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THE POLITICS OF ARISTOTLE
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΣ ΤΑ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΑ

THE POLITICS OF ARISTOTLE

WITH ENGLISH NOTES

BY

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SECOND EDITION

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PREFACE.

THE text adopted for this edition is that of Bekker, as reprinted at the Oxford University Press. Here and there I have ventured on changes, the reasons for which I have given in each case. They do not profess to rest on the authority of manuscripts, but on my own view of their advisability, or on the authority of others, whether editors or commentators. In editing any Greek or Latin writer, the question of the authority of various manuscripts is one which many editors must leave unapproached. The sound judgment requisite in such matters must be the result of large experience and study of that particular branch of editorial work. It seems to me a complete specialty; and one who has not been led, either by inclination or pursuits, to give it special attention, could not hope that any weight should attach to his decisions, and had better therefore acquiesce in the conclusions of those who are recognised as authority on the point. Unfortunately, in the particular case of Aristotle, the silence preserved by the editors of the great Berlin edition,—the basis, it seems acknowledged, of any subsequent editions,—as to the value of the manuscripts whose various readings they insert, and as to the grounds of their preference of the readings they adopt, leaves us in ignorance, so far as their judgment is concerned, of what amount of assistance might be derived from manuscripts. But it would seem, from the concurrent testimony of those who have turned their attention to the Politics of Aristotle, that the amount is not large. Not to dwell on the dictum of Niebuhr on this point, the German critic who, more than any other of those I have met with, urges the expediency of a careful collation of MSS., does so with the avowal that, when all is done, the text of Bekker must remain the basis; and Spengel, whose labours seem to me in quality the most valuable, not
only accepts this text, but remarks, that any manuscript assistance is out of the question. "The only source left is conjectural criticism." The difficulties of the Politics, so far as they are difficulties of the text, must be remedied by attentive study, and by conjecture resting on such study. Such is all I have to offer, and I have resisted as much as possible all temptation to alteration, where not absolutely indispensable. The greatest opening for such alteration appears to be presented by the punctuation. A careful attention to this, in the Politics, as in other works of Aristotle, will often give the clue to a difficult passage; and this is a point on which, I presume, all editors are equally free. I have therefore in many passages altered the stopping, but I have done so without increasing the number of stops, the sparing use of which is, I conceive, a great improvement in recent editions of the classics.

As a general rule, I have introduced no parenthesis where there did not exist one in the text adopted. In certain cases, I have enclosed paragraphs of various and at times considerable length in brackets. In doing so, I have not intended to intimate that such paragraphs are not Aristotle’s, a point I feel quite incompetent to decide, but merely to show that in my view of the context they interfere, either as repetitions or as unreasonable digressions, with the connexion of the thought. And as it is in this connexion that the great difficulty often lies, I have, so far as I was able, endeavoured to clear away any obstacle to its perception.

There is one change of some importance which I have made in the edition from which I reprint. I have altered the order of the books, and adopted the arrangement already familiar to students of the Politics, as that used by M. St. Hilaire in his edition and translation. It seems useless to repeat in detail the various critical arguments in favour of this change. They may be found stated in the Preface to the edition just quoted, and elsewhere, as in the work of M. Niecks. The main argument in favour of the change is, as far as I can see, the greater clearness of method, and the greater facility of tracing the order of thought which the new arrangement gives. But, though I feel very strongly that the change rests on solid ground and offers real advan-
tages, I might have adhered to the old order had there been no edition in which it was changed. The convenience of uniformity of reference is such an attraction that I might have been induced to sacrifice to it. But when once the change has been made, the case is altered. Such convenience no longer exists, and a subsequent editor need have little scruple in selecting that method which seems to his judgment absolutely the best. *

And I cannot but think that an attentive study of the work will lead most readers to acquiesce in the order adopted as most in keeping with the real order of thought, however much they may wish that the old order had remained undisturbed on the ground of convenience. For the new arrangement brings into close juxtaposition two books, VI. and VII. (IV. VI.), whose separation is clearly the result of some accident, and whose re-arrangement is advocated, as I have elsewhere remarked, even by the staunchest opponents of the change in general. Again by placing IV. V. (VII. VIII.) immediately after III., the new order makes Aristotle's aristocracy or ideal state, the second of the two correct forms of government, follow directly on his treatment of monarchy or the first, and precede his treatment of Politeia or the third. Whereas, in the existing arrangement, this third form is interposed between the first and second. Lastly, after the analysis of the two first ideal forms has been gone through, he proceeds, by a separate treatment of the elements of the third form, to prepare the way for a treatment of those elements in combination,—in other words, for the treatment of that third form. Its discussion over, he goes through the problems connected with existing governments, their formation and their organisation; he elaborates, that is, the statics of Greek society. Then, in the absence of any theory or expectation of change, there is nothing left for him but to treat of the diseases to which that society was liable, its chronic state of dissension, its acute one of revolution. This, the more logical order, is entirely put out of sight by the actual arrangement, and I feel convinced that its restoration is a real gain in studying the work. I need not add

* In his latest editions Bekker adopts the change. 1874.
more on this point, as I have touched on it occasionally in the body of the work.

For the purposes of convenient handling of this edition, I have prefixed to each book a short summary. In this I have aimed at giving the simple outline of the connexion, and an easy means of finding what is the general purport of each chapter. I have added also marginal headings to enable the reader more easily to catch the main object of the page, or to refer to what he has previously read. For the purposes of reference I have placed the pages of the Berlin Quarto Edition by the side of the text. And in any quotations from other works of Aristotle, I have given a double reference, to that edition and to the Oxford reprint of it.

In the notes, when offering translations of my own, I have marked them by single, when borrowing the words of others, I have used double inverted commas.

For the matter of the notes, my object has been to make them as much of a help as possible to the understanding of the text, not as a vehicle for learned discussion. In a work like the *Politics*, more than in some others, it would seem the main duty of an editor to facilitate the study of the work itself, to place the student in a condition to master it with as little difficulty as possible, and so to penetrate himself with its spirit and its thought. He should therefore not have his attention called off at every turn by the suggestion of difficulties on questions of alien interest. I have endeavoured to carry out this my view of what an editor should do, and if at times I have wandered in my notes from the strict interpretation of Aristotle, or from the necessary elucidation of his statements, and obtruded opinions of my own, I trust I shall be thought to have been sparing in such deviations, and to have exercised a fair self-command in not interfering with the appreciation of the work itself. The greatness of its author and the importance of the subject alike acted as a check. And it is in furtherance of this view that I have ventured on a translation of most of the difficult passages.

I have given an Index of the proper names that occur in the work, as well as one of the words and expressions. This utter will, I trust, be found, if far from complete, yet suffi-
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iciently copious to make it a great advance on any existing index. Its incompleteness is due to my not having had it in my power, at the time I was engaged in it, to give it that constant, unintermitting attention which it required. I was compelled by circumstances to complete my part of the work whilst engaged as tutor in Oxford, and to leave in great measure the arrangement of the materials I had collected to two of my friends who are in no way responsible for any defect in the materials themselves.

The works I have used in preparing this edition are,—

I. Editions of the whole or parts of it:
   Petri Victorii Commentarii in Aristotelem de Republica. Florence, 1576.
   Aristotelis Politica. Schneider. Frankfort, 1809.

II. Commentaries:
   Ueber die Politik des Aristoteles, L. Spengel in the Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in München, v. Band, 1 Abth. Also, by the same writer, Ueber die unter dem Namen des Aristoteles erhaltenen Ethischen Schriften. 1841.

III. Works bearing on Aristotle's life and philosophy generally:

Other works, both German and French, I have consulted, but with very little advantage; and I think it unnecessary
to add their titles. Works on the subjects treated in the *Politics* I have quoted in the notes, and need not add any distinct reference to them here.

My greatest obligations are, as will be clear from the notes, to Mr. Grote, so far as the work is one of historical philosophy. In editing a work, which is the résumé of Greek political experience, the natural source to which to look for assistance was the best history of Greece on a large scale. In that would of course be found, so far as historical documents warranted, the proper accompaniment to the isolated facts mentioned or alluded to by Aristotle. And the range of the historian of Greece should not be narrower than that of the philosopher who drew his lessons not merely from Greek political experience, but from the history and circumstances of the various nations which had come in contact with Greece. On all historical points I have carefully consulted Mr. Grote's great work, and have referred to it as the best source for others to consult. And I need hardly add that not on mere historical points, but on all questions of political philosophy, as viewed by the light of Greek history, the value of his work can hardly be overrated. This is not diminished in any degree by the difference of views which at times will be seen to exist. I can only add my regret that I have been obliged to forego the advantages which the next volume of Mr. Grote's work promises to the student of Aristotle and of Greek philosophy in general.

One other acknowledgment I have to make, that of the assistance I have received from friends. For no one of the opinions expressed in any part of the work is any one but myself responsible. I have no reason to think that they are shared by those who have helped me. For the care bestowed in revising and suggesting improvements in my notes, and in correcting the proofs, my best thanks are due to Messrs. Huntington and Thurlby, Fellows of Wadham College, Oxford; and for the arrangement and correction of the Index a similar acknowledgment is due to Messrs. C. Griffith and Ellaby, of Wadham College. Many others have assisted me, both friends

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My object throughout has been, as far as possible, to facilitate the study of the work itself in the original language. But in the present state of opinion in England on educational questions, I hope I shall not be considered out of place in making some additional remarks on this point. He who edited a work of classical antiquity may be thought to be working in support of the dominant theory, which looks on all really high education as having necessarily for its basis the study of the languages of Greece and Rome, and, if silent, such a construction of his purpose would be fair, and one which he could hardly object to. Therefore, though aware that my opinion is likely to meet with no sympathy, even in quarters where I should most wish it, and at the risk of giving great offence in others, I cannot consent to remain silent, and even in appearance to adopt the theory above given. After a fair acquaintance with all the arguments generally adduced in its favour in or out of Oxford, with all the weight in its support lent by many years passed in the study of the languages in question, and as many almost in teaching them, I have been led to form an opinion entirely hostile to the prevailing practice, and to look with more than distrust on the arguments on which it is based. I do not feel disposed here to do much more than protest against this theory, the great idol of the educated among the upper and middle classes. But I may, before passing to my own view of the subject, express my hope that, like many other of the fictions on which their existence has reposed, this part too and foundation of our institutions is crumbling beneath them, that the process may be speedy, and the substitution of a sounder system as rapid as is consistent with its intelligent adoption. At the general rate of our movement in such matters, this rapidity will have nothing alarming in it.

It is not from any intrinsic value in these languages over others that I would wish to see their rational study still generally prevail. But as essential links in the great chain of the historical tradition of the human race, for the information the works written in them contain, lastly for the poets whom the just consent of mankind places so high—these grounds seem to me adequate without having recourse
to any theory that it is necessary to train the mind by the study of language, or to cultivate the taste by models of more perfect beauty than the languages of modern Europe contain. I cannot see the truth of either the one or the other of these positions. In proportion as the social science, of which I conceive the Politics of Aristotle to be the foundation and student master-work, assumes more and more its due prominence, and exercises its legitimate control over all subordinate studies, its students, with the increasing value they attach to history, will not neglect those two languages, in which, for a period of more than a thousand years, most of the philosophy, history, and poetry of the race are deposited, nor will such a view of them lower them in comparison with the one which is now predominant. To read them for what they contain of knowledge and of beauty, and from an historical point of view, will be at the least as desirable as to read them as the majority have hitherto done,

and I do but speak of the majority,—as supplying the means of primary intellectual discipline, as supplying the materials for Latin and Greek composition or, as the most enlivening result, as the sources from which to draw apt quotation, embodying, in vivid expressions, the experience of daily life, a purpose generally satisfied by the knowledge of Homer. From the different point of view here proposed they will be relieved from their present position, and from the load of odium which now attaches to them in the minds of most English gentlemen, save the cultivated and successful few, as the instruments of youthful torture, as the ungrateful study on which they were made to waste their early years and the fresh vigour of their faculties. They feel truly that the knowledge they gained of them was worth nothing to them at the time, and has since entirely disappeared, and that remains with them only the remembrance of the disagreeable process by which it was acquired.

If we could get rid of the half superstitious value we now attach to the classical languages, and look on them much in the same light as we do on the cultivated languages of modern Europe, Italian, French, Spanish, and German, would gain by the exchange. They would then be valued as those languages are studied, and probably at
a later period of life. It is wise to proceed from the easier to the harder, and the living languages are easier for many reasons than the dead. We should have less of what is called sound scholarship, considerably more in all probability of true philological attainment. And we should gain time in our education for many things now neglected. The languages themselves would present attractions for the reasons above indicated, which would be appreciable by the maturer mind of the student, and are wholly unappreciable by the majority of boys. And to these their legitimate attractions I should think it better to leave them. If less generally studied at first, this would be an evil compensated by the more intelligent and willing character of the study actually given. And as sounder educational views gradually prevail, that which M. Comte selects as the characteristic of the intellectual movement of this century, the prevalence of the historical point of view, will modify any tendency to the undue neglect of Greek and Latin, by asserting for them their just historical claims to attention and respect. Were it then possible, I should be the last to wish the knowledge of such works as the Politics limited to that gained from a translation. The great philosophers, the great historians, the great poets, should all be studied in their original language, though, as it has been well remarked, this is quite essential for the poets, not so for the two former classes.

WANDSWORTH: Nov. 2, 1855.

My dislike of what is called classical education increases with increasing years and with the constant sense of loss of time, knowledge, and true mental discipline consequent on the amount of attention devoted to it.

17 MECKLENBURGH SQUARE, LONDON:
July 23, 1874.
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

367. Aristotle visits Athens, set. 17. This same year Plato leaves Athens for Syracuse.
362. Mantinea.
359. Accession of Philip.
357. Beginning of Phocian war.
353. Death of Dion.
348. Visit of Aristotle to Hermias, tyrant of Atarneus and Assus.
346. End of Phocian war.
343. Accepts invitation from Philip of Macedon to take charge of Alexander, then thirteen years old. This charge can hardly have lasted more than four years.
338. Chersonea.
336. Death of Philip.
331. Arbela.
323. Death of Alexander.
322. Aristotle dies at Chalcis. Demosthenes and Hyperides died the same year.
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IT would be a waste of time to prefix a life of Aristotle to each separate treatise as it is published. For the purposes of this introduction nothing more is needed than a brief reference to the facts of his life, so far as they may serve to convey an idea of the range of his political experience. There is no occasion to do more than recall the facts of: his birth at Stagira, and the position of his father as physician at the court of Macedon under Amyntas; his early visit to Athens at the age of seventeen; his stay there of nearly twenty years; his residence with Hermias at Atarneus, on the coast of Asia Minor; his second residence of uncertain length in Macedonia as the tutor of Alexander; his return to Athens, and his second residence there of twelve years at the least; lastly, his retirement, a little before his death, to Chalcis in Euboea. This is a sufficient notice of his life for an introduction to the Politics. For this will enable us to appreciate the opportunities he enjoyed, at a very eventful period in the history of Greece and of the world, of vivifying his rich knowledge of the past history of his country, and the actual condition of its outlying states, by his experience of their present circumstances, and his contact with the states nearer the centre.

We cannot doubt that, with his keen observation, he would attend closely to the course of political events. And in one respect he was very favourably placed. He had all the advantages of a spectator; he could not mix directly in political life, even had he wished to do so. Stagira, even before its destruction, offered him no opportunities, and at Athens he was a stranger. He could then, with the greater composure, make the events he witnessed the subject of his philosophical contemplation. And it may be useful very
shortly to run through these events, and remind ourselves of
the changes he had seen.

His earliest recollections would be connected with Mace-
donian affairs. He could look back on the weakness of
Macedon and its political insignificance in relation to the
leading Greek states. For at the court of Amyntas no
hopes could have been entertained of the subsequent rapid
rise of that kingdom to greatness. Aristotle was old enough
to remember the change introduced into Greek politics by
the break up of the Spartan supremacy in consequence of
the defeat at Leuctra. He was at Athens during the closing
period of the short supremacy of Thebes, and from that
centre he witnessed the sudden collapse of Theban power on
the death of Epaminondas. In the period of his early
manhood and ripening judgment he could watch from
Athens the anarchy of Greece, when no state seemed able to
make an effort after empire, or offer a rallying point to her
dispersed energies. And during the same period he could
also watch the commencement of Philip's reign, his victorious
assertion of his position as king of Macedon against rivals
at home and foreign enemies, his growth at the expense of
the neighbouring countries, whether barbarian tribes or
Greek colonies. And Aristotle, as Demosthenes, must have
been well aware what the result of such progress must be.
At the court of Hermias, whilst familiarising himself with
the new aspect of Greek life which the coast of Asia
Minor would present to him, and whilst gaining a more
intimate acquaintance with the power of Persia in that
western portion of her empire, he would hear of the stride
made by Philip, which was marked by the destruction of his
own birthplace, in common with the kindred towns in its
neighbourhood, and by the subsequent interference of that
monarch in the affairs of Thessaly and northern Greece.
Driven from Asia by a revolution, which illustrated his
theory of the short duration of tyrannies, even in good
hands, Aristotle seems to have remained at Mitylene, till
there reached him an invitation from Philip to undertake
the education of Alexander. It is uncertain how long this
connexion lasted, but probably about four years. It seems
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clear that it must have ended some considerable time before the war which was decided at Chæronea. Putting aside all reference to the effects of such a connexion on Alexander, it was one which gave Aristotle a most commanding view of the actual politics of the day. He was again at the very centre of political power, which had finally quitted Greece proper. During the war with Athens, Aristotle may have thought it unsafe to return there, and he may have resided at his native place, which had been rebuilt by Philip at his intercession, and which is said to have received a constitution at his hands. At any rate it is probable that he did not return to Athens till Alexander had established his supremacy over Greece, and so had removed any danger to which an intimacy such as his with the royal family of Macedon might have exposed him at Athens. During the expedition into Asia, and the lifetime of Alexander, Aristotle remained at Athens teaching his numerous disciples, maturing his philosophical views, and gradually working out the encyclopedic system which was the object of his comprehensive intellect. When the king's death made it unsafe for him to continue there, he removed to Chalcis, carrying with him, apparently, the seeds of the disease which shortly after proved fatal. He died at the age of sixty-three.

After this brief retrospect of Aristotle's life, and of the events he witnessed, I proceed to consider his political system from a more general point of view. And the first question that presents itself is—What was the starting point he chose? On what basis did he rest his system? To this the answer is, I think, clear. He rested on no à priori ground, but on the experience of the past. And this answer naturally suggests the next question: What was the exact value he attached to that experience as the basis for future political action? The answer in this case also admits of little doubt. It may be difficult to say what were his views in the immediate or distant future, but for the past we can speak confidently. He offers no definite estimate of the length of time during which the race had existed and had been gathering experience. But he looks back on the period past as a long one (τὸ πολλὸς χρόνος, πολλοίς ἀτέσι), during which
constant discoveries had been made. To borrow his own language: Time had been a discoverer in these matters, or had rendered good help in the process of discovering. So that his construction, like that of Bacon, would be partus temporis, the birth of time. What then had time accumulated in the shape of materials for the political philosopher to use in his work of modifying the existing or constructing the ideal state? Aristotle found ready to his hands the idea of property, both animate and inanimate, the idea of the family and the idea of the state. And this last, the state, was not the social organisation of Egyptian or barbarian experience, but the complex, refined idea, which had been elaborated in Greece, and found its most complete expression in Athens.

On these three ideas, the inheritance of the past, Aristotle takes his stand, and evidently thinks them adequate, when properly developed and modified. Without any blindness to existing evils, whether they arose from the misuse or bad arrangement of property; or, secondly, from the isolating tendencies which lurked in the institution of the family; or, lastly, from the constant dissensions which seemed almost inherent in the actual states, he still, with the master judgment which in him was never suffered to relax its vigilance, steadily refused to let such evils overpower him, or lead him, as they had led his master, Plato, to an insurrection against the experience of the past. Right education should form right habits, and the sway of those habits should be riveted by right social institutions. And the result of such education, habits, and institutions should be that the selfish use of property should be corrected, but that property should not be threatened; that the citizen should learn that he could not isolate himself or his family, that he was a member of a body, but that he should keep his full individuality. And if the inequalities of property were softened by this moral remedy, and the irritation consequent thereon assuaged; if the efforts of the citizens were all made, as the result of a right conviction, to converge towards the promotion of the common good, then the third class of evils, those of constant dissension, would disappear, as being essentially the effect of the other two classes.
The existing ideas, then, the actual materials, seemed adequate to Aristotle. There is no trace of his looking forward to any important change, to the introduction of any widely different elements into the political problem. The definite policy to be adopted in the immediate future cannot be gathered from his own words. Whilst full of allusions to history, he is very silent on the present and the future. This silence was the natural result of his position. It would not be unreasonable to conjecture that he looked to the peaceful organisation of the several Greek states in themselves, and in their mutual relations under the sheltering presidency of Macedon. At a later period Polybius accepted this condition for his country, under the supremacy of Rome, and did all in his power to urge its acceptance by the Greeks. In his time, Polybius naturally would feel a keener preference for Rome, justified by her superiority in organisation over Macedon, and by the fuller sense, which the last two centuries had produced, of the hopelessness of any good effects arising from the prolongation of Greek independence. An analogous but more hopeful position under Macedon, Aristotle may have accepted for the Greece of his time. And in his denunciation of war as an end, in his condemnation of all states in which it held this place, in his decided preference of the life of repose and intellectual activity both for the individual and the state, I should read his indirect advice to his countrymen to acquiesce in their political inferiority, and to turn themselves from any thoughts of empire to the settled and definitive organisation of a peaceful existence. It was right, it was wise in Demosthenes, his great contemporary, to take a different view. An Athenian citizen, the inheritor of the traditions of Themistocles and Pericles, Demosthenes was justified in trying to rouse his countrymen to resist a sembarbarous power at Chæronea, as they had resisted that of the Persian empire at Marathon. He was justified in wishing to retain the leadership of the world in the hands of Greece, and in looking on her independence as the first object. And as he felt Athens answer to his call, he may have thought successful resistance not impossible, though his heroic spirit needed not success to guide his efforts. But Aristotle's posi-
tion was such as to make a different view both natural and just.

It set him free from all the influences that might have warped his judgment, and, enlightened by a wider experience, he cannot have shared any of the deceptive hopes excited by the exertions of Athens. He knew the power and resources of Macedon, he knew the genius of her rulers better than Demosthenes, and he could, if not with greater clear-sightedness, at least with greater calmness, appreciate the relative weakness of Athens. And his position, as I have remarked already, enforced inaction. He was strictly without a country in the narrower sense. He was ἀπόλις ἀνήπ. He was a citizen of Greece, but not of any Greek state. His sympathies were with the Greek world and with the Greek race, and so of course most with Athens, as the truest representative of that race. But at the same time he had no temptation to feel the more special, more local Athenian sympathies. It would not, for instance, shock him, as it would Demosthenes, that Athens, in common with the rest of Greece, should acknowledge Macedonian supremacy, whilst still preserving her separate city existence. And he would more readily than other Greek statesmen sympathise with the conquest of Asia by Alexander. Hopeless of Greek independence, and still more by experience distrustful of the possibility of any combination of the Greek states amongst themselves, it was to him a great advantage to renew, with the changes time had made requisite, the policy of earlier statesmen, and give a wise direction to the forces of Greece, by leading them against Persia. Such a policy diverted the attention of the different states from their own internal quarrels. It strengthened the power of him who was named their general-in-chief, the King of Macedon, and, by strengthening his power, it not only made resistance on the part of the Greeks more hopeless, but it made also acquiescence less discreditable. Again, it was calculated to soothe the feelings of the Greek nation, in that it brought within the influence of the civilisation peculiarly their own, so large a portion of the world. It was not by her own efforts, it was true, that Greece conquered Persia, and exacted a due atonement for the aggressions of Darius and of
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Xerxes. Yet the impulse which guided the young conqueror was of purely Greek origin, and he was politic enough to make it clear that he felt it to be so. Nor even at that late period of Greek history was it a slight gain to attain the conviction that henceforth all danger from Persia was at an end, that the throne of the great king was filled by a Greek.

Further than this, if Aristotle felt any alarm at the growing power of Carthage, the western rival of Greece, he must have seen in the immense development of Greek power, consequent on Alexander's conquests, a sufficient assurance against such danger. Till the king's death, too, it was natural to hope that the West, no less than the East, would see his victorious arms, and then if Persia and Carthage were once removed from the calculations of statesmen, there was no other power on the political horizon which could at that particular juncture be taken into account.

With this general view of the position of his country, as an aggregate of independent states under the hegemony of Macedon, which hegemony should concentrate and direct her efforts to the gradual reduction and civilisation of the world, the main problem for the political philosopher would be, the right internal organisation of each of the component parts of that aggregate. The solution of this problem required a most careful examination of their existing state, and this condition, we know, Aristotle amply fulfilled. "Probably," says M. Brandis, "Alexander's liberality enabled the Stagirite to acquire at a great expense a collection of books which for the times was very considerable, and to make inquiries into the constitutions of so many states, some of them very distant." Whatever the means, we are well aware from the testimony of others what the result was, though unfortunately it is almost entirely lost to us,—so far, that is, as the inquiries themselves are concerned. The philosophical and general view, based on these inquiries, lies before us in the Politics.

The most remarkable feature in Aristotle's political system is this: that he not only accepted the materials bequeathed to him by the past as the necessary basis of his construction, but that he considered them adequate. The problem he set before himself was a definitive organisation of society, and
for this he thought he had all the data requisite. There is nothing to show that he looked on his solution as provisional. The Greek state, with its existing elements, was to him the ultimate form of society, only these elements must be well combined. It is essential not to lose sight of this, his peculiar point of view, when we are trying to estimate the value and bearing of his work, and to learn its right use as the fundamental treatise in political science. It is strictly political, in the narrowest, most definite sense that can be attached to the word. It is calculated, that is, for a number of πολιτικας, of free and equal citizens; it is calculated, that is, primarily and essentially for Greek experience. It is the record of that experience which, for all historical purposes, ended with Aristotle. He had registered the phenomena of Greek society, and in this work he draws from that register the general inferences it warranted, and builds on this result a construction which should adequately embody all that he found of value.

But as Greece, as a nation, dating from that time, lost its position, and as the several Greek states became more and more decomposed, the construction of Aristotle, so far as his own country is concerned, throws light upon the past history, but did not serve as a guide or type for the re-organisation of any of those dying states. It is invaluable for the first object, it had no opportunity of becoming valuable for the second. For the philosopher, as for the historian, the real life of Greece was ended.

With this peculiarly Greek stamp, this stamp of the city life of a body of independent states, indelibly impressed upon it, it is needless to add that for many of the subsequent periods of history the work presents no direct teaching. It allows not in any sense for the great revolutions that have occurred since the time when with Aristotle, Demosthenes, and Alexander, the history of Greece proper closes. Its interest since then has been historical rather than directly political. The organisation of a small community, complete in itself, has not, since then, been the great question of political science. It is a question that has arisen at intervals, but it has been, in the main, exceptional. Cicero might turn
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his attention to the internal organisation of Rome, and treat of Rome as though it were a Greek city. But the real problem, the great interest of Roman history, had escaped Cicero. He was blind as the blindest to that transformation of Rome's position which had influenced the popular leaders, more or less consciously, for some time, and of which the dictator Cæsar and his imperial successors were the organs and the representatives. Rome, as a city governing the world for its own narrow interests, was to Cicero, as much as to such men as Hortensius, the limit of his vision, and hence his failure as a statesman. The Roman empire, as an incorporation of the civilised world, was not within his ken, and naturally still less within that of Aristotle; nor does it borrow any light directly from his speculations. He held views as to the inherent superiority of the Greek race, which were incompatible with such an incorporation; and these same views, foolishly cherished by his countrymen at a time when their ludicrous inappropriateness was conspicuous to all, rendered them, almost more than any other nation, incapable of sharing in the benefits of the imperial system.

Nor again are the Politics of Aristotle, if allowed to be inapplicable directly to the incorporation of the world by Rome, more applicable to the ensuing periods, whether of destruction by the barbarians, or reconstruction under the influence of feudalism and catholicism, or, in the last place, to the later state system of Europe. I have heard it remarked that the book has a parochial character about it, meaning by this that its interests and its questions are on so small a scale. And the remark is so far just that this is the impression produced at first by the comparatively dwarf scale of Greek history on the student of the following periods. For he has to deal habitually with vast empires, either in their organisation or decay, with the combinations of western Europe, united by many ties for common defence, or later with the mutual action of a system of great kingdoms. And from this point of view it may deserve notice that the work has, compared with Aristotle's other works, excited but little attention, speaking generally. I believe I am right in saying that, till recently, it was chiefly in Italy that attention was paid to it; and this
exception is easily explained. For in the middle ages there
recurred in the Italian republics many of the phenomena of
Greek society. The manner, consequently, in which, in the
Politics, political problems are presented and treated, was
likely to be appreciated there, as soon as ever the revival of
the knowledge of Greek, or the translation of the work into
Latin, had rendered it accessible. It might have had, of
course, a similar interest for the communes of France, or the
commercial towns of Flanders and Germany, but, so far as we
know, the literary movement was much less active there.

In our own day, however, after the lapse of more than
twenty centuries, such is the state of society, that the poli-
tical philosopher may turn his attention to the Politics of
Aristotle, if not for a direct solution of some of the problems
which arise, yet for much indirect guidance. Over and above
their interest, that is, from the historical point of view—an
interest which never has been lost, as we may see from the
great works of historians and political philosophers in all
times—they may now once again have a direct political
interest. For if, as M. Auguste Comte thinks, the great king-
doms of modern Europe are destined ultimately, and that at
no very distant period, to break up into smaller wholes, more
analogous in size and requirements to the states of Greek
experience, in such case the work that embodies that experi-
ence will present a new attraction, and will be resorted to
for the light it sheds on the true principles of the strictly
political organisation. And even leaving out of view this
contingency, it is justly remarked by the same philosopher,
that in the present prevalence of theories subversive of property
and the family, and through them subversive of the whole
social organisation, men may refresh their convictions in
favour of these institutions, and gain strength against their
opponents, from the careful study of Aristotle's remarks on
the dangerous reveries of Plato, the philosophical originator
of most of the social errors of our day.

So far for Aristotle's general treatment of the subject of
politics, and for the consequent neglect of his work during
a long period by all but the professed student; lastly, for
the marked revival of attention to it in the last half century.
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Viewed philosophically, the object that he set before himself was synthetical and constructive. Accepting, that is, the elements offered him by the past as adequate, he aimed at such a combination and modification of them as should be satisfactory for the future guidance of the statesman. In this, as in other departments of human knowledge, it was a systematic construction that he wished to leave behind him; but—I speak with great hesitation on such a subject—in this, more than in the other departments, he thought his construction in its leading features final. That he was wrong in such an idea need scarcely be stated. His attempt at a synthesis was premature, but that does not detract from its philosophical value. It was an important gain, that in political science an account should be taken of the results attained, and that that science should be made to take its place in the co-ordination of the sciences—in other words, in the elaboration of the great system of philosophy. Aristotle was the first adequately to conceive this elaboration as the great problem proposed to the intellect of man, and it is this conception which constitutes one of his main claims to the philosophical pre-eminence which he holds by the very general consent of mankind.

I need not go through the historical argument to show that his attempt was premature. I need but point out that Macedon failed to offer to the world a sufficient organisation, and that though the conquests of Alexander contributed to the extension of Greek civilisation, the break up of his empire after his death, and the terrible struggles consequent thereupon, contributed, together with internal decay, to a quite proportionate diminution of its internal vigour. We see that other powers, then out of the range of observation, had to appear on the stage, and that Greece in her exhaustion had to repose under the sway of Rome. We can trace in the two thousand years that have passed since the great attempt of Aristotle at a political construction, the growth of new elements which must powerfully modify such a construction in all but its fundamental ideas.

For instance, to take two capital points,—first, the position of the industrial classes; secondly, the question of
religion and the spiritual power. I have no intention of entering at present on the question of slavery, but it is clear from our after-experience that slavery is not the permanent condition of the industrial classes, any more than it was their universal condition even in Aristotle's time. The recurrence from time to time in the Politics of the problem—What should be the place allotted in the state to the free artisan? is sufficient to show that the acceptance of slavery as an institution did not, even for him, clear the subject of the labourer of all difficulties. And we can trace the germ of all subsequent discussions on the right social organisation of the proletariat, in the brief but repeated remarks of Aristotle on the βασιλικον, or artisan population, which this recurring question drew from him. For the second point, that of religion and the spiritual power, a distinction must be drawn in limine. Whilst on the subject of religion, socially and politically considered, we are in possession of Aristotle's views, we have not, on the other hand, his treatment of the educational question. We see that he acquiesced in the polytheism of his day as the religion of the state, and that on various occasions he connects his regulations with it, by placing them under its sanction. He acquiesces, but we do not gather that he goes further. Any active influence of the gods in the affairs of man, whether viewed socially or individually, he would seem not to allow. Such is the natural inference from his statements in the Ethics and Politics. Intent on systematising the conceptions of man relative to the world without, relative to his own nature, and to the arrangements of society, the relations of man to the gods assume with him a secondary importance, or rather are practically ignored.

But on the subject of the spiritual power the case is different. Intimately connected as it is with the question of education, it may be that, had we his full treatment of education, we should, either explicitly or implicitly, have at the same time a spiritual power constituted. As it is, his construction remained essentially temporal, and the constitution of an independent spiritual power, side by side with the temporal, was left for the catholicism of the middle ages.
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The work then done remains in principle true, though the altered conditions of society require its complete modification in all but its principle.

I have treated then of the primary intention and direct application of the Politics. I have also touched on their historical interest and the degree to which the lessons contained in the work are now applicable. But I would not rest my advocacy of their study on these grounds alone, but strictly, on the more definite one, that they are the first great systematic work on Political Science, and that that science, as every other, requires for its proper study that it should be studied historically, and traced from its origin downwards. By so doing we see the various problems arise, and are led to no fanciful, à priori, reconstruction of society, but to watch its actual construction as the records of history reveal it to us. The easier problem precedes the harder, the simpler the more complex. Of course our first notions of politics will be derived from the state of things around us, in the midst of which we have grown up; but the scientific correction of these first notions must be looked for elsewhere. It must be looked for in the study of the history of man, so far as it presents a connected series of events, combined with the study of the great works which at different periods have been written with the object of eliciting from past history and registering for future guidance its lessons on man and on society. Such works are but rare. There is no one before our own day comparable to that of Aristotle. In fact, since his time the student of political science will find, with very few exceptions, more direct instruction in the works of the principal historians than in writers who have specifically treated of politics. This at least is the conclusion I have been led to form, so far as I have studied the works of later writers, and I have found nothing to modify it in the criticisms of others.

There is one point more on which I would touch in the most general manner, and with it conclude this introduction. In it my only object has been to throw light on Aristotle's general view, and the position he holds in the ranks of political philosophers. It is with the same object that I would
draw attention to the fact that Aristotle is essentially relative in his judgments. All institutions are weighed by him with reference to the nature of man, and the circumstances in which he is placed; not with reference to any absolute standard. This is true of both parts of his political treatise—of the *Ethics* no less than of the *Politics*; and if true of the former, it seems to me a natural consequence that it should be true of the latter. The domain of morality is generally considered less relative than that of political science. It is, in fact, the stronghold of the opposite opinion. But this is a consideration for the editor of the *Ethics*. I have drawn attention to the point in consequence of the very general neglect of this relative point of view in all historical questions,—a neglect which appears to me to make false historical judgments prevalent amongst us, and to vitiate, consequently, the reasonings on the science which can rest on no other basis than sound historical conclusions.
BOOK I. SUMMARY.

This first book of the Politics forms the connecting link between the Ethics and the Politics, properly so called. It is in reality a treatise on Economics, in the sense Aristotle attached to the word. It is introductory and subordinate. It takes the lower and more elementary social union as the indispensable preliminary to the higher; the family as opposed to the state. But it is a social union that it takes, and not the individual man. We are at once brought into contact with an association. As, at the opening of the Ethics, every exertion of the individual man was said to aim at some definite good, so here every association of man is said to have the same character, that largest association under which all others fall more distinctly than any other. But to inquire into the organization of these various associations of man would be a waste of time, were it true that there is but one real difference in governments, that of number, the view of some philosophers, to whom a family is but a small state, a state but a large family, so that the principles of government are in both the same. This however is an error; an error which will appear to be so in the sequel. Sufficient here to mention it; we may then pass on to shew how that largest and sovereign association had its origin, trace it from its earliest beginnings upwards, and examine its component parts.

The first association is that between male and female, the second that between master and servant. Both are based on the natural wants of man, and the two together form the family. This increases and forms the village. Multiply villages over the face of a district, and you have the tribe, an aggregate of equal units capable of indefinite extension. Draw the bond of union tighter, concentrate or enlarge the village, and you have the state or city, the highest social organization which the Greek mind conceived, an organic whole not capable of indefinite extension, but in itself satisfying all the wants of man in his highest capacity. The union is natural—for the nature of man is man in his highest perfection, and the natural association will be the highest form of association. It is prior to the individual in conception, for it is only in relation to it that the
individual can be properly conceived. And yet, though such, it was necessary that it should have an originator, and he who did originate it was the greatest of benefactors. For man may fall lower than the beasts by virtue of those very faculties which, if properly employed, enable him to rise far above them. And this proper employment is only found in the political society, with its restraints of law and justice.

Such in outline is the origin of society and its justification. Physically, the part may be treated prior to the whole, and the unit in the social fabric is the family. That, if viewed strictly with relation to the state, offers us first the free and equal citizen in the husband and father; secondly, the wife and mother for the continuation of the social union; thirdly, the children, the generation which is to take the place of the actual one. But for the man to discharge his duties as a citizen, for the woman to be a proper mother of citizens, for the children to be trained to be citizens; the strict family, which these constitute, must base itself on certain conditions. It must have the means of subsistence, and these in quantity and kind such as to guarantee leisure. It must have the proper instruments for its work. These are found in the slave and in property, the living and the lifeless instrument. But the instruments so employed by the family only touch the state through the family, so they are treated of fully in this first book, which treats of the family, whilst the women and children, who much more closely and immediately concern the state, are treated of very slightly. Their relations to one another, or to the common head, are given, and the distinction is marked between the excellence required in them, and that required in the citizens. But the production of this excellence in either is the work of education, and that is a state question, and can only be satisfactorily treated at a later period, when we have sketched out the constitution of the state of which they are to be members—as all education must bear direct reference to the constitution.

To return to the point more fully treated, that of the instruments or necessary basis of the family life, with its twofold division into living and lifeless—slave and property. The first is more important than the second, and requires more attention.

Men are not equal in faculties any more than in outward form. Some are calculated for rule, others for subjection; the one guide, the other follow; and the relation between the ruler and the ruled, the master and servant, is, if there be wisdom applied, a wholesome one for both. But a servant to Aristotle, as to the ancients, universally, whether oriental, Greek, or Roman, was a slave, and the
relation therefore between master and slave; if there were goodness and wisdom in the master, was a wholesome one for both. That at times men were slaves who should have been masters, whether from exceptional cases of superiority in the barbarian, or from the accidents of war, in the case of the Greek, would not in Aristotle's eyes vitiate the institution. In the instances supposed there was an evil, but on the whole the institution remained good. The slave, if rightly a slave, would be unfortunate if not a slave; so the free artisan was really less fortunate than the slave, he had the evil without the good, the mental and political inferiority without the care and guidance which the relation to a master secured the slave.

With regard to the second division, that of inanimate property, true wealth would consist in that amount of property, that command over the means of subsistence which should be strictly subservient to the purposes of the family. Once let the amount pass that limit, and property becomes an end in itself; it ceases to be good, its pursuit is to be blamed. In the former case it is natural and laudable, in the latter, contrary to nature, and the object of blame. So that the acquisition of property is in the one case natural, economical, subservient to the higher wants of the family, and limited by those wants; and the science which treats of it, directs its attention to the whole question of the sustenance of the family, whether that sustenance be derived from its independent, isolated exertions, or require an union with others and is derived from exchange. The various modes, therefore, by which man secures his subsistence, and the phenomena of exchange, are equally in due limits a part of this true science.

In the other case, the acquisition of property, no longer a means but an end, is open to objections, and is contrary to nature, though not in all its branches equally blameable. It is the natural consequence of the former, for once extend the relations of man in respect of exchange beyond the family or village, and you want a medium. This medium is money, which once introduced leads to an immense development of commerce, becomes in men's minds not the representative of wealth, but wealth itself, ceases to be a mere means, and is pursued indefinitely as an end in itself. All this Aristotle objects to, but reserves his highest blame for that part of commerce where money itself is the material of the transactions; all interest is an object of his disapprobation.

From the theory he turns to the practice, but enters into no great detail.

So that the book falls into the following divisions under these
four heads: Civil Society, Slavery, Property, and the Family Relations.

Ch. 1 is a simple introduction of the subject.

2 contains the origin of all society, and the various degrees of the social union.

3—7 inclusive treat of Slavery—with his own view put forward first, and then the objections.

8—11 Property—treated similarly.

12 The relation between the members of the family in point of government.

13 The various excellencies of the governed, or subject elements.

A short connecting chapter closes the book.
ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Α.

ΕΠΕΙΔΗ πάσαν πόλιν ὅραμεν κοινωνίαν τινὰ οὕσαν καὶ 1252
πάσαν κοινωνίαν ἁγαθοῦ τινὸς ἑνεκεν συνεστηκών (τοῦ
γὰρ εἶναι δοξοῦντος ἁγαθοῦ χάριν πάντα πράττουσι πάντες),
δῆλον ὡς πάσας μὲν ἁγαθοῦ τινὸς στοχάζονται, μᾶλιστα δὲ,
καὶ τοῦ κυριωτάτου πάντων, ἡ πασῶν κυριωτάτη καὶ πάσας
περιέχουσα τὰς ἄλλας· αὐτὴ δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ καλουμένη πόλις καὶ
ἡ κοινωνία ἡ πολιτική. "Οσοὶ μὲν οὖν οἴονται πολιτικοὺς καὶ
βασιλικοὺς καὶ οἰκονομικοὺς καὶ δεσποτικοὺς οἴνων τῶν αὐτῶν, οὐ
καλῶς λέγοντες· πλήθει γὰρ καὶ ὀλιγότητι νομίζουσι δια-
φέρειν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔδει τούτων ἕκαστον, οἷον ἄν μὲν ὀλιγῶν,
δεσποτῶν, ἀν δὲ πλειονῶν, οἰκονόμων, ἀν δ' ἐτι πλειόνων,
πολιτικῶν ἡ βασιλικά, ἀλλ' οἰδὲν διαφέρουσαν μεγάλην οἰκίαν ἢ
μικρὰν πόλιν καὶ πολιτικῶν δὲ καὶ βασιλικῶν, ὅταν μὲν αὐτῶν
ἀιτίο ἀφετήρια, βασιλικά, ὅταν δὲ κατὰ λόγους τῆς ἐπι-
στήμης τῆς των αὐτῶν, ἐκεῖ μέρος ἢρκον ἢ ἀρχέμενος,
πολιτικῶν· ταύτα δ' οὐκ ἔστιν ἀληθῆ. Δῆλον δ' ἐστι τὸ 3

I. I Comp. Eth. i. i. 4. p. 1094,
26, for the relation of political science
to other sciences, and for the relation
between the different associations of
men, Eth. viii. ii. 4. p. 1160. 8: συμ-
παράστημεν δὲ τινὶ συμφέρων καὶ συ-
μφιδένει τι ἔστω τοῦ τῶν ὁμοίων καὶ ἡ
πολιτικὴ δὲ κοινωνία τοῦ συμφέρουσα
ἐνεκα.

δῆλον δ' εῦ, κ.τ.λ.] 'It is clear that
whilst all aim at some good, yet in the
highest degree and at the highest good
does that aim which includes all the
others,' μορφὸς ὅλως τῆς πολιτικῆς.
2 "Οσοὶ μὲν οὖν οἴον] The allusion is to
Plato, Politicus, 258 n, and the opi-
nion if allowed would, in Aristotle's
view, at once stop all further discus-
sion. The body politic with its com-
plex organization would disappear.
πλήθει γὰρ] 'They are the same,
they allege, for it is only in number
that they differ.'

δὴτε] with Schneider make this
depend on some such word as ἄρχον.
κατὰ λόγους, κ.τ.λ.] 'in the terms
of this pretended political science,' a
sneering expression used by those in
whose mouth he puts this attempt at
the simplification of the science of
politics.

ταύτα δὲ] By altering the stopping
I wish to make it clear that this connects solely with what precedes.

3 τὸ λεγόμενον] What is this? I consider sect. 2 as a parenthetical remark, and carry back τὸ λεγόμενον to sect. 1, to the statement that the political society comprehends all others, and by again changing the stops I bring οὕσπερ γὰρ into more immediate connection with this first clause.


τῷ τούτῳ] i.e. ἐν σύγκεισι, the component elements.

tεχνικόν] 'scientifi.'

II. 1 "To Aristotile and Dicarchus," says Mr Grote, "it was an interesting inquiry to trace back all political society into certain assumpt elementary atoms. But the historian must accept as an ultimate fact the earliest state of things which his witnesses make known to him." Grote, Vol. iii. p. 78, 1st Edit. Compare also Niebuhr, Vol. i. p. 304.


2 ἀνάγκη δὲ] I should prefer δὲ, the simple connecting particle. οὖν ἐν προαρέσεως] "rien d'arbitraire," St Hil. It is in obedience to a natural instinct, not a question of deliberation or will.

φυτῶν] Schneider infers that A. was aware of the sexes of plants.

τὸ μὲν γὰρ] 'That there is an ἀρχον φύσει is clear, for that which, &c.' tauta is the will of the wiser and more far-sighted.

δεσπότη καὶ δούλω] These are slipped in as equivalents to ἀρχοντι καὶ ἄρχο-
μένω, but they are not really so, and it is in the proper judgment on this transition that, as it seems to me, lies the solution of the question of slavery. The last relation is one which may always and will always wholesomely exist. The former was a sound one in its time—has ceased to be so now.

3 ‘Nature has marked the distinction between male and female, slave and master;’ for on the productions of nature there is no stamp of poverty as there is on the Delphian knife, made to serve several purposes.

Δαλφικὴ μάχαιρα[ There seems nothing but the actual context from which we can gain any light on the subject of this instrument.

οὗτος γάρ] ‘ita enim,’ ‘for so only, under this condition that it should not serve many purposes but one,’ &c.

4 εν δὲ τοῖς βαρβάροις[ Though nature has marked these distinctions, yet amongst the barbarians you find them obliterated, the woman and the slave are there indistinguishable, τὴν αὐτὴν έξει τάχιν τούς ἄλλους, τοῖς ἄρσει καὶ τοῖς διοῦσιν. Comp. Ed. Rev., Oct. 1853. p. 380. “The East may be said to be the land of equality, for there the highest personages are separated from the lowest members of society by an outward barrier only, and one which an unforeseen event may at any moment overturn.” And again: “The feeling of equality between masters and servants” — “the patriarchal household system also extends to the slaves, indeed the latter are often the favourite children, and their portion that of Benjamin.” This view of the passage differs from the ordinary one, which makes the remark only apply to the woman and the slave, but then the next clause loses its significance, as does the quotation from Euripides, and the inference it is made to support. To the Greek all non-Hellenes were slaves, proper objects for government, and finding their true interest in being governed by them.


5 Secta. 3, 4 are parenthetical; the κοινωνία δὲ are given in 2.

It is the association of those whom, &c.

'demokratous' 'having a separate meal-

bin and fireplace," says Mr Grote (int. 78), reading 'demokratous, as does St Hil., and Vet. Tr. Beckler reads 'demokra-

tous, 'eating together.'

'chréses ennek] opposed to εἰς πάνω

'hmérain synestēkia, that association which is formed for meeting our daily

wants is the family; that in which more than our every day wants are

supplied is in its primary form the vil-

lago.

'de oth] 'the association of those who,
in the language of some, are suckled by

the same milk.' Comp. Nieb. Rom.

Hist. 1. 303. not. 79 c.

'did kal] refers to the oikias á_ka

kia, the preceding remark being parenthe-
tical. For the general subject see Mr

Grote's paraphrase (ii. 88). "Aristotle,
in his general theory of government,
lays down the position, that the earli-
est sources of obedience and authority
among mankind are personal, exhibit-
ing themselves most perfectly in the

type of paternal supremacy; and that
therefore the kingly government, as
most conformable to this stage of social
sentiment, became probably the first
established every where," Comp. Eth.

viii. xii. 4. 5. p. 1160. b 24.

'ta boi] the non-Hellenic nations,

whether Persian, Scythian, Phoenician,
or other. Comp. Thuc. ii. 80, where
some of the Illyrian tribes are men-
tioned as exceptions.

'de kal] This reasoning holds good

of the civil colonies of Greece, which
originally were governed from the mo-
tropolis.

'ta boi] δει βασιλεύσαι ὑπὸ τοῦ

πρεσβυτάτου. The state described by
Homer, Od. ix. 114, involves the go-
vernment of the eldest, and a time
prior to the formation of an association
of families, prior to the ounē̂d ō̂ τῶν

basileuménōn.

'ta boi] δει τῶτο] explained by the

'de kal]. Comp. Grote, ii. 80, also i. 5,

"as the gods have houses and wives
like men, so the present dynasty of
gods must have a past to repose upon."
8 Comp. Grote, ii. 341, for the Greek view generally of the village and the city: "the former social union was unsatisfactory;" and again, p. 344, "the village was nothing more than a fraction and subordinate, appertaining as a limb to the organized body called the city. But the city and the state are in his mind and in his language one and the same; while no organization less than the city can satisfy the exigencies of an intelligent freeman, the city is itself a perfect and self-sufficient whole, admitting no incorporation into any higher political unity."

κάπαξ ἔχουσα πέρας] 'having attained the full limit of complete satisfaction of all our wants.' Comp. Eth. v. x. 4. 1134, 26: ἔτι καυχήσεις βίου πρὸς τὸ ἐμνα αὐτάρκειαν τὸ πολιτικὸν βίον.

δὲ πάσα πόλις] After defining the state he proceeds to establish two propositions, that it is φύσις, natural, and that it is prior to the family and the individual. If the first associations, those of the family and village, are sanctioned by nature, using the word in its truest sense, that association in which they find their completion will be so too; it is their natural end; and this natural end of each thing, that state in which each thing finds its fullest development, this it is which he means by the word nature. The period of growth must have passed for the society as for the individual before either one or the other can be said to be perfect, to have attained nature. οὗν γάρ ἐκατόν, 'that which each thing is when its growth is accomplished, that we say it is by nature in each case, whether it be man, horse, or family.'

9 τὸ τοῦ ἐνεκα καὶ τὸ τέλος βελτιστον] The object we aim at, the end, is higher than the exertions we make to attain it, the means. Complete satisfaction of our wants is an end we set before us, and it is an end secured by the state, and secured by the state through the instrumentality of those lower associations, the family and the village, which develope into the state.

φύσις πολιτικὸς] It is needless to multiply quotations to show that this is Aristotle's view throughout. The 1st chapter of the Ethics is sufficient for the purpose.
καὶ οὖ διὰ τὸ χανὸν ἢτοι φαύλος ἐστὶν ἢ κρείττον ἢ ἄνθρωπος,
ἀσπερ καὶ ὁ ὑφ’ Ὀμήρου λοιδορθείς
ἀφήνω, ἀθέματος, ἀνίστος.

10 ἀμα γὰρ φύσει τοιοῦτος καὶ πολέμου ἐπιθυμητῆς, ἀτε περ ἄξις ἂν ὀσπερ ἐν πτετοῖς. διότι δὲ πολιτικῶν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ζώον πάσης μελετητής καὶ παντὸς ἀγελαῖον ζώῳ μάλλον, δὴδὲ. οὐθὲν γὰρ, ἀλλ’ ἱκμέν, μάτην ἡ φύσις ποιεῖ, λόγον
11 δὲ μόνον ἄνθρωπος ἔχει τῶν ζῶων. ἢ μὲν οὖν φωνή τοῦ λυπηροῦ καὶ ἤδεος ἐστὶ σημεῖον, διὸ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπάρχει ζῷως’ μέχρι γὰρ τούτου ἡ φύσις αὐτῶν ἐλήλυθεν, ὡστε ἀισθάνεσθαι τοῦ λυπηροῦ καὶ ἤδεος καὶ ταῦτα σημαίνειν ἄλληλοις’ ὁ δὲ λόγος ἐπὶ τῷ δηλοῦν ἐστὶ τὸ συμφέρον καὶ τὸ βλαβερὸν, ὡστε καὶ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ ἄδικον.
12 τοῦτο γὰρ πρὸς τὰλλα ζώα τοῖς ἄνθρωποις ὤδοι, τὸ μόνον ἄγαθον καὶ κακῶς καὶ δίκαιον καὶ ἄδικον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἰτήσεως ἔχειν. ἢ δὲ τούτων κοινωνία ποιεῖ αἰκίαν καὶ πόλιν. Καὶ πρότερον δὴ τῇ φύσει πόλις ἢ αἰκία καὶ
13 ἐκακος ἡμῶν ἐστιν. τὸ γὰρ ὄλον πρότερον ἄναγκαιον εἶναι τοῦ μέρους’ ἀναιρομένου γὰρ τοῦ ὄλου οὐκ ἔσται

ἀφήνω, κ.τ.λ.] II. ix. 63. Comp. Grote, ii. 114, not. 2, for the full sense of these words. They denote one excluded from, 1 the pithany, or family; 2 the θίμωσες or ἄγραφα; 3 the hesitia or hearth, the relations of guest and suppliant. The first two seem more legitimately within Aristotle’s notion of ἄκοιλοι.

10 ‘He who is an alien to the city is by virtue of that in a state of war; his hand is against every man, he stands alone like an unguarded piece in draughts.’ I know of no support for this sense, but I have never seen any other.

ἀδέρ δέ] ‘but that.’ This is a common use of the word ἀδέρ in A.; frequent instances occur in the Politics. Compare Bonitz, ad Metaph. 162, a 6. Waitz, ad Organ. 58, b 7, gives a number of instances.

λόγον] ‘rational speech.’

11 φωνή] is the inarticulate cry of animals; language, says do Tracy, but not developed.

μέχρι τοῦτον] ‘so far, and so far only, has nature reached in their case,’

τὸ συμφέρον καὶ τὸ βλαβερὸν] chosen apparently as the widest expression, including all others.

12 τοῦτω] either τοῦ ἄγαθου κ.τ.λ.: or masculine, τῶν τὴν τοιαῦτα ἀληθεύσεως ἐχόντων, ‘the association of those who have the perception.’ This I prefer.

I. 2.

POLITIKON A.

I. 2.]

\ποὺς ὀδὸὶ χεῖρ, εἰ μὴ ὄρασίμως ὑσπέρ εἰ τις λέγει τὴν λίνην· διαφαρεῖσα γὰρ ἐσται τοιαύτη. πάντα δὲ τὴν ἔργων ὁρισται καὶ τῇ δυνάμει, ὡστε μηκέτι τοιαύτα ὦντα οὐ λεκτέον τὰ αὐτὰ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ὄρασίμως. "Ὅτι μὲν ὅν ἡ ἑτέρως καὶ ὑσπερ καὶ πρῶτον ἢ ἐκαστὸς, δὴ λογίζεται γὰρ μὴ αὐτάρκης ἢ ἐκαστος χειριστικός, ὡστε μὴ ὑπάρχως βιοῦν ἡ ἀλλικύρης· ἢ ἡ ἑτέρως διὸ καὶ ἐκαστος, οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἡ ὑπάρχως ἡ ἀλλικύρης. ὡστε μὲν ὅν ἡ ὑπάρχως ἐν τάσιν ἐπὶ τὴν τοιαύτην ἑτέρως· ἢ δὲ πρῶτος συντήρησις μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν ἀλήτος. ὑσπερ γὰρ καὶ τελευθείς βέλτιστον τῶν ἡμῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔστιν, οὐκ οὐκ ἡ χειριστική νόμος καὶ δίκης χειριστοῦ πᾶντων. χαλεπώτατη γὰρ ἡ διάκρισις ἐξουσία ἐπικαὶ ὡς ὅν ὅν ἀνθρώπως ὁ πλαταῖος ἐκεῖνος ὕσπερ ἢ ἐπὶ τάναντία ἐς τῷ ἑτέρως ὄρασιν

13 ὅρασις, κ.τ.λ.] 'equivocally, as one might use the term "hand" of a stone hand. For the hand when its natural purpose can no longer be served by it, when consequently it is destroyed, will be on a level with a hand of stone, and can only be called a hand improperly,' καθ' ὑφοίσττανα.

τῇ δ' ἐργῇ ἐρισται καὶ τῇ δυνάμει] Compare the definition of ὑσπερ given Eik. ii. v. 2. p. 1106, 16; also Eik. iii. x. 6. p. 1115, b 22, and below, iv. 4. 5 (vii.).

14 This section seems parenthetical and superfluous. The clause εἰ γὰρ μὴ—

δὸν ἱστεῖσθαι τὸν ὑσπερον; 'for unless each one is self complete when separate from all others he is but a part, and must be judged as a part; will stand, that is, in no different relation to the whole of which he is a part, from that in which other parts do to their wholes.'

The next clause, ὡς μὴ δυνάμενος, supports the φύσεως, and is to the same effect as § 9, very vigorously stated: the μὴ δυνάμενος from his nature being inadequate, the διὰ φύσιν of § 9, being below the social union, as the μὴν δυνάμενος is above it; the former clause provided for the case of one who was competent to join in this union, but was cut off from it, διὰ τόχου ἐκολοσία.

15 φύσει μὲν οὖν] 'True there is by nature in us the impulse to join in a society such as I have described, in a state; still he who was the first to combine men, to organize this state, was the greatest of benefactors.' The language implies a time in the conception of Aristotle when no state existed. Compare the passage quoted above from Niebuhr.

16 Comp. Eik. vii. vii. 7, 1150, 1.

ὁ δ' ἀνθρώπος, κ.τ.λ.] 'Men is born with arms,' ἐστιν ἡ φύσιν, equivalent to ἔτως; 'these arms are his intellectual faculties, his moral instincts,' which A. here calls φρονήσει καὶ ἀρετῇ, which consistently he should have called διανοητῇ καὶ φυσικῇ ἀρετῇ. Comp. Eik. vi. xiii. p. 1144. Ῥήτ. i. 1. 40, 1355, b 3.

ἀρετῇ] in the strictest sense is complete moral virtue; φρονήσει involves the existence of that virtue.
χρῆσθαι μαλιστα. διδ ἀνωσιώτατον καὶ ἀγριώτατον ἀνευ ἀρετῆς, καὶ πρὸς ἀφροδία καὶ ἐδωδὴν χειρίστων. ἡ δὲ δικαιοσύνη πολιτικῶν. ἡ γὰρ δίκη πολιτικῆς κοινωνίας τάξεις ἐστίν. ἡ δὲ δίκη τοῦ δικαίου κρίσις.

3. 'Εστι δὲ φανερὸν ἐξ ἃν μιρίων ἡ τόπις συνεστηκεν, ἀναγκαῖον περὶ οἰκονομίας εἰπέων πρότερον. πάσα γὰρ τόπις ἐξ οἰκίων σύγχειται. οἰκίας δὲ μέρη, ἐξ ἃν αὐθις οἰκία συνισταται. οἰκία δὲ τέλειος ἐκ δοῦλων καὶ ἐλευθέρων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐλαχίστοις πρῶτον ἐκαστὸν ζητητέον, πρῶτα δὲ καὶ ἐλάχιστα μέρη οἰκίας δεσπότης καὶ δοῦλος καὶ πόσις καὶ ἁλοχους καὶ πατήρ καὶ τέκνα, περὶ τριῶν ἀν τούτων σκεπτέον εἰν τι ἐκαστὸν καὶ ποιῶν δεί εἶναι. ταῦτα δὲ ἐστὶ διστοτικὴ καὶ γαμικὴ (ἀναίμουν γὰρ ἡ γυναίκας καὶ ἀνδρὸς οίκευσις) καὶ τρίτων τεκνοποιητικὴ καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴ ὀν κανόμασται διὰ ὅν νόματι. ἐστοσαν δ' αὐτὰ τρεῖς ὡς 3 ἐπισκεπταί. εἰσι δὲ τις μέρος ὅ δ' ὁκεῖ τοῖς μὲν εἶναι οἰκονομία, τοῖς δὲ μεγίστον μέρος αὐτῆς· ὡπος δ' ἐχει, θεαρτέον· λέγω δὲ περὶ τῆς καλομαινὴς χρηματιστικῆς. Πρῶτον δὲ περὶ δεσπότου καὶ δοῦλου εἰπωμεν, ἵνα τὰ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν χρείαν ὑδεμεν, καὶ εἰ τὰ πρὸς τὸ εἰδόταν περὶ αὐτῶν δυσαίμηθα λαβεῖν θέλτων τῶν νῦν ὑπολαμβανόμενων.

12. 'So armed man is,' &c.

Margin.] Man needs the re-

straints of law and justice, ἐνομον καὶ δίκαιον, in one word, δικαιοσύνη; this is emphatically the creature of society, of the political union; for the administration of justice (δίκαιον) is an arrangement depending on political society, and this administration is but the decision what is just between man and man, and the term just implies justice. Comp. Ἐθ. ν. ν. 4. p. 1134, 26. Cæc. de Nat. Deor. v. xii. 116 986 b. Ed. Nobbe. 'Est enim pieta justitia adversus Deos cum quibus quid potest nobis esse ius, quum homini nulla cum Deo sit communitas.'

III. 1 περὶ οἰκονομίας] This suffi-

ciently indicates the purpose of the book, πρὸτερον, sc. τῆς δόλως. ἐξ δὲ αὐθῆ] of which in its turn the house consists.'

2 This is simply in defence of his terminology: the term γαμικῆς is wanted in Ἐθ. v. x. 9. p. 1134, b 15, where he speaks of τὸ πρὸς γυναίκα δίκαιον, and the same want is felt in Ἐθ. v. xiii. 4. p. 1161, 22.

3 μέγιστων μέρος] 'A very large part.' He says himself οἰκονομίης τέλος πλοίως, Ἐθ. i. 3. p. 1009, 9.

τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν χρείαν] 'The practical solution for the wants of ordinary life,' πρὸς τὸ εἰδέναι, 'with a view to the scientific theory of the subject.' τῶν νῦν ὑπολαμβανόμενων, 'better than the present notions on the subject.'
I 3.] ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Α.

τοῖς μὲν γὰρ δοξεῖ ἐκποτήμη τε τις εἶναι ἡ δεσποτεία, καὶ

ἡ αὐτὴ οἰκονομία καὶ δεσποτεία καὶ πολιτεία καὶ βασιλεία, 4

καθάπερ ἐπιμεν ἀρχήμενοι· τοῖς δὲ παρὰ φύσιν τὸ δεσπο-

τείν· νόμω γὰρ τὸν μὲν δοῦλον εἶναι τὸν δ' ἐλεύθερον,

φῶςε δ’ οὐδὲν διαφέρειν· διόπερ οὐδὲ οἴκαιον· βίαν γάρ.

Ἐπεὶ δὲν ἡ κτήσις μέρος τῆς οἰκίας ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ κτητική, 4

μέρος τῆς οἰκονομίας· ἀνευ γὰρ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀδύνατον καὶ

ζῆν καὶ εὕ ζῆν· διόπερ δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἁρμομέναις τέχναις

ἀναγκαίον ἂν εἰς ὑπάρχειν τὸ οἰκεῖα ὄργανα, εἰ μέλλειν

ἀντελεσθῆσθαι τὸ ἔργον, οὕτω καὶ τῶν οἰκονομικῶν,

τῶν δ' ὄργανον τὰ μὲν ἀψυχα τὰ δ' ἐμψυχα, οἷν τὰς

κυβερνήτικος ὁ μὲν οἰκεῖς ἀψυχας, οὗ δὲ πραγμάτων ἐμψυχον· ὁ
gὰρ ὑπηρέτης εἰς ὄργανον εἶδος τέχναις ἐστιν. οὕτω καὶ
tὸ κτήμα ὄργανον πρὸς ζωῆν ἐστι, καὶ ἡ κτήσις πλῆθος

ὄργανον ἐστι, καὶ ὁ δοῦλος κτήματι τὶ ἐμψυχον, καὶ ὑποκε

ὄργανον πρὸ ὄργανον, τᾶς ὑπηρέτης. εἰ γὰρ ἡδύνατο 3

4 πέμφ γὰρ] This explains the παρὰ

φύσιν, and is by an alteration in the

stopping connected more closely with it.
So also διάδου ὁδὸς διανοοῦν is brought

into close connexion with φῶςε. οὐδὲν

diaphέρειν.

IV. 1 There is something very

awkward about this sentence as it

stands. The simplest way seems to be
to make καὶ mark the apodosis. ‘Since

then property is an element in the

family, the art of acquiring property

will enter into the management of the

family. That property is such is clear

from the fact that without food and

clothing, the necessaries of life, it is

impossible to live, much less to live

well; and as in all the definite arts

the proper instruments for the work

must necessarily be ready to the hand

of the workman, if the work is to be

accomplished, so it is in the manage-

ment of the family.’ If with Victorius

and the Vet. Tr. we adopt the more

symmetrical reading of τῶ οἰκονομίας,

‘so his proper instruments must be

ready to the hand of the master of the

family.’ If the genitive is kept it

must be construed with οἰκεῖος, a con-

struction of which we have an instance

later, π. iii. 3, οἰκεῖοι τέ βασιλεία

τάοῆς.

2 ἐν ὄργανον εἰδει] ‘is in kind but an

instrument,’ ‘does not differ in kind

from the instrument used in the arts.’

ταῖς τέχναις, ταῖς ἀρμονίαις of the last

section.

οὕτω καὶ] as the pilot had instru-
mements of two kinds, so it will be with

the head of the family. The instru-
mement in this case, whether animate or

inanimate, is denoted by the word

κτήμα, and the aggregate of such in-
nstruments by κτησις. Compare Eth.

v. x. 8. p. 1134, b 10.

ὀργανον πρὸ ὄργανον] ‘one instru-

ment in the place of many,’ not, as St

Hil. says, “le premier de tous,” agree-
ing with Vict. as quoted by Schneider
in the passage. The translation given
refers it more definitely to the superior
adaptability of the slave.
3 II. xviii. 370.
4 τὰ μὲν ὄνομα ἀρχαῖα | Instruments,
in the sense in which the word is
generally applied, are for production,
whereas κτήμα in this comprehensive
sense is the unproductive part of a
man’s property. As unproductive it
is called προκτείνον. Compare Εἰκ. vi.
li. 5. p. 1130. b i. 5. 4. 1140. b 6.
προκτείνον ἢ προκτείνον) Εἰκ. vi. it. 1.
Π. 114κ. 4.
καὶ τοῦτο) The instruments of the
two respectively.
5 οὐδὲ τὸ δεξιόν is being κτήμα
form of προκτείνον (προκτείνον) [σηφ.
καὶ κτήμα] In the passage referred
to above on § 2, Εἰκ. v. x. 8, he uses
the same language. Θέσπερ μέρος ὀπτού
τα κτήμα.
6 ὥστε οἱ μὲν δεσπόται | ‘Hence whilst
the master is only a master in refer-
ence to his slave, and in no sense be-
longs to him, but is in the main con-
sidered quite in a different capacity,
the slave, on the other hand, is not
merely to be viewed from this point of
view amongst others, that he is the
slave of a master, but he is absolutely
and entirely that master’s, he has no
other side of his existence distinct from
his master’s.’
6 It is the essential idea of slavery
that in it the person becomes a thing,
and loses all his rights as a person.
The stands related to human society
only in and through his master, he
has no proper life and no proper hap-
piness.
ο γάρ μη αυτοῦ φύσει ἀλλ' ἀλλου, ἀνθρωπος δε, οὗτος φύσει δούλος ἐστιν. ἀλλου δὲ ἐστιν ἀνθρωπος, δε μην κτήμα τοι᾽ ἀνθρωπος ὢν. κτήμα δὲ ὄργανον πρακτικόν καὶ χαριστόν. Πότερον δ' ἐστὶ τις φύσει τοιοῦτος ἢ οὗ, καὶ πότερον βέλτιον καὶ δίκαιον τινι δουλεία παρὰ φύσιν ἐστι, μετὰ ταύτα σχεπτέον. οὐ χαλεπῶν δὲ καὶ τὰ λόγια θεωρήσαι καὶ ἐκ τῶν γινόμενων καταμαθεῖν, τὸ γάρ ἀρχεῖν καὶ ἀρχεσθαι οὐ μόνον τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν συμφερόντων ἐστὶ, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκ γενετῆς ἐνα διεστήκα τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρχεσθαι τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρχεῖν. καὶ εἰς τὸν πολλὰ καὶ ἀρχόντων καὶ ἀρχομένων ἐστὶν, καὶ δεὶ βελτίων ἢ ἀρχή ἢ τῶν βελτιών ἀρχομένων, οἷον ἀνθρώπου ἢ θρήσκου. τὸ γὰρ ἀποτελεόμενον απὸ τῶν βελτιών βέλτιον τὸν ῥονδοῦ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀρχεῖ τὸ δ' ἀρχεσθαι, ἐστὶ τί τούτων ἀργον. ὅσα γὰρ ἐκ πλείονων συνεστήκα καὶ γίνεται ἐν τῷ κοινῷ, εἶτε ἐκ συνεχῶν εἴτε ἐκ διηρημένων, ἐν ἀπαίσι ἐμφαίνεται τὸ ἀρχεῖ καὶ τὸ ἀρχομένον. καὶ τούτῳ ἐκ τῆς ἀνθρωποκρατίας φύσεως. Nor is this all.

V. 1 But then comes the question: Is there such a being? As a fact it was not doubtful that there were such; society was based on the existence of such. But is there such a being naturally? Has nature given her sanction to the fact? Is it for the real interest of some, is it just for some, that they should be in this state, or is slavery in principle a violation of nature? These are the points at issue in the next two chapters, and Aristotle's answers are in favour of slavery.

τῷ λόγῳ 'by theory.' ἐκ τῶν γινόμενων, 'from actual experience.'

2 'The distinction of ruler and ruled appears even at birth, some take their stand on one side, some on the other.' Inequality and consequent subordination are facts which you cannot get rid of, and which may be shown to be for the interest of mankind generally, οὐ μόνον τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν συμφερόντων. Nor is this all.

'There are distinctions in the kind of rule depending on the rulers and the ruled, and in proportion as these are better the rule is in itself nobler.'

3 διὸ [3 διὸ] They come into relation. εἰς κοινωνία ἢ θρήσκος ἢ ἀρχεῖν. Eth. v. iii. 16. p. 1130. 2. They form a system with parts working together for a common end. That end is their work, and the work will be better done in proportion as the parts are better.

διὸ γὰρ 'for wherever you have a combination of several parts and some one common result, whether those parts be continuous, as in the natural body, or distinct, as in the body politic, there you have evidently the distinction between ruler and ruled.' In Eth. ii. v. 4. p. 1106, 26, we have the terms συνεχεῖ καὶ διαρρημένη.

4 ἐκ τῆς ἀνθρωποκρατίας φύσεως] "Bei der gesammten Natur vorzugsweise." Stahr. Correctly as to the sense. 'This subordination is found in all nature, but is
found more particularly, is more truly inherent in the things that have life.' 

and γαρ. 'I say in all nature, for even in those things which have no life there is a certain rule exercised, such as the power of harmony.' Compare Wordsworth's 'this is the power of Sound, xii.

This word has been frequently discussed. The result of the discussion seems to be that it often means nothing more than 'another'; an inquiry foreign to the present inquiry.' In this actual passage this meaning is insufficient. The whole subject is treated by Rawson, *Melphysiognymia* d'Are xx, Part III. Liber i, ch. i. 

Still, within the period at *σκέψιν, and 'I think platitude so. 

To judge any thing truly, you must take it at its best, look at it such as it is by nature, using nature of course as above, 1. 2. 8. 

ἐν δὲ τούτῳ δίλον] 'and in him this is clear,' τοίον, that the soul rules, the body obeys.

ἐν δὲ γαρ ψυχή 'in any animal.' 

ἡ μὲν γὰρ ψυχή] Compare *Eth.* v. 15. 9. p. 1138, b 5. 

*σεκτοτική] that is, for the good of the soul.

τὸ ὀφέλειον] Cicero, de Rep. iii. xxv. 21. p. 1161. b. Ed. Nobbe, takes a different view: 'Nam ut animus corporis dicitur imperare, dicitur stiam libidini; sod corporis, ut Rex civibus suis, aut parens liberis; libidini autem ut servis dominus, quod eam coercet et franget.' ὀφέλειον, in Aristotle, is larger, equivalent to the *εὐεργετικόν* of the *Ethics*, i. xiii.

ἐν δὲ] 'and in these cases it is quite clear.'
μορίου τού λόγου ἐχοντος, τὸ δ’ ἐξ ἴσου ἡ ἀνάπαυσι βλα- 
βερον πάσιν. πάλιν ἐν ἀνθρώπω καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοις ζῷοις 7 
αὐταύτως: τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἡμερὰ τῶν ἀγρίων βελτιώ τὴν φύσιν, 
τούτοις δὲ πᾶσι βέλτιον ἀρχεσθαι ὡς ἀνθρώπου: τυγχάνει 
γὰρ σωτηρίας οὕτως. ἐτί δὲ τὸ ἄρρεν πρὸς τὸ ἰθύν φῦσι 
τὸ μὲν κρεῖττον τὸ δὲ χεῖρον, τὸ μὲν ἄρχον τὸ ἀρχήμα 
νον. τοὺν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον ἀναγκαίον εἶναι καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων 
ἀνθρώπων. "Ὅσοι μὲν οὖν τοσοῦτον διεστάζειν ὅσον ψυχῇ 8 
σώματος καὶ ἀνθρώπως θηρίου (διὰκινται δὲ τούτοι τὸν 
τρόπον, ὅσων ἐστὶν ἔργον ἡ τοῦ σώματος θρησις, καὶ τούτ’ 
ἐστι ἀπ’ αὐτῶν βέλτιστον), οὕτως μὲν εἰσὶ φῦσι δοῦλοι, 
οῖς βέλτιον ἐστιν ἀρχεσθαι ταύτῃ τῆς ἀρχῆς, εἰπέρ καὶ 
τοῖς εἰρήμενοις. ἐστι γὰρ φῦσι δοῦλος ὁ δυνάμενος ἄλλου 9 
eναι (διὶ καὶ ἄλλου ἐστίν) καὶ ὁ κοινωνίας λόγου τοσοῦτον 
ὁσον αἰσθάνεσθαι ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐχειν’ τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα ζώα οὐ 
lόγου αἰσθανόμενα, ἀλλὰ παθήμασι ὑπηρετεῖ. καὶ ἡ χρεία

εἰς ἴσου] 'To put the two on a level in point of government, or to reverse the order, is in all cases injurious.'

7 πάλιν, κ.τ.λ.] 'Again, the case is exactly the same as between man and the other animals,' and does not hold merely in man's individual nature.


τυγχάνει γὰρ σωτηρία. So above, II. 2. διὰ τῆς σωτηρίας, safety was the object of the union.

τῶν αὐτῶν, κ.τ.λ.] From the individual man he passed to man in relation to the animals, then to man in relation to woman, now he has reached the last stage, the relations of men to each other.

8 τῶν τὴν ἀρχήν] τὴν διεσποτι- 
κήν, that of a master over slaves, the point he wants to come to.

τοῖς εἰρήμενοι] τῷ σώματι, τῷ παθη-

tικῇ μορφῇ, τῷ θηρίῳ, τῷ θηλεί.

9 διὰ καὶ ἄλλου ἐστίν] This must not be pressed too far, but taken as an assertion of the general rule, that the slave was so by virtue of a natural inferiority. It does not exclude, as is clear from the next chapter, the possibility of an unjust slavery, of an inversion of the natural order. It does not exclude what Cicero speaks of, "genus injustae servitutis, quum hi sunt alterius, qui sui possunt esse." De Rep. III. xxv. 22. 1161, 6.

τοσοῦτον] 'only so far.' Compare I. II. 2. τὸ δυνάμενον τῷ σώματι ταῦτα 
tοινί.

τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα] The construction is irregular, but the sense is clear. This definition still leaves the slave, as man, a higher position than the animals; the tosoûton is exclusive both ways; the slave shares in reason, but only to a certain point.

καὶ ἡ χρεία] 'The use to which the two are put,' the slave and the animal, 'varies but little.'
Slavery. 

18 ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Α.  

δε παραλλάττει μικρόν· ἡ γὰρ πρὸς τάναγκαία τῷ σώματι 
βοήθεια γίνεται παρ’ ἀμφοῖν, παρὰ τε τῶν δούλων καὶ παρὰ 
τῶν ἡμέραν ζωάν. βούλεται μὲν οὖν ἡ φύσις καὶ τὰ σώ-
ματα διαφέροντα πολεῖν τὰ τῶν ἐλεύθερων καὶ τῶν δούλων, 
τὰ μὲν ἵσομεν πρὸς τὴν ἄναγκαιαν χρήσειν, τὰ δὲ ὀρθὰ καὶ
ἀχρηστὰ πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας ἐργασίας, ἀλλὰ χρήσιμα πρὸς
πολιτικὸν βίον (οὕτως δὲ καὶ γίνεται διηρημένος εἰς τῇ τῆς
πολιμηκίας χρὴσιν καὶ τῆς εἰρημοίτιν), συμβαίνει δὲ πολλάκις
καὶ τούναντίον, τοὺς μὲν τὰ σώματι ἕχειν ἐλεύθερων τοὺς
δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς· ἐπεὶ τούτο γε φανερὸν, αἷς εἰ τοσοῦτον
γένοιτο διάφοροι τὸ σώμα μόνον ὅσον αἱ τῶν θεῶν εἰκόνες,
toὺς ὑπολειτουμένους πάντες φαίνει ἀν ἄξιοι εἶναι τούτοις
II δουλεύειν. εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦτο ἀλληθές, πολὺ δικαιό-
tερον ἔστι τῆς ψυχῆς τούτου διαφέρουσα: ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὁμοίως
βάδιον ἰδεῖν τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς κάλλος καὶ τὸ τοῦ σώματος.
125 Ὅτι μὲν τούτων εἰσὶ φύσει τινὲς οἱ μὲν ἐλεύθεροι οἱ δὲ
dοῦλοι, φανερὸν, οἷς καὶ συμφέρει τὸ δουλεύειν καὶ δικαίων
ὁ ἐστὶν. Ὅτι δὲ καὶ οἱ τάναντία φάσκοντες τρόπον τινὰ

ἡ τῷ σώματι βοήθεια] 'The assistance 
given with the body,' the dative of the 
instrument, "mit ihrem Körper." Stahr.
10 But an objector might urge: 
The animals differ from man in outward 
form, the slave and the freeman 
his master do not so differ. It is 
the tendency of nature, answers Aristotle, 
to do this, to mark a difference, but 
a tendency often defeated; as a practical 
fact we often see the very reverse 
the case, συμβαίνει δὲ πολλάκις καὶ τούναν-
tίον.

ἐργασίας] 'Such offices, or services.'
oὕτως δὲ καὶ, κ.τ.λ.] One of the 
many places where a remark is intro-
duced with so little need for it, so 
little a propos, that one suspects an-
other hand.

τῶν ὑπολειτουμένων] 'those who fall 
short.' Compare Herod. v. 47 for the 
effect in a Greek city of a striking

superiority in beauty. Compare also 
Grote, viii. pp. 217, 218, on the Athe-
nian treatment of Dories.

11 πολὺ δικαιότερον] 'with far more 
justice would the distinction hold good 
in the case of the soul.'

ὣτι μὲν οὖν] After weighing the 
objections he comes then decidedly to a 
conclusion in favour of slavery. 'There 
are some by nature free, others by na-
ture slaves, and for these their state 
as slaves is both advantageous and 
just,' καὶ συμφέρει καὶ δίκαιον. 
The mental differences are sufficient, where 
nature has failed to mark the bodily.

VI. 1 of τάναντία φάσκοντες] 'those 
who put forward the exactly opposite 
view, they too in a certain sense are 
right.' There is an ambiguity in the 
language.
kal katà nómoν] 'by law also' as well as φύσις.

ὁ γὰρ νόμος] 'The law I mean is a species of recognised agreement.' Compare Hermann (C. F.) § 9. 4, and the references there given, especially Xen. Cyr. vi. 5, 73, νόμος γὰρ ἐν κᾶτιν ἀνθρώπων ἄδεις ἄστιν, διὰ τόλμαν καὶ ἡμοῦρσιν τὸλί τέλει, τῶν ἐλάτων ἐναντὶ νόμομα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ χρήματα.

2 τούτο δὲ τὸ δικαίον] 'It is this justice then that many writers on institutions indict as unconstitutional.'

κατὰ δύναμιν κριττόνος] 'superior in mere strength.'

οὕτω] the last opinion that it is monstrum.

ἐκείνως] the opposite one that this state is the right one, and the wise are not agreed on this point.

3 Before entering on the two next sections I would remark, that the course of the reasoning would be uninterrupted if we at once went on with § 5, "Οἶκος δ' ἀπεξήκομεν τοῖς κτ.ά. The intervening part is a subsidiary explanation. 'The origin of this dispute, that which makes it capable of being a dispute, is that in a certain sense it is true that virtue, with adequate means at its disposal, is even more than any other power able to force its way; it is true further that he who is master is so always by virtue of a real superiority in some point, so that his power of compulsion seems not to be separable from virtue, and the only discussion that can take place is on this point: Is it, or is it not, right that such power, partly simple power, partly moral superiority, should be accepted? Looking at the consequences that follow, if you adopt this principle, some have been led to seek the only sanction for rule in the mutual consent of the parties, the ruler and subject. Unable to concede this, as in fact impracticable, others have acquiesced in the simple test of superior might, without any considerations of the moral element, as an adequate definition of justice. And these are the only two admissible opinions, since if you distinguish them one from the other, and when distinguished put them both on one side, the third opinion, which with reference to the other two is called ἄτικος λόγος, is seen to be devoid of force or plausibility, the opinion, namely, that the better ought not by virtue of his excellence to rule over the inferior, whether that rule be such as you may call government in a political sense, or the absolute government of a master over slaves, ἄρχειν καὶ διστάξειν.' Such is the best rendering I can give of this difficult passage. To follow it in detail.
Slavery. τίσεως, καὶ ὁ ποιεῖ τῶν λόγων ἐπαλλάττειν, ὅτι τράπον τινὰ ἄρετὴ τυγχάνουσα χαρηγίας καὶ βιαζότατε δυναται μᾶλλον, καὶ ἔτιν τοῦ κρατοῦν ἐν υπερχήγαρον τινὸς, ὡστε δοκεῖν μὴ ἀνευ ἀρετῆς εἶναι τὴν βίαν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ δικαίου μονὸν εἶναι τὴν ἀμφίσβητην. διὰ γὰρ τούτο τοῖς μὲν εὔνοια δοκεῖ τὸ δικαίον εἶναι, τοῖς δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο δικαίον, τὸ τῶν κριττόνων ἀρχεῖν, ἔτει διαστάντων γε χώρις τούτων τῶν λόγων οὔτο ἱσχυρὸν οὔθεν ἔχουσιν οὔτε πίθανον ἀπεραι ἅρυς, αἷς οὐ δεῖ τὸ βέλτιον κατὰ ἀρετῆν ἀρχεῖν καὶ διεσπορεῖν. "Ολως δ' ἀντεχόμενοι τινες, αἰς ὁλοταί, δικαίου τινός (ὅ γὰρ νόμος δικαίον τι) τὴν κατὰ πόλεμον δουλείαν τυλισαί δικαίον, ἀμα δ' οὐ φασίν. τὴν τε γὰρ ἀρχὴν ενδείκται μὴ δικαίον εἶναι τῶν πολέμων, καὶ τῶν ἀναξίων δουλειῶν οὐδαμῶς ἀν φαίη τις δουλον εἶναι εἰ δὲ μη, συμβείται τοῦ εὐγενεστάτου εἶναι δοκοῦντας δοῦλους εἶναι καὶ εἰ δουλον, εἰνα μυκῆ πραθήναι ληφθώσαι. διόπερ αὐτοὺς οὐ βούλονται λέγειν δουλούς, ἀλλὰ τοὺς βαρβάρους. καίτοι ἔταν τοῦτο λέγοντι, οὕθεν ἀλλο ἔτυχος ὅ τε τὸ φύσει δουλον ὑπερ εἰς ἀρχῆς εἰπομεν. ἀνάγκη γὰρ εἶναι

ἐπαλλάττειν] in 'to interchange, to alternate,' "Ut in utramque partem disputari et dici possit." Schneider. Stahr agrees: "was für beide Ansichten Gründe aufzustellen verstadt." The arguments run into one another, and the confusion that arises enables both sides plausibly to maintain their respective positions. ἔτι τοῦ δικαίου] 'about the right,' whether it is right or no. διὰ τοῦτο] 'because of this dispute.'

diastatōn] Stahr differs as to this passage, and construes it: "Since now of these opposed views, the grounds alleged in support of the one, viz. that the superior in excellence ought not therefore to rule and govern, cannot L.N. and have no power to convince in them that but &c.," taking away the stop at διαστάτων and making διὰ the apodosis. I refer diastatōn to the distinction between the two views, ἄρχει to the distinction between the two together and the third. "κατὰ ἀρετήν] 'By virtue of its excellence,'

ἄρχει καὶ διαστάτων] opposed to κρατοῦν καὶ βιαζότατον, and this opposition must be kept in sight carefully. ἕδω ἀλλο] 'But at the same time they virtually deny it.' εἰ δὲ μὴ] 'if otherwise.'

6 αὐτοῖς βούλονται] 'The Greeks do not intend to speak of themselves as slaves, they never think of themselves in that light, but only the barbarians.' ἀνάγκη γὰρ φάνα] 'For they must allow that there are some who are slaves wherever they are, others just the contrary.'
ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Α. 21

τίνας φάναι τοὺς μὲν πανταχοῦ δούλους τοὺς δ’ οὖδαμοῦ. Slavery. 
τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ περὶ εὐγενείας· αὐτοῖς μὲν γὰρ 
οὐ μόνον παρ’ αὐτοῖς εὐγενείς ἄλλα πανταχοῦ νομίζουσιν, 
τοὺς δὲ βαρβάρους οἶκοι μόνον, αἰς ὅν τὸ τὸ μὲν ἀπλῶς 
εὐγενεῖς καὶ ἑλεύθερον τὸ δ’ οὖχ ἀπλῶς, ὥσπερ ἢ Ἡθοδέκτου 
Ἐλένη φησὶ

θεῖων δ’ ἂπ’ ἀμφότερον ἐγκονον ρεξωμάτων 
τις ἂν προσείπη εξίωσειν λάτριν;

ὅταν δὲ τούτῳ λέγωσιν, οὐδεὶς ἂλλ’ ἢ ἀρετῇ καὶ κακίᾳ διο- 8 
ῥίζουσι τὸ δοῦλον καὶ ἑλεύθερον καὶ τοὺς εὐγενεῖς καὶ τοὺς 
δυσγενεῖς. ἀξίουσίς γάρ, ὥσπερ εἷς ἀνθρώπον ἀνθρώπον καὶ 1255 b 
ἐκ θηρίων γίνεσθαι θηρίον, οὐτω καὶ εἷς ἀγαθὸν ἀγαθὸν· ἢ 
ἢ δὲ φύσις βουλεύεται μὲν τούτῳ τοιεῖν πολλαχίς, οὐ μέντοι δύ- 
ναται. "Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἐχει τινά λόγον ἡ ἀμφισβήτησις, καὶ 9 
οὐχ εἰσὶν οἱ μὲν φύσει δοῦλοι οἱ δ’ ἑλεύθεροι, ὁδὸν" καὶ ἂτι 
ἐκ τις διάφοραι τὸ τιούτων, ἃν συμφέρει τῷ μὲν τὸ δο- 
λωμένῳ τῶν δὲ τὸ δεσπόζειν, καὶ δικαίων, καὶ ἄτε τὸ μὲν ἄρ- 
χεσθαι τὸ δ’ ἄρχειν, ὡς ρεξωμάτων ἄρχειν, ἀοτὲ καὶ 
δεσπόζειν. τὸ δὲ κακῶς ἀσυμφόρως ἐστὶν ἀμφότερον· τὸ γὰρ 10

πανταχοῦτο] = φόσι. Comp. Ἐλ. τ. 10.

(7) Ι. p. 1134. b 19, φωσικοι μὲν τὸν πανταχοῦ τὴν ἀκτὴν ἔχον δίκαιον; and 
again, a little below in the same chapter, τὸ μὲν φύσει ἀκτην καὶ πανταχοῦ 
τὴν ἄκτην ἔχει δίκαιον, διότερ πὸ τὸ πῦρ 
καὶ ἡθελε καὶ ὅ περ ἐσθεία. 

7 Θεοδέκτου Theodectes of Phaselis, 
a pupil and friend of Aristotle, a rho-
toric and dramatic writer.

8 ήταν δὲ τούτῳ λέγοντα] ‘The use 
of language of this sort does in fact 
make the distinctions between slave 
and free, well born and low born, de- 
pend on moral differences,’ and assumes 
that those moral differences are 
hereditary and ineradicable. There may 
be a tendency to the perpetuation of 
such distinctions in man, says Ari-
stotle, but it is by no means always a 
tendency that becomes a law. ‘Fortis 
creantur fortibus et bonis,” is anything 
but universally true.

9 The result then is, that the objection 
to the conclusion of ch. 5 is 
allowed not to be without ground, and 
that it is true that some are not by 
nature slaves, others by nature free, if 
you interpret aright the some and the 
others, of μὲν, of δὲ. 

ἐν τις[ in certain cases the distinction 
is drawn.’ 

ην τεφόκασιν ἄρχειν] ‘with the power 
for which they are naturally qualified, 
consequently with that of a master 
over slaves, if they are qualified for it.’ 
As the rest of the sentence stands, 
περίφρασι would have been more regu-
lar, or the omission of the last ἄρχει 
would be desirable; but in any case the 
sense is clear.

10 τὸ δὲ κακῶτ] ‘That the power 
should be badly exercised is against 
the interests of both equally, ἀμφότερον.’
Slavery. αὐτὸ συμφέρει τῷ μέρει καὶ τῷ ὄντε καὶ σῶματι καὶ ψυχῇ, ὥς δὲ δοῦλος μέρος τι τοῦ δεσπότου, οἷον ἐμφανίζεται τοῦ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς, τοῦ δὲ καὶ συμφέρει ἵνα τί καὶ φιλία δούλων καὶ διεστορεύσῃ ἀλλήλους τοὺς φύσει τούτων ἡξιωμένως. τοῖς δὲ μὴ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ νόμον καὶ βιοσχέδεια, τοῦκαντίον. 7 Φανερῶν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τούτων ὅτι οὐ τούτον ἐστὶ δεσποτεία καὶ πολιτική, οὐδὲ πᾶσαι ἀλλήλαις αἱ ἀρχαί, ὡσπερ τινές φασιν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐλευθέρων φύσει ἡ δὲ δουλών ἐστίν, καὶ ἡ μὲν οἰκονομικὴ μοναρχία (μοναρχεῖται γὰρ πᾶς ὁκος), ἡ δὲ πολιτικὴ ἐλευθερία καὶ ἰσαν ἀρχή. Ὅ μὲν οὖν δεσποτικής οὐ λέγεται κατ' ἐπιστήμην, ἀλλὰ τῷ τοιοῦτον εἶναι ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ δοῦλος καὶ ὁ ἐλεύθερος. ἐπιστήμη δὲ ἂν εἶη

διὸ καὶ] 'As there is this relation between the slave and master, there is also some common interest between the two, and good feeling towards one another in all cases where nature dictates this relation, τοῦτον φύσει ἁχωμένου; when this is not the case, but they stand related as master and slave only by law and force, then there is no common interest, no opening for affection.' Compare Eth. viii. xiii. 6, 7. p. 1161, 30 sqq. on the existence of friendship between master and slave, where the relation in itself scarcely receives so favourable a judgment.

VII. He has stated what a slave is in his view, and that slavery is an institution natural and desirable, without denying that there are cases when it is not so. He returns in this chapter to a point which was touched on in ch. 1, and again in ch. 3, § 4: 'Is the government of slaves a science, is it further identical with the government of a household and a state, are all governments in short identical? The answer to this last is, he thinks, evident, from what has been said. The government differs with the difference of the governed, ch. 5, § 2, ἡν οὐλλά. So the government of the free will differ from that of the slave. And all governments are not identical, for whilst a family is a monarchy, political government is the rule over free and equal men. The former leaves no freedom to its subjects, but the will of the head is supreme law, the latter allows for the idea of freedom.

καὶ ἐπιστήμην] 'because of any knowledge that he has, but simply because he is such, a master;' it is the statement of a fact, an actual relation, not involving any qualifications.

ἐπιστήμη δὲ ἂν εἶη] 'Still you may speak of a science with reference to masters and slaves.' The knowledge which slaves require to make them good servants may be called ἐπιστήμη δουλείας. The knowledge which a master requires for the right use of slaves would be ἐπιστήμη δουλοφύλαξι. But when possible this is transferred to subordinates. Distinct from both these branches of knowledge stands a third, the acquisition of slaves.
ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Α.

καὶ δεσποτικὴ καὶ δουλική, δουλικὴ μὲν οἷαν περ ὁ ἐν Συρακοσίας ἐπαιδεύς: ἐκεῖ γὰρ λαμβάνων τις μισθὸν ἐδίδασκε τὰ ἐγκύκλια διακονήματα τοὺς παιδας. εἰγ' ὃ ἀν καὶ ἐπὶ 3 πλείον τῶν τοιούτων μάθησις, οἴον ὑποτοική καὶ τάλα τὰ τοιαύτα γένε τῆς διακονίας. ἔστι γὰρ ἔτερα ἐτέρων τὰ μὲν ἐντιμότερα ἔργα: τὰ δ' ἀναγκαιότερα, καὶ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν

δοῦλος πρὸ δοῦλου, δεσπότης πρὸ δεσπότου.

αἱ μὲν οὖν τοιαύτα πάσαι δουλικαὶ ἐπηρετήματι εἰσί, δεσποτικὴ δ' ἐπηρετήμνῃ ἐστὶν ἡ χρηστικὴ δούλων: ὁ γὰρ δεσπότης οὐκ ἐν τῷ κτάσθαι τοὺς δούλους, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ χρήσθαι δοῦλος. ἔστι δ' αὐτῆ ἡ ἐπηρετήμη ὦδεν μέγα ἔχουσα ὦδε σεμνὸν. ἐγὼ γὰρ τὸν δοῦλον ἐπισταδόμα δει ποιεῖν, ἐκείνου δει τοιαῦτα ἐπισταθοῦσα ἐπιτάττειν. διὸ ὅσοις ἔχουσιν μὴ ἀν-5 τοὺς κακοπαθεῖν, ἐπιτροπὸς λαμβάνει τοῦτην τὴν τιμὴν, αὐτοὶ δὲ πολιτεύονται ἡ φιλοσοφοῦσιν. ἡ δὲ κτητικὴ ἐτέρα ἀμφιτεχνικῶν τούτων, οἴον ἡ δικαία, πολεμικὴ τις οὕσα ἡ ἥρωτικὴ. Περὶ μὲν οὖν δοῦλου καὶ δεσπότου τούτον διω- ρίσθαι τὸν τρόπον.

"Ολοις δὲ περὶ πάσης κτήσεως καὶ χρηματιστικῆς θεω-8 1256 ρήσομεν κατὰ τῶν υφηγημένον τρόπον, ἐπείπερ καὶ ὁ δοῦλος τῆς κτήσεως μέρος τι ἢν. Πρώτον μὲν οὖν ἀπορθήσειν ἀν

τὰ ἐγκύκλια διακονήματα] 'the ordinary services, the common duties of servants.'

3 δοῦλος πρὸ δοῦλου] Philemon the elder. Suidas under πρὸ. Meineke, Com. Græc. iv. p. 16, takes it as ἄριθ. I should construe it as, 'one slave is before another—better than.'

5 τιμή] 'this office.'

πολιτεύονται ἡ φιλοσοφοῦσιν] 'mix in political life, or cultivate speculative studies,' the two alternatives for the Greek freeman.

κτητικὴ] Comp. below, ch. viii. § 12.

τούτων] δεσποτικὴ καὶ δουλική.

οἶον ἡ δικαία] 'I mean that art of acquiring slaves which is just and law-

VIII. 1 The slave was singled out from other property as resting on other grounds, and requiring quite a separate discussion. He now turns from the ἐμφύχου to the ἐφύχου ἐργανω, from the living to the lifeless instrument, so to complete the subject of property, κτήσει, which is by I. iv. 3, ἐτερωμον. ἐπείπερ] the method he had adopted in the treatment of the slave he would naturally continue in the treatment of the rest of property.
There are three questions: is the art of acquiring property identical with the art of managing a family? or, 2ndly, is it a part of it? or, 3rdly, is it instrumental to it? Adopt this last, and there still remains the distinction as to the mode in which it is instrumental. The first is answered in the negative.

*kerkodptovíc*] 'the art of making shuttles.'

2 *pará tīn oikoumenvn* 'besides,' or 'if it be not.'

*éteron eidos* 'distinct in kind,' " *uno a part." St Hil.

*xei diámufrhhsion*] 'involves a thorough discussion,' to get at the different senses.

3 *ei yáro éxci* Grant that it is the province of him who has to provide wealth to consider from what sources he is to acquire money and property.

(tīn mév yáro to poríssathai) yet this does not clear up the point; property and wealth are terms of wide extent. Many branches may come under them with which we are not concerned, and each branch may require consideration. So that some *chrmatistikw* may be within the province of the *aledonous*, whilst the larger part of it is not. And the first and most natural branch is that of agriculture, as concerned with the food of man. In fact it would be as well to generalise at once, and consider all such occupations as concern the food of men, *kal katholou h peri tīn trophēn*.

4 *álla mév* 'Not however that this question of food is simple; the food of men differs widely as does that of animals, and according to the difference of food is the difference of life.'
Property.

5 ἀρτότόνωσιν] 'facilities.' τοῦτων = τροφῆς. The plural pronoun seems to me quite in keeping with his usually rather lax use of the pronouns, influenced here perhaps by the plural involved in the terms ἀφοφάγα, &c.

6 πολὺ γὰρ] Aristotle accounts for the different modes of life by reference to the difference of food; for that the modes of life do differ widely is a simple fact.

Aristotle seems to put the nomad, pastoral life the lowest, on the ground that it requires the least exertion. To him also the hunter life would rise in proportion, as under it is placed the catching of slaves, whose importance he could not underrate. Later writers on the same subject put the hunter lowest. I need only refer to M. Dunoyer, Liberté du Travail, Vol. i. Compare Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations, Introduction, or Mill's Political Economy, Introd. Chapter. The ground is its uncertain character and its alternations of extreme fatigue and indulgence, tending to degrade the man.

toῖς κτήμεσι] depends on ἀναγκαῖον.

7 ἀπὸ λροτείας] This quiet mention of privateering or piracy, the buccaneer life, is illustrated by Od. ix. 254, for the earlier period of Greece, and by Thuc. i. 5 for a later period than Homer's and for the continental tribes of his own day, of whom he says οἱ κόσμοι καλῶς τοῦτο δρῶν. Compare also ii. 32, for the Locrians iii. 51.

τοῖς κτήμεσι] 'Such as suits for fishing.'
Property. τῶν ἡμέραν καρπῶν. Οἱ μὲν οὖν βίοι τοσοῦτοι σχέδον αἰσίων, οὐσι να αὐτόφυτοι ἔχουσι τὴν ἐργασίαν καὶ μὴ δὲ ἀλλαγῆς καὶ καταγελίας πορίζονται τὴν τροφήν, νομαδικῶς, γεωργικῶς, λιηστρικῶς, ἀλευτικῶς, ψηφευτικῶς. Οἱ δὲ καὶ μεγαντεῖς ἀν τῶν ἀκατώ ἡμέρας, προσαναπληροῦντες τὸν ἐνδεικτάτον βίον, ή τυχανεί ἅλλαν πρὸς τὸ αὐτάρκης ἢν, οὐκ οἱ μὲν νομαδικῶς ἄρα καὶ λιηστρικῶς, οἱ δὲ γεωργικῶς καὶ ψηφευτικῶς. ὡμοίως δὲ καὶ πεῖρα τούτων ἄλλως, ἀν ἠ χρεία συναναγκαζότα, τούτων τὸν τρόπον διάγωσιν.

Ἡ μὲν οὖν τοιαύτη κτῆσις ὑπ’ αὐτῆς φαίνεται τῆς φύσεως διδυμῆν πάσιν, ὅσπερ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην γένεσιν εὐδοκ., οὕτω καὶ τελειομένης.

καὶ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν ἔργαρα γένεσιν τὰ μὲν συνεκτίκτει τῶν ζῴων τοσαύτην τροφήν ὡς ἰκανήν ἐναι μέχρις οὗ ἄν δύνηται αὐτὸ αὐτῷ πορίζει τὸ γεννηθέν, οἷον ὁς σκωληκοτοκεὶ ἡ φωτοκεῖ· ὅσα δὲ ζωοκεῖ, τοῖς γενομένοις ἔχει τροφήν ἐν αὐτοῖς μέχρι τινός, τῆς τοῦ καλου-μένου γάλακτος φύσιν. ὡστε ὁμοίως δήλον ὅτι καὶ γενομένως ὕποτον τὰ τε φυτὰ τῶν ζῴων ἔνεκεν ἐναι καὶ τὰ λαλα ζῷα τῶν ἀνθρώπων χάριν, τὰ μὲν ἡμέρα καὶ διὰ τὴν χρήσιν καὶ διὰ τὴν τροφήν, τῶν δ’ ἀγρίων, εἰ μὴ πάντα,

8 αὐτόφυτον ἔχουσι τὴν ἐργασίαν] "all, that is, that depend on their own unaided labour," their native industry merely, and do not look to barter and trade. This is the primitive and lower stage of social development, and is represented by the Arab of the desert, the pastoral tribes of the Malay Archipelago, the Esquimaux, and the Red Indian.

For, αὐτόφυτον, native, self-grown, see Liddell and Scott, Lex. where the word αὐτόφυα is quoted as equivalent to the expression αὐτόφυον ἀμπέλου.

μηνύωσι] Practically this is the normal rule; rarely do we find an entire exclusion of barter. And the precariousness of the hunter's life renders the admixture of tillage almost indispensable.

9 ὡς ἡ χρεία] 'just as their wants may compel them, so do they frame their life.'

τοιαύτη] 'property in this sense is evidently given to all by Nature herself, not merely at once, at the very moment of their birth, but also when they are arrived at maturity.'

10 σκωληκοτοκεῖ ἡ φωτοκεῖ I have no knowledge of natural history, but it would seem that the term vermiparous is obsolete, that in fact oviparous and viviparous are exhaustive.

ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Α.

καλλὰ τὰ γε πλείστα τῆς τροφῆς καὶ ἀλλὰς βοηθείας Property.

ἐνεκεν, ἦνα καὶ ἔσθής καὶ ἄλλα ὄργανα γίνεται ἐξ αὐτῶν.

ἐι ὥν ἡ φύσις μηθὲν μήτε ἄτελες ποιεῖ μήτε μάθην, ἀναγ- 12

καὶ ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐνεκεν αὐτὰ πάντα πεποιηκέναι τὴν

φύσιν. διὸ καὶ ἡ πολεμικὴ φύσει κτητικὴ πως ἐσται. ἣ

γὰρ θερευτικὴ μέρος αὐτῆς, ἢ δεῖ χρησθαι πρὸς τα ἁθήματα, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅσοι πεθανότες ἀρχεθαί μὴ

θέλουσιν, ὅς φύσει δίκαιον τοῦτον ὑπάρχει τῶν πόλεων. Ἐν 13

μὲν οὖν ἔδος κτητικῆς κατὰ φύσιν τῆς οἰκονομικῆς μέρος

ἐστὶν· ὅ δεῖ ἴσην ὑπάρχει ἡ πορίζειν αὐτῆν ὅπως ὑπάρχει,

ἀν ἐστὶ θησαυριζομένης κρηματίων πρὸς ζωῆν ἀναγκαίων καὶ

χρήσιμων εἰς κοινωνίαν πόλεως ἡ οἰκίας. καὶ ἑοικεν ὃ γ' 14

ἀληθινὸς πλοῦτος ἐκ τούτων εἶναι. ἥ γὰρ τῆς τοιαύτης

κτίσεως αὐτάρκεια πρὸς ἀγαθὴν ζωὴν οὔχ ἀπειρὸς ἐστίν,

ὡσπερ Σόλων Φησὶ ποίησας

πλοῦτον ἐειδίν τίμα θεοσιμένων ἀνδράσι κεῖαι.

κεῖαι γὰρ ὡσπερ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τέχναις· οὔδὲν γὰρ 15

ὄργανον ἀπειροῦν οὐδεμιᾶς ἐστὶ τέχνης οὔτε πληθὺς οὔτε

μεγάλος, ὃ δὲ πλοῦτος ὄργανον πλήθος ἐστὶν οἰκονομικῶν

12 ἄτελε] 'incomplete.' Compare

below, xiii. 11, ὁ πτολ. ἄτελες.

6 διὸ καὶ ἡ πολεμικὴ φύσει] 'War then, so far as it is natural, or an institution of nature, will be a certain form of the art of acquiring; for war includes, as a branch of it, the hunter's art, which you are bound to employ against the animals, and also against all men who naturally calculated for subjects are inclined to dispute this decree of nature; and you are bound to do this on the ground that war for such an object is naturally just.' Compare IV. ii. 15.

"La guerre est un moyen naturel d'acquérir," says St Hil, construing the φύσει with κτητικῇ.

13 'One form then of the art of acquiring property is a branch of Economics.' So far we have got.

6 δι', κ.τ.λ.] 'For there must either be already in existence, or it must take measures that there exist a supply of those things which are necessary for life, and useful for the association of men either in states or families, and which admit of accumulation.' ὃ, 'quod,' does not lose its relative sense.

14 καὶ οὐκεῖν] 'and wealth, so far as it is true wealth, or wealth in its true sense, is composed of these objects.'

ἡ γὰρ] 'I say ἀληθινός, for there are two kinds, and the adequate supply of such property as this is not, in the language of Solon, without a limit.'

Solon: Relliquiae. Fr. xii. ed. Bergk. It is also given with a slight variation in the fragments of Theognis, 227.

True wealth is a means to an end,
but it is absurd to suppose a means without a limit.

15 δει μεν τοιον] This concluding clause, like the similar one at the end of Ch. V., gives Aristotle's positive conclusion. So far as wealth is looked on as the command of the necessary instruments for family and political life, so far the science that treats of it is one in accordance with nature, and properly within the province of the political writer.

δι’ ἥν αἰτίαν] 'the grounds on which.'

IX. 1 γένος ἄλλα] the έτερον εἴδος of VIII. 2, Ch. VII. I, having given us the μέρος.

δι’ ήδη | 'And it is this species that has given rise to the opinion that wealth and property have no limit.'

τὴν γενετικὴν] = γενετολαον, 'neighbourhood,' 'near connexion of the two.'

οὗ φύσει] It is not the necessary accomplishment of society in any shape; it is rather the result of experience, the result, in fact, of the sense of need and the wish to remedy that need. This remoulding of a need felt is the object of art. Compare Ethicus, 1. iv. 15. p. 1097, 5, πάσι τὰ ἁπάντα ἐνεπηρετοῦσαν.

2 ἡ μεταβλητική ἡ χρήσει. 'The use of it as a shoe, and its use in exchange.'

3 οὗ γὰρ ἄλλας ἐνεκέν γέγονεν] True of its ultimate, but not of its primary, destination.

4 ἀρχαῖον, κτ.κ.λ.] Aristotle allows the natural origin of commerce. It is
a question of degree into which it resolves itself.

διάτμι τῶν ἱκανῶν] Here is the sense of want (τὸ ἐσθένει), and that want is the result of a natural arrangement. So man naturally seeks a remedy, and art or skill steps in.

τὴν χρηματιστικὴν] in its true sense, that of the last chapter, which in § 18 he speaks of as ἄναγκαια—οἰκονομικῆ ἡ κατὰ φύσιν—τῆς περὶ τὴν τροφήν.

ἡ καταχληθὴ] retail trade seems the common sense, but it may here well stand for trade in general.

διὰ τῶν] 'Had it been so, the exchange would have ceased when it had reached the point of supplying the deficiency felt.' But where is the limit to be fixed—what is τὸ ἱκανὸν? Looking at the human race as a whole, connected, amongst other bonds, by this powerful one of mutual wants, of need of mutual service, any attempt to say where the limit of trade shall be seems arbitrary, and leads to endless difficulties. It will be always a question of practical sense.

5. οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἐργὸν αὐτῆς] 'There is no opening for it.' αὐτῆς = τῆς κατα

λικῆς.

ἡ καταχληθὴ, κ.τ.λ.] 'only when the intercourse is on a more extended scale.'

οὶ μὲν γὰρ, κ.τ.λ.] sc. ἐν τῇ ῥήσει, 'had all things in common.'

οἱ δὲ, κ.τ.λ.] The others by virtue of their being apart would have, looked at as a whole, many things in common (ἐκουσάνων πολλῶν), but different parts of the whole would have different parts of that common stock (καὶ κτῆσιν). These different objects they would want, and would necessarily be led to exchange one with the other, and would adopt the method yet in use among many of the barbarous nations, namely, actual barter. Such, paraphrased, seems the sense of the passage. But Aristotle does not seem to see with sufficient clearness that this is what all commerce ultimately is, and ever must be, an exchange of objects of use, 'un troc des produits.' It is only to facilitate this that the complicated commercial system of his own or of our times has been introduced.

6. χρηματιστική] 'The art of making money.' Here used in its bad sense,
and as equivalent to καταληψις, § 4, and
X. 4, and to the μεταβλητικής of the
same section.

εἰς αναπλήρωσιν] So there was a
previous want felt; this appears from
Eth. x. iii. 6. p. 1173 B 7.

τῆς κατὰ φύσιν αὐτορείας] 'It is
needed to enable man to attain his full
completeness, to gratify all his natural
wants'—a state which though κατὰ
φύσιν he is conceived not to have at-
tained. Compare the expression τῆς
κατὰ φύσιν ἐξωτ., Eth. vii. xiii. 3. p.
1153, 14.

7 ταύτης] is the τοιαύτη μεταβλη-
tική ἐκείνη is the χρηματιστικής—
kατὰ λόγον, by a natural sequence, 'as
a logical consequence there arose an-
other kind.' Compare Eth. 1. xi. 4. p.
1160, 2. τελευταίαν κατὰ λόγον.

[ἐνικουσέως] 'more widely extended.'
[ἐν ἀνάγιασι] Same medium became
absolutely indispensable.

8 ὁδ' ἔρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'Something more
portable was required, the majority of
commodities being very inconvenient in
this respect.'

δ' τῶν χρημάτων, κ.τ.λ.] 'which it-
self was something useful for the daily
purposes of life, and was in use easily
manageable.'

μεγέθει καὶ σταθμῷ] 'by size and
weight.'

[χρηματιστική ἐκείνη] 'deter-
mined in value by men putting a
stamp upon it, in order that it may
save them from the trouble of weigh-
ing it.'

Compare Adam Smith, Bk. i. ch. iv.
and for this actual definition Michel
Chevalier, Vol. iii. ch. iii. p. 36. It
is very good as a definition. It takes
for money something which is an arti-
cle of commerce, and capable at the
same time of becoming a medium of
exchange. "Aristote," says M. Che-
valier, "dont le nom était entouré
d'un si grand respect pendant les
ciècles du moyen âge, n'avait cepen-
dant point admis la notion d'après la-
quelle la monnaie ne serait qu'un signe.
Il avait au contraire, parfaitement ex-
posé dans sa Politique, l'origine de la
monnaie, et il en avait bien déterminé
les caractères principaux. On en jugera
par l'extrait suivant." He then quotes
M. St Hilaires's translation of the pas-
sage, and adds: "En ces termes la
question est admirablement posée et
résolue en même temps. Il n'y a de
signe dans la monnaie que l'empreinte
qu'elle porte, et sous ce signe il y a
inséparablement la substance."
9 πορισθέντος οὖν, κ.τ.λ.] 'When then money had been already introduced on the demand of this necessary species of exchange.' This is one rendering of the ἐκ, or it may be, as a second step in the process, 'from this necessary exchange there arose the second species.'

τὸ καπνικὸν] 'Trade.'

ἀπλώς οὖσα γενόμενον] 'simple perhaps in its forms.'

τεχνικότερον] 'more systematic,' or 'scienter,' I. 3.

μεταβαλλόμενον) sc. τὸ νόμισμα.

Io δὲ δοκεῖ, κ.τ.λ.] And this latter species absorbs the name, for in proportion as χρηματιστική becomes more reduced to a system it seems to pay more and more attention to money as the higher and more difficult part of the art. περὶ δὲ τὸ χειρετάριον δὲ καὶ τέχνη γίνεται καὶ ἀρτέρῃ; καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐκ βιλτίαν ἐν τούτῳ. Eth. ii. ii. 10. p.

1105. 9.


ποιητική] This again brings it under τέχνη, whose definition is Eth. vi. iv. 3. p. 1140, 10, οἷς ποιητικῆς.

καὶ γὰρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'for indeed not unfrequently men identify wealth with money;' the thing signified with the sign; the exchangeable property with the instrument of exchange. An old error of very great tenacity.

II νόμος] 'merely conventional.'

οὐδὲν] 'nothing.' The substantival sense.

δῶ, κ.τ.λ.] 'both because, if those who employ it choose to change it, it becomes of no value.'

ἀπελπισίας τῆς εἰκῆς] 'The insatiate desire of his prayer.' The sentence
Property. παρατιθημένων χρυσῶν. διὸ ζητοῦσιν ἐτερῶν τι τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ τὴν χρηματιστικὴν, ὅρθως ζητοῦντες. ἔστι γὰρ ἐτέρω ἡ χρηματιστικὴ καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος ὁ κατὰ φύσιν, καὶ αὐτῇ μὲν οἰκονομικῇ, ἡ δὲ καπηλικὴ ποιητικὴ χρημάτων, οὐ πάντως ἀλλ' ἡ διὰ χρημάτων μεταβολῆς. καὶ δοκεῖ περὶ τὸ νόμισμα αὐτὴ εἶναι τὸ γὰρ νόμισμα στοιχεῖον καὶ τὸν άλλαγῆς ἔστιν. καὶ ἀπειρός δὴ οὗτος ὁ πλοῦτος ὁ ἀπὸ τοιῶν τῆς χρηματιστικῆς. ὀσπερ γὰρ ἡ ἰατρικὴ τοῦ ὑμιάνιν εἰς ἀπειροῦν ἔστι καὶ ἐκάστη τῶν τεχνῶν τοῦ τέλους εἰς ἀπειροῦν (ὅτι μᾶλλον γὰρ ἐκεῖνο βούλονται ποιεῖν), τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὸ τέλος οὐκ εἰς ἀπειροῦν (πέρας γὰρ τὸ πέλας πάσαις), οὕτω καὶ ταύτης τῆς χρηματιστικῆς οὐκ ἔστιν τοῦ τέλους πέρας, τέλος δὲ ὁ τοιοῦτος πλοῦτος καὶ 14 χρημάτων κτῆσις. τῆς δ' οἰκονομικῆς, οὐ χρηματιστικῆς ἔστιν πέρας· οὐ γὰρ τούτῳ τῆς οἰκονομικῆς ἔργῳ. διὸ τῆς μὲν φαίνεται ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πάντως πλοῦτον πέρας, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν γνωμόνων ὁμόν τοιοῦτον τοιούτων· πάντες γὰρ εἰς ἀπειροὺς αὐξοῦσιν οἱ χρηματιζόμενοι τὸ νόμισμα. αὐτίν 15 δὲ τὸ σύνεγγυς αὐτῶν. ἐπαλλάττει γὰρ ἡ χρῆσις τοῦ

requires ἀπολέσθαι to complete it.

12 τὸν πλοῦτον] 'the real wealth,' τὴν χρηματιστικὴν, 'the true science of acquiring wealth.'

ἐπὶ μὲν 'and whilst this (ὅτι κατὰ φύσιν) the natural one is part of the management of the family.'

στοιχεῖον καὶ πέρας] 'The first element and the ultimate limit;' the beginning and the end of the process.

13 ἀπειροὶ δὴ, κ.τ.λ.] Money, the means to the οἰκονομος, becomes the end to the καπηλικά; finite therefore to the former, it is infinite to the latter. Compare Ch. VIII. § 14.

14 τῆς οἰκονομικῆς] This clause is difficult, from its abruptness. The thought meant to be conveyed seems to be as follows: In the former species, the false art of acquiring wealth, money is the avowed object, and is sought for without any limit. In the second and true species, which is subordinate to the higher objects of the family, (οἰκονομικῆς) and is not merely concerned with making money (χρηματιστικῆς) there is a limit to wealth and to the efforts made to secure it; that limit is fixed by those higher objects; πέρας γὰρ τὸ τέλος, ὡς γὰρ τοῦτο, 'for the making of money is not the object of the family life.'

τῆς μὲν] 'Though in one sense.'

τὸ σύνεγγυς αὐτῶν] 'The nearness of the senses of the words.' Compare Eth. v. ii. 1. p. 1129, 27, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ σύννγγυς εἶναι τὴν διμωμόλοις αἰτίαν λαμβάνει καὶ οὐ πλουτοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν πόρων ὅλης ἄλλασσαν.

15 ἐπαλλάττει γὰρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'For the two uses of the same article run
into one another and become confused, and each of the two respectively comes under the science that deals with property."

"χρήσεως κτήσις" rather κτήσεως χρήσεις, at least this seems much the easier form. "It is the same piece of property that we use, but the use to which we put it is not the same." Bekker's text is defended by Kiots, (Jahn and Kiots, Ann. Phil. et Ped. vi. xvii. 1, p. 20,) who translates it: "deselben Gebrauchs ist nämlich ein Eigenthum." But I do not see that this explains the Greek. Stahr makes it as I do, with the remark, "vulgo ineptā,"

τούτο[ sc. η αδέξια] την του νομίσματος ούσιαν 'Their property in money.'

16 τού τοῦ ζην έπιβάλλονται 'grasp at, make an effort after living well:' the ζην is ambiguous.

17 δι' ἔλαθε αἰτία 'by the instrumentality of something else.'

18 ἀναπτυν 'meet, combine in forwarding.'
ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Α.

10 Δῆλον δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀπορούμενον ἐξ ἄρχης, πότερον τοῦ οἰκονομικοῦ καὶ πολιτικοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ χρηματιστική ἢ οὐ, ἀλλὰ δεῖ τοῦτο μὲν ὑπάρχειν· ὡσπερ γὰρ καὶ ἀνθρώπους οὐ ποιεῖ ἡ πολιτική, ἀλλὰ λαβοῦσα παρὰ τῆς φύσεως χρῆται αὐτοῖς, οὕτω καὶ τροφὴν τῆν φύσιν δεῖ παραδοῦναι γῆν ἢ θάλατταν ἢ ἄλλο τι· ἐκ δὲ τοῦτων, αἷς δεῖ, ταῦτα διαβείναι προσήκει αὐτὸν οἰκονόμον. οὐ γὰρ τῆς ὕφαστης ἐρια ποιῆσαι, ἀλλὰ χρησιμοθείς αὐτοῖς, καὶ γνώναι δὲ τὸ ποιὸν χρηστόν καὶ ἐπιτήδειον ἢ φαύλον καὶ ἀνεπιτήδειον. καὶ γὰρ ἀπορήσειν ἀν τις διὰ τὴν μὲν χρηματιστικὴ μόριον τῆς οἰκονομίας, ἢ δὲ ἵατρική οὐ μόριον· καίτοι δὲ ὑγιήνευ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ζωὴν, ὡσπερ ὦ ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔστι μὲν ὁς τοῦ οἰκονόμου καὶ τοῦ ἄρχοντος καὶ περὶ ὑγιείας ἴδειν, ἐστὶ δὲ αἷς οὐ, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἱατροῦ, οὕτω καὶ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἔστι μὲν ὁς τοῦ οἰκονόμου, ἔστι δὲ ὁς οὐ, ἀλλὰ τῆς ὑπηρετικῆς· μάλιστα δὲ, καθάπερ ἔρχεται πρότερον, διὶ φύσει τοῦτο ὑπάρχειν. φύσεως γὰρ ἔστιν ἐργὸν τροφὴν τῷ γεννηθέντι παρέχειν· παντὶ γὰρ ἐξ οὗ γίνεται, τροφή

αὐτῆς] justified by the αὐτῆς in the preceding line.

The conclusion of the chapter distinguishes very clearly the two branches of the science, the one not necessary, the other indispensable, with its proper object, the maintenance of the family, and having its due limit set by that object.

X. 1 The distinction drawn in Ch. IX. carries with it a clear answer to the original question: is the science that treats of property the province of the father of a family and the statesman? It is not so, it is a subordinate science to theirs, but the necessary condition of theirs: δεὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὑπάρχειν. It and its results must be pre-supposed. For this seems the full force of τοῦτο.

ἐκ δὲ τοῦτον] 'then, as the next step.'

2 καὶ γὰρ ἀπορήσειν, κ.τ.λ.] 'For if we answered the question differently then it might become a difficulty,' &c.

3 τοῦτο] sc. τὰ χρήματα.

φύσεως γὰρ, κ.τ.λ.] Compare above Ch. VIII. § 9, 10, for the reasoning out of what is here concisely stated. In itself the passage is obscure, but put side by side with the former one need present no difficulty. 'For it is the business of nature to provide food for that which is born; for everything finds its sustenance in what remains of that from which it is born.'
4 καταλαμβάνει [ = τῆς μὴ ἀναγκαίας of 9, 18, and μεταβλητείας just below.]

Greco-Hebrew Dictionary. For Aristotle's view of interest, compare Mr Grote iii. 143, and foll.: "We hardly understand how it can ever have been pronounced unworthy of an honourable citizen to lend money on interest; yet such is the declared opinion of Aristotle and other superior men of antiquity."

οὐ γὰρ κατὰ φύσιν [ "unnatural, as being made by one man at the expense of another," Grote, ibid. In this άλλαξαι lies the fallacy. Between the parties trading there is no opposition of interests, but community. Compare M. Bastiat, Harmonies Économiques, p. 147: "Que l'on considère les relations d'homme à homme, de famille à famille, de province à province, de nation à nation, d'hémisphère à hémisphère, de capitaliste à ouvrier, de propriétaire à prolétaire, il est évident, ce me semble, qu'on ne peut ni résoudre, ni même aborder le problème social à aucun de ses points de vue avant d'avoir choisi entre ces deux maximes: Le profit de l'un est le dommage de l'autre. Le profit de l'un est le profit de l'autre." The problem so stated is discussed at great length in what follows, and solved, differently from Aristotle, in favour of the last of the two maxims.

ḍ' ἰδιοκτησίας [ 'The trade of a petty usurer,' its use here is quite general. L. and S. sub voc. On this subject compare Boeckh, Publ. Econ. of Athens, pp. 170, 171, 1st edit.

5 τότε... ὅ τόκος... ἐκφράζει τόμονα] 'has got its name.' Compare Grote, iii. 143, n. 2, "the well-known dictum of Aristotle, that money being naturally barren, to extract offspring from it must necessarily be contrary to nature."

Bacon, (Henry VII. Edit. Montagu. Vol. iii. p. 227,) calls usury the bastard use of money. Compare also Gibbon, v. 415, 416, and note. On the whole subject compare Paley, Moral and Political Philosophy, iii. Ch. x. It has been much discussed of late, especially in France. There is a small tract containing a discussion of the whole subject between MM. Proudhon and Bastiat, Gratuité du Crédit, also another tract by the last-named author, Capital et Rente, both of which are admirably clear. 

Χρηματισμών] 'money-making, business, trade.'
XI. I ἐν τῷ μὲν θεωρατὶ κ.τ.λ. 'whilst in speculation they are free, in practice they are limited.'

μέρη χρήσεως] The construction is loose. His object is to divide the science into its branches. The first concerns κτήματα, which word is here limited to animals, though it is of much larger application by Ch. IV. 4, where it is equivalent to ἐργανὸν πρακτικόν, 'one branch of the science concerns animals, and it is useful to have practical acquaintance with the subject.'

2 ψηλῆς] tillage; περιτευμένης, cultivation of trees. Compare Demosth. 491, for the same distinction. μελιττουργίας. This is of much less importance since the introduction of sugar. No writer on agriculture would now give it the prominence that Virgil does.

3 οἰκονόμησι] ἐν τῇ οἰκονομῇ, that which is most strictly within the province of the οἰκονόμος: τῆς ἀναγκαῖας καὶ ἐνακομίας.

τῆς μεταβλητικῆς τῆς καταλήψις] This has three subdivisions. Its first, (ἱππολα) is trade, again open to a threefold division, commerce by sea (ναυτιλία), by land (φορτήγας), and selling in shops (παροντωσις). The first two are the divisions of that which has been called l'industrie voiturière.

ἐπικαρπία] 'return, profit.'

μεθαρία] 'The wages of labour.'

