both for spirited and intelligent it-is
διόπερ ἐλεύθερόν τε διατελεῖ καὶ βέλτιστα πολιτευόμενον
therefore free both it-continues and best governed

καὶ δυνάμενον ἄρχειν πάντων, μιᾶς τυγχάνον πολιτείας. τὴν
and able to-rule all of-one obtaining constitution the
αὐτὴν δ' ἔχει διαφορὰν καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔθνη πρὸς
same and has difference also the of-the Greeks nations toward
ἄλληλα· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἔχει τὴν φύσιν μονόκωλον, τὰ
one-another the(-ones) indeed for have the nature one-sided the(-others)
δὲ εὖ κέκραται πρὸς ἀμφοτέρας τὰς δυνάμεις ταύτας.
and well are-blended in-respect-of both the capacities these
φανερὸν τοίνυν ὅτι δεῖ διανοητικούς τε εἶναι καὶ θυμοειδεῖς
clear then that must intelligent both to-be and spirited
τὴν φύσιν τοὺς μέλλοντας εὐαγώγους ἔσεσθαι τῷ νομοθέτῃ
in-the nature those about easy-to-lead to-be by-the lawgiver
πρὸς τὴν ἀρετήν. ὅπερ γάρ φασί τινες δεῖν ὑπάρχειν
to the virtue which-very for say some to-be-necessary to-belong
τοῖς φύλαξι, τὸ φιλητικοὺς μὲν εἶναι τῶν γνωρίμων
to-the guardians the affectionate indeed to-be toward-the known
πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀγνῶτας ἀγρίους, ὁ θυμός ἐστιν ὁ ποιῶν
toward and the unknown fierce the spirit is the making
τὸ φιλητικόν. αὕτη γάρ ἐστιν ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς δύναμις
the affectionate this for is the of-the soul power
ᾗ φιλοῦμεν. σημεῖον δέ· πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς συνήθεις καὶ
by-which we-love sign and against for the familiar and
φίλους ὁ θυμὸς αἴρεται μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγνῶτας,
friends the spirit is-roused more than against the unknown
ὀλιγωρεῖσθαι νομίσας. διὸ καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος προσηκόντως
to-be-slighted having-thought therefore also Archilochus fittingly
τοῖς φίλοις ἐγκαλῶν διαλέγεται πρὸς τὸν θυμόν·
the friends reproaching converses with the spirit

σὺ γὰρ δὴ περὶ φίλων ἀπάγχεαι.
you for indeed for friends are-choked

καὶ τὸ ἄρχον δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐλεύθερον ἀπὸ τῆς δυνάμεως
and the ruling also and the free from the capacity
ταύτης ὑπάρχει πᾶσιν· ἀρχικὸν γὰρ καὶ ἀήττητον ὁ
this belongs to-all ruling for and unconquerable the
θυμός. οὐ καλῶς δ' ἔχει λέγειν χαλεποὺς εἶναι πρὸς
spirit not well and it-is to-say harsh to-be toward
τοὺς ἀγνῶτας· πρὸς οὐθένα γὰρ εἶναι χρὴ τοιοῦτον,
the unknown toward no-one for to-be one-must such
οὐδέ εἰσιν οἱ μεγαλόψυχοι τὴν φύσιν ἄγριοι, πλὴν πρὸς
nor are the great-souled the nature fierce except toward
τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας. τοῦτο δὲ μᾶλλον ἔτι πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις
those wronging this and more still toward the familiar
πάσχουσιν, ὅπερ εἴρηται πρότερον, ἂν ἀδικεῖσθαι
they-feel which-very has-been-said before if to-be-wronged
νομίσωσιν. καὶ τοῦτο συμβαίνει κατὰ λόγον· παρ' οἷς
they-think and this happens according-to reason by whom
γὰρ ὀφείλεσθαι δεῖν τὴν εὐεργεσίαν ὑπολαμβάνουσι,
for to-be-owed to-be-necessary the benefaction they-suppose
πρὸς τῷ βλάβει καὶ ταύτης ἀποστερεῖσθαι νομίζουσιν·
in-addition-to the harm also of-this to-be-deprived they-think
ὅθεν εἴρηται "χαλεποὶ πόλεμοι γὰρ ἀδελφῶν" καὶ "οἵ
whence it-has-been-said harsh wars for of-brothers and those
τοι πέρᾳ στέρξαντες οἵδε καὶ πέρᾳ μισοῦσιν."
surely beyond-measure having-loved these also beyond-measure hate
Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν πολιτευομένων, πόσους τε ὑπάρχειν
about indeed then those governing how-many both to-exist
δεῖ καὶ ποίους τινὰς τὴν φύσιν, ἔτι δὲ τὴν χώραν
must and what-kind some in-the nature further and the territory
πόσην τέ τινα καὶ ποίαν τινά, διώρισται σχεδόν (οὐ
how-large both some and what-kind some it-has-been-defined nearly not

γὰρ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀκρίβειαν δεῖ ζητεῖν διά τε τῶν
for the same precision one-must to-seek through both the
λόγων καὶ τῶν γιγνομένων διὰ τῆς αἰσθήσεως).
arguments and the things-happening through the perception

VIII · WHAT A CITY NEEDS

The things a city cannot exist without are not all parts of it, as property is not. A city is a community of like men aiming at the best possible life, and men's different ways of seeking happiness make different constitutions. A city needs food, arts, arms, wealth, the care of the gods, and judgment of interest and justice; so it needs farmers, artisans, soldiers, the rich, priests, and judges.

Ἐπεὶ δ' ὥσπερ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατὰ φύσιν συνεστώτων
since and just-as of-the other of-the by nature composed(-things)
οὐ ταῦτά ἐστι μόρια τῆς ὅλης συστάσεως ὧν ἄνευ τὸ
not these are parts of-the whole composition which without the
ὅλον οὐκ ἂν εἴη, δῆλον ὡς οὐδὲ πόλεως μέρη θετέον
whole not — would-be clear that neither of-a-city parts one-must-posit
ὅσα ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν, οὐδ' ἄλλης
as-many-as for-the cities necessary to-exist nor of-other
κοινωνίας οὐδεμιᾶς ἐξ ἧς ἕν τι τὸ γένος (ἓν γάρ τι
community any from which one some the kind one for something
καὶ κοινὸν εἶναι δεῖ καὶ ταὐτὸ τοῖς κοινωνοῖς, ἄν τε ἴσον
also common to-be must and the-same for-the partners whether both equal
ἄν τε ἄνισον μεταλαμβάνωσιν)· οἷον εἴτε τροφὴ τοῦτό
or both unequal they-share such-as whether food this
ἐστιν εἴτε χώρας πλῆθος εἴτ' ἄλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων
is or of-land amount or other something of-the such
ἐστίν. ὅταν δ' ᾖ τὸ μὲν τούτου ἕνεκεν τὸ δ' οὗ ἕνεκεν,
is whenever and is the indeed of-this for-the-sake the and which for-the-sake

οὐθὲν ἕν γε τούτοις κοινὸν ἀλλ᾽ ἢ τῷ μὲν ποιῆσαι
nothing one at-least to-these common but except to-the(-one) indeed to-make
τῷ δὲ λαβεῖν· λέγω δ᾽ οἷον ὀργάνῳ τε παντὶ
to-the(-other) and to-take I-mean and such-as for-instrument both every
πρὸς τὸ γιγνόμενον ἔργον καὶ τοῖς δημιουργοῖς· οἰκίᾳ
in-relation-to the arising work and for-the craftsmen for-house
γὰρ πρὸς οἰκοδόμον οὐθέν ἐστιν ὃ γίγνεται κοινόν,
for in-relation-to builder nothing is which becomes common
ἀλλ᾽ ἔστι τῆς οἰκίας χάριν ἡ τῶν οἰκοδόμων τέχνη.
but is of-the house for-the-sake the of-the builders art
διὸ κτήσεως μὲν δεῖ ταῖς πόλεσιν, οὐδὲν δ᾽ ἐστὶν ἡ κτῆσις
therefore of-property indeed need the cities nothing but is the property
μέρος τῆς πόλεως. πολλὰ δ᾽ ἔμψυχα μέρη τῆς κτήσεώς
part of-the city many and animate parts of-the property
ἐστιν· ἡ δὲ πόλις κοινωνία τίς ἐστι τῶν ὁμοίων, ἕνεκεν
are the and city community some is of-the alike for-the-sake
δὲ ζωῆς τῆς ἐνδεχομένης ἀρίστης. ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἐστὶν εὐδαιμονία
and of-life the possible best since and is happiness
τὸ ἄριστον, αὕτη δὲ ἀρετῆς ἐνέργεια καὶ χρῆσίς τις τέλειος,
the best this and of-virtue activity and use some complete
συμβέβηκε δὲ οὕτως ὥστε τοὺς μὲν ἐνδέχεσθαι μετέχειν
it-has-happened and so so-that the(-ones) indeed to-be-able to-share
αὐτῆς τοὺς δὲ μικρὸν ἢ μηδέν, δῆλον ὡς τοῦτ᾽ αἴτιον
of-it the(-others) and little or nothing clear that this cause
τῷ γίγνεσθαι πόλεως εἴδη καὶ διαφορὰς καὶ πολιτείας
by-the to-arise of-city kinds and differences and constitutions
πλείους· ἄλλον γὰρ τρόπον καὶ δι᾽ ἄλλων ἕκαστοι
several in-other for way and through other(-means) each
τοῦτο θηρεύοντες τούς τε βίους ἑτέρους ποιοῦνται καὶ τὰς
this hunting the both lives different make and the
πολιτείας. Ἐπισκεπτέον δὲ καὶ πόσα ταυτί ἐστιν ὧν ἄνευ
constitutions must-be-examined and also how-many these are which without

πόλις οὐκ ἂν εἴη· καὶ γὰρ ἃ λέγομεν εἶναι μέρη πόλεως,
city not — would-be also for what we-say to-be parts of-city
ἐν τούτοις ἂν εἴη διὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν. ληπτέον
among these — would-be through the necessary to-exist one-must-take
τοίνυν τῶν ἔργων τὸν ἀριθμόν· ἐκ τούτων γὰρ ἔσται δῆλον.
then of-the works the number from these for it-will-be clear
πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὑπάρχειν δεῖ τροφήν, ἔπειτα τέχνας
first indeed then to-exist must food then arts
(πολλῶν γὰρ ὀργάνων δεῖται τὸ ζῆν), τρίτον δὲ ὅπλα
many for instruments needs the to-live third and arms
(τοὺς γὰρ κοινωνοῦντας ἀναγκαῖον καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔχειν
those for sharing necessary also among themselves to-have
ὅπλα πρός τε τὴν ἀρχήν, τῶν ἀπειθούντων χάριν, καὶ
arms for both the rule of-the disobedient for-the-sake and
πρὸς τοὺς ἔξωθεν ἀδικεῖν ἐπιχειροῦντας), ἔτι χρημάτων
against those from-outside to-wrong attempting further of-money
τινὰ εὐπορίαν, ὅπως ἔχωσι καὶ πρὸς τὰς καθ' αὑτοὺς
some abundance so-that they-may-have both for the by themselves
χρείας καὶ πρὸς πολεμικάς, πέμπτον δὲ καὶ πρῶτον τὴν
needs and for military fifth and also first the
περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἐπιμέλειαν, ἣν καλοῦσιν ἱερατείαν, ἕκτον δὲ
about the divine care which they-call priesthood sixth and
τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ πάντων ἀναγκαιότατον κρίσιν περὶ τῶν
in-the number and of-all most-necessary judgment about the
συμφερόντων καὶ τῶν δικαίων τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους. Τὰ
advantageous and the just(-things) the toward one-another the
μὲν οὖν ἔργα ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ὧν δεῖται πᾶσα πόλις ὡς εἰπεῖν
indeed then works these are which needs every city so to-speak
(ἡ γὰρ πόλις πλῆθός ἐστιν οὐ τὸ τυχὸν ἀλλὰ πρὸς ζωὴν
the for city multitude is not the chance(-one) but for life
αὔταρκες, ὥς φαμεν, ἐὰν δέ τι τυγχάνῃ τούτων ἐκλεῖπον,
self-sufficient as we-say if but any happens of-these lacking

ἀδύνατον ἁπλῶς αὐτάρκη τὴν κοινωνίαν εἶναι ταύτην)·
impossible simply self-sufficient the community to-be this
ἀνάγκη τοίνυν κατὰ τὰς ἐργασίας ταύτας συνεστάναι
necessary then according-to the works these to-be-composed
πόλιν· δεῖ ἄρα γεωργῶν τ' εἶναι πλῆθος, οἳ παρασκευάσουσι
city must then of-farmers both to-be multitude who will-provide
τὴν τροφήν, καὶ τεχνίτας, καὶ τὸ μάχιμον, καὶ τὸ εὔπορον,
the food and craftsmen and the fighting(-part) and the well-off
καὶ ἱερεῖς, καὶ κριτὰς τῶν δικαίων καὶ συμφερόντων.
and priests and judges of-the just(-things) and advantageous(-things)

IX · WHO ARE CITIZENS

In the best constitution citizens must not live as mechanics or traders, a life ignoble and hostile to virtue, nor as farmers, since virtue and political action need leisure. The soldiers and those who deliberate and judge are the same men at different ages, the young bearing arms and the older ruling; the property should be theirs, and the priests should be citizens too old for office.

Διωρισμένων δὲ τούτων λοιπὸν σκέψασθαι πότερον πᾶσι
having-been-defined and these remaining to-consider whether all
κοινωνητέον πάντων τούτων (ἐνδέχεται γὰρ τοὺς αὐτοὺς
one-must-share in-all these it-is-possible for the same
ἅπαντας εἶναι καὶ γεωργοὺς καὶ τεχνίτας καὶ τοὺς
all to-be both farmers and craftsmen and the
βουλευομένους καὶ δικάζοντας), ἢ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔργον τῶν
deliberating and judging or for each work of-the
εἰρημένων ἄλλους ὑποθετέον, ἢ τὰ μὲν ἴδια τὰ
things-said others one-must-suppose or the(-things) indeed private the(-things)
δὲ κοινὰ τούτων ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐστίν. οὐκ ἐν πάσῃ δὲ ταὐτὸ
and common of-these of necessity are not in every and the-same

πολιτείᾳ. καθάπερ γὰρ εἴπομεν, ἐνδέχεται καὶ πάντας
constitution just-as for we-said it-is-possible also all
κοινωνεῖν πάντων καὶ μὴ πάντας πάντων ἀλλὰ τινὰς
to-share in-all and not all in-all but some
τινῶν. ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ ποιεῖ τὰς πολιτείας ἑτέρας· ἐν μὲν
in-some these for also make the constitutions different in indeed
γὰρ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις μετέχουσι πάντες πάντων, ἐν δὲ
for the democracies share all in-all in and
ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις τοὐναντίον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τυγχάνομεν σκοποῦντες
the oligarchies the-opposite since and we-happen examining
περὶ τῆς ἀρίστης πολιτείας, αὕτη δ' ἐστὶ καθ' ἣν
about the best constitution this and is according-to which
ἡ πόλις ἂν εἴη μάλιστ' εὐδαίμων, τὴν δ' εὐδαιμονίαν
the city — would-be most happy the and happiness
ὅτι χωρὶς ἀρετῆς ἀδύνατον ὑπάρχειν εἴρηται πρότερον,
that without virtue impossible to-exist has-been-said before
φανερὸν ἐκ τούτων ὡς ἐν τῇ κάλλιστα πολιτευομένῃ
clear from these that in the most-finely governed
πόλει καὶ τῇ κεκτημένῃ δικαίους ἄνδρας ἁπλῶς, ἀλλὰ
city and the(-one) possessing just men simply but
μὴ πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, οὔτε βάναυσον βίον οὔτ' ἀγοραῖον
not relative-to the hypothesis neither mechanical life nor market
δεῖ ζῆν τοὺς πολίτας (ἀγεννὴς γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος βίος
must to-live the citizens ignoble for the such life
καὶ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ὑπεναντίος), οὐδὲ δὴ γεωργοὺς εἶναι
and to virtue contrary nor indeed farmers to-be
τοὺς μέλλοντας ἔσεσθαι (δεῖ γὰρ σχολῆς καὶ πρὸς τὴν
those about to-be(-citizens) need for of-leisure both for the
γένεσιν τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ πρὸς τὰς πράξεις τὰς πολιτικάς).
birth of-the virtue and for the actions the political

ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ πολεμικὸν καὶ τὸ βουλευόμενον περὶ τῶν
since and both the military and the deliberating about the
συμφερόντων καὶ κρῖνον περὶ τῶν δικαίων ἐνυπάρχει καὶ
advantageous(-things) and judging about the just(-things) are-present and
μέρη φαίνεται τῆς πόλεως μάλιστα ὄντα, πότερον ἕτερα
parts appear of-the city most being whether different
ἑτέροις καὶ ταῦτα θετέον ἢ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀποδοτέον
for-different(-persons) also these one-must-posit or to-the same one-must-assign
ἄμφω; φανερὸν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, διότι τρόπον μέν τινα τοῖς
both clear and also this that in-a-way indeed some to-the
αὐτοῖς τρόπον δέ τινα καὶ ἑτέροις. ᾗ μὲν γὰρ ἑτέρας
same in-a-way but some also to-different in-so-far indeed for of-different
ἀκμῆς ἑκάτερον τῶν ἔργων, καὶ τὸ μὲν δεῖται φρονήσεως
prime each of-the works and the(-one) indeed needs practical-wisdom
τὸ δὲ δυνάμεως, ἑτέροις· ᾗ δὲ τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἐστὶ
the(-other) and power to-different in-so-far but of-the impossible(-things) is
τοὺς δυναμένους βιάζεσθαι καὶ κωλύειν, τούτους ὑπομένειν
the able to-use-force and to-prevent these to-endure
ἀρχομένους ἀεί, ταύτῃ δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς. οἱ γὰρ τῶν
being-ruled always in-this-respect and to-the same those for of-the
ὅπλων κύριοι καὶ μένειν ἢ μὴ μένειν κύριοι τὴν πολιτείαν.
arms masters also to-remain or not to-remain masters the constitution
λείπεται τοίνυν τοῖς αὐτοῖς μὲν ἀμφοτέροις ἀποδιδόναι τὴν
it-remains then to-the same indeed to-both to-assign the
πολιτείαν ταύτην, μὴ ἅμα δέ, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ πέφυκεν ἡ μὲν
constitution this not at-once but but just-as is-natural the indeed
δύναμις ἐν νεωτέροις, ἡ δὲ φρόνησις ἐν πρεσβυτέροις
power in younger(-men) the and practical-wisdom in older
ἐστίν· οὐκοῦν οὕτως ἀμφοῖν νενεμῆσθαι συμφέρει καὶ
is then so to-both to-have-been-distributed is-advantageous and
δίκαιον· ἔχει γὰρ αὕτη ἡ διαίρεσις τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν.
just has for this the division the according-to merit

ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰς κτήσεις δεῖ περὶ τούτους εἶναι.
but indeed also the possessions must about these to-be
ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ εὐπορίαν ὑπάρχειν τοῖς πολίταις, πολῖται
necessary for abundance to-exist for-the citizens citizens
δὲ οὗτοι. τὸ γὰρ βάναυσον οὐ μετέχει τῆς πόλεως,
and these the for mechanic not shares in-the city
οὐδ' ἄλλο οὐθὲν γένος ὃ μὴ τῆς ἀρετῆς δημιουργόν
nor other no class which not of-the virtue producer
ἐστιν. τοῦτο δὲ δῆλον ἐκ τῆς ὑποθέσεως· τὸ μὲν γὰρ
is this and clear from the hypothesis the indeed for
εὐδαιμονεῖν ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν μετὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς, εὐδαίμονα
to-be-happy necessary to-exist with the virtue happy
δὲ πόλιν οὐκ εἰς μέρος τι βλέψαντας δεῖ λέγειν
and city not to part some having-looked one-must to-call
αὐτῆς, ἀλλ' εἰς πάντας τοὺς πολίτας. φανερὸν δὲ καὶ ὅτι
it but to all the citizens clear and also that
δεῖ τὰς κτήσεις εἶναι τούτων, εἴπερ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τοὺς
must the possessions to-be of-these if-indeed necessary to-be the
γεωργοὺς δούλους ἢ βαρβάρους περιοίκους. λοιπὸν δ' ἐκ
farmers slaves or barbarian perioeci remaining and from
τῶν καταριθμηθέντων τὸ τῶν ἱερέων γένος. φανερὰ δὲ
the enumerated the of-the priests class clear and
καὶ ἡ τούτων τάξις. οὔτε γὰρ γεωργὸν οὔτε βάναυσον
also the of-these arrangement neither for farmer nor mechanic
ἱερέα καταστατέον (ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν πολιτῶν πρέπει τιμᾶσθαι
priest must-be-appointed by for the citizens it-befits to-be-honored
τοὺς θεούς)· ἐπεὶ δὲ διήρηται τὸ πολιτικὸν εἰς δύο
the gods since and has-been-divided the citizen(-body) into two
μέρη, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τό τε ὁπλιτικὸν καὶ τὸ βουλευτικόν,
parts this is the both hoplite and the deliberative
πρέπει δὲ τήν τε θεραπείαν ἀποδιδόναι τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ
it-befits and the both worship to-render to-the gods and

τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν ἔχειν περὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς διὰ τὸν χρόνον
the rest to-have about them those through the time
ἀπειρηκότας, τούτους ἂν εἴη ταῖς ἱερωσύναις ἀποδοτέον.
having-grown-weary these — would-be to-the priesthoods to-be-assigned
Ὧν μὲν τοίνυν ἄνευ πόλις οὐ συνίσταται καὶ ὅσα μέρη
of-which indeed then without city not is-constituted and as-many-as parts
πόλεως, εἴρηται (γεωργοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τεχνῖται καὶ πᾶν
of-a-city it-has-been-said farmers indeed for and craftsmen and all
τὸ θητικὸν ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν ταῖς πόλεσιν, μέρη δὲ τῆς
the laboring(-class) necessary to-exist for-the cities parts and of-the
πόλεως τό τε ὁπλιτικὸν καὶ βουλευτικόν, καὶ κεχώρισται
city the both hoplite and deliberative and is-separated
δὴ τούτων ἕκαστον, τὸ μὲν ἀεὶ τὸ δὲ κατὰ μέρος).
indeed of-these each the(-one) indeed always the(-other) and by turn

X · COMMON MEALS AND THE LAND

The division of a city into classes is ancient, in Egypt under Sesostris and in Crete under Minos, and common meals began earlier still, in Italy under King Italus. Most things have been discovered many times. The land should be divided into public land for the cults and the common meals and private land, each citizen holding a plot near the frontier and one near the city; the farmers should be slaves or barbarian serfs.

Ἔοικε δὲ οὐ νῦν οὐδὲ νεωστὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι γνώριμον τοῖς
it-seems and not now nor recently this to-be known to-those
περὶ πολιτείας φιλοσοφοῦσιν, ὅτι δεῖ διῃρῆσθαι χωρὶς κατὰ
about constitution philosophizing that must to-be-divided separately by
γένη τὴν πόλιν καὶ τό τε μάχιμον ἕτερον εἶναι καὶ τὸ
classes the city and the both fighting different to-be and the
γεωργοῦν. ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τε γὰρ ἔχει τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ἔτι
farming in Egypt both for it-has the way this still

καὶ νῦν, τά τε περὶ τὴν Κρήτην, τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ
and now the(-things) both about — Crete the(-things) indeed then about
Αἴγυπτον Σεσώστριος, ὥς φασιν, οὕτω νομοθετήσαντος,
Egypt Sesostris as they-say so having-legislated
Μίνω δὲ τὰ περὶ Κρήτην. ἀρχαία δὲ ἔοικεν εἶναι
Minos and the(-things) about Crete ancient and seems to-be
καὶ τῶν συσσιτίων ἡ τάξις, τὰ μὲν περὶ Κρήτην,
also of-the common-meals the arrangement the(-ones) indeed about Crete
γενόμενα περὶ τὴν Μίνω βασιλείαν, τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν
arising about the of-Minos kingship the(-ones) and about —
Ἰταλίαν πολλῷ παλαιότερα τούτων. φασὶ γὰρ οἱ λόγιοι
Italy much older than-these say for the learned
τῶν ἐκεῖ κατοικούντων Ἰταλόν τινα γενέσθαι βασιλέα τῆς
of-those there dwelling Italus some to-have-become king of-the
Οἰνωτρίας, ἀφ' οὗ τό τε ὄνομα μεταβαλόντας Ἰταλοὺς
Oenotria from whom the both name having-changed Italians
ἀντ' Οἰνωτρῶν κληθῆναι καὶ τὴν ἀκτὴν ταύτην τῆς
instead-of Oenotrians to-be-called and the promontory this —
Εὐρώπης Ἰταλίαν τοὔνομα λαβεῖν, ὅση τετύχηκεν ἐντὸς
of-Europe Italy the-name to-take as-much-as has-happened inside
οὖσα τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Σκυλλητικοῦ καὶ τοῦ Λαμητικοῦ·
being of-the gulf the Scylletic and the Lametic
ἀπέχει δὲ ταῦτα ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ὁδὸν ἡμισείας ἡμέρας.
are-distant and these from one-another a-journey of-half day
τοῦτον δὴ λέγουσι τὸν Ἰταλὸν νομάδας τοὺς Οἰνωτροὺς
this-one indeed they-say — Italus nomads the Oenotrians
ὄντας ποιῆσαι γεωργούς, καὶ νόμους ἄλλους τε αὐτοῖς
being to-have-made farmers and laws other both for-them
θέσθαι καὶ τὰ συσσίτια καταστῆσαι πρῶτον· διὸ
to-have-laid-down and the common-meals to-have-established first therefore
καὶ νῦν ἔτι τῶν ἀπ' ἐκείνου τινὲς χρῶνται τοῖς συσσιτίοις
also now still of-those from him some use the common-meals

καὶ τῶν νόμων ἐνίοις. ᾤκουν δὲ τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὴν
and of-the laws some lived and the(-part) indeed toward —
Τυρρηνίαν Ὀπικοὶ καὶ πρότερον καὶ νῦν καλούμενοι τὴν
Tyrrhenia Opici both formerly and now called the
ἐπωνυμίαν Αὔσονες, τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ἰαπυγίαν καὶ
surname Ausonians the(-part) and toward — Iapygia and
τὸν Ἰόνιον Χῶνες, τὴν καλουμένην Σιρῖτιν· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ
the Ionian(-gulf) Chones the called Siritis were and also
οἱ Χῶνες Οἰνωτροὶ τὸ γένος. ἡ μὲν οὖν τῶν συσσιτίων
the Chones Oenotrians in-the race the indeed then of-the common-meals
τάξις ἐντεῦθεν γέγονε πρῶτον, ὁ δὲ χωρισμὸς ὁ
arrangement from-there arose first the and separation the
κατὰ γένος τοῦ πολιτικοῦ πλήθους ἐξ Αἰγύπτου· πολὺ
by class of-the citizen multitude from Egypt much
γὰρ ὑπερτείνει τοῖς χρόνοις τὴν Μίνω βασιλείαν ἡ
for exceeds in-the times the of-Minos kingship the
Σεσώστριος. σχεδὸν μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δεῖ νομίζειν
of-Sesostris nearly indeed then also the other(-things) one-must to-think
εὑρῆσθαι πολλάκις ἐν τῷ πολλῷ χρόνῳ, μᾶλλον δ'
to-have-been-discovered often in the long time or-rather and
ἀπειράκις. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖα τὴν χρείαν διδάσκειν
infinitely-often the(-things) indeed for necessary the need to-teach
εἰκὸς αὐτήν, τὰ δ' εἰς εὐσχημοσύνην καὶ περιουσίαν
is-likely itself the(-things) and for elegance and abundance
ὑπαρχόντων ἤδη τούτων εὔλογον λαμβάνειν τὴν αὔξησιν·
existing already these reasonable to-take the growth
ὥστε καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς πολιτείας οἴεσθαι δεῖ τὸν
so-that also the(-things) about the constitutions to-think one-must the
αὐτὸν ἔχειν τρόπον. ὅτι δὲ πάντα ἀρχαῖα, σημεῖον τὰ
same to-have way that and all ancient sign the(-things)
περὶ Αἴγυπτόν ἐστιν· οὗτοι γὰρ ἀρχαιότατοι μὲν δοκοῦσιν
about Egypt are these for most-ancient indeed seem

εἶναι, νόμων δὲ τετυχήκασιν ἀεὶ καὶ τάξεως πολιτικῆς.
to-be laws and have-obtained always and order political
διὸ δεῖ τοῖς μὲν εὑρημένοις ἱκανῶς χρῆσθαι, τὰ
therefore one-must the indeed discovered(-things) adequately to-use the(-things)
δὲ παραλελειμμένα πειρᾶσθαι ζητεῖν.
and omitted to-try to-seek
Ὅτι μὲν οὖν δεῖ τὴν χώραν εἶναι τῶν ὅπλα κεκτημένων
that indeed then must the territory to-be of-those arms having-acquired
καὶ τῶν τῆς πολιτείας μετεχόντων, εἴρηται πρότερον,
and of-those of-the constitution sharing it-has-been-said before
καὶ διότι τοὺς γεωργοῦντας αὐτῶν ἑτέρους εἶναι δεῖ, καὶ
and that those farming of-them different to-be must and
πόσην τινὰ χρὴ καὶ ποίαν εἶναι τὴν χώραν· περὶ δὲ τῆς
how-large some must and what-kind to-be the territory about and the
διανομῆς καὶ τῶν γεωργούντων, τίνας καὶ ποίους εἶναι
distribution and of-those farming whom and what-kind to-be
χρή, λεκτέον πρῶτον, ἐπειδὴ οὔτε κοινὴν φαμεν εἶναι
must must-be-said first since neither common we-say to-be
δεῖν τὴν κτῆσιν, ὥσπερ τινὲς εἰρήκασιν, ἀλλὰ τῇ
to-be-necessary the possession just-as some have-said but by-the
χρήσει φιλικῶς γινομένην κοινήν, οὔτ' ἀπορεῖν οὐθένα
use in-friendly-way being common nor to-lack none
τῶν πολιτῶν τροφῆς. περὶ συσσιτίων τε συνδοκεῖ
of-the citizens of-sustenance about common-meals and it-seems-good-also
πᾶσι χρήσιμον εἶναι ταῖς εὖ κατεσκευασμέναις πόλεσιν
to-all useful to-be for-the well constituted cities
ὑπάρχειν· δι' ἣν δ' αἰτίαν συνδοκεῖ καὶ ἡμῖν, ὕστερον
to-exist through which and cause it-seems-good also to-us later
ἐροῦμεν. δεῖ δὲ τούτων κοινωνεῖν πάντας τοὺς πολίτας, οὐ
we-shall-say must and of-these to-share all the citizens not
ῥάδιον δὲ τοὺς ἀπόρους ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων τε εἰσφέρειν
easy and the poor from the private(-means) both to-contribute

τὸ συντεταγμένον καὶ διοικεῖν τὴν ἄλλην οἰκίαν. ἔτι δὲ
the assigned(-share) and to-manage the other household further and
τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς δαπανήματα κοινὰ πάσης τῆς
the(-things) toward the gods expenses common of-all the
πόλεώς ἐστιν. ἀναγκαῖον τοίνυν εἰς δύο μέρη διῃρῆσθαι
city are necessary then into two parts to-have-been-divided
τὴν χώραν, καὶ τὴν μὲν εἶναι κοινὴν τὴν δὲ τῶν
the territory and the(-one) indeed to-be common the(-other) and of-the
ἰδιωτῶν, καὶ τούτων ἑκατέραν διῃρῆσθαι δίχα πάλιν, τῆς
private-men and of-these each to-have-been-divided in-two again of-the
μὲν κοινῆς τὸ μὲν ἕτερον μέρος εἰς τὰς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς
indeed common the indeed one part for the toward the gods
λειτουργίας τὸ δὲ ἕτερον εἰς τὴν τῶν συσσιτίων δαπάνην,
public-services the and other for the of-the common-meals expense
τῆς δὲ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τὸ ἕτερον μέρος τὸ πρὸς τὰς ἐσχατιάς,
of-the and of-the private-men the one part the toward the frontiers
ἕτερον δὲ τὸ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ἵνα δύο κλήρων ἑκάστῳ
the-other and the toward the city so-that two lots to-each
νεμηθέντων ἀμφοτέρων τῶν τόπων πάντες μετέχωσιν.
having-been-distributed of-both the places all may-share
τό τε γὰρ ἴσον οὕτως ἔχει καὶ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ πρὸς
the both for equal thus is and the just and the toward
τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας πολέμους ὁμονοητικώτερον. ὅπου γὰρ μὴ
the bordering wars more-harmonious where for not
τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον, οἱ μὲν ὀλιγωροῦσι τῆς πρὸς
this has the way the(-ones) indeed neglect the toward
τοὺς ὁμόρους ἔχθρας, οἱ δὲ λίαν φροντίζουσι καὶ παρὰ
the neighbors enmity the(-others) and too-much care and beyond
τὸ καλόν. διὸ παρ' ἐνίοις νόμος ἐστὶ τοὺς γειτνιῶντας τοῖς
the noble therefore among some law is those bordering on-the
ὁμόροις μὴ συμμετέχειν βουλῆς τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πολέμων,
neighbors not to-share-in counsel of-the against them wars

ὡς διὰ τὸ ἴδιον οὐκ ἂν δυναμένους βουλεύσασθαι
as through the private(-interest) not — being-able to-deliberate
καλῶς. Τὴν μὲν οὖν χώραν ἀνάγκη διῃρῆσθαι τὸν
well the indeed then territory necessary to-have-been-divided in-the
τρόπον τοῦτον διὰ τὰς προειρημένας αἰτίας· τοὺς δὲ
way this through the aforesaid causes those and
γεωργήσοντας μάλιστα μέν, εἰ δεῖ κατ᾽ εὐχήν, δούλους
about-to-farm most indeed if one-must by prayer slaves
εἶναι, μήτε ὁμοφύλων πάντων μήτε θυμοειδῶν (οὕτω γὰρ
to-be neither of-the-same-stock all nor spirited so for
ἂν πρός τε τὴν ἐργασίαν εἶεν χρήσιμοι καὶ πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν
— for both the work would-be useful and for the nothing
νεωτερίζειν ἀσφαλεῖς), δεύτερον δὲ βαρβάρους περιοίκους
to-revolt safe second and barbarian perioeci
παραπλησίους τοῖς εἰρημένοις τὴν φύσιν, τούτων δὲ
similar to-those mentioned in-the nature of-these and
τοὺς μὲν ἰδίους ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις εἶναι τῶν κεκτημένων
the(-ones) indeed own in the private(-lands) to-be of-those possessing
τὰς οὐσίας, τοὺς δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῇ κοινῇ γῇ κοινούς. τίνα δὲ
the properties the(-others) and on the common land common what and
δεῖ τρόπον χρῆσθαι δούλοις, καὶ διότι βέλτιον πᾶσι τοῖς
one-must way to-treat slaves and why better for-all the
δούλοις ἆθλον προκεῖσθαι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν.
slaves prize to-be-set-before the freedom later we-shall-say

The city should be healthy, facing east or, second best, north, with abundant springs; its site should suit government and war. A citadel suits oligarchy and monarchy, level ground democracy. Hippodamus' regular plan is pleasant, but the older irregular plan is safer in war, so a city should mix them. Walls are needed, since a brave few cannot withstand superior numbers and modern siege engines.

Τὴν δὲ πόλιν ὅτι μὲν δεῖ κοινὴν εἶναι τῆς ἠπείρου τε
the and city that indeed must common to-be of-the mainland both
καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τῆς χώρας ἁπάσης ὁμοίως ἐκ τῶν
and of-the sea and of-the territory whole likewise from the
ἐνδεχομένων, εἴρηται πρότερον· αὐτῆς δὲ προσάντην
possible(-things) it-has-been-said before of-itself and steep
εἶναι τὴν θέσιν εὔχεσθαι δεῖ κατατυγχάνειν πρὸς τέτταρα
to-be the position to-pray one-must to-attain to four
δὴ βλέποντας. πρῶτον μέν, ὡς ἀναγκαῖον, πρὸς ὑγίειαν
indeed looking first indeed as necessary for health
(αἵ τε γὰρ πρὸς ἕω τὴν ἔγκλισιν ἔχουσαι καὶ πρὸς
the(-cities) both for toward east the inclination having and toward
τὰ πνεύματα τὰ πνέοντα ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς ὑγιεινότεραι,
the winds the blowing from the sunrise healthier
δεύτερον δὲ κατὰ βορέαν· εὐχείμεροι γὰρ αὗται μᾶλλον)·
second and toward north mild-wintered for these more
τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν πρός τε τὰς πολιτικὰς πράξεις καὶ
of-the and remaining for both the political actions and
πολεμικὰς καλῶς ἔχει. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὰς πολεμικὰς
military well it-is for indeed then the military
αὐτοῖς μὲν εὐέξοδον εἶναι χρή, τοῖς δ' ἐναντίοις
for-themselves indeed easy-to-go-out to-be must for-the and opponents
δυσπρόσοδον καὶ δυσπερίληπτον, ὑδάτων τε καὶ ναμάτων
hard-to-approach and hard-to-encircle of-waters both and of-springs

μάλιστα μὲν ὑπάρχειν πλῆθος οἰκεῖον, εἰ δὲ μή, τοῦτό
most indeed to-exist abundance native if and not this
γε εὕρηται διὰ τοῦ κατασκευάζειν ὑποδοχὰς ὀμβρίοις
at-least has-been-found through the to-construct reservoirs for-rain
ὕδασιν ἀφθόνους καὶ μεγάλας, ὥστε μηδέποτε ὑπολείπειν
waters plentiful and large so-that never to-fail
εἰργομένους τῆς χώρας διὰ πόλεμον· ἐπεὶ δὲ δεῖ
being-cut-off from-the territory through war since and one-must
περὶ ὑγιείας φροντίζειν τῶν ἐνοικούντων, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν
about health to-care-for of-the inhabitants this and is
ἐν τῷ κεῖσθαι τὸν τόπον ἔν τε τοιούτῳ καὶ πρὸς τοιοῦτον
in the to-lie the place in both such and toward such
καλῶς, δεύτερον δὲ ὕδασιν ὑγιεινοῖς χρῆσθαι, καὶ τούτου
well second and waters healthy to-use and of-this
τὴν ἐμπιμέλειαν ἔχειν μὴ παρέργως. οἷς γὰρ πλείστοις
the care to-have not incidentally which for most
χρώμεθα πρὸς τὸ σῶμα καὶ πλειστάκις, ταῦτα πλεῖστον
we-use for the body and most-often these most
συμβάλλεται πρὸς τὴν ὑγίειαν· ἡ δὲ τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ
contribute to the health the and of-the waters and
τοῦ πνεύματος δύναμις τοιαύτην ἔχει τὴν φύσιν. διόπερ ἐν
of-the air power such has the nature therefore in
ταῖς εὖ φρονούσαις δεῖ διωρίσθαι πόλεσιν, ἐὰν μὴ
the well thinking must to-have-been-distinguished cities if not
πάνθ' ὅμοια μήτ' ἀφθονία τοιούτων ᾖ ναμάτων, χωρὶς τά
all alike nor abundance of-such is springs separately the
τε εἰς τροφὴν ὕδατα καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην χρείαν.
both for food waters and the(-waters) for the other use
περὶ δὲ τόπων τῶν ἐρυμνῶν οὐ πάσαις ὁμοίως ἔχει τὸ
about and places the fortified not for-all alike is the
συμφέρον ταῖς πολιτείαις· οἷον ἀκρόπολις ὀλιγαρχικὸν καὶ
advantageous for-the constitutions such-as acropolis oligarchic and

μοναρχικόν, δημοκρατικὸν δ' ὁμαλότης, ἀριστοκρατικὸν
monarchical democratic and levelness aristocratic
δὲ οὐδέτερον, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἰσχυροὶ τόποι πλείους. ἡ δὲ
and neither but rather strong places several the and
τῶν ἰδίων οἰκήσεων διάθεσις ἡδίων μὲν νομίζεται καὶ
of-the private dwellings arrangement pleasanter indeed is-thought and
χρησιμωτέρα πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας πράξεις, ἂν εὔτομος ᾖ
more-useful for the other actions if well-cut it-is
καὶ κατὰ τὸν νεώτερον καὶ τὸν Ἱπποδάμειον τρόπον,
and according-to the newer and the Hippodamian manner
πρὸς δὲ τὰς πολεμικὰς ἀσφαλείας τοὐναντίον ὡς εἶχον
for and the military securities the-opposite as they-had
κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον χρόνον· δυσέξοδος γὰρ ἐκείνη τοῖς
in the ancient time hard-to-get-out-of for that for-the
ξενικοῖς καὶ δυσεξερεύνητος τοῖς ἐπιτιθεμένοις. διὸ
foreign(-troops) and hard-to-search-out for-those attacking therefore
δεῖ τούτων ἀμφοτέρων μετέχειν (ἐνδέχεται γάρ, ἄν
one-must of-these both to-share it-is-possible for if
τις οὕτως κατασκευάζῃ καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς γεωργοῖς ἃς
anyone so arranges just-as in the farmers which
καλοῦσί τινες τῶν ἀμπέλων συστάδας) καὶ τὴν μὲν ὅλην
call some of-the vines clusters and the indeed whole
μὴ ποιεῖν πόλιν εὔτομον, κατὰ μέρη δὲ καὶ τόπους· οὕτω
not to-make city well-cut by parts but and places so
γὰρ καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ πρὸς κόσμον ἕξει καλῶς.
for both for security and for adornment it-will-be well
περὶ δὲ τειχῶν, οἱ μὴ φάσκοντες δεῖν ἔχειν
about and walls those not saying to-be-necessary to-have
τὰς τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντιποιουμένας πόλεις λίαν ἀρχαίως
the of-the virtue claiming cities too old-fashionedly
ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, καὶ ταῦθ' ὁρῶντες ἐλεγχομένας ἔργῳ
suppose and these seeing refuted in-fact

τὰς ἐκείνως καλλωπισαμένας. ἔστι δὲ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς
the(-cities) so having-prided-themselves it-is and against indeed the
ὁμοίους καὶ μὴ πολὺ τῷ πλήθει διαφέροντας οὐ καλὸν
alike and not much in-the multitude differing not noble
τὸ πειρᾶσθαι σῴζεσθαι διὰ τῆς τῶν τειχῶν ἐρυμνότητος·
the to-try to-be-saved through the of-the walls strength
ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ συμβαίνει καὶ ἐνδέχεται πλείω τὴν ὑπεροχὴν
since and both it-happens and it-is-possible greater the superiority
γίγνεσθαι τῶν ἐπιόντων καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης καὶ τῆς
to-become of-those attacking both than-the human and the
ἐν τοῖς ὀλίγοις ἀρετῆς, εἰ δεῖ σῴζεσθαι καὶ μὴ πάσχειν
in the few virtue if one-must to-be-saved and not to-suffer
κακῶς μηδὲ ὑβρίζεσθαι, τὴν ἀσφαλεστάτην ἐρυμνότητα
badly nor to-be-outraged the safest strength
τῶν τειχῶν οἰητέον εἶναι πολεμικωτάτην, ἄλλως τε καὶ
of-the walls one-must-think to-be most-military especially both and
νῦν εὑρημένων τῶν περὶ τὰ βέλη καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς
now having-been-invented the(-things) about the missiles and the engines
εἰς ἀκρίβειαν πρὸς τὰς πολιορκίας. ὅμοιον γὰρ τὸ τείχη
to precision for the sieges similar for the walls
μὴ περιβάλλειν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀξιοῦν καὶ τὸ τὴν χώραν
not to-put-around the cities to-claim and the the territory
εὐέμβολον ζητεῖν καὶ περιαιρεῖν τοὺς ὀρεινοὺς τόπους,
easy-to-invade to-seek and to-strip-off the mountainous places
ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ταῖς οἰκήσεσι ταῖς ἰδίαις μὴ περιβάλλειν
likewise and also the dwellings the private not to-put-around
τοίχους ὡς ἀνάνδρων ἐσομένων τῶν κατοικούντων.
walls as cowardly going-to-be those inhabiting
ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτό γε δεῖ λανθάνειν, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν
but indeed not-even this at-least must to-escape-notice that for-those indeed
περιβεβλημένοις τείχη περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔξεστιν ἀμφοτέρως
having-put-around walls around the city it-is-possible in-both-ways

χρῆσθαι ταῖς πόλεσιν, καὶ ὡς ἐχούσαις τείχη καὶ ὡς μὴ
to-use the cities both as having walls and as not
ἐχούσαις, ταῖς δὲ μὴ κεκτημέναις οὐκ ἔξεστιν. εἰ δὴ
having for-those and not having-acquired(-them) not it-is-possible if indeed
τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον, οὐχ ὅτι τείχη μόνον περιβλητέον,
this has the way not that walls only must-be-put-around
ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων ἐπιμελητέον, ὅπως καὶ πρὸς κόσμον
but also of-these one-must-care so-that both for adornment
ἔχῃ τῇ πόλει πρεπόντως καὶ πρὸς τὰς πολεμικὰς
it-may-be for-the city fittingly and for the military
χρείας, τάς τε ἄλλας καὶ τὰς νῦν ἐπεξευρημένας. ὥσπερ
needs the both other and those now newly-invented just-as
γὰρ τοῖς ἐπιτιθεμένοις ἐπιμελές ἐστι δι' ὧν τρόπων
for for-the attackers care is through what means
πλεονεκτήσουσιν, οὕτω τὰ μὲν εὕρηται τὰ δὲ
they-will-get-the-advantage so the(-means) indeed have-been-found the(-others) and
δεῖ ζητεῖν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ τοὺς φυλαττομένους· ἀρχὴν
must to-seek and to-study also those guarding to-begin-with
γὰρ οὐδ' ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοῖς εὖ παρεσκευασμένοις.
for not-even they-attempt to-attack those well prepared

XII · THE PUBLIC SPACES

Some of the common meals should be held in the guard posts along the walls, and the temples and the common meals of the chief boards should share one conspicuous, strong site. Below it should lie a free square, kept clear of trade like the one in Thessaly, where the gymnasia of the older men stand; the market should be apart, convenient for goods from the sea and the land. The priests' meals belong by the temples, the boards for contracts and the market by the market, and guardhouses, common meals, and shrines should be distributed through the country.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ δεῖ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος τῶν πολιτῶν ἐν συσσιτίοις
since and must the indeed multitude of-the citizens in common-meals
κατανενεμῆσθαι, τὰ δὲ τείχη διειλῆφθαι φυλακτηρίοις
to-have-been-distributed the and walls have-been-divided by-guard-posts
καὶ πύργοις κατὰ τόπους ἐπικαίρους, δῆλον ὡς αὐτὰ
and towers in places suitable clear that they
προκαλεῖται παρασκευάζειν ἔνια τῶν συσσιτίων ἐν τούτοις
invite to-provide some of-the common-meals in these
τοῖς φυλακτηρίοις. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῦτον ἄν
the guard-posts and these indeed indeed in-this —
τις διακοσμήσειε τὸν τρόπον· τὰς δὲ τοῖς θείοις
anyone might-arrange the way the and to-the divine(-matters)
ἀποδεδομένας οἰκήσεις καὶ τὰ κυριώτατα τῶν ἀρχείων
assigned dwellings and the most-sovereign of-the boards
συσσίτια ἁρμόττει τόπον ἐπιτήδειόν τε ἔχειν καὶ τὸν
common-meals it-is-fitting place suitable both to-have and the
αὐτόν, ὅσα μὴ τῶν ἱερῶν ὁ νόμος ἀφορίζει χωρὶς
same as-many-as not of-the temples the law separates apart
ἤ τι μαντεῖον ἄλλο πυθόχρηστον. εἴη δ' ἂν τοιοῦτος
or some oracle other Pythian-ordained would-be and — such
ὁ τόπος ὅστις ἐπιφάνειάν τε ἔχει πρὸς τὴν τῆς
the place which conspicuousness both has with-regard-to the of-the
θέσεως ἀρετὴν ἱκανῶς καὶ πρὸς τὰ γειτνιῶντα μέρη
position excellence sufficiently and with-regard-to the neighboring parts
τῆς πόλεως ἐρυμνοτέρως. πρέπει δ' ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦτον τὸν
of-the city more-strongly it-befits and below indeed this the
τόπον τοιαύτης ἀγορᾶς εἶναι κατασκευὴν οἵαν καὶ περὶ
place of-such market to-be construction as also about
Θετταλίαν ὀνομάζουσιν, ἣν ἐλευθέραν καλοῦσιν, αὕτη δ'
Thessaly they-name which free they-call this and
ἐστὶν ἣν δεῖ καθαρὰν εἶναι τῶν ὠνίων πάντων, καὶ
is which must clear to-be of-the goods all and

μήτε βάναυσον μήτε γεωργὸν μήτ᾽ ἄλλον μηδένα τοιοῦτον
neither mechanic nor farmer nor other anyone such
παραβάλλειν μὴ καλούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων.
to-come-near not summoned by the officials
εἴη δ᾽ ἂν εὔχαρις ὁ τόπος, εἰ καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια
would-be and — graceful the place if also the gymnasia
τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἔχοι τὴν τάξιν ἐνταῦθα· πρέπει γὰρ
of-the older(-men) should-have the position here it-befits for
διῃρῆσθαι κατὰ τὰς ἡλικίας καὶ τοῦτον τὸν κόσμον,
to-have-been-divided by the ages also this the arrangement
καὶ παρὰ μὲν τοῖς νεωτέροις ἄρχοντάς τινας διατρίβειν,
and with indeed the younger officials some to-spend-time
τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους παρὰ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν· ἡ γὰρ ἐν
the and older with the officials the for in
ὀφθαλμοῖς τῶν ἀρχόντων παρουσία μάλιστα ἐμποιεῖ τὴν
eyes of-the officials presence most creates the
ἀληθινὴν αἰδῶ καὶ τὸν τῶν ἐλευθέρων φόβον. τὴν δὲ
true modesty and the of-the free fear the and
τῶν ὠνίων ἀγορὰν ἑτέραν τε δεῖ ταύτης εἶναι καὶ χωρίς,
of-the goods market different both must from-this to-be and apart
ἔχουσαν τόπον εὐσυνάγωγον τοῖς τε ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης
having place easy-to-collect for-the both from the sea
πεμπομένοις καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας πᾶσιν.
sent(-things) and for-the(-things) from the territory all
ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ προεστὸς διαιρεῖται τῆς πόλεως εἰς ἱερεῖς εἰς
since and the ruling(-body) is-divided of-the city into priests into
ἄρχοντας, πρέπει καὶ τῶν ἱερέων συσσίτια περὶ τὴν τῶν
officials it-befits also of-the priests common-meals about the of-the
ἱερῶν οἰκοδομημάτων ἔχειν τὴν τάξιν. τῶν δ᾽ ἀρχείων
sacred buildings to-have the position of-the and boards
ὅσα περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια ποιεῖται τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, περί τε
as-many-as about the contracts make the care about both

γραφὰς δικῶν καὶ τὰς κλήσεις καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τὴν τοιαύτην
indictments of-lawsuits and the summonses and the other the such
διοίκησιν, ἔτι δὲ περὶ τὴν ἀγορανομίαν καὶ τὴν καλουμένην
administration further and about the market-control and the called
ἀστυνομίαν, πρὸς ἀγορᾷ μὲν δεῖ καὶ συνόδῳ τινὶ κοινῇ
town-control near market-place indeed must and meeting-place some common
κατεσκευάσθαι, τοιοῦτος δ' ὁ περὶ τὴν ἀναγκαίαν ἀγοράν
to-have-been-built such and the about the necessary market
ἐστι τόπος· ἐνσχολάζειν μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἄνω τίθεμεν,
is place to-spend-leisure indeed for the upper(-one) we-set
ταύτην δὲ πρὸς τὰς ἀναγκαίας πράξεις. Μεμιμῆσθαι δὲ
this and for the necessary actions to-have-been-imitated and
χρὴ τὴν εἰρημένην τάξιν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν χώραν· καὶ
must the stated arrangement also the(-things) about the territory and
γὰρ ἐκεῖ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, οὓς καλοῦσιν οἱ μὲν ὑλωροὺς
for there for-the officials whom they-call the(-ones) indeed forest-wardens
οἱ δὲ ἀγρονόμους, καὶ φυλακτήρια καὶ συσσίτια
the(-others) and field-wardens also guard-posts and common-meals
πρὸς φυλακὴν ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν, ἔτι δὲ ἱερὰ κατὰ
for guard necessary to-exist further and sacred(-places) through
τὴν χώραν εἶναι νενεμημένα, τὰ μὲν θεοῖς τὰ δὲ
the territory to-be distributed the(-ones) indeed to-gods the(-others) and
ἥρωσιν. Ἀλλὰ τὸ διατρίβειν νῦν ἀκριβολογουμένους καὶ
to-heroes but the to-spend-time now speaking-precisely and
λέγοντας περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀργόν ἐστιν. οὐ γὰρ χαλεπόν
speaking about the such idle is not for hard
ἐστι τὰ τοιαῦτα νοῆσαι, ἀλλὰ ποιῆσαι μᾶλλον· τὸ μὲν γὰρ
it-is the such to-conceive but to-make rather the indeed for
λέγειν εὐχῆς ἔργον ἐστί, τὸ δὲ συμβῆναι τύχης. διὸ περὶ
to-speak of-prayer work is the and to-happen of-fortune therefore about
μὲν τῶν τοιούτων τό γε ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀφείσθω τὰ νῦν.
indeed the such the at-least to more let-it-be-dismissed the now

Doing well needs the right end and the right means. Happiness is the complete activity and use of virtue, not conditionally but absolutely. Fortune supplies external goods, but a city's goodness is the work of knowledge and choice. Men become good by nature, habit, and reason, which must agree; what remains is education, by habit and by instruction.

Περὶ δὲ τῆς πολιτείας αὐτῆς, ἐκ τίνων καὶ ποίων δεῖ
about and the constitution itself from what and of-what-kind must
συνεστάναι τὴν μέλλουσαν ἔσεσθαι πόλιν μακαρίαν καὶ
to-be-composed the about to-be city blessed and
πολιτεύεσθαι καλῶς, λεκτέον. ἐπεὶ δὲ δύ' ἐστὶν ἐν οἷς
to-be-governed well must-be-said since and two are in which
γίγνεται τὸ εὖ πᾶσι, τούτοιν δ' ἐστὶν ἓν μὲν ἐν τῷ τὸν
comes-about the well for-all of-these-two and is one indeed in the the
σκοπὸν κεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ τέλος τῶν πράξεων ὀρθῶς, ἓν δὲ
aim to-be-set and the end of-the actions rightly one and
τὰς πρὸς τὸ τέλος φερούσας πράξεις εὑρίσκειν (ἐνδέχεται
the toward the end leading actions to-find it-is-possible
γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ διαφωνεῖν ἀλλήλοις καὶ συμφωνεῖν· ἐνίοτε
for these both to-disagree with-one-another and to-agree sometimes
γὰρ ὁ μὲν σκοπὸς ἔκκειται καλῶς, ἐν δὲ τῷ πράττειν τοῦ
for the indeed aim is-set-out well in but the to-act the
τυχεῖν αὐτοῦ διαμαρτάνουσιν, ὁτὲ δὲ τῶν μὲν πρὸς
to-attain it they-fail sometimes and the(-means) indeed toward
τὸ τέλος πάντων ἐπιτυγχάνουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τέλος ἔθεντο
the end all they-attain but the end they-set
φαῦλον, ὁτὲ δὲ ἑκατέρου διαμαρτάνουσιν, οἷον περὶ
bad sometimes and in-both they-fail such-as about
ἰατρικήν· οὔτε γὰρ ποιόν τι δεῖ τὸ ὑγιαῖνον εἶναι σῶμα
medicine neither for of-what-kind some must the healthy to-be body

κρίνουσιν ἐνίοτε καλῶς, οὔτε πρὸς τὸν ὑποκείμενον αὐτοῖς
they-judge sometimes well nor toward the laid-down for-them
ὅρον τυγχάνουσι τῶν ποιητικῶν· δεῖ δ' ἐν ταῖς τέχναις
mark they-hit-upon the productive(-means) must and in the arts
καὶ ἐπιστήμαις ταῦτα ἀμφότερα κρατεῖσθαι, τὸ τέλος καὶ
and sciences these both to-be-mastered the end and
τὰς εἰς τὸ τέλος πράξεις)· ὅτι μὲν οὖν τοῦ τε εὖ ζῆν
the toward the end actions that indeed then the both well to-live
καὶ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἐφίενται πάντες, φανερόν, ἀλλὰ τούτων
and the happiness aim-at all evident but of-these
τοῖς μὲν ἐξουσία τυγχάνειν, τοῖς δὲ οὔ, διά τινα
to-the(-ones) indeed opportunity to-attain to-the(-others) and not through some
τύχην ἢ φύσιν (δεῖται γὰρ καὶ χορηγίας τινὸς τὸ ζῆν
fortune or nature needs for also equipment some the to-live
καλῶς, τούτου δὲ ἐλάττονος μὲν τοῖς ἄμεινον διακειμένοις,
well of-this and less indeed for-those better disposed
πλείονος δὲ τοῖς χεῖρον), οἱ δ' εὐθὺς οὐκ ὀρθῶς
more and for-those worse the(-ones) and at-once not rightly
ζητοῦσι τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, ἐξουσίας ὑπαρχούσης. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ
seek the happiness opportunity existing since and the
προκείμενόν ἐστι τὴν ἀρίστην πολιτείαν ἰδεῖν, αὕτη δ' ἐστὶ
proposed is the best constitution to-see this and is
καθ' ἣν ἄριστ' ἂν πολιτεύοιτο πόλις, ἄριστα δ' ἂν
according-to which best — would-be-governed city best and —
πολιτεύοιτο καθ' ἣν εὐδαιμονεῖν μάλιστα ἐνδέχεται τὴν
would-be-governed according-to which to-be-happy most is-possible the
πόλιν· δῆλον ὅτι τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν δεῖ, τί ἐστι, μὴ λανθάνειν.
city clear that the happiness must what is not to-escape-notice
Φαμὲν δὲ (καὶ διωρίσμεθα ἐν τοῖς ἠθικοῖς, εἴ τι τῶν λόγων
we-say and also have-defined in the ethics if any of-the arguments
ἐκείνων ὄφελος) ἐνέργειαν εἶναι καὶ χρῆσιν ἀρετῆς τελείαν,
those benefit activity to-be and use of-virtue complete

καὶ ταύτην οὐκ ἐξ ὑποθέσεως ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς. λέγω δ' ἐξ
and this not from hypothesis but simply I-mean and from
ὑποθέσεως τἀναγκαῖα, τὸ δ' ἁπλῶς τὸ καλῶς·
hypothesis the-necessary(-things) the(-thing) and simply the(-thing) nobly
οἷον τὰ περὶ τὰς δικαίας πράξεις· αἱ δίκαιαι τιμωρίαι
such-as the(-acts) about the just actions the just retributions
καὶ κολάσεις ἀπ' ἀρετῆς μέν εἰσιν, ἀναγκαῖαι δέ, καὶ τὸ
and punishments from virtue indeed are necessary but and the
καλῶς ἀναγκαίως ἔχουσιν (αἱρετώτερον μὲν γὰρ μηδενὸς
nobly necessarily they-have more-choiceworthy indeed for of-nothing
δεῖσθαι τῶν τοιούτων μήτε τὸν ἄνδρα μήτε τὴν πόλιν),
to-need of-the such neither the man nor the city
αἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰς εὐπορίας ἁπλῶς εἰσι
the(-actions) and toward the honors and the means simply are
κάλλισται πράξεις. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἕτερον κακοῦ τινος ἀναίρεσίς
noblest actions the indeed for one of-evil some removal
ἐστιν, αἱ τοιαῦται δὲ πράξεις τοὐναντίον· κατασκευαὶ γὰρ
is the such but actions the-opposite establishments for
ἀγαθῶν εἰσι καὶ γεννήσεις. χρήσαιτο δ' ἂν ὁ σπουδαῖος
of-goods are and creations would-use and — the excellent
ἀνὴρ καὶ πενίᾳ καὶ νόσῳ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τύχαις ταῖς
man both poverty and disease and the other fortunes the
φαύλαις καλῶς· ἀλλὰ τὸ μακάριον ἐν τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐστίν
bad nobly but the blessed in the opposites is
(καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο διώρισται κατὰ τοὺς ἠθικοὺς λόγους,
and for this has-been-defined according-to the ethical discussions
ὅτι τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ὁ σπουδαῖος, ᾧ διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν
that such is the excellent(-man) for-whom through the virtue
ἀγαθά ἐστι τὰ ἁπλῶς ἀγαθά, δῆλον δ' ὅτι καὶ τὰς χρήσεις
goods are the simply goods clear and that also the uses
ἀναγκαῖον σπουδαίας καὶ καλὰς εἶναι ταύτας ἁπλῶς)·
necessary excellent and noble to-be these simply

διὸ καὶ νομίζουσιν ἄνθρωποι τῆς εὐδαιμονίας αἴτια τὰ
therefore also think men of-the happiness causes the
ἐκτὸς εἶναι τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὥσπερ εἰ τοῦ κιθαρίζειν λαμπρὸν
external to-be of-the goods just-as if of-the to-play-the-lyre brilliant
καὶ καλῶς αἰτιῷτο τὴν λύραν μᾶλλον τῆς τέχνης.
and well should-blame the lyre rather than-the art
Ἀναγκαῖον τοίνυν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων τὰ μὲν ὑπάρχειν,
necessary therefore from the things-said the(-things) indeed to-exist
τὰ δὲ παρασκευάσαι τὸν νομοθέτην. διὸ κατατυχεῖν
the(-things) and to-provide the lawgiver therefore to-succeed
εὐχόμεθα τὴν τῆς πόλεως σύστασιν ὧν ἡ τύχη κυρία
we-pray the of-the city constitution in-which-things the fortune sovereign
(κυρίαν γὰρ ὑπάρχειν τίθεμεν)· τὸ δὲ σπουδαίαν εἶναι τὴν
sovereign for to-be we-posit the and excellent to-be the
πόλιν οὐκέτι τύχης ἔργον ἀλλ' ἐπιστήμης καὶ προαιρέσεως.
city no-longer of-fortune work but of-knowledge and choice
ἀλλὰ μὴν σπουδαία γε πόλις ἐστὶ τῷ τοὺς πολίτας τοὺς
but indeed excellent at-least city is by-the the citizens the(-ones)
μετέχοντας τῆς πολιτείας εἶναι σπουδαίους· ἡμῖν δὲ πάντες
sharing in-the constitution to-be excellent for-us and all
οἱ πολῖται μετέχουσι τῆς πολιτείας. τοῦτ' ἄρα σκεπτέον,
the citizens share in-the constitution this then must-be-considered
πῶς ἀνὴρ γίνεται σπουδαῖος. καὶ γὰρ εἰ πάντας ἐνδέχεται
how man becomes excellent and for if all it-is-possible
σπουδαίους εἶναι, μὴ καθ' ἕκαστον δὲ τῶν πολιτῶν, οὕτως
excellent to-be not by each but of-the citizens thus
αἱρετώτερον· ἀκολουθεῖ γὰρ τῷ καθ' ἕκαστον καὶ τὸ πάντας.
more-choiceworthy follows for the by each also the all
Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἀγαθοί γε καὶ σπουδαῖοι γίγνονται διὰ
but indeed good at-least and excellent they-become through
τριῶν. τὰ τρία δὲ ταῦτά ἐστι φύσις ἔθος λόγος. καὶ γὰρ
three the three and these are nature habit reason and for

φῦναι δεῖ πρῶτον· οἷον ἄνθρωπον ἀλλὰ μὴ τῶν ἄλλων
to-be-born one-must first such-as man but not of-the other
τι ζῴων οὕτω καὶ ποιόν τινα τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχήν.
some animals so also of-a-kind some the body and the soul
ἔνια δὲ οὐθὲν ὄφελος φῦναι· τὰ γὰρ ἔθη μεταβαλεῖν
some and nothing benefit to-be-born the for habits to-change
ποιεῖ· ἔνια γάρ ἐστι διὰ τῆς φύσεως ἐπαμφοτερίζοντα
make some for are through the nature inclining-both-ways
διὰ τῶν ἐθῶν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον καὶ τὸ βέλτιον. τὰ μὲν οὖν
through the habits to the worse and the better the indeed then
ἄλλα τῶν ζῴων μάλιστα μὲν τῇ φύσει ζῇ, μικρὰ δ'
others of-the animals most indeed by-the nature live in-small-degree but
ἔνια καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσιν, ἄνθρωπος δὲ καὶ λόγῳ· μόνος γὰρ
some also by-the habits man and also by-reason alone for
ἔχει λόγον· ὥστε δεῖ ταῦτα συμφωνεῖν ἀλλήλοις. πολλὰ
has reason so-that must these to-agree with-one-another many-things
γὰρ παρὰ τοὺς ἐθισμοὺς καὶ τὴν φύσιν πράττουσι
for contrary-to the habituations and the nature they-do
διὰ τὸν λόγον, ἐὰν πεισθῶσιν ἄλλως ἔχειν βέλτιον.
through the reason if they-are-persuaded otherwise to-be better
Τὴν μὲν τοίνυν φύσιν οἵους εἶναι δεῖ τοὺς μέλλοντας
the indeed therefore nature of-what-sort to-be must those about
εὐχειρώτους ἔσεσθαι τῷ νομοθέτῃ, διωρίσμεθα πρότερον·
easy-to-handle to-be for-the lawgiver we-have-defined before
τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἔργον ἤδη παιδείας. τὰ μὲν γὰρ
the and remaining work now of-education the(-things) indeed for
ἐθιζόμενοι μανθάνουσι τὰ δ' ἀκούοντες.
being-habituated they-learn the(-things) and hearing

Since rulers and ruled are not different men by nature, all must share in turn, the young obeying and later ruling. The good citizen and the good man are the same in the best city. The soul has a rational and an irrational part, and the lawgiver should order life toward the better: war for peace, business for leisure, the necessary for the noble. Sparta, trained only for war, has lost its empire; such cities survive at war and fall in peace, like iron losing its temper.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ πᾶσα πολιτικὴ κοινωνία συνέστηκεν ἐξ ἀρχόντων
since and every political community is-composed of rulers
καὶ ἀρχομένων, τοῦτο δὴ σκεπτέον, εἰ ἑτέρους εἶναι
and ruled this indeed must-be-considered whether different to-be
δεῖ τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἢ τοὺς αὐτοὺς
must the rulers and the ruled or the same
διὰ βίου· δῆλον γὰρ ὡς ἀκολουθεῖν δεήσει καὶ
through life clear for that to-follow it-will-be-necessary also
τὴν παιδείαν κατὰ τὴν διαίρεσιν ταύτην. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν
the education according-to the division this if indeed therefore
εἴησαν τοσοῦτον διαφέροντες ἄτεροι τῶν ἄλλων ὅσον τοὺς
should-be so-much differing the(-ones) from-the others as the
θεοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἥρωας ἡγούμεθα τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαφέρειν,
gods and the heroes we-think than-the men to-differ
εὐθὺς πρῶτον κατὰ τὸ σῶμα πολλὴν ἔχοντας ὑπερβολήν,
at-once first in the body great having superiority
εἶτα κατὰ τὴν ψυχήν, ὥστε ἀναμφισβήτητον εἶναι καὶ
then in the soul so-that indisputable to-be and
φανερὰν τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις τὴν τῶν ἀρχόντων,
evident the superiority to-the ruled the of-the rulers
δῆλον ὅτι βέλτιον ἀεὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοὺς μὲν ἄρχειν
clear that better always the same the(-ones) indeed to-rule
τοὺς δ' ἄρχεσθαι καθάπαξ· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτ' οὐ ῥᾴδιον
the(-others) and to-be-ruled once-for-all since and this not easy

