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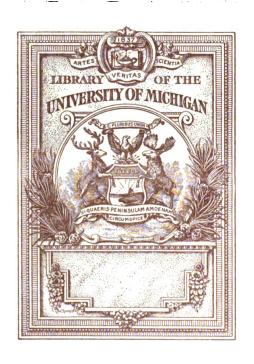
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THE POLITICS OF ARISTOTLE

TOTALLERS THE STATE OF A SHOOTSTEEP SQUARE THREET SQUARE AND PARLIAMENT STREET

Arristotle Poetics

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ ΤΑ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΑ

THE POLITICS OF ARISTOTLE

WITH ENGLISH NOTES

Β¥

RICHARD CONGREVE, M.A.

LATE FELLOW AND TUTOR OF WADHAM COLLEGE, OXFORD

SECOND EDITION

LONDON
LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
1874

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RICHE

PREFACE.

THE text adopted for this edition is that of Bekker, as reprinted at the Oxford University Press. 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 coniectural 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 unseasonable 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. Nickes. 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.

THE POLITICS OF ARISTOTLE

LONDON: PRINTED BY
SPOTTISWOODE AND CO., NEW-STREET SQUARE
AND PARLIAMENT STREET

12245

Aristotle Poetics

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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 e work, as well as one of the words and expressions. This ster will, I trust, be found, if far from complete, yet sufficiently 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 Republicâ. Florence, 1576.

Aristotelis Politica. Schneider. Frankfort, 1809.

'Αριστοτέλουs Πολιτικών τὰ σωζόμενα. Corai. Paris, 1821.

Aristotelis de Politica. Göttling. Jena. 1824. Aristoteles. Bekker. Berlin, 1831.

Politique d'Aristote. St. Hilaire. Paris, 1837.

Aristotelis Politica. Stahr. Leipsic, 1839. Greek and German.

Aristoteles de Politià Carthaginiensium. Kluge. Wratislavia, 1824.

Πολιτειῶν τὰ σωζόμενα. Neumann. Heidelberg, 1827.

II. Commentaries:

Philosophie des Aristoteles. Biese. Berlin, 1842.

De Aristotelis Politicorum libris. Nickes. Bonn, 1851. 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:

Aristotelia. Stahr. Halle, 1830.

Aristoteles und seine academischen Zeitgenossen und nächsten Nachfolger. C. A. Brandis. Berlin, 1853.

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 greate grations 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 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 conmulted Mr. Grote's great work, and have referred to it as the host source for others to consult. And I need hardly add that not on more 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 nt times will be seen to exist. I can only add my regret that I have been obliged to forego the advantages which the most volume of Mr. (frote's work promises to the student of Artstotle and of threek philosophy in general.

One other acknowledgment I have to make, that of the unsistance 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 should 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. Hardman and Thorley, Fellows of Wadham College, Oxford; and in the arrangement and correction of the Index a similar melinary hardman to the due to Messrs. C. Griffith and Ellaby, of Wadham College, Many others have assisted me, both friends pupils, but I must content myself with a general acquirit, but I must content myself with a general acquirit of trouble and attention which has been given.



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 nacconsidered out of place in making some additional remain on this point. He who edits 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 ancient master-work, assumes more and more its the prominence and exercises its legitimate control over all subvidinate studies its students, with the increasing value they attach to history, will not neglect those two languages, in which his a period of more than a thousand years, most with philosophy, history, and postry of the race are demaited my will said 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 chestalic as to read them as the majority have hitherto done, - and I do but speak of the majority,—as supplying the weem it without intrinstral distipline, as supplying the manual he later and times ormettion or as the most entirety result to the surrestinen which to draw apt quotathe experience of while him a minute generally satisfied by the knowledge of Hanne Phon the althorat point of view here proposed the will be redered from their present position, and from the limit of column which new assumes to them in the minds of most blacked graniforms, save the cultivated and successthis way are the suscentioners of neathful terture, as the ungranting and on which they were made to waste their early reas and the fresh traver of their faculties. They feel truly that the knowledge they gained it them was worth nothing he there at the texas and has since entirely disappeared, and they never much them only the remembrance of the dis-Servingen von it helden if meering Morening

It we would get ted it the half superstitious value we were need to the induced inquiques and look on them much in the cultivated languages I maken their trained languages I maken their trained languages. They would then be much many as they have in their strained 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.

- 385. Birth of Aristotle.
- 371. Leuctra. Period of Theban ascendency.
- 367. Aristotle visits Athens, æt. 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.
- 345. On the death of Hermias Aristotle takes refuge in Mitylene.
- 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. Chæronea.
- 336. Death of Philip.
- 334. Aristotle's second visit to Athens. Alexander's first campaign in Asia.
- 331. Arbela.
- 323. Death of Alexander.
- 322. Aristotle dies at Chalcis. Demosthenes and Hyperides died the same year.

INTRODUCTION.

IT would be a waste of time to prefix a life of Aristotle to each separate treeties and it. 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 expe-There is no occasion to do more than recal 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 Eubœa. 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 Macedonian 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

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 (τῶ πολλῶ γρόνω, πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν), during which



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 greater gations 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 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. 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. Harrison and Thorley, 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 and pupils, but I must content myself with a general acknowledgment. This I could not do in the former case, from the amount of trouble and attention which has been given.

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 n considered out of place in making some additional remain on this point. He who edits 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 may theory that it is necessary to train the mind by the utilly of language, or to cultivate the taste by models of more multiple beauty than the languages of modern Europe mouthin. I cannot were the truth of either the one or the uther of these positions. In proportion as the social science. at which I convolve the Politics of Aristotle to be the foundatton and another master-work, assumes more and more its thin prominence, and exercises its legitimate control over all mulmullimity mindless, 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 at the philosophy, history, and poetry of the race are demultiple mor will much a view of them lower them in comwill will the one which is now predominant. To read thom for what they contain of knowledge and of beauty. Hill from an lilatorical point of view, will be at the least as the state of the s

and I do but speak of the majority,—as supplying the more intellectual discipline, as supplying the unificially for Latin and Greek composition or, as the most multilling result, as the sources from which to draw apt quotathus, unitarilying, in vivid expressions, the experience of thatly life, a purpose generally satisfied by the knowledge of Human, I'rom the different point of view here proposed they will be relieved from their present position, and from the load of odlum which now attaches to them in the minds of most linglish gentlemen, save the cultivated and successhil how, an the instruments of youthful torture, as the unundulul study on which they were made to waste their early YOUR 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 there remains with them only the remembrance of the disauropable 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 Kurope, Italian, French, Spanish, and German, would gain by the exchange. They would then be more 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 The great philosophers, the great historians, translation. 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.

- 385. Birth of Aristotle.
- 371. Leuctra. Period of Theban ascendency.
- 367. Aristotle visits Athens, æt. 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.
- 345. On the death of Hermias Aristotle takes refuge in Mity-
- 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. Chæronea.
- 336. Death of Philip.
- 334. Aristotle's second visit to Athens. Alexander's first campaign in Asia.
- 331. Arbela.
- 323. Death of Alexander.
- 322. Aristotle dies at Chalcis. Demosthenes and Hyperides died the same year.

INTRODUCTION.

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 expe-There is no occasion to do more than recal 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 Eubea. 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 Macedonian 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

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 (τῷ πολλῷ χρόνω, πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν), 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 morn! remody, and the irritation consequent thereon assuaged: If the efforts of the citizens were all made, as the result of n 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 semibarbarous 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 position 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 ἄπολις ἀνήρ. 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 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 Macodon, and, by strengthening his power, it not only made remintance on the part of the Greeks more hopeless, but it made also acquiescence less discreditable. Again, it was culculated to moothe 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 offorts, it was true, that Greece conquered Persia, and exacted a due atonement for the aggressions of Darius and of

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 It is calculated, that is, for a number of πολίται, 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 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 selected. It is a question that has arisen at intervals, but it has been, in the main, exceptional. Cicero might turn

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 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. 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 political 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 kingdoms 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 experience 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.

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 proletariate, in the brief but repeated remarks of Aristotle on the Báravoo, 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 We see that he acquiesced in the educational question. 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.

Rut 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 mane time a spiritual power constituted. As it is, his construction remained essentially temporal, and the constitution and independent spiritual power, side by side with the apparal, was left for the catholicism of the middle ages.

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 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 It is, in fact, the stronghold of the opposite science. But this is a consideration for the editor of the opinion. 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 Œconomics, 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 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 concorn 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 mitialisativity treated at a later period, when we have sketched out the constitution of the state of which they are to be members—as all columnian must bear direct reference to the constitution.

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Men are not equal in faculties any more than in outward form. Mone are calculated for rule, others for subjection; the one guide, the other fidher; 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, uniqueally, 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. 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. 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 δρώμεν κοινωνίαν τινά ούσαν καὶ 1252 πασαν κοινωνίαν άγαθοῦ τινὸς ένεκεν συνεστηκυῖαν (τοῦ γάρ είναι δοκούντος άγαθού χάριν πάντα πράττουσι πάντες), δηλον ώς πάσαι μεν άγαθοῦ τινὸς στοχάζονται, μάλιστα δέ, καὶ τοῦ κυριωτάτου πάντων, ή πασῶν κυριωτάτη καὶ πάσας περιέχουσα τὰς ἄλλας • αὖτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ καλουμένη πόλις καὶ ή κοινωνία ή πολιτική. "Οσοι μεν ούν οίονται πολιτικόν και 2 βασιλικόν καὶ οἰκονομικόν καὶ δεσποτικόν είναι τὸν αὐτόν, οὐ καλῶς λέγουσιν πλήθει γὰρ καὶ όλιγότητι νομίζουσι δια-Φέρειν, άλλ' οὐκ εἴδει τούτων ἕκαστον, οἴον ᾶν μεν ὀλίγων, δεσπότην, αν δε πλειόνων, οἰκονόμον, αν δ ἔτι πλειόνων, πολιτικον ή βασιλικόν, ως ούδεν διαφέρουσαν μεγάλην οἰκίαν ή μικράν πόλιν, καὶ πολιτικὸν δὲ καὶ βασιλικόν, ὅταν μὲν αὐτὸς ἐφεστήκη, βασιλικόν, ὅταν δὲ κατὰ λόγους τῆς ἐπιστήμης της τοιαύτης, κατά μέρος ἄρχων καὶ ἀρχόμενος, πολιτικόν· ταῦτα δ' οὐκ ἔστιν ἀληθῆ. Δ ῆλον δ' ἔσται 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: συμπορεύονται ἐπί τινι συμφέροντι καὶ ποριζόμενοι τι τῶν εἰς τὸν βίον· καὶ ἡ πολιτικὴ δὲ κοινωνία τοῦ συμφέροντος ἔγεκα.

δηλον ως, 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,' μορίοις ἐοίκασι τῆς πολιτικῆς.

2 "Ocos pèr obr] The allusion is to Plato, Politicus, 258 E, and the opi-

nion if allowed would, in Aristotle's view, at once stop all further discussion. The body politic with its complex organization would disappear.

 $\pi \lambda h \theta \epsilon_i \gamma d \rho$] 'They are the same, they allege, for it is only in number that they differ.'

δλίγων] with Schneider make this depend on some such word as ἄρχη.

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.

ταῦτα δέ] By altering the stopping

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 political 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 kingdoms 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 experience 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.

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. 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.

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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 Œconomics, 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.

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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



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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. 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. 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.

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A short connecting chapter closes the book.

ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Α.

ΕΠΕΙΔΗ πάσαν πόλιν όρισμεν κοινωνίαν τινά ούσαν και 1252 πασαν κοινωνίαν άγαθοῦ τινὸς ένεκεν συνεστηκυῖαν (τοῦ γὰρ είναι δοκοῦντος ἀγαθοῦ χάριν πάντα πράττουσι πάντες), δηλον ως πάσαι μεν άγαθοῦ τινὸς στοχάζονται, μάλιστα δέ, καὶ τοῦ κυριωτάτου πάντων, ή πασῶν κυριωτάτη καὶ πάσας περιέχουσα τὰς ἄλλας • αὖτη δ' ἐστὶν ή καλουμένη πόλις καὶ ή κοινωνία ή πολιτική. Οσοι μεν ούν οίονται πολιτικόν καί 2 βασιλικόν καὶ οἰκονομικόν καὶ δεσποτικόν είναι τὸν αὐτόν, οὐ καλῶς λέγουσιν: πλήθει γὰρ καὶ ὀλιγότητι νομίζουσι δια-Φέρειν, άλλ' οὐκ είδει τούτων έκαστον, οίον αν μεν ολίγων, δεσπότην, αν δε πλειόνων, οἰκονόμον, αν δ' ἔτι πλειόνων, πολιτικόν ή βασιλικόν, ώς ούδεν διαφέρουσαν μεγάλην οἰκίαν ή μικράν πόλιν, καὶ πολιτικὸν δὲ καὶ βασιλικόν, ὅταν μὲν αὐτὸς ἐΦεστήκη, βασιλικόν, ὅταν δὲ κατὰ λόγους τῆς ἐπιστήμης της τοιαύτης, κατά μέρος άρχων καλ άρχόμενος, πολιτικόν· ταῦτα δ' οὐκ ἔστιν ἀληθῆ. Δ ῆλον δ' ἔσται 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: συμπορεύονται ἐπί τινι συμφέροντι καὶ ποριόμενοι τι τῶν εἰς τὸν βίον· καὶ ἡ πολιτική δὲ κοινωνία τοῦ συμφέροντος ἔνεκα.

δηλον &s, 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,' μορίοις ἐοίκασι τῆς πολιτικῆς.

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nion if allowed would, in Aristotle's view, at once stop all further discussion. The body politic with its complex organization would disappear.

 $\pi\lambda\dot{\eta}\theta\epsilon\iota$ $\gamma d\rho$] 'They are the same, they allege, for it is only in number that they differ.'

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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.

ταῦτα δέ] By altering the stopping

λεγόμενον ἐπισκοποῦσι κατὰ τὴν ὑΦηγημένην μέθοδον : ὧσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ σύνθετον μέχρι τῶν ἀσυνθέτων
ἀνάγκη διαιρεῖν (ταῦτα γὰρ ἐλάχιστα μόρια τοῦ παντός),
οῦτω καὶ πόλιν ἐξ ὧν σύγκειται σκοποῦντες ὀψόμεθα καὶ
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οὖν διώρισται τὸ θῆλυ καὶ τὸ δοῦλον οὐθὲν γὰρ ἡ Φύσις Origin of ποιεῖ τοιοῦτον οἶον χαλκοτύποι τὴν Δελφικὴν μάχαιραν πενιχρῶς, ἀλλ' ἐν πρὸς ἔν οὕτω γὰρ ἄν ἀποτελοῖτο κάλ- 1252 Β λιστα τῶν ὀργάνων ἕκαστον, μὴ πολλοῖς ἔργοις ἀλλ' ἐνὶ δουλεῦον. ἐν δὲ τοῖς βαρβάροις τὸ θῆλυ καὶ δοῦλον τὴν 4 αὐτὴν ἔχει τάξιν. αἴτιον δ' ὅτι τὸ Φύσει ἄρχον οὐκ ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ γίνεται ἡ κοινωνία αὐτῶν δούλης καὶ δούλου. διό Φασιν οἱ ποιηταὶ

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uére, 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.

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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. Greek all non-Hellenes were slaves, proper objects for government, and finding their true interest in being governed by them.

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πρώτη] 'in its primary and simplest form.' Hesiod, Works and Days, 405. Göttl.

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 It must have the proper instruments for its guarantee leisure. 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. 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

3

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.

[Book I.

- 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.
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 - A short connecting chapter closes the book.

ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Α.

ΕΠΕΙΔΗ πάσαν πόλιν δρισμεν κοινωνίαν τινά ούσαν καὶ 1252 πασαν κοινωνίαν άγαθοῦ τινὸς ένεκεν συνεστηκυῖαν (τοῦ γὰρ είναι δοκοῦντος ἀγαθοῦ χάριν πάντα πράττουσι πάντες), δῆλον ώς πᾶσαι μὲν ἀγαθοῦ τινὸς στοχάζονται, μάλιστα δέ, καὶ τοῦ κυριωτάτου πάντων, ή πασῶν κυριωτάτη καὶ πάσας περιέχουσα τὰς ἄλλας • αὖτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ καλουμένη πόλις καὶ ή κοινωνία ή πολιτική. Οσοι μεν ούν οΐονται πολιτικόν καί 2 βασιλικόν καὶ οἰκονομικόν καὶ δεσποτικόν είναι τὸν αὐτόν, οὐ καλῶς λέγουσιν πλήθει γὰρ καὶ ὀλιγότητι νομίζουσι δια-Φέρειν, άλλ' οὐκ είδει τούτων έκαστον, οίον ᾶν μεν ὐλίγων, δεσπότην, αν δε πλειόνων, οἰκονόμον, αν δ έτι πλειόνων, πολιτικον ή βασιλικόν, ως ούδεν διαφέρουσαν μεγάλην οἰκίαν ή μικράν πόλιν, καὶ πολιτικόν δὲ καὶ βασιλικόν, ὅταν μὲν αὐτὸς ἐΦεστήκη, βασιλικόν, ὅταν δὲ κατὰ λόγους τῆς ἐπιστήμης της τοιαύτης, κατά μέρος άρχων καὶ άρχόμενος, πολιτικόν ταῦτα δ' οὐκ ἔστιν άληθη. Δηλον δ' ἔσται τὸ 3

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Origin of

Εὶ δή τις ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὰ πράγματα Φυόμενα βλέψειεν Origin or Society. ὤσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις, καὶ ἐν τούτοις κάλλιστ' αν οὕτω 2 θεωρήσειεν. 'Ανάγκη δή πρώτον συνδυάζεσθαι τοὺς ἄνευ άλλήλων μή δυναμένους είναι, οίον θήλυ μεν και άρρεν τής γενέσεως ενεκεν (καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐκ προαιρέσεως, ἀλλὶ ὧσπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ζψοις καὶ Φυτοῖς Φυσικὸν τὸ ἐΦίεσθαι, οίον αὐτό, τοιοῦτον καταλιπεῖν ἔτερον), ἄρχον δὲ Φύσει καὶ ἀρχόμενον διὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν τὸ μὲν γὰρ δυνάμενον τῆ διανοία προοράν άρχον Φύσει καὶ δεσπόζον Φύσει, τὸ δὲ δυνάμενον τιῦ σώματι ταῦτα ποιείν ἀρχόμενον καὶ Φύσει 3 δοῦλον διο δεσπότη καὶ δούλω ταὐτο συμφέρει.

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μένφ, 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.

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πρώτη] 'in its primary and simplest form.' Hesiod, Works and Days, 405. Göttl.

Origin of Society.

ο γὰρ βοῦς ἀντ' οἰκέτου τοῖς πένησίν ἐστιν. Ἡ μὲν οὖν

- εἰς πᾶσαν ἡμέραν συνεστηκυῖα κοινωνία κατὰ φύσιν οἶκός

ἐστιν· οῦς Χαρώνδας μὲν καλεῖ ὁμοσιπύους, Ἐπιμενίδης

δὲ ὁ Κρὴς ὁμοκάπους· ἡ δ' ἐκ πλειόνων οἰκιῶν κοινωνία

6 πρώτη χρήσεως ἔνεκεν μὴ ἐφημέρου κώμη. μάλιστα δὲ

κατὰ φύσιν ἔοικεν ἡ κώμη ἀποικία οἰκίας εἶναι· οῦς καλοῦσί

τινες ὁμογάλακτας παῖδάς τε καὶ παίδων παῖδας· διὸ καὶ

τὸ πρῶτον ἐβασιλεύοντο αἱ πόλεις, καὶ νῦν ἔτι τὰ ἔθνη·

ἐκ βασιλευομένων γὰρ συνῆλθον. πᾶσα γὰρ οἰκία βασι
λεύεται ὑπὸ τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου· ῶστε καὶ αἱ ἀποικίαι διὰ

7 τὴν συγγένειαν· καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν δ λέγει Ομηρος,

θεμιστεύει δὲ ἕκαστος παίδων ήδ' ἀλόχων.

σποράδες γάρ· καὶ οὕτω τὸ ἀρχαῖον ψκουν· καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς δὲ διὰ τοῦτο πάντες Φασὶ βασιλεύεσθαι, ὅτι καὶ

obs] 'It is the association of those whom,' &c.

δμοσιπύους] "having a separate mealbin and fireplace," says Mr Grote (III. 78), reading δμοκάπνους, as does St Hil., and Vot. Tr. Bekker reads δμοκάπους, 'eating together.'

χρήσεως ἔνεκεν] opposed to els πάσαν ήμέραν συνεστηκυῖα, 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 village.

6 obs 1 '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.

διό καί] refers to the olklas ἀποικία, the preceding remark being parenthetical. For the general subject see Mr Grote's paraphrase (II. 88). "Aristotle, in his general theory of government, lays down the position, that the earliest sources of obedience and authority among mankind are personal, exhibiting 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.

τὰ ἔθνη] the non-Hellenic nations, whether Persian, Scythian, Phœnician, or other. Comp. Thuc. 11. 80, where some of the Illyrian tribes are mentioned as exceptions.

&στε καί] This reasoning holds good of the civil colonies of Greece, which originally were governed from the metropolis.

7 τοῦτο] δτι βασιλεύεται ὁπὸ τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου. The state described by Homer, Od. ix. 114, involves the government of the eldest, and a time prior to the formation of an association of families, prior to the συνελθεῖν τοὺς βασιλευομένους.

τοδε θεοδε διὰ τοῦτο] explained by the δτι καί. Comp. Grote, 11. 80, also 1. 5, "as the gods have houses and wives like men, so the present dynasty of gods must have a past to ropose upon."

αὐτοὶ οἱ μὲν ἔτι καὶ νῦν, οἱ δὲ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐβασιλεύοντο· Origin of Κοσίντο. Ο Καὶ τοὺς βίους τῶν θεῶν. ἡ δὶ ἐκ πλειόνων κωμῶν 8 κοινωνία τέλειος πόλις, ἡ δὴ πάσης ἔχουσα πέρας τῆς αὐταρκείας ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, γινομένη μὲν οὖν τοῦ ζῆν ἕνεκεν, οὖσα δὲ τοῦ εὖ ζῆν. Διὸ πᾶσα πόλις Φύσει ἐστίν, εἴπερ καὶ αἱ πρῶται κοινωνίαι· τέλος γὰρ αὕτη ἐκείνων, ἡ δὲ Φύσις τέλος ἐστίν· οἶον γὰρ ἕκαστόν ἐστι τῆς γενέσεως τελεσθείσης, ταύτην Φαμὲν τὴν Φύσιν εἶναι ἐκάστου, ῶσπερ ἀνθρώπου, ἵππου, οἰκίας. ἔτι τὸ οὖ ἕνεκα καὶ τὸ τέλος 9 βέλτιστον· ἡ δὶ αὐτάρκεια τέλος καὶ βέλτιστον. ἐκ τού- 1253 των οὖν Φανερὸν ὅτι τῶν Φύσει ἡ πόλις ἐστί, καὶ ὅτι ἄνθρωπος Φύσει πολῖτικὸν ζῷον, καὶ ὁ ἄπολις διὰ Φύσιν

8 Comp. Grote, 11. 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 selfsufficient whole, admitting no incorporation into any higher political unit y."

πάσης έχουσα πέρας] 'having attained the full limit of complete satisfaction of all our wants.' Comp. Eth. v. x. 4. 1134, 26: ἐπὶ κοινωνῶν βίου πρὸς τὸ εἶναι αὐτάρκειαν τὸ πολιτικὸν δίκαιον.

διὸ πῶσα πόλις] After defining the state he proceeds to establish two propositions, that it is φύσει, 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. of or γάρ ἔκαστον, '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 πο ἔνεκα καὶ τὸ τέλος βέλτιστον] 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.

φόσει πολιτικόν] 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.

άφρήτωρ, άθέμιστος, ανέστιος.

το άμα γάρ φύσει τοιοῦτος καὶ πολέμου ἐπιθυμητής, άτε περ άζυξ ών ώσπερ εν πεττοῖς. διότι δε πολιτικόν δ άνθρωπος ζώον πάσης μελίττης καλ παντός άγελαίου ζώου μᾶλλον, δῆλον. οὐθὲν γάρ, ώς Φαμέν, μάτην ή Φύσις ποιεῖ, λόγον 11 δε μόνον ἄνθρωπος έχει τῶν ζώων. ή μεν οὖν Φωνή τοῦ λυπηροῦ καὶ ήδέος ἐστὶ σημεῖον, διὸ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑπάργει ζώοις μέχρι γὰρ τούτου ή Φύσις αὐτῶν ἐλήλυθεν, ώστε αἰσθάνεσθαι τοῦ λυπηροῦ καὶ ήδέος καὶ ταῦτα σημαίνειν άλλήλοις ο δε λόγος επί τω δηλούν εστί το συμφέρον καί τὸ βλαβερόν, ώστε καὶ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ ἄδικον. 12 τοῦτο γὰρ πρὸς τάλλα ζώα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἴδιον, τὸ μόνον άγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ καὶ δικαίου καὶ άδίκου καὶ τῶν άλλων αἴσθησιν ἔχειν. ή δε τούτων κοινωνία ποιεῖ οἰκίαν καὶ πόλιν. Καὶ πρότερον δη τῆ Φύσει πόλις ή οἰκία καὶ 13 έκαστος ήμῶν ἐστίν. τὸ γὰρ ὅλον πρότερον ἀναγκαῖον είναι τοῦ μέρους · ἀναιρουμένου γὰρ τοῦ ὅλου οὐκ ἔσται

άφρήτωρ, κ.τ.λ.] II. ix. 63. Comp. Grote, II. 114, not. 2, for the full sense of these words. They denote one excluded from, I the phratry, or family; 2 the θέμιστες or ἀγορά; 3 the hestia or hearth, the relations of guest and suppliant. The first two seem more legitimately within Aristotle's notion of ἄπολις.

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.

διότι δέ] 'but that.' This is a common use of the word διότι 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 de Tracy, but not developed.

μέχρι τούτου] 'so far, and so far only, has nature reached in their case.'

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

12 τούτων] either τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ κ.τ.λ.: or masculine, τῶν τὴν τοιαύτην αἴσθησιν ἐχόντων, 'the association of those who have the perception.' This I prefer.

πρότερον δή] Comp. Eth. viii. xiv. 7. 1162, 17, for a sense in which the family precedes the state. For the general language comp. Categ. xii. p. 14, 26. Spengel, p. 7, note 8, collects several parallel passages.

ποὺς οὐδὲ χείρ, εἰ μὴ ὁμωνύμως ιὅσπερ εἴ τις λέγει τὴν Origin of Society.

λιθίνην · διαφθαρεῖσα γὰρ ἔσται τοιαύτη. πάντα δὲ τῷ Society.

ἔργω ικρισται καὶ τῆ δυνάμει, ιὅστε μηκέτι τοιαῦτα ὄντα

οὐ λεκτέον τὰ αὐτὰ εἶναι, ἀλλ' ὁμώνυμα. ΟΤι μὲν οὖν ἡ 14

πόλις καὶ φύσει καὶ πρότερον ἡ ἔκαστος, δῆλον · εἰ γὰρ

μὴ αὐτάρκης ἔκαστος χωρισθείς, ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀλλοις μέρεσιν

ἔξει πρὸς τὸ ὅλον · ὁ δὲ μὴ δυνάμενος κοινωνεῖν, ἡ μηθὲν

δεόμενος δὶ αὐτάρκειαν, οὐθὲν μέρος πόλεως, ιὅστε ἡ θηρίον

ἡ θεός. Φύσει μὲν οὖν ἡ ὁρμὴ ἐν τᾶσιν ἐπὶ τὴν τοιαύτην 15

κοινωνίαν · ὁ δὲ πρῶτος συστήσας μεγιστων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος.

εστιν, οὖτω καὶ χωρισθὲν νόμου καὶ δίκης χείριστον πάντων.

ἐχων φύεται φρονήσει καὶ ἀρετῆ, οἶς ἐπὶ τὰναντία ἔστι

μηθὲν δεόμενος 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 τύχην ἄπολις.

15 Φύσει μὲν οδνὶ True there is by

15 φύσει μὲν οδν] 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. Eth. vii. vii. 7, 1150, 1.

δ δ ἄνθρωπος, κ.τ.λ.] 'Man is born with arms,' δπλα έχων, equivalent to δπλοις; 'these arms are his intellectual faculties, his moral instincts,' which A. here calls φροιήσει και άρετῆ, which consistently he should have called δεινότητι και φυσικῆ άρετῆ. Comp. Eth. vi. xiii. p. 1144. Rhet. I. i. 4, 20, 1355, b 3.

&ρετή] in the strictest sense is complete moral virtue; φρόνησιs involves the existence of that virtue.

τῷ ἔργῳ ἄρισται καὶ τῷ δυνάμει]
Compare the definition of ἀρετή given
Eth. 11. v. 2. p. 1106, 16; also Eth.
111. x. 6. p. 1115, b 22, and below, 1v.
4, 5 (vii.).

14 This section seems parenthetical and superfluous. The clause εἰ γὰρ μή—
δλον justifies the πρότερον; '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, δ μὴ δυνάμενος, supports the φύσει, 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

¹³ δμωνύμως, 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' δμοιότητα.

Society.

Origin of χρησθαι μάλιστα. διὸ ἀνοσιώτατον καὶ ἀγριώτατον ἄνευ άρετης, και πρός άφροδίσια και έδωδην χείριστον. ή δε δικαιοσύνη πολιτικόν ή γάρ δίκη πολιτικής κοινωνίας τάξις ἐστίν ή δὲ δίκη τοῦ δικαίου κρίσις.

1253 В. З Slavery.

'Επεὶ δὲ Φανερον ἐξ ὧν μορίων ή πόλις συνέστηκεν, άναγκαῖον περὶ οἰκονομίας εἰπεῖν πρότερον πᾶσα γὰρ πόλις εξ οἰκιῶν σύγκειται. οἰκίας δε μέρη, εξ ὧν αὖθις οἰκία συνίσταται · οἰκία δὲ τέλειος ἐκ δούλων καὶ ἐλευθέρων. έπει δ' έν τοις έλαχίστοις πρώτον έκαστον ζητητέον, πρώτα δέ και ελάχιστα μέρη οικίας δεσπότης και δοῦλος. καὶ πόσις καὶ άλοχος καὶ πατήρ καὶ τέκνα, περὶ τριῶν αν 2 τούτων σκεπτέον είη τί έκαστον καὶ ποῖον δεῖ είναι. ταῦτα δ' έστι δεσποτική και γαμική (άνώνυμον γάρ ή γυναικός και άνδρὸς σύζευξις) καὶ τρίτον τεκνοποιητική καὶ γάρ αῦτη ούκ ωνόμασται ίδίω δνόματι. ἔστωσαν δ' αδται τρεῖς ας 3 εἴπομεν. ἔστι δέ τι μέρος δ δοκεῖ τοῖς μὲν εἶναι οἰκονομία, τοῖς δὲ μέγιστον μέρος αὐτῆς. ὅπως δ' ἔχει, θεωρητέον. λέγω δὲ περὶ τῆς καλουμένης γρηματιστικῆς. Πρῶτον δὲ περί δεσπότου καί δούλου είπωμεν, ίνα τά τε πρός την άναγκαίαν χρείαν ίδωμεν, κάν εί τι πρός το είδεναι περί αὐτῶν δυναίμεθα λαβεῖν βέλτιον τῶν νῦν ὑπολαμβανομένων.

διό] 'So armed man is,' &c.

ή δὲ δικαιοσύνη] Man needs the restraints of law and justice, νόμου καλ δίκης, in one word, δικαιοσύνης; this is emphatically the creature of society, of the political union; for the administration of justice (dian) 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. Eth. v. x. 4. p. 1134, 26. Cic. de Nat. Deor. 1. xli. 116 986 b. Ed. Nobbe. 'Est enim pietas justitia adversus Deos cum quibus quid potest nobis esse juris, quum homini nulla cum Deo sit communitas.'

III. Ι περί οἰκονομίας] This suffi-

ciently indicates the purpose of the book, πρότερον, sc. της πόλεως.

eξ ων αδθις] 'of which in its turn the house consists.'

2 This is simply in defence of his terminology: the term γαμικός is wanted in Eth. v. x. 9. p. 1134, b 15, where he speaks of το προς γυναϊκα discov, and the same want is felt in Eth. viii. xiii. 4. p. 1161, 22.

3 μέγιστον μέρος] 'A very large part.' He says himself οἰκονομικῆς τέλος πλοῦτος, Eth. i. i. 3. p. 1094, 9.

τά πρός την άναγκαίαν χρείαν] 'The practical solution for the wants of ordinary life.' *pos to elbévai, 'with a view to the scientific theory of the subject.' των νῦν ὑπολαμβανομένων, 'better than the present notions on the subject.'

τοῖς μὲν γὰρ δοκεῖ ἐπιστήμη τέ τις είναι ἡ δεσποτεία, καὶ Slavery. ή αυτή οἰκονομία καὶ δεσποτεία καὶ πολιτική καὶ βασιλική, καθάπερ είπομεν άρχόμενοι τοῖς δὲ παρὰ Φύσιν τὸ δεσπόζειν· νόμω γάρ τὸν μὲν δοῦλον είναι τὸν δ' ἐλεύθερον, Φύσει δ' ούθεν διαφέρειν · διόπερ ούδε δίκαιον · βίαιον γάρ. ... Έπεὶ οὖν ή κτῆσις μέρος τῆς οἰκίας ἐστὶ καὶ ή κτητική 4 μέρος της οἰκονομίας ἄνευ γὰρ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀδύνατον καί ζην καί εὖ ζην· ιὖσπερ δὲ ἐν ταῖς ιώρισμέναις τέχναις άναγκαῖον αν είη ὑπάρχειν τὰ οἰκεῖα ὅργανα, εἰ μέλλει άποτελεσθήσεσθαι τὸ ἔργον, οῦτω καὶ τῶν οἰκονομικῶν. τῶν δ ὀργάνων τὰ μὲν ἄψυχα τὰ δ ἔμψυχα, οἶον τῷ ≥ κυβερνήτη ο μέν οἴαξ ἄψυχον, ο δὲ πρωρεύς ἔμψυχον ο γαρ ύπηρέτης εν δργάνου είδει ταϊς τέχναις εστίν. οθτω καί το κτημα δργανον προς ζωήν έστι, και ή κτησις πληθος όργάνων ἐστί, καὶ ὁ δοῦλος κτῆμά τι ἔμψυχον, καὶ ιὅσπερ δργανον πρὸ ὀργάνων, πᾶς ὁ ὑπηρέτης. εὶ γὰρ ἡδύνατο 3

4 νόμφ γάρ] This explains the παρὰ φύσιν, and is by an alteration in the stopping connected more closely with it. So also διόπερ οὐδὲ δίκαιον is brought into close connexion with φύσει οὐθὲν διαφέρειν.

IV. I There is something very awkward about this sentence as it stands. The simplest way seems to be to make kal 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 management of the family.' If with Victorius and the Vet. Tr. we adopt the more symmetrical reading of τῷ οἰκονομικῷ, '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 οἰκεῖα, a construction of which we have an instance later, III. iii. 3, οἰκεῖος τῆς ἀπορίας ταύτης.

2 ἐν ὀργάνου είδει] 'is in kind but an instrument,' 'does not differ in kind from the instrument used in the arts.' ταῖς τέχναις, ταῖς ὡρισμέναις of the last section.

οδτω καί] as the pilot had instruments of two kinds, so it will be with the head of the family. The instrument in this case, whether animate or inanimate, is denoted by the word κτῆμα, and the aggregate of such instruments by κτῆσις. Compare Είλ. v. x. 8. p. 1134, b 10.

δργανον πρό δργανων] 'one instrument in the place of many,' not, as St Hil. says, "le premier de tous," agreeing with Vict. as quoted by Schneider Slavery. Εκαστον τῶν ὀργάνιον κελευσθεν ἡ προαισθανόμενον ἀποτελεῖν τὸ αὐτοῦ ἔργον, ὧσπερ τὰ Δαιδάλου Φασὶν ἢ τοὺς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τρίποδας, οῦς Φησιν ὁ ποιητης αὐτομάτους θεῖον δύεσθαι ἀγῶνα, οῦτως αἱ κερκίδες ἐκέρκιζον αὐταὶ καὶ τὰ πληκτρα ἐκιθάριζεν, οὐδὲν ᾶν ἔδει οὖτε τοῖς ἀρχιτέκτο-1254 4 σιν ύπηρετών ούτε τοῖς δεσπόταις δούλων. τὰ μὲν οὖν λεγόμενα δργανα ποιητικά δργανά έστι, τὸ δὲ κτῆμα πρακτικόν· ἀπὸ μεν γὰρ τῆς κερκίδος ἔτερόν τι γίνεται παρὰ τὴν χρῆσιν αὐτῆς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐσθῆτος καὶ τῆς κλίνης ή χρησις μόνον. ἔτι δ' ἐπεὶ διαφέρει ή ποίησις είδει καὶ ή πράξις, δέονται δ' άμφότεραι όργάνων, άνάγκη καὶ ταῦτα 5 την αυτην έχειν διαφοράν. ὁ δὲ βίος πρᾶξις, ου ποίησίς έστιν διό και ό δοῦλος ύπηρέτης τῶν πρὸς τὴν πρᾶξιν. τὸ δὲ κτῆμα λέγεται ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ μόριον. τό τε γὰρ μόριον οὐ μόνον ἄλλου ἐστὶ μόριον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλως ἄλλου・ όμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸ κτῆμα. διὸ ὁ μὲν δεσπότης τοῦ δούλου δεσπότης μόνον, ἐκείνου δ' οὐκ ἔστιν· ὁ δὲ δυῦλος οὐ μόνον 6 δεσπότου δοῦλός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλως ἐκείνου. τίς μὲν οὖν ή Φύσις τοῦ δούλου καὶ τίς ή δύναμις, ἐκ τούτων δῆλον·

> in the passage. The translation given refers it more definitely to the superior adaptability of the slave.

3 Il. xvIII. 376.

4 τὰ μὲν οδν λεγόμενα] 'Instruments, in the sense in which the word is generally applied, are for production, whereas κτῆμα in this comprehensive sense is the unproductive part of a man's property.' As unproductive it is called πρακτικόν. Compare Eth. vi. ii. 5. p. 1139, b 1. 5. 4. 1140, b 6.

διαφέρει ή ποίησις] Eth. vi. iv. i. p. 1140, 4.

καὶ ταῦτα] The instruments of the two respectively.

5 διό καὶ ὁ δοῦλος] as being κτημα ξμψυχον πρός ζωήν.

το δὲ κτῆμα] In the passage referred to above on § 2, Eth. v. x. 8, he uses the same language, ἄσπερ μέρος αὐτοῦ

τδ κτῆμα.

διὸ ὁ μὲν δεσπότης] 'Hence whilst the master is only a master in reference to his slave, and in no sense belongs to him, but is in the main considered 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. He stands related to human society only in and through his master, he has no proper life and no proper happiness.

ό γὰρ μὴ αύτοῦ Φύσει ἀλλ' ἄλλου, ἄνθρωπος δέ, οὖτος Φύσει Slavery. δοῦλός ἐστιν. ἄλλου δ' ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος, δς αν κτῆμα τ ἄνθρωπος ὧν. κτῆμα δὲ ὄργανον πρακτικὸν καὶ χωριστόν. Πότερον δ' εστί τις Φύσει τοιοῦτος η ού, καὶ πότερον βέλ- 5 τιον και δίκαιόν τινι δουλεύειν ή ού, άλλα πασα δουλεία παρὰ Φύσιν ἐστί, μετὰ ταῦτα σκεπτέον. οὐ χαλεπὸν δὲ καὶ τῷ λόγω θεωρῆσαι καὶ ἐκ τῶν γινομένων καταμαθεῖν. τὸ γὰρ ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι οὐ μόνον τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀλλὰ 2 καὶ τῶν συμφερόντων ἐστί, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκ γενετῆς ἔνια διέστηκε τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρχεσθαι τὰ δ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρχειν. καὶ είδη πολλά και άρχόντων και άρχομένων έστίν, και άει βελτίων ή άρχη ή τῶν βελτιόνων άρχομένων, οἶον άνθρώπου η θηρίου. τὸ γὰρ ἀποτελούμενον ἀπὸ τῶν βελτιόνων βέλτιον 3 έργον· ὅπου δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄρχει τὸ δ' ἄρχεται, ἐστί τι τούτων έργον· δσα γάρ έκ πλειόνων συνέστηκε καλ γίνεται έν τι κοινόν, είτε έκ συνεχών είτ' έκ διηρημένων, έν απασιν έμ-Φαίνεται τὸ ἄρχον καὶ τὸ ἀρχόμενον. καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς 4

V. I 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 λόγφ] 'by theory.' ἐκ τῶν γινομένων, '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 shewn 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 δπου δέ] They come into relation. ἐν κοινωνία ήδη δ ἄρχων. 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.

δσα γ φρ] '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 διαιρετφ̂.

4 ἐκ τῆς ἀπάσης φόσεως] "Bei der gesammten Natur vorzugsweise." Stahr. Correctly as to the sense. 'This subordination is found in all nature, but is

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άπάσης Φύσεως ένυπάρχει τοῖς έμψύχοις καὶ γὰρ έν τοῖς μη μετέχουσι ζωῆς ἐστί τις ἀρχή, οἶον ἀρμονίας ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν Ίσως ἐξωτερικωτέρας ἐστὶ σκέψεως. Τὸ δὲ ζώον πρώτον συνέστηκεν έκ ψυχής καὶ σώματος, ών τὸ μέν άρχον έστὶ Φύσει τὸ δ' άρχόμενον. δεῖ δὲ σκοπεῖν ἐν τοῖς κατά φύσιν έχουσι μάλλον το φύσει, και μή έν τοῖς διε-Φθαρμένοις· διό καὶ τὸν βέλτιστα διακείμενον καὶ κατά σωμα καὶ κατά ψυχην ἄνθρωπον θεωρητέον, ἐν οι τοῦτο 1254 Β δήλου των γάρ μοχθηρών ή μοχθηρώς έχόντων δόξειεν άν άρχειν πολλάκις τὸ σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς διὰ τὸ Φαύλως καὶ 6 παρά Φύσιν έχειν. έστι δ' οὖν, ώσπερ λέγομεν, πρῶτον ἐν ζώω θεωρήσαι καὶ δεσποτικήν άρχην καὶ πολιτικήν ή μεν γάρ ψυχή τοῦ σώματος άρχει δεσποτικήν άρχήν, ὁ δὲ νοῦς τῆς ορέξεως πολιτικήν καί βασιλικήν εν οίς Φανερόν έστιν δτι κατά φύσιν καὶ συμφέρον τὸ ἄρχεσθαι τῷ σώματι ὑπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῷ παθητικῷ μορίῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ νοῦ καὶ τοῦ

found more particularly, is more truly inherent in the things that have life.' και γάρ. '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 Ode on the power of Sound, XII.

εξωτερικωτέρας] This word has been frequently discussed. The result of the discussion seems to be that it often monns nothing more than 'another,' an inquiry foreign to the present inquiry.' In this actual passage this meaning is sufficient. The whole subject is treated by Ravaisson, Metaphyaigua d'Aristot. Part. III. Livre I. ch. i. Vol. I. pp. 224 and foll.

Stahr ends the period at σκέψεως, and it is I think plainer so.

πρώτον | 'To bogin with.'

4 8eî 8è σκοπεῖν] It might be urged that practically this is not always the enno. But, nayn Arlutotle, you must not take a bad instance, but a good.

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 ῷ τοῦτο δῆλον] 'and in him this is clear,' τοῦτο, that the soul rules, the body obeys.

6 εν (φφ] 'in any animal.'

ή μέν γάρ ψυχή] Compare Είλ. v. 15, 9. p. 1138, b 5.

δεσποτικήν] that is, for the good of the soul.

της δρέξεως] Cicero, de Rep. III. xxv. 21. p. 1161. b. Ed. Nobbe, takes a different view: 'Nam ut animus corpori dicitur imperare, dicitur etiam libidini; sed corpori, ut Rex civibus suis, aut parens liberis; libidini autem ut servis dominus, quod eam coercet et frangit.' bpeges, in Aristotle, is larger. equivalent to the επιθυμητικόν of the Ethics, I. xiii.

ev ols | 'and in these cases it is quite clear.'

μορίου τοῦ λόγον ἔχοντος, τὸ δ' ἐξ ἴσου ἡ ἀνάπαλιν βλα- Slavery βερον πασιν. πάλιν εν ανθρώπω και τοις άλλοις ζωοις 7 ώσαύτως τὰ μὲν γὰρ ήμερα τῶν ἀγρίων βελτίω τὴν Φύσιν, τούτοις δε πασι βέλτιον άρχεσθαι ὑπ' ἀνθρώπου · τυγγάνει γάρ σωτηρίας ούτως. ἔτι δὲ τὸ ἄρρεν πρὸς τὸ θῆλυ Φύσει τὸ μὲν κρεῖττον τὸ δὲ χεῖρον, τὸ μὲν ἄρχον τὸ δ' άρχόμενον. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον ἀναγκαῖον είναι καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων άνθρώπων. "Όσοι μέν οὖν τοσοῦτον διεστᾶσιν ὅσον ψυγή 8 σώματος καὶ ἄνθρωπος θηρίου (διάκεινται δὲ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, όσων έστιν έργον ή τοῦ σώματος χρησις, και τοῦτ' έστ' ἀπ' αὐτιῶν βέλτιστον), οὖτοι μέν εἰσι Φύσει δοῦλοι, οίς βέλτιον έστιν ἄρχεσθαι ταύτην την άρχην, είπερ καί τοῖς εἰρημένοις. ἔστι γὰρ Φύσει δοῦλος ὁ δυνάμενος ἄλλου 9 είναι (διὸ καὶ ἄλλου ἐστίν) καὶ ὁ κοινωνῶν λόγου τοσοῦτον όσον αἰσθάνεσθαι ἀλλὰ μὴ ἔχειν· τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα ζῷα οὐ λόγου αἰσθανόμενα, ἀλλὰ παθήμασιν ὑπηρετεῖ. καὶ ἡ χρεία

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.

τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἡμερα, κ.τ.λ.] Compare Bacon on Atheism, Vol. r. p. 53. Ed. Montagu.

τυγχάνει γὰρ σωτηρίας] So above, II. 2. διὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν, safety was the object of the union.

τον αὐτόν, 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 ταύτην την ἀρχήν] την δεσποτικήν, that of a master over slaves, the point he wants to come to.

τοῖς εἰρημένοις] τῷ σώματι, τῷ παθητικῷ μορίῳ, τῷ θηρίῳ, τῷ θήλει.

9 διδ καὶ άλλου 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 Ciccro speaks of, "genus injustæ servitutis, quum hi sunt alterius, qui sui possunt esse." De Rep. III. XXV. 22. 1161, 6.

τοσοῦτον] 'only so far.' Compare I. II. 2. το δυνάμενον τῷ σώματι ταῦτα ποιεῦν.

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 τοσοῦτον is exclusive both ways; the slave shares in reason, but only to a certain point.

καl ή χρεία] 'The use to which the two are put,' the slave and the animal, 'varies but little.'

Slavery. δὲ παραλλάττει μικρόν· ἡ γὰρ πρὸς τἀναγκαῖα τῷ σώματι βοήθεια γίνεται παρ' άμφοῖν, παρά τε τῶν δούλων καὶ παρὰ 10 τῶν ἡμέρων ζώων. βούλεται μεν οὖν ἡ Φύσις καὶ τὰ σώματα διαφέροντα ποιείν τὰ τῶν ἐλευθέρων καὶ τῶν δούλων, τὰ μὲν ἰσχυρὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν χρῆσιν, τὰ δ' ὀρθὰ καὶ άχρηστα πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας ἐργασίας, ἀλλὰ χρήσιμα πρὸς πολιτικον βίον (ούτος δε και γίνεται διηρημένος είς τε την πολεμικήν χρείαν καὶ τὴν εἰρηνικήν), συμβαίνει δὲ πολλάκις καὶ τούναντίον, τοὺς μὲν τὰ σώματ' ἔχειν ἐλευθέρων τοὺς δε τὰς ψυχάς επεί τοῦτό γε Φανερόν, ώς εί τοσοῦτον γένοιντο διάφοροι τὸ σῶμα μόνον δσον αἱ τῶν θεῶν εἰκόνες, τούς ύπολειπομένους πάντες Φαΐεν αν άξίους είναι τούτοις 11 δουλεύειν. εὶ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦτ' ἀληθές, πολύ δικαιότερον έπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦτο διωρίσθαι άλλ' οὐχ ὁμοίως ράδιον ίδεῖν τό τε τῆς ψυχῆς κάλλος καὶ τὸ τοῦ σώματος. 1255 Τε μεν τοίνυν είσι φύσει τινές οι μεν ελεύθεροι οι δε δοῦλοι, Φανερόν, οίς καὶ συμφέρει τὸ δουλεύειν καὶ δίκαιόν 6 έστιν. Οτι δε καὶ οἱ τάναντία Φάσκοντες τρόπον τινά

> ή 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 санн, συμβαίνει δε πολλάκις και τουναν-Tlov.

> dpyaolas] 'Such offices, or services.' οδτος δὲ καί, κ.τ.λ.] One of the many places where a remark is introduced with so little need for it, so little à propos, that one suspects another hand.

> τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους] ' 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 Athenian treatment of Dorieus.

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

δτι μέν οδν] After weighing the objections he comes then decidedly to a conclusion in favour of slavery. 'There are some by nature free, others by nature slaves, and for these their state as slaves is both advantageous and just,' καλ συμφέρει καλ δίκαιον. mental differences are sufficient, where nature has failed to mark the bodily.

VI. 1 οἱ τὰναντία φάσκοντες] 'those who put forward the exactly opposite view, they too in a certain sense are right.' There is an ambiguity in the language.

λέγουσιν όρθῶς, οὐ χαλεπὸν ίδεῖν. διχῶς γὰρ λέγεται τὸ Slavery. δουλεύειν καλ ὁ δοῦλος. ἔστι γάρ τις καλ κατά νόμον δοῦλος καλ δουλεύων δ γάρ νόμος δμολογία τίς έστιν, έν ώ τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον κρατούμενα τῶν κρατούντων είναί Φασιν. τοῦτο δὴ τὸ δίκαιον πολλοὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ιὖσπερ 2 ρήτορα γράφονται παρανόμων, ως δεινόν εί τοῦ βιάσασθαι δυναμένου καλ κατά δύναμιν κρείττονος έσται δοῦλον καλ άργόμενον το βιασθέν. Καὶ τοῖς μὲν οὕτω δοκεῖ τοῖς δ' έκείνως, καὶ τῶν σοφῶν. αἴτιον δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἀμφισβη- 3

καὶ κατὰ νόμον] 'by law also' as well as φύσ€ι.

δ γάρ 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. VII. 5, 73, νόμος γάρ ἐν πασιν ανθρώποις αίδιός έστιν, δταν πολεμούντων πόλις άλφ, των έλόντων είναι και τα σώματα των έν τη πόλει και τα χρήματα.

2 τοῦτο δή τὸ δίκαιον] 'It is this justice then that many writers on institutions indict as unconstitutional.'

κατά δύναμιν κρείττονος] 'superior in mere strength.'

ούτω] the last opinion that it is monstreus.

excipus] 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, "Ολως δ' ἀντεχόμενοί τινες κ.τ.λ. 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 morel 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 ἄτεροι λόγοι, 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, Loxeir και δεσπόζειν.' Such is the best rendering I can give of this difficult passage. To follow it in detail.

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τήσεως, καὶ ο ποιεί τοὺς λόγους ἐπαλλάττειν, ὅτι τρόπον τινα άρετη τυγχάνουσα χορηγίας και βιάζεσθαι δύναται μάλιστα, καὶ ἔστιν ἀεὶ τὸ κρατοῦν ἐν ὑπεροχῆ ἀγαθοῦ τινός, ώστε δοκείν μή άνευ άρετης είναι την βίαν, άλλα περί 4 τοῦ δικαίου μόνον είναι τὴν ἀμΦισβήτησιν. διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο τοῖς μὲν εὖνοια δοκεῖ τὸ δίκαιον εἶναι, τοῖς δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο δίκαιον, τὸ τὸν κρείττονα ἄρχειν, ἐπεὶ διαστάντων γε χωρὶς τούτων τῶν λόγων οὖτ' ἰσχυρὸν οὐθὲν ἔχουσιν οὖτε πιθανὸν ατεροι λόχοι, ως ου δει το βέλτιον κατ' άρετην άρχειν καὶ 5 δεσπόζειν. "Όλως δ' άντεχόμενοί τινες, ώς οἴονται, δικαίου τινός (ὁ γὰρ νόμος δίκαιόν τι) τὴν κατὰ πόλεμον δουλείαν τιθέασι δικαίαν, άμα δ' οὖ Φασιν. τήν τε γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἐνδέχεται μή δικαίαν είναι τῶν πολέμων, καὶ τὸν ἀνάξιον δουλεύειν οὐδαμῶς ᾶν Φαίη τις δοῦλον είναι εἰ δὲ μή, συμβήσεται τους ευγενεστάτους είναι δοκούντας δούλους είναι 6 καὶ ἐκ δούλων, ἐὰν συμβή πραθήναι ληΦθέντας. διόπερ αὐτοὺς οὐ βούλονται λέγειν δούλους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς βαρβάρους. καίτοι όταν τοῦτο λέγωσιν, οὐθὲν ἄλλο ζητοῦσιν ή τὸ Φύσει δοῦλον, ὅπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἶπομεν ἀνάγκη γὰρ εἶναί

ἐπαλλάττεν] is 'to interchange, to alternate.' "Ut in utramque partem disputari et dici possit." Schneider. Stahr agrees: "was für beide Ansichten Gründe aufzustellen verstattet." The arguments run into one another, and the confusion that arises enables both sides plausibly to maintain their respective positions.

περί τοῦ δικαίου] 'about the right,' whether it is right or no.

4 διὰ τοῦτο] 'because of this dispute.'

ἐπεὶ διαστάντων] 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 hold, and have no power to convince in them, therefore &c.," taking away

the stop at $\delta\epsilon\sigma\pi\delta(\epsilon\nu)$ and making $\delta\lambda\omega s$ $\delta\epsilon$ the apodosis. I refer $\delta\iota\alpha\sigma\tau\delta\nu\tau\omega\nu$ to the distinction between the two views, $\chi\omega\rho(s)$ to the distinction between the two together and the third.

κατ' ἀρετήν] 'By virtue of its excellence.'

ἄρχειν καὶ δεσπόζειν] opposed to κρατοῦν and βιάζεσθαι, and this opposition must be kept in sight carefully.

5 äμα δ' οδ φασιν] 'But at the same time they virtually deny it.'

εί δὲ μή] 'if otherwise.'

6 αὐτοὺς βούλονται] 'The Greeks do not intend to speak of themselves as slaves, they never think of themselves in that light, but only the barbarians.'

aνάγκη γαρ φάναι] 'For they must allow that there are some who are slaves wherever they are, others just the contrary.' τινας φάναι τους μεν πανταχοῦ δούλους τους δ' οὐδαμοῦ. Slavery.
τον αὐτον δὲ τρόπον καὶ περὶ εὐγενείας αὐτοὺς μεν γὰρ 7
οὐ μόνον παρ' αὐτοῖς ,εὐγενεῖς ἀλλὰ πανταχοῦ νομίζουσιν,
τοὺς δὲ βαρβάρους οἴκοι μόνον, ως ὄν τι τὸ μεν ἀπλῶς
εὐγενες καὶ ἐλεύθερον τὸ δ' οὐχ ἀπλῶς, ὧσπερ ή Θεοδέκτου
'Ελένη φησὶ

θείων δ' άπ' άμφοῖν ἔκγονον ριζωμάτων τίς ἃν προσειπεῖν ἀξιώσειεν λάτριν;

όταν δὲ τοῦτο λέγωσιν, οὐθενὶ ἀλλ' ἡ ἀρετῆ καὶ κακία διο- 8
ρίζουσι τὸ δοῦλον καὶ ἐλεύθερον καὶ τοὺς εὐγενεῖς καὶ τοὺς
δυσγενεῖς. ἀξιοῦσι γάρ, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀνθρώπου ἄνθρωπον καὶ 1255 Β
ἐκ θηρίων γίνεσθαι θηρίον, οῦτω καὶ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθόν ἡ δὲ φύσις βούλεται μὲν τοῦτο ποιεῖν πολλάκις, οὐ μέντοι δύναται. Οτι μὲν οὖν ἔχει τινὰ λόγον ἡ ἀμφισβήτησις, καὶ 9
οὐκ εἰσὶν οἱ μὲν φύσει δοῦλοι οἱ δ' ἐλεύθεροι, δῆλον καὶ ὅτι ἔν τισι διώρισται τὸ τοιοῦτον, ὤν συμφέρει τῷ μὲν τὸ δουλεύειν τῷ δὲ τὸ δεσπόζειν, καὶ δίκαιον, καὶ δεῖ τὸ μὲν ἄρχεσθαι τὸ δ' ἄρχειν, ἡν πεφύκασιν ἀρχὴν ἄρχειν, ὥστε καὶ δεσπόζειν. τὸ δὲ κακῶς ἀσυμφόρως ἐστὶν ἀμφοῖν τὸ γὰρ 10

παιταχοῦ] = φύσει. Comp. Eth. v. 10. (7) 1. p. 1134. b 19, φυσικόν μεν τὸ παιταχοῦ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχον δύναμιτ; and again, a little below in the same chapter, τὸ μεν φύσει ἀκίνητον καὶ παιταχοῦ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει δύναμιν, ὥσπερ τὸ πῦρ καὶ ἔνθαδε καὶ ἐν Πέρσαις καίει.

7 Θεοδέκτου] Theodectes of Phaselis, a pupil and friend of Aristotle, a rhetorician and dramatic writer.

8 δταν δὲ τοῦτο λέγωσιν] 'The use of language of this sort does in fact make the distinctions between slave and free, well born and low born, depend on moral differences,' and assumes that those moral differences are herelitary and ineffaceable. There may be a tendency to the perpetuation of such distinctions in man, says Aristotle, but it is by no means always a tendency that becomes a law. "Fortes 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 $\mu \ell \nu$, of $\delta \ell$.

ην πεφύκασιν άρχην] '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, πέφυκεν would have been more regular, or the omission of the last ắρχειν would be desirable; but in any case the sense is clear.

10 τὸ δὲ κακῶς] 'That the power should be badly exercised is against the interests of both equally, ἀμφοῖν.'

Slavery.

αὐτὸ συμφέρει τῷ μέρει καὶ τῷ ὅλῳ καὶ σώματι καὶ ψυχῆ,
ὁ δὲ δοῦλος μέρος τι τοῦ δεσπότου, οἶον ἔμψυχόν τι τοῦ
σώματος κεχωρισμένον δὲ μέρος. διὸ καὶ συμφέρον ἐστί τι
καὶ Φιλία δούλῳ καὶ δεσπότη πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοῖς Φύσει
τούτων ἤξιωμένοις τοῖς δὲ μὴ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, ἀλλὰ
κατὰ νόμον καὶ βιασθεῖσι, τοὐναντίον.

Φανερὸν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τούτων ὅτι οὐ ταὐτόν ἐστι δεσποτεία καὶ πολιτική, οὐδὲ πᾶσαι ἀλλήλαις αἱ ἀρχαί, ὥσπερ τινές Φασιν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐλευθέρων Φύσει ἡ δὲ δούλων ἐστίν, καὶ ἡ μὲν οἰκονομικὴ μοναρχία (μοναρχεῖται γὰρ πᾶς οἴκος), τἡ δὲ πολιτικὴ ἐλευθέρων καὶ ἴσων ἀρχή. *Ο μὲν οὖν δεσπότης οὐ λέγεται κατ' ἐπιστήμην, ἀλλὰ τῷ τοιόσδ' εἶναι ὑμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ δοῦλος καὶ ὁ ἐλεύθερος. ἐπιστήμη δ' ἀν εἴη

διδ καί] '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, τούτων φύσει ἡξιωμένοις; 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. I, 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, $\epsilon l \delta \eta \pi o \lambda \lambda d$. 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.

2 κατ' 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 δ' ἀν είη] '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 δουλική. The knowledge which a master requires for the right use of slaves would be ἐπιστήμη δεσποτική. But when possible this is transferred to subordinates. Distinct from both these branches of knowledge stands a third, the acquisition of slaves.

καὶ δεσποτική καὶ δουλική, δουλική μὲν οῖαν περ ὁ ἐν Συρα- Slavery. Το κούσαις ἐπαίδευεν ἐκεῖ γὰρ λαμβάνων τις μισθὸν ἐδίδασκε τὰ ἐγκύκλια διακονήματα τοὺς παῖδας. εἴη δ' ἀν καὶ ἐπὶ 3 πλεῖον τῶν τοιούτων μάθησις, οῖον ὀψοποιική καὶ τἄλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα γένη τῆς διακονίας. ἔστι γὰρ ἔτερα ἐτέρων τὰ μὲν ἐντιμότερα ἔργα τὰ δ' ἀναγκαιότερα, καὶ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν

δούλος πρό δούλου, δεσπότης πρό δεσπότου.

αί μὲν οὖν τοιαῦται πᾶσαι δουλικαὶ ἐπιστῆμαί εἰσι, δεσπο- 4 τικὴ δ ἐπιστήμη ἐστὶν ἡ χρηστικὴ δούλων · ὁ γὰρ δεσπότης οὐκ ἐν τῷ κτᾶσθαι τοὺς δούλους, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ χρῆσθαι δούλοις. ἔστι δ αὖτη ἡ ἐπιστήμη οὐδὲν μέγα ἔχουσα οὐδὲ σεμνόν · ᾶ γὰρ τὸν δοῦλον ἐπίστασθαι δεῖ ποιεῖν, ἐκεῖνον δεῖ ταῦτα ἐπίστασθαι ἐπιτάττειν. διὸ ὅσοις ἐξουσία μὴ αὐ- 5 τοὺς κακοπαθεῖν, ἐπίτροπος λαμβάνει ταύτην τὴν τιμήν, αὐτοὶ δὲ πολιτεύονται ἡ Φιλοσοφοῦσιν. ἡ δὲ κτητικὴ ἐτέρα ἀμφοτέρων τούτων, οἶον ἡ δικαία, πολεμική τις οὖσα ἡ θηρευτική. Περὶ μὲν οὖν δούλου καὶ δεσπότου τοῦτον διωρίσθω τὸν τρόπον.

Ολως δὲ περὶ πάσης κτήσεως καὶ χρηματιστικής θεω- 8 1256 ρήσωμεν κατὰ τὸν ὑφηγημένον τρόπον, ἐπείπερ καὶ ὁ δοῦλος τῆς κτήσεως μέρος τι ἦν. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἀπορήσειεν ἄν

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

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

5 τιμήν] 'this office.'

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

κτητική] Comp. below, ch. VIII. §

τούτων] δεσποτική καὶ δουλική.
οίον ή δικαία] 'I mean that art of

acquiring slaves which is just and lawful.'

VIII. I The slave was singled out from other property as resting on other grounds, and requiring quite a separate discussion. He now turns from the ξμψυχον to the ἄψυχον δργανον, from the living to the lifeless instrument, so to complete the subject of property, κτῆσις, which is by I. IV. 3, πλῆθος δργάνων.

erείπερ] the method he had adopted in the treatment of the slave he would naturally continue in the treatment of the rest of property. Origin of χρησθαι μάλιστα. διὸ ἀνοσιώτατον καὶ ἀγριώτατον ἄνευ ἀρετης, καὶ πρὸς ἀφροδίσια καὶ ἐδωδὴν χείριστον. ἡ δὲ δικαιοσύνη πολιτικόν ἡ γὰρ δίκη πολιτικῆς κοινωνίας τάξις ἐστίν ἡ δὲ δίκη τοῦ δικαίου κρίσις.

Έπεὶ δὲ Φανερον ἐξ ὧν μορίων ή πόλις συνέστηκεν, 1253 B. Slavery. άναγκαῖον περὶ οἰκονομίας εἰπεῖν πρότερον πᾶσα γὰρ πόλις εξ οἰκιῶν σύγκειται. οἰκίας δε μέρη, εξ ὧν αὖθις οἰχία συνίσταται · οἰχία δὲ τέλειος ἐχ δούλων καὶ ἐλευθέρων. έπει δ' έν τοις έλαχίστοις πρώτου ξκαστου ζητητέου, πρώτα δέ καὶ ἐλάχιστα μέρη οἰκίας δεσπότης καὶ δοῦλος. καὶ πόσις καὶ ἄλοχος καὶ πατήρ καὶ τέκνα, περὶ τριῶν αν 2 τούτων σκεπτέον είη τί εκαστον καὶ ποῖον δεῖ είναι. ταῦτα δ' έστὶ δεσποτική καὶ γαμική (άνωνυμον γάρ ή γυναικός καὶ άνδρὸς σύζευξις) καὶ τρίτον τεκνοποιητική καὶ γάρ αὕτη ούκ ωνόμασται ιδίω ονόματι. ἔστωσαν δ' αὖται τρεῖς ας 3 είπομεν. Εστιδέ τι μέρος δ δοχεῖ τοῖς μεν είναι οἰκονομία, τοῖς δὲ μέγιστον μέρος αὐτῆς. ὅπως δ' ἔχει, θεωρητέον. λέγω δὲ περὶ τῆς καλουμένης χρηματιστικῆς. Πρῶτον δὲ περί δεσπότου και δούλου είπωμεν, ίνα τά τε πρός την άναγκαίαν χρείαν ίδωμεν, κάν εί τι πρός το είδεναι περί αὐτῶν δυναίμεθα λαβεῖν βέλτιον τῶν νῦν ὑπολαμβανομένων.

^{816] &#}x27;So armed man is,' &c.

ή δὲ δικαιοσύνη] Man needs the restraints of law and justice, νόμου καλ δίκης, in one word, δικαιοσύνης; this is emphatically the creature of society, of the political union; for the administration of justice (δίκη) 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. Eth. v. x. 4. p. 1134, 26. Cic. de Nat. Deor. 1. xli. 116 986 b. Ed. Nobbe. 'Est enim pietas justitia adversus Deos cum quibus quid potest nobis esse juris, quum homini nulla cum Deo sit communitas.'

III. 1 περὶ οἰκονομίας] This suffi-

ciently indicates the purpose of the book, πρότερον, sc. της πόλεως.

^{ἐξ ὧν αδθις] ' of which in its turn the house consists.'}

² This is simply in defence of his terminology: the term γαμικός is wanted in Eth. v. x. 9. p. 1134, b 15, where he speaks of το προς γυναϊκα δίκαιον, and the same want is felt in Eth. viii. xiii. 4. p. 1161, 22.

³ μέγιστον μέρος] 'A very large part.' He says himself οἰκονομικῆς τέλος πλοῦτος, Eth.'1. i. 3. p. 1094, 9.

τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν χρείαν] 'The practical solution for the wants of ordinary life.' πρὸς τὸ «ἰδέναι, 'with a view to the scientific theory of the subject.' τῶν νῦν ὑπολαμβανομένων, 'better than the present notions on the subject.'

τοῖς μὲν γὰρ δοχεῖ ἐπιστήμη τέ τις είναι ή δεσποτεία, καὶ Slavery. ή αὐτη οἰκονομία καὶ δεσποτεία καὶ πολιτική καὶ βασιλική, καθάπερ είπομεν άρχόμενοι τοῖς δὲ παρὰ Φύσιν τὸ δεσπόζειν νόμω γάρ τον μεν δοῦλον είναι τον δ ελεύθερον, Φύσει δ' οὐθεν διαφέρειν διόπερ οὐδε δίκαιον βίαιον γάρ. Έπεὶ οὖν ή κτῆσις μέρος τῆς οἰκίας ἐστὶ καὶ ή κτητική 4 μέρος της οἰκονομίας ἄνευ γὰρ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀδύνατον καί ζην καί εδ ζην. ώσπερ δε έν ταῖς ώρισμέναις τέχναις άναγκαῖον αν είη ὑπάρχειν τὰ οἰκεῖα ὅργανα, εἰ μέλλει άποτελεσθήσεσθαι τὸ ἔργον, οῦτω καὶ τῶν οἰκονομικῶν. τῶν δ ὀργάνων τὰ μὲν ἄψυχα τὰ δ ἔμψυχα, οἰον τῷ 2 χυβερνήτη ὁ μεν οἴαξ ἄψυχον, ὁ δὲ πρωρεὺς ἔμψυχον ὁ γάρ ύπηρέτης εν όργάνου είδει ταῖς τέχναις εστίν. οὕτω καὶ τὸ κτημα δργανον πρὸς ζωήν ἐστι, καὶ ή κτησις πληθος όργάνων ἐστί, καὶ ὁ δοῦλος κτῆμά τι ἔμψυχον, καὶ ὧσπερ δργανον πρὸ ὀργάνων, πᾶς ὁ ὑπηρέτης. εὶ γὰρ ἡδύνατο 3

4 νόμφ γάρ] This explains the παρὰ φόσιν, and is by an alteration in the stopping connected more closely with it. So also διόπερ οὐδὲ δίπαιον is brought into close connexion with φόσει οὐθὲν διαφέρειν.

IV. I There is something very awkward about this sentence as it stands. The simplest way seems to be to make kal 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 management of the family.' If with Victorius and the Vet. Tr. we adopt the more symmetrical reading of τῷ οἰκοτομικῷ, '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 οἰκεῖα, a construction of which we have an instance later, III. iii. 3, οἰκεῖος τῆς ἀπορίας ταύτης.

2 ἐν ὀργάνου είδει] 'is in kind but an instrument,' 'does not differ in kind from the instrument used in the arts.' ταῖς τέχναις, ταῖς ὡρισμέναις of the last section.

obτω καl] as the pilot had instruments of two kinds, so it will be with the head of the family. The instrument in this case, whether animate or inanimate, is denoted by the word ατημα, and the aggregate of such instruments by κτησις. Compare Είλ. v. x. 8. p. 1134, b 10.

δργανον πρό δργάνων] 'one instrument in the place of many,' not, as St Hil. says, "le premier de tous," agreeing with Vict. as quoted by Schneider Slavery. Εκαστον τῶν ὀργάνων κελευσθεν ἡ προαισθανόμενον ἀποτελείν τὸ αύτοῦ ἔργον, ώσπερ τὰ Δαιδάλου Φασίν ή τοὺς τοῦ ἩΦαίστου τρίποδας, οῦς Φησιν ὁ ποιητής αὐτομάτους θείον δύεσθαι άγιονα, ούτως αι κερκίδες εκέρκιζον αύταί καί τὰ πληκτρα ἐκιθάριζεν, οὐδὲν ἄν ἔδει οὕτε τοῖς ἀρχιτέκτο-1254 4 σιν ύπηρετών ούτε τοῖς δεσπόταις δούλων, τὰ μέν οὖν λεγόμενα όργανα ποιητικά όργανά έστι, τὸ δὲ κτῆμα πρακτικόν άπὸ μέν γὰρ τῆς κερκίδος ἔτερόν τι γίνεται παρά την χρησιν αὐτης, ἀπὸ δὲ της ἐσθητος καὶ της κλίνης ή χρησις μόνον. έτι δ έπει διαφέρει ή ποίησις είδει και ή πράξις, δέονται δ' αμφότεραι δργάνων, ανάγκη καὶ ταῦτα 5 την αυτην έχειν διαφοράν. ὁ δὲ βίος πράξις, οὐ ποίησίς έστιν διό και ό δούλος ύπηρέτης των πρός την πράξιν. τὸ δὲ κτῆμα λέγεται ούσπερ καὶ τὸ μόριον. τό τε γάρ μόριον οὐ μόνον ἄλλου ἐστὶ μόριον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλως ἄλλου. όμοίως δε και το κτημα. διο ο μεν δεσπότης του δούλου δεσπότης μόνον, έχείνου δ' ούχ έστιν· ὁ δὶ δοῦλος οὐ μόνον ο δεσπότου δοῦλός έστιν, άλλα καὶ όλως ἐκείνου. τίς μὲν ούν ή Φύσις τοῦ δούλου καὶ τίς ή δύναμις, ἐκ τούτων δῆλον.

in the passage. The translation given refers it more definitely to the superior adaptability of the slave.

3 11. xviii, 370.

4 τὰ μὰν οῦν Ασγόμενα] 'Instruments, in the sense in which the word is generally applied, are for production, whereas ατόμα in this comprehensive souse is the unproductive part of a man's property.' As unproductive it is called πρωτικών. Compare ΕΥΑ, VI. 1. 5, p. 1130, b 1, 5, 4, 1140, b 6.

Biophipes & mosquees] EVA. vs. iv. 1.

and raire | The instruments of the

a gin und a grichar) un points urifien

τλ δό ενθμα] In the passage referred to above on § 2, K/δ. v. x. 8, he uses the same language, δεπερ μέρες αὐτοῦ

τὸ κτῆμα.

διδ δ μέν δεσπότης] 'Hence whilst the master is only a master in reference to his slave, and in no sense belongs to him, but is in the main considered 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. He stands related to human society only in and through his master, he has no proper life and no proper happiness. ό γὰρ μὴ αύτοῦ Φύσει ἀλλ' ἄλλου, ἄνθρωπος δέ, οὖτος Φύσει Slavery. δοῦλός ἐστιν. άλλου δ' έστλν άνθρωπος, δς αν κτημα τ ανθρωπος ών. κτημα δε δργανον πρακτικόν καl χωριστόν. Πότερον δ' εστί τις Φύσει τοιοῦτος η ού, καὶ πότερον βέλ- 5 τιον καλ δίκαιόν τινι δουλεύειν ή ού, άλλα πασα δουλεία παρά Φύσιν ἐστί, μετά ταῦτα σκεπτέον. οὐ χαλεπὸν δὲ καὶ τῷ λόγω θεωρῆσαι καὶ ἐκ τῶν γινομένων καταμαθεῖν. τὸ γὰρ ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι οὐ μόνον τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀλλὰ 2 καὶ τῶν συμφερόντων ἐστί, καὶ εὐθὸ; ἐκ γενετῆς ἔνια διέστηκε τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρχεσθαι τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρχειν. καὶ είδη πολλά και άρχόντων και άρχομένων έστίν, και άει βελτίων ή άρχη ή τῶν βελτιόνων άρχομένων, οἶον άνθρώπου η θηρίου. το γάρ αποτελούμενον από των βελτιόνων βέλτιον 3 ἔργον• ὅπου δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄρχει τὸ δ' ἄρχεται, ἐστί τι τούτων ἔργον· δσα γάρ ἐκ πλειόνων συνέστηκε καὶ γίνεται ἕν τι κοινόν, είτε έκ συνεχών είτ' έκ διηρημένων, έν απασιν έμ-Φαίνεται τὸ ἄρχον καὶ τὸ ἀρχόμενον. καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς 4

V. I 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 λόγφ] 'by theory.' ἐκ τῶν γινομένων, '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 shewn 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 δπου δέ] They come into relation. ἐν κοινωνία ήδη δ ἄρχων. 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.

δσα γdρ] '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 διαιρετφ̂.

4 ἐκ τῆς ἀπάσης φύσεως] "Bei der gesammten Natur vorzugsweise." Stahr. Correctly as to the sense. 'This subordination is found in all nature, but is Slavery

άπάσης Φύσεως ενυπάρχει τοῖς εμψύχοις καὶ γὰρ εν τοῖς μή μετέχουτι ζωής έστί τις άρχή, οίον άρμονίας άλλά ταῦτα μεν Ίσως εξωτερικωτέρας έστι σκέψεως. Το δε ζώον πρώτον συνέστηκεν έκ ψυχής και σώματος, ών το μέν άρχον εστί φύσει τὸ δ΄ άρχόμενον. δεῖ δὲ σκοπεῖν ἐν τοῖς κατά Φύσιν έγουσι μάλλον τὸ Φύσει, καὶ μὴ ἐν τοῖς διε-Φθαρμένοις· διό καὶ τὸν βέλτιστα διακείμενον καὶ κατά σῶμα καὶ κατὰ ψυχὴν ἄνθρωπον θεωρητέον, ἐν ῷ τοῦτο 1254 Β δήλου. των γάρ μοχθηρών ή μοχθηρώς έχόντων δόξειεν άν άρχειν πολλάκις τὸ σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς διὰ τὸ Φαύλως καὶ 6 παρά Φύσιν έχειν. έστι δ' οὖν, ώσπερ λέγομεν, πρῶτον ἐν ζώω θεωρήσαι και δεσποτικήν άρχην και πολιτικήν ή μεν γάρ ψυχή τοῦ σώματος άρχει δεσποτικήν άρχήν, ὁ δὲ νοῦς τῆς όρέξοως πολιτικήν καὶ βασιλικήν έν οίς φανερόν έστιν ότι κατά Φύσιν καλ συμφέρον το άρχεσθαι τῷ σώματι ὑπὸ της ψυχης και τῷ παθητικῷ μορίῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ νοῦ και τοῦ

found more particularly, is more truly inherent in the things that have life.' sal $\gamma d\rho$. '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 (ble on the power of Senal, 31).

discipant spar! This word has been frequently discussed. The result of the discussion seems to be that it often means nothing more than 'snother,' on impuly foreign to the present impuly! In this netual passage this mounting is sufficient. The whole subject is received by Ravaisson, Métaphysique of Arrand Part 111, Livre v. ch. i. Vol. 1 pp. 244 and foll.

Make only the porcel at excipens,

*pwenc| 'To bogin with.'

a hot his memorial it might be urged that practically this is not always the come. But, says Aristotle, you must not take a but instance, but a good.

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 ῷ τοῦτο δῆλον] 'and in him this is clear,' τοῦτο, that the soul rules, the body obeys.

6 εν ζφφ] 'in any animal.'

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

δεσποτικήν] that is, for the good of the soul.

τῆς δρέξεως] Cicero, de Rep. III. xxv. 21. p. 1161. b. Ed. Nobbe, takes a different view: 'Nam ut animus corpori dicitur imperare, dicitur etiam libidini; sed corpori, ut Rex civibus suis, aut parens liberis; libidini autem ut servis dominus, quod eam coercet et frangit.' δρεξις, in Aristotle, is larger, equivalent to the ἐπιθυμητικόν of the Ελλίες, 1. xiii.

* ofs] 'and in these cases it is quite
clear.'

μορίου τοῦ λόγον ἔχοντος, τὸ δ' ἐξ ἴσου ἡ ἀνάπαλιν βλα- Slavery βερον πᾶσιν. πάλιν ἐν ἀνθρώπω καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ζώοις 7 ώσαύτως. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ήμερα τῶν ἀγρίων βελτίω τὴν Φύσιν, τούτοις δε πασι βέλτιον άρχεσθαι ὑπ' ἀνθρώπου· τυγχάνει γάρ σωτηρίας ούτως. έτι δὲ τὸ ἄρρεν πρὸς τὸ θῆλυ Φύσει τὸ μὲν κρεῖττον τὸ δὲ χεῖρον, τὸ μὲν ἄρχον τὸ δ' άρχόμενου. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων άνθρώπων. ΘΟσοι μέν οὖν τοσοῦτον διεστᾶσιν ὅσον ψυχὴ 8 σώματος καὶ ἄνθρωπος θηρίου (διάκεινται δὲ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, δσων έστιν έργον ή τοῦ σώματος χρῆσις, και τοῦτ' έστ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν βέλτιστον), οὖτοι μέν εἰσι Φύσει δοῦλοι, οίς βέλτιον έστιν άρχεσθαι ταύτην την άρχην, είπερ καλ τοῖς εἰρημένοις. ἔστι γὰρ Φύσει δοῦλος ὁ δυνάμενος ἄλλου 9 είναι (διὸ καὶ ἄλλου ἐστίν) καὶ ὁ κοινωνῶν λόγου τοσοῦτον οσον αἰσθάνεσθαι ἀλλὰ μὴ ἔχειν· τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα ζῷα οὐ λόγου αἰσθανόμενα, ἀλλὰ παθήμασιν ὑπηρετεῖ. καὶ ή χρεία

ἐξ 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.

τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἡμερα, κ.τ.λ.] Compare Bacon on Atheism, Vol. 1. p. 53. Ed. Montagu.

τυγχάνει γὰρ σωτηρίας] So above, II. 2. διὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν, safety was the object of the union.

τον αὐτον, 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 ταύτην την ἀρχήν] την δεσποτικήν, that of a master over slaves, the point he wants to come to.

τοῖς εἰρημένοις] τῷ σώματι, τῷ παθητικῷ μορίῳ, τῷ θηρίῳ, τῷ θήλει.

9 διδ 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 Ciccro speaks of, "genus injustæ servitutis, quum hi sunt alterius, qui sui possunt esse." De Rep. III. XXV. 22. 1161, 6.

τοσούτον] 'only so far.' Compare I.

II. 2. τὸ δυνάμενον τῷ σώματι ταῦτα ποιεῖν,

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 τοσοῦτον is exclusive both ways; the slave shares in reason, but only to a certain point.

καl η χρεία] 'The use to which the two are put,' the slave and the animal, 'varies but little.'

C

Slavery.

δὲ παραλλάττει μικρόν ή γὰρ πρὸς τάναγκαῖα τῷ σώματι βοήθεια γίνεται παρ' άμφοῖν, παρά τε τῶν δούλων καὶ παρὰ 10 τῶν ἡμέρων ζώων. βούλεται μεν οὖν ἡ Φύσις καὶ τὰ σώματα διαφέροντα ποιείν τὰ τῶν ἐλευθέρων καὶ τῶν δούλων, τὰ μὲν ἰσχυρὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν χρῆσιν, τὰ δ' ὀρθὰ καὶ άχρηστα πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας ἐργασίας, ἀλλὰ χρήσιμα πρὸς πολιτικον βίον (ούτος δε και γίνεται διηρημένος είς τε την πολεμικήν χρείαν καὶ τὴν εἰρηνικήν), συμβαίνει δὲ πολλάκις καὶ τούναντίον, τοὺς μὲν τὰ σώματ' ἔχειν ἐλευθέρων τοὺς δε τας ψυχάς επεί τοῦτό γε Φανερόν, ώς εί τοσοῦτον γένοιντο διάφοροι τὸ σῶμα μόνον δσον αἱ τῶν θεῶν εἰκόνες, τούς ύπολειπομένους πάντες Φαΐεν αν άξίους είναι τούτοις ιι δουλεύειν. εὶ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦτ' ἀληθές, πολύ δικαιότερον έπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦτο διωρίσθαι άλλ' οὐχ ὁμοίως ράδιον ίδεῖν τό τε τῆς ψυχῆς κάλλος καὶ τὸ τοῦ σώματος. 1255 Οτι μέν τοίνυν είσι Φύσει τινές οι μέν έλεύθεροι οι δέ δοῦλοι, Φανερόν, οίς καὶ συμφέρει τὸ δουλεύειν καὶ δίκαιόν 6 έστιν. Οτι δε καὶ οἱ τάναντία Φάσκοντες τρόπον τινά

ή τῷ σώματι βοήθεια] 'The assistance given with the body,' the dative of the instrument, "mit ihrem Körper." Stahr.

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 τοῦναντίαν.

έργασίας] 'Such offices, or services.'
οδτος δὲ καί, κ.τ.λ.] One of the
many places where a remark is introduced with so little need for it, so
little à propos, that one suspects another hand.

τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους] '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 Athenian treatment of Dorieus.

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

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

VI. I ol τὰναντία φάσκοντες] 'those who put forward the exactly opposite view, they too in a certain sense are right.' There is an ambiguity in the language.

λέγουσιν ὀρθῶς, οὐ χαλεπὸν ἰδεῖν. διχῶς γὰρ λέγεται τὸ διανοτу. δουλεύειν καὶ ὁ δοῦλος. ἔστι γάρ τις καὶ κατὰ νόμον δοῦλος καὶ δουλεύων ὁ γὰρ νόμος ὁμολογία τίς ἐστιν, ἐν ῷ τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον κρατούμενα τῶν κρατούντων εἶναί Φασιν. τοῦτο δὴ τὸ δίκαιον πολλοὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ιὅσπερ 2 ἐήτορα γράφονται παρανόμων, ως δεινὸν εἰ τοῦ βιάσασθαι δυναμένου καὶ κατὰ δύναμιν κρείττονος ἔσται δοῦλον καὶ ἀρχόμενον τὸ βιασθέν. Καὶ τοῖς μὲν οῦτω δοκεῖ τοῖς δ΄ ἐκείνως, καὶ τῶν σοφῶν. αἴτιον δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἀμφισβη-3

καὶ κατὰ νόμον] ' by law also' as well as φύσει.

δ 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. vii. 5, 73, νόμος γὰρ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀτδιός ἐστιν, ὅταν πολεμούντων πόλις ἀλῷ, τῶν ἐλόντων εἶναι καὶ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἐν τῷ πόλει καὶ τὰ χρήματα.

2 τοῦτο δὴ τὸ δίκαιον] 'It is this justice then that many writers on institutions indict as unconstitutional.'

κατὰ δύναμιν κρείττονος] 'superior in mere strength.'

οῦτω] the last opinion that it is monstreus.

excipus] 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, "Ολως δ' ἀντεχόμενοι τινες κ.τ.λ. 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 vir-

tue 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 morel 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 &τεροι λόγοι, 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, apxelv και δεσπόζειν.' Such is the best rendering I can give of this difficult passage. To follow it in detail.

Slavery. τίσεως, καὶ ὁ ποιεῖ τοὺς λόγους ἐπαλλάττειν, ὅτι τρόπον τινα άρετη τυγχάνουσα χορηγίας και βιάζεσθαι δύναται μάλιστα, καλ έστιν άεὶ τὸ κρατοῦν ἐν ὑπεροχῆ ἀγαθοῦ τινός, ώστε δοκείν μη άνευ άρετης είναι την βίαν, άλλα περί 4 τοῦ δικαίου μόνον είναι την άμφισβήτησιν. διά γάρ τοῦτο τοῖς μὲν εὖνοια δοχεῖ τὸ δίχαιον εἶναι, τοῖς δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο δίκαιου, τὸ τὸυ κρείττουα ἄρχειυ, ἐπεὶ διαστάντων γε χωρίς τούτων τών λόγων οὔτ' ἰσχυρὸν οὐθὲν ἔχουσιν οὔτε πιθανὸν ατεροι λόχοι, ώς οὐ δεῖ τὸ βέλτιον κατ' άρετὴν άρχειν καὶ 5 δεσπόζειν. "Όλως δ' άντεχόμενοί τινες, ώς οδονται, δικαίου τινός (ὁ γὰρ νόμος δίκαιόν τι) τὴν κατὰ πόλεμον δουλείαν τιθέασι δικαίαν, άμα δ' οὖ Φασιν. τήν τε γάρ άρχην ενδέγεται μή δικαίαν είναι τῶν πολέμων, καὶ τὸν ἀνάξιον δουλεύειν οὐδαμῶς ᾶν Φαίη τις δοῦλον είναι εἰ δὲ μή, συμβήσεται τους ευγενεστάτους είναι δοκούντας δούλους είναι 6 καλ ἐκ δούλων, ἐὰν συμβη πραθηναι ληΦθέντας. αὐτοὺς οὐ βούλονται λέγειν δούλους, άλλὰ τοὺς βαρβάρους. καίτοι δταν τοῦτο λέγωσιν, οὐθὲν ἄλλο ζητοῦσιν ή τὸ Φύσοι δοῦλον, ὅπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰπομεν · ἀνάγκη γὰρ εἶναί

> ἐπαλλάττειν] is 'to interchange, to alternate.' "Ut in utramque partem dismutari et dici possit." Schneider. Stahr ngreen: "was für beide Ansichten (Irinde aufzustellen verstattet." The arguments run into one another, and the confusion that arises enables both pides plausibly to maintain their reapoctive positions.

περί τοῦ δικαίου] 'about the right,' whather it is right or no.

4 8th Tolero] 'because of this dispate.

Ine) huntderwel Stuhr differs as to this passage, and construes it: "Since new of these opposed views, the grounds attend in support of the one, viz. that the superior in excellence ought and their fore to rule and govern, cannot hold, and lines no power to convince in them, therefore &c.," taking away

the stop at δεσπόζειν and making δλως δέ the apodosis. Ι refer διαστάντων to the distinction between the two views. xwpis to the distinction between the two together and the third.

κατ' ἀρετήν] 'By virtue of its excellence.'

άρχειν καὶ δεσπόζειν] opposed to κρατοῦν and βιάζεσθαι, and this opposition must be kept in sight carefully.

5 αμα δ' οδ φασιν] 'But at the same time they virtually deny it.'

εί δὲ μή] 'if otherwise.'

6 αὐτοὺς βούλονται] 'The Greeks do not intend to speak of themselves as slaves, they never think of themselves in that light, but only the barbarians.'

άνάγκη γάρ φάναι] 'For they must allow that there are some who are slaves wherever they are, others just the contrary.'

τινας φάναι τους μεν πανταχοῦ δούλους τους δ' οὐδαμοῦ. Slavery.
τον αὐτον δὲ τρόπον καὶ περὶ εὐγενείας αὐτους μεν γὰρ 7
οὐ μόνον παρ' αὐτοῖς ,εὐγενεῖς ἀλλὰ πανταχοῦ νομίζουσιν,
τους δὲ βαρβάρους οἴκοι μόνον, ως ὄν τι τὸ μεν ἀπλῶς
εὐγενες καὶ ἐλεύθερον τὸ δ' οὐχ ἀπλῶς, ὧσπερ ἡ Θεοδέκτου
'Ελένη φησὶ

θείων δ' ἀπ' ἀμφοῖν ἔκγονον ριζωμάτων τίς ᾶν προσειπεῖν ἀξιώσειεν λάτριν;

όταν δὲ τοῦτο λέγωσιν, οὐθενὶ ἀλλ' ἡ ἀρετῆ καὶ κακία διο- 8 ρίζουσι τὸ δοῦλον καὶ ἐλεύθερον καὶ τοὺς εὐγενεῖς καὶ τοὺς δυσγενεῖς. ἀξιοῦσι γάρ, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀνθρώπου ἄνθρωπον καὶ 1255 Β ἐκ θηρίων γίνεσθαι θηρίον, οῦτω καὶ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθόν · ἡ δὲ φύσις βούλεται μὲν τοῦτο ποιεῖν πολλάκις, οὐ μέντοι δύναται. "Ότι μὲν οὖν ἔχει τινὰ λόγον ἡ ἀμφισβήτησις, καὶ 9 οὐκ εἰσὶν οἱ μὲν φύσει δοῦλοι οἱ δ' ἐλεύθεροι, δῆλον · καὶ ὅτι ἔν τισι διώρισται τὸ τοιοῦτον, ὤν συμφέρει τῷ μὲν τὸ δουλεύειν τῷ δὲ τὸ δεσπόζειν, καὶ δίκαιον, καὶ δεῖ τὸ μὲν ἄρχεσθαι τὸ δ' ἄρχειν, ἡν πεφύκασιν ἀρχὴν ἄρχειν, ὥστε καὶ δεσπόζειν. τὸ δὲ κακῶς ἀσυμφόρως ἐστὶν ἀμφοῖν · τὸ γὰρ 10

πανταχοῦ] = φύσει. Comp. Eth. v. 10. (7) 1. p. 1134. b 19, φυσικόν μεν τὸ πανταχοῦ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχον δύναμιτ; and again, a little below in the same chapter, τὸ μεν φύσει ἀκίτητον καὶ πανταχοῦ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει δύναμιν, ἄσπερ τὸ πῦρ καὶ ἔνθαδε καὶ ἐν Πέρσαις καίει.

7 Θεοδέκτου] Theodectes of Phaselis, a pupil and friend of Aristotle, a rhetorician and dramatic writer.

8 bras be rouro reparation in fact make the distinctions between slave and free, well born and low born, depend on moral differences, and assumes that those moral differences are hereditary and ineffaceable. There may be a tendency to the perpetuation of such distinctions in man, says Aristotle, but it is by no means always a tendency that becomes a law. "Fortes 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 µέν, of δέ.

ξν τισι] 'in certain cases the distinction is drawn.'

ħν πεφύκασιν ἄρχην] '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, πέφυκεν would have been more regular, or the omission of the last ἄρχειν would be desirable; but in any case the sense is clear.

10 τὸ δὲ κακῶs] 'That the power should be badly exercised is against the interests of both equally, ἀμφοῖν.'

Slavery.

αὐτὸ συμφέρει τῷ μέρει καὶ τῷ ὅλῳ καὶ σώματι καὶ ψυχῆ, ὁ δὲ δοῦλος μέρος τι τοῦ δεσπότου, οἶον ἔμψυχόν τι τοῦ σώματος κεχωρισμένον δὲ μέρος. διὸ καὶ συμφέρον ἐστί τι καὶ φιλία δούλῳ καὶ δεσπότη πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοῖς φύσει τούτων ἢξιωμένοις τοῖς δὲ μὴ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ νόμον καὶ βιασθεῖσι, τοὐναντίον.

Φανερον δὲ καὶ ἐκ τούτων ὅτι οὐ ταὐτόν ἐστι δεσποτεία καὶ πολιτική, οὐδὲ πᾶσαι ἀλλήλαις αἱ ἀρχαί, ὥσπερτινές Φασιν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐλευθέρων Φύσει ἡ δὲ δούλων ἐστίν, καὶ ἡ μὲν οἰκονομικὴ μοναρχία (μοναρχεῖται γὰρ πᾶς οἴκος), τἡ δὲ πολιτικὴ ἐλευθέρων καὶ ἴσων ἀρχή. *Ο μὲν οὖν δεσπότης οὐ λέγεται κατ' ἐπιστήμην, ἀλλὰ τῷ τοιόσδ' εἶναι ὑμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ δοῦλος καὶ ὁ ἐλεύθερος. ἐπιστήμη δ' ἀν εἴη

διδ καί] '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, τούτων φύσει ἡξιωμένοις; 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, είδη πολλά. 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.

2 κατ' 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.

έπιστήμη δ' ἀν είη] '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 δουλική. The knowledge which a master requires for the right use of slaves would be ἐπιστήμη δεσποτική. But when possible this is transferred to subordinates. Distinct from both these branches of knowledge stands a third, the acquisition of slaves.

καὶ δεσποτική καὶ δουλική, δουλική μὲν οἶαν περ ὁ ἐν Συρα- Slavery. Το κούσαις ἐπαίδευεν ἐκεῖ γὰρ λαμβάνων τις μισθὸν ἐδίδασκε τὰ ἐγκύκλια διακονήματα τοὺς παῖδας. εἴη δ' ἀν καὶ ἐπὶ 3 πλεῖον τῶν τοιούτων μάθησις, οἶον ὀψοποιική καὶ τἄλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα γένη τῆς διακονίας. ἔστι γὰρ ἔτερα ἐτέρων τὰ μὲν ἐντιμότερα ἔργα τὰ δ' ἀναγκαιότερα, καὶ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν

δοῦλος πρὸ δούλου, δεσπότης πρὸ δεσπότου.

αί μὲν οὖν τοιαῦται πᾶσαι δουλικαὶ ἐπιστῆμαί εἰσι, δεσπο- 4 τικὴ δ ἐπιστήμη ἐστὶν ἡ χρηστικὴ δούλων · ὁ γὰρ δεσπότης οὐκ ἐν τῷ κτᾶσθαι τοὺς δούλους, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ κρῆσθαι δούλοις. ἔστι δ αῦτη ἡ ἐπιστήμη οὐδὲν μέγα ἔχουσα οὐδὲ σεμνόν · ᾶ γὰρ τὸν δοῦλον ἐπίστασθαι δεῖ ποιεῖν, ἐκεῖνον δεῖ ταῦτα ἐπίστασθαι ἐπιτάττειν. διὸ ὅσοις ἐξουσία μὴ αὐ- 5 τοὺς κακοπαθεῖν, ἐπίτροπος λαμβάνει ταύτην τὴν τιμήν, αὐτοὶ δὲ πολιτεύονται ἡ Φιλοσοφοῦσιν. ἡ δὲ κτητικὴ ἐτέρα ἀμφοτέρων τούτων, οἶον ἡ δικαία, πολεμική τις οὖσα ἡ θηρευτική. Περὶ μὲν οὖν δούλου καὶ δεσπότου τοῦτον διωρίσθω τὸν τρόπον.

"Ολως δὲ περὶ πάσης κτήσεως καὶ χρηματιστικῆς θεω- 8 1256 ρήσωμεν κατὰ τὸν ὑφηγημένον τρόπου, ἐπείπερ καὶ ὁ δοῦλος τῆς κτήσεως μέρος τι ἦν. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἀπορήσειεν ἄν

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

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

5 τιμήν] 'this office.'

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

κτητική] Comp. below, ch. viii. §

τούτων] δεσποτική και δουλική.
οίον ή δικαία] 'I mean that art of

acquiring slaves which is just and lawful.'

VIII. I The slave was singled out from other property as resting on other grounds, and requiring quite a separate discussion. He now turns from the ξμψυχον to the ἄψυχον δργανον, from the living to the lifeless instrument, so to complete the subject of property, κτῆσις, which is by I. IV. 3, πλῆθος δργάνων.

ἐπείπερ] the method he had adopted in the treatment of the slave he would naturally continue in the treatment of the rest of property.

Property. τις πότερον ή χρηματιστική ή αύτή τῆ οἰκονομικῆ ἐστὶν ή μέρος τι ή ύπηρετική, καὶ εἰ ύπηρετική, πότερον, ώς ή κερκιδοποιική τῆ ὑΦαντικῆ ἡ ως ή χαλκουργική τῆ ἀνδριαντοποιία ου γάρ ώσαυτως υπηρετούσιν, άλλ' ή μεν δργανα 2 παρέχει, ή δὲ τὴν ὅλην. λέγω δὲ ὅλην τὸ ὑποκείμενον, ἐξ οὖ τι ἀποτελεῖται ἔργον, οἶον ὑΦάντη μὲν ἔρια, ἀνδριαντοποιώ δε χαλκόν. "Οτι μεν ούν ούχ ή αυτή ή οικονομική τῆ χρηματιστικῆ, δῆλον. τῆς μὲν γὰρ τὸ πορίσασθαι, τῆς θε το γρήσασθαι τίς γαρ έσται ή χρησομένη τοῖς κατά την οἰκίαν παρά την οἰκονομικήν; πότερον δὲ μέρος αὐτῆς 3 έστι τι ή έτερον είδος, έχει διαμφισβήτησιν. εί γάρ έστι τοῦ χρηματιστικοῦ θεωρήσαι πόθεν χρήματα καὶ κτήσις ἔσται, ή δὲ κτῆσις πο<u>λλ</u>ὰ περιείληφε μέρη καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος: ώστε πρώτον ή γεωργική πότερον μέρος τι της χρηματιστικής ή έτερου τι γένος, καὶ καθόλου ή περὶ τὴν τροΦὴν 4 ἐπιμέλεια καὶ κτῆσις; ἀλλὰ μὴν είδη γε πολλὰ τροΦῆς, διὸ καὶ βίοι πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ζωων καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰσίν. ού γὰρ οδόν τε ζην ἄνευ τροφης, ώστε αι διαφοραί της

> πότερον ή χρηματιστική] 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 The first is anit is instrumental. swered in the negative.

> κερκιδοποιική] 'the art of making shuttles.'

> 2 παρὰ τὴν οἰκονομικήν] 'besides,' or 'if it be not.'

> ετερον είδος] 'distinct in kind,' "une science à part." St Hil.

> ἔχει διαμφισβήτησιν] 'involves a thorough discussion,' to get at the different senses.

> 3 el ydp eori] 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,

(της μέν γάρ το πορίσασθαι) 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 χρηματιστική may be within the province of the αἰκόνομος, 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, καl καθόλου ή περί την τροφήν.

4 ἀλλὰ μήν] '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.'

τροφής τοὺς βίους πεποιήκασι διαφέροντας τῶν ζώων. τῶν Property. τε γάρ θηρίων τὰ μὲν άγελαῖα τὰ δὲ σποραδικά ἐστιν, 5 όποτέρως συμφέρει πρός την τροφήν αὐτοῖς, διὰ τὸ τὰ μεν ζωοφάγα τὰ δε καρποφάγα τὰ δε παμφάγα αὐτῶν είναι · ιύστε πρὸς τὰς ῥαστώνας καὶ τὴν αίρεσιν τὴν τούτων ή Φύσις τοὺς βίους αὐτῶν διώρισεν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐ ταὐτὸ έκαστω ήδυ κατά φύσιν άλλ' έτερα έτέροις, και αυτῶν τῶν ζωοφάγων καὶ τῶν καρποφάγων οἱ βίοι πρὸς ἄλληλα διεστάσιν. όμοίως δε καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πολύ γὰρ διαφέ-6 ρουσιν οι τούτων βίοι. οι μεν οθν άργότατοι νομάδες είσίν: ή γαρ από τῶν ήμερων τροφή ζώων ἄνευ πόνου γίνεται σχολάζουσιν άναγκαίου δ' όντος μεταβάλλειν τοῖς κτήνεσι διά τὰς νομάς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀναγκάζονται συνακολουθεῖν, ὧσπερ γεωργίαν ζῶσαν γεωργούντες. οἱ δ' ἀπὸ θήρας ζῶσι, καὶ 7 • • • θήρας έτεροι έτέρας, οίον οι μεν από ληστείας, οι δ' άΦ' άλιείας, όσοι λίμνας καὶ έλη καὶ ποταμούς ἡ θάλατταν τοιαύτην προσοικοῦσιν, οἱ δ' ἀπ' ὀρνίθων ἢ θηρίων ἀγρίων. τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ζῆ καὶ

5 βαστώναs] 'facilities.' τούτων = τροφής. 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 ζωοφάγα, &c.

6 πολὸ γάρ] 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, Libert's du Travail, Vol. 1. Compare Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations, In-

troduction, 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.

τοῖς κτήνεσι] depends on ἀναγκαίου.
'The cattle require change for their pasture, the men are compelled to move with them, for the field they cultivate has, as it were, life and motion,' "un champ vivant."

7 ἀπὸ ληστείαs] This quiet mention of privateering or piracy, the buccaneer life, is illustrated by Od. 1x. 254, for the earlier period of Greece, and by Thuc. 1. 5 for a later period than Homer's and for the continental tribes of his own day, of whom he says of κόσμος καλῶς τοῦτο δρᾶν. Compare also II. 32, for the Locrians III. 51.

τοιαύτην] ' Such as suits for fishing.'

Property. τῶν ἡμέρων καρπῶν. Οἱ μὲν οὖν βίοι τοσοῦτοι σχεδόν ε είσιν, δσοι γε αὐτόφυτον ἔχουσι τὴν ἐργασίαν καὶ μὴ δί 1256 η άλλαγης και καπηλείας πορίζονται την τροφήν, νομαδικός, γετιργικός, ληστρικός, άλιευτικός, θηρευτικός οί δε καλ μιγνύντες έκ τούτων ήδέως ζώσι, προσαναπληρούντες τον ενδεέστατον βίου, ή τυγχάνει ελλείπων πρός το αυτάρκης είναι, οίον οι μεν νομαδικόν άμα και ληστρικόν, οι δε γεωρ-9 γικὸν καὶ θηρευτικόν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ώς άν ή χρεία συναναγκάζη, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον διάγουσιν. 'ΙΙ μέν οδν τοιαύτη κτησις ὑπ' αὐτης Φαίνεται της Φύσεως διδομένη πάτιν, ώσπερ κατά την πρώτην γένεσιν εύθύς, ούτω το καὶ τελειωθείσιν. καὶ γὰρ κατά τὴν ἐξ ἀργῆς γένεσιν τὰ μέν συνεκτίκτει τῶν ζώων τοσαύτην τροφήν ώς ίκανὴν είναι μέχρις οδ αν δύνηται αύτο αύτιο πορίζειν το γεννηθέν, οδον δσα σκωληκοτοκεῖ ἡ ψοτοκεῖ · όσα δὲ ζωοτοκεῖ, τοῖς γενομένοις έχει τροφήν έν αύτοῖς μέχρι τινός, τήν τοῦ καλουτι μένου γάλακτος Φύσιν. ωστε όμοίως δηλον ότι καὶ γενομένηις οίητέον τά τε Φυτά τῶν ζώων Ενεκεν είναι καὶ τάλλα ζώα των ανθρώπων χάριν, τα μέν ημερα και δια την γρησιν και διά την τροφήν, τῶν δ' ἀγρίων, εὶ μη πάντα,

8 αὐτόρυτον 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 printical tribes of the Malay Archipelago, the Esquimaux, and the lited Indian. For, αὐτόρυτον, native, self grown, see Liddell and Scott, Lex. where the word αὐτουργία is quoted as equivalent to the expression αὐτόρυτον ψεγασίαν.

physical Practically this is the general rule; rarely do we find an autire exclusion of barter. And the preservousness of the hunter's life renders the admixture of tillage almost indispensable.

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

rotatra] '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 ψοτοκεῖ] 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.

ζφοτοκεί] 'all viviparous creatures have in themselves a certain supply of food for their young in the shape of that which is called milk.'

11 γενομένοις] = τελειωθείσιν, § 9. Compare v. 5. 5, ανδράσι γενομένοις καλ τελειωθείσιν.

άλλὰ τά γε πλεῖστα τῆς τροΦῆς καὶ ἄλλης βοηθείας Property. Ενεκεν, ἵνα καὶ ἐσθὴς καὶ ἄλλα ὅργανα γίνηται ἐξ αὐτῶν. εἰ οὖν ἡ Φύσις μηθὲν μήτε ἀτελὲς ποιεῖ μήτε μάτην, ἀναγ- 12 καῖον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἕνεκεν αὐτὰ πάντα πεποιηκέναι τὴν Φύσιν. διὸ καὶ ἡ πολεμικὴ Φύσει κτητική πως ἔσται. ἡ γὰρ θηρευτικὴ μέρος αὐτῆς, ἢ δεῖ χρῆσθαι πρός τε τὰ θηρία, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅσοι πεΦυκότες ἄρχεσθαι μὴ θέλουσιν, ὡς Φύσει δίκαιον τοῦτον ὅντα τὸν πόλεμον. Εν 13 μὲν οὖν εἶδος κτητικῆς κατὰ Φύσιν τῆς οἰκονομικῆς μέρος ἐστίν· ὁ δεῖ ἤτοι ὑπάρχειν ἡ πορίζειν αὐτὴν ὅπως ὑπάρχη, ὧν ἐστὶ θησαυρισμὸς χρημάτων πρὸς ζωὴν ἀναγκαίων καὶ χρησίμων εἰς κοινωνίαν πόλεως ἡ οἰκίας. καὶ ἔοικεν ὅ γὶ 14 ἀληθινὸς πλοῦτος ἐκ τούτων εἶναι. ἡ γὰρ τῆς τοιαύτης κτήσεως αὐτάρκεια πρὸς ἀγαθὴν ζωὴν οὐκ ἄπειρός ἐστιν, ῶσπερ Σόλων Φησὶ ποιήσας

πλούτου δ' οὐθὲν τέρμα πεφασμένον ἀνδράσι κεῖται.

κεῖται γὰρ ισπερ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τέχναις· οὐδὲν γὰρ 15 ὅργανον ἄπειρον οὐδεμιᾶς ἐστὶ τέχνης οὖτε πλήθει οὖτε μεγέθει, ὁ δὲ πλοῦτος ὀργάνων πλῆθός ἐστιν οἰκονομικῶν

12 ἀτελές] 'incomplete.' Compare below, XIII. 11, δ παῖς ἀτελής.

διό καὶ ἡ πολεμική φόσει] '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. "Ia guerre est un moyen naturel d'acquérir," says St Hil, construing the φύσει with κτητική.

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

8 δεῖ, 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.' 3, 'quod,' does not lose its relative sense.

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

ή $\gamma d\rho$] 'I say ἀληθινόs, 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: Relliquiæ. 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,

Property. καὶ πολιτικῶν. ΤΟτι μὲν τοίνυν ἔστι τις κτητική κατὰ ϕ ύσιν τοῖς οἰκονόμοις καὶ τοῖς πολιτικοῖς, καὶ δι' ἡν αἰτίαν, δ ῆλον.

*Εστι δὲ γένος ἄλλο κτητικῆς, ἣν μάλιστα καλοῦσι, 1257 καλ δίκαιον αὐτὸ καλεῖν, χρηματιστικήν, δι' ἡν οὐδὲν δοκεῖ πέρας είναι πλούτου και κτήσεως. ην ως μίαν και την αυτην τῆ λεχθείση πολλοί νομίζουσι διὰ τὴν γειτνίασιν. ἔστι δ' ούτε ή αυτή τη είρημένη ούτε πόρρω εκείνης. έστι δ' ή μεν Φύσει ή δ' οὐ Φύσει αὐτῶν, άλλὰ δί ἐμπειρίας τινὸς 2 καὶ τέχνης γίνεται μᾶλλον. λάβωμεν δε περὶ αὐτῆς τὴν άρχην ἐντεῦθεν. ἐκάστου γὰρ κτήματος διττή ή χρῆσίς έστιν, άμφότεραι δε καθ' αύτὸ μεν άλλ' ούχ ὁμοίως καθ' αύτό, άλλ' ή μεν οίκεία ή δ' ούκ οίκεία τοῦ πράγματος, οίον ύποδήματος ή τε ύπόδεσις καλ ή μεταβλητική. αμφό-3 τεραι γὰρ ὑποδήματος χρήσεις. καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀλλαττόμενος τω δεομένω υποδήματος άντι νομίσματος ή τροφής χρήται τω ύποδήματι ή ὑπόδημα, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν οἰκείαν χρῆσιν· οὐ γάρ άλλαγης ένεκεν γέγονεν. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον ἔχει 4 καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων κτημάτων. ἔστι γὰρ ἡ μεταβλητική πάντων, άρξαμένη τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Φύσιν, τῶ

but it is absurd to suppose a means without a limit,

15 871 μèν τοίνω] 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.

81' hr altlar] 'the grounds on which.'

IX. 1 yevrs &AAo] the Evepor eldes of VIII. 2, Ch. VIII. having given us the uspos.

81 #p] 'And it is this species that has given rise to the opinion that wealth and property have no limit.' την γειτνίασιν] = γειτονίαν, 'neighbourhood,' 'near connexion of the two.'

où φύσει] It is not the necessary accompaniment 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 remedying of a need felt is the object of art. Compare Ethics, I. iv. 15. p. 1097, 5, πάσαι γὰρ τὸ ἐνδεἐς ἐπιζητοῦσαι.

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

3 οὐ γὰρ ἀλλαγῆς ἔνεκεν γέγονεν] True of its ultimate, but not of its primary, destination.

4 ἀρξαμένη, κ.τ λ. Aristotle allows the natural origin of commerce. It is

τὰ μὲν πλείω τὰ δὲ ἐλάττω τῶν ἱκανῶν ἔχειν τοὺς ἀνθρώΡορεττν.
πους. ἢ καὶ δῆλον ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι Φύσει τῆς χρηματιστικῆς
ἡ καπηλική. ὅσον γὰρ ἱκανὸν αὐτοῖς, ἀναγκαῖον ἢν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀλλαγήν. Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῆ πρώτη κοινωνίας
(τοῦτο δὶ ἐστὶν οἰκία) Φανερὸν ὅτι οὐδέν ἐστιν ἔργον αὐτῆς,
ἀλλ' ἤδη πλείονος τῆς κοινωνίας οὔσης. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν
αὐτῶν ἐκοινώνουν πάντων, οἱ δὲ κεχωρισμένοι πολλῶν πάλιν
καὶ ἐτέρων. ὧν κατὰ τὰς δεήσεις ἀναγκαῖον ποιεῖσθαι τὰς
μεταδόσεις, καθάπερ ἔτι πολλὰ ποιεῖ καὶ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν
ἐθνῶν, κατὰ τὴν ἀλλαγήν. αὐτὰ γὰρ τὰ χρήσιμα πρὸς 6
αὐτὰ καταλλάττονται, ἐπὶ πλέον δὶ οὐθέν, οἶον οἶνον πρὸς
σῖτον διδόντες καὶ λαμβάνοντες, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτιι των ἕκαστον. Ἡ μὲν οὖν τοιαύτη μεταβλητικὴ οὔτε παρὰ
Φύσιν οὖτε χρηματιστικῆς ἐστὶν εἶδος οὐδέν. εἰς ἀναπλή-

a question of degree into which it resolves itself.

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

τῆς χρηματιστικής] in its true sense, that of the last chapter, which in § 18 he speaks of as ἀναγκαίας—οίκονομικής κατὰ φύσιν—τῆς περί τὴν τροφήν.

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

δσον γάρ] '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 ἱκανόν? 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.

οὐδέν ἐστιν ἔργον αὐτῆs] 'There is no opening for it.' αὐτῆs = τῆs καπη-

λικής.

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

ol μèν γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] sc. ἐν τῆ οἰκία, 'had all things in common.'

of $\delta \epsilon$, $\kappa.\tau.\lambda$.] The others by virtue of their being apart would have, looked at as a whole, many things in common (ἐκοινώνουν πολλῶν), but different parts of the whole would have different parts of that common stock (και έτέρων). 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 χρηματιστικήs] 'The art of making money.' Here used in its bad sense,

Property. ρωσιν γὰρ τῆς κατὰ Φύσιν αὐταρκείας ἦν. ἐκ μέντοι
τ ταύτης ἐγένετ' ἐκείνη κατὰ λόγον. ξενικωτέρας γὰρ γινομένης τῆς βοηθείας τῷ εἰσάγεσθαι ὧν ἐνδεεῖς καὶ ἐκπέμπειν
ὧν ἐπλεόναζον, ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἡ τοῦ νομίσματος ἐπορίσθη
ε χρῆσις. οὐ γὰρ εὐβάστακτον ἔκαστον τῶν κατὰ Φύσιν
ἀναγκαίων. διὸ πρὸς τὰς ἀλλαγὰς τοιοῦτόν τι συνέθεντο
πρὸς σΦᾶς αὐτοὺς διδόναι καὶ λαμβάνειν ὁ τῶν χρησίμων
αὐτὸ δν εἶχε τὴν χρείαν εὐμεταχείριστον πρὸς τὸ ζῆν, οἴον
σίδηρος καὶ ἄργυρος, κᾶν εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ἔτερον, τὸ μὲν
πρῶτον ἀπλῶς ὁρισθὲν μεγέθει καὶ σταθμῷ, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον καὶ χαρακτῆρα ἐπιβαλλόντων, ἴνα ἀπολύση τῆς

and as equivalent to καπηλική, § 4, and X. 4, and to the μεταβλητικήs of the same section.

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

τῆς κατὰ φύσιν αὐταρκείας] '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 attained. Compare the expression τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἔξεως, Eth. VII. xiii. 3. p. 1153, 14.

7 ταύτης] is the τοιαύτη μεταβλητική—ἐκείνη is the χρηματιστικής—κατὰ λόγον, by a natural sequence, 'as a logical consequence there arose another kind.' Compare Είλ. 1. xi. 4. p. 1100, 23. τελευτήσαντι κατὰ λόγον.

ξενικοτόρας] 'more widely extended.'

4ξ ἀνάγκης: Some medium became
absolutely indispensable.

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

δτῶν χρησίμων, κ.τ.λ.] 'which itself was something usoful for the daily purposes of life, and was in use easily manageable.'

μεγέθει καί σταθμώ] 'by size and

weight.'

χαρακτήρα ἐπιβαλλόντων] 'determined in value by men putting a stamp upon it, in order that it may save them from the trouble of weighing it.'

Compare Adam Smith, Bk. 1. 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 article of commerce, and capable at the same time of becoming a medium of exchange. "Aristote," says M. Chevalier, "dont le nom était entouré d'un si grand respect pendant les siècles du moyen age, n'avait cependant point admis la notion d'après laquelle la monnaie ne serait qu'un signe. Il avait au contraire, parfaitement exposé 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 Hilaire's translation of the passage, 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."

μετρήσεως αὐτούς· ὁ γὰρ χαρακτήρ ἐτέθη τοῦ ποσοῦ Property. σημεῖον. πορισθέντος οὖν ήδη νομίσματος ἐκ τῆς ἀναγκαίας 9 1257 Β άλλαγης θάτερον είδος της χρηματιστικης έγένετο, τὸ καπηλικόν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπλῶς ἴσως γινόμενον, εἶτα δί έμπειρίας ήδη τεχνικώτερου, πόθεν καλ πῶς μεταβαλλόμενου πλείστον ποιήσει κέρδος. διό δυκεί ή χρηματιστική μά- 10 λιστα περί τὸ νύμισμα είναι, καὶ έργον αὐτῆς τὸ δύνασθαι θεωρήσαι πόθεν έσται πλήθος χρημάτων ποιητική γάρ είναι τοῦ πλούτου καὶ χρημάτων. καὶ γὰρ τὸν πλοῦτον πολλάκις τιθέασι νομίσματος πλήθος, διά τὸ περὶ τοῦτ' είναι την χρηματιστικήν και την καπηλικήν. ότε δε πάλιν 11 ληρος είναι δοκεί το νόμισμα καὶ νόμος παντάπασι, Φύσει δ' οὐθέν, ὅτι μεταθεμένων τε τῶν χρωμένων, οὐθενὸς ἄξιον ούδε χρήσιμον πρός ούδεν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐστί, καὶ νομίσματος πλουτών πολλάκις ἀπορήσει τῆς ἀναγκαίας τροφῆς: καίτοι άτοπον τοιούτον είναι πλούτον οὖ εὐπορών λιμώ άπολεῖται, καθάπερ καὶ τὸν Μίδαν ἐκεῖνον μυθολογοῦσι διὰ την ἀπληστίαν της εύχης πάντων αὐτῷ γιγνομένων τῶν

9 πορισθέντος οδν, 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 καπηλικόν] 'Trade.'

άπλῶς ίσως γιγνόμενον] 'simple perhaps in its forms.'

τεχνικώτερον] 'more systematic,' or 'scientific,' I. 3.

μεταβαλλόμενον] sc. τδ νόμισμα.

10 Διδ 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. περί δὲ τὸ χαλεπώτερον ἀεὶ καὶ τέχνη γίνεται καὶ ἀρετή· καὶ γὰρ τὸ εδ βέλτιον ἐν τούτφ. Εἰλ. Π. ii. 10. p.

1105, 9.

ξργον αὐτῆς] Compare Elh. vi. iv. 4. p. 1140, 11. τέχνη πάσα περί γένεσιν καὶ τὸ τεχνάζειν καὶ τὸ θεωρεῖν ὅπως ἃν γένηται, κ.τ.λ. Compare also Rhet. 1. ii. 1. p. 1355, B. 26.

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

καὶ γάρ, 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.

11 νόμος] 'merely conventional.'
οὐθέν] 'nothing.' The substantival

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

ἀπληστίαν τῆς εὐχῆς] 'The insatiate desire of his prayer.' The sentence

Property. παρατιθεμένων χρυσών. διὸ ζητοῦσιν ἔτερόν τι τὸν πλοῦ-12 τον καλ τήν χρηματιστικήν, όρθως ζητούντες. έστι γάρ έτέρα ή χρηματιστική καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος ὁ κατὰ Φύσιν, καὶ αθτη μεν οικονομική, ή δε καπηλική ποιητική χρημάτων, οὐ πάντως άλλ' ή διά χρημάτων μεταβολής. και δοκεί περί τὸ νόμισμα αύτη είναι τὸ γὰρ νόμισμα στοιχεῖον καὶ 13 πέρας της άλλαγης ἐστίν. καὶ ἄπειρος δη οὖτος ὁ πλοῦτος ό ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς γρηματιστικῆς. Εσπερ γὰρ ή ἰατρικὴ τοῦ ὑγιαίνειν εἰς ἄπειρόν ἐστι καὶ ἐκάστη τῶν τεχνῶν τοῦ τέλους εἰς ἄπειρον (ὅτι μάλιστα γὰρ ἐκεῖνο βούλονται ποιείν), τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὸ τέλος οὐκ εἰς ἄπειρον (πέρας γὰρ καν τὸ πέλος πάσαις), οὕτω καὶ ταύτης τῆς χρηματιστικῆς οὐκ ἔστι τοῦ τέλους πέρας, τέλος δὲ ὁ τοιοῦτος πλοῦτος καλ 14 γρημάτων κτήσις. της δ' οἰκονομικής, οὐ γρηματιστικής ἔστι πέρας οὐ γὰρ τοῦτο τῆς οἰκονομικῆς ἔργον. διὸ τῆ μέν Φαίνεται άναγκαῖον είναι παντός πλούτου πέρας, ἐπὶ δε των γινομένων δρώμεν συμβαίνον τούναντίον πάντες γάρ εὶς ἄπειρον αὖξουσιν οἱ χρηματιζόμενοι τὸ νόμισμα. αἴτιον 15 δε τὸ σύνεγγυς αὐτῶν. ἐπαλλάττει γὰρ ή γρῆσις τοῦ

requires ἀπολέσθαι to complete it.

12 τον πλοῦτον] 'the real wealth.' την χρηματιστικήν, 'the true science of acquiring wealth.'

coτη μέν] 'and whilst this (ἡ κατὰ φύσιν) the natural one is part of the management of the family.'

στοιχείον και τέραs] 'The first element and the ultimate limit;' the beginning and the end of the process.

13 &πειρος δή, κ.τ.λ.] Money, the means to the οἰκόνομος, becomes the end to the καπηλικός; finite therefore to the former, it is infinite to the latter. Compare Ch. VIII. § 14.

14 τῆς δ' 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, (οἰκονομικῆs) and is not merely concerned with making money (χρηματιστικῆs) there is a limit to wealth and to the efforts made to secure it; that limit is fixed by those higher objects; πέραs γὰρ τὸ τέλοs, οὐ γὰρ τοῦτο, 'for the making of money is not the object of the family life.'

 $\tau \hat{\eta} \mu \hat{\epsilon} \nu$] 'Though in one sense.'

τὸ σύνεγγυς αὐτῶν] 'The nearness of the senses of the words.' Compare Eth. v. ii. I. p. 1129, 27, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ σύνεγγυς εἶναι τὴν δμωνυμίαν αὐτῶν λαιθάνει καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν πόρρω δήλη μᾶλλον.

15 ἐπαλλάττει γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'For the two uses of the same article run

αὐτοῦ οὖσα ἐκατέρα τῆς χρηματιστικῆς. τῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς Property. έστι χρήσεως κτήσις, άλλ' οὐ κατά ταὐτόν, άλλα τής μέν έτερον τέλος, της δ' ή αύξησις. ώστε δοκεί τισ) τοῦτ' είναι της οἰκονομικής έργον, καὶ διατελοῦσιν ή σιόζειν οἰόμενοι δείν ή αύξειν την του νομίσματος ούσίαν είς άπειρον. αίτιον δε ταύτης της διαθέσεως το σπουδάζειν περί το ζην, 16 άλλὰ μὴ τὸ εὖ ζῆν εἰς ἄπειρον οὖν ἐκείνης τῆς ἐπιθυμίας 1258 ούσης, και των ποιητικών άπείρων επιθυμούσιν. δσοι δε καὶ τοῦ εὖ ζῆν ἐπιβάλλονται, τὸ πρὸς τὰς ἀπολαύσεις τὰς σωματικάς ζητούσιν, ώστ' έπει και τουτ' έν τη κτήσει Φαίνεται υπάρχειν, πάσα ή διατριβή περί τον χρηματισμόν έστι, καὶ τὸ ἔτερον είδος τῆς χρηματιστικῆς διὰ τοῦτ' ἐλήλυθεν. ἐν ὑπερβολῆ γὰρ οὖσης τῆς ἀπολαύσεως, τὴν τῆς 17 άπολαυστικής ύπερβολής ποιητικήν ζητούσιν κάν μή διά της γρηματιστικής δύνωνται πορίζειν, δι' άλλης αιτίας τοῦτο πειρῶνται, ἐκάστη χρώμενοι τῶν δυνάμεων οὐ κατὰ ανδρίας γαρ ου χρήματα ποιείν έστιν αλλα θάρσος. οὐδὲ στρατηγικής και Ιατρικής, ἀλλὰ τής μέν νίκην τής δ' ύγ/ειαν. οἱ δὲ πάσας ποιοῦσι χρηματιστικάς, τοῦτο 18 τέλος δυ, πρός δε τὸ τέλος απαντα δέον απανταν. Περί μέν οὖν τῆς τε μὴ ἀναγκαίας χρηματιστικῆς, καὶ τίς, καὶ δί αιτίαν τίνα εν χρεία εσμεν αυτής, είρηται και περί τής

άναγκαίας, ὅτι ἐτέρα μὲν αὐτῆς οἰκονομικὴ δὲ κατὰ Φύσιν ή

into one another and become confused, and each of the two respectively comes under the science that deals with property.'

χρήσεως κτήσες] 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 Klotz, (Jahn and Klotz, Ann. Phil. et Pæd. vi. xvii. I, p. 20,) who translates it: 'desselben Gebrauchs ist nämlich ein Kigenthum.' But I do not see that this explains the Greek. Stahr changes

it as I do, with the remark, 'vulgo ineptè.'

τοῦτο] Βς. ή αξξησις.

την τοῦ νυμίσματος οὐσίαν] 'Their property in money.'

16 τοῦ εδ ζῆν ἐπιβάλλονται] 'grasp at, make an effort after living well:' the εδ ζῆν is ambiguous.

17 δι' ἄλλης αἰτίας] 'by the instrumentality of something else.'

ėκάστη χρώμενοι] Compare Plat. Rep. 1. 364, on the subject of μισθαρνητική.

18 àmarar] 'meet, combine in forwarding.'

Property. περί την τροφήν, ούχ ωσπερ αύτη ἄπειρος, άλλ' έχουσα
ορον.

Δηλον δε και το άπορούμενον έξ άρχης, πότερον τοῦ 10 οἰκονομικοῦ καὶ πολιτικοῦ ἐστὶν ή χρηματιστική ἡ οὖ, άλλὰ δεῖ τοῦτο μὲν ὑπάρχειν · ισπερ γὰρ καὶ ἀνθρώπους οὐ ποιεῖ ή πολιτική, άλλα λαβοῦσα παρά τῆς Φύσεως χρῆται αὐτοῖς, ούτω καὶ τροφὴν τὴν Φύσιν δεῖ παραδοῦναι γῆν ἢ θάλατταν ή άλλο τι εκ δε τούτων, ώς δεῖ, ταῦτα διαθεῖναι προσήκει 2 τὸν οἰκονόμον. οὐ γὰρ τῆς ὑΦαντικῆς ἔρια ποιῆσαι, ἀλλὰ χρήσασθαι αὐτοῖς, καὶ γνιῶναι δὲ τὸ ποῖον χρηστὸν καὶ επιτήδειον ή Φαῦλον καὶ άνεπιτήδειον. καὶ γάρ άπορήσειεν άν τις διά τί ή μεν χρηματιστική μόριον της οἰκονομίας, ή δ' λατρική οὐ μόριον καίτοι δεῖ ύγιαίνειν τοὺς κατά τὴν 3 οἰκίαν, ώσπερ ζῆν ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων. ἐπεὶ δ'ἔστι μεν ως τοῦ οἰκονόμου καὶ τοῦ ἄρχοντος καὶ περὶ ὑγιείας ίδεῖν, ἔστι δ' ώς οὖ, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἰατροῦ, οὖτω καὶ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων έστι μεν ώς τοῦ οἰκονόμου, έστι δ' ώς οὖ, άλλὰ τῆς ὑπηρετικῆς · μάλιστα δέ, καθάπερ εἴρηται πρότερον, δεῖ Φύσει τοῦτο ὑπάρχειν. Φύσεως γάρ ἐστιν ἔργον τροΦην τώ γεννηθέντι παρέχειν παντί γαρ έξ οδ γίνεται, τροφή

abth] justified by the abths 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. I 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: δεῖ τοῦτο μὲν ὑπάρχειν. It and its results must be pre-

supposed. For this seems the full force of 10070.

 $\ell \kappa$ $\delta \hat{\epsilon}$ $\tau o b \tau \omega \nu$] 'then, as the next step.'

2 καὶ γὰρ ἀπορήσειεν, κ.τ.λ.] 'For if we answered the question differently then it might become a difficulty,' &c. 3 τοῦτο] sc. τὰ χρήματα.

φύσεως γάρ, 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.'

τὸ λειπόμενον ἐστιν. διὸ κατὰ Φύσιν ἐστὶν ἡ χρηματι- Property. στικὴ πᾶσιν ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν καὶ τῶν ζώων. διπλῆς δ $\frac{1}{4}$ οὖσης αὐτῆς, ὥσπερ εἶπομεν, καὶ τῆς μὲν καπηλικῆς τῆς δ οἰκονομικῆς, καὶ ταύτης μὲν ἀναγκαίας καὶ ἐπαινουμένης, τῆς δὲ μεταβλητικῆς ψεγομένης δικαίως (οὐ γὰρ κατὰ Φύσιν 1258 Β ἀλλ ἀπ ἀλλήλων ἐστίν), εὐλογώτατα μισεῖται ἡ ὀβολοστατικὴ διὰ τὸ ἀπ αὐτοῦ τοῦ νομίσματος εἶναι τὴν κτῆσιν καὶ οὐκ ἐφ' ὅπερ ἐπορίσθη. μεταβολῆς γὰρ ἐγένετο χάριν, 5 ὁ δὲ τόκος αὐτὸ ποιεῖ πλέον. ὅθεν καὶ τοὖνομα τοῦτ' εἴληφεν. ὅμοια γὰρ τὰ τικτόμενα τοῖς γεννῶσιν αὐτά ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ τόκος γίνεται νόμισμα νομίσματος · ὧστε καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ Φύσιν οὖτος τῶν χρηματισμῶν ἐστίν.

4 καπηλικήs] = τήs μή άναγκαlas of 9, 18, and μεταβλητικήs just below.

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 aw ἀλλήλων lies the fallacy. Between the parties trading there is no epposition 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.

ή δβολοστατική] '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 τοῦτο... δ τόκος... εἴληφεν τοὕνομα] '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.'

Property.

Έπει δε τα πρός την γνώσιν διωρίκαμεν ίκανώς, τα ΙΙ πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν δεῖ διελθεῖν. πάντα δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα τὴν μέν θεωρίαν έλεύθερον έχει, την δ' έμπειρίαν άναγκαίαν. *Εστι δὲ χρηματιστικῆς μέρη χρήσιμα τὸ περὶ τὰ κτήματα ἔμπειρον είναι, ποῖα λυσιτελέστατα καὶ ποῦ καὶ πῶς, οἶον ίππων κτήσις ποία τις ή βοῶν ή προβάτων, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ 2 τῶν λοιπῶν ζώων. δεῖ γὰρ ἔμπειρον εἶναι πρὸς ἄλληλά τε τούτων τίνα λυσιτελέστατα, καὶ ποῖα ἐν ποίοις τόποις: άλλα γὰρ ἐν άλλαις εὐθηνεῖ χώραις. εἶτα περὶ γεωργίας, καλ ταύτης ήδη ψιλης τε καλ πεφυτευμένης, καλ μελιττουργίας, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων τῶν πλωτῶν ἢ πτηνῶν, ἀΦ' ὅσων 3 έστι τυγχάνειν βοηθείας. Της μεν ούν οίκειστάτης χρηματιστικής ταῦτα μόρια καὶ πρῶτα, τής δὲ μεταβλητικής μέγιστον μεν εμπορία (καὶ ταύτης μέρη τρία, ναυκληρία Φορτηγία παράστασις διαφέρει δε τούτων έτερα ετέρων τώ τὰ μεν ἀσφαλέστερα είναι, τὰ δὲ πλείω πορίζειν τὴν ἐπικαρπίαν), δεύτερον δε τοκισμός, τρίτον δε μισθαρνία. 4 ταύτης δ' ή μὲν τῶν βαναύσων τεχνῶν, ή δὲ τῶν ἀτέχνων καὶ τῷ σώματι μόνω χρησίμων. Τρίτον δὲ είδος χρηματιστικής μεταξύ ταύτης καὶ τῆς πρώτης. ἔχει γὰρ καὶ τῆς

XI. 1 την μην θεωρίαν, κ.τ.λ.] 'whilst in speculation they are free, in practice they are limited.'

μέρη χρήσιμα] 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 δργανον πρακτικόν, 'one branch of the science concerns animals, and it is useful to have practical acquaintance with the subject.'

2 ψιλής] tillage; πεφυτευμένης, 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 οἰκειστάτηs] sc. τῆ οἰκονομικῆ, that which is most strictly within the province of the οἰκονόμος: τῆς ἀναγκαίας καὶ ἐπαινουμένης.

τῆς μεταβλητικῆς = τῆς καπηλικῆς]
This has three subdivisions. Its first,
(ἐμπορία) is trade, again open to a
threefold division, commerce by sea
(νανκληρία), by land (φορτηγία), and
selling in shops (παράστασις). The
first two are the divisions of that
which has been called l'industrie voiturière.

ἐπικαρπίαν] ' return, profit.'
μισθαρνία] ' The wages of labour.'

4 ταύτης] The labour for which wages are paid is either skilled or unskilled.

κατά Φύσιν τι μέρος καὶ τῆς μεταβλητικῆς, ὅσα ἀπὸ γῆς Property. καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς γινομένων, ἀκάρπων μὲν χρησίμων δέ, οἶον ύλοτομία τε καὶ πᾶσα μεταλλευτική. αῦτη δὲ πολλά ἦδη 5 περιείληφε γένη: πολλά γάρ είδη των έχ γης μεταλλευομένων ἐστίν. περὶ ἐκάστου δὲ τούτων καθόλου μὲν εἴρηται καὶ νῦν, τὸ δὲ κατὰ μέρος ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι χρήσιμον μὲν πρός τὰς ἐργασίας, Φορτικόν δὲ τὸ ἐνδιατρίβειν. [Εἰσὶ 6 δὲ τεχνικώταται μὲν τῶν ἐργασιῶν ὅπου ἐλάχιστον τῆς τύχης, βαναυσόταται δ' έν αίζ τὰ σώματα λωβῶνται μάλιστα, δουλικώταται δε δπου τοῦ σώματος πλεῖσται χρήσεις, άγεννέσταται δε δπου ελάχιστον προσδεί άρετης.] έπελ δ' έστλυ ένίοις γεγραμμένα περλ τούτων, οίου Χάρητι 7 δὴ τῷ Παρίω καὶ ᾿Απολλοδώρω τῷ Λημνίω περὶ γεωργίας 1259 καὶ ψιλης καὶ πεφυτευμένης, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις περὶ άλλων, ταῦτα μεν έκ τούτων θεωρείτω ὅτω ἐπιμελές ἔτι δὲ και τὰ λεγόμενα σποράδην, δι ών ἐπιτετυχήκασιν ἔνιοι γρηματιζόμενοι, δεῖ συλλέγειν. πάντα γὰρ ώφέλιμα ταῦτ' 8 έστὶ τοῖς τιμῶσι τὴν χρηματιστικήν. Οἶον καὶ τὸ Θάλεω

accioner such as do not bear fruit and multiply.'

5 ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι] '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.

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

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

Of Chares and Apollodorus nothing seems known.

τὰ λεγόμενα σποράδην] 'scattered notices and observations.'

δι' ὧν, κ.τ.λ.] 'as to the means by which some have succeeded.'

8. Θάλεω] This is mentioned by Grote, II. 155, "the first commencement of scientific prediction amongst the Greeks."

Property. τοῦ Μιλησίου· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι κατανόημά τι χρηματιστικόν, άλλ' ἐκείνω μὲν διὰ τὴν σοφίαν προσάπτουσι, τυγγάνει 9 δε καθόλου τι όν. ονειδιζόντων γαρ αύτῶ δια την πενίαν ως άνωφελοῦς τῆς Φιλοσοφίας οὖσης, κατανοήσαντά Φασιν αύτον έλαιῶν Φοράν ἐσομένην ἐκ τῆς ἀστρολογίας, ἔτι χειμῶνος ὅντος, εὐπορήσαντα χρημάτων ὀλίγων ἀρραβῶνας διαδούναι των έλαιουργίων των τ' έν Μιλήτω καί Χίω πάντων, ολίγου μισθωσάμενον άτ' ούθενος έπιβάλλοντος έπειδη δ' ὁ καιρὸς ἦκε, πολλῶν ζητουμένων ἄμα καὶ ἐξαίφνης, ἐκμισθοῦντα δυ τρόπου ήβούλετο, πολλά χρήματα συλλέξαυτα έπιδειξαι ότι ράδιον έστι πλουτείν τοις Φιλοσόφοις, αν το βούλωνται, άλλ' οὐ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ περὶ δ σπουδάζουσιν. Θαλῆς μέν οὖν λέγεται τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐπίδειξιν ποιήσασθαι της σοφίας έστι δ', ιδσπερ είπομεν, καθόλου το τοιούτον χρηματιστικόν, εάν τις δύνηται μονοπωλίαν αύτῶ κατασκευάζειν. διὸ καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἔνιαι τοῦτον ποιοῦνται τὸν πόρον, δταν απορῶσι χρημάτων μονοπωλίαν γὰρ τῶν ωνίων ποι-'Εν Σικελία δέ τις τεθέντος παρ' αὐτῷ νομίσματος - 11 οῦσ*ι*ν. συνεπρίατο πάντα τον σίδηρον έκ τῶν σιδηρείων, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ως ἀφίκοντο ἐκ τῶν ἐμπορίων οἱ ἔμποροι, ἐπώλει μόνος, οὐ πολλην ποιήσας ὑπερβολην της τιμης άλλ' δμως 12 έπὶ τοῖς πεντήκοντα ταλάντοις ἐπέλαβεν ἑκατόν. μεν ούν ο Διονύσιος αἰσθόμενος τὰ μεν χρήματα ἐκέλευσεν έκκομίσασθαι, μή μέντοι γ' ἔτι μένειν έν Συρακούσαις, ώς πόρους ευρίσκοντα τοῖς αὐτοῦ πράγμασιν ἀσυμφόρους.

κατανόημά τι χρηματιστικόν] "une speculation lucrative," St Hil.; rather, 'a money-making device.'

ἀλλ' ἐπείνφ μἐν, κ.τ.λ.] 'but though it is attributed to him on account of his philosophical knowledge, yet &c.'

9 ἀνωφελοῦς] Compare Eth. vi. vii. 5. p. 1141, b. 5: Θαλῆν καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους σόφους μέν, φρονίμους δ' οὐ φασιν είναι, δταν ίδωσιν ἀγνοοῦντας τὰ συμφέρονθ' ἐαντοῖς, κ.τ.λ.

κατανοήσαντα ἐκ τῆς ἀστρολογίας. ἀρραβῶνας] 'deposit of money,' 'arrhes."

λαιουργίων] = λαιουργείων, Liddell and Scott, 'oil-presses.'

ἐπιβάλλοντος] 'raising the price.'

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

11 οὐ πολλὴν ποιήσας, κ.τ.λ.] 'without raising the price much.'

enl τοῦς πεντήκοντα] For his 50 talents he got 150: 200 per cent. profit.

μέντοι δραμα Θάλεω καὶ τοῦτο ταὐτόν ἐστιν· ἀμφοτεροι Property.
γὰρ ἐαυτοῖς ἐτέχνασαν γενέσθαι μονοπωλίαν. Χρήσιμον το δὲ γνωρίζειν ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς πολιτικοῖς πολλαῖς γὰρ πόλεσι δεῖ χρηματισμοῦ καὶ τοιούτων πόρων, ὧσπερ οἰκία, μᾶλλον δέ. διόπερ τινὲς καὶ πολιτεύονται τῶν πολιτευομένων ταῦτα μόνον.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τρία μέρη τῆς οἰκονομικῆς ἦν, ἐν μὲν δεσπο- 12 τική, περὶ ῆς εἴρηται πρότερον, ἐν δὲ πατρική, τρίτον δὲ The Family Relations. Υαμική καὶ γὰρ γυναικὸς ἄρχειν καὶ τέκνων, ως ἐλευθέρων μὲν ἀμφοῖν, οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀλλὰ γυ- 1259 Β ναικὸς μὲν πολιτικῶς, τέκνων δὲ βασιλικῶς τό τε γὰρ ἄρρεν Φύσει τοῦ θήλεος ἡγεμονικώτερον, εἰ μή που συνέστηκε παρὰ Φύσιν, καὶ τὸ πρεσβύτερον καὶ τέλειον τοῦ νεωτέρου καὶ ἀτελοῦς. Ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς πολιτικαῖς ἀρχαῖς 2 ταῖς πλείσταις μεταβάλλει τὸ ἄρχον καὶ τὸ ἀρχόμενον ἐξ ἴσου γὰρ εἶναι βούλεται τὴν Φύσιν καὶ διαφέρειν μηθέν. ὅμως δέ, ὅταν τὸ μὲν ἄρχῃ τὸ δ ἄρχηται, ζητεῖ διαφορὰν εἶναι καὶ σχήμασι καὶ λόγοις καὶ τιμαῖς, ὥσπερ καὶ ἤρασις εἶπε τὸν περὶ τοῦ ποδανιπτῆρος λόγον. τὸ δ ἄρρεν ἀεὶ 3

13 'Some statesmen even limit their notion of statesmenship 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.

XII. I ἐπεὶ δέ] The apodosis to this Schneider finds at the beginning of the next chapter, φανερὸν τοίνυν, and rightly.

τρία μέρη ήν] Ch. III. § 1.

ἄρχειν] supply ἢν μέρος, as Klotz suggests.

πολιτικώς] ώς έλευθέρας καὶ ἴσης.

τό τε γάρ] 'There must be some rule in both cases, for, &c.'

ei μή που συνέστηκεν, κ.τ.λ.] 'putting aside exceptional cases which

exist.'

2 ἐν μὲν οδν, κ.τ.λ.] This is introduced to qualify the πολιτικῶτ. 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.

ζητεί] Impersonal—on cherche. 'It is an object that there should be a difference.'

σχήμασι] 'the insignia of office.'

'Aμασις] Herod. 11. 172.

3 αεί και οὐκ ἐκ μεταβολῆς.

The Family προς το δήλυ τουτον έχει τον τρόπον. ή δε των τέχνων Relationa άρχη βασιλική· τὸ γὰρ γεννησαν καὶ κατὰ Φιλίαν άρχον καὶ κατὰ πρεσβείαν ἐστίν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ βασιλικῆς είδος άρχης. διὸ καλῶς Ομηρος τὸν Δία προσηγόρευσεν εἰπών πατήρ άνδρών τε θεών τε,

> τον βασιλέα τούτων απάντων. Φύσει γαρ τον βασιλέα διαφέρειν μεν δεί, τῷ γένει δ' είναι τὸν αὐτόν ὅπερ πέπονθε το πρεσβύτερον προς το νεώτερον και ο γεννήσας πρός τὸ τέχνον.

Φανερον τοίνυν ότι πλείων ή σπουδή της οἰκονομίας περί τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ή περί τὴν τῶν ἀψύχων κτῆσιν, καὶ περί την άρετην τούτων η περί την της κτήσεως, δν καλοῦ-* μεν πλούτον, καλ των ελευθέρων μάλλον ή δούλων. Πρωτον μέν οὖν περί δούλων ἀπορήσειεν ἄν τις, πότερόν ἐστιν άρετή τις δούλου παρά τὰς όργανικὰς καὶ διακονικὰς ἄλλη τιμιωτέρα τούτων, οίον σωφροσύνη καὶ άνδρία καὶ δικαιοσύνη καλ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων ἔξεων, ἡ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεμία παρά τὰς σωματικάς ὑπηρεσίας. ἔχει γὰρ ἀπορίαν 3 άμφοτέρως. είτε γαρ έστι, τί διοίσουσι τῶν ἐλευθέρων; είτε μή έστιν δντων άνθρώπων καὶ λόγου κοινωνούντων, άτοπον. σχεδον δε ταύτον έστι το ζητούμενον και περί γυναικός καλ παιδός, πότερα καλ τούτων είσλν άρεταί, καλ δεί την γυναϊκα είναι σώφρονα και άνδρείαν και δικαίαν, και 4 παῖς ἐστὶ καὶ ἀκόλαστος καὶ σώφρων, ἢ οὖ; καὶ καθόλου

Βασιλική] Είλ. VIII. xii. 4. p. 1160. B. 24.

πωτήρ, κ.τ.λ.] ll. 1. 544. 'After enlling him warth, K.T.A., he added Ilin turm τον βασιλία.' προσηγόρευσεν, laying stress on the preposition.

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

* 111, 1 the apethe toutwell BC. TWO

άνθρώπων.

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?

παρά τὰς ὀργανικὰς καὶ διακονικάς] 'Beside his excellence as an instrument and a servant.'

των άλλων των τοιούτων έξεων] supply τις, from οὐδεμία. Göttling.

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

και ἀκόλαστος] It must be allowed that the child is ἀκόλαστος in one sense. Ελλ. III. xv. 5. p. 1119. B. 5. Is he not only ἀκόλαστος, but also σώφρων? Are we, that is, to determine the sense which we attach to the former epithet by that which we generally attach to the latter, and say that he is capable of reaching the lowest and highest moral condition?

4 δή] This reading is quite right. As we have had mentioned the three who are naturally under rule, the slave, the wife, and the child, it follows that the enquiry extends to the whole class which they form. The question is a parallel one to that discussed in III. 4: Have the citizen and the ruler the same excellence? Here it is not the πολίτης but the ἀρχόμενος φύσει.

maddmat] perpetuo, Victorius, 'once for all;' "a jamais," St Hil.

obbè γ4ρ, κ.τ.λ.] The difference in degree implies sameness in kind. But here, as so often in the work, it must be remembered that the statement is apprematic, that is, forms part of a discussion, so that it will not warrant a direct inference as to Aristotle's

view on the subject.

5 τον μέν δεί] ες. μετέχειν καλοκάγαθίας, τῶν φύσει ἀρχομένων, ες. εἰσι
διαφοραί.

6 δφήγηται] "C'est ce que nous avons déjà dit," is St. Hilaire's translation. Schneider supplies φύσις. Heinsius, as quoted by Schneider, agrees with St Hilaire. " Und darauf wird man gleich von vorn herein bei der Seele hingeführt." Stahr. No one of these is satisfactory. 'And this at once suggests to us to look at the soul and its constitution, and see whether we cannot get some light there: Are there not in the soul parts with a relation to one another? and what is the excellence of these parts?is it the same or different? why there we allow it to be different.' So I interpret the passage. Compare Ec. 1. iv. I. p. 1344, 10: τοῦθ' ὑφηγεῖται δέ και ό κοινός νόμος.

olov] used here as Ch. VII. 5, οlov ή δικαία, simply as explaining τὸ ἄρχον καὶ τὸ ἀρχόνενον; and the genitive is explained by the δν.

δήλον τοίνυν, κ.τ.λ.] guided by this

The Family νυν ότι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἔχει καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὧστε Φύσει τὰ πλείω ἄρχοντα καὶ ἀρχόμενα. ἄλλον γὰρ τρό-7 πον τὸ ἐλεύθερον τοῦ δούλου ἄρχει καλ τὸ ἄρρεν τοῦ θήλεος καὶ ἀνὴρ παιδός καὶ πᾶσιν ἐνυπάρχει μὲν τὰ μόρια τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλ' ἐνυπάρχει διαφερόντως. ὁ μὲν γὰρ δοῦλος όλως ούκ έχει τὸ βουλευτικόν, τὸ δὲ θῆλυ ἔχει μέν, άλλ' 8 ἄχυρον ' ὁ δὲ παῖς ἔχει μέν, ἀλλ' ἀτελές. ὁμοίως τοίνυν - άναγχαῖον ἔχειν καὶ περὶ τὰς ήθικὰς άρετάς· ὑποληπτέον δεῖν μεν μετέχειν πάντας, άλλ' οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, άλλ' ὅσον έκαστω πρός τὸ αύτοῦ ἔργον. διὸ τὸν μὲν ἄργοντα τελέαν έχειν δεῖ τὴν ήθικὴν ἀρετήν (τὸ γὰρ ἔργον ἐστὶν ἀπλῶς τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος, ὁ δὲ λόγος ἀρχιτέκτων), τῶν δ' ἄλλων 9 έχαστον, δσον επιβάλλει αὐτοῖς. ώστε Φανερον δτι εστίν ήθική άρετη των είρημένων πάντων, καὶ ούχ ή αύτη σωφροσύνη γυναικός καλ άνδρός, οὐδ άνδρία καλ δικαιοσύνη, καθάπερ ώετο Σωκράτης, άλλ' ή μεν άρχική άνδρία, ή δ' ύπη-10 ρετική, όμοίως δ' έχει καὶ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας. Δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο καὶ κατὰ μέρος μᾶλλον ἐπισκοποῦσιν καθόλου γὰρ οὶ λέγοντες ἐξαπατῶσιν ἐαυτούς, ὅτι τὸ εὖ ἔχειν τὴν ψυχὴν ἀρετή, ἢ τὸ ὀρθοπραγεῖν, ἢ τι τῶν τοιούτων πολὺ γαρ αμεινον λέγουσιν οἱ ἐξαριθμοῦντες τὰς ἀρετάς, ὥσπερ

> parallel we may consider clear the other case which we were discussing, and all similar cases.

> ωστε φόσει τὰ πλείω] 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, ἄλλον γὰρ τρόπον, κ.τ.λ.

7 δ 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, incom-

plete.

8 έκαστφ] 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 φρόνησιs. Compare below, III. 4. This is ηθική dρετή τελέα, the perfect combination of the moral and the intellectual elements of virtue. Eth. vi. xiii.

άπλωs] 'strictly.'

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

10 κατά μέρος] 'in detail.'

καθόλου γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] Compare Είλ.

11. vii. 1. p. 1107, 29: ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὰς πράξεις λόγοις οἱ μὲν καθόλου κενώτεροί εἰσιν, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ μέρους ἀληθινώτεροι.

Γοργίας, των ουτως δριζομένων. διὸ δεῖ, ωσπερ ὁ ποιητής The Family είρηκε περί γυναικός, ουτω νομίζειν έχειν περί πάντων

γυναικί κόσμον ή σιγή φέρει,

άλλ' άνδρι ούκέτι τοῦτο. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ παῖς ἀτελής, δῆλον ότι τούτου μεν και ή άρετη ούκ αύτοῦ πρός αύτόν έστιν. αλλά πρός τον τέλειον και τον ήγούμενον, όμοίως δε και τε δούλου πρός δεσπότην. έθεμεν δὲ πρός ταναγκαῖα χρήσιμον είναι τὸν δοῦλον, ώστε δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἀρετῆς δεῖται μικράς, και τοσαύτης δπως μήτε δι ἀκολασίαν μήτε διὰ δειλίαν έλλείψη τῶν ἔργων. 'Απορήσειε δ' ἄν τις, τὸ νῦν είρημένον εί άληθές, άρα καί τους τεχνίτας δεήσει έχειν άρετήν πολλάκις γαρ δι' ακολασίαν έλλείπουσι των έργων. ή διαφέρει τοῦτο πλεῖστον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ δοῦλος κοινωνὸς 13 ζοιής, ὁ δὲ πορρώτερον, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπιβάλλει ἀρετής δσον περ καλ δουλείας · δ γάρ βάναυσος τεχνίτης άφωρισ- 1260 Β μένην τινά έχει δουλείαν καὶ ὁ μὲν δοῦλος τῶν Φύσει, σχυτοτόμος δ' οὐθείς, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνιτῶν. Φανερὸν 14 τοίνυν ότι της τοιαύτης άρετης αίτιον είναι δει τω δούλω τον δεσπότην, άλλ' ου την διδασκαλικήν έχοντα των έργων

ΙΙ πάντων] ες. τῶν Κλλων. yuraiki Koghov Soph. Aj. 293.

enel 8', K.T.A.] Since the child is incomplete, his excellence as well as himself will be incomplete (kal h άρετή); both will have reference to the perfect, full-grown man, under whose guidance he is.

12 τοσαύτης] 'only so much.'

aρa καί, κ.τ.λ.] 'will it not be necessary for the artisans to have virtue?'

13 ή διαφέρει τουτο 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 οἰκονομίας, ἄνευ πολιτείαs, and as being so cannot secure his own real good. Compare Eth. 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 τοιαότης] Such as it was stated in § 12 before the question occurred as to the artisan.

άλλ' οὐ τήν, κ.τ.λ.] More fully this would stand την δεσποτικήν την διδασκαλικήν τῶν ἔργων.

The Family δεσποτικήν. διὸ λέγουσιν οὐ καλῶς οἱ λόγου τοὺς δούλους - αποστεροῦντες καὶ Φάσκοντες ἐπιτάξει χρῆσθαι μόνον · νουθετητέον γὰρ μᾶλλον τοὺς δούλους ἡ τοὺς παῖδας.

'Αλλά περί μεν τούτων διωρίσθω τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον. περί δε ανδρός και γυναικός και τέκνων και πατρός, της τε περί εκαστον αύτων άρετης, και της πρός σφας αύτους όμιλίας, τί τὸ καλῶς καὶ μὴ καλῶς ἐστί, καὶ πῶς δεῖ τὸ μὲν εὖ διώχειν τὸ δὲ κακῶς Φεύγειν, ἐν τοῖς περὶ πολιτείας άναγκαῖον ἐπελθεῖν· ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἰκία μὲν πᾶσα μέρος πόλεως, ταῦτα δ' οἰκίας, τὴν δὲ τοῦ μέρους πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὅλου δεῖ βλέπειν άρετήν, άναγκαῖον πρός την πολιτείαν βλέποντας παιδεύειν και τους παϊδας και τας γυναϊκας, είπερ τι δια-Φέρει πρός τὸ τὴν πόλιν είναι σπουδαίαν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας 16 είναι σπουδαίους καὶ τὰς γυναϊκας σπουδαίας. ἀναγκαῖον δε διαφέρειν αι μεν γάρ γυναϊκες ήμισυ μέρος των έλευθέρων, έχ δὲ τῶν παίδων οἱ κοινωνοὶ γίνονται τῆς πολιτείας. ${}^{\hat{\sigma}}\Omega$ στ' έπεὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων διώρισται, περὶ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν έν ἄλλοις λεκτέον, ἀφέντες ώς τέλος ἔχοντας τοὺς νῦν λόγους, άλλην άρχην ποιησάμενοι λέγωμεν, καὶ πρῶτον ἐπισχεψώμεθα περί τῶν ἀποφηναμένων περί τῆς πολιτείας τῆς άρίστης.

· Bekker rds.

διδ] 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.

τί τὸ καλώς] sc. όμιλεῖν.

περί τὰς πολιτείας] Bekker retains the article. Nickes rejects it, and with good ground. Compare III. I. περί οἰκονομίας, and III. i. I. τῷ περί πολιτείας ἐπισκοποῦντι.

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

16 ἀφέντες, κ.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 Phaleas 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 lawgivers 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 ἀγιοεῖν, ὅτι χρὴ προσέχειν τῷ πολλῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν, ἐν οἶς οὐκ ἀν ἔλαθεν εἰ ταῦτα καλῶς εἶχεν : πάντα γὰρ σχεδὸν εὕρηται μὲν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν οὐ συνῆκται, τοῖς δ' οὐ χρῶνται γιγνώσκοντες.

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 Polities, 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 and 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 criticising, 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.

[Book II.

ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Β.

ΕΠΕΙ δὲ προαιρούμεθα θεωρῆσαι περὶ τῆς κοινωνίας τῆς πολιτικῆς, ἡ κρατίστη πασῶν τοῖς δυναμένοις ζῆν ὅτι μάλιστα κατ εὐχήν, δεῖ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπισκέψασθαι πολιτείας, αἰς τε χρῶνταί τινες τῶν πόλεων τῶν εὐνομεῖσθαι λεγομένων, κὰν εἴ τινες ἔτεραι τυγχάνωσιν ὑπὸ τινῶν εἰρημέναι καὶ δοκοῦσαι καλῶς ἔχειν, ἵνα τό τ' ὀρθῶς ἔχον ὀθθῆ καὶ τὸ χρήσιμον, ἔτι δὲ τὸ ζητεῖν τι παρ' αὐτὰς ἔτερον μὴ δοκῆ πάντως εἶναι σοφίζεσθαι βουλομένων, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μὴ καλῶς ἔχειν ταύτας τὰς νῦν ὑπαρχούσας, διὰ τοῦτο ταύτην δοκῶμεν ἐπιβαλέσθαι τὴν μέθοδον. ᾿Αρχὴν δὲ πρῶτον 2 ποιητέον ἤπερ πέψυκεν ἀρχὴ ταύτης τῆς σκέψεως. ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἤτοι πάντας πάντων κοινωνεῖν τοὺς πολίτας, ἡ μηδενός, ἡ τινῶν μὲν τινῶν δὲ μή. τὸ μὲν οὖν μηδενὸς κοινωνεῖν φανερὸν ὡς ἀδύνατον ἡ γὰρ πολιτεία κοινωνία τίς ἐστι, καὶ πρῶτον ἀνάγκη τοῦ τόπου κοινωνεῖν ὁ μὲν γὰρ τόπος εἶς

Plato's Republic.

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

σοφίζεσθαι] '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 ἐπιβαλέσθαι] 'to have taken upon us this branch of our enquiry.'

2 ἀνάγκη γάρ] 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?

δ μὲν γὰρ τόπος εἶς δ τῆς μῶς 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

Property. ρωσιν γὰρ τ
ταύτης ἐγένετ
μένης τῆς βος,
ὧν ἐπλεόναζος
καροίς. οὐ ς
ἀναγκαίων ο
πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτ
αὐτὸ ὁν εἶχε τ
σίδηρος καὶ ἄ
πρῶτον ἀπλῶς
ταῖον καὶ χα

and as equivalent to X. 4, and to the $\mu\epsilon$ same section.

els ἀναπλήρωσιν]
previous want felt;
Eth. x. iii. 6. p. 1173
τῆς κατὰ φύσιν α
needed to enable man
completeness, to grati
wants'—a state wh
φύσιν he is conceive
tained. Compare th
κατὰ φύσιν έξεως, Ε΄

7 ταύτης] is the τική—ἐκείνη is the κατὰ λόγον, by a nata a logical consequence other kind.' Compart 1100, 23. τελευτήσαντ ξενικωτέρας] 'more ἐξ ἀνάγκης] Some

1153, 14.

absolutely indispensation 8 οὐ γάρ, κ.τ.λ.]
portable was require commodities being verthis respect.'

δτῶν χρησίμων, self was something u purposes of life, and manageable.'

μεγέθει καὶ στα θ_P

THE THE PARTY

μέντοι δραμα Θάλεω καὶ τοῦτο ταὐτόν ἐστιν· ἀμφοτεροι Property. γάρ έαυτοῖς ἐτέχνασαν γενέσθαι μονοπωλίαν. Χρήσιμον 13 📭 γνωρίζειν ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς πολιτικοῖς πολλαῖς γὰρ κόλεσι δεῖ χρηματισμοῦ καὶ τοιούτων πόρων, ὧσπερ οἰκία, μᾶλλον δέ. διόπερ τινές καὶ πολιτεύονται τῶν πολιτευμένων ταῦτα μόνον.

Έπεὶ δὲ τρία μέρη τῆς οἰκονομικῆς ἦν, ἐν μὲν δεσπο-Ι2 ική, περὶ ἦς εἴρηται πρότερον, εν δὲ πατρική, τρίτον δὲ The Family γαμική· καὶ γὰρ γυναικὸς ἄρχειν καὶ τέκνων, ὡς ἐλευθέρων κὲν ἀμφοῖν, οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀλλὰ γυ- 1259 Β αικὸς μὲν πολιτικῶς, τέκνων δὲ βασιλικῶς τό τε γὰρ έρρεν Φύσει τοῦ θήλεος ήγεμονικώτερον, εἰ μή που συνέτηχε παρά Φύσιν, καὶ τὸ πρεσβύτερον καὶ τέλειον τοῦ εωτέρου καὶ ἀτελοῦς. Ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς πολιτικαῖς ἀρχαῖς 2 αῖς πλείσταις μεταβάλλει τὸ ἄρχον καὶ τὸ ἀρχόμενον· ἐξ του γάρ είναι βούλεται τὴν Φύσιν καὶ διαφέρειν μηθέν. μως δέ, όταν τὸ μὲν ἄρχη τὸ δ' ἄρχηται, ζητεῖ διαφορὰν ναι καὶ σχήμασι καὶ λόγοις καὶ τιμαῖς, ὧσπερ καὶ "Αμασις πε τὸν περὶ τοῦ ποδανιπτῆρος λόγον. τὸ δ' ἄρρεν ἀεὶ 3

13 'Some statesmen even limit their otion of statesmanship to this point." he importance of correct financial rangements made itself felt even in be ancient world. It has come with s to be so prominent that financial bility is almost the only one popuarly recognised, and has a very undue hare of honour paid to it.

XIL 1 enel 86] The apodosis to this Schneider finds at the beginning of the next chapter, parepor roirur, and rightly.

τρία μέρη ήν] Ch. III. § 1.

άρχειν] supply ήν μέρος, as Klotz suggests.

πολιτικώς] ώς έλευθέρας καί ίσης.

τό τε γάρ 'There must be some rule in both cases, for, &c.'

ei μή που συνίστηκεν, κ.τ.λ.] 'putting aside exceptional cases which exist.'

2 èν μèν οδν, κ.τ.λ.] This is introduced to qualify the modifices. 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.

ζητεί] Impersonal—on cherche. 'It is an object that there should be a difference.'

σχήμασι] 'the insignia of office.'

'Aμασις | Herod. 11. 172.

3 αεί] και οὐκ ἐκ μεταβολῆς.

Property. τοῦ Μιλησίου τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι κατανόημά τι χρηματιστικόν, άλλ' ἐκείνω μὲν διὰ τὴν σοφίαν προσάπτουσι, τυγχάνει 9 δε καθόλου τι όν. ονειδιζόντων γαρ αυτώ δια την πενίαν ως ανωφελούς της φιλοσοφίας ούσης, κατανοήσαντά φασιν αὐτὸν ἐλαιῶν Φορὰν ἐσομένην ἐχ τῆς ἀστρολογίας, ἔτι χειμώνος όντος, εύπορήσαντα χρημάτων όλίγων άρραβώνας ε διαδούναι τῶν ἐλαιουργίων τῶν τ' ἐν Μιλήτω καὶ Χίω πάντων, ολίγου μισθωσάμενον ατ' ούθενος έπιβάλλοντος έπειδή δ' δ καιρδς ήκε, πολλῶν ζητουμένων ἄμα καὶ ἐξαίφνης, ἐκμισθοῦντα δυ τρόπου ήβούλετο, πολλά χρήματα συλλέξαντα έπιδείξαι δτι ράδιον έστι πλουτείν τοίς ΦιλοσόΦοις, αν 10 βούλωνται, άλλ' οὐ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ περὶ δ σπουδάζουσιν. Θαλῆς μεν οὖν λέγεται τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐπίδειξιν ποιήσασθαι της σοφίας έστι δ', ιύσπερ είπομεν, καθόλου τὸ τοιούτον γρηματιστικόν, εάν τις δύνηται μονοπωλίαν αύτῷ κατασκευάζειν. διὸ καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἔνιαι τοῦτον ποιοῦνται τὸν πόρον, δταν απορῶσι χρημάτων μονοπωλίαν γὰρ τῶν ωνίων ποι-- 11 οῦσιν. Ἐν Σικελία δέ τις τεθέντος παρ' αὐτῷ νομίσματος συνεπρίατο πάντα τον σίδηρον έκ τῶν σιδηρείων, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ως άφίκοντο ἐκ τῶν ἐμπορίων οἱ ἔμποροι, ἐπώλει μόνος, οὐ πολλην ποιήσας ὑπερβολην της τιμης άλλ' δμως 12 έπὶ τοῖς πεντήκοντα ταλάντοις ἐπέλαβεν ἐκατόν. μεν ουν ο Διονύσιος αισθόμενος τα μεν χρήματα εκέλευσεν έκκομίσασθαι, μη μέντοι γ' έτι μένειν έν Συρακούσαις, ώς πόρους ευρίσκοντα τοῖς αὐτοῦ πράγμασιν ἀσυμφόρους. τὸ

> κατανόημά τι χρηματιστικόν] "une speculation lucrative," St Hil.; rather, 'a money-making device.'