4 ταύτα] The labour for which wages are paid is either skilled or unskilled.
κατὰ φύσιν τι μέρος καὶ τῆς μεταβλητικῆς, ὅσα ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς γινομένων, ἀκάρτιτως καὶ χρήσιμων, τὸ πολλαῖς τέκνης 5 περιπληκτεῖ τὴν πολλὰ γὰρ οἴνοι τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς μεταλλουμένων ἐστὶν. ἐκάστου δὲ τούτων καθόλου μὲν ἀρχίται καὶ νῦν, τὸ δὲ κατὰ μέρος ἀκριβολογεῖται χρήσιμων μὲν πρὸς τὰς ἐργασίας, φορτίων δὲ τὸ ἐνδιατρίβειν. [Εἰσὶ 6 δὲ τεχνικῶταται μὲν τῶν ἐργασίων ὅπως ἐλάχιστον τῆς τύχης, βαναυσόταται δ' ἐν αἷς τὰ σώματα λαμβάνονται μάλιστα, δουλικώταται δὲ ὅπως τοῦ σώματος πλέονται χρήσιμος, ἀγενέσταται δέ ὅπως ἐλάχιστον προσθεὶ ἀρετῆς.] ἐκεῖ δὲ ἐστὶν ἐνίοτος γεγραμμένα περὶ τούτων, ὅπως Χάριτῃ 7 δὴ τῷ Παρίῳ καὶ Ἀπολλοδόρῳ τῷ Δημιούργῳ περὶ γεωργίας 1259 καὶ ψυλῆς καὶ περιφερειμένης, ὅμοιος δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις περὶ ἄλλων, ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ τούτων θεωρεῖτο ὅταν ἐπιμέλεις ἐτί δὲ καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα στοράδην, δὲ ἄν ἐπιτευχυκτάσιν ἐνὸς χρηματιζόμενοι, δὲι συνλέγειν. πάντα γὰρ αἱ ἐφέλμαται ταῦτ' ἐστὶ τοῖς τιμῶσι τὴν χρηματιστικῆς. Ὅπως καὶ τῷ Θάλεω

ἀκάρτιτως] 'such as do not bear fruit and multiply.'

5 ἀκριβολογεῖται] 'to go into minute detail, might be useful for business purposes, but it would be out of place to dwell on the subject here.

The simplest and truest division of the different branches of industry that I am acquainted with is that given by M. Dunoyer, Liberté du Travail, Vol. II, p. 114. It is fourfold, so far as man's industry deals with things: L'industrie extractive, voiturière, manufacturière, agricole. These last two are treated separately; as the first brings into play for the production of its results, powers without life, mechanical, physical, or chemical; the latter calls to its aid the vital powers. By the first of the four man appropriates whatever there is in nature which is useful to him, by the second he transports, by the third and fourth he transforms, only by a different agency in each case.

6 This section seems out of place. The remarks are true, but interrupt the connexion, and are in no way needed here.

ὅπως ἐλάχιστον τῆς τύχης] Compare Eth. vi. iv. 5. p. 1140, 18.

7 περὶ τούτων] This refers to the subject that precedes § 6, and not to that section itself.

Of Charis and Apollodoros nothing seems known.

τὰ λεγόμενα στοράδην] 'scattered notices and observations.'

8 Θάλεω] This is mentioned by Grote, p. 155, "the first commencement of scientific prediction amongst the Greeks."
κατανόησα τι χρηματιστικών] "une
speculation lucrative," St Hil.; rather,
"a money-making device."

άλλ’ ἐκείνῳ μὲν, κ.τ.λ.] 'but though
it is attributed to him on account of
his philosophical knowledge, yet &c.'

9 ἀναφερομένοι Compare Eth. vi. vii.
5. p. 1141, b. 5: Θελήσην καὶ τὸν πολύ-
τους σόφον μὲν, φρονίμοις δ’ ὁβ φαιν
εἶνα, δὲν ἔσων ἁγνούντας τὰ συμ-
φέροντα ε updater, κ.τ.λ.
κατανόησαν ἐκ τῆς ἀστρολογίας.
ἀρραβώναις] 'deposit of money,'

[ Kuwaiti A.]

Property. τοῦ Μιλησίου: τούτο γὰρ ἐστὶ κατανόησα τι χρηματιστι-
kών, ἀλλ’ ἐκείνῳ μὲν διὰ τὴν σοφίαν προσάπτουσι, τυγχάνει
9 δὲ καθόλου τι ὄν. οὐκείδουτον γὰρ αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν πενίαν
αἰς ἀναφεροὺς τῆς φιλοσοφίας οὐθῆς, κατανοήσαντα φασιν
αὐτὸν ἑλαίων φοράν ἐσομένην ἐκ τῆς ἀστρολογίας, ἐτὶ χει-
μῶνος ὄντος, εὑρήσαντα χρημάτων ὀλγὼν ἁρραβὼνας
διαδόθωσιν τῶν ἐλαιορυγίων τῶν τ’ ἐν Μιλησίῳ καὶ Χίῳ πάν-
tων, ὀλγῷ μισθωσάμενον ἀτ’ οὐθῆς ἐπιβάλλοντος. ἐπειδὴ
δ’ ὁ καιρὸς ἤκει, πολλῶν ἐξομένων ἄμα καὶ ἔξαλφης, ἐκμι-
σθοῦσα ὡς τρόπον ἥβολετο, πολλὰ χρήματα συνάξαντα ἐπι-
δείξαν ὡς ὁδόν ἔστι πλούτειν τοῖς φιλοσόφοις, ἄν
10 βουλόμεθαι, ἀλλ’ ὡς τοῦτ’ ἐστὶ περὶ τ’ ἄπουδος. Ἐπιλή
μὲν οὖν λέγεται τούτων τῶν τρόπων ἐπιδείξιν ποιήσασθαι
τῆς σοφίας. ἐστι δ’, ἀυτὲρ ἐπομεν, καθόλου τὸ τοιοῦτον
χρηματιστικόν, ἐὰν τὸν ὀδύνητα μυνοταλιῶν αὐτῷ κατασκευ-
άζειν, διὸ καὶ τῶν πόλεως ἐνιαί τούτων ποιοῦται τοῦ πόρου,
ὅταν ἀπορώσῃ χρημάτων: μυνοταλία γὰρ τῶν αὐνίων ποι-
11 οὐσιν. Ἐν Σικέλιᾳ δὲ τεθέντως παρ’ αὐτῷ υμούσαιοτες
συνεπιστῶ τὰ πάντα τὸν σιδήρων ἐκ τῶν σιδηρείων, μετὰ δὲ
tαύτα αἰς ἀφικόντο ἐκ τῶν ἐμπορίων οἱ ἐμποροί, ἐπύλει
μόνος, οὐ πολλήν ποιήσας ὑπερβολήν τῆς τιμῆς: ἀλλὰ ἄμας
12 ἐπὶ τοῖς πεντήκοντα ταλαντῶν ἐπέλαβεν ἐκατόν. τούτῳ
μὲν οὖν ὁ Διονύσιος αἰσθούμενος τὰ μὲν χρήματα ἐκέλευσεν
ἐκφομίζασθαι, μὴ μέντοι γ’ ἐτί μένειν ἐν Συρακούσαις, αἰς
πόροις εὑρίσκοντα τοῖς αὐτῷ πράγμασιν ἀσμφόρους. τὸ

ἀρρενός

παλαυργίων = παλαυργίων, Liddell
and Scott, 'oil-presses.'

ἐπιβάλλοντος] 'raising the price.'

10 On the subject of monopolies
compare Boeckh, Vol. i. p. 73, 1st
Ed.

11 οὐ πολλήν ποιήσας, κ.τ.λ.] 'with-
out raising the price much.'

ἐν τοῖς πεντήκοντα] For his 50
talents he got 150: 200 per cent.
profit.
Some statesmen even limit their notion of statesmanship to this point. The importance of correct financial arrangements made itself felt even in the ancient world. It has come with us to be so prominent that financial ability is almost the only one popularly recognised, and has a very undue share of honour paid to it.

The apodosis to this Schneider finds at the beginning of the next chapter, φανερῶς τοίνυν, and rightly.

τρια μέρη ἑν] Ch. III. § 1.

ἐρχείσι] supply ἤν μέρος, as Klotz suggests.

πολιτικῶν] ὃς ἐλευθέρας καὶ ἱσθ. τῷ τε γὰρ. 'There must be some rule in both cases, for, &c.'

εἰ μὴ ποι νυκτιστῆς, κ.τ.λ.] 'putting aside exceptional cases which exist.'

2 ἐν μὲν οὖν, κ.τ.λ.] This is introduced to qualify the πολιτικῶν. The strict idea of such rule would involve an interchange of the relation, the ruled would in turn take the place of ruler. For the citizens of a state are on a level, free and equal, and equally qualified therefore to exercise power. Still during the given period of his power the ruler is marked off from the ruled. But as between husband and wife, the distinction is not temporary but perpetual: it is not attained by artificial methods, but marked by nature.

σχῆμα] The insignia of office.

'Ἀμασίς] Herod. Π. 172.

3 ἀεὶ καὶ οὖν ἐκ μεταβολῆς.
ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Α.

γράφει βασιλική το γάρ γεννήσαν και κατὰ φιλίαν ἀρχὸν καὶ κατὰ πρεσβείαν ἔστιν, διὸ ἐστὶν βασιλικής εἰδος ἀρχῆς. διὸ καλῶς Ὅμηρος τῶν Δία προσηγόρευσεν εἰπὼν
καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἐν θείοις τε, τὸν βασιλέα τούτων ἀπάντων. Φύσει γὰρ τὸν βασιλέα διαφέρειν μὲν δεῖ, τῷ γὰρ ἐνεπάνω καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν. διὸ πέπονθε τὸ πρεσβύτερον πρὸς τὸ νεώτερον καὶ ἀ γεννήσας
πρὸς τὸ τέκνον.

13 Φανέρον τοίνυν ἢ πλείαν ἢ σπουδὴ τῆς εἰκονομίας περὶ τούς ἀνδρῶν ἢ περὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνυψώσεως καὶ περὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τούτων ἢ περὶ τὴν τῆς ἐπιστῆσεως, ὅτι καλοῦσιν πλοῦτον, καὶ τῶν ἐλευθερών μᾶλλον ἢ δούλων. Πρώτον μὲν οὖν περὶ δούλων ἀπορήσειν ἂν τις, πότερον ἐστὶν ἀρετὴ τοῦ δούλου παρά τάς ὀργανικὰς καὶ διακονικὰς ἀλλὰ τιμιωτέρα τούτων, ὅτως σαφροσύνη καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων ἔξεσθαι, ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεμία παρὰ τάς σωματικὰς ὑπηρεσίας. ἔχει γὰρ ἄροιάν 3 ἀμφοτέρως. εἴτε γὰρ ἐστὶ, τὸ διοίκουσι τῶν ἐλευθερών; εἴτε μὴ ἐστὶν ὄντων ἀνδρῶν καὶ λόγου κοινωνοῦντων, ἀτοποῦν, σχεδόν δὲ ταύτων ἐστὶ τὸ τηλωμιοῦν καὶ περὶ γυναικῶς καὶ παιδὸς, πότερα καὶ τούτων εἰσὶν ἀρετάι, καὶ δεῖ τὴν γυναικία εἶναι σῶφρονα καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ δικαιίᾳ, καὶ 4 παῖς ἐστὶ καὶ ἀκόλαστος καὶ σῶφρον, ἢ οὔ; καὶ καθόλου

[Λαβ.]


πατήρ, κ.τ.λ.] II. i. 544. 'After calling him πατήρ, κ.τ.λ., he added the term τῶν βασιλεία,' προσηγόρευσεν, laying stress on the preposition.

φύσει γὰρ 'For though there must be a natural distinction between the king and his subjects, he must still in kind be the same.' This holds good between the elder and the younger, the father and child; they are of the same kind, they differ in age.

XIII. 1 τῶν ἀρετὴν τούτων] sc. τῶν ἀνδρῶν.

2 The statement that more attention is to be paid to the excellence of the free man than to that of the slave suggests the question: what is this excellence of the slave?

παρὰ τῶν ὀργανικάς καὶ διακονικάς] 'Beside his excellence as an instrument and a servant.'

τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων Εἰσε] supply τις, from ὀδεμία. Göttling.

3 λόγου] 'reason.' τὸ τηλωμιοῦν, 'the question.'

καὶ ἀκόλαστος] It must be allowed that the child is ἀκόλαστος in one
δὴ τοῦτο ἐστὶν ἐπισκεπτέων περὶ ἀρχομένου φόσει καὶ ἀρχινοτος, πότερον ἡ αὐτή ἁρετή ἢ ἑτέρα. εἰ μὲν γὰρ δεῖ ἀμφιτέρους μετέχειν καλοκάγαδιας, διὰ τὸ τὸν μὲν ἀρχεῖν δεῖ αὖ τὸν δὲ ἀρκεῖαι καθάπαξ; οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ ἦτον οὐκ ἂν διαφέρειν τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀρκεῖαι καὶ ἀρχεῖν ἢδει διαφέρει, τὸ δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ θύτων οὐδέν. εἰ δὲ τὸν μὲν δεῖ τὸν δὲ μὴ, θαυμαστόν. εἰς τὸ γὰρ ὁ ἀρχον μὴ ἐσται σώφρων καὶ δίκαιος, πῶς ἢξει καλός; εἰ δὲ ἂρχομένων, τὸ ἀρχηγιήτεα καλὸς; ἀκόλαστος γὰρ ὁ ἀν καὶ δεῖλες οὕτω ποιήσει τῶν προσηκόντων. φαινον τούτων ὅτι ἀνάγκη μὲν μετέχειν ἀμφιτέρους ἁρετής, ταύτης δὲ εἶναι διαφοράς, ὁστὲ καὶ τῶν φύσει ἂρχομένων. καὶ τούτω ἐδοὺς ὄφηγηται περὶ τὴν Ὑψη. ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ ἐστι φύσει τὸ μὲν ἀρχεῖν τὸ δὲ ἀρχομένον, ἐν ἑτέραν φαιμέν εἶναι ἁρετής, οἷον τοῦ λόγου ἔχοντος καὶ τοῦ ἅλογου. δήλαν τούτων.
parallel we may consider clear the other case which we were discussing, and all similar cases.

οὕτω φώσει τὰ πλεία So that we may consider nature to sanction, for the majority of instances, the distinction between ruler and ruled. The particular forms that distinction will assume are a further question. They differ in each case, ἀλλὸν γὰρ τρόπον, κ.τ.λ.

7 ὁ μὲν γὰρ δοῦλος, κ.τ.λ.] The slave can have no will, as he is in no sense his own, so he needs no deliberative faculty to guide him. The woman has will and the faculty of deliberation, but its decisions wait for sanction, they are per se of no force. The child is, in this respect as in others, incomplete.

8 ἐκάστος] supply ἐπιβάλλει, or some such word, 'as much as each needs or has allotted to him for the discharge of his own proper work.'

The ruler must have φύσιμος. Compare below, III. 4. This is ηὐθές ἄρετῆ τελεία, the perfect combination of the moral and the intellectual elements of virtue. Eth. vi. xiii.

ἀπλῶς] 'strictly,'

9 Σωκράτης] In the 5th book of Plato's Republic.

10 κατὰ μέρος] 'in detail.'

Γοργίας, τῶν οὖν ὧν ὄριζομένων. διό δὲ, ἀστέρον ὁ ποιητὴς ἄρηκε περὶ γυναικὸς, οὕτω νομίζειν ἔχειν περὶ πάντων·

γυναικὶ κόσμον ἡ σιγὴ φέρει,

ἀλλὰ ἄνδρὶ οὐκέτι τούτο. ἔπει δ’ ὁ παῖς ἀτελῆς, δῆλον ὅτι τούτῳ μὲν καὶ ἡ ἀρετὴ οὐκ αὐτοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν τέλειον καὶ τὸν ἤγομένων. ὡμοίως δὲ καὶ δοῦλον πρὸς δεσπότην. ἔθεμεν δὲ πρὸς τάναγχαία χρήσιμον εἶναι τὸν δοῦλον, ὡστε δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἀρετὴς δεῖται μικρᾶς, καὶ τοσοῦτος ὅπως μῆτε δι’ ἀκολογίαν μῆτε διὰ διαλικῆς ἐπιλείψει τῶν ἔργων. Ἀπορήσειε δ’ ἂν τις, τὸ νῦν εἰρήμενον εἰ ἀληθὲς, ἃρα καὶ τοὺς τεχνίτας δεῖσει ἔχειν ἀρετὴν· πολλάκις γὰρ δι’ ἀκολογίαν ἐπέλειψει τῶν ἔργων. ἡ διαφέρει τούτο πλείστον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ δοῦλος κοινωνὸς 13 ἐστὶς, ὃ δὲ πορράτερον, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπιβάλλει ἀρετὴς δοκεῖν περὶ καὶ δουλείας· ὁ γὰρ βάναυσος τεχνίτης ἀφωριστικός- 1260 β ἡ μὲν τά ἔχειν δουλείαν καὶ τὸ μὲν δοῦλον τῶν φύσεως, σκυθρότης δ’ οὐδείς, οὔδε τῶν ἄλλων τεχνίτων. Φανερὸν 14 τοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρετῆς αὐτίων εἶναι δεῖ τῷ δοῦλῳ τῶν δεσπότων, ἀλλ’ οὐ τὴν διδασκαλίαν ἔχοντα τῶν ἔργων

11 πάτον] δο. τῶν ἄλλων. γυναικὶ κόσμον] Soph. Aj. 293. ἄειλ Ε’, κ.τ.λ.] Since the child is incomplete, his excellence as well as himself will be incomplete (καὶ ἡ ἀρετή); both will have reference to the perfect, full-grown man, under whose guidance he is.

12 τεσσάρτης] ‘only so much.’ ἃρα καὶ, κ.τ.λ.] ‘will it not be necessary for the artisans to have virtue?’

13 ἡ διαφέρει τούτο πλείστον] ‘Ist hier nicht etwa ein sehr bedeutender Unterschied?’ Stahr. ‘Is not this a case which differs most widely from the others?’ The slave stands nearer to the family than the artisan does, and is therefore better off. The other has a share of virtue proportionate only to his participation in the slave’s condition. He is a slave, but a slave without the advantage of slavery, he is unattached; he is ἄνευ ὀλκομολας, ἄνευ πολιτείας, and as being so cannot secure his own real good. Compare Eik. vi. ix. p. 1142, 9. No passage marks more distinctly the low estimation in which Aristotle held the free artisan, the prolétaire of his days. No passage can give a livelier idea of the wide interval between his political ideas and our own—the political ideas of a society based on war and slavery, and those of one based on free industry.

13 τοιοῦτον] Such as it was stated in § 12 before the question occurred as to the artisan.

ἀλλ’ οὗ τῆς, κ.τ.λ.] More fully this would stand τὴν δεσποτικὴν τὴν διδασ-

καλίκην τῶν ἔργων.
διὸ δέχονται τὰς αὐτῶν ἢ την ἀριστητήτα καὶ τὸν τούτον μὲν ἀναγκαῖον ἐπελθεῖν. ἐπεί γὰρ οἰκία μὲν πάσα μέρος πόλεως, ἄλλα δὲ οἰκίας, τὴν δὲ τοῦ μέρους πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὅλου δὲ βλέπειν ἀρτην, ἀναγκαῖον πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν βλέπειν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναίκας, εἰπερ τι διαφέρει πρὸς τὸ τὴν τόλμην εἶναι σπουδαίαν καὶ τοὺς οὐ παῖδας ἐνοῦ σπουδαίος καὶ τὰς γυναίκας σπουδαία. ἀναγκαῖον δὲ διαφέρειν, οἱ μὲν γὰρ γυναῖκες ἡμισὺ μέρος τῶν ἐξουθέρων, ἐκ δὲ τῶν παῖδων οἱ κοινωνικὸ γίνονται τῆς πολιτείας. "Ως" ἐπεί προὶ μὲν τούτων διαφόροι, προὶ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐν ἄλλοις λεκτέων, ἀφέντες ὡς τέλος ἔχονται τοὺς ἔντον λόγους, ἄλλην ἀρχήν ποιησάμενοι λέγωμεν, καὶ πρῶτον ἐπισκεψόμεθα περὶ τῶν ἀποφημαμένων περὶ τῆς πολιτείας τῆς ἀριστητῆς.

* Bekker τὸ εἰς τὸ νόμον περί τὰς πολιτείας Λ. 13.


The Family Relations. διὸ λέγοντι οὐ καλῶς οἱ λόγου τοὺς δούλους ἀποστεροῦντες καὶ φάσκοντες ἐπιτάξει χρήσασθαι μόνον· νοοθετήτων γὰρ μᾶλλον τοὺς δούλους ἢ τοὺς παῖδας.

15 Ἄλλα περὶ μὲν τούτων διαφόροι τῶν πρὸς τούτων· περὶ δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ πάνω καὶ πάθος, τῆς τὲ περὶ ἱκανοῦ αὐτῶν άρετῆς, καὶ τῆς πρὸς σφάς αὐτοῦ όμιλῆς, τι τὸ καλῶς καὶ μὴ καλῶς ἐστὶ, καὶ πῶς δὲ τὸ μὲν εὖ διώκειν τὸ δὲ κακῶς φεύγειν, ἐν τοῖς περὶ πολιτείας ἀναγκαῖον ἐπελθεῖν· ἐπεί γὰρ οἰκία μὲν πάσα μέρος πόλεως, ταύτα δὲ οἰκίας, τὴν δὲ τοῦ μέρους πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὅλου δὲ βλέπειν ἀρτην, ἀναγκαῖον πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν βλέπειν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναίκας, εἰπερ τι διαφέρει πρὸς τὸ τὴν τόλμην εἶναι σπουδαίαν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐνοῦ σπουδαίος καὶ τὰς γυναίκας σπουδαίας. ἀναγκαῖο πρὸς τὸ τὴν τόλμην εἶναι σπουδαίαν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐνοῦ σπουδαίος καὶ τὰς γυναίκας σπουδαίας. ὡς μὲν γὰρ γυναῖκες ἡμισὺ μέρος τῶν ἐξουθέρων, ἐκ δὲ τῶν παῖδων οἱ κοινωνικὸ γίνονται τῆς πολιτείας.

16 Ἐπει μὲν τούτων διαφανεῖται, περὶ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐν ἄλλοις λεκτέων, ἀφέντες αὐς τέλος ἔχοντας τοὺς τῶν λόγους, ἄλλην ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενοι λέγωμεν, καὶ πρῶτον ἐπισκεψόμεθα περὶ τῶν ἀποφημαμένων περὶ τῆς πολιτείας τῆς ἀριστητῆς.

Did] And if they need so much virtue they will need the right reason of their master to guide them to it, and in the application of it. The mere ordering will not suffice, there must be some reasoning with slaves, nay, more even than with children. His language here as elsewhere is very conciliatory in regard to slaves, and throws considerable light on the very great difference that exists between the slavery of the ancient world and that of the modern.

15 So far then for these points. The further treatment of them must be postponed. For beyond the point at which we have now arrived the members of the family assume a political character, and must be viewed no longer simply with reference to the family, but to the state.

16 Ἀφέντες, η. τ. Λ. ἢ τῆς πολιτείας If so you must first decide on this constitution.

at which we have now arrived the members of the family assume a political character, and must be viewed no longer simply with reference to the family, but to the state.

τῷ τοῦ καλῶς] ἡμῖν ὡς ἐπει τὰς πολιτείας Bekker retains the article. Nickes rejects it, and with good ground. Compare III. 1. τῷ περὶ ἐξουθέρων, and III. 1. τῷ περὶ πολιτείας ἐπισκεψόμεθα.

πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν] If so you must first decide on this constitution.

καὶ τ. Λ. 'we turn from this present book (the Economics), as complete.'
BOOK II. SUMMARY.

THE second book of the Politics requires but little introduction. It is a simple review of the experience of the past; a review, on the one hand, of the various theories broached by political writers; on the other, of such eminent states as had, by their singularity or success, attracted the attention of the political student. So that a simple enumeration of its contents seems sufficient; no analysis is required. Whatever difficulties it presents will find their more fitting treatment in the notes.

The largest portion and most detailed treatment is given to the theories of Plato, as set forth in, 1st, the Republic, which is examined in Ch. 1—5; 2ndly, the Laws in Ch. 6.

Ch. 7 The constitution of Phæleas of Chalcedon.
8 That of Hippodamus of Miletus.
9 The Spartan Constitution.
10 The Cretan.
11 The Carthaginian.
12 Miscellaneous notices of Athens, and of the various law-givers of Greece, with their respective peculiarities.

The justification and ground of this elaborate review of the past, whether from the point of view of theory or experience, may be found in Aristotle’s own words in c. 5, § 16: Δεῖ δὲ μηδὲ τοῦτο αὐτὸ ἀγαπεῖν, ὅτι χρῆ προσέχειν τῷ πολλῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν, ἐν δὲ οὐκ ἔλθεν τὰ ταύτα καλῶς εἰχεῖν. πάντα γὰρ σχεδὸν εὑρήσαται μὲν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν οὐ συνήκται, τοῖς δ’ οὐ χρώνται γεγνώσκοντες.

And for the critical, negative tone in which he passes before him the various constitutions, whether theoretic or actual, the ground for that is given in Ch. I. § 1. Unless something more were shown to be wanting, Aristotle need not have entered on the present enquiry.

The insertion of so fragmentary a notice of the Athenian constitution is as curious as the omission of a more detailed one. For from the remains existing of his work on the Politics, we know he had studied it in the greatest detail. What is actually
given renders the chapter very suspicious. Had we that larger work, it is possible the question might have admitted of solution, why he has not criticised Athens, as he has Sparta, Crete, and Carthage? Is it that it was superfluous for him to do so, as his own ideal constitution, of which we have a large fragment in the 4th and 5th books (vii. viii. of the old arrangement), is in the main a modification of Athens? He was a true Athenian, says Niebuhr, "ein Athener von Herz, wenn auch nicht von Geburt" über alte Geschichte, iii. 54. He may have seen in Athens and its constitution great deficiencies, but he also may have seen in it the highest product of Greek political experience; and as such may have, in all his treatment of the subject, kept it in sight. If so, a detailed criticism would not be required. Adopting very largely its elaborate forms and minute details, his own positive creation would be to any Athenian a sufficient criticism of the institutions of his country. The comparison would be one he could hardly avoid. It would be also clearly undesirable for one in Aristotle's position, a foreigner at Athens, and in no sense mixing in the political affairs of his adopted country, to press on the notice of the Athenians any unfavourable criticisms. Abstinence from such criticism may fairly be required of strangers by the government of any country in which they are resident.

And it is clear, I think, from the whole of the book that Aristotle did not conceive himself under the necessity of handing down for future times an altered circumstances the political facts of his day. On the contrary, he looked on the Greek state, modifiable and modified in conformity with experience, as the ultimate form of human society. So that if he was exempt from the duty of criticizing, he was under none of the obligations of the historian. It was not as an historian, but as a political philosopher, that he observed the Hellenic constitutions, and registered the results of his observations.
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ΕΠΕΙ δὲ προαιρούμεθα θεωρῆσαι περὶ τῆς κοινωνίας τῆς πολιτικῆς, ἢ κρατιστῆτο πασῶν τοῖς δυναμένοις ζῆν ὁτι μόλιστα κατ' εὐχήν, δεὶ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἔποιησάσθαι πολιτείας, ἢς τε χρῶνται τινὲς τῶν πόλεων τῶν εὐνομεῖσθαι λεγομένων, καλὸν εἶ τινὲς ἔτεραι τυγχάνωσιν ὅποι τινῶν εἰρήμεναι καὶ δοκοῦσαι καλῶς ἔχειν, ἵνα τὸ τ' ὀρθὰς ἔχων ὀφθῇ καὶ τὸ χρήσιμον, ἔτι δὲ τὸ ζητεῖν τι παρ' αὐτὸς ἔτερον μὴ δοκῆ πάντως εἶναι σοφίτεσθαι βουλομένων, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μὴ καλῶς ἔχειν ταύτας τὰς νῦν ὑπαρχούσας, διὰ τοῦτο ταύτην δοκῶμεν ἐπιβαλέσθαι τῇ μέθοδον. Ἀρχὴν δὲ πρῶτον ἡ ποιήσεων ἔτερον πέρικεν ἀρχὴ ταύτης τῆς σκέψεως. ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἢτι χρῶνται πάντων κοινωνείν τοὺς πολίτας, ἢ μυρινός, ἢ τινῶν μὲν τιμῶν δὲ μη. τὸ μὲν οὖν μηδενὸς κοινωνεῖν φανερὸν ἡ ἀδύνατον· ἡ γὰρ πολιτεία κοινωνία τῆς ἐστὶ, καὶ πρῶτον ἀνάγκη τοῦ τόπου κοινωνείν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ τόπος εἰς

I. i προαιρούμεθα θεωρῆσαι, κ.τ.λ.] This, as Spengel remarks, shows that Aristotle had the intention of himself constructing a constitution, as Plato and Philebus had done. Spengel's remarks on the general object of the book are very good, and his short essay, Uber die Politik von Aristoteles, published in the Abhandlungen of the Munich Academy of Sciences, is throughout very valuable.

σοφίτεσθαι 'to refine.'

διὰ τὸ μὴ καλῶς ἔχειν, κ.τ.λ.] This, as Nickes rightly sees, justifies Aristotle in dwelling mainly on the points he objects to. And as the works criticised were then accessible, and the constitutions treated of actually in existence, there was no need to guard statements which may at times appear one-sided.

ταύτην τὴν μέθοδον ἐπιβαλεῖσθαι] 'to have taken upon us this branch of our enquiry.'

2 ἀνάγκη γὰρ] By I. i, &c. the city was a κοινωνία. It must be a κοινωνία of something. What shall be the limit? What shall its members have in common?

ὁ μὲν γὰρ τόπος εἰς ὁ τῆς μᾶς πόλεως] There can be no reasonable doubt, I should think, that Bekker is right in adopting this reading against the MSS. This unity of place is in
keeping with the whole Greek view of a city as given in I. ii. 8 and foll.; and see the notes there.

3 [Alla potev] Granting then that there must be something in common, is it better that all things should be in common or not?

ενδέχεται γάρ] ‘For it is at any rate possible.’

δι᾿ τὰν οὖν οὕτω βέλτιον] Is the actual practice really better for men, or shall we adopt Plato’s view? This is the point.

II. 1 δι᾿ ἥν αὐτίκα] ‘The ground on which Socrates rests the necessity for adopting this legislation does not seem to be a legitimate consequence from his arguments.’ He does not seem to attain the result which he aims at. This clause has reference to the means by which Socrates tries to attain his end; the next to the end itself, the unity of the state.

2 λέγω δι᾿, κ.τ.λ.] ‘I mean the statement that it is best that the city should in all cases attain unity in the highest degree possible. For this is the fundamental position taken by Socrates.’ It is too broad a statement in Aristotle’s view, and must be limited. More unity is not the object.

πλῆθος γάρ τι, κ.τ.λ.] ‘For by its nature the state involves a certain number.’ If you try to get rid of this condition, you by so doing destroy the state. It is from the individual you get the clearest notion of unity; as you leave the individual you recede from unity, and vice versa, as you descend in the scale, and re-approach the individual, you get more unity.
But it is not merely number that is implied in the idea of a state (πλήθος τε ἐκ πλείονων), but a number formed of dissimilar units. An alliance—a tribe—both these may be formed of similar parts; they are but aggregates. A state is a whole.

οῦ γὰρ γίνεται πόλις ἐξ ὁμοίων] Compare Eth. v. viii. 8–9. p. 1133, 16, ὦ γὰρ ἐκ δύο λογίων γίνεται κομμωτιά... ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνες εὐρέως καὶ ὁπώς. 

τῇ πολεικῇ ἐργασίᾳ] mere number, for the strength which number gives, is the object of an alliance, although the elements that compose it are the same in kind.

βοηθείας] 'support.' This remark is parenthetical, and should be marked as such by the stopping.

ἐν δὲ εἰ] The question with regard to an alliance is the same as that with regard to a weight, 'Une alliance est comme une balance où l'emplace toujours le plateau le plus chargé.' St Hil.

τῷ τινῷ] καὶ τῷ εἰς εἰς διαφοράν καὶ μὴ εἰς ὁμοῖον. 

ὅταν μὴ, κ.τ.λ.] The change which took place in Arcadia by the foundation of Megalopolis, and the consequent centralisation of the Arcadians, was in effect the change from a tribe into a state, an ἔθος into a πόλις. It was the latest instance of such an event, of a συνοικίασις.

ἐξ ὧν δὲ] This δὲ answers to the μὲν in τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῷ πολεικῷ. The states of an alliance are not formed or blended into one, the members of a tribe or race are under no limitation. Both, as aggregates, may be indefinitely extended by the addition of any number of similar parts. This is not the case with a whole, which is not susceptible of indefinite extension, and must be composed of dissimilar parts all tending to one common end.

4 διαφόρως, κ.τ.λ.] And it is because the parts of a state are dissimilar, and act and react on one another in their common relations to the whole and their varied relations one to the other, that for the preservation of the social system you require reciprocity which shall keep them in harmonious action. Eth. v. viii. 6. p. 1132. τῷ αὐτοκόμῳ γὰρ ἄνελαγον συμμέτειν ἢ πόλις, κ.τ.λ.
 Plato's Republic.

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[Line.

τούς ήδηκοις ἐργαί τοὺς πρότερον ἐτεί καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐλευθεροῖς καὶ ἱσοίς ἀνάγκη τούτη ἔνναι. ἡμα γὰρ οὐκ ἕνω τοις πάνταις ἀρχεῖν, ἀλλ' ἢ κατ' ἐνεαυτὸν ἢ κατὰ τινὰ ἄλλην τὰξιν ἢ 

5 χρόνον. καὶ συμβαίνει δὴ τὸν τρόπον τούτον ὡστε πάντας ἀρχεῖν, ὁσπερ αὖ εἰ μετέβαλλον οἱ σκυτεῖς καὶ οἱ τέκτονες ὁ καὶ μὴ οἱ αὐτοὶ ἀλλ' σκυτοτόμοι καὶ τέκτονες ήσαν. ἐπει δὲ βέλτιον υότας ἔχειν, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν τὴν πολι

τικήν τικῆν δῆλον ὡς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀλλ' βέλτιον ἀρχεῖν, εἰ δυνατὸν ἐν οἷς δὲ μή δυνατὸν διὰ τὸ τὴν φύσιν ἱσοὺς ἔνναι πάντας, ἀμα δὲ καὶ βίοιον, εἰτ' ἀγαθὸν εἰτε φαύλον τὸ ἀρχεῖν, πάντας αὐτοῦ μετέχειν, εἰ τούτοις δὲ μιμεῖσθαι τὸ ἐν μέρει 

7 τοὺς ἱσοὺς ἔχειν ὅμοιος τοῖς ἔξ ἀρχεῖς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχον

σιν οἱ δ' ἀρχονταὶ παρὰ μέρος, ὁσπερ αὖ ἀλλοι γενόμενοι. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον ἀρχόντων ἔτεροι ἐτέρας ἀρχονσιν

ἐν τοῖς ἡδονοις] Is not this reference doubtful? Is not the πρότερον sufficient exactness for Aristotle?

καὶ ἐν τοῖς, κ.τ.λ.] 'Since even in the free and equal,' who are as much alike as possible, 'there must necessarily be this,' sc. τὸ ἀντιπολεμότης.

With such there must be an interchange, and power must be held by them in terms on some definite principle.

καὶ συμβαίνει δή] This is abrupt. The meaning seems to be: 'True, the result is then that.' It must be allowed that. It meets an objection, and meets it by accepting it. It is desirable that the same people should continue shoemakers, and not be at one time shoemakers, at another carpenters. So it is desirable, if attainable, that the holders of power should be unchanged. But it is not always attainable. When all are in nature equal it would not be possible; besides, it is but fair that power, whether it be a good or an evil, as it is in Plato's view, should be shared equally, &c.

ἐν τοῖς ήδονοις] I put a commas after this, and make the apodosin begin with 'so too in regard to political society, it is clear that it is better, &c.'

ἐν τοῖς δή, κ.τ.λ.] This passage seems to me hopeless as it stands. The best sense I can make of it is as follows; 'ἐν τοῖς δή, in those cases then (the δή marking the apodosia) it is better (supplying βέλτιον) to imitate, or come as near as possible to, the all holding power by those who are equal yielding in their turn fairly to those who originally yielded to them.' This rendering reads τῷ for τὸ, but the same sense may be extracted from the τῷ by making the whole clause the subject of μιμεῖσθαι.

ἐν τοῖς τρόποις, κ.τ.λ.] 'For so the one rule, and the others are ruled in turn, and for the time they are considered to be different.'


τὸν αὐτόν δὴ τρόπον, κ.τ.λ.] 'Whilst then they exercise their power on the same principles, the particular offices they hold will be different in each
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πολέμου, ὑπὸτε πέφυκε μίαν οὖτος εἶναι τὴν πολίν ἀστερ λέγουσι τινες, καὶ τὸ λεχθὲν ἀιὶς μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὅτι τὰς πόλεις ἀναιρεῖ καὶ τὸ γε ἐκάστου ἀγαθὸν σώζει ἐκαστον. "Εστι δὲ καὶ θαλάμων τρόπων Φανερὸν ὅτι τὸ λίαν ἐνοῦ ἥττειν τὴν πολίν οὐκ ἔστων ἀμείνον. οἰκία μὲν γὰρ αὐταρκέστερον ἐνός, πόλις δὲ οἰκίας καὶ βούλεται γ' ἐκ τοῦτο εἶναι πολις, ὅταν αὐτάρκη συμβαίνῃ τὴν κοινωνίαν εἶναι τῷ πλῆθῳ εἰπερ οὖν αἱρετάτων τὸ αὐταρκέστερον, καὶ τὸ ἢττον ἐν τῷ μᾶλλον αἱρετάτωρν.

Ἀλλὰ μὲν οὖν εἰ τοῦτο ἀριστὸν ἐστι, τὸ μίαν ὅτι μᾶλλον ἐστὶ εἰναὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν, οὐδὲ τούτο ἀποδείκνυσαι φαίνεται κατὰ τὸν λόγον, εἰώ τάντες ἀριστερά λέγουσι τὸ ἐμὸν καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐμὸν τοῦτο γὰρ ἔσται διὰ Ἀριστάρχης σημείων εἶναι τῷ τὴν πολίν τελων ἔσται μίαν. τὸ γὰρ πάντες διίττον. εἰ μὲν οὖν οἷς ἐκαστός, τάχιον ἔπει Μᾶλλον δέ βούλεται ποιεῖν ὁ Ἀριστάρχης. ἐκαστος γὰρ υἷον ἐαυτοῦ φήσει τὸν ἀυτόν καὶ γυναῖκα δὴ τῆς αὐτῆς, καὶ περὶ τῆς οὐσίας καὶ περὶ ἐκάστου δὴ τῶν συμβαίνοντον ἀσάυτος. υἱὸν δὲ οὖχ οὖτος φήσοσιν οἱ κοιναὶ χρώμεναι ταῖς γυναιξι καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις, ἀλλὰ πάντες μὲν, οὖχ οἷς ἐκαστος δ' αὐτῶν. ὅμοιος δὲ καὶ τὴν

case.' But here again I do not feel that I understand the bearing of the remark, nor its connexion.

οὔτων ταῖς.] This resumes the main thread of the discussion, which has been interrupted by the passage from ἀστερ τὸ ἐνοῦ τὸ ἀρχεσθαι ἄρχεσθαι. Extreme unity is not to be aimed at: a state implies a limit to unity and diversity in its members, however near equality they may approach. So that if attained, unity would destroy the state, and cannot therefore be its excellence.

8 For this comp. I. ii. 5, and foll.

καὶ βολευται γ' ἐκ τοῦ ['] 'And then only in fact does a community claim to be a state, when it can be shown by the result that the association of the given number is complete in itself.'

III. 1. So far for the end aimed at. Unity, without due qualifications of the term, is not that end. But granting that it were, are the means adopted right?

οὐδὲ τούτων ἀποδείκνυται] or as in ii. 1. οὗ φαίνεται συμβαίνον] 'It is evident that not even this is proved to be the result in theory of all saying, &c.'

2 οὐκ ἐκαστος] distributively, 'all and each.'

νῦν δὲ ['] 'But in the case before us.'

πάντες μὲν, οὖχ ὅσι ἐκαστος δὲ] collectively, 'all but not each.' The body of the elder will stand in a given relation to the body of the younger.
but there will be no connexion between the individual members of the two.

3 τὸ γὰρ πάντες καὶ ἀμφότερα, κ.τ.λ.] The simplest way of taking this seems to be: 'For words like “all,” “both,” “odd,” “even,” from their ambiguity even in formal treatises give rise to fallacious reasoning.'

ἐρωτικῶς συλλογισμός] properly reasonings, where the object is not to establish truth but to gain a victory over your opponent, where the soundness or unsoundness of the reasoning is not the main point, but its immediate effect in silencing the opposite party.

διό] I do not refer this to what immediately precedes, but rather to the whole subject. The result of this ambiguity of the word is, that you have carefully to distinguish the one sense from the other; and if you do so clearly up the matter it will be found that whilst in the first sense the language, if used, would imply a noble state of things, but one not attainable, in the second sense it does not bear a meaning which would have any tendency to produce harmony.

4 From this criticism of the language used we pass to real difficulties. There will be an absence of the sense of property, and a consequent absence of interest. Nor merely so, but a positive neglect, on the ground that others are looking after the matter. This is verified by every-day experience in the case of servants.

5 ἔκαστος τῶν πολιτῶν] 'Each citizen has a thousand children, and no individual connexion to bind him to any one of the thousand. They are all equally the children of all, and all will be equally indifferent to them.'

ἐτι οὖν, κ.τ.λ.] This is very hard. Is the ὀφέια to be taken as referring to Plato's system, is it retrospective?—or is it prospective, an anticipation in fact of the τοὺς τῶν γράφον;? Perhaps this last way is the true one. Not only will they all equally neglect the children, but there will be this further evil. The connexion, such as it is, will sit very lightly upon them.
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λέγει τὸν εὐ πράττοντα τῶν πολιτῶν ἢ κακῶς, ὁπόστος τυχάναι τῶν ἀρίθμῳ οὖν, οἷον ἐμὸς ἢ τοῦ δείνου, τούτου τῶν τρόπων λέγοντα καθ’ ἑκατὸν τῶν χιλίων, ἢ ὡσεὶ τῇ πόλις ἑστι, καὶ τούτῳ διστάζων ἄδηλον γὰρ ᾧ συνέβη γενέσθαι τέκνον καὶ σωθῆναι γενόμενον. καίτοι πάτερον οὕτω κρεῖττος τὸν τὸ ἐμὸν λέγειν ἑκατόν, τὸ αὐτὸ μὲν προσαγορεύοντας διαχιλίων καὶ μερίων, ἢ μᾶλλον οἷς νῦν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τῷ ἐμὸν λέγουσιν; ὅ μὲν γὰρ υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ὁ δὲ ἄδελφον αὐτοῦ πρός προσαγορεύει τὸν αὐτόν, ὁ δὲ ἀνεψιόν, ἢ κατ’ ἄλλην τινά συγγένειαν, ἢ πρὸς αἷματος, ἢ κατ’ οἰκειότητα καὶ καθεῖλαν αὐτοῦ πρῶτον ἢ τῶν αὐτοῦ, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐτέρων φράταρα ἢ φυλέτην κρεῖττον γὰρ ἓποι νἀνεψιόν εἶναι ἢ τὸν τρόπον τούτου υἱοῦ. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ οἴδε διαφωγεῖν δυνατόν τὸ μὴ 8 τινας ὑπολαμβάνειν ἐαυτῶν ἄδελφοὺς τε καὶ παῖδας καὶ πα-τέρας καὶ μητέρας κατὰ γὰρ τὰς ὁμοιότητας αἱ γίνονται τοῖς τέκνοις πρὸς τοὺς γεννήσαντας, ἀναγκαίον λαμβάνειν περὶ ἀλλήλων τὰς πίστεις. ὡσεὶ δὲ καὶ συμβαίνειν 9 τινις τῶν τὰς τῆς περίδους πραγματευομένων εἶναι γὰρ τις τῶν ἄνω Λιβύων κοινάς τὰς γνώικας, τὰ μέντοι γενόμενα τέκνα διασφείσαι κατὰ τὰς ὁμοιότητας. εἰσι δὲ τινας καὶ γνωϊκὲς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων, οἷον ἵπποι καὶ

'According as one is prosperous or the contrary, each of the citizens will accept him as his son or reject him, whatever may be the number of which he forms one. In the one case he will say he is mine, in the other he is his own, and so his (μός ή τοῦ δείνος); and this will be his mode of speaking of each of the thousand, and yet his language will rest on no footing of certainty, for no one knows who has had a son, or whose son if born has lived.'

6 καίτοι, κ.τ.λ.] 'And yet, allowing the practicability of the scheme, is it better for each one in this sense to use the term mine, applying it equally to,' &c.?

7 ὅ μὲν γὰρ . . . φυλέτην] is simply explanatory of the ὅσ τῶν ἐν ὑπὸ πόλει-σιν. The κρεῖττον γὰρ carries on the reasoning.

πρὸς αἷματος] 'by blood.'

πρῶτον] 'in the first place αὐτοῦ ἢ τῶν αὐτοῦ, of oneself, or those intimately connected with oneself.'

τῶν τρόπων τούτων] 'The way Plato would have it.'

8 οἷον ἀλλ’ οἴδε, κ.τ.λ.] 'Not however but that, do what you will, it is impossible to escape this difficulty,' &c.

τὰς πίστεις] 'convictions.'

9 τῶν ἄνω Λιβύων] Herod. iv. 180, τῇ δὲ σιδήρ τῶν ἄρδων τῷ παῖδι τούτῳ τοῦ παῖς νυμφεύειν. Comp. for the general subject, iv. 104, the case of the Agathysri, and 1. 216 of the Massagetae.
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* Ετι δὲ καὶ τὰς τοιαύτας δυσχερείας οὐ βάλειν εὐλαβηθήναι ταῖς ταύτην κατασκευάζουσι τὴν κοινωνίαν, οἷον αἰκιάς καὶ φόνους ἀκουσθείσων* καὶ μάχας καὶ λοιποῖς· οὖν οὐδὲν διόν ἐστι γίνεσθαι πρὸς πατέρας καὶ μητέρας καὶ τοὺς μὴ πόρρω τῆς συγγενείας ὄντας, ὡςπερ πρὸς τοὺς ἁπαθείς· ἄλλα καὶ πλείον συμβαίνειν ἀναγκαῖον ἀγαπητῶν ἡ γνωρίζοντας, καὶ γενομένων τῶν μὲν γνωρίζοντων ἐνδεχεται τὰς νομισμένας γίνεσθαι λύσεις, τῶν δὲ μηδεμιαν.

2 Ἀτοπον δὲ καὶ τὸ κοινὸς ποιήσαντα τοὺς οἰχοὺς τὸ συνεῖναι μόνον ἀφελείν τῶν ἐρήμων, τὸ δὲ ἐρᾶν μὴ καλλύσαι, μηδὲ τὰς χρήσεις τὰς ἄλλας, ὡς πατὴρ πρὸς υἱὸν εἶναι πάντων ἐστίν ἀπεπείθηται καὶ ἀδελφῷ πρὸς ἀδελφὸν. ἐτέλει καὶ τὸ ἐρᾶν μόνον. Ἀτοπον δὲ καὶ τὸ τὴν συνωστίαν ἀφελείν δὲ ἀλλὰ μὲν αἰτία καὶ δέμαλαι, αἰς λιῶν δ᾽ ἵσχυρὰς τῆς θνοῦσς γινομένης· ὅτι δὲ ὁ μὲν πατὴρ ἒ υἱός, οἱ δὲ ἀδελφοὶ 4 ἀλλήλων, μηδὲν οἰεσθαί διαφέρειν. Ἑσικε δὲ μᾶλλον τοῖς ἱεράρχοις εἶναι χρήσιμον τὸ κοινὸς εἶναι τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἡ τῆς φύλαξίν· ἦττον γὰρ ἐστιν φίλα κοινῶν ὄντων τῶν τέκνων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν, δει δὲ τοιοῦτοι εἶναι τοὺς ἀρχομένους πρὸς τὸ πειθαρχεῖν καὶ μὴ νεωτερίζειν.

5 "Ολος δὲ συμβαίνειν ἀνάγκη τοὐναντίον διὰ τὸν τοιοῦτον νόμου· ἢν προσκείται τοὺς ὁμοίους κείμενους νόμους αἰτίας γίνεσθαι, καὶ δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν ὁ Σωκράτης οὕτως οἴηται δειν.

* τοὺς δὲ ἑκουσίους Bekker.


IV. 1 τοὺς δὲ ἑκουσίους] This seems to me superfluous, a later addition. With one MS. I should omit it. τοὺς μὴ πόρρω τῆς συγγενείας] 'not distant in relationship.' ὡςπερ πρὸς τοὺς ἱερούς] sc. ἔν τιν δοσιν. ἄλλα καὶ πλείον] 'But they must both happen more frequently.' Compare on this subject Grote, 1. 34. not.

In the text pp. 33, 34. He considers these λόγοι post-Homeric, and in their origin probably Lydian.

2 and 3 The reference is to Plato, Rep. iii. 403. 4 τοὺς γενέροις] This depends on κοινός, not on χρήσιμον, as it would seem to do at first sight. τοιούτων] sc. ἴττον φιλούς.

5 δὲ ἕν αἰτίαν] 'and the contrary of the ground alleged by Socrates for his regulation.'
ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Β.

55

 Plato's Republic.

tάττειν τὰ περὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναίκας. Φιλιάν τε γὰρ οἰόμεθα μέγιστον εἶναι τῶν ἄγαθῶν ταῖς πόλεσιν (οὕτω γὰρ ἢ ἦκοτα στασιάζοιες), καὶ τὸ μίαν εἶναι τὴν πόλιν ἐπανεῖς μάλιστα ὁ Ἐυχράτης. ὃ καὶ δοκεῖ κάκεινος εἶναι φησὶ τῆς φιλίας ἔργου, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐρασικοῖς λόγοις ἱστεῖν λέγοντα τὸν Ἀριστοφάνειν ἃς τῶν ἑρώτων διὰ τὸ σφόδρα φιλεῖν ἑπιθυμοῦνταί συμφωνεῖ καὶ γενέσθαι εἰς δύο ὑπὸ τὸ νάιν' ἐναὶ ἐνταῦθα μὲν οὖν ἀνάγκη ἀμφότεροι, ἐφθάσαντες δὲ τὸν ἐνα' ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει τὴν φιλίαν ἄναγκαιον ὑποτήρη γίνεσθαι διὰ τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς τοιαύτης, καὶ ἤκοτα λέγειν τὸν ἔμοι ἢ υἱόν πατέρα ἢ πατέρα υἱόν. ὁπέπερ γὰρ μικρὸν γλυκό ἐς πολὺ υδάριν μικρὸν ἀναίδηθον ποιεῖ τὴν κράτιν, οὕτω συμβαίνει καὶ τὴν οἰκειότητα τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων τούτων διαφροντίζειν ἥκιστα ἄναγκαιον ὑπὸ τῇ πολιτείᾳ τῇ τοιαύτῃ, ἤ πατέρα ἢ υἱὸν ἢ υἱὸν ἢ πατέρα, ἢ ἢς ἀδελφοὺς ἀλλήλους. δύο γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀ μάλιστα ποιεῖ κήδεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ φιλεῖν, τὸ τέ οίδον καὶ τὸ ἄγαπητόν· οὖν οὐδέπερον οἷον τὰ ὑπάρ- κειν τοὺς οὕτω πολιτευομένους. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ περὶ τοῦ μεταφέρειν τὰ γινόμενα τέκνα, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν γεωργῶν καὶ ἀμφότεροι Bekker.

6 φιλίαν] 'affection,' not 'friendship,' 'caritas,' not 'amicitia.'
7 καὶ δοκεῖ] 'which is both generally thought to be.'

ἐρωτικὸς λόγος] The Symposium of Plato, 191, 2, and foll.

ἀμφότεροι] I prefer leaving this out, and reading εἰ δὲ ὅτεν ἔνα. The ἀμφότεροι seems to have crept in from the next line, δοτεῖσθαι ἐνα γεγονέναι is the language of Plato, Symp. 192. η. The attempt at excessive friendship is destructive.

8 οὕτω συμβαίνει ἡμιστε ἄναγκαιον ἐν διαφροντίζειν τὴν οἰκειότητα τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τούτων.

9 τὸ ἄγαπητόν] 'natural affection.'

Stahr translates it, "das mit Mühle erworbene, that which we have acquired with effort, and which we value accordingly;" but this does not seem required by the passage.

ciples the intimacy or kindness which these names imply.' By this rendering οἰκειότητα is made the direct object of διαφορτίζειν, in the sense of 'attending to.'

ἡ πατέρα ὡς υἱὸν ὡς ἐν ὁ πατέρας, ἢ ἢς ἀδελφοὺς ἀλλήλους] The construction is hard. The simplest way is to repeat διαφροντίζειν, and construe it, 'either that a father should care for any as his sons, or a son care for any one as his father, or brothers care for each other as brothers.'

9 τὸ ἄγαπητόν] 'natural affection.'

Stahr translates it, "das mit Mühle erworbene, that which we have acquired with effort, and which we value accordingly;" but this does not seem required by the passage.
5 Ἐξήμενον δὲ τούτων ἐστὶν ἐπισκέψαι βεβαιώσαι περὶ τῆς κτήσεως, τίνα τρόπον δεῖ κατασκευάσεσθαι τοῖς μέλλουσιν ὑποτεύκται τῇ ἁρίστῃ πολιτείᾳ, πότερον κοινὴν ἢ μὴ κοινὴν εἶναι τῇ κτήσει. τούτῳ δὲ ἂν τις καὶ χαιρῶν ἐκείνῳ ὑπό τῶν περὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναικὰς διαφέροι ἡ λόγοι τῶν τοιούτων τις πράττειν διὰ τὸν συγγενείαν. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς περὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναικὰς κοινωνίας διαφέρει τῶν τρόπων τούτων.

10 οἱ παρὰ τοῖς φύλαξιν τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις] So I read it, leaving out the preposition εἰς. οἱ παρὰ τοῖς φύλαξιν is equivalent to ἐν εἰς τοῖς φύλαξις δοθέντες, and the construction then is οἱ προσαγορεύοντες τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις ἀδελφοῖς καὶ τέκναις, κ.τ.λ.

ἐστιν ἐπισκέψαι] So as to be on their guard on account of their relationship against doing anything of the kind.’ Did they so address them it would lead to caution.

V. 1 So far for the community of men and children. The next point consideration in Plato’s system is his view of property, and the question is: ought there to be private property or not?

2 καὶ χαιρῶν ἐκείνῃ ὑπότευκται, κ.τ.λ.] ‘This might be treated of quite separate and apart from the regulations,’ &c.

ἐνείκαι] sc. τὰ περὶ τὰ τέκνα.

γῆποδα] The actual plots of ground, the land. Three forms of community of property given. 1 The land separate, the produce thrown into a common stock. 2 The land common and worked in common, the produce divided to meet the wants of the citizens. 3 Both land and produce in common.
II. 5] ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Β. 57

Idias χρήσεις (λέγονται δε τινες και τοτον των τρόπων κοινωνίν των χορδάρων), ἢ κατα γένεσα και τοὺς χαρτοὺς κοινοὺς. ἐτέρωσ μὲν οὖν ὄντων τῶν γεωργοῦσιν ἄλλος ἃν 3 ἥτις τρόπος καὶ ἑκατον, αὐτῶν δ' αὐτοὶς διαπονοῦνταν τὰ περὶ τας κτήσεις πλείους ἃν παρέχοι δυσκολίας. καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἀπολαύσεις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις μὴ γινομένων ἵσων ἀναγκαῖον ἐγκλήματα γίνεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀπολαύοντας μὲν ὁλίγα δὲ πονοῦντας, τοῖς ἐλάττω μὲν λαμβάνουσι πλέον δὲ πονοῦσιν. ὥσις δὲ τὸ συν καὶ κοινωνίν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πάντων 4 χαλεπόν, καὶ μᾶλιστα τῶν τοιούτων. δηλοῦσι δ' αἱ τῶν συναπτώματας κοινωνίας: σχεδὸν γὰρ οἱ πλείστοι διαφερόμενοι ἐκ τῶν ἐν ποσὶ καὶ ἐκ μικρῶν προσκρούσεως ἁλληλοί. ἢ τὰ τῶν ἑρμηνευόντων τοιούτως μᾶλιστα προσκρούσεως, οἷς πλείστα προσχρώμεθα πρὸς τὰς διακοιναίς τὰς ἐγκλήματι.

Τὸ μὲν οὖν κοινάς εἶναι τὰς κτήσεις ταύτας τε καὶ ἄλλας 5 τοιούτας ἔχεις δυσχερείας, ὅτι δὲ τῶν τρόπων ἔχεις καὶ ἐπίκοσμον ἡθον καὶ τάξει νόμων ὀρθῶν, οὐ μικρὸν ἀν διενέγκαι ἔχει γὰρ τὸ εἶ ἀμφότερον ἁγαθόν. λέγω δὲ τὸ εἶ ἀμφοτέρον τὸ ἐκ τοῦ κοινᾶς εἶναι τὰς κτήσεις καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἴδιας. δὲ γὰρ πῶς μὲν εἶναι κοινάς, ὥσις δ' ἴδιας. αἱ μὲν γὰρ 6 ἑπιμέλειαι διηρμηνεύει τὰ ἐγκλήματα πρὸς ἁλλήλους οὐ τοιχοῦσι, μᾶλλον δ' ἐπιδιώκουσιν αἷς πρὸς τὸν ἐκάστου προσεδρίουσος. δ' ἀρετὴν δ' ἕσται πρὸς τὸ χρήσθαι κατὰ

3 ἐτέρως] not poliōn, a distinct body of cultivators.

Δὲλλοι ἐν, κ.τ.λ.] 'It would be a different case and easier to deal with.'

4 σχεδὸν γὰρ, κ.τ.λ.] I omit this as an unnecessary addition suggested by the δὲλλοι λαμβάνουσι immediately following.

5 πῶς] The indefinite form is the one here required by the sense.

6 διηρμηνεύα] 'By being kept distinct will not give rise to complaints, and they will be pursued with larger results as each man concentrates his attention on what is his own,' and so feels the stimulus of property.
ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Β. [Lib.

τήν παροιμίαν κοινά τὰ φίλων. ἔστι δὲ καὶ γιὰν τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ἐν ἑνίας πόλεις οὕτως ὑπογραμμάμενον αὐτὸς ὑπογραμμάμενον αὐτὸς ὑπὸ καί αὐτὸν, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς καλῶς ὑποκυμάνεις τὰ μὲν 7 ἐστὶ τὰ δὲ γένοιτ' ἄν. ἴδιαν γὰρ ἐκαστὸς τὴν κτήσεων ἔχων τὰ μὲν χρήσιμα ποιεῖ τοῖς φίλοις, τοῖς δὲ χρησὶ καλῶς, οἷον καὶ ἐν Δακεδαίμον τοῖς τε δοῦλοις χρηστὰ τοῖς ἀλλήλων αὐτὴν ιδίοις, ἐτι δ' ἵπποις καὶ κυσίν, καὶ δημοσίως 8 ἑφόδουν ἐν τοῖς ἄγροις κατὰ τὴν χώραν. Φανερὸν τοῖνυν ἢτι βέλτιον οὖν μὲν ιδίας τὰς κτήσεις, τῇ δὲ χρήσει ποιεῖν κοινὰς. ὅπως δὲ γίνεσθαι τοιοῦτοι, τοῦ νομοθέτου τοῦτ' ἔργον ιδίον ἔστιν. ἢτι δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἴδιων ἀμόδηθον δοσον διαφέρει τὸ νομίζειν ιδίοι τι. μὴ γὰρ οὐ μάρτιν τὴν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν αὐτὸς ἔχει φίλων ἐκαστὸς, ἀλλ' ἢτι τοῦτο φυσικὸν. 9 τὸ δὲ φιλοτεν οὖν πέσεται δικαιος· οὐκ ἢτι δὲ τοῦτο τὰ φιλεῖν ἐαυτὸν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μάλλον ἢ δεῖ φιλεῖν, καθάπερ καὶ τὸν φιλοχρήματος, ἐπεὶ φιλοῦν γε πάντες αὐτὴν ἔκα- στον τῶν τοιούτων. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸ χαρισταθαι καὶ βοη- θῆσαι φίλων ἢ ἐνοῖς ἢ ἐταιρίας ἢδιστον' δ' ἐνεσται τῆς 10 κτήσεως ἰδιας οὐσίας. ταῦτα δὲ οὐ συμβαίνει τοῖς λίκω ἐν ποιοῦσι τὴν πόλιν, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἀναρροών ἔργα δωῖν ἀρεταῖν φανερῶς, σωφροσύνης μὲν τὸ περὶ τὰς γυναι- κας (ἔργον γὰρ καλὸν ἀλλοτρίας οὐσίας ἀπέδωσα διὰ σω- φροσύνην), ἐλευθερίατος δὲ τὸ περὶ τὰς κτήσεις· οὕτω

κοινά τὰ φίλων] Compare the quo-
tation of the same proverb in the Re-
public, v. 449, c.

ὑπογραμμάμενον] 'sketched out'; ὑπογραφή, an outline, a first sketch.

χρήσιμα ποιεῖ] 'places at the ser-
vice of his friends.'

8 This is the exact conclusion of Art. XXXVIII. Compare Wilson, Bampton Lect. 1851, Lect. vii. p. 231. τούτῳ] 'men capable of this state, competent so to deal with their property.'

καὶ πρὸς ἴδιων] 'even for the plea-
sure of the thing.'

μὴ γὰρ οὐ μάρτιν. κ.τ.λ.] For the

form of the expression compare Eth. ι. 3. p. 1172, 33. μὴ τοτε δὲ αὐ
cαλέω. And so again, Eth. ι. ii. 4. p. 1173, 22. For the substance, comp. Eth. ι. iv. 1. p. 1166, 1, τὰ φιλεῖ
tὰ πρὸς τοῖς φίλοις . . . δείκνυεν ἐκ τῶν

πρὸς ἰδίως εὐσαβέως. The element of self, of the personal, it is impossible to oradicate. It is a vain endeavour to seek to do so. To control and guide and subordinate self-love to benevolence, the personal to the relative, the individual to the society—this is the true object.

φιλαυτον] This subject is treated
Eth. ι. viii. Butler's Sermons, XII.
ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Β.

πολέμος ἢ τοιούτη νομοθεσία καὶ φιλιάν.

Πλάτωνος μὲν οὖν η τοιούτη νομοθεσία καὶ φιλιάν.

δὴ διdea τε πρὸς ἄλλησσος περὶ συμβολαίων καὶ ψυχομαρτυρίων κρίσεις καὶ πλουσίων κολα-

καίας. οὖν ὁδὲ γίνεται διὰ τὴν ἀκοινωνίαν ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἀνομίαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν κοινῶν κεκτημένων καὶ κοινωνίαν τὸ λόγο συμφορέων καὶ ὑποκαταστάσεων καὶ τῶν κοινωνίων ἀλλὰ δεδομένων τοις κοινωνίων τοις κεκτημένων ἢδα τὰς κτήσεις. οὔτε δὲ δικαιῶν μη μάνον λέγειν ὅσον στε-

ρῆσον ταῖς κοινωνίας ταῖς κοινωνίας ταῖς κοινωνίας ταῖς κοινωνίας. οὐ καὶ ὅσοι ἄγαθοι.

μήν γὰρ εἰναι τοις μίαιν καὶ τὴν ὅμηλαν καὶ 14

τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' οὐ πάντως. ἢτοί μὲν γὰρ αἷς οὗ ἔτατο

προφθασα πόλεις, ἢτοί δ' ὡς ἔσται μὲν, ἐγγὺς δ' ὁδιὰ τοῦ μη

πόλις εἰναι ἔσται χειρῶν πόλεις, ὕστερ καὶ εἰ τῆς τῆς συμ-

φωνίας ποιησιῶν διαφωνίαν ἢ τῶν ρυθμῶν βάσιν μίαν.

αἰτήσεως ὅτε, ὕστερ ἔρημᾳ πρότερον, διὰ τὴν παί

δεῖν κοινήν καὶ μίαν ποιεῖν· καὶ τὸν γε μέλλοντα παρεῖν

εἰσάγειν, καὶ νομίζοντα διὰ τούτως ἔστεθαι τῆς πόλε

συνοδείαν, ἀποτοῦ τοῦ τοιούτου οἴεσθαι διορθωθῆν, ἀλλ'
the whole of his remarks have been concerned with the
governing body; but they by the very
term are but a part of a whole. What
is to be the system of that whole—
what the relations of its parts? On
this Socrates is silent. Yet it is a
question which concerns the mass,
the majority of the population, and
cannot well be set aside. There should
be a definite answer given to two
questions: In what relation is this
mass of the governed to stand to its
governors? and, 2ndly, within itself
on what principles is it to act and be
regulated?

18 Ἐκ ][: γνώσεως] of the whole
formed by the φύλακες and the go-
verned.
ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Β.

19 τι μαθήτες, κ.τ.λ.] 'what inducements could they have to submit to the rule?'

τι σοφίστικα] 'invent some device.'

20 ταρ' ἐκεῖνοι] with the mass of the citizens in the Platonic state, the τῶν ἄλλων κοινῶν κλάδος of § 18.

21 καὶ τούτοις] 'To these as well as to actually existing states.'

ἀνοδιδότως μόνον] 'and yet his education is only meant for his rulers.'

22 ἀνοφορά] 'a rent.'

23 However, be these results necessary, and all equally necessary or not, one thing is clear, no statement is made on the subject.

Looking at the whole context I have but little doubt that instead of ἔχομεν we should read ἄρχομεν, which lies hidden under the various reading ἔχομεν. In § 18 we had τὰς ἄλλας πολιτείας, as previously we have had the φέλται; he comes now to the other distinct member of that whole,
the ἀρχήμενοι, and very briefly states the question about them.

24 This is a very fragmentary treat-
ment of the subject. One of several possible forms is given, and the objection to which it is open stated. Were the others not given, or are they lost?

οἰκονομήσεις] shall manage the house-
hold.'

καν ἐλ. κ.τ.λ.] This may as well be

left out.

25 τὴν παραβολὴν] 'To go to the ani-
mals for your illustration, for they have no share of family life.'

27 ὁτ' ἀρτ' τῶν ἀυτῶν, κ.λ.τ.] 'For hap-
piness does not come under the same class,' &c.

VI. 1 παραπλησίως ἔχει] That is to say, it is open, as the republic is, to
πολιτεία
περὶ δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν κοινωνιῶν, τὰς ἔχειν δὲ, καὶ περὶ κτήσεως, καὶ τῆς πολιτείας τὴν τάξιν. Διαμερίσται γὰρ εἰς τὸ δύο μέρη τὸ σπήλαιον τῶν οἰκονόμων, τὸ μὲν εἰς τοὺς γεωργοὺς, τὸ δὲ εἰς τὸ προπολεμοῦν μέρος· τίτων δὲ ἐκ τούτων τὸ βουλευτικὸν καὶ κύριον τῆς πόλεως. Περὶ δὲ τῶν γεωργῶν καὶ τῶν τεχνιτῶν, πότερον οὐδεμιὰς ἢ μετέχουσι τίνος ἀρχῆς, καὶ πότερον ὅπλα δεῖ κεκτῆσθαι καὶ τούτους καὶ συμπολεμεῖν ἢ μὴ, περὶ τούτων οὐδὲν διοίκει αὐτός. ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν γυναικὰς, διὸτι δὲ τῶν συμπολεμεῖν καὶ παιδείας μετέχειν τῆς αὐτῆς τοῖς φύλαξιν, τὰ δὲ ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐξωθήνει λόγοις πεπάθροκεν τὰς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ περὶ τῆς παιδείας, ποιεῖν τινὰ δεῖ γίνεσθαι τῶν φυλάκων. Τὼν δὲ νόμων τὸ μὲν πλείστον μέρος νόμων τυχανόουσιν ὑπῆκοι, ὅλγα δὲ περὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἐφηκέν., καὶ ταύτην βουλευτικὸν κοινοτέραν ποιεῖν ταῖς πόλεσι, κατὰ μικρὰν περιάγει πάλιν πρὸς τὴν ἑτέραν πολιτείαν. ἔχον γὰρ τής τῶν γυναικῶν κοινωνίας καὶ τῆς κτήσεως, τὰ δὲ ἀλλὰ ταύτα ἀποδίδεισιν ἀμφότερας ταῖς πολιτείαις· καὶ γὰρ παιδείαν τὴν αὐτὴν, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπεχομένως ζῆν, καὶ περὶ συσσίτιών ὀσταύτως πλὴρες ταύτης φησί δεῖν εἶναι συσσίτια καὶ γυναικῶν, καὶ τὴν μὲν χυλίαν τῶν ὁπλὰ κεκτημένων, ταύτην δὲ πεντάκιν...
6 This just and high compliment to his master's writings is not easy to translate. It bears witness, if such were needed, to Aristotle's careful study and correct appreciation of their beauties, as well as their more solid merits. I venture the following translation: 'All the dialogues of Plato alike are characterised by brilliancy, grace, originality, and profound enquiry.'

περίτοτον seems to be the antithetic of 'commonplace,' 'dull.'

καλῶς δὲ πάντα supply ἔχειν.

ἄδει καὶ, κ.τ.λ.] This is one of those passages which bear so distinctly the stamp of Greek thought and Greek experience. To appreciate it we are obliged to recall as well as we can the narrow limits of space and number within which the independent communities, the πόλεις of Greece, were confined. The large and populous Athens drew its supplies from all quarters; but both Plato and Aristotle would wish their state to be more complete in itself.

περὶ τῶν έστιν Comp. Herod. i. 28, περὶ δωρον ἡστα, for the number of attendants as well as for the expression.

7 δεὶ μὲν οὖν [This is repeated iv. iv. 2. 'You are free, it is true, to form your hypothesis according to your wishes, on the condition, however, that you do not presuppose an impossibility.'

ζην βιον πολιτικών] The state as well as the individual may have a social existence. These are "interpolitical" relations.

8 ἀναδείκτα] 'accept,' 'allow,' 'acquiesce in this social existence either for the individual or for the state.' A state may refuse, as Corecyra did, to mix itself up with other states, but it must be prepared for self-defence.
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τῆς κτήσεως ὅραν δέ, μῆποτε βέλτιον ἠτέρως διορίσαι τῷ σαφῶς μᾶλλον' τοσαύτην γὰρ εἶναι φησὶ δεῖν ὡςτε ἐκ της σωφρόνως, ὡσπερ ἄν εἰ τις ἀπεν ὡςτε ἐκ τούτο γὰρ ἑστὶ καθόλου μᾶλλον. ὅτι δ' ἐστὶ σωφρόνως μὲν ταλαι-9 πάρος δὲ ἐκ της ἄλλα βελτίων ὄρος τὸ σωφρόνως καὶ ἐλευ-θερίας (χαρις γὰρ ἐκάτερον τὸ μὲν τῷ τροφάν ἀκολούθησε, τὸ δὲ τῷ ἐπιτόνος), ἐπεὶ μόναι γ' εἰσὶν ἐξεις ἀμορατί περὶ της τῆς ὕσιας χρήσεις αὐτῆς, (οὐν ὑσία πρᾶξες ἄν ἀριστέως χρῆσθαι οὐκ ἔστιν, σωφρόνως δὲ καὶ ἐλευθερίας ἐστιν,) ὡστε καὶ τὰς χρήσεις ἀναγκαίων περὶ αὐτῆς εἶναι ταῦτας. ἀτόκον δὲ καὶ τὰς κτήσεις ἱσάζοντα τὸ περὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἱο- τῶν πολιτῶν μὴ κατασκευάζειν, ἀλλ' ἀφεῖται τῆς τεκνο- ποίησαν ἀριστεύτων αἰς ἰκανοίς ἰόν ὑμειοθετημένην εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ πλῆθος διὰ τὰς ἀτεκνίας ὑσανὸν γεννωρεῖον, ὅτι δοκεῖ τούτο καὶ νῦν συμβαίνειν περὶ τὰς πόλεις. δὲ δὲ τούτων 1265 β οὔχ ὑμιστο ἀνρύθμως ἔχειν περὶ τὰς πόλεις τότε καὶ νῦν- νυν μὲν γὰρ ὑμιστο ἀπορεῖ διὰ τὸ μερίζεσθαι τὰς ὕσιας ἐς ὑσανοῦν πλῆθος, τότε δ' ἀδιαφότων ὑσιῶν ἀνάγκη τοῦς παράξυγας μηδὲν ἔχειν, εἰ δὲ ἐλάπτους ὡς τὸ πλῆθος

μητον] Comp. note on Ch. V. 8. μὴ γὰρ ὁδ. μᾶλλον. Plato, Legg. v. 737. In
to the following, μᾶλλον] 'by defining it more clearly.'

τέτοιο γὰρ, κ.τ.λ.] sc. σωφρόνως.

'For this term, soberly or moderately, is too general.'

9 χωρὶς γὰρ ἐκάτερον, κ.τ.λ.] 'For when separate the two will be severally consequents of different kinds of life, the one of a life of luxury, the other of a life of hardship.'

ἐπιστῶν] sc. ἔχων.

ἐνει μόνοι] Strictly speaking, σω-

φΡόνως does not concern property. By

Εἰκ. Μ. xiii. 14. pp. 1117, 1118, it is

limited to quite a different sphere; but

it is capable of extension. If the only

virtues or habits, ἔχει, that are con-

cerned with property are these two of

σωφρόνως and ἐλευθερίας, then they

will be the only two that can be put in

practice with regard to it, χρήσειν.

Comp. Εἰκ. i. ix. p. 1098, b. 31: διαφέρει δὲ τοιού πολύ πολύ καὶ κήθει ἄ

χρήσι τὸ ἐρετικὸν ἐσπαλμέθαι καὶ ἐν ἐξεὶ ἕνηργεῖ; and again, v. iii. 15. p. 1120, b. 30: καὶ τελεία μᾶλλον ἀρετὴ, ὅτι τῆς τελείας ἀρετῆς χρήσι

ἐστιν, κ.τ.λ. To make the reasoning

clearer I have enclosed in brackets from

ὀλον ὁμοία ἐκ της.

10 τὸ αὐτὸ πλῆθος] 'The original

number.'

δύσον οὖν γεννωρεῖον] however large

the number of children born.' Comp.

iv. xvi. 4: τὸ σώματα τῶν γεννώμων.

11 τότε] 'In Plato's state' for greater exactness will be required than is required in existing states.

τοὺς παράξυγας] 'the supernumera-

ries.'

F


13 κακονομίαν] 'crime.'

Pheidon. Comp. Grote, iii. 396, 421, note. Date uncertain. His object is stated to be: "An unchangeable number both of citizens and of lots of land, without any attempt to alter the unequal ratio of the lots, one to the other." Mr Grote thinks that he is different from Pheidon of Argos.

14 στραμμων] 'the warp.' Κροκή, 'the woof.'

15 τετραπλασίας] From Plato, Legg. v. 744. b. this appears inaccurate; therefore has been suggested, but a careful consideration justifies Aristotle, for Plato allows for the case of a man's acquiring more than four times the minimum.

16 τῶν οἰκοπέδων] Plat. Legg. 745. b.: δόῃ νύςθεν ἐκαστόν οἰκήσειν, τὴν τε ἅγια τοῦ μέσου καὶ τὴν τῶν διακόσιων. Ι. ζ' ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ὑπελεγώνων ισόμετρων ισόμετρων. Ι. ζ' ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ὑπελεγώνων ισόμετρων. Ἡ δὲ σύνταξις ὅλη βούλεται μὲν ἢν μήτε δημοκρατία μήτε ὀλυγαρχία, μήτε δὲ τούτων, ἢν καλοῦσι πολιτείαν' ἐκ γὰρ τῶν ὑπελεγώνων ἑστίν. ἢ μὲν οὖν αἰς κοινότητι ταύτην κατα-
σκευάζει ταῖς πόλεσι τῶν ἄλλων πολιτείαν, καλῶς ἔρηκεν Ἰσαία, εἰ δ' αἰσ ἀρίστην μετὰ τὴν πρώτην πολιτείαν, οὐ καλῶς· τάχα γὰρ τὴν τῶν Λακώνων ἀν τὶς ἐπαινεῖσθαι μᾶλλον, ἢ καὶ ἄλλην τινὰ ἀριστοκρατικατέραν. ἄνιοι μὲν οὖν λέγουσιν ἂν δὲν ἀρίστην πολιτείαν εἰς ἀπασών εἶναι τῶν πολιτειῶν μεμιμημένην, διὸ καὶ τὴν τῶν Δακεδαίων ἐπαινοῦσιν· εἰναι γὰρ αὐτὴν οἱ μὲν ἐς ὀλυγχρήσας καὶ μοναρχίας καὶ δημοκρατίας φασίν, λέγοντες τὴν μὲν βασιλείαν μοναρχίαν, τὴν δὲ τῶν γερόντων ἀρχὴν ὀλυγχρήσαν, δημοκρατίῳ δὲ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἐφόρων ἀρχὴν διὰ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἴμου εἶναι τοὺς ἐφόρους· οἱ δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐφόρειαν εἶναι τυραννίδα, δημοκρατίας δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα συσσώτια καὶ τὸν 1266 ἄλλον βίον τὸν καθ’ ὑμέραν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς νόμοις ἐρήται 18 τούτοις χρήσις συγκεῖσθαι τὴν ἀρίστην πολιτείαν ἐκ δημοκρατίας καὶ τυραννίδος, διὸ τὸ παράσηπτος οὐκ ἔν τις θεῖα πολιτείας ἤ χειρίστας πατῶν. βέλτιον οὖν λέγοις οἱ πλεῖοις μινυόμενοι· ἢ γὰρ ἐκ πλείονων συγκεκμένη πολιτεία βέλτιον. ἐπειτ' οὖν ἔχουσα φαίνεται μοναρχικὸν οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ ὀλυγχρήσας καὶ δημοκρατίκα· μᾶλλον δ' ἐγκλίνειν βούλεται πρὸς τὴν ὀλυγχρήσαν. δὴλον δ' ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἄρχοντας καταστάσεως· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐς αἱρετῶν κληρονομοὺς κοινὸν ἀμφοῦ, τὸ δὲ τοῖς μὲν εὑροτέροις ἐπάναγκες ἐκκλησίαίοις εἶναι καὶ φέρειν ἀρχοντας ἢ τὶ ποιεῖν ἄλλο τῶν πολιτικῶν, τοὺς δ' ἀφείσας, τούτο δ' ὀλυγχρήσαν, καὶ τὸ πειρᾶσθαι πλείος ἐκ τῶν εὔπορων εἶναι τοὺς ἀρχοντας, καὶ τὰς μεγίστας ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων τιμημάτων. ὀλυγχρήσας δὲ τοιίν καὶ τὴν τῆς βουλῆς ἀφεισεν· αἵρονται μὲν

17 δημοκρατίας] Comp. for this subject vi. ix. 7, 8, and Grote, p. 539.
18 δήν] Comp. for this use of the word, Eik. p. vii. 1.
βέλτιον δὲν] 'Better than Plato.' Or it may be quite general. In proportion as there is a greater admixture of elements, is the result likely to be a good one. Comp. for the general subject Guizot's Civilisation en Europe, Leçon III. pp. 34–44.
19 ἀρχοντας] to oligarchy and democracy.
φέρειν ἀρχοντας] simply 'to elect or create magistrates.'
20 on this passage compare Plato, Legg. vi. 756. b–m. All are compelled under penalty to elect out of the first and second classes. When it comes to the third class, the first three are com-
polled to elect, the fourth may decline. So again when it comes to the fourth class, all may elect, but the third and fourth may decline, the first two cannot with impunity.

τῶν τετάρτων] Stahr changes this into τῶν τετάρτων, as do others; and the change seems required.

21 ισούναι δ' κ.τ.λ.] This is to me difficult, and the commentators give but little help. As far as I can see, the only way is, with Stahr, to limit the meaning to the electors. The rest of his translation I cannot agree with. 

βελτίων, which he makes part of the predicate, I think should be part of the subject, οί έκ τῶν μεγίστων τιμημάτων καὶ βελτίων ισούναι πλέον. 

τῶν δημοτικῶν] the democratic party.'

ἐξί [ἐπικυλίων] ἐπικυλίων would be more regular; but such inaccuracies are not unfrequent in Aristotle.

At the close of this review of Plato's Laws, I may remark that I have confined myself to the throwing what light I could on Aristotle's text and meaning. More general questions, as to the relation between his views and those of Plato on political subjects, I have kept clear of. In a short Appendix I hope to add some remarks on these points.

VII. 1 ιδιοτών] The sense of this word is always determined by the context. It means here 'men who have not scientifically studied the subject, and men who have not mixed in public affairs.'
καθ' ἄς πολιτεύονται νῦν ἐγγύτερον εἰσὶ τούτων ἀμφοτέρων. οὐδὲς γὰρ οὔτε τὴν περὶ τὰ τέκνα κοινότητα καὶ τὰς γυναικάς ἄλλος κεκαλοτόμηκεν, οὔτε περὶ τὰ συσσίτια τῶν γυναικῶν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναγκαῖων ἀρχοντοῖς. Δοκεῖ 3 γὰρ τισὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς οὐσίας εἶναι μέγιστον τετάχθαι καλῶς· περὶ γὰρ τούτων ποιεῖσθαι φασὶ τὰς στάσεις πάντας. διὸ Φαλέας ὁ Χαλκηδώνος τούτων εἰσήγητε πρῶτος: φησὶ γὰρ δεῖν Ἰσαὰ εἶναι τὰς κτήσεις τῶν πολιτῶν, τοῦτο δὲ κατοικομένων μὲν εὐδάκτης ὁ χαλκεῶν οὕνετο ποιεῖν, τὰς δ' ἡ ἡμερῶν κατοικομένων ἑρωδεότερον μὲν, ὅμως δὲ τάχιστα ἀν ὁμολογήσωμεν τὰς προικάς τοὺς μὲν πλουσίους διδόναι μὲν λαμβάνειν δὲ μη, τοὺς δὲ πέντες μη διδόνακεν μὲν λαμβάνειν δέ. Πλάστων δὲ τοὺς νόμους γράφον μὲν χρηματίσασθαι μὲν τινὸς ὁμοῖοι 4 δεῖν εἶναί, πλασίον δὲ τοῦ πενταπλασίαν εἶναι τῆς ἐλαχίστης μηδενὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐξουσίαν εἶναι κτήσεως, καθάπερ εἰρήκη καὶ πρότερον. δεῖ δὲ μηδὲ τούτῳ λανθάνειν τοὺς 5 ὀφεῖν νομοθετοῦντας, δυνατάς ἴνα, ἔτι τὸ τῆς οὐσίας τάττων πλῆθος προσήκει καὶ τῶν τέκνων τὸ πλῆθος τάττειν· εἰδο γὰρ ὑπεραίρῃ τῆς οὐσίας τὸ μέγεθος ὧν τῶν τέκνων ἀριθμὸς, ἀνάγκη τὸν γε νόμον λύσθαι, καὶ χώρης τῆς λύσεως φαίνεται τὸ πολλοῦς εἰκ πλουσίων γίνεσθαι πέντες· ἐργον γὰρ μὴ νειστεροποιεῖται εἶναι τοὺς τοιούτους. διότι μὲν οὖν ὁ

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θέτων] sc. The two constitutions of Plato.

2 δοκεῖ γὰρ, ἁ.τ.λ.] Comp. Arnold's Lect. on Mod. Hist. p. 23, 1st Ed.: "No man who thinks seriously about it can doubt the vast moral importance of institutions and laws relating to property," &c. &c.

Phaleas of Chalcedon, not known from other sources.

πρότεροι] Looking at the θέτων it seems that πρότερον would be the better reading, and so some read. 'Primsus' however is given by Vet Tr., and acquiesced in by the best authorities. Comp. Grote, p. 523: "Phaleas of Chalcedon is expressly mentioned as the first author."

Ἰσαὰ] Equality of possessions is the doctrine under discussion, a different dream from that of Plato, but one equally erroneous, and perhaps more calculated to excite and mislead the mass of a suffering population, if at the same time it be very ignorant. For it is easier to grasp than the complex arrangements community of wives and property involves.

3 τὰς ἡν κατοικομένων] sc. τοιῶν. 'That states already actually settled and organized should do it.'

4 πρότεροι] 'it is incumbent on them.'

ὑπεραίρῃ] 'rise above.'

ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Β. [Λευ.]

Phalēnas. Ἐξῆς τινὰ ὑμαμίν εἰς τὴν πολιτικὴν κοινωνίαν ἡ τῆς ὁσίας ὁμαλότητις, καὶ τῶν πάλαι τινὲς φαίνονται διεγμωκότες, οἷον καὶ Σόλων ἐνομοθέτησεν, καὶ παρὰ ἄλλως ἐστὶ νόμος δὲ καὶ λείς κτάσθαι γῆν ὑπὸ τὴν ἀνθρώπην τὴν ὁμολογίαν δὲ καὶ τῆς ὁσίας ποτελεῖν οἱ νόμοι κατεύθυνσιν, ὁπετέρον ἐν Λοκροῖς νόμος ἢτι μὴ ποτελεῖ, καὶ μὴ φανερῶ άντυχίαν δειξῆς συμ-7βεβηκίων. ἔτι δὲ τῶν παλαιῶν κλήρως διασώζειν. τούτῳ δὲ λυθεῖν καὶ προς Ἀθηναία ὁμοτικήν ἐποίησε λίαν τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτῶν· ὅ γαρ ἔτι συνεξήθην απὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τιμημάτων εἰς τὰς ἀρχὰς βαδίζειν. ἀλλὰ ἐστὶ τὴν ἁγιότητα μὲν ὑπάρχειν τῆς ὁσίας, ταύτην ὅ ἡ λίαν ἐστὶν πολλὴν, ὡστε τροφᾶν, ἢ λίαν ὀλγὴν, ὡστε τὴν γλυῖσκροι. δήλου νῦν ὁς ὡς ἰκανὸν τὸ τὰς ὁσίας Ἰσακ τοῦτον τὴν νομοθέτην, 8 ἀλλὰ τοῦ μέσου στοχαστῶν. ἔτι δὲ ἐτὶ τὰς μεταρρυθμίζων ὁσίαν πάσιν, οὐδὲν ὀφελός· μᾶλλον γὰρ δεῖ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ὁμαλῆς ἡ τὰς ὁσίας, τούτῳ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν μὴ παι-δεομένους ἰκανῶς ἀπὸ τῶν νόμων. ἀλλὰ Ἰσσα ἐκεῖνον ἀν ὁ Φαλέας ὅτι ταύτα τυγχάνει λέγων αὐτῶς· οἶται γὰρ δυνᾷ τούτων ἁγιότητα δεῖν ὑπάρχειν τὰς πόλειν, κτήσεως καὶ 9 παιδείας. ἀλλὰ τὴν τε παιδείαν ὅτις ἐστὶ δεῖ λέγειν, καὶ τὸ μίαν ἐστὶ καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν οὐδὲν ὀφελός· ἔστι γὰρ τὴν αὐτὴν μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ μίαν, ἀλλὰ ταύτην ἐστὶ χαράτων ἐξ ἡς ἐστι τροομετο διὸ τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν ἢ χρημάτων ἢ τιμῆς ἢ τοιούτους τιμηθέντων. ἔτι στασιάζουσιν οὐ μόνον διὰ τὴν ἁνισό-
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ητα τῆς κτήσεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν τιμῶν. τούχαντιον  
δὲ περὶ ἐκάτερον· οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ διὰ τὸ περὶ τὰς κτή-
σεις ἄνισον, οἱ δὲ χαρίεντες περὶ τῶν τιμῶν, ἐὰν ἱσαί· ὅδεν 1267 
καὶ  
ἐν δὲ ἑτὰ τῆς ἠδύνατος ἡδεὶ καὶ ἠσθόντος· 

οὐ μόνον δὲ οἱ ἄνθρωποι. διὰ τὰναγκαίαν ἄδικοσιν, ὅν ἄκος ἐ  
eἰναι γαμίζει τὴν ἱσότητα τῆς ὀσίας, ὅστε μὴ λασποδεύει 
διὰ τὸ βίγιον ἢ πεινήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπως χαίρωσι καὶ μὴ ἐπι-
θυμῶσι· ἵνα γὰρ μείζων ἠχοσιν ἐπιθυμίαν τῶν ἀναγκαλῶν, 
διὰ τὴν ταύτης ἀισθήσεως ἀδικήσουσιν. οὐ τοῖνοι διὰ ταύτην 12 
μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦσι, ἵνα χαίρωσι ταῖς ἁνέλυμ 
θὸναίς. τί οὖν ἄκος τῶν τριῶν τούτων; τοῖς μὲν ὀσία 
βραχύα καὶ ἐγραφά, τοῖς δὲ σωφροσύνη. τρίτον δὲ, ἐφ 
τινας βουλαντίντοι δι' αὐτῶν χαίρειν, οὐκ ἐὰν ἐπιζήτησι εἰ μὴ 
παρὰ φιλοσοφίας ἄκος· αἱ γὰρ ἄλλαι ἄνθρωποι δεόνται. ἑτέροις
did ka] For his crimes are the greatest. Comp. Grote, iii. 57, note. This passage is quoted with others in illustration of the view taken of the despot by philosophers.

15 μηδὲ] ' not even.'

16 δει συμφέρει πλούς oδοιάς] Poverty then is not in itself a good. Wealth is desirable as enabling a man to attain his full liberty, the complete exercise of all his faculties up to their natural limit.

άλλα oδοιάς ἂς ἢν, κ.τ.λ.] ' but only in cases in which they would do so hurt the party assailed not so much property in its possession.' The wealth should never be the temptation to an attack.

17 For Autophrdates, see Smith, Biog. Dict.

18 καὶ γὰρ, κ.τ.λ.] In fact, this very equality contains in it an element of discord.
πῆ ποιείται πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οὐ μὴν μέγ' οὐδὲν ὡς εἰπεῖν. Phaeas.
καὶ γὰρ ἰναι ὁ χαράματες ἀγανακτοῦειν ἃν ὡς οὐκ ἦσαν ὅπως ἤσοι, διό καὶ φαίνεται πολλάκις ἐπιτιθέμενοι καὶ στασιάζοντες. ἢτι δ' ἡ πονηρία τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπληστὸν, καὶ τὸ 19 ἱεθων ἐκ τῶν ἱκανῶν διαβόλα μόνου, ὅταν δ' ἢδη τούτ' ἢ πάτρων, ἀλ' δένται τοῦ πλείους, ἦδος εἰς ἀπειρον ἔλθωσιν. ἀπειρος γὰρ ἡ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας φύσις, ἢς πρὸς τὴν ἀναπληρασίαν οἱ πολλοί ἦσιν. τῶν οὖν τοιούτων ἁρχῆν, μᾶλλον τοῖς ταῖς οὐσίαις ὁμαλίζειν, τὸ τούς μὲν ἐπιεικείς τῇ φύσι τοιούτως παρασκευάζειν ὡστε μὴ βουλέσθαι πλεονεκτεῖν, τοὺς δὲ φαῦλους ἄστε μὴ δύνασθαι· τοῦτο δ' ἐστίν, ἀν ἦτος τος ὅσι καὶ μὴ ἀδικώνται. Οὐ καλῶς δ' οὐδὲ τὴν ἱσότητα τῆς οὐσίας ἐρήκεθον· περὶ γὰρ τῆς τῆς γῇς κτίσιν ισάζει μόνον, ἢστι δὲ καὶ δύναν καὶ βοσκεμάτων πλοῦτος καὶ νομίσματος, καὶ κατασκευὴ πολλῆ τῶν καλομέμαν ἐπίσταν. ἢ πάντων οὖν τούτων ἱσότητα ἱεροτείνη ἢ τάξιν τινα μετρίαν, ἢ πάντα εατέον. Φαίνεται δ' ἐκ τῆς νομοθεσίας κατασκευή 22 ἁζον τῶν πολιτῶν μικράν, εἰ γ' ὁ ἑρευνᾶται πάντες ἐρμηνεύονται καὶ μὴ πλήρωμα τι παρέχονται τῆς πόλεως. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ δεῖ δημοσίους εἶναι τοὺς τὰ κοινά ἑργαζόμενους, δεῖ καθάπερ ἐν ἑπίδαμῳ τε, καὶ ὁς Δίοφαντος ποτὲ κατασκευαζέων Ἀδησια, τούτων ἔχειν τὸν τρόπον. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς Φαλέου πολιτείας, σχεδὸν ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων ἢ τις θεωρήσειν, εἰ τι τυγχάνει καλῶς εἰρηκεῖν ἢ μὴ καλῶς.

' Ἰπποδαμίως δ' Ἑσφράυντος Μιλήσιου, δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν 8

19 διαβόλα] The pay of dicaists and members of the assembly.
20 τῶν οὖν τοιούτων ἁρχῆ] 'In such matters the real principle is.'
21 From objections to the great principle of Phaeas' constitution, he comes now to one or two objections on points of detail.
22 ἐκπιλα] 'moveables.'
23 The cases which he quotes as different from the arrangements of Phaeas are, from our want of knowledge on the subject, useless as illustrations. Comp. Grote, iii. 542.

VIII. 1 For Hippolamus, see Smith, Dict. Biot., and Grote, vol. 27.
Hippodamus.  

πάλαις διαίρεσιν εὑρε καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατέτειμεν, γενόμενος καὶ περὶ τὸν ἄλλον βίον περιττότερος διὰ φιλοτιμίαν οὕτως ὡστε δοξαίν ἐνδοιασά χειρεγρότερον τριχάτως τε πλῆθει καὶ κόσμῳ πολυτελεῖ, ἵτι δὲ ἑσθήτος εὐτελεὺς μὲν ἀλειπτὰς δὲ οὐκ ἐν τῷ χειμῶν ἑώρων ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοὺς θερινούς χρό- 

νοὺς, λόγος δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν ὀλην φώτιον εἶναι βουλόμενος, πρῶτος τῶν μὲν πολιτεομένων ἐνεχειρήσει τε περὶ πολιτεῖας εἰπεῖν τῆς ἀρίστης. Κατεσκεύαζε δὲ τὴν πόλιν τῷ πλῆθει μὲν μυριάνδρων, εἰς τρία δὲ μέρη διηφρομένην. ἵπποι γὰρ ἐν 

μὲν μέρος τετράτις, ἐν δὲ γεωργοῦσι, τρίτον δὲ τὸ προσο 

λεμοῦν καὶ τὰ ὑπάλληλα ἔχουν. διήρει δὲ εἰς τρία μέρη τὴν κα 

ράν, τὴν μὲν ἱεράν, τὴν δὲ θησαυρότατα, τὴν δὲ ἱδίαν. ὃ 

θέλει τὸ νομιζόμενα ποιήσουσι πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, ἱεράν, ἄφ' ἄν δὲ ὁ προσλημοῦντες βιώσονται, κοινῆς, τὴν δὲ τῶν γεωργῶν 4 ἱδίαν. ὃτε δὲ ἐδοξάσα καὶ τῶν νόμων εἶναι τρία μοῦνας περὶ 

ἀθανάτων ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιοῦτον. τρία ταῦτα ἰδίερον, εἰς τὸ κύριον, εἰς τὰ πάσας ἀνάγεσθαι δεῖ τὰς μὲν καλῶς κεκρι 

σθάδες δικοῦσας δίκας. τοῦτο δὲ κατεσκεύαζεν ἐκ τῶν γεωρ 

γαρ ὧν ἐστε νεμομοδητήσαθεν καλῶς. ἀναγκάζειν 


περιττότερος διὰ φιλοτιμίαν] 'rather eccentric from ostentation.'

περιττότερον, κ.τ.λ.] 'somewhat extravagantly, both from the quantity and expensive ornaments of his hair.'

λόγος δὲ, κ.τ.λ.] and wishing to be well-informed on all subjects of natural science, "a man of considerable attainments in the physical philosophy of the age." The word λόγος occurs later, iv. (πυ.) S. 3. Comp. Herod. i. 11. 3.

I cannot but think this whole description of Hippodamus very suspi- cious, not as to the truth of it in itself, but as to its being Aristotle's. It would be more consistent with Theophrastus. It seems to me one of the many places in which you may reasonably suspect a later hand.

3 ἄφ' ἄν] used without any regard to the number, as the equivalent of ἕνος.

4 δικαστήριον, κ.τ.λ.] a supreme court of appeal.

5 εἰ καταδίκασαν ἀκόλουθον] 'If he simply gave sentence against the accused.'

ἀναγκάζειν γάρ] The subject is ἤν...
πολιτικών Β.

γὰρ ἐπιρροές ἡ ταύτα ἡ ταύτα δικάζουσας. ἐτέθη δὲ νόμοιν περὶ τῶν ἥρακλοντων τῆς πόλεις συμφέρον, ὅταν τυγχάνοι τιμής, καὶ τοῖς παισὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τελευτῶνταν ἐκ δημοσίων γίνεσθαι τῆς τροφῆς, αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦτο παρὰ ἄλλος νεομοδησμένων· ἦστι δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἀθηναίοις οὕτος ὁ νόμος ἦν καὶ ἐν ἐτέρας τῶν πόλεων. τοὺς δὲ ἐρχόντας αἰρέτους ὅπως τοῦ δήμου ἦναι πάντας· δήμον δὲ ἐποίᾳ τὰ τρία μέρη τῆς πόλεως· τοὺς δὲ ἐρυθόντας ἑπιμελεῖον κοινῶν καὶ ἐξωτικῶν καὶ ὄρθοπων. Τὰ μὲν οὖν πλήσια καὶ τὰ μᾶλλα αξιόλογα τῆς Ἱπποδομοῦ τάξεως ταῦτα· ἐστὶν, ἀπορήσεις δὲ αὐτὸς τρόπον μὲν τὴν διαφέρειν τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν πολιτῶν, οἱ τε γὰρ τεχνίται καὶ οἱ γεωργοὶ καὶ οἱ τὰ ὀπλα ἔχοντες καὶ κοινοῦσι τῆς πολιτείας πάντες, οἱ μὲν γεωργοὶ οὖν ἔχοντες ὀπλα, οἱ δὲ τεχνίται οὔτε γῆν οὔτε ὀπλα, οὔτε γίνονται σχεδὸν δύολοι τῶν τὰ ὀπλα κεκτημένων. μετέχειν μὲν οὖν 9 παγών τῶν τιμῶν ἀδύνατον· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἐκ τῶν τὰ ὀπλα ἔχοντων καθιστάσθαι καὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ πολιτοφύλακας καὶ τὰς κυριατάς ἀρχὰς ἀργὰς· τῆς ἐκάστης πολιτείας πάντων ἢν τῇ πολιτείας πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν; ἀλλὰ δὲ πρὶν ταῖς καὶ τὰ ὀπλὰ γε κεκτημένοις ἀμφότεροι τῶν μερῶν· τούτῳ δὲ οὐ ράδιον μὴ πολλοὺς ὄντας. οἱ δὲ τούτων ἐσται, τί δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους μετέχειν τῆς πολιτείας καὶ κυρίως ἦν τῆς τῶν ἀρχῶν καταστάσεως· ἦτι οἱ γεωργοὶ τὸ χρήσιμον τῇ πόλει· τεχνίται μὲν γὰρ ἀναγραφόμενοι, οἵ τε ὀπλα, ὡς διαφέροντες ἢ τῶν τιμῶν. μή μετέχονται, κ.τ.λ.] ‘If not admitted to a share in the government, how can they feel friendly to that government?’ And if not friendly they will want coercion. ‘That must be allowed for, and the armed class must be stronger than both the others together. But it is not easy for them to be so unless they are numerous; and if numerous, and so the stronger, then why admit the others at all?’

μὴ μετέχονται, κ.τ.λ.] ‘If not admitted to a share in the government, how can they feel friendly to that government?’ And if not friendly they will want coercion. ‘That must be allowed for, and the armed class must be stronger than both the others together. But it is not easy for them to be so unless they are numerous; and if numerous, and so the stronger, then why admit the others at all?’
ΠΟΙΤΙΚΩΝ Β.

10 διαγύνεσθαι] 'support themselves.'
11 ήδη γεωργοῦσιν] "Not merely is the land they cultivate their own, but they cultivate it entirely for themselves;" the produce is not any of it thrown into a common stock, or made available for the others.
11 και τῶν οὐκ έστιν οὐκ έστιν κατὰ τὴν κατηγορίαν τούτην ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν κληρῶν αὐτοῖς τῷ τρόφῳ λήψονται καὶ τοῖς μαχίμων παρέξουσιν; τάδε δὲ πάντα πολλά ἔχει ταραχήν. Οὔ καλῶς δ' οὖν ὁ περὶ τῆς κρίσεως ἔχει νόμος, τὸ κρίνειν ἀξίου μιᾶς διαιροῦντα τῆς κρίσεως ἀπλῶς γεγραμμένης,
καὶ γίνεσθαι τοὺς δικαστὰς διαιτητὰς. τοῦτο δὲ ἐν μὲν τῇ διαίτῃ καὶ πλείοσιν εἰσέχεται (κοινολογοῦνται γὰρ ἀλλήλοις περὶ τῆς κρίσεως), ἐν δὲ τοῖς δικαστηρίοις οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοιούτου τούτω τῶν νομοθετῶν οἱ πολλοὶ παρασκευάζουσιν ὅπως οἱ δικασταὶ μὴ κοινολογοῦνται πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ἔστειτα πῶς οὐκ ἔσται παραχώδης ἡ κρίσις, ὅταν ὁφείλειν ἦν μὲν ὁ δικαστὴς οὐκ ἔσται, μὴ τοσοῦτον δὲ ὅσον ὁ δικαστήριος; ὃ μὲν γὰρ ἐκκοσί μνᾶς, ὃ δὲ δικαστής κρίνει δέκα μνᾶς, ὃ ὁ μὲν πλῆθος, ὃ δὲ ἐξαπάτησεν, ἄλλος δὲ πέντε, ὃ δὲ τέσσαρας καὶ τούτων δὲ τῶν τρόπων δὴλον ὅτι μερισθείν, οἱ δὲ πάντα καταδικάζονται, οἱ δὲ οὐδέν. τίς οὖν ὁ τρόπος ἔσται τῆς διαλογῆς τῶν ψήφων; ὃτι δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐπιτρέπει ἀναγκάζει τὸν ἀπλῶς ἀποδικασαντα ἢ καταδικάσαντα, εἴπερ ἀπλῶς τὸ ἔγκλημα γέγραπται δικαίως· οὐ γὰρ μηδὲν ὁφείλειν ὁ ἀποδικασας κρίνει, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐκκοσί μνᾶς· ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνος ἢ ἄλλος ἐπιτρέπει τὸ καταδικάζασαι μὴ νομίζων ὁφείλειν τὰς ἐκκοσίς μνᾶς. Περὶ 16 δὲ τοῦ τούτου εὐρήκουσι τι τῇ πόλει συμφέρον ὅτι δὲν γίνεσθαι τίνα τιμὴν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀσφαλὲς τὸ νομοθετεῖν, ἀλλὰ εὐφθαλ- μον ἀκούσαι μόνον· ἔχει γὰρ συνοφραντικὰ καὶ κινήσεις, ἄν τύχῃ, πολιτείας. ἐμπίπτει δὲ εἰς ἄλλο πρόβλημα καὶ σκέψιν ἐτέραν· ἀποροῦσι γὰρ τινες πότερον βλαβερὸν ἢ συμφέρον ταῖς πόλεσι τὸ κυνεῖν τοὺς πατρίους νόμους, ἄν γὰρ τῆς ἄλλος βελτίων, διότι οὐ βάδιον τῷ λέχεται ταχύ συγ- 17 χαρεῖν, εἴπερ μὴ συμφέρει κυνεῖν. εἰσέχεται δὲ εἰςγείεσθαι τινας νόμων λύσιν ἢ πολιτείας αἰς κοινὸν ἀγαθὸν. ἔπει δὲ πεποιηθείς μενείσι, ἐς μικρὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ διαστείλασθαι βέλ-
ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Β.

II. 8.]  

τούτων φανερῶν ὅτι κινήτεοι καὶ τινὲς καὶ ποτὲ τῶν νόμων εἰσίν, ἀλλον δὲ τρόπον ἔπεισκοτοῦσιν εὐλαμβάνεις αὐν διδείεσθε ἐναι πολλῆς. ὅταν γὰρ ή τὸ μὲν βέβαιον μικρὸν, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ ἔδιζον εὐχερῶς λοίει τοὺς νόμους φαιλοῦν, φανερῶν αὐς ἑατέον ἐνίας ἀμαρτίας καὶ τῶν νομοθετῶν καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων' ὅ γαρ τοσοῦτον ἀφελήσεται κινήσας, ὅσον βλασφήσεται τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἀπειθεῖν εὐσεβεῖς. ζεῦγος δὲ καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα τὸ περὶ τῶν τεχνῶν' οὐ γὰρ ὄμοιον τὸ κινεῖν τέχνην καὶ νόμον. ὁ γὰρ νόμος ἱσχυν οὐδεμιάν ἔχει πρὸς τὸ πειθεῖν τὰν πλῆθος παρὰ τὸ ἐδώσεται δ' οὐ γίνεται εἰ μὴ διὰ χρόνου πλῆθος, ὅπερ τὸ μέρος μεταβάλλει ἐκ τῶν υπαρχόντων νόμων εἰς ἔτερον νόμον καυσῶς ἀσθενή ποιεῖν ὅστις ἐν τῇ τῶν νόμων δύναμιν. ἐτι δ' εἰ καὶ κινήτεοι, πότερον εἶναι τάντας καὶ ἐν πάσῃ πολιτείᾳ, ἢ οὖ; καὶ πότερον τῷ τυχοῦντι ἡ τις ἐν τῇ ταύτῃ γὰρ ἔχει μεγάλην διαφοράν. διὸ νῦν μὲν ἀφόμοιον τούτην τῷ σκέψιν· ἀλλὰν γὰρ ἐστὶ καθοῦν.

Περὶ δὲ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίας πολιτείας καὶ τῆς Κρήτης, 9 σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτείων, δύο εἰσὶν αἱ σκέψεις, μὲν μὲν εἰ τι καλῶς ἢ μὴ καλῶς πρὸς τὴν ἀριστην νομοθέτησιν τάξιν, ἐτέρα δ' εἰ τι πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν καὶ τὸν τρόπον ὑπεναντίας τῆς προκειμένης αὐτοὺς πολιτείας. "Ὅτι:

there must be a change in some laws, and at certain times; but looking at it from a different point of view, it would seem that great caution is required.'

23 τῶν νομοθέτων καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων] 'both in the legislator and the executive magistrates.'

κυρίας] is the citizen under the law.

24 δ' γὰρ νόμου] 'Whatever force the law has to secure obedience is entirely dependent on habit.' Comp. Arnold's *Home*, Vol. ii. p. 55: "The ancient heathen world craved, what all men must crave, an authoritative rule of conduct; and not finding it elsewhere, they imagined it to exist in the fundamental and original laws of each particular race or people. To destroy this sanction without having any thing to substitute in its place, was deeply perilous; and reason has been but too seldom possessed of power sufficient to recommend its truths to the mass of mankind by their own sole authority."

25 τῷ τυχόντι ἢ ταυτίν.] 'Is it open to any given person to propose the change, or to some definite number?'

IX. 1 διὸ εἰδον αἱ σκέψεις, κ.τ.λ.] 'There are two points for consideration; the one, is any given part of their legislation right or wrong when viewed with reference to the best possible arrangement? the other, is it contrary to the idea and general system of the constitution actually established?'.
II. 9.] ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Β.

καὶ γνυή, δήλον ὅτι καὶ πόλιν ἐγγύς τοῦ δίχα διηρήσθαι δεῖ νομίζειν εἰς τῇ τῶν ἀνδρῶν πλήθος καὶ τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν, ἀοίτον ἐν στρατείας ὅρους ἦκε πέρι τὰς γυναικας, τὸ ἡμίου τῆς πόλεως εἶναι δεῖ νομίζειν ἀνομοβήτητον. ὅτε δὲ ἐκεῖ συμβεβήκεν· δὴν γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ὁ νομοβήτης εἶναι βουλόμενος καρτερικῆς, κατὰ μὲν τοὺς ἀνδρὰς ἑαυτοὺς ἀρχομαι καὶ τρυφερῶς. ἀοίτον ἀναγ. 7 καῖς ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ πολιτείᾳ παλλάθαι τῶν πλοῦτων, ἀλλας τε καὶ τύχωσι γυναικοκρατοῦμενοι, καθάπερ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν καὶ πολεμικῶν γενῶν, ἔχει Κελτῶν ἢ κἂν εἴ τινες ἔτεροι ἑαυτοὺς τετηρίκασι τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἄρρενας συνοίωσι. ἦσιν γὰρ ὁ μυθολογίσας πρῶτος οίκι ἀλώγας συν. ἐξεύθεια τὸν Ἀρη πρὸς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην. ἤ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἄρρενων ὡμίλιαν ἢ πρὸς τὴν τῶν γυναικῶν φαίνεται κατακώκασι πάντες οἱ τοιοῦτοι. διὸ παρὰ τοῖς Λακωσιζοὶ πολλὰ διόπεκτο ὡς τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν. καὶ τί διαφέρει γυναικῶς ἀρχέειν ἢ χιτῶν τῶν ἄρρενων ἀρχαίοις, ταύτῳ γὰρ συμβαίνει. χρησίμου οὐσίας τῆς διάστασις πρὸς οὐδέν τῶν ἐγκυκλίων, ἀλλὰ εἶτε πρὸς τῶν πολεμιῶν, ἔλαβε τοῦτος νόμος τῶν ταύτων ἦταν. ἐδήλωσαν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ

δίχα διηρήσθαι] 'divided into two equal parts.'

ἀοίτον) [ἐν ὅσις, κ.τ.λ.] We have the same language in I. xiii. 15, 16.

6 ἐκεῖ ἔτεροι] 'This actually was the result at Sparta.'

7 To gratify this unbridled luxury money will be wanted, especially if the men are inclined to submit to the government of the women. A high value therefore will be set on wealth.

Comp. Grote, p. 513.

8 ὅπως γὰρ] The γὰρ refers to the words τὰ πολλὰ τῶν πολεμικῶν γενῶν.

κατασκόμωι] Eth. x. x. 3. p. 1179.

b. 9, the same word occurs but spelt differently, κατασκόμωι, 'easily led,' 'inclined to.'

τοῖς] sc. τὸ γυναικοκρατεῖνος.

ἐπὶ τῆς ἄρχης αὐτῶν] 'during the period of the Spartan Empire.'

9 ἐγκυκλίων] I. vii. 2, the word occurs with a substantive, διαστάσεως.

10 ἐδήλωσαν, κ.τ.λ.] Mr Grote, in his notice of this passage, p. 507, note 3, thinks that Aristotle is hard on the Spartan women, that 'he probably had formed to himself exaggerated notions of what their courage under such circumstances ought to have been, as the result of their peculiar training. We may add that their violent demonstrations on that trying occasion may well have arisen quite
as much from the agony of wounded honour as from fear, when we consider what an event the appearance of a conquering army in Sparta was.” Compare also, Vol. x. 304, the account of the Theban Invasion alluded to by Aristotle.

εὐλάβως] The lax discipline of the Spartan women can be accounted for without difficulty.

II ἀπεξευνοῦντο] They lived away from.

πολεμοῦντες, κ.τ.λ.] On these early wars of Sparta with its neighbours, see Grote, Vol. ii. 555, and foll. chapters vii. viii.

αὐτῶς μὲν, κ.τ.λ.] ‘So far as they themselves went they presented themselves to their legislator ready prepared for his operations.’ Does not the whole passage seem to imply that Aristotle placed Lycurgus much later than he is usually placed, after these wars in fact; whereas the general view is that the Spartan successes in these wars were in a great degree attributable to his measures of reform.

πολλὰ γὰρ ἔχει μὲν τῆς ἀρετῆς] Compare on this subject Arnold’s Lectures on Modern History, Lect. i. pp. 10, 11.

δὲ δὲ αὐτίκορουν, κ.τ.λ.] ‘but as they resisted, he desisted.’ Grote, ii. 508.

12 αὐτὰ] The women.

13 οὖ μὲν, κ.τ.λ.] ‘not only to introduce a certain disorder and indecorum into the social relations within its own natural sphere, but to contribute considerably to the tendency to avarice.’

ἀρτὴν καὶ αὐτὴν] αὐτῆς καὶ αὐτῆς would seem more natural, connecting it with πολιτείας; or the neuter plural, if it is connected with τὰ περὶ τὰς γυναίκας. As it stands it must be connected grammatically with ἄρρενις, and ἄρρενις τινα ποιεῖν τῆς πολιτείας must be looked on as equi-
ματίαν. μετὰ γὰρ τὰ ὑνὶ θηδέντα τοὺς περὶ τὴν ἀναμαλάντας τῆς κτήσεως ἐπιτιμήσεις ἀν τις. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν 14 συμβέβηκε κεκτήσασθαι πολλὴν ἄλλαν οὕτων, τοὺς δὲ τάμπαν μικράν̓· διὸ περὶ εἰς ὁλίγους ἤκεν ἡ χώρα. τοῦτο δὲ καλ διὰ τῶν νόμων τέτακται φαύλως· ἀνείσθαι μὲν γὰρ ἡ πολεῖν τὴν ὕπάρχουσαν ἐποίησον οὐ καλὸν, ὀρθῶς ποιήσας, διδόναι δὲ καὶ καταλείπων ἔξωλε τοὺς βουλομένους· καὶ τοῦτο 15 δὲ καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν σχέδου τῆς τάσης χώρας τῶν πέντε μερῶν τὰ δύο, τῶν τ᾽ εὐπικλήρων πολλῶν γυνομένων, καὶ διὰ τὸ προῖκας διδόναι μεγάλα. καὶ τοῦτο ἐβελτίων ἡ ὁλίγην ἡ καὶ μετρίαν τεταχθαι. νῦν δὲ ἔξωστι δοῦναι τῇ τὴν εὐπικλῆρον ὅτι ἡ πολεῖται· καὶ ἀποδάνῃ μὴ διαδέμεινος ἡν ἀν καταλείπῃ κυριομένους, οὗτος δὲ ἡν θέλῃ δίδωσιν. τοιγαροσ μικροίς τῆς χώρας χιλίων ἵππεις τρέφειν καὶ 16 πεντακοσίους καὶ ὀπλάτας τρισμισίους, οὔτε χίλιοι τὸ πλῆθος ἦσαν. γέγονε δὲ διὰ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν δήλου ὅτι φαύλως αὐτοῖς ἐξῆ τα περὶ τὴν τάξιν ταύτην· μίαν γὰρ πληθηγήν οὔχ ὑπήμενεν ἡ πόλις, ἀλλὰ ἀπώλετο διὰ τὴν ἐλεγανθρωπίαν. λέγουσι δ᾽ αὐτῇ ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν προτέρων βασιλέων μετὰ 17 δίδοσαν τῆς πολιτείας, ἀντὶ οὗ γίνεσθαι τότε ἐλεγανθρωπίαν—καλόντων τὸν ἐπίγαρθον, τότε οὖν ἐνικήσαν τότε ἐλεγανθρωπ. — τοῦτο Bekker.

valent to ἐνεργῇ ποιsanitize τῆς πολιτείας. My construction is meant to express what I consider to be the meaning of the passage, rather than to keep close to the Greek words.

14 ἢκεν] why ἢκεν, not ἢκεν?

15 τοῦτο συμβαίνειν] If τοῦτο is kept, then it must be referred to ἐν ὁλίγων ἢκεωσ; but with Stahls I read ταῦτα, as giving by far the best sense: ‘You have the same result either way.’

15 καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν] The καὶ seems superfluous: if kept it must be ‘even.’

καὶ ἀποδάνῃ, κ.τ.λ.] ‘And if a man has died intestate, then his heir, whoever he may be, has the disposal of the heirress.’

16 διὰ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν] ‘By facts’ — the actual course of events.

μὲν πληγήν] Leuctra. Grote, x. 263. It was fatal to Sparta, both on account of the large relative loss sustained, and also on account of her diminished prestige.

17 εἰ τῶν προτέρων, κ.τ.λ.] It would appear (Grote, ii. 549) that Aristotle is the only authority for this fact, which is said to imply the acquisition of additional lots of land. On the other hand, Herodotus, ix. 35, is very positive in his assertion that Tisamenus and Hegias money δῆ πάσων ἀθρόπων ἐγένετο ἑαυτήτως πολεῖτα.
ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ B.

Sparta. πλαν πολεμοῦνταν πολίν χρόνον· καὶ φασὶν εἶναι ποτε τοῖς Σκαρτιάταις καὶ μυρίους. οὕ τις μὲν ἄλλη εἶν' ἑστὶν ἄληθῆ ταῦτα εἶτε μὴ, βέβαιον τὸ διὰ τῆς κτήσεως αἰμαλοιμένης τὰ πληθοῦσιν ἄνδρῶν τὸν πόλιν. ὑπεναντιοῦ τῇ καὶ ὁ περὶ τὴν 1270 ἐκποιοῦσαν νόμον πρὸς ταῦτα τὴν διώρθωσιν. βουλήμενοι γὰρ ὁ πολιτείας ἀρχαῖος πλείστους εἶναι τοὺς Σκαρτιάτας, πρό- ἄγεται τοὺς πολίτας ὃτι πλείστους ποιεῖται παιδᾶς· ἕστι γὰρ αὐτοῖς νόμος τὸν μὲν γεννήσαντα τρεῖς ίσους ἄνδρους εἶναι, τὸν δὲ τέτταρας ἀτέλη πάντων. καλτοὶ φανερῶν ὃτι πολλῶν γυναῖκας, τῆς δὲ χάρας οὖτω δηημημένης, ἀναγκαῖον πόλεος γίνεσθαι πέντες. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐφορείαν ἔχειν χαῦσαν· ἢ γὰρ ἄρχῃ κυρία μὲν αὐτῇ τῶν με- γίστων αὐτοῖς ἑστὶν, γίνονται δὲ ἐν τούτῳ δύμου πάντες, ὡς τὸ πολλάχιον ἐμπιπτούσιν ἄνδρας σφόδρα πέντες εἰς τὸ ἀρ- σο χεῖν, οἱ διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν ἄνοιξιν ἔστησαν. ἐνδημιούσαν δὲ πολ- λάχιος μὲν καὶ πρότερον, καὶ νῦν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἄνδροις· διαφθο- ράντες γὰρ ἄργυρον τιμῆς, δοσον ἐφ' ἐσαύροις, δὴν τὴν πόλιν ἀπόλλεσαν. καὶ διὰ τὸ τὴν ἄρχην εἶναι λίαν μεγάλην καὶ ἰσοτύπουν δημαγωγεῖν αὐτοὺς ἰεναγκάζωντο καὶ οἱ βασι- 18 ἑπενναίος, κ.τ.λ.] 'Contrary to what is right when looked at in reference to this reform.'

'ἄφορος'] 'free from military service,' as, I think, Victorius and Schneider rightly interpret it; not "free from garrison duty," as Liddell and Scott translate it.

19 αὐτή] rather αὕτη.

Ἦσαν] why this tense? Is it that in Aristotle's time it mattered little whether they were so or not, but that he is stating the result of historical experience during the period when the Spartan Ephors were the most important body in Greece.

20 ἄνδροι] The Oxford text reads 'Ἀνδροί; but it is better to keep the reading of the Berlin Edition, p. 1270. n. 12, and suppose that it refers to some misconduct of the Ephors in reference to the public mess, which, from Χ. 5, bore anciently the name of ἄν- δρα. I cannot agree with Schneider, who thinks that misconduct relating to the sysætia could not be important. They were one of the most important features of the whole system, admission to them was the test of citizenship; and we can quite as easily conceive that their mismanagement threatened the safety of the state, as some miscon- duct that concerned the small island of Andros.

δημαγωγεῖν] 'to court them.'
Λείς, ὅστε καὶ ταύτη συνεπιβλάκτεσθαι τὴν πολιτείαν. *Sparta.*

*Δημοκρατία* γὰρ ἐξ ἀριστοκρατίας συνέβαινεν. συνέχει μὲν ἄι σὺν τὴν πολιτείαν τὸ ἀρχεῖον τοῦτο: ἡσυχάζει γὰρ ὅ δὴ ἴδιος διὰ τὸ μετέχειν τῆς μεγίστης ἀρχῆς, ὅστε ἵπτε διὰ τῶν νομοθέτων εἰτέ διὰ τῆς χρήσης τοῦτο συμπεπτότεθη, συμφερόντως ἔχει τοῖς πράγμασιν. δει γὰρ τὴν πολιτείαν τὴν μέλλουσαν ἂν σοφεσθαι πάντα, βούλεσθαι τὰ μέρη τῆς πόλεως εἶναι καὶ διαμένειν ταύτα: οἱ μὲν οὖν βασιλεῖς διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν τιμῆς σῶσας ἔχουσιν, οἱ δὲ καλὰ κάγαθοι διὰ τὴν γεροσελίαν (ἄλλων γὰρ ἡ ἀρχὴ αὐτή τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐστὶν), ὁ δὲ δήμος διὰ τὴν ἐφορείαν· καθίσταται γὰρ ἐξ ἀπάντων. ἀλλ' ἀρετὴν ἔδει τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναι ταύτην ἐξ ἀπάντων μὲν, μὴ τὸν τρόπον δὲ τούτον ὅτι τῶν τυχόντων, διότε οὐκ αὐτογνώμονας βέλτων κρίνειν ἄλλα κατὰ τὰ γράμματα καὶ τῶν νόμων. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ διαίτης τῶν ἐφόρων τῶν δημοσίων γουμένη τῇ βουλήματι τῆς πόλεως· αὐτὴ μὲν γὰρ ἰσόμετη λαοί ἐστὶν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις μᾶλλον ὑπερβάλλει ἐπὶ τὸ σκληρόν, ὅστε μὴ δύνασθαι ναρτερίων ἄλλᾳ λάθρᾳ τῶν νόμων ἀποδιδάσκοντας ἀπολαύσειν τῶν σωματικῶν ηδονῶν. "Εξει δὲ καὶ τα περὶ τὴν τῶν γερώντων ἀρχήν οὐ καλῶς αὑ-

συνεπιβλάκτεσθαι] through the disturbance of the kingly functions over and above the flaws in the Ephoralty. 22 τὴν πολιτείαν τὴν μέλλουσαν, κ.τ.λ.] τὴν πολιτείαν is the accusative before βούλεσθαι, the subject of the verb, not its object. The only difficulty lies in ταῦτα, which I cannot but consider an inaccuracy, introduced by a species of attraction to τὰ μέρη. Schneider agrees, as uses Corai, but Stahr dissents, and construes the passage as to keep ταῦτα; but surely the context is against this; the ἐκοινοῦν οἱ βασιλεῖς is equivalent to βούλεσθαι οἱ βασιλεῖς τὴν πολιτείαν εἶναι καὶ διαμένειν.

οἱ καλοὶ κάγαθοι] in the political sense—the upper classes, not without some admixture of the moral sense.

23 παιδαρισθη] This leaves it quite uncertain what the method was, Grote, p. 463.

αιτογνῶμοι] 'merely on their own judgment.'

24 οὐχ ἀμολογομένη] 'not in accordance with, not consistent with,' Grote, p. 468.

αιτή] better αἰτή.

μὴ δύνασθαι καρτερίων] Comp. Nieb. Pref. Vol. i. xxvii.: "Their is no state of unnatural constraint, such as under the laws of Sparta, where in the opinion of other Greeks the contempt of death was natural, because death burst an intolerable yoke."
Sparta. τοῖς ἐπιεικῶν μὲν γὰρ ὄντων καὶ πεπαιδευμένων ἵκαινός ἐστὶν ἀνδραγαθίαν τάχει ἄν εἰπεῖς τίς συμφέρει τῇ πόλει. καίτοι τὸ γε διὰ βίου κυρίου εἶναι κρίσεως μεγάλον ἀμφισβητήσιμον. ἐστὶ γὰρ, ὡσπερ καὶ σώματος, καὶ διανοίας 1271 γῆρας. τὸν τρόπον δὲ τούτων πεπαιδευμένων ὡστε καὶ τὸν νομοθέτην αὐτῶν ἀπίστευν οἷς ὡς ἄγαθοις ἀνδράσιν, οἷς ὡς ἀφαλέοις. φαίνονται δὲ καὶ καταδιαφοροῦμεν καὶ καταχαρίζομεν πολλὰ τῶν κοινῶν οἱ κεκοιμησθήσοτες τῆς ἁρχῆς ταύτης. διάπερ βέλτιον αὐτῶν μη ἀνευθύνουσα εἶναι. ὥν δὲ εἰσίν. δοξεῖ δὲ ἃ ἂν τῶν ἐφόρων ἁρχὴ πάσας εὐθύνει τὰς ἁρχαίς: τούτο δὲ τῇ ἐφορείᾳ μέγα λίαν τὸ δῶρον, καὶ τὸν 47 τρόπον οὐ τούτων λέγομεν διδόναι δειν τὰς εὐθύνες. ἠτί δὲ καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἦν ποιοῦντα τῶν γερόντων, κατὰ τὴν κρίσιν ἢστι παιδοφαίνουσα, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸν αἰτίεσθαι τῶν ἁμαρτησόμενον τῆς ἁρχῆς οὐκ ἔρθως ἐχεῖ. δεῖ γὰρ καὶ βουλομένων καὶ μη βουλομένουν ἁρχεῖν τὸν ἁμαρτείας τῆς ἁρχῆς. ὥν δὲ οὕτω καὶ περὶ τὴν ἀλλήν πολιτείαν ὁ νομοθέτης φαίνεται ποιῶν. φιλοτήμωσις γὰρ κατασκευάζων τοὺς πολίτας τοῖς κέχρεται πρὸς τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν γερόντων· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἄν ἁρχεῖν αἰτίσασθαι μὴ φιλότιμος ὡς καίτοι τῶν γαρ ἀδικημάτων ἐκείνων τὰ πλεῖστα συμβαίνει σχεδὸν διὰ φιλοτιμίαν ἐκαί διὰ ψυχοχρηματίαν τοὺς ἁμαρτόποις. Περὶ δὲ βασιλείας, οἱ μὲν μη βέλτιον ἐστιν ὑπάρχειν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἢ βέλτιον,

25 καίτοι] 'and yet even then it would be questionable policy.' Grote, II. 475.
26 τον τρόπον δὲ τούτων, κ.τ.λ.] 'But when so educated that even their lawgiver himself distrusts them.'
27 αὐτῶν ἀνευθύνω} 'irresponsible,' 'without accountability.'
28 τόποι καὶ, κ.τ.λ.] Compare below, § 37, ἀποβέβηκες τοῦτοις. So here, the legislator has completely failed in attaining a correct view of what is required.
29 αἰτίαν γὰρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'For it is from his wish to make his citizens ambitious that he adopts these means in the election of the Senate.' τοὺσ, not τοῦς πολίτας, but the sanction given to personal canvassing.
30 ὁδὲ γὰρ] refers to the κατασκευής. I attribute this object to him, for evidently no one would ask for office unless he were ambitious.'
ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Β.