λαβεῖν οὐδ' ἔστιν ὥσπερ ἐν Ἰνδοῖς φησι Σκύλαξ εἶναι
to-obtain nor is just-as among Indians says Scylax to-be
τοὺς βασιλέας τοσοῦτον διαφέροντας τῶν ἀρχομένων,
the kings so-much differing from-the ruled
φανερὸν ὅτι διὰ πολλὰς αἰτίας ἀναγκαῖον πάντας ὁμοίως
clear that through many causes necessary all alike
κοινωνεῖν τοῦ κατὰ μέρος ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι.
to-share in-the by turn to-rule and to-be-ruled
τό τε γὰρ ἴσον ταὐτὸν τοῖς ὁμοίοις, καὶ χαλεπὸν μένειν
the both for equal the-same for-the alike and hard to-endure
τὴν πολιτείαν τὴν συνεστηκυῖαν παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον. μετὰ
the constitution the composed contrary-to the just with
γὰρ τῶν ἀρχομένων ὑπάρχουσι νεωτερίζειν βουλόμενοι
for the ruled are to-revolt wishing
πάντες οἱ κατὰ τὴν χώραν, τοσούτους τε εἶναι τοὺς ἐν
all those in the country so-many both to-be those in
τῷ πολιτεύματι τὸ πλῆθος ὥστ' εἶναι κρείττους πάντων
the governing-body in-the number so-as to-be stronger than-all
τούτων, ἕν τι τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἐστίν. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι γε δεῖ
these one some of-the impossibilities is but indeed that at-least must
τοὺς ἄρχοντας διαφέρειν τῶν ἀρχομένων, ἀναμφισβήτητον.
the rulers to-differ from-the ruled indisputable
πῶς οὖν ταῦτ' ἔσται καὶ πῶς μεθέξουσι, δεῖ σκέψασθαι
how then these will-be and how they-will-share must to-consider
τὸν νομοθέτην. εἴρηται δὲ πρότερον περὶ αὐτοῦ. ἡ
the lawgiver it-has-been-said and before about it the
γὰρ φύσις δέδωκε τὴν διαίρεσιν, ποιήσασα αὐτὸ τῷ
for nature has-given the distinction having-made it in-the
γένει ταὐτὸ τὸ μὲν νεώτερον τὸ δὲ πρεσβύτερον,
kind the-same the(-one) indeed younger the(-other) and older
ὧν τοῖς μὲν ἄρχεσθαι πρέπει τοῖς δ' ἄρχειν·
of-which to-the(-ones) indeed to-be-ruled befits to-the(-others) and to-rule

ἀγανακτεῖ δὲ οὐδεὶς καθ' ἡλικίαν ἀρχόμενος, οὐδὲ νομίζει
is-indignant and no-one by age being-ruled nor thinks
εἶναι κρείττων, ἄλλως τε καὶ μέλλων ἀντιλαμβάνειν
to-be superior especially both and being-about to-receive-in-turn
τοῦτον τὸν ἔρανον, ὅταν τύχῃ τῆς ἱκνουμένης ἡλικίας.
this the contribution whenever he-reaches the proper age
ἔστι μὲν ἄρα ὡς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι
it-is indeed then in-a-way the same to-rule and to-be-ruled
φατέον, ἔστι δὲ ὡς ἑτέρους. ὥστε καὶ τὴν παιδείαν ἔστιν
one-must-say it-is and in-a-way different so-that also the education it-is
ὡς τὴν αὐτὴν ἀναγκαῖον, ἔστι δ' ὡς ἑτέραν εἶναι.
in-a-way the same necessary it-is and in-a-way different to-be
τόν τε γὰρ μέλλοντα καλῶς ἄρχειν ἀρχθῆναί φασι
the(-one) both for about well to-rule to-have-been-ruled they-say
δεῖν πρῶτον. (ἔστι δὲ ἀρχή, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις
to-be-necessary first is and rule just-as in the first
εἴρηται λόγοις, ἡ μὲν τοῦ ἄρχοντος χάριν ἡ
is-said discussions the(-one) indeed of-the ruler for-the-sake the(-other)
δὲ τοῦ ἀρχομένου. τούτων δὲ τὴν μὲν δεσποτικὴν εἶναί
and of-the ruled of-these and the(-one) indeed despotic to-be
φαμεν, τὴν δὲ τῶν ἐλευθέρων. ∗∗∗ διαφέρει δ' ἔνια τῶν
we-say the(-other) and of-the free (lacuna) differ and some of-the
ἐπιταττομένων οὐ τοῖς ἔργοις ἀλλὰ τῷ τίνος ἕνεκα. διὸ
commands not in-the works but in-the of-what for-the-sake therefore
πολλὰ τῶν εἶναι δοκούντων διακονικῶν ἔργων καὶ τῶν νέων
many of-the to-be seeming menial works also of-the young
τοῖς ἐλευθέροις καλὸν διακονεῖν· πρὸς γὰρ τὸ καλὸν καὶ
for-the free noble to-perform with-respect-to for the noble and
τὸ μὴ καλὸν οὐχ οὕτω διαφέρουσιν αἱ πράξεις καθ' αὐτὰς
the not noble not so differ the actions by themselves
ὡς ἐν τῷ τέλει καὶ τῷ τίνος ἕνεκεν). ἐπεὶ δὲ πολίτου καὶ
as in the end and the of-what for-the-sake since and of-citizen and

ἄρχοντος τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρετὴν εἶναί φαμεν καὶ τοῦ ἀρίστου
of-ruler the same virtue to-be we-say and of-the best
ἀνδρός, τὸν δ' αὐτὸν ἀρχόμενόν τε δεῖν γίγνεσθαι
man the and same ruled both to-be-necessary to-become
πρότερον καὶ ἄρχοντα ὕστερον, τοῦτ' ἂν εἴη τῷ νομοθέτῃ
first and ruler later this — would-be for-the lawgiver
πραγματευτέον, ὅπως ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γίγνωνται, καὶ διὰ
to-be-dealt-with how men good become and through
τίνων ἐπιτηδευμάτων, καὶ τί τὸ τέλος τῆς ἀρίστης ζωῆς.
what pursuits and what the end of-the best life
Διῄρηται δὲ δύο μέρη τῆς ψυχῆς, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἔχει
are-divided and two parts of-the soul of-which the(-one) indeed has
λόγον καθ' αὐτό, τὸ δ' οὐκ ἔχει μὲν καθ' αὐτό, λόγῳ
reason by itself the(-other) and not has indeed by itself to-reason
δ' ὑπακούειν δυνάμενον. ὧν φαμεν τὰς ἀρετὰς εἶναι
but to-obey able of-which we-say the virtues to-be
καθ' ἃς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς λέγεταί πως. τούτων δὲ ἐν
according-to which man good is-called in-a-way of-these and in
ποτέρῳ μᾶλλον τὸ τέλος, τοῖς μὲν οὕτω διαιροῦσιν ὡς
which more the end for-those indeed so dividing as
ἡμεῖς φαμεν οὐκ ἄδηλον πῶς λεκτέον. αἰεὶ γὰρ τὸ χεῖρον
we say not unclear how it-must-be-said always for the worse
τοῦ βελτίονός ἐστιν ἕνεκεν, καὶ τοῦτο φανερὸν ὁμοίως ἔν
of-the better is for-the-sake and this evident likewise in
τε τοῖς κατὰ τέχνην καὶ τοῖς κατὰ φύσιν· βέλτιον
both the(-things) by art and the(-things) by nature better
δὲ τὸ λόγον ἔχον. διῄρηταί τε διχῇ, καθ' ὅπερ εἰώθαμεν
and the reason having is-divided and in-two in-the which we-are-wont
τρόπον διαιρεῖν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρακτικός ἐστι λόγος ὁ δὲ
way to-divide the indeed for practical is reason the and
θεωρητικός. ὡσαύτως οὖν ἀνάγκη διῃρῆσθαι καὶ τοῦτο τὸ
theoretical likewise then necessary to-be-divided also this the

μέρος δηλονότι. καὶ τὰς πράξεις δ' ἀνάλογον ἐροῦμεν ἔχειν,
part clearly and the actions also proportionately we-shall-say to-be
καὶ δεῖ τὰς τοῦ φύσει βελτίονος αἱρετωτέρας εἶναι τοῖς
and must those of-the by-nature better more-choiceworthy to-be for-those
δυναμένοις τυγχάνειν ἢ πασῶν ἢ τοῖν δυοῖν· αἰεὶ γὰρ
able to-attain either all or the two always for
ἑκάστῳ τοῦθ' αἱρετώτατον οὗ τυχεῖν ἔστιν ἀκροτάτου.
to-each this most-choiceworthy which to-attain is-possible highest
διῄρηται δὲ καὶ πᾶς ὁ βίος εἰς ἀσχολίαν καὶ εἰς σχολὴν
is-divided and also all the life into business and into leisure
καὶ πόλεμον καὶ εἰρήνην, καὶ τῶν πρακτῶν τὰ μὲν
and war and peace and of-the things-done the(-ones) indeed
εἰς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ χρήσιμα τὰ δὲ εἰς τὰ καλά.
for the necessary and useful the(-others) and for the noble
περὶ ὧν ἀνάγκη τὴν αὐτὴν αἵρεσιν εἶναι καὶ τοῖς τῆς
about which necessary the same choice to-be both for-the of-the
ψυχῆς μέρεσι καὶ ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτῶν, πόλεμον μὲν
soul parts and the actions of-them war indeed
εἰρήνης χάριν, ἀσχολίαν δὲ σχολῆς, τὰ δ' ἀναγκαῖα καὶ
of-peace for-the-sake business and of-leisure the and necessary and
χρήσιμα τῶν καλῶν ἕνεκεν. πρὸς πάντα μὲν τοίνυν τῷ
useful of-the noble for-the-sake toward all indeed therefore the
πολιτικῷ βλέποντι νομοθετητέον, καὶ κατὰ τὰ μέρη τῆς
statesman looking one-must-legislate both according-to the parts of-the
ψυχῆς καὶ κατὰ τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ πρὸς
soul and according-to the actions of-them more but to
τὰ βελτίω καὶ τὰ τέλη. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ περὶ
the better(-things) and the ends in-the same and way also about
τοὺς βίους καὶ τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων αἱρέσεις· δεῖ μὲν
the lives and the of-the matters choices one-must indeed
γὰρ ἀσχολεῖν δύνασθαι καὶ πολεμεῖν, μᾶλλον δ' εἰρήνην
for to-do-business to-be-able and to-make-war more but peace

ἄγειν καὶ σχολάζειν, καὶ τἀναγκαῖα καὶ τὰ χρήσιμα δὲ
to-keep and to-be-at-leisure and the-necessary and the useful but
πράττειν, τὰ δὲ καλὰ δεῖ μᾶλλον. ὥστε πρὸς
to-do the(-things) but noble one-must more so-that for
τούτους τοὺς σκοποὺς καὶ παῖδας ἔτι ὄντας παιδευτέον
these the aims both children still being must-be-educated
καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἡλικίας, ὅσαι δέονται παιδείας.
and the other ages as-many-as need education
οἱ δὲ νῦν ἄριστα δοκοῦντες πολιτεύεσθαι τῶν
the(-ones) and now best seeming to-be-governed of-the
Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν νομοθετῶν οἱ ταύτας καταστήσαντες
Greeks and of-the lawgivers those these having-established
τὰς πολιτείας, οὔτε πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον τέλος φαίνονται
the constitutions neither for the best end appear
συντάξαντες τὰ περὶ τὰς πολιτείας οὔτε πρὸς
having-arranged the(-things) about the constitutions nor for
πάσας τὰς ἀρετὰς τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὴν παιδείαν, ἀλλὰ
all the virtues the laws and the education but
φορτικῶς ἀπέκλιναν πρὸς τὰς χρησίμους εἶναι δοκούσας
vulgarly inclined toward the useful to-be seeming
καὶ πλεονεκτικωτέρας. παραπλησίως δὲ τούτοις καὶ τῶν
and more-acquisitive similarly and to-these also of-those
ὕστερόν τινες γραψάντων ἀπεφήναντο τὴν αὐτὴν δόξαν·
later some having-written declared the same opinion
ἐπαινοῦντες γὰρ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείαν ἄγανται τοῦ
praising for the of-Lacedaemonians constitution they-admire of-the
νομοθέτου τὸν σκοπόν, ὅτι πάντα πρὸς τὸ κρατεῖν καὶ πρὸς
lawgiver the aim that all for the to-conquer and for
πόλεμον ἐνομοθέτησεν. ἃ καὶ κατὰ τὸν λόγον ἐστὶν
war he-legislated which also according-to the argument is
εὐέλεγκτα καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐξελήλεγκται νῦν. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ
easy-to-refute and by-the facts has-been-refuted now just-as for the

πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ζηλοῦσι τὸ πολλῶν δεσπόζειν, ὅτι
most of-the men envy the many to-master because
πολλὴ χορηγία γίγνεται τῶν εὐτυχημάτων, οὕτω καὶ Θίβρων
much supply arises of-the good-fortunes so also Thibron
ἀγάμενος φαίνεται τὸν τῶν Λακώνων νομοθέτην, καὶ τῶν
admiring appears the of-the Laconians lawgiver and of-the
ἄλλων ἕκαστος τῶν γραφόντων περὶ τῆς πολιτείας αὐτῶν,
others each of-those writing about the constitution of-them
ὅτι διὰ τὸ γεγυμνάσθαι πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους πολλῶν
that through the to-have-been-trained for the dangers over-many
ἦρχον· καίτοι δῆλον ὡς ἐπειδὴ νῦν γε οὐκέτι ὑπάρχει τοῖς
they-ruled and-yet clear that since now at-least no-longer belongs to-the
Λάκωσι τὸ ἄρχειν, οὐκ εὐδαίμονες, οὐδ' ὁ νομοθέτης ἀγαθός.
Laconians the to-rule not happy nor the lawgiver good
ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο γελοῖον, εἰ μένοντες ἐν τοῖς νόμοις
is and this ridiculous if remaining in the laws
αὐτοῦ, καὶ μηδενὸς ἐμποδίζοντος πρὸς τὸ χρῆσθαι τοῖς
of-him and nothing hindering for the to-use the
νόμοις, ἀποβεβλήκασι τὸ ζῆν καλῶς. οὐκ ὀρθῶς δ'
laws they-have-thrown-away the to-live well not rightly and
ὑπολαμβάνουσιν οὐδὲ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἣν δεῖ τιμῶντα
they-suppose nor about the rule which must honoring
φαίνεσθαι τὸν νομοθέτην· τοῦ γὰρ δεσποτικῶς ἄρχειν
to-appear the lawgiver than-the for despotically to-rule
ἡ τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἀρχὴ καλλίων καὶ μᾶλλον μετ' ἀρετῆς.
the of-the free rule finer and more with virtue
ἔτι δὲ οὐ διὰ τοῦτο δεῖ τὴν πόλιν εὐδαίμονα νομίζειν
further and not through this one-must the city happy to-think
καὶ τὸν νομοθέτην ἐπαινεῖν, ὅτι κρατεῖν ἤσκησεν ἐπὶ
and the lawgiver to-praise because to-conquer he-trained for
τὸ τῶν πέλας ἄρχειν· ταῦτα γὰρ μεγάλην ἔχει βλάβην.
the of-the neighbors to-rule these for great have harm

δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τῷ δυναμένῳ τοῦτο
clear for that also of-the citizens for-the(-one) able this
πειρατέον διώκειν, ὅπως δύνηται τῆς οἰκείας πόλεως
must-be-attempted to-pursue so-that he-may-be-able of-the own city
ἄρχειν· ὅπερ ἐγκαλοῦσιν οἱ Λάκωνες Παυσανίᾳ τῷ
to-rule which-very charge the Laconians against-Pausanias the
βασιλεῖ, καίπερ ἔχοντι τηλικαύτην τιμήν.
king although having so-great honor
οὔτε δὴ πολιτικὸς τῶν τοιούτων λόγων καὶ νόμων οὐθεὶς
neither indeed political of-the such arguments and laws none
οὔτε ὠφέλιμος οὔτε ἀληθής ἐστιν. ταὐτὰ γὰρ ἄριστα καὶ
nor beneficial nor true is the-same for best both
ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ, τόν τε νομοθέτην ἐμποιεῖν δεῖ ταῦτα ταῖς
privately and publicly the both lawgiver to-implant must these in-the
ψυχαῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων· τήν τε τῶν πολεμικῶν ἄσκησιν οὐ
souls of-the men the both of-the military practice not
τούτου χάριν δεῖ μελετᾶν, ἵνα καταδουλώσωνται τοὺς
of-this for-the-sake one-must to-practice so-that they-may-enslave the
ἀναξίους, ἀλλ' ἵνα πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοὶ μὴ δουλεύσωσιν
unworthy but so-that first indeed themselves not may-be-enslaved
ἑτέροις, ἔπειτα ὅπως ζητῶσι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς ὠφελείας
to-others then so-that they-may-seek the leadership of-the benefit
ἕνεκα τῶν ἀρχομένων, ἀλλὰ μὴ πάντων δεσποτείας,
for-the-sake of-the ruled but not of-all of-mastership
τρίτον δὲ τὸ δεσπόζειν τῶν ἀξίων δουλεύειν. ὅτι δὲ δεῖ τὸν
third and the to-be-master of-those deserving to-be-slaves that and must the
νομοθέτην μᾶλλον σπουδάζειν ὅπως καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰ
lawgiver more to-be-eager that both the(-legislation) about the
πολεμικὰ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην νομοθεσίαν τοῦ σχολάζειν ἕνεκεν
military(-things) and the other legislation of-the to-be-at-leisure for-the-sake
τάξῃ καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, μαρτυρεῖ τὰ γιγνόμενα τοῖς
he-may-arrange and of-the peace bear-witness the facts to-the

λόγοις. αἱ γὰρ πλεῖσται τῶν τοιούτων πόλεων πολεμοῦσαι
arguments the for most of-the such cities warring
μὲν σῴζονται, κατακτησάμεναι δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπόλλυνται.
indeed are-preserved having-acquired but the rule perish
τὴν γὰρ βαφὴν ἀνιᾶσιν, ὥσπερ ὁ σίδηρος, εἰρήνην ἄγοντες.
the for temper they-lose just-as the iron peace keeping
αἴτιος δ' ὁ νομοθέτης οὐ παιδεύσας δύνασθαι σχολάζειν.
cause and the lawgiver not having-educated to-be-able to-be-at-leisure

XV · VIRTUES FOR LEISURE

Virtues for leisure are needed: courage and endurance for business, philosophy for leisure, temperance and justice for both. The Spartans err in practicing virtue only as a means to external goods. Body is prior to soul and appetite to reason in coming to be, so education begins with the body and the appetites for the sake of reason.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ τέλος εἶναι φαίνεται καὶ κοινῇ καὶ
since and the same end to-be appears both in-common and
ἰδίᾳ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ὅρον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι
privately for-the men and the same mark necessary to-be
τῷ τε ἀρίστῳ ἀνδρὶ καὶ τῇ ἀρίστῃ πολιτείᾳ, φανερὸν
for-the both best man and for-the best constitution clear
ὅτι δεῖ τὰς εἰς τὴν σχολὴν ἀρετὰς ὑπάρχειν· τέλος γάρ,
that must the for the leisure virtues to-exist end for
ὥσπερ εἴρηται πολλάκις, εἰρήνη μὲν πολέμου σχολὴ δ'
just-as has-been-said often peace indeed of-war leisure and
ἀσχολίας. χρήσιμοι δὲ τῶν ἀρετῶν εἰσι πρὸς τὴν σχολὴν
of-business useful and of-the virtues are for the leisure
καὶ διαγωγὴν ὧν τε ἐν τῇ σχολῇ τὸ ἔργον καὶ ὧν
and pastime of-which both in the leisure the work and of-which
ἐν τῇ ἀσχολίᾳ. δεῖ γὰρ πολλὰ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὑπάρχειν
in the business must for many of-the necessities to-exist

ὅπως ἐξῇ σχολάζειν· διὸ σώφρονα τὴν πόλιν
so-that it-may-be-possible to-be-at-leisure therefore moderate the city
εἶναι προσήκει καὶ ἀνδρείαν καὶ καρτερικήν· κατὰ γὰρ
to-be befits and courageous and enduring according-to for
τὴν παροιμίαν, οὐ σχολὴ δούλοις, οἱ δὲ μὴ δυνάμενοι
the proverb not leisure for-slaves the(-ones) and not able
κινδυνεύειν ἀνδρείως δοῦλοι τῶν ἐπιόντων εἰσίν. ἀνδρείας
to-run-risk courageously slaves of-the attackers are of-courage
μὲν οὖν καὶ καρτερίας δεῖ πρὸς τὴν ἀσχολίαν,
indeed then and of-endurance there-is-need for the business
φιλοσοφίας δὲ πρὸς τὴν σχολήν, σωφροσύνης δὲ καὶ
of-philosophy and for the leisure of-moderation and and
δικαιοσύνης ἐν ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς χρόνοις, καὶ μᾶλλον εἰρήνην
of-justice in both the times and more peace
ἄγουσι καὶ σχολάζουσιν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πόλεμος ἀναγκάζει
for-those-keeping and being-at-leisure the indeed for war compels
δικαίους εἶναι καὶ σωφρονεῖν, ἡ δὲ τῆς εὐτυχίας ἀπόλαυσις
just to-be and to-be-moderate the and of-the good-fortune enjoyment
καὶ τὸ σχολάζειν μετ᾽ εἰρήνης ὑβριστὰς ποιεῖ μᾶλλον.
and the to-be-at-leisure with peace insolent makes more
πολλῆς οὖν δεῖ δικαιοσύνης καὶ πολλῆς σωφροσύνης τοὺς
much then needs justice and much moderation those
ἄριστα δοκοῦντας πράττειν καὶ πάντων τῶν μακαριζομένων
best seeming to-fare and all the blessed(-things)
ἀπολαύοντας, οἷον εἴ τινές εἰσιν, ὥσπερ οἱ ποιηταί
enjoying such-as if some there-are just-as the poets
φασιν, ἐν μακάρων νήσοις· μάλιστα γὰρ οὗτοι δεήσονται
say in of-the-blessed islands most for these will-need
φιλοσοφίας καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης, ὅσῳ
philosophy and moderation and justice by-as-much-as
μᾶλλον σχολάζουσιν ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ τῶν τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν. διότι
more they-are-at-leisure in abundance of-the such goods that

μὲν οὖν τὴν μέλλουσαν εὐδαιμονήσειν καὶ σπουδαίαν ἔσεσθαι
indeed then the about to-be-happy and excellent to-be
πόλιν τούτων δεῖ τῶν ἀρετῶν μετέχειν, φανερόν. αἰσχροῦ
city of-these must the virtues to-share clear shameful
γὰρ ὄντος μὴ δύνασθαι χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, ἔτι μᾶλλον
for being not to-be-able to-use the goods still more
τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἐν τῷ σχολάζειν χρῆσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀσχολοῦντας
the not to-be-able in the to-be-at-leisure to-use but being-busy
μὲν καὶ πολεμοῦντας φαίνεσθαι ἀγαθούς, εἰρήνην δ' ἄγοντας
indeed and warring to-appear good peace but keeping
καὶ σχολάζοντας ἀνδραποδώδεις. διὸ δεῖ μὴ καθάπερ ἡ
and being-at-leisure slavish therefore one-must not just-as the
Λακεδαιμονίων πόλις τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀσκεῖν. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ οὐ
of-Lacedaemonians city the virtue to-practice they indeed for not
ταύτῃ διαφέρουσι τῶν ἄλλων, τῷ μὴ νομίζειν ταὐτὰ
in-this differ from-the others by-the not to-think the-same(-things)
τοῖς ἄλλοις μέγιστα τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἀλλὰ τῷ γίνεσθαι
as-the others greatest of-the goods but by-the to-come-about
ταῦτα μᾶλλον διά τινος ἀρετῆς· ἐπεὶ δὲ μείζω τε ἀγαθὰ
these more through some virtue since and greater both goods
ταῦτα καὶ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τὴν τούτων ἢ τὴν τῶν ἀρετῶν
these and the enjoyment the of-these than the of-the virtues
***. *** καὶ ὅτι δι' αὐτήν, φανερὸν ἐκ τούτων·
(lacuna) (lacuna) and that through itself clear from these
πῶς δὲ καὶ διὰ τίνων ἔσται, τοῦτο δὴ θεωρητέον.
how and also through what will-be this indeed must-be-considered
τυγχάνομεν δὴ διῃρημένοι πρότερον ὅτι φύσεως καὶ
we-happen indeed having-distinguished before that nature and
ἔθους καὶ λόγου δεῖ. τούτων δὲ ποίους μέν τινας
habit and reason there-is-need-of of-these and of-what-kind indeed some
εἶναι χρὴ τὴν φύσιν, διώρισται πρότερον, λοιπὸν δὲ
to-be must the nature has-been-defined before remaining and

θεωρῆσαι πότερον παιδευτέοι τῷ λόγῳ πρότερον
to-consider whether they-must-be-educated by-the reason first
ἢ τοῖς ἔθεσιν. ταῦτα γὰρ δεῖ πρὸς ἄλληλα συμφωνεῖν
or by-the habits these for must with one-another to-agree
συμφωνίαν τὴν ἀρίστην· ἐνδέχεται γὰρ διημαρτηκέναι καὶ
agreement the best it-is-possible for to-have-erred also
τὸν λόγον τῆς βελτίστης ὑποθέσεως, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐθῶν
the reason from-the best hypothesis and through the habits
ὁμοίως ἦχθαι. φανερὸν δὴ τοῦτό γε πρῶτον μέν,
likewise to-have-been-led clear indeed this at-least first indeed
καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὡς ἡ γένεσις ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐστι καὶ
just-as in the other(-things) that the generation from beginning is and
τὸ τέλος ἀπό τινος ἀρχῆς ἄλλου τέλους, ὁ δὲ λόγος ἡμῖν
the end from some beginning of-another end the and reason for-us
καὶ ὁ νοῦς τῆς φύσεως τέλος, ὥστε πρὸς τούτους τὴν
and the intellect of-the nature end so-that with-a-view-to these the
γένεσιν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐθῶν δεῖ παρασκευάζειν μελέτην·
generation and the of-the habits one-must to-prepare practice
ἔπειτα ὥσπερ ψυχὴ καὶ σῶμα δύ' ἐστίν, οὕτω καὶ τῆς
then just-as soul and body two are so also of-the
ψυχῆς ὁρῶμεν δύο μέρη, τό τε ἄλογον καὶ τὸ λόγον ἔχον,
soul we-see two parts the both irrational and the reason having
καὶ τὰς ἕξεις τὰς τούτων δύο τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὧν τὸ
and the states the of-these two in-the number of-which the(-one)
μέν ἐστιν ὄρεξις τὸ δὲ νοῦς, ὥσπερ δὲ τὸ σῶμα
indeed is appetite the(-other) and intellect just-as and the body
πρότερον τῇ γενέσει τῆς ψυχῆς, οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἄλογον
prior in-the generation than-the soul so also the irrational
τοῦ λόγον ἔχοντος. φανερὸν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο· θυμὸς γὰρ καὶ
than-the reason having clear and also this spirit for and
βούλησις, ἔτι δὲ ἐπιθυμία καὶ γενομένοις εὐθὺς ὑπάρχει
wish further and desire even having-been-born at-once belong

τοῖς παιδίοις, ὁ δὲ λογισμὸς καὶ ὁ νοῦς προϊοῦσιν
to-the children the but reasoning and the intellect to-those-advancing
ἐγγίγνεσθαι πέφυκεν. διὸ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ σώματος τὴν
to-arise are-natural therefore first indeed of-the body the
ἐπιμέλειαν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι προτέραν ἢ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς,
care necessary to-be prior to the(-care) of-the soul
ἔπειτα τὴν τῆς ὀρέξεως, ἕνεκα μέντοι τοῦ νοῦ
then the(-care) of-the appetite for-the-sake however of-the intellect
τὴν τῆς ὀρέξεως, τὴν δὲ τοῦ σώματος τῆς ψυχῆς.
the(-care) of-the appetite the(-care) and of-the body of-the soul

XVI · MARRIAGE AND CHILDREN

The lawgiver should regulate marriage so that the ages of husband and wife match their powers of begetting: women about eighteen, men about thirty-seven. Children should be begotten in winter by parents fit but not athletic, and pregnant women should exercise and eat well. No deformed child should be reared, and abortion before life begins may limit numbers. Men should stop begetting at about fifty-five, and adultery is disgraceful.

Εἴπερ οὖν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὸν νομοθέτην ὁρᾶν δεῖ ὅπως
if-indeed then from beginning the lawgiver to-see must how
βέλτιστα τὰ σώματα γίνηται τῶν τρεφομένων, πρῶτον
best the bodies may-become of-those being-reared first
μὲν ἐπιμελητέον περὶ τὴν σύζευξιν, πότε καὶ ποίους
indeed one-must-care about the union when and of-what-kind
τινὰς ὄντας χρὴ ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὴν γαμικὴν
some being must to-make with one-another the marital
ὁμιλίαν. Δεῖ δ' ἀποβλέποντα νομοθετεῖν ταύτην τὴν
intercourse must and looking-to to-legislate this the
κοινωνίαν πρὸς αὐτούς τε καὶ τὸν τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον, ἵνα
community to themselves both and the of-the to-live time so-that

συγκαταβαίνωσι ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ
they-may-come-down-together in-the ages to the same point and
μὴ διαφωνῶσιν αἱ δυνάμεις τοῦ μὲν ἔτι δυναμένου
not may-be-at-odds the powers of-the(-one) indeed still able
γεννᾶν τῆς δὲ μὴ δυναμένης, ἢ ταύτης μὲν τοῦ δ'
to-beget of-the(-other) and not able or this(-one) indeed of-the and
ἀνδρὸς μή (ταῦτα γὰρ ποιεῖ καὶ στάσεις πρὸς ἀλλήλους
man not these for make both factions with one-another
καὶ διαφοράς)· ἔπειτα καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν τέκνων
and quarrels then also with-respect-to the of-the children
διαδοχήν, δεῖ γὰρ οὔτε λίαν ὑπολείπεσθαι ταῖς ἡλικίαις τὰ
succession must for neither too to-fall-behind in-the ages the
τέκνα τῶν πατέρων (ἀνόνητος γὰρ τοῖς μὲν πρεσβυτέροις
children the fathers useless for to-the indeed older
ἡ χάρις παρὰ τῶν τέκνων, ἡ δὲ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων
the gratitude from the children the and from the fathers
βοήθεια τοῖς τέκνοις) οὔτε λίαν πάρεγγυς εἶναι (πολλὴν γὰρ
help to-the children nor too near to-be much for
ἔχει δυσχέρειαν· ἥ τε γὰρ αἰδὼς ἧττον ὑπάρχει τοῖς
it-has difficulty the both for respect less exists toward-the
τοιούτοις ὥσπερ ἡλικιώταις, καὶ περὶ τὴν οἰκονομίαν
such just-as toward-contemporaries and about the household-management
ἐγκληματικὸν τὸ πάρεγγυς)· ἔτι δ', ὅθεν ἀρχόμενοι δεῦρο
quarrelsome the nearness further and whence beginning to-here
μετέβημεν, ὅπως τὰ σώματα τῶν γεννωμένων ὑπάρχῃ
we-passed that the bodies of-those being-born may-be
πρὸς τὴν τοῦ νομοθέτου βούλησιν.
in-accordance-with the of-the lawgiver wish
σχεδὸν δὴ πάντα ταῦτα συμβαίνει κατὰ μίαν ἐπιμέλειαν.
nearly indeed all these happen by one care
ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὥρισται τέλος τῆς γεννήσεως ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ
since for is-defined end of-the begetting as for the

πλεῖστον εἰπεῖν ἀνδράσι μὲν ὁ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα ἐτῶν
most-part to-say for-men indeed the of-the seventy years
ἀριθμὸς ἔσχατος, πεντήκοντα δὲ γυναιξί, δεῖ τὴν ἀρχὴν
number last fifty and for-women must the beginning
τῆς συζεύξεως κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν εἰς τοὺς χρόνους
of-the union according-to the age to the times
καταβαίνειν τούτους. ἔστι δ' ὁ τῶν νέων συνδυασμὸς
to-come-down these is and the of-the young pairing
φαῦλος πρὸς τὴν τεκνοποιίαν· ἐν γὰρ πᾶσι ζῴοις ἀτελῆ
bad for the child-bearing in for all animals imperfect
τὰ τῶν νέων ἔκγονα καὶ θηλυτόκα μᾶλλον καὶ μικρὰ
the of-the young offspring and female-bearing more and small
τὴν μορφήν, ὥστ' ἀναγκαῖον ταὐτὸ τοῦτο συμβαίνειν
in-the shape so-that necessary the-same this to-happen
καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. τεκμήριον δέ· ἐν ὅσαις
also in-the-case-of the men proof and in as-many-as
γὰρ τῶν πόλεων ἐπιχωριάζεται τὸ νέους συζευγνύναι
for of-the cities is-customary the young(-men) to-pair
καὶ νέας, ἀτελεῖς καὶ μικροὶ τὰ σώματά εἰσιν. ἔτι
and young(-women) imperfect and small in-the bodies they-are further
δὲ ἐν τοῖς τόκοις αἱ νέαι πονοῦσί τε μᾶλλον καὶ
and in the births the young(-women) suffer both more and
διαφθείρονται πλείους· διὸ καὶ τὸν χρησμὸν γενέσθαι
perish more therefore also the oracle to-have-come-about
τινές φασι διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν τοῖς Τροιζηνίοις, ὡς
some say through such cause to-the Troezenians as
πολλῶν διαφθειρομένων διὰ τὸ γαμίσκεσθαι τὰς
many perishing through the to-be-given-in-marriage the
νεωτέρας, ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς τὴν τῶν καρπῶν κομιδήν.
younger but not with-respect-to the of-the crops harvest

ἔτι δὲ καὶ πρὸς σωφροσύνην συμφέρει τὰς ἐκδόσεις
further and also for moderation it-is-advantageous the givings-in-marriage
ποιεῖσθαι πρεσβυτέραις· ἀκολαστότεραι γὰρ εἶναι δοκοῦσι
to-make at-older(-ages) more-licentious for to-be seem
νέαι χρησάμεναι ταῖς συνουσίαις. καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀρρένων δὲ
young having-used the intercourse and the of-the males and
σώματα βλάπτεσθαι δοκεῖ πρὸς τὴν αὔξησιν, ἐὰν ἔτι
bodies to-be-harmed seem with-respect-to the growth if still
τοῦ σπέρματος αὐξανομένου ποιῶνται τὴν συνουσίαν· καὶ
of-the seed growing they-make the intercourse and
γὰρ τούτου τις ὡρισμένος χρόνος, ὃν οὐχ ὑπερβαίνει
for of-this some fixed time which not it-exceeds
πληθύον ἔτι. διὸ τὰς μὲν ἁρμόττει περὶ τὴν τῶν
increasing still therefore the(-women) indeed it-is-fitting about the of-the
ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἐτῶν ἡλικίαν συζευγνύναι, τοὺς δ' ἑπτὰ
eighteen years age to-marry the(-men) and seven
καὶ τριάκοντα ἢ μικρόν. ἐν τοσούτῳ γὰρ ἀκμάζουσί
and thirty or a-little in so-much for in-their-prime
τε τοῖς σώμασι σύζευξις ἔσται, καὶ πρὸς τὴν παῦλαν
both in-the bodies union will-be and toward the cessation
τῆς τεκνοποιίας συγκαταβήσεται τοῖς χρόνοις εὐκαίρως·
of-the child-bearing will-come-down-together in-the times seasonably
ἔτι δὲ ἡ διαδοχὴ τῶν τέκνων τοῖς μὲν ἀρχομένοις
further and the succession of-the children for-the(-ones) indeed beginning
ἔσται τῆς ἀκμῆς, ἐὰν γίγνηται κατὰ λόγον εὐθὺς ἡ
will-be of-the prime if it-happens according-to reason at-once the
γένεσις, τοῖς δὲ ἤδη καταλελυμένης τῆς ἡλικίας
birth for-the(-others) and already declined the age
πρὸς τὸν τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα ἐτῶν ἀριθμόν.
toward the of-the seventy years number

περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ πότε δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν σύζευξιν
about indeed then the when one-must to-make the union
εἴρηται, τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὴν ὥραν χρόνοις ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ
it-has-been-said the and about the season times as the many
χρῶνται, καλῶς καὶ νῦν ὁρίσαντες χειμῶνος τὴν συναυλίαν
use well and now having-defined in-winter the cohabitation
ποιεῖσθαι ταύτην. δεῖ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἤδη θεωρεῖν πρὸς τὴν
to-make this must and also themselves already to-study for the
τεκνοποιίαν τά τε παρὰ τῶν ἰατρῶν λεγόμενα καὶ τὰ
child-bearing the both from the doctors said(-things) and the(-things)
παρὰ τῶν φυσικῶν· οἵ τε γὰρ ἰατροὶ τοὺς καιροὺς
from the natural-philosophers the both for doctors the proper-times
τῶν σωμάτων ἱκανῶς λέγουσι, καὶ περὶ τῶν πνευμάτων οἱ
of-the bodies adequately state and about the winds the
φυσικοί, τὰ βόρεια τῶν νοτίων ἐπαινοῦντες μᾶλλον.
natural-philosophers the northern than-the southern praising more
ποίων δέ τινων τῶν σωμάτων ὑπαρχόντων μάλιστ' ἂν
of-what-kind and some of-the bodies existing most —
ὄφελος εἴη τοῖς γεννωμένοις, ἐπιστήσασι μὲν μᾶλλον
benefit would-be to-those being-born having-paid-attention indeed more
λεκτέον ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς παιδονομίας, τύπῳ δὲ ἱκανὸν
must-be-said in the(-discussions) about the child-rearing in-outline and sufficient
εἰπεῖν καὶ νῦν. οὔτε γὰρ ἡ τῶν ἀθλητῶν χρήσιμος ἕξις
to-say also now neither for the of-the athletes useful condition
πρὸς πολιτικὴν εὐεξίαν οὐδὲ πρὸς ὑγίειαν καὶ τεκνοποιίαν,
for political good-condition nor for health and child-bearing
οὔτε ἡ θεραπευτικὴ καὶ κακοπονητικὴ λίαν, ἀλλ' ἡ
nor the valetudinarian and ill-able-to-toil too but the
μέση τούτων. πεπονημένην μὲν οὖν ἔχειν δεῖ τὴν ἕξιν,
mean of-these trained indeed then to-have must the condition
πεπονημένην δὲ πόνοις μὴ βιαίοις, μηδὲ πρὸς ἕνα μόνον,
trained but by-toils not violent nor for one only

ὥσπερ ἡ τῶν ἀθλητῶν ἕξις, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἐλευθερίων
just-as the of-the athletes condition but for the of-the free
πράξεις. ὁμοίως δὲ δεῖ ταῦτα ὑπάρχειν ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξίν.
actions likewise and must these to-belong to-men and women
χρὴ δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐγκύους ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν σωμάτων, μὴ
must and also the pregnant to-care-for the bodies not
ῥᾳθυμούσας μηδ' ἀραιᾷ τροφῇ χρωμένας. τοῦτο δὲ ῥᾴδιον
being-lazy nor thin food using this and easy
τῷ νομοθέτῃ ποιῆσαι προστάξαντι καθ' ἡμέραν τινὰ
for-the lawgiver to-do having-ordered by day some
ποιεῖσθαι πορείαν πρὸς θεῶν ἀποθεραπείαν τῶν εἰληχότων
to-make walk for of-gods worship of-those having-obtained
τὴν περὶ τῆς γενέσεως τιμήν. τὴν μέντοι διάνοιαν
the over the birth honor the however mind
τοὐναντίον τῶν σωμάτων ῥᾳθυμοτέρως ἁρμόττει διάγειν·
contrary to-the bodies more-lazily it-is-fitting to-pass
ἀπολαύοντα γὰρ φαίνεται τὰ γεννώμενα τῆς ἐχούσης
enjoying for appear the being-born of-the(-mother) having(-them)
ὥσπερ τὰ φυόμενα τῆς γῆς. περὶ δὲ ἀποθέσεως καὶ
just-as the growing of-the earth about and exposure and
τροφῆς τῶν γιγνομένων ἔστω νόμος μηδὲν πεπηρωμένον
rearing of-those born let-there-be law nothing deformed
τρέφειν, διὰ δὲ πλῆθος τέκνων, ἐὰν ἡ τάξις τῶν ἐτῶν
to-rear through and number of-children if the order of-the years
κωλύῃ, μηθὲν ἀποτίθεσθαι τῶν γιγνομένων (ὥρισται γὰρ
should-forbid none to-expose of-those born has-been-fixed for
δὴ τῆς τεκνοποιίας τὸ πλῆθος), ἐὰν δέ τισι γίγνηται
indeed of-the child-bearing the amount if and for-some it-happens
παρὰ ταῦτα συνδυασθέντων, πρὶν αἴσθησιν ἐγγενέσθαι
contrary-to these having-paired before sensation to-arise
καὶ ζωήν, ἐμποιεῖσθαι δεῖ τὴν ἄμβλωσιν· τὸ γὰρ ὅσιον
and life to-be-produced must the abortion the for holy

καὶ τὸ μὴ διωρισμένον τῇ αἰσθήσει καὶ τῷ ζῆν ἔσται.
and the not defined by-the sensation and the to-live will-be
ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ μὲν ἀρχὴ τῆς ἡλικίας ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ
since and the indeed beginning of-the age for-man and woman
διώρισται, πότε ἄρχεσθαι χρὴ τῆς συζεύξεως, καὶ πόσον
has-been-defined when to-begin must the union and how-much
χρόνον λειτουργεῖν ἁρμόττει πρὸς τεκνοποιίαν ὡρίσθω.
time to-serve it-is-fitting for child-bearing let-it-be-defined
τὰ γὰρ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἔκγονα, καθάπερ τὰ
the for of-the older offspring just-as the(-offspring)
τῶν νεωτέρων, ἀτελῆ γίγνεται καὶ τοῖς σώμασι καὶ ταῖς
of-the younger imperfect become both in-the bodies and in-the
διανοίαις, τὰ δὲ τῶν γεγηρακότων ἀσθενῆ. διὸ κατὰ
minds the and of-those having-grown-old weak therefore according-to
τὴν τῆς διανοίας ἀκμήν. αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις
the of-the mind prime this and is in the most
ἥνπερ τῶν ποιητῶν τινες εἰρήκασιν οἱ μετροῦντες ταῖς
which-very of-the poets some have-said those measuring by-the
ἑβδομάσι τὴν ἡλικίαν, περὶ τὸν χρόνον τὸν τῶν πεντήκοντα
sevens the age about the time the of-the fifty
ἐτῶν. ὥστε τέτταρσιν ἢ πέντε ἔτεσιν ὑπερβάλλοντα
years so-that by-four or five years exceeding
τὴν ἡλικίαν ταύτην ἀφεῖσθαι δεῖ τῆς εἰς τὸ φανερὸν
the age this to-be-released must from-the for the open
γεννήσεως· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ὑγιείας χάριν ἤ τινος ἄλλης
begetting the and rest for-health for-the-sake or some other
τοιαύτης αἰτίας φαίνεσθαι δεῖ ποιουμένους τὴν ὁμιλίαν.
such cause to-appear must making the intercourse
περὶ δὲ τῆς πρὸς ἄλλην ἢ πρὸς ἄλλον, ἔστω μὲν
about and the with another(-woman) or with another(-man) let-it-be indeed
ἁπλῶς μὴ καλὸν ἁπτόμενον φαίνεσθαι μηδαμῇ μηδαμῶς,
simply not noble touching to-appear in-no-way in-no-manner

ὅταν ᾖ καὶ προσαγορευθῇ πόσις· περὶ δὲ τὸν χρόνον
whenever he-is and is-called husband about and the time
τὸν τῆς τεκνοποιίας ἐάν τις φαίνηται τοιοῦτόν τι
the of-the child-bearing if anyone appears such something
δρῶν, ἀτιμίᾳ ζημιούσθω πρεπούσῃ πρὸς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν.
doing with-dishonor let-him-be-punished fitting to the offense

XVII · INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD

Infants should be fed milk and accustomed to cold and to movement. Until five, children should play and hear stories chosen by the supervisors. Until seven they are reared at home, kept from slaves and from indecent talk and pictures; the young should not see comedies or iambic shows. Education then divides at puberty and at twenty-one, following nature.

Γενομένων δὲ τῶν τέκνων οἴεσθαι δεῖ μεγάλην εἶναι
born and the children to-think one-must great to-be
διαφορὰν πρὸς τὴν τῶν σωμάτων δύναμιν τὴν
difference with-respect-to the of-the bodies strength the
τροφήν, ὁποία τις ἂν ᾖ. φαίνεται δὲ διά τε
food of-what-kind some — it-is it-appears and through both
τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων ἐπισκοποῦσι, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν
the other animals to-those-examining and through the nations
οἷς ἐπιμελές ἐστιν ἄγειν τὴν πολεμικὴν ἕξιν, ᾗ
to-whom care is to-lead the warlike condition the
τοῦ γάλακτος πλήθουσα τροφὴ μάλιστ' οἰκεία τοῖς
of-the milk full food most suited to-the
σώμασιν, ἀοινοτέρα δὲ διὰ τὰ νοσήματα. ἔτι δὲ
bodies less-wine-taking and through the diseases further and
καὶ κινήσεις ὅσας ἐνδέχεται ποιεῖσθαι τηλικούτων
also motions as-many-as it-is-possible to-make of-such(-children)

συμφέρει. πρὸς δὲ τὸ μὴ διαστρέφεσθαι τὰ μέλη δι'
is-advantageous for and the not to-be-distorted the limbs through
ἁπαλότητα χρῶνται καὶ νῦν ἔνια τῶν ἐθνῶν ὀργάνοις
softness use also now some of-the nations instruments
τισὶ μηχανικοῖς, ἃ τὸ σῶμα ποιεῖ τῶν τοιούτων
some mechanical which the body make of-the such(-children)
ἀστραβές. συμφέρει δ' εὐθὺς καὶ πρὸς τὰ ψύχη
straight it-is-advantageous and at-once also to the colds
συνεθίζειν ἐκ μικρῶν παίδων· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ πρὸς ὑγίειαν
to-accustom from small children this for both for health
καὶ πρὸς πολεμικὰς πράξεις εὐχρηστότατον. διὸ παρὰ
and for military actions most-serviceable therefore among
πολλοῖς ἐστι τῶν βαρβάρων ἔθος τοῖς μὲν εἰς
many is of-the barbarians custom for-the(-ones) indeed into
ποταμὸν ἀποβάπτειν τὰ γιγνόμενα ψυχρόν, τοῖς δὲ
river to-dip the being-born cold for-the(-others) and
σκέπασμα μικρὸν ἀμπίσχειν, οἷον Κελτοῖς. πάντα γὰρ
covering small to-put-on such-as for-Celts all for
ὅσα δυνατὸν ἐθίζειν, εὐθὺς ἀρχομένων βέλτιον μὲν
as-many-as possible to-accustom at-once beginning better indeed
ἐθίζειν, ἐκ προσαγωγῆς δ' ἐθίζειν· εὐφυὴς δ' ἡ τῶν
to-accustom by gradual-advance but to-accustom naturally-suited and the of-the
παίδων ἕξις διὰ θερμότητα πρὸς τὴν τῶν ψυχρῶν
children condition through warmth for the of-the colds
ἄσκησιν.
training

περὶ μὲν οὖν τὴν πρώτην συμφέρει ποιεῖσθαι τὴν
about indeed then the first is-advantageous to-make the
ἐπιμέλειαν τοιαύτην τε καὶ τὴν ταύτῃ παραπλησίαν·
care such both and the to-this similar
τὴν δ' ἐχομένην ταύτης ἡλικίαν μέχρι πέντε ἐτῶν,
the and next to-this age up-to five years

ἧν οὔτε πω πρὸς μάθησιν καλῶς ἔχει προσάγειν
which neither yet to learning well it-is to-bring
οὐδεμίαν οὔτε πρὸς ἀναγκαίους πόνους, ὅπως μὴ τὴν
none nor to necessary toils so-that not the
αὔξησιν ἐμποδίζωσιν, δεῖ δὲ τοσαύτης τυγχάνειν κινήσεως
growth they-may-hinder must and so-much to-get of-motion
ὥστε διαφεύγειν τὴν ἀργίαν τῶν σωμάτων, ἣν χρὴ
so-as to-escape the idleness of-the bodies which one-must
παρασκευάζειν καὶ δι᾽ ἄλλων πράξεων καὶ διὰ τῆς
to-provide also through other actions and through the
παιδιᾶς. δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὰς παιδιὰς εἶναι μήτε ἀνελευθέρους
play must and also the plays to-be neither illiberal
μήτε ἐπιπόνους μήτε ἀνειμένας. καὶ περὶ λόγων δὲ
nor toilsome nor loose and about tales and
καὶ μύθων, ποίους τινὰς ἀκούειν δεῖ τοὺς τηλικούτους,
also stories what-kind some to-hear must the such(-children)
ἐπιμελὲς ἔστω τοῖς ἄρχουσιν οὓς καλοῦσι παιδονόμους.
concern let-it-be for-the officials whom they-call child-supervisors
πάντα γὰρ δεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα προοδοποιεῖν πρὸς τὰς ὕστερον
all for must the such to-pave-the-way for the later
διατριβάς· διὸ τὰς παιδιὰς εἶναι δεῖ τὰς πολλὰς
pursuits therefore the plays to-be must the many
μιμήσεις τῶν ὕστερον σπουδαζομένων. τὰς δὲ διατάσεις
imitations of-the later serious-pursuits the and strainings
τῶν παίδων καὶ κλαυθμοὺς οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἀπαγορεύουσιν
of-the children and cryings not rightly forbid
οἱ κωλύοντες ἐν τοῖς νόμοις· συμφέρουσι γὰρ
those preventing(-them) in the laws they-are-advantageous for
πρὸς αὔξησιν· γίγνεται γὰρ τρόπον τινὰ γυμνασία τοῖς
for growth comes-about for in-a-way some exercise for-the
σώμασιν· ἡ γὰρ τοῦ πνεύματος κάθεξις ποιεῖ τὴν
bodies the for of-the breath holding makes the

ἰσχὺν τοῖς πονοῦσιν, ὃ συμβαίνει καὶ τοῖς παιδίοις
strength for-those toiling which happens also to-the children
διατεινομένοις.
straining
ἐπισκεπτέον δὲ τοῖς παιδονόμοις τὴν τούτων διαγωγὴν
must-be-considered and by-the child-supervisors the of-these pastime
τήν τ᾽ ἄλλην καὶ ὅπως ὅτι ἥκιστα μετὰ δούλων ἔσται.
the both other and that as least with slaves it-will-be
ταύτην γὰρ τὴν ἡλικίαν, καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐτῶν,
this for the age and up-to the seven years
ἀναγκαῖον οἴκοι τὴν τροφὴν ἔχειν. εὔλογον οὖν ἀπολαύειν
necessary at-home the rearing to-have reasonable then to-take
ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκουσμάτων καὶ τῶν ὁραμάτων ἀνελευθερίαν
from the things-heard and the things-seen illiberality
καὶ τηλικούτους ὄντας. ὅλως μὲν οὖν αἰσχρολογίαν
even so-young being generally indeed then shameful-talk
ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι, δεῖ τὸν νομοθέτην
from the city just-as other anything must the lawgiver
ἐξορίζειν (ἐκ τοῦ γὰρ εὐχερῶς λέγειν ὁτιοῦν τῶν
to-banish from the for lightly to-say anything-whatever of-the
αἰσχρῶν γίνεται καὶ τὸ ποιεῖν σύνεγγυς)· μάλιστα μὲν
shameful comes also the to-do near most indeed
οὖν ἐκ τῶν νέων, ὅπως μήτε λέγωσι μήτε ἀκούωσι
then from the young so-that neither they-may-say nor they-may-hear
μηδὲν τοιοῦτον· ἐὰν δέ τις φαίνηταί τι λέγων
nothing such if and anyone appears something saying
ἢ πράττων τῶν ἀπηγορευμένων, τὸν μὲν ἐλεύθερον
or doing of-the forbidden(-things) the(-one) indeed free
μὲν μήπω δὲ κατακλίσεως ἠξιωμένον ἐν τοῖς συσσιτίοις
indeed not-yet but of-reclining deemed-worthy in the common-meals
κολάζειν καὶ πληγαῖς, τὸν δὲ πρεσβύτερον τῆς
to-punish and blows the(-one) and older than-the

ἡλικίας ταύτης ἀτιμίαις ἀνελευθέροις ἀνδραποδωδίας
age this with-dishonors illiberal of-slavishness
χάριν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ λέγειν τι τῶν τοιούτων ἐξορίζομεν,
for-the-sake since and the to-say anything of-the such we-banish
φανερὸν ὅτι καὶ τὸ θεωρεῖν ἢ γραφὰς ἢ λόγους
clear that also the to-view either pictures or speeches
ἀσχήμονας.
indecent
ἐπιμελὲς μὲν οὖν ἔστω τοῖς ἄρχουσι μηθὲν μήτε
concern indeed then let-it-be for-the officials nothing neither
ἄγαλμα μήτε γραφὴν εἶναι τοιούτων πράξεων μίμησιν,
statue nor picture to-be of-such actions imitation
εἰ μὴ παρά τισι θεοῖς τοιούτοις οἷς καὶ τὸν
if not among some gods such to-whom also the
τωθασμὸν ἀποδίδωσιν ὁ νόμος· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις
ribaldry assigns the law for and these
ἀφίησιν ὁ νόμος τοὺς τὴν ἡλικίαν ἔχοντας τὴν
allows the law those the age having the
ἱκνουμένην καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν
proper both on-behalf-of themselves and children and wives
τιμαλφεῖν τοὺς θεούς. τοὺς δὲ νεωτέρους οὔτ' ἰάμβων
to-honor the gods the and younger neither of-iambi
οὔτε κωμῳδίας θεατὰς νομοθετητέον, πρὶν ἢ τὴν
nor of-comedy spectators must-be-legislated before than the
ἡλικίαν λάβωσιν ἐν ᾗ καὶ κατακλίσεως ὑπάρξει
age they-take in which also of-reclining it-will-be-open
κοινωνεῖν ἤδη καὶ μέθης καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν
to-share already and of-drunkenness and of-the from the
τοιούτων γιγνομένης βλάβης ἀπαθεῖς ἡ παιδεία ποιήσει
such arising harm unaffected the education will-make
πάντας.
all

νῦν μὲν οὖν ἐν παραδρομῇ τοῦτον πεποιήμεθα τὸν λόγον·
now indeed then in passing this we-have-made the discussion
ὕστερον δ' ἐπιστήσαντας δεῖ διορίσαι μᾶλλον, εἴτε μὴ
later and having-paid-attention one-must to-define more whether not
δεῖ πρῶτον εἴτε δεῖ διαπορήσαντας, καὶ πῶς δεῖ·
one-must first or one-must having-raised-the-question and how one-must
κατὰ δὲ τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν ἐμνήσθημεν ὡς ἀναγκαῖον.
at and the present occasion we-mentioned as necessary
ἴσως γὰρ οὐ κακῶς ἔλεγε τὸ τοιοῦτον Θεόδωρος ὁ
perhaps for not badly said the such Theodorus the
τῆς τραγῳδίας ὑποκριτής· οὐθενὶ γὰρ πώποτε παρῆκεν
of-the tragedy actor to-no-one for ever he-allowed
ἑαυτοῦ προεισάγειν, οὐδὲ τῶν εὐτελῶν ὑποκριτῶν, ὡς
himself to-bring-on-before not-even of-the cheap actors as
οἰκειουμένων τῶν θεατῶν ταῖς πρώταις ἀκοαῖς· συμβαίνει
being-attached the spectators to-the first hearings happens
δὲ ταὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὁμιλίας
and the-same this also toward the of-the men associations
καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων· πάντα γὰρ στέργομεν
and toward the of-the things all for we-love
τὰ πρῶτα μᾶλλον. διὸ δεῖ τοῖς νέοις πάντα ποιεῖν
the first(-things) more therefore one-must for-the young all to-make
ξένα τὰ φαῦλα, μάλιστα δ' αὐτῶν ὅσα ἔχει ἢ
foreign the bad most and of-them as-many-as have either
μοχθηρίαν ἢ δυσμένειαν. διελθόντων δὲ τῶν πέντε ἐτῶν
wickedness or malice having-passed and the five years
τὰ δύο μέχρι τῶν ἑπτὰ δεῖ θεωροὺς ἤδη γίγνεσθαι
the two up-to the seven must spectators already to-become
τῶν μαθήσεων ἃς δεήσει μανθάνειν αὐτούς. Δύο
of-the learnings which it-will-be-necessary to-learn them two
δ' εἰσὶν ἡλικίαι πρὸς ἃς ἀναγκαῖον διῃρῆσθαι τὴν
and are ages to which necessary to-be-divided the

παιδείαν, μετὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἑπτὰ μέχρι ἥβης καὶ
education after the from the seven up-to puberty and
πάλιν μετὰ τὴν ἀφ᾽ ἥβης μέχρι τῶν ἑνὸς καὶ εἴκοσιν
again after the from puberty up-to the one and twenty
ἐτῶν.
years
οἱ γὰρ ταῖς ἑβδομάσι διαιροῦντες τὰς ἡλικίας ὡς
those for by-the sevens dividing the ages as
ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ λέγουσιν οὐ κακῶς, δεῖ δὲ τῇ
for the most-part speak not badly one-must but the
διαιρέσει τῆς φύσεως ἑπακολουθεῖν· πᾶσα γὰρ τέχνη
division of-the nature to-follow every for art
καὶ παιδεία τὸ προσλεῖπον βούλεται τῆς φύσεως
and education the deficient wishes of-the nature
ἀναπληροῦν. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν σκεπτέον εἰ ποιητέον
to-fill-up first indeed then must-be-considered whether one-must-make
τάξιν τινὰ περὶ τοὺς παῖδας, ἔπειτα πότερον
arrangement some about the children then whether
συμφέρει κοινῇ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτῶν
it-is-advantageous in-common to-make the care of-them
ἢ κατ᾽ ἴδιον τρόπον (ὃ γίγνεται καὶ νῦν ἐν ταῖς
or in private manner which happens also now in the
πλείσταις τῶν πόλεων), τρίτον δὲ ποίαν τινὰ δεῖ
most of-the cities third and what-kind some must
ταύτην.
this

BOOK VIII

I · EDUCATION AS PUBLIC

The lawgiver must make the education of the young his chief care, since neglect harms constitutions, and each constitution is preserved by its own character. Education must be public and one for all, since the city has one end, and no citizen belongs to himself but to the city; the Spartans are praised for this.

Ὅτι μὲν οὖν τῷ νομοθέτῃ μάλιστα πραγματευτέον περὶ
that indeed then by-the lawgiver most must-be-dealt-with about
τὴν τῶν νέων παιδείαν, οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀμφισβητήσειε· καὶ
the of-the young education no-one — would-dispute also
γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οὐ γιγνόμενον τοῦτο βλάπτει τὰς
for in the cities not happening this harms the
πολιτείας· δεῖ γὰρ πρὸς ἑκάστην παιδεύεσθαι· τὸ
constitutions one-must for with-a-view-to each to-be-educated the
γὰρ ἦθος τῆς πολιτείας ἑκάστης τὸ οἰκεῖον καὶ φυλάττειν
for character of-the constitution each the proper both to-preserve
εἴωθε τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ καθίστησιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, οἷον τὸ μὲν
is-wont the constitution and establishes from beginning such-as the indeed
δημοκρατικὸν δημοκρατίαν τὸ δ' ὀλιγαρχικὸν ὀλιγαρχίαν·
democratic democracy the and oligarchic oligarchy
ἀεὶ δὲ τὸ βέλτιστον ἦθος βελτίονος αἴτιον πολιτείας.
always and the best character of-better cause constitution
ἔτι δὲ πρὸς πάσας δυνάμεις καὶ τέχνας ἔστιν ἃ δεῖ
further and for all capacities and arts there-are which must
προπαιδεύεσθαι καὶ προεθίζεσθαι πρὸς τὰς ἑκάστων
to-be-educated-beforehand and to-be-habituated-beforehand for the of-each
ἐργασίας, ὥστε δῆλον ὅτι καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῆς ἀρετῆς
works so-that clear that also for the of-the virtue
πράξεις· ἐπεὶ δ' ἓν τὸ τέλος τῇ πόλει πάσῃ, φανερὸν
actions since and one the end for-the city whole clear

ὅτι καὶ τὴν παιδείαν μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀναγκαῖον
that also the education one and the same necessary
εἶναι πάντων καὶ ταύτης τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν εἶναι κοινὴν καὶ
to-be of-all and of-this the care to-be common and
μὴ κατ᾽ ἰδίαν, ὃν τρόπον νῦν ἕκαστος ἐπιμελεῖται τῶν
not by private which way now each cares-for the
αὐτοῦ τέκνων ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ μάθησιν ἰδίαν, ἣν ἂν δόξῃ,
of-himself children privately both and learning private whatever — seems
διδάσκων. δεῖ δὲ τῶν κοινῶν κοινὴν ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν
teaching one-must and of-the common common to-make also the
ἄσκησιν. ἅμα δὲ οὐδὲ χρὴ νομίζειν αὐτὸν αὑτοῦ τινα
training at-once and not-even must to-think himself of-himself any
εἶναι τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλὰ πάντας τῆς πόλεως, μόριον γὰρ
to-be of-the citizens but all of-the city part for
ἕκαστος τῆς πόλεως· ἡ δ᾽ ἐπιμέλεια πέφυκεν ἑκάστου
each of-the city the and care is-naturally of-each
μορίου βλέπειν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὅλου ἐπιμέλειαν. ἐπαινέσειε
part to-look to the of-the whole care would-praise
δ᾽ ἄν τις κατὰ τοῦτο Λακεδαιμονίους· καὶ γὰρ πλείστην
and — anyone on this Lacedaemonians and for most
ποιοῦνται σπουδὴν περὶ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ κοινῇ ταύτην.
they-make seriousness about the children and in-common this

II · WHAT TO TEACH

There is no agreement on what should be taught: the useful, what makes for virtue, or extraordinary learning. Children should learn the necessary useful things, but none that makes a free man a mechanic, debasing body or mind; liberal studies pushed too far do harm, and work done for hire, not for oneself, one's friends, or virtue, is menial.

Ὅτι μὲν οὖν νομοθετητέον περὶ παιδείας καὶ ταύτην
that indeed then one-must-legislate about education and this
κοινὴν ποιητέον, φανερόν· τίς δ' ἐστὶν ἡ παιδεία καὶ
common one-must-make clear what and is the education and
πῶς χρὴ παιδεύεσθαι, δεῖ μὴ λανθάνειν. νῦν γὰρ
how one-must to-be-educated must not to-escape-notice now for
ἀμφισβητεῖται περὶ τῶν ἔργων. οὐ γὰρ ταὐτὰ πάντες
it-is-disputed about the works not for the-same all
ὑπολαμβάνουσι δεῖν μανθάνειν τοὺς νέους οὔτε πρὸς
suppose to-be-necessary to-learn the young neither for
ἀρετὴν οὔτε πρὸς τὸν βίον τὸν ἄριστον, οὐδὲ φανερὸν
virtue nor for the life the best nor clear
πότερον πρὸς τὴν διάνοιαν πρέπει μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς τὸ τῆς
whether for the intellect it-befits more or for the of-the
ψυχῆς ἦθος· ἔκ τε τῆς ἐμποδὼν παιδείας ταραχώδης ἡ
soul character from both the in-the-way education confusing the
σκέψις καὶ δῆλον οὐδὲν πότερον ἀσκεῖν δεῖ τὰ χρήσιμα
inquiry and clear nothing whether to-practice one-must the useful
πρὸς τὸν βίον ἢ τὰ τείνοντα πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἢ τὰ περιττά
for the life or the tending to virtue or the extraordinary
(πάντα γὰρ εἴληφε ταῦτα κριτάς τινας)· περί τε τῶν
all for have-obtained these judges some about both the(-things)
πρὸς ἀρετὴν οὐθέν ἐστιν ὁμολογούμενον (καὶ γὰρ τὴν
for virtue nothing is agreed and for the
ἀρετὴν οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν εὐθὺς πάντες τιμῶσιν, ὥστ' εὐλόγως
virtue not the same at-once all honor so-that reasonably
διαφέρονται καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἄσκησιν αὐτῆς). Ὅτι μὲν οὖν
they-differ also about the practice of-it that indeed then
τὰ ἀναγκαῖα δεῖ διδάσκεσθαι τῶν χρησίμων, οὐκ ἄδηλον·
the necessary must to-be-taught of-the useful not unclear
ὅτι δὲ οὐ πάντα, διῃρημένων τῶν τε ἐλευθέρων ἔργων καὶ
that but not all being-divided the both liberal works and

τῶν ἀνελευθέρων, φανερὸν ὅτι τῶν τοιούτων δεῖ μετέχειν
the illiberal clear that of-the such must to-share
ὅσα τῶν χρησίμων ποιήσει τὸν μετέχοντα μὴ βάναυσον.
as-many-as of-the useful will-make the one-sharing not mechanical
βάναυσον δ' ἔργον εἶναι δεῖ τοῦτο νομίζειν καὶ τέχνην
mechanical and work to-be one-must this to-think and art
ταύτην καὶ μάθησιν, ὅσαι πρὸς τὰς χρήσεις καὶ τὰς
this and learning as-many-as for the uses and the
πράξεις τὰς τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄχρηστον ἀπεργάζονται τὸ σῶμα
actions the of-the virtue useless render the body
τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἢ τὴν ψυχὴν ἢ τὴν διάνοιαν. διὸ τάς τε
of-the free or the soul or the mind therefore the both
τοιαύτας τέχνας ὅσαι τὸ σῶμα παρασκευάζουσι χεῖρον
such arts as-many-as the body prepare worse
διακεῖσθαι βαναύσους καλοῦμεν, καὶ τὰς μισθαρνικὰς
to-be-disposed mechanical we-call and the wage-earning
ἐργασίας· ἄσχολον γὰρ ποιοῦσι τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ ταπεινήν.
occupations unleisured for make the mind and low
ἔστι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐλευθερίων ἐπιστημῶν μέχρι μὲν τινὸς
it-is and also of-the liberal sciences up-to indeed some(-point)
ἐνίων μετέχειν οὐκ ἀνελεύθερον, τὸ δὲ προσεδρεύειν λίαν
of-some to-share not illiberal the but to-apply-oneself too
πρὸς ἀκρίβειαν ἔνοχον ταῖς εἰρημέναις βλάβαις. ἔχει δὲ
to precision liable to-the stated harms has and
πολλὴν διαφορὰν καὶ τὸ τίνος ἕνεκεν πράττει τις ἢ
much difference also the of-what for-the-sake does anyone or
μανθάνει· τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὑτοῦ χάριν ἢ φίλων ἢ δι'
learns the(-thing) indeed for of-himself for-the-sake or of-friends or through
ἀρετὴν οὐκ ἀνελεύθερον, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πράττων δι'
virtue not illiberal the(-one) and itself this doing through
ἄλλους πολλάκις θητικὸν καὶ δουλικὸν δόξειεν ἂν πράττειν.
others often laboring and servile would-seem — to-do

Αἱ μὲν οὖν καταβεβλημέναι νῦν μαθήσεις, καθάπερ ἐλέχθη
the indeed then laid-down now learnings just-as was-said
πρότερον, ἐπαμφοτερίζουσιν· ἔστι δὲ τέτταρα σχεδὸν ἃ
before incline-both-ways are and four nearly which
παιδεύειν εἰώθασι,
to-educate are-wont

III · MUSIC AND LEISURE

The customary subjects are letters, gymnastics, music, and drawing. The ancients taught music not as necessary or useful but for the right use of leisure, the first principle of all action; play is only rest from business. Homer shows music as the pastime of the feast, and drawing trains the eye for bodily beauty. Since habit precedes reason, children begin with gymnastics.