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

9 ἀνωφελοῦς] Compare Eth. VI. vii. 5. p. 1141, b. 5: Θαλῆν καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους σόφους μέν, φρονίμους δ' οὐ φασιν εἶναι, ὅταν ιδωσιν ἀγνοοῦντας τὰ συμφέρονθ' ἐαυτοῖς, κ.τ.λ.

κατανοήσαντα έκ της άστρολογίας. άρραβώνας] 'deposit of money,' 'arrhes.

ἐλαιουργίων] = ἐλαιουργείων, Liddell and Scott, 'oil-presses.'

ἐπιβάλλοντος] 'raising the price.'

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

II οὐ πολλὴν ποιήσας, κ.τ.λ.] 'without raising the price much.'

inl τοîs πεντήκοντα] For his 50 talents he got 150: 200 per cent. profit.

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XII. I ἐπεὶ δέ] The apodosis to this Schneider finds at the beginning of the next chapter, φανερόν τοίνυν, and rightly.

τρία μέρη ήν] Ch. III. § 1.

ἄρχειν] supply ἢν μέρος, as Klotz suggests.

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 $\tau \delta \tau \epsilon \gamma d\rho$] 'There must be some rule in both cases, for, &c.'

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 $\sigma\chi\eta\mu\alpha\sigma\iota$] 'the insignia of office.'

'Aμασις Herod. 11. 172.

3 αεί και οὐκ ἐκ μεταβολής.

Τhe Family πρὸς τὸ θῆλυ τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον. ἡ δὲ τῶν τέκνων Relations.

ἀρχὴ βασιλική τὸ γὰρ γεννῆσαν καὶ κατὰ Φιλίαν ἄρχον καὶ κατὰ πρεσβείαν ἐστίν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ βασιλικῆς εἶδος ἀρχῆς. διὸ καλῶς Ὁμηρος τὸν Δία προσηγόρευσεν εἰπῶν πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε,

τὸν βασιλέα τούτων ἀπάντων. Φύσει γὰρ τὸν βασιλέα διαφέρειν μὲν δεῖ, τῷ γένει δ' εἶναι τὸν αὐτόν· ὅπερ πέπονθε τὸ πρεσβύτερον πρὸς τὸ νεώτερον καὶ ὁ γεννήσας πρὸς τὸ τέκνον.

3 Φανερὸν τοίνυν ὅτι πλείων ἡ σπουδὴ τῆς οἰκονομίας περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἢ περὶ τὴν τῶν ἀψύχων κτῆσιν, καὶ περὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τούτων ἢ περὶ τὴν τῆς κτήσεως, ὅν καλοῦ-μεν πλοῦτον, καὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων μᾶλλον ἢ δούλων. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν περὶ δούλων ἀπορήσειεν ἄν τις, πότερόν ἐστιν ἀρετή τις δούλου παρὰ τὰς ὀργανικὰς καὶ διακονικὰς ἄλλη τιμιωτέρα τούτων, οἶον σωφροσύνη καὶ ἀνδρία καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων ἔξεων, ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεμία παρὰ τὰς σωματικὰς ὑπηρεσίας. ἔχει γὰρ ἀπορίαν ἐἰτε μή ἐστιν ὄντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ λόγου κοινωνούντων, ἄτοπον. σχεδὸν δὲ ταὐτόν ἐστι τὸ ζητούμενον καὶ περὶ γυναικὸς καὶ παιδός, πότερα καὶ τούτων εἰσὶν ἀρεταί, καὶ δεῖ τὴν γυναῖκα εἶναι σώφρονα καὶ ἀνδρείαν καὶ δικαίαν, καὶ παῖς ἐστὶ καὶ ἀκόλαστος καὶ σώφρων, ἢ οὖ; καὶ καθόλου

βασιλική] Eth. VIII. xii. 4. p. 1160. B. 24.

πατήρ, κ.τ.λ.] Il. 1. 544. 'After calling him πατήρ, κ.τ.λ., he added the term τὸν βασιλέα.' προσηγόρευσεν, laying stress on the preposition.

φύσει γάρ] '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.

ΧΙΙΙ, Ι την άρετην τούτων] εc. των

άνθρώπων.

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 τὰς ὀργανικὰς καὶ διακονικάς]
'Beside his excellence as an instrument and a servant.'

τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων ἔξεων] supply τις, from οὐδεμία. Göttling.

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

καὶ ἀκόλαστος] It must be allowed that the child is ἀκόλαστος in one

sense. Eth. III. xv. 5. p. 1119. B. 5. Is he not only ἀκόλαστος, but also σώφρων? Are we, that is, to determine the sense which we attach to the former epithet by that which we generally attach to the latter, and say that he is capable of reaching the lowest and highest moral condition?

4 δή] This reading is quite right. As we have had mentioned the three who are naturally under rule, the slave, the wife, and the child, it follows that the enquiry extends to the whole class which they form. The question is a parallel one to that discussed in III. 4: Have the citizen and the ruler the same excellence? Here it is not the πολίτης but the ἀρχόμενος φύσει.

καθάπαξ] perpetuo, Victorius, 'once for all;' "à jamais," St Hil.

obbl γ4ρ, κ.τ.λ.] The difference in degree implies sameness in kind. But here, as so often in the work, it must be remembered that the statement is apprematic, that is, forms part of a discussion, so that it will not warrant a direct inference as to Aristotle's

view on the subject.

5 τον μέν δεί] ες. μετέχειν καλοκάγαθίας, των φύσει άρχομένων, ες. εἰσι διαφοραί.

6 ὑφήγηται] "C'est ce que nous avons déjà dit," is St. Hilaire's translation. Schneider supplies φύσις. Heinsius, as quoted by Schneider, agrees with St Hilaire. " Und darauf wird man gleich von vorn herein bei der Seele hingeführt." Stahr. No one of these is satisfactory. 'And this at once suggests to us to look at the soul and its constitution, and see whether we cannot get some light there: Are there not in the soul parts with a relation to one another? and what is the excellence of these parts?is it the same or different? why there we allow it to be different.' So I interpret the passage. Compare Œc. 1. iv. I. p. 1344, IO: τοῦθ' ὑφηγεῖται δέ και ό κοινός νόμος.

olor] used here as Ch. VII. 5, olor ή δικαία, simply as explaining τὸ ἄρχον καὶ τὸ ἀρχόμενον; and the genitive is explained by the δν.

δήλον τοίνυν, κ.τ.λ.] guided by this

The Family νυν ότι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἔχει καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὥστε Φύσει τὰ πλείω ἄρχοντα καὶ ἀρχόμενα. ἄλλον γὰρ τρό-7 πον τὸ ἐλεύθερον τοῦ δούλου ἄρχει καὶ τὸ ἄρρεν τοῦ θήλεος καὶ ἀνὴρ παιδός καὶ πᾶσιν ἐνυπάρχει μὲν τὰ μόρια τῆς ψυχής, άλλ' ένυπάρχει διαφερόντως. δ μέν γάρ δοῦλος όλως ούκ έχει τὸ βουλευτικόν, τὸ δὲ θῆλυ έχει μέν, ἀλλ' 8 ἄχυρον' ὁ δὲ παῖς ἔχει μέν, ἀλλ' ἀτελές. ὁμοίως τοίνυν άναγχαῖον ἔχειν καὶ περὶ τὰς ήθικὰς ἀρετάς ὑποληπτέον δεῖν μεν μετέχειν πάντας, άλλ' οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, άλλ' ὅσον έκάστω πρός τὸ αύτοῦ ἔργον. διὸ τὸν μὲν ἄρχοντα τελέαν έχειν δεῖ τὴν ήθικὴν ἀρετήν (τὸ γὰρ ἔργον ἐστὶν ἀπλῶς τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος, ὁ δὲ λόγος ἀρχιτέκτων), τῶν δ' ἄλλων 9 εκαστον, δσον επιβάλλει αὐτοῖς. ωστε Φανερον ὅτι ἐστὶν ήθική άρετη τῶν εἰρημένων πάντων, καὶ οὐχ ή αὐτή σωφροσύνη γυναικός και άνδρός, οὐδ άνδρία και δικαιοσύνη, καθάπερ ῷετο Σωκράτης, ἀλλ' ή μεν ἀρχική ἀνδρία, ή δ' ὑπη-10 ρετική. ὁμοίως δ' έχει καὶ π ερὶ τὰς ἄλλας. Δ ῆλον δὲ τοῦτο καὶ κατὰ μέρος μᾶλλον ἐπισκοποῦσιν καθόλου γὰρ οί λέγοντες έξαπατῶσιν έαυτούς, ὅτι τὸ εὖ ἔχειν τὴν ψυχην άρετη, η τὸ όρθοπραγεῖν, η τι τῶν τοιούτων πολὺ γαρ αμεινον λέγουσιν οἱ εξαριθμοῦντες τας αρετάς, ωσπερ

> parallel we may consider clear the other case which we were discussing, and all similar cases.

> ώστε φύσει τὰ πλείω] 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, άλλον γὰρ τρόπον, κ.τ.λ.

> 7 δ μέν γάρ 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, incom

plete.

8 έκάστφ] 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 φρόνησιs. Compare below, III. 4. This is ἡθική ἀρετή τελέα, the perfect combination of the moral and the intellectual elements of virtue. Eth. vi. xiii.

åπλωs] 'strictly.'

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

10 κατά μέρος] 'in detail.'

καθόλου γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] Compare Eth. 11. vii. 1. p. 1107, 29: ἐν τοῖς περί τὰς πράξεις λόγοις οἱ μὲν καθόλου κενώτεροί είσιν, οί δ' έπλ μέρους άληθινώτεροι.

Γοργίας, των ούτως ὁριζομένων. διὸ δεῖ, ώσπερ ὁ ποιητής The Family είρηκε περί γυναικός, ούτω νομίζειν έχειν περί πάντων.

γυναικί κόσμον ή σιγή φέρει,

άλλ' άνδρι οὐκέτι τοῦτο. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ παῖς ἀτελής, δῆλον ότι τούτου μεν και ή άρετη ούκ αύτοῦ προς αύτόν έστιν, άλλα πρός του τέλειου καὶ του ήγούμενου, όμοίως δε καὶ τε δούλου πρός δεσπότην. ἔθεμεν δὲ πρός ταναγκαῖα γρήσιμον είναι τον δοῦλον, ώστε δήλον ότι καὶ άρετης δείται μικράς, και τοσαύτης όπως μήτε δι' ακολασίαν μήτε διά δειλίαν έλλείψη τῶν ἔργων. ᾿Απορήσειε δ᾽ ἄν τις, τὸ νῦν είρημένον εἰ ἀληθές, άρα καὶ τοὺς τεχνίτας δεήσει ἔχειν άρετήν τολλάκις γὰρ δι' άκολασίαν έλλείπουσι τῶν ἔργων. ή διαφέρει τοῦτο πλεῖστον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ δοῦλος κοινωνὸς 13 ζωής, ὁ δὲ πορρώτερον, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπιβάλλει ἀρετής δσον περ καλ δουλείας • δ γάρ βάναυσος τεχνίτης άφωρισ- 1260 Β μένην τινά έχει δουλείαν καὶ ὁ μὲν δοῦλος τῶν Φύσει, σκυτοτόμος δ' οὐθείς, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνιτῶν. Φανερὸν 14 τοίνυν ότι της τοιαύτης άρετης αίτιον είναι δει τῷ δούλω τὸν δεσπότην, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν διδασκαλικὴν ἔχοντα τῶν ἔργων

ΙΙ πάντων] ες. τῶν ἄλλων. yuvanki Kóghov] Soph. Aj. 293.

erel 5', K.T.A.] Since the child is incomplete, his excellence as well as himself will be incomplete (kal h aperfi); both will have reference to the perfect, full-grown man, under whose guidance he is.

12 τοσαύτης] 'only so much.'

 $d\rho\alpha$ $\kappa\alpha i$, $\kappa.\tau.\lambda.$] 'will it not be necessary for the artisans to have virtue?'

13 ή διαφέρει τουτο 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 ανευ οἰκονομίας, ανευ wodirelas, and as being so cannot secure his own real good. Compare Eth. 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 τοιαότης] Such as it was stated in § 12 before the question occurred as to the artisan.

άλλ' οὐ τήν, κ.τ.λ.] More fully this would stand την δεσποτικήν την διδασκαλικήν τῶν ἔργων.

The Family δεσποτικήν. διὸ λέγουσιν οὐ καλῶς οἱ λόγου τοὺς δούλους - αποστεροῦντες καὶ φάσκοντες ἐπιτάξει χρῆσθαι μόνον · νουθετητέον γὰρ μᾶλλον τοὺς δούλους ἡ τοὺς παῖδας.

'Αλλά περί μεν τούτων διωρίσθω του τρόπου τοῦτου. περί δε ανδρός και γυναικός και τέκνων και πατρός, της τε περί εκαστον αὐτῶν ἀρετῆς, καὶ τῆς πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὁμιλίας, τί τὸ καλῶς καὶ μὴ καλῶς ἐστί, καὶ πῶς δεῖ τὸ μὲν εὖ διώχειν τὸ δὲ κακῶς Φεύγειν, ἐν τοῖς περὶ* πολιτείας άναγκαῖον ἐπελθεῖν· ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἰκία μὲν πᾶσα μέρος πόλεως, ταῦτα δ' οἰκίας, τὴν δὲ τοῦ μέρους πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὅλου δεῖ βλέπειν άρετήν, άναγκαῖον πρός την πολιτείαν βλέποντας παιδεύειν και τους παϊδας και τας γυναϊκας, είπερ τι δια-Φέρει πρός το την πόλιν είναι σπουδαίαν και τους παιδας 16 είναι σπουδαίους και τὰς γυναϊκας σπουδαίας. ἀναγκαῖον δὲ διαφέρειν αι μὲν γὰρ γυναῖκες ημισυ μέρος τῶν ἐλευθέρων, έχ δε των παίδων οι χοινωνοί γίνονται της πολιτείας. 📆 στ' έπεὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων διώρισται, περὶ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν έν ἄλλοις λεκτέον, ἀφέντες ώς τέλος ἔχοντας τοὺς νῦν λόγους, άλλην άρχην ποιησάμενοι λέγωμεν, καὶ πρῶτον ἐπισκεψώμεθα περί τῶν ἀποφηναμένων περί τῆς πολιτείας τῆς αρίστης.

· Bekker vás.

5.6] 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.

τί τὸ καλῶς] sc. δμιλεῖν.

περὶ τὰs πολιτείαs] Bekker retains the article. Nickes rejects it, and with good ground. Compare III. I. περὶ οἰκονομίαs, and III. i. I. τῷ περὶ πολιτείας ἐπισκοποῦντι.

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

16 αφέντες, κ.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 Phaleas 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 lawgivers 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 ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι χρὴ προσέχειν τῷ πολλῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν, ἐν οἶς οὐκ ἀν ἔλαθεν εἰ ταῦτα καλῶς εἶχεν πάντα γὰρ σχεδὸν εὕρηται μὲν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν οὐ συνῆκται, τοῖς δ' οὐ χρῶνται γιγνώσκοντες.

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 Polities, 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 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 and 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 criticising, 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.

ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Β.

ΕΠΕΙ δὲ προαιρούμεθα θεωρῆσαι περὶ τῆς κοινωνίας τῆς πολιτικῆς, ἡ κρατίστη πασῶν τοῖς δυναμένοις ζῆν ὅτι μάλιστα κατ' εὐχήν, δεῖ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπισκέψασθαι πολιτείας, αἰς τε χρῶνταί τινες τῶν πόλεων τῶν εὐνομεῖσθαι λεγομένων, κὰν εἴ τινες ἔτεραι τυγχάνωσιν ὑπὸ τινῶν εἰρημέναι καὶ δοκοῦσαι καλῶς ἔχειν, ἵνα τό τ' ὀρθῶς ἔχον ὀφθῆ καὶ τὸ χρήσιμον, ἔτι δὲ τὸ ζητεῖν τι παρ' αὐτὰς ἔτερον μὴ δοκῆ πάντως εἶναι σοφίζεσθαι βουλομένων, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μὴ καλῶς ἔχειν ταύτας τὰς νῦν ὑπαρχούσας, διὰ τοῦτο ταύτην δοκῶμεν ἐπιβαλέσθαι τὴν μέθοδον. ᾿Αρχὴν δὲ πρῶτον 2 ποιητέον ἤπερ πέφυκεν ἀρχὴ ταύτης τῆς σκέψεως. ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἤτοι πάντας πάντων κοινωνεῖν τοὺς πολίτας, ἡ μηδενός, ἡ τινῶν μὲν τινῶν δὲ μή. τὸ μὲν οὖν μηδενὸς κοινωνεῖν φανερὸν ὡς ἀδύνατον ἡ γὰρ πολιτεία κοινωνία τίς ἐστι, καὶ πρῶτον ἀνάγκη τοῦ τόπου κοινωνεῖν ὁ μὲν γὰρ τόπος εἶς

Plato's Republic.

I. 1 προαιρούμεθα θεωρῆσαι, κ.τ.λ.] This, as Spengel remarks, shows that Aristotle had the intention of himself constructing a constitution, as Plato and Phaleas had done. Spengel's remarks on the general object of the book are very good, and his short essay, Ueber die Politik von Aristoteles, published in the Abhandlungen of the Munich Academy of Sciences, is throughout very valuable.

σοφίζεσθαι] '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 την μέθοδον ἐπιβαλέσθαι] 'to have taken upon us this branch of our enquiry.'

2 ἀνάγκη γάρ] 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?

δ μέν γὰρ τόπος «Is δ τῆς μιᾶς 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

Plato's Republic.

ό της μιας πόλεως, οἱ δὲ πολίται κοινωνοὶ της μιας πόλεως. άλλὰ πότερον όσων ἐνδέχεται κοινωνῆσαι, πάντων οι βέλτιον κοινωνείν την μέλλουσαν οἰκήσεσθαι πόλιν καλῶς, ή τινών μεν τινών δ' οὐ βέλτιον; ενδέχεται γάρ καὶ τεκνών καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ κτημάτων κοινωνεῖν τοὺς πολίτας ἀλλήλαις, ωσπερ εν τη πολιτεία τη Πλάτωνος εκεί γαρ δ Σωκράτης Φησί δείν κοινά τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναϊκας είναι και τας κτήσεις. τοῦτο δη πότερον ώς νῦν οῦτω βέλτιον έχειν, ή κατά τὸν ἐν τῆ πολιτεία γεγραμμένον νόμον; 2 Εχει δε δυσχερείας άλλας τε πολλάς το πάντων είναι τάς γυναϊκας κοινάς, και δι' ην αιτίαν Φησι δείν νενομοθετησθαι τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ὁ Σωκράτης, οὐ Φαίνεται συμβαϊνον ἐκ τῶν λόγων. ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τὸ τέλος δ Φησι τῆ πόλει δεῖν ύπάρχειν, ως μεν είρηται νῦν, ἀδύνατον, πῶς δὲ δεῖ διελεῖν. 2 οὐδὲν διώρισται. λέγω δὲ τὸ μίαν είναι τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν ως άριστον δτι μάλιστα. λαμβάνει γὰρ ταύτην ὑπόθεσιν ὁ Σωκράτης. καίτοι Φανερόν έστιν ώς προϊούσα καλ γινομένη μία μᾶλλον οὐδὲ πύλις ἔσται πληθος γάρ τι τὴν

keeping with the whole Greek view of a city as given in I. ii. 8 and foll.; and see the notes there.

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

ἐνδέχεται γάρ] 'For it is at any rate possible.'

ώς νῦν οὅτω βέλτων] Is the actual practice really better for men, or shall we adopt Plato's view? This is the point.

II. I di' he alriae] '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 $\lambda \epsilon \gamma \omega \delta \epsilon$, $\kappa.\tau.\lambda$.] '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. Mere unity is not the object.

 $\pi\lambda\hat{\eta}\theta\sigma s \gamma d\rho \tau i$, $\kappa.\tau.\lambda$.] '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 redescend in the scale, and reapproach the individual, you get more unity.

φύσιν ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις, γινομένη τε μία μᾶλλον οἰκία μὲν ἐκ πόλεως, ἄνθρωπος δ' ἐξ οἰκίας ἔσται· μᾶλλον γὰρ μίαν τὴν οἰκίαν τῆς πόλεως Φαίημεν ἄν, καὶ τὸν ἔνα τῆς οἰκίας τὴν οἰκίαν τῆς πόλεως Φαίημεν ἄν, καὶ τὸν ἔνα τῆς οἰκίας τὴν πόλιν. οὐ μόνον δ' ἐκ πλειόνων ἀνθρώπων 3 ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ εἴδει διαφερόντων· οὐ γὰρ γίνεται πόλις ἐξ ὁμοίων. ἔτερον γὰρ συμμαχία καὶ πόλις · τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῷ ποσῷ χρήσιμον, κᾶν ἢ τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ εἴδει· βοηθείας γὰρ χάριν ἡ συμμαχία πέφυκεν· ὥσπερ ἀν εἰ σταθμὸς πλεῖον ἐλκύση. διοίσει δὲ τῷ τοιούτῷ καὶ πόλις ἔθνους, ὅταν μὴ κατὰ κώμας ὧσι κεχωρισμένοι τὸ πλῆθος ἀλλὶ οἶον ᾿Αρκάδες. ἐξ ὧν δὲ δεῖ ἕν γενέσθαι, εἴδει διαφέρει. Διό- 4 περ τὸ ἴσον τὸ ἀντιπεπονθὸς σώζει τὰς πόλεις, ὥσπερ ἐν

3 But it is not merely number that is implied in the idea of a state (πλήθος τι, ἐκ πλειόνων), 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.

ού γὰρ γίνεται πόλις ἐξ όμοίων] Comparo Είλ. v. viii. 8-9. p. 1133, 16, οὐ γὰρ ἐκ δόο ἰατρῶν γίνεται κοινωνία... ἀλλ' δλως ἐτέρων καὶ οὐκ ἴσων.

τῷ τοσῷ χρήσιμον] 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.

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

Eστερ &ν εί] 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'emporte toujours le plateau le plus chargé.' St Hil.

τῷ τοιούτψ] ΒC, τῷ εἶναι ἐξ εἴδει διαφερόντων καὶ μὴ ἐξ ὁμοίων.

δταν μη, κ.τ.λ.] The change which took place in Arcadia by the founda-

tion of Megalopolis, and the consequent centralisation of the Arcadians, was in effect the change from a tribe into a state, an έθνος into a πόλις. It was the latest instance of such an event, of a συνοίκισις.

 $\ell\xi$ $\delta\nu$ $\delta\ell$] This $\delta\ell$ answers to the $\mu\ell\nu$ in $\tau\delta$ $\mu\ell\nu$ $\gamma\lambda\rho$ $\tau\hat{\phi}$ $\pi\sigma\sigma\hat{\phi}$. 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 διόπερ, 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, B. 33, τφ ἀντιποιεῖν γὰρ ἀνάλογον συμμένει ἡ πόλιο, κ.τ.λ.

Republic.

τοῖς ήθικοῖς εἴρηται πρότερον ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐλευθέροις καὶ ἴσοις ἀνάγκη τοῦτ' εἶναι· ἄμα γὰρ οὐχ οἶόν τε πάντας άρχειν, άλλ' ή κατ ένιαυτον ή κατά τινα άλλην τάξιν ή 5 γρόνον. καλ συμβαίνει δή τον τρόπον τοῦτον ώστε πάντας άρχειν, ώσπερ αν εί μετέβαλλον οί σχυτείς καί οί τέχτονες 6 καὶ μὴ οἱ αὐτοὶ ἀεὶ σκυτοτόμοι καὶ τέκτονες ἦσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ βέλτιον οῦτως ἔχειν, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν τὴν πολι-1261 Β τικήν δήλον ώς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀεὶ βέλτιον ἄρχειν, εἰ δυνατόν έν οίς δε μη δυνατόν διά το την Φύσιν ίσους είναι πάντας, αμα δε και δίκαιον, είτ' άγαθον είτε Φαῦλον τὸ άρχειν, πάντας αὐτοῦ μετέχειν, ἐν τούτοις δὲ μιμεῖσθαι τὸ ἐν μέρει η τους Ισους είχειν όμοίως τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄρχουσιν οἱ δ' ἄρχονται παρὰ μέρος, ὥσπερ ᾶν ἄλλοι γενόμενοι. τον αύτον δη τρόπον άρχόντων ετεροι ετέρας άρχουσιν

έν τοῖς ἡθικοῖς] Is not this reference doubtful? Is not the *porepor sufficient exactness for Aristotle?

και έν τοις, κ.τ.λ.] 'Since even in the free and equal,' who are as much alike as possible, 'there must necessarily be this,' sc. to artimemoreds. With such there must be an interchange, and power must be held by them in turns on some definite principle.

5 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 When all are in nature attainable. 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.

6 ούτως] Βς. ἀεὶ τοὺς αὐτούς.

Exem I put a comma after this, and make the apodosis begin with 'so too in regard to political society, it is clear that it is better, &c.

ἐν τούτοις δέ, κ.τ.λ.] This passage seems to me hopeless as it stands. The best sense I can make of it is as follows; ' ἐν τούτοις δέ, in these cases then (the & marking the apodosis) 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 to for to, but the same sense may be extracted from the τό by making the whole clause the subject of μιμείσθαι.

7 of $\mu \in \gamma d\rho$, $\kappa.\tau.\lambda$.] 'For so the one rule, and the others are ruled in turn, and for the time they are considered to be different.'

άλλοι γενόμενοι] For the expression compare Eth. IX. iv. 4. p. 1166, 20.

τον αυτον δη τρόπον, κ.τ.λ.] 'Whilst then they exercise their power on the same principles, the particular offices they hold will be different in each άρχάς. Φανερον τοίνυν ἐκ τούτων ὡς οὖτε πέφυκε μίαν οὖτως εἶναι τὴν πόλιν ὧσπερ λέγουσί τινες, καὶ τὸ λεχθὲν · ως μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὅτι τὰς πόλεις ἀναιρεῖ καίτοι τό γε ἐκάστου ἀγαθὸν σώζει ἔκαστον. ἔΕστι δὲ καὶ 8 κατ ἄλλον τρόπον φανερὸν ὅτι τὸ λίαν ἐνοῦν ζητεῖν τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἔστιν ἄμεινον. οἰκία μὲν γὰρ αὐταρκέστερον ἐνός, πόλις δ' οἰκίας καὶ βούλεταί γ' ἤδη τότε εἶναι πόλις, ὅταν αὐτάρκη συμβαίνη τὴν κοινωνίαν εἶναι τοῦ πλήθους. εἶπερ οὖν αἰρετώτερον τὸ αὐταρκέστερον, καὶ τὸ ἦττον ἐν τοῦ μᾶλλον αἰρετώτερον.

'Αλλά μὴν οὐδ' εἰ τοῦτο ἄριστόν ἐστι, τὸ μίαν ὅτι μά- 3 λιστ' εἶναι τὴν κοινωνίαν, οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἀποδείκνυσθαι Φαίνεται κατὰ τὸν λόγον, ἐὰν πάντες ἄμα λέγωσι τὸ ἐμὸν καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐμόν· τοῦτο γὰρ οἴεται ὁ Σωκράτης σημεῖον εἶναι τοῦ τὴν πόλιν τελέως εἶναι μίαν. τὸ γὰρ πάντες διττόν. εἰ μὲν ² οὖν ὡς ἕκαστος, τάχ' ἀν εἶη μᾶλλον ὁ βούλεται ποιεῖν ὁ Σωκράτης· ἔκαστος γὰρ υἱὸν ἑαυτοῦ Φήσει τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ γυναῖκα δὴ τὴν αὐτήν, καὶ περὶ τῆς οὐσίας καὶ περὶ ἐκάστου δὴ τῶν συμβαινόντων ὡσαύτως. νῦν δ' οὐχ οῦτω Φήσουσιν οἱ κοιναῖς χρώμενοι ταῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις, ἀλλὰ πάντες μέν, οὐχ ὡς ἕκαστος δ' αὐτῶν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν 3

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

φανερὸν τοίννν] This resumes the main thread of the discussion, which has been interrupted by the passage from διόπερ το ίσεν to άρχουσιν άρχάς. 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. 11. 5, and foll.

καὶ βούλεταί γ' ήδη πότε] '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?

οὐδὰ τοῦτ' ἀποδείκνυσθαι] or as in II.

I. οὸ φαίνεται συμβαῖνον] 'It is evident that not even this is proved to be the result in theory of all saying, &c.'

2 &s Exactos] distributively, 'all and each.'

rûr δέ] 'But in the case before us.'
πάντες μὲν, οὺχ ὡς ἔκαστος δέ] 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 το γαρ παντες και αμφότερα, 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.'

έριστικούs συλλογισμούs] 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.

5.6] 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 clear 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 mean-

ing 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 ἐκάστφ 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.'

Eτι οδτως, κ.τ.λ.] This is very hard. Is the οδτως to be taken as referring to Plato's system, is it retrospective?— or is it prospective, an anticipation in fact of the τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον? 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.

λέγει τὸν εὖ πράττοντα τῶν πολιτῶν ἡ κακῶς, ὁπόστος Plato's τυγχάνει τὸν ἀριθμὸν ιὖν, οδον ἐμὸς ἡ τοῦ δεῖνος, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον λέγων καθ' ἔκαστον τῶν χιλίων, ἢ ὅσων ἡ πόλις έστί, καὶ τοῦτο διστάζων ἄδηλον γὰρ ῷ συνέβη γενέσθαι τέχνον καὶ σωθηναι γενόμενον. καίτοι πότερον οὖτω κρεῖτ- 6 τον τὸ ἐμὸν λέγειν ἕκαστον, τὸ αὐτὸ μὲν προσαγορεύοντας δισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων, ἡ μᾶλλον ώς νῦν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τὸ έμὸν λέγουσιν; ὁ μὲν γὰρ υίὸν αύτοῦ ὁ δ' άδελφὸν αύτοῦ 7 προσαγορεύει τον αὐτόν, ο δ' ἀνεψιόν, ή κατ' ἄλλην τινὰ συγγένειαν, ή πρός αίματος, ή κατ' οἰκειότητα καὶ κηδείαν αύτοῦ πρῶτον ἢ τῶν αύτοῦ, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἔτερον Φράτορα ή Φυλέτην κρεῖττον γὰρ ἴδιον ἀνεψιὸν είναι ή τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον υίον. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ διαφυγεῖν δυνατὸν τὸ μή ε τινας ύπολαμβάνειν έαυτῶν ἀδελΦούς τε καὶ παῖδας καὶ πατέρας καὶ μητέρας κατά γάρ τὰς ὁμοιότητας αὶ γίνονται τοῖς τέχνοις πρὸς τοὺς γεννήσαντας, ἀναγκαῖον λαμβάνειν περί άλλήλων τὰς πίστεις. ὅπερ Φασί καὶ συμβαίνειν 9 τινές τῶν τὰς τῆς γῆς περιόδους πραγματευομένων εἶναι γάρ τισι τῶν ἄνω Λιβύων κοινὰς τὰς γυναῖκας, τὰ μέντοι γενόμενα τέχνα διαιρεῖσθαι κατά τὰς ὁμοιότητας. εἰσὶ δέ τινες καὶ γυναϊκες καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων, οἶον 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 so and so's (έμος ἡ τοῦ δεῦνος); 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

6 rairos, r.r.h.] '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.?

whose son if born has lived.'

7 δ μέν γάρ . . . φυλέτην] is simply explanatory of the ωs νῦν ἐν ταῖς πόλε-

σιν. The κρείττον γάρ carries on the reasoning.

πρὸς αίματος] 'by blood.'

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

τον τρόπον τοῦτον] 'The way Plato would have it.'

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

ταs πίστεις] 'convictions.'

9 τῶν ἄνω Λιβύων] Herod. IV. 180, τῷ ἀν οἴκη τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸ παιδίον, τούτου παῖς νομίζεται. Comp. for the general subject, IV. 104, the case of the Agathyrsi, and 1. 216 of the Massagetæ.

βόες, αὶ σφόδρα πεφύκασιν ὅμοια ἀποδιδόναι τὰ τέκνα Republic. τοῖς γονεῦσιν, ώσπερ ή ἐν Φαρσάλω κληθεῖσα Δικαία 4 ίππος. "Ετι δε καί τας τοιαύτας δυσχερείας ου ράδιον εύλαβηθήναι τοῖς ταύτην κατασκευάζουσι τὴν κοινωνίαν, οίον αλκίας καλ Φόνους άκουσίους καλ μάχας καλ λοιδορίας. ών ούδλυ δσιόν έστι γίνεσθαι πρός πατέρας καλ μητέρας καλ τους μη πόρρω της συγγενείας όντας, ώσπερ προς τους άπιιθεν άλλα και πλείον συμβαίνειν άναγκαίον άγνοούντων ή γναιριζόντων, και γενομένων τῶν μεν γνωριζόντων ενδέγεται τὰς νομιζομένας γίνεσθαι λύσεις, τῶν δὲ μηδεμίαν. * Ατοπον δέ και το κοινούς ποιήσαντα τούς υίους το συνείναι μόνον άφελεῖν τῶν ἐρώντων, τὸ δ' ἐρᾶν μη κωλῦσαι, μηδὲ τὰς χρήσεις τὰς ἄλλας, ᾶς πατρί πρὸς υίον είναι πάντων έστιν απρεπέστατον και άδελφω πρός άδελφόν έπει και 3 τὸ ἐρᾶν μόνον. ἄτοπον δὲ καὶ τὸ τὴν συνουσίαν ἀΦελεῖν δι' άλλην μέν αίτίαν μηδεμίαν, ώς λίαν δ' ίσχυρας της ηδονής γινομένης. ότι δ' ο μέν πατήρ ή υίος, οί δ' άδελφοί , άλληλαιν, μηθεν οξεσθαι διαφέρειν. "Εοικε δε μάλλον τοῖς ισιο η γεπιργοίς είναι χρήσιμον το κοινάς είναι τας γυναϊκας καὶ τούς παιδας ή τοις Φύλαξιν. ήττον γάρ έσται Φιλία κοινών Κυταιν τών τέχνων και των γυναικών, δει δε τοιούτους είναι τηθη προγημένους πρός το πειθαρχείν και μή νεωτερίζειν. 1"() λους δε συμβαίνειν ανάγκη τούναντίον διά του τοιούτον νήμην την προσήκει τους όρθως κειμένους νόμους αιτίους γίνεπ θαι, και δι' ήν αιτίαν ο Σωκράτης ούτως οίεται δείν * robs 80 enouglous Bekker.

Airele Years | Montioned again in

11' 1 tabe 84 decembers This seems to me superfluous, a later addition. With one MM. I should omit it.

tule ph adops the auggerelas] 'not distant in relationship.'

Ministration with the Manufer we. We exp

Assa and sample But they must both happen more frequently. Com-

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

2 and 3 The reference is to Plato, Rep. III. 403.

4 τοῖς γεωργοῖς] This depends on κοινός, not on χρήσιμον, as it would seem to do at first sight.

τοιούτους] ες. ήττον φίλους.

5 &i' he airlar] 'and the contrary of the ground alleged by Socrates for his regulation.'

55

τάττειν τὰ περὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναϊκας. Φιλίαν τε Plato's Republic. γὰρ οἰόμεθα μέγιστον είναι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ταῖς πόλεσιν (ούτω γὰρ αν ηκιστα στασιάζοιεν), καὶ τὸ μίαν είναι τὴν πόλιν επαινεί μάλισθ' ὁ Σωκράτης ο καὶ δοκεί κάκείνος είναι φησι της φιλίας έργον, καθάπερ έν τοῖς έρωτικοῖς λόγοις Ισμεν λέγοντα τὸν Αριστοφάνην ώς τῶν ἐρώντων διά τὸ σφόδρα Φιλεῖν ἐπιθυμούντων συμφῦναι καὶ γενέσθαι έκ δύο δντων ένα ένταῦθα μεν οὖν ἀνάγκη ἀμφοτέρους 7 έφθάρθαι ή τὸν ένα εν δὲ τῆ πόλει τὴν Φιλίαν ἀναγκαῖον ύδαρη γίνεσθαι διά την κοινωνίαν την τοιαύτην, καὶ ηκιστα λέγειν τον εμον ή υίον πατέρα ή πατέρα υίον. Εσπερ γάρ 8 μικρον γλυκύ εἰς πολύ ύδωρ μιχθεν ἀναίσθητον ποιεῖ τὴν κράσιν, ούτω συμβαίνει καὶ τὴν οἰκειότητα τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους την άπο των ονομάτων τούτων διαφροντίζειν ηχιστα άναγκαῖον ον εν τῆ πολιτεία τῆ τοιαύτη, ἡ πατέρα ώς υίων ή υίον ώς πατρός, ή ώς άδελφους άλλήλων. δύο γάρ 9 έστιν α μάλιστα ποιεῖ κήδεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ Φιλεῖν, τό τε ίδιον και τὸ ἀγαπητόν των οὐδέτερον οδόν τε ὑπάργειν τοῖς οὖτω πολιτευομένοις. 'Αλλά μὴν καὶ περὶ τοῦ μεταφέρειν τὰ γινόμενα τέχνα, τὰ μὲν ἐχ τῶν γεωργῶν καὶ

· àμφοτέρους Bekker.

6 φιλίω] 'affection,' not 'friendship,' 'caritas,' not 'amicitia.'

8 Kal Some?] 'which is both generally thought to be.'

*έρωτικοῖ*s λόγοιs] The Symposium of Plato, 191, 2, and foll.

άμφοτέρουs] I prefer leaving this out, and reading ἐκ δύο δντων ἕνα. The ἀμφοτέρουs seems to have crept in from the next line. Εστεδύ δντας ἕνα γεγονέναι is the language of Plato, Symp. 192. D. The attempt at excessive friendship is destructive.

8 οδτω συμβαίνει ήκιστα ἀναγκαῖον δυ διαφροντίζειν την οίκειότητα την πρός ἀλλήλους την ἀπό τῶν ἀνομάτων τούτων] 'So the result is, that less than in any case need we take into account in a constitution constructed on these prin-

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

† πατέρα ώς υίῶν ἡ υίὸν ὡς πατρός, ἡ ὡς ἀδελφοὺς ἀλλήλων] 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 το ἀγαπητόν] 'natural affection,' Stahr translates it, "das mit Mühe erworbene, that which we have acquired with effort, and which we value accordingly;" but this does not seem required by the passage.

τεχνιτῶν εἰς τοὺς Φύλακας, τὰ δ' ἐκ τούτων εἰς ἐκείνους,
πολλὴν ἔχει ταραχήν, τίνα ἔσται τρόπον καὶ γινώσκειν ἀναγκαῖον τοὺς διδόντας καὶ μεταφέροντας τίσι τίνας το διδόασιν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ πάλαι λεχθέντα μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τούτων ἀναγκαῖον συμβαίνειν, οἶον αἰκίας ἔρωτας Φόνους οὐ γὰρ ἔτι προσαγορεύουσιν ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τέκνα καὶ πατέρας καὶ μητέρας τοὺς Φύλακας οῖ τε εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας δοθέντες καὶ πάλιν οἱ παρὰ τοῖς Φύλαξιν τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας, ιδστ εὐλαβεῖσθαι τῶν τοιούτων τι πράττειν διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς περὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας κοινωνίας διωρίσθω τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον.

5 Έχόμενον δὲ τούτων ἐστὶν ἐπισκέψασθαι περὶ τῆς κτήσεως, τίνα τρόπον δεῖ κατασκευάζεσθαι τοῖς μέλλουσι πολιτεύεσθαι τὴν ἀρίστην πολιτείαν, πότερον κοινὴν ἡ μὴ 2 κοινὴν εἶναι τὴν κτῆσιν. τοῦτο δ' ἄν τις καὶ χωρὶς σκέψαιτο ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας νενομοθειες τημένων, λέγω δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν κτῆσιν, πότερον, κᾶν ἦ ἐκεῖνα χωρὶς καθ' δν νῦν τρόπον ἔχει πᾶσι, τάς τε κτήσεις κοινὰς εἶναι βέλτιον καὶ τὰς χρήσεις, οἶον τὰ μὲν γήπεδα χωρίς, τοὺς δὲ καρποὺς εἰς τὸ κοινὸν Φέροντας, ἀναλίσκειν (ὅπερ ἔνια ποιεῖ τῶν ἐθνῶν), ἡ τοὐναντίον τὴν μὲν γῆν κοινὴν εἶναι καὶ γεωργεῖν κοινῆ, τοὺς δὲ καρποὺς διαιρεῖσθαι πρὸς τὰς

· els Bekker.

10 οί παρὰ τοῖς φύλαξιν τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας] So I read it, leaving out the preposition εἰς. οἱ παρὰ τοῖς φύλαξιν is equivalent to οἱ εἰς τοὺς φύλακας δοθέντες, and the construction then is οἱ προσαγορεύουσιν τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τέκνα, κ.τ.λ.

&στ' εὐλαβεῖσθαι] '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. I So far for the community of wives and children. The next point for consideration in Plato's system is

his view of property, and the question is: ought there to be private property or not?

2 καl χωρls σκέψαιτο ἀπό, κ.τ.λ.]
'This might be treated of quite separate and apart from the regulations,' &c.

έκείνα] ες. τὰ περί τὰ τέκνα.

γήπεδα] The actual plots of ground, the land. Three forms of community of property given. I 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.

ίδίας χρήσεις (λέγονται δέ τινες καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον Plato's κοινωνείν των βαρβάρων), ή και τὰ γήπεδα και τοὺς καρποὺς. κοινούς. έτέρων μεν οδν όντων των γεωργούντων άλλος αν 3 είη τρόπος και ράων, αύτῶν δ' αύτοῖς διαπονούντων τὰ περὶ τὰς κτήσεις πλείους ᾶν παρέγοι δυσκολίας καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς άπολαύσεσι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις μὴ γινομένων ἴσων ἀναγκαῖον έγκλήματα γίνεσθαι πρός τους άπολαύοντας μεν ολίγα δε πονοῦντας, τοῖς ἐλάττω μὲν λαμβάνουσι πλείω δὲ πονοῦσιν. όλως δε τὸ συζην καὶ κοινωνεῖν τῶν ἀνθρωπικῶν πάντων 4 χαλεπόν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν τοιούτων. δηλοῦσι δ' αἱ τῶν συναποδήμων κοινωνίαι· σχεδών γάρ οἱ πλεῖστοι διαφερόμενοι έκ τῶν ἐν ποσὶ καὶ ἐκ μικρῶν προσκρούοντες άλλήλοις. ἔτι δὲ τῶν θεραπόντων τούτοις μάλιστα προσχρούομεν, οἶς πλείστα προσχρώμεθα πρός τὰς διακονίας τὰς ἐγκυκλίους.-Το μέν οὖν κοινάς εἶναι τὰς κτήσεις ταύτας τε καὶ ἄλλας 5 τοιαύτας έχει δυσχερείας, δυ δε νῦν τρόπον έχει καὶ ἐπικοσμηθεν ήθεσι καλ τάξει νόμων όρθων, οὐ μικρὸν αν διενέγκαι. εξει γάρ τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἀγαθόν. λέγω δὲ τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τὸ ἐκ τοῦ κοινὰς είναι τὰς κτήσεις καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίας. δεί γάρ πως μεν είναι κοινάς, όλως δ' ίδίας. αι μεν γάρ 6 έπιμέλειαι διηρημέναι τὰ ἐγκλήματα πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐ ποιήσουσιν, μᾶλλον δ' ἐπιδώσουσιν ώς πρὸς ἴδιον ἐκάστου προσεδρεύοντος δι' άρετην δ' έσται πρός το χρησθαι κατά

• η λαμβάνοντας πολλά Bekker.

b τῶs Bekker.

3 έτέρων] not πολιτών, a distinct body of cultivators.

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

† λαμβάνοντας] I omit this as an unnecessary addition suggested by the έλάττω λαμβάνουσι immediately following.

4 $\sigma \chi \in \delta \delta \nu \quad \gamma d\rho, \kappa. \tau. \lambda.$ The sentence is not complete. In the place of the participle : ροσκρούοντες should stand the verb προσκρούουσιν. 'They clash.' 5 ήθεσι] "les mœurs." We have

in English no one word sufficiently comprehensive- opinion and the habits of the people.'

οὐ μικρὸν αν διενέγκαι] 'would in no slight degree be superior.'

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

6 διηρημέναι, κ.τ.λ.] '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.

ό της μιας πόλεως, οἱ δὲ πολίται κοινωνοὶ της μιας πόλεως. άλλὰ πότερον όσων ἐνδέχεται κοινωνῆσαι, πάντων 1261 $rac{1}{3}$ βέλτιον κοινωνεῖν τὴν μέλλουσαν οἰκήσεσθαι πόλιν καλ $ilde{\omega}$ ς, ή τινῶν μὲν τινῶν δ' οὐ βέλτιον; ἐνδέχεται γὰρ καὶ τεκνῶν καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ κτημάτων κοινωνεῖν τοὺς πολίτας ἀλλήλαις, ωσπερ εν τη πολιτεία τη Πλάτωνος εκεί γαρ δ Σωκράτης Φησί δείν κοινά τὰ τέκνα και τὰς γυναϊκας είναι καλ τας κτήσεις. τοῦτο δη πότερον ώς νῦν οῦτω βέλτιον ἔχειν, ἢ κατὰ τὸν ἐν τῆ πολιτεία γεγραμμένον νόμον; 2 Εχει δε δυσχερείας άλλας τε πολλάς το πάντων είναι τάς γυναϊκας κοινάς, και δι' ήν αιτίαν Φησι δείν νενομοθετήσθαι τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ὁ Σωκράτης, οὐ Φαίνεται συμβαϊνον ἐκ τῶν λόγων. ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τὸ τέλος ὅ Φησι τῆ πόλει δείν ύπάρχειν, ως μεν είρηται νῦν, ἀδύνατον, πῶς δὲ δεῖ διελεῖν, 2 οὐδὲν διώρισται. λέγω δὲ τὸ μίαν είναι τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν ως άριστον δτι μάλιστα. λαμβάνει γάρ ταύτην ὑπόθεσιν ὁ Σωχράτης. καίτοι Φανερόν έστιν ώς προϊούσα καὶ γινομένη μία μαλλον οὐδὲ πόλις ἔσται πληθος γάρ τι τὴν

keeping with the whole Greek view of a city as given in I. ii. 8 and foll.; and see the notes there.

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

ένδέχεται γάρ] 'For it is at any rate possible.'

we adopt Plato's view? This is the point.

II. I di' he altiar] '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 δέ, 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. Mere unity is not the object.

πλήθος 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 redescend in the scale, and reapproach the individual, you get more unity.

φύσιν ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις, γινομένη τε μία μαλλον οἰκία μὲν ἐχ κόλεως, ἄνθρωπος δ' ἐξ οἰκίας ἔσται· μαλλον γὰρ μίαν τὴν οἰκίαν τῆς πόλεως Φαίημεν ἄν, καὶ τὸν ἔνα τῆς οἰκίας τῆν οἰκίαν τῆς πόλεως Φαίημεν ἄν, καὶ τὸν ἔνα τῆς οἰκίας τῆν πόλιν. οὐ μόνον δ' ἐκ πλειόνων ἀνθρώπων 3 ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ εἴδει διαφερόντων· οὐ γὰρ γίνεται πόλις ἐξ ὁμοίων. ἔτερον γὰρ συμμαχία καὶ πόλις τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῷ ποσῷ χρήσιμον, κὰν τι τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ εἴδει· βοηθείας γὰρ χάριν ἡ συμμαχία πέφυκεν· ῷσπερ ἀν εἰ σταθμὸς πλεῖον ἐλκύση. διοίσει δὲ τῷ τοιούτῷ καὶ πόλις ἔθνους, ὅταν μὴ κατὰ κώμας ῷσι κεχωρισμένοι τὸ πλῆθος ἀλλ' οἶον ᾿Αρκάδες. ἐξ ὧν δὲ δεῖ ἐν γενέσθαι, είδει διαφέρει. Διό- 4 περ τὸ ἴσον τὸ ἀντιπεπονθὸς σώζει τὰς πόλεις, ῷσπερ ἐν

3 But it is not merely number that is implied in the idea of a state (πληθος τι, ἐκ πλειόνων), 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.

ού γὰρ γίνεται πόλις έξ όμοίων] Compare Είλ. v. viii. 8-9. p. 1133, 16, οὐ γὰρ ἐκ δύο ἰατρῶν γίνεται κοινωνία... ἀλλ' δλως ἐτέρων καὶ οὐκ ἴσων.

τῷ ποσῷ χρήσψον] 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.

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

Someρ & εί] 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'emporte toujours le plateau le plus chargé.' St Hil.

τῷ τοιούτφ] ΒC. τῷ εἶναι έξ είδει διαφερόντων καὶ μὴ έξ δμοίων.

δταν μή, κ.τ.λ.] The change which took place in Arcadia by the founda-

tion of Megalopolis, and the consequent centralisation of the Arcadians, was in effect the change from a tribe into a state, an tors into a wolse. It was the latest instance of such an event, of a συνοίκωτε.

ἐξ ὅν δέ] This δέ answers to the
μέν in τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῷ ποσῷ. 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 διόπερ, 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, B. 33, τφ ἀντιποιεῖν γὰρ ἀνάλογον συμμένει ἡ πόλις, κ.τ.λ.

Republic.

τοῖς ήθικοῖς εἴρηται πρότερον ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐλευθέροις καὶ ἴσοις ἀνάγκη τοῦτ' εἶναι· ἄμα γὰρ οὐχ οἶόν τε πάντας άρχειν, άλλ' ή κατ' ένιαυτὸν ή κατά τινα άλλην τάξιν ή 5 χρόνον. καλ συμβαίνει δή τον τρόπον τοῦτον ώστε πάντας άργειν, ώσπερ αν εί μετέβαλλον οί σκυτεῖς καί οί τέκτονες 6 καὶ μὴ οἱ αὐτοὶ ἀεὶ σκυτοτόμοι καὶ τέκτονες ἦσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ βέλτιον οῦτως ἔχειν, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν τὴν πολι-1261 Β τικήν δήλον ως τους αυτους αεί βέλτιον άρχειν, εί δυνατόν έν οίς δε μη δυνατον διά το την Φύσιν Ισους είναι πάντας, αμα δε και δίκαιον, είτ' άγαθον είτε Φαῦλον τὸ άρχειν, πάντας αὐτοῦ μετέχειν, ἐν τούτοις δὲ μιμεῖσθαι τὸ ἐν μέρει 7 τοὺς Ισους εἴχειν ὁμοίως τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄρχουσιν οἱ δ' ἄρχονται παρὰ μέρος, ὥσπερ ᾶν ἄλλοι γενόμενοι. τον αύτον δη τρόπον άρχόντων ετεροι ετέρας άρχουσιν

έν τοις ήθικοις] Is not this reference doubtful? Is not the *porepor sufficient exactness for Aristotle?

και έν τοιs, κ.τ.λ.] 'Since even in the free and equal,' who are as much alike as possible, 'there must necessarily be this,' sc. το αντιπεπονθός. With such there must be an interchange, and power must be held by them in turns on some definite principle.

5 και 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 riew, should be shared equally, &c.

6 ούτως] Βς. ἀεὶ τοὺς αὐτούς.

Exem I put a comma after this, and make the apodosis begin with 'so too in regard to political society, it is clear that it is better, &c.

ἐν τούτοις δέ, κ.τ.λ.] This passage seems to me hopeless as it stands. The best sense I can make of it is as follows; ' ἐν τούτοις δέ, in these cases then (the & marking the apodosis) 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 $\tau \hat{\varphi}$ for $\tau \delta$, but the same sense may be extracted from the τό by making the whole clause the subject of μιμείσθαι.

7 of $\mu \in \gamma d\rho$, $\kappa.\tau.\lambda$.] 'For so the one rule, and the others are ruled in turn, and for the time they are considered to be different.'

άλλοι γενόμενοι] For the expression compare Eth. IX. iv. 4. p. 1166, 20.

τον αυτον δη 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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ἀρχάς. Φανερὸν τοίνυν ἐκ τούτων ὡς οὖτε πέφυκε μίαν οὖτως εἶναι τὴν πόλιν ὦσπερ λέγουσί τινες, καὶ τὸ λεχθὲν ὡς μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὅτι τὰς πόλεις ἀναιρεῖ καίτοι τό γε ἐκάστου ἀγαθὸν σώζει ἔκαστον. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ 8 κατ' ἄλλον τρόπον φανερὸν ὅτι τὸ λίαν ἐνοῦν ζητεῖν τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἔστιν ἄμεινον. οἰκία μὲν γὰρ αὐταρκέστερον ἐνός, πόλις δ' οἰκίας καὶ βούλεταί γ' ἤδη τότε εἶναι πόλις, ὅταν αὐτάρκη συμβαίνη τὴν κοινωνίαν εἶναι τοῦ πλήθους. εἶπερ οὖν αἰρετώτερον τὸ αὐταρκέστερον, καὶ τὸ ἤττον ἐν τοῦ μᾶλλον αἰρετώτερον.

'Αλλά μὴν οὐδ' εἰ τοῦτο ἄριστόν ἐστι, τὸ μίαν ὅτι μά- 3 λιστ' εἶναι τὴν κοινωνίαν, οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἀποδείκνυσθαι Φαίνεται κατὰ τὸν λόγον, ἐὰν πάντες ἄμα λέγωσι τὸ ἐμὸν καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐμόν· τοῦτο γὰρ οἴεται ὁ Σωκράτης σημεῖον εἶναι τοῦ τὴν πόλιν τελέως εἶναι μίαν. τὸ γὰρ πάντες διττόν. εἰ μὲν ² οὖν ὡς ἔκαστος, τάχ' ἀν εἴη μᾶλλον ὁ βούλεται ποιεῖν ὁ Σωκράτης· ἕκαστος γὰρ υἰὸν ἐαυτοῦ Φήσει τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ δὴ τῶν συμβαινόντων ὡσαύτως. νῦν δ' οὐχ οὕτω Φήσουσιν οἱ κοιναῖς χρώμενοι ταῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις, ἀλλὰ πάντες μέν, οὐχ ὡς ἕκαστος δ' αὐτῶν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν 3

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

pasephr τοίννν] This resumes the main thread of the discussion, which has been interrupted by the passage from διόπερ το ίσον to άρχουσιν άρχάς. 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.

καl βούλεται γ' ήδη πότε] '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?

olde τοῦτ' ἀποδείκνυσθαι] or as in II.

I. ob φαίνεται συμβαῖνον] 'It is evident that not even this is proved to be the result in theory of all saying, &c.'

2 ως ξκαστος] distributively, 'all and each.'

νῦν δέ] 'But in the case before us.'
πάντες μὲν, οὺχ ὡς ἔκαστος δέ] collectively, 'all but not each.' The
body of the elder will stand in a given
relation to the body of the younger,

οὐσίαν πάντες μέν, οὐχ ὡς ἔκαστος δ' αὐτῶν. ὅτι μὲν τοίΝουν παραλογισμός τίς ἐστι τὸ λέγειν πάντας, Φανερόν· τὸ γὰρ πάντες καὶ ἀμΦότερα καὶ περιττὰ καὶ ἄρτια διὰ τὸ διττὸν καὶ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἐριστικοὺς ποιεῖ συλλογισμούς. διὸ ἐστὶ τὸ πάντας τὸ αὐτὸ λέγειν ώδὶ μὲν καλόν, ἀλλ' οὐ 4 δυνατόν, ώδὶ δ' οὐθὲν ὁμονοητικόν. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐτέραν ἔχει βλάβην τὸ λεγόμενον. ἤκιστα γὰρ ἐπιμελείας τυγχάνει τὸ πλείστων κοινόν τῶν γὰρ ἰδίων μάλιστα Φροντίζουσιν, τῶν δὲ κοινῶν ἤττον, ἢ ὅσον ἐκάστῳ ἐπιβάλλει.
πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὡς ἐτέρου Φροντίζοντος ὀλιγωροῦσι μᾶλλον, ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς οἰκετικαῖς διακονίαις οἱ πολλοὶ θερά5 ποντες ἐνίστε χεῖρον ὑπηρετοῦσι τῶν ἐλαττόνων. γίνονται δ' ἐκάστῳ χίλιοι τῶν πολιτῶν υἰοί, καὶ οὖτοι οὐχ ὡς ἐκάτ262 στου, ἀλλὰ τοῦ τυχόντος ὁ τυχὼν ὁμοίως ἐστὶν υἰός· ὥστε πάντες ὁμοίως ὀλιγωρήσουσιν. ἔτι οῦτως ἕκαστος ἐμὸς

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.'

έριστικοὺς συλλογισμούς] 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.

8.6] 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 clear 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 mean-

ing 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 ἐκάστφ 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.'

έτι οδτως, κ.τ.λ.] This is very hard. Is the οδτως to be taken as referring to Plato's system, is it retrospective?— or is it prospective, an anticipation in fact of the τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον? 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.

λέγει τὸν εὖ πράττοντα τῶν πολιτῶν ἡ κακῶς, ὁπόστος Plato's Republic. τυγχάνει τον άριθμον ιδν, οδον έμος ή τοῦ δείνος, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον λέγων καθ εκαστον τῶν χιλίων, ἢ ὅσων ἡ πόλις έστί, καὶ τοῦτο διστάζων άδηλον γὰρ ῷ συνέβη γενέσθαι τέχνον καὶ σωθήναι γενόμενον. καίτοι πότερον οὖτω κρεῖτ- 6 τον τὸ ἐμὸν λέγειν ἕκαστον, τὸ αὐτὸ μὲν προσαγορεύοντας δισχιλίων καλ μυρίων, ή μάλλον ώς νῦν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τὸ έμὸν λέγουσιν; ὁ μὲν γὰρ υίὸν αύτοῦ ὁ δ' άδελφὸν αύτοῦ 7 προσαγορεύει τον αὐτόν, ο δ' ἀνεψιόν, ή κατ' άλλην τινά συγγένειαν, ή πρός αίματος, ή κατ' οίκειότητα καὶ κηδείαν αύτοῦ πρῶτον ἢ τῶν αύτοῦ, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἔτερον Φράτορα ή Φυλέτην κρεῖττον γὰρ ἴδιον ἀνεψιὸν εἶναι ή τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον υίον. Ου μην άλλ' ουδε διαφυγείν δυνατόν το μή ε τινας ύπολαμβάνειν έαυτῶν ἀδελφούς τε καὶ παῖδας καὶ πατέρας καὶ μητέρας κατά γάρ τὰς ὁμοιότητας αὶ γίνονται τοῖς τέχνοις πρὸς τοὺς γεννήσαντας, ἀναγκαῖον λαμβάνειν περί άλλήλων τὰς πίστεις. ὅπερ Φασὶ καὶ συμβαίνειν 9 τινές τῶν τὰς τῆς γῆς περιόδους πραγματευομένων είναι γάρ τισι τῶν ἄνω Λιβύων κοινὰς τὰς γυναῖκας, τὰ μέντοι γενόμενα τέχνα διαιρεῖσθαι κατά τὰς δμοιότητας. εἰσὶ δέ τινες καὶ γυναϊκες καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων, οίον ίπποι 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 so and so's (ἐμὸς ἡ τοῦ δεῦνος); 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 δ μέν γάρ . . . φυλέτην] is simply explanatory of the ωs νῦν ἐν ταῖς πόλε-

σιν. The κρείττον γάρ carries on the reasoning.

πρὸς αίματος] 'by blood.'

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

τον τρόπον τοῦτον] 'The way Plato would have it.'

8 ου μην &λλ' οὐδέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'Not however but that, do what you will, it is impossible to escape this difficulty,' &c.

ταs πίστεις] 'convictions.'

9 τῶν ἄνω Λιβύων] Herod. IV. 180, τῷ ἀν οἴκη τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸ παιδίον, τούτου παῖς νομίζεται. Comp. for the general subject, IV. 104, the case of the Agathyrsi, and I. 216 of the Massagetæ.

βόες, αὶ σφόδρα πεφύκασιν δμοια ἀποδιδόναι τὰ τέκνα Republic. τοῖς γονεῦσιν, ώσπερ ή ἐν Φαρσάλω κληθεῖσα Δικαία 4 ίππος. Έτι δε και τας τοιαύτας δυσχερείας ου ράδιον εύλαβηθηναι τοῖς ταύτην κατασκευάζουσι τὴν κοινωνίαν, οδον αλκίας καλ Φόνους άκουσίους* καλ μάχας καλ λοιδορίας* ών ούδεν δσιόν έστι γίνεσθαι πρός πατέρας και μητέρας και τους μη πόρρω της συγγενείας όντας, ώσπερ πρός τους άπωθεν· άλλὰ καὶ πλεῖον συμβαίνειν ἀναγκαῖον ἀγνοούντων ή γνωριζόντων, καλ γενομένων τῶν μεν γνωριζόντων ενδέχεται τὰς νομιζομένας γίνεσθαι λύσεις, τῶν δὲ μηδεμίαν. 2 Ατοπον δε και το κοινούς ποιήσαντα τούς υίους το συνείναι μόνον άφελεῖν τῶν ἐρώντων, τὸ δ' ἐρᾶν μη κωλῦσαι, μηδὲ τὰς χρήσεις τὰς ἄλλας, ᾶς πατρί πρὸς υίὸν είναι πάντων έστιν άπρεπέστατον και άδελφω πρός άδελφόν έπει και 3 τὸ ἐρᾶν μόνον. ἄτοπον δὲ καὶ τὸ τὴν συνουσίαν άΦελεῖν δι' άλλην μεν αιτίαν μηδεμίαν, ώς λίαν δ' ισχυράς τῆς ηδονης γινομένης. ότι δ' ό μεν πατήρ ή υίός, οί δ' άδελφοί 4 άλλήλων, μηθέν οἴεσθαι διαφέρειν. *Εοικε δὲ μᾶλλον τοῖς 1262 Β γεωργοίς είναι γρήσιμον τὸ κοινάς είναι τὰς γυναίκας καὶ τούς παιδας ή τοις Φύλαξιν. ήττον γαρ έσται Φιλία κοινών όντων τῶν τέχνων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν, δεῖ δὲ τοιούτους εἶναι τοὺς ἀργομένους πρὸς τὸ πειθαρχεῖν καὶ μὴ νεωτερίζειν. 5 Όλως δε συμβαίνειν ανάγκη τουναντίον δια τον τοιούτον νόμον ων προσήχει τοὺς ὀρθῶς χειμένους νόμους αἰτίους

γίνεσθαι, καλ δι' ην αιτίαν ο Σωκράτης ουτως οίεται δείν

Δικαία [wwos] Mentioned again in Hist. Anim. vii. vi. p. 586, 13.

IV. I τοὺς δὲ ἐκουσίους] This seems to me superfluous, a later addition. With one MS. I should omit it.

τους μη πόρρω της συγγενείας] 'not distant in relationship.'

ώσπερ πρός τούς άπωθεν] BC. αν είη δσιον.

άλλὰ καὶ πλεῖον] 'But they must both happen more frequently.' Compare on this subject Grote, 1. 34, not. In the text pp. 33, 34. He considers these λόσειs post-Homeric, and in their origin probably Lydian.

2 and 3 The reference is to Plato, Rep. 111. 403.

4 τοιs γεωργοίs] This depends on κοινάs, not on χρήσιμον, as it would seem to do at first sight.

τοιούτους] ΒC. ήττον φίλους.

5 8i' he airlar] 'and the contrary of the ground alleged by Socrates for his regulation.'

τάττειν τὰ περί τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναϊκας. Φιλίαν τε Plato's Republic. γάρ οἰόμεθα μέγιστον είναι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ταῖς πόλεσιν (ούτω γάρ αν ηκιστα στασιάζοιεν), και το μίαν είναι την πόλιν έπαινει μάλισθ' ὁ Σωκράτης δ και δοκεί κάκείνος είναι φησι της φιλίας έργον, καθάπερ εν τοῖς έρωτικοῖς λόγοις Ισμεν λέγοντα τὸν Αριστοφάνην ώς τῶν ἐρώντων διὰ τὸ σφόδρα φιλεῖν ἐπιθυμούντων συμφῦναι καὶ γενέσθαι έκ δύο ὄντων ένα ένταῦθα μέν οὖν ἀνάγκη άμφοτέρους 7 έφθάρθαι ή τὸν ένα· ἐν δὲ τῆ πόλει τὴν Φιλίαν ἀναγκαῖον ύδαρη γίνεσθαι διά την κοινωνίαν την τοιαύτην, και ηκιστα λέγειν τὸν ἐμὸν ἢ υίὸν πατέρα ἢ πατέρα υίον. ὧσπερ γὰρ 8 μικρόν γλυκύ είς πολύ ύδωρ μιχθέν άναίσθητον ποιεί την κράσιν, ούτω συμβαίνει καλ την ολκειότητα την πρός άλλήλους την άπο των ονομάτων τούτων διαφροντίζειν ηκιστα άναγκαῖον ον εν τη πολιτεία τη τοιαύτη, ή πατέρα ώς υίων ή υίον ώς πατρός, ή ώς άδελφούς άλλήλων. δύο γάρ 9 έστιν α μάλιστα ποιεί κήδεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ Φιλείν, τό τε ίδιον και τὸ άγαπητόν τον οὐδέτερον οδόν τε ὑπάργειν τοῖς οὕτω πολιτευομένοις. 'Αλλά μὴν καὶ περὶ τοῦ μεταφέρειν τὰ γινόμενα τέχνα, τὰ μὲν ἐχ τῶν γεωργῶν καὶ

· ἀμφοτέρους Bekker.

⁶ φιλίαν] 'affection,' not 'friendship,' 'caritas,' not 'amicitia.'

⁸ Kal Bokei] 'which is both generally thought to be.'

έρωτικοῖς λόγοις] The Symposium of Plato, 191, 2, and foll.

ἀμφοτέρους] I prefer leaving this out, and reading in 800 brown eva. The αμφοτέρουs seems to have crept in from the next line. Εστεδύ όντας ένα γεγονέναι is the language of Plato, Symp. 192. D. The attempt at excessive friendship is destructive.

⁸ οδτω συμβαίνει ήκιστα αναγκαίον δυ διαφρουτίζειν την οίκειότητα την πρός άλλήλους την άπο των άνομάτων τούτων] 'So the result is, that less than in any case need we take into account in a constitution constructed on these prin-

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

η πατέρα ώς υίων η υίον ώς πατρός, η ώς άδελφους άλληλων] 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 ἀγαπητόν] 'natural affection,' Stahr translates it, "das mit Mühe erworbene, that which we have acquired with effort, and which we value accordingly;" but this does not seem required by the passage.

τεχνιτῶν εἰς τοὺς Φύλακας, τὰ δ' ἐκ τούτων εἰς ἐκείνους,

πολλὴν ἔχει ταραχήν, τίνα ἔσται τρόπον καὶ γινώσκειν
ἀναγκαῖον τοὺς διδόντας καὶ μεταφέροντας τίσι τίνας
το διδόασιν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ πάλαι λεχθέντα μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τούτων ἀναγκαῖον συμβαίνειν, οἶον αἰκίας ἔρωτας Φόνους οὐ
γὰρ ἔτι προσαγορεύουσιν ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τέκνα καὶ πατέρας
καὶ μητέρας τοὺς Φύλακας οῖ τε εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας
δοθέντες καὶ πάλιν οἱ παρὰ τοῖς Φύλαξιν τοὺς ἄλλους
πολίτας, ιὅστ εὐλαβεῖσθαι τῶν τοιούτων τι πράττειν διὰ
τὴν συγγένειαν. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς περὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς
γυναῖκας κοινωνίας διωρίσθω τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον.

5 Έχόμενον δὲ τούτων ἐστὶν ἐπισκέψασθαι περὶ τῆς κτήσεως, τίνα τρόπον δεῖ κατασκευάζεσθαι τοῖς μέλλουσι πολιτεύεσθαι τὴν ἀρίστην πολιτείαν, πότερον κοινὴν ἡ μὴ 2 κοινὴν εἶναι τὴν κτῆσιν. τοῦτο δ' ἄν τις καὶ χωρὶς σκέψαιτο ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας νενομοθειως ταμένων, λέγω δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν κτῆσιν, πότερον, κᾶν ἢ ἐκεῖνα χωρὶς καθ' δν νῦν τρόπον ἔχει πᾶσι, τάς τε κτήσεις κοινὰς εἶναι βέλτιον καὶ τὰς χρήσεις, οἶον τὰ μὲν γήπεδα χωρίς, τοὺς δὲ καρποὺς εἰς τὸ κοινὸν Φέροντας, ἀναλίσκειν (ὅπερ ἔνια ποιεῖ τῶν ἐθνῶν), ἡ τοὐναντίον τὴν μὲν γῆν κοινὴν εἶναι καὶ γεωργεῖν κοινῆ, τοὺς δὲ καρποὺς διαιρεῖσθαι πρὸς τὰς

10 οί παρὰ τοῖς φύλαξιν τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας] So I read it, leaving out the preposition eis. οί παρὰ τοῖς φύλαξιν is equivalent to οί eis τοὺς φύλακας δοθέντες, and the construction then is οὐ προσαγορεύουσιν τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τέκνα, κ.τ.λ.

&στ' εἰλαβεῖσθαι] '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. I So far for the community of vives and children. The next point onsideration in Plato's system is

his view of property, and the question is: ought there to be private property or not?

2 καl χωρls σκέψαιτο ἀπό, κ.τ.λ.] 'This might be treated of quite separate and apart from the regulations,' &c.

έκεῖνα] Βς. τὰ περί τὰ τέκνα.

γήπεδα] The actual plots of ground, the land. Three forms of community of property given. I 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.



ιδίας χρήσεις (λέγονται δέ τινες καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον Plato's κοινωνείν τῶν βαρβάρων), ή καὶ τὰ γήπεδα καὶ τοὺς καρποὺς κοινούς. ἐτέρων μὲν οὖν ὄντων τῶν γεωργούντων ἄλλος αν 3 είη τρόπος και ράων, αὐτῶν δ' αὐτοῖς διαπονούντων τὰ περί τὰς κτήσεις πλείους ᾶν παρέχοι δυσκολίας καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς άπολαύσεσι καλ έν τοῖς ἔργοις μὴ γινομένων ἴσων ἀναγκαῖον έγκλήματα γίνεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀπολαύοντας μὲν ἀλίγα δὲ πονοῦντας, τοῖς ἐλάττω μὲν λαμβάνουσι πλείω δὲ πονοῦσιν. όλως δε το συζην και κοινωνείν των ανθρωπικών πάντων 4 γαλεπόν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν τοιούτων. δηλοῦσι δ' αἱ τῶν συναποδήμων κοινωνίαι· σχεδύν γάρ οἱ πλεῖστοι διαΦερόμενοι έκ τῶν ἐν ποσὶ καὶ ἐκ μικρῶν προσκρούοντες ἀλλήλοις. έτι δὲ τῶν θεραπόντων τούτοις μάλιστα προσκρούομεν, οἶς πλεῖστα προσχρώμεθα πρὸς τὰς διακονίας τὰς ἐγκυκλίους.-Τὸ μὲν οὖν κοινὰς εἶναι τὰς κτήσεις ταύτας τε καὶ ἄλλας 5 τοιαύτας έχει δυσχερείας, δυ δε νῦν τρόπον έχει καὶ ἐπικοσμηθεν ήθεσι καλ τάξει νόμων όρθων, ού μικρόν αν διενέγκαι. έξει γάρ τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἀγαθόν. λέγω δὲ τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τὸ ἐκ τοῦ κοινὰς είναι τὰς κτήσεις καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίας. δεῖ γάρ πως μεν είναι κοινάς, όλως δ' ίδίας. αὶ μεν γάρ 6 έπιμέλειαι διηρημέναι τὰ ἐγκλήματα πρὸς άλλήλους οὐ ποιήσουσιν, μᾶλλον δ' ἐπιδώσουσιν ώς πρὸς ἴδιον ἐκάστου προσεδρεύοντος δι' άρετην δ' έσται πρός το χρησθαι κατά

• η λαμβάνοντας πολλά Bekker.

b τῶs Bekker.

3 ἐτέρων] not πολιτών, a distinct body of cultivators.

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

† λαμβάνοντατ] I omit this as an unnecessary addition suggested by the ἐλάττω λαμβάνουσι immediately following.

4 σχεδον γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] The sentence is not complete. In the place of the participle τροσκρούοντες should stand the verb προσκρούουσιν. 'They clash.'

5 ήθεσι] "les mœurs." We have

in English no one word sufficiently comprehensive—' opinion and the habits of the people.'

οὐ μικρὸν ὰν διενέγκαι] 'would in no slight degree be superior.'

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

6 διηρημέναι, κ.τ.λ.] '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.

Plato's την παροιμίαν κοινά τὰ Φίλων. ἔστι δὲ καὶ νῦν τὸν τρόπον - τοῦτον ἐν ἐνίαις πόλεσιν οὕτως ὑπογεγραμμένον ὡς οὐκ ὃν άδύνατον, καὶ μάλιστα έν ταῖς καλῶς οἰκουμέναις τὰ μὲν 7 έστι τὰ δὲ γένοιτ' ἄν. Ιδίαν γὰρ έκαστος τὴν κτῆσιν έχων τὰ μέν χρήσιμα ποιεί τοίς Φίλοις, τοίς δὲ χρήται κοινοίς, οίον και έν Λακεδαίμονι τοῖς τε δούλοις χρώνται τοῖς άλλήλων ως είπεῖν ίδίοις, έτι δ' Ιπποις καὶ κυσίν, καν δεηθώσιν ε έφοδίων έν τοῖς άγροῖς κατά τὴν χώραν. Φανερὸν τοίνυν δτι βέλτιον είναι μεν ιδίας τας κτήσεις, τῆ δε χρήσει ποιείν κοινάς. ὅπως δὲ γίνωνται τοιοῦτοι, τοῦ νομοθέτου τοῦτ' ἔργον Ιδιόν ἐστιν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ πρὸς ήδονὴν ἀμύθητον ὅσον διαφέρει τὸ νομίζειν ἴδιόν τι μή γάρ ου μάτην την προς 1263 Β αύτὸν αὐτὸς ἔχει Φιλίαν ἕκαστος, ἀλλ' ἔστι τοῦτο Φυσικόν. 9 τὸ δὲ Φίλαυτον είναι ψέγεται δικαίως οὐκ ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ Φιλεῖν ἐαυτόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μᾶλλον ἡ δεῖ Φιλεῖν, καθάπερ καὶ τὸν Φιλοχρήματον, ἐπεὶ Φιλοῦσί γε πάντες ως εἰπεῖν ἕκαστον τῶν τοιούτων. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸ γαρίσασθαι καὶ βοηθησαι Φίλοις η ξένοις η εταίροις ηδιστον δ γίνεται της 10 κτήσεως ίδιας ούσης. ταῦτά τε δη ού συμβαίνει τοῖς λίαν êν ποιοῦσι τὴν πόλιν, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἀναιροῦσιν ἔργα δυοίν άρεταϊν Φανερώς, σωφροσύνης μέν το περί τάς γυναίκας (ἔργον γὰρ καλὸν ἀλλοτρίας οὖσης ἀπέχεσθαι διὰ σω-Φροσύνην), ἐλευθεριότητος δὲ τὸ περὶ τὰς κτήσεις οὖτε

> κοινά τὰ φίλων] Compare the quotation of the same proverb in the Republic, v. 449. c.

> 'sketched out;' **ὑπογεγραμμένον**] ὑπογραφή, an outline, a first sketch.

> χρήσιμα ποιεί] 'places at the service of his friends.'

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

> και πρὸς ἡδονήν] 'even for the pleasure of the thing.'

μη γὰρ οὐ μάτην, κ.τ.λ.] For the

form of the expression compare Eth. x. i. 3. p. 1172, 33, μή ποτε δὲ οὐ καλώs. And so again, Eth. x. ii. 4. p. 1173, 22. For the substance, comp. Eth. 1x. iv. 1. p. 1166, 1, ta quana τὰ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους... ἔοικεν ἐκ τῶν πρός ξαυτόν έληλυθέναι. The element of self, of the personal, it is impossible to eradicate. 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.

φίλαυτον] This subject is treated Eth. 1x. viii. Butler's Sermons, XII.

γαρ έσται φανερός ελευθέριος ών, ούτε πράξει πράξιν ελευ- Plato's Republic. θέριον οὐδεμίαν· ἐν γὰρ τῆ χρήσει τῶν κτημάτων τὸ τῆς έλευθεριότητος έργον έστίν.

Εύπρόσωπος μεν ούν ή τοιαύτη νομοθεσία καὶ Φιλάν- 11 θρωπος αν είναι δόξειεν· δ γαρ άκροώμενος ασμενος άποδέχεται, νομίζων έσεσθαι Φιλίαν τινά θαυμαστήν πάσι πρός άπαντας, άλλως τε καὶ όταν κατηγορή τις τῶν νῦν ὑπαρχόντων εν ταῖς πολιτείαις κακῶν ώς γινομένων διὰ τὸ μὴ κοινην είναι την οὐσίαν, λέγω δὲ δίκας τε πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ συμβολαίων καὶ ψευδομαρτυριῶν κρίσεις καὶ πλουσίων κολακείας. ὧν οὐδὲν γίνεται διὰ τὴν ἀκοινωνησίαν ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν 12 μογθηρίαν, έπεὶ καὶ τοὺς κοινὰ κεκτημένους καὶ κοινωνοῦντας πολλώ διαφερομένους μάλλον δρώμεν ή τούς χωρίς τάς ούσίας έγοντας άλλα θεωρούμεν όλίγους τους έκ των κοινωνιών διαφερομένους πρός πολλούς συμβάλλοντες τούς κεκτημένους ίδια τὰς κτήσεις. ἔτι δὲ δίκαιον μὴ μόνον λέγειν δσων στε- 13 ρήσονται κακών κοινωνήσαντες, άλλα και δσων άγαθων. Φαίνεται δ' είναι πάμπαν άδύνατος δ βίος. αίτιον δε τῶ Σωκράτει της παρακρούσεως χρη νομίζειν την υπόθεσιν ούκ οὖσαν ὀρθήν. δεῖ μὲν γὰρ εἶναί πως μίαν καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ 14 την πόλιν, άλλ' οὐ πάντως. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ ώς οὐκ ἔσται προϊοῦσα πόλις, ἔστι δ' ως ἔσται μέν, ἐγγὺς δ' οὖσα τοῦ μὴ πόλις είναι έσται γείρων πόλις, ώσπερ κάν εί τις την συμ-Φωνίαν ποιήσειεν όμοφωνίαν ή τὸν ρυθμὸν βάσιν μίαν. άλλα δεῖ πληθος ὄν, ιὖσπερ εἴρηται πρότερον, δια τὴν παι- 15 δείαν κοινήν καλ μίαν ποιείν καλ τόν γε μέλλοντα παιδείαν εἰσάγειν, καὶ νομίζοντα διὰ ταύτης ἔσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν σπουδαίαν, άτοπον τοῖς τοιούτοις οἴεσθαι διορθοῦν, άλλὰ

^{12 &}amp; And yet of these.'

akouvernolar] simply negative, 'on account of there being no such community whether of wives or property.'

άλλά θεωροῦμεν, κ.τ.λ.] 'But we have but few instances of men who have this community to compare with many who hold their goods as private property.'

τοὺ: ἐκ τῶν κοινωνιῶν] 'Those under the conditions of such community.'

¹³ αἴτιον δέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'The cause of Socrates' failure must be considered to lie in the idea which was his groundwork not being right.'

¹⁵ πλήθος δν] 'under the condition of number.' Ch. II. 2.

μή τοῖς ἔθεσι καὶ τῆ ΦιλοσοΦία καὶ τοῖς νόμοις, ώσπερ τὰ περί τὰς κτήσεις ἐν Λακεδαίμονι καὶ Κρήτη τοῖς συσσιτίοις 1264 16 ο νομοθέτης εκοίνωσεν. δεῖ δε μηδε τοῦτο αὐτὸ άγνοεῖν, ὅτι χρη προσέχειν τῷ πολλῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν, ἐν οίς ούκ αν έλαθεν εί ταῦτα καλῶς είχεν· πάντα γάρ σχεδὸν ευρηται μέν, άλλα τα μεν ού συνήκται, τοῖς δ' ού χρῶνται 17 γινώσκοντες. μάλιστα δ' αν γένοιτο Φανερόν, εί τις τοῖς έργοις ίδοι την τοιαύτην πολιτείαν κατασκευαζομένην οὐ γαρ δυνήσεται μη μερίζων αύτα και χωρίζων ποιήσαι την πόλιν, τὰ μὲν εἰς συσσίτια, τὰ δὲ εἰς Φρατρίας καὶ Φυλάς. ώστε ούδεν άλλο συμβήσεται νενομοθετημένον πλην μη γεωργείν τους Φύλακας. όπερ και νύν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποιείν 18 ἐπιγειροῦσιν. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὁ τρόπος τῆς ὅλης πολιτείας τις έσται τοῖς κοινωνοῦσιν, οὖτ' εἴρηκεν ὁ Σωκράτης ούτε ράδιον είπεῖν. καίτοι σχεδον τό γε πληθος της πόλεως τὸ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν γίνεται πληθος, περὶ ὧν οὐδὲν διώρισται, πότερου καὶ τοῖς γεωργοῖς κοινὰς εἶναι δεῖ τὰς κτήσεις ή καὶ καθ έκαστον ιδίας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας

τῆ φιλοσοφία] used in a very general sense, 'intellectual cultivation.' φιλοσοφοῦμεν ἄνευ μαλακίας. Thuc. 11. 40.

16 $\pi \acute{a}\nu \tau a \gamma \grave{a}\rho \sigma \chi \epsilon \acute{b} \delta \nu \epsilon \acute{b}\rho \eta \tau a \mu \acute{e}\nu$, $\kappa.\tau.\lambda$.] For we may say generally that all the requisites for true political conclusions have been discovered by this time, but in some cases they have not been brought together, and so the fair inferences have not been drawn from them. In these cases there is a want of knowledge on the subject, in other cases the knowledge is not wanting, but its application. The world's experience was in his view sufficient; in political science a synthesis was the thing needed. It was early to arrive at this conviction.

17 μάλιστα δ', κ.τ.λ.] This carries us back to the πάμπαν ἀδύνατος δ βίος, § 13. Practically (τοῖς ἔργοις) it would be found so. Form a state, and divisions and separations will be found

absolutely indispensable; so that the unity you aim at will disappear in the process.

18 Hitherto 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 wholewhat 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?

της δλης πολιτείας] of the whole formed by the φύλακες and the governed.

ίδίους ή κοινούς. εἰ μὲν γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον κοινὰ πάντα Plato's Republic. πάντων, τί διοίσουσιν οὖτοι ἐκείνων τῶν Φυλάκων; ἢ τί πλεῖον τοῖς ὑπομένουσι τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν; ἢ τί μαθόντες ύπομενοῦσι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐὰν μή τι σοΦίζωνται τοιοῦτον οδον Κρήτες; ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ τάλλα ταὐτὰ τοῖς δούλοις ἐφέντες μόνον άπειρήκασι τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅπλων κτῆσιν. εί 20 δέ, καθάπερ εν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι, καὶ παρ' ἐκείνοις ἔσται τὰ τοιαῦτα, τίς ὁ τρόπος ἔσται τῆς κοινωνίας; ἐν (μιᾶ) γὰρ πόλει δύο πόλεις άναγκαῖον είναι, καλ ταύτας ὑπεναντίας άλλήλαις. ποιεί γάρ τοὺς μὲν Φύλακας οἶον Φρουρούς, τοὺς δὲ γεωργούς, καὶ τοὺς τεχνίτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας. έγκλήματα δὲ καὶ δίκαι, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ταῖς πόλεσιν ὑπάρ- 21 χειν Φησί κακά, πάνθ' ὑπάρξει καὶ τούτοις. καίτοι λέγει ὁ Σωκράτης ώς οὐ πολλῶν δεήσονται νομίμων διὰ τὴν παιδείαν, οίον άστυνομικῶν καὶ άγορανομικῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων, ἀποδιδούς μόνον τὴν παιδείαν τοῖς Φύλαξιν. ἔτι δὲ χυρίους ποιεῖ τῶν χτημάτων τοὺς γεωργοὺς ἀποΦορὰν 22 Φέροντας άλλα πολύ μαλλον είκος είναι χαλεπούς καί Φρονημάτων πλήρεις ή τας παρ' ένίοις είλωτείας τε καί πενεστείας καὶ δουλείας. ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἴτ' ἀναγκαῖα ταῦθ' ὁμοίως 23 είτε μή, νῦν γ' οὐδὲν διώρισται. Καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων*, τίς ή τούτων τε πολιτεία καὶ παιδεία καὶ νόμοι τίνες. ἔστι δ' ούθ' εύρεῖν ράδιον, ούτε τὸ διαφέρον μικρόν, τὸ ποιούς τινας είναι τούτους πρός τὸ σώζεσθαι τὴν τῶν Φυλάκων κοινωνίαν. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴ γε τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας ποιήσει κοινὰς 24 1264 Β

· exomeror Bekker.

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

τι σοφίζωνται] 'invent some device.' 20 παρ' excirois] with the mass of the citizens in the Platonic state, the τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν πληθος of § 18.

21 Kal Tobrois] 'To these as well as to actually existing states.'

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

22 ἀποφοράν] '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 εχομένων we should read ἀρχομένων, which lies hidden under the various reading έχομένων. In § 18 we had της δλης πολιτείαs, as previously we have had the φύλακαs; he comes now to the other distinct member of that whole,

τας δε κτήσεις ίδίας, τίς οἰκονομήσει ώσπερ τα έπὶ τῶν άγρῶν οἱ ἄνδρες αὐτῶν; * ἄτοπον δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῶν θηρίων ποιείσθαι την παραβολήν, ότι δεί τα αυτά επιτηδεύειν τας 25 γυναϊκας τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, οἶς οἰκονομίας οὐδὲν μέτεστιν. ἐπισφαλές δε και τους άρχοντας ώς καθίστησιν ο Σωκράτης. άει γάρ ποιεί τους αυτούς ἄρχοντας. τοῦτο δὲ στάσεως αίτιον γίνεται καὶ παρά τοῖς μηδεν άξίωμα κεκτημένοις, ή 26 πού γε δή παρά γε θυμοειδέσι καὶ πολεμικοῖς ἀνδράσιν. ὅτι δ' άναγκαῖον αὐτῷ ποιεῖν τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἄρχοντας, Φανερόν οὐ γάρ ότε μεν άλλοις ότε δε άλλοις μέμικται ταῖς ψυχαῖς ό παρά τοῦ θεοῦ χρυσός, άλλ' ἀεὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς. Φησὶ δὲ τοῖς μεν εύθυ γινομένοις μίξαι χρυσόν, τοῖς δ ἄργυρον, χαλκον δε και σίδηρον τοῖς τεχνίταις μέλλουσιν ἔσεσθαι και γεωρ-27 γοῖς. Ετι δὲ καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἀφαιρούμενος τῶν Φυλάκων, όλην Φησί δείν εύδαίμονα ποιείν την πόλιν τον νομοθέτην. ἀδύνατον δε εύδαιμονείν όλην, μη των πλείστων ή μη πάντων μερῶν ή τινῶν ἐχόντων τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν. οὐ γὰρ τῶν αὐτῶν τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν ὧνπερ τὸ ἄρτιον τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ενδέχεται τῷ ὅλω ὑπάρχειν, τῶν δὲ μερῶν μηδετέρω, τὸ δὲ 28 εὐδαιμονεῖν ἀδύνατον. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰ οἱ Φύλακες μὴ εὐδαίμονες, τίνες έτεροι; οὐ γὰρ δὴ οῖ γε τεχνῖται καὶ τὸ π λῆθος τὸ των βαναύσων. ή μεν ουν πολιτεία περί ής δ Σωκράτης είρηχεν, ταύτας τε τὰς ἀπορίας ἔχει καὶ τούτων οὐκ ἐλάττους έτέρας.

Plato's Laws.

Σχεδον δε παραπλησίως και περι τους νόμους έχει τους 6 υστερον γραφέντας. διο και περι της ενταῦθα πολιτείας

Bekker here reads [καν εί κοιναί αί κτήσεις και αί των γεωργών γυναίκες.]

the ἀρχόμενοι, and very briefly states the question about them.

24 This is a very fragmentary treatment 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?

elkerouhfaei] shall manage the household.*

where i, $\kappa.\tau.\lambda$.] This may as well be

left out.

την παραβολήν] 'To go to the animals for your illustration, for they have no share of family life.'

27 el γλρ τῶν αὐτῶν, κ.λ.τ.] 'For happiness does not come under the same class,' &c.

VI. 1 παραπλησίως έχει] That is to say, it is open, as the republic is, to

Plato's

έπισκέψασθαι μικρά βέλτιον. καλ γάρ έν τη πολιτεία περί ολίγων πάμπαν διώρικεν δ Σωκράτης, περί τε γυναικών καὶ τέχνων κοινωνίας, πῶς ἔχειν δεῖ, καὶ περὶ κτήσεως, καὶ τῆς πολιτείας τὴν τάξιν. διαιρεῖται γὰρ εἰς δύο μέρη τὸ 2 πληθος των οἰκούντων, τὸ μὲν εἰς τοὺς γεωργούς, τὸ δὲ εἰς τὸ προπολεμοῦν μέρος τρίτον δ' ἐκ τούτων τὸ βουλευόμενον καὶ κύριον τῆς πόλεως. περὶ δὲ τῶν γεωργῶν καὶ 3 τῶν τεχνιτῶν, πότερον οὐδεμιᾶς ή μετέχουσί τινος άρχης, καλ πότερον οπλα δεί κεκτήσθαι καλ τούτους καλ συμπολεμεῖν η μή, περὶ τούτων οὐδὲν διώρικεν ὁ Σωκράτης, άλλὰ τας μεν γυναϊκας οίεται δείν συμπολεμείν και παιδείας μετέγειν της αὐτης τοῖς Φύλαξιν, τὰ δ ἄλλα τοῖς ἔξωθεν λόγοις πεπλήρωκε τον λόγον καλ περί της παιδείας, ποίαν τινά δεῖ γίνεσθαι τῶν Φυλάκων. Τῶν δὲ νόμων τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον 4 1265 μέρος νόμοι τυγγάνουσιν όντες, όλίγα δε περί τῆς πολιτείας είρηκεν. και ταύτην βουλόμενος κοινοτέραν ποιείν ταίς πόλεσι, κατά μικρον περιάγει πάλιν προς την έτέραν πολιτείαν. ἔξω γὰρ τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν κοινωνίας καὶ τῆς κτή. 5 σεως, τὰ ἄλλα ταὐτὰ ἀποδίδωσιν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς πολιτείαις και γάρ παιδείαν την αύτην, και το των έργων των άναγκαίων άπεχομένους ζην, καὶ περὶ συσσιτίων ώσαύτως: πλην εν ταύτη Φησί δείν είναι συσσίτια καί γυναικών, καί την μεν γιλίων των όπλα κεκτημένων, ταύτην δε πεντακι-

many grave objections, and those in many cases similar ones. For the two coincide in a great degree, with this difference, that 'the Laws' enter more into detail.

2 els τοὺς γεωργούς—els τό, κ.τ.λ.] These prepositions are superfluous, but the sense is clear, and no MS. omits them, it seems; otherwise I should be glad to get rid of them.

έκ τούτων] ες. τὸ προπολεμοῦν μέρος. 3 τοις έξωθεν λόγοις] 'by discussions foreign to the subject of the con-

4 κοινοτέραν] 'more generally attainable.'

stitution.'

5 των έργων των αναγκαίων] So below, Ch. IX. 2, we have την τῶν ἀναγκαίων σχολήν. In both cases the meaning is the same. The great object for the Greek freeman was to have leisure. He must therefore be free from all the drudgery of life, free from the necessity of daily labour for daily

συσσίτια γυναικών] This institution seems but a fair and logical development of his general view as to the position of woman.

πεντακιπχιλίων] καὶ τετταράκοντα should be added. Plato, Legg. p. 737. D.

την παροιμίαν κοινά τὰ Φίλων. ἔστι δὲ καὶ νῦν τὸν τρόπον - τοῦτον ἐν ἐνίαις πόλεσιν οὕτως ὑπογεγραμμένον ὡς οὐκ δν άδύνατον, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς καλῶς οἰκουμέναις τὰ μὲν 7 έστι τὰ δὲ γένοιτ' ἄν. Ιδίαν γὰρ έκαστος τὴν κτῆσιν ἔχων τὰ μεν χρήσιμα ποιεί τοῖς Φίλοις, τοῖς δε χρῆται χοινοῖς, οίον και έν Λακεδαίμονι τοῖς τε δούλοις χρώνται τοῖς άλλήλων ως είπειν ίδίοις, έτι δ' Ιπποις και κυσίν, καν δεηθώσιν ε έφοδίων έν τοῖς ἀγροῖς κατὰ τὴν χώραν. Φανερὸν τοίνυν ότι βέλτιον είναι μεν ιδίας τας κτήσεις, τη δε χρήσει ποιείν όπως δε γίνωνται τοιοῦτοι, τοῦ νομοθέτου τοῦτ' ἔργον ἴδιόν ἐστιν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ πρὸς ήδονὴν ἀμύθητον ὅσον διαφέρει τὸ νομίζειν Ιδιόν τι μή γάρ οὐ μάτην τήν πρὸς 1263 Β αύτὸν αὐτὸς ἔχει Φιλίαν ἕκαστος, ἀλλ' ἔστι τοῦτο Φυσικόν. 9 τὸ δὲ Φίλαυτον είναι ψέγεται δικαίως οὐκ ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ Φιλείν έαυτόν, άλλα το μαλλον ή δεί Φιλείν, καθάπερ καὶ τον Φιλογρήματον, έπει Φιλοῦσί γε πάντες ως είπεῖν έκαστον τῶν τοιούτων. ἀλλά μὴν καὶ τὸ χαρίσασθαι καὶ βοηθησαι Φίλοις η ξένοις η έταίροις ηδιστον δ γίνεται της το κτήσεως ίδιας ούσης. ταῦτά τε δη ού συμβαίνει τοῖς λίαν êν ποιοῦσι τὴν πόλιν, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἀναιροῦσιν ἔργα δυοίν άρεταίν φανερώς, σωφροσύνης μέν το περί τας γυναίκας (έργον γάρ καλον άλλοτρίας ούσης απέχεσθαι διά σω-Φροσύνην), έλευθεριότητος δε το περί τας κτήσεις ούτε

κοινά τὰ φίλων] Compare the quotation of the same proverb in the Republic, v. 449. c.

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

χρήσιμα ποιεί] 'places at the service of his friends.'

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

και πρὸς ήδονήν] 'even for the pleasure of the thing.'

μή γάρ οὐ μάτην, κ.τ.λ.] For the

form of the expression compare Eth. x. i. 3. p. 1172, 33, μή ποτε δὲ οὐ καλώs. And so again, Eth. x. ii. 4. p. 1173, 22. For the substance, comp. Eth. 1x. iv. 1. p. 1166, 1, 7d φιλικά τὰ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους... ἔοικεν ἐκ τῶν πρός ξαυτόν έληλυθέναι. The element of self, of the personal, it is impossible to eradicate. 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.

φίλαυτον] This subject is treated Eth. 1x. viii. Butler's Sermons, XII.

γαρ έσται Φανερός ελευθέριος ών, ούτε πράξει πράξιν ελευ- Plato's Republic. θέριον οὐδεμίαν εν γάρ τη χρήσει τῶν κτημάτων τὸ τῆςέλευθεριότητος έργον έστίν.

Εύπρόσωπος μεν οδν ή τοιαύτη νομοθεσία και Φιλάν-11 θρωπος αν είναι δόξειεν ο γαρ ακροώμενος ασμενος αποδέχεται, νομίζων έσεσθαι φιλίαν τινά θαυμαστήν πασι πρός απαντας, αλλως τε καί δταν κατηγορή τις τῶν νῦν ὑπαρχόντων εν ταῖς πολιτείαις κακῶν ὡς γινομένων διὰ τὸ μὴ κοινην είναι την οὐσίαν, λέγω δὲ δίκας τε πρός άλληλους περί συμβολαίων καὶ ψευδομαρτυριών κρίσεις καὶ πλουσίων κολακείας. ὧν οὐδὲν γίνεται διά τὴν ἀκοινωνησίαν ἀλλά διά τὴν 12 μοχθηρίαν, έπελ καλ τους κοινά κεκτημένους καλ κοινωνούντας πολλώ διαφερομένους μάλλον δρώμεν ή τους χωρίς τας ούσίας ἔχοντας · ἀλλὰ θεωροῦμεν ολίγους τοὺς ἐκ τῶν κοινωνιῶν διαφερομένους πρός πολλούς συμβάλλοντες τούς κεκτημένους ίδία τὰς κτήσεις. ἔτι δὲ δίκαιον μὴ μόνον λέγειν ὅσων στε- 13 ρήσονται κακών κοινωνήσαντες, άλλα και δσων άγαθών. Φαίνεται δ' είναι πάμπαν άδύνατος ὁ βίος. αίτιον δὲ τῷ Σωκράτει της παρακρούσεως χρη νομίζειν την υπόθεσιν ουκ οὖσαν ὀρθήν. δεῖ μὲν γὰρ εἶναί πως μίαν καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ 14 την πόλιν, άλλ' οὐ πάντως. ἔστι μεν γὰρ ώς οὐκ ἔσται προϊούσα πόλις, έστι δ' ως έσται μέν, έγγυς δ' ούσα του μή πόλις είναι έσται γείρων πόλις, ώσπερ κάν εί τις την συμ-Φωνίαν ποιήσειεν όμοφωνίαν ή τὸν ρυθμὸν βάσιν μίαν. άλλα δεῖ πληθος ὄν, ιὖσπερ εἴρηται πρότερον, δια τὴν παι- 15 δείαν κοινήν καλ μίαν ποιείν καλ τόν γε μέλλοντα παιδείαν εἰσάγειν, καὶ νομίζοντα διὰ ταύτης ἔσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν σπουδαίαν, ἄτοπον τοῖς τοιούτοις οἶεσθαι διορθοῦν, ἀλλὰ

^{12 &}amp; 'And yet of these.'

accuracy simply negative, 'on account of there being no such community whether of wives or property.'

άλλά θεωρουμεν, κ.τ.λ.] 'But we have but few instances of men who have this community to compare with many who hold their goods as private property.'

τοὺ: ἐκ τῶν κοινωνιῶν] ' Those under the conditions of such community.'

¹³ αίτιον δέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'The cause of Socrates' failure must be considered to lie in the idea which was his groundwork not being right.'

¹⁵ πλήθος δν] 'under the condition of number.' Ch. II. 2.

Μανή μη τοις έρεσι και τη Φιλοσοφία και τοις κόμοις, ώσπερ τά περί τὰς κτήσεις έν Δακεδαίμων καὶ Κρήτη τοῦς συσσιτίοις 1264 16 ο νομοθέτης εκοίνωσεν. δεί δε μηδε τούτο αυτό άγνοείν, δτι χρή προσέχειν τῷ πολλῷ χρόνο καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν, ἐν οίς ούκ αν έλαθεν εί ταῦτα καλώς είγεν πάντα γάρ σγεδον εύρηται μέν, άλλα τα μέν ού συνήκται, τοις δ' ού γρωνται 17 γινώσκοντες. μάλιστα δ' αν γένοιτο Φανερόν, εί τις τοῖς έργοις ίδοι την τοιαύτην πολιτείαν κατασκευαζομένην οὐ γάρ δυνήσεται μη μερίζων αύτα και γωρίζων ποιήσαι την πόλιν, τὰ μὲν εἰς συσσίτια, τὰ δὲ εἰς Φρατρίας καὶ Φυλάς. ώστε ούδεν άλλο συμβήσεται νενομοθετημένον πλην μή γεωργείν τους Φύλακας. όπερ και νύν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποιείν 18 έπιχειροῦσιν. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὁ τρόπος τῆς ὅλης πολιτείας τις έσται τοῖς κοινωνοῦσιν, οὖτ' εἴρηκεν ὁ Σωκράτης ούτε ράριον είπειν. καίτοι σχεδον τό γε πληθος της πόλεως τὸ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν γίνεται πληθος, περὶ ὧν οὐδὲν διώρισται, πότερου καὶ τοῖς γεωργοῖς κοινάς είναι δεῖ τὰς κτήσεις ή και καθ έκαστον ιδίας, έτι δε και γυναϊκας και παϊδας

τή φιλοποφία] used in a very general sunsa, 'intellectual cultivation.' φιλοσφούμον άνου μαλακίατ. Thuc. 11. 40.

if pdAmin θ', m.r.A.] This carries as tack to the sdamar abbraros δ star \$1 is the sdamar abbraros δ star \$1 is translated by (rais spreas) it would be found so. Form a state, and editations will be found

absolutely indispensable; so that the unity you aim at will disappear in the process.

18 Hitherto 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 wholewhat 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?

της δλης πολιτείας] of the whole formed by the φύλακες and the governed.

ίδίους ή κοινούς. εἰ μὲν γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον κοινὰ πάντα Plato's Republic. πάντων, τί διοίσουσιν οὖτοι ἐκείνων τῶν Φυλάκων; ἢ τί πλεῖον τοῖς ὑπομένουσι τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν; ἡ τί μαθόντες ύπομενοῦσι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐὰν μή τι σοΦίζωνται τοιοῦτον οἶον Κρήτες; ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ τάλλα ταὐτὰ τοῖς δούλοις ἐφέντες μόνον ἀπειρήκασι τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅπλων κτῆσιν. εί 🕿 δέ, καθάπερ εν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι, καὶ παρ' εκείνοις ἔσται τὰ τοιαῦτα, τίς ὁ τρόπος ἔσται τῆς κοινωνίας; ἐν (μιᾶ) γὰρ πόλει δύο πόλεις άναγκαῖον είναι, καὶ ταύτας ὑπεναντίας άλλήλαις. ποιεί γάρ τους μέν Φύλακας οίον Φρουρούς, τους δὲ γεωργούς, καὶ τοὺς τεχνίτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας. έγκλήματα δὲ καὶ δίκαι, καὶ ὄσα ἄλλα ταῖς πόλεσιν ὑπάρ- 21 χειν Φησί κακά, πάνθ' ὑπάρξει καὶ τούτοις. καίτοι λέγει ὁ Σωχράτης ώς οὐ πολλῶν δεήσονται νομίμων δια την παιδείαν, οίον ἀστυνομικῶν καὶ ἀγορανομικῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων, ἀποδιδούς μόνον τὴν παιδείαν τοῖς Φύλαξιν. ἔτι δὲ χυρίους ποιεῖ τῶν χτημάτων τοὺς γεωργοὺς ἀποΦορὰν 22 Φέροντας άλλα πολύ μᾶλλον είκος είναι χαλεπούς καὶ Φρονημάτων πλήρεις ή τας παρ' ένίοις είλωτείας τε καὶ πενεστείας καὶ δουλείας. ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἴτ' ἀναγκαῖα ταῦθ' ὁμοίως 23 είτε μή, νῦν γ' οὐδὲν διώρισται. Καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων. τίς ή τούτων τε πολιτεία καὶ παιδεία καὶ νόμοι τίνες. Εστι δ' οὖθ' εὑρεῖν ῥάδιον, οὖτε τὸ διαΦέρον μικρόν, τὸ ποιούς τινας είναι τούτους πρός τὸ σώζεσθαι τὴν τῶν Φυλάκων κοινωνίαν. άλλὰ μὴν εἴ γε τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας ποιήσει κοινὰς 24 1264 Β

· ἐχομένων Bekker.

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

τι σοφίζωνται] 'invent some device.' 20 παρ' exelvois] with the mass of the citizens in the Platonic state, the τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν πληθος of § 18.

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

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

22 aropopáv] '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 εχομένων we should read ἀρχομένων, which lies hidden under the various reading έχομένων. In § 18 we had της δλης πολιτείαs, as previously we have had the φύλακας; he comes now to the other distinct member of that whole,

τας δε κτήσεις ίδίας, τίς οἰκονομήσει ωσπερ τα έπὶ των άγρῶν οἱ ἄνδρες αὐτῶν; * ἄτοπον δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῶν θηρίων ποιείσθαι την παραβολήν, ότι δεί τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπιτηδεύειν τὰς 25 γυναϊκας τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, οἶς οἰκονομίας οὐδὲν μέτεστιν. ἐπισφαλές δε και τους άρχοντας ώς καθίστησιν ο Σωκράτης. άελ γὰρ ποιεῖ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἄρχοντας. τοῦτο δὲ στάσεως αίτιον γίνεται και παρά τοῖς μηδεν άξίωμα κεκτημένοις, ή 26 πού γε δή παρά γε θυμοειδέσι καὶ πολεμικοῖς ἀνδράσιν. ὅτι δ' άναγκαῖον αὐτῷ ποιεῖν τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἄρχοντας, Φανερόν οὐ γάρ ότε μεν άλλοις ότε δε άλλοις μεμικται ταῖς ψυχαῖς ό παρά τοῦ θεοῦ χρυσός, άλλ' ἀεὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς. Φησὶ δὲ τοῖς μεν εύθυ γινομένοις μίξαι χρυσόν, τοῖς δ ἄργυρον, χαλκον δὲ καὶ σίδηρον τοῖς τεχνίταις μέλλουσιν ἔσεσθαι καὶ γεωρ-27 γοῖς. "Ετι δὲ καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν άφαιρούμενος τῶν Φυλάκων, όλην Φησί δείν εύδαίμονα ποιείν την πόλιν τον νομοθέτην. άδύνατον δε εύδαιμονείν όλην, μη των πλείστων ή μη πάντων μερών ή τινών έγόντων την εύδαιμονίαν. ού γαρ τῶν αὐτῶν τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν ὧνπερ τὸ ἄρτιον τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἐνδέχεται τῷ ὅλφ ὑπάρχειν, τῶν δὲ μερῶν μηδετέρφ, τὸ δὲ 28 εὐδαιμονεῖν ἀδύνατον. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰ οἱ Φύλακες μὴ εὐδαίμονες, τίνες έτεροι; ου γάρ δή οί γε τεχνίται και το πλήθος το τῶν βαναύσων. Ἡ μεν οῦν πολιτεία περί ἢς ὁ Σωκράτης είρηκεν, ταύτας τε τὰς ἀπορίας ἔχει καὶ τούτων οὐκ ἐλάττους έτέρας.

Plato's Laws.

Σχεδον δε παραπλησίως και περι τους νόμους έχει τους 6 υστερον γραφέντας. διο και περι της ενταῦθα πολιτείας

Bekker here reads [Kar el kowal al kthoeis kal al tur yempyur ywalkes.]

the ἀρχόμενοι, and very briefly states the question about them.

24 This is a very fragmentary treatment 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?

olkerouhfoel, 'shall manage the household.'

καν εί, κ.τ.λ.] This may as well be

left out.

την παραβολήν] 'To go to the animals for your illustration, for they have no share of family life.'

27 et γὰρ τῶν αὐτῶν, κ.λ.τ.] 'For happiness does not come under the same class,' &c.

VI. I παραπλησίως έχει] That is to say, it is open, as the republic is, to

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έπισκέψασθαι μικρά βέλτιον. καλ γάρ ἐν τῆ πολιτεία περί ολίγων πάμπαν διώρικεν ο Σωκράτης, περί τε γυναικών και τέκνων κοινωνίας, πῶς ἔχειν δεῖ, και περί κτήσεως, και τῆς πολιτείας τὴν τάξιν. διαιρεῖται γὰρ εἰς δύο μέρη τὸ 2 πλήθος τών οἰκούντων, τὸ μέν εἰς τοὺς γεωργούς, τὸ δὲ εἰς τὸ προπολεμοῦν μέρος τρίτον δ' ἐκ τούτων τὸ βουλευόμενον καὶ κύριον τῆς πόλεως. περὶ δὲ τῶν γεωργῶν καὶ 3 τῶν τεχνιτῶν, πότερον οὐδεμιᾶς ή μετέχουσί τινος ἀρχῆς, καὶ πότερον ὅπλα δεῖ κεκτῆσθαι καὶ τούτους καὶ συμπολεμεῖν ή μή, περὶ τούτων οὐδὲν διώρικεν ὁ Σωκράτης, άλλὰ τας μεν γυναϊκας οίεται δείν συμπολεμείν και παιδείας μετέχειν της αύτης τοις Φύλαξιν, τὰ δ άλλα τοις έξωθεν λόγοις πεπλήρωκε τὸν λόγον καὶ περὶ τῆς παιδείας, ποίαν τινὰ δεῖ γίνεσθαι τῶν Φυλάκων. Τῶν δὲ νόμων τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον 4 1265 μέρος νόμοι τυγγάνουσιν όντες, όλίγα δε περί τῆς πολιτείας είρηκεν. καλ ταύτην βουλόμενος κοινοτέραν ποιείν ταίς πόλεσι, κατά μικρον περιάγει πάλιν προς την έτέραν πολιτείαν. ἔξω γὰρ τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν κοινωνίας καὶ τῆς κτή. 5 σεως, τὰ ἄλλα ταὐτὰ ἀποδίδωσιν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς πολιτείαις και γάρ παιδείαν την αύτην, και το των έργων των άναγκαίων άπεγομένους ζην, και περί συσσιτίων ώσαύτως: πλην έν ταύτη Φησί δείν είναι συσσίτια καί γυναικών, καί την μεν χιλίων των δπλα κεκτημένων, ταύτην δε πεντακι-

many grave objections, and those in many cases similar ones. For the two coincide in a great degree, with this difference, that 'the Laws' enter more into detail.

2 els τοὺς γεωργούς—els τό, κ.τ.λ.] These prepositions are superfluous, but the sense is clear, and no MS. omits them, it seems; otherwise I should be glad to get rid of them.

έκ τούτων] sc. το προπολεμοῦν μέροs.
3 τοῖς ἔξωθεν λόγοις] 'by discussions foreign to the subject of the constitution.'

4 ποινοτέραν] 'more generally attainable.'

5 τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἀναγκαίων] So below, Ch. IX. 2, we have τὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων σχολήν. In both cases the meaning is the same. The great object for the Greek freeman was to have leisure. He must therefore be free from all the drudgery of life, free from the necessity of daily labour for daily bread.

συσσίτια γυναικῶν] This institution seems but a fair and logical development of his general view as to the position of woman.

πεντακισχιλίων] καὶ τετταράκοντα should be added. Plato, Legg. p. 737. p. Plato's Laws.

σχιλίων. Τὸ μὲν οὖν περιττὸν ἔχουσι πάντες οἱ τοῦ Σω-- κράτους λόγοι καὶ τὸ κομψὸν καὶ τὸ καινοτόμον καὶ τὸ ζητητικόν, καλώς δε πάντα ίσως χαλεπόν, επεί και το νῦν εἰρημένον πληθος δεῖ μὴ λανθάνειν ὅτι χώρας δεήσει τοῖς τοσούτοις Βαβυλωνίας ή τινος άλλης άπεράντου τὸ πλήθος, έξ ής άργοὶ πεντακισχίλιοι θρέψονται, καὶ περὶ τούτους 7 γυναικών καὶ θεραπόντων έτερος ὄχλος πολλαπλάσιος. Δεῖ μεν οδν ύποτίθεσθαι κατ' εύχήν, μηδεν μέντοι άδύνατον: λέγεται δ' ως δεί τον νομοθέτην πρός δύο βλέποντα τιθέναι τους νόμους, πρός τε την χώραν και τους άνθρώπους. Ετι δε καλῶς ἔχει προσθείναι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς γειτνιῶντας τόπους. εί δεῖ τὴν πόλιν ζῆν βίον πολιτικόν ου γὰρ μόνον ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν αὐτὴν τοιούτοις χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον οπλοις & χρήσιμα κατά τὴν οἰκείαν χώραν ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ 8 πρός τοὺς ἔξω τόπους. εἰ δέ τις μὴ τοιοῦτον ἀποδέχεται βίον, μήτε τὸν ίδιον μήτε τὸν κοινὸν τῆς πόλεως, ὅμως οὐδὲν. ήττον δεϊ Φοβερούς είναι τοῖς πολεμίοις, μη μόνον έλθοῦσιν είς την χώραν, άλλα καὶ άπελθοῦσιν. καὶ τὸ πληθος δὲ

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.'

περιττόν] seems to be the negative of 'commonplace,' 'dull.'

καλώς δέ πάντα] supply έχειν.

 $\epsilon\pi\epsilon i$ $\kappa\alpha i$, $\kappa.\tau.\lambda$.] 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 $\pi\delta\lambda\epsilon is$ 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.

περί τούτους] Comp. Herodt. IX. 28, περί ξκαστον έπτα, for the number of attendants as well as for the expression.

7 δεῖ μὲν οδν] 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.'

ζῆν βίον πολιτικόν] The state as well as the individual may have a social existence. These are "interpolitical" relations.

8 ἀποδέχεται] 'accept,' 'allow,' 'acquiesce in this social existence either for the individual or for the state.' A state may refuse, as Corcyra did, to mix itself up with other states, but it must be prepared for self-defence.

Plato's

της κτήσεως όραν δεί, μήποτε βέλτιον έτέρως διορίσαι τῶ σαφῶς μᾶλλον τοσαύτην γὰρ είναι φησι δείν ώστε ζῆν σωφρόνως, ωσπερ αν εί τις είπεν ωστε ζην εδ τοῦτο γάρ έστι καθόλου μάλλον. έτι δ' έστι σωφρόνως μέν ταλαι- 9 πώρως δε ζην. άλλα βελτίων δρος το σωφρόνως και έλευθερίως (χωρίς γὰρ ἐκάτερον τὸ μὲν τῷ τρυΦᾶν ἀκολουθήσει, τὸ δὲ τῷ ἐπιπόνως), ἐπεὶ μόναι γ' εἰσὶν ἔξεις αίρεταὶ περὶ την της ούσιας χρησιν αύται, (οίον ούσία πράως ή άνδρείως χρησθαι ούκ έστιν, σωφρύνως δε και ελευθερίως έστιν,) ώστε καὶ τὰς χρήσεις ἀναγκαῖον περὶ αὐτὴν είναι ταύτας. άτοπον δε και το τας κτήσεις ισάζοντα το περί το πλήθος το τῶν πολιτῶν μη κατασκευάζειν, ἀλλ' ἀφεῖναι την τεκνοποιίαν ἀόριστον ως ἱκανῶς ᾶν ὁμαλισθησομένην εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ πλήθος διά τὰς ἀτεχνίας ὁσωνοῦν γεννωμένων, ὅτι δοκεῖ τοῦτο καὶ νῦν συμβαίνειν περὶ τὰς πόλεις. δεῖ δὲ τοῦτ' 11 1265 Β ούχ όμοίως άκριβῶς ἔχειν περί τὰς πόλεις τότε καὶ νῦν. νῦν μεν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἀπορεῖ διὰ τὸ μερίζεσθαι τὰς οὐσίας εἰς όποσονοῦν πληθος, τότε δ' ἀδιαιρέτων οὐσῶν ἀνάγκη τοὺς παράζυγας μηδεν έχειν, εάν τ' ελάττους ώσι το πληθος

μήποτε] Comp. note on Ch. V. 8. μη γαρ οὐ μάτην. Plato, Legg. v. 737. D. τῷ σαφῶς μᾶλλον] 'by defining it more clearly.'

τοῦτο γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] ΒC. σωφρόνως. 'For this term, soberly or moderately, is too general.'

9 xupls yap endrepor, K.T.A.] '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.'

emimores BC. (Av.

erel ubrai] Strictly speaking, owφρόνως does not concern property. By Eth. 111. 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, eges, that are concerned with property are these two of σωφροσύνη and έλευθεριότης, then they

will be the only two that can be put in practice with regard to it, xphreis. Comp. Eth. 1. ix. 9. p. 1098, b. 31: διαφέρει δε ίσως ου μικρον εν κτήσει ή χρήσει το άριστον ύπολαμβάνειν καλ έν έξει ή ἐνεργεία; and again, v. iii. 15. p. 1120, b. 30: καλ τελεία μάλιστα άρετή, δτι τῆς τελείας ἀρετῆς χρῆσίς έστιν, κ.τ.λ. To make the reasoning clearer I have enclosed in brackets from οίον οὐσία to ξστιν.

10 τὸ αὐτὸ πληθος] 'The original number.'

δσωνοῦν γεννωμένων] 'however large the number of children born,' Comp. ΙΝ. ΧΝΙ. 4: τὰ σώματα τῶν γεννωμένων.

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

τοὺς παράζυγας] 'the supernumeraries.'

Plato's Laws.

èάν τε πλείους. μᾶλλον δὲ δεῖν ὑπολάβοι τις ᾶν ωρίσθαι - τῆς οὐσίας τὴν τεκνοποιίαν, ωστε ἀριθμοῦ τινὸς μὴ πλείονα γεννάν τοῦτο δε τιθέναι το πληθος ἀποβλέποντα πρός τὰς τύχας, ᾶν συμβαίνη τελευτῶν τινὰς τῶν γεννηθένι3 τῶν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἀτεκνίαν. τὸ δ' ἀφεῖσθαι, καθάπερ εν ταῖς πλείσταις πόλεσι, πενίας ἀναγκαῖον αἴτιον γίνεσθαι τοῖς πολίταις, ή δὲ πενία στάσιν ἐμποιεῖ καὶ κακουργίαν. Φείδων μεν οδν δ Κορίνθιος, ών νομοθέτης τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων, τοὺς οἶκους ἴσους ψήθη δεῖν διαμένειν καὶ τὸ πληθος τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ εἰ τὸ πρῶτον τοὺς κλήρους άνίσους είχον πάντες κατά μέγεθος εν δε τοῖς νόμοις τού-14 τοις τούναντίον έστίν. άλλά περί μέν τούτων πῶς οἰόμεθα βέλτιον αν έχειν, λεκτέον υστερον ελλέλειπται δε τοῖς νόμοις τούτοις καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ὅπως ἔσονται διαφέροντες των άρχομένων φησί γάρ δείν, ωσπερ έξ έτέρου τὸ στημόνιον ἐρίου γίνεται τῆς κρόκης, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς 15 άργοντας έχειν δείν πρός τους άρχομένους. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν πάσαν οὐσίαν ἐφίησι γίνεσθαι μείζονα μέχρι πενταπλασίας, διά τί τοῦτ' οὐκ ἄν εἴη ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς μέχρι τινός; καὶ τὴν των οἰκοπέδων δε διαίρεσιν δεῖ σκοπεῖν, μή ποτ' οὐ συμ-Φέρη πρός οἰκονομίαν· δύο γάρ οἰκόπεδα ἐκάστω ἔνειμε 16 διελών χωρίς, χαλεπον δε οικίας δύο οικείν. 'Η δε σύνταξις όλη βούλεται μέν είναι μήτε δημοκρατία μήτε όλιγαρχία, μέση δε τούτων, ήν καλούσι πολιτείαν έκ γάρ των όπλιτευόντων έστίν. εὶ μὲν οὖν ώς κοινοτάτην ταύτην κατα-

13 κακουργίαν] 'crime.'

Pheidon. Comp. Grote, II. 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 στημόνιον] 'the warp.' κρόκη, 'the woof.'

15 πενταπλασίαs] From Plato, Legg. v. 744. E. this appears inaccurate;

τετραπλασίαs 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.

τῶν οἰκοπέδων] Plat. Legg. 745. n.: δύο νέμεσθαι ἔκαστον οἰκήσεις, την τε ἐγγὺς τοῦ μέσου καὶ την τῶν ἐσχάτων.

16 ἐκ γὰρ τῶν ὁπλιτευόντων] Comp.
111. vii. 4: διόπερ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν πολιτείαν (τὴν πολιτείαν τὴν τὸ κοινὸν ὅνομα καλουμένην) κυριώτατον τὸ προπολεμοῦν,

σκευάζει ταῖς πόλεσι τῶν ἄλλων πολιτείαν, καλῶς εἴρηκεν ἴσως, εὶ δ ώς ἀρίστην μετὰ τὴν πρώτην πολιτείαν, οὐ καλῶς· τάχα γὰρ τὴν τῶν Λακώνων ἄν τις ἐπαινέσειε μᾶλλον, ἡ καν άλλην τινα άριστοκρατικωτέραν. ένιοι μεν οὖν λέγου- 17 σιν ώς δεί την αρίστην πολιτείαν έξ απασών είναι τών πολιτειών μεμιγμένην, διό και την των Λακεδαιμονίων έπαινοῦσιν· είναι γάρ αὐτὴν οἱ μὲν ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ μοναρχίας καὶ δημοκρατίας Φασίν, λέγουτες την μεν βασιλείαν μοναρχίαν, την δε των γερόντων άρχην όλιγαρχίαν, δημοκρατείσθαι δε κατά την των εφόρων άρχην διά το έκ τοῦ ήμου είναι τοὺς εφόρους οι δε την μεν εφορείαν είναι τυραννίδα, δημοκρατεϊσθαι δὲ κατά τε τὰ συσσίτια καὶ τὸν 1266 άλλον βίον τὸν καθ' ἡμέραν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς νόμοις εἴρηται 18 τούτοις ως δέον συγκεῖσθαι την άρίστην πολιτείαν έκ δημοκρατίας καὶ τυραννίδος, ας ή τὸ παράπαν οὐκ ἄν τις θείη πολιτείας τ χειρίστας πασών. βέλτιον οὖν λέγουσιν οἱ πλείους μιγνύντες τ γάρ έκ πλειόνων συγκειμένη πολιτεία βελτίων. ἔπειτ' οὐδ' ἔχουσα Φαίνεται μοναρχικόν οὐδέν, άλλ' όλιγαρχικά καὶ δημοκρατικά μᾶλλον δ' ἐγκλίνειν βούλεται πρός την όλιγαρχίαν. δήλου δ' έκ της των άρ- 19 χόντων καταστάσεως. το μέν γαρ έξ αίρετῶν κληρωτούς κοινον άμφοῖν, το δε τοῖς μεν εὐπορωτέροις ἐπάναγκες έκκλησιάζειν είναι καὶ Φέρειν ἄρχοντας ή τι ποιεῖν ἄλλο τῶν πολιτικῶν, τοὺς δ' ἀφεῖσθαι, τοῦτο δ' ὀλιγαρχικόν, καὶ τὸ πειράσθαι πλείους ἐκ τῶν εὐπόρων εἶναι τοὺς ἄρχοντας, καὶ τὰς μεγίστας ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων τιμημάτων. χικήν δε ποιεί και την της βουλης αίρεσιν αίρουνται μέν

17 δημοκρατεῖσθαι] Comp. for this Leçon

Leçon II. pp. 34-44.

subject vi. ix. 7, 8, and Grote, ii. 539.

18 8600] Comp. for this use of the word, Eth. ii. vii. i.

βάλτων οδν] '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,

¹⁹ ἀμφοῦν] to oligarchy and democracy.

φέρειν άρχονταs] simply 'to elect or create magistrates.'

²⁰ On this passage compare Plato, Legg. vi. 756. B-E. 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-

Plato's Laws.

γὰρ πάντες ἐπάναγκες, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου τιμήματος, εἶτα πάλιν Ισους εκ τοῦ δευτέρου, εΙτ' εκ τῶν τρίτων. πλην οὐ πασιν επάναγκες ην τοῖς εκ των τρίτων ή τετάρτων, εκ δε τοῦ τετάρτου τῶν τεττάρων μόνοις ἐπάναγκες τοῖς πρώτοις 21 καὶ τοῖς δευτέροις. εἶτ' ἐκ τούτων ἴσον ἀΦ' ἐκάστου τιμήματος αποδείξαι φησι δείν αριθμόν. Εσονται δή πλείους οί έκ τῶν μεγίστων τιμημάτων καὶ βελτίους διὰ τὸ ἐνίους μὴ 22 αίρεῖσθαι τῶν δημοτικῶν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπάναγκες. ὡς μὲν οὖν ούκ εκ δημοκρατίας καὶ μοναρχίας δεῖ συνιστάναι τὴν τοιαύτην πολιτείαν, έχ τούτων Φανερον και των υστερον ρηθησομένων, δταν επιβάλλη περί της τοιαύτης πολιτείας ή σκέψις: έχει δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν αῖρεσιν τιον ἀρχόντων τὸ ἐξ αἰρετῶν αίρετους επικίνδυνον εί γάρ τινες συστήναι θέλουσι καὶ μέτριοι τὸ πληθος, ἀεὶ κατὰ τὴν τούτων αἰρεθήσονται βούλησιν. Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον.

' Εἰσὶ δέ τινες πολιτεῖαι καὶ ἄλλαι, αἱ μὲν ἰδιωτῶν αἱ δὲ Φιλοσόφων καὶ πολιτικῶν, πᾶσαι δὲ τῶν καθεστηκυιῶν καὶ

· Bekker τετάρτων.

pelled 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.

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

21 δονται δή, 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. βελτίουs, which he makes part of the predicate, I think should be part of the subject, of δκ τῶν μεγίστων τιμημάτων καὶ βελτίους ἔσονται πλείους.

των δημοτικών] 'the democratical party.'

23 dwifdaan] 'comes on.'

έχει ἐπικίνδυνον] ἐπικινδόνως 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. I idiarar] 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' ας πολιτεύονται νῦν ἐγγύτερόν εἰσι τούτων ἀμφοτέρων. Phalcas. οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὖτε τὴν περὶ τὰ τέχνα χοινότητα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας άλλος κεκαινοτόμηκεν, οὖτε περὶ τὰ συσσίτια τῶν γυναικών, άλλ' άπό των άναγκαίων άρχονται μάλλον. Δοκεί 2 γάρ τισι τὸ περὶ τὰς οὐσίας εἶναι μέγιστον τετάγθαι καλῶς: περί γάρ τούτων ποιεῖσθαί Φασι τὰς στάσεις πάντας. Φαλέας ὁ Χαλκηδόνιος τοῦτ' εἰσήνεγκε πρῶτος Φησί γὰρ δεῖν ἴσας εἶναι τὰς κτήσεις τῶν πολιτῶν. τοῦτο δὲ κατοι- 3 1266 Β χιζομέναις μεν εύθυς ου χαλεπον φετο ποιείν, τας δ' ήδη κατοικουμένας έργωδέστερον μέν, δμως δε τάχιστ' αν όμαλισθηναι τῷ τὰς προίκας τοὺς μὲν πλουσίους διδόναι μὲν λαμβάνειν δὲ μή, τοὺς δὲ πένητας μὴ διδόναι μὲν λαμβάνειν δέ. Πλάτων δὲ τοὺς νόμους γράφων μέχρι μέν τινος ῷετο 4 δείν έαν, πλείον δε του πενταπλασίαν είναι της έλαγίστης μηδενί τῶν πολιτῶν ἐξουσίαν είναι κτήσασθαι, καθάπερ είρηται καλ πρότερον. δεῖ δὲ μηδὲ τοῦτο λανθάνειν τοὺς 5 ούτω νομοθετούντας, δ λανθάνει νύν, δτι τὸ τῆς οὐσίας τάττοντας πληθος προσήκει καὶ τῶν τέκνων τὸ πληθος τάττειν έὰν γὰρ ὑπεραίρη τῆς οὐσίας τὸ μέγεθος ὁ τῶν τέκνων ἀριθμός, ἀνάγκη τόν γε νόμον λύεσθαι, καὶ χωρὶς τῆς λύσεως Φαῦλον τὸ πολλοὺς ἐκ πλουσίων γίνεσθαι πένητας Εργον γάρ μη νεωτεροποιούς είναι τούς τοιούτους. διότι μεν ούν 6

τούτων] sc. The two constitutions of Plato.

2 δοκεῖ γάρ, κ.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.

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

Yous] 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 ήδη κατοικουμένας] sc. ποιεῖν. 'That states already actually settled and organized should do it.'

5 προσήκει] 'it is incumbent on them.'

ὑπεραίρη] 'rise above.'

6 $\delta i \delta \tau i$] = $\delta \tau i$. Comp. note on I. II. 10.

Phaleas. Εγει τινά δύναμιν είς την πολιτικήν κοινωνίαν ή της οὐσίας όμαλότης, καὶ τῶν πάλαι τινὲς Φαίνονται διεγνωκότες, οίον καί Σόλων ενομοθέτησεν, καί καρ' άλλοις έστι νόμος ος κωλύει κτάσθαι γην όπόσην αν βούληταί τις. όμοίως δε καί την ουσίαν πωλείν οι νύμοι κωλύουσιν, ώσπερ εν Λοκροίς νόμος έστι μή πωλείν, έαν μή Φανεράν άτυγίαν δείξη συμ-7 βεβηχυΐαν. έτι δε τους παλαιούς χλήρους διασώζειν. τοῦτο δε λιθέν και περί Λευκάδα δημοτικήν εποίησε λίαν την πολιτείαν αὐτῶν οὐ γὰρ ἔτι συνέβαινεν ἀπὸ τῶν ώρισμένων τιμημάτων είς τὰς ἀρχὰς βαδίζειν. ἀλλ' ἔστι τὴν ἰσότητα μέν ὑπάρχειν τῆς οὐσίας, ταύτην δ ἢ λίαν είναι πολλήν, ώστε τρυφάν, ή λίαν ολίγην, ώστε ζην γλίσχρως. δήλον ούν ως ούχ ίκανον το τας ούσίας ίσας κοιήσαι τον νομοθέτην, 8 άλλὰ τοῦ μέσου στοχαστέον. ἔτι δ' εἴ τις καὶ τὴν μετρίαν τάξειεν οὐσίαν πᾶσιν, οὐδὲν ὄφελος μᾶλλον γὰρ δεῖ τὰς έπιθυμίας όμαλίζειν ή τας ούσίας, τοῦτο δ' ούκ έστι μή παιδευομένοις ίκανῶς ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων. 'Αλλ' ἴσως εἴποι αν ὁ Φαλέας ότι ταῦτα τυγχάνει λέγων αὐτός • οἴεται γὰρ δυοῖν τούτοιν ισότητα δείν υπάρχειν ταίς πόλεσιν, κτήσεως καί ο παιδείας. άλλα τήν τε παιδείαν ήτις έσται δεῖ λέγειν, καλ το μίαν είναι και την αύτην ούδεν όφελος. έστι γάρ την αύτην μεν είναι και μίαν, άλλα ταύτην είναι τοιαύτην έξ ής έσονται προαιρετικοί τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν ή χρημάτων ή τιμῆς ή 10 συναμφοτέρων. "Ετι στασιάζουσιν ού μόνον διά την άνισό-

> 26Aur] This allusion to Solon does not seem to imply any thing more specific than that Solon recognised the important bearing on the political society of the arrangements with regard to property.

> In August The Epizephyrian Locrime for whom Zalencus legislated. 11. xii. 6.

> Frank (av) 'To keep unaltered trevisheret. The infinitive depends my physe teel. This provision existed the era daviste law, Comp. Lov. xxv.

4 Anneltas Comp. Grote, III. 539. the for a major of the early history of Leucas. The details of its constitutional history are very seanty.

οὐ γὰρ ἔτι, κ.τ.λ.] 'For the result was that the appointed qualification was no longer required before entrance into office.'

8 A due equality might be established, and yet there would be no guarantee for its existence. The arrangement would be open to immediate disturbance; for a disturbing cause is ever at hand in the passions of men.

δτι ταῦτα, κ.τ.λ.] 'That he will be found himself to allow this,'

τητα της κτήσεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν τιμῶν. τοὐναντίον Phaleas. δὲ περὶ ἐκάτερον · οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ διὰ τὸ περὶ τὰς κτήσεις ἄνισον, οἱ δὲ χαρίεντες περὶ τῶν τιμῶν, ἐὰν ἴσαι · ὅθεν 1267 καὶ

έν δὲ ἰἦ τιμῆ ἡμὲν κακὸς ἡδὲ καὶ ἐσθλός.

οὐ μόνον δ' οἱ ἄνθρωποι διὰ τἀναγκαῖα ἀδικοῦσιν, ὧν ἄκος τε εἶναι νομίζει τὴν ἰσότητα τῆς οὐσίας, ὥστε μὴ λωποδυτεῖν διὰ τὸ ῥιγοῦν ἢ πεινῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπως χαίρωσι καὶ μὴ ἐπιθυμῶσιν· ἐὰν γὰρ μείζω ἔχωσιν ἐπιθυμίαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων, διὰ τὴν ταύτης ἰατρείαν ἀδικήσουσιν. οὐ τοίνυν διὰ ταύτην τε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀν ἐπιθυμοῖεν, ἵνα χαίρωσι ταῖς ἄνευ λυπῶν ήδοναῖς. τί οὖν ἄκος τῶν τριῶν τούτων; τοῖς μὲν οὐσία βραχεῖα καὶ ἐργασία, τοῖς δὲ σωφροσύνη· τρίτον δ', εἴ τινες βούλοιντο δι' αὐτῶν χαίρειν, οὐκ ἀν ἐπιζητοῖεν εἰ μὴ παρὰ Φιλοσοφίας ἄκος· αἱ γὰρ ἄλλαι ἀνθρώπων δέονται. ἐπεὶ τε

10 robrartler] 'But the case is reversed with regard to each of the two.'

έλν Ίσαι] Comp. Plato, Legg. VI. 757. a.: οὐκ ὰν γένοιντο φίλοι ἐν Ίσαις τιμαῖς διαγορευόμενοι φαῦλοι καὶ σπουδαῖοι· τοῖς γὰρ ἀνίσοις τὰ ἴσα ἄνισα γίγνοιτ' ἄν. Π. IX. 319.

11 δν έπος] δν άδικημάτων, 'when he thinks the remedy lies in equality of property.' Men commit injustice, violate their social duty, not merely to satisfy the cravings of hunger or to ward off cold, but also to gratify their passions and desires, and that on a far greater scale than can be called necessary, οὐ διὰ τὰναγκαῖα ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὰs ὑπερβολάς; their desires for wealth, honour, and other external goods.

ταύτης] BC. της μείζονος.

12 'Nor, again, is this second enough; the statement is not yet complete. Men will even form desires for external goods in order to secure the enjoyment of the pleasures which are unaccompanied with pain; those, namely, which do not involve any previous

sense of want. With these three evils to meet what are the remedies available? Against the first the remedy lies in a small property and labour. To meet the second, the virtue of selfcontrol is required. For the third, granting that there are men who would command the pleasures which depend on themselves alone, the pleasures which are free from pain, they should not look for a remedy to any quarter but intellectual cultivation. All other pleasures require the aid of others, are not complete in themselves.' Such is the meaning of this section, I believe. ταις άνευ λυπών ήδοναις is equivalent to δι' αὐτών χαίρειν.

τών τριών τούτων] ες. άδικημάτων.

Comp. for the distinction between τὰ ἀναγκαῖα τῶν ποιούντων ἡδονήν and τὰ αίρετὰ καθ' αὐτὰ ἔχοντα δ' ὑπερβο-λήν, Είλ. VII. VI. 2. p. 1147, b. 24, and XIII. 2. bis. p. 1154, 15.

ai γάρ ἄλλαι ἀνθρώπων δέονται] Comp. Eth. x. vii. 4. p. 1177, 27.

13 Comp. Eur. Phan. 534, and Milton, Par. Lost, rv. 60.

άδιχοῦσί γε τὰ μέγιστα διὰ τας ὑπερβολάς, άλλ' οὐ διὰ τὰ άναγκαΐα, οίον τυραννούσιν ούχ ίνα μη ριγώσιν. διό καί αὶ τιμαὶ μεγάλαι, αν ἀποκτείνη τις οὐ κλέπτην άλλα τύραννον. ώστε πρός τας μικράς άδικίας βοηθητικός μόνον ό 14 τρόπος της Φαλέου πολιτείας. Ετι τὰ πολλά βούλεται χατασχευάζειν έξ ών τὰ πρὸς αύτους πολιτεύσονται καλώς, δεῖ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς γειτνιῶντας καὶ τοὺς ἔξωθεν πάντας, άναγκαῖον άρα τὴν πολιτείαν συντετάχθαι πρὸς τὴν πολετς μικήν ἰσχύν, περί ής έκεῖνος οὐδεν είρηκεν. ὁμοίως δε καί περί της κτήσεως. δεί γαρ ου μόνον πρός τας πολιτικάς γρήσεις ίκανην ύπάρχειν, άλλα καί πρός τους έξωθεν κινδύνους. διόπερ ούτε τοσούτον δει πληθος ύπάρχειν ών οί πλησίον και κρείττους επιθυμήσουσιν, οι δ' έχοντες αμύνειν οὐ δυνήσονται τοὺς ἐπιόντας, οὖθ' οὕτως ὀλίγην ώστε μή δύνασθαι πόλεμον ύπενεγχεῖν μηδὲ τῶν ἴσων χαὶ τῶν ὁμοίων. το έχεινος μέν οθν οὐδεν διώριχεν, δεί δε τοῦτο μη λανθάνειν, ότι συμφέρει πληθος οὐσίας. Ισως οὖν άριστος ὅρος τὸ μὴ λυσιτελείν τοίς κρείττοσι διά την ύπερβολην πολεμείν, άλλ' 17 ουτως ως αν και μη εχόντων τοσαύτην οὐσίαν. οίον Εύβουλος Αὐτοφραδάτου μέλλοντος Αταρνέα πολιορκεῖν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτόν, σχεψάμενον ἐν πόσω χρόνω λήψεται τὸ χωρίον, λογίσασθαι τοῦ χρόνου τούτου την δαπάνην : ἐθέλειν γὰρ έλαττον τούτου λαβών έκλιπεῖν ήδη τὸν 'Αταρνέα. ταῦτα δ' εἰπών ἐποίησε τὸν ΑὐτοΦραδάτην σύννουν γενόμενον 18 παύσασθαι της πολιορχίας. έστι μέν οὖν τι τῶν συμ-Φερόντων τὸ τὰς οὐσίας είναι ἴσας τοῖς πολίταις πρὸς τὸ

διό καί] For his crimes are the greatest. Comp. Grote, 111. 57, note. This passage is quoted with others in illustration of the view taken of the despot by philosophers.

¹⁵ µn86] 'not even.'

¹⁶ δτι συμφέροι πλήθος οδσίας] Poverty then is not in itself a good. Wealth is desirable as enabling a man to attain his full liberty, the complete regise of all his faculties up to their

¹ limit.

àλλ' οδτως &ς άν, κ.τ.λ.] 'but only in cases in which they would do so had the party assailed not so much property in its possession.' The wealth should never be the temptation to an attack.

¹⁷ For Autophradates, see Smith, Biog. Dict.

¹⁸ καl γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] In fact, this very equality contains in it an element of discord.

μη στασιάζειν πρὸς άλληλους, οὐ μην μέγ' οὐδὲν τος εἰπεῖν. Phaleas. καλ γάρ αν οι χαρίεντες άγανακτοῖεν αν ώς οὐκ ἴσων ὄντες άξιοι, διό και Φαίνονται πολλάκις ἐπιτιθέμενοι και στασιάζοντες. ἔτι δ' ή πονηρία τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄπληστον, καὶ τὸ 19 1267 Β πρώτον μεν ίκανον διωβολία μόνον, δταν δ' ήδη τοῦτ' ή πάτριον, αεί δέονται του πλείονος, έως είς απειρον έλθωσιν: ἄπειρος γὰρ ή της ἐπιθυμίας Φύσις, ής πρὸς τὴν ἀναπλήρωσιν οἱ πολλοὶ ζῶσιν. τῶν οὖν τοιούτων ἀρχή, μᾶλλον τοῦ 20 τας οὐσίας ὁμαλίζειν, τὸ τοὺς μὲν ἐπιεικεῖς τῆ Φύσει τοιούτους παρασκευάζειν ώστε μη βούλεσθαι πλεονεκτείν, τους δε Φαύλους ώστε μη δύνασθαι τοῦτο δ' ἐστίν, αν ήττους τε ῶσι καὶ μὴ ἀδικῶνται. Οὐ καλῶς δ' οὐδὲ τὴν ἰσότητα τῆς 21 ούσίας εξρηκεν περί γαρ την της γης κτησιν ισάζει μόνον, ἔστι δὲ καὶ δούλων καὶ βοσκημάτων πλοῦτος καὶ νομίσματος, καὶ κατασκευή πολλή τῶν καλουμένων ἐπίπλων. ή πάντων οδν τούτων Ισότητα ζητητέον ή τάξιν τινά μετρίαν, ή πάντα ἐατέον. Φαίνεται δ' ἐκ τῆς νομοθεσίας κατασκευ- 22 άζων την πόλιν μικράν, εί γ' οἱ τεχνῖται πάντες δημόσιοι ἔσονται καὶ μὴ πλήρωμά τι παρέξονται τῆς πόλεως. ἀλλ' 23 είπερ δεῖ δημοσίους είναι τοὺς τὰ κοινὰ ἐργαζομένους, δεῖ καθάπερ εν Έπιδάμνω τε, καὶ ώς Διόφαντός ποτε κατεσκεύαζεν 'Αθήνησι, τοῦτον ἔχειν τὸν τρόπον. Περί μεν οδν της Φαλέου πολιτείας σχεδον έκ τούτων αν τις θεωρήσειεν, εί τι τυγγάνει καλώς είρηκως ή μη καλώς.

Ίππόδαμος δε Εύρυφωντος Μιλήσιος, δς και την των 8

19 διωβολία] The pay of dicasts and members of the assembly.

20 τῶν οἶν τοιούτων ἀρχή] 'In such matters the real principle is.'

τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς] = χαρίεντες, cf. § 18. The respectable part — the upper classes. The word is used, that is, in a political sense, as is φαύλους just below.

21 From objections to the great principle of Phalens' constitution, he comes now to one or two objections on points of detail. ἐπίπλων] 'moveables.'

22 of τεχνῖται, κ.τ.λ.] The artisans and tradesmen considered in the light of slaves belonging to the public.

23 The cases which he quotes as different from the arrangements of Phaleas are, from our want of knowledge on the subject, useless as illustrations. Comp. Grote, III. 542.

κατεσκεύα(εν] 'wished to establish.'

VIII. 1 For Hippodamus, see Smith, Dict. Biog., and Grote, vi. 27.

Ittppmala

π πλειον διαίρεσιν εύρε και τον Πειραία κατέτεμεν, γενόμενος και περί του άλλου βίου περιττότερος διά Φιλοτιμίαν ούτως πίπτε δοκείν ένίοις ζην περιεργότερον τριχών τε πλήθει καλ μώμμη παλυτελεί, έτι δε εσθήτος εύτελοῦς μεν άλεεινής δε αίλα έν τῷ χειμαϊνι μόνον άλλα καὶ περὶ τοὺς θερινοὺς χρόναιμή λάγιος δε και περί την δλην Φύσιν είναι βουλόμενος, FRINTAL THE MY MODITEUOMENOU EVERTIPHOTE TI MEDI MODITEIAS είπειν της Αρίστης. Κατεσκεύαζε δε την πόλιν τω πλήθει His Murimunian, eis Toia de méph disponments. Exolei yap en μου μέρης τεχνίτας, εν δε γεωργούς, τρίτον δε το προπολεμαίο και τα δπλα έχου. διήρει δ' είς τρία μέρη την χώ-PAN, THE MEN legan, The De Symosian, The B' idian. Bles Men τά γημιδήμενα ποιήπουτι πρός τους θεούς, ιεράν, άφ' ών δ' αί πραπαλεμιαίμετες βιαίσονται, κοινήν, την δε των γεωργών + Ιδίκη, (ήετα δ' είδη και του νόμουν είναι τρία μόνον περί κίν 3 μ. μ. Αίκαι γίνονται, τρία ταῦτ' είναι τὸν ἀριθμόν, ύμητο κλλάρου θάνατου. ἐνομοθέτει δὲ καὶ δικαστήριον εν τλ κιίριου, είς δ πάσεις Ανάγεσθαι δείν τάς μή καλώς κεκρί-A BAI BANGUARY BINAS' TOUTO DE NATEUNEÚAJEN EN TINON YEPON-1400 S TIME Aletine, कार के अर्थ हात हाड़ हेंग का का कार का का के ψηφηφηρίης ιπετα γίνεσθαι δείν, άλλά Φέρειν Εκαστον πινάμιαν, εν ιβ γράφειν, εί καταδικάζοι άπλῶς την δίκην, εί δ' απαλίαι απλίως μενάν' εί δε το μεν το δε μή, τοῦτο διορίζειν, νίιν γαρ ούν κάτο νενομοθετήσθαι καλώς · άναγκάζειν

resting , [nultituris vil enderprised eccentric from ostentation,'

ποριομγάτομαν, κ.τ.λ.] - ' somewhat extravagantly, both from the quantity and expensive ornaments of his bair.'

Advias #4, s.r.A.] and wishing to be wall-informed on all subjects of natural acioneo, " a man of considerable attainments in the physical philosophy of the age." The word Advise occurs later, iv. (vii.) x, 3. Comp. Herod. i. 1. 11. 3.

I cannot but think this whole deiption of Hippodamus very suspicious, 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 ào' Sv] used without any regard to the number, as the equivalent of 80er.

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

5 εἰ καταδικάζοι ἀπλως] simply gave sentence against the accusod.'

drayed(ειν γdρ] The subject is την



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γὰρ ἐπιορκεῖν ἢ ταῦτα ἢ ταῦτα δικάζοντας. ἐτίθει δὲ νό- Hippodaμον περί τῶν εύρισκόντων τι τῆ πόλει συμφέρον, ὅπως τυγχάνωσι τιμής, καὶ τοῖς παισὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τελευτώντων έκ δημοσίου γίνεσθαι την τροφήν, ώς ούπω τοῦτο παρ' άλλοις νενομοθετημένον έστι δε και εν Αθήναις ούτος ο νόμος νῦν καὶ ἐν ἐτέραις τῶν πόλεων. τοὺς δ' ἄρχοντας αίρετοὺς 7 ύπὸ τοῦ δήμου είναι πάντας. δήμον δ' εποίει τὰ τρία μέρη της πόλεως τους δ' αίρεθέντας επιμελεῖσθαι κοινών καί ξενικῶν καὶ ὀρφανικῶν. Τὰ μὲν οὖν πλεῖστα καὶ τὰ μάλιστα άξιόλογα της Ίπποδάμου τάξεως ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ἀπορήσειε δ' άν τις πρώτον μέν την διαίρεσιν τοῦ πλήθους τών πολιτών. οί τε γάρ τεχνίται καὶ οἱ γεωργοὶ καὶ οἱ τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοντες ε κοινωνούσι της πολιτείας πάντες, οί μεν γεωργοί ούκ έχοντες οπλα, οι δε τεχνίται ούτε γην ούτε οπλα, ώστε γίνονται σχεδον δοῦλοι τῶν τὰ ὅπλα κεκτημένων. μετέχειν μὲν οὖν 9 πασῶν τῶν τιμῶν ἀδύνατον . ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἐκ τῶν τὰ ὅπλα έγόντων καθίστασθαι καὶ στρατηγούς καὶ πολιτοφύλακας καὶ τὰς κυριωτάτας ἀρχὰς ὡς εἰπεῖν· μὴ μετέχοντας δὲ τῆς πολιτείας πῶς οἶόν τε Φιλικῶς ἔχειν πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν; άλλὰ δεῖ κρείττους εἶναι τοὺς τὰ ὅπλα γε κεκτημένους ἀμ-Φοτέρων τῶν μερῶν τοῦτο δ' οὐ ράδιον μὴ πολλοὺς ὄντας. εὶ δέ τοῦτ' ἔσται, τί δεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους μετέχειν τῆς πολι- το τείας καὶ κυρίους είναι τῆς τῶν ἀρχόντων καταστάσεως; ἔτι οί γεωργοί τί χρήσιμοι τῆ πόλει; τεχνίτας μεν γάρ άναγ-

νῦν τάξιν, or some similar expression. 'The present arrangement.'

Larissa, but one on which there seems no information.

μή μετέχοντας, 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?'

⁶ ώς οδπω, κ.τ.λ.] 'as though this had not yet been enacted by law in other cases.'

⁷ ἀπορήσειε...την διαίρεσιν] 'would find a difficulty in his division of the whole body of his citizens.'

⁹ μετέχειν μὲν οδν, κ.τ.λ.] 'without going so far as this, it is clear that for them to share in all the offices is impossible.'

πολιτοφύλακας] a magistracy mentioned viii. (v.) vi. 6, as existing at

Hippoda- καῖον εἶναι· πᾶσα γὰρ δεῖται πόλις τεχνιτῶν, καὶ δύνανται διαγίγνεσθαι καθάπερ έν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ἀπὸ τῆς τέγνης οί δε γεωργοί πορίζοντες μεν τοῖς τὰ ὅπλα κεκτημένοις την τροφην εὐλόγως αν ησάν τι της πόλεως μέρος, νῦν 11 δ' ιδίαν έγουσιν, και ταύτην ιδία γεωργούσιν. έτι δε τήν κοινήν, άφ' ής οι προπολεμούντες έξουσι την τροφήν, εί μεν αύτοι γεωργήσουσιν, ούκ αν είη το μάχιμον έτερον και το γεωργούν, βούλεται δ' ο νομοθέτης εί δ' έτεροί τινες έσονται τῶν τε τὰ ίδια γεωργούντων καὶ τῶν μαχίμων, τέταρτον αὖ μόριον ἔσται τοῦτο τῆς πόλεως, οὐδενὸς μετέχον, ἀλλ' 12 άλλότριον της πολιτείας. άλλα μην εί τις τους αυτους θήσει τούς τε την ιδίαν και τούς την κοινήν γεωργούντας, τό 1268 Β Τε πλήθος ἄπορον ἔσται τῶν καρπῶν ἐξ ὧν ἕκαστος γεωργήσει δύο οἰκίας, καὶ τίνος ἔνεκεν οὐκ εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν κλήρων αὐτοῖς τε τὴν τροφὴν λήψονται καὶ τοῖς μαγίμοις παρέξουσιν; ταῦτα δὴ πάντα πολλὴν ἔγει ταρα-13 χήν. Οὐ καλῶς δ' οὐδ' ὁ περὶ τῆς κρίσεως ἔχει νόμος, τὸ κρίνειν άξιουν διαιρούντα της κρίσεως άπλως γεγραμμένης,

> 'support them-10 διαγίγνεσθαι] selves.'

> ίδία γεωργούσιν] '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 Trepol Tives Toortai] Sc. of Yewp-אסטשדפו דאש אסושאי.

> 12 Emopov] 'will be a difficulty.' yewpyhres 860 olklas] 'maintain by ngriculture.'

> ebele] 'at once,' without any division taking place. There need be no distinction between common and privata land,

> άπι την γην, κ.τ.λ.] This would seem to be nothing more than 'from the same lots of land.' So it is taken by Schnelder and Stahr: "aus ein denselben ihnen durchs Loos

Iton Grundstücken,"

13 διαιρούντα] 'distinguishing.'

της κρίσεως άπλως γεγραμμένης] Ι understand this to be a concentrated In full it would be: When the issue taken is simple, and therefore the verdict to be given should be simple. * kplous, 'the decision,' properly is made to do double duty, to represent both the form of the indictment and the form of the decision.

καl πλείοσιν] In all cases of arbitration there is necessarily more than one party, and their respective claims admit of discussion and distinctions. The arbitrator therefore, or arbitrators. may discuss these claims with one another, and draw distinctions as to their amount. In a court of justice this is The defendant as a single not so. party stands before the court for a decision simply. Is he or is he not guilty on the point raised? There is no need of distinctions as to amount;

καὶ γίνεσθαι τὸν δικαστὴν διαιτητήν. τοῦτο δ' ἐν μὲν τῆ Hippodaδιαίτη καὶ πλείοσιν ἐνδέχεται (κοινολογοῦνται γὰρ ἀλλήλοις περί τῆς χρίσεως), ἐν δὲ τοῖς δικαστηρίοις οὐχ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ καλ τούναντίον τούτω των νομοθετών οί πολλολ παρασκευάζουσιν δπως οἱ δικασταὶ μὴ κοινολογῶνται πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ἔπειτα πῶς οὐκ ἔσται παραγώδης ἡ κρίσις, ὅταν ὀΦείλειν 14 μεν ο δικαστής οίηται, μή τοσούτον δ' όσον ο δικαζόμενος; ό μεν γαρ είκοσι μνας, ό δε δικαστής κρίνει δέκα μνας, ή ό μεν πλέον, ὁ δ' ἔλασσον, ἄλλος δε πέντε, ὁ δε τέτταρας. καὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τρόπον δῆλον ὅτι μεριοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ πάντα καταδικάσουσιν, οἱ δ' οὐθέν, τίς οὖν ὁ τρόπος ἔσται τῆς 15 διαλογής τῶν ψήφων; ἔτι δ' οὐδεὶς ἐπιορκεῖν ἀναγκάζει τὸν ἀπλῶς ἀποδικάσαντα ἢ καταδικάσαντα, εἴπερ ἀπλῶς τὸ έγκλημα γέγραπται δικαίως ού γάρ μηδεν όφείλειν δ άποδικάσας κρίνει, άλλὰ τὰς εἴκοσι μνᾶς ' άλλ' ἐκεῖνος ἤδη ἐπιρρκει ο καταδικάσας μη νομίζων οφείλειν τας είκοσι μνας. Περί 16 δὲ τοῦ τοῖς εὑρίσκουσί τι τῆ πόλει συμφέρον ώς δεῖ γίνεσθαί τινα τιμήν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀσφαλὲς τὸ νομοθετεῖν, ἀλλ' εὐόφθαλμον άκοῦσαι μόνον. Εχει γάρ συκοφαντίας καὶ κινήσεις, άν τύγη, πολιτείας. εμπίπτει δ' είς άλλο πρόβλημα καὶ σκέψιν επέραν άποροῦσι γάρ τινες πόπερον βλαβερον ή συμ-Φέρον ταῖς πόλεσι τὸ κινεῖν τοὺς πατρίους νόμους, αν ἢ τις άλλος βελτίων. διόπερ οὐ ῥάδιον τῷ λεχθέντι ταχὺ συγ- 17 χωρείν, είπερ μή συμφέρει κινείν. Ενδέχεται δ' είσηγείσθαί τινας νόμων λύσιν ή πολιτείας ώς κοινὸν άγαθόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πεποιήμεθα μνείαν, έτι μικρά περί αὐτοῦ διαστείλασθαι βέλ-

there is no need for discussion among the judges. It were better that each gave his unbiassed opinion. I offer this view with hesitation on a subject which I am not familiar with.

14 & δικαζόμενος] 'the plaintiff.'

of the word in which the specific sense is to be dropped as much as possible, 'fair to the ear.'

ξχει γὰρ συκοφαντίαs] 'for it opens a door to vexatious cavillings against the old law.' Again, in συκοφαντίαs the most general sense is all that can be retained, as far as I see.

17 διαστείλασθαι] 'set out,' 'state at length.' Comp. Plato, Rep. vII. 535. B.

¹⁵ της διαλογης των ψήφων] 'The counting of the votes.'

δικαίως] 'on good grounds.' τὸ Εγκλημα, 'the indictment.'

¹⁶ εὐόφθαλμον ἀκοῦσαι] an odd use

Plato's Laws.

γὰρ πάντες ἐπάναγκες, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου τιμήματος, εἶτα _ πάλιν Ίσους εκ τοῦ δευτέρου, εἶτ' ἐκ τῶν τρίτων. πλὴν οὐ πασιν επάναγκες ην τοῖς εκ των τρίτων η τετάρτων, εκ δε τοῦ τετάρτου τῶν τεττάρων μόνοις ἐπάναγκες τοῖς πρώτοις 21 καλ τοῖς δευτέροις. εἶτ' ἐκ τούτων ἴσον ἀΦ' ἑκάστου τιμήματος αποδείξαι Φησι δείν αριθμόν. Εσονται δή πλείους οί έκ τῶν μεγίστων τιμημάτων καὶ βελτίους διὰ τὸ ἐνίους μὴ 22 αίρεῖσθαι τῶν δημοτικῶν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπάναγκες. ὡς μὲν οὖν ούκ εκ δημοκρατίας καὶ μοναρχίας δεῖ συνιστάναι τὴν τοιαύτην πολιτείαν, έκ τούτων Φανερον και των υστερον δηθησομένων, δταν έπιβάλλη περί της τοιαύτης πολιτείας ή σκέψις: έχει δε και περί την αίρεσιν τών άρχόντων το εξ αίρετών αίρετοὺς ἐπικίνδυνον εἰ γάρ τινες συστῆναι θέλουσι καὶ μέτριοι τὸ πληθος, ἀεὶ κατὰ τὴν τούτων αίρεθήσονται βούλησιν. Τὰ μεν οὖν περί τὴν πολιτείαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον.

7 Εἰσὶ δέ τινες πολιτεῖαι καὶ ἄλλαι, αἱ μὲν ἰδιωτῶν αἱ δὲ φιλοσόφων καὶ πολιτικῶν, πᾶσαι δὲ τῶν καθεστηκυιῶν καὶ

· Bekker τετάρτων.

pelled 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 τεττάρων, as do others; and the change seems required.

21 ξσονται δή, 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. βελτίους, which he makes part of the predicate, I think should be part of the subject, οἱ ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων τιμημάτων καὶ βελτίους ἔσονται πλείους.

τῶν δημοτικῶν] 'the democratical party.'

22 ἐπιβάλλη] 'comes on.'

ξχει ἐπικίνδυνον] ἐπικινδύνως 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. I ibiarar] 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' ας πολιτεύονται νῦν ἐγγύτερόν εἰσι τούτων ἀμφοτέρων. Phaleas. οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὖτε τὴν περὶ τὰ τέκνα κοινότητα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας άλλος κεκαινοτόμηκεν, οὖτε περὶ τὰ συσσίτια τῶν γυναικῶν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἄρχονται μᾶλλον. γάρ τισι τὸ περὶ τὰς οὐσίας εἶναι μέγιστον τετάγθαι καλῶς: περί γαρ τούτων ποιεῖσθαί Φασι τας στάσεις πάντας. Φαλέας ὁ Χαλκηδόνιος τοῦτ' εἰσήνεγκε πρῶτος Φησί γὰρ δείν ίσας είναι τὰς κτήσεις τῶν πολιτῶν. τοῦτο δὲ κατοι- 3 1266 Β χιζομέναις μεν εύθυς ου χαλεπον ώετο ποιείν, τας δ' ήδη κατοικουμένας έργωδέστερον μέν, δμως δε τάχιστ' αν όμαλισθηναι τῷ τὰς προῖκας τοὺς μὲν πλουσίους διδόναι μὲν λαμβάνειν δε μή, τους δε πένητας μη διδόναι μεν λαμβάνειν δέ. Πλάτων δὲ τοὺς νόμους γράφων μέχρι μέν τινος ὧετο 4 δείν έαν, πλείον δε του πενταπλασίαν είναι της έλαχίστης μηδενί τῶν πολιτῶν ἐξουσίαν είναι κτήσασθαι, καθάπερ είρηται καὶ πρότερον. δεῖ δὲ μηδὲ τοῦτο λανθάνειν τοὺς 5 ούτω νομοθετούντας, δ λανθάνει νύν, δτι τὸ τῆς οὐσίας τάττοντας πλήθος προσήκει καὶ τῶν τέκνων τὸ πλήθος τάττειν. έαν γαρ υπεραίρη της ουσίας το μέγεθος ο των τέκνων άριθμός, ἀνάγκη τόν γε νόμον λύεσθαι, καὶ χωρὶς τῆς λύσεως Φαῦλον τὸ πολλοὺς ἐκ πλουσίων γίνεσθαι πένητας Εργον γάρ μη νεωτεροποιούς είναι τούς τοιούτους. διότι μεν ούν 6

τούτων] sc. The two constitutions of Plato.

2 δοκεῖ γάρ, κ.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.

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

Yous 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 ήδη κατοικουμένας] sc. ποιεῖν. 'That states already actually settled and organized should do it.'
- 5 προσήκει] 'it is incumbent on them.'

ὑπεραίρη] 'rise above.'

6 $\delta i \delta \tau i$] = $\delta \tau i$. Comp. note on I. II. IO.

Phaleas.

έγει τινά δύναμιν είς την πολιτικήν κοινωνίαν ή της οὐσίας όμαλότης, καὶ τῶν πάλαι τινὲς Φαίνονται διεγνωκότες, οίον καὶ Σόλων ενομοθέτησεν, καὶ παρ' άλλοις έστὶ νόμος ος κωλύει κτάσθαι γην δπόσην αν βούληταί τις. δμοίως δε καί την ουσίαν πωλείν οι νύμοι κωλύουσιν, ώσπερ εν Λοκροίς νόμος έστι μή πωλείν, έὰν μή Φανεράν ἀτυγίαν δείξη συμ-7 βεβηχυῖαν. ἔτι δὲ τοὺς παλαιοὺς χλήρους διασώζειν. τοῦτο δε λυθέν και περί Λευκάδα δημοτικήν εποίησε λίαν την πολιτείαν αὐτῶν οὐ γὰρ ἔτι συνέβαινεν ἀπὸ τῶν ώρισμένων τιμημάτων είς τὰς ἀρχὰς βαδίζειν. ἀλλ' ἔστι τὴν ἰσότητα μεν ὑπάργειν τῆς οὐσίας, ταύτην δ' ή λίαν είναι πολλήν, ώστε τρυφάν, ή λίαν όλίγην, ώστε ζην γλίσχρως. δηλον οὖν ως οὐχ ἱκανὸν τὸ τὰς οὐσίας ἴσας ποιῆσαι τὸν νομοθέτην, 8 άλλα τοῦ μέσου στοχαστέον. ἔτι δ' εἴ τις καὶ τὴν μετρίαν τάξειεν οὐσίαν πᾶσιν, οὐδεν ὄφελος μᾶλλον γάρ δεῖ τὰς έπιθυμίας όμαλίζειν ή τας ούσίας, τοῦτο δ' ούκ έστι μή παιδευομένοις ίκανῶς ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων. 'Αλλ' ἴσως εἴποι αν ὁ Φαλέας ὅτι ταῦτα τυγχάνει λέγων αὐτός • οἴεται γὰρ δυοῖν τούτοιν ἰσότητα δείν ὑπάρχειν ταίς πόλεσιν, κτήσεως καὶ 9 παιδείας. άλλὰ τήν τε παιδείαν ήτις ἔσται δεῖ λέγειν, καὶ τὸ μίαν είναι καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν οὐδὲν ὄΦελος. ἔστι γὰρ τὴν αύτην μεν είναι και μίαν, άλλα ταύτην είναι τοιαύτην έξ ής ἔσονται προαιρετικοὶ τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν ἡ χρημάτων ἡ τιμῆς ἡ 10 συναμφοτέρων. "Ετι στασιάζουσιν ού μόνον διά την άνισό-

Σόλων] This allusion to Solon does not seem to imply any thing more specific than that Solon recognised the important bearing on the political society of the arrangements with regard to property.

dν Λοκροῖs] The Epizephyrian Locrians for whom Zaleucus legislated.

διασάζειν] 'To keep unaltered throughout.' The infinitive depends on νόμος ἐστί. This provision existed in the Jewish law. Comp. Lev. xxv.

7 Asukáða] Comp. Grote, III. 539, 543, for a notice of the early history

of Leucas. The details of its constitutional history are very seanty.

οὐ γὰρ ἔτι, κ.τ.λ.] 'For the result was that the appointed qualification was no longer required before entrance into office.'

8 A due equality might be established, and yet there would be no guarantee for its existence. The arrangement would be open to immediate disturbance; for a disturbing cause is ever at hand in the passions of men.