άλλος ἐστιν λόγος. άλλα μὴν βέλτιον γε μὴ καθάπερ νῦν, άλλα κατὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ βλεύ έκαστον κρίνεσθαι τῶν βασιλέων. ὅτι δ' ὁ νομοθέτης οὐδ' αὐτὸς οὔτε ὁ δύσασθαι ποιεὶν καλοῦς 30 κάγαθος, ἢν άπιστεὶ γεών αἰσ ὡς οὐδ' ἱκανοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσις, διόπερ ἤρεμου τοῦ συμπροσβευτός τοῦ ἐχθροῦς, καὶ σωτηρίαν ἐνόμιζον τῇ πόλει εἶναι τὸ στασίαζει τοὺς βασιλείς. Οὔ καλῶς δ' οὖν δι' τὰ συστίτια τὰ καλοῦμενα φίλτατα νομοθέτηται τῷ καταστήσαντι πρῶτον. ἂδει γὰρ 31 ἀπὸ κοινοῦ μᾶλλον εἶναι τὴν σύνοδον, καθάπερ ἐν Κρήτῃ παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Λάκωσιν ἐκατον δεῖ φέρειν, καὶ σφόδρα πενήντων ἐνίοις ὄντων καὶ τούτῳ το ἀνάλομα ὡς δυνάμειν δαπανᾶν, ὧστε συμβαινειν τούναντι τῷ νομοθετῇ τῆς προ- αίτεις. Βούλεται μὲν γὰρ δημοκρατικὸν εἶναι τὸ κατα- 32 σκέψασμα τῶν συστιτῶν, γίνεται δὲ ᾧκίστα δημοκρατικῶν οὔτω νομοθετεμένων· μετέχειν μὲν γὰρ ὡς βαθίον τοῖς λίαν πένησιν, ἄρος δὲ τῆς πολιτείας οὕτω ἀστὶν αὐτοῖς ὁ πάτριος, τὸν μὴ δυνάμενον τούτῳ τὸ τέλος φέρειν μὴ μετέ- χειν αὐτῆς. Τῷ δὲ περὶ τοῦς ναυαρχοὺς νόμῳ καὶ ἐτεροὶς 33 τινές ἐπιτετμήκασιν, ὄρθως ἐπιτιμώντες· στάσεις γὰρ γί- νεται αὖτις. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖς βασιλεῖσιν οὔσι στρατηγοῖς

order should rather be el μὲν βέλτιον ἄντι μὸ. άλλος λόγος] Below, III. xiv. and foll.
κατὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ βλεύ κρίνεσθαι] 'be selected with reference to his own life and conduct.'
30 ἀπιστεὶ γεών] Is not this a later stage of feeling, and scarcely to be supposed existing in the mind of Lycurgus?
δέντρον] 'They were in the habit of sending out.' Instances will occur to every one. Grote, p. 469.
Στάσεως] On the perpetual dispositions of the Spartan kings, see Grote, p. 464.
31 σύνοδον] This word seems here to mean not so much a 'meeting' as a 'contribution.' The passage quoted from L. and S., Herodotus, v. 64, χρυ- μάτων συνδοσίων, gives the nearest approach to its meaning here.
δαπανᾶ τὸ ἀνάλομα] 'To meet this expense.'
32 διὸς οἱ, κ.τ.λ.] 'The right of citizenship has this limit fixed.' From this arose the body called el βουμελωτες, the Inferiors, Spartans disfranchised, but with the power of recovering their franchise. Grote, p. 482, and 525, not.
33 ἐτεροὶ τινὲς] Who are meant?
στάσεως γὰρ γίνεται αὖτις] This is a statement of which we have hardly adequate justification. Mr Grote, ix. 327, thinks it founded on the case of Lysander. Comp. also p. 376, where the king and admiral are united in Agesilus.
43 αϊδίως η ναυαρχία σχέδιαν ἑτέρα βασιλεία καθέστηκεν. Καὶ
34 αὐτὴ δὲ τῇ ὑποθέσει τοῦ νομοθέτου ἐπιτιμήσειν ἀν τις, ὅπερ
καὶ Πλάτων ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ἐπιτιμήσειν πρὸς γὰρ μέρος
ἀρετῆς ἡ πάσα σύνταξις τῶν νόμων ἐστὶ, τὴν πολεμικὴν
αὐτῇ γὰρ χρησίμη πρὸς τὸ κρατεῖν. τοιγαροῦν ἐσώζοντο
μὲν πολεμιώντες, ἀπόλλυντο δὲ ἀρέσκειν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπί-
στασθαι σχολαζειν μηδὲ ἑσκηκέναι μηδέμεν ἁσκησιν ἑτέραν
35 κυριωτέραν τῆς πολεμικῆς. τούτῳ δὲ ἀμάρτημα οὐκ ἐλατ-
τον νομίζουσι μὲν γὰρ γίνεσθαι τάγαθα τὰ περιμάχητα δι’
ἀρετῆς μᾶλλον ἡ κακίας· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καλῶς, ὦτι μέντοι
36 ταῦτα κρείττον τῆς ἀρετῆς ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, οὐ καλῶς. Φαύ-
λως δ’ ἔχει καὶ περὶ τὸ κοινὰ χρήματα τοῖς Ἑπαρπασταῖς.
οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τῆς πόλεως ἐστὶν οὐδὲν πολέμους με-
γάλους ἀναγκαζόμενοι πολεμεῖν, εἰςφέροις τὸ κακὸς· διὰ
gὰρ τὸ τῶν Ἑπαρπαστῶν ἐναι τὴν πλείστην γῆν οὐκ ἐξετά-
ζουσιν ἀλλὰ χωρὶς εἰςφόρας. ἀποβιβάζετε τοὺς τοῦντιν
37 τῷ νομοθέτῳ τοῦ συμφέροντος· τὴν μὲν γὰρ πόλιν οἰκοδοκεῖν
ἀρχέματον, τοὺς δ’ ἱδίωτας φιλοχρημάτως. Περὶ μὲν οὖν

ἄδικοι] διδοῦ seems the true reading, and the weight of authority is in
favour of it. Vet. Tr., Stahr., Schm., and others, adopt it. In fact, Bekker's
reading gives a sense contrary to very plain statements. Xenophon, Hell. i.
vi. 4. and ii. 7.

34 τῇ ὑποθέσει] 'The prevailing idea.' Compare the language of Bra-
sidas, Thuc. iv. 126. Plato, Legg. i. 628. s. foll.

35 τοῦτο] This mistake of directing all their energies towards excellence in
war.

τὰ περιμάχητα ἐγκαθά] Edh. ix. viii.
4, 9. p. 1168. b. 19; 1169. 21, the same expression occurs.

36 τὰ κακὰ χρηματα] Compare the language of King Archidamus, Thuc.
i. 80; also Grote, ix. 322, 323, for the
two periods at which the language was
true.

eἰςφέρουσι κακάι] On this see Grote, ii. 493, and his note. τὴν πλείστην
γῆν, 'the country eastward of Tayget-
tus, since the foundation of Mesene
by Epaminondas had been consum-
mated.'

37 τοῦ συμφέροντος] 'of what is
really the interest of the state.'

φιλοχρημάτως] For this tendency,
with instances of it before Lyssander,
and the stimulus applied by Lyssander,
gro, Grote, ix. 321, 2.

It seems needless in the case of
Sparta to do more than refer to Mr
Grote. Any one who wishes to go
further will find all necessary references
there given. Nor is it necessary to
dwell on the unfavourable judgment of
Aristotle on the Spartan institutions.
They are not likely to be overvalued
tēs Λακεδαιμονίας πολιτείας ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω· ταύτα γάρ ἐστὶν ἀ μάλιστ' ἀν τις ἐπιτιμήσειν.

Ἡ δὲ Κρητικὴ πολιτεία πάρεγγυς μὲν ἐστὶν ταύτης, ΙΟ ἐχει δὲ μικρὰ μὲν οὐ χείρον, τὸ δὲ πλεῖον ἦττον γαλαφυρός.

καί γὰρ ἐσικε καὶ λέγεται δὲ τὰ πλεῖστα μεμιμήθαι τὴν Κρητικὴν πολιτείαν ἢ τῶν Λακώνων, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα τῶν ἀρχαίων ἦττον διήρθρωται τῶν νεωτέρων. Φασὶ γὰρ τὸν Σ. Δυναμόγον, ὅτε τὴν ἐπιτροπίαν τὴν Χαρίλαοι τοῦ βασιλέως καταλιπῶν ἀπεδόθησαν, τότε τῶν πλεῖστον διατρίβαι χρόνον περὶ τὴν Κρήτην διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν ἀποίκου γὰρ οἱ Λύκτοι τῶν Λακώνων ἦσαν, κατέλαβον δὲ οἱ πρὸς τὴν ἀποικίαν ἔδοντες τὴν τάξιν τῶν νόμων ὑπάρχουσαν ἐν τοῖς

now. Aristotle's long criticism was partly due to the prominent position Sparta had held in earlier Greek history, partly also to the fact that Plato, in his Laws, had criticised them. So that the chapter of Aristotle is a continuation of the criticism of that work given in ch. vi. That had touched the speculative or ideal part of Plato's work, this touches one point in the practical. For the Laws are a discussion between an Athenian, Lacedaemonian, and Cretan, of their respective constitutions, and on the principles on which a new state, if founded, should be based.

X. 1 Unlike Sparta, there is in the case of Crete no historical importance to justify much attention to it. A fragmentary sketch is all that is now possible. And it is to be remembered that Crete was not one state but an aggregate of states, so far as we know. Hoeksema seems to think that Lyctus (which C. F. Hermann speaks of as "considered a daughter state of Lacedaemon") was the one most present to the mind of Aristotle. I pass to the consideration of the text of the chapter, referring any who would inquire further, to the article on Crete in Smith's Geog. Dict., where the sources of information are indicated.

ὑπεργυς μὲν, κ.τ.λ.] 'Though it borders very closely on the Lacedaemonian, and though it is in some few points quite as well arranged, yet for the most part it is less finished.'

καὶ γὰρ οὕως, κ.τ.λ.] Scarce any recent writers accept the view contained in this sentence. Comp. the article above quoted, p. 704, a.

ἡθρωτον] Eth. i. vii. 17. διαφροῦς, 'are less articulate, distinct.'

Comp. Bonitz, ad Metaph. 986. n. 5: "διαφροῦς est rem aliquid quasi per membra et artus distinguere et certum in ordinem redigere, ut unius corporis referent simulitudinem."

2 On the various accounts of Lycurgus, comp. Grote, II. 452. ἐπιτροπίαι] 'the guardianship.'

On Charillus, or Charilaus, more will be said later, VIII. (V.) xi. 12. κατελαβον ἅπαξ εἰρήσθαι] 'found existing.' This surely is the fair and natural way of translating it, and, if allowed, points to the previous existence of Dorian institutions in Crete.
τότε κατοικούσιν. διό καὶ νῦν οἱ περὶκοι τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπος χρώνται αὐτοῖς, ὃς κατασκευάσαντος Μῖνα πρῶτον τὴν τάξιν τῶν νόμων. δοκεῖ δὲ η ἡσυχαί καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄρχην τὴν Ἕλληνικὴν περιοχὴν καὶ κείσαθαι καλῶς: πάση γὰρ ἐπίκειται τῇ ἐπίκεισθαι, σχέδον τῶν Ἕλληνων ἱδρυμένων πρὸς τὴν ἁλάσσαν πάντων· ἀνέχει γὰρ τῇ μὲν τῆς Πελο-
ποννήσου μικρῷ, τῇ δὲ τῆς 'Ασίας τοῦ περὶ Τριότιον ἑπτῶν καὶ Ρόδου. διὸ καὶ τὴν τῆς ἁλάσσας ἄρχην κατέ-
χειν ὁ Μῖνας, καὶ τὰς νῆσους τὰς μὲν ἐχειρώσατο τὰς δὲ 
φύσεως, τέλος δὲ ἐπιθέμενος τῇ Σικελίᾳ τὸν βίον ἐπελεύθη-
σεις ἐκεὶ περὶ Κάμικου. "Εχει δὲ ἀνάλογον ἡ Κρητικὴ 
5 τάξις πρὸς τὴν, Ἀκανθικὴν. γεωργοῦσι τὸ γὰρ τοῖς μὲν 
1272 εἰλατταῖς τοῖς δὲ Κρήτην οἱ περὶκοι, καὶ συστίται παρ' 
ἀμφοτέροις ἑστὶν· καὶ τὸ γε ἄρχειόν ἐκάλουν οἱ Λακανοὶ 
οὐ φιλιτικά ἁλλ᾽ ἄνδρια, καθάπερ οἱ Κρήτης, ᾧ καὶ δηλοῦ 
ὅτι ἐκείθεν ἐλημύθησαν. ἐτι δὲ τῆς πολιτείας τῇ τάξει, οἱ 
μὲν γὰρ ἐφοροὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχουσι δύναμιν τοῖς ἐν τῇ 
Κρήτῃ καλουμένων κόσμοις, πλὴν οἱ μὲν ἐφοροί πάντες τῶν ἄριστων 
οἱ δὲ κόσμως δέκα, εἰσίν· οἱ δὲ γέροντες τοῖς γέρουσιν, οὐχ 
καλοῦσι οἱ Κρήτης βουλῆ, ἢσοι. βασιλεῖα δὲ πρὸτερον 
μὲν ἂν, ἐτὰ κατέλυσαν οἱ Κρήτης, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν οἱ 


On Minos, compare Grote, p. 301, and foll.; in p. 310 is pointed out the distinction between the Minos of the poets and logographers, and the Minos of Thucydides and Aristotol.

πρὸς τὴν ἄρχην περικοίν] "To be naturally qualified for holding the empire of Greece."

ἐνικείσαι] 'It commands.'

ἀνέχει γὰρ] refer to ἐνικείσαι.


ἐρὶ δὲ ἀνάλογον] "There is a correspondence between the Cretan order and that of Lacedaemon."

5 οἱ περὶκοι] This is quite a different sense from that given § 3. The sense here is the more technical one of the dependent population, lower in position than the Laconian perioeci.

6 ἐτι δὲ, κ.τ.λ.] Not only did society in Crete as at Sparta rest on the basis of a large serf population, but also there is a correspondence between the two states distinctly traceable, when you come to consider the relations of the citizens, the civil society in each case.

ἲσιο τοῖς γέρουσι] Does this necessarily imply that they were equal in number?

ἡγεμονίας] That the Cossii should exercise this power would be the natural course when the kingly power had ceased.
κόσμυν τὴν κατὰ πόλεμον ἔχουσιν. ἰκαληθείς δὲ μετέχουσι πάντες· κυρία δ' οὐδενὸς ἐστίν ἄλλ' ἢ συνεπιθυμησία γ' τὰ δόξαντα τοὺς γέρουσι καὶ τοὺς κόσμους. Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν συσσίτων ἦχει βέλτιον τοῖς Κρητίκαι ἡ τοῖς Λάκωσισι·

ἐν μὲν γὰρ Λακεδαιμονία κατὰ κεφαλὴν ἐκατοστὸς εἰσφέρει το τεταγμέναν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, μετέχειν νόμος καλῶς τῆς πολιτείας, καθὰπερ ἐρηται καὶ πρότερον. ἐν δὲ Κρητεὶ κοινοὶ τέρως· ἀπὸ πάντων γὰρ τῶν γυναικῶν καρπῶν ταὶ καὶ βοσκημάτων καὶ ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων καὶ φόρων οὐς φέρουσιν οἱ περιοίκοι τέτακται μέρος τὸ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὰς κοινὰς λειτουργίας, τὸ δὲ τοὺς συσσίτους, ἀστὴρ εἰ κοινοὶ τρέφοντει πάντας, καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παιδάς καὶ ἀνδρας. πρὸς δὲ τὴν διλύγοσίαν ὡς ωφέλιμον πολλὰ περιλογοῦ 9 φηκὼς ὁ νομοθέτης, καὶ πρὸς τὴν διάζευξιν τῶν γυναικῶν, ἢν μὴ πολυεκατοστί, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἄρρενας πολιτικὰς ὁμαλίαν, περὶ ὡς εἰ φαύλως ἢ μὴ φαύλως, ἐτέρος ἦσσται τοῦ διασκεδάσθαι καρπός. δοτὶ δὲ τὰ περὶ τὰ συσσίτια βέλτιον τέτακται τοῖς Κρητίκαι ἡ τοῖς Λάκωσισι, φανερῶν. τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς κόσμους ἔτι χεῖρα τῶν ἐφόρων. ὥ μὲν οὖν γὰρ ἤχει κακῶν τὸ τῶν ἐφόρων ἀρχεῖον, ὑπάρχει καὶ τοῦτον γινονται γὰρ οἱ τυχόντες· ὃ δ' ἐκείνοι συμφέρει πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν, ἐνταῦθ' οὐκ ἐστὶν. ἐκεί μὲν γὰρ, διὰ τὸ τὴν αἴρε-

7 συνεπιθυμήσια] 'to join in ratifying.' Compare xi. 6. A simple assent alone was allowed them.

πρότερον] Ch. ix. 32.

8 κοινοτέρως] 'on fairer terms.'

ἀνά πάντως, κ.τ.λ.] If Bekker's reading is kept, what sense are we to attach to the words καὶ ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων? Are we with Hoeck to interpret it of "the Dorian common land, the state domain," or with Stahr, "of the public revenues," "reditus publici," Schneider? We know so little of the facts that it is difficult to determine which is the right interpretation. I have felt inclined to change the text and read: ἀνὰ πάντως τὰ τῶν γυναι-

9 πρὸς τὴν διλύγοσίαν] 'To secure a sparing diet the lawgiver has taken many wise measures.' διάζευξιν, 'separation.'

10 τὸ ἀρχεῖον] 'The board.'

ἐκεί] at Lacedemon.
ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Β.

Cret. σιν ἐκ πάντων ἐναι, μετέχων ὁ δῆμος τῆς μεγίστης ἄρχης ἑπολεται μένειν τὴν πολιτείαν· ἐντάθη δὲ οὐκ ἐξ ἀπάντων αἰροῦνται τοὺς κόσμους ἀλλ' ἐκ τινῶν γενάν, καὶ τοὺς γέροντας ἐκ τῶν κεκοσμηκότων. περὶ ὅν τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἂν τις ἀπειρόει λόγους καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν Δακεδαίμον γερόντων τὸ γαρ ἀνυπεύθυνον καὶ τὸ διὰ βίου μαζί ἐστι γέρας τῆς ἀξίας αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸ μὴ κατὰ γράμματα ἄρχειν ἀλλ' αὐτὸ- ρα γνώμονας ἐπισφαλὲς. τὸ δὲ ἴσως αὐτοῖς μὴ μετέχωντα τῶν δήμων οὐδὲν σημεῖον τοῦ τετάχθαι καλῶς· οὗτὸς γὰρ λήμματος τι τοῖς κόσμοις ἀσπέρ τοῖς ἐφόροις, πόρφω χ' ἀποι. 13 οὖν ἐν μήπω τῶν διαφθεροῦντων. ἢν δὲ ποιοῦνται τῆς ἀμαρτίας ταῦτας ἱατρείαν, ἀτρομος καὶ οὐ πολιτική ἀλλὰ δυναστευτικὴ πολλακεὶς γὰρ ἐκβάλλουσι συστάντες τινὲς τούς κόσμους ἢ τῶν συναρχόντων αὐτών ἢ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, ἔξεστι δὲ καὶ μεταξὺ τοῖς κόσμωις ἀπεισεῖν τὸν ἄρχην. ταύτα δὲ βάλτοι γίνασθαι κατὰ μόνον ἢ κατ' ἄνθρωπως βούλησιν· οὐ γὰρ ἀσφαλῆς ὁ κανών. πάντως δὲ φαυλότατον τὸ τῆς ἀκοσμίας τῶν δυνάτων, ἢν καθιστάσθη

* γινομένων Bekker.
* δ' Bekker.

βολεταὶ μένων] This supports the view given above of the construction of Ch. ix. § 22.
κεκοσμηκότων] Their office then was not for life.
11 περὶ δὲ τῶν γερόντων.
γινομένων] will make sense, but I am in favour of substituting τῶν γε- ρόντων.
τὸ γαρ ἀνυπεύθυνον, κ.τ.λ.] This shows that the relative at the beginning of the section refers to τοὺς γερόντας of the preceding one. These are prerogatives of the Spartan Gerasia.
μείζον γέρας] 'Is a privilege greater than they have a fair claim to.'
12 ἵνα γαρ] opposed to βολεταὶ μένων. In Crete the people submits to, in Sparta it positively favours, the existing order.
οὐδὲ γὰρ λήμματος] And as they have no opportunity of getting money, their office is no temptation.
13 τῆς ἀμαρτίας ταῦτας] Their remedy for this error with reference to the powers and choice of the Cosmi.
οὐ πολιτικῆ] 'not such as a proper politeia allows, but rather one that would suit a dynasteia,' the closest and worst form of oligarchy. VI. (IV.) v. 2.
τῶν συναρχόντων, κ.τ.λ.] depend of course on τινὲς.
μεταξὺ] 'in the midst of their office.'
ἀνείπως] 'to renounce.'
ταύτα δὲ] I do not see the force of δὲ. I should prefer ὅτι.
14 ἀκοσμία] 'The absence of Cosmi.'
The interregnum brought about by the powerful, similar to the Roman interregnum, by which the Patricians sought to elude the necessity of con- cessions.
πολλάκις ήταν μη δίκαια βουλανταί δούναι. ή καὶ δήλω οίς
ἐξει τι πολιτείας τῇ τάξεις, ἀλλ' οἱ πολιτεία ἐστίν ἀλλὰ
δυναστεία μάλλον. εἰδομαι δὲ διαλαμβάνοντες τὸν δήμον
καὶ τῶν φίλων μοναρχίαν τοιῶν καὶ στασιάζειν καὶ μέ-
χεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. καίτοι τί διαφέρει τὸ τοιοῦτον ἢ τους
διὰ τίνα χρόνον μηκότι πόλιν εἴναι τὴν τοιάτην, ἀλλὰ
λύσθαι τὴν πολιτικὴν κοινωνίαν; ἵνα δὲ εἰκινδυνὸς ὡτος
ἐχούσα πόλις τῶν βουλομένων ἐπιτίθεσθαι καὶ δυναμένων.
ἀλλὰ καθάπερ εἰρήνα, σώζεται διὰ τῶν τόπων ἐξειλασίας
γὰρ τὸ πόρρω πεποίηκεν. διὸ καὶ τὸ τῶν περιοίκων μένει 16
τῶν Κρησίων, οἱ δὲ εἰκινδυνοὶ αἵτισται πολλάκις· οὔτε γὰρ
ἐξωτερικῆς ἀρχῆς κοινωνίαν οἱ Κρήτες, νεοτέρικος τε πόλεμος
ξένως διεξανοῦσιν εἰς τὴν νῆσον, δὲ πεποίηκε Φανερὸν τὴν
ασθενείας τῶν ἑκεῖ νόμον. Περὶ μὲν οὖν ταύτης εἰρήνας
τοσοῦτον ἡμῖν τῆς πολιτείας.

Πολιτεύσθαι δὲ δοκοῦσι καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι καλῶς καὶ Καρθ.

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καὶ δῆλον] 'And this makes it clear if any thing were wanted, that though
the Cretan order of things may have some points which seem to mark it as
a legitimate constitution, it is not one in reality, but rather an oligarchy.'

διαλαμβάνοντες] So below, VII. (VI.) v. 10, where the word occurs in
a somewhat different sense. Here it is 'dividing so as to form parties.'

15 τῶν βουλομένων, κ.τ.λ.] 'granting that those who wish to attack it have it
also in their power to do so.'

39. ἐξειλασίας. For the effect produced at Sparta by their institution of
Xenelasy,—the prohibiting the residence of foreigners,—is produced at
Crete by the isolation their insular position brings with it. 'Their distance
is equivalent to xenelasy.'

16 διὸ καὶ] 'on this ground also.'

Comp. Ch. ix. 3.

ἐξωτερικῆς ἀρχῆς] 'external, dominion.' In the historical period C rode
stands perfectly isolated.

πόλεμος [ἐνικὸς] The date is said to
be B. c. 344. Phalaeus, the Phocian
leader, crossed into Crete. Thrivyll,
v. 368. Grote, xl. 582, 599. Pausan.
Phoc. ii. 5. ἐνικῶς probably means 'a
war conducted with mercenaries.' Such
were the 8000 men with whom Pha-
leus retired. μοῦρι τοῖς ἐνικοῖς, says
Pausanias. Diod. Sic. xvi. 62, 63, also
speaks of μοῦθοφόρους. From the ac-
counts the Cretans seem to have had
no power to resist in themselves, but at
once to have sought aid from Sparta.
This justifies the language of Aristotle
here.

XI. Before entering on the details
of this chapter on Carthage, I quote
Mr Grote's judgment on the historical
value of the materials we possess:
"These statements, though coming
from valuable authors, convey so little
information, and are withal so difficult
to reconcile, that both the structure
and working of the political machine at Carthage may be said to be unknown." He adds in a note: "Heeren and Klugo have discussed all these passages with ability. But their materials do not enable them to reach any certainty."

1 περιττῶς [remarkably], deviating widely from the more usual type.

2 συντεταγμένης] Stress must be laid on the word 'ordered' in the sense of well ordered; 'disciplined' with us has this force.

τῶν δήμων] The article seems not required; if kept the translation is: 'we find an argument in favour of the skilful arrangements of Carthage in the fact that whilst it keeps its democratic element it yet preserves unaltered the system of its constitution.'

3 τὰ συστήματα τῶν ἐταιρῶν] Mövers, Geschichte der Phönizier, 11. 492, thinks these were γέμοι, houses of the aristocracy, political divisions, not mere clubs, but much more closely analogous to Spartan and Cretan synsittia. Grote, x. 551, speaks of "collective banquets of the curiae, or the political associations." But he thinks the comparison not a happy one.

πλῆθος ὑπὸ κειρὸν, κ.π.λ.] 'with this advantage however on the part of Carthage,' &c.

4 εἶτα διαφέρον] I prefer reading εἶτα; 'then there is a difference, and a difference which is a superiority, in the having them elected from these families rather than hereditary.' Grote, ix. 830, note, considers this Carthaginian system substantially the one wished by Lyssander at Sparta; 'not confined to members of the same family or gens, but chosen out of the principal families or gentes." The change of εἶτα for εἶτε is advocated by Nickes, de Aristotelis Politicorum libris, p. 54.
λοιν γὰρ κύριοι καθεστάτες, ἐξεύτελης δέσι, μεγάλαι βλάτιας τουσί καὶ ἐβλαφαί ἦδη τὸν πόλιν τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμόνων. Ἐν δὲ τὰς παρεκ-5 βάσεις κοινὰ τυγχάνει πάσαις ὡς τοῖς σιπεμέανας πολιτείαις τῶν τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῆς ἄριστοκρατίας καὶ τῆς πολιτείας τὰ μὲν εἰς δήμον ἐκκλίνει μᾶλλον, τὰ δὲ εἰς ὁλιγαρχίαν. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ τὸ μὲν προσάγειν τὸ δὲ μὴ προσάγειν πρὸς τὸν δήμον οἱ βασιλεῖς κύριοι μετὰ τῶν γερόντων, ἀλλὰ ὁμογενομοσύνη πάντως· εἰ δὲ μὴ, καὶ τούτων ὁ δήμος. ἐάν ἂν εἰσφέρωσιν οὕτως, οὐ διακούσια μόνον ἀπο-6 δίδασι τὸν δήμον τὰ δέξαιτα τοῖς ἀρχουσιν, ἀλλὰ κύριοι κρίνεις εἰς καὶ τῶν βουλευόμενοι τοῖς εἰσφορομένοις ἀντεπειν ἔστων, ὅπερ ἐν ταῖς ἐτέραις πολιτείαις ὡς ἔστων. τὸ δὲ γ-7 τὰς πενταρχίας κύριας οὕσας πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ὑφ' αὐ- τῶν αἱρεσίας εἰναι, καὶ τὴν τῶν ἕκατον ταύτας αἱρεῖσθαι τὴν μεγίστην ἀρχὴν, ἐτι δὲ ταύτας πλεονα ἀρχεῖν χρόνον τῶν ἄλλων (καὶ γὰρ ἐξεληλυθότες ἀρχουσι καὶ μέλλουτες) ὁλι- γαρχίας, τὸ δὲ ἀμίσθους καὶ μὴ κυριατάς ἄριστοκρατικῶν

Ann. I. porro illud different (et ita quidem, item ut praestet) &c. Stahr reads οὗτος with Bekker, but interprets it "and hier ist es besser."


5 'The greatest part of the objections that would naturally be raised against Carthage on account of its deviations from the best form of government, are common to it with all the constitutions we have mentioned. Those, on the other hand, which would be urged on the ground of its not fulfilling its own idea of an aristocracy or a Politeia, fall under two heads. Some of them point to its leaning too much towards democracy, others to its leaning too much towards oligarchy.' After τῶν δὲ Ι supply ἐν-τιμηθότων &c. I consider ἄριστοκρατίας not as his ideal state, but in the more practical sense of aristocracy, as in § 8.

τοῦ μὲν γὰρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'The Kings and Gerontes, if agreed, need not bring a matter before the people, if not agreed they must. In this latter case, the matters so brought before it were entirely within the competence of the people to discuss as well as to de- cide.' Grote, x. 551.

τούτων] sc. τῶν προσαγομένων.

6 ταῖς ἐτέραις] 'The two others,' Sparta and Crete.

7 ταῦτα] sc. τὰς πενταρχίας, 'that the pentarchies should choose the su- preme authority, that of the Hundred.' καὶ γὰρ ἐξεληλυθότες, κ.τ.λ.] 'inasmuch as they exercised an author- ity both before and after their regular term of magistracy.' Arnold, Rom. Hist. Vol. ii. 550.
Carthage, διδώ, καὶ ἐὰν τοιούτων ἔτερον · καὶ τὸ τὰς δίκας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχείων δικαζοῦν πάσας, καὶ μὴ ἄλλας ὑπ’ ἄλλων, καθάρον περ ἐν Ἀκαδαίμοι. Παρεκβαλεῖ δὲ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ἡ τάξις τῶν Καρχηδονίων μάλιστα πρὸς τὴν ὁλιγαρχίαν κατά τινα διὰνοιαν ἡ συνδοκεῖ τοῖς πολλοῖς· οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἀριστίνθην ἄλλα καὶ πλουτίνθην οὐκεται διὰν αἱρείσθαι τοὺς ἀρχοντας· ἄδικαν γὰρ τὸν ἀπορροῦντα καλὸς ἀρχεῖν καὶ ἀρχεῖσθαι. ἐπερ ὁν τὸ μὲν αἱρείσθαι πλουτίνθην ὁλιγαρχίκον, τὸ δὲ κατ’ ἀρετὴν ἀριστοκρατίκον, αὕτη τις ἐὰν εἰ ἡ τάξις τρίτη, καθ’ ἐντερ συντεῖναι καὶ τοῖς Καρχηδονίως τὰ περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν αἱροῦνται γὰρ εἰς δύο ταύτα βλέποντες, καὶ μάλιστα τὰς μεγίστας, τοὺς τε βασιλεῖς καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς. δεῖ δὲ νομίζειν ἀμάρτημα νομοδέτου τὴν παρέκβαλει εἰναί τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ταύτην· εἰς ἀρχῆς γὰρ τοῦθ ὅτι τῶν ἀναγκαιότατων, ὡστε οἱ βασιλεῖοι δύνανται σχολαζεῖν καὶ μὴν ἀσχημανίαν, μὴ μόνον ἀρχοντες ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἰδιωτεύσεις. εἰ δὲ δεῖ βλέπειν καὶ πρὸς εὐπορίαν χάριν σχολῆς, φαίνω τὸ τὰς μεγίστας ὑποτάς εἶναι τῶν ἀρχῶν, τὴν τε βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν. ἐντυμον γὰρ ὁ νόμος οὕτος ποιεῖν τὸν πλοῦτον μᾶλλον τῆς ἀρετῆς, καὶ

οὐ τῶν ἀρχείων] 'by the boards of magistrates.' This passage is discussed by Arnold, Rom. Hist. ii. 553, note 10. But I do not see that his suggestion clears up the difficulty. The passage in the third book, Ch. i. 10, 11, only draws attention to the point that the two governments have in common, the exclusion of the popular element from the administration of justice, leaving quite room for the difference indicated in the text. The καθάροι ἐν Ἀκαδαίμοι must, I think, refer to the ἄλλας ὑπ’ ἄλλων. There remains the question, why one practice should be more aristocratical than the other.

S παρεκβάλει δὲ, κ. τ. λ.] 'The most decided deviation in the constitution of Carthage from aristocracy towards oligarchy, is in the adoption of a view, which gains the assent of most men.'

9 συντείναται καὶ] It would seem better to read καὶ συντείναται: where it stands, the καὶ is not wanted.

τοὺς βασιλεὺς καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς] These then were distinct. The suffetes were not the commanders in war, the captains-general.

10 μὴδὲν ἀσχημανίαν] 'not lower themselves in any way.'

ὄντας] 'whether this is to be understood of paying money to obtain votes, or, as is much more probable, that the fees or expenses of entering on an office were purposely made very heavy, to render it inaccessible to any but the rich.' Arnold, Rom. Hist. ii. 548, 9.
ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Β.

II. 11.] "The government." This view of Aristotelie that the government can absolutely direct opinion, is a remarkable one. It does not seem to hold good of modern times, when, with rare exceptions, governments are behind opinion, if, fortunately, not directly adverse to it. It is a view, however, which was naturally held by those who, like the political philosophers of antiquity and even of later times, held that governments could be arbitrarily imposed on a people, not that they were the expressions, or should be, of the people.

rappelle le précepte de l'Evangile, Donnez gratuitement, ainsi que vous avez reçu, ils répondant sans sourciller: 'Nous n'avons pas reçu gratuit, nous avons acheté, nous pouvons revendre.'

'If he gave up the question of the wealth or poverty of his governing classes.'


'Il est en effet] Comp. I. x. 3.

'Ceux qui échappent au service'] Compare Thuc. v. 66, σχεδόν γαρ τι πού πλήρωμα το στρατόπεδον των Δακεδαιμων ἀρχοντας ἀρχόντων εἰναι.

'Ceux qui échappent] 'They escape the evils incident to an oligarchy.'

II
fairs, but were in a private station throughout life.

The grounds in which Solon was
speaks of, by some as having first con-
ceived the Areopagita given, on p. 368. In p. 367 of the same
volume, he gives a note on this
point, which is the subject of Sabin. In it he
advances that Aristotle’s own judg-
ment was not clear till § 5, 368. As in this
section, I cannot but think that
his answer should be more broken up.
In § 3, he has the view favourable
to Sabin. In the first sentence of § 3,
he has the same view of Aristotle as that
in § 2 that there are two judgments
in consequence of the opposite view,
which characterizes Sabin. And this again
δῆμον παύσαι, καὶ δημοκρατίαν καταστήσαι τὴν πάτριον, μιζάντα καλῶς τὴν πολιτείαν' εἶναι γὰρ τὴν μὲν ἐν 'Αρείῳ πάγῳ βουλήν ἐλιγαρχικῶν, τὸ δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς αἱρετὰς ἀριστοκρατικῶν, τὰ δὲ δικαστήρια δημοτικῶν. Εἶπε δὲ Σόλων ἐκεῖνα μὲν ὑπάρχοντα πρότερον οὗ καταλῦσαι, τὴν τε βού-1974 λὴν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄρχων αἱρετίν, τὸν δὲ δῆμον καταστήσαι, τὰ δικαστήρια ποιήσας ἐκ πάντων. διὸ καὶ μέμφονται τινες αὐτῷ· λύσαι γὰρ θάτερον, κῦριον ποιήσαντα τὸ δικαστήριον πάντων, κληρατοῦ οὖν. ἐκεί γὰρ τοῦτο ἴσχυε, ἀσυ-περ τυράννω τῷ δήμῳ χαριζόμενοι τὴν πολιτείαν εἰς τὴν νῦν δημοκρατίαν κατέστησαν, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐν 'Αρείῳ πάγῳ βουλήν 'Εφιάλτης ἐκόλουσε καὶ Περικλῆς, τὰ δὲ δικαστήρια

is followed by a criticism of Aristotle's, just as the other had been.

3 τὰ δικαστήρια ποιήσας ἐκ πάντων] If the arrangement of the passage just given is correct, it would follow that Aristotle allowed Solon's claim to the origination of the dikasteries. On this more below.

λέων γὰρ θάτερον] 'The other element in the state,' the ἐκεῖνος of the previous sentence.

4 τὴν νῦν δημοκρατίαν] 'The democracy of our days,' in no favourable sense. The language of strong conservatives enumerating with disgust the various changes by which the present odious state of things had been brought about.

ἐκόλουσε] 'cut down the powers of.'

τὰ δὲ δικαστήρια μιθοφόρα παντε-στηρίγμα] The opinion I have expressed above, that Aristotle allowed Solon's claims to the origination of the dikasteries, I give with very great hesitation, for it differs from that of Mr. Grote. But I cannot but think that Aristotle (if the chapter be really Aristotle's, of which I have strong doubts, in any case, that the writer of the chapter) thought the institution of the δικαστήρια older than Pericles, and changed by him so far, that the members of them received pay thenceforward. That the writer was wrong in this supposition, I am quite ready to allow, for I accept fully Mr Grote's view of the series of constitutional changes at Athens. But from the whole arrangement of the passage, as given in the note on § 2, I think it is clear that this was the writer's view. Minute accuracy does not seem to have been his object, if one is to judge by the language in § 6; and I cannot but doubt Aristotle's using, as applied to Pericles, the language of δημαρχοῦσις φαῖόλους. I rest not merely on general grounds, but on a passage in the Ethics, vi. v. 5. p. 1140, b. 8, where Pericles is quoted as the best known instance of the φρονήσιος or wise man. And over and above all points of detail, I find it difficult to see why Aristotle, intimately acquainted as he was with the Athenian constitution master of it by the most careful study (this is seen by his fragments), should have abstained from an elaborate criticism on it, and yet thought it worth while to throw in these few incomplete, and, in one point at least, inaccurate remarks. Still we can only
Solon. μισθοφόρα κατέστησε Περικλῆς, καὶ τούτων ὅτι τῶν τρόπων ἐκάστος τῶν δημαγωγῶν προῆγαγεν αὐξέον εἰς τὴν τῶν δημο-κρατίαν. Φαίνεται δ’ ὦν κατὰ τὴν Σόλωνος γενέσθαι τούτο προαίρεσιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀπὸ συμπτώματος τῆς γνωαρ-χίας γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Μηδεικοῖς ὁ δῆμος αὐτῶν γενόμενοι ἐφε- νηματισθῇ, καὶ δημαγωγοὺς ἔλαβε φαύλους ἀντιπολιτευομέ-νον τῶν ἐπιεικῶν, ἐπεὶ Σόλων γε ἔστη τὴν ἀναγκαιοτάτην ἀποδίδοναι τῷ δήμῳ δύναμιν, τὸ ταὐτὸν αἰρεῖναι καὶ ἐκδύναις: μηδὲ γὰρ τούτῳ κύριος ἂν ὁ δῆμος δοῦλος ἂν εἴη 6 καὶ πολέμιος. τὰς δ’ ἄρχας ἐκ τῶν γνωρίμων καὶ τῶν εὐ-πόρων κατέστησε σάτας, ἐκ τῶν πεντακοσιομμίλων καὶ ζευγίτων καὶ τρίτων τέλους τῆς καλουμένης ἱππάδος· τὸ δὲ τέταρτον θητικοῦ, αἰς οὐδεμίας ἄρχης μετῆν. Νομοθετῶ δέ ἐγένετο Ζάλευκος τε Λοκροίς τοῖς ἐπίζευφοις, καὶ Χα-ρώνδας ὁ Κατάναῖος τοῖς αὐτῶν πολίταις καὶ ταῖς ἀλλαίς ταῖς Χαλκιδικαίς πόλεσι ταῖς περὶ Ἰταλίαν καὶ Σικελίαν. 7 πειράντων δὲ τινος καὶ συνάγων αὐτὸς ὦνομαχριτοῦ μὲν γενο-μένου πρῶτου δείνου περὶ νομοθεσίαν, γυμνασθήναι δ’ αὐτὸν ἐν Κρήτῃ Λοκρὸν ὄντα καὶ ἐπιδημοῦντα κατὰ τέχνην μαν-τικῆν: τούτοις δὲ γενέσθαι Θάλητα ἑταῖρον, Θάλητος δ’ ἀκροατὴν Διοκόρου καὶ Ζάλευκον, Ζαλεύκον δὲ Χαρώνδαν.

state doubts, and not solve them. The arguments in favour of the chapter are given, Nickes, 55, Ann. 2; Spengel, 11, note 13, who is very strong in his attack on Götting for rejecting it. Mr Grote also does not hint the slightest doubt of its genuineness. Spengel’s argument drawn from τὴν τῶν δημοκρατίαν seems to me to fail, if that part is allowed to be, as I think it should be, the language of an objector. 5 ἀπὸ συμπτώματος] ‘from an accidental coincidence of circumstances.’ τὴν ἀναγκαιοτάτην | “as much power as was strictly needful, and no more.” (Grote, iii. 168).
6 καὶ τρίτων τέλους, κ.τ.λ.] Spengel proposes to read καὶ τοῦ. Even with this change, the order of the classes is incorrectly given, “anders,” he says, “est bei dem Zustande unseres Textes unbedenklich als corrupt anzunehmen wie die Worte tās δ’ ἄρχας, κ.τ.λ. wo wahrscheinlich καὶ τοῦ stand; sind doch in diesem Kapitel weit ärgere Fehler.” Θριαμβοῦ] on the distinction between the Thetic census and the Thetes, comp. Grote, iii. 158.
7 συνάγων] ‘To form a catena.’ ὄνομαχριτοῦ] From Smith, Biogr. Dict., this would seem the only mention of this personage.
ἐπιθεμοῦτα κατὰ τέχνην μαντικῆν] ‘Staying there for the purpose of acquiring the prophetic art.’
άλλα ταύτα μὲν λέγουσιν ἀσκεπτότερον τῷ χρόνῳ λέγοντες. Ἕγενετο δὲ καὶ Φιλόλαος ὁ Κορινθιαῖος νομοθέτης Ὁσιαῖος. ἦν δὲ ὁ Φιλόλαος τὸ μὲν γένος τῶν Βασικίδων, ἑκατοντάς δὲ γενόμενος Διοικέσθω τοῦ νικήσαντος Ὀλυμπίας,


8 ὅπως ἂν ἐκείνως τόν τόλμη διαμισθήσας τῷ ἔρατα τῶν τῆς μητρὸς Ἀλκιώνης, ἀπέλθειν εἰς Θήβας, κακεὶ τόν βίον ἐτελεύτησαν ἀμφότεροι. καὶ νῦν ἐς δεικνύουσι τοὺς τάφους 9 αὐτῶν ἀλλήλοις μὲν εὐσυνόπτους ὄντας, πρὸς δὲ τὴν τῶν Κορινθίων χώραν τοῦ μὲν συνόπτου τοῦ δὲ ὕσυνόπτου· μυθολογοῦσα γὰρ αὐτοὺς οὖτω τάξασθαι τὴν ταφήν, τὸν μὲν Διοικέα διὰ τὴν ἀπέχθεσιν τοῦ πάθους, ὅπως μὴ ἄποστολος ἔσται ἡ Κορινθία ἀπὸ τοῦ χάρατος, τὸν δὲ Φιλόλαον, ὅπως ἀπόστολος. ἀμηκναὶ μὲν οὖν διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην αἰτίαν ιο 1974 ό φιλότητα τῶν Ὁσιαίων, νομοθέτης δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο Φιλόλαος περὶ τέ ζήλων τίνων καὶ περὶ τῆς παιδωτίας, οὐς καλοῦν ἐκείνοι νόμους θετικοὺς· καὶ τούτ' ὣστιν ἵδιαι ὡς ἐκείνου νομοθετήμαν, ὅπως ὁ ἀριθμὸς σώζεται τῶν κλάσμων. Χαράνδου δ’ Ἰδιών μὲν οὐδὲν ἔστιν πλὴν αἱ δίκαιαι τῶν ψευδο-ΙΙ μαρτυρίων (πρῶτος γὰρ ἐποίησε τὴν ἐπίσκηψιν), τῇ δ’ ἀκριβείᾳ τῶν νόμων ὡστε γλαφυράπερος καὶ τῶν νῦν νομοθετῶν. Φαλέω δ’ Ἰδιῶν ἡ τῶν οὐσίων ἀνομάλωσις, Πλάτων-
fresh equalization." The simple sense of 'equalization' seems the best, and is warranted by a passage in the Rhetorics, III. xi. 5. pp. 1412, 16, καὶ τὸ ἀνωμαλισθαῖ τὰς πόλεις ἐν πολλοῖς ῥήσεως ταὐτό, ἐν ἑπιφάνεια καὶ δυνάμει τὸ ίσαν.

καυνῆται] occurs before, II. vii. 1.

This and the other point of detail are here mentioned for the first time. The first is given de Regg. 1. 640, d. οἱ κοινῆς νόμος ἡ-φοντα τὸ καὶ σοφῶν ἐφοτα μεθοδέους δει καθολικῶς. The second, ibid. vii. 794, d. &c.

13 On Draco's legislation, Grote, III. 100 fol., "not more rigorous than the sentiments of the age." Il is the first strictly νόμων ἡμιουργὸς.

ὅτι καὶ μειᾶς ἡμιουργὸς Comp. xi. 2, ὅτι καὶ ἡμιουργὸς.

Pittacus, Grote, m. 268. The particular law here quoted is mentioned again, though without its author's name, Eth. ii. viii. 8. p. 1113, b. 31, and Rhet. ii. 25, 7, p. 1402, b. 11, where Pittacus is mentioned. This last passage makes the suggestion of Muretus, that for ἐν τυπθήκῃ, we should read ἐν τι πταλων, very plausible. Mur. Var. Lect. xiv. 21.

14 Androdamas of Rhegium seems quite unknown.

τὰς κυρίας "existentiae," St Hil.: "wirklich bestehenden," Stahr.: 'actually in force.'
BOOK III. SUMMARY.

WITH this third book begins a new division of the work. His predecessors in political science, whether theoretic enquirers, or statesmen who had put their ideas in practice, have been reviewed and criticised. The results of that criticism have been partly negative, that is, have proved that there is yet work left for the political philosopher—partly positive, for the rejection of erroneous theories on the extent of association required by union in a state, necessarily marks out the due limits of that association. Whilst vindicating the family and private property against the theories of Plato, whilst supporting inequality against the theory of Phileas, Aristotle is strengthening the assumption of the 1st book, that the family and property are the necessary conditions of the state, and that there are and ever will be differences among men. Still the constructive part of his work has not yet been entered upon. He too, like some of his predecessors, must sketch out an ideal state, a type to which others may approach, and by their deviation from which others may be judged. This is done in the three following books. But unfortunately it either was never fully done, or has not survived to our times. The work, as it stands, is broken off in the midst of his theory of education; and on many of the most important questions, some suggested in his own words, some suggested naturally by the subject, we are left without Aristotle's answers.

The opening chapters of this third book itself are devoted to the solution of some simple and fundamental questions.

1st. The question, What is the State? receives as its first answer: a given number of citizens. This answer raises the question, Who is the citizen? answered in Ch. I. Some more popular notions on the subject in Ch. II. lead him to the question, In what consists the identity of a State? This is made to depend on the identity of its constitution (Ch. III.).

2ndly. As constitutions differ, the requirements of the citizen will differ also. The good citizen will always be so called with reference to the constitution of which he is a member. If that be imperfect, he, if perfect as a citizen, will be faulty as a man. In
Aristotle's language the question takes this shape: Is the excellence of the man identical with that of the good citizen? The answer must be negative except in the ideal state, and even in that ideal state strict theory compels us to say that it is only in its magistrates that we find the two absolutely coincident. But as in that state the citizens are in turn citizens and magistrates, in all alike the two will coincide, but it will be a question of time, it will be only, that is, when in power, that there will be scope for the full exercise of perfect virtue. These alternations of perfect and imperfect excellence are the necessary consequences of the conditions of Aristotle's ideal state, which is formed of a number of citizens equally good, who must therefore be in turn rulers and ruled (Ch. IV.).

3rdly. In such a state the qualifications of the citizens must be high, and for the attainment of these long training and high education are indispensable. But these require leisure. The class then to which leisure is denied by its circumstances must be excluded. This is the ground for his answer to the question, Are the artisans, βάραυοι, citizens? They cannot be in the ideal state, such as Aristotle conceived it (Ch. V.).

So far by way of preamble. The general test of a good government, varieties being granted, is, that it is for the good of the governed, not that of the governing body (Ch. VI.). That body may be one man or more than one. If more than one, it may be a small minority of the whole or a large majority. In other words, it may be a monarch—an aristocracy—or a politeia. Such are the divisions of governments, based on the principle of the number of the governing body, when the end aimed at by the government is the right one. But make the interest of the governing body its paramount consideration, and still adhere to the same principle of division, and your names change; and the new names are tyranny—oligarchy—democracy. These three are called deviations from the right forms. The members of the two series are looked on as theoretically on a level, but practically in both there is a difference in Aristotle's view, a difference even more strongly marked in the last than in the first (Ch. VII.). Oligarchy and democracy are examined at somewhat greater length. The characteristic of the first is found in wealth—that of the second in poverty. Accidentally wealth resides in the few—poverty in the many (Ch. VIII.).

All governments are based on some claim of right. The true ground of discussion, when examining the several claims, is this: You who claim more, do you contribute more, not as rich men, nor as artists, but as citizens? If so, your claim is just; if not, your claim is unjust (Ch. IX.).
SUMMARY.

Where shall the sovereign power reside? Shall it be in the many or the few? This is discussed with a leaning to the many (Ch. X. XI.).

The state is based on justice, and justice is equality. The question is: Equality in what? A series of difficulties are started, and the most definite result is this: that legislation involves the idea that those legislated for are equal in race and in powers. If the fair limits of this equality are overstepped, those who overstep it are practically liable to ostracism, theoretically they are the natural governors of their state (Ch. XII. XIII.).

The remainder of the book is on Monarchy, the various forms of the government of one; and is mainly descriptive, partly speculative. (Compare Mr Cornewall Lewis, On Methods of Observation and Reasoning on Politics, Vol. I. ch. iii.) Five forms are given: the Spartan—barbaric—essymnete, or elective—heroic—absolute, either tyranny or ideal monarchy (Chaps. XIV. XVl.). Hereditary monarchy is not favoured; nor, speaking generally, monarchy: but the judgment on it must depend on the state in which we find it existing (Ch. XVII.). He adopts as his own ideal state evidently not monarchy, but the second form, aristocracy in its ideal sense, the government of a certain number, which number under the conditions of human nature can hardly be very large, of citizens well qualified by moral discipline and intellectual training for a wise exercise of the functions they are called on to discharge.

The opening of the book at once carries us back to the end of the first book: ὅσοι ἔπει περὶ μὲν τῶν (τῆς οἰκονομίας) διώρισται, περὶ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐν ἄλλωις λεκτέοι, ἀφέντες ὡς τέλος ἔχοντας τὸν νῦν λόγους, ἄλλην ἀρχήν πουρσάμενοι λέγωμεν, καὶ πρῶτον ἐπισκεψάμεθα περὶ τῶν ἀποφηματῶν περὶ τῆς πολιτείας τῆς ὀρίστης. (Book II.) Compare also I. iii. 1.
ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Γ.

The Citizen defined. Τῷ περὶ πολιτείας ἐπισκοποῦντι, καὶ τῆς ἐκάστη καὶ ποια τίς, σχεδὸν πρῶτη σκέψις περὶ πόλεως ἰδεῖν, τι ποι' ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις; νῦν γὰρ ἀμφισβητοῦσιν, οἱ μὲν φασκοτες τὴν πόλιν πεπραξέναι τὴν πράξεων, οἱ δὲ οὐ τὴν πόλιν ἀλλὰ τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν ἢ τὸν τύραννον. τοῦ δὲ πολιτικοῦ καὶ τοῦ νομοθέτου πάσαν ὃρωμεν τὴν πραγματείαν οἷον περὶ πόλιν; ἢ δὲ πολιτεία τῶν τὴν πόλιν οἰκούντων ἢ ἄλλο τάξις τής. Ἐπεὶ δὲ η ἡ πόλις τῶν συγκεκριμένων, καθάπερ ἀλλο τῶν ὅλων μὲν συνεστῶτων δὲ ἐκ πολλῶν μορίων, δῆλον ὅτι πρὸτερον ὁ πολίτης κτητέος· ἢ γὰρ πόλις ποιήσας ἐστίν τι ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων μὲν συνεστῶτων δὲ ἐκ πολλῶν μορίων, δηλοῦν ὅτι πρὸτερον ὁ πολίτης κτητέος· ἢ γὰρ πόλις. 

I. I περὶ πολιτείας] genitive singular, as opposed to ὀλιγαρχίας. See note on I. xiii. 15.

κάτι γὰρ, κ.τ.λ.] That the idea is not clear, is evident from the fact, that at present men are at issue, &c. 

ἡ δὲ πολιτεία] The constitution is an arrangement of a state; a state is a whole made up of parts, those parts are citizens. Who then is the citizen? How shall he be defined? 

2 Comp. I. 1. 3. 

καὶ γὰρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'For the idea of the citizen, like that of the state, is by no means clear.' 

τῷ ταύτῃ τῆς προσηγορίας] 'This name of citizen.' 

τῷ ὀλιγῶν] 'by the simple fact of residence in a given place.' 

τῷ ταύτῃ τῇ τῆς προσηγορίας] 'This name of citizen.' 

τῷ ταύτῃ τῇ τῆς προσηγορίας] 'by the simple fact of residence in a given place.' 

τῷ ταύτῃ τῇ τῆς προσηγορίας] 'as to be parties in suits, defendants and plaintiff.' 

τῷ ταύτῃ τῇ τῆς προσηγορίας] 'for this
would apply to those who are associated by commercial treaties.' "In law-
suits between citizens of different states there existed, by virtue of a particular
agreement, an appeal from one state to the other." These appeals were
the δίκαιαι ἀνάμεσα συμβόλαια, covenants or
treaties for mutual protection, as op-
posed to the system of simple reprisals.
Böckh, Publ. Econ. of Athens, i. 69.
καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα τούτους ἐφάρμαχον Σχει-
νερ, with Vet. Int. and others, leave
this out: Stahr retains it, but puts it
in brackets as suspicious. St Hilaire
retains it, but his translation scarcely
meets the difficulty. I think it may
be defended. In fact, though the pas-
sage is confused, I am inclined to look
on it as hardly clear without these
words. I should include in a paren-
thesis the words τοῦτο γὰρ — κοι-
nωνομίας. The τοῦτος I should refer
to metakomai, the ταῦτα to τῶν δικαίων
μετέχοντες, κ.τ.λ. 'Mere residence
does not make a citizen; if it did,
slaves and metics would be citizens.
Nor again, does a certain community
of rights, that, viz. of appearing in
the courts of justice. Again the me-
tics would be citizens if it did. Though
it is true they do not always possess
the right in its full integrity, they can
only appear by representation.'
νέμει προστάτην] Comp. Isocrates,
Or. viii. p. 170: τοὺς μετοχί-
κοις τοιούτους νομίζωμεν, ὅσον περὶ
τῶν προστάτων νόμων, 'to provide
themselves with a patron.'
5 ἐγγεγραμμένον] 'enrolled in the
list of citizens,' εἰς τὸ λαξεφρέων γραμ-
ματεῖον, the book in which the mem-
bers of the demos were enrolled.
Grote, iv. 178, note.
τοῖς ἄρεμονοι] past the age of 60.
obχ ἀνάλω, κ.τ.λ.] 'But yet not
quite without a qualification; we must
add to the statement in the one case
that they are not full citizens, in the
other that they are past the age.'
ἐγκλημα] 'open to no objection of
this kind requiring correction.'
ἄτιμων καὶ φυγάδων] These two are
catὰ πρόσθεσιν πολίτην, not ἀνάλως.
6 πολίτης δὲ, κ.τ.λ.] 'a citizen in
the strict sense is defined by no one
other thing so properly as by his sharing
in the administration of justice and in
the government.'
ο ὅ ἄριστος] The change to the masculine is abrupt, but caused by what follows. This makes it clear that by ἀρχής, he means legislative power, the power of the ἐκκλησιαστής.

7 ἀνώνυμον γὰρ 'for we have no name to express that which the two, the member of the judicial and the member of the legislative body, have in common. Let it be then, for distinction's sake, called "an indefinite magistracy." We consider then as citizens, those who in this sense are members of the association.' μετέχοντας, sc. τῆς κοινωνίας.

8 δὲ μὲν οὖν, κ.τ.λ.] 'The sense of the word citizen then, which would best suit all that are called citizens, may be said to be this.'

τῶν πραγμάτων, κ.τ.λ.] 'in the case of general names which stand for individuals differing in kind;' or, wherever the things that correspond to the name differ in kind,' ("die einzeln zum Grunde liegenden Theile der Art nach verschieden sind," Stahr), 'and one sense is the primary, the other secondary, &c.: either there is absolutely no common element, or one which is very difficult to trace." γλυκάριος, 'scantily.' It is the case of analogous words, or equivocals. ὑστέρας, Categ. 1. 1. 1. 1.

9. πολιτεία] is the generic term, the various species differ very widely. ὑστέρας ambiguous, and if order of time is meant by the word, then the statement is not correct.

ἀναγκαῖον ἔτερον] If the whole differ, it cannot but be that the parts differ: the πολιτεία is but part of the πολιτεία.
πόσος λέγομεν, ὅστερον ἔσται φανερὸν. ὅστε καὶ τὸν πολίτην ἔτερον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὸν καὶ ἐκάστην πολιτείαν. διότι ἐὰν λεγέσθη ἐν μὲν δημοκρατίᾳ μάλιστ' ἐστὶν ἀδικία, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀλλαῖς ἐνδεχόμεναι μὲν, οὐ μὴν ἀναγκαῖον· ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι δήμος, οὐδ' ἐκκλησίαν νομίζομεν ἀλλὰ συνεκλήσεως, καὶ τὰς δίκαιας δικαίωσιν κατὰ μέρος, ὅπως ἐν Ἀθηνᾶ: οἱ πολεμίοις, καὶ τῶν συμβολαίων δικαίωσε τῶν ἐφόρων ἀλλοι ἀλλα, οἱ δὲ γέροντες τὰς φωνὰς, ἐτέρα ὡς ἁρχὴ τῆς ἐτέρας. τούτων δὲ τρόπον καὶ πρὶν Ἀριστ. ἅπασα γὰρ ἁρχὴν τίνος κρίνουσιν τὰς δίκας. ἀν' ἔχει γὰρ διορθώσειν τὸ τοῦ πολιστὸν διορισμός. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἀλλαίς πολιτείας οὐχ ὁ ἀριστοσ. ἀρχῶν ἐκκλησιαστής ἐστὶ καὶ δικαίωσις, ἀλλ' ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἁρχὴν ἡσύχασμος· τούτων γὰρ ἡ πάσην ἡ τισὶν ἀποδεότατο τὸ βουλευτεῖ θαλα τὰς δικαίωσιν, ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἡσύχασμος. τις μὲν ὡς ἐστιν ὁ ἑαυτής ἐπὶ τούτων φανερὸν· ὃς γὰρ ἐξουσία κοιναντὶς ἁρχῆς βουλευτικῆς ἡ κριτικῆς, πολιτείας ἡ λέγομεν εἶναι ταύτης τῆς πόλεως, πόλει ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων πλήθους ἰκανον πρὸς αὐτάρκειαν ζωῆς, ὡς ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν. ὀρίζονται ὑπὸ πρὸς τὴν 2

10 The Citizen defined.

15 ἔχει γὰρ, κ.τ.λ.] ‘Looking at this distinction, we must remember that the above definition of the citizen will apply with most propriety in a democracy.’ Stahr puts a full stop at πολιτήματι. I prefer altering that after ἀναγκαίως.

δῆμοι] ‘Democratical element.’ συγκλήσεως] ‘Assemblies summoned as occasion required.’ At Athens they would be extraordinary, as opposed to the regular assemblies. In the case supposed by Aristotle they are the only ones.

κατὰ μέρος] ‘Verschiedene Behörden.’ Stahr. ‘The administration of justice is conducted by different parts of the state.’ See note.

11 Καρχνδώνα] II. 11. 7. The general object is the same, at Sparta and at Carthage; the administration of justice is entrusted to the few, the magistrates; not to the people, assembled in large numbers, as at Athens. The ἁρχῆς τινος = ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχῶν.

12 ἔχει γὰρ, κ.τ.λ.] ‘However the definition of the citizen admits of correction.’

ταύταν] ‘As opposed to ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ.’

12 ἔχει γὰρ ἐξουσία] ‘He who is admissible,’ to whom the right of access to office is not closed.

ταυτός τῆς πόλεως] ‘Of the state in which he has this right.’

ΠΙ. 1 δρι[σται δε] δε should be read, ‘Now for practical purposes the citizen is defined to be.’ This is sup-
χρήσιν πολιτήν τοῦ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων πολιτῶν καὶ μὴ βατέρου μόνον, οὐν πατρὸς ἡ μητρὸς· οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πλέον ζητοῦσιν, οὐν ἐπὶ πάσσων δύο ἡ τρεῖς ἡ πλείους. οὖτω δὴ ὄριζομένων πολιτικῶς καὶ ταχέως, ἀποροοῦσι τινὲς τῶν τρίτων ἑκείνων ἡ τέταρτον, τῶς ἐστιν πολίτης. Γοργιάς μὲν οὖν ὁ Λεοντίνος, τὰ μὲν ἵσως ἀπορῶν τὰ δὲ εἰρηνευόμενος, ἐφε, καθάπερ ἡμών εἶναι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοτιμίων πεποιημένους, οὔτω καὶ Λαρισσαῖος τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτικῶν την ἐστιν γὰρ τινας λαρισσακοιοίς. ἔστι δ' ἀπλοῦν· εἰ γὰρ μετέχειν κατὰ τὸν ῥήματα διορισμὸν τῆς πολιτείας, ἦσαν δὲ πολίται· καὶ γὰρ οὐ δυνάτον ἡμῶν ἐφαρμότευν τὸ ἐκ πολίτου ἢ ἐκ πολιτίδος ἐπὶ τῶν πρῶτων οἰκεῖσαντων ἢ κτισιάντων. ἀλλ' ἵσως ἑκείνοι μᾶλλον ἔχουσιν ἀπόροι, οἱ οὔτος μετέχομεν κατ' ἥνεμον, πολίτειας, οὗτος ἂν θήσεις ἐποίησε Κλεοπάτρης μετὰ τῶν τυράννων ἐκβολήν πολλοὺς γὰρ ἐφόλευσες ἐξένοις καὶ δούλους μεταίκουσι τὸ δ' ἀμφισβητήτημα πρὸς τούτους ἐστιν οὐ τίς πολι-  

* & Beker.

ported by Vet. Int., who translates it 'autem.'

πολιτείας] 'practically,' 'popularly.' Comp. Poetics, vi. 23, 1450, b. 8. ἡξιὼς, 'hastily,' 'superficially.'

2 εἰρηνευόμενοι] "sich lustig machete." Stahr. I prefer the sense of 'speaking cautiously,' 'not wishing to speak out.'

δημοτικῶν] The word stands both for 'artificers' and 'magistrates.'

Λαρισσαῖοι] Liddell and Scott give the word ἴτ Λαρισσαῖοι from this passage as a kind of kettle made at Larissa. We do not know enough of Gorgias at Larissa, where he is said to have spent a considerable time, to make the anecdote clear.

3 οὗτοι δὲ ἀπλοῦν] 'But the question is really simple.'

ἡσαν &] 'erant,' Vet. Int. I omit the ἢν, 'If they came up to the definition, they were citizens,' ἐφαρμότα, active.

ἐκείνοι] 'another class involve really a greater difficulty.'

μετέχον, κ.τ.λ.] 'have been admitted to citizenship after a revolution.'

πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐφόλευσες, κ.τ.λ.] I n this passage Bp Thirlwall, ii. 74, wishes to insert καὶ before μετοικοὺς, making the new citizens to be taken from these classes. Niebuhr, on the other hand, Rom. Hist. ii. 305, note 702, wishes to change the order, πολλοὶ ἐφόλευσες ἐξένοις μετοικοὺς καὶ δοῦλους. Mr Grote, iv. 170, note i, prefers to take it as it stands, and construes the μετοικοὺς with both ἐξένοις καὶ δοῦλους. A comparison of two other passages, IV. (VII.) iv. 6, δοῦλων ἄριστα καὶ μετοικοὺς καὶ ἐξένοις, and again in the same chapter, § 14, ἐξένοις καὶ μετοικοὺς would lead, I think, to the insertion of καὶ as the simplest way.

4 τὸ ἀμφισβητήτημα] The question is not de facto, but de jure.
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though it is forcing the word to make it stand for the result of inquiry, instead of inquiry. Compare his use of κρίσεως in II. viii. 13. Stahr takes the same view, "Die zunächst liegende Lösung dieser Schwierigkeit."

4 ταύτην μέν οὖν, κ.τ.λ.] 'The difficulty when it takes this form, is by no means hard.' προστέραν, 'milder,' 'gentler.' For as the name of the city may apply to several, to the inhabitants of several places, the inquiry as to the identity of the different places meant by the name presents no difficulty. So I paraphrase the πολλαχοί...ζητήσεως.

δομική δέ, κ.τ.λ.] The first question arose when the place of residence was not the same. 'Similarly when the place is the same.' 'There is equally also a question,' &c.

It cannot surely be that the en-closure within given walls constitutes identity."

Βαβυλών] Compare Herod. i. 178, 191, 'which includes within its circumference a space adapted rather for a tribe than for a city.'

6 εἰς ἄλλον καθόν] IV. (VII.) 4. θῆσος ἐν] Compare on this subject Arnold, Thucydides, Preface to Vol. iii. xvi.

αλλὰ τῶν αὐτῶν, κ.τ.λ.] 'But throwing aside the question of size, and assuming that you have men of the same race inhabiting the same place, then, &c.'

τὸ γένος] Is the identity of the state dependent on the identity of the race, which is not impaired by the succession of generations? or does it depend on the identity of constitution? On this last, says Aristotle.
III. 4] ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Η.

οὕσπερ καὶ ποσαμοῦς εἰώθαμεν λέγειν τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ κρήνας Identity of the State. τὰς αὐτὰς, καθερ ἐστὶ τοῦ μὲν ἐπιγινομένου νάματος τοῦ δ’ ὑπεξίοντος, ἡ τούτο μὲν ἀνθρώπους φατέων εἶναι τοὺς αὐτοὺς διὰ τὴν τοιοῦτην αἰτίαν, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἔτεραν; οὕσπερ γὰρ 5 ἐστιν κοινωνία τῆς ἡ πόλις, ἑτεὶ δὲ κοινωνία πολιτῶν πολιτεία*. γιγνομένης ἔτερας τῷ εἴδει καὶ διαφορώς τῆς πολιτείας ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι δόξειν ἂν καὶ τὴν πόλιν εἶναι μὴ τὴν αὐτὴν, οὕσπερ γε καὶ χρόνον ὅτε μὲν καμικὸν ὁτὲ δὲ τραγικὸν ἔτερον εἶναι φαμέν, τῶν αὐτῶν πολλάκις ἀνθρώπων ὄντων. ὡμοίως δὲ καὶ πᾶσαν ἄλλην κοινωνίαν καὶ σύνθεσιν ἔτεραν, ἐὰν ἐτέρως εἴρητον ἡ τῆς συνθέσεως, ἦν ἀρμονίαν τῶν αὐτῶν φθόγγων ἔτεραν εἶναι λέγομεν, ἂν ὅτε μὲν ἡ Δώριος ὁτὲ δὲ Λέων. εἰ δὲ τούτων ἔχει τὸν τρόπον, φανερῶν ὅτι μᾶλλον λεκτέον τὴν αὐτὴν πόλιν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν βλέπων* ὄνομα δὲ καλεῖν ἔτερον ἡ ταυτὸν ἑξετοτι καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν κατοικούντων αὐτὴν καὶ πάμπαν ἔτερων ἀνθρώπων. εἰ δὲ δικαιον διαλύειν ἡ μὴ διάλυειν, ὅταν εἰς ἔτεραις μεταβάλλῃ πολιτείαν ἡ πόλις, λόγος ἔτερος.

Τῶν δὲ νῦν εἰρήμενων ἐκχύμενοι ἐστὶν ἐπισκέψαθαι 4. πότερον τὴν αὐτὴν ἁρετὴν ἀνόρος ἄγαθον καὶ πολίτων σπουδαῖον ὄντων, ἡ μὴ τὴν αὐτὴν. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰ γε τοῦτο τυχεῖν δεῖ γιγνήσει, τὴν τοῦ πολιτῶν τύπος τινὶ πρῶτον

* κοινωνία πολιτῶν, πολιτείας Bekker.

Are the good man and the good citizen identical?

Are the good man and the good citizen identical?

8 ἐτέρων] is the predicate.
9 λόγος ἔτερος] The point, as far as I know, is not discussed in the books we have.

IV. 1 After settling who is the citizen of his state, he proceeds to discuss a question analogous to that discussed in I. xiii., and first mooted Eth. v. v. 11. p. 1130. b. 29, ἐκ τοῦ γὰρ οὗ πολίτων ἀνδρὶ τῷ δομῷ εἶναι καὶ πολιτεία παντι, a statement which anticipates the conclusion of this chapter.

5 ἐτέρων] That of the man has been given in the Ethics.
Are the good man and the good citizen identical?

ληστῶν. ἦσσερ δὲν ὁ πλωτήρ εἰς τις τῶν κοινωνίαν ἐστίν, οὕτω καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν φαμέν. τῶν δὲ πλωτήρων καὶ πολιτείαν ἀνομοίων ὄντων τῆς δύναμιν (ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἔστιν ἔρετης, ὁ δὲ κυβερνήτης, ὁ δὲ πρωτέος, ὁ δὲ ἄλλης τοῦ ἂν ἄνωτην ἐστίν) δῆλον ὡς ὁ μὲν ἀκριβέστατος ἐκάστου λόγου ἴδιος ἐστι τῆς ἄρετης ὁμοίας δὲ καὶ κοινός τῆς ἐφαρμόσει πᾶσιν. ἡ γὰρ σωτηρία τῆς ναυτιλίας ἔργον ἐστίν αὐτῶν πάντων· τούτων γὰρ ἐκάστου ὀργεῖ τῶν πλωτήρων. ὅμων τούν καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ πολιτείαν ἀνομοίων ὄντων, ἡ σωτηρία τῆς κοινωνίας ἔργον ἐστίν, κοινωνία δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ πολιτεία· διὸ τὴν ἄρετὴν ἀναγκαίον εἶναι τοῦ πολιτου πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν· εἴπερ οὖν ἐστὶ πλεῖον πολιτείας εἰδέ, δῆλον ὡς οὐκ ἐνδεχεται τοῦ σπουδαίου πολιτοῦ μίαν ἄρετὴν εἶναι τὴν τελείαν· τὸν δὲ ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα φαμέν εἶναι κατ᾽ ἄρετη τελείαν. ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἐνδεχεται πολιτὴν ὄντα σπουδαίον μὴ κεκτηθαι τὴν ἄρετὴν καθ᾽ ἑν σπουδαίον ἀνήρ, φαινετο. Οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ’ ἄλλον τρόπον ἐστὶ διαπορεύοντας ἐπελθεῖν τὸν αὐτῶν λόγον περὶ τῆς ἀρίστης πολιτείας. εἰ

ὅ πλωτήρ] Compare Eth. vii. xi. 5. p. 1160, 14, on the subject of κοινωνίας, where πλωτήρες are cited as examples.

ὁ μὲν ἀκριβέστατος, κ.τ.λ. [That whilst the most exact definition of each will express properly the peculiar excellence of each, there will be none the less some common one which will be adapted to all.] Vict. wishes to read διαμ., and is followed by Schneider, but it is not necessary.

τῆς ναυτιλίας] 'For safety in their navigation is the object they all have in common; and if they have in common some one object (ἔργον), then they will have in common some excellence, ἡ γὰρ ἄρετὴ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον τὸ ἁρμαίον,' Eth. vi. ii. 7. p. 1139, 16.

κοινωνία δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ πολιτεία] 'and the association of citizens is their constitution.'

πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν] 'must necessarily be referred to the constitution of which he is a member,' comp. I. xiii. 15. He is but a part, and like other parts, can only be viewed properly in relation to the whole. If so, and if there are several forms of constitution, it will follow that the citizens in the different forms will differ, so that it is impossible for all citizens to secure the perfect virtue, in other words, to be perfectly good men.

οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ] A second argument. 'We may from another point of view discuss the best constitution, and arrive at the same conclusion.' Spengel, p. 30.

This clause is rather loosely expressed; I consider it to mean: It is impossible that a state should have none but thoroughly good men for its citizens, yet each citizen must do his
own proper work; this involves some excellence, that of the citizen, so that they will all be good citizens. But then, as they cannot be all quite alike, though excellent as citizens, they will not be all equally excellent as men.

διός τῶν ἰδιών ἐλευθερίας πόλεων ἐστιν, διὸς ἀνθρώπων.

6 ἐξ ἀνθρώπων = ἐξ ἐθνικῶν: διαφοροτον. A third argument. The mere fact of the citizens being dissimilar, involves dissimilar excellence. You would as little look for its being one and the same in all, as you would require one and the same excellence in the front and rear ranks of a chorus. Muller, Eumenides, 63, 64.

7 οὖν ἂν ἐπιτεθεῖν 'That then,' I. 11. 10.

ὁμαλ' ἀρα ἢστασιν 'But will there not be some case in which we shall find coincident the excellence of the good citizen and the good man?'

ἐφαρμέν ἢν] 'We say then that the good magistrate must combine moral goodness and intellectual excellence, whereas the citizen need not have this latter in its highest form.' τῶν δὲ πολιτείων οὐκ ἐστιν τὸ διαδοχικόν. We do not require φρόνιμον for the simple citizen. See below § 18.

8 οὖν τῆς πολιτείας 'So clear is it that we draw this distinction, that at the very outset, the education of the ruler, it is said, should be different from that of the ruled. As in fact is seen to be the case with the sons of kings, who are taught riding and the art of war.' For πολεμική, Götting reads πολιτεική, which I should not have mentioned, but that Mr Lewis
adopts it (On Authority, &c., p. 256, note). It is surely not necessary.

Euphitēs] Fr. Εον. vii.

9 In the good ruler then we must look for the perfect virtue of the perfect man. But those whom he rules are, not less than he, citizens of the state. There is a wide interval between their functions, there will be therefore a difference in their respective excellences. So in a given citizen the good man and the good ruler coincide, not in all citizens. It was a strong expression of Jason's sense of this difference between ruler and subject, when he said he felt hungry when not despot. Grote, mt. 36, note, 'incessant hunger till he became despot.'

10 άλλα μήν, κ.τ.λ.] 'It must not be forgotten, however, allowing all this, that by the common voice of men, praise is attached to the capacity for filling both positions, that of ruler and ruled, and the general idea of the excellence of a citizen, is that he possesses this capacity, that he can both rule and submit to rule.'

πολιτον δοκιμω[ we must supply does, or some similar word.

είδος, κ.τ.λ.] 'The good man must have the virtue of the ruler, the good citizen must have both; but both are not equally objects of praise.'

11 έπει οντι του, κ.τ.λ.] This is variously taken. Stahr supplies έπαινεται ἐκεῖνος after ἄμφοτερα, as does Schneider. Victorious makes ἄμφοτερα depend on μαθαίνων. Agreeing with him, I construe the passage as follows: 'Since then it seems that the ruler must some time or other learn both (άρχεται καὶ ἄρχει), and yet that the ruler and the ruled are not bound to know the same things, whilst the citizen must know both and fully share in both, what follows from those positions may be seen.' The simple answer as to what is required relatively of the two, the ruler and the ruled, is that in the best state it is a question of time. And as far as I can understand the passage, the line of argument is not continued in the next sentence, but in § 14. ταύτην γὰρ λί-
οὖν ποτὲ δοκεῖ ἀμφότερα καὶ οὐ ταύτα δεῖν τῶν ἄρχωντα μανθάνειν καὶ τῶν ἄρχομενων, τῶν δὲ πολίτην ἀμφότερον ἐπιστασθαι καὶ μετέχειν ἀμφότερον, ταύτητος δὲ κατίδοι τίς. 

[*Esti γαρ ἁρχὴ δεσποτικὴ ταύτην δὲ τὴν περὶ τὰγαγχαία λέγομεν, οἱ ποιεῖν ἐπιστασθαι τῶν ἄρχων' οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον, ἀλλὰ χρῆσαι μᾶλλον· θάτερον δὲ καὶ ἄνδραποδῶδες. λέγω ιαὶ δὲ θάτερον τὸ δύνασθαι καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν τὰς διανοικικὰς πράξεις. δούλου δὲ ἐδώ πλεῖο λέγομεν· αἱ γὰρ ἐργασίαι πλείους, ὁμοῖος ἐν μέρος κατέχοντωσιν οἱ χρεῖτες· οὕτως δὲ εἰσίν, ὅσπερ σημαίνει καὶ τούνοις· αὐτώς, οἱ ἥγιοι ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν, ἐν 1271 οἰς ὁ βάναυσος τεχνὸς ἔστω. διὸ παρ' ἐνοίς οἱ μετείχον οἱ δημιουργοὶ τὸ πολλαίον ἁρχῶν, πρὶν δὴμον γενόσθαι τὸν ἐσχατον. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἔργα τῶν ἁρχομένων οὕτως οὐ δει' 13 τὸν ἁγαθὸν οὐδὲ τὸν πολιτικὸν οὐδὲ τὸν πολίτην τὸν ἁγαθὸν μανθάνειν, εἰ μὴ ποτὲ χρείας χάριν αὐτῷ πρὸς αὐτῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι τὸν μὲν δεσπότην τὸν δὲ δούλον. ἀλλ' ἐστι τὰς ἁρχὴ καὶ ὅ ό ἁρχεῖ τῶν ὁμοίων τῷ γένει καὶ τῶν ἀλλωστέρων. Ταύτην γὰρ λέγομεν εἶναι τὴν πολιτικὴν ἂν ἁρχῆν, ἢ δει' τῶν ἁρχοντα ἁρχομένων μαθείν, οἷον ἰππαρχεῖν ἰππαρχεῖν, στρατηγεῖν στρατηγεῖν καὶ ταξιαρχεῖσθαι καὶ λοχαγήσασθαι. διό καὶ λέγεται καὶ τοῦτο

γομέν, κ.τ.λ. All between these two points seems to me out of place. It interrupts the reasoning, and is in itself superfluous, as it is in fact a repetition of points already adequately treated in the First Book. Without presuming to say that it is not Aristotle's, I have therefore inclosed it in brackets simply to mark what I consider the sense of the passage. It has the air of being put in to explain the connexion of ταύτην γὰρ λέγομεν τὴν πολιτικὴν ἁρχὴν. 

[ἔστι γὰρ ἁρχὴ] The doctrine is the same as that of I. vii.

12 ὀδοῦ 5' ὁδοῦ] From this to the end of the section is to me even more suspicious than the rest. It is most unnecessary detail.

13 ὅ γάρ ἐνι] 'For the result is that the distinction is effaced.'

14 ταύτην γὰρ] 'For the very notion we attach to the power exercised in a free state is, that it is that which the ruler learns to exercise by himself obeying.' Compare Grote, on the character of Epaminondas, x. 487, "An illustrious specimen of that capacity and goodwill, both to command and to be commanded, which Aristotle pronounces to form in their combination the characteristic feature of the worthy citizen."
καλὸς, ὥς οὐκ ἔστιν εὖ ἄρξαι μὴ ἀρχηγέτα. τούτων δὲ ἀρέτη μὲν ἐτέρα, δέι δὲ τὸν πολίτην τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἑπιστασθῇ καὶ δύνασθαι καὶ ἀρχηγεῖαι καὶ ἀρχοκρατεῖαι καὶ αὐτὴ ἀρέτη πολίτου, τὸ τὴν τῶν ἐπευθεῖαν ἄρχην ἑπιστασθῇ ἐπὶ ἀμφότερα. καὶ ἀνδρός δὴ ἁγαθοῦ ἄμφως, καὶ εἰ ἔτερον εἶδος σωφροσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἀρχηγῆς· καὶ γὰρ ἀρχομένου μὲν ἐπευθεῖαν δὲ δὴ ὁτι οὐ μία ἀν εἶ ἡ τοῦ ἁγαθοῦ ἀρετῆ, οἶον δικαιοσύνη, ἀλλ' εἴθη ἔχουσα καθ' ἀ ἄρξει καὶ ἀρέται, ὥστε· 17 περ ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς ἑτέρα σωφροσύνη καὶ ἀνδρεία. δόξαι γὰρ ἂν εἶναι δειλὸς ἀνήρ, εἰ οὕτως ἀνδρείος εἶχε ὁστεχὴ γυνὴ ἀνδρεία, καὶ γυνὴ λάλος, εἰ οὕτως κοσμία εἰχε ὁστερ ό ἀνήρ ὁ ἁγαθός, ἐπεὶ καὶ οἰκιονομὸς ἑτέρα ἀνδρός καὶ γυναικὸς· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ κτάσαι, τῆς δὲ φυλάσσειν ἔργων ἔστιν. ἡ δὲ φρόνησις ἀρχοντὸς ἰδιος ἀρετῆ μονὴ· τὰς γὰρ ἄλλας ἐξεικὲν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι κοινὲς καὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων καὶ τῶν ἀρχουν. 18 ἀρχομένον δὲ γε οὐκ ἔστιν ἀρετῆ φρόνεσις, ἀλλὰ δόξα ἀληθῆς· ὁστερ αὐλοπόιος γὰρ ὁ ἀρχόμενος, ὁ δ' ἀρχ' ἀυλοτόης ο ἁρμύνεσι. Πότερον μὲν οὖν ἡ αὐτὴ ἀρετὴ ἀνδρός ἁγαθοῦ καὶ πολίτου σπουδαίοις ἡ ἑτέρα, καὶ πῶς ἡ αὐτή καὶ πῶς ἑτέρα, φανερὸν εἰ τούτων.

5 Περὶ δὲ τὸν πολίτην ἔτι λέιτεται τις τῶν ἀποριῶν, τοῦ ἀληθιῶς γὰρ πότερον πολίτης ἐστὶν ὁ κοινὸνεὶν ἐξεικέν ἀρ-

**15 τούτων**] se. of the two positions.

**ἐκ ἀμφότερα**] 'in both directions,' 'dans les deux sens.'

**16 It follows then that both are parts of the character of a good man, even though we allow that the virtues as they appear in the ruler, wear a different face from that which they do in the ruled; I say virtues, for evidently in the good man, when though free he is yet bound by position to obey, there will not be merely one virtue, say justice, but there will be different kinds of virtue, one kind by which he shall be qualified to rule, the other qualified to obey.'

**17 οἰκιονομὰ**] 'Their function in the family management.'

**ἡ δὲ φρόνεσις, κ.τ.λ.] one virtue there is, and only one, peculiar to the ruler, φρόνεσις, the highest union of moral virtue with the practical reason. This is in agreement with his language in the *Ethics*, vi. xi. 2. p. 1143. 8. 

**ἡ μὲν γὰρ φρόνεσις ἐπτυπωθηκτ.**

**18 δόξα ἀληθῆς**] This is equivalent to the σύνεσις of the *Ethics* in the passage I have just quoted, which is said to be κριτική.

**V. 1 τὸν πολίτην**] 'Our citizen.'

**πότερον πολίτης ἐστὶν**] 'Is he only a citizen?'
Χάρι, ἢ καὶ τοὺς βανάωσις πολίτας θετέου; εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ
tούτους θετέου οἴς μη μέτεστιν ἀρχῶν, οὖχ οἶνος τε παιντός
ἐιπὲν πολίτου τὴν τωμαῖτιν ἀρετὴν· οὕτως γὰρ πολίτης. εἰ
dὲ μηθεὶς τῶν τοιοῦτων πολίτης, ἐν τίνι μέρει θετέος ἱκα
στος· οὐδὲ γὰρ μέτοιχος οὐδὲ ξένος. ἡ δὲ γε τούτων τῶν
cλόνων οὖν ἄλλως δείκομεν συμβαίνειν ἄτοπον; οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ 1278
dοῦλοι τῶν εἰρημένων οὖν, οὐδὲ οἱ ἀκτελεύθεροι. τούτο γὰρ
ἀληθεῖ, αἰς οἱ πάντας θετέου πολίται ἢν ἀνευ ὧν ἄν εἰν
πάλις, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ οἱ παιδεῖς ὁσαύτως πολίται καὶ οἱ ἁδρεῖς,
ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἀκτείς οἱ δὲ ἐξ ὑποδέσεως· πολίται μὲν γὰρ
εἰσίν, ἀλλ' ἀκτείς· ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρόνοις παρ' 1
ἐνιαίας ἂν δοῦλον τὸ βάναυσον ἡ ξενική· διότερ οἱ πολλοὶ
tοιοῦτα καὶ τῶν. ἡ δὲ βελτίστη τόλμη οὐ ποιήσει βάναυ
σον πολίτην· εἰ δὲ καὶ οὕτως πολίτης, ἀλλ' πολίτου ἀρετήν
ἐν εἰπείν λεκτέον οὐ παιντός, οὖχ ὁλεθρόν μένον, ἀλλ'
οσοὶ τῶν ἐγχόν εἰσίν ἀφειμένοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων. τῶν δὲ 4
ἀναγκαίων οἱ μὲν ἐν λιπερογροῦντες τὰ τοιαῦτα δοῦλοι, οἱ
dὲ κοινὸι βάναυσοι καὶ βητές. φανερὸν δ' ἐνετέθειν μιχρὸν

betaναwos] Compare on this subject, Herod. p. 167.
τὴν τοιαύτην ἀρετὴν] Such as we have given him. ὄντως, sc. ὑ βαναως.
οὐδὲ γὰρ μέτοιχος] Here again, we have these two classes marked as
distinct, III. p. 3.
2 ἂν ἔνε, κ.τ.λ.] So far as that
point is concerned, we are not involved in any difficulty. There are other
classes in the same state.
ἀκτελεύθεροι] 'freedmen.'
ἀκτείς] 'simply,' 'without any
qualification.'
ἐξ ὑποδέσεως] 'on a given supposition,' the term must be qualified when
applied to them.
3 τὸ βανάωσον ἄν δοῦλον ἄν ξενικόν] 'The industrial population consisted
entirely either of slaves or aliens.'
εἰ δὲ καὶ ὄντως] Rejected from the
ideal state, the artisan may yet prac-
tically be a member of the state such
as it exists. If so, his admission ne-
necessitates a qualification with regard
to the excellence we require in a citi-
zen. Such a standard as we set be-
comes now one by which all citizens
are not to be tried, nor all free men,
but only such as are free from the
necessity of working to support them-

Are εἰ
βαναwοι
citizens?

selves.
4 τῶν ἄναγκαλων] If this read-
ing is kept, which perhaps is the best
way, short as it is: 'With regard to
such occupations, those who serve one
man in such points are slaves, whilst
those who serve the public are artisans
and Athenian.' Looking at the whole
expression I had thought that ἀναγ-
καλως was corrupt, and that the true
reading was μη ἀφειμένως. But it is
as well to acquiesce in the present
reading.
The interval must elapse between his mixing in business and his admission to office.


8 o& μην ἀλλά, κἄτ.ἄ.] 'not how-

ever but that, when from want of ge-
nuin citizens they introduce such as
these, when they have numbers suf-
cient,' &c. εὑροὶστε 6 ἐχλο; Comp.
Thirlwall, iii. 61, for Pericles' clearing
the Athenian register.

άνδ γυναικόν] = ἐκ πολίτων, where
the mother only was a citizen.
ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Γ.

ναίκων τέλος δε μόνον τοῦς ἐξ ἄμφοτέρων αὐτῶν πολίτας ποιούσιν. ὁτι μὲν οὖν εἶδη πλείω πολίτων, φανερῶν ἐκ τούτων, καλ ὁτι λέγεται μάλιστα πολίτης ὁ μετέχων τῶν τιμῶν, ὁσπερ καὶ ὁμηρος ἐποίησεν

οὐσὶ τον ἀδίμηθρον μετανάστην

ὡσπερ μετοίκος γὰρ ἐστὶ τῶν τιμῶν μὴ μετέχων. ἀλλὰ ὁπο τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπικεκρυμμένον ἐστιν, ἀπάτης χάριν τῶν συνοικούντων ἐστίν. Πότερον μὲν οὖν ἔτέραν ἐν αὐτῇ ἐκ θετέου καθ ὑπὸ ἀνήρ ἁγαθὸς ἐστι καὶ πολίτης σπουδάσως, ὁ ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων, ὁτι τινὸς μὲν πόλεως ὁ αὐτὸς τινὸς ὁ ἐτερος, κακείνος οὐ πάσα ἀλλὰ ὁ πολιτικὸς καὶ κύριος ἢ δυνάμενος εἶναι κύριος, ἢ καθ αὐτὸν ἢ μετέχων, τῆς τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμελείας.

Ἐστὶ δὲ ταύτα διώρισται, τὸ μετὰ ταύτα σκέπετον ὁ πότερον μίαν θετέου πολιτείαν ἢ πλείους, κἂν εἰ πλείους, τίνες καὶ τῶν, καὶ διαφοραί τίνες αὐτῶν εἰσίν. Ἐστὶ δὲ πολιτεία πόλεως τάξεις τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀρχῶν καὶ μάλιστα ἀστῶν Bekker.
The object of the state. τὸ πολιτεύμα] 'the government,' and the constitution of the state, or more shortly, the state is its government; L'état, c'est moi, is the language of all governments, monarchical or republican. Compare Eth. ix. viii. 6. p. 1168, b. 29, διὸπερ δὲ καὶ πολίς τὸ κυριάταιν μᾶλλα δοκεῖ εἶναι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σθενήμα.

2 φαμέν δὲ καὶ] The sovereign in each differs, therefore the constitution differs, and our common language allows that it does.

ποθετεῖν] 'We must first take as a basis for subsequent reasonings, answers to the two questions: What is the object of the formation of a state? 2ndly, How many kinds of government are there?'

3 ὠναί, κ.π.λ.] marks very clearly the scope of the First Book.
καὶ μὴν δεδομένῳ] 'even if in no degree is need of mutual assistance.' Compare Eth. ix. 9. p. 1169, 6, for full discussion of this question.

δὲ ἀλλὰ, κ.π.λ.] Still it is not to exclude from the bonds of union the element of personal advantage which each member of the state derives from the union, in proportion to the degree in which each by it is enabled to live nobly.

4 τοῦτο] ac. τὸ [ὅν καλώ] 'But still men do form the social union for life itself, and not for social life, and when formed men keep it together solely with reference to life and to secure that, unless the hardships which their life brings with it become past endurance.' Comp. Arnold, Rom. Hist. i. 167, "Nations, like individuals, cheerfully acquiesce in their actual condition, when it appears to be in any degree natural or even endurable; and their desire of change, whenever they do feel it, is less the wish of advancing from good to better, or a fond craving after novelty, than an irresistible instinct to escape from what is clearly and intolerably bad, even though they have no definite prospect of arriving at good." Also, p. 554.

Ἰς ὅσον ἐνεστὶ τι τοῦ καλοῦ μόρῳν] There is a question as to the place
III. 6.] POLITIKON Γ. The different kinds of government.

τι τοῦ καλοῦ μόριον, καὶ συνέχουσί την πολιτικὴν κοινωνίαν καὶ κατὰ τὸ ζῆν αὐτὸ μόνον, ἀν μὴ τοῖς χαλεποῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον ὑπερβάλλει λίαν. ἄδηλον δὲ ὁ αὐτῆς καρτεροῦσι πολλὴν κακοπάθειαν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶτων γλυκόμενοι τοῦ ζῆν, ἀρ σὺνούσις τινὸς εὐμερείας ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ γλυκύττησις φυσικῆς.

'Αλλὰ μὴν καὶ τῆς ἄρχης τοῦς λεγομένους τρόπους βρέδην διέλειν καὶ γάρ ἐν τοῖς ἐξωτερικοῖς λόγοις διοριζόμεθα περὶ αὐτῶν πολλάκις. ἦ μὲν γὰρ δεσποτεία, καίπερ ὄντος καὶ ἀλήθεια τῷ τε φύσει δοῦλα καὶ τῷ φύσει δεσπότης ταύτου συμφέροντος, ὅμως ἄρχει πρὸς τὸ τοῦ δεσποτῶν συμφέρον οὕτω ξύτων, πρὸς δὲ τὸ τοῦ δούλου κατὰ συμβεβηκός. οὐ γὰρ ἐνδέχεται φθειρομένου τοῦ δούλου σώζεται τὴν δεσποτείαν. ἦ δὲ τέκνων ἄρχη καὶ γνωικὸς καὶ τῆς οἰκίας 7 πάσης, ἦν δὲ καλοῦμεν οἰκονομικὴν, ἦτοι τῶν ἄρχων ἵναν ἐστὶν ἡ κοινὸς τινὸς ἀμφοῖν, καθ' αὐτὸ μὲν τῶν ἄρχων μένων, ὡσπερ ὀρᾶμεν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τέχνων, οἷον ἱατρικὰ καὶ γυμναστικὰ, κατὰ συμβεβηκός δὲ κἂν αὐτῶν ἔτειν οὐδὲν γάρ καλύπτει τὸν παιδοτρίβην ἐνα τῶν γυμναζόμενων ἑνότερ εἶναι καὶ αὐτόν, ὡσπερ ἡ κυβερνήτης εἰς ἐστὶν ἁσι τῶν πλατ- τίων. ο μὲν οὖν παιδοτρίβης ἡ κυβερνήτης σκοτεὶ τῶν ἄρχων ἵναν ἐστὶν ἁσι τῶν πλατ- τίων, καὶ τοῦτον εἰς γενήται καὶ αὐτὸς,

these words should hold. Some, as Schneider with Corny, resting on the Vet. Int., wish to place them after τὴν πολιτικὴν κοινωνίαν. If I understand them rightly, it is no matter where they stand. In either case I refer them to the social union expressed—if their present place is kept, by the συνέχουσι, if their place is altered, by πολιτικὴν κοινωνίαν. Rest society and the objects of society on the simple basis of mutual wants, a lower one than Aristotle would wish to take, still there results from it, there is implied in it inherently something noble, some higher element. Men cannot unite without eliciting, as the fruits of their union, something good. There is honour among thieves, is an illustration of this statement.

5 ἀλλὰ μὴν] Here begins the answer to the 2nd question, πῶς εἶδος ἄρχει, here called τῶν τρόπων.

ἐξωτερικῶς] This term may here include, and probably does, the First Book. Compare I. v. 4, and note.

6 οὐ γὰρ ἐνδέχεσθαι] It does not answer absolutely to neglect the slave, any more than any other part of property.

7 ἦν δὲ] 'and it is this, not διαστοιχήματος, that we emphatically call οἰκονομικῶν.'

αὐτῶν] sc. τῶν ἄρχων.
ΠΟΙΤΙΚΩΝ Γ.

κατά συμβεβηκός μετέχει τῆς οἰκελησίας· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πλωτήρ, ὁ δὲ τῶν γυμναζομένων εἷς γίνεται παιδοτρίβης αὖν· διὸ καὶ τὰς πολιτικὰς ἀρχὰς, ὅταν ἡ κατ’ ισότητα τῶν πολιτῶν συνεστηκτικὰ καὶ καθ’ ἀμοιβήτητα, κατὰ μέρος ἀξιούσιν ἀρχείν, πρὸτερον μὲν, ἡ πέρικεν, ἀξιοῦσιν ἐν μέρει λειτουργεῖν, καὶ σκοπεῖν τινὰ πάλιν τὸ αὐτοῦ ἀγαθὸν, ἄσπερ πρῶτον οἰ αὐτὸς ἀρχαὶ ἐσκότει τὸ ἐκεῖνον συμφέρον· τό νῦν ὅτι διὰ τὰς οἰκελησίας τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς βούλονται συνεχῶς ἀρχεῖν, οὖν εἰ συνεέχειν ὑμαῖναι αἰὲ τοῖς ἀρχοῦσι, νοσακερός ὀφείλει καὶ γὰρ αὖ ὦτως ἵσις ἐδίκως τ. τ. τὰς ἀρχὰς. Φανερὸν τοῖνος ὡς ὅσι καὶ πολιτείαι τὸ κοινῆς συμφέρον σκοποῦσιν, αὐτὰ μὲν ὀρθαὶ τυγχάνουσιν ὢσια κατὰ τὸ ἄπλος δίκαιον, ὅσι δὲ τὸ σφέτερον μόνον τῶν ἀρχόντων, ἡμαρτημέναι πᾶσαι καὶ παρεκβάσεις τῶν ὀρθῶν πολιτειῶν· διαστοικαὶ γὰρ, ἡ δὲ πόλις κοινανία τῶν ἐλευθερῶν ἀστιῶν.

7 Διαμεισμῶν δὲ τούτων ἐξαρνένων ἦστι τὰς πολιτείας ἑπισκέψασθαι, πόσαι τῶν ἀριθμῶν καὶ τίνες εἰσὶ, καὶ πῶς τὰς ὀρθὰς αὐτῶν· καὶ γὰρ αἱ παρεκβάσεις ἐσονται φανεραὶ τούτων διορισθείσων. Ἐστεί δὲ πολιτεία μὲν καὶ πολίτεμα σημαίνει ταύτων, πολίτεμα δέ ἐστι τὸ κύριον τῶν πόλεων, ἀνάγκη δ’ εἶναι κύριον ἡ ἐνα ἡ ὀλίγως ἡ τοῦς πολλοὺς, ὅταν μὲν ὁ ἐξ ἡ οἱ ὀλίγαι ἡ οἱ πολλοὶ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν συμφέρον ἀρχίσαι, ταύτας μὲν ὀρθὰς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὰς πολιτείας,
III. 7.] ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Γ. 125

τὰς δὲ πρὸς τὸ γείον ἢ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἢ τῶν ὀλίγων ἢ τοῦ πλή-
θους παρεκκλάσεις ή γὰρ οὐ πολίτας φατέον εἶναι τοὺς
μετέχοντας, ἢ δὲ κοινωνεῖν τοῦ συμφέροντος. καλεῖν δὲ εἰ-
αίσθαμεν τῶν μὲν μοναρχῶν τὴν πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν ἀποβλέ-
pουσαν συμφέρον βασιλείαν, τὴν δὲ τῶν ὀλίγων μὲν πλειο-
νῶν δὲ ἐνὸς ἀριστοκρατίαν, ἢ διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἄρχουν,
ἡ δὲ τὸ πρὸς τὸ ἀριστον τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς κοινωνοῦσιν
αὐτής. οὖν δὲ τὸ πλήθος πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν πολιτεύσαται
συμφέρον, καλεῖται τὸ κοινὸν ὅνομα πασῶν τῶν πολιτειῶν,
pολιτεία· συμβαίνει δὲ εὐλόγως· ἐνα μὲν γὰρ διαφέρειν
κατ' ἀρετὴν ἢ ὀλίγους ἐνδέχεται, πλείους δὲ ἐκ τοῦ χαλέπου
ἡμιδιδάσκον πρὸς πάσαν ἄρετην, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα τὴν πολε-
1279 ονὶν· αὐτὴ γὰρ ἐν πληθὺς γίγνεται. διὸπερ κατὰ ταύτην
τὴν πολιτείαν κυριατάτον τὸ προπολεμόν, καὶ μετέχουσιν
αὐτῆς οἱ κακυμάνοι τὸ ὀπλα. παρεκκλάσεις τὲ τῶν εἰρή-
5 μένων τυραννῶν μὲν βασιλείας, ὀλιγαρχία δὲ ἀριστοκρατίας,
δημοκρατία δὲ πολιτείας. ἡ μὲν γὰρ τυραννίς ἐστὶ μοναρχία
πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον τὸ τοῦ μοναρχοῦντος, ἡ δὲ ὀλιγαρχία
πρὸς τὸ τῶν εὐπόρων, ἡ δὲ δημοκρατία πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον

ἡ γὰρ οὐ πολίτας, κ.τ.λ.] For ἡ ἐπ-
λίς ἡ κοινωνία πολιτῶν, ἡ δὲ πολιτική
κοινωνία τοῦ συμφέροντος ἐνήκα συνε-
στηκε. Comp. I. i. and note.

3 τῶν μὲν μοναρχῶν] 'In the case
of the monarchies we usually call the
constitution which looks to the com-
mon interest.' With τὴν ἀποβλέπω-
σαν, I understand πολιτείαν.

4 συμβαίνει δὲ εὐλόγως] "Ces dif-
férences de dénomination sont fort
justes," says St Hilaire. I refer it
strictly to the last form of govern-
ment, and translate the passage: 'The
result is such as you might reasonably
expect; for whilst it is possible to find
one man or a few of eminent virtue,
in proportion as you increase the num-
ber, it becomes difficult to find them
trained and finished generally; if to any
excellence, it will be warlike excellence
that will be developed in them. It is
one of which large numbers are sus-
ceptible, and so we find that in this form
of government the supreme power re-
sides in the military class, and it is
open to those who have got full ar-
mour.' Comp. III. xvii. 4. The pas-
sage is an anoval, that though in
strict theory he places the three forms
on a level, all equally right, practically
there is an interval, and the third form
is, from the nature of the case, not
susceptible of such perfection as the
first and second. It is the same con-
clusion as that of Ekh. vii. xii. 2. p.
1160, ἢ χρυσήτη τὴν κυριαρχία. This
will come more prominently forward
later, VI. (IV.) viii.
Δεῖ δὲ μικρῷ διὰ μακροτέρων εἰπεῖν τις ἐκάστη τούτων τῶν πολιτείων ἑστίν', καὶ γὰρ ἔχει τινὰς ἀπορίας, τῷ δὲ περὶ ἑκάστην μέθοδον φιλοσοφῶντι καὶ μὴ μονὸν ἀποκλέ-πουσιν πρὸς τὸ πρὶν ὁικεῖον ἑστὶ τὸ μὴ παρεχοῦν μηδὲ τι καταλείπειν, ἀλλὰ δηλοῦν τὴν περὶ ἑκάστον ἀλήθειαν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τυράννους μὲν μοναρχία, καθάπερ εἰρηται, δεσποτικὴ τῆς πολιτικῆς κοινωνίας, ὀλιγαρχία δὲ ὅταν ᾧ διαὶ κύριοι τῆς πολιτείας οἱ τὰς οἰκίας ἔχοντες, δημοκρατία δὲ τούτων ἥτταν οἱ μὴ κεκτημένοι πλῆθος οὐσίας ἀλλ' ἀποροι.

Πρώτη δὲ ἀπορία πρὸς τὸν διορισμὸν ἑστίν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ λέγεται, μὴ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν πλείον ὅστε εὐποροὶ κύριοι τῆς πολείας, δημοκρατία δὲ ἑστίν ὅταν ή κύριον τὸ πλῆθος, ὁμολογεῖ δὲ πάλιν καὶ εἶ που συμβαίνῃ τοῖς ἀπόροις ἐπίτους μὲν εἰναι τῶν εὐπορῶν, καιτοίς δὲ ὅταν κυρίοις εἰναι τῆς πολιτείας, ὅταν δὲ ὀλιγον κύριον πλῆθος, ὀλιγαρχίαν εἶναι φασιν, οὐκ ἕναν καλὸν

VIII. τοῦτον] 'these last.' For it seems clear from what follows, that it is not the whole number that he is intending to consider. His attention is for some time concentrated on oligarchy and democracy. These seem rather out of place, and ought to have their treatment in Books VI, VII, = (IV. VI.) Is it that their immense practical importance, for they were really the only free forms actually in work, induces him to deviate from the more strict logical sequence of his book?

τῷ δὲ περὶ, κ.τ.λ.] 'It is strictly the business of the philosophical inquirer in each department, not to overlook.'

2 δεσποτικὴ τῆς πολιτικῆς κοινωνίας] 'It is the rule of a master over slaves where there had been a free political society.' It is superinduced on such a society previously existing.

"The tyrant," to quote from a passage which fairly represents the character of the later tyrants of Greece (Arnold, Rom. Hist. i. p. 474), "had broken into the field of civilized society, he had seated himself on the necks of his countrymen, to gorge each prevailing passion of his nature at their cost, with no principle but the interest of his own power." The later tyrants and the earlier despots must be kept distinct.

3 πρώτη δὲ] 'at the outset there arises a difficulty, suggested by the definition given.' The many might be wealthy and sovereign; or again, the few might be poor and sovereign: what shall we call such governments? The answer Aristotle gives is, that it is in the wealth and the poverty that lies the real distinction, the number is an accident.

καὶ εἶ ποὺ] 'even if anywhere.'
III. 8.] ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Ε.

4 οὖν] ‘under these conditions,’ ‘from this point of view.’

5 τῶν πολιτείων] ‘of their respective states.’

6 ὅ λόγος] ‘The course of the argument.’ In this and the following sections, I have altered Bekker’s stopping. Both after διάφοραι, § 6, and δημοκρατικά, § 7, I substitute a colon for a full stop.

7 τοῦ μὲν] In § 7, § 8, we have the particle that answers to the μὲν here, ‘whilst the being few or many in the governing body is an accident, &c., that by which really the two differ,’ &c.

πανταχοῦ] emphatic, ‘everywhere, without exception.’ So that he might on his own principles, I. vi. 6, look on it as a fact of nature.

διὸ καὶ οὐ συμβαίνει] ‘So that as a fact we do not find that the cases supposed above occur, that the alleged causes of difference really exist.’ The stress lies on συμβαίνει and γίνεσθαι, the genitive διάφορας depends on αἱρεῖ τὰς αἰτίας διαφοράς γίνεσθαι.


8 δὲ αἰτίας] ‘and wealth in the one case, numbers in the other, make
Δηστέον ὅ τε πρῶτον τίνας ὥρας λέγουσι τῆς ὀλγαρ-χίας καὶ δημοκρατίας, καὶ τί τὸ δίκαιον τὸ τε ὀλγαρ-χικόν καὶ δημοκρατικόν. Πάντες γὰρ ἀποτελεῖ δίκαιον τίνας, ἀλλὰ ἐκ γὰρ τῶν τύπων προέχονται, καὶ λέγουσιν οὐ καί τὸ κύριον δίκαιον. οὕτω δικαίως οὐκ θὰ δίκαιον εἶναι, καὶ ἀπ' ἀυτοῦ δικαίου δίκαιον εἶναι, καὶ γὰρ ἀπ' ἀυτοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλήτης ἀνάμνεσις. οὐ δὲ τούτῳ ἀφαιρεῖται, τὸ οὗ, καὶ χρώσσθηνε καθώς τὸ δ' ἀπὶ οὗ περὶ αὐτῶν ἡ κρίσις· σχεδὸν δ' οἴ πλείστα παρ' αὐτοῖς κρίται περὶ τῶν δικαίων. οὕτω δὲ τούτῳ τούτων εἰσι, καὶ ἀπεριτείρητον τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον εἰτε τε τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ ὅσι, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπεριτείρητον πρότερον, [ἐν τοῖς ἡςανοίγοις] τὴν μέν τοῦ πράγματος ἱστοτείρητον ὡμολογοῦσι, τὴν δὲ ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ ἀναφερόμενον, μᾶλλον δὲν ὑπὸ τὸ λεγόμενον ἀπ' ἀυτοῦ καθώς, ἀπειτείρητον καὶ δὲν δὴ καί τὸ λεγόμενον μέχρι τῶν ἀναφερόμενον δικαίων τι νομίζομεν δίκαιον λέγειν ἀπ' ἀυτοῦ. οὐ δὲν γὰρ ἀν καὶ τι ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ αὕτη, ἀν θύμιζον, δὲν δὴν ἄνωτερον ἄνωτερον ἄνω, οὐδὲν ἄνωτερον ἄνωτερον ἄνωτερον τέ τι κυρίατον οὐκ λέγομεν. οὐ μὲν γὰρ τῶν κτη-
III. 9.

ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Γ.

5 o) γαρ είπα: 'For they say it is not fair.'

τῶν ἡ ἁρχής οὔτε τῶν ἐπειγομένων] 'either of the principal or of the profits accruing.' This is perhaps the simplest. It might, I think, be masculine: 'either of those who originally contributed, or of subsequent generations of shareholders.'

6 Wealth or property is but the basis of the social life: δι' ὑπ' ἅρχης. Hence the oligarchical claim becomes unsound as soon as you rise higher and state the real object of the social union. Compare Mr Cornwall Lewis, on Ὀπισθον, ch. vii. xvii. p. 232, &c.

memory τοῦ τῶν κατὰ προαλασιάς] Comp. Εἰκ. x. vi. 8. p. 1177. 8: ἐκθόμβιαὶ εἴδεις ὧμετρον ὑπερβαθίας, εἰ μὴ καὶ βίον, the equivalent of ἡν κατὰ προα-

p: Their respective notions of justice.

resiās. συμμαχίας] Compare II. π. 3. διά τῶν ἀλλαγῶν] Ch. I. 3-5. σύμβολα] For a particular instance of the union of these two nations compare Grote, iv. 275, 6.

The sentence terminates abruptly at the end of this section, and, grammatically, there is no apophasis. The real apophasis, in point of sense, begins with § 8: περὶ δ' ἀρετῆς: and were it not for the ' kai of the next clause, the whole might be ordered, even as it is, pretty regularly: αἰ δὲ μήτε τῶν ἡν κατὰ προαλασιάς —μήτε δὲ τῶν ἀλλαγῶν—περὶ δ' ἀρετῆς— φανερὸν.

7 κατα τῶν συμβολάς] 'of those who come under the treaty.'
9 and καθαρὸν] 'were even to bring them together so that.'

10 εἰς ἑαυτὸν τὸν τόλμα] 'Not even so would it attain to the idea of a state.'

11 ἐπιμαχίας] 'a defensive alliance.'

The passage reads oddly, not in the way of contrast, but of illustration of the common language of our day.
πολειδόντες καὶ χωρίς. Φανερῶν τούτων ὁτι ἡ πόλις οὐκ ἔστι κοινωνία τότου καὶ τοῦ μὴ ἀλικεῖν σφας αὐτοῦς καὶ τῆς μεταδόσεως χάριν· ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν, εἰπερ ἔσται πόλις, οὐ μὴν οὖν ὑπαρχόντων τούτων ἀπάντων ἡ ἕκτη πόλις, ἀλλ' ἡ τοῦ εὖ ζήν κοινωνία καὶ ταῖς εἰκόνας καὶ τοῖς γένεσι, ζωῆς τελείας χάριν καὶ αὐτάρχους. οὐκ ἔσται πέμνοι τοῦτο μὴ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ἕνα κατακλοῦντων τόπον καὶ χρημάτων ἐπιγαμίας. διὸ καθεῖηι τ' ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὰς πόλις καὶ φατρίω καὶ θυσίαι καὶ διαγωγικό τού συζήν· τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον φίλας ἄργον· ἡ γὰρ τοῦ συζήν προαιρεσις φιλία. Τέλος μὲν οὖν πόλεως τὸ εὖ ζήν, ταῦτα δὲ τοῦ τέλους χάριν. πόλις δὲ ἡ γεννὼν καὶ κοιμῶν κοινωνία ζωῆς 14 τελείας καὶ αὐτάρχους· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν, αἷς φαμέν, τὸ ζήν ἑυδαιμονών καὶ καλῶς. τῶν καλῶν ἀρα πράξεων χάριν διέτοις ἐίναι τῇ πολιτική τον κοινωνίαν, ἀλλ’ οὐ τοῦ συζήν. διὸς τοις συμβάλλονται πλείστον εἰς τῇ τοιαύτην και- 15 νανίαν, τούτος τῆς πόλεως μέστις πλείον ἢ τοῖς κατὰ μὲν ἑλεθρεύειαν καὶ γένος ἵσοις ἢ μείζονι κατὰ δὲ τῇ πολιτικὴν ἁρετῆς ἁνίσεις, ἢ τοῖς κατὰ πλεύτων ὑπερέχουσι καὶ ἀρετῆς δ' ὑπερεχομενοῖς. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν πάντες οἱ περὶ τῶν πολιτευμάτων ἀμφισβητοῦντες μέρος τοῦ τοῦ δίκαιου λέγουσι, φανερῶν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων.

"Ἔχει δ' ἀπορίαν, τί δὲ τὸ κύριον εἶναι τῆς πόλεως. ἦ 10

12 ταῦτα μὲν ἀναγκαῖον] 'Security of rights and property must exist, if there is to be a state; but it may exist, and there need not by virtue of its existence (ἡθ) be a state, that will be, &c.'

13 ὑπάρχει μὲν αἰσχον\[Families and aggregates of families\] in the place of γένεσι would have been more consistent with his general language.

13 3.6 This refers to κοινωνία τοῦ ἐν ζήν. κ.α., in § 12 : 'To secure this,' &c. Comp. Eth. viii. x. 5. p. 1161, 18.: πᾶσαι δ' ἀπαύ οὐδὲ τὴν πολιτικήν.


15 τὴν τοιαύτην κοινωνίαν] sc. τὸν καλὸν πράξουν. It is to those who contribute most to forward the true objects of the society, that the larger share in the government of the society properly belongs.

μέρος τοῖ] Some part, and some part only.

X—XIV. It must be remembered that these chapters are quite aporematic.
γὰρ τοι τὸ πλῆθος, ἢ τοὺς πλουσίους, ἢ τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς, ἢ τῶν βέλτιστων ἓνα πάντων, ἢ τοὺς τυραννοὺς. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα ἔχειν φαίνεται δυσκολίαν. τι γάρ; ἢν οἱ πέντες διὰ τὸ πλεῖον εἶναι διανέμονται τὰ τῶν πλουσίων, τοῦτον οὐκ ἀδικοῦν ἐστιν; ἢδοξε γὰρ νῦ Ἰδία τῷ κυρίῳ δικαίως. τὴν οὔτε ἀδίκιαν τί χρῆ λέγειν τὴν ἐσχάτην; Πάλιν τε πάντων λιπθέντων, οἱ πλείοις τὰ τῶν ἐλαττῶν ἄν διανέμονται, φανερῶν διὶ φθειρούσι τὴν τόλιν. ἀλλὰ μὲν οὐχ ἢ γ' ἀρετὴ φθείρει τὸ ἔχον αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ τὸ δίκαιον σώλος φθαρτικὸν, ὥστε δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τῶν νόμων τούτων οὐχ οἷον τ' εἶναι δικαῖον. 'Ετι καὶ ταῖς πράξεις ὅσαι ὁ τύραννος ἐπράξεν, ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πᾶσας δικαίας. βιαζέται γὰρ ἂν κρείττων, ὡστε καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τοὺς πλουσίους. 'Αλλ' ἀρα τοὺς ἐλάττους δίκαιον ἀρχεῖν καὶ τοὺς πλουσίους; ἢν οὖν κακεῖνοι ταῦτα ποιῶσι καὶ διαρκάσωσι καὶ τὰ κτήματα ἀφαιρῶνται 4 τοῦ πλῆθους, τοῦτ' ἕστι δίκαιον; καὶ θάτερον ἀρα. ταῦτα μὲν τούτων ὅτι πάντα φαύλα καὶ οὐ δίκαια, φανερῶν. 'Αλλὰ τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς ἀρχεῖν δὲ καὶ κυρίοις εἶναι πάντας; οὐκόν ἀνάγκη τοὺς ἄλλους ἀτίμους εἶναι πάντας, μὴ τιμωρεῖν ταῖς πολιτικαῖς ἀρχαῖς τιμᾶς γὰρ λέγομεν εἶναι τὰς ἀρχαῖς, ἀρχόντων δ' αἰεὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τοὺς ἄλλους 5 ἀτίμους. 'Αλλ' ἐνα τῶν σπουδαιότατον ἀρχεῖν βέλτιον; ἀλλ' ὅτι τούτο ὀλγαρχικότερον. οἱ γὰρ ἀτίμοι πλείους. 'Αλλ' ἴσως φαίνει τις ἂν τὸ κυρίον δῆλος ἀνθρωπον εἶναι

X. 1 ἣχων δυσκολίαν τὸ involve unpleasant consequences.'

'ἔδοξε γὰρ 'It can hardly be so, is the answer, for it was the will of that part of the state which is rightly sove-

'καί nein, take all together, sink the ele-

μερεῖς to number.

'ἡ γ' ἀρετὴ' By its definition in Eth. 11. 2. 1. 106. 15, the very contrary in the law: ὅλου ἢ ἄρετῆ, ὥστε τοῦ εἶναι ἀνευτελίνιοι.
πολύτοκα] The 'Bellus multorum caputim' of Horace, Ep. 1. i. 76.
3 Plato, Rep. iv. 420, c.
4 τούτῳ] sc. τῷ συνήθεια.
5 'It is not clear that this language can be always applicable, and that in any people and any large number there will be this superiority of the many to the few. Nay, possibly it is clear that in the case of some it is not conceivable that it should be applicable. For if carried to its utmost length it might be applicable to the inferior animals.' In the last case he means that the combination of the several points in which the animals are superior to man, might be considered to
prove that a given number of animals collected would be superior to a given number of men. This is an absurdity; but scarcely less absurd would it be to collect a given number of savages, and say they were superior to a given number of educated and civilised Greeks.

περὶ τὶ πλήθους] Rejecting the extreme conclusion, Aristotle thinks that there may well be cases in which the position taken in § 2 may hold good, in which the majority outweighs the minority. Of course the majority must be to a certain extent cultivated, and their political intelligence developed.

They must be above the animals consideredly; and for this good laws are required. See below, § 19.

§ 9. They observe πρώτον εὑρισκομενον] se. τὲ τὰ κύριαν.

τὴν ἔξοδον] se. τὸν χρυσόν τὸν κύριον.

τοιούτοι] se. τὸ πλῆθος: ‘The majority is composed of such as are not wealthy and have nothing beyond the average merit,’ ‘no claim to any eminence or distinction.’

§ 8. This conclusion is in perfect keeping with his definition of his citizen, as given in Ch. I.

Ζώλων] Compare II. xii. 5.
tis dolis. 135. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. Ought the many to be sovereign, or the few best men?

III. 11.] POLITIKON G.

τῆς ὀλίγης' ἡφέσθη δ' ἐκαστος ἀτελής περὶ τὸ κρίνειν Ἵστιν.

'Εχει δ' η τάξις αὐτή τῆς πολιτείας ἀπορίαν πρῶτην μὲν ὅτι δοξεῖν ἀν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἤκει τὸ κρίνει τῆς ὀράσεως ἱατρείαν, οὔτε καὶ τὸ ἱατρεύσαι καὶ ποιήσαι ὑμιᾷ τῶν κάμινων τῆς τοῦ νόσου τῆς παρούσης, οὔτος δ' ἦσθιν ἱατρός. ὄμοιος δὲ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ τὰς ἅλλας ἵππειρίας καὶ τέχνας. οὔστερον οὖν ἱατρῶν διὰ διδόναι τὰς εὐδυνάς ἐν ἱατρῷ, οὔτω καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐν τοῖς ὄμοιοις. ἱατρός δ' ὁ τε δημουργὺς καὶ ὁ ἀρχιτεκτόνικας καὶ τρίτος ὁ πεπαιδευμένος περὶ τὴν τέχνην εἰσι γὰρ τίνες τινῶν καὶ περὶ πάσας αἷς αἰσθεῖν τὰς τέχνας, ἀποδιδόμεν δὲ τὸ κρίνειν οὐδὲν ἦττον τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις ἤ τοῖς εἰδόσιν. ἐπειτα καὶ περὶ τὴν αἴρεσιν τῶν αὐτῶν ἃν δοξεῖν εἰς ἔχουν τρόπον καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἔλεγχειν ὀράσεως τῶν εἰδότων ἢ στίν, οἷον γεωμετρίαν τοὺς γεωμετρείμενος καὶ κυβερνήτην τῶν κυβερνητικῶν. εἰ γὰρ καὶ περὶ ἐνίοτον ἢ ἐργῶν καὶ τεχνῶν μετέχουσι καὶ τῶν ἰδιατέων τινῶς, ἀλλ' οὗ τοῦ εἰδότων γε μάλλον. ἀπόκαθα μὲν τούτων τῶν λόγων οὐκ ἂν ἔθνικ τὸ πλήθος ποιήτων κύριον ὦτε τῶν ἀρχαιοποιῶν οὔτε τῶν εὐδυνών. ἀλλ' ἵσος οὗ πάντα ταῦτα λέγεται καλῶς διά τέ 14

9 τῆς ὀλίγης] sc. καὶ καθαράς.

ἀτελής] 'Incomplete.' I. xiii. 11: διὰ ταῦτα ἀτελής.

10 But then comes an objection. The election and control of magistrates implies the power of judging whether their office has been well performed. Can any be competent to judge but those who have had actual experience by the possession of office of the manner in which its duties should be performed? A physician would claim to be judged by physicians. Why should a magistrate be judged by those who are themselves not thought competent to be magistrates?

11 It is to be remembered that under the term physician we include three different classes. The man who merely practises (ὁ δημουργὸς); the man who combines with practice the true knowledge of the principles of the science (ὁ ἀρχιτεκτόνων); and, thirdly, the man who has simply made himself master of the principles (ὁ πεπαιδευμένος περὶ τὴν τέχνην), and who has not gone further. Comp. Eth. i. i. 5. 3. p. 1094, b. 27, for this sense of πεπαιδευμένος.

ἀποδιδόμεν δ' 'and we are in the habit of trusting for judgment the educated in this sense, those who know the theory, as much as those who know both practice and theory.' τῶν τε, τοὺς ἔφεσιν: 'those who have complete knowledge,' who are ἀρχιτεκτόνων.

12 τὸ ἐλεγχεῖν ὀράσεως] Compare his language, Eth. x. x. 20. p. 1181. 17: οὔτε ἔτερον τὴν ἀκοὴν ὁδοῖς σωφρόοις καὶ τῷ κρίνειν ὁδόν μεγίστον. τῶν ἐφεσιον] The term is here equivalent to πεπαιδευμένον.
III. 11.

ПОЛИТИКОН. Г.

137

προτον τον βουλευτην κατ' τον ἐκκλησιαστην κατ' τον δικαστην. Ought the many to be sovereign; or the few best men?

τον τρόπον, η δ' ἐπί την λειτουσα' ἀπορία ποιει

μειων ουδεν οὕτως άτερον ας δι' αυτοι τοις νόμοις είναι

κυριως κειμένως ἥρας, τον ἀρχοντα δι', ἃν της εἰς ἀπο

πληθυσμος οὐσι, περι τούτων είναι κυριος περι ζων άξιων

τούσι σοι νομοι λάγειν ἀκριβως δια το μὴ ρέαν ἡν

καθολου δηλωσαι περι πάντων, οποιους μέντοι τινδε είναι

δι' αυτοι τοις ἥρας κειμένως νόμος, οὐδεν πι ζηλουν, ἀλλ' ἡ

μεν εν το τάλαι διαπορευθην. πληθυν τοτε γε φανερων, δι

That started in Ch. X.

τον τρόπων] 'on those points, and

ἐξαιρωτήριον] 'are absolutely

μεν] 'remains unsolved.' τον

περι τοτέ] 'in the order of the two

sentences. It is much clearer so to

my mind. The passage then runs as

follows: 'The question started above

remains still unanswered. Only so far

at least is clear, that the laws must

have reference to the constitution. In

that case it must needs be that the

laws will be good or bad just as the

constitution to which they are adapted

is good or bad. The two will vary to-

gether; and if so, it is clear that the

laws answering to the right constitu-

tions will be just; those answering to

the forms which are deviations from

the true type, will be unjust.' The

passage cannot, I think, be cleared of

virtual tautology.

The whole chapter leans towards the

conclusion, that the majority should

be in possession of the supreme power.