γράμματα καὶ γυμναστικὴν καὶ μουσικὴν καὶ τέταρτον
letters and gymnastics and music and fourth
ἔνιοι γραφικήν, τὴν μὲν γραμματικὴν καὶ γραφικὴν ὡς
some drawing the(-one) indeed grammar and drawing as
χρησίμους πρὸς τὸν βίον οὔσας καὶ πολυχρήστους, τὴν
useful for the life being and of-many-uses the(-one)
δὲ γυμναστικὴν ὡς συντείνουσαν πρὸς ἀνδρείαν· τὴν δὲ
and gymnastics as contributing to courage the and
μουσικὴν ἤδη διαπορήσειεν ἄν τις. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ὡς
music now would-raise-the-question — anyone now indeed for as
ἡδονῆς χάριν οἱ πλεῖστοι μετέχουσιν αὐτῆς· οἱ δ'
of-pleasure for-the-sake the most share in-it the(-others) and
ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔταξαν ἐν παιδείᾳ διὰ τὸ τὴν φύσιν αὐτὴν
from beginning placed(-it) in education through the the nature itself
ζητεῖν, ὅπερ πολλάκις εἴρηται, μὴ μόνον ἀσχολεῖν ὀρθῶς
to-seek which-very often has-been-said not only to-be-busy rightly

ἀλλὰ καὶ σχολάζειν δύνασθαι καλῶς. αὕτη γὰρ ἀρχὴ
but also to-be-at-leisure to-be-able well this for beginning
πάντων, ἵνα καὶ πάλιν εἴπωμεν περὶ αὐτῆς. εἰ γὰρ ἄμφω
of-all so-that and again let-us-speak about it if for both
μὲν δεῖ, μᾶλλον δὲ αἱρετὸν τὸ σχολάζειν τῆς ἀσχολίας
indeed must rather but choiceworthy the to-be-at-leisure than-the business
καὶ τέλος, ζητητέον ὅ τι δεῖ ποιοῦντας σχολάζειν. οὐ
and end must-be-sought what ever must doing to-be-at-leisure not
γὰρ δὴ παίζοντας· τέλος γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τοῦ βίου
for indeed playing end for necessary to-be of-the life
τὴν παιδιάν ἡμῖν. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀδύνατον, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐν
the play for-us if and this impossible and rather in
ταῖς ἀσχολίαις χρηστέον ταῖς παιδιαῖς (ὁ γὰρ πονῶν δεῖται
the businesses one-must-use the plays the for toiling needs
τῆς ἀναπαύσεως, ἡ δὲ παιδιὰ χάριν ἀναπαύσεώς ἐστιν·
the rest the and play for-the-sake of-rest is
τὸ δ' ἀσχολεῖν συμβαίνει μετὰ πόνου καὶ συντονίας),
the and to-be-busy happens with toil and strain
διὰ τοῦτο δεῖ παιδιὰς εἰσάγεσθαι καιροφυλακοῦντας τὴν
through this must plays to-be-introduced watching-the-occasion the
χρῆσιν, ὡς προσάγοντας φαρμακείας χάριν.
use as applying of-medicine for-the-sake
ἄνεσις γὰρ ἡ τοιαύτη κίνησις τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ διὰ τὴν
relaxation for the such motion of-the soul and through the
ἡδονὴν ἀνάπαυσις. τὸ δὲ σχολάζειν ἔχειν αὐτὸ δοκεῖ τὴν
pleasure rest the and to-be-at-leisure to-have itself seems the
ἡδονὴν καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ τὸ ζῆν μακαρίως. τοῦτο
pleasure and the happiness and the to-live blessedly this
δ' οὐ τοῖς ἀσχολοῦσιν ὑπάρχει ἀλλὰ τοῖς σχολάζουσιν·
and not to-those being-busy belongs but to-those being-at-leisure
ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀσχολῶν ἕνεκά τινος ἀσχολεῖ τέλους ὡς οὐχ
the indeed for busy(-man) for-the-sake some is-busy end as not

ὑπάρχοντος, ἡ δ' εὐδαιμονία τέλος ἐστίν, ἣν οὐ μετὰ
existing the and happiness end is which not with
λύπης ἀλλὰ μεθ' ἡδονῆς οἴονται πάντες εἶναι. ταύτην μέντοι
pain but with pleasure think all to-be this however
τὴν ἡδονὴν οὐκέτι τὴν αὐτὴν τιθέασιν, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς
the pleasure no-longer the same they-set but according-to themselves
ἕκαστος καὶ τὴν ἕξιν τὴν αὑτῶν, ὁ δ' ἄριστος τὴν
each and the disposition the their-own the and best the
ἀρίστην καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν καλλίστων. ὥστε φανερὸν ὅτι
best and the(-pleasure) from the noblest(-things) so-that clear that
δεῖ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῇ διαγωγῇ σχολὴν μανθάνειν ἄττα
one-must also for the in the pastime leisure to-learn some-things
καὶ παιδεύεσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ παιδεύματα καὶ ταύτας
and to-be-educated and these indeed the educations and these
τὰς μαθήσεις ἑαυτῶν εἶναι χάριν, τὰς δὲ πρὸς τὴν
the learnings of-themselves to-be for-the-sake the(-ones) and for the
ἀσχολίαν ὡς ἀναγκαίας καὶ χάριν ἄλλων. διὸ καὶ τὴν
business as necessary and for-the-sake of-others therefore also the
μουσικὴν οἱ πρότερον εἰς παιδείαν ἔταξαν οὐχ ὡς ἀναγκαῖον
music those earlier into education placed not as necessary
(οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔχει τοιοῦτον) οὐδ' ὡς χρήσιμον, ὥσπερ τὰ
nothing for it-has such nor as useful just-as the
γράμματα πρὸς χρηματισμὸν καὶ πρὸς οἰκονομίαν καὶ
letters for money-making and for household-management and
πρὸς μάθησιν καὶ πρὸς πολιτικὰς πράξεις πολλάς, δοκεῖ
for learning and for political actions many seems
δὲ καὶ γραφικὴ χρήσιμος εἶναι πρὸς τὸ κρίνειν τὰ τῶν
and also drawing useful to-be for the to-judge the of-the
τεχνιτῶν ἔργα κάλλιον, οὐδ' αὖ καθάπερ ἡ γυμναστικὴ
craftsmen works better nor again just-as the gymnastics
πρὸς ὑγίειαν καὶ ἀλκήν (οὐδέτερον γὰρ τούτων ὁρῶμεν
for health and strength neither for of-these we-see

γιγνόμενον ἐκ τῆς μουσικῆς)· λείπεται τοίνυν πρὸς τὴν ἐν
arising from the music it-remains therefore for the in
τῇ σχολῇ διαγωγήν, εἰς ὅπερ καὶ φαίνονται παράγοντες
the leisure pastime for which-very also they-appear introducing
αὐτήν. ἣν γὰρ οἴονται διαγωγὴν εἶναι τῶν ἐλευθέρων,
it which for they-think pastime to-be of-the free
ἐν ταύτῃ τάττουσιν. διόπερ Ὅμηρος οὕτως ἐποίησεν
in this they-place(-it) therefore Homer thus wrote

ἀλλ' οἷον μέν ἐστι καλεῖν ἐπὶ δαῖτα θαλείην,
but such indeed is to-call to feast rich

καὶ οὕτω προειπὼν ἑτέρους τινὰς "οἳ καλέουσιν ἀοιδόν"
and thus having-said-first others some who call singer
φησίν, "ὅ κεν τέρπῃσιν ἅπαντας". καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δέ
he-says who — may-delight all and in other(-places) and
φησιν Ὀδυσσεὺς ταύτην ἀρίστην εἶναι διαγωγήν, ὅταν
says Odysseus this best to-be pastime whenever
εὐφραινομένων τῶν ἀνθρώπων "δαιτυμόνες δ' ἀνὰ
making-merry the men banqueters and through
δώματ' ἀκουάζωνται ἀοιδοῦ ἥμενοι ἑξείης".
house listen-to singer seated in-a-row
Ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν ἔστι παιδεία τις ἣν οὐχ ὡς χρησίμην
that indeed therefore there-is education some which not as useful
παιδευτέον τοὺς υἱεῖς οὐδ' ὡς ἀναγκαίαν ἀλλ' ὡς ἐλευθέριον
one-must-educate the sons nor as necessary but as liberal
καὶ καλήν, φανερόν ἐστιν· πότερον δὲ μία τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἢ
and noble clear it-is whether and one in-the number or
πλείους, καὶ τίνες αὗται καὶ πῶς, ὕστερον λεκτέον περὶ
more and what these and how later must-be-said about
αὐτῶν. νῦν δὲ τοσοῦτον ἡμῖν εἶναι πρὸ ὁδοῦ γέγονεν,
them now and so-much for-us to-be before road has-become

ὅτι καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἔχομέν τινα μαρτυρίαν ἐκ
that also from the ancients we-have some testimony from
τῶν καταβεβλημένων παιδευμάτων· ἡ γὰρ μουσικὴ τοῦτο
the laid-down educations the for music this
ποιεῖ δῆλον. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν χρησίμων ὅτι δεῖ τινα
makes clear further and also of-the useful(-things) that must some
παιδεύεσθαι τοὺς παῖδας οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸ χρήσιμον, οἷον
to-be-educated the children not only through the useful such-as
τὴν τῶν γραμμάτων μάθησιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ πολλὰς
the of-the letters learning but also through the many
ἐνδέχεσθαι γίγνεσθαι δι᾽ αὐτῶν μαθήσεις ἑτέρας, ὁμοίως
to-be-possible to-come-about through them learnings other likewise
δὲ καὶ τὴν γραφικὴν οὐχ ἵνα ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ὠνίοις μὴ
and also the drawing not so-that in the private purchases not
διαμαρτάνωσιν ἀλλ᾽ ὦσιν ἀνεξαπάτητοι πρὸς τὴν
they-may-err but they-may-be undeceived with-respect-to the
τῶν σκευῶν ὠνήν τε καὶ πρᾶσιν, ἢ μᾶλλον ὅτι ποιεῖ
of-the furniture purchase both and sale or rather because it-makes
θεωρητικὸν τοῦ περὶ τὰ σώματα κάλλους. τὸ δὲ ζητεῖν
observant of-the about the bodies beauty the and to-seek
πανταχοῦ τὸ χρήσιμον ἥκιστα ἁρμόττει τοῖς μεγαλοψύχοις
everywhere the useful least befits the great-souled
καὶ τοῖς ἐλευθέροις. Ἐπεὶ δὲ φανερὸν πρότερον τοῖς
and the free since and clear before by-the
ἔθεσιν ἢ τῷ λόγῳ παιδευτέον εἶναι, καὶ περὶ τὸ
habits than by-the reason must-be-educated to-be and about the
σῶμα πρότερον ἢ τὴν διάνοιαν, δῆλον ἐκ τούτων ὅτι
body earlier than the mind clear from these that
παραδοτέον τοὺς παῖδας γυμναστικῇ καὶ παιδοτριβικῇ·
one-must-hand-over the children to-gymnastics and to-physical-training

τούτων γὰρ ἡ μὲν ποιάν τινα ποιεῖ τὴν ἕξιν τοῦ
of-these for the(-one) indeed of-a-kind some makes the condition of-the
σώματος, ἡ δὲ τὰ ἔργα.
body the(-other) and the works

IV · GYMNASTIC TRAINING

Some cities deform boys with athletic regimens; Sparta avoids this but brutalizes them, though courage belongs to the gentle and lion-like. It led only while others did not train. Before puberty only light exercise is given, and other studies for three years after; then the body may be worked hard, since mind and body should not labor at once.

Νῦν μὲν οὖν αἱ μάλιστα δοκοῦσαι τῶν πόλεων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι
now indeed then the most seeming of-the cities to-care-for
τῶν παίδων αἱ μὲν ἀθλητικὴν ἕξιν ἐμποιοῦσι,
the children the(-ones) indeed athletic condition implant
λωβώμεναι τά τε εἴδη καὶ τὴν αὔξησιν τῶν σωμάτων, οἱ δὲ
maiming the both forms and the growth of-the bodies the and
Λάκωνες ταύτην μὲν οὐχ ἥμαρτον τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, θηριώδεις
Laconians this indeed not erred the error brutal
δ' ἀπεργάζονται τοῖς πόνοις, ὡς τοῦτο πρὸς ἀνδρείαν
but they-make(-them) by-the toils as this for courage
μάλιστα συμφέρον. καίτοι, καθάπερ εἴρηται πολλάκις, οὔτε
most advantageous and-yet just-as has-been-said often neither
πρὸς μίαν οὔτε πρὸς μάλιστα ταύτην βλέποντα ποιητέον
to one nor to most this looking one-must-make
τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν· εἴ τε καὶ πρὸς ταύτην, οὐδὲ τοῦτο
the care if and even to this not-even this
ἐξευρίσκουσιν. οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῴοις οὔτε ἐπὶ
they-find-out neither for in the other animals nor in-the-case-of

τῶν ἐθνῶν ὁρῶμεν τὴν ἀνδρείαν ἀκολουθοῦσαν τοῖς
the nations we-see the courage following the
ἀγριωτάτοις, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τοῖς ἡμερωτέροις καὶ λεοντώδεσιν
most-savage but rather the gentler and lion-like
ἤθεσιν. πολλὰ δ' ἔστι τῶν ἐθνῶν ἃ πρὸς τὸ κτείνειν καὶ
characters many and there-are of-the nations which for the to-kill and
πρὸς τὴν ἀνθρωποφαγίαν εὐχερῶς ἔχει, καθάπερ τῶν περὶ
for the cannibalism readily are just-as of-those about
τὸν Πόντον Ἀχαιοί τε καὶ Ἡνίοχοι καὶ τῶν ἠπειρωτικῶν
the Pontus Achaeans both and Heniochi and of-the mainland
ἐθνῶν ἕτερα, τὰ μὲν ὁμοίως τούτοις τὰ δὲ μᾶλλον,
nations others the(-ones) indeed similarly to-these the(-others) and more
ἃ ληστρικὰ μέν ἐστιν, ἀνδρείας δ' οὐ μετειλήφασιν.
which piratical indeed are of-courage but not have-partaken
ἔτι δ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς Λάκωνας ἴσμεν, ἕως μὲν αὐτοὶ
further and themselves the Laconians we-know while indeed themselves
προσήδρευον ταῖς φιλοπονίαις, ὑπερέχοντας τῶν ἄλλων,
they-persevered in-the laborious-exercises excelling the others
νῦν δὲ καὶ τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσι καὶ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς
now but also the athletic contests and the military
λειπομένους ἑτέρων· οὐ γὰρ τῷ τοὺς νέους γυμνάζειν
falling-short of-others not for by-the the young to-train
τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον διέφερον, ἀλλὰ τῷ μόνον μὴ πρὸς
in-the way this they-differed but in-the only not against
ἀσκοῦντας ἀσκεῖν. ὥστε τὸ καλὸν ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ θηριῶδες δεῖ
practicing to-practice so-that the noble but not the brutal must
πρωταγωνιστεῖν· οὐδὲ γὰρ λύκος οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων θηρίων
to-play-the-first-part not-even for wolf nor of-the other beasts
ἀγωνίσαιτο ἂν οὐθένα καλὸν κίνδυνον, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀνὴρ
would-contend — no noble danger but rather man
ἀγαθός, οἱ δὲ λίαν εἰς ταῦτα ἀνέντες τοὺς παῖδας, καὶ
good those and too into these having-let-go the children and

τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπαιδαγωγήτους ποιήσαντες, βαναύσους
of-the necessities uneducated having-made mechanical
κατεργάζονται κατά γε τὸ ἀληθές, πρὸς ἕν τε μόνον
render according-to at-least the truth for one both only
ἔργον τῇ πολιτικῇ χρησίμους ποιήσαντες, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο
work in-the political(-life) useful having-made and for this
χεῖρον, ὥς φησιν ὁ λόγος, ἑτέρων. δεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἐκ τῶν
worse as says the argument than-others one-must and not from the
προτέρων ἔργων κρίνειν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν νῦν· ἀνταγωνιστὰς
earlier works to-judge but from the present competitors
γὰρ τῆς παιδείας νῦν ἔχουσι, πρότερον δ' οὐκ εἶχον.
for of-the education now they-have earlier but not they-had
Ὅτι μὲν οὖν χρηστέον τῇ γυμναστικῇ, καὶ πῶς χρηστέον,
that indeed then one-must-use the gymnastics and how one-must-use
ὁμολογούμενόν ἐστιν (μέχρι μὲν γὰρ ἥβης κουφότερα
agreed it-is up-to indeed for puberty lighter
γυμνάσια προσοιστέον, τὴν βίαιον τροφὴν καὶ τοὺς πρὸς
exercises one-must-apply the forced diet and the for
ἀνάγκην πόνους ἀπείργοντας, ἵνα μηθὲν ἐμπόδιον ᾖ
necessity toils keeping-off so-that nothing hindrance may-be
πρὸς τὴν αὔξησιν· σημεῖον γὰρ οὐ μικρὸν ὅτι δύνανται
to the growth sign for not small that they-can
τοῦτο παρασκευάζειν, ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ὀλυμπιονίκαις δύο τις
this to-produce in for the Olympic-victors two any
ἂν ἢ τρεῖς εὕροι τοὺς αὐτοὺς νενικηκότας ἄνδρας τε καὶ
— or three would-find the same having-won as-men both and
παῖδας, διὰ τὸ νέους ἀσκοῦντας ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὴν δύναμιν
as-boys through the young training to-be-deprived-of the strength
ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναγκαίων γυμνασίων· ὅταν δ' ἀφ' ἥβης ἔτη
by the compulsory exercises whenever and from puberty years
τρία πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις μαθήμασι γένωνται, τότε ἁρμόττει
three besides the other learnings they-become then it-is-fitting

καὶ τοῖς πόνοις καὶ ταῖς ἀναγκοφαγίαις καταλαμβάνειν
also with-the toils and the strict-diets to-occupy
τὴν ἐχομένην ἡλικίαν· ἅμα γὰρ τῇ τε διανοίᾳ καὶ τῷ
the next age at-once for the both mind and the
σώματι διαπονεῖν οὐ δεῖ, τοὐναντίον γὰρ ἑκάτερος
body to-toil not one-must the-opposite for each
ἀπεργάζεσθαι πέφυκε τῶν πόνων, ἐμποδίζων ὁ μὲν τοῦ
to-produce is-natural of-the toils hindering the indeed of-the
σώματος πόνος τὴν διάνοιαν ὁ δὲ ταύτης τὸ σῶμα).
body toil the mind the and of-this the body

V · WHY MUSIC

Should music be learned for amusement, for virtue, or for cultivated leisure? It serves all three. Its melodies and rhythms imitate anger, gentleness, courage, and temperance, so that listening forms character, unlike the other senses. Children should therefore learn music, which pleases naturally and has an affinity with the soul.

Περὶ δὲ μουσικῆς ἔνια μὲν διηπορήκαμεν τῷ λόγῳ
about and music some indeed we-have-raised-questions in-the argument
καὶ πρότερον, καλῶς δ' ἔχει καὶ νῦν ἀναλαβόντας αὐτὰ
also before well and it-is also now taking-up them
προαγαγεῖν, ἵνα ὥσπερ ἐνδόσιμον γένηται τοῖς λόγοις
to-carry-forward so-that just-as prelude it-may-become to-the arguments
οὓς ἄν τις εἴπειεν ἀποφαινόμενος περὶ αὐτῆς. οὔτε γὰρ
which — anyone might-say declaring about it neither for
τίνα ἔχει δύναμιν ῥᾴδιον περὶ αὐτῆς διελεῖν, οὔτε τίνος
what it-has power easy about it to-distinguish nor for-what
δεῖ χάριν μετέχειν αὐτῆς, πότερον παιδιᾶς ἕνεκα
one-must for-the-sake to-share-in it whether of-play for-the-sake

καὶ ἀναπαύσεως, καθάπερ ὕπνου καὶ μέθης (ταῦτα γὰρ
and of-rest just-as of-sleep and of-drink these for
καθ' αὑτὰ μὲν οὔτε τῶν σπουδαίων, ἀλλ' ἡδέα, καὶ
by themselves indeed neither of-the serious(-things) but pleasant and
ἅμα παύει μέριμναν, ὥς φησιν Εὐριπίδης· διὸ καὶ
at-once stops care as says Euripides therefore also
τάττουσιν αὐτὴν καὶ χρῶνται πᾶσι τούτοις ὁμοίως, ὕπνῳ
they-rank it and use all these alike sleep
καὶ μέθῃ καὶ μουσικῇ· τιθέασι δὲ καὶ τὴν ὄρχησιν ἐν
and drink and music they-place and also the dancing among
τούτοις), ἢ μᾶλλον οἰητέον πρὸς ἀρετήν τι τείνειν
these or rather one-must-think to virtue somewhat to-tend
τὴν μουσικήν, ὡς δυναμένην, καθάπερ ἡ γυμναστικὴ τὸ
the music as able just-as the gymnastics the
σῶμα ποιόν τι παρασκευάζει, καὶ τὴν μουσικὴν τὸ ἦθος
body of-a-kind some prepares also the music the character
ποιόν τι ποιεῖν, ἐθίζουσαν δύνασθαι χαίρειν ὀρθῶς, ἢ
of-a-kind some to-make accustoming to-be-able to-rejoice rightly or
πρὸς διαγωγήν τι συμβάλλεται καὶ πρὸς φρόνησιν
to pastime somewhat it-contributes and to practical-wisdom
(καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τρίτον θετέον τῶν εἰρημένων).
and for this third one-must-posit of-the things-said
Ὅτι μὲν οὖν δεῖ τοὺς νέους μὴ παιδιᾶς ἕνεκα
that indeed then one-must the young not of-play for-the-sake
παιδεύειν, οὐκ ἄδηλον (οὐ γὰρ παίζουσι μανθάνοντες·
to-educate not unclear not for they-play learning
μετὰ λύπης γὰρ ἡ μάθησις)· ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ διαγωγήν
with pain for the learning but indeed not-even pastime
γε παισὶν ἁρμόττει καὶ ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἀποδιδόναι
at-least to-children it-is-fitting and to-the ages to-assign
ταῖς τοιαύταις (οὐθενὶ γὰρ ἀτελεῖ προσήκει τέλος). ἀλλ'
the such to-nothing for imperfect belongs end but

ἴσως ἂν δόξειεν ἡ τῶν παίδων σπουδὴ παιδιᾶς εἶναι
perhaps — would-seem the of-the children serious-study of-play to-be
χάριν ἀνδράσι γενομένοις καὶ τελειωθεῖσιν. ἀλλ' εἰ τοῦτ'
for-the-sake to-men having-become and completed but if this
ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον, τίνος ἂν ἕνεκα δέοι μανθάνειν
is such for-what — for-the-sake would-they-need to-learn
αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ μὴ καθάπερ οἱ τῶν Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων
themselves but not just-as the of-the Persians and Medes
βασιλεῖς, δι' ἄλλων αὐτὸ ποιούντων μεταλαμβάνειν τῆς
kings through others it doing to-share-in the
ἡδονῆς καὶ τῆς μαθήσεως; καὶ γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον βέλτιον
pleasure and the learning and for necessary better
ἀπεργάζεσθαι τοὺς αὐτὸ τοῦτο πεποιημένους ἔργον καὶ
to-perform those very this having-made work and
τέχνην τῶν τοσοῦτον χρόνον ἐπιμελουμένων ὅσον πρὸς
art than-those so-much time caring as for
μάθησιν μόνον. εἰ δὲ δεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα διαπονεῖν αὐτούς,
learning only if and must the such to-labor-at themselves
καὶ περὶ τὴν τῶν ὄψων πραγματείαν αὐτοὺς ἂν δέοι
also about the of-the cooking business themselves — would-need
παρασκευάζειν· ἀλλ' ἄτοπον. τὴν δ' αὐτὴν ἀπορίαν ἔχει
to-prepare but absurd the and same difficulty it-has
καὶ εἰ δύναται τὰ ἤθη βελτίω ποιεῖν· ταῦτα γὰρ τί
also if it-can the characters better to-make these for why
δεῖ μανθάνειν αὐτούς, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἑτέρων ἀκούοντας ὀρθῶς
must to-learn themselves but not from-others hearing rightly
τε χαίρειν καὶ δύνασθαι κρίνειν, ὥσπερ οἱ Λάκωνες;
both to-rejoice and to-be-able to-judge just-as the Laconians
ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ οὐ μανθάνοντες ὅμως δύνανται κρίνειν
those for not learning nevertheless can to-judge
ὀρθῶς, ὥς φασι, τὰ χρηστὰ καὶ τὰ μὴ χρηστὰ τῶν
rightly as they-say the good and the not good of-the

μελῶν. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς λόγος κἂν εἰ πρὸς εὐημερίαν καὶ
tunes the and same argument even if for well-being and
διαγωγὴν ἐλευθέριον χρηστέον αὐτῇ· τί δεῖ μανθάνειν
pastime liberal one-must-use it why must to-learn
αὐτούς, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἑτέρων χρωμένων ἀπολαύειν; σκοπεῖν
themselves but not others using to-enjoy to-consider
δ' ἔξεστι τὴν ὑπόληψιν ἣν ἔχομεν περὶ τῶν θεῶν·
and it-is-possible the conception which we-have about the gods
οὐ γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἀείδει καὶ κιθαρίζει τοῖς ποιηταῖς.
not for — Zeus himself sings and plays-the-lyre in-the poets
ἀλλὰ καὶ βαναύσους καλοῦμεν τοὺς τοιούτους καὶ τὸ
but also mechanical we-call the such and the
πράττειν οὐκ ἀνδρὸς μὴ μεθύοντος ἢ παίζοντος.
to-do not of-a-man not being-drunk or playing
Ἀλλ' ἴσως περὶ μὲν τούτων ὕστερον ἐπισκεπτέον· ἡ δὲ
but perhaps about indeed these later must-be-examined the and
πρώτη ζήτησίς ἐστι πότερον οὐ θετέον εἰς παιδείαν τὴν
first inquiry is whether not one-must-place into education the
μουσικὴν ἢ θετέον, καὶ τί δύναται τῶν διαπορηθέντων
music or one-must-place and what can-it-do of-the questioned
τριῶν, πότερον παιδείαν ἢ παιδιὰν ἢ διαγωγήν. εὐλόγως
three whether education or play or pastime reasonably
δ' εἰς πάντα τάττεται καὶ φαίνεται μετέχειν. ἥ τε
and in all it-is-placed and appears to-share the both
γὰρ παιδιὰ χάριν ἀναπαύσεώς ἐστι, τὴν δ' ἀνάπαυσιν
for play for-the-sake of-rest is the and rest
ἀναγκαῖον ἡδεῖαν εἶναι (τῆς γὰρ διὰ τῶν πόνων λύπης
necessary pleasant to-be of-the for through the toils pain
ἰατρεία τίς ἐστιν), καὶ τὴν διαγωγὴν ὁμολογουμένως δεῖ
cure some is and the pastime admittedly must
μὴ μόνον ἔχειν τὸ καλὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἡδονήν (τὸ γὰρ
not only to-have the noble but also the pleasure the for

εὐδαιμονεῖν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τούτων ἐστίν)· τὴν δὲ μουσικὴν
to-be-happy from both these is the and music
πάντες εἶναί φαμεν τῶν ἡδίστων, καὶ ψιλὴν οὖσαν καὶ μετὰ
all to-be we-say of-the most-pleasant both bare being and with
μελῳδίας (φησὶ γὰρ καὶ Μουσαῖος εἶναι "βροτοῖς ἥδιστον
melody says for also Musaeus to-be for-mortals most-pleasant
ἀείδειν·" διὸ καὶ εἰς τὰς συνουσίας καὶ διαγωγὰς εὐλόγως
to-sing therefore also into the gatherings and pastimes reasonably
παραλαμβάνουσιν αὐτὴν ὡς δυναμένην εὐφραίνειν), ὥστε καὶ
they-take-in it as able to-cheer so-that also
ἐντεῦθεν ἄν τις ὑπολάβοι παιδεύεσθαι δεῖν αὐτὴν τοὺς
from-here — anyone might-suppose to-be-educated to-be-necessary in-it the
νεωτέρους. ὅσα γὰρ ἀβλαβῆ τῶν ἡδέων, οὐ μόνον
younger as-many-as for harmless of-the pleasant(-things) not only
ἁρμόττει πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν·
fit for the end but also for the rest
ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν μὲν τῷ τέλει συμβαίνει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὀλιγάκις
since and in indeed the end it-happens to-the men seldom
γίγνεσθαι, πολλάκις δὲ ἀναπαύονται καὶ χρῶνται ταῖς
to-be often and they-rest and use the
παιδιαῖς οὐχ ὅσον ἐπὶ πλέον ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡδονήν,
plays not as-much-as for further but also through the pleasure
χρήσιμον ἂν εἴη διαναπαύειν ἐν ταῖς ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡδοναῖς.
useful — would-be to-rest in the from this pleasures
συμβέβηκε δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ποιεῖσθαι τὰς παιδιὰς τέλος·
it-has-happened and to-the men to-make the plays end
ἔχει γὰρ ἴσως ἡδονήν τινα καὶ τὸ τέλος, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν
has for perhaps pleasure some also the end but not the
τυχοῦσαν, ζητοῦντες δὲ ταύτην, λαμβάνουσιν ὡς ταύτην
chance(-one) seeking and this they-take as this
ἐκείνην, διὰ τὸ τῷ τέλει τῶν πράξεων ἔχειν ὁμοίωμά
that through the to-the end of-the actions to-have likeness

τι. τό τε γὰρ τέλος οὐθενὸς τῶν ἐσομένων χάριν
some the both for end for-nothing of-the future for-the-sake
αἱρετόν, καὶ αἱ τοιαῦται τῶν ἡδονῶν οὐθενός εἰσι τῶν
choiceworthy and the such of-the pleasures for-nothing are of-the
ἐσομένων ἕνεκεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν γεγονότων, οἷον πόνων καὶ
future for-the-sake but of-the past such-as toils and
λύπης. δι' ἣν μὲν οὖν αἰτίαν ζητοῦσι τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν
pain through which indeed then cause they-seek the happiness
γίγνεσθαι διὰ τούτων τῶν ἡδονῶν, ταύτην ἄν τις
to-come-about through these the pleasures this — anyone
εἰκότως ὑπολάβοι τὴν αἰτίαν· περὶ δὲ τοῦ κοινωνεῖν
reasonably might-suppose the cause about and the to-share-in
τῆς μουσικῆς, οὐ διὰ ταύτην μόνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ
the music not through this alone but also through
τὸ χρήσιμον εἶναι πρὸς τὰς ἀναπαύσεις, ὡς ἔοικεν. οὐ
the useful to-be for the rests as it-seems not
μὴν ἀλλὰ ζητητέον μή ποτε τοῦτο μὲν συμβέβηκε,
indeed but must-be-sought whether perhaps this indeed has-happened
τιμιωτέρα δ' αὐτῆς ἡ φύσις ἐστὶν ἢ κατὰ τὴν
more-honorable and its the nature is than according-to the
εἰρημένην χρείαν, καὶ δεῖ μὴ μόνον τῆς κοινῆς ἡδονῆς
stated use and one-must not only of-the common pleasure
μετέχειν ἀπ' αὐτῆς, ἧς ἔχουσι πάντες αἴσθησιν (ἔχει γὰρ
to-share from it which have all perception has for
ἡ μουσικὴ τὴν ἡδονὴν φυσικήν, διὸ πάσαις ἡλικίαις καὶ
the music the pleasure natural therefore to-all ages and
πᾶσιν ἤθεσιν ἡ χρῆσις αὐτῆς ἐστι προσφιλής), ἀλλ' ὁρᾶν
all characters the use of-it is dear but to-see
εἴ πῃ καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἦθος συντείνει καὶ πρὸς τὴν ψυχήν.
if somehow also toward the character it-contributes and toward the soul

τοῦτο δ' ἂν εἴη δῆλον, εἰ ποιοί τινες τὰ ἤθη
this and — would-be clear if of-a-kind some in-the characters
γιγνόμεθα δι' αὐτῆς. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι γιγνόμεθα ποιοί
we-become through it but indeed that we-become of-a-kind
τινες, φανερὸν διὰ πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἑτέρων, οὐχ
some clear through many indeed and others not
ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν Ὀλύμπου μελῶν· ταῦτα γὰρ
least and also through the of-Olympus tunes these for
ὁμολογουμένως ποιεῖ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐνθουσιαστικάς, ὁ δ'
admittedly make the souls enthusiastic the and
ἐνθουσιασμὸς τοῦ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἤθους πάθος ἐστίν.
enthusiasm of-the about the soul character affection is
ἔτι δὲ ἀκροώμενοι τῶν μιμήσεων γίγνονται πάντες
further and listening-to the imitations become all
συμπαθεῖς, καὶ χωρὶς τῶν ῥυθμῶν καὶ τῶν μελῶν αὐτῶν.
sympathetic even without the rhythms and the tunes themselves
ἐπεὶ δὲ συμβέβηκεν εἶναι τὴν μουσικὴν τῶν ἡδέων, τὴν
since and it-has-happened to-be the music of-the pleasant(-things) the
δ' ἀρετὴν περὶ τὸ χαίρειν ὀρθῶς καὶ φιλεῖν καὶ μισεῖν,
and virtue about the to-rejoice rightly and to-love and to-hate
δεῖ δηλονότι μανθάνειν καὶ συνεθίζεσθαι μηθὲν οὕτως ὡς
must clearly to-learn and to-be-habituated nothing so as
τὸ κρίνειν ὀρθῶς καὶ τὸ χαίρειν τοῖς ἐπιεικέσιν ἤθεσι καὶ
the to-judge rightly and the to-rejoice in-the decent characters and
ταῖς καλαῖς πράξεσιν· ἔστι δὲ ὁμοιώματα μάλιστα παρὰ
the noble actions there-are and likenesses most beside
τὰς ἀληθινὰς φύσεις ἐν τοῖς ῥυθμοῖς καὶ τοῖς μέλεσιν
the true natures in the rhythms and the tunes
ὀργῆς καὶ πραότητος, ἔτι δ' ἀνδρείας καὶ σωφροσύνης
of-anger and of-gentleness further and of-courage and of-moderation
καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐναντίων τούτοις καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
and of-all the opposites to-these and the other

ἠθικῶν (δῆλον δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων· μεταβάλλομεν γὰρ
ethical(-qualities) clear and from the facts we-change for
τὴν ψυχὴν ἀκροώμενοι τοιούτων)· ὁ δ' ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις
the soul listening-to such(-things) the and in the likenesses
ἐθισμὸς τοῦ λυπεῖσθαι καὶ χαίρειν ἐγγύς ἐστι τῷ πρὸς
habituation of-the to-feel-pain and to-rejoice near is to-the toward
τὴν ἀλήθειαν τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχειν τρόπον (οἷον εἴ τις χαίρει
the truth the same to-have way such-as if anyone rejoices
τὴν εἰκόνα τινὸς θεώμενος μὴ δι' ἄλλην αἰτίαν ἀλλὰ
the image of-someone viewing not through other cause but
διὰ τὴν μορφὴν αὐτήν, ἀναγκαῖον τούτῳ καὶ αὐτὴν
through the shape itself necessary for-this-one also itself
ἐκείνην τὴν θεωρίαν, οὗ τὴν εἰκόνα θεωρεῖ, ἡδεῖαν εἶναι)·
that the viewing whose the image he-views pleasant to-be
συμβέβηκε δὲ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις μηδὲν
it-has-happened and of-the perceptibles in indeed the other(-senses) no
ὑπάρχειν ὁμοίωμα τοῖς ἤθεσιν, οἷον ἐν τοῖς ἁπτοῖς καὶ
to-exist likeness to-the characters such-as in the tangibles and
τοῖς γευστοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ὁρατοῖς ἠρέμα (σχήματα γὰρ
the tastables but in the visibles slightly figures for
ἔστι τοιαῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μικρόν, κοὐ πάντες τῆς τοιαύτης
are such but to small(-degree) and-not all of-the such
αἰσθήσεως κοινωνοῦσιν· ἔτι δὲ οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα ὁμοιώματα
perception share further and not are these likenesses
τῶν ἠθῶν, ἀλλὰ σημεῖα μᾶλλον τὰ γιγνόμενα σχήματα
of-the characters but signs rather the arising figures
καὶ χρώματα τῶν ἠθῶν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐπίσημα ἐν τοῖς
and colors of-the characters and these are marks in the
πάθεσιν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὅσον διαφέρει καὶ περὶ τὴν τούτων
emotions not indeed but as-much-as it-matters also about the of-these
θεωρίαν, δεῖ μὴ τὰ Παύσωνος θεωρεῖν τοὺς νέους,
viewing must not the(-works) of-Pauson to-view the young

ἀλλὰ τὰ Πολυγνώτου κἂν εἴ τις ἄλλος τῶν γραφέων
but the(-works) of-Polygnotus even if any other of-the painters
ἢ τῶν ἀγαλματοποιῶν ἐστιν ἠθικός), ἐν δὲ τοῖς μέλεσιν
or of-the sculptors is ethical in and the tunes
αὐτοῖς ἔστι μιμήματα τῶν ἠθῶν (καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ φανερόν·
themselves there-are imitations of-the characters and this is clear
εὐθὺς γὰρ ἡ τῶν ἁρμονιῶν διέστηκε φύσις, ὥστε ἀκούοντας
at-once for the of-the harmonies differs nature so-that hearing
ἄλλως διατίθεσθαι καὶ μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχειν τρόπον πρὸς
differently to-be-disposed and not the same to-have way toward
ἑκάστην αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς μὲν ἐνίας ὀδυρτικωτέρως
each of-them but toward indeed some more-mournfully
καὶ συνεστηκότως μᾶλλον, οἷον πρὸς τὴν μιξολυδιστὶ
and more-gravely rather such-as toward the Mixolydian
καλουμένην, πρὸς δὲ τὰς μαλακωτέρως τὴν διάνοιαν,
called toward and the(-others) more-softly the mind
οἷον πρὸς τὰς ἀνειμένας, μέσως δὲ καὶ καθεστηκότως
such-as toward the relaxed moderately and and steadily
μάλιστα πρὸς ἑτέραν, οἷον δοκεῖ ποιεῖν ἡ δωριστὶ μόνη
most toward another such-as seems to-make the Dorian alone
τῶν ἁρμονιῶν, ἐνθουσιαστικοὺς δ' ἡ φρυγιστί.
of-the harmonies enthusiastic and the Phrygian
ταῦτα γὰρ καλῶς λέγουσιν οἱ περὶ τὴν παιδείαν ταύτην
these-things for well say those about the education this
πεφιλοσοφηκότες· λαμβάνουσι γὰρ τὰ μαρτύρια τῶν
having-philosophized they-take for the proofs of-the
λόγων ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων), τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον
arguments from the-very the facts in-the same and way
ἔχει καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς ῥυθμούς (οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἦθος
are also the(-things) about the rhythms the(-ones) indeed for character
ἔχουσι στασιμώτερον οἱ δὲ κινητικόν, καὶ τούτων
have steadier the(-others) and moving and of-these

οἱ μὲν φορτικωτέρας ἔχουσι τὰς κινήσεις οἱ δὲ
the(-ones) indeed more-vulgar have the motions the(-others) and
ἐλευθεριωτέρας). ἐκ μὲν οὖν τούτων φανερὸν ὅτι δύναται
more-liberal from indeed then these clear that can
ποιόν τι τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἦθος ἡ μουσικὴ παρασκευάζειν,
of-a-kind some the of-the soul character the music to-produce
εἰ δὲ τοῦτο δύναται ποιεῖν, δῆλον ὅτι προσακτέον καὶ
if and this it-can to-do clear that one-must-bring-to and
παιδευτέον ἐν αὐτῇ τοὺς νέους. ἔστι δὲ ἁρμόττουσα πρὸς
one-must-educate in it the young it-is and fitted to
τὴν φύσιν τὴν τηλικαύτην ἡ διδασκαλία τῆς μουσικῆς·
the nature the of-such-age the teaching of-the music
οἱ μὲν γὰρ νέοι διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀνήδυντον οὐθὲν
the indeed for young through the age unsweetened nothing
ὑπομένουσιν ἑκόντες, ἡ δὲ μουσικὴ φύσει τῶν ἡδυσμένων
endure willingly the and music by-nature of-the sweetened(-things)
ἐστίν. καί τις ἔοικε συγγένεια ταῖς ἁρμονίαις καὶ τοῖς
is and some seems kinship to-the harmonies and the
ῥυθμοῖς εἶναι· διὸ πολλοί φασι τῶν σοφῶν οἱ μὲν
rhythms to-be therefore many say of-the wise the(-ones) indeed
ἁρμονίαν εἶναι τὴν ψυχήν, οἱ δ' ἔχειν ἁρμονίαν.
harmony to-be the soul the(-others) and to-have harmony

VI · PERFORMANCE

Children should perform themselves, since judges must have done the thing, but only until they can judge, avoiding professional contests and virtuoso pieces. The flute and other professional instruments are excluded: the flute is orgiastic and prevents speech. In the tale Athena threw it away, likelier because it does nothing for the mind. Professional playing serves vulgar listeners and debases the performer.

Πότερον δὲ δεῖ μανθάνειν αὐτοὺς ᾄδοντάς τε καὶ
whether and must to-learn them singing both and
χειρουργοῦντας ἢ μή, καθάπερ ἠπορήθη πρότερον, νῦν
playing-with-the-hands or not just-as was-questioned before now
λεκτέον. οὐκ ἄδηλον δὴ ὅτι πολλὴν ἔχει διαφορὰν πρὸς
must-be-said not unclear indeed that much it-has difference toward
τὸ γίγνεσθαι ποιούς τινας, ἐάν τις αὐτὸς κοινωνῇ τῶν
the to-become of-a-kind some if anyone himself shares in-the
ἔργων· ἓν γάρ τι τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἢ χαλεπῶν ἐστι μὴ
works one for some of-the impossible(-things) or hard(-things) it-is not
κοινωνήσαντας τῶν ἔργων κριτὰς γενέσθαι σπουδαίους.
having-shared in-the works judges to-become excellent
ἅμα δὲ καὶ δεῖ τοὺς παῖδας ἔχειν τινὰ διατριβήν, καὶ τὴν
at-once and also must the children to-have some occupation and the
Ἀρχύτου πλαταγὴν οἴεσθαι γενέσθαι καλῶς, ἣν διδόασι
of-Archytas rattle to-think to-have-turned-out well which they-give
τοῖς παιδίοις, ὅπως χρώμενοι ταύτῃ μηδὲν καταγνύωσι
to-the children so-that using this nothing they-may-break
τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν· οὐ γὰρ δύναται τὸ νέον ἡσυχάζειν.
of-the(-things) in the house not for can the young to-keep-quiet
αὕτη μὲν οὖν ἐστι τοῖς νηπίοις ἁρμόττουσα τῶν παιδίων,
this indeed then is for-the infants fitting of-the children
ἡ δὲ παιδεία πλαταγὴ τοῖς μείζοσι τῶν νέων. Ὅτι μὲν
the and education rattle for-the older of-the young that indeed
οὖν παιδευτέον τὴν μουσικὴν οὕτως ὥστε καὶ κοινωνεῖν
then one-must-educate-in the music so so-as also to-share
τῶν ἔργων, φανερὸν ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων· τὸ δὲ πρέπον
in-the works clear from the such the and fitting
καὶ τὸ μὴ πρέπον ταῖς ἡλικίαις οὐ χαλεπὸν διορίσαι, καὶ
and the not fitting to-the ages not hard to-define and
λῦσαι πρὸς τοὺς φάσκοντας βάναυσον εἶναι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν.
to-refute against those saying mechanical to-be the study

πρῶτον μὲν γάρ, ἐπεὶ τοῦ κρίνειν χάριν μετέχειν δεῖ
first indeed for since of-the to-judge for-the-sake to-share one-must
τῶν ἔργων, διὰ τοῦτο χρὴ νέους μὲν ὄντας χρῆσθαι
in-the works through this must young indeed being to-use
τοῖς ἔργοις, πρεσβυτέρους δὲ γενομένους τῶν μὲν ἔργων
the works older and having-become the indeed works
ἀφεῖσθαι, δύνασθαι δὲ τὰ καλὰ κρίνειν καὶ χαίρειν ὀρθῶς
to-be-released to-be-able but the noble to-judge and to-rejoice rightly
διὰ τὴν μάθησιν τὴν γενομένην ἐν τῇ νεότητι· περὶ δὲ
through the learning the having-come-about in the youth about and
τῆς ἐπιτιμήσεως ἥν τινες ἐπιτιμῶσιν ὡς ποιούσης τῆς
the censure which some censure as making the
μουσικῆς βαναύσους, οὐ χαλεπὸν λῦσαι σκεψαμένους μέχρι
music mechanical not hard to-refute having-considered up-to
τε πόσου τῶν ἔργων κοινωνητέον τοῖς πρὸς ἀρετὴν
both how-far in-the works one-must-share by-those for virtue
παιδευομένοις πολιτικήν, καὶ ποίων μελῶν καὶ ποίων
being-educated political and in-what-kind tunes and what-kind
ῥυθμῶν κοινωνητέον, ἔτι δὲ ἐν ποίοις ὀργάνοις τὴν
rhythms one-must-share further and in what-kind instruments the
μάθησιν ποιητέον, καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο διαφέρειν εἰκός. ἐν τούτοις
learning must-be-made and for this to-differ is-likely in these
γὰρ ἡ λύσις ἐστὶ τῆς ἐπιτιμήσεως· οὐδὲν γὰρ κωλύει
for the refutation is of-the censure nothing for prevents
τρόπους τινὰς τῆς μουσικῆς ἀπεργάζεσθαι τὸ λεχθέν.
ways some of-the music to-produce the thing-said
Φανερὸν τοίνυν ὅτι δεῖ τὴν μάθησιν αὐτῆς μήτε ἐμποδίζειν
clear therefore that must the learning of-it neither to-hinder
πρὸς τὰς ὕστερον πράξεις, μήτε τὸ σῶμα ποιεῖν βάναυσον
for the later actions nor the body to-make mechanical

καὶ ἄχρηστον πρὸς τὰς πολεμικὰς καὶ πολιτικὰς ἀσκήσεις,
and useless for the military and political exercises
πρὸς μὲν τὰς χρήσεις ἤδη, πρὸς δὲ τὰς μαθήσεις ὕστερον.
for indeed the uses now for and the learnings later
συμβαίνοι δ' ἂν περὶ τὴν μάθησιν, εἰ μήτε τὰ πρὸς
would-happen and — about the learning if neither the(-things) for
τοὺς ἀγῶνας τοὺς τεχνικοὺς συντείνοντα διαπονοῖεν, μήτε
the contests the professional tending they-should-labor-at nor
τὰ θαυμάσια καὶ περιττὰ τῶν ἔργων, ἃ νῦν ἐλήλυθεν εἰς
the marvelous and extraordinary of-the works which now have-come into
τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἀγώνων εἰς τὴν παιδείαν, ἀλλὰ
the contests from and the contests into the education but
καὶ τὰ μὴ τοιαῦτα μέχρι περ ἂν δύνωνται χαίρειν τοῖς
also the not such up-to ever — they-can to-rejoice in-the
καλοῖς μέλεσι καὶ ῥυθμοῖς, καὶ μὴ μόνον τῷ κοινῷ
fine tunes and rhythms and not only in-the common(-element)
τῆς μουσικῆς, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔνια ζῴων, ἔτι δὲ
of-the music just-as also of-the other some animals further and
καὶ πλῆθος ἀνδραπόδων καὶ παιδίων. Δῆλον δὲ ἐκ τούτων
also multitude of-slaves and children clear and from these
καὶ ποίοις ὀργάνοις χρηστέον. οὔτε γὰρ αὐλοὺς εἰς παιδείαν
also what-kind instruments one-must-use neither for flutes into education
ἀκτέον οὔτ' ἄλλο τι τεχνικὸν ὄργανον, οἷον κιθάραν
must-be-brought nor other any professional instrument such-as cithara
κἂν εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ἕτερόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ὅσα ποιήσει αὐτῶν
even if any such other is but as-many-as will-make of-them
ἀκροατὰς ἀγαθοὺς ἢ τῆς μουσικῆς παιδείας ἢ τῆς ἄλλης·
listeners good either of-the musical education or of-the other
ἔτι δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ αὐλὸς ἠθικὸν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὀργιαστικόν,
further and not is the flute ethical but rather orgiastic

ὥστε πρὸς τοὺς τοιούτους αὐτῷ καιροὺς χρηστέον ἐν οἷς
so-that for the such it occasions one-must-use in which
ἡ θεωρία κάθαρσιν δύναται μᾶλλον ἢ μάθησιν.
the spectacle purification can more than learning
προσθῶμεν δὲ ὅτι συμβέβηκεν αὐτῷ ἐναντίον πρὸς παιδείαν
let-us-add and that it-has-happened to-it opposed for education
καὶ τὸ κωλύειν τῷ λόγῳ χρῆσθαι τὴν αὔλησιν. διὸ καλῶς
also the to-prevent the speech to-use the flute-playing therefore well
ἀπεδοκίμασαν αὐτοῦ οἱ πρότερον τὴν χρῆσιν ἐκ τῶν νέων
rejected of-it those earlier the use from the young
καὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων, καίπερ χρησάμενοι τὸ πρῶτον αὐτῷ.
and the free although having-used the first it
σχολαστικώτεροι γὰρ γιγνόμενοι διὰ τὰς εὐπορίας καὶ
more-leisured for becoming through the means and
μεγαλοψυχότεροι πρὸς τὴν ἀρετήν, ἔτι τε πρότερον καὶ
more-high-minded toward the virtue further both before and
μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ φρονηματισθέντες ἐκ τῶν ἔργων, πάσης
after the Persian-Wars made-proud from the deeds every
ἥπτοντο μαθήσεως, οὐδὲν διακρίνοντες ἀλλ' ἐπιζητοῦντες.
they-took-up learning nothing discriminating but seeking-further
διὸ καὶ τὴν αὐλητικὴν ἤγαγον πρὸς τὰς μαθήσεις. καὶ
therefore also the flute-playing they-brought to the learnings and
γὰρ ἐν Λακεδαίμονί τις χορηγὸς αὐτὸς ηὔλησε τῷ χορῷ,
for in Lacedaemon some choregus himself played-the-flute for-the chorus
καὶ περὶ Ἀθήνας οὕτως ἐπεχωρίασεν ὥστε σχεδὸν οἱ πολλοὶ
and about Athens so it-became-native so-that nearly the many
τῶν ἐλευθέρων μετεῖχον αὐτῆς· δῆλον δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πίνακος
of-the free shared in-it clear and from the tablet
ὃν ἀνέθηκε Θράσιππος Ἐκφαντίδῃ χορηγήσας. ὕστερον
which dedicated Thrasippus for-Ecphantides having-been-choregus later
δ' ἀπεδοκιμάσθη διὰ τῆς πείρας αὐτῆς, βέλτιον δυναμένων
and it-was-rejected through the experience itself better being-able

κρίνειν τὸ πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ τὸ μὴ πρὸς ἀρετὴν συντεῖνον·
to-judge the for virtue and the not for virtue tending
ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ὀργάνων τῶν ἀρχαίων, οἷον
likewise and also many of-the instruments the ancient such-as
πηκτίδες καὶ βάρβιτοι καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν συντείνοντα
pectides and barbitoi and the(-ones) for pleasure tending
τοῖς ἀκούουσι τῶν χρωμένων, ἑπτάγωνα καὶ τρίγωνα καὶ
to-the hearers of-those using heptagons and triangles and
σαμβῦκαι, καὶ πάντα τὰ δεόμενα χειρουργικῆς ἐπιστήμης.
sambucae and all the needing manual science
εὐλόγως δ' ἔχει καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν αὐλῶν ὑπὸ τῶν
reasonably and is also the(-tale) about the flutes by the
ἀρχαίων μεμυθολογημένον. φασὶ γὰρ δὴ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν
ancients told they-say for indeed — Athena
εὑροῦσαν ἀποβαλεῖν τοὺς αὐλούς. οὐ κακῶς μὲν οὖν
having-found to-have-thrown-away the flutes not badly indeed then
ἔχει φάναι καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην τοῦ προσώπου
it-is to-say also through the ugliness of-the face
τοῦτο ποιῆσαι δυσχεράνασαν τὴν θεόν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ
this to-have-done having-been-annoyed the goddess not indeed but
μᾶλλον εἰκὸς ὅτι πρὸς τὴν διάνοιαν οὐθέν ἐστιν ἡ παιδεία
rather likely that for the mind nothing is the education
τῆς αὐλήσεως, τῇ δὲ Ἀθηνᾷ τὴν ἐπιστήμην περιτίθεμεν καὶ
of-the flute-playing — and to-Athena the science we-attribute and
τὴν τέχνην. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν τε ὀργάνων καὶ τῆς ἐργασίας
the art since and of-the both instruments and of-the execution
ἀποδοκιμάζομεν τὴν τεχνικὴν παιδείαν (τεχνικὴν δὲ τίθεμεν
we-reject the professional education professional and we-set
τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας· ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ ὁ πράττων οὐ τῆς
the(-one) for the contests in this for the performer not of-the
αὐτοῦ μεταχειρίζεται χάριν ἀρετῆς, ἀλλὰ τῆς τῶν
his-own practices for-the-sake virtue but of-the(-pleasure) of-the

ἀκουόντων ἡδονῆς, καὶ ταύτης φορτικῆς, διόπερ οὐ τῶν
hearers pleasure and this vulgar therefore not of-the
ἐλευθέρων κρίνομεν εἶναι τὴν ἐργασίαν, ἀλλὰ θητικωτέραν·
free we-judge to-be the execution but more-menial
καὶ βαναύσους δὴ συμβαίνει γίγνεσθαι· πονηρὸς γὰρ
and mechanical indeed it-happens to-become wicked for
ὁ σκοπὸς πρὸς ὃν ποιοῦνται τὸ τέλος· ὁ γὰρ θεατὴς
the aim for which they-make the end the for spectator
φορτικὸς ὢν μεταβάλλειν εἴωθε τὴν μουσικήν, ὥστε καὶ
vulgar being to-change is-wont the music so-that also
τοὺς τεχνίτας τοὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν μελετῶντας αὐτούς τε
the professionals those to him practicing themselves both
ποιούς τινας ποιεῖ καὶ τὰ σώματα διὰ τὰς κινήσεις)·
of-a-kind some he-makes and the bodies through the movements

VII · MODES AND RHYTHMS

Melodies are ethical, practical, or enthusiastic, and music serves education, purgation, and amusement. Education should use the ethical modes, above all the Dorian, steady and manly; the Phrygian rouses frenzy like the flute, and Socrates was wrong to keep it in the Republic. *The relaxed modes suit the old, and the mean, the possible, and the fitting are the three standards of education.*

Σκεπτέον δέ τι περί τε τὰς ἁρμονίας καὶ τοὺς
must-be-considered and somewhat about both the harmonies and the
ῥυθμούς, καὶ πρὸς παιδείαν· πότερον πάσαις χρηστέον
rhythms and for education whether all one-must-use
ταῖς ἁρμονίαις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ῥυθμοῖς ἢ διαιρετέον,
the harmonies and all the rhythms or one-must-distinguish
ἔπειτα τοῖς πρὸς παιδείαν διαπονοῦσι πότερον τὸν αὐτὸν
then for-those for education laboring whether the same

διορισμὸν θήσομεν ἢ τρίτον δεῖ τινα ἕτερον (ἐπειδὴ
distinction we-shall-set or third must some other since
τὴν μὲν μουσικὴν ὁρῶμεν διὰ μελοποιίας καὶ ῥυθμῶν
the indeed music we-see through melody-making and rhythms
οὖσαν, τούτων δ' ἑκάτερον οὐ δεῖ λεληθέναι τίνα δύναμιν
being of-these and each not must to-escape-notice what power
ἔχει πρὸς παιδείαν) καὶ πότερον προαιρετέον μᾶλλον
it-has for education and whether must-be-preferred rather
τὴν εὐμελῆ μουσικὴν ἢ τὴν εὔρυθμον. νομίσαντες οὖν
the well-melodied music or the well-rhythmed having-thought then
πολλὰ καλῶς λέγειν περὶ τούτων τῶν τε νῦν μουσικῶν
many(-things) well to-say about these of-the both present musicians
ἐνίους καὶ τῶν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας ὅσοι τυγχάνουσιν
some and of-those from philosophy as-many-as happen
ἐμπείρως ἔχοντες τῆς περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν παιδείας, τὴν
experienced being of-the about the music education the
μὲν καθ' ἕκαστον ἀκριβολογίαν ἀποδώσομεν ζητεῖν τοῖς
indeed by each precise-account we-shall-leave to-seek to-those
βουλομένοις παρ' ἐκείνων, νῦν δὲ νομικῶς διέλωμεν,
wishing from those now and in-general-terms let-us-distinguish
τοὺς τύπους μόνον εἰπόντες περὶ αὐτῶν.
the outlines only having-spoken about them
ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν διαίρεσιν ἀποδεχόμεθα τῶν μελῶν ὡς
since and the division we-accept of-the tunes as
διαιροῦσί τινες τῶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ, τὰ μὲν ἠθικὰ
divide some of-those in philosophy the(-ones) indeed ethical
τὰ δὲ πρακτικὰ τὰ δ' ἐνθουσιαστικὰ τιθέντες,
the(-others) and practical the(-others) and enthusiastic positing
καὶ τῶν ἁρμονιῶν τὴν φύσιν πρὸς ἕκαστα τούτων οἰκείαν
and of-the harmonies the nature toward each of-these proper
ἄλλην πρὸς ἄλλο μέρος τιθέασι, φαμὲν δ' οὐ μιᾶς ἕνεκεν
another to another part they-posit we-say and not of-one for-the-sake

ὠφελείας τῇ μουσικῇ χρῆσθαι δεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ πλειόνων
benefit the music to-use to-be-necessary but also of-more
χάριν (καὶ γὰρ παιδείας ἕνεκεν καὶ καθάρσεως — τί
for-the-sake and for of-education for-the-sake and of-purification what
δὲ λέγομεν τὴν κάθαρσιν, νῦν μὲν ἁπλῶς, πάλιν δ' ἐν
and we-mean the purification now indeed simply again and in
τοῖς περὶ ποιητικῆς ἐροῦμεν σαφέστερον—, τρίτον
the(-discussions) about poetics we-shall-say more-clearly third
δὲ πρὸς διαγωγήν, πρὸς ἄνεσίν τε καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς
and for pastime for relaxation both and for the of-the
συντονίας ἀνάπαυσιν)· φανερὸν ὅτι χρηστέον μὲν πάσαις
strain rest clear that one-must-use indeed all
ταῖς ἁρμονίαις, οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον πάσαις χρηστέον,
the harmonies not the same but way all one-must-use
ἀλλὰ πρὸς μὲν τὴν παιδείαν ταῖς ἠθικωτάταις, πρὸς
but for indeed the education the most-ethical for
δὲ ἀκρόασιν ἑτέρων χειρουργούντων καὶ ταῖς πρακτικαῖς
and listening of-others performing also the practical
καὶ ταῖς ἐνθουσιαστικαῖς (ὃ γὰρ περὶ ἐνίας συμβαίνει
and the enthusiastic which for about some happens
πάθος ψυχὰς ἰσχυρῶς, τοῦτο ἐν πάσαις ὑπάρχει, τῷ δὲ
emotion souls strongly this in all exists by-the but
ἧττον διαφέρει καὶ τῷ μᾶλλον, οἷον ἔλεος καὶ φόβος,
less it-differs and by-the more such-as pity and fear
ἔτι δ' ἐνθουσιασμός· καὶ γὰρ ὑπὸ ταύτης τῆς κινήσεως
further and enthusiasm and for by this the motion
κατακώχιμοί τινές εἰσιν, ἐκ τῶν δ' ἱερῶν μελῶν ὁρῶμεν
possessed some are from the and sacred tunes we-see
τούτους, ὅταν χρήσωνται τοῖς ἐξοργιάζουσι τὴν ψυχὴν
these whenever they-use the rousing the soul
μέλεσι, καθισταμένους ὥσπερ ἰατρείας τυχόντας καὶ
tunes settled just-as cure having-found and

καθάρσεως· ταὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο ἀναγκαῖον πάσχειν καὶ τοὺς
purification the-same indeed this necessary to-feel also the
ἐλεήμονας καὶ τοὺς φοβητικοὺς καὶ τοὺς ὅλως παθητικοὺς
pitying and the fearful and the generally emotional
τοὺς ἄλλους, καθ' ὅσον ἐπιβάλλει τῶν τοιούτων ἑκάστῳ, καὶ
the others as much-as falls of-the such to-each and
πᾶσι γίγνεσθαί τινα κάθαρσιν καὶ κουφίζεσθαι μεθ' ἡδονῆς·
for-all to-come-about some purification and to-be-lightened with pleasure
ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ μέλη τὰ καθαρτικὰ παρέχει χαρὰν
likewise and also the tunes the purgative provide joy
ἀβλαβῆ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις). διὸ ταῖς μὲν τοιαύταις
harmless to-the men therefore with-the indeed such
ἁρμονίαις καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις μέλεσι θετέον τοὺς τὴν
harmonies and the such tunes one-must-allow the the
θεατρικὴν μουσικὴν μεταχειριζομένους ἀγωνιστάς (ἐπεὶ δ'
theatrical music handling competitors since and
ὁ θεατὴς διττός, ὁ μὲν ἐλεύθερος καὶ πεπαιδευμένος,
the spectator twofold the(-one) indeed free and educated
ὁ δὲ φορτικὸς ἐκ βαναύσων καὶ θητῶν καὶ ἄλλων
the(-other) and vulgar from mechanics and laborers and other
τοιούτων συγκείμενος, ἀποδοτέον ἀγῶνας καὶ θεωρίας
such composed one-must-assign contests and spectacles
καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις πρὸς ἀνάπαυσιν· εἰσὶ δὲ ὥσπερ αὐτῶν
also to-the such for rest are and just-as of-them
αἱ ψυχαὶ παρεστραμμέναι τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἕξεως,
the souls distorted from-the according-to nature condition
οὕτω καὶ τῶν ἁρμονιῶν παρεκβάσεις εἰσὶ καὶ τῶν μελῶν
so also of-the harmonies deviations are and of-the tunes
τὰ σύντονα καὶ παρακεχρωσμένα, ποιεῖ δὲ τὴν ἡδονὴν
the high-pitched and over-colored makes and the pleasure
ἑκάστοις τὸ κατὰ φύσιν οἰκεῖον, διόπερ ἀποδοτέον
for-each the according-to nature proper therefore one-must-give

ἐξουσίαν τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις πρὸς τὸν θεατὴν τὸν τοιοῦτον
license to-those competing toward the spectator the such
τοιούτῳ τινὶ χρῆσθαι τῷ γένει τῆς μουσικῆς)· πρὸς
such some to-use the kind of-the music for
δὲ παιδείαν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, τοῖς ἠθικοῖς τῶν μελῶν
and education just-as has-been-said the ethical of-the tunes
χρηστέον καὶ ταῖς ἁρμονίαις ταῖς τοιαύταις. τοιαύτη δ'
one-must-use and the harmonies the such such and
ἡ δωριστί, καθάπερ εἴπομεν πρότερον· δέχεσθαι δὲ δεῖ
the Dorian just-as we-said before to-accept and one-must
κἄν τινα ἄλλην ἡμῖν δοκιμάζωσιν οἱ κοινωνοὶ τῆς ἐν
even-if some other to-us approve those partners of-the in
φιλοσοφίᾳ διατριβῆς καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν παιδείας.
philosophy pursuit and of-the about the music education
ὁ δ' ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ Σωκράτης οὐ καλῶς τὴν φρυγιστὶ
the and in the republic Socrates not well the Phrygian
μόνην καταλείπει μετὰ τῆς δωριστί, καὶ ταῦτα ἀποδοκιμάσας
alone leaves with the Dorian and this having-rejected
τῶν ὀργάνων τὸν αὐλόν. ἔχει γὰρ τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν ἡ
of-the instruments the flute has for the same power the
φρυγιστὶ τῶν ἁρμονιῶν ἥνπερ αὐλὸς ἐν τοῖς ὀργάνοις·
Phrygian of-the harmonies which-very flute among the instruments
ἄμφω γὰρ ὀργιαστικὰ καὶ παθητικά. δηλοῖ δ' ἡ ποίησις.
both for orgiastic and emotional shows and the poetry
πᾶσα γὰρ βακχεία καὶ πᾶσα ἡ τοιαύτη κίνησις μάλιστα
all for Bacchic-frenzy and all the such motion most
τῶν ὀργάνων ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς αὐλοῖς, τῶν δ' ἁρμονιῶν ἐν
of-the instruments is in the flutes of-the and harmonies in
τοῖς φρυγιστὶ μέλεσι λαμβάνει ταῦτα τὸ πρέπον. οἷον ὁ
the Phrygian tunes take these the fitting such-as the
διθύραμβος ὁμολογουμένως εἶναι δοκεῖ Φρύγιον. καὶ τούτου
dithyramb admittedly to-be seems Phrygian and of-this

πολλὰ παραδείγματα λέγουσιν οἱ περὶ τὴν σύνεσιν
many examples state those about the understanding
ταύτην, ἄλλα τε καὶ διότι Φιλόξενος ἐγχειρήσας ἐν τῇ
this others both and because Philoxenus having-attempted in the
δωριστὶ ποιῆσαι τοὺς μύθους οὐχ οἷός τ' ἦν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς
Dorian to-compose the myths not able — he-was but by the
φύσεως αὐτῆς ἐξέπεσεν εἰς τὴν φρυγιστὶ τὴν προσήκουσαν
nature itself he-fell-out into the Phrygian the fitting
ἁρμονίαν πάλιν. περὶ δὲ τῆς δωριστὶ πάντες ὁμολογοῦσιν ὡς
harmony again about and the Dorian all agree as
στασιμωτάτης οὔσης καὶ μάλιστα ἤθος ἐχούσης ἀνδρεῖον.
most-steady being and most character having manly
ἔτι δὲ ἐπεὶ τὸ μέσον μὲν τῶν ὑπερβολῶν ἐπαινοῦμεν
further and since the mean indeed of-the extremes we-praise
καὶ χρῆναι διώκειν φαμέν, ἡ δὲ δωριστὶ ταύτην ἔχει
and to-be-necessary to-pursue we-say the and Dorian this has
τὴν φύσιν πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας ἁρμονίας, φανερὸν ὅτι τὰ
the nature toward the other harmonies clear that the
Δώρια μέλη πρέπει παιδεύεσθαι μᾶλλον τοῖς νεωτέροις.
Dorian tunes befit to-be-educated more to-the younger
εἰσὶ δὲ δύο σκοποί, τό τε δυνατὸν καὶ τὸ πρέπον·
are and two aims the both possible and the fitting
καὶ γὰρ τὰ δυνατὰ δεῖ μεταχειρίζεσθαι μᾶλλον καὶ τὰ
and for the possible must to-handle more and the
πρέποντα ἑκάστους. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὡρισμένα ταῖς
fitting each is and also these defined by-the
ἡλικίαις, οἷον τοῖς ἀπειρηκόσι διὰ χρόνον οὐ ῥᾴδιον
ages such-as to-those having-grown-weary through time not easy
ᾄδειν τὰς συντόνους ἁρμονίας, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀνειμένας ἡ
to-sing the high-pitched harmonies but the relaxed the
φύσις ὑποβάλλει τοῖς τηλικούτοις. διὸ καλῶς ἐπιτιμῶσι
nature suggests to-those of-such-age therefore well censure

καὶ τοῦτο Σωκράτει τῶν περὶ τὴν μουσικήν τινες, ὅτι
also this to-Socrates of-those about the music some that
τὰς ἀνειμένας ἁρμονίας ἀποδοκιμάσειεν εἰς τὴν παιδιάν,
the relaxed harmonies be-rejected for the play
ὡς μεθυστικὰς λαμβάνων αὐτάς, οὐ κατὰ τὴν τῆς μέθης
as intoxicating taking them not according-to the of-the drink
δύναμιν (βακχευτικὸν γὰρ ἥ γε μέθη ποιεῖ μᾶλλον)
power Bacchic for the at-least drink makes rather
ἀλλ᾽ ἀπειρηκυίας. ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐσομένην ἡλικίαν,
but weary so-that also for the coming age
τὴν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, δεῖ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἁρμονιῶν
the of-the older one-must also the such harmonies
ἅπτεσθαι καὶ τῶν μελῶν τῶν τοιούτων. ἔτι δ᾽ εἴ τίς
to-take-up and the tunes the such further and if any
ἐστι τοιαύτη τῶν ἁρμονιῶν ἣ πρέπει τῇ τῶν παίδων
is such of-the harmonies which befits the of-the children
ἡλικίᾳ διὰ τὸ δύνασθαι κόσμον τ᾽ ἔχειν ἅμα καὶ
age through the to-be-able orderliness both to-have at-once and
παιδείαν, οἷον ἡ λυδιστὶ φαίνεται πεπονθέναι μάλιστα
education such-as the Lydian appears to-have-experienced most
τῶν ἁρμονιῶν, δῆλον ὅτι τούτους ὅρους τρεῖς ποιητέον εἰς
of-the harmonies clear that these limits three must-be-made for
τὴν παιδείαν, τό τε μέσον καὶ τὸ δυνατὸν καὶ τὸ πρέπον.
the education the both mean and the possible and the fitting

ARISTOTLE

ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ

The Athenian Constitution

I · THE CURSE OF THE ALCMAEONIDS

The papyrus opens mid-sentence on a trial. Myron prosecuted, and the jurors, chosen by birth, swore on the sacrifices. Condemned for the pollution, the guilty were cast out of their graves and their family exiled forever. Epimenides of Crete then purified the city.