δτι ταῦτα, κ.τ.λ.] 'That he will be found himself to allow this.'

τητα τῆς κτήσεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν τιμῶν. τοὐναντίον Phalens. δὲ περὶ ἐκάτερον · οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ διὰ τὸ περὶ τὰς κτήσεις ἄνισον, οἱ δὲ χαρίεντες περὶ τῶν τιμῶν, ἐὰν ἴσαι · ὅθεν 1267 καὶ

έν δὲ ἰἦ τιμῆ ἠμὲν κακὸς ἠδὲ καὶ ἐσθλός.

οὐ μόνον δ' οἱ ἄνθρωποι διὰ τἀναγκαῖα ἀδικοῦσιν, ὧν ἄκος τι εἶναι νομίζει τὴν ἰσότητα τῆς οὐσίας, ὥστε μὴ λωποδυτεῖν διὰ τὸ ῥιγοῦν ἢ πεινῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπως χαίρωσι καὶ μὴ ἐπιθυμῶσιν· ἐὰν γὰρ μείζω ἔχωσιν ἐπιθυμίαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων, διὰ τὴν ταύτης ἰατρείαν ἀδικήσουσιν. οὐ τοίνυν διὰ ταύτην το μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀν ἐπιθυμοῖεν, ἵνα χαίρωσι ταῖς ἄνευ λυπῶν ἡδοναῖς. τί οὖν ἄκος τῶν τριῶν τούτων; τοῖς μὲν οὐσία βραχεῖα καὶ ἐργασία, τοῖς δὲ σωφροσύνη· τρίτον δ', εἴ τινες βούλοιντο δι' αὐτῶν χαίρειν, οὐκ ἀν ἐπιζητοῖεν εἰ μὴ παρὰ Φιλοσοφίας ἄκος· αἱ γὰρ ἄλλαι ἀνθρώπων δέονται. ἐπεὶ 13

10 robrartler] 'But the case is reversed with regard to each of the two.'

έλν Ίσαι] Comp. Plato, Legg. VI. 757. a.: οὐκ Αν γένοιντο φίλοι ἐν Ίσαις τιμαῖς διαγορενόμενοι φαῦλοι καὶ σπουδαῖοι· τοῖς γὰρ ἀνίσοις τὰ ἴσα ἄνισα γίγνοιτ' ἄν. Π. 1x. 319.

11 δν άπος] δν άδικημάτων, 'when he thinks the remedy lies in equality of property.' Men commit injustice, violate their social duty, not merely to satisfy the cravings of hunger or to ward off cold, but also to gratify their passions and desires, and that on a far greater scale than can be called necessary, οἱ διὰ τὰναγκαῖα ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὰs ὑπερβολάς; their desires for wealth, honour, and other external goods.

ταύτης] BC. της μείζονος.

12 'Nor, again, is this second enough; the statement is not yet complete. Men will even form desires for external goods in order to secure the enjoyment of the pleasures which are unaccompanied with pain; those, namely, which do not involve any previous

sense of want. With these three evils to meet what are the remedies available? Against the first the remedy lies in a small property and labour. To meet the second, the virtue of selfcontrol is required. For the third, granting that there are men who would command the pleasures which depend on themselves alone, the pleasures which are free from pain, they should not look for a remedy to any quarter but intellectual cultivation. All other pleasures require the aid of others, are not complete in themselves.' Such is the meaning of this section, I believe. ταις άνευ λυπών ήδοναις is equivalent to δι' αὐτών χαίρειν.

τῶν τριῶν τούτων] εc. ἀδικημάτων.

Comp. for the distinction between $\tau \lambda$ $\lambda \nu \alpha \gamma \kappa \alpha \hat{\alpha} \alpha \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \tau \sigma \iota \sigma \iota \nu \tau \sigma \nu \dot{\sigma} \delta \sigma \iota \nu \tau \sigma \sigma \delta \dot{\sigma} \lambda \dot{\tau} \nu$, Eth. vii. vi. 2. p. 1147, b. 24, and xiii. 2. bis. p. 1154, 15.

al γάρ ἄλλαι ἀνθρώπων δέονται] Comp. Eth. x. vii. 4. p. 1177, 27.

13 Comp. Eur. Phan. 534, and Milton, Par. Lost, IV. 60.

άδικοῦσί γε τὰ μέγιστα διὰ τας ὑπερβολάς, ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τὰ άναγκαῖα, οίον τυραννοῦσιν οὐχ ίνα μὴ ῥιγῶσιν. διὸ καὶ αὶ τιμαὶ μεγάλαι, ᾶν ἀποκτείνη τις οὐ κλέπτην ἀλλὰ τύρανώστε πρός τας μικράς αδικίας βοηθητικός μόνον δ 14 τρόπος της Φαλέου πολιτείας. Έτι τὰ πολλά βούλεται κατασκευάζειν έξ ών τα πρός αύτους πολιτεύσονται καλώς, δεῖ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς γειτνιῶντας καὶ τοὺς ἔξωθεν πάντας, άναγκαῖον ἄρα τὴν πολιτείαν συντετάχθαι πρὸς τὴν πολε-15 μικήν ἰσχύν, περί ής ἐκεῖνος οὐδὲν εἴρηκεν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περί της κτήσεως δεῖ γάρ οὐ μόνον πρὸς τὰς πολιτικὰς χρήσεις ίκανην ύπάρχειν, άλλα καί πρός τους έξωθεν κινδύνους. διόπερ ούτε τοσούτον δεί πληθος ύπάργειν ών οί πλησίον και κρείττους επιθυμήσουσιν, οι δ' έχοντες αμύνειν ού δυνήσονται τους επιόντας, ούθ ουτως ολίγην ώστε μή δύνασθαι πόλεμον ὑπενεγκεῖν μηδὲ τῶν ἴσων καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων. 16 έχεῖνος μέν οὖν οὐδὲν διώρικεν, δεῖ δὲ τοῦτο μὴ λανθάνειν, ότι συμφέρει πλήθος οὐσίας. Ισως οὖν ἄριστος ὅρος τὸ μὴ λυσιτελείν τοίς κρείττοσι διά την ύπερβολην πολεμείν, άλλ 17 ουτως ως αν και μη έχοντων τοσαύτην οὐσίαν. οῖον Εύβουλος Αὐτοφραδάτου μέλλοντος 'Αταρνέα πολιορκεῖν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτόν, σκεψάμενον ἐν πόσω χρόνω λήψεται τὸ χωρίον, λογίσασθαι τοῦ χρόνου τούτου την δαπάνην εθέλειν γάρ έλαττον τούτου λαβών έκλιπεῖν ἦδη τὸν 'Αταρνέα. ταῦτα δ' είπων έποίησε τον Αύτοφραδάτην σύννουν γενόμενον 18 παύσασθαι της πολιορχίας. έστι μέν οὖν τι τῶν συμ-Φερόντων τὸ τὰς οὐσίας είναι ἴσας τοῖς πολίταις πρὸς τὸ

διδ καί] 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.

ις μηδέ] 'not even.'

¹⁶ δτι συμφέροι πλήθος οὐσίας] 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.

àλλ' οῦτως ὡς ἄν, κ.τ.λ.] 'but only in cases in which they would do so had the party assailed not so much property in its possession.' The wealth should never be the temptation to an attack.

¹⁷ For Autophradates, see Smith, Biog. Dict.

¹⁸ καl $\gamma d\rho$, κ.τ.λ.] In fact, this very equality contains in it an element of discord.

μη στασιάζειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οὐ μην μέγ' οὐδὲν ώς εἰπεῖν. Phaleas. καλ γάρ αν οι χαρίεντες άγανακτοῖεν αν ώς οὐκ ἴσων ὄντες άξιοι, διὸ καὶ Φαίνονται πολλάκις ἐπιτιθέμενοι καὶ στασιάζοντες. ἔτι δ' ή πονηρία τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄπληστον, καὶ τὸ 19 1267 Β πρώτον μεν ίκανον διωβολία μόνον, όταν δ' ήδη τοῦτ' ή πάτριον, άεὶ δέονται τοῦ πλείονος, εως εἰς ἄπειρον ελθωσιν: απειρος γαρ ή της επιθυμίας Φύσις, ής πρὸς την αναπλήρωσιν οἱ πολλοὶ ζῶσιν. τῶν οὖν τοιούτων ἀρχή, μᾶλλον τοῦ 20 τας οὐσίας ὁμαλίζειν, τὸ τοὺς μὲν ἐπιεικεῖς τῆ Φύσει τοιούτους παρασκευάζειν ώστε μτ βούλεσθαι πλεονεκτείν, τους δε Φαύλους ώστε μη δύνασθαι τοῦτο δ' ἐστίν, αν ήττους τε ῶσι καὶ μὴ ἀδικῶνται. Οὐ καλῶς δ' οὐδὲ τὴν ἰσότητα τῆς 21 ούσίας είρηκεν περί γαρ την της γης κτησιν ισάζει μόνον, έστι δε και δούλων και βοσκημάτων πλοῦτος και νομίσματος, καὶ κατασκευή πολλή τῶν καλουμένων ἐπίπλων. ή πάντων οδν τούτων Ισότητα ζητητέον η τάξιν τινά μετρίαν, ή πάντα ἐατέον. Φαίνεται δ' ἐκ τῆς νομοθεσίας κατασκευ- 22 άζων την πόλιν μικράν, εί γ' οἱ τεχνῖται πάντες δημόσιοι ἔσονται καὶ μὴ πλήρωμά τι παρέξονται τῆς πόλεως. ἀλλ' 23 είπερ δει δημοσίους είναι τούς τὰ κοινὰ ἐργαζομένους, δεί καθάπερ εν Έπιδάμνω τε, καὶ ώς Διόφαντός ποτε κατεσκεύαζεν 'Αθήνησι, τοῦτον έχειν τὸν τρόπον. Περί μεν οὖν της Φαλέου πολιτείας σχεδον έκ τούτων αν τις θεωρήσειεν, εί τι τυγχάνει καλῶς εἰρηκώς ή μη καλῶς.

Ίππόδαμος δὲ ΕύρυΦῶντος Μιλήσιος, δς καὶ τὴν τῶν 8

¹⁹ διωβολία] The pay of dicasts and members of the assembly.

²⁰ τῶν οδυ τοιούτων ἀρχή] 'In such matters the real principle is.'

τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς] = χαρίεντες, cf. § 18. The respectable part — the upper classes. The word is used, that is, in a political sense, as is φαύλους just below.

²¹ From objections to the great principle of Phalens' constitution, he comes now to one or two objections on points of detail.

ἐπίπλων] 'moveables.'

²² of τεχνίται, κ.τ.λ.] The artisans and tradesmen considered in the light of slaves belonging to the public.

²³ The cases which he quotes as different from the arrangements of Phaleas are, from our want of knowledge on the subject, useless as illustrations. Comp. Grote, III. 542.

κατεσκεύαζεν] 'wished to establish.'

VIII. I For Hippodamus, see Smith, Dict. Biog., and Grote, vi. 27.

πόλεων διαίρεσιν εύρε καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατέτεμεν, γενόμενος καὶ περὶ τὸν ἄλλον βίον περιττότερος διὰ Φιλοτιμίαν οῦτως ώστε δοκείν ένίοις ζην περιεργότερον τριχών τε πλήθει καλ χόσμω πολυτελεί, έτι δε έσθητος εύτελοῦς μεν άλεεινης δε ούκ έν τῷ γειμῶνι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοὺς θερινοὺς γρόνους, λόγιος δε καί περί την δλην Φύσιν είναι βουλόμενος, πρώτος τών μή πολιτευομένων ένεχείρησέ τι περί πολιτείας είπεῖν τῆς ἀρίστης. Κατεσκεύαζε δὲ τὴν πόλιν τῷ πλήθει μεν μυρίανδρον, είς τρία δε μέρη διηρημένην εποίει γάρ έν μέν μέρος τεχνίτας, έν δε γεωργούς, τρίτον δε το προπολεμοῦν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἔχον. διήρει δ' εἰς τρία μέρη τὴν χώραν, την μεν ἱεράν, την δε δημοσίαν, την δ' ἰδίαν . δθεν μεν τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιήσουσι πρὸς τοὺς θεούς, ἱεράν, ἀΦ' ὧν δ' οί προπολεμούντες βιώσονται, κοινήν, την δε των γεωργων 4 ίδίαν. ὤετο δ' εἴδη καὶ τῶν νόμων εἶναι τρία μόνον περὶ ών γὰρ αὶ δίκαι γίνονται, τρία ταῦτ' είναι τὸν ἀριθμόν, ύβριν βλάβην θάνατον. Ενομοθέτει δε καλ δικαστήριον εν τὸ κύριον, εἰς δ πάσας ἀνάγεσθαι δεῖν τὰς μὴ καλῶς κεκρίσθαι δοκούσας δίκας τοῦτο δὲ κατεσκεύαζεν ἐκ τινῶν γερόν-1268 5 των αίρετων. τὰς δὲ κρίσεις ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις οὐ διὰ ψηφοφορίας ώετο γίνεσθαι δείν, άλλα φέρειν εκαστον πινάκιου, εν ω γράφειν, εί καταδικάζοι άπλως την δίκην, εί δ' άπολύοι άπλῶς, κενόν εἰ δὲ τὸ μὲν τὸ δὲ μή, τοῦτο διορίζειν. νῦν γὰρ οὐκ ἄετο νενομοθετῆσθαι καλῶς ἀναγκάζειν

περιττότερος διά φιλοτιμίαν] 'rather eccentric from ostentation.'

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

 $\lambda \delta \gamma \cos \delta \hat{\epsilon}$, $\kappa.\tau.\lambda.$] 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 λόγιοι occurs later, IV. (VII.) x. 3. Comp. Herod. I. I. II. 3.

I cannot but think this whole description of Hippodamus very suspicious, 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 ἀφ' ὧν] used without any regard to the number, as the equivalent of 80er.

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

5 εἰ καταδικάζοι ἀπλώς] 'If he simply gave sentence against the ac-

ἀναγκάζειν γάρ] The subject is την

γὰρ ἐπιορκεῖν ἢ ταῦτα ἢ ταῦτα δικάζοντας. ἐτίθει δὲ νό- Hippodaμον περί τῶν εύρισκόντων τι τή πόλει συμφέρον, ὅπως τυγχάνωσι τιμής, καὶ τοῖς παισὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμω τελευτώντων έκ δημοσίου γίνεσθαι την τροφήν, ως ούπω τοῦτο παρ' άλλοις νενομοθετημένον έστι δε και εν Αθήναις ούτος ο νόμος νῦν καὶ ἐν ἐτέραις τῶν πόλεων. τοὺς δ' ἄρχοντας αἰρετοὺς ύπο του δήμου είναι πάντας δήμον δ' εποίει τὰ τρία μέρη της πόλεως τους δ' αίρεθέντας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι κοινῶν καὶ ξενικῶν καὶ ὀρφανικῶν. Τὰ μὲν οὖν πλεῖστα καὶ τὰ μάλιστα άξιόλογα της Ίπποδάμου τάξεως ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ἀπορήσειε δ' άν τις πρώτον μεν την διαίρεσιν τοῦ πλήθους τῶν πολιτῶν. οί τε γάρ τεχνίται καὶ οἱ γεωργοὶ καὶ οἱ τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοντες ε κοινωνοῦσι τῆς πολιτείας πάντες, οἱ μὲν γεωργοὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες οπλα, οι δε τεχνίται ούτε γην ούτε οπλα, ώστε γίνονται σχεδον δοῦλοι τῶν τὰ ὅπλα κεκτημένων. μετέχειν μὲν οὖν 9 πασῶν τῶν τιμῶν ἀδύνατον ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἐκ τῶν τὰ ὅπλα έχόντων καθίστασθαι καλ στρατηγούς καλ πολιτοφύλακας και τας κυριωτάτας άρχας ώς είπεῖν τη μετέχοντας δε τῆς πολιτείας πώς ολόν τε Φιλικώς έχειν πρός την πολιτείαν; άλλα δεί κρείττους είναι τους τα όπλα γε κεκτημένους άμ-Φοτέρων τῶν μερῶν τοῦτο δ' οὐ ῥάδιον μὴ πολλοὺς ὄντας. εὶ δέ τοῦτ' ἔσται, τί δεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους μετέχειν τῆς πολι-10 τείας και κυρίους είναι τῆς τῶν ἀρχόντων καταστάσεως; ἔτι οί γεωργοί τι χρήσιμοι τῆ πόλει; τεχνίτας μεν γάρ άναγ-

νῦν τάξιν, or some similar expression.
'The present arrangement.'

6 ωs οδπω, κ.τ.λ.] 'as though this had not yet been enacted by law in other cases.'

7 ἀπορήσειε...την διαίρεσιν] 'would find a difficulty in his division of the whole body of his citizens.'

πολιτοφύλακας] a magistracy mentioned viii. (v.) vi. 6, as existing at

Larissa, but one on which there seems no information.

μη μετέχοντας, 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?'

Hippoda- καῖον εἶναι· πᾶσα γὰρ δεῖται πόλις τεχνιτῶν, καὶ δύνανται διαγίγνεσθαι καθάπερ έν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ἀπὸ τῆς τέγνης· οἱ δὲ γεωργοὶ πορίζοντες μὲν τοῖς τὰ ὅπλα κεκτημένοις την τροφην εὐλόγως αν ήσαν τι της πόλεως μέρος, νῦν 11 δ' ιδίαν έχουσιν, καλ ταύτην ιδία γεωργοῦσιν. έτι δε την κοινήν, άφ' ής οι προπολεμοῦντες έξουσι την τροφήν, εί μεν αὐτοὶ γεωργήσουσιν, οὐκ ᾶν εἴη τὸ μάχιμον ἔτερον καὶ τὸ γεωργούν, βούλεται δ' δ νομοθέτης εί δ' έτεροί τινες έσονται τῶν τε τὰ ἴδια γεωργούντων καὶ τῶν μαγίμων, τέταρτον αὖ μόριον ἔσται τοῦτο τῆς πόλεως, οὐδενὸς μετέχον, ἀλλ' 12 άλλότριον της πολιτείας. άλλα μην εί τις τους αυτους θήσει τούς τε την ίδίαν και τούς την κοινήν γεωργούντας, τό 1268 Β ΤΕ πλήθος ἄπορον ἔσται τῶν καρπῶν ἐξ ὧν ἕκαστος γεωργήσει δύο οἰκίας, καὶ τίνος ἔνεκεν οὐκ εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν κλήρων αὑτοῖς τε τὴν τροΦὴν λήψονται καὶ τοῖς μαχίμοις παρέξουσιν; ταῦτα δὴ πάντα πολλὴν έχει ταρα-13 χήν. Οὐ καλῶς δ' οὐδ' ὁ περὶ τῆς κρίσεως ἔχει νόμος, τὸ κρίνειν άξιοῦν διαιροῦντα τῆς κρίσεως άπλῶς γεγραμμένης,

> 10 διαγίγνεσθαι] 'support themselves.'

ίδία γεωργούσιν] '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.

II ETEPOL TIVES ETOVTAI BC. OF YEWPγούντες την κοινήν.

12 ἄπορον] 'will be a difficulty.' γεωργήσει δύο olklas] 'maintain by agriculture.'

εὐθύs] 'at once,' without any division taking place. There need be no distinction between common and private land.

 $\delta\pi\delta$ $\tau\hat{\eta}s$ $\gamma\hat{\eta}s$, $\kappa.\tau.\lambda.$] This would seem to be nothing more than 'from the same lots of land.' So it is taken by Schneider and Stahr: "aus ein und denselben ihnen durchs Loos ertheilten Grundstücken."

13 διαιρούντα] 'distinguishing.'

της κρίσεως άπλως γεγραμμένης] Ι understand this to be a concentrated expression. In full it would be: When the issue taken is simple, and therefore the verdict to be given should be simple. ** kplous, 'the decision,' properly is made to do double duty, to represent both the form of the indictment and the form of the decision.

καl πλείοσιν] In all cases of arbitration there is necessarily more than one party, and their respective claims admit of discussion and distinctions. The arbitrator therefore, or arbitrators, may discuss these claims with one another, and draw distinctions as to their In a court of justice this is amount. The defendant as a single not so. party stands before the court for a decision simply. Is he or is he not guilty on the point raised? There is no need of distinctions as to amount;

καὶ γίνεσθαι τὸν δικαστὴν διαιτητήν. τοῦτο δ' ἐν μὲν τῆ Hippodaδιαίτη καὶ πλείοσιν ἐνδέχεται (κοινολογοῦνται γὰρ ἀλλήλοις περί της κρίσεως), έν δὲ τοῖς δικαστηρίοις οὐκ ἔστιν, άλλὰ καλ τούναντίον τούτω τῶν νομοθετῶν οἱ πολλολ παρασκευάζουσιν δπως οἱ δικασταὶ μὴ κοινολογῶνται πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ἔπειτα πῶς οὐκ ἔσται παραχώδης ἡ κρίσις, ὅταν ὀΦείλειν 14 μεν ο δικαστής οίηται, μή τοσούτον δ' όσον ο δικαζόμενος: ό μεν γάρ είκοσι μνάς, ό δε δικαστής κρίνει δέκα μνάς, ή ό μέν πλέον, ὁ δ' ἔλασσον, ἄλλος δὲ πέντε, ὁ δὲ τέτταρας. καὶ τοῦτον δη τὸν τρόπον δηλον ὅτι μεριοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ πάντα καταδικάσουσιν, οἱ δ' οὐθέν. τίς οὖν ὁ τρόπος ἔσται τῆς 15 διαλογής τῶν ψήφων; ἔτι δ' οὐδείς ἐπιορκεῖν ἀναγκάζει τὸν ἀπλῶς ἀποδικάσαντα ἢ καταδικάσαντα, εἴπερ ἀπλῶς τὸ ີ ἔγκλημα γέγραπται δικαίως: οὐ γὰρ μηδὲν ὀΦείλειν ὁ ἀποδικάσας κρίνει, άλλὰ τὰς εἴκοσι μνᾶς ' άλλ' ἐκεῖνος ἤδη ἐπιρρκεῖ ὁ καταδικάσας μὴ νομίζων ὀφείλειν τὰς εἴκοσι μνᾶς. Περὶ 16 δε τοῦ τοῖς ευρίσκουσί τι τῆ πόλει συμφέρον ως δεῖ γίνεσθαί τινα τιμήν, οὖκ ἔστιν ἀσφαλὲς τὸ νομοθετεῖν, ἀλλ' εὐόφθαλμον ακούσαι μόνον έχει γαρ συκοφαντίας καλ κινήσεις, αν τύχη, πολιτείας. ἐμπίπτει δ' εἰς ἄλλο πρόβλημα καὶ σκέψιν έτέραν άποροῦσι γάρ τινες πότερον βλαβερον ή συμ-Φέρον ταῖς πόλεσι τὸ κινεῖν τοὺς πατρίους νόμους, αν ή τις άλλος βελτίων. διόπερ οὐ ράδιον τῷ λεχθέντι ταχὺ συγ- 17 χωρείν, είπερ μή συμφέρει κινείν. ἐνδέχεται δ' εἰσηγείσθαί τινας νόμων λύσιν ή πολιτείας ώς κοινὸν άγαθόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πεποιήμεθα μνείαν, έτι μικρά περί αὐτοῦ διαστείλασθαι βέλ-

there is no need for discussion among the judges. It were better that each gave his unbiassed opinion. I offer this view with hesitation on a subject which I am not familiar with.

¹⁴ δ δικαζόμενος] 'the plaintiff.'

¹⁵ της διαλογής των ψήφων] 'The counting of the votes.'

δικαίως] 'on good grounds.' τὸ Εγκλημα, 'the indictment.'

¹⁶ εὐόφθαλμον ἀκοῦσαι] an odd use

of the word in which the specific sense is to be dropped as much as possible, 'fair to the ear.'

έχει γὰρ συκοφαντίαs] 'for it opens a door to vexatious cavillings against the old law.' Again, in συκοφαντίαs the most general sense is all that can be retained, as far as I see.

¹⁷ διαστείλασθαι] 'set out,' 'state at length.' Comp. Plato, Rep. vII. 535. B.

Μυρυλι των, έχει χαίς, ώσπες είπομεν, απορίαν και δόξειεν αν βέλ-- - τιου είναι το κιυεί» επί γούν των άλλων έπιστημών τούτο συνενήνεχεν, είου ιατρική κινηθείσα παρά τα πάτρια καί γυμιναστική και όλως αι τέγναι κάσαι και αι δυνάμεις, ώστ' रेक्टरे क्रांवा रक्षांका विहार्यक अवारे हते क्रमारामांग, विविश्व विहा सवी ιο περά τουτην οινοιγασίου όμωσης έγειν. σημείου δ' οιν γεγονέναι φαίη τις ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων' τοὺς γὰρ ἀργαίους νόμους λίαν επλούς είναι και βαρβαρικούς. ἐσιδηροφορούντό τε γας οι "Ελληνες, και τας γυσαϊκας έσυσϋντο παρ' άλλήο λους έσα το λοιπά των αργαίων έστι που νομίμων, εύήθη νου πάμαπου έστω, είου έν Κύμις περί τα Φονικά νόμος έστίν, αν νῶτ νονὸφ νότ νακάδιο ο νακύτικα μετρηθείκε ετ τοθέκη ει αύτου συγγενών, ένοχου είναι το φόνο του φεύγοντα. ζητούσι ο όλος οι το πάτριου άλλα τάγαθου πάντες είκός το τούς πρώτους, είτε ρηγενείς ήσαν είτ' έχ φθοράς τινός estimate emolous sinal nai rous turertas nai tous avonτους ώσπερ και λέγεται κατά τῶν γηγενῶν, ὧστ' ατοπον THE MINELY BY TOUS TOUTON GOYMETER. TOOS OF TOUTOIS OUGH τους γεγραμμένους έαν ακινήτους βέλτιου. Εσπερ γαρ καί πιλ τάς άλλας τέχνας, και την πολιτικήν τάξιν άδύνατον άμμικος πάντα γραφίναι καθόλου γάρ άναγκαῖον γραφήvai, al 38 สหตัฐงเราะค่ ของ ของ รัชยธาชา เกิดเท. 'Ex แล้ง อยึง

th the robe a.r.h.] He first gives the module to the module of \$40.

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Make who prove them.

Make who prove them.

21 (grown &, x.r.l.) 'In fact what mea look for in all cases is not the old but the good.'

ὰκ φθορᾶς τωὺς ἐσώθησαν] Compare a passage in Plato, Logg. III. 677. a.: τὸ πολλὰς ἀνθρώπων φθορὰς γεγονέναι κατακλυσμοῖς τε καὶ νόσοις καὶ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς, ἐν δἶς βραχό τι τῶν ἀνθρώπων λοίπεσθαι γένες. Compare in Politicus, 270.

species abou sai] The construction is the same as for sai, 'on a level with quite ordinary men in intelligence, or even simply below the ordinary standard.'

22 de pèr eor rotror, e.r.h.] 'On these grounds then it is evident that

τούτων Φανερον ότι κινητέοι καὶ τινες καὶ ποτε τῶν νόμων Hippodaείσίν, άλλον δε τρόπον επισκοπούσιν εύλαβείας αν δόξειεν είναι πολλής. όταν γάρ ή τὸ μὲν βέλτιον μικρόν, τὸ δ 23 εθίζειν εύχερῶς λύειν τοὺς νόμους Φαῦλον, Φανερον ώς ἐατέον ένίας άμαρτίας καὶ τῶν νομοθετῶν καὶ τῶν άρχόντων οὐ γάρ τοσοῦτον ωθελήσεται κινήσας, όσον βλαβήσεται τοῖς άρχουσιν άπειθεῖν ἐθισθείς. ψεῦδος δὲ καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα 24 τὸ περὶ τῶν τεχνῶν οὐ γὰρ ὅμοιον τὸ κινεῖν τέχνην καὶ ό γαρ νόμος ίσχυν ουδεμίαν έχει πρός το πείθε. σθαι πλήν παρά τὸ ἔθος, τοῦτο δ' οὐ γίνεται εἰ μή διά γρόνου πληθος, ώστε τὸ ραδίως μεταβάλλειν ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων νόμων είς έτέρους νόμους καινούς ασθενή ποιείν έστλ την του νόμου δύναμιν, έτι δ' εί και κινητέοι, πότερον 25 καὶ πάντες καὶ ἐν πάση πολιτεία, ἢ οὖ; καὶ πότερον τῷ τυχόντι ή τισίν; ταῦτα γὰρ ἔχει μεγάλην διαφοράν. διὸ νῦν μεν ἀφῶμεν ταύτην τὴν σκέψιν . ἄλλων γάρ ἐστι καιρῶν.

Περί δὲ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείας καὶ τῆς Κρητικῆς, 9 σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτειῶν, δύο εἰσὶν αὶ σκέψεις, μία μὲν εἴ τι καλῶς ἡ μὴ καλῶς πρὸς τὴν ἀρίστην νενομοθέτηται τάξιν, ἐτέρα δ΄ εἴ τι πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν καὶ τὸν τρόπον ὑπεναντίως τῆς προκειμένης αὐτοῖς πολιτείας. Οτι2

. Sparts

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

authous] is the citizen under the

24 & γὰρ νόμος] 'Whatever force the law has to secure obedience is entirely dependent on habit.' Comp. Arnold's Rome, 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 ἡ τισίν;] 'Is it open to any given person to propose the change, or to some definite number?'

IX. I δύο elote al 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?'

μεν οδν δεί τη μελλούση καλώς πολιτεύεσθαι την τών άναγκαίων ὑπάρχειν σχολήν, ὁμολογούμενόν ἐστιν· τίνα δὲ τρόπον ὑπάργειν, οὐ ῥάδιον λαβείν. ἢ τε γὰρ Θετταλών πενεστεία πολλάκις ἐπέθετο τοῖς Θετταλοῖς, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοῖς Λάκωσιν οἱ Εἴλωτες · ωσπερ γὰρ ἐΦεδρεύοντες τοῖς ἀτυχή-3 μασι διατελούσιν. περί δε τούς Κρητας ούδεν πω τοιούτον 1269 Β συμβέβηκεν αίτιον δ' ίσως τὸ τὰς γειτνιώσας πόλεις, καίπερ πολεμούσας άλλήλαις, μηδεμίαν είναι σύμμαχον τοῖς άΦισταμένοις διά τὸ μὴ συμφέρειν καὶ αὐταῖς κεκτημέναις περιοίκους τοῖς δὲ Λάκωσιν οἱ γειτνιῶντες ἐχθροὶ πάντες ἦσαν, 'Αργεῖοι καὶ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ 'Αρκάδες, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς Θετταλοῖς κατ' ἀρχὰς ἀΦίσταντο διὰ τὸ πολεμεῖν ἔτι τοῖς προσ-4 χώροις, 'Αχαιοῖς καὶ Περραιβοῖς καὶ Μάγνησιν. καὶ εἰ μηδὲν ἔτερον, ἀλλὰ τό γε τῆς ἐπιμελείας ἐργῶδες εἶναι, τίνα δεῖ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁμιλῆσαι τρόπον : ἀνιέμενοί τε γὰρ ύβρίζουσι και τών ίσων άξιοῦσιν ξαυτούς τοῖς κυρίοις, καί κακοπαθώς ζώντες ἐπιβουλεύουσι καὶ μισοῦσιν. δηλον ούν ως ούκ έξευρίσκουσι τον βέλτιστον τρόπον, οίς τοῦτο συμ-5 βαίνει περί την είλωτείαν. "Ετι δ' ή περί τας γυναϊκας άνεσις καὶ πρὸς τὴν προαίρεσιν τῆς πολιτείας βλαβερά καὶ πρές εύδαιμονίαν πόλεως. Εσπερ γάρ οἰκίας μέρος άνηρ

2 την των άναγκαίων σχολήν] 'leisure, freedom from attention to the first necessities of life.' This is allowed by all to be the basis of existence for the Greek freeman. To secure it slaves were necessary, and in the case of Sparta these were the Helots. principle this body of men was necessary, and yet practically the relations between them and their masters were very unsatisfactory. Nor was this the case only in Lacedæmon. was an instance of the same thing. Crete was free from the evils under which the others suffered, but this might be traced to peculiar causes.

ή ... Θετταλών πενεστεία] Compare

Grote, 11. 369 and foll.

έφεδρεύοντες] 'watching for.'

3 It was the common interest of the cities of Crete to make common cause against the serf population.

'Aχαιοîs, κ.τ.λ.] These then were not Penestæ, but tribes more in the position of the Laconian Perioci.

'If left unchecked.' 4 aviémevoi] κακοπαθώς ζώντες, 'if harshly treated.' ols τοῦτο συμβαίνει] 'When this is the actual result they arrive at in regard to their Helots.'

5 την προαίρεσιν της πολιτείας] == την ύπόθεσιν of § I. and πρός εὐδαιμο $v(av = \tau \eta v \ a \rho (\sigma \tau \eta v \ \tau d \xi v)$.

καὶ γυνή, δηλον ότι καὶ πόλιν έγγὺς τοῦ δίγα διηρησθαι δεῖ Sparta. νομίζειν είς τε τὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν πληθος καὶ τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν, ωστ' εν δσαις πολιτείαις Φαύλως έχει τὸ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, τὸ ημισυ της πόλεως είναι δεί νομίζειν άνομοθέτητον. έκει συμβέβηκεν. όλην γάρ την πόλιν ο νομοθέτης είναι βουλόμενος καρτερικήν, κατά μεν τους ανδρας Φανερός έστι τοιοῦτος το, επί δε των γυναικών εξημέληκεν. ζώσι γαρ άκολάστως πρὸς απασαν άκολασίαν καὶ τρυΦερῶς. ὧστ' άναγ- 7 καῖον ἐν τῆ τοιαύτη πολιτεία τιμασθαι τὸν πλοῦτον, ἄλλως τε καν τύχωσι γυναικοκρατούμενοι, καθάπερ τὰ πολλά τῶν στρατιωτικών καὶ πολεμικών γενών, έξω Κελτών ή καν εί τινες έτεροι Φανερώς τετιμήκασι την πρός τους άρρενας συνουσίαν. ἔοικε γὰρ ὁ μυθολογήσας πρῶτος οἰκ ἀλόγως συ-8 ζεῦξαι τὸν "Αρη πρὸς τὴν 'Αφροδίτην" ἢ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀρρένων ὁμιλίαν ἡ πρὸς τὴν τῶν γυναικῶν Φαίνονται κατακώχιμοι πάντες οἱ τοιοῦτοι. διὸ παρὰ τοῖς Λάκωσι τοῦθ' ὑπῆρχεν, καὶ πολλὰ διφκεῖτο ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπὶ της άργης αὐτῶν. καίτοι τί διαφέρει γυναῖκας άργειν ή ο τους άρχοντας ύπο των γυναικών άρχεσθαι; ταύτο γάρ συμβαίνει. χρησίμου δ' οὖσης τῆς θρασύτητος πρὸς οὐδὲν τῶν ἐγκυκλίων, ἀλλ' εἴπερ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, βλαβερώταται καὶ πρὸς ταῦθ' αἱ τῶν Λακώνων ἦσαν. ἐδήλωσαν δ' ἐπὶ το

δίχα διηρήσθαι] 'divided into two equal parts.'

Eστ' εν δσαις, κ.τ.λ.] We have the same language in I. xIII. 15, 16.

6 δπερ ἐκεῖ] '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, 11. 513.

8 force yap The yap refers to the words τὰ πολλά τῶν πολεμικῶν γενῶν.

κατακώχιμοι] Eth. x. x. 3. p. 1179, b. 9, the same word occurs but spelt differently, κατοκώχιμος, 'easily led,'

'inclined to.'

τουθ'] ες. τὸ γυναικοκρατεῖσθαι.

έπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν] 'during the period of the Spartan Empire.'

9 ἐγκυκλίων] I. ▼II. 2, the word occurs with a substantive, διακονήματα.

10 ἐδήλωσαν, κ.τ.λ.] Mr Grote, in his notice of this passage, 11. 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

της Θηβαίων έμβολης. χρήσιμοι μέν γάρ οὐδεν ήσαν, ώσπερ έν επέραις πόλεσιν, θόρυβον δε παρείχον πλείω τῶν πολεμίων. ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν οὖν ἔοικε συμβεβηκέναι τοῖς Λάκωσιν 1270 11 εὐλόγως ή τῶν γυναικῶν ἄνεσις. ἔξω γὰρ τῆς οἰκείας διὰ τας στρατείας απεξενούντο πολύν χρόνον, πολεμούντες τόν τε πρὸς 'Αργείους πόλεμον καὶ πάλιν τὸν πρὸς 'Αρκάδας καὶ Μεσσηνίους · σχολάσαντες δὲ αύτοὺς μὲν παρεῖχον τῶ νομοθέτη προωδοπεποιημένους διά τὸν στρατιωτικόν βίον (πολλά γάρ έχει μέρη τῆς ἀρετῆς), τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας Φασὶ μεν άγειν επιχειρήσαι του Λυκουργον επί τους νόμους, ώς 12 δ' άντέκρουον, άποστῆναι πάλιν. αἰτίαι μὲν οὖν εἰσὶν αὖται τῶν γενομένων, ώστε δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ταύτης τῆς άμαρτίας. άλλ' ήμεῖς οὐ τοῦτο σκοποῦμεν, τίνι δεῖ συγγνώμην ἔχειν το η μή έχειν, άλλα περί τοῦ όρθῶς καὶ μὴ όρθῶς. Τὰ δὲ περί τας γυναϊκας έχοντα μη καλώς έοικεν, ώσπερ έλέχθη καί πρότερον, οὐ μόνον ἀπρέπειάν τινα ποιείν τῆς πολιτείας αὐτην καθ' αυτήν, άλλα συμβάλλεσθαί τι προς την Φιλοχρη-

> 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.

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

II ἀπεξενοῦντο] 'They lived away from.'

wars of Sparta with its neighbours, see Grote, Vol. π. 555, and foll. chapters VII. VIII.

abrobs µév, 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.

πολλά γάρ ἔχει μέρη τῆς ἀρετῆς] Compare on this subject Arnold's Lectures on Modern History, Lect. I. pp. 10, 11.

ώs δ' ἀντέκρουον, κ.τ.λ.] 'but as they resisted, he desisted.' Grote, 11. 508.

12 abrau] The women.

13 οθ μόνον, 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.'

authe rall auther] auther rall auther would seem more natural, connecting it with πολιττείας; or the neuter plural, if it is connected with τὰ περί τὰς γυναϊκας. As it stands it must be connected grammatically with ἀπρίπειαν, and ἀπρέπειαν τωνα ποιεῦν τῆς πολιττείας must be looked on as equi-

ματίαν. μετά γάρ τὰ νῦν ἡηθέντα τοῖς περὶ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν της κτήσεως ἐπιτιμήσειεν ἄν τις. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ αὐτιοῦν $\overline{^{14}}$ συμβέβηκε κεκτησθαι πολλην λίαν ούσίαν, τοῖς δὲ τάμπαν μικράν διόπερ εἰς ὀλίγους ἦκεν ἡ χώρα. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν νόμων τέτακται φαύλως · ωνεῖσθαι μὲν γὰρ ἡ πωλεῖν τὴν ύπάρχουσαν ἐποίησεν οὐ καλόν, ὀρθῶς ποιήσας, διδόναι δὲ καὶ καταλείπειν έξουσίαν έδωκε τοῖς βουλομένοις καίτοι ταύτό τυμβαίνειν άναγκαῖον εκείνως τε καὶ οῦτως. ἔστι 15 δὲ καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν σχεδὸν τῆς πάσης χώρας τῶν πέντε μερών τὰ δύο, τών τ' ἐπικλήρων πολλών γινομένων, καὶ διὰ τὸ προίκας διδόναι μεγάλας. καίτοι βέλτιον ην μηδεμίαν η όλίγην η καὶ μετρίαν τετάχθαι. νῦν δ ἔξεστι δοῦναί τε την επίκληρον ότω αν βούληται καν αποθάνη μη διαθέμενος, ον αν καταλίπη κληρονόμον, ούτος ῷ αν θέλη δίδωσιν. τοιγαρούν δυναμένης της χώρας χιλίους ίππεῖς τρέφειν καὶ 16 πεντακοσίους και όπλίτας τρισμυρίους, ούδε χίλιοι τὸ πληθος ήσαν. γέγονε δὲ διὰ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν δῆλον ὅτι Φαύλως αὐτοῖς είχε τὰ περὶ τὴν τάξιν ταύτην μίαν γὰρ πληγὴν ούχ ύπήνεγκεν ή πόλις, άλλ' άπώλετο διά την όλιγανθρωπίαν. λέγουσι δ ώς ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν προτέρων βασιλέων μετε- 17 δίδοσαν της πολιτείας, ώστ' ου γίνεσθαι τότε όλιγανθρω-• τοῦτο Bekker.

valent to ἀπρεπή ποιεῖν τὴν πολιτείαν. 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.

μετὰ γάρ] This mention of avarice leads me to speak of property.

14 heer] why heer, not hee?

τοῦτο συμβαίνει»] If τοῦτο is kept, then it must be referred to els δλίγους ξακω; but with Stahr I read ταὐτό, as giving by far the best sense: 'You have the same result either way.'

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

 $\kappa \hbar \nu$ dwoedup, $\kappa.\tau.\lambda$.] 'And if a man has died intestate, then his heir, whoever he may be, has the disposal of

the heiress.'

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

μίαν 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 ἐπὶ τῶν πρότερων, κ.τ.λ.] It would appear (Grote, 11. 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 μοῦνοι δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐγένοντο Σπαρτιήτησι πολιῆ-Ται

πίαν πολεμούντων πολύν χρόνον καί φασιν είναί ποτε τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις καὶ μυρίους. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἴτ' ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ ταῦτα εἴτε μή, βέλτιον τὸ διὰ τῆς κτήσεως ώμαλισμένης 18 πληθύειν ανδρών την πόλιν. ύπεναντίος δε και ο περί την 1270 Β ΤΕΧΡΟποιίαν νόμος πρός ταύτην την διόρθωσιν. βουλόμενος γάρ ὁ νομοθέτης ώς πλείστους είναι τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας, προάγεται τοὺς πολίτας ὅτι πλείστους ποιεῖσθαι παϊδας. ἔστι γάρ αὐτοῖς νόμος τὸν μεν γεννήσαντα τρεῖς υἱοὺς ἄφρουρον 10 είναι, τον δε τέτταρας άτελη πάντων. καίτοι Φανερον ότι πολλών γινομένων, της δε χώρας ούτω διηρημένης, άναγκαῖον πολλούς γίνεσθαι πένητας. 'Αλλά μὴν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν έφορείαν έχει φαύλως ή γαρ άρχη πυρία μεν αυτη των μεγίστων αὐτοῖς ἐστίν, γίνονται δ' ἐκ τοῦ δήμου πάντες, ώστε πολλάκις έμπίπτουσιν ἄνθρωποι σφόδρα πένητες εἰς τὸ ἀρ-20 γείου, οἱ διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν ὤνιοι ἦσαν. ἐδήλωσαν δὲ πολλάκις μεν και πρότερον, και νῦν δε εν τοῖς ἀνδρίοις διαφθαρέντες γαρ αργυρίω τινές, δσον έφ' έαυτοῖς, δλην την πόλιν άπώλεσαν. καὶ διὰ τὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν είναι λίαν μεγάλην καὶ ισοτύραννον δημαγωγείν αύτους ήναγκάζοντο και οι βασι-

* Bekker auth.

και μυρίους] In Herod. VII. 234. Demaratus estimates them at 8000.

18 ὑπεναντίος, κ.τ.λ.] 'Contrary to what is right when looked at in reference to this reform.'

άφρουρον] ' 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 αὅτη.

Hoar 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 audplois The Oxford text reads 'Avoplois; but it is better to keep the reading of the Berlin Edition, p. 1270. B. 12, and suppose that it refers to some misconduct of the Ephors in reference to the public mess, which, from X. 5, bore anciently the name of avδρια. I cannot agree with Schneider, who thinks that misconduct relating to the syssitia 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 misconduct that concerned the small island of Andros.

δσον έφ' έαυτοῖs] 'as far as depended on them.

δημαγωγείν] 'to court them.'

. 0---4

λείς, ώστε καὶ ταύτη συνεπιβλάπτεσθαι την πολιτείαν. Sparta. δημοκρατία γαρ εξ αριστοκρατίας συνέβαινεν. συνέχει μεν 21 ούν την πολιτείαν το άρχεῖον τοῦτο ήσυχάζει γάρ ὁ δημος διά τὸ μετέχειν της μεγίστης άρχης, ωστ' είτε διά τὸν νομοθέτην είτε διά τύχην τοῦτο συμπέπτωκεν, συμφερόντως έχει τοῖς πράγμασιν. δεῖ γὰρ τὴν πολιτείαν τὴν μέλλουσαν 22 σώζεσθαι πάντα βούλεσθαι τὰ μέρη τῆς πόλεως είναι καλ διαμένειν ταύτά οἱ μεν οὖν βασιλεῖς διὰ τὴν αύτῶν τιμὴν ούτως έχουσιν, οἱ δὲ καλοὶ κάγαθοὶ διὰ τὴν γερουσίαν (ἄθλον γὰρ ή ἀρχή αΰτη τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐστίν), ὁ δὲ δῆμος διὰ τὴν έφορείαν καθίσταται γαρ έξ απάντων. άλλ' αίρετὴν ἔδει 23 την άρχην είναι ταύτην έξ άπάντων μέν, μη τον τρόπον δὲ τοῦτον ον νῦν παιδαριώδης γάρ ἐστι λίαν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ κρίσεών είσι μεγάλων κύριοι, δντες οἱ τυχόντες, διόπερ οὐκ αὐτογνώμονας βέλτιον κρίνειν άλλα κατά τα γράμματα καὶ τοὺς νόμους. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ δίαιτα τῶν ἐφόρων οὐχ ὁμολο- 24 γουμένη τῷ βουλήματι τῆς πόλεως αὐτή μεν γὰρ ἀνειμένη λίαν ἐστίν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις μᾶλλον ὑπερβάλλει ἐπὶ τὸ σκληρόν, ώστε μη δύνασθαι καρτερεῖν άλλα λάθρα τὸν νόμον αποδιδράσκοντας απολαύειν των σωματικών ήδονων. *Εχει δε και τα περί την των γερόντων άρχην ου καλώς αυ-

συνεπιβλάπτεσθαι] through the disturbance of the kingly functions over and above the flaws in the Ephoralty.

22 την πολιτείαν την μέλλουσαν, κ.τ.λ.] την πολιτείαν is the accusative before βούλεσθαι, the subject of the verb, not its object. The only difficulty lies in ταὐτά, which I cannot but consider an inaccuracy, introduced by a species of attraction to τὰ μέρη. Schneider agrees, as does Corai, but Stahr dissents, and construes the passage so as to keep ταὐτά; but surely the context is against this; the οδτων έχουσιν οἱ βασιλεῖς τὴν πολιτείαν εἶναι καὶ διαμένειν.

of Kalol Kayabol in the political

sense—the upper classes, not without some admixture of the moral sense.

23 παιδαριώδηs] This leaves it quite uncertain what the method was, Grote, II. 463.

αὐτογνώμονας] 'merely on their own judgment.'

24 οὐχ ὁμολογουμένη] 'not in accordance with, not consistent with,' Grote, 11. 468.

αὐτή] better αὅτη.

μη δύνασθαι καρτερεῖν] Comp. Nieb. Pref. Vol. 1. xxvii.: "Theirs was 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."

Hippodamus.

τιον. ἔχει γάρ, ώσπερ εἶπομεν, ἀπορίαν καὶ δόξειεν ᾶν βέλτιον είναι τὸ κινείν ἐπὶ γοῦν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιστημῶν τοῦτο συνενήνογεν, οίον ιατρική κινηθείσα παρά τὰ πάτρια καί γυμναστική και όλως αι τέγναι πάσαι και αι δυνάμεις, ώστ' έπεὶ μίαν τούτων θετέον καὶ τὴν πολιτικήν, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ 19 περί ταύτην άναγκαῖον όμοίως ἔχειν. σημεῖον δ' αν γεγονέναι Φαίη τις ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων· τοὺς γὰρ ἀργαίους νόμους λίαν άπλοῦς είναι καὶ βαρβαρικούς. ἐσιδηροφοροῦντό τε γάρ οἱ Ελληνες, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐωνοῦντο παρ' ἀλλή-20 λων. δσα τε λοιπά τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐστί που νομίμων, εὐήθη 269 πάμπαν έστίν, οίον έν Κύμη περί τὰ Φονικά νόμος έστίν, αν πληθός τι παράσχηται μαρτύρων δ διώκων τον Φόνον των 21 αύτοῦ συγγενῶν, ἔνοχον είναι τῷ Φόνῳ τὸν Φεύγοντα. ζητοῦσι δ΄ όλως οὐ τὸ πάτριον άλλὰ τάγαθὸν πάντες εἰκός τε τούς πρώτους, είτε γηγενείς ήσαν είτ' έκ Φθοράς τινός έσώθησαν, όμοίους είναι καὶ τοὺς τυχόντας καὶ τοὺς ἀνοήτους ωσπερ καὶ λέγεται κατά τῶν γηγενῶν, ωστ' ατοπον τὸ μένειν εν τοῖς τούτων δόγμασιν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὐδὲ τους γεγραμμένους έαν ακινήτους βέλτιον. ωσπερ γαρ καί περί τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας, καὶ τὴν πολιτικὴν τάξιν ἀδύνατον άκριβῶς πάντα γραφηναι καθόλου γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον γραφηναι, αι δε πράξεις περί τῶν καθ' εκαστόν είσιν. 'Εκ μεν οδν

¹⁸ $\xi \chi \epsilon_i \gamma d\rho$, $\kappa.\tau.\lambda$.] He first gives the reasons in favour of change to the middle of § 22.

¹⁹ ἀρχαίους νόμους] rather 'customs' than laws, 'instituta.' Comparing γεγραμμένους in § 21, here we have ἄγραφοι νόμοι.

dσιδηροφοροῦντο] Thuc. I. 5, 6.
dωνοῦντο] Comp. Grote, II. 112,
note.

²⁰ ἐν Κύμη] Grote, π. 126, not.: "If the accuser produced in support of his charge a certain number of witnesses from his own kindred, the person was held peremptorily guilty."

δ διώκων τον φόνου] Comp. Eurip. Or. 1534: τον Έλένης φόνον διώκων,

²¹ Gyrovor $\delta \ell$, $\kappa.\tau.\lambda.$] 'In fact what men look for in all cases is not the old but the good.'

ἐκ φθορᾶς τινὸς ἐσώθησαν] Compare a passage in Plato, Legg. III. 677. a.: τὸ πολλὰς ἀνθρώπων φθορὰς γεγονέναι κατακλυσμοῖς τε καὶ νόσοις καὶ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς, ἐν δῖς βραχύ τι τῶν ἀνθρώπων λείπεσθαι γένος. Compare in Politious, 270.

δμοίους εἶναι καί] The construction is the same as ἴσα καί, 'on a level with quite ordinary men in intelligence, or even simply below the ordinary standard.'

²² ek mer obr tobror, k.t.l.] 'On these grounds then it is evident that

τούτων Φανερον ότι κινητέοι καλ τινές καλ ποτέ τῶν νόμων Hippodaείσίν, άλλον δε τρόπον επισκοπούσιν εύλαβείας αν δόξειεν είναι πολλής. ὅταν γὰρ ή τὸ μὲν βέλτιον μικρόν, τὸ δ 23 έθίζειν εύχερῶς λύειν τοὺς νόμους Φαῦλον, Φανερον ώς ἐατέον ένίας άμαρτίας καὶ τῶν νομοθετῶν καὶ τῶν άρχόντων οὐ γάρ τοσοῦτον ώφελήσεται κινήσας, δσον βλαβήσεται τοῖς άρχουσιν ἀπειθεῖν ἐθισθείς. ψεῦδος δὲ καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα 24 τό περί των τεχνών ου γάρ ομοιον τό κινείν τέχνην καί ό γάρ νόμος ίσχὺν οὐδεμίαν έχει πρός τὸ πείθεσθαι πλήν παρά τὸ ἔθος, τοῦτο δ' οὐ γίνεται εἰ μή διά γρόνου πλήθος, ώστε τὸ ραδίως μεταβάλλειν ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων νόμων είς ετέρους νόμους καινούς άσθενη ποιείν έστλ την του νόμου δύναμιν. έτι δ' εί καί κινητέοι, πότερον 25 καὶ πάντες καὶ ἐν πάση πολιτεία, ἢ οὖ; καὶ πότερον τῶ τυχόντι ή τισίν; ταῦτα γὰρ ἔχει μεγάλην διαφοράν. διὸ νῦν μὲν ἀφῶμεν ταύτην τὴν σκέψιν ἄλλων γάρ ἐστι καιρῶν.

Περί δὲ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείας καὶ τῆς Κρητικῆς, 9 σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτειῶν, δύο εἰσὶν αὶ σκέψεις, μία μὲν εἴ τι καλῶς ἡ μὴ καλῶς πρὸς τὴν ἀρίστην νενομοθέτηται τάξιν, ἐτέρα δ' εἴ τι πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν καὶ τὸν τρόπον ὑπεναντίως τῆς προκειμένης αὐτοῖς πολιτείας. Οτι2

Sparta

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

kwhoas] is the citizen under the

24 & γὰρ νόμος] 'Whatever force the law has to secure obedience is entirely dependent on habit.' Comp. Arnold's Rome, 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 ἡ τισίν:] 'Is it open to any given person to propose the change, or to some definite number?'

IX. I δύο eloly al 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?'

~. i

בי יו בי בי בי ביים ביים ביים ביים דוף דמי מיםץ-TE TE PETTANON TE-- The same of the said toil . AR : A TOUGHTE TOO IS A THE EAST END TO TOUGHTON - The arm in the Top Server District Maintep --- THE LAND BUT MORELLEN SING FALLETON THE ADIOTA-TEPIOI-THE THE E LABORATE OF THE PROPERTY TO THE THEORY . --- ME LESTUS ME AMERICE ETS ME THE DETTOwas a far accommend on the Thinks att this Apoll. THE PARTY AND THE PROPERTY AND PROPERTY CONTRACTOR OF मा प्राप्त के किया है जिस्से के किया है के किया है के किया है के किया है कि किया है कि किया है कि किया है कि क יים אי -יים א יינים איניביים אינים Com see - im Eranden stutten trag unging, xal man with the second was unform of how only THE PARTY OF THE P and an an element Fre I i real this youalkas we - - - - core of thistens phabepa xal - - μέρος ἀνήρ

i a street builds for the section and property as a me said to amount . Days . while the the frame a least i will and the same K me a con a con X and the second absoluted to "garage or a great American de ou in it the sugar sells I seemed a so some with the same in the man If when million he will the a committee Marine ... wie with winds

itwee u. 369 and fell.

watching for.'

the common interest of the cities of Creek to make common names against the serf population.

Against a r.k.] These then were at Timeson, but tribes more in the section of the Language Periodi.

is necessary if hert unchecked."

"If left unchecked."

"If herthly treated."

"If herthly treated."

"If hert unchecked."

"If hert unchecked."

"When this is

"It has a new thing arrive at in re
""" and things."

is the measurem the makerelas] —

as makere it is and the collection

as the makere take.

καὶ γυνή, δηλον ότι καὶ πόλιν ἐγγὺς τοῦ δίχα διηρησθαι δεῖ Sparta. νομίζειν είς τε τὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν πληθος καὶ τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν, ωστ' εν δσαις πολιτείαις Φαύλως έχει το περί τας γυναϊκας, τὸ ημισυ της πόλεως είναι δεί νομίζειν άνομοθέτητον. ὅπερ 6 έκει συμβέβηκεν. όλην γάρ την πόλιν ο νομοθέτης είναι βουλόμενος καρτερικήν, κατά μεν τους άνδρας Φανερός έστι τοιοῦτος ὧν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐξημέληκεν ζῶσι γὰρ ἀκολάστως πρὸς ἄπασαν ἀκολασίαν καὶ τρυΦερῶς. ὧστ' ἀναγ- 7 καΐον εν τῆ τοιαύτη πολιτεία τιμᾶσθαι τὸν πλοῦτον, ἄλλως τε καν τύχωσι γυναικοκρατούμενοι, καθάπερ τα πολλά τῶν στρατιωτικών καὶ πολεμικών γενών, ἔξω Κελτών ἡ καν εί τινες έτεροι Φανερώς τετιμήκασι την πρός τούς άρρενας συνουσίαν. ἔοικε γὰρ ὁ μυθολογήσας πρῶτος οὐκ ἀλόγως συ-8 ζεῦξαι τὸν *Αρη πρὸς τὴν 'Αφροδίτην' ἢ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀρρένων ὁμιλίαν ἢ πρὸς τὴν τῶν γυναικῶν Φαίνονται κατακώχιμοι πάντες οἱ τοιοῦτοι. διὸ παρὰ τοῖς Λάκωσι τοῦθ' ὑπῆρχεν, καὶ πολλὰ διφκεῖτο ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπὶ της άρχης αὐτῶν. καίτοι τί διαφέρει γυναϊκας άρχειν ή ο τους άρχοντας ύπο των γυναικών άρχεσθαι; ταύτο γάρ συμβαίνει. χρησίμου δ' ούσης της θρασύτητος πρός ούδεν τῶν ἐγχυκλίων, ἀλλ' εἴπερ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, βλαβερώταται καί πρός ταῦθ' αἱ τῶν Λακώνων ἦσαν. ἐδήλωσαν δ' ἐπὶ το

δίχα δεηρῆσθαι] 'divided into two equal parts.'

Εστ' εν δσαις, κ.τ.λ.] We have the same language in I. xIII. 15, 16.

6 δπερ ἐκεῖ] '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, 11. 513.

8 force ydp] The ydp refers to the words τὰ πολλά τῶν πολεμικῶν γενῶν.

κατακώχιμοι] Eth. x. x. 3. p. 1179, b. 9, the same word occurs but spelt differently, κατοκώχιμος, 'easily led,'

'inclined to.'

τοῦθ] ες, τὸ γυναικοκρατεῖσθαι.

έπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν] 'during the period of the Spartan Empire.'

9 ἐγκυκλίων] I. VII. 2, the word occurs with a substantive, διακονήματα.

10 έδήλωσαν, κ.τ.λ.] Mr Grote, in his notice of this passage, 11. 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

της Θηβαίων έμβολης. χρήσιμοι μέν γάρ οὐδεν ήσαν, ώσπερ έν έτέραις πόλεσιν, θόρυβον δὲ παρείγον πλείω τῶν πολεμίων. ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν οὖν ἔοικε συμβεβηκέναι τοῖς Λάκωσιν 1270 11 εὐλόγως ή τῶν γυναικῶν ἄνεσις. ἔξω γὰρ τῆς οἰκείας διὰ τας στρατείας απεξενούντο πολύν χρόνον, πολεμούντες τόν τε πρὸς 'Αργείους πόλεμον καὶ πάλιν τὸν πρὸς 'Αρκάδας καὶ Μεσσηνίους τχολάσαντες δὲ αύτοὺς μὲν παρεῖχον τῶ νομοθέτη προωδοπεποιημένους διά τὸν στρατιωτικὸν βίον (πολλά γάρ έχει μέρη τῆς ἀρετῆς), τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας Φασὶ μέν άγειν έπιχειρήσαι τον Λυκούργον έπλ τους νόμους, ώς 12 δ' άντέκρουον, άποστηναι πάλιν. αἰτίαι μὲν οὖν εἰσὶν αὖται των γενομένων, ωστε δηλον ότι καὶ ταύτης της άμαρτίας. άλλ' ήμεῖς οὐ τοῦτο σκοποῦμεν, τίνι δεῖ συγγνώμην ἔχειν ις η μη έχειν, άλλα περί τοῦ όρθῶς καὶ μη όρθῶς. Τὰ δὲ περί τὰς γυναϊκας ἔχοντα μὴ καλῶς ἔοικεν, ὧσπερ ἐλέχθη καὶ πρότερον, οὐ μόνον ἀπρέπειάν τινα ποιείν τῆς πολιτείας αὐτὴν καθ' αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ συμβάλλεσθαί τι πρὸς τὴν Φιλυχρη-

> 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.

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

> 11 ἀπεξενοῦντο] 'They lived away from.'

> πολεμούντες, κ.τ.λ.] On these early wars of Sparta with its neighbours, see Grote, Vol. 11. 555, and foll. chapters VII. VIII.

αύτους μέν, 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.

πολλά γάρ έχει μέρη της άρετης] Compare on this subject Arnold's Lectures on Modern History, Lect. I. pp. 10, 11.

ώs δ' ἀντέκρουον, κ.τ.λ.] 'but as they resisted, he desisted.' Grote, 11. 508.

12 αδται] The women.

13 od $\mu \delta \nu \sigma \nu$, $\kappa.\tau.\lambda$.] '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.'

αὐτὴν καθ' αὑτήν] αὐτῆς καθ' αὑτήν would seem more natural, connecting it with wohitelas; or the neuter plural, if it is connected with the week that yuranas. As it stands it must be connected grammatically with ampéπειαν, and απρέπειαν τινα ποιείν της πολιτείαs must be looked on as equiματίαν. μετά γάρ τὰ νῦν ἡηθέντα τοῖς περὶ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν τῆς κτήσεως ἐπιτιμήσειεν ἄν τις. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ αὐτιοῦν 14 συμβέβηκε κεκτήσθαι πολλήν λίαν ούσίαν, τοῖς δὲ τάμπαν μικράν διόπερ εἰς ὀλίγους ἦκεν ἡ χώρα. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν νόμων τέτακται Φαύλως · ωνεῖσθαι μὲν γὰρ ἡ πωλεῖν τὴν ύπάρχουσαν εποίησεν οὐ καλόν, όρθῶς ποιήσας, διδόναι δὲ καὶ καταλείπειν έξουσίαν έδωκε τοῖς βουλομένοις καίτοι ταὐτό συμβαίνειν ἀναγκαῖον ἐκείνως τε καὶ οὕτως. ἔστι 15 δε και των γυναικών σχεδον της πάσης χώρας των πέντε μερών τὰ δύο, τών τ' ἐπικλήρων πολλών γινομένων, καὶ διὰ τὸ προϊκας διδόναι μεγάλας. καίτοι βέλτιον ην μηδεμίαν η ολίγην η και μετρίαν τετάχθαι. νῦν δ ἔξεστι δοῦναί τε την επίκληρον ότω αν βούληται καν αποθάνη μη διαθέμενος, ον αν καταλίπη κληρονόμον, οὖτος ὧ αν θέλη δίδωσιν. τοιγαρούν δυναμένης της χώρας χιλίους ίππεῖς τρέφειν καὶ 16 πεντακοσίους και όπλίτας τρισμυρίους, ούδε χίλιοι το πληθος ήσαν. γέγονε δε δια των έργων αὐτων δηλον ὅτι Φαύλως αὐτοῖς είχε τὰ περὶ τὴν τάξιν ταύτην μίαν γὰρ πληγὴν ούχ ύπήνεγκεν ή πόλις, άλλ' άπώλετο διὰ τὴν όλιγανθρωπίαν. λέγουσι δ ώς ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν προτέρων βασιλέων μετε- 17 δίδοσαν της πολιτείας, ώστ' ου γίνεσθαι τότε όλιγανθρω-* τοῦτο Bekker.

valent to ἀπρεπῆ ποιεῖν τὴν πολιτείαν. 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.

 μ erà $\gamma d\rho$] This mention of avarice leads me to speak of property.

14 ħκεν] why ħκεν, not ħκει?
τοῦτο συμβαίνειν] If τοῦτο is kept,
then it must be referred to εἰς δλίγους
ħκειν; but with Stahr I read ταὐτό, as
giving by far the best sense: 'You
have the same result either way.'

15 και τών γυναικών] The καί seems superfluous: if kept it must be 'even.'

κάν ἀποθάνη, κ.τ.λ.] 'And if a man has died intestate, then his heir, whoever he may be, has the disposal of

the heiress.'

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

μίαν 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 ἐπὶ τῶν πρότερων, κ.τ.λ.] It would appear (Grote, 11. 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 μοῦνοι δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐγένοντο Σπαρτιήτησι πολιῆται.

πίαν πολεμούντων πολύν χρόνον καί φασιν είναί ποτε τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις καὶ μυρίους. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἴτ' ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ ταῦτα εἴτε μή, βέλτιον τὸ διὰ τῆς κτήσεως ώμαλισμένης 18 πληθύειν άνδρῶν τὴν πόλιν. ὑπεναντίος δὲ καὶ ὁ περὶ τὴν 1270 Β Τεχνοποιίαν νόμος πρός ταύτην την διόρθωσιν. Βουλόμενος γάρ ὁ νομοθέτης ως πλείστους είναι τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας, προάγεται τους πολίτας ότι πλείστους ποιείσθαι παίδας. έστι γάρ αὐτοῖς νόμος τὸν μεν γεννήσαντα τρεῖς υίοὺς ἄφρουρον 19 είναι, τον δε τέτταρας άτελη πάντων. καίτοι Φανερον ότι πολλῶν γινομένων, τῆς δὲ χώρας οὕτω διηρημένης, ἀναγκαῖον πολλούς γίνεσθαι πένητας. 'Αλλά μὴν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν έφορείαν έχει φαύλως ή γάρ άρχη κυρία μέν αθτη των μεγίστων αύτοῖς ἐστίν, γίνονται δ' ἐκ τοῦ δήμου πάντες, ώστε πολλάκις εμπίπτουσιν ἄνθρωποι σφόδρα πένητες είς τὸ άρ-20 χεῖον, οἱ διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν ὧνιοι ἦσαν. ἐδήλωσαν δὲ πολλάκις μεν και πρότερον, και νύν δε εν τοῖς ἀνδρίοις διαφθαρέντες γὰρ ἀργυρίου τινές, ὅσον ἐΦ΄ ἐαυτοῖς, ὅλην τὴν πόλιν άπώλεσαν. καὶ διὰ τὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν είναι λίαν μεγάλην καὶ ισοτύραννον δημαγωγείν αύτους ήναγκάζοντο και οι βασι-

* Bekker auth.

ral uplous In Herod. VII. 234. Demaratus estimates them at 8000.

18 ὑπεναντίος, κ.τ.λ.] 'Contrary to what is right when looked at in reference to this reform.'

άφρουρον] ' 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 αὅτη.

ησαν] 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 avopious] The Oxford text reads 'Aropious; but it is better to keep the reading of the Berlin Edition, p. 1270. B. 12, and suppose that it refers to some misconduct of the Ephors in reference to the public mess, which, from X. 5, bore anciently the name of avδρια. I cannot agree with Schneider, who thinks that misconduct relating to the syssitia 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 misconduct that concerned the small island of Andros.

δσον έφ' έαυτοῖς] 'as far as depended on them.'

δημαγωγείν] 'to court them.'

λεῖς, ώστε καὶ ταύτη συνεπιβλάπτεσθαι τὴν πολιτείαν. Sparta. δημοκρατία γαρ εξ αριστοκρατίας συνέβαινεν. συνέχει μεν 🗵 ούν την πολιτείαν το άρχεῖον τοῦτο ήσυχάζει γὰρ ὁ δημος διά τὸ μετέχειν της μεγίστης άρχης, ώστ' είτε διά τὸν νομοθέτην είτε διά τύχην τοῦτο συμπέπτωκεν, συμφερόντως έχει τοῖς πράγμασιν. δεῖ γὰρ τὴν πολιτείαν τὴν μέλλουσαν 22 σώζεσθαι πάντα βούλεσθαι τὰ μέρη τῆς πόλεως είναι καὶ διαμένειν ταὐτά : οἱ μὲν οὖν βασιλεῖς διὰ τὴν αὑτῶν τιμὴν ούτως έχουσιν, οἱ δὲ καλοὶ κάγαθοὶ διὰ τὴν γερουσίαν (ἄθλον γὰρ ή ἀρχὴ αὕτη τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐστίν), ὁ δὲ δῆμος διὰ τὴν έφορείαν καθίσταται γὰρ ἐξ ἀπάντων. ἀλλ' αίρετὴν ἔδει 23 την άρχην είναι ταύτην έξ άπάντων μέν, μη τον τρόπον δὲ τοῦτον δυ νῦν παιδαριώδης γάρ ἐστι λίαν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ κρίσεών είσι μεγάλων κύριοι, δντες οί τυχόντες, διόπερ ούκ αὐτογνώμονας βέλτιον κρίνειν άλλα κατά τα γράμματα καὶ τους νόμους. ἔστι δε καὶ ή δίαιτα τῶν ἐφόρων ούχ ὁμολο- 24 γουμένη τῶ βουλήματι τῆς πόλεως αὐτή μεν γάρ ἀνειμένη λίαν ἐστίν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις μᾶλλον ὑπερβάλλει ἐπὶ τὸ σκληρόν, ώστε μη δύνασθαι καρτερείν άλλα λάθρα τὸν νόμον αποδιδράσκοντας απολαύειν των σωματικών ήδονων. *Εχει δε και τα περί την των γερόντων άρχην ού καλως αὐ-

συνεπιβλάπτεσθαι] through the disturbance of the kingly functions over and above the flaws in the Ephoralty.

22 την πολιτείαν την μέλλουσαν, m.T.A.] The modificat is the accusative before βούλεσθαι, the subject of the verb, not its object. The only difficulty lies in rabra, which I cannot but consider an inaccuracy, introduced by a species of attraction to τὰ μέρη. Schneider agrees, as does Corai, but Stahr dissents, and construes the passage so as to keep raird; but surely the context is against this; the οδτως Exourse of Barthels is equivalent to βούλονται οἱ βασιλεῖς τὴν πολιτείαν elvai kal biauéveiv.

of καλοί κάγαθυί] in the political

sense-the upper classes, not without some admixture of the moral sense.

23 παιδαριώδηs] This leaves it quite uncertain what the method was, Grote, 11. 463.

αὐτογνώμονας] 'merely on their own judgment.'

24 ούχ δμολογουμένη] 'not in accordance with, not consistent with,' Grote, 11. 468.

αὐτή] better αὕτη.

μή δύνασθαι καρτερείν] Comp. Nieb. Pref. Vol. 1. xxvii.: "Theirs was 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 voke."

τοῖς. ἐπιεικῶν μὲν γὰρ ὄντων καὶ πεπαιδευμένων ἱκανῶς 25 πρὸς ἀνδραγαθίαν τάχ' ᾶν εἴπειέ τις συμφέρειν τῆ πόλει. καίτοι τό γε διά βίου κυρίους είναι κρίσεων μεγάλων άμφισβητήσιμον έστι γάρ, ώσπερ καὶ σώματος, καὶ διανοίας 1271 γηρας. τον τρόπον δε τουτον πεπαιδευμένων ώστε καλ τον νομοθέτην αὐτὸν ἀπιστεῖν ώς οὐκ ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν, οὐκ 26 ἀσφαλές. Φαίνονται δε καὶ καταδωροδοκούμενοι καὶ καταχαριζόμενοι πολλά τῶν κοινῶν οἱ κεκοινωνηκότες τῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτης. διόπερ βέλτιον αυτούς μή άνευθύνους είναι νῦν δ' δόξειε δ' αν ή των εφόρων άρχη πάσας εύθύνειν τας άρχάς τοῦτο δὲ τῆ ἐφορεία μέγα λίαν τὸ δῶρον, καὶ τὸν 27 τρόπον οὐ τοῦτον λέγομεν διδόναι δεῖν τὰς εὐθύνας. ἔτι δὲ καλ την αίρεσιν ην ποιούνται των γερόντων, κατά τε την κρίσιν έστὶ παιδαριώδης, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸν αἰτεῖσθαι τὸν άξιωθησόμενον της άρχης ούκ όρθως έχει δεί γάρ καὶ βουλόμε-28 νου καὶ μὴ βουλόμενον ἄρχειν τὸν ἄξιον τῆς ἀρχῆς. οπερ καί περί την άλλην πολιτείαν ο νομοθέτης Φαίνεται ποιών Φιλοτίμους γάρ κατασκευάζων τους πολίτας τούτοις κέχρηται πρός την αίρεσιν των γερόντων ούδεις γάρ αν άρχειν αιτήσαιτο μή Φιλότιμος ών καίτοι των γ' άδικημάτων εκουσίων τα πλείστα συμβαίνει σχεδον διά Φιλοτιμίαν 29 καὶ διὰ Φιλοχρηματίαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. Περὶ δὲ βασιλείας, εί μεν μη βέλτιον έστιν υπάρχειν ταῖς πόλεσιν ή βέλτιον,

25 mairo.] 'and yet even then it would be questionable policy.' Grote, II. 475.

τον τρόπον δε τοῦτον, κ.τ.λ.] 'But when so educated that even their lawgiver himself distrusts them.'

26 Grote, v. 483, quotes this judgment as the basis for an inference as to the effect at Athens of the Elders sitting for life.

åνευθύνουs] 'irresponsible,' 'without accountability.'

εὐθύνειν] 'check, or control.' Grote,

27 αἰτὸν αἰτεῖσθαι] 'to canvass personally.'

28 δπερ καί, κ.τ.λ.] Compare below, § 37, ἀποβέβηκε τοθναντίον. So here, the legislator has completely failed in attaining a correct view of what is required.

φιλοτίμους γάρ, 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.' τούτοις, not τοὺς πολίτας, but the sanction given to personal canvassing.

oddels γάρ] refers to the κατασκευάζων. I attribute this object to him, 'for evidently no one would ask for office unless he were ambitious.'

29 εί μέν μη βέλτιον έστιν] The

άλλος έστω λόγος. άλλα μην βέλτιόν γε μη καθάπερ νῦν, - άλλα κατά τὸν αύτοῦ βίον ἕκαστον κρίνεσθαι τῶν βασιλέων. ότι δ ό νομοθέτης ούδ' αύτὸς οἴεται δύνασθαι ποιεῖν καλούς 30 κάγαθούς, δήλον άπιστεῖ γοῦν ώς οὐκ οὖσιν ίκανῶς ἀγαθοῖς ανδράσιν διόπερ εξέπεμπον συμπρεσβευτάς τους εχθρούς, καὶ σωτηρίαν ἐνόμιζον τῇ πόλει είναι τὸ στασιάζειν τοὺς βασιλεῖς. Οὐ καλῶς δ' οὐδὲ περὶ τὰ συσσίτια τὰ καλούμενα Φιδίτια νενομοθέτηται τῶ καταστήσαντι πρῶτον. ἔδει γὰρ 31 άπὸ κοινοῦ μᾶλλον είναι την σύνοδον, καθάπερ ἐν Κρήτη. παρά δὲ τοῖς Λάκωσιν έκαστον δεῖ Φέρειν, καὶ σΦόδρα πενήτων ενίων όντων καλ τοῦτο τὸ ἀνάλωμα οὐ δυναμένων δαπανάν, ώστε συμβαίνειν τούναντίον τῷ νομοθέτη τῆς προαιρέσεως. βούλεται μέν γαρ δημοκρατικόν είναι το κατα- 32 σκεύασμα τῶν συσσιτίων, γίνεται δ ηκιστα δημοκρατικόν ούτω νενομοθετημένον μετέχειν μεν γάρ οὐ ράδιον τοῖς λίαν πένησιν, δρος δε της πολιτείας οὖτός έστιν αὐτοῖς ὁ πάτριος, τὸν μὴ δυνάμενον τοῦτο τὸ τέλος Φέρειν μὴ μετέχειν αὐτῆς. Τῷ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ναυάρχους νόμι καὶ ἔτεροί 33 τινες επιτετιμήκασιν, ορθώς επιτιμώντες στάσεως γαρ γίνεται αίτιος. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν οὖσι στρατηγοῖς

order should rather be εἰ μὲν βέλτιον ἐστι μή.

άλλος λόγος] Below, III. xrv. and foll.

κατὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ βίον κρίνεσθαι] 'be selected with reference to his own life and conduct.'

30 ἀπιστεί γοῦν] Is not this a later stage of feeling, and scarcely to be supposed existing in the mind of Lycurgus?

¿ξέπεμπον] 'They were in the habit of sending out.' Instances will occur to every one. Grote, 11. 469.

στασιάζει»] On the perpetual dissensions of the Spartan kings, see Grote, 11. 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, I. 64, χρημάτων συνόδοισι, gives the nearest approach to its meaning here.

δαπανῶν τὸ ἀνάλωμα] 'To meet this expense.'

32 δρος δέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'The right of citizenship has this limit fixed.' From this arose the body called ol δπομείονες, the Inferiors, Spartans disfranchised, but with the power of recovering their franchise. Grote, II. 482, and 525, not. 33 ἔτεροί τινες] Who are meant?

στάσεως γὰρ γίνεται αἴτιος] This is a statement of which we have hardly adequate justification. Mr Grote, ικ. 327, thinks it founded on the case of Lysander. Comp. also p. 376, where the king and admiral are united in

Agesilaus.

Sparta. ἀϊδίοις ή ναυαρχία σχεδον έτέρα βασιλεία καθέστηκεν. Καλ 34 ώδι δε τη ύποθέσει τοῦ νομοθέτου ἐπιτιμήσειεν ἄν τις, ὅπερ 1271 Β καλ Πλάτων εν τοῖς νόμοις επιτετίμηκεν προς γάρ μέρος άρετης ή πάσα σύνταξις των νόμων έστί, την πολεμικήν αύτη γάρ γρησίμη πρός το κρατείν. τοιγαρούν έσώζοντο μεν πολεμούντες, άπώλλυντο δε άρξαντες διά το μη επίστασθαι σχολάζειν μηδε ήσκηκέναι μηδεμίαν ἄσκησιν έτέραν 35 κυριωτέραν της πολεμικής. τούτου δε άμάρτημα ούκ έλαττον νομίζουσι μέν γὰρ γίνεσθαι τάγαθὰ τὰ περιμάχητα δι' άρετης μάλλον ή κακίας καὶ τοῦτο μέν καλῶς, ὅτι μέντοι 36 ταῦτα κρείττω τῆς ἀρετῆς ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, οὐ καλῶς. Φαύλως δ' έχει καὶ περὶ τὰ κοινὰ χρήματα τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις. ούτε γάρ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τῆς πόλεώς ἐστιν οὐδὲν πολέμους μεγάλους αναγκαζομένοις πολεμείν, είσφέρουσί τε κακώς δια γάρ τὸ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν είναι τὴν πλείστην γῆν οὐκ ἐξετά-37 ζουσιν άλλήλων τὰς εἰσφοράς. ἀποβέβηκέ τε τούναντίον τῷ νομοθέτη τοῦ συμφέροντος την μέν γὰρ πόλιν πεποίηκεν άχρήματον, τους δ' ιδιώτας Φιλοχρημάτους. Περί μέν ουν · atous Bekker.

difices] difices seems the true reading, and the weight of authority is in favour of it. Vet. Tr., Stahr., Schn., and others, adopt it. In fact, Bekker's reading gives a sense contrary to very plain statements. Xenophon, Hell. 1. vi. 4. and 11. i. 7.

34 τῆ ὑποθέσει] 'The prevailing idea.' Compare the language of Brasidas, Thuc. iv. 126. Plato, Legg. 1. 628. E. foll.

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

τὰ περιμάχητα άγαθά] Eth. Ix. viii. 4, 9, p. 1168. B. 19; 1169. 21, the same expression occurs.

36 τὰ κοινὰ χρήματα] Compare the language of King Archidamus, Thuc. I. 80; also Grote, Ix. 322, 323, for the two periods at which the language was

true.

elσφέρουσι κακῶs] On this see Grote, 11. 493, and his note. την πλείστην γῆν, "the country eastward of Taygetus, since the foundation of Messene by Epaminondas had been consummated."

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

φιλοχρημάτουs] For this tendency, with instances of it before Lysander, and the stimulus applied by Lysander, see Grote, ix. 321, 2.

It seemed 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

της Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείας επὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω· ταῦτα Sparta. γάρ έστιν & μάλιστ' ἄν τις ἐπιτιμήσειεν.

Ή δὲ Κρητική πολιτεία πάρεγγυς μέν ἐστι ταύτης, 10 έχει δὲ μικρά μὲν οὐ χεῖρον, τὸ δὲ πλεῖον ἦττον γλαφυρῶς. καὶ γὰρ ἔοικε καὶ λέγεται δὲ τὰ πλεῖστα μεμιμῆσθαι τὴν Κρητικήν πολιτείαν ή τῶν Λακώνων, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα τῶν άρχαίων ήττον διήρθρωται τῶν νεωτέρων. Φασί γὰρ τὸν 2 Λυκούργον, ότε την επιτροπείαν την Χαρίλλου του βασιλέως καταλιπών απεδήμησεν, τότε τον πλείστον διατρίψαι χρόνον περί την Κρήτην διά την συγγένειαν άποικοι γάρ οἱ Λύκτιοι τῶν Λακώνων ἦσαν, κατέλαβον δ' οἱ πρὸς τὴν άποικίαν ελθόντες την 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. v1. 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, Lacedzemonian, 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. Hoeck seems to think that Lyctos (which C. F. Hermann speaks of as "considered a daughter state of Lacedæmon") 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 Geogr. Dict., where the sources of information are indicated.

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

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

διήρθρωται] Eth. 1. vii. 17. διαρθρώσαι, 'are less articulate, distinct.' Comp. Bonitz, ad Metaph. 986. B. 5: "διαρθροῦν est rem aliquam quasi per membra et artus distinguere et certum in ordinem redigere, ut unius corporis referant similitudinem."

2 On the various accounts of Lycurgus, comp. Grote, 11. 452.

eπιτροπείαν] 'the guardianship.' On Charillus, or Charilaus, more

will be said later, VIII. (V.) xII. 12. κατέλαβον ὑπάρχουσαν] '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 Crote.

Crete

τότε κατοικοῦσιν. διὸ καὶ νῦν οἱ περίοικοι τὸν αὐτὸν τρό-3 πον χρώνται αὐτοῖς, ώς κατασκευάσαντος Μίνω πρώτου την τάξιν των νόμων. δοκεί δ' ή νησος καί πρός την άρχην την Ελληνικήν πεφυκέναι καλ κεῖσθαι καλώς πάση γάρ ἐπίκειται τῆ θαλάσση, σχεδον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἰδρυμένων περί τὴν θάλασσαν πάντων ἀπέχει γὰρ τῆ μὲν τῆς Πελοποννήσου μικρόν, τῆ δὲ τῆς ᾿Ασίας τοῦ περὶ Τριόπιον 4 τόπου καὶ 'Ρόδον. διὸ καὶ τὴν τῆς θαλάσσης άρχὴν κατέσχεν ὁ Μίνως, καὶ τὰς νήσους τὰς μὲν ἐχειρώσατο τὰς δ' ώχισεν, τέλος δε επιθέμενος τη Σικελία τον βίον ετελεύτησεν έκει περί Κάμικον. "Εχει δ' ἀνάλογον ή Κρητική 5 τάξις πρός την] Λακωνικήν. γεωργοῦσί τε γάρ τοῖς μέν 1272 είλωτες τοῖς δὲ Κρησὶν οἱ περίοικοι, καὶ συσσίτια παρ' άμφοτέροις ἐστίν καὶ τό γε άρχαῖον ἐκάλουν οἱ Λάκωνες ού Φιδίτια άλλ' ἄνδρια, καθάπερ οἱ Κρῆτες, ή καὶ δῆλον ότι ἐχείθεν ἐλήλυθεν. ἔτι δὲ τῆς πολιτείας ἡ τάξις. οἱ μεν γαρ έφοροι την αὐτην έχουσι δύναμιν τοῖς ἐν τῆ Κρήτη καλουμένοις κόσμοις, πλην οί μεν έφοροι πέντε τον άριθμον οί δὲ κόσμοι δέκα εἰσίν οἱ δὲ γέροντες τοῖς γέρουσιν, οῧς καλοῦσιν οἱ Κρῆτες βουλήν, Ισοι. βασιλεία δὲ πρότερον μέν ην, είτα κατέλυσαν οἱ Κρητες, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν οἱ

3 of weptolked] to be taken "in its simple natural sense." Grote, 11. 484. note 2. 'The neighbouring states.'

On Minos, compare Grote, 1. 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 Aristotle.

πρὸς την ἀρχην πεφυκέναι] 'To be naturally qualified for holding the empire of Greece.'

ἐπίκειται] 'It commands.' ἀπέχει γάρ] refers to ἐπίκειται.

4 ἐτελεύτησεν] Herodotus, VII. 170. ἔχει δ' ἀνάλογον] 'There is a correspondence between the Cretan order and

that of Lacedsemon.'

5 of meplousor] 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 perioci.

6 ἐτι δέ, 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.

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

την ἡγεμονίαν] That the Cosmi should exercise this power would be the natural course when the kingly power had ceased.

κόσμοι την κατά πόλεμον έχουσιν. ἐκκλησίας δὲ μετέ- Crete. χουσι πάντες κυρία δ' οὐδενός ἐστιν ἀλλ' ή συνεπιψηφίσαι 7 τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς γέρουσι καὶ τοῖς κόσμοις. Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν συσσιτίων ἔχει βέλτιον τοῖς Κρησλν ή τοῖς Λάκωσιν. : έν μέν γάρ Λακεδαίμονι κατά κεφαλήν εκαστος είσφέρει τὸ τεταγμένον εἰ δὲ μή, μετέχειν νόμος κωλύει τῆς πολιτείας, καθάπερ είρηται καὶ πρότερου. ἐν δὲ Κρήτη κοινο- 8 τέρως άπὸ πάντων γὰρ τῶν γινομένων καρπῶν τε καὶ βοσκημάτων καὶ ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων καὶ Φόρων οὖς Φέρουσιν οἱ περίοικοι τέτακται μέρος το μέν προς τους θεους και τάς κοινάς λειτουργίας, το δε τοῖς συσσιτίοις, ωστ' έκ κοινοῦ τρέφεσθαι πάντας, καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας καὶ ἄνδρας. πρός δὲ τὴν όλιγοσιτίαν ώς ώφέλιμον πολλά πεφιλοσό-9 Φηκεν ο νομοθέτης, και πρός την διάζευξιν τῶν γυναικών, ίνα μή πολυτεκνώσι, την πρός τους άρρενας ποιήσας όμιλίαν, περί ής εί φαύλως ή μή φαύλως, έτερος έσται τοῦ διασχέψασθαι καιρός. ὅτι δὲ τὰ περὶ τὰ συσσίτια βέλτιον τέτακται τοῖς Κρησίν ή τοῖς Λάκωσι, Φανερόν. τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς κόσμους ἔτι χεῖρον τῶν ἐφόρων. δ μὲν 10 γὰρ ἔγει κακὸν τὸ τῶν ἐΦόρων ἀργεῖον, ὑπάργει καὶ τούτων γίνονται γάρ οἱ τυχόντες οδο δὶ ἐκεῖ συμφέρει πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν, ένταῦθ' οὐκ ἔστιν. έκεῖ μὲν γάρ, διὰ τὸ τὴν αῖρε-

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

πρότερον] Ch. ix. 32. 8 κοινοτέρωs] 'on fairer terms.'

από πάντων, κ.τ.λ.] If Bekker's reading is kept, what sense are we to attach to the words καὶ 'κ τῶν δημοσίων? Are we with Hoeck to interpret it of "the Dorian common land, the state domains," 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: ἀπὸ πάντων γὰρ τῶν γινο-

μένων καρπών τε καὶ βοσκημάτων δημοσίων καὶ ἐκ τῶν φόρων οθε φέρουσαν οἱ περίοικοι. This would point to two sources from which the public tables were maintained, the produce of the public lands whether tillage or pasture, and the tribute or rents paid by the subject population. It seems to me the easiest and simplest way, but it is not necessary.

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

10 τὸ ἀρχείον] 'The board.' ἐκεί] at Lacedæmon.

σιν έχ πάντων είναι, μετέχων δ δημος της μεγίστης άρχης βούλεται μένειν την πολιτείαν ένταῦθα δ' οὐκ έξ ἀπάντων αίροῦνται τοὺς κόσμους άλλ' ἐκ τινῶν γενῶν, καὶ τοὺς γέροντι τας έκ των κεκοσμηκότων. περί ων τούς αὐτούς άν τις είπειε λόγους καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι γερόντων τὸ γαρ ανυπεύθυνον και το δια βίου μεῖζον έστι γέρας τῆς άξίας αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸ μὴ κατὰ γράμματα ἄρχειν ἀλλ' αὐτο-12 γνώμονας επισφαλές. το δ' ήσυχάζειν μή μετέχοντα τον δημον οὐδὲν σημεῖον τοῦ τετάχθαι καλῶς οὐδὲ γὰρ λήμματός τι τοῖς κόσμοις ώσπερ τοῖς ἐφόροις, πόρρω γ' ἀποι-1272 Β 13 κοῦσιν ἐν νήσω τῶν διαΦθερούντων. ἢν δὲ ποιοῦνται τῆς άμαρτίας ταύτης ιατρείαν, άτοπος και οὐ πολιτική άλλά δυναστευτική πολλάκις γάρ ἐκβάλλουσι συστάντες τινές τους κόσμους ή των συναρχόντων αυτών ή των ίδιωτών, ἔξεστι δὲ καὶ μεταξύ τοῖς κόσμοις ἀπειπεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα βέλτιον γίνεσθαι κατά νόμον ή κατ' 14 ανθρώπων βούλησιν ού γαρ ασφαλής δ κανών. πάντων δε Φαυλότατον το της ακοσμίας των δυνατών, ην καθιστάσι

> βούλεται μένειν] This supports the view given above of the construction

· γινομένων Bekker.

of Ch. IX. § 22.

κεκοσμηκότων] Their office then was not for life.

11 περί ων] ες. των γερόντων.

γινομένων] will make sense, but I am in favour of substituting Tan Yeρόντων.

τὸ γὰρ ἀνυπεύθυνον, κ.τ.λ.] shews that the relative at the beginning of the section refers to τους γέρονταs of the preceding one. These are prerogatives of the Spartan Gerusia.

μείζον γέρας] 'Is a privilege greater than they have a fair claim to.'

12 ήσυχάζειν] opposed to βούλεται uévew. 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.

b oh Bekker.

13 της αμαρτίας ταύτης] Their remedy for this error with reference to the powers and choice of the Cosmi.

ου πολιτική] 'not such as a proper πολιτεία allows, but rather one that would suit a δυναστεία,' the closest and worst form of oligarchy. VI. (IV.) v. 2.

τῶν συναρχόντων, κ.τ.λ.] depend of course on tivés.

μεταξύ] 'in the midst of their office.' dmeimely] 'to renounce.'

ταῦτα δή] I do not see the force of δή. I should prefer δέ.

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 concessions.

πολλάκις όταν μὴ δίκας βούλωνται δοῦναι ἢ καὶ δῆλον ὡς ἔχει τι πολιτείας ἡ τάξις, ἀλλ' οὐ πολιτεία ἐστὶν ἀλλὰ δυναστεία μᾶλλον. εἰώθασι δὲ διαλαμβάνοντες τὸν δῆμον καὶ τοὺς Φίλους μοναρχίαν ποιεῖν καὶ στασιάζειν καὶ μά-χεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. καίτοι τί διαφέρει τὸ τοιοῦτον ἢ τς διά τινος χρόνου μηκέτι πόλιν εἶναι τὴν τοιαύτην, ἀλλὰ λύεσθαι τὴν πολιτικὴν κοινωνίαν; ἔστι δ' ἐπικίνδυνος οῦτως ἔχουσα πόλις τῶν βουλομένων ἐπιτίθεσθαι καὶ δυναμένων. ἀλλὰ καθάπερ εἴρηται, σώζεται διὰ τὸν τόπον ξενηλασίας γὰρ τὸ πόρρω πεποίηκεν. διὸ καὶ τὸ τῶν περιοίκων μένει το τοῖς Κρησίν, οἱ δ' εἴλωτες ἀφίστανται πολλάκις · οὖτε γὰρ ἐξωτερικῆς ἀρχῆς κοινωνοῦσιν οἱ Κρῆτες, νεωστί τε πόλεμος ξενικὸς διαβέβηκεν εἰς τὴν νῆσον, δς πεποίηκε Φανερὸν τὴν ἀσθένειαν τῶν ἐκεῖ νόμων. Περὶ μὲν οὖν ταύτης εἰρήσθω τοσαῦθ' ἡμῖν τῆς πολιτείας.

Πολιτεύεσθαι δε δοκοῦσι καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι καλῶς καὶ ΙΙ Carthage.

f και δηλον] '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.'

ξενηλασίαs] plural. Comp. Thuc. II. 39, ξενηλασίαιs. For the effect produced at Sparta by their institution of Kenelasy,—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.'

16 810 kal] 'on this ground also.' Comp. Ch. 1x. 3.

έξωτερικής άρχής] 'external dominion.' In the historical period Crete

stands perfectly isolated.

wόλεμος ξενικός] The date is said to be B. C. 344. Phalæcus, the Phocian leader, crossed into Crete. Thirlwall, v. 368. Grote, xi. 582, 599. Pausan. Phoc. 11. 5. ξενικός probably means 'a war conducted with mercenaries.' Such were the 8000 men with whom Phalæcus retired. μοιρί τοῦ ξενικοῦ, εαγς Pausanias. Diod. Sic. xvi. 62, 63, also speaks of μισθοφόρους. From the accounts 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

τοῖς. ἐπιεικῶν μὲν γὰρ ὄντων καὶ πεπαιδευμένων ἱκανῶς 25 προς ἀνδραγαθίαν τάχ' αν είπειέ τις συμφέρειν τῆ πόλει. καίτοι τό γε διά βίου κυρίους είναι κρίσεων μεγάλων άμφισβητήσιμον έστι γάρ, ώσπερ καὶ σώματος, καὶ διανοίας 1271 γήρας. του τρόπου δε τοῦτου πεπαιδευμένων ώστε και του νομοθέτην αὐτὸν ἀπιστεῖν ως οὐκ ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν, οὐκ 26 ἀσφαλές. Φαίνονται δὲ καὶ καταδωροδοκούμενοι καὶ καταχαριζόμενοι πολλά τῶν κοινῶν οἱ κεκοινωνηκότες τῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτης. διόπερ βέλτιον αύτους μή άνευθύνους είναι νον δ' είσίν. δόξειε δ' αν ή των εφόρων άρχη πάσας εύθύνειν τας άρχάς τοῦτο δὲ τῆ ἐΦορεία μέγα λίαν τὸ δῶρον, καὶ τὸν 27 τρόπον οὐ τοῦτον λέγομεν διδόναι δεῖν τὰς εὐθύνας. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν αίρεσιν ἣν ποιοῦνται τῶν γερόντων, κατά τε τὴν κρίσιν έστι παιδαριώδης, και τὸ αὐτὸν αἰτεῖσθαι τὸν άξιωθησόμενον της άρχης οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔχει· δεῖ γὰρ καὶ βουλόμε-28 νου καὶ μὴ βουλόμενον ἄρχειν τὸν ἄξιον τῆς ἀρχῆς. νῦν δ' οπερ καὶ περὶ τὴν ἄλλην πολιτείαν ὁ νομοθέτης Φαίνεται ποιῶν : Φιλοτίμους γὰρ κατασκευάζων τοὺς πολίτας τούτοις κέχρηται πρός την αιρεσιν των γερόντων οὐδείς γάρ άν άρχειν αἰτήσαιτο μη Φιλότιμος ών καίτοι τῶν γ' άδικημάτων έκουσίων τὰ πλεῖστα συμβαίνει σχεδὸν διὰ Φιλοτιμίαν 29 καὶ διὰ Φιλοχρηματίαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. Περὶ δὲ βασιλείας, εί μεν μή βέλτιον έστιν υπάρχειν ταις πόλεσιν ή βέλτιον,

25 nairoi] 'and yet even then it would be questionable policy.' Grote, II. 475.

τον τρόπον δε τοῦτον, κ.τ.λ.] 'But when so educated that even their lawgiver himself distrusts them.'

26 Grote, v. 483, quotes this judgment as the basis for an inference as to the effect at Athens of the Elders sitting for life.

ανευθύνουs] 'irresponsible,' 'without accountability.'

εὐθύνειν] 'check, or control.' Grote, 11. 472.

27 αἰτὸν αἰτεῖσθαι] 'to canvass personally.'

28 δπερ καί, κ.τ.λ.] Compare below, § 37, ἀποβέβηκε τοὐναντίου. So here, the legislator has completely failed in attaining a correct view of what is required.

φιλοτίμους γάρ, 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.' τούτοις, not τοὺς πολίτας, but the sanction given to personal canvassing.

oddels γάρ] refers to the κατασκευάζων. I attribute this object to him, 'for evidently no one would ask for office unless he were ambitious.'

29 εἰ μὲν μὴ βέλτιόν ἐστιν] The

άλλος έστω λόγος. άλλα μην βέλτιον γε μη καθάπερ νῦν, · άλλα κατά τον αύτοῦ βίον εκαστον κρίνεσθαι τῶν βασιλέων. ότι δ' ο νομοθέτης ούδ' αύτος οἴεται δύνασθαι ποιεῖν καλούς 30 κάγαθούς, δήλον άπιστεῖ γοῦν ώς οὐκ οὖσιν ίκανῶς άγαθοῖς ανδράσιν διόπερ εξέπεμπον συμπρεσβευτάς τους έχθρούς, καὶ σωτηρίαν ἐνόμιζον τῷ πόλει είναι τὸ στασιάζειν τοὺς βασιλείς. Οὐ καλῶς δ' οὐδὲ περὶ τὰ συσσίτια τὰ καλούμενα Φιδίτια νενομοθέτηται τῶ καταστήσαντι πρῶτον. ἔδει γὰρ 31 άπὸ κοινοῦ μᾶλλον είναι την σύνοδον, καθάπερ ἐν Κρήτη: παρά δὲ τοῖς Λάκωσιν ἔκαστον δεῖ Φέρειν, καὶ σφόδρα πενήτων ενίων δυτων καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἀνάλωμα οὐ δυναμένων δαπανάν, ώστε συμβαίνειν τούναντίον τῷ νομοθέτη τῆς προαιρέσεως. βούλεται μέν γάρ δημοκρατικόν είναι το κατα- 32 σκεύασμα των συσσιτίων, γίνεται δ' ήκιστα δημοκρατικόν ούτω νενομοθετημένον μετέχειν μεν γάρ οὐ ράδιον τοῖς λίαν πένησιν, δρος δε της πολιτείας οδτός έστιν αύτοις δ πάτριος, τὸν μὴ δυνάμενον τοῦτο τὸ τέλος Φέρειν μὴ μετέγειν αὐτῆς. Τῷ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ναυάρχους νόμφ καὶ ἔτεροί 33 τινες επιτετιμήκασιν, όρθως επιτιμώντες στάσεως γάρ γίνεται αίτιος. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν οὖσι στρατηγοῖς

order should rather be $\epsilon i \mu \ell \nu \beta \ell \lambda \tau i \delta \nu \ell \tau i \mu \eta$.

čλλος λόγος] Below, III. xiv. and foll.

κατὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ βίον κρίνεσθαι] 'be selected with reference to his own life and conduct.'

30 ἀπιστεῖ γοῦν] Is not this a later stage of feeling, and scarcely to be supposed existing in the mind of Lycurgus?

εξέπεμπον] 'They were in the habit of sending out.' Instances will occur to every one. Grote, π. 469.

στασιά(ειν] On the perpetual dissensions of the Spartan kings, see Grote, 11. 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, I. 64, χρημάτων συνόδοισι, gives the nearest approach to its meaning here.

δαπανών τὸ ἀνάλωμα] · To meet this expense.'

32 δρος δέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'The right of citizenship has this limit fixed.' From this arose the body called οἱ ὑπομείονες, the Inferiors, Spartans disfranchised, but with the power of recovering their franchise. Grote, II. 482, and 525, not.

33 trepol rives] Who are meant? ordoess yap ylverai alrios] 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 Agesilaus.

Sparta. ἀϊδίοις ή ναυαρχία σχεδον έτέρα βασιλεία καθέστηκεν. Καλ 34 ώδι δε τη ύποθέσει τοῦ νομοθέτου ἐπιτιμήσειεν αν τις, ὅπερ 1271 Β καὶ Πλάτων ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ἐπιτετίμηκεν· πρὸς γὰρ μέρος άρετης ή πάσα σύνταξις των νόμων έστί, την πολεμικήν αύτη γάρ γρησίμη πρός το κρατείν. τοιγαρούν έσώζοντο μεν πολεμοῦντες, ἀπώλλυντο δε ἄρξαντες διὰ τὸ μη ἐπίστασθαι σχολάζειν μηδε ήσκηκέναι μηδεμίαν άσκησιν έτέραν 35 κυριωτέραν τῆς πολεμικῆς. τούτου δὲ ἀμάρτημα οὐκ ἔλαττον νομίζουσι μέν γὰρ γίνεσθαι τάγαθὰ τὰ περιμάχητα δί άρετης μάλλον ή κακίας καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καλῶς, ὅτι μέντοι 36 ταῦτα κρείττω τῆς ἀρετῆς ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, οὐ καλῶς. Φαύλως δ' έχει και περί τὰ κοινά χρήματα τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις. ούτε γαρ εν τω κοινώ της πόλεως έστιν ούδεν πολέμους μεγάλους ἀναγκαζομένοις πολεμεῖν, εἰσΦέρουσί τε κακῶς διὰ γάρ τὸ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν είναι τὴν πλείστην γῆν οὐκ ἐξετά-37 ζουσιν άλλήλων τὰς εἰσφοράς. ἀποβέβηκέ τε τοὐναντίον τῷ νομοθέτη τοῦ συμφέροντος την μέν γάρ πόλιν πεποίηκεν άχρήματον, τοὺς δ' ἰδιώτας Φιλοχρημάτους. Περί μέν οὖν · attus Bekker.

àtôios] àtôios seems the true reading, and the weight of authority is in favour of it. Vet. Tr., Stahr., Schn., and others, adopt it. In fact, Bekker's reading gives a sense contrary to very plain statements. Xenophon, Hell. 1. vi. 4. and 11. i. 7.

34 τῆ ὑποθέσει] 'The prevailing idea.' Compare the language of Brasidas, Thuc. IV. 126. Plato, Legg. I. 628. E. foll.

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

τὰ περιμάχητα ὰγαθά] Είλ. Ix. viii. 4, 9, p. 1168. B. 19; 1169. 21, the same expression occurs.

36 τὰ κοινὰ χρήματα] 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 κακῶς] On this see Grote, II. 493, and his note. τὴν πλείστην γῆν, "the country eastward of Taygetus, since the foundation of Messene by Epaminondas had been consummated."

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

φιλοχρημάτουs] For this tendency, with instances of it before Lysander, and the stimulus applied by Lysander, see Grote, 1x. 321, 2.

It seemed 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 τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείας ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω· ταῦτα Sparta γάρ ἐστιν ἃ μάλιστ' ἄν τις ἐπιτιμήσειεν.

Ή δὲ Κρητική πολιτεία πάρεγγυς μέν ἐστι ταύτης, 10
ἔχει δὲ μικρὰ μὲν οὐ χεῖρον, τὸ δὲ πλεῖον ἤττον γλαφυρῶς.
καὶ γὰρ ἔοικε καὶ λέγεται δὲ τὰ πλεῖστα μεμιμῆσθαι τὴν
Κρητικὴν πολιτείαν ἡ τῶν Λακώνων, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα τῶν
ἀρχαίων ἤττον διήρθρωται τῶν νεωτέρων. Φασὶ γὰρ τὸν 2
Λυκοῦργον, ὅτε τὴν ἐπιτροπείαν τὴν Χαρίλλου τοῦ βασιλέως καταλιπών ἀπεδήμησεν, τότε τὸν πλεῖστον διατρῖψαι
χρόνον περὶ τὴν Κρήτην διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν ἄποικοι γὰρ
οἱ Λύκτιοι τῶν Λακώνων ἦσαν, κατέλαβον δ' οἱ πρὸς τὴν
ἀποικίαν ἐλθόντες 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, Lacedæmonian, and Cretan, of their respective constitutions, and on the principles on which a new state, if founded, should be based.

X. I 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. Hoeck seems to think that Lyctos (which C. F. Hermann speaks of as "considered a daughter state of Lacedæmon") was the one most present to the mind of Aristotle. I pass to the consideration of the text of the chap-

ter, referring any who would inquire further, to the article on Crete in Smith's Geogr. Dict., where the sources of information are indicated.

 $\pi d\rho e \gamma \gamma v s$ $\mu \dot{e} \nu$, $\kappa.\tau.\lambda$.] 'Though it borders very closely on the Lacedæmonian, and though it is in some few points quite as well arranged, yet for the most part it is less finished.'

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

διήρθρωται] Eth. 1. vii. 17. διαρθρώσαι, 'are less articulate, distinct.' Comp. Bonitz, ad Metaph. 986. B. 5: "διαρθροῦν est rem aliquam quasi per membra et artus distinguere et certum in ordinem redigere, ut unius corporis referant similitudinem."

2 On the various accounts of Lycurgus, comp. Grote, 11. 452.

imitpowelar] 'the guardianship.'

On Charillus, or Charilaus, more will be said later, VIII. (V.) XII. 12.

κατέλαβον ὑπάρχουσαν] 'found existing.' This surely is the fair and natural way of translating it, and, if allowed, points to the provious existence of Dorian institutions in Crote.

то дання вытельный полительный выправной простои मा क्या प्राप्त विकास के में में महिन्दू सक्षी सहिते कि שנים או ליינים בער אונים אונ we seem to the service of serious the Endison Reputation ιμείου στο το το Τριόπιον "א על שני שני של הידים בים בים בים בים של שנים של אינים של אונים של אונים של אונים של אונים של אינים של אונים The war while is a second of Liesting the Side eteratory me Lament me manifer te pap tois men The wife the same the constitute map Adamoses . No the state were a Karrey & xal Shaoy the transfer of the transfer of taking. of τέντε τον άριθμον TOIS YÉPOUTIN, OÙS καὶ την ήγεμονίαν οί

the is the more technical one of the appendent population, lower in position than the Laconian periodi.

o by S, E.T.A.] Not only did socity 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 and man

two rule ripowers] Does this neces-

That the Cosmi should service the power would be the natural when the kingly power had

κόσμοι την κατά πόλεμον έχουσιν. ἐκκλησίας δὲ μετέ- Crete. γουσι πάντες κυρία δ' οὐδενός ἐστιν άλλ' ή συνεπιψηφίσαι 7 τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς γέρουσι καὶ τοῖς κόσμοις. Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν συσσιτίων ἔγει βέλτιον τοῖς Κρησίν ἡ τοῖς Λάκωσιν. έν μέν γάρ Λακεδαίμονι κατά κεφαλήν έκαστος είσφέρει τὸ τεταγμένον εἰ δὲ μή, μετέχειν νόμος κωλύει τῆς πολιτείας, καθάπερ είρηται καὶ πρότερον. ἐν δὲ Κρήτη κοινο- 8 τέρως άπο πάντων γάρ τῶν γινομένων καρπῶν τε καὶ βοσκημάτων και έκ των δημοσίων και Φόρων ους Φέρουσιν οί περίοικοι τέτακται μέρος το μέν πρός τούς θεούς καλ τάς κοινάς λειτουργίας, το δε τοῖς συσσιτίοις, ωστ' έκ κοινοῦ τρέφεσθαι πάντας, και γυναϊκας και παϊδας και άνδρας. πρός δε την ολιγοσιτίαν ώς ώφελιμον πολλά πεφιλοσό-9 Φηκεν ο νομοθέτης, και προς την διάζευξιν των γυναικών, ίνα μη πολυτεκνώσι, την πρός τους άρρενας ποιήσας όμιλίαν, περί ής εί Φαύλως ή μή Φαύλως, ετερος έσται τοῦ διασχέψασθαι καιρός. ὅτι δὲ τὰ περὶ τὰ συσσίτια. βέλτιον τέτακται τοῖς Κρησίν ή τοῖς Λάκωσι, Φανερόν. τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς κόσμους ἔτι χεῖρον τῶν ἐφόρων. ὁ μὲν 10 γὰρ ἔχει κακὸν τὸ τῶν ἐφόρων ἀρχεῖον, ὑπάρχει καὶ τούτων γίνονται γάρ οἱ τυγόντες δ δ έκεῖ συμφέρει πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν, ένταῦθ' οὐκ ἔστιν. ἐκεῖ μὲν γάρ, διὰ τὸ τὴν αῖρε-

7 συνεπυμηφίσαι] 'to join in ratifying.' Compare x1.6. A simple assent alone was allowed them.

πρότερον] Ch. IX. 32.

8 κοινοτέρως] 'on fairer terms.'

από πάντων, κ.τ.λ.] If Bekker's reading is kept, what sense are we to attach to the words καὶ ἰκ τῶν δημοσίων? Are we with Hoeck to interpret it of "the Dorian common land, the state domains," 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: ἀπὸ πάντων γὰρ τῶν γινο-

μένων καρπῶν τε καὶ βοσκημάτων δημοσίων καὶ ἐκ τῶν φόρων οδε φέρουσιν οἱ περίοικοι. This would point to two sources from which the public tables were maintained, the produce of the public lands whether tillage or pasture, and the tribute or rents paid by the subject population. It seems to me the easiest and simplest way, but it is not necessary.

9 πρός την δλιγοσιτίαν] 'Το secure a sparing diet the lawgiver has taken many wise measures.' διάζευξιν, 'separation.'

10 τὸ ἀρχεῖον] 'The board.' ἐκεῖ] at Lacedæmon.

σιν έκ πάντων είναι, μετέχων δ δημος της μεγίστης άρχης βούλεται μένειν την πολιτείαν ένταῦθα δ' οὐκ έξ ἀπάντων αίροῦνται τοὺς κόσμους ἀλλ' ἐκ τινῶν γενῶν, καὶ τοὺς γέροντι τας έκ των κεκοσμηκότων, περί ων τούς αὐτούς αν τις είπειε λόγους και περί τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι γερόντων τὸ γαρ ανυπεύθυνον και το δια βίου μείζον έστι γέρας της άξίας αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸ μὴ κατὰ γράμματα ἄρχειν ἀλλ' αὐτο-12 γνώμονας έπισφαλές. τὸ δ' ήσυχάζειν μη μετέχοντα τὸν δημον ούδεν σημείον τοῦ τετάχθαι καλῶς οὐδε γὰρ λήμματός τι τοῖς κόσμοις ώσπερ τοῖς ἐφόροις, πόρρω γ' ἀποι-1272 Β 13 χοῦσιν ἐν νήσω τῶν διαφθερούντων. ἡν δὲ ποιοῦνται τῆς άμαρτίας ταύτης ιατρείαν, άτοπος και οὐ πολιτική άλλά δυναστευτική: πολλάκις γὰρ ἐκβάλλουσι συστάντες τινὲς τους κόσμους ή τῶν συναρχόντων αὐτῶν ή τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, ἔΕεστι δὲ καὶ μεταξὺ τοῖς κόσμοις ἀπειπεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν. ταῦτα δὲ ταντα βέλτιον γίνεσθαι κατὰ νόμον ή κατ' 14 άνθρώπων βούλησιν ου γάρ άσφαλής δ κανών. πάντων δὲ Φαυλότατον τὸ τῆς ἀκοσμίας τῶν δυνατῶν, ἡν καθιστᾶσι

γινομένων Bekker.

b & Bekker.

βούλεται μένειν] This supports the view given above of the construction of Ch. IX. § 22.

κεκοσμηκότων] Their office then was not for life.

ΙΙ περίων] ΒΟ. των γερόντων.

γινομένων] will make sense, but I am in favour of substituting Ter ye-

τδ γαρ ανυπεύθυνον, κ.τ.λ.] This shows that the relative at the beginning of the section refers to Tous yeporτas of the preceding one. prerogntives of the Spartan Gerusia.

μείζον γέρας] 'Is a privilege greater than they have a fair claim to.'

12 ήσυχάζειν] opposed to βούλεται uéveux. 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 της αμαρτίας ταύτης] Their remedy for this error with reference to the powers and choice of the Cosmi.

οὐ πολιτική] 'not such as a proper πολιτεία allows, but rather one that would suit a δυναστεία,' the closest and worst form of oligarchy. VI. (IV.) v. 2.

τών συναρχόντων, κ.τ.λ.] depend of course on tivés.

μεταξό] 'in the midst of their office.' aπειπείν] 'to renounce.'

ταῦτα δή] I do not see the force of δή. I should prefer δέ.

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 concessions.

πολλάκις ὅταν μὴ δίκας βούλωνται δοῦναι ἢ καὶ δῆλον ὡς ἔχει τι πολιτείας ἡ τάξις, ἀλλ' οὐ πολιτεία ἐστὶν ἀλλὰ δυναστεία μᾶλλον. εἰώθασι δὲ διαλαμβάνοντες τὸν δῆμον καὶ τοὺς Φίλους μοναρχίαν ποιεῖν καὶ στασιάζειν καὶ μά-χεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. καίτοι τί διαφέρει τὸ τοιοῦτον ἢ ις διά τινος χρόνου μηκέτι πόλιν εἶναι τὴν τοιαύτην, ἀλλὰ λύεσθαι τὴν πολιτικὴν κοινωνίαν; ἔστι δ' ἐπικίνδυνος οῦτως ἔχουσα πόλις τῶν βουλομένων ἐπιτίθεσθαι καὶ δυναμένων. ἀλλὰ καθάπερ εἶρηται, σώζεται διὰ τὸν τόπον 'ξενηλασίας γὰρ τὸ πόρρω πεποίηκεν. διὸ καὶ τὸ τῶν περιοίκων μένει ιδ τοῖς Κρησίν, οἱ δ' εἴλωτες ἀφίστανται πολλάκις · οὖτε γὰρ ἐξωτερικῆς ἀρχῆς κοινωνοῦσιν οἱ Κρῆτες, νεωστί τε πόλεμος ξενικὸς διαβέβηκεν εἰς τὴν νῆσον, δς πεποίηκε φανερὸν τὴν ἀσθένειαν τῶν ἐκεῖ νόμων. Περὶ μὲν οὖν ταύτης εἰρήσθω τοσαῦθ' ἡμῖν τῆς πολιτείας.

f 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.'

ξενηλασίας] plural. Comp. Thuc. II.
39, ξενηλασίας. 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 διδ καί] 'on this ground also.' Comp. Ch. 1x. 3.

έξωτερικής άρχής] 'external dominion.' In the historical period Crete

stands perfectly isolated.

πόλεμος ξενικός] The date is said to be B. C. 344. Phalæcus, the Phocian leader, crossed into Crete. Thirlwall, v. 368. Grote, xi. 582, 599. Pausan. Phoc. II. 5. ξενικός probably means 'a war conducted with mercenaries.' Such were the 8000 men with whom Phalæcus retired. μοιρξ τοῦ ξενικοῦ, says Pausanias. Diod. Sic. xvi. 62, 63, also speaks of μισθοφόρους. From the accounts 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

Carthage. πολλά περιττῶς πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους, μάλιστα δ' ἔνια παραπλησίως τοῖς Λάκωσιν. αὖται γὰρ αἱ πολιτεῖαι τρεῖς άλλήλαις τε σύνεγγύς πώς είσι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολὺ διαφέρουσιν, ή τε Κρητική καὶ ή Λακωνική καὶ τρίτη τούτων ή Καργηδονίων, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν τεταγμένων ἔχει παρ' αὐτοῖς 2 καλώς. σημείον δε πολιτείας συντεταγμένης το τον δημον έχουσαν διαμένειν ἐν τῇ τάξει τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ μήτε στάσιν, δ τι καλ άξιον είπεῖν, γεγενήσθαι μήτε τύραννον. 3 έχει δε παραπλήσια τη Λακωνική πολιτεία τα μεν συσσίτια τῶν ἐταιριῶν τοῖς Φιδιτίοις, τὴν δὲ τῶν ἐκατὸν καὶ τεττάρων άρχην τοῖς ἐΦόροις (πλην οὐ χεῖρον οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν τυγόντων εἰσί, ταύτην δ' αἰροῦνται την άρχην άριστίνδην), τούς δὲ βασιλεῖς καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν ἀνάλογον τοῖς ἐκεῖ 4 βασιλεῦσι καὶ γέρουσιν. καὶ βέλτιον δὲ τοὺς βασιλεῖς μήτε κατά τὸ αὐτὸ είναι γένος, μηδε τοῦτο τὸ τυχόν, είτα διαφέρον έκ τούτων αίρετους μάλλον ή καθ ήλικίαν μεγά-· είτε Bekker.

> and working of the political machine at Carthage may be said to be unknown." He adds in a note: "Heeren and Kluge have discussed all these passages with ability. But their materials do not enable them to reach any certainty."

I περιττώs] '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.

τὸν δῆμον] 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 democratical element it yet preserves unchanged the system of its constitution.'

δτι καὶ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν] 'worth speaking

3 τὰ συσσίτια των έταιριων] Mövers, Geschichte der Phönizer, 11. 492, thinks these were yévn, houses of the aristocracy, political divisions, not mere clubs, but much more closely analogous to Spartan and Cretan syssitia. Grote, x. 551, speaks of "collective banquets of the curiæ, or the political associations." But he thinks the comparison not a happy one.

πλην ου χείρον, κ.τ.λ.] 'with this advantage however on the part of Carthage,' &c.

4 είτε διαφέρον] I prefer reading elra; '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 Lysander at Sparta; "not confined to members of the same family or Gens, but chosen out of the principal families or Gentes." The change of elva for elve is advocated by Nickes, de Aristotelis Politicorum libris, p. 54.

λων γὰρ κύριοι καθεστῶτες, ἀν εὐτελεῖς ὧσι, μεγάλα βλάπ- Carthage. τουσι καὶ ἔβλαψαν ἤδη τὴν πόλιν τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. 1273 Τὰ μὲν οὖν πλεῖστα τῶν ἐπιτιμηθέντων ᾶν διὰ τὰς παρεκ- 5 βάσεις κοινά τυγγάνει πάσαις όντα ταῖς εἰρημέναις πολιτείαις των δε πρός την ύπόθεσιν της άριστοκρατίας καί τῆς πολιτείας τὰ μὲν εἰς δῆμον ἐκκλίνει μᾶλλον, τὰ δ' εἰς όλιγαρχίαν. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ τὸ μὲν προσάγειν τὸ δὲ μή προσάγειν πρός τον δήμον οι βασιλείς κύριοι μετά τῶν γερόντων, αν όμογνωμονωσι πάντες εί δε μή, και τούτων ό δημος. ά δ' άν είσφέρωσιν οὖτοι, οὐ διακοῦσαι μόνον άπο-6 διδόασι τῷ δήμῳ τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἀλλὰ κύριοι χρίνειν είσὶ καὶ τῷ βουλομένω τοῖς εἰσφερομένοις ἀντειπεῖν ἔξεστιν, ὅπερ ἐν ταῖς ἐτέραις πολιτείαις οὐκ ἔστιν. τὸ δὲ 7τὰς πενταρχίας κυρίας οὖσας πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ὑΦ' αύτῶν αίρετὰς είναι, καὶ τὴν τῶν έκατὸν ταύτας αίρεῖσθαι τὴν μεγίστην άρχήν, ἔτι δὲ ταύτας πλείονα άρχειν χρόνον τῶν άλλων (καὶ γὰρ ἐξεληλυθότες ἄρχουσι καὶ μέλλοντες) όλιγαρχικόν, τὸ δ' ἀμίσθους καὶ μὴ κληρωτάς ἀριστοκρατικὸν

Ann. I. porro illud differt (et ita quidem, item ut præstet) &c. Stahr reads elve with Bekker, but interprets it "und hier ist es besser."

ebreheis] 'ordinary.' Rhet. II. 15, 3. p. 1390. B. 24.

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 Two de I supply exiτιμηθέντων αν. I consider αριστοκραrias not as his ideal state, but in the more practical sense of aristocracy, as in § 8.

τοῦ μὲν γάρ, 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 decide." Grote, x. 551.

τούτων] ες. τῶν προσαγομένων.

6 ταιs ἐτέραιs] 'The two others,' Sparta and Crete.

7 ταύταs] sc. τὰς πενταρχίας, 'that the pentarchies should choose the supreme authority, that of the Hundred.'

καl γὰρ ἐξεληλυθότες, κ.τ.λ.] "inasmuch as they exercised an authority both before and after their regular term of magistracy." Arnold, Rom. Hist. Vol. 11. 550.

Carthage. Θετέον, καὶ εἴ τι τοιοῦτον έτερον· καὶ τὸ τὰς δίκας ὑπὸ τῶν άργείων δικάζεσθαι πάσας, καὶ μὴ ἄλλας ὑπ' ἄλλων, καθά-8 περ εν Λακεδαίμονι. Παρεκβαίνει δε της αριστοκρατίας ή τάξις των Καρχηδονίων μάλιστα πρός την όλιγαρχίαν κατά τινα διάνοιαν ή συνδοκεῖ τοῖς πολλοῖς οὐ γὰρ μόνον άριστίνδην άλλά καὶ πλουτίνδην οδονται δεῖν αἰρεῖσθαι τοὺς άρχοντας άδύνατον γάρ τὸν άποροῦντα καλῶς ἄρχειν καὶ ο σχολάζειν. είπερ οὖν τὸ μεν αίρεῖσθαι πλουτίνδην ολιγαρχικόν, τὸ δὲ κατ' ἀρετήν ἀριστοκρατικόν, αὖτη τις αν εἶη τάξις τρίτη, καθ' ήνπερ συντέτακται καλ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις τὰ περί τὴν πολιτείαν αίροῦνται γὰρ εἰς δύο ταῦτα βλέποντες, καὶ μάλιστα τὰς μεγίστας, τούς τε βασιλεῖς καὶ το τούς στρατηγούς. δεί δε νομίζειν άμαρτημα νομοθέτου την παρέκβασιν είναι της άριστοκρατίας ταύτην έξ άργης γάρ τοῦθ' όρᾶν ἐστὶ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων, ὅπως οἱ βέλτιστοι δύνωνται σχολάζειν καὶ μηδέν άσχημονείν, μη μόνον άρχοντες άλλα μηδ' ίδιωτεύοντες. εί δε δεῖ βλέπειν καὶ πρὸς εὐπορίαν χάριν σχολής, Φαῦλον τὸ τὰς μεγίστας ωνητὰς είναι τῶν τι άρχων, τήν τε βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν. ἔντιμον γάρ ό νόμος ούτος ποιεί τὸν πλούτον μάλλον τῆς ἀρετῆς, καὶ

> ύπὸ 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. 1. 10, 11, only draws attention to the point 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 καθάπερ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι must, I think, refer to the andas on قممه. There remains the question, why one practice should be more aristocratical than the other.

> 8 παρεκβαίνει δέ, 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 συντέτακται καί] It would seem better to read kal ourtéraura: where it stands, the rai is not wanted.

τούς βασιλείς και τούς στρατηγούς] These then were distinct. The suffetes were not the commanders in war, the captains-general.

10 μηδέν ἀσχημονείν] 'not lower themselves in any way.'

ώνητάς] "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. n. 548, 9.

την πόλιν όλην Φιλογρήματον. ότι δ' αν ύπολάβη τίμιον Carthaga. είναι τὸ κύριον, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν δόξαν άκολουθείν τούτοις. ὅπου δὲ μὴ μάλιστα ἀρετὴ τιμᾶται, 1273 Β ταύτην ούχ οδόν τ' εδναι βεβαίως άριστοκρατικήν πολιτείαν. έθίζεσθαι δ΄ εύλογον κερδαίνειν τούς ωνουμένους, όταν δαπα- 12 νήσαντες άρχωσιν - άτοπον γαρ εί πένης μεν ων επιεικής δε βουλήσεται κερδαίνειν, Φαυλότερος δ' ών ου βουλήσεται δαπανήσας. διὸ δεῖ τοὺς δυναμένους ἀρισταρχεῖν, τούτους άρχειν. βέλτιον δ', εί και προείτο την απορίαν των έπιεικών ο νομοθέτης, άλλ' άρχοντων γε επιμελεϊσθαι της σχολης. Φαῦλον δ' αν δόξειεν είναι καὶ τὸ πλείους ἀρχὰς 13 τὸν αὐτὸν ἄρχειν. ὅπερ εὐδοκιμεῖ παρὰ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις. εν γαρ ύφ' ένδς έργον αριστ' αποτελεῖται. δεῖ δ' δπως γίνηται τοῦθ' ὁρᾶν τὸν νομοθέτην, καὶ μὴ προστάττειν τὸν αύτον αύλεῖν καὶ σκυτοτομεῖν. ὥσθ' ὅπου μη μικρά πόλις, 14 πολιτικώτερον πλείονας μετέχειν τῶν ἀρχῶν, καὶ δημοτικώτερον· χοινότερόν τε γάρ, καθάπερ είπομεν, καὶ κάλλιον έχαστον άποτελεῖται τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ θᾶττον. δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν καὶ τῶν ναυτικῶν : ἐν τούτοις γὰρ άμφοτέροις διὰ πάντων ώς εἰπεῖν διελήλυθε τὸ ἄρχειν καὶ τὸ ἄρχεσθαι. 'Ολιγαρχικῆς δ' οὖσης τῆς πολιτείας ἄριστα 15 εκφεύγουσι τῶ πλουτεῖν, ἀεί τι τοῦ δήμου μέρος ἐκπέμπον-

II TO ROPION] 'The government.' This view of Aristotle 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.

12 εθίζεσθαι, κ.τ.λ.] Compare in Michelet, Hist. de France, Vol. IV. 265, a quotation from the pamphlet of Clémengis: "Que si, dit-il, on leur

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

el $\pi \rho o \epsilon i \tau o$, $\kappa. \tau. \lambda.$] 'If he gave up the question of the wealth or poverty of his governing classes.'

13 φαῦλον δ€] Arnold, Rom. Hist. II. 550, I.

ἐν γὰρ ὑφ' ἐνός] Comp. I. x1. 3.

14 πολιτικώτερον] 'It is more in accordance with sound policy.'

διὰ πάντων ώς εἰπεῖν] Compare Thuc.

ν. 66, σχεδόν γάρ τι πῶν πλὴν ὀλίγου
τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
ἄρχοντες ἀρχόντων εἰσί.

15 ἐκφεύγουσι] 'They escape the evils incident to an oligarchy.'

Ο Την πολιτείαν. ἀλλὰ τουτί ἐστι τύχης ἔργον, δεῖ δὲ ἀστατην πολιτείαν. ἀλλὰ τουτί ἐστι τύχης ἔργον, δεῖ δὲ ἀστατο σιάστους εἶναι διὰ τὸν νομοθέτην. νῦν δ᾽, ἀν ἀτυχία γένηταί
τις καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἀποστῆ τῶν ἀρχομένων, οὐδέν ἐστι Φάρμακον διὰ τῶν νόμων τῆς ἡσυχίας. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείας καὶ Κρητικῆς καὶ τῆς Καρχηδονίων,
αἴπερ δικαίως εὐδοκιμοῦσι, τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον.

MUNU

And and modes! Compa VII. (VII) IN M made and made and see the state of the state o

he say had been the say the say and the say th

seen , was true, at any many

" s + s many consists than I ! ! ! .

but rds waters] Comp. VII. (VI.) | fairs, but were in a private station of while rds supposedus. Arm. II. | throughout Ein.'

remain Squarepool] 'framers of laws.'

2 Streamier we poly, m.r.t.] This is the language, not of Aristotle, but of these who support Solon.

potenta, antemberer,

The grounds on which Solon was spoken at by some as having first constituted the Arvepages, are given, where we are In p. 167 of the same volume. Mr tirece has a note on this within pussage about Soion. In it he wassium that Arsecte's our judgmean lives and begin till § 5. paireres he and I come but think that The processing administ he more processes and in § 2 we have the ries kerograble w South. It the first sentence of § 3. we have a conscious of Aristocie on that THE THE PART AND SEE MEMBERS war to humanerum the appoints view. nings with line. And without his spain

Solon.

δήμον παῦσαι, καὶ δημοκρατίαν καταστήσαι τὴν πάτριον, εμίξαντα καλῶς τὴν πολιτείαν εἶναι γὰρ τὴν μὲν ἐν ᾿Αρείῳ πάγῳ βουλὴν ἐλιγαρχικόν, τὸ δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς αἰρετὰς ἀριστοκρατικόν, τὰ δὲ δικαστήρια δημοτικόν. ἔοικε δὲ Σόλων ἐκεῖνα μὲν ὑπάρχοντα πρότερον οὐ καταλῦσαι, τήν τε βου-1274 λὴν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀρχῶν αἴρεσιν, τὸν δὲ δῆμον καταστήσαι, τὰ δικαστήρια ποιήσας ἐκ πάντων. διὸ καὶ μέμφονταί τινες αὐτῷ λῦσαι γὰρ θάτερον, κύριον ποιήσαντα τὸ δικαστήριον πάντων, κληρωτὸν ὄν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ τοῦτ Ἰσχυεν, ῶσπερ τυράννῳ τῷ δήμῳ χαριζόμενοι τὴν πολιτείαν εἰς τὴν νῦν δημοκρατίαν κατέστησὰν, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐν ᾿Αρείῳ πάγῳ βου-λὴν Ἐφιάλτης ἐκόλουσε καὶ Περικλῆς, τὰ δὲ δικαστήρια

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

3 rà 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.

λῦσαι γὰρ θάτερον] 'The other element in the state,' the ἐπεῖνα of the previous sentence.

4 την 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.

ἀκόλουσε] 'cut down the powers of.'
τὰ δὲ δικαστήρια μισθοφόρα κατέστησεν] 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 Poricles, and

changed by him so far, that the members of them received pay thencefor-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 δημαγωγούς This I rest not merely on φαύλους. 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 φρόνιμος 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

Various

μισθοφόρα κατέστησε Περικλής, καλ τοῦτον δή τὸν τρόπον έκαστος τῶν δημαγωγῶν προήγαγεν αὖξων εἰς τὴν νῦν δημο-5 κρατίαν. Φαίνεται δ' οὐ κατά τὴν Σόλωνος γενέσθαι τοῦτο προαίρεσιν, άλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀπὸ συμπτώματος της ναυαρχίας γάρ έν τοῖς Μηδικοῖς ὁ δημος αἴτιος γενόμενος ἐφρονηματίσθη, καὶ δημαγωγούς ἔλαβε Φαύλους ἀντιπολιτευομένων τῶν ἐπιεικῶν, ἐπεὶ Σόλων γε ἔοικε τὴν ἀναγκαιοτάτην άποδιδόναι τῷ δήμῳ δύναμιν, τὸ τὰς ἀρχὰς αἰρεῖσθαι καὶ εύθύνειν μηδε γάρ τούτου κύριος ών ο δημος δοῦλος άν είη 6 καὶ πολέμιος. τὰς δ' ἀρχὰς ἐκ τῶν γνωρίμων καὶ τῶν εὐπόρων κατέστησε πάσας, εκ τῶν πεντακοσιομεδίμνων καὶ ζευγιτῶν καὶ τρίτου τέλους τῆς καλουμένης ἱππάδος τὸ δὲ τέταρτον θητικόν, οίζ οὐδεμιᾶς άρχης μετήν. Νομοθέται δ' Lawgivers. έγένοντο Ζάλευκός τε Λοκροίς τοίς επιζεφυρίοις, και Χαρώνδας ὁ Καταναῖος τοῖς αὐτοῦ πολίταις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ταῖς Χαλκιδικαῖς πόλεσι ταῖς περί Ίταλίαν καὶ Σικελίαν. 7 πειρώνται δέ τινες καὶ συνάγειν ιώς 'Ονομακρίτου μεν γενομένου πρώτου δεινοῦ περί νομοθεσίαν, γυμνασθήναι δ' αὐτὸν έν Κρήτη Λοκρον όντα καὶ ἐπιδημοῦντα κατὰ τέχνην μαντικήν· τούτου δὲ γενέσθαι Θάλητα ἐταῖρον, Θάλητος δ' άκροατήν Λυκοῦργον καὶ Ζάλευκον, Ζαλεύκου 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 Göttling for rejecting it. Mr Grote also does not hint the slightest doubt of its genuineness. gel's argument drawn from την νῦν 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.'

> την άναγκαιστάτην] "as much power as was strictly needful, and no more." Grote, 111. 168.

6 καὶ τρίτου τέλους, κ.τ.λ.] Spengel proposes to read and tov. Even with . this change, the order of the classes is

incorrectly given, "anderes," he says, "est bei dem Zustande unseres Textes unbedenklich als corrupt anzunehmen wie die Worte τὰς δ' ἀρχάς, κ.τ.λ. wo wahrscheinlich kal τοῦ stand; sind doch in diesem Kapitel weit ärgere Fehler."

θητικόν] on the distinction between the Thetic census and the Thetes, comp. Grote, 111. 158.

For Zaleucus and Charondas, comp. Grote, 111. 505; IV. 560-2.

7 συνάγειν] 'To form a catena.'

'Ovopakoltou] From Smith, Biogr. Dict., this would seem the only mention of this personage.

έπιδημούντα κατά τέχνην μαντικήν] 'Staying there for the purpose of acquiring the prophetic art.'

άλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσιν ἀσκεπτότερον τῷ χρόνω λέγον- Various Έγενετο δε και Φιλόλαος ὁ Κορίνθιος νομοθέτης Θηβαίοις. ἢν δ' ὁ Φιλόλαος τὸ μὲν γένος τῶν Βακχιαδῶν, έραστης δε γενόμενος Διοκλέους τοῦ νικήσαντος 'Ολυμπίασιν, ως έχεῖνος τὴν πόλιν ἔλιπε διαμισήσας τὸν ἔρωτα τὸν της μητρός 'Αλκυόνης, άπηλθεν είς Θήβας, κάκει τον βίον έτελεύτησαν άμφότεροι. καὶ νῦν ἔτι δεικνύουσι τοὺς τάφους 9 αὐτῶν ἀλλήλοις μὲν εὐσυνόπτους ὄντας, πρὸς δὲ τὴν τῶν Κορινθίων χώρων τοῦ μέν συνόπτου τοῦ δ' οὐ συνόπτου. μυθολογοῦσι γὰρ αὐτοὺς οῦτω τάξασθαι τὴν ταφήν, τὸν μέν Διοκλέα διά την άπέγθειαν τοῦ πάθους, ὅπως μη ἄποπτος έσται ή Κορινθία άπο τοῦ χώματος, τον δε Φιλόλαον, όπως άποπτος. ὤχησαν μὲν οὖν διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην αἰτίαν 10 1274 Β παρά τοῖς Θηβαίοις, νομοθέτης δ' αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο Φιλόλαος περί τ' ἄλλων τινῶν καὶ περὶ τῆς παιδοποιίας, οὖς καλοῦσιν έκείνοι νόμους θετικούς καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἰδίως ὑπ' ἐκείνου νενομοθετημένον, δπως ὁ ἀριθμὸς σώζηται τῶν κλήρων. Χαρώνδου δ' Ιδιον μεν ούδεν έστι πλην αι δίκαι τῶν ψευδο- 12 μαρτυριών (πρώτος γάρ ἐποίησε τὴν ἐπίσκηψιν), τῆ δ' ακριβεία τῶν νόμων ἐστὶ γλαφυρώτερος καὶ τῶν νῦν νομοθετῶν. Φαλέου δ' ίδιον ή τῶν οὐσιῶν ἀνομάλωσις, Πλάτω- 12

8 ασκεπτότερον τῷ χρόνφ] 'without due regard to chronology.' After Aéyoures I put a full stop, so connecting the remark entirely with what precedes it.

Banxiabar] The Bacchiad oligarchy was subverted by Cypselus about B.C. 655. Grote, 111. 53-55. On Philolaus and his history, comp. Grote, 11. 394 foll., who places him between B.C. 728 and 700.

9 εὐσυνόπτους] 'easily seen.'

διά την ἀπέχθειαν τοῦ πάθους] 'from his "hatred and horror" of the pas-

10 νόμους θετικούς] 'laws respecting the adoption of children.' Comp. Herod. VI. 57, ην τις θετόν παίδα ποιέεσθαι έθέλη.

δ ἀριθμός, κ.τ.λ.] 'That the original number of lots of land might be preserved.' Comp. Grote, II. 525, note 2, where the passage is quoted as shewing that Aristotle did not suppose Lycurgus to have intended this.

II την επίσκηψιν] "the solemn indictment against perjured witnesses before justice." Grote, IV. 561. Plato, de Legg. xi. 937, B. Demosthenes, Or. 47, p. 1139.

 $τ\hat{y}$ δ' ἀμριβεία, κ.τ.λ.] 'In the exactness of his laws he is more finished even than lawgivers of the present day.' γλαφυρώς, ΙΙ. x. I.

12 Paléou] Mr Grote acquiesces, 11. 395, note, in the substitution of this name for that of Philolaus, on the condition of ανομάλωσις meaning "a Various Lawgivers.

νος δ' ή τε τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων καὶ τῆς οὐσίας κοινότης καὶ τὰ συσσίτια τῶν γυναικῶν, ἔτι δ ὁ περὶ τὴν μέθην νόμος, τὸ τοὺς νήφοντας συμποσιαργεῖν, καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἄσκησιν ὅπως ἀμΦιδέξιοι γίνωνται κατὰ τὴν μελέτην, ως δέον μη την μεν χρήσιμον είναι τοῦν χεροῦν την 13 δε άχρητον. Δράκοντος δε νόμοι μεν είσι, πολιτεία δ' ύπαργούση τους νόμους έθηκεν. Ιδιον δ' έν τοῖς νόμοις οὐδέν έστιν δ τι καὶ μνείας άξιον, πλήν ή χαλεπότης δια το τῆς ζημίας μέγεθος. έγένετο δε καί Πιττακός νόμων δημιουργός άλλ' ού πολιτείας · νόμος δ' ίδιος αύτοῦ τὸ τοὺς μεθύοντας, άν τυπτήσωσι, πλείω ζημίαν αποτίνειν τῶν νηΦόντων δια γαρ το πλείους ύβρίζειν μεθύοντας ή νήφοντας ού πρός την συγγνώμην ἀπέβλεψεν, ὅτι δεῖ μεθύουσιν ἔχειν μᾶλλον, 14 άλλα πρός το συμφέρου. έγένετο δε και 'Ανδροδάμας 'Ρηγίνος νομοθέτης Χαλκιδεύσι τοίς έπὶ Θράκης, οὐ περί τε τὰ Φονικὰ καὶ τὰς ἐπικλήρους ἐστίν οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ίδιόν γε ούδεν αύτοῦ λέγειν έχοι τις αν. Τὰ μεν οὖν περὶ τὰς πολιτείας, τάς τε κυρίας καὶ τὰς ὑπὸ τινῶν εἰρημένας, ἔστα τεθεωρημένα τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον.

fresh equalization." The simple sense of 'equalization' seems the best, and is warranted by a passage in the Rhetorio, III. XI. 5. pp. 1412, 16, καὶ τὸ ἀνωμαλίσθαι τὰς πόλεις ἐν πολὸ διέχουσι ταὐτό, ἐν ἐπιφανεία καὶ δυνάμεσι τὸ ἴσον.

κοινότης] occurs before, II. VII. I.

δ περὶ τὴν μέθην, κ.τ.λ.] This and the other point of detail are here mentioned for the first time. The first is given de Legg. I. 640, D. οὐκοῦν νήφοντά τε καὶ σοφὸν ἄρχοντα μεθυόντων δεῖ καθιστάναι. The second, ibid. VII. 794, D. &c.

13 On Draco's legislation, Grote, 111. 100 fol., "not more rigorous than the sentiments of the age." He is the

first strictly νόμων δημιουργός.

δτι καλ μνείας άξιον] Comp. x1. 2, δτι καλ άξιον είπειν.

Pittacus. Grote, III. 268. The particular law here quoted is mentioned again, though without its author's name, Eth. III. vii. 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 an tunthown, we should read an tintalwoi, very plausible. Mur. Var. Lect. xiv. 21.

14 Androdamas of Rhegium seems quite unknown.

τὰς κυρίας] "existantes," 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 Phaleas, 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 artizans, $\beta \acute{a}\nu a\nu\sigma o\iota$, 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 tyrannyoligarchy—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.).



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—æsymnete, or elective—heroic—absolute, either tyranny or ideal monarchy (Chaps. XIV. XVI.). 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: ωστ' ἐπεὶ περὶ μὲν τυύτων (τῆς οἰκονομίας) διώρισται, περὶ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐν ἄλλοις λεκτέον, ἀφέντες ὡς τέλος ἔχοντας τοὺς νῦν λόγους, ἄλλην ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενοι λέγωμεν, καὶ πρῶτον ἐπισκεψώμεθα περὶ τῶν ἀποφηναμένων περὶ τῆς πολιτείας τῆς ἀρίστης. (Book II.) Compare also I. III. 1.

ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ

defined.

The Citizen $T\Omega$ περί πολιτείας ἐπισκοποῦντι, καὶ τίς ἐκάστη καὶ ποία τις, σχεδον πρώτη σκέψις περί πόλεως ίδεῖν, τί ποτ' έστιν ή πόλις νῦν γὰρ ἀμφισβητοῦσιν, οἱ μὲν φάσκοντες την πόλιν πεπραχέναι την πράξιν, οί δ' οὐ την πόλιν άλλὰ τὴν όλιγαρχίαν ἡ τὸν τύραννον. τοῦ δὲ πολιτικοῦ καὶ τοῦ νομοθέτου πᾶσαν ὁρῶμεν τὴν πραγματείαν οίσαν περί πόλιν ή δε πολιτεία τῶν τὴν πόλιν οἰκούντων 2 έστὶ τάξις τις. 'Επεὶ δ' ή πόλις τῶν συγκειμένων, καθάπερ άλλο τι τῶν ὅλων μὲν συνεστώτων δ' ἐκ πολλῶν μορίων, δηλον δτι πρότερον ο πολίτης ζητητέος ή γάρ πόλις πο-1275 λιτῶν τι πληθός ἐστιν, ὥστε τίνα χρη καλεῖν πολίτην καὶ τίς ὁ πολίτης ἐστί, σκεπτέον. καὶ γὰρ ὁ πολίτης ἀμΦισβητείται πολλάκις ού γάρ τον αύτον ομολογούσι πάντες είναι πολίτην έστι γάρ τις ος εν δημοκρατία πολίτης ών ς έν όλιγαρχία πολλάκις οὐκ ἔστι πολίτης. τοὺς μὲν οὖν άλλως πως τυγχάνοντας ταύτης της προσηγορίας, οδον τους ποιητούς πολίτας, άφετέον. ὁ δὶ πολίτης οὐ τῶ οίκεῖν που πολίτης ἐστίν· καὶ γὰρ μέτοικοι καὶ δοῦλοι κοι-▲ νωνοῦσι τῆς οἰκήσεως. οὐδ' οἱ τῶν δικαίων μετέγοντες ουτως ώστε και δίκην υπέχειν και δικάζεσθαι (τουτο γάρ

I. I περί πολιτείας] genitive singular, as opposed to olkovoulas. note on I. xIII. 15.

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

ή 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. L. 1. 3.

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

³ ταύτης της προσηγορίας] name of citizen.'

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

⁴ οῦτωs] 'only so far.'

ωστε καὶ δίκην, κ.τ.λ.] 'as to be parties in suits, defendants and plain-

τοῦτο γὰρ ὑπάρχει, κ.τ.λ.] 'for this

ύπάρχει καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ συμβόλων κοινωνοῦσιν) καὶ γὰρ The Citizen ταῦτα τούτοις ὑπάρχει. πολλαχοῦ μὲν οὖν οὐδὲ τούτων defined.

τελέως οἱ μέτοικοι μετέχουσιν, ἀλλὰ νέμειν ἀνάγκη προστάτην διὸ ἀτελῶς πως μετέχουσι τῆς τοιαύτης κοινωνίας ς ἀλλὰ καθάπερ καὶ παῖδας τοὺς μήπω δι ἡλικίαν ἐγγεγραμμένους καὶ τοὺς γέροντας τοὺς ἀφειμένους, φατέον εἶναι μέν πως πολίτας, οὐχ ἀπλῶς δὲ λίαν ἀλλὰ προστιθέντας τοὺς μὲν ἀτελεῖς τοὺς δὲ παρηχμακότας ἢ τι τοιοῦτον ἔτερον οὐδὲν γὰρ διαφέρει δῆλον γὰρ τὸ λεγόμενον ζητοῦμεν γὰρ τὸν ἀπλῶς πολίτην καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοντα τοιοῦτον ἔγκλημα διορθώσεως δεόμενον, ἐπεὶ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀτίμων καὶ φυγάδων ἔστι τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ διαπορεῖν καὶ λύειν. Πολί- 6

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 δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων, covenants or treaties for mutual protection, as opposed to the system of simple reprisals. Böckh, Publ. Econ. of Athens, 1.69.

καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα τούτοις ὑπάρχει] Schneider, 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 passage is confused, I am inclined to look on it as hardly clear without these words. I should include in a parenthesis the words τοῦτο γάρ --- κοινωνούσιν. The τούτοις I should refer to μετοίκοις, the ταῦτα to τῶν δικαίων μετέχορτες, 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 metics 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.'

νέμειν προστάτην] Comp. Isocrates, Or. VIII. p. 170: τοὺς μετοίκους τοιούτους νομίζομεν, οἴους περ ἄν τοὺς προστάτας νέμωσιν, 'to provide themselves with a patron.'

5 έγγεγραμμένουs] 'enrolled in the list of citizens,' εἰς τὸ ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον, the book in which the members of the demus were enrolled. Grote, IV. 178, note.

τοὺς ἀφειμένους] past the age of 60.
οὐχ ἀπλῶς δέ, 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.'

έγκλημα] 'open to no objection of this kind requiring correction.'

ατίμων και φυγάδων] These two are κατά πρόσθεσιν πολίται, not άπλῶs.

6 $\pi o \lambda l \tau \eta s$ $\delta \epsilon$, $\kappa. \tau. \lambda$.] '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.'

The Citizen μετέχειν κρίσεως καὶ άρχῆς. τῶν δ' άρχῶν αἱ μέν εἰσι διη-- ρημέναι κατά χρόνον, ώστ' ένίας μὲν ὅλως δὶς τὸν αὐτὸν ούκ έξεστιν άρχειν, ή διά τινων ώρισμένων χρόνων δ δ 7 ἀόριστος, οίον ὁ δικαστής καὶ ἐκκλησιαστής. τάχα μὲν οὖν αν Φαίη τις οὐδ' ἄρχοντας εἶναι τοὺς τοιούτους, οὐδὲ μετέχειν διά ταῦτ' ἀρχῆς καίτοι γελοῖον τοὺς κυριωτάτους άποστερείν άρχης. άλλα διαφερέτω μηδέν περί ονόματος γάρ ο λόγος άνώνυμον γάρ το κοινον έπὶ δικαστοῦ καὶ έχκλησιαστοῦ, τί δεῖ ταῦτ' ἄμφω καλεῖν. ἔστω δὴ διορι-8 σμοῦ χάριν ἀόριστος ἀρχή. τίθεμεν δη πολίτας τους ουτω μετέχοντας. ὁ μεν οὖν μάλιστ' αν έφαρμόσας πολίτης ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς λεγομένους πολίτας σχεδον τοιοῦτός ἐστιν. δεῖ δὲ μὴ λανθάνειν ὅτι τῶν πραγμάτων ἐν οἶς τὰ ὑποκείμενα διαφέρει τῷ εἴδει, καὶ τὸ μεν αὐτῶν ἐστὶ πρῶτον τὸ δε δεύτερον το δ' έχόμενον, ή το παράπαν οὐδέν έστιν, ή ο τοιαῦτα, τὸ κοινόν, ἡ γλίσχρως. τὰς δὲ πολιτείας ὁρωμεν είδει διαφερούσας άλλήλων, καὶ τὰς μεν ύστέρας τὰς δὲ 1275 Β προτέρας ούσας τας γαρ ήμαρτημένας καὶ παρεκβεβηκυίας

άναγκαῖον ὑστέρας είναι τῶν ἀναμαρτήτων τὰς δὲ παρεκ-

δ δ' ἀδριστος] The change to the masculine is abrupt, but caused by what follows. This makes it clear that by ἀρχῆς, he means legislative power, the power of the ἐκκλησιαστής.

7 ἀνώνυμον γάρ] '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 δ μὲν οδν, 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.' γλισχρῶs, 'scantily.' It is the case of analogous words, or equivocals. δμώννυμα, Categ. I. i. p. I. I.

9. πολιτεία] is the generic term, the various species differ very widely.

ύστέραs] 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 πολίτηs is but part of the πολιτεία.

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βεβηχυίας πῶς λέγομεν, ὖστερον ἔσται Φανερόν. Εστε καὶ The Citizen τὸν πολίτην έτερον ἀναγκαῖον είναι τὸν καθ' ἐκάστην πολιτείαν. διόπερ ο λεχθείς εν μεν δημοκρατία μάλιστ' έστί το πολίτης, εν δε ταῖς ἄλλαις ενδέχεται μέν, οὐ μὴν ἀναγκαῖον ένίαις γάρ οὐκ ἔστι δημος, οὐδ' ἐκκλησίαν νομίζουσιν άλλά συγκλήτους, καὶ τὰς δίκας δικάζουσι κατὰ μέρος, οδον ἐν Λακεδαίμονι τὰς τῶν συμβολαίων δικάζει τῶν ἐφόρων άλλος άλλας, οἱ δὲ γέροντες τὰς Φονικάς, ἐτέρα δ' ἴσως άργή τις έτέρας. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ περὶ Καργη- 11 δόνα πάσας γὰρ ἀρχαί τινες κρίνουσι τὰς δίκας. ἀλλ' έχει γὰρ διόρθωσιν ὁ τοῦ πολίτου διορισμός. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς άλλαις πολιτείαις ούχ ο άοριστος άρχων έκκλησιαστής έστι καὶ δικαστής, άλλ' ὁ κατὰ τὴν άρχὴν ώρισμένος τούτων γάρ ή πᾶσιν ή τισίν ἀποδέδοται τὸ βουλεύεσθαι καὶ δικάζειν ή περί πάντων ή περί τινῶν. τίς μεν οὖν ἐστὶν ὁ 12 πολίτης, έχ τούτων Φανερόν ω γαρ έξουσία κοινωνείν άρχης Βουλευτικής ή κριτικής, πολίτην ήδη λέγομεν είναι ταύτης τῆς πόλεως, πόλιν δὲ τὸ τῶν τοιούτων πλῆθος ἰκανὸν πρὸς αὐτάρκειαν ζωῆς, ώς ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν. ὁρίζονται δὲ πρὸς τὴν 2

• 86 Bekker.

10 Διόπερ, 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 πολίτης, I prefer altering that after ἀναγ-καῖον.

δημος] 'democratical element.'

συγκήτους] '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,'

11 Καρχηδόνα] II. 11. 7. See note. 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 $d\rho\chi ai$ $\tau i\nu es=\dot{\nu}\pi\dot{\delta}$ $\tau \hat{\omega}\nu$ $d\rho\chi ei\omega\nu$.

άλλ' ἔχει γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'However the definition of the citizen admits of correction.'

ταις άλλαις] as opposed to έν δημοκρατία.

12 φ γὰρ ἐξουσία] 'He who is admissible,' to whom the right of access to office is not closed.

ταύτης τῆς πόλεως] 'of the state in which he has this right.'

II. ι δρίζονται δή] δέ should be read, 'Now for practical purposes the citizen is defined to be.' This is sup-

defined.

The Citizen χρησιν πολίτην τὸν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων πολιτῶν καὶ μὴ θατέρου μόνον, οίον πατρός η μητρός οι δε και τοῦτ' ἐπὶ πλέον ζητοῦσιν, οἴον ἐπὶ πάππους δύο ἡ τρεῖς ἡ πλείους. οὖτω δή δριζομένων πολιτικώς καὶ ταχέως, ἀποροῦσί τινες τὸν τρίτον έκεῖνον ή τέταρτον, πῶς ἔσται πολίτης. μεν ούν ο Λεοντίνος, τὰ μεν ίσως άπορων τὰ δ' εἰρωνευόμενος, έφη, καθάπερ δλμους είναι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ὁλμοποιῶν πεποιημένους, ούτω καὶ Λαρισσαίους τους υπό των δημιουρ-3 γῶν πεποιημένους: είναι γάρ τινας λαρισσοποιούς. ἔστι δ άπλοῦν εἰ γὰρ μετεῖχον κατὰ τὸν ἡηθέντα διορισμὸν της πολιτείας, ήσαν πολίται καὶ γάρ οὐ δυνατὸν έφαρμόττειν τὸ ἐχ πολίτου ἢ ἐχ πολίτιδος ἐπὶ τῶν πρώτων οίκησάντων ή κτισάντων. άλλ' ίσως έκεῖνοι μάλλον έχουσιν άπορίαν, δσοι μετέσχον, μεταβολης γενομένης, πολιτείας, ολον 'Αθήνησιν εποίησε Κλεισθένης μετά την των τυράννων έκβολήν πολλούς γαρ έφυλέτευσε ξένους καὶ δούλους μετοίκους. το δ' άμφισβήτημα προς τούτους έστλν ού τίς πολί-

• av Bekker.

ported by Vet. Int., who translates it

πολιτικώς] 'practically,' 'popularly.' Comp. Poetics, vi. 23, 1450, b. 8. 7aχίωs, 'hastily,' superficially.'

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

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

Aapiroalous] Liddell and Scott give the word & Aapivalus 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 ἔστι δ' ἀπλοῦν] 'But the question is really simple.'

ησαν άν] 'erant,' Vet. Int. I omit the du, 'If they came up to the definition, they were citizens.' ₹φαρμότ-TELF. active.

¿κείνοι] 'another class involve really a greater difficulty.'

μετέσχον, κ.τ.λ.] 'have been admitted to citizenship after a revolution.' πολλούς γάρ έφυλέτευσε, κ.τ.λ.] Ιη this passage Bp Thirlwall, 11. 74, wishes to insert kal before merolkous, making the new citizens to be taken from these classes. Niebuhr, on the other hand, Rom. Hist. 11. 305, note 702, wishes to change the order, wollows έφυλέτευσε ξένους μετοίκους και δούλους. Mr Grote, IV. 170, note I, prefers to take it as it stands, and construes the μετοίκους with both ξένους and δούλους. A comparison of two other passages, ΙΥ. (VII.) ΙΥ. 6, δούλων άριθμον καλ μετοίκων καὶ ξένων, and again in the same chapter, § 14, Eérois Kal metolkois would lead, I think, to the insertion of ral as the simplest way.

4 τὸ ἀμφισβήτημα] The question is not de facto, but de jure.

της, αλλά πότερον αδίκως ή δικαίως. καίτοι καὶ τοῦτό τις The Citizen έτι προσαπορήσειεν, αρ' εὶ μὴ δικαίως πολίτης, οὐ πολίτης, ως ταὐτὸ δυναμένου τοῦ τ' ἀδίκου καὶ τοῦ ψευδοῦς. $\epsilon \pi \epsilon i \delta^{1276}$ όρωμεν καὶ ἄρχοντάς τινας ἀδίκως, ους ἄρχειν μὲν Φήσομεν άλλ' οὐ δικαίως, ὁ δὲ πολίτης ἀρχῆ τινὶ διωρισμένος ἐστίν (ὁ γὰρ κοινωνῶν τῆς τοιᾶσδε ἀρχῆς πολίτης ἐστίν, τος ἔφαμεν), δηλον ότι πολίτας μεν είναι Φατέον και τούτους, περί 3 Identity of δὲ τοῦ δικαίως η μη δικαίως συνάπτει πρὸς την εἰρημένην the State. πρότερον άμφισβήτησιν. 'Αποροῦσι γάρ τινες πόθ' ή πόλις έπραξε καί πότε ούχ ή πόλις, οδον δταν έξ όλιγαρχίας η τυραννίδος γένηται δημοκρατία. τότε γάρ οὖτε τὰ συμ-2 βόλαια ένιοι βούλονται διαλύειν, ώς οὐ τῆς πόλεως ἀλλὰ τοῦ τυράννου λαβόντος, οὖτ' ἄλλα πολλά τῶν τοιούτων, ως ενίας των πολιτειών τω κρατείν ούσας, άλλ' ού διά τὸ κοινή συμφέρον. είπερ οθν καλ δημοκρατούνταί τινες κατά τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον, ὁμοίως τῆς πόλεως Φατέον είναι ταύτης τὰς τῆς πολιτείας ταύτης πράξεις καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ τῆς τυραννίδος. ἔοικε δ' οἰκεῖος ὁ λόγος είναι τῆς 3 άπορίας ταύτης, πῶς π<u>οτε</u> χρη λέγειν την πόλιν είναι την « Τυδικ αὐτὴν ή μὴ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀλλ' ἐτέραν. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπιπολαιο-

&ρ' el, κ.τ.λ.] 'Must it not follow, if you allow that a man is a citizen on wrong grounds, that he is not a citizen at all?'

5 τούτους] Βς. τούς μετασχόντας μεταβολής γενομένης.

III. 1 συνάπτει πρός] 'connects with,' πρότερου, Ι. Ι.

2 διαλύει»] 'meet,' 'discharge.'

άλλα πολλά τῶν τοιούτων] such for instance as the laws of the fallen government.

ės ėνίας, κ.τ.λ.] 'on the ground that there are some constitutions which exist simply by virtue of superior force, and not for the common good.'

The reasoning must hold good for the three forms of government equally, says Aristotle. If then in any case you have a democracy resting on mere force, you must allow that its acts (τὰs τῆs πολιτείαs ταύτης πράξεις) are the acts of the state in which it exists (τῆs πόλεως ταύτης), as much as (δμοίως καί, comp. II. VIII. 21) the acts of an oligarchy or tyranny are the acts of their respective states.' They are all παρεκβάσεις, they must all be judged on the same principles.

3 ἔοικε δ' οἰκεῖος δ λόγος] δ λόγος is what follows, πῶς ποτὲ... ἐτέραν. 'The difficulty we have been discussing seems to have an intimate connexion with the question, how can you ever say that the state is the same or not the same but different?'

ή μέν οδν, κ.τ.λ.] 'The most obvious solution of the difficulty.' Such seems to be the meaning of ζήτησις

Identity of τάτη τῆς ἀπορίας ζήτησις περὶ τὸν τόπον καὶ τοὺς the State.

άνθρώπους ἐστίν ἐνδέχεται γὰρ διαζευχθηναι τὸν τόπον καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἔτερον τοὺς δ' ἔτερον οἰκῆσαι τόπον ταύτην μὲν οὖν πραοτέραν θετέον τὴν ἀπορίαν πολλαχῶς γὰρ τῆς πόλεως λεγομένης ἐστί πως εὐμάτόνον κατοικούντων ἀνθρώπων πότε δεῖ νομίζειν μίαν εἶναι τόπον κατοικούντων ἀνθρώπων πότε δεῖ νομίζειν μίαν εἶναι τόπον κατοικούντων ἀνθρώπων πότε δεῖ νομίζειν μίαν εἶναι τόπον κατοικούντων ἀνθρώπων πότε δεῖ νομίζειν μίαν εἶναι νήσω περιβαλεῖν ἐν τεῖχος. τοιαύτη δ' ἴσως ἐστὶ καὶ Βαβυλών καὶ πᾶσα ῆτις ἔχει περιγραφὴν μᾶλλον ἔθνους ἡ πόλεως ἡς γέ φασιν ἐαλωκυίας τρίτην ἡμέραν οὐκ αἰσθέσοθαι τι μέρος τῆς πόλεως. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν ταύτης τῆς ἀπορίας εἰς ἄλλον καιρὸν χρήσιμος ἡ σκέψις περὶ γὰρ μεγέθους τῆς πόλεως, τό τε πόσον καὶ πότερον ἔθνος ἐν ἡ πλείω συμφέρει, δεῖ μὴ λανθάνειν τὸν πολιτικόν ἀλλὰ τῶν αὐτῶν κατοικούντων τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον, πότερον ἕως ᾶν ἡ τὸ

γένος ταύτο τῶν κατοικούντων, τὴν αὐτὴν είναι Φατέον πόλιν, καίπερ ἀεὶ τῶν μὲν Φθειρομένων τῶν δὲ γινομένων,

though it is forcing the word to make it stand for the result of inquiry, instead of inquiry. Compare his use of $\kappa \rho l \sigma \epsilon \omega s$ in II. viii. 13. Stahr takes the same view, "Die zunächst liegende Lösung dieser Schwierigkeit."

4 ταύτην μὲν οδν, κ.τ.λ.] 'The difficulty when it takes this form, is by no means hard.' πραστέραν, '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 πολλαχῶς... ζητήσεως.

δμοίως 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.

5 'It cannot surely be that the en-

closure within given walls constitutes identity.'

Βαβυλών] Compare Herod. 1. 178, 191, 'which includes within its circumference a space adapted rather for a tribe than for a city.'

6 είς άλλον καιρόν] IV. (VII.) 4.

έθνος έν] Compare on this subject Arnold, Thucydides, Preface to Vol. III. xv.

ἀλλὰ 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.

ώσπερ καὶ ποταμούς εἰώθαμεν λέγειν τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ κρήνας Identity of τὰς αὐτάς, καίπερ ἀεὶ τοῦ μὲν ἐπιγινομένου νάματος τοῦ δ' the State. ύπεξιόντος, ή τους μεν άνθρώπους Φατέον είναι τους αυτους διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην αἰτίαν, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἐτέραν; εἴπερ γάρ, 1276 Β έστι κοινωνία τις ή πόλις, έστι δὲ κοινωνία πολιτῶν πολιτεία, γιγνομένης ετέρας τῷ εἴδει καὶ διαφερούσης τῆς πολιτείας άναγκαῖον είναι δόξειεν αν καὶ τὴν πόλιν είναι μὴ τὴν αύτήν, ώσπερ γε καὶ χορὸν ότὲ μὲν κωμικὸν ότὲ δὲ τραγικὸν ετερον είναί φαμεν, τῶν αὐτῶν πολλάκις ἀνθρώπων ὄντων. δμοίως δε και πασαν άλλην κοινωνίαν και σύνθεσιν έτέραν, ε αν είδος έτερον ή της συνθέσεως, οίον άρμονίαν των αύτων Φθόγγων ετέραν είναι λέγομεν, αν ότε μεν ή Δώριος ότε δὲ Φρύγιος. εἰ δὴ τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον, Φανερὸν 9 δτι μάλιστα λεκτέον την αὐτην πόλιν εἰς την πολιτείαν βλέποντας δνομα δε καλείν ετερον ή ταύτον έξεστι καί τῶν αὐτῶν κατοικούντων αὐτὴν καὶ πάμπαν ἐτέρων ἀνθρώπων. εὶ δὲ δίκαιον διαλύειν ἢ μὴ διαλύειν, ὅταν εἰς ἐτέραν μεταβάλλη πολιτείαν ή πόλις, λόγος έτερος.

Τῶν δὲ νῦν εἰρημένων ἐχόμενόν ἐστιν ἐπισκέψασθαι 4 πότερον τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρετὴν ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ πολίτου $_{
m good\ man}^{
m Are\ the}$ σπουδαίου θετέον, η μη την αυτήν. άλλα μην εί γε τοῦτο good citiτυχείν δεί ζητήσεως, την τοῦ πολίτου τύπφ τινὶ πρῶτον zen identi

· κοινωνία πολιτών, πολιτείας Bekker.

δια την τοιαύτην αίτίαν] 'on these grounds.'

7 είπερ γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'For if we allow that the state is an association, and an association of citizens is a constitution, then when the constitution becomes in kind other than it was, and different, it would seem to follow that the state is no longer the same.' I read κοινωνία πολιτών πολιτεία. If Bekker's reading is kept, you have one of the two 'moditelas' superfluous. And the next chapter, § 3, shews that the expression is legitimate, κοινωνία δ' έστλν ή πολιτεία.

IV. I 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. II. p. II30, B. 29, ໃσως γάρ οὐ ταὐτὸν ἀνδρί τ' ἀγαθφ είναι καὶ πολιτή παντί, a statement which anticipates the conclusion of this chapter.