It is in favour of the democratical

rather than the oligarchical principle;

but of course it cannot be made to

show more than this, that of these two

imperfect forms Aristotle preferred de-

mocracy, the conclusion to which he

came, Eth. viii. xii. p. 1160. The

chapter then does not interfere with

his own theory of true government;

and therefore I cannot agree with

Spengel's language, p. 15, note 18:

"Dieses ist gegen Platon's Ansicht,

der überall den einzelnen Kundigen

gegenüber dem ganzen unwissenden

Volke hervorhebt; ähnlich hatte

Sieyès seinen Antrag, man solle das

ausführen was die Minorität, nicht

was die Majorität wähle, motivirt: car

la majorité est toujours lète. Gegen

diesen Satz kämpft Aristoteles unmit-

telbar, wenn anlers das Volk zu ein-

zigem Bewusstsein gekommen ist."

I suspect that Aristotle with Plato

and with Sieyès would look, in strict

political theory, to the few wise and not

to the popular element. At the same

time, in the corrupt governments of

Greece, as in that of our own country

or others of the present day, it might

be necessary for a time to redress the
balance by calling in numbers to overpower the opposition to wholesome changes on the part of small but strongly organized classes.

XII. 1 ἐπὶ ὅλην 8] The question is where to make the apolosis of the sentence begin. I think Stahr is right in placing it at τοῦτο τε λάτος. The reasoning then shortly stated is: All look on τὸ πολιτικὸν διαθοῦς as ἵσον τι; but equality in what? for evidently it is not every superiority that constitutes a claim to a larger share of the benefits of the association.

δίκαιον] His language here is very similar to that in Εὐλ. 1. ii. 3, 4, 5 p. 1094. 25: τίνος τῶν ἐπιστημών ἡ δύναμις. ἰδοὺ δὲ ἐν τῇ κυριατάτη καὶ μάλιστα ἀρχηγοτητῆς, τοιαύτη δὲ ἡ πολιτικὴ φανεται.

ἡμιναιότατοι] 'men in general agree with the conclusions of philosophical reasoners,' or better perhaps, 'with our philosophical arguments in which we discussed the subject of the moral virtue.' "In welchen über die Ethik Gehandelt worden ist." Stahr.

τοῦτο καὶ νῦν ᾧ] 'For they allow that justice concerns things and persons.'

2 τοῦτο 8] Yet though they go so far with us, there is a point where the union is interrupted, and therefore the question must be investigated, 'in regard to what things there is to be equality, in what inequality?'

ἐξει γὰρ τοῦτο] 'For this is a point not without difficulty, and one fairly requiring political science to throw light on it.'

τοῖς γὰρ διαφέρουσιν] They press their language to its strict logical conclusion, and say, those who differ have different rights and different claims.
'Alla μην ει τοῦτ’ ἄληθές, ἦσται καὶ κατὰ χρώμα καὶ κατὰ μέγεθος καὶ καθ' ὦτιῶν τῶν ἀγαθῶν πλεονεξία τις τῶν πολιτικῶν δικαίων τοῖς ὑπερέχουσιν. η τοῦτο ἐπιπόλαιον τὸ ψυκὸς; φανερὸν δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιστημῶν καὶ δυνάμεων' τῶν γὰρ ὁμοίων αἰσθητῶν τὴν τέχνην οὐ δοτέον πλεονεξίαν 4 τῶν αὐλῶν τοῖς εὐγενεστέροις· οὔδεν γὰρ αὐλήσωσι βέλτιον, δει δὲ τούτα τὸ ἔργον ὑπερέχοντι διδόναι καὶ τῶν ὁργα- 

nov τὴν ὑπεροχήν. καὶ δὲ μήτω δήλω τὸ λεγόμενον, ἦτι μᾶλλον αὐτὸ προαγαγούσιν ἦσται φανερόν. εἰ γὰρ εἰθ' τις ὑπερέχοι μὲν κατὰ τὴν αὐλήσιν, πολὺ δ' ἐλλεἳπαν κατ' εὐγένειαν η' κάλλος, καὶ μεῖζον ἐκατον ἐκεῖνον ἀγαθόν ἦστι τῆς αὐλήσιν (λέγω δὲ τὴν τ' εὐγένειαν καὶ τὸ κάλλος) καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀνάλογιαν ὑπερέχουσι πλέον τῆς αὐλήσιν η' ἐκεῖνος κατὰ τὴν αὐλήσιν, οὕτως τοῦτο δοτέον τούς δια- 

φέροντας τῶν αὐλῶν· δεῖ γὰρ εἰς τὸ ἔργον συμβάλλεσθαι τὴν ὑπεροχὴν καὶ τοῦ πλοῦτον καὶ τῆς εὐγενείας, συμβάλ- 

λοντας δ' οὐδέν. εἰς κατὰ γα τούτοι τῶν λόγων πᾶν ἀγα- 

6 ὅν πρὸς πᾶν ἀν εἴη συμβλητὸν. εἰ γὰρ μᾶλλον τὸ τί, 

μέγεθος, καὶ δόλος ἂν τὸ μέγεθος ἐνάμιλλον εἴη καὶ πρὸς 

πλοῦτον καὶ πρὸς ἴλαθερίαν. ὡστ' εἰ πλεῖον οἴδι διαφέρει 

κατὰ μέγεθος ἡ ἢ οἴδι κατ' ἀρετὴν, καὶ πλεῖον ὑπερέχει ὡλος 

ἀρετῆς μέγεθος, εἴη ἂν συμβλητὴ πάντα· τοσόνδε γὰρ μέγε- 

θες εἰ χρίττον τοσοῦτο, τοσοῦτο δήλων αἰς ἱσον. εἴη δὲ 

τούτων αδύνατον, δήλων αἰς καὶ εἰ τῶν πολιτικῶν εὐλόγως οὐ 

κατὰ τῶν ἀνισοτήτων ἀμφισβητοῦσι τῶν ἀρχῶν, εἰ γὰρ 

οἱ μὲν βραδεῖς οἱ δὲ ταχεῖς, οὐδὲν διὰ τοῦτο δεῖ τοὺς μὲν 

given degree of greatness is better than a given degree of wealth, it would fol-

low,' he argues, 'that greatness in itself might come into comparison with 

wealth in itself.' But many of these 

ideas are incommensurable, they do 

not come within the scope of the polit-

tical philosopher. They are disparate 

to him. 

| 7 | 1ολόγως] 'There is good ground 

for men's not claiming offices on the 

score of every inequality.'
πλείον τούτος δ’ ἔλαττον ἤχειν, ἀλλ’ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἄγωνιν 
η τούτων διαφορά λαμβάνει τὴν τιμὴν. ἀλλ’ ἐξ ᾗν πόλεις 
συνήτηκεν, ἐν τούτωι ἁναγκαῖον ποιεῖται τὴν ἀμφισβητη-
σιν. διέστη εὐλόγως ἀντιποιοῖται τῆς τιμῆς οἱ εὐγενεῖς 
καὶ ἐλεύθεροι καὶ πλοῦσιοι· διὲ γὰρ ἐλευθερίας τ’ ἔχουν 
καὶ τίμημα φέροντας· οὐ γὰρ ἄν εἴ τις πόλεις ἐξ ἀπόρων πάντω 
τῶν, ὡστε οὖν ἐκ δύολων. Ἀλλὰ μήν εἰ διε τούτων, δῆλον 
ὅτι καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς πολεμικῆς ἀρετῆς· οὔτε γὰρ ἄνευ 
τούτων οἰκεῖσθαι πόλιν δυνατόν, πλην ἄνει μὲν τῶν προ-
τέρων ἄδυνατον ἐστὶν πολιν, ἄνει δὲ τούτων οἰκεῖσθαι καλὸς.

13 πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὸ πόλιν ἔχουν δόξειν ἂν ἡ πάντα ἡ ἐναί 
γε τούτων ὑπὸς ἀμφισβητείν, πρὸς μὲντοι ἡγοῦν ἁγαθὴν ἡ 
παιδεία καὶ ἡ ἀρετὴ μάλιστα δικαίως ἄν ἀμφισβητοῖσαν, 
καθάπερ ἐρηται καὶ πρότερον. ἐπει δ’ οὔτε πάντων ἴσον 
ἔχουν δὲ τοῖς ἴσοις ἐν τί μόνον ὅντος ὡς άνει τοὺς 
ἄνευ καὶ ἐν, ἀνάγκη πάσας ἔχουν τὰς τοιαύτας πολιτείας 
χαράζοντες. ἐρηται μὲν οὖν καὶ πρότερον ὅτι διαμ-
φισβητοῦσι τρόποιν τινά δικαίως πάντες, ἀπλῶς δ’ οὐ πάντες 
δικαίως, οἱ πλοῦσιοι μὲν ὅτι πλείον μέτετο τῆς χώρας 
αὐτοῦ, ὃ δὲ χώρα κοινον· ἄτι πρὸς τὰ συμβόλαια πιστοὶ 
μάλλον ὡς ἐν τὸ πλέον· οἱ δ’ ἐλεύθεροι καὶ εὐγενεῖς ὡς

Λαμβάνει τὴν τιμήν] ’finds its appreciation.’
8 ἐὰν πώλησι συνήτηκεν] ’Taking the elements that compose a state, it is only within the limits of these that there can be any discussion of the respective claims of the parties.’
14 διὲ γὰρ] ’There must be free men, and there must be a class paying taxes;’ not merely capiteami. ”Con-
sum forum.” Victorius translates it. ’That the meaning is as I have given it, I feel sure, but I am not sure as to the epitomization.’
4 ἂν λάλα μην] ’These classes may be misleading, but it is clear that not less bravery nor justice and bravery.’

κλάτοι: ] ’Not the mere existence of a state some of these at least, if not all, would seem justly to put in their claim to consideration.’
9 τοιούτας πολιτείας] ’all states based on such equality and inequality.’
2 πρότερον] at the end of Ch. X.
πλείον μέτετο τῆς χώρας] ’They have a larger share of the land of the country, and the land is emphatically a national interest.’ As then, to use familiar words, they had a greater stake in the country, they claimed more power.
15 ἐν πρὸς τὰ συμβόλαια] Their second claim is their greater trustworthiness, as a general rule, in the common dealings between man and man.
οὶ ἐλευθεροὶ καὶ εὐγενεῖς ὡς ἐγγὺς ἀλληλῶν] The reasoning here is not
very easy. Is it that the free and
the well-born claim on somewhat simi-
lar grounds, that their claim is similar,
as they themselves stand at no great
distance from one another? The free
claim as genuine citizens—the well-
born claim as citizens also, and à for-
tiori as compared with the simply free.
For they urge that the nobler are truer
citizens of the state than the meaner
sort. They slip in the words γενναιό-
terai, with its moral sense, for ζυγεῖ-
στεραι, and ἀγίνων for ἀλουθίων.
Compare, for the difference of the two
words, Ἰθήκ. ii. xv. 3. p. 1390, b. 22 : 
σύγκες κατὰ τὸν γενναίον ἀρετῆν, γεν-
ναῖς δὲ κατὰ τὸ μη ξιζοστασία τῆς
φόνεως. ἦσσε ὡς ἄτι τοῦ πολύ οὐ εὐμα-
βάλει τῶν ζυγείστων, ἄλλ' εἰσὶν οἱ πολλοὶ
αὐτεῖς. 4 ἦς ἀγίνεια] 'Besides, practically
in every nation high birth, according
to the standard adopted, is honoured.'
Comp. 1. vi. 7.

3 ἢτοι, κ.τ.λ.] 'Secondly, the well-
born urge that there is a reasonable
probability of their being better from
their fathers having been better; for
good birth implies distinction or merit
in the family.'

ὁμολογίας δή] 'With not less justice surely
then than we allow hereditary merit
shall we allow personal merit to put in
its claim; for justice in our view is
the virtue essential to every associa-
tion, and justice involves all other
moral virtues; it is, ἀρετῆς χρὸνες—
ἀρετή πρὸς ἄλλον.' Ἐθ. κ. iii. p. 1129,
b. 25, and foll.

4 ὡς λαμβανομένων] Compare X. 2,
the expression, κάτων λαβόστων: 'If,
that is, the many are taken in a body
and compared with the few in a body.'

πολιτείας] 'Simply citizens, and no
more.'

5 τοῖς γὰρ κυρίοις] 'For it is by
the difference in their sovereign power
that they differ from one another.'
The respective claims to power.

Still, whilst we allow that each constitution, such as oligarchy and democracy, carries with it its own answer to the question, who are to govern? there remains to consider, supposing all the elements given above to co-exist, and so the state not to come very decidedly under one or other, or to be as yet not decided, how are the claims of all to be settled? So I paraphrase the passage.

6 εἰ δέ, ἀ.τ.λ.] He takes one case, that of the virtuous: Suppose that they are but very few in number, then what is the arrangement we must adopt? The mere fact of their being few is nothing. The question should be, are they few for the work required of them, could they manage the state? or were we to require them to be in number sufficient to constitute a state by themselves? If the good are rejected because they are in a minority, then what becomes of the claim of the rich? If against this it is urged that the rich claim by virtue of their great superiority in wealth, which compensates for their inferior numbers, this line of argument suggests a difficulty which in fact is general, and meets all the claimants alike. If the aggregate of rich men claims on the ground of superior wealth, it would follow that a single enormously wealthy individual would be justified in claiming against that aggregate, if his individual wealth were greater than that of the body. And a similar objection may be taken against all equally: πρὸς ἀπαντᾷ τούς διαμφιστηροῦντας.

7 τοῦτον τῶν ἐνα] 'This one though but one.'

8 κρεῖττου] 'stronger.'
of the existing statements of the claims no one is completely correct.'
10 oích ói kai ἱκανοὶ] resumés the subject of, XI. 18.
11 [περεν] 'inquire into as a difficulty.'
12 τῷ λεγον] The case supposed above, viz. that in which the people was superior as a whole to the upper classes.
13 τῷ δὲ ὀρθῶν λατενῶν ἱσως] 'We must get at what is right in this case by striking an average and taking what is fair to both; and this will be found by looking to the interest of the whole state, and the common element which runs through the whole mass of citizens.' ἱσως: "equalizer," Vict. "gleichmässig," Stahr.
14 τολῆς δὲ κοινῇ] 'Now a citizen in the general.'
15 πρὸς τῷ βίον] 'with a view to secure the life according to virtue.'
16 πλήρωμα τόλεω] 'The full complement of a state.' Compare § 6.
17 [διῶ] depends on τοιούτω.]
18 τὴν δύναμιν τὴν πολιτικὴν] in other words, τὴν δύναμιν πρὸς τὸ ἔργον.
Περιέχοντας εἰς εἰς μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὸν πεμφήμωτα κήρυκα Ostracism.
περὶ τῆς συμβούλως, ἀφαιροῦντα δὲ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας τῶν
σταχάδων ὁμαλῶν τὴν ἀρουραν· ὅθεν ἀγνοοῦντος μὲν τοῦ
cήρυκος τοῦ γινομένου τῆς αἰτίας, ἀπαγείλαντος δὲ τὸ
συμπεσόν, συννοῆσαι τὸν Θρασύβουλον ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ὑπερέ-
χοντας ἄνδρας ἀναρεῖν.
τούτῳ γὰρ οὐ μόνον συμφέρει τοῖς ἑπτά
τριάνταοις, οὖν μόνον οί τώρανοι ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ ὁμοίως ἤχει
καὶ περὶ τὰς διπλαρχίας καὶ τὰς δημοκρατίας· ὅ γὰρ ὀστρα-
κισμὸς τὴν αὐτὴν ἤχει δύναμιν τρόπον τινὰ τῶν κολούειν
tὸς ὑπερέχοντας καὶ φυγαδεύειν.
καὶ τὰ ἓκος καὶ τὰ ἓκος ποιοῦσιν οἱ κύριοι τῆς δυνάμεως, οἷον
Ἀθηναίοι μὲν περὶ Σαμίων καὶ Χιους καὶ Δεσδύους (ἐπὶ
γὰρ τῶν ἄχρητῶν ἐχθρῶν τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐπαπείνασαν αὐτοὺς
παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας), ὃ δὲ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς Μῆδους καὶ
Βαβυλωνίως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς πεφρονηματισμένους διὰ
τὴν γεννᾶς ποτ' ἐκ ἀρχῆς ἐπέκοπτε πολλάκις.
Τὸ δὲ ἐν πρώβλημα καθόλου περὶ πάσας ἐστὶ τὰς πολιτείας, καὶ τὰς
ἀρχάς· αἱ μὲν γὰρ παρακεπεθεὶκαί, πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον ἀποσκο-
πούσα, τούτῳ δράσιν, οὐ μὴν ἄλλα περὶ τὰς τὸ κοινὸν ἀγα-
θὸν ἐπισκοπούσας τὸν αὐτὸν ἤχει τρόπον. ἦλθον δὲ τοῦτο ἐι
καὶ εἰ τὼν ἄλλων τεχνῶν καὶ ἐπιστημῶν· οὕτω γὰρ γρά-
φετον ἐάνειν ἄν τὸν ὑπερβάλλοντα ποιὰ τῆς συμμετρίας
ἐχειν τὸ ἐξομ., οὐδ' εἰ διαφεροῖ τὸ κάλλος, οὐτὲ κατηχοῖς
πρὸς ἐν τῶν ἄλλων, τι μορίαν τῶν τῆς νεώς· οὐδ' δὲ δὴ
χειροδιδασκαλοῖς τὸν μείζον καὶ κάλλιον τῶν παντὸς χρόου
φθεγγόμενον ἐάσεις συγχροείμειν. ἡμεῖς δὲ τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἐκ
καλύει τοὺς μονάρχους συμφανεῖν ταῖς πόλεσιν, εἰ τὴς

29 ὑδ' αὐτῷ] The same method is
adopted as between states, and not
merely within the limits of a single
state. It was on this principle Athens
dealt with her subjects (πόλεις); Persia
with hers (θύρεοι).

20 τὸ δὲ πρόβλημα καθόλου] 'The
question is one that concerns all the
forms of government without excep-
tion, even the right ones.'

21 For Aristotle's view on this
particular point of symmetry, comp.
Grote, iv. 212, note, and for the gene-
ral subject of ostracism, the same vo-
lume, pp. 200, and foll.

L
Ostracism. οίκειας ἀρχῆς αὐθελίμου ταῖς πόλεσιν οὕσης τοῦτο δρᾶσιν. διὸ κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογουμένας ὑπεροχαῖς ἔχει τι δίκαιον πολιτικὸν ὁ λόγος ὁ περὶ τὸν οστρακισμὸν. βέλτιον μὲν οὖν τὸν νομοθέτην εἴς ἀρχῆς οὕτω συστήσαι τὴν πολιτείαν ὡστε μὴ δεῖσθαι τοιούτης ἰαστρείας· δεύτερος δὲ πλοῦς, ἣν συμβῆν, περάσασθαι τοιοῦτο τινὶ διορθώματι διορθῶν. ὅπερ οὖν ἐγίνετο περὶ τὰς πόλεις· οὐ γὰρ ἐβέλεσον πρὸς τὸ τῆς πολιτείας τῆς οἰκείας συμφέρον, ἀλλὰ στασιαστικῶς ἔχρωντο τοῖς οστρακισμοῖς. ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς παρεκβεβηκυλαις πολιτείαις οὐ μὲν ἴδια συμφέρει καὶ δίκαιος ἑστι, φανερῶν· ἵσως δὲ καὶ ὦ τι ὧν ἄπλως δίκαιον, καὶ τοῦτο φανερῶν. ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρίστης πολιτείας ἦγε πολλὴν ἀπορίαν, οὐ κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν τὴν ὑπεροχήν, οὐν ἴσχυοι καὶ πλοῦτοι καὶ πολυφιλίας, ἀλλὰ τὰς γένηται διαφέρουν κατ’ ἀρετήν, 25 τὶ χρὴ τοιοῦτον; οὐ γὰρ δὴ φαίνει αὐτὴν ἐκβάλειν καὶ μεθυστάναι τοῦ τοιοῦτον. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὖν ἄρχειν γε τοῦ τοιοῦτον παραπλήσιον γὰρ καὶ εἰ τοῦ Δίδος ἄρχειν ἀξιόν, μερίζοντες τὰς ἀρχὰς. λειτυπεῖ τοιοῦτον, ὅπερ οἶκη πεφυκέναι, πειθάρχῃ τῷ τοιοῦτῳ πάντας ἀσμένως, ὡστε βασιλεῖας εἶναι τοὺς τοιοῦτους αἰδίοις ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν.

22 ἢ χεὶ τι δίκαιον πολιτικόν] 'is not without a ground of political right.'
23 στασιαστικῶς] in VIII. (V.) vi. 15, occurs another form of this word στασιαστικῶς, 'for factious purposes.'
24 ὅτι] 'in particular cases.'
25 μερίζοντες τὰς ἀρχὰς] 'in the division of offices,' Stahr.
Ὅπερ οἶκη πεφυκέναι] 'and this seems the natural course.'
βασιλεῖας αἰδίου] 'kings for their life,' the hero-kings of Mr. Carlyle, the great men whom all should obey and find their true glory in obeying. So that the whole discussion has its singularly discursive form yet never lost sight of the one question that runs through it, beginning with Ch. IX., and ending here, the question of the relative claims to a share in the government of different members of the state. From the absolute equality of a democracy, Aristotle has arrived at absolute inequality, necessitated in the ideal state by the existence of some one man of supereminent virtue—the only conceivable justification of monarchy in its strict sense—the only case in which it was to him reconcilable with justice, with due regard, that is, for the relative claims of his citizens. And without this justice he thought the social union could never be secure. But, as he allows for the case of there being one man competent to fill the station of king by force of superior merit, one who in the language of the Ethic, viii. xii. 2, p. 1160, 64, should be αὐτάρκης καὶ
thought to answer better to the idea of monarchy, than any other of the constitutional forms, and yet it is not supreme." This is Stahr's view. For the powers of the Spartan kings, comp. Herod. vi. 56.

4 adωροκράτωρ] Vet. Int. 'imperialis.' Hence Victorius wishes to read adωροκράτωρ. Stahr condemns it as unnecessary. It will certainly construe as it stands, 'a genseralship in the hands of men invested with full powers, and that for life.' 'And it is not more than this, for the power of life and death is not his, except in reference to part of his office.' In τιν Basileia. The meaning I have given to these words is favoured by the context, and is the one adopted by the best commentators.

ἐν χειρὸς ρόης] 'martial law.'

ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις] This is an odd
word for the Homeric times, as applied to the bovörh of the chieftains. But did Aristotle recognize, as clearly as modern writers do, the difference between the political system of his day and that of earlier times? Did he not suffer the language of his own times to colour that which he applied to earlier times?

5 Ill. 11. 391.

πάρ γάρ ὅμοι θάνατον. This, as Mr. Grove remarks, 11. 86, is not in our present copies. "The Alexandrian critics," he adds, "offended many traces of old manners."

καὶ γένος | hereditary.

ὅπος ὁπότιν τῶν βασιλέων | is the "crown."
πολέμων τάς ἄχωλων καὶ βασιλείων. | Πολέμου τάς ἄχωλων καὶ βασιλείων.

10 θαλάσσων, διαφέρουσα δὲ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τῆς Μοναρχίας. | θαλάσσων, διαφέρουσα δὲ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τῆς Μοναρχίας.

9 μικρὰ τῶν, κ.τ.λ.] 'for some definite time named, or for some specified objects.' | μικρὰ τῶν, κ.τ.λ.] 'for some definite time named, or for some specified objects.'

11 δια δὲ τὸ αἰρετικὸν καὶ ἐκόντων βασιλείας. | δια δὲ τὸ αἰρετικὸν καὶ ἐκόντων βασιλείας.

12 καὶ τῆς τοῦ πόλεμου, οὐδὲ τὸ συναγαγόντι τῷ χώραν, ἐγγυόντως βασιλείας ἐκόντων καὶ τῶν παραλαμβανομένων πάτρων. | καὶ τῆς τοῦ πόλεμου, οὐδὲ τὸ συναγαγόντι τῷ χώραν, ἐγγυόντως βασιλείας ἐκόντων καὶ τῶν παραλαμβανομένων πάτρων.

13 καὶ ταύτας καὶ τὰς ἁρχαίας, 'lacking gall,' ἐξέδωκεν ἐπάνω τῶν τῶν πόλεων; | καὶ ταύτας καὶ τὰς ἁρχαίας, 'lacking gall,' ἐξέδωκεν ἐπάνω τῶν πόλεων;
Monarchy. And at home and abroad.


In the state and in foreign affairs they had no more than the command of the army; as distinct from the general foreign policy.

From μία to ἄλλην in § 15, I have enclosed in brackets, not meaning to say it is not genuine, not in fact attaching any importance to it, but simply to clear it out as unnecessary.

This recalls the expression of Thucydides, t. 13, ἐν γένεσιν = κατὰ γένος.

XV. 1 σχέδος ὅτι It may be said then that there are really but two species of kingly government. In putting the Laconian so low, Mr Grote, p. 104, note, thinks that Ari-
ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Γ.

εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν περὶ ἥν σχετέται, αὐτὴ τε καὶ ἡ Δακωνική. Monarchy

τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων αἱ πολλαὶ μεταξὺ τούτων εἰσίν: ἔλαττών ἄν ἄλλων κύριοι τῆς παμβασιλείας, πλειώνων δὲ εἰσὶ τῆς Δακωνικῆς. οὕτως τὸ σχέδιον περὶ δυοῦν ἑστίν, ἐν μὲν πότερον συμφέρει ταῖς πόλεσι: στρατηγῷ ἄθεου εἴη, καί τούτου ἦ κατὰ γένος ἦ κατὰ μέρος, ἦ οὐ συμφέρει ἐν δὲ πότερον οὐκ συμφέρει κύριον εἴης πάντων, ἦ οὐ συμφέρει. τὸ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς τοιαύτης στρατηγίας ἐπισκοπεῖν νόμων 1286 ἕχει μᾶλλον εἰδὸς ἢ πολιτείας: ἐν ἀπάσαις γὰρ ἐνδέχεται γνώσθαι τοῦτο ταῖς πολιτείαις; ἀντί δὲ αὐθεντῶν τὴν πρά-

την. οatinum τὸ τρόπος τῆς βασιλείας πολιτείας εἰδὸς 2 ἑστὶν, ἀντί περὶ τούτου δὲ θεωρῆσαι καὶ τὰς ἀποκλασίας ἐπί-

δραμαμεῖ τὰς ἐνούσας. Ἀρχή δὲ ἑστὶ τῆς ζητήσεως αὐτῆς, πότερον συμφέρει μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄριστου ἄνδρος ἀρχέ-

σθαι ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄριστων νόμων. δοκοῦσι δὴ τοῖς νομιζοῦσι; 4 συμφέρειν βασιλεύσας τὸ καθόλου μόνον οἱ νόμοι λέγειν, ἀλλὰ οὐ πρὸς τὰ προσπιτίντα ἐπιτάττειν, ἀστὶ ἐν ὅπωι-

ου ὑπὲρ τὴν πολιτείαν, καὶ τὸ κατὰ γράμματα ἀρχεῖν ἡλικίαν καὶ εἰν Ἀλ-

γύτῳ μετὰ τὴν τετρήμερον καὶ μετὰ τοῖς ἁρτοῖς, ἐὰν δὲ πρότερον, ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτοῦ κινδύνου. φανερῶν τοῖνοι ὅσοι ὥστε τοῖς ἄριστοι καὶ νόμοις ἀρίστη πολιτεία

dia τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας. Ἀλλὰ μὴ κακείνον δεῖ ὑπάρχειν 5

πολιτείαν της τοιαύτης στρατηγίας ἐπισκοπεῖν νόμων. οὐκ ὅτι τοῖς νομιζοῦσιν ὅτι περὶ τούτου δὲ θεωρῆσαι καὶ τὰς ἀποκλασίας ἐπι-

δραμαμεῖ τὰς ἐνούσας. Ἀρχή δὲ ἑστὶ τῆς ζητήσεως αὐτῆς, πότερον συμφέρει μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄριστου ἄνδρος ἀρχέ-

σθαι ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄριστων νόμων. δοκοῦσι δὴ τοῖς νομιζοῦσι; 4 συμφέρειν βασιλεύσας τὸ καθόλου μόνον οἱ νόμοι λέγειν, ἀλλὰ οὐ πρὸς τὰ προσπιτίντα ἐπιτάττειν, ἀστὶ ἐν ὅπωι-

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dia τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας. Ἀλλὰ μὴ κακείνον δεῖ ὑπάρχειν 5

stotle underrates the estimation in which the regal dignity was held at Sparta.

2 κατά μέρος] This is confessedly difficult. Stahr does not change the reading, but construes it as if it were αἰρέταιν, which, looking at Ch. XIV. 5, I confess, appears to me the best reading, better than κατά ἀρέταιν. St Hilaire, 'élíctif,' but without changing the text.

νόμων (ἣν μᾶλλον εἴδος) 'is rather a question of institutions than of a constitution.'


4 δοκούσι δὴ] 'It is the opinion then of those who,' &c.

πρὸς τὰ προσπιτίντα] 'with reference to circumstances as they arise.'

κατὰ γράμματα ἀρχεῖν] 'to be bound by the strict letter of the rule.'

Αλμύστῃ] Herod. ii. 84.

μετὰ τὴν τετρήμερον] 'After the fourth day to change the treatment.'

5 ἄλλα μὲν] 'But,' says Aristotle in reply, 'in any case the ruler must be supposed to have that universal principle, which finds its expression in law.' He cannot be governing, merely guided by circumstances as they change.
κρείττον δὲ ἄρχουσιν· κρείττον δὲ ἡ μὴ πρόσετι τῷ παθητικῷ ὅλῳ ἢ ὁ συμμφωνεῖ. τῷ μὲν οὖν νόμῳ τούτῳ οὐχ ὑπάρχει, ἵνα χρὴ ἀνθρώπων ἀνάγχη τοῦτ' ἵσταται τὰς. Ἀλλ' Ὑσώς ἂν φαίη τις ὁς ἀντί τοῦ 6 του βουλεύσεται περὶ τῶν καθ' ἑκαττάρα καλλιών. ὦτι μὲν τοῖς ἀνάγχῃ νομοθέτημι αὐτῶν εἶναι, δήλον, καὶ κείσθαι νόμους, ἀλλὰ μὴ κυρίους ἢ παρεκβαίνουσιν, ἐπεὶ περὶ τῶν γ' ἄλλων εἶναι δὲν κυρίους. διὰ δὲ μὴ δυνατὸν τῶν νόμων κρίνειν ἢ ὅλως ἢ ὅσθ' πάντων ἢ αὐτῶν ἢ ἄριστον δὲν ἀρχεῖν ἢ 7 πάντας; καὶ γὰρ νῦν συνιῶντες δικάζουσιν καὶ βουλεύονται καὶ κρίνουσιν, αὐτὰ δ' αἱ κρίσεις εἰσὶν πάσαι περὶ τῶν καθ' ἑκαττάρα. καὶ ὅποι μὲν οὖν συμβαλλόμενοι ὅστισον ὑπὲρ χείρων· ἀλλ' ὑσώς ἢ πόλις ἐκ πολλῶν, ἀστερὸς ἐστις ἐστις ἐσμεραθτῆς καλλιών μιᾶς καὶ ἀπλῆς. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ κρίνει 8 αὐτῶν ὁχλος πολλὰ ἢ ἅς ὅστισον. ἢ τί μᾶλλον ἀδιάγραφον τὸ πολύ τοι πάθος τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὅλων ἀδιαφόρατον· τοῦ δ' ἐνος ύπ' ὀργῆς κρατηθέντος ή τινος ἐπίσχειν πάθους τοιοῦτον ἀναγκαῖον διεφθάραι τῇ κρίσιν· ἐκεῖ δ' ἐργον ἀμα πάντας ὀργισθῇ.

κρείττον δὲ ἦν ἀνδρείας in having that which is absolutely exempt from passion, rather than that in which passion is inherent.' Compare the language of the young patriots in Livy, u. 3. "Re-" 7 καὶ γὰρ νῦν, κ.τ.λ.] "Experience is in favour of the latter, for, &c." Stahr. 8 ἢτε δὲ ἦν ἀλλ' ἄρχουσιν· 'But with the many, it is difficult for all at once to be angry, and form an erroneous judgment.' On this passage, compare Mr Grote's remarks, iv. 505, on the effect of large assemblies, "which is, to inflame sentiment in every man's bosom by mere contact with a sympathising circle of neighbours." He adds in a note, "It is remarkable that Aristotle, in his Politics, takes little or no notice of this attribute belonging to every numerous assembly. He seems
rather to reason as if the aggregate intelligence of the multitude was represented by the sum total of each man’s separate intelligence in all the individuals composing it, just as the property of the multitude, taken collectively, would be greater than that of the few rich.”

9 [ἔστω δὲ, κ.τ.λ.] ‘But let us assume that our people is composed of the free citizens, and that they never act in violation of the law, and only act without it when it, from its nature, must fail them as a guide.’

10 ἄλλα ὑπὸ τοῦτο] You state that the one man is not liable to the evil the many are liable to, that of dissension. True, but for the argument’s sake, you must assume the many to be good, as good as the one.

11 καὶ μετὰ δύναμεος] ‘whether it be provided or not with a force to compel obedience.’

σπάνιον ἄν] “He suspects that in such small communities great merit was very rare, so that the chief had few competitors.” Grote, ii. 89.


ἐπει δὲ] “i.e. after the early kings had had their day.” Grote, iii. 23, note.

κοινῶν τι] ‘a commune.’ The object of the European towns in the 12th century.

12 This passage valuable as to the order of succession of governments in the Greek states, oligarchy, tyranny, democracy. Comp. Grote, iii. 22, 23.
13 τῶν ἔξει τὰ περὶ τῶν τέκνων]
This is the great question of hereditary monarchy. It is the difficulty in monarchical government, wherever the word is used properly, where the king governs, and does not merely reign. In a system of constitutional fictions like our own, an aristocratical republic, presenting, for certain undefined objects, a monarchical front to the world, the question is not so important. Its importance in this latter case varies with the varying ideas of society, which will increase or limit the influence of the sovereign.

But in the case of monarchy proper, the difficulty is so great as to render it necessary to get rid of the form altogether, as soon as the political experience of the nation rejecting it, is sufficient for the change. The vicious element in the system is incurable.
For it is, as it were, bound up with the idea of monarchy, that it should be hereditary. Elective monarchies are practically an idea of the past, though the experience of that past is not so wholly unfavourable to them as is generally supposed. Compare Sismondi, Études Sociales sur les Constitutions des Peuples libres, p. 149, and foll. Ed. 1836 Brussels.

In the Roman empire, in certain cases, the danger with regard to the successor was met by adoption, as in the case of Trajan adopted by Nerva. But though not singular, it was a rare piece of good fortune, and the philosophic Marcus Antoninus himself left Commodus as his successor. But to us as to Aristotle the question is in the main, one of theoretic and past interest. It is not probable that the Russian type will spread over Western Europe, or at any rate that it could be durable, if for argument’s sake we allowed that its success for a time was not beyond reasonable probability. The more interesting question is, how long the various forms in Western Europe that affect a monarchical exterior, an Empire in France, a constitutional monarchy in England, Holland, Belgium and Piedmont, with the other powers of Western Germany, Scandinavia and the Spanish peninsula, most of them, to say the least, in a very critical position, how long they will hold their present position, what elements of strength they have, what powers dormant to remedy the apparent weakness of their position. But to state the question, is all that I wish to do here.

14 'Ἀλλ' οὗ παραδόσει! But, says the assertor of monarchy, though he
οὐ ἔτι τοῦτο ῥαίον πιστεύει· καλεῖ τό γάρ, καὶ μείζονος ἄριστής ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν. Ἐχει δὲ ἀπορίαν καὶ τὴν τῆς δύναμεως πότερον ἅμα διὶ τῶν μελλοντα βασιλείων ἵνα κατὰ αὐτῶν, ἢ δυνητέσσερι βιαζόσθαι τοὺς μὲ βουλημένους πειθάρχειν, ἢ πόσο ἅμιχος ἡ τὴν ἀρχὴν διαιτείς; εἰ γὰρ κατὰ νόμον εἰς κύριος, μὴν πράτταν ἵνα κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν βούλησιν παρὰ τῶν νόμων, διὸντες αὐτῶν ὑπάρχοντα πρῶτον δύναμιν, ἥ φυλάξει τοὺς νόμους. τάχα μὲν 16 εἰς τὰ πέρι τῶν βασιλείων τῶν τοιούτων οὐ καθότι ἄνθρωπος· διὰ γὰρ αὐτῶν μὲν ἅμα ἅμα ἢ ἕπειτα, ἐνδεδυόμενος, καθάπερ οὐ τὸν ἀρχαιοῦ τῆς φυλάκων ἑδίδοντα, ἵνα καθυστεί τινα τῆς πόλεως ἐν ἐκάλου αἰσθανόμενην ἡ τύραννος, καὶ Διονυσίως τις, ὦ τοίς φύλακας, οὐν εὐθυμοῦσι τῆς ἂναχουσίας διδόναι τοσοῦτος τοὺς φύλακας.

Περὶ δὲ τοῦ βασιλείας τοῦ κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν βούλησιν 16 καθαρτικοῦ δὲ θέλων ἐφεστηκέναι νῦν καὶ ποιήσων τὴν σκέψιν: Ὅ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ νόμον λεγόμενος βασιλεὺς εὐκάθαρτος εἰσὶν ἐεδόρ, καθάπερ εἰς πολεμεῖν, πολιτεῖας τίς πάσαις γὰρ ὑπάρχειν ἅμιχος ἐδίκασθαι στρατηγίων ἄδικιον, ὅπων ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ καὶ ἄριστοκρατίᾳ, καὶ πολλοὶ ποιοῦσιν ἑνα κύριον τῆς διοι-

might, he will not hand his power over to his children. That, says Aristotle, can hardly be entrusted to him. It assumes a virtue beyond man's. Domitian and Commodus are the successors of Vespasian and Marcus Antoninus. Les intérêts dynastiques are extremely strong, as was clear in Louis Philippe's case, and, like true parasites, endanger the real interest of the monarch, which must be identical with that of his nation, or monarchy is absolutely indefensible.

The power to be placed in his hands, 'la force matérielle.' 15 καὶ κατὰ νόμον] 'was perfectly constitutional.'
κηρεος του αυτη γαρ αρχη της εστι και περι της Επιδιαμανον, και περι Οσιοντα δε κατα τι μερος ελαττων περι δε της παμβασιλειας καλουμενης αυτη δη εστι καθην αρχη παντων κατα την ηαυτου βουλησε ο βασιλευς δοκει δε τισιν ουδε κατα φυσιν ειναι το κυριον ενα παντων ειναι των πολιτων οπου συνεστηκεν εις ομοιον η πολις τοις γαρ ομοιοις φυσις το αυτο δικαιον αναγκαιον και την αυτην αξιαν κατα φυσιν ειναι ουστε ειπεν και το ίσον ενεν τοις άντσους τροφη η εσοπη βλαβερον τοις σωμασιν ουτως εχει και το περι τας τιμας ομοιος τοινυν και το άνισον τοις ίσους διαπερ ουδε μαλλον αρχειν η αρχεταιν δικαιον και το ανα μερος τοινυν οσιοτεροπ τοτο δη ηδη νομος η γαρ ταξις νομος τον αρα νομον αρχειν αιρεστερον μαλλον η των πολιτων ενα τινα κατα την αυτου δε λογον τοτου κατ η την τινα αρχειν βασιλαι τοτους κατασταταιν νομοφυλακας και ουσητας τοις νομοις αναγκαιον γαρ ειναι τινα αρχας αλλα ουχ ενα τοτων ειναι φαιν δικαιον ομοιον γε δινων παντον. αλλα μην δει γε μη δοκειν δυνασθαι διορωθην το νομος ουδε άνθρωπος ιν δυνατο γνωριζειν οπακε η επιτηδεις παιδωςας ο νομος αφιστηε το λοιπα τη δικαιοτατη γνωριμε κρινειν και διωκειν τοις αρχεταις οτε δε

αρχη του περι της Επιδιαμανον] the αρχην of VIII. (V.) 1. 11. At Opus the title was Cosmopolis. Smith, Geogr. Dict. p. 146, a.
2 δοκει δε η From this to the end of the chapter is a discussion of the question aporetically.
3 και το ανα μερος διωστες] Is it: 'It is just that if the government is taken in turns, it should be provided that all have their turn fairly, not one more than another?'
4 νομοφυλακας] 'more guardians and servants of the laws.'
5 ουδε ην τοτον] 'not this one man that you speak of.'
6 αλλα μην δει γα, κ.τ.λ.] The law, it is urged, cannot go into all possible
detail, but neither can a man grasp all possible details—an objection.
7 'True. This is allowed for—and the law expressly trains its rulers, and then sets them to judge to the best of their judgment.'
8 'ο μην οδυ τον νομον, κ.τ.λ.] I feel little doubt that the true reading is συμνοι; and for τον πομον, τον νομον μονον.'
9 He who would have law rule, wishes for the rule of God and reason only; whereas he who would have a man supreme, brings in the element of the animal.' The correction is sanctioned by several editors, and by Spengel, p. 444, note 39.
10 αρχηνας] 'when in power.'
πιανορμοισθαι διδασκειν, (τι αν δοξη θεωριμενοι αρμενον λιναι των χωμων. ο μεν ων των νόμων κελευνον αρχειν δεκει κελευνει αρχειν των θεων και των νομων, ο δε άνθρωπων κελευνει προστιθειναι και θηριον. η τε γαρ επιθυμει τοιουτου, και ο θυμος αρχοντας διαστρεφει και τους αριστους άνδρας. διαπερ ανευ δρεπεως νους, ο νομος εστιν. 
Το δε των τεχνων ειναι δεκει παραδειγμα ψευδος, οτι το ο κατα γραμματα ιατριμεθαθαι φαυλον, αλλα κα αιρετωτερον χρησαι τοις ιχουσι τας τεχνας. οι μεν γαρ ουδεν δια γελιου παρα των λογων ποιουσιν, αλλα αρνυνται των μισθων των καμνουτων ιδιαστατες: ει δεν τας πολιτικαις αρχαις πολλα προς επιρειαν και χαριν εισοδαιμον πρατειναι, επει δε τους ιατρους ζηταν υποτευουσιν πιστευοντας τοις εχθροις. διαφθειραι δια κερδος, τοτε την εν των γραμματων θεραπειαν ζητοσαι αν μαλλον. αλλα μην εισαγονται γε εφ αιτωτες ιατροι καμνουται απλους ιατρους και οι παιδοτρηβαι γυμναξομενοι παιδοτρηβαις, ους ου δυναμεν κρινειν το αληθεια δια το κρινειν περι τε οικειων και εν παθει οντες. αοστε δηλον οτι το δικαιον ζητοουντες το μεσον ζητοουσιν, ο γαρ νομος το μεσον. οτι κυριουτεροι και περι κυριωτερων, των κατα γραμματα νομων, οι κατα τα ζηθε εισιν, αοστε των κατα γραμματα ανθρωπος αρχων ασφαλεστερος, αλλα ου των κατα το οδος. αλλα μην ουδε βαριους εφεραι πολλα των εναι. δεισει αρα πλειονας ειναι τοις υπ αυτου καθιστα-

* νους—τοις νομων Bokker.
μένουσ ἁρχοντας, ὥστε τι διαφέρει τοῦτο εἴς ἀρχής εὐθὺς ὑπάρχειν ἢ τὸν ἑνα καταστήσαι τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον; ἔτι, ὃ καὶ πρότερον εἰρημένον ἑστίν, εἴτε ὁ ἀνήρ ὁ σπουδαῖος, διότι βελτίων, ἁρχεῖν δίκαιον, τοῦ δὲ ἐνὸς οἱ δύο ἄγαθον βελτίως· τοῦτο γὰρ ἑστὶ τὸ
οὖν τε δὲ ἑρχομένω καὶ ἡ εὐχὴ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος,
τοῖοτοι δέκα μοι συμφάτροιν.

εἰς δὲ καὶ νῦν περὶ ἑνὸς αἱ ἁρχαὶ κύρια κρίνειν, ὥσπερ ὁ
dικαστής, περὶ ἄν ὁ νόμος ἀδιυνατεὶ διορίζειν, ἐπεὶ περὶ ἄν
dυνατός, οὐδές ἀμφισβητεῖ περὶ τούτων αἰς οὐκ ἂν ἄριστα
ο νόμος ἁρξεὶ καὶ κρίνειν. ἀλλ’ ἐπειδή τὰ μὲν ἐνδέχεται
περιληφθῆναι τὸς νόμος τὰ δ’ ἀδύνατα, ταῦτ’ ἑστὶν ἃ ποιεῖ
dιαπέρειν καὶ ξητεῖν πότερον τὸν ἄριστον νόμον ἁρχεῖν αἱ-
ρετάτερον ἢ τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἄριστον. περὶ ἄν γὰρ βουλεύ-
ονται νομοθετῆσαι τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἑστὶν. οὐ τοιῶν τοῦτο
γ’ ἀντιλέγουσιν, οἷς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἄνδρας οἴονται τὸν κρι-
νόντα περὶ τῶν τοιούτων, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ
πολλοὺς. κρίνει γὰρ ἐκαστὸς ἁρχαὶ πεπαιδευμένος ὑπὸ
tοῦ νόμου καλὸς, ἀπὸν δ’ ἑσσός αὐτὸν διείναι εἰ βέλτιον
ἵοις τις δυοῦ ὁμοίως καὶ δυσιν ἀκολαῖς κρίναν, καὶ πράτταν
δυσὶ ποιεῖ καὶ χειρὶ, ἢ πολλοὶ πολλοὶ, ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν
ὁθαλμοὺς πολλοὺς οἱ μόναρχοι ποιοῦσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁτα
καὶ χειρὰς καὶ ποδαὶ. τοὺς γὰρ τῇ ἁρξῇ καὶ αὐτοῦ φίλους
ποιοῦσιν συνάρχουσι. μὴ φίλοι μὲν οὐν ἄντες οὐ ποιῆσοι
κατὰ τὴν τοῦ μονάρχου προαιρεσίν· εἰ δὲ φίλοι κάκεινον καὶ
tῆς ἁρχῆς, ὅ γε φίλος ὅσοι καὶ δυοῖς· ὡστ’ εἰ τοιότως

10 τοῦ δὲ ἐνὸς] Τὸ δὲ marks the
apodosis, 'then than the one two are
better.' II. x. 224. ii. 372.
11 περιληφθήσαν] 'can be embraced
by the law.'
περὶ δὲ γὰρ βουλεύοντας] Eth. iii. 5.
p. 1112, 18.
12 καλῶς] to be taken with κρίνει.
13 μὴ φίλοι] 'If not friends, the
are not safe; if friends, they are equ
and like.' ὅ γε φίλος, 'The friend,
must be allowed, is equal and like.'

βασιλέως ὁφθαλμός, reads αὐτοῦ when
quoting this passage; but looking at
the καλῶς in the next line but one, it
seems unnecessary to make any change.
aυτοῦ must mean the monarch him-
self.
ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Γ.

"...οίτε δείν ἀρχείν, τοὺς ἱσοὺς καὶ ὁμοίως ἀρχεῖν οἴτε ταῖς ὁμοίωσις. α μὲν οὖν οἱ διαμφισβητοῦντες πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν λέγουσιν, σχέδου ταύτ' ἔστιν. Ἀλλ' ἱσοὺς ταύτ' ἐπὶ 17 μὲν τιναὶ μέσι τῶν τρόπων τούτων, ἐπὶ δὲ τινῶν οὐχ οὕτως. ἠστὶ γὰρ τι φύσει διεστοῦσίν καὶ ἄλλο βασιλεύτων καὶ ἄλλο πολιτικῶν καὶ δίκαιων καὶ συμφέρων τυραννικῶν δ' οὐκ ἤστι κατὰ φύσιν, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτειῶν ὅσα παρεξεδήσεις οἰσίν· ταῦτα γὰρ γίγνεται παρὰ φύσιν. Ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων γε φαινομένου οἷς ἐν μὲν τοῖς ὁμοίωσις καὶ ἱσοῖς οὕτως 1288 συμφέρων ἔστιν οὔτε δίκαιον ἐνα νῦριον εἰναι πάντων, οὔτε μὴ νόμον ἄνευ, ἄλλ' αὐτῶν αἰς ἄντα νόμον, οὔτε νόμων ἄνευ, οὔτε ἀγαθὸν ἀγαθῶν οὔτε μὴ ἀγαθὸν μὴ ἀγαθῶν, ἢ ὥστε κατ' ἀρετῆν ἁμείναις, εἰ μὴ τρόπον τινά. τίς δ' 2 ὁ τρόπος, λακτέων εἰρήται δέ ποις ἡμι καὶ πρότερον. πρῶτον δὲ διαμετέων τι τὸ βασιλευτοῦν καὶ τι τὸ ἀριστοκρατικῶν καὶ τι τὸ πολιτικῶν. Βασιλευτοῦν μὲν οὖν τὸ τοιοῦτον ἢ ἀρέτης δ' ἐπίφως ἕφερεν γένος ὑπέρεχον κατ' ἀρετὴν πρὸς ἡγεμονίαν πολιτικῆς, ἀριστοκρατικῶν δὲ πλῆθος δ' ἐπίφως ἕφερεν πλῆθος ἀρχεσθαι δυνάμενον τὴν τῶν ἑλεύθερων ἀρχὴν ὑπὲ τῶν κατ' ἀρετὴν ἡγεμονικῶν πρὸς πολιτικὴν ἀρ-

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"...equally with himself.'

2 ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν, κ.τ.λ.] 'Allowing for the fact of this difference, it seems at any rate clearly proved from what we have said.'

VII. 1 καὶ δίκαιον καὶ συμφέρον]
The simplest way of taking this passage is, with Stahr, to supply γένος with τοι. 'There are men who properly are to be governed as slaves, others who require kingly government, others a free constitution; and in each of these cases the relation is just and for the interest of both parties. There are none who are properly the subjects of a tyrant, or members of the other constitutions—in these cases the relation is not just, nor for the interest of both.'
χήν, πολιτικῶν δὲ πλήθος ἐν ὧν ἐσθενεῖσθαι πλήθος πολιτειῶν, δυνάμενον ἀρχεῖαι καὶ ἀρχεῖα κατὰ νόμον τῶν ἐκαθάργυρον διανέμεται τοῖς εὐπόροις τὰς ἀρχαῖς. ὅταν οὖν ἡ γένος ὅλον ἢ καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἐνα τινα συμβοῦ διαφέροντα γενέσθαι κατ' ἀρετὴν τοσοῦτον ἀπὸ ύπερέχειν τὴν ἑκείνου τῆς τῶν ἀλλῶν πάντων, τότε δίκαιον τὸ γένος εἶναι τούτῳ βασιλεῖα καὶ κύριον πάντων, καὶ βασιλεία τὸν ἑαυτὸν.

οὐκ ἔγορα ἐφέτευσι πρότερον, οὐ μᾶν οὕτως ἔχει κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον, ὃ προφέρει οἰκοδομεῖν οἱ τὰς πολιτείας καθιστάντες, οἱ τὰς ἀριστοκρατικὰς καὶ οἱ τὰς ὁλοχαρικὰς καὶ πάλιν οἱ τὰς δημοκρατικὰς. πάντες γὰρ καθ' ύπεροχὴν ἀξιώσον, ἀλλ' ύπεροχὴν οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν. ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ πρότερον λεγόνται, οὐ γὰρ κτείνειν ἢ φυγαδεύειν ὡς ὀστρακίζειν ἡ ποῖ τὸν τοιοῦτον πρέπειν ἢ στίν, οὐτ' ἀξιῶν ἀρχεῖαι κατὰ μέρος. οὐ γὰρ πέφυκε τὸ μέρος ύπερέχον τοῦ παντός, τῷ δὲ τηλικάτῳ ύπερβολήν ἔχοντι τούτῳ συμβαθήκην. ὥστε λείτουται μᾶλλον τὸ πείθεσθαι τῷ τοιοῦτῳ, καὶ κύριον εἶναι μὴ κατὰ μέρος τοῦτον ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς. Περὶ μὲν οὖν βασιλείας, τίνας ἔχει διαφοράς, καὶ πότερον

* Bekker reads [καὶ θῆ].

τοῖς εὐπόροις] Stahr suggests that τοῖς ἀριστοκρατικάς should be inserted. In sense it seems needed at first sight. And yet if we recollect the language of Eth. viii. xii. 1. p. 1160, 33, where the third form of constitution is said to be ἡ ἑκείνῃ τιμητικῇ κην ἐλείσθαι, ὡς ἑκείνῃ τιμητικῇ, κην ἐλείσθαι, ὡς ἑκείνῃ κην, and compare the rest of the same chapter, we shall not be surprised at Aristotle, in this passage, putting very prominently forward the holders of property, the τὸ εὐπόρον: cf. IV. (VII.) 8, 9.

ὁ προφέρειν ' to put forward, prese ferre.'

πάντες γὰρ...οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν] This remark is parenthetical, and in ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ πρότερον λεγόθην, we have the clause answering to κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον.

7 τοῦτῳ συμβαθήκην, ὅτι θεσμὸν ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ μέρος. He stands in the relation of the part to the whole.

8 κατὰ μέρος] 'in turn.'

περὶ μὲν οὖν βασιλείας] Kings were for Aristotle an institution of the past, or a characteristic in the present of a lower stage of social development. So, I believe, they were for Plato too. His treating of the monarchical form then, is a complement of his theory; it was not to be dwelt on at length, but still necessarily to be dwelt on to make his ground quite clear. With chapter XVIII. he enters on the treatment of his own ideal form, his ἀριστοκρατία or ἄρων καθιστά. Compare Spengel, pp. 16, 17.
\( \text{XXVIII. 1 to} \) of this book.  

\( \text{politeia} \) A true statesman in the ideal form, the ruler, for the time, of free and equal citizens, among whom he is in turn to take his place. Compare Ch. V. 10, \( \text{politeia kai kírion} \) \( \text{dunámedos éi} \) \( \text{kírion} \). Spengel condemns \( \text{basileuós} \), note 20, and suggests \( \text{agathos or stouðaós} \), but looking at the context, I do not feel inclined to change the reading. The man must be trained for his post of King. Pericles or Alexander both equally require the true education which shall make them good men and good rulers.

2 \( \text{ánagka} \) 84] With the altered arrangement of the books these words may be left out.
BOOK IV. SUMMARY.

THE book opens with three introductory chapters, a prelude as Aristotle calls it. They are by no means very clear, and in great part might have been dispensed with, as they are the reassertions of principles already established in the tenth book of the Ethics.

Two questions are started, What is the best life? and is it the same for the state and for the individual?

The happiness of the individual depends on moral and intellectual excellence. The happiness of the state will depend on the same. And with his master Plato he asserts that there is a correspondence between the moral virtues as they exist in the individual, and as they exist in the state. It would follow from this, naturally, that the state and the individual stand on the same ground; the qualifications for the best life in each are analogous, the best life of each will also be analogous.

Is the life of action, that of the citizen mixing with his fellow-citizens, and discharging his share of the public duties, the better life? or are we to prefer that of the man who stands aloof, who lives as a stranger and alien, so far as political life goes, and devotes himself to pure speculation? And if we solve this question for the individual, shall we adopt that solution for the state? The very name of the science we are studying assumes that the individual must live as a citizen, and not stand apart from the political society. It implies an affirmative answer to the first question. But it is not at the same time quite clear, that the state must equally with the individual, live a social life, and be brought into intimate connection with other states. For the citizen, whether he choose the life of action or of contemplation, lives yet on equal terms with his fellow-citizens, he may avoid actual office and power, the whirl of political life, as interfering with truer objects; but he may still take his share in the real duties of a citizen, and guide by the results of his intellectual exertion the more busy and practical mass around him. But it is not so with the states. Intercourse between states is even now mainly reducible to two heads, war and commerce. In the
ancient world commerce was not a bond on the same scale as at present, in the theories of Aristotle and other philosophers it could not constitute a bond at all. There was left war, or its result, empire. The connection of states was not that of equals, but of ruler and subject. Hence the immense importance attached to war by the legislations and customs of different states. But war for the state was the same obstacle to the real furtherance of the true interest of the social union, that political struggles were for the individual. And neither for the one nor the other are they essential to action. Standing alone, a state, as an organic whole, finds sufficient action in the healthy working of its different parts in their relations to one another. The single citizen, as we said above, may, with the quiet exercise of the philosophic intellect, combine a most real influence on the welfare of his country. He may be the architect of the political system, whilst his plans are carried out by others. The edifice is his building, though others reduce his plan into action and find the labour necessary for its completion (Ch. I—III.).

The prelude over, Aristotle passes to the consideration of the state that he intends to sketch. Certain points must be granted, the conditions under which it must be formed. First of all there must be citizens, next there must be a place for them to inhabit. What is to be the number of those citizens? Mere largeness of number does not make a state great. In fact, the limit is very easily reached in point of number, and is fixed by the difficulty of managing large numbers. Vividly embodying the Greek notion of a state, Aristotle says, its army must be under one general, its people capable of hearing one herald, its citizens must know one another to secure good elections to offices, for the only guarantee of such good elections lies in real personal knowledge, in short, the limit of number must be fixed at the point when, complete satisfaction of all the wants of man being attained, the body passes out of the range of the eye, as it were, and ceases to be manageable (Ch. IV.).

The country these citizens are to inhabit must be as complete in itself as possible. It must be favourable to all military operations, it must be convenient for the transport of commodities. Its capital, the city, must be well situated for intercourse, both with the sea and land (Ch. V.).

Some would exclude the former, and urge the dangers of maritime intercourse. Care may remedy what dangers exist, and the advantages are, in Aristotle's opinion, very considerable (Ch. VI.).
For the character of the citizens, its type must be the Greek type in its best form, combining high spirit and energy with quick intellectual powers. Such are the most favourable material for the lawgiver to mould (Ch. VII.).

But in any city there will be a distinction between the inhabitants. They will not all be citizens in the true sense, even though necessary adjuncts to the state. It is necessary for every state to be supplied with food, with the conveniences of life and with labour. But the classes which respectively supply it with these are not, therefore, members of the state. They cannot be so. We find the true members of the state in those who defend it in arms, who deliberate on its policy, who administer justice. The first function naturally falls to the younger, the two others to the older, and the care of religious worship shall be entrusted to the members of this elder body who have retired from more active duties on the ground of age (Ch. VIII. IX.).

Such is our body politic. It will need, as it has ever needed, some articulation and organization. This, from the earliest recorded times, has been the characteristic of civilized man, witness the caste system in Egypt, the public mess of Crete and Italy. Such institutions so far as they are useful, must be adopted, and Aristotle formally adopts the sysitia. To these all citizens must be admitted, but the poor cannot be so without some assistance; the service of the gods, too, requires some property for its maintenance. For both these objects there must be public land set apart to be cultivated by public slaves, as the best course, if not, by a dependent population, as submissive and unconnected in itself as possible (Ch. X.).

For the actual city. It must occupy a position favourable to health, with good air and water. It must have good street arrangements, and walls well built and carefully maintained by proper officers. In these walls and in the towers the sysitia may be held for the majority. Those of the magistrates must be in a conspicuous place, and near the temple of the gods. Two large public places will be necessary, the Agora for freemen, and the ordinary market-place (Ch. XI. XII.).

All such points are within the province of fortune. He then passes to the strict province of the legislator. What we have gone through are the basis for the social fabric, on it may be raised a good or a bad state. A state is good by its citizens being good, and men are good by a combination of three causes, nature, discipline, and instruction. The nature is given, it is beyond man's control. The other two are within his control. In the Ethics we have had the theory for the individual man elaborately sketched out. Educa-
tion is what is wanted (Ch. XIII.). And here the first question is, shall the education given be one and uniform for the governed and for the governor, or, in the form the question takes in Aristotle, shall the two be distinct for life? If we accept our previous position, and make the distinction one of age merely, then, under its guidance, the education presents no difficulty. Man is a complex being, made up of body and soul, this last divisible again into affections and reason. Reason, again, is either practical or speculative, and according as we follow one or the other, we lean to action or to contemplation. All these distinctions must be carefully kept in view, in our discussion of education as a state question; and the one principle that must guide us is, that the lower end must always be in due subordination to the higher. It is open to question, of course, which is the lower and which is the higher; and in discussing this, Aristotle is led to a criticism on Sparta, and a statement of the legitimate objects of war: self-defence, power for the good of the subject, rule over those who naturally require it (Ch. XIV.).

But it is always war for the sake of peace—exertion for the sake of leisure, and all that leisure enables man to accomplish—the active virtues for the sake of the contemplative—the political life for the sake of the theoretic. Some of the virtues may be neglected, all are wanted to guarantee the possession of leisure and the right use of it.

Shall we train first by habits, by discipline, or by reason? The answer is, by discipline. And the true order in education is, first, the body, then the instincts, then the intellect (Ch. XV.).

The first step in the bodily training, is to make proper regulations as to the marriage of the parents. The age of the parties, the time of the marriage, the bodily conditions, the care during pregnancy: all that may be said to be prior to the birth must be attended to. No deformed children must be allowed to live, and there must be no children born after the parents have reached a certain age (Ch. XVI.).

When born there must be a careful attention paid to diet and health. Till two the children are merely cared for in this matter; from two to five their amusements must be carefully studied. From five to seven they may look on, as spectators, at that which they are subsequently to learn. The subsequent period till twenty-one, with its natural division into the time before the age of puberty and that after it, requires all attention. And this forms the subject of the fragmentary book which follows (Ch. XVII.).
ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Δ. (Η.)

ΑΝΑΓΚΗ δή τῶν μέλλοντα περὶ αὐτῆς ποιήσασθαι τὴν προσήκουσαν σκέψιν διαρίσασθαι πρῶτον τις αιρετάτατος βίος. ἀδέλφου γὰρ ἄντος τούτου καὶ τὴν ἀρίστην ἀναγκαῖον ἀδηλὸν εἶναι πολιτείαν. ἀρίστα γὰρ πράττειν προσήκει τοὺς ἀρίστα πολιτευμένους ἐν τῶν ὑπορ-χόντων αὐτοῖς, ἐὰν μὴ τις γίγνεται παράλογον. διὸ δὲ πρῶτον ὑμολογεῖσθαι τίς ἐὰν πάσιν ὡς εἰπόν αιρετάτατος βίος, μετὰ δὲ τούτου πότερον κοινῆ καὶ χωρὶς ὁ αὐτὸς ἢ ἄτερος. Ὑμισθανταὶ οὖν ἰκανῶς πολλὰ λέγεσθαι καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐξωτερικῶς λόγοις περὶ τῆς ἀρίστης ζωῆς, καὶ τῶν ἐξωτερικῶς ἐκ τῆς ἀρίστης ζωῆς, καὶ τῶν ἐξωτερικῶς ἐκ τῆς ἀρίστης ζωῆς, καὶ τῶν ἐξωτερικῶς ἐκ τῆς ἀρίστης ζωῆς, καὶ τῶν ἐξωτερικῶς ἐκ τῆς ἀρίστης ζωῆς, καὶ τῶν ἐξωτερικῶς ἐκ τῆς ἀρίστης ζωῆς, καὶ τῶν ἐξωτερικῶς ἐκ τῆς ἀρίστης ζωῆς.

I. 1 The alteration of the arrangement leaves it optional which of the two sentences shall be adopted, that at the end of Book III. or beginning of Book IV. I prefer the former, as more immediately connecting with the preceding remarks. "ἐκ τῶν ὑπορχότων αὐτοῖς" These words may be taken either with ἄριστα πράττειν, or with πολιτευμένους. With Stahr I take them with πράττειν, "in Folge der ihnen daraus entspringenden Vortheile," 'as a consequence of the advantages they derive from it.' In this case the sense of the expression is not the same as that which it bears, Eik. i. xi. 13. pp. 1101, 2: ἐκ τῶν ὑπορχότων ἄλτα κάλλιστα πράττειν. But the context here seems to require a different sense. παράλογον] here as Eik. v. x. p. 1135, b. 17, where its adv. paralogos means, 'contrary to what you have a fair right to expect.'

1 κοινῇ καὶ χωρὶς] 'For the one and for the individual.'

γυμισθαντα] This accusative construction not uncommon. Comp. III. iii. 9. λειτήνας ἐνθήσατο.

ἐξωτερικῶς] Comp. note on I. v. 3 ἐν ἄλλῃ ἀνθρώπῳ. This divine giving, Eik. i. viii. 2. p. 1098, is there spoken of as δέξας ὡς καὶ διαλογομεθαιν ὅπως τοῖς συνοπλωταῖς.

ἐς εἰς] With Stahr I place after these words.

4 Avoiding all unnecessary he takes the four great cur- tuse, the virtues of Plato;
μακάριον τὸν μὴθὲν μόριον ἔχοντα ἀνδρίας μὴθε σωφροσύνης μὴθε δικαιοσύνης μὴθε φρονίσεως, ἀλλὰ δεδιότα μὲν τὰς παραπτημάτας μείας, ἀπεχόμενοι δὲ μὴθενόν, ἃν ἐπιθυμήγη τοῦ θανόν ἡ πιεῖν, τῶν ἑσχάτων, ἕνεκα δὲ τεταρτημορίου διαφθείρεται τοῦς φιλτάτους φίλους, ὡμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν διάποναν οὕτως ἀφρόνα καὶ διενευσμένον ὁσπερ τὶ παιδίον ἤ μαίνομεν. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν λεγόμενα ὁσπερ 5 πάντες ἂν συγχωρήσειν, διαφθείρονται δὲ ἐν τῷ ποσῶ καὶ ταῖς ὑπεροχαῖς. τῆς μὲν γὰρ ἀρετῆς ἢχειν, ἱκανὸν εἶναι, μαρίζουσιν ὑποσονύν, πλοῦτον δὲ καὶ χρημάτων καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης καὶ πάντων τῶν τινῶν εἰς ἀπειρον ζητοῦσι τῆν ὑπερβολήν. ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐροῦμεν ὅτι ἡδίων μὲν 6 περὶ τούτων καὶ διὰ τῶν ἔργων διαλαμβάνειν τὴν πίστιν, ἐρῶντας δὲ κτίσται καὶ φυλάττουσιν οὐ τὰς ἀρετὰς τοῖς ἐκτὸς ἂλλ’ ἐκεῖνα ταύτας, καὶ τὸ δὲ εὐδαιμονός, εἰτ’ ἐν τῷ 1323 β’ χαίρειν ἑστὶν εἰτ’ ἐν ἀρετῇ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰτ’ ἐν ἀμφιθείρει, ὃτι μᾶλλον ὑπάρχει τοῖς τὸ ἱδίος μὲν καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν κεχο- σημανίμενοι εἰς ὑπερβολήν, περὶ δὲ τὴν ἐξ ἐκτείνεσθαι τῶν ἄγαθῶν μεταξίσσουσιν, ἡ τοῖς ἐκείνα μὲν κεχοτημένοι πλείω τῶν χρη- σίμων, ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἐλλειπουσίν’ οὐ μὲν ἄλλα καὶ κατὰ τὸν λόγον σκοπουμένοις εὑσονυπότον ἑστιν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκτὸς 7

public. Cicero in his Offices, and with the same names as Plato.

τεταρτημορίον] The fourth of an obolaus.


5 ὅσπερ πάντες] 'But although this, when stated, is language which nearly all would allow, yet they differ as to degree and the relative superiority, viz., of virtue and the other advantages. This is one way of taking the δεσπερ, and so taken, it qualifies the πάντες. In the other way, Stahr's, the passage runs, 'as all agree, so they differ.' Compare, in support of this last, Ch. VII. 3. ὅσπερ μετέχει—οὕτως μετέχει.

[ἐχειν ἱκανόν, κ.τ.λ.] The order is, ἐχειν ὑποσονύν ἀρετῆς ἱκανόν εἶναι μαρίζουσιν.

6 διαλαμβάνειν τὴν πίστιν] 'To attain complete conviction.'

ἐν τῷ χαίρειν] 'in enjoyment.'

τῆς ἐκτείνεσθαι τῶν ἄγαθῶν] 'The outward acquisition of the goods of life,' or is the ἐκτείνεσθαι displaced, and the meaning 'the acquisition of the external goods?'

οὐ μὲν ἄλλα, κ.τ.λ.] 'Not but that when we also consider the question on grounds of strict reason, it is an easy one to decide.'

7 τὰ μὲν γὰρ, κ.τ.λ.—τῶν δὲ] Such is the connection, the sentence τῶν δὲ τὸ χρησίμον—ἐκχοισι σ is parenthetical.
'For whilst external goods have a limit—those which depend on the mind.'


τῶν δὲ τὸ χρήσιμον, or πάντα δργανα] 'all good things which are useful, as instrumental, are such that in excess they must either do harm, or there can be no advantage from them to their possessors.' Eicke, p. 14, note 4, dwells on this passage as marking the strong distinction that exists between χρήσιμαι and εὐμφέρων.

χρήσιμον εἰναι depends on ἀναγκάζον.

ἐπιλέγεσι] Eth. i. ix. 6. p. 1109, b. 11.

'And generally it is clear that we shall allow that the difference between two things in their highest perfection will depend on, and be in exact proportion to, the difference that exists between them in their ordinary state.' The interval between the two superlatives will be the same as that between the two positives. Compare his language in the Rhetoric, 1. vii. 4. p. 1363, b. 21, where the μέγατον of τού μεγάτου διακρίνον καὶ αὐτὰς αὐτῶν...ο λ ὅ μεγάτου διάρρηχον γυναικας τῆς μεγίστης μείζον καὶ δίλες οἱ ἄνδρες τῶν γυναικῶν μείζους.

From this it follows that mental excellence, when compared with bodily excellence and all external advantages, such as wealth, will be in the same relation of superiority to them, as the mind is with regard to the body and property. If we allow the mind's superiority, we must allow the superiority of virtue and wisdom. ἔναστοι τῶν ἀναγκῶν εἰκῶν] Such is the order.

'Εντὸς τῆς ψυχῆς ἔνεκεν] 'It is only for the sake of the soul that these, τὰ εὖ ἀγαθά καὶ τὰ σωματικά,' &c.

' ἵνα ἀρέτης καὶ φρονήματος] The respective excellencies of the θόρος and διάνοια, 'moral and intellectual virtue.' ἐντὸς τῶν ἐντὸς εἰσι] Here evidently this word is equivalent to the simpler εἰς, 'outward.'

'The state of the man who is in all points well endowed,
so far as outward advantages are concerned.

The virtue depends on effort.

Courage in a state and justice and wisdom are, in their force and form, the same as in the individual, when, by virtue of his participation in them, he is called just, wise, and temperate.

13 τούς ολιγούς "proper to the subject.

11 τόχην οὖν ἔτερα "un autre ouvrage," St. Hil. : "einen andern Vortrag," Stahr: "discussion:" but it may be simply 'leisure,' as he says άλλων καιρών.

14 διὰ δὲ τούς άμφιβολύντων Spengel, p. 46, says, "So redet Aristoteles sonst nicht." The expression

1. Διά τῆς φυσῆς depends on έν ποσίν.
2. ταύτας καὶ τῇ τόχη ὑπάρχουσαν: They come to a man without any efforts of his own, spontaneously and from fortune.
3. ἀστορ δὲ τόχην "as a gift of fortune." (ὁ τόχη δὲ τοῦ εὐφροσύνης.) The former excludes τόχη as the giving power, the latter excludes it as the constituent of happiness.

12 άνδρία, κ.τ.λ. "Courage in a state and justice and wisdom are, in their force and form, the same as in the individual, when, by virtue of his participation in them, he is called just, wise, and temperate.

13 τούς ολιγούς "proper to the subject.

11 τόχην οὖν ἔτερα "un autre ouvrage," St. Hil. : "einen andern Vortrag," Stahr: "discussion:" but it may be simply 'leisure,' as he says άλλων καιρών.

14 διὰ δὲ τούς άμφιβολύντων Spengel, p. 46, says, "So redet Aristoteles sonst nicht." The expression
is quite singular in his works. Spen- 
gel, not doubting the genuineness of 
these introductory chapters, thinks 
that the different parts are probably 
not of the same date, pp. 47, 48.

εἰ τῇ τῶν μεθόδου] ‘in our present 
treatise.’

II. 1 It is difficult certainly to see 
how these two first sections are to be 
distinguished from the last chapter. 
If a distinction is drawn it must be 
in this, that in Ch. I. he has been 
directing attention mainly to virtue, 
and has decided that in the individual 
and the state it is analogous. Here, 
on the other hand, he more especially 
dwells on happiness, which, by general 
consent, he says, is clearly the same 
for both; or they may be treated 
simply as an introductory résumé.

2 τῶν εἰς ἀνθρώπων] ‘allows the 
individual to be happy, on the ground 
of his being virtuous.’

3 ο ξένος, κ.τ.λ.] ‘The life of an 
alien and of one who stands aloof from 
all interference in the political asso-
ciation,’ ἐνα μετάφρασις εἰς τής 
γῆς, Ηδ, xi. 13.

ἐς τάσις, κ.τ.λ.] ‘in either sup-
position, be it that for all equally it is 
desirable, or, though for some par-
ticular cases not, yet for the ma-
jority.’

4 τὸ τώ] might be taken as equiv-
alent to τὸ τοῖς πλείστους αἵρεσιν, but it 
s seemed better to take it as ‘this second 
question,’ viz.: what constitution is 
to be formed? The stress in the sen-
tence lies on πολιτικής. ‘But since 
this second question is the proper 
object of political reflexion and poli-
tical science, and it is this political in-
quiry (τάσις τῆς σκέψις) that I have 
now chosen, the first is superfluous,’ 
&c. This I believe to be the render-
ing of the passage, and yet it is quite 
true that Aristotle at once goes on to
πολιτικὴς διανοίας καὶ θεωρίας τούτ' ἐστὶν ἔργον, ἀλλ' ὅπως τὸ περὶ ἐκαστὸν αἰρετῶν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ταύτῃ προσήμεθα μὲν τὴν σχέσιν, ἐκαίνου μὲν πάρεργον ἀν ἐπὶ τοῦτο ὑπὲρ τῆς μεθοδοὺς ταύτης. ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πολιτείαν ἀρίστην ταύτην καὶ Ἰον κἀκεῖν ὑπὸ ἀριστοσυνῶν ἄριστα πράττοι καὶ ἐξ ὑπὸ μακαρίων, φανερῶν ἐστὶν ἀμφισβητεῖται δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν ὁμολογούντων τὸν μετ' ἀρετῆς εἶναι βιὸν αἰρετῶτατον, πότερον δὲ πολιτικὸς καὶ πρακτικὸς βίος αἰρετῶς ἢ μᾶλλον δὲ πάντων τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀπολελεμένος, οἷον θεωρητικὸς τις, ἐν μένον τινὲς φασιν εἶναι φιλόσοφον. σχεδὸν γὰρ ὅ τούτους ταῖς δύο βλοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ φιλοτιμοῦται πρὸς ἀρετήν πιένονται προαιρούμενοι, καὶ τῶν προτέρων καὶ τῶν τῶν λέγω δὲ δύο τὸν τοῦτο πολιτικὸν καὶ τὸν φιλόσοφον. δια- φερεῖ δὲ ὧν μικρὸν ποτέρος ἐχει ὅ ἀληθές. ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὸν [τε]· τῆς φρονούντα, πρὸς τὸν βελτίων σκοπὸν, συντάττεσθαι καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκαστον καὶ κοινῆ τὴν πολιτείαν. νομίζομεν δὲ οἱ μὲν τῶν πέλας ἀρχεῖν δεσποτικῶς μὲν γιγνομένων μετ' ἀδικίας τινὸς εἶναι τῆς μεγίστης, πολιτικῆς δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄδικον οὐκ ἐχεῖν, ἐμπόδιων δὲ ἐχεῖν τῇ περὶ αὐτῶν σύμμερα. τοῦτων δὲ ὅσπερ εἰ ἐναντίας ἑτεροι τυχανούσι δοξάζοντες· μόνον γὰρ ἀνθρώπον τῶν πρακτικῶν εἶναι βιοῦ καὶ πολιτικοῦ· εἰ δὲ ἐνάστης γὰρ ἀρετῆς οὐκ εἶναι πράξεις μᾶλ,- 1324 ἐ

Bekker does not bracket this.

consider the question of the relative value, both for the state and for the individual, of the two kinds of life, the philosophic or contemplative, and the political or practical, a question fully discussed and settled by him, Eth. x. vii. 8. pp. 1177. 8.

5 τῶν ὁμολογούντων, κ. τ. λ.] — τῶν τὸν ἐνα δὲ ἀρετὴν ἀποδεχομένων from § 2.

οἷον θεωρητικόν] 'I mean, a life of contemplation,' i. vii. 5, σοφον ἡ δικαια.

6 οἱ φιλοτιμοῦσαι πρὸς ἀρετὴν] "die am meisten nach Tugend strebenden," Stahr. 'Those who are most keen in the pursuit of virtue.'

tὸν τε] This te seems meaningless. Stahr keeps it, but does not translate it.

συντάττεσθαι] 'arrange himself for, discipline himself for.'

7 δεσποτικῶς γιγνομένων] 'If it wear the character of a despotism or tyranny.'

ἐπάθειαν δὲ ἐχεῖν] Compare II. vi. 22, ἐχεῖν ἐπαθείαν, and note. Here ἐπαθείαν εἶναι would be more natural.

ἀδικόν] so ipsum, Vet. Tr. Several editors change the adiōn, though disagreeing as to its substitute. There is no necessity for the change, looking at the general use of the word.
Λοις ιδιώταις ἢ τοῖς τὰ κοινὰ πράττοντι καὶ πολιτειο-
μένοις. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ὅτις ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, οἱ δὲ τὸν διεπ-
τικὸν καὶ τυραννικὸν τρόπον τῆς πολιτείας εἶναι μόνον
εὐδαίμονα φασιν. παρ’ ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ τῆς πολιτείας ὅτις
ἀρος καὶ τῶν νόμων, ὅπως δεσπόζωσι τῶν τίτλων.
δὲ καὶ τῶν πλείστων νομίμων χάρην ὡς ἐπειτε κείμεναι παρὰ τοῖς
πλείστοις, ὅμως εἰ ποῦ τι πρὸς ἐν οἱ νόμοι βλέπουσι, τοῦ
κρατεῖν στοχαζόνται πάντες, ὁμοῖος ἐν Δακεδαίμονι καὶ
Κρήτη πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους συντεταχται σχεδὸν ἢ τα παιδεία
καὶ τὸ τῶν νόμων πλῆθος. ἔτι δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνει πάσι τοῖς
δυναμένοις πλεονεκτεῖν ἢ τοιαῦτη τετιμηται δύναμις, ὁνὸν ἐν
Σκύθαις καὶ Πέρσαις καὶ Θρᾴκῃ καὶ Καλτοῖς. ἐν ἐνιαῖς γὰρ
καὶ νόμοι τινές εἰσὶν παραξύνοντες πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν ταύτην,
καθάπερ ἐν Καρχηδόνε φασὶ τὸν ἐκ τῶν κρίκων κόσμον
λαμβάνειν ὅσα ἀν στρατεύωσωμαι στρατεύας. ἦν δὲ ποτε
καὶ περὶ Μακεδονίαν νόμως τὸν μηδένα ἀπεκταγκότα πολέ-
μον ἀνδρα περιεξόθαι τὴν φορείαν. ἐν δὲ Σκύθαις οὐκ
ἐξήν πλεῖσθ’ ἐν ἐορτῇ τινι σκύφων περιφερόμενον τῷ μηδένα
ἀπεκταγκότα πολέμων. ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ἑβραῖοι, ἔθνει πολεμικοῦ,
τοσούτως τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀβελίσκουσι καταπηγνύοντα περὶ τὸν
τάφον ὅσωσ ἀν διαφθείρῃ τῶν πολέμων. καὶ ἔτερα δὴ
παρ’ ἐτέροις ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα πολλά, τὰ μὲν νόμοι κατείλημ-

* I have inserted κατ.

οὖν εἶναι πράξεις, κ.τ.λ.] 'The man who keeps aloof from political life has
not so much scope for practising them as they have who mix in it.'

8 οἱ μὲν οὖν οὖν οὖν] The meaning
must be carried back past the last
sentence, and the οὖν must be the
view taken in § 7, the view adverse to
the political life.

οὖν δὲ τῶν νόμων] Vet. Tr.
read και before νόμων. Stahr
approves of this change, and the context
requires it. 'This is the sole end
both of the constitution and the se-

parate laws.' I have therefore inserted
κατ.

9 χόδῳ] 'promiscuously,' 'without
order,' the Latin 'temere.'

10 ἐν τοῖς οὖν] as distinct from the
πόλεις. They had no πολειτεία.

Σκύθαις, κ.τ.λ.] The great divi-
sions of the non-Hellenic world to
Aristotle.

11 περὶ Μακεδονίαν] Compare Grote,
iv. 11; xi. 397.

τῆς φορείας] a "mouthband of
leather," L. and S.

ἐν Σκύθαις] Herod. iv. 66.

12 κατείλημενα] 'established.'
μένα τα δέ ἰδεῖν. καίτοι δόξειν ἃν ἄγαν ἀτοπον ἵσως ἑναι τοὺς θεολογίους ἐπισκοπεῖν, εἰ τούτ’ ἐστὶν ἐργον τοῦ πολιτικοῦ, τὸ δύνασθαι θεωρῆν ὅτις ἐρχή καὶ δεσπότης τῶν πλησίων καὶ θεολογίων καὶ μὴ θεολογίων. τοῦς γάρ ἄν ἐκ τούτοις πολιτικοί η νομοθετικοί, ζ γε μηδὲ νόμιμον ἐστὶν; 13

τέκνων δὲ τὸ μὴ μόνον δικαίως ἀλλὰ καὶ δικαίως ἐρχεῖν, πρατεῖν δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ μὴ δικαίως. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὔτε ἐν ταῖς ἀλλα ἐπιστήμης τούτῳ ὄρμεν· οὔτε γάρ τὸν ιατρὸν οὔτε τὸν κυβερνήτου ἐργὸν ἐστὶ τὸ ἡ πείσαι ἡ βιάζασθαι τοῦ μὲν τοὺς διαγωνισμένους τοῦ δὲ τοὺς πλατύφρας. ἀλλ’ ἐθικῶς 14 οἱ πολλοὶ τὴν δεσποτικήν πολιτικὴν ὠφελεῖν ἑναί, καὶ ὁπερ αὐτοίς ἐκατοίκιοι οὐ φασίν ἑναί δικαίως οὔδὲ συμφέρον, τούτῳ οὐκ ἀσχολοῦνται πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλους ἀσκοῦντες. αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ παρ’ αὐτῶς τὸ δικαίως ἐρχεῖν χρὴστεῖν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀλλούς οὔτε μᾶλλον τῶν δικαίων. ἀτοπον δὲ εἰ μὴ φύσει τὸ μὲν 15 δεσποτίζον ἐστὶ τὸ δέ οὐ δεσπότον, οὕτε εἰπὲ ἔχει τὸν τρόπον τούτον, οὐ δέ πάντως πειράσθαι δεσποτίζειν, ἀλλὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν, ὁπερ οὔτε δησοῦν ἐπὶ δοιγνὴν ἡ ἑυσίαν ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρὸς τούτο διηθεοῦν· ἐστὶ δὲ διηθεοῦν ὃ ἀν ἀγριον ἢ ἐδεστὸν γένον. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰή γ’ ἃν καὶ καθ’ 16 1325 ἑαυτὴν μία πόλις ἐμπάμιν, ἢ πολιτεύεται δηλονότι καλῶς,

13 τολμαῖοι η νομοθετικῶς] 'within the scope of the statesman or the lawgiver.'

κρατεῖν] 'The mere assertion of superior strength involves no consideration of justice.'

οὕτε γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] The patient submits to the physician, the crew to the pilot, the citizen must submit to the lawgiver. This must be taken for granted.

14 ἀλλ’ ἐθικῶς] 'Still, strange though it be, it would seem that the many.'

διερ αὐτοῖς, κ.τ.λ.] Eth. v. iii. 15, p. 1129, b. 32; compare also Thuc. v. 105, Λακεδαιμόνιος γάρ πρὸς σφᾶς μὴν ἀπότελει, κ.τ.λ.

15 ἀτοπον δὲ[ sc. τὸ δεσποτικὸς ἐρχεῖν.

τὸ μὲν δεσποτοῦ—τὸ δὲ οὐ δεσποτοῦ] Stahr reads δεσποτοῦν in both places, and refers to III. xvii. i. But there does not seem any necessity for the change, the required distinction may be elicted from the present reading, though it certainly would be simpler the other way.

τοῦτον] 'as the majority think.'

16 Again there might be no opportunity for a state to exercise this power of conquering and ruling over others as a despot state, for it might stand alone. Such a state would be allowed to be happy.

ἡ πολιτεύεσθαι] 'granting of course that it be well governed.'
περ ἐνδὲχεται τολιν οἰκεῖσθαι ποιν καθ' ἑαυτὴν νόμοις χραμάνθην σπουδαίοις, ης τῆς πολιτείας ἡ σύνταξις οὐ πρὸς πολέμοιν ὀδικὲ πρὸς τὸ κρατεῖν ἔσται τῶν πολεμίων· μηθὲν γὰρ ὑπαρχέτω τοιοῦτον. δῆλον ἀρα ἢτι πάσας τὰς πρὸς τὸν πολέμον ἐπιμελεῖας καλὰς μὲν θετέον, οὐχ ἄσ τέλος δὲ πάντων ἀκρότατον, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνον χάριν ταύτας. τού δὲ μοιθοῦτο τοῦ σπουδαίον ἔστι τὸ θεάσασθαι πόλιν καὶ γάνος ἀνθρώπων καὶ πᾶσαν ἄλλην κοινωνίαν, ζωῆς ἀγαθῆς πτώς μεθέχουσι καὶ τῆς ἐνδεχομένης αὐτῶς εὐδαιμονίας. διὸλοις μεντοί τῶν ταττομέων ἔνων νομίμων· καὶ τούτῳ τῆς νομοθετικῆς ἕστω ἱδέαν, εἰάν τινες ὑπάρχοισι γειτινῶντες, ποία πρὸς ποίας ἀσκητέων ἢ πτῶς τοῖς καθήκουσι πρὸς ἐκάστους χρηστέων. Ἄλλα τούτο μὲν κἂν υπέρτον τούχι τῆς προσκούσης σκέψεως, πρὸς τὸ τέλος δὲ τὴν αἰρέσθην πολιτείαν 3 συντείνειν· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ὁμολογοῦντας μὲν τὸν μετ' αρετῆς εἶναι βίον αἰρετᾶτατον, διάφρομενοι δὲ περὶ τῆς χρήσεως αὐτοῦ, λεκτόν ἡμῖν πρὸς ἀμφιθέρους αὐτοὺς (οὶ μὲν γὰρ ἀποδομαίοντες τὰς πολιτικὰς ἀρχὰς, νομίζουσι τὸν τὸν ἐλευθέρου βίον ἔτερον τινα εἶναι τοῦ πολιτικοῦ καὶ πάντων αἰρετῶτατον, τοῦ δὲ τούτον ἀριστων· ἀδύνατον γὰρ τὸν μηθὲν πράσσοντα πράσσειν εἰ, τὴν ἐν πραγματικῷ καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν εἶναι ταύτων) ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἀμφιθέροι λέγουσιν ὀρθῶς τὰ δ' οὖν ὀρθῶς, οἱ μὲν ὅτι τὸ τὸν ἐλευθέρου βίος τὸν διεστικοῦ αμείβων. τοῦτο γὰρ ἀληθεῖς· οὔδεν γὰρ τὸ γε δοῦλος, ἃ δοῦλος, χρῆσθαι σεμινών· ἐν γὰρ ἐπίταξις ἡ περὶ τῶν 17 γένοις ἀνθρώπων] seems an equi-
valent expression to ἑνδεχομένης αὐτοῖς] 'open to them.'
18 τοῖς καθήκουσι] St. Hil. and 
Stahr agree in translating this "dut-
ties," Vict. "quae ad officia pertinent." 
I rather take it in the sense of what is "fitting," "appropriate," and not in a technical sense. 
συντείνειν] 'direct all its efforts.'

11 οὐ μὲν γάρ] 'I say both, for 
the one," &c. 
ἐλευθέρου] equivalent to the ἐκεῖνος
kal τῆς πολιτικῆς κοινωνίας ἀπολελειμ-
nos of 2, 3. The words ἀπολελειμμένον, ἰδιωτής would also express the same 
notion. 
ἀδύνατον γάρ] 'For they urge that it is impossible.'

ἀεισφοροῦ] This word is emphatic. 
If the rule over slaves is all that is 
open to a man, to keep clear of all 
power is the wiser course. 
2 οὐδὲν γάρ] Compare I. vii. 4, as 
also for what follows the earlier part 
of the same chapter.
3. [Involve the accomplishment of.] 4. [To give way to.]
5. [To take account of, nor, as compared with this, bestow a thought upon them.] The kindred form ἐννοιάζοντα, with a similar sense, is not uncommon in Plato.
6. [Here lies the fallacy of their assumption.]
7. [The cases given are instances of great natural differences, and in them there is no opening for that ἀρχή παλιγκθή, that rule over equal and free citizens, which, in the reasoning, the objector is supposed to aim at destroying.
8. [He then, who, by nature on a level with others, endeavours to place himself above them as their master, commits an error which no subsequent success can redeem. If men are equal, right and justice for them consist in their being governors and governed in turn.]
far is it from being true that each man should grasp at power, on any ground, even on that, that he will make a good use of it, that he ought to see that it is the right thing and the noble for him to retire before any one who is his superior, and yield him obedience.

γ δεί οὐ οὗτος, κ.τ.λ.] 'I use both terms, virtue and ability (δυναμιν), for both are necessary. Virtue alone does not guarantee the skill to use it rightly.'

8 ἀλλὰ τῶν πρακτικῶν] But in taking up this position we must attend to the sense of the word πρακτικῶς.

τὰς τῶν ἀποβαίνοντων] The order is, τὰ γεγομένα χάριν τῶν ἀποβαίνοντων ἐκ τῶν πράττων.

ἀποτελέσι] 'sui juris,' 'independent,' 'self-complete,' the opposite of ἐπιτελείς.

ἡ γάρ] 'That there are such is clear, for, &c.'

[πολιτικῶν] 'external actions.'

tοῦτος ἀρχιτέκτων] Compare Metaph. 1. ν. p. 981, διδ καὶ τοῦτος ἀρχιτέκτων τερη δικαίως τιμωτέρως καὶ μᾶλλον εἰςηνα τοις μεγαίς τῶν χειροτεχνῶν καὶ σοφωτέρως. 9 ἀλλὰ μὴν] 'Nor again, putting aside these considerations and taking action in the common sense, is it necessary to condemn to inaction the states which are placed alone, and which choose a life answering to this their isolation.'

καὶ τούτῳ] This kal seems out of place. Its more natural position is before the κατά. 'For it is possible even within themselves and with reference to their several parts, that there should be action,' τοῦτο sc. τὸ πράττειν.

10 ὑπαρχεῖν] 'is true of.'

σχεδόν γὰρ] 'else hardly.'

οἷς οὐκ εἰσὶν] For this language, as far as it applies to the gods, compare Ἐκ. x. viii. 7, 8, p. 1178, b. 8.

tοῦτος ἀνθρώπων] seems equivalent to
the γένος ἀνθρώπων of II. 17, and I see no reason for omitting them, as Spengel wishes to do, xlvii. note 43.

IV. 1 So far by way of prelude or introduction. He proceeds more directly to his task of forming a constitution, and to the conditions, first of all, which he requires. He must have a certain number of citizens, and a country in which to place them.

καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων] This is one of the passages which is necessarily omitted if the order of the books is changed, as I have changed it.

τὰς οὐσίας] 'the primary assumptions,' the conditions under which we can form our state.

2 συμμέτρων χορηγιάς] 'adequate appliances.'

προϊστασθήσαμεν] 'we must presuppose many things.' I take the verb in an active sense, looking at the accusative ὡς ἐχωμεν. We have ἑπιστεῦσαμεν in the parallel passage, II. 6, 7.

3 ἐνετηθεῖαν οἰκεῖων] 'in a right state for their work.'

τὴν οἰκείαν διὰτον] 'Their peculiar material.'

4 πολιτικής χορηγίας] 'The first point in the statesman's arguments.'

φύσει] depends on πολλοὶ των...
ei δὲ τούτων ἀλλαθείς] 'This may be true, but they do not know.'

5 ἃστι γὰρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'For the state, the collective personality, as well as the individual artificer, has its work.'

6 οὗ μὴν ἀλλὰ, κ.τ.λ.] 'or change the view and take number also into account, yet quality must be considered.'

δοῦλων ἄριστον, κ.τ.λ.] This passage gives three classes distinctly. Compare III. 2, 3, note.

οἰκεῖον μορφῶν] 'parts proper to it.'

This is dwelt on later, Ch. VIII. 1. τούτων] depends on πλῆθος.

7 εἰ τῶν ἄργων] 'from practical experience.'

ἀνεμέλην πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος] 'without any check on the increase in point of number.'

8 These next two sections are not easy to arrange. The sense seems to require us to look on the words οἷς γὰρ — ἀναγκαῖον as a parenthesis.

'Law is an arrangement, good law a
The number of citizens.

Good arrangement, but a very excessive number is not susceptible of arrangement, but there must be for states as for everything else some limit of size, so that they may be susceptible of arrangement. This seems the course of the argument. But, granting this, there still remains the intermediate passage, of which, as it stands, I do not see the meaning clearly. I should put a colon at τὸ πάν. 'For this, the ordering of a very large number, is a task above the strength of man, it requires a divine power, a power like that which keeps together the whole universe of things.' Εἰτε δὲ τὸ κάλος ἐν πληθεὶς καὶ μεγέθει, ἐλάσθε γένεσθαι, καὶ πάλιν ἵνα μετὰ μεγέθους λεχθῆς ὅροι ὑπάρχῃ, ταῦταν εἶναι καλλίστην ἀναγκαῖον. 'Since beauty requires size as one of its conditions (πλῆθος καὶ μεγέθει, not meant to convey more than simply μεγέθει), so in states also, that which combines with a certain size good order (ὁ λεχθῆς ὅρος = εὐσταθία), must necessarily be the most beautiful.' Compare Poet. vii. viii. p. 1450, b. 37: τὸ γὰρ κάλος ἐν μεγέθει καὶ τάξει ἐστι. Εἰθε. iv. vii. 5. p. 1123, b. 8: τὸ κάλλος ἐν μὲν εἰ δὲ αὐτὴ σφαίρα.

ὁ τῆς φύσεως] nature, in the sense given, L. ii. 8.

εἰς δὲ τὶ μέγεθος, κ.τ.λ.] 'It may attain a certain size, and yet, at one time, impair its sailing power by its smallness, at another by its excessive greatness.'

καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀναγκαίων] 'Though in all mere necessaries it be complete, yet it is not a state:' ὁμετέχει τάξεως, wants, therefore, the καλὸν.

πρῶτον μὲν οὖν] 'Then, first, is there a state, where you have arrived, in reference to number, exactly at the
πολιτικών Δ. (H.)

5. Παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς χάρας ἔχει. περὶ
μὲν γὰρ τοῦ ποιῶν τινά, δῆλον ὅτι τὴν αὐταρκεστάτην πάς
tις ἀν ἐπανέσειεν· τοιαύτην δὲ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὴν παν-
tοψήφον· τὸ γὰρ πάντα ὑπάρχει καὶ δεῖσθαι μηθὲνος αὐτ-
αρχεῖς. πλῆθει δὲ καὶ μεγάθει τοιαύτην ὡστε δύνασθαι
tοὺς οἰκούντας ζῆν σχολαζόντας ἐλευθερίας ἁμα καὶ σω-

The number of citizens.

12 τῶν μὲν It would be better if it were αἱ μὲν τῶν ἀρχαῖων ἀλὶ τῶν ἀρχιμένων.

ἐπίστασις in their political and executive capacity. κρίσις in their ju-
dicial; otherwise κρίσις is more pro-
perly the function τῶν ἀρχιμένων

13 The magistrates, then, are very important, but how can they be
rightly elected, if those who elect them cannot judge of them; and the
requisite knowledge is difficult when the numbers are very large. The
choice of the governor is always the
great difficulty of government.

γνωρίσεων ἀλλὰ τῶν αὐταρχεῖς, ὑπάρχει φανερῶς ἡ ἐξουσία ἀσαφήνα ὡς τὸν κυβερνῆτα τοῦ παρελθόντος τοῦ γὰρ πάντα ὑπάρχει καὶ δεῖσθαι μηθὲνος αὐταρχεῖς.

V. 1 [ἐν σχολαζόντας, κ.τ.λ.] Comparo III. vi. 9. He gives shortly all
the requirements of the Greek free-

man.
IV. (VII. 5.) ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Δ. (H.)

φρόνως. τούτων δὲ τῶν ὄρων εἰ καλῶς ἦ μὴ καλῶς λέγομεν, ὅστερον ἐπισκεπτέον ἀκριβέστερον, ὅταν ὅλας περὶ κτῆσεως καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν εὐπορίας συμβαίνῃ τοιείσθαί μνεύον, πῶς δὲ καὶ τῶν τρόπων ἔχειν πρὸς τὴν χρήσιν αὐτὴν. πολλαὶ γὰρ περὶ τὴν σκέψιν τοῦτον εἰσὶν ἀμφισβητησίς διὰ τοὺς ἔλεγοντας ἐφ’ ἐκατέραν τοῦ βίου τὴν ὑπερβολήν, τοῦς μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν γλαυχρότητα τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τρυφήν. Τὸ δὲ εἴδος τῆς χώρας οὐ χαλεπὸν εἰπείν, δεῖ δὲ ἐνια 3 πεῖθεσθαι καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν στρατηγικήν ἐμπείροις, ὅτι χρῆ μὲν τοῖς πολεμίοις εἶναι δυσέμβολον, αὐτοῖς δὲ εὐέξον. 

ἔτι δ’ ὅστερο τὸ πλῆθος τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐσύνοπτον ἥφα ἔτι μὲν εἰς ὤντα καὶ τὴν χώραν. τὸ δὲ εὐσύνοπτον τὸ εὐ- βοβοῦντο εἶναι τὴν χώραν ἑστιν. τῆς δὲ πόλεως τῆς θέσιν εἰ χρῆ ποιεῖν κατ᾽ εὐχένα, πρὸς τε τὴν διαλεκτίων προφῆκε κείθαι καλῶς πρὸς τε τὴν χώραν. εἰς μὲν οἱ λεγομένοι ὅροι, δὲ γὰρ πρὸς τὰς ἐκβοσθείς κοινὰς εἰναι τῶν τόπων ἀπαν- τῶν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν γεγονόμων καρπῶν παρα- ποιμάσας, ἔτι δὲ τῆς περὶ ἕξια νῆπις, καὶ εἰ τινὰ ἀληθῶς ἐργασίαιν ἡ χώρα τυχανοί κεκτημένη τοιαύτην, εὐπαρα- κόμματος.

Περὶ δὲ τῆς πρὸς τὴν διαλεκτίων κοινωνικάς· πότερον δὲ ἀφέλιμος τοῖς εὐνομιμομενοῖς πόλεις ἡ βλαβερά, πολλαὶ Should the state be maritime?

2 τῶν ὄρων τούτων] must be referred, not to αὐτοποιητάντων, but to what immediately precedes.

3 δὲ τὸν δὲ ἔλεγον] Spengel, p. 10, note, thinks this is done in this same Book, Ch. VII. (VIII. rather) and XV. It seems to me one of the portions that are lost. From the point of view of the family it has been treated in the first book, but it yet remains to be considered as a political question.

4 αὐτήν] to be taken with ἔχειν.

5 διὰ τοῦτο ἔλεγον, κ.τ.λ.] 'because of those who, in the conduct of life, pull different ways, the one towards the one extreme, the other towards the other.'

6 τὸν δὲ ἔλεγον] 'But as for the form.' The δὲ answers to the μὲν in περὶ μὲν γὰρ.

7 δὲ λεγομένοι] sc. that it should be εὐδοκήσαντον or εὐσύνοπτον. The second is, that it should be εὐπαρακόμματον.

8 I place only a comma at παρακώ- πας, and consider the genitive ὅς to depend on it, just as much as καρπῶν does. 'The other requirement left is, that the country should be easy of access, for the conveyance of the produce generally, and also of its material in timber or any other similar object that it may possess.'

VI. 1 τῆς πρὸς διαλεκτίων] This
point suggested by his statement in the last chapter, κατὰ τὸν κάλος πρὸς τὴν θαλάσσην.

ἐνθεωροῦσιν τίνας "Die fortwährend Anwesenheit der Fremden," Stahr. 'That there should be resident a body of foreigners brought up in other laws and customs.'

ἐν ἄλλοις νόμοις] In III. iii. 6, the same point was mooted, the same in principle, that is, πώτερον έθνος ἡ πλείον συμφέρει.

καὶ τὴν πολιορκοτὴν] sc. ἀπόθεμα τόσον ἐστὶν.

μικρὰς πλήθος] depend on the participation διαπερατοτά καὶ διεχομένους.

εὐπρεπῶς τῶν ἀναγκαῖων] 'a ready and large supply of all the necessaries of life.'

τὸ πλουσίωτερα τῶν γενομένων] 'Their surplus produce.'

Ἀδηφά τὸν ἅμφορον] A singular statement. He was led into it by his dislike of commerce, which he would restrict, therefore, within as narrow limits as possible, and make as selfish as possible for each state. This is a conclusion quite alien to the genuine spirit of commerce, which is, in the largest and freest sense, the connection for mutual support and for the supply of mutual wants, of the whole human family. And any theory like this of Aristotle's—such as the mercantile and protective system of later times,— which aims at exclusiveness, is to be condemned as a direct attack on the real interests of mankind,—a substitution of the provisional and fictitious virtue of patriotism or national selfishness, for the true idea of a common union between all the members of the great family which mankind forms.
πράττουσίν· ἦν δὲ μὴ δεὶ πόλιν τοιαύτης μετέχειν πλεονεχίας, οὔτ' ἐμπόριον δεὶ κεκτῆσθαι τοιούτων. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν δρόμων πολλαῖς ὑπάρχονταν ἡ κόρας καὶ πόλεσιν ἐπίνεια 5 καὶ λιμένας εὐφυώς κείμενα πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ἀοτὲ μὴ τὸ αὐτὸ νέμειν ἄστυ μὴ τῶρον λιαν, ἀλλὰ κρατεῖσθαι τείχεσι καὶ τοιούτως ἄλλος ἐρύμασι, φανερὸν αἰς εἰ μὲν ἀγαθὸν τι συμβαίνει γίγνεσθαι διὰ τῆς κοινωνίας αὐτῶν, ὑπάρξει τῇ πόλει τούτῳ τὸ ἀγαθόν, εἰ δὲ τι βλαβερὸν, φυλάξασθαι βάθον τοῖς νόμοις φράξοντας καὶ διορίζοντας τίνας οὗ δεὶ καὶ τίνας ἐπιμείγοντας δεῖ πρὸς ἀλλήλους. περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐκακίας δυνάμεως, ὃτι μὲν βελτίωστον ὑπάρχει μέχρι τῶν πλῆθος, οὐκ ἄθηπον ὃ γὰρ μόνον αὐτοῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν 1327 τῆς πληθύνετο δεὶ καὶ φαβερὸς εἶναι καὶ δυνατὰς ἀρκεῖν, ἀμέτρητορα γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. περὶ δὲ πλῆθος 7 ἐδὴ καὶ μεγάλως τὰς δυνάμεις ταύτης πρὸς τὸν βιον ἀποκεκλίει τῆς πόλεως· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὡγιμονικόν καὶ πολιτικὸν ζήσει βιόν, ἀναγκαῖον καὶ ταύτην τὴν δύναμιν ὑπάρχειν πρὸς τὰς πράξεις σύμμετρον. τὴν δὲ πολιομβρασίαν τὴν γιγανομένην περὶ τῶν ναυτικῶν ὁχλῶν oὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν ταῖς πόλεσιν· οὕτως γὰρ αὐτοῖς μέρος εἶναι δεὶ τῆς πόλεως. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιβασιτικὸν ἐλεύθερον καὶ 8

— ἕπαρχον καὶ Bekker.

τοιαύτης πλεονεχίας 'such a desire of gain.' This would be true if one nation's gain were another's loss, but this has already been stated to be inadmissible.

5 ὑπάρχον] If kept, must be made to agree with ἐμπόριον, supplied. But the sentence seems faulty. Schneider, with Corey, wishes to read ὑπάρχουσα. I should prefer ὑπάρχοντα, leaving out the καί.

ἐφύση κείμενα 'advantageously situated as regards the city.'

ῥέματος 'inhabit.' ὑδάμος ἰδούμι σοφός, Soph. Aj. 1016.

διὰ τῆς κοινωνίας αὐτῶν] 'by the intercourse with them,' the ἐπιστήμη καὶ λυμένη.

φράζοντας, κ.τ.λ.] 'stating and defining.'

6 αὐτοῖς] 'with regard to themselves only.'

7 ἡγιμονικὸν καὶ πολιτικὸν] 'an imperial and social life,' mixed up with other states that is. The opposite to πολιτικῶν here would be ἥγιον, Ch. II. 3.

τὴν γιγανομένην περὶ 'Involved by,'

οὔθεν γὰρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'For they ought not to be any part of the state.'

8 τῆς καυστῆς] 'in Seewesen,' Stahr; 'directs the navigation,' III. iv. 2.
τῶν πελάτων ἐστίν, ὁ κυρίον ἐστι καὶ κρατεῖ τῆς ναυτικῆς· πλῆθους δὲ ὑπάρχοντος περιοίκοις καὶ τῶν τὴν χώραν γεωργοῦντας, ἀφθονίαν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι καὶ ναυτῶν. ἄραμεν δὲ [καὶ] τούτῳ καὶ νῦν ὑπάρχουσιν τοσίν, οὗτος τῇ πόλει τῶν 'Ἡρακλεωτῶν' πολλὰς γὰρ ἐκπληροῦσι τριήμερες κακτημέναι τῷ μεγέθει πόλεων ἐτέρων ἐμμελεστέραν.

9 Περὶ μὲν οὖν χώρας καὶ λιμένων καὶ πόλεων καὶ θαλάττης καὶ περὶ τῆς ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως ἐστώ διαφορισμένα τῶν τρόπων τούτων· περὶ δὲ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ πλήθους, τίνα μὲν ἦρον ὑπάρχειν χρῆ, πρότερον εἶπομεν, ποίος δὲ τίνας τὴν φύσιν ἔχει δεῖ, νῦν λέγομεν. Σχέδον δὲ κατανοήσεις ἀν τῆς τούτος γε, βλέψας ἐπί τε τὰς πόλεις ταῖς εὐδικαιοσύνας τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ πρὸς πάσαν τὴν ὀικουμένην, ὁς διειληφθαι τοῖς ἔθεσεν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ψυχροῖς τόποις ἔθνη καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδαν ὑμοῦ μὲν ἑστὶ πλῆρη, διαφοράς δὲ ἐνεδέστερα καὶ τέχνης· διόπερ ἔλευθερα μὲν διατελεῖ μαλλον, τοῦ πολιτικοῦ πλήθους· 'The citizens in point of mere number.'

VII. 1 Σχέδον δὲ, κ.τ.λ.· 'It would scarcely then be difficult to form a clear judgment on this point at least.'

diειληφται τοῖς ἔθεσιν· 'distincta gentibus,' Vict.; 'verheilt unter die verschiedenen Völkerchaften,' Stahr, 'divided out into the different nations.'

τῶν πελάτων] Some editors doubt this word. I prefer πόλεως. His object has not been to treat of cities, but of one city.
preserve their freedom, but they remain without social organization.'

"diaνοητικα," κ.τ.λ.] ‘Though intelligent and crafty, are yet without spirit.’

3 το δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων] Compare Grote, ii. 98, ‘The feeling of personal dignity, of which philosophic observers in Greece—Herodotus, Xenophon, Hippocrates, and Aristotle—boasted, as distinguishing the free Greek citizen from the slavish Asiatic.’ Compare also the same volume, p. 305, on the question of the Greek climate.

μέσου] ‘holds a middle position.’

μᾶς τυγχάνου πολιτείας] What is the force to be given to these words? Was the conception of Aristotle that of a federative union, guaranteeing internal peace and empire abroad, but allowing each separate state to be autonomous, only bound to the others by the strong ties of a common interest, a common nationality, and similar institutions, not torn, that is, by the quarrels between oligarchical and democratical principles? This seems the probable case. The word ἄρχειν prevents our considering him to have aimed at a merely defensive organization, such as that suggested by Bp. Thirlwall, v. 154; and the general tendency of his views is against the other alternative, in the same passage, that of ‘the supremacy of some Grecian state, powerful enough to enforce peace, but not to crush liberty.’ However this may be, it is the want which is here indicated that caused the failure of Greece to secure empire and organize, as Rome did, the nations of the world.

4 θην] ‘The different Hellenic races.’

μονόκλων] ‘one sided.’ Comp. Rhet. iii. ix. 5, p. 1409, b, 17, where the word is applied to style.


ποιῶν τὸ φιλτρυδον] ‘produces the tendency to affection.’ Comp. Topic ii. vii. p. 113 b, i. iv. 5, p. 126, 12.
ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Δ. (H.)

σημειών ἰδίως γάρ τοὺς συνήθεις καὶ φίλους ὁ θυρὸς
ἀφεται μᾶλλον ὅπρος τοὺς ἀγνώτας, ὁλιγοφρεῖσθαι νομίζασιν.

6 διὸ καὶ Ἀρχιλόχος προσηκόντως τοῖς φίλοις ἐγκαλῶν
διαλέγεσται πρὸς τῶν θυρῶν·

οὐ γὰρ δὲ περὶ φιλῶν ἀπάγγειλα.

καὶ τὸ ἄρχον δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐλευθέρον, ἀπὸ τῆς δυνάμεως ταύτης
ἐπάρχει πᾶσιν· ἀρχικὸν γὰρ καὶ ἀκτητὸν ὅ θυρὸς.

οὐ καλῶς δὲ ἔχει λέγειν χαλεποὺς εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ἀγνώτας·

πρὸς οὖθεν γὰρ εἰναι χρὴ τοιοῦτον, οὐδὲ εἰσιν οἱ μεγαλῷς

ψυχῶν τῆς φύσεως ἀγροῖ, πλὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἁδικοῦντας. τούτῳ

δὲ μᾶλλον ἐτι πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις πᾶσχοισιν, ὅπερ εἴρθηται

πρότερον, ἀν ἁδικεῖσθαι νομίζοσιν. καὶ τούτῳ συμβαίνει

κατὰ λόγουν· παρ' οἷς γὰρ ὀφείλεσθαι δεῖν τὴν εὑρεγεῖσαν

ὑπολαμβανούση, πρὸς τῷ βλάβει καὶ ταύτης ἀποστερεῖσθαι


χαλετοὶ γὰρ πάλεμοι ἀδελφῶν

καὶ

οὶ τοι πέρα στέρκαντες, οὐ δὲ καὶ πέρα

μισοῦντες.

9 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν πολιτευμένων, πόσους τε ὑπάρχειν δεῖ

καὶ ποίους τινὰς την τὴν φύσιν, ἢτο δὲ τὴν χώραν πόσην τε τίνα

καὶ ποιῶν τινά, διαώρισται σχέδον. οὐ γὰρ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀκριβῶς

δεῖ γεῖτειν διὰ τε τῶν λόγων καὶ τῶν γνωμονεῖν διὰ

8 τῆς αἰσθήσεως. Ἐπει δὲ ὀφείλεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατὰ φύσιν

συνεστῶτων οὐ ταύτα ἢ ἐστι μόρια τῆς ἀλης συντάσσεως, ἢν

ταῦτα Bekker.

χαλετοὶ γὰρ, κ.τ.λ.] Eurip. Fr. Inc.

57, Ed. Dind.

οἱ τοι πέρα, κ.τ.λ.] Eurip. Fr.

9 οὐ γὰρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'For we must not

seek the same exactness when theory

is concerned as we require when actual

sensible results are in question.' So

Stahr and St. Hilaire.

VIII. 1 ταῦτα] This is Bekker's

reading, and it is retained by Stahr.

I should prefer either ταῦτα or ταῦτα.
It is difficult to say what ταῦτα means. The reading ταῦτα seems to be supported by § 6, τόσα ταῦτα έστιν δι' ἄνω τόλμη ὅς ἐν. Retaining ταῦτα, I construe: 'Now, since in the case of all other things which are in their nature compound, we do not in the same degree consider as parts of the whole that is formed, all the parts which are necessary to its formation, so is it clear that neither in the case of a state must we treat as essential parts of a state all those which are indispensably necessary to its existence, nor in the case of any other association, which forms a unity in kind, a homogeneous whole. For there must be,' he continues, 'some one thing, and that common and the same, to all who share in the association.'

3 The simply ministerial subordinate functions must be distinguished from the higher and political ones—the basis of the state from that which rests on it—the means from the end—the τότου ἔνεκεν from the ὅ τοῦ ἔνεκεν. They have nothing in common: the one produces, the other accepts the result: ὁδηγητα γίνεσθαι συγκεκριμένος τέλειος, Eth. vii. xii. 4. p. 1152, b. 14.

4 διὸ κτήσεως, κ. τ. λ.] Therefore, though property is absolutely essential to a state, yet it is in no sense a part of the state; it is ἐν ὀργάνῳ αἷμα.

πολλὰ δ'] I do not see the object of this remark.

ἔνεκεν δὲ (νῦν] This is the ἐν τι καὶ κοινῷ καὶ ταὐτῷ.

5 αὕτη δὲ, κ. τ. λ.] 'This consists in the practice of virtue, both personal and relative; ἀρετή καὶ ἀρετής χρήσις τέλεως, which last is δυσκαμονή.

ἐνδικήσασθαι] 'have it in their power to attain it.'
188 ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Δ. (H.)

The parts of a state.

6 διαφοράς καὶ πολιτείας πλείους: ἄλλον γὰρ τρόπον καὶ δὲ ἄλλων ἐκαστοι τοῦτο θηρεύοντες τοὺς τε βίους ἐτέρους ποιοῦνται καὶ τὰς πολιτείας. ἐπισκεπτέον δὲ καὶ τόσα ταύτι ἐστὶν ὁν ἀνευ πόλις οὐκ ἂν εἴη· καὶ γὰρ ἡ λέγομεν εἶναι μέρη πόλεως, ἐν τούτοις ἂν εἴη ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν. ληστέων τοῖν τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἀριθμόν· εἰ κτῶτων γὰρ ἔσται ὅθελον,

7 Ἡρώτου μὲν οὖν ὑπάρχειν δεὶ τροφῆν, ἐπείτα τέχνας (πολλῶν γὰρ ὄργανων δεῖται τὸ ζῆν), τρίτον δὲ ὀπλα (τοὺς γὰρ κοινωνοῦντας ἀναγκαίοι καὶ εἰν αὐτοῖς ἔχειν ὅπλα πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν, τῶν ἀπειθοῦντων χάριν, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐξωθέν ἀδικεῖν ἐπιχειροῦντας), ἐτι χρημάτων τινα εὐπορίαν, ὅπως ἔχαι καὶ πρὸς τὰς καθ' αὐτοὺς χρείας καὶ πρὸς πολεμικὰς, πέμπτον δὲ καὶ πρῶτον τὴν περὶ τὸ θείον ἐπιμέλειαν, ἣν καλοῦσιν ἑρατείαν, ἐκτὸς δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ πάντων ἀναγκαίωτατον κρίσιν περὶ τῶν συμφερόντων καὶ τῶν δικαίων τῶν πρὸς ἀλλῆλους. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἔργα ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ὁν δεῖται πάσα πόλις ἂς εἰπεῖν. ἡ γὰρ πόλις πλήθος ἐστιν οὐ τὸ τυχόν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἄωθην αὐτάρκειας, ὡς φαίμεν· ἐὰν δὲ τὶ τυχών τούτων ἐκλείσθω, ἀδύνατον ἀπλὰς αὐτάρκη τὴν κοινωνίαν εἶναι ταύτῃ. ἀνάγκη τοῖν νυν κατὰ τὰς ἐργασίας ταύτας συνεστάσαι πόλιν. δεῖ ἄρα γεωργίαν τ' εἶναι πλῆθος, οἱ παρασκευάσουσι τὴν τροφήν, καὶ τεχνίτας καὶ τὸ μάχημα, καὶ τὸ ἐυπορον, καὶ ἐρείτως καὶ κριτάς τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ συμφερόντων.

9 Διαφορομενῶν δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν σκῆσασθαι πότερον πάσι κοινωνικῶν πάντων τούτων (ἐνδέχεται γὰρ τοὺς αὐτούς ἀπαντᾶν ταῖς εἶναι καὶ γεωργοὺς καὶ τεχνίτας καὶ τοὺς βουλευομένους

τοῦτο] This variety of position.

θηρεύοντες] 'as they pursue it.'

6 μέρη] 'parts of the state in a strict sense.'

ἐν τούτοις] not identical with, but lying amongst them, and capable of being detached.

7 καὶ πρῶτον] 'First in importance.' This is odd, as Aristotle does not elsewhere, either in theory or in his practical arrangements, lay much stress on the worship of the state.

κρίσιν περὶ τῶν συμφερόντων] 'decision on the policy to be adopted, and the administration of justice as between man and man.' Below, τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ συμφερόντων.

8 οὐ τὸ τυχόν] 'not any chance number.'

IX. i ὑποθέσεων] 'we must presume.'
Division of the functions of the citizens.

2 οὖκ ἐν πάσῃ, κ.τ.λ.] 'This is not an open question in every state.' That is, some states have decided it, and differ from others, and are what they are by that decision. But for the ideal state it is an inquiry that may be entered upon.

3 ἐκ τούτων] 'admit these premises, and it is clear.'

ἐκέπε πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν] 'not with reference to the idea of the given state.' Comp. Π. ὁμ. τ. 1.

ἀγενής, or ἀγένης] See L. and S., 'low.'

4 μελλόντων ἐσεθᾶ] sc. πολιταί.

καλ πρὸς τὴν γίνεσιν] 'Both for education and for political life.'

ἐνυπάρχει] 'are not only found existing amongst the other parts (ἐν τούτοις, VIII. 6), but are evidently most strictly members of the state.'

5 διότι] 'that.'

ἐτέρας ἀκμῆς] 'of a different prime,' or 'perfection.' The same distinction is observed in Plato's ἀκισσάριον and ἀκρόας; it is simply one of age.

καλὶς] This, as well as βιαζόσθαι, depends on δυσμάλων.
νοὺς ἀεὶ, ταύτη δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς· οἱ γὰρ τῶν ὦπλων κύριοι καὶ μένειν ἢ μὴ μένειν κύριοι τὴν πολιτείαν. λείπεται τοῖς τοῖς αὐτοῖς μὲν ἀμφοτέροις ἀποδίδοναί τὴν πολιτείαν ταύτην, μὴ ἁμα δὲ, ἀλλὰ ὀσπερ τέφυκεν ἢ μὲν δύναμις ἐν νεωτέροις, ἢ δὲ φρόνησις ἐν πρεσβυτέροις εἶναι, οὐκοῦν οὕτως ἁμφότεροι νεμέσθαι συμφέρει καὶ δίκαιον ἐστίν· ἐχει γαρ αὐτῇ ἡ διαίρεσις τὸ κατ’ αξίαν. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰς κτήσεις δεῖ εἶναι περὶ τούτως· ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ ἐπιτραύῳ ὑπάρχειν τοῖς πολίταις, πολίται δὲ οὐκοῦν· τὸ γὰρ βάναυσον οὐ μετέχει τῆς πόλεως, οὐδὲ ἀλαρος οὐδὲν γένος ἢ μὴ τῆς ἁρετῆς δημιουργοῦ ἐστιν. τούτῳ δὲ δήλωσιν ἐκ τῆς ὑποθέσεως· τὸ μὲν γὰρ εὐθαμομενὴν ἀναγκαίον ὑπάρχειν μετὰ τῆς ἁρετῆς, εὐδαιμονα δὲ πόλιν οὐκ εἰς μέρος τι βλέποντας δεῖ·

λέγειν αὐτῆς, ἀλλ’ εἰς πάντας τοὺς πολῖτας. Φανερῶ δὲ καὶ οτι δεῖ τὰς κτήσεις εἶναι τοῖς ἑαυτοῖς, εἰπὲν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τοὺς γεωργοὺς δούλους ἢ βαρβάρους ἢ περιολους. λοιπὸν δὲ ἐκ τῶν καταριμηθέντων τὸ τῶν ἵππων γένος. Φανερῶ δὲ καὶ ἡ τούτων τάξις. οὕτε γὰρ γεωργοὺς οὕτε βάναυσον ἰερὰ καταστατέον· ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν πολιτῶν πρέπει τιμᾶσθαι τοὺς θεούς· ἐπεὶ δὲ διήργηται τὸ πολιτικὸν εἰς δύο μέρη, τοῦτ’ ἵστε τὸ τε ὀπλιτικόν καὶ τὸ βουλευτικόν, πρέπει δὲ τήν τε

7 τὰς κτήσεις, κ.τ.λ.] 'The element of wealth (τὸ εὐποροῦν) ought to reside in these.'

τῆς πόλεως] 'Our state.'

δημιουργοῦ] 'which does not cultivate and produce virtue.'

ὑπάρχειν μετὰ] 'can only exist with virtue.'

8 Βούλους See below, Ch. X. 13.

9 ἐν τῶν πολιτῶν] 'By none but citizens.'

πρόκειται ὅτι] I incline to make the words τούτων διὰ τῶν χρόνων ἀνεργοῦ· κόται τὸ οὐκ εἴδοσε, as well as of ἐξείς: 'and it is fitting that those who, from their time of life, are past the age for the more strictly poli-
Division of the functions of the citizens.

'theta patair anothetai tois theoi kal tyn anapauaiv exei peri autous, tou di a' twn chronon apeirhetais, toutous an eis tais eisarchounais apodotein. avn m:n toinon aneu polis ou sunostrapatai, kal osa meri polias, xerentai. gevargoi men gar kal tevntetai kal sain to bhtiko anagkaios uparxein tais polisein, meri de tis polias to te aplitikos kal boul- leutikon kal kekampatai de toutan exastou, to m:n xei, to de kata meros.

'Exikhe de ou voun oudei neastoi touto elnavi xnomirmos toux peripolitias philettofousin, xti deii dhrethetai xoris kata geni tis polis kal to te maginom exteron elnavi kal to gnav- rov. en Alugptav to gar exei tov tropo tovout adi kai voun, tNat peri tihn Krtihv, tN m:n ou peri Alugptov Sestropia, aios faan, ouen norodetтанarou, Mino de to peri Krtihv. 'Araxia de elnavi elnavi kal twv suostimwv 2 etazeis, tN m:n peri Krtihv genomena peri tihn Mina basiliav, tN de peri tihn 'Italiaan poltow kalaiotera tou- tav. faai gar oir logoi twv ekei kataikountan 'Ithalv 3 tina genvotai basileia tis Oinastriaa, akv ou to te dooma.

tical functions, whether of action or deliberation, should both perform the worship of the gods and have the rest which their service requires; this is the class which may be set apart for the priesthood.

10 Dv m:n toin] This expression throws light on the more obscure statement of VIII. 1.

gevar}[ Spengel, p. 25, note 27, wishes to read gevargos, but it is not necessary. 'For though,' &c.

kal kekampatai de] A very concise expression. He means, that the separation between the two divisions of the citizens and the non-citizen class is ineradicable, whilst that between the two divisions of the citizens is simply a question of time. In the first case, he takes the two bodies, and contrasts them; in the second, the divisions of one of them. 'And, consequently, there is a separation in each of these cases,—in the one case a total and perpetual separation, in the other a partial one.'

X. 1 He has got the citizens of his state, he turns to their arrange- ment.

Z. 1 peri politias] Compare III. 1. 1.

hristoiv kath geni] The caste system.


2 peri tihn Mina basiliav] Grote, i. 312.

3 oI logoi] Herod. i. 2, Peripov el logov. Niebuhr, Rom. Hist. Vol. i. 16, considers that it is Antiochus of Syracuse from whom Aristotle is here quoting.
The cast- system and

PIOLITIKΩN Δ. (H.)

μεταβαλόντας Ἰταλός ἀντ' Οἰνωτρίῳ κρήβναι καὶ τὴν ἀκτὴν ταύτην τῆς Εὐρώπης Ἰταλίαν τούνομα λαβεῖν, ὅση τετύχηκεν ἐντὸς οὖσα. τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Σκυλλητικοῦ καὶ τοῦ Λαμπητικοῦ ἀπέχει γὰρ ταύτα ἀπ' ἅλλην ὄδον ἡμισείας ἡμέρας. τοῦτον δὲ λέγουσι τὸν Ἰταλὸν νομάδας τοὺς Οἰνωτρίῳ δυντας ποιῆσαι γεωργοὺς, καὶ νόμως ἄλλους τε αὐτοῖς βέσσαι καὶ τὰ συσσίτια καταστήσαι πρῶτον. διδ καὶ νῦν ἔτι τῶν ἀπ' ἑκείνου τινές χρῶνται τοῖς συσσίτιοι καὶ 5 τῶν νόμων εὐνοις. ἥκουν δὲ τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὴν Τυρρηνίαν Ὀτικοὶ καὶ προτέρον καὶ νῦν καλούμενοι τὴν ἐπανυμισάν Λυσινες, τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ἰαπυγιαν καὶ τὸν Ἰωνίων Χώνες, τὴν καλούμενην Σιρίτου.