∗∗∗ κατηγοροῦντος Μύρωνος καθ' ἱερῶν ὀμόσαντες, 1
(lacuna) accusing Myron by sacred-victims having-sworn
ἀριστίνδην. καταγνωσθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἄγους αὐτοὶ μὲν
chosen-by-birth having-been-condemned and the pollution themselves indeed
ἐκ τῶν τάφων ἐξεβλήθησαν, τὸ δὲ γένος αὐτῶν ἔφυγεν
from the graves were-cast-out the and family of-them was-exiled
ἀειφυγίαν. Ἐπιμενίδης δ' ὁ Κρὴς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκάθηρε
in-perpetual-exile Epimenides and the Cretan on these purified
τὴν πόλιν.
the city

II · THE OLD STRIFE

After this there was long strife between the notables and the multitude. The constitution was oligarchic in every respect, and the poor, with their wives and children, were slaves to the rich, working their fields as dependents and "sixth-parters." The land was in few hands, and all loans were secured on the person until Solon, the people's first champion. Slavery was the bitterest grievance, but the many resented the rest as well, having no share in anything.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συνέβη στασιάσαι τούς τε γνωρίμους 1
after and these it-happened to-fall-into-faction the both notables
καὶ τὸ πλῆθος πολὺν χρόνον.
and the multitude long time

2 ἦν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἡ πολιτεία τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ὀλιγαρχικὴ
was for of-them the constitution in-the both other(-respects) oligarchic
πᾶσι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐδούλευον οἱ πένητες τοῖς πλουσίοις
all and indeed also were-slaves the poor to-the rich
καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες. καὶ ἐκαλοῦντο
both themselves and the children and the wives and they-were-called
πελάται καὶ ἑκτήμοροι· κατὰ ταύτην γὰρ τὴν μίσθωσιν
dependents and sixth-parters for this for the rent
ἠργάζοντο τῶν πλουσίων τοὺς ἀγρούς. ἡ δὲ πᾶσα γῆ
they-worked of-the rich the fields the and whole land
δι' ὀλίγων ἦν· καὶ εἰ μὴ τὰς μισθώσεις ἀποδιδοῖεν,
through few was and if not the rents they-paid
ἀγώγιμοι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ παῖδες ἐγίγνοντο. καὶ οἱ
seizable both themselves and the children became and the
δανεισμοὶ πᾶσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἦσαν μέχρι Σόλωνος·
loans to-all on the persons were until Solon
οὗτος δὲ πρῶτος ἐγένετο τοῦ δήμου προστάτης.
this-one and first became of-the people leader
3 χαλεπώτατον μὲν οὖν καὶ πικρότατον ἦν τοῖς πολλοῖς
hardest indeed then and most-bitter was for-the many
τῶν κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν τὸ δουλεύειν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ
of-the(-features) in the constitution the to-be-enslaved not indeed but
καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐδυσχέραινον· οὐδενὸς γάρ, ὡς
also at the other(-things) they-were-discontented in-nothing for so
εἰπεῖν, ἐτύγχανον μετέχοντες.
to-speak they-happened sharing

Before Draco, offices went by birth and wealth and were held for life, later for ten years. The king came first, then the polemarch, then the archon; the thesmothetae were added later. The archons had separate buildings, and the council of the Areopagus guarded the laws and governed most matters.

ἦν δ' ἡ τάξις τῆς ἀρχαίας πολιτείας τῆς πρὸ 1
was and the order of-the ancient constitution the before
Δράκοντος τοιάδε. τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς καθίστασαν ἀριστίνδην
Draco such the indeed offices they-appointed by-birth
καὶ πλουτίνδην· ἦρχον δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διὰ βίου,
and by-wealth they-held-office and the indeed first through life
μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δεκαέτειαν.
after and these for-ten-years
μέγισται δὲ καὶ πρῶται τῶν ἀρχῶν ἦσαν βασιλεὺς καὶ 2
greatest and and first of-the offices were king and
πολέμαρχος καὶ ἄρχων· τούτων δὲ πρώτη μὲν ἡ τοῦ
polemarch and archon of-these and first indeed the of-the
βασιλέως (αὕτη γὰρ ἦν πάτριος), δευτέρα δ' ἐπικατέστη
king this for was ancestral second and was-added
πολεμαρχία διὰ τὸ γενέσθαι τινὰς τῶν βασιλέων τὰ
polemarchy through the to-become some of-the kings in-the
πολέμια μαλακούς· ὅθεν καὶ τὸν Ἴωνα μετεπέμψαντο
war-matters soft whence also — Ion they-sent-for
χρείας καταλαβούσης.
need having-overtaken(-them)
τελευταία δ' ἡ τοῦ ἄρχοντος· οἱ μὲν γὰρ πλείους 3
last and the of-the archon the(-ones) indeed for more
ἐπὶ Μέδοντος, ἔνιοι δ' ἐπὶ Ἀκάστου φασὶ
in-the-time-of Medon some and in-the-time-of Acastus say

γενέσθαι ταύτην· τεκμήριον δ' ἐπιφέρουσιν ὅτι οἱ
to-have-arisen this proof and they-bring that the
ἐννέα ἄρχοντες ὀμνύουσιν ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Ἀκάστου
nine archons swear just-as in-the-time-of Acastus
τὰ ὅρκια ποιήσειν, ὡς ἐπὶ τούτου τῆς βασιλείας
the oaths to-perform as in-the-time-of this-one the kingship
παραχωρησάντων τῶν Κοδριδῶν ἀντὶ τῶν δοθεισῶν
having-ceded the Codrids in-return-for the given
τῷ ἄρχοντι δωρεῶν. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὁποτέρως ποτ' ἔχει,
to-the archon privileges this indeed then in-whichever-way ever it-is
μικρὸν ἂν παραλλάττοι τοῖς χρόνοις· ὅτι δὲ τελευταία
little — would-differ in-the times that and last
τούτων ἐγένετο τῶν ἀρχῶν, σημεῖον καὶ τὸ μηδὲν τῶν
of-these arose the offices sign also the nothing of-the
πατρίων τὸν ἄρχοντα διοικεῖν, ὥσπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ
ancestral(-rites) the archon to-administer just-as the king and
ὁ πολέμαρχος, ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς τὰ ἐπίθετα· διὸ καὶ νεωστὶ
the polemarch but simply the added(-ones) therefore also recently
γέγονεν ἡ ἀρχὴ μεγάλη, τοῖς ἐπιθέτοις αὐξηθεῖσα.
has-become the office great by-the additions increased
4 θεσμοθέται δὲ πολλοῖς ὕστερον ἔτεσιν ᾑρέθησαν, ἤδη κατ'
thesmothetae and many later years were-chosen already by
ἐνιαυτὸν αἱρουμένων τὰς ἀρχάς, ὅπως ἀναγράψαντες τὰ
year electing the offices so-that having-recorded the
θέσμια φυλάττωσι πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀμφισβητούντων κρίσιν·
statutes they-may-guard(-them) for the of-the disputants judgment
διὸ καὶ μόνη τῶν ἀρχῶν οὐκ ἐγένετο πλείων ἐνιαυσίας.
therefore also alone of-the offices not became longer than-a-year
5 τοῖς μὲν οὖν χρόνοις τοσοῦτον προέχουσιν ἀλλήλων. ἦσαν
in-the indeed then times so-much they-precede one-another were
δ' οὐχ ἅμα πάντες οἱ ἐννέα ἄρχοντες, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν
and not together all the nine archons but the indeed

βασιλεὺς εἶχε τὸ νῦν καλούμενον Βουκολεῖον πλησίον τοῦ
king had the now called Bucoleum near the
πρυτανείου (σημεῖον δέ· ἔτι καὶ νῦν γὰρ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως
prytaneum sign and still also now for of-the of-the king
γυναικὸς ἡ σύμμειξις ἐνταῦθα γίγνεται τῷ Διονύσῳ καὶ
wife the union there takes-place — with-Dionysus and
ὁ γάμος), ὁ δὲ ἄρχων τὸ πρυτανεῖον, ὁ δὲ πολέμαρχος
the marriage the and archon the prytaneum the and polemarch
τὸ Ἐπιλύκειον (ὃ πρότερον μὲν ἐκαλεῖτο πολεμαρχεῖον,
the Epilyceum which earlier indeed was-called polemarcheum
ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἐπίλυκος ἀνῳκοδόμησε καὶ κατεσκεύασεν αὐτὸ
since and Epilycus rebuilt and furnished it
πολεμαρχήσας Ἐπιλύκειον ἐκλήθη)· θεσμοθέται δ' εἶχον
having-been-polemarch Epilyceum it-was-called thesmothetae and had
τὸ θεσμοθετεῖον. ἐπὶ δὲ Σόλωνος ἅπαντες εἰς τὸ
the thesmotheteum in-the-time-of and Solon all into the
θεσμοθετεῖον συνῆλθον. κύριοι δ' ἦσαν καὶ τὰς δίκας
thesmotheteum came-together empowered and they-were also the lawsuits
αὐτοτελεῖς κρίνειν καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ νῦν προανακρίνειν.
final to-judge and not just-as now to-hold-preliminary-hearings
τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦτον εἶχε τὸν τρόπον.
the(-things) indeed then about the offices this had the manner
ἡ δὲ τῶν Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν βουλὴ τὴν μὲν τάξιν εἶχε 6
the and of-the Areopagites council the indeed duty had
τοῦ διατηρεῖν τοὺς νόμους, διῴκει δὲ τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ
of-the to-guard the laws administered and the most and
τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ κολάζουσα καὶ
the greatest of-the(-things) in the city both punishing and
ζημιοῦσα πάντας τοὺς ἀκοσμοῦντας κυρίως. ἡ γὰρ
fining all the disorderly with-authority the for
αἵρεσις τῶν ἀρχόντων ἀριστίνδην καὶ πλουτίνδην ἦν, ἐξ
election of-the archons by-birth and by-wealth was from

ὧν οἱ Ἀρεοπαγῖται καθίσταντο· διὸ καὶ μόνη τῶν
whom the Areopagites were-appointed therefore also alone of-the
ἀρχῶν αὕτη μεμένηκε διὰ βίου καὶ νῦν.
offices this has-remained through life also now

IV · DRACO'S CONSTITUTION

Draco's constitution gave the franchise to those who furnished arms; officials were elected from those with a stated property, a council of four hundred and one was chosen by lot, and absent councilors were fined. The Areopagus guarded the laws, and the land was in the hands of a few.

1 Ἡ μὲν οὖν πρώτη πολιτεία ταύτην εἶχε τὴν ὑπογραφήν.
the indeed then first constitution this had the outline
μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα χρόνου τινὸς οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος ἐπ᾽
after and these time some not much having-passed under
Ἀρισταίχμου ἄρχοντος Δράκων τοὺς θεσμοὺς ἔθηκεν· ἡ
Aristaechmus archon Draco the ordinances laid-down the
δὲ τάξις αὕτη τόνδε τὸν τρόπον εἶχε.
and order this this the manner had

2 ἀπεδέδοτο μὲν ἡ πολιτεία τοῖς ὅπλα παρεχομένοις.
had-been-given indeed the constitution to-those arms providing
ᾑροῦντο δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐννέα ἄρχοντας καὶ τοὺς ταμίας
they-elected and the indeed nine archons and the treasurers
οὐσίαν κεκτημένους οὐκ ἐλάττω δέκα μνῶν ἐλευθέραν, τὰς
property possessing not less than-ten minas unencumbered the
δ᾽ ἄλλας ἀρχὰς τὰς ἐλάττους ἐκ τῶν ὅπλα παρεχομένων,
and other offices the lesser from those arms providing
στρατηγοὺς δὲ καὶ ἱππάρχους οὐσίαν ἀποφαίνοντας
generals and and cavalry-commanders property showing
οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ ἑκατὸν μνῶν ἐλευθέραν καὶ παῖδας ἐκ
not less than a-hundred minas unencumbered and children from

γαμετῆς γυναικὸς γνησίους ὑπὲρ δέκα ἔτη γεγονότας·
wedded wife legitimate over ten years having-become
τούτους δ᾽ ἔδει διεγγυᾶν τοὺς πρυτάνεις καὶ τοὺς
these and it-was-necessary to-bail the prytaneis and the
στρατηγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἱππάρχους τοὺς ἕνους μέχρι
generals and the cavalry-commanders the last-year's until
εὐθυνῶν, ἐγγυητὰς δ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τέλους δεχομένους
audits sureties 4 from the same class accepting
οὗπερ οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ ἵππαρχοι.
from-which-very the generals and the cavalry-commanders
βουλεύειν δὲ τετρακοσίους καὶ ἕνα τοὺς λαχόντας ἐκ 3
to-be-councilors and four-hundred and one those chosen-by-lot from
τῆς πολιτείας. κληροῦσθαι δὲ καὶ ταύτην καὶ τὰς ἄλλας
the citizen-body to-be-chosen-by-lot and both this and the other
ἀρχὰς τοὺς ὑπὲρ τριάκοντ᾽ ἔτη γεγονότας, καὶ δὶς τὸν
offices those over thirty years having-become and twice the
αὐτὸν μὴ ἄρχειν πρὸ τοῦ πάντας ἐξελθεῖν· τότε δὲ
same not to-hold-office before the all to-have-gone-through then and
πάλιν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς κληροῦν. εἰ δέ τις τῶν βουλευτῶν,
again from the-beginning to-choose-by-lot if and any of-the councilors
ὅταν ἕδρα βουλῆς ἢ ἐκκλησίας ᾖ, ἐκλείποι τὴν σύνοδον,
whenever session of-council or assembly is should-miss the meeting
ἀπέτινον ὁ μὲν πεντακοσιομέδιμνος τρεῖς δραχμάς, ὁ
they-paid the indeed five-hundred-bushel-man three drachmas the
δὲ ἱππεὺς δύο, ζευγίτης δὲ μίαν.
and knight two teamster and one
ἡ δὲ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου φύλαξ ἦν τῶν νόμων καὶ 4
the and council the from Ares' hill guardian was of-the laws and
διετήρει τὰς ἀρχὰς ὅπως κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἄρχωσιν.
watched-over the offices so-that according-to the laws they-might-hold-office

ἐξῆν δὲ τῷ ἀδικουμένῳ πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν
it-was-allowed and for-the(-one) wronged to the of-the Areopagites
βουλὴν εἰσαγγέλλειν ἀποφαίνοντι παρ' ὃν ἀδικεῖται νόμον.
council to-impeach declaring contrary-to what he-is-wronged law
ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς σώμασιν ἦσαν οἱ δανεισμοί, καθάπερ εἴρηται,
on and the persons were the loans just-as has-been-said
καὶ ἡ χώρα δι' ὀλίγων ἦν.
and the land through few was

V · SOLON'S ELECTION

With the many enslaved to the few, the people rose, and both sides chose Solon as mediator and archon. His elegy pleads for each side and urges both to end the strife. First in birth but middling in wealth, he blames the faction chiefly on the rich and their greed and pride.

1 Τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς τάξεως οὔσης ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, καὶ τῶν
such and the order being in the constitution and the
πολλῶν δουλευόντων τοῖς ὀλίγοις, ἀντέστη τοῖς γνωρίμοις
many being-slaves to-the few rose-against the notables
ὁ δῆμος.
the people
2 ἰσχυρᾶς δὲ τῆς στάσεως οὔσης καὶ πολὺν χρόνον
strong and the faction being and long time
ἀντικαθημένων ἀλλήλοις εἵλοντο κοινῇ διαλλακτὴν καὶ
sitting-opposed to-one-another they-chose in-common mediator and

ἄρχοντα Σόλωνα καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτῷ
archon Solon and the constitution they-entrusted to-him
ποιήσαντι τὴν ἐλεγείαν ἧς ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ
having-composed the elegy of-which is beginning

γιγνώσκω, καί μοι φρενὸς ἔνδοθεν ἄλγεα κεῖται,
I-know and for-me of-heart within pains lie
πρεσβυτάτην ἐσορῶν γαῖαν Ἰαονίας
eldest beholding land of-Ionia
καινομένην·
being-slain

ἐν ᾗ πρὸς ἑκατέρους ὑπὲρ ἑκατέρων μάχεται καὶ
in which against each on-behalf-of each he-fights and
διαμφισβητεῖ, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κοινῇ παραινεῖ καταπαύειν
disputes and after these in-common he-exhorts to-stop
τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν φιλονικίαν.
the present contentiousness
ἦν δ' ὁ Σόλων τῇ μὲν φύσει καὶ τῇ δόξῃ τῶν πρώτων, 3
was and — Solon in-the indeed nature and in-the reputation of-the first
τῇ δ' οὐσίᾳ καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι τῶν μέσων, ὡς ἔκ τε
in-the and property and in-the affairs of-the middle as from both
τῶν ἄλλων ὁμολογεῖται καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς ποιήμασιν
the others it-is-agreed and himself in these the poems
μαρτυρεῖ, παραινῶν τοῖς πλουσίοις μὴ πλεονεκτεῖν·
bears-witness exhorting the rich not to-be-greedy

ὑμεῖς δ' ἡσυχάσαντες ἐνὶ φρεσὶ καρτερὸν ἦτορ,
you and having-calmed in breast strong heart
οἳ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐς κόρον ἠλάσατε,
who of-many goods to excess have-driven

ἐν μετρίοισι τίθεσθε μέγαν νόον· οὔτε γὰρ ἡμεῖς
in moderate(-things) set great mind neither for we
πεισόμεθ', οὔθ' ὑμῖν ἄρτια παντ' ἔσεται.
will-obey nor for-you fitting all will-be

καὶ ὅλως αἰεὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς στάσεως ἀνάπτει τοῖς
and generally always the cause of-the faction he-fastens on-the
πλουσίοις· διὸ καὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἐλεγείας δεδοικέναι
rich therefore also in beginning of-the elegy to-fear
φησὶ "τήν τε φιλαργυρίαν τήν θ' ὑπερηφανίαν", ὡς
he-says the both love-of-money the and arrogance as
διὰ ταῦτα τῆς ἔχθρας ἐνεστώσης.
through these the enmity being-present

VI · THE SHAKING-OFF OF BURDENS

Solon freed the people, forbidding loans on the person, and canceled debts public and private, the "shaking-off of burdens." He forewarned certain notables, who borrowed to buy land; the democrats say his friends outwitted him, slanderers that he shared in it, but his moderation in all else makes the charge false.

1 Κύριος δὲ γενόμενος τῶν πραγμάτων Σόλων τόν τε δῆμον
master and having-become of-the affairs Solon the both people
ἠλευθέρωσε καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ εἰς τὸ μέλλον, κωλύσας
freed both in the present and for the future having-prevented
δανείζειν ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν, καὶ νόμους ἔθηκε καὶ χρεῶν
to-lend on the persons and laws he-laid-down and of-debts
ἀποκοπὰς ἐποίησε καὶ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ τῶν δημοσίων, ἃς
cancellations made both of-the private and of-the public which
σεισάχθειαν καλοῦσιν, ὡς ἀποσεισάμενοι τὸ βάρος.
shaking-off-of-burdens they-call as having-shaken-off the weight

ἐν οἷς πειρῶνταί τινες διαβάλλειν αὐτόν· συνέβη γὰρ 2
in which try some to-slander him it-happened for
τῷ Σόλωνι μέλλοντι ποιεῖν τὴν σεισάχθειαν προειπεῖν
— to-Solon about to-make the shaking-off-of-burdens to-tell-beforehand
τισι τῶν γνωρίμων, ἔπειθ', ὡς μὲν οἱ δημοτικοὶ
to-some of-the notables then as indeed the democrats
λέγουσι, παραστρατηγηθῆναι διὰ τῶν φίλων, ὡς δ' οἱ
say to-have-been-outmaneuvered through the friends as but those
βουλόμενοι βλασφημεῖν, καὶ αὐτὸν κοινωνεῖν. δανεισάμενοι
wishing to-slander also himself to-share having-borrowed
γὰρ οὗτοι συνεπρίαντο πολλὴν χώραν, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ
for these bought-up much land and after not long
τῆς τῶν χρεῶν ἀποκοπῆς γενομένης ἐπλούτουν· ὅθεν φασὶ
the of-the debts cancellation having-happened they-became-rich whence they-say
γενέσθαι τοὺς ὕστερον δοκοῦντας εἶναι παλαιοπλούτους.
to-have-arisen the(-ones) later seeming to-be of-old-wealth
οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πιθανώτερος ὁ τῶν δημοτικῶν λόγος· 3
not indeed but more-persuasive the of-the democrats account
οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις οὕτω μέτριον
not for likely in indeed the other(-matters) so moderate
γενέσθαι καὶ κοινόν, ὥστ' ἐξὸν αὐτῷ τοὺς ἑτέρους
to-have-been and public-spirited so-that it-being-possible for-him the other(-side)
ὑποποιησάμενον τυραννεῖν τῆς πόλεως, ἀμφοτέροις
having-won-over to-be-tyrant of-the city to-both
ἀπεχθέσθαι καὶ περὶ πλείονος ποιήσασθαι τὸ καλὸν καὶ
to-incur-hatred and of more to-make the noble and
τὴν τῆς πόλεως σωτηρίαν ἢ τὴν αὑτοῦ πλεονεξίαν, ἐν
the of-the city safety than the his-own greed in
οὕτω δὲ μικροῖς καὶ φανεροῖς καταρρυπαίνειν ἑαυτόν.
so and small and conspicuous to-soil himself

4 ὅτι δὲ ταύτην ἔσχε τὴν ἐξουσίαν, τά τε πράγματα
that and this he-had the power the both affairs
νοσοῦντα μαρτυρεῖ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασιν αὐτὸς πολλαχοῦ
ailing bear-witness and in the poems he-himself in-many-places
μέμνηται καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι συνομολογοῦσι πάντες. ταύτην μὲν
mentions and the others agree all this indeed
οὖν χρὴ νομίζειν ψευδῆ τὴν αἰτίαν εἶναι.
then one-must to-consider false the charge to-be

VII · THE PROPERTY CLASSES

Solon laid down a constitution and new laws, and Draco's laws ceased except those on homicide. He divided the citizens by assessment into four classes, the five-hundred-bushel men, knights, teamsters, and laborers, ranked at 500, 300, and 200 measures of produce. The first three held office; the laborers shared only in the assembly and courts.

1 Πολιτείαν δὲ κατέστησε καὶ νόμους ἔθηκεν ἄλλους, τοῖς
constitution and he-established and laws he-laid-down other the
δὲ Δράκοντος θεσμοῖς ἐπαύσαντο χρώμενοι πλὴν τῶν
and of-Draco ordinances they-stopped using except the
φονικῶν. ἀναγράψαντες δὲ τοὺς νόμους εἰς τοὺς κύρβεις
homicide(-laws) having-written-up and the laws on the kyrbeis
ἔστησαν ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῇ βασιλείῳ καὶ ὤμοσαν χρήσεσθαι
they-set(-them) in the stoa the royal and swore to-use(-them)
πάντες. οἱ δ' ἐννέα ἄρχοντες ὀμνύντες πρὸς τῷ λίθῳ
all the and nine archons swearing at the stone
κατεφάτιζον ἀναθήσειν ἀνδριάντα χρυσοῦν, ἐάν τινα
declared to-dedicate statue golden if any
παραβῶσι τῶν νόμων· ὅθεν ἔτι καὶ νῦν οὕτως ὀμνύουσι.
they-transgress of-the laws whence still also now so they-swear

κατέκλεισεν δὲ τοὺς νόμους εἰς ἑκατὸν ἔτη καὶ διέταξε 2
locked-up and the laws for a-hundred years and arranged
τὴν πολιτείαν τόνδε τὸν τρόπον.
the constitution this the manner
τιμήματι διεῖλεν εἰς τέτταρα τέλη, καθάπερ διῄρητο καὶ 3
by-assessment he-divided into four classes just-as had-been-divided also
πρότερον, εἰς πεντακοσιομέδιμνον καὶ ἱππέα καὶ ζευγίτην
before into five-hundred-bushel-man and knight and teamster
καὶ θῆτα. καὶ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἀπένειμεν ἄρχειν ἐκ
and laborer and the indeed other offices he-assigned to-hold from
πεντακοσιομεδίμνων καὶ ἱππέων καὶ ζευγιτῶν, τοὺς ἐννέα
five-hundred-bushel-men and knights and teamsters the nine
ἄρχοντας καὶ τοὺς ταμίας καὶ τοὺς πωλητὰς καὶ τοὺς
archons and the treasurers and the sellers and the
ἕνδεκα καὶ τοὺς κωλακρέτας, ἑκάστοις ἀνάλογον τῷ μεγέθει
eleven and the colacretae to-each proportionately to-the size
τοῦ τιμήματος ἀποδιδοὺς τὴν ἀρχήν. τοῖς δὲ τὸ θητικὸν
of-the assessment assigning the office to-those and the laborer(-class)
τελοῦσιν ἐκκλησίας καὶ δικαστηρίων μετέδωκε μόνον.
paying of-assembly and of-law-courts he-gave-a-share only
ἔδει δὲ τελεῖν πεντακοσιομέδιμνον μὲν ὃς ἂν ἐκ 4
it-was-necessary and to-rank five-hundred-bushel-man indeed whoever — from
τῆς οἰκείας ποιῇ πεντακόσια μέτρα τὰ συνάμφω ξηρὰ καὶ
the own makes five-hundred measures the together dry and
ὑγρά, ἱππάδα δὲ τοὺς τριακόσια ποιοῦντας, ὡς δ' ἔνιοί
wet knight's(-rank) and those three-hundred making as and some
φασι τοὺς ἱπποτροφεῖν δυναμένους. σημεῖον δὲ φέρουσι
say those to-keep-horses able sign and they-bring
τό τε ὄνομα τοῦ τέλους, ὡς ἂν ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος
the both name of-the class as if from the fact

κείμενον, καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα τῶν ἀρχαίων· ἀνάκειται γὰρ
given and the offerings of-the ancients is-dedicated for
ἐν ἀκροπόλει εἰκὼν Διφίλου, ἐφ' ᾗ ἐπιγέγραπται τάδε·
on acropolis statue of-Diphilus on which is-inscribed these-words

Διφίλου Ἀνθεμίων τήνδ' ἀνέθηκε θεοῖς,
of-Diphilus Anthemion this dedicated to-the-gods
θητικοῦ ἀντὶ τέλους ἱππάδ' ἀμειψάμενος.
laborer's in-place-of class knight's having-exchanged

καὶ παρέστηκεν ἵππος ἐκμαρτυρῶν, ὡς τὴν ἱππάδα τοῦτο
and stands-beside horse bearing-witness that the knight's-rank this
σημαίνουσαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εὐλογώτερον τοῖς μέτροις
signifying not indeed but more-reasonable by-the measures
διῃρῆσθαι καθάπερ τοὺς πεντακοσιομεδίμνους. ζευγίσιον
to-have-been-divided just-as the five-hundred-bushel-men teamster's
δὲ τελεῖν τοὺς διακόσια τὰ συνάμφω ποιοῦντας· τοὺς δ'
and to-rank those two-hundred the together making the and
ἄλλους θητικόν, οὐδεμιᾶς μετέχοντας ἀρχῆς. διὸ καὶ νῦν
others laborer none sharing office therefore also now
ἐπειδὰν ἔρηται τὸν μέλλοντα κληροῦσθαί τιν' ἀρχήν,
whenever one-asks the(-one) about to-be-chosen-by-lot some office
ποῖον τέλος τελεῖ, οὐδ' ἂν εἷς εἴποι θητικόν.
what class he-ranks not-even — one would-say laborer

Solon had the officials chosen by lot from candidates each tribe preselected, ten for the archonship, where the Areopagus had once appointed them. He made a council of four hundred, a hundred from each tribe, and left the Areopagus to guard the laws and try conspirators against the people. A citizen who took no side in civil strife lost his rights.

Τὰς δ' ἀρχὰς ἐποίησε κληρωτὰς ἐκ προκρίτων, οὓς 1
the and offices he-made chosen-by-lot from preselected whom
ἑκάστη προκρίνειε τῶν φυλῶν. προύκρινεν δ' εἰς τοὺς
each might-preselect of-the tribes preselected and for the
ἐννέα ἄρχοντας ἑκάστη δέκα, καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἐκλήρουν·
nine archons each ten and from these they-chose-by-lot
ὅθεν ἔτι διαμένει ταῖς φυλαῖς τὸ δέκα κληροῦν ἑκάστην,
whence still remains to-the tribes the ten to-choose-by-lot each
εἶτ' ἐκ τούτων κυαμεύειν. σημεῖον δ' ὅτι κληρωτὰς
then from these to-draw-by-bean sign and that chosen-by-lot
ἐποίησεν ἐκ τῶν τιμημάτων ὁ περὶ τῶν ταμιῶν νόμος,
he-made from the assessments the about the treasurers law
ᾧ χρώμενοι διατελοῦσιν ἔτι καὶ νῦν· κελεύει γὰρ
which using they-continue still also now it-orders for
κληροῦν τοὺς ταμίας ἐκ πεντακοσιομεδίμνων.
to-choose-by-lot the treasurers from five-hundred-bushel-men

Σόλων μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐνομοθέτησεν περὶ τῶν ἐννέα 2
Solon indeed then thus legislated about the nine
ἀρχόντων. τὸ γὰρ ἀρχαῖον ἡ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ βουλὴ
archons the for ancient(-way) the on Ares' hill council
ἀνακαλεσαμένη καὶ κρίνασα καθ' αὑτὴν τὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἐφ'
having-summoned and judged by itself the suitable(-man) for
ἑκάστῃ τῶν ἀρχῶν ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν διατάξασα ἀπέστελλεν.
each of-the offices for year having-appointed sent-out

3 φυλαὶ δ' ἦσαν δ καθάπερ πρότερον καὶ φυλοβασιλεῖς
tribes and were 4 just-as before and tribe-kings
τέτταρες. ἐκ δὲ τῆς φυλῆς ἑκάστης ἦσαν νενεμημέναι
four from and the tribe each were distributed
τριττύες μὲν τρεῖς, ναυκραρίαι δὲ δώδεκα καθ' ἑκάστην.
trittyes indeed three naucraries and twelve to each
ἦν δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ναυκραριῶν ἀρχὴ καθεστηκυῖα ναύκραροι,
was and over the naucraries office established naucrari
τεταγμένη πρός τε τὰς εἰσφορὰς καὶ τὰς δαπάνας τὰς
appointed for both the levies and the expenditures the
γιγνομένας· διὸ καὶ ἐν τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς Σόλωνος οἷς
arising therefore also in the laws the of-Solon which
οὐκέτι χρῶνται πολλαχοῦ γέγραπται "τοὺς ναυκράρους
no-longer they-use in-many-places is-written the naucrari
εἰσπράττειν" καὶ "ἀναλίσκειν ἐκ τοῦ ναυκραρικοῦ ἀργυρίου".
to-exact and to-spend from the naucraric money
4 βουλὴν δ' ἐποίησε τετρακοσίους, ἑκατὸν ἐξ ἑκάστης
council and he-made four-hundred a-hundred from each
φυλῆς, τὴν δὲ τῶν Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν ἔταξεν ἐπὶ τὸ
tribe the and of-the Areopagites he-assigned to the
νομοφυλακεῖν, ὥσπερ ὑπῆρχεν καὶ πρότερον ἐπίσκοπος
guarding-the-laws just-as it-existed also before overseer
οὖσα τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα τὰ πλεῖστα
being of-the constitution and the both other(-matters) the most
καὶ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν πολιτικῶν διετήρει καὶ τοὺς
and the greatest of-the political(-affairs) it-watched-over and the
ἁμαρτάνοντας ηὔθυνεν κυρία οὖσα καὶ ζημιοῦν καὶ
wrongdoers it-called-to-account sovereign being both to-fine and
κολάζειν, καὶ τὰς ἐκτίσεις ἀνέφερεν εἰς πόλιν, οὐκ
to-punish and the payments it-took-up to acropolis not
ἐπιγράφουσα τὴν πρόφασιν δι' ὃ τὸ ἐκτίνεσθαι, καὶ
recording the reason through which the to-pay and

τοὺς ἐπὶ καταλύσει τοῦ δήμου συνισταμένους ἔκρινεν,
those for overthrow of-the people conspiring it-judged
Σόλωνος θέντος νόμον εἰσαγγελίας περὶ αὐτῶν.
Solon having-laid-down law of-impeachment about them
ὁρῶν δὲ τὴν μὲν πόλιν πολλάκις στασιάζουσαν, τῶν 5
seeing and the indeed city often in-faction of-the
δὲ πολιτῶν ἐνίους διὰ τὴν ῥᾳθυμίαν ἀγαπῶντας τὸ
and citizens some through the indolence content-with the
αὐτόματον, νόμον ἔθηκεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἴδιον, ὃς ἂν
chance(-outcome) law he-laid-down against them special whoever —
στασιαζούσης τῆς πόλεως μὴ θῆται τὰ ὅπλα μηδὲ μεθ'
being-in-faction the city not takes-up the arms nor with
ἑτέρων, ἄτιμον εἶναι καὶ τῆς πόλεως μὴ μετέχειν.
others disfranchised to-be and in-the city not to-share

IX · THE MOST DEMOCRATIC FEATURES

Three features of Solon's constitution seem most democratic: no loans on the person, anyone's right to seek redress for the wronged, and appeal to the court, which empowered the people. His unclear laws left the court to decide everything; some think that was intended, but more likely he could not frame the best in general terms.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦτον εἶχε τὸν τρόπον. 1
the(-things) indeed then about the offices this had the manner
δοκεῖ δὲ τῆς Σόλωνος πολιτείας τρία ταῦτ' εἶναι τὰ
seem and of-the of-Solon constitution three these to-be the
δημοτικώτατα· πρῶτον μὲν καὶ μέγιστον τὸ μὴ δανείζειν
most-democratic first indeed and greatest the not to-lend
ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν, ἔπειτα τὸ ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ
on the persons then the to-be-allowed to-the(-one) wishing
τιμωρεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδικουμένων, τρίτον δέ, ᾧ
to-seek-redress on-behalf-of those wronged third and by-which

μάλιστά φασιν ἰσχυκέναι τὸ πλῆθος, ἡ εἰς τὸ
most they-say to-have-gained-strength the multitude the to the
δικαστήριον ἔφεσις· κύριος γὰρ ὢν ὁ δῆμος τῆς ψήφου
law-court appeal sovereign for being the people of-the vote
κύριος γίγνεται τῆς πολιτείας.
sovereign becomes of-the constitution

2 ἔτι δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ γεγράφθαι τοὺς νόμους ἁπλῶς
further and also through the not to-have-been-written the laws simply
μηδὲ σαφῶς, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὁ περὶ τῶν κλήρων καὶ
nor clearly but just-as the(-law) about of-the inheritances and
ἐπικλήρων, ἀνάγκη πολλὰς ἀμφισβητήσεις γίγνεσθαι καὶ
heiresses necessary many disputes to-arise and
πάντα βραβεύειν καὶ τὰ κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια τὸ δικαστήριον.
all-things to-decide both the public and the private the law-court
οἴονται μὲν οὖν τινες ἐπίτηδες ἀσαφεῖς αὐτὸν ποιῆσαι
think indeed then some on-purpose unclear him to-have-made
τοὺς νόμους, ὅπως ᾖ τῆς κρίσεως ὁ δῆμος κύριος. οὐ
the laws so-that may-be of-the decision the people sovereign not
μὴν εἰκός, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι καθόλου περιλαβεῖν
indeed likely but through the not to-be-able generally to-embrace
τὸ βέλτιστον· οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον ἐκ τῶν νῦν γιγνομένων ἀλλ'
the best not for just from the now happening but
ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης πολιτείας θεωρεῖν τὴν ἐκείνου βούλησιν.
from the other constitution to-consider the his intention

Solon canceled the debts before his legislation and afterward enlarged the measures, weights, and coinage: the measures grew larger than the Pheidonian, and the mina rose from seventy drachmas to a hundred.

Ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς νόμοις ταῦτα δοκεῖ θεῖναι 1
in indeed then the laws these he-seems to-have-laid-down
δημοτικά, πρὸ δὲ τῆς νομοθεσίας ποιῆσαι τὴν τῶν
democratic(-things) before and the legislation to-have-made the of-the
χρεῶν ἀποκοπὴν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τήν τε τῶν μέτρων
debts cancellation and after these the both of-the measures
καὶ σταθμῶν καὶ τὴν τοῦ νομίσματος αὔξησιν.
and weights and the of-the coinage increase
ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνου γὰρ ἐγένετο καὶ τὰ μέτρα μείζω 2
in-the-time-of that-man for became also the measures larger
τῶν Φειδωνείων, καὶ ἡ μνᾶ πρότερον ἔχουσα σταθμὸν
than-the Pheidonian and the mina formerly having weight
ἑβδομήκοντα δραχμὰς ἀνεπληρώθη ταῖς ἑκατόν. ἦν δ᾽
seventy drachmas was-filled-up to-the hundred was and
ὁ ἀρχαῖος χαρακτὴρ δίδραχμον. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ σταθμὰ
the ancient stamp two-drachma-piece he-made and also weights
πρὸς τὸ νόμισμα τρεῖς καὶ ἑξήκοντα μνᾶς τὸ τάλαντον
for the coinage three and sixty minas the talent
ἀγούσας, καὶ ἐπιδιενεμήθησαν αἱ τρεῖς μναῖ τῷ στατῆρι
weighing and were-distributed-in-addition the three minas to-the stater
καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις σταθμοῖς.
and the other weights

Pestered by those who questioned his laws, Solon went abroad for ten years to Egypt, not wishing to alter them. Both sides were displeased: the people had expected a redistribution, the notables a return to the old order, and he opposed both, choosing their hatred over a tyranny.

1 Διατάξας δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν ὅνπερ εἴρηται τρόπον,
having-arranged and the constitution in-which has-been-said way
ἐπειδὴ προσιόντες αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν νόμων ἐνώχλουν, τὰ
since approaching him about the laws they-troubled the(-ones)
μὲν ἐπιτιμῶντες τὰ δὲ ἀνακρίνοντες, βουλόμενος
indeed criticizing the(-others) and questioning wishing
μήτε ταῦτα κινεῖν μήτ' ἀπεχθάνεσθαι παρών, ἀποδημίαν
neither these to-change nor to-incur-hatred being-present a-journey-abroad
ἐποιήσατο κατ' ἐμπορίαν ἅμα καὶ θεωρίαν εἰς Αἴγυπτον,
he-made for trade at-once and sightseeing to Egypt
εἰπὼν ὡς οὐχ ἥξει δέκα ἐτῶν· οὐ γὰρ οἴεσθαι
having-said that not he-would-come for-ten years not for to-think
δίκαιον εἶναι τοὺς νόμους ἐξηγεῖσθαι παρών, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον
just to-be the laws to-interpret being-present but each
τὰ γεγραμμένα ποιεῖν.
the written(-provisions) to-do

2 ἅμα δὲ καὶ συνέβαινεν αὐτῷ τῶν τε γνωρίμων διαφόρους
at-once and also it-happened to-him of-the both notables hostile
γεγενῆσθαι πολλοὺς διὰ τὰς τῶν χρεῶν ἀποκοπάς, καὶ
to-have-become many through the of-the debts cancellations and
τὰς στάσεις ἀμφοτέρας μεταθέσθαι διὰ τὸ παράδοξον
the parties both to-change-sides through the unexpected
αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι τὴν κατάστασιν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ δῆμος ᾤετο
to-them to-have-become the settlement the indeed for people thought

πάντ᾽ ἀνάδαστα ποιήσειν αὐτόν, οἱ δὲ γνώριμοι πάλιν
all redistributed to-make him the and notables again
εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν ἀποδώσειν ἢ μικρὸν παραλλάξειν.
into the same order to-restore or little to-alter
ὁ δὲ Σόλων ἀμφοτέροις ἠναντιώθη, καὶ ἐξὸν αὐτῷ
— and Solon to-both opposed and it-being-possible for-him
μεθ᾽ ὁποτέρων ἐβούλετο συστάντα τυραννεῖν εἵλετο πρὸς
with whichever he-wished having-combined to-be-tyrant he-chose against
ἀμφοτέρους ἀπεχθέσθαι, σώσας τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὰ
both to-incur-hatred having-saved the fatherland and the
βέλτιστα νομοθετήσας.
best having-legislated

XII · SOLON'S VERSES

Solon's own verses bear witness: he gave the people as much privilege as was enough, protected the rich, said the people follow best neither too loose nor forced, refused to be tyrant, freed the black earth from its boundary stones, and brought home those sold abroad. Turning like a wolf among dogs, he stood as a boundary stone between the two sides.

1 Ταῦτα δ' ὅτι τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἔσχεν οἵ τ' ἄλλοι
these and that this the manner were the both others
συμφωνοῦσι πάντες καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ ποιήσει μέμνηται
agree all and himself in the poetry mentions
περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖσδε·
about them in these(-lines)

δήμῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔδωκα τόσον γέρας ὅσσον ἀπαρκεῖ,
to-the-people indeed for I-gave so-much privilege as-much-as suffices
τιμῆς οὔτ' ἀφελὼν οὔτ' ἐπορεξάμενος·
of-honor neither taking-away nor reaching-out-for(-more)
οἳ δ' εἶχον δύναμιν καὶ χρήμασιν ἦσαν ἀγητοί,
those and had power and in-wealth were admired
καὶ τοῖς ἐφρασάμην μηδὲν ἀεικὲς ἔχειν.
also for-these I-took-care nothing unseemly to-have
ἔστην δ' ἀμφιβαλὼν κρατερὸν σάκος ἀμφοτέροισι,
I-stood and having-thrown-around strong shield over-both
νικᾶν δ' οὐκ εἴασ' οὐδετέρους ἀδίκως.
to-win and not I-allowed neither unjustly

2 πάλιν δ' ἀποφαινόμενος περὶ τοῦ πλήθους, ὡς αὐτῷ
again and declaring about the multitude how it
δεῖ χρῆσθαι·
one-must to-treat

δῆμος δ' ὧδ' ἂν ἄριστα σὺν ἡγεμόνεσσιν ἕποιτο,
people and thus — best with leaders would-follow
μήτε λίαν ἀνεθεὶς μήτε βιαζόμενος.
neither too released nor forced

τίκτει γὰρ κόρος ὕβριν, ὅταν πολὺς ὄλβος ἔπηται
breeds for satiety insolence whenever much prosperity follows
ἀνθρώποισιν ὅσοις μὴ νόος ἄρτιος ᾖ.
for-men for-as-many-as not mind sound is

καὶ πάλιν δ' ἑτέρωθί που λέγει περὶ τῶν διανείμασθαι 3
and again and elsewhere somewhere he-says about those to-divide
τὴν γῆν βουλομένων·
the land wishing

οἳ δ' ἐφ' ἁρπαγαῖσιν ἦλθον, ἐλπίδ' εἶχον ἀφνεάν,
those and for plunder came hope had rich
κἀδόκουν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ὄλβον εὑρήσειν πολύν,
and-thought each of-them wealth to-find much
καί με κωτίλλοντα λείως τραχὺν ἐκφανεῖν νόον.
and me coaxing smoothly harsh to-reveal mind
χαῦνα μὲν τότ' ἐφράσαντο, νῦν δέ μοι χολούμενοι
vain indeed then they-thought now and at-me being-angry
λοξὸν ὀφθαλμοῖσ' ὁρῶσι πάντες ὥστε δήιον.
askance with-eyes look all as-at enemy
οὐ χρεών. ἃ μὲν γὰρ εἶπα σὺν θεοῖσιν ἤνυσα,
not fitting what indeed for I-said with gods I-accomplished
ἄλλα δ' οὐ μάτην ἔερδον, οὐδέ μοι τυραννίδος
other-things and not in-vain I-did nor to-me of-tyranny
ἁνδάνει βίᾳ τι ῥέζειν, οὐδὲ πιείρας χθονὸς
pleases by-force anything to-do nor of-rich land
πατρίδος κακοῖσιν ἐσθλοὺς ἰσομοιρίαν ἔχειν.
of-the-fatherland to-the-base the-noble equal-share to-have

4 πάλιν δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀποκοπῆς τῶν χρεῶν καὶ τῶν
again and also about the cancellation of-the debts and of-those
δουλευόντων μὲν πρότερον ἐλευθερωθέντων δὲ διὰ τὴν
being-slaves indeed before freed but through the
σεισάχθειαν·
shaking-off-of-burdens

ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν μὲν οὕνεκα ξυνήγαγον
I and of-those indeed for-the-sake brought-together
δῆμον, τί τούτων πρὶν τυχεῖν ἐπαυσάμην;
the-people which of-these before to-attain did-I-stop
συμμαρτυροίη ταῦτ' ἂν ἐν δίκῃ χρόνου
would-bear-witness these — in judgment of-time
μήτηρ μεγίστη δαιμόνων Ὀλυμπίων
mother greatest of-gods Olympian
ἄριστα, Γῆ μέλαινα, τῆς ἐγώ ποτε
best Earth black of-which I once
ὅρους ἀνεῖλον πολλαχῇ πεπηγότας,
boundary-stones took-up in-many-places fixed
πρόσθεν δὲ δουλεύουσα, νῦν ἐλευθέρα.
before and enslaved now free
πολλοὺς δ' Ἀθήνας, πατρίδ' εἰς θεόκτιτον,
many and to-Athens fatherland to god-built
ἀνήγαγον πραθέντας, ἄλλον ἐκδίκως,
I-brought-back having-been-sold one unjustly
ἄλλον δικαίως, τοὺς δ' ἀναγκαίης ὑπὸ
another justly those and of-necessity under
χρειοῦς φυγόντας, γλῶσσαν οὐκέτ' Ἀττικὴν
debt having-fled tongue no-longer Attic
ἱέντας, ὡς ἂν πολλαχῇ πλανωμένους·
uttering as — in-many-places wandering

τοὺς δ' ἐνθάδ' αὐτοῦ δουλίην ἀεικέα
those and here on-the-spot slavery shameful
ἔχοντας, ἤθη δεσποτῶν τρομευμένους,
having characters of-masters trembling-at
ἐλευθέρους ἔθηκα. ταῦτα μὲν κράτει
free I-made these indeed by-power
νόμου, βίαν τε καὶ δίκην συναρμόσας
of-law force both and justice having-fitted-together
ἔρεξα, καὶ διῆλθον ὡς ὑπεσχόμην.
I-did and went-through as I-promised
θεσμούς θ' ὁμοίως τῷ κακῷ τε κἀγαθῷ,
ordinances and alike for-the base both and-good
εὐθεῖαν εἰς ἕκαστον ἁρμόσας δίκην,
straight to each fitting justice
ἔγραψα. κέντρον δ' ἄλλος ὡς ἐγὼ λαβών,
I-wrote goad and another as I having-taken
κακοφραδής τε καὶ φιλοκτήμων ἀνήρ,
ill-counseling both and property-loving man
οὐκ ἂν κατέσχε δῆμον· εἰ γὰρ ἤθελον
not — would-have-restrained people if for I-had-been-willing
ἃ τοῖς ἐναντίοισιν ἥνδανεν τότε,
what to-the opponents pleased then
αὖθις δ' ἃ τοῖσιν οὗτεροι φρασαίατο,
again and what for-these the-other-side might-devise
πολλῶν ἂν ἀνδρῶν ἥδ' ἐχηρώθη πόλις.
of-many — men this would-have-been-bereaved city
τῶν οὕνεκ' ἀλκὴν πάντοθεν ποιούμενος
for-these for-the-sake-of strength from-all-sides making
ὡς ἐν κυσὶν πολλαῖσιν ἐστράφην λύκος.
as among dogs many I-turned wolf

καὶ πάλιν ὀνειδίζων πρὸς τὰς ὕστερον αὐτῶν μεμψιμοιρίας
and again reproaching for the later of-them complaints
ἀμφοτέρων·
of-both

δήμῳ μὲν εἰ χρὴ διαφάδην ὀνειδίσαι,
the-people indeed if one-must openly to-reproach
ἃ νῦν ἔχουσιν οὔποτ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἂν
what now they-have never with-eyes —
εὕδοντες εἶδον.
sleeping would-they-have-seen
ὅσοι δὲ μείζους καὶ βίαν ἀμείνονες
as-many-as and greater and in-might better
αἰνοῖεν ἄν με καὶ φίλον ποιοίατο·
would-praise — me and friend would-make
εἰ γάρ τις ἄλλος, φησί, ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς ἔτυχεν,
if for anyone other he-says this the honor had-obtained
οὐκ ἂν κατέσχε δῆμον οὐδ' ἐπαύσατο,
not — would-have-restrained people nor would-have-stopped
πρὶν ἀναράξας πῖαρ ἐξεῖλεν γάλα.
before having-stirred-up cream he-took-off milk
ἐγὼ δὲ τούτων ὥσπερ ἐν μεταιχμίῳ
I and of-these just-as in no-man's-land
ὅρος κατέστην.
boundary-stone stood

Four years after Solon left, faction returned: twice no archon was appointed, and Damasias held office two years and two months until driven out, after which ten archons were chosen. Three factions arose, of the Shore under Megacles, of the Plain under Lycurgus, and of the Hill under Pisistratus, who seemed most democratic.

Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀποδημίαν ἐποιήσατο διὰ ταύτας τὰς 1
the indeed then journey-abroad he-made through these the
αἰτίας. Σόλωνος δ' ἀποδημήσαντος, ἔτι τῆς πόλεως
causes Solon and having-gone-abroad still the city
τεταραγμένης, ἐπὶ μὲν ἔτη τέτταρα διῆγον ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ·
being-disturbed for indeed years four they-lived in quiet
τῷ δὲ πέμπτῳ μετὰ τὴν Σόλωνος ἀρχὴν οὐ κατέστησαν
in-the and fifth after the of-Solon archonship not they-appointed
ἄρχοντα διὰ τὴν στάσιν, καὶ πάλιν ἔτει πέμπτῳ διὰ
archon through the faction and again in-year fifth through
τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ἀναρχίαν ἐποίησαν.
the same cause anarchy they-made
μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν χρόνων Δαμασίας 2
after and these through the same interval Damasias
αἱρεθεὶς ἄρχων ἔτη δύο καὶ δύο μῆνας ἦρξεν, ἕως
elected archon years two and two months held-office until
ἐξηλάθη βίᾳ τῆς ἀρχῆς. εἶτ' ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς
he-was-driven-out by-force from-the office then it-seemed-good to-them
διὰ τὸ στασιάζειν ἄρχοντας ἑλέσθαι δέκα, πέντε μὲν
through the to-be-in-faction archons to-elect ten five indeed
εὐπατριδῶν, τρεῖς δὲ ἀγροίκων, δύο δὲ δημιουργῶν, καὶ
of-Eupatrids three and of-farmers two and of-craftsmen and
οὗτοι τὸν μετὰ Δαμασίαν ἦρξαν ἐνιαυτόν. ᾧ καὶ
these the after Damasias held-office year by-which also

δῆλον ὅτι μεγίστην εἶχεν δύναμιν ὁ ἄρχων· φαίνονται
clear that greatest had power the archon they-appear
γὰρ αἰεὶ στασιάζοντες περὶ ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς.
for always being-in-faction about this the office
3 ὅλως δὲ διετέλουν νοσοῦντες τὰ πρὸς ἑαυτούς, οἱ
generally and they-continued being-sick the(-relations) toward themselves the(-ones)
μὲν ἀρχὴν καὶ πρόφασιν ἔχοντες τὴν τῶν χρεῶν ἀποκοπήν
indeed beginning and pretext having the of-the debts cancellation
(συνεβεβήκει γὰρ αὐτοῖς γεγονέναι πένησιν), οἱ δὲ
it-had-happened for to-them to-have-become poor the(-others) and
τῇ πολιτείᾳ δυσχεραίνοντες διὰ τὸ μεγάλην γεγονέναι
with-the constitution being-annoyed through the great to-have-been
μεταβολήν, ἔνιοι δὲ διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλονικίαν.
change some and through the toward one-another rivalry
4 ἦσαν δ' αἱ στάσεις τρεῖς· μία μὲν τῶν παραλίων,
were and the factions three one indeed of-the coast-men
ὧν προειστήκει Μεγακλῆς ὁ Ἀλκμέωνος, οἵπερ ἐδόκουν
whom led Megacles the of-Alcmeon who seemed
μάλιστα διώκειν τὴν μέσην πολιτείαν· ἄλλη δὲ τῶν
most to-pursue the middle constitution another and of-the
πεδιακῶν, οἳ τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν ἐζήτουν, ἡγεῖτο δ' αὐτῶν
plain-men who the oligarchy sought led and them
Λυκοῦργος· τρίτη δ' ἡ τῶν διακρίων, ἐφ' ᾗ τεταγμένος
Lycurgus third and the of-the hill-men over which appointed
ἦν Πεισίστρατος, δημοτικώτατος εἶναι δοκῶν.
was Pisistratus most-democratic to-be seeming
5 προσεκεκόσμηντο δὲ τούτοις οἵ τε ἀφῃρημένοι τὰ χρέα
had-been-ranged-with and these those both deprived-of the debts
διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν καὶ οἱ τῷ γένει μὴ καθαροὶ διὰ τὸν
through the poverty and those in-the birth not pure through the
φόβον· σημεῖον δ', ὅτι μετὰ τὴν τῶν τυράννων κατάλυσιν
fear sign and that after the of-the tyrants overthrow

ἐποίησαν διαψηφισμόν, ὡς πολλῶν κοινωνούντων τῆς
they-made revision-of-the-roll as many sharing in-the
πολιτείας οὐ προσῆκον. εἶχον δὲ ἕκαστοι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας
constitution not belonging had and each the names
ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων ἐν οἷς ἐγεώργουν.
from the places in which they-farmed

XIV · PISISTRATUS SEIZES POWER

Pisistratus wounded himself, won a bodyguard of club-bearers from the people, and seized the Acropolis, though Solon spoke against it. He ruled moderately until Megacles and Lycurgus drove him out. Megacles later brought him back to marry his daughter, with a tall woman dressed as Athena riding beside him.

Δημοτικώτατος δ' εἶναι δοκῶν ὁ Πεισίστρατος καὶ 1
most-democratic and to-be seeming — Pisistratus and
σφόδρ' εὐδοκιμηκὼς ἐν τῷ πρὸς Μεγαρέας πολέμῳ,
very having-won-repute in the against Megarians war
κατατραυματίσας ἑαυτὸν συνέπεισε τὸν δῆμον, ὡς ὑπὸ
having-wounded himself persuaded the people as by
τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν ταῦτα πεπονθώς, φυλακὴν ἑαυτῷ
the opposing-faction these-things having-suffered guard to-himself
δοῦναι τοῦ σώματος, Ἀριστίωνος γράψαντος τὴν γνώμην.
to-give for-the body Aristion having-written the motion
λαβὼν δὲ τοὺς κορυνηφόρους καλουμένους, ἐπαναστὰς
having-taken and the club-bearers so-called having-risen
μετὰ τούτων τῷ δήμῳ κατέσχε τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἔτει
with these against-the people seized the acropolis in-year
δευτέρῳ καὶ τριακοστῷ μετὰ τὴν τῶν νόμων θέσιν ἐπὶ
second and thirtieth after the of-the laws enactment under
Κωμέου ἄρχοντος.
Comeas archon

2 λέγεται δὲ Σόλωνα, Πεισιστράτου τὴν φυλακὴν αἰτοῦντος,
it-is-said and Solon Pisistratus the guard asking
ἀντιλέξαι καὶ εἰπεῖν ὅτι τῶν μὲν εἴη
to-have-spoken-against and to-have-said that than-the(-ones) indeed he-was
σοφώτερος, τῶν δ' ἀνδρειότερος· ὅσοι μὲν
wiser than-the(-others) and braver as-many-as indeed
γὰρ ἀγνοοῦσι Πεισίστρατον ἐπιτιθέμενον τυραννίδι,
for do-not-know Pisistratus attempting tyranny
σοφώτερος εἶναι τούτων, ὅσοι δ' εἰδότες κατασιωπῶσιν,
wiser to-be than-these as-many-as and knowing keep-silent
ἀνδρειότερος. ἐπεὶ δὲ λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἐξαράμενος τὰ
braver since and speaking not he-persuaded having-taken-up the
ὅπλα πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν αὐτὸς μὲν ἔφη βεβοηθηκέναι τῇ
arms before the doors himself indeed he-said to-have-helped the
πατρίδι καθ' ὅσον ἦν δυνατός (ἤδη γὰρ σφόδρα πρεσβύτης
fatherland as much-as he-was able already for very old
ἦν), ἀξιοῦν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ταὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιεῖν.
he-was to-ask and also the others the-same this to-do
3 Σόλων μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ἤνυσεν τότε παρακαλῶν·
Solon indeed then nothing accomplished then exhorting
Πεισίστρατος δὲ λαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν διῴκει τὰ κοινὰ
Pisistratus and having-taken the rule administered the public(-affairs)
πολιτικῶς μᾶλλον ἢ τυραννικῶς. οὔπω δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς
constitutionally more than tyrannically not-yet and the rule
ἐρριζωμένης ὁμοφρονήσαντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Μεγακλέα καὶ
having-taken-root having-agreed those around — Megacles and
τὸν Λυκοῦργον ἐξέβαλον αὐτὸν ἔκτῳ ἔτει μετὰ τὴν
— Lycurgus expelled him in-the-sixth year after the
πρώτην κατάστασιν ἐφ' Ἡγησίου ἄρχοντος.
first establishment under Hegesias archon

ἔτει δὲ δωδεκάτῳ μετὰ ταῦτα περιελαυνόμενος ὁ 4
in-year and twelfth after these being-hard-pressed —
Μεγακλῆς τῇ στάσει, πάλιν ἐπικηρυκευσάμενος πρὸς
Megacles by-the faction again having-negotiated with
τὸν Πεισίστρατον ἐφ' ᾧ τε τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ
— Pisistratus on condition — the daughter of-him
λήψεται, κατήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἀρχαίως καὶ λίαν ἁπλῶς.
he-will-take brought-back him old-fashionedly and very simply
προδιασπείρας γὰρ λόγον ὡς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καταγούσης
having-spread-beforehand for story that — Athena bringing-back
Πεισίστρατον, καὶ γυναῖκα μεγάλην καὶ καλὴν ἐξευρών,
Pisistratus and woman tall and beautiful having-found
ὡς μὲν Ἡρόδοτός φησιν, ἐκ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Παιανιέων,
as indeed Herodotus says from the deme of-the Paeanians
ὡς δ' ἔνιοι λέγουσιν ἐκ τοῦ Κολλυτοῦ στεφανόπωλιν
as and some say from — Collytus garland-seller
Θρᾷτταν, ᾗ ὄνομα Φύη, τὴν θεὸν ἀπομιμησάμενος τῷ
Thracian whose name Phye the goddess imitating in-the
κόσμῳ συνεισήγαγεν μετ' αὐτοῦ· καὶ ὁ μὲν Πεισίστρατος
dress he-brought-in with him and — indeed Pisistratus
ἐφ' ἅρματος εἰσήλαυνε παραιβατούσης τῆς γυναικός, οἱ
on chariot drove-in riding-beside the woman those
δ' ἐν τῷ ἄστει προσκυνοῦντες ἐδέχοντο θαυμάζοντες.
and in the town worshiping received(-them) marveling

Pisistratus fled again, unwilling to live as husband with Megacles' daughter. With money from near Mount Pangaeus, hired soldiers, and help from the Thebans, Lygdamis of Naxos, and the knights of Eretria, he won at Pallene, made Lygdamis ruler of Naxos, and disarmed the people by a trick at the Theseum while he addressed them.

1 Ἡ μὲν οὖν πρώτη κάθοδος ἐγένετο τοιαύτη. μετὰ δὲ
the indeed then first return was such after and
ταῦτα ὡς ἐξέπεσε τὸ δεύτερον ἔτει μάλιστα ἑβδόμῳ
these when he-was-expelled the second-time in-year about seventh
μετὰ τὴν κάθοδον (οὐ γὰρ πολὺν χρόνον κατέσχεν, ἀλλὰ
after the return not for long time he-held(-it) but
διὰ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι τῇ τοῦ Μεγακλέους θυγατρὶ
through the not to-wish with-the — of-Megacles daughter
συγγίγνεσθαι φοβηθεὶς ἀμφοτέρας τὰς στάσεις ὑπεξῆλθεν),
to-have-intercourse having-feared both the factions he-withdrew
2 καὶ πρῶτον μὲν συνῴκισε περὶ τὸν Θερμαῖον κόλπον
and first indeed he-colonized about the Thermaic gulf
χωρίον ὃ καλεῖται Ῥαίκηλος, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ παρῆλθεν εἰς
place which is-called Rhaecelus thence and he-went to
τοὺς περὶ Πάγγαιον τόπους, ὅθεν χρηματισάμενος καὶ
the about Pangaeus places whence having-made-money and
στρατιώτας μισθωσάμενος ἐλθὼν εἰς Ἐρέτριαν ἐνδεκάτῳ
soldiers having-hired having-gone to Eretria in-the-eleventh
πάλιν ἔτει τότε πρῶτον ἀνασώσασθαι βίᾳ τὴν ἀρχὴν
again year then first to-recover by-force the rule
ἐπεχείρει, συμπροθυμουμένων αὐτῷ πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων,
he-attempted being-zealous-with him many indeed and others

μάλιστα δὲ Θηβαίων καὶ Λυγδάμιος τοῦ Ναξίου, ἔτι
most and Thebans and Lygdamis the Naxian further
δὲ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν ἐχόντων ἐν Ἐρετρίᾳ τὴν πολιτείαν.
and the knights the holding in Eretria the government
νικήσας δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ Παλληνίδι μάχην καὶ λαβὼν τὴν 3
having-won and the at Pallene battle and having-taken the
πόλιν καὶ παρελόμενος τοῦ δήμου τὰ ὅπλα κατεῖχεν
city and having-taken-away of-the people the arms he-held
ἤδη τὴν τυραννίδα βεβαίως· καὶ Νάξον ἑλὼν ἄρχοντα
already the tyranny securely and Naxos having-taken ruler
κατέστησε Λύγδαμιν.
established Lygdamis
παρείλετο δὲ τοῦ δήμου τὰ ὅπλα τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. 4
took-away and of-the people the arms this the manner
ἐξοπλασίαν ἐν τῷ Θησείῳ ποιησάμενος ἐκκλησιάζειν
a-review-under-arms in the Theseum having-held to-address-the-assembly
ἐπεχείρει, καὶ χρόνον προσηγόρευεν μικρόν· οὐ φασκόντων
he-attempted and a-time he-spoke little not saying
δὲ κατακούειν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς προσαναβῆναι πρὸς τὸ
and to-hear he-ordered them to-go-up to the
πρόπυλον τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, ἵνα γεγωνῇ μᾶλλον. ἐν
gateway of-the acropolis so-that he-might-be-heard more in
ᾧ δ' ἐκεῖνος διέτριβε δημηγορῶν, ἀνελόντες οἱ ἐπὶ
which and that-one spent-time haranguing having-taken-up those for
τούτῳ τεταγμένοι τὰ ὅπλα καὶ κατακλείσαντες εἰς τὰ
this appointed the arms and having-locked(-them) into the
πλησίον οἰκήματα τοῦ Θησείου διεσήμηναν ἐλθόντες πρὸς
nearby buildings of-the Theseum they-signaled having-come to
τὸν Πεισίστρατον. ὁ δὲ ἐπεὶ τὸν ἄλλον λόγον ἐπετέλεσεν,
— Pisistratus he and when the rest speech he-finished
εἶπε καὶ περὶ τῶν ὅπλων τὸ γεγονὸς ὡς οὐ χρὴ
said also about the arms the having-happened that not one-must

θαυμάζειν οὐδ' ἀθυμεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀπελθόντας ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων
to-marvel nor to-lose-heart but going-away on the private(-affairs)
εἶναι, τῶν δὲ κοινῶν αὐτὸς ἐπιμελήσεσθαι πάντων.
to-be the and public himself to-take-care-of all

XVI · PISISTRATUS' RULE

Pisistratus governed moderately, more like a citizen than a tyrant, lending money to the poor so that they could farm, taxing a tenth of produce, appointing deme judges, and once himself appearing to answer a charge of murder before the Areopagus. His rule was called the age of Cronus.