την του πολίτου] That of the man has been given in the Ethics.

⁸ $\epsilon \tau \epsilon \rho \alpha \nu$] is the predicate.

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

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 artizans, $\beta \acute{a}rav\sigma o_i$, 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.). 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 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.).



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—æsymnete, or elective—heroic—absolute, either tyranny or ideal monarchy (Chaps. XIV. XVI.). 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: ὥστ' ἐπεὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων (τῆς οἰκονομίας) διώρισται, περὶ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐν ἄλλοις λεκτέον, ἀφέντες ὡς τέλος ἔχοντας τοὺς νῦν λόγους, ἄλλην ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενοι λέγωμεν, καὶ πρῶτον ἐπισκεψώμεθα περὶ τῶν ἀποφηναμένων περὶ τῆς πολιτείας τῆς ἀρίστης. (Book II.) Compare also I. III. 1.



ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Γ.

The Citizen $T\Omega$ περί πολιτείας ἐπισκοποῦντι, καὶ τίς ἐκάστη καὶ ποία τις, σχεδον πρῶτη σκέψις περὶ πόλεως ἰδεῖν, τί ποτ' έστιν ή πόλις νων γάρ άμφισβητοῦσιν, οι μέν φάσκοντες την πόλιν πεπραχέναι την πράξιν, οί δ' οὐ την πόλιν άλλά την όλιγαρχίαν ή τον τύραννον. τοῦ δὲ πολιτικοῦ καὶ τοῦ νομοθέτου πᾶσαν ὁρῶμεν τὴν πραγματείαν οίσαν περί πόλιν ή δε πολιτεία των την πόλιν οἰκούντων , εστὶ τάξις τις. Ἐπεὶ δ' ή πόλις τῶν συγκειμένων, καθάπερ άλλο τι τῶν ὅλων μὲν συνεστώτων δ' ἐκ πολλῶν μορίων, δηλον δτι πρότερον ο πολίτης ζητητέος ή γαρ πόλις πο-1275 λιτῶν τι πληθός ἐστιν, ώστε τίνα χρη καλεῖν πολίτην καὶ τίς ὁ πολίτης ἐστί, σκεπτέον. καὶ γὰρ ὁ πολίτης ἀμφισβητείται πολλάκις οὐ γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμολογοῦσι πάντες είναι πολίτην έστι γάρ τις δς έν δημοκρατία πολίτης ών ι έν όλιγαρχία πολλάκις ούκ έστι πολίτης. τούς μέν οδν άλλως πως τυγχάνοντας ταύτης της προσηγορίας, οδον τους ποιητούς πολίτας, άφετέον. δ δε πολίτης ού τώ οίκεῖν που πολίτης ἐστίν· καὶ γὰρ μέτοικοι καὶ δοῦλοι κοι-▲ νωνοῦσι τῆς οἰκήσεως. οὐδ' οἱ τῶν δικαίων μετέχοντες ουτως ώστε και δίκην υπέχειν και δικάζεσθαι (τοῦτο γάρ

I. I weel woltrelas] genitive singular, as opposed to olkoroplas. See note on I. XIII. 15.

 $[\]nu\bar{\nu}\nu$ $\gamma d\rho$, $\kappa.\tau.\lambda$.] That the idea is not clear, is evident from the fact, that at present men are at issue, &c.

ή 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. L. 1. 3.

καl $\gamma d\rho$, κ.τ.λ.] 'For the idea of the citizen, like that of the state, is by no means clear.'

³ ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας] 'This name of citizen.'

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

⁴ οῦτωs] 'only so far.'

δότε καὶ δίκην, κ.τ.λ.] 'as to be parties in suits, defendants and plaintiffs.'

τοῦτο γὰρ ὑπάρχει, κ.τ.λ.] 'for this

ύπάρχει καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ συμβόλων κοινωνοῦσιν) καὶ γὰρ The Citizen ταῦτα τούτοις ὑπάρχει. πολλαχοῦ μὲν οὖν οὐδὲ τούτων defined.

τελέως οἱ μέτοικοι μετέχουσιν, ἀλλὰ νέμειν ἀνάγκη προστάτην διὸ ἀτελῶς πως μετέχουσι τῆς τοιαύτης κοινωνίας ς ἀλλὰ καθάπερ καὶ παῖδας τοὺς μήπω δι ἡλικίαν ἐγγεγραμμένους καὶ τοὺς γέροντας τοὺς ἀφειμένους, φατέον εἶναι μέν πως πολίτας, οὐχ ἀπλῶς δὲ λίαν ἀλλὰ προστιθέντας τοὺς μὲν ἀτελεῖς τοὺς δὲ παρηκμακότας ἢ τι τοιοῦτον ἔτερον οὐδὲν γὰρ διαφέρει δῆλον γὰρ τὸ λεγόμενον ζητοῦμεν γὰρ τὸν ἀπλῶς πολίτην καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοντα τοιοῦτον ἔγκλημα διορθώσεως δεόμενον, ἐπεὶ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀτίμων καὶ φυγάδων ἔστι τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ διαπορεῖν καὶ λύειν. Πολί-6

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 δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων, covenants or treaties for mutual protection, as opposed to the system of simple reprisals. Böckh, Publ. Econ. of Athens, 1.69.

και γάρ ταῦτα τούτοις ὑπάρχει] Schneider, 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 passage is confused, I am inclined to look on it as hardly clear without these words. I should include in a parenthesis the words τοῦτο γάρ --- κοινωνοῦσιν. The τούτοις I should refer to μετοίκοις, 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 metics 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.'

νέμειν προστάτην] Comp. Isocrates, Or. VIII. p. 170: τοὺς μετοίκους τοιούτους νομίζομεν, οδούς περ ἄν τοὺς προστάτας νέμωσιν, 'to provide themselves with a patron.'

5 έγγεγραμμένουs] 'enrolled in the list of citizens,' els το ληξιαρχικόν γραμματεΐον, the book in which the members of the demus were enrolled. Grote, IV. 178, note.

τοὺς ἀφειμένους] past the age of 60.
οὐχ ἀπλῶς δέ, 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.'

έγκλημα] 'open to no objection of this kind requiring correction.'

ατίμων και φυγάδων] These two are κατά πρόσθεσιν πολίται, not άπλῶς.

6 $\pi o \lambda l \tau \eta s$ $\delta \ell$, $\kappa.\tau.\lambda$.] '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.'

The Citizen μετέχειν κρίσεως καὶ άρχης. τῶν δ' άρχῶν αἱ μέν εἰσι διη-- ρημέναι κατά χρόνον, ώστ' ένίας μεν όλως δὶς τὸν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἄρχειν, ἡ διά τινων ώρισμένων χρόνων δ δ 7 άδριστος, οίον ὁ δικαστής καὶ ἐκκλησιαστής. τάχα μὲν οὖν αν Φαίη τις οὐδ ἄρχοντας εἶναι τοὺς τοιούτους, οὐδὲ μετέχειν διά ταῦτ' ἀρχῆς καίτοι γελοῖον τοὺς κυριωτάτους άποστερείν άρχης. άλλα διαφερέτω μηδέν περί ονόματος γάρ ὁ λόγος ἀνώνυμον γάρ τὸ κοινὸν ἐπὶ δικαστοῦ καὶ έκκλησιαστοῦ, τί δεῖ ταῦτ' ἄμφω καλεῖν. ἔστω δὴ διορι-8 σμοῦ γάριν ἀόριστος ἀργή. τίθεμεν δη πολίτας τους ουτω μετέγοντας. ὁ μεν οὖν μάλιστ' αν εφαρμόσας πολίτης επὶ Υα πάντας τοὺς λεγομένους πολίτας σχεδον τοιοῦτός ἐστιν. δεῖ δὲ μὴ λανθάνειν ὅτι τῶν πραγμάτων ἐν οἶς τὰ ὑποκείμενα διαφέρει τῷ εἴδει, καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐστὶ πρῶτον τὸ δὲ δεύτερον τὸ δ' ἐχόμενον, ή τὸ παράπαν οὐδέν ἐστιν, ή 9 τοιαῦτα, τὸ κοινόν, ἢ γλἶσχρῶς. τὰς δὲ πολιτείας ὁρῶμεν είδει διαφερούσας άλλήλων, καὶ τὰς μὲν ὑστέρας τὰς δὲ 1275 Β προτέρας ούσας τας γαρ ήμαρτημένας καὶ παρεκβεβηκυίας άναγκαῖον ὑστέρας είναι τῶν ἀναμαρτήτων τὰς δὲ παρεκ-

> δ δ' ἀδριστος The change to the masculine is abrupt, but caused by what follows. This makes it clear that by ἀρχηs, he means legislative power, the power of the ἐκκλησιαστήs.

> 7 ἀνώνυμον γάρ] '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. της κοινωνίας.

> 8 δ μέν οδν, 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.'

> $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \rho \alpha \gamma \mu \dot{\alpha} \tau \omega \nu$, $\kappa. \tau. \lambda.$ 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.' γλισχρωs, 'scantily.' It is the case of analogous words, or equivocals. δμώνυμα, Categ. 1. i. p. 1. I.

9. πολιτεία] is the generic term, the various species differ very widely.

ύστέρας] 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 wolitys is but part of the πολιτεία.

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βεβηχυίας πῶς λέγομεν, ὕστερον ἔσται Φανερόν. ὤστε καὶ The Citizen τὸν πολίτην ἔτερον ἀναγκαῖον είναι τὸν καθ' ἐκάστην πολιτείαν. διόπερ ὁ λεχθείς ἐν μὲν δημοκρατία μάλιστ' ἐστὶ το πολίτης, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐνδέχεται μέν, οὐ μὴν ἀναγκαῖον: ενίαις γαρ ούκ έστι δημος, ούδ έκκλησίαν νομίζουσιν άλλα συγκλήτους, καὶ τὰς δίκας δικάζουσι κατὰ μέρος, οίον ἐν Λακεδαίμονι τὰς τῶν συμβολαίων δικάζει τῶν ἐφόρων άλλος άλλας, οἱ δὲ γέροντες τὰς Φονικάς, ἐτέρα δ' ἴσως άρχή τις έτέρας. του αυτου δε τρόπου και περί Καρχη- 11 δόνα πάσας γὰρ ἀρχαί τινες κρίνουσι τὰς δίκας. ἀλλ' έχει γὰρ διόρθωσιν δ τοῦ πολίτου διορισμός. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς άλλαις πολιτείαις ούχ ο άόριστος άρχων έκκλησιαστής έστι καὶ δικαστής, άλλ' ὁ κατά τὴν άρχὴν ώρισμένος τούτων γάρ ή πᾶσιν ή τισὶν ἀποδέδοται τὸ βουλεύεσθαι καὶ δικάζειν ή περί πάντων ή περί τινῶν. τίς μεν οὖν έστὶν ὁ 12 πολίτης, ἐκ τούτων Φανερόν ο γαρ ἐξουσία κοινωνεῖν ἀρχῆς βουλευτικής ή κριτικής, πολίτην ήδη λέγομεν είναι ταύτης τῆς πόλεως, πόλιν δὲ τὸ τῶν τοιούτων πληθος ἱκανὸν πρὸς αὐτάρκειαν ζωῆς, ως ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν. ὁρίζονται δὲ πρὸς τὴν 2

• 84 Bekker.

10 Διόπερ, 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 πολίτης, I prefer altering that after ἀναγ-καῖον.

δημος] 'democratical element.'

συγκλήτους] '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,'

11 Καρχηδόνα] II. 11. 7. See note. 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 $d\rho\chi al$ $\tau i\nu \epsilon s = i\pi \delta$ $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ $d\rho\chi \epsilon l\omega \nu$.

άλλ' ἔχει γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'However the definition of the citizen admits of correction.'

ταις άλλαις] as opposed to έν δημοκρατία.

12 φ γàρ ἐξουσία] 'He who is admissible,' to whom the right of access to office is not closed.

ταύτης τῆς πόλεως] 'of the state in which he has this right.'

II. 1 δρίζονται δή] δέ should be read, 'Now for practical purposes the citizen is defined to be.' This is sup-

defined.

The Citizen χρῆσιν πολίτην τὸν ἐξ ἀμΦοτέρων πολιτῶν καὶ μὴ θατέρου μόνον, οίον πατρός η μητρός οι δε και τοῦτ' έπι πλέον ζητοῦσιν, οίον ἐπὶ πάππους δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἢ πλείους. οὖτω δή δριζομένων πολιτικώς και ταχέως, άποροῦσί τινες τον τρίτον έκεινον ή τέταρτον, πως έσται πολίτης. μέν οδν ο Λεοντίνος, τὰ μέν Ίσως ἀπορών τὰ δ' εἰρωνευόμενος, έφη, καθάπερ δλμους είναι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ὁλμοποιῶν πεποιημένους, ούτω καὶ Λαρισσαίους τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν δημιουρ-3 γών πεποιημένους είναι γάρ τινας λαρισσοποιούς. ἔστι δ άπλοῦν εἰ γὰρ μετεῖχον κατὰ τὸν ἡηθέντα διορισμὸν της πολιτείας, ήσαν πολιται και γάρ οὐ δυνατον έφαρμόττειν τὸ ἐκ πολίτου ἡ ἐκ πολίτιδος ἐπὶ τῶν πρώτων οίκησάντων ή κτισάντων. άλλ' ίσως έκεῖνοι μᾶλλον έχουσιν ἀπορίαν, δσοι μετέσχον, μεταβολης γενομένης, πολιτείας, ολον 'Αθήνησιν εποίησε Κλεισθένης μετά την των τυράννων έκβολήν πολλούς γαρ έφυλέτευσε ξένους καὶ δούλους μετοίκους. το δ' άμφισβήτημα προς τούτους έστλν οὐ τίς πολί-

• av Bekker.

ported by Vet. Int., who translates it

πολιτικώs] 'practically,' 'popularly.' Comp. Poetics, vi. 23, 1450, b. 8. 7axiws, 'hastily,' superficially.'

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

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

Λαρισσαίουs] Liddell and Scott give the word & Aapivains 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 ἔστι δ' ἀπλοῦν] 'But the question is really simple.'

four as 'erant,' Vet. Int. I omit the av, 'If they came up to the defi-`rition, they were citizens.' ₹φαρμότ-, active.

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

μετέσχον, κ.τ.λ.] 'have been admitted to citizenship after a revolution.' πολλούς γάρ έφυλέτευσε, κ.τ.λ.] Ιη this passage Bp Thirlwall, 11. 74, wishes to insert kal before merolkous, making the new citizens to be taken from these classes. Niebuhr, on the other hand, Rom. Hist. 11. 305, note 702, wishes to change the order, wollows έφυλέτευσε ξένους μετοίκους και δούλους. Mr Grote, IV. 170, note I, prefers to take it as it stands, and construes the μετοίκους with both ξένους and δούλους. A comparison of two other passages, IV. (VII.) IV. 6, δούλων αριθμόν καλ μετοίκων καὶ ξένων, and again in the same chapter, § 14, ξένοις καλ μετοίκοις would lead, I think, to the insertion of ral as the simplest way.

4 τὸ ἀμφισβήτημα] The question is not de facto, but de jure.

της, αλλά πότερον αδίκως ή δικαίως. καίτοι καὶ τοῦτό τις The Citizen έτι προσαπορήσειεν, ἄρ' εἰ μὴ δικαίως πολίτης, οὐ πολίτης, ως ταύτο δυναμένου τοῦ τ' αδίκου και τοῦ ψευδοῦς. ἐπεὶ δ΄ 1276 δρώμεν καὶ ἄρχοντάς τινας ἀδίκως, οθς ἄρχειν μὲν Φήσομεν άλλ' οὐ δικαίως, ὁ δὲ πολίτης ἀρχῆ τινὶ διωρισμένος ἐστίν (ὁ γὰρ κοινωνῶν τῆς τοιᾶσδε ἀρχῆς πολίτης ἐστίν, τος ἔΦαμεν), δήλον ότι πολίτας μεν είναι Φατέον και τούτους, περί 3 Identity of δὲ τοῦ δικαίως ἡ μὴ δικαίως συνάπτει πρὸς τὴν εἰρημένην the State. πρότερον άμφισβήτησιν. 'Αποροῦσι γάρ τινες πόθ' ή πόλις έπραξε και πότε ούχ ή πόλις, οίον εταν εξ υλιγαργίας ή τυραννίδος γένηται δημοκρατία. τότε γάρ ούτε τὰ συμ-2 βόλαια ένιοι βούλονται διαλύειν, ώς οὐ τῆς πόλεως ἀλλὰ τοῦ τυράννου λαβόντος, οὖτ' ἄλλα πολλά τῶν τοιούτων, ως ενίας των πολιτειών τω κρατείν ούσας, άλλ' ού διά τδ κοινή συμφέρον. είπερ οὖν καὶ δημοκρατοῦνταί τινες κατά τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον, ὁμοίως τῆς πόλεως Φατέον είναι ταύτης τὰς τῆς πολιτείας ταύτης πράξεις καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας και της τυραννίδος. ξοικε δ οίκεῖος ὁ λόγος είναι της 3 άπορίας ταύτης, πῶς π<u>οτὲ</u> χρη λέγειν την πόλιν είναι την 🤉 Τυσίου αύτην ή μη την αύτην άλλ' έτέραν. ή μεν ούν έπιπολαιο-

ap' el, κ.τ.λ.] 'Must it not follow,
if you allow that a man is a citizen
on wrong grounds, that he is not a
citizen at all?'

5 τούτους] Βc. τοὺς μετασχόντας μεταβολής γενομένης.

III. 1 συνάπτει πρός] 'connects with,' πρότερον, Ι. 1.

2 διαλύει»] 'meet,' 'discharge.'

άλλα πολλά τῶν τοιούτων] such for instance as the laws of the fallen government.

ės ėνίας, κ.τ.λ.] 'on the ground that there are some constitutions which exist simply by virtue of superior force, and not for the common good.'

The reasoning must hold good for the three forms of government equally, says Aristotle. 'If then in any case you have a democracy resting on mere force, you must allow that its acts (τὰς τῆς πολιτείας ταύτης πράξεις) are the acts of the state in which it exists (τῆς πόλεως ταύτης), as much as (δμοίως καί, comp. II. VIII. 21) the acts of an oligarchy or tyranny are the acts of their respective states.' They are all παρεκβάσεις, they must all be judged on the same principles.

3 ἔοικε δ' οἰκεῖος δ λόγος] δ λόγος is what follows, πῶς ποτὲ... ἐτέραν. 'The difficulty we have been discussing seems to have an intimate connexion with the question, how can you ever say that the state is the same or not the same but different?'

ή μèν οδν, κ.τ.λ.] 'The most obvious solution of the difficulty.' Such seems to be the meaning of ζήτησις

Identity of τάτη της ἀπορίας ζήτησις περί τὸν τόπον καὶ τοὺς άνθρώπους ἐστίν ἐνδέχεται γὰρ διαζευχθηναι τον τόπον καλ τούς άνθρώπους, καλ τούς μεν ετερον τούς δ' ετερον ολήσαι τόπον ταύτην μέν οὖν πραστέραν θετέον τὴν ἀπορίαν πολλαχῶς γὰρ τῆς πόλεως λεγομένης ἐστί πως εὐμά- ρεια τῆς τοιαύτης ζητήσεως. ¿ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον κατοικούντων ανθρώπων πότε δει νομίζειν μίαν είναι 5 την πόλιν. ου γάρ δη τοῖς τείχεσιν εἴη γάρ αν Πελοποννήσω περιβαλείν εν τείχος. τοιαύτη δ' ίσως έστι και Βαβυλών και πάσα ήτις έχει περιγραφήν μάλλον έθνους ή πόλεως. ής γέ φασιν έαλωκυίας τρίτην ήμέραν ούκ αἰσθέ-6 σθαι τι μέρος της πόλεως. άλλα περί μεν ταύτης της άπορίας είς άλλον καιρον χρήσιμος ή σκέψις περί γάρ μεγέθους της πόλεως, τό τε πόσον καὶ πότερον ἔθνος εν ή πλείω συμφέρει, δεῖ μὴ λανθάνειν τὸν πολιτικόν ἀλλὰ τῶν αύτῶν κατοικούντων τὸν αύτὸν τόπον, πότερον ἔως αν ή τὸ γένος ταύτὸ τῶν κατοικούντων, τὴν αὐτὴν είναι Φατέον πόλιν, καίπερ ἀεὶ τῶν μὲν Φθειρομένων τῶν δὲ γινομένων,

> 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 οδν, κ.τ.λ.] 'The difficulty when it takes this form, is by no means hard.' πραστέραν, '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 woλλαχῶς...ζητήσεως.

> δμοίως 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.

5 'It cannot surely be that the en-

closure within given walls constitutes identity.'

Baβυλών] Compare Herod. 1. 178, 191, 'which includes within its circumference a space adapted rather for a tribe than for a city.'

6 είς άλλον καιρόν] IV. (VII.) 4.

₹θνος ₹ν] Compare on this subject Arnold, Thucydides, Preface to Vol.

άλλα των αὐτων, 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 suc- · cession of generations? or does it depend on the identity of constitution? On this last, says Aristotle.

ώσπερ καὶ ποταμούς εἰώθαμεν λέγειν τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ κρήνας Identity of τὰς αὐτάς, καίπερ ἀεὶ τοῦ μὲν ἐπιγινομένου νάματος τοῦ δ' the State. ύπεξιόντος, ή τοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους Φατέον είναι τοὺς αὐτοὺς διά την τοιαύτην αίτίαν, την δὲ πόλιν ἐτέραν; εἴπερ γάρ, 1276 Β έστι κοινωνία τις ή πόλις, έστι δε κοινωνία πολιτών πολιτεία, γιγνομένης ετέρας τῷ εἴδει καὶ διαφερούσης τῆς πολιτείας άναγκαῖον είναι δόξειεν αν καὶ τὴν πόλιν είναι μὴ τὴν αύτήν, ώσπερ γε καὶ χορὸν ότὲ μὲν κωμικὸν ότὲ δὲ τραγικὸν έτερον είναί φαμεν, τῶν αὐτῶν πολλάκις ἀνθρώπων ὄντων. όμοίως δὲ καὶ πᾶσαν ἄλλην κοινωνίαν καὶ σύνθεσιν ἐτέραν, 8 αν είδος ετερον ή της συνθέσεως, οίον αρμονίαν των αύτων Φθόγγων επέραν είναι λέγομεν, αν όπε μεν ή Δώριος όπε δὲ Φρύγιος. εἰ δὴ τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον, Φανερὸν 9 δτι μάλιστα λεκτέον την αὐτην πόλιν εἰς την πολιτείαν βλέποντας δνομα δε καλείν έτερον ή ταύτον έξεστι καλ τῶν αὐτῶν κατοικούντων αὐτὴν καὶ πάμπαν ἐτέρων ἀνθρώπων. εί δε δίκαιον διαλύειν ή μη διαλύειν, όταν είς ετέραν μεταβάλλη πολιτείαν ή πόλις, λόγος ετερος.

Των δε νυν ειρημένων εχόμενον εστιν επισκέψασθαι 4 πότερον την αὐτην ἀρετην ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ πολίτου Are the good man and the good citiτυχείν δεί ζητήσεως, την του πολίτου τύπω τινί πρώτον zenidenti

· κοινωνία πολιτών, πολιτείας Bekker.

διά την τοιαύτην αἰτίαν] 'on these grounds.'

7 εἴπερ γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'For if we allow that the state is an association, and an association of citizens is a constitution, then when the constitution becomes in kind other than it was, and different, it would seem to follow that the state is no longer the same.' I read κοινωνία πολιτών πολιτεία. If Bekker's reading is kept, you have one of the two 'modificas' superfluous. And the next chapter, § 3, shews that the expression is legitimate, κοινωνία δ' ἐστὶν ἡ πολιτεία.

την του πολίτου] That of the man has been given in the Ethics.

^{8 ¿}répar] is the predicate.

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

IV. I 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. II. p. 1130, B. 29, ໃσως γάρ οὐ ταυτον ανδρί τ' αγαθώ είναι και πολιτή παντί, a statement which anticipates the conclusion of this chapter.

Are the good man and the -good citiلنے ی

ληπτέον. ωσπερ οὖν ὁ πλωτηρ εἶς τις τῶν κοινωνῶν ἐστίν, ούτω και τον πολίτην Φαμέν. των δε πλωτήρων καίπερ τουα citi-zen identi- ἀνομοίων ὄντων την δύναμιν (ὁ μεν γάρ ἐστιν ἐρέτης, ὁ δὲ cal? κυβερνήτης, ὁ δὲ πρωρεύς, ὁ δ' ἄλλην τιν' ἔχων τοιαύτην 2 ἐπωνυμίαν) δῆλον ως ὁ μὲν ἀκριβέστατος ἐκάστου λόγος ίδιος ἔσται τῆς ἀρετῆς ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κοινός τις ἐφαρμόσει πᾶσιν. ή γὰρ σωτηρία τῆς ναυτιλίας ἔργον ἐστὶν αὐτῶν πάντων τούτου γαρ εκαστος δρέγεται των πλωτήρων. 3 όμοίως τοίνυν καλ τῶν πολιτῶν, καίπερ ἀνομοίων ὅντων, ἡ σωτηρία της κοινωνίας έργον έστί, κοινωνία δ' έστιν ή πολιτεία διὸ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀναγκαῖον είναι τοῦ πολίτου πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν είπερ ούν έστι πλείω πολιτείας είδη, δήλον ώς ούκ ενδέχεται τοῦ σπουδαίου πολίτου μίαν άρετὴν είναι τὴν τελείαν τον δ' άγαθον άνδρα Φαμέν είναι κατ' άρετην τε-4 λείαν. Ετι μέν οδν ενδέχεται πολίτην δντα σπουδαίον μή κεκτησθαι την άρετην καθ' ην σπουδαῖος άνήρ, Φανερόν. Ού μην άλλα και κατ' άλλον τρόπον έστι διαπορούντας έπελθεῖν τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον περὶ τῆς ἀρίστης πολιτείας. εἰ

> δ πλωτήρ] Compare Eth. viii. xi. 5. p. 1160, 14, on the subject of kouravia, where πλωτηρες are cited as examples.

2 δ μέν 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 δμωs, and is followed by Schneider, but it is not necessary.

της ναυτιλίας] 'For safety in their navigation is the object they all have in common;' and if they have in common some one object (*pyor), then they will have in common some excellence, ή γάρ άρετη πρός το ξργον το οἰκεῖον, Fth. vl. ii. 7. p. 1139, 16.

3 κοινωνία δ' έστιν ή πολιτεία] ' and the association of citizens is their constitution.'

πρός την πολιτείαν] 'must necessarily be referred to the constitution of which he is a member.' comp. I. xin. 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.

4 οὐ μὴν ἀλλά] A second argument. 'We may from another point of view discuss the best constitution, and arrive at the same conclusion.' διαπορούντας περί της αρίστης πολιτείας, "indem man Zweifel und Bedenken über die Möglichkeit der aplotn zohiτεία vorbringe." Spengel, p. 30.

5 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

γαρ αδύνατον εξ απάντων σπουδαίων όντων είναι πόλιν, δει Are the δ έκαστον τὸ καθ αὐτὸν ἔργον εὖ ποιεῖν, τοῦτο δ απ and the άρετῆς · ἐπεὶ δ' ἀδύνατον ὁμοίους εἶναι πάντας τοὺς πολίτας, zen identiούκ αν είη μία άρετη πολίτου και άνδρος άγαθου. την μέν γὰρ τοῦ σπουδαίου πολίτου δεῖ πᾶσιν ὑπάρχειν (οὕτω γὰρ 1277 άρίστην άναγκαῖον είναι τὴν πόλιν), τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τοῦ άγαθοῦ ἀδύνατον, εἰ μὴ πάντας ἀναγκαῖον ἀγαθοὺς είναι τοὺς ἐν τῆ σπουδαία πόλει πολίτας. "Ετι ἐπεὶ ἐξ ἀνομοίων 6 🕻 . ὁ μοί ος ή πόλις, ώσπερ ζώον εύθυς έκ ψυχής και σώματος και ψυχή ἐκ λόγου καὶ ὀρέξεως καὶ οἰκία ἐξ ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ κτῆσις ἐκ δεσπότου καὶ δούλου, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ πόλις εξ άπάντων τε τούτων και προς τούτοις εξ άλλων ανομοίων συνέστηκεν είδων, ανάγκη μή μίαν είναι την των πολιτῶν πάντων ἀρετήν, ὧσπερ οὐδὶ τῶν χορευτῶν κορυ-Φαίου καὶ παραστάτου. Διότι μεν τοίνυν άπλῶς οὐχ ή 7 αὐτή, Φανερὸν ἐκ τούτων ἀλλ' ἄρα ἔσται τινὸς ἡ αὐτὴ αρετή πολίτου τε σπουδαίου καὶ ανδρός σπουδαίου; Φαμέν δή τὸν ἄρχον[α τὸν σπουδαῖον ἀγαθὸν είναι καὶ Φρόνιμον, τον δε πολίτην οὐκε ἀναγκαῖον είναι Φρόνιμον. καὶ τὴν 8

good citi-

* τον δέ πολιτικόν Bekker.

own proper work; this involves some excellence, that of the citizen, so that they will all be good citizens. then, as they cannot be all quite alike, though excellent as citizens, they will not be all equally excellent as men.

άδύνατον όμοίους είναι] ΙΙ. 11. 3, οὐ γὰρ γίνεται πόλις ἐξ ὁμοίων.

6 εξ ανομοίων = εξ είδει διαφερόντων. 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 Διότι] 'That then,' I. 11. 10. άλλ' ἀρα ἔσται] 'But will there not be some case in which we shall find coincident the excellence of the good citizen and the good man?'

φαμέν δή] '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.' τον δέ πολίτην οὐκ is the reading I adopt on conjecture. We do not require φρόνησιε for the simple citizen. See below § 18.

8 al την παιδείαν] '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 πολεμικήν, Göttling reads πολιτικήν, which I should not have mentioned, but that Mr Lewis

good man good citi-

παιδείαν δ' εὐθὺς ἐτέραν εἶναι λέγουσί τινες τοῦ ἄρχοντος, and the ωσπερ και Φαίνονται οι των βασιλέων υίεις ίππικήν και zen identi- πολεμικήν παιδευόμενοι, καὶ Εὐριπίδης Φησὶ

> μή μοι τὰ κόμψ' άλλ' ὧν πόλει δεῖ,

9 ώς οὖσάν τινα ἄρχοντος παιδείαν. εἰ δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ ἀρετὴ άρχοντός τε άγαθοῦ καὶ άνδρὸς άγαθοῦ, πολίτης δ' ἐστὶ καὶ ό άρχόμενος, ούχ ή αὐτή άπλῶς αν είη πολίτου καὶ ἀνδρός, τινος μέντοι πολίτου ου γάρ ή αυτή άρχοντος και πολίτου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἴσως Ἰάσων ἔφη πεινην, ὅτε μη τυραννοῖ, 10 ως οὐκ ἐπιστάμενος ἰδιώτης είναι. άλλὰ μὴν ἐπαινεῖταί γε τὸ δύνασθαι ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι, καὶ πολίτου δοκίμου ή αρετή είναι το δύνασθαι και άρχειν και άρχεσθαι καλώς. εί οὖν τὴν μὲν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἀνδρὸς τίθεμεν ἀρχικήν, τὴν δὲ τοῦ 11 πολίτου ἄμφω, ούκ ᾶν είη ἄμφω ἐπαινετὰ όμοίως.

adopts it (On Authority, &c., p. 256, note). It is surely not necessary. Eupinions Fr. Æol. 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 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, III. 36, note, 'incessant hunger till he became despot.'

10 ἀλλὰ 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.'

πολίτου δοκίμου] we must supply δοκεί, or some similar word.

el οδν, 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.'

ΙΙ ἐπεὶ οδν ποτέ, κ.τ.λ.] This is variously taken. Stahr supplies ἐπαινετά elvai after άμφότερα, as does Schneider. Victorious makes ἀμφότερα depend on mandarew. Agreeing with him, I construe the passage as follows: 'Since then it seems that the ruler must some time or other learn both (ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἄρχειν), 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 these rositions 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 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 λέ-

οὖν ποτε δοκεῖ ἀμφότερα καὶ οὐ ταὐτὰ δεῖν τὸν ἄρχοντα Are the μανθάνειν καὶ τὸν ἀρχόμενον, τὸν δὲ πολίτην ἀμφότερ and the good citi-ἐπίστασθαι καὶ μετέχειν ἀμφοῖν, τοὐντεῦθεν ἀν κατίδοι τις. zen identi-Εστι γάρ άρχη δεσποτική ταύτην δε την περί τάναγκαῖα λέγομεν, α ποιεῖν ἐπίστασθαι τὸν ἄρχοντ' οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον, άλλα χρησθαι μαλλον θάτερον δε και άνδραποδώδες. λέγω 12 δε θάτερον τὸ δύνασθαι καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν τὰς διακονικὰς πράξεις. δούλου δ' είδη πλείω λέγομεν αι γάρ εργασίαι πλείους. ων εν μέρος κατέχουσιν οι χερνητες ουτοι δ είσιν, ώσπερ σημαίνει και τούνομ' αύτούς, οι ζωντες από των χειρων, έν 1277 1 οίς ὁ βάναυσος τεχνίτης ἐστίν. διὸ παρ' ἐνίοις οὐ μετεῖγον οί δημιουργοί τὸ παλαιὸν άρχῶν, πρίν δημον γενέσθαι τὸν ἔσχατον. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἔργα τῶν ἀρχομένων οὕτως οὐ δεῖ 🛚 3 τον άγαθον ούδε τον πολιτικόν ούδε τον πολίτην τον άγαθου μανθάνειν, εί μή ποτε χρείας χάριν αὐτῷ πρὸς αὐτόν οὐ γὰρ ἔτι συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι τὸν μὲν δεσπότην τὸν δὲ δοῦλον. άλλ' έστι τις άρχη καθ ην άρχει τῶν δμοίων τῷ γένει καὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων.] Ταύτην γὰρ λέγομεν είναι τὴν πολιτικὴν 14 άρχήν, ην δει τον άρχοντα άρχόμενον μαθείν, οίον ίππαρχεῖν ἱππαρχηθέντα, στρατηγεῖν στρατηγηθέντα καὶ ταξιαρχήσαντα και λοχαγήσαντα. διὸ και λέγεται και τοῦτο

yoμεν, 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 γάρ λέγομεν την πολιτικήν άρχήν.

ἐστι γὰρ ἀρχή] The doctrine is the same as that of I. vii.

12 Δούλου δ' είδη] From this to the end of the section is to me even more suspicious than the rest. It is most unnecessary detail.

13 οὐ γὰρ ἔτι] 'For the result is that the distinction is effaced.'

14 ταύτην γάρ] '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."

good man and the good citi-

καλῶς, ως οὐκ ἔστιν εὖ ἄρξαι μὴ ἀρχθέντα. τούτων δὲ άρετη μεν έτέρα, δει δε τον πολίτην τον άγαθον επίσταgood citi-zen identi- σθαι καὶ δύνασθαι καὶ ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἄρχειν, καὶ αὕτη ἀρετὴ πολίτου, τὸ τὴν τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἀρχὴν ἐπίστασθαι ἐπ' ἀμ-15 Φότερα. καὶ ἀνδρὸς δὴ ἀγαθοῦ ἄμφω, καὶ εἰ ἔτερον εἶδος 16 σωφροσύνης καλ δικαιοσύνης άρχικης καλ γάρ άρχομένου μεν ελευθέρου δε δηλον ότι ου μία αν είη του άγαθου άρετή, ολον δικαιοσύνη, άλλ' είδη έχουσα καθ' ά άρξει καλ άρξεται, ώσ-17 περ ανδρός και γυναικός έτέρα σωφροσύνη και ανδρία. δόξαι γαρ αν είναι δειλός ανήρ, εί ουτως ανδρείος είη ωσπερ γυνή άνδρεία, καὶ γυνὴ λάλος, εἰ οῦτω κοσμία εἴη ώσπερ ὁ ἀνὴρ ό άγαθός, έπεί και οίκονομία έτέρα άνδρός και γυναικός τοῦ μεν γάρ κτᾶσθαι, της δε Φυλάττειν έργον έστίν. Φρόνησις ἄρχοντος ίδιος άρετη μόνη τὰς γὰρ ἄλλας ἔοικεν άναγκαῖον είναι κοινάς καὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων καὶ τῶν ἀρχόνάρχομένου δέ γε οὐκ ἔστιν άρετὴ Φρόνησις, άλλὰ δόξα άληθής : εύσπερ αύλοποιός γάρ ὁ άρχόμενος, ὁ δ' άρχων αύλητης ο χρώμενος. Πότερον μεν οὖν ή αὐτη άρετη άνδρὸς άγαθοῦ καὶ πολίτου σπουδαίου ἢ ἐτέρα, καὶ πῶς ἡ αὐτή καὶ πῶς ἐτέρα, Φανερον ἐκ τούτων.

Περί δε τον πολίτην έτι λείπεταί τις τῶν ἀποριῶν. ὡς άληθιος γάρ πότερον πολίτης έστιν ο κοινωνείν έξεστιν άρβάναυσοι citizens?

> 15 τούτων] sc. of the two positions.

¿π' 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, other qualified to obey.'

17 oikovoula] 'Their function in the family management.'

ή δὲ φρόνησις, κ.τ.λ.] one virtue there is, and only one, peculiar to the ruler, poornous, 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. ή μέν γάρ φρόνησις έπιτακτική.

18 δόξα άληθής] This is equivalent to the σύνεσιs of the Ethics in the passage I have just quoted, which is said to be kpituch.

V. I τον πολίτην] 'Our citizen.' πότερον πολίτης έστίν] 'Is he only a citizen?'



χῆς, ή καὶ τοὺς βαναύσους πολίτας θετέον; εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ τούτους θετέον οίς μη μέτεστιν άρχων, ούχ οίόν τε παντός citizens? είναι πολίτου την τοιαύτην άρετην ούτος γάρ πολίτης. εί δε μηδείς τών τοιούτων πολίτης, εν τίνι μέρει θετέος έκαστος; οὐδε γάρ μέτοιχος οὐδε ξένος. ή διά γε τοῦτον τὸν 2 λόγον οὐδεν Φήσομεν συμβαίνειν άτοπον; οὐδε γάρ οἱ 1278 δοῦλοι τῶν εἰρημένων οὐδέν, οὐδ' οἱ ἀπελεύθεροι. τοῦτο γὰρ άληθές, ως οὐ πάντας θετέον πολίτας ων άνευ οὐκ αν είη πόλις, έπει οὐδ' οἱ παῖδες ωσαύτως πολῖται και οἱ ἄνδρες, άλλ' οι μεν άπλως οι δ' εξ ύποθέσεως. πολίται μεν γάρ είσιν, άλλ' άτελεῖς. Εν μεν οὖν τοῖς άρχαίοις χρόνοις παρ' 3 ένίοις ήν δοῦλον τὸ βάναυσον ή ξενικόν διόπερ οἱ πολλοὶ τοιούτα καλ νύν. ή δε βελτίστη πόλις οὐ ποιήσει βάναυσον πολίτην εί δε και ούτος πολίτης, άλλα πολίτου άρετην ήν είπομεν λεκτέον οὐ παντός, οὐδ' ἐλευθέρου μόνον, ἀλλ' οσοι τῶν ἔργων εἰσὶν ἀΦειμένοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων. τῶν δ 4 αναγκαίων οι μεν ένι λειτουργούντες τὰ τοιαύτα δούλοι, οί δε κοινοί βάναυσοι και θήτες. Φανερόν δ' έντεῦθεν μικρόν

βαναύσους] Compare on this subject, Herod. II. 167.

την τοιαύτην αρετήν] Such as we have given him. οὐτος, εc. δ βάναυσος.

obět γὰρ μέτοικος] Here again, we have these two classes marked as distinct, III. II. 3.

2 \hbar did $\gamma \epsilon$, $\kappa.\tau.\lambda$.] So far as that point is concerned, we are not involved in any difficulty. There are other classes in the same state.

ἀπελεύθεροι] 'freedmen.'

άπλῶs] 'simply,' 'without any qualification.'

3 το βάναυσον ήν δούλον ή ξενικόν]
'The industrial population consisted entirely either of slaves or aliens.'

ci de nal obros] 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 necessitates a qualification with regard to the excellence we require in a citizen. Such a standard as we set becomes 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 themselves.

4 τῶν δ' ἀναγκαίων]. If this reading 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 Thetes.' Looking at the whole expression I had thought that ἀναγκαίων was corrupt, and that the true reading was μὴ ἀφειμένων. But it is as well to acquiesce in the present reading.

[Lib.

Are ol βάναυσοι citizens?

έπισκεψαμένοις πῶς ἔχει περὶ αὐτῶν αὐτὸ γὰρ Φανὲν τὸ λεχθέν ποιεί δηλον. ἐπεὶ γὰρ πλείους εἰσὶν αἱ πολιτείαι, - και είδη πολίτου αναγκαῖον είναι πλείω, και μάλιστα τοῦ άρχομένου πολίτου, ώστ' εν μέν τινι πολιτεία τον βάναυσον αναγκαῖον είναι και τον θῆτα πολίτας, ἐν τισὶ δ' ἀδύνατον, οίον εί τίς έστιν ην καλούσιν άριστοκρατικήν καὶ ἐν ή κατ άρετην αι τιμαι δίδονται και κατ' άξίαν ου γάρ οδόν τ' έπιτηδεῦσαι τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ζῶντα βίον βάναυσον ἡ θητικόν. 6 έν δε ταῖς όλιγαρχίαις θῆτα μεν οὐκ ἐνδέχεται είναι πολίτην (ἀπὸ τιμημάτων γὰρ μακρῶν αἱ μεθέξεις τῶν ἀρχῶν), βάναυσον δ' ενδέχεται πλουτοῦσι γὰρ καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν 7 τεχνιτών. ἐν Θήβαις δὲ νόμος ἦν τὸν δέκα ἐτῶν μὴ ἀπεσχημένον της άγορας μη μετέχειν άρχης. έν πολλαίς δε πολιτείαις προσεφέλκεται καλ τῶν ξένων δ νόμος δ γάρ ἐκ πολίτιδος έν τισι δημοκρατίαις πολίτης έστίν. τον αὐτον 8 δὲ τρόπον ἔχει καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόθους παρὰ πολλοῖς. οὐ μην άλλ' επεί δι' Ενδειαν των γνησίων πολιτών ποιούνται πολίτας τους τοιούτους (διά γάρ ολιγανθρωπίαν ούτω γρώνται τοῖς νόμοις), εὐποροῦντες δ' ὅχλου κατὰ μικρὸν παραιρούνται τους έχ δούλου πρώτον ή δούλης, είτα τους άπο γυ-

airò γὰρ φανὲν τὸ λεχθέν] "Die nähere Beleuchtung des Gesagten." Stahr. 'What we have already said, of itself, if explained, clears up the point.'

5 ob \(\gamma\) \(\rho\) o \(\lore\) o \(\rho\) o \(\lore\) Here we have definitely the reason why Aristotle excludes the industrial population. If by the arrangement of society the reason ceases to hold good, the exclusion would cease to be required. It is a problem which seems in a fair way of solution, in favour of the industrial population, owing to their numbers, their organization, and the ultimate influence on the question of leisure for education and self-cultivation which machinery will have.

7 δέκα ἐτῶν] 'for a space of ten years.' That interval must elapse between his mixing in business and his admission to office.

προσεφέλκεται] Middle. 'The law draws in some of the aliens also,' "zieht sogar manche Freunde zum Bürgerrecht." Stahr. Eurip. Med. 461.

8 οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, κ.τ.λ.] 'not however but that, when from want of genuine citizens they introduce such as these, when they have numbers sufficient,' &c. εὐποροῦντες δ' ὅχλου. Comp. Thirlwall, III. 61, for Pericles' clearing the Athenian register.

ναικών· τέλος δὲ μόνου τοὺς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν αὐτῶν πολίτας ότι μεν ούν είδη πλείω πολίτου, Φανερον εκ citizens? τούτων, και ότι λέγεται μάλιστα πολίτης ο μετέχων τῶν τιμῶν, ὧσπερ καὶ Ομηρος ἐποίησεν

Are of

το το Θρώσει τιν' ατίμητον μετανάστην

ώσπερ μέτοικος γάρ έστιν δ τῶν τιμῶν μὴ μετέγων. ἀλλ' δπου τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπικεκρυμμένον ἐστίν, ἀπάτης χάριν τῶν συνοικούντων έστίν. Πότερον μέν οὖν έτέραν ἢ τὴν αὐτὴν 10 θετέον καθ' ἣν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός ἐστι καὶ πολίτης σπουδαῖος, ^{1278 Β} δήλον έχ των εἰρημένων, ὅτι τινὸς μὲν πόλεως ὁ αὐτὸς τινὸς δ' έτερος, κάκεῖνος οὐ πᾶς άλλ' ὁ πολιτικὸς καὶ κύριος ἡ δυνάμενος είναι κύριος, ή καθ' αύτον ή μετ' άλλων, τῆς τῶν χοινῶν ἐπιμελείας.

Έπει δε ταῦτα διώρισται, τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα σκεπτέον 6 πότερον μίαν θετέον πολιτείαν ή πλείους, καν εἰ πλείους, The object τίνες καλ πόσαι, καλ διαφοραλ τίνες αὐτῶν εἰσίν. "Εστι δὲ πολιτεία πόλεως τάξις τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀρχῶν καὶ μάλιστα ἀστῶν Bekker.

αὐτῶν] ἀστῶν, adopted by Bekker and others in place of αὐτῶν, the reading of the MSS., is rejected by Stahr. Nickes agrees with him, Excur. vi. He refers to Ec. ii. iv. 3, where Bekker has made the same change, and supports his view by the argument that ἀστῶν is very rare in Aristotle. αὐτῶν certainly seems to make good sense, referred to the subject of moiovour. 'They make citizens those only who have a father and mother both of themselves, of the body to which those who make them belong,' "aus ihrer Mitte." Stahr.

9 Il. 1x. 648.

ἐπικεκρυμμένον] "Dies Verhältniss verdeckt ist." Stahr. "Où l'on a soin de dissimuler ces différences." St Hil. Does it mean: where this exclusion, though not expressed openly in the laws, is yet tacitly acted on, it is with a view to deceive those, whether settlers from abroad, or born in the country, who are merely living with them, not really admitted into the state? And the object of deceiving them would be of course to keep them quiet.

10 τινός μέν πόλεως] 'That in a given state they are identical, in others not so, and he in whom they are identical, is not any citizen of that state indifferently, but the statesman and the man who, either singly or with others, is or can be at the head of the administration. Spengel proposes to read kakeirns (p. 29, note 30), but the change is not necessary.

I After settling these preliminary points, we now come to the main object of the work.

τών τε άλλων άρχων] 'Both gencrally, as to magistracies, and especially the sovereign one.'

state.

The object της χυρίας πάντων. χύριον μεν γάρ πανταγοῦ τὸ πολίτευμα τῆς πόλεως, πολίτευμα δ' ἐστὶν ἡ πολιτεία. λέγω δ' οἶον 🧝 ἐν μὲν ταῖς δημοκρατικαῖς κύριος ὁ δῆμος, ὁἱ δ' ὀλίγοι τοὐναντίον έν ταῖς ολιγαργίαις. Φαμέν δὲ καὶ πολιτείαν έτέραν είναι τούτων. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦτον ἐροῦμεν λόγον καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων. Υποθετέον δὲ πρῶτον τίνος χάριν συνέστηκε πόλις, και της άρχης είδη πόσα της περι ἄνθρωπον και την 3 κοινωνίαν της ζωης. είρηται δή και κατά τους πρώτους λόγους, έν οίζ περί οίκονομίας διωρίσθη καὶ δεσποτείας, δτι Φύσει μέν έστιν ἄνθρωπος ζώον πολιτικόν, διό και μηδέν δεόμενοι της παρ' άλλήλων βοηθείας οὐκ ἔλαττον ὀρέγονται τοῦ συζην οὐ μην άλλά καὶ τὸ κοινη συμφέρον συνάγει. 4 καθ' δσον ἐπιβάλλει μέρος ἐκάστω τοῦ ζῆν καλῶς. λιστα μεν ούν τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τέλος, καὶ κοινῆ πᾶσι καὶ χωρίς. συνέρχονται δε καὶ τοῦ ζῆν ενεκεν αὐτοῦ (ἴσως γὰρ ένεστί

> τὸ πολίτευμα] '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, ωσπερ δε και πόλις τὸ κυριώτατον μάλιστα δοκεί είναι καὶ πᾶν άλλο σύστημα.

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

> ὑποθετέον] ''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 èν ols, κ.τ.λ.] marks very clearly the scope of the First Book.

> καὶ μηδὲν δεόμενοι] 'even if in no degree in need of mutual assistance.' Compare Eth. 1x. 9. p. 1169, 6, for the full discussion of this question.

> οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, κ.τ.λ.] Still it is not possible 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] BC. τὸ ζῆν καλῶς. 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. 11. 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.

ίσως γάρ ένεστί τι τοῦ καλοῦ μόριον] There is a question as to the place

τι τοῦ καλοῦ μόριον), καὶ συνέχουσι τὴν πολιτικὴν κοινωνίαν The different kinds καὶ κατὰ τὸ ζῆν αὐτὸ μόνον, αν μὴ τοῖς χαλεποῖς κατὰ τὸν of governβίου ὑπερβάλλη λίαυ. δῆλου δ' ώς καρτεροῦσι πολλὴν κακοπάθειαν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γλιχόμενοι τοῦ ζῆν, ώς ένούσης τινός εύημερίας έν αύτῷ καὶ γλυκύτητος Φυσικῆς. 'Αλλά μὴν καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοὺς λεγομένους τρόπους ράδιον διελείν και γάρ εν τοῖς εξωτερικοῖς λόγοις διοριζόμεθα περί αὐτῶν πολλάκις. ή μεν γὰρ δεσποτεία, καίπερ ὄντος κατ' 6 άλήθειαν τῷ τε Φύσει δούλφ καὶ τῷ Φύσει δεσπότη ταὐτοῦ συμφέροντος, διμως άρχει πρός το τοῦ δεσπότου συμφέρον ούδεν ήττον, πρός δε τὸ τοῦ δούλου κατά συμβεβηκός οὐ γάρ ενδέχεται Φθειρομένου τοῦ δούλου σώζεσθαι την δεσποτείαν. ή δε τέκνων άρχη και γυναικός και της οικίας 7 πάσης, ην δη καλουμεν οἰκονομικήν, ήτοι των άρχομένων χάριν ἐστὶν ἢ κοινοῦ τινὸς ἀμφοῖν, καθ' αὐτὸ μὲν τῶν ἀρχο- 1279 : μένων, ωσπερ όρωμεν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας, οίον ἰατρικὴν καλ γυμναστικήν, κατά συμβεβηκός δε κάν αὐτῶν είεν οὐδεν γαρ κωλύει τον παιδοτρίβην ένα των γυμναζομένων ένίοτ είναι και αυτόν, ώσπερ ο κυβερνήτης είς έστιν άει τών πλωτήρων. ὁ μὲν οὖν παιδοτρίβης ἢ κυβερνήτης σκοπεῖ τῶν 8 άρχομένων άγαθόν δταν δε τούτων είς γένηται και αυτός.

these words should hold. Some, as Schneider with Coray, resting on the Vet. Int., wish to place them after την πολιτικήν 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 συνέρχονται, if their place is altered, by πολιτικήν 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 μήν] Here begins the answer to the 2nd question, πόσα είδη άρχηs, here called τοὺς τρόπους.

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

6 οὐ γὰρ ἐνδέχεται] It does not answer absolutely to neglect the slave, any more than any other part of pro-

7 hν δή] 'and it is this, not δεσποτικήν, that we emphatically call οίκονομικήν.

αὐτῶν] ες. τῶν ἀρχόντων.

The differ- κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς μετέχει τῆς ώφελείας · ὁ μὲν γὰρ πλωτήρ, ent kinds of govern- ὁ δὲ τῶν γυμναζομένων εἶς γίνεται παιδοτρίβης ὧν. _ καὶ τὰς πολιτικὰς ἀρχάς, ὅταν ἢ κατ᾽ ἰσότητα τῶν πολιτῶν 9 συνεστηκυῖα καὶ καθ' ὁμοιότητα, κατὰ μέρος ἀξιοῦσιν ἄρχειν, πρότερον μέν, ή πέφυκεν, άξιούντες έν μέρει λειτουργείν, και σκοπείν τινά πάλιν το αύτου άγαθόν, ώσπερ πρότερον το αύτος άρχων έσκόπει το έκείνου συμφέρον νῦν δε διά τὰς ωθελείας τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς βούλονται συνεχώς άρχειν, οίον εί συνέβαινεν ύγιαίνειν άεί τοῖς άρχουσι, νοσακεροίς οὖσιν· καὶ γὰρ ᾶν οὕτως ἴσως ἐδίωκον ἔ 🚟 11 τας άρχάς. Φανερον τοίνυν ώς οσαι μεν πολιτείαι το κοινή συμφέρον σκοπούσιν, αὐται μεν ὀρθαὶ τυγγάνουσιν οὖσαι κατά τὸ ἀπλῶς δίκαιον, ὅσαι δὲ τὸ σΦέτερον μόνον τῶν άρχόντων, ήμαρτημέναι πάσαι καλ παρεκβάσεις τῶν ὀρθῶν πολιτειών δεσποτικαί γάρ, ή δε πόλις κοινωνία των ελευθέρων έστίν.

of govern-

Διωρισμένων δε τούτων εχόμενον εστι τας πολιτείας έπισκέψασθαι, πόσαι τον άριθμον και τίνες είσί, και πρώτον τὰς ὀρθὰς αὐτῶν καὶ γὰρ αἱ παρεκβάσεις ἔσονται Φανεραὶ 2 τούτων διορισθεισών. Έπεὶ δὲ πολιτεία μὲν καὶ πολίτευμα σημαίνει ταὐτόν, πολίτευμα δ' έστὶ τὸ κύριον τῶν πόλεων, άνάγκη δ' είναι κύριον ή ένα ή όλίγους ή τοὺς πολλούς, ὅταν μεν ό είς η οἱ όλίγοι η οἱ πολλοὶ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν συμφέρον άρχωσι, ταύτας μεν όρθας άναγκαῖον είναι τας πολιτείας.

8 ὁ μὲν γὰρ πλωτήρ] for completeness there is required κυβερνήτης ών.

serve in turn, and that each, after holding his office, should again attend to his own interests.'

VII. 2 σημαίνει ταὐτόν] for our present purpose.

 $Q \Delta i \delta \kappa \alpha i, \kappa.\tau.\lambda.$ Because they look to the common good.

ຽງແມ່ງ supply as nominative ກໍ ສາວλις, from πολιτικάς.

κατ' Ισότητα καί καθ' δμοιότητα] on these two principles. The expression is equivalent to a more common one, έξ ίσων καὶ δμοίων.

άξιοῦσιν, 'they think it but right.' § πέφυκεν] 'as is the natural course.' έν μέρει λειτουργείν] . That all should

¹⁰ νῦν δέ] answering to the πρότερον μέν.

ΙΙ δσαι πολιτείαι] 'all governments that.' Comp. Isoc. Panath. pp. 259, 260, where the same conclusion is come to as to the principles of governments and their divisions.

τὰς δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον ἡ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἡ τῶν ὀλίγων ἡ τοῦ πλή- Division of governθους παρεκβάσεις ή γαρ ου πολίτας Φατέον είναι τους μετέχοντας, η δεῖ κοινωνεῖν τοῦ συμφέροντος. καλεῖν δ $\frac{1}{3}$ ελώθαμεν των μεν μοναρχιών την πρός το κοινον αποβλέπουσαν συμφέρον βασιλείαν, την δε τῶν ὀλίγων μεν πλειόνων δ' ένὸς ἀριστοκρατίαν, η διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἄργειν, η διά τὸ πρὸς τὸ ἄριστον τῆ πόλει καὶ τοῖς κοινωνοῦσιν αὐτῆς. ὅταν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν πολιτεύηται συμφέρον, καλείται τὸ κοινὸν ὄνομα πασῶν τῶν πολιτειῶν, πολιτεία τυμβαίνει δ' εὐλόγως ένα μεν γάρ διαφέρειν 4 κατ' άρετην η όλίγους ενδέχεται, πλείους δ' ήδη χαλεπον 👑 ήκριβῶσθαι πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀρετήν, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα τὴν πολε- 1279 Β μικήν αυτη γάρ εν πλήθει γίγνεται. διόπερ κατά ταύτην την πολιτείαν κυριώτατον τὸ προπολεμοῦν, καὶ μετέχουσιν αύτης οἱ κεκτημένοι τὰ ὅπλα. παρεκβάσεις τὲ τῶν εἰρη- 5 μένων τυραννίς μεν βασιλείας, όλιγαρχία δε άριστοκρατίας, δημοκρατία δε πολιτείας. ή μεν γάρ τυραννίς έστι μοναρχία πρός το συμφέρον το του μοναρχούντος, ή δ' όλιγαρχία πρός το των ευπόρων, ή δε δημοκρατία πρός το συμφέρον

η γαρ οὐ πολίτας, κ.τ.λ.] For ή πόλις ὶΒ κοινωνία πολιτών, ή δὲ πολιτική κοινωνία τοῦ συμφέροντος ἔνεκα συνέστηκε. Comp. I. 1. and note.

3 τῶν μὲν μοναρχιῶν] 'In the case of the monarchies we usually call the constitution which looks to the common interest.' With τὴν ἀποβλέπουσαν, I understand πολιτείαν,

4 συμβαίνει δ' εὐλόγως] "Ces différences de dénomination sont fort justes," says St Hilaire. I refer it strictly to the last form of government, 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 number, 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 susceptible, and so we find that in this form of government the supreme power resides in the military class, and it is open to those who have got full armour.' Comp. III. xvii. 4. The passage is an avowal, 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 conclusion as that of Eth. viii. xii. 2. p. 1160, 36, χειρίστη ή τιμοκρατία. This will come more prominently forward later, VI. (IV.) viii.

Are the good man and the good citi-

παιδείαν δ' εὐθὺς ἐτέραν εἶναι λέγουσί τινες τοῦ ἄργοντος. ώσπερ καὶ Φαίνονται οἱ τῶν βασιλέων υἰεῖς ἱππικὴν καὶ zen identi- πολεμικήν παιδευόμενοι, καὶ Εύριπίδης Φησί

> μή μοι τὰ κόμψ'-άλλ' ὧν πόλει δεῖ,

9 ούς οὖσάν τινα ἄρχοντος παιδείαν. εἰ δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ ἀρετὴ άρχοντός τε αγαθοῦ καὶ ανδρὸς αγαθοῦ, πολίτης δ' ἐστὶ καὶ ο άρχόμενος, ούχ ή αὐτή άπλῶς ᾶν είη πολίτου καὶ ἀνδρός, τινος μέντοι πολίτου ού γάρ ή αύτη άρχοντος και πολίτου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἴσως Ἰάσων ἔφη πεινην, ὅτε μὴ τυραννοῖ, το ως ούκ επιστάμενος ίδιώτης είναι. άλλα μην επαινείταί γε τὸ δύνασθαι ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι, καὶ πολίτου δοκίμου ή αρετή είναι το δύνασθαι και άρχειν και άρχεσθαι καλώς. εί οὖν τὴν μὲν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἀνδρὸς τίθεμεν ἀρχικήν, τὴν δὲ τοῦ 11 πολίτου ἄμφω, οὐκ ᾶν εἴη ἄμφω ἐπαινετὰ ὁμοίως.

adopts it (On Authority, &c., p. 256, note). It is surely not necessary. Eὐριπίδης Fr. Æol. 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 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, III. 36, note, 'incessant hunger till he became despot.'

10 ἀλλὰ 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.'

πολίτου δοκίμου] we must supply δοκεί, or some similar word.

el οδν, 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.'

II enel obv moté, k.t.A.] This is variously taken. Stahr supplies ¿waiνετά elvai after άμφότερα, as does Schneider. Victorious makes ἀμφότερα depend on μανθάνειν. Agreeing with him, I construe the passage as follows: 'Since then it seems that the ruler must some time or other learn both (ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἄρχειν), 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 these rositions 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 λέοὖν ποτε δοχεῖ ἀμφότερα καὶ οὐ ταὐτὰ δεῖν τὸν ἄρχοντα Are the μανθάνειν καὶ τὸν ἀρχόμενον, τὸν δὲ πολίτην ἀμφότερ and the ἐπίστασθαι καὶ μετέχειν ἀμφοῖν, τοὐντεῦθεν αν κατίδοι τις. good citi-Εστι γάρ άρχη δεσποτική ταύτην δε την περί τάναγκαῖα λέγομεν, α ποιείν ἐπίστασθαι τὸν ἄρχοντ' οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον, άλλὰ χρῆσθαι μᾶλλον θάτερον δὲ καὶ ἀνδραποδῶδες. λέγω 12 δε θάτερον το δύνασθαι και ύπηρετείν τας διακονικάς πράξεις. δούλου δ' είδη πλείω λέγομεν αι γάρ έργασίαι πλείους. ων εν μέρος κατέχουσιν οι χερνητες ούτοι δ είσίν, ωσπερ σημαίνει καὶ τοὖνομ' αὐτούς, οἱ ζῶντες ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν, ἐψ 1277 11 οῖς ὁ βάναυσος τεχνίτης ἐστίν. διὸ παρ' ἐνίοις οὐ μετεῖχον οί δημιουργοί τὸ παλαιὸν άρχῶν, πρὶν δημον γενέσθαι τὸν ἔσχατον. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἔργα τῶν ἀρχομένων οὕτως οὐ δεῖ 13 τον άγαθον ούδε τον πολιτικόν ούδε τον πολίτην τον άγαθὸν μανθάνειν, εἰ μή ποτε χρείας χάριν αὐτῷ πρὸς αὐτόν οὐ γάρ έτι συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι τον μέν δεσπότην τον δε δοῦλον. άλλ' έστι τις άρχη καθ ην άρχει των δμοίων τῷ γένει καὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων.] Ταύτην γὰρ λέγομεν είναι τὴν πολιτικὴν 14 άρχήν, ην δεῖ τὸν ἄρχοντα ἀρχόμενον μαθεῖν, οἶον ἱππαρχεῖν ἱππαρχηθέντα, στρατηγεῖν στρατηγηθέντα καὶ ταξιαρχήσαντα καὶ λοχαγήσαντα. διὸ καὶ λέγεται καὶ τοῦτο

γομεν, 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 γάρ λέγομεν την πολιτικήν άρχήν.

ἐστι γὰρ ἀρχή] The doctrine is the same as that of I. vii.

12 Δούλου δ' είδη] From this to the end of the section is to me even more suspicious than the rest. It is most unnecessary detail.

13 οὐ γὰρ ἔτι] 'For the result is that the distinction is effaced.'

14 ταύτην γάρ] '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."

Are the good man and the good citi-

Βάναυσοι citizens?

καλῶς, ώς οὐκ ἔστιν εὖ ἄρξαι μὴ ἀρχθέντα. τούτων δὲ άρετη μεν έτέρα, δεί δε τον πολίτην τον άγαθον επίσταgood cui-zen identi- σθαι καὶ δύνασθαι καὶ ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἄρχειν, καὶ αὕτη ἀρετὴ _ πολίτου, τὸ τὴν τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἀρχὴν ἐπίστασθαι ἐπ' ἀμ-15 Φότερα. καὶ ἀνδρὸς δὴ ἀγαθοῦ ἄμφω, καὶ εἰ ἔτερον εἶδος 16 σωφροσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης άρχικῆς $^{\circ}$ καὶ γὰρ άρχομένου μὲν έλευθέρου δε δήλον ότι οὐ μία αν είη τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἀρετή, οἶον δικαιοσύνη, άλλ' είδη έχουσα καθ' α άρξει και άρξεται, ώσ-17 περ ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς ἐτέρα σωφροσύνη καὶ ἀνδρία. δόξαι γαρ αν είναι δειλός ανήρ, εί ούτως ανδρείος είη ωσπερ γυνή άνδρεία, καὶ γυνὴ λάλος, εἰ οῦτω κοσμία εἴη ωσπερ ὁ ἀνὴρ ό άγαθός, έπεὶ καὶ οἰκονομία ἐτέρα ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικός τοῦ μέν γὰρ κτᾶσθαι, τῆς δὲ Φυλάττειν ἔργον ἐστίν. Φρόνησις ἄρχοντος ίδιος άρετη μόνη τας γαρ άλλας ἔοικεν άναγκαῖον είναι κοινάς καὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων καὶ τῶν ἀρχόνάρχομένου δέ γε ούκ έστιν άρετη Φρόνησις, άλλα δόξα άληθής ι ιύσπερ αὐλοποιὸς γὰρ ὁ ἀρχόμενος, ὁ δ ἄρχων αύλητης ο χρώμενος. Πότερον μεν οδυ ή αυτή άρετη άνδρὸς άγαθοῦ καὶ πολίτου σπουδαίου ἡ ἐτέρα, καὶ πῶς ἡ αὐτη καὶ πῶς ἐτέρα, Φανερὸν ἐκ τούτων.

> Περί δε τον πολίτην έτι λείπεταί τις τῶν ἀποριῶν. ὡς άληθως γάρ πότερον πολίτης έστιν ῷ κοινωνεῖν ἔξεστιν άρ-

15 τούτων] sc. of the two posi-

tions.

¿π' ἀμφότερα] 'in both directions,' 'dans les doux 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 oley, there will not be merely one virtue, may justice, but there will In different kinds of virtue, one kind by which he shall be qualified to rule, . the other qualified to obey.'

17 olkovoula] 'Their function in the family management.'

ή δὲ φρόνησις, κ.τ.λ.] one virtue there is, and only one, peculiar to the ruler, φρόνησις, 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. ή μέν γάρ φρόνησις έπιτακτική.

18 δόξα άληθής] This is equivalent to the σύνεσιs of the Ethics in the passage I have just quoted, which is said to be kpitikh.

V. 1 τον πολίτην] 'Our citizen.' πότερον πολίτης έστίν] 'Is he only a citizen?'

Are of

χης, ή και τους βαναύσους πολίτας θετέον; εί μεν οὖν καί τούτους θετέον οίς μη μέτεστιν άρχων, ούχ οίόν τε παντός citizens? είναι πολίτου την τοιαύτην άρετην ούτος γάρ πολίτης. εί δε μηδείς τῶν τοιούτων πολίτης, ἐν τίνι μέρει θετέος έκαστος; οὐδε γὰρ μέτοικος οὐδε ξένος. ἡ διά γε τοῦτον τὸν 2 λόγον οὐδὲν Φήσομεν συμβαίνειν ἄτοπον; οὐδὲ γὰρ οί 1278 δοῦλοι τῶν εἰρημένων οὐδέν, οὐδ' οἱ ἀπελεύθεροι. τοῦτο γὰρ άληθές, ώς οὐ πάντας θετέον πολίτας ὧν ἄνευ οὐκ ἂν εἴη πόλις, έπει ούδ' οι παΐδες ωσαύτως πολίται και οι άνδρες, άλλ' οι μεν άπλως οι δ' εξ ύποθέσεως πολίται μεν γάρ είσιν, άλλ' άτελεῖς εν μεν οὖν τοῖς άρχαίοις χρόνοις παρ' 3 ένίοις ην δούλον το βάναυσον η ξενικόν διόπερ οι πολλοί τοιούτα καλ νύν. ή δε βελτίστη πόλις ού ποιήσει βάναυσον πολίτην εἰ δὲ καὶ οὖτος πολίτης, ἀλλὰ πολίτου ἀρετὴν ην είπομεν λεκτέον ου παντός, ουδ έλευθέρου μόνου, άλλ όσοι τῶν ἔργων εἰσὶν ἀφειμένοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων. τῶν δ' 4 αναγκαίων οἱ μεν ένὶ λειτουργούντες τὰ τοιαῦτα δοῦλοι, οἱ δε κοινοί βάναυσοι καί θήτες. Φανερόν δ' έντεῦθεν μικρόν

Baratoous | Compare on this subject, Herod. II. 167.

την τοιαύτην άρετην] Such as we have given him. obros, sc. o Baravoos.

ούδε γάρ μέτοικος] Here again, we have these two classes marked as distinct, III. II. 3.

2 \hbar did $\gamma \in \kappa, \kappa, \tau, \lambda$.] So far as that point is concerned, we are not involved There are other in any difficulty. classes in the same state.

ἀπελεύθεροι] 'freedmen.'

άπλωs] 'simply,' 'without any qualification.'

¿ξ ὑποθέσεως] 'on a given supposition,' the term must be qualified when applied to them.

3 το βάναυσον ην δούλον η ξενικόν] The industrial population consisted entirely either of slaves or aliens.'

el de nal obvos | 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 necessitates a qualification with regard to the excellence we require in a citizen. Such a standard as we set becomes 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 themselves.

4 τῶν δ' ἀναγκαίων]. If this reading 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 Thetes.' Looking at the whole expression I had thought that draywalor was corrupt, and that the true reading was μη ἀφειμένων. But it is as well to acquiesce in the present reading.

Are οί βάναυσοι citizen:?

έπισκεψαμένοις πῶς ἔχει περί αὐτῶν αὐτὸ γὰρ Φανέν τὸ λεχθέν ποιεί όηλον. ἐπεὶ γὰρ πλείους εἰσὶν αἰ πολιτείαι, - καὶ είδη πολίτου ἀναγκαῖον είναι πλείω, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ άρχομένου πολίτου, ώστ' εν μέν τινι πολιτεία τον βάναυσον αναγκαΐον είναι και τον έῆτα πολίτας, εν τισί δ' αδύνατον, פוסט בל דוֹב בפרוש אין אמאסטטטוש מפוסדסאפמדואאין אמו בש אין אמד' άρετην αι τιμαι δίδονται και κατ' άξίαν ου γάρ οδόν τ' ἐπιτηδεῦσαι τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ζῶντα βίον βάναυσον ἡ θητικόν. 6 εν δε ταις όλιγαρχίαις θήτα μεν ούκ ενδέχεται είναι πολίτην (ἀπὸ τιμημάτων γὰρ μακρῶν αἱ μεθέξεις τῶν ἀρχῶν), βάναυσον δ' ενδέγεται πλουτοῦσι γὰρ καί οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν 7 τεγνιτών, ἐν Θήβαις δὲ νόμος ἦν τὸν δέκα ἐτῶν μὴ ἀπεσχημένον της άγορας μη μετέχειν άρχης. Εν πολλαίς δε πολιτείαις προσεφέλκεται καὶ τῶν ξένων ὁ νόμος · ὁ γὰρ ἐκ πολίτιδος έν τισι δημοκρατίαις πολίτης έστίν. τον αύτον ε δε τρύπον έχει καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόθους παρὰ πολλοῖς. οὐ μίν άλλ' έπει δι' ένδειαν τῶν γνησίων πολιτῶν ποιούνται πολίτας τους τοιούτους (διά γάρ όλιγανθρωπίαν ούτω γρώνται τοῖς νόμοις), εὐποροῦντες δ' ὅχλου κατὰ μικρὸν παραιρούνται τους έχ δούλου πρώτον ή δούλης, είτα τους άπο γυ-

abτό γὰρ φανὰν τὸ λεχθέν] "Die nähere Beleuchtung des Gesagten." Stahr. 'What we have already said, of itself, if explained, clears up the point.'

5 ob yap olov] Here we have definitely the reason why Aristotle excludes the industrial population. If by the arrangement of society the reason ceases to hold good, the exclusion would cease to be required. It is a problem which seems in a fair way of solution, in favour of the industrial population, owing to their numbers, their organization, and the ultimate influence on the question of leisure for education and self-cultivation which machinery will have.

7 δέκα ἐτῶν] ' for a space of ten years.' That interval must elapse botween his mixing in business and his admission to office.

προσεφίλκεται] Middle. 'The law draws in some of the aliens also,' "zieht sogar manche Freunde zum Bürgerrecht." Stahr. Eurip. Med. 461.

8 οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, κ.τ.λ.] 'not however but that, when from want of genuine citizens they introduce such as these, when they have numbers sufficient,' &c. εὐποροῦντες δ' ὅχλου. Comp. Thirlwall, III. 61, for Pericles' clearing the Athenian register.

 $d\pi \delta$ γυναικών] = $\delta \kappa$ πολίτιδος, where the mother only was a citizen.

ναικῶν· τέλος δὲ μόνομ τοὺς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν αὐτῶν πολίτας Are ol ποιούσιν. ότι μέν ουν είδη πλείω πολίτου, Φανερον έχ citizens? τούτων, καὶ ὅτι λέγεται μάλιστα πολίτης ὁ μετέχων τῶν τιμῶν, ὧσπερ καὶ Ομηρος ἐποίησεν

ώσπερ μέτοικος γάρ έστιν ὁ τῶν τιμῶν μὴ μετέγων. άλλ δπου το τοιούτον επικεκρυμμένον εστίν, απάτης χάριν τῶν συνοικούντων έστίν. Πότερον μέν οὖν έτέραν ἢ τὴν αὐτὴν 10 θετέον καθ' ἣν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός ἐστι καὶ πολίτης σπουδαῖος. ^{1278 Β} δήλον έκ τῶν εἰρημένων, ὅτι τινὸς μὲν πόλεως ὁ αὐτὸς τινὸς δ' έτερος, κάκεῖνος οὐ πᾶς άλλ' ὁ πολιτικὸς καὶ κύριος η δυνάμενος είναι κύριος, ή καθ αύτον ή μετ άλλων, της τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμελείας.

Έπει δε ταῦτα διώρισται, τὸ μετά ταῦτα σκεπτέον 6 πότερον μίαν θετέον πολιτείαν ἢ πλείους, κᾶν εἰ πλείους. The object τίνες και πόσαι, και διαφοραί τίνες αὐτῶν εἰσίν. "Εστι δὲ πολιτεία πόλεως τάξις τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀρχῶν καὶ μάλιστα ἀστῶν Bekker.

αὐτῶν] ἀστῶν, adopted by Bekker and others in place of abraw, the reading of the MSS., is rejected by Stahr. Nickes agrees with him, Excur. VI. He refers to Ec. 11. iv. 3, where Bekker has made the same change, and supports his view by the argument that ἀστῶν is very rare in Aristotle. αὐτῶν certainly seems to make good sense, referred to the subject of ποιουσιν. 'They make citizens those only who have a father and mother both of themselves, of the body to which those who make them belong,' "aus ihrer Mitte." Stahr.

9 Il. 1x. 648.

ἐπικεκρυμμένον] "Dies Verhältniss verdeckt ist." Stahr. "Où l'on a soin de dissimuler ces différences." St Hil. Does it mean: where this exclusion, though not expressed openly in the laws, is yet tacitly acted on, it is with a view to deceive those, whether settlers from abroad, or born in the country, who are merely living with them, not really admitted into the state? And the object of deceiving them would be of course to keep them quiet.

10 τινός μέν πόλεως] 'That in a given state they are identical, in others not so, and he in whom they are identical, is not any citizen of that state indifferently, but the statesman and the man who, either singly or with others, is or can be at the head of the administration. Spengel proposes to read rareivns (p. 29, note 30), but the change is not necessary.

I After settling these preliminary points, we now come to the main object of the work.

τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀρχῶν] 'Both generally, as to magistracies, and especially the sovereign one.'

state.

The object της κυρίας πάντων. κύριον μεν γάρ πανταχοῦ τὸ πολίτευμα της πόλεως, πολίτευμα δ' έστιν ή πολιτεία. λέγω δ' οίον 🧝 έν μεν ταῖς δημοκρατικαῖς κύριος ὁ δῆμος, οἱ δ' ὀλίγοι τοὐναντίον εν ταῖς όλιγαρχίαις. Φαμεν δε καὶ πολιτείαν ετέραν τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦτον ἐροῦμεν λόγον καὶ περὶ είναι τούτων. Υποθετέον δε πρώτον τίνος χάριν συνέστηκε τῶν ἄλλων. πόλις, καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς εἴδη πόσα τῆς περὶ ἄνθρωπον καὶ τὴν 3 κοινωνίαν της ζωης. είρηται δή καλ κατά τους πρώτους λόγους, εν οίς περί οἰκονομίας διωρίσθη καὶ δεσποτείας, δτι Φύσει μέν ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος ζώον πολιτικόν, διὸ καὶ μηδὲν δεόμενοι τῆς παρ' ἀλλήλων βοηθείας οὐκ ἔλαττον ὀρέγονται τοῦ συζην οὐ μην άλλὰ καὶ τὸ κοινη συμφέρον συνάγει, 4 καθ' δσον ἐπιβάλλει μέρος ἑκάστω τοῦ ζῆν καλῶς. λιστα μέν οὖν τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τέλος, καὶ κοινῆ πᾶσι καὶ γωρίς:

συνέρχονται δε καλ τοῦ ζῆν ενεκεν αὐτοῦ (ἴσως γὰρ ἔνεστί

τὸ πολίτευμα] '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. 1x. viii. 6. p. 1168, b. 29, ωσπερ δε και πόλις τὸ κυριώτατον μάλιστα δοκεί είναι και παν άλλο σύστημα.

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

ὑποθετέον] ' '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 èr ols, κ.τ.λ.] marks very clearly the scope of the First Book.

και μηδέν δεόμενοι] 'even if in no degree in need of mutual assistance.' Compare Eth. 1x. 9. p. 1169, 6, for 's full discussion of this question.

> ihr àλλά, κ.τ.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] εc. τὸ ζῆν καλῶς. 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. 11. 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.

ζσως γάρ ξνεστί τι τοῦ καλοῦ μόριον] There is a question as to the place



τι τοῦ καλοῦ μόριον), καὶ συνέχουσι τὴν πολιτικὴν κοινωνίαν The different kinds καλ κατά το ζην αύτο μόνον, αν μη τοῖς χαλεποῖς κατά τὸν of governβίον ὑπερβάλλη λίαν. δῆλον δ' ώς καρτεροῦσι πολλὴν κακοπάθειαν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γλιγόμενοι τοῦ ζῆν, ώς ένούσης τινός εύημερίας έν αὐτῶ καὶ γλυκύτητος Φυσικῆς. 'Αλλά μὴν καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοὺς λεγομένους τρόπους ράδιον διελείν και γάρ εν τοις εξωτερικοίς λόγοις διοριζόμεθα περί αὐτῶν πολλάκις. ή μεν γὰρ δεσποτεία, καίπερ όντος κατ' 6 άλήθειαν τῷ τε Φύσει δούλῳ καὶ τῷ Φύσει δεσπότη ταὐτοῦ συμφέροντος, όμως άρχει πρός τὸ τοῦ δεσπότου συμφέρον οὐδὲν ἦττον, πρὸς δὲ τὸ τοῦ δούλου κατὰ συμβεβηκός οὐ γαρ ενδέχεται Φθειρομένου τοῦ δούλου σώζεσθαι την δεσποτείαν. ή δε τέκνων άρχη και γυναικός και της οικίας 7 πάσης, ην δη καλουμεν οἰκονομικήν, ήτοι των άρχομένων χάριν ἐστὶν ή κοινοῦ τινὸς ἀμφοῖν, καθ αύτὸ μὲν τῶν ἀρχο- 1279 :44: μένων, ώσπερ όρωμεν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας, οδον ἰατρικήν καλ γυμναστικήν, κατά συμβεβηκός δε κάν αὐτῶν εἶεν οὐδεν γαρ κωλύει του παιδοτρίβην ένα των γυμναζομένων ένίοτ είναι και αὐτόν, ώσπερ ὁ κυβερνήτης είς ἐστὶν ἀεὶ τῶν πλωτήρων. ὁ μεν οὖν παιδοτρίβης ἢ κυβερνήτης σκοπεῖ τῶν 8 άργομένων άγαθόν. όταν δε τούτων είς γένηται καὶ αὐτός,

these words should hold. Some, as Schneider with Coray, resting on the Vet. Int., wish to place them after την πολιτικήν 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 συνέρχονται, if their place is altered, by πολιτικήν κοινωνίαν. 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 μήν] Here begins the answer to the 2nd question, πόσα είδη άρχηs, here called τοὺς τρόπους.

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

6 οὐ γὰρ ἐνδέχεται] It does not answer absolutely to neglect the slave. any more than any other part of pro-

7 hv δή] 'and it is this, not δεσποτικήν, that we emphatically call οἰκονομικήν.

αὐτῶν] ες. τῶν ἀρχόντων,

The differ- κατά συμβεβηκός μετέχει της ώφελείας ὁ μὲν γὰρ πλωτήρ, of govern- ὁ δὲ τῶν γυμναζομένων εἶς γίνεται παιδοτρίβης ὧν. - καὶ τὰς πολιτικὰς ἀρχάς, ὅταν ἢ κατ' ἰσότητα τῶν πολιτῶν 9 συνεστηχυῖα καὶ καθ' ὁμοιότητα, κατὰ μέρος ἀξιοῦσιν ἄρχειν, πρότερον μέν, ή πέφυκεν, άξιούντες έν μέρει λειτουργείν, καὶ σκοπεῖν τινὰ πάλιν τὸ αὐτοῦ ἀγαθόν, ὧσπερ πρότερον το αύτος άρχων εσκόπει το εκείνου συμφέρον νῦν δε διά τάς ωθελείας τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς βούλονται συνεχώς άρχειν, οίον εί συνέβαινεν ύγιαίνειν άελ τοῖς άρχουσι, νοσακεροίς ούσιν καὶ γὰρ αν ούτως ίσως ἐδίωκον Ε 11 τας αρχάς. Φανερόν τοίνον ώς όσαι μεν πολιτεΐαι το κοινή συμφέρον σκοπούσιν, αὐται μεν όρθαὶ τυγγάνουσιν οὖσαι κατά τὸ άπλῶς δίκαιον, ὅσαι δὲ τὸ σΦέτερον μόνον τῶν άρχόντων, ήμαρτημέναι πάσαι καὶ παρεκβάσεις τῶν ὀρθῶν πολιτειών δεσποτικαί γάρ, ή δε πόλις κοινωνία των ελευθέρων έστίν.

Division of governments.

Διωρισμένων δε τούτων εχόμενον εστι τας πολιτείας επισκέψασθαι, πόσαι τον άριθμον και τίνες είσί, και πρώτον τὰς ὀρθὰς αὐτῶν καὶ γὰρ αἱ παρεκβάσεις ἔσονται Φανεραὶ πούτων διορισθεισών. 'Επεὶ δὲ πολιτεία μὲν καὶ πολίτευμα σημαίνει ταὐτόν, πολίτευμα δ' έστὶ τὸ κύριον τῶν πόλεων. ανάγκη δ' είναι κύριον η ένα η ολίγους η τούς πολλούς, όταν μλν ό είς η οι όλίγοι η οι πολλοί πρός το κοινον συμφέρον άργωσι, ταύτας μεν όρθας άναγκαῖον είναι τας πολιτείας,

8 & μέν γὰρ πλωτήρ] for completethous there is required kußepriting &r.

Because they 9 Διδ καί, κ.τ.λ.] look to the common good.

BTAV [] supply as nominative ή πό-Air, from moditieds.

ματ' Ισότητα καλ καθ' όμοιότητα] on these two principles. The expresmin in equivalent to a more common tille, if town net buolur.

Atmbour, 'they think it but right.' # niquer | ' an in the natural course.' de udper Actuupyeir] . That all should serve in turn, and that each, after holding his office, should again attend to his own interests.'

10 νῦν δέ] answering to the πρότερον μέν.

ΙΙ δσαι πολιτείαι] 'all governments that.' Comp. Isoc. Panath. pp. 259, 260, where the same conclusion is come to as to the principles of governments and their divisions.

2 σημαίνει ταὐτόν] for our present purpose.

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τὰς δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον ἢ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἢ τῶν ὀλίγων ἢ τοῦ πλή- Division of governθους παρεκβάσεις η γαρ ου πολίτας Φατέον είναι τους μετέγοντας, ή δει κοινωνείν του συμφέροντος. καλείν δ'3 ελώθαμεν τῶν μεν μοναρχιῶν τὴν πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν ἀποβλέπουσαν συμφέρον βασιλείαν, την δε των ολίγων μεν πλειόνων δ' ένδς άριστοκρατίαν, ή διά τὸ τοὺς άρίστους ἄρχειν, η διά τὸ πρὸς τὸ ἄριστον τῆ πόλει καὶ τοῖς κοινωνοῦσιν αὐτῆς. ὅταν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν πολιτεύηται συμφέρον, καλείται το κοινον όνομα πασών τών πολιτειών, πολιτεία συμβαίνει δ' εὐλόγως ένα μέν γὰρ διαφέρειν 4 κατ' άρετην η όλίγους ενδέχεται, πλείους δ' ήδη χαλεπον 🛶 ήχριβῶσθαι πρὸς πᾶσαν άρετήν, άλλὰ μάλιστα τὴν πολε- 1279 Β μικήν αύτη γάρ εν πλήθει γίγνεται. διόπερ κατά ταύτην την πολιτείαν κυριώτατον το προπολεμούν, και μετέγουσιν αύτης οἱ κεκτημένοι τὰ ὅπλα. παρεκβάσεις τὲ τῶν εἰρη- 5 μένων τυραννίς μεν βασιλείας, όλιγαρχία δε άριστοκρατίας, δημοκρατία δε πολιτείας. ή μεν γάρ τυραννίς έστι μοναρχία πρός το συμφέρον το του μοναρχούντος, ή δ' ολιγαργία πρός το τῶν εὐπόρων, ή δὲ δημοκρατία πρός το συμφέρον

excellence, it will be warlike excellence that will be developed in them. It is one of which large numbers are susceptible, and so we find that in this form of government the supreme power resides in the military class, and it is open to those who have got full armour.' Comp. III. xvii. 4. The passage is an avowal, 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 conclusion as that of Eth. viii. xii. 2. p. 1160, 36, χειρίστη ή τιμοκρατία. This will come more prominently forward later, VI. (IV.) viii.

η γαρ ού πολίτας, κ.τ.λ.] For ή πόλις is κοινωνία πολιτών, ή δὲ πολιτική κοινωνία τοῦ συμφέροντος ἔνεκα συνέστηκε. Comp. I. 1. and note.

³ τῶν μὲν μοναρχιῶν] 'In the case of the monarchies we usually call the constitution which looks to the common interest.' With τὴν ἀποβλέπουσαν, I understand πολιτείαν.

⁴ συμβαίνει δ' εὐλόγως] "Ces différences de dénomination sont fort justes," says St Hilaire. I refer it strictly to the last form of government, 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 number, it becomes difficult to find them trained and finished generally; if to any

Division of governments. τὸ τῶν ἀπόρων πρὸς δὲ τὸ τῷ κοινῷ λυσιτελοῦν οὐδεμία αὐτῶν.

The corrupt forms.

Δεῖ δὲ μικρῷ διὰ μακροτέρων εἰπεῖν τίς ἐκάστη τούτων τῶν πολιτειῶν ἐστίν· καὶ γὰρ ἔχει τινὰς ἀπορίας, τῷ δὲ περὶ ἐκάστην μέθοδον ΦιλοσοΦοῦντι καὶ μὴ μόνον ἀποβλέποντι πρὸς τὸ πράττειν οἰκεῖόν ἐστι τὸ μὴ παρορᾶν μηδέ τι καταλείπειν, ἀλλὰ δηλοῦν τὴν περὶ ἔκαστον ἀλήθειαν. ε Ἐστι δὲ τυραννὶς μὲν μοναρχία, καθάπερ εἴρηται, δεσποτικὴ τῆς πολιτικῆς κοινωνίας, ὀλιγαρχία δ΄ ὅταν ὧσι κύριοι τῆς πολιτείας οἱ τὰς οὐσίας ἔχοντες, δημοκρατία δὲ τούναντίον ὅταν οἱ μὴ κεκτημένοι πλῆθος οὐσίας ἀλλὶ ἄποροι. 3 Πρώτη δ΄ ἀπορία πρὸς τὸν διορισμόν ἐστίν. εἰ γὰρ εἶεν οἱ πλείους ὅντες εὖποροι κύριοι τῆς πόλεως, δημοκρατία δ΄ ἐστὶν ὅταν ἢ κύριον τὸ πλῆθος, ὁμοίως δὲ πάλιν κὰν εἴ που συμβαίνη τοὺς ἀπόρους ἐλάττους μὲν εἶναι τῶν εὐπόρων, κρείττους δ΄ ὄντας κυρίους εἶναι τῆς πολιτείας, ὅπου δὶ ὀλίγον κύριον πλῆθος, ὀλιγαρχίαν εἶναί Φασιν, οὐκ ἀν καλῶς

VIII. I τούτων] '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?

 $\tau \hat{\varphi}$ & $\pi \epsilon \rho i$, $\kappa.\tau.\lambda$.] 'It is strictly the business of the philosophical inquirer in each department, not to overlook.'

2 δεσποτική τῆς πολιτικής 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. 1. 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 δέ] '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.

καν εί που] 'even if anywhere.'

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δόξειεν διωρίσθαι περὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν. ἀλλὰ μὴν κἄν τις Distinction

συνθείς τῆ μεν εύπορία την όλιγότητα τῆ δ' ἀπορία τὸ oligarchy πληθος ούτω προσαγορεύη τὰς πολιτείας, ολιγαρχίαν μεν and demoέν ή τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχουσιν οἱ εὖποροι ὀλίγοι τὸ πληθος ὄντες, 4 δημοκρατίαν δὲ ἐν ἢ οἱ ἄποροι πολλοὶ τὸ πληθος ὄντες, άλλην άπορίαν έχει. τίνας γάρ έροῦμεν τὰς ἄρτι λεχθείσας ς πολιτείας, την εν ή πλείους οἱ εὖποροι καὶ ἐν ή ἐλάττους κοἱ αποροι κύριοι δ' έκάτεροι τῶν πολιτειῶν, εἴπερ μηδεμία άλλη πολιτεία παρά τὰς εἰρημένας ἐστίν; ἔοικε τοίνυν ὁ 6 λόγος ποιεῖν δῆλον ὅτι τὸ μεν ὀλίγους ἡ πολλοὺς εἶναι κυρίους συμβεβηχός έστιν, τὸ μὲν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις τὸ δὲ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις, διά τὸ τοὺς μὲν εὐπόρους ὀλίγους, πολλοὺς δ' είναι τους απόρους πανταχοῦ· διὸ καὶ οὐ συμβαίνει τὰς ῥηθείσας αἰτίας γίνεσθαι διαφοράς. ὧ δὲ διαφέρουσιν ή τε 7 δημοκρατία καὶ ἡ ὀλιγαργία ἀλλήλων, πενία καὶ πλοῦτός έστιν. καὶ ἀναγκαῖον μέν, ὅπου ἀν ἄρχωσι διὰ πλοῦτον ἄν 1280 τ' ἐλάττους ἄν τε πλείους, είναι ταύτην ὀλιγαρχίαν, ὅπου δ' οἱ ἄποροι δημοκρατίαν άλλὰ συμβαίνει, καθάπερ εἴ-8 πομεν, τούς μεν όλίγους είναι τούς δε πολλούς εύποροῦσι μεν γαρ ολίγοι, της δ' έλευθερίας μετέχουσι πάντες δι' ας αίτίας άμφισβητοῦσιν άμφότεροι της πολιτείας.

⁴ οῦτω] 'under these conditions,' 'from this point of view.'

⁵ των πολιτειών] 'of their respective states.'

⁶ δ λόγος] 'The course of the argument.' In this and the following sections, I have altered Bekker's stopping. Both after διαφοράs, § 6, and δημοκρατίαν, § 7. I substitute a colon for a full stop.

 $[\]tau \delta \mu \epsilon r$] In § 7, $\delta \delta \epsilon$, we have the particle that answers to the µév here, 'whilst the being few or many in the governing body is an accident, &c., that by which really the two differ,'

πανταχοῦ] emphatic, 'everywhere, without exception.' So that he might

on his own principles, I. vi. 6, look on it as a fact of nature.

διδ 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 διαφοράs depends on aiτίας τὰς αἰτίας διαφορᾶς γίνεσθαι.

⁷ και αναγκαῖον μέν ... άλλα συμ-Baivei] More regularly it would be συμβαίνει δέ, VII. (VI.) vIII. 6. Compare Waitz, ad Org. 1x. vi. 5, "Seepius etiam ponitur άλλα ubi δέ magis convenire videtur." He gives many instances.

⁸ di as airias] 'and wealth in the one case, numbers in the other, make

Their respective

Ληπτέον δὲ πρώτον τίνας δρους λέγουσι τῆς όλιγαρnotions of γίας και δημοκρατίας, και τι το δίκαιου το τε όλιγαρχικου και δημοκρατικόν. πάντες γαρ άπτονται δικαίου τινός, άλλα 9 μέχρι τινός προέργονται, καὶ λέγουσιν οὐ πᾶν τὰ κυρίως δίκαιον. οίον δοκεί ίσον το δίκαιον είναι, καὶ έστιν, άλλ' 2 οὐ πᾶσιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἴσοις. καὶ τὸ ἄνισον δοκεῖ δίκαιον είναι και γάρ έστιν, άλλ' οὐ πᾶσιν άλλα τοῖς ανίσοις. δε τουτ' άφαιρούσι, το οίς, και κρίνουσι κακώς. το δ αίτιον ότι περί αύτων ή κρίσις. σχελόν δ' οἱ πλείστοι Φαῦ-3 λοι κριταί περί των οίκείων. ωστ' έπεί το δίκαιον τισίν, καλ διήρηται του αύτου τρόπου έπί τε του πραγμάτου καλ οίς, καθάπερ είρηται πρότερον, [έν τοῖς τθικοῖς,] την μέν τοῦ πράγματος ἰσότητα ὁμολογοῦσι, τὴν δὲ οἶς ἀμφισβητούσι, μάλιστα μεν διά το λεχθέν άρτι, διότι πρίνουσι τά περί αύτους κακώς, έπειτα δε καί διά το λέγειν μέχρι τινός Α έχατέρους δίκαιόν τι νομίζουσι δίκαιον λέγειν άπλῶς. μέν γάρ άν κατά τι άνισοι ώσιν, οίον χρήμασιν, όλως οίοντιιι άνιστι είναι, οι δ' αν κατά τι ίσοι, οίον ελευθερία, όλως ς Ιηηι, τλ λε χυριώτατον ού λέγουσιν. εί μεν γάρ τῶν χτη-

> each party equally claim the state as ita trwa."

1 rives home Afgours] 'what ned the timits and definitions usually advigand? And in these governments it in poenlinely a question of limits, as their humadaries are ill-defined.

player right πριέρχινται, κ.τ.λ.] office advance only a certain way, and they fall short of the full statement of strict funtice."

s in its of the question of the perroom to whom! They muit the relation.

4 control This agrees with his lan-. w. th the 19h v. vi. 4. p. 1131, 18: # At Atv cone, reale. The whole of the . A A Guded, which investigates to to partitude theming diletributive jus-While It will be remported

44 151 Hon out town wel ale ole Te

γὰρ δίκαιον τυγχάνει όν, δύο ἐστί, καὶ ἐν οίς τὰ πράγματα, δύο. καὶ ἡ αὐτὸ ξεται ίσότης οίς και έν οίς. (διήρηται τόν αὐτὸν τρόπον) 'and the division will be made on the same principles in respect of the things divided, and of the persons to whom they are divided.' It must necessarily be a relative division.

ev τοις ήθικοις] I doubt this reference. πρότερον I imagine was enough to Aristotle, who did not wish to separate these two works of his by any very marked distinction. They were to him integral parts of one whole, and they have been too little viewed in that light. They are in fact two books on political science.

διότι] Here again it is clearly for

4 τὸ κυριώτατον] 'The capital point.'

μάτων χάριν εκοινώνησαν καὶ συνηλθον, τοσούτον μετέχουσι Their reτης πόλεως δσονπερ και της κτήσεως, ωσθ δ των ολιγαρ- notions of γικών λόγος δόξειεν αν ισχύειν ού γαρ είναι δίκαιον ίσονμετέγειν τῶν ἐκατὸν μνῶν τὸν εἰσενέγκαντα μίαν μνᾶν τῷ δόντι το λοιπον παν, ούτε των έξ άρχης ούτε των έπιγινομένων. εὶ δὲ μήτε τοῦ ζῆν μόνον Ενεκεν άλλὰ μᾶλλον τοῦ 6 εὖ ζην (καὶ γὰρ ἀν δούλων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζωων ἤν πόλις: νῦν δ' οὐκ ἔστι διὰ τὸ μὴ μετέχειν εὐδαιμονίας μηδε τοῦ ζῆν κατά προαίρεσιν), μήτε συμμαχίας ένεκεν, δπως ύπο μηδενός άδιχῶνται, μήτε διὰ τὰς άλλαγὰς καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν τὴν πρὸς άλλήλους καὶ γὰρ ᾶν Τυρρηνοὶ καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ πάντες οίς έστι σύμβολα πρός άλλήλους, ώς μιᾶς αν πολίται πόλεως ήσαν είσι γοῦν αὐτοῖς συνθήκαι περί τῶν είσαγω 7 γίμων καὶ σύμβολα περὶ τοῦ μὴ άδικεῖν καὶ γραφαὶ περὶ συμμαχίας άλλ' οὖτ' άρχαὶ πᾶσιν ἐπὶ τούτοις κοιναὶ καθε- 1280 » στασιν, άλλ' έτεραι παρ' έχατέροις, οὖτε τοῦ ποίους τινάς είναι δεί Φροντίζουσιν άπεροι τους έπέρους, οὐδ' όπως μηδείς άδικος έσται των ύπο τας συνθήκας μηδε μοχθηρίαν έξει μηδεμίαν, άλλα μόνον δπως μηδεν άδικήσουσιν άλλήλους. περί δ' άρετης καί κακίας πολιτικης διασκοπούσιν όσοι 8

5 οὐ γὰρ elrau] 'For they say it is not fair.'

των έξ άρχης ούτε των έπιγινομένων] · 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: à beî ὑπάρχειν. Hence the oligarchical claim becomes unsound as soon as you rise higher and state the real object of the social union. Compare Mr Cornewall Lewis, on Opision, ch. vII. xvii. p. 232, &c.

μηδέ του ζην κατά προαίρεσιν] Comp. Ezh. x. vi. 8. p. 1177. 8: ebbanuorlas ουδείς ανδραπόδω μεταδίδωσιν, εί μη καί Blov, the equivalent of Gy kara mpoalρέσιν.

συμμαχίαs] Compare II. 11. 3. διὰ τὰς ἀλλαγάς] 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 apodosis. The real apodosis, in point of sense, begins with § 8: πιρί δ' ἀρετῆs; and were it not for the \$\inf\$ kal of the next clause, the whole might be ordered, even as it is, pretty regularly : εὶ δὲ μήτε τοῦ ζῆν ενεκεν-μήτε συμμαχίας--μήτε διά τάς άλλαγάς-περί δ' άρετης-φανερόν.

7 πασιν κοιναί] 'common to all the contracting parties for these objects.'

των δπό τας συνθήκας] 'of those who come under the treaties.'

Courtiness einemes. Frank Coursie fin der rest destrig THE STATE OF THE PARTY OF EUROSE WHEN THE TAKE, MY NO. The light lines has a meaning contains and anyone term graciones som ton extin elemenas, un o sente suding, and underes for American & societies, hypograps क्रिकेन्द्रिक राज्य केन्द्राताला. क्रिकेट क्रिकेट क्रिकेट स्था क्रिकेट स्थानिक s demains twis triving. On his twine Exe the troken, Commun. si yes the wai studyn twie textoe ele en, dotte extendes the Mayerime rates and Kasarime tais trivering ines en ma salic en el mas ellipses empapias somcome, would texte ton time ton't revien unimulinatmi m dering seeming & and at times edicated yearly pier, pin piertoi secure arties were my respecte, add' enfear autoig wan ru ut san erbei erreit etenen west rug peradoreig, olov ei à min sig rentum à se pemopès à de exatoroques à d' anno τι τοκότου και το πλήθος είεν μικοία, μά μένται κοινανοίεν άλλου μπλειός ή του τουσίτου, είν άλλαγής καὶ συμματι γιας εύδ εύτω πω πολις, διά τίνα δή ποτ' αίτίαν; οὐ γαι कें केंग्रे के मार्च क्लंबरहरू क्लंड κοινανίας. εί γαρ καί συνέλλων εύτω ποινωνούντες, έπαστος μέντοι χρώτο τῆ ίδία οίκικ ώσπες πόλει και σφίσεν αυτοίς ούς επιμαχίας ούσης Βοκδούστες επί τους αδικούστας μόνον, ούδ ούτως αν είναι δίξειε πόλις τοις απριβώς θεωρούσιν, είπερ όμοίως όμιλοῖεν

> S my reaches [and sot merely in name.

yearen yes] . For otherwise, TO BLAND IN SHIPERYING, THE ETC. Our orqued your is redundant really.

swellers] 'a more treaty;' a merely neumtire thing.

Aunitoria | St Hilaire quotes other passages where he is mentioned by Aristotle, but it would seem that beyoul this nothing is known.

Brt & redres, s.r.A.] 'But that this last is the true light in which to regard law, no being clos souch dyabods kal 'malous, is clear.'

9 and swdyes] 'were even to bring them together so that.'

estyapias] 'Intermarriages;' 'and yet,' says Aristotle, 'this is one of the social acts which more particularly characterise the union of the citizens of the same state.' Grote, 11. 340.

10 οὐδ' οῦτω πω πόλιs] 'Not even so would it attain to the idea of a state.'

11 ἐπιμαχίαs] 'a defensive alliance.' The passage reads oddly, not in the way of contrast, but of illustration of the common language of our day.

συνελθόντες καὶ χωρίς. Φανερον τοίνυν ότι ή πόλις οὐκ ἔστι κοινωνία τόπου και τοῦ μη άδικεῖν σφας αὐτοὺς και της the social μεταδόσεως χάριν άλλα ταῦτα μεν άναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν, είπερ έσται πόλις, οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ὑπαρχόντων τούτων ἀπάντων 12 ήδη πόλις, άλλ' ή τοῦ εὖ ζῆν κοινωνία καὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις καὶ τοῖς γένεσι, ζωῆς τελείας χάριν καὶ αὐτάρκους. ούκ ἔσται ¹³ The real μέντοι τοῦτο μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἔνα κατοικούντων τόπον καὶ claim to χρωμένων ἐπιγαμίαις. διὸ κηδεῖαί τ' ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὰς πόλεις καὶ Φρατρίαι καὶ θυσίαι καὶ διαγωγαὶ τοῦ συζῆν. τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον Φιλίας ἔργον· ἡ γὰρ τοῦ συζῆν προαίρεσις Φιλία. Τέλος μεν οὖν πόλεως τὸ εὖ ζῆν, ταῦτα δὲ τοῦ τέλους χάριν. πόλις δὲ ή γενῶν καὶ κωμῶν κοινωνία ζωῆς 14 1281 τελείας καὶ αὐτάρκους · τοῦτο δ' ἐστίν, τὸς Φαμέν, τὸ ζῆν εὐδαιμόνως καὶ καλῶς. τῶν καλῶν ἄρα πράξεων χάριν θετέον είναι την πολιτικήν κοινωνίαν, άλλ' οὐ τοῦ συζην. διόπερ όσοι συμβάλλονται πλείστον εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην κοι- 15 νωνίαν, τούτοις της πόλεως μέτεστι πλείον ή τοίς κατά μέν έλευθερίαν καλ γένος Ισοις ή μείζοσι κατά δὲ τὴν πολιτικήν άρετην ανίσοις, ή τοῖς κατά πλοῦτον ὑπερέχουσι κατ' άρετην δ' ὑπερεχομένοις. "Οτι μεν οὖν πάντες οἱ περὶ τῶν πολιτειών αμφισβητούντες μέρος τι του δικαίου λέγουσι, Φανερον έκ τῶν εἰρημένων.

*Εχει δ' απορίαν, τί δεῖ τὸ κύριον είναι τῆς πόλεως. ἡ 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 (ήδη) be a state, that will be, &c.'

ταῖς οἰκίαις καὶ τοῖς γένεσι] 'Families and aggregates of families.' κάμαις in the place of γένεσι would have been more consistent with his general language.

13 δ.6] This refers to κοινωνία τοῦ εδ ζῆν, κ.τ.λ., in § 12: 'Το secure this,' &c. Comp. Eth. viii. xi. 5. p. 1161, 18: πᾶσαι δ' αὖται ὑπὸ τὴν πολι-

τικήν.

τὸ τοιοῦτον] sc. τὸ συζῆν, Eth. ix. ix. p. 1169, b.

15 τhν τοιαύτην κοινωνίαν] sc. τῶν καλῶν πράξεων. 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 τι] Some part, and some part only.

X-XIV. It must be remembered that these chapters are quite aporematic. Where is the supreme power to reside?

γάρ τοι τὸ πληθος, ή τοὺς πλουσίους, ή τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς, ή τὸν βέλτιστον ένα πάντων, ἢ τύραννον ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα έχειν Φαίνεται δυσκολίαν. τί γάρ; αν οί πένητες δια τὸ πλείους είναι διανέμωνται τὰ τῶν πλουσίων, τοῦτ' οὐκ ἄδι-2 κόν ἐστιν; ἔδοξε γὰρ νη Δία τ<u>ῶ</u> κυρίω δικαίως. την οὖν ⊱ άδικίαν τί χρη λέγειν την έσχάτην; Πάλιν τε πάντων ληΦθέντων, οἱ πλείους τὰ τῶν ἐλαττόνων ἄν διανέμωνται, Φανερον ότι Φθείρουσι την πόλιν. άλλα μην ούχ η γ' άρετη Φθείρει τὸ έχον αὐτήν, οὐδὲ τὸ δίκαιον πόλεως Φθαρτικόν ώστε δήλον ότι καλ τον νόμον τοῦτον ούχ ολόν τ' είναι 3 δίκαιον. *Ετι καὶ τὰς πράξεις ὅσας ὁ τύραννος ἔπραξεν, αναγκαῖον είναι πάσας δικαίας · βιάζεται γαρ ων κρείττων, ωσπερ καὶ τὸ πληθος τοὺς πλουσίους. 'Αλλ' ἄρα τοὺς έλάττους δίκαιον ἄργειν καὶ τοὺς πλουσίους; αν οὖν κάκεῖνοι ταύτὰ ποιῶσι καὶ διαρπάζωσι καὶ τὰ κτήματα άφαιρῶνται 4 τοῦ πλήθους, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ δίκαιον; καὶ θάτερον ἄρα. ταῦτα μεν τοίνυν ότι πάντα Φαῦλα καὶ οὐ δίκαια, Φανερόν. τους επιεικείς άρχειν δεί και κυρίους είναι πάντων; οὐκοῦν άνάγκη τοὺς ἄλλους ἀτίμους είναι πάντας, μὴ τιμωμένους ταῖς πολιτικαῖς άρχαῖς τιμάς γὰρ λέγομεν είναι τὰς άργάς, άργόντων δ' αἰεὶ τῶν αὐτῶν άναγκαῖον είναι τοὺς ἄλλους ς άτίμους. 'Αλλ' ένα τον σπουδαιότατον άρχειν βέλτιον; άλλ' έτι τοῦτο όλιγαρχικώτερον οἱ γὰρ ἄτιμοι πλείους. 'Αλλ' Ίσως φαίη τις αν τὸ κύριον ὅλως ἄνθρωπον είναι

X. I ἔχειν δυσκολίαν] 'to involve simplensant consequences.'

doct ydo] 'It can hardly be so, is the answer, for it was the will of that part of the state which is rightly sovereign.'

2 πάλω τε πάντων ληφθέντων] 'A-gain, take all together,' sink the element of wealth and poverty, and look merely to number.

γ dperή] By its definition in Eth.

11. v. 2. p. 1106, 15, the very contrary in the came: οδ αν ή άρετή, αὐτό τε εδ

\$χυν άπυτελεί.

τὸ δίκαιον] ἡ δικαιοσύνη πολιτικόν, Ι.

³ dan' apa] 'But does it then follow?'

θάτερον] 'The other case supposed above.'

⁴ μη τιμωμένους] if not invested with political offices. τιμάς: compare the Latin 'honores.'

⁵ το κόριον είναι, κ.τ.λ.] 'That the sovereign power should reside in a man and not in the law is bad, liable as man is to the incidents of passion.'

άλλὰ μὴ νόμον, Φαῦλον, ἔχοντά γε τὰ συμβαίνοντα πάθη Where is περί την ψυχήν. αν οὖν ή νόμος μὲν ὐλιγαρχικὸς δὲ ή δημοκρατικός τί διοίσει περὶ τῶν ἡπορημένων; συμβήσεται reside? γὰρ ὁμοίως τὰ λεχθέντα πρότερον. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἄλλων έστω τις έτερος λόγος. ότι δε δεί κύριον είναι μάλλον Ought the τὸ πληθος η τους αρίστους μεν ολίγους δέ, δόξειεν αν λύ- many to be εσθαι καί τιν έχειν ἀπορίαν, τάχα δὲ κᾶν ἀλήθειαν. τοὺς best men? γάρ πολλούς, ών εκαστός έστιν ού σπουδαΐος άνήρ, όμως 2 ενδέχεται συνελθόντας είναι βελτίους εκείνων, ούχ ώς έκα- 1281 Β στον άλλ' ως σύμπαντας, οίον τὰ συμφορητὰ δείπνα τῶν έκ μιᾶς δαπάνης χορηγηθέντων πολλῶν γὰρ ὅντων ἕκαστον μόριον έχειν άρετης και Φρονήσεως, και γίνεσθαι συνελθόντας ωσπερ ένα άνθρωπον το πληθος πολύποδα και πολύχειρα καὶ πολλάς έχοντ' αἰσθήσεις. οὖτω καὶ περὶ τὰ ἤθη καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν. διὸ καὶ κρίνουσιν ἄμεινον οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ τὰ 3 τῆς μουσικῆς ἔργα καὶ τὰ τῶν ποιητῶν . ἄλλοι γὰρ ἄλλο τι μόριον, πάντα δὲ πάντες. άλλὰ τούτφ διαφέρουσιν οί 4 σπουδαῖοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκάστου τῶν πολλῶν, ὧσπερ καὶ τῶν μή καλών τούς καλούς Φασι καὶ τὰ γεγραμμένα διὰ τέγνης τῶν ἀληθινῶν, τῷ συνῆχθαι τὰ διεσπαρμένα χωρίς εἰς έν, .~ ἐπεὶ κεγωρισμένων, γε κάλλιον ἔχειν τοῦ γεγραμμένου τουδὶ μέν τον οφθαλμόν, ετέρου δέ τινος ετερον μόριον. εί μέν 5

συμβήσεται δμοίως] Only it will now happen in virtue of the law.

XI. Ι λύεσθαι] difficult; can it be 'would seem to require a solution,' cr 'to admit a solution'? I do not see what else to make of it, and of the two I prefer the first. St Hil. gives: "peut sembler une solution équitable et vraie de la question, quoiqu'elle ne tranche pas encore toutes les difficultés."

2 ekelvur] 50. tür aplatur per δλίγων δέ.

olor] 'just as.'

αρετής και φρονήσεως] Compare, for the use of these words, I. II. 16.

πολύποδα] The 'Bellua multorum capitum' of Horace, Ep. 1. i. 76.

3 Plato, Rep. IV. 420, c.

4 τούτφ] ες. τῷ συνῆχθαι.

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

Ought the οὖν περὶ πάντα δημον καὶ περὶ πᾶν πληθος ἐνδέχεται ταύsovereign, την είναι την διαφοράν τῶν πολλῶν πρὸς τοὺς ὀλίγους or the few or the few best men? σπουδαίους, άδηλον ίσως δε νη Δία δήλον ότι περί ενίων άδύνατον. ό γὰρ αὐτὸς κᾶν ἐπὶ τῶν θηρίων άρμόσειε λόγος. καίτοι τί διαφέρουσιν ένιοι των θηρίων ως έπος είπεῖν; άλλά 6 περί τι πληθος οὐδὲν είναι κωλύει τὸ λεγθὲν άληθές. διὸ και την πρότερον είρημένην απορίαν λύσειεν αν τις διά τούτων καὶ τὴν ἐχομένην αὐτῆς, τίνων δεῖ κυρίους εἶναι τοὺς έλευθέρους και το πλήθος των πολιτών τοιούτοι δ' είσιν 7 δσοι μήτε πλούσιοι μήτε ἀξίωμα ἔχουσιν ἀρετῆς μηδέν· τὸ μεν γάρ μετέχειν αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀρχῶν τῶν μεγίστων οὐκ ἀσ-Φαλές (διά τε γὰρ ἀδικίαν καὶ δι' ἀΦροσύνην τὰ μὲν ἀδικεῖν αν τα δ' άμαρτάνειν αὐτούς), το δε μη μεταδιδόναι μηδε μετέχειν Φοβερόν. ὅταν γὰρ ἄτιμοι πολλοί καὶ πένητες ύπάρχωσι, πολεμίων άναγκαῖον είναι πλήρη τὴν πόλιν ταύλείπεται δή τοῦ βουλεύεσθαι καὶ κρίνειν μετέχειν αὐτούς. διόπερ καὶ Σόλων καὶ τῶν άλλων τινὲς νομοθετιῦν τάττουσιν ἐπί τε τὰς ἀργαιρεσίας καὶ τὰς εὐθύνας τῶν 9 άρχόντων, ἄρχειν δε κατά μόνας οὐκ ἐῶσιν. πάντες μεν γάρ έχουσι συνελθόντες ίκανην αἴσθησιν, καὶ μιγνύμενοι τοῖς βελτίοσι τὰς πόλεις ώφελοῦσιν, καθάπερ ή μὴ καθαρά τροφή μετά της καθαράς την πάσαν ποιεί χρησιμωτέραν

> prove that a given number of animals collected would be superior to a given number of men. This is an absurdity; but searcely 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.

> περί τι πλήθος] 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 ontweighs the minority. Of course the majority must be to a certain extent cultivated, and their political intelligence developed,

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

6 την πρότερον είρημένην] sc. τί τὸ κύριον,

την έχομένην] ΒC. τίνων κύριον.

τοιοῦτοι] sc. τὸ πληθος: '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.

Σόλων] Compare II. xII. 5.

της ολίγης · χωρίς δ' έκαστος ατελής περί το κρίνειν έστίν. Ought the Έχει δ' ή τάξις αΰτη τῆς πολιτείας ἀπορίαν πρώτην μεν sovereign, or the few ότι δόξειεν αν τοῦ αὐτοῦ είναι τὸ κρῖναι τίς ὀρθῶς ἰάτρευκεν, best men? ούπερ καὶ τὸ ἰατρεῦσαι καὶ ποιῆσαι ὑγιᾶ τὸν κάμνοντα τῆς Το νόσου της παρούσης · ούτος δ' έστιν ιατρός. όμοίως δε τοῦτο καὶ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐμπειρίας καὶ τέχνας. ὧσπερ οὖν ἰατρὸν 1282 δει διδόναι τὰς εὐθύνας εν ἰατροῖς, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους έν τοῖς ὁμοίοις. ἰατρὸς δ΄ ὅ τε δημιουργὸς καὶ ὁ ἀρχιτεκτο-11 νικός καὶ τρίτος ὁ πεπαιδευμένος περὶ τὴν τέχνην εἰσὶ γάρ τινες τοιούτοι και περί πάσας ώς είπεῖν τὰς τέχνας, ἀποδίδομεν δε το κρίνειν ούδεν ήττον τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις ή τοῖς είδόσιν. ἔπειτα καὶ περὶ τὴν αῖρεσιν τὸν αὐτὸν ᾶν δόξειεν 🛚 🗃 έχειν τρόπον· καλ γαρ τὸ ἐλέσθαι ὀρθῶς τῶν εἰδότων ἔργον έστίν, οδον γεωμέτρην τε τῶν γεωμετρικῶν καὶ κυβερνήτην τῶν κυβερνητικῶν. εὶ γὰρ καὶ περὶ ἐνίων ἔργων καὶ τεχνῶν μετέχουσι καλ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τινές, άλλ' οὖ τι τῶν εἰδότων γε μάλλον. ὥστε κατά μέν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον οὐκ ἀν εἴη τὸ 13 πληθος ποιητέον κύριον οὖτε τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν οὖτε τῶν εύθυνῶν. άλλ' Ισως οὐ πάντα ταῦτα λέγεται καλῶς διά τε 14

σ τῆς ὀλίγης] Βε. καὶ καθαρᾶς.
 ἀτελής] 'Incomplete.' I. ΧΙΙΙ. ΙΙ:
 δ παῖς ἀτελής.

To 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 (δ δημιουργός); the man who combines with practice the true knowledge of the principles of the science (δ ἀρχιτεκτονικόs); and, thirdly, the man who has simply made himself master of the principles (δ πεπαιδευμένος περί τὴν τέχνην), and who has not gone further. Comp. Είλ. 1. i. 5. 3. p. 1094, b. 27, for this sense of πεπαιδευμένος.

ἀποδίδομεν δέ] '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.' τοῖς εἰδόσιν: 'those who have complete knowledge,' who are ἀρχιτεκτονικοί.

12 το έλέσθαι όρθως] Compare his language, Είλ. x. x. 20. p. 1181, 17: Εσπερ ούδε την έκλογην οδσαν συνέσεως και το κρίναι όρθως μέγιστον.

τῶν ἰδιωτῶν] The term is here equivalent to πεπαιδευμένων.

Ought the τον πάλαι λόγον, αν ή το πληθος μη λίαν ανδραποδώδες sovereign, (ξσται γαρ ξκαστος μέν χείρων κριτής των είδότων, απαντες or the few or the lew best men? δε συνελθόντες ή βελτίους ή ου χείρους), και ότι περί ενίων ούτε μόνον ὁ ποιήσας ούτ' ἄριστ' αν κρίνειεν, ζοων τάργα γιγνώσχουσι καλ οἱ μὴ ἔχοντες τὴν τέχνην, οἶον οἰκίαν οὐ μόνον έστὶ γνώναι τοῦ ποιήσαντος, άλλὰ καὶ βέλτιον δ χρώμενος αὐτη κρινεῖ (χρηται δ' ὁ οἰκονόμος), καὶ πηδάλιον κυβερνήτης τέκτονος, καὶ θοίνην ὁ δαιτυμιον άλλ' ούχ ὁ 15 μάγειρος. Ταύτην μεν οθν την απορίαν τάχα δόξειέ τις αν ούτω λύειν ίκανῶς άλλη δ' ἐστίν ἐγομένη ταύτης. δοκεῖ γαρ ατοπον είναι το μειζόνων είναι κυρίους τους Φαύλους τῶν ἐπιεικῶν, αἱ δ' εὐθῦναι καὶ αἱ τῶν ἀρχῶν αἰρέσεις εἰσὶ μέγιστον άς εν ενίαις πολιτείαις, ώσπερ είρηται, τοῖς δήμοις άποδιδόασιν ή γὰρ ἐκκλησία κυρία πάντων τῶν τοιούτων 16 έστίν. καίτοι της μεν έκκλησίας μετέγουσι καὶ βουλεύουσι καλ δικάζουσιν ἀπὸ μικρῶν τιμημάτων καλ τῆς τυγούσης ήλικίας, ταμιεύουσι δε καί στρατηγοῦσι καὶ τὰς μεγίστας άρχὰς ἄρχουσιν ἀπὸ μεγάλων. ὁμοίως δή τις αν λύσειε καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἀπορίαν ' ἴσως γὰρ ἔχει καὶ ταῦτ' ὀρθῶς. 17 Ού γὰρ ὁ δικαστής ούδ ὁ βουλευτής ούδ ὁ ἐκκλησιαστής άργων ἐστίν, άλλὰ τὸ δικαστήριον καὶ ή βουλή καὶ ὁ δημος: τῶν δὲ ἡηθέντων ἔκαστος μόριον ἐστι τούτων. Λέγω δὲ μό-

> 14 πάλαι] 'some time back.' XI. 2. αν ή τὸ πλήθος] This is the assumption necessary for his argument in XJ. 5.

kal but wepl evlow, k.T.A.] If we allow that there is force in the objection in many cases, it does not follow that it holds in all. There are cases in which the producer of a result and his peers are not the only judges nor even the best-the cases in which the results have to be used by others, and when consequently those others are the best judges. It is not the architect, but the occupier, who knows the good and bad points in the house he occupies.

15 Passing then from this objection

he turns to another closely connected with it, in fact, almost another form of the same. The inferior part of your state has greater powers vested in it than the higher. You trust more to those from whom you exact no guarantee, than to those from whom you require strong ones, such as wealth and age.

16 ταῦτα] 'the present state.' The answer is, that singly the many are inferior, say in property for instance, but then they are not trusted singly. It is the collective body on which the trust is reposed, and the collective body is wealthier than the few wealthy who are eligible to the offices singly.



ριον τον βουλευτήν και τον έκκλησιαστήν και τον δικαστήν. Ought the ώστε δικαίως κύριον μειζόνων το πληθος. εκ γαρ πολλών ο sovereign; δημος και ή βουλη και το δικαστήριον. και το τίμημα δε best men? πλεῖον τὸ πάντων τούτων ἡ τὸ τῶν καθ ἔνα καὶ κατ ὀλί- 18 γους μεγάλας άρχὰς άρχόντων. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν διωρίσθω 19 1282 Β τούτον τον τρόπου ή δε πρώτη λεχθείσα άπορία ποιεί Φανερον ούδεν ούτως έτερον ώς ότι δεί τούς νόμους είναι χυρίους χειμένους όρθως, τον άρχοντα δέ, άν τε είς άν τε πλείους ώσι, περί τούτων είναι χυρίους περί δσων έξαδυνατοῦσιν οἱ νόμοι λέγειν ἀκριβῶς διὰ τὸ μὴ ῥάδιον εἶναι καθόλου δηλώσαι περί πάντων. όποίους μέντοι τινάς είναι 20 δεῖ τοὺς ὀρθῶς κειμένους νόμους, οὐδέν πω δῆλον, ἀλλ' ἔτι μένει τὸ πάλαι διαπορηθέν. πλην τοῦτό γε Φανερόν, ὅτι 21

19 ή πρώτη ἀπορία] That started in Ch. X.

weel τούτων] 'on those points, and those only.'

¿ξαδυνατοῦσιν] 'are absolutely incompetent.' Comp. Eth. v. xiv. 4. p. 1137, b. 13.

'remains unsolved.' 70 20 μένει] πάλαι. Ch. X. 5.

I invert the order of the two next 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 together; and if so, it is clear that the laws answering to the right constitutions will be just; those answering to the forms which are deviations from the true type, will be unjust.' 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 shew more than this, that of these two imperfect forms Aristotle preferred democracy, the conclusion to which he came, Eth. viii. xii. p. 1160. 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 Sieyès seinen Antrag, man solle das ausführen was die Minorität, nicht was die Majorität wähle, motivirt : car la majorité est toujours bête. Gegen diesen Satz kämpft Aristoteles unmittelbar, wenn anders das Volk zu einzigem Bewusstseyn gekommen ist." I suspect that Aristotle with Plato and with Sieves 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 sovereign, or the few

Ought the δει πρός την πολιτείαν κείσθαι τους νόμους. άλλά γάρ καί όμοίως ταῖς πολιτείαις ἀνάγκη καὶ τοὺς νόμους Φαύλους ἡ or the few best men? σπουδαίους είναι καὶ δικαίους ἡ ἀδίκους. ἀλλὰ μήν εἰ τοῦτο, δηλον ότι τους μέν κατά τας όρθας πολιτείας άναγκαῖον είναι δικαίους, τους δε κατά τας παρεκβεβηκυίας ου δικαίους.

I 2 Some equality necessary. Equality in what?

Έπελ δ' έν πάσαις μέν ταῖς ἐπιστήμαις καλ τέγναις άγαθὸν τὸ τέλος, μέγιστον δὲ καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῆ κυριωτάτη πασών, αύτη δ' έστιν ή πολιτική δύναμις, έστι δε πολιτικών άγαθὸν τὸ δίκαιον, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τὸ κοινῆ συμΦέρον, δοκεῖ δε πασιν ίσον τι το δίκαιον είναι, και μέχρι γέ τινος όμολογοῦσι τοῖς κατὰ Φιλοσοφίαν λόγοις, ἐν οἶς διώρισται περὶ τῶν ήθικῶν τὶ γὰρ καὶ τισὶ τὸ δίκαιον, καὶ δεῖν τοῖς ἴσοις 2 Ισον είναι φασιν ποίων δ' ισότης έστι και ποίων άνισότης. δεῖ μὴ λανθάνειν · ἔχει γὰρ τοῦτ' ἀπορίαν καὶ ΦιλοσοΦίαν πολιτικήν. Τσως γαρ αν Φαίη τις κατά παντός ύπεροχην άγαθοῦ δεῖν ἀνίσως νενεμησθαι τὰς ἀρχάς, εἰ πάντα τὰ λοιπά μηδεν διαφέροιεν άλλ' δμοιοι τυγχάνοιεν όντες τοῖς γάρ διαφέρουσιν έτερον είναι το δίκαιον και το κατ' άξίαν.

balance by calling in numbers to overpower the opposition to wholesome changes on the part of small but strongly organized classes.

XII. I ênel be The question is where to make the apodosis of the sentence begin. I think Stahr is right in placing it at wolwr & lootns. The reasoning then shortly stated is: All look οη τὸ πολιτικὸν ἀγαθόν as ἴσον 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.

δύναμις] His language here is very similar to that in Eth. 1. ii. 3, 4, 5. p. 1094, 25: τίνος τῶν ἐπιστημῶν ἡ δυνάμεων. δόξειε δ' αν της κυριωτάτης καλ μάλιστα άρχιτεκτονικής, τοιαύτη δ' ή πολιτική φαίνεται.

δμολογούσι] '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.

τὶ γὰρ καὶ τισί] 'For they allow that justice concerns things and persons.'

2 ποίων δέ] 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?'

έχει γὰρ τοῦτο] 'For this is a point not without difficulty, and one fairly requiring political science to throw light on it.'

τοιs γάρ διαφέρουσι» They press their language to its strict logical conclusion, and say, those who differ have different rights and different claims.



'Αλλά μὴν εἰ τοῦτ' άληθές, ἔσται καὶ κατά χρῶμα καὶ κατά Some μέγεθος καὶ καθ ὑτιοῦν τῶν ἀγαθῶν πλεονεξία τις τῶν πο- necessary. λιτικών δικαίων τοῖς ὑπερέχουσιν. ἡ τοῦτο ἐπιπόλαιον τὸ in what? ψεῦδος; Φανερόν δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιστημῶν καὶ δυνάμεων. 3 τῶν γὰρ ὁμοίων αὐλητῶν τὴν τέχνην οὐ δοτέον πλεονεξίαν 4 τῶν αὐλῶν τοῖς εὐγενεστέροις οὐδεν γὰρ αὐλήσουσι βέλτιον, δεῖ δὲ τῷ κατὰ τὸ ἔργον ὑπερέγοντι διδόναι καὶ τῶν ὀργάνων την ύπεροχήν. εί δε μήπω δηλον το λεγόμενον, έτι μαλλον αὐτὸ προαγαγοῦσιν ἔσται Φανερόν. εἰ γὰρ εἴη τις 5 ύπερέχων μεν κατά την αύλητικήν, πολύ δ' ελλείπων κατ' εύγένειαν ή κάλλος, εί και μείζον έκαστον εκείνων άγαθόν έστι της αὐλητικης (λέγω δὲ τήν τ' εὐγένειαν καὶ τὸ κάλλος) καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν ὑπερέχουσι πλέον τῆς αὐλητικῆς ἢ έκεῖνος κατά την αύλητικήν, δμως τούτω δοτέον τους δια-Φέροντας τῶν αὐλῶν. δεῖ γὰρ εἰς τὸ ἔργον συμβάλλεσθαι 1283 την ύπεροχην και τοῦ πλούτου και της εύγενείας, συμβάλλονται δ οὐδέν. ἔτι κατά γε τοῦτον τὸν λόγον πᾶν ἀγα- 6 θον πρός παν αν είη συμβλητόν. εί γαρ μαλλον το τί μέγεθος, και δλως αν το μέγεθος ενάμιλλου είη και πρός πλούτον και πρός έλευθερίαν. ωστ' εί πλείον όδι διαφέρει 🔞 🗸 💆 κατά μέγεθος ή όδι κατ' άρετήν, και πλείον ύπερέχει δλως άρετης μέγεθος, είη αν συμβλητά πάντα τοσόνδε γάρ μέγεθος εί κρεῖττον τοσούδε, τοσόνδε δηλον ώς ἴσον. ἐπεὶ δὲ 7 τοῦτ' ἀδύνατον, δηλον ώς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν εὐλόγως οὐ κατά πασαν άνισότητ' άμφισβητοῦσι τῶν άρχῶν. εἰ γὰρ οί μέν βραδείς οι δε ταχείς, ούδεν διά τοῦτο δεί τους μεν

3 #Acoreția] 'a larger share, an advantage in respect of, &c.' The term does not imply any disposition of the mind.

given degree of greatness is better than a given degree of wealth, it would follow,' 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 political philosopher. They are disparates to him.

7 εὐλόγωs] 'There is good ground for men's not claiming offices on the score of every inequality.'

⁴ προαγαγούσιν] 'having carried it still further.' Eth. 1. vii. 17. p. 1098, 21: martos elvas mpoayayeir. He does not seem to have made his meaning clearer by the next section.

⁶ There must be some common measure of the various things we call good. This is not the case.

εί γὰρ μᾶλλον τὸ τὶ μέγεθος] 'If a

equality Papulity

spective claims to

power.

πλείον τους δ' έλαττον έχειν, άλλ' έν τοις γυμνικοίς άγῶσιν υσωνικής ή τούτων διαφορά λαμβάνει την τιμήν. άλλ' έξ ών πόλις in what? συνέστηκεν, εν τούτοις άναγκαῖον ποιεῖσθαι την άμφισβήτηδιόπερ εὐλόγως ἀντιποιοῦνται της τιμης οἱ εὐγενεῖς καλ έλεύθεροι καλ πλούσιοι δεῖ γὰρ έλευθέρους τ' είναι καὶ τίμημα Φέροντας οὐ γὰρ ᾶν εἴη πόλις ἐξ ἀπόρων πάν-9 των, ώσπερ οὐδ' ἐκ δούλων. 'Αλλά μὴν εἰ δεῖ τούτων, δηλον ότι καλ δικαιοσύνης καλ τῆς πολεμικῆς ἀρετῆς · οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων οἰκεῖσθαι πόλιν δυνατόν, πλην ἄνευ μεν τῶν προτέρων άδύνατον είναι πόλιν, άνευ δε τούτων οἰκεῖσθαι καλῶς. Ι 3 πρὸς μεν οὖν τὸ πόλιν εἶναι δόξειεν αν ἢ πάντα ἢ ἔνιά γε τούτων ορθώς άμφισβητείν, πρός μέντοι ζωήν άγαθήν ή παιδεία καὶ ή άρετη μάλιστα δικαίως ᾶν άμφισβητοίησαν, καθάπερ είρηται καὶ πρότερον. ἐπεὶ δ' οὖτε πάντων ἴσον έχειν δεί τολς Ισους έν τι μόνον όντας ούτε άνισον τολς άνίσους καθ' εν, άνάγκη πάσας είναι τὰς τοιαύτας πολιτείας παρεκβάσεις. εἴρηται μεν οὖν καὶ πρότερον ὅτι διαμ-Φισβητοῦσι τρόπον τινά δικαίως πάντες, άπλῶς δ' οὐ πάντες δικαίως, οἱ πλούσιοι μὲν ὅτι πλεῖον μέτεστι τῆς χώρας αὐτοῖς, ή δε χώρα κοινόν. ἔτι πρὸς τὰ συμβόλαια πιστοί μάλλον ώς ἐπὶ τὸ πλέον· οἱ δ' ἐλεύθεροι καὶ εὐγενεῖς ώς

> λαμβάνει την τιμήν] 'finds its appreciation.'

8 έξ ων πόλις συνέστηκεν] '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.'

δεί γάρ] 'There must be free men, and there must be a class paying taxes;' not merely capitecensi. "Censum ferentes," Victorius translates it. That the meaning is as I have given it, I feel sure, but I am not sure as to the expression.

9 ἀλλὰ μήν] 'These classes may be necessary, but it is clear that not less necessary are justice and bravery.'

XIII. 1 'For the mere existence

of a state some of these at least, if not all, would seem justly to put in their claim to consideration.'

τοιαύτας πολιτείας] 'all states based on such equality and inequality.'

2 πρότερον] at the end of Ch. X.

πλείον μέτεστι της 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.

έτι πρός τὰ συμβόλαια] Their second claim is their greater trustworthiness, as a general rule, in the common dealings between man and man.

οί έλεύθεροι καὶ εύγενεῖς ώς έγγὺς | ἀλλήλων] The reasoning here is not III. 13.]

έγγὺς ἀλλήλων: πολῖται γὰρ μᾶλλον οἱ γενναιότεροι τῶν άγεννῶν, ή δ' εὐγένεια παρ' ἐκάστοις οἰκοι τίμιος. ET! claims to διότι βελτίους είκος τους έκ βελτιόνων ευγένεια γάρ έστιν _ άρετη γένους. όμοίως δη Φήσομεν δικαίως και την άρετην 3 άμφισβητείν * κοινωνικήν γάρ άρετην είναι φαμεν την δικαιοσύνην, ή πάσας άναγκαῖον άκολουθεῖν τὰς ἄλλας. άλλὰ 4 μην και οι πλείους πρός τους ελάττους και γαρ κρείττους καὶ πλουσιώτεροι καὶ βελτίους εἰσίν, ώς λαμβανομένων τῶν πλειόνων πρὸς τοὺς ἐλάττους. ἄρ' οἶν εἰ πάντες εἶεν ἐν 1283 Β μιά πόλει, λέγω δ' οίον οί τ' άγαθοί και οι πλούσιοι καί εύγενεῖς, ἔτι δὲ πληθος ἄλλο τι πολιτικόν, πότερον άμ-Φισβήτησις έσται τίνας άρχειν δεῖ, ἡ οὐκ ἔσται; καθ ἐκά- 5 στην μέν οδν πολιτείαν τῶν εἰρημένων ἀναμΦισβήτητος ή κρίσις τίνας ἄρχειν δεῖ τοῖς γὰρ κυρίοις διάφέρουσιν άλλήλων, οίον ή μεν τῷ διὰ πλουσίων ή δε τῷ διὰ τῶν σπουδαίων άνδρων είναι, και των άλλων έκάστη τον αυτον τρόπον.

The re-

very easy. Is it that the free and the well-born claim on somewhat similar grounds, that their claim is similar, as they themselves stand at no great distance from one another? The free claim as genuine citizens-the wellborn claim as citizens also, and à fortiori 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 yevraubτεροι, with its moral sense, for εὐγενέστεροι, and αγεινών for έλευθέρων. Compare, for the difference of the two words, Rhet. 11. xv. 3. p. 1390, b. 22: εθγενές κατά την τοῦ γένους άρετην, γενναίον δέ κατά το μη εξίστασθαι της φύσεως · δπερ ώς έπὶ τὸ πολὸ οὐ συμβαίνει τοις εψρενέσιν, άλλ' είσιν οι πολλοί eureheis.

ή δ' εὐγένεια] 'Besides, practically in every nation high birth, according to the standard adopted, is honoured." Comp. I. vi. 7.

3 ετι, κ.τ.λ.] 'Secondly, the wellborn 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.'

δμοίως 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 association, and justice involves all other moral virtues; it is, ἀρετῆς χρῆσιςάρετη πρός άλλον.' Είλ. V. iii. p. 1129, b. 25, and foll.

4 ώs λαμβανομένων Compare X. 2, the expression, πάντων ληφθέντων: 'If, that is, the many are taken in a body and compared with the few in a body.'

πολιτικόν] 'Simply citizens, and no more.'

5 τοις γάρ κυρίοις] 'For it is by the difference in their sovereign power that they differ from one another.'

The respective power.

άλλ' δμως σχοποῦμεν, δταν περί τὸν αὐτὸν ταῦθ' ὑπάρχη spective claims to χρόνον, πῶς διοριστέον. εἰ δη τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἶεν ὐλίγοι πάμπαν οἱ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχοντες, τίνα δεῖ διελεῖν τὸν τρό-6 που; ἢ τὸ ολίγοι πρὸς τὸ ἔργον δεῖ σκοπεῖν, εἰ δυνατοὶ διοικείν την πόλιν ή τοσοῦτοι το πλήθος ωστ' είναι πόλιν έξ αὐτῶν; "Εστι δὲ ἀπορία τις πρὸς ἄπαντας τοὺς διαμφισ-7 βητούντας περί των πολιτικών τιμών. δόξαιεν γάρ οὐδεν λέγειν δίκαιον οἱ διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον ἀξιοῦντες ἄρχειν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ κατὰ γένος δηλον γὰρ τος εἴ τις πάλιν εἶς πλουσιώτερος απάντων έστί, δήλον δτι κατά τὸ αὐτὸ δίκαιον τοῦτον ἄρχειν τὸν ἕνα ἀπάντων δεήσει, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸν εύγενεία διαφέροντα των άμφισβητούντων δι' ελευθερίαν. 8 ταύτο δε τοῦτ' ἴσως συμβήσεται καλ περί τας άριστοκρατίας έπὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς: εἰ γάρ τις εἶς ἀμείνων ἀνὴρ εἴη τῶν άλλων των έν τῷ πολιτεύματι σπουδαίων όντων, τοῦτον είναι δεί κύριον κατά ταὐτὸ δικαίον, οὐκοῦν εἰ καὶ τὸ πληθος είναι γε δει κύριον διότι κρείττους είσι τῶν ὀλίγων, κῶν είς τ πλείους μὲν τοῦ ἐνὸς, ἐλάττους, δὲ τῶν πολλῶν κρείτ-

> άλλ' δμως σκοπουμεν] 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 el δή, κ.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 are 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: πρός απαντας τούς διαμφισβητοθντας.

7 τοῦτον τὸν ἔνα] 'This one though but one.'

8 κρείττουs] 'stronger.'

τους ώσι των άλλων, τούτους αν δέοι κυρίους είναι μαλλον The reή τὸ πληθος. Πάντα δη ταῦτ' ἔοικε Φανερον ποιείν ὅτι daims to τούτων τῶν δρων οὐδεὶς ὀρθός ἐστι, καθ' δν ἀξιοῦσιν αὐτοὶ μεν άρχειν τους δ΄ άλλους υπό σφων άρχεσθαι πάντας. και 10 γάρ δή και πρός τους κατ' άρετην άξιοῦντας κυρίους είναι τοῦ πολιτεύματος, όμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς κατά πλοῦτον, ἔχοιεν αν λέγειν τὰ πλήθη λόγον τινὰ δίκαιον οὐδεν γὰρ κωλύει ποτε τὸ πληθος είναι βέλτιον τῶν ὀλίγων καὶ πλουσιώτερον, ούχ ως καθ' εκαστον άλλ' ως άθρόους. Διὸ καὶ πρὸς 11 την απορίαν, ην ζητοῦσι καὶ προβάλλουσί τινες ἐνδέχεται τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἀπαντᾶν, ἀποροῦσι γάρ τινες πότερον τώ νομοθέτη νομοθετητέον, βουλομένω τίθεσθαι τοὺς όρθοτάτους νόμους, πρός τὸ τῶν βελτιόνων συμφέρον ή πρός τὸ τῶν πλειόνων, ὅταν συμβαίνη τὸ λεχθέν. τὸ δ' ὀρθὸν ληπ- τ2 τέον Ισως τὸ δ' Ισως ὀρθὸν πρὸς τὸ τῆς πόλεως ὅλης συμφέρον καὶ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τὸ τῶν πολιτῶν. πολίτης δὲ κοινή μεν ο μετέχων τοῦ ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαί ἐστι, καθ 1284 έκαστην δε πολιτείαν έτερος, πρός δε την αρίστην ό δυνάμενος καὶ προαιρούμενος ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἄρχειν πρὸς τὸν βίον τὸν κατ' ἀρετήν. εὶ δέ τίς ἐστιν εἶς τοσοῦτον διαφέρων 13 κατ' άρετης ὑπερβολήν, η πλείους μεν ένος μη μέντοι δυνατοὶ πλήρωμα παρασχέσθαι πόλεως, ώστε μή συμβλητήν είναι την τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετην πάντων μηδε την δύναμιν αὐτῶν την

⁹ τούτων τῶν ὅρων] 'of the existing statements of the claims no one is completely correct.'

¹⁰ οὐχ ώς καθ' ἔκαστον] resumes the subject of, XI. 18.

^{11 (}ητοῦσι] inquire into as a difficulty.'

τὸ λεχθέν] The case supposed above, viz. that in which the people was superior as a whole to the upper classes.

¹² το δ' όρθον ληπτέον ζσως] ' 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.' Yous: "sequaliter," Vict. "gleichmässig," Stahr.

πολίτης δὲ κοινή] 'Now a citizen in the general.'

πρὸς τὸν βίον] ' with a view to secure the life according to virtue.'

¹³ πλήρωμα πόλεως] 'The full complement of a state.' Compare § 6.

δστε] depends on τοσοῦτον.

την δύναμιν την πολιτικήν] in other words, την δύναμιν πρός το ξργον.

The respective claims to power.

πολιτικήν πρός την εκείνων, εί πλείους, εί δ είς, την εκείνου μόνον, οὐκέτι θετέον τούτους μέρος πόλεως άδικήσονται γάρ άξιούμενοι των ίσων, άνισοι τοσοῦτον κατ' άρετην όντες καί την πολιτικήν δύναμιν. ωσπερ γαρ θεόν εν ανθρώποις είκος 14 είναι τὸν τοιοῦτον. ὅθεν δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τὴν νομοθεσίαν αναγκαῖον είναι περί τοὺς Ισους καὶ τῷ γένει καὶ τῇ δυνάμει. κατά δὲ τῶν τοιούτων οὐκ ἔστι νόμος αὐτολ γάρ εἰσι νόμος. καὶ γὰρ γελοῖος ᾶν εἴη νομοθετεῖν τις πειρώμενος κατ' αὐτῶν : λέγοιεν γὰρ ἀν ἴσως ἄπερ ἀντισθένης ἔφη τοὺς λέοντας δημηγορούντων των δασυπόδων καὶ τὸ ἴσον ἀξιούν-15 των πάντας έχειν. διό καλ τίθενται τον όστρακισμόν αί δημοκρατούμεναι πόλεις, δια την τοιαύτην αιτίαν αύται γαρ δή δοκοῦσι διώκειν την ἰσότητα μάλιστα πάντων, ώστε τοὺς δοκοῦντας ὑπερέχειν δυνάμει διὰ πλοῦτον ἡ πολυΦιλίαν ή τινα άλλην πολιτικήν Ισχύν ώστρακιζον και μεθίστασαν έκ 16 της πόλεως γρόνους ώρισμένους. μυθολογείται δε καί τούς 'Αργοναύτας τον 'Ηρακλέα καταλιπεῖν διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν' ού γαρ εθέλειν αύτον άγειν την Αρχώ μετα των άλλων ώς ύπερβάλλοντα πολύ τῶν πλωτήρων. διὸ καὶ τοὺς ψέγοντας την τυραννίδα και την Περιάνδρου Θρασυβούλω συμ-17 βουλίαν ούχ άπλως οἰητέον ὀρθως ἐπιτιμᾶν. Φασὶ γὰρ τὸν

14 δθεν δήλου, κ.τ.λ.] Such a man, as a god amongst men, will be alien to human legislation. The highest form of human wisdom, ή πολιτική φρόνησει ἀρχιτεκτονική, Ετλ. vi. viii. finds its expression in legislation for men, ν··μοθεσία, but does not attempt to rise above man. It assumes as the materials it has to deal with, a body of citizens within certain limits equal in their powers, moral and intellectual, as they are equal in their race.

τῶν τοιοῦτων] 'men so far superior as in the case supposed.' They cannot be bound by human law, they are themselves a law, a standard to others—the ideal, which others may aim at attaining.

Antisthenes, one of the school of

Socrates. Smith, Biogr. Dict. "Where are your claws?"

Διδ καί] The case of great relative superiority of any kind, and the difficulty of providing for its due position, leads naturally to the means adopted by some states to meet the difficulty—the celebrated ostracism. This is a democratical invention. But the principle is more general, of which he gives instances.

16 'Apyd] Comp. Grote, 1. 320, note. He considers this legend very old, as "it ascribes to the ship sentient powers."

Περιάνδρου Θρασυβοίλω] Herod. v. xcii. § 6, reverses the parts. Compare Botta, Storia d' Italia, Vol. I. p. 43. ed. 1825, on the method adopted at Lucca.

Περίανδρον εἰπεῖν μὲν οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν πεμφθέντα κήρυκα Ostraciam. περί της συμβουλίας, άφαιρούντα δὲ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας τῶν σταχύων όμαλῦναι την ἄρουραν δθεν άγνοοῦντος μέν τοῦ κήρυκος τοῦ γινομένου τὴν αἰτίαν, ἀπαγγείλαντος δὲ τὸ συμπεσόν, συννοήσαι τον Θρασύβουλον ότι δει τους υπερέχοντας ἄνδρας άναιρεῖν. τοῦτο γὰρ οὐ μόνον συμφέρει τοῖς 18 τυράννοις, οὐδὲ μόνον οἱ τύραννοι ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὁμοίως ἔχει καὶ περὶ τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ τὰς δημοκρατίας · ὁ γὰρ ὀστρακισμός την αυτήν έχει δύναμιν τρόπον τινά τω κολούειν τους υπερέχοντας και Φυγαδεύειν. το δ' αυτό και περί τάς 19 πόλεις καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ποιοῦσιν οἱ κύριοι τῆς δυνάμεως, οἶον 'Αθηναΐοι μέν περί Σαμίους και Χίους και Λεσβίους (ἐπεί γὰρ θᾶττον ἐγκρατῶς ἔσχον τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐταπείνωσαν αὐτοὺς παρά τὰς συνθήκας), ὁ δὲ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς Μήδους καὶ Βαβυλωνίους και των άλλων τους πεφρονηματισμένους διά 1284 Β τὸ γενέσθαι ποτ' ἐπ' ἀργης ἐπέκοπτε πολλάκις. Τὸ δὲ 20 πρόβλημα καθόλου περί πάσας έστι τὰς πολιτείας, και τὰς όρθάς αι μεν γαρ παρεκβεβηκοΐαι, πρός το ίδιον αποσκοποῦσαι τοῦτο δρῶσιν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ περὶ τὰς τὸ κοινὸν ἀγαθον έπισκοπούσας τον αύτον έχει τρόπον. δήλον δε τοῦτο 21 καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνῶν καὶ ἐπιστημῶν οὖτε γὰρ γρα-Φεὺς ἐάσειεν αν τὸν ὑπερβάλλοντα πόδα τῆς συμμετρίας έχειν το ζώον, ούδ εί διαφέροι το κάλλος, ούτε ναυπηγός πρύμναν ή τῶν ἄλλων τι μορίων τῶν τῆς νεώς οὐδε δή χοροδιδάσκαλος τον μείζον και κάλλιον του παντός χορου Φθεγγόμενον ἐάσει συγχορεύειν. ὤστε διὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲν 22 κωλύει τοὺς μονάρχους συμφωνεῖν ταῖς πόλεσιν, εἰ τῆς

^{19 70 8} $ab\tau 6$] 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 ($\pi \delta \lambda \epsilon \iota s$); Persia with hers ($\ell \delta \tau \eta$).

enel γαρ 6ωντον έγκρατῶς] 'For as soon as ever they held their empire with a firm grasp.'

imémoure] 'used to cut them short,

keep them down.'

²⁰ τὸ δὲ πρόβλημα καθόλου] 'The question is one that concerns all the forms of government without exception, even the right ones.'

²¹ For Aristotle's view on this particular point of symmetry, comp. Grote, IV. 212, note, and for the general subject of ostracism, the same volume, pp. 200, and foll.

or the few

Ought the τον πάλαι λόγον, αν ή το πλήθος μη λίαν ανδραποδώδες many to be sovereign, (ἔσται γὰρ ἕκαστος μὲν χείρων κριτής τῶν εἰδότων, ἄπαντες or the tew best men? δε συνελθόντες ή βελτίους ή ου χείρους), και ότι περί ενίων ούτε μόνον ὁ ποιήσας ούτ' ἄριστ' αν κρίνειεν, δσων τάργα γιγνώσκουσι καὶ οἱ μὴ ἔχοντες τὴν τέχνην, οἶον οἰκίαν οὐ μόνον έστὶ γνώναι τοῦ ποιήσαντος, άλλὰ καὶ βέλτιον δ χρώμενος αὐτῆ κρινεῖ (χρῆται δ' ὁ οἰκονόμος), καὶ πηδάλιον κυβερνήτης τέκτονος, καὶ θοίνην ὁ δαιτυμιον άλλ' ούχ ὁ 15 μάγειρος. Ταύτην μεν οὖν τὴν ἀπορίαν τάχα δόξειέ τις αν ούτω λύειν ἰκανῶς άλλη δ' ἐστὶν ἐχομένη ταύτης. δοκεῖ γαρ ατοπον είναι το μειζόνων είναι κυρίους τους Φαύλους τῶν ἐπιεικῶν, αἱ δ΄ εὐθῦναι καὶ αἱ τῶν ἀρχῶν αἰρέσεις εἰσὶ μέγιστον ας εν ενίαις πολιτείαις, ωσπερ είρηται, τοῖς δήμοις άποδιδόασιν ή γάρ έκκλησία κυρία πάντων τῶν τοιούτων καίτοι τῆς μὲν ἐκκλησίας μετέχουσι καὶ βουλεύουσι καὶ δικάζουσιν ἀπὸ μικρῶν τιμημάτων καὶ τῆς τυχούσης ήλικίας, ταμιεύουσι δε καί στρατηγοῦσι καί τὰς μεγίστας άρχὰς ἄρχουσιν ἀπὸ μεγάλων. ὁμοίως δή τις αν λύσειε καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἀπορίαν ' ἴσως γὰρ ἔχει καὶ ταῦτ' ὀρθῶς. 17 Ού γάρ ὁ δικαστής ούδ ὁ βουλευτής ούδ ὁ ἐκκλησιαστής άρχων ἐστίν, άλλὰ τὸ δικαστήριον καὶ ή βουλή καὶ ὁ δημος: τῶν δὲ ἡηθέντων ἔκαστος μόριον ἐστι τούτων. Λέγω δὲ μό-

> 14 πάλαι] 'some time back.' XI. 2. αν ή τὸ πληθος] This is the assumption necessary for his argument in XI. 5.

καὶ ὅτι π ερὶ ἐνίων, κ.τ.λ.] If we allow that there is force in the objection in many cases, it does not follow that it holds in all. There are cases in which the producer of a result and his peers are not the only judges nor even the best-the cases in which the results have to be used by others, and when consequently those others are the best judges. It is not the architect, but the occupier, who knows the good and bad points in the house he occupies.

15 Passing then from this objection

he turns to another closely connected with it, in fact, almost another form of the same. The inferior part of your state has greater powers vested in it than the higher. You trust more to those from whom you exact no guarantee, than to those from whom you require strong ones, such as wealth and age.

16 ταῦτα] 'the present state.' The answer is, that singly the many are inferior, say in property for instance, but then they are not trusted singly. It is the collective body on which the trust is reposed, and the collective body is wealthier than the few wealthy who are eligible to the offices singly.

ριον τὸν βουλευτὴν καὶ τὸν ἐκκλησιαστὴν καὶ τὸν δικαστήν · Ought the συστε δικαίως κύριον μειζόνων τὸ πλῆθος · ἐκ γὰρ πολλῶν ὁ sovereign; δῆμος καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ τὸ δικαστήριον. καὶ τὸ τίμημα δὲ best men? πλεῖον τὸ πάντων τούτων ἡ τὸ τῶν καθ ἔνα καὶ κατ ὁλί-18 γους μεγάλας ἀρχὰς ἀρχόντων. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν διωρίσθω 19 1282 Β τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον · ἡ δὲ πρώτη λεχθεῖσα ἀπορία ποιεῖ φανερὸν οὐδὲν οῦτως ἔτερον ὡς ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς νόμους εἶναι κυρίους κειμένους ὀρθῶς, τὸν ἄρχοντα δέ, ἄν τε εἶς ἄν τε πλείους ὧσι, περὶ τούτων εἶναι κυρίους περὶ ὅσων ἐξαδυνατοῦσιν οἱ νόμοι λέγειν ἀκριβῶς διὰ τὸ μὴ ῥάδιον εἶναι καθόλου ὀηλῶσαι περὶ πάντων. ὁποίους μέντοι τινὰς εἶναι 20 δεῖ τοὺς ὀρθῶς κειμένους νόμους, οὐδέν πω δῆλον, ἀλλὶ ἔτι μένει τὸ πάλαι διαπορηθέν. πλὴν τοῦτό γε Φανερόν, ὅτι 21

19 ἡ πρώτη ἀπορία] That started in Ch. X.

weel robrew] 'on those points, and those only.'

εξαδυνατοῦσιν] 'are absolutely incompetent.' Comp. Ελ. v. xiv. 4. p. 1137, b. 13.

20 μένει] 'remains unsolved.' τδ πάλαι. Ch. X. 5.

I invert the order of the two next It is much clearer so to sentences. 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 together; and if so, it is clear that the laws answering to the right constitutions will be just; those answering to the forms which are deviations from the true type, will be unjust.' 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 shew more than this, that of these two imperfect forms Aristotle preferred democracy, the conclusion to which he came, Eth. viii. p. 1160. 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 Sieyès seinen Antrag, man solle das ausführen was die Minorität, nicht was die Majorität wähle, motivirt : car la majorité est toujours bête. Gegen diesen Satz kämpft Aristoteles unmittelbar, wenn anders das Volk zu einzigem Bewusstseyn 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

meny to be sovereign, or the few

Ought the δει πρός την πολιτείαν κείσθαι τους νόμους. άλλα γαρ καί όμοίως ταις πολιτείαις άνάγκη και τους νόμους Φαύλους ή best men? σπουδαίους είναι καὶ δικαίους ἡ άδίκους. άλλὰ μὴν εἰ τοῦτο, δηλον δτι τούς μέν κατά τὰς ὀρθάς πολιτείας ἀναγκαῖον είναι δικαίους, τούς δε κατά τάς παρεκβεβηκυίας οὐ δικαίους.

I 2 Some equality necessary. Equality in what?

Έπει δ' εν πάσαις μεν ταῖς επιστήμαις και τέχναις άγαθὸν τὸ τέλος, μέγιστον δὲ καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῆ κυριωτάτη πασῶν, αὖτη δ' ἐστὶν ή πολιτική δύναμις, ἔστι δὲ πολιτικὸν άγαθον το δίκαιον, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ το κοινή συμφέρον, δοκεῖ δὲ πᾶσιν ἴσον τι τὸ δίκαιον είναι, καὶ μέχρι γέ τινος όμολογοῦσι τοῖς κατὰ Φιλοσοφίαν λόγοις, ἐν οἶς διώρισται περὶ τῶν ἠθικῶν τὶ γὰρ καὶ τισὶ τὸ δίκαιον, καὶ δεῖν τοῖς ἴσοις 2 Ισον είναι Φασιν· ποίων δ' ισότης έστι και ποίων άνισότης. δεῖ μὴ λανθάνειν · ἔχει γὰρ τοῦτ' ἀπορίαν καὶ Φιλοσοφίαν πολιτικήν. Ισως γάρ αν Φαίη τις κατά παντός ύπερογην άγαθοῦ δεῖν ἀνίσως νενεμῆσθαι τὰς ἀρχάς, εἰ πάντα τὰ λοιπά μηδεν διαφέροιεν άλλ' δμοιοι τυγχάνοιεν δντες τοῖς γάρ διαφέρουσιν έτερον είναι τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν.

balance by calling in numbers to overpower the opposition to wholesome changes on the part of small but strongly organized classes.

XII. 1 dmel 86] The question is where to make the apodosis of the sentence begin. I think Stahr is right in placing it at wolwr &' lootns. The reasoning then shortly stated is: All look on το πυλιτικον αγαθόν as ίσον 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.

δύναμιε] His language here is very similar to that in Eth. 1. ii. 3, 4, 5. p. 1094, 25: דוֹעסג דשי להומדקעשי א סטיםμεων. δόξειε δ' αν της κυριωτάτης καλ μάλιστα άρχιτεκτονικής, τοιαύτη δ' ή πολιτική φαίνεται.

δμολογούσι] '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 vir-"In welchen über die Ethik Gehandelt worden ist." Stahr.

τὶ γὰρ καὶ τισί] 'For they allow that justice concerns things and persons,'

2 Tolwr 86] 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?'

έχει γὰρ τοῦτο] 'For this is a point not without difficulty, and one fairly requiring political science to throw light on it.'

τοις γάρ διαφέρουσι»] They press their language to its strict logical conclusion, and say, those who differ have different rights and different claims.

'Αλλά μην εί τοῦτ' άληθές, ἔσται καὶ κατά χρῶμα καὶ κατά Some μέγεθος καὶ καθ ότιοῦν τῶν ἀγαθῶν πλεονεξία τις τῶν πο- necessary. λιτικών δικαίων τοις ύπερέχουσιν. ή τουτο επιπόλαιον τὸ in what? ψεῦδος; Φανερον δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιστημῶν καὶ δυνάμεων 3 τῶν γὰρ ὁμοίων αὐλητῶν τὴν τέχνην οὐ δοτέον πλεονεξίαν 4 τῶν αὐλῶν τοῖς εὐγενεστέροις οὐδεν γὰρ αὐλήσουσι βέλτιον, δεῖ δὲ τῷ κατὰ τὸ ἔργον ὑπερέχοντι διδόναι καὶ τῶν ὀργάνων την ύπεροχήν. εἰ δὲ μήπω δηλον τὸ λεγόμενον, ἔτι μάλλον αὐτὸ προαγαγοῦσιν ἔσται Φανερόν. εἰ γὰρ εἴη τις 5 ύπερέχων μέν κατά την αύλητικήν, πολύ δ' έλλείπων κατ' εύγενειαν ή κάλλος, εί και μείζον έκαστον έκείνων άγαθόν έστι τῆς αὐλητικῆς (λέγω δὲ τήν τ' εὐγένειαν καὶ τὸ κάλλος) καλ κατά την άναλογίαν ύπερέχουσι πλέον της αύλητικης ή έκεῖνος κατά τὴν αὐλητικήν, ὅμως τούτω δοτέον τοὺς δια-Φέροντας τῶν αὐλῶν. δεῖ γὰρ εἰς τὸ ἔργον συμβάλλεσθαι 1283 την ύπερογην και τοῦ πλούτου και τῆς εύγενείας, συμβάλλονται δ' οὐδέν. ἔτι κατά γε τοῦτον τὸν λόγον πᾶν ἀγα- 6 θον πρός παν αν είη συμβλητόν. εί γαρ μαλλον το τλ μέγεθος, και όλως αν το μέγεθος ενάμιλλον είη και πρός πλούτον και πρός ελευθερίαν. ωστ' εί πλείον όδι διαφέρει 🔞 💆 κατά μέγεθος ή όδι κατ' άρετήν, και πλείον ύπερέχει δλως άρετης μέγεθος, είη αν συμβλητά πάντα τοσόνδε γάρ μέγεθος εί κρεῖττον τοσοῦδε, τοσόνδε δῆλον ως ἴσον, ἐπεὶ δὲ 7 τοῦτ' ἀδύνατον, δηλον ώς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν εὐλόγως οὐ κατά πάσαν άνισότητ' άμφισβητοῦσι τῶν άρχῶν. εὶ γὰρ οί μέν βραδείς οι δέ ταχείς, ούδεν διά τοῦτο δεί τοὺς μέν

given degree of greatness is better than a given degree of wealth, it would follow,' 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 political philosopher. They are disparates to him.

7 εὐλόγως] 'There is good ground for men's not claiming offices on the score of every inequality.'

³ macoregia] 'a larger share, an advantage in respect of, &c.' The term does not imply any disposition of the mind.

⁴ προαγαγοῦσιν] 'having carried it still further.' Eth. 1. vii. 17. p. 1098, 21 : παντός είναι προαγαγείν. He does not seem to have made his meaning clearer by the next section.

⁶ There must be some common measure of the various things we call good. This is not the case.

εί γὰρ μᾶλλον τὸ τὶ μέγεθος] 'If a

The re-

spective

power.

πλεῖον τοὺς δ' ἔλαττον ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν necessary. ή τούτων διαφορά λαμβάνει την τιμήν. άλλ' έξ ών πόλις Equality Equanty in what? συνέστηκεν, έν τούτοις άναγκαῖον ποιεῖσθαι την άμφισβήτηδιόπερ εὐλόγως ἀντιποιοῦνται της τιμης οἱ εὐγενεῖς καλ έλεύθεροι καλ πλούσιοι δεῖ γάρ έλευθέρους τ' είναι καὶ τίμημα Φέροντας οὐ γὰρ ᾶν εἴη πόλις ἐξ ἀπόρων πάν-9 των, ώσπερ οὐδ' ἐκ δούλων. 'Αλλά μὴν εἰ δεῖ τούτων, δῆλον ότι καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς πολεμικῆς ἀρετῆς · οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων οἰκεῖσθαι πόλιν δυνατόν, πλην ἄνευ μὲν τῶν προ-Αργούς εξερώνου τέρων άδύνατον είναι πόλιν, άνευ δε τούτων οἰκεῖσθαι καλῶς. Ι 3 πρός μεν ούν το πόλιν είναι δόξειεν αν ή πάντα ή ένιά γε τούτων όρθῶς ἀμΦισβητεῖν, πρὸς μέντοι ζωὴν ἀγαθὴν ή claims to παιδεία και ή άρετη μάλιστα δικαίως αν άμφισβητοίησαν, καθάπερ είρηται καὶ πρότερον. ἐπεὶ δ' οὖτε πάντων ἴσον έχειν δεῖ τοὺς ἴσους έν τι μόνον ὄντας οὖτε ἄνισον τοὺς άνίσους καθ' εν, άνάγκη πάσας είναι τὰς τοιαύτας πολιτείας 2 παρεκβάσεις. είρηται μέν οδν καλ πρότερον ότι διαμ-Φισβητοῦσι τρόπον τινά δικαίως πάντες, άπλῶς δ' οὐ πάντες δικαίως, οι πλούσιοι μεν ότι πλείον μέτεστι της χώρας αὐτοῖς, ή δε χώρα κοινόν ετι πρὸς τὰ συμβόλαια πιστολ μάλλον ως έπι το πλέον οι δ' έλεύθεροι και ευγενείς ως

λαμβάνει την τιμήν] 'finds its appre-

8 If av modes ourforner '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.'

8ei γdρ] 'There must be free men, and there must be a class paying taxas; not merely capiticensi. "Cenmum ferentes," Victorius translates it. That the meaning is as I have given II, I feel sure, but I am not sure as to the expression.

" AAAA µhr] 'These classes may be Haramery, but it is clear that not less membery are justice and bravery.'

XIII. I ' Vor the mere existence

of a state some of these at least, if not all, would seem justly to put in their claim to consideration.

τοιαύτας πολιτείας] 'all states based on such equality and inequality.'

2 πρότερον] at the end of Ch. X.

πλείον μέτεστι της 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.

έτι πρός τὰ συμβόλαια] Their second claim is their greater trustworthiness, as a general rule, in the common dealings between man and man.