6 τὸ γένος. ἢ μὲν οὖν τῶν συσσίτιων τάξις ἐνετεύξει γέγονε πρῶτον, ὅ δὲ χαρισμὸς ὅ κατὰ γένος τοῦ πολιτικοῦ πλῆθος ἐξ Αἰγύπτου πολὺ γὰρ ὑπερτείνει τοῖς χρῶνοις τὴν Μήνα 7 βασιλείαν ἡ Σαράκρατες. σχέδυν μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰ ἀλλα δεῖ νομίζειν εὑρίσκαι παλλάξεις ἐν τῷ πολλῷ χρόνῳ, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀπειράκεις τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀναγκαία τὴν χρεῖαν διδάσκειν εἰκὸς αὐτόν, τὰ δὲ εἰς εὐσχεμοσύνην καὶ περιουσίαν ὑπαρχόντων ὅτι τούτων εὐθυγράμμως καὶ Αἰγύπτων, ἁπειρακίας παρεσκευάζει τὴν αὐξήσιν. ὧστε καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς πολιτείας οἰεσθαι δεῖ τοῦ αὐτῶν ἔχειν τρόπων. δὲν δὲ πάντα ἁρχαῖα, σημείον τὰ περὶ Αἰγύπτων ἐστίν

* Bekker Ζυρίτων.

ἀκτὴν ταύτην] This promontory,
in the sense in which the word occurs, Herod. iv. 38.
ἐντὸς οὖσα] running southwards into
the Ionian Sea, 'on the hither side' of
the boundary given. The distance
between the two gulf is twenty miles,
and is so small as to justify Aristotle's
looking on the two as forming the
boundary. So I explain the γαρ in
ἀπέχει γαρ.
4 Οἰνωτρίῳ] On this see Niebuhr,
Vol. i. 14, 16, and pp. 55, 56, note
165. On καὶ νῦν ἕτος, Grote iii. 497.
ἀφ'ς] On this compare Grote iii.
406, and note 1, and for the Chao-
nians, iii. 463.
5 Ζυρίτων] Heyne's conjecture Ζυρων,
for Ζυρτών, is better than Ζυρεών, and
is adopted by Mr Grote, iii. 463, note
3. Ζυρίτου is here adopted from Nie-
Siritis so renowned among the
Greeks."
6 πολύ γάρ] 'I say Egypt, for,
&c.'
7 τῶν πολλῶν χρόνων] Compare II. v.
16.
περιουσίαν] as opposed to ἀναγκαία
tοῦτων &c. τῶν ἀναγκαίων.
8 νόμων δὲ "von jeher." Stahr
inserts omni hominum memoria; there
is no record of the time when they
were without laws and political arrangement.

ἐνομον] Several editors wish to read ἐνομον, nor is Stahr averse to the change, which seems favoured by P. v. 16. Still it is not necessary. The sense is very good with ἐνομον. Eth. x. x. 23, p. 1181 b. 16. εἴ τι κατὰ μέρος ἐφρη τὰ καλά.

9 διότι] 'that; 'αὐτῶν ἔτερους, 'distinct from the citizens themselves.'

avras τι χρήσει φιλικώς γινομένην] I prefer the dative participle to the accusative. 'But common by the use made of it in a friendly spirit.' Compare II. v. 6.

io περὶ συστιτιῶν] And not only must each citizen be adequately supplied both for his own wants and the fair demands of liberality, 'but also I,' says Aristotle, 'in common with the general view, allow that a public mess is required,' &c.

στρατον ἀρομένον] As Spengel says, p. 10, note II, it may be that Ch. XII. is the treatment of the subject here referred to, but that is hardly adequate.

οὐ διδω] And as the poor cannot meet this demand, as well as their other wants, there must be some common stock.


The slave race as the ruling body. But, on the whole, it is as well to keep the reading in the text. In the former passage Aristotle was merely enumerating the kinds that might, in fact, constitute the dependent population; here he is speaking of what is desirable, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ τῇ κοινῇ...
Demosthenes, Or. xviii. 288. The difficulty in Aristotle is to make out clearly the four points.

2 πρὸς ἑαυτὴν τὴν ἐγκλήσιν ἑχούσαν] 'Those which slope towards the east.' Compare Arnold's note on Thuc. iii. 23, for the difference of the east wind in Greece and England.

ἐφεμεροί] 'For they have a milder winter.'

καλὸς ἕχειν] depends on ἑχούσαν δεῖ.

καταστηματίου] 'so that the supply may never fail them when shut in.' This must be the sense, but it seems an uncommon one for ἐπολείπουν.

4 ἐν τῇ τοιούτῳ] of being a fragment.
The city, τοίοτον καλῶς, δεῦτερον δὲ ὑδατιν ὤγισενοις χρήσθαι, καὶ τούτου τὴν ἐκμάλησαν ἔχειν μὴ παρέργος. οἷς γὰρ πλεί-
στοις χρώμαθα πρὸς τὸ σῶμα καὶ πλειστάκιας, τάτα πλεῖ-
στον συμβάλλεται πρὸς τὴν ὄγισιαν. ἦ δὲ τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ
5 τοῦ πνεύματος δύναμις τοιαύτην ἔχει τὴν φύσιν. διότερ ἐν
ταῖς εὖ φρονούσαις δεῖ διαφέρει τὸλεσιν, ἐὰν μὴ πάντ' ὤμοια μὴ ἀφθονία τούτων ἦ ναμάτων, χωρὶς τὰ τε εἰς τραφῆν ὑδατα καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀλλήν χρήσιν. περὶ δὲ
tῶν τῶν ἵππων, οὐ πάσαις ὄμοιας ἔχει τὸ συμφέρον
tαῖς πολιτείαις, οἷον ἀρχοντικὸς διήγερχος καὶ μοναρχι-
κὸς, δημοκρατικὸς δ' ὁμαλότης, ἀριστοκρατικὸς δ' ὀδύτερον,
6 ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἰσχυροὶ τόσοι πλεῖσος. ἦ δὲ τῶν ὑδαίων εἰκον-
σεως διάδοσις ἡδίων μὲν νομίζεται καὶ χρησιμαστέρα πρὸς
tὰς ἄλλας πράξεις, ἀν εἰτομάς καὶ κατὰ τὸν νεώτερον καὶ
tὸν Ἰπποδάμειον τρόπον, πρὸς δὲ τὰς πολεμικὰς ἀσφαλείας τοῖναντον, ὡς εἴχον κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον χρόνον,
δυσέξοδος γὰρ ἐκεῖνη τοῖς ἥβηκοις καὶ δυσεξερωπένθης τοῖς
 gpioτίτιθεμένοις. διὸ δὲ τούτων ἄμφωτερον μετέχειν (ἐνδέχε-

μὴ παρέργος) 'as a principal, not
as a subordinate point.' The simple
common sense of this passage requires
no comments, and in the social ar-
rangements of the ancient world this
important point was not neglected. In
more recent times it has been strangely
overlooked, and in England, even now
that its importance is being recog-
nised by all, it is far from being prac-
tically attended to; partly from the
indisposition to meet everything but the
most crying evils, which is character-
istic of the national mind; partly from
the deficiency not pressing so much on
any classes as on the poor, and the
poor in all such matters are sacrificed to
the ratepayers; partly from the op-
position of vested interests, which pre-
vent vestries as the local power, and
'diamet as the central, from acting
vigour in any great sanitary

questions when the lives and interests
of the millions are at stake. This is
the case to an extent singularly dis-
creditable to our boasted municipal
and parliamentary institutions, whose
power to impede progress is as visible
as their power to forward it, and it is
the former that at present seems in the
ascendant.

5 περὶ τῶν ἵππων] On this re-
mark, as illustrated by the history of
Greek and Italian republics or feudal
Europe, I need not dwell. All stu-
dents of history or politics will find it
easy to illustrate.

6 ἡδίων μὲν] 'Though it is thought
pleasanter.'

ἐπιστομοσ] 'straight and well cut.'

'Ἰπποδάμειον] 11. 3.

tοπονοτού] 'the contrary system, as
it was.'

ἐκεῖνῃ] 'that older plan.'
ταί γάρ, ἀν τις οὕτω κατασκευάζῃ καθάτερ εἰν τοῖς γεωρ-
γοῖς ἀς καλοῦσί τινες τῶν ἄμπελων συστάδας) καὶ τὴν μὲν
δὴν μὴ ποιεῖν πολῖν εὐτόμον, κατὰ μέρη δὲ καὶ τόπους
οὕτω γὰρ καὶ πρὸς ἀσφαλείαν καὶ κόσμον ἔξει καλῶς, περὶ 8
δὲ τείχων, οἱ μὴ φάσκοντες δεῖν ἔχειν τὰς τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντι-
ποιμένας πόλεις λίαν ἀρχαίας ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, καὶ ταῦθ
ἀρχαιοτέρες ἐλεγχομένας ἁργῶν τὰς ἔκεινας καλλαποισμένας.
Σὲτι δὲ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ομοίους καὶ μὴ πολὺ τὸ πλῆθος,
διαφέροντα δὲ καὶ καλῶ περὶ ἐστὶ τοῦ πλῆθος.

The city.

7 σωστάσας] 'vines planted closely and irregularly,' says L. and S.; but this does not seem to be the meaning here. It is rather vines planted in the quinceans. So in the arrangeent of the town, the streets would not, like those of Philadelphia, run parallel and at right angles, but the blocks of houses would be so arranged as to front the openings of the streets.

8 λιαν ἀρχαῖαν] 'are extremely antiquated in their ideas.'

καὶ ταῦτα] 'and that too though they see that the cities which pride themselves on that, are, when tested, found wanting.' Mr Grote, x. 304, note 2, commenting on this passage, thinks it difficult to admit of Sparta.

9 εὑρήμανον εἰς ἀδιήρεταν] Philip of Macedon gave an immense development to the artillery.

11 οὐχ ὅτι] 'not merely.'
The city. Χρείας, τάς τε ἄλλας καὶ τάς νῦν ἐπεξεργαμένας. ᾠσπέρ
12 γὰρ τοῖς ἐπιτιθεμένοις ἐπιμελεῖς ἐστι δι᾽ αὐν τρόπων πλεον-
εκτῆσον, οὕτω τὰ μὲν εὐρήται τὰ δὲ δεῖ ἥττειν καὶ φιλο-
σοφεῖν καὶ τοὺς φυλαττομένους· ἀρχὴν γὰρ οὐδ᾽ ἐπιχειροῦσιν
ἐπιτίθεντα τοῖς εὐ παρεσκευασμένοις.

I.2 'Εσπερ δὲ δεῖ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος τῶν πολιτῶν ἐν
συσσίτιοις κατανεμηθοῦσαί, τὰ δὲ τείχη διελήφθαι φυλακτηρίοις καὶ
πύργοις κατὰ τόπους ἐπικαλούσας, δήλοιν ὡς αὐτὰ προκαλεῖ-
ται παρασκευάζειν ἕνα τῶν συσσίτων ἐν τούτοις τοῖς φυ-
λακτηρίοις. καὶ ταύτα μὲν δὴ τούτον ἂν τὰς διακοσμήσεις
τῶν τρόπων, τὰς δὲ τοῖς θείοις ἀποδεδομένας ὁικήσεις καὶ τὰ
κυριότατα τῶν ἀρχείων συσσίτια ἀρμότει τόπου ἐπιτη-
δείον τε ἑχει καὶ τὸν αὐτόν, ὡς καὶ τῶν ιερῶν. δὲ νόμος ἀφο-
3 ῶτι χαρᾶς ἐν τοῖς μαντείοις ἄλλον πυθόρχησθαι. ἐγὼ δὲ ἂν
τοιοῦτον ὅ τόπον ὅστις ἐπιφανεῖαν τε ἑχει πρὸς τὴν τῆς
ἀρετῆς θέσιν ἰκανοῦς καὶ πρὸς τὰ γειτνιάτα μέρη τῆς πό-
λεως ἐρμομότερας. πρέπει δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν τούτον τὸν τόπον
τοιαύτης ἀγορᾶς ἐναὶ κατασκευαθῆ οἶναι καὶ περὶ Θεταλίαν

τὰ νῦν ἐπεξεργαμένα] 'the recent inventions.' "ceux de la tactique
moderne." St. Hil.

12 τὰ μὲν] means of defence.

[πρὲι καὶ φιλοσοφεῖ] 'seek by

scientific methods.'

ἀρχὴν γὰρ] This is equivalent to the

Latin maxim, Si bellum vitare vis, 
bellum para.

XII. 1 abat] sc. τὰ τείχη, 'the walls

of themselves invite us.'

2 τὸ κυριότατα, κ.τ.λ.] 'and the

synoitia of the most important boards

of magistrates.'

πυθόρχησται] In this he agrees with

3 ἐπιφανείαν τα ἑξει, κ.τ.λ.] A

close translation would hardly give

what I conceive to be the meaning of

this passage:—'which is both con-

spicuous enough to qualify it for an

appropriate site for the men of eminent

merit whom the state may possess,

and is not without considerable

strength as regards the neighbouring

parts of the city.' ἐπιφανείας ἑξεῖ =

ἐπιφανῆς ἄρτη. Comp. Thuc. vi. 96.

τὸ ἄλλο χαρῶν...μέχρι τῆς πόλεως

ἐπικλῆς τοῦ στατὶ καὶ ἐπιφανεῖς τῶν εἴσων.

Stahr's translation of πρὸς τὴν τῆς

ἀρετῆς θέσιν is, "der geistigen Erha-

benheit seiner Bestimmung würdig

entspräche." St. Hil. translates it

more nearly as I do. "Tel que

l'exige la dignité des personnes qu'il

recevra."


"In the Thessalian cities, though in-

habited in common by Thessalian pro-

prieters and their Penestae, the quar-

ters assigned to each were to a great
degree separated: what was called the

Free Agora could not be trodden by

any Penest except when specially

summoned."
όνομάζουσιν, ἵνα ἐλευθέραν καλοῦσιν. αὕτη δ' ἢ ἂστιν ἢ δεῖ καθάραν εἶναι τῶν αἵων πάντων, καὶ μήτε βάναυσον μήτε γεωργὸν μήτε ἄλλον μηδένα τοιοῦτον παραβάλλειν μὴ κα-4 λούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων. εἰ δ' ἢ ἀν εὔχαρις ὁ τόπος, εἰ καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἔχει τὴν τάξιν ἐν-ταύθα. πρέπει γάρ δηηρήσασι κατὰ τὰς ἡλικιὰς καὶ τοῦτον 5 τῶν κόσμων, καὶ παρὰ μὲν τοῖς νεωτέροις ἀρχούτας τινας διατριβεῖν, τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχούσιν· ἢ γάρ The double agora. 1331 b

ναρβάλλειν] This word occurs, Ἐτ. vii. xiv. 6, p. 1154, in the sense of 'passing into.' Here it means 'to approach,' 'come near to.'

5 τῶν τῶν ἐλευθέρων φίδων] 'Such fear as freemen may feel.'

6 εὐσώφρονοι] 'where may easily meet.'

τὸ πλῆθος] This is an odd statement. There must be some mistake, for it is inconsistent with Ch. IX. If he means τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, so limited, the statement will hold; but even then the disjointed way in which he throws out els λεπίσ, els ἀρχοντας, is remarkable.

περὶ τὴν ταύτα[ is supplied, as Schneider says, harshly; but it is the simplest word.

7 τὰς κλήσεις] 'the summons.'

συνόδη τινι κοινῇ] 'in some public place of meeting.'

ἀναγκαίαν ἄγοραν] equivalent to τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἄγοραν, § 5.
The double τὰ μὲν θεοῖς τὰ δὲ ἢρωσιν. ἀλλὰ τὸ διατρίβειν νῦν ἀκρι-
βολογομένους καὶ λέγοντας περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀργῶν ἔστιν. 9 ὦ γὰρ χαλεπῶν ἔστι τὰ τοιαῦτα νοῆσαι, ἀλλὰ ποιῆσαι μᾶλ-
lουν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ λέγειν εὐχῆς ἔργον ἔστι, τὸ δὲ συμβῆναι τύχης· διὸ περὶ μὲν τῶν τοιούτων τὸ γε ἐπὶ πλείον ἀφεῖσθαι τὰ νῦν.

13 Περὶ δὲ τῆς πολιτείας αὐτῆς, ἐκ τίνων καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν διὰ
συνεστάναι τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐσεθῆναι πόλιν μακαρίαν καὶ πολι-
τείαν καλὰς, λεκτέων. [Ἐστι δὲ δό νῦν ἐν όις γίγνεται
tὸ εὖ πάσι, τούτων δὲ ἔστιν ἐν μὲν ἐν τῷ τῶν σκοπῶν κεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ τέλος τῶν πράξεων ὁρθῶς, ἐν δὲ ἐν τῷ ταῖς πρὸς τὸ τέλος φεροῦσας πράξεις εὑρίσκειν· ἐνδέχεται γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ διαφανεῖν ἀλλήλοις καὶ συμφανεῖν· εἰνότε χὰρ ὁ μὲν σκοπὸς ἔκχειται καλῶς, ἐν δὲ τῷ πράττειν τοῦ τυχεῖν αὐτὸν διαμαρ-
tάνουσι· εἰνότε δὲ τῶν μὲν πρὸς τὸ τέλος πάντοι ἐπι-
tυχάνουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τέλος ἐδεντο φαύλον· ὅτε δὲ ἐκα-
tέρου διαμαρτάνουσιν, οἷον περὶ ἱκανήν· οὕτε χὰρ ποιοῦ
τι δεῖ τὸ ὑγιανὸν εἶναι σῶμα κρίνουσιν εἰνότε καλῶς, οὕτε
πρὸς τὸν ὑποκείμενον αὐτοῖς ὄρων τυγχάνουσι τῶν παντικῶν·
δεῖ δὲ ἐν ταῖς τέχναις καὶ ἐπιστήμαις ταύτα ἄμφοτερα
κρατεῖσθαι, τὸ τέλος καὶ τὰς εἰς τὸ· τέλος πράξεις. ὅτι
μὲν οὖν τοῦ τὶ εὖ τὴν καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίας ἐξίσθαι πάντες,
ἐπερῶν. ἀλλὰ τούτων τοῖς μὲν ἐξουσίας τυγχαίνει, τοῖς
δὲ οὐ, διὰ τινὰ τύχην ὃ φύσιν· διότι χὰρ καὶ χοργίας
tινὸς τὸ τὴν καλῶς, τούτου δὲ ἐλάττων μὲν τοῖς ἀμείνον

ἐν δὲ τὰς Bekker.

9 εὐχῆς ἔργον] 'is a question of wishing.' Compare IV. 1. He turns
now from the ὑποβδέων, the necessary
conditions of his state, which he must
have allowed him, to the constitution
itself, to that which depends on man's
exertion and skill and not on fortune.

XIII. 2 From this point down to
the end of § 8, or very nearly, I have
enclosed in brackets, as an unneces-
sary interruption of the reasoning.

ἐν δὲ τὰς] To make the sentence
complete there should be inserted
ἐν τῷ.

ἐνδέχεται γὰρ] Comp. Eth. vi. x.

ἐκεῖνα] 'stands out well and dis-
tinctly.' δεῖ δέ. The apodosis.

κρατεῖσθαι] 'both must be mastered.'

ἐλονία] 'have the opportunity.'

τοῦτο] would be more regularly
ταύτης, agreeing as it does in sense
with χοργίας.
διακειμένοις, πλείονος δὲ τοῖς χείρον· οί δὲ εὐθὺς οὐκ ὤρθοῦς ἥττουσί τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, ἐξουσίας ὑπαρχοῦσι. ἑπεὶ δὲ τὸ προκείμενον ἐστὶ τὴν ἀρίστην πολιτείαν ἰδεῖν, αὐτῇ δε ἐστιν καθ' ἣν ἀριστεῖ ἀν πολιτεύοντο πόλεις, ἀριστεῖ δὲ ἀν πολιτεύοντο καθ' ἣν εὐδαιμονεῖ τὰ κόσμα ἐνδέχεται τὴν πόλιν, δῆλον ὅτι τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν δεῖ, τῇ ἐστὶ, μὴ λανθάνειν. Φαρμᾶν 5 δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἡθικοῖς, εἰ τι τῶν λόγων ἔκειναν ὡφελος, ἐνεργειαν καὶ χρήσιν ἀρετῆς ταλείαν, καὶ ταύτην οὐκ ἐξ ὑποθέσεως ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς. λέγω δὲ εἰξ ὑποθέσεος ταναγκαία, 6 τὸ δ' ἀπλῶς τὸ καλὸς· ὅλον τὰ περὶ τὰς δικαιὰς πράξεις αἱ δίκαιαι τιμωροῦν καὶ κολάσεις ἀπ' ἀρετῆς μὲν εἰσίν, ἀναγκαίαι δὲ, καὶ τὸ καλὸς ἀναγκαῖος ἔχοναι (ἀρετήτωρ μὲν γὰρ μηθὲν δεῖσθαι τῶν τοιούτων μήτε τὸν ἄνδρα μήτε τὴν πόλιν), αἱ δ' ἐκ τὰς τιμῶς καὶ τὰς εὐπορίας ἀκλῶς εἰσὶ καλλίσται πράξεις. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄτερον κακοῦ τινος ἀρετῆς 7 ἐστιν, αἱ τοιαῦται δὲ πράξεις τουναντίον· κατασκευαὶ γὰρ ἀγαθῶν εἰσὶ καὶ γεννησίες. χρῆσιτο δὲ ὅτι ὁ σπουδαῖος ἀνήρ καὶ πενίς καὶ νόσῳ καὶ ταῖς ἀλλαῖς τυχαῖς ταῖς φαύλαις καλὸς· ἀλλὰ τὸ μακάριον ἐν τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐστίν. καὶ γὰρ τούτῳ διὸ ὅτι κατὰ τοὺς ἡθικοὺς λόγους, ὃτι τοιοῦτός ἐστιν τὸ σπουδαῖος, διὰ διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τὰ ἀγαθά ἐστι τὰ ἀτρῶν ἀγαθά. δῆλον δὲ ὅτι καὶ τὰς χρήσεις ἀναγκαῖον σπουδαῖος 8 καὶ καλὸς εἶναι ταύταις ἀπλῶς. διὸ καὶ νομίζουσιν ἄνθρωποι τῆς εὐδαιμονίας αὕτη, τὰ ἐκτὸς εἰναι τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἀσπερ εἰ τοῦ κυριαρχεῖν λαμπρῶν καὶ καλῶς αἰτιῷ τὴν λύραν μᾶλ-

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4 εὐθὺς] 'from the commencement.'
5 εἰξ ὑποθέσεως ὑπόθεσει] See ix. 3.
6 ἀν' ἀρετῆι] This expression occurs in III. iv. 5. 'Though they are the results of a virtue, yet they are not more than necessary; what noble element they have is not satisfactory;' they are right, but they are not more than right, there is a meagreness about them. They are of the character of a necessary evil.
7 χρῆσιτο δὲ] Comp. Eth. i. xi. 13, p. 1101. 1.
8 τὰς χρήσεις] Comp. II. vi. 9. 'The use of the goods of fortune—τῶν ἐκτῆς ἀγαθῶν.'
9 δὲ καὶ] Men have not seen that it is in their use and not in themselves that happiness consists, and not seeing this, have thought them, by a confusion, the causes of happiness.
The constitution.

`AnagikaiIon tolwv en twv eiρημενwv tα μεν υπάρχειν, tα δε παρασκευαζασαι tων νομοθετην. διδ κατε υπο- 
χην ευχομεθα την της τόλμης σώστασιν, ον της τυχης κυρια- 
κυριαι γαρ αυτην υπαρχειν τιθημεν το δε σπουδαιαν ειναι 
tην τολμην ουκετη τυχης έργον, αλλα επιστημης και προαιρε- 
σιως. 'Αλλα μη σπουδαια τολμη έστι των τους πολιτας 
tους μετεχοντας της πολιτειας ειναι σπουδαιοις. ημιν δε 
το παντες οι πολιται μετεχουσι της πολιτειας. τουτε άρα 
σπερτην, πος ανηρ γίνεται σπουδαιος. και γαρ ει παντας 
ενδεχεται σπουδαιος ειναι, μη καθ' έκαστον δε των πολιτων, 
ουτως αιρετατερων ακολουθει γαρ τως καθ' έκαστον και το 
παντας. αλλα μην αγαθοι γε και σπουδαιοι γινονται 
θεία τριων. τα τρια δε ταυτα έστι φυσις, έθος, λογος. και 
γαρ φυσιν δει πρωτον, ονον ανθρους αλλα μη των αλλων 
τι ζων, ειτα και ποιον τινα το σωμα και την ψυχην. 
133a ενια δε ουδεν οφελος φυναι τα γαρ άθη μεταβαλειν τοις 
ενια γαρ έστι δια της φυσεως επαμφοτεριζοντα δια των έθων 
ει πη το χειρον και το βλεπτον. τα μεν ουν αλλα των ζων 
μαλλοσ μεν τη φυσει ζην, μικρα δε ενια και τως έθεσιν, 
ανθρους δε και λογος μονον γαρ ειχε λογον. οστε δει 
ταυτα συμφαιειν αλληλοις πολλα γαρ παρα τωσ εθεσιον 
και την φυσιν πραττουσι δια των λογων, ειναι πειθωσιν

* ηγ. Bekker.

The sense would be quite clear if this were brought into immediate connexion with the first sentence of the chapter. 'From all that we have said, it follows as a necessary consequence that of the requisites for a state some must be assumed, they are the gift of fortune, others must be provided by the legislator; and, therefore, so far as the points are concerned which depend on fortune, the constitution of our state is a mere question of wishing.'

κυριαι γαρ, κ.τ.λ.] for, that fortune is supreme, we assume.'

ἐπιστήμης καὶ προαιρέσιως] Knowledge and will, the two conditions of all right action; the ειδής καὶ προαιρέσιως of Eth. ii. iii. 3, p. 1105, 31. ἤμων δὲ 'and in our view.'
10 ει πάντας, κ.τ.λ.] 'granting that it is possible.'
οὕτως] 'this latter way.'
11 τα τρια] Comp. Eth. x. x. 6, p. 1179, 6, 20, where διδαχὴ takes the place of λόγον here.
ενώ τη] better δέ.
12 τη φύσει] 'instinct,' 'natural impulse.'
μόνον γαρ (των ζων) είχει λόγον] Comp. I. i. 10.
άλλως ἔχειν βέλτιον. τὴν μὲν τοῖνον φύσιν οἷον εἶναι δεῖ τοὺς μέλλοντας εὐχειρίωτοις ἔσσεσθαι τῷ νομοθέτῃ, διαριθμεῖσθαι πρότερον, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἔργον ἢ ἐκ παραδείγματος τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἑξίζωσκοι μανθάνουσι, τὰ δὲ ἀκούοντες.

'Επεὶ δὲ πᾶσα πολιτικὴ κοινωνία συνεστηκεν ἐξ ἀρχόντων Ι.Α καὶ ἀρχιμένων, τοῦτο δὴ σκεπτόμεθα, εἰ ἐτέρους εἶναι δεῖ τοὺς ἀρχόντας καὶ τοὺς ἀρχιμένους ή τοὺς αὐτούς διὰ βίου δὴλον γὰρ οὐς ἀκολουθῆναι δησίει καὶ τὴν παράδειγμα κατὰ τὴν διάλειψιν ταύτην. εἰ μὲν τοῖνον εἶσαν τοσοῦτον διαφέροντες καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσον τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τοὺς ήρωας ήγούμεθα τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαφέρον, εἰδῶς πρῶτον κατὰ τὸ σάμα πολλὴν ἕχοντας ὑπερβολὴν, εἶτα κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν, ὡστε ἀναμφισβήτητον εἶναι καὶ φαινομένην τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τοὺς ἀρχιμένους τῶν ἀρχόντων, δῆλον δὴ βέλτιον δεῖ τοὺς αὐτούς τοὺς μὲν ἀρχόντες δὴ ἀρχηγοὺς καθάπερ. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς ὧς ἐρὸν λαβεῖν οὐδὲ ἔστιν ὁπετε ἐν Ἰνδῖς φησὶ Σκύλαξ εἶναι τοὺς βασιλέας τοσοῦτον διαφέροντας τῶν ἀρχιμένων, φανερὸν δὲ διὰ πολλὰς αἰτίας ἀναγκαίως πάντας ὡμοίως κοινωνεῖν τοῦ κατὰ μέρος ἀρχεῖν καὶ ἀρχεῖσθαι. τὸ τε γὰρ ἢσον ταύτων τοῖς ὑμοίοις, καὶ χαλεπὸν μένειν τὴν πολιτείαν τὴν συνεστηκεύαν παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον. μετὰ γὰρ τῶν ἀρχιμένων ἀπάρχουσι νευτέρες θεωρῆσαι βουλόμενοι πάντες οἱ κατὰ τὴν χώραν τοσοῦτοι τε ἐν τῷ τούτῳ καὶ πολιτεύματι τὸ πλῆθος ὡστε εἰναι κρίθησθαι πάντων τούτων, ἐν τῷ τῶν ἀδύνατων εἴσθην. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι γε δεῖ τοὺς ἀρχόντας διαφέρειν τῶν ἀρχιμένων, ἀναμφισβήτητον. πάνω οὖν τούτῳ ἔσται καὶ πάνω.

13 εὐχειρίωτοι] 'manageable.'
3 Σκύλαξ] of Caryanda, Smith, Biogr. Dict., where it is mentioned, 759 a, that Aristotle is the first writer who refers to him.
2 τοῦτο δὴ σκεπτόμεθα] This point was virtually settled in III. iv.
4 τοῖς ἀρχιμένοις] 'evident to the ruled.'
14 σκεπτόμεθα] Ch. VII.
διαριθμεῖσθαι πρότερον] in the widest sense, taking the child at the earliest stage. 'For men learn partly by practice, partly by precept.'
3 Σκύλαξ] 'on equal terms,' III. xvi.
3 and note on τὸ ἀνά μὲν ὡστέρως.
4. of κατὰ τὴν χώραν] 'all who, resident in the country, are not citizens.'
Ωστε] 'on the other hand.'
In the education to be the same for all the citizens?

μεθέξουσι, δει σκέψασθα τῶν νομοθέτην. ἐρήται δὲ πρώ
terouν περὶ αὐτοῦ. ἢ γάρ φύσις δέδωκε τὴν αἴρασιν, ποιή
σατα αὐτῷ τῷ γένει ταύτων τὸ μὲν νεαστέρω τὸ δὲ πρεσβύ
terouν, ἣν τοῖς μὲν ἀρχεσθαι πρέπει, τοῖς δὲ ἄρχειν. ἄγαν
ακτεῖ δὲ οὐδὲς καθ ἥλικιαν ἀρχόμενος, οὐδὲ νομίζει εἶναι
κρέιττον, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ μέλλων ἀντιλαμβάνειν τούτων τῶν
6 ἑρανον, ὅταν τύχῃ τῆς ἱκονομῆς ἡλίκιας. ἦστι μὲν ἄρα
αὐτῷ αὐτοῦς ἀρχεῖν καὶ ἀρχεσθαι φατέον, ἦστι δὲ ὡς ἔτε
1333 ρουσ. ἦστε καὶ τὴν παιδείαν ἦστεν ὡς τὴν αὐτὴν ἀναγκαῖον,
ἐστι δ' ὡς ἔτεραν εἴναι. τὸν τε γὰρ μέλλοντα καλῶς ἄρχειν
ἀρχῇνα φασὶ δεῖν πρῶτον. ἦστι δ' ἄρχή, καθάπερ ἐν
toῖς πρώταις ἐρηται λόγοι, ἢ μὲν τοῦ ἀρχοντος χάριν, ἢ
7 δὲ τοῦ ἀρχομένου. τούτων δὲ τὴν μὲν δεσποτικῆν εἴναι
φαµεν, τὴν δὲ τῶν ἑλεύθερων. διαφέρει δ' ἦνα τῶν ἑλι
ταττομέων οὐ τοῖς ἑργοῖς ἀλλὰ τῷ τίνος ἑνεκα. διδ πολλὰ
tῶν εἶναι δοκοῦνται διακομητῶν ἑργῶν καὶ τῶν νέων τοῖς
ἱλεύθεροι καλῶν διακομεῖν· πρὸς γὰρ τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ μὴ
καλὸν εὖς ὁτα διαφέρουσιν αἰα πράξεις καὶ αὐτὰς ὡς ἐν τῇ
8 τέλει καὶ τῷ τίνος ἑνεκα. ἦπε δὲ πολίτου καὶ ἀρχοντος
τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρετὴν εἴναι φαµεν καὶ τοῦ ἀριστοῦ ἄνδρος, τῶν
δ' αὐτῶν ἀρχομένοι τε δεῖν γίνεσθαι πρότερον καὶ ἀρ-
χοντα υπερτερον, τοῦτ' ἀν ἐν τῷ νομοθέτη πραγματευτεῖν,
ὅπως ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γίνονται, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδεύ-
9 μάτων, καὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς ἀρίστης ἤως. διδήκται δὲ δύο

* γίνονται Bekker.

5 αὐτῷ τῷ γένει ταύτων! 'that which is in kind the same.'
καθ' ἥλικιαν 'on the ground of age.'
ἀντιλαμβάνειν 'to have this privilege in his turn, when he shall have
reached the proper age.' ἑρανος is used in a very general sense.
7 οὐ τοῖς ἑργοῖς, κ.τ.λ.] 'not in what is
done, but in the object for which it is
done.'
καὶ τῶν νέων, κ.τ.λ.] 'even to the
young freeman.'
ἐν τῷ τέλει] ὅρκηται τῷ τέλει γὰρ
ἐκατοστόν, Εἰδ. iii. 10, 6, p. 1115, 6, 22.
8 ἐκεῖν δὲ, κ.τ.λ.] This is discussed
at considerable length in III. iv.
pολίτου καὶ ἀρχοντος must, in accordance with that chapter, be taken very
closely together. 'The virtue of the
citizen, if that citizen be also a ruler,
and that of the best man, are identi-
cal.' πολίτου καὶ ἀρχοντος answers to
the τινος πολίτου of III. iv. 9.
διὰς γίνονται] I adopt this reading
in preference to Bekker's 'how good
citizens are formed,' with an interro-
gative sense, that is, and not a final one.
9 διδήκται] Εἰδ. i. xiii. p. 1102; vi.
ii. p. 1139 Λ.
μέρη τῆς ψυχῆς, ὃν τὸ μὲν ἔχει λόγον χαθ᾽ αὐτῷ, τὸ δ᾽ οὐκ ἔχει μὲν καθ᾽ αὐτῷ, λόγον δ᾽ ὑπακούειν δυνάμενον· ὅν φαμέν τάς ἀρέτας εἶναι καθ᾽ ἄσμη ἀγαθὸς λέγεσται πας. τούτων δ᾽ ἐν ποτέρῳ μᾶλλον τὸ τέλος, τοῖς μὲν οἷς διαίρωσιν αὐτὸς ἡμεῖς Φαμέν ὡς ἄδηλον πῶς λειτείειν. αἰτία γὰρ τὸ χεῖρον τοῦ βελτίωνος ἐστίν ἔνεκεν, καὶ τοῦτο Φανερὸν ὁμοίας ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τέχνην καὶ τοῖς κατὰ φύσιν, βέλτιον δὲ τὸ λόγον ἔχουν· διήρηται τε διῆχος, καθ᾽ ὀπέρ εἰσώμεθα τρόπον διαίρεσιν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρακτικὸς ἐστὶ λόγος δὲ θεωρητικὸς· ἀσάκτος οὖν ἀνάγκη διηρήσθαι καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος δῆλον. 11 δὲ καὶ τὰς πράξεις δ᾿ ἀνάλογον ἔρομεν ἔχειν, καὶ δεῖ τὰς τοῦ φύσεως βελτίωνος αἰρετοτέρας εἶναι τοῖς δυναμένοις τυχάνειν ἢ παρὰν ἢ τοῖς διώκειν· αἰτία γὰρ ἐκάστῳ τοῦτο αἰρετωτάτου, οὗ τυχεῖν ἐστὶν ἀκροτάτου. διήρηται δὲ καὶ πᾶς ὁ βίος εἰς ἀσχολίαν καὶ εἰς σχολήν καὶ πόλεμον καὶ εἰρήνην, καὶ τῶν πρακτῶν τὰ μὲν εἰς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ χρήσιμα τὰ δὲ εἰς τὰ καλά. περὶ ὁμοὶ ἀνάγκη τὴν αὐτὴν αἱρέσιν εἶναι καὶ τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς μέρεσι καὶ τοῖς πράξεσιν αὐτῶν, πόλεμον μὲν εἰρήνης χάριν, ἀσχολίαν δὲ σχολής, τὸ δ᾽ ἀναγκαία καὶ χρήσιμα τῶν καλῶν ἔνεκεν. πρὸς πάντα μὲν τούτων τῷ πολιτικῷ βλέπει μοιοθετεῖν, καὶ κατὰ τὰ μέρη τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ κατὰ τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ πρὸς τὰ βελτία καὶ τὰ τέλη. τῶν αὐτῶν δὲ τρόπον καὶ περὶ τούς· 14 βλοεις καὶ ταῖς τῶν πραγμάτων διαίρεσις· δεῖ μὲν γὰρ ἀσχολίαν εἶσθαι.
The object of education.

15. φορτικῶς] 'assez peu noblement,' St. Hil. 'in a low and vulgar spirit.'

τελευταίοντες] 'the more grasping.'

16. ἐκλεκτάτεται] 'have been thoroughly convicted now by experience.'

17. τῶν πολλῶν] I incline to the reading of one MS., τῷ πολλῷ.

πολλὴ χορηγία] 'a large supply of the goods of fortune.'

18. ἐστὶ δὲ] seems a better reading than ἐστι. There is no new argument advanced.

μένουτες, κ.τ.λ.] 'though they remain constant to his laws, and though there is no hindrance to their obeying them.'

19. 1, 5. 2. del Beltsii ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν Beltsiow.
δεί τιμωντα φαινοσθαι των νομοθετην· του γαρ δεσποτικως αρχην η των ελευθερων αρχη καλλιών και μαλλον μετ’ αρετης. οτι δ’ ου δια τουτο δει την πολιν ευδαιμονα νομιζει και των νομοθετην έπαινειν, οτι καρτεριν’ έσκικησεν έπει το των πελας αρχην· ταυτα γαρ μεγαλην έχει βλαβην.

δηλων γαρ οτι και των πολιτων τω δυναμενο τοτο πει-αρατεον διακειν, οταν δυνηται της οικειας πολεως αρχειν· οπερ εγκαλουσιν οι Δακωνες Παυσανια κα το βασιλει, καταρε έχουνη τηλικαυτην τιμην. ουτε δη δει πολιτικως των τουτων λαγων και νομων ουδεις ουτε αφιερωμς ουτε αληθης ουτιν. ταυτα γαρ αριστα και ιδιω και κοινη των νομοθετην εμαι πεινει δε ταυτα ταις ψυχαι των ανθρωπων. την τε των πολεμικων ασκησιν ου τουτον χαριν δει μελεταν, ινα κατα-

kαρτεριν] I read, instead of kra-

τεριν, which Reiske saw the diffi-

culty of, and wished to leave it out. kαρτεριν agrees well with II. ix. 6. βουλημενος την πολιν εσηνα καρτερινη, whereas kρατερ jare with αρχην.

'He trained them to endurance, with a view to their getting away over their neighbours.'

20 δειλω γαρ] 'For it is clear that if this end is a right one, it will hold good for the individual citizen.'

δηερ εγκαλουσι] 'The very thing which the Lacedaemonians blame in Pausania.' He was not king, but regent; but, as Mr Grote says, with “all the power of a Spartan king, and seemingly more,” Vol. v. 362, note 2.

πολιτικως] 'consistent with a free constitution.'

21 ταυτα] is superfluous, or και should be inserted after κοινη.

War, to be justifiable, must be either defensive, or with beneficial purposes, such as it answered in the ancient civilization; or, thirdly, to carry out the intentions of nature, I. viii. 12. πολεμικη φοβει κτητικη ποι

etai, κ.τ.λ.

22 κατακτησαμενα] Comp. II. ix.

34. Grote, ι. 550.
ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Δ. (H.)

The objects of education.  

βαφήν ἀφίασιν, ὥσπερ ὁ σιζόρες, εἰρήνην ἀγοντες. αἴτιος δὲ ἡ νομοθέτης οὐ παιδεύσωσα δύνασθαι σχολάζειν.

The true end of life.  

'Ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ τέλος εἰναι φαινεται καὶ κοινῆ καὶ ἑδικὸ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ὄρον ἀναγκαίον εῖναι τῷ τε ἀρίστῳ ἀνδρὶ καὶ τῇ ἁρίστῃ πολιτείᾳ, φανερὸν ὅτι δεὶ τὰς εἰς τὴν σχολὴν ἀρέτας ὑπάρχειν· τέλος γὰρ, ὥσπερ εἰρήται 2 πολλάκις, εἰρήνη μὲν πολέμου, σχολὴ δὲ ἀσχολίας. χρήσιμοι δὲ τῶν ἀρετῶν εἰς πρὸς τὴν σχολὴν καὶ διαγωγὴν, ὃς εἰ τῇ σχολῇ τὸ ἔργον καὶ ὃν εἰ τῇ ἁσχολίᾳ. δεῖ γὰρ πολλὰ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὑπάρχειν, ὡς εἴη σχολάζειν. διὸ σάφεραν τὴν πόλιν εἶναι προσήκει καὶ ἀνδρείαν καὶ καρτέρικη κατὰ γὰρ τὴν παροιμίαν, οὐ σχολὴ δούλος, εἰ δὲ μὴ ὄντων κινδυνεύειν ἀνδρείας, δούλοι τῶν ἔπιστον εἰς. ἀνδρίας μὲν οὖν καὶ καρτέριας δεὶ πρὸς τὴν ἁσχολίαν, φιλοσοφίας δὲ πρὸς τὴν σχολὴν, σωφροσύνης δὲ καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐν ἀμφότεροις τοῖς χρόνοις, καὶ μᾶλλον εἰρήνην ἁγονία καὶ σχολάζουσιν: ὃ μὲν γὰρ πόλεμος ἀναγκάζει δικαιοσύνης εἶναι καὶ σωφροσύνης, ἡ δὲ τῆς εὐτυχίας ἀπόλαυσιν 4 καὶ τὸ σχολάζειν μετε ἐνόησι ὡβριστάς ποιεῖ μᾶλλον. πολιτείᾳ οὖν δεὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ πολλῆς σωφροσύνης τοὺς ἀριστα, δοκοῦντας πράττειν καὶ πάντων τῶν μακαριζόμειν ἀπολαύσωσα, ὅσον εἰ τιμὴς εἶσιν, ὥσπερ εἴτε ποιητῇ φασίν, ἐν μακάρων νήσοις: μάλιστα γὰρ ὅτι δεῖται φιλοσοφίας καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης, ὅσο μᾶλλον σχολάζουσιν 5 ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ τῶν τιμῶν ἁγαθῶν. διότι μὲν οὖν τὴν μᾶλλωσιν εὐδαιμονίας καὶ σπουδαλῶς ἑσεθοὶ πολὺς τούτων

βαφήν] 'They lose their temper.'
οὐ παιδεύσωσα] 'because he never trained them.'

XV. 1 τὸν αὐτὸν δρον] 'The same characteristics.'
ὑπάρχειν] sc. τῇ πόλει.
2 'None of the virtues are use-
1ess Some may be more especially
3 φιλοσοφίας] 'intellectual cultivation.' The σοφία of Aristotle, φιλο-
4 σωφροσύνης] all things that in the judgment of men
5 διὸτι, κτ.κτ.] This and the next
the term.
section, as far as ἀρετῇς, are paren-

For, to enjoy leisure, you must secure
certain requisites.'
δεῖ τῶν ἀρετῶν μετέχειν, φανερῶν. αἰσχροῦ γὰρ ὅντος μὴ δύνασθαι χρὴσθαι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, ἔτι μᾶλλον μὴ δύνασθαι ἐν τῷ σχολάζειν χρήσθαι, ἀλλὰ σχολάζοντας μὲν καὶ πολεμοῦντας φαίνεσθαι ἄγαθος, εἰρήνης δὲ ἄγοντας καὶ σχολάζοντας ἀνδραποδίας. διὸ δεῖ μὴ καθάπερ ἡ Δακεδαιμονίων πόλις ἡ τῶν ἀρετῶν ἅσκειν. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ οὐ ταύτη διαφέρουσι τῶν ἀλλῶν, τῷ μὲν νομίζειν ταῦτα τοῖς ἄλλοις μέγιστα τῶν ἁγαθῶν, ἀλλὰ τῇ γενέσθαι ταῦτα μᾶλλον διὰ τινὸς ἁρετῆς. Ἐστὶ δὲ μείζον τε ἁγαθὰ ταύτα, καὶ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τὴς τούτων ἡ τῶν τῶν ἁρετῶν, καὶ ὅτι δι’ αὐτῆς, φανερῶν ἐκ τούτων, πῶς δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν ἔσται, τούτῳ δὴ θεορητεῖν. τυγχάνομεν δὴ διηρημένοι πρότερον ὅτι φύσεως καὶ ζήσου, καὶ λόγου δε. τούτων δὲ ποιοὺς μὲν τινὰς εἶναι χρη τὴν φύσιν, διώρισται πρότερον, λοιπὸν δὲ θεωρῆσαι πρότερον παιδευτέρῳ τῷ λόγῳ πρότερον ἡ τοῖς ἔθεσιν. ταύται γὰρ δὲ πρὸς ἀλληλα συμφανεῖν συμφανεῖν τὴν ἀριστήν· ἐνδέχεται γὰρ διημαρτυρήσει καὶ τοῦ λόγου τῆς βελτίωτης ύπο- δέσμευσις, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἠθῶν ἀμώαις ἡθία. φανερῶν δὴ τούτῳ ἐν πρώτον μὲν, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὡς ἡ γένεσις ἀπ' 

The order to be observed in education.

# ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Δ. (H.)

The true end of education.

# IV. (VII.) 15.

The birth of

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The order to be observed in education.

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ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Δ. (H.)

The order to be observed in education.

ἀρχὴς ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ τέλος ἀπὸ τινος ἀρχής ἀλλού τέλους. ὃ δὲ λόγος ἡμῖν καὶ ὁ νοῦς τῆς φύσεως τέλος. ὡστε πρὸς τούτους τὴν γένεσιν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐδών δεῖ παρακεντάζειν 9 μελέτην. ἐπειτα ἀσπερ ψυχή καὶ σῶμα δυ` ἐστίν, οὕτω καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ὢμέναν δύο μέρη, τὸ χελόγων καὶ τὸ λόγων ἔχουν, καὶ τὰς ἐξεις τὰς τούτων δύο τὸν ἄριθμον, ὥσ τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν ἀρέξις τὸ δὲ νοῦς. ἀσπερ δὲ τὸ σῶμα πρότερον τῇ γενέσει τῆς ψυχῆς, οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἀλογον τοῦ λόγου ἔχοντος.

10 φανέρον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο: θυμὸς γὰρ καὶ βουλήσης, ἔτι δὲ ἐπιθυμία καὶ γενομένου εὐθὺς ὑπάρχει τοῦ παιδίου, ὃ δὲ λογισμὸς καὶ ὁ νοῦς προϊόντων ἐγγίνεται πέρακεν. διὰ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ σώματος τὴν ἐπιμελείαν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι προτέραν ἢ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς, ἐπειτα τὴν τῆς ἀρέξεως, ἀνεκα μέντοι τοῦ νοοῦ τῆς τῆς ἀρέξεως, τὴν δὲ τοῦ σώματος τῆς ψυχῆς.

16 Ἐπερ οὖν ἀπ' ἀρχὴς τὸν νομοδέτην ὥραι δεὶ ὅπως βελτισταστα τὰ σώματα γενήται τῶν τριφομένων, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπιμελητέον περὶ τὴν σύζευξιν, πότε καὶ πολῖος τινὰς ὅστας σπείρῃ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τήν γαμηκὴν ὑμιλήσῃ. δεὶ δὲ ἀποβλέποντα νομοδετεῖν ταύτην τὴν κοινωνίαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς τε καὶ τὸν τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον, ἵνα συγκαταβάινωσί ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν καιρῶν καὶ μὴ διαφωνῶσιν αἰ δυνάμεις τοῦ μὲν ἐτὶ δυναμένου γεννᾶν τῆς δὲ μὴ δυναμένης, ἢ ταύτης μὲν τοῦ δὲ ἀνδρὸς μὴ ταύτα γὰρ ποιεῖ καὶ στάσεις πρὸς

XVI. 1 ἀπ' ἀρχηγῆν 'From the beginning,' as alluded to in xv. 8. It is the marriage of the parents.

2 συγκαταβαίνοντες 'may come down together,' 'in their ages there may be no disproportion,' "dans un rapport convenable," St. Hil.
the succession of the children.

3 ἡ χάρις παρὰ τῶν τέκνων 'The natural pleasures which children give.'

τοῦ τῆς οἰκονομίας 'In the management of the family very great nearness in point of age gives a great opening for disputes.'

4 ὅπωρερ 'may be ready for,' Ch. IV. m.

σχέδων δὲ] 'It is quite possible then to secure all these objects by one and the same care.'

5 δρισταί] 'is limited.'

καταβάσεως] 'to be regulated upon, to be made to adapt itself to.'

6 ἡγόμα] This is Bekker's reading, yet in § 16 it is ἴγονα. "The fruit of the womb."

ὁστ' ἀναγκαίον] He rests very confidently on the argument from other animals. The question is one which entirely concerns us as animals.

ἐπιχωρίαίς] 'it is a prevailing custom.'

8 the ἀλλὰς ἴσιος | Plato de
Larg. 924. v. | τὸν | καὶ | τὸν

βάλλονται | μὲν | ὑπὲρ | τῆς | καρσίης | "injured for growth."

τοῦτον | ὑπὲρ | τὴς | συζύγους. | "beyond which the

βασίλεια | ἦσαν | καὶ | τὴν | αὐτὴν | "end of which the

óstμαι οὖς | καὶ | τῆς | μακραίας | "beyond which the

Plato de
Rep. v. 400, k. | οἷς | μὲν | τοῖς | μακραίας | "injured for growth."

9 Plato de Rep. v. 400, k. | μὲν | τοῖς | μακραίας | "injured for growth."

ἐπίστα] Spengel wishes to read
πότε, p. 9, note 11. The reason is that 35 is 7 x 5. But if Aristotle
married himself at 37 (and it could not have been earlier), it might ac-
count for this slight deviation. In
any case, the interval is greater than
quite accords with the prevalent

notions in our own time. Even
Plato’s interval would be thought too
great by many.

10 τοῖς μὲν | see. τοῖς | "at the begin-
n

ἀρχαιοτητα τῆς | ἱστορίας | "at the begin-
n

ἀρχαὶ | ταῖς | ἱστορίαις | "at the begin-
n

τοῖς | τὸν | χρόνων | "injured for growth."

when their

age is now already in its decline;

"stricken in years."

συναλλάζειν | An odd use of the word,

though the connection of this mean-


11 Three minute regulations point to
the much greater attention paid to
the sound bodily condition by the
Greeks than by modern nations.
IV. (VII.) 16] ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Δ. (Η.)

λον. Ποιαν δὲ τιναν τῶν σωμάτων ὑπάρχοντων μάλιστα *Marriage.*

οὐκ ἡ τοῖς γεννομένοις, ἐπιστήσασι μὲν μᾶλλον λεκτέον 12 ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς παιδοφοβίας, τῶπον δὲ ἱκανὸν εἰσίν καὶ τῶν. οὕτω γὰρ ἦν τῶν ἀθλητῶν χρήσιμοι ἔξις πρὸς πολιτικὴν εὔξει τῶν ὑγίειαν καὶ τεκνοποιίαν, οὕτω ή θεραπευτικὴ καὶ κακοποιητικὴ λίαν, ἀλλ' ἡ μέση τούτων. *Pทานη-

13 μένην μὲν δὲν ἔχειν δεῖ τὴν ἔξιν, πεποιημένην δὲ πόνοις μὴ βιαίοις, μεθέραιος πρὸς ἕνα μόνον, ἀσπέρ ἦ τῶν ἀθλητῶν ἔξις, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἑλευθερίων πράξεις. ἀμοιλῖος δὲ δεῖ ταῦτα ὑπάρχειν ἀνεδρασία καὶ γυναικείαν. χρὴ δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν-14 κώστος ἑπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν σωμάτων, μὴ βαθμοῦσας μὴ αἰτήματι τροφῆς χραιμένος. τούτῳ δὲ ὡθοῦν τὸ νυμφάδητον ποιῆσαι προστάζοντας καθ' ἡμέραν τινὰ ποιεῖσθαι πορείαν πρὸς τοῖς ἀποθεραπεύσαι τῶν εἰληφότων τὴν περὶ τῆς γενε-

σεως τιμήν. τὴν μέντοι διάκοσιον τοῦνταν τῶν σωμάτων ῥαθυμότερα ἀρμότει διάγειν: ἀπολαύσαντα γὰρ φαίνεται τὰ γενέμενα τῆς ἠχοῦσας ἀσπέρ καὶ τὰ φυώμενα τῆς γῆς. 

Περὶ δὲ ἀποθέσεως καὶ τρόφης τῶν γυνομένων, ἔστω 15 νόμος μηδὲν πεποιημένον τρέφειν, διὰ δὲ πλῆθος τέκνων, ἐὰν ἦ τάξεις τῶν ἑδών καυλῆς, μηδὲν ἀποτίθεσθαι τῶν γυνο-

μένων" σφοιται γὰρ δὴ τῆς τεκνοποίιας τὸ πλῆθος. ἐὰν δὲ

12 ἀτορι[

13 πεποιημένων] 'in good state of body, such as the citizen requires it.'

14 ἀρα[ί] 'scurvy.'

15 δὲ πλῆθος δὲ τέκνων] 'But not on account of the number of children, supposing that the arrangements of the social state forbid beyond a certain number, must it be allowed to abandon any child born.'

12 ἀτορι[α] 'This is in explanation of καυλῆς. 'For in our own state there is fixed a limit to the production of children.' For the matter in ques-
Μετά τοις γίγνεται παρά τούτα συνελάτσίται, προς ἀλεθείαν ἑγενέσθαι καὶ ζακάνη, ἐμποιεῖσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀμβλώσιν. τὸ γὰρ ὅσιον καὶ τὸ μὴ διαμορφωμένον τῇ αἰσθήσει καὶ τῷ ἔθει ἔσται. 

Ἐπεὶ ὁ ἡ μὲν ἀρχὴ τῆς ἡλικίας ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ διάφανεται, πάντοτε ἀρχεσθαι χρῆ τῆς συζεύξεως, καὶ πάσον χρόνον λειτουργεῖν ἀρμόττει πρὸς τεκνοποιίαν ἀφίσθαι· τὰ γὰρ τῶν προσβυκτέρων ἔσχον, καθάπερ τὰ τῶν νεώτερων, ἀτελῶς γίνεται καὶ τοῖς σώμασι καὶ ταῖς διανοίασι, τὰ δὲ τῶν γεγο-

17 ῥακότων ἀσθενῆ. διὸ κατὰ τὴν τῆς διανοίας ἀκμὴν· αὐτὴ ὡς ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς πλείονοις ἦπερ τῶν ποιητῶν τις εἰρήκα-

σει οἱ μετροῦντες ταῖς ἐβδομάδαῖς τὴν ἡλικίαν, περὶ τῶν χρόνων τῶν τῶν πεντήκοντα ἔτων. ὡστε τέταρται ἢ πέντε ἔτη ὑπερβάλλοντα τὴν ἡλικίαν ταύτην ἀφήνεσθαι διὰ τῆς εἰς τὸ φανερὸν γεννησίας πρὸς λοιπὸν ὑγιείας χάριν ἕκαι τῶν ἐκλεγμένων αὐτίς φαίνεσθαι διὰ τοιούμενον τῆς ἐβδομάδος. περὶ δὲ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήν ἢ πρὸς ἄλλους, ἐστὶ μὲν ἀπλῶς μη καὶ ἀπότομον φαινόσθαι μηδαμῆ καὶ μηδαμώς, ἡν ἢ καὶ προσαγορευθῆται ποῦτος, περὶ δὲ τῶν χρόνων τῶν τῆς τεκνοποιίας ἢν τὸς φαίνεται τοιοῦτον τι δρῶν, ἀτελῶς.

1336 ζημιοῦσθαι προσούσῃ πρὸς τὴν ἀμαρτίαν.

Γενόμενον δὲ τῶν τέκνων ὀλεθρίας μεγάλην εἶναι διαφορὰν

17 πρὸς τὴν τῶν σωμάτων δύναμιν τὴν τροφῆν, ὅπως τις τῶν τῶν ἠλλῶν ἡμών ἐπισκόπησι καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν ὁι ἐπιμελής ἐστίν εἰσάγει ἡν τὴν πολεμικήν ἐξιν, ἦς τὸ γάλακτος πληθύνουσα τροφῇ μάλιστ' οἰκεῖα ἵπταντοι τοῖς σώματις ἄνωτερα διὰ τὰ νοσήματα. ἔτος καὶ καὶ κινήσεις ὅσας ἐνδέχεται πολεμοῦς τε τυχικοῦς συμφέρειν. πρὸς δὲ τὸ μὴ διαστρέφεσθαι τὰ μέλη δὲ ἀπαλάτητα χρῶνται καὶ τῶν ἐνα πολλῶν ὄργανοι τισὶ μηχανικοῖς, ἀ

tion compare Plato, De Rep. v. 460, c. who agrees with Aristotle.

17 τῶν χρόνων τῶν τῶν πεντήκοντα] Compare Ἱρ. ii. 14. p. 1390, b. 11, where forty-nine is the age fixed on. 7 

× 7.

18 περὶ δὲ τῆς] sc. ὑμᾶς.

XVII. 1 oierstai] sc. δεί.

οἰς ἐκμελέται] ' to whom it is a great object.'

ἀνωτέρα 'the less wine the better,' a propect far too much neglected at present.

2 τυχικοῦς] 'when quite young.'
τὸ σῶμα ποιεῖ τῶν τοιούτων ἀστραβάτες. συμφέρει δὲ εὐθὺς καὶ πρὸς τὰ ψυχή συνεδρίζει εἰς μικρῶν παιδῶν· τούτῳ γὰρ καὶ πρὸς ὑγείαν καὶ πρὸς πολεμικὰς πράξεις εὔχρηστό-
τατον. διὸ παρὰ πολλοῖς ἐστὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἔδοξο τοῖς μὲν εἰς ποταμὸν ἀποβάπτειν τὰ γιγνόμενα ψυχρῶν, τοῖς δὲ σκέπασμα μικρὸν ἀμπίσχειν, ὅσον Κελτοῖς. πάντα γὰρ ὅσα διωκότων ἔδειξεν, εὐθὺς ἀρχομένῳ βέλτιον μὲν ἐδίδεις, εἰς προσαγωγῆς δὲ ἔδειξεν. εὐφυῆς δὴ η ἡ τῶν παιδῶν ἔδεις διὰ θερμότητα πρὸς τὴν τῶν ψυχρῶν ἀσκησιν. περὶ μὲν 4 οὖν τὴν πρότην συμφέρει ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοιαύτην τε καὶ τὴν ταύτην παραπλησίαν· τὴν δὲ ἐχομένην ταύτης ἡλικίαν μέχρι πάντε ἑτῶν, ἡν ὡστε παραδότας καλῶς ἦκεν προσαγωγεῖν οὐκετὶ δὲ ἀναγκαῖοι πόνους, ἡπαξ μὴ τὴν αὐξήσιν ἐμποδίζωσιν, δεῖ τοσοῦτος τυγχανεῖν κινήσεως ὡστε διαφύγειν τὴν ἀργίαν τῶν σωμάτων· ἦν χρὴ παρασκευάζειν καὶ δὲ ἄλλαν πράξεων καὶ διὰ τῆς παιδίας. δεῖ δὲ καὶ τῆς παιδίας εἶναι μήτη ἀνέκλεθος μήτη ἐπι-
πόνους μήτη ἀνειμένας. καὶ περὶ λόγουν δὲ καὶ μόροιν, ποιοῦς τινὰς ἀκουεῖν δεῖ τοὺς τηλικοῦτοις, ἐπιμεῖς ἐστοὶ τοῖς ἀρχοῦσιν οὗς καλοῦσι παιδονύμους. πάντα γὰρ δεῖ τὰ τοιαύτα προεδροποιεῖν πρὸς τὰς ὑπεραν διατριβάς. διὸ τὰς παιδίας εἶναι δεῖ τὰς πολλὰς μιμήσεις τῶν ύπεραν συνδασμοῖς. τὰς δὲ διαστάσεις τῶν παιδῶν καὶ κλαυθὸς μοῦς οὐκ ὥρθησα ἀπαγορεύσειν οἱ καλοῦντες ἐν τοῖς νόμοις· συμφέρουσι γὰρ πρὸς αὐξήσιν. γίνεται γὰρ τρόπον τινὰ γυμνασία τοῖς σάμασιν· ἡ γὰρ τοῦ πνεύματος καθέξις ποιέ-
τιν ἰσχὺν τοῖς ποιοῦσιν, ἐ συμβαίνει καὶ τοῖς παιδίοις

3 ἀρχομένων] Stahr adopts this reading, and it seems an improvement on Bekker's ἀρχομένων.
4 τὴν πρότην] sc. ἐλεημ. ἀπαρκαίωσι 'compulsory.'
5 ἀνειμένα] 'uncontrolled.'
6 διαστάσεις] 'stretchings,' 'exer-
    tions.'
7 ο ν τῶν νόμοι] de Legg. vii. 792.

habit of body.'

Early education.
Early education.

7 the way in which they pass their time in general.

to the same expression occurs, VIII. (V.) viii. 2.

away from the young,

he had said of the young, and repeats the same proposition.

a seat at the public mess.

Eur. Hipp. 1004, 5, Dind., quoted in illustration of this by Raoul Rochette, quoted in Stahr,

καὶ λόγῳ κλέων

γράφε τε λεύσων.

το τεθαμβοῦν 'jesting.'

πρὸς δὲ τούτοις] It is desired by some editors to change this dative for the accusative. Compare Stahr on the passage, who retains the dative and translates it with reference to the Gods, 'as is shown elsewhere,' u.s.w.

This seems to me difficult with the dative. I think it is good sense. I construe it in its most natural sense with an adversarial modification, 'in addition to this,' 'besides.' 'Besides there is no reason for bringing the young into contact with such things at all, as the law permits those of a more suitable age to honour th
τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν τιμαλφεὶν τοὺς θεοὺς. τοὺς δὲ νεωτέρους οὐτὶ ἱάμβωην οὔτε καμῳδίας θεατὰς νομοθετητέον, πρὶν ἡ τὴν ἡλικίαν λάβωσιν ἐν ἡ καὶ κατακλιόοσας ὑπάρξει κοινω- νεῖν ἡνη καὶ μέθης καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων γιγαντίων ὑβάλθης ἀπαθεῖς ἡ παιδεία ποιῆσει πάντας. νῦν μὲν οὖν τούτων ἐν παραδομῇ πεποιήμεθα τὸν λόγον. ὡστερον δὲ ἐπιστήσαντας δεῖ διορίσαι μᾶλλον, εἰτε μὴ δεῖ πρῶτον εἰτε δεῖ διαπορεύσαντας, καὶ πῶς δεῖ κατὰ δὲ τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν ἐμνήσθημεν αἰς ἀναγκαῖοιν. Ἡσυχὸς γὰρ οὐ κακῶς ἔλεγε τὸ 13 τοιούτον Ἐθνὸς ὡς τῆς τραγῳδίας ὑποκρίτης· οὐδὲν γὰρ πῶστε παρῆκαν ἐαυτοῦ προεἰσάγειν, οὐδὲ τῶν εὐτελῶν ὑποκρίτων, αἷς οἰκειομένων τῶν βεατῶν ταῖς πρῶταις ἀκοαῖς. συμβαίνει δὲ ταῦτα τούτο καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑμίλιας καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων πάντα γὰρ στέργομεν τὰ πρῶτα μᾶλλον. διὸ δεῖ τῶς νέους πάντας ποιεῖν ξένα τὰ 14 φαύλα, μάλιστα δ’ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔχει εἰς κοιμηθῆναι καὶ διεισάγειν. διελθόντων δὲ τῶν πέντε ἐπόν τὰ δύο μέχρι τῶν ἐπόν δεῖ θεωροῦν ἡνὴ γίγνεσθαι τῶν μαθητῶν, ἂς δεῖσαι μαθήτης αὐτοὺς. δύο δὲ εἰςὶν ἡλικίαι πρὸς αἰς ἀναγκαῖον ἰδιορθῆσαι 15 τὴν παιδείαν, μετὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπόν μέχρι ἡθῶς καὶ πάλιν μετὰ τὴν ἀφ’ ἡθῶς μέχρι τῶν ἑνὸς καὶ εἰκοσίν ἐτῶν. οἱ γὰρ ταῖς ἐβδομάδις διαβουλεύσεις τὰς ἡλικίας ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ λέγουσιν οὐ κακῶς, δεῖ δὲ τῇ διαφέρει τῆς φύσεως

* καλὸς Bekker.
should be the reading, not καλῶς.

For they who divide the ages of man’s life by periods of seven years as a general rule are tolerably right, only if must not be pressed too strictly, but the division of nature herself must be followed," and she draws no rigid line in this case. The age of puberty is variable within certain limits. Carpenter, Manual of Physiology, § 788.

Compare Ἐθ. ι. iv. 15. p. 1007. 5, τῇ ὑπεράκτῃ ἡμετέρᾳ. "For it is the object of all man’s art, and that particular branch of it which is directed to the fashioning of men, education, to supply that which nature leaves wanting." Compare Plato, l. 341, π. ε.

16 Three questions started. Is there to be a system of education? Is it to be public or private? What is it to be? The first two are answered perfectly, as, in fact, they admit of a ready answer. The third is only partially answered, many of its most important elements either received no treatment or it has been lost.
BOOK V. (VIII.) SUMMARY.

It is not denied that education is one of the highest objects of the legislator's attention. It is not to be denied, secondly, that it should be one and uniform—public, and not left to individual caprice. What the education shall be, what the system adopted, this, the third question, is not so easily answered. It suggests many others. Is it intellect or the moral nature that you want to train more especially? Then, in the things taught, shall they be those which are practically useful, or those which conduce to excellence, or shall they be the higher subjects of speculation? Just touching on the evident limits, that all useful things cannot be discarded, and that no illiberal study is to be pursued, Aristotle proceeds to consider the actually existing system. There are in this system four branches. Reading, with its accompaniments; gymnastics, or bodily training; music and design. The first and fourth are taught as useful, the second as tending to form brave men. It is on the question of music that the issue may be taken. The discussion that immediately follows we need not dwell on, as it is only a statement of the various difficulties and the subject is resumed later. The only result definitely is, that he sees good reason for refusing to submit, in all cases, to the test of mere utility in the ordinary sense of the term. Remembering his order of education given in the last book, he turns to that which comes first, the bodily training, gymnastics (Ch. I.—III.).

In regard to this, we must beware of two evils into which others have fallen, some have aimed too much at forming an athletic habit of body, others have aimed at too fierce a character. In both the type is too low, and in the last case, that of the Lacedæmonians, the education given has been proved a failure by experience. His regulations are—light and easy training till the age of puberty, so as to favour the growth. The three years after this age are to be devoted to acquiring the rudiments of knowledge. Then severe bodily training and hard diet may be introduced. In no case are body and mind to be worked hard at the same time (Ch. IV.).

Passing to the question of music: Is it taught as an amuse-
ment, a recreation? or as a training, an educational accomplishment, a means to an end, which end secured, the means may be thrown aside? or is it taught as something additional, an ornament of life in its highest form, when the man has passed the restlessness of childhood, ever in want of amusement; has passed the struggles of youth and earlier manhood, the period of learning, of discipline, of formation of character; and has reached the settled state of life and mature manhood, to be spent not in business or in war, but as a period of rest and peaceful contemplation? Music is for all of these, is the answer. It amuses—it influences the character—it is a high intellectual pleasure. Has not the soul itself been said to be a harmony? (Ch. V.).

There remains for consideration the question, How is it to be taught? By actual practice, is the answer, stopping short of course of professional skill, and therefore discarding all that tends to form that, both as to the music learnt and the instruments on which it is learnt. No kind of music is to be rejected absolutely, it will find its place and audience somewhere, but different music is of course useful in education from that which would be allowed on other occasions. The Dorian music is especially favoured from the educational point of view (Ch. VI. VII.).

The question whether Aristotle left the book in the state in which we have it, whether he ever developed more fully his treatise on education, is one we have no means of answering. But it seems difficult to dispute the conclusion that the treatment of the subject is incomplete, and that this book contains but a fragment of it. If we turn to the conclusion of the first book (I. 13, 15, 16,) we shall, I think, be inclined to suspect that a very large portion of his work has been lost to us, as much as two or three books very probably. For even granting that the subject of music, in Aristotle's sense of the term, is complete, there remains the kindred subject of poetry, its influence and its proper place in education. In itself this must have attracted his attention, and its full treatment by Plato in the second and third books of his Republic, is enough, for any one who estimates duly the close connexion between Aristotle's moral and political theories and those of Plato, to convince him that, either in intention or in fact, Aristotle also treated it systematically. The same consideration also applies to the question of the family. In respect to that, we may be quite sure that Aristotle was not content with the negative view of the second book, but that the criticism there given was meant to be but the clearing of the ground for the erection of his own positive views,—a dogmatical
construction antagonistic to that of Plato. I might take other points and argue in the same way. But the two mentioned are sufficient. Other omissions will be most clearly appreciated by any reader of the Republic who will thoughtfully compare the points treated in it with those treated by Aristotle. My conclusion would be that not only is this fifth book a fragment, but that we have between it and the sixth a gap of considerable extent which nothing now can supply. And I should conjecture that it was the sense of this that led the earliest arrangers of the work to place the fifth book last. They argued that a work would be unfinished at the end, not in the middle, so when they met evident traces of incompleteness, there they concluded was the point where the author had broken off his labours. Be this conjecture erroneous or not, the common arrangement stands so much in the way of a right understanding of the work, that I have not hesitated to change it.
Of the three questions started at the end of the last book, the first, οἱ ἐπιστήμων τάς τινάμ περὶ τοῦ τῶν παιδείαν, is answered in the first two sections of this book, and answered affirmatively. Each constitution requires for its establishment and maintenance a certain character in its citizens. This must be formed in them. Besides this reason, in our ideal state, in which the aim is, to have all the citizens virtuous, certain previous instruction and training will be necessary, for virtue requires this for its practice as much as any other faculty or act in man. The necessity of this previous training for virtuous action was pointed out Eth. ii. i. p. 1103, b. 21; and that this training is best given in the state is made clear in Eth. x. x. p. 1179. So that a long-winded discussion of the point here would have been superfluous.
πολείς ἐπανήν. Φανερόν ὅτι καὶ τὴν παιδείαν μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πάντων καὶ ταύτης τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν εἶναι κοινὴ καὶ μη κατ’ ἱδίαν, ὅπως ἃ ἐκαστός ἐπιμελεῖται τῶν αὐτοῦ τέκνων ἦν τε καὶ ἱδίας εἶναι, ἤν ἄν δὲ ἡ διάδοσις. δεῖ δὲ τῶν κοινῶν κοινὴν ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν ἔκχοσιν. ἀµα δὲ ὡδὲ χρῆ νομίζειν 4 αὐτῶν αὐτοῦ τινὰ εἶναι τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλὰ πάντας τῆς πόλεως· μόριον γὰρ ἐκαστὸς τῆς πόλεως. η δ’ ἐπιμέλεια πέφυκεν ἐκᾶστον μορίου βλέπειν πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἐπι-
μέλειαν. ἑπανέσεις δ’ αὐτῷ τὸ ἱερὸν Δακεδαμιόνου· καὶ γὰρ πλεῖστην ποιοῦντα σπουδὴν περὶ τοὺς παιδαῖς καὶ κοινῆς ταύτης. "Ὅτε μὲν οὖν νομοθῆτον περὶ παιδείας 2 καὶ ταύτης κοινῆς ποιήτου, Φανερόν· τῆς δ’ ἐστὶν ἡ παιδεία, καὶ τῶν χρῆ παιδεύεσθαι, δεῖ μὴ λανθάνειν. μὴ γὰρ ἀμφισβητεῖται περὶ τῶν ἔργων· οὐ γὰρ ταύτα πάντες ὑπολαμβάνουσιν δεῖ μαθήσαντες τοὺς νέους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶ πρὸς ἄρετὴν

* καὶ Bekker.

7 υπολείματα] The education must be one and the same, public, and not left, as it is now left, to individuals; γὰρ τὸν εὐθων connects closely with καὶ τὸν. Compare Ἐπα. Χ. Χ. p. 1179. By changing the stopping at διάδοσις, the next remark is brought into as close a connexion as possible with what precedes. Education is now private, but it is a national interest, and should not be treated as a private one.

4 ἀµα δὲ, κ.τ.λ] this is the true form of Socialism, or rather it is the truth which that word might express, had not all kinds of errors grouped themselves around it, so as to make it almost hopeless to use it, from the misconceptions on the one side of its advocates or disciples, from the passionate and unreasoning horror of many of its opponents on the other. I will content myself here with stating that I think there is a true Socialism, and that even in its erroneous interpretations of that truth, what is called Socialism is nobler than that which greets it with such hatred, the dominant selfishness of the majority.

7 ἐπιμέλεια] Compare I. xiii. 15.

καὶ τῶν] It is better to read καὶ τῶν, Sylburg’s correction. The καὶ makes no sense.

Δακεδαμιόνου] "The Lacedaemonian system," says Mr. Lewis (Authority, &c. p. 320), "was too extensive an interference with parental authority and natural affection for imitation, even by the most military republics of antiquity, such as the Roman; and in modern times no such entire substitution of the political for domestic control over children is likely to be seriously entertained."

II. 1 περὶ τῶν ἔργων] "the things to be taught." So Stahr, "die Gegen-
stände."
oùte pròs tòn bión tòn áríston. οùde phaiuedon pòteron
pròs tòn diánoian prèpei múlllon ἢ pròs tò tòs ψυχῆς
δήσῃ. ἢk tòs ἐμποδων παιδείας ταραχώδης ἢ σκέψις, kal
δήλον οὔδεν pòteron áskēn dei tò tòs χρήσιμα pròs tòn bión
ἢ tò tèn tòvnn pròs ἄρετην ἢ tò perittà: pònta γὰρ
ἐλήφη ταύτα κριτὰς τινας. περὶ tòs tòvnn pròs ἄρετην
οὔδεν ἐστὶν ὑμολογούμενον: καὶ γὰρ τὴν ἄρετὴν ἢ τὴν
ἀυτὴν εὐθὺς πάντες τιμῶσιν, ἄστε ἐνλόγον διαφέρονται καὶ
πρὸς tòs tìn ἀσκησιν αὐτῆς. ὅτι μὲν οὖν τὰ ἀναγκαῖα δεῖ
διδάσκεσθαι τῶν χρήσιμων, οὐχ ἄφηλον: ὅτι δὲ οὖ πάντα,
διηρημένων τῶν τε ἐλευθέρων ἔργων καὶ τῶν ἀνελεύθερων,
φαινον ὅτι τῶν τοιούτων δεῖ μετέχειν ὅσα τῶν χρήσιμων
ποιήσει tò tòv μετέχοντα μὴ βάναυσον. βάναυσον δὲ ἔργον

πòteron pròs tìn diánoían] 'ought
education to aim at the cultivation of
the intellect, or rather at the forma-
tion of the moral character?' The
opposition between diánoia and δήσῃ is
the same as that Eth. i. xiii. p. 1103, 5,
as the question was discussed IV. xv.
9. 10.

2 ἐμποδῶν] 'actual,' 'in the way.'
There is an ambiguity in the word,
which perhaps did not escape Aristotle,
though it may be safest to take it as a
simply neutral term, 'the education
which meets us when we begin our
inquiries on the subject.' In his day,
as in ours, the question of education
was not to be solved by an appeal to
practical experience. The only an-
swer returned was a confused one,
and must be so, as the actual educa-
tion was not based on any well deter-
mined, well understood principles. In
fact, the object to be aimed at was yet
entirely a matter under discussion.
and some would have nothing taught
but merely that which in the most
ordinary sense was useful for life.

τὰ περὶ τάδ] Eth. vi. vii. 5. p. 1141,
b. 6, περὶ τά μὲν καὶ δαιμώντα καὶ
νεκρῶν καὶ δαιμόνια, 'ετεὶ δίνεις ἀε
naturales,' Vict.; 'die höheren spe-
culativen Wissenschaften,' Stahr. This
seems the meaning ultimately, but the
translation is not easy, for 'the higher
branches of science' seems to lose the
proper sense of the word, which, in
the mouths of those who use it with
reference to education, has some-
what of a sneer in it, 'out-of-the-way
knowledge,' 'the 'ideology' of the elder
Napoleon, the 'theory' or 'philosophy'
of men of ordinary education amongst
ourselves.

κριτὰς εἶληφε] Metaph. i. viii. 89,
a. 7. ed. Bonitz. 'acutores,' 'judgments
in their favour.'

περὶ τέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'and if we adopt
the second object, and say that our
education should tend to virtue, still
there is no agreement.'

εἴδον] 'for at the outset it is not
the same virtue that all value.'

3 Compare I. vii. The clause δὲ
οὐ τὰντα is not quite regular, but
there is no difficulty in the meaning.
'It is clear that we must not have all
useful things taught; it is clear, in
fact, that we must have them taught
only so far as, &c.' Compare, for
the question of βάναυσον, III. v.
vingi dê toûto nomizein kai têxhyn taútih kai máðhsin, ὑστα proû tás chrêsiseis kai tás práxeis tás tís árês tís ákhriston àperegázontau to sóma tón evleúberon ή tìn puxhîn ή tìn diánoian. Diô tás te toûoûa têxhâs dêsaî to sóma paraspnevousoi xêroû diakèidhâi baxwûsous kalôménous, kal tás mêuvarnikas èrgasiaîs: àsgolôn vàr pousûse tìn diánoian kai takteîn. 'Estî dê kai tón evleu-bêrion èpistêmewn mékrî méi tîn av èvían matèxheimi ouk ánne-leúberon, prôsoeðreiîn èv liân proû tò èntelès èvnoch taini èvirhémewn bllábas. 'Xeî dê poillé liavi deî kai to b tîn av chrîn prâttî tis tî màthânei: autî mé ouk vàr chrîn ή filâv ή dê àrêthi ouk ánneleúberon, d' dê autû toûto prâttîn ê' allou èvpoallán ythikon kai duûlikon bòseian àn prâttîn. Âi mê ouk katabébeîmênavn vàn màthîseis, kalâper èlêchn prâteron, èpamproterizousin. 'Estî dê 3 têttara sçkouda pànà evnûsies eiòðas, gýmâmatos kai ènymastikh kai moustikh kai têtartat hôi èvrafikhîn, tîn mêv èvrammatistikh kai èvrafiîhôs àvèxhîmou proû tòn bìou

5 mêuvarnikas èrgasiaí 'occupations à gages.' Compare I. xi. 3, 4, for mouvarnia. The comparison of the two passages would seem to limit the expression here, as the French translation limits it, to the exclusion of the artisan class.

takteîn] 'abject, servile.'

'Esti dê kai, k.t.l.] 'and even in some of the sciences which freemen may know.'

mékrî mêv tînous] 'though up to a certain point.'

prôsoeðreiîn èv] 'Yet to devote oneself too assiduously to them, with a view to attain perfection in them.'

6 Compare V. (VII.) xiv. 7. po-la-kâs òrthow] 'might well be thought to be doing a menial and servile thing.'

katabébeîmênav] 'in vogue, in use,' Eik. 1. iii. 8, p. 1096, 9, kallî poûall lógoi prôs àvâ katabébeîmênav.

épamproterizousin] 'are susceptible of more than one interpretation,' IV. (VII.) xiii. ii.

III. 1 The fourfold division of Greek education. In the Republic, Book ii., Plato gives only the twofold division with ènymastikh kai moustikh. In the first both agree. It is the second which Aristotle takes in a more restricted sense than Plato, and limits it to music in the modern sense; whereas in Plato it stands for the whole mental training, as distinct from the bodily.

gýmâmatos] 'reading and writing,' the elements of letters.

gýrafikh] 'the arts of design—drawing.'

êvrafiîhôs prôs tòn bìou] 'as practically useful for the ordinary purposes of daily life, and available at every turn.'
The four branches of ordinary Greek education. Why is music learnt?

οὐσας καὶ πολυχρήστους, τὴν δὲ γυμναστικὴν ἥς συντείνουσαν πρὸς ἀνδριὰν. τὴν δὲ μουσικήν ἦδη διατορήσειςεν ἀν τις. νῦν μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἤδονης χάριν οἱ πλεῖστοι μεταχειροῦσιν αὐτῆς. οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔταξαν ἐν ταυτίᾳ διὰ τὸ τὴν φύσιν αὐτὴν ζυτείν, ὅπερ πολλὰς ἔρθηται, μὴ μόνον ἀσχολεῖν ἄρθως ἀλλὰ καὶ σχολαζεῖν δύνασθαι καλῶς. αὐτὴ γὰρ ἀρχὴ πάντων, ἵνα καὶ τάλιν εἴσομεν περὶ αὐτῆς. ἢ γὰρ ἄμφως μὲν δὲ, μᾶλλον δὲ αἰρέτον τὸ σχολαζεῖν τῆς ἀσχολίας, καὶ ὅλως ζυτείτων τὴ ποιοῦτας δεῖ σχολαζεῖν, οὐ γὰρ δὴ παῖζοντας τέλος γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τοῦ βίου τὴν παιδείαν ἔμι. δὲ δὲ τοῦτο ἄδυνατον, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐν ταῖς ἀσχολίαις χρήσετον ταῖς παιδείαις (ὁ γὰρ πονῶν δεῖται τῆς ἀναταύσεως, ἢ δεῖ παιδιά χάριν ἀναταυσίας ἵστην τὸ ἀσχολεῖν συμβαινεῖ μετά πονου καὶ συντονίας), διὰ τούτο δὲ παιδείας εἰσάγεσθαι καιροφιλακτοῦντας τὴν

ἐν συντεινοσεβαὶ 'as an element in the formation of courage,' so necessary for the Greek citizen.

τὴν δὲ μουσικήν] The defence on the score of utility, mere usefulness, is least clear in the case of music. So music, in its limited sense, is taken as the battle-ground for this question of utility in the general, and it is his so taking it that sufficiently explains the limited sense he chooses to attach to the word.

2 νῦν μὲν γὰρ] 'For although at the present day most learn it as for the sake of the pleasure, yet originally, those who made it a branch of education did not adopt this defence.'

ἀρχὴ γὰρ ἄρχῃ] This might be referred to φύσις, but it is better to take it as referring to σχολή, contained in σχολαζεῖν, or perhaps, without any definite reference to either of the two terms, it may be translated, 'for here, in the position just laid down, that the nature of man looks not merely to exertion, but also to the right management of leisure, we have

the principle of all things, the fundamental position from which we start.'

Stahr's translation is, 'dein diese Müße, um es noch einmal zu sagen, ist Grund und Ziel aller Geschäftigkeit.'

3 εἰ γὰρ ἄμφως μὲν δὲ, κ.τ.λ.] 'For if whilst both, activity and leisure, must be attended to, leisure is yet the preferable object of attention, it follows that we cannot possibly escape the inquiry in what we are to employ our leisure.'

τέλος γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον] 'For in that case amusement were the end of life.' In Euk. xvi. p. 1176, we have the same point discussed.

4 ἐν ταῖς ἀσχολίαις, κ.τ.λ.] amusement, games, &c., are but the recreations of one immersed in business, their object being to enable him to exert himself the more.

ὁ γὰρ πονῶν, κ.τ.λ.] Herod. ii. 173.

καιροφιλακτοῦντας τὴν χρήσεως] 'watching the proper occasions for its use,' Dem. 678. 17. καιροφιλακτεῖν is
the form preferred by Lobeck ad Phryn. 575.

οὐ τοιούτην κίνησιν] 'The movement or excitement of the mind in games.'

διὰ τὴν ἠδονὴν] from the pleasure it brings with it we work easily, and so it acts as a relief.

αὐτῷ] 'in itself.' It is opposed to the  ἐσπάσεσθαι, προσάγονται.

5 τούτο] so τὸ τῶν μακαρίων.

ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀσχολῶν] In his own language, then, ἀσχολία is a γένος, aims at producing some result, and ὀδημα γένους συγγήκον τοῦ τέλους, Ἑλ. vii. xii. 3. p. 1152, 13. The aiming at a result implies its non-attainment hitherto.

ἀπὸ οὖς ὑπάρχοντος] 'Happiness is a result, an end, and all think it is accompanied, not by pain, but by pleasure.'

τοῦτον μέντοι] 'Here, however, the agreement stops. The kind of pleasure is not agreed upon.' Comp. Ἑλ. 1. x. 10, p. 1099, 8 ἐδοξᾷ γὰρ ἄτιτων ἢδον πρὸς ἕλγεται φιλοτιμίας, κ.τ.λ.

6 τὴν ἐν τῇ διαγωγῇ = τὴν ἐν τῇ σχολῇ διαγωγῇ] The question is, what is διαγωγή? Compare Bonitz on the word, in a note, ad Metaph. St, b. 18; and my remarks in the summary of this book. I may add, that the word seems to mark the time when life is lived for its own sake, and not for the sake of some object to be attained, be it the formation of our characters or the attainment of success in war or political power. It is the ὁμοιότητος of Ethics x. vii. p. 1177, ὧ κατὰ σοφίαν, ὧ κατὰ νοῦν ὁμοιότητος, its object the contemplation of truth. It is the life of the φιλάκες of Plato, after their education is completed, and also after they have discharged their duty to their country and their fellow-citizens by mixing for a time in political affairs.

ταῦτα μὲν τὰ πολεμεῖα] 'and whilst the branches of education which have reference to this period should be pursued for their own sake,'
παιδείαν ἐταξάν ὦν καὶ ἀναγκαῖον (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἧξει τοιοῦτον)
οὐδὲν καὶ γραμμάτων καὶ πρὸς γραμματίσμον καὶ πρὸς ἀναγκαῖον καὶ πρὸς 
πολιτικὰς πράξεις πολλάς. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ γραφική χρήσιμος εἰναι πρὸς  
tὸ κρίνειν τὰ τῶν τεχνιῶν ἐργα καλλίου· οὐδὲ καθάπερ 
ἡ γυμναστικὴ πρὸς ὑγίειαν καὶ ἁλκήν· εὐδέτερον γὰρ τούτων 
τὸν ἀράμεν γιγνόμενον ἐκ τῆς μουσικῆς. λείπεται τοῖν πρὸς 
τὴν ἐν τῇ σχολῇ διαγωγὴν, εἰς ὅπερ καὶ φαίνεται παρα-
γωνικά αὐτὴν· ἐὰν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν διαγωγὴν ἔχει τῶν ἑλε-
βερῶν, ἐν ταύτῃ τάττουσιν. διότερον οὗτος 
ἐπισήμενον 
ἀλλ' οὖν μὲν ἐστι καλεῖν ἐκτι δαίτα θαλάτην.  
9 καὶ οὕτω προσεπτών ἐτέρως τινὰς 
οἱ καλέσωσιν ἀοιδὸν φῆσιν, δὲ καὶ τίμησε 
καὶ ἐν ἀλλοις δὲ φησίν ὁδυσσείς ταύτων ἁριστήν εἴναι 
διαγωγήν, ὅταν εὐφραινομένων τῶν ἀνθρώπων 
δαιμονίων οὗ ἀνὰ δώματι ἀκονάζωσιν ἀοιδοῦ ἀριστήν 
οὕτως.  

10 "Ὅτι μὲν τοιῶν ἐστὶ παιδεία τής ἐν ὦν καὶ ἀναγκαῖον" παί-

dευτέρων τοὺς ὑπὲρ οὐδὲν αἰσ ἀναγκαῖον ἀλλ' αἰσ ἑλευθεροῖς καὶ 
καλῆν, ὑμνεῖ τοῖσιν· τότερον δὲ μία τῶν ἁριστῆς ἀφ' 
πλεοῦσι, καὶ τίνες αὐτῶν καὶ πῶς, ὡστέρων διετέον περὶ αὐτῶν. 
τῶν 
δὲ τοσοῦτον ἔμιν εἴναι πρὸ ὅδον γέγονεν, ὡς καὶ παρὰ τῶν 
ἀρχαίων ἄχρεμον τίνα μαρτυρίαν ἐκ τῶν καταβεβλημένων 
χρησιμοὶ Bekker. 

7 δοκεὶ δὲ καὶ γραφικά. Why should not music be useful in the same sense in which he here says the art of design is? 
8 εἰς δὲπ, κ.τ.λ.] ‘And this is evidently the object for which men do introduce music.' 

ἀλ' οὖν] not found in our existing Homer. Comp. III. xiv. 
9 οἱ καλέσωσιν] Od. xvii. 385. 
δαιμονίων] Od. ix. 7. 
10 χρησιμοὶ] Spengel prefers this to Bekker's reading, χρησιμοὶ. It is more in keeping with § 7, as also with χρησιμούς, in III. 1. 

οὔ ὡς ἀναγκαῖον] ‘much less on the ground of absolute necessity.' 

δότερον] This is lost. 

11 ὑπὸ δοῦ] ‘we have got so far on our way.' 

καταβεβλημένων] above, II. 6, ‘drawn from the branches of education actually taught.'
παθεμάτων. ἢ γὰρ μουσικὴ τούτο ποιεῖ δὴλον. ἦτε δὲ καὶ τῶν χρησίμων ὅτι δὴ τινὰ παθικαὶ τοὺς παιδας ὅσον μόνον διὰ τὸ χρῆσιμον, ὡς τὸν τῶν γραμματών μάθησιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ πολλὰς ἐνδέχεσθαι γίγνεσθαι δή αὐτῶν μαθήσεις ἑτέρας. ὡμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν γραφικὴν ὅχι ἓν ἐν 12 τοῖς ἱδίοις ἄνιοι μὴ διαμαρτάνοντι ἀλλ’ ἂν ἀνεξάκτητοι πρὸς τὴν τῶν σκευῶν αὐχὴν τε καὶ πράσιν, ἢ μᾶλλον ὅτι 133b ποιεῖ θεαρητικῶν τοῦ περὶ τὰ σώματα κάλλους, τὸ δὲ ζητεῖν πανταχοῦ τὸ χρῆσιμον ἡξιοτε ἀρμότει τοῖς μεγαλοφύχοις καὶ τοῖς ἐλευθεροῖς. Ἡταὶ δὲ φανερῶν πρότερον 13 τοῖς θεσίν ἢ τὸ λόγῳ παιδευτῶν ἕναι, καὶ περὶ τὸ σώμα πρότερον ἢ τὴν διάνοιαν, δήλον ἐκ τοῦτων ὅτι παραδότεν τοὺς παιδάς γυμναστικὴ καὶ παιδοτριβικὴ τούτων γὰρ ἢ μὲν ποιῶν τινα ποιεῖ τὴν ἔξιν του σώματος, ἢ δὲ τὰ ἔργα.

ἀν ὁμών οἱ καὶ μάλιστα δοκοῦσαι τῶν πόλεων ἐπιμέ- 4 λίθαι τῶν παιδῶν οἱ μὲν ἀθλητικὴν ἔξιν ἐμποιοῦσι, λαοβόμεναι τὰ τε ἐϊθ καὶ τὴν αὐξήσιν τῶν σωμάτων, οἱ δὲ Δάκωνες ταῦτα μὲν ὡς ἦμαρτον τὴν ἄμαρτίαν, θηριόδεις δ’ ἀπεργάζονται τοῖς πόνοις, ὡς τούτο πρὸς ἀνδριὰν μά-

Ετι δὲ] φανερῶν to be supplied, and for the subject we must go back to § 6.

Did τὸ χρῆσιμον] 'more use in the lowest sense.'

ἐν τοῖς ἱδίοις ἄνιοι] 'in their private purchases.'

ἀλλ’ ἄνω] must be connected as closely as possible with διαμαρτάνων. I have therefore taken away Bekker's comma. For all this language compare the Republic, with the positions in which this point Aristotle argues, whilst he does not so absolutely as Plato reject the element of utility.

τοῖς μεγαλόφυχοι] In Eth. iv. vili. 33. p. 1125, 11, the μεγαλόφυχος is said to be ὁς κεκτήσας μᾶλλον τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἱκαρτα τῶν καρπῶν καὶ ἄφελμα.

13 Compare IV. (VII.) 10. γυμναστικὴ καὶ παιδοτριβικὴ] Compare Galen, De Val. Tu. ii. 9. 11, which, with this passage, is quoted by Smith (Dict. Ant.) as the basis of his distinction between these two branches of bodily training, which with the ancients was partly medical, partly what we should mean by gymnastics.

ῥά ἔργα] 'its actions' in the various exercises and games.

IV. 1 λαβόμενων] 'injuring.'

τάπητα μὲν ἐκ] 'Though they have not committed this error, yet they render their citizens savage,' Grote, 11. 507, 517, where the Lacedemonian character is spoken of as being of a low type in comparison with that of Plato's φύλακας.
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POLITIKON E. (Θ.)

[Line.

λιστα συμμέτρων. καίτοι, καθάτερ είρηται πολλάχις, ούτε πρός μίαν οὔτε πρός μάλιστα ταύτην βλέποντα ποιητέον τὴν ετείμελειαν. εἰ τε καὶ πρός ταύτην, οὐδὲ τούτο ἀπευρέ-

σκουσιν’ οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλως ξέφως οὔτε ἐπὶ τῶν ἑνών ὁρῶν τὴν ἀνώδιαν ἀναλογούσαν τοὺς ἀγγειοτάτος, ἀλλὰ 3 μᾶλλον τοῖς ἕμετροτέροις καὶ λεοντάδεςιν ἤθεσιν. πολλα

δ’ ἐστὶ τῶν ἑνών ἀ πρός τὸ κτείνειν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀνδροπο-

φαγίαν εἰχέρως ἔχει, καθάτερ τῶν περὶ τῶν Πόντων Ἀχαίων τε καὶ Ἰνώχωι καὶ τῶν ἴππειστικῶν ἑνών ἔτερα, τὰ μὲν ὁμοίας τούτοις τὰ δὲ μᾶλλον, ἕληστικα μὲν ἐστιν, 4 ἄνδρας δ’ οὐ μετείληφασι. ἐτι δ’ αὐτοῦς τοὺς Δάκωνας Ἰσμέν, ἐμάς μὲν αὐτοὶ προσφέρεον τοῖς φιλοσοφοῖς, ὑπερέχοντας τῶν ἄλλων, τὸν δὲ καὶ τοῖς γυμνασίοις καὶ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἅγωσι: λειτομενός ἔτερον· οὔ γαρ τῷ τῶν νεῶν γυμνάζειν τὸν πρόπον τούτον διέφερον, ἀλλὰ τῷ μένον μη 5 πρὸς ἀσκοῦσας ἀσκείν. "Ωστε τὸ καλὸν ἄλλ’ οὐ τὸ

θηρίωδες δεῖ πρωταγωνιστεῖν’ οὐ γαρ λύκος οὖδε τῶν ἄλλων

2 οὔτε πρὸς μιαν] ‘no one single virtue should be chosen.’

οὔτε πρὸς μᾶλστα ταύτην] ‘nor, if one, should this virtue be the one selected as especially to be attended to.’

εἰ τε καὶ πρὸς ταύτην] ‘and if even this is the one to be cultivated, they do not hit the point right; they are wrong in their method of cultivation.’

λεοντάδεσι] This based on a misconception of the lion almost universally prevalent.

3 Ἀχαίων ... Ἰνώχωι] I have not been at the pains to collect any scattered notices of these and other obscure tribes. They show the extent and minuteness of Aristotle’s information, but politically they are of no general interest, and in the common books of reference sufficient will be found.

ἥπερωτικοῦ] Epirotic, not general, in the sense of continental, but limited to Βίπρας, properly so called; at least this seems to me the most natural way to take it.

λητοικά] not τοις καλοῖς ἔσεσα, ‘Prima-
tical,’ Brave—that is, under the impulse of desire of gain.

ἄνδρας] ‘courage;’ properly so called, ‘deliberate valour,’ Par. Lost. i. 554.

4 αὐτοὶ] ‘They alone.’

προσφέρεον] for this word compare Ch. II. v.


φιλοσοφοῦμεν. νῦν δ’] Grot. 11. 601.

οὐ γὰρ τῷ τοῖς νέοις, κ.τ.λ.] ‘For it was not by their training their youth in this particular system that they surpassed others, but by their training them whilst others did not.’

μὴ πρὸς ἀσκοῦσας = πρὸς μὴ ἀσκοῦ-

ται] Compare the expression, μὴ πρὸς ὅμοιον ἀντιπαρασκευάζει, Thuc. i. 141.

5 πρωταγωνιστεῖν] ‘must take the first place,’ ‘play the first part.’
6 els taivta] sc. ta gamdasia, 'bodily exercises.'

δισιγκλων διαδαγμητων] 'whilst they left them untaught in all the points essential to man, the most necessary rudiments of intellectual training.' They had no music—below v. 7—probably no drawing; and the passage seems in favour of Mr Grote's view, which has been disputed by Col. Mure, that they had not γραμματα in the most elementary form.

δισιγκλων] Compare n. iv. ἄρχοντος το σώμα ἢ τὴν ψυχήν ἢ τὴν διά

φησιν δ λόγον] 'as reason teaches us.' So Stahr and St. Hil.

7 δισιγκλωντας] These 'rivals' the Spartans found in the Thebans. Compare Grote, x. 252.

8 καθὼς ὁ δὲν οὐδὲν] 'still whatever errors may have been committed on the subject, bodily training is not to be neglected.'

9 τὴν τρία, κ.τ.λ.] 'They have been engaged for three years in their other studies.'
τοὺς ἀλλὰς μαθήματι γένονται, τότε ἁμάρτει καὶ τοὺς πάντας καὶ τοὺς ἀναγκασίας καταλαμβάνειν τὴν ἰχομάνην ἡλικίαν. ἂμα γὰρ τῇ τε διανοιᾷ καὶ τῷ σώματι διακοσμεῖν εἴ τι δει τοιοῦτον γὰρ ἐκάτερος ἀπεργάζεσθαι πέρικε τῶν πόνων, ἐμποδίζειν ὃ μὲν τοῦ σώματος πόνος τῆς διάνοιας, ὃ δὲ ταύτης τὸ σῶμα.

5 Περὶ δὲ μουσικῆς ἔναν μὲν ἐπιτερήσαμεν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ πρότερον, καλῶς οὖ ἔχει καὶ νῦν ἀναλαβόντας αὐτὰ προαγαγωγία, ἵνα ἀνέστησεν ἐνδόσιμως γένεται τοῖς λόγοις οὓς ἂν τις οἰκεῖον αὐτοπαροικόνειν περὶ αὐτῶς. οὕτω γὰρ τίνα ἔχει δύναμιν ἄριστον περὶ αὐτῶς διελεῖν, οὕτω τίνα δεῖ χάριν μείζον αὐτῶς. τότερον ταῦτα ἐνεκαὶ ἀνακατώτας, καθάρετε ὑπὲρ καὶ μέχρις ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ αὐτὰ μὲν οὕτω τῶν στοιχείων, ἀλλ' θέλει, καὶ ἄμα παῖς μέριμναι, ὧς 3 σφιν Εὐρυτήρης, δὲ καὶ τάπτοντι αὐτὴν καὶ ἀρχαίαν τάσι τούτων ὅμιλος, ὑπὲρ καὶ μέχρι καὶ μουσικῆς. τιθέατη δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐν τούτῳς, εἰ μᾶλλον οἰκιῶν πρὸς ἄρετὴν τι τείνει τὴν μουσικὴν, ὡς δισμάνη, καθάπερ ἡ γυμναστικὴ τὸ σῶμα τούτων τι παρασκευάζει, καὶ τὴν

* ὦν Bekker.

ἀναγκασίαις = τῷ πόθος ἄντεκνων, or θείας τροφῆς.
καταλαμβάνειν = 'to seize firmly,' 'establish.' 'place in high condition.'
ἐμε γὰρ 'I leave this period of three years, for the two trainings must not be simultaneous: the body and the mind ought not to be worked together.' So I interpret the γάρ. It is a remark, the truth of which is far too much lost sight of in our present education.'

V. 1 So far for γυμναστικῆς, which must precede; now for the other divisions of education, the μουσικῆς of Plato's Republic, and its first branch, the more limited μουσικῆς of Aristotle.
καὶ πρότερον = Ch. III.
καταλαμβάνειν προαγαγίαν = 'To return on what we said, and carry our observations further, that they may be as it were, a prelude, or overture, to the full discussion of the subject by others.' For προαγαγίας, Eth. i. vii. 12, p. 1058. 22. He has no intention, therefore, of exhausting the subject, says Victorinus.

2 ὄρα γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'It is desirable to say more, for the subject is difficult.'

Εἰσηγ. βιβ. β. βιβ. 375—384.
3 τάπτοντι αὐτῆς = sc. τοῦ σώματος, or ἐνάστασιν, or supply σιν τούτῳ, a phrase not uncommon in Aristotle.

ὁδῷ This would seem to be a mistake for ἄρετῳ. Stahli changes it, and so do others.

νὲῳ τοῦτον καὶ τοὐτοῦ 'To affect the moral character.'
μουσικήν τὸ ἢδος ποιῶν τι ποιεῖν, ἔθλοσαν δύνασθαι χαίρειν ὅρθως. ὑπό τοῦ διαγωγῆς τι συμβαλλεται καὶ πρὸς φρόνσιν καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τρίτον θετέων τῶν εἰρημένων. 4 Ὅτι μὲν οὖν δεῖ τοὺς νέους μὴ παιδιάς ἑνεκα παιδεύειν, οὐκ ἄδηλον οὐ γὰρ παίζουσι μαθαίνοντες· μετὰ λύπης γὰρ ἡ μάθησις. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὔδε διαγωγῆς τε παισθ ἀρμότει καὶ ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἀποδοθῶσι ταῖς τοιαύταις· οὔτε γὰρ ἀπελεί προσόκει τέλος. ἀλλ’ ἵσως ἂν δοξείη ἡ τῶν παιδών 5 σπουδὴ παιδιάς εἶναι χάριν ἀνάρατος γενομένως καὶ τελειωθεῖσιν. ἀλλ’ εἰ τοῦτ’ ἐστ’ τοιοῦτον, τίνος ἄν ἑνεκα δεός μαθανάνει αὐτοὺς, ἀλλὰ μὴ καθάπερ οἱ τῶν Περσῶν καὶ Μῆθων βασιλείας, ἀλλαίς αὐτῶ ποιούσιν μεταλαμβάνειν τῆς ἕδος καὶ τῆς μαθήσεως; καὶ γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον θέλειν ὅτι οὐκ ἀπεργάζοντο τοὺς αὐτὸ τοῦτο πεποιημένους ἔργον καὶ τέχνην τῶν τοσοῦτον χρόνον ἐπεμελομένων ὅσον πρὸς μάθησιν μόνον. εἰ δὲ δεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα διακοινεῖν αὐτοῖς, καὶ περὶ τὴν τῶν ὄψιν πραγματείαν αὐτοὺς ἄν δεός παρασκευάζειν ἀλλ’ ἀποτο. τὴν δ’ αὐτὴν ἀπορρίπτῃ έχει καὶ εἰ 7 δύναται τὰ ἑκατέρων ποιεῖν· ταῦτα γὰρ τί δεῖ μαθανάνειν ἀυτοῖς, ἀλλ’ οὔχ ἑτέρων ἀνθρώπων ὅρθως τε χαίρειν καὶ

ἐθλοσαν ’By training and accus-
tomizing men.’

4 φρόσιν] ‘intellectual cultiv-
ation,’ not in the more ethical sense of the term, but rather using it as Plato uses it in the Republic, and its con-
nexion in this sense with διαγωγή supports my remarks on that word, III. vi.

μαθαίνοντες] sc. τὴν μουσικὴν, ‘on
the contrary, it costs a painful effort.’

γενομένως καὶ τελειωθεῖσιν] For these two words, see I. viii. 9, 11, where they are used separately and as
equivalent.

tὸν ἑνεκα] The question asked here is similar to that which is asked
with regard to φρόσιν, at the opening of Eth. vi. xiii. p. 1143, b. 18.
Music. Its object.

δύνασθαι χρίνειν; ἀπετείχεν γὰρ οὐ μανθάνοντες ὃς δύνασται κρίνειν ἁρμασθ, ὡς φασί, τὰ χρήστα καὶ τὰ μὴ χρήστα τῶν μελῶν. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς λόγος κἂν εἰ πρὸς εὐμερίαν καὶ διαγωγὴν ἐλευθερίαν χρήστεον αὐτῇ: τί δεῖ μανθάνειν αὐτοῦ; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐτέρων χρωμάναις ἀπολαύσεις; σκοτείν ὁ ἔξεστι τὴν ὑπόληψιν ἤν ἐχομεν περὶ τῶν θεῶν· οὐ γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἔδει καὶ κυδαρίζει τοὺς τοιχοτά. ἀλλ' καὶ βασιλεῖς καλοῦμεν τοὺς τοιχοτύους καὶ τὸ πράττειν οὐκ ἀνδρὸς μὴ μεθύνοντος ή παλάζόντος. ἀλλ' ἵσας περὶ μὲν τούτων ὑπὲρον ἐκείσχετον, ἢ δὲ πρῶτη ᾑτῆσις ἐστὶν πότερον οὐ δετέον εἰς παιδείαν τὴν μουσικὴν ἢ διετέον, καὶ τὸ δύναται τῶν διαπορθηθέντων τριῶν, πότερον παιδείαν ἢ παιδίαν ἢ διαγωγὴν. εὐλογος δ' εἰς πάντα τάττεται καὶ φαίνεται μετέχειν. ἢ τὸ γὰρ παιδία χάριν ἀνακαυσάσας ἐστιν, τὴν δ' ἀνάπαυσιν ἀναγκαῖον ἢδειαν εἶναι (τῆς γὰρ διὰ τῶν πόνων λύπης ἵπτει τῆς ἑστιν). καὶ τὴν διαγωγὴν ὑμολογομένας δεῖ μὴ μονόν ἔχειν τὸ καλὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἰδιότητα τὸ γὰρ εὐδαιμονεῖν εἴς ἀμφότερον τοῦτων

οἱ Δάκωνες] Music not taught the Spartan citizen. Grote, iv. 114. μελῶν] 'words and music.' μέλος συνιστεῖται ἐκ τριῶν, λόγου, ἀρμοδίας, ὑμημοῦ. τῶν δἰομερείαν] as opposed to συνοικίαν, κόσμον, ἀναχώρα. 'For the calm, undisturbed enjoyment of the life of the citizen, and that citizen trained in all liberal cultivation, not βάσιοντος in any sense.' τὴν ἑιδίκησιν] 'the conception which we have of the gods, for in the poets, Zeus is not introduced as himself singing and playing.' By a rather abrupt transition, which, however, Bekker's stopping makes more abrupt than it need be, he turns from the gods, and appeals to the common language of men on the point. τοῦτο τοιχοτύου] 'such as make it a profession.' 128—130. τὸ πράττειν as distinct from μάθησις. 9 Stahr puts a full stop at ἐκείσχετον, but it is not necessary to do so. τῶν διαπορθηθέντων τριῶν] 'of the three objects which, as the result of our discussion, we find that it may have.' εὐλογος δὲ] 'on good grounds it is ranged under them all.' The pleasure which it affords adapts it for two of the three, for amusement and for the enjoyment of life. Its adaptation to the purposes of education is discussed later, § 15 and foll. ἐκείνης ἵπτει] Compare Eth. vii. xv. p. 115, 27; and there is no other remedy for pain but pleasure. ἐκείνην τὴν λύπην. ἐκείνης δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων περίκες γίγνεται, Eth. ii. ii. 4, p. 1104, b. 17. ἀμφότερον] sc. τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τοῦ
εστίν. τὴν δὲ μουσικὴν πάντες εἶναι φαμέν τῶν ἡδίστων, καὶ ψυλή οὕσαν καὶ μετὰ μελωδίας. Φησὶ γοῦν καὶ Μουσαῖος εἶναι
βροτοῖς ἢδιστον ἀλείδειν.

dió καὶ εἰς τὰς συνωσίας καὶ διαγωγὰς εὐλογὸς παραλαμβάνουσιν αὐτὴν αἰς δυναμένην εὐφραίνειν· ἀστεὶ καὶ ἐνεῦθεν ἄν τις ἱππόλαβοι παιδεύσσομεν δέν αὐτὴν τοὺς νεατέρους. ὃσα γὰρ ἄθλαβη τῶν ἡδέων, οὐ μόνον ἀρμὸτε πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἄλλα καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν μὲν τῷ τέλει συμβαίνει τοῖς ἀνδρόποις διλημάτως γίγνεσθαι, πολιθάμες δὲ ἀναπαύονται καὶ κράτοται ταῖς παιδίαις οὐχ ὅσον ἐπὶ πλέον ἄλλα καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡδονήν, χρὴτηριον ἵνα εἰς διαναπαύσω ἐν ταῖς ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡδονῆς, συμβεβήκε δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις 13 ποιεῖσθαι τᾶς παιδίας τέλος. ἦχει γὰρ ἵσος ἡδονήν τινα καὶ τὸ τέλος, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς τὴν τυχοῦσαν. ζητοῦντες δὲ ταύτην, λαμβάνουσιν αἰς ταύτην ἐκείνην, διὰ τὸ τῷ τέλει τῶν πράξεων ἦχειν ὀραματια τι. τὸ τὲ γὰρ τέλος ὀδονέος τῶν ἐσομένων

ὁδοῖς. Compare III. iv. τὸ δὲ σχολάζειν, κ.τ.λ.
11 ψύλη, κ.τ.λ.] 'both merely instrumental and vocal. Eur. Rhes. 923, μέγεθεν εἰς ἐρωμελήθας, 'of song.'

δίδ καὶ, κ.τ.λ.] 'Hence, also, it is not without good reason that it is introduced into social intercourse, where men wish to pass their time with enjoyment'—a lighter sense of the word διαγωγή.

eἰς τὰς συνωσίας καὶ διαγωγάς] should be taken as closely as possible together, almost as equivalent to 'the enjoyment of social intercourse.'


ἀνεύθεν] 'from this simple consideration, that it affords pleasure.'

12 πρὸς τὸ τέλος] 'The perfect and complete state,' τῆς γενέσεως τελεσθήσων.

πολλάκις] The comparative fre-

quency of recreation is a reason for learning that which is so useful for it. οὐχ διότι ἐπὶ πλέον] 'not merely as far as some advantage may be got.'

Compare Eth. ι. vi. 3. p. 1176, b. 6, αλ ἢδεια τῶν παιδίων, are one of the two things, ἄρ᾽ δὲ μοῦν ἐνυπάρχει καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν.

dιαναπαύσις] middle, 'for them to rest at times,' with Stahr, 'sich seine Erholung daraus zu suchen.'

13 συμβεβήκε δὲ, κ.τ.λ.] 'Rest is the point in common, the cause of the confusion in men's minds.'

οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν] 'It has its own appropriate pleasure, not any given one at random.'

ταύτη] 'this appropriate pleasure.'


ὡμολογήτ' ἠ] 'a point of resemblance.'

καθ' ἀμφότερον αἰ διδείκ τῶν παιδίων.
The point of resemblance is in their being both sought for their own sakes, the one purely, the other as a refreshment after labour.

14 οὗ δὲ ταύτην μόνην ἐκ τὴν αἰρέσαν [φιλοτείνην].

15 οὗ μὲν ἀλας, κ.τ.λ.] ‘not but that we must enquire whether, whilst we allow this to be an incidental result of music, it is not in its nature higher than to be merely adapted to supply the want indicated,’ i.e. πρὸς τὰς ἀναπαύσεις.

Their pleasure given by nature.'

πρὸς τὸ ψιχῆν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ψυχήν = πρὸς τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡδονὴν [II. 1.

16 τούτῳ οὖν ἐν εἰς δῆλον] ‘There would be no uncertainty on this point, if, as is the case, we are affected in our characters by it.'

ὁ ἐνθουσιασμὸς θεοῦ πάθος] not πάθος τῆς ψυχῆς, but τοῦ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς θεοῦ. It presupposes a character, and it is a state of that character. If we adopt this definition of enthusiasm, a difficult term, and as often, in the common language of men, a ground of blame as of praise, it would seem to follow that the praise or blame in each case would be properly determined by the character placed in this emotional state; that the good man, with high objects, gains greatly by this intensifying of his energy; the weak man, with trivial objects, becomes ridiculous—an enthusiast; a word which, I believe, has always a bad sense attached to it.

17 τῶν μιμητῶν] ‘nachahmenden Darstellungen;’ ‘imitations;’ ‘representations,’ the sense in which Ari-
γίγνονται πάντες συμπαθείς, καὶ χαρὰ τῶν ῥυθμῶν καὶ τῶν ἁλλῶν αὐτῶν. ἔτει δὲ συμβέβηκεν εἶναι τὴν μουσικὴν τῶν ἴδεων, τὴν δ' ἁρτῆν περὶ τὸ χαίρειν ὀρθώς καὶ φιλεῖν καὶ μυστίν, δεῖ δὴν οτι μανθάνει καὶ συνεθέσθαι µηθὲν αὐτῶς µικρά τὸ κρίνειν ὀρθῶς καὶ τὸ χαίρειν τοὺς ἐπιμεκέειν ἢδεις καὶ ταῖς καλαις πράξεις. ἔτι δὲ ὁμοίωματα µᾶλιστα παρὰ τὰς ἀληθινὰς φύσεις ἐν τοῖς ρυθμοῖς καὶ τοῖς μέλεσιν ὀργῆς καὶ πραοτῆτος, ὅτι δὲ ἀνθρώπος καὶ σωφρόνης καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐναντίων τούτων καὶ τῶν ἁλλῶν ἡδικῶν. δηλοῦν δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων· μεταβάλλομεν γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀκροώμενοι τοιούτων. ὅ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις ἐστὶν ἐθισμὸς τοῦ λυπείσθαι καὶ χαίρειν ἧγυς ἐστὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀληθίαν τῶν αὐτῶν ἔχειν τρόπον· οἷον εἴ τις χαίρει τὴν εἰκόνα τῖνος θεομοντός, µὴ δὲ ἄλλην αἰτίαν ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν μορφὴν αὐτῆς, ἀναγκαῖον τούτῳ καὶ αὐτὴν ἐκείνην τὴν θεαρίαν, οὐ τὴν εἰκόνα θεαρί, ἢδειαν εἰσα. συμβέβηκε δὲ αὐτοῖς αἰσθήτων ἐν µὲν τοῖς ἁλλοῖς µηθὲν ύπάρχειν ὁμοίωμα τοῖς ἢδεις, οἷον ἐν τοῖς ἀπτοῖς καὶ τοῖς γευστοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ὀρατοῖς ἢρέμαι· σχῆματα γὰρ ἐστὶ τοιαύτα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ...
text, we insert the negative ob. Above, § 15, he remarked of music, that

πάντες αισθήσεις ἔχουσι τὴν ἥδην. Here, where he is distinguishing other
appeals to our senses from that which music makes, it would seem natural to
expect the contrary. It will, how-
ever, be sense without the negative.
The extent to which objects of sight
affect people is slight, and all equally
experience it in that extent. The
slightness and universality of the effect
diminish its importance, and make it
unnecessary to take it into account as
an influence upon character.

21 οὐ μὴν ἄλλον] 'Still in proportion
as there is a difference,' &c. Com-
pare Poët. ii. ii. p. 1448, 5.

Pauson, of Ephesus, and Polygnotus,
of Theseus.

22 εν δὲ τοῖς μέλεσιν αυτοῖς ἐστὶ

μικρόν, καὶ πάντες τῆς τοιαύτης αἰσθήσεως κοινωνοῦσιν. ἐτὶ δὲ οὐχ ἔστι ταύτα ὁμοιόματα τῶν ἥδων ἀλλὰ σημεῖα μᾶλλον τὰ γιγαντία, σχῆματα καὶ χρώματα τῶν ἥδων.

καὶ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ σῶματος ἐν τοῖς πάθεσιν. Οὗ μὴν ἀλλ' ὁ θρέφεται καὶ περὶ τὴν τοιαύτην θεωρίαν δεῖ μὴ τα Παῦσανος θεωρεῖν τοὺς νέους, ἀλλὰ τα Πολυγνώτου καὶ εἰ τις ἄλλος τῶν γραφέων ἤ τῶν ἄγαλματοποιῶν ἐστὶν ἥδην. ἐν δὲ τοῖς μέλεσιν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ μικρόματα τῶν ἥδων· καὶ ταῦτ' ἐστιν φανερῶς εὐθὺς γὰρ ἢ τῶν ἀρμονιῶν διεστηκείς φύσις ὡστε ἀκούοντας ἄλλος διατίθεσθαι καὶ μὴ τὴν αὐτὸν ἔχειν τρόπον πρὸς ἐκάστην αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς μὲν ἐνίας ὁδυρτικοτέρας καὶ συνεστηκότας, μᾶλλον, ὅπως ἐν τῷ μικρόλυστῳ καλομένῳ, πρὸς δὲ τὰς μαλακωτέρας τὴν διάνοιαν, ὅπως πρὸς τὰς ἀνεμίλως· μέσως δὲ καὶ καθε-
στηκότας μᾶλιστα πρὸς ἑτέραν, ὅπως δοκεῖ ποιεῖν ἢ διαριθτῇ μονὴ τῶν ἀρμονιῶν, ἐνδοιασσικοῦ δὲ η ὑφροντι. ττάτα γὰρ καλῶς λέγουσιν οἱ περὶ τὴν παιδείαν ταύτην πεφιλο-
σοφικότες· λαμβάνουσι γὰρ τὰ μαρτυρία τῶν λόγων ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων. τὸν αὐτὸν γὰρ τρόπον ἔχει καὶ τα
in support of their arguments from facts.'

["See Classical Museum, i. 555. ρομποδιος means time, and nothing else, when applied to music; ρομπομα, in the plural, means musical bars played in time.

στασιμότερον [Rhet. p. 15, p. 1390, b. 30, τα στάσιμα γένη, 'stable,' 'equable.'

φορτισμότερον [ 'coarser,' 'more vulgar.'

ελευθερότερας, 'more refined.'

24 εἰς τις δὲ ἀρμόττουσα [ 'There is an appropriateness in teaching the young music from their age.'

ἀνήθοντον [ 'without some admixture of sweetness;' 'unsweetened.'

καὶ τις δεκαὶ συγγένεια [ 'and there seems to be some intimate connexion between the soul and harmonies and time—a connexion which has led some philosophers to say that the soul is a harmony; others, that it has harmony in it.' These opinions are discussed in the Phaedon of Plato, and Cicero, Tusc. Quer. i.

VI. 1 χρονοχρούντας [ 'themselves both singing and playing.'

πρότερον [ V. ν. 6.

πολλὴν ἔχει διαφοράν [ 'It is a very different thing,' and that in the sense of its being far better. Eth. vi. ix. 4, p. 1141, b. 34.

μὴ κοινωνησάσας [ 'without actual practice.'

2 Λαταγή] the 'rattle' of Archytas.


4 δὲ ταῦτα] 'and their education should be to the older children an amusement, a rattle.' Music is a healthy pastime for the young, and there should be no strain of the intellect early.

3 καὶ κοινωνίας as well as κρίσεως.

καὶ λογία] 'nor is it difficult to meet the objections of those who pretend that attention to music is not a proper part of a liberal education.'

4 'If to judge rightly be the object, that is best attained by actual practice when young; there is a time when the power so acquired must be exercised; this time is later in life. So the right use of music depends on a question of age. It is to be learnt when young; the knowledge so gained is to be used when older.'

5 σκεφαλήνων] 'when we have considered the limit of practical acquaintance with it which is to be fixed for those who are being trained to excellence as citizens.'

καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο] 'for it is reasonable to suppose that even this last makes a difference.'

6 ἐν τούτοις] 'For here, in these points, lies the answer to the objection.'

τρόπους τυχεῖ] 'certain methods of teaching and learning music.'

ὡς μὲν τὰς χρήσεις ἔδιδ] 'for the
χρήσεις εἶδος, πρὸς δὲ τὰς μαθήσεις ὦστερον. συμβαίνοι δὲ άν περὶ τὴν μάθησιν, εἰ μὴ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἁγώνας τοὺς τεχνικοὺς συντείνοντα διαπονεῖν, μὴ τὰ θαυμάσια καὶ περιττὰ τῶν ἔργων, ἢ νῦν ἐπλήθειν εἰς τοὺς ἁγώνας, ἢ δὲ τῶν ἁγώνων εἰς τὴν παιδείαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τοιαύτα μέχρι περ ἀν δύνανται χαίρειν τοῖς καλοῖς μέλει καὶ ρυθμοῖς, καὶ μὴ μεῖν τῷ κοινῷ τῆς μουσικῆς, ὥστε καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἐνια χιαν, ζητὶ δὲ καὶ πλῆθος άνθρωπῶν καὶ παιδίων. δηλα τὸ ἐκ τῶν τούτων καὶ πολίως ὄργανοι χρηστέον. οὔτε γὰρ αὐλοὺς εἰς παιδείαν ἀκτέον οὔτε ἀλλο τεχνικῶν ὄργανον, ὅλον χιάραν καὶ εἰ τοιοῦτον ἔτερον ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ὀσα ποιήσει αὐτῶν ἄκροτας ἀγάθους ή τῆς μουσικῆς παιδείας ή τῆς ἀλλής. ζητὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐστιν ὃ ἀλλὸς ήθικὸν ἀλλὰ μάλλον ὄργανικον, οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς τοιούτους αὐτοῦ καμρούς χρηστέον ἐν οἷς ἡ θεωρία κάθαριν μάλλον δύναται ἡ μάθησιν. προσθέμει δὲ ὅτι συμβέβηκεν ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ πρὸς παιδείαν καὶ τὸ καλότι τὸ λόγῳ χρησιρι τὴν αὐλήν. διὸ καλῶς ἀπεδοκιμασαν αὐτοῦ οἱ πρότερον τὴν χρήσιν ἐκ τῶν νίων καὶ τῶν ἐλέειραν, καίπερ χρηστάμειν τὸ πρῶτον αὐτῷ. σχολαστικοῦτεροι γὰρ γιγνόμενοι διὰ τὰς εὐπορίας.

practice in the present, for the theory later.' τοιοῦτοι γὰρ οὐ χρήσεις μαθήσεωι.

7 συμβαίνοι δ' ἐστιν 'and the proper results would follow.' Compare the use of συμβαίνει in III. vii. 4, συμβαίνει δ' εἰλήφθης.

tοὺς ἁγώνας τοὺς τεχνικούς 'The contests of professional players.'

 τὰ θαυμάσια, κ.τ.λ. 'Striking and extraordinary pieces.'

8 ἀλλα καὶ[1] 'But even such they may practise till such time as they shall be able.'

τῷ κοινῷ τής μουσικῆς] Above, v. 15, τῆς κοινῆς ηδονῆς,

9 τεχνικοῦ as opposed to simple, 'requiring professional skill.'

ὅσα αὐτῶν] 'all instruments.'

ὄργανικοῖς 'exciting,' in an active sense. Compare Herm. ad Soph. Trach. 216, and the Scholia, ἐρεβεῖ καὶ γὰρ ὃ αὐλὸς πρὸς τὴν χρήσιν τῶν παιδιῶν.

κάθαριν] Compare Poet. vi. 2, p. 1449, b. 28, where this word occurs in the definition of tragedy: τὴν τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαριν. Ritter, on the word, p. 132, says, "ca conformatio affectuum ut omne nimum, omnis perturbatio remotur." 'Has for its object, not so much instruction, as regulation of the feelings.'

ιο καὶ τὸ καλὸν'] 'Its preventing the use of the voice.'

ἀπεδοκιμασαν 'disapproved of its use by the young on trial,' 'rejected or removed it from the young,' ἐκ τῶν νιῶν.

11. διὰ τὰς εὐπορίας] 'from the increase of wealth.'
καὶ μεγαλοφυχότεροι πρὸς ἄρετῆν, ἢτί τε πρότερον καὶ μετὰ τὰ Μηδίκα φρονηματισθέντες ἐκ τῶν ἔργων, πάσης ἐπιτυχεῖτες, ὅδε διακρίνοντες ἀλλ' ἐπιζητοῦντες.

12 διὸ καὶ τὴν αὐλητικὴν ἡγαγὼν πρὸς τὰς μαθήσεις, καὶ γὰρ ἐν Λακεδαιμίᾳ τις χορηγὸς αὐτῆς ἤλπισε τοῦ χορὲς, καὶ περὶ 'Αθηνᾶς ὤτους ἐπεχωρίασεν ὡστε σχεδὸν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων μετείχον αὐτῆς. δῆλον δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πίνακος δὲ ἀνέθηκε Θράσυππος Ἰσκανδινῆς χορηγητής. ὁστερον δ' ἀπεδοκιμάσθη διὰ τῆς πείρας αὐτῆς, βάλτων δυσμενέων κρίνειν τὸ πρὸς ἄρετην καὶ τὸ μή πρὸς ἄρετην.