1 Ἡ μὲν οὖν Πεισιστράτου τυραννὶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε κατέστη
the indeed then of-Pisistratus tyranny from beginning both was-established
τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον καὶ μεταβολὰς ἔσχεν τοσαύτας.
this the way and changes had so-many
2 διῴκει δ' ὁ Πεισίστρατος, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, τὰ περὶ
administered and — Pisistratus just-as has-been-said the(-affairs) about
τὴν πόλιν μετρίως καὶ μᾶλλον πολιτικῶς ἢ τυραννικῶς·
the city moderately and more constitutionally than tyrannically
ἔν τε γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις φιλάνθρωπος ἦν καὶ πρᾷος
in both for the other(-things) humane he-was and mild
καὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσι συγγνωμονικός, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖς
and to-the wrongdoers forgiving and indeed also to-the
ἀπόροις προεδάνειζε χρήματα πρὸς τὰς ἐργασίας, ὥστε
poor he-lent-in-advance money for the works so-as
διατρέφεσθαι γεωργοῦντας.
to-support-themselves farming
3 τοῦτο δ' ἐποίει δυοῖν χάριν, ἵνα μήτε ἐν τῷ ἄστει
this and he-did of-two for-the-sake so-that neither in the town
διατρίβωσιν ἀλλὰ διεσπαρμένοι κατὰ τὴν χώραν, καὶ ὅπως
they-might-spend-time but scattered over the country and so-that

εὐποροῦντες τῶν μετρίων καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἰδίοις ὄντες
being-well-off of-the moderate(-means) and at the private(-affairs) being
μήτ᾽ ἐπιθυμῶσι μήτε σχολάζωσιν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν κοινῶν.
neither they-might-desire nor have-leisure to-care-for the public(-affairs)
ἅμα δὲ συνέβαινεν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς προσόδους γίγνεσθαι 4
at-once and it-happened to-him also the revenues to-become
μείζους ἐξεργαζομένης τῆς χώρας· ἐπράττετο γὰρ ἀπὸ
greater being-worked the land he-exacted for from
τῶν γιγνομένων δεκάτην.
the produce a-tenth
διὸ καὶ τοὺς κατὰ δήμους κατεσκεύασε δικαστάς, καὶ 5
therefore also the by demes he-instituted judges and
αὐτὸς ἐξήει πολλάκις εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐπισκοπῶν καὶ
himself went-out often into the country inspecting and
διαλύων τοὺς διαφερομένους, ὅπως μὴ καταβαίνοντες εἰς
reconciling those quarreling so-that not coming-down into
τὸ ἄστυ παραμελῶσι τῶν ἔργων.
the town they-might-neglect the works
τοιαύτης γάρ τινος ἐξόδου τῷ Πεισιστράτῳ γιγνομένης 6
such for some excursion — for-Pisistratus taking-place
συμβῆναί φασι τὰ περὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ Ὑμηττῷ
to-have-happened they-say the(-story) about the(-man) on — Hymettus
γεωργοῦντα τὸ κληθὲν ὕστερον χωρίον ἀτελές. ἰδὼν γάρ
farming the called later place tax-free having-seen for
τινα παντελῶς πέτρας σκάπτοντα καὶ ἐργαζόμενον, διὰ
someone utterly rocks digging and working through
τὸ θαυμάσαι τὸν παῖδα ἐκέλευσεν ἐρέσθαι τί γίγνεται
the to-have-marveled the slave he-ordered to-ask what comes
ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου· ὁ δ᾽ “ὅσα κακὰ καὶ ὀδύναι” ἔφη, “καὶ
from the place he and as-many-as evils and pains he-said and
τούτων τῶν κακῶν καὶ τῶν ὀδυνῶν Πεισίστρατον δεῖ
of-these the evils and the pains Pisistratus must

λαβεῖν τὴν δεκάτην.” ὁ μὲν οὖν ἄνθρωπος ἀπεκρίνατο
to-take the tenth the indeed then man answered
ἀγνοῶν, ὁ δὲ Πεισίστρατος ἡσθεὶς διὰ τὴν παρρησίαν
not-knowing(-him) — and Pisistratus pleased through the frankness
καὶ τὴν φιλεργίαν ἀτελῆ πάντων ἐποίησεν αὐτόν.
and the industry free-of-tax of-all made him
7 οὐδὲν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος οὐδ’ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις παρηνώχλει
in-nothing and the multitude nor in the other(-things) caused-trouble
κατὰ τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλ’ αἰεὶ παρεσκεύαζεν εἰρήνην καὶ
during the rule but always he-provided peace and
ἐτήρει τὴν ἡσυχίαν· διὸ καὶ πολλὰ κλέα ἐθρύλλουν
kept the quiet therefore also many glories they-repeated
ὡς ἡ Πεισιστράτου τυραννὶς ὁ ἐπὶ Κρόνου βίος
that the of-Pisistratus tyranny the in-the-time-of Cronus life
εἴη· συνέβη γὰρ ὕστερον διαδεξαμένων τῶν υἱέων πολλῷ
was it-happened for later having-succeeded the sons much
γενέσθαι τραχυτέραν τὴν ἀρχήν.
to-become harsher the rule
8 μέγιστον δὲ πάντων ἦν τῶν εἰρημένων τὸ δημοτικὸν
greatest and of-all was of-the things-said the democratic
εἶναι τῷ ἤθει καὶ φιλάνθρωπον. ἔν τε γὰρ τοῖς
to-be in-the character and humane in both for the
ἄλλοις ἐβούλετο πάντα διοικεῖν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους,
other(-things) he-wished all to-administer according-to the laws
οὐδεμίαν ἑαυτῷ πλεονεξίαν διδούς, καί ποτε προσκληθεὶς
no to-himself advantage giving and once summoned
φόνου δίκην εἰς Ἄρειον πάγον αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπήντησεν ὡς
for-murder trial to Ares’ hill himself indeed appeared as
ἀπολογησόμενος, ὁ δὲ προσκαλεσάμενος φοβηθεὶς ἔλιπεν.
going-to-defend-himself the and summoner having-feared abandoned(-it)

διὸ καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἔμεινεν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ ὅτ' 9
therefore also long time he-remained in the rule and whenever
ἐκπέσοι πάλιν ἀνελάμβανε ῥᾳδίως. ἐβούλοντο γὰρ καὶ τῶν
he-was-expelled again he-recovered(-it) easily wished for both of-the
γνωρίμων καὶ τῶν δημοτικῶν οἱ πολλοί· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ
notables and of-the democrats the many the(-ones) indeed for
ταῖς ὁμιλίαις τοὺς δὲ ταῖς εἰς τὰ ἴδια βοηθείαις
by-the associations the(-others) and by-the for the private(-affairs) helps
προσήγετο, καὶ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἐπεφύκει καλῶς.
he-won-over and toward both he-was-naturally-disposed well
ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις οἱ περὶ τῶν τυράννων νόμοι 10
were and also for-the Athenians the about the tyrants laws
πρᾷοι κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς καιροὺς οἵ τ' ἄλλοι καὶ δὴ καὶ
mild in those the times the both others and indeed also
ὁ μάλιστα καθήκων πρὸς τὴν τῆς τυραννίδος κατάστασιν.
the most pertaining to the of-the tyranny establishment
νόμος γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἦν ὅδε· "θέσμια τάδε Ἀθηναίων ἐστὶ καὶ
law for to-them was this ordinances these of-Athenians are and
πάτρια· ἐάν τινες τυραννεῖν ἐπανιστῶνται ἢ συγκαθιστῇ
ancestral if any to-be-tyrant rise-up or helps-establish
τὴν τυραννίδα, ἄτιμον εἶναι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ γένος."
the tyranny disfranchised to-be both himself and family

XVII · THE SONS OF PISISTRATUS

Pisistratus died of illness in the archonship of Philoneos, thirty-three years after he first became tyrant, nineteen of them in power and the rest in exile, which shows that he cannot have been Solon's beloved. His sons held the rule after him: Hippias and Hipparchus by his wedded wife, Iophon and Hegesistratus, called Thessalus, by his Argive wife Timonassa.

1 Πεισίστρατος μὲν οὖν ἐγκατεγήρασε τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ
Pisistratus indeed then grew-old in-the rule and
ἀπέθανε νοσήσας ἐπὶ Φιλόνεω ἄρχοντος, ἀφ' οὗ μὲν
died having-fallen-sick under Philoneos archon from when indeed
κατέστη τὸ πρῶτον τύραννος ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ τρία
he-was-established the first tyrant years thirty and three
βιώσας, ἃ δ' ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ διέμεινεν ἑνὸς δέοντα εἴκοσι·
having-lived which and in the rule he-remained one lacking twenty
2 ἔφευγε γὰρ τὰ λοιπά. διὸ καὶ φανερῶς ληροῦσιν
he-was-in-exile for the rest therefore also clearly talk-nonsense
οἱ φάσκοντες ἐρώμενον εἶναι Πεισίστρατον Σόλωνος καὶ
the(-ones) saying beloved to-be Pisistratus of-Solon and
στρατηγεῖν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Μεγαρέας πολέμῳ περὶ Σαλαμῖνος·
to-be-general in the against Megarians war about Salamis
οὐ γὰρ ἐνδέχεται ταῖς ἡλικίαις, ἐάν τις ἀναλογίζηται
not for it-is-possible by-the ages if anyone calculates
τὸν ἑκατέρου βίον καὶ ἐφ' οὗ ἀπέθανεν ἄρχοντος.
the of-each life and in which he-died archonship
3 τελευτήσαντος δὲ Πεισιστράτου κατεῖχον οἱ υἱεῖς τὴν
having-died and Pisistratus held the sons the
ἀρχήν, προάγοντες τὰ πράγματα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον. ἦσαν
rule conducting the affairs in-the same way were
δὲ δύο μὲν ἐκ τῆς γαμετῆς, Ἱππίας καὶ Ἵππαρχος, δύο
and two indeed from the wedded(-wife) Hippias and Hipparchus two
δ' ἐκ τῆς Ἀργείας, Ἰοφῶν καὶ Ἡγησίστρατος, ᾧ
and from the Argive(-woman) Iophon and Hegesistratus to-whom
παρωνύμιον ἦν Θέτταλος.
surname was Thessalus
4 ἔγημεν γὰρ Πεισίστρατος ἐξ Ἄργους ἀνδρὸς Ἀργείου
married for Pisistratus from Argos of-a-man Argive
θυγατέρα, ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Γοργίλος, Τιμώνασσαν, ἣν
daughter to-whom name was Gorgilus Timonassa whom

πρότερον ἔσχεν γυναῖκα Ἀρχῖνος ὁ Ἀμπρακιώτης τῶν
before had wife Archinus the Ambraciot of-the
Κυψελιδῶν· ὅθεν καὶ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους ἐνέστη φιλία,
Cypselids whence also the with the Argives arose friendship
καὶ συνεμαχέσαντο χίλιοι τὴν ἐπὶ Παλληνίδι μάχην
and fought-together a-thousand the at Pallene battle
Ἡγησιστράτου κομίσαντος. γῆμαι δέ φασι τὴν
Hegesistratus having-brought(-them) to-have-married and they-say the
Ἀργείαν οἱ μὲν ἐκπεσόντα τὸ πρῶτον, οἱ
Argive(-woman) the(-ones) indeed having-been-expelled the first-time the(-others)
δὲ κατέχοντα τὴν ἀρχήν.
and holding the rule

XVIII · HARMODIUS AND ARISTOGEITON

Thessalus' insolent love for Harmodius, rebuffed, led to the insult of his sister, and Harmodius and Aristogeiton plotted. At the Panathenaea, thinking themselves betrayed, they killed Hipparchus. Harmodius died at once; Aristogeiton, tortured, named the tyrants' friends and goaded Hippias into killing him.

Ἦσαν δὲ κύριοι μὲν τῶν πραγμάτων διὰ τὰ ἀξιώματα καὶ 1
were and sovereign indeed of-the affairs through the ranks and
διὰ τὰς ἡλικίας Ἵππαρχος καὶ Ἱππίας, πρεσβύτερος δὲ ὢν
through the ages Hipparchus and Hippias older and being
ὁ Ἱππίας καὶ τῇ φύσει πολιτικὸς καὶ ἔμφρων ἐπεστάτει
— Hippias and by-the nature statesmanlike and sensible presided-over
τῆς ἀρχῆς. ὁ δὲ Ἵππαρχος παιδιώδης καὶ ἐρωτικὸς καὶ
the rule — and Hipparchus playful and amorous and
φιλόμουσος ἦν (καὶ τοὺς περὶ Ἀνακρέοντα καὶ Σιμωνίδην
music-loving was and those around Anacreon and Simonides
καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ποιητὰς οὗτος ἦν ὁ μεταπεμπόμενος),
and the other poets this-one was the(-one) sending-for(-them)

2 Θέτταλος δὲ νεώτερος πολὺ καὶ τῷ βίῳ θρασὺς καὶ
Thessalus and younger much and in-the life bold and
ὑβριστής, ἀφ᾽ οὗ καὶ συνέβη τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι
insolent from whom also it-happened the beginning to-them to-arise
πάντων τῶν κακῶν. ἐρασθεὶς γὰρ τοῦ Ἁρμοδίου
of-all the evils having-fallen-in-love for — with-Harmodius
καὶ διαμαρτάνων τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίας οὐ κατεῖχε τὴν
and failing of-the toward him friendship not he-restrained the
ὀργήν, ἀλλ᾽ ἔν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐνεσημαίνετο πικρῶς καὶ
anger but in both the other(-things) he-showed-it bitterly and
τὸ τελευταῖον μέλλουσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀδελφὴν κανηφορεῖν
the last about of-him the sister to-carry-the-basket
Παναθηναίοις ἐκώλυσεν λοιδορήσας τι τὸν Ἁρμόδιον ὡς
at-the-Panathenaea he-prevented having-reviled something — Harmodius as
μαλακὸν ὄντα, ὅθεν συνέβη παροξυνθέντα τὸν Ἁρμόδιον καὶ
effeminate being whence it-happened provoked — Harmodius and
τὸν Ἀριστογείτονα πράττειν τὴν πρᾶξιν μετεχόντων πολλῶν·
— Aristogeiton to-do the deed sharing many
3 ἤδη δὲ παρατηροῦντες ἐν ἀκροπόλει τοῖς Παναθηναίοις
already and watching-for on acropolis at-the Panathenaea
Ἱππίαν (ἐτύγχανεν γὰρ οὗτος μὲν δεχόμενος, ὁ δ᾽
Hippias happened for this-one indeed receiving — and
Ἵππαρχος ἀποστέλλων τὴν πομπήν), ἰδόντες τινὰ τῶν
Hipparchus dispatching the procession having-seen one of-those
κοινωνούντων τῆς πράξεως φιλανθρώπως ἐντυγχάνοντα τῷ
sharing of-the deed in-friendly-way conversing —
Ἱππίᾳ καὶ νομίσαντες μηνύειν, βουλόμενοί τι δρᾶσαι
with-Hippias and having-thought to-be-informing wishing something to-do
πρὸ τῆς συλλήψεως, καταβάντες καὶ προεξαναστάντες τῶν
before the arrest having-gone-down and having-risen-first before-the

ἄλλων τὸν μὲν Ἵππαρχον διακοσμοῦντα τὴν πομπὴν παρὰ
others — indeed Hipparchus arranging the procession beside
τὸ Λεωκόρειον ἀπέκτειναν, τὴν δ' ὅλην ἐλυμήναντο πρᾶξιν.
the Leocoreum they-killed the and whole they-spoiled deed
αὐτῶν δ' ὁ μὲν Ἁρμόδιος εὐθέως ἐτελεύτησεν ὑπὸ τῶν 4
of-them and — indeed Harmodius at-once died by the
δορυφόρων, ὁ δ' Ἀριστογείτων ὕστερον συλληφθεὶς καὶ
spearmen — and Aristogeiton later having-been-arrested and
πολὺν χρόνον αἰκισθείς. κατηγόρησεν δ' ἐν ταῖς ἀνάγκαις
long time having-been-tortured accused and in the tortures
πολλῶν οἳ καὶ τῇ φύσει τῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ φίλοι τοῖς
many who also by-the nature of-the distinguished and friends to-the
τυράννοις ἦσαν. οὐ γὰρ ἐδύναντο παραχρῆμα λαβεῖν οὐδὲν
tyrants were not for they-could on-the-spot to-find no
ἴχνος τῆς πράξεως, ἀλλ' ὁ λεγόμενος λόγος ὡς ὁ Ἱππίας
trace of-the deed but the told story that — Hippias
ἀποστήσας ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων τοὺς πομπεύοντας ἐφώρασε τοὺς
having-separated from the arms those in-the-procession detected those
τὰ ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντας οὐκ ἀληθής ἐστιν· οὐ γὰρ ἔπεμπον
the daggers having not true is not for they-marched
τότε μεθ' ὅπλων, ἀλλ' ὕστερον τοῦτο κατεσκεύασεν ὁ δῆμος.
then with arms but later this instituted the people
κατηγόρει δὲ τῶν τοῦ τυράννου φίλων, ὡς μὲν οἱ 5
he-accused and the of-the tyrant friends as indeed the
δημοτικοί φασιν, ἐπίτηδες, ἵνα ἀσεβήσαιεν ἅμα καὶ
democrats say on-purpose so-that they-might-commit-impiety at-once and
γένοιντο ἀσθενεῖς ἀνελόντες τοὺς ἀναιτίους καὶ φίλους
might-become weak having-killed the innocent and friends
ἑαυτῶν, ὡς δ' ἔνιοι λέγουσιν, οὐχὶ πλαττόμενος ἀλλὰ
of-themselves as and some say not fabricating but
τοὺς συνειδότας ἐμήνυεν.
those privy he-informed-against

6 καὶ τέλος ὡς οὐκ ἐδύνατο πάντα ποιῶν ἀποθανεῖν,
and finally as not he-could all doing to-die
ἐπαγγειλάμενος ὡς ἄλλους μηνύσων πολλοὺς καὶ
having-promised that others to-inform-against many and
πείσας αὐτῷ τὸν Ἱππίαν δοῦναι τὴν δεξιὰν πίστεως
having-persuaded to-himself — Hippias to-give the right-hand of-pledge
χάριν, ὡς ἔλαβεν, ὀνειδίσας ὅτι τῷ φονεῖ τἀδελφοῦ
for-the-sake when he-received(-it) having-reproached that to-the murderer of-the-brother
τὴν δεξιὰν δέδωκε οὕτω παρώξυνε τὸν Ἱππίαν ὥσθ᾽
the right-hand he-has-given so he-provoked — Hippias so-that
ὑπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς οὐ κατέσχεν ἑαυτὸν ἀλλὰ σπασάμενος
by the anger not he-restrained himself but having-drawn
τὴν μάχαιραν διέφθειρεν αὐτόν.
the dagger he-killed him

XIX · THE END OF THE TYRANNY

Hippias grew harsher. The exiled Alcmeonids, failing to return by force, contracted to build the temple at Delphi, and the Pythia kept urging the Spartans to free Athens. After a first force failed, King Cleomenes shut Hippias in the Pelargic wall; when his sons were captured, he surrendered the Acropolis, the tyranny having lasted forty-nine years.

1 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συνέβαινεν πολλῷ τραχυτέραν εἶναι τὴν
after and these it-happened much harsher to-be the
τυραννίδα· καὶ γὰρ διὰ τὸ τιμωρεῖν τἀδελφῷ καὶ διὰ
tyranny and for through the to-avenge for-the-brother also through
τὸ πολλοὺς ἀνῃρηκέναι καὶ ἐκβεβληκέναι πᾶσιν ἦν
the many to-have-killed and to-have-exiled to-all he-was
ἄπιστος καὶ πικρός.
distrustful and bitter

ἔτει δὲ τετάρτῳ μάλιστα μετὰ τὸν Ἱππάρχου θάνατον, 2
in-year and fourth about after the of-Hipparchus death
ἐπεὶ κακῶς εἶχεν τὰ ἐν τῷ ἄστει, τὴν Μουνιχίαν
since badly were the(-things) in the town — Munychia
ἐπεχείρησε τειχίζειν, ὡς ἐκεῖ μεθιδρυσόμενος· ἐν τούτοις
he-attempted to-fortify as there going-to-move in these
δ' ὢν ἐξέπεσεν ὑπὸ Κλεομένους τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων
and being he-was-expelled by Cleomenes the of-Lacedaemonians
βασιλέως, χρησμῶν γιγνομένων ἀεὶ τοῖς Λάκωσι
king oracles coming always to-the Laconians
καταλύειν τὴν τυραννίδα διὰ τοιάνδ' αἰτίαν.
to-overthrow the tyranny through such cause
οἱ φυγάδες, ὧν οἱ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι προειστήκεσαν, αὐτοὶ μὲν 3
the exiles whom the Alcmeonids led themselves indeed
δι' αὑτῶν οὐκ ἐδύναντο ποιήσασθαι τὴν κάθοδον, ἀλλ'
through themselves not could to-make the return but
αἰεὶ προσέπταιον· ἔν τε γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς ἔπραττον
always they-failed in both for the other(-things) which they-did
διεσφάλλοντο καὶ τειχίσαντες ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ Λειψύδριον τὸ
they-were-foiled and having-fortified in the country Leipsydrium the
ὑπὲρ Πάρνηθος, εἰς ὃ συνεξῆλθόν τινες τῶν ἐκ τοῦ
above Parnes into which went-out-with some of-those from the

ἄστεως, ἐξεπολιορκήθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων, ὅθεν ὕστερον
town they-were-besieged by the tyrants whence later
μετὰ ταύτην τὴν συμφορὰν ᾖδον ἐν τοῖς σκολιοῖς αἰεί·
after this the disaster they-sang in the drinking-songs always

αἰαῖ Λειψύδριον προδωσέταιρον,
alas Leipsydrium betrayer-of-comrades
οἵους ἄνδρας ἀπώλεσας μάχεσθαι
what men you-destroyed to-fight
ἀγαθούς τε καὶ εὐπατρίδας,
good both and well-born
οἳ τότ' ἔδειξαν οἵων πατέρων ἔσαν.
who then showed of-what-sort fathers they-were

4 ἀποτυγχάνοντες οὖν ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐμισθώσαντο τὸν
failing then in all the other(-things) they-contracted the
ἐν Δελφοῖς νεὼν οἰκοδομεῖν, ὅθεν εὐπόρησαν χρημάτων
in Delphi temple to-build whence they-were-well-supplied with-money
πρὸς τὴν τῶν Λακώνων βοήθειαν. ἡ δὲ Πυθία προέφερεν
for the of-the Laconians help the and Pythia proclaimed
αἰεὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις χρηστηριαζομένοις ἐλευθεροῦν τὰς
always to-the Lacedaemonians consulting-the-oracle to-free the
Ἀθήνας εἰς τοῦθ' ἕως προύτρεψε τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας, καίπερ
Athens to this(-point) until she-urged the Spartiates although
ὄντων ξένων αὐτοῖς τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν· συνεβάλλετο
being guest-friends to-them the Pisistratids contributed
δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττω μοῖραν τῆς ὁρμῆς τοῖς Λάκωσιν ἡ πρὸς
and not less share of-the impulse to-the Laconians the with
τοὺς Ἀργείους τοῖς Πεισιστρατίδαις ὑπάρχουσα φιλία.
the Argives to-the Pisistratids existing friendship

τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον Ἀγχίμολον ἀπέστειλαν κατὰ θάλατταν 5
the indeed then first Anchimolus they-sent by sea
ἔχοντα στρατιάν. ἡττηθέντος δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τελευτήσαντος
having army having-been-defeated and him and having-died
διὰ τὸ Κινέαν βοηθῆσαι τὸν Θετταλὸν ἔχοντα χιλίους
through the Cineas to-have-helped the Thessalian having thousand
ἱππεῖς, προσοργισθέντες τῷ γενομένῳ Κλεομένην ἐξέπεμψαν
cavalry angered-further at-the occurrence Cleomenes they-sent-out
τὸν βασιλέα στόλον ἔχοντα μείζω κατὰ γῆν, ὃς ἐπεὶ τοὺς
the king expedition having larger by land who when the
τῶν Θετταλῶν ἱππεῖς ἐνίκησεν κωλύοντας αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν
of-the Thessalians cavalry he-defeated preventing him into —
Ἀττικὴν παριέναι, κατακλείσας τὸν Ἱππίαν εἰς τὸ καλούμενον
Attica to-pass having-shut-in — Hippias into the called
Πελαργικὸν τεῖχος ἐπολιόρκει μετὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων.
Pelargic wall he-besieged(-him) with the Athenians
προσκαθημένου δ' αὐτοῦ συνέπεσεν ὑπεξιόντας ἁλῶναι 6
sitting-down-before and him it-happened slipping-out to-be-captured
τοὺς τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν υἱεῖς· ὧν ληφθέντων ὁμολογίαν
the of-the Pisistratids sons who having-been-taken agreement
ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν παίδων σωτηρίᾳ ποιησάμενοι καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν
for the of-the children safety having-made and the of-themselves
ἐν πέντ' ἡμέραις ἐκκομισάμενοι παρέδωκαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν
in five days having-carried-out they-surrendered the acropolis
τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ Ἁρπακτίδου ἄρχοντος, κατασχόντες
to-the Athenians under Harpactides archon having-held
τὴν τυραννίδα μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν ἔτη μάλιστα
the tyranny after the of-the father death years about
ἑπτακαίδεκα, τὰ δὲ σύμπαντα σὺν οἷς ὁ πατὴρ ἦρξεν
seventeen the and all-together with which the father ruled
ἑνὸς δεῖ πεντήκοντα.
one lacking fifty

After the tyrants' fall Isagoras and Cleisthenes struggled; Cleisthenes won over the people, and Isagoras called in Cleomenes, who expelled seven hundred families. When the council resisted, the people besieged Cleomenes and Isagoras on the Acropolis and recalled Cleisthenes, the people's champion.

1 Καταλυθείσης δὲ τῆς τυραννίδος ἐστασίαζον πρὸς ἀλλήλους
overthrown and the tyranny were-in-faction against one-another
Ἰσαγόρας ὁ Τεισάνδρου φίλος ὢν τῶν τυράννων καὶ
Isagoras the of-Tisander friend being of-the tyrants and
Κλεισθένης τοῦ γένους ὢν τῶν Ἀλκμεωνιδῶν. ἡττώμενος
Cleisthenes of-the family being of-the Alcmeonids being-defeated
δὲ ταῖς ἑταιρείαις ὁ Κλεισθένης προσηγάγετο τὸν δῆμον,
and in-the clubs — Cleisthenes won-over the people
ἀποδιδοὺς τῷ πλήθει τὴν πολιτείαν.
giving-back to-the multitude the constitution

2 ὁ δὲ Ἰσαγόρας ἐπιλειπόμενος τῇ δυνάμει πάλιν
— and Isagoras falling-behind in-the power again
ἐπικαλεσάμενος τὸν Κλεομένην, ὄντα ἑαυτῷ ξένον,
having-called-in — Cleomenes being to-himself guest-friend
συνέπεισεν ἐλαύνειν τὸ ἄγος, διὰ τὸ τοὺς Ἀλκμεωνίδας
persuaded(-him) to-drive-out the curse through the the Alcmeonids
δοκεῖν εἶναι τῶν ἐναγῶν.
to-seem to-be of-the accursed

3 ὑπεξελθόντος δὲ τοῦ Κλεισθένους ἀφικόμενος ὁ Κλεομένης
having-withdrawn and — Cleisthenes having-arrived — Cleomenes
μετ' ὀλίγων ἠγηλάτει τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἑπτακοσίας οἰκίας·
with few drove-out of-the Athenians seven-hundred households
ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος τὴν μὲν βουλὴν ἐπειρᾶτο
these and having-accomplished the indeed council he-tried

καταλύειν, Ἰσαγόραν δὲ καὶ τριακοσίους τῶν φίλων μετ'
to-dissolve Isagoras and and three-hundred of-the friends with
αὐτοῦ κυρίους καθιστάναι τῆς πόλεως. τῆς δὲ βουλῆς
him sovereign to-establish of-the city the and council
ἀντιστάσης καὶ συναθροισθέντος τοῦ πλήθους οἱ μὲν
resisting and being-gathered the multitude those indeed
περὶ τὸν Κλεομένην καὶ Ἰσαγόραν κατέφυγον εἰς τὴν
around — Cleomenes and Isagoras fled to the
ἀκρόπολιν, ὁ δὲ δῆμος δύο μὲν ἡμέρας προσκαθεζόμενος
acropolis the and people two indeed days sitting-down-before
ἐπολιόρκει, τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ Κλεομένην μὲν καὶ τοὺς μετ'
besieged(-them) on-the and third Cleomenes indeed and those with
αὐτοῦ πάντας ἀφεῖσαν ὑποσπόνδους, Κλεισθένη δὲ καὶ
him all they-let-go under-truce Cleisthenes and and
τοὺς ἄλλους φυγάδας μετεπέμψαντο. κατασχόντος δὲ τοῦ
the other exiles they-sent-for having-taken-control and the
δήμου τὰ πράγματα
people the affairs
Κλεισθένης ἡγεμὼν ἦν καὶ τοῦ δήμου προστάτης. 4
Cleisthenes leader was and of-the people champion
αἰτιώτατοι γὰρ σχεδὸν ἐγένοντο τῆς ἐκβολῆς τῶν
most-responsible for nearly became of-the expulsion of-the
τυράννων οἱ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι καὶ στασιάζοντες τὰ πολλὰ
tyrants the Alcmeonids and being-in-faction the most(-time)
διετέλεσαν.
they-continued

5 ἔτι δὲ πρότερον τῶν Ἀλκμεωνιδῶν Κήδων ἐπέθετο
further and before of-the Alcmeonids Cedon attacked
τοῖς τυράννοις, διὸ καὶ ᾖδον καὶ εἰς τοῦτον ἐν τοῖς
the tyrants therefore also they-sang also to this-one in the
σκολιοῖς·
drinking-songs

ἔγχει καὶ Κήδωνι, διάκονε, μηδ' ἐπιλήθου,
pour also to-Cedon servant nor forget
εἰ χρὴ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν οἰνοχοεῖν.
if one-must to-the good men to-pour-wine

XXI · THE TEN TRIBES

Cleisthenes divided the people into ten tribes instead of four, to mix them, and made a council of five hundred. He divided the land into thirty trittyes, ten each of town, shore, and inland, assigning three to each tribe by lot, and made each deme's residents fellow demesmen, called by deme, not father, so that new citizens would not be exposed.

1 Διὰ μὲν οὖν ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας ἐπίστευεν ὁ δῆμος
through indeed then these the causes trusted the people
τῷ Κλεισθένει. τότε δὲ τοῦ πλήθους προεστηκὼς ἔτει
— Cleisthenes then and of-the multitude having-become-leader in-year
τετάρτῳ μετὰ τὴν τῶν τυράννων κατάλυσιν
fourth after the of-the tyrants overthrow
2 ἐπὶ Ἰσαγόρου ἄρχοντος, πρῶτον μὲν οὖν συνένειμε πάντας
under Isagoras archon first indeed then he-distributed all
εἰς δέκα φυλὰς ἀντὶ τῶν τεττάρων, ἀναμεῖξαι βουλόμενος,
into ten tribes instead-of the four to-mix wishing

ὅπως μετάσχωσι πλείους τῆς πολιτείας· ὅθεν ἐλέχθη καὶ τὸ
so-that might-share more of-the constitution whence was-said also the
μὴ φυλοκρινεῖν πρὸς τοὺς ἐξετάζειν τὰ γένη βουλομένους.
not to-judge-by-tribes against those to-examine the families wishing
ἔπειτα τὴν βουλὴν πεντακοσίους ἀντὶ τετρακοσίων 3
then the council five-hundred instead-of four-hundred
κατέστησεν, πεντήκοντα ἐξ ἑκάστης φυλῆς· τότε δ'
he-established fifty from each tribe then and
ἦσαν ἑκατόν. διὰ τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ εἰς δώδεκα φυλὰς
they-were a-hundred through this and not into twelve tribes
συνέταξεν, ὅπως αὐτῷ μὴ συμβαίνῃ μερίζειν κατὰ
he-arranged(-them) so-that for-him not it-might-happen to-divide according-to
τὰς προϋπαρχούσας τριττῦς· ἦσαν γὰρ ἐκ δ φυλῶν
the pre-existing trittyes were for from 4 tribes
δώδεκα τριττύες, ὥστ' οὐ συνέπιπτεν ἂν ἀναμίσγεσθαι
twelve trittyes so-that not it-would-have-come-about — to-be-mixed
τὸ πλῆθος.
the multitude
διένειμε δὲ καὶ τὴν χώραν κατὰ δήμους τριάκοντα μέρη, 4
he-divided and also the land by demes thirty parts
δέκα μὲν τῶν περὶ τὸ ἄστυ, δέκα δὲ τῆς παραλίας,
ten indeed of-the(-parts) about the town ten and of-the coast
δέκα δὲ τῆς μεσογείου, καὶ ταύτας ἐπονομάσας τριττῦς
ten and of-the inland and these having-named trittyes
ἐκλήρωσεν τρεῖς εἰς τὴν φυλὴν ἑκάστην, ὅπως ἑκάστη
he-allotted three to the tribe each so-that each
μετέχῃ πάντων τῶν τόπων. καὶ δημότας ἐποίησεν
may-share in-all the places and fellow-demesmen he-made
ἀλλήλων τοὺς οἰκοῦντας ἐν ἑκάστῳ τῶν δήμων, ἵνα μὴ
of-one-another those dwelling in each of-the demes so-that not
πατρόθεν προσαγορεύοντες ἐξελέγχωσιν τοὺς νεοπολίτας,
by-father addressing they-may-expose the new-citizens

ἀλλὰ τῶν δήμων ἀναγορεύωσιν· ὅθεν καὶ καλοῦσιν
but by-the demes they-may-proclaim whence also call
Ἀθηναῖοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τῶν δήμων.
Athenians them themselves by-the demes
5 κατέστησε δὲ καὶ δημάρχους τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντας ἐπιμέλειαν
he-established and also demarchs the same having care
τοῖς πρότερον ναυκράροις· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς δήμους ἀντὶ
as-the earlier naucrari and for the demes instead-of
τῶν ναυκραριῶν ἐποίησεν. προσηγόρευσε δὲ τῶν δήμων
the naucraries he-made he-named and of-the demes
τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων, τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν
the(-ones) indeed from the places the(-others) and from those
κτισάντων· οὐ γὰρ ἅπαντες ὑπῆρχον ἔτι τοῖς τόποις.
having-founded(-them) not for all existed still to-the places
6 τὰ δὲ γένη καὶ τὰς φρατρίας καὶ τὰς ἱερωσύνας
the and families and the phratries and the priesthoods
εἴασεν ἔχειν ἑκάστους κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. ταῖς δὲ
he-allowed to-have each according-to the ancestral(-ways) to-the and
φυλαῖς ἐποίησεν ἐπωνύμους ἐκ τῶν προκριθέντων ἑκατὸν
tribes he-made eponyms from the preselected hundred
ἀρχηγετῶν, οὓς ἀνεῖλεν ἡ Πυθία, δέκα.
founders whom chose the Pythia ten

XXII · OSTRACISM AND ITS VICTIMS

Cleisthenes' constitution was more democratic than Solon's, and among his new laws was ostracism. Generals were elected by tribes; Marathon was won in the twelfth year, and two years later the people first used ostracism, against Hipparchus son of Charmus, then against Megacles and Xanthippus. Archons were chosen by bean from candidates the demesmen preselected, Themistocles had a hundred triremes built from the Maronea silver, and Aristides was ostracized; Xerxes' invasion brought all the ostracized home.

Τούτων δὲ γενομένων δημοτικωτέρα πολὺ τῆς Σόλωνος 1
these and having-happened more-democratic much than-the of-Solon
ἐγένετο ἡ πολιτεία· καὶ γὰρ συνέβη τοὺς μὲν Σόλωνος
became the constitution and for it-happened the indeed of-Solon
νόμους ἀφανίσαι τὴν τυραννίδα διὰ τὸ μὴ χρῆσθαι, καινοὺς
laws to-abolish the tyranny through the not to-use(-them) new
δ' ἄλλους θεῖναι τὸν Κλεισθένη στοχαζόμενον τοῦ πλήθους,
and others to-enact — Cleisthenes aiming-at the multitude
ἐν οἷς ἐτέθη καὶ ὁ περὶ τοῦ ὀστρακισμοῦ νόμος.
among which was-enacted also the about the ostracism law
πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἔτει πέμπτῳ μετὰ ταύτην τὴν κατάστασιν 2
first indeed then in-year fifth after this the establishment
ἐφ' Ἑρμοκρέοντος ἄρχοντος τῇ βουλῇ τοῖς πεντακοσίοις
under Hermocreon archon for-the council the five-hundred
τὸν ὅρκον ἐποίησαν ὃν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὀμνύουσιν. ἔπειτα
the oath they-made which still also now they-swear then
τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ᾑροῦντο κατὰ φυλάς, ἐξ ἑκάστης φυλῆς
the generals they-elected by tribes from each tribe
ἕνα, τῆς δὲ ἁπάσης στρατιᾶς ἡγεμὼν ἦν ὁ πολέμαρχος.
one of-the and whole army leader was the polemarch
ἔτει δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα δωδεκάτῳ νικήσαντες τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι 3
in-year and after these twelfth having-won the at Marathon
μάχην ἐπὶ Φαινίππου ἄρχοντος, διαλιπόντες ἔτη δύο
battle under Phaenippus archon having-let-pass years two
μετὰ τὴν νίκην, θαρροῦντος ἤδη τοῦ δήμου τότε πρῶτον
after the victory being-confident already the people then first
ἐχρήσαντο τῷ νόμῳ τῷ περὶ τὸν ὀστρακισμόν, ὃς ἐτέθη
they-used the law the about the ostracism which was-enacted
διὰ τὴν ὑποψίαν τῶν ἐν ταῖς δυνάμεσιν, ὅτι Πεισίστρατος
through the suspicion of-those in the powers that Pisistratus
δημαγωγὸς καὶ στρατηγὸς ὢν τύραννος κατέστη.
demagogue and general being tyrant became

4 καὶ πρῶτος ὠστρακίσθη τῶν ἐκείνου συγγενῶν Ἵππαρχος
and first was-ostracized of-the his kinsmen Hipparchus
Χάρμου Κολλυτεύς, δι' ὃν καὶ μάλιστα τὸν νόμον
of-Charmus of-Collytus through whom also most the law
ἔθηκεν ὁ Κλεισθένης, ἐξελάσαι βουλόμενος αὐτόν. οἱ
laid-down — Cleisthenes to-drive-out wishing him the
γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς τῶν τυράννων φίλους, ὅσοι μὴ
for Athenians the of-the tyrants friends as-many-as not
συνεξαμαρτάνοιεν ἐν ταῖς ταραχαῖς, εἴων οἰκεῖν τὴν
had-done-wrong-with(-them) in the disturbances allowed to-inhabit the
πόλιν, χρώμενοι τῇ εἰωθυίᾳ τοῦ δήμου πρᾳότητι· ὧν
city using the customary of-the people mildness of-whom
ἡγεμὼν καὶ προστάτης ἦν Ἵππαρχος.
leader and champion was Hipparchus

5 εὐθὺς δὲ τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει ἐπὶ Τελεσίνου ἄρχοντος
at-once and in-the next year under Telesinus archon
ἐκυάμευσαν τοὺς ἐννέα ἄρχοντας κατὰ φυλὰς ἐκ τῶν
they-chose-by-bean the nine archons by tribes from the
προκριθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτῶν πεντακοσίων τότε μετὰ
preselected by the demesmen five-hundred then after
τὴν τυραννίδα πρῶτον· οἱ δὲ πρότεροι πάντες ἦσαν αἱρετοί·
the tyranny first the and earlier all were elected
καὶ ὠστρακίσθη Μεγακλῆς Ἱπποκράτους Ἀλωπεκῆθεν.
and was-ostracized Megacles of-Hippocrates of-Alopece

6 ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν ἔτη γ τοὺς τῶν τυράννων φίλους ὠστράκιζον,
for indeed then years 3 the of-the tyrants friends they-ostracized
ὧν χάριν ὁ νόμος ἐτέθη, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῷ
of-whom for-the-sake the law was-enacted after and these in-the
τετάρτῳ ἔτει καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἴ τις δοκοίη μείζων εἶναι
fourth year also of-the others if anyone seemed greater to-be

μεθίσταντο· καὶ πρῶτος ὠστρακίσθη τῶν ἄπωθεν τῆς
they-removed and first was-ostracized of-those far-removed from-the
τυραννίδος Ξάνθιππος ὁ Ἀρίφρονος.
tyranny Xanthippus the of-Ariphron
ἔτει δὲ τρίτῳ μετὰ ταῦτα Νικοδήμου ἄρχοντος, ὡς ἐφάνη 7
in-year and third after these of-Nicodemus archon when appeared
τὰ μέταλλα τὰ ἐν Μαρωνείᾳ, καὶ περιεγένετο τῇ πόλει
the mines the in Maronea and there-was-left-over for-the city
τάλαντα ἑκατὸν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων, συμβουλευόντων τινῶν τῷ
talents a-hundred from the workings advising some the
δήμῳ διανείμασθαι τὸ ἀργύριον Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐκώλυσεν, οὐ
people to-distribute the money Themistocles prevented(-it) not
λέγων ὅ τι χρήσεται τοῖς χρήμασιν ἀλλὰ δανεῖσαι κελεύων
saying what ever he-will-use the money but to-lend ordering
τοῖς πλουσιωτάτοις Ἀθηναίων ἑκατὸν ἑκάστῳ τάλαντον, εἶτ'
to-the richest of-Athenians a-hundred each a-talent then
ἐὰν μὲν ἀρέσκῃ τὸ ἀνάλωμα, τῆς πόλεως εἶναι τὴν δαπάνην,
if indeed it-pleases the expenditure of-the city to-be the cost
εἰ δὲ μή, κομίσασθαι τὰ χρήματα παρὰ τῶν δανεισαμένων.
if and not to-recover the money from those having-borrowed
λαβὼν δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐναυπηγήσατο τριήρεις
having-received and on these(-terms) he-had-built triremes
ἑκατόν, ἑκάστου ναυπηγουμένου τῶν ἑκατὸν μίαν, αἷς
a-hundred each building of-the hundred one with-which
ἐναυμάχησαν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους. ὠστρακίσθη
they-fought-at-sea in Salamis against the barbarians was-ostracized
δ' ἐν τούτοις τοῖς καιροῖς Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου.
and in these the times Aristides the of-Lysimachus
τετάρτῳ δ' ἔτει κατεδέξαντο πάντας τοὺς ὠστρακισμένους 8
in-fourth and year they-received-back all the ostracized
ἄρχοντος Ὑψιχίδου, διὰ τὴν Ξέρξου στρατείαν· καὶ τὸ
archon of-Hypsichides through the of-Xerxes expedition and the

λοιπὸν ὥρισαν τοῖς ὀστρακιζομένοις ἐντὸς Γεραιστοῦ καὶ
rest they-fixed for-the ostracized within Geraestus and
Σκυλλαίου μὴ κατοικεῖν ἢ ἀτίμους εἶναι καθάπαξ.
Scyllaeum not to-dwell or disfranchised to-be once-for-all

XXIII · THE AREOPAGUS AFTER THE PERSIAN WARS

After the Persian Wars the Areopagus grew strong again, having paid the sailors at Salamis, and governed well. Aristides and Themistocles led the people, one esteemed for justice, the other for generalship; Aristides fixed the tribute of the allies and the oaths of the league in the archonship of Timosthenes.

1 Τότε μὲν οὖν μέχρι τούτου προῆλθεν ἡ πόλις ἅμα τῇ
then indeed then up-to this advanced the city at-once with-the
δημοκρατίᾳ κατὰ μικρὸν αὐξανομένη· μετὰ δὲ τὰ Μηδικὰ
democracy by little growing after and the Persian-Wars
πάλιν ἴσχυσεν ἡ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ βουλὴ καὶ διῴκει
again became-strong the on Ares' hill council and administered
τὴν πόλιν, οὐδενὶ δόγματι λαβοῦσα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀλλὰ
the city by-no decree having-taken the leadership but
διὰ τὸ γενέσθαι τῆς περὶ Σαλαμῖνα ναυμαχίας αἰτία.
through the to-have-become of-the about Salamis sea-battle cause
τῶν γὰρ στρατηγῶν ἐξαπορησάντων τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ
of-the for generals being-at-a-loss in-the affairs and
κηρυξάντων σῴζειν ἕκαστον ἑαυτόν, πορίσασα δραχμὰς
having-proclaimed to-save each himself having-provided drachmas
ἑκάστῳ ὀκτὼ διέδωκε καὶ ἐνεβίβασεν εἰς τὰς ναῦς.
to-each eight it-distributed and embarked(-them) into the ships
2 διὰ ταύτην δὴ τὴν αἰτίαν παρεχώρουν αὐτῆς τῷ
through this indeed the cause they-yielded its to-the
ἀξιώματι, καὶ ἐπολιτεύθησαν Ἀθηναῖοι καλῶς κατὰ τούτους
dignity and were-governed Athenians well during these

τοὺς καιρούς. συνέβη γὰρ αὐτοῖς περὶ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον
the times it-happened for to-them about the time this
τά τε εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀσκῆσαι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς
the(-things) both for the war to-practice and among the
Ἕλλησιν εὐδοκιμῆσαι καὶ τὴν τῆς θαλάττης ἡγεμονίαν
Greeks to-win-repute and the of-the sea leadership
λαβεῖν ἀκόντων Λακεδαιμονίων.
to-take unwilling Lacedaemonians
ἦσαν δὲ προστάται τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τούτους τοὺς καιροὺς 3
were and champions of-the people during these the times
Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλέους,
Aristides the of-Lysimachus and Themistocles the of-Neocles
ὁ μὲν τὰ πολέμια δοκῶν ἀσκεῖν, ὁ δὲ τὰ
the(-one) indeed the military(-arts) seeming to-practice the(-other) and the
πολιτικὰ δεινὸς εἶναι καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ τῶν καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν
political clever to-be and in-justice than-those of his-time
διαφέρειν· διὸ καὶ ἐχρῶντο τῷ μὲν στρατηγῷ,
to-excel therefore also they-used the(-one) indeed as-general
τῷ δὲ συμβούλῳ.
the(-other) and as-adviser
τὴν μὲν οὖν τῶν τειχῶν ἀνοικοδόμησιν κοινῇ διῴκησαν, 4
the indeed then of-the walls rebuilding in-common they-managed
καίπερ διαφερόμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν ἀπόστασιν
although disagreeing with one-another for and the revolt
τὴν τῶν Ἰώνων ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων συμμαχίας
the of-the Ionians from the of-the Lacedaemonians alliance
Ἀριστείδης ἦν ὁ προτρέψας, τηρήσας τοὺς
Aristides was the(-one) having-urged(-it) having-watched-for the
Λάκωνας διαβεβλημένους διὰ Παυσανίαν.
Laconians discredited through Pausanias

διὸ καὶ τοὺς φόρους οὗτος ἦν ὁ τάξας ταῖς
therefore also the tributes this-one was the(-one) having-assessed on-the
πόλεσιν τοὺς πρώτους ἔτει τρίτῳ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι
cities the first in-year third after the in Salamis
ναυμαχίαν ἐπὶ Τιμοσθένους ἄρχοντος, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους
sea-battle under Timosthenes archon and the oaths
ὤμοσεν τοῖς Ἴωσιν ὥστε τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν εἶναι καὶ
he-swore to-the Ionians so-as the same enemy to-be and
φίλον, ἐφ' οἷς καὶ τοὺς μύδρους ἐν τῷ πελάγει καθεῖσαν.
friend on which also the lumps-of-iron in the sea they-sank

XXIV · ARISTIDES' ADVICE

Aristides advised the Athenians to seize the leadership and leave the fields for the city, where all would find a living in military service, garrisons, and politics. They took the rule, treated the allies more despotically except Chios, Lesbos, and Samos, and maintained more than twenty thousand men from the tributes, taxes, and allies.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θαρρούσης ἤδη τῆς πόλεως καὶ χρημάτων
after and these being-confident already the city and money
ἠθροισμένων πολλῶν, συνεβούλευεν ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῆς
having-been-collected much he-advised to-take-hold-of the
ἡγεμονίας καὶ καταβάντας ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν οἰκεῖν ἐν
leadership and having-come-down from the fields to-live in
τῷ ἄστει· τροφὴν γὰρ ἔσεσθαι πᾶσι, τοῖς μὲν
the town sustenance for there-would-be for-all for-the(-ones) indeed
στρατευομένοις, τοῖς δὲ φρουροῦσι, τοῖς δὲ τὰ
serving-in-campaigns for-the(-ones) and keeping-guard for-the(-ones) and the
κοινὰ πράττουσι, εἶθ' οὕτω κατασχήσειν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν.
public(-affairs) doing then so to-hold the leadership

πεισθέντες δὲ ταῦτα καὶ λαβόντες τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῖς 2
persuaded and these-things and having-taken the rule the
τε συμμάχοις δεσποτικωτέρως ἐχρῶντο πλὴν Χίων καὶ
both allies more-despotically they-treated except Chians and
Λεσβίων καὶ Σαμίων· τούτους δὲ φύλακας εἶχον τῆς
Lesbians and Samians these and guardians they-had of-the
ἀρχῆς, ἐῶντες τάς τε πολιτείας παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄρχειν
empire allowing the both constitutions among them and to-rule
ὧν ἔτυχον ἄρχοντες.
whom they-happened ruling
κατέστησαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς εὐπορίαν τροφῆς, ὥσπερ 3
they-established and also for-the many abundance of-sustenance just-as
Ἀριστείδης εἰσηγήσατο. συνέβαινεν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν φόρων καὶ
Aristides proposed it-happened for from the tributes and
τῶν τελῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων πλείους ἢ δισμυρίους ἄνδρας
the taxes and the allies more than twenty-thousand men
τρέφεσθαι. δικασταὶ μὲν γὰρ ἦσαν ἑξακισχίλιοι, τοξόται δ'
to-be-maintained jurors indeed for were six-thousand archers and
ἑξακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἱππεῖς χίλιοι
six-hundred and a-thousand and in-addition-to these cavalry a-thousand
καὶ διακόσιοι, βουλὴ δὲ πεντακόσιοι, καὶ φρουροὶ νεωρίων
and two-hundred council and five-hundred and guards of-dockyards
πεντακόσιοι, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἐν τῇ πόλει φρουροὶ ν,
five-hundred and in-addition-to these in the city guards 50
ἀρχαὶ δ' ἔνδημοι μὲν εἰς ἑπτακοσίους ἄνδρας, ὑπερόριοι
officials and at-home indeed up-to seven-hundred men overseas
δ' εἰς †ἑπτακοσίους· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐπεὶ συνεστήσαντο
and to seven-hundred in-addition-to and these when they-set-on-foot
τὸν πόλεμον ὕστερον, ὁπλῖται μὲν δισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι,
the war later hoplites indeed two-thousand and five-hundred
νῆες δὲ φρουρίδες εἴκοσι, ἄλλαι δὲ νῆες αἱ τοὺς φόρους
ships and guard twenty other and ships those the tributes

ἄγουσαι τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ κυάμου δισχιλίους ἄνδρας, ἔτι δὲ
carrying the from the bean two-thousand men further and
πρυτανεῖον καὶ ὀρφανοὶ καὶ δεσμωτῶν φύλακες· ἅπασι
prytaneum and orphans and of-prisoners guards for-all
γὰρ τούτοις ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν ἡ διοίκησις ἦν.
for these from the public(-funds) the maintenance was

XXV · EPHIALTES

For seventeen years the Areopagus led; then Ephialtes, incorruptible, attacked its members and, with Themistocles' help, stripped it of the powers by which it guarded the constitution, giving them to the council, the assembly, and the courts. Ephialtes was later murdered by Aristodicus of Tanagra.

1 Ἡ μὲν οὖν τροφὴ τῷ δήμῳ διὰ τούτων ἐγίγνετο.
the indeed then sustenance for-the people through these came-about
ἔτη δὲ ἑπτακαίδεκα μάλιστα μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ διέμεινεν
years and seventeen about after the Persian-Wars lasted
ἡ πολιτεία προεστώτων τῶν Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν, καίπερ
the constitution presiding the Areopagites although
ὑποφερομένη κατὰ μικρόν. αὐξανομένου δὲ τοῦ πλήθους
declining by little growing and the multitude
γενόμενος τοῦ δήμου προστάτης Ἐφιάλτης ὁ Σοφωνίδου,
having-become of-the people champion Ephialtes the of-Sophonides
δοκῶν καὶ ἀδωροδόκητος εἶναι καὶ δίκαιος πρὸς τὴν
seeming both incorruptible to-be and just toward the
πολιτείαν, ἐπέθετο τῇ βουλῇ.
constitution he-attacked the council
2 καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀνεῖλεν πολλοὺς τῶν Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν,
and first indeed he-did-away-with many of-the Areopagites
ἀγῶνας ἐπιφέρων περὶ τῶν διῳκημένων· ἔπειτα τῆς
suits bringing about the administered(-matters) then of-the

βουλῆς ἐπὶ Κόνωνος ἄρχοντος ἅπαντα περιείλετο τὰ
council under Conon archon all stripped-off the
ἐπίθετα δι᾽ ὧν ἦν ἡ τῆς πολιτείας φυλακή, καὶ
added(-powers) through which was the of-the constitution guardianship and
τὰ μὲν τοῖς πεντακοσίοις τὰ δὲ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ
the(-ones) indeed to-the five-hundred the(-others) and to-the people and
τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἀπέδωκεν.
to-the law-courts he-gave
ἔπραξε δὲ ταῦτα συναιτίου γενομένου Θεμιστοκλέους, ὃς 3
he-did and these-things jointly-responsible having-become Themistocles who
ἦν μὲν τῶν Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν, ἔμελλε δὲ κρίνεσθαι μηδισμοῦ.
was indeed of-the Areopagites was-about and to-be-tried for-Medism
βουλόμενος δὲ καταλυθῆναι τὴν βουλὴν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς
wishing and to-be-dissolved the council — Themistocles
πρὸς μὲν τὸν Ἐφιάλτην ἔλεγεν ὅτι συναρπάζειν αὐτὸν ἡ
to indeed — Ephialtes said that to-seize him the
βουλὴ μέλλει, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἀρεοπαγίτας ὅτι δείξει τινὰς
council is-about to and the Areopagites that he-will-show some
συνισταμένους ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῆς πολιτείας. ἀγαγὼν δὲ
conspiring for overthrow of-the constitution having-led and
τοὺς αἱρεθέντας τῆς βουλῆς οὗ διέτριβεν ὁ Ἐφιάλτης, ἵνα
those chosen of-the council where spent-time — Ephialtes so-that
δείξῃ τοὺς ἀθροιζομένους, διελέγετο μετὰ σπουδῆς αὐτοῖς.
he-might-show those gathering he-conversed with earnestness with-them
ὁ δ᾽ Ἐφιάλτης ὡς εἶδεν καταπλαγεὶς καθίζει μονοχίτων 4
— and Ephialtes when he-saw terrified sits in-tunic-only
ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν. θαυμασάντων δὲ πάντων τὸ γεγονὸς
at the altar having-marveled and all at-the having-happened
καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συναθροισθείσης τῆς βουλῆς τῶν
and after these gathered the council of-the
πεντακοσίων κατηγόρουν τῶν Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν ὅ τ᾽
five-hundred accused the Areopagites — both

Ἐφιάλτης καὶ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ
Ephialtes and — Themistocles and again in the assembly
τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ἕως περιείλοντο αὐτῶν τὴν δύναμιν.
in-the same way until they-stripped-away of-them the power
καί *** ἀνῃρέθη δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἐφιάλτης δολοφονηθεὶς
and (lacuna) was-done-away-with and also — Ephialtes assassinated
μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον δι᾽ Ἀριστοδίκου τοῦ Ταναγραίου.
after not long time through Aristodicus the Tanagraean

XXVI · CIMON'S TIME

Once the Areopagus lost its guardianship the constitution grew slacker under eager demagogues; the decent had no leader but Cimon, young and late to public life, and many of them were lost in campaigns. The archonship was opened to the teamsters, the deme judges were restored, and on Pericles' motion it was decreed that only those born of two citizen parents should share in the city.

1 Ἡ μὲν οὖν τῶν Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν βουλὴ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον
the indeed then of-the Areopagites council this the way
ἀπεστερήθη τῆς ἐπιμελείας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συνέβαινεν
was-deprived of-the guardianship after and these it-happened
ἀνίεσθαι μᾶλλον τὴν πολιτείαν διὰ τοὺς προθύμως
to-be-relaxed more the constitution through those eagerly
δημαγωγοῦντας. κατὰ γὰρ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους συνέπεσε
playing-the-demagogue during for the times these it-happened
μηδ᾽ ἡγεμόνα ἔχειν τοὺς ἐπιεικεστέρους, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτῶν
not-even leader to-have the more-decent but of-them
προεστάναι Κίμωνα τὸν Μιλτιάδου,† νεώτερον ὄντα καὶ
to-preside Cimon the of-Miltiades younger being and
πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ὀψὲ προσελθόντα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις
to the city late having-come in-addition-to and these

ἐφθάρθαι τοὺς πολλοὺς κατὰ πόλεμον· τῆς γὰρ
to-have-been-destroyed the many in war of-the for
στρατείας γιγνομένης ἐν τοῖς τότε χρόνοις ἐκ καταλόγου
expedition taking-place in the then times from the-list
καὶ στρατηγῶν ἐφισταμένων ἀπείρων μὲν τοῦ πολεμεῖν
and generals being-set-over inexperienced indeed of-the to-make-war
τιμωμένων δὲ διὰ τὰς πατρικὰς δόξας, αἰεὶ συνέβαινεν
honored but through the ancestral reputations always it-happened
τῶν ἐξιόντων ἀνὰ δισχιλίους ἢ τρισχιλίους ἀπόλλυσθαι,
of-those going-out by two-thousand or three-thousand to-perish
ὥστε ἀναλίσκεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν
so-that to-be-used-up the decent both of-the people and of-the
εὐπόρων.
well-off

τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα πάντα διῴκουν οὐχ ὁμοίως καὶ 2
the indeed then other(-things) all they-administered not likewise as
πρότερον τοῖς νόμοις προσέχοντες, τὴν δὲ τῶν ἐννέα
before to-the laws paying-attention the and of-the nine
ἀρχόντων αἵρεσιν οὐκ ἐκίνουν, ἀλλ' ἕκτῳ ἔτει μετὰ τὸν
archons election not they-changed but in-the-sixth year after the
Ἐφιάλτου θάνατον ἔγνωσαν καὶ ἐκ ζευγιτῶν προκρίνεσθαι
of-Ephialtes death they-decided also from teamsters to-be-preselected
τοὺς κληρωσομένους τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων, καὶ πρῶτος
those to-be-chosen-by-lot of-the nine archons and first
ἦρξεν ἐξ αὐτῶν Μνησιθείδης. οἱ δὲ πρὸ τούτου πάντες
held-office from them Mnesitheides those and before this all
ἐξ ἱππέων καὶ πεντακοσιομεδίμνων ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ ζευγῖται
from knights and five-hundred-bushel-men were the and teamsters
τὰς ἐγκυκλίους ἦρχον, εἰ μή τι παρεωρᾶτο τῶν
the routine(-offices) held if not anything was-overlooked of-the(-provisions)
ἐν τοῖς νόμοις.
in the laws

3 ἔτει δὲ πέμπτῳ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπὶ Λυσικράτους ἄρχοντος
in-year and fifth after these under Lysicrates archon
οἱ τριάκοντα δικασταὶ κατέστησαν πάλιν οἱ καλούμενοι
the thirty judges were-established again the called
κατὰ δήμους· καὶ τρίτῳ μετὰ τοῦτον ἐπὶ Ἀντιδότου
by demes and in-the-third after this under Antidotus
διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολιτῶν Περικλέους εἰπόντος
through the number of-the citizens Pericles having-proposed(-it)
ἔγνωσαν μὴ μετέχειν τῆς πόλεως ὃς ἂν μὴ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν
they-decided not to-share in-the city whoever — not from both
ἀστοῖν ᾖ γεγονώς.
citizens is born

XXVII · PERICLES

Pericles took away some powers of the Areopagus and turned the city to sea power, and the Peloponnesian War taught the people to live on pay. On Damonides' advice he introduced pay for jurors to rival Cimon's private generosity. Some think this worsened the courts, and bribery followed, first by Anytus after Pylos.

1 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸ δημαγωγεῖν ἐλθόντος Περικλέους
after and these to the to-play-the-demagogue having-come Pericles
καὶ πρῶτον εὐδοκιμήσαντος ὅτε κατηγόρησε τὰς εὐθύνας
and first having-won-repute when he-accused at-the audits
Κίμωνος στρατηγοῦντος νέος ὤν, δημοτικωτέραν ἔτι
Cimon being-general young being more-democratic still
συνέβη γενέσθαι τὴν πολιτείαν· καὶ γὰρ τῶν Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν
it-happened to-become the constitution and for of-the Areopagites
ἔνια παρείλετο καὶ μάλιστα προύτρεψεν τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ
some(-powers) he-took-away and most he-urged the city toward

τὴν ναυτικὴν δύναμιν, ἐξ ἧς συνέβη θαρρήσαντας τοὺς
the naval power from which it-happened having-become-bold the
πολλοὺς ἅπασαν τὴν πολιτείαν μᾶλλον ἄγειν εἰς αὐτούς.
many all the constitution more to-draw to themselves
μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν ἑνὸς δεῖ πεντηκοστῷ 2
after and the in Salamis sea-battle one lacking fiftieth
ἔτει ἐπὶ Πυθοδώρου ἄρχοντος ὁ πρὸς Πελοποννησίους
in-year under Pythodorus archon the against Peloponnesians
ἐνέστη πόλεμος, ἐν ᾧ κατακλεισθεὶς ὁ δῆμος ἐν τῷ
arose war in which shut-up the people in the
ἄστει καὶ συνεθισθεὶς ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις μισθοφορεῖν,
town and having-become-accustomed in the campaigns to-draw-pay
τὰ μὲν ἑκὼν τὰ δὲ ἄκων προῃρεῖτο τὴν πολιτείαν
partly indeed willingly partly and unwillingly it-chose the constitution
διοικεῖν αὐτός.
to-administer itself
ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ μισθοφόρα τὰ δικαστήρια Περικλῆς πρῶτος, 3
made and also paid the law-courts Pericles first
ἀντιδημαγωγῶν πρὸς τὴν Κίμωνος εὐπορίαν. ὁ γὰρ Κίμων,
counter-demagoguing against the of-Cimon wealth — for Cimon
ἅτε τυραννικὴν ἔχων οὐσίαν, πρῶτον μὲν τὰς κοινὰς
as tyrannical having property first indeed the public
λῃτουργίας ἐλῃτούργει λαμπρῶς, ἔπειτα τῶν δημοτῶν
liturgies he-performed splendidly then of-the demesmen
ἔτρεφε πολλούς· ἐξῆν γὰρ τῷ βουλομένῳ
he-maintained many it-was-allowed for to-the(-one) wishing
Λακιαδῶν καθ' ἑκάστην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐλθόντι παρ' αὐτὸν ἔχειν
of-the-Laciadae on each the day having-come to him to-have
τὰ μέτρια, ἔτι δὲ τὰ χωρία πάντα ἄφρακτα ἦν, ὅπως
the moderate(-necessities) further and the estates all unfenced were so-that
ἐξῇ τῷ βουλομένῳ τῆς ὀπώρας ἀπολαύειν.
it-might-be-allowed to-the(-one) wishing of-the fruit to-enjoy

4 πρὸς δὴ ταύτην τὴν χορηγίαν ἐπιλειπόμενος ὁ Περικλῆς
against indeed this the largesse falling-short — Pericles
τῇ οὐσίᾳ, συμβουλεύσαντος αὐτῷ Δαμωνίδου τοῦ Οἰήθεν (ὃς
in-the property having-advised him Damonides the of-Oe who
ἐδόκει τῶν πολλῶν εἰσηγητὴς εἶναι τῷ Περικλεῖ· διὸ καὶ
seemed of-the many(-measures) proposer to-be — for-Pericles therefore also
ὠστράκισαν αὐτὸν ὕστερον), ἐπεὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις ἡττᾶτο,
they-ostracized him later since with-the private(-means) he-was-outdone
διδόναι τοῖς πολλοῖς τὰ αὐτῶν, κατεσκεύασε μισθοφορὰν
to-give to-the many the their-own he-instituted pay
τοῖς δικασταῖς· ἀφ' ὧν αἰτιῶνταί τινες χείρω γενέσθαι,
for-the jurors from which blame some worse to-have-become
κληρουμένων ἐπιμελῶς ἀεὶ μᾶλλον τῶν τυχόντων ἢ τῶν
being-chosen-by-lot carefully always rather the chance(-people) than the
ἐπιεικῶν ἀνθρώπων. ἤρξατο δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὸ δεκάζειν,
decent men began and after these also the to-bribe
5 πρώτου καταδείξαντος Ἀνύτου μετὰ τὴν ἐν Πύλῳ
first having-shown(-it) Anytus after the at Pylos
στρατηγίαν. κρινόμενος γὰρ ὑπό τινων διὰ τὸ ἀποβαλεῖν
generalship being-tried for by some through the to-have-lost
Πύλον, δεκάσας τὸ δικαστήριον ἀπέφυγεν.
Pylos having-bribed the law-court he-was-acquitted

XXVIII · THE DEMAGOGUES

While Pericles led, the constitution was better; after him the people took a leader of ill repute. The leaders of each side are listed from Solon on: after Pericles came Cleon, who first shouted on the platform, then Cleophon, Callicrates, and demagogues who aimed only to please. Nicias, Thucydides, and Theramenes seem the best statesmen since the ancients.