οι έλεύθεροι και εύγενεις ώς έγγυς άλλήλων] The reasoning here is not

έγγὺς ἀλλήλων πολίται γὰρ μᾶλλον οἱ γενναιότεροι τῶν The reάγεννῶν, ή δ εὐγένεια παρ' ἐκάστοις οἶκοι τίμιος. διότι βελτίους είκος τους έκ βελτιόνων ευγένεια γάρ έστιν άρετη γένους. όμοίως δη Φήσομεν δικαίως καὶ την άρετην 3 άμφισβητείν * κοινωνικήν γάρ άρετην είναί Φαμεν την δικαιοσύνην, ή πάσας άναγκαῖον άκολουθεῖν τὰς ἄλλας. άλλὰ 4 μην και οι πλείους πρός τους ελάττους και γαρ κρείττους καὶ πλουσιώτεροι καὶ βελτίους εἰσίν, ώς λαμβανομένων τῶν πλειόνων πρὸς τοὺς ἐλάττους. ἄρ' οὖν εἰ πάντες εἶεν ἐν 1283 B μια πόλει, λέγω δ' οίον οί τ' άγαθοί και οι πλούσιοι και εύγενεῖς, ἔτι δὲ πληθος ἄλλο τι πολιτικόν, πότερον άμ-Φισβήτησις έσται τίνας άρχειν δεῖ, ἡ οὐκ ἔσται; καθ έκά- 5 στην μεν οδν πολιτείαν των είρημένων αναμφισβήτητος ή κρίσις τίνας ἄρχειν δεί τοίς γὰρ κυρίοις διαφέρουσιν άλλήλων, οίον ή μεν τῷ διὰ πλουσίων ή δε τῷ διὰ τῶν σπουδαίων ἀνδρῶν είναι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκάστη τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον.

very easy. Is it that the free and the well-born claim on somewhat similar grounds, that their claim is similar, as they themselves stand at no great distance from one another? The free claim as genuine citizens-the wellborn claim as citizens also, and à fortiori 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 γενναιότεροι, with its moral sense, for εθγενέστεροι, and αγεινών for έλευθέρων. Compare, for the difference of the two words, Rhet. 11. xv. 3. p. 1390, b. 22: εθγενές κατά την τοῦ γένους άρετήν, γενναῖον δὲ κατά τὸ μὴ ἐξίστασθαι τῆς φύσεως · δπερ ώς έπὶ τὸ πολὸ οὐ συμβαίνει τοῖς εὐγενέσιν, ἀλλ' εἰσίν οἱ πολλοί €VT€λ€iS.

ή δ' εὐγένεια] 'Besides, practically in every nation high birth, according to the standard adopted, is honoured.' Comp. I, vi. 7.

3 ἔτι, κ.τ.λ.] 'Secondly, the wellborn 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.'

δμοίως 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 association, and justice involves all other moral virtues; it is, ἀρετῆs χρῆσις άρετη πρός άλλον.' Eth. v. iii. p. 1129, b. 25, and foll.

4 ώς λαμβανομένων] Compare X. 2, the expression, πάντων ληφθέντων: 'If, that is, the many are taken in a body and compared with the few in a body.'

πολιτικόν] 'Simply citizens, and no

5 τοιs γάρ κυρίοιs] 'For it is by the difference in their sovereign power that they differ from one another.'

The respective claims to power.

άλλ' δμως σκοπούμεν, δταν περί τον αύτον ταῦθ' ὑπάρχη γρόνον, πῶς διοριστέον. εἰ δὴ τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἶεν ὑλίγοι πάμπαν οι την άρετην έχοντες, τίνα δει διελείν τον τρόπου; ή τὸ ὀλίγοι πρὸς τὸ ἔργον δεῖ σκοπεῖν, εἰ δυνατοὶ διοικείν την πόλιν ή τοσούτοι το πλήθος ώστ' είναι πόλιν έξ αὐτῶν; "Εστι δὲ ἀπορία τις πρὸς ἄπαντας τοὺς διαμφισ-7 βητούντας περί των πολιτικών τιμών. δόξαιεν γάρ οὐδεν λέγειν δίκαιον οἱ διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον ἀξιοῦντες ἄρχειν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ κατὰ γένος : δῆλον γὰρ τος εἴ τις πάλιν εἶς πλουσιώτερος ἀπάντων ἐστί, δηλον ὅτι κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ δίκαιον τοῦτον ἄρχειν τὸν ένα ἀπάντων δεήσει, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸν εύγενεία διαφέροντα των άμφισβητούντων δι' ελευθερίαν. 8 ταύτο δε τοῦτ' Ισως συμβήσεται και περί τὰς άριστοκρατίας επί της άρετης: εί γάρ τις είς άμείνων άνηρ είη των άλλων των έν τω πολιτεύματι σπουδαίων όντων, τοῦτον είναι δεί κύριον κατά ταύτὸ δικαίον. οὐκοῦν εί καὶ τὸ πληθος είναι γε δει κύριον διότι κρείττους είσι τῶν ὀλίγων, κᾶν είς τ πλείους μεν τοῦ ένὸς, ἐλάττους, δὲ τῶν πολλῶν κρείτ-

άλλ' δμων σκοποῦμεν] 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 el 84, w.t. A.] 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 more 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 are 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: πρός απαντας τους διαμφισβητοθντας.

7 τοῦτον τὸν ἔνα] 'This one though but one.'

8 κρείττους] 'stronger.'

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τους ὦσι τῶν ἄλλων, τούτους ἀν δέοι χυρίους εἶναι μᾶλλον The reη τὸ πληθος. Πάντα δη ταῦτ' ἔοικε Φανερον ποιείν ὅτι Claims to τούτων τῶν δρων οὐδεὶς ὀρθός ἐστι, καθ' δν ἀξιοῦσιν αὐτοὶ μεν άρχειν τους δ' άλλους υπό σφων άρχεσθαι πάντας. και 10 γάρ δη και πρός τους κατ' άρετην άξιουντας κυρίους είναι τοῦ πολιτεύματος, όμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς κατὰ πλοῦτον, ἔγοιεν άν λέγειν τὰ πλήθη λόγον τινὰ δίκαιον οὐδὲν γὰρ κωλύει ποτε τὸ πληθος είναι βέλτιον τῶν ὀλίγων καὶ πλουσιώτερον, ούχ ως καθ' έκαστον άλλ' ως άθρόους. Διὸ καὶ πρὸς 11 την απορίαν, ην ζητούσι και προβάλλουσί τινες ενδέχεται τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἀπαντᾶν. ἀποροῦσι γάρ τινες πότερον τώ νομοθέτη νομοθετητέον, βουλομένω τίθεσθαι τοὺς όρθοτάτους νόμους, πρός το τῶν βελτιόνων συμφέρον ή πρός το τῶν πλειόνων, όταν συμβαίνη τὸ λεχθέν. τὸ δ' ὀρθὸν ληπ-τ2 τέον ἴσως τὸ δ' ἴσως ὀρθὸν πρὸς τὸ τῆς πόλεως ὅλης συμφέρον καλ πρός το κοινόν το των πολιτών. πολίτης δέ κοινή μέν ο μετέχων τοῦ ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαί ἐστι, καθ 1284 έκάστην δε πολιτείαν έτερος, πρός δε την αρίστην ο δυνάμενος και προαιρούμενος άρχεσθαι και άρχειν πρός του βίον τὸν κατ' ἀρετήν. εὶ δέ τίς ἐστιν είς τοσοῦτον διαφέρων 13 κατ' άρετης ύπερβολήν, ή πλείους μεν ένος μη μέντοι δυνατοί πλήρωμα παρασχέσθαι πόλεως, ώστε μή συμβλητήν είναι την τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετην πάντων μηδε την δύναμιν αὐτῶν την

⁹ τούτων των δρων] 'of the existing statements of the claims no one is completely correct.'

¹⁰ οὐχ ώς καθ ἔκαστον] resumes the subject of, XI. 18.

II (ητοῦσι] inquire into as a diffi-

τὸ λεχθέν] The case supposed above, viz. that in which the people was superior as a whole to the upper classes.

¹² τὸ δ' ὀρθὸν ληπτέον ἴσως] ' 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.' lows: "sequaliter," Vict. "gleichmässig," Stahr.

πολίτης δὲ κοινή] 'Now a citizen in the general.'

πρὸς τὸν βίον] ' with a view to secure the life according to virtue.'

¹³ πλήρωμα πόλεως] 'The full complement of a state.' Compare § 6.

Sore depends on Togoûtov.

την δύναμιν την πολιτικήν] in other words, την δύναμιν πρός το ξργον.

The respective claims to power.

πολιτικήν πρός την έκείνων, εί πλείους, εί δ είς, την έκείνου μόνον, οὐκέτι θετέον τούτους μέρος πόλεως · άδικήσονται γάρ άξιούμενοι των ίσων, άνισοι τοσούτον κατ' άρετην όντες καλ την πολιτικήν δύναμιν ωσπερ γαρ θεόν έν ανθρώποις είκος 14 είναι τὸν τοιοῦτον. ὅθεν δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τὴν νομοθεσίαν άναγκαῖον είναι περί τοὺς ίσους καὶ τῷ γένει καὶ τῇ δυνάμει. κατά δὲ τῶν τοιούτων οὐκ ἔστι νόμος αὐτοὶ γάρ εἰσι νόμος. καλ γάρ γελοῖος αν είη νομοθετεῖν τις πειρώμενος κατ' αὐτῶν λέγοιεν γὰρ αν ἴσως ἄπερ Αντισθένης ἔφη τοὺς λέοντας δημηγορούντων των δασυπόδων καλ τὸ Ισον άξιούν-15 των πάντας έχειν. διό καλ τίθενται τον όστρακισμόν αί δημοκρατούμεναι πόλεις, δια την τοιαύτην αιτίαν αύται γαρ δή δοκοῦσι διώκειν την Ισότητα μάλιστα πάντων, ώστε τοὺς δοκούντας ύπερέχειν δυνάμει διά πλούτον ή πολυφιλίαν ή τινα άλλην πολιτικήν Ισχύν ώστράκιζον καὶ μεθίστασαν έκ τό τῆς πόλεως χρόνους ώρισμένους. μυθολογείται δὲ καὶ τοὺς 'Αργοναύτας τον 'Ηρακλέα καταλιπεῖν διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν: ού γαρ εθέλειν αύτον άγειν την Αργώ μετα των άλλων ώς ύπερβάλλοντα πολύ των πλωτήρων. διό και τους ψέγοντας την τυραννίδα και την Περιάνδρου Θρασυβούλω συμ-17 βουλίαν ούχ άπλως οἰητέον ὀρθως ἐπιτιμᾶν. Φασὶ γὰρ τὸν

14 8θεν δήλον, κ.τ.λ.] Such a man, as a god amongst men, will be alien to human legislation. The highest form of human wisdom, ή πολιτική φρόνησις αρχιτεκτονική, Eth. VI. viii. finds its expression in legislation for men, νυμοθεσία, but does not attempt to rise above man. It assumes as the materials it has to deal with, a body of citizens within certain limits equal in their powers, moral and intellectual, as they are equal in their race.

τῶν τοιοῦτων] 'men so far superior as in the case supposed.' They cannot be bound by human law, they are themselves a law, a standard to others -the ideal, which others may aim at attaining.

Antisthenes, one of the school of

Socrates. Smith, Biogr. Dict. "Where are your claws?"

Aid rai The case of great relative superiority of any kind, and the difficulty of providing for its due position, leads naturally to the means adopted by some states to meet the difficultythe celebrated ostracism. This is a democratical invention. But the principle is more general, of which he gives instances.

16 'Aργώ] Comp. Grote, 1. 320, note. He considers this legend very old, as "it ascribes to the ship sentient powers."

Περιάνδρου Θρασυβοίλφ] Herod. ▼. xcii. § 6, reverses the parts. Compare Botta, Storia d' Italia, Vol. I. p. 43. ed. 1825, on the method adopted at Lucca.

Περίανδρον εἰπεῖν μὲν οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν πεμφθέντα κήρυκα Ostracism. περὶ τῆς συμβουλίας, ἀφαιροῦντα δὲ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας τῶν σταχύων όμαλῦναι την ἄρουραν όθεν άγνοοῦντος μεν τοῦ κήρυκος τοῦ γινομένου την αιτίαν, απαγγείλαντος δε το συμπεσόν, συννοήσαι τον Θρασύβουλον ότι δει τους υπερέχοντας ἄνδρας άναιρείν. τοῦτο γὰρ οὐ μόνον συμφέρει τοῖς 18 τυράννοις, ούδε μόνον οἱ τύραννοι ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὁμοίως ἔχει καὶ περὶ τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ τὰς δημοκρατίας · ὁ γὰρ ὀστραχισμός την αυτην έχει δύναμιν τρόπον τινά τῷ κολούειν τους ύπερέγοντας και Φυγαδεύειν. το δ' αύτο και περί τάς 19 πόλεις και τὰ ἔθνη ποιοῦσιν οι κύριοι τῆς δυνάμεως, οδον 'Αθηναΐοι μέν περί Σαμίους και Χίους και Λεσβίους (ἐπεὶ γαρ θάττον έγκρατως έσχον την αρχήν, έταπείνωσαν αὐτοὺς παρά τὰς συνθήκας), ὁ δὲ Περσῶν βασιλεύς Μήδους καὶ Βαβυλωνίους και των άλλων τους πεφρονηματισμένους δια 1284 Β τὸ γενέσθαι ποτ' ἐπ' ἀρχῆς ἐπέκοπτε πολλάκις. Τὸ δὲ ∞ πρόβλημα καθόλου περί πάσας έστι τὰς πολιτείας, και τὰς όρθάς αι μεν γαρ παρεκβεβηκυΐαι, πρός το ίδιον αποσκοποῦσαι τοῦτο δρῶσιν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ περί τὰς τὸ κοινὸν ἀγαθον έπισκοπούσας τον αύτον έχει τρόπον. δήλον δε τοῦτο 21 καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τεγνῶν καὶ ἐπιστημῶν οὖτε γὰρ γρα-Φεὺς ἐάσειεν ᾶν τὸν ὑπερβάλλοντα πόδα τῆς συμμετρίας έχειν το ζώον, οὐδ εἰ διαφέροι το κάλλος, οὖτε ναυπηγὸς πρύμναν ή των άλλων τι μορίων των της νεώς οὐδε δή χοροδιδάσκαλος τον μείζον και κάλλιον τοῦ παντός χοροῦ Φθεγγόμενον εάσει συγχορεύειν. Εστε διά τοῦτο μεν οὐδεν 22 κωλύει τους μονάρχους συμφωνείν ταίς πόλεσιν, εί της

19 70 8 2076] 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 ($\pi\delta\lambda\epsilon\iota s$); Persia with hers ($\xi\theta\nu\eta$).

ἐπεὶ γὰρ θῶττον ἐγκρατῶs] 'For as soon as ever they held their empire with a firm grasp.'

enémonte] 'used to cut them short,

keep them down.'

20 το δε πρόβλημα καθόλου] 'The question is one that concerns all the forms of government without exception, even the right ones.'

21 For Aristotle's view on this particular point of symmetry, comp. Grote, IV. 212, note, and for the general subject of ostracism, the same volume, pp. 200, and foll.

Ostraciam. οἰκείας ἀρχῆς ώφελίμου ταῖς πόλεσιν οὖσης τοῦτο δρῶσιν. διό κατά τὰς όμολογουμένας ύπεροχὰς ἔχει τι δίκαιον πολι-23 τικον ο λόγος ο περί τον οστρακισμόν. βέλτιον μέν ουν τὸν νομοθέτην ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὖτω συστῆσαι τὴν πολιτείαν ῶστε μη δείσθαι τοιαύτης ιατρείας δεύτερος δε πλούς, αν συμβή, πειράσθαι τοιούτω τινί διορθώματι διορθούν. ὅπερ οὐκ ἐγίνετο περί τὰς πόλεις οὐ γὰρ ἔβλεπον πρὸς τὸ τῆς πολιτείας τῆς οἰκείας συμφέρον, ἀλλὰ στασιαστικῶς ἐγρῶντο 24 τοῖς ὀστρακισμοῖς. ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς παρεκβεβηκυίαις πολιτείαις ότι μεν ιδία συμφέρει και δίκαιόν έστι, φανερόν τσως δὲ καὶ ὅτι οὐχ ἀπλῶς δίκαιον, καὶ τοῦτο Φανερόν. ἀλλὶ έπὶ τῆς ἀρίστης πολιτείας ἔχει πολλὴν ἀπορίαν, οὐ κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν τὴν ὑπεροχήν, οἶον ἰσχύος καὶ πλούτου καὶ πολυΦιλίας, άλλ' ἄν τις γένηται διαΦέρων κατ' άρετήν, 25 τί χρη ποιείν; οὐ γάρ δη Φαΐεν αν δεῖν ἐκβάλλειν καὶ μεθιστάναι τὸν τοιοῦτον. άλλὰ μὴν οὐδ ἄρχειν γε τοῦ τοιούτου. παραπλήσιον γάρ κάν εί τοῦ Διὸς ἄρχειν άξιοῖεν, μερίζοντες τὰς ἀρχάς. λείπεται τοίνυν, ὅπερ ἔοικε πεφυκέναι, πείθεσθαι τῷ τοιούτω πάντας ἀσμένως, ώστε βασιλέας είναι τούς τοιούτους ἀϊδίους ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν. ",

22 ἔχει τι δίκαιον πολιτικόν] 'is not without a ground of political right.'

23 στασιαστικῶs] in VIII. (V.) VI. 15, occurs another form of this word στασιωτικῶs, 'for factious purposes.'

24 [8/4] 'in particular cases.'

25 μερίζοντες τὰς ἀρχάς] "in the division of offices," Stahr.

öπερ ξοικε πεφυκέναι] 'and this seems the natural course.'

βασιλέας ἀίδιους] '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 in 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 sensethe only case in which it was to him reconcileable 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 Ethics, vni. xii. 2, p. 1160, 64, should be αθτάρκης καλ

*Ισως δε καλῶς έχει μετὰ τοὺς εἰρημένους λόγους μετα- Monarchy. βηναι καὶ σκέψασθαι περὶ βασιλείας. Φαμὲν γὰρ τῶν ΤΑ όρθων πολιτειών μίαν είναι ταύτην. σκεπτέον δε πότερον συμφέρει τη μελλούση καλώς οἰκήσεσθαι καὶ πόλει καὶ χώρα βασιλεύεσθαι, ή οῦ ἀλλ' ἄλλη τις πολιτεία μᾶλλον, ή τισὶ μὲν συμφέρει τισὶ δ' οὐ συμφέρει. δεῖ δὲ πρῶτον 2 διελέσθαι πότερον εν τὸ γένος ἐστὶν αὐτῆς ἡ πλείους ἔχει διαφοράς. ράδιον δή τοῦτό γε καταμαθεῖν, ὅτι πλείω τε 1285 γένη περιέχει καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ τρόπος ἐστὶν οὐχ εἶς πασῶν. Η γάρ εν τη Λακωνικώ πολιτεία δοκεί μεν είναι βασιλεία 3 μάλιστα τῶν κατὰ νόμον, οὐκ ἔστι δὲ κυρία πάντων, ἀλλ' όταν ἐξέλθη τὴν χώραν, ἡγεμών ἐστι τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον έτι δε τά πρός τους θεούς άποδεδοται τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν. αὖτη μεν οὖν ή βασιλεία οἶον στρατηγία τις αὐτο- 4 κρατόρων καὶ ἀίδιός ἐστιν κτεῖναι γάρ οὐ κύριος, εἰ μὴ ἔν τινι βασιλεία, καθάπερ έπλ των άρχαίων έν ταῖς πολεμικαῖς εξόδοις εν χειρός νόμω. δηλοί δ' "Ομηρος ο γάρ 'Αγαμέμνων κακῶς μὲν ἀκούων ἡνείχετο ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, ἐξελθόντων δε και κτείναι κύριος ήν. λέγει γοῦν

πασι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ὁπερέχων, and in the language of the Politics, VIII. (V.) x. 38, should rule over willing subjects—as he allows for this case, he is not unnaturally led to treat of the whole subject of the rule of one, and enumerate the various forms of monarchical government.

XIV. I μεταβήναι] 'to pass to another point.' The word occurs, Eth. vi. xiii. 5². p. 1144, b. 26, and in the participle μεταβαίνων, Eth. 1. v. 2. p. 1097, 24.

2 περιέχει] sc. ἡ βασιλεία. 'The word monarchy comprises several forms under it, and the system adopted in those forms is not one and the same in all.'

3 "For the royal power as it exists in the Lacedemonian constitution, is

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 αὐτοκρατόρων] Vet. Int. 'imperialis.' Hence Victorius wishes to read αὐτοκράτωρ. Stahr condemns it as unnecessary. It will certainly construe as it stands, 'a generalship 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.' Εν τινι βασιλεία. The meaning I have given to these words is favoured by the context, and is the one adopted by the best commentators.

έν χειρός νόμφ] 'martial law.'

έν ταις (κκλησίαις] This is an odd

Monarchy.

ον δέ κ' έγων απάνευθε μάχης,— Εφελονία νο ήτω - μια να ητιν παρα νησά κορωνίσιν — ου οί — έπειτ»

καρκιον έσσειται φυγέειν κύνας ήδ' οιωνούς (πὰρ γὰρ ἐμοὶ θάνατος.)

έν μεν ούν τοῦτ' είδος βασιλείας, στρατηγία διά βίου τού-6 των δ' αι μεν κατά γένος εισίν, αι δ' αιρεταί. Παρά ταύτην δ' άλλο μοναρχίας είδος, οίαι παρ' ένίοις είσὶ βασιλεῖαι τῶν βαρβάρων. ἔχουσι δ' αὖται τὴν δύναμιν πᾶσαι παραπλησίαν τυραννική, είσι δ' όμως κατά νόμον και πατρικαί διά γάρ τὸ δουλικώτεροι είναι τὰ ήθη Φύσει οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν ᾿Ασίαν τῶν περὶ την Ευρώπην, υπομένουσι την δεσποτικήν άρχην ούδεν δυστυραννικαί μέν οὖν διά τὸ τοιοῦτόν εἰσιν, 7 χεραίνοντες. άσφαλεῖς δὲ διὰ τὸ πάτριαι καὶ κατὰ νόμον είναι. καὶ ή Φυλακή δε βασιλική και ού τυραγγική διά την αύτην αίτίαν. οί γὰρ πολίται Φυλάττουσιν ὅπλοις τοὺς βασιλεῖς, τοὺς δὲ τυράννους ξενικόν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ νόμον καὶ ἐκόντων. οί δ' ακόντων ἄρχουσιν, ωσθ' οί μεν παρά των πολιτων οί δ' έπλ τους πολίτας έχουσι την Φυλακήν. δύο μέν ουν είδη 🗧 ταῦτα μοναρχίας, ετερον δ' όπερ ην έν τοῖς άρχαίοις Έλλησιν, οὖς καλοῦσιν αἰσυμνήτας. ἔστι δὲ τοῦθ' ὡς ἀπλῶς

word for the Homeric times, as applied to the βουλή of the chiefs. But did Aristotle recognise, 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 *ll*. 11. 391.

wap yap that selections This, as Mr Grote remarks, 11. 86, is not in our present copies. "The Alexandrian critics," he adds, "effaced many traces of old manners."

nara yéres] 'hereditary.'

6 παρ' drioss των βαρβάρων] is the order.

Execute 8' abras] 'In all of these the power is very similar to that in a

tyranny.' On this language, as applicable to the Oriental empires, whether ancient or modern, see Mr Cornewall Lewis' remarks, On Authority in Matters of Opinion, pp. 192, 3.

δουλικώτεροι τὰ ήθη] Comp. below, IV. (VII.) 7, on this distinction of

ουδέν δυσχεραίνοντες] 'æquo animo,'

7 ή φυλακή] 'The guards they employ:' compare, for the prominent position given to this subject, the expression, Rhet. 1. viii. 5, τυραννίδος τέλος φυλακή.

8 alsouprivas] On this officer, analogous to the Roman dictator, comp. Grote, III. 86; Thirlw. I. 401, "At Cuma and in other cities, this was the title of an ordinary magistracy, pro-

εἰπεῖν αἰρετὴ τυραννις, διαφέρουσα δὲ τῆς βαρβαρικῆς οὐ Μοπατολη.
τῷ μὴ κατὰ νόμον ἀλλὰ τῷ μὴ πάτριος εἶναι μόνον. ἦρχον 9
δ' οἱ μὲν διὰ βίου τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην, οἱ δὲ μέχρι τινῶν
ώρισμένων χρόνων ἢ πράξεων, οἶον εῖλοντό ποτε Μιτυληναῖοι Πιττακὸν πρὸς τοὺς Φυγάδας ὧν προειστήκεσαν ἀντιμενίδης καὶ ἀλκαῖος ὁ ποιητής. δηλοῖ δ' ἀλκαῖος ὅτι 10
τύραννον εῖλοντο τὸν Πιττακὸν ἔν τινι τῶν σκολιῶν μελῶν・
ἐπιτιμᾶ γὰρ ὅτι

τον κακοπάτριδα
Πιττακον πόλεως τᾶς ἀχόλω καὶ βαρυδαίμονος ἐστάσαντο τύραννον μέγ' ἐπαινέοντες ἀολλέες. Ελθίνες

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αὖται μὲν οὖν εἰσί τε καὶ ἦσαν διὰ μὲν τὸ τυραννικαὶ εἶναι τι δεσποτικαί, διὰ δὲ τὸ αἰρεταὶ καὶ ἐκόντων βασιλικαί. Τέταρτον δ' εἶδος μοναρχίας βασιλικῆς αὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἡρωϊκοὺς χρόνους ἐκούσιαί τε καὶ πάτριαι γιγνόμεναι κατὰ νόμον. διὰ γὰρ τὸ τοὺς πρώτους γενέσθαι τοῦ πλήθους εὐεργέτας τε κατὰ τέχνας ἡ πόλεμον, ἡ διὰ τὸ συναγαγεῖν ἡ πορίσαι χώραν, ἐγίγνοντο βασιλεῖς ἐκόντων καὶ τοῖς παραλαμβάνουσι πάτριοι. κύριοι δ' ἦσαν τῆς τε κατὰ πόλεμον ἡγεμονίας καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν, ὅσαι μὴ ἱερατικαί, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τὰς δίκας ἔκρινον. τοῦτο δ' ἐποίουν οἱ μὲν οὐκ ὁμνύοντες, οἱ δ' ὁμνύοντες ' ὁ δ' ὅρκος ἦν τοῦ σκήπτρου ἐπανάτασις. ξοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων χρόνων καὶ τὰ κατὰ πόλιν το

bably of that which succeeded the hereditary monarchy; but, when applied to an extraordinary office, it was equivalent to the title of protector or dictator."

9 μεχρὶ τινῶν, κ.τ.λ.] 'for some definite time named, or for some specified objects.' "Pittacus of Mitylene is the prominent instance." Grote, III. 27, and later, pp. 267, 8.

10 είλοντο] The stress lies on this word.

σκολιών] σκολίων, see L. and S.

Alcæus, Fragm. 37, Bergk, 1st Ed. p. 579. The readings there are, πόλως for πόλως; ζαχόλω for ἀχόλω;

έπαίνεντες for έπαινέοντες; ἀχόλω, 'lacking gall,' ζαχόλω is the contrary.

II They were for the good of those who submitted to them, and consequently not tyrannical.

12 κατὰ τέχναs] 'in teaching them arts.'

δσαι μη leparinal] 'with the exception of those that required a priest.'

τοῦ σκήπτρου ἐπανάτασις] Il. x. 321.

13 The first and I should leave out with St Hilaire. If kept: 'They administered without exception the affairs of the state, whether in the city itself, or in the country, or abroad.' If left out, then it is: 'They admi-

Monarchy. καὶ τὰ ἔνδημα καὶ τὰ ὑπερόρια συνεχῶς ἦρχον · ὕστερον
δὲ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν παριέντων τῶν βασιλέων, τὰ δὲ τῶν
ὅχλων παραιρουμένων, ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι θυσίαι
κατελείφθησαν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι μόνον, ὅπου δ΄ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν
εἶναι βασιλείαν, ἐν τοῖς ὑπερορίοις τῶν πολεμικῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν μόνον εἶχον.

14 Βασιλείας μὲν οὖν εἴδη ταῦτα, τέτταρα τὸν ἀριθμόν, [μία μὲν ἡ περὶ τοὺς ἡρωϊκοὺς χρόνους (αὕτη δ' ἢν ἐκόντων μέν, ἐπί τισι δ' ὡρισμένοις· στρατηγὸς γὰρ ἦν καὶ δικαστὴς ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς κύριος), δευτέρα δ' ἡ βαρβαρική (αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἐκ γένους ἀρχὴ δεσποτικὴ κατὰ νόμον), τρίτη δ' ἡν αἰσυμνητείαν προσαγορεύουσιν (αῦτη δ' ἐστὶν αἰρετὴ τυραννίς), τετάρτη δ' ἡ Λακωνικὴ τούτων· αῦτη δ' ἐστὶν ως εἰπεῖν ἀπλῶς στρατηγία κατὰ γένος ἀἰδιος.

15 Αὐται μὲν οὖν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον διαφέρουσιν ἀλλήλων,] πέμπτον δ' εἶδος βασιλείας, ὅταν ἢ πάντων κύριος εἶς οὐν, ωσπερ ἕκαστον ἔθνος καὶ πόλις ἐκάστη τῶν κοινῶν, τεταγμένη κατὰ τὴν οἰκονομικήν· ῶσπερ γὰρ ἡ οἰκονομικὴ βασιλεία τις οἰκίας ἐστίν, οὕτως ἡ βασιλεία πόλεως καὶ ἔθνους 15 ἐνὸς ἡ πλειόνων οἰκονομία. σχεδὸν δὴ δύο ἐστὶν ως εἰπεῖν

nistered the affairs of the state, both at home and abroad.'

ουσίαι κατελείφθησαν] as at Athens, Cyrene, Rome. Compare also the case of Mandrius, at Samos. Herod. III. 142.

dy voît inepoplois] 'in foreign affairs they had no more than the command of the army,' as distinct from the general foreign policy.

14 From μία to ἀλλήλων in § 15, I have enclosed in brackets, not meaning to any it is not genuine, not in fact attaching any importance to it, but simply to clear it out as unnecessary.

dul τισι 8' δρισμότοις] This recalls the expression of Thucydides, 1. 13, dul βητοῖε γόρασι πατρικαί βασιλεΐαι.

όκ γόνους] - κατά γόνος. τυύτων] και των κατά νόμον. Is the enumeration Aristotle's, with the explanations added in later?

15 δταν ή πάντων, κ.τ.λ.] 'When the sovereignty, with all that it implies, resides in one, and he has at his disposal all that is national, just as each tribe or each state is supreme in regard to its national property.'

τεταγμένη] to justify this feminine we must consider elbos βασιλείας as equivalent to βασιλεία, 'standing over against, corresponding in the political world, to the rule of the master of a household in the family life.'

XV. I σχεδον δή] It may be said then that there are really but two species of kingly government. In putting the Laconian so low, Mr Grote, 11. 104, note, thinks that Ariείδη βασιλείας περί ων σκεπτέον, αυτη τε καί ή Λακωνική. Monarchy τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων αἱ πολλαὶ μεταξὺ τούτων εἰσίν ἐλαττόνων μέν γαρ κύριοι της παμβασιλειας, πλειόνων δ' είσὶ της Λακωνικής. ωστε τὸ σκέμμα σχεδὸν περὶ δυοῖν ἐστίν, ἐν μὲν 2 πότερον συμφέρει ταῖς πόλεσι στρατηγὸν ἀίδιον είναι, καὶ τοῦτον ή κατὰ γένος ή κατὰ μέρος, ή οὐ συμφέρει εν δὲ πότερον ένα συμφέρει κύριον είναι πάντων, ή οὐ συμφέρει. τὸ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς τοιαύτης στρατηγίας ἐπισκοπεῖν νόμων 1286 έγει μάλλον είδος ή πολιτείας εν άπάσαις γαρ ενδέχεται γίγνεσθαι τοῦτο ταῖς πολιτείαις ωστ ἀφείσθω τὴν πρώτην. ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς τρόπος τῆς βασιλείας πολιτείας είδός 3 έστιν, ώστε περί τούτου δεῖ θεωρῆσαι καὶ τὰς ἀπορίας ἐπιδραμείν τὰς ἐνούσας. ᾿Αρχὴ δ᾽ ἐστὶ τῆς ζητήσεως αὕτη, Discussion πότερον συμφέρει μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρίστου ἀνδρὸς ἄρχε- monarchy σθαι ή ύπο τῶν ἀρίστων νόμων. δοκοῦσι δη τοῖς νομίζουσι 4 συμφέρειν βασιλεύεσθαι τὸ καθόλου μόνον οἱ νόμοι λέγειν, άλλ' ού πρός τὰ προσπίπτοντα ἐπιτάττειν, ώστ' ἐν ὁποιαοῦν τέχνη τὸ κατὰ γράμματ' ἄρχειν ήλίθιον καὶ ἐν Αίγύπτω μετά την τετρήμερον κινείν έξεστι τοίς ιατροίς, έαν δὲ πρότερον, ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτοῦ κινδύνω. Φανερὸν τοίνυν ώς οὐκ ἔστιν ή κατά γράμματα καὶ νόμους ἀρίστη πολιτεία διά την αυτην αιτίαν. 'Αλλά μην κάκεῖνον δεῖ υπάρχειν 5

stotle underrates the estimation in which the regal dignity was held at Sparta.

2 κατὰ μέρος] This is confessedly difficult. Stahr does not change the reading, but construes it as if it were alperόν, which, looking at Ch. XIV. 5, I confess, appears to me the best reading, better than κατ' ἀρετήν. St Hilaire, 'électif,' but without changing the text.

rόμων έχει μᾶλλον είδος] 'is rather a question of institutions than of a constitution.'

την πρώτην] "fürerst," Stahr; 'at once,' 'at first,' 'in the beginning,' Matthiæ, Gr. Gr. § 425, 5. Xen. Mem.

111. vi. 10.

4 δοκοῦσι δή] 'It is the opinion then of those who,' &c.

πρός τὰ προσπίπτοντα] 'with reference to circumstances as they arise.'

κατὰ γράμματα ἄρχειν] 'to be bound by the strict letter of the rule.'

Αἰγύπτφ] Herod. 11. 84.

μετὰ τὴν τετρήμερον] 'After the fourth day to change the treatment.'

5 ἀλλὰ μήν] '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.

of absolute

Discussion τον λόγον τον καθόλου τοῖς ἄρχουσιν. κρεῖττον δ ῷ μὴ monarchy. πρόσεστι τὸ παθητικὸν ὅλως ἡ ῷ συμφυές. τῷ μὲν οὖν νόμο τοῦτο οὐχ ὑπάρχει, ψυχὴν δ ἀνθρωπίνην ἀνάγκη τοῦτ' ἔγειν πάσαν. 'Αλλ' ἴσως αν φαίη τις ώς αντί τού-6 του βουλεύσεται περί των καθ έκαστα κάλλιον. ότι μέν τοίνυν ανάγκη νομοθέτην αύτον είναι, δήλον, και κείσθαι νόμους, άλλα μη χυρίους ή παρεχβαίνουσιν, έπεὶ περὶ τῶν γ' άλλον είναι δεί χυρίους. όσα δε μή δυνατόν τόν νόμον κρίνειν ή όλος ή εδ, πότερον ένα τον άριστον δεῖ άρχειν ή γπάντας; και γάρ νον συνιόντες δικάζουσι και βουλεύονται καὶ κρίνουσιν, αὐται δ' αἱ κρίσεις εἰσὶ πᾶσαι περὶ τῶν καθ' έκαστον. καθ ένα μέν ούν συμβαλλόμενος όστισούν Ισως γείρων αλλ' έστιν ή πόλις έκ πολλών, ώσπερ έστίασις συμφερτός καλλίων μιας καὶ άπλης. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ κρίνει * αικινον όγλος πολλά ή είς δστισούν. Ετι μαλλον άδιά- " Φίων το πολύ καθάπερ ύδωρ το πλείον, ούτω και το πλήθος του ολίχουν αδιαφθορώτερου τοῦ δ' ένδς ὑπ' ὀργῆς κοπτηθέντος ή τινος ετέρου πάθους τοιούτου άναγκαῖον διεφθάρθαι την κρίσιν έκει δ' έργον άμα πάντας όργισθη.

> spelvrer \$6] 'and there is an advantage in having that which is absolutely exempt from passion, rather than that in which passion is inherent.' Compare the language of the young patricians in Livy, 11. 3, "Regem hominem cese...Leges rem surdam, inexorabilem," &c.

τούτο] Βο. τὸ παθητικόν.

duri review] 'To compensate for this objection.'

6 remodityr] equivalent to the Adyou tou nadehou sudpheir, above.

κυρίους 🧃 παρεκβαίνουσιν] " Wo sie rom Rechten abirren," Stahr. "Là on olles so taisent," St Hil. "Qua parte recta via migrant," Vict. 'In exceptional cases,' is the meaning I attach to the expression, but it is diffleult. So far forth as there naturally occur cases in which men's conduct cannot be brought under the general statement. The undeviating language of the law cannot accommodate itself to the infinite variety of human actions.

7 και γάρ νῦν, κ.τ.λ.] "Experience is in favour of the latter, for, &c."

8 exer de] '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 Politica, takes little or no notice of this attribute belonging to every numerous assembly. He seems

ναι καὶ άμαρτεῖν ἔστω δὲ τὸ πληθος οἱ ἐλεύθεροι, μηδὲν Absolute παρά τον νόμον πράττοντες, άλλ' ή περί ών έκλείπειν άναγκαΐον αὐτόν εἰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο μὴ ῥάδιον ἐν πολλοῖς, ἀλλ' εἰ 9 πλείους είεν άγαθοί και άνδρες και πολίται, πότερον ο είς άδια Φθορώτερος άρχων, ή μαλλον οί πλείους μεν τον άριθμον άγαθοί δὲ πάντες; ἡ δῆλον ώς οἱ πλείους; 'Αλλ' οἱ 1286 > μεν στασιάζουσιν, δ δ είς άστασίαστος. άλλα πρός τοῦτ' 10 άντιθετέον ίσως ότι σπουδαΐοι την ψυχήν, ώσπερ κάκεῖνος ό είς. εί δη την μεν των πλειόνων άρχην άγαθων δ' άνδρων πάντων άριστοκρατίαν θετέον, την δε τοῦ ένος βασιλείαν, αίρετώτερον αν είη ταῖς πόλεσιν αριστοκρατία βασιλείας, καὶ μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ χωρίς δυνάμεως οὖσης τῆς άρχῆς, ἄν ή λαβείν πλείους όμοίους. καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἴσως ἐβασιλεύοντο 11 πρότερον, ότι σπάνιον ην εύρεῖν ἄνδρας πολύ διαφέροντας κατ' αρετήν, άλλως τε καὶ τότε μικράς οἰκοῦντας πόλεις. έτι δ' ἀπ' εὐεργεσίας καθίστασαν τοὺς βασιλεῖς, ὅπερ ἐστὶν έργον των αγαθων ανδρων. Επεί δε συνέβαινε γίγνεσθαι πολλούς όμοίους πρός άρετήν, ούκέτι ύπέμενον άλλ' εζήτουν κοινόν τι καλ πολιτείαν καθίστασαν. ἐπελ δὲ χείρους γιγνό- 12 μενοι έχρηματίζοντο από των κοινών, έντεῦθέν ποθεν εὔλο-

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 $\xi \sigma \tau \omega \delta \xi$, $\kappa.\tau.\lambda$.] '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 ἀλλά πρὸς 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,

II καl μετὰ δυνάμεως] 'whether it be provided or not with a force to compel obedience.'

ordinov η_{ν}] "He suspects that in such small communities great merit was very rare, so that the chief had few competitors." Grote, II. 89.

δπερ] εc. εὐεργεσία—ἀρετή is δύναμις εὐεργετική — ποριστική ἀγαθῶν καὶ φυλακτική. Rhet. 1. ix. 4. p. 1366, 36.

enel δέ] "i.e. after the early kings had had their day." Grote, III. 23, note.

κοινόν 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.

Absolute monarchy.

Τον γενέσθαι τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας ἐντιμον γὰρ ἐποίησαν τὸν κ. Τ. πλοῦτον. ἐκ δὲ τούτων πρῶτον εἰς τυραννίδας μετέβαλλον, ἐκ δὲ τῶν τυραννίδων εἰς δημοκρατίαν ἀεὶ γὰρ εἰς ἐλάττους ἄγοντες δι' αἰσχροκέρδειαν ἰσχυρότερον τὸ πλῆθος κατέστησαν, ῶστ' ἐπιθέσθαι καὶ γενέσθαι δημοκρατίας.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ μείζους εἶναι συμβέβηκε τὰς πόλεις, ἴσως οὐδὲ ράδιον ἔτι γίγνεσθαι πολιτείαν ἐτέραν παρὰ δημοκρατίαν. εἰ δὲ δή τις ἄριστον θείη τὸ βασιλεύεσθαι ταῖς πόλεσιν, πῶς ἔξει τὰ περὶ τῶν τέκνων; πότερον καὶ τὸ γένος δεῖ βασιλεύειν; ἀλλὰ γιγνομένων ὁποῖοί τινες ἔτυχον, βλαβε-14 ρόν. ᾿Αλλ' οὐ παραδώσει κύριος ὧν τοῖς τέκνοις. ἀλλ'

13 πως ξξει 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, Etudes Sociales sur les Constitutions des l'euples 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' άλλ' οὐ παραδώσει] But, says the assertor of monarchy, though he

οὐέτι τοῦτο ῥάδιον πιστεῦσαι χαλεπὸν γάρ, καὶ μείζονος Hereditary ἀρετῆς ἡ κατ' ἀνθρωπίνην Φύσιν. Εχει δ' ἀποριαν καὶ περὶ τῆς δυνάμεως, πότερον ἔχειν δεῖ τὸν μέλλοντα βασικεύειν ἰσχύν τινα περὶ αὐτόν, ἡ δυνήσεται βιάζεσθαι τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους πειθαρχεῖν, ἡ πῶς ἐνδέχεται τὴν ἀρχὴν διοικεῖν; εἰ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ νόμον εἰη κύριος, μηδὲν πράττων το κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ βούλησιν παρὰ τὸν νόμον, ὅμως ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ δύναμιν, ἡ Φυλάξει τοὺς νόμους. τάχα μὲν το οῦν τὰ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα τὸν τοιοῦτον οὐ χαλεπὸν διορίσαι. δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν μὲν ἔχειν ἰσχύν, εἶναι δὲ τοσαύτην τὴν ἰσχὺν ῶστε ἐκάστου μὲν καὶ ἐνὸς καὶ συμπλειόνων κρείττω, τοῦ δὲ πλήθους ἤττω, καθάπερ οῖ τ' ἀρχαῖοι τὰς Φυλακὰς ἐδίδοσαν, ὅτε καθισταῖέν τινα τῆς πόλεως δν ἐκάλουν αἰσυμνήτην ἡ τύραννον, καὶ Διονυσίω τις, ὅτ' ἤτει τοὺς Φύλακας, συνεβού-λευε τοῖς Συρακουσίοις διδόναι τοσούτους τοὺς Φύλακας.

Περὶ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ βούλησιν 16 1287 πάντα πράττοντος ὅ τε λόγος ἐΦέστηκε νῦν καὶ ποιητέον τὴν σκέψιν [΄Ο μὲν γὰρ κατὰ νόμον λεγόμενος βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἔστιν είδος, καθάπερ είπομεν, πολιτείας ἐν πάσαις γὰρ ὑπάρχειν ἐνδέχεται στρατηγίαν ἀίδιον, οἶον ἐν δημοκρατία καὶ ἀριστοκρατία, καὶ πολλοὶ ποιοῦσιν ἕνα 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 interêts 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.

της δυνάμεως] The power to be placed in his hands, 'la force matérielle.'

15 καλ κατὰ νόμον] 'was perfectly constitutional.'

16 τον τοιούτον] sc. τον κατα νόμον.
συμπλειόνων] 'more than one toge.her.'

τους φύλακας] 'his guards.' τοσούτους, only a sufficient number to protect him against any personal enemies, not against the people. Grote, x. 613, 614.

XVI. I δ λόγος ἐφέστηκε νῦν] 'The discussion naturally follows now.'

δ μὲν γάρ... βασιλεύs] This passage for clearness' sake, I inclose in brackets. By so doing I wish to shew that the sense is not worse without it; the repetition is avoided, and the δοκεί δέ of § 2 becomes clearer.

της διοικήσεως] 'of the executive.'

Aimolate Aimolate

πησεως τωσότι, γαρ άρχή τίς έστι και περί Επίδαμνον. και τερί Ότουντα δε κατά τι μέρος ελαττον. περί δε της πεμισειλείας καλουμένης, αυτη δ' έστὶ καθ' ήν άρχει πάν. των κατά την έαυτου βούλησιν ο βασιλεύς,] δοκεί δέ τισιν εύδε κατά φύσιν είναι το κύριον ένα πάντων είναι των πολιτων, όπου συνέστηκεν εξ όμοίων ή πόλις τοῖς γὰρ ὁμοίοις Φύσει το αύτο δίκαιον άναγκαῖον καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν άξίαν κατά ्रेंडा रोम्बा, केंडा रॉम्ड्र स्वो को विमार हैप्रहार τους ανίσους τροτοις σώμασιν, ούτως έχει καί τὸ 3 περί τὰς τιμάς. ὁμοίως τοίνυν καὶ τὸ ἄνισον τοὺς ἴσους. διόπες σύδεν μαλλον άρχειν ή άρχεσθαι δίκαιον. καί το ανα μέρος τοίνου ούσαύτους. τοῦτο δ' ήδη νόμος. ή γαρ τάξις νόμος. τον άρα νόμον άρχειν αίρετώτερον μάλλον ή 4 τῶν πολιτῶν ἕνα τινά. κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ λόγον τοῦτον, κάν εί τινας άρχειν βέλτιον, τούτους καταστατέον νομοφύλακας καὶ ὑπηρέτας τοῖς νόμοις ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ εἶναί τινας αρχας, αλλ ούχ ένα τούτον είναι φασι δίκαιον δμοίων γε έντων πάντων. 'Αλλά μὴν όσα γε μὴ δοκεῖ δύνασθαι διομίζειν ο νόμος, σύδ άνθρωπος άν δύναιτο γνωρίζειν. 3 επίτηδες παιδεύσας ο νόμος εφίστησι τα λοιπά τῆ δικαιοτατη γπομη κρίνειν και διοικείν τους άρχοντας.

dry ver und Endagemen] the hogue d est of VIII. (V.) t. 11. At Opus the title was Chemopolis. Smith, Geogr. Par. 190. A.

2 same [8] From this to the end of the chapter is a discussion of the question appreciation.

3 and vo ded news downers.] 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?

minimum of the fract, and desirings and

who has review] "not this one man that you speak of."

deld who has you used. The law, it so would conside the

detail, but neither can a man grasp all possible details—an objection.

5 'True. This is allowed for—and the law expressly trains its rulers, and then sets them to judge to the best of their judgment,'

δ μέν οὖν τὸν νοῦν, κ.τ.λ.] I feel little doubt that the true reading is νόμον; and for τοὸς νόμους, τὸν νοῦν μόνους. • 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. 44. note 39.

'when in power.'

157

ἐπανορθοῦσθαι δίδωσιν, ὅ τι αν δόξη πειρωμένοις ἄμεινον Absolute είναι τῶν κειμένων, ὁ μὲν οὖν τὸν νόμον κελεύων ἄρχειν δοκεί κελεύειν άρχειν τον θεον και τον νοῦν μόνους, δ δ άνθρωπον κελεύων προστίθησι καὶ θηρίον ή τε γάρ ἐπιθυμία τοιούτον, και ο θυμος άρχοντας διαστρέφει και τούς άρίστους ἄνδρας. διόπερ ἄνευ ὀρέξεως νοῦς ὁ νόμος ἐστίν. Τὸ δὲ τῶν τεχνῶν είναι δοκεῖ παράδειγμα ψεῦδος, ὅτι τὸ 6 κατά γράμματα ἰατρεύεσθαι Φαῦλον, άλλὰ καὶ αἰρετώτερον γρησθαι τοῖς ἔχουσι τὰς τέχνας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν διὰ 7 Φιλίαν παρά τὸν λόγον ποιοῦσιν, άλλ' ἄρνυνται τὸν μισθὸν τοὺς κάμνοντας ὑγιάσαντες οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς πολιτικαῖς ἀργαῖς πολλά πρός ἐπήρειαν καὶ χάριν εἰώθασι πράττειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τούς λατρούς όταν ύποπτεύωσι πιστευθέντας τοῖς έγθροῖς διαφθείρειν διά κέρδος, τότε την έκ τῶν γραμμάτων θεραπείαν ζητήσαιεν αν μαλλον. άλλα μην εἰσάγονταί γ' ἐφ' 8 1287 B έαυτούς οἱ ἰατροὶ κάμνοντες ἄλλους ἰατρούς καὶ οἱ παιδοτρίβαι γυμναζόμενοι παιδοτρίβας, ώς οὐ δυνάμενοι κρίνειν τὸ άληθες διά τὸ κρίνειν περί τε οἰκείων καὶ ἐν πάθει ὄντες. ώστε δήλον ότι τὸ δίκαιον ζητούντες τὸ μέσον ζητούσιν ό γάρ νόμος τὸ μέσον. ἔτι κυριώτεροι καὶ περὶ κυριωτέρων 9 τῶν κατὰ γράμματα νόμων, οἱ κατὰ τὰ ἔθη εἰσίν, ώστε τῶν κατά γράμματα ἄνθρωπος ἄρχων ἀσφαλέστερος, άλλ' οὐ τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἔθος. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ ῥάδιον ἐφορᾶν πολλὰ τὸν Ένα · δεήσει ἄρα πλείονας είναι τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καθιστα-

· νοῦν-τοὺς νόμους Bekker.

δρέξεως] The term includes θυμός and ἐπιθυμία—δρεκτικόν μέρος.

7 πρὸς ἐπήρειαν] 'for the annoyance of others.'

8 ἀλλὰ μήν] 'Nor is it to be forgotten, that in point of fact physicians call in other physicians.'

περὶ οἰκείων] above, IX. II.

&στε δῆλον] 'So that it is clear that when men are seeking for what is just they look for that which is in the mean.'

9 of Kara 7a fon The written laws

of a nation are never more than the imperfect transcript of the unwritten laws, its manners, its customs, its modes of social existence. And they are only powerful in proportion as they are the transcript of these. Compare Ch. Comte, Traité de Législation, Liv. II. Tom. I. p. 289.

άλλὰ μήν] Another objection. Practically the power cannot be in one man, it is as well to recognise this at once. Again, two good men are better than one.

Absolute

μένους άρχοντας, ώστε τί διαφέρει τοῦτο ἐξ άρχῆς εὐθὺς ύπάρχειν ή τὸν ενα καταστήσαι τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον; ἔτι, δ καλ πρότερον είρημένον έστίν, είπερ ὁ άνηρ ὁ σπουδαῖος, διότι βελτίων, άρχειν δίκαιος, τοῦ δὲ ἐνὸς οἱ δύο ἀγαθοὶ βελτίους τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ

σύν τε δύ' ἐρχομένω

καὶ ή εὐχὴ τοῦ ᾿Αγαμέμνονος, A GOLDSON To Calar

τοιοῦτοι δέκα μοι συμφράδμονες.

είσι δε και νῦν περι ενίων αι άρχαι κύριαι κρίνειν, ώσπερ ό δικαστής, περί ών ο νόμος άδυνατεῖ διορίζειν, ἐπεὶ περί ών δυνατός, οὐδεὶς ἀμφισβητεῖ περὶ τούτων ώς οὐκ αν ἄριστα τι ο νόμος ἄρξειε καὶ κρίνειεν. άλλ' ἐπειδή τὰ μὲν ἐνδέχεται περιληφθήναι τοῖς νόμοις τὰ δ' ἀδύνατα, ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἃ ποιεῖ διαπορείν και ζητείν πότερον τον άριστον νόμον άρχειν αίρετώτερον ή τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἄριστον. περὶ ὧν γὰρ βουλεύονται νομοθετήσαι των άδυνάτων έστίν. οὐ τοίνυν τοῦτό γ' ἀντιλέγουσιν, ώς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἄνθρωπον είναι τὸν κρινοῦντα περὶ τῶν τοιούτων, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐχ ἔνα μόνον ἀλλὰ κρίνει γάρ έκαστος άρχων πεπαιδευμένος ύπὸ 12 πολλούς. τοῦ νόμου καλῶς, ἄτοπον δ Ίσως αν είναι δόξειεν εί βέλτιον ίδοι τις δυοίν δμμασι καλ δυσίν άκοαϊς κρίνων, καλ πράττων δυσί ποσί και χερσίν, ή πολλοί πολλοῖς, ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν όφθαλμούς πολλούς οἱ μόναρχοι ποιοῦσιν αύτῶν καὶ ὧτα και χειρας και πόδας. τους γάρ τη άρχη και αυτου Φίλους 13 ποιούνται συνάρχους. μη Φίλοι μεν ούν όντες ού ποιήσουσι κατά την τοῦ μονάρχου προαίρεσιν εί δε Φίλοι κάκείνου καλ της άρχης, δ γε φίλος Ίσος και δμοιος ωστ' εί τούτους

¹⁰ τοῦ δέ ἐνός] The δέ marks the apodosis, 'then than the one two are better.' R. x. 224. 11. 372.

II περιληφθήναι] 'can be embraced by the law.'

περί ων γάρ βουλεύονται] Eth. 111. 5. p. 1112, 18.

¹² nales to be taken with refree. αὐτοῦ] The Scholiast on the expression in Aristophanes, Acharn. 92, του

βασιλέως ὀφθαλμόν, reads αύτοῖς when quoting this passage; but looking at the excivou in the next line but one, it seems unnecessary to make any change. αὐτοῦ must mean the monarch himself.

¹³ μη φίλοι] 'If not friends, they are not safe; if friends, they are equal and like.' δ γε φίλος, 'The friend, it must be allowed, is equal and like.'

οΐεται δείν άρχειν, τους Ισους καὶ ομοίους άρχειν οίεται δείν Absolute monarchy. όμοίως. ά μέν οὖν οἱ διαμφισβητοῦντες πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν λέγουσι, σχεδον ταῦτ' ἐστίν. 'Αλλ' ἴσως ταῦτ' ἐπὶ 17 μέν τινων έχει τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον, ἐπὶ δέ τινων οὐχ οῦτως. ἔστι γάρ τι φύσει δεσποστὸν καὶ ἄλλο βασιλευτὸν καὶ άλλο πολιτικόν καὶ δίκαιον καὶ συμφέρον. τυραννικόν δ' οὐκ ἔστι κατὰ Φύσιν, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτειῶν ὅσαι παρεκβάσεις είσίν ταῦτα γὰρ γίγνεται παρά Φύσιν. άλλ' ἐκ τῶν είρημένων γε Φανερόν ώς έν μεν τοῖς όμοίοις καὶ ἴσοις οὔτε 1288 συμφέρον έστιν ούτε δίκαιον ένα κύριον είναι πάντων, ούτε μη νόμων δντων, άλλ' αὐτὸν ώς δντα νόμον, οὖτε νόμων δυτων, οὖτε ἀγαθὸν ἀγαθῶν οὖτε μὴ ἀγαθῶν μὴ ἀγαθόν, ούδ αν κατ' άρετην άμείνων ή, εί μη τρόπον τινά. τίς δ' 3 ό τρόπος, λεκτέον είρηται δέ πως ήδη και πρότερον. πρῶτον δε διοριστέον τί το βασιλευτόν και τί το άριστοκρατικὸν καὶ τί τὸ πολιτικόν. Βασιλευτὸν μὲν οὖν τὸ τοιοῦτόν 4 έστι πλήθος δ πέφυκε φέρειν γένος ύπερέχον κατ' άρετην πρὸς ήγεμονίαν πολιτικήν, άριστοκρατικὸν δὲ πληθος δ πέφυκε φέρειν πλήθος ἄρχεσθαι δυνάμενον την τῶν ἐλευθέρων άρχην ύπο των κατ' άρετην ήγεμονικών προς πολιτικήν άρ-

δμοίωs] ' equally with himself.'

a μèν οδν Here end the ἀπορίαι or discussions, which began in § 2, and Aristotle speaks in his own person in the next chapter throughout.

XVII. 1 καὶ δίκαιον καὶ συμφέρον] The simplest way of taking this passage is, with Stahr, to supply πλῆθος with τι. '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.'

φέρειν γένος] 'To bear or produce a

² $\partial \lambda \lambda'$ $\partial \kappa$ $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$, $\kappa.\tau.\lambda$.] 'Allowing for the fact of this difference, it seems at any rate clearly proved from what we have said.'

αὐτὸν ὡς ὅντα νόμον] Compare III. XIII. 14.

el μη τρόπον τινά] 'except in one certain case,' the case provided for XIII. 25, and below, § 5, the case in which the virtue of the individual is equal to the virtue of the collective body of citizens.

⁴ βασιλευτόν μὲν οδν, κ.τ.λ.] This passage, though apparently redundant and susceptible of improvement by pruning, may yet be construed, as it is, and though Stahr omits parts, I am inclined to retain it entire.

Monarchy.

ον δέ κ' εγών ἀπάνευθε μάχης,— Φελονίο νεήτω

μιμνο η σιν πορά νησά κορωνίσιν —ου οί— ξ'πειτω

καρκιον εσσειται φυγέειν κύνας ήδ' οἰωνούς (πὰρ γὰρ εμοὶ θάνατος.)

εν μεν ούν τοῦτ' είδος βασιλείας, στρατηγία διά βίου τού-6 των δ' αί μεν κατά γένος είσίν, αί δ' αίρεταί. Παρά ταύτην δ' άλλο μοναρχίας είδος, οίαι παρ' ένίοις είσι βασιλείαι τῶν βαρβάρων. ἔχουσι δ' αὖται τὴν δύναμιν πᾶσαι παραπλησίαν τυραννική, είσὶ δ όμως κατά νόμον καὶ πατρικαί διὰ γὰρ τὸ δουλικώτεροι είναι τὰ ἤθη Φύσει οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν ᾿Ασίαν τῶν περὶ την Εύρώπην, ύπομένουσι την δεσποτικήν άρχην ούδεν δυστυραννικαί μεν ούν διά το τοιοῦτόν είσιν, 7 χεραίνοντες. άσφαλεῖς δὲ διὰ τὸ πάτριαι καὶ κατὰ νόμον είναι. καὶ ή Φυλακή δε βασιλική και ού τυραννική διά την αύτην αίτίαν. οί γάρ πολίται Φυλάττουσιν ὅπλοις τοὺς βασιλεῖς, τοὺς δε τυράννους ξενικόν. οι μεν γαρ κατα νόμον και έκόντων, οί δ' ἀκόντων ἄρχουσιν, ῶσθ' οἱ μὲν παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς πολίτας ἔχουσι τὴν Φυλακήν. δύο μὲν οὖν εἴδη ζΞ ταῦτα μοναρχίας, ετερον δ' όπερ ην εν τοῖς άρχαίοις Ελλησιν, οὖς καλοῦσιν αἰσυμνήτας. ἔστι δὲ τοῦθ ώς ἀπλῶς

word for the Homeric times, as applied to the \$\beta \text{ow} \text{\$\eta}\$ of the chiefs. But did Aristotle recognise, 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 ll. 11. 391.

πάρ γάρ έμοι θάνατος] This, as Mr Grote remarks, 11. 86, is not in our present copies. "The Alexandrian critics," he adds, "effaced many traces of old manners."

κατά γένος] 'hereditary.'

6 παρ' évlois τῶν βαρβάρων] is the

έχουσι δ' αδται] 'In all of these the power is very similar to that in a

tyranny.' On this language, as applicable to the Oriental empires, whether ancient or modern, see Mr Cornewall Lewis' remarks, On Authority in Matters of Opinion, pp. 192, 3.

δουλικώτεροι τὰ ήθη] Comp. below, IV. (VII.) 7, on this distinction of Tages

ουδεν δυσχεραίνοντες] 'æquo animo,' 'cheerfully.'

7 ἡ φυλακή] 'The guards they employ:' compare, for the prominent position given to this subject, the expression, Rhet. 1. viii. 5, τυραννίδος τέλος φυλακή.

8 alsvurfras] On this officer, analogous to the Roman dictator, comp. Grote, III. 86; Thirlw. I. 401, "At Cuma and in other cities, this was the title of an ordinary magistracy, pro-

εἰπεῖν αἰρετὴ τυραννις, διαφέρουσα δὲ τῆς βαρβαρικῆς οὐ Μοπατολγ.
τῷ μὴ κατὰ νόμον ἀλλὰ τῷ μὴ πάτριος εἶναι μόνον. ἦρχον 9
δ' οἱ μὲν διὰ βίου τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην, οἱ δὲ μέχρι τινῶν
ώρισμένων χρόνων ἢ πράξεων, οἶον εἶλοντό ποτε Μιτυληναῖοι Πιττακὸν πρὸς τοὺς φυγάδας ὧν προειστήκεσαν ἀντιμενίδης καὶ ἀλκαῖος ὁ ποιητής. δηλοῖ δ' ἀλκαῖος ὅτι 10
τύραννον εἴλοντο τὸν Πιττακὸν ἔν τινι τῶν σκολιῶν μελῶν・
ἐπιτιμῷ γὰρ ὅτι

τὸν κακοπάτριδα Πιττακὸν πόλεως τᾶς ἀχόλω καὶ βαρυδαίμονος ἐστάσαντο τύραννον μέγ' ἐπαινέοντες ἀολλέες. Ελογοές

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αύται μὲν οὖν εἰσί τε καὶ ἦσαν διὰ μὲν τὸ τυραννικαὶ εἶναι 11 δεσποτικαί, διὰ δὲ τὸ αἰρεταὶ καὶ ἐκόντων βασιλικαί. Τέταρτον δ᾽ εἶδος μοναρχίας βασιλικῆς αἰ κατὰ τοὺς ἡρωϊκοὺς Ἦχρόνους ἐκούσιαί τε καὶ πάτριαι γιγνόμεναι κατὰ νόμον. διὰ γὰρ τὸ τοὺς πρώτους γενέσθαι τοῦ πλήθους εὐεργέτας 12 κατὰ τέχνας ἢ πόλεμον, ἢ διὰ τὸ συναγαγεῖν ἢ πορίσαι χώραν, ἐγίγνοντο βασιλεῖς ἐκόντων καὶ τοῖς παραλαμβάνουσι πάτριοι. κύριοι δ᾽ ἦσαν τῆς τε κατὰ πόλεμον ἡγενουίας καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν, ὅσαι μὴ ἱερατικαί, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τὰς δίκας ἔκρινον. τοῦτο δ᾽ ἐποίουν οἱ μὲν οὐκ ὀμνύοντες, οἱ δ᾽ ὀμνύοντες · ὁ δ᾽ ὄρκος ἦν τοῦ σκήπτρου ἐπανάτασις. Ενοί μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων χρόνων καὶ τὰ κατὰ πόλιν 13

bably of that which succeeded the hereditary monarchy; but, when applied to an extraordinary office, it was equivalent to the title of protector or dictator."

9 μεχρὶ τινῶν, κ.τ.λ.] 'for some definite time named, or for some specified objects.' "Pittacus of Mitylene is the prominent instance." Grote, III. 27, and later, pp. 267, 8.

10 είλοντο] The stress lies on this

σκολιών] σκολίων, see L. and S. Alcæus, Fragm. 37, Bergk, 1st Ed. p. 579. The readings there are, πόλως for πόλεως; ζαχόλω for ἀχόλω;

έπαίνεντες for έπαινέοντες; ἀχόλω, 'lacking gall,' ζαχόλω is the contrary.

δσαι μη leparimal] 'with the exception of those that required a priest.'

τοῦ σκήπτρου ἐπανάτασις] Ιλ. χ. 321.

13 The first καί I should leave out with St Hilaire. If kept: 'They administered without exception the affairs of the state, whether in the city itself, or in the country, or abroad.' If left out, then it is: 'They admi-

¹¹ They were for the good of those who submitted to them, and consequently not tyrannical.

¹² κατά τέχνας] 'in teaching them arts.'

Μοπατολυ. καλ τὰ ἔνδημα καλ τὰ ὑπερόρια συνεχῶς ἦρχον · ὕστερον
δὲ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν παριέντων τῶν βασιλέων, τὰ δὲ τῶν
ὅχλων παραιρουμένων, ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι θυσίαι
κατελείφθησαν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι μόνον, ὅπου δ' ἄξιον εἰπεῖν
εἶναι βασιλείαν, ἐν τοῖς ὑπερορίοις τῶν πολεμικῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν μόνον εἶχον.

4 Βασιλείας μεν οὖν εἴδη ταῦτα, τέτταρα τὸν ἀριθμόν, [μία μεν ή περὶ τοὺς ήρωϊκοὺς χρόνους (αὕτη δ' ἦν ἐκόντων μέν, ἐπί τισι δ' ὡρισμένοις· στρατηγὸς γὰρ ἦν καὶ δικαστής ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς κύριος), δευτέρα δ' ἡ βαρβαρική (αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἐκ γένους ἀρχὴ δεσποτικὴ κατὰ νόμον), τρίτη δ' ἡν αἰσυμνητείαν προσαγορεύουσιν (αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν αἰρετὴ τυραννίς), τετάρτη δ' ἡ Λακωνικὴ τούτων· αῦτη δ' ἐστὶν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀπλῶς στρατηγία κατὰ γένος ἀίδιος.

15 Αυται μέν οὖν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον διαφέρουσιν ἀλλήλων,]
πέμπτον δ εἶδος βασιλείας, ὅταν ἢ πάντων κύριος εἶς τὖν,
ωσπερ ἔκαστον ἔθνος καὶ πόλις ἐκάστη τῶν κοινῶν, τεταγμένη κατὰ τὴν οἰκονομικήν τῶσπερ γὰρ ἡ οἰκονομικὴ βασιλεία τις οἰκίας ἐστίν, οῦτως ἡ βασιλεία πόλεως καὶ ἔθνους
15 ἐνὸς ἢ πλειόνων οἰκονομία. σχεδὸν δὴ δύο ἐστὶν ως εἰπεῖν

nistered the affairs of the state, both at home and abroad.'

ourial κατελείφθησαν] as at Athens, Cyrene, Rome. Compare also the case of Mæandrius, at Samos. Herod. π. 142.

dr voîs orecoploss] 'in foreign affairs they had no more than the command of the army,' as distinct from the general foreign policy.

14 From μla to ἀλλήλων 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.

ἐπί τισι δ' ώρισμένοις] This recalls the expression of Thucydides, 1. 13, ἐπὶ ἡπτοῖς γέρασι πατρικαὶ βασιλεῖαι.

ik yévous] = Katà yévos.

τούτων] sc. τών κατά νόμον. Is the

enumeration Aristotle's, with the explanations added in later?

15 δταν ἢ πάντων, κ.τ.λ.] 'When the sovereignty, with all that it implies, resides in one, and he has at his disposal all that is national, just as each tribe or each state is supreme in regard to its national property.'

τεταγμένη] to justify this feminine we must consider elbos βασιλείας as equivalent to βασιλεία, 'standing over against, corresponding in the political world, to the rule of the master of a household in the family life.'

XV. I σχεδον δή] It may be said then that there are really but two species of kingly government. In putting the Laconian so low, Mr Grote, 11. 104, note, thinks that Ariείδη βασιλείας περί ών σκεπτέον, αυτη τε καὶ ή Λακωνική. Monarchy τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων αἱ πολλαὶ μεταξὸ τούτων εἰσίν ἐλαττόνων μέν γάρ κύριοι της παμβασιλειας, πλειόνων δ' είσὶ της Λακωνικής. ωστε τὸ σκέμμα σχεδὸν περὶ δυοῖν ἐστίν, ἐν μὲν 2 πότερον συμφέρει ταῖς πόλεσι στρατηγὸν ἀίδιον είναι, καὶ τοῦτον ή κατά γένος ή κατά μέρος, ή οὐ συμφέρει εν δε πότερον ένα συμφέρει κύριον είναι πάντων, ή οὐ συμφέρει. τὸ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς τοιαύτης στρατηγίας ἐπισκοπεῖν νόμων 1286 έχει μάλλον είδος ή πολιτείας εν άπάσαις γαρ ενδέχεται γίγνεσθαι τοῦτο ταῖς πολιτείαις ωστ' ἀφείσθω τὴν πρώτην. ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς τρόπος τῆς βασιλείας πολιτείας είδος 3 έστιν, ώστε περί τούτου δεί θεωρήσαι και τας απορίας έπιδραμεῖν τὰς ἐνούσας. ᾿Αρχὴ δ᾽ ἐστὶ τῆς ζητήσεως αὖτη, Discussion πότερον συμφέρει μαλλον ύπο τοῦ ἀρίστου ἀνδρος ἄρχε- monarchy σθαι ή ύπο των αρίστων νόμων. δοκούσι δή τοῖς νομίζουσι 4 συμφέρειν βασιλεύεσθαι τὸ καθόλου μόνον οἱ νόμοι λέγειν, άλλ' ού πρός τὰ προσπίπτοντα ἐπιτάττειν, ώστ' ἐν ὁποιαοῦν τέχνη τὸ κατά γράμματ' ἄρχειν ήλίθιον καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτω μετά την τετρήμερον χινείν έξεστι τοίς ιατροίς, έαν δὲ πρότερον, ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτοῦ κινδύνω. Φανερὸν τοίνυν ώς ούκ έστιν ή κατά γράμματα καὶ νόμους άρίστη πολιτεία διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν. ᾿Αλλὰ μὴν κάκεῖνον δεῖ ὑπάρχειν 5

stotle underrates the estimation in which the regal dignity was held at Sparta.

2 κατὰ μέρος] This is confessedly difficult. Stahr does not change the reading, but construes it as if it were αἰρετόν, which, looking at Ch. XIV. 5, I confess, appears to me the best reading, better than κατ' ἀρετήν. St Hilaire, 'électif,' but without changing the text.

νόμων έχει μάλλον elδos] 'is rather a question of institutions than of a constitution.'

την πρώτην] "fürerst," Stahr; 'at once,' 'at first,' 'in the beginning,' Matthiæ, Gr. Gr. § 425, 5. Xen. Mem.

111. vi. 10.

4 δοκοῦσι δή] 'It is the opinion then of those who,' &c.

πρός τὰ προσπίπτοντα] 'with reference to circumstances as they arise.'

κατὰ γράμματα ἄρχειν] 'to be bound by the strict letter of the rule.'

Aλγύπτφ] Herod. 11. 84.

μετὰ τὴν τετρήμερον] 'After the fourth day to change the treatment.'

5 ἀλλὰ μήν] '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.

καιών των λόγον τὸν καθόλου τοῖς ἄρχουσιν. κρεῖττον δ' ῷ μλή 🖎 πρόσεστι τὸ παθητικὸν ὅλως ἡ ῷ συμφυές. τῷ μὲν οὖν νόμιο τοῦτο οὐχ ὑπάρχει, ψυχὴν δ ἀνθρωπίνην ἀνάγκη τοῦτ' ἔχειν πᾶσαν. 'Αλλ' ἴσως αν φαίη τις ώς άντὶ τού-6 του βουλεύσεται περί τῶν καθ έκαστα κάλλιον. ὅτι μεν τοίνυν ἀνάγκη νομοθέτην αύτὸν είναι, δηλον, καὶ κεῖσθαι νόμους, άλλα μη χυρίους ή παρεχβαίνουσιν, έπεὶ περὶ τῶν γ' άλλων είναι δεί κυρίους. όσα δε μή δυνατόν τον νόμον κρίνειν η όλως η εδ, πότερον ένα τον άριστον δεῖ άρχειν η 7 πάντας; καὶ γὰρ νῦν συνιόντες δικάζουσι καὶ βουλεύονται καλ κρίνουσιν, αύται δ' αἱ κρίσεις εἰσὶ πᾶσαι περὶ τῶν καθ' έκαστον. καθ ένα μεν ούν συμβαλλόμενος δστισούν Ισως γείρων άλλ' έστιν ή πόλις έκ πολλών, ώσπερ έστίασις συμφορητὸς καλλίων μιᾶς καὶ άπλῆς. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ κρίνει 8 αμεινον όχλος πολλά ή είς δστισούν. Ετι μαλλον άδιά- 🗥 Φθορον τὸ πολύ καθάπερ ύδωρ τὸ πλεῖον, οῦτω καὶ τὸ πληθος τῶν ὀλίγων ἀδιαφθορώτερον τοῦ δ' ένὸς ὑπ' ὀργης κρατηθέντος ή τινος ετέρου πάθους τοιούτου άναγκαῖον διεφθάρθαι την κρίσιν έκει δ' έργον αμα πάντας όργισθη-

epertror bel 'and there is an advantage in having that which is absolutely exempt from passion, rather than that in which passion is inherent.' Compare the language of the young patricians in Livy, 11. 3, "Regem hominem esse...Leges rem surdam, inexorabilem," &c.

τούτο] ες. τὸ παθητικόν.

dryl τούτου] 'To compensate for this objection.'

6 νομοθέτην] equivalent to τον λόγον τον καθόλου ύπαρχειν, above.

κυρίους ή παρεκβαίνουσιν] "wo sie rom Rechten abirren," Stahr. où elles se taisent," St Hil. "Qua parte recta via migrant," Vict. exceptional cases,' is the meaning I attach to the expression, but it is difficult. So far forth as there naturally oscur cases in which men's conduct cannot be brought under the general statement. The undeviating language of the law cannot accommodate itself to the infinite variety of human ac-

7 καὶ γὰρ νῦν, κ.τ.λ.] "Experience is in favour of the latter, for, &c." Stahr.

8 exer 86] '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 Politica, takes little or no notice of this attribute belonging to every numerous assembly. He seems

ναι καὶ άμαρτεῖν: ἔστω δὲ τὸ πληθος οἱ ἐλεύθεροι, μηδὲν Absolute παρὰ τὸν νόμον πράττοντες, ἀλλ' ἢ περὶ ὧν ἐκλείπειν ἀναγκαΐον αὐτον εί δε δη τοῦτο μη ράδιον εν πολλοῖς, άλλ' εί 9 πλείους είεν άγαθοί και άνδρες και πολίται, πότερον ο είς άδιαφθορώτερος άρχων, ή μαλλον οί πλείους μέν τον άριθμον άγαθοι δὲ πάντες; ἡ δῆλον ώς οι πλείους; 'Αλλ' οι 1286 » μεν στασιάζουσιν, ὁ δ εἶς ἀστασίαστος. ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦτ' 10 άντιθετέον Ισως ότι σπουδαΐοι την ψυχήν, ώσπερ κάκεῖνος ό είς. εί δη την μεν των πλειόνων άρχην άγαθων δ' άνδρων πάντων άριστοκρατίαν θετέου, την δε τοῦ ένος βασιλείαν, αίρετώτερον αν είη ταῖς πόλεσιν άριστοκρατία βασιλείας, καὶ μετά δυνάμεως καὶ χωρίς δυνάμεως οὖσης τῆς άρχῆς, αν η λαβείν πλείους όμοίους. καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἴσως ἐβασιλεύοντο 11 πρότερου, ότι σπάνιου ην εύρειν ανδρας πολύ διαφέροντας κατ' αρετήν, άλλως τε καὶ τότε μικράς οἰκοῦντας πόλεις. έτι δ' ἀπ' εὐεργεσίας καθίστασαν τοὺς βασιλεῖς, ὅπερ ἐστὶν έργον των αγαθων ανδρων. έπει δε συνέβαινε γίγνεσθαι πολλούς δμοίους πρός αρετήν, οὐκέτι ὑπέμενον αλλ' ἐζήτουν κοινόν τι καλ πολιτείαν καθίστασαν. ἐπελ δὲ χείρους γιγνό- 12 μενοι έχρηματίζοντο από των κοινων, έντευθέν ποθεν εύλο-

> II καὶ μετὰ δυνάμεως] 'whether it be provided or not with a force to compel obedience.'

> σπάνιον ∜ην] "He suspects that in such small communities great merit was very rare, so that the chief had few competitors." Grote, π. 89.

ἐπεὶ δέ] "i.e. after the early kings had had their day." Grote, iii. 23, note.

κοινόν 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.

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 ξοτω δέ, 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 ἀλλά πρὸς 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.



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γον γενέσθαι τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας ἔντιμον γὰρ ἐποίησαν τὸν πλοῦτον. ἐκ δὲ τούτων πρῶτον εἰς τυραννίδας μετέβαλλον, ἐκ δὲ τῶν τυραννίδων εἰς δημοκρατίαν ἀεὶ γὰρ εἰς ἐλάττους ἄγοντες δι' αἰσχροκέρδειαν ἰσχυρότερον τὸ πλῆθος κατέστησαν, ῶστ' ἐπιθέσθαι καὶ γενέσθαι δημοκρατίας.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ μείζους εἶναι συμβέβηκε τὰς πόλεις, ἴσως οὐδὲ βάδιον ἔτι γίγνεσθαι πολιτείαν ἐτέραν παρὰ δημοκρατίαν. εἰ δὲ δή τις ἄριστον θείη τὸ βασιλεύεσθαι ταῖς πόλεσιν, πῶς ἔξει τὰ περὶ τῶν τέκνων; πότερον καὶ τὸ γένος δεῖ βασιλεύειν; ἀλλὰ γιγνομένων ὁποῖοί τινες ἔτυχον, βλαβε-14 ρόν. ᾿Αλλ' οὐ παραδώσει κύριος ὧν τοῖς τέκνοις. ἀλλὰ

13 πῶς 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. 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' οὐ παραδώσει] But, says the assertor of monarchy, though he

οὐέτι τοῦτο ῥάδιον πιστεῦσαι· χαλεπὸν γάρ, καὶ μείζονος Hereditary ἀρετῆς ἢ κατ' ἀνθρωπίνην Φύσιν. Έχει δ' ἀποριαν καὶ περὶ τῆς δυνάμεως, πότερον ἔχειν δεῖ τὸν μέλλοντα βασιλεύειν ἰσχύν τινα περὶ αὐτόν, ἢ δυνήσεται βιάζεσθαι τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους πειθαρχεῖν, ἢ πῶς ἐνδέχεται τὴν ἀρχὴν διοικεῖν; εἰ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ νόμον εἰη κύριος, μηδὲν πράττων τς κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ βούλησιν παρὰ τὸν νόμον, ὅμως ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ δύναμιν, ἢ Φυλάξει τοὺς νόμους. τάχα μὲν το οὖν τὰ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα τὸν τοιοῦτον οὐ χαλεπὸν διορίσαι· δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν μὲν ἔχειν ἰσχύν, εἶναι δὲ τοσαύτην τὴν ἰσχὺν ῶστε ἐκάστου μὲν καὶ ἐνὸς καὶ συμπλειόνων κρείττω, τοῦ δὲ πλήθους ἤττω, καθάπερ οῖ τ' ἀρχαῖοι τὰς Φυλακὰς ἐδίδοσαν, ὅτε καθισταῖέν τινα τῆς πόλεως δν ἐκάλουν αἰσυμνήτην ἡ τύραννον, καὶ Διονυσίω τις, ὅτ' ἤτει τοὺς Φύλακας, συνεβούλευε τοῖς Συρακουσίοις διδόναι τοσούτους τοὺς Φύλακας.

Περὶ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ βούλησιν 16 1287 πάντα πράττοντος ὅ τε λόγος ἐΦέστηκε νῦν καὶ ποιητέον τὴν σκέψιν [΄Ο μὲν γὰρ κατὰ νόμον λεγόμενος βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἔστιν εἶδος, καθάπερ εἴπομεν, πολιτείας ἐν πάσαις γὰρ ὑπάρχειν ἐνδέχεται στρατηγίαν ἀΐδιον, οἶον ἐν δημοκρατία καὶ ἀριστοκρατία, καὶ πολλοὶ ποιοῦσιν ἕνα 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 interêts 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.

της δυνάμεως] The power to be placed in his hands, 'la force matérielle.'

15 και κατὰ νόμον] 'was perfectly constitutional.'

16 τον τοιούτον] εc. τον κατα νόμον.
συμπλειόνων] 'more than one toge.her.'

τους φύλακας] 'his guards.' τοσούτους, only a sufficient number to protect him against any personal enemies, not against the people. Grote, x. 613, 614.

XVI. I δ λόγος ἐφέστηκε νῦν] 'The discussion naturally follows now.'

δ μὲν γάρ... βασιλεύs] This passage for clearness' sake, I inclose in brackets. By so doing I wish to shew that the sense is not worse without it; the repetition is avoided, and the δοκεί δέ of § 2 becomes clearer.

της διοικήσεως] 'of the executive.'

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Absolute monarchy.

κησεως τοιαύτη γαρ άρχή τίς έστι καλ περλ 'Επίδαμνον, καὶ περὶ 'Οποῦντα δὲ κατά τι μέρος ἔλαττον. περὶ δὲ τῆς παμβασιλείας καλουμένης, αύτη δ' έστὶ καθ' ην άρχει πάντων κατά την έαυτοῦ βούλησιν ὁ βασιλεύς,] δοκεῖ δέ τισιν ούδε κατά Φύσιν είναι το κύριον ενα πάντων είναι τῶν πολιτων, δπου συνέστηκεν εξ δμοίων ή πόλις τοις γαρ δμοίοις Φύσει τὸ αὐτὸ δίκαιον ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀξίαν κατὰ φύσιν είναι, ώστ' είπερ καὶ τὸ ίσην έχειν τοὺς ἀνίσους τρο-Φην η ἐσθητα βλαβερὸν τοῖς σώμασιν, οὕτως ἔχει καὶ τὸ 3 περί τὰς τιμάς. δμοίως τοίνυν και τὸ ἄνισον τούς ἴσους. διόπερ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἄρχειν ή ἄρχεσθαι δίκαιον. καὶ τὸ άνὰ μέρος τοίνυν ώσαύτως. τοῦτο δ' ήδη νόμος. ή γάρ τάξις νόμος. τον άρα νόμον άρχειν αίρετώτερον μαλλον ή 4 τῶν πολιτῶν ένα τινά. κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ λόγον τοῦτον, καν εί τινας άρχειν βέλτιον, τούτους καταστατέον νομοφύλακας καὶ ὑπηρέτας τοῖς νόμοις ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ εἶναί τινας άρχας, άλλ' οὐχ ένα τοῦτον είναί Φασι δίκαιον δμοίων γε όντων πάντων. 'Αλλά μην ίσα γε μη δοκεί δύνασθαι διορίζειν ὁ νόμος, οὐδ' ἄνθρωπος ᾶν δύναιτο γνωρίζειν. άλλ' ς έπίτηδες παιδεύσας ο νόμος εφίστησι τα λοιπά τῆ δικαιοτάτη γνώμη κρίνειν καὶ διοικεῖν τοὺς ἄρχοντας. ἔτι δ'

ἀρχή τις περί 'Επίδαμνον' the ἄρχων δ els of VIII. (V.) 1. 11. At Opus the title was Cosmopolis. Smith, Geogr. Pint. 796, A.

2 Sectiful From this to the end of the chapter is a discussion of the question appromatically.

3 Rel vo heh person or services 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 sometimes] 'more guardians and servants of the laws.'

aby we redraw] 'not this one man that you speak of.'

AAAA uhu Son ye, u.v.A.] The law, it is urged, cannot go into all possible

detail, but neither can a man grasp all possible details—an objection.

5 'True. This is allowed for—and the law expressly trains its rulers, and then sets them to judge to the best of their judgment,'

δ μὲν οδν τὸν νοῦν, κ.τ.λ.] I feel little doubt that the true reading is νόμον; and for τοὺς νόμους, τὸν νοῦν μόνους. '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. 44. note 39.

έρχοντας] 'when in power.'

επανορθούσθαι δίδωσιν, δ τι αν δόξη πειρωμένοις αμεινον Absolute είναι τῶν κειμένων, ὁ μὲν οὖν τὸν νόμον κελεύων ἄρχειν δοκεί κελεύειν άρχειν τον θεον και τον νοῦν μόνους, δ δ άνθρωπον κελεύων προστίθησι καὶ θηρίον ή τε γάρ ἐπιθυμία τοιούτον, καὶ ὁ θυμὸς ἄρχοντας διαστρέφει καὶ τοὺς άρίστους άνδρας. διόπερ άνευ όρέξεως νοῦς ὁ νόμος ἐστίν. Τὸ δὲ τῶν τεχνῶν είναι δοκεῖ παράδειγμα ψεῦδος, ὅτι τὸ 6 κατά γράμματα ἰατρεύεσθαι Φαῦλον, άλλά καὶ αἰρετώτερον χρησθαι τοῖς ἔχουσι τὰς τέχνας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν διὰ 7 Φιλίαν παρά του λόγου ποιοῦσιν, άλλ' ἄρνυνται του μισθού τούς κάμνοντας ύγιάσαντες οί δ' έν ταῖς πολιτικαῖς άρχαῖς πολλά πρός ἐπήρειαν καὶ χάριν εἰώθασι πράττειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τους λατρούς όταν ύποπτεύωσι πιστευθέντας τοῖς έγθροῖς διαφθείρειν διά κέρδος, τότε την έκ τῶν γραμμάτων θεραπείαν ζητήσαιεν αν μαλλον. άλλα μην εἰσάγονταί γ' ἐΦ' 8 1287 B έαυτούς οἱ ἰατροὶ κάμνοντες ἄλλους ἰατρούς καὶ οἱ παιδοτρί-Βαι γυμναζόμενοι παιδοτρίβας, ώς οὐ δυνάμενοι κρίνειν τὸ άληθες διά το κρίνειν περί τε οἰκείων καὶ ἐν πάθει ὄντες. ώστε δήλον δτι τὸ δίκαιον ζητοῦντες τὸ μέσον ζητοῦσιν ό γάρ νόμος τὸ μέσον. ἔτι κυριώτεροι καὶ περὶ κυριωτέρων 9 τῶν κατὰ γράμματα νόμων, οἱ κατὰ τὰ ἔθη εἰσίν, ὥστε τῶν κατά γράμματα ἄνθρωπος ἄρχων ἀσφαλέστερος, άλλ' οὐ των κατά τὸ ἔθος. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ ῥάδιον ἐφορᾶν πολλὰ τὸν ένα δεήσει ἄρα πλείονας είναι τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καθιστα-

· νοῦν-τοὺς νόμους Bekker.

ορέξεως] The term includes θυμός and ἐπιθυμία—δρεκτικόν μέρος.

7 πρὸς ἐπήρειαν] 'for the annoyance of others.'

8 ἀλλὰ μήν] 'Nor is it to be forgotten, that in point of fact physicians call in other physicians.'

περὶ οἰκείων] above, IX. II.

Some δήλον] 'So that it is clear that when men are seeking for what is just they look for that which is in the mean.'

9 of gard 7d fon The written laws

of a nation are never more than the imperfect transcript of the unwritten laws, its manners, its customs, its modes of social existence. And they are only powerful in proportion as they are the transcript of these. Compare Ch. Comte, Traité de Législation, Liv. 11. Tom. 1. p. 289.

άλλὰ μήν] Another objection. Practically the power cannot be in one man, it is as well to recognise this at once. Again, two good men are better than one.

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μένους ἄρχοντας, ὥστε τί διαφέρει τοῦτο ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς
- ὑπάρχειν ἢ τὸν ἕνα καταστῆσαι τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον; ἔτι, δ
ο καὶ πρότερον εἰρημένον ἐστίν, εἴπερ ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ σπουδαῖος,
ο διότι βελτίων, ἄρχειν δίκαιος, τοῦ δὲ ἐνὸς οἱ δύο ἀγαθοὶ
ο βελτίους· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ

σύν τε δύ' ἐρχομένω

καὶ ή εὐχὴ τοῦ ᾿Αγαμέμνονος,

Ο τοιούτοι δέκα μοι συμφράδμονες.

είσι δε και νῦν περι ενίων αι άρχαι κύριαι κρίνειν, ώσπερ δ δικαστής, περί ων δ νόμος άδυνατει διορίζειν, έπει περί ων δυνατός, οὐδεὶς ἀμφισβητεῖ περὶ τούτων ώς οὐκ αν άριστα 11 ο νόμος ἄρξειε καὶ κρίνειεν. άλλ' ἐπειδή τὰ μὲν ἐνδέχεται περιληφθήναι τοῖς νόμοις τὰ δ' ἀδύνατα, ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἃ ποιεῖ διαπορείν και ζητείν πότερον τον άριστον νόμον άργειν αίρετώτερον ή τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἄριστον. περὶ ὧν γὰρ βουλεύονται νομοθετήσαι των άδυνάτων έστίν, ού τοίνυν τοῦτό γ' άντιλέγουσιν, ώς ούκ άναγκαῖον ἄνθρωπον είναι τὸν κρινοῦντα περί τῶν τοιούτων, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐχ ἔνα μόνον ἀλλὰ κρίνει γαρ εκαστος άρχων πεπαιδευμένος ύπο 12 πολλούς. τοῦ νόμου καλῶς, ἄτοπον δ ἴσως ᾶν είναι δόξειεν εί βέλτιον ίδοι τις δυοίν δμμασι καλ δυσίν άκοαίς κρίνων, καλ πράττων δυσί ποσί και χερσίν, ή πολλοί πολλοῖς, ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν όφθαλμούς πολλούς οἱ μόναρχοι ποιοῦσιν αὐτῶν καὶ ὧτα καὶ χεῖρας καὶ πόδας. τοὺς γὰρ τῆ ἀρχῆ καὶ αὐτοῦ Φίλους 13 ποιούνται συνάρχους. μή φίλοι μεν οδν όντες ου ποιήσουσι κατά τὴν τοῦ μονάρχου προαίρεσιν· εἰ δὲ Φίλοι κἀκείνου καὶ της άρχης, ο γε φίλος Ισος και δμοιος ωστ' εί τούτους

10 $\tau o \hat{v}$ $\delta \ell$ $\ell r \delta s$] The $\delta \ell$ marks the apodosis, 'then than the one two are better.' II. x. 224. II. 372.

βασιλέως ὀφθαλμόν, reads abroîs when quoting this passage; but looking at the ἐκείνον in the next line but one, it seems unnecessary to make any change. abroû must mean the monarch himself.

13 μη φίλοι] 'If not friends, they are not safe; if friends, they are equal and like.' δ γε φίλος, 'The friend, it must be allowed, is equal and like.'

¹¹ περιληφθήναι] 'can be embraced by the law.'

περί ὧν γὰρ βουλεύονται] Είλ. 111. 5. p. 1112, 18.

¹² καλῶs] to be taken with κρίνει.
αὐτοῦ] The Scholiast on the expression in Aristophanes, Acharn. 92, τὸν

είεται δείν άρχειν, τοὺς Ισους καὶ ὁμοίους άρχειν οἴεται δείν Mosolute monarchy. όμοίως. ά μεν ούν οι διαμφισβητούντες πρός την βασιλείων λέγουσι, σχεδον ταῦτ' ἐστίν. 'Αλλ' ἴσως ταῦτ' ἐπὶ 17 μέν τινων έχει τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον, ἐπὶ δέ τινων οὐχ οὕτως. έστι γάρ τι Φύσει δεσποστόν καλ άλλο βασιλευτόν καλ άλλο πολιτικόν καὶ δίκαιον καὶ συμφέρον. τυραννικόν δ' οὐκ έστι κατά φύσιν, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτειῶν ὅσαι παρεκβάσεις εἰσίν ταῦτα γὰρ γίγνεται παρά Φύσιν. ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων γε Φανερον ώς ἐν μὲν τοῖς ὁμοίοις καὶ ἴσοις οὕτε 1288 συμφέρον έστιν ούτε δίκαιον ενα κύριον είναι πάντων, ούτε μη νόμων δντων, άλλ' αὐτὸν ώς δντα νόμον, οὖτε νόμων δυτων, οὖτε ἀγαθὸν ἀγαθῶν οὖτε μὴ ἀγαθῶν μὴ ἀγαθόν, οὐδ αν κατ άρετὴν άμείνων ἢ, εἰ μὴ τρόπον τινά. ό τρόπος, λεκτέον είρηται δέ πως ήδη και πρότερον. πρῶτον δε διοριστέον τί το βασιλευτόν και τί το άριστοκρατικόν και τί το πολιτικόν. Βασιλευτον μέν οὖν το τοιοῦτόν 4 έστι πλήθος δ πέφυκε Φέρειν γένος ύπερέχον κατ' άρετὴν προς ήγεμονίαν πολιτικήν, άριστοκρατικόν δε πληθος ο πέ-Φυκε Φέρειν πλήθος άρχεσθαι δυνάμενον την των έλευθέρων άρχὴν ὑπὸ τῶν κατ' ἀρετὴν ἡγεμονικῶν πρὸς πολιτικὴν ἀρ-

δμοίωs] 'equally with himself.'

å μὲν οδυ] Here end the ἀπορίαι or discussions, which began in § 2, and Aristotle speaks in his own person in the next chapter throughout.

XVII. 1 καὶ δίπαιον καὶ συμφέρον] The simplest way of taking this passage is, with Stahr, to supply πλῆθος with τι. '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.'

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.'

αὐτὸν ὡς ὄντα νόμον] Compare III. XIII. 14.

el μη τρόπον τινά] 'except in one certain case,' the case provided for XIII. 25, and below, § 5, the case in which the virtue of the individual is equal to the virtue of the collective body of citizens.

4 βασιλευτον μὲν οδν, κ.τ.λ.] This passage, though apparently redundant and susceptible of improvement by pruning, may yet be construed, as it is, and though Stahr omits parts, I am inclined to retain it entire.

φέρειν γένος] 'To bear or produce a race.'

Absolute χήν, πολιτικόν δε πληθος εν ῷ πέφυκεν εγγίνεσθαι πληθος ΄ πολεμικόν, δυνάμενον ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἄρχειν κατὰ νόμον τὸν 5 κατ' άξίαν διανέμοντα τοῖς εὐπόροις τὰς ἀρχάς. ὅταν οὖν η γένος όλον ή και των άλλων ένα τινά συμβή διαφέροντα γενέσθαι κατ' άρετην τοσούτον ωσθ' ύπερέχειν την έκείνου τῆς τῶν ἄλλων πάντων, τότε δίκαιον τὸ γένος είναι τοῦτο βασιλικόν καὶ κύριον πάντων καὶ βασιλέα τὸν ένα τοῦτον. ο νον Υ καθάπερ γὰρ εἴρηται πρότερον, οὐ μόνον οῦτως ἔχει κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον, δ προφέρειν εἰώθασιν οἱ τὰς πολιτείας καθιστάντες, οί τε τὰς ἀριστοκρατικὰς καὶ οἱ τὰς ὀλιγαργικὰς καὶ πάλιν οἱ τὰς δημοκρατικάς πάντες γὰρ καθ' ὑπεροχὴν άξιοῦσιν, άλλ' ὑπεροχὴν οὐ τὴν αὐτήν : άλλα κατά τὸ πρό-7 τερον λεχθέν. οὖτε γὰρ κτείνειν ἡ Φυγαδεύειν οὐδ ὀστρακίζειν δή που τον τοιούτον πρέπον έστίν, ούτ' άξιούν άρχεσθαι κατά μέρος ου γάρ πέφυκε το μέρος υπερέχειν τοῦ παντός, τῶ δὲ τηλικαύτην ὑπερβολὴν ἔχοντι τοῦτο 8 συμβέβηκεν. ωστε λείπεται μόνον τὸ πείθεσθαι τῷ τοιούτω, καὶ κύριον είναι μὴ κατὰ μέρος τοῦτον ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς. Περί μεν ούν βασιλείας, τίνας έχει διαφοράς, και πότερον Bekker reads [καὶ ἔν].

> τοις εὐπόροις] Stahr suggests that τοῖς ἀπόροις 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 ή άπο τιμημάτων, ην τιμοκρατικήν λέγειν οἰκείον φαίνεται, πολιτείαν δ' αὐτὴν εἰώθασιν οἱ πλεῖστοι καλεῖν, 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 εὅπορον: cf. IV. (VII.)

6 προφέρειν] 'to put forward, præ se ferre.'

mayres yap...où thy authy] This remark is parenthetical, and in axxà κατά τὸ πρότερον λεχθέν, we have the

clause answering to kard to bikator.

7 τοῦτο συμβέβηκεν, εc. τὸ είναι ώς τὸ πῶν πρὸς τὸ μέρος. He stands in the relation of the part to the whole.

8 κατά μέρος] 'in turn.'

περί μέν οδν 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. chapter XVIII. he enters on the treatment of his own ideal form, his αριστοκρατία or αρίστη πολιτεία, Compare Spengel, pp. 16, 17.

οὐ συμφέρει ταῖς πόλεσιν τὰ συμφέρει, καὶ τίσι, καὶ πῶς, Absolute διωρίσθω τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τρεῖς Φαμὲν έἶναι Μοπαταλν.

τὰς ὀρθὰς πολιτείας, τούτων δ' ἀναγκαῖον ἀρίστην εἶναι 18

τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρίστων οἰκονομουμένην, τοιαύτη δ' ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ συμβέβηκεν τῷ ἔνα τινὰ συμπάντων τῷ γένος ὅλον τῷ πλῆθος ὑπερέχον εἶναι κατ' ἀρετήν, τῶν μὲν ἄρχεσθαι δυναμένων τῶν δὰ ἄρχειν πρὸς τὴν αἰρετωτάτην ζωήν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρώτοις ἐδείχθη λόγοις ὅτι τὴν αὐτὴν ἀναγκαῖον ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν εἰναι καὶ πολίτου τῆς πόλεως τῆς ἀρίστης, Φανερὸν ὅτι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀνήρ τε γινεται σπουδαῖος καὶ πόλιν συστήσειεν ἄν τις ἀριστοκρατουμένην τῷ βασιλευομένην, ῶστ' ἔσται καὶ παιδεία καὶ ἔθη ταὐτὰ σχεδὸν τὰ 1288 Β ποιοῦντα σπουδαῖον ἀνδρα καὶ τὰ ζοιοῦντα πολιτικὸν καὶ χοιοῦντα σπουδαῖον ἀνδρα καὶ τὰ ζοιοῦντα πολιτικὸν καὶ χοιοῦντα σπουδαῖον ἀνδρα καὶ τὰ ζοιοῦντα πολιτικὸν καὶ χοιοῦντα σκοιδαῖον ἀνδρα καὶ τὰ ζοιοῦντα πολιτικὸν καὶ χοιοῦντα καὶ καθίστασθαι πῶς.

τοις πρώτοις λόγοις] Ch. IV. of this book.

πολιτικόν] 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, δ πολιτικός και κύριος δ δυνάμενος εἶναι κύριος. Spengel condemns βασιλικόν, note 20, and suggests ἀγαθὸν or σπουδαῖον, 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 ἀνάγκη δή] With the altered arrangement of the books these words may be left out.

XVIII. I τούτων] This, I suppose, is only clear by considering that in the next line he means to refer to only two constitutions, the monarchical and aristocratical, that, in fact, here as elsewhere, whilst he allows that in theory the three are equal (τρεῖς ὀρθαί), he practically puts the third lower than the other two.

These two expressions are both meant for the monarchical form, and $\pi\lambda\hat{\eta}\theta$ os is a certain number, $\pi\lambda\epsilon$ lovs μ èν ένδς δλίγους δέ, see Ch. VII.

τῶν μὲν ἄρχεσθαι] Spengel, p. 17, note 19, wishes to insert και ἄρχειν, but I do not see that it is necessary. I should rather refer this whole clause simply to the πλήθος ὁπερέχον, and not take into account the monarchical form at all.

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 fellowcitizens, 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? 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 fellowcitizens, 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, 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 syssitia. 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 syssitia 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.).



$\Pi O \Lambda I T I K \Omega N \Delta$. (H.)

What is the best life?

ΑΝΑΓΚΗ δη τον μέλλοντα περὶ αὐτῆς ποιήσασθαι την προσήκουσαν σκέψιν διορίσασθαι πρῶτον τίς αἰρετώτατος βίος. ἀδήλου γὰρ ὅντος τούτου καὶ τὴν ἀρίστην ἀναγκαῖον ἄδηλον εἶναι πολιτείαν ἄριστα γὰρ πράττειν προσήκει τοὺς ἄριστα πολιτευομένους ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρ- χόντων αὐτοῖς, ἐὰν μή τι γίγνηται παράλογον. διὸ δεῖ πρῶτον ὁμολογεῖσθαι τίς ὁ πᾶσιν ὡς εἰπεῖν αἰρετώτατος βίος, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο πότερον κοινῆ καὶ χωρὶς ὁ αὐτὸς ἢ ἔτερος. Νομίσαντας οὖν ἰκανῶς πολλὰ λέγεσθαι καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐξωτερικοῖς λόγοις περὶ τῆς ἀρίστης ζωῆς, καὶ νῦν 3 χρηστέον αὐτοῖς. ὡς ἀληθῶς γὰρ πρός γε μίαν διαίρεσιν οὐδεὶς ἀμφισβητήσειεν ᾶν ὡς οὐ, τριῶν οὐσῶν μερίδων, τῶν τε ἐκτὸς καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ σώματι καὶ τῶν ἐν τῆ ψυχῆ, πάντα 4 ταῦτα ὑπάρχειν τοῖς μακαρίοις δεῖ. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ᾶν Φαίη

I. I 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.

έκ τῶν ὁπαρχόντων αὐτοῖs] These words may be taken either with ἄριστα πράττειν, or with πολιτευομένους. 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, Eth. I. xi. I3. Pp. I101, 2: ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀεὶ τὰ κάλλιστα πράττειν. But the context here seems to require a different sense.

νομίσαντας] This accusative construction not uncommon. Compare III. 111. 9, λεκτέον βλέποντας.

έξωτερικοίς Comp. note on I. v. 4.

3 μίαν διαίρεσιν] This division is given, Eth. 1. viii. 2. p. 1098, b. 12, and is there spoken of as δόξαν παλαιάν οδσαν και όμολογουμένην ύπό τῶν φιλοσοφούντων.

és of] With Stahr I place a comma after these words.

4 Avoiding all unnecessary detail he takes the four great cardinal virtues, the virtues of Plato in his Re-

παράλογον] here as Eth. v. x. 73. p. 1135, b. 17, where its adverb παραλόγωs means, 'contrary to what you have a fair right to expect.'

² κοινή και χωρίς] 'For the state and for the individual.'

What is

μακάριον τον μηθέν μόριον έχοντα άνδρίας μηδέ σωφροσύνης μηδε δικαιοσύνης μηδε Φρονήσεως, άλλα δεδιότα μεν τας παραπετομένας μυίας, ἀπεχόμενον δὲ μηθενός, ᾶν ἐπιθυμήση τοῦ Φαγείν ή πιείν, των εσχάτων, ένεκα δε τεταρτημορίου διαφθείροντα τους Φιλτάτους Φίλους, δμοίως δε και τά 🍛 περί την διάνοιαν ούτως άφρονα και διεψευσμένον ωσπερ τι παιδίον ή μαινόμενον. 'Αλλά ταῦτα μέν λεγόμενα ώσπερ 5 πάντες αν συγχωρήσειαν, διαφέρονται δ' έν τῷ ποσῷ καλ ταῖς ὑπεροχαῖς. τῆς μὲν γὰρ ἀρετῆς ἔχειν, ἱκανὸν εἶναι, νομίζουσιν όποσονοῦν, πλούτου δὲ καὶ χρημάτων καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης καὶ πάντων τῶν τοιούτων εἰς ἄπειρον ζητοῦσι την ύπερβολήν. ήμεῖς δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐροῦμεν ὅτι ῥάδιον μὲν 6 περί τούτων και διά των έργων διαλαμβάνειν την πίστιν, δρώντας δτι κτώνται καὶ Φυλάττουσιν οὐ τὰς άρετὰς τοῖς έκτὸς ἀλλ' έκεῖνα ταύταις, καὶ τὸ ζῆν εὐδαιμόνως, εἶτ' ἐν τῷ 1323 Β χαίρειν έστιν είτ' εν άρετη τοις άνθρώποις είτ' εν άμφοιν, ότι μάλλον ὑπάρχει τοῖς τὸ ἦθος μὲν καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν κεκοσμημένοις εἰς ὑπερβολήν, περὶ δὲ τὴν ἔξω κτῆσιν τῶν ἀγαθῶν μετριάζουσιν, ή τοῖς ἐκεῖνα μὲν κεκτημένοις πλείω τῶν χρησίμων, εν δε τούτοις ελλείπουσιν ού μην άλλα και κατά τον λόγον σκοπουμένοις εὐσύνοπτόν ἐστιν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκτὸς 7

public, Cicero in his Offices, and with the same names as Plato.

τεταρτημορίον] The fourth of an obolus.

διεψευσμένον] 'False in his judgments," "verwirrt," Stahr.

5 Εσπερ 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 ωσπερ, and so taken, it qualifies the mayres. In the other way, Stahr's, the passage runs, 'as all agree, so they differ.' Compare, in support of this last, Ch. VII. 3, Εσπερ μεσεύειοδτως μετέχει.

έχειν ίκανόν, κ.τ.λ.] The order is, έχειν όποσονοῦν άρετῷς ίκανὸν είναι νομίζουσιν.

6 διαλαμβάνειν την πίστιν] 'Το attain complete conviction.'

έν τῷ χαίρειν] 'in enjoyment.'

την έξω κτησιν των άγαθων] 'The outward acquisition of the goods of life,' or is the E displaced, and the meaning 'the acquisition of the external goods?'

ου μήν άλλα, 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 μέν γάρ, κ.τ.λ.—τῶν δέ] Such is the connection, the sentence πâν δè τὸ χρήσιμον-Εχουσιν is parenthetical. What is the best life?

έχει πέρας, ισπερ όργανόν τι· παν δὶ τὸ χρήσιμόν ἐστιν,

ων τὴν ὑπερβολὴν ἡ βλάπτειν ἀναγκαῖον ἡ μηθὲν ὁφελος

εἶναι αὐτῶν τοῖς ἔχουσιν· τῶν δὲ περὶ ψυχὴν ἔκαστον ἀγαθῶν, ὅσῷ περ ἀν ὑπερβάλλη, τοσούτῷ μᾶλλον χρήσιμον

εἶναι, εἰ δεῖ καὶ τούτοις ἐπιλέγειν μὴ μόνον τὸ καλὸν ἀλλὰ

καὶ τὸ χρήσιμον. ὅλως τε δῆλον ως ἀκολουθεῖν Φήσομεν

τὴν διάθεσιν τὴν ἀρίστην ἐκάστου πράγματος πρὸς ἄλληλα

κατὰ τὴν ὑπεροχήν, ἥνπερ εἴληφε διάστασιν ὧν Φαμὲν αὐτὰς

εἶναι διαθέσεις ταύτας. ὥστ' εἶπερ ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τῆς

κτήσεως καὶ τοῦ σώματος τιμιώτερον καὶ ἀπλῶς καὶ ἡμῖν,

ἀνάγκη καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν τὴν ἀρίστην ἐκάστου ἀνάλογον

τούτων ἔχειν. ἔτι δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ἕνεκεν ταῦτα πέφυκεν

αἰρετὰ καὶ δεῖ πάντας αἰρεῖσθαι τοὺς εὖ Φρονοῦντας, ἀλλ'

το οὐκ ἐκείνων ἔνεκεν τὴν ψυχήν. ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἐκάστῷ τῆς

'For whilst external goods have a limit—those which depend on the mind.'

ωσπερ δργανόν τι] οὐδὲν δργανον άπειρον. Compare I. vm. 14, 15.

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.' Nickes, p. 14, note 4, dwells on this passage as marking the strong distinction that exists between χρήσιμα and συμφέροντα.

χρήσιμον είναι] depends on άναγκαΐον.

ἐπιλέγειν] Eth. π. ix. 6. p. 1109, b. 11.

8 δλως τε δήλον] '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, και έδυ το μέγιστον τοῦ μεγίστου ὑπερέχη και αὐτὰ αὐτῶν . . . οἶον εἰ ὁ μέγιστος ἀνὴρ γυναικός τῆς μεγίστης μείζων και δλως οὶ 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.

έκαστου τούτων ἀνάλογον ἔχειν] Such is the order.

9 της ψυχης ένεκεν] 'It is only for the sake of the soul that these, τὰ έξω ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰ σωματικά,' &c.

10 άρετῆς καὶ φρονήσεως] The respective excellencies of the ħθος and διάνοια, 'moral and intellectual virtue.'

¿ξωτερικῶν] here evidently this word is equivalent to the simpler εξω, 'outward.'

την εὐτυχίαν] The state of the man who is in all points well endowed,

εὐδαιμονίας ἐπιβάλλει τοσοῦτον ὅσον περ ἀρετῆς καὶ Φρονή-What is σεως καὶ τοῦ πράττειν κατὰ ταύτας, ἔστω συνωμολογημένον life? ήμεν, μάρτυρι τῷ θεῷ χρωμένοις, δς εὐδαίμων μέν ἐστι καὶ μακάριος, δι' ούθεν δε των έξωτερικων άγαθων άλλα δι' αύτον αὐτὸς καὶ τῷ ποιός τις είναι τὴν Φύσιν : ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν εὐτυχίαν της εύδαιμονίας διά ταῦτ' άναγκαῖον έτέραν είναι τῶν μέν γαρ έκτος άγαθων της ψυχης αίτιον ταύτόματον καὶ ή τύχη, δίκαιος δ' οὐδεὶς οὐδε σώφρων ἀπὸ τύχης οὐδε διὰ τὴν τύχην έστίν. Έχόμενον δ' έστλ καλ τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων δεόμενον τι καὶ πόλιν εὐδαίμονα τὴν ἀρίστην είναι καὶ πράττουσαν καλῶς. 'Αδύνατον δὲ καλῶς πράττειν τοῖς μὴ τὰ καλὰ πράττουσιν. ούθεν δε καλον έργον οὖτ' άνδρος οὖτε πόλεως χωρίς άρετῆς καὶ Φρονήσεως. ἀνδρία δὲ πόλεως καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ Φρό-12 νησις την αύτην έχει δύναμιν καὶ μορφήν, ών μετασχών ξκαστος τῶν ἀνθρώπων λέγεται δίκαιος καὶ Φρόνιμος καὶ σώφρων. άλλα γαρ ταῦτα μεν επί τοσοῦτον ἔστω πεφροι- 13 μιασμένα τῷ λόγῳ (οὖτε γὰρ μὴ θιγγάνειν αὐτῶν δυνατόν, ούτε πάντας τους οἰκείους ἐπεξελθεῖν ἐνδέχεται λόγους · ἐτέρας γάρ ἐστιν ἔργον σχολῆς ταῦτα) · νῦν δ' ὑποκείσθω τοσοῦτον, ότι βίος μεν άριστος, καὶ χωρὶς έκάστω καὶ κοινή ταῖς πόλεσιν, ὁ μετὰ ἀρετῆς κεχορηγημένης ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ώστε μετέ- 1324 χειν τῶν κατ' ἀρετὴν πράξεων. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀμΦισβη- 14

so far as outward advantages are concerned.

της ψυχης] depends on έκτός.

ταὐτόματον καὶ ἡ τύχη] They come to a man without any efforts of his own, spontaneously and from fortune.

 $\hbar\pi\delta \tau t \chi \eta s$] 'as a gift of fortune.' $\delta i\lambda \tau \eta \nu \tau t \chi \eta \nu$, 'on the ground of his fortune.' The former excludes $\tau t \chi \eta$ as the giving power, the latter excludes it as the constituent of happiness.

11 ἐχόμενον δέ] 'Closely connected with this, and requiring no other arguments, is the statement,' &c.

πράττουσαν καλώς] is a simple ambiguity.

12 ἀνδρία, 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 tous olkelous] 'proper to the subject.'

έτέρας σχολῆς] "un autre ouvrage,"
St. Hil.: "einen andern Vortrag,"
Stahr: "discussion:" but it may be
simply 'leisure,' as he says ἄλλων
καιρῶν,

δ μετὰ ἀρετῆς] Compare Eth. x. ix. p. 1178, b. 33.

14 πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀμφισβητοῦντας] Spengel, p. 46, says, "So redet Aristoteles sonst nicht." The expression What is life?

Is hap-

the man

state?

τοῦντας, ἐάσαντας ἐπὶ τῆς νῦν μεθόδου, διασκεπτέον ὕστερον, εί τις τοῖς εἰρημένοις τυγγάνει μὴ πειθόμενος.

Πότερον δε την εύδαιμονίαν την αύτην είναι Φατέον ένος τε έκάστου τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ πόλεως ἡ μὴ τὴν αὐτήν, piness the Φανερον δε και τοῦτο πάντες γάρ λοιπόν έστιν είπεῖν. same for and for the αν όμολογήσειαν είναι την αύτην. δσοι γαρ έν πλούτω τὸ 2 ζην εὖ τίθενται ἐΦ' ένός, οὖτοι καὶ την πόλιν ὅλην, ἐὰν τ̄ πλουσία, μακαρίζουσιν. δσοι τε τὸν τυραννικὸν βίον μάλιστα τιμῶσιν, οὖτοι καὶ πόλιν τὴν πλείστων ἄρχουσαν εὐδαιμονεστάτην αν είναι Φαίεν: εί τέ τις τον ένα δι' άρετην άποδέχεται, καὶ πόλιν εὐδαιμονεστέραν Φήσει τὴν σπουδαιοτέραν. 3 Αλλά ταῦτ' τόη δύο έστιν α δεῖται σκέψεως, εν μεν πότερος αίρετώτερος βίος, ὁ διὰ τοῦ συμπολιτεύεσθαι καὶ κοινωνείν πόλεως ή μάλλον ὁ ξενικός καὶ τῆς πολιτικῆς κοινωνίας ἀπολελυμένος, ἔτι δὲ τίνα πολιτείαν θετέον καὶ ποίαν διάθεσιν πόλεως άρίστην, είτε πᾶσιν όντος αίρετοῦ χοινωνεῖν 4 πόλεως είτε καὶ τισὶ μὲν μὴ, τοῖς δὲ πλείστοις. , ἐπεὶ δὲ

> is quite singular in his works. Spengel, not doubting the genuineness of these introductory chapters, thinks that the different parts are probably not of the same date, pp. 47, 48.

> έπὶ τῆς νῦν μεθόδου] 'in our present treatise.'

> II. I 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 τον ενα αποδέχεται] 'allows the individual to be happy, on the ground of his being virtuous.'

3 δ ξενικός, κ.τ.λ.] 'The life of an alien and of one who stands aloof from all interference in the political association,' ξένοι και παρεπίδημοι έπι της γηs, Heb. xi. 13.

elte πασιν, κ.τ.λ.] 'in either supposition, be it that for all equally it is desirable, or, though for some particular cases not, yet for the ma-

4 τοῦτο] might be taken as equivalent to to tois aleistois alpetor, but it seems better to take it as 'this second question,' viz.: what constitution is to be formed? The stress in the sentence lies on πολιτικής. 'But since this second question is the proper object of political reflexion and political science, and it is this political inquiry (ταύτην την σκέψιν) that I have now chosen, the first is superfluous,' &c. This I believe to be the rendering of the passage, and yet it is quite true that Aristotle at once goes on to

 $ilde{ au\eta}$ ς πολιτικής διανοίας καὶ θεωρίας τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἔργον, ἀλλ' Is happiness the ού τὸ περὶ ἔκαστον αίρετόν, ήμεῖς δὲ ταύτην προηρήμεθα νῦν same for την σκέψιν, έκεινο μεν πάρεργον αν είη τοῦτο δ' έργον της and for the μεθόδου ταύτης. ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἀναγκαῖον είναι πολιτείαν αρίστην ταύτην καθ' ην τάξιν καν δστισοῦν ἄριστα πράττοι 5 καὶ ζώη μακαρίως, Φανερόν ἐστιν ἀμφισβητεῖται δὲ παρ αὐτῶν τῶν ὁμολογούντων τὸν μετ' ἀρετῆς είναι βίον αίρετώτατον, πότερον ο πολιτικός και πρακτικός βίος αίρετός η μάλλον ὁ πάντων τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀπολελυμένος, οἶον θεωρητικός τις, ον μόνον τινές φασιν είναι φιλόσοφον. σχεδον γαρ 6 τούτους τοὺς δύο βίους τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ Φιλοτιμότατοι πρὸς άρετὴν Φαίνονται προαιρούμενοι, καὶ τῶν προτέρων καὶ τῶν νῦν : λέγω δὲ δύω τόν τε πολιτικόν καὶ τὸν ΦιλόσοΦον. Φέρει δε ού μικρύν ποτέρως έχει το άληθές άνάγκη γαρ τόν [τε] εὖ Φρονοῦντα, πρὸς τὸν βελτίω σκοπὸν, συντάττεσθαι καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔκαστον καὶ κοινή τὴν πολιτείαν. νομί-7 ζουσι δ' οἱ μὲν τὸ τῶν πέλας ἄρχειν δεσποτικῶς μὲν γιγνόμενον μετ' άδικίας τινός είναι της μεγίστης, πολιτικώς δε τό μεν άδικον ούκ έχειν, έμπόδιον δε έχειν τῆ περί αὐτὸν εύημερία. τούτων δ' ωσπερ έξ έναντίας ετεροι τυγχάνουσι δοξάζοντες : μόνον γὰρ ἀνδρὸς τὸν πρακτικὸν είναι βίον καὶ πολιτικόν· ἐΦ' ἑκάστης γὰρ ἀρετῆς οὐκ εἶναι πράξεις μᾶλ- 1324 Β

· 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 δμολογούντων, κ.τ.λ.] — τῶν τὸν ἔνα δι' ἀρετὴν ἀποδεχομένων from \$ 2.

οΐον θεωρητικός] 'I mean, a life of contemplation,' 1. vii. 5, οΐον ἡ δικαία.

6 οί φιλοτιμότατοι πρὸς ἀρετήν] "die am meisten nach Tugend strebenden," Stahr. 'Those who are most keen in the pursuit of virtue.' τόν τε] This τε seems meaningless.
Stahr keeps it, but does not translate it

συντάττεσθαι] 'arrange himself for, discipline himself for.'

7 δεσποτικῶς γινόμενον] 'If it wear the character of a despotism or tyranny.'

έμπόδιον δὲ ἔχειν] Compare II. vi. 22, ἔχει ἐπικίνδυνον, and note. Here ἐμπόδιον εἶναι would be more natural.

αὐτόν] se ipsum, Vet. Tr. Several editors change the αὐτόν, though disagreeing as to its substitute. There is no necessity for the change, looking at the general use of the word.

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λον τοῖς ἰδιώταις ἢ τοῖς τὰ κοινὰ πράττουσι καὶ πολιτευομένοις. Οἱ μὲν οὖν οὖτως ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, οἱ δὲ τὸν δεσποand for the τικόν και τυραννικόν τρόπον της πολιτείας είναι μόνον εύδαίμονά Φασιν. παρ' ένίοις δε και της πολιτείας ούτος 9 δρος και τῶν νόμων, δπως δεσπόζωσι τῶν πέλας. τῶν πλείστων νομίμων χύδην ώς εἰπεῖν κειμένων παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις, όμως εί πού τι πρός εν οι νόμοι βλέπουσι, τοῦ κρατείν στοχάζονται πάντες, ώσπερ εν Λακεδαίμονι καί Κρήτη πρός τους πολέμους συντέτακται σχεδον ή τε παιδεία το καὶ τὸ τῶν νόμων πληθος. ἔτι δ' ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι πᾶσι τοῖς δυναμένοις πλεογεκτείν ή τοιαύτη τετίμηται δύναμις, οίον έν Σχύθαις και Πέρσαις και Θραξί και Κελτοίς. ἐν ἐνίοις γὰρ καὶ νόμοι τινές εἰσι παροξύνοντες πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν ταύτην, καθάπερ εν Καρχηδόνι Φασί του εκ τῶν κρίκων κόσμον 11 λαμβάνειν όσας αν στρατεύσωνται στρατείας. ην δέ ποτε καὶ περὶ Μακεδονίαν νόμος τὸν μηθένα ἀπεκταγκότα πολέμιον ανδρα περιεζωσθαι την Φορβειάν. ἐν δὲ Σκύθαις οὐκ έξην πίνειν εν έορτη τινὶ σκύφον περιφερόμενον τῷ μηθένα άπεκταγκότι πολέμιον. εν δε τοῖς "Ιβηρσιν, εθνει πολεμικώ, τοσούτους τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὀβελίσχους καταπηγνύουσι περὶ τὸν 12 τάφον όσους αν διαφθείρη τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ έτερα δή παρ' έτέροις έστὶ τοιαῦτα πολλά, τὰ μὲν νόμοις κατειλημ-

· I have inserted Kal.

οὐκ είναι 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 ol μέν οδν οδτως] The meaning must be carried back past the last sentence, and the object must be the view taken in § 7, the view adverse to the political life.

ούτος δρος τών νόμων] Vet. Tr. reads 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 Kal.

9 χύδην] 'promiscuously,' 'without order,' the Latin 'temere.'

10 èν τοις έθνεσι] as distinct from the πόλεις. They had no πολιτεία.

Σκύθαις, κ.τ.λ.] The great divisions of the non-Hellenic world to Aristotle.

11 περί Μακεδονίαν] Compare Grote, IV. II; XI. 397.

την φορβειάν] a "mouthband of leather," L. and S.

έν Σκύθαις] Herod. 1V. 66.

12 κατειλημμένα] 'established.'

μένα τὰ δὲ ἔθεσιν. καίτοι δόξειεν ᾶν άγαν άτοπον ἴσως είναι τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐπισκοπεῖν, εἰ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἔργον τοῦ Ι πολιτικού, τὸ δύνασθαι θεωρεῖν ὅπως ἄρχη καὶ δεσπόζη τῶν and for the πλησίον καὶ βουλομένων καὶ μὴ βουλομένων. πῶς γὰρ αν είη τοῦτο πολιτικόν ή νομοθετικόν, δ γε μηδε νόμιμόν έστιν; 13 🛂 📆 νόμιμον δὲ τὸ μὴ μόνον δικαίως ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀδίκως ἄρχειν, κρατείν δ έστι και μη δικαίως. άλλα μην ούδ εν ταίς άλλαις έπιστήμαις τοῦτο ὁρῶμεν· οὖτε γὰρ τοῦ ἰατροῦ οὖτε τοῦ χυβερνήτου έργον έστὶ τὸ ἢ πεῖσαι ἢ βιάσασθαι τοῦ μὲν τοὺς θεραπευομένους τοῦ δὲ τοὺς πλωτῆρας. ἀλλ' ἐοίκασιν 14 οί πολλοί τὴν δεσποτικήν πολιτικήν οἴεσθαι εἶναι, καὶ ὅπερ αύτοῖς ἔκαστοι οὖ Φασιν εἶναι δίκαιον οὐδὲ συμφέρον, τοῦτ' ούκ αἰσχύνονται πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀσκοῦντες · αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ παρ' αύτοῖς τὸ δικαίως ἄρχειν ζητοῦσι, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ούδεν μέλει τῶν δικαίων. ἄτοπον δε εί μη φύσει το μεν 15 δεσπόζον έστι τὸ δε οὐ δεσπόζον, ώστε είπερ έγει τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον, οὐ δεῖ πάντων πειρᾶσθαι δεσπόζειν, ἀλλὰ τῶν δεσποστών, ώσπερ οὐδὲ θηρεύειν ἐπὶ θοίνην ἡ θυσίαν ἀνθρώπους, αλλά τὸ πρὸς τοῦτο θηρευτόν ἔστι δὲ θέρευτὸν δ αν άγριον η έδεστον ζώον. άλλα μην είη γ' αν και καθ' 16 1325 έαυτην μία πόλις εὐδαίμων, ή πολιτεύεται δηλονότι καλῶς,

13 πολιτικόν ή νομοθετικόν] 'within the scope of the statesman or the lawgiver.'

κρατείν] 'The mere assertion of superior strength involves no consideration of justice.'

ούτε γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] The patient submits to the physician, the crew to the pilot, the citizen must submit to the This must be taken for lawgiver. granted.

14 ἀλλ' ἐοίκασιν] 'Still, strange though it be, it would seem that the many.'

δπερ αύτοις, κ.τ.λ.] Eth. v. iii. 15, p. 1129, b. 32; compare also Thuc. τ. 105, Λακεδαιμόνιοι γάρ πρός σφας μέν αὐτούς, κ.τ.λ.

15 άτοπον δέ] sc. τὸ δεσποτικώς άρχειν.

τὸ μέν δέσποζον-τὸ δὲ οὐ δέσποζον] Stahr reads δεσποστόν in both places, and refers to III. xvii. i. But there does not seem any necessity for the change, the required distinction may be elicited from the present reading, though it certainly would be simpler the other way.

τούτον] '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.

η πολιτεύεται] 'granting of course that it be well governed,'

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είπερ ενδέχεται πόλιν οίκεῖσθαί που καθ' έαυτην νόμοις χρωμένην σπουδαίοις, ης της πολιτείας ή σύνταξις ού πρός and for the πόλεμον οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸ κρατεῖν ἔσται τῶν πολεμίων· μηθὲν - γὰρ ὑπαρχέτω τοιοῦτον. δῆλον ἄρα ὅτι πάσας τὰς πρὸς ¹⁷ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιμελείας καλὰς μὲν θετέον, οὐχ ως τέλος δὲ πάντων ακρότατον, αλλ' ἐκείνου χάριν ταύτας. τοῦ δὲ νομοθέτου τοῦ σπουδαίου ἐστὶ τὸ θεάσασθαι πόλιν καὶ γένος ανθρώπων και πασαν άλλην κοινωνίαν, ζωής αγαθής 18 πῶς μεθέξουσι καὶ τῆς ἐνδεχομένης αὐτοῖς εὐδαιμονίας. διοίσει μέντοι τῶν ταττομένων ἔνια νομίμων καὶ τοῦτο τῆς νομοθετικής έστλν ίδεῖν, έάν τινες ὑπάρχωσι γειτνιῶντες, ποῖα προς ποίους ἀσκητέον η πῶς τοῖς καθήκουσι πρὸς ἐκάστους χρηστέου. 'Αλλά τοῦτο μέν κάν ύστερον τύχοι τῆς προσηκούσης σκέψεως, πρός τί τέλος δει την αρίστην πολιτείαν 3 συντείνειν πρός δε τους όμολογούντας μεν τον μετ' άρετῆς είναι βίον αίρετώτατον, διαφερομένους δέ περί τῆς χρήσεως αύτοῦ, λεκτέον ήμῖν πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους αὐτούς (οἱ μέν γὰρ αποδοκιμάζουσι τας πολιτικάς αρχάς, νομίζοντες τόν τε τοῦ ἐλευθέρου βίον ἔτερόν τινα είναι τοῦ πολιτικοῦ καλ πάντων αἰρετιύτατον, οἱ δὲ τοῦτον ἄριστον ἀδύνατον γὰρ του μηθεν πράττοντα πράττειν εύ, την δ' εύπραγίαν και την εὐδαιμονίαν είναι ταὐτόν) ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἀμφότεροι λέγουσιν όρθῶς τὰ δ' οὐχ όρθῶς, οἱ μὲν ὅτι ὁ τοῦ ἐλευθέρου βίος τοῦ 2 δεσποτικοῦ ἀμείνων. τοῦτο γὰρ ἀληθές οὐθὲν γὰρ τό γε δούλω, ή δοῦλος, χρησθαι σεμνόν ή γαρ ἐπίταξις ή περὶ τῶν

> 17 γένος ἀνθρώπων] seems an equivalent expression to ξθνος.

ένδεχομένης αὐτοῖς] 'open to them.'

18 τοιs καθήκουσι] St. Hil. and Stahr agree in translating this "duties," Vict. "quæ 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.'

III. I ol μèν γάρ] 'I say both, for the one,' &c.

έλευθέρου] equivalent to the ξενικός

καλ της πολιτικής κοινωνίας απολελυμέvos of 2, 3. The words ἀπράγμων, ίδιώτης would also express the same notion.

άδύνατον γάρ] 'For they urge that it is impossible.'

δεσποτικοῦ] 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 οὐθὲν γάρ] Compare I. vii. 4, as also for what follows the earlier part of the same chapter.

άναγκαίων οὐδενὸς μετέχει τῶν καλῶν. τὸ μέντοι νομίζειν Is hap-piness the αναγκαιων συσενος μετεχει του σύκ όρθόν ου γαρ έλαττον same for the man διέστηκεν ή τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἀρχὴ τῆς τῶν δούλων ἢ αὐτὸ τὸ and for the Φύσει ἐλεύθερον τοῦ Φύσει δούλου. διώρισται δὲ περὶ_ αὐτῶν ἰκανῶς ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις λόγοις. τὸ δὲ μᾶλλον 3 έπαινεῖν τὸ ἀπρακτεῖν τοῦ πράττειν οὐκ ἀληθές: ή γὰρ εύδαιμονία πράξίς έστιν. Ετι δε πολλών και καλών τέλος έχουσιν αι τῶν δικαίων καὶ σωφρόνων πράξεις. Καίτοι τάχ' αν υπολάβοι τις τούτων ούτω διωρισμένων δτι τὸ κύριον είναι πάντων άριστον ούτω γαρ αν πλείστων καλ καλλίστων κύριος είη πράξεων. ωστε ού δεῖ τὸν δυνάμενον 4 🛮 ἄρχειν παριέναι τῷ πλησίον, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, καὶ μήτε πατέρα παίδων μήτε παΐδας πατρός μήθ' όλως Φίλον Φίλου μηθένα ὑπολογεῖν μηδὲ πρὸς τοῦτο Φροντίζειν· τὸ γάρ ἄριστον αίρετώτατον, τὸ δ' εὖ πράττειν ἄριστον. τοῦτο μεν οὖν άληθῶς ἴσως λέγουσιν, εἴπερ ὑπάρξει τοῖς άποστεροῦσι καὶ βιαζομένοις τὸ τῶν ὅντων αἰρετώτατον. 1325 B άλλ' Ίσως ούχ οδόν τε ύπάρχειν, άλλ' ύποτίθενται τοῦτο 5 ψεῦδος· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι καλὰς τὰς πράξεις ἐνδέχεται είναι τῷ μη διαφέροντι τοσούτον όσον άνηρ γυναικός η πατήρ τέκνων ή δεσπότης δούλων. ωστε ο παραβαίνων ούθεν αν τηλικοῦτον κατορθώσειεν υστερον δσον ήδη παρεκβέβηκε της άρετης. τοις γὰρ ὁμοίοις τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἐν τῷ μέρει · τοῦτο γὰρ ἴσον καὶ ὅμοιον. τὸ δὲ μὴ ἴσον τοῖς ἴσοις καὶ τὸ μὴ ὅμοιον 6 τοῖς ὁμοίοις παρὰ Φύσιν οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν παρὰ Φύσιν καλόν. διὸ κᾶν ἄλλος τις ή κρείττων κατ' άρετην καὶ κατὰ δύναμιν την

3 τέλος έχουσιν] 'involve the accomplishment of.'

4 παριέναι] 'to give way to.'

ὑπολογεῖν] 'take account of, nor, as compared with this, bestow a thought upon them.' The kindred form ὑπολογίζεσθαι, with a similar sense, is not uncommon in Plato.

5 ὑποτίθενται τοῦτο ψεῦδος] ' here lies the fallacy of their assumption.'

δσον ανήρ, κ.τ.λ.] The cases given are instances of great natural differences, and in them there is no opening for that doxh πολιτική, that rule over equal and free citizens, which, in the reasoning, the objector is supposed to aim at destroying.

ώστε ὁ παραβαίνων] '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.'

6 διδ κάν άλλος, κ.τ.λ.] Indeed, so

same for

πρακτικήν των αρίστων, τούτω καλόν ακολουθείν καὶ τούτω πείθεσθαι δίκαιον. δεῖ δ' οὐ μόνον άρετὴν άλλὰ καὶ δύναand for the μιν ὑπάρχειν, καθ' ην ἔσται πρακτικός. 'Αλλ' εἰ ταῦτα λέγεται καλῶς καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν εὐπραγίαν θετέον, καὶ 7 κοινή πάσης πόλεως αν είη και καθ έκαστον άριστος βίος δ 8 πρακτικός. άλλα τον πρακτικόν ούκ άναγκαῖον είναι πρός έτέρους, καθάπερ οίονται τινες, ούδε τας διανοίας είναι μόνας ταύτας πρακτικάς τὰς τῷν ἀποβαινόντων χάριν γιγνομένας έχ τοῦ πράττειν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον τὰς αὐτοτελεῖς καὶ τας αύτων ένεκεν θεωρίας και διανοήσεις ή γαρ εύπραξία τέλος, ωστε καὶ πράξίς τις μάλιστα δε καὶ πράττειν λέγομεν κυρίως και των εξωτερικών πράξεων τούς ταις διανοίαις ο άρχιτέκτονας. άλλὰ μὴν οὐδ ἀπρακτεῖν ἀναγκαῖον τὰς καθ' αύτας πόλεις ίδρυμένας καὶ ζῆν οὕτω προηρημένας. ενδέχεται γαρ κατά μέρη καὶ τοῦτο συμβαίνειν πολλαὶ γαρ 10 χοινωνίαι πρός άλληλα τοῖς μέρεσι τῆς πόλεώς εἰσιν. ὁμοίως

> far is it from being true that each man should grasp at power, on any ground, even on this, 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.

> 7 δεῖ δ' οδ μόνον, κ.τ.λ.] 'I use both terms, virtue and ability (δύναμιν), for both are necessary. Virtue alone does not guarantee the skill to use it rightly.

> 8 ALLA TOV WPARTIRON] But in taking up this position we must attend to the some of the word spantings.

> τάς των ἀποβαινόντων] The order is, τάς γιγνομένας χάριν των αποβαινόντων de tol apatters.

> abrorehelt] 'sui juris,' 'independent,' 'self-complete,' the opposite of baurekeis.

> * ydp ! That there are such is clear. for. ' &c.

> > Harricker | 'external actions.'

τουs αρχτέκτονας Compare Metaph. v. p. 981, διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἀρχιτέκτονας περί ξκαστον τιμιωτέρους και μᾶλλον είδέναι νομίζομεν τών χειροτεχνών καλ σοφωτέρους.

9 ἀλλὰ μήν] '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 τοῦτο] This καὶ seems out of Its more natural position is before the kard. 'For it is possible even within themselves and with reference to their several parts, that there should be action,' τοῦτο sc. τὸ πράττειν.

10 ὑπάρχει] 'is true of.' σχολη γάρ] 'else hardly.'

ols obe elow [For this language, as far as it applies to the gods, compare Eld. x. viii. 7, 8, p. 1178, b. 8.

τοις ανθρώποις] seems equivalent to

δὲ τοῦτο ὑπάρχει καὶ καθ' ἐνὸς ὁτουοῦν τῶν ἀνθρώπων σχολη γὰρ ἀν ὁ θεὸς ἔχοι καλῶς καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος, οἶς οὐκ same for της είσιν εξωτερικαί πράξεις παρά τὰς οἰκείας τὰς αὐτῶν. "Οτι and for the μεν ούν τον αύτον βίον άναγκαῖον είναι τον άριστον έκάστω. τε των ανθρώπων καὶ κοινῆ ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ τοῖς ανθρώποις, Φανερόν έστιν.

Έπει δε πεφροιμίασται τὰ νῦν εἰρημένα περί αὐτῶν, καὶ 4 περὶ τὰς ἄλλας πολιτείας ἡμῖν τεθεώρηται πρότερον, ἀρχὴ number of τῶν λοιπῶν εἰπεῖν πρῶτον ποίας τινὰς δεῖ τὰς ὑποθέσεις είναι περί της μελλούσης κατ' εύχην συνεστάναι πόλεως. ού 2 γὰρ οδόν τε πολιτείαν γενέσθαι τὴν ἀρίστην ἄνευ συμμέτρου γορηγίας. διὸ δεῖ πολλά προϋποτεθεῖσθαι καθάπερ εύγομένους, είναι μέντοι μηθέν τούτων άδύνατον. λέγω δέ οίου περί τε πλήθους πολιτῶν καὶ χώρας. Εσπερ γάρ καὶ 3 τοῖς ἄλλοις δημιουργοῖς, οἶον ὑΦάντη καὶ ναυπηγῷ, δεῖ τὴν ύλην υπάρχειν ἐπιτηδείαν οὖσαν πρὸς τὴν ἐργασίαν (ὅσω 1326 γὰρ ᾶν αὐτὴ τυγχάνη παρεσκευασμένη βέλτιον, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς τέχνης είναι κάλλιον), οὕτω καὶ τῷ πολιτικώ και τώ νομοθέτη δει την οίκείαν ύλην υπάρχειν έπιτηδείως έχουσαν. έστι δε πολιτικής χορηγίας πρώτον 4 τό τε πλήθος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, πόσους τε καὶ ποίους τινὰς ύπάρχειν δεῖ Φύσει, καὶ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ώσαύτως, ὅσην τε

the γένος ανθρώπων 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.

και περί τὰς ἄλλας] This is one of the passages which is necessarily omitted if the order of the books is changed, as I have changed it.

τας ὑποθέσεις] 'the primary assump-

tions,' the conditions under which we can form our state.

2 συμμέτρου χορηγίας] 'adequate appliances.'

προϋποτεθείσθαι] 'we must presuppose many things.' I take the verb in an active sense, looking at the accusative εὐχομένους. We have ὑποτίθεσθαι in the parallel passage, II. 6, 7.

3 emitydelau odrau] 'in a right state for their work.'

την οἰκείαν δλην] 'Their peculiar material.'

4 πολιτικής χορηγίας] 'The first point in the statesman's arguments.' φύσει] depends on ποίους τινάς

N

The number of citizens.

είναι καὶ ποίαν τινά ταύτην. Οίονται μέν οὖν οἱ πλεῖστοι προσήκειν μεγάλην είναι την εύδαίμονα πόλιν εί δε τοῦτ' ς άληθές, άγνοοῦσι ποία μεγάλη καὶ ποία μικρά πόλις. άριθμοῦ γάρ πληθος τῶν ἐνοικούντων κρίνουσι τὴν μεγάλην, δει δε μάλλον μή είς το πλήθος είς δε δύναμιν αποβλέπειν. έστι γάρ τι καὶ πόλεως έργον, ώστε τὴν δυναμένην τοῦτο μάλιστ' ἀποτελείν, ταύτην οἰητέον είναι μεγίστην, οίον Ίπποχράτην οὐκ ἄνθρωπον ἀλλ' ἰατρὸν είναι μείζω Φήσειεν ἄν 6 τις τοῦ διαφέροντος κατά τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ σώματος. μην άλλα καν εί δει κρίνειν πρός το πληθος άποβλέποντας, οὐ κατὰ τὸ τυχὸν πληθος τοῦτο οἰητέον (ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ ἐν ταϊς πόλεσιν Ισως ὑπάρχειν καὶ δούλων ἀριθμὸν πολλῶν καὶ μετοίκων καὶ ξένων,) άλλ' όσοι πόλεώς εἰσι μέρος καὶ εξ ων συνίσταται πόλις οἰκείων μορίων ή γάρ τούτων ύπεροχή τοῦ πλήθους μεγάλης πόλεως σημείου, έξ ής δὲ βάναυσοι μέν έξέρχονται πολλοί τον άριθμον οπλίται δέ όλίγοι, ταύτην αδύνατον είναι μεγάλην ού γαρ ταύτον μεγ γάλη τε πόλις καὶ πολυάνθρωπος. άλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοῦτό γε έκ τῶν ἔργων Φανερὸν ὅτι χαλεπόν, ἴσως δ' ἀδύνατον, εύνομεῖσθαι τὴν λίαν πολυάνθρωπον. τῶν γοῦν δοκουσῶν πολιτεύεσθαι καλώς οὐδεμίαν όρωμεν οὖσαν άνειμένην πρός τὸ πλήθος. τοῦτο δὲ δήλον καὶ διὰ τής τῶν λόγων πίστεως. ε ο τε γαρ νόμος τάξις τίς έστι, και την εύνομίαν άναγκαῖον εύταξίαν είναι, δ δε λίαν ύπερβάλλων άριθμός οὐ δύναται μετέχειν τάξεως. θείας γάρ δή τοῦτο δυνάμεως έργον, ήτις



el 30 vefe' Angela] 'This may be true, but they do not know.'

y fore yell, m.r.A.] 'For the state, the collective personality, as well as the individual actificer, has its work.'

a mi min divide mert. I have change the sten and take number also into acmunit, yet quality must be conminused.

Man doubles a e l This personer less chames distinctly. Charges:

olkelwe moplese] 'parts proper to it.'
This is dwelt on later, Ch. VIII. 1.

τούτων] depends on πλήθους.

⁷ de vor [pyon] 'from practical experience.'

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 θείας γλρ --- ἀναγκαῖον as a parenthesis. Law is an arrangement, good law a

καὶ τόδε συνέχει τὸ πᾶν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ καλὸν ἐν πλήθει καὶ μεγέθει είωθε γίνεσθαι, καὶ πόλιν ής μετά μεγέθους ὁ λεχθείς citizens. δρος ὑπάρχει, ταύτην είναι καλλίστην ἀναγκαῖον. ἀλλ $\overset{\circ}{9}$ ἔστι τι καί πόλεσι μεγέθους μέτρον, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων, ζωων Φυτων ὀργάνων. καὶ γὰρ τούτων ξκαστον 10 ούτε λίαν μικρον ούτε κατά μέγεθος ύπερβάλλον έξει την αύτοῦ δύναμιν, άλλ' ότὲ μὲν ὅλως ἐστερημένον ἔσται τῆς Φύσεως, ότε δε Φαύλως έχον, οίον πλοίον σπιθαμιαίον μεν ούχ έσται πλοίον όλως, ούδε δυοίν σταδίοιν, είς δέ τι μέγεθος έλθον ότε μεν διά σμικρότητα Φαύλην ποιήσει την ναυ- 1326 Β. τιλίαν, ότε δε διά την ύπερβολήν, όμοίως δε και πόλις τι ή μεν έξ ολίγων λίαν ούκ αὐτάρκης (ή δε πόλις αὖταρκες), ή δὲ ἐκ πολλῶν ἄγαν ἐν τοῖς μὲν ἀναγκαίοις αὐτάρκης, ὧσπερ ἔθνος, ἀλλ' οὐ πόλις πολιτείαν γάρ οὐ ῥάδιον ὑπάρχειν. τίς γὰρ στρατηγὸς ἔσται τοῦ λίαν ὑπερβάλλουτος πλήθους, ή τίς κήρυξ μη Στεντόρειος; διό πρώτην μέν είναι πόλιν άναγκαῖον τὴν ἐκ τοσούτου πλήθους ὁ πρῶτον πλήθος αὖταρκες πρός τό εὖ ζην έστὶ κατά την πολιτικήν κοινωνίαν.

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.' 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 70 πâν. '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.' έπει δε το καλον έν πλήθει και μεγέθει είωθε γένεσθαι, καὶ πόλιν ής μετά μεγέθους λεχθείς δρος ύπαρχει, ταύτην είναι καλλίστην αναγκαίου. 'Since beauty requires size as one of its conditions (πλήθει καὶ μεγέθει, not meant to convey more than simply μεγέθει), so in states also, that which combines with a certain size good order (δ $\lambda \epsilon \chi \theta \epsilon ls$ $\delta \rho os = \epsilon b \tau a \xi (a)$, must necessarily be the most beautiful.' Compare Poet. vii. viii. p. 1450, b. 37: $\tau \delta$ $\gamma \delta \rho$ $\kappa a \lambda \delta \nu$ $\epsilon \nu$ $\mu \epsilon \gamma \epsilon \theta \epsilon \iota$ $\kappa a l$ $\tau \delta \xi \epsilon \iota$ $\epsilon \sigma \tau \iota$. Eth. iv. vii. 5, p. 1123, b. 8: $\tau \delta$ $\kappa \delta \lambda \lambda \delta s$ $\epsilon \nu$ $\mu \epsilon \gamma$ $\delta \lambda \varphi$ $\sigma \delta \mu a \tau \iota$.

10 της φύσεως] nature, in the sense given, I. 11. 8.

eis δέ τι 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.'

II ἐν τοῖς μέν ἀναγκαίοις] 'Though in all mere necessaries it be complete, yet it is not a state:' οὐ μετέχει τάξεως, wants, therefore, the καλόν.

πρώτην μεν «Ιναι] 'Then, first, is there a state, where you have arrived, in reference to number, exactly at the

ένδέχεται δὲ καὶ τὴν ταύτης ὑπερβάλλουσαν κατὰ πλῆθος citizens. είναι μείζω πόλιν· άλλὰ τοῦτ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ὥσπερ εἴπομεν, 12 άδριστου. τίς δ' έστλυ ὁ τῆς ὑπερβολῆς ὅρος, ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ίδειν ράδιον. είσι γάρ αι πράξεις της πόλεως των μέν άρχόντων τῶν δ' ἀρχομένων, ἄρχοντος δ' ἐπίταξις καὶ κρίσις 13 έργου. πρός δὲ τὸ κρίνειν περί τῶν δικαίων καὶ πρός το τὰς ἀργὰς διανέμειν κατ' ἀξίαν ἀναγκαῖον γνωρίζειν ἀλλήλους, ποῖοί τινές εἰσι, τοὺς πολίτας, τός ὅπου τοῦτο μὴ συμβαίνει γίγνεσθαι, Φαύλως ἀνάγκη γίγνεσθαι τὰ περὶ τὰς άρχὰς καὶ τὰς κρίσεις περὶ ἀμφότερα γὰρ οὐ δικαίον αὐτοσχεδιάζειν, ὅπερ ἐν τῷ πολυανθρωπία τῷ λίαν ὑπάρχει Φανε-14 ρῶς. ἔτι δὲ ξένοις καὶ μετοίκοις ῥάδιον μεταλαμβάνειν τῆς πολιτείας · ού γάρ χαλεπόν το λανθάνειν διά την ύπερβολην τοῦ πληθους. δήλον τοίνυν ώς οὖτός ἐστι πόλεως ὅρος άριστος, ή μεγίστη τοῦ πλήθους ὑπερβολὴ πρὸς αὐτάρχειαν ζωής εύσύνοπτος. Περί μεν οδν μεγέθους πόλεως διωρίσθω τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον.

Ταραπλησίως δε και τὰ περι τῆς χώρας ἔχει. περι The country. μεν γὰρ τοῦ ποίαν τινά, δῆλον ὅτι τὴν αὐταρκεστάτην πᾶς τις αν ἐπαινέσειεν· τοιαύτην δ' ἀναγκαῖον είναι τὴν παν τοφόρον· τὸ γὰρ πάντα ὑπάρχειν και δεῖσθαι μηθενὸς αὖτ αρκες. πλήθει δε και μεγέθει τοσαύτην ὧστε δύνασθαι τοὺς οἰκοῦντας ζῆν σχολάζοντας ἐλευθερίως ἄμα και σω-

point where first completeness is secured.'

12 τῶν μέν] It would be better if it were al μέν τῶν ἀρχόνιων al δὲ τῶν ἀρχομένων.

ἐπίταξις] in their political and executive capacity. κρίσις in their judicial; otherwise κρίσις is more properly the function τῶν ἀρχομένων

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,

γνωρίζειν ἀλλήλους] 'mutual know-ledge is requisite.'

αὐτοσχεδιάζειν] Thuc. I. 138.

υπάρχει φανερως] 'evidently cannot be escaped.'

«υσύνοπτος] 'ensily seen as a whole,'
'not too large for the eye to comprehend.'

V. I ζην σχολάζοντας, κ.τ.λ.] Compare II. vi. 9. He gives shortly all the requirements of the Greek freeman.

Φρόνως. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν ὅρον εἰ καλῶς ἡ μὴ καλῶς λέγομεν, υστερον επισκεπτέον ακριβέστερον, υταν ύλως περί κτήσεως καλ της περλ την οὐσίαν εὐπορίας συμβαίνη ποιεῖσθαι μνείαν, πῶς δεῖ καὶ τίνα τρόπον ἔχειν πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν αὐτήν πολλαί γὰρ περί τὴν σκέψιν ταύτην εἰσὶν ἀμΦισβητήσεις διά τοὺς έλχοντας ἐΦ' έχατέραν τοῦ βίου τὴν ὑπερβολήν, τούς μεν έπὶ την γλισχρότητα τούς δε έπὶ την τρυ-Φήν. Τὸ δ' είδος της χώρας οὐ χαλεπὸν εἰπεῖν, δεῖ δ' ένια 3 πείθεσθαι καλ τοῖς περί τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐμπείροις, ὅτι γρὴ μέν τοῖς πολεμίοις είναι δυσέμβολον, αὐτοῖς δ' εὐέξοδον. έτι δ' ώσπερ τὸ πληθος τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐσύνοπτον ἔΦα- 1327 μεν είναι δείν, ούτω καὶ τὴν χώραν. τὸ δ' εὐσύνοπτον τὸ εὐβοήθητον είναι την χώραν έστίν. της δε πόλεως την θέσιν εί γρη ποιείν κατ' εύχην, πρός τε την θάλατταν προσήκει κεῖσθαι καλῶς πρός τε τὴν χώραν. εἶς μὲν ὁ λεχθεὶς ὅρος: 4 δεῖ γὰρ πρὸς τὰς ἐκβοηθείας κοινὴν είναι τῶν τόπων ἀπάντων δ δε λοιπός πρός τάς τῶν γιγνομένων καρπῶν παραπομπάς, έτι δε της περί ξύλα ύλης, καν εί τινα άλλην έργασίαν ή χώρα τυγχάνοι κεκτημένη τοιαύτην, εύπαρακόμιστον.

Περί δὲ τῆς πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν κοινωνίας, πότερον 6 αὐφέλιμος ταῖς εὐνομουμέναις πόλεσιν ή βλαβερά, πολλὰ Should the state be

2 τον δρον τοῦτον] must be referred, not to αὐταρκεστάτην, but to what immediately precedes.

ਹੱστερον] Spengel, p. 10, note, thinks this is done in this same Book, Chs. 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.

αὐτήν] to be taken with ἔχειν.

διά τους έλκοντας, 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.'

3 τὸ δ' elδos] 'But as for the form.' The δè answers to the μèν in περί μèν γάρ.

4 δ λεχθείς] sc. that it should be εὐβοήθητον or εὐσύνοπτον. The second is, that it should be εὐπαρακόμιστον.

I place only a comma at παραπομ-#ds, and consider the genitive βληs 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. Ι τῆς πρὸς θάλατταν] This Maritime intercourse.

τυγχάνουσιν άμφισβητούντες. τό τε γαρ επιξενούσθαί τινας εν άλλοις τεθραμμένους νόμοις ἀσύμφορον είναί φασι πρὸς την εύνομίαν, και την πολυανθρωπίαν γίνεσθαι μεν γάρ έκ τοῦ χρῆσθαι τῆ θαλάσση διαπέμποντας καὶ δεχομένους έμπόρων πλήθος, ύπεναντίαν δ' είναι πρός τὸ πολιτεύεσθαι 2 καλῶς. ὅτι μὲν οὖν, εἰ ταῦτα μὴ συμβαίνει, βέλτιον καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ πρὸς εὐπορίαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων μετέχειν 3 την πόλιν καὶ την χώραν τῆς θαλάττης, οὐκ ἄδηλον. καὶ γὰρ πρός τὸ ράον Φέρειν τοὺς πολέμους εὐβοηθήτους εἶναι δεῖ κατ' άμφότερα τοὺς σωθησομένους, καὶ κατά γῆν καὶ κατά θάλατταν καὶ πρὸς τὸ βλάψαι τοὺς ἐπιτιθεμένους, εἰ μὴ κατ' ἄμφω δυνατόν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ θάτερον ὑπάρξει μᾶλλον + άμφοτέρων μετέχουσιν. όσα τ' αν μή τυγχάνη παρ' αὐτοῖς ὄντα, δέξασθαι ταῦτα καὶ τὰ πλεονάζοντα τῶν γιγνομένων ἐκπέμψασθαι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐστίν αὐτῆ γὰρ ἐμπορικήν, άλλ' οὐ τοῖς ἄλλοις δεῖ εἶναι τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ παρέχοντες σφας αὐτοὺς πασιν άγορὰν προσόδου χάριν ταῦτα

point suggested by his statement in the last chapter, κείσθαι καλῶς πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν.

dπιξενοῦσθαί τινας] "Die fortwährende Anwesenheit der Fremden," Stahr. 'That there should be resident a body of foreigners brought up in other laws and customs.'

dy alloss νόμοις] In III. 111. 6, the same point was mooted, the same in principle, that is, πότερον έθνος δν ή πλείω συμφόρει.

nal the multurepointar] sc. doul-

έμπέρων πλήθως] depend on the parthelplos διαπέμπωντας καλ δεχομένους.

s of radra my sumbalmed 'If these results do not arise.'

obsuples the drayester] 'a ready and large supply of all the necessaries of life."

4 th abandfurta tor yeyrondror)

norg you summunded 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.

ταῦτα πράττουσιν] 'do so for the sake of revenue.'

πράττουσιν ήν δε μή δει πόλιν τοιαύτης μετέχειν πλεον- Maritime εξίας, οὐδ' ἐμπόριον δεῖ κεκτῆσθαι τοιοῦτον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ νῦν ὁρῶμεν πολλαῖς ὑπάρχοντα κοραις καὶ πόλεσιν ἐπίνεια 5 καὶ λιμένας εὐφυῶς κείμενα πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ώστε μήτε τὸ αὐτὸ νέμειν ἄστυ μήτε πόρρω λίαν, ἀλλὰ κρατεῖσθαι τείχεσι καὶ τοιούτοις ἄλλοις ἐρύμασι, Φανερὸν ὡς εἰ μὲν ἀγαθόν τι συμβαίνει γίγνεσθαι διά της κοινωνίας αὐτῶν, ὑπάρξει τη πόλει τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθόν, εἰ δέ τι βλαβερόν, Φυλάξασθαι ράδιον τοῖς νόμοις Φράζοντας καὶ διορίζοντας τίνας οὐ δεῖ καὶ τίνας ἐπιμίσγεσθαι δεῖ πρὸς ἀλλήλους. περὶ δὲ τῆς 6 ναυτικής δυνάμεως, ότι μεν βέλτιστον υπάρχειν μέχρι τινός πλήθους, οὐκ ἄδηλον οὐ γὰρ μόνον αύτοῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν 1327 Β πλησίον τισί δεί και Φοβερούς είναι και δύνασθαι βοηθείν, ώσπερ κατά γην, καὶ κατά θάλατταν. περὶ δὲ πλήθους 7 ήδη και μεγέθους της δυνάμεως ταύτης πρός τον βίον άποσκεπτέον τῆς πόλεως: εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἡγεμονικὸν καὶ πολιτικόν ζήσεται βίου, άναγκαῖον καὶ ταύτην τὴν δύναμιν ύπάρχειν πρός τὰς πράξεις σύμμετρον. τὴν δὲ πολυανθρωπίαν την γιγνομένην περί τὸν ναυτικόν ὅχλον οὐκ άναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν ταῖς πόλεσιν: οὐθὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς μέρος είναι δεῖ τῆς πόλεως. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιβατικὸν ἐλεύθερον καὶ 8

• Бжархов каl Bekker. У ...

τοιαύτης πλεονεξίας] '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 δπάρχον] If kept, must be made to agree with ἐμπόριον, supplied. But the sentence seems faulty. Schneider, with Coray, wishes to read ὁπάρχουν. I should prefer ὁπάρχοντα, leaving out the καί.

εὐφυῶς κείμενα] 'advantageously situated as regards the city.'

νέμειν] 'inhabit.' δόμους νέμαιμι σούς, Soph. Aj. 1016,

διὰ τῆς κοινωνίας αὐτῶν] 'by the in-

tercourse with them,' the ἐπίνεια καὶ λιμένας.

 $\phi \rho d \zeta o \nu \tau a s$, $\kappa. \tau. \lambda$.] 'stating and defining.'

6 αὐτοῖs] 'with regard to themselves only.'

7 ήγεμονικόν και πολιτικόν] 'an imperial and social life,' mixed up with other states that is. The opposite to πολιτικόν here would be ξενικόν, Ch. II. 3.

την γιγνομένην περί] 'Involved by.'
οὐθὲν γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'For they ought
not to be any part of the state.'

8 τῆς ναυτιλίας] "im Seewesen," Stahr; 'directs the navigation,' III.

Is happiness the same for the man

είπερ ενδέχεται πόλιν οίκεῖσθαί που καθ' έαυτὴν νόμοις χρωμένην σπουδαίοις, ής της πολιτείας ή σύνταξις οὐ πρὸς and for the πόλεμον οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸ κρατεῖν ἔσται τῶν πολεμίων· μηθὲν γαρ ύπαρχέτω τοιοῦτον. δῆλον ἄρα ὅτι πάσας τας πρὸς 17 του πόλεμου ἐπιμελείας καλάς μὲν θετέου, οὐχ ως τέλος δὲ πάντων ακρότατου, αλλ' έκείνου χάριν ταύτας. τοῦ δὲ νομοθέτου τοῦ σπουδαίου ἐστὶ τὸ θεάσασθαι πόλιν καὶ γένος ανθρώπων και πασαν άλλην κοινωνίαν, ζωής αγαθής 18 πῶς μεθέξουσι καὶ τῆς ἐνδεχομένης αὐτοῖς εὐδαιμονίας. διοίσει μέντοι τῶν ταττομένων ἔνια νομίμων καὶ τοῦτο τῆς νομοθετικής εστίν ίδεῖν, εάν τινες ὑπάρχωσι γειτνιῶντες, ποῖα προς ποίους ἀσκητέον ἢ πῶς τοῖς καθήκουσι πρὸς ἐκάστους χρηστέον. 'Αλλά τοῦτο μέν κάν υστερον τύχοι τῆς προσηκούσης σκέψεως, πρός τι τέλος δεί την αρίστην πολιτείαν 3 συντείνειν πρός δε τους όμολογούντας μεν τον μετ' άρετης είναι βίον αίρετώτατον, διαφερομένους δέ περί της χρήσεως αύτοῦ, λεκτέον ήμῖν πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους αὐτούς (οἱ μέν γὰρ αποδοκιμάζουσι τὰς πολιτικὰς ἀρχάς, νομίζοντες τόν τε τοῦ ἐλευθέρου βίον ἔτερόν τινα είναι τοῦ πολιτικοῦ καλ πάντων αἰρετιύτατον, οἱ δὲ τοῦτον ἄριστον ἀδύνατον γὰρ τὸν μηθὲν πράττοντα πράττειν εὖ, τὴν δ' εὐπραγίαν καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν είναι ταὐτόν) ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἀμφότεροι λέγουσιν όρθῶς τὰ δ' οὐκ όρθῶς, οἱ μὲν ὅτι ὁ τοῦ ἐλευθέρου βίος τοῦ 2 δεσποτικοῦ ἀμείνων. τοῦτο γάρ ἀληθές οὐθὲν γάρ τό γε δούλω, ή δοῦλος, χρησθαι σεμνόν ή γαρ ἐπίταξις ή περὶ τῶν

> 17 γένος ἀνθρώπων] seems an equivalent expression to lovos.

> ἐνδεχομένης αὐτοῖς] 'open to them.' 18 τοις καθήκουσι] St. Hil. and Stahr agree in translating this "duties," Vict. "quæ 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.'

III. I of μέν γάρ] 'I say both, for the one.' &c.

exertépoul equivalent to the ferials

καί της πολιτικής κοινωνίας απολελυμέvos of 2, 3. The words ἀπράγμων, ίδιώτης would also express the same notion.

άδύνατον γάρ] 'For they urge that it is impossible.'

δεσποτικοῦ] 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 οὐθὲν γάρ] Compare I. VII. 4, as also for what follows the earlier part of the same chapter.

άναγκαίων οὐδενὸς μετέχει τῶν καλῶν. τὸ μέντοι νομίζειν Is hap-piness the πασαν άρχην είναι δεσποτείαν ουκ όρθον· ου γαρ έλαττον same for διέστηκεν ή τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἀρχὴ τῆς τῶν δούλων ἢ αὐτὸ τὸ and for the Φύσει ἐλεύθερον τοῦ Φύσει δούλου. διώρισται δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ἱκανῶς ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις λόγοις. τὸ δὲ μᾶλλον 3 έπαινεῖν τὸ ἀπρακτεῖν τοῦ πράττειν οὐκ ἀληθές ἡ γὰρ εὐδαιμονία πρᾶξίς ἐστιν. ἔτι δὲ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν τέλος έχουσιν αι τῶν δικαίων και σωφρόνων πράξεις. Καίτοι τάγ' αν ύπολάβοι τις τούτων ούτω διωρισμένων δτι τὸ κύριον είναι πάντων ἄριστον· οὕτω γάρ ᾶν πλείστων καὶ καλλίστων κύριος είη πράξεων. ώστε οὐ δεῖ τὸν δυνάμενον 4 άρχειν παριέναι τῷ πλησίον, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, καὶ μήτε πατέρα παίδων μήτε παίδας πατρός μήθ' όλως Φίλον Φίλου μηθένα ύπολογείν μηδε πρός τοῦτο Φροντίζειν· τὸ γὰρ ἄριστον αἰρετώτατον, τὸ δ' εὖ πράττειν ἄριστον. τοῦτο μεν οὖν άληθῶς ἴσως λέγουσιν, εἴπερ ὑπάρξει τοῖς άποστεροῦσι καὶ βιαζομένοις τὸ τῶν ὅντων αἰρετώτατον. 1325 Β άλλ' ἴσως οὐχ οἶόν τε ὑπάρχειν, άλλ' ὑποτίθενται τοῦτο 5 ψεῦδος οὐ γὰρ ἔτι καλὰς τὰς πράξεις ἐνδέχεται εἶναι τῷ μη διαφέροντι τοσούτον δσον άνηρ γυναικός ή πατηρ τέκνων ή δεσπότης δούλων. ωστε ο παραβαίνων ούθεν αν τηλικοῦτον κατορθώσειεν υστερον υσον ήδη παρεκβέβηκε της άρετης. τοις γὰρ ὁμοίοις τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἐν τῷ μέρει · τοῦτο γὰρ Ισον και δμοιον. το δε μή Ισον τοῖς Ισοις και το μή δμοιον 6 τοῖς ὁμοίοις παρὰ Φύσιν οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν παρὰ Φύσιν καλόν. διὸ κᾶν ἄλλος τις ή κρείττων κατ' άρετην καὶ κατὰ δύναμιν την

3 τέλος έχουσιν] 'involve the accomplishment of.'

4 παριέναι] 'to give way to.'

ὑπολογεῖν] 'take account of, nor, as compared with this, bestow a thought upon them.' The kindred form ὑπολογίζεσθαι, with a similar sense, is not uncommon in Plato.

5 ὑποτίθενται τοῦτο ψεῦδος] ' here lies the fallacy of their assumption.'

δσον ανήρ, κ.τ.λ.] The cases given are instances of great natural differences, and in them there is no opening for that ἀρχὴ πολιτική, that rule over equal and free citizens, which, in the reasoning, the objector is supposed to aim at destroying.

ώστε ὁ παραβαίνων] '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.'

6 διδ κάν άλλος, κ.τ.λ.] Indeed, so

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ls happiness the state?