13 συντείνων. ὅμοιος δὲ καὶ πολλά τῶν ὀργάνων τῶν ἀρχαίων, οἷον πηκτίνες καὶ βάρβιτοι καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἤδονα συντείνουσα τοῖς ἀκοῦσοι τῶν χρωμένων, ἐπάγωνα καὶ τρήγωνα καὶ σαμιβύκαι, καὶ πάντα τὰ δεόμενα χειροφυλακτικὴς ἐπιστήμης. εὐλογίας δ' ἦχει καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν αὐλῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων μεμοιολογημένον φασὶ γὰρ δὴ τὴν 'Αθηναν εὐρόσωσαν ἀπο-

14 βαλέων τοὺς αὐλοὺς. οὐ κακῶς μὲν οὖν ἦχει φάναι καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην τοῦ προσώπου τούτο ποίησα δυσχέραινα-

15 τὴν θεών. οὐ γὰρ ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εἰκὸς ὑπὸ τὴν διάνοιαν ὥθην ἔστι ἡ παιδεία τῆς αὐλήσεως. τῇ δὲ Ἀθηνα' τῇ ἐπιστήμην περιτίθεμεν καὶ τὴν τέχνην. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν τῶν ὀργάνων καὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας ἀπεδοκιμάζομεν τὴν τεχνικὴν.
και δὲ τίθημεν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἁγώνας· ἐν ταύτη γὰρ ἰ πράττων οὔ τῆς αὐτοῦ μεταχειρίζεται χάριν ἀρετῆς, ἀλλὰ τὰς τῶν ἅλοιπῶν ὡμοίως, καὶ ταύτης φορτικης. διόπερ οὐ τῶν ἐλευθέρων κρίνομεν εἰναι τὴν ἐργασίαν, ἀλλὰ θησαυροτέραι. καὶ βαναύσως δῆ συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι: πονηρὸς γὰρ ὁ σκοπὸς πρὸς ἐν ποιοῦται τὸ τέλος. ὅ-γὰρ βιατῆς φορτικῆς ἀυτῶν μεταβάλλει εἰκῶς τὴν μουσικήν, ὥστε καὶ τῶν τεχνών τοὺς πρὸς αὐτῶν μελετῶντας αὐτοὺς τε ποιοῦστε τινὰς ποιεῖ καὶ τὰ σώματα διὰ τὰς κινήσεις.

Σχετικῶν Ὁ ἔτι περὶ ταῖς ἁρμονίαις καὶ τοὺς ρυθμοὺς, 7 καὶ πρὸς παιδείαν πότερον πάσας χρηστείας ταῖς ἁρμονίαις καὶ τἀς τοὺς ρυθμοὺς ἢ διαμετείχοντά, ἔπειτα τοῖς πρὸς παιδείαν διαπονούσιν πότερον τὸν αὐτῶν διορίσμον βῆσομεν ἢ τριτῶν δὲ θαλάτζερον, ἕπειδη τὴν μὲν μουσικὴν ὄρθως διὰ μελοποιίας καὶ ρυθμῶν οὕσαν, τοῦτων Ὁ ἐκατέρω, οὐ δὲν θελθώντες τίνα εἴχοι δύναμιν, πρὸς παιδείαν, καὶ πότερον προσκείτερον μᾶλλον τὴν εὖμελή μουσικὴν ἢ τὴν εὔφραστον. Νομίζαμεν οὖν πολλὰ καλῶς λέγειν περὶ τοὺτων τῶν τε ἄριστων ἀναλογιῶν τόπων τε 2

tεχνήν δὲ] The δὲ marks the apodosis, 'professional.'
οὐ τῆς αὑτοῦ χάριν ἀρετῆς] 'It is not in subservience to his own excellence that he follows the pursuit.'
τὴν ἐργασίαν] 'His skill in execution.'
16 καὶ βαναύσως δὲ] and the result is, that they do indeed become βαναύσως.
πονηρὸς γὰρ ὁ σκοπός] 'For the point of view to which they bring their end is bad.'
τοὺς πρὸς αὐτῶν μελετῶντας] 'Those who practico with a view to him,' 'to succeed with him.'
διὰ τῶν κινήσεως] 'inmutationes artis,' VICT.; the changes implied in the μεταβάλλει. But it seems more natural to take it as referring to the bodily exertions required of professional players.

VII. 1 In two points the limits have been traced—viz. the degree in which skill is desirable, and the instruments which may be used, where the object is educational and liberal. There remain the points of harmony and rhythm.

τοῖς πρὸς παιδείαν διαπονοοῦσι] I am not sure that I know what class he means here. Is it 'those who are studying very deeply the subject (διαπονοοῦσι) with a view to education,' actively, to the education of others, not as a matter of self-cultivation merely?

εὖμελή] 'melodious,' musical in that sense.

εὐφραστόν] 'in good time.'
The music to be taught: νῦν μουσικῶν ἐνίοτος καὶ τῶν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας δοσὶ τυγχάνουσιν εἰμαιρέσις ἔχοντες τὰς περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν παιδείας, τὴν μὲν καὶ ἐκατὸν ἀκριβολογίαν ἀποδόσαμεν ζητεῖν τοῖς βουλομένοις παρ' ἐκείνων, νῦν δὲ νομικῶς διέλαμβα, τοὺς τόπους ἐκατὸν εἰπόντες περὶ αὐτῶν. ἔπει δὲ τὴν διαίρεσιν ἀποδεχόμεθα τῶν μελῶν ὡς διαμορφώσι τινὲς τῶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ, τὰ μὲν ὑξικὰ τὰ δὲ πρακτικὰ τὰ δὲ ἐνθουσιαστικὰ τιθέντες, καὶ τῶν ἀρμονίων τὴν φύσιν πρὸς ἐκατὰ τούτων οἰκεῖαν ἀλλήν πρὸς ἅλλο μέρος τιθέσι, φαμέν δ' οὐ μᾶς ἔνεκεν ὁφελείας τῇ μουσικῇ χρῆσθαι δεῖν ἅλλα καὶ πλείονον χάριν (καὶ γὰρ παιδείας ἔνεκεν καὶ καθάρσεως—τι δὲ λέγωμεν τὴν κάθαρσιν, νῦν μὲν ἀπλῶς, πάλιν δ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ ποιητικῆς ἔργοισιν σαφέστερον—, τρίτον δὲ πρὸς διαγωγήν, 1342 πρὸς ἄνεσιν τε καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς συντονίας ἀνάκαψιν), φανερὸν δ' ἐπὶ χρήσεών μὲν πάσαις ταῖς ἀρμονίαις, οὐ τοῦ αὐτοῦ δὲ τρόπον πάσαις χρήσεως, ἀλλὰ πρὸς μὲν τὴν παιδείαν ταῖς ἡλικιώταιταις, πρὸς δὲ ἀκρόασιν ἐτέρων χειρουργοῦντων καὶ ταῖς πρακτικαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐνθουσιαστικαῖς. 4 δ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐνίας συμβαίνει πάθος ψυχῆς ἑαυτῆς, τοῦτο ἐν πάσαις ὑπάρχει, τῷ δὲ ἔτω διαφέρει καὶ τῷ μᾶλλον, οἶνον ἔλεος καὶ φόβος, ἕτε δ' ἐνθουσιασμός. καὶ γὰρ ὑπὸ τούτης τῆς κινήσεως κατακόμματο πινὲς εἰσὶν· ἐν δὲ τῶν ἑρῶν μελῶν

2 τῶν ἐκ φιλοσοφιάς] Those who with philosophical cultivation combine practical acquaintance with musical education;' § 3, τῶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ.

τὴν καθ' ἐκατὸν ἀκριβολογίαν] 'exact detail.'

νομικῶς] 'tracing the general laws.'

au point de vue du législateur,' St. Hill.

μελῶν] μέλος seems here used for 'the words of the song,' the λόγος. V. v. 7.

ἀναγκάζω] 'forming the character.'

Ἀρχαία] 'leading to action.'

ἐν τοῖς περὶ ποιητικῆς I have given the reference at V. vi. 9.

τῆς συντονίας] 'of the tension—the excitement.'

δ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐνίας] Compare on this subject one of the prefaces to Wordsworth's poems, where the sensibility of the poet is distinguished from that of other men. The distinction that is there drawn is one of degree, as here, not of kind. The poet is but more largely endowed with faculties which all have in a degree.

ἐνθουσιασμός] All men, then, are susceptible of enthusiasm; it is, as with other sensibility, a question of degree.

κατακόμματο] 'are under the sway.
The music
to be
taught.

The music to be taught.

af.' Compare Eth. x. x. 3. p. 1179.

b. 9, καὶ ἰδίως ἐν κατοικώμασι ἐν τῷ

ἀφοβίᾳ.

καθιστάμενος, κ.τ.λ.] 'settling, as

having found a remedy for their ex-

citement, and a clearing of their dis-

turbance.'

5 παθητικάς] 'impressionable.'

κουψίζουσαι] 'a sense of lightening,

not unaccompanied with pleasure.'

Wordsworth, Tintern Abbey.

6 ὦτεὶος 'Weiss man auf,' Stahr.

The word is hard. In the meaning,

'Therefore it is with harmonies and

songs that produce this effect, that we

should induce those who practise

music for the theatre to contend?' If

so, ὦτεὶος governs both the accusa-
tives, and the datives depend on

ἀγαπώσατος.

καὶ τῶν τοιούτων] 'To suit this

latter class of spectators as well as the

former.'

7 τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἔξεσώ] Compare

Eth. vii. xiii. 2, p. 1152, b. 34, and

1153. 14; 'the true state in accordance

with nature,' τὴν ἑπάχρουσαν φύσιν,

Rhet. t. xi. 1, p. 1369. b. 34.

ὁ φύσιν] 'strained,' 'high.'

παρακεχωρομένα] 'corrupted by in-

troducing the ἀμύολα χρωστικῆς.'

Liddell and Scott.

τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἀλκεῖν] 'That which

is cognate to his nature.' Compare

above, iii. 5.
The music to be taught.

8 τῆς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ διατριβῆς τῶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ ἡμείς, and that clashing of noisy instruments.

11 οἱ περὶ τῆς σύνεσιν ταύτην] οἱ περὶ τῆς σύνεσιν ταύτην] Those competent to judge in this point.

καὶ διὸ ἐγκατεστῶ] καὶ διὸ ἐγκατεστῶ] and that Philosophers, of Cythera.

καὶ τὸν χρόνον] καὶ τὸν χρόνον] 'found himself compelled by the nature of the case to give up his attempt, and pass into the Phrygian mood.'
"Those who, from their time of life, have lost their powers."

Nicias thinks this discussion on music completa. I have no knowledge as to what would be a complete discussion of the subject, but the end seems so abrupt, that I can hardly accept his view. If we look on the book as a whole as fragmentary in its present shape, there would be no object in trying to make out the actual fragment preserved as complete in itself. That the book is to be so considered, I have argued in the Preface.
BOOK VI. (IV.) SUMMARY.

THE three last books, III. IV. V. (VII. VIII.), have been devoted to the consideration of Aristotle's ideal state, his ἀριστοκρατία. That they are fragmentary is, I think, clear. No connection can be traced between the end of V. (VIII.) and the beginning of the present book. It is a gap which no art can fill up, however much we may regret the loss. Aristotle's educational system is a hopeless blank from a certain point, and so is a detailed statement of his views on the great question of the fifth book of the Republic, the position of women in his state. That he either did treat it, or meant to treat it, is certain from I. 13. 15, and that directly and dogmatically, not negatively, as in his review of Plato's system. To resume then, he has reviewed the past; he has sifted the experience of the long time that has elapsed; and enlightened by that experience, with the results of that past and its errors before him, he set himself to build up a state which should avoid those errors, and combine harmoniously whatever had been proved in result to be good. His state so formed would have been to him a type to which others might gradually conform themselves, a Greek πόλις with all its complex organization, to which the statesmen of the actual πόλεις might look as their model, either in re-constituting or reforming their own states, or in forming new ones, an idea which the Greek system of colonization made by no means an unpractical one. But such results of his political wisdom were distant and very contingent. A nearer question might be addressed to the political philosopher. The actual state of things is very imperfect. The body politic, as much as the body natural, requires constant attention when sound, careful remedies when unsound. Is political science capable of dealing with these evils, this unsoundness, whether of recent origin or of long standing? Is the science of politics practical in the ordinary sense? Can there be drawn from it rules applicable to daily arising contingencies? In other words,—can there be based on it an art which may guide the actual statesman? The answer is, that the theory of the ideal state is by no means the whole of political philosophy. He who
studies that philosophy must be like the true physician. Both must know the normal state of their respective patients. Both must also be able to apply their knowledge to existing circumstances. Guided by the light of political theory, based on a wide experience, the political philosopher must be able to say what is the best state generally attainable; what, under certain conditions purely arbitrary, would be the result; what is the method by which actual evils may be remedied, and the members of a given state may be placed in possession of the best government now open to them. Such questions as these occupy the three remaining books of Aristotle's politics, VI. VII. VIII. (IV. VI. V.). In them he speaks less as the political philosopher, more as the philosophical statesman. He addresses himself to the actual political world of Greece, and to its governments, tyrannical, oligarchical, democratic. And as these two last were the commonest, the most susceptible of permanence, the most capable of being modified into tolerable constitutions, as they were, in fact, to the exclusion of tyranny, constitutions;—though in a degraded form, yet still in some sense constitutions allowing the free play of the political life of a Greek freeman;—it is on oligarchy and democracy that he chiefly dwells. And again of these two last he treats at greatest length of democracy. It was longer-lived, it was safer, it was freer from political dissensions, στάσεις. It was more adapted to large and populous states; and with the growth of such, implying, as that growth did, the formation of a large class of free and equal citizens, it was juster. Corrupt and bad as judged by the ideal standard, it was practically of the corrupt forms the best one available.

The evils inherent in all the forms with which he has to deal in these books, might proceed to such a length as materially to interfere with the quiet working of the constitution. The state might find its various parts ranged in constant opposition to one another, it might be in a permanent state of faction or στάσεις. Such was, in fact, the actual experience of Greece. Its political life in all historical times had been a conflict of discordant elements and interests. And in most cases this permanent state of opposition had its periods of crisis, of μεταβολή. The hitherto dominant element became weakened by its own misconduct, or the growth of its antagonist, or pressure from without, and the constitution was changed by its fall and the triumph of its antagonist. An analysis which should throw light both on this permanent state and on
these periods of revolution,—such is the object of the closing book VIII. (V.).

Without trenching on the details of either of the three books now before us, I wished to give a succinct idea of their general bearing. I resume the more immediate object, the summary of Book VI. (IV.). Its opening chapter is quite general, its subject concerns the past as much as the future portion of his work. It is a statement of the province of political science, on which I have said enough above.

The second chapter is a sketch of the divisions of the work that lies before him; it is a chapter on his arrangement.

The next portion (Chaps. III.—X.) is an analysis of the existing governments of Greece, democracy, oligarchy, aristocracy, politeia, tyranny, apparently treated in the order of their political importance, and in the main this must be judged by the comparative frequency of their occurrence. The difficulties are in the main difficulties of the text. There is an appearance of repetition, and a want of clearness resulting from this apparent repetition which makes one suspect that they are hardly in the state in which Aristotle left them. This is more especially the case with the chapters that analyse democracy and oligarchy (III.—VI.). When clear of these, the book becomes, if not easier, at least much more straightforward, and so far, more satisfactory to grapple with.

In Chap. III. we have the reason assigned for there being several varieties of democracy and oligarchy. It is found in the variety of elements of which each state may be composed. Still, various as they are, they may be brought under these two heads, and are so generally. Indeed, in the popular opinion, these are the only two forms recognised; they are considered an exhaustive division of Greek states. In the earlier part of Chap. IV. the characteristics of these two forms are given, and then to the end of that chapter we have an analysis of the democratical varieties, five in number.

Ch. V. A similar enumeration of oligarchies.

Ch. VI. Repeats in a shorter form for democracy, in more detail for oligarchy, the two preceding chapters. If both are to be considered integral portions of the work, it would seem that this second enumeration is meant to base on grounds of reasoning the necessity of there being such a number of varieties of either form. Common as the two forms were, almost exclusively prevalent, so much so that Greek statesmen and parties had come to aim at nothing more
than the peaceable establishment of one or the other, still the elements of the state might be combined differently, and other powers capable of modifying the constitution might be called into more active exertion. Wealth and numbers might be allowed for, without excluding the more eminent citizens from the first place. In such cases an aristocracy might be established, where all three, wealth, number, and merit, should have due consideration. So also there would be an aristocracy, when, putting aside the element of wealth, those of merit and number were combined. These are the two forms given of this practical aristocracy (Ch. VII.).

Another combination still remained. In existing states, as an average, one of two opposing elements was dominant, wealth or numbers, and whichever was dominant, excluded its rival from all participation in political power. The government was a simple one; in the first case an oligarchy, in the second a democracy. But there is no necessary, irreconcilable antagonism between the two politically, though there is a strong tendency to it. They may be combined; a government might be formed in which both should find their expression, a mixed government standing half-way between oligarchy and democracy. Such would be the so-called πολιτεία, a constitution requiring great moderation and care to preserve the nice adjustment of its balance, and very closely connected with the two forms of aristocracy just given, gliding by imperceptible shades into one of them, or passing by very gradual transitions, by a slight inclination of the scale one way or the other, into one of the two opposing deviations, between which it was the mean term. The characteristic of the Politeia as distinct from either of those aristocracies, is that it attempts only the combination of wealth and numbers, the elements of the two simpler forms. Introduce any question of personal merit, and you have one or other of those forms (Ch. VIII.).

To establish these mixed forms with their combination of elements, the great requisite is a very clear perception of the nature of the simpler forms. To combine oligarchy and democracy in harmonious proportions, must demand a thorough knowledge of them when out of composition. Hence another reason for their fuller treatment prior to these higher forms. The test of a right mixture will be the existence of both elements, side by side, in such vigour that from one point of view the government might be considered the expression of one of the two, from the opposite point it might be taken as the expression of the other (Ch. IX.).

Tyranny requires but a short notice. It is introduced for
completeness' sake. In its strict and proper sense, it is an inversion of all right principles of government; the rule of the better by the worse; government for the sake of the governor, not of the governed; a government by force, which no man endures longer than he is constrained to do (Ch. X.).

Such is the analysis of Greek governments, the statics of Greek political society. It was an analysis required for the proper handling of the questions that are now to be discussed. The first of these is: What is the best average constitution, not one which should be an ideal standard, or require in its citizens high qualifications and fortunate circumstances, but one which should take the existing facts, the Greek character and opinions and political ideas, and on them work out a safe and practicable order in which, as much as possible, all the elements enumerated should find a place. Such a constitution is found in that which should be administered by the middle class, these removed from the extremes either of wealth or poverty; who are as much as possible equal and alike; who by their numbers can impose silence and moderation on the two extremes; who can, in other words, keep down the great evil dreaded, στάσις, and secure the great good aimed at, permanence and security. In the larger states of Greece, this form was quite practicable, from the numbers of the middle class. Hitherto Greek experience had been against it, for the middle class had been small, and the imperial states of Greece had exercised during the period of their domination a hostile influence. But one man had been found to wish it. So adverse had experience been, that there was a rooted feeling in favour not of a balance of parties, but of the triumph of one or the other principle (Ch. XL).

If asked, what is the constitution to be adopted in any particular case, the first answer must be one common to all cases equally; the one adopted must be such as the majority approves, meaning by majority equally a numerical majority, and one which, though weaker in numbers, was superior in power. Then the question again throws us back on a careful analysis of the elements of the given state. And the constitution should be framed with reference to the predominant element. To secure its permanent preponderance, it should conciliate the middle class, and it should aim at tempering so far as possible, by a judicious selection of means, the exclusiveness of the predominant element. It should be afraid of carrying out its principle too far. In all cases alike, the constitution must be administered by those who have the arms, and in point of numbers, there must be more within its pale than
outside. Practically, and with some modifications, this has been the rule in Greece, and the historical development of Greek governments has borne a constant relation to the changes in the system of military tactics adopted in the several states (Chaps. XII. XIII).

From this point forwards to the end of the book, and through the whole of the next, VI. (IV.) 14—16, VII. (VI.), the subject treated of is the method to be adopted in forming a constitution, oligarchical or demelectrical. In the three remaining chapters of this book we have the appropriate basis laid for the work in the discussion of the three powers, which must exist in each of the two forms equally, democracy and oligarchy, and in all their varieties. Their forms will differ, but in principle they must all three be found; there must be an executive, deliberative, and judicial organ. In Ch. XIV. we have the deliberative both for democracy and oligarchy, in this order, with the modifications that Aristotle deemed advisable. In Ch. XV. we have the executive, with the various questions on its numbers and organization and mode of election, and the distinctions in it as required by the different forms of the government.

In Ch. XVI. we have the judicial, an enumeration of its several functions, and the mode of its election.
политиkon Z. (Δ.)

The questions which political science has to answer.

Ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς τέχναις καὶ ταῖς ἐπιστήμαις ταῖς μὴ κατὰ μόριον γινομέναις, ἀλλὰ περὶ γένους ἐν τῷ τελείως ὀόσαις, μᾶς ἐστὶ δειοφέρει τὸ περὶ ἕκαστον γένους ἀρμόττων, οἷον ἀσκητικὸς σώματι πολα τε ποιῷ συμφέρει καὶ τῷ ἀρίστῃ (τῷ γὰρ κάλλιστα περικότι καὶ κεχορηγημένῳ τῇ ἀρίστῃ ἀναγκαῖον ἀρμόττειν), καὶ τῖς τοῖς πλείστοις μᾶς πάσιν καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τῆς γυμναστικῆς ἐστὶν. ἔτι δὲ ἐάν τις μὴ τῆς ἰκνουμένης ἐπικυμή μὴν ξειως μὴν ἐπιστήμης τῶν περὶ τὴν ἀγωνίαν, μηδὲν ἦτον τοῦ παιδοτρίβου καὶ τοῦ γυμναστικοῦ παρασκευάζει τε καὶ ταύτην ἐστὶ τὴν δύναμιν. ὁμοίας δὲ τούτο καὶ περὶ ἰατρικῆς καὶ περὶ

I. 1 ταῖς μὴ κατὰ μόριον γινομέναις ἑταὶ ἐστιν, κ.τ.λ.] 'It is the province of one and the same science to consider all that is appropriate to that subject in each case.'

ἄσκησις γυμναστική, in the widest sense, is the science that treats of this bodily discipline, and which is here chosen for illustration. It could not be separated from the medical science. Comp. note on V. (VIII.) iii. 13; Plato, Rep. iii. 406; Grote, iv. 538.

tοὺς περὶ τὴν ἀγωνίαν practically equivalent to τῶν ἐργῶν, V. iii. 13: 'knowledge of that which regards the active exertion, the struggle,' which knowledge it was the part of γυμναστικῆ proper to give, whilst παιδοτρίβεικας dealt with the state of the body.
The questions which political science has to answer.

4. έρχοντος το είδω \[Spongiv, p. 21, note 23, would change the place of these words, and put them directly after τῶν δι' ἀληθῶς πολιτείων. In either position, it seems to me, they give a good sense, so that it does not seem worth while to make the change. \](εἰς) \[κ.τ.λ.\] ‘and to be unprovided even with those things that are essentially requisite for the best state;' so that not only is it actually not the best, but it is incapable of being made into the best. Supply τῇ ἀρίστῃ after ἀναγκαίων.

5. τὸν γῆς χρησίμων διαμαρτάνουσιν] ‘are yet thoroughly devoid of all useful suggestions.’
6 ἔτι καὶ κοινότεραν ἀπάσαις. 'That which is more easily established and more accessible, more generally attainable,' II. vi. 4.

demētérion polllês xhôrías] 'requiring large appliances.'

tas uparchôsan anairôntes] 'putting aside, taking no account of, the existing forms.'

7 ἣν μᾶλλον, κ.τ.λ.] 'which they shall without difficulty be both persuaded and able to adopt as an exchange for the actual forms.' ἣν (kouvniân) koumneîn.

metamathânein] 'to unlearn, and learn something instead.' Horod. i. 57.

tais uparchôsan boqthêin] 'to aid the existing constitutions;’ make the best of the materials actually in hand. The work of reform.

καὶ πρῶτον] I am not sure of the exact reference meant.

8 συντίθενται ποσακός] 'The number of their combinations.'

9 τῆς αὐτῆς φρονήσεως] 'This same science.' The highest form of φρόνησις is politeikhe. Comp. Eth. vi. viii. 3, p. 1141, b. 23, ἡ πολιτικὴ καὶ ἡ φρονήσις ἡ αὐτὴ μὲν ἐξις, κ.τ.λ. So that the generic term φρόνησις is here used for the specific politeikhe, and the highest form of this latter is stated, in the same passage of the Ethica, to be νομοθετική.

πρὸς γὰρ τὰς πολιτείας] Compare III. xi. 20, 21.
VI. (IV.) 2.]

POLITIKΩΝ Z. (Δ.)

τὸ τέλος ἐκάστης τῆς κοινωνίας ἐστὶν: νόμοι δὲ κεχωρισμένοι τῶν δηλούσθην τὴν πολιτείαν, καθ’ οὓς δεῖ τοὺς ἀρχονταῖς ἀρχεῖν καὶ φυλάττειν τοὺς παραβαίνοντας αὐτούς. ὡστε δὴ λοιπὸν ὃτι τὰς διαφορὰς ἀναγκαίον καὶ τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἔχειν τῆς πολιτείας ἐκάστης καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν νόμων δῆσεις: οὐ γὰρ οἶδα τοὺς αὐτούς νόμους συμφέρειν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις οὐδὲ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις πάσαις, εἴπερ δὲ πλείον καὶ μη μία δημοκρατία μὲν ὀλιγαρχία μόνον ἐστίν.

"Επεὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ μεθόδῳ περὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν διειλομέθα ρεῖς μὲν τὰς ἀρχαῖς πολιτείας, βασιλείαν ἀριστοκρατίαν πολιτείαν, τρεῖς δὲ τὰς τούτων παρεκβάσεις, τυραννίδα μὲν βασιλείας, ὀλιγαρχίαν δὲ ἀριστοκρατίας, δημοκρατίαν μὲν πολιτείας, καὶ περὶ μὲν ἀριστοκρατίας καὶ βασιλείας ἐχθαται (τὸ γὰρ περὶ τῆς ἀριστης πολιτείας ἑωράσαται ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν τῶν ὀνομάτων· βούλεται γὰρ ἐκατέρα κατ’ ἀρετὴν συνεστάναι κεχορηγημένη), ὃτι δὲ τὶ διαφέρουσιν ἀλλήλων ἀριστοκρατία καὶ

Io leota] Schneider and Coray are for reading leoto. Vett. Tr. has 'singulina.' There is, however, no absolute necessity for the change. The general sense is the same: 'What is the end of the association in each particular case?'

nómi δὲ, κ.τ.λ.] 'Whilst laws, as distinct from those things that mark and determine the constitution, are those according to which the magistrates must rule and check those who would transgress them.' Laws then presuppose magistrates, and the distribution of power amongst those magistrates, and it is this distribution of power that makes a constitution.

II καὶ πρὸς τὰς δῆσεις] 'even for the making of laws.'

II. 1 This chapter, on the arrangement of the work, is very valuable, and very strongly in favour of the arrangement I have adopted. It presupposes the treatment of the two more perfect forms, βασιλεία and ἀριστοκρατία; it states that the third form yet remains, as do also the three imperfect ones or deviations. And after giving the order in which the various questions connected with them are to be treated, it warrants the change of order of Books V. VI. of the old, VIII. VII. respectively of the new arrangement.

τῇ πρώτῃ μεθόδῳ] 'The first part of our treatise περὶ πολιτείας.' III. 7.

περὶ τούτων τῶν ὀνομάτων] Compare III. xviii. 1, and notes, on the close connection between these two forms; the first not practical, the other, in Aristotle's views, susceptible of an approximate realisation.

Βούλεται γὰρ ἐκατέρα] 'for the idea of either is that it be formed.'
The arrangement of his work.  

Bayleia, καὶ πότε δεῖ βασίλειαν νομίζειν, διώρισται
πρότερον, λοιπῶν περὶ πολιτείας διελθεῖν τῆς τοῦ κοινοῦ
προσαγωγομένης οὖν· καὶ περὶ τῶν άλλων πολιτείων,
ολιγαρχίας τε καὶ δημοκρατίας καὶ τυραννίδος. Φανερῶν
μὲν οὖν καὶ τούτων τῶν παρεξήγαγαν τις χειριστὴς καὶ
dιενερή τις. ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὴν μὲν τῆς πρώτης καὶ
δευτέρας τις παρεξήγαγαν εἰς χειριστὴν· τὴν δὲ βασίλειαν
καὶ τούτων μόνων ἔχειν οὐκ ὤσαν, ἢ διὰ πολλῆς
ὑπεροχῆς εἶναι τὴν τοῦ βασίλευστος, ὥστε τὴν τυραννίδα
χειριστὴν οὐσαν πλείστοι ἀπέχειν πολιτείας, δεύτερον δὲ
τὴν ολιγαρχίαν (ἢ γὰρ ἀριστοκρατία διέστηκεν ἀπὸ ταύτης
tοῦ τῆς πολιτείας), μετριασμᾶτι δὲ τὴν δημοκρατίαν.

Ἡδη μὲν οὖν τις ἀπεφύνατο καὶ τῶν πρότερον οὕτως, οὐ
μὴν εἰς ταύτα βλέψας ἡμῖν. ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ ἔκρινεν πασῶν
μὲν οὐσῶν ἐπεισεῖκών, οἶδον ολιγαρχίας τε χρηστῆς καὶ τῶν
Ἀλλῶν, χειριστὴν δημοκρατίαν, φαῦλων δὲ ἀριστοκρατίας· ἡμεῖς
δὲ ὡς ταύτας ἐξημαρτημένας εἶναι φαμεν, καὶ βελτίων μὲν
ολιγαρχίαν ἄλλην ἄλλης οὔ καλῶς ἔχει λέγειν, ήττον δὲ
φαῦλην. Ἁλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῆς τοιαύτης κρίσεως ἀφείσθω
τὰ νῦν. ἡμῖν δὲ πρῶτον μὲν διαιρεστών πόται διαφορᾶς
tῶν πολιτείων, εἴπερ ἐστιν ἐδή πλεῖον τῆς τε δημοκρατίας καὶ
tῆς ολιγαρχίας, ἐπείτη τής κοινότητα καὶ τής αἰρετική
tῆς τῆς ἀρίστης πολιτείαν, καὶ εἰ τις ἀλλα οὐκ ἐπείτη
tῆς ἀριστοκρατίας καὶ συνεστῶσα καλῶς· ἄλλα τοῖς πλείστοις
φίλις τούτωσα πόλει· τῆς ἔστιν. ἐπείτη καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῆς

3 τίς τῷ κοινῷ ὑμήματι] III. vii. 3,  

καλεῖται τῷ κοινῷ δομα, πολιτεία.

2 So Plato, in the Politics.

οὐ μὴν εἰς ταύτα βλέψας ἡμῖν] 'not, 

however, from the same point of view 

as ours.'

4 πρῶτον] In Chapters III.—X. of 

this Book.

ἐπείτη] Ch. XI.

καὶ εἰ τῇ ἀλλῇ, κτλ.] 'and after 

any other constitution there may be 

of an aristocratical character and well 

formed.'

5 ἐπείτη] Chaps. XII. XIII.

1 ἡ γὰρ ἀριστοκρατία, κτλ.] for this 

is the form to which aristocracy, in 

Aristotle's peculiar sense, the second 

of the perfect forms, is most opposed, 

and consequently it is the second 

worst.

μετριασμάτων] ἡμῖν μοχθοὺς is 

his language, Eth. viii. xii. 3, p. 1160, 

b. 19.
τίσιν αἱστήτα τάχα γὰρ τῶν μὲν ἀναγκαία δημοκρατία μᾶλλον διλαγμάτεια, τοῖς δὲ αὐτή μᾶλλον ἔκεινης. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τίνα τρόπον διὶ καθίσταται τὸν ὑπολομένου ταὐτάς τὰς πολιτείας, λέγω δὲ δημοκρατίας τοιαῦτ' ἐκαστὸν εἶδος καὶ θάλαν διλαγμάτειας. τέλος δὲ, πάντων τούτων ὅταν ἐπιστράτευσα συντόμως τὴν ἐνδεχόμενη μνείαν, πειρατέων ἐπεθεῖν τίνης ἄθροι καὶ τίνης συμπληρών τῶν πολιτειῶν καὶ κοινῆς καὶ χιωσῆς ἔκαστης, καὶ διὰ τίνων αἰτίας ταῦτα μᾶλλον γίνεσθαι πέφυκαν.

Τοῦ μὲν οὖν εἶναι πλείους πολιτείας αἰτίων ὅτι πάσης ἔστι μέρη πλείων πόλεως τὸν ἀριθμόν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐς οἰκίων συγχείμεναι πάσας ὀρῶμεν τὰς πόλεις, ἔστειται πάλιν τούτῳ τοῦ πλῆθους τοὺς μὲν εὐπόρους ἀναγκαίον εἶναι τοὺς δ' ἀπόρους τοὺς δὲ μέσους, καὶ τῶν εὐπόρον δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀπόρων τὸ μὲν ὑπολιτικὸν τὸ δὲ ἀνοπλον. καὶ τὸν μὲν γεωργικὸν δύομον ὄρῳμεν ἄντα, τῶν δ' ἀγοραίον, τὸν δ' βάναυσον, καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν εἰς διαφορὰν καὶ κατὰ τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ τὰ μεγέθη τῆς οὐσίας, οὐν ἰπποτροφίᾳ τούτῳ γὰρ οὐδὲν μὴ πλουσιότατα ποιεῖτο. διόσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχαιῶν χρόνων ὅπως πόλεων ἐν τοῖς ἑπτά ἢ δύομισι τοῖς, διλαγραφοὶ παρὰ τούτως ἦσαν. ἔχρωμο δὲ πρὸς τοὺς

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα] Chaps. XIV.—XVI. and VII. (VI.)
6 τῶν δὲ] With Nickes, p. 112, not e 2, I put a comma after δὲ, and make τῶν adverbial: 'and at last,' finally.'

πάντων τούτων] By this change in the stopping, these words are made to depend on τῶν ἐνδεχόμενων μνείας. 'When I shall have briefly made such mention, as was admissible, of all these points already mentioned, then I shall, &c.'

ἐνδεχόμενον κ.τ.λ.] The subject of Book VIII. (V.), which is here clearly stated to be later than Book VII. (VI.), and so even Woltmann allows, who is the staunchest supporter of the old order that I have met with.

III. 1 πληθουσά] This resumes the subject with which Ch. I. closed, εἰσπέρ δὲ πλειον καὶ μὴ μία δημοκρατία μηδὲ διλαγμάτεια μόνον ἐστίν. The reason why there is this larger number of forms is found in the number of elements of which every state, without exception, is composed.

τοῦτον τοῦ πλῆθους] 'of the number of citizens so formed.'
2 ἀγοραίου] 'commercial.'
καὶ κατὰ τὸν πλοῦτον] Wealth is not merely a ground of distinction as between rich and poor, 'but amongst the higher classes also there are distinctions based on wealth and the amount of the property they possess.'
3 ἐν τοῖς κατοικοῦσι] this was a sign of great wealth, and the distinctive characteristic of oligarchy is wealth.
πολέμους ἐποίησε πρὸς τοὺς αὐτογείτονας, οἷον Ἠρατείας καὶ Χαλκιδεῖς καὶ Μάγνητας οἱ ἐπὶ Μαίανδρῳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλοὶ περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν. ἔτι πρὸς ταῖς κατὰ
πλούτον διαφοράς ἐστὶν ἡ μὲν κατὰ γένος ἡ δὲ κατ᾽ ἀριστοκρατίαν· ἐκεῖ γὰρ διειλόμεθα ἐκ πόσων μερῶν ἀναγκαίως ἢ ἐστὶ πάσα πολίς· τούτων γὰρ τῶν μερῶν ὅτε μὲν πάντα μετέχει τῆς πολιτείας, ὅτε δ᾽ ἐλάττω, ὅτε δὲ πλείω. φανερὸν τούτων ὅτι πλείους ἀναγκαίως εἶναι πολιτείας, εἰδικα διαφοροῦσας ἀλλήλαν· καὶ γὰρ ταύτ᾽ εἰδεί διαφέρει τὰ μέρη σφῶν αὐτῶν. πολιτεία μὲν γὰρ ἢ τῶν ἀρχῶν τάξεις ἐστι, ταύτῃ δὲ διαλέγονται πάντες ἢ κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν μεταξύντων ἢ κατὰ τιν᾽ αὐτῶν ἰδίατη κοινή, λέγω δ᾽ οἷον τῶν ἀπόρων ἢ τῶν εὐτάραων, ἢ κοινὴν ἕκαστος ἀμφότερος. ἀναγκαῖον ἀρα πολιτείας εἶναι τοσοῦτος ὅσα περὶ τάξεως κατὰ τὰς ὑπεροχὰς εἰσὶ καὶ κατὰ τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν μορίων, μᾶλλον δὲ δοκοῦσιν εἶναι δύο, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν πνευμάτων λέγεται τὰ μὲν βορεία τὰ δὲ νότια, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τούτων παρεκκλάσεως υἱῶ τοῦ καὶ τῶν πολιτείων δύο, ὅμοιο καὶ ὄλγαρχεια· τῆς γὰρ ἀριστοκρατίας τῆς ὁλογαρχίας εἶδος τιθέασιν αἰς οὐσῶν ὄλγαρχιαν

πολέμους) This reading, adopted by Corny, and supported by Vet. Tr., seems best suited to the passage. Mr. Grote, ii. 42, speaks of cavalry "as the primitive oligarchical militia."

Χαλκιδεῖς] in Euboea.

4 ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν] Compare for the expression, I. xii. 15. ἐν τοῖς περὶ πολιτείας. For the sense, the reference is to IV. (VII.) viii. 7, 8, 9; so that this passage again is in favour of the change in the order of the Books.

5 ἢ τῶν ἀρχῶν τὰς[ταὶς ἢ περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς I. 10.

οὕτω τῶν ἀπόρων, κ.τ.λ.] This explains τῶν δύναμιν τῶν μεταχείρων, as the next words, κοινὴν τιν' ἀμφότερον, explain κατὰ τιν' ἰδίατα κοινή. Compare VIII. (V.) 1. 14.

6 κατὰ τὰς ὑπεροχὰς] 'according to the superiority now of one part, now of another.'

μάλιστα δὲ δοκοῦσιν] There must, strictly speaking, be as many forms as there are distinct combinations of the various elements, 'still popularly there are conceived to be two forms,' for the numerous varieties are ultimately reducible to these two.


7 ἄλγαρχαν τώδε] 'in a certain sense an oligarchy.'
tINAL, καὶ τὴν καλομάνην πολιτείαν δημοκρατίαν, οὕσπερ εἰν
τοῖς πνεύμασι τὸν μὲν ἔξωρον τοῦ βορέου, τοῦ δὲ νότου τὸν ἑώρον. ὡμοίως δὲ ἔχει καὶ περὶ τὰς ἀρμονίας, αἰσ̄̃ φασὶ
τινες· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ τίθενται ἑδή δύο, τὴν δυριστὶ καὶ τὴν
φρονιστὶ, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα συντάγματα τὰ μὲν Δῶρια τὰ δὲ
Φρονία καλοῦσιν. μάλιστα μὲν οὖν εἰσδασιν ὦτας ὅπολαμφ 
βάνιν περὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν' ἀλβόστερον δὲ καὶ βέλτιον ὁς
ήμειν διεῖλομεν, δυοὶ ἢ μίας ὑπὸς τῆς καλὸς συνεστηκωρίας
tὰς ἄλλας εἶναι παρακαθάσεις, τὰς μὲν τῇς εὖ κυκραμένης
ἀρμονίας, τὰς δὲ τῆς ἀρίστης πολιτείας, ἀλλαχρίας μὲν
τὰς συντοπικοτέρας καὶ διδυμοποιήσεις, τὰς δὲ ἀνεμένας καὶ
μαλαχᾶς δημοκράτιας.

Οὐ δέ τε τιθέναι δημοκρατίαν, καθάπερ εἰσδασιν τινες 4
νῦν ἄπλως ὦτας, ὅπως κυρίον τὸ πλῆθος· καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς
ἀλλαχρίας καὶ πανταχοῦ τὸ πλεόν μέρος κύριον· οὖν ἀλλα
χρίας, ὅπως κύριον ὁλίγοι τῆς πολιτείας. εἰ γὰρ εἴησαν
οἱ πάντες χίλιοι καὶ τριακοσίων, καὶ τοῦτον οἱ χίλιοι πλούς
σιοί, καὶ μὴ μεταβαίνουν ἀρχηγὸς τοὺς τριακοσίους καὶ πένθους
ἐλευθέρους ὂσι καὶ ταῦτα ὁμοίως, οὕτως ἄν φαίη δημοκρα
tεῖσθαι τούτων. ὡμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰ πένητες μὲν ὁλίγοι εἶν, 3

συντάγματα] 'combinations.'
8 δυοὶ ἢ μίας] Ch. II. 1. βασιλείας καὶ ἀριστοκρατίας. He mentions the
first for the sake of strict accuracy; they are the two forms of the ἁριστή
pολιτεία.
συντοπικοτέρας] 'The stricter, more
rigid, and more arbitrary.'
ἀνεμένας] Compare Thuc. II. 39.
διασχίσεις διανύομενοι, 'easy.'

"The distinction between aristoc
racy and democracy, as commonly
conceived, is not a logical distinction of
kind, founded on a precise line of
separation, but merely a distinction of
degree, and so our propositions about
them must be limited to tendencies." 
Lewis, on Opinion, 405, and note.

IV. 1 ἄπλως ὦτας] 'without quali-

fication so.' For the subject of this
Chapter, compare III. 8.
πανταχοῦ] Compare later, at VIII.
7, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ πλῆθος ἐν τῶν ὑπάρχει.
3 In III. 8, poverty and wealth
are made the characteristics respec-
tively of the two forms, democracy
and oligarchy. Nor does the state-
m ent here made, οὗτοι οἱ ἐλεύθεροι
κύριοι διαίνει, clash with that former
one, as may be seen from a considera-
tion of the words in the last section of
III. 8, εὐχόροιοι μὲν γὰρ ὄλγοι, τῆς
δὲ ἐλευθερίας μετέχουσι πάντες.
Compare also the end of this Chapter, οὗτοι
οἱ ἐλεύθεροι καὶ ἄφοροι. The word
ἐλεύθερον must be taken in an exclu-
sive sense, the citizens who have no-
thing but their citizenship to ground
The distinction between democracy and oligarchy.

κρείττως δὲ τῶν εὐπόρων πλείοναν δι’ τὰν, οὐδὲς ἂν ὀλιγάρχιαν προσαγορεύσεις οὐδὲ τὴν τοιούτην, εἰ τοῖς ἄλλοις οὐσὶ πλοῦσιοι μη μετείχῃ τῶν τιμῶν. μᾶλλον τούτων λεκτέαν ὃτι δήμος μὲν ἔστιν ὅταν οἱ ἐλεύθεροι κύριοι ὁσίν, 1900 ὁ ὀλιγαρχία δ’ ὅταν οἱ πλοῦσιοι. ἀλλὰ συμβαίνει τοὺς μὲν 4 πολλοὺς εἶναι τοὺς δ’ ὀλίγους εἰ ἐλεύθεροι μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ, πλοῦσιοι δ’ ὀλίγοι. καὶ γὰρ ἂν εἰ κατὰ μέγεθος διανεῖμον τὰς ἀρχὰς, ὀστερ ἐν Ἀθηναία πασί τινες, ἢ κατὰ κάλλος, ὀλιγαρχία ἢν ἄν ὀλίγον γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὸ τῶν καλῶν καὶ τὸ τῶν μεγάλων. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τούτως μόνον: ἵκαις ἔχει διαφόρως τὰς πολιτείας ταῦτας. ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὰς πλείονα μόρια καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας εἰς ἐντιμελητέων οὐ, ἀν οἱ ἐλεύθεροι ὀλίγοι ὀντες πλείονα καὶ μὴ ἐλευθέρων ἄρχοντες, δήμος, οὗν ἐν Ἀπολλωνίᾳ τῇ ἐν τῷ ᾽Ιωάν χαὶ ἐν Θήρα (ἐν τούτων γὰρ ἐκατέρθα τῶν πόλεων ἐν ταῖς τιμαῖς ἦσαν οἱ διαφέροντες καὶ εὐγένειαι καὶ πρῶτοι κατασχόντες τὰς ἀποκεκατ., ὀλίγοι ὄντες πολλῶν), οὔτ’, ἄν οἱ πλοῦσιοι διὰ τὸ κατὰ πλῆθος ὑπερέχειν, δήμος, οὖν ἐν Κολοφωνὶ τὸ πολεῖον ἠκεῖ ὡς ἐκέκτυτο μαχρὰν οὐσίαν οἱ πλείοις πρὶν γενέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον τὸν 6 πρὸς Λυδοὺς. ἀλλ’ ἐστὶ δημοκρατία μὲν ὅταν οἱ ἐλεύθεροι

any claim on, excluding especially of course, from the general context, any claim based on property.

4 συμβαίνειν] compare again III. viii. 8; number is but an accident.

Ἀθιναίοις] Herod. iii. 20.

5 τούτοις] sc. ἐλεύθεροι καὶ πλοῦσι.

diακρίνειν] ‘we must draw further distinctions, and say.’

μὴ ἐλεύθερον] This negative is curious, and in no way required by the sense. We can hardly suppose that either at Apollonia or Thera, though we know but little of either, the mass, over whom the original colonists ruled, were not free; nor would Aristotle in any case have been likely to touch on the question of a small dominant population ruling over a large slave one, in a part of his work where he has solely to treat of the relations of the citizens to one another. In fact, if the negative is kept, I see but one resource: that is, to make ἐλευθέρων virtually εὐγένειοι. This is borne out by the context, of διαφέροντες καὶ εὐγένειας, and the affixing this sense to the word would make the passage a forcible illustration of an earlier one, III. xiii. 13, of ὃ δ’ ἐλεύθεροι καὶ εὐγένειας ὅτι ἔγγοι ἀλλήλων. It does not seem, however, easy to adopt this, and yet it is better, perhaps, than to discard the μὴ, which has no objection urged against it but its difficulty.
καὶ ἀπορῶν πλείους ὄντες κύριοι τῆς ἀρχῆς ὀσίν, ὀλιγαρχία
δ᾽ ὅταν οἱ πλοῦσιοι καὶ εὐγενέστεροι ὅλγοι ὄντες.

"Ὅτι μὲν οὖν πολιτείαι πλείους, καὶ δι᾽ ἦν αἰτίαν, εἰρή
ται. [διότι δὲ πλείους τῶν εἰρημένων, καὶ τίνες καὶ διὰ τι, λέγωμεν ἀρχὴν λαβόντες τὴν εἰρήμενην πρότερον. ὁμολο
γούμεν γὰρ οὐχ ἐν μέρος ἄλλα πλείω πάσαν ἔχειν πόλιν.
ὡσπερ οὖν εἰ ζῷον προηροόμεθα λαβεῖν εἰδή, πρῶτον ἐν ἀποδιαρίζομεν ὅπερ ἀναγκαῖον πᾶν ἔχειν ζῷον, οἷον ἐνὶ τῇ 8
τῶν αἰσθητήριων καὶ τῷ τῆς τροφῆς ἐργαστικῶν καὶ δεξιτι
κῶν, οἷον στόμα καὶ κοιλιὰ, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, οἷς κινεῖται
μορίος ἐκατον αὐτῶν· εἰ δὲ τοσάττα εἰδὴ μόνον, τούτων ὃς ἐνε διαφοραί, λέγω ὃ ὅλον στόματος τινα πλείω γένη
καὶ κοιλιὰς καὶ τῶν αἰσθητήριων, ἐτί δὲ καὶ τῶν κινητικῶν
μορίων, ὅ τις συζεύξεως τῆς τούτων ἀρίθμος, ἐκ ἀνάγκης,
ποιήσει πλείω γένη ζῴων (οὐ γὰρ οἷον τε ταύτων ζῴων
ἕκειν πλείους στόματος διαφοράς, ὁμοίως δὲ οὐδ' ἄτονον);
ἀστὶ ἡταν λήψασί τούτων πάντως οἱ ἐνδεχόμενοι συνδυα
σμοί, ποιήσουσι εἰδή ζῷον, καὶ τοσαύτ' εἰδὴ τοῦ ζῴου
ὅσιτερ αἱ συζεύξεις τῶν ἀναγκαίων μορίων εἰσίν. τῶν 9
αὐτῶν δὲ τρόπων καὶ τῶν εἰρημένων πολιτείων· καὶ γὰρ αἰ
πόλεισιν ὃς ἐξ ἑνὸς ἄλλον πολλῶν σύγχειται μερῶν,
ὡσπερ εἰρήται πολλάκις. Ἐν μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς
τροφῆς πλήθος, οἱ καλομένοι γεωργοί, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ 101
καλομένον βάναυσον. Ἐστὶ δὲ τούτῳ περὶ τὰς τέχνας ὁν

7 διότι] 'That they are.' "Because these are, let us say what they are,"
Staël.

τῶν εἰρημένων] the two generally
spoken of, democracy and oligarchy.
I should, I confess, wish to throw out
the whole of what follows, to the end
of § 19, or rather to πρότερον, § 20, as
a mere repetition, rendered entirely
unnecessary by Aristotle's appealing,
in Ch. III. 4, to his enumeration of
the various parts of a state. As it is,
it is better to keep it, and, as in other
cases, I inclose it in brackets to show
that I think it superfluous. It seems
difficult to imagine that Aristotle
would, so soon after declining the
enumeration on the specific ground
that it had been made, enter into it,
and in such detail. It constitutes the
difficulty of this part of the Book,
Chaps. III.—VI., that there is so much
that looks like repetition; but I think
any other of the seeming repetitions
easier to defend than the one actually
under consideration.

8 ἐργαστικῶν] 'That works up.'

9 This is a repetition of II. 3.
The various elements of a state.

10 ἔμπορια καὶ κατοικίας] The former more wholesale, the latter more retail, the παράδειγμα of I. ii. 3, as ἔμπορια represents the φορτηγαλια and κατοικία of the same passage.

τὸ θητεῖον] is the μισθαρία.

3. 9. ἄνευ μὲν τῶν προτέρων ἀδύνατον ἐπιλέγοντο, ἄνευ δὲ τούτων οἰκείσθαι καλῶς.

δουλευόσαν] Compare IV. (VII.) xv. 2. κατὰ γὰρ τὴν παραιμάλ, ὁ σχῆμα δουλοί.

11 τὸ δὲ δουλὸν οὐκ ἀπαρχὴ] Compare I. iv. 6, the definition of a slave, διὸ δὲ ἡλικία ἡ ἀθρόωπος ὄν.

12 τέταρτος] as representing the primary wants of man—food, shelter, clothing.

εἰς τόις ἀναγκαῖοις βασιλευόμενοι] ‘those who are to take care of the cattle necessary for the subsistence of the population.’

πλήρωμα] ‘the complement,’ III. xiii. 13.

τῆς πρώτης πόλεως] not of the ideal state, but ‘of the state in its simplest and most elementary form.’ Compare IV. (VII.) iv. 11, πρώτην πόλιν—τὴν ἐκ τοσοῦτον πλήθους δὲ πρῶτον πλήθος ἀποταρχεῖ.

Ἰσομεῖον] ‘and as though it stood in equal need of.’

13 τῆς χώρας ἀδύναμη] ‘in consequence of the increase of territory and its contact with its neighbours.’

ἐν τοῖς τέταρτοι] ‘In his four primary ones.’
The various elements of a state.

14 ἐπερ] τὸ βουλευτήθαι.

συνέσεως πολιτικῆς) 'the judgment applied to political matters,' Eth. vi. xi. p. 1143, 10.

15 δοτὴ εἰπερ καὶ ταῦτα, κ.τ.λ.] 'So that if, as in fact we do, we make both the class of cultivators and that which judges and deliberates, essential parts of our state, it is an evident consequence that the military class, at least, which is conjoined with both, or capable of being so, is necessarily a part of our state.' The military class is not conceived of as wholly distinct, but identified with one or the other of two classes; if both are comprehended, evidently it must be so too, with whichever it may be combined. This seems the reasoning of the passage. It is not, however, clear.

ἐβδομον] Nickes proposes ἐτον, but I find the sixth class in § 14, τὸ μετέχον δικαιοσύνης δικαστικῆς.

ταῦτα οὖσας λειτουργοὺς] 'serving the state with its property,' IV. (VII.) viii. 7, 9.

16 τὸ δημιουργικὸν] 'The body of magistrates.' The word δημιουργικός in this sense is well known.

17 ταῦτα] sc. τὸ βουλευτήθαι καὶ κρίνειν.

τῶν πολιτικῶν] depends on τινα. There must be among the citizens some not without virtue,—moral, for the decision of causes; intellectual, for deliberation.
The various elements of a state. 

18 ἄρετῆς τῶν πολιτικῶν. Τὰς μὲν οὖν ἄλλας δυνάμεις τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὑπάρχειν ἐνδεχεσθαι δοκεῖ πολλοῖς, οἷον τοὺς αὐτοὺς εἶναι τοὺς προπολεμοῦντας καὶ γεωργοῦντας καὶ 
tεχνίτας, έτι δὲ τοὺς βουλευομένους τε καὶ κρίνοντας 
ἀντιπολούνται δὲ καὶ τῆς ἄρετῆς πάντες, καὶ τὰς πλεῖστας 
ἀρχὰς ἄρχειν οὖνταί δύνασθαι. ἄλλα πένευσαι καὶ 
πλουτεῖν τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀδύνατον. διὸ ταύτα μέρη μάλιστα 
eῖναι δοκεῖ πόλεως, οἱ εὐποροι καὶ οἱ ἄποροι. έτι δὲ διὰ 
tὸ οἷς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τοὺς μὲν ὀλίγους εἶναι τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς, 
tαύτα ἐναυτία μέρη φαίνεται τῶν τῆς πόλεως μορίων. 
ώστε καὶ τὰς πολιτείας κατὰ τὰς ὑπερχάς τούτων 
καθίστασι, καὶ δύο πολιτείαι δοκοῦσι εἶναι, δημοκρατία καὶ 
ολιγαρχία.

20 ὅτι μὲν οὖν εἰσὶν πολιτείαι πλέον, καὶ διὰ τίνας 
αἰτίας, εἴρηται πρὸτερον ὧν ὅ ἐστι καὶ δημοκρατίας εἴδη 
πλεῖον καὶ ὀλιγαρχίασ, λέγομεν. [φανερὸν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ

Aristotle passes to the varieties of the two forms that, with the exception of interludes of tyrants, monopolized the Greek political world, democracy and oligarchy. That there were such varieties was clear to him from the same premises as before. If the variety of elements of a state accounted for the variety of polities, the variety in the democratic elements would account for a variety of democratic polities. Here, again, from φανερὸν δὲ . . . to διαφορὰς, I suspect an interpolation. It is an evident repetition of Ch. III., not without its value in point of information, but still needlessly burdens the book, and faulty in point of division, as it is not easy to say why πορμενικὸν and the rest are not included under χρηματιστικόν, and evidently τὸ μικρὸν ἤχον, κ.τ.λ., is applicable to most of the others, as is τὸ μὴ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων, κ.τ.λ. For these reasons I have inclosed it in brackets.
The different forms of democracy.

21 Táραντι Grote, iii. 516. "Shell-
fish."

Buζαντί] Id. iv. 36. "Thunny
fishery."

Ἀθήνη] The commerce of Ἕλληνα, in
very early times, is quite historical.


τὸ μὲ ἐξ ἀμφότερων πολιτῶν] for this, 
compare III. v. 8.

22 τοῦτοι] depends on τὴν αὐτήν.

But what the exact meaning of
the words is, it is not easy to say. "Sur
d'autres avantages analogues," is St.
Hilaire's translation, and I believe
that is the sense,—a kind of et cetera
without any very definite meaning in
the writer's mind, as he has certainly
enumerated the main distinctions:
Wealth, Birth, Merit. Education, are
nearly, if not quite, exhaustive.

Δημοκρατία μὲν οὖν, κ.τ.λ.] 'The first
form of democracy is that which is, in
the strictest sense so called, based on
equality,' in its simplest and purest
form. Compare VII. (VI.) p. 9. η
μάλιστα ἐναι δοκῶνα δημοκρατία καὶ
δημοτ.

(fr χεῖν] This reading, in place of
φρεῖν, is proposed by Stehr. I
have adopted it, justified, I think, by
words from the passage I have just
quoted VII. (VI.) p. 9, Ἦσον γὰρ
τὸ μὲν μᾶλλον ἄρχειν τοὺς ἄνδρους ἡ
tois εὐπόροις μηδὲ κύριους ἐναι μῖνοις
ἀλλὰ πάντας ἐξ Ἱσσα κατ' ἀριθμοῖν.
These last words are an useful com-
ment on μηδὲ κύριους ἐναι ὁποτερεω-
σιῶν, ἀλλ' ὁμοίως ἀμφότεροι. In the
first part it is true that ἄρχειν can
be construed, though perhaps not
easily, 'that the wealthy should not
be anything more, of greater impor-
tance, than the poor.' Yet the change
is simple, and appears to rest on ade-
quate grounds.
The different forms of democracy.

23 οὔτε πολιτεία, ἀλλὰ ὁμοίως ἀμφισβέτουσιν. Εἴπερ γὰρ ἐλευθερία μάλιστα ἐστὶν ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ, καθάπερ ὕπολαμβάνουσι τις πολιτείας ὁμοίως. ἐπεὶ δὲ πλείον ὁ δήμος, κυρίων δὲ τὸ δέξασθαι πλεῖον ἔναρκη ἀδημοκρατίαν εἶναι τοῦτον. ἐν μὲν οὖν οἴδας δημοκρατίας τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀπὸ τιμημάτων εἶναι, βραχεῖαν δὲ τούτων ὀντὸς δὲ τῷ κτισμένῳ ἐξουσίαν εἶναι μετέχειν, καὶ τὸν ἀποβάλλοντα μὴ μετέχειν. ἐπεροῦ εἴδος ἀδημοκρατίας τὸ μετέχειν ἀπαντᾷ τοὺς πολίτας ὅσοι ἀνυπεθύνουν, ἀρχεῖν δὲ τὸν νόμον. ἐπεροῦ δὲ οἴδας δημοκρατίας τὸ πάσι μετεῖχον τῶν ἀρχῶν, εἰναυ καὶ νόμον ἢ πολίτης, ἀρχεῖν δὲ τὸν νόμον. ἐπεροῦ εἴδος δημοκρατίας τὰλλα μὲν εἶναι τοῦτα, κυρίων δ’ εἶναι τὸ πλῆθος καὶ μὴ τὸν νόμον τὸτε δὲ γίνεται, ὅταν τὰ ψυχίσματα κύρια ἢ ἀλλὰ μὴ ὁ νόμος. συμμβαίνει δὲ τοῦτο διὰ τῶν δημαρχείων. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς κατὰ νόμου δημοκρατουμέναις ὡσ γίνεται


οὖν ἂν οἶν, κ.τ.λ.] 'In this way it would be most likely to exist, by all participating as much as possible in the government on equal terms.'

ἐπεὶ δὲ πλεῖον] If all are equal, mere number will tell, and 'the people is the larger number. The will of the numerical majority will then be the will of the state, and such a state is of necessity a democracy.'

24 ἀνυπεθύνων] 'quicunque macula aliqui obnoxii non fuerant,' Vict.; 'die kein Makel anhaftet,' Stahr. This sense of 'men of unblemished character' is a good one, if the word will bear it—'whose claim is not open to question,' 'who are not liable at any moment to be called to give an account of themselves and justify their claim.' This is the translation I prefer. And the passage in VI. 3 would seem to point the ground of objection that might be taken to the question of birth, τῶν ἐρυθημων κατὰ τὸ γένος, and so to exclude the two meanings I have quoted above.

25 ἢν μὸνον ἢ πολίτης] 'admitting no question, but accepting the fact of his exercise of citizenship.'

26 ἐν μὲν γὰρ, κ.τ.λ.] This seems an odd remark, with the history of Greece such as we have it. It seems to require the attaching a rather limited sense to the word δημαρχεῖον, not such as would have been attached to it in any Greek state by the party which would have claimed to be οἱ βιλιστοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν. We require a more extended acquaintance with the internal workings of other Greek democracies to estimate the remark. Athens is, in fact, the only one which we can fairly judge of, and it is not true of Athens. The Athenian democracy was ominously legal and constitutional, and yet there were demagogues in the or-
diamagwgos, alla' oi belpistoi toin politon eisyn en
prosopria: otopo d' o nómoi mh eisai kúrioi, éntaitha gínontai
diamagwgoi. mávarchos gar o dýmos ginetai, svnthetos eis
ek polllaí' o gar polloi kúrioi eisyn oúx aís ekastos alla'
pántes. O'mepso dè poiai ligei oux agathón einai polu-
27 kuriání, pòteron taútyn éi òtan pléousous aúsin oî árrhontes
aís ekastos, adýlon. O d' oux toioútos dýmos, ato mávar-
chos òn, zhtei'monarcheín dida to mh árrhontai upo nómoi, kai
ginetai despoitikos, aúste oî khólaikes éntimoi: kai zestin o
28 toioútos dýmos ánalojv toin mónarchwv tis týrannidí. did
kai to dhós to aútó, kai ámphi despotiká toin belitíwn,
kai tâ psýphiámatá áster epie toî épistómata, kai o dím-
agwgos kai o khólaçi oí aútoi kai ánalojv: kai málysta o'
29 ekateroi par' ekatéropois ischwoun, oî mev khólaikes para
29 týrannois, oî de dímagwgoi parà tóis dýmos tóis toioú-
tois. aítioi o' eisi toû einai tâ psýphiámatá kúria àlla 29
mê tóis nómos ou'toi, pánta ánangoines eis tón dýmon:
symeávnei gar autóis ginontai megálwos dida to tóv mev
30 dýmov pánvov einai kúrioi, tês de toû dýmov dôxis tóutów'
peithetai gar to plhós toútov. ëti o' ou tais árrhais 30
èghalountes tòn dýmov fasi deivn krínen' o de àstêmous

dinary sense, and there, as everywhere else,—in fact, it is a necessity of go-
30VERNMENT.—ψφίσματα were frequent,
without superseding the real efficacy
of law.
30 oux ò ekastos òllal pántes] Compare
2. iii. 2-4.

"O'mepso] II. ii. 204. The language of Homer cannot well bear any but
the second sense, for, as Mr. Lewis
30 remarks (Opinion, 243, note B),
"Homer's poems contain no traces of a political body, nor do they mention
voting."

30 monarchwv] In the sense of tóranwos
30 elnow, the Latin 'dominari.'

28 épistómata] It is difficult to give
30 the distinction in English, the word
'decree' expresses both. In the finely
shaded political language of the present
French Emperor, 'plébiscite' would
express ψφίσμα, 'decret' ἐπιτάγμα.
The celebrated 'ordonnances' of Charles
X. would be a still better rendering of
ἐπιτάγματα.
29 dêýri] 'of the opinions of the
people.'
30 Not merely do the de-
magogues increase the power of the
people, ' but also all those who have
any fault to find with the existing
magistrates.' Compare Grote, v. 493,
where this language is considered in-
applicable to the change made by
Pericles. Thus the popular assembly
grasps the administrative and judicial
power, as it had before absorbed the
legislative.
The different forms of democracy.

5 'Oligarchiaς δὲ εἰδὴ, ἐν μὲν τῷ ἀπὸ τιμημάτων εἶναι τὰς ἀρχὰς τιτλικοῦται ὡστε τοὺς ἀπόρους μη μετέχειν πλείους ἄντος, ἔξειναι δὲ τὰ τυμωμένων μετέχειν τῆς πολιτείας. ἄλλο ἑαυτῶν δὲ, ὅταν ἀπὸ τιμημάτων μακρῶν ὡσιν ἀρχαὶ καὶ αἰρῶνται αὐτοὶ τοὺς ἀλλεπότας. ἄν μὲν οὖν ἐκ πάντων τοῦτων τούτῳ ποιῶσι, δοκεῖ τούτη εἶναι μᾶλλον ἀριστοκρατικής οὖν δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀφαρμισμένων, ὀλιγαρχικής. ἔτερον ἔδος ὀλιγαρχίας, ὅταν παῖς ἀντὶ πατρὸς εἰσῆκε, τέταρτον δ', ὅταν ὡπάρχῃ τὸ τε γνών λειτουργεῖν καὶ ἀρχῇ μὴ ὁ νόμος ἀλλ' οἱ ἀρχῶντες, καὶ ἔστιν ἀντιστροφος αὕτη ἐν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις ὁσπερ ἡ τυραννίς ἐν ταῖς μοναρχίαις καὶ περὶ ἦς.

εὐλόγως ἐπιτιμάν] 'to urge a reasonable objection.'

31 τῆς πολιτείας κράτους] "die Verfassung die Entscheidung haben." Stahr. πολιτεία would then mean 'the government.' That it may have this meaning is clear from III. vi. 1, πολιτεία ὡσιν ἡ πολιτεία, and III. vii. 2, πολιτεία καὶ πολιτεία σημαίνει ταῦτα. Nor do I see any other meaning to prefer. 'The law is to be supreme, but in particular cases, if judicial or administrative, the magistrates are to decide on what is right; if deliberative, the government.' So I paraphrase it.

Aristotle's general preference of democracy makes this long attack on one form of democracy rather remarkable. It is so also from its length, in contrast with the short treatment of the other forms, and the very small space allotted to the varieties of oligarchy, the last of which is open to precisely the same objections as the last form of democracy. See VI. xi.

V. 1 αἱρῆται αὐτος] They form, in fact, a self-electing body. The principle is that of co-optation.

tοῦτων] Is this 'all who have the required qualifications?'

2 ἀντιστροφος ὁσπερ ἡ τυραννίς) ἀντιστροφος τῇ τυραννίδι 'corresponds
VI. (IV.) 5.] ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Ζ. (Δ.) 271

teleutaios eina me demokratias en taid de demokratias kai
caloisi de th tijn toiauthn oligarchian dunastheian.

"Oligarchia mene ouv eide tosahta kai demokratias. 3
Ou dei de laundainin oti pollaxou smeibebhek ton apotekeu einai
me na politeian thn katho touz vonous mei de demotikion eina,
dia de to psoi kai th anagogi politeinasthai demotikon,
oloi de paqin par allous thn mev katho touz vonous
einai politeian demotikastera, th d anagogi kai tow
edeis oligarchieis thai mallon. symbainiei de toto mou
kota meta ta meta bolas ton politeion w ou gar evous
metabainousin, alla anapowsi ta prosta mikra pleiok
koutontes par allhion, osb oj mev vonoi diameinousin
o prooapaxontes, krateousi d oj metaballontes th
politeian.

"Oti d esti tosahta eidei demokratias kai oligars-6

to, 'is the counterpart of. Echet. i. i.
1. p. 1354. i.
kalosoi dhi] In fact, they give this
last form of oligarchy a peculiar name,
thus distinguishing it, as its counterparts are distinguished from their
kindred forms. It is called dunasthai.
'The rule of a few powerful families.'
3 thn katho touz vonous] 'such as it
is expressed in the laws.'
4 to hoi] 'from the character of those
who administer it.'
5 th anagogi] 'the spirit in which it
is administered,' 'the tendency im-
pressed upon it.'
7. tois otheian] = tois thei. For the
7th is in fact the sum and expression of a man's
ethos.
4 tov] 'This contrast between the
existing constitution and the spirit in
which it is administered.
meta ta meta bolas] This expression
is not quite easy. In the case Aris-
totle is contemplating that of a counter-
revolution, such as was of frequent
occurrence in Greek states, and has
been not uncommon in modern history,
a case especially familiar to us of late
years? The revolution has been suc-
cessful. The constitution sprung from
it has been accepted, but the adminis-
tration of that constitution has been
conducted in an entirely alien spirit.
The constitution remains, but by small
encroachments is rendered nugatory,
till the time comes when it may be set
aside in form, as well as in spirit—of
me vonoi diameinousin o prooapaxontes,
krateousi : oj metaballontes th
politeian.

VI. 1 The connection of this chapter
with what precedes is difficult to trace.
The statements point to its being a
justification of the enumerations given
in iv, and v. See especially § 7,
tosahta kai tovahta dia taw th
anagogas, but it really does rather
give an account of the working of the
several forms there enumerated,
explaining why in some law is, in
others is not powerful. But whatever
may be the connection or general
The reasons for there being so many forms of the two governments.

χίας, ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐφημένων φανερῶν ἐστίν. ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἡ πάντα τὰ εἰρημένα μέρη τοῦ δήμου κοινωνεῖν τῆς πολιτείας, ἢ τὰ μὲν τὰ δέ μη. ὅταν μὲν οὖν τὸ γεωργικὸν καὶ τὸ κεκτημένον μετρίαν οὐσιάν κύριον ἢ τῆς πολιτείας, πολιτεύονται κατὰ νόμους· ἔχουσι γὰρ ἐργαζόμενοι ἥξιν, οὐ δύνανται δὲ σχολαζεῖν, ὡστε τῶν νόμων ἐπιστήμαντες ἐκχλησίαξουσί τὰς ἀναγκαίας ἐκχλησίας· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους μετέχειν ἔξεστιν, ὅταν κτήσωνται τὸ τίμημα τὸ διωμασμένον ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων. εἰ δὲ, μὲν γὰρ τὸ μὲν μὴ ἐξείναι πάσιν ὀλιγαρχικῶν, τὸ δὲ ἐξείναι σχολαζεῖν ἀδύνατον μὴ προσώπων οὐσίαν. τούτο μὲν οὖν έδος ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ, διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας, ἐτέρον δὲ εἶδος διὰ τὴν ἐχομένην αἵρεσιν· ἐστὶ γὰρ καὶ πάσιν ἐξείναι τοῖς ἀνυπευθύνοις κατά τὸ γένος, μετέχειν μὲντοι δυνατόναι σχολαζεῖν. διότι ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ δημοκρατίᾳ οἱ νόμοι ἁρχουσι, διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι πράσῳδον. τρίτον δὲ εἶδος τὸ πάσιν ἐξείναι, οὐσίαν ἐξείναι οὐσία, μετέχειν τῆς πολιτείας, μὴ μέντοι μετέχειν διὰ τὴν προετοιμασίαν αἰτίαν, ὅστε ἀναγκαιον καὶ εἰς ταύτη τῶν νόμων. τέταρτον δὲ εἶδος δημοκρατίας τῆς τελευταίας ταῖς χρόνοις εἰς τοῖς πόλεσι γεγενημένη. διὰ γὰρ τὸ μεῖζον γεγονόν τις πόλεις τῶν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς καὶ προσώπων ὑπάρχειν εὐπορίας, μετέχουσι μὲν πάντες τῆς πολιτείας διὰ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τοῦ πλῆθους, κοινωνοῦσι δὲ καὶ μετέχουσι οὕτως.

* [Διὰ τὴν ἑχομένην αἵρεσιν] This is hard unless we consider αἵρεσιν as equivalent to διάφορον, and translate 'dependent on the distinction which follows.' If so, the distinction must mean that between this form and the next. But I do not feel clear as to the passage.

[ἀνυπευθύνοις] see note on iv. 24.

[διὰ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τοῦ πλῆθους] 1 he-
cause of the supremacy vested in the majority.'

6 καὶ μᾶλλα δὲ σχολάζειν Not only has it the opportunity, 'but more than any other body does it avail itself of that opportunity of leisure.'

ημοθίλεις αὐτοῖς It is unfettered by the attention to their private interests which embarrasses the rich, to such an extent that often they abstain from the public assembly and much more from the administration of justice.'

7 διὰ τινὰς τὰς ἀνάγκας 'on these strong and compulsory grounds.'

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7 διὰ τινὰς τὰς ἀνάγκας 'on these strong and compulsory grounds.'

τοιούτου γὰρ From their number already, they are not averse to admitting more, they do not feel a jealous, exclusive spirit.

8 εἰσι] If not superfluous, it must be translated: 'and because they are a large number between whom the government is shared.'

αὕτωι] may depend on ἀνάγκας. 'They are compelled,' or, 'it is necessary for them to wish the law to rule for them and not themselves.'—ἀρχεῖν αὐτοῖς.

9 μᾶλλον γὰρ ἰσχύοντες, κ. τ. λ.] power bogets in them the desire of increased power.

βαδίζοντας Compare VIII. (V.) I, II. τοιούτων 'in accordance with their wishes.'
Aristocracy and the politeia.

7 'Ετι δ' είσι δύο πολιτείαι παρά δημοκρατίαιν τε καὶ ὀλιγαρχίαιν, ἂν τὴν μὲν ἐτέρων λέγουσι τε πάντες καὶ εἴρηται τῶν τετάρατων πολιτείων εἶδος ἐν· λέγουσι δὲ τέταρας μοναρχίαιν, ὀλιγαρχίαιν, δημοκρατίαιν, δυναστείαιν, τέταρτον δὲ τὴν καλουμένην ἀριστοκρατίαν. Πέμπτῳ δ' ἐστὶν ἡ προσ- αγορευόμεναι τὸ κοινὸν ὑπ' ὑπάρχον πασών (πολιτείαιν γὰρ καλοῦσιν), ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μὴ πολλάκις γίνεσθαι λαθανεῖ τοὺς πειραμάτως ἀριθμοῖς τὰ τῶν πολιτείων εἴδη, καὶ χρωνίται τὰς τέταρτας μόνον, ὡσπερ Πλάτων ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις. 'Ἀριστοκρατίαν μὲν ὧν καλῶς ἔχει καλεῖν περὶ ᾧς διήλθωμεν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις λόγοις· τὴν γὰρ ἐκ

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10 τῶν 

Ἡ ἐπίδοσις ἡ τρίτη στάδιον τῆς ἀνάπτυξε. Ἐθ. Ι. vi. 1, p. 1098, 24; Ἰβιδ. Ι. viii. p. 1109, 17. 

11 τῶν πολυφυλίων τοιαύτας 'large numbers of friends,' comp. Ἐθ. x. x. 6, p. 1171, 17, πολιτείας μὲν ὧν εἴη πολ- λοῖς εἶναι φιλόν καὶ μὴ ἄφησκων ὅτα, ἀλλὰ ἐν ἀλληθείᾳ ἐπισκία. 

VII. 1 ἑρημίτων τῶν τετάρατων] Aristotull, in the Rhetoric, 1. viii. p. 1365; b. 29, gives the four here mentioned. 

VII. 1 ἑρημίτων] 'the so-called aristocracy,' not his own ideal state, as sketched in the 4th and 5th books (VII. VIII.), but aristocracy in the popular sense, answering to the timocracy of Plato's Republic. The division in the Rhetoric, like the one here given, is popular, and lays no claim to the scientific accuracy of the divisions given in Ἐθ. viii. xii., and Politics, iii. 7. 

Πέμπτῃ ἐδή] 'there is a fifth.' 

Did τὸ μὴ πολλάκις γίνεσθαι] Though considered more attainable than the other two ideal forms, it yet is far above the average of governments, it remains practically an ideal and of rare occurrence. 

ἐν τοῖς πολιτείαις] 'in his treatises on Politics.' 

2 ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις λόγοις] Books III.-V. (III. VII. VIII.). Here again the language is in favour of a change of arrangement, assuming his own state to have been described.
ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Ζ. (Δ.)

Aristocracy and the politeia.

τῶν ἀριστῶν ἀπλῶς κατ' ἀρετὴν πολιτείαν, καὶ μὴ πρὸς ὑπόθεσιν τινα ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, μόνην δίκαιον προσαγο- ρέειν ἀριστοκρατίαν. ἐν μνή γὰρ ἀπλῶς ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνήρ καὶ πολίτης ἀγαθὸς ἂστιν· οἱ δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀγαθοῖ
πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν εἰσὶ τὴν αὐτῶν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἰσὶ τινες αἱ πρὸς τῇ διὸ πολιτείαν ὀλυγαρχομένας ἑχοῦσι διαφόρας, καὶ καλοῦνται ἀριστοκρατίαι, καὶ πρὸς τὴν καλουμένην πολιτείαν, ὅπου γε μὴ μόνον πλουτίσθην ἄλλα καὶ ἀρι-
στινὴν αἰροῦνται τὰς ἀρχὰς. αὕτη ἡ πολιτεία διαφέρει τὴν ἀμφότερος καὶ ἀριστοκρατικὴ καλεῖται, καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς μὴ ποιομέναις κοινῆς ἐπιμελείας ἀρετῆς εἰσὶν ὅμως τινες οἱ ἐκδοκιμοῦντες καὶ δοκοῦντες εἶναι ἐπεικεῖς. οὗτος οὖν ἡ πολιτεία βλέπει εἰς τῇ πλούσιν καὶ ἀρετὴν καὶ δῆμον, οὗν ἐν Καρχηδόνι, αὕτη ἀριστοκρατικὴ ἂστιν· καὶ ἐν αἷς εἰς τὰ δύο μόνον, οὗν ἡ Δακεδαιμονίαν εἰς ἀρετὴν τὶ καὶ δήμον, καὶ ἔστιν μίξις τῶν δύο τούτων, δημοκρατίας τε καὶ ἀρετῆς, ἀριστοκρατίας μὲν οὖν παρὰ τὴν πρώτην τὴν ἀριστὴν πολιτείαν ταύτα δύο ἐιδὴ καὶ τρίτων ὅσις τῆς καλουμένης πολιτείας ῥέσουσι πρὸς τὴν ὀλυγαρχίαν μᾶλλον.

Ἀπόκ. δ’ ἂστιν ημῖν περὶ τῆς νομικομένης πολι-

thage, II, 11, he gives πλουτίσθην καὶ ἀρετίσθην, but it is not easy to justify the δῆμον. He says, it is true, δῆμον ἑχοῦσαν, but the tenor of his remarks is against any democratical admixture. See the notes on that chapter.

VIII. I νομικομένη] I should prefer ὅνομος ὅμως, but perhaps it is safer to leave it as it stands. The καλουμένη above is in favour of a change, as are one or two other passages later.

ἐπάθημα δ’ οὖτως] 'I have placed

καὶ περὶ τυραννίδος· ἐτάξαμεν δ’ οὕτως οὐκ

καὶ περὶ τυραννίδος· ἐτάξαμεν δ’ οὕτως οὐκ
of the ideal form, consequently, they are enumerated with these deviations from the ideal form. These, the true deviations, are themselves, as we said at first, deviations in the second degree, deviations, that is, from the politeia and these two kinds of aristocracy.' Such I conceive to be the meaning of this difficult passage, in which he justifies his arrangement. I cannot agree with Nickes in his view of the passage, pp. 111-112, note 1. For ὃν οὖσαν, ὃν δοκοῦσθαι has been proposed. The δι τι must be brought into close connection with εὐθέμενεν. τούτων ἐν τοῖς παρακόμοις. ἀυτῶν = αἱ παρακόμοις. αὐτῶν = τῆς politeias καὶ τῶν ἀρτὶ ηθείσων ἀριστοκρατίαν.

3 μὲν, κ.τ.λ. It combines the two forms, is, as it were, a compromise between them.

ὁτ] is superfluous.

πρὸς τὴν δημοκρατίαν] The two elements are difficult to combine on exactly equal terms, and their varying relation will determine the name to be given.

παιδείαν καὶ εὐγενείαν] compare Ῥητ. 1. 8. p. 1366, 5. ἀριστοκρατίας πέλες τὸ πέλε παιδείαν καὶ τὰ νόμα. Wealth in the second generation does ordinarily involve education. It secures leisure, and the wealthy cannot without education either enjoy or turn to full account their wealth.

4 Education and birth then are given, what becomes of ἄρετή virtue? It is claimed or assumed. The wealthy have already that which others commit injustice to attain, they have no temptation to evil, hence it is inferred that they are good. The stress is on the word ἔχειν. Wealth, then, in the popular view, is the guarantee for all the other requisites, the wealthy
are in the judgment of men, ipso facto, καλοὶ καγαθοὶ καὶ γνώμοι = εὐγνωμία.

βεθεται 'It is its aim and object.' 
φασον] and so as far as they can identify them with aristocracy.

5 δοκε] In the popular notions, as we have seen, there exists a confusion on the subject of wealth. It is made to guarantee to its possessor much besides itself. Nor is this the only confusion traceable. The moral sense attached to the words καλοὶ καγαθοὶ has gradually become inextricably entangled with the original sense of the same words, which was social or political, and there may be traced a whole series of errors dependent on the assumption that ἀριστοκρατία is the government of the best and most virtuous citizens, instead of a moderate oligarchy, its true political sense in common language, implying no moral qualifications on the part of those in whom it is vested. But the erroneous reasoning of the many, combined with the interested acceptance of their error by the few, has so rooted the error on this subject, that it is extremely difficult to keep clear of it. It colours much of the political language of our day, from which the particular form of error given in the text might almost seem borrowed. ‘It is thought commonly to be an impossibility that the state which has an aristocratical government should not be well-ordered, whilst that which is in the hands of the lowest should be well governed; similarly it is urged that a state not well-ordered cannot possibly be under an aristocratical government.’

πολιτεία, what it is. 5 1294

πολιτεία, here again the simply political sense is confused with the moral, a fallacy which finds frequent illustration in Aristophanes. It expresses a democratical government from the point of view of its aristocratical opponents.

οὐκ ἐστι δὲ, κ.τ.λ.] ‘But we must remember,’ says Aristotle, ‘that good laws, unobeyed, do not constitute good order. In one sense it is good order to obey the law, be that law good or bad; but it is a different and far higher sense of the term, when there is not only obedience to law, but good law to which that obedience may be paid.’

6 τούτο] is a short expression for τὸ κάτωτερον καλῶτερον νόμον, and in the next clause the word ἀριστοτεία is governed by ἐμπνεύομαι, when for the sense it would be better to put it in the accusative, but
it seems attracted by the datives καλῶς κειμένοις and ἀεὶ θυμάνωσιν.

7 ἀριστοκρατία μὲν, κ.τ.λ.] ‘Aristocracy is thought especially to consist in having the offices distributed according to virtue.’

δὲ [The peculiar characteristic,’ “le caractère spécial,” St. Hil.

τὸ δὲ τὰ τῶν πολιτειῶν κειμένα] It seems to all it cannot be the distinction of any one.

8 τὸ τῆς πολιτείας εἶδος καλεῖται] The sense of these words is not very certain. Do they mean ‘The form of government is called politeia in the great majority of the states where any mixture of the different elements is attempted,’ thus limiting the πολιτεία; ‘For all that the combination aims at is to blend the two elements of rich and poor, wealth and freedom; for the great majority hardly inquire further, but accept the wealthy as competent representatives of the really good.’ But still there is this third element of virtue, and where that is taken into account with the two others, there we may apply the term aristocracy, where only the two others, there we have πολιτεία.

κατέχειν χάραν] ‘to fill the place of.’ Comp. Grote, iii. 62, on the sense of these words καλὸς κάγαθος, and similar ones.

9 τὰ ἄμφισβητῶντα] Compare the long discussion in Book III. xii. 13, for εὑρεια also, III. xiii. 3.

μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων] ‘more than any other form of government, with the exception of the true and ideal form.’ πρότυπιν in the sense of ‘perfect.’ Compare Iliad. i. 2, 13, p. 1356, 17, ὁ πρῶτος συλλογισμός.
κρατίαν καὶ ὁλιγαρχίαν, εἰρηται, καὶ ποία ταύτα, καὶ τῇ διαφέρουσιν ἀλλήλαν αἱ τοῦ ἀριστοκρατίας καὶ αἱ πολιτείαι τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας, καὶ ὅτι οὐ πόρων αὐταὶ ἀλλήλων, φαινέναι.

Τίνα δὲ τρόπον γίνεται παρὰ δημοκρατίαν καὶ ὁλιγαρ-χίαν ἡ καλουμένη πολιτεία, καὶ πῶς αὐτὴν δὲν καθίσταναι, λέγωμεν ἐφεξῆς τοῖς εἰρημένοις. ἄμα δὲ δὴλον ἔσται καὶ οἷς ὄριζονται τὴν δημοκρατίαν καὶ τὴν ὁλιγαρχίαν· ληπτεόν γὰρ τὴν τούτων διαφέρειν, ἔτσι ἐκ τούτων ἀφ' ἐκατέρας ὁσ-περ σύμβολον λαμβάνοντας συνθετέον. Εἰσὶ δὲ ὅροι τρεῖς τῆς συνθέσεως καὶ μέζων: ἡ γὰρ ἀμφότερα ληπτεόν ἄν ἐκατέρας νομοθετοῦσιν, οἱν περὶ τοῦ δικάζειν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ὁλιγαρχίαις τοῖς εὐπόροις ζημίαν τάττουσιν, ἀν μη δι-κάζοντο, τοῖς δ' ἀπόροις οὐδένα μισθὸν, εἰς ταῖς δημοκρα-τίαις τοῖς μὲν ἀπόροις μισθὸν, τοῖς δ' εὐπόροις οὐδεμιᾶν ζημίαν. κοινὸν δὲ καὶ μέσων τούτων ἀμφότερα ταῦτα· δίδι 3 καὶ πολιτικῶν· μέμικται γὰρ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν. ἐξ μὲν οὖν οὗτος ἡ 1294 Β τοῦ συνδιαφοροῦ τρόπος, ἄτερος δὲ τὸ μέσον λαμβάνειν ὧν ἐκατέρως τάττουσιν, οἵν ἐκκλησιάζειν οἱ μὲν ἄπο τὸ τιμήματος οὐδεμιῶς ἢ μικροῦ πάμπαν, οἱ δ' ἅπει μακροῦ τιμήματος· κοι-νὸν δὲ γε οὐδέτερον, ἄλλα τὸ μέσον ἐκατέρω τιμήματος τούτων. τρίτον δ' ἐκ δυοὶς παγμάτων, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ὀλ-γαρχικοῦ νόμου, τὰ δ' ἐκ τοῦ δημοκρατικοῦ. λέγει δ' ὁ οἷον δοξῆι δημοκρατικῶν μὲν εἶναι τὸ κληρωτῖς εἶναι τὰς ἀρχὰς, τὸ δ' αἱρετὰς ὁλιγαρχικὸς, καὶ δημοκρατικῶν μὲν τὸ μῦ ἄπο τιμήματος, ὁλιγαρχικῶν δὲ τὸ ἄπο τιμήματος. ἀριστο-
κρατικοί τοίνυν καὶ πολιτικοί τὸ ἐξ ἑκάτερας ἑκατέρον λαβέν, ἐκ μὲν τῆς ὁλιγαρχίας τὸ αἰρετὰς ποιεῖν τὰς ἄρχας, ἐκ δὲ τῆς δημοκρατίας τὸ μὴ ἀπὸ τιμῆται. Ὁ μὲν οὖν τρόπος τῆς μέξεως οὗτος, τοῦ δὲ εὖ μεμιχθαὶ δημοκρατίαν καὶ ὁλιγαρχίαν ὄρος, ὅταν ἐνδέχεται λέγειν τὴν αὐτὴν πολιτείαν δημοκρατίαν καὶ ὁλιγαρχίαν· δήλου γὰρ ὅτι τοῦτο πάσχουσιν οἱ λέγοντες διὰ τὸ μεμιχθαὶ καλῶς. πέπονθ' ὅπῃ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ μέσον ἐμφαίνεται γὰρ ἑκάτερον ἐν αὐτῷ τῶν ἀξίων. Ὁπερ συμβαίνει περὶ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίαν πολιτείαν. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐγχειροῦσι λέγειν ὅσοι δημοκρατίας οὕτως διὰ τὸ δημοκρατικά πολλὰ τὴν τάξιν ἔχεις, ὅπως πρῶτον τὸ περὶ τὴν τροφὴν τῶν παιδών· ὁμοιὸς γάρ οἱ τῶν πλουσίων τρέφονται τοὺς τῶν πενήτων, καὶ παιδεύονται τῶν τρόπων τούτων ὅ τις δύναυτο καὶ τῶν πενήτων οἱ παιδίς. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐχομένης ὁμοιοίας, καὶ ὅταν ἄνδρες γίνονται, τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπων· ὁδῇ γὰρ διάδηλος ὁ πλούσιος καὶ ὁ πένης. ὡς τὸ περὶ τὴν τροφὴν ταῦτα πάσιν ἐν τοῖς συστήσεως, καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα οἱ πλοῦσιοι τοιαύτην οἴην ἢ τις, παρασκευάζει δύναυτο καὶ τῶν πενήτων ὀστεισούν. ἓν τι τῶν ὑπὸ μεγίστας ἀρχαῖς τὴν μὲν αἱρεῖσθαι τὸν ὕμμον, τῆς δὲ μετέχειν· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ γέροντας αἰρόμεναι, τῆς δὲ ἐφορεῖας μετέχουσιν. οἱ δὲ ὁλιγαρχίας διὰ τὸ πολλὰ ἔχειν ὁλιγαρχικά, οἷον τὸ πάπας αἰρετὰς οἶναι καὶ μηδεμίαν κληροτὴν, καὶ ὁλίγους οἶναι

6 ὄρος τοῦ εὖ μεμιχθαὶ 'The test or characteristic of the combination having been successfully performed.'
τοῦτο πάσχουσιν 'feel this.'
7 ἦν δημοκρατίας οὐσία 'to speak of it as a democracy,' as though περὶ-abitur had preceded.
8 οὐδὲν γὰρ διδῆλος 'There is no difference to mark.'
τις] is superfluous. There was then at Lacedaemon considerable social equality side by side with great political inequality, and it acted as a compensation for this last. Social equality, which we in England find
it hard to grasp, from the deep-rooted hold which social differences and class distinctions have got, but it is one which it would be most desirable to introduce. It is in the alienation of the various classes and consequent soreness, that lies the sting of political inequalities.

8 ὅτι τοῖς] This τοῖς with the δυστικῶν at the end of the sentence, is quite superfluous.
9 For the matter of this section, compare II. ix. 25. θεατοῦ, II. ix. 25. III. i. 10.
The tests of a true politeia.

VI. (IV.) 10.] ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Ζ. (Δ.) 281

χυρώς θανάτου καὶ φυγῆς, καὶ ἄλλα τοιαύτα πολλά. δεῖ δὲ ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τῇ μεμιμημένῃ καλῶς ἀμφότερα δοξεῖν εἶναι καὶ μηδέτερον, καὶ σωζόσθαι δι’ αὐτής καὶ μὴ ἔξωθεν, ἵνα καὶ δι’ αὐτῆς μὴ τῷ πλείους ἔξωθεν εἶναι τοὺς βουλομένους (εἰ τὸ γὰρ ἀν καὶ πονηρὰ πολιτεία τοὐθ’ ὑπάρχον) ἀλλὰ τῷ μηδὲ ἀν βούλεσθαι πολιτείαν ἔτεραν μηδὲν τῶν τῆς πόλεως μορίων ὅλως. Τίνα μὲν οὖν τρόπον δεῖ καθιστάναι πολιτείαν, ὅμως δὲ καὶ τὰς ὁνομαζόμενα ἀριστοκρατίας, νῦν εἶρηται.

Περὶ δὲ τυραννίδος ἦν ἡμῖν λοιπὸν εἰπέναι, ὅχι αἰς ἐνοῦσης πολυλογίας περὶ αὐτὴν, ἀλλ’ ὅπως λάβῃ τῆς μεθὸδου τὸ μέρος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ταύτην τιθέμεν τῶν πολιτειῶν τι μέρος.

περὶ μὲν οὖν βασιλείας διαφίσσαμεν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις λόγοις, ἐν οἷς περὶ τῆς μάλιστα λεγομένης βασιλείας ἐποίησαμεν τὴν σχέσιν, πότερον ἀσύμφορον ἡ συμφέρει ταῖς πόλεσιν, καὶ τίνα καὶ πόθεν δεῖ καθιστάναι, καὶ πός τινα τυραννίδος δ’ εἰδή δύο μὲν διεξόμεν ἐν οἷς περὶ βασιλείας ἐπεκχοτούμεν, διὰ τὸ τὴν δύναμιν ἐπαλλάττειν παρ’ αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν, διὰ τὸ κατὰ νόμον εἶναι ἀμφότερα.

τῇ μεθὸδῳ τὸ μέρος. 'Its share of our treatment.'

τῆς μάλιστα' 'in the strictest sense so called,' the βασιλεία, III. xiv.-xvii.

2 ἐν οἷς] Compare III. vi. 3, and III. x. 2, 'where.'

αὐτῶν] depends on δύομεν, the subject to ἐπαλλάττειν τῷ καὶ πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν. 'The two forms are such that, though strictly tyrannies, yet in its real character the power they express is closely similar to that of the βασιλεία, so that they and it run into one another, as it were, and can hardly be kept quite distinct.' The καὶ may express even more, 'that they are closely connected one with another, and with the βασιλεία.'
tautaes tas archas. en te gar twn barbharon tisin airontai autokratereos monarchous, kal to palaiou en tois archaios
"Ellhysin eglignousti tines monarchoi ton trpon ton ton, 3 ois ikalou aiymnitas. echousi de tinas proes allalhas auitai diaforas. hsan de diei mev to kata noron basili-
kai kal diei to monarchewn ekontan, tyrannikai de diei to dieugoniasz archen kata tyn auton gnymen. triton de idos
pyranvidos, epeter malist eivai dokei pyrannis, antistrophef 4 odsa tyn pamybasileia. toiauthein o anagkaios eivai pyr-
vida tyn monarchian, hteis anupseubunos archi twn omoiw kal baleionon panton proes to sfeteron autheis symphereon, alla
m proes to twn archemven. diasper akousios odeis gar
ikwn upomenein twn eluvberon ton toiauthe archyn. Pyrann-
vidos mev on oidy tauta kal tosuta diei tais eirmenevas
aitias.

Tis o aristh politiai kal tis aristos bios taic plev-
stais poliei kal tis pleviostos twn anbropwv, mite pro-
aretin symkriovsu tyn uper touts idias, mite pro-
dieian h fousikos dei kal xorhias tuchras, mite pro-
politeian tyn kata euchyn ginoimene, alla bios te twn
pleviostos koinwniai dunatwn kal politian h taz pleviostas

XI. 1 It must be remembered that the question discussed in this chapter
is the best average form, not the best
form absolutely. It is quite clear that
it is so in the text, but the chapter and
its conclusions are sometimes quoted as
though it were not so.

synhronous pros aretin, k.t.l.] 'not
bringing it to the standard of a virtue
above that of ordinary men, nor to that
of an education with requires a nature
and appliances eminently fortunate's gift,' such
as in ordinary circumstances cannot be
calculated on.

Biof te] includes both paidia kal
aerata, 'virtue and the training to
virtue.'
The best average constitution is that in which the middle class governs.
The best average constitution is that in which the middle class governs.

The best average constitution is that in which the middle class governs. The best average constitution is that in which the middle class governs. The best average constitution is that in which the middle class governs. The best average constitution is that in which the middle class governs. The best average constitution is that in which the middle class governs. The best average constitution is that in which the middle class governs. The best average constitution is that in which the middle class governs. The best average constitution is that in which the middle class governs.

philarchos: kal boularchoi] 'are least competent and willing to hold office, whether local or general,' yet not supreme, to discharge, in fact, the ordinary civil functions; the extremely prosperous depress them, the extremely depressed are not elected to them. So that both look on them with unfavourable eyes and sneer at them, though from opposite points, and the regular state organisation finds no support from either.

taiota amfoterai] Both the tendency to crime, indicated above, and the aversion to office.

6 at home.'

en tois didaskaleis] Compare Plato, Republic. viii. 560, c, in the paeides dalgarxie.

7 ton oino metaphonton ton de kata-

philarchos] Compare the speech of Alcibiades, Thuc. vi. 16. He is the Greek statesman who best illustrates the evils of excessive prosperity, such as Aristotle is here depicting.

Pleistos, k.t.l.] 'And this is a state of things that is as opposite as possible to friendship.'

philad] is an element of friendship.

'at home.'

13 there seems something missing, such a word as the swnostheia.'

'The state formed of these elements which according to me are the natural elements from which the state is formed.'

kai soforai] Compare Xenophon, Hell. ii. 3, § 35 sqq., the speech of Theramenes in defence of his change of tactics, which he justifies by the attack made by the Thirty on the middle class, oi meson ton politon. oyte
γάρ αὐτοὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ὁσπέρ οἱ πένητες ἐπιθυμοῦσιν, ὡστε τῆς τούτων ἔτεροι, καθάπερ τῆς τῶν πλουσίων οἱ πένη-
τες ἐπιθυμοῦσι· καὶ διὰ τὸ μῆτρ' ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι μῆτρ' ἐπι-
βουλεύειν ἀκινδύνως διάγουσιν. διὰ τούτο καλῶς ἦχετο ὁ Φακυλίδης

πολλὰ μέσους ἀριστα· μέσος θέλω ἐν τούλι εἶναι.

ὁδὸν ἀρα ὅτι καὶ ἡ κοινωνία ἡ πολιτικὴ ἀρίστη ἦ διὰ τῶν ἰο-
μέσων, καὶ τὰς τοιαύτας ἐνδέχεται εἰ πολιτεύεσθαι πόλεις ἐν
αἷς δὴ πολὺ τὸ μέσον, καὶ κρείττον μάλιστα μὲν ἄμφοις,
εἰ δὲ μὴ διατέρω μέρους· προστιθέμενον γὰρ ποιεῖ ῥοπήν
καὶ καλύπτει γίνεσθαι τὰς ἐναντίας ὑπερβολάς. διόπερ εὐτυχία ἡ
μεγίστη τοῖς πολιτευμόνοις ὀφείλειν ἔχειν μέσον καὶ ἱκανόν,
αἷς ὅποιοι ἐν πολλὰ σφιδρά κέκτησαν οἱ δὲ μηθέν, ἡ δὲ ἡ
μᾶς ἀκρατίας γίνεσθαι ἡ ὄλγιαρχία ἄκρατος τὴς τυραννίδος δὲ
ἀμφοτέρως τὰς ὑπερβολάς· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ δημοκρατίας τῆς
μετακατάτητας καὶ ἐξ ὀλγιαρχίας γίνεσθαι τυραννίδος, ἐν δὲ τῶν
μέσων καὶ τῶν σύνεγγυς πολὺ ἦττον. τὴν δ' αἰτίαν ὑστερον ἐν
τοῖς περὶ τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν πολιτειῶν ἐρώμεν. Ἡττον
ὁ μέση διελθούσης, φανερόν· μόνη γὰρ ἀστασιάστος· ὅποι
γὰρ πολὺ τὸ διὰ μέσου, ἤκειτα στάσεις καὶ διαστάσεις
γίγνονται τῶν πολιτειῶν. καὶ αἱ μεγάλαι πόλεις ἀστα-
σιαστέραι διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν, ὅτι πολὺ τὸ μέσον ἐν δὲ
tαις μικραῖς ἐβόης εὐ χαὶ διαλαβέων εἰς δῶν πάντας, οὕτω
καὶ μεθὲν καταλιπεῖν μέσον, καὶ πάντες σχεδον ἄποροι ἡ
ἐπορευόμεν εἰσίν. καὶ αἱ δημοκρατίαι ἀπὸ ἀσφαλίστεραι τῶν
ὀλγιαρχῶν εἰσὶ 14 καὶ πολυχρωνιωτέραι διὰ τοὺς μέσους

Bergk.
10 πολὺ τὸ μέσον ‘the middle class
is large.’
προστιθέμενον ‘by its joining one or
the other it sways the scale and prevents
either of the two opposite extremes
being dominant.’
τῶν πολιτευμονῶν ‘the citizens,’
‘those who actually mix in affairs,’ les
citoyens actifs.

σοφοκλητής] ‘the most unbridled,’
‘luxuriant.’

12 ἀστασιάστος] Compare III. xvi. 9,
where this word occurs. Both passages
show the great importance Aristotle
attached to this point.

διαλαβέων εἰς δίδε. ‘the dividing the
state into two parts,’ ‘the setting the two
sides one against the other.’
The best average constitution is that in which the middle class governs.

καὶ μᾶλλον μετέχουσι τῶν τιμῶν ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ἡ ταῖς ὁλιγαρχίαις, ἐπεὶ ὅταν ἀνέω τούτων τὸ πλῆθος ὑπερεῖνωσιν οἱ ἀτομοὶ, κακοπραγία γίνεται καὶ ἀπόλλυται ταχέως. σημεῖον δὲ δεῖ νομίζειν καὶ τὸ τούτων βελτίστοις νομοθέταις εἶναι τῶν μέσων πολιτῶν. Σόλων τέ γὰρ ἦν τούτων ἡμῶν τούτων ὑπόδολη ἐκ τῆς ποιήσεως καὶ Δικαύργος (οὐ γὰρ ἦν βασιλεὺς) καὶ Χαράνδας καὶ σχέδουν οἱ πλείστοι τῶν ἄλλων. 15 Φανερῶν δὲ ἐκ τούτων καὶ διότι αἱ πλείσται πολιτείαι αἱ μὲν δημοκρατίαι εἰσιν αἱ δὲ ὁλιγαρχίαι· διὰ γὰρ τὸ ἐν ταύταις πολλάκις ὁλίγον εἶναι τὸ μέσον, αἰτε ὑπέρχοσιν, ἐδὼ τὰς οὐσίας ἔχοντες ἐδὼ δὴμοσιον, οἱ τὸ μέσον ἑκβαίνοντες καὶ αὐτοὺς ἄγουσι τὴν πολιτείαν, ὡστε ἡ δήμος γίνεται ἡ ὁλιγαρχία, πρὸς δὲ τούτως διὰ τὸ στάσεις γίνεσθαι καὶ μάχας πρὸς ἀλλήλον τὸ δήμοι καὶ τοὺς εὐπόρους. ὑποτέρους ἀν μᾶλλον συµβῇ κρατῆσαι τῶν ἐναντίων, οὐ καθίστασι κοινῆ πολιτείαν οὐδὲ Ἰσθνεῖ, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἕκαστης ἄλλον τὴν ὑπερχών τῆς πολιτείας λαμβάνουσιν, 18 καὶ οἱ μὲν δημοκρατίαν οἱ δὲ ὁλιγαρχίαν ποιοῦσιν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ γενομένων τῆς Ἐλλάδος πρὸς τὴν παράκατον ἐκατέρω πολιτείαν ἀποβλέπουσε οἱ μὲν δημοκρατίαις ἐν ταῖς πόλεις καθίστασαν οἱ δὲ ὁλιγαρχίας, οὐ πρὸς τὸ

14 κακοπραγία “Ill success,” “failure,” Liddell and Scott. But I doubt whether this is the meaning. May it not be more active, “there is mutual ill treatment of the one party by the other.”

15 διότι ἐκ τῆς ποιήσεως The general spirit of Solon’s remains warrants this, but I do not find any particular passage.

οὗ γὰρ ἦν βασιλεὺς] This seems an odd reason. Is it Aristotle’s?

16 ἥγουσι] Compare v. 3, ἥγουσι.
17 τὴν ὑπερχών τῆς πολιτείας] ‘The supremacy in the government.’ The rights or claims of the minority are not respected, to use the latest political language. And it is a question open discussion, whether this re-

finement in political arrangements can be introduced, and whether, if introduced, it would really be an improvement in our institutions. It is plainly liable to be the exact contrary, by giving greater power to that which may well be thought to have too much already, the retrograde element, the so-called conservative party. Lastly, there is the question whether, supposing the two former questions answered, as they might be, under certain circumstances, in the affirmative, any such improvement could effectually obviate the evils inherent in a parliamentary government, such as that of England is justly called, and stands self-condemned by being so called. Mr. Carlyle, Latter-day Pamphlets.
tac’s pòlesan συμφέρων σχοπτούντες ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ σφέτερον αὐτῶν. ὧστε διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας ἡ μάζαποτὲ ἡ μέσην γίνονται πολιτείαι ἡ ὁλιγάχις καὶ παρ’ ἐλγιγοῖς. ἐκ γὰρ ἅμως συνεπείσθη μοῦν τῶν πρότερον ἐπ’ ἡγεμονία γενομένων ταύτην ἀποδοῦναι τὴν τάξιν. ἦδη δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐν τοῖς πόλεσιν ἔθους καθέστηκε μηδὲ βούλεσθαι τὸ ἱσον, ἀλλ’ ἡ ἀρχαῖοι ζητεῖν ἡ κρατουμένως ὑπομένειν. Τὸς μὲν οὖν ἀριστή πολιτεία, καὶ διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν, ἐκ τούτων φαινομένων τῶν δ’ ἀλλων πολιτείων ἐπειδή πλείους δημοκρατιὰς καὶ πλείους ὁλιγάρχιας φαμέν εἶναι, ποιαν πρότην ἑτέρον καὶ δευτέρον καὶ τούτον δὴ τὸν τρόπον ἤχομεν τῷ τὴν μὲν εἶναι βελτίω τὴν δὲ χείρα, διαρισμένης τῆς ἀριστής οὐ χαλεπὸν ἰδεῖν. ἀδιὰ γὰρ ἀναγκαίον εἰς εἶναι βελτίω τὴν ἐγγύτατα ταύτης, χείρα δὲ τὴν ἀφευτηκυίαν τοῦ μέσον πλείου, ἀν μὴ πρὸς ὑπόθεσιν κρίνῃ τις. λέγοι δὲ τὸ πρὸς ὑπόθεσιν, ὅτι πολλάκις οὕσης ἀλλής πολιτείας αἰρετωτέρας ἐνος οὕθεν καλῶς συμφέρειν ἓτεραν μᾶλλον εἶναι πολιτείαν. 

The best average constitution is that in which the middle class governs.

196 b

18 Compare Thuc. iii. 82, on this point. πρὸς τὸ σφέτερον αὐτῶν—σφέτερον ἐντεύεσθαι πολιτείαν is the historical expression of this.

19 ἀδιὰ γὰρ ἀναγκαίον It is curious that no certain nor even very probable answer can be given to the question who the person here alluded to is? I have been sometimes tempted to think that it is the Spartan King Pausanias (Xenophon, Hell. ii. 5.), whose position at home and policy led him not to sanction the Athenian oligarchy, but to aim at the restoration of a more moderate government, to revive the older democracy—ἀριστεῖα τῆν τάξιν—which, doubtless, in the eyes of a later generation, looking on τὴν τῶν δημοκρατίαν, would be considered as a πολιτεία τῶν μέσων.

τοῖς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν] simply opposed to the τῶν ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ γενομένων.

20 ἀριστή] sc. τοῖς πλείστοις.

τούτων δὴ τὴν τρόπον ἤχομεν] 'and so on in due order.'

21 Adi γάρ] This correction of Spengel’s xxx. note 27, scarcely needs the support of V. (VIII.) 1, 2, to make us accept it.


ἐτέραν μᾶλλον εἶναι] 'that there be another constitution.' This remark is the connecting link between the two chapters. All cannot have the best average form—their circumstances preclude it and make some other form desirable. What are the other forms that may be desirable under certain circumstances is naturally the next question, and is answered, though in a very general and vague way, in the two next chapters.
The constitutions suitable in particular cases.

The text continues with a discussion on the constitution of states, mentioning the term "politeia" and its relation to the majority and minority opinions. The text further explores the idea of a preponderance in favor of the existing government, discussing conflicting elements and the balancing of powers.

XII. 1 δει γαρ κριτήτον, κ.τ.λ. 'There must be a preponderance in favour of the existing government.' But this idea of preponderance involves conflicting elements, and a comparison, a balancing of the powers of these elements.

πᾶσα πόλις] 'Every state is composed of quality and number.' It is, in other words, a given number of citizens, and in that number of citizens there are many different classes.

υπεροχή] Such a term shows that Aristotle was rather thinking of the political element of the mass as opposed to that of those who are opposed to the mass, either by birth, education, or wealth, than simply of number. 'The superiority of the large majority' is spoken of as balancing the power attaching to the other points above mentioned.

2 εξ δὲ συνεστήκη, κ.τ.λ.] 'granting, of course, that it be one of the parts of which a state really consists,' the essential elements of a state. Compare IV. (VII) viii. i. 6.

συγκριτήν] 'we must compare.' On this subject see Arnold, Rom. Hist. Vol. i. Ch. xiii. the concluding paragraph.

3 τής εἰρημένης ἀναλογίας] 'In the proportion stated,' rather implied. τού ἄλλου τῷ τούτῳ δυστυ μὴ λείποντα τῷ τούτῳ. Its superiority in number is not overbalanced by its opponent's superiority in other points.

ἔντασα δὲ'] 'Here then.'
κατά τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τοῦ ὀλιγαρχικοῦ πλῆθους. δειλὸς δὲ αἰτία τῶν νομοθετῶν ἐν τῇ πολιτεῖᾳ προσλαμβάνειν τοὺς μέσους, ἀν τὸ γὰρ ὀλιγαρχικὸς τοὺς νόμους τιθῇ, στοχάζεσθαι χρῆ τῶν μέσων, εἰτέ τὸ δημοκρατικὸς, προσάγεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις τοῦτοις. ὃσοι δὲ τὸ τῶν μέσων ὑπερτείναι πλῆθος ή συναισφατέρων τῶν ἀχρόνης καὶ βαθέρου μόνον, ἑνώθεν ἐνδέχεται πολιτείαν ἐννοεῖ μόνιμον. οὔτε γὰρ φοβερὸν μὴ ποτὲ συμφωνῆσαι οἱ πλοῦσιοι τοῖς πένησιν ἐν τοῖς τοῦτοις. οὔτε ἐν τῇ ἀποτελεσθαι δουλεύειν τοῖς ἑτέροις, κοινοτέραν δὲ ἄν ζητῶσιν, συνεργάζουσιν ἀλλην ταύτης. ἐν μέρει γὰρ ἀρχεῖν οὐκ ἀν ὑπομενεῖν διὰ τὴν ἀπίστιαν τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους. πανταχοῦ δὲ πιστότατος ὁ διαίτης, διαίτης δὲ ὁ μέσος. ὡς δὲ ἂν ἄμεινων ἡ πολιτεία μειώθῃ, τοσοῦτοι μονομαρτέρα. διαμαρτάνουσι δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν τὰς ἀριστοκρατικὰς βουλευμένων ποιεῖν πολιτείας, οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ πλείον νέμειν τοῖς εὑρόροις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ παρακροέσται τοῦ δήμου. ἀνάγκη γὰρ χρόνῳ ποτὲ ἐκ τῶν ψευδών ἀγαθῶν ἄλλης συμβηκεί κακῶν. αἱ γὰρ πλευρεῖς τῶν πλωσίων ἀπολλύοντος μάλλον τὴν πολιτείαν ἡ αἱ τοῦ δήμου.

4 ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ a ‘in his constitutional arrangement.’
5 προσάγοντο γέρῳ καὶ τοῦτο μέσον a ‘To interest the middle class in favour of his laws,’ or should it be the dative of the instrument, ‘by his laws to interest the middle class in the support of his constitution.’

6 One of the two parties must be the stronger, and the constitution must, in its arrangements, express that fact. Allowing this, Aristotle urges upon the statesman the necessity of tempering the truth; of, as far as possible, introducing the middle class, which stands in the position of mediator or arbitrator. Secondly, of mixing, so far as is possible, the various elements, not giving to the party which must be essentially dominant, more uncontrolled, unchecked power, than is indispensable. So the constitution will be more permanent. And this second caution is often violated even by those who wish, not for an unmitigated oligarchy, but for an aristocratical government. διαμαρτάνουσι δὲ πολλοὶ, κ.τ.λ. ἐν τῷ πλείον λέγοντες a ‘This is essential. The other (ἐν τῷ παρακροέσται τοῦ δήμου), ‘the deceiving the people,’ is not so.’

χρόνῳ ποτὲ a ‘that at some time or other, if not at once.’

ἀπολλύοντο μάλλον a ‘are of a more destructive tendency.’
"Εστι δ’ ὅσα προφάσεως χάριν ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις
σοφίζονται πρὸς τὸν δήμον πέντε τῶν ἀριθμῶν, περὶ ἐκκλησίαν,
περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς, περὶ δικαστήρια, περὶ ἐκλογασίαν, περὶ
γυμνασίαν. περὶ ἐκκλησίαν μὲν τὸ ἐξείναι ἐκκλησιάζων
πάσι, ζημιάν δὲ ἐπικείμενα τοῖς εὐπόροις ἐὰν μὴ ἐκκλησιάζω-
ζωσί, ἡ μόνος ἡ μείζων πολλῶν. περὶ δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς τὸ
tοῖς μὲν ἐχουσι τίμημα μὴ ἐξείναι ἐξόμυστα, τοῖς δ’ ἀπό-
ροις ἐξείναι. καὶ περὶ τὰ δικαστήρια τοῖς μὲν εὐπόροις
εἶναι ζημιάν ἂν μὴ δικάζωσι, τοῖς δ’ ἀπόροις ἀδειαν, ἢ τοῖς
μὲν μεγάλην τοῖς δὲ μικράν, ἀνάπερ ἐν τοῖς Χαράνθου
νόμοις. ἐνιαχεῖ δ’ ἐξείστι μὲν πάσιν ἀπογραφαμένων
ἐκκλησιάζειν καὶ δικαζεῖν, ἐὰν δὲ ἀπογραφαμένως μὴ ἐκ-
κλησιάζωσι μὴ τε δικαζωσίν, ἐπίκειται μεγάλαι ζημιάς τοῦ-
tοις, ἢν διὰ μὲν τὴν ζημιὰν φεύγωσι τὸ ἀπογράφωσθαι,
dιὰ δὲ τὸ μὴ ἀπογράφωσθαι μὴ δικάζωσι μηδὲ ἐκκλησιάζω-
σιν. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὅταν κεκτήσθαι
καὶ τῷ γυμνάζεσθαι νομοθετοῦσιν· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀπόροις
ἐξείστι μὴ κεκτῆσθαι, τοῖς δ’ εὐπόροις ἐπιζημίους μὴ κεκτη-
μένους, καὶ μὴ γυμνάζονται, τοῖς μὲν ὀφθεὶμα ζημία, τοῖς
δ’ εὐπόροις ἐπιζημίους, ὅπως οἱ μὲν διὰ τὴν ζημίαν μετέ-
χωσιν, οἱ δὲ διὰ τὸ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι μὴ μετέχωσιν. Ταῦτα
μὲν οὖν ὅλην ἄριστον ἐποιήσατε τῆς νομοθεσίας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς
δημοκρατías ἐπό ταῖς ἀντισοφίζονται· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ
ἀπόροις μισθὸν πορίζουσιν ἐκκλησιάζονται καὶ δικάζουσιν,
τοῖς δ’ εὐπόροις οὐδεμίαν τάπτουσι ζημίαν. ὡστε φανερῶ
ὅτι εἰ τὴς βουλεύτου μηγνύναι δικαίως, δεῖ τὰ παρὰ ἑκατέρους
συνάγει καὶ τοῖς μὲν μισθὸν πορίζεις τοῖς δὲ ζημίλαν· οὕτω
γὰρ ἂν κοινωνοῦντες ἀπαντεῖς, ἐκείνως ὡς ἡ πολιτεία γίγνεται
τῶν ἐτέρων μόνον. Δεδε ό τῆς πολιτείας εἶναι μὲν ἐκ τῶν

XIII. 1 δοκεῖ οὖν ὁ πολιτικὸς ‘The de-
vices or artifices they have recourse
to’ προφάσεως χάριν. ‘by way of pre-
text.’
2 ἐξομυσταὶ ‘to decline an office or
oath.’
3 ἀπογραφαμένος] ‘when they have
registered.’
6 τῶν ἐτέρων μόνον] ‘of one of the
two parties only.’
7 δεδε τῆς πολιτείας ‘The govern-
ment must be in the hands of those
who have the arms.’
The democratic contrivances.

VI. (IV.) 13.] ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Ζ. (Δ.) 291

tά ὃπλα ἔχοντας μόνον; τοῦ δὲ τιμῆματος τὸ πλῆθος

The course of political experience in Greece.

in those who have borne arms and are now past the military age.


τοῦτον] who are meant? I conceive both of the classes just mentioned, whilst the executive was chosen out of the men of military age. The text, of course, will bear quite a different interpretation.

10 η τρώη πολιτεία] 'The first constitution of Greek freemen.'

μετὰ τὰς Βασιλείας] One of the many passages which exclude Βασιλεία from the list of πολιτείαι.

σωματικ] 'training,' 'discipline,' 'organisation.'

11 διόπερ] This is an interesting passage on the progress of political

υ 2

διάλεις μὲν δρισαμένους] 'We cannot absolutely fix its limits, and say it is to be so much and no more, but we must find out what is the highest amount that extends far enough,' takes in a sufficient number, 'for those who share in the government to outnumber those who do not share in it, and we must fix it at this amount.'

8 χαράλωται] 'moderate,' 'decorous,' 'intelligent.'

9 βοθωνταὶ πολεμεῖν] This was the feeling of the Roman people at the commencement of the first Punic war.

ἡ πολιτεία] 'The governing body in some cases is not only formed of those who bear arms at the time, but takes
The course of political experience in Greece.

The three powers

ideas, and the gradual enlargement of the social union.

XIV. 1 Aristotle enters now on the point stated Ch. II. 5. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τίνα τρόπον δει καθαρτάντα τάς τοις πολιτείας, λέγω δὲ δημοκρατίας τε καθ’ ἕκαστον οὖσα καὶ τάς Ἀλκμηνίας. Its discussion occupies the closing chapters of Book VI. and the whole of Book VII. (VI.). In this book he treats of that which concerns them all alike (κοινῷ). We have his theory of the three powers, the deliberative, executive, and judicial, which must, he says, exist in every constitution; as such they may be separated off from the detail of the various forms of oligarchy and democracy; at least all general statements about them may; and the various modifications necessary for these various forms may be introduced later. This explains his language here, καὶ κοινῷ καὶ χωρίς περὶ ἑκάστης.
The three powers.

The deliberative.

In democracies.

voc peri twn koivoun, dextereon de to peri tas archas (touto de o estin as dei kai twn eivai kuria, kai poiain tina deii giyne- sioi twn airesin autwn), triton de ti to dikazou. Kuriou 3 o esti to boleuomoun peri polemou kai eirinhs kai symma- xias kai diakosias, kai peri noma, kai peri thnatos kai

philias kai dhimousoi, kai twn eudovynw. anagkaiou o hei to

paixi tou politias apotelesothei pasas tautas tas krisies

h tisi pasas, oion arkei tini mia h plieison, h eteias

eteras, h tina les miv autwn paixi tina de tisiyn. to miv

wv pantas kai peri apanta demotikon. tin toiautin gar

iosteta xetpei o deimos: eis de oi trepsi tou pantas

plieous, eis miv to kata meros allas me pantas arboyn,

ostep in ti politia tou Thekleos esti tou Miliou (kai

en allia de politiais boleusontai ai synarchiai

symoisai, eis de tas archas badoziou pantas kata meros

ex tov phulon kai twn morion twn elachiston pantelas,

es in dielthi dia panton), synienai de mivon peri te

moun tisewn kai twn peri tis politias, kai ti paraggei-
limosena akousomeinou upo twn arxonton. alla de trepos 5

to pantas arboyn, synienai de mivon pro to tas archi-

resias airesomouvos kai pro tov gomodesias kai peri

polemou kai eirinhs kai pro eudwv, ta o alla tas

archas boleusethai tas ed, ekastoi tetagmenias, airesas

ousas i apanta kai klhratasa. alla de trepos to peri

tas archas kai tas eudwv apanta tous politas, kai peri

polemou boleusomouvos kai symmakhias, ta o alla tas

cult to see why one should be indefi-
nite, the other interrogative. I have

made them both interrogative.

3 Kuriou δὲ ἦτοι] 'The sovereign

power resides in.'

diakosias] 'dissolving an alliance.'

dhimousoi] 'confiscation.'

4 demotikou] 'democratical,' 'charac-
teristic of a popular government.'

to kata meros allas me pantas arboyn]

The sense would seem to require a

repetition of the word pantas; 'that

all should deliberate, but by parts, and

not in one collective body.'

Telecles, the Miliou, not known.

synarchai] The boards of magis-

trates.

tων περὶ τῆς πολιτείας] 'questions

that concern the constitution.'

5 τὰ δὲ ἄλλα] There are not many

points left of the list given in § 3,

bathos, φυγή, δημοσίως,—judicial
questions mainly, concerning of course political offenders.

6 ἃσας ἐνδεχόμενα 'as many as it is possible to have elective.'

7 προορισμένοι 'previously examine.' This was the function after Cleisthenes of the boule, or probation council, and in the ordinary jurisdiction of the archons.

8 κυρίων 'Th. y do not feel at liberty to interfere, but simply obey the law.'

δισκεία μεν, κ.τ.λ.] 'It is an oligarchy, it is true, but one that borders on the polis, from its moderation.'

10 προκρίσεω 'a body previously selected.'

11 διοίσει] So I read, instead of Bekker's διοιστε, and the change is easier than διοισται, which several editors have adopted. Stahr preserves διοιστε; but διοιστε is quite in keeping.
συμφέρει δ' ὑπὸ μάλιστ' εἶναι δοκοῦσθη δημοκρατίᾳ νῦν (Λέγων δὲ τοιαύτην ἐν ἑαυτῷ οὐ δήμῳ καὶ τῶν νόμων ἐστὶν) πρὸς τὸ Βουλευτῆςθαι βέλτιον τὸ αὐτὸ ποιεῖν ὅπερ ἐπὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων ἐν ταῖς ὑλιγαρχίαις (τάντοσοι γὰρ ζημίαι τούτων οὗς βούλονται δικαίωσιν, ἵνα δικαίωσιν, οἱ δὲ δημοτικοὶ μισθῶν τοῖς ἀπόροις), τοῦτο δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ποιεῖν. Βουλεύτωςθαι γὰρ βέλτιον κοινῇ βουλευόμενοι πάντες, ὁ μὲν δήμος μετὰ τῶν γυναιρίων, οὕτω δὲ μετὰ τὸ πλῆθος. συμφέρει δὲ καὶ τὸ αἴρετος εἶναι τοὺς βουλευομένους ἢ κληρατοὺς ἵσως ἐκ τῶν μορίων. συμφέρει δὲ καὶ ὑπέρβαλλαι συνοπτικοὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν, ἢ μὴ πᾶσι διδόναι μισθῶν, άλλ᾽ οὔσοι σύμμετροι πρὸς τὸ τῶν γυναιρίων πλῆθος, ἢ ἀποκλήσθως τῶν πλείους. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὑλιγαρχίαις ἢ προαιρεθῆσθαι τινὰς ἐκ τοῦ πλῆθους, ἢ κατασκευάζοντας ἀρχείον ὅπως ἐν ἑνὲς πολιτικές ἐστὶ τοῖς καλοῖς προβούλουσι καὶ νομοφύλακας, καὶ περὶ τούτων χρηματίζοντες περὶ ὅπως ἰὸν οὕτω προβούλευ- σάσιν. οὕτω γὰρ μεθέλει οἱ δήμοι τοῦ βουλευόμενοι, καὶ λέινειν οὔθεν δυνήσθαι τῶν περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν. ἔτι τοῦτα ψηφίζοντες τῶν δήμων ἢ μηθέν ἐναντίον τοῖς εἰσφερομένους, ἢ τῆς συμβουλίας μεν μεταδίδοναι πᾶσι, Βουλεύομεθαι δὲ τῶν ἀρχοντας, καὶ τὸ ἀντικείμενον δὲ τοῦ ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις γιγνομένον δεῖ ποιεῖν, ἢ ἁπατηφοίζόμενον μὲν γὰρ κύριον δεῖ ποιεῖν τὸ πλῆθος, καταψηφίζομεν δὲ μὴ κύριον, ἀλλ᾽ 

with his general language. Compare § 1, τὰς πολιτείας διαφέρειν. The Vet. Tr. read διαφέρειν; he gives "disponit turit" as his rendering. It is stated that no MS. reads διαφέρειν.

13 οὕτως] 'equally from the different parts of the state.'

14 συμφέρει δὲ καὶ] 'It is expedient also if.'


Ἀποκληροῦσι] 'exclude by lot the numbers in excess of the limit indicated.'

16 προαιρεθῆσαν] 'choose beforehand,' not the common Aristotelian sense of the word, but the strict literal meaning of it, which is the basis of the other.

προβολόουσι] Comp. Thuc. viii. 1, for this magistracy, established in Athens after the defeat in Sicily, b.c. 412. See VII. (VI.) viii. 17, 24. νομοφύλακας] Later VII. (VI.) viii. 24.

χρηματίζειν περὶ τοῦτων] 'decide on those points only.'

15 τὴν συμβουλίαν] 'Advise.'

Βουλεύομεθαι] 'the effective deliberation.'

Ἀποτηφοίζομεν] 'The veto of the
8 πολλάς ἐπιμελείας, κ. τ. Λ. 'To assign many branches of administration at the same time to the same person.'

δέβελοσκόλχυονα 'spits for roasting, used as candlesticks.' The general meaning is the same as in the case of the Δέλφη μάχαιρα of I, p. 3.

συνάγει 'might infor,' 'collect.'

κατά τὸν ηπόνυμον 'By the subject.'

ιὸ πεπαθυνομένων 'or with reference to the persons.'

5, ἀριστοκρατίας τέλος τὰ πρὸς παιδεῖαν καὶ τὰ νομίμα.

κατ' αὐτὰς τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν ἀρχῶν] If this is genuine it is a very concise expression. κατ' αὐτὰς τὰς διαφορὰς διαφορᾶς διαφοράς τῶν ἀρχῶν, or κατὰ τοῖς τὰς διαφορὰς διαφοράς τῶν ἀρχῶν: either of these forms would express what I conceive to be the meaning of the passage better than the one which Beckes has and Stahr keeps, though his translation is in favour of a change. 'Corresponding to the differences we observe in the constitutions are these differences in the magistracies required.'