Ἕως μὲν οὖν Περικλῆς προειστήκει τοῦ δήμου βελτίω 1
while indeed then Pericles led the people better
τὰ κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν ἦν, τελευτήσαντος δὲ Περικλέους
the(-affairs) in the constitution were having-died and Pericles
πολὺ χείρω. πρῶτον γὰρ τότε προστάτην ἔλαβεν ὁ δῆμος
much worse first for then champion took the people
οὐκ εὐδοκιμοῦντα παρὰ τοῖς ἐπιεικέσιν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρότερον
not having-good-repute among the decent in and the earlier
χρόνοις ἀεὶ διετέλουν οἱ ἐπιεικεῖς δημαγωγοῦντες.
times always continued the decent leading-the-people
ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν γὰρ καὶ πρῶτος ἐγένετο προστάτης τοῦ 2
from beginning indeed for and first became champion of-the
δήμου Σόλων, δεύτερος δὲ Πεισίστρατος, τῶν εὐγενῶν καὶ
people Solon second and Pisistratus of-the well-born and
γνωρίμων· καταλυθείσης δὲ τῆς τυραννίδος Κλεισθένης, τοῦ
notables overthrown and the tyranny Cleisthenes of-the
γένους ὢν τῶν Ἀλκμεωνιδῶν, καὶ τούτῳ μὲν οὐδεὶς ἦν
family being of-the Alcmeonids and to-this-one indeed no-one was
ἀντιστασιώτης, ὡς ἐξέπεσον οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰσαγόραν. μετὰ
opponent when were-expelled those around — Isagoras after
δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ μὲν δήμου προειστήκει Ξάνθιππος, τῶν δὲ
and these the indeed people led Xanthippus the and
γνωρίμων Μιλτιάδης, ἔπειτα Θεμιστοκλῆς καὶ Ἀριστείδης·
notables Miltiades then Themistocles and Aristides
μετὰ δὲ τούτους Ἐφιάλτης μὲν τοῦ δήμου, Κίμων δ’ ὁ
after and these Ephialtes indeed of-the people Cimon and the
Μιλτιάδου τῶν εὐπόρων· εἶτα Περικλῆς μὲν τοῦ δήμου,
of-Miltiades of-the well-off then Pericles indeed of-the people
Θουκυδίδης δὲ τῶν ἑτέρων, κηδεστὴς ὢν Κίμωνος.
Thucydides and of-the others relative-by-marriage being of-Cimon

3 Περικλέους δὲ τελευτήσαντος τῶν μὲν ἐπιφανῶν
Pericles and having-died of-the indeed distinguished
προειστήκει Νικίας ὁ ἐν Σικελίᾳ τελευτήσας, τοῦ
led Nicias the(-one) in Sicily having-died of-the
δὲ δήμου Κλέων ὁ Κλεαινέτου, ὃς δοκεῖ μάλιστα
and people Cleon the of-Cleaenetus who seems most
διαφθεῖραι τὸν δῆμον ταῖς ὁρμαῖς, καὶ πρῶτος ἐπὶ τοῦ
to-have-corrupted the people by-the impulses and first on the
βήματος ἀνέκραγε καὶ ἐλοιδορήσατο καὶ περιζωσάμενος
platform shouted and abused and having-girded-up(-his-cloak)
ἐδημηγόρησε, τῶν ἄλλων ἐν κόσμῳ λεγόντων. εἶτα μετὰ
harangued the others in order speaking then after
τούτους τῶν μὲν ἑτέρων Θηραμένης ὁ Ἀγνωνος, τοῦ δὲ
these of-the indeed others Theramenes the of-Hagnon of-the and
δήμου Κλεοφῶν ὁ λυροποιός, ὃς καὶ τὴν διωβελίαν ἐπόρισε
people Cleophon the lyre-maker who also the two-obol-dole provided
πρῶτος· καὶ χρόνον μέν τινα διεδίδοτο, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
first and time indeed some was-distributed after and these
κατέλυσε Καλλικράτης Παιανιεὺς πρῶτος ὑποσχόμενος
abolished(-it) Callicrates of-Paeania first having-promised
ἐπιθήσειν πρὸς τοῖν δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν ἄλλον ὀβολόν. τούτων
to-add to the two obols another obol of-these
μὲν οὖν ἀμφοτέρων θάνατον κατέγνωσαν ὕστερον· εἴωθεν
indeed then both death they-decreed later is-wont
γάρ, κἂν ἐξαπατηθῇ τὸ πλῆθος, ὕστερον μισεῖν τούς τι
for even-if it-is-deceived the multitude later to-hate those something
προαγαγόντας ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς τῶν μὴ καλῶς ἐχόντων.
having-led to-do them of-the(-things) not well being

ἀπὸ δὲ Κλεοφῶντος ἤδη διεδέχοντο συνεχῶς τὴν 4
from and Cleophon already succeeded continuously the
δημαγωγίαν οἱ μάλιστα βουλόμενοι θρασύνεσθαι καὶ
demagoguery those most wishing to-be-bold and
χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς, πρὸς τὰ παραυτίκα βλέποντες.
to-gratify the many to the(-things) immediate looking
δοκοῦσι δὲ βέλτιστοι γεγονέναι τῶν Ἀθήνησι 5
seem and best to-have-been of-those at-Athens
πολιτευσαμένων μετὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους Νικίας καὶ Θουκυδίδης
having-taken-part-in-politics after the ancients Nicias and Thucydides
καὶ Θηραμένης. καὶ περὶ μὲν Νικίου καὶ Θουκυδίδου πάντες
and Theramenes and about indeed Nicias and Thucydides all
σχεδὸν ὁμολογοῦσιν ἄνδρας γεγονέναι οὐ μόνον καλοὺς
nearly agree men to-have-been not only noble
κἀγαθοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ πολιτικοὺς καὶ τῇ πόλει πάσῃ πατρικῶς
and-good but also statesmanlike and the city whole paternally
χρωμένους, περὶ δὲ Θηραμένους διὰ τὸ συμβῆναι κατ᾽
treating about and Theramenes through the to-have-happened in
αὐτὸν ταραχώδεις τὰς πολιτείας ἀμφισβήτησις τῆς κρίσεώς
his-time turbulent the constitutions dispute of-the judgment
ἐστι. δοκεῖ μέντοι τοῖς μὴ παρέργως ἀποφαινομένοις οὐχ
is seems however to-those not cursorily declaring not
ὥσπερ αὐτὸν διαβάλλουσι πάσας τὰς πολιτείας καταλύειν,
just-as him they-slander all the constitutions to-overthrow
ἀλλὰ πάσας προάγειν ἕως μηδὲν παρανομοῖεν, ὡς δυνάμενος
but all to-advance until nothing they-transgressed as being-able
πολιτεύεσθαι κατὰ πάσας, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀγαθοῦ πολίτου
to-take-part-in-politics under all which-very is of-good citizen
ἔργον, παρανομούσαις δὲ οὐ συγχωρῶν ἀλλ᾽ ἀπεχθανόμενος.
work to-those-transgressing but not yielding but incurring-hatred

After the disaster in Sicily, with Sparta allied to the king, the Athenians were compelled to set up the Four Hundred. On Pythodorus' motion thirty commissioners were chosen to draft proposals. They suspended the indictment for illegal proposals, spent the city's money only on war, made offices unpaid while it lasted, and entrusted the state to at least five thousand.

1 Ἕως μὲν οὖν ἰσόρροπα τὰ πράγματα κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον
while indeed then evenly-balanced the affairs in the war
ἦν, διεφύλαττον τὴν δημοκρατίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐν
were they-preserved the democracy since and after the in
Σικελίᾳ γενομένην συμφορὰν ἰσχυρότερα τὰ τῶν
Sicily having-happened disaster stronger the(-affairs) of-the
Λακεδαιμονίων ἐγένετο διὰ τὴν πρὸς βασιλέα συμμαχίαν,
Lacedaemonians became through the with king alliance
ἠναγκάσθησαν κινήσαντες τὴν δημοκρατίαν καταστῆσαι τὴν
they-were-compelled having-changed the democracy to-establish the
ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων πολιτείαν, εἰπόντος τὸν μὲν πρὸ τοῦ
under the four-hundred constitution having-spoken the indeed before the
ψηφίσματος λόγον Μηλοβίου, τὴν δὲ γνώμην γράψαντος
decree speech Melobius the and motion having-written
Πυθοδώρου τοῦ Ἀναφλυστίου, μάλιστα δὲ συμπεισθέντων
Pythodorus the of-Anaphlystus most and having-been-persuaded
τῶν πολλῶν διὰ τὸ νομίζειν βασιλέα μᾶλλον ἑαυτοῖς
the many through the to-think king more with-themselves
συμπολεμήσειν, ἐὰν δι' ὀλίγων ποιήσωνται τὴν πολιτείαν.
to-fight-on-their-side if through few they-might-make the constitution
2 ἦν δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦ Πυθοδώρου τοιόνδε· τὸν δῆμον
was and the decree — of-Pythodorus such the people
ἑλέσθαι μετὰ τῶν προϋπαρχόντων δέκα προβούλων
to-elect with the pre-existing ten preliminary-councilors

ἄλλους εἴκοσι ἐκ τῶν ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων,
others twenty from those over forty years having-become
οἵτινες ὀμόσαντες ἢ μὴν συγγράψειν ἃ ἂν ἡγῶνται
who having-sworn surely indeed to-draft what — they-think
βέλτιστα εἶναι τῇ πόλει συγγράψουσι περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας·
best to-be for-the city will-draft about the safety
ἐξεῖναι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῷ βουλομένῳ γράφειν, 3
to-be-allowed and also of-the others to-the(-one) wishing to-make-proposals
ἵν' ἐξ ἁπάντων αἱρῶνται τὸ ἄριστον. Κλειτοφῶν δὲ τὰ
so-that from all they-may-choose the best Clitophon and the
μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ Πυθόδωρος εἶπεν, προσαναζητῆσαι
indeed other(-things) just-as Pythodorus said to-search-out-in-addition
δὲ τοὺς αἱρεθέντας ἔγραψεν καὶ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους οὓς
and those elected he-proposed also the ancestral laws which
Κλεισθένης ἔθηκεν ὅτε καθίστη τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ὅπως
Cleisthenes laid-down when he-established the democracy so-that
ἀκούσαντες καὶ τούτων βουλεύσωνται τὸ ἄριστον, ὡς
having-heard also these they-may-deliberate the best as
οὐ δημοτικὴν ἀλλὰ παραπλησίαν οὖσαν τὴν Κλεισθένους
not democratic but similar being the of-Cleisthenes
πολιτείαν τῇ Σόλωνος.
constitution to-that of-Solon
οἱ δ' αἱρεθέντες πρῶτον μὲν ἔγραψαν ἐπάναγκες εἶναι 4
those and elected first indeed proposed compulsory to-be
τοὺς πρυτάνεις ἅπαντα τὰ λεγόμενα περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας
the prytaneis all the said(-things) about the safety
ἐπιψηφίζειν, ἔπειτα τὰς τῶν παρανόμων γραφὰς καὶ τὰς
to-put-to-the-vote then the of-the illegal-proposals indictments and the
εἰσαγγελίας καὶ τὰς προσκλήσεις ἀνεῖλον, ὅπως ἂν οἱ
impeachments and the summonses they-abolished so-that — those
ἐθέλοντες Ἀθηναίων συμβουλεύωσι περὶ τῶν προκειμένων·
wishing of-Athenians may-advise about the proposed(-matters)

ἐὰν δέ τις τούτων χάριν ἢ ζημιοῖ ἢ προσκαλῆται ἢ
if and anyone of-these for-the-sake either fines or summons or
εἰσάγῃ εἰς δικαστήριον, ἔνδειξιν αὐτοῦ εἶναι καὶ ἀπαγωγὴν
brings-in to law-court information of-him to-be and arrest
πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγούς, τοὺς δὲ στρατηγοὺς παραδοῦναι
before the generals the and generals to-hand-over
τοῖς ἕνδεκα θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι.
to-the eleven with-death to-punish

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὴν πολιτείαν διέταξαν τόνδε τὸν τρόπον·
after and these the constitution they-arranged this the way
τὰ μὲν χρήματα τὰ προσιόντα μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἄλλοσε
the indeed money the coming-in not to-be-allowed elsewhere
δαπανῆσαι ἢ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, τὰς δ' ἀρχὰς ἀμίσθους
to-spend than for the war the and offices unpaid
ἄρχειν ἁπάσας ἕως ἂν ὁ πόλεμος ᾖ, πλὴν τῶν ἐννέα
to-hold all while — the war is except of-the nine
ἀρχόντων καὶ τῶν πρυτάνεων οἳ ἂν ὦσιν· τούτους δὲ
archons and of-the prytaneis who — are these and
φέρειν τρεῖς ὀβολοὺς ἕκαστον τῆς ἡμέρας. τὴν δ' ἄλλην
to-receive three obols each of-the day the and other
πολιτείαν ἐπιτρέψαι πᾶσαν Ἀθηναίων τοῖς δυνατωτάτοις
constitution to-entrust whole of-Athenians to-the most-able
καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν καὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν λῃτουργεῖν μὴ
both with-the persons and with-the money to-perform-public-services not
ἔλαττον ἢ πεντακισχιλίοις, ἕως ἂν ὁ πόλεμος ᾖ· κυρίους
fewer than five-thousand while — the war is empowered
δ' εἶναι τούτους καὶ συνθήκας συντίθεσθαι πρὸς οὓς ἂν
and to-be these also treaties to-make with whom —
ἐθέλωσιν· ἑλέσθαι δὲ καὶ τῆς φυλῆς ἑκάστης δέκα ἄνδρας
they-wish to-elect and also of-the tribe each ten men

ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα ἔτη γεγονότας, οἵτινες καταλέξουσι
over forty years having-become who will-enroll
τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους ὀμόσαντες καθ' ἱερῶν τελείων.
the five-thousand having-sworn over sacrifices full-grown

XXX · THE CONSTITUTION OF THE FOUR HUNDRED

The hundred men chosen by the five thousand drew up the constitution for the future: men over thirty were to serve on the council yearly without pay, the generals, archons, cavalry commanders, treasurers, and other chief officials being elected from among them and the rest chosen by lot. There were to be four councils serving in turn, meeting every five days, with a drachma's fine for each day a councilor was absent.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν αἱρεθέντες ταῦτα συνέγραψαν. κυρωθέντων 1
the indeed then elected these drafted ratified
δὲ τούτων εἵλοντο σφῶν αὐτῶν οἱ πεντακισχίλιοι
and these elected from-themselves themselves the five-thousand
τοὺς ἀναγράψοντας τὴν πολιτείαν ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας. οἱ δ'
those to-draw-up the constitution a-hundred men those and
αἱρεθέντες ἀνέγραψαν καὶ ἐξήνεγκαν τάδε.
elected drew-up and brought-forward these(-provisions)
βουλεύειν μὲν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τοὺς ὑπὲρ τριάκοντα ἔτη 2
to-be-councilors indeed by year those over thirty years
γεγονότας ἄνευ μισθοφορᾶς· τούτων δ' εἶναι τοὺς
having-become without pay of-these and to-be the
στρατηγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐννέα ἄρχοντας καὶ τὸν ἱερομνήμονα
generals and the nine archons and the hieromnemon
καὶ τοὺς ταξιάρχους καὶ ἱππάρχους καὶ φυλάρχους καὶ
and the taxiarchs and cavalry-commanders and tribe-commanders and
ἄρχοντας εἰς τὰ φρούρια καὶ ταμίας τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων
commanders for the forts and treasurers of-the sacred money

τῇ θεῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς δέκα καὶ ἑλληνοταμίας
for-the goddess and for-the other gods ten and hellenotamiae
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁσίων χρημάτων ἁπάντων εἴκοσιν
and of-the other secular money all twenty
οἳ διαχειριοῦσιν καὶ ἱεροποιοὺς καὶ ἐπιμελητὰς δέκα
who will-manage and sacrificers and overseers ten
ἑκατέρους· αἱρεῖσθαι δὲ πάντας τούτους ἐκ προκρίτων,
each to-be-elected and all these from preselected
ἐκ τῶν ἀεὶ βουλευόντων πλείους προκρίνοντας, τὰς δ'
from those in-turn being-councilors more preselecting the and
ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἁπάσας κληρωτὰς εἶναι καὶ μὴ ἐκ τῆς
other offices all chosen-by-lot to-be and not from the
βουλῆς· τοὺς δὲ ἑλληνοταμίας οἳ ἂν διαχειρίζωσι τὰ
council the and hellenotamiae who — manage the
χρήματα μὴ συμβουλεύειν.
money not to-sit-in-council

3 βουλὰς δὲ ποιῆσαι τέτταρας ἐκ τῆς ἡλικίας τῆς εἰρημένης
councils and to-make four from the age the stated
εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον, καὶ τούτων τὸ λαχὸν μέρος
for the remaining time and of-these the allotted part
βουλεύειν, νεῖμαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πρὸς τὴν λῆξιν
to-be-councilors to-distribute and also the others to the allotment
ἑκάστην· τοὺς δ' ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας διανεῖμαι σφᾶς τε
each the and hundred men to-distribute them both
αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τέτταρα μέρη ὡς ἰσαίτατα καὶ
themselves and the others four parts as most-equal and
διακληρῶσαι, καὶ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν βουλεύειν.
to-cast-lots and for year to-be-councilors

4 βουλεύεσθαι δὲ ᾗ ἂν δοκῇ αὐτοῖς ἄριστα ἔξειν περί τε
to-deliberate and as — it-seems to-them best to-be about both
τῶν χρημάτων, ὅπως ἂν σῷα ᾖ καὶ εἰς τὸ δέον
the money that — safe it-may-be and on the needful

ἀναλίσκηται, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὡς ἂν δύνωνται
it-may-be-spent and about the other(-matters) as — they-can
ἄριστα· κἄν τι θέλωσιν βουλεύσασθαι μετὰ πλειόνων,
best and-if anything they-wish to-deliberate with more
ἐπεισκαλεῖν ἕκαστον ἐπείσκλητον ὃν ἂν ἐθέλῃ τῶν ἐκ
to-call-in each additional-member whomever — he-wishes of-those from
τῆς αὐτῆς ἡλικίας· τὰς δ' ἕδρας ποιεῖν τῆς βουλῆς κατὰ
the same age the and sessions to-make of-the council every
πενθήμερον, ἐὰν μὴ δέωνται πλείονων. κληροῦν δὲ τὴν
five-days if not they-need more to-allot and the
βουλὴν τοὺς ἐννέα ἄρχοντας, τὰς δὲ χειροτονίας κρίνειν
council the nine archons the and votes to-judge
πέντε τοὺς λαχόντας ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς, καὶ ἐκ τούτων
five those allotted from the council and from these
ἕνα κληροῦσθαι καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν τὸν ἐπιψηφιοῦντα.
one to-be-chosen-by-lot on each day the(-one) putting-to-the-vote
κληροῦν δὲ τοὺς λαχόντας πέντε τοὺς ἐθέλοντας προσελθεῖν 5
to-allot and those allotted five those wishing to-come-forward
ἐναντίον τῆς βουλῆς, πρῶτον μὲν ἱερῶν, δεύτερον
before the council first indeed about-sacred-matters second
δὲ κήρυξιν, τρίτον πρεσβείαις, τέταρτον τῶν ἄλλων·
and for-heralds third for-embassies fourth of-the others
τὰ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου ὅταν δέῃ ἀκληρωτὶ
the(-matters) and of-the war whenever it-is-necessary without-lot
προσαγαγόντας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς χρηματίζεσθαι.
bringing-forward the generals to-transact
τὸν δὲ μὴ ἰόντα εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον τῶν βουλευόντων 6
the(-one) and not going into the council-house of-the councilors
τὴν ὥραν τὴν προρρηθεῖσαν ὀφείλειν δραχμὴν τῆς ἡμέρας
at-the hour the appointed to-owe a-drachma for-the day
ἑκάστης, ἐὰν μὴ εὑρισκόμενος ἄφεσιν τῆς βουλῆς ἀπῇ.
each if not obtaining leave from-the council he-is-absent

For the present the Four Hundred were to sit as council by ancestral custom, forty from each tribe, appointing the officials, drafting the oath, and acting on the laws and audits as they saw fit; the laws made on the constitution were not to be changed. The generals were to be elected from all the five thousand and to hold office for the coming year with full powers, and no office but the council and the generals could be held twice.

1 Ταύτην μὲν οὖν εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα χρόνον ἀνέγραψαν
this indeed then for the future time they-drew-up
τὴν πολιτείαν, ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ τήνδε· βουλεύειν
the constitution in and the present occasion this to-be-councilors
μὲν τετρακοσίους κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, τετταράκοντα ἐξ
indeed four-hundred according-to the ancestral(-ways) forty from
ἑκάστης φυλῆς, ἐκ προκρίτων οὓς ἂν ἕλωνται οἱ φυλέται
each tribe from preselected whom — elect the tribesmen
τῶν ὑπὲρ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων. τούτους δὲ τάς τε
of-those over thirty years having-become these and the both
ἀρχὰς καταστῆσαι καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὅρκου ὅντινα χρὴ
offices to-appoint and about the oath which-one-ever it-is-necessary
ὀμόσαι γράψαι, καὶ περὶ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν εὐθυνῶν καὶ
to-swear to-draft and about the laws and the audits and
τῶν ἄλλων πράττειν ᾗ ἂν ἡγῶνται συμφέρειν.
the other(-matters) to-act in-whatever-way — they-think to-be-advantageous
2 τοῖς δὲ νόμοις οἳ ἂν τεθῶσιν περὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν
the and laws which — are-enacted about the political(-matters)
χρῆσθαι καὶ μὴ ἐξεῖναι μετακινεῖν μηδ' ἑτέρους θέσθαι.
to-use and not to-be-allowed to-change nor others to-enact
τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν τὸ νῦν εἶναι τὴν αἵρεσιν ἐξ
of-the and generals for-the now being the election from
ἁπάντων ποιεῖσθαι τῶν πεντακισχιλίων, τὴν δὲ βουλὴν
all to-make of-the five-thousand the and council

ἐπειδὰν καταστῇ ποιήσασαν ἐξέτασιν ἐν ὅπλοις ἑλέσθαι
when it-is-established having-made review under arms to-elect
δέκα ἄνδρας καὶ γραμματέα τούτοις, τοὺς δὲ αἱρεθέντας
ten men and secretary for-these those and elected
ἄρχειν τὸν εἰσιόντα ἐνιαυτὸν αὐτοκράτορας, καὶ ἄν
to-hold-office the coming year with-full-powers and if
τι δέωνται συμβουλεύεσθαι μετὰ τῆς βουλῆς.
anything they-need to-deliberate with the council
ἑλέσθαι δὲ καὶ ἵππαρχον ἕνα καὶ φυλάρχους δέκα· 3
to-elect and also cavalry-commander one and tribe-commanders ten
τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τὴν αἵρεσιν ποιεῖσθαι τούτων τὴν βουλὴν
the and rest the election to-make of-these the council
κατὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα. τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἀρχῶν πλὴν τῆς
according-to the written(-provisions) of-the and other offices except the
βουλῆς καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν μὴ ἐξεῖναι μήτε τούτοις μήτε
council and the generals not to-be-allowed neither to-these nor
ἄλλῳ μηδενὶ πλέον ἢ ἅπαξ ἄρξαι τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρχήν. εἰς
to-other anyone more than once to-hold the same office for
δὲ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, ἵνα νεμηθῶσιν οἱ τετρακόσιοι εἰς
and the other time so-that are-distributed the four-hundred into
τὰς τέτταρας λήξεις, ὅταν τοῖς ἀστοῖς γίγνηται μετὰ τῶν
the four allotments whenever to-the townsmen it-comes-about with the
ἄλλων βουλεύειν, διανειμάντων αὐτοὺς οἱ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρες.
others to-be-councilors let-distribute them the hundred men

The hundred drew up this constitution and the multitude ratified it, Aristomachus presiding; the council of Callias' year was dissolved, and the Four Hundred entered office in Thargelion, about a hundred years after the tyrants' expulsion, Pisander, Antiphon, and Theramenes being chiefly responsible. The five thousand were chosen in name only, and the Four Hundred, failing to make peace with Sparta, gave up the attempt.

1 Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἑκατὸν οἱ ὑπὸ τῶν πεντακισχιλίων αἱρεθέντες
the indeed then hundred those by the five-thousand elected
ταύτην ἀνέγραψαν τὴν πολιτείαν. ἐπικυρωθέντων δὲ
this drew-up the constitution ratified and
τούτων ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους, ἐπιψηφίσαντος Ἀριστομάχου, ἡ
these by the multitude having-put-it-to-the-vote Aristomachus the
μὲν βουλὴ ἡ ἐπὶ Καλλίου πρὶν διαβουλεῦσαι κατελύθη
indeed council the under Callias before to-complete-its-term was-dissolved
μηνὸς Θαργηλιῶνος τετράδι ἐπὶ δέκα, οἱ δὲ τετρακόσιοι
of-month Thargelion on-fourth after tenth the and four-hundred
εἰσῄεσαν ἐνάτῃ φθίνοντος Θαργηλιῶνος. ἔδει δὲ
entered on-ninth waning of-Thargelion it-was-necessary and
τὴν εἰληχυῖαν τῷ κυάμῳ βουλὴν εἰσιέναι δ ἐπὶ δέκα
the having-been-allotted by-the bean council to-enter 4 after tenth
Σκιροφοριῶνος.
of-Scirophorion

2 ἡ μὲν οὖν ὀλιγαρχία τοῦτον κατέστη τὸν τρόπον
the indeed then oligarchy this was-established the way
ἐπὶ Καλλίου μὲν ἄρχοντος, ἔτεσιν δ' ὕστερον τῆς
under Callias indeed archon in-years and later than-the
τῶν τυράννων ἐκβολῆς μάλιστα ἑκατόν, αἰτίων μάλιστα
of-the tyrants expulsion about a-hundred responsible most
γενομένων Πεισάνδρου καὶ Ἀντιφῶντος καὶ Θηραμένους,
having-been Pisander and Antiphon and Theramenes

ἀνδρῶν καὶ γεγενημένων εὖ καὶ συνέσει καὶ γνώμῃ
men also having-been-born well and in-intelligence and in-judgment
δοκούντων διαφέρειν.
seeming to-excel
γενομένης δὲ ταύτης τῆς πολιτείας οἱ μὲν πεντακισχίλιοι 3
having-come-about and this the constitution the indeed five-thousand
λόγῳ μόνον ᾑρέθησαν, οἱ δὲ τετρακόσιοι μετὰ τῶν δέκα
in-word only were-chosen the and four-hundred with the ten
τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων εἰσελθόντες εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἦρχον
the plenipotentiaries having-entered into the council-house ruled
τῆς πόλεως, καὶ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πρεσβευσάμενοι
the city and to Lacedaemonians having-sent-envoys
κατελύοντο τὸν πόλεμον ἐφ' οἷς ἑκάτεροι τυγχάνουσιν
tried-to-end the war on which-terms each happen
ἔχοντες. οὐχ ὑπακουόντων δ' ἐκείνων εἰ μὴ καὶ τὴν
holding not listening and those if not also the
ἀρχὴν τῆς θαλάττης ἀφήσουσιν, οὕτως ἀπέστησαν.
rule of-the sea they-will-give-up so they-desisted

XXXIII · THE FOUR HUNDRED DEPOSED

The constitution of the Four Hundred lasted perhaps four months. After the defeat at sea off Eretria and the revolt of all Euboea but Oreus, the Athenians deposed the Four Hundred and handed affairs to the five thousand of the hoplite class, voting that no office be paid. Aristocrates and Theramenes, displeased that the Four Hundred referred nothing to the five thousand, were chiefly responsible, and the city seems to have been well governed in that time of war.

Μῆνας μὲν οὖν ἴσως τέτταρας διέμεινεν ἡ τῶν τετρακοσίων 1
months indeed then perhaps four lasted the of-the four-hundred
πολιτεία, καὶ ἦρξεν ἐξ αὐτῶν Μνασίλοχος δίμηνον
constitution and was-archon from them Mnasilochus two-months

ἐπὶ Θεοπόμπου ἄρχοντος, ὃς ἦρξε τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους
under Theopompus archon who was-archon the remaining
δέκα μῆνας. ἡττηθέντες δὲ τῇ περὶ Ἐρέτριαν ναυμαχίᾳ
ten months defeated and in-the off Eretria sea-battle
καὶ τῆς Εὐβοίας ἀποστάσης ὅλης πλὴν Ὠρεοῦ, χαλεπῶς
and — Euboea having-revolted whole except Oreus hard
ἐνεγκόντες ἐπὶ τῇ συμφορᾷ μάλιστα τῶν προγεγενημένων
having-borne-it at the disaster most of-the earlier
(πλείω γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ἢ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐτύγχανον
more for from — Euboea than — Attica they-happened
ὠφελούμενοι) κατέλυσαν τοὺς τετρακοσίους καὶ τὰ
benefiting they-dissolved the four-hundred and the
πράγματα παρέδωκαν τοῖς πεντακισχιλίοις τοῖς ἐκ τῶν
affairs handed-over to-the five-thousand those from the
ὅπλων, ψηφισάμενοι μηδεμίαν ἀρχὴν εἶναι μισθοφόρον.
arms having-voted no office to-be paid
2 αἰτιώτατοι δ' ἐγένοντο τῆς καταλύσεως Ἀριστοκράτης καὶ
most-responsible and became for-the dissolution Aristocrates and
Θηραμένης, οὐ συναρεσκόμενοι τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων
Theramenes not being-pleased with-the by the four-hundred
γιγνομένοις· ἅπαντα γὰρ δι' αὑτῶν ἔπραττον, οὐδὲν
happening(-things) all for through themselves they-did nothing
ἐπαναφέροντες τοῖς πεντακισχιλίοις. δοκοῦσι δὲ καλῶς
referring to-the five-thousand they-seem and well
πολιτευθῆναι κατὰ τούτους τοὺς καιρούς, πολέμου τε
to-have-been-governed during these the times war both
καθεστῶτος καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων τῆς πολιτείας οὔσης.
being-established and from the arms the constitution being

After Arginusae the people condemned the generals unjustly and, deceived by Cleophon, refused peace. After Aegospotami the democrats sought democracy, the oligarchs oligarchy, and Theramenes' party the ancestral constitution, until Lysander frightened the people into voting for the Thirty.

Τούτους μὲν οὖν ἀφείλετο τὴν πολιτείαν ὁ δῆμος διὰ 1
these indeed then took-away-from the constitution the people with
τάχους· ἔτει δ' ἑβδόμῳ μετὰ τὴν τῶν τετρακοσίων
speed in-year and seventh after the of-the four-hundred
κατάλυσιν, ἐπὶ Καλλίου τοῦ Ἀγγελῆθεν ἄρχοντος,
dissolution under Callias the of-Angele archon
γενομένης τῆς ἐν Ἀργινούσσαις ναυμαχίας, πρῶτον μὲν
having-happened the at Arginusae sea-battle first indeed
τοὺς δέκα στρατηγοὺς τοὺς τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ νικῶντας
the ten generals those in-the sea-battle winning
συνέβη κριθῆναι μιᾷ χειροτονίᾳ πάντας, τοὺς μὲν
it-happened to-be-judged by-one show-of-hands all the(-ones) indeed
οὐδὲ συννυμαχήσαντας, τοὺς δ' ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίας
not-even having-fought-in-the-battle the(-others) and on another's
νεὼς σωθέντας, ἐξαπατηθέντος τοῦ δήμου διὰ τοὺς
ship having-been-saved deceived the people by those
παροργίσαντας· ἔπειτα βουλομένων Λακεδαιμονίων ἐκ
having-angered(-it) then wishing Lacedaemonians from
Δεκελείας ἀπιέναι καὶ ἐφ' οἷς ἔχουσιν ἑκάτεροι εἰρήνην
Decelea to-depart and on what they-hold each peace
ἄγειν ἔνιοι μὲν ἐσπούδαζον, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν
to-keep some indeed were-eager the but multitude not listened
ἐξαπατηθέντες ὑπὸ Κλεοφῶντος, ὃς ἐκώλυσε γενέσθαι τὴν
being-deceived by Cleophon who prevented to-come-about the

εἰρήνην ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μεθύων καὶ θώρακα
peace having-come into the assembly drunk and breastplate
ἐνδεδυκώς, οὐ φάσκων ἐπιτρέψειν, ἐὰν μὴ πάσας ἀφιῶσι
having-put-on not saying he-would-permit(-it) if not all they-release
Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰς πόλεις.
Lacedaemonians the cities

2 οὐ χρησάμενοι δὲ καλῶς τότε τοῖς πράγμασι μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺν
not having-used and well then the affairs after not long
χρόνον ἔγνωσαν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν. τῷ γὰρ ὕστερον ἔτει
time they-recognized the error in-the for next year
ἐπ᾽ Ἀλεξίου ἄρχοντος ἠτύχησαν τὴν ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς
under Alexias archon they-met-disaster-in the at of-Goat Rivers
ναυμαχίαν, ἐξ ἧς συνέβη κύριον γενόμενον τῆς πόλεως
sea-battle from which it-happened master having-become of-the city
Λύσανδρον καταστῆσαι τοὺς τριάκοντα τρόπῳ τοιῷδε.
Lysander to-establish the thirty in-way such

3 τῆς εἰρήνης γενομένης αὐτοῖς ἐφ᾽ ᾧ τε πολιτεύσονται
the peace having-come-about for-them on condition — they-will-govern-themselves
τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν, οἱ μὲν δημοτικοὶ διασῴζειν ἐπειρῶντο
the ancestral constitution the indeed democrats to-preserve tried
τὸν δῆμον, τῶν δὲ γνωρίμων οἱ μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἑταιρείαις
the democracy of-the and notables the(-ones) indeed in the clubs
ὄντες καὶ τῶν φυγάδων οἱ μετὰ τὴν εἰρήνην κατελθόντες
being and of-the exiles those after the peace having-returned
ὀλιγαρχίας ἐπεθύμουν, οἱ δ᾽ ἐν ἑταιρείᾳ μὲν οὐδεμιᾷ
oligarchy desired the(-others) and in club indeed none
συγκαθεστῶτες ἄλλως δὲ δοκοῦντες οὐδενὸς ἐπιλείπεσθαι
being-enrolled otherwise but seeming to-none to-fall-short
τῶν πολιτῶν, τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν ἐζήτουν· ὧν ἦν
of-the citizens the ancestral constitution sought of-whom was
μὲν καὶ Ἀρχῖνος καὶ Ἄνυτος καὶ Κλειτοφῶν καὶ Φορμίσιος
indeed also Archinus and Anytus and Clitophon and Phormisius

καὶ ἕτεροι πολλοί, προειστήκει δὲ μάλιστα Θηραμένης.
and others many led and most Theramenes
Λυσάνδρου δὲ προσθεμένου τοῖς ὀλιγαρχικοῖς καταπλαγεὶς
Lysander and having-sided with-the oligarchs terrified
ὁ δῆμος ἠναγκάσθη χειροτονεῖν τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν. ἔγραψε
the people was-compelled to-vote the oligarchy proposed
δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα Δρακοντίδης Ἀφιδναῖος.
and the decree Dracontides of-Aphidna

XXXV · THE THIRTY IN POWER

The Thirty ignored the rest of the agreed constitution, appointed a council and officials, and held the city through their own men. At first they seemed moderate, taking down the laws of Ephialtes and Archestratus on the Areopagites and Solon's disputed provisions, and killing informers and wicked men. Once secure, they killed men of wealth, birth, and reputation, putting no fewer than fifteen hundred to death.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν τριάκοντα τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον κατέστησαν 1
the indeed then thirty in-this the way were-established
ἐπὶ Πυθοδώρου ἄρχοντος. γενόμενοι δὲ κύριοι τῆς
under Pythodorus archon having-become and masters of-the
πόλεως τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τὰ δόξαντα περὶ τῆς πολιτείας
city the indeed other the(-things) resolved about the constitution
παρεώρων, πεντακοσίους δὲ βουλευτὰς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας
they-disregarded five-hundred and councilors and the other
ἀρχὰς καταστήσαντες ἐκ προκρίτων ἐκ τῶν χιλίων,
offices having-appointed from preselected from the thousand
καὶ προσελόμενοι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τοῦ Πειραιέως
and having-chosen-in-addition for-themselves themselves — of-Piraeus
ἄρχοντας δέκα καὶ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου φύλακας ἕνδεκα καὶ
governors ten and of-the prison guards eleven and

μαστιγοφόρους τριακοσίους ὑπηρέτας κατεῖχον τὴν πόλιν
whip-bearers three-hundred attendants they-held the city
δι᾽ ἑαυτῶν.
through themselves

2 τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον μέτριοι τοῖς πολίταις ἦσαν καὶ
— indeed then at-first moderate to-the citizens they-were and
προσεποιοῦντο διοικεῖν τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν, καὶ τούς
they-pretended to-administer the ancestral constitution and the
τ᾽ Ἐφιάλτου καὶ Ἀρχεστράτου νόμους τοὺς περὶ τῶν
both of-Ephialtes and of-Archestratus laws the about the
Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν καθεῖλον ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου καὶ τῶν Σόλωνος
Areopagites they-took-down from Ares' hill and of-the of-Solon
θεσμῶν ὅσοι διαμφισβητήσεις εἶχον, καὶ τὸ κῦρος ὃ ἦν
ordinances as-many-as disputes had and the authority which was
ἐν τοῖς δικασταῖς κατέλυσαν, ὡς ἐπανορθοῦντες καὶ ποιοῦντες
in the jurors they-abolished as correcting and making
ἀναμφισβήτητον τὴν πολιτείαν· οἷον περὶ τοῦ δοῦναι τὰ
indisputable the constitution such-as about the to-give the
ἑαυτοῦ ᾧ ἂν ἐθέλῃ κύριον ποιήσαντες καθάπαξ, τὰς
his-own to-whomever — he-wishes valid having-made outright the
δὲ προσούσας δυσκολίας "ἐὰν μὴ μανιῶν ἢ γηρῶν ἢ γυναικὶ
and attached difficulties if not of-insanity or of-old-age or to-a-woman
πιθόμενος" ἀφεῖλον ὅπως μὴ ᾖ τοῖς συκοφάνταις
having-yielded they-removed so-that not there-might-be for-the informers
ἔφοδος· ὁμοίως δὲ τοῦτ᾽ ἔδρων καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων.
an-opening likewise and this they-did also in-the-case-of the other(s)

3 κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν ταῦτ᾽ ἐποίουν καὶ τοὺς συκοφάντας
at the-beginning indeed then these-things they-did and the informers
καὶ τοὺς τῷ δήμῳ πρὸς χάριν ὁμιλοῦντας παρὰ
and the(-ones) the people for favor associating-with contrary-to
τὸ βέλτιστον καὶ κακοπράγμονας ὄντας καὶ πονηροὺς
the best and mischievous being and wicked

ἀνῄρουν, ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἔχαιρον ἡ πόλις γιγνομένοις,
they-did-away-with at which rejoiced the city happening
ἡγούμενοι τοῦ βελτίστου χάριν ποιεῖν αὐτούς.
thinking of-the best for-the-sake-of to-act them
ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐγκρατέστερον ἔσχον, οὐδενὸς ἀπείχοντο 4
when and the city more-firmly they-held nothing they-kept-from
τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς καὶ ταῖς οὐσίαις καὶ
of-the citizens but they-killed the(-ones) both in-their properties and
τῷ γένει καὶ τοῖς ἀξιώμασιν προέχοντας, ὑπεξαιρούμενοί
in-the family and in-the reputations excelling removing
τε τὸν φόβον καὶ βουλόμενοι τὰς οὐσίας διαρπάζειν· καὶ
both the fear and wishing the properties to-plunder and
χρόνου διαπεσόντος βραχέος οὐκ ἐλάττους ἀνῃρήκεσαν
of-time having-passed short not fewer they-had-killed
ἢ χιλίους πεντακοσίους.
than thousand five-hundred

XXXVI · THERAMENES' OPPOSITION

Theramenes, indignant, urged them to share power with the best men; fearing he would lead the people, they enrolled three thousand citizens. He objected that virtue was not bounded by that number, and they delayed and altered the list.

Οὕτως δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὑποφερομένης Θηραμένης ἀγανακτῶν 1
thus and the city being-carried-down Theramenes being-indignant
ἐπὶ τοῖς γιγνομένοις τῆς μὲν ἀσελγείας αὐτοῖς παρῄνει
at the happenings the indeed licentiousness them he-urged
παύσασθαι, μεταδοῦναι δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων τοῖς
to-stop to-share and of-the affairs with-the
βελτίστοις. οἱ δὲ πρῶτον ἐναντιωθέντες, ἐπεὶ διεσπάρησαν
best they and at-first having-opposed when were-scattered

οἱ λόγοι πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος καὶ πρὸς τὸν Θηραμένην οἰκείως
the words to the multitude and to — Theramenes favorably
εἶχον οἱ πολλοί, φοβηθέντες μὴ προστάτης γενόμενος
were-disposed the many having-feared lest champion having-become
τοῦ δήμου καταλύσῃ τὴν δυναστείαν καταλέγουσιν τῶν
of-the people he-overthrow the domination they-enroll of-the
πολιτῶν τρισχιλίους ὡς μεταδώσοντες τῆς πολιτείας.
citizens three-thousand as going-to-share of-the constitution

2 Θηραμένης δὲ πάλιν ἐπιτιμᾷ καὶ τούτοις, πρῶτον μὲν
Theramenes and again censures also these first indeed
ὅτι βουλόμενοι μεταδοῦναι τοῖς ἐπιεικέσι τρισχιλίοις
that wishing to-share with-the decent with-three-thousand
μόνοις μεταδιδόασι, ὡς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πλήθει τῆς ἀρετῆς
only they-share as in this the number the virtue
ὡρισμένης, ἔπειθ' ὅτι δύο τὰ ἐναντιώτατα ποιοῦσιν, βίαιόν
being-bounded then that two the most-opposite they-do violent
τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἥττω κατασκευάζοντες.
both the rule and than-the ruled weaker making
οἱ δὲ τούτων μὲν ὠλιγώρησαν, τὸν δὲ κατάλογον
they and these indeed slighted the and list
τῶν τρισχιλίων πολὺν μὲν χρόνον ὑπερεβάλλοντο καὶ
of-the three-thousand long indeed time they-kept-postponing and
παρ' αὑτοῖς ἐφύλαττον τοὺς ἐγνωσμένους, ὅτε δὲ καὶ
among themselves they-kept the(-ones) decided when and also
δόξειεν αὐτοῖς ἐκφέρειν τοὺς μὲν ἐξήλειφον τῶν
it-seemed-good to-them to-publish the(-ones) indeed they-erased of-the
ἐγγεγραμμένων, τοὺς δ' ἀντενέγραφον τῶν ἔξωθεν.
enrolled the(-ones) and they-wrote-in-instead of-the outside

XXXVII · THERAMENES' DEATH

When Thrasybulus seized Phyle and the Thirty's expedition failed, they passed two laws: one let them kill anyone not on the list of three thousand, the other excluded those who had demolished the wall at Eetionea, which condemned Theramenes. They killed him, disarmed all but the three thousand, and got a Spartan garrison under Callibius.

Ἤδη δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐνεστῶτος, καταλαβόντος 1
already and the winter having-set-in having-seized
Θρασυβούλου μετὰ τῶν φυγάδων Φυλήν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν
Thrasybulus with the exiles Phyle and at the
στρατιὰν ἣν ἐξήγαγον οἱ τριάκοντα κακῶς ἀποχωρήσαντες,
expedition which led-out the thirty badly having-withdrawn
ἔγνωσαν τῶν μὲν ἄλλων τὰ ὅπλα παρελέσθαι, Θηραμένην
they-decided of-the indeed others the arms to-take-away Theramenes
δὲ διαφθεῖραι τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. νόμους εἰσήνεγκαν εἰς
and to-destroy in-this the way laws they-brought-in into
τὴν βουλὴν δύο κελεύοντες ἐπιχειροτονεῖν, ὧν ὁ μὲν εἷς
the council two ordering to-vote-them-through of-which the indeed one
αὐτοκράτορας ἐποίει τοὺς τριάκοντα τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποκτεῖναι
with-full-power made the thirty of-the citizens to-kill
τοὺς μὴ τοῦ καταλόγου μετέχοντας τῶν τρισχιλίων,
the(-ones) not of-the list sharing-in of-the three-thousand
ὁ δ' ἕτερος ἐκώλυε κοινωνεῖν τῆς παρούσης πολιτείας
the and other prevented to-share-in of-the present constitution
ὅσοι τυγχάνουσιν τὸ ἐν Ἠετιωνείᾳ τεῖχος κατασκάψαντες
as-many-as happen the in Eetionea wall having-demolished
ἢ τοῖς τετρακοσίοις ἐναντίον τι πράξαντες τοῖς
or to-the four-hundred opposed anything having-done to-those
κατασκευάσασι τὴν προτέραν ὀλιγαρχίαν· ὧν ἐτύγχανεν
having-set-up the former oligarchy of-which happened

ἀμφοτέρων κεκοινωνηκὼς ὁ Θηραμένης, ὥστε συνέβαινεν
of-both having-shared — Theramenes so-that it-came-about
ἐπικυρωθέντων τῶν νόμων ἔξω τε γίγνεσθαι τῆς πολιτείας
having-been-ratified the laws outside both to-be of-the constitution
αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς τριάκοντα κυρίους εἶναι θανατοῦντας.
him and the thirty empowered to-be putting-to-death
2 ἀναιρεθέντος δὲ Θηραμένους τά τε ὅπλα παρείλοντο πάντων
having-been-killed and Theramenes the both arms they-took-away of-all
πλὴν τῶν τρισχιλίων καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις πολὺ πρὸς
except the three-thousand and in the other(-things) far toward
ὠμότητα καὶ πονηρίαν ἐπέδοσαν. πρέσβεις δὲ πέμψαντες
cruelty and wickedness they-advanced envoys and having-sent
εἰς Λακεδαίμονα τοῦ τε Θηραμένους κατηγόρουν καὶ
to Lacedaemon — both Theramenes accused and
βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς ἠξίουν· ὧν ἀκούσαντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
to-help them asked of-which having-heard the Lacedaemonians
Καλλίβιον ἀπέστειλαν ἁρμοστὴν καὶ στρατιώτας ὡς
Callibius sent-off as-harmost and soldiers about
ἑπτακοσίους, οἳ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐλθόντες ἐφρούρουν.
seven-hundred who the acropolis having-come garrisoned

XXXVIII · THE TEN AND THE RETURN

After the men from Phyle took Munichia, the city party deposed the Thirty and chose ten men, who sent to Sparta for help instead of ending the war and killed Demaretus to cow the rest. A second ten, led by Rhinon and Phayllus, worked with Pausanias for peace and the people's return; Rhinon passed his audit unchallenged and was made general.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καταλαβόντων τῶν ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τὴν 1
after and these-things having-seized of-those from Phyle —
Μουνιχίαν καὶ νικησάντων μάχῃ τοὺς μετὰ τῶν τριάκοντα
Munichia and having-conquered in-battle those with the thirty
βοηθήσαντας, ἐπαναχωρήσαντες μετὰ τὸν κίνδυνον οἱ
having-come-to-aid having-withdrawn after the danger those
ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως καὶ συναθροισθέντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν τῇ
from the city and having-gathered into the marketplace on-the
ὑστεραίᾳ τοὺς μὲν τριάκοντα κατέλυσαν, αἱροῦνται δὲ
next-day the indeed thirty deposed they-choose and
δέκα τῶν πολιτῶν αὐτοκράτορας ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου
ten of-the citizens with-full-power for the of-the war
κατάλυσιν. οἱ δὲ παραλαβόντες τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐφ' οἷς μὲν
ending they and having-taken-over the office for which indeed
ᾑρέθησαν οὐκ ἔπραττον, ἔπεμπον δ' εἰς Λακεδαίμονα
they-were-chosen not they-did they-sent and to Lacedaemon
βοήθειαν μεταπεμπόμενοι καὶ χρήματα δανειζόμενοι.
help sending-for and money borrowing
χαλεπῶς δὲ φερόντων ἐπὶ τούτοις τῶν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, 2
with-difficulty and bearing at these-things those in the constitution
φοβούμενοι μὴ καταλυθῶσιν τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ βουλόμενοι
fearing lest they-be-deposed from-the office and wishing
καταπλῆξαι τοὺς ἄλλους (ὅπερ ἐγένετο), συλλαβόντες
to-terrify the others which-very-thing happened having-arrested
Δημάρετον οὐδενὸς ὄντα δεύτερον τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπέκτειναν,
Demaretus to-none being second of-the citizens they-killed
καὶ τὰ πράγματα βεβαίως εἶχον, συναγωνιζομένου
and the affairs firmly held helping-them-contend
Καλλιβίου τε καὶ τῶν Πελοποννησίων τῶν παρόντων καὶ
Callibius both and the Peloponnesians the present and
πρὸς τούτοις ἐνίων τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι. τούτων
in-addition-to these some of-those among the cavalry of-these

γάρ τινες μάλιστα τῶν πολιτῶν ἐσπούδαζον μὴ κατελθεῖν
for some most of-the citizens were-zealous not to-return
τοὺς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς.
those from Phyle

3 ὡς δ' οἱ τὸν Πειραιέα καὶ τὴν Μουνιχίαν ἔχοντες,
as and those — Piraeus and — Munichia holding
ἀποστάντος ἅπαντος τοῦ δήμου πρὸς αὐτούς, ἐπεκράτουν
having-revolted all the people to them prevailed
τῷ πολέμῳ, τότε καταλύσαντες τοὺς δέκα τοὺς
in-the war then having-deposed the ten the
πρώτους αἱρεθέντας ἄλλους εἵλοντο δέκα τοὺς βελτίστους
first chosen others they-chose ten the best
εἶναι δοκοῦντας, ἐφ' ὧν συνέβη καὶ τὰς διαλύσεις
to-be seeming under whom it-came-about both the settlements
γενέσθαι καὶ κατελθεῖν τὸν δῆμον, συναγωνιζομένων καὶ
to-happen and to-return the people helping-contend and
προθυμουμένων τούτων. προειστήκεσαν δ' αὐτῶν μάλιστα
being-eager these presided and over-them most
Ῥίνων τε ὁ Παιανιεὺς καὶ Φάυλλος ὁ Ἀχερδούσιος· οὗτοι
Rhinon both the of-Paeania and Phayllus the of-Acherdus these
γὰρ πρίν τε Παυσανίαν ἀφικέσθαι διεπέμποντο πρὸς τοὺς
for before both Pausanias to-arrive kept-sending to those
ἐν Πειραιεῖ καὶ ἀφικομένου συνεσπούδασαν τὴν κάθοδον.
in Piraeus and having-arrived joined-in-urging the return

4 ἐπὶ πέρας γὰρ ἤγαγε τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὰς διαλύσεις
to an-end for brought the peace and the settlements
Παυσανίας ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς μετὰ τῶν δέκα
Pausanias the of-the Lacedaemonians king with the ten
διαλλακτῶν τῶν ὕστερον ἀφικομένων ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος,
mediators the later having-arrived from Lacedaemon
οὓς αὐτὸς ἐσπούδασεν ἐλθεῖν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ῥίνωνα
whom he-himself urged to-come those and around — Rhinon

διά τε τὴν εὔνοιαν τὴν εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐπῃνέθησαν, καὶ
through both the goodwill the toward the people were-praised and
λαβόντες τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ τὰς εὐθύνας ἔδοσαν
having-received the charge in oligarchy the audits gave
ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ, καὶ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ἐνεκάλεσεν αὐτοῖς οὔτε τῶν
in democracy and no-one nothing charged them neither of-those
ἐν ἄστει μεινάντων οὔτε τῶν ἐκ Πειραιέως κατελθόντων,
in town having-remained nor of-those from Piraeus having-returned
ἀλλὰ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ στρατηγὸς εὐθὺς ᾑρέθη Ῥίνων.
but through these-things also general at-once was-elected Rhinon

XXXIX · THE TERMS OF RECONCILIATION

Under Euclides the reconciliation was made. City men who wished might settle at Eleusis with full rights and property, registering within ten days and leaving within twenty; the sanctuary was common, and neither side might cross except for the Mysteries. No one might bear grudges except against the Thirty, the Ten, the Eleven, and the Piraeus governors, and not against them if they rendered account.

Ἐγένοντο δ' αἱ διαλύσεις ἐπ' Εὐκλείδου ἄρχοντος κατὰ 1
took-place and the settlements under Euclides archon according-to
τὰς συνθήκας τάσδε. τοὺς βουλομένους Ἀθηναίων τῶν
the terms these the(-ones) wishing of-Athenians of-those
ἐν ἄστει μεινάντων ἐξοικεῖν ἔχειν Ἐλευσῖνα ἐπιτίμους
in town having-remained to-emigrate to-have Eleusis enfranchised
ὄντας καὶ κυρίους καὶ αὐτοκράτορας ἑαυτῶν καὶ τὰ
being and masters and with-full-power of-themselves and the
αὑτῶν καρπουμένους.
their-own enjoying

2 τὸ δ' ἱερὸν εἶναι κοινὸν ἀμφοτέρων, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ
the and sanctuary to-be common of-both to-take-care-of and
Κήρυκας καὶ Εὐμολπίδας κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. μὴ
Kerykes and Eumolpidae according-to the ancestral(-customs) not
ἐξεῖναι δὲ μήτε τοῖς Ἐλευσινόθεν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ μήτε
to-be-permitted and neither for-those from-Eleusis into the town nor
τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως Ἐλευσινάδε ἰέναι πλὴν μυστηρίοις
for-those from the town to-Eleusis to-go except at-the-Mysteries
ἑκατέρους. συντελεῖν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν προσιόντων εἰς τὸ
each-party to-contribute and from the revenues to the
συμμαχικὸν καθάπερ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀθηναίους.
allied(-fund) just-as the other Athenians

3 ἐὰν δέ τινες τῶν ἀπιόντων οἰκίαν λαμβάνωσιν Ἐλευσῖνι,
if and any of-those departing a-house take at-Eleusis
συμπείθειν τὸν κεκτημένον· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ συμβαίνωσιν
to-persuade the owner if and not they-agree
ἀλλήλοις, τιμητὰς ἑλέσθαι τρεῖς ἑκάτερον, καὶ ἥντιν' ἂν
with-one-another assessors to-choose three each and whatever —
οὗτοι τάξωσιν τιμὴν λαμβάνειν. Ἐλευσινίων δὲ συνοικεῖν
these fix price to-receive of-Eleusinians and to-live-with
οὓς ἂν οὗτοι βούλωνται.
whomever — these wish

4 τὴν δ' ἀπογραφὴν εἶναι τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐξοικεῖν, τοῖς
the and registration to-be for-those wishing to-emigrate for-those
μὲν ἐπιδημοῦσιν ἀφ' ἧς ἂν ὀμόσωσιν τοὺς ὅρκους δέκα
indeed being-in-the-country from which — they-swear the oaths ten
ἡμερῶν, τὴν δ' ἐξοίκησιν εἴκοσι, τοῖς δ' ἀποδημοῦσιν
days the and emigration twenty for-those and being-abroad
ἐπειδὰν ἐπιδημήσωσιν κατὰ ταὐτά.
when they-come-home in the-same-way

μὴ ἐξεῖναι δὲ ἄρχειν μηδεμίαν ἀρχὴν τῶν ἐν τῷ ἄστει 5
not to-be-permitted and to-hold no office of-those in the town
τὸν Ἐλευσῖνι κατοικοῦντα, πρὶν ἂν ἀπογράψηται πάλιν ἐν
the(-one) at-Eleusis dwelling before — be-registers again in
τῷ ἄστει κατοικεῖν. τὰς δὲ δίκας τοῦ φόνου εἶναι κατὰ τὰ
the town to-dwell the and trials of-the homicide to-be according-to the
πάτρια, εἴ τίς τινα αὐτοχειρίᾳ ἔκτεινεν ἢ ἔτρωσεν.
ancestral(-customs) if anyone someone with-his-own-hand killed or wounded
τῶν δὲ παρεληλυθότων μηδενὶ πρὸς μηδένα μνησικακεῖν 6
of-the and past-things for-no-one against no-one to-bear-grudges
ἐξεῖναι πλὴν πρὸς τοὺς τριάκοντα καὶ τοὺς δέκα καὶ
to-be-permitted except against the thirty and the ten and
τοὺς ἕνδεκα καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Πειραιέως ἄρξαντας, μηδὲ
the eleven and the(-ones) — of-Piraeus having-governed nor-even
πρὸς τούτους, ἐὰν διδῶσιν εὐθύνας. εὐθύνας δὲ δοῦναι
against these if they-give audits audits and to-give
τοὺς μὲν ἐν Πειραιεῖ ἄρξαντας ἐν τοῖς ἐν Πειραιεῖ,
the(-ones) indeed in Piraeus having-governed before those in Piraeus
τοὺς δ' ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἐν τοῖς τὰ τιμήματα παρεχομένοις.
the(-ones) and in the town before those the assessments presenting
εἶθ' οὕτως ἐξοικεῖν τοὺς ἐθέλοντας. τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἃ
then thus to-emigrate the(-ones) willing the and money which
ἐδανείσαντο εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἑκατέρους ἀποδοῦναι χωρίς.
they-borrowed for the war each-party to-repay separately

Archinus cut short the registration period to keep the would-be emigrants, indicted Thrasybulus' decree giving citizenship to all who had returned from the Piraeus, some of them plainly slaves, and had a man who bore a grudge executed without trial, so that no one bore one again. The Athenians even repaid the Thirty's loan from Sparta in common, and in the third year were reconciled with the settlers at Eleusis.

1 Γενομένων δὲ τοιούτων τῶν διαλύσεων, καὶ φοβουμένων
having-become and such the settlements and fearing
ὅσοι μετὰ τῶν τριάκοντα συνεπολέμησαν, καὶ πολλῶν
as-many-as with the thirty had-fought-alongside and many
μὲν ἐπινοούντων ἐξοικεῖν ἀναβαλλομένων δὲ τὴν ἀπογραφὴν
indeed intending to-emigrate putting-off and the registration
εἰς τὰς ἐσχάτας ἡμέρας, ὅπερ εἰώθασιν ποιεῖν ἅπαντες,
to the last days which-very-thing are-accustomed to-do all
Ἀρχῖνος συνιδὼν τὸ πλῆθος καὶ βουλόμενος κατασχεῖν
Archinus perceiving the number and wishing to-hold-back
αὐτοὺς ὑφεῖλε τὰς ὑπολοίπους ἡμέρας τῆς ἀπογραφῆς, ὥστε
them took-away the remaining days of-the registration so-that
συναναγκασθῆναι μένειν πολλοὺς ἄκοντας ἕως ἐθάρρησαν.
to-be-compelled to-remain many unwilling until they-took-courage
2 καὶ δοκεῖ τοῦτό τε πολιτεύσασθαι καλῶς Ἀρχῖνος καὶ
and seems this both to-have-acted-as-a-statesman well Archinus and
μετὰ ταῦτα γραψάμενος τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ Θρασυβούλου
after these-things having-indicted the decree the of-Thrasybulus
παρανόμων, ἐν ᾧ μετεδίδου τῆς πολιτείας πᾶσι τοῖς
for-illegality in which he-gave-a-share of-the constitution to-all those
ἐκ Πειραιέως συγκατελθοῦσι, ὧν ἔνιοι φανερῶς ἦσαν
from Piraeus having-returned-with-him of-whom some plainly were
δοῦλοι, καὶ τρίτον, ἐπεί τις ἤρξατο τῶν κατεληλυθότων
slaves and third when someone began of-those having-returned

μνησικακεῖν ἀπαγαγὼν τοῦτον ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ
to-bear-grudges having-led-off this-man to the council and
πείσας ἄκριτον ἀποκτεῖναι, λέγων ὅτι νῦν δείξουσιν
having-persuaded untried to-kill(-him) saying that now they-will-show
εἰ βούλονται τὴν δημοκρατίαν σώζειν καὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις
whether they-wish the democracy to-preserve and by-the oaths
ἐμμένειν· ἀφέντας μὲν γὰρ τοῦτον προτρέψειν καὶ τοὺς
to-abide having-let-go indeed for this-man they-will-encourage also the
ἄλλους, ἐὰν δ' ἀνέλωσιν, παράδειγμα ποιήσειν ἅπασιν.
others if but they-destroy(-him) an-example they-will-make for-all
ὅπερ καὶ συνέπεσεν· ἀποθανόντος γὰρ οὐδεὶς πώποτε
which-very-thing also happened having-died for no-one ever
ὕστερον ἐμνησικάκησεν. ἀλλὰ δοκοῦσιν κάλλιστα δὴ καὶ
later bore-a-grudge but they-seem most-finely indeed and
πολιτικώτατα ἁπάντων καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ χρήσασθαι
most-statesmanlike of-all both privately and publicly to-have-dealt-with
ταῖς προγεγενημέναις συμφοραῖς·
the former misfortunes
οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὰς περὶ τῶν προτέρων αἰτίας ἐξήλειψαν, 3
not for only the about the earlier(-things) charges they-erased
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ χρήματα Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἃ οἱ τριάκοντα
but also the money to-Lacedaemonians which the thirty
πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἔλαβον, ἀπέδοσαν κοινῇ, κελευουσῶν
for the war took they-repaid in-common ordering
τῶν συνθηκῶν ἑκατέρους ἀποδιδόναι χωρὶς τούς τ' ἐκ
the terms each-party to-repay separately those both from
τοῦ ἄστεως καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιέως, ἡγούμενοι τοῦτο
the town and those from — Piraeus thinking this
πρῶτον ἄρχειν δεῖν τῆς ὁμονοίας· ἐν δὲ ταῖς
first to-make-a-beginning to-be-necessary of-the concord in but the

ἄλλαις πόλεσιν οὐχ οἷον ἔτι προστιθέασιν τῶν οἰκείων οἱ
other cities not only further contribute of-the own(-property) the
δημοκρατήσαντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀνάδαστον ποιοῦσιν.
having-gained-democracy but also the land redistributed make
4 διελύθησαν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι κατοικήσαντας
were-reconciled and also with those in Eleusis having-settled
ἔτει τρίτῳ μετὰ τὴν ἐξοίκησιν, ἐπὶ Ξεναινέτου ἄρχοντος.
in-year third after the emigration under Xenaenetus archon

XLI · THE ELEVEN CHANGES

The people, now master of affairs, set up the present constitution, the eleventh change, after Ion, Theseus, Draco, Solon, Pisistratus, Cleisthenes, the Areopagus, Aristides and Ephialtes, the Four Hundred, the restored democracy, and the Thirty and the Ten. Assembly pay began with Agyrrhius' obol; Heraclides raised it to two obols, and Agyrrhius to three.

1 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς ὕστερον συνέβη γενέσθαι καιροῖς,
these-things indeed then in the later happened to-take-place times
τότε δὲ κύριος ὁ δῆμος γενόμενος τῶν πραγμάτων
then and master the people having-become of-the affairs
ἐνεστήσατο τὴν νῦν οὖσαν πολιτείαν, ἐπὶ Πυθοδώρου
set-up the now being constitution under Pythodorus
μὲν ἄρχοντος, †δοκοῦντος δὲ δικαίως τοῦ δήμου λαβεῖν
indeed archon seeming and justly the people to-take
τὴν πολιτείαν διὰ τὸ ποιήσασθαι τὴν κάθοδον δι'
the constitution through the to-have-made the return through
αὑτοῦ τὸν δῆμον†.
itself the people

ἦν δὲ τῶν μεταβολῶν ἑνδεκάτη τὸν ἀριθμὸν αὕτη. πρώτη 2
was and of-the changes eleventh in-the number this first
μὲν γὰρ ἐγένετο μετάστασις τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, Ἴωνος καὶ
indeed for occurred alteration of-the from the-beginning of-Ion and
τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ συνοικησάντων· τότε γὰρ πρῶτον εἰς τὰς
of-those with him having-settled-together then for first into the
τέτταρας συνενεμήθησαν φυλὰς καὶ τοὺς φυλοβασιλέας
four they-were-distributed tribes and the tribe-kings
κατέστησαν. δευτέρα δὲ καὶ πρώτη μετὰ ταύτην, ἔχουσα
they-appointed second and and first after this having
πολιτείας τάξιν, ἡ ἐπὶ Θησέως γενομένη, μικρὸν
of-constitution order the in-the-time-of Theseus having-occurred slightly
παρεγκλίνουσα τῆς βασιλικῆς. μετὰ δὲ ταύτην ἡ ἐπὶ
deviating from-the kingly after and this the in-the-time-of
Δράκοντος, ἐν ᾗ καὶ νόμους ἀνέγραψαν πρῶτον. τρίτη δ'
Draco in which also laws they-wrote-up first third and
ἡ μετὰ τὴν στάσιν ἡ ἐπὶ Σόλωνος, ἀφ' ἧς ἀρχὴ
the after the faction the in-the-time-of Solon from which beginning
δημοκρατίας ἐγένετο. τετάρτη δ' ἡ ἐπὶ Πεισιστράτου
of-democracy came-about fourth and the in-the-time-of Pisistratus
τυραννίς. πέμπτη δ' ἡ μετὰ τὴν τῶν τυράννων κατάλυσιν
tyranny fifth and the after the of-the tyrants overthrow
ἡ Κλεισθένους, δημοτικωτέρα τῆς Σόλωνος. ἕκτη δ'
the of-Cleisthenes more-democratic than-the of-Solon sixth and
ἡ μετὰ τὰ Μηδικά, τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς
the after the Persian-Wars the from Ares' hill council
ἐπιστατούσης. ἑβδόμη δὲ καὶ μετὰ ταύτην, ἣν Ἀριστείδης
presiding seventh and also after this which Aristides
μὲν ὑπέδειξεν, Ἐφιάλτης δ' ἐπετέλεσεν καταλύσας τὴν
indeed outlined Ephialtes and completed having-overthrown the

Ἀρεοπαγῖτιν βουλήν· ἐν ᾗ πλεῖστα συνέβη τὴν πόλιν διὰ
Areopagite council in which most-things it-happened the city through
τοὺς δημαγωγοὺς ἁμαρτάνειν διὰ τὴν τῆς θαλάττης ἀρχήν.
the demagogues to-err through the of-the sea rule
ὀγδόη δ' ἡ τῶν τετρακοσίων κατάστασις, καὶ μετὰ
eighth and the of-the four-hundred establishment and after
ταύτην, ἐνάτη δέ, δημοκρατία πάλιν. δεκάτη δ' ἡ τῶν
this ninth and democracy again tenth and the of-the
τριάκοντα καὶ ἡ τῶν δέκα τυραννίς. ἑνδεκάτη δ' ἡ
thirty and the of-the ten tyranny eleventh and the
μετὰ τὴν ἀπὸ Φυλῆς καὶ ἐκ Πειραιέως κάθοδον, ἀφ' ἧς
after the from Phyle and from Piraeus return from which
διαγεγένηται μέχρι τῆς νῦν ἀεὶ προσεπιλαμβάνουσα τῷ
it-has-continued up-to the present always adding to-the
πλήθει τὴν ἐξουσίαν. ἁπάντων γὰρ αὐτὸς αὑτὸν πεποίηκεν
multitude the power of-all for itself itself has-made
ὁ δῆμος κύριον, καὶ πάντα διοικεῖται ψηφίσμασιν καὶ
the people master and all-things is-administered by-decrees and
δικαστηρίοις, ἐν οἷς ὁ δῆμός ἐστιν ὁ κρατῶν. καὶ
by-law-courts in which the people is the(-one) ruling and
γὰρ αἱ τῆς βουλῆς κρίσεις εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐληλύθασιν.
for the of-the council judgments to the people have-come
καὶ τοῦτο δοκοῦσι ποιεῖν ὀρθῶς· εὐδιαφθορώτεροι γὰρ οἱ
and this they-seem to-do rightly more-easily-corrupted for the
ὀλίγοι τῶν πολλῶν εἰσιν καὶ κέρδει καὶ χάρισιν.
few than-the many are both by-gain and by-favors
3 μισθοφόρον δ' ἐκκλησίαν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπέγνωσαν
paid and assembly — indeed at-first they-refused
ποιεῖν· οὐ συλλεγομένων δ' εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀλλὰ
to-make not gathering and into the assembly but
πολλὰ σοφιζομένων τῶν πρυτάνεων, ὅπως προσιστῆται
many(-devices) contriving the prytaneis so-that might-attend

τὸ πλῆθος πρὸς τὴν ἐπικύρωσιν τῆς χειροτονίας,
the multitude for the ratification of-the vote
πρῶτον μὲν Ἀγύρριος ὀβολὸν ἐπόρισεν, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον
first indeed Agyrrhius an-obol provided after and him
Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Κλαζομένιος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπικαλούμενος
Heraclides the of-Clazomenae the king being-nicknamed
διώβολον, πάλιν δ' Ἀγύρριος τριώβολον.
two-obols again and Agyrrhius three-obols

XLII · CITIZENS AND EPHEBES

The present constitution: a citizen is born of two citizens and enrolled at eighteen after his deme votes on his age and free birth, with appeal to a court. The ephebes are trained for two years under moderators and a marshal, garrison the Piraeus, and patrol the country.