πρακτικήν τῶν ἀρίστων, τούτω καλὸν ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ τούτω nuess the same for πείθεσθαι δίκαιον. δεῖ δ' οὐ μόνον άρετην άλλὰ καὶ δύναand for the μιν ὑπάρχειν, καθ' ην ἔσται πρακτικός. 'Αλλ' εἰ ταῦτα λέγεται καλώς καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν εὐπραγίαν θετέον, καὶ γ κοινή πάσης πόλεως αν είη και καθ έκαστον άριστος βίος δ 8 πρακτικός. άλλὰ τὸν πρακτικὸν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον είναι πρὸς έτέρους, καθάπερ ολονται τινες, οὐδὲ τὰς διανοίας είναι μόνας ταύτας πρακτικάς τὰς τῶν ἀποβαινόντων χάριν γιγνομένας 🕴 ἐκ τοῦ πράττειν, ἀλλὰ πολύ μᾶλλον τὰς αὐτοτελεῖς καὶ τας αύτων ένεκεν θεωρίας και διανοήσεις ή γαρ εύπραξία τέλος, ώστε καὶ πράξίς τις μάλιστα δὲ καὶ πράττειν λέγομεν χυρίως καλ τῶν ἐξωτερικῶν πράξεων τοὺς ταῖς διανοίαις ο άρχιτέχτονας. άλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἀπρακτεῖν ἀναγκαῖον τὰς καθ' αύτας πόλεις ίδρυμένας καὶ ζην ούτω προηρημένας. ένδέχεται γάρ κατά μέρη καὶ τοῦτο συμβαίνειν πολλαὶ γάρ το κοινωνίαι πρὸς ἄλληλα τοῖς μέρεσι τῆς πόλεώς εἰσιν. ὁμοίως

> far is it from being true that each man should grasp at power, on any ground, even on this, 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.

7 δεῖ δ' οὐ μόνον, κ.τ.λ.] 'I use both terms, virtue and ability (δύναμιν), for both are necessary. Virtue alone does not guarantee the skill to use it rightly.'

8 άλλα τον πρακτικόν] But in taking up this position we must attend to the sense of the word mpaktikos.

τας των αποβαινόντων] The order is, τας γιγνομένας χάριν των αποβαινόντων έκ τοῦ πράττειν.

αὐτοτελεῖs] 'sui juris,' 'independent,' 'self-complete,' the opposite of ύποτελείς.

ή γάρ] 'That there are such is clear, for,' &c.

! (ατερικών] 'external actions.'

τουs αρχτέκτονας] Compare Metaph. v. p. 981, διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἀρχιτέκτονας περί ξκαστον τιμιωτέρους και μάλλον είδέναι νομίζομεν τών χειροτεχνών καί σοφωτέρους.

9 άλλα μήν] '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 τοῦτο] This καὶ seems out of Its more natural position is before the kard. 'For it is possible even within themselves and with reference to their several parts, that there should be action,' τοῦτο sc. τὸ πράττειν.

10 ὑπάρχει] 'is true of.' σχολή γάρ] 'else hardly.'

ols our elow [For this language, as far as it applies to the gods, compare Eth. x. viii. 7, 8, p. 1178, b. 8.

τοις ανθρώποις] seems equivalent to

δε τοῦτο ὑπάρχει καὶ καθ' ένὸς ὁτουοῦν τῶν ἀνθρώπων σχολή γὰρ ἀν ὁ θεὸς ἔχοι καλῶς καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος, οἶς οὐκ same for the man της είσιν εξωτερικαί πράξεις παρά τὰς οἰκείας τὰς αὐτῶν. "Οτι and for the μεν ούν τον αύτον βίον άναγκαῖον είναι τον άριστον εκάστω. τε τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ κοινῆ ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, Φανερόν έστιν.

Έπει δε πεφροιμίασται τα νῦν είρημένα περι αὐτῶν, και 4 περὶ τὰς ἄλλας πολιτείας ἡμῖν τεθεώρηται πρότερον, ἀρχὴ $_{
m number\ of}^{
m The}$ τῶν λοιπῶν εἰπεῖν πρῶτον ποίας τινὰς δεῖ τὰς ὑποθέσεις citizens. είναι περί τῆς μελλούσης κατ' εὐχὴν συνεστάναι πόλεως. οὐ 2 γαρ οδόν τε πολιτείαν γενέσθαι την αρίστην άνευ συμμέτρου γορηγίας. διὸ δεῖ πολλά προϋποτεθεῖσθαι καθάπερ εύχομένους, είναι μέντοι μηθέν τούτων άδύνατον. λέγω δὲ οδον περί τε πλήθους πολιτών καὶ χώρας. Εσπερ γάρ καὶ 3 τοῖς ἄλλοις δημιουργοῖς, οἶον ὑΦάντη καὶ ναυπηγῷ, δεῖ τὴν ύλην ύπάρχειν ἐπιτηδείαν οὖσαν πρὸς τὴν ἐργασίαν (ὅσω 1326 γάρ αν αύτη τυγχάνη παρεσκευασμένη βέλτιον, άνάγκη καί τὸ γιγνόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς τέχνης είναι κάλλιον), οὕτω καὶ τῷ πολιτικώ και τω νομοθέτη δει την οικείαν υλην υπάρχειν έπιτηδείως έχουσαν. έστι δε πολιτικής χορηγίας πρώτον 4 τό τε πλήθος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, πόσους τε καὶ ποίους τινὰς ύπάρχειν δεῖ Φύσει, καὶ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ώσαύτως, ὅσην τε

the γένος ανθρώπων 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.

και περί τὰς ἄλλας] This is one of the passages which is necessarily omitted if the order of the books is changed, as I have changed it.

τας ὑποθέσεις] 'the primary assump-

tions,' the conditions under which we can form our state.

2 συμμέτρου χορηγίας] 'adequate appliances.'

προϋποτεθείσθαι] 'we must presuppose many things.' I take the verb in an active sense, looking at the accusative εὐχομένους. We have ύποτίθεσθαι in the parallel passage.

3 ἐπιτηδείαν οδσαν] 'in a right state for their work.'

την οίκείαν δλην] 'Their peculiar material.'

4 πολιτικής χορηγίας] 'The first point in the statesman's arguments.'

φύσει] depends on ποίους τινάς

The number of citizens.

είναι καὶ ποίαν τινὰ ταύτην. Οίονται μέν οὖν οἱ πλεῖστοι προσήκειν μεγάλην είναι την εύδαίμονα πόλιν εί δε τοῦτ' - 5 άληθές, άγνοοῦσι ποία μεγάλη καὶ ποία μικρὰ πόλις. άριθμοῦ γὰρ πληθος τῶν ἐνοικούντων κρίνουσι τὴν μεγάλην, δεί δε μάλλον μη είς το πληθος είς δε δύναμιν αποβλέπειν. ἔστι γάρ τι καὶ πόλεως ἔργον, ώστε τὴν δυναμένην τοῦτο μάλιστ' άποτελείν, ταύτην οἰητέον είναι μεγίστην, οίον Ίπποχράτην οὐκ ἄνθρωπον άλλ ἰατρὸν είναι μείζω Φήσειεν ἄν 6 τις τοῦ διαφέροντος κατά τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ σώματος. μην άλλα καν εί δεί κρίνειν πρός το πλήθος αποβλέποντας, ού κατά τὸ τυχὸν πληθος τοῦτο οἰητέον (ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἴσως ὑπάρχειν καὶ δούλων ἀριθμὸν πολλῶν καὶ μετοίκων καὶ ξένων,) άλλ' ὅσοι πόλεώς εἰσι μέρος καὶ έξ ων συνίσταται πόλις οἰκείων μορίων ή γάρ τούτων ύπεροχή τοῦ πλήθους μεγάλης πόλεως σημείον, έξ ής δὲ βάναυσοι μεν εξέρχονται πολλοί τον άριθμον οπλίται δε όλίγοι, ταύτην αδύνατον είναι μεγάλην ού γαρ ταύτον με-7 γάλη τε πόλις καὶ πολυάνθρωπος. άλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοῦτό γε έχ τῶν ἔργων Φανερον ὅτι χαλεπόν, ἴσως δ' ἀδύνατον, εύνομεῖσθαι τὴν λίαν πολυάνθρωπον. τῶν γοῦν δοκουσῶν πολιτεύεσθαι καλώς ούδεμίαν όρωμεν οὖσαν άνειμένην πρός τὸ πληθος. τοῦτο δὲ δηλον καὶ διὰ της τῶν λόγων πίστεως. 8 ο τε γάρ νόμος τάξις τίς έστι, καὶ τὴν εὐνομίαν ἀναγκαῖον εὐταξίαν είναι, ὁ δὲ λίαν ὑπερβάλλων ἀριθμὸς οὐ δύναται μετέχειν τάξεως. θείας γάρ δη τοῦτο δυνάμεως έργον, ητις

el δε τοῦτ' ἀληθές] 'This may be true, but they do not know.'

⁵ ἔστι γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'For the state, the collective personality, as well as the individual artificer, has its work.'

⁶ οὐ μήν ἀλλά, κ.τ.λ.] 'or change the view and take number also into account, yet quality must be considered.'

δούλων ἀριθμόν, κ.τ.λ.] This passage gives three classes distinctly. Compare III. 2, 3, note.

olkelων μορίων] 'parts proper to it.' This is dwelt on later, Ch. VIII. 1.

τούτων] depends on πλήθους.

⁷ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων] 'from practical experience.'

ανειμένην 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 θείας γὰρ — ἀναγκαῖον as a parenthesis. 'Law is an arrangement, good law a

καὶ τόδε συνέχει τὸ πᾶν' ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ καλὸν ἐν πλήθει καὶ μεγέθει είωθε γίνεσθαι, καὶ πόλιν ής μετά μεγέθους ὁ λεχθεὶς citizens. δρος ὑπάρχει, ταύτην είναι καλλίστην ἀναγκαῖον. ἀλλ'ς έστι τι καί πόλεσι μεγέθους μέτρον, ώσπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων, ζώων Φυτών δργάνων. καὶ γὰρ τούτων εκαστον 10 ούτε λίαν μικρον ούτε κατά μέγεθος ύπερβάλλον έξει την αύτοῦ δύναμιν, άλλ' ότε μεν όλως έστερημένον έσται τῆς φύσεως, ότε δε φαύλως έχον, οίον πλοίον σπιθαμιαίον μεν οὐκ ἔσται πλοῖον ὅλως, οὐδὲ δυοῖν σταδίοιν, εἰς δέ τι μέγεθος έλθον ότε μεν διά σμικρότητα Φαύλην ποιήσει την ναυ- 1326 Β. τιλίαν, ότε δε διά την ύπερβολήν, όμοίως δε και πόλις 11 $\dot{\eta}$ were if $\dot{\delta}\lambda\dot{\gamma}\omega\nu$ $\lambda\dot{\alpha}\nu$ our autapring ($\dot{\eta}$ $\dot{\delta}\dot{\epsilon}$ $\pi\dot{\delta}\lambda\iota\varsigma$ autapring), $\dot{\eta}$ δε έκ πολλών άγαν έν τοῖς μεν άναγκαίοις αὐτάρκης, ώσπερ έθνος, άλλ' οὐ πόλις πολιτείαν γάρ οὐ βάδιον ὑπάρχειν. τίς γὰρ στρατηγὸς ἔσται τοῦ λίαν ὑπερβάλλοντος πλήθους, ή τίς κήρυξ μη Στεντόρειος; διό πρώτην μέν είναι πόλιν άναγκαῖον τὴν ἐκ τοσούτου πλήθους δ πρῶτον πλήθος αὖταρκες πρός τὸ εὖ ζην έστὶ κατά τὴν πολιτικὴν κοινωνίαν.

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.' 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 70 πâν. '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.' έπει δε το καλον εν πλήθει και μεγέθει είωθε γένεσθαι, καλ πόλιν ής μετά μεγέθους λεχθείς δρος ύπαρχει, ταύτην είναι καλλίστην αναγκαΐον. 'Since beauty requires size as one of its conditions (πλήθει και μεγέθει, not meant to convey more than simply μεγέθει), so in states also, that which combines with a certain size good order (δ $\lambda \epsilon \chi \theta \epsilon ls$ $\delta \rho os = \epsilon b \tau a \xi (a)$, must necessarily be the most beautiful.' Compare Poet. VII. VIII. p. 1450, b. 37: $\tau \delta$ $\gamma \delta \rho$ kadde $\epsilon \nu$ $\mu \epsilon \gamma \epsilon \theta \epsilon \iota$ kal $\tau \delta \xi \epsilon \ell \delta \tau \iota$. Eth. IV. VII. 5, p. 1123, b. 8: $\tau \delta$ kaddos $\epsilon \nu$ $\mu \epsilon \gamma$ $\delta \lambda \varphi$ $\sigma \delta \mu a \tau \iota$.

10 της φύσεως] nature, in the sense given, I. 11. 8.

els δέ τι 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.'

11 ἐν τοῖς μέν ἀναγκαίοις] 'Though in all mere necessaries it be complete, yet it is not a state:' οὐ μετέχει τάξεως, wants, therefore, the καλόν.

πρώτην μεν «Ιναι] 'Then, first, is there a state, where you have arrived, in reference to number, exactly at the

ένδέχεται δὲ καὶ τὴν ταύτης ὑπερβάλλουσαν κατὰ πλῆθος number of citizens. είναι μείζω πόλιν· άλλὰ τοῦτ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ὥσπερ είπομεν, 12 άδριστον. τίς δ' έστιν δ της υπερβολης δρος, έκ των έργων ίδειν ράδιον. είσι γάρ αι πράξεις της πόλεως των μέν άρχόντων τῶν δ' ἀρχομένων, ἄρχοντος δ' ἐπίταξις καὶ κρίσις 13 έργον. πρός δὲ τὸ κρίνειν περί τῶν δικαίων καὶ πρός το τὰς ἀρχὰς διανέμειν κατ' ἀξίαν ἀναγκαῖον γνωρίζειν ἀλλήλους, ποῖοί τινές εἰσι, τοὺς πολίτας, ὡς ὅπου τοῦτο μὴ συμβαίνει γίγνεσθαι, Φαύλως ἀνάγκη γίγνεσθαι τὰ περὶ τὰς άργας και τας κρίσεις περι αμφότερα γαρ ού δικαίον αύτοσχεδιάζειν, ὅπερ ἐν τῆ πολυανθρωπία τῆ λίαν ὑπάρχει Φανε-14 ρῶς. ἔτι δὲ ξένοις καὶ μετοίκοις ῥάδιον μεταλαμβάνειν τῆς πολιτείας ου γάρ χαλεπον το λανθάνειν διά την υπερβολήν τοῦ πληθους. δήλον τοίνυν ώς οὖτός ἐστι πόλεως ὅρος άριστος, ή μεγίστη τοῦ πλήθους ὑπερβολή πρὸς αὐτάρχειαν Περί μεν ούν μεγέθους πόλεως διωρίσθω ζωής εὐσύνοπτος. τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον.

The country.

Παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς χώρας ἔχει. περὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ ποίαν τινά, δῆλον ὅτι τὴν αὐταρκεστάτην πᾶς τις ᾶν ἐπαινέσειεν τοιαύτην δ΄ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὴν παντοφόρον τὸ γὰρ πάντα ὑπάρχειν καὶ δεῖσθαι μηθενὸς αὔτοὸς οἰκοῦντας ζῆν σχολάζοντας ἐλευθερίως ἄμα καὶ σωτοὸς οἰκοῦντας ζῆν σχολάζοντας ἐλευθερίως ἄμα καὶ σω

point where first completeness is secured.'

12 τῶν μέν] It would be better if it were al μὲν τῶν ἀρχόνιων al δὲ τῶν ἀρχομένων.

ἐπίταξις] in their political and executive capacity. κρίσις in their judicial; otherwise κρίσις is more properly the function τῶν ἀρχομένων

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.

γνωρίζειν ἀλλήλους] 'mutual know-ledge is requisite.'

αὐτοσχεδιάζειν] Thuc. 1. 138.

ύπάρχει φανερως] 'evidently cannot be escaped.'

εὐσύνοπτος] 'easily seen as a whole,'
'not too large for the eye to comprehend.'

V. I ζην σχολάζοντας, κ.τ.λ.] Compare II. vi. 9. He gives shortly all the requirements of the Greek freeman.

Φρόνως. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν ὅρον εἰ καλῶς ἡ μὴ καλῶς λέγο-The μεν, υστερον έπισκεπτέον άκριβέστερον, όταν όλως περί κτήσεως καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν εὐπορίας συμβαίνη ποιεῖσθαι² μνείαν, πῶς δεῖ καὶ τίνα τρόπον ἔχειν πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν αὐτήν πολλαί γὰρ περί τὴν σκέψιν ταύτην εἰσὶν ἀμφισβητήσεις διά τοὺς έλκοντας ἐΦ' ἐκατέραν τοῦ βίου τὴν ὑπερβολήν, τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν γλισχρότητα τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τρυ-Φήν. Τὸ δ' είδος τῆς χώρας οὐ χαλεπὸν εἰπεῖν, δεῖ δ' ἔνια 3 πείθεσθαι καλ τοῖς περλ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐμπείροις, ὅτι χρὴ μεν τοῖς πολεμίοις είναι δυσέμβολον, αὐτοῖς δ' εὐέξοδον. ἔτι δ' ὥσπερ τὸ πληθος τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐσύνοπτον ἔΦα- 1327 μεν είναι δείν, ούτω και την χώραν. το δ' εύσύνοπτον το εύβοήθητου είναι την χώραν εστίν. της δε πόλεως την θέσιν εί χρη ποιείν κατ' εύχην, πρός τε την θάλατταν προσήκει κεῖσθαι καλῶς πρός τε τὴν χώραν. εἶς μὲν ὁ λεχθεὶς ὅρος: 4 δεῖ γὰρ πρὸς τὰς ἐκβοηθείας κοινὴν είναι τῶν τόπων ἀπάντων δ δε λοιπός πρός τὰς τῶν γιγνομένων καρπῶν παραπομπάς, ἔτι δὲ τῆς περὶ ξύλα ὕλης, κᾶν εἴ τινα ἄλλην έργασίαν ή χώρα τυγχάνοι κεκτημένη τοιαύτην, εύπαρακόμιστον.

Περί δὲ τῆς πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν χοινωνίας, πότερον 6 αὐφέλιμος ταῖς εὐνομουμέναις πόλεσιν ἢ βλαβερά, πολλὰ Should the state be

2 τον δρον τοῦτον] must be referred, not to αὐταρκεστάτην, but to what immediately precedes.

υστερον] Spengel, p. 10, note, thinks this is done in this same Book, Chs. 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.

abthr] to be taken with Exerv.

διά τους έλκοντας, 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.'

3 τὸ δ' elδos] 'But as for the form.' The de answers to the mer in mepl mer

4 δ λεχθείε] sc. that it should be εὐβοήθητον or εὐσύνοπτον. The second is, that it should be εὐπαρακόμιστον.

I place only a comma at παραπομmas, and consider the genitive βληs 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. Ι τῆς πρός θάλατταν] This Maritime intercourse.

τυγχάνουσιν άμφισβητούντες. τό τε γαρ επιξενούσθαί τινας εν άλλοις τεθραμμένους νόμοις ασύμφορον είναί φασι πρός την εύνομίαν, και την πολυανθρωπίαν γίνεσθαι μέν γάρ έκ τοῦ γρησθαι τη θαλάσση διαπέμποντας καὶ δεχομένους έμπόρων πλήθος, ύπεναντίαν δ' είναι πρός το πολιτεύεσθαι 2 καλώς. ὅτι μὲν οὖν, εἰ ταῦτα μὴ συμβαίνει, βέλτιον καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ πρὸς εὐπορίαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων μετέχειν 3 την πόλιν και την χώραν της θαλάττης, οὐκ ἄδηλον. και γάρ πρὸς τὸ ράον Φέρειν τοὺς πολέμους εὐβοηθήτους εἶναι δεῖ κατ' άμφότερα τοὺς σωθησομένους, καὶ κατά γῆν καὶ κατά θάλατταν καὶ πρὸς τὸ βλάψαι τοὺς ἐπιτιθεμένους, εἰ μὴ κατ' ἄμφω δυνατόν, άλλὰ κατὰ θάτερον ὑπάρξει μᾶλλον + άμφοτέρων μετέχουσιν. όσα τ' αν μή τυγχάνη παρ' αὐτοῖς ὄντα, δέξασθαι ταῦτα καὶ τὰ πλεονάζοντα τῶν γιγνομένων έκπέμψασθαι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐστίν αὐτῆ γὰρ ἐμπορικήν, άλλ' οὐ τοῖς άλλοις δεῖ εἶναι τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ παρέγοντες σφας αὐτοὺς πασιν άγορὰν προσόδου χάριν ταῦτα

point suggested by his statement in the last chapter, κεῖσθαι καλῶς πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν.

dπιξενοῦσθαί τινας] "Die fortwährende Anwesenheit der Fremden," Stahr. 'That there should be resident a body of foreigners brought up in other laws and customs.'

dy Ellos νόμοις] In III. 111. 6, the same point was mooted, the same in principle, that is, πότερον έθνος by ή πλείω συμφέρει.

καί την πολυανθρωπίαν] εc. ασύμ-Φορον είναι.

όμπόρων πλήθος] depend on the participles διαπέμποντας καὶ δεχομένους.

2 el ταθτα μή συμβαίνει] 'If these results do not arise.'

obπoρίαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων] 'a ready and large supply of all the necessaries of life.'

4 τὰ πλεονάζοντα τῶν γιγνομένων]
'Thoir surplus produce.'

norff γαρ εμπορικήν] 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.

ταῦτα πράττουσιν] 'do so for the sake of revenue.'

πράττουσιν ην δε μη δει πόλιν τοιαύτης μετέχειν πλεον- Maritime εξίας, οὐδ' ἐμπόριον δεῖ κεκτῆσθαι τοιοῦτον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ νῦν ὁρῶμεν πολλαῖς ὑπάρχοντα κοραις καὶ πόλεσιν ἐπίνεια 5 καὶ λιμένας εὐφυῶς κείμενα πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ώστε μήτε τὸ αὐτὸ νέμειν ἄστυ μήτε πόρρω λίαν, ἀλλὰ κρατεῖσθαι τείχεσι καὶ τοιούτοις άλλοις ἐρύμασι, Φανερὸν ώς εἰ μὲν ἀγαθόν τι συμβαίνει γίγνεσθαι διά της κοινωνίας αὐτῶν, ὑπάρξει τῆ πόλει τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθόν, εἰ δέ τι βλαβερόν, Φυλάξασθαι ράδιον τοῖς νόμοις Φράζοντας καὶ διορίζοντας τίνας οὐ δεῖ καλ τίνας ἐπιμίσγεσθαι δεῖ πρὸς ἀλλήλους. περλ δὲ τῆς 6 ναυτικής δυνάμεως, ότι μεν βέλτιστον υπάρχειν μέχρι τινος πλήθους, οὐκ ἄδηλον' οὐ γὰρ μόνον αύτοῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν 1327 Β πλησίον τισί δεί και Φοβερούς είναι και δύνασθαι βοηθείν, ώσπερ κατά γην, καὶ κατά θάλατταν. περὶ δὲ πλήθους 7 ήδη και μεγέθους της δυνάμεως ταύτης πρός τον βίον άποσκεπτέον της πόλεως εί μεν γάρ ήγεμονικόν και πολιτικόν ζήσεται βίου, άναγκαῖον καὶ ταύτην τὴν δύναμιν ύπάρχειν πρὸς τὰς πράξεις σύμμετρον. τὴν δὲ πολυανθρωπίαν την γιγνομένην περί τὸν ναυτικόν ὄχλον οὐκ άναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν ταῖς πόλεσιν οὐθὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς μέρος είναι δεί της πόλεως, τὸ μεν γὰρ ἐπιβατικὸν ἐλεύθερον καὶ 8

• бжархот каl Bekker. чет бе

τοιαύτης πλεονεξίας] '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 δπάρχον] If kept, must be made to agree with ἐμπόριον, supplied. But the sentence seems faulty. Schneider, with Coray, wishes to read δπάρχειν. I should prefer δπάρχοντα, leaving out the καί.

εὐφνῶς κείμενα] 'advantageously situated as regards the city.'

νέμειν] 'inhabit.' δόμους νέμαιμι σούς, Soph. Aj. 1016,

διὰ της κοινωνίας αὐτῶν] 'by the in-

tercourse with them,' the ἐπίνεια καὶ λιμένας.

 $\phi \rho d \zeta o \nu \tau a s$, $\kappa. \tau. \lambda$.] 'stating and defining.'

6 abrois] 'with regard to themselves only.'

7 ήγεμονικόν και πολιτικόν] 'an imperial and social life,' mixed up with other states that is. The opposite to πολιτικόν here would be ξενικόν, Ch. II. 3.

την γιγνομένην περί] 'Involved by.'
οὐθὲν γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'For they ought
not to be any part of the state.'

8 τῆς ναυτιλίας] "im Seeweson," Stahr; 'directs the navigation,' III.

Maritimo intercourse τῶν πεζευόντων ἐστίν, ὁ κύριόν ἐστι καὶ κρατεῖ τῆς ναυτιλίας πλήθους δὲ ὑπάρχοντος περιοίκων καὶ τῶν τὴν χώραν γεωργούντων, ἀφθονίαν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι καὶ ναυτῶν. ὁρῶμεν δὲ [καί] τοῦτο καὶ νῦν ὑπάρχον τισίν, οἶον τῆ πόλει τῶν Ἡρακλεωτῶν πολλὰς γὰρ ἐκπληροῦσι τριήρεις κεκτημένοι τῷ μεγέθει πόλιν ἐτέρων ἐμμελεστέραν.
Περὶ μὲν οὖν χώρας καὶ λιμένων καὶ πόλεων καὶ

θαλάττης καὶ περὶ τῆς ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως ἔστω διωρισμένα
τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον περὶ δὲ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ πλήθους, τίνα μὲν
Τόρον ὑπάρχειν χρή, πρότερον εἴπομεν, ποίους δέ τινας τὴν
Character τοῦτο εἶναι δεῖ, νῦν λέγωμεν. Σχεδὸν δὴ κατανοήσειεν ἄν τις
people. τοῦτό γε, βλέψας ἐπί τε τὰς πόλεις τὰς εὐδοκιμούσας τῶν
Ἑλλήνων καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, ὡς διείληπται τοῖς [
2 ἔθνεσιν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ψυχροῖς τόποις ἔθνη καὶ τὰ

περί την Ευρώπην θυμοῦ μέν ἐστι πλήρη, διανοίας δὲ ἐνδεέστερα καὶ τέχνης διόπερ ἐλεύθερα μὲν διατελεῖ μαλλον,

manned the fleet, and we find instances of their holding the command, Thuc. VIII. vi. 22.

και τοῦτο και νῦν] The first και seems superfluous.

'Ηρακλεωτών] Heraclea on the Pontus. Compare Schneider's note on the passage. He quotes Xenoph. Anab. v. vi. 10.

φμελεστέραν] 'smaller,' 'of very moderate size as compared with others.' This last is Stahr's view; "fort petite," St. Hil. In Plate, Logg. vi. 760 a, δμμελέστατα occurs in the sense of 'smallest:' τρεῖς εἰς τὰ μέγιστα lepd, δίω δ' εἰς τὰ σμικρότερα, πρὸς δὲ τὰ δμικρότατα ἔνα. This seems sufficient warrant for the sense given.

9 πόλεων] Some editors doubt this word. I prefer πόλεων. His object has not been to treat of cities, but of one city.

τοῦ πολιτικοῦ πλήθουs] 'The citizens in point of mere number.'

VII. I Σχεδόν δή, κ.τ.λ.] 'It would scarcely then be difficult to form a clear judgment on this point at least.'

διείληπται τοῖς ἔθνεσιν] "distincta gentibus," Vict.; "vertheilt unter die verschiedenen Völkerschaften," Stahr, 'divided out into the different nations.'

2 τὰ περὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην] What extent did Aristotle assign to Europe? Is it the narrow one given by Hermann (Smith, Geog. Dict.) of the country between Thrace and Peloponnesus? If so, then τὰ περὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην would be the Thracians, Scythians, Illyrians, and apparently these are the nations meant; but the language is vague, and x. 3 seems to show that Aristotle's sense of the word is larger.

θυμοῦ] 'spirit;' διανοίας καὶ τέχνης, 'intelligence and skill.'

ελεύθερα διατελεί, κ.τ.λ.] 'They

people.

άπολίτευτα δε και των πλησίον άρχειν οὐ δυνάμενα. Character δὲ περὶ τὴν ᾿Ασίαν διανοητικά μὲν καὶ τεχνικά τὴν ψυχήν, άθυμα δέ· διόπερ άρχόμενα καὶ δουλεύοντα διατελεῖ. δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων γένος ὥσπερ μεσεύει κατὰ τοὺς τόπους, ούτως άμφοῖν μετέχει καὶ γάρ ἔνθυμον καὶ διανοητικόν έστιν διόπερ έλεύθερόν τε διατελεί καὶ βέλτιστα πολιτευόμενον και δυνάμενον άρχειν πάντων, μιας τυγχάνον πολιτείας. την αυτην δ' έχει διαφοράν και τὰ τῶν Ελλήνων έθνη και 4 πρὸς ἄλληλα τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἔχει τὴν Φύσιν μονόκωλον, τὰ δὲ εὖ τε κέκραται πρὸς ἀμφοτέρας τὰς δυνάμεις ταύτας. Φανερον τοίνυν ότι δεί διανοητικούς τε είναι καὶ θυμοειδείς την Φύσιν τους μέλλοντας εὐαγώγους ἔσεσθαι τῷ νομοθέτη πρός την άρετην. Οπερ γάρ Φασί τινες δείν ὑπάρχειν 5 τοῖς Φύλαξι, τὸ Φιλητικούς μὲν είναι τῶν γνωρίμων, πρὸς δε τους άγνῶτας άγρίους, ὁ θυμός ἐστιν ὁ ποιῶν τὸ Φιλητικόν αυτη γάρ ἐστιν ή τῆς ψυχῆς δύναμις ἦ Φιλουμεν.

preserve their freedom, but they remain without social organization.'

διανοητικά, κ.τ.λ.] 'Though intelligent and crafty, are yet without spirit.'

3 τὸ δὲ τῶν 'Ελλήνων] Compare Grote, 11. 98, "The feeling of personal dignity, of which philosophic observers in Greece-Herodotus, Xenophon, Hippocrates, and Aristotleboasted, as distinguishing the free citizen from the slavish Asiatic." Compare also the same volume, p. 305, on the question of the Greek climate.

μεσεύει] 'holds a middle position.' μιας τυγχάνον 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 apxelv 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 **ξθνη**] 'The different Hellenic races.'

μονόκωλον] 'one sided.' Comp. Rhet. III. ix. 5, p. 1409, b. 17, where the word is applied to style.

5 τινες] Plato, Rep. 11. 243.

ποιών το φιλητικόν] 'produces the tendency to affection.' Comp. Topic 11. vii. p. 113 b, 1. iv. 5, p. 126, 12.

νν γάμ है। περί φίλων ἀπάγχεο.

καί τὸ ἄρχον δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐλευθερον ἀπο τῆς δυνάμεως ταύτης Εὐπάρχει πάσιν ἀρχικὸν γὰρ καὶ ἀήττητον ὁ θυμός. οὐ καλιως ὁ ἔχει λέγειν χαλεποὺς εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ἀγνῶτας πρὸς οὐθένα γὰρ εἶναι χρὴ τοιοῦτον, οὐδ εἰσιν οἱ μεγαλόψυχοι τὴν Φύσιν ἄγριοι, πλὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας. τοῦτο δὲ μάλλον ἔτι πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις πάσχουσιν, ὅπερ εἴρηται πρότερον, ἀν ἀδικεῖσθαι νομίσωσιν. καὶ τοῦτο συμβαίνει κατὰ λόγον παρ' οἶς γὰρ ὀΦείλεσθαι δεῖν τὴν εὐεργεσίαν ὑπολαμβάνουσι, πρὸς τῷ βλάβει καὶ ταύτης ἀποστερεῖσθαι νομίζουσιν. ὅθεν εἴρηται

χαλεποί γὰρ πόλεμοι άδελφων

καὶ

οι τοι πέρα στέρξαντες, οι δε και πέρα μισούσιν.

9 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν πολιτευομένων, πόσους τε ὑπάρχειν δεῖ καὶ ποίους τινὰς τὴν Φύσιν, ἔτι δὲ τὴν χώραν πόσην τέ τινα καὶ ποίαν τινά, διώρισται σχεδόν. οὐ γὰρ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀκρίβειαν δεῖ ζητεῖν διά τε τῶν λόγων καὶ τῶν γιγνομένων διὰ δ τῆς αἰσθήσεως. Ἐπεὶ δ' ὥσπερ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατὰ Φύσιν ως a state. συνεστώτων οὐ ταῦτά ἐστι μόρια τῆς ὅλης συστάσεως, ὧν ταὐτά Βekker.

αίρεται] ' rises.'

δλιγωρείσθαι] sc. δφ' δν ήκιστα προσήκει, Rhet. 11. 2, 15, p. 1379, b. 2-4. 6 ου γὰρ δὴ περὶ φίλων ἀπάγχεο] Arch. Frag. 61, Bergk, 1st Ed. The resuling Hergk gives is ου γὰρ δὴ παρὰ ψίλων ἀπάγχεο. Stahr makes it interruptive.

A nura Adyor] 'an might be ex-

way ale ! Those with whom, apud

χαλεποί γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] Eurip. Fr. Inc. 57, Ed. Dind.

οί τοι πέρα, κ.τ.λ.] Eurip. Fr.

9 οδ γάρ, 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. I ταὐτά] This is Bekker's reading, and it is retained by Stahr. I should prefer either ταῦτα or πάντα.

άνευ τὸ όλον οὐκ αν είη, δήλον ως οὐδε πόλεως μέρη θετέον The parts δσα ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν, οὐδ' ἄλλης κοινωνίας οὐδεμιᾶς, ἐξ ἦς ἕν τι το γένος. ἐν γάρ τι καὶ κοινον 2 είναι δεί και ταύτο τοίς κοινωνοίς, αν τε ίσον αν τε ανισον μεταλαμβάνωσιν, οίον είτε τροφή τοῦτο έστιν είτε χώρας πλήθος είτ' άλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων ἐστίν. ὅταν δ' ἢ τὸ μὲν 3 τούτου ένεκεν τὸ δ' οὖ ένεκεν, οὐθὲν ἔν γε τούτοις κοινὸν ἀλλ' ή τῷ μὲν ποιῆσαι τῷ δὲ λαβεῖν : λέγω δ' οἶον ὀργάνῳ τε παντί πρός το γιγνόμενον έργον καί τοῖς διημουργοῖς οἰκία γάρ πρός οἰκοδόμον οὐθέν ἐστιν δ γίνεται κοινόν, άλλ' ἔστι της οίκίας χάριν ή τῶν οίκοδόμων τέχνη. διὸ κτήσεως μὲν 4 δει ταις πόλεσιν, ούδεν δ' έστιν ή κτήσις μέρος της πόλεως πολλά δ' ἔμψυγα μέρη τῆς κτήσειώς ἐστιν, ή δὲ πόλις κοινωνία τίς έστι των ομοίων, ένεκεν δε ζωής της ένδεχομένης άρίστης. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐστὶν εὐδαιμονία τὸ ἄριστον, αῦτη δὲ 5 άρετης ενέργεια καλ χρησίς τις τέλειος, συμβέβηκε δε ούτως ώστε τους μεν ενδέχεσθαι μετέχειν αυτής, τους δε μικρον ή μηδέν, δήλον ως τοῦτ' αἴτιον τοῦ γίγνεσθαι πόλεως εἴδη καὶ

It is difficult to say what raird means. The reading ravra seems to be supported by § 6, πόσα ταυτί ἐστιν ὧν άνευ πόλις οὐκ αν είη. Retaining ταὐτά, 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 τούτου ἔτεκεν from the οδ ἔνεκεν. They have nothing in common: the one produces, the other accepts the result: οὐδεμία γένεσις συγγενης τοῦς τέλεσιν, Εth. VII. xii. 4, p. 1152, b. 14.

4 διδ 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 εν δργάνου είδει.

πολλά δ'] I do not see the object of this remark.

ενεκεν δε ζωής] This is the εν τι καλ κοινον καλ ταὐτό.

5 αδτη δέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'This consists in the practice of virtue, both personal and relative;' άρετη και άρετης χρησις τέλειος, which lust is δικαιοσύση.

ἐνδέχεσθαι] 'have it in their power to attain it.'



of a state.

The parts διαφοράς καὶ πολιτείας πλείους άλλον γάρ τρόπον καὶ δι' άλλων έχαστοι τοῦτο θηρεύοντες τούς τε βίους ετέρους ποι-

- 1328 υ 6 οῦνται καὶ τὰς πολιτείας. ἐπισκεπτέον δὲ καὶ πόσα ταυτί ἐστιν ὧν ἄνευ πόλις οὐκ ᾶν εἴη· καὶ γὰρ ᾶ λέγομεν εἶναι μέρη πόλεως, εν τούτοις αν είη αναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν. ληπτέον τοίνον τῶν ἔργων τὸν ἀριθμόν ἐκ τούτων γὰρ ἔσται δῆλον,
 - 7 Πρῶτον μεν οὖν ὑπάρχειν δεῖ τροφήν, ἔπειτα τέχνας (πολλῶν γὰρ ὀργάνων δεῖται τὸ ζῆν), τρίτον δὲ ὅπλα (τοὺς γὰρ κοινωνοῦντας άναγκαῖον καὶ έν αύτοῖς ἔχειν ὅπλα πρός τε τὴν άρχήν, τῶν ἀπειθούντων χάριν, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἔξωθεν ἀδικεῖν έπιχειροῦντας), ἔτι χρημάτων τινὰ εὐπορίαν, ὅπως ἔχωσι καὶ πρὸς τὰς καθ' αὐτοὺς χρείας καὶ πρὸς πολεμικάς, πέμπτον δε και πρώτον την περί το θείον επιμέλειαν, ήν καλούσιν ἱερατείαν, Εκτον δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ πάντων ἀναγκαιότατον κρίσιν περί τῶν συμφερόντων καὶ τῶν δικαίων τῶν πρὸς ἀλ-8 λήλους. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἔργα ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ὧν δεῖται πᾶσα πόλις ως είπεῖν. ή γὰρ πόλις πληθός ἐστιν οὐ τὸ τυχών, ἀλλὰ προς ζωήν αὖταρκες, ώς Φαμέν εἀν δέ τι τυγχάνη τούτων έκλεϊπον, άδύνατον άπλῶς αὐτάρκη τὴν κοινωνίαν είναι ταύ-9 την. ἀνάγκη τοίνυν κατά τὰς ἐργασίας ταύτας συνεστάναι
 - πόλιν. δεῖ ἄρα γεωργῶν τ' εἶναι πληθος, οἱ παρασκευάσουσι την τροφήν, καὶ τεχνίτας καὶ τὸ μάχιμον, καὶ τὸ εὔπορον, καλ ίερεῖς, καλ κριτάς τῶν ἀναγκαίων καλ συμφερόντων. Διωρισμένων δε τούτων λοιπόν σκέψασθαι πότερον πᾶσι

Division of the func- κοινωνητέον πάντων τούτων (ένδέχεται γὰρ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἄπανtions of the citizers. τας είναι και γεωργούς και τεχνίτας και τους βουλευομένους

> τοῦτο] This variety of position. θηρεύοντες] 'as they pursue it.' 6 μέρη] 'parts of the state in a strict sense.'

> εν τούτοις] not identical with, but lying amongst them, and capable of being detached.

> 7 και πρώτον] '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 περί των συμφερόντων] 'decision on the policy to be adopted, and the administration of justice as between man and man.' Below, Tŵy άναγκαίων και συμφερόντων.

8 οὐ τὸ τυχόν] 'not any chance number.'

IX. I ὑποθετέον] 'we must pre-

καὶ δικάζοντας) ἢ καθ' ἔκαστον ἔργον τῶν εἰρημένων ἄλλους Division of ύποθετέον, ή τὰ μεν Ιδια τὰ δὲ κοινὰ τούτων ἐξ ἀνάγκης tions of the έστίν, οὐκ ἐν πάση δὲ τοῦτο πολιτεία, καθάπερ γὰρ εἴπομεν, ἐνδέχεται καὶ πάντας κοινωνεῖν πάντων, καὶ μὴ 2 πάντας πάντων άλλὰ τινὰς τινῶν. ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ ποιεῖ τὰς πολιτείας έτέρας εν μεν γάρ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις μετέγουσι πάντες πάντων, εν δε ταῖς όλιγαργίαις τουναντίον. ἐπεὶ 3 δὲ τυγγάνομεν σκοποῦντες περὶ τῆς ἀρίστης πολιτείας, αὕτη δ' έστὶ καθ' ην ή πόλις αν είη μάλιστ' εὐδαίμων, την δ' εὐδαιμονίαν ότι χωρίς άρετης άδύνατον ύπάρχειν είρηται πρότερον, Φανερον έκ τούτων ώς έν τη κάλλιστα πολιτευομένη πόλει καὶ τῆ κεκτημένη δικαίους ἄνδρας ἁπλῶς, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς την υπόθεσιν, ούτε βάναυσον βίον ούτ' άγοραίον δεί ζην τους πολίτας άγεννης γάρ ὁ τοιοῦτος βίος καὶ πρὸς άρετην ὑπεναντίος. οὐδὲ δὴ γεωργούς είναι τοὺς μέλλοντας ἔσεσθαι 4 1329 δεί γάρ σχολής και πρός την γένεσιν της άρετης και πρός τάς πράξεις τάς πολιτικάς. Έπει δε και το πολεμικον και τὸ βουλευόμενον περί τῶν συμΦερόντων καὶ κρῖνον περί τῶν δικαίων ένυπάρχει καὶ μέρη Φαίνεται τῆς πόλεως μάλιστα δυτα, πότερου έτερα καὶ ταῦτα θετέου ἡ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀποδοτέον ἄμφω; Φανερον δε και τοῦτο, διότι τρόπον μέν τινας τοῖς αὐτοῖς, τρόπον δέ τινα καὶ ἐτέροις. ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἐτέρας άκμῆς εκάτερον τῶν ἔργων, καὶ τὸ μεν δεῖται Φρονησεως τὸ δὲ δυνάμεως, ἐτέροις ΄ ἢ δὲ τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἐστὶ τοὺς δυναμένους βιάζεσθαι καὶ κωλύειν, τούτους ὑπομένειν ἀρχομέ-

2 οὐκ ἐν πάση, 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 φανερον εκ τούτων] 'admit these premises, and it is clear.'

μη πρὸς την ὑπόθεσιν] 'not with reference to the idea of the given state.' Comp. II. IX. I.

dyerrhs, or dyerhs] See L. and S., 'low.'

4 μέλλουτας ἔσεσθαι] sc. πολίτας.
καὶ πρὸς τὴν γένεσιν] Both for education and for political life.

ένυπάρχει] '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.'

έτέρας ἀκμῆς] 'of a different prime,' or 'perfection.' The same distinction is observed in Flato's ἐπίκουροι and φύλακες; it is simply one of age.

καλ κωλύειν] This, as well as βιάζεσθαι, depends on δυναμένους.

Division of your αξί, ταύτη δε τοῖς αὐτοῖς οἱ γὰρ τῶν ὅπλων κύριοι tions of the και μένειν η μη μένειν κύριοι την πολιτείαν. λείπεται τοίγυυν τοῖς αὐτοῖς μὲν ἀμφοτέροις ἀποδιδόναι τὴν πολιτείαν ταύτην, μη αμα δέ, άλλ' ωσπερ πέφυκεν ή μεν δύναμις έν νεωτέροις, ή δε Φρόνησις εν πρεσβυτέροις είναι, οὐκοῦν ούτως αμφοίν νενεμήσθαι συμφέρει καλ δίκαιον έστίν. Έχει 7 γαρ αθτη ή διαίρεσις τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰς κτήσεις δεῖ είναι περὶ τούτους άναγκαῖον γὰρ εὐπορίαν ύπάρχειν τοῖς πολίταις, πολίται δὲ οὖτοι. τὸ γὰρ βάναυσον οὐ μετέχει τῆς πόλεως, οὐδ' ἄλλο οὐθὲν γένος δ μὴ τῆς άρετης δημιουργόν έστιν. τοῦτο δὲ δηλον ἐκ της ὑποθέσεως: τὸ μὲν γὰρ εὐδαιμονεῖν ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν μετὰ τῆς ἀρετης, εὐδαίμονα δὲ πόλιν οὐκ εἰς μέρος τι βλέψαντας δεῖ 8 λέγειν αὐτῆς, ἀλλ' εἰς πάντας τοὺς πολίτας. Φανερὸν δὲ καὶ ὅτι δεῖ τὰς κτήσεις είναι τούτων, είπερ ἀναγκαῖον είναι τούς γεωργούς δούλους ή βαρβάρους ή περιοίκους. λοιπόν δ' έκ τῶν καταριθμηθέντων τὸ τῶν ἱερέων γένος. Φανερά 9 δε και ή τούτων τάξις. οὔτε γὰρ γεωργὸν οὔτε βάναυσον ἱερέα καταστατέον · ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν πολιτῶν πρέπει τιμᾶσθαι τοὺς θεούς · ἐπεὶ δὲ διήρηται τὸ πολιτικὸν εἰς δύο μέρη, τοῦτ' έστι τό τε όπλιτικον και το βουλευτικόν, πρέπει δέ τήν τε

• doriv-elvas Bekker.

ταύτη δέ] 'this δέ marks the apodosis. και μένειν] 'are, by virtue of their possession of arms, the arbiters of the existence or non-existence of the constitution.'

6 την πολιτείαν ταύτην] 'These functions of government.'

άλλ' Εσπερ, κ.τ.λ.] The simplest way of remedying the difficulty in this sentence is to adopt the suggestion of Bekker, and transpose the two verbs elvas and eorte, with a change in the stops. 'As strength naturally is in the younger, wisdom in the elder, this surely is the true principle on which the division should be made, and it is the just one.'

7 τàs κτήσεις, κ.τ.λ.] 'The element of wealth (τὸ εὐπορον) ought to reside in these.'

της πόλεως] 'our state.'

δημιουργόν] 'which does not cultivate and produce virtue.'

υπάρχειν μετά] 'can only exist with

8 δούλουs] See below, Ch. X. 13.

9 ύπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν] 'By none but citizens.'

πρέπει δέ, κ.τ.λ.] I incline to make the words τους δια τον χρόνον απειρηκότας the subject of αποδιδόναι, as well as of Exeur: 'and it is fitting that those who, from their time of life, are past the age for the more strictly poliθεραπείαν ἀποδιδόναι τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν ἔχειν Division of περὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς διὰ τὸν χρόνον ἀπειρηκότας, τούτους αν tions of the είη ταῖς ἱερωσύναις ἀποδοτέον. ὧν μεν τοίνυν ἄνευ πόλις ού συνίσταται, καὶ ὅσα μέρη πόλεως, εἴρηται. γεωργοὶ μὲν το γάρ και τεχνίται και παν το θητικόν άναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν ταῖς πόλεσιν, μέρη δὲ τῆς πόλεως τό τε ὁπλιτικὸν καὶ βουλευτικόν καὶ κεχώρισται δὴ τούτων έκαστον, τὸ μὲν ἀεί, τὸ δὲ κατὰ μέρος.

*Εοικε δ' οὐ νῦν οὐδὲ νεωστὶ τοῦτ' είναι γνώριμον τοῖς 10 περὶ πολιτείας ΦιλοσοΦοῦσιν, ὅτι δεῖ διηρῆσθαι χωρὶς κατὰ The casteγένη την πίλιν και τό τε μάχιμον ετερον είναι και το γεωρ- syssitia. γοῦν ἐν Αἰγύπτω τε γὰρ ἔχει τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ἔτι καὶ 1329 Β νῦν, τά τε περί τὴν Κρήτην, τὰ μὲν οὖν περί Αίγυπτον Σεσώστριος, ώς φασίν, ούτω νομοθετήσαντος, Μίνω δὲ τὰ περί Κρήτην. 'Αρχαία δ' ἔοικεν είναι καὶ τῶν συσσιτίων 2 ή τάξις, τὰ μὲν περὶ Κρήτην γενόμενα περὶ τὴν Μίνω βασιλείαν, τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πολλῷ παλαιότερα τούτων. Φασί γὰρ οἱ λόγιοι τῶν ἐκεῖ κατοικούντων Ἰταλόν 3 τινα γενέσθαι βασιλέα της Οινωτρίας, άφ' οὖ τό τε ὄνομα

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 δν μέν τοίνυν] This expression throws light on the more obscure statement of VIII. 1.

Spengel, p. 25, note 27, γεωργοί] wishes to read yempyous, but it is not necessary. 'For though,' &c.

και κεχώρισται δή] A very concise expression. He means, that the separation between the two divisions of the citizens and the non-citizen class is ineffaceable, 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. I He has got the citizens of his state, he turns to their arrangement.

τοις περί πολιτείας, κ.τ.λ.] Compare III. 1. 1.

διηρήσθαι κατά γένη] The system.

έν Αίγύπτφ] Herod. 11. 164. 2 περί την Μίνω βασιλείαν] Grote. 1. 312.

3 οί λόγιοι] Herod. 1. 2, Περσών ol λόγιοι. Niebuhr, Rom. Hist. Vol. 1. 16, considers that it is Antiochus of Syracuse from whom Aristotle is here quoting.

Της caste- μεταβαλόντας 'Ιταλούς ἀντ' Οἰνωτρῶν κληθῆναι καὶ τὴν system and ἀκτὴν ταύτην τῆς Εὐρώπης 'Ιταλίαν τοὔνομα λαβεῖν, ὅση τετύχηκεν ἐντὸς οὖσα τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Σκυλλητικοῦ καὶ τοῦ Λαμητικοῦ ἀπέχει γὰρ ταῦτα ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ὁδὸν ἡμισείας 4 ἡμέρας. τοῦτον δὴ λέγουσι τὸν 'Ιταλὸν νομάδας τοὺς Οἰνωτροὺς ὅντας ποιῆσαι γεωργούς, καὶ νόμους ἄλλους τε αὐτοῖς θέσθαι καὶ τὰ συσσίτια καταστῆσαι πρῶτον. διὸ καὶ νῦν ἔτι τῶν ἀπ' ἐκείνου τινὲς χρῶνται τοῖς συσσιτίοις καὶ 5 τῶν νόμων ἐνίοις. ἤκουν δὲ τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὴν Τυρρηνίαν 'Οπικοὶ καὶ πρότερον καὶ νῦν καλούμενοι τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν Αὖσονες, τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν 'Ιαπυγίαν καὶ τὸν 'Ιόνιον Χῶνες,

τὴν καλουμένην Σιρῖτιν δησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Χῶνες Οἰνωτροὶ 6 τὸ γένος. ἡ μὲν οὖν τῶν συσσιτίων τάξις ἐντεῦθεν γέγονε πρῶτον, ὁ δὲ χωρισμὸς ὁ κατὰ γένος τοῦ πολιτικοῦ πλήθους ἐξ Αἰγύπτου πολὸ γὰρ ὑπερτείνει τοῖς χρόνοις τὴν Μίνω 7 βασιλείαν ἡ Σεσώστριος. σχεδὸν μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δεῖ νομίζειν εὐρῆσθαι πολλάκις ἐν τῷ πολλῷ χρόνῳ, μᾶλλον δὶ ἀπειράκις τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖα τὴν χρείαν διδάσκειν εἰκὸς αὐτήν, τὰ δὶ εἰς εὐσχημοσύνην καὶ περιουσίαν ὑπαρχόντων ἤδη τούτων, εὖλογον λαμβάνειν τὴν αὔξησιν. ῶστε καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς πολιτείας οἴεσθαι δεῖ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχειν τρόπον.

8 ότι δε πάντα άρχαῖα, σημεῖον τὰ περί Αίγυπτόν ἔστιν
• Βekker Σύρτιν

ἀκτὴν ταύτην] 'This promontory,' in the sense in which the word occurs, Herod. iv. 38.

error obsa] running southwards into the Ionian Sea, 'on the hither side' of the boundary given. The distance between the two gulfs is twenty miles, and is so small as to justify Aristotle's looking on the two as forming the boundary. So I explain the $\gamma \Delta \rho$ in $\Delta \pi \ell \chi \epsilon_1 \gamma d \rho$.

4 Οἰνωτρούς] On this see Niebuhr, Vol. 1. 14, 16, and pp. 55, 56, note 165. On καὶ νῦν ἔτι, Grote III. 497.

on this compare Grote III. 466, and note I, and for the Chaonians, III. 463.

Σιρῖτιν] Heyne's conjecture Σίριν, for Σύρτον, is better than Σύρτον, and is adopted by Mr Grote, 111. 463, note 3. Σιρῖτιν is here adopted from Niebuhr. Rom. Hist. Vol. 1. 18. "The Siritis so renowned among the Greeks."

6 πολὺ γάρ] 'I say Egypt, for, &c.'

7 τῷ πολλῷ χρόνφ] Compare II. v. 16.

περιουσίαν] as opposed to άναγκαῖα τούτων sc. τῶν ἀναγκαίων.

8 νόμων δέ] "von jeher." Stahr inserts omni hominum memorià; there is no record of the time when they οὖτοι γὰρ ἀρχαιότατοι μὲν δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, νόμων δὲ τε- The casteτυχήκασι καὶ τάξεως πολιτικής. διὸ δεῖ τοῖς μὲν εἰρημένοις syssitia. ίκανῶς χρῆσθαι, τὰ δὲ παραλελειμμένα πειρᾶσθαι ζητεῖν.

Οτι μὲν οὖν δεῖ τὴν χώραν εἶναι τῶν ὅπλα κεκτημένων 9 The slave καὶ τῶν τῆς πολιτείας μετεχόντων, εἴρηται πρότερον, καὶ or serf population. διότι τοὺς γεωργούντας αὐτῶν ἐτέρους εἶναι δεῖ, καὶ πόσην τινά χρη και ποίαν είναι την χώραν περί δε της διανομής καλ τῶν γεωργούντων, τίνας καλ ποίους είναι χρη, λεκτέον πρώτον, ἐπειδη οὖτε κοινήν Φαμεν είναι δείν την κτησιν, 1330 ώσπερ τινες εἰρήκασιν, άλλὰ τῆ χρήσει Φιλικῶς γινομένη» κοινήν, οὖτ' ἀπορεῖν οὐθένα τῶν πολιτῶν τροφῆς. συσσιτίων τε συνδοκεί πάσι χρήσιμον είναι ταίς εὖ κατεσκευασμέναις πόλεσιν ὑπάρχειν δι' ην δ' αἰτίαν συνδοκεῖ καὶ ήμιν, υστερον έρουμεν. δεί δε τούτων κοινωνείν πάντας τούς πολίτας, ου βάδιον δε τους απόρους από των ιδίων τε είσ-Φέρειν τὸ συντεταγμένον καὶ διοικεῖν τὴν ἄλλην οἰκίαν. ἔτι δὲ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς δαπανήματα κοινὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεώς έστιν. άναγκαῖον τοίνυν εἰς δύο μέρη διηρῆσθαι τὴν χώραν, τι και την μεν είναι κοινην την δε των ίδιωτων, και τούτων έκατέραν διηρησθαι δίχα πάλιν, της μέν κοινης το μέν έτερον μέρος είς τὰς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς λειτουργίας, τὸ δὲ ἔτερον εἰς την τῶν συσσιτίων δαπάνην, τῆς δὲ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τὸ ἔτερον

· γινομένην Bekker.

were without laws and political arrangement.

eipnuérous] Several editors wish to read εύρημένοις, nor is Stahr averse to the change, which seems favoured by II. v. 16. Still it is not necessary. The sense is very good with elphuévois. Eth. x. x. 23, p. 1181. b. 16. et ti κατά μέρος εξρηται καλώς.

9 διότι] 'that;' αὐτῶν ἐτέρους, 'distinct from the citizens themselves.'

άλλά τη χρήσει φιλικώς γινομένη nourhy] I prefer the dative participle to the accusative. 'But common by the use made of it in a friendly spirit.' Compare II. v. 6.

10 περί συσσιτίων] 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.

δστερον έρουμεν] As Spengel says, p. 10, note 11, it may be that Ch. XII. is the treatment of the subject here referred to, but that is hardly adequate.

où pasior] And as the poor cannot meet this demand, as well as their other wants, there must be some common stock.

Maritime course.

> of the people.

τῶν πεζευόντων ἐστίν, δ κύριόν ἐστι καὶ κρατεῖ τῆς ναυτιλίας πλήθους δε ύπάρχοντος περιοίκων και των την χώραν γεωργούντων, άφθονίαν άναγκαῖον είναι καὶ ναυτῶν. δρώμεν δε Γκαί] τοῦτο καὶ νῦν ὑπάρχον τισίν, οἶον τῇ πόλει τῶν Ἡρακλεωτῶν πολλὰς γὰρ ἐκπληροῦσι τριήρεις κεκτημένοι τῶ μεγέθει πόλιν ἐτέρων ἐμμελεστέραν. Περί μεν ούν χώρας καὶ λιμένων καὶ πόλεων καὶ

θαλάττης καὶ περὶ τῆς ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως ἔστω διωρισμένα τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον περὶ δὲ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ πλήθους, τίνα μὲν 7 δρου ὑπάρχειν χρή, πρότερον εἶπομεν, ποίους δέ τινας τὴν Character Φύσιν είναι δεί, νῦν λέγωμεν. Σχεδον δη κατανοήσειεν αν τις τοῦτό γε, βλέψας ἐπί τε τὰς πόλεις τὰς εὐδοκιμούσας τῶν Έλλήνων καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, ώς διείληπται τοῖς [∠ἔθνεσιν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ψυχροῖς τύποις ἔθνη καὶ τὰ περί την Ευρώπην θυμοῦ μέν έστι πλήρη, διανοίας δέ

ένδεέστερα καὶ τέχνης διόπερ ἐλεύθερα μὲν διατελεῖ μαλλον,

περιοίκων] The Laconian periœci manned the fleet, and we find instances of their holding the command,

καὶ τοῦτο καὶ νῦν] The first καὶ seems superfluous.

Thuc. viii. vi. 22.

'Ηρακλεωτών] Heracles on the Pontus. Compare Schneider's note on the passage. He quotes Xenoph. Anab. v. vi. 10.

εμμελεστέραν] 'smaller,' 'of very size as compared with others.' This last is Stahr's view; "fort petite," St. Hil. In Plato, Legg. vi. 760 a, εμμελέστατα occurs in the sense of 'smallest:' τρεῖς εἰς τὰ μέγιστα lepá, δύο δ' είς τὰ σμικρότερα, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἐμμελέστατα ἕνα. seems sufficient warrant for the sense given.

9 πόλεων] Some editors doubt this word. I prefer πόλεωs. His object has not been to treat of cities, but of one city.

τοῦ πολιτικοῦ πλήθους] 'The citizens in point of mere number.'

VII. 1 Σχεδόν δή, κ.τ.λ.] ' Ît would scarcely then be difficult to form a clear judgment on this point at least.'

διείληπται τοις ξθνεσιν] "distincta gentibus," Vict.; "vertheilt unter die verschiedenen Völkerschaften," Stahr, 'divided out into the different nations.'

2 τὰ περί την Εὐρώπην] What extent did Aristotle assign to Europe? Is it the narrow one given by Hermann (Smith, Geog. Dict.) of the country between Thrace and Peloponnesus? If so, then τὰ περί τὴν Εὐρώπην would be the Thracians, Scythians, Illyrians, and apparently these are the nations meant; but the language is vague, and x. 3 seems to show that Aristotle's sense of the word is larger.

θυμοῦ] 'spirit;' διανοίας καὶ τέχνης, 'intelligence and skill.'

έλεύθερα διατελεῖ, κ.τ.λ.] 'They άπολίτευτα δε και των πλησίον άρχειν οὐ δυνάμενα. δὲ περὶ τὴν ᾿Ασίαν διανοητικά μὲν καὶ τεχνικά τὴν ψυχήν, άθυμα δέ διόπερ άργόμενα καὶ δουλεύοντα διατελεί. δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων γένος ὧσπερ μεσεύει κατὰ τοὺς τόπους, ούτως άμφοῖν μετέχει καὶ γάρ ἔνθυμον καὶ διανοητικόν έστιν διόπερ έλεύθερόν τε διατελεί και βέλτιστα πολιτευόμενον και δυνάμενον άρχειν πάντων, μιᾶς τυγχάνον πολιτείας. την αύτην δ' έχει διαφοράν και τὰ τῶν Ελλήνων έθνη και 4 πρὸς ἄλληλα τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἔχει τὴν Φύσιν μονόκωλον, τὰ δὲ εὖ τε κέκραται πρὸς ἀμφοτέρας τὰς δυνάμεις ταύτας. Φανερόν τοίνυν ότι δει διανοητικούς τε είναι καὶ θυμοειδείς την Φύσιν τους μέλλοντας εὐαγώγους ἔσεσθαι τῶ νομοθέτη πρὸς τὴν ἀρετήν. Οπερ γάρ Φασί τινες δεῖν ὑπάρχειν 5 τοῖς Φύλαξι, τὸ Φιλητικούς μὲν είναι τῶν γνωρίμων, πρὸς δε τους άγνῶτας άγρίους, ο θυμός έστιν ο ποιῶν το Φιλητικόν αυτη γάρ ἐστιν ή τῆς ψυχῆς δύναμις ϔ Φιλούμεν.

preserve their freedom, but they remain without social organization.'

διανοητικά, κ.τ.λ.] 'Though intelligent and crafty, are yet without spirit.'

3 τὸ δὲ τῶν 'Ελλήνων] Compare Grote, 11. 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.

μεσεύει] 'holds a middle position.'
μιᾶς τυγχάνον 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 apxelv 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 ξθνη] 'The different Hellenic races.'

μονόκωλον] 'one sided.' Comp. Rhet.
III. ix. 5, p. 1409, b. 17, where the word is applied to style.

5 Tives] Plato, Rep. 11. 243.

ποιῶν τὸ φιλητικόν] 'produces the tendency to affection.' Comp. *Topic* II. vii. p. 113 b, 1. iv. 5, p. 126, 12.

Character σημεῖον δέ· πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς συνήθεις καὶ Φίλους ὁ θυμὸς people. αἴρεται μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγνῶτας, ὀλιγωρεῖσθαι νομίσας.

1328 6 διὸ καὶ ᾿Αρχίλοχος προσηκόντως τοῖς Φίλοις ἐγκαλῶν διαλέγεται πρὸς τὸν θυμόν

ου γαρ δη περί φίλων απάγχεο.

και το άρχον δε και το ελεύθερον, άπο της δυνάμεως ταύτης 7 ύπάρχει πάσιν άρχικον γαρ και αήττητον ο θυμός. οὐ καλῶς δ' έχει λέγειν χαλεποὺς εἶναι προς τοὺς ἀγνῶτας προς οὐθένα γαρ εἶναι χρη τοιοῦτον, οὐδ΄ εἰσιν οἱ μεγαλόψιχοι τὴν Φύσιν ἄγριοι, πλὴν προς τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας. τοῦτο δὲ μᾶλλον ἔτι πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις πάσχουσιν, ὅπερ εἴρηται πρότερον, ἀν ἀδικεῖσθαι νομίσωσιν. καὶ τοῦτο συμβαίνει κατὰ λόγον παρ' οἶς γὰρ ὁΦείλεσθαι δεῖν τὴν εὐεργεσίαν ὑπολαμβανουσι, πρὸς τῷ βλάβει καὶ ταύτης ἀποστερεῖσθαι νομίζουσιν. ὅθεν εἴρηται

χαλεποί γαρ πόλεμοι άδελφων

καὶ

οι τοι πέρα στέρξαντες, οι δε και πέρα μισούσιν.

9 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν πολιτευομένων, πόσους τε ὑπάρχειν δεῖ καὶ ποίους τινὰς τὴν Φύσιν, ἔτι δὲ τὴν χώραν πόσην τέ τινα καὶ ποίαν τινά, διώρισται σχεδόν. οὐ γὰρ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀκρίβειαν δεῖ ζητεῖν διά τε τῶν λόγων καὶ τῶν γιγνομένων διὰ δ τῆς αἰσθήσεως. Ἐπεὶ δ' ὥσπερ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατὰ Φύσιν of a state. συνεστώτων οὐ ταῦτά ἐστι μόρια τῆς ὅλης συστάσεως, ὧν ταὐτά Βekker.

αίρεται] 'rises.'

δλιγωρεῖσθαι] sc. δφ' δν ήκιστα προσήκει, Rhet. 11. 2, 15, p. 1379, b. 2-4. 6 οὐ γὰρ δὴ περὶ φίλων ἀπάγχεο] Arch. Frag. 61, Bergk, 1st Ed. The reading Bergk gives is οὐ γὰρ δὴ παρὰ φίλων ἀπάγχεο. Stahr makes it interrogative.

8 κατὰ λόγον] 'as might be expected.'

 $\pi a \rho$ ols] 'Those with whom,' apud quos.

χαλεποί γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] Eurip. Fr. Inc. 57, Ed. Dind.

οί τοι πέρα, κ.τ.λ.] Eurip. Fr.

9 σδ γdρ, 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. I ταθτά] This is Bekker's reading, and it is retained by Stahr. I should prefer either ταθτα or πάντα.

άνευ τὸ όλον οὐκ ἀν εἰη, δηλον ως οὐδὲ πόλεως μέρη θετέον The parts δσα ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν, οὐδ' ἄλλης κοινωνίας − οὐδεμιᾶς, ἐξ ής εν τι το γένος. Εν γάρ τι καὶ κοινον 2 είναι δεῖ καὶ ταὐτὸ τοῖς κοινωνοῖς, ἄν τε ίσον ἄν τε ἄνισον μεταλαμβάνωσιν, οίον είτε τροφή τοῦτο έστιν είτε χώρας πληθος είτ' άλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων ἐστίν. ὅταν δ' ή τὸ μὲν 3 τούτου ένεκεν τὸ δ' οὖ ένεκεν, οὐθὲν ἔν γε τούτοις κοινὸν ἀλλ' ή τῷ μὲν ποιῆσαι τῷ δὲ λαβεῖν λέγω δ' οἶον ὀργάνῳ τε παντί πρός το γιγνόμενον έργον καί τοῖς διημουργοῖς οἰκία γάρ πρός οἰκοδόμον οὐθέν ἐστιν δ γίνεται κοινόν, άλλ' ἔστι τῆς οἰκίας χάριν ή τῶν οἰκοδόμων τέχνη. διὸ κτήσεως μὲν 4 δεῖ ταῖς πόλεσιν, οὐδὲν δ' ἐστὶν ἡ κτήσις μέρος τῆς πόλεως: πολλά δ' ἔμψυχα μέρη τῆς κτήσειος ἐστιν, ή δὲ πόλις κοινωνία τίς έστι τῶν ὁμοίων, ἔνεκεν δὲ ζωῆς τῆς ἐνδεχομένης άρίστης. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐστὶν εὐδαιμονία τὸ ἄριστον, αὕτη δὲ 5 άρετης ενέργεια καὶ χρησίς τις τέλειος, συμβέβηκε δε ούτως ώστε τοὺς μεν ενδέχεσθαι μετέχειν αὐτῆς, τοὺς δὲ μικρὸν η μηδέν, δήλον ώς τοῦτ' αἴτιον τοῦ γίγνεσθαι πόλεως εἴδη καὶ

It is difficult to say what radrá means. The reading ταῦτα seems to be supported by § 6, πόσα ταυτί ἐστιν ὧν άνευ πόλις ούκ αν είη. Retaining ταὐτά, 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 τούτου έγεκεν from the οδ έγεκεν. They have nothing in common: the one produces, the other accepts the result: οὐδεμία γένεσις συγγενὸς τοῖς τέλεσιν, Εth. VII. xii. 4, p. 1152, b. 14.

4 διδ 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 δργάνου είδει.

πολλά δ'] I do not see the object of this remark.

ενεκεν δε ζωής] This is the εν τι καλ κοινόν καλ ταὐτό.

5 αὅτη δέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'This consists in the practice of virtue, both personal and relative;' ἀρετὴ καὶ ἀρετῆς χρῆσις τέλειος, which last is δικαιοσύνη.

ἐνδέχεσθαι] 'have it in their power to attain it.'

The parts διαφοράς καὶ πολιτείας πλείους άλλον γάρ τρόπον καὶ δι' άλλων έκαστοι τοῦτο θηρεύοντες τούς τε βίους ετέρους ποι-1328 Β 6 οῦνται καὶ τὰς πολιτείας. ἐπισκεπτέον δὲ καὶ πόσα ταυτί έστιν ὧν ἄνευ πόλις οὐκ ᾶν είη· καὶ γὰρ ᾶ λέγομεν είναι μέρη πόλεως, εν τούτοις αν είη αναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν. ληπτέον τοίνον τῶν ἔργων τὸν ἀριθμόν ἐκ τούτων γὰρ ἔσται δῆλον, 7 Πρώτον μεν οδυ υπάρχειν δεί τροφήν, έπειτα τέχνας (πολλῶν γὰρ ὀργάνων δεῖται τὸ ζῆν), τρίτον δὲ ὅπλα (τοὺς γὰρ κοινωνοῦντας ἀναγκαῖον καὶ ἐν αύτοῖς ἔχειν ὅπλα πρός τε τὴν άρχήν, τῶν ἀπειθούντων χάριν, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἔξωθεν ἀδικεῖν έπιχειροῦντας), ἔτι χρημάτων τινὰ εὐπορίαν, ὅπως ἔχωσι καὶ πρὸς τὰς καθ' αὐτοὺς χρείας καὶ πρὸς πολεμικάς, πέμπτον δὲ καὶ πρῶτον τὴν περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἐπιμέλειαν, ἡν καλοῦσιν ίερατείαν, έκτον δε τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ πάντων ἀναγκαιότατον κρίσιν περί τῶν συμφερόντων καὶ τῶν δικαίων τῶν πρὸς ἀλ-8 λήλους. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἔργα ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ὧν δεῖται πᾶσα πόλις ως είπεῖν. ή γὰρ πόλις πληθός ἐστιν οὐ τὸ τυχών, ἀλλὰ πρός ζωήν αὐταρκες, ώς Φαμέν έαν δέ τι τυγχάνη τούτων έκλεϊπον, άδύνατον άπλῶς αὐτάρκη τὴν κοινωνίαν είναι ταύ-9 την. ἀνάγκη τοίνυν κατὰ τὰς ἐργασίας ταύτας συνεστάναι πόλιν. δεῖ ἄρα γεωργιον τ' είναι πληθος, οὶ παρασκευάσουσι

Division of

Διωρισμένων δε τούτων λοιπόν σκέψασθαι πότερον πασι ithe function of the function πάντων τούτων (ένδέχεται γάρ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἄπανtions of the citizers. τας είναι και γεωργούς και τεχνίτας και τους βουλευομένους

την τροφήν, καὶ τεχνίτας καὶ τὸ μάχιμον, καὶ τὸ εὖπορον, και ίερεῖς, και κριτάς τῶν ἀναγκαίων και συμφερόντων.

τοῦτο] This variety of position. θηρεύοντες] 'as they pursue it.'

6 μέρη] 'parts of the state in a strict sense.'

έν τούτοις] not identical with, but lying amongst them, and capable of being detached.

7 και πρώτον] '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

κρίσιν περί των συμφερόντων] 'decision on the policy to be adopted, and the administration of justice as between man and man.' Below, Tŵr άναγκαίων καὶ συμφερόντων.

8 οὐ τὸ τυχόν] 'not any chance number.'

IX. I ὑποθετέον] 'we must presume.'

καὶ δικάζοντας) ἢ καθ' ἔκαστον ἔργον τῶν εἰρημένων ἄλλους Division of ύποθετέον, ή τὰ μεν ίδια τὰ δὲ κοινὰ τούτων ἐξ ἀνάγκης tions of the έστίν. οὐκ ἐν πάση δὲ τοῦτο πολιτεία. καθάπερ γὰρ εἴπομεν, ἐνδέχεται καὶ πάντας κοινωνεῖν πάντων, καὶ μὴ 2 πάντας πάντων άλλὰ τινὰς τινῶν. ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ ποιεῖ τὰς πολιτείας έτέρας εν μεν γάρ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις μετέγουσι πάντες πάντων, έν δε ταῖς όλιγαρχίαις τοὐναντίον. ἐπεί 3 δὲ τυγχάνομεν σκοποῦντες περὶ τῆς ἀρίστης πολιτείας, αὕτη δ' έστὶ καθ' ην ή πόλις ᾶν είη μάλιστ' εὐδαίμων, την δ' εὐδαιμονίαν δτι χωρίς άρετης άδύνατον ύπάρχειν είρηται πρότερον, Φανερον έκ τούτων ώς έν τῆ κάλλιστα πολιτευομένη πόλει καὶ τῆ κεκτημένη δικαίους ἄνδρας ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς την ύπόθεσιν, ούτε βάναυσον βίον ούτ' άγοραΐον δεί ζην τούς πολίτας άγεννης γάρ ὁ τοιοῦτος βίος καὶ πρὸς άρετην ὑπεναντίος. ούδε δή γεωργούς είναι τούς μέλλοντας ἔσεσθαι 4 1329 δεῖ γὰρ σχολῆς καὶ πρὸς τὴν γένεσιν τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ πρὸς τὰς πράξεις τὰς πολιτικάς. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ πολεμικὸν καὶ τὸ βουλευόμενον περί τῶν συμφερόντων καὶ κρίνον περί τῶν δικαίων ένυπάρχει καὶ μέρη Φαίνεται τῆς πόλεως μάλιστα όντα, πότερον έτερα καὶ ταῦτα θετέον ἡ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀποδοτέον ἄμφω; φανερον δε και τοῦτο, διότι τρόπον μέν τινας τοῖς αὐτοῖς, τρόπον δέ τινα καὶ ἐτέροις. ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἐτέρας άκμῆς εκάτερον τῶν ἔργων, καὶ τὸ μεν δεῖται Φρονησεως τὸ δὲ δυνάμεως, ἐτέροις ἡ δὲ τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἐστὶ τοὺς δυναμένους βιάζεσθαι καὶ κωλύειν, τούτους ὑπομένειν ἀργομέ-

2 οὐκ ἐν πάση, 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 φανερον έκ τούτων] 'admit these premises, and it is clear.'

μη πρὸς την ὑπόθεσιν] 'not with reference to the idea of the given state.' Comp. II. ix. I.

dyerrhs, or dyerhs] See L. and S., ' low.'

4 μέλλοντας ξσεσθαί] εc. πολίτας. και πρός την γένεσιν] Both for education and for political life.

ένυπάρχει] 'are not only found existing amongst the other parts (¿v τούτοις, VIII. 6), but are evidently most strictly members of the state.'

5 8ibri] 'that.'

έτέρας ἀκμῆς] 'of a different prime,' or 'perfection.' The same distinction is observed in Plato's ἐπίκουροι and φύλακες; it is simply one of age.

καλ κωλύειν] This, as well as βιάζεσθαι, depends on δυναμένους.

Division of your αξί, ταύτη δε τοῖς αὐτοῖς οἱ γὰρ τῶν ὅπλων κύριοι

tions of the και μένειν ή μη μένειν κύριοι την πολιτείαν. λείπεται τοί-- νυν τοῖς αὐτοῖς μὲν ἀμφοτέροις ἀποδιδόναι τὴν πολιτείαν ταύτην, μη άμα δέ, άλλ' ώσπερ πέφυκεν ή μεν δύναμις έν νεωτέροις, ή δε Φρόνησις έν πρεσβυτέροις είναι, οὐκοῦν ούτως άμφοῖν νενεμήσθαι συμφέρει καὶ δίκαιον ἐστίν. ἔχει 7 γαρ αύτη ή διαίρεσις τὸ κατ' άξίαν. άλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰς κτήσεις δεῖ είναι περὶ τούτους άναγκαῖον γὰρ εὐπορίαν ύπάρχειν τοῖς πολίταις, πολῖται δὲ οὖτοι. τὸ γὰρ βάναυ. σον ου μετέχει της πόλεως, ουδ' άλλο ουθέν γένος ο μη της άρετης δημιουργόν έστιν. τοῦτο δὲ δηλον ἐκ της ὑποθέσεως: τὸ μὲν γὰρ εὐδαιμονεῖν ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν μετὰ τῆς ἀρετης, εὐδαίμονα δὲ πόλιν οὐκ εἰς μέρος τι βλέψαντας δεῖ 8 λέγειν αὐτῆς, ἀλλ' εἰς πάντας τοὺς πολίτας. Φανερὸν δὲ καὶ ὅτι δεῖ τὰς κτήσεις είναι τούτων, είπερ ἀναγκαῖον είναι τούς γεωργούς δούλους ή βαρβάρους ή περιοίκους. λοιπόν δ' έκ τῶν καταριθμηθέντων τὸ τῶν ἱερέων γένος. Φανερά 9 δε και ή τούτων τάξις. οὔτε γαρ γεωργον οὔτε βάναυσον ίερέα καταστατέον· ύπὸ γὰρ τῶν πολιτῶν πρέπει τιμᾶσθαι τους θεούς · έπει δε διήρηται το πολιτικόν είς δύο μέρη, τοῦτ' έστὶ τό τε ὁπλιτικὸν καὶ τὸ βουλευτικόν, πρέπει δὲ τήν τε

• dorly-elvas Bekker.

ταύτη δέ] 'this δέ marks the apodosis. και μένειν] 'are, by virtue of their possession of arms, the arbiters of the existence or non-existence of the constitution.'

6 την πολιτείαν ταύτην] 'These functions of government.'

ἀλλ' ἄσπερ, κ.τ.λ.] The simplest way of remedying the difficulty in this sentence is to adopt the suggestion of Bekker, and transpose the two verbs elvas and eorse, with a change in the stops. 'As strength naturally is in the younger, wisdom in the elder, this surely is the true principle on which the division should be made, and it is the just one.'

7 τàs κτήσεις, κ.τ.λ.] 'The element of wealth (τὸ εὔπορον) ought to reside in these.'

της πόλεως] 'our state.'

δημιουργόν] 'which does not cultivate and produce virtue.'

ὑπάρχειν μετά] 'can only exist with virtue.'

8 δούλους] See below, Ch. X. 13.

9 ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν] 'By none but

πρέπει δέ, κ.τ.λ.] I incline to make the words τους δια τον χρόνον απειρηκότας the subject of αποδιδόναι, as well as of Exer: 'and it is fitting that those who, from their time of life, are past the age for the more strictly poliθεραπείαν ἀποδιδόναι τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν ἔχειν Division of περί αὐτοὺς τοὺς διὰ τὸν χρόνον ἀπειρηκότας, τούτους αν tions of the είη ταῖς ἱερωσύναις ἀποδοτέον. ὧν μεν τοίνυν ἄνευ πόλις ού συνίσταται, καὶ ὅσα μέρη πόλεως, εἴρηται. γεωργοὶ μὲν 10 γάρ καὶ τεχνῖται καὶ πᾶν τὸ θητικὸν ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν ταῖς πόλεσιν, μέρη δὲ τῆς πόλεως τό τε ὁπλιτικὸν καὶ βουλευτικόν καὶ κεχώρισται δὴ τούτων ἕκαστον, τὸ μὲν ἀεί, τὸ δὲ κατὰ μέρος.

*Εοικε δ' οὐ νῦν οὐδὲ νεωστὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι γνώριμον τοῖς 10 περὶ πολιτείας ΦιλοσοΦοῦσιν, ὅτι δεῖ διηρῆσθαι χωρὶς κατὰ The casteγένη τὴν πόλιν καὶ τό τε μάχιμον ἔτερον είναι καὶ τὸ γεωρ- syssitia. γοῦν ἐν Αἰγύπτω τε γὰρ ἔχει τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ἔτι καὶ $^{1329 \text{ B}}$ νῦν, τά τε περί τὴν Κρήτην, τὰ μὲν οὖν περί Αίγυπτον Σεσώστριος, ώς φασίν, οῦτω νομοθετήσαντος, Μίνω δὲ τὰ περί Κρήτην. 'Αρχαία δ' ἔοικεν είναι καὶ τῶν συσσιτίων 2 ή τάξις, τὰ μὲν περὶ Κρήτην γενόμενα περὶ τὴν Μίνω βασιλείαν, τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πολλῷ παλαιότερα τούτων. Φασὶ γὰρ οἱ λόγιοι τῶν ἐκεῖ κατοικούντων Ἰταλόν 3 τινα γενέσθαι βασιλέα της Οίνωτρίας, άφ' οὖ τό τε ὄνομα

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 ων μέν τοίνυν] This expression throws light on the more obscure statement of VIII. 1.

γεωργοί] Spengel, p. 25, note 27, wishes to read yeapyous, but it is not necessary, 'For though,' &c.

καὶ κεχώρισται δή] A very concise expression. He means, that the separation between the two divisions of the citizens and the non-citizen class is ineffaceable, 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. I He has got the citizens of his state, he turns to their arrangement.

τοις περί πολιτείας, κ.τ.λ.] Compare III. 1. 1.

διηρήσθαι κατά γένη] The caste system.

έν Αἰγύπτφ] Herod. 11. 164. 2 περί την Μίνω βασιλείαν] Grote, 1. 312.

3 οἱ λόγιοι] Herod. 1. 2, Περσῶν ol λόγιοι. Niebuhr, Rom. Hist. Vol. I. 16, considers that it is Antiochus of Syracuse from whom Aristotle is here quoting.

The caste- μεταβαλόντας 'Ιταλούς αντ' Οίνωτρῶν κληθῆναι καὶ τὴν syssitia. ἀκτὴν ταύτην τῆς Ευρώπης Ἰταλίαν τοὔνομα λαβεῖν, ὅση τετύχηκεν έντὸς οὖσα τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Σκυλλητικοῦ καὶ τοῦ Λαμητικοῦ : ἀπέχει γὰρ ταῦτα ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ὁδὸν ήμισείας 4 ήμέρας. τοῦτον δη λέγουσι τὸν Ἰταλὸν νομάδας τοὺς Οίνωτρούς όντας ποιήσαι γεωργούς, καὶ νόμους άλλους τε αὐτοῖς θέσθαι καὶ τὰ συσσίτια καταστήσαι πρῶτον. διὸ καὶ νῦν ἔτι τῶν ἀπ' ἐκείνου τινὲς χρῶνται τοῖς συσσιτίοις καὶ 5 των νόμων ενίοις. Εκουν δε το μεν προς την Τυρρηνίαν 'Οπικοί και πρότερον και νῦν καλούμενοι την ἐπωνυμίαν Αύσονες, τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ἰαπυγίαν καὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον Χῶνες, την καλουμένην Σιρίτιν " ήσαν δε και οι Χώνες Οινωτροί 6 τὸ γένος. ή μεν οὖν τῶν συσσιτίων τάξις ἐντεῦθεν γέγονε πρώτον, ὁ δὲ χωρισμὸς ὁ κατὰ γένος τοῦ πολιτικοῦ πλήθους έξ Αἰγύπτου · πολύ γὰρ ὑπερτείνει τοῖς χρόνοις τὴν Μίνω 7 βασιλείαν ή Σεσώστριος. σχεδον μέν οδν και τα άλλα δεῖ νομίζειν εύρησθαι πολλάκις έν τῷ πολλῷ χρόνῳ, μᾶλλον δ' άπειράκις· τὰ μέν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖα τὴν χρείαν διδάσκειν εἰκὸς αὐτήν, τὰ δ' εἰς εὐσχημοσύνην καὶ περιουσίαν ὑπαρχόντων ήδη τούτων εύλογον λαμβάνειν την αύξησιν. ώστε καί τὰ περί τὰς πολιτείας οἴεσθαι δεῖ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχειν τρόπον. 8 ότι δὲ πάντα ἀρχαῖα, σημεῖον τὰ περὶ Αἰγυπτόν ἔστιν * Bekker Zuptiv.

> ἀκτην ταύτην] 'This promontory,' in the sense in which the word occurs, Herod. IV. 38.

> έντδι οδσα] running southwards into the Ionian Sea, 'on the hither side' of The distance the boundary given. between the two gulfs is twenty miles, and is so small as to justify Aristotle's looking on the two as forming the boundary. So I explain the yap in απέχει γάρ.

> 4 Olvωτρούs] On this see Niebuhr, Vol. 1. 14, 16, and pp. 55, 56, note 165. On καὶ νῦν ἔτι, Grote III. 497.

> φκουν] On this compare Grote III. 466, and note I, and for the Chaonians, 111. 463.

Heyne's conjecture Zíριν, Σιρίτιν] for Σύρτον, is better than Σύρτιν, and is adopted by Mr Grote, 111. 463, note 3. Zipîtiv is here adopted from Niebuhr. Rom. Hist. Vol. 1, 18. "The Siritis so renowned among Greeks."

6 πολὺ γάρ] 'I say Egypt, for, &c.'

7 τῷ πολλῷ χρόνφ] Compare II. v.

περιουσίαν] as opposed to αναγκαία τούτων ες, τῶν ἀναγκαίων.

8 νόμων δέ] "von jeher." inserts omni hominum memoria; there is no record of the time when they οὖτοι γὰρ ἀρχαιότατοι μὲν δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, νόμων δὲ τε- The casteτυχήκασι καὶ τάξεως πολιτικής. διὸ δεῖ τοῖς μὲν εἰρημένοις syssitia. ίκανῶς χρῆσθαι, τὰ δὲ παραλελειμμένα πειρᾶσθαι ζητεῖν.

Ότι μὲν οὖν δεῖ τὴν χώραν εἶναι τῶν ὅπλα κεκτημένων 9 The slave καὶ τῶν τῆς πολιτείας μετεχόντων, εἴρηται πρότερον, καὶ σr serf διότι τοὺς γεωργοῦντας αὐτῶν ἐτέρους εἶναι δεῖ, καὶ πόσην τινά χρή και ποίαν είναι τήν χώραν περί δε της διανομής καὶ τῶν γεωργούντων, τίνας καὶ ποίους είναι χρὴ, λεκτέον πρώτον, ἐπειδή οὖτε κοινήν Φαμεν είναι δεῖν την κτησιν, 1330 ουσπερ τινές εἰρήκασιν, ἀλλὰ τῆ χρήσει Φιλικῶς γινομένη κοινήν, οὖτ' ἀπορεῖν οὐθένα τῶν πολιτῶν τροΦῆς. περὶ το συσσιτίων τε συνδοκεί πάσι χρήσιμον είναι ταίς εδ κατεσκευασμέναις πόλεσιν ὑπάρχειν. δι' ήν δ' αἰτίαν συνδοκεῖ καὶ ήμιν, υστερον έρουμεν. δεί δε τούτων κοινωνείν πάντας τούς πολίτας, ου ράδιον δε τους απόρους από των ιδίων τε είσ-Φέρειν τὸ συντεταγμένον καὶ διοικεῖν τὴν ἄλλην οἰκίαν. ἔτι δὲ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς δαπανήματα κοινὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεώς έστιν. ἀναγκαῖον τοίνυν εἰς δύο μέρη διηρῆσθαι τὴν χώραν, τι και την μεν είναι κοινήν την δε των ιδιωτών, και τούτων , ἐκατέραν διηρῆσθαι δίχα πάλιν, τῆς μὲν κοινῆς τὸ μὲν ἕτερον μέρος είς τὰς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς λειτουργίας, τὸ δὲ ἔτερον εἰς την τῶν συσσιτίων δαπάνην, της δὲ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τὸ ἔτερον

· γινομένην Bekker.

were without laws and political arrangement.

elphuérois] Several editors wish to read εύρημένοις, nor is Stahr averse to the change, which seems favoured by II. v. 16. Still it is not necessary. The sense is very good with elpnuévois. Eth. x. x. 23, p. 1181. b. 16. & TI κατά μέρος εξρηται καλώς.

9 διότι] 'that;' αὐτῶν ἐτέρους, 'distinct from the citizens themselves.'

άλλά τῆ χρήσει φιλικώς γινομένη **corhy] I prefer the dative participle to the accusative. 'But common by the use made of it in a friendly spirit.' Compare II. v. 6.

10 περί συσσιτίων] 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.

δστερον έρουμεν] As Spengel says, p. 10, note 11, it may be that Ch. XII. is the treatment of the subject here referred to, but that is hardly adequate.

où pádior] And as the poor cannot meet this demand, as well as their other wants, there must be some common stock.

The slave μέρος τὸ πρὸς τὰς ἐσχατιάς, ἔτερον δὲ τὸ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, population. Ινα δύο κλήρων έκάστω νεμηθέντων άμφοτέρων των τόπων πάντες μετέχωσιν τό τε γὰρ Ισον οῦτως ἔχει καὶ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας πολέμους ὁμονοητικώτερον. 12 δπου γάρ μὴ τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον, οἱ μὲν ὀλιγωροῦσι της πρός τους όμόρους έχθρας, οι δε λίαν Φροντίζουσι καλ παρά τὸ καλόν. διὸ παρ' ἐνίοις νόμος ἐστὶ τοὺς γειτνιῶντας τοῖς ὁμόροις μὴ συμμετέχειν βουλῆς τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πολέμων, ως δια το ίδιον ούκ αν δυναμένους βουλεύσασθαι 13 καλῶς. τὴν μὲν οὖν χώραν ἀνάγκη διηρῆσθαι τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον διὰ κὰς προειρημένας αἰτίας τοὺς δὲ γεωργήσοντας μάλιστα μέν, εί δεῖ κατ' εὐγήν, δούλους είναι, μήτε όμο-Φύλων πάντων μήτε θυμοειδῶν (οὕτω γὰρ ᾶν πρός τε τὴν εργασίαν είεν χρήσιμοι καὶ πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν νεωτερίζειν ἀσφαλείς), δεύτερον δε βαρβάρους περιοίκους παραπλησίους τοίς 14 είρημένοις την Φύσιν. τούτων δε τούς μεν ίδίους εν τοῖς ίδίοις είναι τῶν κεκτημένων τάς οὐσίας, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ τῆ κοινῆ

II mpds rds do xerids] on the borders.'

obrus \$\(\ext{Xei} \] 'For so the division has fairness in it and justice; and with reference to the wars with neighbouring tribes, it has a very considerable tendency to produce unity of feeling.' I supply, it will be seen, the nominative to \$\(\ext{Xei} \).

12 Compare Thuc. 11. 21, the case of the Acharnians; also Numbers xxxII. that of the tribes beyond Jordan.

παρ' delous] The reference is unknown.

13 obrw yap av] For if neither of those.

βαρβάρους περιοίπους] Schneider inserts ¶, and with some reason, looking at ix. 8, where, as here, the slaves are marked off first, and then two other classes are given, either barbarian periœci, or periœci of the same

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, κατ' εὐχήν, and if he could not have slaves, he would wish that the periocci should, as the next best thing, be of a stock alien to the Greeks, and not dependent Greeks; and both as a matter of Greek feeling and from the lessons of Greek experience, he was justified in this his view.

14 τοὺς μἐν, κ.τ.λ.] 'And these should be divided into classes; the one employed on the private estates of those who have the property should be themselves the private property of the owners, the other employed on the public land should be public.' Ιδίους τῶν κεκτημένων.

γῆ κοινούς. τίνα δὲ δεῖ τρόπον χρῆσθαι δούλοις, καὶ διότι The slave βέλτιον πᾶσι τοῖς δούλοις ἄθλον προκεῖσθαι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, population. **ὖστερον ἐροῦμεν.**

Την δε πόλιν ότι μεν δεί κοινην είναι της ηπείρου τε ΙΙ καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τῆς χώρας ἀπάσης ὁμοίως ἐκ τῶν The city. ένδεχομένων, είρηται πρότερον αύτης δε πρός αύτην είναι ? την θέσιν εύχεσθαι δεί κατατυγχάνειν πρός τέτταρα βλέποντας, πρώτον μέν, ως άναγκαῖον, πρός υγίειαν. αί τε 2 γάρ πρὸς εω τὴν ἔγκλισιν ἔγουσαι καὶ πρὸς τὰ πνεύματα τὰ πνέοντα ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς ὑγιεινότεραι, δεύτερον δὲ κατά βορέαν εύχείμεροι γάρ αδται μάλλον. τών δε λοιπῶν πρός τε τὰς πολιτικὰς πράξεις καὶ πολεμικὰς καλῶς 1330 Β έχειν. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὰς πολεμικὰς αὐτοῖς μὲν εὐέξοδον 3 είναι χρή, τοῖς δ' ἐναντίοις δυσπρόσοδον καὶ δυσπερίληπτον, ύδάτων τε καὶ ναμάτων μάλιστα μεν ὑπάρχειν πληθος οἰκεῖον· εἰ δὲ μή, τοῦτό γ' εὕρηται διὰ τοῦ κατασκευάζειν ύποδοχάς ομβρίοις ύδασιν άφθόνους και μεγάλας, ώστε μεδέποτε υπολείπειν εἰργομένους τῆς χώρας διὰ πόλεμον. έπει δε δεί περι ύγιείας Φροντίζειν των ένοικούντων, τοῦτο 4 δ' έστιν έν τῷ κεῖσθαι τὸν τόπον ἔν τε τοιούτω και πρὸς

άθλον προκείσθαι] 'Liberty should be held out to all of them as a reward to be attained by exertion.'

δστερον ερουμεν] This is certainly not given in what we have of Aristotle's work. It is one of the clearest passages in favour of its being a frag-

ΧΙ. Ι κοινήν έκ των ένδεχομένων] 'so far as circumstances will permit, equally open to,' &c.

αὐτῆς δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν θέσιν] 'For the position of the city itself, and without reference to anything but itself.'

κατατυγχάνειν] 'That it may be fortunate in its position in four points.' έὰν ἄρα μὴ συμβή κατατυχείν is the passage quoted by L. and S. from

Demosthenes, Or. xviii. 288. difficulty in Aristotle is to make out clearly the four points.

2 πρός έω την έγκλισιν έχουσαι] '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.

εὐχείμεροι] 'For they have a milder winter.'

καλώς έχειν] depends on εξχεσθαι δεί. 3 olkelor] 'of their own,' "within the town itself," Stahr.

ύποδοχάς] 'recevoirs,' 'tanks.' ὑπολείπειν] 'so that the supply may never fail them when shut in.' This

must be the sense, but it seems an uncommon one for brokelneiv.

4 έν τε τοιούτφ] sc. έν ύγιεινώ, 'in a place favourable to health.'

The city. τοιούτον καλώς, δεύτερον δὲ ὕδασιν ὑγιεινοῖς χρῆσθαι, καὶ τούτου την επιμέλειαν έχειν μη παρέργως. οίς γαρ πλείστοις χρώμεθα πρὸς τὸ σῶμα καὶ πλειστάκις, ταῦτα πλεῖστον συμβάλλεται πρός την υγίειαν η δε των υδάτων καλ 5 τοῦ πνεύματος δύναμις τοιαύτην έχει την Φύσιν. διόπερ έν ταῖς εὖ Φρονούσαις δεῖ διωρίσθαι πόλεσιν, ἐὰν μὴ πάνθ' δμοια μήτ' άφθονία τούτων ή ναμάτων, χωρίς τά τε είς τροφήν ύδατα και τὰ πρὸς την άλλην χρείαν. περι δὲ τόπων τῶν ἐρυμνῶν, οὐ πάσαις ὁμοίως ἔχει τὸ συμφέρον ταῖς πολιτείαις. οίον ἀκρόπολις ὀλιγαρχικὸν καὶ μοναρχικόν, δημοκρατικόν δ' όμαλότης, άριστοκρατικόν δ' οὐδέτερον, 6 άλλα μαλλον ίσχυροί τόποι πλείους. ή δε των ίδίων οἰκήσεων διάθεσις ήδίων μεν νομίζεται καλ χρησιμωτέρα πρός τὰς ἄλλας πράξεις, ᾶν εὖτομος ἢ καὶ κατὰ τὸν νεώτερον καὶ τὸν Ἱπποδάμειον τρόπον, πρὸς δὲ τὰς πολεμικὰς άσφαλείας τούναντίον, ώς είχον κατά τὸν άρχαῖον χρόνον: δυσέξοδος γάρ εκείνη τοῖς ξενικοῖς καὶ δυσεξερεύνητος τοῖς η επιτιθεμένοις. διὸ δεῖ τούτων ἀμφοτέρων μετέχειν (ἐνδέχε-

> μή παρέργως] 'as a principal, not as a subordinate point.' The simple common sense of this passage requires no comments, and in the social arrangements 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 recognised by all, it is far from being practically attended to; partly from the indisposition to meet everything but the most crying evils, which is characteristic 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 opposition of vested interests, which prevent vestries as the local power, and parliament as the central, from acting with 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 discreditable 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 τόπων ἐρυμνῶν] On this remark, as illustrated by the history of Greek and Italian republics or feudal Europe, I need not dwell. All students of history or politics will find it easy to illustrate.

6 ήδίων μέν] 'Though it is thought pleasanter.'

εδτομος] 'straight and well cut.'

τουναντίον] 'the contrary system, as it was.'

ekelvn] 'that older plan.'



ται γάρ, ἄν τις οὖτω κατασκευάζη καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς γεωρ- The city. γοίς ας καλοῦσί τινες των άμπέλων συστάδας) και την μέν જ ολην μή ποιείν πόλιν εύτομον, κατά μέρη δε και τόπους. ούτω γάρ καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ κόσμον έξει καλώς. περὶ 8 δε τειχών, οι μη Φάσκοντες δείν έχειν τὰς τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντιποιουμένας πόλεις λίαν άρχαίως ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, καὶ ταῦβ δρώντες έλεγχομένας έργφ τὰς ἐκείνως καλλωπισαμένας. έστι δὲ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ὁμοίους καὶ μὴ πολὺ τῷ πλήθει ο διαφέροντας οὐ καλὸν τὸ πειρᾶσθαι σώζεσθαι διὰ τῆς τῶν τειχων έρυμνότητος επεί δε και συμβαίνει και ενδέχεται πλείω την ύπεροχην γίγνεσθαι τῶν ἐπιόντων καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης και της εν τοις ολίγοις άρετης, ει δει σώζεσθαι και μή πάσχειν κακῶς μηδὲ ὑβρίζεσθαι, τὴν ἀσφαλεστάτην ἐρυμνότητα τῶν τειχῶν οἰητέον είναι πολεμικωτάτην, ἄλλως τε 1331 και νῦν εύρημένων τῶν περί τὰ βέλη και τὰς μηχανάς εἰς άκρίβειαν πρός τὰς πολιορκίας. δμοιον γὰρ τὸ τείχη μὴ ιο περιβάλλειν ταις πόλεσιν άξιουν και το την χώραν εὐέμβολον ζητείν και περιαιρείν τους όρεινους τόπους όμοίως δὲ καὶ ταῖς οἰκήσεσι ταῖς ἰδίαις μὴ περιβάλλειν τοίχους ώς άνάνδρων ἐσομένων τῶν κατοικούντων. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτό 11 γε δεί λανθάνειν, ότι τοῖς μεν περιβεβλημένοις τεῖχη περί την πόλιν έξεστιν άμφοτέρως χρησθαι ταῖς πόλεσιν, καὶ ὡς έχούσαις τείχη καὶ ώς μὴ έχούσαις, ταῖς δὲ μὴ κεκτημέναις ούκ έξεστιν. εί δή τοῦτον έχει τὸν τρόπον, ούχ ὅτι τείχη μόνον περιβλητέον, άλλα καὶ τούτων ἐπιμελητέον, ὅπως καὶ πρός κόσμον έχη τῆ πόλει πρεπόντως καὶ πρός τὰς πολεμικὰς

⁷ oword&as] '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 quincunx. So in the arrangement 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 λίαν ἀρχαίως] 'are extremely antiquated in their ideas.'

καl ταῦθ'] 'and that too though they see that the cities which prided 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 εὐρημένον els ἀκρίβειαν] Philip of Macedon gave an immense development to the artillery.

¹¹ ούχ ὅτι] ' not merely.'

The city. γρείας, τάς τε άλλας καὶ τὰς νῦν ἐπεξευρημένας. ὧσπερ 12 γάρ τοῖς ἐπιτιθεμένοις ἐπιμελές ἐστι δι' ὧν τρόπων πλεονεκτήσουσιν, ούτω τὰ μέν εύρηται τὰ δὲ δεῖ ζητεῖν καὶ Φιλοσοφείν και τούς φυλαττομένους άρχην γάρ ούδ έπιχειρούσιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοῖς εὖ παρεσκευασμένοις.

The magistrates.

Έπεὶ δὲ δεῖ τὸ μέν πληθος τῶν πολιτῶν ἐν συσσιτίοις κατανενεμήσθαι, τὰ δὲ τείχη διειλήφθαι Φυλακτηρίοις καὶ The agora. πύργοις κατὰ τόπους ἐπικαίρους, δῆλον ως αὐτὰ $_{\Lambda}$ προκαλεῖται παρασκευάζειν ένια τῶν συσσιτίων ἐν τούτοις τοῖς Φυ-2 λακτηρίοις. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῦτον ἄν τις διακοσμήσειε τὸν τρόπον, τὰς δὲ τοῖς θείοις ἀποδεδομένας οἰκήσεις καὶ τὰ κυριώτατα τῶν ἀρχείων συσσίτια ἀρμόττει τόπον ἐπιτήδειόν τε έχειν καὶ τὸν αὐτόν, ὅσα μὴ τῶν ἱερῶν ὁ νόμος ἀΦο-3 ρίζει χωρίς ή τι μαντεῖον ἄλλο πυθόχρηστον. εἴη δ' αν τοιοῦτος ὁ τόπος ὅστις ἐπιφάνειάν τε ἔχει πρὸς τὴν τῆς άρετης θέσιν ίκανῶς καὶ πρὸς τὰ γειτνιῶντα μέρη της πόλεως έρυμνοτέρως. πρέπει δ' ύπο μέν τοῦτον τον τόπον τοιαύτης άγορας είναι κατασκευήν οίαν και περί Θετταλίαν

> τας νῦν ἐπεξευρημένας] 'the recent inventions.' "ceux de la tactique moderne." St. Hil.

12 τὰ μέν] means of defence.

ζητείν και φιλοσοφείν] 'seek by scientific methods.'

ἀρχὴν γάρ] This is equivalent to the Latin maxim, Si bellum vitare vis, bellum para.

XII. I αὐτά] sc. τὰ τείχη, 'the walls of themselves invite us.'

2 τὸ κυριώτατα, κ.τ.λ.] 'and the syssitia of the most important boards of magistrates.'

πυθόχρηστον] In this he agrees with Plato, Rep. IV. 427 B.

3 επιφάνειάν τε έχει, κ.τ.λ.] Α close translation would hardly give what I conceive to be the meaning of this passage:- which is both conspicuous 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.' emipareian exei = έπιφανής έστι. Comp. Thuc. vi. 96. τὸ ἄλλο χώριον...μέχρι τῆς πόλεως έπικλινές τ' έστι καὶ έπιφανès παν εἴσω. Stahr's translation of πρὸς την τῆς ἀρετῆς θέσιν is, "der geistigen Erhabenheit seiner Bestimmung würdig entspräche." St. Hil. translates it more nearly as I do. "Tel que l'exige la dignité des personnes qu'il

πρέπει δέ] Comp. Grote, π. 371. "In the Thessalian cities, though inhabited in common by Thessalian proprietors and their Penestae, the quarters 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."

ονομάζουσιν, ην ελευθέραν καλοῦσιν. αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ην δεῖ The magis→ καθαράν είναι τῶν ωνίων πάντων, καὶ μήτε βάναυσον μήτε The agora. γεωργον μήτ' άλλον μηδένα τοιοῦτον παραβάλλειν μή καλούμενον ύπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων. εἴη δ' αν εὔχαρις ὁ τόπος. εί και τὰ γυμνάσια τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἔχοι τὴν τάξιν ἐνταῦθα. πρέπει γὰρ διηρῆσθαι κατὰ τὰς ήλικίας καὶ τοῦτον 5 τον κόσμον, και παρά μεν τοῖς νεωτέροις ἄρχοντάς τινας διατρίβειν, τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους παρὰ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν· ή γὰρ The double ἐν ὀΦθαλμοῖς τῶν ἀρχόντων παρουσία μάλιστα ἐμποιεῖ τὴν 6 1331 B άληθινήν αίδῶ καὶ τὸν τῶν ἐλευθέρων Φόβον. τὴν δὲ τῶν ώνίων άγορὰν έτέραν τε δεῖ ταύτης είναι καὶ χωρίς, ἔχουσαν τόπον εύσυνάγωγον τοῖς τε ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης πεμπομένοις καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας πᾶσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ πλῆθος διαιρείται της πόλεως είς ἱερείς, είς ἄρχοντας, πρέπει καὶ τῶν ίερέων συσσίτια περί την των ίερων οἰκοδομημάτων ἔχειν την τάξιν. τῶν δ' ἀρχείων ὅσα περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια ποιεῖται 7 την επιμέλειαν, περί τε γραφάς δικών και τάς κλήσεις και την άλλην την τοιαύτην διοίκησιν, έτι δε περί την άγορανομίαν καὶ τὴν καλουμένην ἀστυνομίαν, πρὸς ἀγορᾶ μὲν δεῖ καὶ συνόδω τινί κοινή κατεσκευάσθαι, τοιούτος δ' ὁ περί την άναγκαίαν άγοράν έστι τόπος ενσχολάζειν μεν γάρ την άνω τίθεμεν, ταύτην δε πρός τας άναγκαίας πράξεις. νενεμήσθαι ε δὲ χρή τὴν εἰρημένην τάξιν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν χιόραν καὶ γὰρ έχει τοις άρχουσιν, ους καλούσιν οι μέν ύλωρους οι δε άγρονόμους, καὶ Φυλακτήρια καὶ συσσίτια πρὸς Φυλακὴν ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν, ἔτι δὲ ἱερὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν είναι νενεμημένα,

παραβάλλειν] This word occurs, Eth. vii. xiv. 6, p. 1154, in the sense of 'passing into.' Here it means 'to approach,' 'come near to.'

⁵ τον τῶν ἐλευθέρων φόβον] 'Such fear as freemen may feel.'

⁶ εὐσυνάγωγον] '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 lepeîs, els Epxorras, is remarkable.

 $[\]pi \epsilon \rho l \quad \tau h \nu - \tau d \xi \iota \nu$] is supplied, as Schneider says, harshly; but it is the simplest word.

⁷ τας κλήσεις] 'the summons.'

συνόδφ τινὶ κοινή] 'in some public place of meeting.'

draykalar dyopdr] equivalent to την των ώνιων dyopdr, § 5.

Το τοποίο τὰ μεν θεσίς τὰ δε προστιν. ἀππὰ τὰ διαστάθειν νῶν ἀκεινσονος. Επισγουμένους καὶ πέγρουτας περί ττον τοιαίττον ἀργόν ἐπτιν.

ού γκο γκαετόν έπτι τὰ τοιαίττα νοῦσται, ἀππὰ τοιῆσται μαᾶικον τὰ μεν γὰς πέγειν είχης ἐσγον ἐπτί, τὰ δε τιμιθηνου
τύχης διὰ περί μεν τῶν τοιαύτουν τὰ γε ἐπὶ πλέδον ἀθείσθον
τὰ κόν

Need de sing animoseine devenie en timos non se trimos desi The most of west there the restaurant of the training continue and this a saimstru uniung, deutand. Than de die nood in die gegnerau के की महिला, कार्यकार में इंटरीय के पांचा के कार रोप कारतीय महिल्या अयो की क्षिण के क्ष्मित के का का का कि का कि का कि का कि TEAM CALVINAL THEM SICHTHO WHEYETH THE TRUTTE ME INCOMPÉN MANAMA ROI GONDANED. ENITE TOO I MEN CONTRE Existing alling, so he to postten the trying mitted images-THEM MIN' SOUTS IS TWO WED THE THE TELLS THOUTHED EXI-Try plummen, think to tenas eleves Cautas it is in exa-THE PHILLIPPINATION AND TEST INTENTO THE YES THE TI Ini Ti, Inguison elocu supua acionusio eninte andine, note Αλιά 1/4 / Μικείμενου αρτοίς όδου επλλασισεν του καθεισου. λεί η εν ταίς τεγναις και επιστήμαις ταυτα αμφότερα γ κριπέληθημ, τὸ τέλος καὶ τὰς εἰς τὸ τέλος πράξεις. ὅτι WAY WAY THE T' ST GIV RUL THE EDURATION AS ECCEPTAL TANTES. Φιινεμίνι. Ιζιλίλι τούντων τοῖς μεν εξουσία τυγγάνειν, τοῖς τημο ί) είδ, διέλ τινα τύχην ή φύσιν δείται γάρ καὶ χορηγίας τινλη τλ ζήν καλίος, τούτου δε έλάττονος μεν τοις αμεινον . In Se ras Bokker.

y shigh legar] 'is a question of wishing.' Compare IV. 1. He turns new from the develores, 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 surhoad in brackets, as an unnecessary interception of the reasoning. iv & vás] To make the sentence complete there should be inserted in vá

èrδέχεται γάρ] Comp. Είλ. vi. x. p. 1142-31.

έκκειται] 'stands ont well and distinctly.' δεί δέ. The apodosis.

κρατεῖσθαι] 'both must be mastered.'
3 ἐξουσία] 'have the opportunity.'
τούτου] would be more regularly
ταύτης, agreeing as it does in sense

with xopnylas.

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111

διακειμένοις, πλείονος δε τοῖς χεῖρον· οἱ δ' εὐθὺς οὐκ ὀρθῶς The conζητοῦσι την εύδαιμονίαν, εξουσίας ύπαρχούσης. έπει δε το προκείμενον έστι την αρίστην πολιτείαν ίδειν, αυτη δ' έστι 4 καθ' ην ἄριστ' αν πολιτεύοιτο πόλις, ἄριστα δ' αν πολιτεύοιτο καθ' ην εύδαιμονείν μάλιστα ενδέχεται την πόλιν, δηλον ότι την εύδαιμονίαν δεῖ, τί ἐστι, μη λανθάνειν. Φαμέν 5 δε καλ εν τοῖς ήθικοῖς, εἴ τι τῶν λόγων ἐκείνων ὄΦελος, ἐνέργειαν είναι καὶ χρησιν άρετης τελείαν, καὶ ταύτην οὐκ ἐξ ύποθέσεως άλλ' άπλῶς. λέγω δ' ἐξ ὑποθέσεως τάναγκαῖα, 6 τὸ δ' ἀπλῶς τὸ καλῶς ' οἶον τὰ περὶ τὰς δικαίας πράξεις αἰ δίκαιαι τιμωρίαι καὶ κολάσεις ἀπ' ἀρετῆς μέν εἰσιν, ἀναγκαΐαι δέ, και το καλώς άναγκαίως έχουσιν (αίρετώτερον μέν γάρ μηθενός δεῖσθαι τῶν τοιούτων μήτε τὸν ἄνδρα μήτε τὴν πόλιν), αὶ δ' ἐπὶ τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰς εὐπορίας ἀπλῶς εἰσὶ κάλλισται πράξεις. το μέν γαρ έτερον κακοῦ τινος αίρεσίς 7 έστιν, αί τοιαῦται δὲ πράξεις τοὐναντίον κατασκευαί γὰρ άγαθων είσι και γεννήσεις. γρήσαιτο δ' αν ο σπουδαίος άνηρ καὶ πενία καὶ νόσω καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τύχαις ταῖς Φαύλαις καλῶς άλλὰ τὸ μακάριον ἐν τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐστίν. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο διώρισται κατά τοὺς ηθικοὺς λόγους, ὅτι τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ό σπουδαΐος, οδ δια την άρετην τα άγαθά έστι τα άπλώς άγαθά. δηλον δ΄ ότι καὶ τὰς χρήσεις ἀναγκαῖον σπουδαίας 8 καὶ καλὰς είναι ταύτας άπλῶς. διὸ καὶ νομίζουσιν ἄνθρωποι τῆς εὐδαιμονίας αἴτια τὰ ἐκτὸς εἶναι τῷν ἀγαθῷν, ὧσπερ εἰ τοῦ κιθαρίζειν λαμπρὸν καὶ καλῶς αἰτιῶτο τὴν λύραν μᾶλ-

⁴ εὐθύς] 'from the commencement.'

⁵ έξ υποθέσεως = πρός υπόθεσιν] See IX. 3.

⁶ ἀπ' ἀρετη̂s] This expression occurs in III. iv. 5. 'Though they are the results of a virtue, yet they are not more than is 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.

έπὶ τὰς τιμάς] ες. φέρουσαι.

⁷ χρήσαιτο δέ] Comp. Eth. 1. xi. 13, p. 1101. 1.

κατά τους ήθικούς] The reference is Eth. 1v. vi. p. 1113. 15.

⁸ τὰς χρήσεις] Comp. II. VI. 9. 'The use of the goods of fortune-Tar έκτὸς ἀγαθῶν.'

διδ καί] 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.

השור בים השונים בים המודים בו מודים בים המודים בים ורבים בים המודים בים ורבים בים ורבים בים ורבים בים ורבים בים ישו צובו על הוא שו בוצוים בי בוצוים בי אונים או אינים שויין שייון שייון . באיבה בלוב ב יו יעופטרים יישייני שנה את שויימול כי אולל क्षणाम ना कार्य प्राप्त सेव प्रतिकार में है र प्रमाणाम संग्रह ביותר שונים שונים שלו שינים שינים שונים שונים דושום אונים parity ping on the print advance and print the The state where the second that the second along by TO THE A THING ASSESSED THE TOTAL THE TOTAL THE THE WAY THE PRODUCT OF THE THE TENTES BUE TETTE FTOURANCE SION, AN OCH STOR TO TE TON TRAITER. ים בינו מידושום לים עד ביר בירים בינום מוסף מידום אות בירים בינום בשריים בניינם אוא בייפיאה יל מנים ביינים בניים ביינים ביינים I his while the time is their some that the little was שתנוב מווד כנו בנונים מרשמונים מנג מרושוד בנו ממוכל נביק אין ביותר שלים שמו שונה שונה שונה שנו ביותר שנו ביותר שונה אונה ביותר שונה ביותר ביותר שונה ביותר ביותר שונה ביותר שונה ביותר שונה ביותר ביותר שונה ביותר שונה ביותר ביותר ביותר שונה ביותר בי was me it nich water and a be in eastering the שונה שות שרים וביינים ביינים ששבו מונה בנונות או בש שר מורילוני נד שום מנונוניך דה נהב בה malate en tipe de la man i de la tra fiera. anyometer he was join man in the tie join much get THE THE THE BUREN ENDING THERE THE THE STATE OF THE THE THOSE THE THE THE THE THE THE THE THE THE

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12 m over instinct, matural impulse.

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άλλως έχειν βέλτιον. την μέν τοίνυν Φύσιν οίους είναι δεί The conτούς μέλλοντας εύχειρώτους έσεσθαι τῷ νομοθέτη, διωρίσμεθα πρότερον, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἔργον ἤδη παιδείας τὰ μὲν 13 γὰρ ἐθιζόμενοι μανθάνουσι, τὰ δ' ἀκούοντες.

Έπεὶ δὲ πᾶσα πολιτική κοινωνία συνέστηκεν ἐξ ἀρχόντων 14 καὶ ἀρχομένων, τοῦτο δη σκεπτέον, εἰ ἐτέρους εἶναι δεῖ τοὺς Is the education to be άρχοντας καὶ τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἢ τοὺς αὐτοὺς διὰ βίου· δῆλον for all the γαρ ως ακολουθείν δεήσει και την παιδείαν κατά την διαί- citizens? ρεσιν ταύτην. εὶ μὲν τοίνυν εἴησαν τοσοῦτον διαΦέροντες 2 άτεροι τῶν ἄλλων ὅσον τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τοὺς ῆρωας ἡγούμεθα τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαφέρειν, εὐθὺς πρῶτον κατὰ τὸ σῶμα πολλην έχοντας ύπερβολήν, είτα κατά την ψυχήν, ώστε άναμ-Φισβήτητον είναι καὶ Φανεράν τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις την των άρχόντων, δηλον ότι βέλτιον άελ τους αυτούς τους μεν άρχειν τους δ' άρχεσθαι καθάπαξ. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτ' οὐ 3 ράδιον λαβείν οὐδ' ἔστιν ώσπερ ἐν Ἰνδοῖς Φησὶ Σκύλαξ είναι τους βασιλέας τοσούτον διαφέροντας των άρχομένων, φανερον δτι διά πολλάς αἰτίας άναγκαῖον πάντας ὁμοίως κοινωνείν του κατά μέρος άρχειν καὶ άρχεσθαι. τό τε γάρ ίσον ταύτὸν τοῖς ὁμοίοις, καὶ χαλεπὸν μένειν τὴν πολιτείαν την συνεστηκυῖαν παρά τὸ δίκαιον. μετά γάρ τῶν άρχο- 4 μένων ὑπάρχουσι νεωτερίζειν βουλόμενοι πάντες οἱ κατά τὴν χώραν τοσούτους τε είναι τους έν τῷ πολιτεύματι τὸ πληθος ωστ' είναι κρείττους πάντων τούτων, έν τι τών άδυνάτων έστίν. άλλα μην ότι γε δεί τους άρχοντας διαφέρειν τών άρχομένων, άναμφισβήτητον. πῶς οὖν ταῦτ' ἔσται καὶ πῶς

¹³ εὐχειρώτους] 'manageable.' πρότερον] Ch. VII.

maidelas] in the widest sense, taking the child at the earliest stage. 'For men learn partly by practice, partly by precept.'

XIV. Ι τοῦτο δη σκεπτέον] This point was virtually settled in III. IV.

² εἰ μὲν τοίνυν] Compare I. v. 8. φανεράν τοιs άρχομένοις] 'evident to the ruled.'

³ Σκύλαξ] of Caryanda, Smith, Biogr. Dict., where it is mentioned, 759 a, that Aristotle is the first writer who refers to him.

βασιλέας] depends on λαβείν.

όμοίως] 'on equal terms,' III. xvi. 3, and note on to ava µέρος ώσαύτως.

⁴ οἱ κατὰ τὴν χώραν] 'all who, resident in the country, are not citizens.'

άλλὰ μὴν] 'on the other hand.'

The slave μέρος τὸ πρὸς τὰς ἐσχατιάς, ἔτερον δὲ τὸ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, population. Ίνα δύο κλήρων έκάστω νεμηθέντων άμφοτέρων τῶν τόπων πάντες μετέχωσιν τό τε γὰρ Ισον οῦτως ἔχει καὶ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας πολέμους ὁμονοητικώτερον. 12 δπου γάρ μὴ τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον, οἱ μὲν ὀλιγωροῦσι τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ὁμόρους ἔχθρας, οἱ δὲ λίαν Φροντίζουσι καὶ παρά τὸ καλόν. διὸ παρ' ἐνίοις νόμος ἐστὶ τοὺς γειτνιῶντας τοῖς ὁμόροις μὴ συμμετέχειν βουλῆς τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πολέμων, ως διά τὸ ίδιον ούκ αν δυναμένους βουλεύσασθαι 13 καλῶς. τὴν μὲν οὖν χώραν ἀνάγκη διηρῆσθαι τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον διὰ κὰς προειρημένας αἰτίας τοὺς δὲ γεωργήσοντας μάλιστα μέν, εὶ δεῖ κατ' εὐχήν, δούλους εἶναι, μήτε ὁμο-Φύλων πάντων μήτε θυμοειδῶν (οὕτω γὰρ ᾶν πρός τε τὴν εργασίαν είεν χρήσιμοι καὶ πρὸς τὸ μηδεν νεωτερίζειν ἀσφαλεῖς), δεύτερον δὲ βαρβάρους περιοίκους παραπλησίους τοῖς 14 είρημένοις την Φύσιν. τούτων δε τούς μεν ίδίους εν τοῖς ίδίοις είναι τῶν κεκτημένων τάς οὐσίας, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ τῆ κοινῆ

II $\pi \rho \delta s$ $\tau \delta s$ $\delta \sigma \chi \alpha \tau i \delta s$] 'on the borders.'

obtus *{xei} 'For so the division has fairness in it and justice; and with reference to the wars with neighbouring tribes, it has a very considerable tendency to produce unity of feeling.' I supply, it will be seen, the nominative to *{xei.

12 Compare Thuc. II. 21, the case of the Acharnians; also Numbers xxxII. that of the tribes beyond Jordan.

παρ' evious] The reference is unknown.

13 οδτω γάρ ἄν] For if neither of these.

βαρβάρους περιοίκους] Schneider inserts 4, and with some reason, looking at ix. 8, where, as here, the slaves are marked off first, and then two other classes are given, either barbarian periœci, or periœci of the same 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, $\kappa \alpha \tau' \epsilon i \chi \hbar \nu$, and if he could not have slaves, he would wish that the perioeci should, as the next best thing, be of a stock alien to the Greeks, and not dependent Greeks; and both as a matter of Greek feeling and from the lessons of Greek experience, he was justified in this his yiew.

14 τοὺς μὲν, κ.τ.λ.] 'And these should be divided into classes; the one employed on the private estates of those who have the property should be themselves the private property of the owners, the other employed on the public land should be public.' ἰδίους τῶν κεκτημένων.

γῆ κοινούς. τίνα δὲ δεῖ τρόπον χρῆσθαι δούλοις, καὶ διότι The slave ρέλτιον πᾶσι τοῖς δούλοις ἄθλον προκεῖσθαι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, population. ὅστερον ἐροῦμεν.

Την δε πόλιν ότι μεν δεί κοινην είναι της ηπείρου τε ΙΙ καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τῆς χώρας ἀπάσης ὁμοίως ἐκ τῶν ένδεχομένων, είρηται πρότερον αύτης δε πρός αύτην είναι ? την θέσιν εύχεσθαι δεί κατατυγχάνειν πρός τέτταρα βλέποντας, πρώτον μέν, ως άναγκαῖον, πρός ύγίειαν. αί τε 2 γάρ πρός εω τὴν ἔγκλισιν ἔχουσαι καὶ πρός τὰ πνεύματα τὰ πνέοντα ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς ὑγιεινότεραι, δεύτερον δὲ κατά βορέαν εύχείμεροι γάρ αδται μάλλον. των δε λοιπῶν πρός τε τὰς πολιτικὰς πράξεις καὶ πολεμικὰς καλῶς 1330 Β έχειν. πρός μέν οὖν τὰς πολεμικὰς αὐτοῖς μέν εὐέξοδον 3 είναι γρή, τοῖς δ' ἐναντίοις δυσπρόσοδον καὶ δυσπερίληπτον. ύδάτων τε καὶ ναμάτων μάλιστα μὲν ὑπάρχειν πληθος οἰκεῖον εἰ δὲ μή, τοῦτό γ' εῦρηται διὰ τοῦ κατασκευάζειν ύποδογάς όμβρίοις ύδασιν άφθόνους καὶ μεγάλας, ώστε μεδέποτε υπολείπειν εἰργομένους τῆς χώρας διὰ πόλεμον. έπει δε δεί περι ύγιείας Φροντίζειν των ένοικούντων, τοῦτο 4 δ' ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ κεῖσθαι τὸν τόπον ἔν τε τοιούτῳ καὶ πρὸς

άθλον προκεῖσθα!] 'Liberty should be held out to all of them as a reward to be attained by exertion.'

ποτερον ἐροῦμεν] This is cartainly not given in what we have of Aristotle's work. It is one of the clearest passages in favour of its being a fragment.

XI. I κοινην ἐκ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων]
'so far as circumstances will permit, equally open to,' &c.

abτῆs δὲ πρὸs αὐτὴν τὴν θέσιν] 'For the position of the city itself, and without reference to anything but itself.'

κατατυγχάνειν] 'That it may be fortunate in its position in four points.' εὰν ἄρα μὴ συμβή κατατυχεῖν is the passage quoted by L. and S. from

Demosthenes, Or. xviii. 288. The difficulty in Aristotle is to make out clearly the four points.

2 πρὸς ἔω τὴν ἔγκλισιν ἔχουσαι]
'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.

ευχείμεροι] 'For they have a milder winter.'

καλῶς ἔχειν] depends on εὕχεσθαι δεῖ. 3 οἰκεῖον] 'of their own,' "within the town itself," Stahr.

ύποδοχάς] 'recevoirs,' 'tanks.'

όπολείπειν] 'so that the supply may never fail them when shut in.' This must be the sense, but it seems an uncommon one for ὑπολείπειν.

4 ξν τε τοιούτφ] sc. εν ύγιεινφ, 'in a place favourable to health.'

The city. τοιούτον καλώς, δεύτερον δε ύδασιν ύγιεινοῖς χρῆσθαι, καλ τούτου την επιμέλειαν έχειν μη παρέργως. οίς γαρ πλείστοις χρώμεθα πρός τὸ σῶμα καὶ πλειστάκις, ταῦτα πλεῖστον συμβάλλεται πρός την υγίειαν ή δε τῶν υδάτων καὶ 5 τοῦ πνεύματος δύναμις τοιαύτην έχει την Φύσιν. διόπερ έν ταῖς εὖ Φρονούσαις δεῖ διωρίσθαι πόλεσιν, ἐὰν μὴ πάνθ' δμοια μήτ' άφθονία τούτων ή ναμάτων, χωρίς τά τε είς τροφήν ύδατα καὶ τὰ πρὸς τήν ἄλλην χρείαν. τόπων τῶν ἐρυμνῶν, οὐ πάσαις ὁμοίως ἔχει τὸ συμφέρον ταῖς πολιτείαις. οίον ἀκρόπολις όλιγαρχικὸν καὶ μοναρχικόν, δημοκρατικόν δ' όμαλότης, άριστοκρατικόν δ' οὐδέτερον, 6 άλλα μάλλον Ισχυροί τόποι πλείους. ή δε των ιδίων οἰκήσεων διάθεσις ήδίων μεν νομίζεται και χρησιμωτέρα πρός τὰς ἄλλας πράξεις, ᾶν εὖτομος ἢ καὶ κατὰ τὸν νεώτερον καὶ τὸν Ἱπποδάμειον τρόπου, πρὸς δὲ τὰς πολεμικὰς άσφαλείας τοιναντίου, ώς είχου κατά του άρχαῖου χρόνου: δυσέξοδος γάρ εκείνη τοῖς ξενικοῖς καὶ δυσεξερεύνητος τοῖς η ἐπιτιθεμένοις. διὸ δεῖ τούτων ἀμφοτέρων μετέχειν (ἐνδέχε-

> μη παρέργως] 'as a principal, not as a subordinate point.' The simple common sense of this passage requires no comments, and in the social arrangements 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 recognised by all, it is far from being practically attended to; partly from the indisposition to meet everything but the most crying evils, which is characteristic 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 opposition of vested interests, which prevent vestries as the local power, and parliament 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 discreditable 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 τόπων ἐρυμνῶν] On this remark, as illustrated by the history of Greek and Italian republics or feudal Europe, I need not dwell. All students of history or politics will find it easy to illustrate.

6 ηδίων μέν] 'Though it is thought pleasanter.'

εδτομος] 'straight and well cut.'

τούναντίον] 'the contrary system, as it was.'

exeirn] 'that older plan.'

ται γάρ, αν τις ούτω κατασκευάζη καθάπερ εν τοῖς γεωρ- The city. γοίς ας καλουσί τινες των αμπέλων συστάδας) και την μεν συμφο ολην μή ποιείν πόλιν εύτομον, κατά μέρη δε καί τόπους. ούτω γὰρ καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ κόσμον έξει καλῶς. περὶ 8 δε τειχών, οί μη Φάσκοντες δείν έχειν τας της αρετης αντιποιουμένας πόλεις λίαν άρχαίως ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, καὶ ταῦβ δρώντες ελεγχομένας έργφ τὰς εκείνως καλλωπισαμένας. ἔστι δὲ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ὁμοίους καὶ μὴ πολὺ τῷ πλήθει 9 διαφέροντας ού καλὸν τὸ πειρᾶσθαι σώζεσθαι διὰ τῆς τῶν τειχῶν ἐρυμνότητος · ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ συμβαίνει καὶ ἐνδέγεται πλείω την ύπεροχην γίγνεσθαι τῶν ἐπιόντων καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὀλίγοις ἀρετῆς, εἰ δεῖ σώζεσθαι καὶ μὴ πάσχειν κακῶς μηδὲ ὑβρίζεσθαι, τὴν ἀσφαλεστάτην ἐρυμνότητα τῶν τειχῶν οἰητέον εἶναι πολεμικωτάτην, ἄλλως τε 1331 και νῦν εύρημένων τῶν περί τὰ βέλη και τὰς μηχανάς εἰς άκρίβειαν πρός τὰς πολιορκίας. ὅμοιον γὰρ τὸ τείχη μὴ ιο περιβάλλειν ταῖς πόλεσιν άξιοῦν καὶ τὸ τὴν χώραν εὐέμβολον ζητείν και περιαιρείν τους όρεινους τόπους όμοίως δὲ καὶ ταῖς οἰκήσεσι ταῖς ἰδίαις μὴ περιβάλλειν τοίχους ώς άνάνδρων ἐσομένων τῶν κατοικούντων. ἀλλά μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτό 11 γε δεί λανθάνειν, ότι τοίς μεν περιβεβλημένοις τείχη περί την πόλιν έξεστιν άμφοτέρως χρησθαι ταῖς πόλεσιν, καὶ ώς έχούσαις τείχη καὶ ώς μὴ έχούσαις, ταῖς δὲ μὴ κεκτημέναις οὐκ ἔξεστιν. εὶ δὴ τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον, οὐχ ὅτι τείχη μόνον περιβλητέον, άλλα και τούτων επιμελητέον, δπως και πρός κόσμον έχη τῆ πόλει πρεπόντως καὶ πρός τὰς πολεμικὰς

7 overdeas] '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 quincunx. So in the arrangement 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 λίαν ἀρχαίως] 'are extremely antiquated in their ideas.'

καὶ ταῦθ] 'and that too though they see that the cities which prided 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 εὐρημένον εἰς ἀκρίβειαν] Philip of Macedon gave an immense development to the artillery.

¹¹ ούχ δτι] ' not merely.'

Τhe city. χρείας, τάς τε ἄλλας καὶ τὰς νῦν ἐπεξευρημένας. ὥσπερ

12 γὰρ τοῖς ἐπιτιθεμένοις ἐπιμελές ἐστι δι' ὧν τρόπων πλεονεκτήσουσιν, οὕτω τὰ μὲν εὕρηται τὰ δὲ δεῖ ζητεῖν καὶ Φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ τοὺς Φυλαττομένους ' ἀρχὴν γὰρ οὐδ' ἐπιχειροῦσιν
ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοῖς εὖ παρεσκευασμένοις.

I 2 The magistrates. The agora.

2 Έπεὶ δὲ δεῖ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος τῶν πολιτῶν ἐν συσσιτίοις κατανενεμῆσθαι, τὰ δὲ τείχη διειλῆφθαι φυλακτηρίοις καὶ πύργοις κατὰ τόπους ἐπικαίρους, δῆλον ὡς αὐτὰ προκαλεῖται παρασκευάζειν ἔνια τῶν συσσιτίων ἐν τούτοις τοῖς φυ- λακτηρίοις. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῦτον ἄν τις διακοσμήσειε τὸν τρόπον, τὰς δὲ τοῖς θείοις ἀποδεδομένας οἰκήσεις καὶ τὰ κυριώτατα τῶν ἀρχείων συσσίτια ἀρμόττει τόπον ἐπιτήδειόν τε ἔχειν καὶ τὸν αὐτόν, ὅσα μὴ τῶν ἱερῶν ὁ νόμος ἀφο- 3 ρίζει χωρὶς ἢ τι μαντεῖον ἄλλο πυθόχρηστον. εἶη δ΄ ἀν τοιοῦτος ὁ τόπος ὅστις ἐπιφάνειάν τε ἔχει πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς θέσιν ἱκανῶς καὶ πρὸς τὰ γειτνιῶντα μέρη τῆς πόλεως ἐρυμνοτέρως. πρέπει δ΄ ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦτον τὸν τόπον τοιαύτης ἀγορᾶς εἶναι κατασκευὴν οἵαν καὶ περὶ Θετταλίαν

τὰς νῦν ἐπεξευρημένας] 'the recent inventions.' "ceux de la tactique moderne." St. Hil.

12 τὰ μέν] means of defence.

ζητεῖν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν] 'seek by scientific methods.'

ἀρχὴν γάρ] This is equivalent to the Latin maxim, Si bellum vitare vis, bellum para.

XII. 1 αὐτά] sc. τὰ τείχη, 'the walls of themselves invite us.'

2 τὸ κυριώτατα, κ.τ.λ.] 'and the syssitia of the most important boards of magistrates.'

πυθόχρηστον] In this he agrees with Plato, Rep. IV. 427 B.

3 ἐπιφάνειάν τε ἔχει, κ.τ.λ.] A close translation would hardly give what I conceive to be the meaning of this passage:— which is both conspicuous 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.' ἐπιφάνειαν ἔχει = ἐπιφανής ἐστι. Comp. Thuc. vi. 96. τὸ ἄλλο χώριον... μέχρι τῆς πόλεως ἐπικλινές τ' ἐστι καὶ ἐπιφανὸς πῶν εἴσω. Stahr's translation of πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς θέσιν is, "der geistigen Erhabenheit seiner Bestimmung würdig entspräche." St. Hil. translates it more nearly as I do. "Tel que l'exige la dignité des personnes qu'il recevra."

πρέπει δέ] Comp. Grote, II. 371.
"In the Thessalian cities, though inhabited in common by Thessalian proprietors and their Penestae, the quarters 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."

ονομάζουσιν, ην ελευθέραν καλοῦσιν. αὕτη δ' έστιν ην δεῖ The magisκαθαρὰν είναι τῶν ωνίων πάντων, καὶ μήτε βάναυσον μήτε The agora. γεωργὸν μήτ' ἄλλον μηδένα τοιοῦτον παραβάλλειν μή κα- $\frac{1}{4}$ λούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων. εἴη δ' αν εὖχαρις ὁ τόπος, εί και τα γυμνάσια των πρεσβυτέρων έγοι την τάξιν ένταῦθα, πρέπει γὰρ διηρῆσθαι κατὰ τὰς ήλικίας καὶ τοῦτον 5 τὸν κόσμον, καὶ παρὰ μὲν τοῖς νεωτέροις ἄρχοντάς τινας διατρίβειν, τους δε πρεσβυτέρους παρά τοῖς ἄρχουσιν· ή γάρ The double εν ὀΦθαλμοῖς τῶν ἀρχόντων παρουσία μάλιστα ἐμποιεῖ τὴν 6 1331 B άληθινήν αίδῶ καὶ τὸν τῶν ἐλευθέρων Φόβον. τὴν δὲ τῶν ωνίων άγορὰν έτέραν τε δεῖ ταύτης εἶναι καὶ χωρίς, ἔχουσαν τόπον εὐσυνάγωγον τοῖς τε ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης πεμπομένοις καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας πᾶσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ πληθος διαιρεῖται τῆς πόλεως εἰς ἱερεῖς, εἰς ἄρχοντας, πρέπει καὶ τῶν ίερέων συσσίτια περί την των ίερων οικοδομημάτων έχειν την τάξιν. τῶν δ' ἀρχείων ὅσα περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια ποιεῖται 7 την επιμέλειαν, περί τε γραφάς δικών και τάς κλήσεις και την άλλην την τοιαύτην διοίκησιν, έτι δε περί την άγορανομίαν καὶ τὴν καλουμένην ἀστυνομίαν, πρὸς ἀγορᾶ μὲν δεῖ καὶ συνόδω τινί κοινή κατεσκευάσθαι, τοιούτος δ' ό περί την άναγκαίαν άγοράν έστι τόπος : ένσχολάζειν μέν γάρ την άνω τίθεμεν, ταύτην δὲ πρὸς τὰς ἀναγκαίας πράξεις. νενεμῆσθαι 8 δὲ χρη την εἰρημένην τάξιν καὶ τὰ περὶ την χιόραν καὶ γὰρ έχει τοις άρχουσιν, ους χαλούσιν οι μεν ύλωρούς οι δε άγρονόμους, καὶ Φυλακτήρια καὶ συσσίτια πρὸς Φυλακὴν ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν, ἔτι δὲ ἱερὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν εἶναι νενεμημένα,

παραβάλλεω? This word occurs, Eth. vii. xiv. 6, p. 1154, in the sense of 'passing into.' Here it means 'to approach,' 'come near to.'

so limited, the statement will hold; but even then the disjointed way in which he throws out els lepeîs, els apxortas, is remarkable.

περὶ τὴν—τάξιν] is supplied, as Schneider says, harshly; but it is the simplest word.

7 τὰς κλήσεις] 'the summons.'
συνόδφ τινὶ κοινή] 'in some public

συνόδφ τινί κοινή] 'in some pub place of meeting.'

άναγκαίαν άγοράν] equivalent to την των ώνίων άγοράν, § 5.

⁵ τον τῶν ἐλευθέρων φόβον] 'Such fear as freemen may feel.'

⁶ εὐσυνάγωγον] 'where may easily meet.'

τὸ πλήθος] This is an odd statement. There must be some mistake, for it is inconsistent with Ch. IX. If he means τὸ πλήθος τῶν πρεσβυτέρων,

Τhe double τὰ μὲν θεοῖς τὰ δὲ ἥρωσιν. ἀλλὰ τὸ διατρίβειν νῦν ἀκρι
ασοτα. βολογουμένους καὶ λέγοντας περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀργόν ἐστιν.

ο οὐ γὰρ χαλεπόν ἐστι τὰ τοιαῦτα νοῆσαι, ἀλλὰ ποιῆσαι μᾶλλον τὸ μὲν γὰρ λέγειν εὐχῆς ἔργον ἐστί, τὸ δὲ συμβῆναι

τύχης διὸ περὶ μὲν τῶν τοιούτων τό γε ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀφείσθω

τὰ νῦν.

Περί δὲ τῆς πολιτείας αὐτῆς, ἐκ τίνων καὶ ἐκ ποίων δεῖ The consti- συνεστάναι την μέλλουσαν ἔσεσθαι πόλιν μακαρίαν καὶ πολι-2 τεύεσθαι καλώς, λεκτέον. Γ'Επεί δε δύ' έστιν έν οίζ γίγνεται τὸ εὖ πᾶσι, τούτοιν δ' ἐστὶν ἐν μὲν ἐν τῷ τὸν σκοπὸν κεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ τέλος τῶν πράξεων ὀρθῶς, ἐν δὲ ἐν τῷ τὰς πρὸς τὸ τέλος Φερούσας πράξεις ευρίσκειν ενδέχεται γάρ ταῦτα καλ διαφωνείν άλλήλοις καὶ συμφωνείν ενίστε γαρ δ μέν σκοπός ἔχχειται χαλῶς, ἐν δὲ τῷ πράττειν τοῦ τυχεῖν αὐτοῦ διαμαρτάνουσιν ενίστε δε των μεν πρός το τέλος πάντων έπιτυγχάνουσιν, άλλὰ τὸ τέλος ἔθεντο Φαῦλον ὁτὲ δὲ έκατέρου διαμαρτάνουσιν, οίον περί ιατρικήν ούτε γαρ ποϊόν τι δεῖ τὸ ὑγιαῖνον εἶναι σῶμα κρίνουσιν ἐνίστε καλῶς, οὖτε πρός τὸν ὑποκείμενον αὐτοῖς ὅρον τυγχάνουση τῶν ποιητικῶν. δεῖ δ' εν ταῖς τέχναις καὶ ἐπιστήμαις ταῦτα ἀμφότερα 3 κρατεῖσθαι, τὸ τέλος καὶ τὰς εἰς τὸ τέλος πράξεις. ὅτι μεν ούν τοῦ τ' εὖ ζην καὶ της εὐδαιμονίας εΦίενται πάντες, Φανερόν. άλλα τούτων τοῖς μεν εξουσία τυγχάνειν, τοῖς 1332 δε οὖ, διά τινα τύχην ἡ Φύσιν δεῖται γὰρ καὶ γορηγίας τινός το ζην καλώς, τούτου δε ελάττονος μεν τοῖς ἄμεινον • ਵੈਂv 8ਵੇਂ ਰਕੰਤ Bekker.

9 $\epsilon b \chi \hat{\eta} s$ $\epsilon \rho \gamma \rho \nu$] 'is a question of wishing.' Compare IV. I. He turns now from the $i \pi \sigma \theta \epsilon' \sigma \epsilon \iota s$, 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 unnecessary interruption of the reasoning. ξν δὶ τάs] To make the sentence complete there should be inserted ἐν τῶ.

ένδέχεται γάρ] Comp. Eth. vi. x. p. 1142-31.

ἔκκειται] 'stands out well and distinctly.' δεῖ δέ. The apodosis.

κρατεῖσθαι] 'both must be mastered.'
3 ἐξουσία] 'have the opportunity.'
τούτου] would be more regularly

τούτου] would be more regularly ταύτης, agreeing as it does in sense with χορηγίας.

διακειμένοις, πλείονος δὲ τοῖς χεῖρον· οἱ δ' εὐθὺς οὐκ ὀρθῶς The conζητοῦσι τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, ἐξουσίας ὑπαρχούσης. έπει δὲ τὸ προκείμενον έστι την αρίστην πολιτείαν ίδειν, αθτη δ' έστι 4 καθ' ήν ἄριστ' άν πολιτεύοιτο πόλις, ἄριστα δ' άν πολιτεύοιτο καθ' ήν εύδαιμονείν μάλιστα ένδέχεται την πόλιν, δηλον ότι την εύδαιμονίαν δεί, τί έστι, μη λανθάνειν. Φαμέν 5 δε και έν τοῖς ήθικοῖς, εἴ τι τῶν λόγων ἐκείνων ὄφελος, ἐνέργειαν είναι καὶ χρησιν άρετης τελείαν, καὶ ταύτην οὐκ έξ ύποθέσεως άλλ' άπλως. λέγω δ' έξ ύποθέσεως τάναγκαῖα, 6 τὸ δ' ἀπλῶς τὸ καλῶς: οἶον τὰ περὶ τὰς δικαίας πράξεις αἰ δίκαιαι τιμωρίαι καὶ κολάσεις ἀπ' ἀρετῆς μέν εἰσιν, ἀναγκαΐαι δέ, και το καλώς άναγκαίως έγουσιν (αίρετώτερον μέν γαρ μηθενός δεῖσθαι τῶν τοιούτων μήτε τὸν ἄνδρα μήτε τὴν πόλιν), αί δ' ἐπὶ τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰς εὐπορίας άπλῶς εἰσὶ κάλλισται πράξεις. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔτερον κακοῦ τινὸς αἵρεσίς 7 έστιν, αὶ τοιαῦται δὲ πράξεις τοὐναντίον κατασκευαὶ γὰρ άγαθῶν εἰσὶ καὶ γεννήσεις. χρήσαιτο δ' αν ὁ σπουδαῖος άνηρ καὶ πενία καὶ νόσω καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τύχαις ταῖς φαύλαις καλῶς : ἀλλὰ τὸ μακάριον ἐν τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐστίν. τοῦτο διώρισται κατά τοὺς ηθικοὺς λόγους, ὅτι τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ό σπουδαΐος, ῷ διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τὰ ἀγαθά ἐστι τὰ ἀπλῶς άγαθά. δηλον δ΄ ότι καὶ τὰς χρήσεις ἀναγκαῖον σπουδαίας 8 καλ καλάς είναι ταύτας άπλῶς. διὸ καὶ νομίζουσιν ἄνθρωποι της εύδαιμονίας αίτια τὰ έκτὸς είναι τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ώσπερ εἰ τοῦ χιθαρίζειν λαμπρον καὶ καλῶς αἰτιῷτο τὴν λύραν μᾶλ-

⁴ εὐθύs] 'from the commencement.'

⁵ εξ ύποθέσεως = πρός ύπάθεσιν] See IX. 3.

⁶ ἀπ' ἀρετηs This expression occurs in III. iv. 5. 'Though they are the results of a virtue, yet they are not more than is 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.

έπὶ τὰς τιμάς] ΒC. φέρουσαι.

⁷ χρήσαιτο δέ] Comp. Eth. 1. xi. 13, p. 1101. 1.

κατά τους ήθικούς] The reference is Eth. iv. vi. p. 1113. 15.

⁸ τας χρήσεις] Comp. II. vi. 9. 'The use of the goods of fortune—τῶν έκτὸς ἀγαθών.

^{8.8} kal 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.

λου τῆς τέχνης.] 'Αναγκαῖον τοίνυν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων τὰ μὲν - ύπάρχειν, τὰ δὲ παρασκευάσαι τὸν νομοθέτην. διὸ κατ' εὐ-9 χὴν εὐχόμεθα τὴν τῆς πόλεως σύστασιν, ὧν ἡ τύχη χυρία· κυρίαν γάρ αὐτὴν ὑπάρχειν τίθεμεν τὸ δὲ σπουδαίαν είναι την πόλιν οὐκέτι τύχης ἔργον, ἀλλ' ἐπιστήμης καὶ προαιρέσεως. 'Αλλά μὴν σπουδαία πόλις ἐστι τῷ τοὺς πολίτας τούς μετέχοντας της πολιτείας είναι σπουδαίους ήμιν δε το πάντες οἱ πολῖται μετέχουσι τῆς πολιτείας. τοῦτ' ἄρα σκεπτέον, πῶς ἀνὴρ γίνεται σπουδαῖος. καὶ γὰρ εἰ πάντας ενδέχεται σπουδαίους είναι, μή καθ έκαστον δε των πολιτών, ούτως αίρετώτερον άκολουθεί γάρ τῷ καθ' ἔκαστον καὶ τὸ πάντας. άλλὰ μὴν ἀγαθοί γε καὶ σπουδαῖοι γίγνονται 11 διὰ τριῶν. τὰ τρία δὲ ταῦτά ἐστι Φύσις,ἔθος ,λόγος. γὰρ Φῦναι δεῖ πρῶτον, οἶον ἄνθρωπον ἀλλὰ μὴ τῶν ἄλλων τι ζώων, είτα και ποιόν τινα το σώμα και την ψυγήν. 1332 Β ἔνια δὲ ούθὲν ὄφελος Φῦναι· τὰ γὰρ ἔθη μεταβαλεῖν ποιεῖ· ἔνια γάρ ἐστι διὰ τῆς Φύσεως ἐπαμφοτερίζοντα διὰ τῶν ἐθῶν 12 έπλ τὸ χεῖρον καλ τὸ βέλτιον, τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα τῶν ζώων μάλιστα μεν τη Φύσει ζή, μικρά δ' ένια καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσιν, ανθρωπος δε καὶ λόγω μόνον γὰρ ἔχει λόγον. ὧστε δεῖ ταῦτα συμφωνεῖν ἀλλήλοις πολλὰ γὰρ παρὰ τοὺς ἐθισμοὺς καὶ τὴν Φύσιν πράττουσι διὰ τὸν λόγον, ἐὰν πεισθῶσιν • τε Bekker.

άναγκαῖον τοίνυν] 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.'

κυρίαν γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'for, that fortune is supreme, we assume.'

έπιστήμης καὶ προαιρέσεως] Knowledge and will, the two conditions of all right action; the είδως και προαιρούμενος of Eth. 11. iii. 3, p. 1105, 31.

ήμιν δέ] 'and in our view.'

10 el $\pi d\nu \tau as$, $\kappa.\tau.\lambda$.] 'granting that it is possible.'

οδτως] ' this latter way.'

11 τὰ τρία] Comp. Eth. x. x. 6, p. 1179, 6, 20, where διδαχή takes the place of Adyos here.

eνιά τε] better δέ.

διὰ τῆς φύσεως, κ.τ.λ.] 'By nature uncertain, capable of either turn; fixed by habits for evil or for good.'

12 τῆ φύσει] 'instinct,' 'natural impulse.'

μόνον γάρ (τῶν ζφων) ἔχει λόγον] Сотр. І. п. 10.

άλλως έχειν βέλτιον. την μεν τοίνυν Φύσιν οίους είναι δεί The conτους μέλλοντας εύχειρώτους έσεσθαι τῷ νομοθέτη, διωρίσμεθα πρότερου, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἔργον ἤδη παιδείας τὰ μὲν 13 γαρ εθιζόμενοι μανθάνουσι, τα δ' άκούοντες.

'Επεὶ δὲ πᾶσα πολιτικὴ κοινωνία συνέστηκεν ἐξ ἀρχόντων 14 καὶ ἀρχομένων, τοῦτο δη σκεπτέον, εἰ ἐτέρους εἶναι δεῖ τοὺς Is the education to be άρχοντας καὶ τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἢ τοὺς αὐτοὺς διὰ βίου· δῆλον the same for all the γαρ ως ακολουθείν δεήσει και την παιδείαν κατά την διαί- citizens? ρεσιν ταύτην. εὶ μὲν τοίνυν εἴησαν τοσοῦτον διαΦέροντες 2 άτεροι τῶν ἄλλων ὅσον τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τοὺς ῆρωας ἡγούμεθα τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαφέρειν, εὐθὺς πρῶτον κατὰ τὸ σῶμα πολλην έχοντας ύπερβολήν, είτα κατά την ψυχήν, ώστε άναμ-Φισβήτητον είναι καὶ Φανεράν τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις την των άρχόντων, δηλον ότι βέλτιον άελ τούς αύτούς τούς μεν άρχειν τους δ' άρχεσθαι καθάπαξ. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτ' οὐ 3 ράδιον λαβείν ούδ' έστιν ώσπερ εν Ίνδοις Φησί Σκύλαξ είναι τους βασιλέας τοσούτον διαφέροντας των άρχομένων, φανερόν δτι διά πολλάς αἰτίας άναγκαῖον πάντας ὁμοίως κοινωνείν τοῦ κατά μέρος ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι. τό τε γάρ ίσον ταύτὸν τοῖς ὁμοίοις, καὶ χαλεπὸν μένειν τὴν πολιτείαν την συνεστηκυῖαν παρά τὸ δίκαιον. μετά γάρ τῶν άρχο- 4 μένων ὑπάρχουσι νεωτερίζειν βουλόμενοι πάντες οἱ κατὰ τὴν χώραν τοσούτους τε είναι τους έν τῶ πολιτεύματι τὸ πληθος ωστ' είναι κρείττους πάντων τούτων, έν τι τών άδυνάτων

έστίν. άλλα μην ότι γε δεῖ τοὺς ἄρχοντας διαφέρειν τῶν άργομένων, άναμΦισβήτητον. πῶς οὖν ταῦτ' ἔσται καὶ πῶς

¹³ εὐχειρώτους] 'manageable.' πρότερον] Ch. VII.

maidelas] in the widest sense, taking the child at the earliest stage. 'For men learn partly by practice, partly by precept.'

XIV. Ι τοῦτο δή σκεπτέον] This point was virtually settled in III. IV. 2 εἰ μὲν τοίνυν] Compare I. v. 8. φανεράν τοις άρχομένοις] 'evident to the ruled.'

³ Σκύλαξ] of Caryanda, Smith, Biogr. Dict., where it is mentioned, 759 a, that Aristotle is the first writer who refers to him.

βασιλέας] depends on λαβείν.

όμοίως] 'on equal terms,' III. xvi. 3, and note on τὸ ἀνὰ μέρος ὡσαύτως.

⁴ οἱ κατὰ τὴν χώραν] 'all who, resident in the country, are not citizens.'

άλλὰ μὴν] 'on the other hand.'

for all the

Is the edu- μεθέξουσι, δεῖ σκέψασθαι τὸν νομοθέτην. εἴρηται δὲ πρόthe same τερον περί αὐτοῦ. ή γαρ Φύσις δέδωκε την αίρεσιν, ποιήfor all the citizens? σασα αυτώ τω γένει ταυτόν το μέν νεώτερον το δε πρεσβύς τερον, ών τοῖς μεν ἄρχεσθαι πρέπει, τοῖς δ' ἄρχειν. άγανακτεϊ δε ούδεις καθ' ήλικίαν άρχόμενος, ούδε νομίζει είναι κρείττων, άλλως τε καὶ μέλλων άντιλαμβάνειν τοῦτον τὸν 6 έρανον, δταν τύχη τῆς ἱκνουμένης ήλικίας. ἔστι μὲν ἄρα ώς τους αυτους άρχειν και άρχεσθαι φατέον, έστι δε ώς έτέ-1333 ρους. Εστε καὶ τὴν παιδείαν ἔστιν ως τὴν αὐτὴν άναγκαῖον, ἔστι δ' ώς ὲτέραν εἶναι. τόν τε γὰρ μέλλοντα καλῶς ἄρχειν άρχθηναί Φασι δεῖν πρῶτον. ἔστι δ' άρχή, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις εἴρηται λόγοις, ή μὲν τοῦ ἄρχοντος χάριν, ή 7 δε τοῦ ἀρχομένου. τούτων δε την μεν δεσποτικήν είναί Φαμεν, την δε των ελευθέρων. διαφέρει δ ένια των έπι- 💝 ταττομένων ού τοῖς ἔργοις ἀλλὰ τῷ τίνος ἔνεκα. διὸ πολλὰ τῶν είναι δοκούντων διακονικῶν ἔργων καὶ τῶν νέων τοῖς έλευθέροις καλόν διακονείν πρός γάρ το καλόν καὶ το μή καλον ούχ ούτω διαφέρουσιν αι πράξεις καθ' αύτας ώς έν τῷ 🚱 8. τέλει καὶ τῷ τίνος ἔνεκεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολίτου καὶ ἄρχοντος την αύτην άρετην είναι φαμεν και τοῦ άριστου άνδρός, τὸν education. δ' αὐτὸν ἀρχόμενόν τε δεῖν γίγνεσθαι πρότερον καὶ ἄργοντα υστερον, τουτ' αν είη τῷ νομοθέτῃ πραγματευτέον, δπως ανδρες αγαθοί γίγνονται, και δια τίνων επιτηδευ-9 μάτων, καλ τί τὸ τέλος τῆς ἀρίστης ζωῆς. διήρηται δὲ δύο

· γίγνωνται Bekker.

5 αὐτφ τφ γένει ταὐτόν] ' that which is in kind the same.'

καθ' ἡλικίαν] 'on the ground of age.' ἀντιλαμβάνειν] 'to have this privilege in his turn, when he shall have reached the proper age.' ξρανον is used in a very general sense.

7 οὐ τοῖς ἔργοις, κ.τ.λ.] 'not in what is done, but in the object for which it is done.'

καλ των νέων, κ.τ.λ.] 'even to the young freeman.'

έν τῷ τέλει] δρίζεται τῷ τέλει γὰρ ёкаотог, Eth. 111. 10, 6, p. 1115, 6, 22. 8 ἐπεὶ δέ, κ.τ.λ.] This is discussed at considerable length in III. IV. πολίτου και άρχοντος 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 identical.' πολίτου καὶ ἄρχοντος answers to the TIVOS WOLLTON of III. IV. 9.

δπως γίγνονται] I adopt this reading in preference to Bekker's 'how good citizens are formed,' with an interrogative sense, that is, and not a final one. 9 διήρηται] Eth. 1. xiii. p. 1102; VI. ii. p. 1139 A.

μέρη τῆς ψυχῆς, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἔχει λόγον καθ' αὐτό, τὸ δ' οὐκ έχει μεν καθ' αυτό, λόγω δ' υπακούειν δυνάμενον· ων Φαμέν education. τὰς ἀρετὰς είναι καθ' ας ἀνηρ ἀγαθὸς λέγεταί πως. των δ' ἐν ποτέρω μᾶλλον τὸ τέλος, τοῖς μὲν οὕτω διαιροῦσιν ως ήμεις Φαμέν ούκ άδηλον πως λεκτέον. αἰεὶ γὰρ τὸ χει- 10 ρον τοῦ βελτίονός ἐστιν ἔνεκεν, καὶ τοῦτο Φανερον ὁμοίως ἔν τε τοῖς κατά τέχνην καὶ τοῖς κατά Φύσιν, βέλτιον δὲ τὸ λόγον έχου διήρηταί τε διχη, καθ δνπερ εἰώθαμεν τρόπου διαιρείν δ μέν γάρ πρακτικός έστι λόγος δ δε θεωρητικός. ωσαύτως οὖν ἀνάγκη διηρῆσθαι καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος δῆλον 11 δτι, καὶ τὰς πράξεις δ' ἀνάλογον ἐροῦμεν ἔχειν, καὶ δεῖ τὰς τοῦ Φύσει βελτίονος αίρετωτέρας είναι τοῖς δυναμένοις τυγχάνειν ή πασων ή τοῖν δυοῖν· αἰεὶ γὰρ ἐκάστω τοῦθ΄ αἰρετώτατον, οὖ τυχεῖν ἔστιν ἀκροτάτου. διήρηται δὲ καὶ πᾶς 12 ό βίος είς άσχολίαν καὶ είς σχολήν καὶ πόλεμον καὶ είρηνην, καὶ τῶν πρακτῶν τὰ μὲν εἰς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ χρήσιμα τὰ δὲ είς τὰ καλά. περί ὧν άνάγκη τὴν αὐτὴν αἵρεσιν εἶναι καὶ 13 τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς μέρεσι καὶ ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτῶν, πόλεμον μεν εἰρήνης χάριν, ἀσχολίαν δε σχολης, τὰ δ' ἀναγκαῖα καὶ χρήσιμα τῶν καλῶν ἔνεκεν. πρὸς πάντα μὲν τοίνυν τῶ πολιτικώ βλέποντι νομοθετητέον, καὶ κατά τὰ μέρη τῆς ψυχης και κατά τας πράξεις αὐτῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ πρὸς τά βελτίω και τὰ τέλη. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον και περί τοὺς 14 βίους και τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων διαιρέσεις δεῖ μὲν γὰρ ἀσχο-

δυνάμενον] should be δύναται. There is a similar inaccuracy in I. v. 9.

¹⁰ διήρηται] sc. δ λόγος. 'The reason,' not 'the rational part,' τὸ λόγον ἔχον.

^{11 &}amp;σαύτως] 'To correspond with this division then must the part evidently be divided, and the actions of either division will admit of a corresponding division again.'

[†] πασῶν ἡ τοῦν δυοῦν] Is the meaning: 'The actions of the higher part are more to be chosen by those who have it in their power to do so, than the actions of all the parts of our na-

ture, or of the two parts concerned in moral action,' the συνθετόν of Είλ. x. 7, 8, p. 1177, b. 28? Does he mean that we ought, if we can, exclusively to cultivate the highest part, to the entire exclusion, that is, of the lower? It is very difficult; yet this would give a sense.

¹² Kal #âs] 'a further division is that of all life, &c.'

καὶ τῶν πρακτῶν] carelessly stated.
τὰ πρακτά, τὰ μὲν ἀναγκαῖα καὶ χρήσμα, τὰ δὲ καλά.

¹³ alpeau] equivalent to dialpeau.

The ob-

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λεῖν δύνασθαι καὶ πολεμεῖν, μᾶλλον δ' εἰρήνην ἄγειν καὶ education. σχολάζειν· καὶ τάναγκαῖα καὶ τὰ χρήσιμα δὲ πράττειν, τὰ δὲ καλὰ δεῖ μάλλον. ὧστε πρὸς τούτους τοὺς σκοποὺς καὶ 1333 Β παϊδας έτι όντας παιδευτέον και τας άλλας ήλικίας, όσαι 15 δέονται παιδείας. οἱ δὲ νῦν ἄριστα δοκοῦντες πολιτεύεσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ τῶν νομοθετῶν οἱ ταύτας καταστήσαντες τας πολιτείας, ούτε πρός το βέλτιον τέλος Φαίνονται συν-. τάξαντες τὰ περὶ τὰς πολιτείας οὖτε πρὸς πάσας τὰς ἀρετὰς τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὴν παιδείαν, ἀλλὰ Φορτικῶς ἀπέκλιναν πρός τὰς χρησίμους είναι δοκούσας καὶ πλεονεκτικωτέρας. 16 παραπλησίως δὲ τούτοις καὶ τῶν ὕστερόν τινες γραψάντων άπεφήναντο την αύτην δόξαν έπαινοῦντες γάρ την Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείαν άγανται τοῦ νομοθέτου τὸν σκοπόν, ὅτι πάντα πρὸς τὸ κρατεῖν καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον ἐνομοθέτησεν α καὶ κατὰ τὸν λόγον ἐστὶν εὐέλεγκτα καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐξε-17 λήλεγκται νῦν. ὧσπερ γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ζητοῦσι τὸ πολλῶν δεσπόζειν, ὅτι πολλὴ χορηγία γίγνεται τῶν εὐτυχημάτων, οὕτω καὶ Θίβρων ἀγάμενος Φαίνεται τὸν τῶν Λακώνων νομοθέτην, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστος τῶν γραφόντων περί πολιτείας αὐτῶν, ὅτι διὰ τὸ γεγυμνάσθαι 18 πρός τούς κινδύνους πολλών ήρχον. καίτοι δήλον ώς ἐπειδή νῦν γε οὐκέτι ὑπάρχει τοῖς Λάκωσι τὸ ἄρχειν, οὐκ εὐδαίμονες, οὐδ ὁ νομοθέτης ἀγαθός. ἔστι δ δὲ τοῦτο γελοῖον, εἰ μένοντες εν τοῖς νόμοις αὐτοῦ, καὶ μηδενός εμποδίζοντος πρός το χρησθαι τοῖς νόμοις, ἀποβεβλήκασι το ζην καλώς. 19 ούκ όρθως δ' ύπολαμβάνουσιν ούδε περί της άρχης ην

· τῶν Bekker.

b έτι Bekker.

15 φορτικώς] 'assez peu noblement,' St. Hil. 'in a low and vulgar spirit.' πλεονεκτικωτέρας] 'the more grasping.'

16 εξελήλεγκται] 'have been thoroughly convicted now by experience.' 17 τῶν πολλῶν] I incline to the

reading of one MS., τὸ πολλῶν.

πολλή χορηγία] 'a large supply of the goods of fortune.'

Θίβρων] unknown.

18 ἔστιδέ] seems a better reading than ¿τι. There is no new argument advanced.

μένοντες, κ.τ.λ.] 'though they remain constant to his laws, and though there is no hindrance to their obeying

19 1, 5, 2. ἀεὶ βελτίων ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν βελτιόνων.



δεῖ τιμώντα φαίνεσθαι τὸν νομοθέτην· τοῦ γὰρ δεσποτικώς άρχειν ή τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἀρχὴ καλλίων καὶ μᾶλλον μετ' ἀρε- education. της. Ετι δ' ού διά τοῦτο δεῖ τὴν πόλιν εὐδαίμονα νομίζειν καλ τον νομοθέτην επαινείν, ότι καρτερείν ήσκησεν επλ τὸ τῶν πέλας ἄρχειν· ταῦτα γὰρ μεγάλην ἔχει βλάβην. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι καὶ τῶν πολιτιῦν τῷ δυναμένῳ τοῦτο πει-20 ρατέον διώκειν, δπως δύνηται της οἰκείας πόλεως ἄρχειν. οπερ εγκαλούσιν οι Λάκωνες Παυσανία τῷ βασιλεῖ, καίπερ έχοντι τηλικαύτην τιμήν. οὔτε δή πολιτικός τῶν τοιούτων λόγων και νόμων ούθεις ούτε ώφέλιμος ούτε άληθής έστιν. ταύτὰ γὰρ ἄριστα καὶ ἰδία καὶ κοινῆ τὸν νομοθέτην ἐμ- 21 ποιείν δεί ταῦτα ταίς ψυχαίς τῶν ἀνθρώπων. τήν τε τῶν πολεμικών ἄσκησιν ού τούτου χάριν δεῖ μελετᾶν, ἵνα καταδουλώσωνται τοὺς ἀναξίους, ἀλλ' ἵνα πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοὶ μὴ δουλεύσωσιν έτέροις, έπειτα δπως ζητῶσι τὴν ήγεμονίαν τῆς ώΦελείας ἔνεκα τῶν ἀρχομένων, ἀλλὰ μὴ πάντων δε- 1334 σποτείας τρίτον δε το δεσπόζειν τῶν ἀξίων δουλεύειν. ὅτι 22 δε δεῖ τὸν νομοθέτην μᾶλλον σπουδάζειν ὅπως καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰ πολεμικά καὶ τὴν ἄλλην νομοθεσίαν τοῦ σχολάζειν ένεκεν τάξη καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, μαρτυρεῖ τὰ γιγνόμενα τοῖς λόγοις. αί γὰρ πλεῖσται τῶν τοιούτων πόλεων πολεμοῦσαι μὲν σώζονται, κατακτησάμεναι δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπόλλυνται. τὴν γὰρ κρατεῖν Bekker.