διαφοροσύνων This seems to mean 'where different ones are required.'
VI. (IV.) 15.] ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Z. (Δ.) 299

tei megálæs, énva ð eĩnai mikræs tâs aútâs. oú mên ðallâ kai ðidai tînes eĩsin, ðov ð òwv proboûlôn aútêt gâr oú ðemokratîkî, boulê ðî ðemotikîn. deî mên gâr eĩnai tî toiûtôn ði èmplelês ðestai tîou ðêmu proboûlûsein, ðtow ðâxholôn ðestai ðî touto ðî, ðalân ðalogn ðôv ðêmuðon ðatsin, ðlinkyrikôn tîou ðî proboûlouûs ðlîgyous ðanagkaiûn eĩsin tî plêsôs, ðstî ðlinkyrikôn. allâ ðstou ðîmêfou aútai ði ðarçai, ðî proboûlouî kathêtastîsin ðetî tîois boulêutaiû. ði mên gâr boulêutês ðemotikôn, ðî ðî proboûlouûs ðlinkyrikôn. katalûsetai ðî kai ðîs boulês ði ðûnamis en tâs toiûtaiû ðemokratîaiû eĩ en aís aútôs swiyô ð ðêmuðos ðhrmatîzêi pêrî 1300 pântôn. touto ðî ðî symbáthein éiðiên, ðein ðêtrôpia tis ðî 13 ðîsôthos tîois ðêklestîazousin ðxholázontes gâr solýlegenai tî polîkaiû kai ðapanta aútôl krienousin. paîndînomês ðî kai ðûnaiânomês, kai ði tîs allôs ðrêxhôn kûríos ðetî toiûtû ðëmplelês, ðrístotêkraïkôn, ðemokratîkôn ðî ou pûs gâr ðôv tî koulûnê ðêzînai tâs twn ðptôwv; ouî ðlinkyrikôn trîfôswi gâr aî tîwn ðlinkyroûntôn. allâ pêrî mên tû 14 twn ðî toutouû eîrînouû ðûn, pêrî ðetî tâs twn ðrêxhôn kathèstasîsin peiratêv ðz ðrêxhês dieleîfèiv. eîsin ðî aî diaforal ðî trîsou dèroi, ðûn sîntiðemênon ðanagkaiû pântas eîlêfthai tîous trôpous. ðêtî tîwn trîwv toutôn eĩ mên tînes ði kathèstàntes tâs ðrêxhês, ðeûteron ðî ðetî tînou, loîten ðî ðîna trôpouû. ðêkatôtû ðetî tîwn trîwv toutôn diaforal trêis 15 eîsin ði gâr pântes ði politai kathèstasîsin ðî tînes, kai ðî

11 ðôsûs áxholôn ðestai ðhow it shall be kept engaged.
12 kathêstàntos ðî tîois boulêutaiû 'are established as a check upon the members of the senate.' This was the case at Athens at the time above mentioned, when Probuli were appointed.
13 èètrôpia tis ðî ðîsôthos [Spengel, p. 40, wishes to read μισθοῦ, relying on VII. (VI) 6, μισθοῦ èêtrôpia. But there is no absolute necessity for the change, for we may conceive the μισθος introduced to make more precise the meaning of èêtrôpia, and the second passage written at first with greater accuracy.
14 èêzai tâs tîwv ðptôwv] Comp. VII. (VI) vîm. 23, ðî tîn ðdoullan. There is no possibility of subjecting them to regulations as the simplest necessity of their state of poverty would set any such aside.
15 ði trîsou dèroi 'under three heads,' ði in three points.'
The execu- εκ πάντων ἡ ἐκ τινῶν ἀφαρισμένων, ὅν ἦν τιμήματι ἡ γένει
tive power.

οὰρτί ό τινι τοιούτῳ ἄλλῳ, ὅσπερ ἐν Μεγάροις ἐκ τῶν
συγκατελθόντων καὶ συμμαχεσαμένων πρὸς τὸν ὁμόν, καὶ

16 ταῦτα ἡ αἱρέσει ἡ κλήρῳ. πάλιν ταῦτα συνδυαζόμενα, λέγω
δὲ τὰς μὲν τινὸς τὰς δὲ πάντες, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐκ πάντων τὰς

ὁ ἐκ τινῶν, καὶ τὰς μὲν αἱρέσει τὰς δὲ κλήρῳ. τούτων δὲ

17 ἐκάστης ἔσονται τῆς διαφορᾶς τρόποι τέσσαρες. ἡ γὰρ
πάντες ἐκ πάντων αἱρέσει, ἡ πάντες ἐκ πάντων κλήρῳ, καὶ ἡ
ἐξ ἀπάντων ἡ ἀπὸ ἀνά μέρος, ὅν καὶ φυλὰς καὶ ὁμόνοις καὶ
φρατρίας, ἦς ἡ διέλθη διὰ πάντων τῶν πολιτῶν, ἡ ἀι ἐξ

18 ἀπάντων, καὶ τὰ μὲν οὕτω τὰ δὲ ἐκείνως. πάλιν ἐι τινὺς
οἱ καθιστάντες, ἡ ἐκ πάντων αἱρέσει ἡ ἐκ πάντων κλήρῳ,
ὁ ἐκ τινῶν αἱρέσει ἡ ἐκ τινῶν κλήρῳ, ἡ τὰς μὲν οὕτω τὰ δὲ
ἐκείνως, λέγω δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐκ πάντων αἱρέσει τὰ δὲ κλήρῳ.

19 τούτων δὲ αἱ μὲν δύο καταστάσεις δημοτικαί, τὸ πάντας ἐκ
πάντων αἱρέσει ἡ κλήρῳ γίνεσθαι ἡ ἀμφότεροι, τὰς μὲν κλήρῳ
tὰς δὲ αἱρέσει τῶν ἀρχῶν. τὸ δὲ μὴ πάντας ἀμα μὲν καθι-
stάναι, ἐς ἀπάντων δὲ ἡ ἐκ τινῶν, ἡ κλήρῳ ἡ αἱρέσει ἡ
ἀμφότεροι, τὰς μὲν ἐκ πάντων τὰς δὲ ἐκ τινῶν ἀμφότεροι (τὸ
δὲ ἀμφότεροι λέγω τὰς μὲν κλήρῳ τὰς δὲ αἱρέσει), πολιτικῶν.

20 Καὶ τὸ τινὰς ἐκ πάντων τὰς μὲν αἱρέσει καθιστάναι τὰς δὲ
κλήρῳ ἡ ἀμφότεροι, τὰς μὲν κλήρῳ τὰς δὲ αἱρέσει, ὄλγαρ-
χικῶν· ὁλγαρχικῶτερον δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐς ἀμφότεροι. τὸ δὲ τὰς

1300 ἐκ πάντων τὰς δὲ ἐκ τινῶν πολιτικῶν ἀριστοκρατικῶν, ἡ

21 τὰς μὲν αἱρέσει τὰς δὲ κλήρῳ. τὸ δὲ τινὰς ἐκ τινῶν ὅλ-
γαρχικῶν, καὶ τὸ τινὰς ἐκ τινῶν κλήρῳ, ἡ γενόμενον δὸ
ομοίως], καὶ τὸ τινὰς ἐκ τινῶν ἀμφότεροι, τὸ δὲ τινὰς ἐς ἀπαν-

22 των. τὸ δὲ ἐκ τινῶν αἱρέσει πάντας ἀριστοκρατικῶν, τοῖς
μὲν οὖν τρόποι τῶν περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τοσοῦτοι τῶν ἀριστῶν

15 ἐν Μεγάροις] Mr Grote, iii. 60, in reference to this allusion speaks of
its being of no historical value, for
dates and details escape us.

16 τούτων δὲ ἑκάστης, κ.τ.λ.] On this
passage see Nickes, Excursus, viii.
p. 145. He practically re-writes it.
But, allowing that he does this success-
fully, and I think he does, the question
occurs, is it worth while? I prefer
leaving the text as it stands.
eisai, kal de hipentai kata tais politeias outhis: tina de tis The executive power
sourcempeis kalwos dei ginesthai tais katastaseis, ama tais
dynamisein twon arkhion, kal tines eisyn, estai faneiron. Legw
dei dynamin archis, oion thn kurian twon prosodion kai thn
kurian ths phulakhs. Allo gar eidos dynamewo oion strati-
gias kai ths twon perip thn agorain synbolaion kurias.

Loipon de twon triwon to dikaiotikon eiphein. Lithetion de 16
kai touton tois trepos kath thn autin upodestin. Eusti
dei dialofa twon dikaiotetwion en trisv oinois, eis dne te kal
peri eis kai pous. Legw de eis wv mou, poteron eis pantan
h eis tivn. Peri dein de, posa elidei diakaiotetwion to de pous,
poteron klyros h ariosei. Proton ouv diaristolou posa elidei
dikaiotetwion. Eusti de twn arithmwn oiktw, en mou evvne-
tikon, allo de eis tis twon koinon a'idei, eteron dsa eis
thn politeian ferei, tetarton kal arkhousi kal idiaitas dsa
peri zemisowen amfioseotousin, peompoton peri twon diwia
synallagmaton kai eisontwn megodos, kal para tauta to
te fousikon kai to zevikov. Fousikov mei ouv elidei, dein h
i touto autois dikastais dnv dein allois, peri te twon eis
pronolag kai peri twon akousion, dsa omologeitenan mei
amfioseotaitai peri tou dikaiou, tetarton de dsa touto
phugousi founo epi kathdow epiforaitai, oion 'Athenisi
lengestai kai to en Phoetoi dikaiotetwion. Synbainei peri
to toiauta eis to panti xronos oliva kai en twis megalw

Ama xai dynmein] in VII. (VI.) 8, this point is treated.
allo gar eidos] 'For there is quite another kind of power, say in the office
of general and in that to which is entrusted the management of the common
market transactions.'

XVI. 1 toisw) As if he had written
to dikaiotetria.
2 dsa eis tin politeian ferei] all constitutional questions.'
peri zemwoen] 'appeals against the amount of fines.'
kal eisontwn megodos] 'and on the condition that they are of some import-
tance,' granting that they are not merely trivial.
3 fousikov eidos) On this question see
Hermann, Pol. Antiquities (Eng. Tr.), § 104, p. 203, and the appendices to
Muller's Eumenides.
en kathdor) Hermann as quoted above.
"The homicide was still obliged to quit the country for a season, until he
obtained leave of the relations of the deceased to return."
Phoetoi] Mr Grote, iii. 103, note, speaks of this as "obscure."
The judicial power —— —

πολιτικον. τοις η εξευκοτοι εν μεν εξευκο των εξευς, άλλο
εξευος πεδος λατατος. έτι δε παγά τάντα ταυτά περι των
μικρών τυχαναγματων, οσα θαυμασαι και πενταβραχμα
και μικρών θεσιων, οπει μεν γας και πετυ τοινυν γίνονται
κατιν, ουκ έμπιπτει δε εις δικαιων πλάζειν. Άλλως περι
μεν τοιτων άκεσι των θεσιων και των θεσιων και των ξενικων, περι
δε των πολιτικων ιεγίων, πετυ ουκ εις γινομένων καλος
διαστασεις γίνονται και των πολιτικων οι κινησεις, άναγκη
η τοι πάντως πετυ πάντων καθειν των οικομεναν αιρέσει
de κληρον, de παντως πετυ πάντων τα μεν κληρον τα δε αιρέ
σει, de πετυ ειςον των αυτων τως μεν κληρον τους δε αιρε
τους. ουτωι μεν ουκ οι τροποι τετταρες των άκμων, τοσο
ουτωι οι έτεροι και οι μετα μεσος πάλιν γαρ εις τιμων και
οι διακεντης περι πάντων αιρεσιν, εις τιμων περι πάντων
cleis, τα μεν κληρον τα δε αιρεσιν, εις δικαιοσια
7 περι των αυτων εις κληρον και αιρετων. ουτωι μεν ουκ,
οτσερ ενδεχεσθαι, οι τροποι των ειρημενων. έτι δε τα
αιτα συνοικισμαν, λεγαν ο Ευόν τα μεν εις πάντων τα δε
εις τιμων τα δε εις άμφων. ουν ει των αυτων δικαιοσιαν ειση
οι μεν εις πάντων αιρεσιν, η τα εις τιμων, και η κληρον η αιρεσιν η
ομμη. έσος μεν ουκ ενδεχεται τροποι ειναι τα δικαιο
σιασια, έσοη η τοιτων δε τα μεν πρωτα δημοτικα, ουσα εις
πάντων οι περι πάντων, τα δε ουτωρ ιεγιων, ουσα εις
τιμων ταοι πάντων, τα δε τρατα αιστωρατικα και πολι-
τικα. ουτα τα μεν εις πάντων τα δε εις τιμων.
SUMMARY. BOOK VII. (VI.)

THERE is no break between this book and the last, and its contents have been stated generally in the summary given of the last. Its particular object is to investigate the method of constituting first democratical, then oligarchical, governments (Ch. I.)

What are the ideas at the root of democracy? what are the characteristic principles it admits? what the character it requires or tolerates in its citizens? (II.) How can the element of fairness and equality on which it prides itself be introduced, and so introduced, as that the constitution formed shall not, by its exclusiveness and adaptation to the democratical standard, entirely alienate and drive into violent opposition the other parts of the state? (III.)

The various forms of democracy differ in point of excellence in proportion to the varying merit of the people which is predominant in each. A clear judgment must then be formed on the point, which democracy is best, and then the measures necessary for securing it must be adopted. If a democracy of free proprietors of land is the best, the state must see that its citizens, all of them, have land, and so on, as the scale descends, for the various intervening forms. The latest in order of time and most prevalent welcomes all alike, and aims only at strengthening its numbers, and breaking up the organisation of the party opposed to it. It tolerates no powerful classes, no union, no distinctions. It has much that is tyrannical in it (Ch. IV.)

To form a constitution is one thing, to keep it, when formed, in health, is another. And this is the harder task of the legislator. In his laws and constitutions he must aim at this. He must not seek the immediate and exclusive triumph of his principle at the expense of its permanence. On the contrary, he must, as far as is possible, guard against that exclusive triumph, above all things, guard against excessive irritation of his opponents, and so he must, if possible, preclude excessive poverty in the people, an end in which the party who are inferior should zealously co-operate with him. It is the common interest of all (Ch. V.)
SUMMARY.  

So far for democracies. If the method of their formation is rightly understood, it involves the right understanding of their opposites, the formation of oligarchies. And the cautions in the two cases are analogous. The safety of a democracy lies in large numbers, they seem to make opposition hopeless. The safety of an oligarchy lies in the moderate use of their power by the oligarchs (VI.) This is their real safety. To secure their power, whether moderately used or strained to excess, they must carefully consider their armed force. And if they aim at a moderate and just use of it, then there are certain 'temperamenta imperii,' modifications which may make such wise exercise of it something in which all acquiesce (VI.)

There remains a point which was not fully treated in the last book, relating to the various magistracies which the state requires, whether democratical or oligarchical. These are enumerated at considerable length.
In this first section I omit the clause relating to the revolutions of states, the subject of Book VIII.

Since we find that there is more than one kind of democracy, more than one kind also of the other constitutions, it will be as well to consider them, and at the same time if we have left anything unsaid on the former points, to consider that also, and to give the proper and suitable mode of establishing each constitution. So I translate the passage, keeping Bekker’s text strictly. Nickes wishes to substitute ἀλλα for ἄμα. By ἐκείνω I understand the bouleutikον, δικαστικον, ἀρχαριτικόν of the last Book.

[3 τὰς συναγωγὰς] συναγωγή is a bringing together, uniting. Here ‘the combinations.’

[ἐπαλάττεν] Here the word is very simple, ‘to run into one another, to interchange.’

[ἐσκεμμένοι εἰσί] The verb seems to be used in a passive sense.

[τὸ μὲν ὑπελογίζων] Spengel would read περὶ τὸ after μὲν, as he would also substitute τὸ ὑ for τὰ ὑ. No doubt both changes would be improvements, but they are not very important ones.

[ὁλιγαρχικὸς ἢ συντεταγμένον] ‘be arranged on oligarchical principles.’
δικαστηρία ἀριστοκρατικῶς, ἢ ταύτα μὲν καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν
βουλευτῶννυν ὁλιγαρχικῶς, ἀριστοκρατικῶς δὲ τὸ περὶ τὰς
ἀρχαρεσίας, ἢ κατ' ἄλλον τινά τρόπον μὴ πάντα συνεδρή-
τὰ τῆς πολιτείας ὀικεία. Ποιὰ μὲν οὖν δημοκρατία πρὸς
πολεον ἀρμότει πόλιν, ὁσαύτως δέ και ποία τῶν ὁλιγαρχικῶν
πολεον πληθεῖ, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν δὲ πολιτείων τῆς συμφέρει
6 τίσιν, εἰρήτατο πρὸτερον. ὅμως δὲ δεῖ γενέσθαι δὴλον μὴ
μόνον ποία τούτων τῶν πολιτείων ἀρίστη ταῖς πόλεσιν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ πῶς δεῖ κατασκευάζειν καὶ ταύτας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας
ἐπέλθουσιν συντόμως. καὶ πρῶτον περὶ δημοκρατίας ἐπι-
μένει· ἀμα γὰρ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀντικειμένης πολιτείας φανερῶν,
7 αὕτη δὲ ἐστὶν ἢ καλοῦσι τινές ὁλιγαρχίαι. ληπτέον δὲ
πρὸς ταύτην τὴν μέθοδον πάντα τὰ δημοτικά καὶ τὰ δι-
κοῦντα ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ἀκολουθεῖν· εἰ γὰρ τούτων συντι-
θεμένων τὰ τῆς δημοκρατίας εἶδή γίνεσθαι συμβαίνει, καὶ
8 πλείους δημοκρατίας μιᾶς εἶναι καὶ διαφόρους. δύο γὰρ
ἐστιν αἰτία δει, ἀπὸ πρὸς αἱ δημοκρατίαις πλείους εἰσὶ, πρῶτον
μὲν ἡ λεγέισα πρότερον, ὡς διὰ διάφοροι οἱ δὴλοι· γίνεσθαι
γὰρ τὸ μὲν γεωργικὸν πλῆθος, τὸ δὲ βάναυσον καὶ ἤθε-
λών· ἢν τοῦ πρῶτον τῷ δευτέρῳ προσλαμβανόμενον, καὶ τοῦ
τρίτου πάλιν ταῖς ἀμφότεροις, οὖ μόνῳ διαφέρει τῷ βελτίω

―

5 μὴ πάντα συνεδρή, κ.τ.λ.] 'The combination be not in all points that of elements akin to the constitution.'
"Sed sumpta a diversis et dissimilibus" is part of the comment of Victorius on the passage.

6 ἀριστοκρατίας] Spengel would read αἱρεθ ἀριστοκρατία (p. 34, note 31), but the present reading may be defended as virtually the equivalent of the one proposed. 'But for each of the states under their circumstances,' or 'for what kind of state each constitution is eligible.' It does not matter much which of these two is adopted.

καί ταύτα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἑπέλθουσιν συντόμως] Does this last verb govern the two accusatives, or do they depend on κατασκευάζειν? Perhaps the best way is to make them depend on κατασκευάζειν, and then let ἑπέλθουσιν συντόμως, and not δὴλοι, precede the interrogative, 'but also let us briefly discuss the point how both these and the other forms are to be established.'

7 μᾶς] is not absolutely necessary. It seems put in to draw great attention to the statement, and to illustrate Aristotle's dislike to any attempt at reducing all the various forms too much under one head.

8 τῷ βάναυσῳ καὶ ὅρισκον] In (IV.) iii. 2, the words are ἀγοράζων καὶ βανάωσον.
Democratic combinations.

9 περί τόν Ἐπαρκήν] 'For the re-form of existing constitutions.'

10 περί τόν Ἐπαρκήν] depends on αὐτός, 'all without exception of those points which their assumption implies,' which are akin, that is, to the democratical or oligarchical principle. I prefer this way to St. Hilare's "grouper autour de leur principe."

As to the words ενδεικτ. κ.τ.λ., which I have omitted from the text consistently with § 1. Spengel would retain them, reading ἐφαρμοσαί καταρρέων for ἐφαρμοσαί επιτρέπων. It seems quite the easier plan to get rid of them at once, though this leaves, it must be confessed, the passage very abrupt.

τά ἐγκαθεσματα] 'The primary assumptions,' 'the fundamental principles,' in this sense, "les bases sur lesquelles." St. Hil.

τὰ §§] Compare V. (VIII.), 1, 2, τὸ γὰρ ζητήσεις τῶν πολιτειῶν ἐκάστης. The different character required by each in its citizens to adapt them for being good members of the whole, depends on the character which is impressed on that whole. The plural τα§§ simply expresses the fact that as there are several constitutions, there will be several characters. The ampler discussion of the character of democracy in particular, is that given by M. De Tocqueville in his Democratice en Amérique.

Il. 1 εἰσαχθέν] I do not think any distinction need be drawn between this word and τα ἐγκαθεσματα of the last chapter for any practical result. 'Εισαχθέν is not the 'Idea' in Coleridge's sense of the word, but 'the primary assumption on which the given constitution is based.'

ταυτό γὰρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'For this is the constant language of men, as though this were the only form in which liberty was to be enjoyed.'
πολιτικών Η. (Ζ.)
αὐτοῦν ἀρχεῖν μυθεμίαν ἢ ὀλιγάχιον ἢ ὀλίγας ἐξεῖν τῶν κατὰ πῶλειν, τὸ ὀλιγοχρόνος τὰς ἀρχὰς ή πάσας ἢ ὄσας ἐνδέχεται, τὸ δικαίως πάντας καὶ ἐκ πάντων καὶ περὶ πάντων ἢ περὶ τῶν πλείστων b καὶ τῶν κυριατάτων, οἷον περὶ εὐθυνῶν καὶ πολιτείας καὶ τῶν ἴδιων συναλλαγμάτων, τὸ τὴν ἐκκλησίαι ὁμοίων κυρίαι εἶναι πάντων b ὁ τῶν μεγάτων ἀρχῶν δὲ μηδεμίαν μηδενὸς ὅ ὅτι ὀλιγότων κυρίαι, τῶν ὑ ἀρχῶν δημοτικώτατον βουλῆ, ὡς εἶ μη μισθοῦ εὐπορία πάσιν ἔνταθε γὰρ ἀφαιροῦντα καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς δύναμιν εἰς αὐτοῦν γὰρ ἀνάγει τὰς κρισίας πάσας τὸ δήμου εὐπορίων μισθοῦ, καθαρέρ εἰρητα πρότερον ἐν τῇ μεθόδῳ τῇ πρὸ ταύτης, ἐπειτα τὸ μισθοφορεῖν, μάλιστα μὲν πάντων, ἑκκλησίαι δικαιστηρία ἀρχὰς, εἰ δὲ μη, τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια καὶ τὴν βουλῆν καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας τὰς κυρίαις ἢ τῶν ἀρχῶν ἢ ἀνάγκη συσστητικῆς μετ’ ἀλλήλων. ἔτι ἔτειθεν ὀλιγαρχία καὶ γένει καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ παιδίᾳ ὁρίζεται, τὰ δημοτικὰ δοκεῖ τάναντα τούτων εἶναι, ἀγένεια πενία βασιλεία. ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἀρχῶν τὸ μυθεμίαν ἴδιων εἶναι ἐάν ἐδὲ 8 1318

b kal τῶν μεγάτων Bekker.

* Bekker's order places ἢ τῶν μεγάτων after ὅτι ὀλιγότων.

* ὅτι Bekker.

dικαίως πάντας καὶ ἐκ πάντων] It would seem that we ought to substitute ὅ for καὶ before ἐκ πάντων.
kαὶ τῶν μεγάτων] This is superfluous.
nὸ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, κ.τ.λ.] The order in the text seems to me better than that retained by Bekker, and given at the foot.
κὰ μεθοῦ εὔπορία] Compare VI. (IV.) καὶ 13, note.
ἐνταῦθα γὰρ] 'Where there is.'
nὴ μεθὸς τῇ πρὸ ταύτης] The reference is to VI. (IV.) καὶ, but no inference could well be founded on it as to the order of Books VII. VIII.
(VI. V.).

b ἀρωτοκρατίαι, compare VI. (IV.) viii. ix. 3. It is the last-quoted section that explains his language here, διὰ τὸ μάλλον ἀκολουθήσαν ταῦτα εὐποροστέροις.

bασιλεία] The penia in the one case, as the wealth in the other, determines the question of education. The wealthy have, the poor have not, leisure for cultivation, and though the former may neglect their opportunities, and not educate themselves, whilst the latter may secure this in spite of their disadvantages, still, on the average, it is assumed that the favourable or unfavourable outward circumstances will determine the result.

b ὅτι ὅτι may stand, but ὅτι is far better, I think.
Characteristics of democracy.

Τις καταλειφθή εἰς ἀρχαίας μεταβολῆς, τότε περιαρεῖσθαι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς καὶ εἰς αἱρέτων κληρατοὺς παιῶν. τὰ μὲν οὖν κοινὰ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ταύτῃ ἐστὶ, συμβαίνει δὲ ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου τοῦ ὁμολογουμένου εἶναι δημοκρατικὸν (τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἴσον ἔχειν ἀντανακλών ἀριθμῶν) ἀριθμόν τ' ἐμαίνοι εἶναι δακτύλια δημοκρατία καὶ δήμος. ἤσον γὰρ τὸ μηθὲν μᾶλλον ἀρχεῖν τοῦς ἀρίστους ἢ τοὺς εὐπόρους, μὴδὲ κυρίους εἶναι μόνον ἀλλὰ πάντας ἢ ἴσον κατ' ἀρίθμον. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ὑπάρχειν κυρίοις τὴν τ' ἴσοτητα τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ.

3 To δὲ μετὰ τούτῳ ἀπορεῖται πῶς ἔξωσι τὸ ἴσων, πολυτέρων δὲ τὰ τιμήματα διειλθεὶς χίλιοις τὰ τῶν πεντακοσίων καὶ τοὺς χίλιους ἴσων δύνασθαι τοὺς πεντακοσίους, ή δ' οὔτων δὲι τιθείσι τὴν κατὰ τοῦτο ισότητα, ἀλλὰ διειλθεῖν κατὰ οὕτως, ἐπειτ' ἐκ τῶν πεντακοσίων ίσους λαβόντα καὶ ἐκ τῶν χίλιων, τούτους κυρίους εἶναι τῶν ἀρχαισμῶν καὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων.

* diaphorōn Bokker.

περιαρείσθαι] 'To strip it of its power.' The language almost seems an allusion to the case of the Areopagus and its treatment by Ephialtes and Pericles.

9 συμβαίνει] 'there results,'

τὸ μηθὲν μᾶλλον] This is the passage quoted in the note on VI. (IV.) τ. 22, to which it is sufficient to refer the reader.

III. 1 τὸ μετὰ τούτῳ] 'The next point after this presents a difficulty.'

πότερον δεῖ] Shall there be a property element? 'Ought the properties of 500 rich to be taken and set over against those of 1000 poor, and the thousand to have equal weight with the five hundred, or is this not the way in which you ought to establish equality in this respect, but rather, the division given above, to a number out of both five hundred and the thousand, and place in the hands of the body so formed the elections and the courts of justice.' Such seems to me the sense of the passage, but I do not feel clear as to the exact meaning of the expression διειλθεὶς χίλιοις τὰ τῶν πεντακοσίων, " répartir de manière que," St. Hil.

diaphorōn] This word again is difficult. Stahr makes no change, but, with Sculypea, looking more to the sense than the word, he translates it "consultationem," and so he gets the two great functions of the citizen given in III. 11. 8. Victorius reads αἰρέσιων in the sense of elections. I prefer ἀρχαισμῶν, the reading adopted by St. Hilaire and Lambinus. τῶν τε αἰρέσιων would make a very good reading. Of course, if diaphorōn can mean 'decisions on points of policy,' then it would be the best reading of all, and I should think it might bear this meaning rather than that of 'deliberation.'
πότερον οὖν αὐτὴ ἡ πολιτεία δικαιοτάτη κατὰ τὸ δημοτικὸν δίκαιον, ἡ μᾶλλον ἡ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος; Φασὶ γὰρ οἱ δημοτικοὶ τοῦτο δίκαιον ἐτὶ ἀν δόξῃ τοῖς πλείσιον, οἱ δὲ ὀλίγοι γαρχικὸν ὃ τι ἀν δόξῃ τῇ πλείον υοσίᾳ κατὰ πλῆθος γαρ υοσίᾳς φασὶ κρίνειν δεῖν. ἦθεν δὲ ἀμφότερα ἀνισότητας καὶ ἀδικίας εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὃ τι ἀν οἱ ὀλίγοι, τυραννὶς (καὶ γὰρ ἐὰν εἴπῃ εὖ θείς πλείω τῶν ἄλλων εὐτόραν, κατὰ τὸ ὀλιγαρχικὸν δίκαιον ἀρχεῖν δίκαιον μόνος), εἰ δὲ τὰ τι ἀν οἱ πλείοις κατ᾽ ἀριθμοῖς, ἀδικήσουσι δημιουργεῖσι τὰ τῶν πλουσίων καὶ ἐξαντόνια, καθάπερ εἴρηται πρότερον. τίς ἀν οὖν εἰ ἡ ἀθικῆς ἡ ἄμολογήσουσιν ἀμφότεροι, σχετικῶν εἴ ἂν ὀρίζωνται δικαίως ἀμφότεροι. λέγουσι γὰρ ὃ τι ἀν δόξῃ τοῖς πλείσιον τῶν πολιτῶν, τούτ᾽ εἶναι δὲ κύριον. ἔστω δὴ τοῦτο, μὴ μέντοι πάντως, ἀλλ᾽ ἐστὶν δ علاقة τὸ μερίτηκεν εἴ ᾧ ἂν ἡ πόλις, πλουσίοι καὶ πένητες, τοῖς πλείους, τούτοι κύριον ἔστω, ἓν δὲ ἄναντια δόξῃ, εἴ τι ἀν οἱ πλείοις καὶ ἂν τὸ τίμημα πλείον. ὁδὸν οἷς δέκα οἱ εἴκοσι, ἐξορεῖ δὲ τῶν μὲν πλουσίων τοῖς εἴ, τῶν οὶ ἀπορρέουσι τοῖς πεντακαίδεκα. προσγεγένηται τοῖς μὲν πένησις τέτταρας τῶν πλουσίων, τοῖς δὲ πλουσίοις πέντε τῶν πενησον τοῖς ἀλλα.quot;}{"2 ἢ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος] 'That which looks to number exclusively.'

κρύονθια] 'Amount of property, they say, must be taken as the standard.'

3 ἀδικῶν] 'unfairness.'

τυραννὶς It is in principle a tyranny. This point is discussed at greater length, III. xiii. 7.

δημιουργεῖσι Compare III. x. 1.

4 ἄμολογησοῦσιν] 'which both alike will acquiesce in, and must be gathered by looking at the definitions which both alike give of justice,' or 'the definition of justice in which both alike agree.'

ἔστω δὴ τοῦτο, κ.τ.λ.] 'Bo it so then, only let us limit the mode in which it is to be.'

5 τι ἀν ἀμφότεροι] 'That the stress is, as before, on ἀμφότεροι, 'what both together shall determine, or the majority of both.'

οἱ πλείοις κ.τ.λ.] 'The side on which you find number and larger property combined.' Compare Nieb. Rom. Hist. i. 434, note 1017.

5 οἷς κ.τ.λ.] I take the following explanation in substance from Sir G. Cornwall Lewis, On Opinion, 232. There are ten rich and twenty poor. Six rich vote on one side, fifteen poor on the other. Five poor vote with the six rich. Four rich with the fifteen poor. Then if the valuations of each are added on both sides, that side is to prevail whose aggregate valuation is highest.
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Δημοκρατίαν δ’ οὖσαν τεττάρον βελτίστη μὲν ἡ πρώτη τάξει, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τούτων ἔλεγξι τοῖς λόγοις· ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἀρχαίοτάτη πασῶν αὐτὴ. λέγω δὲ πρώτην ἀστήρ ἀν τις διέλευ τός δήμους· βέλτιστος γὰρ δήμος ὁ γεωργικός ἐστιν, ὥστε καὶ πολιτείαν ἐνδέχεται δημοκρατίαν ἄδικον τῇ ἀπὸ γεωργίας ἃν νομίζει· διὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ μὴ πολλὴν οὔσιαν ἔχειν, ἀσχέλος, ὥστε μὴ πολλὰς ἐκκλησιάζειν· διὰ δὲ τῶν ἔχειν τάναγκαία πρὸς τοῖς ἔργοις διατρίβουσι

*μῆ Bekker.

συναριθμομένων, ν.τ.ν. ι’ Both rich and poor being reckoned in on either side respectively.’

6 ἡσει συμπέπεσα] ‘If they chance to come out equal.’

ἀπολιθωμένων] must exclude by lot as in VI. (VI.) xiv. 13.

ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τοῦ δικαίου] ‘It may be difficult, very difficult, to find in theory what is strictly fair and just, but it is a much less difficulty than to induce those who are the stronger to acquiesce in it when found, and abstain from encroachments on their neighbours. It is ever the weaker who seek for justice, whilst the strong wholly neglect it.’ Compare Thuc. v. 89-105.

IV. 1 τέχει] ‘in position.’

πρὸ τούτων] see ii. 6, τῷ μεθελῇ τῇ πρὸ τούτων.

ἔστη ἐν τῷ διδάλλο τοῦ δήμου] ‘adopting the division of the δῆμου, and making the constitutions in which they are supreme correspond in order with the order established among them.’

βέλτιστος] and as such πρῶτος, and the δημοκρατία in which it is supreme will therefore be βελτίστη and so πρώτη.

ὅταν καὶ πολεῖν] ‘So that you can without difficulty make a democracy,’ or ‘you can make a democracy which shall be worth something.’

νομίζει below, § 11.

2 τὸ μὴ ἔχειν] The editors and commentators suffer this μη to stand quietly, but it seems to me that it ought to be omitted, in fact that with it the passage is contradictory. In the first clause the people are supposed to have not much property, in the second they are supposed, with the existing reading, not to have the
necessities of life. It makes very good sense if the μὴ is omitted. The people has not much property, and therefore it cannot command leisure, but it has the necessities of life, as a basis to proceed on, and so it spends its time on its business and does not covet its neighbour’s property, but finds work pleasanter than mixing in politics and holding office. It has, in fact, the two great remedies against covetousness and its causes and consequences, ὄντα δρακάνια = τινὰς γλυκάνες and ἀργάς. Compare II. vii. 12.

3 ἕν τις αὐτῶν, κ.τ.λ.] Compare for the same idea nearly VI. (IV.) xiii. 8.

4 ἀναπληρεῖ, κ.τ.λ.] ‘Satisfies their want if they feel some ambition.’

ἐν Μαντινεῖς[ Compare Grote x. 54. Mantines, “so moderate in its democratical tendencies as to receive a favourable judgment.”

5 τὸς δυναμένου] The capacity here indicated is supposed by some to be wealth. But it surely is better to take the sense of ‘ability,’ generally. “Fähigkeit,” Stahr. δύναμιν τῶν ἄρχων τῆς ἀρχιτ. VIII. (V.) ix. 1.

6 διὰ τῶν βελτιστών] ‘in the hands of the best.’
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Aphyteans. The inhabitants of Aphytis in Pallenae.

10 ἓς τι μέρος τῆς ὑπαρχείσης ἐκάστῳ γῆς. νῦν δὲ δεῖ διορθοῦν καὶ τῷ Ἀρταίῳ νόμῳ. πρὸς γὰρ ὁ λέγομεν ἐστὶ χρήσιμος. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ, καταρτὴν δισεκατομήνιον δὲ γῆν ὁλίγην, δομαὶ πάντες γεωργοῦσιν τιμῶνται γὰρ οὐδὲς τὰς κτήσεις, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τηλικομὴν μόρια διαφοροῦντες ἀυτὸ ἦχεν ὑπερβάλλει τὰς τιμήσεις καὶ τῶν κέντρας.

μετὰ δὲ τὸ γεωργικὸν πλῆθος βαλτιστὸς δημός ἔστων ὅπου τοι νομεῖς εἰσὶ καὶ ἱσώσιν ἀπὸ βοσκημάτων. πολλὰ γὰρ ἤχει τῇ γεωργίᾳ παραπλησίως, καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὰς πολεμικὰς πράξεις μάλιστ' οὕτω γεγυμνασμένοι τὰς ἔξεις καὶ χρήσιμα τὰ σώματα καὶ δυνάμεις θυραυλεῖν. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πλῆθος πάντα ἐσεχθοῦν, ἐξ ὅν καὶ λεῖσσα δημοκρατία συνεστάσθη, πολλά φαυλοτέρα τούτων: ὁ γὰρ βίος φαυλὸς, καὶ οὗθεν ἔργον μετ' ἀρετῆς ὅν, μεταξερίζεται τὸ πλῆθος τὸ τοῦ βασιλεὺς καὶ τὸ τῶν ἁγορασίων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὸ θησικόν. ἔτι 13 δὲ διὰ τὸ πέρι τὴν ἁγοράν καὶ τὸ ἄστυ κυλίσθαι καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον γένος ὅς εἰπεῖν ράδιος ἐκκλησιαζέει· οἱ δὲ γεωργοῦντες διὰ τὸ διεστράβη κατὰ τὴν χώραν οὕτ' ἀπαντῶσιν οὐδ' ὅμως δέονται τῆς συνόδου ταύτης. ὅπου δὲ καὶ συμ-
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The other kinds.

15 ἀνευ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν χώραν πλήθους. Ποὺς μὲν οὖν δεῖ κατα-

139 ἀνέχεσθαι τὴν βελτίστην καὶ πρώτην δημοκρατίαν, ἔρημον
| διὰ τὸ πάντας κοιμάσθην, οὗτος πάσης ἐστὶ πόλεως

φέρειν, οὗτος μένῳ διαμένειν μὴ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τοὺς ἔθεσιν

16 εὐ συγκεκιμένην· ὁ όρος δὲ τὸ καθιστάναι ταῦτα τὴν δημο-

κρατίαν, καὶ τὸν δήμον ποιεῖν ἰσχυρὸν εἰσώδασιν οἱ προ-

στατές τῷ προσλαμβάνειν αἰς πλείστους καὶ ποιεῖν πολίτας

μὴ μόνον τοὺς γνησίους ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς νόθους καὶ τοὺς ἔξ

ὁσπερευόντων πολίτην, λέγω δὲ ὅνων πατρὸς ἢ μητρὸς· ἀλλὰ

τῷ γὰρ ἱκεῖον τοῦτο τῷ τοιούτῳ δήμῳ μάλλον. εἰσώδασι μὲν

ὁ δὲ φθείρων συμβαίνει καὶ ταύτην καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πολιτείας, ἔφησεν πρότερον

τὰ πλείστα σχέδον Bekker.

advantage. In fact it was not so in

Aristotle’s eyes.

14 τὴν χώραν πολύ, κ.τ.λ.] ‘The
country which is cultivated is very
distant from, far removed from the
city.’ ἀνεχθῆσαι occurs in this sense in

Demososthenes.

ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀσπίδας· ἀσπίδες] ‘to make settlements in the
country, as it were.’ ‘Emigrer de la ville,”

St. Hil.

καὶ] ‘even if there be large numbers
of town population, not to allow it to
meet without the numbers resident in
the country.’ The later Roman Repub-
ic furnishes illustrations of the
 distinction between the town and the
country population, and its impor-
tant bearing on several of the politi-
cal decisions.

15 ἐσπομένων] ‘Servato ordine.’ ‘They
must deviate from the first and best
form in a regular, logical order,’ ‘with
a due regard to logical consequence.’

παρακεβαίνειν seems equivalent to πα-

ρεκβάειν γίνεσθαι. Of course the sub-
ject changes in the case of χωρίζειν,
which is strictly active.

τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσι] ‘In the
laws and habits of the people.’

The concluding clause of this sec-
tion must be thrown out of the text,
as similar ones have been before.
There is a greater temptation here than
at the end of Ch. I. to adopt Spongell’s
remedy and change the past into the
future tense, keeping the main part of
the remark.

16 καὶ τῶν δήμων] καὶ is ‘both.’

τῷ προσλαμβάνειν] Compare Ierod.
ν. 66, προσταταρ(κεται τῶν δήμων).

ποιεῖν πολίτας] Compare on this sub-
ject III. π. 3, V. ν. 8.

ἀναφ. γ.ρ., κ.τ.λ.] ‘for none of such
classes are quite alien to a democracy of this kind.'

17 Dei uhm, k. v. l. ‘The right thing, however, is to associate such elements with the existing citizens only up to the point at which the people become stronger than the upper and middle classes combined, and not to advance beyond this point.’

Κυρίνην] Herod. iv. 159, 162, &c.
πορευντις] ‘in the political sense,’ the ‘canaille.’ ‘For in small doses the mob element is overlooked, if admitted largely it forces itself more on the eye.’

18 αὐξήσα] So the Latin ‘augere,’ ‘to increase the power of.’
19 τὰ τῶν ἱδίων ἱερῶν] Break up the family religious rites, peculiar to certain families, such, for instance, as the rites peculiar to the gentes of the Potitii and Pinarii at Rome.’ Or compare the case of Isagoras.

πάντα σοφιστῶν] ‘by every possible contrivance mingle all classes one with the other, and break up all the old associations.’ It expresses admirably the policy of the great revolution effected at Athens by Cleisthenes, Crote, iv. 173–7. Such a change as that in France, in the early part of her revolution, when the provincial distinctions were abolished, and the departmental system introduced, is an instance of the same policy.

20 παροράν] ‘to connive at.’ If Book VIII. (V.) really preceded this
one, a reference might have been expected here to his remarks on the policy of the tyrant.

V. 1 ἔγραψα. One of these two ἔγραψα is superfluous, but the general writing of the book is not sufficiently careful to warrant us in rejecting either. Spenge] (p. 39) would reject one.

2 οἱ δὲ, θεὸς. Another of the passages in favour of the usual order of arrangement. It is one which it is not possible to get rid of, and, therefore, with Nickes and Spenge, I have read θεοφήμους δισταρον, assuming that a change took place to suit the order, which must be reversed when that order is reversed. It is remarked that there is no mention in any one of the suspicious places of μεταβολήν.

αι τοῖς ἀχραφοῖς καὶ τοῖς γεγραμμένοις. I suspect this very strongly of being the addition of some one who wished to complete, as he thought, the passage. Can the language be properly used τιδεικτόν ἀγράφους κείμενοι? Still I hate the words.

οἱ πολιτείαις μάλιστα. 'which shall embrace as much as possible what tends to the safety of constitutions.'

μὴ πολέμωσιν. The caution is to the same effect as that in Ch. I. x.

οἱ τοῖς δήμοις. 'their respective peoples.'

τοῖς κυριομένοις. 'The well-wishers to the constitution.'

χρώματι πρὸς το χωρίον. This is far from easy. Is it best to construe it quite literally 'of the property of those who are condemned, and who concern
the state? The meaning, if so, would be, the property of those who are condemned for offences which are offences against the state, in whose case, therefore, it would be natural to bring their property by fine or confiscation into the public treasury. It should, says Aristotle, be looked on as sacred to the Gods.

4 del] Have we not here the opposite error in the text to that pointed out, VI. (IV.) xi. 21. There δει had crept in for δει; here δει has been substituted for δει. I venture to restore δει.

eleφ] 'temere,' 'without good or sufficient grounds,' Rhet. i. 1, 2, p. 1354, 6.

μη τοι γε, κτλ.] 'at any rate, not to look on the government as hostile to them;' τους κυρίους is the object of νομίζειν.

5 τουτό] sc. τὸ μισθοφόρων, or τὸ διδόναι μισθών. It does not seem to matter which of these two is adopted.

πολέμιοι] 'is adverse to,' or more strongly 'involves hostility to the upper classes.'

εισφορά] 'The property and income-tax.' It was a direct tax, in no sense a voluntary contribution to meet the wants of the state. Compare Smith, Dict. Ant.

6 φερει προς] 'tends to.'

7 τὰ περιστά νέμοντι] 'They divide the surplus,'
Means of preserving democracy.

βάνους δὲ ἄμα, καὶ πάλιν δέονται τῶν αὐτῶν· ὁ τετρήμενος γὰρ ἐστὶ πλοῦς ἡ τοιούτη βοήθεια τοῖς ἀπόροις. ἀλλὰ δεῖ τὸν ἀληθινὸς δημοτικὸν δρᾶν ὅπως τὸ πλῆθος μὴ λάην ἀπὸν ἦ· τούτῳ γὰρ αἰτία τοῦ μοχθήρᾳ εἶναι τὴν δημοκρατίαν. τεχναστέον ὦν ὅπως ἡ εὐπορία γένοιτο χρόνιον.

ἐπεὶ δὲ συμφέρει τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς εὐπόροις, τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν προσόδων γινόμενα συναθροίζοντας ἀθρόα χρὴ διανέμειν τοῖς ἀπόροις, μάλιστα μὲν εἰ τις δυνατείς τοσούτον ἀθροίζων ὅσον εἰς γνώσιν κτῆσιν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, πρὸς ἀφομίην ἐμπορίας ἵπτον καὶ γεωργίας. καὶ εἰ μὴ πάσι δυνατοῖν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ φυλὰς ἢ τι μέρος ἔτερον ἐν μέρει διανέμειν· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ πρὸς τὰς ἀναγκαίας συνώδους τοὺς εὐπόρους εἰσφέρειν τὸν μισθὸν,

τῶν ματαιῶν λειτουργιῶν. τοιοῦτον δὲ τινα τρόπον Καρχηδόνιοι πολιτεύμενοι φιλον κέκτηται τὸν ἰδίον· αἰε γὰρ τινα ἐκπέμποντες τοὺς ἴδιους πρὸς τὰς περιοχὰς ποιοῦσιν εὐπόρους. χαριτων ὃ ἐστὶ καὶ νῦν ἐχόν-

*ἀφιμένους Bokker.

ὁ τετρήμενος πίθος] is like the sieve of the Danaides, see L. and S.

τῶν ἀληθινῶς δημοτικῶν] 'The democratic statesman who is worthy of the name.'

8 τεχναστέων] 'Systematic measures must be adopted to secure a permanent prosperity, as this is no less for the interest of the rich,' etc. J. B. Say, Catéchisme d'Economie Politique, p. 295.

γηθίου κτήσιν] 'The acquisition of a small plot of land,' the seven jugera, for instance, of the Roman plebeian.

ἐμπορίας] Some of the MSS. read εὐπορίας, and certainly εμπορίας is scarcely in accordance with his theory in favour of agriculture, and so alien to all trade. Either in itself is very good sense, but I rather lean to the reading εὐπορίας. On the other hand, Stahr and St. Hilaire both translate the reading Bokker retains.

9 κατὰ φυλὰς, κ.τ.λ.] 'by tribes or some other division dealing it to them in turns.'

ἐν τούτῳ] 'meanwhile,' that is, till on this system you have gone through the whole of the poor, and all have been admitted to a share in the distribution.

τῶν μισθῶν] 'The pay' required to enable the poor to attend these indispensable meetings.

ἀφιμένους] So I read with Schneider and Coray for Bekker's ἀφεμένους. Compare III. v. 3.

πρὸς τὰς περιοχὰς] 'To the dependent towns in the neighbourhood.' The expression throws light on the parallel passage, ἐκ τῶν πόλεων, II. xi. 16.

10 χαριτων] For the word in this sense, compare VI. (IV.) xii. 9.
ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Η. (Ζ.) 321

τών γνωρίσαν καὶ διαλαμβανοντας τοὺς ἀπόρους, ἀφορμὰς
[μὲν] διδόντας τρέπειν ἐπ' ἐργασίας. καλῶς δὲ ἔχει μι-
μεῖχθαι καὶ τὰ Ταραντίνων. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ κοινὰ ποιοῦντες τὰ
κτήματα τοῖς ἀπόροις ἐπὶ τὴν χρήσιν εύνου παρασκευάζουσι
τὸ πλῆθος. ἦτ’ δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς πάσας ἐποίησαν διστάζ. οὐ
tὰς μὲν αἰρέτας τὰς δὲ κληρώντας, τὰς μὲν κληρώντας ὡς
ὁ δὴμος αὐτῶν μετέχῃ, τὰς δ’ αἰρέτας ἢνα πολιτεύονται βέλ-
tιον. ἦτ’ δὲ τούτο ποιησάν καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς αὐτῶν μετε-
ζοντας, τοὺς μὲν κληρώντος τοὺς δ’ αἰρέτους. Πῶς μὲν οὖν
dεῖ τὰς δημοκρατίας κατασκευάζειν, εἰρήνηι.

Σχεδόν δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας πώς δὲ, φανερὸν δὲ
ἐὰν τούτων. ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων γὰρ δὲι συνάγειν ἑκάστην
ὀλιγαρχίαν πρὸς τὴν ἐναντίαν δημοκρατίαν ἀναλογιζόμενον
ἐκ τῶν μὲν εὐκρατᾶς μᾶλλον τῶν ὀλιγαρχῶν καὶ πρῶτην—
αὐτὴ δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ σύνεγγυς τῇ καλουμένῃ πολιτείᾳ, ἢ δὲ τὰ
τιμήματα διαιρεῖν, τὰ μὲν ἐλάττω τὰ δὲ μεῖξον ποιοῦντας,
ἐλάττω μὲν ἄφ’ οὖν τῶν ἀναγκαίων μετέχουσιν ἀρχῶν, μείζω
δὲ ἄφ’ οὖν τῶν κυριωτέρων, τὸ τε κτωμένα τὸ τίμημα
μετέχειν ἐξίσους τῆς πολιτείας, τοσοῦτον εἰσαγόμενον τοῦ
ὄνομα πλῆθος διὰ τοῦ τιμήματος, μὲδ’ ὁδ’ κρείττοντες ἑσον—

καὶ] 'also.' The same conjunction seems required before ἀφορμὰς δι-
δοτάς.

διαλαμβανοντας] 'taking them am-
mongst them as individuals.' It is
opposed to συναθροιστας ἄφ’ ὅλην ἥ
διακήμενιν, ib. § 3. Compare II. x. 14,
and note.

Ταραντίνων] Grote v. 320. Müller,
Dorians ii. 9. 185. I cannot see that
on either point Müller’s statements
are justified, that either τα τιμήματα
means public property, or that στράτες
involves the doubling of the magistra-
cies.

καὶ καὶ τὴν χρήσιν] ‘Common for
their use.’ I consider the meaning to
be that expressed II. v. 6—8, and
again IV. (VII.) x. 9. The policy is
that said to have been adopted by
Cimon.
ταί τῶν μη μετεχόντων. ἀεὶ δὲ δεῖ παραλαμβάνειν ἐκ τοῦ ἑλείας τοῦ ἕνου τοὺς κοινωνούς. ὠμοίας δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐχομένην ἐλείαν ἐπιτείμωνας δεῖ μικρὸν κατασκευάζειν. τῇ 3 ἀντικειμένη τῇ τελευταίᾳ δημοκρατίᾳ, τῇ δυναστικαιστάτη 4 σούτω δεῖ πλείονος φυλακῆς. ὀσπερ γὰρ τὰ μὲν σῶματα δὲ διακείμενα πρὸς ὑγίειαν καὶ πλοία τὰ πρὸς ναυτιλίαν καλῶς ἔχοντα τόις πλατήριοιν ἐπιδέχεται πλείονος ἀμαρτίας ὡστε μὴ φθείρεσθαι δεί αὐτάς, τὰ δὲ νοστρῶς ἔχοντα τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τὰ τῶν πλοίων ἐκείστιμα καὶ πλοθρῶν τετυχκότα φαύλων οὐδὲ τὰς μικρὰς δύναται φέρειν ἀμαρτίας, οὕτω καὶ τῶν πολιτείων αἰ χερίσται πλείστης δένται 1315 φυλακῆς. τὰς μὲν οὖν δημοκρατίας ὅλας ἡ πολυανθραπία σβείει, τούτω γὰρ ἀντικείμενο πρὸς τὸ δίκαιον τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἄξιαν τὴν ὅ διλεγκρίλαν δηλον ὅτι τούναντιόν, ὡς τῆς εὐταξίας δεῖ τυχόνειν τῆς σωτηρίας.

7 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τέτταρα μὲν ἐστὶ μέρη μάλιστα τοῦ πλῆθος, γεφυρικοῦ βάναυσου ἀγοραίου δητικοῦ, τέτταρα δὲ τὰ χρύσιμα πρὸς πόλεμον, ἱππικὸν ὄπλιτικον ψίλων ναυτικῶν, ὧποι μὲν συμβεβηκε τὴν χόραν εἶναι ἤπατον, ἐνταῦθα μὲν εὐφυῖος ἠχεί κατασκευασθείν τὴν ἐλεγκρίλαν ἰσχυρὰν (ἡ

by means of the standard of qualification required, only in such number as that, with the number introduced, the whole body of active citizens may be stronger than the body of those excluded from the government.'

3 ἐπιτείμωνας μικρὸν] 'slightly tightening it.'

4 καλῶς ἔχοντα τοῖς πλατήριοι] This is the construction Victorius adopts, "bene instructe nautis," 'well-manned.' It might be ἐπιδέχεται τοῖς πλατήριοι, 'admit in their crew,' 'allow their crew.' The first translation has in its favour the subsequent expression, πλατήριον τετυχίκοτα φαύλων.

φυκῆς πλείστης] 'greatest precautions.'

5 ἀντικείμενο] 'meets and controls,' 'balances.' The large numbers constitute a claim to power which is seen to be in some degree a valid one, and tends to quiet the oligarchical objections.

ebra[s] 'Right conduct in the oligarchs.' Stahr is right, I think, in affixing this definite sense to the word.

VII. I χόρων Ἰππάδων] 'fit for the action of cavalry,' compare Herod. v. 63. Ἰππάδων ποιήμας τῶν χόρων.

εὐφυῖος ἠχεί] 'it is naturally easy.'
γὰρ σωτηρία τοῖς ὀἰκούσι διὰ ταύτης ἐστὶ τῆς δυνάμεως, 
αἱ δὲ ἱπποτροφίαι τῶν μαχρᾶς οὐσίας κεκτημένων εἰσὶν; 
διὸ τὰ ὀπλίτην, τὴν ἕχομέν τινι διαλεῖψαν τὸ γὰρ ὀπλιτικὸν τῶν ὕπορον ἐστὶ μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἁπόρων. ἢ δὲ ψυλὴ λὰμ 
idunamis kai nautikē dēmakratikē pámysan. 
Nūn μὲν οὖν ὁποι τοιοῦτον πολὺ πλῆθος ἐστὶν, ὅταν διαστῆσι, πολλάκις ἀγανίζωται χείρα. δὴ δὲ πρὸς τὸ τούτο φάρμακον παρὰ 
tōn polèmikōn λαμβάνειν στρατηγῶν, οἱ συνεδράζουσι πρὸς 
tὴν ἵππηκη δυνάμην καὶ τὴν ὀπλιτικὴν τὴν ἀρμοττουσαν 
tῶν ψυλῶν. 
ταύτη δ’ ἐπικρατοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς διαστάσεσιν 3 
tōn ὁμών τῶν ὕπορων. ψυλλὶ γὰρ ὄντες πρὸς ἱππικὴν καὶ 
ὀπλιτικὴν ἀγανίζονται ράβδιος. 
τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῶν ἄθιστάν παρὰ 
tῶν δυνάμει ἐφ’ ἑαυτοὺς ἐστὶ καθιστάναι, 
dižeusin tōn ψυλαὶ ἐφ’ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τῶν, καὶ ὅταν ὄνταν προσβεν 
tῶν ὄντων ὑπὸ σωμάτων, ἐτὶ μὲν ὄντας νέως τοὺς, 
aποδόθατον τῇ κόραις καὶ τῷ ψυλαὶ ἐφανέρωσι, ἑκκικ 

tois oikoudh] sc. χώραν ταύτης. 
ai hipptorofh] Compare VI. (IV.) 
3. ὀπλίτην] I should make this an ad 
jective in sense quite as much as 
hippadh, 'fit for regular infantry.' 
Compare the adjectival use of the word 
"Ellin." L. and S. 
2 toiohtou] sc. ψυλαὶ καὶ καλ 
tikῶν. 

ὅταν διαστᾶσι, κ.τ.λ.] 'When the 
two parties quarrel and range them 
selves one against the other, it not un 
frequently happens that the oligarchs 
get the worst in the struggle.' The 
cavalry and heavy armed are not found 
a match for the lighter forces. In the 
street fighting of antiquity, the ad 
antage lay with the less disciplined 
but more available forces. The expe 
rience of the last few years since 1848 
has shown that this is no longer so; 
the artillery makes the struggle of the 
people with the soldiery a hopeless 
one, granting, of course, any proportion 
between the two forces. The reduction 
of an insurgent population is as mere 
a question of calculation as that of an 
ordinary fortress. 
3 toiohtou] sc. tōn ὁμών. 
diadokhēn] 'resting on the distinc 
tion of age that exists.' 

ἐτὶ μὲν, κ.τ.λ.] 'whilst their 
sons are yet young, to have them 
taught.' 

ἐκακριμένους δὲ ἐκ ταῦτων "Sobald 
sie aus dem Knabenalter getroten 
sind," Stahr. The δὲ answering to the 
μὲν in ἐτὶ μὲν νέος διὰ ταύτα seems to 
determine that these words apply to 
the sons. But allowing this, it is not 
easy to fix their meaning. 
4 tōn metádoxou] The previous re 
marks have been directed to the nouns 
of securing in case of quarrels the 
power to the oligarchy. The re-
mainder of the chapter touches on the question of preserving the oligarchical constitution by milder means, without coming to any open rupture. The first of these is the admission of fresh members into the government. This may be done in three ways: either the acquisition of a certain property may secure it, or the abstention during a given period from all disqualifying occupations; or, thirdly, it may be done by a selection made by the governing body from the rest.

πρότερον] Ch. VI. 11.

Θεβαίοις] III. v. 7. ἐφ' ἐκείνων ἦσθε ὁ χρόνος τυχόν.


ἐν τῷ πολιτεύματι] must here mean not the 'government,' but those 'within the pale of citizenship,' the πολιτεύματα hitherto excluded from the government. τῶν ἰδίων would mean probably any body of resident foreigners. Or in the absence of any details, can the words ἐν τῷ πολιτεύματι keep their natural meaning, and the κρίσις τοιουτούν imply a revision of the whole body, such as that of the Roman censors, admitting new members on the ground of their worthiness, excluding others hitherto members for the reverse?

5 ἣ ὑδὲ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ κατέχειν] 'Which members of the governing body must hold.' This seems the meaning of πολιτείᾳ here, the body of really active citizens, the governing body in the largest sense, as distinct from the executive magistrates.

κατέχειν] 'obtineres,' 'hold,' perhaps even moro, 'hold firmly.'

Ἄνθρωπος] The munera sedilitia at Rome are an instance of this.

κατακεκτήσαντες τί τῶν κοινῶν] “con- struire quelques monuments publics, St. Hil. κατακεκτήσαντες has the sense of some permanent construction, not sacrifices or games, but temples or aqueducts, for instance.

7 τὰ λόγια, κ.τ.λ.] On this compare his language, οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἡμα χρηματίζεσθαι ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν καὶ τι- μοῦσαν, Enl. viii. xvi. 3. p. 1163, b. 8.
δημοκρατίας μικρᾶς] ‘close democracies.’ They combine all the faults of both.

At the end of this chapter, some editors think that in the existing work there is a gap. Nickes quotes Conring, Schneider, Schloesser, Coray. There is no need of supposing anything lost at this particular place. Others, with more reason, think that there is a gap at the end of the next chapter, that the book, in fact, has been curtailed. Spengel quoted by Nickes 125, note 1. In pp. 126, 127, Nickes seems uncertain as to a larger loss.

VIII. 1 ἀκολούθων δὲ] Compare I. 1. ἡμι δὲ περὶ ἑκατὸν εἰ τι λοιπόν, with which this passage connects.

τίνων] On what does this depend? It is simplest, looking at VI. (IV.) xv. 1. to supply κόραι. τόσα τε ἡρμῆ, καὶ κόραι τίνων.

2 συνδέσεων] ‘to combine.’

χωρ[εί]ν] ‘to keep distinct.’

3 πρῶτον] πρῶτη, as Coray suggests, would, I think, be an improvement.

τὴν ἐφοροσάω] ‘whose province it is to watch over the transactions that take place, and also to see that order be kept.’

σχεδόν] This reluctant admission of the necessity of exchange, in the shape of sales and purchases, which are exchanges through the medium of money, is very curious.

ὑπογυνατον] ‘the readiest means.’ Liddell and Scott, ‘das unmittelbar nächstste,’ Stahr.

δι’ ἄν δοκοῦσι] ‘And it is this, this satisfying of the primary wants of our nature, that is thought to have been the origin of the union in a state.’ This translation throws the relative back for its antecedent not upon
θεόν. ἐτέρα δὲ ἐπιμέλεια ταύτης ἐχομεν καὶ σύνεγγυς ἢ τῶν περὶ τὸ ἀστυ δημοσίων καὶ ἱδίων, ὡς εὐκοσμία, καὶ τῶν πιστῶν ὁικοδομημάτων καὶ ἱδίων σωτηρία καὶ διόρθωσις καὶ τῶν ὀρίων τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὡς ἀνεγκλήτως ἔχομεν, καὶ ἓσαν τούτοις ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐπιμελείας ὁμοίωτα. 5 καλούσι δὲ ἀστυνομίαν οἱ πλεῖστοι τῆς τοιαύτης ἁρχῆς, ἢχει δὲ μόρια πλείω τῶν ἀριθμῶν, ἢν ἐτέρους ἐφ᾽ ἐτέρα καθιστάτων ἐν ταῖς πολυανθρωπίνες πόλεις, οἷς τειχίσεωις καὶ κρηνῶν ἐπιμελητάς καὶ λιμένων φύλακας.

6 Ἀλλὰ δὲ ἀναγκαία τε καὶ παραπλησίᾳ ταύτη περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν μὲν γὰρ, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὴν χώραν ἐστὶ καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὰ ἐξα τῶν ἀστεῖως καλούσι δὲ τοὺς ἀρχηγοὺς τούτους οἱ μὲν ἀγρόνομοι οἱ δὲ ὀλυμποῖς. Ἀδυνατεῖ μὲν οὖν ἐπιμελείας εἰς τούτοις τρεῖς, ἀλλὰ δὲ ἁρχὴ πρὸς ὧν ἐν προοδείᾳ τῶν κοινῶν ἀναφέρεται, παρ᾽ ὧν φυλαττόντων μερίζονται πρὸς ἐκάστην διοίκησιν καλούσι δὲ ἀποδίκται τούτους καὶ ταμάς.

7 Ἐτέρα δὲ ἁρχὴ πρὸς ὧν ἀναγράφεται δεῖ τα τε διὰ συμβολὰ καὶ τὰς κρίσεις εἰς τῶν δικαστηρίων, παρὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτῶν τούτους καὶ τὰς γραφὰς τῶν δικαίων γίνεσθαι δεῖ καὶ τὰς εἰσαγωγὰς. ἐνιαχοῦ μὲν οὖν μερίζουσι καὶ ταύτην εἰς πλείους, ἐστὶ δὲ μία κυρία τούτων πάντων καλοῦσι δὲ

auctóres, which is the object of the social union, but on the more distant xpeia, which, δικαίως, 'is thought to be so by some.'

4 δημοσίως καὶ ἱδίως] need not be limited as Stahr's translation, "Gebäude," limits it, but generally "public and private property."

διὸς ἀνεγκλήτως ἔχομεν] 'That there may be no opening for mutual complaints.'

toûτοι] depends on ὁμοίωτα.

5 δὲ ἑτέρως, κ.τ.λ.] For the amount of business renders desirable, and the number of citizens admits of, the application of the principle of division of labour.


δικαιασίας] commissioners of woods and forests.

παρ' ὧν φυλαττότων] 'Who keep them, and from whose hands the distribution is made for the wants of each department.'

διοίκησι[ '] 'department,' 'branch of administration.'

7 ἀναγράφεσθαι] 'registered."

tὰς κρίσεις τὰς ἐκ τῶν δικαστηρίων] 'The decisions of the courts of justice.'

tὰς εἰσαγωγὰς] "opening of the pleadings," L. and S.
ιερομυνήμουνες καὶ ἐπιστάται καὶ μυχμονες καὶ τούτων ἄλλα ὀνώματα σύνεγγυς. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην ἐχομένη μὲν ἀναγκαιοτάτη δὲ σχεδὸν καὶ χαλεπαστάτη τῶν ἄρχων ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τὰς πράξεις τῶν καταδικασθέντων καὶ τῶν προτεθεμένων κατὰ τὰς ἐγγραφὰς καὶ περὶ τὰς φυλακὰς τῶν σω-μάτων. χαλεπῇ μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ διὰ τὸ πολλῆν ἐχειν ἀπό-χθειαν, ὡστε ὅτων μὴ μεγάλη ἐστὶν κερδαινείν, οὔτε ἄρχειν ὑπομένουσιν αὐτὴν οὔθ’ ὑπομείναντες ἐξέλουσι πράττειν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους· ἀναγκαία δ’ ἐστὶν, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄφελος γίνεσθαι μὲν δίκαιον περὶ τῶν δικαίων, ταύτας δὲ μὴ λαμβάνειν τέλος, ὡστ’ εἰ, μὴ γιγνομένων, κοινωθέν ἀδύνατον ἀλλή-λοις, καὶ πράξεων μὴ γιγνομένων. διὸ δὲ λέγειν μὴ μᾶς ἢ ἢν ἕνα ταύτην τὴν ἄρχην, ἀλλ’ ἄλλους εἰς ἄλλους δικαστηρίων. καὶ περὶ τὰς προθέσεις τῶν ἀναγκαρμάτων αὐσατώς πει-ράσθαι διαίρειν. οὕτ’ ἐνα πράττεσθαι καὶ τὰς ἄρχασ

ὶερομνήμονες] This use of the word is not its usual one. The name is most familiar as applied to the deputies to the Amphictyonic council. Nor does it here mean "magistrates such as those mentioned by Smith, Dict. Ant. "Recorders," "notaries." Such seems the meaning here, as also of μυχμονες, L. and S.

ἐπιστάται] Of the two common senses again of this word, neither suits this passage, comp. Smith, Dict. Ant. Its sense must be analogous to that assigned in the last note to μυχ-μονες.

§ τῶν προτεθεμένων κατὰ τὰς ἐγγραφὰς] "mit eingreifend der verbhängenden Strafgelder," says Stahr, "with the collection of the fine imposed." But this is not a close rendering of the words. I take προτεθεμένων as passive and masculine, 'proscriptorium' in its primary sense, and with Stahr I make it depend on πράτεμαι. 'With the levying of the penalties from those whose names are "posted up in accordance with the registers" of the con-

demnations.' So I render the pass- age.

§ ixhein ap'χθειαν] 'involves much odium,' or 'has great odium attached to it.'

λαμβάνειν τέλος] 'be executed, put in force; similar expressions are λαμβάνειν θρος, τιμήν.

ιο Διά] Because of the unpopularity that attaches to the office.

§ τῶν προθέσεως τῶν ἀναγκαρμάτων] προθέσεις is 'the prescription,' 'the posting up' of those registered or re-
corded. So in substance the expres-
sion is equivalent to the one noticed, § 8, τῶν προτεθεμένων κατὰ τὰς ἐγ-
grαφᾶς. And so Stahr takes it.

ἐν οἷς ὡς] The Greek of this passage is very hard. What is the meaning of the καὶ before τὰς ἄρχας? Again, what is the sense of τῶν νόμων, τὰς νόμας, τῶν ἐνεστωτῶν? I do not see that Stahr translates the καὶ, and the sense he attaches to the νόμας, νόμας, "fresh cases, fresh magistracies," is, I should think, open to question. At the same time, I do not see what better solution
to offer. No satisfactory rendering presents itself.

τῶν ἐνεπτύσσων [the actually existing cases];” “herkömmlichen.”

Stahr.

τῶν ἐνεπτύσσομεν [Those which come from].

11 ἀληθῶν ἐπαναστάτων [attachment to those who execute the sentence].

πολλῆς πάσης [Makes them enemies to all, places them, that is, in a hostile relation to all. There is no regular construction of the accusative. Some verb must be supplied from ἀληθῶν, ‘involves their being.’]

12 τὸ ὁφόμενον [Commonly read ὁφόμενον, but this passive, and Stahr also translates the article, though in brackets. It is required by the sense, and I have followed Stahr in inserting it. On the function of ‘the Blunder,’ compare Herrmann, Ad. loc. 119. This passage seems to limit their functions. τῶν] sc. τῶν φυλάττονων.

13 ὁ τῶν [The definite article, which is the general reading, I can make nothing of. I have by a slight change introduced the indefinite pronoun. Compare for the language in justification of the change, II. v. 29. ἐὰς μὴ τὸ σοφίζεται. What is the device, τὸ ὁφόμενον, which is alluded to, if the article is kept? “Des moyens adroits,” St. Hil., and “Das passende auskunstsmittel,” Stahr.

14 τῶν οὕτων [for these objects, “für diese Geschäfte,” Stahr; but the expression is irregular altogether. Can it be ‘Therefore there must not be one definite magistracy set apart in addition to them (τοὺς μακρύδιοις), sc. the bad whom alone you can expect to find ready to act as jailers, &c.;”]
ἐστὶ τάξις, καὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν δεί κατὰ μέρη ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπι-
μέλειαν ἐτέρως. Ταύτας μὲν οὖν τὰς ἀρχὰς ὡς ἀναγκαιο-
tάταις θετέον εἶναι πρώτας, μετὰ δὲ ταύτας τὰς ἀναγκαίας
μὲν οὐδὲν ἤττον, ἐν σχήματι δὲ μειζονιείς τεταγμένας· καὶ γὰρ
ἐμπειρίας καὶ πίστεως δένονται πολλῆς. τοιαύται δ' εἰσὶν
αἱ τε περὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως, καὶ δόσαι τάττονται
πρὸς τὰς πολεμικὰς χρείας. δεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἐν
πολέμῳ πυλῶν τε καὶ τειχῶν φυλακῆς ὁμοίως ἐπιμελητὰς
εῖναι, καὶ ἐξετάσεως καὶ συντάξεως τῶν πολιτῶν. ἦνδα μὲν
οὖν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις ἀρχαὶ πλείους εἰσὶν, ἦνδα δ' ἐκλάττους,
οὗν ἐν ταῖς μικραῖς πόλεσι μία περὶ πάντων. καλοῦσι δὲ εἰς
στρατηγοὺς καὶ πολεμάρχους τούς τοιούτους. ἦτι δὲ καὶ
ἀκομὴ ῥως ἵππως ὧς ὅπλως ἥ τοξὸς ὧς ναυτικὸς, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων
ἐκάστων ἐνῶτε καθιστάνται ἀρχαὶ, αἱ καλοῦσι ταυταρχεῖαι
καὶ ταξιαρχεῖαι καὶ κατὰ μέρος δὲ ἄκτο
ταύτας τριμεραχεῖαι καὶ λοχαγεῖαι καὶ φυλαρχεῖαι καὶ σωτ.
τούτων μόρια· τὸ δὲ πᾶν ἐν τὰ τούτων ἐστὶν ἔδος ἐπιμελεῖας
πολεμικῶν. περὶ μὲν οὖν ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχει τὸν τρό-
πον τούτων. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐναὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τάσσει,
διαχειρίζομαι πολλὰ τῶν κοινῶν, ἀναγκαῖον ἐτέραν εἶναι τὴν

* ένευ Bekker.

to say, 'both of the young there must be some, and the regular magistrates
must take in turns this duty.'

τρότας] 'in order of time.'

ἐν σχήματι μεῖναι τογμάται] 'Species magis ministerii,' 'holding a higher
position,' 'of more importance in the
scale.'

14 εἰς[ε] εἰς [ἐρ] is Stahr's reading.
I do not see why εἰς should not at once
be substituted for εἰς, which cannot be
construed.

διαθέσεως] 'reviewing.'

συντάξεως] 'disciplining.'

15 κατὰ μέρος] 'in detail.' VII. (IV.)

έν τοίς] ἔν τοῖς εἰς i. i. 4. p. 1094. 10,
δοσι δ' εἰσὶν οὖν μὲν τῶν δόνων,
κ.τ.λ.

Αντ., art. Phylerchi.

ἐν τοῖς τούτοις ἐστὶν εἶδος] Again com-
pare VI. (IV.) i. 1, περὶ γένως ἐν τοῖς
τελείως ὁμοίως.

16 διαχειρίζομαι] 'have pass through
t heir hands.'

προσευχωμαι] 'and besides bring
to an account,' L. and S. Compare
Smith, Dict. Άντ., art. Euthynes, p.
479.

διαχειρίζομαι] I should give this
verb here a slightly different sense
from the one above, and its more usual
sense of 'managing.'
ληψομένην λογισμόν καὶ προσευθυνόσαν, αὐτὴν μηθὲν δια-χειρίσθουσαν ἔτερων· καλοῦσι ἃ τούτους οἱ μὲν εὐθύνουσι, οἱ δὲ λογιστάς, οἱ δὲ ἐξεταστάσις, οἱ δὲ συνήγοροι. Παρὰ πάσας δὲ ταύτας τὰς ἀρχὰς ἡ μάλιστα κυρία πάντων ἐστὶν· ἡ γὰρ αὐτὴ πολλάκις ἔχει τὸ τέλος καὶ τὴν εἰσφοράν, ἡ προκάθηται τοῦ πλήθους, ὅπου κυρίος ἐστιν ὁ δήμος· δεῖ γὰρ εἶναι τὸ συμάχον τὸ κύριον τῆς πολιτείας. καλεῖται δὲ ἐναὶ μὲν πρὸσομολογοῦσα τοῦ προδοσεῖται τινες εἰσίν, ἄλλο δὲ εἰδώς ἐπιμελεῖας ἢ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς, οὖν ἱερεῖς τε καὶ ἐπιμεληταῖς τῶν περὶ τέλα τοῦ σῶζοντας τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ ἀναφύσασθαι τὰ πιστοτάς τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα τίτακται πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς. συμβαίνει δὲ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ταύτην ἐναχοῦ μὲν εἶναι μίαν, οὖν ἐν ταῖς μικραῖς πόλεισιν ἐνιαχοῦ δὲ πολλὰς καὶ κεχωρισμένας τῇ ἱερατότητι, οὖν ἱεροποιοῦ καὶ ναυσφόρας καὶ ταμίλας τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων. ἐχομένη δὲ ταύτης ἡ πρὸς τὰς ὑσίας ἀφωρισμένη τὰς κοινὰς πάσας, ὅσα μὲ τοῖς ἱερεύσιν ἀποδίδωσιν ὁ νόμος, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῆς κοινῆς ἐστὶν...
εχοντας την τιμην· καλούσι δ' οι μεν ἀρχοντας τούτους, οἰ δὲ βασιλεῖς, οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις. Αἱ μὲν οὖν ἀναγκαίαι ἐπιμέλειαι ἐστὶν περὶ τούτων, οἷς εἰπεῖν συγκεκφαλαισμένους, περὶ τα τα δαιμόνια καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ καὶ περὶ τὰς προσό- δους καὶ περὶ τὰ ἀναλισκόμενα, καὶ περὶ ἄγοραν καὶ περὶ τὸ ἀστυ καὶ λιμένας καὶ τὴν χώραν, ἐτί τα περὶ τὰ δικαστήρια καὶ συναλλαγμάτων ἀναγραφῆς καὶ πράξεως καὶ φυλακῆς καὶ ἐπιλογισμοὺς τε καὶ ἐξετάσεις, καὶ πρὸς εὐθύνας τῶν ἀρχόντων, καὶ τέλος αἱ περὶ τὸ βουλευόμενον εἰσὶ τῶν κοι- νῶν. Ἰδίᾳ δὲ ταῖς σχολαστικωτέραις καὶ μᾶλλον εὐθυμεροῖ- σαις πόλεων, ἐτί δὲ φροντιζοῦσαι εὐκοσμίας, γυναικονομία, νομοφυλακία, παιδονομία, γυμνασιαρχία, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἔχειν περὶ ἄγονας ἐπιμέλειας γυμνικοῦς καὶ Διονυσιακοῦς, καὶ εἰ- τινὰς ἐτέρας συμβαίνει ταύτας γίνεσθαι θεωρίας. τούτων ἔνιας ἀναφέρως εἰσίν οἱ δημοτικαὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν, οὗν γυναι- κονομία καὶ παιδονομία· τοῖς γὰρ ἁπέροις ἀνάγη χρησταί καὶ γυναιξί καὶ παιδίν ὁποῖο ἀθολοῦσι διὰ τὴν ἀδουλίαν. τριῶν δὲ οὐσίων ἄρχων καθ' ἄς άριστωτας τινες ἀρχαὶ τὰς 24 κυρίους, νομοφυλάκων προδοτικῶν βουλῆς, οἱ μὲν νομοφύ-
λακευς ἀριστοκρατικῶν, ὄλιγαρχικῶν δ' οἱ πρόβουλοι, βουλὴ
dὲ δημοτικῶν. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀρχῶν, ὡς ἐν τύχῃ, σχεδὸν
ἀφηται περὶ πασῶν.

to the bouleutikés and demosotikés were
treated of here, we cannot say. At
any rate, the book is short, and the
two subjects mentioned as much wanted
an additional discussion as the one he
has discussed.
BOOK VIII. (V.) SUMMARY.

IN the summary of Book VI. (IV.) I have given the position of this book in reference to the general subject. It was there stated, that the delicate problem of Greek practical statesmanship, was to balance two antagonist parties in each state; or if not to balance them, if that was given up as impossible, then, as neither the one party nor the other could be wholly got rid of, the problem was to assign their mutual relations, to temper the necessary superiority of the one, to relieve the necessary inferiority of the other; to remove in the former case whatever there was of insulting for the governed, to remove in the latter case, as far as possible, all causes of irritation against the governor. But a statement such as this implies constant difficulty and even danger. The governors were not easy to restrain. Their power was in most cases the result of a contest; there had been a victory and a triumph; and the sense of this acted upon both parties, humbling the inferior, raising an insolent temper in the superior. Or it might be that without any actual contest the power of the ruling party was the expression of a state of things which was past. Side by side with the party which had hitherto been dominant, had grown up another, and its strength had become such that it was no longer willing to acquiesce as before in its political inferiority. The inequality of an earlier stage, which had been just, had ceased to be so; and the desire for greater political equality was a just and a growing one. But a dominant political party is slow to recognise an alteration in the state of things fatal to its own exclusive supremacy. The justice of a desire is no justification in its eyes. καὶ ἐὰν χαλεπῶν εἰρεῖν τὴν ὀλίθρους περὶ αὐτῶν, δήμως ῥάν νωτεῖν ἢ συμπείσαι τοὺς δυναμένους πλεονεκτεῖν· ἀεὶ γὰρ ζητοῦσι τὸ ἵππον καὶ τὸ δίκαιον οἱ ἄγιοι, οἱ δὲ κρατοῦντες οὐδὲν φροντίζουσιν. "Persuasion is the resource of the feeble, and the feeble can seldom persuade." The party in power yields only to pressure, and its concessions are valueless as conciliations. They are wrung from its weakness, and given with reluctance. They are stimulants to the growing strength of its
opponents. So it is a constant effort on the one side to repress, on the other to advance. This was the state of Greece in Aristotle's time, and had been so during the whole period of its history. It was the state of στάσις, permanent, and with the combinations then available, irremovable. Of course such a state must, as I said before, lead to greater vicissitudes, to periods of crisis, to revolutions, to μεταβολές. It is these two subjects that form the subject of the analysis in this VIIIth book. It is the pathology, if I may use the expression, of Greek society. Aristotle begins with the most general expression of the one great permanent cause of the diseased state of society, the sense of inequality—πάντας ὑπὲρ τὸ ἀνίσον ἡ στάσις. And the inequality might be either in property or political privileges, it might be more social or more political. And it might be with a view to secure a greater equality on these points for themselves, to aid others in attaining it, or to prevent others from gaining a superiority, that the parties were formed.

This, the one great permanent cause, would not lead to violent outbreaks without certain minor conditions or occasions. These are enumerated by Aristotle (Ch. II.), and explained and illustrated (III. IV.) This enumeration, this analysis is quite general. In the Vth chapter he takes the case of democracy and applies his previous remarks to it. In the VIth he treats similarly of oligarchy. In the VIIth of aristocracy. In all three alike it is the causes of destruction that he deals with, why they do not maintain themselves, whether the cause be internal or external.

In the two next chapters VIII. IX. he addresses himself to the question how they may avoid the dangers that threaten them, how they may succeed in maintaining themselves. As a general rule this will be clear from our previous analysis of the dangers. In detail the precepts are to avoid all violation of the law; to keep a watchful eye over slight innovations; to exercise a prudent forethought in reference to the gradually altering relations of the parties in the state, to the gradual changes in the value of property; to remove the temptations which great pecuniary advantages attached to office hold out; to check all disorder of the finances. Such are some of the principal precautions. But this is the negative side of the question. More positive safeguards exist. These will be found to be two main ones: the securing governors qualified for their post, and, secondly, the all-important but generally neglected point, the educating the citizens in harmony with the institutions under which they live.
Passing from the free governments, the constitutions of Greece, he turns to monarchy, and of course in this case it will be the corrupter forms of monarchy that will necessarily attract his attention. For monarchy in its highest form is, we have seen, identified with the ideal government, and the elements of disturbance should be, by hypothesis, alien to such a government. It should be clear from permanent dissensions, as from violent changes, from στάσεις and μεταβολή. But the monarchical power of the semi-civilised monarchies existing in the neighbouring nations, Thracian Macedonian, Epirotic, or Persian, and the monarchical power in the hands either of Persian satraps or of Greek tyrants was liable to attacks, the latter form especially. All the citizens whom it had deprived of their political privileges were its sworn enemies. It was, by its definition, a monarchy exercised entirely in the interest of one man, against the will of all the others. Occasion only could be wanting for its overthrow. The earlier despots of Greece had been but short-lived, yet their power had rested on a much more solid basis, had more represented a real need of their respective states. The later ones were a much more violent shock to the feelings of their times, and were as being so of all governments the most short-lived. Ch. X. is a long enumeration of the dangers and changes in monarchical governments. Ch. XI. is an enumeration of the methods of preserving the monarchy, whether tyrannical or not. Ch. XII. is a short statement of the comparative duration of governments. Ch. XIII. contains a discussion of the sequence observed in the changes, together with a criticism on the order of succession as laid down in the Republic of Plato.

With this, somewhat abruptly, his book, as we have it at present, terminates. But the abruptness is in the form merely, for the subject of this concluding book has been adequately worked out. We cannot, that is, as in other parts of his work, lay our hands on any point in the question of the internal dissensions and revolutions of Greek states, which, on his own showing, he ought to have treated and has not. And more than this, we cannot, I think, find any point which in theory we might require to complete his statements. That many points are hastily touched, as, for instance, the matter discussed in the last chapter, will not surprise any one familiar with the method of Aristotle's writings. For with him the completeness of thought is always so much more an object than the completeness of expression. And we scarcely ever find evidences of labour bestowed on the mere dressing up of the subject. We are never suffered to forget his language in Eth.
SERMO.

1. 1. Σμ. 188. Οι τεσσαράκοντα πεντετείκουσαν μεν οι τάγματα ταύτα· δει γαρ ἐμοι ἐχωμεν ἑπτὰμενα ταύταν. δεδομένοις θεωρήσατε. δεξιόν δ' ἂν ἔτης εἴη τεσσαράκοντα μεταβάλλων καὶ ἐπισημάνων τὰ ἔκδοξα ἑξοντα τῇ περιγραφῇ. καὶ ἡ γραμμὰ τῶν τετρακων εὐρετής ή συνεργός ἑγαθός εἴη· ὅπερ καὶ τῷ τετρακων γεγράψαναι αἱ ἐπιφάνειαι· τοιοῦτος γὰρ προσθέκειν τῇ ἀλήτηι.
ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Θ. (Ε.)

ΠΕΡΙ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἄλλων ὡς προειλόμεθα σχέδου εἰρηται περὶ πάντων· ἐκ τίνων δὲ μεταβάλλουσιν αἱ πολιτείαι καὶ πόσων καὶ ποίαν, καὶ τίνες ἐκάστης πολιτείας φθοραί, καὶ ἐκ ποιαν εἰς πολιας μάλιστα μεθίστανται, ἢτι δὲ σωτηρίας τίνες καὶ κοινῆ καὶ χαρὰς ἐκάστης εἰσίν, ἡτὶ δὲ διὰ τίνων ἄν μᾶλιστα σώζοιτο τῶν πολιτείων ἐκάστης· σκεπτέον ἑφεξῆς τοῖς εἰρημένοις. δὲ γὰρ πρῶτον ὑπολαβέω τὴν ἀρχήν, ὡς πολλαὶ γεγένηται πολιτείαι πάντων μὲν ὁμολογῶνταν τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ κατ' ἀναλογίαν ἰσον, τούτου δὲ ἀμαρτα-

VIII. 1. 1. On the order of this book from the nature of the case see Spengel, pp. 35, 36. It is there remarked that Aristotle's treatment of the φθορα first and then the σωτηρία, of the causes of destruction before the means of conservation, points to the preceding construction in VI. VII. (IV. VI.).

περὶ μὲν, κ. τ. λ.] Any difficulty which may be felt as to the change or rejection of certain passages in the preceding books, favourable to the existing order, could only be exchanged for a new one if they were retained unaltered, when we come on such a passage as these opening words. In their obvious natural meaning they are the opening words of the conclusion of a work. The design has been carried out in all points but one, that one shall now receive full attention.

ἐκ τίνων δὲ] This is done in Chaps. I.—IV. We must remark that his language is πολιτείαι, and that the earlier chapters are limited to these πολιτείαι and do not touch on μομποκαξία, which was not to him a πολιτεία.

ἐκάστης πολιτείας] V.—VII.

σωτηρίας τίνες] VIII.—IX.

ἡτὶ δὲ διὰ τίνων] This apparent repetition finds a defender in Stahr. I cannot see any such difference in meaning as to make it desirable to retain both. There is a difference easily seen between φθορα and μεθίστανται, but none such here between σωτηρία and σώζωτο. I have therefore, as in other passages, enclosed the words in brackets.

2 ὑπολαβέω τὴν ἀρχήν] "von dem früher ausgesprochenen Satze ausgehen," Stahr, 'assume as our starting point.'

τὸ δίκαιον καὶ] Spengel, p. 38, note 34, wishes to read εἰμί for καὶ, and I think the sense much better. Stahr retains καὶ. The change into εἰμί is, I believe, counterenanced by § 13 rightly viewed. What people agree in is the general statement that justice consists in what is equal in proportion to the claim of the parties. Democrat and oligarch go so far together, but then they differ immediately as to this claim. If the reading of Bekker is kept, Aristotle means to say that all allow justice to be the right thing
and what is equal proportionately, but fail in attaining justice, in realising this their idea of what is equal and just. Their agreement goes no further than their language, as soon as they come to action, they are at issue as to the practical application of the language in which they agree. This leaves a definite and good sense for Bekker's text, which I have therefore not altered.

3 κατ' οἴσιν] 'in property,' 4 πάντων τῶν ἴσων] 'equality in all things.'


5 ἡμαρτήσαντα δὲ ἀπλῶς] Spengel in the passage quoted above would read here ἡμαρτησανιάς δὲ τοῦ ἀπλῶς, but the wording in the text seems to be quite defensible.

κατὰ τὴν ὕστατην] 'according to the view which they respectively entertain.'

6 πάνων δὲ] For all this language compare III. xii. 13.

7 εὐγενεῖα] Compare VI. (IV.) viii. 9, ἀρχαῖος πλοῦτος καὶ ἀρετή.

8 διὸ καὶ αἱ μεταβολαὶ, the revolutions, the changes of the government, as well as the dissensions whilst the
government remains unchanged; this last is σφαῖρα. The connexion which ἐστὶ is meant to indicate is not so clear. It seems to be this: inequality is the great cause of dissension, and dissension leads to revolution. The inequality to be remedied exists either with reference to the two parties which divide the state, the many and the wealthy, or with reference to the members of those parties within themselves, or more specifically of that one which is in actual possession of the government. If, then, the inequality may be of two kinds, the dissension may also be of two kinds, and if the dissension is of two kinds, the revolution to which it leads may also assume one of two forms. I do not see any other way, though not satisfied with this.

At one time it assumes the form of an attack on the existing constitution. It is a question of the form of government.

The two forms of revolution.

It is a personal question. They accept the constitution, they wish it to be placed in their own hands to administer.

It is a question of degree. Victorius looks on the two cases indicated by ἐν in §§ 9, 10 as varieties of the second form of revolution, ὅτι ὁ πρὸς, κ.τ.λ., and finds in this view the justification of the δικαίως γίγνοται al metaβολικ. I rather look on them as proceeding from his careful attention to all distinctions, his wish to exhaust the cases. They are simply subsidiary.

'Some one part.'

Mr Grote, ix. 330, considers that Lysander's object was to make the kingly office elective, not hereditary; to introduce something very similar to the method adopted at Carthage, II. ii. 4.

On this see Grote, ii. 464, 467, v. 362.

Of Epidamnus, we have had notices, II. vii. 23, III. xvi. 1.
Mr Grote, iii. 542, remarks on them, that they are so brief as to convey little knowledge. There is a notice later Ch. IV. 7.

κατὰ μέρος... "by a change in one part."

11 εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἡλλαδαν... "As in so many other passages, what we want here for the interpretation is a greater knowledge of facts. The mere Greek tells us nothing. Compare for the expression τὸν εἰς τὸ πολιτῆμα βασιλείαν, VI. (IV.) vi. 9. "It is compulsory that, of those who are within the limits of the governing body, the magistrates should go to the Hellesp, the "occasional public assembly" mentioned by Mr Grote in the passage above quoted."

ἐνωψήφισαν Is this active or passive in sense? "Appointed by vote." L. and S. quoting this passage.

ἀρχων δὲ εἰς... "still retaining the original single-headed archon." Compare III. xvi. 1.

πανταχοῦ γὰρ, κ. τ. λ.] There are few harder passages than this in the Politics. For the connection, I should consider all since στασίς ὄντως, § 7, as a parenthesis, and connect πανταχοῦ γὰρ immediately with that section. These are the sources of dissension, for in all cases alike it is from inequality that dissension pro-

τοῖς ἀνίσοις, ὑπάρχει ἀνάλογον] I do not mean to say that there will be dissension if citizens unequal in position have their rights proportioned to that inequality. In one sense it is true this case presents an inequality, but it is an inequality which is really just. There is no violation of proportion. So I would paraphrase the passage, agreeing with Stahr in the sense I attach to it, but allowing that it is simply conjectural. The only other way I can suggest is: in all cases alike where there is dissension, inequality is the cause of that dissension, but it is not in all cases that inequality produces dissension; people may be unequal and yet not quarrel, for though unequal, in the distribution of political power or privileges, a proportionate equality may be preserved. The cases in which inequality results in dissension are, then, those where over and above the inequality, there is in the distribution above mentioned, a violation of this proportionate equality. This second paraphrase supplies more, but does not change the sense of the words ὑπὸ μὲν so much as the other. And the general basis of the two is pretty much the same. I suspect the passage of being altogether disturbed. The ἀδίστος βασιλεία seems to refer especially to the cases of Sparta and Epidamnus. If it does it would seem more appropriate before the general remark πανταχοῦ γὰρ.

v. i. 4, p. 1134, 27, ἄλλοτεν καὶ ἰσον, ἢ καὶ ἄνολγημα ἢ καὶ ἄριμον.

The two passages compared show, as does also § 13 compared with § 2 in this chapter, that καὶ ἄνολγημα is equivalent to καὶ ἄλλον. Numerical is opposed to proportionate equality.

13 ἄλλοτεν δὲ, κ. τ. Λ. The text as I have given it differs from Bekker’s in its view of the article τὸ before ἄλλῳ, and in its stopping—Bekker places a comma after διακυρ. ‘Whilst agreeing in the statement,’ such I make the force of τὸ. ‘that abstractedly justice consists in the observance of the fair claim of all parties, they differ, as was said before, in this that the one, &c.’ See above in § 2.

14 διὸ καὶ μάλιστα] Again the connection, as in § 8, is not quite clear. The claims of various parties are the cause of difference. These claims may be either that of superior numbers, or superior wealth, or superior birth, or superior goodness. But practically it is the first two that are important. Superiority of birth and goodness is found in so few as not to make their claim a cause of disturbance. Add to this that superi-

ority in goodness is generally accom-

panied by the indisposition to assert the claim which it gives. The two remaining claims, that of numbers and wealth, are the bases respectively of the two common forms of government, democracy, and oligarchy, and these two claims are really the only ones that in common political life are found to be the ground of political dissensions. Hence, also, to speak generally, there are two, and only two constitutions.

ταύτα δὲ ἐν πλείονι] The elements of these, δῆμος καὶ ἀληθεία.

ἀποροι] Some MSS. read ἀποροι.

Stahr conjectures that the text originally included both. It would be better if it did. ἀποροι δὲ καὶ ἀποροι πολλοὶ πολλακχοι. But it may stand as it is; either involves the other. Compare VI. (IV.) iv. 18, 19. The existence of a large class of poor renders their claim inevitable, their objection to the rule of the rich inevitable, if they are subject; the objection of the rich in-

evitable if the poor are dominant.

καθ’ ἐκατέραν ἀλήθητα] ‘according to each of the two equalities.’
342  ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ  Θ.  (Ε.)  

Idea of equality.

φαύλον.  Φανερών  δ'  εκ  τοῦ  συμβαίνοντος:  οὐδεμία  γάρ
μόνιμος  ἐκ  τῶν  τοιοῦτων  πολιτείων.  τούτων  δ'  αἰτίων  ἢτι
ἀδύνατον ἀπὸ  τοῦ  πρώτου  καὶ  τοῦ  ἐν  ἁρχῇ  ἡμαρτημένου  μὴ
ἀπαντᾶν  εἰς  τὸ  τέλος  κακῶν  τι.  δίδ  δεὶ  τὰ  μὲν  ἀριθμητικῆς
ισότητι  χρῆσθαι,  τὰ  δὲ  τῆς  κατ'  ἀξίαν.  δίως  δὲ  ἄσφαλε-
στέρα  καὶ  ἀστασιάστερος  μᾶλλον  ἡ  δημοκρατία  τῆς  ὀλιγαρ-
χίας.  ἐν  μὲν  γὰρ  ταῖς  ὀλιγαρχίαις  ἐγγίνονται  δύο,  ἢ  τι
πρὸς  ἀλλήλους  στάσεις  καὶ  ἢτι  ἡ  πρὸς  τὸν  δήμον,  ἐν  δὲ  ταῖς
δημοκρατίαις  ἡ  πρὸς  τὴν  ὀλιγαρχίαν  μόνον.  αὐτῷ  δὲ  πρὸς
αὐτῶν,  δ'  τι  καὶ  ἄξιον  εἰπεῖν,  οὐκ  ἐγγίγνεται  τὰ  δήμω
στάσεις.  ἢτι  δὲ  ἡ  ἐκ  τῶν  μέσων  πολιτεία  ἐγγυτέρω  τοῦ
δήμου  ἢ  τῶν  ὀλιγῶν,  ἢπερ  ἐστίν  ἄσφαλεστάτη  τῶν  τοιού-
των  πολιτείων.

Ἐπὶ  δὲ  σκοποῦμεν  ἐκ  τίνων  αἱ  τα  στάσεις  γίνονται
καὶ  αἱ  μεταβολαὶ  περὶ  τὰς  πολιτείας,  ληπτῶν  καθόλου
πρώτου  τὰς  ἁρχὰς  καὶ  τὰς  αἰτίας  αὐτῶν.  εἰς  δὲ  σχέδιον

* δῆ Βέκκερ.

ἐκ  τοῦ  συμβαίνοντος]  'from  that
which  is  habitually  the  result.'

15  μὴ  ἀπαντῶν]  'There  should  not
result  in  the  end.'

τὰ  μὲν  ἀριθμητικῆς,  κ.τ.λ.]  The
principle  of  absolute  or  numerical  equality
ought  to  be  mixed  with  the  principle  of
proportionate  equality,  according,
that  is,  to  personal  worth.  Lewis  on
Opinion,  273.

δίως  δὲ[]  This  refers  to  the  οὐδεμία
γάρ  μόνιμος.  Still,  though  no  such
form  is  permanent,  there  is  more  safety  and
less  liability  to  quarrels  in  democracy
than  in  oligarchy.

διως  δὲ  ἄσφαλεστέρα]  Instances  are
not  difficult  to  find,  if  we  wish  to
verify  the  truth  of  Aristotle's  remark.
It  deserves  attention  in  itself,  and
from  the  contrast  it  offers  to  the
general  estimate  of  those  forms  of
ent,  which  the  influence  of
sympathies  has  made  popular
in  England,  not  less  in  contempt  of
historical  evidence,  than  of  this,  the
deliberate  judgment  of  the  greatest
political  writer  of  his  own  or  of  any
age.  The  simplest  instance  in  Greek
political  experience  would  be  that  of
the  Thirty  Tyrants  at  Athens,  whose
internal  dissensions  we  have  an  oppor-
tunity  of  studying.

10  δ'  τι  καὶ  διαν  εἰπεῖν]  This  expres-
sion  occurred  II.  xi.  2.

ηπερ[']  and  this,  ἢ  τῶν  μεσῶν,  'it  is
that  is  the  most  secure.'

τῶν  τοιούτων  πολιτείων]  'of  such
forms  of  government  as  we  are  now
discussing;'  the  actual  and  imperfect
forms.

II.  1  καθόλου]  as  opposed  to  Ch.
V.  1,  καθ'  ἐκαστον  αἰῶνος  μεροῦς.
So  that  Chaps.  II.  III.  IV.  form  one
division  of  the  book.

δὲ[]  I  prefer  this  reading  of  one  MS.
to  Bekker's  reading,  δη.
καὶ αὐτὰς τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς, ἀς διοιστεῖσθαι καὶ αὐτὰς τοὺς τρόπους. δέι γὰρ λαβεῖν πῶς τε ἔχοντες στασιάζονται καὶ τίνας ἔχουσιν, καὶ τρίτον τίνους ἀρχαὶ γίνονται τῶν πολιτικῶν ταραχῶν καὶ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους στάσεων. Τοῦ μὲν οὖν αὐτῶς ἔχειν πως πρὸς τὴν μεταβολὴν αὐτίκα καθόλου μᾶς λιστα δετέον περὶ Ἑνὶ τὴν τυγχάνονσιν εἰρηκτέσει. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἰσότητος ἐφιέμενοι στασιάζονται, ἂν νομίζουσιν ἐπλατνὸν ἔχειν ὄντες ὥσιν τοῖς πλεονεκτοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ τῆς ἀνισότητος καὶ τῆς ἐπερχῆς, ἂν ὑπολαμβάνοντον ὄντες ἔνοικας μὴ πλέον ἔχειν ἀλλὰ ἦσον ἡ ἐπλατν. τῶν τε οὐκ ἦστι μὴ ὑπεξεθαί δικαιος, ἦστι δὲ καὶ ἀδίκως ἐπλατνος τοῖς γὰρ ὄντες ὅπως ὥσιν ἄνω ἐπιστρέφοντες καὶ ἦσον ὄντες ὅπως μεῖζον. πῶς μὲν οὖν ἔχοντες στασιάζοντες, ἑιρηται. Περὶ οὖν δὲ στασιάζοντες, ἐστὶν κέρδος καὶ τιμὴ καὶ τανανία τούτους καὶ γὰρ ἀτίμως διαγνόντες καὶ ἑρμᾶς, ἢ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων στασιάζοντες ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν. Αἱ δὲ αἰτιαὶ καὶ ἀρχαὶ τῶν κινήσεων, ὅτε αὐτοὶ τοῖς διατίθενται τοῖς εἰρημένοις πρότερον καὶ προὶ τῶν λεγέντων, έστι μὲν ὅσ τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς ἀπὸ τυγχάνονσιν ὅσια, ἦστι δὲ οὖς πλεῖους. ἕν δυὸ μὲν ἕστι ταῦτα τῶν εἰρημένων, ἀλλὰ οὖς αἰσιότατος διὰ κέρδος

καὶ αὐτὰς] 'by themselves,' without any explanation attached, clear from any admixture of matter, the matter in this case being the instances from history.

τῶς τε ἔχοντες] 'The state of feeling in which men are led into political quarrels, the objects for which, and thirdly, what are the causes and beginnings, the whole antecedent circumstances and the particular one which may be the occasion.' Such seems in the fullest extent to be the meaning of ἀρχαὶ. Of course, when I say the whole antecedent circumstances, I except the two specified previously, the state of feeling and the objects aimed at, which might be thought to constitute two of them.

2 ἔχειν πως] 'being affected in one manner or another.'

τῶς πλεονεκτοῦσιν] simply 'to those who have advantages over them.'

3 ἐπλατνοὺς] 'unfairly depressed.'

τῶς ὅσες ὅσως μείζον] 'really equal, they strive to raise themselves above their fair position.' This interpretation seems required by the γὰρ.

4 δῆν] Compare Etih. vii. ii. 4. p. 1139. 31, ἀρχαὶ προάλησιν, δηδοὺ καὶ κίνησις ἀλλ' οὖς οδ ἄνεικα. So here it is not the object aimed at,—that is given just before, περὶ δὲ,—that is meant by ἀρχαῖ, but the more immediate impulses that set people in motion.

5 διὰ κέρδος] Compare note on 1. 7. It is not with any view to secure gain for themselves, but from a sense of
III. 1 τὰς τοιούτους 'against the constitutions which afford them scope.'

ἀντί τῶν ἱδίων 'from private property,' 'at the expense of individuals.'

2 ἀλλούς δρώντες] Comp. Niebuhr, Rom. Hist. ii. 602, on the character of M. Manlius, and the feelings with which he beheld the honours heaped on Camillus.

3 ἵ τὰν τὸν πόλει, κ.τ.λ. 'More powerful than is consistent either with the state of which he is a member, or with the power vested in its government.'

ἐν 'Ἀργεία] For this see Grote iv. 216. For ostracism generally, above, III. xiii.
καίτοι βέλτιον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁρῶν ὅπως μὴ ἐνέσουται τοσοῦτον ὑπερέχοντες, ἦ ἐάσοντας γενέσθαι, μᾶθαί ὡστεν. Διὰ δὲ φόβον στασιάζοναν οἱ τῇ ἡδικητέσει, δεδίότες μὴ δῶσι δίκην, καὶ οἱ μέλλοντες ἀδικεῖσθαι, βουλόμενοι φθάσαι πρὶν ἀδικηθήσαι, ἀσφέρερ πρὸς Ῥώδη συνέστησαν οἱ γνώσιμοι ἐπὶ τὸν δήμον διὰ τὰς ἐπιφερομένας δίκας. Διὰ καταφρόνησιν δὲ καὶ στασιάζοναν καὶ ἐπιτίθενται, ὅν τοῖς ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις, ὅταν πλείους ὅσιν οἱ μὴ μετέχοντες τῆς πολιτείας (κρείττους γὰρ οἴονται εἶναι), καὶ ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις οἱ ἐνδοροι καταφρόνησαντες τῆς ἀταξίας καὶ ἀναρχίας, ὅν καὶ ἐν Θῆβαις μετὰ τήν ἐν Οἰλινοῦσας μάχης πολιτευόμενον ἡ δημοκρατία διεφθάρη, καὶ ἡ Μεγαρέας δι' ἀταξίαν καὶ ἀναρχίαν ἠττούτων, καὶ ἐν Συρακούσαις πρὸ τῆς Γέλανος τυραννίδος, καὶ ἐν Ῥώδη ὁ δήμος πρὸ τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως. Γίνονται δὲ καὶ δὲ αὐξῆσιν τὴν παρὰ τὸ ἀνάλογον μεταβολαὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν. ἀσφέρερ γὰρ σώμα ἐν μερῶν σύγκειται καὶ δὲ αὐξάνεσθαι ἀνάλογον, ἕνα μὲν συμμετρία, εἰ δὲ μὴ, φθείρεται, ὅταν ὁ μὲν ποὺς τεττά-

4 'Ῥώδη'] Compare Ch. V. 2. Nieb. über die Gesch., Vol. iv. "There followed a time of internal dissension, with regard to which the accounts that remain are obscure." I translate from the German.

5 πλείους οἱ μὴ μετέχοντες] Compare in Xenoph. Hell. ii. 3, § 38, et sqq., the argument of Theramenes as to the dangerous policy adopted by Critias and the extreme party.

6 ἐν Θῆβαις] Grote, v. 466, Thuc. i. 113, we have the fact of the change in Boeotia given us as the result of the battle of Coronea. The internal causes are not given.

Megara] Grote, iii. 59, 60. No dates or details. Thuc. i. 103, we have the alliance of Megara with Athens, and in 114, the withdrawal of Megara from that alliance. And from the context it is not improbable that it is to these facts that Aristotle's remarks apply.

Syracosai] Grote, v. 286, note. It is there suggested that Aristotle's memory may have proved treacherous, and that Gelo's name has been substituted for that of Dionysius.

7 πρὸ τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως] 'previous to the rising of the oligarchical party against them,' the fact given above in the words συνέστησαν οἱ γνώσιμοι. καὶ τὸν δήμον.

8 τὴν παρὰ, κ.τ.λ.} Not all increase, but 'that increase which is disproportionate,' the unequal growth of the parts of the state, or the growth of one whilst the others remained stationary.
7 διὰ τύχας] 'some sudden accident.'
7 Τάραντι[ Herod. vi. 83, vii. 170; Grote, iii. 519, v. 320, and note. Mr Grote remarks justly, "that the expression gives reason to suppose that even before this event the constitution had been popular."
7 Ἀργεί[ Herod. vi. 78–82, Hermann, Pol. Ant. 33.
7 ἱβδόμων] The origin and meaning of this name was, says Stahr, unknown even to the later Greeks.

περιοίκου] The language of Herodotus is, "Ἀργοι ἀνδρῶν ἐχρώθη οὖν ἐστε οἱ δυσλίαν ἱβδομάδα πάντα τὰ περιοίκα χωνεῖται καὶ διάπεσεν."
The Argive Perioeci, Hermann, Pol. Ant. § 19, conjectures, were called Orneae.

ἀντικείμενον πε[?] Does this refer to their losses at Tanagra, Coronea, and similar battles, taking, that is, a range of about thirty years, as expressed by the phrase ὑπὸ τῶν Λακωνίων πόλεμον.
8 ἐκ καταλόγου] 'from the register of Athenian citizens.' Incidentally it illustrates our historical accounts and the language of Demosthenes for the period of Aristotle's own experience. Compare on this the first Philippic. Mercenaries had entirely superseded the native Athenian forces.

8 άνάφος[ This word is doubtful. Several MSS. read ἀνάφος, and some editions. In a note on Ch. I. 14, I have stated why I think one of these words may do duty for both. But it is not for that reason that I would here keep καταλόγον. It is, I believe, the word which gives the best sense. An increase in the number of wealthy would have a tendency to mitigate any oligarchy, and transpose it into a polis. At any rate, where the wealth is diffused, the oligarchy is in its mildest form. At worst, the tendency in a democracy of a large increase of the holders of wealth, would be to temper the evils to which a democracy is liable, and, making it a good mixture, make it a polis. But an increase in the number of the poor would be a sound ground for inferring that wealth was becoming


more concentrated in a few hands, that the distinction between rich and poor, as classes, was not becoming effaced, but growing sharper; that the middle class was disappearing, and the two extremes taking up a position of more marked opposition to one another. Such a condition of things would lead to an oligarchy, and gradually to its closest and narrowest form (δυναστεία) of the institutions.

9 καὶ ἄνευ στάσεως 'even without any open rupture.'

Ἡραία] In Arcadia.

Ὑπούτο] 'They were in the habit of choosing the members of the same party.'

τὰς κυρίας] 'the supreme,' those in which the government really lay.

'Ὀρέφ] Founded in the place of Histiaeas, in the time of Poricles. Grote, vi. 469, Niebuhr, über alle Gesch. Vol. iv. 179. The object was to keep Eubea under control. Of Heraclodorus nothing is known.

10 τῶν νομίμων] of the 'institutions.'

παρορώσι] This word occurs III. viii. 1.

'Ἀμβρακία] This town was a colony of Corinth, and later the capital of Pyrrhus, but is little known so far as its internal history is concerned.

Ἐγγυσ] 'quite close.'

11 ένός ἄν συμπνέεισθ] 'until the alien element shall have become amalgamated with the other,' 'corrupted.'

τυχόντι χρόνω] Compare VII. (VI.) v. i.

συνοίκους] expresses nothing more
than the fact that the new settlers join with the old.

'Ευοικοπόιοι means here 'a fresh band of immigrants from the mother country.'

Troy[Σιφραίας] For this see Grote, iii. 490. Niebuhr, über alte Geschichte, iii. 218. The foundation of Sybaris was probably a result of the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus.

12 Θυρίτας] Thurii was founded on the site of Sybaris. The old inhabitants looked on the land as their own; they could not forget their old position.

Grote, vi. 17.

Βυρτίνιας A second colony was sent from Megara in the year 628. For its internal changes, see Smith, G. A. Th. b. 650, a. Grote, i. 508. Antissa, one of the Lesbian towns.

Σαπάλημνων] Compare Herod. vi. 23. Mr. Grote, v. 284, note, considers this brief notice in Aristotle not to be set the perspicuous narrative of Apollonia was so common a name, that it was necessary to add some distinctive epithet. This one was a Milesian colony, and of no historical importance.

Σαμακωνίων] Grote, v. 314. "The whole body of new citizens were declared ineligible to magistracy or honour." Mr. Grote considers the instance badly chosen. See his note.

μετά τα τυραννικά τους ξένους και τους μισθοφόρους πολιτάς τοιχοσκόμησαν εστασίαν και είς μάχην ήλθον, καὶ Ἀμφιπολίται δεξάμενοι Χαλκιόδων ἀποικίας εξείπεσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ ταυτών οἱ πλείστοι αὐτῶν. Στασιάζονται δ’ ἐν μὲν ταῖς ὁλιγαρχίαις οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀδικούμενοι, ὅτι οὐ μετέχουσι τῶν
it as dependent on πάντως, ‘The greater number of them?’

15 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τέσσερις ‘even from mere local causes, from difference of place.’

μὴ εὐφως ἄμεθα ‘is not naturally favourable.’


Κολοφώνιοι] Grote, iii. 245. "So difficult was it in the Greek mind to keep up a permanent feeling of political amalgamation beyond the circle of the town walls." Add vi. 326.

Νοτίεσι] Thuc. iii. 34.

οὐχ ὁμοιός, κ. τ. λ.] The statement is familiar to all readers of Athenian history. The opposition is prominent in the policy of Themistocles.

16 τοῖς διαστασίαν] ‘Any difference whatever seems to have a tendency to produce opposition.’

διαστασία] This is even more active. ‘It is the greatest cause of division, of opposition.’

καὶ οὗτο δή] and so on in order, one is more efficacious than another.


IV. 1 After enumerating the causes, and making clear by examples what he means by each, he remarks generally with regard to political disturbances, that there is a wide distinction between their causes and occasions, or the real and the apparent causes. The occasions, the beginnings, to superficial observers the causes of a revolution, may often be extremely trivial, the real causes are not so. The immediate impulse may be something small or accidental, the real object aimed at of the highest importance. Aristotle's remark is one which should never be lost sight of in the study of history.

καὶ αἰ μικρὰ] ‘even where the cause is really slight.’
of the sacred property when he was sacrificing.

For the Mitylenian revolt see Thuc. iii. 2, and Poll. On this passage Mr Grote (vi. 299) remarks that the fact may be true, but the conception of it as a cause is incorrect. Yet I cannot see why Aristotle's account may not be consistent with that of Thucydides, if we throw back the transaction Aristotle gives some few years earlier than the revolt.

began the discussion,' and when the quarrel had broken out, then, as Thucydides says, ἦλθαν κατὰ στάσεις μνήμης ἐγκατατάσσεις.

Bp. Thirlwall, vi. 263, 275, remarks that of the sacred or Phocian war, the main causes are

...
perι Σαλαμινά νίκης καλ δια ταύτης τής ηγεμονίας δια τήν κατά βαλλαντι δύναμιν τήν δημοκρατίαν ύπερτέραν ἐπει-9 ἤσεν. καὶ ἐν 'Ἀργεί οἱ γνώριμοι εὐδοκιμήσαντες περὶ τήν ἐν Μανινεῖα μάχην τήν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίαν ἤπεείρησαν καταλύειν τῶν δήμων, καὶ ἐν Συρακοσίαις τῷ δήμῳ αἱτία γενόμενος τῆς νίκης τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Ἀθηναίων ἐν πολεμίᾳ εἰς δημοκρατίαν μετέβαλεν, καὶ ἐν Χαλκίδοι Φέρων τῶν τύραννων, μετὰ τῶν γνωρίμων ὁ δήμος ἀνέλαθε σώφις εἰσεῖτο τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ ἐν Ἀμφιδία πάλιν αἰτεύτας Περίανδρον συνεκβαλλόν τοῖς ἐπιθεμένοις ὁ δήμος τῶν τύ-10 ρανών εἰς ἑαυτὸν περιέστησε τῆν πολιτείαν. καὶ ὦλος δὴ δεῖ τοῦτο μὴ λανθάνειν, ὅσι δὲνάμεως αἰτία γενόμενοι, καὶ ίδιωται καὶ ἄρχοι καὶ φυλαι καὶ ὦλος κρατος καὶ ὀποιοῖον πλήθος, στὰσιν κινούσιν ὁ γὰρ οἱ τούτοις φθονοῦσας τιμωμένοι, ἀρχουσι τῆς στάσεως, ὃ οὕτω διὰ τὴν ὑπερεχήν 11 οὐ δέλουσι μένειν επὶ τῶν ἴσων. κινοῦσι δὲ αἱ πολιτεῖαι 1304 ἐν καὶ ὅταν τών τόντων τε βοηθεῖται μὲρη τῆς πόλεως ἵστασις ἀλλήλως, οἳν οἱ πλουσίοι καὶ οἱ δήμοι, μέσον δὲ ἡ μικρὰν ἡ μηθὲν πάρμαν ἀν γὰρ πολὺ ὑπερεχὴ ὁποτερονοῦν τῶν μερῶν πρὸς τὸ φανερῶς κριττῶν, τὸ λοιπὸν οὐ θέλει κινδυνεύειν. 12 διὸ καὶ οἱ κατ' ἀρετὴν διαφέροντες οὐ ποιοῦσι στάσιν αἱς εἰπεῖν ὅλοι γὰρ γίγνονται πρὸς πολλούς. Καθόλου μὲν οὖν περὶ πάσης τῆς πολιτείας αἱ ἀρχαὶ καὶ αἰτίαι τῶν στά-
καὶ τῶν μεταβολῶν τούτων ἔχουσι τὸν τρόπον. Κινοῦσι

dὲ τὰς πολιτείας ὅτε μὲν διὰ βίας ὅτε δὲ δὲ ἀπόσης,
dὲ δὲ βίας ὅτε ἐδώς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὣς ὑστερον ἀναγκάζοντες. καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἁπάτη διιτή· ὅτε μὲν γὰρ ἔξαπατήσαντες τὸ πρῶτον ἐκών-
tων μεταβάλλουσι τὴν πολιτείαν, ἐδὲ ὑστερον βία κατέ-
χουσιν ἀκόντων, οῖον ἔπε τῶν τετρακοσίων τῶν δήμων ἐξη-
tῆςαν, φασκοῦς τὸν βασιλέα χρήματα παρέξειν πρὸς τὸν
πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Δακεδαιμόνιος, ἡσυχάσαντες ὁ μὲν κατέχει
ἐπιρώτῳ τὴν πολιτείαν· ὅτε δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε πείσαντες καὶ
ὕστερον πάλιν πεισθέντων ἐκώντων ἀρχουσιν αὐτῶν. Ἀπλώς
μὲν οὐν περὶ πάσας τὰς πολιτείας ἐκ τῶν εἰρήμενων συμβε-
βηκε γίγνεσθαι τὰς μεταβολάς.
We must now take each form of government, and see what happens, availing ourselves of the principles laid down above, and dividing them so as to suit the particular case.

meriçontar] Demoeth. 1297. 21, kata meros, the exact opposite to kathalou, would be nearly equivalent to meriçontas.

ta symβaîonta) "das in ihnen wirklich vorkommende," Stahr.

dîlîγeîn] 'intemperate conduct,' 'importunitas,' or 'libido.'

Bis] 'as individuals.'

swâtrîfouw] 'They force them to combine.'

kouv] 'on them as a body,' "ihnen allen," Stahr.

2 Kê] The internal history does not seem "<...> vii."

'miðôfouw] pay for the people as members of the ecclesia or the courts of justice. Compare Thuc. viii. 67, μητε miðôfouw, the proposal of the oligarchical conspirators, that no civil functions hereafter should be salaried.

Grote, viii. 41, and foll.

eôôriçou] 'wished to furnish.'

tois trîparrhôs] These would be from the wealthier classes.

3 Hrakleia] Of the numerous towns of this name, the one on the Pontus Euxinus seems the one here meant. Nicb. i. a. Gesch. rv. 252. Smith, Geogr. Dict.

apouikserôb] 'soon after the foundation of the colony.' So Stahr translates it. The result of these disensions was a permanent tyranny; but this does not appear from Aristotle.

4 Megdoroi] Compare iii. 5 and VI. (IV.) xv. 15. The three allusions seem to refer to the same events.
πολλοὺς τῶν γνωρίμων, ές εἰς πολλοὺς ἐποίησαν τοὺς
φεύγοντας, οἱ δὲ κατιόντες ἐνίκησαν μαχόμενοι τὸν δήμον
καὶ κατέστησαν τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν. συνέβη δὲ ταύτων καὶ
περὶ Κύμην ἐπὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἢν κατέλυσε Θρασύμαχος.
σχέδου δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἁλλῶν ἀν τὸις ὑποῖς τὰς μετα-5
βολὰς τούτοις ἐκούσας τὸν τρόπον. οὔτε μὲν γὰρ, ἢν
χαρίζωσαν, ἀδικοῦντες τοὺς γνωρίμους συνιστάσιν, ἢ τὰς
οὐσίας ἀναδάστους πιείοντες ἢ τὰς προσόδους ταῖς
λειτουργίαις. οὔτε δὲ διαβαλλόντες, ἢν ἡχοίς δημιουργεῖ τὰ
κτήματα τῶν πλουσίων, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἀρχαίων, ὡτε γένοιτο 6
ὁ αὐτὸς δημαγαγοῦς καὶ στρατηγός, εἰς τυραννίδα μετε-
βαλλόν. σχέδου γὰρ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν ἀρχαίων τυράννων ἐκ
dημαγωγῶν γεγόνασιν. αὐτοὶ δὲ τοῦ τότε μὲν γέγονασι 7
νῦν δὲ μη; ὅτε τὸτε μὲν οἱ δημαγαγοὶ ἦσαν ἐκ τῶν στρα-
tηγοῦντων (οὐ γὰρ τω δεινὸς ἦσαν λέγειν), νῦν δὲ τῆς
ρήτορικῆς ἑξήκοντος οἱ δυνάμενοι λέγειν δημαγαγοῦσι μὲν,
δὲ ἀπειραί δὲ τῶν πολεμικῶν οὐκ ἐπίτεθενται, πλὴν εἰ
που βραχύ τι γέγονεν τοιοῦτον. ἐγένοιτο δὲ τυραννιᾶς.

Κύμην] The Campanian city of that
name, partly of Chalcidian origin,
partly of Eolian, was early powerful.
The decline of its power is attributed
by Mr. Grote, iii. 473, first to the
growth of hostile powers in the in-
terior, the Tuscan and Samnite, next
to violent intestine dissensions and a
destructive despotism. The particular
fact in the text is obscure.

5 ἀναδάστων] Compare the expres-
sion, εἰς γὰς ἀναθυμ. 

τὰς προσόδους] 'Their incomes.'

τὰς λειτουργίας] 'by the various
public offices which they have to
serve at their own expense.'

6 δὲ γένοτο δ ἀρχέτ) 'Whenever
the same man happened to be. Nor
was this a rare case.' Such seems the
force of the optative.

τῶν ἀρχαίων τυράννων] For some
considerable period of Greek experi-
ence, despot or tyrants were un-
known in Greece proper. Prior to
that period, they looked back on an
age of despots or tyrants, and their
actual experience of later, more Aris-
totelian times, had revived their dis-
like of this form of government, though
in many essential features the spirit
was changed, and changed for the
worse. The word tyrant in its full
sense is only applicable as a general
rule to the later rulers who bore that
name. On this distinction between
the earlier and later tyrants, see
Niebuhr, ü. a. Gesch. i. 328.

7 On this separation of civil and
military powers, compare Heron's
Political History of Greece.

οὐκ ἐπίτεθενται] 'They do not at-
ttempt to seize power,' as a general
rule, that is; there may be some few
instances of their doing so.
8 ἑγχειρίζονται 'being placed in the hands of.'

ἐκ τῆς πρυτανείας 'was the result of the Prytaneia.' This abuse of the executive power has been in all periods common. The latest and most notorious instance is that of Louis Napoleon.

ἐτὶ δὲ] The Greek of this passage is easy, but I do not feel clear as to the meaning. Was it that the absence of the people, their supporters, made it in the first place easier to seize a despotic power, as in consequence there was removed the check that the presence of that people would have placed on them, and next, that the same absence made such a power more an object of their desire, as they were not safe without it? The force of this latter consideration may be seen from the case of the Gracchi, who fell by the necessary absence of their supporters. Niebuhr, Lect. Rom. Hist. ii. p. 334, Lect. 27.

9 Πεισιστρατος Grote, iii. 206.

Θεαγένης] Grote, iii. 59.

λαβὼν, κ.τ.λ.] 'Having caught them turning out to graze on the river side.' For ἐπενεμοντας, compare Demosth. 1274.

10 Διονύσιος] Grote, x. 539, 608.

παρθένος δημοκρατίας] I am inclined to read μετρίας. If παρθένος be kept, it must have somewhat of the same meaning, "from the old, constitutional, moderate form of democracy, such as our wiser fathers enjoyed." See note on Π. xii. 4.

συναρχικοὶ 'ambitious of office,' Aristoph. Achar. 595.

11 τὰς φολὰς] 'The people, that is, 'in divisions, and not collectively.'
ancient to the faction of oligarchs, all the same, the wide sphere of power. Therefore, the movement of democracy and oligarchy is a subtle thing, dictated by the sheer multitude of causes.

Ail the oligarchs, indeed, did two things: the two extremes of faction, these same two extremes, the oligarchical and the democratic, are, so to speak, the two extremes of the sphere of power. And it is clear, when these extremes meet, the result is a mixed form of government.


2 ἔχει τέλι μέν] Is it here that we find the second form of revolution or destruction of an oligarchy? Does ἔχει τέλι answer to ἔνα μέν? One cause of revolution lies in their misconduct towards the people they govern. So far is clear. The other is internal, from within the body itself of the oligarchy. But this second form is not simple, it admits of different cases, which he proceeds to enumerate. If we do not adopt this interpretation, it is not easy to find the second form, the ἄλλοι τρόποι answering to the first clearly marked one. Schneider finds the answer to ἔνα μέν in the majority IX, and Schneider's view is very defensible. The one plain cause of the overthrow of the oligarchy is their injuring the people. Such injury rouses the parties injured, and leads to the overthrow in any case. A second cause is in the existence of demensions within the oligarchical body itself, whether there be or be not misgovernment of the many. But grant that these two coincide, and that simultaneously with the sense of injustice prevailing in the great body, there is some powerful leader ready to their hands amongst the oligarchs, then the overthrow is more certain and easy. This view runs the two causes into one another, and is not inconsistent with Aristotle's very concise method of statement.

ἀβτῶν] I prefer this reading to the one Bekker retains, ἄλλων. He mentions another, ἀβτῶν, but I follow Nickes in substituting ἀβτῶν. 'When the origin of the disturbance is from within their own body,—viz. the oligarchs—and this is not a rare case—it takes different forms.' So I would translate the καὶ ἔν ἀβτῶν.

ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαι] = ἐν ταῖς τιμαῖς. The two words are here evidently used indiscriminately.
ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Θ. (Ε.)

2 Ἰστρον on the Borysthenes is, historically, extremely obscure.

3 ἐκνουν ‘kept agitating.’

4 Κυδήφ] its internal history unknown.

αλλ’ ἐ τῶν πρεσβύτατων] ‘but only the eldest.’

5 Ἐρυθραῖς] but little known, Grote, iii. 243, note 2.

τῶν ἐ τῇ πολεισκῇ is the subject to ἐπιμελομένων, ‘although those in the government exercised their power well.’

ἐπιστήμου ἐκατοντήν] ‘from personal rivalry.’