Ἔχει δ' ἡ νῦν κατάστασις τῆς πολιτείας τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. 1
has and the present arrangement of-the constitution this the way
μετέχουσιν μὲν τῆς πολιτείας οἱ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων γεγονότες
share indeed in-the constitution those from both born
ἀστῶν, ἐγγράφονται δ' εἰς τοὺς δημότας ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτη
citizens are-enrolled and among the demesmen eighteen years
γεγονότες. ὅταν δ' ἐγγράφωνται διαψηφίζονται περὶ αὐτῶν
having-become when and they-are-enrolled vote about them
ὀμόσαντες οἱ δημόται, πρῶτον μὲν εἰ δοκοῦσι γεγονέναι
having-sworn the demesmen first indeed whether they-seem to-have-reached
τὴν ἡλικίαν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου, κἂν μὴ δόξωσι, ἀπέρχονται
the age the by the law and-if not they-seem they-go-back
πάλιν εἰς παῖδας, δεύτερον δ' εἰ ἐλεύθερός ἐστι καὶ
again among boys second and whether free he-is and
γέγονε κατὰ τοὺς νόμους. ἔπειτ' ἂν μὲν ἀποψηφίσωνται
was-born according-to the laws then if indeed they-vote-against(-him)

μὴ εἶναι ἐλεύθερον, ὁ μὲν ἐφίησιν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, οἱ
not to-be free he indeed appeals to the law-court the
δὲ δημόται κατηγόρους αἱροῦνται πέντε ἄνδρας ἐξ αὐτῶν,
and demesmen as-accusers choose five men from themselves
κἂν μὲν μὴ δόξῃ δικαίως ἐγγράφεσθαι, πωλεῖ τοῦτον ἡ
and-if indeed not he-seems justly to-be-enrolled sells him the
πόλις· ἐὰν δὲ νικήσῃ, τοῖς δημόταις ἐπάναγκες ἐγγράφειν.
city if but he-wins for-the demesmen compulsory to-enroll
2 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δοκιμάζει τοὺς ἐγγραφέντας ἡ βουλή,
after and these-things scrutinizes the(-ones) enrolled the council
κἄν τις δόξῃ νεώτερος ὀκτωκαίδεκ' ἐτῶν εἶναι, ζημιοῖ
and-if anyone seems younger than-eighteen years to-be it-fines
τοὺς δημότας τοὺς ἐγγράψαντας. ἐπὰν δὲ δοκιμασθῶσιν
the demesmen the(-ones) having-enrolled(-him) when and are-scrutinized
οἱ ἔφηβοι, συλλεγέντες οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν κατὰ φυλὰς
the ephebes having-gathered the fathers of-them by tribes
ὀμόσαντες αἱροῦνται τρεῖς ἐκ τῶν φυλετῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ
having-sworn choose three from the tribesmen those over
τετταράκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων, οὓς ἂν ἡγῶνται βελτίστους
forty years having-become whom — they-think best
εἶναι καὶ ἐπιτηδειοτάτους ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν ἐφήβων, ἐκ
to-be and most-suitable to-take-care-of the ephebes from
δὲ τούτων ὁ δῆμος ἕνα τῆς φυλῆς ἑκάστης χειροτονεῖ
and these the people one of-the tribe each elects
σωφρονιστὴν καὶ κοσμητὴν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ
as-moderator and as-marshal from the other Athenians over
πάντας. συλλαβόντες δ' οὗτοι τοὺς ἐφήβους,
all having-gathered and these the ephebes
3 πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ἱερὰ περιῆλθον, εἶτ' εἰς Πειραιέα
first indeed the sanctuaries went-around then to Piraeus
πορεύονται καὶ φρουροῦσιν οἱ μὲν τὴν Μουνιχίαν οἱ
they-proceed and they-garrison some indeed — Munichia others

δὲ τὴν Ἀκτήν. χειροτονεῖ δὲ καὶ παιδοτρίβας αὐτοῖς δύο,
and — Acte elects and also athletic-trainers for-them two
καὶ διδασκάλους, οἵτινες ὁπλομαχεῖν καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ
and instructors who to-fight-in-armor and to-shoot-the-bow and
ἀκοντίζειν καὶ καταπάλτην ἀφιέναι διδάσκουσιν. δίδωσι δὲ
to-throw-the-javelin and catapult to-discharge teach gives and
καὶ εἰς τροφὴν τοῖς μὲν σωφρονισταῖς δραχμὴν α ἑκάστῳ,
also for maintenance to-the indeed moderators drachma 1 to-each
τοῖς δ' ἐφήβοις τέτταρας ὀβολοὺς ἑκάστῳ· τὰ δὲ
to-the and ephebes four obols to-each the(-allowances) and
τῶν φυλετῶν τῶν αὑτοῦ λαμβάνων ὁ σωφρονιστὴς ἕκαστος
of-the tribesmen the his-own receiving the moderator each
ἀγοράζει τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πᾶσιν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν (συσσιτοῦσι
buys the necessities for-all into the common-stock they-mess-together
γὰρ κατὰ φυλάς), καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμελεῖται πάντων.
for by tribes and of-the other(-things) takes-care-of all
καὶ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἐνιαυτὸν οὕτως διάγουσι· τὸν δ' 4
and the indeed first year thus they-spend the and
ὕστερον ἐκκλησίας ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ γενομένης ἀποδειξάμενοι
later assembly in the theater having-taken-place having-displayed
τῷ δήμῳ τὰ περὶ τὰς τάξεις καὶ λαβόντες ἀσπίδα
to-the people the(-drills) about the formations and having-received a-shield
καὶ δόρυ παρὰ τῆς πόλεως περιπολοῦσι τὴν χώραν καὶ
and spear from the city they-patrol the country and
διατρίβουσιν ἐν τοῖς φυλακτηρίοις.
spend-time in the guard-posts
φρουροῦσι δὲ τὰ δύο ἔτη, χλαμύδας ἔχοντες, καὶ ἀτελεῖς 5
they-garrison and the two years cloaks having and exempt
εἰσι πάντων· καὶ δίκην οὔτε διδόασιν οὔτε λαμβάνουσιν,
they-are from-all and lawsuit neither give nor take
ἵνα μὴ πρόφασις ᾖ τοῦ ἀπιέναι, πλὴν περὶ κλήρου καὶ
so-that not pretext there-be of-the to-go-away except about an-estate and

ἐπικλήρου, κἄν τινι κατὰ τὸ γένος ἱερωσύνη γένηται.
an-heiress and-if to-anyone by the family a-priesthood fall
διεξελθόντων δὲ τῶν δυεῖν ἐτῶν ἤδη μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων εἰσίν.
having-passed and the two years already with the others they-are

XLIII · THE COUNCIL AND PRYTANIES

All offices of routine administration are allotted except the military treasurer, the festival fund officers, and the superintendent of springs. The council of five hundred is allotted, fifty from each tribe, and each tribe presides in turn. The prytaneis dine in the Tholos, convene the council and assembly, and post the business of the four assemblies in each prytany.

1 Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν τῶν πολιτῶν ἐγγραφὴν καὶ τοὺς
the(-matters) indeed then about the of-the citizens enrollment and the
ἐφήβους τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον. τὰς δ' ἀρχὰς τὰς περὶ
ephebes this has the way the and offices the about
τὴν ἐγκύκλιον διοίκησιν ἁπάσας ποιοῦσι κληρωτὰς πλὴν
the routine administration all they-make allotted except
ταμίου στρατιωτικῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικὸν καὶ τοῦ
treasurer of-military(-funds) and of-those over the festival(-fund) and of-the
τῶν κρηνῶν ἐπιμελητοῦ. ταύτας δὲ χειροτονοῦσιν, καὶ οἱ
of-the springs superintendent these and they-elect and those
χειροτονηθέντες ἄρχουσιν ἐκ Παναθηναίων εἰς Παναθήναια.
elected hold-office from Panathenaea to Panathenaea
χειροτονοῦσι δὲ καὶ τὰς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἁπάσας.
they-elect and also the(-offices) for the war all
2 Βουλὴ δὲ κληροῦται φ, ν ἀπὸ φυλῆς ἑκάστης. πρυτανεύει
council and is-allotted 500 50 from tribe each holds-the-prytany
δ' ἐν μέρει τῶν φυλῶν ἑκάστη καθ' ὅ τι ἂν λάχωσιν,
and in turn of-the tribes each by what ever — they-are-allotted

αἱ μὲν πρῶται τέτταρες ἓξ καὶ λ ἡμέρας ἑκάστη, αἱ
the indeed first four six and 30 days each the
δὲ ς αἱ ὕστεραι ε καὶ λ ἡμέρας ἑκάστη· κατὰ σελήνην
and 6 the later 5 and 30 days each by moon
γὰρ ἄγουσιν τὸν ἐνιαυτόν.
for they-reckon the year
οἱ δὲ πρυτανεύοντες αὐτῶν πρῶτον μὲν συσσιτοῦσιν ἐν 3
the and holding-the-prytany of-them first indeed mess-together in
τῇ θόλῳ, λαμβάνοντες ἀργύριον παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, ἔπειτα
the tholos receiving money from the city then
συνάγουσιν καὶ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον· τὴν μὲν οὖν
they-convene both the council and the people the indeed then
βουλὴν ὅσαι ἡμέραι, πλὴν ἐάν τις ἀφέσιμος ᾖ, τὸν
council as-many-as days except if any free-day be the
δὲ δῆμον τετράκις τῆς πρυτανείας ἑκάστης. καὶ ὅσα
and people four-times of-the prytany each and what-things
δεῖ χρηματίζειν τὴν βουλὴν καὶ ὅ τι ἐν ἑκάστῃ
it-is-necessary to-transact the council and what ever in each
τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ὅπου καθίζειν οὗτοι προγράφουσι.
the day and where to-sit these post-in-advance
προγράφουσι δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας οὗτοι· μίαν μὲν 4
post-in-advance and also the assemblies these one indeed
κυρίαν ἐν ᾗ δεῖ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐπιχειροτονεῖν εἰ
sovereign in which it-is-necessary the officials to-confirm-by-vote if
δοκοῦσι καλῶς ἄρχειν, καὶ περὶ σίτου καὶ περὶ φυλακῆς
they-seem well to-hold-office and about grain and about defense
τῆς χώρας χρηματίζειν, καὶ τὰς εἰσαγγελίας ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ
of-the country to-transact and the impeachments in this the
ἡμέρᾳ τοὺς βουλομένους ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τὰς ἀπογραφὰς
day the(-ones) wishing to-make and the inventories
τῶν δημευομένων ἀναγιγνώσκειν καὶ τὰς λήξεις
of-the(-properties) confiscated to-read and the claims

τῶν κλήρων καὶ τῶν ἐπικλήρων, ὅπως μηδένα λάθῃ
of-the estates and of-the heiresses so-that no-one escape-notice
μηδὲν ἔρημον γενόμενον.
nothing vacant having-become
5 ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἕκτης πρυτανείας πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις καὶ
in and the sixth prytany besides the things-stated also
περὶ τῆς ὀστρακοφορίας ἐπιχειροτονίαν διδόασιν εἰ
about the ostracism a-vote they-give whether
δοκεῖ ποιεῖν ἢ μή, καὶ συκοφαντῶν προβολὰς τῶν
it-seems-good to-do-it or not and of-informers indictments of-the
Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν μετοίκων μέχρι τριῶν ἑκατέρων, κἄν
Athenians and of-the metics up-to three of-each and-if
τις ὑποσχόμενός τι μὴ ποιήσῃ τῷ δήμῳ.
anyone having-promised something not do to-the people
6 ἑτέραν δὲ ταῖς ἱκετηρίαις, ἐν ᾗ θεὶς ὁ
another and for-the suppliant-branches in which having-placed the(-one)
βουλόμενος ἱκετηρίαν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν βούληται καὶ ἰδίων
wishing a-suppliant-branch about whatever — he-wishes both private
καὶ δημοσίων διαλέξεται πρὸς τὸν δῆμον. αἱ δὲ δύο περὶ
and public will-discuss with the people the and two about
τῶν ἄλλων εἰσίν, ἐν αἷς κελεύουσιν οἱ νόμοι τρία μὲν
the other(-matters) are in which order the laws three indeed
ἱερῶν χρηματίζειν, τρία δὲ κήρυξιν καὶ πρεσβείαις,
of-sacred(-matters) to-transact three and for-heralds and embassies
τρία δὲ ὁσίων· χρηματίζουσιν δ' ἐνίοτε καὶ ἄνευ
three and of-secular(-matters) they-transact and sometimes also without
προχειροτονίας. προσέρχονται δὲ καὶ οἱ κήρυκες καὶ οἱ
preliminary-vote come-forward and also the heralds and the
πρέσβεις τοῖς πρυτάνεσιν πρῶτον, καὶ οἱ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς
envoys to-the prytaneis first and those the letters
φέροντες τούτοις ἀποδιδόασι.
bringing to-these deliver(-them)

A chairman, chosen by lot from the prytaneis, holds office for a night and a day and keeps the keys and seal. When the council or assembly meets, he allots nine presidents, one from each other tribe, and one of them as chairman; elections of generals take place in the assembly.

Ἔστι δ' ἐπιστάτης τῶν πρυτάνεων εἷς ὁ λαχών· 1
is and chairman of-the prytaneis one the(-one) allotted
οὗτος δ' ἐπιστατεῖ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν
this-man and presides night and day and not it-is-possible
οὔτε πλείω χρόνον οὔτε δὶς τὸν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι. τηρεῖ δ'
neither longer time nor twice the same-man to-become keeps and
οὗτος τάς τε κλεῖς τὰς τῶν ἱερῶν, ἐν οἷς τὰ χρήματ'
this-man the both keys the of-the sanctuaries in which the money
ἔστιν καὶ τὰ γράμματα τῇ πόλει, καὶ τὴν δημοσίαν
is and the records for-the city and the public
σφραγῖδα, καὶ μένειν ἀναγκαῖον ἐν τῇ θόλῳ τοῦτόν ἐστιν
seal and to-remain necessary in the tholos for-him it-is
καὶ τριττὺν τῶν πρυτάνεων ἣν ἂν οὗτος κελεύῃ.
and a-third of-the prytaneis whichever — this-man orders
καὶ ἐπειδὰν συναγάγωσιν οἱ πρυτάνεις τὴν βουλὴν ἢ τὸν 2
and when convene the prytaneis the council or the
δῆμον, οὗτος κληροῖ προέδρους ἐννέα, ἕνα ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς
people this-man allots presidents nine one from the tribe
ἑκάστης πλὴν τῆς πρυτανευούσης, καὶ πάλιν ἐκ τούτων
each except the presiding and again from these
ἐπιστάτην ἕνα, καὶ παραδίδωσι τὸ πρόγραμμα αὐτοῖς·
chairman one and hands-over the agenda to-them

3 οἱ δὲ παραλαβόντες τῆς τ' εὐκοσμίας ἐπιμελοῦνται
they and having-received of-the both good-order take-care
καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν δεῖ χρηματίζειν προτιθέασιν καὶ τὰς
and about which it-is-necessary to-transact put-forward and the
χειροτονίας κρίνουσιν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα διοικοῦσιν
votes judge and the other(-things) all administer
καὶ τοῦ ἀφεῖναι κύριοί εἰσιν. καὶ ἐπιστατῆσαι μὲν
and of-the to-dismiss(-the-meeting) empowered are and to-be-chairman indeed
οὐκ ἔξεστιν πλέον ἢ ἅπαξ ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ, προεδρεύειν
not it-is-permitted more than once in the year to-preside
δ' ἔξεστιν ἅπαξ ἐπὶ τῆς πρυτανείας ἑκάστης.
but it-is-permitted once in the prytany each
4 Ποιοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἀρχαιρεσίας στρατηγῶν καὶ ἱππάρχων
they-hold and also elections of-generals and of-cavalry-commanders
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἀρχῶν ἐν τῇ
and of-the other the for the war offices in the
ἐκκλησίᾳ, καθ' ὅ τι ἂν τῷ δήμῳ δοκῇ· ποιοῦσι δ' οἱ
assembly in what ever — to-the people seems-good hold(-them) and those
μετὰ τὴν ϛ πρυτανεύοντες ἐφ' ὧν ἂν εὐσημία γένηται.
after the 6(th) holding-the-prytany in whose(-term) — good-omens occur
δεῖ δὲ προβούλευμα γενέσθαι καὶ περὶ τούτων.
it-is-necessary and a-preliminary-decree to-take-place also about these

XLV · THE COUNCIL'S JUDICIAL POWERS

The council once could fine, imprison, and kill, until Eumelides rescued Lysimachus from the executioner; since then its condemnations go to a court. It tries most officials and scrutinizes next year's councilors and the nine archons, all with appeal to a court, and it prepares all business for the assembly.

Ἡ δὲ βουλὴ πρότερον μὲν ἦν κυρία καὶ χρήμασιν ζημιῶσαι 1
the and council formerly indeed was empowered both with-money to-fine
καὶ δῆσαι καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι. καὶ Λυσίμαχον αὐτῆς ἀγαγούσης
and to-imprison and to-put-to-death and Lysimachus it having-brought
ὡς τὸν δήμιον καθήμενον ἤδη μέλλοντα ἀποθνήσκειν
to the executioner sitting already about to-die
Εὐμηλίδης ὁ Ἀλωπεκῆθεν ἀφείλετο, οὐ φάσκων δεῖν
Eumelides the of-Alopece rescued not saying it-was-necessary
ἄνευ δικαστηρίου γνώσεως οὐδένα τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποθνήσκειν·
without of-a-court judgment any of-the citizens to-die
καὶ κρίσεως ἐν δικαστηρίῳ γενομένης ὁ μὲν Λυσίμαχος
and trial in a-law-court having-taken-place — indeed Lysimachus
ἀπέφυγεν καὶ ἐπωνυμίαν ἔσχεν ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ τυπάνου, ὁ
was-acquitted and nickname got the(-one) from the cudgel the
δὲ δῆμος ἀφείλετο τῆς βουλῆς τὸ θανατοῦν καὶ δεῖν
and people took-away from-the council the to-put-to-death and to-imprison
καὶ χρήμασιν ζημιοῦν, καὶ νόμον ἔθετο, ἄν τινος ἀδικεῖν
and with-money to-fine and a-law made if someone of-wrongdoing
ἡ βουλὴ καταγνῷ ἢ ζημιώσῃ, τὰς καταγνώσεις καὶ τὰς
the council condemns or fines the condemnations and the
ἐπιζημιώσεις εἰσάγειν τοὺς θεσμοθέτας εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον,
fines to-bring-in the thesmothetae to the law-court
καὶ ὅ τι ἂν οἱ δικασταὶ ψηφίσωνται, τοῦτο κύριον εἶναι.
and what ever — the jurors vote this valid to-be
Κρίνει δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἡ βουλὴ τὰς πλείστας, καὶ μάλισθ' 2
judges and the officials the council the most and especially
ὅσαι χρήματα διαχειρίζουσιν· οὐ κυρία δ' ἡ κρίσις,
as-many-as money handle not final but the judgment
ἀλλ' ἐφέσιμος εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον. ἔξεστι δὲ καὶ τοῖς
but appealable to the law-court it-is-permitted and also for-the
ἰδιώταις εἰσαγγέλλειν ἣν ἂν βούλωνται τῶν ἀρχῶν
private-citizens to-impeach whichever — they-wish of-the officials

μὴ χρῆσθαι τοῖς νόμοις· ἔφεσις δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἐστὶν εἰς
not to-observe the laws appeal and also for-these is to
τὸ δικαστήριον ἐὰν αὐτῶν ἡ βουλὴ καταγνῷ.
the law-court if them the council condemns

3 Δοκιμάζει δὲ καὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς τοὺς τὸν ὕστερον
scrutinizes and also the councilors those the following
ἐνιαυτὸν βουλεύσοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐννέα ἄρχοντας. καὶ
year going-to-sit-in-council and the nine archons and
πρότερον μὲν ἦν ἀποδοκιμάσαι κυρία, νῦν δὲ τούτοις
formerly indeed it-was to-reject empowered now but for-these
ἔφεσίς ἐστιν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον.
appeal is to the law-court

4 Τούτων μὲν οὖν ἄκυρός ἐστιν ἡ βουλή· προβουλεύει
over-these indeed then without-authority is the council it-prepares-business
δ' εἰς τὸν δῆμον, καὶ οὐκ ἔξεστιν οὐδὲν ἀπροβούλευτον
and for the people and not it-is-permitted nothing not-preliminarily-considered
οὐδ' ὅ τι ἂν μὴ προγράψωσιν οἱ πρυτάνεις ψηφίσασθαι
nor what ever — not have-posted the prytaneis to-vote
τῷ δήμῳ· κατ' αὐτὰ γὰρ ταῦτα ἔνοχός ἐστιν ὁ
for-the people by very for these-things liable is the(-one)
νικήσας γραφῇ παρανόμων.
having-carried-it to-an-indictment for-illegality

XLVI · THE COUNCIL AND THE FLEET

The council keeps the triremes, gear, and ship-sheds, builds the new ships the people vote for, inspects the public buildings, and sends wrongdoers to a court.

Ἐπιμελεῖται δὲ καὶ τῶν πεποιημένων τριήρων καὶ τῶν 1
takes-care-of and also of-the built triremes and of-the
σκευῶν καὶ τῶν νεωσοίκων, καὶ ποιεῖται καινὰς τριήρεις
gear and of-the ship-sheds and makes new triremes
ἢ τετρήρεις, ὁποτέρας ἂν ὁ δῆμος χειροτονήσῃ, καὶ σκεύη
or quadriremes whichever-kind — the people elects and gear
ταύταις καὶ νεωσοίκους· χειροτονεῖ δ' ἀρχιτέκτονας ὁ δῆμος
for-these and ship-sheds elects and master-builders the people
ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς. ἂν δὲ μὴ παραδῶσιν ἐξειργασμένα ταῦτα
for the ships if and not they-hand-over completed these-things
τῇ νέᾳ βουλῇ, τὴν δωρεὰν οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς λαβεῖν·
to-the new council the reward not it-is-possible for-them to-receive
ἐπὶ γὰρ τῆς ὕστερον βουλῆς λαμβάνουσιν. ποιεῖται δὲ τὰς
in for the later council they-receive makes and the
τριήρεις, δέκα ἄνδρας ἐξ αὑτῆς ἑλομένη τριηροποιούς.
triremes ten men from itself having-chosen as-trireme-builders
ἐξετάζει δὲ καὶ τὰ οἰκοδομήματα τὰ δημόσια πάντα, κἄν 2
inspects and also the buildings the public all and-if
τις ἀδικεῖν αὐτῇ δόξῃ, τῷ τε δήμῳ τοῦτον ἀποφαίνει
anyone to-do-wrong to-it seems to-the both people him it-reports
καὶ καταγνόντος παραδίδωσι δικαστηρίῳ.
and having-condemned hands-over to-a-law-court

XLVII · THE TREASURERS AND THE VENDORS

The council helps administer the other offices: the treasurers of Athena, ten men from the five-hundred-bushel class, receive the statue, the Victories, and the money; the ten vendors let the contracts, sell the mines and taxes, and record the payments on tablets the public slave keeps.

1 Συνδιοικεῖ δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρχαῖς τὰ πλεῖστα. πρῶτον
helps-administer and also with-the other offices the most(-business) first
μὲν γὰρ οἱ ταμίαι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς εἰσὶ μὲν δέκα, κληροῦται
indeed for the treasurers — of-Athena are indeed ten is-allotted
δ' εἷς ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς, ἐκ πεντακοσιομεδίμνων κατὰ τὸν
and one from the tribe from the-five-hundred-bushel-men according-to the
Σόλωνος νόμον (ἔτι γὰρ ὁ νόμος κύριός ἐστιν), ἄρχει
of-Solon law still for the law in-force is holds-office
δ' ὁ λαχὼν κἂν πάνυ πένης ᾖ. παραλαμβάνουσι
and the(-one) allotted even-if very poor be-he receive
δὲ τό τε ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ τὰς Νίκας καὶ τὸν
and the both statue — of-Athena and the Victories and the
ἄλλον κόσμον καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐναντίον τῆς βουλῆς.
other ornament and the money before the council
2 Ἔπειθ' οἱ πωληταὶ ι μέν εἰσι, κληροῦται δ' εἷς ἐκ τῆς
then the vendors 10 indeed are is-allotted and one from the
φυλῆς. μισθοῦσι δὲ τὰ μισθώματα πάντα, καὶ τὰ μέταλλα
tribe they-let and the contracts all and the mines
πωλοῦσι καὶ τὰ τέλη μετὰ τοῦ ταμίου τῶν στρατιωτικῶν
they-sell and the taxes with the treasurer of-the military(-funds)
καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικὸν ᾑρημένων ἐναντίον τῆς βουλῆς·
and those over the festival(-fund) elected before the council
καὶ κυροῦσιν, ὅτῳ ἂν ἡ βουλὴ χειροτονήσῃ, καὶ
and they-ratify(-the-sale) to-whomever — the council votes and
τὰ πραθέντα μέταλλα τά τ' ἐργάσιμα τὰ εἰς τρία ἔτη
the sold mines the both workable the for three years
πεπραμένα καὶ τὰ συγκεχωρημένα τὰ εἰς ι ἔτη πεπραμένα.
sold and the conceded the for 10 years sold
καὶ τὰς οὐσίας τῶν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου φευγόντων καὶ
and the properties of-those from Ares' hill being-exiled and
τῶν ἄλλων ἐναντίον τῆς βουλῆς πωλοῦσιν, κατακυροῦσι
of-the others before the council they-sell confirm

δ᾽ οἱ θ ἄρχοντες. καὶ τὰ τέλη τὰ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν πεπραμένα
and the 9 archons and the taxes the for a-year sold
ἀναγράψαντες εἰς λελευκωμένα γραμματεῖα τόν τε πριάμενον
having-recorded on whitened tablets the both purchaser
καὶ ὅσου ἂν πρίηται τῇ βουλῇ παραδιδόασιν.
and for-how-much — he-buys to-the council they-hand-over
ἀναγράφουσιν δὲ χωρὶς μὲν οὓς δεῖ κατὰ πρυτανείαν 3
they-record and separately indeed those-who must in prytany
ἑκάστην καταβάλλειν εἰς δέκα γραμματεῖα, χωρὶς δὲ
each to-pay on ten tablets separately and
οὓς τρὶς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, γραμματεῖον κατὰ τὴν
those-who three-times in-the year a-tablet for the
καταβολὴν ἑκάστην ποιήσαντες, χωρὶς δ᾽ οὓς ἐπὶ τῆς
installment each having-made separately and those-who in the
ἐνάτης πρυτανείας. ἀναγράφουσι δὲ καὶ τὰ χωρία καὶ τὰς
ninth prytany they-record and also the lands and the
οἰκίας τἀπογραφέντα καὶ πραθέντα ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ· καὶ
houses the-things-listed and sold in the law-court and
γὰρ ταῦθ᾽ οὗτοι πωλοῦσιν. ἐστὶ δὲ τῶν μὲν οἰκιῶν ἐν
for these these-men sell is and for-the indeed houses in
ϵ ἔτεσιν ἀνάγκη τὴν τιμὴν ἀποδοῦναι, τῶν δὲ χωρίων ἐν
5 years necessary the price to-pay for-the and lands in
δέκα· καταβάλλουσιν δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τῆς ἐνάτης πρυτανείας.
ten they-pay and these-sums in the ninth prytany
εἰσφέρει δὲ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰς μισθώσεις τῶν τεμενῶν 4
brings-in and also the king the leases of-the precincts
ἀναγράψας ἐν γραμματείοις λελευκωμένοις. ἐστὶ δὲ
having-recorded(-them) on tablets whitened is and
καὶ τούτων ἡ μὲν μίσθωσις εἰς ἔτη δέκα, καταβάλλεται
also of-these the indeed lease for years ten is-paid

δ' ἐπὶ τῆς θ πρυτανείας· διὸ καὶ πλεῖστα χρήματα
and in the 9(th) prytany therefore also most money
ἐπὶ ταύτης συλλέγεται τῆς πρυτανείας.
in this is-collected the prytany
εἰσφέρεται μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν τὰ γραμματεῖα κατὰ τὰς
are-brought-in indeed then into the council the tablets by the
καταβολὰς ἀναγεγραμμένα, τηρεῖ δ' ὁ δημόσιος· ὅταν δ'
installments recorded keeps(-them) and the public-slave when and
ᾖ χρημάτων καταβολή, παραδίδωσι τοῖς ἀποδέκταις αὐτὰ
there-be of-money payment he-hands-over to-the receivers very
ταῦτα καθελὼν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιστυλίων ὧν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ
these having-taken-down from the pillars of-which in this the
ἡμέρᾳ δεῖ τὰ χρήματα καταβληθῆναι καὶ ἀπαλειφθῆναι·
day it-is-necessary the money to-be-paid and to-be-erased
τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἀπόκειται χωρὶς ἵνα μὴ προεξαλειφθῇ.
the and others are-stored separately so-that not they-be-erased-beforehand

XLVIII · THE RECEIVERS AND AUDITORS

Ten receivers erase the paid sums before the council and apportion the money among the offices. The council allots ten auditors from its members to examine officials each prytany, and ten examiners with two assessors each, who sit by the eponymous heroes to receive charges against officials after their accounts.

Εἰσὶ δ' ἀποδέκται δέκα, κεκληρωμένοι κατὰ φυλάς·
are and receivers ten allotted by tribes
οὗτοι δὲ παραλαβόντες τὰ γραμματεῖα ἀπαλείφουσι τὰ
these and having-received the tablets erase the
καταβαλλόμενα χρήματα ἐναντίον τῆς βουλῆς ἐν τῷ
paid money before the council in the
βουλευτηρίῳ, καὶ πάλιν ἀποδιδόασιν τὰ γραμματεῖα τῷ
council-house and again give-back the tablets to-the

δημοσίῳ· κἄν τις ἐλλίπῃ καταβολήν, ἐνταῦθ' ἐγγέγραπται,
public-slave and-if anyone defaults-on an-installment there he-is-written-down
καὶ διπλάσιον ἀνάγκη τὸ ἐλλειφθὲν καταβάλλειν ἢ
and double necessary the shortfall to-pay or
δεδέσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα εἰσπράττειν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ δῆσαι
to-be-imprisoned and these-sums to-exact the council and to-imprison
κυρία κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἐστίν.
empowered according-to the laws is

τῇ μὲν οὖν προτεραίᾳ δέχονται τὰς πάσας καὶ 2
on-the indeed then first-day they-receive the all(-payments) and
μερίζουσι ταῖς ἀρχαῖς, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τόν τε μερισμὸν
apportion(-them) to-the offices on-the and next-day the both apportionment
εἰσφέρουσι γράψαντες ἐν σανίδι καὶ καταλέγουσιν ἐν τῷ
they-bring-in having-written(-it) on a-board and read-out(-it) in the
βουλευτηρίῳ, καὶ προτιθέασιν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, εἴ τίς τινα
council-house and put-forward in the council if anyone someone
οἶδεν ἀδικοῦντα περὶ τὸν μερισμὸν ἢ ἄρχοντα ἢ ἰδιώτην,
knows doing-wrong about the apportionment either an-official or a-private-man
καὶ γνώμας ἐπιψηφίζουσιν, ἐάν τίς τι δοκῇ ἀδικεῖν.
and motions they-put-to-the-vote if anyone anything seems to-do-wrong

Κληροῦσι δὲ καὶ λογιστὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν οἱ βουλευταὶ δέκα 3
allot and also auditors from themselves the councilors ten
τοὺς λογιουμένους ταῖς ἀρχαῖς κατὰ τὴν πρυτανείαν
the(-ones) going-to-audit the officials in the prytany
ἑκάστην.
each

κληροῦσι δὲ καὶ εὐθύνους ἕνα τῆς φυλῆς ἑκάστης, καὶ 4
they-allot and also examiners one of-the tribe each and
παρέδρους β ἑκάστῳ τῶν εὐθύνων, οἷς ἀναγκαῖόν
assessors 2 for-each of-the examiners for-whom necessary
ἐστι ταῖς ἀγοραῖς κατὰ τὸν ἐπώνυμον τὸν τῆς φυλῆς
it-is in-the market-hours by the eponymous(-hero) the of-the tribe

ἑκάστης καθῆσθαι· κἄν τις βούληταί τινι τῶν τὰς
each to-sit and-if anyone wishes against-someone of-those the
εὐθύνας ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ δεδωκότων ἐντὸς γ ἡμερῶν
audits in the law-court having-given within 3 days
ἀφ' ἧς ἔδωκε τὰς εὐθύνας εὔθυναν ἄν τ' ἰδίαν ἄν τε
from which he-gave the audits a-charge if both private if and
δημοσίαν ἐμβαλέσθαι, γράψας εἰς πινάκιον λελευκωμένον
public to-lodge having-written on a-tablet whitened
τοὔνομα τό θ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ τοῦ φεύγοντος καὶ τὸ
the-name the both his-own and the(-name) of-the defendant and the
ἀδίκημ' ὅ τι ἂν ἐγκαλῇ, καὶ τίμημα ἐπιγραψάμενος
offense what ever — he-charges and assessment having-inscribed
ὅ τι ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ δίδωσιν τῷ εὐθύνῳ.
what ever — to-him seems gives(-it) to-the examiner
5 ὁ δὲ λαβὼν τοῦτο καὶ ἀναγνούς, ἐὰν μὲν καταγνῷ
he and having-received this and having-read(-it) if indeed he-condemns
παραδίδωσιν τὰ μὲν ἴδια τοῖς δικασταῖς τοῖς κατὰ
hands-over the indeed private(-charges) to-the jurors those by
δήμους τοῖς τὴν φυλὴν ταύτην εἰσάγουσιν, τὰ δὲ
demes those the tribe this bring-in the(-charges) and
δημόσια τοῖς θεσμοθέταις ἀναγράφει. οἱ δὲ θεσμοθέται,
public to-the thesmothetae records the and thesmothetae
ἐὰν παραλάβωσιν, πάλιν εἰσάγουσιν ταύτην τὴν εὔθυναν
if they-take(-it)-over again bring-in this the charge
εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, καὶ ὅ τι ἂν γνῶσιν οἱ δικασταί,
into the law-court and what ever — decide the jurors
τοῦτο κύριόν ἐστιν.
this valid is

The council scrutinizes the horses of the cavalry, the scouts, and the foot-skirmishers, and the list of cavalrymen; it once judged the patterns for Athena's robe; and it scrutinizes the disabled, who receive two obols a day.

Δοκιμάζει δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἡ βουλή, κἂν μέν τις 1
scrutinizes and also the horses the council and-if indeed anyone
καλὸν ἵππον ἔχων κακῶς δοκῇ τρέφειν, ζημιοῖ τῷ
a-fine horse having badly seems to-feed(-it) it-fines(-him) in-the
σίτῳ, τοῖς δὲ μὴ δυναμένοις ἀκολουθεῖν ἢ μὴ θέλουσι
fodder those and not able to-keep-up or not willing
μένειν ἀλλ' ἀνάγουσι, τροχὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γνάθον ἐπιβάλλει,
to-stay but backing-up a-wheel on the jaw it-brands
καὶ ὁ τοῦτο παθὼν ἀδόκιμός ἐστι. δοκιμάζει
and the(-one) this having-suffered rejected is scrutinizes
δὲ καὶ τοὺς προδρόμους οἵτινες ἂν αὐτῇ δοκῶσιν
and also the scouts whoever — to-it seem
ἐπιτήδειοι προδρομεύειν εἶναι, κἄν τιν' ἀποχειροτονήσῃ,
suitable to-scout to-be and-if anyone it-votes-out
καταβέβηκεν οὗτος. δοκιμάζει δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀμίππους, κἄν
has-been-dismounted this-man scrutinizes and also the foot-skirmishers and-if
τιν' ἀποχειροτονήσῃ, πέπαυται μισθοφορῶν οὗτος.
anyone it-votes-out has-stopped drawing-pay this-man
τοὺς δ' ἱππέας καταλέγουσι μὲν οἱ καταλογεῖς, οὓς ἂν 2
the and cavalrymen enroll indeed the enrollers whom —
ὁ δῆμος χειροτονήσῃ δέκα ἄνδρας· οὓς δ' ἂν καταλέξωσι
the people elects ten men whom and — they-enroll
παραδιδόασι τοῖς ἱππάρχοις καὶ φυλάρχοις, οὗτοι δὲ
they-hand-over to-the cavalry-commanders and tribe-commanders these and
παραλαβόντες εἰσφέρουσι τὸν κατάλογον εἰς τὴν βουλήν,
having-received bring-in the list into the council

καὶ τὸν πίνακ᾽ ἀνοίξαντες, ἐν ᾧ κατασεσημασμένα
and the tablet having-opened in which sealed-up
τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἱππέων ἐστί, τοὺς μὲν ἐξομνυμένους
the names of-the cavalrymen are the(-ones) indeed swearing-off
τῶν πρότερον ἐγγεγραμμένων μὴ δυνατοὺς εἶναι τοῖς
of-those previously enrolled not able to-be in-their
σώμασιν ἱππεύειν ἐξαλείφουσι, τοὺς δὲ κατειλεγμένους
bodies to-ride they-erase the(-ones) and enrolled
καλοῦσι, κἂν μέν τις ἐξομόσηται μὴ δύνασθαι τῷ
they-call and-if indeed anyone swears-off not to-be-able in-the
σώματι ἱππεύειν ἢ τῇ οὐσίᾳ, τοῦτον ἀφιᾶσιν, τὸν
body to-ride or in-the property him they-release the(-one)
δὲ μὴ ἐξομνύμενον διαχειροτονοῦσιν οἱ βουλευταὶ πότερον
and not swearing-off vote-on the councilors whether
ἐπιτήδειός ἐστιν ἱππεύειν ἢ οὔ· κἂν μέν χειροτονήσωσιν,
suitable he-is to-ride or not and-if indeed they-vote-for(-him)
ἐγγράφουσιν εἰς τὸν πίνακα, εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ τοῦτον ἀφιᾶσιν.
they-enroll(-him) on the tablet if and not also him they-release

3 Ἔκρινεν δέ ποτε καὶ τὰ παραδείγματα καὶ τὸν πέπλον
judged and once also the patterns and the robe
ἡ βουλή, νῦν δὲ τὸ δικαστήριον τὸ λαχόν· ἐδόκουν
the council now but the law-court the(-one) allotted seemed
γὰρ οὗτοι καταχαρίζεσθαι τὴν κρίσιν. καὶ τῆς ποιήσεως
for these to-show-favor-in the judgment and of-the making
τῶν Νικῶν καὶ τῶν ἄθλων τῶν εἰς τὰ Παναθήναια
of-the Victories and of-the prizes those for the Panathenaea
συνεπιμελεῖται μετὰ τοῦ ταμίου τῶν στρατιωτικῶν.
it-shares-supervision with the treasurer of-the military(-funds)

4 Δοκιμάζει δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀδυνάτους ἡ βουλή· νόμος γάρ
scrutinizes and also the disabled the council a-law for
ἐστιν ὃς κελεύει τοὺς ἐντὸς τριῶν μνῶν κεκτημένους
there-is which orders the(-ones) under three minas possessing

καὶ τὸ σῶμα πεπηρωμένους ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι μηδὲν
and in-the body maimed so-that not to-be-able any
ἔργον ἐργάζεσθαι δοκιμάζειν μὲν τὴν βουλήν, διδόναι δὲ
work to-do to-scrutinize indeed the council to-give and
δημοσίᾳ τροφὴν δύο ὀβολοὺς ἑκάστῳ τῆς ἡμέρας. καὶ
publicly maintenance two obols to-each of-the day and
ταμίας ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς κληρωτός.
treasurer is for-them allotted
συνδιοικεῖ δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρχαῖς τὰ πλεῖσθ', ὡς 5
helps-administer and also with-the other offices the most(-business) so
ἔπος εἰπεῖν.
word to-speak

L · TEMPLE REPAIRERS AND CITY WARDENS

Ten repairers of temples are allotted, and ten city wardens, who fix the fees of flute girls and see that dung is not dumped near the walls, that buildings do not encroach on the streets, and that the bodies of those who die in the roads are removed.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς διοικούμενα ταῦτ' ἐστίν. 1
the(-things) indeed then by the council administered these are
κληροῦνται δὲ καὶ ἱερῶν ἐπισκευασταί, δέκα ἄνδρες,
are-allotted and also of-sanctuaries repairers ten men
οἳ λαμβάνοντες τριάκοντα μνᾶς παρὰ τῶν ἀποδεκτῶν
who receiving thirty minas from the receivers
ἐπισκευάζουσιν τὰ μάλιστα δεόμενα τῶν ἱερῶν·
repair the(-ones) most needing of-the sanctuaries
καὶ ἀστυνόμοι δέκα· τούτων δὲ ϵ μὲν ἄρχουσιν ἐν 2
and city-wardens ten of-these and 5 indeed hold-office in
Πειραιεῖ, πέντε δ' ἐν ἄστει, καὶ τάς τε αὐλητρίδας καὶ τὰς
Piraeus five and in town and the both flute-girls and the

ψαλτρίας καὶ τὰς κιθαριστρίας οὗτοι σκοποῦσιν ὅπως μὴ
harp-girls and the lyre-girls these see-to so-that not
πλείονος ἢ δυεῖν δραχμαῖς μισθωθήσονται, κἂν πλείους
for-more than two drachmas they-will-be-hired and-if more
τὴν αὐτὴν σπουδάσωσι λαβεῖν οὗτοι διακληροῦσι καὶ
the same(-girl) are-eager to-take these allot(-her) and
τῷ λαχόντι μισθοῦσιν. καὶ ὅπως τῶν κοπρολόγων
to-the(-one) winning-the-lot hire(-her) and so-that of-the dung-collectors
μηδεὶς ἐντὸς ι σταδίων τοῦ τείχους καταβαλεῖ κόπρον
none within 10 stades of-the wall will-dump dung
ἐπιμελοῦνται· καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς κωλύουσι κατοικοδομεῖν καὶ
they-take-care and the roads they-prevent to-build-over and
δρυφάκτους ὑπὲρ τῶν ὁδῶν ὑπερτείνειν καὶ ὀχετοὺς
balconies over the roads to-extend and gutters
μετεώρους εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ἔκρουν ἔχοντας ποιεῖν καὶ τὰς
raised into the road outflow having to-make and the
θυρίδας εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ἀνοίγειν· καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς
windows into the road to-open and those in the roads
ἀπογιγνομένους ἀναιροῦσιν, ἔχοντες δημοσίους ὑπηρέτας.
dying they-take-up having public attendants

LI · MARKET AND GRAIN WARDENS

Ten market wardens see that goods are pure; ten measure wardens supervise weights and measures; grain wardens, now thirty-five, see that grain, meal, and bread are fairly sold; and ten port superintendents compel two-thirds of imported grain to be brought to the city.

1 Κληροῦνται δὲ καὶ ἀγορανόμοι ι, πέντε μὲν εἰς Πειραιέα,
are-allotted and also market-wardens 10 five indeed for Piraeus
ε δ' εἰς ἄστυ. τούτοις δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων προστέτακται
5 and for town to-these and by the laws it-has-been-assigned

τῶν ὠνίων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι πάντων, ὅπως καθαρὰ καὶ
of-the wares to-take-care-of all so-that pure and
ἀκίβδηλα πωλήσεται.
unadulterated will-be-sold

Κληροῦνται δὲ καὶ μετρονόμοι ι, πέντε μὲν εἰς ἄστυ, ε 2
are-allotted and also measure-wardens 10 five indeed for town 5
δὲ εἰς Πειραιέα· καὶ οὗτοι τῶν μέτρων καὶ τῶν σταθμῶν
and for Piraeus and these of-the measures and of-the weights
ἐπιμελοῦνται πάντων, ὅπως οἱ πωλοῦντες χρήσονται
take-care all so-that the(-ones) selling will-use
δικαίοις.
just(-ones)

Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ σιτοφύλακες κληρωτοὶ ι, πέντε μὲν εἰς 3
were and also grain-wardens allotted 10 five indeed for
Πειραιέα, πέντε δ' εἰς ἄστυ, νῦν δ' εἴκοσι μὲν εἰς ἄστυ,
Piraeus five and for town now but twenty indeed for town
πεντεκαίδεκα δ' εἰς Πειραιέα. οὗτοι δ' ἐπιμελοῦνται πρῶτον
fifteen and for Piraeus these and take-care first
μὲν ὅπως ὁ ἐν ἀγορᾷ σῖτος ἀργὸς ὤνιος ἔσται δικαίως,
indeed that the in market grain unground for-sale will-be fairly
ἔπειθ' ὅπως οἵ τε μυλωθροὶ πρὸς τὰς τιμὰς τῶν κριθῶν
then that the both millers in-line-with the prices of-the barley
τὰ ἄλφιτα πωλήσουσιν καὶ οἱ ἀρτοπῶλαι πρὸς τὰς τιμὰς
the meal will-sell and the bakers in-line-with the prices
τῶν πυρῶν τοὺς ἄρτους καὶ τὸν σταθμὸν ἄγοντας ὅσον
of-the wheat the loaves and the weight weighing as-much-as
ἂν οὗτοι τάξωσιν· ὁ γὰρ νόμος τούτους κελεύει τάττειν.
— these fix the for law these orders to-fix

Ἐμπορίου δ' ἐπιμελητὰς δέκα κληροῦσιν· τούτοις δὲ 4
of-the-port and superintendents ten they-allot to-these and
προστέτακται τῶν τ' ἐμπορίων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῦ
it-has-been-assigned of-the both marts to-take-care-of and of-the

σίτου τοῦ καταπλέοντος εἰς τὸ σιτικὸν ἐμπόριον τὰ δύο
grain the sailing-in to the grain mart the two
μέρη τοὺς ἐμπόρους ἀναγκάζειν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ κομίζειν.
parts the merchants to-compel to the town to-convey

LII · THE ELEVEN AND THE INTRODUCERS

The Eleven take charge of prisoners, executing thieves who confess and bringing disputed cases to court. Five introducers bring the monthly suits, and the receivers try cases involving tax farmers up to ten drachmas.

1 Καθιστᾶσι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἕνδεκα κλήρῳ τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους
they-appoint and also the eleven by-lot those going-to-take-care-of
τῶν ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ, καὶ τοὺς ἀπαγομένους κλέπτας καὶ
those in the prison and the(-ones) arrested thieves and
τοὺς ἀνδραποδιστὰς καὶ τοὺς λωποδύτας, ἂν μὲν ὁμολογῶσι,
the kidnappers and the clothes-stealers if indeed they-confess
θανάτῳ ζημιώσοντας, ἂν δ' ἀμφισβητῶσιν, εἰσάξοντας
with-death going-to-punish(-them) if but they-dispute going-to-bring(-them)
εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, κἂν μὲν ἀποφύγωσιν, ἀφήσοντας,
into the law-court and-if indeed they-are-acquitted going-to-release(-them)
εἰ δὲ μή, τότε θανατώσοντας, καὶ τὰ ἀπογραφόμενα
if but not then going-to-execute(-them) and the listed
χωρία καὶ οἰκίας εἰσάξοντας εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, καὶ τὰ
lands and houses going-to-bring-in into the law-court and the(-ones)
δόξαντα δημόσια εἶναι παραδώσοντας τοῖς πωληταῖς, καὶ
judged public to-be going-to-hand-over to-the vendors and
τὰς ἐνδείξεις εἰσάξοντας· καὶ γὰρ ταύτας εἰσάγουσιν οἱ
the informations going-to-bring-in also for these bring-in the
ἕνδεκα. εἰσάγουσι δὲ τῶν ἐνδείξεών τινας καὶ οἱ θεσμοθέται.
eleven bring-in and of-the informations some also the thesmothetae

Κληροῦσι δὲ καὶ εἰσαγωγέας ϵ ἄνδρας, οἳ τὰς ἐμμήνους 2
they-allot and also introducers 5 men who the monthly
εἰσάγουσι δίκας, δυοῖν φυλαῖν ἕκαστος. εἰσὶ δ' ἔμμηνοι
bring-in suits for-two tribes each are and monthly(-suits)
προικός, ἐάν τις ὀφείλων μὴ ἀποδῷ, κἄν τις ἐπὶ δραχμῇ
for-a-dowry if anyone owing not pays and-if anyone at a-drachma
δανεισάμενος ἀποστερῇ, κἄν τις ἐν ἀγορᾷ βουλόμενος
having-borrowed defrauds and-if anyone in market wishing
ἐργάζεσθαι δανείσηται παρά τινος ἀφορμήν· ἔτι δ'
to-trade borrows from someone capital further and(-suits)
αἰκείας καὶ ἐρανικαὶ καὶ κοινωνικαὶ καὶ ἀνδραπόδων καὶ
of-assault and loan-club and partnership and of-slaves and
ὑποζυγίων καὶ τριηραρχικαὶ καὶ τραπεζιτικαί.
of-draft-animals and trierarchic and banking
οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ταύτας δικάζουσιν ἐμμήνους εἰσάγοντες, 3
these indeed then these-suits judge as-monthly bringing-them-in
οἱ δ' ἀποδέκται τοῖς τελώναις καὶ κατὰ τῶν τελωνῶν,
the and receivers for-the tax-farmers and against the tax-farmers
τὰ μὲν μέχρι δέκα δραχμῶν ὄντες κύριοι, τὰ
the(-cases) indeed up-to ten drachmas being empowered the(-cases)
δ' ἄλλ' εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον εἰσάγοντες ἔμμηνα.
and other into the law-court bringing-in as-monthly

LIII · THE FORTY AND THE ARBITRATORS

The Forty, four from each tribe, decide suits up to ten drachmas and pass larger ones to arbitrators, men in their sixtieth year. An appealed decision goes to a court with the evidence sealed in jars. A man of that age who will not arbitrate is disfranchised, and the age-classes also fix military service.

1 Κληροῦσι δὲ καὶ τοὺς τετταράκοντα, τέτταρας ἐκ τῆς
they-allot and also the forty four from the
φυλῆς ἑκάστης, πρὸς οὓς τὰς ἄλλας δίκας λαγχάνουσιν· οἳ
tribe each before whom the other suits they-file who
πρότερον μὲν ἦσαν τριάκοντα καὶ κατὰ δήμους περιόντες
formerly indeed were thirty and by demes going-round
ἐδίκαζον, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα ὀλιγαρχίαν
judged after and the in-the-time-of the thirty oligarchy
τετταράκοντα γεγόνασιν. καὶ τὰ μὲν μέχρι δέκα
forty have-become and the(-cases) indeed up-to ten
δραχμῶν αὐτοτελεῖς εἰσι δικάζειν, τὰ δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦτο τὸ
drachmas competent are to-judge the(-cases) and over this the
τίμημα τοῖς διαιτηταῖς παραδιδόασιν. οἱ δὲ παραλαβόντες,
assessment to-the arbitrators they-hand-over they and having-received(-them)
2 ἐὰν μὴ δύνωνται διαλῦσαι, γιγνώσκουσι, κἂν μὲν
if not they-are-able to-reconcile(-them) they-give-a-decision and-if indeed
ἀμφοτέροις ἀρέσκῃ τὰ γνωσθέντα καὶ ἐμμένωσιν, ἔχει
to-both is-pleasing the things-decided and they-abide has
τέλος ἡ δίκη. ἂν δ' ὁ ἕτερος ἐφῇ τῶν ἀντιδίκων
an-end the suit if but the one appeals of-the litigants
εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, ἐμβαλόντες τὰς μαρτυρίας καὶ τὰς
to the law-court having-put the testimonies and the
προκλήσεις καὶ τοὺς νόμους εἰς ἐχίνους, χωρὶς μὲν
challenges and the laws into jars separately indeed
τὰς τοῦ διώκοντος χωρὶς δὲ τὰς τοῦ φεύγοντος, καὶ
those of-the prosecutor separately and those of-the defendant and
τούτους κατασημηνάμενοι καὶ τὴν γνῶσιν τοῦ διαιτητοῦ
these having-sealed and the decision of-the arbitrator
γεγραμμένην ἐν γραμματείῳ προσαρτήσαντες παραδιδόασι
written on a-tablet having-attached they-hand-over
τοῖς δ τοῖς τὴν φυλὴν τοῦ φεύγοντος δικάζουσιν.
to-the 4 those the tribe of-the defendant judging

οἱ δὲ παραλαβόντες εἰσάγουσιν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, τὰ 3
they and having-received bring-in into the law-court the(-cases)
μὲν ἐντὸς χιλίων εἰς ἕνα καὶ διακοσίους, τὰ δ'
indeed under a-thousand(-drachmas) to one and two-hundred(-jurors) the(-cases) and
ὑπὲρ χιλίας εἰς ἕνα καὶ τετρακοσίους. οὐκ ἔξεστι δ' οὔτε
over a-thousand to one and four-hundred not it-is-permitted and neither
νόμοις οὔτε προκλήσεσι οὔτε μαρτυρίαις ἀλλ' ἢ ταῖς παρὰ
laws nor challenges nor testimonies but than those from
τοῦ διαιτητοῦ χρῆσθαι ταῖς εἰς τοὺς ἐχίνους ἐμβεβλημέναις.
the arbitrator to-use those into the jars put
διαιτηταὶ δ' εἰσὶν οἷς ἂν ἑξηκοστὸν ἔτος ᾖ· τοῦτο δὲ δῆλον 4
arbitrators and are to-whom — sixtieth year be this and clear
ἐκ τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ τῶν ἐπωνύμων. εἰσὶ γὰρ ἐπώνυμοι
from the archons and the eponymous(-heroes) are for eponymous(-heroes)
δέκα μὲν οἱ τῶν φυλῶν, δύο δὲ καὶ τετταράκοντα
ten indeed the(-ones) of-the tribes two and and forty
οἱ τῶν ἡλικιῶν· οἱ δὲ ἔφηβοι ἐγγραφόμενοι πρότερον
the(-ones) of-the age-classes the and ephebes being-enrolled formerly
μὲν εἰς λελευκωμένα γραμματεῖα ἐνεγράφοντο, καὶ
indeed on whitened tablets were-enrolled and
ἐπεγράφοντο αὐτοῖς ὅ τ' ἄρχων ἐφ' οὗ ἐνεγράφησαν
were-inscribed-over them the both archon in whose(-year) they-were-enrolled
καὶ ὁ ἐπώνυμος ὁ τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει δεδιαιτηκώς,
and the eponymous(-hero) the(-one) in-the former year having-arbitrated
νῦν δ' εἰς στήλην χαλκῆν ἀναγράφονται, καὶ ἵσταται ἡ
now but on a-pillar bronze are-inscribed and stands the
στήλη πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου παρὰ τοὺς ἐπωνύμους.
pillar before the council-house beside the eponymous(-heroes)
τὸν δὲ τελευταῖον τῶν ἐπωνύμων λαβόντες οἱ 5
the and last of-the eponymous(-heroes) having-taken the
τετταράκοντα διανέμουσιν αὐτοῖς τὰς διαίτας καὶ
forty distribute among-them the arbitrations and

ἐπικληροῦσιν ἃς ἕκαστος διαιτήσει· καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἃς
allot-in-addition which each will-arbitrate and necessary which-ever
ἂν ἕκαστος λάχῃ διαίτας ἐκδιαιτᾶν. ὁ γὰρ νόμος, ἄν τις
— each obtains arbitrations to-arbitrate-out the for law if anyone
μὴ γένηται διαιτητὴς τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτῷ καθηκούσης, ἄτιμον
not becomes arbitrator the age to-him belonging disfranchised
εἶναι κελεύει, πλὴν ἐὰν τύχῃ ἀρχὴν ἄρχων τινὰ ἐν ἐκείνῳ
to-be orders except if he-happen an-office holding some in that
τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἢ ἀποδημῶν· οὗτοι δ' ἀτελεῖς εἰσὶ μόνοι.
the year or being-abroad these and exempt are only

6 ἔστιν δὲ καὶ εἰσαγγέλλειν εἰς τοὺς διαιτητάς, ἐάν
it-is-possible and also to-impeach against the arbitrators if
τις ἀδικηθῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ διαιτητοῦ, κἄν τινος καταγνῶσιν,
anyone is-wronged by the arbitrator and-if someone they-condemn
ἀτιμοῦσθαι κελεύουσιν οἱ νόμοι·
to-be-disfranchised order the laws

7 ἔφεσις δ' ἔστι καὶ τούτοις. χρῶνται δὲ τοῖς ἐπωνύμοις
appeal and is also for-these they-use and the eponymous(-heroes)
καὶ πρὸς τὰς στρατείας, καὶ ὅταν ἡλικίαν ἐκπέμπωσι
also for the expeditions and when an-age-class they-send-out
προγράφουσιν ἀπὸ τίνος ἄρχοντος καὶ ἐπωνύμου μέχρι
they-post-in-advance from which archon and eponymous(-hero) up-to
τίνων δεῖ στρατεύεσθαι.
which it-is-necessary to-serve

The city also allots five road builders, ten auditors with advocates, a secretary by prytany, and another for the laws; the people elect a reading secretary. Ten overseers make expiatory sacrifices, ten more run the four-yearly festivals, and Salamis and Piraeus get an allotted archon and demarch.

Κληροῦσι δὲ καὶ τάσδε τὰς ἀρχάς· ὁδοποιοὺς πέντε, 1
they-allot and also these the offices road-builders five
οἷς προστέτακται δημοσίους ἐργάτας ἔχουσι τὰς ὁδοὺς
to-whom it-has-been-assigned public workmen having the roads
ἐπισκευάζειν.
to-repair
καὶ λογιστὰς δέκα καὶ συνηγόρους τούτοις δέκα, πρὸς 2
and auditors ten and advocates for-these ten before
οὓς ἅπαντας ἀνάγκη τοὺς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἄρξαντας λόγον
whom all necessary the(-ones) the offices having-held account
ἀπενεγκεῖν. οὗτοι γάρ εἰσι μόνοι οἱ τοῖς ὑπευθύνοις
to-render these for are only the(-ones) for-the accountable
λογιζόμενοι καὶ τὰς εὐθύνας εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον εἰσάγοντες.
auditing and the audits into the law-court bringing-in
κἂν μέν τινα κλέπτοντ' ἐξελέγξωσι, κλοπὴν οἱ δικασταὶ
and-if indeed someone stealing they-convict of-theft the jurors
καταγιγνώσκουσι καὶ τὸ γνωσθὲν ἀποτίνεται δεκαπλοῦν·
condemn(-him) and the thing-assessed is-paid tenfold
ἐὰν δέ τινα δῶρα λαβόντα ἐπιδείξωσιν καὶ καταγνῶσιν
if and someone bribes having-taken they-show and condemn(-him)
οἱ δικασταί, δώρων τιμῶσιν, ἀποτίνεται δὲ καὶ τοῦτο
the jurors of-bribes they-assess is-paid and also this
δεκαπλοῦν· ἂν δ' ἀδικεῖν καταγνῶσιν, ἀδικίου
tenfold if and of-wrongdoing they-condemn(-him) for-wrongdoing

τιμῶσιν, ἀποτίνεται δὲ τοῦθ' ἁπλοῦν ἐὰν πρὸ τῆς θ
they-assess is-paid and this single if before the 9(th)
πρυτανείας ἐκτείσῃ τις, εἰ δὲ μή, διπλοῦται. τὸ δὲ
prytany pays-off someone if but not it-is-doubled the but
δεκαπλοῦν οὐ διπλοῦται.
tenfold not is-doubled

3 Κληροῦσι δὲ καὶ γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν
they-allot and also a-secretary the(-one) by prytany
καλούμενον, ὃς τῶν γραμμάτων ἐστὶ κύριος καὶ τὰ
called who of-the documents is master and the
ψηφίσματα τὰ γιγνόμενα φυλάττει, καὶ τἄλλα πάντα
decrees the passed guards and the-rest all
ἀντιγράφεται καὶ παρακάθηται τῇ βουλῇ. πρότερον μὲν
copies and sits-beside the council formerly indeed
οὖν οὗτος ἦν χειροτονητός, καὶ τοὺς ἐνδοξοτάτους καὶ
then this-man was elected and the most-distinguished and
πιστοτάτους ἐχειροτόνουν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς στήλαις πρὸς
most-trustworthy they-elected and for on the pillars at
ταῖς συμμαχίαις καὶ προξενίαις καὶ πολιτείαις οὗτος
the alliances and proxenies and grants-of-citizenship this-man
ἀναγράφεται· νῦν δὲ γέγονε κληρωτός.
is-inscribed now but he-has-become allotted

4 κληροῦσι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους ἕτερον ὃς παρακάθηται
they-allot and also over the laws another who sits-beside
τῇ βουλῇ, καὶ ἀντιγράφεται καὶ οὗτος πάντας.
the council and copies also this-man all(-of-them)

5 χειροτονεῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ δῆμος γραμματέα τὸν ἀναγνωσόμενον
elects and also the people a-secretary the(-one) going-to-read
αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ, καὶ οὗτος οὐδενός ἐστι κύριος ἀλλὰ
to-it and to-the council and this-man of-nothing is master but
τοῦ ἀναγνῶναι.
of-the to-read

Κληροῖ δὲ καὶ ἱεροποιοὺς δέκα, τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ ἐκθύματα 6
it-allots and also sacrificial-overseers ten the(-ones) over the expiatory-sacrifices
καλουμένους, οἳ τά τε μαντευτὰ ἱερὰ θύουσιν, κἄν τι
called who the both oracle-prescribed rites sacrifice and-if something
καλλιερῆσαι δέῃ, καλλιεροῦσι μετὰ τῶν μάντεων.
to-obtain-good-omens be-necessary obtain-good-omens with the seers
κληροῖ δὲ καὶ ἑτέρους δέκα, τοὺς κατ᾽ ἐνιαυτὸν 7
it-allots and also others ten the(-ones) for a-year
καλουμένους, οἳ θυσίας τέ τινας θύουσι καὶ τὰς
called who sacrifices both certain sacrifice and the
πεντετηρίδας ἁπάσας διοικοῦσιν πλὴν Παναθηναίων. εἰσὶ
four-yearly(-festivals) all administer except the-Panathenaea are
δὲ πεντετηρίδες μία μὲν ἡ εἰς Δῆλον (ἔστι δὲ καὶ
and four-yearly(-festivals) one indeed the(-one) to Delos there-is and also
ἑπτετηρὶς ἐνταῦθα), δευτέρα δὲ Βραυρώνια, τρίτη δ᾽
a-seven-yearly(-one) there second and Brauronia third and
Ἡράκλεια, τετάρτη δ᾽ Ἐλευσίνια, ϵ δὲ Παναθήναια·
Heraclea fourth and Eleusinia 5(th) and Panathenaea
καὶ τούτων οὐδεμία ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐγγίγνεται, νῦν δὲ
and of-these none in the same(-year) takes-place now but
πρόσκειται καὶ Ἡφαίστια ἐπὶ Κηφισοφῶντος ἄρχοντος.
has-been-added also Hephaestia under Cephisophon archon
Κληροῦσι δὲ καὶ εἰς Σαλαμῖνα ἄρχοντα, καὶ εἰς Πειραιέα 8
they-allot and also for Salamis an-archon and for Piraeus
δήμαρχον, οἳ τά τε Διονύσια ποιοῦσιν ἑκατέρωθι καὶ
a-demarch who the both Dionysia hold in-each-place and
χορηγοὺς καθιστᾶσιν. ἐν Σαλαμῖνι δὲ καὶ τοὔνομα τοῦ
choregi appoint in Salamis and also the-name of-the
ἄρχοντος ἀναγράφεται.
archon is-recorded

LV · THE NINE ARCHONS SCRUTINIZED

The nine archons are now allotted, the six thesmothetae, their secretary, the archon, the king, and the polemarch. They are scrutinized in the council and in court, asked about their parents, demes, shrines, tombs, taxes, and service, and swear on the stone to rule justly and take no gifts, on pain of dedicating a golden statue.