καρτερείν] I read, instead of κρατείν, which Reiske saw the difficulty of, and wished to leave it out. παρτερείν agrees well with II. IX. 6. Βουλόμενος την πόλιν είναι καρτερικήν, whereas κρατείν jars with αρχειν. 'He trained them to endurance, with a view to their getting sway over their neighbours.'

20 δηλον γάρ] 'For it is clear that if this end is a right one, it will hold good for the individual citizen.'

δπερ εγκαλοῦσιν] 'The very thing which the Lacedæmonians blame in Pausanias.' 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.

πολιτικός] 'consistent with a free constitution.'

21 ταῦτά] is superfluous, or καὶ 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. ἡ πολεμικὴ φύσει κτητική πως ξσται, κ.τ.λ.

22 κατακτησάμεναι] Comp. II. IX. 34. Grote, II. 550.

The ob-

βαφήν άφιασιν, ωσπερ ο σίδηρος, ελρήνην άγοντες. αἴτιος jects or education. δ' ὁ νομοθέτης οὐ παιδεύσας δύνασθαι σχολάζειν.

Έπει δε το αυτό τέλος είναι Φαίνεται και κοινή και ιδία The true τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ὅρον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τῷ τε end of life. άρίστω άνδρι και τη άρίστη πολιτεία, Φανερον ότι δει τάς είς την σχολην άρετας ύπάρχειν τέλος γάρ, ώσπερ είρηται 2 πολλάκις, εἰρήνη μεν πολέμου, σχολή δ' ἀσχολίας. χρήσιμοι δε τῶν ἀρετῶν εἰσὶ πρὸς τὴν σχολὴν καὶ διαγωγήν, ών τε έν τη σχολή τὸ ἔργον καὶ ὧν έν τῆ ἀσχολία. δεῖ γάρ πολλά τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὑπάρχειν, ὅπως ἐξῆ σχολάζειν. διὸ σώφρονα την πόλιν είναι προσήκει και άνδρείαν καὶ καρτερικήν κατά γάρ την παροιμίαν, οὐ σχολη δούλοις, οἱ δε μη δυνάμενοι κινδυνεύειν άνδρείως δοῦλοι τῶν ἐπιόντων 3 εἰσίν. ἀνδρίας μεν οὖν καὶ καρτερίας δεῖ πρὸς τὴν ἀσχολίαν, Φιλοσοφίας δὲ πρὸς τὴν σχολήν, σωφροσύνης δὲ καὶ δικαιοσύνης εν άμφοτέροις τοῖς χρόνοις, καὶ μᾶλλον εἰρήνην άγουσι καὶ σχολάζουσιν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πόλεμος άναγκάζει δικαίους είναι καὶ σωφρονείν, ή δὲ τῆς εὐτυχίας ἀπόλαυσις 4 καλ τὸ σχολάζειν μετ' εἰρήνης ὑβριστὰς ποιεῖ μᾶλλον. πολλης οὖν δεῖ δικαιοσύνης καὶ πολλης σωφροσύνης τοὺς ἄριστα, δοκοῦντας πράττειν καὶ πάντων τῶν μακαριζομένων ἀπολαύοντας, οίον εί τινές είσιν, ώσπερ οί ποιηταί Φασιν, έν μακάρων νήσοις · μάλιστα γαρ οὖτοι δεήσονται ΦιλοσοΦίας

καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης, δσφ μάλλον σχολάζουσιν 5 εν άφθονία των τοιούτων άγαθων. διότι μεν ουν την μέλλουσαν εύδαιμονήσειν καὶ σπουδαίαν ἔσεσθαι πόλιν τούτων

βαφήν] 'They lose their temper.' οὐ παιδεύσας] 'because he never trained them.'

XV. Ι τον αυτον δρον] 'The same characteristics.'

ύπαρχειν] ΒC. τῆ πόλει.

For, to enjoy leisure, you must secure certain requisites.'



^{2 &#}x27;None of the virtues are useless. Some may be more especially those of the active life; others, those of the contemplative, but all are needed.

³ φιλοσοφίας] 'intellectual cultivation.' The σοφία of Aristotle, φρόmois of Plato; both are included under the term.

⁴ πάντων των μακαριζομένων] 'all things that in the judgment of men are the constituents of happiness.'

⁵ διότι, κ.τ.λ.] This and the next section, as far as aperis, are paren-

δει των άρετων μετέχειν, Φανερόν. αἰσχροῦ γὰρ ὅντος μὴ The true. δύνασθαι χρήσθαι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, ἔτι μᾶλλον μὴ δύνασθαι ἐν education. τῶ σχολάζειν χρῆσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀσχολοῦντας μεν καὶ πολεμοῦντας Φαίνεσθαι άγαθούς, εἰρήνην δ' άγοντας καὶ σχολάζοντας άνδραποδώδεις. διὸ δεῖ μὴ καθάπερ ή Λακεδαιμονίων πόλις 6 την άρετην άσκεῖν. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ οὐ ταύτη διαφέρουσι τῶν ἄλλων, τῷ μὴ νομίζειν ταὐτὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις μέγιστα τῶν 1334 Β άγαθῶν, ἀλλὰ τῷ γενέσθαι ταῦτα μᾶλλον διά τινος άρετῆς. Ἐπεὶ δὲ μείζω τε ἀγαθὰ ταῦτα, καὶ τὴν ἀπόλαυσινί την τούτων ή την των άρετων, και δτι δι' αὐτήν, Φανερον έκ τούτων, πῶς δὲ καὶ διὰ τἶνων ἔσται, τοῦτο δὴ θεωρητέον. τυγγάνομεν δη διηρημένοι πρότερον δτι Φύσεως καὶ έθους καὶ λόγου δεῖ. τούτων δὲ ποίους μέν τινας εἶναι χρὴ τὴν The order Φύσιν, διώρισται πρότερον, λοιπον δε θεωρησαι πότερον served in παιδευτέοι τῷ λόγῳ πρότερον ἡ τοῖς ἔθεσιν. ταῦτα γὰρ δεῖ πρὸς ἄλληλα συμφωνεῖν συμφωνίαν τὴν ἀρίστην : ἐνδέχεται γάρ διημαρτημέναι καὶ τὸν λόγον τῆς βελτίστης ὑποθέσεως, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐθῶν ὁμοίως ἦχθαι. Φανερὸν δὴ τοῦτό 8 γε πρώτον μέν, καθάπερ εν τοῖς ἄλλοις, ώς ή γένεσις ἀπ'

thetical. Sibri may be either 'why' or 'that,' the latter more probably.

τῶν ἀρετῶν] ες. τῶν ἡθικῶν.

ανδραποδώδεις] In illustration of this compare Eth. 1. 3. 3, p. 1095, b. ΙΟ, οί πολλοί παντελώς ανδραποδώδεις φαίνονται βοσκημάτων βίον προαιρούμενοι, 'like slaves brutish in their pleasures.'

6 τῷ μὴ νομίζειν] 'by their having a different standard from others.' γενέσθαι depends on νομίζειν.

διά τινος άρετης] 'by a definite virtue.' Their error is as to the virtue.

μείζω τε άγαθά ταῦτα] Βς. είναι φανερόν. By ταῦτα are meant τὰ μακαριζόμενα, of § 4. ή απόλαυσις της εύτυχίας, και το σχολάζειν μετ' είρη-צקדע.

των άρετων] again των ήθικων, or τῶν πρὸς ἀσχολίαν καὶ πόλεμον.

δι' αύτην] better than αὐτην, 'and that it is self-dependent.'

πω̂s δέ] the apodosis.

7 τούτων] 'With regard to these.' πρότερον] It is only a question of priority, not of the exclusion of either.

γάρ] 'for they must harmonise, &c.' ἐνδέχεται γάρ] 'for it is possible that even the reason may have gone wrong, and not formed a right conception of the true primary idea of life, and yet that the man may have been trained by habits as well as if the reason had not so erred.' This is one sense, but I am not sure that it is the right one. Stahr thinks it means, that man may be led astray by his reason as well as by his train-

8 ή γένεσις, κ.τ.λ.] 'The birth of

The order to be obeducation.

άρχῆς ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ τέλος ἀπό τινος ἀρχῆς ἄλλου τέλους. served in ὁ δὲ λόγος ἡμῖν καὶ ὁ νοῦς τῆς Φύσεως τέλος. Εστε πρὸς τούτους την γένεσιν και την των έθων δει παρωκευάζειν 9 μελέτην. ἔπειτα ωσπερ ψυχή καλ σῶμα δύ ἐστίν, οῦτω καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ὁρῶμεν δύο μέρη, τό τε ἄλογον καὶ τὸ λόγον έχον, και τας έξεις τας τούτων δύο τον αριθμόν, ών το μέν έστιν ὄρεξις τὸ δὲ νοῦς. ὥσπερ δὲ τὸ σῶμα πρότερον τῆ γενέσει της ψυχης, ούτω καὶ τὸ ἄλογον τοῦ λόγον ἔγοντος. το Φανερον δε και τοῦτο θυμός γάρ και βούλησις, ετι δε επιθυμία καὶ γενομένοις εὐθὺς ὑπάρχει τοῖς παιδίοις, ὁ δὲ λογισμός και ό νοῦς προϊοῦσιν έγγίνεσθαι πέφυκεν. διό πρῶτον μεν τοῦ σώματος την επιμέλειαν άναγκαῖον είναι προτέραν ή την της ψυχης, έπειτα την της δρέξεως, ένεκα μέντοι τοῦ νοῦ τὴν τῆς ὀρέξεως, τὴν δὲ τοῦ σώματος τῆς ψυχης.

16

Είπερ οὖν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὸν νομοθέτην ὁρᾶν δεῖ ὅπως βέλ-Marriage. τιστα τὰ σώματα γένηται τῶν τρεφομένων, πρῶτον μὲν επιμελητέον περί την σύζευξιν, πότε και ποίους τινάς όντας 2 γρη ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς άλλήλους την γαμικήν όμιλίαν. δεῖ δ' άποβλέποντα νομοθετείν ταύτην την κοινωνίαν πρός αὐτούς τε καὶ τὸν τοῦ ζην χρόνον, ἵνα συγκαταβαίνωσι ταῖς ήλικίαις έπι τον αύτον καιρον και μη διαφωνώσιν αι δυνάμεις τοῦ μὲν ἔτι δυναμένου γεννᾶν τῆς δὲ μὴ δυναμένης, ἡ ταύτης μέν τοῦ δ' ἀνδρὸς μή· ταῦτα γὰρ ποιεῖ καὶ στάσεις πρὸς

> the child is not the first step in the process.' $\partial \pi'$ $\partial \rho \chi \hat{\eta} s$ $\partial \sigma \tau l$, 'It is the end from a given beginning, and is itself the beginning of another end.' But the language is obscure.

> δ δè λόγος] 'Now in the nature of man the ultimate end of all is his reason and his intellect. then are the ultimate end, all must be subservient to them, the mere natural birth itself and the moral discipline, την μελέτην τῶν ἐθῶν.

9 δρεξις, κ.τ.λ.] Eth. VI. 2. I2, p. 1139, 18.

XVI. I ἀπ' ἀρχῆs] 'From the beginning,' as alluded to in xv. 8. It is the marriage of the parents.

2 συγκαταβαίνωσι] 'may come down together,' 'in their ages there may be no disproportion,' "dans un rapport convenable," St. Hil.



τδ ἄλογον] = $\dot{η}$ δρεξις. τοῦ λόγον $\xi_{\chi o \nu \tau o s} = \tau o \hat{v} \nu o \hat{v}$

^{10.} καλ γενομένοις εύθύς] 'immediately after their birth.'

άλλήλους καὶ διαφοράς. ἔπειτα καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν τέκνων Marriage. διαδοχήν. δεί γαρ ούτε λίαν ύπολείπεσθαι ταις ήλικίαις 3 τὰ τέχν. τῶν πατέρων (ἀνόνητος γὰρ τοῖς μὲν πρεσβυτέροις ή χάρις παρά τῶν τέκνων, ή δὲ παρά τῶν πατέρων βοήθεια 1335 τοῖς τέχνοις), οὖτε λίαν πάρεγγυς εἶναι. πολλὴν γὰρ ἔχει δυσχέρειαν ή τε γαρ αίδως ήττον υπάρχει τοῖς τοιούτοις ώσπερ ήλικιώταις, καὶ περὶ τὴν οἰκονομίαν ἐγκληματικὸν τὸ πάρεγγυς. ἔτι δ', όθεν άρχόμενοι δεῦρο μετέβημεν, όπως 4 τὰ σώματα τῶν γεννωμένων ὑπάρχη πρὸς τὴν τοῦ νομοθέτου βούλησιν. σχεδον δή πάντα ταῦτα συμβαίνει κατά μίαν έπιμέλειαν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὧρισται τέλος τῆς γεννήσεως ὡς ἐπὶς τὸ πλεῖστον εἰπεῖν ἀνδράσι μὲν ὁ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα ἐτῶν άριθμός ἔσχατος, πεντήκοντα δὲ γυναιξίν, δεῖ τὴν άρχὴν τῆς συζεύξεως κατά την ήλικίαν είς τους χρόνους καταβαίνειν τούτους. ἔστι δ' δ τῶν νέων συνδυασμός Φαῦλος πρός 6 τεχνοποιίαν εν γάρ πᾶσι ζώοις ἀτελη τὰ τῶν νέων ἔγγονα καὶ θηλυτόκα μᾶλλον καὶ μικρά τὴν μορφήν, ὧστ' ἀναγκαΐον ταύτο τοῦτο συμβαίνειν και ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. τεχμήριον δέ εν δσαις γάρ τῶν πόλεων ἐπιχωριάζεται τὸ νέους συζευγνύναι καὶ νέας, άτελεῖς καὶ μικροὶ τὰ σώματά είσιν. ἔτι δὲ ἐν τοῖς τόκοις αἱ νέαι πονοῦσί τε μᾶλλον 7 καλ διαφθείρονται πλείους διό καλ τον χρησμόν γενέσθαι τινές φασι διά τοιαύτην αίτίαν τοῖς Τροιζηνίοις, ώς πολλῶν διαφθειρομένων διά τὸ γαμίσκεσθαι τὰς νεωτέρας, άλλ' οὐ

διαδοχήν] 'the succession of the children.'

³ ἡ χάρις παρὰ τῶν τέκνων] 'The natural pleasures which children give.'

περί την οἰκονομίαν] 'In the management of the family very great nearness in point of age gives a great opening for disputes.'

⁴ ὁπάρχη] 'may be ready for,' Ch. IV, III.

 $[\]sigma_{\chi\epsilon\delta\delta\nu}$ $\delta\eta$] 'It is quite possible then to secure all these objects by one and the same care.'

^{5 ‰}ρισται] 'is limited.'

καταβαίνειν] 'to be regulated upon, to be made to adapt itself to.'

⁶ εγγονα] This is Bekker's reading, yet in § 16 it is εκγονα. "The fruit of the womb."

δοτ' ἀναγκαῖον] He rests very confidently on the argument from other animals. The question is one which entirely concerns us as animals.

ἐπιχωριάζεται] 'it is a prevailing custom.'

⁷ τον χρησμόν] μη τέμνε νεάν άλοκα. So St. Hilaire gives it in his note. Comp. Grote 11. 510.

Marriage. πρός την του καρτού κομιδήν. Ετι δε καί πρός σωφροε αρμό απότες εκιρίαεις κοιεία βαι κόεα βοιείδαιδ. σχολαστότεραι γάρ είναι δοκούσι νέαι χρησάμεναι ταϊς συνουσίαις. καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀρρένων δὲ σώματα βλάπτεσθαι δοκεῖ πρός την αύξησι», έλν έτι του σώματος αύξανομένου ποιώνται την συνουσίαν και γάρ τούτου τις ώρισμένος ο χρόνος, ον ουχ υπερθαίνει πληθύον έτι. διό τάς μέν άρμόττει περί την του έκτοκαίδεκα έτου ήλικίαν συζευγνύναι, τους δ' έπτα και τριάκοντα, ή μικρόν έν τοσούτω γάρ ακμάζουσί τε τοις σώμασι σύζευξις έσται, και πρός τήν παθλαν της τεκνοπωίας συγκαταβήσεται τοίς γρόνοις το εύχαίρος. Ετι δε ή διαδογή των τέχνων τοῖς μεν άρχομένης έσται της άχμης, έὰν γίγνηται κατά λόγον εύθὺς ή γένεσις. τοῖς δὲ ἤὸη καταλελυμένης τῆς ἡλικίας πρὸς τὸν τῶν έβδομήχοντα έτου αριθμόν. Περί μέν ούν του πότε δεί ποιείσθαι την σύζευξιν, εξεηται, τοις δε περί την ώραν χρόνοις ος οι πολλοί χρώνται καλώς και νύν, ορίσαντες χειμώνος ιι την συναυλίαν ποιείσθει ταύτην. δεί δή και αύτους ήδη θεωρείν πρός την τεκνοποιίαν τά τε παρά των ιατρών λεγόμενα καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν Φυσικῶν οι τε γὰρ ἰατροὶ τοὺς 1335 Β. Χαιρούς τῶν σωμάτων ἱχανῶς λέγουσι, καὶ περὶ τῶν πνευμάτων οι φυσικοί, τὰ βόρεια τῶν νοτίων ἐπαινοῦντες μᾶλ-

> 8 τὰς ἐκδόσεις ποιείσθαι] Plato de Legg. 924, D. την ἐκδοσιν ποιήται.

> βλάπτεσθαι πρὸς την αβξησιν] 'injured for growth.'

τούτου] ες. τοῦ αὐξάνεσθαι.

 $\delta \nu$ $\sigma \delta \chi$, $\kappa.\tau.\lambda$.] 'beyond which the body does not continue to grow.'

9 Plato de Rep. v. 460, E, names 20 as the woman's prime, 30 as the man's.

 $4\pi\tau d$] Spengel wishes to read $\pi \epsilon r r r$, p. 9, note II. The reason is that 35 is 7×5 . But if Aristotle married himself at 37 (and it could not have been earlier), it might account 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 τοις μέν] ες. τοις τέκνοις.

dρχομένης τῆς duμῆς] 'at the beginning of their prime,' set. 30.

τοῦς δέ] τοῦς γονεῦσι, 'when their age is now already in its decline,' "stricken in years."

συναυλίαν] An odd use of the word, though the connection of this meaning with its commoner one of 'duet,' 'concert,' may be traced easily.

11 These minute regulations point to the much greater attention paid to the sound bodily condition by the Greeks than by modern nations.

Ποίων δέ τινων τῶν σωμάτων ὑπαρχόντων μάλιστα Marriage. όφελος είη τοῖς γεννωμένοις, ἐπιστήσασι μὲν μᾶλλον λεκτέον τε ζ έν τοῖς περὶ τῆς παιδονομίας, τύπω δὲ ἱκανὸν εἰπεῖν καὶ νῦν. οὖτε γὰρ ή τῶν ἀθλητῶν χρήσιμος έξις πρὸς πολιτικὴν εύεξίαν ούδε πρός ύγίειαν και τεκνοποιίαν, ούτε ή θεραπευτική καὶ κακοπονητική λίαν, άλλ' ή μέση τούτων. πεπονη- 13 μένην μεν οδν έχειν δεί την έξιν, πεπονημένην δε πόνοις μή βιαίοις, μηδε πρός ένα μόνον, ώσπερ ή των άθλητων έξις, άλλα πρός τας των έλευθερίων πράξεις. όμοίως δε δεῖ ταῦτα ὑπάρχειν ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξίν. χρὴ δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐγ- 14 χύους ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν σωμάτων, μὴ ῥαθυμούσας μηδ ζ άραιᾶ τροφη χρωμένας. τοῦτο δὲ ῥάδιον τῷ νομοθέτη ποιησαι προστάξαντι καθ' ήμέραν τινά ποιείσθαι πορείαν πρὸς θεῶν ἀποθεραπείαν τῶν εἰληχότων τὴν περὶ τῆς γενέσεως τιμήν, την μέντοι διάνοιαν τούναντίον τῶν σωμάτων ραθυμοτέρως άρμόττει διάγειν άπολαύοντα γάρ Φαίνεται τὰ γενόμενα τῆς ἐγούσης ώσπερ καὶ τὰ Φυόμενα τῆς γῆς. Περί δε ἀποθέσεως καὶ τροφης τῶν γιγνομένων, ἔστω 15 νόμος μηδέν πεπηρωμένον τρέφειν, διά δὲ πληθος τέκνων, έὰν ή τάξις τῶν ἐθῶν κωλύη, μηδὲν ἀποτίθεσθαι τῶν γιγνομένων ωρισται γάρ δη της τεκνοποιίας το πληθος. ἐάν δέ

12 δφελος είη αν is required.

ἐπιστήσασι] Eth. vi. 13. 8, p. 1144, 22, λεκτέον δ' ἐπιστήσασι σαφέστερον περὶ αὐτῶν, 'we must concentrate more attention on the subject.'

εὐεξίαν πολιτικήν] 'in good state of body, such as the citizen requires it.'

θεραπευτική] 'requiring constant attention, and always suffering,' the invalid state.

13 πεπονημένην] 'strong by exertion.'

πρός ένα] sc. πόνον.

έλευθερίων] We should have expected έλευθέρων.

14 ἀραιᾶ] 'scanty food.
καθ' ἡμέραν, κ.τ.λ.] 'daily to take

a certain walk in discharge of the service due to the gods whose province it is to preside over birth.'

αποθεραπείαν] "a regular service,"
L. & S. I prefer the meaning given above. "Zur Vollziehung einer Gottesverehrung," Stahr.

άπολαύοντα] 'affected by.'

15 διὰ πληθος 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.'

δρισται γdρ] This is in explanation of καλύη. 'For in our own state there is fixed a limit to the production of children.' For the matter in ques-

Marriage. τισι γίγνηται παρά ταῦτα συνδυασθέντων, πρὶν αἴσθησιν έγγενέσθαι καὶ ζωήν, ἐμποιεῖσθαι δεῖ τὴν ἄμβλωσιν τὸ γὰρ όσιον καὶ τὸ μὴ διωρισμένον τῆ αἰσθήσει καὶ τῷ ζῆν ἔσται. 16 Έπει δ' ή μεν άρχη της ήλικίας άνδρι και γυναικί διώρισται, πότε ἄρχεσθαι χρη της συζεύξεως, και πόσον χρόνον λειτουργείν άρμόττει πρός τεκνοποιίαν ωρίσθω τα γάρ των πρεσβυτέρων έχγονα, καθάπερ τὰ τῶν νεωτέρων, ἀτελη γίνεται καὶ τοῖς σώμασι καὶ ταῖς διανοίαις, τὰ δὲ τῶν γεγη-17 ρακότων ἀσθενή. διό κατά την της διανοίας ἀκμήν αυτη δ' έστλν έν τοῖς πλείστοις ήνπερ τῶν ποιητῶν τινὲς εἰρήκασιν οἱ μετρούντες ταῖς ἐβδομάσι τὴν ἡλικίαν, περὶ τὸν γρόνον τὸν τῶν πεντήκοντα ἐτῶν. Εστε τέτταρσιν ἡ πέντε έτεσιν ύπερβάλλοντα την ήλικίαν ταύτην άφεῖσθαι δεῖ τῆς είς το Φανερον γεννήσεως το δε λοιπον ύγιείας χάριν ή τινος άλλης τοιαύτης αἰτίας Φαίνεσθαι δεῖ ποιουμένους τὴν 18 δμιλίαν. περί δὲ τῆς πρὸς ἄλλην ἡ πρὸς ἄλλον, ἔστω μὲν άπλως μη καλὸν άπτόμενον Φαίνεσθαι μηδαμή μηδαμως. όταν η και προσαγορευθή πόσις, περί δὲ τὸν χρόνον τὸν τῆς τεχνοποιίας ἐάν τις Φαίνηται τοιοῦτόν τι δρῶν, ἀτιμία 1336 ζημιούσθω πρεπούση πρός την άμαρτίαν.

Early

Γενομένων δὲ τῶν τέκνων οἴεσθαι μεγάλην εἶναι διαφορὰν education.
17 πρός την των σωμάτων δύναμιν την τροφήν, όποία τις αν ή. Φαίνεται δε διά τε των άλλων ζώων επισκοπούσι, καλ διά τῶν ἐθνῶν οἶς ἐπιμελές ἐστιν εἰσάγειν τὴν πολεμικὴν έξιν, ή τοῦ γάλακτος πληθύουσα τροφή μάλιστ' οἰκεία 2 τοῖς σώμασιν : ἀοινοτέρα δὲ διὰ τὰ νοσήματα. ἔτι δὲ καὶ κινήσεις δσας ενδέχεται ποιείσθαι τηλικούτων συμφέρει. πρὸς δὲ τὸ μὴ διαστρέφεσθαι τὰ μέλη δι άπαλότητα χρώνται καὶ νῦν ἔνια τῶν ἐθνῶν ὀργάνοις τισὶ μηχανικοῖς, α

tion compare Plato, De Rep. v. 460, c. who agrees with Aristotle.

¹⁷ του χρόνον του τών πεντήκοντα] Compare Rhet. 11. 14, p. 1390, b. 11, where forty-nine is the age fixed on. 7

¹⁸ περί δέ της] sc. δμιλίας.

XVII. Ι οἴεσθαι] sc. δεί.

ols ἐπιμελέs] ' to whom it is a great

ἀοινοτέρα] 'the less wine the better,' a precept far too much neglected at

² τηλικούτων] 'when quite young.'

Early education

τὸ σῶμα ποιεῖ τῶν τοιούτων ἀστραβές. συμφέρει δ' εὐθὺς καί πρός τὰ ψύχη συνεθίζειν ἐκ μικρῶν παίδων τοῦτο γὰρ καί πρός ύγίειαν και πρός πολεμικάς πράξεις εύχρηστότατον. διό παρά πολλοῖς ἐστὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἔθος τοῖς 3 μέν είς ποταμόν αποβαπτειν τα γιγνόμενα ψυχρόν, τοῖς δὲ σκέπασμα μικρὸν ἀμπίσχειν, οίον Κελτοῖς. πάντα γὰρ δσα δυνατόν εθίζειν, εύθυς άρχομένων βέλτιον μεν εθίζειν, έκ προσαγωγής δ' έθίζειν. εύφυής δ' ή τῶν παίδων έξις διὰ θερμότητα πρὸς τὴν τῶν ψυγρῶν ἄσκησιν. οὖν τὴν πρώτην συμφέρει ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοιαύτην τε καὶ τὴν ταύτη παραπλησίαν τὴν δ' ἐχομένην ταύτης ήλικίαν μέχρι πέντε έτων, ήν ούτε πω πρός μάθησιν καλώς έχει προσάγειν οὐδεμίαν οὖτε πρὸς ἀναγκαίους πόνους, όπως μη την αύξησιν έμποδίζωσιν, δεϊ τοσαύτης τυγχάνειν κινήσεως ώστε διαφεύγειν την άργίαν των σωμάτων ήν χρη παρασκευάζειν καὶ δι' άλλων πράξεων καὶ διὰ τῆς παιδιᾶς. δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὰς παιδιὰς είναι μήτε ἀνελευθέρους μήτε ἐπι-ς πόνους μήτε άνειμένας. καὶ περὶ λόγων δὲ καὶ μύθων, ποίους τινάς ακούειν δεί τους τηλικούτους, επιμελές έστω τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ους καλοῦσι παιδονόμους. πάντα γὰρ δεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα προοδοποιέῖν πρὸς τὰς ὕστερον διατριβάς. διὸ τὰς παιδιὰς είναι δεῖ τὰς πολλὰς μιμήσεις τῶν ὕστερον σπουδαζομένων. τὰς δὲ διατάσεις τῶν παίδων καὶ κλαυθ-6 μούς ούκ όρθως άπαγορεύουσιν οί κωλύοντες έν τοῖς νόμοις. συμφέρουσι γάρ πρός αύξησιν. γίνεται γάρ τρόπον τινά γυμνασία τοῖς σώμασιν ή γὰρ τοῦ πνεύματος κάθεξις ποιεῖ την ίσχυν τοῖς πονοῦσιν, ὁ συμβαίνει καὶ τοῖς παιδίοις

[·] ἀρχομένφ Bekker.

³ ἀρχομένων] Stahr adopts this reading, and it seems an improvement on Bekker's ἀρχομένφ.

εὐφυήs] 'is naturally adapted for this training.'

⁴ την πρώτην] sc. ήλικίαν.

àναγκαίους] 'compulsory.'

την αργίαν τών σωμάτων] 'a lazy

habit of body.'

אין sc. הלציחסוי.

⁵ aveimévas] 'uncontrolled.'

προοδοποιείν] 'prepare the way for,' II. IX. II.

⁶ διατάσεις] 'stretchings,' 'exertions.'

èν τοις νόμοις] de Legg. VII. 792.

Is the edu- μεθέξουσι, δεῖ σκέψασθαι τὸν νομοθέτην. εἴρηται δὲ πρόthe same τερον περί αὐτοῦ. ἡ γὰρ Φύσις δέδωκε τὴν αἵρεσιν, ποιήfor all the tor all the citizens? σασα αύτῷ τῷ γένει ταὐτὸν τὸ μεν νεώτερον τὸ δὲ πρεσβύς τερον, ὧν τοῖς μεν ἄρχεσθαι πρέπει, τοῖς δ' ἄρχειν. άγανακτεί δε ούδεις καθ ήλικίαν άρχόμενος, ούδε νομίζει είναι κρείττων, άλλως τε καὶ μέλλων άντιλαμβάνειν τοῦτον τὸν 6 έρανον, δταν τύχη της ίκνουμένης ήλικίας. ἔστι μὲν ἄρα ως τους αυτους άρχειν και άρχεσθαι φατέον, έστι δε ως έτέ-1333 ρους. ωστε και την παιδείαν έστιν ως την αυτην άναγκαῖον, έστι δ' ώς ετέραν είναι. τόν τε γάρ μέλλοντα καλῶς ἄρχειν άρχθηναί φασι δεῖν πρῶτον. ἔστι δ' άρχή, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις εἴρηται λόγοις, ἡ μὲν τοῦ ἄρχοντος χάριν, ἡ 7 δε τοῦ ἀρχομένου. τούτων δε την μεν δεσποτικήν είναί Φαμεν, την δε των ελευθέρων. διαφέρει δ' ένια των επι- 💛 ταττομένων οὐ τοῖς ἔργοις ἀλλὰ τῷ τίνος ἔνεκα. διὸ πολλὰ τῶν είναι δοκούντων διακονικῶν ἔργων καὶ τῶν νέων τοῖς έλευθέροις καλόν διακονείν πρός γάρ το καλόν καὶ το μή καλον ούχ ούτω διαφέρουσιν αι πράξεις καθ' αυτάς ώς έν τῷ 🚱 8. τέλει καὶ τῷ τίνος Ενεκεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολίτου καὶ ἄρχοντος την αύτην άρετην είναι Φαμεν και τοῦ άριστου άνδρός, τὸν education. δ' αὐτὸν ἀρχόμενόν τε δεῖν γίγνεσθαι πρότερον καὶ ἄργοντα υστερον, τοῦτ' αν είη τῷ νομοθέτη πραγματευτέον, όπως άνδρες άγαθοί γίγνονται, και διά τίνων έπιτηδευ-9 μάτων, καλ τί τὸ τέλος τῆς ἀρίστης ζωῆς. διήρηται δὲ δύο • γίγνωνται Bekker.

5 αὐτῷ τῷ γένει ταὐτόν] ' that which is in kind the same.'

καθ' ἡλικίαν] 'on the ground of age.' ἀντιλαμβάνειν] 'to have this privilege in his turn, when he shall have reached the proper age.' Ερανον is used in a very general sense.

7 οὐ τοῖς ἔργοις, κ.τ.λ.] 'not in what is done, but in the object for which it is done.'

 $\kappa \alpha l \ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \ \nu \ell \omega \nu, \ \kappa.\tau.\lambda.$ 'even to the young freeman.'

έν τῷ τέλει] ὁρίζεται τῷ τέλει γὰρ ἔκαστον, Εἰλ. III. 10, 6, p. 1115, 6, 22. 8 ἐπεὶ δέ, κ.τ.λ.] This is discussed at considerable length in III. IV. πολίτου καὶ ἄρχοντος 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 identical.' πολίτου καὶ ἄρχοντος answers to the τινος πολίτου of III. IV. 9.

öπως γίγνονται] I adopt this reading in preference to Bekker's 'how good citizens are formed,' with an interrogative sense, that is, and to a final one.

9 διήρηται] Eth. 1. xiii. p. 1102; vi. ii. p. 1139 A.

μέρη της ψυχης, ών τὸ μέν ἔχει λόγον καθ' αὐτό, τὸ δ' οὐκ The obέχει μεν καθ αύτό, λόγω δ' ύπακούειν δυνάμενον· ών Φαμεν education. τὰς ἀρετὰς είναι καθ' ᾶς ἀνηρ ἀγαθὸς λέγεταί πως. των δ' ἐν ποτέρω μάλλον τὸ τέλος, τοῖς μὲν οὕτω διαιροῦσιν ώς ήμεῖς Φαμέν οὐκ ἄδηλον πῶς λεκτέον. αἰεὶ γὰρ τὸ γεῖ- 10 ρον τοῦ βελτίονός ἐστιν ἔνεκεν, καὶ τοῦτο Φανερὸν ὁμοίως ἔν τε τοῖς κατὰ τέχνην καὶ τοῖς κατὰ Φύσιν, βέλτιον δὲ τὸ λόγον έχον διήρηταί τε διχή, καθ δνπερ εἰώθαμεν τρόπον διαιρείν δ μέν γαρ πρακτικός έστι λόγος δ δε θεωρητικός. ώσαύτως οὖν ἀνάγκη διηρῆσθαι καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος δῆλον 11 ότι, καὶ τὰς πράξεις δ' ἀνάλογον ἐροῦμεν ἔχειν, καὶ δεῖ τὰς τοῦ Φύσει βελτίονος αίρετωτέρας είναι τοῖς δυναμένοις τυγχάνειν ή πασων ή τοῖν δυοῖν αἰεὶ γὰρ έκάστω τοῦθ αἰρετώτατον, οὖ τυχεῖν ἔστιν ἀκροτάτου. διήρηται δὲ καὶ πᾶς 12 ό βίος είς ἀσχολίαν καὶ είς σχολήν καὶ πόλεμον καὶ είρηνην, καλ τῶν πρακτῶν τὰ μὲν εἰς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα καλ χρήσιμα τὰ δὲ είς τα καλά. περί ὧν ἀνάγκη τὴν αὐτὴν αἵρεσιν είναι καὶ 13 τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς μέρεσι καὶ ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτῶν, πόλεμον μεν είρήνης χάριν, ἀσχολίαν δε σχολής, τὰ δ' ἀναγκαῖα καὶ χρήσιμα τῶν καλῶν ἔνεκεν. πρὸς πάντα μέν τοίνυν τῷ πολιτικώ βλέποντι νομοθετητέον, καὶ κατά τὰ μέρη τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ κατὰ τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ πρὸς τὰ βελτίω και τὰ τέλη. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον και περί τοὺς 14 βίους καὶ τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων διαιρέσεις δεῖ μὲν γὰρ ἀσχο-

δυνάμενον] should be δύναται. There is a similar inaccuracy in I. v. 9.

¹⁰ διήρηται] sc. δ λόγος. 'The reason,' not 'the rational part,' τὸ λόγον ἔχον.

^{11 &}amp; oatres] 'To correspond with this division then must the part evidently be divided, and the actions of either division will admit of a corresponding division again.'

[†] πασῶν ἡ τοῦν δυοῦν] Is the meaning: 'The actions of the higher part are more to be chosen by those who have it in their power to do so, than the actions of all the parts of our na-

ture, or of the two parts concerned in moral action,' the συνθετόν of Είλ. x. 7, 8, p. 1177, b. 28? Does he mean that we ought, if we can, exclusively to cultivate the highest part, to the entire exclusion, that is, of the lower? It is very difficult; yet this would give a sense.

¹² xal xas] 'a further division is that of all life, &c.'

καὶ τῶν πρακτῶν] carelessly stated.
τὰ πρακτά, τὰ μὲν ἀναγκαῖα καὶ χρήσιμα, τὰ δὲ καλά.

¹³ alperir] equivalent to dialperir.

λείν δύνασθαι καλ πολεμείν, μάλλον δ' εἰρήνην άγειν καλ The ob-Justa of education. σχολάζειν· καὶ τάναγκαῖα καὶ τὰ χρήσιμα δὲ πράττειν, τὰ δε καλά δει μάλλον. ώστε πρός τούτους τούς σκοπούς καί ιιιη μπαϊδας έτι όντας παιδευτέον και τας άλλας ήλικίας, δσαι ις δέονται παιδείας. οἱ δὲ νῦν ἄριστα δοχοῦντες πολιτεύεσθαι των Έλλήνων, και των νομοθετών οι ταύτας καταστήσαντες τας πολιτείας, ούτε πρός το βέλτιον τέλος Φαίνονται συν-. τάξαντες τὰ περί τὰς πολιτείας οὖτε πρὸς πάσας τὰς ἀρετάς τους νόμους και την παιδείαν, άλλα Φορτικώς απέκλιναν πρός τας χρησίμους είναι δοκούσας και πλεονεκτικωτέρας. ιο παραπλησίως δε τούτοις και των υστερόν τινες γραψάντων άπεφήναντο την αύτην δόξαν έπαινούντες γάρ την Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείαν άγανται τοῦ νομοθέτου τὸν σχοπόν, ὅτι πάντα πρός το κρατείν και πρός πόλεμον ενομοθέτησεν ά καί κατά τὸν λόγον ἐστίν εὐέλεγκτα καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐξε-17 λήλεγκται νύν. ώσπερ γάρ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ζητοῦσι τὸ πολλῶν δεσπόζειν, ὅτι πολλή χορηγία γίγνεται τῶν εὐτυγημάτων, οὕτω καὶ Θίβρων ἀγάμενος Φαίνεται τὸν τῶν Λακώνων νομοθέτην, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστος τῶν γραφύντων περί πολιτείας αὐτῶν, ὅτι διὰ τὸ γεγυμνάσθαι ιε πρός τους κινδύνους πολλών ήρχον. καίτοι δήλον ώς έπειδή νῦν γε οὐκέτι ὑπάρχει τοῖς Λάκωσι τὸ ἄρχειν, οὐκ εὐδαίμονες, οὐδ ὁ νομοθέτης ἀγαθός. ἔστι δε τοῦτο γελοῖον, εἰ μένοντες εν τοῖς νόμοις αὐτοῦ, καὶ μηδενὸς εμποδίζοντος πρὸς τὸ χρησθαι τοῖς νόμοις, ἀποβεβλήκασι τὸ ζην καλῶς. 19 ούκ όρθως δ' ύπολαμβάνουσιν ούδε περί της άρχης ην • τῶν Bekker. tτι Bekker.

> 15 φορτικώς] 'assez peu noblement,' St. Hil. 'in a low and vulgar spirit.' πλεονεκτικωντέρας] 'the more grasp-

> 16 efeatharystas] 'have been thoroughly convicted now by experience.'

17 τῶν πολλῶν] I incline to the reading of one MS., τὸ πολλῶν.

πολλή χορηγία] 'a large supply of the goods of fortune.'

Θίβρων] unknown.

18 for 186] seems a better reading than fri. There is no new argument advanced.

μένοντες, κ.τ.λ.] 'though they remain constant to his laws, and though there is no hindrance to their obeying them.'

19 1, 5, 2. ἀεὶ βελτίων ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν βελτιόνων.

δεῖ τιμῶντα Φαίνεσθαι τὸν νομοθέτην· τοῦ γὰρ δεσποτικῶς άρχειν ή τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἀρχὴ καλλίων καὶ μᾶλλον μετ' ἀρε- education. της. έτι δ' ού διά τοῦτο δεῖ τὴν πόλιν εὐδαίμονα νομίζειν καὶ τὸν νομοθέτην ἐπαινεῖν, ὅτι καρτερεῖν» ἦσκησεν ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν πέλας ἄρχειν' ταῦτα γὰρ μεγάλην ἔχει βλάβην. δήλον γαρ ότι και των πολιτών τω δυναμένω τοῦτο πει- 20 ρατέον διώκειν, δπως δύνηται της οἰκείας πόλεως άρχειν: όπερ εγκαλούσιν οι Λάκωνες Παυσανία τῷ βασιλεῖ, καίπερ έχοντι τηλικαύτην τιμήν. ούτε δή πολιτικός τῶν τοιούτων λόγων καὶ νόμων οὐθεὶς οὕτε ώφέλιμος οὔτε άληθής ἐστιν. ταὐτὰ γὰρ ἄριστα καὶ ἰδία καὶ κοινῆ τὸν νομοθέτην ἐμ- 21 ποιείν δεί ταῦτα ταίς ψυχαίς τῶν ἀνθρώπων. τήν τε τῶν πολεμικών ἄσκησιν οὐ τούτου χάριν δεῖ μελετᾶν, ἵνα καταδουλώσωνται τοὺς άναξίους, άλλ' ἵνα πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοὶ μὴ δουλεύσωσιν ετέροις, επειτα δπως ζητῶσι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν της ώφελείας ένεκα των άρχομένων, άλλα μη πάντων δε- 1334 σποτείας τρίτον δε το δεσπόζειν τῶν ἀξίων δουλεύειν. ὅτι 22 δὲ δεῖ τὸν νομοθέτην μᾶλλον σπουδάζειν ὅπως καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰ πολεμικά καὶ τὴν ἄλλην νομοθεσίαν τοῦ σχολάζειν ένεκεν τάξη καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, μαρτυρεῖ τὰ γιγνόμενα τοῖς λόγοις: αί γαρ πλείσται των τοιούτων πόλεων πολεμούσαι μέν σώζονται,χαταχτησάμεναι δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν άπόλλυνται. τὴν γὰρ * κρατεῖν Bekker.

καρτερείν] I read, instead of κρατεῖν, which Reiske saw the difficulty of, and wished to leave it out. παρτερεῶν agrees well with II. IX. 6. Βουλόμενος την πόλιν είναι καρτερικήν, whereas κρατείν jars with αρχειν. 'He trained them to endurance, with a view to their getting sway over their neighbours.'

20 δηλον γdo] 'For it is clear that if this end is a right one, it will hold good for the individual citizen.'

δπερ εγκαλουσιν] 'The very thing which the Lacedæmonians blame in Pausanias.' 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.

πολιτικός] 'consistent with a free constitution.'

21 ταῦτά] is superfluous, or καὶ should be inserted after koury.

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. ή πολεμική φύσει κτητική πως ξσται, κ.τ.λ.

22 κατακτησάμεναι] Comp. II. IX. 34. Grote, 11. 550.

The ob-

βαφήν άφιασιν, ωσπερ ο σίδηρος, είρήνην άγοντες. αίτιος education. δ' δ νομοθέτης ου παιδεύσας δύνασθαι σχολάζειν.

Έπει δε το αυτό τέλος είναι Φαίνεται και κοινή και ιδία The true τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ὅρον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τῷ τε end of life. άρίστω άνδρι και τῆ άρίστη πολιτεία, Φανερον ὅτι δεῖ τὰς είς την σχολην άρετας υπάρχειν τέλος γάρ, ώσπερ είρηται πολλάκις, εἰρήνη μὲν πολέμου, σχολή δ ἀσχολίας. χρήσιμοι δε των άρετων είσι πρός την σχολήν και διαγωγήν, ων τε έν τη σχολή το έργον και ων έν τη άσχολία. γὰρ πολλὰ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὑπάρχειν, ὅπως ἐξῆ σχολάζειν. ΄ διὸ σώφρονα τὴν πόλιν είναι προσήκει και ἀνδρείαν καὶ καρτερικήν κατά γάρ την παροιμίαν, ού σχολη δούλοις, οί δε μή δυνάμενοι κινδυνεύειν άνδρείως δοῦλοι τῶν ἐπιόντων 3 είσίν. ἀνδρίας μεν οὖν καὶ καρτερίας δεῖ πρὸς τὴν ἀσχολίαν, Φιλοσοφίας δὲ πρὸς τὴν σχολήν, σωφροσύνης δὲ καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐν ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς χρόνοις, καὶ μᾶλλον εἰρήνην άγουσι καὶ σχολάζουσιν ὁ μὲν γὰρ πόλεμος άναγκάζει δικαίους είναι καὶ σωφρονείν, ή δὲ τῆς εὐτυχίας ἀπόλαυσις 4 καὶ τὸ σχολάζειν μετ' εἰρήνης ὑβριστὰς ποιεῖ μᾶλλον. πολλης οὖν δεῖ δικαιοσύνης καὶ πολλης σωφροσύνης τοὺς ἄριστα, δοκοῦντας πράττειν καὶ πάντων τῶν μακαριζομένων ἀπολαύοντας, οίον εί τινές είσιν, ώσπερ οί ποιηταί Φασιν, έν μακάρων νήσοις · μάλιστα γάρ οὖτοι δεήσονται ΦιλοσοΦίας καί σωφροσύνης καί δικαιοσύνης, δσφ μάλλον σχολάζουσιν 5 εν άφθονία των τοιούτων άγαθων. διότι μεν οθν την μέλλουσαν εύδαιμονήσειν καὶ σπουδαίαν ἔσεσθαι πόλιν τούτων

> βαψήν] 'They lose their temper.' οὐ παιδεύσας] 'because he never trained them.'

> XV. I τον αὐτον δρον] 'The same characteristics.'

ύπαρχειν] BC. τῆ πόλει.

For, to enjoy leisure, you must secure certain requisites.'



^{2 &#}x27;None of the virtues are useless. Some may be more especially the active life; others, those 'mplative, but all are needed.

³ φιλοσοφίας] 'intellectual cultivation.' The σοφία of Aristotle, φρόrησιs of Plato; both are included under the term.

⁴ πάντων τών μακαριζομένων] 'all things that in the judgment of men are the constituents of happiness.'

⁵ διότι, κ.τ.λ.] This and the next section, as far as aperis, are paren-

δει των άρετων μετέχειν, Φανερόν. αισχρού γαρ όντος μη The true. δύνασθαι χρησθαι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, ἔτι μᾶλλον μη δύνασθαι ἐν education. τῷ σχολάζειν χρῆσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀσχολοῦντας μὲν καὶ πολεμοῦντας Φαίνεσθαι άγαθούς, εἰρήνην δ' άγοντας καὶ σχολάζοντας ανδραποδώδεις. διό δεί μη καθάπερ η Λακεδαιμονίων πόλις 6 την άρετην άσκεῖν. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ οὐ ταύτη διαφέρουσι τῶν ἄλλων, τῷ μὴ νομίζειν ταὐτὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις μέγιστα τῶν 1334 Β άγαθῶν, άλλὰ τῷ γενέσθαι ταῦτα μᾶλλον διά τινος άρετης. Έπει δε μείζω τε άγαθά ταῦτα, και την ἀπόλαυσινη την τούτων η την των άρετων, και δτι δι' αὐτήν, Φανερον έκ τούτων, πῶς δὲ καὶ διὰ τἶνων ἔσται, τοῦτο δὴ θεωρητέον. τυγγάνομεν δή διηρημένοι πρότερον ότι φύσεως καλ έθους 7 καὶ λόγου δεῖ. τούτων δὲ ποίους μέν τινας εἶναι χρη την The order Φύσιν, διώρισται πρότερον, λοιπον δε θεωρήσαι πότερον served in παιδευτέοι τῷ λόγω πρότερον ἡ τοῖς ἔθεσιν. ταῦτα γὰρ education. δεῖ πρὸς ἄλληλα συμφωνεῖν συμφωνίαν τὴν ἀρίστην : ἐνδέχεται γάρ διημαρτηκέναι καὶ τὸν λόγον τῆς βελτίστης ὑποθέσεως, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐθῶν ὁμοίως ἦχθαι. Φανερὸν δὴ τοῦτό 8

γε πρώτον μέν, καθάπερ εν τοῖς ἄλλοις, ως ή γένεσις ἀπ'

thetical. διότι may be either 'why' or 'that,' the latter more probably.

τῶν ἀρετῶν] ες, τῶν ἡθικῶν.

ανδραποδώδεις] In illustration of this compare Eth. 1. 3. 3, p. 1095, b. 19, οί πολλοί παντελώς ανδραποδώδεις φαίνονται βοσκημάτων βίον προαιρούμενοι, 'like slaves brutish in their pleasures.'

6 τφ μη νομίζειν] 'by their having a different standard from others.' γενέσθαι depends on νομίζειν.

διά τινος άρετης] 'by a definite virtue.' Their error is as to the virtue.

μείζω τε άγαθὰ ταῦτα] ες. είναι φανερόν. By ταῦτα are meant τὰ μακαριζόμενα, of § 4. ή απόλαυσις της εὐτυχίας, και τὸ σχολάζειν μετ' εἰρή-צקדע.

τών άρετών] again τών ήθικών, or τών πρός ἀσχολίαν και πόλεμον.

δι' αὐτήν] better than αὐτήν, 'and that it is self-dependent.'

πωs δέ] the apodosis.

7 τούτων] 'With regard to these.' πρότερον] It is only a question of priority, not of the exclusion of either.

γάρ] 'for they must harmonise, &c.'

ἐνδέχεται γάρ] 'for it is possible that even the reason may have gone wrong, and not formed a right conception of the true primary idea of life, and yet that the man may have been trained by habits as well as if the reason had not so erred.' This is one sense, but I am not sure that it is the right one. Stahr thinks it means, that man may be led astray by his reason as well as by his train-

8 ή γένεσις, κ.τ.λ.] 'The birth of

The order to be obeducation.

άρχης ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ τέλος ἀπό τινος ἀρχης ἄλλου τέλους. served in ὁ δὲ λόγος ἡμῖν καὶ ὁ νοῦς τῆς Φύσεως τέλος. ὧστε πρὸς τούτους την γένεσιν και την των έθων δει παρωκευάζειν 9 μελέτην. ἔπειτα ώσπερ ψυχή καὶ σῶμα δύ ἐστίν, οῦτω καλ τῆς ψυχῆς ὁρῶμεν δύο μέρη, τό τε ἄλογον καλ τὸ λόγον έχου, και τὰς εξεις τὰς τούτων δύο τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὧν τὸ μέν έστιν δρεξις τὸ δὲ νοῦς. ὧσπερ δὲ τὸ σῶμα πρότερον τῆ γενέσει της ψυχης, ούτω καὶ τὸ ἄλογον τοῦ λόγον ἔγοντος. το Φανερον δε και τοῦτο θυμός γάρ και βούλησις, έτι δε έπιθυμία καὶ γενομένοις εύθυς υπάρχει τοῖς παιδίοις, ὁ δὲ λογισμός καὶ ὁ νοῦς προϊοῦσιν ἐγγίνεσθαι πέφυκεν. διὸ πρῶτον μεν τοῦ σώματος την επιμέλειαν άναγκαῖον είναι προτέραν ή την της ψυχης, ἔπειτα την της ορέξεως, ένεκα μέντοι τοῦ νοῦ τὴν τῆς ὀρέξεως, τὴν δὲ τοῦ σώματος τῆς ψυχης.

Н١

Είπερ οδν άπ' άρχης τον νομοθέτην δραν δει όπως βέλτιστα τὰ σώματα γένηται τῶν τρεφομένων, πρῶτον μὲν έπιμελητέον περί την σύζευξιν, πότε καλ ποίους τινάς όντας 2 χρη ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς άλλήλους την γαμικήν ὁμιλίαν. δεῖ δ' άποβλέποντα νομοθετείν ταύτην την κοινωνίαν πρός αὐτούς τε καὶ τὸν τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον, ἵνα συγκαταβαίνωσι ταῖς ήλικίαις έπλ τον αύτον καιρον καλ μή διαφωνώσιν αί δυνάμεις τοῦ μεν ἔτι δυναμένου γεννᾶν τῆς δε μὴ δυναμένης, ἡ ταύτης μέν τοῦ δ' ἀνδρὸς μή· ταῦτα γὰρ ποιεῖ καὶ στάσεις πρὸς

the child is not the first step in the process.' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐστί, 'It is the end from a given beginning, and is itself the beginning of another end.' But the language is obscure.

δ δè λόγος] 'Now in the nature of man the ultimate end of all is his reason and his intellect. As these then are the ultimate end, all must be subservient to them, the mere natural birth itself and the moral discipline,' την μελέτην τῶν ἐθῶν.

⁹ δρεξις, κ.τ.λ.] Eth. VI. 2. 12, p. 1139, 18.

τὸ ἄλογον] = ἡ ὅρεξις, τοῦ λόγον **ξχοντος** = τοῦ νοῦ.

^{10.} καλ γενομένοις εὐθύς] 'immediately after their birth.'

XVI. I ἀπ' ἀρχῆs] 'From the beginning,' as alluded to in xv. 8. It is the marriage of the parents.

² συγκαταβαίνωσι] 'may come down together,' 'in their ages there may be no disproportion,' "dans un rapport convenable," St. Hil.

άλλήλους καὶ διαφοράς. ἔπειτα καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν τέκνων Marriage. διαδοχήν. δεῖ γὰρ οὖτε λίαν ὑπολείπεσθαι ταῖς ἡλικίαις 3 τὰ τέχν.. τῶν πατέρων (ἀνόνητος γὰρ τοῖς μὲν πρεσβυτέροις ή χάρις παρά τῶν τέκνων, ή δὲ παρά τῶν πατέρων βοήθεια 1335 τοῖς τέκνοις), οὖτε λίαν πάρεγγυς εἶναι. πολλὴν γὰρ ἔχει δυσχέρειαν ή τε γαρ αίδως ήττον υπάρχει τοῖς τοιούτοις ώσπερ ήλικιώταις, και περί την οἰκονομίαν ἐγκληματικον τὸ πάρεγγυς. ἔτι δ', δθεν άρχόμενοι δεῦρο μετέβημεν, δπως 4 τὰ σώματα τῶν γεννωμένων ὑπάρχη πρὸς τὴν τοῦ νομοθέτου βούλησιν. σχεδὸν δή πάντα ταῦτα συμβαίνει κατὰ μίαν έπιμέλειαν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὥρισται τέλος τῆς γεννήσεως ὡς ἐπὶς τὸ πλεῖστον εἰπεῖν ἀνδράσι μὲν ὁ τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα ἐτῶν άριθμὸς ἔσχατος, πεντήκοντα δὲ γυναιξίν, δεῖ τὴν άρχὴν τῆς συζεύξεως κατά την ήλικίαν είς τους γρόνους καταβαίνειν τούτους. ἔστι δ' ὁ τῶν νέων συνδυασμός φαῦλος πρός 6 τεχνοποιίαν εν γάρ πάσι ζώοις άτελη τὰ τῶν νέων έγγονα καὶ θηλυτόκα μᾶλλον καὶ μικρά τὴν μορφήν, ὧστ' ἀναγκαΐον ταύτο τοῦτο συμβαίνειν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. τεχμήριον δέ εν δσαις γάρ τῶν πόλεων ἐπιχωριάζεται τὸ νέους συζευγνύναι καὶ νέας, άτελεῖς καὶ μικροὶ τὰ σώματά είσιν. ἔτι δὲ ἐν τοῖς τόχοις αἱ νέαι πονοῦσί τε μᾶλλον 7 καλ διαφθείρονται πλείους διό καλ τὸν χρησμόν γενέσθαι τινές φασι διά τοιαύτην αιτίαν τοῖς Τροιζηνίοις, ώς πολλών διαφθειρομένων διά τὸ γαμίσκεσθαι τὰς νεωτέρας, άλλ' οὐ

διαδοχήν] 'the succession of the children.'

³ ἡ χάρις παρὰ τῶν τέκνων] 'The natural pleasures which children give.'

περί την οἰκονομίαν] 'In the management of the family very great nearness in point of age gives a great opening for disputes.'

⁴ ὑπάρχη] 'may be ready for,' Ch. IV. III.

 $[\]sigma_{\chi} \in \delta b \nu \delta h$] 'It is quite possible then to secure all these objects by one and the same care.'

⁵ ωρισται] 'is limited.'

καταβαίνειν] 'to be regulated upon, to be made to adapt itself to.'

⁶ έγγονα] This is Bekker's reading, yet in § 16 it is έκγονα. "The fruit of the womb."

δοτ' ἀναγκαῖον] He rests very confidently on the argument from other animals. The question is one which entirely concerns us as animals.

έπιχωριάζεται] 'it is a prevailing custom.'

⁷ τον χρησμόν] μη τέμνε νεάν άλοκα. So St. Hilaire gives it in his note. Comp. Grote 11. 510.

Μαιτίας. πρός την του καρπούν κομιδήν. Ετι δε και πρός σολροη σύνην συμφέρει τας έκδόσεις ποιείσθαι πρεσβυτέραις άκολαστότιραι γάρ είναι δοχούσι νέαι χρησάμεναι ταίς συνυσίαις. και τὰ τῶν ἀρρένων δὲ σώματα βλάπτεσθαι δεκεῖ προς την αυξησιν, εάν έτι του σώματος αυξανομένου ποιώνται την συνουσίαν καὶ γάρ τούτου τις ώρισμένος υχρόνος, δυ ούχ ύπερβαίνει πληθύου έτι. διό τὰς μέν άρμηττει περί την των όκτωκαίδεκα έτων ήλικίαν συζευγνύναι, τοὺς δ' έπτα καὶ τριάκοντα, ή μικρόν εν τοσούτο γάρ άκμάζουσί τε τοῖς σώμασι σύζευξις έσται, καὶ πρὸς την παθλαν της τεκνοποιίας συγκαταβήσεται τοῖς χρόνας 10 cinalpms. Ττι δε ή διαδοχή των τέχνων τοῖς μεν άρχομένης έσται της άκμης, έὰν γίγνηται κατά λόγον εὐθὺς ή γένεσις, τοῖς δὶ ἤὸη καταλελυμένης της ήλικίας πρὸς τὸν τῶν έβδομήμοντα έταϊν άριθμόν. Περί μεν οὖν τοῦ πότε δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι την συζευξιν, είρηται, τοῖς δὲ περὶ την ώραν χρόνοις αίς οι πολλοί χρώνται καλώς καὶ νῦν, ὁρίσαντες χειμιώνος ιι την συναυλίαν ποιείσθαι ταύτην. δεί δή καὶ αύτους ήδη θεωρείν πρός την τεχνοποιίαν τά τε παρά των ιατρών λεγόμενα και τὰ παρὰ τῶν Φυσικῶν οι τε γὰρ ἰατροὶ τοὺς 1335 Β. καιρούς τών σωμάτων Ικανώς λέγουσι, καὶ περὶ τών πνευμάτων οι Φυσικοί, τὰ βόρεια τῶν νοτίων ἐπαινοῦντες μᾶλ-

8 rás éndóseis moicisbai] Pluto de Logg. 924, D. the Indoore moiñtai.

βλάπτεσθαι πρὸς την αδξησιν] 'injured for growth.'

TOUTOU BC. TOU abidresta.

δν οὸχ, κ.τ.λ.] 'beyond which the body does not continue to grow.'

9 Plato de Rep. v. 460, n, names 20 as the woman's prime, 30 as the man's.

 10 τοις μέν] ες. τοις τέκνοις.

åρχομένης της άκμης] 'at the beginning of their prime,' set. 30.

τοῖς δέ] τοῖς γονεῦσι, 'when their age is now already in its decline,' "stricken in years."

concert,' may be traced easily.

11 These minute regulations point to the much greater attention paid to the sound bodily condition by the Greeks than by modern nations.



notions in our own time. Even Plato's interval would be thought too great by many.

Ποίων δέ τινων τῶν σωμάτων ὑπαρχόντων μάλιστα Marriage. όφελος είη τοῖς γεννωμένοις, ἐπιστήσασι μὲν μᾶλλον λεκτέον τε ζ έν τοῖς περί τῆς παιδονομίας, τύπω δὲ ἰκανὸν εἰπεῖν καὶ νῦν. οὖτε γὰρ ή τῶν ἀθλητῶν χρήσιμος έξις πρὸς πολιτικὴν εὐεξίαν οὐδὲ πρὸς ὑγίειαν καὶ τεκνοποιίαν, οὖτε ή θεραπευτική καὶ κακοπονητική λίαν, άλλ' ή μέση τούτων. πεπονη- 13 μένην μεν οδυ έχειν δεί την έξιν, πεπονημένην δε πόνοις μή βιαίοις, μηδε προς ενα μόνον, ώσπερ ή των άθλητων έξις, άλλὰ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἐλευθερίων πράξεις. ὁμοίως δὲ δεῖ ταῦτα ὑπάρχειν ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξίν. χρη δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐγ- 14 χύους ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν σωμάτων, μὴ ῥαθυμούσας μηδ κ άραια τροφή χρωμένας. τοῦτο δὲ ράδιον τῶ νομοθέτη ποιήσαι προστάξαντι καθ' ήμέραν τινά ποιεῖσθαι πορείαν πρὸς θεῶν ἀποθεραπείαν τῶν εἰληχότων τὴν περὶ τῆς γενέσεως τιμήν. την μέντοι διάνοιαν τούναντίον τῶν σωμάτων ραθυμοτέρως άρμύττει διάγειν άπολαύοντα γάρ Φαίνεται τὰ γενόμενα τῆς ἐγούσης ὧσπερ καὶ τὰ Φυόμενα τῆς γῆς. Περί δὲ ἀποθέσεως καὶ τροφης τῶν γιγνομένων, ἔστω 15 νόμος μηδεν πεπηρωμένον τρέφειν, διά δε πλήθος τέκνων, έὰν ή τάξις τῶν ἐθῶν κωλύη, μηδὲν ἀποτίθεσθαι τῶν γιγνομένων ωρισται γάρ δη της τεκνοποιίας το πληθος. ἐάν δέ

12 δφελος είη] αν is required.

ἐπιστήσασι] Eth. vi. 13. 8, p. 1144, 22, λεκτέον δ' ἐπιστήσασι σαφέστερον περὶ αὐτῶν, 'we must concentrate more attention on the subject.'

ebellar πολιτικήν] 'in good state of body, such as the citizen requires it.'

θεραπευτική] 'requiring constant attention, and always suffering,' the invalid state.

13 πεπονημένην] 'strong by exertion.'

πρός ένα] ες, πόνον.

έλευθερίων] We should have expected έλευθέρων.

14 ἀραιᾶ] 'scanty food.
καθ' ἡμέραν, κ.τ.λ.] 'daily to take

a certain walk in discharge of the service due to the gods whose province it is to preside over birth.'

αποθεραπείαν] "a regular service,"
L. & S. I prefer the meaning given
above. "Zur Vollziehung einer
Gottesverehrung," Stahr.

άπολαύοντα] 'affected by.'

15 διὰ πληθος 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.'

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To by A.

O expensed to whom I be green Organi

www.repu the loss wine the hotten.

^{/ &}quot; nakwir wi 'when quite young."

Early Education

τὸ σῶμα ποιεῖ τῶν τοιούτων ἀστραβές. συμφέρει δ εὐθὺς καί πρός τὰ ψύχη συνεθίζειν ἐκ μικρῶν παίδων τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ πρὸς ὑγίειαν καὶ πρὸς πολεμικάς πράξεις εὐχρηστότατον. διὸ παρὰ πολλοῖς ἐστὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἔθος τοῖς 3 μέν είς ποταμόν άποβάπτειν τὰ γιγνόμενα ψυχρόν, τοῖς δὲ σκέπασμα μικρὸν ἀμπίσχειν, οίον Κελτοῖς. πάντα γὰρ όσα δυνατόν εθίζειν, εύθὺς άρχομένων βέλτιον μεν εθίζειν, έχ προσαγωγής δ' έθίζειν. εύφυής δ' ή τῶν παίδων έξις διὰ θερμότητα πρὸς τὴν τῶν ψυχρῶν ἄσκησιν. οὖν τὴν πρώτην συμφέρει ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοιαύτην τε καὶ τὴν ταύτη παραπλησίαν τὴν δ' ἐχομένην ταύτης ήλικίαν μέχρι πέντε έτων, ην ούτε πω π<u>ρ</u>ος <u>μ</u>άθη<u>σι</u>ν καλως έχει προσάγειν οὐδεμίαν οὕτε πρὸς άναγκαίους πόνους, όπως μη την αύξησιν έμποδίζωσιν, δεῖ τοσαύτης τυγχάνειν κινήσεως ώστε διαφεύγειν την άργίαν των σωμάτων ήν χρη παρασκευάζειν και δι' άλλων πράξεων και διά της παιδιάς. δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὰς παιδιὰς είναι μήτε ἀνελευθέρους μήτε ἐπι-ς πόνους μήτε άνειμένας. καὶ περὶ λόγων δὲ καὶ μύθων, ποίους τινάς άκούειν δεί τούς τηλικούτους, επιμελές έστω τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ους καλουσι παιδονόμους. πάντα γὰρ δεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα προοδοποιεῖν πρὸς τὰς ὖστερον διατριβάς. τὰς παιδιὰς είναι δεῖ τὰς πολλὰς μιμήσεις τῶν ὕστερον σπουδαζομένων. τὰς δὲ διατάσεις τῶν παίδων καὶ κλαυθ- 6 μούς ούκ όρθως άπαγορεύουσιν οί κωλύοντες έν τοῖς νόμοις. συμφέρουσι γάρ πρός αύξησιν. γίνεται γάρ τρόπον τινά γυμνασία τοῖς σώμασιν ή γὰρ τοῦ πνεύματος κάθεξις ποιεῖ την ίσχύν τοῖς πονοῦσιν, δ συμβαίνει καὶ τοῖς παιδίοις

habit of body.'

און אכ. אלציחסוי.

5 aveimévas] 'uncontrolled.'

προοδοποιείν] 'prepare the way for,'
II. IX. II.

6 διατάσεις] 'stretchings,' 'exertions.'

έν τοις νόμοις de Legg. VII. 792.

[·] ἀρχομένφ Bekker.

³ ἀρχομένων] Stahr adopts this reading, and it seems an improvement on Bekker's ἀρχομένφ.

ebowns] 'is naturally adapted for this training.'

⁴ την πρώτην] εc. ήλικίαν. ἀναγκαίους] 'compulsory.' την ἀργίαν τών σωμάτων] 'a lazy

Rarly διατεινομένοις. Έπισκεπτέον δὲ τοῖς παιδονόμοις την τούτων διαγωγήν τήν τ' άλλην, καὶ ὅπως ὅτι ἤκιστα μετὰ 1376 π δούλων έσται. ταύτην γάρ την ήλικίαν, καὶ μέγρι τών έπτα έτων, αναγκαῖον οίκοι την τροφην έχειν. εὐλογον οὖν άπελαύνειν άπὸ τῶν ἀκουσμάτων καὶ τῶν ὁραμ<mark>άτων ἀνε</mark>ε λευθερίας και τηλικούτους όντας. όλως μέν ουν αισχρολογίαν εκ της πόλεως, ώσπερ άλλο τι, δει τον νομοθέτην εξορίζειν (έχ τοῦ γὰρ εὐχερῶς λέγειν ότιοῦν τῶν αἰσχρῶν γίνεται και το ποιείν σύνεγγυς.) μάλιστα μεν ούν έκ τών 9 νέων, δπως μήτε λέγωσι μήτε ακούωσι μηδέν τοιοῦτον. έαν δέ τις Φαίνηταί τι λέγων ή πράττων των απηγορευμένων, τὸν μὲν ἐλεύθερον μήπω δὲ κατακλίσεως ήξιωμένον ἐν τοῖς συσσιτίοις ατιμίαις κολάζειν και πληγαίς, τον δε πρεσβύτερον της ηλικίας ταύτης ατιμίαις ανελευθέροις ανδραποδωδίας χάριν. έπεὶ δὲ τὸ λέγειν τι τῶν τοιούτων έξορίζομεν, Φανερον ότι και το θεωρείν ή γραφάς ή λόγους 10 ἀσχήμονας. ἐπιμελὲς μὲν οὖν ἔστω τοῖς ἄρχουσι μηθὲν μήτε άγαλμα μήτε γραφήν είναι τοιούτων πράξεων μίμησιν, εί μη παρά τισι θεοῖς τοιούτοις οῖς καὶ τὸν τωθασμὸν άποδίδωσιν ό νόμος πρός δε τούτοις άφίησιν ό νόμος τούς έχοντας ήλικίαν πλέον προήκουσαν καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ

> 7 την τούτων διαγωγήν] 'both the way in which they pass their time in general.'

ταύτη» γάρ] 'They must be with slaves in some degree, for at this age they must be at home.'

καl τηλικούτους] 'even at this tender age.'

8 δίσπερ δίλλο τ ι] the same expression occurs, VIII. (V.) viii. 2.

ἐκ τῶν νέων] 'away from the young,' he had said ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, and repeats the same proposition.

9 κατακλίσεως] 'a seat at the public mess.'

θεωρεῖν ή γραφάς ή λόγους ἀσχήμονας] Eur. Hipp. 1004, 5, Dind., quoted in illustration of this by Raoul Rochette, quoted in Stahr,

πλήν λόγφ κλύων γραφή τε λεύσσων.

10 τωθασμόν] 'jesting.'

πρός δέ 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, "an diesen erlaubt," u.s.w. This seems to me difficult with the dative. I think it is good sense if construed in its most natural sense, with an adverbial modification, 'in addition to this.' 'besides.' sides 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 the

τέχνων καὶ γυναικῶν τιμαλΦεῖν τοὺς θεούς. τοὺς δὲ νεωτέρους ουτ' ιάμβων ουτε κωμφδίας θεατάς νομοθετητέον, πριν education. η την ηλικίαν λάβωσιν εν ή καὶ κατακλίσεως ὑπάρξει κοινω- 11 νεῖν ἦδη καὶ μέθης καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων γιγνομένης βλάβης ἀπαθεῖς ή παιδεία ποιήσει πάντας. νῦν μέν οὖν 12 τούτων εν παραδρομή πεποιήμεθα τον λόγον υστερον δ' ἐπιστήσαντας δεῖ διορίσαι μᾶλλον, εἴτε μὴ δεῖ πρῶτον εἴτε δεῖ διαπορήσαντας, καὶ πῶς δεῖ κατὰ δὲ τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν ္ ႏုိင္ငံမိုνήσθημεν ως άναγκαῖον. Ισως γὰρ οὐ κακῶς ἔλεγε τὸ 13 τοιούτον Θεόδωρος δ της τραγωδίας ύποκριτής ούθενὶ γάρ πώποτε παρήκεν έαυτοῦ προεισάγειν, οὐδε τῶν εὐτελῶν ύποκριτῶν, ώς οἰκειουμένων τῶν θεατῶν ταῖς πρώταις ἀκοαῖς. συμβαίνει δε ταύτο τοῦτο και προς τας τῶν ἀνθρώπων όμιλίας καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων πάντα γὰρ στέργομεν τὰ πρῶτα μᾶλλον. διὸ δεῖ τοῖς νέοις πάντα ποιεῖν ξένα τὰ 14 Φαῦλα, μάλιστα δ' αὐτῶν ὅσα ἔχει ἡ μοχθηρίαν ἡ δυσμένειαν. διελθόντων δὲ τῶν πέντε ἐτῶν τὰ δύο μέχρι τῶν ἑπτὰ δεῖ θεωρούς ήδη γίγνεσθαι των μαθήσεων, ας δεήσει μανθάνειν αὐτούς. δύο δ' εἰσὶν ήλικίαι πρὸς άς ἀναγκαῖον διηρῆσθαι 15 την παιδείαν, μετά την άπο τῶν ἐπτὰ μέχρι ήβης καὶ πάλιν μετὰ τὴν ἀΦ' ήβης μέχρι τῶν ένὸς καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν. οί γάρ ταῖς έβδομάσι διαιρούντες τὰς ήλικίας τὸς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ λέγουσιν ού κακῶς, δεῖ δὲ τῆ διαιρέσει τῆς Φύσεως

καλώs Bekker.

Gods on behalf of themselves, their wives, and children.'

τιμαλφεῖν] L. and S. on this word quote it from Pindar and Æschylus, but state that it is rare in prose.

11 idµSov] an iambic poem, a lampoon, in this sense usually plural. L. and S. on this passage. Spengel, p. 9, note 11, remarks that somewhere or other in his work Aristotle must have expressed himself on the question, whether Homer and the tragedians should, as Plato wished, be banished from the state.

¹² ἐπιστήσαντας] above, Ch. XVI.

¹³ Theodorus, mentioned Demosth. Fals. Leg. 418.

ώs οἰκειουμένων, κ.τ.λ.] 'on the ground that the spectators adapted themselves,' &c. Compare Plato, Protagoras, 326, B.

¹⁴ μοχθηρίαν ἡ δυσμένειαν] 'vice or ill will.'

¹⁵ où kakûs] Such I agree with Spengel, p. 8, note 11, and with Muretus, Vol. 111. 76, ed. Ruhnken and Rhet. 11. 14, p. 1390, b. 10.

Early education.

ἐπακολουθεῖν πᾶσα γὰρ τέχνη καὶ παιδεία τὸ προσλεῖπον βούλεται τῆς Φύσεως ἀναπληροῦν. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν σκεπίτου εἰ ποιητέον τάξιν τινὰ περὶ τοὺς παῖδας, ἔπειτα πότερον συμφέρει κοινῆ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτῶν ἡ κατ τοιον τρόπον (ὁ γίνεται καὶ νῦν ἐν ταῖς πλείσταις τῶν πόλεων), τρίτον δὲ ποίαν τινὰ δεῖ ταύτην.

should be the reading. not καλῶs. 'For they who divide the ages of man's life by periods of seven years as a general rule are tolerably right, only it 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.

πάσα γὰρ τέχνη, κ.τ.λ.] Compare Eth. 1. iv. 15, p. 1097, 5, τὸ ἐνδεἐς ἐπιζητοῦσαι. '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, I. 341, II. E.

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? 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. is on the question of music that the issue may be taken. cussion that immediately follows we need not dwell on, as it is only a statement of the various difficulties and the subject is resumed 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-

The order to be ob: nerved in education,

άργης έστι και το τέλος από τινος άργης άλλου τέλους. δ δλ λόγος ήμιν και δ νούς της Φύσεως τέλος. Εστε πρός τούτους την γένεσιν και την των έθων δει παρω κευάζειν ο μελέτην. Επειτα ώσπερ ψυχή καὶ σῶμα δύ ἐστίν, ούτω καλ της ψυχης δρώμεν δύο μέρη, τό τε άλογον καλ το λόγον έχον, και τας έξεις τας τούτων δύο τον αριθμόν, ών το μέν έστιν δρεξις το δε νους. ώσπερ δε το σώμα πρότερον τή γενέσει της ψυχης, ούτω καὶ τὸ άλογον τοῦ λόγον ἔγοντος. ιο Φανερόν δε και τοῦτο θυμός γάρ και βούλησις, ἔτι δε έπιθυμία καλ γενομένοις εύθυς ύπάρχει τοῖς παιδίοις, ὁ δὲ λογισμός και δ νούς προϊούσιν έγγίνεσθαι πέφυκεν. διό πρώτον μεν του σώματος την επιμέλειαν άναγκαιον είναι προτέραν ή την της ψυχης, έπειτα την της ορέξεως, ένεκα μέντοι του νου την της ορέξεως, την δε του σώματος της VUYES.

Ι΄ Ιπερ οδν άπ' άρχης τον νομοθέτην όραν δει δπως βέλ-Μαιτίαμο. Τιστα τὰ σώματα γένηται τῶν τρεφομένων, πρῶτον μὲν έπιμελητέον περί την σύζευξιν, πότε και ποίους τινάς όντας • γρή ποιείσθαι πρός άλλήλους την γαμικήν όμιλίαν. δεί δ άποβλέποντα νομοθετείν ταύτην την κοινωνίαν πρός αὐτούς το και του τού ζην χρόνου, ίνα συγκαταβαίνωσι ταῖς ήλιμίαις ίπ) του αύτου καιρού και μη διαφωνώσιν αι δυνάμεις τού μεν έτι δυναμένου γεννάν της δε μή δυναμένης, ή ταύτης μον τού δ' άνδρος μή ταῦτα γάρ ποιεί και στάσεις προς

> the child is not the first step in the pressure, An' Apythe darl, 'It is the and from a given beginning, and is Healf the beginning of another end." But the language is obscure.

A As Advant ' Now in the nature of man the ultimate end of all is his As these enneun and his intellect. then are the ultimate end, all must be sules rejoid to them, the more natural theth itself and the moral discipline, the mondage the thor.

13 Sporter, NO.A | KIA. 41. 2. 19, p. 1110, 14

2 συγκαταβαίνωσι] 'may come down together,' 'in their ages there may be no disproportion,' "dans un rapport convenable," St. Hil.

τδ $δλογον] = <math>\dot{η}$ δρεξιs. του λόγον $I_{\chi o r \tau o s} = \tau o \hat{v} r o \hat{v}$.

^{10.} καὶ γενομένοις εὐθύς] 'immediately after their birth.'

XVI. I ἀπ' ἀρχῆs] 'From the beginning,' as alluded to in xv. 8. It is the marriage of the parents.

άλλήλους καὶ διαφοράς. ἔπειτα καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν τέκνων Marriage. διαδοχήν. δεῖ γὰρ οὖτε λίαν ὑπολείπεσθαι ταῖς ἡλικίαις 3 τὰ τέχν. τῶν πατέρων (ἀνόνητος γὰρ τοῖς μὲν πρεσβυτέροις ή χάρις παρά τῶν τέκνων, ή δὲ παρά τῶν πατέρων βοήθεια 1335 τοῖς τέχνοις), οὖτε λίαν πάρεγγυς εἶναι. πολλὴν γὰρ ἔχει δυσχέρειαν ή τε γάρ αιδώς ήττον ύπάρχει τοῖς τοιούτοις ώσπερ ήλικιώταις, καὶ περὶ τὴν οἰκονομίαν ἐγκληματικὸν τὸ πάρεγγυς. ἔτι δ', όθεν άργόμενοι δεῦρο μετέβημεν, ὅπως 4 τὰ σώματα τῶν γεννωμένων ὑπάρχη πρὸς τὴν τοῦ νομοθέτου βούλησιν. σχεδόν δή πάντα ταῦτα συμβαίνει κατά μίαν έπιμέλειαν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὧρισται τέλος τῆς γεννήσεως ὡς ἐπὶς τὸ πλεῖστον εἰπεῖν ἀνδράσι μὲν ὁ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα ἐτῶν άριθμός ἔσχατος, πεντήκοντα δὲ γυναιξίν, δεῖ τὴν άρχὴν τῆς συζεύξεως κατά την ηλικίαν είς τους χρόνους καταβαίνειν τούτους. ἔστι δ' δ τῶν νέων συνδυασμός Φαῦλος πρός 6 τεχνοποιίαν εν γάρ πασι ζώοις άτελη τα των νέων έγγονα καὶ θηλυτόκα μᾶλλον καὶ μικρά την μορφήν, ώστ' άναγκαῖον ταὐτὸ τοῦτο συμβαίνειν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. τεχμήριον δέ εν δσαις γάρ τῶν πόλεων ἐπιγωριάζεται τὸ νέους συζευγνύναι καὶ νέας, άτελεῖς καὶ μικροὶ τὰ σώματά είσιν. έτι δε εν τοῖς τόχοις αι νέαι πονοῦσί τε μᾶλλον 7 καλ διαφθείρονται πλείους διό καλ τον χρησμόν γενέσθαι τινές Φασι διά τοιαύτην αἰτίαν τοῖς Τροιζηνίοις, ώς πολλῶν διαφθειρομένων διά τὸ γαμίσκεσθαι τὰς νεωτέρας, άλλ' οὐ

διαδοχήν] 'the succession of the

³ ἡ χάρις παρὰ τῶν τέκνων] 'The natural pleasures which children give.'

περί την οἰκονομίαν] 'In the management of the family very great nearness in point of age gives a great opening for disputes.'

⁴ ὁπάρχη] 'may be ready for,' Ch. IV. III.

 $[\]sigma_{\chi} \in \delta \lambda r \delta h$] 'It is quite possible then to secure all these objects by one and the same care.'

⁵ Spiorai] 'is limited.'

καταβαίνειν] 'to be regulated upon, to be made to adapt itself to.'

⁶ έγγονα] This is Bekker's reading, yet in § 16 it is ἔκγονα. "The fruit of the womb."

δοτ' ἀναγκαῖον] He rests very confidently on the argument from other animals. The question is one which entirely concerns us as animals.

ἐπιχωριάζεται] 'it is a prevailing custom.'

⁷ τον χρησμόν] μη τέμνε νεαν άλοκα. So St. Hilaire gives it in his note. Comp. Grote 11. 510.

Ματίακα, πρής την τών καρπών κομιδήν. Ετι δε καί πρός σωφροο σύνην συμφέρει τας έκδόσεις ποιείσθαι πρεσβυτέραις ακολαστότεραι γάρ είναι δοκούσι νέαι χρησάμεναι ταϊς συνουσίαις. και τὰ τῶν ἀρρένων δὲ σώματα βλάπτεσθαι δοκεῖ πρλις την αυξησιν, έαν έτι του σώματος αυξανομένου πηιώνται την συνουσίαν και γαρ τούτου τις ώρισμένος ο χρόνος, δυ ούχ ύπερβαίνει πληθύου έτι. διὸ τὰς μέν /μρμήττει περί την των όκτωκαίδεκα έτων ήλικίαν συζευγνύναι, τους δ' έπτα και τριάκοντα, ή μικρόν έν τοσούτω γάρ άκμάζουσί τε τοῖς σώμασι σύζευξις έσται, καὶ πρὸς τήν παϊλαν της τεκνοποιίας συγκαταβήσεται τοῖς χρόνας ια ειλικαίριας. Ιτι δε ή διαδοχή των τέκνων τοῖς μεν άρχομένης έπται της ακμης, εαν γίγνηται κατά λόγον εύθυς ή γένεσις, τοίς δε ήδη καταλελυμένης της ήλικίας πρός τον των έβδομήμηντα έτιην άριθμόν. Περί μεν ούν του πότε δει ποιείπίκι την σύζευξιν, είρηται, τοῖς δὲ περὶ την ώραν χρόνοις κόν οι πολλοί χρώνται καλώς και νύν, δρίσαντες χειμώνος ιι την συναυλίαν ποιείσθαι ταύτην. δεί δή και αύτους ήδη θοπρείν πρης την τεκνοποιίαν τά τε παρά των ιατρών λεγήμενα και τὰ παρά των Φυσικών οι τε γάρ ιατροί τους 1114 μ. καιρούς τούν σουμάτουν Ικανός λέγουσι, καὶ περὶ τῶν πνευμάτων οι Φυσικοί, τὰ βόρεια τῶν νοτίων ἐπαινοῦντες μᾶλ-

> 8 τάς έκδόσεις ποιείσθαι] Pluto de Lagy, 924, D. την έκδυσιν ποιήται.

> βλάπτεσθαι πρότ την αδξησιν] 'injured for growth.'

τούτου] Βο. τοῦ αὐξάνοσθαι.

bν ουχ, κ.τ.λ.] 'boyond which the body does not continue to grow.'

9 Plato de Rop. v. 460, n, names 20 as the woman's prime, 30 as the man's.

\$\frac{4\pi\tau}{\tau}\$. Spengel wishes to read \$\pi\epsilon\tau_{\tau}\$, p. 9, note 11. The reason is that 35 is 7×5 . But if Aristotle married himself at 37 (and it could not have been earlier), it might account 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 τοις μέν] Βα. τοις τέκνοις.

άρχομένης της ἀκμης] 'at the beginning of their prime,' æt. 30.

rois of rois yourgo, 'when their age is now already in its decline,' "stricken in years."

συναυλίαν] An odd use of the word, though the connection of this meaning with its commoner one of 'duet,' concert,' may be traced easily.

11 These minute regulations point to the much greater attention paid to the sound bodily condition by the Greeks than by modern nations.

Ποίων δέ τινων τῶν σωμάτων ὑπαρχόντων μάλιστα Marriage. όφελος είη τοῖς γεννωμένοις, ἐπιστήσασι μὲν μᾶλλον λεκτέον τε ζ έν τοῖς περὶ τῆς παιδονομίας, τύπω δὲ ἰκανὸν εἰπεῖν καὶ νῦν. οὖτε γὰρ ή τῶν ἀθλητῶν χρήσιμος έξις πρὸς πολιτικὴν εὐεξίαν οὐδὲ πρὸς ὑγίειαν καὶ τεκνοποιίαν, οὔτε ή θεραπευτική καὶ κακοπονητική λίαν, άλλ' ή μέση τούτων. πεπονη- 13 μένην μέν οὖν ἔγειν δεῖ τὴν έξιν, πεπονημένην δὲ πόνοις μὴ βιαίοις, μηδε προς ένα μόνον, ωσπερ ή των άθλητων έξις, άλλα πρός τας των έλευθερίων πράξεις. όμοίως δε δεῖ ταῦτα ὑπάρχειν ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξίν. χρὴ δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐγ- 14 κύους ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν σωμάτων, μὴ ῥαθυμούσας μηδ κ άραιᾶ τροφη χρωμένας. τοῦτο δὲ ῥάδιον τῷ νομοθέτη ποιήσαι προστάξαντι καθ' ήμέραν τινά ποιεῖσθαι πορείαν πρὸς θεῶν ἀποθεραπείαν τῶν εἰληχότων τὴν περὶ τῆς γενέσεως τιμήν. την μέντοι διάνοιαν τούναντίον τῶν σωμάτων ραθυμοτέρως άρμόττει διάγειν άπολαύοντα γάρ Φαίνεται τὰ γενόμενα τῆς ἐγούσης ὧσπερ καὶ τὰ Φυόμενα τῆς γῆς. Περί δε ἀποθέσεως καὶ τροφής τῶν γιγνομένων, ἔστω 15 νόμος μηδεν πεπηρωμένον τρέφειν, διά δε πλήθος τέχνων, έὰν ή τάξις τῶν ἐθῶν κωλύη, μηδὲν ἀποτίθεσθαι τῶν γιγνομένων ωρισται γάρ δη της τεκνοποιίας το πληθος. ἐὰν δέ

12 δφελος είη] αν is required.

ἐπιστήσασι] Eth. vi. 13. 8, p. 1144, 22, λεκτέον δ' ἐπιστήσασι σαφέστερον περὶ αὐτῶν, 'we must concentrate more attention on the subject.'

εὐεξίαν πολιτικήν] 'in good state of body, such as the citizen requires it.'

θεραπευτική] 'requiring constant attention, and always suffering,' the invalid state.

13 πεπονημένην] 'strong by exertion.'

πρός ένα] ες. πόνον.

έλευθερίων] We should have expected έλευθέρων.

14 ἀραιῆ] 'scanty food.
καθ' ἡμέραν, κ.τ.λ.] 'daily to take

a certain walk in discharge of the service due to the gods whose province it is to preside over birth.'

άποθεραπείαν] "a regular service,"

L. & S. I prefer the meaning given above. "Zur Vollziehung einer Gottesverehrung," Stahr.

ἀπολαύοντα] 'affected by.'

15 διὰ πληθος 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.'

Ερισται γdρ] This is in explanation of κωλύη. For in our own state there is fixed a limit to the production of children.' For the matter in ques-

Μετιλεκ. τισι γίγνηται παρά ταῦτα συνδυασθέντων, πρίν αἰσθησιν έγγενέσθαι καλ ζωήν, έμποιείσθαι δεί την άμβλωσιν το γάρ λσιον και τὸ μὴ διωρισμένον τῆ αἰσθήσει και τῷ ζῆν ἔσται. ιι Επεί δ' ή μεν άρχη της ηλικίας ανδρί και γυναικί διώρισται, πότε άρχεσθαι χρη της συζεύξεως, και πόσον χρόνον λειτουργείν άρμόττει πρός τεχνοποιίαν ώρίσθω τα γαρ των πρεσβυτέρων έχγονα, καθάπερ τὰ τῶν νεωτέρων, ἀτελη γίνεται καλ τοῖς σώμασι καλ ταῖς διανοίαις, τὰ δὲ τῶν γεγη-17 μακότων άσθενη. διό κατά την της διανοίας άκμην αυτη ό έστιν έν τοῖς πλείστοις ήνπερ τῶν ποιητῶν τινες εἰρήκασιν οι μετρούντες ταϊς έβδομάσι την ήλικίαν, περί τον χρίνου του τῶν πεντήκοντα ἐτῶν. ὧστε τέτταρσιν ἡ πέντε έτεσιν ύπερβάλλοντα την ηλικίαν ταύτην άφεῖσθαι δεῖ τῆς είς το Φανερον γεννήσεως το δε λοιπον ύγιείας χάριν ή τινος άλλης τοιαύτης αἰτίας φαίνεσθαι δεῖ ποιουμένους τὴν 18 δμιλίαν. περί δὲ τῆς πρὸς ἄλλην ἡ πρὸς ἄλλον, ἔστα μὲν άπλως μη καλὸν άπτόμενον Φαίνεσθαι μηδαμή μηδαμώς, ζταν ή και προσαγορευθή πόσις, περί δε τον χρόνον τον της τεκνοποιίας εάν τις Φαίνηται τοιοῦτόν τι δρών, ἀτιμία 1336 ζημιούσθω πρεπούση πρός την άμαρτίαν.

Early Γενομένων δε των τεκνων οιευσως με, ποροφήν, δποία τις αν 17 προς την των σωμάτων δύναμιν την τροφήν, δποία τις αν Γενομένων δε των τέχνων οἴεσθαι μεγάλην εἶναι διαφορὰν δια των έθνων οίς επιμελές εστιν είσαγειν την πολεμικήν έξιν, ή τοῦ γάλακτος πληθύουσα τροφή μάλιστ' οἰκεία 2 τοῖς σώμασιν : ἀοινοτέρα δὲ διὰ τὰ νοσήματα. ἔτι δὲ καὶ κινήσεις δσας ενδέχεται ποιεῖσθαι τηλικούτων συμφέρει. πρός δε το μη διαστρέφεσθαι τα μέλη δι' άπαλότητα γρώνται καὶ νῦν ἔνια τῶν ἐθνῶν ὀργάνοις τισὶ μηχανικοῖς, ά

tion compare Plato, De Rep. v. 460, c. who agrees with Aristotle.

¹⁷ του χρόνου του τών πεντήκοντα] Compare Rhet. 11. 14, p. 1390, b. 11, where forty-nine is the age fixed on. 7

¹⁸ περί δέ της sc. δμιλίας.

XVII. I οἴεσθαι] sc. δεῖ.

ols επιμελές] 'to whom it is a great object.'

ἀοινοτέρα] 'the less wine the better.' a precept far too much neglected at

² τηλικούτων] 'when quite young.'

Early education

τὸ σῶμα ποιεῖ τῶν τοιούτων ἀστραβές. συμφέρει δ εὐθὺς και πρός τὰ ψύχη συνεθίζειν ἐκ μικρῶν παίδων τοῦτο γὰρ καί πρός ύγίειαν καί πρός πολεμικάς πράξεις εύγρηστότατον. διὸ παρὰ πολλοῖς ἐστὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἔθος τοῖς 3 μέν είς ποταμόν ἀποβάπτειν τὰ γιγνόμενα ψυχρόν, τοῖς δε σκέπασμα μικρον άμπίσχειν, οίον Κελτοίς. πάντα γάρ όσα δυνατον εθίζειν, εύθυς άρχομένων βέλτιον μεν εθίζειν, έκ προσαγωγής δ' έθίζειν. εύφυής δ' ή τῶν παίδων έξις διὰ θερμότητα πρὸς τὴν τῶν ψυχρῶν ἄσκησιν. περὶ μὲν 4 οὖν τὴν πρώτην συμφέρει ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοιαύτην τε καὶ τὴν ταύτη παραπλησίαν τὴν δ' ἐχομένην ταύτης ήλικίαν μέχρι πέντε έτων, ην ούτε πω προς μάθησιν καλώς έχει προσάγειν οὐδεμίαν οὖτε πρὸς άναγκαίους πόνους. όπως μη την αύξησιν έμποδίζωσιν, δεί τοσαύτης τυγγάνειν κινήσεως ωστε διαφεύγειν την άργίαν των σωμάτων ήν χρή παρασκευάζειν και δι' άλλων πράξεων και διά της παιδιας. δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὰς παιδιὰς είναι μήτε ἀνελευθέρους μήτε ἐπι-ς πόνους μήτε άνειμένας. καὶ περὶ λόγων δὲ καὶ μύθων, ποίους τινάς ακούειν δεί τους τηλικούτους, επιμελές έστω τοῖς ἄρχουσιν οὓς καλοῦσι παιδονόμους. πάντα γὰρ δεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα προοδοποιεῖν πρὸς τὰς ὕστερον διατριβάς. διὸ τὰς παιδιὰς είναι δεῖ τὰς πολλὰς μιμήσεις τῶν ὖστερον σπουδαζομένων. τὰς δὲ διατάσεις τῶν παίδων καὶ κλαυθ- 6 μούς ούχ όρθως άπαγορεύουσιν οί χωλύοντες έν τοῖς νόμοις. συμφέρουσι γάρ πρός αυξησιν. γίνεται γάρ τρόπον τινά γυμνασία τοῖς σώμασιν ή γὰρ τοῦ πνεύματος κάθεξις ποιεῖ την Ισχύν τοῖς πονοῦσιν, ὁ συμβαίνει καὶ τοῖς παιδίοις

[·] ἀρχομένφ Bekker.

³ ἀρχομένων] Stahr adopts this reading, and it seems an improvement on Bekker's ἀρχομένω.

eiopuns] 'is naturally adapted for this training.'

⁴ την πρώτην] ες. ήλικίαν.

ἀναγκαίους] 'compulsory.'

την αργίαν των σωμάτων] 'a lazy

habit of body.'

אין sc. גלציחסוע.

⁵ aveiméras] 'uncontrolled.'

προοδοποιεῖν] 'prepare the way for,' II. ix. ii.

⁶ διατάσεις] 'stretchings,' 'exertions.'

ἐν τοις νόμοις] de Legg. ₹11. 792.

Early διατεινομένοις. Ἐπισκεπτέον δὲ τοῖς παιδονόμοις την education. - τούτων διαγωγήν τήν τ' ἄλλην, καὶ ὅπως ὅτι ἥκιστα μετὰ 1336 Β δούλων έσται. ταύτην γάρ την ηλικίαν, και μέχρι τῶν έπτα ἐτῶν, ἀναγκαῖον οἴκοι τὴν τροφὴν ἔχειν. εὕλογον οὖν άπελαύνειν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκουσμάτων καὶ τῶν ὁραμάτων ἀνε-8 λευθερίας καὶ τηλικούτους όντας. όλως μὲν οὖν αἰσχρολογίαν έκ της πόλεως, ώσπερ άλλο τι, δεί τον νομοθέτην έξορίζειν (έχ τοῦ γὰρ εὐχερῶς λέγειν ότιοῦν τῶν αἰσχρῶν γίνεται καὶ τὸ ποιεῖν σύνεγγυς.) μάλιστα μεν οὖν ἐκ τῶν 9 νέων, δπως μήτε λέγωσι μήτε άκούωσι μηδεν τοιοῦτον. δέ τις Φαίνηταί τι λέγων ή πράττων τῶν ἀπηγορευμένων, τὸν μὲν ἐλεύθερον μήπω δὲ κατακλίσεως ήξιωμένον ἐν τοῖς συσσιτίοις ατιμίαις κολάζειν και πληγαίς, τον δε πρεσβύτερον της ηλικίας ταύτης ατιμίαις ανελευθέροις ανδραποδωδίας χάριν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ λέγειν τι τῶν τοιούτων ἐξορίζομεν, Φανερον ότι και το θεωρείν ή γραφάς ή λόγους το άσχήμονας. ἐπιμελὲς μὲν οὖν ἔστω τοῖς ἄρχουσι μηθὲν μήτε άγαλμα μήτε γραφην είναι τοιούτων πράξεων μίμησιν, εὶ μὴ παρά τισι θεοῖς τοιούτοις οἶς καὶ τὸν τωθασμὸν άποδίδωσιν ο νόμος προς δε τούτοις άφίησιν ο νόμος τούς έχοντας ήλικίαν πλέον προήκουσαν καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ

7 την τούτων διαγωγήν] 'both the way in which they pass their time in general.'

ταύτην γάρ] 'They must be with slaves in some degree, for at this age they must be at home.'

καl τηλικούτους] 'even at this tender age.'

8 δοπερ άλλο τι] the same expression occurs, VIII. (V.) VIII. 2.

 $\ell \kappa$ τῶν νέων] 'away from the young,' he had said $\ell \kappa$ τῆς πόλεως, and repeats the same proposition.

9 κατακλίσεως] 'a seat at the public moss.'

θεωρεῖν ἡ γραφὰς ἡ λόγους ἀσχήμονας] Eur. Hipp. 1004, 5, Dind., quoted in illustration of this by Raoul Rochette, quoted in Stahr, πλην λόγφ κλύων γραφή τε λεύσσων.

10 τωθασμόν] '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, "an diesen erlaubt," u.s.w. This seems to me difficult with the dative. I think it is good sense if construed in its most natural sense, with an adverbial modification, 'in addition to this,' 'besides.' 'Be sides 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 the

τέχνων καὶ γυναικῶν τιμαλΦεῖν τοὺς θεούς. τοὺς δὲ νεωτέρους οὖτ' ἰάμβων οὖτε κωμωδίας θεατὰς νομοθετητέον, πρὶν education. ή την ηλικίαν λάβωσιν εν ή καὶ κατακλίσεως ὑπάρξει κοινω- 11 νεῖν ήδη καὶ μέθης καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων γιγνομένης βλάβης ἀπαθεῖς ή παιδεία ποιήσει πάντας. νῦν μεν οὖν 12 τούτων εν παραδρομή πεποιήμεθα τον λόγον υστερον δ' ἐπιστήσαντας δεῖ διορίσαι μᾶλλον, εἴτε μὴ δεῖ πρῶτον εἴτε δεῖ διαπορήσαντας, καὶ πῶς δεῖ κατὰ δὲ τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν το το το το κακώς έλεγε το το τοιούτον Θεόδωρος δ της τραγωδίας ύποκριτής ούθενὶ γάρ πώποτε παρήκεν έαυτοῦ προεισάγειν, οὐδὲ τῶν εὐτελῶν ύποκριτών, ως οἰκειουμένων των θεατών ταῖς πρώταις ἀκοαῖς. συμβαίνει δε ταύτο τοῦτο και προς τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων όμιλίας καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων: πάντα γὰρ στέργομεν τὰ πρῶτα μᾶλλον. διὸ δεῖ τοῖς νέοις πάντα ποιεῖν ξένα τὰ 14 Φαῦλα, μάλιστα δ' αὐτῶν ὅσα ἔχει ἡ μοχθηρίαν ἡ δυσμένειαν. διελθόντων δε τῶν πέντε ἐτῶν τὰ δύο μέχρι τῶν ἐπτὰ δεῖ θεωρούς ήδη γίγνεσθαι των μαθήσεων, ας δεήσει μανθάνειν αὐτούς. δύο δ' εἰσὶν ήλικίαι πρὸς ας ἀναγκαῖον διηρῆσθαι ις την παιδείαν, μετά την άπο των έπτα μέχρι ήβης καλ πάλιν μετὰ τὴν ἀΦ' ήβης μέχρι τῶν ένὸς καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν. οί γαρ ταῖς ἐβδομάσι διαιρούντες τὰς ήλικίας τὸς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ λέγουσιν ού κακῶς, δεῖ δὲ τῆ διαιρέσει τῆς Φύσεως

καλώς Bekker.

Gods on behalf of themselves, their wives, and children.'

τιμαλφεῖν] L. and S. on this word quote it from Pindar and Æschylus, but state that it is rare in prose.

11 ldµβων] an iambic poem, a lampoon, in this sense usually plural. L. and S. on this passage. Spengel, p. 9, note 11, remarks that somewhere or other in his work Aristotle must have expressed himself on the question, whether Homer and the tragedians should, as Plato wished, be banished from the state.

14 μοχθηρίαν ἡ δυσμένειαν] 'vice or ill will.'

15 οὐ κακῶς] Such I agree with Spengel, p. 8, note 11, and with Muretus, Vol. III. 76, ed. Ruhnken and Rhet. II. 14, p. 1390, b. 10,

¹² ἐπιστήσανταs] above, Ch. XVI.

¹³ Theodorus, mentioned Demosth. Fals. Leg. 418.

ώς οἰκειουμένων, κ.τ.λ.] 'on the ground that the spectators adapted themselves,' &c. Compare Plato, Protagoras, 326, B.

imely Muchian έπακολουθεῖν πᾶσα γὰρ τέχνη καὶ παιδεία τὸ προσλεῖπον βοιίλεται τῆς Φύσεως ἀναπληροῦν. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν σκεπτέον εἰ ποιητέον τάξιν τινὰ περὶ τοὺς παῖδας, ἔπειτα πότερον συμφέρει κοινῆ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτῶν ἡ κατ' ἔδιον τρόπον (ὁ γίνεται καὶ νῦν ἐν ταῖς πλείσταις τῶν πόλεων), τρίτον δὲ ποίαν τινὰ δεῖ ταύτην.

should be the reading, not sakes. For they who divide the ages of man's life by periods of seven years as a general rule are tolerably right, only it must not be pressed too strictly, but the division of nature herself must be fullowed, and she draws no rigid line in this case. The age of puberty is variable within certain limits, Carpenter, Massacl of Physiology, § 788.

when the views, x.v.k.] Compare

whom yelp very, κ.ν.λ.] Compare Eth. 1. iv. 15, p. 1097, 5, ve deficies duisantenas. 'Fur 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, I. 341, II. E.

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.

T 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? 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. is on the question of music that the issue may be taken. cussion that immediately follows we need not dwell on, as it is only a statement of the various difficulties and the subject is resumed 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 s 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 used 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. same consideration also applies to the question of the family. 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.

$\Pi O \Lambda I T I K \Omega N E. (\Theta.)$

Ετιμεπική ()ΤΙ μεν οὖν τῷ νομοθέτη μάλιστα πραγματευτέον περε τὴν τῷν νέων παιδείαν, οὐδεὶς αν ἀμφισβητήσειεν καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οὐ γιγνόμενον τοῦτο βλάπτει τὰς πολιτείας. δεῖ γὰρ πρὸς ἐκάστην πολιτεύεσθαι. τὸ γὰρ ἤθος τῆς πολιτείας ἐκάστης τὸ οἰκεῖον καὶ φυλάττειν εἴωθε τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ καθίστησιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, οἰον τὸ μὲν ὑημοκρατικὸν δημοκρατίαν, τὸ δ' ὀλιγαρχικὸν ὀλιγαρχίαν ἀεὶ ὸὲ τὸ βέλτιστον ἦθος βελτίονος αἴτιον πολιτείας. ἔτι οἱ πρὸς πάσας δυνάμεις καὶ τέχνας ἔστιν α δεῖ προπαιδεύεσθαι καὶ προεθίζεσθαι πρὸς τὰς ἐκάστων ἐργασίας, ε οῦτε δῆλον ὅτι καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῆς ἀρετῆς πράξεις. ἐπεὶ δ'

()f the three questions started at the end of the last book, the first, el wornτέον τάξιν τινα περί τούς παίδας, is answered in the first two sections of this book, and answered affirma-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. 11. 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 lengthened discussion of the point here would have been superfluous.

βέλτιστον] Spengel proposes βέλτιον, but the change is unnecessary; 'the best character in each case will have the effect in each case of ameliorating the constitution.'

πρός τὰς ἐκάστων ἐργασίας] ' for the performance of each,' ὰ γὰρ δεῖ μαθόντας ποιεῖν ταῦτα ποιοῦντες μανθάνομεν, Eth. II. i. 4. p. 1103, 32.

3 In sections 3 and 4, we have the answer to the second question, πότερον συμφέρει κοινῆ ποιεῖσθαι, κ.τ.λ.

I. 1 μάλιστα πραγματευτέω 'must of absolute necessity direct his attention.'

ου γιγνόμενον τοῦτο] 'The omission of this,' ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, 'in existing states,'

² το γορ (60s) And this cannot be without education, for education alone can form the character which is required in its citizens by each constitution.

εν τὸ τέλος τῆ πόλει πασῆ, Φανερὸν ὅτι καὶ τὴν παιδείαν Education μίαν καὶ την αύτην άναγκαῖον είναι πάντων καὶ ταύτης την question. έπιμέλειαν είναι κοινήν και μή κατ' ιδίαν, δν τρόπον νῦν ξκαστος επιμελεῖται τῶν αὐτοῦ τέκνων ζδία τε καὶ μάθησιν ίδίαν, ην αν δόξη, διδάσκων. δεῖ δὲ τῶν κοινῶν κοινην ποιεϊσθαι και την άσκησιν. άμα δε ούδε χρη νομίζειν 4 αύτον αύτοῦ τινὰ είναι τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλὰ πάντας τῆς πόλεως μόριον γαρ έκαστος της πόλεως. ή δ έπιμέλεια πέφυκεν έκάστου μορίου βλέπειν πρός την τοῦ ὅλου ἐπιμέλειαν. ἐπαινέσειε δ' αν τις κατὰ τοῦτο Λακεδαιμονίους· καὶ γὰρ πλείστην ποιούνται σπουδήν περὶ τοὺς παϊδας καὶ κοινή ταύτην. Οτι μεν ούν νομοθετητέον περί παιδείας 2 καὶ ταύτην κοινην ποιητέον, Φανερόν τίς δ' έστιν ή παιδεία, be taught. καὶ πῶς χρη παιδεύεσθαι, δεῖ μὴ λανθάνειν. νῦν γὰρ άμφισβητείται περί των έργων ου γάρ ταυτά πάντες ύπολαμβάνουσι δείν μανθάνειν τοὺς νέους οὖτε πρὸς ἀρετὴν · nal Bekker.

φανερόν, $\kappa.\tau.\lambda.$] 'The education must be one and the same, public, and not left, as it is now left, to individuals;' δν τρόπον connects closely with war islar. Compare Eth. x. x. p. 1179. By changing the stopping at diddoner, 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 aμa δέ, 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.

ή ἐπιμέλεια] Compare I. xIII. 15. καὶ τοῦτο] It is better to read κατὰ

τοῦτο, Sylburg's correction. The καλ makes no sense.

Λακεδαιμονίουs] "The Lacedæmonian 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. I περί των έργων] 'the things to be taught.' So Stahr, "die Gegenstände."

should

Existing οὖτε πρὸς τὸν βίον τὸν ἄριστον οὐδὲ Φανερὸν πότερον uncertainty an to what πρός την διάνοιαν πρέπει μαλλον ή πρός το της ψυχης be taught ήθος. Εκ τε της έμποδων παιδείας ταραχώδης ή σκέψις, καὶ and why. δήλον οὐδεν πότερον ἀσκεῖν δεῖ τὰ χρήσιμα πρὸς τὸν Βίον $_{1337}$ $_{\rm B}^{2}$ η τὰ τείνοντα πρὸς ἀρετην η τὰ περιττά \cdot πάντα γὰρ είληφε ταῦτα κριτάς τινας. περί τε τῶν πρὸς ἀρετην ούθεν εστιν όμολογούμενου καὶ γὰρ τὴν ἀρετὴν ού τὴν αύτην εύθυς πάντες τιμώσιν, ώστ' εύλόγως διαφέρονται καλ 3 πρός την ἄσκησιν αύτης. ὅτι μεν οὖν τὰ ἀναγκαῖα δεῖ διδάσκεσθαι τῶν χρησίμων, οὐκ ἄδηλον δτι δὲ οὐ πάντα. διηρημένων των τε έλευθέρων έργων καὶ των ανελευθέρων, Φανερον ότι των τοιούτων δεί μετέχειν όσα των χρησίμων 4 ποιήσει τὸν μετέχοντα μὴ βάναυσον. βάναυσον δ έργον

> πότερον πρός την διάνοιαν] 'ought education to aim at the cultivation of the intellect, or rather at the formation of the moral character?' The opposition between Sidvoia and Allos is the same as that Eth. 1. xiii. p. 1103, 5, and the question was discussed IV. xv. 9, IO.

2 έμποδών] '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 answer returned was a confused one. and must be so, as the actual education was not based on any well determined, 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.

τά περιττά] Eth. vi. vii. 5, p. 1141, b. 6, περιττά μέν και θαυμαστά και χαλεπά και δαιμόνια, 'res divinæ ac naturales,' Vict.; 'die höheren speculativen Wissenschaften,' Stahr. This seems the meaning ultimately, but the translation is not easy, for 'the higher branches of science' seems to lose tare proper sense of the word, which, in the mouths of those who use it with reference to education, has somewhat 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.

κριτάς είληφε] Metaph. I. viii. 89, a. 7. ed. Bonitz. 'auctores,' 'judgments in their favour.'

 $\pi \epsilon \rho i \ \tau \epsilon$, $\kappa. \tau. \lambda$.] 'and if we adopt the second object, and say that our education should tend to virtue, still there is no agreement.'

evers] 'for at the outset it is not the same virtue that all value.'

3 Compare I. vii. The clause 871 δὲ οὐ πάντα 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 Baravooi, III. v.

είναι δεῖ τοῦτο νομίζειν καὶ τέχνην ταύτην καὶ μάθησιν, Existing δσαι πρὸς τὰς χρήσεις καὶ τὰς πράξεις τὰς τῆς ἀρετῆς tainty as to άγρηστον ἀπεργάζονται τὸ σῶμα τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἢ τὴν should be ψυχην η την διάνοιαν. διὸ τάς τε τοιαύτας τέχνας όσαι and why? το σωμα παρασκευάζουσι χείρον διακείσθαι βαναύσους καλούμεν, και τὰς μισθαρνικὰς ἐργασίας ἄσγολον γὰρ ποιοῦσι τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ ταπεινήν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐλευθερίων επιστημών μέχρι μέν τινος ενίων μετέχειν ούκ άνελεύθερον, προσεδρεύειν δε λίαν πρός το έντελες ένοχον ταῖς εἰρημέναις βλάβαις. ἔχει δὲ πολλήν διαφοράν καὶ τὸ 6 τίνος γάριν πράττει τις ή μανθάνει αύτοῦ μὲν γὰρ χάριν η Φίλων η δι' άρετην ούκ άνελεύθερον, ο δε αύτο τοῦτο πράττων δι' άλλους πολλάκις θητικόν και δουλικόν δόξειεν αν πράττειν. Αι μεν οδυ καταβεβλημέναι νου μαθήσεις. καθάπερ ελέχθη πρότερου, επαμφοτερίζουσιν. τέτταρα σχεδον α παιδεύειν εἰώθασι, γράμματα καὶ γυμ- The four branches of ναστικήν καὶ μουσικήν καὶ τέταρτον ένιοι γραφικήν, τήν μεν γραμματικήν και γραφικήν ώς χρησίμους πρός του βίον education.

ς μισθαρνικάς ¿pyaolas] 'occupations à gages.' Compare I. xi. 3, 4, for μισθαρνία. The comparison of the two passages would seem to limit the expression here, as the French translation limits it, to the exclusion of the artizan class.

raweirhr] 'abject, servile.'

ξστι δὲ καί, κ.τ.λ.] 'and even in some of the sciences which freemen may know.'

μέχρι μέν τινος] 'though up to a certain point.'

προσεδρεύειν δέ] 'Yet to devote oneself too assiduously to them, with a view to attain perfection in them.'

6 Compare V. (VII.) xiv. 7. πολ-Adres Onruson] 'might well be thought to be doing a menial and servile thing.'

καταβεβλημέναι] 'in vogue, in use,' Eth. 1. iii. 8, p. 1096, 9, καίτοι πολλοί λόγοι πρός αὐτὰ καταβέβληνται.

ἐπαμφοτερίζουσιν] 'are susceptible of more than one interpretation,' IV. (VII.) xIII. 11.

III. I The fourfold division of Greek education. In the Republic, Book II., Plato gives only the twofold division with γυμναστική and μουσική. 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.

γράμματα] 'reading and writing,' the elements of letters.

γραφικήν] ' the arts of design-drawing.'

χρησίμους πρός τον βίον] 'as practically useful for the ordinary purposes of daily life, and available at every Why is learnt?

ούσας καὶ πολυγρήστους, τὴν δὲ γυμναστικὴν ώς συνof ordinary τείνουσαν πρός ανδρίαν. την δε μουσικήν ήδη διαπορήσειεν education. αν τις. νῦν μεν γάρ ως ήδονης χάριν οι πλείστοι μετέχουσιν αύτης οί δ' εξ άρχης έταξαν έν παιδεία διά το την Φύσιν αὐτὴν ζητεῖν, ὅπερ πολλάκις εἴρηται, μὴ μόνον ἀσχολεῖν ὀρθῶς ἀλλὰ καὶ σχολάζειν δύνασθαι καλῶς · αὕτη 3 γαρ άργη πάντων, ίνα και πάλιν είπωμεν περί αυτής. εί γαρ αμφω μεν δεί, μαλλον δε αίρετον το σχολάζειν της άσγολίας, καὶ όλως ζητητέον τί ποιοῦντας δεῖ σχολάζειν. ού γάρ δή παίζοντας τέλος γάρ άναγκαῖον είναι τοῦ βίου 4 την παιδιάν ήμιν. εί δε τουτο άδύνατον, και μάλλον έν ταις ασχολίαις χρηστέον ταις παιδιαίς (ὁ γαρ πονών δείται της άναπαύσεως, ή δε παιδιά χάριν άναπαύσεώς έστιν το δ άσγολείν συμβαίνει μετά πόνου καὶ συντονίας), διά τουτο δεί παιδιάς εἰσάγεσθαι καιροφυλακτούντας την

> is ownelrowar] 'as an element in the formation of courage,' so necessary for the Greek citizen.

> THE BE MONDERAY 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 νῶν μέν γάρ] '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.'

> αθτη γὰρ ἀρχή] This αθτη might be referred to peous, but it is better to take it as referring to σχολή, contained in oxoxaceur, 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, 'denn diese Müsse, um es noch einmal zu sagen, ist Grund und Ziel aller Geschäftigkeit.

3 el yap aupu uèr del, k.T.A.] '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 Eth. z. vi. p. 1176, we have the same point discussed.

4 & Tais do xollais, K.T.A.] amusements, games, &c., are but the recreations of one immersed in business, their object being to enable him to exert himself the more.

δ γὰρ πονών, κ.τ.λ.] Herod. II. 173.

καιροφυλακτούντας THE χρήσυ] watching the proper occasions for its use,' Dem. 678. 17. καιροφυλακεῖν is

χρησιν, ώς προσάγοντας Φαρμακείας χάριν άνεσις γάρ ή Why is τοιαύτη κίνησις της ψυχης, και διά την ήδονην άνάπαυσις · learnt? τὸ δὲ σχολάζειν ἔχειν αὐτὸ δοκεῖ τὴν ήδονὴν καὶ τὴν 1338 εύδαιμονίαν και το ζην μακαρίως, τοῦτο δ' οὐ τοῖς άσχολοῦσιν ὑπάρχει ἀλλὰ τοῖς σχολάζουσιν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ άσγολῶν ἔνεκά τινος ἀσγολεῖ τέλους ώς οὐχ ὑπάργοντος, ή δ' εὐδαιμονία τέλος ἐστὶν, ἡν οὐ μετὰ λύπης ἀλλὰ μεθ' ήδονης οίονται πάντες είναι. ταύτην μέντοι την ήδονην οὐκέτι τὴν αὐτὴν τιθέασιν, ἀλλὰ καθ ἐαυτοὺς ἕκαστος καὶ την έξιν την αύτῶν, ὁ δὲ ἄριστος την ἀρίστην καὶ την ἀπὸ τῶν καλλίστων. ὧστε Φανερὸν ὅτι δεῖ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐν 6 τῆ διαγωγῆ σχολήν μανθάνειν ἄττα καὶ παιδεύεσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ παιδεύματα καὶ ταύτας τὰς μαθήσεις ἐαυτῶν είναι γάριν, τὰς δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀσχολίαν τὸς ἀναγκαίας καὶ χάριν άλλων. διὸ καὶ τὴν μουσικήν οἱ πρότερον εἰς 7

the form preferred by Lobeck ad Phryn. 575.

ή τοιαύτη κίνησις] 'The movement or excitement of the mind in games.'

διὰ την ήδονην] from the pleasure it brings with it we work easily, and so it acts as a relief.

abτό] 'in itself.' It is opposed to the elσάγεσθαι, προσάγοντας.

5 τοῦτο] sc. τὸ ζῆν μακαρίως.

δ μέν γάρ ἀσχολών] In his own language, then, ἀσχολία is a γένεσις, aims at producing some result, and οὐδεμία γένεσις συγγενής του τέλεσιν, Eth. VII. xii. 3, p. 1152, 13. The aiming at a result implies its non-attainment hitherto.

ώs οὐχ ὑπάρχοντος] 'Happiness is a result, an end, and all think it is accompanied, not by pain, but by pleasure.'

ταύτην μέντοι] 'Here, however, the agreement stops. The kind of pleasure is not agreed upon.' Comp. Eth. 1. x. 10, p. 1099, 8 έκαστφ γάρ έστιν ήδύ πρός δ λέγεται φιλοτοιούτος, κ.τ.λ.

6 την $\ell \nu$ τη διαγωγη = την $\ell \nu$ τη σχολή διαγωγήν] The question is, what is διαγωγή? Compare Bonitz on the word, in a note, ad Metaph. 81. 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 βίος θεωρητικός of Ethics x. vii. p. 1177, δ κατά σοφίαν, οτ κατά νοῦν Blos, its object the contemplation of truth. It is the life of the φύλακες 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 μέν τὰ παιδεύματα] 'and whilst the branches of education which have reference to this period should be pursued for their own sakes.'

Why is music learnt?

παιδείαν ἔταξαν οὐχ ὡς ἀναγκαῖον (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔχει τοιοῦτον)
οὐδ ὡς χρήσιμον, ὥσπερ τὰ γράμματα πρὸς χρηματισμὸν
οὐδ ὡς χρήσιμον, ὥσπερ τὰ γράμματα πρὸς χρηματισμὸν
καὶ πρὸς οἰκονομίαν καὶ πρὸς μαθησιν καὶ πρὸς πολιτικὰς
πράξεις πολλάς · δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ γραφικὴ χρήσιμος εἶναι πρὸς
τὸ κρίνειν τὰ τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἔργα κάλλιον · οὐδ αὖ καθάπερ
ἡ γυμναστικὴ πρὸς ὑγίειαν καὶ ἀλκήν · οὐδέτερον γὰρ τούτων
8 ὁρῶμεν γιγνόμενον ἐκ τῆς μουσικῆς. λείπεται τοίνυν πρὸς
τὴν ἐν τῆ σχολῆ διαγωγήν, εἰς ὅπερ καὶ Φαίνονται παράθέρων, ἐν ταύτῃ τάττουσιν. διόπερ Ομηρος οῦτως
ἐποίησεν

άλλ' οίον μέν έστι καλείν έπι δαίτα θαλείην.

9 καὶ ούτω προειπών έτέρους τινάς

οι καλέουσιν ἀοιδόν φησιν, δ κεν τέρπησιν απαντας.

καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δέ Φησιν Ὀδυσσεύς ταύτην ἀρίστην είναι διαγωγήν, ὅταν εὐΦραινομένων τῶν ἀνθρώπων

> δαιτυμόνες δ' άνὰ δώματ' άκουάζωνται ἀοιδοῦ ημενοι έξείης.

10 Οτι μεν τοίνυν έστι παιδεία τις ην ούχ ως χρήσιμον παιΜετε utility δευτέον τους υίεῖς οὐδ ως ἀναγκαίαν ἀλλ' ως ἐλευθέριον καὶ
rejected as καλήν, Φανερόν ἐστιν πότερον δὲ μία τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἡ πλείους,
11 καὶ τίνες αὖται καὶ πῶς, ὖστερον λεκτέον περὶ αὐτῶν. νῦν
δὲ τοσοῦτον ἡμῖν εἶναι πρὸ ὁδοῦ γέγονεν, ὅτι καὶ παρὰ τῶν
ἀρχαίων ἔχομέν τινα μαρτυρίαν ἐκ τῶν καταβεβλημένων
* χρησίμην Βekker.

7 δοκεί δὲ καὶ γραφική.] Why should not music be useful in the same sense in which he here says the art of design is?

8 els δπερ, κ.τ.λ.] 'And this is evidently the object for which men do introduce music.'

àλλ' οδον] not found in our existing Homer. Comp. III. xiv.

9 of καλέουσιν] Od. xvii. 385. δαιτυμόνες] Od. ix. 7. 10 χνήσιμον] Spengel profers this to Bekker's reading, χρησίμην. It is more in keeping with § 7, as also with χρησίμουs, in III. I.

oὐδ' ὡς ἀναγκαίαν] 'much less on the ground of absolute necessity.'

υστερον] This is lost.

II $\pi\rho\delta$ $\delta\delta\sigma\tilde{\nu}$] 'we have got so far on our way.'

καταβεβλημένων] above, II. 6, 'drawn from the branches of education actually taught.'

παιδευμάτων ή γάρ μουσική τοῦτο ποιεῖ δῆλον. ἔτι δὲ καλ τῶν χρησίμων ὅτι δεῖ τινὰ παιδεύεσθαι τοὺς παΐδας οὐ rejected as μόνον διά το γρήσιμον, οίον την των γραμμάτων μάθησιν, άλλα και δια το πολλας ενδέχεσθαι γίγνεσθαι δι' αὐτῶν μαθήσεις έτέρας. όμοίως δε καί την γραφικήν ούχ ίνα έν 12 τοῖς ίδίοις ἀνίοις μὴ διαμαρτάνωσιν άλλ' ὧσιν ἀνεξαπάτητοι πρὸς τὴν τῶν σκευῶν ἀνήν τε καὶ πρᾶσιν, ἡ μᾶλλον ὅτι 1338 Β ποιεί θεωρητικόν του περί τα σώματα κάλλους. το δέ ζητεῖν πανταχοῦ τὸ χρήσιμον ήχιστα άρμόττει τοῖς μεγαλοψύχοις καὶ τοῖς ἐλευθέροις. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Φανερον πρότερον 13 Bodily τοῖς ἔθεσιν ἢ τῷ λόγω παιδευτέον είναι, καὶ περὶ τὸ σῶμα education πρότερον ή την διάνοιαν, δήλον έκ τούτων ότι παραδοτέον τούς παιδας γυμναστική και παιδοτριβική τούτων γάρ ή μέν ποιάν τινα ποιεί την έξιν τοῦ σώματος, ή δε τά ἔργα.

Mere

must precede mental.

Νου μεν οδυ αι μάλιστα δοκούσαι των πόλεων επιμε- Δ λεῖσθαι τῶν παίδων αἱ μὲν άθλητικὴν ἔξιν ἐμποιοῦσι, λωβώμεναι τά τε είδη καὶ την αύξησιν τῶν σωμάτων, οἱ δὲ Λάκωνες ταύτην μέν ούχ ημαρτον την αμαρτίαν, θηριώδεις δ' ἀπεργάζονται τοῖς πόνοις, ως τοῦτο πρὸς ἀνδρίαν μά-

Bodily training, γυμναστική.

ἔτι δέ] φανερόν to be supplied, and for the subject we must go back to

διά τὸ χρήσιμον] 'mere use in the lowest sense.'

'in their 12 de rois idiois delois private purchases.'

àλλ' ઢσω] must be connected as closely as possible with διαμαρτάνωσιν. I have therefore taken away Bekker's comma. For all this language compare the Republic, with the positions in which on this point Aristotle argues, whilst he does not so absolutely as Plato reject the element of utility.

τοιε μεγαλοψύχοις] In Eth. IV. viii. 33, p. 1125, 11, the μεγαλόψυχος is said to be olos κεκτήσθαι μάλλον τὰ , καλά και δικαρπα τών καρπίμων και ώφελίμων.

13 Compare IV. (VII.) xv. 10. γυμναστική και παιδοτριβική Compare Galen, De Val. Tu. 11. 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.

τὰ ἔργα] 'its actions' in the various exercises and games.

IV. I λωβώμεναι] 'injuring.'

ταύτην μέν οὐκ] "Though they have not committed this error, yet they render their citizens savage," Grote, II. 507, 517, where the Lacedæmonian character is spoken of as being of a low type in comparison with that of Plato's φύλακες.

v in ma ward or Ch II v. Thue IL 39. my arramined φιλοπονούμεν. Hylokarl I have not i Kennit I .. in al this faction to softest any ment: vor b€] Grote II. 601. αθ γάρ το τους νέους, κ.τ.λ.] 'For that adding of Hisse and other abo They show the extent it was not by their training their TO TEHRAIN youth in this particular system that ind cylindraners of Aristodo's informain the confidently they are of no suggested in the common factories of relegation sufficient will be esed others, but by their whilst others did so. moteras = npds ut domin pero the expression, at πετεπρασκευήν, Thuc. I. 341. Welperinge) Baleatie me "must tide the All himse of continuents. e, play the first part. Epitraia, proporty an

θηρίων τι άγωνίσαιτο αν ούθένα καλόν κίνδυνον, άλλά Bodily μαλλον άνηρ άγαθός. οἱ δὲ λίαν εἰς ταῦτα άνέντες τοὺς γυμναπαίδας, καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπαιδαγωγήτους ποιήσαντες _ βαναύσους κατεργάζονται κατά γε το άληθές, προς έν τε 6 μόνον έργον τη πολιτική χρησίμους ποιήσαντες, και πρός τοῦτο γεῖρον, ώς Φησίν ὁ λόγος, ἐτέρων. δεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἐκ 7 τῶν προτέρων ἔργων κρίνειν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν νῦν · ἀνταγωνιστὰς γαρ της παιδείας νῦν ἔχουσι, πρότερον δ' οὐκ είχον. Οτι μεν ούν χρηστέον τῆ γυμναστικῆ, καὶ πῶς χρηστέον, δμολογούμενον έστιν. μέχρι μέν γάρ ήβης κουφότερα γυμνάσια προσοιστέον, την βίαιον τροφήν και τους πρός άνάγκην πόνους ἀπείργοντας, ϊνα μηθέν ἐμπόδιον ή πρός την αθξησιν. σημεῖον γὰρ οὐ μικρὸν ὅτι δύναται τοῦτο 8 παρασκευάζειν εν γάρ τοῖς ολυμπιονίκαις δύο τις αν ή 1339 τρεῖς εύροι τοὺς αὐτοὺς νενικηκότας ἄνδρας τε καὶ παῖδας, διά τὸ νέους ἀσκοῦντας ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὴν δύναμιν ὑπὸ τῶν άναγκαίων γυμνασίων. όταν δ' άφ' ήβης έτη τρία πρός 9

6 els ταῦτα] sc. τὰ γυμνάσια, 'bodily exercises.'

ἀναγκαίων ἀπαιδαγωγήτους] '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 γράμματα in the most elementary form.

βαναύσους] Compare II. IV. ἄχρηστον το σῶμα ή την ψυχην ή την διά-

ώs φησω δ λόγος] 'as reason teaches us.' So Stahr and St. Hil.

7 ἀνταγωνιστάs] These 'rivals' the Spartans found in the Thebans. Compare Grote, x. 252.

δτι μὲν οδν] 'still whatever errors may have been committed on the subject, bodily training is not to be neglected.'

την βίαιον τροφήν] 'The compulsory sustenance of a regular athlete.'

τους πρός ανάγκην πόνους] = τους αναγκαίους πόνους of IV. (VII.) xvII.

8 σημεῖον γὰρ οἱ μικρόν, κ.τ.λ.] 'For we are not without sufficient argument to show that it can produce this result.'

τοῦτο] sc. ἐμπόδιον εἶναι] and the it is, from the last sentence, the training, both as to food and exercises, of the athlete.

δλυμπιονίκαιs] Aristotle is said to have made a collection of these victors in the Olympic games.

διὰ τὸ νέους ἀσκοῦντας ἀφαιρεῖσθαι]
'because by their training whilst
young, they deprived themselves of
their strength.'

9 έτη τρία, κ.τ.λ.] 'They have been engaged for three years in their other studies.'

Bodily training, yumra-TTIKH.

τοῖς ἄλλοις μαθήμασι γένωνται, τότε άρμόττει καὶ τοῖς πόνοις καὶ ταῖς ἀναγκοφαγίαις καταλαμβάνειν τὴν ἐχομένην ηλικίαν. αμα γάρ τη τε διανοία και τῷ σώματι διαπονείν ού δεί τουναντίον γαρ εκάτερος απεργάζεσθαι πέφυκε τῶν πόνων, εμποδίζων ο μεν τοῦ σώματος πόνος την διάνοιαν, ο δε ταύτης το σῶμα.

Περί δε μουσικής ένια μεν διηπορήσαμεν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ Music, πρότερον, καλώς δ' έχει καὶ νῦν ἀναλαβόντας αὐτὰ προαγαγείν, ίνα ώσπερ ενδόσιμον γένηται τοῖς λόγοις οὖς αν τις εἴπειεν ἀποφαινόμενος περὶ αὐτῆς. οὖτε γὰρ τίνα ἔχει δύναμιν βάδιον περί αὐτῆς διελεῖν, οὔτε τίνος δεῖ χάριν μετέχειν αὐτης, πότερον παιδιάς ένεκα καὶ ἀναπαύσεως, καθάπερ υπνου καὶ μέθης ταῦτα γαρ καθ αὐτα μεν οὖτε τῶν σπουδαίων, ἀλλ' ήδέα, καὶ ἄμα παύει μέριμναν, ώς 3 Φησίν Εύριπίδης. διό και τάττουσιν αυτήν και χρώνται πάσι τούτοις δμοίως, υπνω καὶ μέθη καὶ μουσική. τιθέασι δε και την δρχησιν εν τούτοις. η μαλλον οίητεον πρός άρετήν τι τείνειν την μουσικήν, ώς δυναμένην, καθάπερ ή γυμναστική το σώμα ποιόν τι παρασκευάζει, καὶ τήν · oby Bekker.

> draykopaylais] = Tŷ mpòs draykur, or : βιαία τροφή.

καταλαμβάνειν] 'to seize firmly,' 'establish,' 'place in high condition.'

dμα γdρ] '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 ydp. It is a remark, the truth of which is far too much lost sight of in our present education.'

V. I So far for yumastuch, which must precede; now for the other divisions of education, the moveuch of Plato's Republic, and its first branch, the more limited movement of Aristotle. καὶ πρότερον] Ch. III.

άταλαβόντας προαγαγείν 'To re- the moral character.'

turn 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 wpowywyeir, Eth. 1. vii. 17, p. 1098, 22. He has no intention, therefore, of exhausting the subject, says Victorius.

2 οδτε γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'It is desirable to say more, for the subject is difficult.'

Eupinions] Bacch. 378-384.

3 τάττουσιν αὐτήν] sc. έν παιδιά, or έν αναπαύσει, or supply els ταὐτό, a phrase not uncommon in Aristotle.

olyw] This would seem to be a mistake for 5mm. Stahr changes it, and so do others.

τὸ ήθος ποιόν τι ποιείν] 'To affect



μουσικήν τὸ ήθος ποιόν τι ποιεῖν, ἐθίζουσαν δύνασθαι Music. Its object. γαίρειν δρθώς. ή προς διαγωγήν τι συμβάλλεται καλ προς Φρόνησιν και γάρ τοῦτο τρίτον θετέον τῶν εἰρημένων. 4 Οτι μέν ουν δει τους νέους μή παιδιάς ένεκα παιδεύειν, ούκ άδηλον ού γάρ παίζουσι μανθάνοντες μετά λύπης γάρ ή μάθησις. άλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ διαγωγήν τε παισίν άρμόττει καί ταῖς ήλικίαις ἀποδιδόναι ταῖς τοιαύταις οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἀτελεῖ προσήκει τέλος. άλλ' Ισως αν δόξειεν ή τῶν παίδων 5 σπουδή παιδιάς είναι χάριν άνδράσι γενομένοις καὶ τελειωθεῖσιν. ἀλλ' εὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον, τίνος αν ἕνεκα δέοι μανθάνειν αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ μὴ καθάπερ οἱ τῶν Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων βασιλείς, άλλων αυτό ποιούντων μεταλαμβάνειν της ήδονης καὶ της μαθήσεως; καὶ γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον βέλτιον 6 άπεργάζεσθαι τους αυτό τοῦτο πεποιημένους έργον καλ τέχνην των τοσούτον χρόνον ἐπιμελουμένων ὅσον πρὸς μάθησιν μόνον. εὶ δὲ δεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα διαπονεῖν αὐτούς, καὶ περί τὴν τῶν ὄψων πραγματείαν αὐτοὺς αν δέοι παρασκευάζειν άλλ' άτοπον. την δ' αύτην άπορίαν έχει καί εί 7 δύναται τὰ ήθη βελτίω ποιείν ταῦτα γὰρ τί δεί μανθάνειν 1339 αὐτούς, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἐτέρων ἀκούοντας ὀρθῶς τε χαίρειν καὶ

ἐθίζουσαν] 'By training and accustoming men.'

4 φρόνησιν] 'intellectual cultivation,' not in the more ethical sense of the term, but rather using it as Plato uses it in the Republic, and its connexion in this sense with διαγωγή supports my remarks on that word, III. vi.

μανθάνοντες] BC. την μουσικήν, 'on the contrary, it costs a painful effort.'

γενομένοις καλ τελειωθείσιν] these two words, see I. viii. 9, 11, where they are used separately and as equivalent.

The question asked here is similar to that which is asked with regard to poornous, at the opening of Eth. vi. xiii. p. 1143, b. 18.

aὐτούs] 'themselves.'

των Περσω και Μήδων] is not this last a later addition? Is there any other instance in Aristotle of the two being used?

αύτδ τοῦτο πεποιημένουs 6 τούς (pyou) 'those who have made this very thing by itself their business and profession, rather than those who attend to it only so long as to enable them to learn it.'

αὐτούs] may be accusative after either δέοι or παρασκευάζειν. latter seems the better, 'to make them qualified for.'

7 kal ell 'even if it makes the character better, and this it can do.'

ταῦτα γάρ] ες. τὰ τὸ ήθος βέλτιον ποιούντα.

Music. Its object.

δύνασθαι κρίνειν; ώσπερ οἱ Λάκωνες εκείνοι γὰρ οὐ μανθάνοντες δμως δύνανται κρίνειν όρθως, ώς Φασί, τὰ γρηστὰ ε και τὰ μη χρηστὰ τῶν μελῶν. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς λόγος καν εἰ πρός εύημερίαν και διαγωγήν έλευθέριον γρηστέον αύτη. τί δεῖ μανθάνειν αὐτούς, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἐτέρων χρωμένων ἀπολαύειν; σκοπείν δ' έξεστι την υπόληψιν ην έχομεν περί των θεών. ού γάρ ὁ Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἄδει καὶ κιθαρίζει τοῖς ποιηταῖς. άλλὰ καὶ βαναύσους καλοῦμεν τοὺς τοιούτους καὶ τὸ πράττειν ο ούκ ανδρός μη μεθύοντος ή παίζοντος. αλλ' ίσως περί μέν τούτων υστερον επισκεπτέου, ή δε πρώτη ζήτησίς εστι πότερον οὐ θετέον εἰς παιδείαν τὴν μουσικὴν ἡ θετέον, καὶ τί δύναται τῶν διαπορηθέντων τριῶν, πότερον παιδείαν ή παιδιάν ή διαγωγήν. εὐλόγως δ' εἰς πάντα τάττεται καὶ 10 Φαίνεται μετέχειν. ή τε γάρ παιδιά χάριν άναπαύσεώς έστι, την δ' ανάπαυσιν άναγκαῖον ήδεῖαν είναι (της γαρ διά τῶν πόνων λύπης ἰατρεία τίς ἐστιν). καὶ τὴν διαγωγὴν όμολογουμένως δεί μη μόνον έχειν το καλον άλλα καί την ηδονήν το γάρ εύδαιμονείν έξ άμφοτέρων τούτων

ol Adrewes] Music not taught the Spartan citizen. Grote, IV. 114.

μελών] 'Words and music.' μέλος συνίσταται έκ τριών, λόγου, άρμονίας, ρυθμού.

8 πρὸς εὐημερίαν] as opposed to συντονίαν, πόνον, ἀσχολίαν. 'For the calm, undisturbed enjoyment of the life of the citizen, and that citizen trained in all liberal cultivation, not βάνανσον in any sense.'

την ὑπόληψιν] 'the conception which we have of the gods, for in the poets, Zous 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.

rods receives] 'such as make it a profession.'

7) wpdrrew] Compare Herod. VI.

128—130. $\tau \delta$ $\pi \rho d\tau \tau \epsilon i \nu$ as distinct from $\mu d\theta \eta \sigma i s$.

9 Stahr puts a full stop at enionemréor, but it is not necessary to do so.

τῶν διαπορηθέντων τριῶν] 'of the three objects which, as the result of our discussion, we find that it may have.'

εὐλόγως δέ] '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.

10 λύπης larpela] Compare Eth.

VII. XV. p. 1154, 27; and there is no other remedy for pain but pleasure.

ἐκκροθεί τὴν λύπην. αἰ ἰκτρεῶιι διὰ τῶν ἐναντίων πεφόκωσι γίνεσθαι, Εth. II. ii.

4°, p. 1104, b. 17.

duportour] sc. toù keloù kel toù



έστίν. την δε μουσικην πάντες είναι Φαμεν τῶν ηδίστων, Music. Its object. και ψιλήν ούσαν και μετά μελωδίας. Φησι γοῦν και Μουσαῖος είναι

βροτοίς ήδιστον αείδειν.

διὸ καὶ εἰς τὰς συνουσίας καὶ διαγωγὰς εὐλόγως παραλαμ-. βάνουσιν αύτην ώς δυναμένην εύφραίνειν . ώστε καλ έντεῦθεν αν τις ύπολάβοι παιδεύεσθαι δείν αύτην τούς νεωτέρους. όσα γὰρ ἀβλαβῆ τῶν ἡδέων, οὐ μόνον ἁρμόττει πρὸς τὸ 12 τέλος άλλά καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν μὲν τῶ τέλει συμβαίνει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὀλιγάκις γίγνεσθαι, πολλάκις 'δὲ ἀναπαύονται καὶ χρώνται ταῖς παιδιαῖς ούχ ὅσον ἐπὶ πλέου άλλα και δια την ήδονήν, χρήσιμον αν είη διαναπαύειν έν ταις άπο ταύτης ήδοναις. συμβέβηκε δε τοις άνθρώποις 13 ποιεῖσθαι τὰς παιδιὰς τέλος. ἔχει γὰρ ἴσως ήδονήν τινα καὶ τὸ τέλος, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν. ζητοῦντες δὲ ταύτην, λαμβάνουσιν ώς ταύτην έκείνην, δια το τῶ τέλει τῶν πράξεων έγειν ομοίωμά τι τό τε γάρ τέλος ούθενος τῶν ἐσομένων

ήδέος. Compare III. IV. τὸ δὲ σχολάζεω, κ.τ.λ.

II ψιλήν, κ.τ.λ.] 'both merely instrumental and vocal. Eur. Rhes. 923, μεγίστην είς έριν μελφδίας, ' of song.'

διδ καί, 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.

els τàs συνουσίας καί διαγωγάς] should be taken as closely as possible together, almost as equivalent to 'the enjoyment of social intercourse.'

εὐφραίνειν] ΒΟ ΙΙΙ. 9. εὐφραινομένων τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

erreveer] 'from this simple consideration, that it affords pleasure.'

12 πρὸς τὸ τέλος] 'The perfect and complete state,' της γενέσεως τελεσθείσηs.

πολλάκις] The comparative fre-

quency of recreation is a reason for learning that which is so useful for it.

ούχ δσον ἐπὶ πλέον] 'not merely as far as some advantage may be got.' Compare Eth. x. vi. 3, p. 1176, b. 6, ai ἡδείαι τών παιδιών, are one of the two things, αφ' ων μηδέν ἐπιζητεῖται παρά την ενέργειαν.

διαναπαύειν] middle, 'for them to rest at times;' with Stahr, "sich seine Erholung daraus zu suchen."

13 συμβέβηκε δέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'Rest is the point in common, the cause of the confusion in men's minds.'

ού την τυχοῦσαν] 'It has its own appropriate pleasure, not any given one at random.'

ταύτην] 'this appropriate pleasure.' έκείνην] the pleasure derived from amusement and recreation. Compare Eth. x. vi. p. 1176.

δμοίωμά τι] 'a point of resemblance.' καθ αύτας αίρεται αι ήδειαι των παιδιών. Music.

χάριν αίρετόν, και αι τοιαθται των ήδονων ούθενός είσι των έσομένων ένεκεν, άλλα των γεγονότων, ολον πόνων καλ λύ-14 πης. Δ ι' ην μέν οδη αιτίαν ζητοῦσι την εὐδαιμονίαν γίγνεσθαι διά τούτων τῶν ἡδονῶν, ταύτην ἄν τις εἰκότως ὑπολάβοι τὴν αἰτίαν· περὶ δὲ τοῦ κοινωνεῖν τῆς μουσικῆς, οὐ διὰ ταύτην μόνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ χρήσιμον είναι πρὸς τὰς τς άναπαύσεις, ώς ἔοικεν. οὐ μὴν άλλὰ ζητητέον μή ποτε of music τοῦτο μεν συμβέβηκες τιμιωτέρα δ' αύτης ή Φύσις ξέστιν ή on the on the character. κατά την είρημένην χρείαν, και δεί μη μόνον της κοινής ήδο-1340 νης μετέχειν άπ' αὐτης, ης έχουσι πάντες αἴσθησιν (έχει γάρ ή μουσική την ήδονην Φυσικήν, διό πάσαις ήλικίαις καὶ πάσιν ήθεσιν ή χρησις αὐτης έστὶ προσφιλής), άλλ' όρᾶν εί πη και πρός το ήθος συντείνει και πρός την ψυγήν. 16 τοῦτο δ' αν είη δηλον, εί ποιοί τινες τὰ ήθη γιγνόμεθα δι' αὐτῆς. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι γιγνόμεθα ποιοί τινες, Φανερὸν διὰ πολλών μεν και ετέρων, ούχ ηκιστα δε και διά των 'Ολύμπου μελών' ταῦτα γὰρ ὁμολογουμένως ποιεὶ τὰς ψυχάς ἐνθουσιαστικάς, ὁ δ' ἐνθουσιασμός τοῦ περὶ τὴν 17 ψυχην ήθους πάθος έστίν. Ετι δε άκροώμενοι τῶν μιμήσεων

> 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 οὐ διὰ ταύτην μόνην] εc. τὴν αίτίαν ζητοῦσιν.

> 15 οὐ μην ἀλλά, 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. *pos ras avaπαύσεις.

> την ήδουην φυσικήν] 'Its pleasure given by nature.'

πρός τὸ ήθος καὶ πρὸς την ψυχήν= πρός τό της ψυχης ήθος] ΙΙ. Ι.

16 τοῦτο δ' αν είη δηλον] would be no uncertainty on this point, if, as is the case, we are affected in our characters by it.'

δ ενθουσιασμός ήθους πάθος] πάθος της ψυχης, but του περί την ψυχήν ήθους. 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 μιμήσεων] 'nachahmenden Darstellungen; 'imitations,' 'representations,' the sense in which Ariγίγνονται πάντες συμπαθεῖς, καὶ χωρὶς τῶν ρυθμῶν καὶ τῶν The effect **μελών** αὐτών. ἐπεὶ δὲ συμβέβηκεν είναι τὴν μουσικὴν τῶν ήδέων, την δ' άρετην περί το χαίρειν όρθῶς καί Φιλεῖν καί μισείν, δεί δήλον ότι μανθάνειν καλ συνεθίζεσθαι μηθέν ουτος ως το κρίνειν ορθώς και το χαίρειν τοις επιεικέσιν ήθεσι και ταῖς καλαῖς πράξεσιν. ἐστι δ' ὁμοιώματα 18 μάλιστα παρά τὰς ἀληθινὰς Φύσεις ἐν τοῖς ῥυθμοῖς καὶ τοῖς μέλεσιν ὀργῆς καὶ πραότητος, ἔτι δ' ἀνδρίας καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐναντίων τούτοις καὶ τῶν άλλων ήθικῶν. δηλον δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων μεταβάλλομεν γὰρ την ψυχήν ακροώμενοι τοιούτων. δ δ' έν τοῖς δμοίοις 19 έθισμὸς τοῦ λυπεῖσθαι καὶ χαίρειν ἐγγύς ἐστι τῷ πρὸς τὴν άλήθειαν τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχειν τρόπον ο δον εἴ τις χαίρει τὴν είκονα τινός θεώμενος μη δι' άλλην αίτίαν άλλα δια την μορφήν αὐτήν, ἀναγκαῖον τούτφ καὶ αὐτήν ἐκείνην τήν θεωρίαν, οὖ τὴν εἰκόνα θεωρεῖ, ήδεῖαν εἶναι. συμβέβηκε δὲ 20 τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις μηδὲν ὑπάρχειν ὁμοίωμα τοῖς ἤθεσιν, οἴον ἐν τοῖς ἀπτοῖς καὶ τοῖς γευστοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ὁρατοῖς ἡρέμα: σχήματα γάρ ἐστι τοιαῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ

character.

stotle seems to use the term in the Poetics. In the Republic, Plato seems to attach to it too exclusively the sense of mere copying, imitation in a lower sense.

έπει δε συμβέβηκεν, κ.τ.λ.] Moral virtue is intimately connected with pleasure and pain, and right education consists in training men to feel pleasure in right objects (a point dwelt on in Eth. 11.), to love and hate aright, to judge rightly what is good and noble in characters and actions, and to take pleasure in it. It is well to feel this towards the reality, but it is well also to exercise these sentiments even when the reality is not present. This opportunity of exercising them is given by representations of them, and by music more than by any other representation that appeals to our senses.

And the pleasure accompanying it makes it peculiarly valuable.

18 δμοιώματα μάλιστα, κ.τ.λ.] 'the most vivid representations after the reality.'

τοιοίτων] sc. δμοιωμάτων, or it may be μελών και δυθμών, such music as answers to those various feelings.' For instance, we change from depression to bravery by hearing warlike and inspiriting music.

19 αὐτὴν ἐκείνην τὴν θεωρίαν] ' That the actual sight of the object.'

20 ηρέμα] 'slightly.'

τοιαύτα] 'such as to be capable of representing character, but it is only to a small extent, and it is not all people that are competent to appreciate this influence.' This is the meaning, if, with Stahr and others, justified it would appear by the conWhy is music learnt?

παιδείαν ἔταξαν οὐχ ὡς ἀναγκαῖον (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔχει τοιοῦτον)
οὐδ ὡς χρήσιμον, ὥσπερ τὰ γράμματα πρὸς χρηματισμὸν
οὐδ ὡς χρήσιμον, ὥσπερ τὰ γράμματα πρὸς χρηματισμὸν
πράξεις πολλάς δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ γραφική χρήσιμος εἶναι πρὸς
τὸ κρίνειν τὰ τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἔργα κάλλιον οὐδ αὖ καθάπερ
ή γυμναστική πρὸς ὑγίειαν καὶ ἀλκήν οὐδέτερον γὰρ τούτων
δὸρῶμεν γιγνόμενον ἐκ τῆς μουσικῆς. λείπεται τοίνυν πρὸς
τὴν ἐν τῆ σχολῆ διαγωγήν, εἰς ὅπερ καὶ φαίνονται παράγοντες αὐτήν ἡν γὰρ οἴονται διάγωγὴν εἶναι τῶν ἐλευθέρων, ἐν ταύτη τάττουσιν. διόπερ Ομηρος οῦτως
ἐποίησεν

άλλ' οίον μέν έστι καλείν έπι δαίτα θαλείην.

9 καὶ οῦτω προειπών ἐτέρους τινάς

οι καλέουσιν άοιδόν φησιν, ο κεν τέρπησιν απαντας.

καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δέ Φησιν 'Οδυσσεὺς ταύτην ἀρίστην είναι διαγωγήν, ὅταν εὐΦραινομένων τῶν ἀνθρώπων

> δαιτυμόνες δ' άνὰ δώματ' άκουάζωνται ἀοιδοῦ ημενοι εξείης.

10 Οτι μεν τοίνυν εστι παιδεία τις ην ούχ ως χρήσιμον παιMere utility δευτέον τους υίεις ουδ ως άναγκαίαν άλλ' ως ελευθέριον καὶ
rejected as καλήν, Φανερόν εστιν πότερον δε μία τον άριθμον η πλείους,
11 και τίνες αὐται και πῶς, ὕστερον λεκτέον περι αὐτῶν. νῦν
δε τοσοῦτον ήμιν είναι προ όδοῦ γέγονεν, ὅτι και παρὰ τῶν
άρχαίων ἔχομέν τινα μαρτυρίαν ἐκ τῶν καταβεβλημένων
* χρησίμην Βekker.

⁷ δοκεί δὲ καὶ γραφική.] Why should not music be useful in the same sense in which he here says the art of design is?

⁸ els δπερ, κ.τ.λ.] 'And this is evidently the object for which men do introduce music.'

àλλ' olor] not found in our existing Homer. Comp. III. xiv.

⁹ οὶ καλέουσιν] Od. XVII. 385. δαιτυμόνες] Od. IX. 7.

¹⁰ χμήσιμον] Spengel profers this

to Bekker's reading, χρησίμην. It is more in keeping with § 7, as also with χρησίμουs, in III. 1.

out ws avayualar 'much less on the ground of absolute necessity.'

δστερον] This is lost.

II πρὸ ὁδοῦ] 'we have got so far on our way.'

καταβεβλημένων] above, II. 6, 'drawn from the branches of education actually taught.'

παιδευμάτων ή γάρ μουσική τοῦτο ποιεῖ δῆλον. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν χρησίμων ὅτι δεῖ τινὰ παιδεύεσθαι τοὺς παΐδας οὐ rejected as μόνον διὰ τὸ χρήσιμον, οἶον τὴν τῶν γραμμάτων μάθησιν, άλλα και δια το πολλας ένδεχεσθαι γίγνεσθαι δι' αύτῶν μαθήσεις έτέρας. δμοίως δε και την γραφικήν ούχ ίνα έν 12 τοῖς ίδίοις τόνίοις μὴ διαμαρτάνωσιν άλλ' ὧσιν άνεξαπάτητοι πρὸς τὴν τῶν σκευῶν ἀνήν τε καὶ πρᾶσιν, ἡ μᾶλλον ὅτι 1338 Β ποιεί θεωρητικόν του περί τὰ σώματα κάλλους. τὸ δὲ ζητείν πανταχού το χρήσιμον ήχιστα άρμόττει τοίς μεγαλοψύχοις καὶ τοῖς ἐλευθέροις. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Φανερον πρότερον 13 Bodily τοῖς ἔθεσιν ἢ τῷ λόγω παιδευτέον είναι, και περί τὸ σῶμα education πρότερον ή την διάνοιαν, δήλον έκ τούτων ότι παραδοτέον mental. τους παΐδας γυμναστική και παιδοτριβική τούτων γάρ ή μεν ποιάν τινα ποιεί την έξιν του σώματος, ή δε τά ἔργα.

precede

Νου μεν οδυ αι μάλιστα δοκούσαι των πόλεων έπιμε- 4 λείσθαι τῶν παίδων αἱ μὲν ἀθλητικὴν έξιν ἐμποιοῦσι, λω-Βώμεναι τά τε είδη και την αυξησιν των σωμάτων, οι δε Λάκωνες ταύτην μεν ούχ ημαρτον την αμαρτίαν, θηριώδεις δ' ἀπεργάζονται τοῖς πόνοις, ώς τοῦτο πρὸς ἀνδρίαν μά-

Bodily training, γυμναστική.

ξτι δέ] φανερόν to be supplied, and for the subject we must go back to

διά τὸ χρήσιμον] 'mere use in the lowest sense.'

12 ev tois idiois wolois] 'in their private purchases.'

فكك قصيع must be connected as closely as possible with διαμαρτάνωσιν. I have therefore taken away Bekker's comma. For all this language compare the Republic, with the positions in which on this point Aristotle argues, whilst he does not so absolutely as Plato reject the element of utility.

τοιε μεγαλοψύχοις] In Eth. IV. viii. 33, p. 1125, 11, the μεγαλόψυχος is Baid to be olos κεκτήσθαι μάλλον τά , καλά καὶ ἄκαρπα τῶν καρπίμων καὶ ώφελίμων.

13 Compare IV. (VII.) xv. 10. γυμναστική και παιδοτριβική] Compare Galen, De Val. Tu. 11. 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.

τὰ ἔργα] 'its actions' in the various exercises and games.

IV. I λωβώμεναι] 'injuring.' ταύτην μέν οὐκ] "Though they have not committed this error, yet they render their citizens savage," Grote, II. 507, 517, where the Lacedæmonian character is spoken of as being of a low type in comparison with that of Plato's φύλακες.

Bodily training yourseruch.

λιστα συμφέρου. καίτοι, καθάπερ είρηται πολλάκις, ούτε πρὸς μίαν ούτε πρὸς μάλιστα ταύτην βλέποντα ποιητέον την επιμέλειαν. εί τε και πρός ταύτην, ουδε τοῦτο εξευρίσχουσιν· ούτε γάρ εν τοις άλλοις ζώοις ούτ επί των εθνων όρωμεν την ανδείαν ακολουθούσαν τοις αγριωτάτοις, αλλά 3 μάλλον τοις ήμερωτέροις και λεοντώδεσιν ήθεσιν. πολλά δ' έστι των έθνων ά πρός το κτείνειν και πρός την άνθρωπο-Φαγίαν εύχερῶς έχει, καθάπερ τῶν περὶ τὸν Πόντον 'Αγαιοί τε καὶ 'Ηνίογοι καὶ τῶν ἡπειρωτικῶν ἐθνῶν ἔτερα, τὰ μὲν ὁμοίως τούτοις τὰ δὲ μᾶλλον, α ληστικά μέν ἐστιν, 4 άνδρίας δ' οὐ μετειλήφασιν. έτι δ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς Λάκωνας ίσμεν, έως μεν αυτοί προσήδρευον ταϊς Φιλοπονίαις, ύπερέχοντας τῶν ἄλλων, νῦν δὲ καὶ τοῖς γυμνασίοις καὶ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἀγῶσι λειπομένους ἐτέρων οὐ γὰρ τῷ τοὺς νέους γυμνάζειν τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον διέφερον, ἀλλὰ τῷ μόνον μὴ ς πρὸς ἀσκοῦντας ἀσκεῖν. Τ Ω στε τὸ καλὸν ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ θηριῶδες δεῖ πρωταγωνιστεῖν οὐ γὰρ λύκος οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων

2 οὐτε πρὸς μίαν] 'no one single virtue should be chosen.'

our προς μάλιστα ταυτην] 'nor, if one, should this virtue be the one selected as especially to be attended to.'

e' 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.'

λεοντώδεσιν] This based on a misconception of the lion almost universally prevalent.

3 'Axaot... 'Hrloxol] 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.

hπειρωτικών] Epirotic, not general, in the sense of continental, but limited Εpirus, properly so called; at least

this seems to me the most natural way to take it.

ληστικά] not τοῦ καλοῦ ἔνεκα, 'Piratical,' Brave—that is, under the impulse of desire of gain.

àrôpías] 'courage,' properly so called, 'deliberate valour,' Par. Lost, 1. 554.

4 αὐτοί] 'They alone.'

προσήδρευον] for this word compare Ch. II. v.

ταις φιλοπονίαις] Thue. 11. 39. φιλοπονούμεν.

vũν 8€] Grote 11. 601.

où γὰρ τῷ τοὺς νέους, 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.'

μη πρός ἀσκοῦντας = πρός μη ἀσκοῦνται] Compare the expression, μη πρός δμοίαν ἀντιπαρασκευήν, Thuc. 1, 141.

5 πρωταγωνιστεῖν] 'must take the first place,' 'play the first part.'



θηρίων τι άγωνίσαιτο αν ούθένα καλόν κίνδυνον, άλλα Bodily μάλλον άνηρ άγαθός, οἱ δὲ λίαν εἰς ταῦτα ἀνέντες τοὺς παΐδας, καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπαιδαγωγήτους ποιήσαντες βαναύσους κατεργάζονται κατά γε το άληθές, προς έν τε 6 μόνον έργον τη πολιτική χρησίμους ποιήσαντες, καλ πρός τοῦτο χεῖρον, ώς Φησίν ὁ λόγος, ἐτέρων. δεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἐκ 7 τῶν προτέρων ἔργων κρίνειν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν νῦν · ἀνταγωνιστὰς γαρ της παιδείας νῦν ἔχουσι, πρότερον δ' οὐκ είχον. "Οτι μεν ούν χρηστέον τῆ γυμναστικῆ, καὶ πῶς χρηστέον, δμολογούμενόν έστιν. μέχρι μέν γάρ ήβης κουφότερα γυμνάσια προσοιστέον, την βίαιον τροφήν και τους προς άνάγκην πόνους ἀπείργοντας, ΐνα μηθεν εμπόδιον ή πρός την αξέησιν. σημεῖον γὰρ οὐ μικρὸν ὅτι δύναται τοῦτο 8 παρασκευάζειν εν γάρ τοῖς όλυμπιονίκαις δύο τις αν ή 1339 τρεῖς εύροι τοὺς αὐτοὺς νενικηκότας ἄνδρας τε καὶ παῖδας, διά τὸ νέους ἀσκοῦντας ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὴν δύναμιν ὑπὸ τῶν άναγκαίων γυμνασίων. όταν δ' άφ' ήβης έτη τρία πρός 9

6 els ταῦτα] sc. τὰ γυμνάσια, 'bodily exercises.'

ἀναγκαίων ἀπαιδαγωγήτους] '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 γράμματα in the most elementary form.

βαναύσους] Compare II. IV. Εχρηστον το σώμα ή την ψυχήν ή την διά-

ώς φησὶν ὁ λόγος] 'as reason teaches us.' So Stahr and St. Hil.

7 deraywrords] These 'rivals' the Spartans found in the Thebans. Compare Grote, x. 252.

87ι μὲν οδν] 'still whatever errors may have been committed on the subject, bodily training is not to be neglected.'

την βίαιον τροφήν] 'The compulsory sustenance of a regular athlete.'

τοὺς πρὸς ἀνάγκην πόνους] = τοὺς ἀναγκαίους πόνους of IV. (VII.) xvII.

8 σημεῖον γὰρ οὐ μικρόν, κ.τ.λ.] 'For we are not without sufficient argument to show that it can produce this result.'

τοῦτο] sc. ἐμπόδιον εἶναι] and the it is, from the last sentence, the training, both as to food and exercises, of the athlete.

ολυμπιοτίκαις] Aristotle is said to have made a collection of these victors in the Olympic games.

διά τὸ νέους ἀσκοῦντας ἀφαιρεῖσθαι] 'because by their training whilst young, they deprived themselves of their strength.'

9 ξτη τρία, κ.τ.λ.] 'They have been engaged for three years in their other studies.'

Bodily training, Johns. FTERS.

τοις άλλοις μαθήμασι γένωνται, τότε άρμόττει καί τοις πόνοις καὶ ταῖς αναγκοφαγίαις καταλαμβάνειν τὴν ἐχομένην . ήλιχίαν. αμα γάρ τη τε διανοία και τῷ σώματι διαπονείν ού δει τουναντίου γας έκατερος απεργάζεσθαι πέφυκε τῶν πόνων, εμποδίζων ο μεν τοῦ σώματος πόνος την διάνοιαν, ό δε ταύτης το σώμα.

Περί δε μουσικής ένια μεν διηπορήσαμεν τῷ λόγῷ καί μικος. πρότερου, καλώς δ' έχει καὶ νῦν ἀναλαβόντας αὐτὰ προαγαγείν, ενα ώσπερ ενδόσιμων γένηται τοις λόγοις ους αν τις είπειεν αποφαινόμενος περί αύτης. ούτε γαρ τίνα έχει δύναμιν ράδιον περί αὐτης διελείν, οὕτε τίνος δεί χάριν μετέχειν αὐτῆς, πότερου παιδιάς ένεκα καὶ ἀναπαύσεως, καθάπερ υπνου καὶ μέθης. ταῦτα γὰρ καθ αὐτὰ μέν οὕτε τῶν στουδαίων, αλλ' τίδεα, καὶ αμα παύει μέριμναν, ώς 3 φησίν Εύριπίδης. διό καὶ τάττουσιν αύτην καὶ χρῶνται πάσι τούτοις όμοίως, ύποφο και μέθη και μουσική. τιθέασι δε και την ερχησιν εν τούτοις. ή μαλλον οίητεον πρός αρετήν τι τείνειν την μουσικήν, ώς δυναμένην, καθάπερ ή γυμναστική το σώμα ποιώ τι παρασκευάζει, καὶ τὴν · oby Bekker.

> draycopaylass] = Tŷ apòs drayago, or Викіц трофії.

eetelaubarer] 'to seize firmly,' 'establish.' 'place in high condition.'

"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 ydp. It is a remark, the truth of which is far too much lost sight of in our present education.

V. 1 So far for yourseruch, which must precede; now for the other divisions of education, the posture of Plato's Republic, and its first branch, the more limited powerf of Aristotle. uni uphtepor] Ch. III.

· dealafteras apoayayeir] 'To re-

turn 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 sprayayar, Eth. 1. vii. 17. p. 1098, 22. He has no intention, therefore, of exhausting the subject, says Victorius.

2 Φτε γώρ κ.τ.λ.] 'It is desirable to say more, for the subject is difficult.

Euperibus] Bacch. 378-384.

3 τάττουσιο αὐτήν] 9c. ἐν παιδιῆ, Or és describéres, or supply els rubté, a phrase not uncommon in Aristotle.

This would seem to be a mistake for sweep. Stahr changes it, and so do others.

то фос посот те посот] 'To affect the moral character.'



μουσικήν τὸ ήθος ποιόν τι ποιεῖν, ἐθίζουσαν δύνασθαι Music. Its object. χαίρειν ορθώς. ή προς διαγωγήν τι συμβάλλεται καλ προς Φρόνησιν καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τρίτον θετέον τῶν εἰρημένων. 4 Οτι μεν οθν δει τους νέους μη παιδιάς ένεκα παιδεύειν, ούκ άδηλον οὐ γὰρ παίζουσι μανθάνοντες μετὰ λύπης γὰρ ή μάθησις. άλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ διαγωγήν τε παισὶν άρμόττει καὶ ταῖς ήλικίαις ἀποδιδόναι ταῖς τοιαύταις οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἀτελεῖ προσήκει τέλος. άλλ' ໃσως αν δόξειεν ή τῶν παίδων 5 σπουδή παιδιας είναι χάριν άνδράσι γενομένοις καὶ τελειωθεῖσιν. ἀλλ' εὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον, τίνος ᾶν ἔνεκα δέοι μανθάνειν αὐτούς, άλλὰ μὴ καθάπερ οἱ τῶν Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων βασιλεῖς, άλλων αὐτὸ ποιούντων μεταλαμβάνειν τῆς ήδονης και της μαθήσεως; και γαρ άναγκαῖον βέλτιον 6 άπεργάζεσθαι τοὺς αὐτὸ τοῦτο πεποιημένους ἔργον καὶ τέχνην τῶν τοσοῦτον χρόνον ἐπιμελουμένων ὅσον πρὸς μάθησιν μόνον. εί δε δεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα διαπονεῖν αὐτούς, καλ περί την τῶν όψων πραγματείαν αὐτοὺς αν δέοι παρασκευάζειν άλλ' άτοπον. την δ' αύτην άπορίαν έχει καί εί 7 δύναται τὰ ήθη βελτίω ποιείν ταῦτα γὰρ τί δεί μανθάνειν 1339 αὐτούς, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἐτέρων ἀκούοντας ὀρθῶς τε χαίρειν καὶ

ἐθίζουσαν] 'By training and accustoming men.'

4 φρόνησιν] 'intellectual cultivation,' not in the more ethical sense of the term, but rather using it as Plato uses it in the Republic, and its connexion in this sense with διαγωγή supports my remarks on that word, III. vi.