6 οἱ περὶ Χαρικλέα This allusion to Charicles, for we may limit the expression to him, is endorsed in Biogr. Dict., art Charicles. In the passage there quoted from Lysias, contr. Eratosth. p. 125, the expression Χαρικλέα καὶ Κρητικόν καὶ Τηλικόν ἐπιστήμου supports Aristotle’s remark, and after the death of Critias, he is considered by Mr Grote as the leader of the more violent party, ν. 370.
πάντα διλόγιοι ἀδίσιν, οἷον ἐν τοῖς τριάκοντα 'Αθηναίων οἱ περὶ Χαρικλέα ἱσχυναν τοὺς τριάκοντα δημαγαγούντες, καὶ ἐν τοῖς τετρακοσίοις οἱ περὶ Φρύνιχον τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ἢ οὗτον τὸν ὅχλον δημαγαγώσων οἱ ἐν τῇ οἰκιστηρίᾳ ὄντες, οἷοι ἐν Λαρισαίᾳ οἱ πολίτοφύλακες διὰ τὸ αἱρεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς τὸν ὅχλον ἐδημαγώγωσαν· καὶ ἐν ὅσις ὁλιγαρχίαις οὐχ οὗτοι αἱρεῖσθαι τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐξ ὧν οἱ ἀρχωτές εἰσίν, ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν ἄρχαι ἐκ τιμημάτων μεγάλων εἰσίν ἡ ἑταρία, αἱρεῖσθαι δὲ οἱ ὁπλίται ἢ ὁ δήμος, ὅπερ ἐν 'Αθῆναις λαέβαινεν. καὶ ὅποι τὰ δικαστήρια μὴ ἐκ τοῦ πολιτεματὸς ἐστίν· 7 δημαγαγούντες γὰρ πρὸς τὰς κρίσεις μεταβάλλουσιν τὴν πολιτείαν, ὅπερ καὶ ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ ἐγένετο τῇ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ. ἐτί δὲ οὗτοι εἰς ἐκτός ἐλαχιστοὶ τὴν οἰκιστηρίαν· οἱ γὰρ τὸ ἱστορικῶν ἀνακαθάρζονται βοηθὸν ἐπαγαγότοι τὸν δήμον. γίγνονται δὲ μεταβολοὶ τῆς οἰκιστηρίας καὶ ὅταν ἀναλώσωσι τὰ διὰ γενέσεις ἀνθρώπων καὶ γὰρ οἱ τοιοῦτοι καὶ οἰκεῖοι ἡτοίμαι, καὶ τὰ τυραννίδες ἐπιτίθενται αὐτοὶ εἰς ἡ κατασκευᾶσθαι ἔτερον, ὅπερ Ἰππαρίνος Διονύσιον ἐν Συκακούσιοι καὶ ἐν Ἐμφυτόλεις, ὡς ὅρμα ἣν Κλεότιμος, τοὺς ἐποίκους τοὺς Χαλκιδεών ἰγαγε, καὶ ἐλθόντων

7 μὴ ἐκ τοῦ πολιτεματος] 'are not formed of members of the government.'

8 ἀξιολογεῖ] 'dissolutely,' Ch. V. 1. This is the great point urged in Plato, Repub. viii., and almost the only one dwelt on.

9 Ἰππαρίνος] Grote, X. 599, xi. 69, 76. Arnold, Rome, Vol. i. Ch. 21. He was father of Dion. It appears that he completely re-established his fortune.

'Ἀμφιθέατε] Ch. III. 4, where those whom he here calls ἀξιολογός, are called ἀξιολογός. Cleitimus not known.
9 Aιγύπτω τὴν πράξειν] I can find no allusion to this apparently well known transaction.

τι κινεῖ] 'to effect some political change.'

πρὸς αὐτῶς] "unter sich," Stahr, referring it and αὐτοὶ to the same people. Yet the Greek hardly warrants this, however much the sense may require it.

αὐτοῖο] "The thieves."


10 ὄμονοισι δὲ, κ.τ.λ.] 'An oligarchy if it do but avoid dissension, and act in concert, is not easily destroyed by any fault of its own.' Such is the view Stahr takes of the passage, "wird nicht leicht durch ihre eigene Schuld zu Grande gerichtet." There is much in the context to favour this view. There is another admissible, I think, 'is not easily destroyed from without, by external causes.' The passage illustrates the chapter on ὄμονοι, Eth. ix. 6, p. 1167, b. 2 where he calls it πολιτική φιλία. In both views the great point for our oligarchical government is to secure internal union, where the two separate is in this. In Stahr's it will, if united, bear up against the evil effects of its own faults; in the other view it will be proof against dangers from without.

11 'Ηλίδι] The political history of Elis is not well known. Whilst connected with Sparta, its government would, of course, be oligarchical. Later we hear of factions as in the other Greek states.

ἄλγοι πάνω, κ.τ.λ.] 'Very few were admitted into the gerusia because the members were life members, and only ninety in number, and those few were chosen only from certain families, and in a manner similar to that of the Gerontes at Lacedæmon,' Müller, Dorians, Π. 100.
12 ὀλιγαρχίαν] I see no objection to adopting with Stahr this change for Bekker's ὀλιγαρχίαν. Not that in the other case there is any difficulty. It is so easy to supply πολιτείας.

στρατιώταις] ’Mercenaries,’ ‘professional soldiers,’ such as those maintained by the Spartan government at Athens, under the Thirty.

ὑπὸ δὲ, κ.τ.λ.] ’He in whose hand they place the command.’ Compare Grote, xl. 194.

Τιμιφάντα] The brother of Timoleon, commanded the Corinthian troops in the war against Argos. He “stood forth as despot, taking the whole government into his own hands.”

13 μεσά] ’An arbiter between the two factions.’ “From experience, as we must presume, of the partiality which their domestic factions carried into the administration of justice, it became a general practice to elect, by the name of podesta, a citizen of some neighbouring state as their general, their criminal judge and preserver of the peace.” Hallam, Middle Ages, i. 395, 6.

ἐπὶ τῶν περὶ Σίμων] unknown really, as the doubts on the name seem to show.

Ὑφίστατοι] Grote, x. 521, note, with the conjecture there given.

ἀντί] passive, ’repulsam ferre.’

ἀντί] Coray suggests ὄντων, and the proposal is attractive, as ἀντί seems not at all wanted. Stahr retains ἀντί. ’Themselves also of the oligarchy.’

καταστασιάζοντα] ’being borne down by party.’

Ἐρετρία] Like its neighbour and rival Chalcis, Eretria in the period of its prosperity was oligarchical. Compare Ch. IV. 9, and the references there given for Chalcis. Diagoras is unknown.
κατέλυσεν ἀδικήθεις περὶ γάμου. ἐκ δὲ δικαστηρίου κρίσεως ἢ ἐν Ἴρραξεία στάσει ἐγένετο καὶ ἐν Θῆβαις, ἐπ' αἰτία μοιχείας δικαίως μὲν στασιστικῶς δὲ ποιησαμένοις τὴν 15 κόλασιν τῶν μὲν ἐν Ἴρραξεία κατ’ Εὐρυτίανος, τῶν δὲ ἐν 136 ἐν Θῆβαις κατ’ Ἀρχίου ἐφιλονεικήσαν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰχθρὸς ὅστε δεῖ τὸ ἄγαν διεσποράκας εἶναι τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τινῶν δυσχερανάττων κατελύθησαν, ἀστερὴ ἢ ἐν Κυδῷ καὶ ἢ ἐν Χιῷ ὀλιγαρχία. γίγνονται δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ συμπτώματος μεταβολῆι καὶ τῆς καλομενῆς πολιτείας καὶ τῶν ὀλιγαρχῶν ἐν σαίν ἀπὸ τιμήματος βουλεύομαι καὶ εἰ δικάζουσι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἀρχοῦσιν. πολλάκις γὰρ τὸ ταχέως πρῶτον τίμημα πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας καρφοὺς, ᾧ στε ἔμετέχει ἐν μὲν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ ὀλίγους ἐν δὲ τῇ πολιτείᾳ τοὺς μέσους, εὐεργείας γιγνομένης δι᾽ εἰρήνην ἢ δὲ ἄλλην τιν’ εὐυχρίαν συμβαίνει πολλαπλασίῳ γίγνεσθαι τιμήματος ἀξίας τὰς αὐτὰς κτῆσεις, ὅστε πάντας πάντων μετέχει, ὅτε μὲν ἐκ προσαγωγῆς καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν γινομένης τῆς μεταβολῆς καὶ λανθανοῦσας, ὅτε δὲ καὶ βάττον. 18 Αἱ μὲν οὖν ὀλιγαρχίαν μεταβάλλουσι καὶ στασιάζουσι διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας. ὅλως δὲ σὲ αἱ δημοκρατίαι καὶ ὀλιγαρχίαι ἐξίστανται ἐνίοτε οὐκ εἰς τὰς ἐναντίους πολιτείας ἄλλα εἰς...

15 Θῆβαις] The name of Archias is prominent in Theban history, but Mr Grote, x. 118, does not seem able to connect the anecdote here given with the history of Thebes.
στασιστικῶς] 'in a factious spirit.'
ἐφιλονεικήσαν] 'They carried so far their desire for personal or party vengeance on them.'
κυφῶν] 'pillory.'
16 Χιῷ] To what period does this refer? for the oligarchy at Chios, before its revolt from Athens, B.C. 412, is mentioned as singularly pru-

καὶ Bekker.

ἀπὸ συμπτώματος] 'from an accident.'
τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς] Compare the language in III. 1, 6, 7.
17 πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας καρφοὺς] 'For the time being,' 'to suit the then circumstances.'
πολλαπλασίῳ, κ.τ.λ.] 'That the property which was rated at a given sum so increases in value as to be capable of being rated at a sum many times as great.' The sentence is not quite regular in construction.
ἐν προσαγωγῆς] 'by degrees.'
18 I have omitted καὶ. Bekker
mentions its omission by one MS. 
"willkührliche," forms in which their respective principles are developed without any check, when the law is set aside. Compare his division of democracies and oligarchies in VI. (VI.) Chaps. iv. and v.

VIII. 1 did τὸ καλὰ τήν, κ.τ.λ.] Of course, so far as they agree, they would be liable to the same influences. 

δοκεῖ γε] "seems," 'and yet is not.' 

2 τὸ πλῆθος] This change I consider imperfectly required by the sense, as in VII. (VI.) v. 12. "When there be a number of high-spirited men, men confident in themselves as being equal in merit to their governors." I should greatly prefer ἰδίον to ἰδίον as far as sense goes, and it is adopted by Corax. But ἰδίον may be referred to πλῆθος, and the change is not absolutely necessary. 

Παρθενία] Müller, Doriens, ii. 85, Grote, iii. 512. 

ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων γὰρ ἦσαν] If this is genuine, I am at a loss to understand it. It must, I think, be the addition of some ignorant commentator.

Ἄδειος] See Ch. I. 10, note.

3 ἐν 'Ἄγγειλα'] This must mean 'in the reign of Agesilaus,' but I should prefer to read 'Ἀγγειλάκοι', the genitive. This is the commoner construction of ἐν, when it is used to mark time. Schneider reads Ἀγγειλᾶκον. For Cinadon's conspiracy, see Xenophon, Hell. iii. 3.
πόλεμον. δὴ λογικοὶ δὲ καὶ τούτο ἐκ τῆς Τυρταίου ποιήσεως τῆς καλουμένης Εὔνομίας· δηλιβόμενοι γὰρ τινὲς διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἥξιον ἀναδάστων ποιεῖν τὴν χάραν. ἐπὶ ἵνα τὴς μέγας ἡ καὶ δυνάμεως ἐπὶ μείζονα εἶναι, ἵνα μονάρχης, ἀστερὸς ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ δοκεῖ Παυσανίας ὁ στρατηγής κατὰ τὸν Μηδικὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἐν Καρχηδόνω Άρην. λύσσαι δὲ μάλιστα αἱ τε πολιτείαι καὶ αἱ ἀριστοκρατίαι διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πολιτείᾳ τοῦ δικαίου παρέκκλισιν. ἀρχὴ γὰρ τὸ μὴ μεμικῆς καλῶς ἐν μὲν τῇ πολιτείᾳ δημοκρατίαν καὶ ὀλγαρχίαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀριστοκρατίᾳ ταῦτα τε καὶ τὴν ἁρετήν, μάλιστα δὲ τὰ δύο· λέγω δὲ τὰ δύο ἡμῶν καὶ ὀλγαρχίαν· ταῦτα γὰρ αἱ πολιτείαι τε πειρόντων μιγνύον καὶ 6 αἱ πολλαὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἀριστοκρατίων. διαφέρουσι γὰρ τῶν ὄνομαζομένων πολιτείων αἱ ἀριστοκρατίαι τοῦτοι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εἰσὶν αἱ μὲν ἢπτον αἱ δὲ μᾶλλον μόνοις αὐτῶν. τὰς γὰρ ἀποκλινοῦσας μᾶλλον πρὸς τὴν ὀλγαρχίαν ἀριστοκρατίας καλοῦσιν, τὰς δὲ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος πολιτείας. διότι ἀσφαλέστεραι αἱ τοιοῦται τῶν ἐτέρων εἰσὶν· κρείττων τε γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ μᾶλλον ἁγαπᾶσιν ἦσον ἐχεῖν τε, 7 οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς εὐπορίαις, ἀν ἡ πολιτεία διδό τὴν ὑπεροχήν, ὑβρίζειν ξητοῦσι καὶ πλεουντεῖν. όλως δ' ὑφ' ὁπτέρον

4 Τυρταίον] For his life and history, with the necessary references, see Smith, Bioog. Dict.

腾 Μεσσηνιακον πόλεμον] The second Messenian war.

Εὐνομία] Grote, ii. 573.

ἀνδιάστων] see Ch. V. 5.

ἱνα μοναρχῆς] sc. στασιάζειν.

Παυσανίας] see Ch. I. 10.

Ἀρνων] Grote, x. 552, note. Heeren, African Nations, i. 112; also Justin, xxxi. 4. "regnum invadere, interfecit sentatum, conatus est Hanno."

5 ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πολιτείᾳ] 'In the actual constitution of the government.'

ἐν μὲν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, κ.τ.λ.] This is consistent with his language, VI. (IV.) vili. 8. 9.

6 διαφέρουσι] Is this 'differ and are superior to?'

ὄνομαζομένων] See VI. (IV.) viii. 1. This passage is in favour of the change there advocated of νομισμάτις into ὀνομαζόμενης.

αἱ τοιοῦται] sc. αἱ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ἀποκλινοῦσαι.

τὸ πλῆθος] sc. ἅπαθως 'in number,' the numerical majority.

μᾶλλον ἀγαπῶσιν] 'And they are more inclined to acquiesce in the simple equality, whereas the wealthy, if the form of government recognise their superiority, do not rest content with this, but grow insolent, and grasp at more.'
τὸ ἐγχύλην τῆς πολιτείας, ἐπὶ ταῦτα μεθίσταται ἐκατέρων τὸ σφέτερον αὐξανόντων, οἷον ἡ μὲν πολιτεία εἰς δήμον, ἀριστοκρατία δ' εἰς ὁλιγαρχίαν. ἡ εἰς τὰναντία, οἷον ἡ μὲν ἀριστοκρατία εἰς δήμον (ὡς ἀδικοῦμενοι γὰρ περιστώσιν εἰς τούναντιον οἱ ἀποράτεροι), αἱ δὲ πολιτείαι εἰς ὁλιγαρχίαν μόνον γὰρ μόνιμον τὸ κατ᾽ ἄξιον ἱσον καὶ τὸ ἄξιον τὰ αὖτών. συνέβη δὲ τὸ εἰρημένον ἐν Θουρίας: διὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἀπὸ πλείονος τιμήματος εἶναι τάς ἀρχὰς εἰς ἑλάττων μετέβη καὶ εἰς ἀρχεία πλείω, διὰ δὲ τὴν χάραν ὅλην τοὺς γνωρίμους συγκτισσάμεθα παρὰ τὸν νόμον. ἥ γὰρ πολιτεία ὁλιγαρχικατέρα ἦν, ὡστε εἰδώντο πλεονεκτεῖν ὃ δὲ δήμος γυμνασθεὶς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν φρουρῶν ἔγνευτο κρείττων, ὅπως ἀφίεσθαι τῷς χάρας ὅσοι πλεῖο ἱσον ἔχοντες.

Εἶ διὰ τὸ πᾶσας τὰς ἀριστοκρατικὰς πολιτείας ὁλιγαρχικὰς ἰσότητας ἰσότητας ἐν μᾶλλον πλεονεκτοῦσιν οἱ γνώριμοι, οἷον καὶ ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ εἰς ὁλίγους αἱ οὔσια ἔρχονται καὶ εἰς τοιούτοις ποιεῖται ὅ τι ἀν δηλαδότι τοῖς γνωρίμοις μᾶλλον, καὶ κηδεύειν.

7 τῶν ταύτα] 'It is into this one of its two constituent elements that it changes.'

ἐκατέρων] 'As each of the two tries to increase its influence.'

8 περιστώσιον] sc. περιλεκτικοί περάτεις, 'They drew it round to.'

μόνιμον τὸ κατ᾽ ἄξιον ἱσον, κ.τ.λ.] In other words, μόνον τὰ μόνιμα τὸ δίσιμα. These are the two great divisions of political justice; the first is the principle of τὸ διαμερισμόν δίσιμων, the second, that of τὸ διορθωτικά, Ἔπ. ν. Χα. vii.

9 τῶν εἰρημένων] What does this refer to? Must it be carried back to § 5, the τῶν εἰς αὐτὴν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τοῦ δικαίου παράθεσιν, or should it be rather, 'We have an instance of this twofold change in Thruri?' The original constitution leaned towards wealth, an oligarchy. This tendency was not checked, and the government became more oligarchical. Hence came a reaction in a democratic sense.

πλεονεκτεῖν] 'too high a qualification,' "Un cens trop élevé," St. Hilaire.

εἰς ἑλάττων, κ.τ.λ.] 'It was changed into a lower rate (sc. τίμημα), and the number of magistracies was increased.' This is one step of the reaction towards democracy. Then comes the second point, in which the oligarchy had gone too far.

ὁλιγαρχικατέρα] 'had a strong oligarchical tendency.'

τῶν φρουρῶν] 'The guards, mercenaries, it would appear, maintained by the oligarchs.'

10 ὁλιγαρχικὰ εἰς μᾶλλον] 'having more of the oligarchical than of the democratic character.'

καὶ ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ So that Aristotle considers the proper character of the Lacedaemonian constitution to have been aristocratic.
Revolution in aristocracies.

10 οτιρθάλωσιν. δι φαι και η Λοκρών πόλεις ἀπάλετο ἐκ τῇ πρὸς Διονύσων κηδείας εἶ ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ οὐκ ἂν ἦγεντε ὧδε ἄν ἐν ἀριστοκρατίᾳ εἱ̄ μεμιγμένη. Μάλιστα δὲ λαν ἑάνουσιν αἱ ἀριστοκρατίαι μεταβάλλουσαι τῷ λύσθαι κατα μικρῶν, ὅπερ εὑρίσκοντο ἐν τοῖς πρότερον καθόλου κατὰ πασὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν, ὡς ἀκτίνων τῶν μεταβολῶν καὶ τῷ μικρῷ ἔστιν ὡς γὰρ τι προωᾶντε τῶν πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν, μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀλλο μικρῶ μεῖζον εὐχερέστερον κινοῦσιν, διὸς ἂ 

12 πάντα κινήσωσι τῶν κόσμων. συνέχε δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ Θουρίαν πολιτείας. νόμῳ γὰρ ἠντὸς διὰ πέντε ἐτῶν στρατηγεῖν, γενόμενοι τίνες πολεμικοὶ τῶν νεωτέρων καὶ παρὰ τῷ πλῆθει τῶν φρουρῶν εὐδοκίμων, καταφρονεῖ 

σαντες τῶν ἐν πράγμασι καὶ νομίζοντες ῥεῖδαις κατὰ 

σχῆσιν, τούτων τῶν νόμων λύειν ἐπεχειρησαν πρῶτον, ὅσι 

ἐξείναι τοὺς αὐτοὺς συνεχῶς στρατηγεῖς, ἔρωντες τῶν ὁμοῖοι 

13 αὐτῶν χειροτονήσαντα προδόμων. οἰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦτο τετα 

μένοι τῶν ἄρχοντων, οἱ καλοῦμενι σύμβουλοι, ὀρθάντα 

τὸ πρῶτον ἐναντιοῦσαι συνεπεθήσασιν, ὑπολαμβάνο 

τοῦτον κινήσαντις τῶν νόμων ἔσιν τὴν ἀλλην πολιτείαν 

ὑστερον δὲ βουλόμενοι καλύειν ἀλλαν κινοῦμεν τούτων πλεον ἐπολοῦν ὡθεῖν, ἀλλα μετέβαλεν ἡ τάξις πᾶσα τῇ 

πολιτείᾳ εἰς δυναστείαν τῶν ἐπιχειρησάντων νεωτερίζειν

Λοκρῶν) It ceased to be a free city, and ultimately was revolutionised. Its connection with Dionysius is characterised as an act of grave imprudence, see Grote, x. 663, xi. 187. It was the younger Dionysius who caused its ruin. His mother was a Locrian woman.

11 πρότερον] Ch. III. 10.

τι προωᾶντα] 'have abandoned some one point.'

ἐυχερέστερον] 'more easily.'

καὶ ἐτὸ] Not only did the changes mentioned, § 9, take place, but this also.

12 διὰ πέντε ἐτῶν] 'At an interval of not less than five years.'

τῶν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι] 'Those i power.'

καταχθήσει] 'hold their own 'succeed,' or supplying τὰ πράγ 

ματα, 'get the government into their hands.'

13 ἐτὸ] 'to prevent this.'

σύμβουλοι] We find this term in us at Athens, Pol. Ant. 138, but in such a sense as the one here required, cannot find it elsewhere.

τῶν ἐπιχειρησάντων] 'in the hands of the men who attempted the change.'
ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Θ. (Ε.)

πάσαι δ' αἱ πολιτείαι λύνται ὅτε μὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν ὁτὲ δ' ἔξωθεν, ὅταν ἐναντία πολιτεία ἤ ἡ πλησίον ἢ πόρρω μὲν ἔχουσα δὲ δύναμιν. διὸ παρέχονται ἐπ' Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἀκαδαιμονίων· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηναίοι πανταχοῦ τὰς ὁλιγαρχίας, οἱ δὲ Λάκκαι τοὺς δήμους κατέλυσαν. οὐκ ἦν μὲν οὖν αἱ μεταβολαὶ γίγνονται τῶν πολιτειῶν καὶ αἱ στάσεις, εἰρηται σχέδου.

Πρὶν δὲ σωματίας καὶ κοινῆς καὶ χωρίς ἐκάστης πολιτείας ἔχομεν ἦστιν εἰσεῖν. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἰδοὺ ἄτρι, εἰπεῖν ἔχομεν δι' ἂν φθειρόνται αἱ πολιτείαι, ἔχομεν καὶ δι' ἂν σαῦρονται· τῶν γὰρ ἐναντίων τάναντια ποιητικά, φθορὰ δὲ σωματία ἐναντίων. ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς εἰκοσαμενίαις πολιτείαις, ὁστέρᾳ ἄλλο τι δεῖ τηρεῖν ὅπως μὴ διέλθη παρανομία, καὶ μᾶλλον τὸ μικρὸν φυλάττειν. λανθανεί γὰρ ἐπιστρατεύειν ὑπὸ τοῦ παραβαθισμοῦ, ὡστέρ πάντως οὐδὲν αἱ μικραὶ δαπανάσθη πολλάκις γινόμεναι. λανθανεῖ δὲ ἡ μεταβασις διὰ τὸ μὴ ἄθροι γίγνεται· παραλογίζεται γὰρ ἡ δίανοια ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ὡστέρ οἱ σοφιστικοὶ λόγοι· εἰ ἐκατοῦ μικρὸν, καὶ πάντα. τὸτε δ' ἐστὶ μὲν ὅσος, ἐστὶ δ' ὅσον· τὸ γὰρ ὅλον καὶ τὸ πάντα οὖ μικρὸν, ἀλλὰ σύγκειται ἐκ μικρῶν. μὴν μὲν οὖν φυλακὴν πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ἀρχήν δεῦτερην πολιτείας.

14 ἐξ αὐτῶν] This would seem to determine the sense of vi. 10. 

πόρρῳ μὲν, κ.π.α.] 'Though distant, yet powerful.'

ἐν' 'Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἀκαδαιμονίων'] This is an old expression. In the time when those two powers existed as rivals, and divided the Greek political world between them, were in fact the Greek political world, a time distant now for Aristotle. On the statement itself, see Grote, vi. 45. It needs no illustration here.

VIII. 2 διότερ ἄλλο τι] See IV. (VII.) xvi. 8, 'as much as any other point,' 'more than anything else.'

ἐκείνῳ διότερα] 'creeping in.'

δαπανάσθη 'spend,' 'run out,' 'exhaust.' Compare the expression in Thucydides iv. 3, δαπανάσθη τὴν πόλιν, with Arnold's note.

3 λανθανεί δὲ ἡ μεταβασις] This clause seems to be superfluous. By a slight change in the stopping, putting a colon at γινόμεναι, I have detached it as much as possible.

παραλογίζεται] I take this in the passive sense, 'The mind is led to an erroneous conclusion.'

ὅ' 'αὐτῶν] αἰ. τῶν δαπανῶν.

ὁ σοφιστικὸς λόγος] The fallacy 'acervus' says Schneider.

4 πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ἀρχήν] 'Against this commencement of the change.'
ποιεῖται, ὑπείται μὴ πιστεύειν τοῖς σοφίσματος χάριν πρὸς τὸ πλήθος συγκειμένοις· ἐξελέγχεται γὰρ ὅπως τῶν ἥρων. ποῖα δὲ λέγομεν τῶν πολιτείων σοφίσματα, πρότερον εἰρηταί. ἔτι δ’ ὅραν ὅτι ἐναι μένουσιν οὐ μόνον ἀριστοκρατίαν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁλιγαρχίαι οὐ διὰ τὸ ἀσφαλεῖς εἶναι τὰς πολιτείας, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ· εὖ χρῆσθαι τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς γινομένους καὶ τοῖς ἐξω τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ πολιτεύματι, τοὺς μὲν μὴ μετέχοντας τῷ μὴ ἀδικεῖν καὶ τῷ τοὺς ἀσχολούμενοὺς αὐτῶν εἰσάγειν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν φιλοτίμους μὴ ἀδικεῖν εἰς ἀτιμίαν τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς εἰς κέρδος, πρὸς αὐτοὺς δὲ καὶ τοὺς μετέχοντας τῷ χρῆσθαι ἀλλὰ ἕξις δημοτικός. ὁ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ πλῆθους ζητοῦσιν οἱ δημοτικοὶ τὸ ἱσον, τούτ’ ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοίων οὐ μόνον δίκαιον ἀλλὰ καὶ συμφέρον εἰστίν. διὸ ἔτι πλείος ὁμός ἐν τῷ πολιτεύματι, πολλὰ συμφέρει τῶν δημοτικῶν νομοθετήματιν, οἷον τὸ ἐξαιρόμενον τὰς ἀρχὰς εἶναι, ἵνα πάντες οἱ ὁμοίοι μετέχωσιν· ἐστὶ γὰρ ὀστερ δῆμος ἢ ὁ δῆμος, διὸ καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἐγγίζονται δημαγωγοὶ πολλάκις, ὀστερ εἰρηταὶ πρότερον. ἐπειδ’ ἦτοι εἰς δυναστείας ἐμπίπτουσιν αἱ ὁλιγαρχίαι καὶ ἀριστοκρατίαι. οὐ γὰρ ὁμοῖος ῥήμαν κακουργήσας ὁλίγον χρῶν ἀρχοντας καὶ πολέμος, ἐπεὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν ταῖς ὁλιγαρχίαις καὶ δημοκρατίαις γλυκοῦνται

σοφίσματα χάριν] Comp. VI. (IV.) xiii. 1, δοὺς προφάτειν χάριν σοφίσματι. In neither place is it very easy to translate the expression, 'in the way of devices,' 'to answer the purpose of.'

5 τοῖς ἐγκυροίς εἰσάγειν] ‘By introducing into the government those amongst them who show capacity for governing.’ The right introduction of new elements would seem the great test of the wisdom of a governing oligarchy or aristocracy.

τῷ χρῆσθαι ἀλλὰ ἕξις δημοτικώς] ‘By acting towards one another on demotic principles.’ The true principle of an aristocracy is stated by Arnold to be perfect equality within the limits of its own body, and the absolute superiority of that body over the rest. This agrees with Aristotle in this passage.

6 οἱ τῶν ψυχών] ‘in the case of the peers.’ The use of of ψυχών as a political term at Sparta is well known.

δῆμος ἢ ὁ, κ.τ.λ.] ‘By virtue of their equality, they are, within the limits of their own body, a democracy.’

ἐφηταὶ πρότερον] See above Ch. VI. 6.

7 ἐπειδ’ ἦτοι] ‘Again by this arrangement as to the offices.’
ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Θ. (Ε.)

τυραννίδες: ή γάρ οἱ μεγίστοι ἐν ἐκατέρω ἐπιτίθενται τυραννίδι, ἐνθα μὲν οἱ δημαγογοὶ ἐνθα δ' οἱ δυνάσται, ή οἱ
tάς μεγίστας ἔχουσες αρχαίς, οὔτε τόλμων χρόνων ἄρχωσιν.
Σωζόνταί δ' αἱ πολιτείαι οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸ πόρρω ἔνεια τῶν
dιοικητῶν, ἀλλ' ἐνίοτε καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐγγὺς: φοβοῦμενοι
gάρ διὰ χειρῶν ἔχουσι μᾶλλον τὴν πολιτείαν, ὡστε δὲ
tοὺς τῆς πολιτείας φροντίζοντας φύσας παρασκευάζειν, ἵνα
φυλάττωσι καὶ μὴ καταλύωσι ὁσπερ νυκτερινῆς φυλακής
tῆς τῆς πολιτείας τήρησιν, καὶ τὸ πόρρω ἐγγὺς ποιεῖν. ἐκ
τὰς τῶν γνωρίμων φιλονεικίας καὶ στάτεις καὶ διὰ τῶν
νόμων περισσοῦ δὲ φυλάττειν, καὶ τῶν ἐξ ὑπὸ τῆς
φιλονεικίας ὅταν, πρὶν παρειληφθέναι καὶ αὐθαυστών, ὡς
τὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ γινόμενον καὶ γνώμαι ὁ τοῦ τυχόντος: ἀλλὰ πολιτικοῦ
ἀνδρὸς, πρὸς δὲ τήν τι λετομήματα γιγνομένην μετα-θο
βολήν ἡς ὀλγωρχίας καὶ πολιτείας, ὅταν συμβαίνῃ τούτῳ
μενόντων μὲν τῶν αὐτῶν τιμώματων ὑπορίας δὲ νομίσματος
γιγνομένης, συμφέρει τοῦ τιμήματος ἐπίσκοπεῖν τοῦ κοινοῦ
τὸ πλῆθος πρὸς τὸ παρελθὼν [κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον],
ἐν δὲ ταῖς μὲν πόλεσι τιμῶμαι κατ' ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἐν δὲ ταῖς
μείζονι διὰ τριετερίδος ἡ παντετερίδος· κὰί ἡ πολλα-
πλάσιον ἡ πολλοστιμηρόν τοῦ πρῶτον, ἐν ὃι αἱ τιμήσεις

οἱ δυναται, 'the members of the
powerful oligarchical families.'

8 διὰ τὸ τόπρον] As was the case in
Creto, see II. x. 15.

diὰ χειρῶν ἔχουσι] 'keep it in hand.'
The presence of danger enforces modera-
tion.

υπηρετικὴν φυλακήν] 'watch in the
night.'

9 φιλονεικίας] 'rivalries,'

πρὶν παρειληφθέναι καὶ αὐθαυστῶν] 'Be-
fore it has absorbed them too.' So I
construe it, taking the subject of
παρειληφθέναι from φιλονεικίας.

ὡς τὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ, κ.τ.λ.] 'It requires
precautions, since it is not every one
that can trace the evil at its very be-
ginning, that is the characteristic of
the statesman.'

Ιο εὐθραυσα νοέματος γιγνομένην]

When there has been, as we should
say, a large influx of the precious
metals, so that the standard, which
was high, is now one which is attain-
able by a very much larger number,
'as the result of a large supply of
money.'

ἐπισκοπέων, κ.τ.λ.] 'to revise the
amount of the general valuation.'

τιμῶμαι κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν] 'They take
the census annually.'

πολλοστιμηρόν] 'many times
smaller.' "Vielfach kleiner," Stahr.
Ebd. x. v. 11, p. 1176, 29. πολ-
λοστιμή.

ἐν δὲ ταῖς τιμήσεις] 'When the valua-
tions were settled.'

Β Β
κατά τὴν | 'to meet,' 'to correspond
καί | with the multiplication.
οὖσας | 11 oûsas] refers to ἀνίεναι καὶ
τὰ ἄλλα ποιοῦντα; ἔχειν τὸ ἐπιτελεῖν.
καὶ | 12 καὶ μοναρχὴς which Bekker in-
καλορωσμένοις | closes in brackets, must be rejected.
μοναρχὴς is not a politeia. Compare
the end of Ch. IX. and the opening
of Ch. X. It is, I believe, a clear
case in which we can trace an addi-
tion; there are so many other instances
in which, unfortunately, we can only
suspect one.
κατέστησαν τῆς πολιτείας, νόμον ἐννεῖ καὶ τὰ τιμῆματα
ἐπιτελεῖν ἡ ἀνίεναι, ἐὰν μὲν ὑπερβάλλῃ, ἐπιτελεῖταις κατὰ
tὴν πολλαπλασίαν, ἐὰν δὲ ἐλλειπῇ, ἀνίεναι καὶ ἐλάττε
ποιοῦντα τῆς τίμησιν. ἐὰν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις καὶ
tαῖς πολιτείαις μὴ ποιοῦντων μὲν οὖσα ἐνά καὶ μὲν ὀλίγος
χάνων ἐνθὰ δὲ δυναστεῖα γίγνεσθαι συμβαίνει, ἐκείνως δὲ
ἐὰν μὲν πολιτείας δημοκρατίαν, ἐὰν δὲ ὀλιγαρχίας πολι
τείαν ἢ δῆμον, κοινὸν δὲ καὶ ἐν δῆμῳ καὶ ὀλιγαρχῆ
["] καὶ πάση πολιτεία μὴν αἰσχάνειν λιαν μηθέναι παρά
tὴν συμμετείραν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τειράσαν μικρὰς καὶ
πολυκρονίους διδόναι τιμὰς ἢ ταχὺ μεγάλας (διαφθε
ρονταὶ γάρ, καὶ φέρειν οὐ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων ἐνυχὶ
εἰ δὲ μὴ, μὴ τὸ γ′ ἄθροις δόντας ἀφαιρέσθαι πάλι
ἄθροις, ἀλλὰ ἐκ προσαγωγῆς καὶ μᾶλλον μὲν τειρά
tούς νόμους οὖσας ἀγεῖν ὡστε μηθένα ἐγγύγυνεσθαι πολ
ὑπερέχοντα δυνάμεί μητὲ φίλους μητὲ χρημάτων, εἰ δὲ μὴ
ἀποδημητικὰς ποιεῖσθαι τὰς παραστάσεις αὐτῶν. ἐπει δὲ
καὶ διὰ τοῦ ὅλου ξύλου νεωτέριζουσιν, δεῖ ἐμποιεῖν ἀρχὴ
tινα τὴν ἐπολυμένην τοὺς ζώντας ἀναμφόρως πρὸς τὰ
tοπία την ἐνομολογίαν τὸν ἀνθρώπων ἐν τῇ
πολιτείαν, εἰ μὲν δημοκρατία πρὸς τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ἐὰν δὲ
ὀλιγαρχία πρὸς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν ὃμοιας δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
πολιτείων ἕκαστην καὶ τὸ εὐθύμερον δη τῆς πόλεως ἀνέ
μέρος φυλαττέσθαι διὰ τὰς αὐτὰς αἰτίας. τούτου δὲ ἄκο
καὶ μοναρχὴς Bekker.
ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Θ. (Ε.)

το ἀεὶ τοῖς ἀντικειμένοις μορίοις ἐγχειρίζειν τὰς πράξεις καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς· λέγω δὲ ἀντικεισθαι τοὺς ἐπισκεπτὶς τῷ πλῆθει καὶ τοὺς ἀπόρους τοῖς εὐπόροις. καὶ τὸ πείρασθαι ἡ συμμειγνύσει τῶν ἀπόρων πλῆθος καὶ τῶν εὐπόρων, ἢ τὸ μέσον αὐξεῖν· τούτῳ γὰρ διαλύει τὰς διὰ τὴν ἀνοικτητα στάσεις. Μέγιστον δὲ ἐν πάσῃ πολίτεια τὸ καὶ τοῖς νῦν μοι καὶ τῇ ἀλλήλῃ οἰκονομίῃ οὕτω τετάχθαι ὡστε μὴ εἶναι τὰς ἀρχαὶ κερδαίνειν. τούτῳ δὲ μᾶλλον εἰν τοῖς ὀλγαρ-χικαῖς δεῖ τηρεῖν. οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἄγανακτούσιν εἰργῶμενοι τὸ τῶν ἀρχαί τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ χαίρονσιν εὖν τις ἐὰν πρὸς τοῖς ἱδίοις σχολαῖς, ὡς εὖν οἶανται τὰ κοινὰ κλέπτειν τοὺς ἀρχαίς· τότε δὲ ἀμφότερα λυπεῖ, τὸ τοῦ τῶν τιμῶν μὴ μετέχειν καὶ τὸ τῶν κερδῶν. μοναχῶς δὲ καὶ ἐνδέχεται 17 ἀμα εἶναι δημοκρατίαν καὶ ἀριστοκρατίαν, εἰ τούτο κατα- σκευασίᾳ τις· ἐνδέχετο γὰρ ἄν καὶ τοὺς γνώριμους καὶ τὸ 1309 πλῆθος ἐχεῖν ἀ βούλονται ἀμφότερος. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐξεῖναι πάσιν ἄρχειν δημοκρατικόν, τὸ δὲ τοὺς γνωρίμους εἶναι εἰν τοῖς ἀρχαίς ἀριστοκρατικόν. τούτῳ δὲ ἔσται, ὅταν μὴ ἡ 18 κερδαίνειν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρχων. οὐ γὰρ ἀποροὶ οὐ βουλήσσονται ἀρχεῖν τῷ μηδὲν κερδαίνειν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῖς ἱδίοις εἶναι μᾶλ- λον· οὐ δὲ εὐπόροι δυνάσθαι διὰ τὸ μηδὲν προσδέονται τῶν κοινῶν, ὡστε συμβῆσαι τοῖς μὲν ἀπόροις γέγονεθαι εὐπό- ροις διὰ τὸ διατήρησθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἁρχαίς, τοὺς δὲ γνωρίμους μὴ ἀρχεῖαι υπὸ τῶν τυχόντων. τοῦ μὲν οὖν μὴ κλέπτε-
22. — See note S. on V. 5. where we have the similar word for tois katharikis kar. we have the ἐστάσεως.

μὴ κατὰ δίκαιον τι λατρεύσαι τι πατέσαι, χαίρειν ἐν τῷ ἐν τῷ λατρεύειν τὴν καθαρίναν τῆς πολιτείας.

21 τοῖς ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας equivalent to τοῖς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, "The
The qualifications for office.

members of the governing body.' The mention of them, and the limitation of all the higher offices to them, leads him to speak of the qualifications required in them. Also, as remarked in the summary, in the possession of these qualifications is found one of the great positive guarantees for safety.

IX. 1 The three qualifications are given repeatedly. Compare the speech of Pericles, Thuc. ii. 60, γυναι τα διοντα και ἐπισημανουσα ταυτα, μελδολις τε και χρηματων προσωπων. In Aristotel, Rhet. 11. Ch. i.

δυναμιν μεγαλην] 'a very great capacity for the duties of the office.'


2 συμβασιν] 'are not found combined in the same person.'

dialrepw] In this passage the two words dialrepiw and aperipw seem used almost indifferently. This may help in the difficult passage, VI. (IV.) vi. 3.

tivos pleios, κ. τ. ι. 'Which, as a general rule, men are likely to have a larger amount of.'

3 έλαστων γαρ, κ. τ. ι. 'For more men share in goodness than in the qualifications required in a general;' or, 'there is a smaller portion of these fails to the lot of men in general, than there is of goodness.'

4 και δυναμι] 'Supposing that there exist the capacity to administer the state.'

"H δει; 'Is it not that?'' Compare for the thought contained in the
δίο ταύτα ἔχοντας ἀκρατείας ἐκλλάσῃ, ὅποτε καθάπερ καὶ αὐτοῖς ἕργον ὑπηρετοῦσιν εἰδότες καὶ φιλούντες αὐτούς, οὕτω καὶ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν ὑδέων καθίσει ἐχεῖν ἐνίσχυν. Ἀχάλος δὲ, ὅσα ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ὡς συμβέροντα λέγομεν ταῖς πολιτείαις, ἀπάντα ταύτα σαίζει τὰς πολιτείας. καὶ τὸ πολλάκις εἰρημένον μέγιστον στοιχεῖον, τὸ τερεῖν ὅπως κρείττον ἔσται τὸ μουλόμενον τῆς πολιτείας πλῆθος τοῦ μη βουλη-
6 μένου. παρὰ πάντα δὲ ταύτα δεῖ μὴ λανθάνειν, ὅ ἡν λανθάνει τὰς παρεκβεβηκυκάς πολιτείας, τὸ μέσον· πολλά γὰρ τῶν δοκούντων δημοτικῶν λυεῖ τὰς δημοκρατίας καὶ 7 τῶν ὑπογραφηκόν τὰς ὑπογραφὰς. οἱ δὲ ὀιόμενοι ταύτῃ εἴναι μίαν ἀρέτην ἐλκουσιν εἰς τὴν ὑπερβολὴν, ἀγνοοῦσιν ὅτι καθάπερ ἐστὶν παρεκβεβηκυκά μὲν τῇ εὐθύτητα τῇ καλλικτικής πρὸς τὸ γροῦν ἢ τοῦ σιμών, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐτί καλὴ καὶ χάριν ἔχουσα πρὸς τὴν ὑπογραφήν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἰπὶ ἔκτητη
ν ἔτι μᾶλλον εἰς τὴν ὑπερβολὴν, πρῶτον μὲν ἀποβαλεῖ τὴν μετριότητα τοῦ μορίου, τέλος δὲ ὅτι ὅποτε μὴ ἔχει δῦνα ἑκεῖσε φαίνεσθαι διὰ τὴν ὑπεροχήν καὶ τὴν ἔλληψιν τῶν ἐναντίων τοῦ αὐτοῦ δὲ τρόπον ἔχει καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων 8 μορίων. συμβαίνει δ' τούτω καὶ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας πολιτείας.

passage, ὅστε καθάπερ, κ.τ.λ., But-
ler's Sermons, Sermon I, concluding paragraph, where the statement is just
reversed.

5 Ἀχάλος δὲ· Passing from all par-
ticular points of the question as to how
constitutions are preserved, we may
say in general terms,' &c.

ἐν τοῖς νόμοις] "Leges quibus
evitates continetur," Nickes, p. 115.
But it seems to me rather a reference
to another work of Aristotle's answering
in title, though not in spirit, to the
νόμοι of Plato.

ταῖς πολιτείαις] democracies and oli-
garchies, with their varieties and
ad forms, no thought of mo-
Ch. II. 1.

με εἰρημένον] VI. (IV.) πι. 1.
καὶ γὰρ ὀλιγαρχίαν καὶ δημοκρατίαν ἔστιν ὁστ' ἴχειν ἰκανῶς, καίστερ ἐξεστηκυῖας τῆς βελτίστης τάξεως· εὰν δὲ τις ἐπιτείην μᾶλλον ἐκατέραν αὐτῶν, πρῶτον μὲν χείρα ποιήσει τὴν πολιτείαν, τέλος δὲ οὐδὲ πολιτείαν. διὸ δὲν τοῦτο μὴ ἀγνοεῖν τὸν νομοθέτην καὶ τὸν πολιτικὸν, ποῖα σιὼζει τῶν δημοτικῶν καὶ ποῖα φθείρει τὴν δημοκρατίαν, καὶ ποῖα τῶν ὀλιγαρχικῶν τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν. οὐδὲνεραν μὲν γὰρ ἐνδεχεται αὐτῶν εἶναι καὶ διαρέμενην ἄνευ τῶν εὐπόρων καὶ τοῦ πλῆθους, ἀλλ' ὥστιν ὑμαλότης γεννηται τῆς ᾠδίας, ἀλλην ἀνάγκη εἶναι ταύτην τὴν πολιτείαν, ὡστε ἑαυτοὺς χείρων τεῖς καὶ ὑπερχθὲν νόμων χείρισται τὰς πολιτείας. 'Αμαρτάνουσι δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις, ἐν μὲν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις οἱ δημαρχικοὶ, ὅπου τὸ πλῆθος κύριον τῶν νόμων· δόσα γὰρ ποιοῦσιν αἰεὶ τὴν πολίν, μαχομένοι τοῖς εὐπόροις, δεῖ δὲ τούτων αἰεὶ δοκεῖν λέγειν ὑπὲρ εὐπόρων, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις ὑπὲρ τοῦ δῆμου τοὺς ὀλιγαρχικοὺς, καὶ τοὺς ὀρκους ἐναντίους ἢ νῦν ὄμοιοι τοὺς ὀλιγαρχικοὺς. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἐνίαις ἡ ὁμόνοια: "καὶ τῷ δήμῳ κακοῦς ἔσομαι καὶ βουλεύσω δ' τι ἀν ἐχω κακὸν." κρή δὲ καὶ ὑπολαμβάνει καὶ ὑποκρίνεσθαι.
Education. τούναντίον, ἑπισημαινομένους ἐν τοῖς ὅρκοις διὶ "οὐκ ἀδικήσω τὸν δήμον." Μέγιστον δὲ πάντων τῶν αἰρήμανων πρὸς τὸ διαμένειν τὰς πολιτείας, οὐ τῶν ὀλγαρωσι πάντες, ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐθεντικτών νόμον καὶ συνδεδεσμένων ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν πολιτευμένων, εἰ μὴ ἔστωντι εἰδισεμένου καὶ πεπαιδευμένου ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, εἰ μὲν οἱ νόμοι δημοτικοί, δημοτικώς, εἰ δὲ ὀλγαρχικοί, ὀλγαρχικῶς. εἰπερ γὰρ ἔστω ἐφ' ἐνος ἀκρασία, ἔσται καὶ ἐπὶ πόλεως. ἔστι δὲ τὸ πεπαιδευόμενον πρῶς τὴν πολιτείαν οὐ τοῦτο, τὸ ποιεῖν ὡς χαίροντες οἱ ὀλγαρχοῦντες ἢ οἱ δημοκρατίαις θεωλομενοί, ἀλλ' ὡς διήνυσονται οἱ μὲν ὁλογραφεῖν οἱ δὲ δημοκρατεῖσθαι. εἰ δὲ ἐν μὲν ταῖς ὀλγαρχίαις οἱ τῶν ἀρχῶν τῶν τριφνώσιν, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἀπόρων γίγνονται γεγυμνασμένοι καὶ πεπνηκτέοτες, ἣν ἄστε καὶ βούλονται μάλλον καὶ ὅμως καὶ νεοτερίς. ἐν δὲ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ταῖς μάλιστα εἶναι δοκοῦσαι δημοκρατικϊς τούναντος τοῦ συμφέροντος καθέστηκεν. αἰτίου δὲ τούτου ὡς κακῶς ὁρίζονται τὸ ἐλεύθερον δύο γὰρ ἔστιν ὡς ἡ δημοκρατία δοκεῖ ὁρίζονται, τῷ τὸ πλεῖον εἶναι κύριον καὶ τῇ ἑλεύθερᾳ. τῷ μὲν γὰρ δίκαιον ἵσον δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἵσον δ' ὃ τι ἁν δόξῃ τῷ πλῆθει, τοῦτ' εἶναι κύριον, ἑλεύθερον δὲ καὶ ἵσον τῷ δ' τι ἁν βούληται τις ποιεῖν. ἢστε ἐπὶ ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις δημοκρατίαις ἐκατός ὡς βούλεται, καὶ εἰς ὅ χρή.
It is the old question of the distinction between licence and liberty, the ignorance as to what really constitutes liberty. For the meaning of this word see M. Dunoyer's remarks, Liberté du Travail, Vol. 1. p. 23 and foll.

X. 1 καὶ περὶ μοναρχίας] He passes from the polity, the constitutions of Greek freemen, however far removed from the standard he would wish to see established, to the government of one, and of course mainly to the corrupt form of that government, as the really practical question; the other by his definition being strictly impossible, and even a tolerable approximation being very rare.

περὶ τὰς πολιτείας] This expression excludes monarchy from the constitutions, as I have remarked before.

2 κατὰ τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν] 'stands on the same level with,' 'answers to,' "schliesst sich an," Stahr. So that the reasoning which holds good for the aristocracy, will hold good for the basileia.

3 ὑπάρχει δὲ, κ.τ.λ.] 'And to begin with, at once, their origin is,' &c.

πρὸς βοθεῖας, κ.τ.λ.] 'With a view to assistance against the people.'

τοῖς ἐπιτείκειοι] "der höheren Stände," says Stahr rightly, 'the upper classes look to the king for protection.'

τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς] 'The class of actions which naturally are the product of virtue in a man.'

πολιτικών θ. (Ε.)

4 ἐκ τῶν συμβεβηκότων ἐξ ἀκτικοῦ γεγονότων. Χαῖρε σὺ ἐκ τῶν συμβεβηκότων. σχέδιο γὰρ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν τυράννων γεγοναίτε ἐκ δημοσφάγων αὐτῶν. εἰς τούτου τῶν τρόπων κατέστησαν τῶν τυράννων, ἵνα τῶν πολεμίων ὑψηλάτων, αἱ δὲ πρὸ τοῦτον ἐκ τοῦ τῶν βασιλέων παρεκβαίνων ἡ πατρία καὶ διεσπαρακάτορα ἄρχης ὑψηλάτων, αἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν αἰτίων ἐκ τῶν κυρίας ἄρχης (τὸ γὰρ ἀρχαῖον οἱ δῆμοι καθίστασαν πολυχρωμίας τὰς δημοσφάγιας καὶ καὶ καθίστασαν), αἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὑψηλάτων ἐνα ἄνω κύριον ἐπὶ τὰς μεγίστας ἄρχας. τάχιστο τῶν ὑπήρχε τοῖς τρόποις τούτοις τὸ κατεργάσθησαι ὑπόθεσις, εἰ μόνον βουλευτῶν, ὤστε ὁ δύναμις προσφέρει τοῖς μὲν βασιλείας ἄρχης, τοῖς δὲ τῆς τῆς τιμῆς, οὖν Φείδον μὲν περι- Ἁργας καὶ ἔτεροι τύχοντο κατέστησαν βασιλείας ὑπαρχούσης, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν καὶ Φάλαρις ἐκ τῶν τυρανῶν τῶν, Ἐνταίνιας δὲ ἐν Λεωντίνοις καὶ Κύψελος ἐν Κορίνθω καὶ Πισεῖστρατος Ἀθηναὶ καὶ Διονύσιος ἐν Συρακούσαις καὶ ἔτεροι τοῖς αὐτῶν τρόπον ἐκ δημοσφάγιας. καθεστῶ ὑπὸ ἐπισκόπων, ἡ βασιλεία τεταγμένη κατὰ τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν. κατὰ ἀξίαν γὰρ ἐστίν, ἡ κατὰ ἱστοὺς ἡ κατὰ γένος, ηπίου τῆς τιμῆς ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων;

4 ἐκ τῶν συμβεβηκότων] 'from actual instances that have occurred.' Compare Grote, iii. 25.

5 τοῦ τῶν τρόπων] ἐκ δημοσφάγων.

6 τε τῶν βασιλέων] 'lying above.'

παρεκβαίνων] 'Wishing to overstep the hereditary limits of their power.'

τὰς δημοσφάγιας καὶ τὰς θεωρίας] 'the magistrates civil and religious.' See RzL, p. 320; note on Θέωρα.

κατεργασθεὶσαι ὑπόθεσις] 'Facility in accomplishing their object.' There successful conspirator as he the executive.
κατ’ εὐεργεσίας, ἢ κατὰ ταύτα τε καὶ δύναμιν. Ἀπαντεῖς γὰρ εὐεργετήσαντες ἦν δυνάμενοι τὰς πόλεις ἢ τὰ ἔθνη εὐεργετεῖν ἐτόχχανον τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης, οἱ μὲν κατὰ πόλεμον καυτολάμπαντες δουλευτείς, ὡσπερ Κόδρος, οἱ δὲ ἐλευθερώσαντες, ὡσπερ Κύρος, ἢ κτίσαντες ἢ κτίσαμενοι χώραν, ὡσπερ οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι βασιλείς καὶ Μακεδόνων καὶ Μολοττών. Βούλεται δ’ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶναι φύλαξ, ὅτις ὦ μὲν εὐεργετήσαντες τὰς οὐσίας μηθὲν ἁδικον πάσχαιν, ὁ δὲ δῆμος μηδὲν ὑβρίζηται μηθὲν. ἡ δὲ τυραννίς, ὡσπερ εἰρηται πολλάκις πρὸς ὧδεν ἀποβλέπει καίνεν, εἰ μὴ τῆς ἰδίας αἰφελείας χάριν. ἦστι δὲ σκοτὸς τυραννικὸς μὲν τὸ ἢδος, βασιλικὸς δὲ τὸ καλὸν. διό καὶ τῶν πλεονεκτημάτων τὰ μὲν χρῆμα τυραννικά, ἐо τὰ δ’ εἰς τιμήν βασιλικά μάλλον, καὶ φυλακὴ βασιλικὴ μὲν πολιτικὴ, τυραννικὴ δὲ διὰ ξένων. "Οτι δ’ ἡ τυραννίς ἐγεγει κακὰ καὶ τὰ τῆς δημοκρατίας καὶ τὰ τῆς οἰκονομίας, φανερῶν, ἐκ μὲν οἰκονομίας τὸ τὸ τέλος εἶναι πλούτων (οὕτω γὰρ καὶ διαμείνειν ἄναγκαιον μόνος τήν τε φυλακὴν καὶ τῆς τρυφῆν) καὶ τὸ τῷ πλῆθει μηθὲν πιστεῦει, διὸ καὶ

The king and the tyrant compared.

κατ’ εὐεργεσίας III. xiv. 12.
‘The possession of power to enable them to seize the kingly dignity.’

8 Ἀπαντεῖς] sc. οἱ βασιλεῖς, to the exclusion of τύραννος.

Κόδρος] This passage seems to imply in Aristotle a different view of Codrus from the common one. The general account is that he was hereditary king of Athens, and saved his country by his death. The language here used, implies that he earned his kingly status by his services. It places him on a level with Cyrus.

Μακεδόνων] Compare a passage in Mr Grote’s Hist. iv. p. 20. After a résumé of the state of Macedonia, &c., he adds, ‘Their position was first altered by the enterprise and ability of a family of exiled Greeks, who conducted a section of the Macedonian people to those conquests which their descendants, Philip and Alexander the Great, afterwards so marvelously multiplied.” For the Molossi, iv. 22.

9 Βούλεται δὲ, κ.τ.λ.] ‘The idea of a king is that he is a guardian.’ Compare Rhet. i. viii. 5. p. 1366, 6, τυραννίδος τὸς φυλακῆς.

ei μὴ τῆς Εἰδος, κ.τ.λ.] ‘Except so far as the tyrant’s own personal interests are served thereby.’


10 εἰς χρῆματα] The preposition is required before χρῆματα, the sense is not complete without it.

πολιτικὴ] ‘Formed from the citizens.’

11 δὲ δὲ, κ.τ.λ.] Returns on § 2, τὰς ἀμαρτιάς ἔχουσα.
ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Θ. (Ε.)
οι ύπεροχείς, οίνον ή μέν τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν διὰ τὸ προ-
τηλικίον μὲν τῷ 'Αρμοδίῳ ἀδελφήν, ἐπηρεάται δ᾽ 'Αρ-
μοδίῳ· ο μὲν γὰρ 'Αρμοδίος διὰ τὸν ἀδελφήν, ο δὲ 'Αρι-
στογείτων διὰ τῶν 'Αρμοδίων...
If the account given is correct, the only change required in the passage is to place the ρβ before the verb. He had been ordered at a banquet to execute Darius, had not done so, and therefore, from fear of the consequences of his disobedience, assassinated Xerxes, B.C. 465. Artabanus was an Hyrcanian, compare Smith, Biogr. Dict.

22 Sardanapalus. His legendary character seems recognised by Aristotle, who mentions him again, Eth. i. iii. 3, p. 1095, b 2, as a type of luxury.


24 κατασχετ] ‘To hold when they have seized it.’

Kúros] Was Cyrus then the general of Astyages? See Winer, Real Wörterbuch, art. Kyros. The early history of Cyrus is very obscure, and the subject of many conflicting statements.

ἐξηργηκέναι] ‘was worn out.’

Ζεῦδης] Xenophon, Hell. iii. ii. 2. Anab. vii. ii. 32.

25 Μιθριδάτης] Ariobarzanes was merely a satrap of the region near the Prepotnia and Hellespont. He revolted from the Persian king 367–366, and was joined by Datames, a Carian officer of Artaxerxes in Cappadocia. Mithridates, son of Ari-
29 διὰ τὴν ἐναντίότητα | ‘on account of the opposition between them in principle.’

30 λακεδαίμονες | Thuc. i. 18, for the fact.

Συμπέρασμα | This statement would seem to refer to the period of more than fifty years, that elapsed between the expulsion of the Gelionian dynasty and the accession of Dionysius the elder, “the best and most prosperous portion of Sicilian history.” The other despots were then expelled. Grote, v. 316.

31 εἰς αὐτὴν | See vi. 10, for the same expression.

οἱ μετέχοντες | The tyrant’s family or friends, the associates of his power.

νῦν ‘in our own day.’


δημαρχοῦσα | καλλικεκόριος would be more strictly correct, but it makes no practical difference which word is used in such a place. Compare VI. (IV.) iv. 28, καὶ ὁ δημαρχοῦσα καὶ ὁ κύλας οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἅπαντες. ‘Flattering his worst propensities, and urging him on to gratification.’

ἀρμάτως | is here active. “He contrived to put him indirectly aside, and thus to seize the government for himself.”

οἰκελώ | seem to mean the same as οἱ μετέχοντες.

οἱ δὲ συστάτες αὐτῶν | Schneider and Coray wish to understand καὶ, but this is not satisfactory. The οἱ συστάτες seems to refer to the same persons as οἰκελώ συστάτων, but αὐτῶσ αὐτοῖς, on the other hand, seems to include these οἰκελώ. The easiest change would be to make οἱ δὲ refer to another party, the party who expelled them, and read συστάτων. ‘But the expelling party, availing themselves of the opportunity thus afforded them, as a result of their combination, expelled them one and all, Thrasylulus.
Monarchy. *aistous*. Διονύσιον δὲ Δίων στρατεύσας, κηδεστής αὐτοῦ καὶ προσλαβαίν τὸν θῆμον, ἐκεῖνον ἐκβαλλὼν διεφθάρη. δύναται δὲ 32 οὖσῶν αἰτίων δὲ ἀς μάλιστα ἐπιτίθενται ταῖς τυραννίσις μίσους καὶ καταφρονήσας, βάτερον μὲν δεῖ τούτους ὑπάρχει τοῖς τυράννοις, τὸ μῖσος, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ καταφρονεῖσθαι πολλὰ 33 γίνονται τῶν καταλύσων. σημείον δὲ τῶν μὲν γὰρ εἰς σαμένων οἱ πλείστοι καὶ διεφύγασαν τὰς ἁρχὰς, οἱ δὲ παρα λαβόντες εὐθὺς αἰς εἰπέν ἀπολλύσαι πάντες. ἀπολαυστικῶς γὰρ ζύντες ἐν καταφρόνησι τε γίνονται καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ οὕτως παραδίδοσι τοῖς ἐπιτιθεμένοις. μόριου δὲ τι τί τι 34 μίσους καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν δὲ τιθέναι τρόπον γὰρ τοιαύτης τῶν αὐτῶν αἰτία γίνεται πράξεως. πολλὰς δὲ καὶ πρακτικῶτερον τούτοις μίσους. συνοντότερον γὰρ ἐπιτίθενται διὰ τὸ μὴ χρῆσθαι λογισμῷ τὸ πάθος. μάλιστα δὲ συμβαίνει τοῖς θυρίσι ἀκολούθια διὰ τὴν ὑβριν, δη τίνα ἢ τί τῶν Πεισιστρατίδων κατελύθη τυραννίς καὶ πολλαὶ τῶν ἄλλων. ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὸ μῖσος· ἦ μὲν γὰρ ὀργὴ μετά

and his opponents, so far as those opponents were partisans of the dynasty.' If the text, which Bekker keeps, is to be retained—and I do not feel confident of the propriety of any alteration—then I can only construe it: 'But the party amongst them that combined, when it had got thus far, saw that it had got an opportunity, and availed themselves of that opportunity to get rid of Thrasybulus, and with him of his nephew, the son of Gelo, and any other claimants of the tyranny there might be.' I am not sure whether Mr Grote's expression (v. 411), "His (Thrasybulus) provoked amongst the Syracusans intense and universal hatred, shared even by many of the old Geloian partisans," may be taken as favourable to this last rendering.

32 κηδεστής.] He had married Arote, the daughter of Dionysius by Aristomache.

36] 'must exist.' It is quite inconceivable that it should not, in Aristotle's meaning. It is a necessity of his position, connoted, in fact, by the term tyrant. 'Though this must exist, it is often from contempt, &c.'

33 καυρὸς] 'opportunities.'

34 πρακτικῶτερον] 'It is more efficient.'

34 συνοντότερον] 'more imputably,' 'vehemently.'

35 ἄλλα μᾶλλον τὸ μῖσος] "Mehr
Monarchy.
Its dangers.

VIII. (V.) 10.] ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Θ. (Ε.) 387

λύπης πάρεστιν, ὡστε οὐ ράδιον λογίζεσθαι, ὡς ἐχθραῖον ἄνευ λύπης. Ὡς δὲ ἐν κεφαλαίοις εἰπάτω, ὡσας αἰτίας εἰρήνης καὶ σεβασμὸς τῆς τε ὁλιγαρχίας τῆς ἀκράτου καὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας τῆς ἔσχάτης, τοσαῦτα καὶ τῆς τυραννίδος ὑπέτεινε καὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς τοφυγχάνουσιν ὡσας διαίρεσις τυραννίδες. βασιλεία δὲ ὕστερον μὲν τῶν ἐξωθεὶν ἡμιστα ὧδε ἐβραίται, 36 διὸ καὶ πολυχρόνοις ἔστιν. εἰς αὐτὴς δὲ αἱ πλείστης ἕθος συμβαίνουσιν. φθείρεται δὲ κατὰ δύο τρόπους, ἣν μὲν 1313 στασιασάντων τῶν μετεχόντων τῆς βασιλείας, ἀλλὰ δὲ τρόπον τυραννικότερον πειραμέναν διοικεῖν, ὃς τίνι κύριοι πλεῖον ἐξοικεῖ καὶ παρὰ τὸν νόμον, ὃς γίγνονται ὡς ἔτι 37 βασιλείαι νῦν, ἀλλὰ ἄν περ γίγνονται μοναρχίαι, τυραννίδες μᾶλλον, διὰ τὸ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκούσιον μὲν ἄρχην εἶναι, μειζόναν δὲ κυρίαν, πολλοὺς δὲ εἶναι τοὺς οἰκίους, καὶ μηδένα διαφέροντα τοσοῦτο ὡστε ἀπαρτίζειν πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς ἀρχῆς. ὡστε διὰ μὲν τοῦτο ἐκόντες οὐχ ὑπομένουσιν ἣν δὲ δὲ ἀπάτης ἄρχῃ τις ἡ βίας, ἣν δοκεῖ τοῦτο εἶναι τυραννίς. ἐν δὲ ταῖς κατὰ γένος βασιλείασ Bekker.

* γίγνονται, μοναρχίαι καὶ τυραννίδες Bekker.

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dagegen that dies der Hase," Stahr. 'Still hatred is a stronger impelling power than anger,' though the latter may be more vehement. On μᾶλλον χρίσται τῷ λογισμῷ, 'it acts more deliberately.' 

ἡ μὲν γὰρ δράς] Rhet. ii. i. p. 1378, 31, and for the contrast the passage I have quoted above.

ἀδεν] ὁλιγαρχία καὶ δημοκρατία.

diaperat τυραννίδες] 'Tyrannies in more hands than one.' Compare VII. (VI.) vii. 7, δημοκρατίας μυραζότας.

36 τῶν μετεχόντων] See § 31. St. Hilaire takes it of the agents it employs. I should rather take it of the royal family.

πειρομένων] The kings themselves.

37 I have little hesitation in adopting here Spengel's correction, p. 14.

note 17. Bekker's text is given at the foot. 'If you have instances of the rule of one, of monarchies, they are tyrannies.' Still, whilst adopting it, I think Bekker's reading may be supported. For the substance of the remark compare Grote ii. 89, note.

γίγνονται] 'do not come into existence.'

καλλοῖς δὲ εἶναι] 'Whereas now there is a large body of equals.'

ἀνωτῆται, κ.τ.λ.] 'As to square with the greatness and high estimation of the office.'

ἐκτοι] 'With their will,' and if against their will, this of itself constitutes a tyranny.

38 κατὰ γένος] 'hereditary monarchies.'

On τον Περσαίων ἄρχης ἔστι τοιούτα λαβεῖν. 6

τό, τόθε, τούς ὑπέρχοντας κολούειν καὶ τοὺς ἀναίρειν, καὶ μὴς συσσιτια ἕαν μὴς ἐταιρίαν 1313 ἐπὶ καὶ μὴς ἀλλο μηθὲν τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἔναν εἰςδε γίνεσθαι δύο, φρόνημα τε καὶ πίστις, ἀλλὰς μὴς ἀλλοὺς συλλόγους ἐπιτρέπειν γίνεσθαι ὡς ἄν ὁς μᾶλλος ἄγνωτες ἅπεντες ἢ γὰρ γνῶσις πίστιν ποιεῖ μᾶλλος ἀλλός. 6 καὶ τοὺς ἑπισκόπους αὐτοῖς φανεῖ καὶ διαστρέβειν περὶ θύρας· οὕτω γὰρ ἢν ἥκιστα τοῖς πράττοις, καὶ φρονεῖν ἀν ἐδίοικεν μικρὸν ἄξιον μᾶκεντες, καὶ τάλλα ὡς τοιαύτα Περσικὰ καὶ τυραννικα ἐστιν πάντα γὰρ ταύτων δύναται. 7 καὶ ἄναν διασφάλθησαν ὧς τὰς λέγουν ἢ πράττειν ἀρχομένοις, ἀλλὰ εἰναὶ κατασκόπους, οἷον περὶ Συρίας οἱ πολεμικοὶ καλοῦμεναι, καὶ τῶν ἀπαγορευταῖς τῶν Πέρσων, ἔπει τις ἡ συνοισία καὶ σύλλογος· ἡμῶν τε γὰρ ζητοῦν, φοβοῦμενοι τοὺς τοιούτους, ὑπερσηφίζομεν, λαχάνουσιν ζητοῦν. καὶ τὸ διαβάλλειν καὶ συγκρούειν καὶ φίλοις φίλοις καὶ τὸ ἐν εἰρήσιμοι καὶ τῶν πλούσιοι εἱσυχαῖς, καὶ τὸ πένητριν τοὺς ἀρχομένους, τυραννικοὶ, ὡς μὴς φυλακῇ

лати μᾶλλον αἴγυπτες; a still further application of the maxim 'divide et impera.'

καὶ τάλλα, κ.τ.λ.] 'and all other measures of this kind, which are derived from the Persians or barbarians, are suitable to tyranny.'

παρρησιάζονται] Grote, v. 304, x. 69.

8 συγκροτέων] 'to produce clashing.'

πῶς ἢ μήτε φυλακῇ τρέφθαι] 'sa garde ne lui couloir rien à entretenir,'
St. Hilaire, 'That he may not have to maintain a large force.'


9 Οlympian Grote, iv. 146. 327.
The other instances of great monuments erected by taskwork, and partly with political views, are so familiar as to need no references. We have similar facts in other history.

10 ή εἰσφορά There seems something wanting here, as other editors have felt. If it stand as it is, it must mean, 'the bringing in' or 'payment of the taxes' is another part of the system. Compare on the taxation of Dionysius, Grote, x. 640., xi. 69.

πολεμοσονίος This seems not to hold good of all tyrants. In fact, war with this object is a two-edged weapon. The speech attributed to Louis La guerre c'est la révolu- tion c'est la guerre of Louis Napoleon at Bordeaux—L'Empire c'est la pa seem to show that war is by means a necessary characteristic of governments which may fairly be classed as tyrannical. The elder Napoleon thought, in war, as did the government of the elder Bourbon.

ἡγμόνος ἐν χρείας This, of course, supposes in the tyrant the ability to take the command in war; other men like Tiberius and Domi felt, there is a great danger in respect,—the successful command easily becomes an aspirant to the preme power.

11 Compare Plato, Republic, 562. κατάδιον . . . ἔστε θίθαι οἰκίας καὶ τελευταίοις μέχρι θρόνων τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐνθισμοὶ κ.τ.λ.

δοῦλων ἡγέσις Plato, as above, ἐστιν ἐννεάκοι καὶ αἱ ἐννεάκοι μηδὲν ἕξεθε τοῖς τριμήνοις,
τε ἀναγκαῖον εὐνοῦ ἐστὶ καὶ ταῖς τυραννίσι καὶ ταῖς δημο-
κρατίαις. καὶ σοὶ ἡμῶν εἶναι βούλεται μόναρχος, διὸ καὶ
ὁ κόλαξ ἐπὶ ἄρτοτεροις ἔντιμος, παρὰ μὲν τοῖς δήμοις οἱ
δημαρχῶν (ἔστι γὰρ ὁ δημαρχὸς τοῦ δήμου κόλαξ), παρὰ
δὲ τοῖς τυράννοις οἱ ταπεινῶς ἀμιλουτές, ὥστε ἐστὶν ἔργον 13.14
κολακείας. καὶ γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο πονηρόφιλον ἡ τυραννίς.
κολακεύωμεν γὰρ χαλωσθεῖν, τούτο δὲ οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ποιήσειεν
φρόνημα ἔχων ἑλευθερον, ἀλλὰ φιλούσιν οἱ ἐπιεικεῖς ἢ οὐ
κολακεύσωσιν. καὶ χρῆσθαι οἱ πονηροὶ εἰς τὰ πονηρά. ἦλθ' 13
γὰρ οἱ ἠλπίζοντες, ὡσπέρ ἡ παροιμία. καὶ τὸ μηδὲν χαλωσθεῖ
σεμιάν μηδ' ἑλευθέρον τυραννικῶν. αὐτῶν γὰρ εἶναι μόνον
ἄξιον τοιοῦτον ὁ τύραννος, ὁ δ' ἀντισεμιανόμενος καὶ ἑλευ-
θεριάζων ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν ύπεροχὴν καὶ τὸ δεσποτικὸν τῆς
tυραννίδος. μισοῦσιν οὖν ὡσπέρ καταλύνοντος τὴν ἁρχὴν. Καὶ 14
τὸ χρῆσθαι συστίτικας καὶ συμμετρεῦσις ἔννοιος ἀλλοῦ η
πολιτικὸς τυραννικὸς, αὖ τὸς μὲν πολεμοῦσας τοὺς δ' οὐκ
ἀντιποιμαίους. ταύτα καὶ τὰ τοιαύτα τυραννικὰ μὲν καὶ
σωτηρία τῆς ἁρχῆς, οὔτεν δ' ἐλλείπει μοχθηρίας. Ἐστὶ
δ' οἰς εἰπέων πάντα ταύτα περιελημμένα τρισὶν ἐδείσιν.
στοχάζεται γὰρ ἡ τυραννίς τριῶν, ἐνὸς μὲν τὸ μικρὰ
φρονεῖν τοὺς ἀρχομένους (οὔτεν γὰρ ἂν μικρόπιχος ἐπι-
βολεύσειν), δευτέρου δὲ τοῦ διαπιστείν ἁλλήλοις· οὐ διε
κατα-
λύσται γὰρ προτέρων τυραννὸς πρὶν ἡ πιστεύσωσι τινὲς
αὐτοῖς· διὰ καὶ τοῖς ἑπτακόσιοι πολεμοῦσιν αἷς ἐπιβαθείος
πρὸς τὴν ἁρχὴν οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸ μὴ ἄξιων ἀρχεῖσθαι διε-

12 ἔργον κολακείας] The characteristic of the flatterer.
πονηρόφιλον] 'Is fond of low associates.' Compare Ed. viii. vii. 5, p. 1158, 27, on the friends chosen by men in power.
13 ἦλθ' γὰρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'For one nail drives out another.'
σεμιάν] 'Of high bearing.'
ἐλευθερίαν] 'And having a free carriage.'
14 οὖδ' εἰς μοχθηρίας] In this we find the compensation for his
apparently cold enumeration of the evil expedients of the tyrant. Their short but decisive condemnation places
the rest in its true light, as the scientific exposition of the question, and
leaves no doubt, such as exists in the case of Machiavelli, of his moral
judgment.
περιελημμένα] 'Comprehended under three heads.'
15 τοῦ διαπιστείν] 'Their thoroughly


distrusting one another.'
τὰ πλήθη χαλεπαίνουσιν, ὅταν ἀπ' αὐτῶν μὴν λαμβάνωσιν ἑργαζόμενοι καὶ πονοῦντων γλύσσρως, διδώσι δ' ἐταίραις καὶ ἔνοιας καὶ τεχνίταις ἀφόνως, λόγον τε ἀποδιδόντα τῶν λαμβανομένων καὶ δαπανομένων, ὅπερ ἦδη πεποίηκασί τινες τῶν τυράννων· οὔτε γὰρ ἂν τὶς διοικῶν όικονόμος ἀλλ' οὐ τύραννος εἶναι δοξεῖ. οὐ δεὶ δὲ φοβεῖσθαι μὴ ποτε ἀπο- ῥήσῃ χρημάτων κύριος ἂν τῆς πόλεως. ἀλλὰ τοῖς γ' ἐκτο- τιζομεν τύραννος ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας καὶ συμφέρει τοῦτο μᾶλ- λον ἣ καταλιπτέν ἀνδρείας ἢ τοῦ γὰρ ἂν οἱ φυλάττου- τες ἐπιτιθεῖτο τοῖς πράγμασιν. εἰ δὲ φοβερωτέρων τῶν τυράννων τοῖς ἀποδημοῦσι οἱ φυλάττοντες, τῶν πολιτῶν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ συναποδημούσι οἱ, ὃς ὑπεμείνομεν. ἔπειτα 21 τὰς εἰσφορὰς καὶ τὰς λειτουργίας δεῖ φαίνεσθαι τῇ τὸ ὀικο- νομίας ὑπὸ συνάγωντα, κἂν ποτὲ δεῖθη χρῄσθαι πρὸς τὸς πολεμικὸς καυροῦ, ὅλως τε αὐτὸν παρασκευάζειν φύλαξα καὶ ταμίαν ὡς κοινών ἀλλὰ μὴ ἂν ἰδίων. καὶ φαίνεσθαι μὴ χαλεπὸν ἀλλὰ σεμνὸν, ἐτί δὲ τοιοῦτον ὅστε μὴ φο- βεῖσθαι τοῦς ἐντυχεῖστας ἀλλὰ μάλλον αἰδεύοντας τοῦ- του μέντοι τυγχάνειν οὐ ρόδινον ὄντα εἰκαταφρόνητον· διὸ δεῖ καὶ μὴ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἀρετῶν ἐπιμέλειαι ποιῆται, ἀλλὰ τῆς

lam, Mid. Ag. i. 66, "The sting of taxation is wastefulness. What high-spirited man could see without indignation the earnings of his labour, yielded ungrudgingly to the public defence, become the spoil of parasites and speculators."

γλύσσρως] 'with scanty earnings.'

δεξιορ should surely be δεξιοί.

20 τοῖς ἑτοιμοῖς[σωρείν] "von ihrem Lande entfernt," Stahr. 'To tyrants who are absent from home.'

τοῦτο] sc. τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα χρημάτων. Compare Hume's remarks on Stephen, Vol. i. p. 295. "Stephen, by seizing this money, immediately turned against Henry's family the precaution, which that prince had employed for their grandeur and security, an event which naturally attends the policy of amassing treasures."

εἰδὲ φοβερότεροι, κ.τ.λ.] 'Tyrants who leave home are more afraid of those they leave in charge, than of the citizens.' Such, I believe, is the construction of these words.

21 τὰς εἰσφοράς, κ.τ.λ.] πυργίσχει τὰς εἰσφοράς is simple enough, but not so πυργίσχει.

τὰς λειτουργίας] This word must have a very general sense, 'services.'

τὰς τὸν ὀικονομίας, κ.τ.λ.] 'for the administration of the state, both in peace and war.' The tyrant was to be οἰκονόμος by § 19.

κονούς] To identify himself with the state.

τοὺς ἐντυχεῖστας] 'those whom he meets.'
παραλύων] 'to remove from.'

28 τὴν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰ χρήματα] See Ch. Χ. 10, where the proposition was omitted.

διαγράφων] 'carelessness,' 'neglect of their interests.' Such a neutral translation will make the word suit both χρήματα and ἄγρια.

29 δὲ χειρισμῶν] 'in the wantonness of power.'

χαλεπῶν] 'redeem,' 'compensate.'
Καίτοι πασών διηγοχρονιώτεροι τῶν πολεμείσθην εἰσὶν ἄρχας καὶ τυραννὶς. 

Πλεῖστον γὰρ ἐγένετο χρόνον ἐπὶ 

Σικυώνα τυραννὶς, ἢ τῶν Ὀρθαγόρου παίδων καὶ αὐτοῦ Ὀρ 

θαγόρου. Ἐτή δ’ αὕτη διέμειν ἐκατόν. τούτου δ’ αἰτιω 

ὅτι τοῖς ἄρχομένοις ἐχρώντο μετρία καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς νέ 

μοις ἑδούλευον, καὶ διὰ τὸ πολεμικὸς γενέσθαι Κλεισθένης.
PLOITIKON Θ. (Ε.) 397

\[\text{VIII. (V.) 12.}\]

Duration of oligarchies and tyrannies.

ουκ ἦν εὐκαταφρονήτως, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις ἑδημαγάγοι. Ἰέγεται γοῦν Κλεισθένης τὸν ἀποκρίναντα τῆς τίκης αὐτὸν ἠ ἐστεφάνωσεν. Ἐνιοὶ δ' εἰκόνα φασὶν ἔναι τοῦ κρίναντος ὤτω τὸν ἀνδρίαν τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγόρᾳ καθήμενον. 


d) δὲ καὶ Πεισίστρατον ὑπομαίνει τοτε προσκληθέντα δίκην εἰς "Ἀρειαν πάγον." Δευτέρα δὲ περὶ Κόρινθου ἡ τών 

2 Κυψέλιδων καὶ γὰρ αὕτη διετέλεσεν ἡτή τρία καὶ ἐθδημηκοντα καὶ ἔς μήνας. Κύψελος μὲν γὰρ ἐτυράννησεν ἡτή τριάκοντα. Περίανδρος δὲ τετταράκοντα καὶ τέταρα, 

ψυμμμήτιχος δ' ὁ Γορδίου τρία ἡτη, τὰ δ' αὕτη ταῦτα ἦν καὶ τιτῆς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Κύψελος δημαγγὸς ἦν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν διετέλεσεν ἀδορυφόρητος, Περίανδρος δ' ἐγένετο μὲν τυραννικός, ἀλλὰ πολεμικός. τρίτη δ' ἡ τῶν Πεισιστράτου 

5 τρατιδίων Ἀθηναίων, οὐκ ἐγένετο δὲ συνεχῆς. δ' ἐς γὰρ ἔφυγε Πεισίστρατος τυραννὼν, ὡς ὑπὲρ τριάκοντα καὶ τρεῖς ἐπτακαίδεκα ἡτη τούτων ἐτυράννευσεν, ὑπετακαίδεκα δὲ οἱ παῖδες, ἀντ᾽ ὑπὲρ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο ἡτη τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε. 

tῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἡ περὶ Ἴρανα καὶ Γέλανα περὶ Συρακούσαις. ἡτη δ' οὐκ αὕτη πολλὰ διέμενεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ σύμπαντα δυοῖν ἐ δέντα ἐκκόσι. Γέλαν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τυραννεύσας τῷ ὕδαί τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησεν, δείκτα δ' Ἴρανος, Θρασυβοῦλος δὲ τῷ ἐνδεκάτῳ μηνὶ ἐξέτεσεν. 

τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν μοναρχῶν , 1316 

χιάς, ἔς ὥστε τὸ φθειρότατο καὶ πάλιν σώζονται, σχέδου 

3 There is something wrong in the figures. The total does not correspond with the details, and the solution must be conjectural. The simplest is to suppose that the copyist suffered tetrapónta to influence him and put τέταρα for ἔς μήνας.
4 καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχήν] 'And when in power, throughout its duration, he had no guards.' This marks the wide difference between him and the later tyrants. His power was probably politically an advantage.
5 συνεχῆς] 'Continuous,' and accepted as such by the governed.
peρὶ Συρακούσαι] Vet. Int. has circa Syracuse, and the accusative would surely be better.
7 He turns from the question of the relative duration of the different governments to that of their sequence. And the order of succession adopted by Plato is criticised and rejected.
μάλλον η] In the great period of Greek history, the fifth and fourth centuries before the Christian era, tyrants were quite a rarity; at any rate, in Greece proper. The fluctuations were between democracy and oligarchy.

οὐτ' εἰ ἔσται, κ.τ.λ.] The statement is confused. 'Whether there will or will not be a change from the tyranny, and if there be, what is the cause of the change, and what constitution is to succeed it?' In fact, it would simplify and clear up the passage to throw out the μή. The first οὐτ' εἰ ἔσται would sufficiently state the alternative 'whether there is to be one at all;' nor does he say, if there is to be one, &c.

Schneider's transposition of εἰς τοὺς πολιτείαν (he places it after μεταβολή) would of course clear the passage. As it stands, it is defective.

ἀφίστον γάρ] "denn es ist nicht bestimmbar," Stahr. 'It does not admit of a determination.' This seems the sense if the word will bear it.

σωφρίστας] 'There would be no disruption of continuity,' and 'the wheel would come full circle.'

12 Μέραννος] See Grote, iii. 43.

Mr Grote remarks that Aristotle seems to have conceived the tyranny as passing direct from Myrus to Cleisthenes, omitting Aristonymus.

The statement that there was a change in the tyranny, here made by Aristotle, receives light from his remarks, p. 49, on the distinction between the early Orthagorides and Cleisthenes.

40 Αντίλεοντος] Nothing apparently known.


Καρχεῖδων] On this statement, which it is difficult to reconcile with a previous one Π. ii. 2, μήτ' στῶν γεγενημένων μήτ' τυραννος, see Grote, x. 552, note.


'Αρταξάδου] Grote, iii. 507.
ἀδικοῦνται ἡ ὑβρίζονται, στασιάζουσι καὶ μεταβάλλουσι τὰς πολιτείας, κἂν μὴ καταδικασθῶσι τὴν οὐσίαν διὰ τὸ ἔξειναι ὅτι ἄν βούλωνται ποιεῖν· οὐ αἰτίαν τὴν ἄγαν ἐλευθερίαν εἶναι φησιν. πλειόνων ὁ οὐσίων ὀλίγορχῳ καὶ δημοκρατίῳ, ὡς μιᾶς οὐσίας ἐκατέρας λέγει τὰς μεταβολὰς ὁ Σωκράτης.

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The Verbs are classified according to the order of their Moods and Tenses, as given in Wordsworth's Greek Grammar—viz.:

- Active Voice
- Indicative Mood
- Imperative
- Subjunctive
- Optative
- Infinitive
- Participle
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Το κείμενο είναι σε γλώσσα ελληνική και περιέχει μεταφράσεις και συνθέσεις, καθώς και περιγραφές και σχέδια.

Το κείμενο είναι περιεχόμενο για να διαβάζεται και να τηρείται με βλέποντας την επιπέδωση ισορροπίας.

Το κείμενο είναι περιεχόμενο για να γίνει μια συνδομένη διαδικασία διαβάσματος και συμπεριφοράς.
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THERE is always a danger of overlaying an edition of a classical author with alien matter. But I trust that I have been moderate enough in the extent of my notes to excuse my discussing, in the shape of a few short essays, some points not alien to, but intimately connected with, the matter of the treatise. For the opinions expressed in them, I leave them, without useless apology, to the reader. For the form, it will be seen that they do not pretend to more than the bringing forward some questions which seem worth an attentive consideration.
ESSAYS.

I.

SLAVERY.

"δις μὰν τοιῶν εἰσὶ φῶς τινὲς οἱ μὰν ἐλεύθεροι οἱ δὲ δούλοι, φανερῶν, οἴς καὶ συμφέρει τὸ δουλεύειν καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστι."
—I. v. ii.

THE judgment of Aristotle in favour of slavery has excited more attention than most of his other opinions. It rests on the inequality which, as a fact, exists among men. It rests further on an alleged inequality, which, however, is historically also a fact, existing between the various races of men. In its most concrete form it rests, lastly, on the presumed superiority of the Hellenic race to all others, but most especially to the eastern nations with which it was in contact. For Aristotle would appear to allow a distinction in this respect between the Asiatic nations and the European. He distinguishes them in character, and keeping this distinction in mind, I think we are warranted in the inference, that whilst he would defend the conquest of the barbarous neighbours of Greece in Europe, on the ground of the advantage such conquest would confer on them by an amalgamation with their conquerors, and, as it were, an adoption into their higher civilisation, he would vindicate the conquest of the Asiatic nations from a less liberal point of view than that of Alexander, as the conquest of those who were naturally and essentially slaves, and who would find their advantage in a wisely regulated but perpetual servitude.

It seemed desirable to state the grounds of Aristotle's judgment, but it is not necessary here to discuss it with greater minuteness. Elsewhere I have indicated what I consider its erroneous assumptions. It will be seen from what
follows that I do not sympathise with the unsparing censure it has drawn upon him.

We revolt so much from slavery, and so justly also from it in its modern form, that we need to call in our historical, relative, judgment to estimate it more favourably at any time or under any form. Such historical judgment would make us hesitate in our absolute reprobation of it with reference to antiquity. For it would lead us back to periods anterior to any written history, anterior to anything that can be called civilisation, periods on which but little direct light is thrown, but which we can judge in some measure by a comparative view of the different stages of progress to which different branches of the human race have attained. We can make the study of the present aid us in forming a conception of the most remote past to which we can ascend. It would lead us back to the hunter tribes, which present one of the earliest forms of man's existence. We should find these tribes perpetually at war one with the other, as the natural consequence of their mode of life. For the hunter tribe requires a very large area from which to draw subsistence, and any intruder on that area is an enemy, not on any fanciful ground, but as threatening the previous occupant with starvation. War, in such times, and under such conditions, is internecine. In the lowest form of life it is more; the human rival is the food of his conqueror.

The first step out of this state of things is taken when the prisoner is not sacrificed and eaten, but kept and made useful to his conqueror. And the value of the instrument, man, once discovered, the mitigation of war is immediate. Its internecine character is laid aside, and conquest becomes its object. The slave taken in war tends his master's flocks, if his conqueror be one of a tribe whose mode of existence has passed into the nomad and pastoral stage. Or if the circumstances of his conqueror have led him to a sedentary life; if the hunter Ñimrod has made the beginning of his kingdom Babel, then the tribes subdued till the earth, and build cities, and rapidly become a civilised nation, such as Babylon, Egypt, India, or China.

As civilisation advanced, and states became organised, and the wants of man, material and intellectual, increased,
there was needed a corresponding increase of the class which labours, for all higher forms of society require such a class, as a basis to secure leisure and that advancement of all the interests of the race, which is impossible unless leisure be secured to a portion. But in a state of society, of which war was the characteristic, the labouring class could not maintain itself in security, if independent. It needed the closer bond which connects the master and his slave. It could not exist under the slacker connection that exists between the employer and the employed.

Hence slavery, which, in the earliest times, had been the mitigation of war, could not, for a long period, cease to be the general condition of labour. It must be accepted as an institution. It must, as such, be brought within the consideration of society, and so regularised and modified, partly by positive law, partly by the stronger force of custom, as to lose its more repulsive character. The existence of the slave must be made tolerable to him, or the society which rested on slavery, in which slaves were the vast numerical majority, could never have been safe for an hour. And an attentive consideration of the History of Greece and Rome, will show that these results were attained. Let the most be made of objections, let the evils inherent in slavery be put at their highest amount, after all is said, it is difficult to look on the conclusion as doubtful: that, relatively to the times in which it was the prevailing condition of the labouring classes, slavery was defensible. It is a conclusion warranted by the general tone of the great writers of Greece, historians and philosophers. It is warranted by the dramatic writers of Rome. It is warranted lastly by the more than acquiescence in the condition of the slave, which was given by the early Christians, and by St. Paul himself. There is, I believe, no hint in the New Testament of a reprobation of slavery. It is accepted as a fact.

And, based on this relative view, it is a conclusion which need in no sense shock us. For it affords not a shadow of support to slavery such as, till lately, existed in our own colonies, and existed, it should be remembered, without in the least jarring on the ideas of morality then prevailing in England. For there are few questions on which public
morality has undergone so great a change in so short a time. And it is, of course, evident that slavery, such as it still exists in North or South America, receives also no support from the conclusion adopted above. The only fair analogy to the slavery of Greece and Rome is to be found in that which is still prevalent in Asia, where the evils of West Indian or American slavery are wholly unknown, and the relation of master and slaves is accepted by both, as being, in Aristotle's words, at once light and for the common interest.

But if we wish to reverse the picture, and seek for an analogy in ancient times to modern slavery, we have a safe guide to follow. The various outbreaks, known in Roman history as servile wars, whose chief seat was Sicily, are a sufficient indication. For they point to a condition of things which was intolerable to the slave. Nor is it difficult to account for this phenomenon. When brought into immediate personal contact with their masters, and congregated in large masses, as they were in a town like Rome, motives of human feeling, the common charities of life, conspired with the dictates of interest, to soften the relation. At its best it is a dangerous relation, dangerous to the master as a moral being, dangerous to the slave from his exposure to every caprice. But in the large towns there were not wanting cheeks to mitigate this danger. The case was different on the latifundia of the Roman nobles, or what may be termed the corn plantations of Sicily. The population there was slave, and there was no check on the misuse of their power by the agents or masters who superintended them. And there was no intercourse, no sense of a connection to soften the inherent hardships of their condition. They revolted once and again, and there was a danger lest their revolt should spread, lest throughout the Roman world the slave population should feel that it had a common cause. There are statements which show that this danger was not imaginary. But it passed over, and civilisation escaped the curse which would have been entailed by a premature break-up of the system of slavery.

* Written in 1865.
SLAVERY.

It was a system which could not be the ultimatum of the labouring portion of humanity. But before it could wholesomely cease, that which was to replace it must in some degree have gained the requisite strength. Till that time came, all that was admissible was to introduce all possible alleviations, and the legislation of Rome shows us that such alleviations were from time to time introduced. It was Gibbon who remarked that the closing of the period of conquest, and the consequent closing of the importation of fresh slaves, made it necessary to treat the slaves actually possessed with greater care. Where all hope of supply from without had ceased, the only thing left was to deal with the existing slave population in such a way that its numbers might be maintained at a level adequate to the demand.

And in Aristotle himself we find suggested one of the greatest alleviations of which slavery is susceptible. There ought to be held out to the slave, he says, the hope of liberty as the reward of his service. Thus, by a gradual infiltration, the slave population might pass into the free. It did so at Rome through the intermediate stage of freedmen. And the position of freedmen at Rome in the later republic, and even more under the empire, was such that the prospect of reaching it must have been a great inducement to the slaves to acquiesce in their present lot. And it would be an inducement which would have most weight with the highest class of slaves.

In the progress of events slavery has ceased to be the condition of the labourer in all the nations of Western Europe. But there were two classes of slaves—and there are two classes of labourers. There was the class that answers to our industrial population. There was the other that answers to our domestic servants. And there is a wide distinction between the two. The industrial population, agricultural or artisan, is wholly enfranchised, and the difficult problems that it presents to the statesman, admit of no solution but such as is compatible with their forming an integral and most important portion of the body politic. They are free citizens, and their numbers must give them in the last resort the deciding power. All attempts to escape from this conclusion seem to me illusory—
all devices to avert it — τὰ διναρχικὰ σοφίσματα — seem to me contemptible. Right education must teach them the true use of their power, their true freedom. The removal of all their grievances, social and political, must combine with a wiser spirit in the other classes to soften their feelings, and lead them morally to accept their position with its balanced advantages and disadvantages. But their freedom must be acknowledged—their power must be reckoned with. On the wise recognition of this conclusion depends much of our immediate future. But this wise recognition seems almost beyond hope when we contemplate the alternations of blindness and stupefying terror which the ruling classes are subject to, according as the substratum of the social order seems quiet or disturbed. The Terra di Lavoro of political society bears on it a population of a truly Neapoltian character.

The other class, that of domestic servants, offers difficulties of a widely different kind. They are in one sense members of the family, but the connection is very loose. This social evil was touched upon some years ago by Mr. Carlyle, and it was at the same time indicated that the remedy, or one remedy, lay in greater permanence of the relation between masters and servants. But it would seem in this as in other matters, that the evil must increase to such a point as to force attention before any remedy will be thought of. It would, however, seem great enough already. If England is to follow in the track of New England, and the boasted Anglo-Saxon type of character is to go on developing itself to its extreme logical conclusions, then any healthful condition of domestic service seems hopeless. For it is assumed to be a disgraceful condition, a limited servitude from which every one should escape as soon as possible. And the reckless treatment of servants by their masters has been, I believe, the source of this feeling, so far as it exists amongst us. Yet surely the relation in itself is not an unsound one, it is right and expedient for both parties. It wants but due consideration to make it, what it seems naturally to be, an integral part of our domestic institutions. But its revision will depend on far wider questions—on a revision in fact of the moral standard of the nation, forced upon us by the gradual
course of events. In shaking off the fetters which had rested on labour, and which had become painful, doctrines have been fostered of absolute independence, which, useful for the purpose of destruction, must be laid aside when the work of construction shall begin. They have been useful, I mean, in shaking unsound theories of dependence, but they must not interfere with the sound. I am aware that writers of ability seem, by their language, to aim at an extinction or a compression within the very narrowest limits of this particular relation of master and servant. But in the interest of the poorer not less than that of the richer classes, such tendencies should be resisted. The first change, it need hardly be said, must come from the master's side, whereas the contrary is always assumed. Yet surely the main burden of society should rest on its stronger members. With us it has been recklessly thrown on the weaker. In the revival or the creation of the sense of social duty in the great majority of the rich, who, as rich, are socially strong, in the creation of the feeling that by their position they are under the obligation of devoting themselves to the cause of the poorer classes—in this lies the true remedy for the social evil on which I have been touching. To create this feeling directly seems, in the present deadness on such matters, almost hopeless. It is most likely that it will come from the temporary and provisional strengthening of the poorer, and if somewhat hopeless on other points, we may be very confident on this, that they are rapidly acquiring the strength that they may need for the enforcement of any social changes that shall be found imperatively needed. The danger lies not in their wanting strength but in their wanting guidance, such guidance as would be given by a matured and moderate estimate of the ameliorations compatible with their position.
ARISTOTLE AND PLATO.

'wants' were supplied,—if men that is were materially independent of one another,—still they would crave the social union. But this difference noted, most of the more leading questions that occur in political science are either explicitly or implicitly answered in the same way by both. Plato does not, any more than Aristotle, recoil from slavery; nor are his views on war essentially different. Both agree on the necessity for leisure as the foundation of the Greek freeman's existence. In neither is there any allowance for the industrial population. Both are equally republican. Both are equally conscious of the Hellenic superiority. It is when we come to the general tendency of the two philosophers that the difference between them becomes striking. And it is to this difference of tendency that may be traced that divergence on some two or three fundamental points, which has given occasion to the criticism of Aristotle.

I imagine that they would both have allowed that much greater power was wielded by the legislator than is consistent with our ideas. They thought society eminently modifiable, a thing to be fashioned a priori and at pleasure. I do not know that this is anywhere definitely stated, but some such view seems to lie at the root of many of their positions, exercising an influence over their conclusions, even though never drawn into consciousness and fully examined. It is an idea which derived considerable countenance from Greek experience, an idea which has been powerful at all times, and is by no means sufficiently exploded, even now.

But though so far both were agreed, Aristotle's sounder judgment emancipated him much the more fully from the consequences of this idea. The evils of existing states escaped neither the one nor the other, but Plato was led by his sense of them to sketch out an entire remodelling of society, a change reaching to its very foundation. Ignoring the experience of the past, he aspired after a purely ideal state, and thought that what may be called the facts of human society could be bent to suit that state; that, in short, the phenomena of society, such as he witnessed them, were accidental and not permanent. Hence his attack on the family by his advocacy of community of wives, his attack on property by his advocacy of community of goods. For
why should these two ideas of family and property not be, like the rest, subject to modification?

It is a dream which, in later times and in modern garb, exposes those who indulge in it to all kinds of hostility, with no allowance for its attractions, or for the nobler elements it contains. It would expose Plato to the same attacks, on the grounds generally taken of coarse and sensual morality, &c. &c., were it not for the traditional reverence with which his name is regarded, and for the admiration we feel for his eloquence. I do not sympathise with the abuse poured on the modern expositors of such doctrines; but I can sympathise with the refutation of them in their ancient garb which, calmly expressed, we owe to the genius of Aristotle, as I could sympathise with a modern one of the same character.

I content myself, then, with thus merely pointing out the agreement of Aristotle and Plato in many of their particular conclusions, their disagreement in the general bearing of their political philosophy. It is a subject which I did not feel warranted in leaving wholly untouched, though it has been so largely discussed, and with so little result as to make it uninviting.

The personal relations of the two seem to have been friendly, and I see no trace of any ill-feeling in the criticisms of Aristotle.

Mr. Maurice says that Aristotle felt there was something in Plato which he could not understand. Such language implies that Aristotle was conscious of some inferiority. It is said that he acknowledged that the beauty of Plato's dialogue was beyond his power to rival. But with reference to his conclusions I know of no warrant for Mr. Maurice's opinion. I know of nothing which is calculated to shake the conviction that Aristotle judged Plato with the composure of a superior mind, that he honoured and loved the man, but that he felt that his system was inadequate and rested on a feeble basis; that without any undue self-assertion he felt that his own grasp of truth, his own mastery of human knowledge, enabled him to offer a firmer basis and a more satisfactory system. And the judgment of posterity has ratified his supremacy and accepted the position justly assigned him by Dante, as—il Maestro di color che sanno.
III.

MONARCHY.

εἰ δὲ δὴ τις ἀριστον θεία τὸ βασιλέεσθαι ταῖς πόλεσιν, πῶς ἔχει τὰ περὶ τῶν τέκνων;—III. xv. 13.

In my note on this passage I have already briefly touched on the question of monarchy, properly so called, that is, hereditary monarchy. Of course it is competent to any one to use the term monarchy, without combining with it in his mind the idea represented by the word hereditary. But in our common language, and in our thoughts, the two ideas are, I believe, invariably connected, so that, when we wish to signify any other than hereditary monarchy, we add a distinctive epithet.

It is then monarchy, in this its common sense, and as expressive of the government really of one man, which he can and does leave, as other property is left, to his son, without reference to the qualification of that son; it is monarchy in this sense, that is, I think, an idea of the past. It has been, ever in the past, a fruitful source of political convulsions, and the ideas and exigencies of the present are not calculated to diminish its inherent dangers. I have no wish to treat in this place of constitutional monarchy. The common opinion of Western Europe is setting so strongly against this peculiar institution that it is not likely to embarrass political progress, and in our own country, where it has apparently a firmer hold than elsewhere, as a real government becomes more and more indispensable, the anomaly we present will have a more uncertain tenure.

To return to monarchy proper; the government of one man wielding, not nominally, but really, the whole executive power; owning no constitutional check, but controlled only by that from which no one can exempt himself, the influences of opinion, whether at home or abroad; not the theoretic, but the actual head of the state; securing unity to its policy
rant the conclusion above given. The one is the effe\n
teness of our present system. This is shown by the incompete\n\nty of the classes in whom it places power to produce rulers of\n\ny any sufficient ability. This incompetency seems admitted by\n\nall. It is the remedy that is disputed. Nor does the evil\n\nextend only to the governing classes. The other classes,\n\nwhich though hitherto excluded from, are yet considered as\n\nadmissible to, political power, are equally struck with this\n\nparalysis. This proceeds in great measure from the absence\n\nof any intelligent appreciation of their position, or in other\n\nwords, from the absence of any political convictions different\n\nfrom those entertained by the governing classes whom they\n\nwould supplant. They think they could manage matters\n\nbetter, they do not see that it is not a mere question of\n\nmanagement, but of a change in the very conditions of go\n\novernment. Both are in the main agreed upon the ends, their\n\ndifference as to means is comparatively uninteresting, espe\n\ncially to those who observe that within their own sphere the\n\nmercantile and commercial seem as incapable of wise and\n\nsuccessful conduct of their concerns as the more directly\n\npolitical classes are in the affairs of the nation.

With reference to these political classes, this result, this\n\nincompetency, is not to be wondered at. The influences of\n\nwhat is called society are, to say the least, not favourable to\n\nthe growth of enlarged intellectual ability, and still less\n\nfavourable to that of the moral energy and strength of con\n\nviction which are infinitely more important than the intel\n\nlect, on which in fact any large intellectual power depends.
\nFor to attain high political power in England, I except of\n\ncourse those born in the purple, a man must devote himself,\n\nfor a long period, to that object, must play a game, must\n\npush himself, either in so-called influential circles, or on the\n\nhustings, or both, and the chances are very strongly against\n\nhim; the improbability very strong, that when his object is\n\nattracted the character is not warped or enfeebled by the\n\nlength and nature of the struggle. Such seems the cause,\n\npolitically, of the weakness which is allowed to characterise\n\nour present rulers, or ruling classes.

On the other hand, no observer would, I suppose, deny
that over against these ruling classes there is shaping itself a definite power. That the majority of the more thoughtful artisans are keenly scrutinising the conduct of their governors; that they are entirely antagonistic to the existing institutions, emancipated from any prejudices in favour of our monarchical fictions, hostile to the aristocratic influences of our constitution, alien to the religion of the Church of England. And below the more thoughtful and educated stratum of this society, there is the vast mass of the uneducated unreflective poor, who need but the stimulus of bad times to ripen their smouldering into the most active discontent, a mass on which the others can act with great directness, and by so acting can call in the momentum of numbers to give irresistibile weight to their own more calculated decisions.

If there is any one point on which the higher political literature of the day, whether it be the expression of English or foreign opinion, is unanimous, it is on the rapid growth and formidable character, formidable I mean to existing institutions, of this opposition. And there is now added an element which, not novel in character, is yet novel in degree. I allude to the sympathies, more active now than at any recent period, and daily increasing in activity, between the proletariat of our own and other countries. In this respect, as in others, the union of Western Europe is becoming intensified, and a corresponding increase of movement may be expected. But apart from all considerations of the future, the present situation is eminently explosive. The danger has been insisted on over and over again, and no systematic measures have been adopted to meet it. It has certainly not decreased in consequence of that neglect. There are indications of a considerable increase of late, the natural result of recent events.

Nor shall we have fully estimated the danger of the political situation of England till we have taken into account another consideration. Of course two bodies standing in such relation to one another can have no convictions in common. Indeed it is only of the second that it can be said that it has any conviction at all. The former merely clings
to what is established, with a profound sense of its insufficiency, but with no idea what to substitute. But any new form of society is impossible under such conditions. Such new form presupposes for its establishment the existence of some unity of conviction. Here lies the great difficulty. Considerable time must elapse before the ideas of the new industrial society shall have sufficiently spread to form the basis for a construction. And during that time, it is essential for all equally that a perfect freedom of discussion should prevail, in order that those ideas may be generally understood and largely accepted. It is scarcely to be denied that at present we are steering on to an unknown future without any conceptions to guide us. It is most important that all who have any counsel to offer should be allowed to offer it.

If such are the phenomena of our actual society, or if they seem to any one to be such, he who so judges will not be averse to the conclusion, that for the security of order and the securing at the same time the amount of progress necessary to prevent order from becoming stagnation, there will be needed a dictatorial power sufficiently representing the interests of the classes that are growing, and at the same time strong enough to protect the weaker and decaying—a power able to act as a mediator, under whose salutary compression quiet discussion of the difficulties may proceed and their peaceful solution be discovered without exposing society to any violent collisions.

It is from a conservative point of view that I advocate a dictatorship—not conservative, of course, of the present institutions, which seem to have amply served their time, to have been strained to the uttermost and to have given under the strain, to be rather obstacles to, than the instruments of, further progress, but conservative of the requisite amount of order.

But whilst this should be one great object of such a provisional dictatorship, there should be at the same time unmistakeably impressed upon it the character of progress. To secure adhesion to it on the part of those whose adhesion alone is absolutely essential, on the part of the proletariat, it must make perfectly clear this other aspect of its position.
It must be distinctly seen that it aims at no compression in the interests of the old society, that it aims at no bolstering up of the older institutions, that it is ready to accept and practically initiate any changes which are desirable, and that it invites discussion of such changes. It must be distinctly seen that, whilst it prevents collision, it does not make its prevention of that a shield for a covert maintenance of the power actually in possession, but that its principal function is to facilitate the substitution of a more satisfactory arrangement.

It may be urged against this: such a power is not without example, but how are the dangers to which it is undeniably exposed to be guarded against? For after all precautions have been taken to ensure a worthy choice, the dictator chosen may prove unworthy, may belie the experience which justified the nomination, and change the nature of the power entrusted to him; or, after a right use of it himself, he may transmit it to unworthy hands, even whilst observing the condition imposed upon him, not attempting, that is, to make it hereditary. Without disputing these difficulties, there are some considerations which tend to make them less formidable than they at first appear. Such a power can only originate in a general conviction that it is necessary; a sufficiently general conviction, that is, to make the dissidents in opinion submit, and, improbable as this may seem, it is by no means impossible. The acquiescence of France in its present government, in spite of the shock to all republican sympathies unwisely given by the substitution of the title of emperor for one more provisional, thus stamping it with a dynastic, hereditary character, is an instance which may throw light on our own future course. Such a conviction and acquiescence would of course diminish the dangers attendant on all great political changes. It would smooth the access to power of the dictator, and render it easier for him to exercise it beneficially.

This preliminary step over, there are other safeguards against perversion of the power. There is, in the first place, the inherent tendency of such a power, so originating and so acquiesced in, to raise the character of its possessor, and
make him look on his power in its true light, as entrusted to
him for the common welfare. This acts on characters of a
very secondary order, it acts with redoubled force on those of
the higher.

A second safeguard I should place in the entire liberty of
discussion, which such a power must not only tolerate but
foster, a discussion of course honestly carried on. And I
need hardly add that the necessary condition of such an
honest discussion is that each writer should substantiate his
writings by his signature. Anonymous writing should be
absolutely illegal, in order that no more than its due weight
might attach to whatever is written. There should be no
powerful literary corporation in which the individual can
merge his individuality, and rid himself of his responsibility.
Such discussion, so carried on, the dictator would have no
interest in preventing, nor, if he fancied that his interest
dictated its suppression, would he have the power requisite
for its suppression.

A dictatorship, sprung from the general conviction of its
necessity, and supported by the adhesion of the proletariat, or
great body of the working classes, enabled, as so supported,
to disregard the clamorous interests of the few whom it con-
signed to political insignificance, would be less than most
governments of the present day liable to the danger of vio-

tent interruption. For this, the extreme remedy, is equally
applicable to all forms, and in the full light of recent experi-
ence we must allow that the hereditary monarchies of Europe
offer no greater guarantees for stability than any other form.

After all, it is not on a conviction of the greater danger
of such a provisional power that the resistance to its rise will
in the main be based. The aristocracy, which now governs,
will recoil from any interference with their power. The
classes which are aspiring to govern will equally recoil from
any interference with their hopes of power. Those who, like
myself, feel an insuperable dislike to the actual constitution
of our government, and a considerable repugnance to its mere
transfer to classes not yet qualified for power, a change with-
out adequate motives, will be ready to welcome, as a step in
the progress to better things, a provisional dictatorship to
supersede the actual, and to give time for the future order quietly to shape itself.

Discussions such as these could hardly find a place in Aristotle. The question of monarchy, so far as it interested a Greek state, presented itself to him from a wholly different point of view, from that, viz. of the justice of recognising very superior merit. Such merit had a claim, a right he thought, which could not be put aside. And in the quiet acknowledgment of this claim the other citizens would find their true interest. Under any other circumstances the existence of monocratic power in a Greek state was only conceivable in the form of tyranny, and tyranny supported by mercenary troops, the government of undisguised force. The city organisation is, in fact, practically incompatible with the government of one. The ruler and the ruled stand in such close proximity, the forces on the two sides are so unequal, that except for temporary emergencies, such as war for instance, the relation can hardly continue long on the footing of absolute power. The interests of the whole are so in common that there would be no temptation in ordinary times to trust them to one management. The city government must ever, I conceive, remain in principle such as it presented itself to Aristotle.

But the case is different with a nation or great kingdom. The ruler is not brought into such close proximity with his subjects. The interests of these subjects are not so obviously in common. The different parts are not brought into close relation to one another. There is needed a central power to preserve harmony between them, and order throughout the large aggregate. A large armed force is placed at the disposal of this central power, and the numerical inequality which still exists is balanced by concentration and discipline. That the two problems of a city and a national organisation are quite distinct in this particular point of view may be made clear by our own experience. Wherever, in Europe, the actual states approach the type of the Greek city, there the power exercised is very different from that in the larger kingdoms. The smaller states of Germany or Italy may serve to illustrate my meaning.
Naples, with its Swiss mercenaries; the Pope, with the French soldiers; Tuscany, with its capital held by Austrian troops; the wretched smaller courts which oppress Germany, of which Hesse Cassel may be taken as the most eminent specimen,—are all instances to the point. Their size places them more on a level with the Greek state, and their government would long since have completely changed but for the pressure from without in some cases, the open aid in others, which guarantees them against the just retribution which some time or other awaits them.

On the other hand, as the states of Europe recede from the Greek type in point of size, they recede also in the point of government. The great kingdoms, so long as they remain such, require a centralised power, and there is no perceptible tendency in any of them to weaken that power by the creation of constitutional checks. If one result more than another may be considered as established by the recent convulsions on the continent, it is this general indisposition to that which we call constitutional monarchy.

But let this present state of transition be passed, with its difficulties and peculiar requirements, then monarchy, in all its forms, and monocracy also, may be considered for Western Europe, as for Aristotle, as a completely obsolete institution. Its services and its merits may then be calmly discussed equally with those of other past institutions. It was good for Europe in past times,—it may still continue to be good relatively to the wants of other countries. It would be a mere encumbrance in the different organisation which industrialism will require and evolve.
cation for conquest, that it is meant to benefit the conquered. Each nation admits this defence for itself, whilst, in the case of its neighbour, it can see the force of the objections urged. Generally it may be said, that the time for wars conducted on this principle is past, that it was good and right in antiquity, whether we apply it to the Athenian expedition against Syracuse, to Alexander's expedition into Asia, or to the conquest of the world by Rome. For it is only by its better method and greater success that this last attempt at conquest differs from the others. History affords, I think, ample justification for all of them. But since the break-up of the Roman Empire, and the settlement of the barbarians, war, except for the maintenance of that settlement, has been uncalled for, speaking generally. The great modern instance in which a deviation from this rule took place, the attempt of Napoleon to found an empire by war, is open to the justest condemnation. It found a practical condemnation in its entire failure; it finds a theoretic one in the sentence of his successor: The era of conquests is closed. The defence of Western Europe against the Saracen, the Saxon, the Mongol, or the Turk, has been the only really legitimate cause of war. Most of the other wars have been, on one side or the other, in principle indefensible, and an unnecessary waste of the happiness and resources of the nations engaged.

There remains the last of the grounds above named—the moral obligation that rests on the strong. This is put forward by some as that on which the present war with Russia rests. But it is scarcely the real ground, though, in the confusion of statement and thought prevalent on the subject, this point, amongst others, may have been alleged. But avoiding so slippery a subject as the present war, it is better to confine oneself to the more general question—how far strength confers the right, or rather imposes the duty of the interference, if necessary, by war to prevent oppression? I cannot but think that there is this duty resting on the stronger to act as the protector of the weaker,—that this last ground of war is, in fact, the only one that now remains as a justifiable one. I cannot but think that, after elimi-
nating from the discussion, as obsolete, all ideas of conquest, all ideas of slavery, all ideas of the defence against barbarian or semi-barbarian inroads, there does rest on the civilised nations of Western Europe, who form the vanguard of humanity, the duty of seeing an end put to the reign of unlawful domination, by whomsoever exercised, England, France, Austria, or Russia, and over whomsoever, be it India, Algeria, Italy, or Hungary. But the time is distant yet when such a ground can fairly be taken. And it is necessary, as the first condition, that the powers that would take it should see that they themselves are clear in the matter. To explain myself by an example. The history and circumstances of our dominion in India render it a mere hypocrisy in us to object to Russia's advance either across the Caucasus or the Balkan, on any ground but that of the tendency of such advance to disturb the status quo in Europe, which, in the absence of any policy of amelioration, it seems desirable to maintain.

Passing from the objects of war, I proceed to the consideration of the effects of war on the nations making war, the point suggested by the words quoted from Aristotle. He remarks, that there are greater dangers to the moral condition of a nation in a state of peace and prosperity than in war. 'For war exercises a wholesome constraint, compels justice, compels moderation, whereas the enjoyment of prosperity, and peace, and leisure, has a tendency to foster a spirit of overweening insolence.' It is the truth conveyed in this remark which has, I suppose, led to the welcome given to the present war by so many of the more cultivated and reflecting.

It is a strange and disheartening phenomenon that such a welcome offers. We have enjoyed forty years of unbroken peace, and we have made so little use of their opportunities and benefits that we see them end without regret; and the nation finds itself engaged in war, not with the grave and sad feelings of men who are forced by a hard necessity to forego their proper work, and to take up arms to repress an unwarranted aggression on the existing order. No such feeling seems to be predominant. It is, doubtless, largely entertained, but it is entertained in comparative silence. What
we hear loudly expressed, moving even the 'passionate heart' of the Poet Laureate to express it in song, is an exulting welcome of the war, on the ground that the evils of our social condition were too oppressive; that peace and the fruits of the peace, the great development of industry and commerce, presented such repulsive features, were so stifling to all the nobler feelings, that we throw them aside as a nightmare, and turn gladly to the scenes of war; that we emerge from their atmosphere as into the fresh air after a long confinement.

Putting aside all the accidents of the present war, all its mismanagement in the past, all the apprehension that it justly excites in the future, when we see no aim avowed, no policy guiding us, and returning to the general question, we may fairly ask what benefits it is to confer upon us over and above the purely negative one of repression. No one thinks that war is an end, the permanent condition of things. Grant, then, that the present war be ended and peace restored to us. There has been a great drain on our resources, an immense amount of suffering. Grant that this has not been in vain, that we have attained the just and honourable peace which is the vague end set before us. With peace there return the difficulties of peace, the questions that have been agitating us these last forty years, whose answer has been postponed during the war. Have we gained strength to meet these difficulties by the feverish excitement in which we have been living? Has any light been thrown upon these questions, any thought been given to them? The social evils have been fermenting unresisted. Be it education, be it the question of labour, all have alike assumed during the war an entirely subordinate importance. They can only be solved in peace, and peace has been denied us.

If the welcome of war were but the expression of the selfish feeling, we shall not see the evil in our day, it were intelligible and contemptible. But that such evils as are complained of, the want of education, the demoralisation of commerce, the evils of competition, that such evils should be thought to find any remedy in war passes comprehension. They are all enhanced by the pressure upon industry entailed.
stimulus, have marked for years the workmen of England in the great commercial crises which have afflicted industry. It may be that they will again be called forth in this very winter. Why cannot we appreciate the one as well as the other?

We feel we have a right cause in this war, and we submit to the necessary sacrifices. In meeting the evils that press upon us in the constitution of the new industrial form of society we might have the same feeling, and submit, with equal readiness, to the equally necessary sacrifices. But we must lay aside all idea of indirect remedies. We must accept industrialism as permanent, and grapple firmly with its difficulties. We shall then look on any interruption of the peaceful order, which is the best condition for our overcoming these difficulties, as simply an evil, to be endured but not welcomed. When there is no hope of any accidental relief, men will subdue their feverish impatience and set themselves calmly to scan their available resources, and to modify, by a judicious use of such resources, and from within, a situation which admits of no modification from without. In the absence of the constraint of war, the justice and moderation, which are as necessary in peace as in war, must originate in right moral training and in the rational conviction of their necessity.
V.

EDUCATION.

τῷ νομοθετῷ μάλιστα πραγματευτῶν περὶ τὴν τῶν νέων παιδείαν.

ANYTHING like a systematic view of the subject of education is out of the question here. It is far too wide and difficult. Yet where there has been so much discussion, and where there is room for so much more,—where, moreover, the question is one evidently not near any definitive settlement, but in a remarkable manner susceptible of and requiring discussion, I may venture to offer some remarks. In them I shall keep the Politics before me, and observe the order of treatment adopted in them, without being bound to enter into all the numerous points they suggest for consideration. In fact, I shall confine myself to three, and touch first on the general outline of early education which Aristotle gives; secondly, on the question of public education; thirdly, on that of the things taught.

I have frequently had occasion to remark that on the question of education we have but a fragment of Aristotle's views. The care with which, in that fragment, all the early steps in the process are indicated, increases our regret that we have not the fuller development, that we cannot trace the training of the boy and the man as we can that of the infant and the child.

Such, however, as we have it, his treatment suggests one or two points bearing on our present practice. For instance, in reading his remarks on the necessity of training the body first, then the character, then the intellect, the contrast presented by our ordinary education is very striking. Of course I am not speaking of the large classes with whom the pressure of daily existence is so heavy, that it makes any education, for its own sake, impossible. To meet the daily wants of the family, the child must be made useful as soon as possible, and
no question of its ultimate interests is allowed to interfere. The education I touch on is that of all those classes which can fairly be brought within the range of the term educated, in our sense of the word. With this limitation, I shall surely not be exaggerating when I say that the sound bodily training and the right cultivation of the character in early life are neglected, and that the one great end aimed at is the bringing forward; at as early a period as possible, the intellect. The stimulus of immediate want acts on the very poor, and the child suffers. The children of richer parents suffer because success in life is the ultimate standard to which all education is brought, and success in life at present mainly depends on a certain kind of intellectual culture. And the success must be early, so the intellectual must be prematurely developed. For anything but early success, the calculation is an unsound one. The early forcing system injures the bodily health, vitiates the character, and weakens the intellect. The demand made on the mental powers is too great for the physical in their unsettled, growing state; and the child shrinks from the exertion required. If to this we add the complication introduced by the peculiar food we submit to the young intellect, a food for which it has no natural appetite,—Latin and Greek grammars and exercises,—we shall then understand the necessity of bringing in a moral evil to remedy this natural shrinking from the mental exertion required. I allude to the system of competition based on emulation, the specious name under which we delicately veil, and veiling ignore, the evils to the character of early rivalry. And after all this sacrifice of bodily health and moral training, the intellect, over-stimulated, has lost its vigour at the time when it should be in full possession of it. It is the same with it as with the victors in the Olympic games. There were but rare instances, Aristotle says, of early success followed by later. Their strength had been overtasked in youth.

The very earliest stages of education having been gone through, and the period passed during which the process of education must necessarily be conducted at home, Aristotle raises the question, Is it or is it not within the province of
attention. Speaking generally, the education of England, as at present conducted, is the most systematic attack on the influences of the family of which we have any record. The whole moral connection between English parents and their sons ceases at a very early age. To pay for their education, and to find them the means of starting in life, is the limit of the duty acknowledged by the parents. All personal exertion, all direct attempts at superintending the development of the intellect, or at influencing the moral character, are given up as hopeless, as a task for which they have no inclination, no time, no competence, a responsibility which they wholly decline. It would be well if, declining this responsibility, they would decline at the same time that from which this flows as a strict, logical, inevitable consequence.

The break up of the family, the loss at a very early period of all its best influences, the evils to the parents and to the children that are its consequences, the moral alienation between father and son which forms so striking a feature of English society, the precocious independence in the child which the system fosters, the carelessness of their own self-discipline which it fosters in the parents, the wide gulf which is placed between the two by an education almost exclusively developing the intellect on the one hand, and the entire absence of all cultivation of the intellect on the other, so that the natural interval between one generation and another, the natural widening of the thoughts of man, is artificially increased—all these evils admit but of one remedy, which it seems hopeless to propose, but which is indispensable if education is to be set on its right footing. It is the destruction of our whole system of distant school education, whether these schools be private or public. The last are, I believe, a less evil than the first, from the largeness of the numbers that they bring together, and the comparative healthiness of tone. But both must be swept away. And if asked what is to replace them, I should answer—referring to the distinction which is now universally drawn between instruction and education—that whilst for instruction and such discipline as necessarily attends instruction, and such whole-
some influences as necessarily proceed from a well qualified instructor, I should look to the establishment of district schools, at convenient distances, at which instruction should be given, for education in its stricter and higher sense I should devolve it on the parents. Doubtless they are ill qualified to undertake even this. I know no answer to this objection but that the sense of their duty must revive, they must qualify themselves. In all cases they can qualify themselves morally, in very far the majority they could qualify themselves intellectually for superintendence, not for direct instruction. How English parents are to be made to feel this responsibility is a different question.

Connected with this point is another, the position, viz., of the instructors, by whatever title they may be designated. Some time or other we may hope to see an educational service duly organised, with its members properly called and authorised. With a body so constituted will lie the theoretical guidance of education. Between them and the educated there will be no antagonism, no clashing of interests. Their functions will be permanent with relation to the educated; they will directly impart their teaching to the young, they will be qualified to advise and influence the citizen in his whole life.

Enough on this point; I aim rather at a criticism of the existing, than a sketch of the future, order of things. The present body of instructors is in no such position. There are exceptions, but as a general rule their influence ceases with the immediate connection. Escaped from school and from college, the Englishman owns no controlling influence on the part of those under whom he was there placed. And as a consequence of this state of things the educational function is placed very low even yet by the vast majority of the so-called educated classes of England. Into the causes of this I do not enter. I pass to the third point.

With regard to the things taught, there are some questions on which I need not touch. My entire dissent from the views prevalent has been already expressed. But in the general spirit of the instruction given there needs a great change. The object of all education is correctly given by
Aristotle as the fitting the citizen for his position in after
life, for his membership in the state. This sense of citizen-
ship is the basis of Aristotle's system, as it was the noble
element in Plato's social errors. But this sense of citizenship
is in our systems in the prevalent theories and language, I
do not fear to affirm it, wholly ignored. We talk of fitting
a man for his position in life, of enabling him to make his
way in the world, or even of doing his duty in the state of
life to which God has called him. True; but in all this
language there is no necessary sense of his being a citizen,
no feeling of that predominance of the social over the indi-
vidual point of view, of that necessity of the devotion of the
various parts to the welfare of the whole, of the citizens, that
is, to the body of which they are portions, which stands out
so conspicuously in the systems of the Greek philosophers.

It is a sound objection against the Roman empire that it
exercised too great a force of compression on the different
nationalities it incorporated. The remedy for this weakness
was found in the violent disruption of that vast whole, and
its dissolution into its smaller component parts. It might
be urged as a sound objection to the great kingdoms of
Europe, that they too press heavily on their component parts,
that to secure the necessary political concentration they have
been obliged to sacrifice the members to the head, and to
check all citizen life and feeling. The remedy will be found
for this weakness in the system by a dissolution of these over-
grown aggregates, and a consequent increase of vitality in the
parts which compose them. As the national feeling super-
seceded the imperial, the city will in its turn supersede the
nation.

In any case there needs a revival of the social point of
view, a return to the political theory of education. This
must be the spirit that informs the whole, and from this
point of view must all the questions as to what shall be
taught be answered. I cannot think that the answer will be
favourable to the existing system. I cannot but think that
at a period of life when the faculties are fresh and the ob-
serving powers keen, when to attain a knowledge, I should
not say of common things, but of things as opposed to words,
is an easy task, the powers of observation are neglected, and
the study of words the only one pursued. The consequence
is that we are left, at a later period, and with great difficulty,
to pick up, as we can, knowledge which might have been
easily gained, or we remain ignorant of the whole constitu-
tion of the world in which we live. If, in compensation for
this ignorance, those who are educated on the pure classical
system had, according to the fiction on which it rests, their
taste raised, their judgment and their reason strengthened,
it were something. Though even then it would be necessary
to prove that the ignorance on other points is a necessary
condition of attaining these advantages. There may be
some slight advantage gained in point of taste, though I
think the effect is more often even here purism than a
manly correctness. But I am convinced that the judgment
suffers, and that the reasoning powers are enfeebled, and that
there is accordingly no real compensation for the ignorance
complained of.

On social, political, and historical questions, on all the
higher points of morals, I believe that the majority of those
who are subjected to the so-called advantages of a classical
education are deficient in judgment, not of course from the
want of faculties, but from the cramping tendency of their
education. I have no wish to use language that may offend,
but I have watched for years the process as at present
carried on, and the impression left on my mind is that of its
general failure. There is a demand for strength of character
in combination with high intellect, and neither the one nor
the other are fostered by the present system, the only differ-
ence being that the first is absolutely discouraged.
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