1 Αὗται μὲν οὖν αἱ ἀρχαὶ κληρωταί τε καὶ κύριαι τῶν
these indeed then the offices allotted both and empowered-over the
εἰρημένων πάντων εἰσίν. οἱ δὲ καλούμενοι ἐννέα ἄρχοντες
stated all are the and called nine archons
τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὃν τρόπον καθίσταντο εἴρηται·
the indeed from the-beginning in-what way they-were-appointed has-been-said
νῦν δὲ κληροῦσιν θεσμοθέτας μὲν ἓξ καὶ γραμματέα
now but they-allot thesmothetae indeed six and a-secretary
τούτοις, ἔτι δ' ἄρχοντα καὶ βασιλέα καὶ πολέμαρχον
for-these further and archon and king and polemarch
κατὰ μέρος ἐξ ἑκάστης φυλῆς.
in turn from each tribe

2 δοκιμάζονται δ' οὗτοι πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ τοῖς
are-scrutinized and these first indeed in the council of-the
φ πλὴν τοῦ γραμματέως, οὗτος δ' ἐν δικαστηρίῳ μόνον
500 except the secretary this-man but in a-law-court only
ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄρχοντες (πάντες γὰρ καὶ οἱ κληρωτοὶ
just-as the other officials all for both those allotted
καὶ οἱ χειροτονητοὶ δοκιμασθέντες ἄρχουσιν), οἱ δ'
and those elected having-been-scrutinized hold-office the and
ἐννέα ἄρχοντες ἔν τε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ πάλιν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ.
nine archons in both the council and again in a-law-court
καὶ πρότερον μὲν οὐκ ἦρχεν ὅντιν' ἀποδοκιμάσειεν ἡ
and formerly indeed not held-office whomever rejected the

βουλή, νῦν δ' ἔφεσίς ἐστιν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, καὶ τοῦτο
council now but appeal there-is to the law-court and this
κύριόν ἐστι τῆς δοκιμασίας.
final is of-the scrutiny
ἐπερωτῶσιν δ', ὅταν δοκιμάζωσιν, πρῶτον μὲν "τίς σοι 3
they-ask and when they-scrutinize first indeed who to-you
πατὴρ καὶ πόθεν τῶν δήμων, καὶ τίς πατρὸς πατήρ, καὶ τίς
father and from-where of-the demes and who of-father father and who
μήτηρ, καὶ τίς μητρὸς πατὴρ καὶ πόθεν τῶν δήμων;" μετὰ
mother and who of-mother father and from-where of-the demes after
δὲ ταῦτα, εἰ ἔστιν αὐτῷ Ἀπόλλων πατρῷος καὶ Ζεὺς
and these-things whether there-is for-him Apollo ancestral and Zeus
ἑρκεῖος, καὶ ποῦ ταῦτα τὰ ἱερά ἐστιν, εἶτα ἡρία εἰ ἔστιν
Herkeios and where these the shrines are then tombs whether there-are
καὶ ποῦ ταῦτα, ἔπειτα γονέας εἰ εὖ ποιεῖ, καὶ τὰ τέλη
and where these then parents whether well he-treats and the taxes
εἰ τελεῖ, καὶ τὰς στρατείας εἰ ἐστράτευται. ταῦτα
whether he-pays and the campaigns whether he-has-served these-things
δ' ἀνερωτήσας "κάλει", φησίν, "τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας".
and having-asked call he-says of-these the witnesses
ἐπειδὰν δὲ παράσχηται τοὺς μάρτυρας, ἐπερωτᾷ "τούτου 4
when and he-presents the witnesses he-asks of-this-man
βούλεταί τις κατηγορεῖν;" κἂν μὲν ᾖ τις κατήγορος,
wishes anyone to-accuse and-if indeed there-be some accuser
δοὺς κατηγορίαν καὶ ἀπολογίαν οὕτω δίδωσιν ἐν μὲν
having-given accusation and defense thus he-gives in indeed
τῇ βουλῇ τὴν ἐπιχειροτονίαν, ἐν δὲ τῷ δικαστηρίῳ τὴν
the council the show-of-hands in but the law-court the
ψῆφον· ἐὰν δὲ μηδεὶς βούληται κατηγορεῖν, εὐθὺς δίδωσι
vote if but no-one wishes to-accuse at-once he-gives
τὴν ψῆφον. καὶ πρότερον μὲν εἷς ἐνέβαλλε τὴν ψῆφον,
the vote and formerly indeed one cast the vote

νῦν δ' ἀνάγκη πάντας ἐστὶ διαψηφίζεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν,
now but necessary all is to-vote about them
ἵνα, ἄν τις πονηρὸς ὢν ἀπαλλάξῃ τοὺς κατηγόρους,
so-that if someone wicked being gets-rid-of the accusers
ἐπὶ τοῖς δικασταῖς γένηται τοῦτον ἀποδοκιμάσαι.
in-the-power-of the jurors it-be him to-reject
δοκιμασθέντες δὲ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον βαδίζουσι πρὸς τὸν
having-been-scrutinized and in-this the way they-walk to the
λίθον ἐφ' οὗ τὰ τόμι' ἐστίν, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ οἱ διαιτηταὶ
stone on which the cut-victims are on which also the arbitrators
ὀμόσαντες ἀποφαίνονται τὰς διαίτας καὶ οἱ μάρτυρες
having-sworn declare the arbitrations and the witnesses
ἐξόμνυνται τὰς μαρτυρίας· ἀναβάντες δ' ἐπὶ τοῦτον
swear-off the testimonies having-mounted and onto this
ὀμνύουσιν δικαίως ἄρξειν καὶ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, καὶ
they-swear justly to-rule and according-to the laws and
δῶρα μὴ λήψεσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἕνεκα, κἄν τι λάβωσι
bribes not to-take of-the office for-the-sake and-if anything they-take
ἀνδριάντα ἀναθήσειν χρυσοῦν. ἐντεῦθεν δ' ὀμόσαντες εἰς
a-statue to-dedicate golden from-there and having-sworn to
ἀκρόπολιν βαδίζουσιν καὶ πάλιν ἐκεῖ ταὐτὰ ὀμνύουσι,
acropolis they-walk and again there the-same-things they-swear
καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰσέρχονται.
and after these-things into the office they-enter

The archon proclaims that property shall stay as it was, appoints the choregi for tragedy and receives those the tribes name, supervises processions, brings suits over parents, orphans, heiresses, and estates to court, and protects orphans, heiresses, and pregnant widows.

Λαμβάνουσι δὲ καὶ παρέδρους ὅ τ᾽ ἄρχων καὶ ὁ 1
take and also assessors the both archon and the
βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ πολέμαρχος δύο ἕκαστος οὓς ἂν
king and the polemarch two each whom —
βούληται, καὶ οὗτοι δοκιμάζονται ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ πρὶν
he-wishes and these are-scrutinized in the law-court before
παρεδρεύειν, καὶ εὐθύνας διδόασιν ἐπὰν παρεδρεύσωσιν.
to-act-as-assessors and audits give when they-have-acted-as-assessors
Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄρχων εὐθὺς εἰσελθὼν πρῶτον μὲν 2
and the indeed archon immediately having-entered first indeed
κηρύττει, ὅσα τις εἶχεν πρὶν αὐτὸν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν
proclaims whatever anyone held before him to-enter into the
ἀρχήν, ταῦτ᾽ ἔχειν καὶ κρατεῖν μέχρι ἀρχῆς τέλους.
office these-things to-hold and to-control until of-office end
ἔπειτα χορηγοὺς τραγῳδοῖς καθίστησι τρεῖς,
then choregi for-tragedies appoints three
ἐξ ἁπάντων Ἀθηναίων τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους· πρότερον 3
from all Athenians the richest formerly
δὲ καὶ κωμῳδοῖς καθίστη πέντε, νῦν δὲ τούτοις αἱ
and also for-comedies he-appointed five now but these the
φυλαὶ φέρουσιν. ἔπειτα παραλαβὼν τοὺς χορηγοὺς τοὺς
tribes put-forward then having-received the choregi those
ἐνηνεγμένους ὑπὸ τῶν φυλῶν εἰς Διονύσια ἀνδράσιν καὶ
put-forward by the tribes for Dionysia for-men and

παισὶν καὶ κωμῳδοῖς, καὶ εἰς Θαργήλια ἀνδράσιν καὶ
for-boys and for-comedies and for Thargelia for-men and
παισίν (εἰσὶ δ' οἱ μὲν εἰς Διονύσια κατὰ φυλάς, εἰς
for-boys there-are and the(-ones) indeed for Dionysia by tribes for
Θαργήλια δὲ δυοῖν φυλαῖν εἷς· παρέχει δ' ἐν μέρει ἑκατέρα
Thargelia and two tribes one provides and in turn each
τῶν φυλῶν) τούτοις τὰς ἀντιδόσεις ποιεῖ καὶ τὰς σκήψεις
of-the tribes for-these the exchanges he-makes and the excuses
εἰσάγει, ἐάν τις ἢ λελῃτουργηκέναι φῇ πρότερον
brings-in if anyone either to-have-performed says formerly
ταύτην τὴν λῃτουργίαν, ἢ ἀτελὴς εἶναι, λελῃτουργηκὼς
this the liturgy or exempt to-be having-performed
ἑτέραν λῃτουργίαν καὶ τῶν χρόνων αὐτῷ τῆς ἀτελείας
another liturgy and the periods for-him of-the exemption
μὴ ἐξεληλυθότων, ἢ τὰ ἔτη μὴ γεγονέναι· δεῖ γὰρ
not having-elapsed or the years not to-have-reached it-is-necessary for
τὸν τοῖς παισὶν χορηγοῦντα ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα ἔτη
the(-one) for-the boys serving-as-choregus over forty years
γεγονέναι. καθίστησι δὲ καὶ εἰς Δῆλον χορηγοὺς καὶ
to-be-old he-appoints and also for Delos choregi and
ἀρχιθέωρον τῷ τριακοντορίῳ τῷ τοὺς ἠθέους ἄγοντι.
a-chief-envoy for-the thirty-oared-ship the the youths carrying
4 πομπῶν δ' ἐπιμελεῖται τῆς τε τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ γιγνομένης,
processions and he-takes-care-of the both — to-Asclepius taking-place
ὅταν οἰκουρῶσι μύσται, καὶ τῆς Διονυσίων τῶν μεγάλων
when stay-at-home initiates and the of-Dionysia the great
μετὰ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν, οὓς πρότερον μὲν ὁ δῆμος
with the superintendents whom formerly indeed the people
ἐχειροτόνει δέκα ὄντας, καὶ τὰ εἰς τὴν πομπὴν ἀναλώματα
elected ten being and the for the procession expenses

παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀνήλισκον, νῦν δ᾽ ἕνα τῆς φυλῆς ἑκάστης
from their-own(-means) spent now but one of-the tribe each
κληροῖ καὶ δίδωσιν εἰς τὴν κατασκευὴν ἑκατὸν μνᾶς.
he-allots and gives for the equipment a-hundred minas
ἐπιμελεῖται δὲ καὶ τῆς εἰς Θαργήλια καὶ τῆς τῷ Διὶ 5
he-takes-care-of and also of-the(-one) for Thargelia and of-the(-one) — to-Zeus
τῷ Σωτῆρι. διοικεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Διονυσίων οὗτος
the Savior administers and also the contest of-the Dionysia this-man
καὶ τῶν Θαργηλίων. ἑορτῶν μὲν οὖν ἐπιμελεῖται τούτων.
and of-the Thargelia festivals indeed then he-takes-care-of these
γραφαὶ δὲ καὶ δίκαι λαγχάνονται πρὸς αὐτόν, ἃς 6
indictments and and suits are-filed before him which
ἀνακρίνας εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον εἰσάγει, γονέων κακώσεως
having-examined into the law-court he-brings-in of-parents of-maltreatment
(αὗται δ᾽ εἰσὶν ἀζήμιοι τῷ βουλομένῳ διώκειν),
these and are free-of-penalty for-the(-one) wishing to-prosecute
ὀρφανῶν κακώσεως (αὗται δ᾽ εἰσὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων),
of-orphans of-maltreatment these and are against the guardians
ἐπικλήρου κακώσεως ∗∗∗ (αὗται δ᾽ εἰσὶ κατὰ τῶν
of-an-heiress of-maltreatment (lacuna) these and are against the
ἐπιτρόπων καὶ τῶν συνοικούντων), οἴκου ὀρφανικοῦ
guardians and the husbands of-an-estate orphan
κακώσεως (εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ αὗται κατὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων),
of-maltreatment are and also these against the guardians
παρανοίας, ἐάν τις αἰτιᾶταί τινα παρανοοῦντα τὰ
of-insanity if anyone accuses someone being-insane the
ὑπάρχοντα ἀπολλύναι, εἰς δατητῶν αἵρεσιν, ἐάν τις μὴ
property to-be-wasting for of-dividers appointment if anyone not
θέλῃ κοινὰ τὰ ὄντα νέμεσθαι, εἰς ἐπιτροπῆς κατάστασιν, εἰς
wishes common the possessions to-divide for of-guardianship establishment for

ἐπιτροπῆς διαδικασίαν, εἰς ἐμφανῶν κατάστασιν, ἐπίτροπον
of-guardianship adjudication for of-goods production guardian
αὐτὸν ἐγγράψαι, κλήρων καὶ ἐπικλήρων ἐπιδικασίαι.
himself to-enroll of-estates and of-heiresses adjudications

7 ἐπιμελεῖται δὲ καὶ τῶν ὀρφανῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπικλήρων καὶ τῶν
takes-care-of and also of-the orphans and of-the heiresses and of-the
γυναικῶν ὅσαι ἂν τελευτήσαντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς σκήπτωνται
women as-many-as — having-died the husband claim
κύειν· καὶ κύριός ἐστι τοῖς ἀδικοῦσιν ἐπιβάλλειν ἢ
to-be-pregnant and empowered is on-those wronging(-them) to-impose(-a-fine) or
εἰσάγειν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον. μισθοῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς οἴκους τῶν
to-bring(-them) into the law-court lets and also the estates of-the
ὀρφανῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπικλήρων, ἕως ἄν τις τετταρακαιδεκέτις
orphans and of-the heiresses until — someone fourteen-years-old
γένηται, καὶ τὰ ἀποτιμήματα λαμβάνει· καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους,
becomes and the security takes and the guardians
ἐὰν μὴ διδῶσι τοῖς παισὶ τὸν σῖτον, οὗτος εἰσπράττει.
if not they-give to-the children the maintenance this-man exacts

LVII · THE KING

The king archon supervises the Mysteries and the Lenaea and the ancestral sacrifices, and hears charges of impiety and homicide; the homicide courts are the Areopagus, the Palladium, the Delphinium, and Phreatto, where the accused pleads from a boat.

1 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄρχων ἐπιμελεῖται τούτων· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς
and the indeed archon takes-care-of these-things the and king
πρῶτον μὲν μυστηρίων ἐπιμελεῖται μετὰ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν
first indeed of-the-Mysteries takes-care with the superintendents
ὧν ὁ δῆμος χειροτονεῖ, δύο μὲν ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἁπάντων,
whom the people elects two indeed from Athenians all

ἕνα δ' ἐξ Εὐμολπιδῶν, ἕνα δ' ἐκ Κηρύκων. ἔπειτα
one and from Eumolpidae one and from Kerykes then
Διονυσίων τῶν ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ· ταῦτα δέ ἐστι πομπή τε καὶ
of-the-Dionysia those at Lenaeum these and are procession both and
ἀγών. τὴν μὲν οὖν πομπὴν κοινῇ πέμπουσιν ὅ τε βασιλεὺς
contest the indeed then procession jointly conduct the both king
καὶ οἱ ἐπιμεληταί, τὸν δὲ ἀγῶνα διατίθησιν ὁ βασιλεύς.
and the superintendents the and contest arranges the king
τίθησι δὲ καὶ τοὺς τῶν λαμπάδων ἀγῶνας ἅπαντας· ὡς δ'
sets and also the of-the torches races all so and
ἔπος εἰπεῖν καὶ τὰς πατρίους θυσίας διοικεῖ οὗτος πάσας.
word to-speak and the ancestral sacrifices administers this-man all
γραφαὶ δὲ λαγχάνονται πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀσεβείας, κἄν τις 2
indictments and are-filed before him for-impiety and-if anyone
ἱερωσύνης ἀμφισβητῇ πρός τινα. διαδικάζει δὲ καὶ τοῖς
a-priesthood disputes against someone decides and also for-the
γένεσι καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τὰς ἀμφισβητήσεις τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν
clans and for-the priests the disputes the about the
ἱερῶν ἁπάσας οὗτος. λαγχάνονται δὲ καὶ αἱ τοῦ
sacred(-matters) all this-man are-filed and also the of-the
φόνου δίκαι πᾶσαι πρὸς τοῦτον, καὶ ὁ προαγορεύων
homicide suits all before him and the(-one) proclaiming
εἴργεσθαι τῶν νομίμων οὗτός ἐστιν.
to-be-excluded from-the customary(-rites) this-man is
εἰσὶ δὲ φόνου δίκαι καὶ τραύματος, ἂν μὲν ἐκ προνοίας 3
are and of-homicide suits and of-wounding if indeed from forethought
ἀποκτείνῃ ἢ τρώσῃ, ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ, καὶ φαρμάκων, ἐὰν
one-kills or wounds in Ares' hill and of-poisons if
ἀποκτείνῃ δούς, καὶ πυρκαιᾶς· ταῦτα γὰρ ἡ βουλὴ
one-kills having-given(-them) and of-arson these for the council
μόνα δικάζει· τῶν δ' ἀκουσίων καὶ βουλεύσεως κἂν
alone judges of-the and involuntary(-killings) and of-plotting and-if

οἰκέτην ἀποκτείνῃ τις ἢ μέτοικον ἢ ξένον, οἱ ἐπὶ
a-servant kills someone or a-metic or a-foreigner those at
Παλλαδίῳ· ἐὰν δ' ἀποκτεῖναι μέν τις ὁμολογῇ, φῇ δὲ
Palladium if but to-have-killed indeed someone admits says but
κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, οἷον μοιχὸν λαβὼν ἢ ἐν πολέμῳ
according-to the laws such-as an-adulterer having-caught or in war
ἀγνοήσας ἢ ἐν ἄθλῳ ἀγωνιζόμενος, τούτῳ ἐπὶ Δελφινίῳ
not-knowing or in a-contest competing for-this-man at Delphinium
δικάζουσιν· ἐὰν δὲ φεύγων φυγὴν ὧν αἴδεσίς ἐστιν αἰτίαν
they-judge if and fleeing exile of-which pardon is a-charge
ἔχῃ ἀποκτεῖναι ἢ τρῶσαί τινα, τούτῳ δ' ἐν Φρεάτου
has to-have-killed or to-have-wounded someone for-this-man and at Phreatto's
δικάζουσιν· ὁ δ' ἀπολογεῖται προσορμισάμενος ἐν πλοίῳ·
they-judge he and makes-defense having-moored in a-boat
4 δικάζουσι δ' οἱ λαχόντες ταῦτ' ἐφέται πλὴν τῶν
judge and the(-ones) allotted these-cases ephetae except those
ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ γιγνομένων, εἰσάγει δ' ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ
in Ares' hill happening brings-in and the king and
δικάζουσιν ἐν ἱερῷ καὶ ὑπαίθριοι, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς
they-judge in a-sacred(-place) and in-the-open-air and the king
ὅταν δικάζῃ περιαιρεῖται τὸν στέφανον. ὁ δὲ τὴν
when he-judges takes-off the crown the(-one) and the
αἰτίαν ἔχων τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον εἴργεται τῶν ἱερῶν
charge having the indeed other time is-excluded from-the sanctuaries
καὶ οὐδ' εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν νόμος ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτῷ·
and not-even into the marketplace the-law(-allows) to-enter him
τότε δ' εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν εἰσελθὼν ἀπολογεῖται. ὅταν δὲ
then but into the sanctuary having-entered he-makes-defense when and
μὴ εἰδῇ τὸν ποιήσαντα, τῷ δράσαντι λαγχάνει.
not he-knows the(-one) having-done(-it) against-the doer he-files(-suit)

δικάζει δ᾽ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ φυλοβασιλεῖς καὶ τὰς
judges and the king and the tribe-kings also the(-cases)
τῶν ἀψύχων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων.
of-the inanimate(-things) and of-the other animals

LVIII · THE POLEMARCH

The polemarch offers the sacrifices to Artemis the Huntress and Enyalius, arranges the funeral contest for the war dead, makes offerings to Harmodius and Aristogeiton, and hears the private suits of metics and proxenoi.

Ὁ δὲ πολέμαρχος θύει μὲν θυσίας τήν τε τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι 1
the and polemarch sacrifices indeed sacrifices the both — to-Artemis
τῇ ἀγροτέρᾳ καὶ τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ, διατίθησι δ᾽ ἀγῶνα
the huntress and — to-Enyalius arranges and contest
τὸν ἐπιτάφιον τοῖς τετελευτηκόσιν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ
the funeral to-those having-died in the war and
Ἁρμοδίῳ καὶ Ἀριστογείτονι ἐναγίσματα ποιεῖ.
to-Harmodius and to-Aristogeiton offerings makes
δίκαι δὲ λαγχάνονται πρὸς αὐτὸν ἴδιαι μόνον, αἵ τε 2
suits and are-filed before him private only those both
τοῖς μετοίκοις καὶ τοῖς ἰσοτελέσι καὶ τοῖς προξένοις
for-the metics and for-the isoteleis and for-the proxenoi
γιγνόμεναι. καὶ δεῖ τοῦτον λαβόντα καὶ διανείμαντα
arising and it-is-necessary him having-received and having-distributed
δέκα μέρη τὸ λαχὸν ἑκάστῃ τῇ φυλῇ μέρος προσθεῖναι,
ten parts the allotted to-each the tribe part to-assign
τοὺς δὲ τὴν φυλὴν δικάζοντας τοῖς διαιτηταῖς ἀποδοῦναι.
the(-ones) and the tribe judging to-the arbitrators to-hand-over

3 αὐτὸς δ' εἰσάγει δίκας τάς τε τοῦ ἀποστασίου καὶ
he-himself and brings-in suits those both of-the desertion-of-patron and
ἀπροστασίου καὶ κλήρων καὶ ἐπικλήρων τοῖς μετοίκοις,
of-lacking-a-patron and of-estates and of-heiresses for-the metics
καὶ τἄλλ' ὅσα τοῖς πολίταις ὁ ἄρχων, ταῦτα τοῖς
and the-rest whatever for-the citizens the archon these-things for-the
μετοίκοις ὁ πολέμαρχος.
metics the polemarch

LIX · THE THESMOTHETAE

The thesmothetae post the court calendar, introduce impeachments to the people, and bring to court illegal-proposal indictments, charges of alienage, bribery, false summons, and adultery, scrutinies, commercial and mining suits, and treaty cases. The nine archons and their secretary allot the jurors.

1 Οἱ δὲ θεσμοθέται πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ προγράψαι τὰ
the and thesmothetae first indeed of-the to-post-in-advance the
δικαστήριά εἰσι κύριοι τίσιν ἡμέραις δεῖ δικάζειν,
law-courts are empowered on-what days it-is-necessary to-judge
ἔπειτα τοῦ δοῦναι ταῖς ἀρχαῖς· καθότι γὰρ ἂν οὗτοι
then of-the to-give(-them) to-the offices according-as for — these
δῶσιν, κατὰ τοῦτο χρῶνται.
give by this they-use(-them)
2 ἔτι δὲ τὰς εἰσαγγελίας εἰσαγγέλλουσιν εἰς τὸν δῆμον
further and the impeachments they-introduce to the people
καὶ τὰς καταχειροτονίας καὶ τὰς προβολὰς ἁπάσας
and the votes-of-condemnation and the preliminary-charges all
εἰσάγουσιν οὗτοι καὶ γραφὰς παρανόμων καὶ νόμον μὴ
bring-in these and indictments for-illegality and law not

ἐπιτήδειον θεῖναι καὶ προεδρικὴν καὶ ἐπιστατικὴν καὶ
suitable to-have-proposed and of-a-president and of-a-chairman and
στρατηγοῖς εὐθύνας.
for-generals audits
εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ γραφαὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὧν παράστασις τίθεται, 3
are and also indictments before them for-which a-deposit is-paid
ξενίας καὶ δωροξενίας, ἄν τις δῶρα δοὺς
of-alienage and of-bribed-acquittal-of-alienage if someone bribes having-given
ἀποφύγῃ τὴν ξενίαν, καὶ συκοφαντίας καὶ δώρων
escapes the alienage(-charge) and of-sycophancy and of-bribes
καὶ ψευδεγγραφῆς καὶ ψευδοκλητείας καὶ βουλεύσεως καὶ
and of-false-registration and of-false-summons and of-plotting and
ἀγραφίου καὶ μοιχείας.
of-non-registration and of-adultery
εἰσάγουσιν δὲ καὶ τὰς δοκιμασίας ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἁπάσαις 4
bring-in and also the scrutinies for-the offices all
καὶ τοὺς ἀπεψηφισμένους ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτῶν καὶ τὰς
and the(-ones) rejected by the demesmen and the
καταγνώσεις τὰς ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς.
condemnations those from the council
εἰσάγουσι δὲ καὶ δίκας ἰδίας, ἐμπορικὰς καὶ μεταλλικὰς καὶ 5
bring-in and also suits private commercial and mining and
δούλων, ἄν τις τὸν ἐλεύθερον κακῶς λέγῃ. καὶ ἐπικληροῦσι
of-slaves if one the free(-man) ill speaks-of and assign-by-lot
ταῖς ἀρχαῖς οὗτοι τὰ δικαστήρια τὰ ἴδια καὶ τὰ δημόσια.
to-the offices these the law-courts the(-ones) private and the public
καὶ τὰ σύμβολα τὰ πρὸς τὰς πόλεις οὗτοι κυροῦσι, 6
and the conventions those with the cities these ratify
καὶ τὰς δίκας τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν συμβόλων εἰσάγουσι, καὶ
and the suits those from the conventions bring-in and
τὰ ψευδομαρτύρια τὰ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου.
the false-testimonies the(-ones) from Ares' hill

7 Τοὺς δὲ δικαστὰς κληροῦσι πάντες οἱ ἐννέα ἄρχοντες,
the and jurors allot all the nine archons
δέκατος δ' ὁ γραμματεὺς ὁ τῶν θεσμοθετῶν, τοὺς
tenth and the secretary the(-one) of-the thesmothetae those
τῆς αὑτοῦ φυλῆς ἕκαστος.
of-the his-own tribe each

LX · THE GAMES DIRECTORS

Ten games directors manage the Panathenaic procession, contests, and robe, and give the oil from the sacred olives to the victors, the archon collecting it from those who own land where the olives stand.

1 Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τοὺς θ ἄρχοντας τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν
the(-matters) indeed then about the 9 archons this has the
τρόπον. κληροῦσι δὲ καὶ ἀθλοθέτας δέκα ἄνδρας, ἕνα τῆς
way they-allot and also games-directors ten men one of-the
φυλῆς ἑκάστης. οὗτοι δὲ δοκιμασθέντες ἄρχουσι τέτταρα
tribe each these and having-been-scrutinized hold-office four
ἔτη, καὶ διοικοῦσι τήν τε πομπὴν τῶν Παναθηναίων καὶ
years and administer the both procession of-the Panathenaea and
τὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς μουσικῆς καὶ τὸν γυμνικὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ
the contest of-the music and the athletic contest and
τὴν ἱπποδρομίαν, καὶ τὸν πέπλον ποιοῦνται, καὶ τοὺς
the horse-race and the robe have-made and the
ἀμφορεῖς ποιοῦνται μετὰ τῆς βουλῆς, καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον τοῖς
amphoras have-made with the council and the olive-oil to-the
ἀθληταῖς ἀποδιδόασι.
athletes give-out

συλλέγεται δὲ τὸ ἔλαιον ἀπὸ τῶν μοριῶν· εἰσπράττει δὲ 2
is-collected and the olive-oil from the sacred-olives exacts and
τοὺς τὰ χωρία κεκτημένους ἐν οἷς αἱ μορίαι εἰσὶν ὁ
the(-ones) the lands possessing in which the sacred-olives are the
ἄρχων, τρεῖ ἡμικοτύλια ἀπὸ τοῦ στελέχους ἑκάστου. πρότερον
archon three half-pints from the trunk each formerly
δ' ἐπώλει τὸν καρπὸν ἡ πόλις· καὶ εἴ τις ἐξορύξειεν
and sold the fruit the city and if anyone dug-up
ἐλαίαν μορίαν ἢ κατάξειεν, ἔκρινεν ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου
an-olive sacred or broke-down judged the from Ares' hill
βουλή, καὶ εἴ του καταγνοίη, θανάτῳ τοῦτον ἐζημίουν. ἐξ
council and if anyone it-condemned with-death him they-punished from
οὗ δὲ τὸ ἔλαιον ὁ τὸ χωρίον κεκτημένος ἀποτίνει, ὁ
which and the olive-oil the(-one) the land possessing pays the
μὲν νόμος ἔστιν, ἡ δὲ κρίσις καταλέλυται. τὸ δὲ ἔλαιον
indeed law exists the but trial has-been-abolished the and olive-oil
ἐκ τοῦ κτήματος, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν στελεχῶν ἐστι τῇ πόλει.
from the property not from the trunks is for-the city
συλλέξας οὖν ὁ ἄρχων τὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ γιγνόμενον 3
having-collected then the archon the(-oil) in his-own(-year) produced
τοῖς ταμίαις παραδίδωσιν εἰς ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν
to-the treasurers hands-over to acropolis and not it-is-possible
ἀναβῆναι πρότερον εἰς Ἄρειον πάγον, πρὶν ἂν ἅπαν παραδῷ
to-go-up before to Ares' hill before — all he-hands-over
τοῖς ταμίαις. οἱ δὲ ταμίαι τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον τηροῦσιν
to-the treasurers the and treasurers the indeed other time keep(-it)
ἐν ἀκροπόλει, τοῖς δὲ Παναθηναίοις ἀπομετροῦσι τοῖς
on acropolis at-the and Panathenaea measure-out(-it) to-the
ἀθλοθέταις, οἱ δ' ἀθλοθέται τοῖς νικῶσι τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν.
games-directors the and games-directors to-the winners of-the competitors
ἔστι γὰρ ἆθλα τοῖς μὲν τὴν μουσικὴν νικῶσιν ἀργύρια
are for prizes for-those indeed the music winning silver(-pieces)

καὶ χρυσία, τοῖς δὲ τὴν εὐανδρίαν ἀσπίδες, τοῖς δὲ
and gold(-pieces) for-those and the manly-excellence shields for-those and
τὸν γυμνικὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ τὴν ἱπποδρομίαν ἔλαιον.
the athletic contest and the horse-race olive-oil

LXI · THE GENERALS

All military offices are elected. The ten generals are assigned by vote to the hoplites, the country, the Piraeus, and the symmories, and the rest are sent where needed; each prytany votes on their conduct. The people also elect taxiarchs, cavalry commanders, phylarchs, and the treasurers of the state galleys.

1 Χειροτονοῦσι δὲ καὶ τὰς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἀρχὰς ἁπάσας,
they-elect and also the for the war offices all
στρατηγοὺς δέκα, πρότερον μὲν ἀφ' ἑκάστης φυλῆς ἕνα, νῦν
generals ten formerly indeed from each tribe one now
δ' ἐξ ἁπάντων· καὶ τούτους διατάττουσι τῇ χειροτονίᾳ,
but from all and these they-assign by-the vote
ἕνα μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὁπλίτας, ὃς ἡγεῖται τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἂν
one indeed over the hoplites who leads the hoplites if
ἐξίωσι, ἕνα δ' ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, ὃς φυλάττει, κἂν πόλεμος
they-march-out one and over the country who guards(-it) and-if war
ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ γίγνηται, πολεμεῖ οὗτος· δύο δ' ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιέα,
in the country happens wages-war this-man two and over — Piraeus
τὸν μὲν εἰς τὴν Μουνιχίαν, τὸν δ' εἰς τὴν Ἀκτήν, οἳ τῆς
the indeed to — Munichia the and to — Acte who of-the
φυλακῆς ἐπιμελοῦνται τῶν ἐν Πειραιεῖ· ἕνα δ' ἐπὶ
guard take-care of-the(-things) in Piraeus one and over
τὰς συμμορίας, ὃς τούς τε τριηράρχους καταλέγει καὶ τὰς
the symmories who the both trierarchs enrolls and the

ἀντιδόσεις αὐτοῖς ποιεῖ καὶ τὰς διαδικασίας αὐτοῖς εἰσάγει·
exchanges for-them makes and the adjudications for-them brings-in
τοὺς δ' ἄλλους πρὸς τὰ παρόντα πράγματα ἐκπέμπουσιν.
the and others to the present affairs they-send-out
ἐπιχειροτονία δ' αὐτῶν ἐστι κατὰ τὴν πρυτανείαν 2
confirmation-vote and of-them is in the prytany
ἑκάστην, εἰ δοκοῦσιν καλῶς ἄρχειν· κἄν τινα
each whether they-seem well to-command and-if someone
ἀποχειροτονήσωσιν, κρίνουσιν ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, κἂν
they-vote-out they-try(-him) in the law-court and-if
μὲν ἁλῷ, τιμῶσιν ὅ τι χρὴ παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτεῖσαι,
indeed he-is-convicted they-assess what ever he-must to-suffer or to-pay-off
ἂν δ' ἀποφύγῃ, πάλιν ἄρχει. κύριοι δέ εἰσιν ὅταν
if but he-is-acquitted again he-commands empowered and are when
ἡγῶνται καὶ δῆσαι τὸν ἀτακτοῦντα καὶ ἐκκηρῦξαι
they-command also to-imprison the(-one) insubordinate and to-cashier
καὶ ἐπιβολὴν ἐπιβάλλειν· οὐκ εἰώθασι δὲ ἐπιβάλλειν.
and a-fine to-impose not they-are-accustomed but to-impose(-one)
Χειροτονοῦσι δὲ καὶ ταξιάρχους δέκα, ἕνα τῆς φυλῆς 3
they-elect and also taxiarchs ten one of-the tribe
ἑκάστης· οὗτος δ' ἡγεῖται τῶν φυλετῶν καὶ λοχαγοὺς
each this-man and leads the tribesmen and company-commanders
καθίστησιν.
appoints
Χειροτονοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἱππάρχους δύο ἐξ ἁπάντων· οὗτοι 4
they-elect and also cavalry-commanders two from all these
δ' ἡγοῦνται τῶν ἱππέων, διελόμενοι τὰς φυλὰς ε ἑκάτερος·
and lead the cavalrymen having-divided the tribes 5 each
κύριοι δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν εἰσιν ὥνπερ οἱ στρατηγοὶ κατὰ
empowered and over-the same(-things) are as the generals over
τῶν ὁπλιτῶν. ἐπιχειροτονία δὲ γίγνεται καὶ τούτων.
the hoplites confirmation-vote and takes-place also of-these

5 Χειροτονοῦσι δὲ καὶ φυλάρχους ι, ἕνα τῆς φυλῆς, τὸν
they-elect and also phylarchs 10 one of-the tribe the(-one)
ἡγησόμενον τῶν ἱππέων ὥσπερ οἱ ταξίαρχοι τῶν ὁπλιτῶν.
going-to-lead the cavalrymen just-as the taxiarchs the hoplites

6 Χειροτονοῦσι δὲ καὶ εἰς Λῆμνον ἵππαρχον, ὃς
they-elect and also for Lemnos a-cavalry-commander who
ἐπιμελεῖται τῶν ἱππέων τῶν ἐν Λήμνῳ.
takes-care-of the cavalrymen those in Lemnos

7 Χειροτονοῦσι δὲ καὶ ταμίαν τῆς Παράλου καὶ δίχα
they-elect and also a-treasurer of-the Paralus and separately
τῆς τοῦ Ἄμμωνος.
of-the(-ship) — of-Ammon

LXII · PAY FOR OFFICES

Some allotted offices were once drawn with the nine archons from the whole tribe and others by demes in the Theseum; since the demes sold theirs, all are drawn from the whole tribe except councilors and guards. The assembly is paid a drachma, nine obols for the sovereign assembly, the courts three obols, and the council five, and archons and others receive maintenance. Military offices may be held repeatedly, others once, and the council twice.

1 Αἱ δὲ κληρωταὶ ἀρχαὶ πρότερον μὲν ἦσαν αἱ μὲν
the and allotted offices formerly indeed were the(-ones) indeed
μετ᾽ ἐννέα ἀρχόντων ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς ὅλης κληρούμεναι,
with nine archons from the tribe whole allotted
αἱ δ᾽ ἐν Θησείῳ κληρούμεναι διῃροῦντο εἰς τοὺς
the(-ones) and in the-Theseum allotted were-divided among the
δήμους· ἐπειδὴ δ᾽ ἐπώλουν οἱ δῆμοι, καὶ ταύτας ἐκ
demes since and sold(-them) the demes also these from

τῆς φυλῆς ὅλης κληροῦσι πλὴν βουλευτῶν καὶ φρουρῶν·
the tribe whole they-allot except councilors and guards
τούτους δ' εἰς τοὺς δήμους ἀποδιδόασι.
these and to the demes they-assign
Μισθοφοροῦσι δὲ πρῶτον ὁ δῆμος ταῖς μὲν ἄλλαις 2
draw-pay and first the people for-the indeed other
ἐκκλησίαις δραχμήν, τῇ δὲ κυρίᾳ ἐννέα ὀβολούς.
assemblies a-drachma for-the and sovereign(-one) nine obols
ἔπειτα τὰ δικαστήρια τρεῖς ὀβολούς. εἶθ' ἡ βουλὴ πέντε
then the law-courts three obols then the council five
ὀβολούς· τοῖς δὲ πρυτανεύουσιν εἰς σίτησιν ὀβολὸς
obols to-those and holding-the-prytany for maintenance an-obol
προστίθεται. ἔπειτ' εἰς σίτησιν λαμβάνουσιν ἐννέ' ἄρχοντες
is-added then for maintenance receive nine archons
τέτταρας ὀβολοὺς ἕκαστος καὶ παρατρέφουσι κήρυκα καὶ
four obols each and they-maintain-besides a-herald and
αὐλητήν, ἔπειτ' ἄρχων εἰς Σαλαμῖνα δραχμὴν τῆς ἡμέρας.
a-flute-player then archon for Salamis a-drachma of-the day
ἀθλοθέται δ' ἐν πρυτανείῳ δειπνοῦσι τὸν Ἑκατομβαιῶνα
games-directors and in the-prytaneum dine the Hecatombaeon
μῆνα, ὅταν ᾖ τὰ Παναθήναια, ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῆς
month when there-be the Panathenaea beginning from the
τετράδος ἱσταμένου. ἀμφικτύονες εἰς Δῆλον δραχμὴν
fourth of-the-waxing(-month) amphictyons for Delos a-drachma
τῆς ἡμέρας ἑκάστης ἐκ Δήλου λαμβάνουσι. λαμβάνουσι
of-the day each from Delos receive receive
δὲ καὶ ὅσαι ἀποστέλλονται ἀρχαὶ εἰς Σάμον ἢ Σκῦρον
and also as-many-as are-sent-out offices to Samos or Scyros
ἢ Λῆμνον ἢ Ἴμβρον εἰς σίτησιν ἀργύριον.
or Lemnos or Imbros for maintenance money

3 Ἄρχειν δὲ τὰς μὲν κατὰ πόλεμον ἀρχὰς ἔξεστι
to-hold and the indeed in war offices it-is-permitted
πλεονάκις, τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὐδεμίαν, πλὴν βουλεῦσαι δίς.
more-than-once of-the and others none except to-sit-in-council twice

LXIII · THE ALLOTMENT OF JURORS

The nine archons allot the courts. There are ten entrances, one for each tribe, twenty allotment machines, a hundred boxes, and acorns lettered from lambda; jurors must be over thirty and owe nothing to the treasury, and each holds a boxwood ticket inscribed with his name and a letter.

1 Τὰ δὲ δικαστήρια κληροῦσιν οἱ θ ἄρχοντες κατὰ φυλάς,
the and law-courts allot the 9 archons by tribes
ὁ δὲ γραμματεὺς τῶν θεσμοθετῶν τῆς δεκάτης φυλῆς.
the and secretary of-the thesmothetae of-the tenth tribe
2 εἴσοδοι δέ εἰσιν εἰς τὰ δικαστήρια δέκα, μία τῇ φυλῇ
entrances and are into the law-courts ten one for-the tribe
ἑκάστῃ, καὶ κληρωτήρια εἴκοσι, δύο τῇ φυλῇ ἑκάστῃ,
each and allotment-machines twenty two for-the tribe each
καὶ κιβώτια ἑκατόν, δέκα τῇ φυλῇ ἑκάστῃ, καὶ ἕτερα
and boxes a-hundred ten for-the tribe each and other
κιβώτια, εἰς ἃ ἐμβάλλεται τῶν λαχόντων δικαστῶν τὰ
boxes into which are-put of-the allotted jurors the
πινάκια, καὶ ὑδρίαι δύο. καὶ βακτηρίαι παρατίθενται κατὰ
tickets and urns two and staffs are-placed-beside at
τὴν εἴσοδον ἑκάστην ὅσοιπερ οἱ δικασταί, καὶ βάλανοι εἰς
the entrance each as-many-as the jurors and acorns into
τὴν ὑδρίαν ἐμβάλλονται ἴσαι ταῖς βακτηρίαις, ἐγγέγραπται
the urn are-put equal to-the staffs are-inscribed

δ᾽ ἐν ταῖς βαλάνοις τῶν στοιχείων ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑνδεκάτου,
and on the acorns of-the letters from the eleventh
τοῦ λ, ὅσαπερ ἂν μέλλῃ τὰ δικαστήρια πληρωθήσεσθαι.
the lambda as-many-as — are-going the law-courts to-be-filled
δικάζειν δ᾽ ἔξεστιν τοῖς ὑπὲρ λ ἔτη γεγονόσιν, ὅσοι 3
to-judge and it-is-permitted for-those over 30 years having-become as-many-as
αὐτῶν μὴ ὀφείλουσιν τῷ δημοσίῳ ἢ ἄτιμοί εἰσιν. ἐὰν δέ
of-them not owe to-the treasury or disfranchised are if but
τις δικάζῃ οἷς μὴ ἔξεστιν, ἐνδείκνυται καὶ εἰς τὸ
anyone judges for-whom not it-is-permitted he-is-informed-against and into the
δικαστήριον εἰσάγεται· ἐὰν δ᾽ ἁλῷ προστιμῶσιν αὐτῷ
law-court is-brought if and he-is-convicted assess-in-addition for-him
οἱ δικασταὶ ὅ τι ἂν δοκῇ ἄξιος εἶναι παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτεῖσαι.
the jurors what ever — he-seems deserving to-be to-suffer or to-pay
ἐὰν δὲ ἀργυρίου τιμηθῇ, δεῖ αὐτὸν δεδέσθαι, ἕως
if and in-money he-is-assessed it-is-necessary him to-be-imprisoned until
ἂν ἐκτείσῃ τό τε πρότερον ὄφλημα ἐφ᾽ ᾧ ἐνεδείχθη
— he-pays the both former debt for which he-was-informed-against
καὶ ὅ τι ἂν αὐτῷ προστιμήσῃ τὸ δικαστήριον.
and what ever — on-him assesses-in-addition the law-court
ἔχει δ᾽ ἕκαστος δικαστὴς τὸ πινάκιον πύξινον, 4
has and each juror the ticket of-boxwood
ἐπιγεγραμμένον τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ πατρόθεν καὶ
inscribed-with the name the his-own with-father's-name and
τοῦ δήμου καὶ γράμμα ἓν τῶν στοιχείων μέχρι τοῦ
of-the deme and letter one of-the letters up-to the
κ· νενέμηνται γὰρ κατὰ φυλὰς δέκα μέρη οἱ δικασταί,
kappa are-distributed for by tribes ten parts the jurors
παραπλησίως ἴσοι ἐν ἑκάστῳ τῷ γράμματι.
nearly equal in each the letter

5 ἐπειδὰν δὲ ὁ θεσμοθέτης ἐπικληρώσῃ τὰ γράμματα ἃ
when and the thesmothetes allots-in-addition the letters which
δεῖ προσπαρατίθεσθαι τοῖς δικαστηρίοις, ἐπέθηκε
it-is-necessary to-be-set-beside the law-courts places(-it)
φέρων ὁ ὑπηρέτης ἐφ' ἕκαστον τὸ δικαστήριον τὸ
carrying(-it) the attendant on each the law-court the
γράμμα τὸ λαχόν.
letter the allotted

LXIV · THE ALLOTMENT MACHINES

Jurors drop their tickets into lettered boxes; the man drawn first from each box, the inserter, sets its tickets in columns on the allotment machine. Black and white dice decide which columns serve, and each juror called draws an acorn lettered with his court.

1 Τὰ δὲ κιβώτια τὰ δέκα κεῖται ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν τῆς
the and boxes the ten lie in the front of-the
εἰσόδου καθ' ἑκάστην τὴν φυλήν· ἐπιγέγραπται δ' ἐπ'
entrance for each the tribe are-inscribed and on
αὐτῶν τὰ στοιχεῖα μέχρι τοῦ κ. ἐπειδὰν δ' ἐμβάλωσιν
them the letters up-to the kappa when and put
οἱ δικασταὶ τὰ πινάκια εἰς τὸ κιβώτιον ἐφ' οὗ ἂν ᾖ
the jurors the tickets into the box on which — be
ἐπιγεγραμμένον τὸ γράμμα τὸ αὐτὸ ὅπερ ἐπὶ τῷ πινακίῳ
inscribed the letter the same which on the ticket
ἐστὶν αὐτῷ τῶν στοιχείων, τότε σείσαντος τοῦ ὑπηρέτου
is for-him of-the letters then having-shaken the attendant
ἕλκει ὁ θεσμοθέτης ἐξ ἑκάστου τοῦ κιβωτίου πινάκιον ἕν.
draws the thesmothetes from each the box ticket one

οὗτος δὲ καλεῖται ἐμπήκτης, καὶ ἐμπήγνυσι τὰ πινάκια 2
this-man and is-called inserter and inserts the tickets
τὰ ἐκ τοῦ κιβωτίου εἰς τὴν κανονίδα, ἐφ' ἧς τὸ αὐτὸ
those from the box into the column on which the same
γράμμα ἔπεστιν ὅπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ κιβωτίου. κληροῦται δ'
letter is-upon which on the box is-allotted and
οὗτος, ἵνα μὴ ἀεὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐμπηγνύων κακουργῇ.
this-man so-that not always the same(-man) inserting do-mischief
εἰσὶ δὲ κανονίδες πέντε ἐν ἑκάστῳ τῶν κληρωτηρίων.
are and columns five on each of-the allotment-machines
ὅταν δὲ ἐμβάλῃ τοὺς κύβους, ὁ ἄρχων τὴν φυλὴν 3
when and he-puts-in the dice the archon the tribe
κληροῖ κατὰ κληρωτήριον. εἰσὶ δὲ κύβοι χαλκοῖ, μέλανες
he-allots by allotment-machine are and dice bronze black
καὶ λευκοί· ὅσους δ' ἂν δέῃ λαχεῖν δικαστάς,
and white as-many-as and — it-is-necessary to-be-allotted jurors
τοσοῦτοι ἐμβάλλονται λευκοί, κατὰ πέντε πινάκια εἷς, οἱ
so-many are-put-in white for five tickets one the
δὲ μέλανες τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον. ἐπειδὰν δ' ἐξέλῃ τοὺς
and black in-the same way when and he-takes-out the
κύβους, καλεῖ τοὺς εἰληχότας ὁ κῆρυξ· ὑπάρχει δὲ καὶ
dice calls the(-ones) allotted the herald belongs and also
ὁ ἐμπήκτης εἰς τὸν ἀριθμόν.
the inserter to the number
ὁ δὲ κληθεὶς καὶ ὑπακούσας ἕλκει βάλανον ἐκ τῆς 4
he and called and having-answered draws an-acorn from the
ὑδρίας, καὶ ὀρέξας αὐτήν, ἄνω ἔχων τὸ γράμμα, δείκνυσιν
urn and holding-out it up holding the letter shows
πρῶτον μὲν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῷ ἐφεστηκότι· ὁ δὲ ἄρχων
first indeed to-the archon the presiding the and archon
ἐπειδὰν ἴδῃ ἐμβάλλει τὸ πινάκιον αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ κιβώτιον,
when he-sees puts the ticket his into the box

ὅπου ἂν ᾖ ἐπιγεγραμμένον τὸ αὐτὸ στοιχεῖον ὅπερ ἐν
where — be inscribed the same letter which on
τῇ βαλάνῳ, ἵν' εἰς οἷον ἂν λάχῃ εἰσίῃ καὶ
the acorn so-that into whatever(-court) — he-is-allotted he-may-enter and
μὴ εἰς οἷον ἂν βούληται, μηδὲ ᾖ συναγαγεῖν εἰς
not into whatever — he-wishes nor it-be-possible to-collect into
δικαστήριον οὓς ἂν βούληταί τις.
a-law-court whom — wishes anyone
παράκειται δὲ τῷ ἄρχοντι κιβώτια ὅσαπερ ἂν μέλλῃ
lie-beside and the archon boxes as-many-as — are-going
τὰ δικαστήρια πληρωθήσεσθαι, ἔχοντα στοιχεῖον ἕκαστον
the law-courts to-be-filled having letter each
ὅπερ ἂν ᾖ τὸ τοῦ δικαστηρίου ἑκάστου εἰληχός.
which — be the(-letter) of-the law-court each allotted

LXV · THE STAFF AND THE COURT

The juror takes a staff of his court's color, which exposes him if he enters another, and a token once inside. Unchosen jurors get their tickets back, and each court receives the boxes of names by which it pays.

Αὐτὸς δὲ δείξας πάλιν τῷ ὑπηρέτῃ εἶτ' ἐντὸς εἰσέρχεται
he-himself and having-shown again to-the attendant then inside enters
τῆς κιγκλίδος. ὁ δὲ ὑπηρέτης δίδωσιν αὐτῷ βακτηρίαν
of-the railing the and attendant gives him a-staff
ὁμόχρων τῷ δικαστηρίῳ οὗ τὸ αὐτὸ γράμμα ἐστὶν
of-the-same-color as-the law-court whose the same letter is
ὅπερ ἐν τῇ βαλάνῳ, ἵνα ἀναγκαῖον ᾖ αὐτῷ εἰσελθεῖν
which on the acorn so-that necessary it-be for-him to-enter

εἰς ὃ εἴληχε δικαστήριον· ἐὰν γὰρ εἰς ἕτερον
into which he-has-been-allotted law-court if for into another
εἰσέλθῃ, ἐξελέγχεται ὑπὸ τοῦ χρώματος τῆς βακτηρίας.
he-enter he-is-detected by the color of-the staff
τοῖς γὰρ δικαστηρίοις χρῶμα ἐπιγέγραπται ἑκάστῳ ἐπὶ 2
on-the for law-courts a-color is-painted on-each on
τῷ σφηκίσκῳ τῆς εἰσόδου. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν τὴν βακτηρίαν
the lintel of-the entrance he and having-taken the staff
βαδίζει εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον τὸ ὁμόχρων μὲν τῇ
walks to the law-court the(-one) of-the-same-color indeed as-the
βακτηρίᾳ ἔχον δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ γράμμα ὅπερ ἐν τῇ βαλάνῳ.
staff having and the same letter which on the acorn
ἐπειδὰν δ' εἰσέλθῃ, παραλαμβάνει σύμβολον δημοσίᾳ
when and he-has-entered he-receives a-token publicly
παρὰ τοῦ εἰληχότος ταύτην τὴν ἀρχήν.
from the(-one) allotted this the office
εἶτα τήν τε βάλανον καὶ τὴν βακτηρίαν ἔχοντες καθίζουσιν 3
then the both acorn and the staff holding they-sit
ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον εἰσεληλυθότες· τοῖς
in the law-court in-this the way having-entered to-those
δ' ἀπολαγχάνουσιν ἀποδιδόασιν οἱ ἐμπῆκται τὰ πινάκια.
and allotted-out give-back the inserters the tickets
οἱ δὲ ὑπηρέται οἱ δημόσιοι ἀπὸ τῆς φυλῆς ἑκάστης 4
the and attendants the public from the tribe each
παραδιδόασιν τὰ κιβώτια, ἓν ἐπὶ τὸ δικαστήριον ἕκαστον,
hand-over the boxes one for the law-court each
ἐν ᾧ ἔνεστιν τὰ ὀνόματα τῆς φυλῆς τὰ ὄντα ἐν
in which are the names of-the tribe the(-ones) being in
ἑκάστῳ τῶν δικαστηρίων. παραδιδόασι δὲ τοῖς εἰληχόσι
each of-the law-courts they-hand-over and to-those allotted

ταῦτα ἀποδιδόναι τοῖς δικασταῖς ἐν ἑκάστῳ τῷ δικαστηρίῳ
these to-give-back to-the jurors in each the law-court
ἀριθμῷ ὅπως ἐκ τούτων καλοῦντες ἀποδιδῶσι τὸν μισθόν.
by-number so-that from these calling they-may-pay the wage

LXVI · ALLOTTING THE OFFICIALS TO COURTS

When the courts are full, two thesmothetae allot by dice which office presides in which court. In each court ten jurors are drawn, one to oversee the water clock and four for the votes, and the rest receive notice where they will be paid.

1 Ἐπειδὰν δὲ πάντα πλήρη ᾖ τὰ δικαστήρια, τίθεται ἐν τῷ
when and all full are the law-courts are-placed in the
πρώτῳ τῶν δικαστηρίων β κληρωτήρια καὶ κύβοι χαλκοῖ,
first of-the law-courts 2 allotment-machines and dice bronze
ἐν οἷς ἐπιγέγραπται τὰ χρώματα τῶν δικαστηρίων,
on which are-inscribed the colors of-the law-courts
καὶ ἕτεροι κύβοι ἐν οἷς ἐστιν τῶν ἀρχῶν τὰ ὀνόματα
and other dice on which are of-the offices the names
ἐπιγεγραμμένα. λαχόντες δὲ τῶν θεσμοθετῶν δύο χωρὶς
inscribed having-been-allotted and of-the thesmothetae two separately
ἑκατέρων τοὺς κύβους ἐμβάλλουσιν, ὁ μὲν τὰ χρώματα
each-set the dice put-in the(-one) indeed the colors
εἰς τὸ ἓν κληρωτήριον, ὁ δὲ τῶν ἀρχῶν τὰ ὀνόματα
into the one allotment-machine the(-other) and of-the offices the names
εἰς τὸ ἕτερον· ἥ δ' ἂν πρώτη λάχῃ τῶν ἀρχῶν,
into the other whichever and — first is-drawn of-the offices
αὕτη ἀναγορεύεται ὑπὸ τοῦ κήρυκος ὅτι χρήσεται τῷ
this is-proclaimed by the herald that it-will-use the
πρώτῳ λαχόντι δικαστηρίῳ, ἡ δὲ δευτέρα τῷ δευτέρῳ καὶ
first allotted law-court the and second the second and

ὡσαύτως τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἵνα μηδεμία προειδῇ τίνι αὐτῶν
likewise for-the others so-that none know-beforehand which of-them
χρήσεται, ἀλλ᾽ οἷον ἂν λάχῃ ἑκάστη, τούτῳ χρήσηται.
it-will-use but whichever — is-allotted each this it-may-use
ἐπειδὰν δ᾽ ἔλθωσιν καὶ νενεμημένοι ἐφ᾽ ἕκαστον ὦσιν 2
when and they-have-come and distributed to each are
οἱ δικασταί, ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ ἐφεστηκυῖα ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ
the jurors the office the presiding in the law-court
ἑκάστῳ ἕλκει ἐξ ἑκάστου τοῦ κιβωτίου πινάκιον ἕν,
each draws from each the box ticket one
ἵνα γένωνται δέκα, εἷς ἐξ ἑκάστης τῆς φυλῆς, καὶ
so-that there-may-be ten one from each the tribe and
ταῦτα τὰ πινάκια εἰς ἕτερον κενὸν κιβώτιον ἐμβάλλει, καὶ
these the tickets into another empty box puts and
τούτων ϵ τοὺς πρώτους λαχόντας κληροῖ, α μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ
of-these 5 the first allotted he-allots 1 indeed over the
ὕδωρ, τέτταρας δὲ ἄλλους ἐπὶ τὰς ψήφους, ἵνα μηδεὶς
water four and others over the votes so-that no-one
παρασκευάζῃ μήτε τὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ μήτε τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς
tamper-with neither the(-one) over the water nor the(-ones) over the
ψήφους, μηδὲ γίγνηται περὶ ταῦτα κακούργημα μηδέν.
votes nor happen about these-things misdeed any
οἱ δὲ ἀπολαχόντες πέντε παρὰ τούτων ἀπολαμβάνουσι τὸ 3
the and allotted-out five from these receive the
πρόγραμμα καθότι τὸν μισθὸν λήψονται, καὶ ὅπου
notice according-to-which the wage they-will-receive and where
ἕκασται αἱ φυλαὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, ἐπειδὰν δικάσωσιν,
each the tribes in itself the law-court when they-have-judged
ὅπως διαστάντες ἕκαστοι κατ᾽ ὀλίγους λάβωσι, καὶ μὴ
so-that standing-apart each in small-groups they-may-receive and not
πολλοὶ εἰς ταὐτὸ συγκλεισθέντες ἀλλήλοις ἐνοχλῶσιν.
many into the-same-place crowded-together one-another trouble

Private suits are tried four at a time, public ones one a day. Water clocks time the speeches, ten gallons for suits over five thousand drachmas and less for smaller; the clock stops for documents except in trials by a measured day, gauged by the days of Posideon.

1 Ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες εἰσκαλοῦσι τοὺς ἀγῶνας, ὅταν μὲν
these-things and having-done they-call-in the cases when indeed
τὰ ἴδια δικάζωσι τοὺς ἰδίους, τῷ ἀριθμῷ δ ἐξ
the private(-cases) they-judge the private in-the number 4 from
ἑκάστων τῶν δικῶν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου, καὶ διομνύουσιν
each of-the suits those from the law and swear
οἱ ἀντίδικοι εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐρεῖν· ὅταν δὲ τὰ
the litigants to very the matter to-speak when and the
δημόσια, τοὺς δημοσίους, καὶ ἕνα μόνον ἐκδικάζουσι.
public(-cases) the public(-cases) and one only they-judge-out

2 εἰσὶ δὲ κλεψύδραι αὐλίσκους ἔχουσαι μικρούς, εἰς ἃς τὸ
are and water-clocks small-tubes having small into which the
ὕδωρ ἐγχέουσι, πρὸς ὃ δεῖ λέγειν τὰς δίκας. δίδοται
water they-pour by which it-is-necessary to-speak the suits is-given
δὲ δεκάχους ταῖς ὑπὲρ πεντακισχιλίας, καὶ τρίχους τῷ
and ten-gallon for-those over five-thousand(-drachmas) and three-gallon for-the
δευτέρῳ λόγῳ, ἑπτάχους δὲ ταῖς μέχρι πεντακισχιλίων καὶ
second speech seven-gallon and for-those up-to five-thousand and
δίχους, πεντάχους δὲ ταῖς ἐντὸς α καὶ δίχους, ἑξάχους
two-gallon five-gallon and for-those within 1000 and two-gallon six-gallon
δὲ ταῖς διαδικασίαις, αἷς ὕστερον λόγος οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδείς.
and for-the adjudications in-which later speech not is none

ὁ δ' ἐφ' ὕδωρ εἰληχὼς ἐπιλαμβάνει τὸν αὐλίσκον 3
the(-one) and over water allotted stops the tube
ὅταν ψήφισμα ἢ νόμον ἢ μαρτυρίαν ἢ σύμβολον
when a-decree either law or testimony or a-token
ὁ γραμματεὺς ἀναγιγνώσκειν μέλλῃ· ὅταν δὲ ᾖ πρὸς
the secretary to-read is-about when and is by
διαμεμετρημένην τὴν ἡμέραν ὁ ἀγών, τότε δὲ οὐκ
measured-out the day the trial then and not
ἐπιλαμβάνει αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ δίδοται τὸ ἴσον ὕδωρ τῷ τε
he-stops it but is-given the equal water to-the both
κατηγοροῦντι καὶ τῷ ἀπολογουμένῳ.
prosecutor and to-the defendant
διαμετρεῖται δὲ πρὸς τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ Ποσιδεῶνος μηνός 4
is-measured and by the days of-the Posideon month
*** εἰσιν, ὁ μὲν ἕτερος τοῖς διώκουσιν, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος
(lacuna) are the indeed one for-the prosecutors the and other
τοῖς φεύγουσιν.
for-the defendants
ἐν δὲ τοῖς *** ἀγώνων ὅσοις πρόσεστι δεσμὸς ἢ 5
in and the (lacuna) of-trials to-which is-attached imprisonment or
θάνατος ἢ φυγὴ ἢ ἀτιμία ἢ δήμευσις χρημάτων ***
death or exile or disfranchisement or confiscation of-property (lacuna)
ὅ τι χρὴ παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτεῖσαι.
what ever must to-suffer or to-pay

Most courts have five hundred jurors, and two or three join for larger public cases. After the speeches each juror gets a pierced and a solid ballot, the pierced for the first speaker, and drops the valid one secretly into the bronze amphora, the other into the wooden.

1 Τὰ δὲ πολλὰ τῶν δικαστηρίων ἐστὶ φ ∗∗∗ ὅταν
the and most of-the law-courts are 500 (lacuna) when
δὲ δέῃ τὰς δημοσίας γραφὰς εἰς α εἰσαγαγεῖν,
and it-is-necessary the public indictments into 1000 to-bring-in
συνέρχεται β δικαστήρια εἰς τὴν ἡλιαίαν. ∗∗∗ εἰς φ
come-together 2 law-courts into the Heliaea (lacuna) into 500
καὶ α, τρία δικαστήρια.
and 1000 three law-courts

2 ψῆφοι δέ εἰσιν χαλκαῖ, αὐλίσκον ἔχουσαι ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, αἱ
votes and are bronze a-small-tube having in the middle the
μὲν ἡμίσειαι τετρυπημέναι, αἱ δὲ ἡμίσειαι πλήρεις. οἱ
indeed half pierced the and half solid those
δὲ λαχόντες ἐπὶ τὰς ψήφους, ἐπειδὰν εἰρημένοι ὦσιν οἱ
and allotted over the votes when spoken are the
λόγοι, παραδιδόασιν ἑκάστῳ τῶν δικαστῶν δύο ψήφους,
speeches hand-over to-each of-the jurors two votes
τετρυπημένην καὶ πλήρη, φανερὰς ὁρᾶν τοῖς ἀντιδίκοις,
pierced and solid plain to-see to-the litigants
ἵνα μήτε πλήρεις μήτε τετρυπημένας ἀμφοτέρας
so-that neither solid nor pierced both
λαμβάνωσι. τότε δ' ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦτο εἰληχὼς
they-take then and the(-one) over this having-been-allotted
ἀπολαμβάνει τὰς βακτηρίας ἀνθ' ὧν εἷς ἕκαστος
takes-back the staffs in-return-for which one each

ψηφιζόμενος λαμβάνει σύμβολον χαλκοῦν μετὰ τοῦ γ
voting receives a-token bronze with the 3
(ἀποδιδοὺς γὰρ γ λαμβάνει), ἵνα ψηφίζωνται πάντες· οὐ
giving-back for 3 he-receives so-that may-vote all not
γὰρ ἔστι λαβεῖν σύμβολον οὐδενὶ ἐὰν μὴ ψηφίζηται.
for it-is-possible to-receive a-token for-anyone if not he-votes
εἰσὶ δὲ ἀμφορεῖς δύο κείμενοι ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, ὁ 3
are and amphoras two placed in the law-court the
μὲν χαλκοῦς, ὁ δὲ ξύλινος, διαίρετοι ὅπως μὴ λάθῃ
indeed bronze the and wooden separable so-that not escape-notice
ὑποβάλλων τις ψήφους, εἰς οὓς ψηφίζονται οἱ δικασταί,
slipping-in someone votes into which vote the jurors
ὁ μὲν χαλκοῦς κύριος, ὁ δὲ ξύλινος ἄκυρος, ἔχων ὁ
the indeed bronze valid the and wooden invalid having the
χαλκοῦς ἐπίθημα διερρινημένον ὥστ' αὐτὴν μόνην χωρεῖν
bronze a-lid pierced so-that itself only to-admit
τὴν ψῆφον, ἵνα μὴ δύο ὁ αὐτὸς ἐμβάλλῃ.
the vote so-that not two the same(-man) put-in
ἐπειδὰν δὲ διαψηφίζεσθαι μέλλωσιν οἱ δικασταί, ὁ κῆρυξ 4
when and to-vote are-about the jurors the herald
ἀγορεύει πρῶτον, ἂν ἐπισκήπτωνται οἱ ἀντίδικοι ταῖς
proclaims first whether lodge-objections the litigants against-the
μαρτυρίαις. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐπισκήψασθαι ὅταν ἄρξωνται
testimonies not for it-is-possible to-object when they-have-begun
διαψηφίζεσθαι. ἔπειτα πάλιν ἀνακηρύττει· "ἡ τετρυπημένη
to-vote then again he-proclaims the pierced(-one)
τοῦ πρότερον λέγοντος, ἡ δὲ πλήρης τοῦ ὕστερον
of-the first speaking the and solid(-one) of-the later
λέγοντος." ὁ δὲ δικαστὴς λαβὼν ἅμα ἐκ τοῦ λυχνείου
speaking the and juror having-taken together from the lampstand
τὰς ψήφους, πιέζων τὸν αὐλίσκον τῆς ψήφου καὶ οὐ
the votes pressing the tube of-the vote and not

δεικνύων τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις οὔτε τὸ τετρυπημένον οὔτε
showing to-the litigants neither the pierced nor
τὸ πλῆρες, ἐμβάλλει τὴν μὲν κυρίαν εἰς τὸν χαλκοῦν
the solid puts the indeed valid into the bronze
ἀμφορέα, τὴν δὲ ἄκυρον εἰς τὸν ξύλινον.
amphora the and invalid into the wooden

LXIX · THE COUNT AND THE ASSESSMENT

The attendants empty the valid amphora onto a counting board; the votes are counted and proclaimed, the side with more winning, and an equal vote acquitting. If a penalty must be assessed they vote again, and the jurors are paid in the section allotted to them.

1 Πάντες δ' ἐπειδὰν ὦσι διεψηφισμένοι, λαβόντες οἱ
all and when are having-voted having-taken the
ὑπηρέται τὸν ἀμφορέα τὸν κύριον ἐξερῶσιν ἐπὶ ἄβακα
attendants the amphora the valid empty onto a-counting-board
τρυπήματα ἔχοντα ὅσαιπερ εἰσὶν αἱ ψῆφοι, καὶ ταῦτα
holes having as-many-as are the votes and these
ὅπως αἱ κυρίαι προκείμεναι εὐαρίθμητοι ὦσιν, καὶ τὰ
so-that the valid lying-out easy-to-count may-be and the
τρυπητὰ καὶ τὰ πλήρη, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς ψήφους εἰληχότες
pierced and the solid those and over the votes allotted
διαριθμοῦσιν αὐτὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄβακος, χωρὶς μὲν τὰς
count them on the counting-board separately indeed the
πλήρεις, χωρὶς δὲ τὰς τετρυπημένας, καὶ ἀναγορεύει ὁ
solid separately and the pierced and proclaims the
κῆρυξ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ψήφων, τοῦ μὲν διώκοντος τὰς
herald the number of-the votes of-the indeed prosecutor the

τετρυπημένας, τοῦ δὲ φεύγοντος τὰς πλήρεις· ὁποτέρῳ δ'
pierced of-the and defendant the solid to-whichever and
ἂν πλείων γένηται, οὗτος νικᾷ, ἂν δὲ ἴσαι, ὁ φεύγων.
— more be this-man wins if and equal the defendant
ἔπειτα πάλιν τιμῶσι, ἂν δέῃ τιμῆσαι, τὸν αὐτὸν 2
then again they-assess if it-is-necessary to-assess in-the same
τρόπον ψηφιζόμενοι, τὸ μὲν σύμβολον ἀποδιδόντες,
way voting the indeed token giving-back
βακτηρίαν δὲ πάλιν παραλαμβάνοντες. ἡ δὲ τίμησίς
a-staff and again receiving the and assessment
ἐστιν πρὸς ἡμίχουν ὕδατος ἑκατέρῳ. ἐπειδὰν δὲ αὐτοῖς
is by a-half-gallon of-water for-each when and for-them
ᾖ δεδικασμένα τὰ ἐκ τῶν νόμων, ἀπολαμβάνουσιν
are judged the(-cases) by the laws they-receive
τὸν μισθὸν ἐν τῷ μέρει οὗ ἔλαχον ἕκαστοι.
the wage in the part in-which they-were-allotted each