μανθάνοντες] BC. την μουσικήν, 'on the contrary, it costs a painful effort.'

γενομένοις καὶ τελειωθεῖσιν] these two words, see I. viii. 9, 11, where they are used separately and as equivalent.

Tiros ar Evena The question asked here is similar to that which is asked with regard to poornous, at the opening of Eth. vi. xiii. p. 1143, b. 18.

aὐτούs] 'themselves.'

τῶν Περσῶ καὶ Μήδων] is not this last a later addition? Is there any other instance in Aristotle of the two being used?

6 τους αυτό τουτο πεποιημένους (pyou) 'those who have made this very thing by itself their business and profession, rather than those who attend to it only so long as to enable them to learn it.'

abrous] may be accusative after either δέοι or παρασκευάζειν. latter seems the better, 'to make them qualified for.'

7 καl εί] 'even if it makes the character better, and this it can do.'

ταῦτα γάρ] ες. τὰ τὸ ἦθος βέλτιον ποιούντα.

Music. Its object.

δύνασθαι κρίνειν : ώσπερ οἱ Λάκωνες εκείνοι γὰρ οὐ μανθάνοντες διμως δύνανται κρίνειν όρθως, ώς Φασί, τὰ χρηστὰ 8 καὶ τὰ μὴ γρηστὰ τῶν μελῶν. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς λόγος κᾶν εἰ πρός εύημερίαν καὶ διαγωγήν έλευθέριον χρηστέον αὐτῆ τί δεῖ μανθάνειν αὐτούς, άλλ' οὐχ ἐτέρων χρωμένων ἀπολαύειν; σκοπείν δ' έξεστι την ύπόληψιν ήν έχομεν περί των θεών. ού γάρ ὁ Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἄδει καὶ κιθαρίζει τοῖς ποιηταῖς. καὶ βαναύσους καλοῦμεν τοὺς τοιούτους καὶ τὸ πράττειν ο ούκ ανδρός μη μεθύοντος ή παίζοντος. αλλ' ίσως περί μέν τούτων υστερον επισκεπτέον, ή δε πρώτη ζήτησίς εστι πότερον ού θετέον είς παιδείαν την μουσικήν ή θετέον, καλ τί δύναται τῶν διαπορηθέντων τριῶν, πότερον παιδείαν ή παιδιάν ή διαγωγήν. εὐλόγως δ' εἰς πάντα τάττεται καὶ το Φαίνεται μετέχειν. ή τε γάρ παιδιά χάριν άναπαύσεώς έστι, την δ' ανάπαυσιν άναγκαῖον ήδεῖαν είναι (της γαρ διά τῶν πόνων λύπης ἰατρεία τίς ἐστιν). καὶ τὴν διαγωγὴν όμολογουμένως δεί μη μόνον έχειν τὸ καλὸν άλλὰ καὶ την ήδονην το γαρ ευδαιμονείν έξ αμφοτέρων τούτων

ol Adraves] Music not taught the Spartan citizen. Grote, IV. 114.

μελῶν] 'Words and music.' μέλος συνίσταται ἐκ τριῶν, λόγου, ἀρμονίας, ἡυθμοῦ.

8 πρὸς εὐημερίαν] as opposed to συντονίαν, πόνον, ἀσχολίαν. 'For the calm, undisturbed enjoyment of the life of the citizen, and that citizen trained in all liberal cultivation, not βάναυσον in any sense.'

την ὑπόληψιν] '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.

τοὺς τοιούτους] 'such as make it a profession.'

- φ πράττειν] Compare Herod. VI.

128—130. το πράττειν as distinct from μάθησις.

9 Stahr puts a full stop at ἐπισκεπτέον, but it is not necessary to do so.

τῶν διαπορηθέντων τριῶν] 'of the three objects which, as the result of our discussion, we find that it may have.'

εὐλόγως δέ] '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.

10 λύπης latρείa] Compare Eth. VII. XV. p. 1154, 27; and there is no other remedy for pain but pleasure. ἐκκρούει τὴν λύπην. al laτρείaι διὰ τῶν ἐναντίων πεφύκασι γίνεσθαι, Eth. II. ii. 4², p. 1104, b. 17.

άμφοτέρων] ες, τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τοῦ



έστίν. την δὲ μουσικήν πάντες είναί Φαμεν τῶν ἡδίστων, Music. Its object. καὶ ψιλὴν οὖσαν καὶ μετὰ μελωδίας Φησὶ γοῦν καὶ Μουσαῖος είναι

βροτοίς ήδιστον ἀείδειν.

διὸ καὶ εἰς τὰς συνουσίας καὶ διαγωγάς εὐλόγως παραλαμ-- βάνουσιν αὐτὴν τος δυναμένην εὐΦραίνειν. ώστε καὶ ἐντεῦθεν αν τις υπολάβοι παιδεύεσθαι δείν αυτήν τους νεωτέρους. όσα γαρ αβλαβή τῶν ήδέων, οὐ μόνον άρμόττει πρὸς τὸ 12 τέλος άλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν μὲν τῷ τέλει συμβαίνει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὀλιγάκις γίγνεσθαι, πολλάκις 'δὲ ἀναπαύονται καὶ χρώνται ταῖς παιδιαῖς οὐχ ὅσον ἐπὶ πλέου άλλα και δια την ήδονήν, χρήσιμον αν είη διαναπαύειν έν ταις άπο ταύτης ήδοναις. συμβέβηκε δε τοις άνθρώποις 13 ποιεῖσθαι τὰς παιδιὰς τέλος : ἔχει γὰρ ἴσως ήδονήν τινα καὶ τὸ τέλος, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν. ζητοῦντες δὲ ταύτην, λαμβάνουσιν ώς ταύτην εκείνην, διά τὸ τῶ τέλει τῶν πράξεων έγειν δμοίωμά τι τό τε γάρ τέλος οὐθενὸς τῶν ἐσομένων

ήδέος. Compare III. IV. τὸ δὲ σχολάζεω, κ.τ.λ.

11 ψιλήν, κ.τ.λ.] 'both merely instrumental and vocal. Eur. Rhes. 923, μεγίστην είς έριν μελφδίας, ' of song.'

διδ καί, 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.

els τας συνουσίας και διαγωγάς] should be taken as closely as possible together, almost as equivalent to 'the enjoyment of social intercourse.'

εὐφραίνειν] 80 ΙΙΙ. 9. εὐφραινομένων τῶν ἀνθρώπων,

erreυθεν] 'from this simple consideration, that it affords pleasure.'

12 πρός τὸ τέλος] 'The perfect and complete state,' της γενέσεως τελεσθείσηs.

πολλάκις] The comparative frequency of recreation is a reason for learning that which is so useful for it.

οὐχ ὅσον ἐπὶ πλέον] 'not merely as far as some advantage may be got.' Compare Eth. x. vi. 3, p. 1176, b. 6, αί ἡδείαι των παιδιών, are one of the two things, ἀφ' ὧν μηδέν ἐπιζητεῖται παρά την ένέργειαν.

διαναπαύειν] middle, 'for them to rest at times;' with Stahr, "sich seine Erholung daraus zu suchen."

13 συμβέβηκε δέ, 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.'

ταύτην] 'this appropriate pleasure.' έκείνην] the pleasure derived from amusement and recreation. Compare Eth. x. vi. p. 1176.

δμοίωμά τι] 'a point of resemblance.' καθ αύτας αίρεται αι ήδειαι των παιδιών.

χάριν αίρετόν, καὶ αἱ τοιαῦται τῶν ήδονῶν οὐθενός εἰσι τῶν Its object. έσομένων ένεκεν, άλλα των γεγονότων, οίον πόνων καί λύ-14 πης. Δι' ήν μεν οδυ αιτίαν ζητοῦσι την εύδαιμονίαν γίγνεσθαι διὰ τούτων τῶν ἡδονῶν, ταύτην ἄν τις εἰκότως ὑπο- λάβοι την αίτιαν· περί δὲ τοῦ κοινωνεῖν της μουσικης, οὐ διὰ ταύτην μόνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ χρήσιμον είναι πρὸς τὰς τς άναπαύσεις, ώς ἔοικεν. οὐ μὴν άλλὰ ζητητέον μή ποτε of music τοῦτο μεν συμβέβηκες τιμιωτέρα δ' αυτής ή Φύσις Εστιν ή on the on the character. κατά την εἰρημένην χρείαν, καὶ δεῖ μη μόνον τῆς κοινῆς ήδο-1340 νης μετέχειν ἀπ' αὐτης, ης έχουσι πάντες αἴσθησιν (έχει γάρ ή μουσική την ήδονην Φυσικήν, διό πάσαις ήλικίαις καὶ πασιν ήθεσιν ή χρησις αὐτης έστὶ προσφιλής), άλλ' ὁραν εί πη και πρός το ήθος συντείνει και πρός την ψυγήν. 16 τοῦτο δ' αν είη δηλον, εί ποιοί τινες τα ήθη γιγνόμεθα δί αὐτῆς. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι γιγνόμεθα ποιοί τινες, Φανερὸν διὰ πολλών μεν και ετέρων, ούχ ήκιστα δε και διά τών 'Ολύμπου μελών' ταυτα γαρ δμολογουμένως ποιεί τας ψυχὰς ἐνθουσιαστικάς, ὁ δ' ἐνθουσιασμὸς τοῦ περὶ τὴν 17 ψυχην ήθους πάθος έστιν. Ετι δε άκροώμενοι τῶν μιμήσεων

> 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 οὐ διὰ ταύτην μόνην] ΒC. τὴν αἰτίαν (ητοῦσιν.

15 οδ μὴν ἀλλά, 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.

την ήδουην φυσικήν] 'Its pleasure given by nature.'

πρδs το δθos και πρδs την ψυχην = πρδs το της ψυχης δθos II. I.

16 τοῦτο δ' αν εῖη δῆλον] 'There would be no uncertainty on this point, if, as is the case, we are affected in our characters by it.'

δ ενθουσιασμός ήθους πάθος] not πάθος της ψυχης, but του περί την ψυχήν ήθους. 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 μιμήσεων] 'nachahmenden Darstellungen;' 'imitations,' 'representations,' the sense in which Ari-



γίγνονται πάντες συμπαθεῖς, καὶ χωρὶς τῶν ῥυθμῶν καὶ τῶν The effect μελών αὐτών. ἐπεὶ δὲ συμβέβηκεν είναι τὴν μουσικὴν τῶν ήδέων, την δ' άρετην περί το χαίρειν ορθώς και Φιλείν και character. μισείν, δεί δήλον ότι μανθάνειν καλ συνεθίζεσθαι μηθέν ουτος ως το κρίνειν όρθως και το χαίρειν τοις έπιεικέσιν ήθεσι καὶ ταῖς καλαῖς πράξεσιν. ἐστι δ' ὁμοιώματα 18 μάλιστα παρά τὰς ἀληθινὰς Φύσεις ἐν τοῖς ῥυθμοῖς καὶ τοῖς μέλεσιν ὀργῆς καὶ πραότητος, ἔτι δ' ἀνδρίας καὶ σωφροσύνης και πάντων των έναντίων τούτοις και των άλλων ήθικών. δήλον δε έκ των έργων μεταβάλλομεν γάρ τὰν ψυχὴν ἀκροώμενοι τοιούτων. ὁ δ' ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις 19 έθισμός τοῦ λυπεῖσθαι καὶ χαίρειν έγγύς έστι τῷ πρὸς τὴν άλήθειαν τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχειν τρόπον ο δον εἴ τις χαίρει τὴν εἰκόνα τινὸς θεώμενος μη δι' ἄλλην αἰτίαν άλλα δια την μορφην αὐτήν, άναγκαῖον τούτφ καὶ αὐτην ἐκείνην την θεωρίαν, οὖ τὴν εἰκόνα θεωρεῖ, ἡδεῖαν εἶναι. συμβέβηκε δὲ 20 τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις μηδὲν ὑπάρχειν ὁμοίωμα τοῖς ἤθεσιν, οἴον ἐν τοῖς ἀπτοῖς καὶ τοῖς γευστοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς δρατοῖς ήρέμα σχήματα γάρ ἐστι τοιαῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ

stotle seems to use the term in the *Poetics*. In the *Republic*, Plato seems to attach to it too exclusively the sense of mere copying, imitation in a lower sense.

έπει δε συμβέβηκεν, κ.τ.λ.] Moral virtue is intimately connected with pleasure and pain, and right education consists in training men to feel pleasure in right objects (a point dwelt on in Eth. 11.), to love and hate aright, to judge rightly what is good and noble in characters and actions, and to take pleasure in it. It is well to feel this towards the reality, but it is well also to exercise these sentiments even when the reality is not present. This opportunity of exercising them is given by representations of them, and by music more than by any other representation that appeals to our senses.

And the pleasure accompanying it makes it peculiarly valuable.

18 δμοιώματα μάλιστα, κ.τ.λ.] 'the most vivid representations after the reality.'

τοιοίτων] sc. δμοιωμάτων, or it may be μελῶν καὶ ρυθμῶν, such music as answers to those various feelings.' For instance, we change from depression to bravery by hearing warlike and inspiriting music.

19 αὐτὴν ἐκείνην τὴν θεωρίαν] 'That the actual sight of the object.'

20 ηρέμα] 'slightly.'

τοιαύτα] 'such as to be capable of representing character, but it is only to a small extent, and it is not all people that are competent to appreciate this influence.' This is the meaning, if, with Stahr and others, justified it would appear by the con-



on the character.

The effect μικρόν, καὶ πάντες τῆς τοιαύτης αἰσθήσεως κοινωνοῦσιν. ἔτι δὲ οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα ὁμοιώματα τῶν ήθῶν ἀλλὰ σημεῖα μάλλον τὰ γιγνόμενα, σχήματα καὶ χρώματα ,τῶν ἡθῶν. 21 καὶ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος ἐν τοῖς πάθεσιν. Οὐ μὴν άλλ' δσον διαφέρει και περί την τούτων θεωρίαν δεῖ μή τὰ Παύσωνος θεωρείν τους νέους, άλλα τα Πολυγνώτου καν εί τις άλλος των γραφέων ή των άγαλματοποιών έστιν ήθικός. ἐν δὲ τοῖς μέλεσιν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ μιμήματα τῶν 22 ήθων και τοῦτ' ἔστι Φανερόν εὐθὺς γὰρ ή των άρμονιων διέστηκε Φύσις ώστε ακούοντας αλλως διατίθεσθαι καὶ μή τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχειν τρόπον πρὸς ἐκάστην αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς 1340 Β μεν ενίας δδυρτικωτέρως καὶ συνεστηκότως, μάλλον, οἶον πρός την μιξολυδιστί καλουμένην, πρός δε τας μαλακωτέρως την διάνοιαν, οίον πρός τας άνειμένας μέσως δε καί καθεστηκότως μάλιστα πρός έτέραν, οίον δοκεί ποιείν ή δωριστί 23 μόνη τῶν ἀρμονιῶν, ἐνθουσιαστικοὺς δ' ή Φρυγιστί. ταῦτα γαρ καλώς λέγουσιν οί περί την παιδείαν ταύτην πεφιλοσοφηχότες λαμβάνουσι γὰρ τὰ μαρτύρια τῶν λόγων εξ αύτῶν τῶν ἔργων. τὸν αύτὸν γὰρ τρόπον ἔχει καὶ τὰ

> text, we insert the negative ov. Above, § 15, he remarked of music, that πάντες αϊσθησιν έχουσι της ήδονης. 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, however, be sense without the negative. The extent to which objects of sight affect people is slight, and all equally experience it in that extent. 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 ἀλλά] 'Still in proportion as there is a difference,' &c. pare Poet. II. ii. p. 1448, 5.

> Pauson, of Ephesus, and Polygnotus, of Thasos.

22 έν δὲ τοῖς μέλεσιν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ

μιμήματα τῶν ἡθῶν] 'we have the characters imitated.' μίμημα, "illud ipsum quod imitando efficitur." Ritter ad Poet. 1. iv. p. 78, 1447, 18. 'Opera imitatione expressa." Ibid. p. 102. aυτοιs, as opposed to σημεία, § 20.

εὐθὺς γάρ] for the expression, compare I. v. 2.

δδυρτικωτέρως, κ.τ.λ.] 'we have a feeling of sadness and compression.'

μαλακωτέρως] the opposite of συνεστηκότως, "the soul-dissolving melody," Tennyson, Vision of Sin. 'We have a softer feeling.'

μέσως καὶ καθεστηκότως] εν τῆ καθεστηκυία ήλικία, Thuc. II. "Firm and unmoved," Par. Lost, 1. 554, 555. 'The Dorian mood.'

23 of $\pi \in \rho$ $\uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \nu$, $\kappa. \tau. \lambda.$ 'who have treated this branch of education philosophically.' 'They get the evidence περὶ τοὺς ῥυθμούς · οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἦθος ἔχουσι στασιμώτερον The effect οί δε κινητικόν, και τούτων οί μεν Φορτικωτέρας έχουσι τάς κινήσεις οι δε ελευθεριωτέρας. Εκ μεν ούν τούτων Φανερον δτι δύναται ποιόν τι τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἦθος ή μουσική παρα-24 σκευάζειν. εὶ δὲ τοῦτο δύναται ποιεῖν, δῆλον ὅτι προσακτέον καλ παιδευτέον εν αύτη τους νέους. έστι δε άρμότ- 25 τουσα πρός την Φύσιν την τηλικαύτην ή διδασκαλία της μουσικής : οἱ μὲν γὰρ νέοι διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀνήδυντον οὐδὲν ύπομένουσιν έκόντες, ή δε μουσική Φύσει τῶν ήδυσμένων έστίν. καί τις ξοικε συγγένεια ταῖς άρμονίαις καὶ τοῖς ρυθμοῖς είναι · διὸ πολλοί φασι τῶν σοφῶν οἱ μὲν ἀρμονίαν είναι την ψυχήν, οί δ' έχειν άρμονίαν.

Πότερον δέ δει μανθάνειν αὐτοὺς ἄδοντάς τε καὶ χει- 6 ρουργούντας ή μή, καθάπερ ήπορήθη πρότερον, νῦν λεκτέον. Is actual ούκ άδηλον δε ότι πολλήν έχει διαφοράν πρός το γίγνε- necessary? σθαι ποιούς τινας, ἐάν τις αὐτὸς κοινωνῆ τῶν ἔργων εν γὰρ τι τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἢ χαλεπῶν ἐστὶ μὴ κοινωνήσαντας τῶν έργων κριτάς γενέσθαι σπουδαίους. αμα δε καλ δεῖ τοὺς 2 παίδας έχειν τινά διατριβήν, και την Αρχύτου πλαταγήν οίεσθαι γενέσθαι καλώς, ην διδόασι τοῖς παιδίοις ὅπως γρώμενοι ταύτη μηδεν καταγνύωσι τῶν κατά τὴν οἰκίαν οὐ

in support of their arguments from facts.'

δυθμούς] See Classical Museum, 1. 555. δυθμός means time, and nothing else, when applied to music; ρυθμοί, in the plural, means musical bars played in time.

στασιμώτερον] Rhet. II. 15, p. 1390, b. 30, τὰ στάσιμα γένη, 'stable.'

φορτικωτέρας] 'coarser,' 'more vulgar.'

έλευθεριωτέραs, 'more refined.'

24 έστι δε άρμόττουσα] an appropriateness in teaching the young music from their age.'

מישללשלים ' without some admixture of sweetness;' 'unsweetened.'

ral TIS FOIRE GUYYÉVEIA] '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 Phadon of Plato, and Cicero, Tusc. Quæst. 1.

VI. Ι χειρουργούντας] 'themselves both singing and playing.'

πρότερον] V. ∀. 6.

πολλήν έχει 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.

μη κοινωνήσαντας] 'without actual practice.'

2 πλαταγήν] the 'rattle' of Archytas.

tion of practice

Is actual γαρ δύναται το νέον ήσυχάζειν. αυτη μέν ουν έστι τοῖς necessary? νηπίοις άρμόττουσα τῶν παιδιῶν, ή δὲ παιδεία πλαταγή -3 τοῖς μείζοσι τῶν νέων. - ὅτι μὲν οὖν παιδευτέον τὴν μουσικὴν ούτως ώστε καὶ κοινωνεῖν τῶν ἔργων, Φανερον ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων τὸ δὲ πρέπον καὶ τὸ μὴ πρέπον ταῖς ἡλικίαις οὐ χαλεπον διορίσαι, καὶ λῦσαι προς τους Φάσκοντας βάναυσον 4 είναι την επιμέλειαν. πρώτον μεν γάρ, επεί τοῦ κρίνειν χάριν μετέχειν δεῖ τῶν ἔργων, διὰ τοῦτο χρη νέους μὲν οντας χρήσθαι τοις έργοις, πρεσβυτέρους δε γινομένους των μεν έργων άφεῖσθαι, δύνασθαι δε τὰ καλά κρίνειν καὶ χαίρειν The quesδή της επιτιμήσεως ήν τινες επιτιμώσιν ώς ποιούσης της depends on μουσικής βαναύσους, οὐ χαλεπον λῦσαι σκεψαμένους μέγρι the music the music taught and τε πόσου των έργων κοινωνητέον τοῖς πρὸς ἀρετήν παιthe instruments used δευομένοις πολιτικήν, και ποίων μελών και ποίων ρυθμών 1341 κοινωνητέον, έτι δε εν ποίοις δργάνοις την μάθησιν ποιητέον.

6 καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο διαΦέρειν εἰκός. ἐν τούτοις γὰρ ἡ λύσις έστι της έπιτιμήσεως ούθεν γάρ κωλύει τρόπους τινάς της μουσικής απεργάζεσθαι το λεχθέν. Φανερον τοίνυν δτι δεῖ τὴν μάθησιν αὐτῆς μήτε ἐμποδίζειν πρὸς τὰς ὕστερον πράξεις, μήτε τὸ σῶμα ποιεῖν βάναυσον καὶ ἄχρηστον πρὸς τὰς πολεμικὰς καὶ πολιτικὰς ἀσκήσεις, πρὸς μὲν τὰς

ή δὲ παιδεία] 'and their education should be to the elder children an amusement, a rattle.' Music is a healthy pastime for the young, and there should be no strain of the intellect early.

³ Kal KOLPWYEIV] AS Well AS KPLYEIV.

και λύσαι] '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 &#}x27;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 σκεψαμένους] '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 ev robrois] 'For here, in these points, lies the answer to the objection.'

τρόπους τιτάς] 'certain methods of teaching and learning music.'

πρός μέν τὰς χρήσεις ήδη] 'for the

χρήσεις ήδη, πρὸς δὲ τὰς μαθήσεις υστερον. συμβαίνοι δ' The quesαν περὶ τὴν μάθησιν, εἰ μήτε τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας τοὺς practice depends on τεχνικοὺς συντείνοντα διαπονοῖεν, μήτε τὰ θαυμάσια καὶ the music περιττά τῶν ἔργων, α νῦν ἐλήλυθεν εἰς τοὺς ἀγῶνας, ἐκ δὲ the instruτῶν ἀγώνων εἰς τὴν παιδείαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μέχρι περ αν δύνωνται χαίρειν τοῖς καλοῖς μέλεσι καὶ ρυθμοῖς, καὶ μη μόνον τῷ κοινῷ τῆς μουσικῆς, ὧσπερ καὶ τῷν ἄλλων ἔνια ζώων, έτι δε και πλήθος άνδραπόδων και παιδίων. δήλον 8 δὲ ἐκ τούτων καὶ ποίοις ὀργάνοις χρηστέον. οὖτε γὰρο αύλοὺς εἰς παιδείαν ἀκτέον οὖτ' ἄλλο τεχνικὸν ὄργανον, οδον χιθάραν χάν εξ τι τοιοῦτον Ετερόν έστιν, άλλ' δσα ποιήσει αὐτῶν ἀκροατὰς ἀγαθοὺς ἢ τῆς μουσικῆς παιδείας η της άλλης. ἔτι δ' οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ αὐλὸς ήθικὸν άλλὰ μάλλον δργιαστικόν, ώστε πρός τους τοιούτους αυτώ καιρούς χρηστέον εν οίς ή θεωρία κάθαρσιν μάλλον δύναται ? η μάθησιν. προσθώμεν δε ότι συμβέβηκεν έναντίον αὐτῷ io πρὸς παιδείαν καὶ τὸ κωλύειν τῷ λόγῳ χρῆσθαι τὴν αὖλησιν διό καλῶς ἀπεδοκίμασαν αὐτοῦ οἱ πρότερον τὴν χρῆσιν ἐκ τῶν νέων καὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων, καίπερ χρησάμενοι τὸ πρῶτον αὐτῷ. σχολαστικώτεροι γὰρ γιγνόμενοι διὰ τὰς εὐπορίας

practice in the present, for the theory ποιούντες γάρ or χρώμενοι later.' μανθάνομεν.

7 συμβαίνοι δ' άν] 'and the proper results would follow.' Compare the use of συμβαίνει in III. VII. 4, συμβαίνει δ' εὐλόγως.

τους άγωνας τους τεχνικούς] 'The contests of professional players.'

τὰ θαυμάσια, κ.τ.λ.] 'Striking and extraordinary pieces.'

8 and rail 'But even such they may practise till such time as they shall be able.'

τῷ κοινῷ τῆς μουσικῆς] Above, V. I5, της κοινης ήδονης.

9 τεχνικόν] as opposed to simple, 'requiring professional skill.'

δσα αὐτῶν] 'all instruments.'

οργιαστικόν] 'exciting,' in an active

sense. Compare Herm. ad Soph. Trach. 216, and the Scholiast, ερεθίζει γάρ δ αὐλὸς πρὸς τὴν χόρειαν τὰς παρθένους.

κάθαρσιν] Compare Poet. vi. 2, p. 1449, b. 28, where this word occurs in the definition of tragedy: την των τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν. Ritter, on the word, p. 132, says, "ca conformatio affectuum ut omne nimium, omnis perturbatio removeatur." 'Has for its object, not so much instruction, as regulation of the feelings.'

10 και το κωλύειν] 'Its preventing the use of the voice.'

aπεδοκίμασαν] 'disapproved of its use by the young on trial;' 'rejected or removed it from the young,' ἐκ τῶν

11. διὰ τὰς εὐπορίας] 'from the increase of wealth.' ĸ

The instru-καὶ μεγαλοψυχότεροι πρός ἀρετήν, ἔτι τε πρότερον καὶ μετά τὰ Μηδικά Φρονηματισθέντες ἐκ τῶν ἔργων, πάσης ηπτουτο μαθήσεως, οὐδεν διακρίνοντες άλλ' ἐπιζητοῦντες. 12 διὸ καὶ τὴν αὐλητικὴν ἦγαγον πρὸς τὰς μαθήσεις. γάρ ἐν Λακεδαίμονί τις χορηγός αὐτός ηὔλησε τῷ χορῷ, καὶ περὶ ᾿Αθήνας οὖτως ἐπεχωρίασεν ώστε σχεδὸν οἰ πολλοί τῶν ἐλευθέρων μετεῖχον αὐτῆς δῆλον δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πίνακος δυ ἀνέθηκε Θράσιππος Ἐκφαντίδη χορηγήσας. ύστερον δ' ἀπεδοκιμάσθη διὰ τῆς πείρας αὐτῆς, βέλτιον δυναμένων κρίνειν τὸ πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ τὸ μὴ πρὸς ἀρετὴν 13 συντείνον. όμοίως δε και πολλά τῶν ὀργάνων τῶν ἀρχαίων, οίον πηκτιδες και βάρβιτοι και τὰ πρός ήδονην συντείνοντα τοῖς ἀχούουσι τῶν χρωμένων, ἐπτάγὼνα καὶ τρίγωνα καὶ 1341 Β σαμβύκαι, καὶ πάντα τὰ δεόμενα χειρουργικής ἐπιστήμης. εὐλόγως δ' ἔχει καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν αἰλῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων μεμυθολογημένου · Φασί γαρ δή την 'Αθηναν ευρούσαν άπο-14 βαλείν τοὺς αὐλούς. οὐ κακῶς μεν οὖν ἔχει φάναι καὶ διὰ την ασχημοσύνην τοῦ προσώπου τοῦτο ποιησαι δυσχεράνασαν την θεόν ου μην άλλα μαλλον είκος ότι προς την διάνοιαν οὐθέν ἐστι ή παιδεία της αὐλήσεως τη δε 'Αθηνά 15 την επιστήμην περιτίθεμεν και την τέχνην. έπει δε των τε δργάνων καλ της έργασίας ἀποδοκιμάζομεν την τεχνικήν

μεγαλοψυχότεροι] 'having formed loftier 'conceptions,' 'become more confident.'

φρονηματισθέντες ἐκ, κ.τ.λ.] 'inspirited by their achievements.'

οδδὲν διακρίνοντες] 'making no distinctions, but constantly seeking new additions.' It is an interesting notice, by Aristotle, of the effect of the successful struggle with Persia in developing the life of Greece.

12 ἐπεχωρίασεν] 'It became so popular.' Compare the expression in Aristophanes, τοὺπιχώριον.

διά της πείρας αὐτης] 'on experience

of it;' αὐτης sc. της αὐλητικης depends on πείρας.

13 πηκτίδες] Plato, Rep. III. 398 c. τοῦς ἀκούουσι τῶν χρωμένων] 'to those who heard players on them.'

χειρουργικής ἐπιστήμης] 'scientific execution,' 'manual dexterity;' χειρουργοῦντας, VI. I.

14 οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, κ.τ.λ.] 'Still it is more reasonable.'

ή παιδεία της αὐλήσεως] 'the education derived from flute playing.'

περιτίθεμεν] 'we attribute science and art'—the διανοητικαί άρεταί.

15 $\epsilon \pi \epsilon l$ $\delta \epsilon$, $\kappa.\tau.\lambda$.] 'But since both as to instruments and execution.'



παιδείαν, τεχνικήν δὲ τίθεμεν τήν πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐν The instruταύτη γὰρ ὁ πράττων οὐ τῆς αὐτοῦ μεταχειρίζεται χάριν ments used. άρετης, άλλα της των άκουόντων ήδονης, και ταύτης Φορτικής. διόπερ οὐ τῶν ἐλευθέρων κρίνομεν εἶναι τὴν ἐργασίαν, άλλα θητικωτέραν. καὶ βαναύσους δὴ συμβαίνει γί- 16 γνεσθαι πονηρός γάρ ὁ σκοπός πρός δυ ποιούνται τὸ τέλος. ό γαρ θεατής Φορτικός ών μεταβάλλειν είωθε την μουσικήν, ώστε καὶ τοὺς τεχνίτας τοὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν μελετῶντας αύτούς τε ποιούς τινας ποιεί καὶ τὰ σώματα διὰ τὰς κινή-TEIS.

Σχεπτέον δ' ἔτι περί τε τὰς ἀρμονίας καὶ τοὺς ἡυθμούς, γ καὶ πρὸς παιδείαν πότερον πάσαις χρηστέον ταῖς άρμονίαις The music καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ρυθμοῖς ἢ διαιρετέον, ἔπειτα τοῖς πρὸς παιδείαν διαπονούσι πότερον τὸν αὐτὸν διορισμὸν θήσομεν ή τριτον δεί τινά έτερον, έπειδή την μεν μουσικήν δρώμεν διά μελοποιίας καὶ ρυθμῶν οὖσαν, τούτων δ' ἐκάτερον, οὐ δεῖ λεληθέναι τίνα έχει δύναμιν, πρός παιδείαν, καλ πότερον προαιρετέον μάλλον την εύμελη μουσικήν ή την εύρυθμον. Νομίσαντες οὖν πολλὰ καλῶς λέγειν περὶ τούτων τῶν τε 2

taught.

τεχνικήν δέ The δέ marks the apodosis, 'professional.'

οὺ τῆς αὐτοῦ χάριν ἀρετῆς] 'It is not in subservience to his own excellence that he follows the pursuit.'

thr εργασίαι] 'His skill in execution.'

16 και βαναύσους δή] and the result is, that they do indeed become βάναυσοι. πονηρός γάρ ὁ σκοπός] ' For the point of view to which they bring their end

θεατής φορτικός] διά την φορτικότητα τῶν ἀκροατῶν, Rhet. 11. 21, ad fin. p.

1395, b. I. τους πρός αυτύν μελετώντας] 'Those who practise with a view to him,' 'to succeed with him.'

διά τὰς κινήσεις] 'immutationes artis,' Vict.; the changes implied in the μεταβάλλειν. But it seems more natural to take it as referring to the bodily exertions required of professional players.

VII. I 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.

τοις πρός παιδείαν διαπονούσι] I am not sure that I know what class he means here. Is it 'those who are studying very deeply the subject (814πονοῦσι) with a view to education, actively, to the education of others, not as a matter of self-cultivation merely?

εὐμελη] ' melodious,' musical in that

«υρυθμον] 'in good time.'

taught.

, s. i. . . , e.b.

The music νῦν μουσικῶν ἐνίους καὶ τῶν ἐκ ΦιλοσοΦίας ὅσοι τυγγάνουσιν έμπείρως έχοντες της περί την μουσικήν παιδείας, την μέν καθ' έκαστον άκριβολογίαν άποδώσομεν ζητεῖν τοῖς βουλομένοις παρ' ἐκείνων, νῦν δὲ νομικῶς διέλωμεν, τοὺς τύπους 3 μόνον εἰπόντες περὶ αὐτῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν διαίρεσιν ἀποδεχόμεθα τῶν μελῶν ὡς διαιροῦσί τινες τῶν ἐν Φιλοσοφία, τὰ μὲν ήθικὰ τὰ δὲ πρακτικὰ τὰ δ' ἐνθουσιαστικὰ τιθέντες, καὶ τῶν ἀρμονιῶν τὴν Φύσιν πρὸς ξκαστα τούτων οἰκείαν άλλην πρός άλλο μέρος τιθέασι, Φαμέν δ' οὐ μιᾶς ένεκεν ώφελείας τη μουσική χρησθαι δείν άλλα καλ πλειόνων χάριν (καὶ γὰρ παιδείας ένεκεν καὶ καθάρσεως—τί δὲ λέγομεν την κάθαρσιν, νῦν μὲν ἀπλῶς, πάλιν δ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ ποιητικής έρουμεν σαφέστερου—, τρίτον δε προς διαγωγήν, 1342 πρὸς ἄνεσίν τε καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς συντονίας ἀνάπαυσιν), Φανερον ότι χρηστέον μεν πάσαις ταῖς άρμονίαις, ού τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον πάσαις χρηστέον, άλλὰ πρὸς μὲν τὴν παιδείαν ταῖς ήθικωτάταις, πρὸς δὲ ἀκρόασιν ἐτέρων χειρουργούντων 4 καὶ ταῖς πρακτικαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐνθουσιαστικαῖς. Το γάρ περὶ ένίας συμβαίνει πάθος ψυχάς Ισχυρώς, τοῦτο έν πάσαις ύπάρχει, τῷ δὲ ἦττον διαΦέρει καὶ τῷ μᾶλλον, οἶον ἔλεος καλ Φόβος, έτι δ' ένθουσιασμός. καλ γάρ ύπο ταύτης τῆς Α Νός κινήσεως κατακώχιμοί πινές είσιν. έκ δε των Ιερών μελών

> 2 των έκ φιλοσοφίας] 'Those who with philosophical cultivation combine practical acquaintance with musical education;' § 3, των εν φιλοσοφία.

> καθ' την ξκαστον ἀκριβολογίαν] 'exact detail.'

> νομικώς] 'tracing the general laws.' "au point de vue du legislateur," St.

> 3 μελών] μέλος seems here used for 'the words of the song,' the Abyos. V.

ήθικά] 'forming the character.' πρακτικά] 'leading to action.' μέρος] 'part of our nature.' νῦν μέν ἀπλώς] 'Though now quite in the general.'

έν τοῖς περὶ ποιητικής] I have given the reference at V. vi. 9.

της συντονίας] 'of the tension—the excitement.'

4 δ γάρ περὶ ἐνίαs] 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.

ενθουσιασμός] All men, then, are susceptible of enthusiasm; it is, as with other sensibility, a question of

κατακώχιμοι] 'are under the sway

δρώμεν τούτους, όταν χρήσωνται τοῖς ἐξοργιάζουσι τὴν The music ψυγην μέλεσι, καθισταμένους ώσπερ ιατρείας τυχόντας και taught. καθάρσεως. ταύτο δη τοῦτο ἀναγκαῖον πάσχειν καὶ τοὺς 5 έλεήμονας και τους Φοβητικούς και τους δλως παθητικούς, τους δ' άλλους καθ' όσον επιβάλλει τῶν τοιούτων εκάστω, καλ πάσι γίγνεσθαί τινα κάθαρσιν καλ κουφίζεσθαι μεθ' ήδονης. Τόμοίως δε και τα μέλη τα καθαρτικά παρέχει γαρὰν ἀβλαβη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. διὸ ταῖς μὲν τοιαύταις 6 ζ άρμονίαις και τοῖς τοιούτοις μέλεσι θετέον τοὺς τὴν θεατρικήν μουσικήν μεταχειριζομένους άγωνιστάς. έπεὶ δ' δ θεατής διττός, ὁ μὲν ἐλεύθερος καὶ πεπαιδευμένος, ὁ δὲ Φορτικός έκ βαναύσων καὶ θητῶν καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων συγκείμενος, αποδοτέον αγώνας καὶ θεωρίας καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις πρός ἀνάπαυσιν. είσι δ' ωσπερ αὐτῶν αἱ ψυχαί παρε-7 στραμμέναι της κατά φύσιν έξεως, οῦτω καὶ τῶν άρμονιῶν παρεκβάσεις είσὶ καὶ τῶν μελῶν τὰ σύντονα καὶ παρακεγρωσμένα. ποιεί δε την ήδονην εκάστοις το κατά Φύσιν οίκεῖον. διόπερ ἀποδοτέον ἐξουσίαν τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις πρὸς τὸν θεατὴν τὸν τοιοῦτον τοιούτω τινὶ χρῆσθαι τῷ γένει της μουσικής. Προς δε παιδείαν, ώσπερ είρηται, τοῖς 8 ήθικοῖς τῶν μελῶν χρηστέον καὶ ταῖς άρμονίαις ταῖς

of.' Compare Eth. x. x. 3, p. 1179, b. 9, ποτήσαι αν κατοκώχιμον έκ τής αφετής.

καθισταμένους, κ.τ.λ.] 'settling, as having found a remedy for their excitement, and a clearing of their disturbance.'

5 παθητικούs] 'impressionable.'

κουφίζεσθαι] 'a sense of lightening, not unaccompanied with pleasure.' Wordsworth, Tintern Abbey.

6 θετέον] "Weise man auf," Stahr. The word is hard. Is 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, θετέον governs both the accusa-

tives, and the datives depend on αγωνιστάς.

καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις] 'To suit this latter class of spectators as well as the former.'

7 τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἔξεως] Compare Eth. vii. xiii. 2, p. 1152, b. 34, and 1153, 14; 'the true state in accordance with nature.' τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν φύσιν, Rhet. i. xi. 1, p. 1369, b. 34.

σύντονα] 'strained,' 'high.'

παρακεχρωσμένα] 'corrurted by introducing the άρμονία χρωματική.' Liddell and Scott.

το κατά φύσιν οἰκεῖον] 'That which is cognate to his nature.' Compare above, III. 5.

The music τοιαύταις τοιαύτη δ ή δωριστί, καθάπερ είπομεν πρότερου δέγεσθαι δε δεί καν τινα άλλην ήμιν δοκιμάζωσιν οί taught. κοινωνοί της έν Φιλοσοφία διατριβής και της περί την 9 μουσικήν παιδείας. ὁ δ' έν τη πολιτεία Σωκράτης οὐ καλῶς την Φρυγιστί μόνην καταλείκει μετά της δαριστί, καί 1342 Β ταῦτα ἀποδοκιμάσας τῶν ὸργάνων τὸν αὐλόν. ἔχει γὰρ την αύτην δύναμιν ή Φρυγιστί των άρμονιων ήνπερ αύλος έν το τοῖς ὀργάνοις άμφω γὰρ ὀργιαστικὰ καὶ παθητικά. δηλοῖ δ' ή ποίησις · πάσα γὰρ βακγεία καὶ πάσα ή τοιαύτη κίνησις μάλιστα τών οργάνων έστιν έν τοῖς αὐλοῖς, τών δ' άρμονιών έν τοῖς Φρυγιστὶ μέλεσι λαμβάνει ταῦτα τὸ πρέπον, οἶον ὁ τι διθύραμβος δμολογουμένως είναι δοχεί Φρύγιον. καὶ τούτου πολλά παραδείγματα λέγουσιν οἱ περὶ τὴν σύνεσιν ταύτην άλλα τε, καὶ διότι Φιλόξενος εγχειρήσας εν τῆ δωριστὶ ποιήσαι διθύραμβον τοὺς μύθους οὐχ οίός τ' ήν, άλλ' ὑπὸ της Φύσεως αὐτης εξέπεσεν είς την Φρυγιστί την προσήκου-12 σαν άρμονίαν πάλιν. περί δε της δωριστί πάντες όμολογοῦσιν ως στασιμωτάτης οὖσης καὶ μάλιστ' ήθος ἐχούσης άνδρεῖον. ἔτι δὲ ἐπεὶ τὸ μέσον μὲν τῶν ὑπερβολῶν έπαινουμεν και χρήναι διώκειν Φαμέν, ή δε δωριστί ταύτην έχει τὴν Φύσιν πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας ἁρμονίας, Φανερὸν ὅτι τὰ Δώρια μέλη πρέπει παιδεύεσθαι μᾶλλον τοῖς νεωτέροις. 13 Είσὶ δὲ δύο σκοποί, τό τε δυνατόν καὶ τὸ πρέπον καὶ γὰρ τα δυνατά δει μεταχειρίζεσθαι μαλλον και τα πρέποντα έκαστοις έστι δε καὶ ταῦτα ώρισμένα ταῖς ήλικίαις, οἶον τοῖς ἀπειρηχόσι διὰ χρόνον οὐ ῥάδιον ἄδειν τὰς συντόνους

8 $\tau \hat{\eta}$ s $\hat{\epsilon} r$ \$\psi \text{thosophia} \text{diagrams} \

9 ἐν τῆ πολιτεία] In the republic of Plato.

10 πᾶσα γὰρ βακχεία] Grote, 1. 32, text and note; "violent ecstasies and manifestations of temporary frenzy,

and that clashing of noisy instruments."

II οἱ περὶ τὴν σύνεσιν ταύτην] 'Those competent to judge in this point.'

nal διότι Φιλόξενος] 'and that Philoxenus,' of Cythera.

ύπο τῆς φύσεως, κ.τ.λ.] 'found himself compelled by the nature of the case to give up his attempt, and pass into the Phrygian mood.'

13 τοις απειρηκόσι διά χρόνον]



άρμονίας, άλλὰ τὰς ἀνειμένας ἡ Φύσις ὑποβάλλει τοῖς The music to be τηλικούτοις. διὸ καλῶς ἐπιτιμῶσι καὶ τοῦτο Σωκράτει taught. τῶν περὶ τὴν μουσικήν τινες, ὅτι τὰς ἀνειμένας ἀρμονίας τι ἀποδοκιμάσειεν εἰς τὴν παιδείαν, ὡς μεθυστικὰς λαμβάνων αὐτάς, οὐ κατὰ τὴν τῆς μέθης δύναμιν (βακχευτικὸν γὰρ ἡ γε μέθη ποιεῖ μᾶλλον) ἀλλ' ἀπειρηκυίας. ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐσομένην ἡλικίαν, τὴν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, δεῖ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀρμονιῶν ἄπτεσθαι καὶ τῶν μελῶν τῶν τοιούτων. ἔτι δ' εἴ τίς ἐστι τοιαύτη τῶν ἀρμονιῶν πρέπει τῆ τῶν τς παίδων ἡλικία διὰ τὸ δύνασθαι κόσμον τ' ἔχειν ἄμα καὶ παιδείαν, οἶον ἡ λυδιστὶ Φαίνεται πεπονθέναι μάλιστα τῶν ἀρμονιῶν, δῆλον ὅτι τούτους ὅρους τρεῖς ποιητέον εἰς τὴν παιδείαν, τό τε μέσον καὶ τὸ δυνατὸν καὶ τὸ πρέπον.

'Those who, from their time of life, have lost their powers.'

συντόνους] 'requiring a great strain,' high.'

14 ωs μεθυστικός λαμβάνων αὐτάς] 'looking on them as partaking of the character of intoxication, not intoxication in its strictest form as an active power (for drunkenness has a tendency to excite a man), but with reference to the exhaustion consequent on intoxication,'

Nickes thinks this discussion on music complete. 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.

on the character.

The effect μικρόν, καὶ πάντες τῆς τοιαύτης αἰσθήσεως κοινωνοῦσιν. ἔτι δὲ οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα ὁμοιώματα τῶν ήθῶν ἀλλὰ σημεῖα μᾶλλον τὰ γιγνόμενα, σχήματα καὶ γρώματα τῶν ήθῶν. 21 καὶ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος ἐν τοῖς πάθεσιν. Οὐ μὴν άλλ' δσον διαφέρει καὶ περὶ τὴν τούτων θεωρίαν δεῖ μὴ τὰ Παύσωνος θεωρείν τοὺς νέους, άλλὰ τὰ Πολυγνώτου καν εί τις άλλος των γραφέων ή των άγαλματοποιών έστιν ήθικός. ἐν δὲ τοῖς μέλεσιν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ μιμήμάτα τῶν 22 ήθων και τοῦτ' ἔστι Φανερόν εὐθὺς γάρ ή των άρμονιων διέστηκε Φύσις ώστε ἀκούοντας ἄλλως διατίθεσθαι καὶ μή τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχειν τρόπον πρὸς ἐκάστην αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς 1340 Β μεν ενίας δδυρτικωτέρως καλ συνεστηκότως, μάλλον, οδον πρός την μιξολυδιστί καλουμένην, πρός δὲ τὰς μαλακωτέρως την διάνοιαν, οίον πρός τας άνειμένας μέσως δε καί καθεστηκότως μάλιστα πρὸς ἐτέραν, οἶον δοκεῖ ποιεῖν ή δωριστὶ 23 μόνη τῶν ἀρμονιῶν, ἐνθουσιαστικοὺς δ' ή Φρυγιστί. ταῦτα γαρ καλώς λέγουσιν οί περί την παιδείαν ταύτην πεφιλοσοφηκότες λαμβάνουσι γάρ τὰ μαρτύρια τῶν λόγων εξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων. τὸν αὐτὸν γὰρ τρόπον ἔχει καὶ τὰ

> text, we insert the negative où. Above, § 15, he remarked of music, that πάντες αϊσθησιν έχουσι της ήδονης. 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, however, be sense without the negative. The extent to which objects of sight affect people is slight, and all equally experience it in that extent. 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 ἀλλά] 'Still in proportion as there is a difference,' &c. Compare Poet. II. ii. p. 1448, 5.

> Pauson, of Ephesus, and Polygnotus, of Thasos.

22 εν δε τοις μέλεσιν αὐτοις εστί

μιμήματα τῶν ἡθῶν] 'we have the characters imitated.' μίμημα, "illud ipsum quod imitando efficitur." Ritter ad Poet. 1. iv. p. 78, 1447, 18. 'Opera imitatione expressa." Ibid. p. 102. abroîs, as opposed to onueia, § 20.

εὐθὺς γάρ] for the expression, compare I. v. 2.

δδυρτικωτέρως, κ.τ.λ.] 'We have a feeling of sadness and compression.'

μαλακωτέρως] the opposite of συνεστηκότως, "the soul-dissolving melody," Tennyson, Vision of Sin. 'We have a softer feeling.'

μέσως καὶ καθεστηκότως] ἐν τῷ καθεστηκυία ήλικία, Thuc. II. "Firm and unmoved," Par. Lost, 1. 554, 555. 'The Dorian mood.'

23 of $\pi \in \rho$ l $\tau \not \uparrow \nu$, $\kappa.\tau.\lambda$.] 'who have treated this branch of education philosophically.' 'They get the evidence περί τους ρυθμούς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἦθος ἔχουσι στασιμώτερον The effect οί δε κινητικόν, καὶ τούτων οἱ μεν Φορτικωτέρας ἔχουσι τὰς κινήσεις οἱ δὲ ἐλευθεριωτέρας. ἐκ μὲν οὖν τούτων Φανερὸν ότι δύναται ποιόν τι τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἦθος ἡ μουσικὴ παρα-24 σκευάζειν. εί δε τοῦτο δύναται ποιεῖν, δηλον ὅτι προσακτέον καὶ παιδευτέον ἐν αὐτῆ τοὺς νέους. ἔστι δὲ άρμότ-25 τουσα πρός την Φύσιν την τηλικαύτην ή διδασκαλία τῆς μουσικής οι μεν γάρ νέοι διά την ήλικίαν άνήδυντον ούδεν ύπομένουσιν έκόντες, ή δε μουσική Φύσει τῶν ήδυσμένων έστίν. καί τις ξοικε συγγένεια ταῖς άρμονίαις καὶ τοῖς ρυθμοῖς είναι · διὸ πολλοί Φασι τῶν σοΦῶν οἱ μὲν άρμονίαν είναι την ψυγήν, οί δ' έγειν άρμονίαν.

Πότερον δέ δει μανθάνειν αὐτοὺς ἄδοντάς τε καὶ χει- 6 ρουργούντας η μή, καθάπερ ηπορήθη πρότερον, νῦν λεκτέον. ούκ άδηλον δὲ ὅτι πολλήν ἔχει διαφοράν πρὸς τὸ γίγνε- necessary? σθαι ποιούς τινας, ἐάν τις αὐτὸς κοινωνῆ τῶν ἔργων εν γὰρ τι τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἡ χαλεπῶν ἐστὶ μὴ κοινωνήσαντας τῶν ἔργων κριτάς γενέσθαι σπουδαίους. ἄμα δὲ καὶ δεῖ τοὺς 2 παίδας έχειν τινά διατριβήν, και την Αρχύτου πλαταγήν οἴεσθαι γενέσθαι καλῶς, ην διδόασι τοῖς παιδίοις ὅπως γρώμενοι ταύτη μηδεν καταγνύωσι τῶν κατά τὴν οἰκίαν · οὐ

in support of their arguments from facts.'

ρυθμούς] See Classical Museum, I. ζζζ. δυθμός means time, and nothing else, when applied to music; ρυθμοί, in the plural, means musical bars played

στασιμώτερον] Rhet. II. 15, p. 1390, b. 30, τὰ στάσιμα γένη, 'stable.'

φορτικωτέρας] 'coarser,' 'more vulgar.'

έλευθεριωτέρας, ' more refined.'

24 ξστι δε άρμόττουσα] 'There is an appropriateness in teaching the young music from their age.'

מישלאלים ' without some admixture of sweetness;' 'unsweetened.'

Rai TIS FOIRE GUYYÉVEIA] '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 Phadon of Plato, and Cicero. Tusc. Quæst. 1.

VI. Ι χειρουργούντας] 'themselves both singing and playing.'

πρότερον] V. v. 6.

πολλήν έχει 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.

μή κοινωνήσαντας] 'without actual practice.'

2 πλαταγήν] the 'rattle' of Archytas.

tion of

Is actual γαρ δύναται το νέον ήσυχάζειν. αυτη μεν ούν έστι τοῖς necessary? νηπίοις άρμόττουσα τῶν παιδιῶν, ἡ δὲ παιδεία πλαταγή 3 τοῖς μείζοσι τῶν νέων. ὅτι μὲν οὖν παιδευτέον τὴν μουσικὴν ούτως ώστε καὶ κοινωνεῖν τῶν ἔργων, Φανερον ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων το δε πρέπον και το μή πρέπον ταις ήλικίαις οὐ γαλεπον διορίσαι, καὶ λῦσαι προς τοὺς Φάσκοντας βάναυσον 4 είναι την επιμέλειαν. πρώτον μεν γάρ, επεί τοῦ κρίνειν χάριν μετέχειν δεῖ τῶν ἔργων, διὰ τοῦτο χρη νέους μὲν εντας χρησθαι τοις έργοις, πρεσβυτέρους δε γινομένους των μεν έργων άφεῖσθαι, δύνασθαι δε τὰ καλὰ κρίνειν καὶ χαίρειν Τhe quesδή της επιτιμήσεως ην τινες επιτιμώσιν ώς ποιούσης της precises depends on μουσικής βαναύσους, ού χαλεπόν λύσαι σκεψαμένους μέχρι the music taught and τε πόσου των έργων κοινωνητέον τοῖς πρὸς ἀρετήν παιthe instruments used δευομένοις πολιτικήν, και ποίων μελών και ποίων δυθμών 1341 κοινωνητέον, έτι δε εν ποίοις όργάνοις την μάθησιν ποιητέον.

6 καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο διαφέρειν εἰκός. ἐν τούτοις γὰρ ἡ λύσις έστι της έπιτιμήσεως ούθεν γάρ κωλύει τρόπους τινάς της μουσικής απεργάζεσθαι τὸ λεχθέν. Φανερον τοίνυν δτι δεί την μάθησιν αύτης μήτε έμποδίζειν πρός τας υστερον πράξεις, μήτε τὸ σῶμα ποιεῖν βάναυσον καὶ ἄχρηστον πρὸς τάς πολεμικάς καὶ πολιτικάς άσκήσεις, πρὸς μέν τάς

^{† 8}è maissia] 'and their education should be to the elder children an amusement, a rattle.' Music is a healthy pastime for the young, and there should be no strain of the intellect early.

³ nal kolywyeir] as well as aplyely.

και λύσαι] '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 &#}x27;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 σκεψαμένους] '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 dν τούτοις] 'For here, in these points, lies the answer to the objection.'

Trowns Turds] 'certain methods of teaching and learning music.'

πρός μέν τώς χρήσεις ήδη] 'for the

χρήσεις ήδη, πρὸς δὲ τὰς μαθήσεις υστερον. συμβαίνοι δ' The quesαν περί την μάθησιν, εί μήτε τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας τοὺς practice depends on τεχνικούς συντείνοντα διαπονοΐεν, μήτε τὰ θαυμάσια καὶ the music περιττά τῶν ἔργων, ὰ νῦν ἐλήλυθεν εἰς τοὺς ἀγῶνας, ἐκ δὲ the instruτῶν ἀγώνων εἰς τὴν παιδείαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μέχρι ments used. περ αν δύνωνται χαίρειν τοῖς καλοῖς μέλεσι καὶ ῥυθμοῖς, καὶ μη μόνον τῷ κοινῷ τῆς μουσικῆς, ὧσπερ καὶ τῷν ἄλλων ἔνια ζώων, ἔτι δὲ καὶ πληθος ἀνδραπόδων καὶ παιδίων. δηλον 8 δὲ ἐκ τούτων καὶ ποίοις ὀργάνοις χρηστέον. οὖτε γὰρο αὐλοὺς εἰς παιδείαν ἀκτέον οὖτ' ἄλλο τεχνικὸν ὄργανον, οίον χιθάραν κάν εί τι τοιούτον έτερόν έστιν, άλλ' όσα ποιήσει αὐτῶν ἀκροατὰς ἀγαθοὺς ἡ τῆς μουσικῆς παιδείας η της άλλης. Ετι δ' οὐκ Εστιν ὁ αὐλὸς ήθικὸν άλλὰ μάλλον όργιαστικόν, ώστε πρός τούς τοιούτους αὐτῷ καιρούς χρηστέον έν οίς ή θεωρία κάθαρσιν μαλλον δύναται? ή μάθησιν. προσθώμεν δε ότι συμβέβηκεν έναντίον αὐτῷ io πρός παιδείαν και το κωλύειν τῷ λόγω χρῆσθαι τὴν αὔλησιν. διὸ καλῶς ἀπεδοκίμασαν αὐτοῦ οἱ πρότερον τὴν χρῆσιν ἐκ τῶν νέων καὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων, καίπερ χρησάμενοι τὸ πρῶτον αὐτῷ. σχολαστικώτεροι γὰρ γιγνόμενοι διὰ τὰς εὐπορίας

practice in the present, for the theory later.' ποιούντες γάρ or χρώμενοι μ**ανθά**νομεν.

7 συμβαίνοι δ' αν] 'and the proper results would follow.' Compare the use of συμβαίνει in III. VII. 4, συμβαίνει δ' εὐλόγως.

τούς άγωνας τούς τεχνικούς] 'The contests of professional players.'

τὰ θαυμάσια, κ.τ.λ.] 'Striking and extraordinary pieces.'

8 ἀλλὰ καί] ' But even such they may practise till such time as they shall be

τῷ κοινῷ τῆς μουσικῆς] Above, v. 15, της κοινης ήδονης.

9 τεχνικόν] as opposed to simple, 'requiring professional skill.'

δσα αὐτῶν] 'all instruments.'

δργιαστικόν] 'exciting,' in an active

sense. Compare Herm. ad Soph. Trach. 216, and the Scholiast, epetise yap & αὐλὸς πρὸς τὴν χόρειαν τὰς παρθένους.

κάθαρσιν] Compare Poet. vi. 2, p. 1449, b. 28, where this word occurs in the definition of tragedy: την των τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν. Ritter, on the word, p. 132, says, "ea conformatio affectuum ut omne nimium, omnis perturbatio removeatur." 'Has for its object, not so much instruction, as regulation of the feelings.'

10 και το κωλύειν] 'Its preventing the use of the voice.'

ἀπεδοκίμασαν] 'disapproved of its use by the young on trial;' 'rejected or removed it from the young,' ἐκ τῶν νέων.

II. διὰ τὰς εὐπορίας] 'from the increase of wealth.'

The instru-καὶ μεγαλοψυχότεροι πρὸς ἀρετήν, ἔτι τε πρότερον καὶ μετά τὰ Μηδικά Φρονηματισθέντες ἐκ τῶν ἔργων, πάσης ηπτοντο μαθήσεως, ούδεν διακρίνοντες άλλ' επιζητούντες. 12 διδ καὶ τὴν αὐλητικὴν ἥγαγον πρὸς τὰς μαθήσεις. γάρ ἐν Λακεδαίμονί τις χορηγός αὐτὸς ηὔλησε τῷ χορῷ, καί περί Αθήνας ούτως έπεχωρίασεν ώστε σχεδόν οί πολλοί τῶν ἐλευθέρων μετεῖχον αὐτῆς δῆλον δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πίνακος δυ ανέθηκε Θράσιππος Έκφαντίδη χορηγήσας. υστερον δ ἀπεδοκιμάσθη διὰ τῆς πείρας αὐτῆς, βέλτιον δυναμένων κρίνειν το πρός άρετην και το μη πρός άρετην 13 συντείνον. όμοίως δε καὶ πολλά τῶν ὀργάνων τῶν ἀργαίων, οίον πηκτιδες και βάρβιτοι και τά πρός ήδονην συντείνοντα τοῖς ἀκούουσι τῶν χρωμένων, ἐπτάγωνα καὶ τρίγωνα καὶ 1341 Β σαμβύκαι, καὶ πάντα τὰ δεόμενα χειρουργικής ἐπιστήμης. εὐλόγως δ' ἔγει καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν αὐλῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀργαίων μεμυθολογημένον Φασί γὰρ δὴ τὴν Αθηνᾶν εύροῦσαν ἀπο-14 βαλείν τούς αὐλούς. οὐ κακῶς μεν οὖν ἔχει Φάναι καὶ διὰ την άσχημοσύνην τοῦ προσώπου τοῦτο ποιήσαι δυσχεράνασαν την θεόν· οὐ μην άλλὰ μᾶλλον εἰκὸς ὅτι πρὸς την διάνοιαν οὐθέν ἐστι ή παιδεία τῆς αὐλήσεως τῆ δὲ 'Αθηνᾶ 15 την επιστήμην περιτίθεμεν και την τέχνην. έπει δε των τε δργάνων καὶ τῆς ἐργασίας ἀποδοκιμάζομεν τὴν τεχνικὴν

μεγαλοψυχότεροι] 'having formed loftier 'conceptions,' 'become more confident,'

φρονηματισθέντες έκ, κ.τ.λ.] 'inspirited by their achievements.'

obder disciplinating no distinctions, but constantly seeking new additions.' It is an interesting notice, by Aristotle, of the effect of the successful struggle with Persia in developing the life of threece.

of it; ' αὐτῆς εc. τῆς αὐλητικῆς depends on πείρας.

13 πηκτίδεs] Plato, Rep. 111. 398 c. τοῖς ἀκούουσι τῶν χρωμένων] 'to those who heard players on them.'

χειρουργικής έπιστήμης] 'scientific execution,' 'manual dexterity;' χειρουργούντας, VI. I.

14 οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, κ.τ.λ.] 'Still it is more reasonable.'

ή παιδεία της αὐλήσεως] 'the education derived from flute playing.'

περιτίθεμεν] 'we attribute science and art'—the διανοητικαί άρεταί.

15 έπει δέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'But since both as to instruments and execution.'

¹² ἐπεχωρίασεν] 'It became so popular.' Compare the expression in Aristophanes, τοὐπιχώριον.

Bià the melpas adths] 'on experience

παιδείαν, τεχνικήν δὲ τίθεμεν την πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας · ἐν The instruταύτη γὰρ ὁ πράττων οὐ τῆς αὐτοῦ μεταχειρίζεται χάριν ments used. άρετης, άλλα της των ακουόντων ήδονης, και ταύτης Φορτικής. διόπερ οὐ τῶν ἐλευθέρων κρίνομεν είναι τὴν ἐργασίαν, άλλα θητικωτέραν. καὶ βαναύσους δη συμβαίνει γί- 16 γνεσθαι πονηρός γάρ ὁ σκοπὸς πρὸς ὃν ποιοῦνται τὸ τέλος. ό γαρ θεατής Φορτικός ών μεταβάλλειν εἴωθε τὴν μουσικήν, ώστε καὶ τοὺς τεχνίτας τοὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν μελετῶντας αὐτούς τε ποιούς τινας ποιεί καὶ τὰ σώματα διὰ τὰς κινή-TEIC.

Σκεπτέον δ' έτι περί τε τὰς άρμονίας καὶ τοὺς ρυθμούς, γ καὶ πρὸς παιδείαν πότερον πάσαις χρηστέον ταῖς άρμονίαις The music καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ρυθμοῖς η διαιρετέον, ἔπειτα τοῖς πρός παιδείαν διαπονούσι πότερον τον αύτον διορισμόν θήσομεν ή τριτον δεί τινά έτερον, έπειδή την μεν μουσικήν δρώμεν διά μελοποιίας και ρυθμών οδσαν, τούτων δ' έκάτερον, ού δεῖ λεληθέναι τίνα έχει δύναμιν, πρός παιδείαν, και πότερον προαιρετέον μάλλον την εύμελη μουσικήν η την εύρυθμον. Νομίσαντες οὖν πολλά καλῶς λέγειν περὶ τούτων τῶν τε 2

taught.

τεχνικήν δέ The δέ marks the apodosis, 'professional.'

οὐ τῆς αὐτοῦ χάρω ἀρετῆς] 'It is not in subservience to his own excellence that he follows the pursuit.'

thr έργασίαν] 'His skill in execution.'

16 και βαναύσους δή] and the result is, that they do indeed become Bávavou. πονηρός γάρ ό σκοπός] ' For the point of view to which they bring their end is bad.'

θεατής φορτικός διά την φορτικότητα τῶν ἀκροατῶν, Rhet. 11. 21, ad fin. p. 1395, b. 1.

τούς πρός αὐτίν μελετώντας] 'Those who practise with a view to him,' 'to succeed with him.'

διά τὰς κινήσεις] 'immutationes artis,' Vict.; the changes implied in the μεταβάλλειν. But it seems more natural to take it as referring to the bodily exertions required of professional players.

VII. I 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.

τοις πρός παιδείαν διαπονούσι] Ι am not sure that I know what class he means here. Is it 'those who are studying very deeply the subject (814πονοῦσι) with a view to education, actively, to the education of others, not as a matter of self-cultivation

εὐμελη] 'melodious,' musical in that

εδρυθμον] 'in good time.'

The music νῦν μουσικῶν ἐνίους καὶ τῶν ἐκ Φιλοσοφίας ὅσοι τυγχάνουσιν έμπείρως έχοντες της περί την μουσικήν παιδείας, την μέν taught. καθ' έκαστον άκριβολογίαν άποδώσομεν ζητείν τοίς βουλομένοις παρ' ἐκείνων, νῦν δὲ νομικῶς διέλωμεν, τοὺς τύπους 3 μόνον εἰπόντες περὶ αὐτῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν διαίρεσιν ἀποδεγόμεθα τῶν μελῶν ὡς διαιροῦσί τινες τῶν ἐν Φιλοσοφία, τὰ μὲν ήθικὰ τὰ δὲ πρακτικὰ τὰ δ' ἐνθουσιαστικὰ τιθέντες, καὶ τῶν άρμονιῶν τὴν Φύσιν πρὸς ξκαστα τούτων οἰκείαν άλλην προς άλλο μέρος τιθέασι, Φαμέν δ' οὐ μιᾶς ένεκεν ώφελείας τῆ μουσικῆ χρῆσθαι δεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ πλειόνων χάριν (καὶ γὰρ παιδείας Ενεκεν καὶ καθάρσεως—τί δὲ λέγομεν την κάθαρσιν, νῦν μὲν ἀπλῶς, πάλιν δ' ἐν τοῖς περί ποιητικής ἐροῦμεν σαφέστερου—, τρίτον δὲ πρὸς διαγωγήν, 1342 προς ἄνεσίν τε καὶ προς την της συντονίας ἀνάπαυσιν), Φανερον ότι χρηστέον μεν πάσαις ταῖς άρμονίαις, οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον πάσαις χρηστέον, άλλὰ πρὸς μὲν τὴν παιδείαν ταῖς ήθικωτάταις, πρὸς δὲ ἀκρόασιν ἐτέρων χειρουργούντων 4 καὶ ταῖς πρακτικαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐνθουσιαστικαῖς. √ δ γὰρ περὶ ένίας συμβαίνει πάθος ψυχὰς ἰσχυρῶς, τοῦτο ἐν πάσαις ύπάρχει, τῷ δὲ ἦττον διαΦέρει καὶ τῷ μᾶλλον, οἶον ἔλεος καὶ Φόβος, ἔτι δ' ἐνθουσιασμός. καὶ γὰρ ὑπὸ ταύτης τῆς κινήσεως κατακώχιμοί πινές είσιν έκ δε των ίερων μελών

2 των ἐκ φιλοσοφίας] 'Those who with philosophical cultivation combine practical acquaintance with musical education;' § 3, των ἐν φιλοσοφία.

την καθ' εκαστον ακριβολογίαν] 'exact detail.'

νομικῶs] 'tracing the general laws.' "au point de vue du legislateur," St.

3 μελῶν] μέλος sooms here used for the words of the song, the λόγος. V. v. 7.

nounce the character.'

πρακτικά] 'loading to action.'

μόρον] 'part of our nature.'

νῦν μὸν ἀπλῶν] 'Though now quite
in the general.'

έν τοῖς περί ποιητικῆς] I have given the reference at V. vi. 9.

 $\tau \hat{\eta} s \ \sigma \nu \nu \tau \sigma \nu (as]$ 'of the tension—the excitement.'

4 δ γὰρ περὶ ἐνίαs] 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.

ένθουσιασμός] All men, then, are susceptible of enthusiasm; it is, as with other sensibility, a question of degree.

κατακώχιμοι] 'are under the sway

δρώμεν τούτους, όταν χρήσωνται τοῖς ἐξοργιάζουσι τὴν The music ψυχην μέλεσι, καθισταμένους ώσπερ ιατρείας τυχόντας και taught. καθάρσεως. ταὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο ἀναγκαῖον πάσχειν καὶ τοὺς 🥫 έλεήμονας και τούς Φοβητικούς και τούς όλως παθητικούς, τους δ' άλλους καθ' όσον επιβάλλει τῶν τοιούτων εκάστω, καλ πᾶσι γίγνεσθαί τινα κάθαρσιν καλ κουφίζεσθαι μεθ' ήδονης. Το ιμοίως δε και τα μέλη τα καθαρτικά παρέχει χαρὰν ἀβλαβῆ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. διὸ ταῖς μὲν τοιαύταις 6 ζ άρμονίαις και τοῖς τοιούτοις μέλεσι θετέον τοὺς τὴν θεατρικήν μουσικήν μεταχειριζομένους άγωνιστάς. έπεὶ δ' δ θεατής διττός, ὁ μὲν ἐλεύθερος καὶ πεπαιδευμένος, ὁ δὲ Φορτικός έκ βαναύσων καὶ θητῶν καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων συγκείμενος, αποδοτέον αγωνάς και θεωρίας και τοῖς τοιούτοις πρὸς ἀνάπαυσιν. εἰσὶ δ΄ ὥσπερ αὐτῶν αἱ ψυχαὶ παρε-7 στραμμέναι της κατά φύσιν έξεως, ούτω καὶ τῶν άρμονιῶν παρεκβάσεις είσὶ καὶ τῶν μελῶν τὰ σύντονα καὶ παρακεγρωσμένα. ποιεί δε την ήδονην εκάστοις το κατά Φύσιν οίχεῖον. διόπερ ἀποδοτέον ἐξουσίαν τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις πρός τὸν θεατὴν τὸν τοιοῦτον τοιούτω τινὶ χρῆσθαι τῷ γένει της μουσικής. Πρός δὲ παιδείαν, ώσπερ είρηται, τοῖς ε ήθικοῖς τῶν μελῶν χρηστέον καὶ ταῖς άρμονίαις ταῖς

of.' Compare Eth. x. x. 3, p. 1179, b. 9, ποιήσαι αν κατοκώχιμον έκ τής αρτής.

καθισταμένους, κ.τ.λ.] 'settling, as having found a remedy for their excitement, and a clearing of their disturbance.'

5 παθητικούs] 'impressionable.' κουφίζεσθαι] 'a sense of lightening,

not unaccompanied with pleasure.' Wordsworth, Tintern Abbey.

6 θετέον] "Weise man auf," Stahr. The word is hard. Is 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, θετέον governs both the accusa-

tives, and the datives depend on dywniords.

καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις] 'To suit this latter class of spectators as well as the former.'

7 τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἔξεως] Compare Eth. vii. xiii. 2, p. 1152, b. 34, and 1153, 14; 'the true state in accordance with nature.' την ὑπάρχουσαν φύσιν, Rhet. i. xi. 1, p. 1369, b. 34.

σύντονα] 'strained,' 'high.'

παρακεχρωσμένα] 'corrupted by introducing the ἀρμονία χρωματική.' Liddell and Scott.

τὸ κατὰ φύσιν οἰκεῖον] 'That which is cognate to his nature.' Compare above, 111. 5.

The music τοιαύταις τοιαύτη δ ή δωριστί, καθάπερ είπομεν πρότερον· δέχεσθαι δε δει κάν τινα άλλην ήμιν δοκιμάζωσιν οί taught. κοινωνοί της έν Φιλοσοφία διατριβής και της περί την 9 μουσικήν παιδείας. ὁ δ' ἐν τῆ πολιτεία Σωκράτης οὐ καλῶς την Φρυγιστί μόνην καταλείπει μετά της δωριστί, καί 1342 Β ταῦτα ἀποδοκιμάσας τῶν ὀργάνων τὸν αὐλόν. ἔχει γὰρ την αύτην δύναμιν ή Φρυγιστί τῶν άρμονιῶν ήνπερ αύλος ἐν το τοῖς ὀργάνοις : ἄμφω γὰρ ὀργιαστικὰ καὶ παθητικά. δηλοῖ δ' ή ποίησις · πάσα γὰρ βακχεία καὶ πάσα ή τοιαύτη κίνησις μάλιστα τών δργάνων έστιν έν τοῖς αὐλοῖς, τών δ' άρμονιών έν τοῖς Φρυγιστὶ μέλεσι λαμβάνει ταῦτα τὸ πρέπον, οἶον ὁ τι διθύραμβος όμολογουμένως είναι δοκεί Φρύγιον. καὶ τούτου πολλά παραδείγματα λέγουσιν οἱ περὶ τὴν σύνεσιν ταύτην άλλα τε, καὶ διότι Φιλόξενος εγγειρήσας εν τῆ δωριστὶ ποιήσαι διθύραμβον τοὺς μύθους οὐχ οἶός τ' ήν, άλλ' ὑπὸ της Φύσεως αύτης εξέπεσεν είς την Φρυγιστί την προσήκου-12 σαν άρμονίαν πάλιν. περί δὲ τῆς δωριστὶ πάντες όμολογούσιν ως στασιμωτάτης ούσης καὶ μάλιστ' ήθος έγούσης άνδρεῖον. ἔτι δὲ ἐπεὶ τὸ μέσον μὲν τῶν ὑπερβολῶν έπαινούμεν και χρήναι διώκειν Φαμέν, ή δε δωριστί ταύτην έχει τὴν Φύσιν πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας ἁρμονίας, Φανερὸν ὅτι τὰ Δώρια μέλη πρέπει παιδεύεσθαι μᾶλλον τοῖς νεωτέροις. 13 Είσι δε δύο σκοποί, τό τε δυνατόν και το πρέπον και γάρ τὰ δυνατὰ δεῖ μεταχειρίζεσθαι μᾶλλον καὶ τὰ πρέποντα έκαστοις εστι δε και ταυτα ωρισμένα ταις ήλικίαις, οίον τοῖς ἀπειρηκόσι διὰ χρόνον οὐ ράδιον ἄδειν τὰς συντόνους

> 8 THE EN GINOSOPIQ BIRTPLBES] - THE de pixesuples of § 2, and ter dr pixesopie of § 3. 'Those who are accustomed at once to the philosophical ! competent to judge in this point.' treatment of the subject, &c.

o dr vý wateresa In the republic of l'Intes

10 minus galp Bangains Contra 1. 33. text and note, "violent costasies and manifestations of temperature freeze. and that clashing of noisy instruments."

11 οί περί την σύνεσιν ταύτην] 'Those

καὶ διότι Φιλόξενος] 'and that Philoxenus, of Cythera,

νπο τῶς φύστως, κ.τ.λ.] 'found himself compelled by the nature of the case to give up his attempt, and pass into the Phrygian mood.'

13 this discipandos did

άρμονίας, άλλα τὰς ἀνειμένας ἡ Φύσις ὑποβάλλει τοῖς The music τηλικούτοις. διὸ καλῶς ἐπιτιμῶσι καὶ τοῦτο Σωκράτει taught.
τῶν περὶ τὴν μουσικήν τινες, ὅτι τὰς ἀνειμένας ἀρμονίας τι ἀποδοκιμάσειεν εἰς τὴν παιδείαν, ὡς μεθυστικὰς λαμβάνων αὐτάς, οὐ κατὰ τὴν τῆς μέθης δύναμιν (βακχευτικὸν γὰρ ἥ γε μέθη ποιεῖ μᾶλλον) ἀλλ' ἀπειρηκυίας. ὡστε καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐσομένην ἡλικίαν, τὴν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, δεῖ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀρμονιῶν ἄπτεσθαι καὶ τῶν μελῶν τῶν τοιούτων.
ἔτι δ' εἴ τίς ἐστι τοιαύτη τῶν ἀρμονιῶν ἡ πρέπει τῆ τῶν τς παίδων ἡλικία διὰ τὸ δύνασθαι κόσμον τ' ἔχειν ἄμα καὶ παιδείαν, οἷον ἡ λυδιστὶ Φαίνεται πεπονθέναι μάλιστα τῶν ἀρμονιῶν, δῆλον ὅτι τούτους ὅρους τρεῖς ποιητέον εἰς τὴν παιδείαν, τό τε μέσον καὶ τὸ δυνατὸν καὶ τὸ πρέπον.

'Those who, from their time of life, have lost their powers.'

συντόνους] 'requiring a great strain,' high.'

14 ώs μεθυστικάς λαμβάνων αὐτάς] 'looking on them as partaking of the character of intoxication, not intoxication in its strictest form as an active power (for drunkenness has a tendency to excite a man), but with reference to the exhaustion consequent on intoxication.'

Nickes thinks this discussion on music complete. 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 That they are fragmentary is, I think, clear. No MATTICHETIES. 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 hyperess blank from a certain point, and so is a detailed scarcing of his views on the great question of the fifth book of the Republic, the position of women in his state. That he either and their treat it, or means to treat it, is certain from L 13, 15, and that directly and degratability, not negatively, as in his review of Plato's so seem. To resume them 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 see himself to build up a state which should avoid those general and combine harmonicasly whatever had been proved in result to be good. His state so formed would have been to him a grave as which relieves might gradually conform themselves, a Greek with all its complex organization to which the statesmen or the normal realist might look as their model, either in re-constithe ongover reviewment, their own states, or in forming new ones, an were which the Greek system of colonisation made by no means an were the same that such results of his political wisdom were Assured and very commingent. A nearest destrict might be ad-Armed to the policial philosopher. The actual state of things is very experies. The hely politic as made as the body natural, require constant accounts when some careful remedies when unsound the post was sounder exercise of desirant with these evils, this unsoundness who due of record origin or of long standing! Is the sounds at the as produced in the ordinary sense! Can there be description are as arguerable a flag arising comingencies? In in he words -- car abore he hased on a an are which may guide the as an expectation of the ideal of the ideal of the ideal was a ly m main is while of political philosophy. He who studies that philosophy must be like the true physician. 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, demo-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, στάσις. 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 $\sigma \tau \acute{\alpha} \sigma \iota c$. 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 $\mu \epsilon \tau \alpha \beta o \lambda \acute{\eta}$. 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, irreconcileable 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. XI.).

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 democratical. 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.

$\Pi O \Lambda I T I K \Omega N Z$. (Δ .)

tions which political meterien lina to HIINWET.

ΕΝ άπάσαις ταϊς τέχναις καὶ ταῖς ἐπιστήμαις ταῖς μὴ κατὰ μόριον γινομέναις, άλλὰ περί γένος έν τι τελείαις ούσαις, μιᾶς ἐστὶ θεωρήσαι τὸ περί ἔκαστον γένος άρμόττον, οίον άσκησις σώματι ποία τε ποίω συμφέρει καὶ τίς άρίστη (τῷ γὰρ κάλλιστα πεφυκότι καὶ κεχορηγημένω τὴν άρίστην άναγκαῖον άρμόττειν), καὶ τίς τοῖς πλείστοις μία πάσιν· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τῆς γυμναστικῆς ἐστίν. ἔτι δ' ἐάν τις μή της Ικνουμένης επιθυμή μήθ' έξεως μήτ' επιστήμης των πορί την άγωνίαν, μηδέν ήττον του παιδοτρίβου καί τοῦ γυμναστικοῦ παρασκευάσαι τε καὶ ταύτην ἐστὶ τὴν δμοίως δε τοῦτο καὶ περὶ ἰατρικὴν καὶ περὶ δύναμιν.

1, 1 ταίν μή κατά μόριον γινομέrand "Qui no restent pas trop par-Hallon," Mt. Hil.; 'which are not multimed antirely to some one branch of a nultiont, but which embrace comidutely some one whole subject.' For the automitmation of the various arts and solution, sea N.A. t. l. 3, 4, p. tinit, U.

none fact, w. e. \ \ ' It be the province of and and the same science to conwhile all that is appropriate to that antifect in each case."

Annuary promotest in the widest many to the someor that there's of this bodily ill eightine, and which is here threat for illustration. It would not to my married from the medical sections to mp note on 1 (1111) in. 13. That to a my my may my the

what to the terming that we is the " 1 - " most to the name to retricting thesis

what is the average training?

2 της ίκνουμένης] 'That which suits him,' 'is appropriate to his case;' in other words, the best that he might have. Supposing a man not to be desirous of attaining the best state of body of which he is susceptible, or the highest degree of skill in the various exercises which he might attain, but to acquiesce in a lower state of body and lower degree of skill, not the less would it be the part of those in whose care he was, to see that he attained the particular state and degree of skill which he desired.

Tar week The dywelar] practically equivalent to row topor, V. III. 13: *knowledge of that which regards the active exertion, the struggle,' which knowledge it was the part of yourathe terr adversary and added " and | army proper to give, whilst maderpe-Say dealt with the state of the body.

ναυπηγίαν καὶ ἐσθῆτα καὶ περὶ πᾶσαν ἄλλην τέχνην ὁρῶμεν The questions which συμβαῖνον. ὅστε δῆλον ὅτι καὶ πολιτείαν τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστὶν political ωστε δηλον ότι και πολιτείαν της αύτης έστιν έπιστήμης την άρίστην θεωρήσαι τίς έστι, καλ ποία τις άν οὖσα μάλιστ' εἴη κατ' εὐχήν, μηδενὸς ἐμποδίζοντος τῶν έκτός, καὶ τίς τίσιν άρμόττουσα· πολλοῖς γάρ τῆς άρίστης 3 τυχείν Ισιος άδύνατον, ώστε την κρατίστην τε άπλώς καιτην έκ τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἀρίστην οὐ δεῖ λεληθέναι τὸν νομοθέτην και τον ώς άληθως πολιτικόν. έτι δε τρίτην 4 την εξ υποθέσεως. δεί γαρ και την δοθείσαν δύνασθαι τον 3044 θεωρείν, έξ άρχης τε πως αν γένοιτο, και γενομένη τίνα τρόπον αν σώζοιτο πλεϊστον χρόνου. λέγω δ' οίον εί τινι πόλει συμβέβηκε μήτε την αρίστην πολιτεύεσθαι πολιτείαν άχορήγητόν τε είναι καὶ τῶν άναγκαίων, μήτε τὴν ἐνδεχομένην έχ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, ἀλλά τινα Φαυλοτέραν. παρὰ 5 πάντα δὲ ταῦτα τὴν μάλιστα πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν άρμόττουσαν δεί γνωρίζειν, ώς οἱ πλείστοι τῶν ἀποφαινομένων περί πολιτείας, καί εἰ τάλλα λέγουσι καλῶς, τῶν γε χρησίμων διαμαρτάνουσιν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὴν ἀρίστην 6 δεῖ θεωρεῖν, άλλὰ καὶ τὴν δυνατήν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν

has to answer.

ἐσθῆτα] Schneider proposes Ιστουρylar, but it is not necessary to make a change, though the word comes in very oddly when he is dealing with processes or acts.

3 ώστε δήλον] The same reasoning will hold good for the political science. It, as well as other sciences, will have a fourfold application. It should be able to say what is the ideal constitution; 2ndly, what is the best average one (§ 5); 3rdly, what is the best under existing circumstances (την έκ των υποκειμένων, οτ έκ των υπαρχόντων αρίστην); 4thly, how should be formed, and, when formed, preserved, one which is neither the best, nor the best under the circumstances, but still one which is wished and acquiesced in (την έξ ύποθέσεως, φαυλοτέραν τινα), a worse than need be acquiesced in, and the conditions of which are self-imposed.

4 έξ ἀρχης τε χρόνον] Spengel, p. 21, note 23, would change the place of these words, and put them directly after του ώς άληθως πολιτικόν. either position, it seems to me, they give a good sense, so that it does not seem worth while to make the change.

αχορήγητόν τε elvai, 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 τη αρίστη after αναγκαίων.

5 τῶν γε χρησίμων διαμαρτάνουσιν] 'are yet thoroughly devoid of all useful suggestions.'

Τω καιά τοιαύταις: τοιαύτη, δ' ή δωριστί, καθάπερ είπομεν πρότερου δέγεσθαι δε δεί καν τινα άλλην ήμιν δοκιμάζωσιν οί urght κοινωνοί της εν Φιλοσοφία διατριβής και της περί την 9 μουσικήν παιδείας. δ δ' έν τη πολιτεία Σωκράτης οὐ καλῶς την Φρυγιστί μόνην καταλείπει μετά της δαριστί, καί 1342 Β Ταῦτα ἀποδοκιμάσας τῶν ὀργάνων τὸν αὐλόν. ἔχει γὰρ την αύτην δύναμιν ή φρυγιστί των άρμονιων ήνπερ αὐλος έν το τοῖς ὀργάνοις : ἄμιφω γὰρ ὀργιαστικὰ καὶ παθητικά. δηλοῖ δ΄ ή πώτσις · πάσα γάς βακχεία καὶ πάσα ή τοιαύτη κίνησις μάλιστα τών δεγάνων έστιν έν τοῖς αὐλοῖς, τών δ' άρμονιών έν τοις Φρυγιστί μέλεσι λαμβάνει ταῦτα τὸ πρέπον, οἶον ὁ τι διτύραμιδος όμολογουμένως είναι δοκεί Φρύγιον. και τούτου πολλά παραδείγματα λέγουσιν οἱ περὶ τὴν σύνεσιν ταύτην άλλα τε, καὶ διότι Φιλόξενος εγγειρήσας εν τῆ δωριστὶ ποιήσαι διτύραμερον τους μύθους ούχ οδός τ' ήν, άλλ' ύπδ της φύσεως αύτης εξέπεσεν είς την φρυγιστί την προσήκου-12 σαν άρμονίαν πάλιν. περί δε της δωριστί πάντες όμολογούσιν ως στασιμωτάτης ούσης καὶ μάλιστ' ήθος έχούσης άνδρείου. ἔτι δὲ ἐπεὶ τὸ μέσον μὲν τῶν ὑπερβολῶν έπαινούμεν και χρήναι διώκειν φαμέν, ή δε δωριστί ταύτην έχει τὴν Φύσιν πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας ἀρμονίας, Φανερὸν ὅτι τὰ Δώρια μέλη πρέπει παιδεύεσθαι μάλλον τοῖς νεωτέροις. 13 Είσι δε δύο σκοποί, τό τε δυνατόν και το πρέπον και γάρ τὰ δυνατὰ δεῖ μεταχειρίζεσθαι μᾶλλον καὶ τὰ πρέποντα έκαστοις. έστι δε και ταῦτα ωρισμένα ταῖς ήλικίαις, οἶον τοις απειρηκόσι δια χρόνον οὐ ράδιον άδειν τὰς συντόνους

8 τψs dr φιλοσοφία διατριβψs] = τῶν dr φιλοσοφίαs of § 2, and τῶν dr φιλοσοφία of § 3. 'Those who are accustomed at once to the philosophical treatment of the subject,' &c.

9 er vý rodirela.] In the republic of Plato.

10 πάσα γὰρ βακχεία] Grote, 1. 32, text and note; "violent ecstasies and manifestations of temporary frenzy,

and that clashing of noisy instruments."

11 οἱ περὶ τὴν σύνεσιν ταύτην] 'Those competent to judge in this point.'

ral διότι Φιλόξετος] 'and that Philoxenus,' of Cythera.

δπό τῆς φόσεως, κ.τ.λ.] 'found himself compelled by the nature of the case to give up his attempt, and pass into the Phrygian mood.'

13 τοις ἀπειρηκόσι διὰ χρόνον]

άρμονίας, άλλὰ τὰς ἀνειμένας ἡ Φύσις ὑποβάλλει τοῖς The music to be τηλικούτοις. διὸ καλῶς ἐπιτιμῶσι καὶ τοῦτο Σωκράτει taught. τῶν περὶ τὴν μουσικήν τινες, ὅτι τὰς ἀνειμένας ἀρμονίας τι ἀποδοκιμάσειεν εἰς τὴν παιδείαν, ὡς μεθυστικὰς λαμβάνων αὐτάς, οὐ κατὰ τὴν τῆς μέθης δύναμιν (βακχευτικὸν γὰρ ῆ γε μέθη ποιεῖ μᾶλλον) ἀλλ' ἀπειρηκυίας. ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐσομένην ἡλικίαν, τὴν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, δεῖ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀρμονιῶν ἄπτεσθαι καὶ τῶν μελῶν τῶν τοιούτων. ἔτι δ' εἴ τίς ἐστι τοιαύτη τῶν ἀρμονιῶν π̂ πρέπει τῆ τῶν τς παίδων ἡλικία διὰ τὸ δύνασθαι κόσμον τ' ἔχειν ἄμα καὶ παιδείαν, οἶον ἡ λυδιστὶ Φαίνεται πεπονθέναι μάλιστα τῶν ἀρμονιῶν, δῆλον ὅτι τούτους ὅρους τρεῖς ποιητέον εἰς τὴν παιδείαν, τό τε μέσον καὶ τὸ δυνατὸν καὶ τὸ πρέπον.

'Those who, from their time of life, have lost their powers.'

συντόνους] 'requiring a great strain,' high.'

14 ως μεθυστικός λαμβάνων αὐτάς] 'looking on them as partaking of the character of intoxication, not intoxication in its strictest form as an active power (for drunkenness has a tendency to excite a man), but with reference to the exhaustion consequent on intoxication.'

Nickes thinks this discussion on music complete. 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 That they are fragmentary is, I think, clear. 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 $\pi \delta \lambda i \varsigma$ 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? 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. 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, demo-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, στάσις. 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 $\sigma r \acute{\alpha} \sigma \iota c$. 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 $\mu \epsilon r \alpha \beta o \lambda \acute{\eta}$. 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, irreconcileable 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. XI.).

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.).

Frem 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 democratical. 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.

$\Pi O \Lambda I T I K \Omega N Z. (\Delta.)$

tions which political science has to answer.

The ques- EN απάσαις ταῖς τέχναις καὶ ταῖς ἐπιστήμαις ταῖς μὴ κατά μόριον γινομέναις, άλλά περί γένος έν τι τελείαις οὖσαις, μιᾶς ἐστὶ θεωρῆσαι τὸ περὶ ἔκαστον γένος άρμόττον, οίον άσκησις σώματι ποία τε ποίω συμφέρει καὶ τίς άρίστη (τῷ γὰρ κάλλιστα πεφυκότι καὶ κεχορηγημένω τὴν άρίστην άναγκαῖον άρμόττειν), καὶ τίς τοῖς πλείστοις μία 2 πᾶσιν· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τῆς γυμναστικῆς ἐστίν. ἔτι δ' ἐάν τις μη της ίκνουμένης έπιθυμη μήθ έξεως μήτ έπιστήμης τῶν περί τὴν ἀγωνίαν, μηδεν ἦττον τοῦ παιδοτρίβου καὶ τοῦ γυμναστικοῦ παρασκευάσαι τε καὶ ταύτην ἐστὶ τὴν όμοίως δε τοῦτο καὶ περὶ ἰατρικήν καὶ περὶ δύναμιν.

I. 1 ταις μή κατά μόριον γινομέvais] "Qui ne restent pas trop partielles," St. Hil.; 'which are not confined entirely to some one branch of a subject, but which embrace completely some one whole subject.' For . the subordination of the various arts and sciences, see Eth. 1. i. 3, 4, p. 1094, 9.

μιᾶs ἐστί, 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. 111. 406; Grote, IV. 538.

τίς τοις πλείστοις μία πασιν] 'and what is the training that suits the great majority of men, all of them'?- what is the average training?

2 της ίκνουμένης] 'That which suits him,' 'is appropriate to his case;' in other words, the best that he might have. Supposing a man not to be desirous of attaining the best state of body of which he is susceptible, or the highest degree of skill in the various exercises which he might attain, but to acquiesce in a lower state of body and lower degree of skill, not the less would it be the part of those in whose care he was, to see that he attained the particular state and degree of skill which he desired.

τῶν περὶ τὴν ἀγωνίαν] practically equivalent to Twv Epywv, V. III. 13: 'knowledge of that which regards the active exertion, the struggle,' which knowledge it was the part of yuuraστική proper to give, whilst παιδοτρι-Buch dealt with the state of the body.

ναυπηγίαν καὶ ἐσθῆτα καὶ περὶ πᾶσαν ἄλλην τέχνην ὁρῶμεν The questions which συμβαῖνον. ἄστε δῆλον ὅτι καὶ πολιτείαν τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστὶν political έπιστήμης την αρίστην θεωρήσαι τίς έστι, και ποία τις αν ούσα μάλιστ' είη κατ' εύχήν, μηδενός έμποδίζοντος τῶν ἐκτός, καὶ τίς τίσιν άρμόττουσα· πολλοῖς γάρ τῆς άρίστης 3 τυχεῖν ἴσως ἀδύνατον, ὥστε τὴν κρατίστην τε ἀπλῶς καὶτην έκ των ύποκειμένων άρίστην ού δεῖ λεληθέναι τὸν νομοθέτην καὶ τὸν τὸς ἀληθῶς πολιτικόν. ἔτι δὲ τρίτην 4 την εξ ύποθέσεως. δει γάρ και την δοθείσαν δύνασθαι απο βουν θεωρείν, έξ άρχης τε πως αν γένοιτο, και γενομένη τίνα τρόπον αν σώζοιτο πλεϊστον χρόνου λέγω δ' οίον εί τινι πόλει συμβέβηκε μήτε την αρίστην πολιτεύεσθαι πολιτείαν άχορήγητόν τε είναι καὶ τῶν άναγκαίων, μήτε τὴν ἐνδεχομένην έκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, ἀλλά τινα Φαυλοτέραν. παρὰ 5 πάντα δὲ ταῦτα τὴν μάλιστα πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν άρμόττουσαν δεί γνωρίζειν, ώς οι πλείστοι των αποφαινομένων περί πολιτείας, καί εἰ τάλλα λέγουσι καλώς, τῶν γε χρησίμων διαμαρτάνουσιν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὴν ἀρίστην 6 δεῖ θεωρεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν δυνατήν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν

ἐσθῆτα] Schneider proposes Ιστουρylar, but it is not necessary to make a change, though the word comes in very oddly when he is dealing with processes or acts.

3 ἄστε δήλον] The same reasoning will hold good for the political science. It, as well as other sciences, will have a fourfold application. It should be able to say what is the ideal constitution: 2ndly, what is the best average one (§ 5); 3rdly, what is the best under existing circumstances (τὴν ἐκ τῶν ὑποκειμένων, οτ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αρίστην); 4thly, how should be formed, and, when formed, preserved, one which is neither the best, nor the best under the circumstances, but still one which is wished and acquiesced in (την έξ ύποθέσεως, φαυλοτέραν τινα), a worse than need be acquiesced in, and the conditions of which are self-imposed.

4 ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε χρόνον] Spengel, p. 21, note 23, would change the place of these words, and put them directly after τον ώς άληθως πολιτικόν. either position, it seems to me, they give a good sense, so that it does not seem worth while to make the change.

αχορήγητόν τε είναι, 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 τη αρίστη after αναγκαίων.

5 τῶν γε χρησίμων διαμαρτάνουσιν] 'are yet thoroughly devoid of all useful suggestions.'

political science has to

καὶ δεομένην πολλής χορηγίας ζητοῦσι μόνον οἱ δὲ μάλλον κοινήν τινα λέγοντες, τὰς ὑπαρχούσας ἀναιροῦντες πολιτείας, answer. την Λακωνικήν ή τινα άλλην έπαινοῦσιν. χρη δε τοιαύτην 1289 είσηγεῖσθαι τάξιν ην ραδίως έκ τῶν ὑπαρχουσῶν καὶ πεισθήσονται καὶ δυνήσονται κοινωνεῖν, ώς ἔστιν οὐκ έλαττον έργον τὸ ἐπανορθῶσαι πολιτείαν ἢ κατασκευάζειν έξ άρχης, ώσπερ καὶ τὸ μεταμανθάνειν τοῦ μανθάνειν έξ άργης, διὸ πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις καὶ ταῖς ὑπαργούσαις πολιτείαις δεί δύνασθαι βοηθείν τον πολιτικόν, καθάπερ έλέ-8 χθη καλ πρότερον. τοῦτο δὲ ἀδύνατον ἀγνοοῦντα πόσα πολιτείαις έστὶν εἴδη. νῦν δὲ μίαν δημοκρατίαν οἴονταί τινες είναι καὶ μίαν όλιγαρχίαν οὐκ ἔστι δὲ τοῦτ' ἀληθές. ώστε δεῖ τὰς διαφοράς μή λανθάνειν τὰς τῶν πολιτειῶν, 9 πόσαι, καὶ συντίθενται ποσαχῶς. Μετὰ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς Φρονήσεως ταύτης καὶ νόμους τοὺς ἀρίστους ἰδεῖν καὶ τοὺς έκάστη των πολιτειών άρμόττοντας πρός γάρ τάς πολιτείας τούς νόμους δεῖ τίθεσθαι καὶ τίθενται πάντες. το άλλ' οὐ τὰς πολιτείας πρὸς τοὺς νόμους. πολιτεία μέν γάρ ἐστι τάξις ταῖς πόλεσιν ή περὶ τὰς ἀρχάς, τίνα τρόπον νενέμηνται, καὶ τί τὸ κύριον τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τί

> 6 δάω και κοινοτέραν] 'That which is more easily established and more accessible, more generally attainable,' II. vi. 4.

> δεομένην πολλής χορηγίας] ' requiring large appliances.'

> τας ύπαρχούσας αναιρούντες] 'putting aside, taking no account of, the existing forms.'

> 7 $h\nu$ βαδίως, κ.τ.λ.] 'which they shall without difficulty be both persuaded and able to adopt as an exchange for the actual forms.' (κοινωνίαν) κοινωνείν.

> μεταμανθάνειν] 'to unlearn, and learn something instead.' Herod. 1.

> ταις ύπαρχούσαις βοηθείν] 'to aid the existing constitutions;' make the best

of the materials actually in hand. The work of reform.

και πρότερον] I am not sure of the exact reference meant.

8 συντίθενται ποσαχώς] 'The number of their combinations.

9 της αὐτης φρονήσεως] 'This same science.' The highest form of ppdνησις is πολιτική. Comp. Eth. vi. viii. 3, p. 1141, b. 23, ή πολιτική και ή φρόνησις ή αὐτή μέν έξις, κ.τ.λ. 80 that the generic term poornous is here used for the specific πολιτική, and the highest form of this latter is stated, in the same passage of the Ethics, to be νομοθετική.

πρός γάρ τάς πολιτείας] Compare III, XI, 20, 21.

τὸ τέλος ἐκάστης τῆς κοινωνίας ἐστίν· νόμοι δὲ κεχωρι- The quesσμένοι τῶν δηλούντων τὴν πολιτείαν, καθ οὖς δεῖ τοὺς political aρχοντας ἄρχειν καὶ Φυλάττειν τοὺς παραβαίνοντας αὐτούς. science hus to answer. ώστε δήλον ότι τὰς διαφοράς ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ... έχειν τῆς πολιτείας έκάστης καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν νόμων θέσεις ου γάρ οδόν τε τους αυτούς νόμους συμφέρειν ταῖς όλιγαρχίαις οὐδὲ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις πάσαις, εἶπερ δὴ πλείους καὶ μὴ μία δημοκρατία μηδε όλιγαρχία μόνον έστίν.

Έπεὶ δ' ἐν τῆ πρώτη μεθόδω περὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν 2 διειλόμεθα τρεῖς μὲν τὰς ὀρθὰς πολιτείας, βασιλείαν The arrangement άριστοκρατίαν πολιτείαν, τρεῖς δὲ τὰς τούτων παρεκβάσεις, of his work. τυραννίδα μεν βασιλείας, όλιγαρχίαν δε άριστοκρατίας, δημοκρατίαν δὲ πολιτείας, καὶ περὶ μὲν ἀριστοκρατίας καὶ βασιλείας εξρηται (τὸ γὰρ περὶ τῆς ἀρίστης πολιτείας θεωρησαι ταύτο και περί τούτων έστιν είπεῖν τῶν ονομάτων: βούλεται γὰρ έκατέρα κατ' άρετην συνεστάναι κεχορηγημένην), ἔτι δὲ τί διαφέρουσιν ἀλλήλων ἀριστοκρατία καὶ

10 indorns | Schneider and Coray are for reading endorous. Vet. Tr. has 'singulis.' 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?'

νόμοι δέ, 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 και πρός τας θέσεις] 'even for the making of laws.'

II. I 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, Basile and αριστοκρατία; it states that the third form yet remains, as do also the three imperfect ones or deviations. 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.

τη πρώτη μεθόδφ] 'The first part of our treatise περί πολιτείας.' ΙΙΙ. 7.

περί τούτων των ονομάτων] Compare III. xviii. I, 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.'

βασιλεία, καὶ πότε δεῖ βασιλείαν νομίζειν, διώρισται The arrangement rangement of his work. πρότερου, λοιπου περί πολιτείας διελθείν της τῷ κοινῷ προσαγορευομένης ὀνόματι, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτειῶν, 2 όλιγαρχίας τε καὶ δημοκρατίας καὶ τυραννίδος. Φανερὸν μεν ούν και τούτων των παρεκβάσεων τίς χειρίστη και δευτέρα τίς. ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὴν μὲν τῆς πρώτης καὶ θειοτάτης παρέκβασιν είναι χειρίστην την δε βασιλειαν 1289 Β άναγκαῖον ή τοὖνομα μόνον ἔχειν οὐκ οὖσαν, ἡ διὰ πολλὴν ύπεροχήν είναι τήν του βασιλεύοντος, ώστε τήν τυραννίδα γειρίστην ούσαν πλεϊστον άπέχειν πολιτείας, δεύτερον δὲ την όλιγαρχίαν (ή γαρ άριστοκρατία διέστηκεν άπο ταύτης πολύ τῆς πολιτείας), μετριωτάτην δὲ τὴν δημοκρατίαν. 3 Ηδη μεν ουν τις άπεφήνατο και των πρότερον ουτως, ου μην είς ταὐτὸ βλέψας ήμῖν. ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ ἔκρινε πασῶν μεν ούσων επιεικών, οίον όλιγαρχίας τε χρηστής και των άλλων, γειρίστην δημοκρατίαν, Φαύλων δε άρίστην ήμεῖς δε δλως ταύτας εξημαρτημένας είναί Φαμεν, και βελτίω μεν όλιγαρχίαν άλλην άλλης οὐ καλῶς ἔχει λέγειν, ἦττον δὲ 4 Φαύλην. 'Αλλά περί μέν της τοιαύτης κρίσεως άφείσθω τὰ νῦν ήμῖν δὲ πρῶτον μὲν διαιρετέον πόσαι διαφοραί τῶν πολιτειῶν, εἴπερ ἔστιν εἴδη πλείονα τῆς τε δημοκρατίας καὶ της ολιγαρχίας, ἔπειτα τίς κοινοτάτη καὶ τίς αἰρετιστάτη μετά την άρίστην πολιτείαν, καν εί τις άλλη τετύχηκεν άριστοκρατική καὶ συνεστῶσα καλῶς ἀλλὰ ταῖς πλείσταις ς άρμόττουσα πόλεσι τίς έστιν. Επειτα καλ τῶν ἄλλων τίς

τῆς τῷ κοινῷ ὀνόματι] ΙΙΙ. \forall II. 3, καλεῖται τὸ κοινὸν ὅνομα, πολιτεία.

² So Eth. VIII. xii. 2, p. 1160, b. 9, κάκιστον τὸ ἐναντίον τῷ βελτίστφ.

ή γὰρ ἀριστοκρατία, κ.τ.λ.] 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.

μετριωτάτην] ήκιστα μοχθηρόν is his language, Ετλ. viii. xii. 3, p. 1160, b. 19.

^{3 715]} Plato, in the Politicus.

οὐ μὴν els ταὐτὸ βλέψας ἡμῖν] 'not, however, from the same point of view as ours.'

⁴ πρῶτον] In Chapters III.—X. of this Book.

έπειτα] Ch. XI.

κάν εί τις άλλη, κ.τ.λ.] 'and after any other constitution there may be of an aristocratical character and well formed.'

⁵ ἔπειτα] Chaps. XII. XIII.

τίσιν αίρετή· τάχα γὰρ τοῖς μὲν ἀναγκαία δημοκρατία μᾶλ- The arλον όλιγαρχίας, τοῖς δ' αὕτη μᾶλλον ἐκείνης. μετὰ δὲ of his work. ταῦτα τίνα τρόπον δεῖ καθιστάναι τὸν βουλόμενον ταύτας τας πολιτείας, λέγω δε δημοκρατίας τε καθ έκαστον είδος καὶ πάλιν όλιγαρχίας. τέλος δέ, πάντων τούτων όταν 6 ποιησώμεθα συντόμως την ένδεχομένην μνείαν, πειρατέον έπελθεῖν τίνες Φθοραὶ καὶ τίνες σωτηρίαι τῶν πολιτειῶν καὶ χοινή καὶ χωρὶς ἐκάστης, καὶ διὰ τίνας αἰτίας ταῦτα μάλιστα γίνεσθαι πέφυκεν.

> government.

Τοῦ μέν οὖν είναι πλείους πολιτείας αίτιον ὅτι πάσης 3 έστὶ μέρη πλείω πόλεως τὸν ἀριθμόν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐξ The number of the οίκιῶν συγκειμένας πάσας δρῶμεν τὰς πόλεις, ἔπειτα πάλιν forms of τούτου τοῦ πλήθους τοὺς μὲν εὐπόρους ἀναγκαῖον είναι τοὺς δ' ἀπόρους τοὺς δὲ μέσους, καὶ τῶν εὐπόρων δὲ καὶ τῶν άπόρων το μεν οπλιτικον το δε άνοπλον. και τον μεν 2 γεωργικον δημον όρωμεν έντα, του δ' άγοραῖου, του δε βάναυσον. καὶ τῶν γνωρίμων εἰσὶ διαφοραί καὶ κατὰ τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ τὰ μεγέθη τῆς οὐσίας, οἶον ἱπποτροΦίας. τοῦτο γὰρ οὐ ράδιον μὴ πλουτοῦντας ποιεῖν. διόπερ ἐπὶ , τῶν ἀρχαίων χρίνων ὖσαις πόλεσιν ἐν τοῖς ἵπποις ἡ δύναμις τν, όλιγαρχίαι παρά τούτοις ήσαν. ἐχριοντο δὲ πρὸς τοὺς

μετά δὲ ταῦτα] Chaps. XIV.—XVI. and VII. (VI.)

6 τέλος δέ] With Nickes, p. 112, note 2, I put a comma after δέ, and make τέλος adverbial: 'and at last,' 'finally.'

πάντων τούτων] By this change in the stopping, these words are made to depend on την ενδεχομένην μνείαν. 'When I shall have briefly made such mention, as was admissible, of all these points already mentioned, then I shall, &c.'

ἐπελθεῖν, 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 stanchest supporter of the old order that I have met with.

III. I πλείους] This resumes the subject with which Ch. I. closed, είπερ δή πλείους και μή μία δημοκρατία μηδέ όλιγαρχία μόνον έστίν. 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.

τούτου τοῦ πλήθους] 'of the number of citizens so formed.

2 ayopaiov | '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 er rois lamois] this was a sign of great wealth, and the distinctive characteristic of oligarchy is wealth.

πολέμους ιπποις πρός τους άστυγείτονας, οδον 'Ερετριείς ber of the forms of καί Χαλκιδεῖς καὶ Μάγνητες οἱ ἐπὶ Μαιάνδρω καὶ τῶν governάλλων πολλοί περί την 'Ασίαν, έτι πρός ταῖς κατά ment. - πλοῦτον διαφοραῖς ἐστὶν ἡ μὲν κατὰ γένος ἡ δὲ κατ' 1290 άρετήν, καν εί τι δή τοιούτον έτερον είρηται πόλεως είναι μέρος εν τοῖς περί τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν έκεῖ γὰρ διειλόμεθα έκ πόσων μερών άναγκαίων έστι πάσα πόλις τούτων γάρ τῶν μερῶν ότὲ μὲν πάντα μετέχει τῆς πολιτείας, ότὲ δ' 5 έλάττω, ότε δε πλείω. Φανερον τοίνον δτι πλείους άναγχαῖον είναι πολιτείας, είδει διαφερούσας άλλήλων καὶ γὰρ ταῦτ' είδει διαφέρει τὰ μέρη σφών αὐτών. πολιτεία μέν γὰρ ή τῶν ἀρχῶν τάξις ἐστί, ταύτην δὲ διανέμονται πάντες ἡ κατὰ την δύναμιν τῶν μετεχόντων η κατά τιν' αὐτῶν ἰσότητα κοινήν, λέγω δ' οίον των απόρων ή των ευπόρων, ή κοινήν 6 τιν' άμφοῖν. άναγκαῖον ἄρα πολιτείας είναι τοσαύτας δσαι περ τάξεις κατὰ τὰς ὑπεροχάς εἰσι καὶ κατὰ τὰς διαφοράς τῶν μορίων. μάλιστα δὲ δοκοῦσιν είναι δύο, καθάπερ επί τῶν πνευμάτων λέγεται τὰ μεν βόρεια τὰ

δὲ νότια, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τούτων παρεκβάσεις οὕτω καὶ τῶν 7 πολιτειῶν δύο, δῆμος καὶ ὀλιχαρχία. τὴν γὰρ ἀριστοκρατίαν τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας εἶδος τιθέασιν ὡς οὖσαν ὀλιγαρχίαν *πολεμίους Bekker.

πολέμους] This reading, adopted by Coray, and supported by Vet. Tr., seems best suited to the passage. Mr. Grote, III. 42, speaks of cavalry "as the primitive oligarchical militia."

Χαλκιδείς] in Eubœa.

4 έν τοῖς περὶ τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν]
Compare for the expression, I. xiii.
15, έν 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 ἡ τῶν ἀρχῶν τάξιs]=τάξιs ἡ περὶ τὰs ἀρχάs I. 10.

οΐον τῶν ἀπόρων, κ.τ.λ.] This explains τὴν δύναμιν τῶν μετεχόντων, as the next words, κοινήν τιν' ἀμφοῦν, explain κατά τιν' Ισότητα κοινήν. Compare VIII. (V.) 1. 14.

6 κατὰ τὰς ὁπεροχάς] '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.

έπὶ τῶν πυευμάτων] Compare Soph. Trach. 113.

ή νότου, ή βορέα τις.

7 δλιγαρχίαν τινά] 'in a certain sense an oligarchy.'

τινά, καὶ τὴν καλουμένην πολιτείαν δημοκρατίαν, ὧσπερ εν Two forms τοῖς πνεύμασι τὸν μὲν ζέφυρον τοῦ βορέου, τοῦ δὲ νότυ τον εύρον. ομοίως δ' έχει και περί τας άρμονίας, ώς φασί τινες καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ τίθενται είδη δύο, τὴν δωριστὶ καὶ τὴν Φρυγιστί, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα συντάγματα τὰ μὲν Δώρια τὰ δὲ Φρύγια καλοῦσιν. μάλιστα μὲν οὖν εἰώθασιν οὕτως ὑπολαμ- 8 βάνειν περί τῶν πολιτειῶν ἀληθέστερον δὲ καὶ βέλτιον ώς ήμεῖς διείλομεν, δυοῖν ή μιᾶς οὖσης τῆς καλῶς συνεστηκυίας τὰς ἄλλας είναι παρεκβάσεις, τὰς μὲν τῆς εὖ κεκραμένης άρμονίας, τὰς δὲ τῆς ἀρίστης πολιτείας, ὀλιγαρχικὰς μὲν τας συντονωτέρας και δεσποτικωτέρας, τας δ' ανειμένας και μαλακάς δημοτικάς.

Οὐ δεῖ δὲ τιθέναι δημοκρατίαν, καθάπερ εἰώθασί τινες 4 νῦν ἀπλῶς οὕτως, ὅπου κύριον τὸ πληθος καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς The distinction όλιγαρχίαις καὶ πανταχοῦ τὸ πλέον μέρος κύριον· οὐδ' όλι- between democracy γαρχίαν, όπου κύριοι όλίγοι της πολιτείας. εί γὰρ εἴησαν and oligarchy. οἱ πάντες χίλιοι καὶ τριακόσιοι, καὶ τούτων οἱ χίλιοι πλού-2 σιοι, καὶ μὴ μεταδιδοῖεν ἀρχῆς τοῖς τριακοσίοις καὶ πένησιν έλευθέροις οὖσι καὶ τάλλα ὁμοίοις, οὐθεὶς αν Φαίη δημοκρατεῖσθαι τούτους. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰ πένητες μὲν ὀλίγοι εἴεν, 3

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συν ι άγματα] 'combinations.'

8 δυοίν ή μιαs] Ch. II. 1. βασιλείας και ἀριστοκρατίας. He mentions the first for the sake of strict accuracy; they are the two forms of the aploth πολιτεία.

συντονωτέραs] 'The stricter, more rigid, and more arbitrary.'

aveiµévas] Compare Thuc. II. 39. άνειμένως διαιτώμενοι, ' easy.'

"The distinction between aristocracy 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. I άπλωs οδτως] 'without quali-

fication so.' For the subject of this Chapter, compare III. 8.

πανταχοῦ] Compare later, at VIII. 7, τὸ δ' δτι αν δόξη τοις πλείοσιν έν πάσαις δπάρχει.

3 In III. 8, poverty and wealth are made the characteristics respectively of the two forms, democracy and oligarchy. Nor does the statement here made, δταν οἱ ἐλεύθεροι κύριοι &σιν, clash with that former one, as may be seen from a consideration of the words in the last section of ΙΙΙ. 8, εὐποροῦσι μέν γὰρ ὀλίγοι, τῆς δε ελευθερίας μετέχουσι πάντες. Compare also the end of this Chapter, Star οί έλεύθεροι και άποροι. The word έλεύθεροι must be taken in an exclusive sense, the citizens who have nothing but their citizenship to ground

The distinction between democracy and oligarchy.

χίαν προσαγορεύσειεν οὐδὲ τὴν τοιαύτην, εἰ τοῖς ἄλλοις οὖσι πλουσίοις μὴ μετείη τῶν τιμῶν. μᾶλλον τοίνυν λεκτέον ότι δημος μέν έστιν όταν οἱ ἐλεύθεροι κύριοι ὧσιν, 1290 Β όλιγαρχία δ' όταν οἱ πλούσιοι. άλλὰ συμβαίνει τοὺς μὲν 4 πολλούς είναι τούς δ' όλίγους ελεύθεροι μεν γάρ πολλοί, πλούσιοι δ' ολίγοι. καὶ γὰρ ᾶν εἰ κατὰ μέγεθος διενέμοντο τὰς ἀρχάς, ιδσπερ ἐν Αἰθιοπία Φασί τινες, ἡ κατὰ κάλλος, όλιγαρχία ην ἄν όλίγον γὰρ τὸ πληθος καὶ τὸ τῶν καλῶν 5 καὶ τὸ τῶν μεγάλων. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τούτοις μόνον ίκανῶς ἔχει διωρίσθαι τὰς πολιτείας ταύτας άλλ' ἐπεὶ πλείονα μόρια καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας εἰσίν, ἔτι διαληπτέον ως οὖτ, αν οἱ ἐλεύθεροι ὀλίγοι ὄντες πλειόνων καὶ μὴ ἐλευθέρων ἄρχωσι, δημος, οίον ἐν ᾿Απολλωνία τῆ ἐν τῶ Τονίω και ἐν Θήρα (ἐν τούτων γὰρ ἐκατέρα τῶν πόλεων εν ταῖς τιμαῖς ἦσαν οἱ διαφέροντες κατ' εὐγένειαν καὶ πρῶτοι κατασχόντες τὰς ἀποικίας, ὀλίγοι ὅντες πολλῶν), οὖτ' ἀν οἱ πλούσιοι διὰ τὸ κατὰ πληθος ὑπερέχειν, δημος, οίον έν Κολοφωνι τὸ παλαιόν έκει γάρ εκέκτηντο μακράν οὐσίαν οἱ πλείους πρὶν γενέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον τὸν 6 πρὸς Λυδούς. ἀλλ' ἔστι δημοκρατία μὲν ὅταν οἱ ἐλεύθεροι

any claim on, excluding especially of course, from the general context, any claim based on property.

4 συμβαίνει] compare again III. viii. 8; number is but an accident.

Aἰθιοπία] Herod. 111. 20.

5 τούτοις] sc. έλευθερία καὶ πλοῦτφ. διαληπτέον] 'we must draw further distinctions, and say.'

μή έλευθέρων] 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 εὐγενεῖς. This is borne out by the context, οἱ διαφέροντες κατ' εὐγένειαν, and the affixing this sense to the word would make the passage a forcible illustration of an earlier one. ΙΙΙ. ΧΙΙΙ. 13, οἱ δ' ἐλεύθεροι καὶ εὐγενεις ώς έγγυς άλληλων. It does not seem, however, easy to adopt this, and yet it is better, perhaps, than to discard the $\mu\eta$, which has no objection urged against it but its difficulty.

καὶ ἀποροι πλείους ὄντες κύριοι τῆς ἀρχῆς ὧσιν, ὀλιγαρχία δ' όταν οἱ πλούσιοι καὶ εὐγενέστεροι όλίγοι ὄντες.

Οτι μέν ουν πολιτεΐαι πλείους, και δι' ήν αιτίαν, είρη-7 ται· [διότι δὲ πλείους τῶν εἰρημένων, καὶ τίνες καὶ διὰ τί, The variety oμολο- ments deλέγωμεν άρχην λαβόντες την είρημένην πρότερον. γοῦμεν γὰρ οὐχ ἐν μέρος ἀλλὰ πλείω πᾶσαν ἔχειν πόλιν. the variety ώσπερ ουν εί ζώου προηρούμεθα λαβείν είδη, πρώτον αν ments of άποδιωρίζομεν όπερ άναγκαῖον πᾶν ἔχειν ζῷον, οἴον ἔνιά τε 8 τῶν αἰσθητηρίων καὶ τὸ τῆς τροΦῆς ἐργαστικὸν καὶ δεκτικόν, οίον στόμα καὶ κοιλίαν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, οίς κινεῖται μορίοις έκαστον αὐτῶν εἰ δη τοσαῦτα εἴδη μόνον, τούτων δ' είεν διαφοραί, λέγω δ' οίον στόματός τινα πλείω γένη καί κοιλίας και των αισθητηρίων, έτι δε και των κινητικών μορίων, ο της συζεύξεως της τούτων άριθμος έξ άνάγκης ποιήσει πλείω γένη ζώων (οὐ γὰρ οδόν τε ταὐτὸν ζώον έχειν πλείους στόματος διαφοράς, όμοίως δε ούδ' ώτων), ωσθ' όταν ληφθώσι τούτων πάντες οἱ ἐνδεχόμενοι συνδυασμοί, ποιήσουσιν είδη ζώου, καὶ τοσαῦτ' είδη τοῦ ζώου δσαιπερ αὶ συζεύξεις τῶν ἀναγκαίων μορίων εἰσίν. αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ τῶν εἰρημένων πολιτειῶν καὶ γὰρ αἰ πόλεις ούκ έξ ένὸς άλλ' έκ πολλών σύγκεινται μερών, ωσπερ είρηται πολλάκις. Εν μεν οδν έστι το περί την τροφήν πλήθος, οἱ καλούμενοι γεωργοί, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ 1291 καλούμενον βάναυσον. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο περὶ τὰς τέχνας ὧν

7 διότι] 'That they are.' "Because these are, let us say what they are," Staler.

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 ἐργαστικόν] 'That works up.'

⁹ This is a repetition of II. 3.

The various ἄνευ πόλιν ἀδύνατον οἰκεῖσθαι· τούτων δὲ τῶν τέχνων τὰς el-ments of a state. μεν εξ ανάγκης ύπαρχειν δεῖ, τὰς δὲ εἰς τρυΦὴν ἡ τὸ καλῶς το ζην. τρίτον δ' άγοραῖον λέγω δ' άγοραῖον τὸ περὶ τὰς πράσεις καὶ τὰς ώνὰς καὶ τὰς ἐμπορίας καὶ καπηλείας διατρίβου. τέταρτου δε το θητικόυ, πέμπτου δε γένος τὸ προπολεμήσον δ τούτων ούθεν ήττον έστιν άναγκαῖον κα τι ὑπάρχειν, εἰ μέλλουσι μὴ δουλεύσειν τοῖς ἐπιοῦσιν. μὴ γὰρ ζ εν τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἢ πόλιν ἄξιον είναι καλεῖν τὴν Φύσει δούλην αὐτάρκης γὰρ ή πόλις, τὸ δὲ δοῦλον οὐκ αὖταρκες. διόπερ εν τη πολιτεία κομψῶς τοῦτο, οὐχ ἱκανῶς δὲ εἴρηται. 12 Φησί γαρ ο Σωχράτης έχ τεττάρων των αναγκαιοτάτων πόλιν συγκεῖσθαι, λέγει δὲ τούτους ὑΦάντην καὶ γεωργὸν καὶ σκυτοτόμον καὶ οἰκοδόμον πάλιν δὲ προστίθησιν, ώς ούκ αὐτάρκων τούτων, χαλκέα καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις βοσκήμασιν, έτι δ' έμπορόν τε καὶ κάπηλον, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα γίνεται πλήρωμα της πρώτης πόλεως, ώς τῶν ἀναγκαίων γε χάριν πᾶσαν πόλιν συνεστηκυῖαν, άλλ' οὐ τοῦ καλοῦ μᾶλλον, ἴσον τε δεομένην σκυτέων τε καὶ γεωργών. 13 το δε προπολεμούν ού πρότερον άποδίδωσι μέρος πρίν ή της χώρας αὐξομένης καὶ της τῶν πλησίον ἀπτομένης εἰς πόλεμον καταστώσιν. άλλά μήν καὶ ἐν τοῖς τέτταρσι καὶ

10 έμπορίας καὶ καπηλείας] The former more wholesale, the latter more retail, the παράστασις of I. II. 3, as έμπορίας represents the φορτηγία and ναυκληρία of the same passage.

τό θητικόν] is the μισθαρνία.

τούτων οὐθὲν ἡττόν] Compare III. ΧΙΙ. 9, ἄνευ μὲν τῶν προτέρων ἀδύνατον εἶναι πόλιν, ἄνευ δὲ τούτων οἰκεῖσθαι καλῶς.

δουλεύσειν] Compare IV. (VII.) xv. 2, κατά γάρ την παροιμίαν, οὐ σχολή δυύλοις.

11 το δε δούλον οὐκ αὐταρκες] Compare I. iv. 6, the definition of a slave, bs ar άλλου β ἄνθρωπος ών.

12 rerrdpwr] as representing the primary wants of man—food, shelter, clothing.

ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις βοσκήμασιν]
'those who are to take care of the cattle necessary for the subsistence of the population.'

πλήρωμα] 'the complement,' III. xIII. 13.

της πρώτης πόλεως] not of the ideal state, but 'of the state in its simplest and most elementary form.' Compare IV. (VII.) IV. II, πρώτην πόλιν—την έκ τοσούτου πλήθους δ πρώτον πλήθος αυταρκές.

ίσον τε δεομένην] 'and as though it stood in equal need of.'

13 τῆς χώρας αὐξομένης] 'in consequence of the increase of territory and its contact with its neighbours.'

έν τοις τέτταρσι] 'In his four primary ones.'

τοῖς ὁποσοισοῦν κοινωνοῖς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τινα Toy The various άποδώσοντα καὶ κρινοῦντα τὸ δίκαιον. εἴπερ οὖν καὶ of a state. ψυχὴν ἄν τις θείη ζώου μόριον μᾶλλον ἢ σῶμα, καὶ πόλεων 14 τὰ τοιαῦτα μᾶλλον θετέον τῶν εἰς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν γρῆσιν συντεινόντων, τὸ πολεμικὸν καὶ τὸ μετέχον δικαιοσύνης δικαστικής, πρός δὲ τούτοις τὸ βουλευόμενον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ 15 συνέσεως πολιτικής έργον. καὶ ταῦτ' εἴτε κεχωρισμένως ύπάρχει τισίν είτε τοῖς αὐτοῖς, οὐθὲν διαφέρει πρὸς τὸν λόγον καὶ γὰρ ὁπλιτεύειν καὶ γεωργείν συμβαίνει τοῖς αὐτοῖς πολλάκις. ὧστε είπερ καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἐκεῖνα θετέα μόρια της πόλεως, Φανερον ότι τό γε οπλιτικον άναγκαϊόν έστι μόριον της πόλεως. Εβδομον δε τὸ ταῖς οὐσίαις λειτουργούν, δ καλούμεν εύπόρους. όγδοον δε το δημιουρ- 16 γικόν και τὸ περί τὰς ἀρχὰς λειτουργοῦν, εἴπερ ἄνευ άρχόντων άδύνατον είναι πόλιν. άναγχαῖον οὖν είναί τινας τούς δυναμένους άρχειν και λειτουργούντας ή συνεχώς η κατά μέρος τη πόλει ταύτην την λειτουργίαν. λοιπά 17 δε περί ων τυγχάνομεν διωρικότες άρτίως, το βουλευό. μενον και κρίνον περί των δικαίων τοῖς άμφισβητοῦσιν. είπερ οὖν ταῦτα δεῖ γενέσθαι ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ καλῶς 1291 Β γίνεσθαι και δικαίως, άναγκαῖον και μετέχοντας είναί τινας

14 δπερ] το βουλεύεσθαι.

συνέσεως πολιτικής] 'the judgment applied to political matters,' Eth. VI. xi. p. 1143, 10.

15 δοτε είπερ 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.

ἔβδομον] Nickes proposes ἔκτον, but I find the sixth class in § 14, τὸ μετέχον δικαισσυνής δικαστικής.

ται's οὐσίαις λειτουργούν] 'serving the state with its property,' IV. (VII.) vIII. 7, 9.

16 τὸ δημιουργικόν] 'The body of magistrates.' The word δημιουργός in this sense is well known.

17 ταθτα] εc. το βουλεύεσθαι καὶ κρίνειν.

τῶν πολιτικῶν] depends on τινας. There must be among the citizens some not without virtue,—moral, for the decision of causes; intellectual, for deliberation.

Τhe various ἀρετῆς τῶν πολιτικῶν. Τὰς μὲν οὖν ἄλλας δυνάμεις τοῖς elements of a stat. αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν ἐνδέχεσθαι δοκεῖ πολλοῖς, οἶον τοὺς πε αὐτοὺς εἶναι τοὺς προπολεμοῦντας καὶ γεωργοῦντας καὶ τεχνίτας, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς βουλευομένους τε καὶ κρίνοντας ἀντιποιοῦνται δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς πάντες, καὶ τὰς πλείστας

ἀντιποιοῦνται δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς πάντες, καὶ τὰς πλείστας ἀρχὰς ἄρχειν οἴονται δύνασθαι. ἀλλὰ πένεσθαι καὶ τὰς πλοισται δύνασθαι. ἀλλὰ πένεσθαι καὶ τὰς πλουτεῖν τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀδύνατον. διὸ ταῦτα μέρη μάλιστα εἶναι δοκεῖ πόλεως, οἱ εὖποροι καὶ οἱ ἄποροι. ἔτι δὲ διὰ τὸ ως ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τοὺς μὲν ὀλίγους εἶναι τοὺς δὲ πολλούς, ταῦτα ἐναντία μέρη Φαίνεται τῶν τῆς πόλεως μορίων. ῶστε καὶ τὰς πολιτείας κατὰ τὰς ὑπεροχὰς τούτων καθιστᾶσι, καὶ δύο πολιτεῖαι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, δημοκρατία καὶ ὀλιγαρχία.

 ∞ ὅτι μὲν οὖν εἰσὶ πολιτεῖαι πλείους, καὶ διὰ τίνας different αἰτίας, εἴρηται πρότερον] ὅτι δ' ἐστὶ καὶ δημοκρατίας εἴδη democracy. πλείω καὶ ὀλιγαρχίας, λέγωμεν. [Φανερὸν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ

18 διδ ταῦτα, κ.τ.λ.] as wealth and poverty cannot meet in the same people, and the wealthy and the poor consequently must always be distinct one from the other, whilst all other distinctions are less appreciable, this is the one fixed on, and the state is commonly divided into these two parts, and from the accident of their differing in number, these two stand in the most marked opposition to one another. In Greece and Rome, as in modern Europe, the problem of the opposition between the Have-alls and the Have-nothings, to borrow Mr. Carlyle's language (Sartor Resartus), was one which could not escape the philosophic statesman, modified as it was, and in some sense rendered easy by the existence of slavery.

20 If this section followed immediately after § 6, no one would, I think, miss the intervening part. From the consideration of the variety of forms of government generally,

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 πολιτεΐαι, the variety in the democratical elements would account for a variety of democratical πολιτείαι. Here, again, from φανερόν δέ . . . to διαφοράν, I suspect an interpolation. It is an evident repetition of Ch. III., not without its value in point of information, but still needlessly burdening the book, and faulty in point of division, as it is not easy to say why πορθμευτικόν and the rest are not included under χρηματιστικόν, and evidently το μικράν έχον, κ.τ.λ., is applicable to most of the others, as is τδ μη εξ αμφοτέρων, κ.τ.λ. For these reasons I have inclosed it in brackέχ τῶν εἰρημένων. εἴδη γὰρ πλείω τοῦ τε δημου καὶ τῶν λεγομένων γνωρίμων έστιν, οδον δήμου μεν είδη εν μεν οί forms of γεωργοί, έτερον δὲ τὸ περὶ τὰς τέχνας, ἄλλο δὲ τὸ άγοραϊου το περί ώνην και πράσιν διατρίβου, άλλο δὲ τὸ 2τ περὶ θάλατταν, καὶ τούτου τὸ μὲν πολεμικόν, τὸ δὲ χρηματιστικόν, τὸ δὲ πορθμευτικόν, τὸ δ' άλιευτικόν (πολλαχοῦ γάρ έκαστα τούτων πολύογλα, οίον άλιεῖς μεν έν Τάραντι καλ Βυζαντίω, τριηρικόν δε 'Αθήνησιν, έμπορικόν δε έν Αίγίνη καὶ Χίω, πορθμευτικον ἐν Τενέδω), προς δὲ τούτοις τὸ χερνητικὸν καὶ τὸ μικράν ἔχον οὐσίαν ώστε μὴ δύνασθαι σγολάζειν, έτι το μη έξ άμφοτέρων πολιτών έλεύθερον, καν εί τι τοιούτον ετέρου πλήθους είδος. των δε γνωρίμων 22 πλοῦτος, εὐγένεια, ἀρετή, παιδεία, καὶ τὰ τούτοις λεγόμενα κατά την αύτην διαφοράν.] Δημοκρατία μέν οὖν έστὶ πρώτη μεν ή λεγομένη μάλιστα κατά το Ισον. Ισον γάρ Φησιν ο νόμος ο της τοιαύτης δημοκρατίας το μηδέν μάλλον άρχειν^α τοὺς ἀπόρους ἢ τοὺς εὐπόρους, μηδὲ κυρίους είναι · ὑπάρχειν Bekker.

21 Τάραντι] Grote, 111. 516. "Shellfish."

Βυζαντίφ] Id. IV. 36. "Thunny

Alylun The commerce of Ægina, in very early times, is quite historical.

Xίω] Grote, VII. 531.

τὸ μὴ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων πολιτῶν] for this, compare III. v. 8.

22 τούτοις] depends on την 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 cætera 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.

 Δ ημοκρατία μέν οδν, 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.) 11. 9, ή μάλιστ' είναι δοκοῦσα δημοκρατία καὶ δημος.

αρχειν] This reading, in place of ύπαρχειν, is proposed by Stahr. I have adopted it, justified, I think, by words from the passage I have just quoted VII. (VI.) 11. 9, ίσον γάρ τὸ μηθέν μάλλον άρχειν τοὺς ἀπόρους ή τούς εὐπόρους μηδέ κυρίους είναι μόνους άλλα πάντας έξ ίσου κατ' αριθμόν. These last words are an useful comment on μηδέ κυρίους είναι όποτερουσοῦν, ἀλλ' δμοίους ἀμφοτέρους. In the first part it is true that δπάρχειν can be construed, though perhaps not easily, 'that the wealthy should not be anything more, of greater importance, than the poor.' Yet the change is simple, and appears to rest on adequate grounds.

όποτερουσοῦν, άλλ' όμοίους άμφοτέρους. είπερ γὰρ ἐλευθε-

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11

ρία μάλιστ' ἐστὶν ἐν δημοκρατία, καθάπερ ὑπολαμβάνουσί τινες, καὶ ἰσότης, οῦτως ᾶν εἴη μάλιστα, κοινωνούν-²³ των άπάντων μάλιστα της πολιτείας όμοίως. έπελ δὲ πλείων ὁ δημος, κύριον δὲ τὸ δύξαν τοῖς πλείοσιν, ἀνάγκη 24 δημοχρατίαν είναι ταύτην. Εν μεν ούν είδος δημοχρατίας τοῦτο, ἄλλο δὲ τὸ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀπὸ τιμημάτων είναι, βραχέων δε τούτων δντων δεῖ δε τῷ κτωμένω εξουσίαν είναι μετέχειν, καὶ τὸν ἀποβάλλοντα μὴ μετέχειν. ετερον είδος 1292 δημοκρατίας το μετέχειν απαντας τους πολίτας δσοι 25 άνυπεύθυνοι, άρχειν δε τον νόμον. Ετερον δε είδος δημοκρατίας τὸ πᾶσι μετείναι τῶν ἀρχῶν, ἐὰν μόνον ἢ πολίτης, άρχειν δὲ τὸν νόμον. ἔτερον εἶδος δημοκρατίας τάλλα μὲν είναι ταὐτά, κύριον δ' είναι τὸ πληθος καὶ μὴ τὸν νόμον: τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται, ὅταν τὰ ψηΦίσματα κύρια ἢ ἀλλὰ μὴ 26 ο νόμος, συμβαίνει δε τοῦτο διὰ τοὺς δημαγωγούς. ἐν μέν γάρ ταῖς κατά νόμον δημοκρατουμέναις οὐ γίνεται

23 εἴπερ γdρ, κ.τ.λ.] Compare VII. (VI.) π. 1.

oöτωs &ν εἰη, 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.'

έπει δὲ πλείων] 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 ἀνυπεύθυνοι] "quicunque maculæ alicui obnoxii non fuerunt," 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, τοῖς ἐμυπευθύνοις κατὰ τὸ γένος, and so to exclude the two meanings I have quoted above.

25 ἐὰν μόνον ἢ πολίτης] 'admitting no question, but accepting the fact of his exercise of citizenship.'

26 ἐν μὲν γάρ, 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 δημαγωγός, not such as would have been attached to it in any Greek state by the party which would have claimed to be οἱ βέλτιστοι 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 eminently legal and constitutional, and yet there were demagogues in the or-

δημαγωγός, άλλ' οἱ βέλτιστοι τῶν πολιτῶν εἰσὶν ἐν απεροεδρία. όπου δ' οι νόμοι μή είσι κύριοι, ενταῦθα γίνονται forms of ων δημαγωγοί. μόναρχος γαρ ο δημος γίνεται, σύνθετος είς democracy. έκ πολλών οι γάρ πολλοί κύριοί είσιν ούχ ώς εκαστος άλλά πάντες. Ομηρος δὲ ποίαν λέγει οὐκ ἀγαθὸν είναι πολυ- 27 κοιρανίην, πότερον ταύτην ή όταν πλείους ώσιν οι άργοντες ως έκαστος, άδηλον. ὁ δ' οὖν τοιοῦτος δημος, άτε μόναρχος ών, ζητεῖ μοναρχεῖν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ νόμου, καὶ γίνεται δεσποτικός, ώστε οἱ κόλακες ἔντιμοι καὶ ἔστιν ὁ τοιοῦτος δήμος ἀνάλογον τῶν μοναρχιῶν τῆ τυραννίδι. διὸ 28 καὶ τὸ ἦθος τὸ αὐτό, καὶ ἄμφω δεσποτικά τῶν βελτιόνων, καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα ώσπερ ἐκεῖ τὰ ἐπιτάγματα, καὶ ὁ δημαγωγὸς καὶ ὁ κόλαξ οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἀνάλογον· καὶ μάλιστα δ' έκατεροι παρ' έκατέροις ἰσχύουσιν, οἱ μὲν κόλακες παρὰ τυράννοις, οἱ δὲ δημαγωγοὶ παρὰ τοῖς δήμοις τοῖς τοιούτοις. αίτιοι δ' είσὶ τοῦ είναι τὰ ψηΦίσματα κύρια άλλὰ 29 μή τους νόμους ούτοι, πάντα ἀνάγοντες εἰς τὸν δημον. συμβαίνει γὰρ αὐτοῖς γίνεσθαι μεγάλοις διὰ τὸ τὸν μὲν δημον πάντων είναι κύριον, της δε τοῦ δήμου δόξης τούτους: πείθεται γάρ τὸ πληθος τούτοις. ἔτι δ' οἱ ταῖς ἀργαῖς 30 έγκαλούντες τον δημόν Φασι δείν κρίνειν ο δε άσμένως

> dinary sense, and there, as everywhere else,-in fact, it is a necessity of government,-ψηφίσματα were frequent, without superseding the real efficacy of law.

ούχ ώς έκαστος άλλα πάντες Compare II. III. 2-4.

"Ounpos] Il. II. 204. The language of Homer cannot well bear any but the second sense, for, as Mr. Lewis remarks (Opinion, 243, note B), " Homer's poems contain no traces of a political body, nor do they mention voting."

μοναρχείν] In the sense of τύραννος elvas, the Latin 'dominari.'

28 ἐπιτάγματα] It is difficult to give the distinction in English, the word 'decree' expresses both. In the finely shaded political language of the present French Emperor, 'plébiscite' would express ψήφισμα, 'décret' ἐπίταγμα. The celebrated 'ordonnances' of Charles X. would be a still better rendering of ₹πιτάγματα.

29 δόξης] 'of the opinions of the people.

30 ἔτι δέ] Not merely do the demagogues 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 inapplicable to the change made by Pericles. Thus the popular assembly grasps the administrative and judical power, as it had before absorbed the legislative.

δέχεται τὴν πρόκλησιν, ώστε καταλύονται πᾶσαι αἱ ἀρχαί.

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εύλόγως δε αν δόξειεν επιτιμαν ο Φάσκων τον τοιαύτην είναι δημοκρατίαν οὐ πολιτείαν όπου γάρ μὴ νόμοι άρ-31 χουσιν, ούκ έστι πολιτεία. δεῖ γὰρ τὸν μὲν νόμον ἄρχειν πάντων, τῶν δὲ καθ' ἔκαστα τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν κρίνειν. ωστ' είπερ έστι δημοκρατία μία των πολιτειών, Φανερον ως ή τοιαύτη κατάστασις, εν ή ψηφίσμασι πάντα διοικεῖται, οὐδὲ δημοκρατία κυρίως οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐνδέχεται ψήφισμα είναι καθόλου. Τὰ μεν οὖν τῆς δημοκρατίας είδη διωρίσθω τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον.

'Ολιγαρχίας δε είδη, εν μεν το άπο τιμημάτων είναι τλς The different άρχὰς τηλικούτων ωστε τοὺς ἀπόρους μὴ μετέχειν πλείους forms of δντας, έξεῖναι δὲ τῷ κτωμένω μετέχειν τῆς πολιτείας. ἄλλο 1292 Β δέ, όταν ἀπὸ τιμημάτων μακρῶν ὧσιν αἱ ἀρχαὶ καὶ αἰρῶνται αύτολ τους ελλείποντας. αν μεν ούν έκ πάντων τούτων τοῦτο ποιῶσι, δοκεῖ τοῦτ' είναι μᾶλλον ἀριστοκρατικόν, 2 έὰν δὲ ἐκ τινῶν ἀΦωρισμένων, ὀλιγαρχικόν. ἔτερον είδος όλιγαρχίας, όταν παῖς ἀντὶ πατρὸς εἰσίη. τέταρτον δ΄, δταν ύπάρχη τό τε νῦν λεχθὲν καὶ ἄρχη μὴ ὁ νόμος ἀλλ' οί άρχοντες. καὶ ἔστιν ἀντίστροφος αὖτη ἐν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις ωσπερ ή τυραννίς έν ταῖς μοναρχίαις καὶ περὶ ἦς

> εὐλόγως ἐπιτιμᾶν] 'to urge a reasonable objection.'

> 31 την πολιτείαν κρίνειν] "die Verfassung die Entscheidung haben," Stahr. πολιτείαν would then mean 'the government.' That it may have this meaning is clear from III. vi. 1, *oλίτευμα έστιν ή πολιτεία, and III. VII. 2, πολιτεία καὶ πολίτευμα σημαίνει ταὐτόν. 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 to oligarchy 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. I alpartal actol They form, in fact, a self-electing body. The principle is that of co-optation.

τούτων] Is this 'all who have the required qualifications?'

2 αντίστροφος ώσπερ ή τυραννίς] = αντίστροφος τη τυραννίδι 'corresponds τελευταίας είπαμεν δημοκρατίας έν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις καὶ καλοῦσι δή την τοιαύτην όλιγαρχίαν δυναστείαν.

'Ολιγαρχίας μέν οξν είδη τοσαῦτα καὶ δημοκρατίας. 3 Οὐ δεῖ δὲ λανθάνειν ὅτι πολλαχοῦ συμβέβηκεν ώστε τὴν Distinction hetween μεν πολιτείαν την κατά τους νόμους μη δημοτικήν είναι, the form and spirit δια δε το ήθος και την αγωγήν πολιτεύεσθαι δημοτικώς, of a governόμοίως δὲ πάλιν παρ' ἄλλοις τὴν μὲν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους είναι πολιτείαν δημοτικωτέραν, τη δ' άγωγη και τοῖς έθεσιν όλιγαρχεῖσθαι μάλλον. συμβαίνει δε τοῦτο μάλιστα μετά τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν πολιτειῶν οὐ γὰρ εὐθὺς μεταβαίνουσιν, άλλ' άγαπῶσι τὰ πρῶτα μικρὰ πλεονεκτοῦντες παρ' άλλήλων, ωσθ' οἱ μὲν νόμοι διαμένουσιν προϋπάργοντες, κρατοῦσι δ' οἱ μεταβάλλοντες τὴν πολιτείαν.

"Οτι δ' έστι τοσαῦτα είδη δημοκρατίας και όλιγαρ-6

to,' 'is the counterpart of.' Rhet. I. i. I, p. 1354. I.

καλοῦσι δή] 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 δυναστεία. 'The rule of a few powerful families.'

3 την κατά τους νόμους] 'such as it is expressed in the laws.'

τὸ ἦθος] ' from the character of those who administer it.'

την άγωγην] 'the spirit in which it is administered,' 'the tendency impressed upon it.'

τοις έθεσιν] = τφ ήθει. For ήθος is in fact the sum and expression of a man's

4 τοῦτο] This contrast between the existing constitution and the spirit in which it is administered.

μετά τάς μεταβολάς This expression is not quite easy. Is the case Aristotle is contemplating that of a counterrevolution, 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 successful. The constitution sprung from it has been accepted, but the administration 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 μέν νόμοι διαμένουσιν οί προϋπάρχοντες, κρατούσι δ' οί μεταβάλλοντες την πολιτείαν.

àγαπῶσι] ' are content at first.'

VI. I 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. τοσαθτα καί τοιαθτα διά ταύτας τάς ardynas, 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 so many forms of the two governments.

χίας, εξ αὐτῶν τῶν εἰρημένων Φανερόν ἐστιν. ἀνάγκη sons for there being γὰρ ἡ πάντα τὰ εἰρημένα μέρη τοῦ δήμου κοινωνεῖν τῆς πολιτείας, ή τὰ μὲν τὰ δὲ μή. ὅταν μὲν οὖν τὸ γεωργικὸν καὶ τὸ κεκτημένον μετρίαν οὐσίαν κύριον ή της πολιτείας, πολιτεύονται κατά νόμους έχουσι γάρ έργαζόμενοι ζην, ού 2 δύνανται δε σχολάζειν, ώστε τον νόμον επιστήσαντες έκκλησιάζουσι τὰς ἀναγκαίας ἐκκλησίας τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις μετέχειν έξεστιν, όταν κτήσωνται τὸ τίμημα τὸ διωρισμένον ὑπὸ 3 των νόμων. Ελως μέν γάρ το μέν μη έξειναι πασιν όλιγαργικόν, τὸ δὲ δὴ ἐξεῖναι σχολάζειν άδύνατον μὴ προσόδαν ούσων. τουτο μέν ουν είδος έν δημοκρατίας, διά ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας, ετερον δὲ είδος διὰ τὴν ἐχομένην αίρεσιν έστι γάρ και πάσιν έξείναι τοῖς άνυπευθύνοις κατά τὸ , γένος, μετέχειν μέντοι δυναμένοις σχολάζειν. διόπερ εν τῆ τοιαύτη δημοκρατία οἱ νόμοι ἄρχουσι, διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι τρίτον δ' είδος τὸ πᾶσιν έξεῖναι, όσοι αν πρόσοδον. έλεύθεροι ώσι, μετέχειν της πολιτείας, μη μέντοι μετέχειν διά την προειρημένην αίτίαν, ώστ' όναγκαῖον καὶ έν ταύτη 5 άρχειν τον νόμον. τέταρτον δε είδος δημοκρατίας ή τελευ-1293 ταία τοῖς γρόνοις ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι γεγενημένη. διὰ γὰρ τὸ μείζους γεγονέναι πολύ τὰς πόλεις τῶν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς καὶ προσόδων ὑπάρχειν εὐπορίας, μετέχουσι μὲν πάντες τῆς πολιτείας διά την ύπεροχην τοῦ πληθους, κοινωνοῦσι δὲ καὶ

• [Διὸ πᾶσι τοῖς κτωμένοις ἔξεστι μετέχειν] Bekker.

bearing of the chapter, its statements are such as to redeem it from the charge of mere repetition.

2 έχουσι γάρ έργαζόμενοι ζην] 'They can live if they work.'

eniothoartes] 'They set the law over them as supreme, and only attend such assemblies as are indispensable.'

3 efeivai] If this second efeivai be kept, it must be translated: 'But it is impossible they should have it in their power to have leisure unless there are revenues sufficient to secure it them.'

διά την έχομένην αίρεσιν] This is hard unless we consider aloeous as equivalent to dialpeous, 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. δυναμένοις] 'only if they are able.' 5 τοις χρόνοις] ' in point of time.'

των εξ ύπαρχης] 'than they were when originally constituted.'

διά την ύπεροχην του πλήθους] . be-

πολιτεύουται διὰ τὸ δύνασθαι σχολάζειν καὶ τοὺς ἀπόρους The reaλαμβάνοντας μισθόν. καὶ μάλιστα δὲ σχολάζει τὸ τοιοῦ- there being τον πληθος ου γαρ εμποδίζει αυτούς ουθέν ή των ίδίων so many έπιμέλεια, τους δε πλουσίους έμποδίζει, ώστε πολλάκις ου κοινωνοῦσι τῆς ἐκκλησίας οὐδὲ τοῦ δικάζειν. διὸ γίνεται τὸ τῶν ἀπόρων πληθος κύριον τῆς πολιτείας, ἀλλ' οὐχ οἱ νόμοι. 6 Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς δημοκρατίας εἴδη τοσαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα διὰ 7 ταύτας τὰς ἀνάγκας ἐστίν· τὰ δὲ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας, ὅταν μὲν πλείους έχωσιν οὐσίαν, ελάττω δε καὶ μὴ πολλὴν λίαν, τὸ της πρώτης όλιγαρχίας είδός έστιν ποιούσι γάρ έξουσίαν μετέχειν τῷ κτωμένω. καὶ διὰ τὸ πληθος είναι τῶν μετε- 8 χόντων τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἀνάγκη μὴ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀλλὰ τον νόμον είναι κύριον όσφ γάρ αν πλείον απέχωσι της μοναρχίας, καὶ μήτε τοσαύτην έχωσιν οὐσίαν ὥστε σγολάζειν άμελοῦντας, μήθ ουτως ολίγην ωστε τρέφεσθαι άπδ της πόλεως, ανάγκη τὸν νόμον άξιοῦν αὐτοῖς ἄρχειν, αλλα μη αὐτούς. ἐὰν δὲ δη ἐλάττους ὦσιν οἱ τὰς οὐσίας ἔχοντες ο η οι το πρότερον, πλείω δέ, το της δευτέρας ολιγαργίας γίνεται είδος μάλλον γάρ ἰσχύοντες πλεονεκτείν άξιούσιν. διὸ αὐτοὶ μὲν αἰροῦνται ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς εἰς τὸ πολίτευμα Βαδίζοντας, δια δε το μήπω ουτως ισχυροί είναι ώστ' άνευ νόμου άρχειν, τὸν νόμον τίθενται τοιοῦτον. ἐὰν δ ἐπι- το

govern-

cause of the supremacy vested in the majority.'

6 καὶ μάλιστα δὲ σχυλάζει] only has it the opportunity, 'but more than any other body does it avail itself of that opportunity of leisure.'

ξμποδίζει αὐτούς] 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 δια ταύτας τας ανάγκας] 'on these strong and compulsory grounds.'

ποιούσι γάρ] From their number already, they are not averse to admitting more, they do not feel a jealous, exclusive spirit.

8 [vai] If not superfluous, it must be translated: 'and because they are a large number between whom the government is shared.'

may depend on ardyun. 'They are compelled,' or, 'it is necessary for them to wish the law to rule for them and not themselves,'άρχειν αὐτοῖς.

9 μᾶλλον γάρ ἰσχύοντες, κ. τ. λ.] power begets in them the desire of increased power.

βαδίζοντας] Compare VIII. (V.) I,

τοιοῦτον] 'in accordance with their

The reaso many forms of the two governments.

τείνωσι τῷ ἐλάττονες ὅντες μείζονας οὐσίας ἔχειν, ή τρίτη sons for there being επίδοσις γίνεται της όλιγαρχίας, τὸ δι αύτῶν μὲν τὰς άρχὰς ἔχειν, κατὰ νόμον δὲ τὸν κελεύοντα τών τελευτώντων διαδέχεσθαι τοὺς υίεῖς. ὅταν δὲ ἦδη πολὺ ὑπερτείνωσι ταῖς οὐσίαις καὶ ταῖς πολυΦιλίαις, ἐγγὺς ἡ 11 τοιαύτη δυναστεία μοναρχίας έστίν, καλ κύριοι γίνονται οι άνθρωποι, άλλ' ούχ ο νόμος και το τέταρτον είδος τῆς ὀλιγαργίας τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ἀντίστροΦον τῷ τελευταίφ της δημοκρατίας.

111

*Ετι δ' είσὶ δύο πολιτεῖαι παρά δημοκρατίαν τε καλ Aristocracy ολιγαρχίαν, ὧν την μεν ετέρον λέγουσί τε πάντες καὶ πολιτεία. εξρηται των τεττάρων πολιτειών είδος εν λέγουσί δε τέτταρας μοναρχίαν, όλιγαρχίαν, δημοκρατίαν, τέταρτον δὲ την καλουμένην άριστοκρατίαν πέμπτη δ' έστιν ή προσαγορεύεται τὸ κοινὸν ὄνομα πασῶν (πολιτείαν γὰρ καλοῦσιν), άλλὰ διὰ τὸ μὴ πολλάκις γίνεσθαι λανθάνει τούς πειρωμένους άριθμεῖν τὰ τῶν πολιτειῶν εἴδη, καὶ γρώνται ταῖς τέτταρσι μόνου, ὧσπερ Πλάτων ἐν ταῖς 1203 Β 2 πολιτείαις. 'Αριστοκρατίαν μέν οὖν καλῶς ἔχει καλεῖν περί ής διήλθομεν έν τοῖς πρώτοις λόγοις τὴν γὰρ ἐκ

> 10 ἐπίδοσις] 'the third stage in the growth or increase.' αἱ ἐπιδόσεις τῶν τεχνων. Eth. 1. vii. 1, p. 1098, 24; Ibid. 11. viii. p. 1109, 17.

11 ταις πολυφιλίαις] 'large numbers of friends,' comp. Eth. 1x. x. 6, D. 1171, 17, πολιτικώς μέν οδν έστι πολλοίς είναι φίλον και μή άρεσκον δντα, άλλ' ώς άληθώς έπιεική.

VII. 1 είρηται των τεττάρων] Aristotle, in the Rhetoric, 1. viii. p. 1365, b. 29, gives the four here mentioned.

την καλουμένην] '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 Eth. viii. xii., and Politics, 111. 7.

πέμπτη δή] 'there is a fifth.'

διά 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.

έν τοις πολιτείαις] 'in his treatises on Politics.'

2 εν τοις πρώτοις λόγοις] Books III.-V. (III. VII. VIII.). again the language is in favour of a change of arrangement, assuming his own state to have been described.

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τῶν ἀρίστων ἀπλῶς κατ' ἀρετὴν πολιτείαν, καὶ μὴ πρὸς Aristocracy and the υπόθεσίν τινα ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, μόνην δίκαιον προσαγο- πολιτεία. ρεύειν άριστοκρατίαν. ἐν μόνη γὰρ ἀπλῶς ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ και πολίτης άγαθός έστιν οι δ' έν ταῖς ἄλλαις άγαθοι πρός την πολιτείαν είσι την αύτῶν, ού μην άλλ' είσί 3 τινες αὶ πρός τε τὰς ὀλιγαρχουμένας ἔχουσι διαφοράς, καὶ καλοῦνται ἀριστοκρατίαι, καὶ πρὸς τὴν καλουμένην πολιτείαν, όπου γε μη μόνον πλουτίνδην άλλα καὶ άριστίνδην αἰροῦνται τὰς ἀρχάς. αὕτη ἡ πολιτεία διαφέρει τε άμφοῖν καὶ άριστοκρατική καλεῖται. καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς μή 4 ποιουμέναις κοινήν επιμέλειαν άρετης είσλν διμως τινές οί εύδοκιμούντες και δοκούντες είναι έπιεικείς. ὅπου οὖν ή πολιτεία βλέπει είς τε πλούτον και άρετην και δημον, οίον έν Καρχηδόνι, αθτη άριστοκρατική έστιν καί έν αίς είς τα δύο μόνον, οίον ή Λακεδαιμονίων είς αρετήν τε καί δημον, και έστι μίξις των δύο τούτων, δημοκρατίας τε καὶ ἀρετῆς. ἀριστοκρατίας μὲν οὖν παρά τὴν πρώτηνς την αρίστην πολιτείαν ταῦτα δύο εἴδη καὶ τρίτον δσαι τῆς καλουμένης πολιτείας ῥέπουσι πρὸς τὴν ολιγαργίαν μᾶλλον.

Λοιπον δ' έστιν ήμιν περί τε της νομιζομένης πολι-8 τείας είπειν και περί τυραννίδος: ετάξαμεν δ' ούτως ούκ

την γαρ ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων, κ. τ. λ.]
"The government of the best men absolutely, tried by the standard of moral virtue, and not by some arbitrary standard of excellence," 'this is the only one which we are justified in calling aristocracy.' The first part of the translation I quote from Mr. Lewis on Opinion, p. 252.

δ αὐτόs] 'The same person is at once a good man and a good citizen.'

3 TIPES | BC. WOLITEIAL.

δπου γε] 'Since in them.'

4 κοινην έπιμέλειαν ποιουμέναις] This is the characteristic of his true αριστοκρατία—his ideal state.

Καρχηδόνι] In the chapter on Car-

thage, II. II, he gives πλουτίνδην καλ άριστίνδην, but it is not easy to justify the δημον. He says, it is true, δημον ξχουσαν, but the tenor of his remarks is against any democratical admixture. See the notes on that chapter.

VIII. I νομιζομένης] I should prefer δνομαζομένης, but perhaps it is safer to leave it as it stands. The καλουμένης above is in favour of a change, as are one or two other passages later.

eτάξαμεν δ' οδτως] 'I have placed them here, not that either the πολιτεία or the aristocracies just mentioned are really deviations, but for this reason, that in strict truth they all fall short Τhe various ἀρετῆς τῶν πολιτικῶν. Τὰς μὲν οὖν ἄλλας δυνάμεις τοῖς elements σίταις ἀντοῖς ὑπάρχειν ἐνδέχεσθαι δοκεῖ πολλοῖς, οἶον τοὺς τε καὶ τοὺς κοπολεμοῦντας καὶ γεωργοῦντας καὶ τεχνίτας, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς βουλευομένους τε καὶ κρίνοντας ἀντιποιοῦνται δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς πάντες, καὶ τὰς πλείστας ἀρχὰς ἄρχειν οἴονται δύνασθαι. ἀλλὰ πένεσθαι καὶ τρ πλουτεῖν τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀδύνατον. διὸ ταῦτα μέρη μάλιστα εἶναι δοκεῖ πόλεως, οἱ εὖποροι καὶ οἱ ἄποροι. ἔτι δὲ διὰ τὸ ως ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τοὺς μὲν ὀλίγους εἶναι τοὺς δὲ πολλούς, ταῦτα ἐναντία μέρη Φαίνεται τῶν τῆς πόλεως μορίων. ώστε καὶ τὰς πολιτείας κατὰ τὰς ὑπεροχὰς τούτων καθιστᾶσι, καὶ δύο πολιτείαι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, δημοκρατία καὶ ὀλιγαρχία.

The Δ ότι μεν οὖν εἰσὶ πολιτεῖαι πλείους, καὶ διὰ τίνας different αἰτίας, εἴρηται πρότερον] ὅτι δ' ἐστὶ καὶ δημοκρατίας εἴδη democracy. πλείω καὶ ὀλιγαρχίας, λέγωμεν. [Φανερὸν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ

18 διδ ταῦτα, κ.τ.λ.] as wealth and poverty cannot meet in the same people, and the wealthy and the poor consequently must always be distinct one from the other, whilst all other distinctions are less appreciable, this is the one fixed on, and the state is commonly divided into these two parts, and from the accident of their differing in number, these two stand in the most marked opposition to one another. In Greece and Rome, as in modern Europe, the problem of the opposition between the Have-alls and the Have-nothings, to borrow Mr. Carlyle's language (Sartor Resartus), was one which could not escape the philosophic statesman, modified as it was, and in some sense rendered easy by the existence of slavery.

20 If this section followed immediately after § 6, no one would, I think, miss the intervening part. From the consideration of the variety of forms of government generally,

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 wohiteiai, the variety in the democratical elements would account for a variety of democratical πολιτείαι. Here, again, from parepor bé . . . to διαφοράν, I suspect an interpolation. It is an evident repetition of Ch. III., not without its value in point of information, but still needlessly burdening the book, and faulty in point of division, as it is not easy to say why πορθμευτικόν and the rest are not included under χρηματιστικόν, and evidently το μικράν έχον, κ.τ.λ., is applicable to most of the others, as is 70 μή έξ αμφοτέρων, κ.τ.λ. For these reasons I have inclosed it in brackέκ τῶν εἰρημένων. εἴδη γὰρ πλείω τοῦ τε δημου καὶ τῶν λεγομένων γνωρίμων έστιν, οίον δήμου μεν είδη εν μεν οί forms of γεωργοί, έτερον δὲ τὸ περὶ τὰς τέχνας, ἄλλο δὲ τὸ άγοραϊον το περί ώνην και πράσιν διατρίβου, άλλο δὲ τὸ 2τ περί θάλατταν, καὶ τούτου τὸ μὲν πολεμικόν, τὸ δὲ χρηματιστικόν, τὸ δὲ πορθμευτικόν, τὸ δ' άλιευτικόν (πολλαγοῦ γάρ έκαστα τούτων πολύογλα, οίον άλιεῖς μὲν ἐν Τάραντι καί Βυζαντίω, τριηρικόν δὲ ᾿Αθήνησιν, ἐμπορικόν δὲ ἐν Αίγίνη καὶ Χίω, πορθμευτικον ἐν Τενέδω), προς δὲ τούτοις τὸ χερνητικὸν καὶ τὸ μικράν ἔχον οὐσίαν ώστε μὴ δύνασθαι σχολάζειν, έτι τὸ μὴ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων πολιτῶν ἐλεύθερον, καν εί τι τοιούτον έτέρου πλήθους είδος. των δε γνωρίμων 22 πλοῦτος, εύγένεια, ἀρετή, παιδεία, καὶ τὰ τούτοις λεγόμενα κατά την αύτην διαφοράν.] Δημοκρατία μέν οδυ έστλ πρώτη μεν ή λεγομένη μάλιστα κατά το Ισον. Ισον γάρ Φησιν ο νόμος ο της τοιαύτης δημοκρατίας το μηδέν μάλλον άρχειν τους απόρους ή τους ευπόρους, μηδε κυρίους είναι • ὑπάρχειν Bekker.

21 Τάραντι] Grote, 111. 516. "Shellfish."

Bυ(αντίφ] Id. rv. 36. "Thunny fishery."

Aiyivn The commerce of Ægina, in very early times, is quite historical.

Xίω] Grote, VII. 531.

τὸ μὴ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων πολιτῶν] for this, compare III. v. 8.

22 τούτοις] depends on την αυτήν. 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 cætera 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 μέν οδν, 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.) II. 9, 7 μάλιστ' είναι δοκούσα δημοκρατία καλ δημος.

αρχειν] This reading, in place of ύπάρχειν, is proposed by Stahr. I have adopted it, justified, I think, by words from the passage I have just quoted VII. (VI.) 11. 9, ίσον γάρ τὸ μηθέν μᾶλλον ἄρχειν τοὺς ἀπόρους ἡ τούς εύπόρους μηδέ κυρίους είναι μόνους άλλά πάντας έξ ίσου κατ' άριθμόν. These last words are an useful comment on μηδέ κυρίους είναι δποτερουσοῦν, ἀλλ' όμυίους άμφοτέρους. In the first part it is true that brdoxer can be construed, though perhaps not easily, 'that the wealthy should not be anything more, of greater importance, than the poor.' Yet the change is simple, and appears to rest on adequate grounds.

The different forms of democracy.

11

όποτερουσοῦν, άλλ' όμοίους άμφοτέρους. είπερ γάρ έλευθερία μάλιστ' έστὶν έν δημοκρατία, καθάπερ ὑπολαμβάνουσί τινες, καὶ ἰσότης, οῦτως αν είη μάλιστα, κοινωνούντων απάντων μάλιστα της πολιτείας δμοίως. έπει δὲ πλείων ὁ δημος, κύριον δὲ τὸ δύξαν τοῖς πλείοσιν, ἀνάγκη 24 δημοκρατίαν είναι ταύτην. Εν μεν ουν είδος δημοκρατίας τοῦτο, ἄλλο δὲ τὸ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀπὸ τιμημάτων είναι, βραχέων δε τούτων όντων δεῖ δε τῷ κτωμένω εξουσίαν είναι μετέχειν, καὶ τὸν ἀποβάλλοντα μὴ μετέχειν. ἔτερον είδος 1292 δημοκρατίας τὸ μετέχειν απαντας τοὺς πολίτας δσοι 25 άνυπεύθυνοι, ἄρχειν δὲ τὸν νόμον. ἔτερον δὲ είδος δημοκρατίας τὸ πᾶσι μετείναι τῶν ἀρχῶν, ἐὰν μόνον ἢ πολίτης, άρχειν δε τον νόμον. Ετερον είδος δημοκρατίας τάλλα μεν είναι ταυτά, κύριον δ' είναι τὸ πλήθος καὶ μὴ τὸν νόμον. τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται, ὅταν τὰ ψηΦίσματα κύρια ή ἀλλὰ μὴ 26 ο νόμος, συμβαίνει δε τοῦτο διὰ τοὺς δημαγωγούς. ἐν μέν χὰρ ταῖς κατὰ νόμον δημοκρατουμέναις οὐ γίνεται

23 εἴπερ γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] Compare VII. (VI.) II. I.

obtws ar eig. $\kappa.\tau.\lambda$.] 'In this way it would be most likely to exist, by all participating as much as possible in the government on equal terms.'

έπει δὲ πλείων] 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 ἀνυπεύθυνοι] "quicunque maculæ alicui obnoxii non fuerunt," 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, τοῖs ζυνπευθύνοις κατὰ τὸ γένος, and so to exclude the two meanings I have quoted above.

25 ἐἀν μόνον ἢ πολίτης] 'admitting no question, but accepting the fact of his exercise of citizenship.'

26 ἐν μὲν γάρ, 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 δημαγωγός, not such as would have been attached to it in any Greek state by the party which would have claimed to be οἱ βέλτιστοι 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 eminently legal and constitutional, and yet there were demagogues in the or-

δημαγωγός, άλλ' οἱ βέλτιστοι τῶν πολιτῶν εἰσὶν ἐν ္ προεδρία. όπου δ' οἱ νόμοι μή εἰσι κύριοι, ἐνταῦθα γίνονται ων δημαγωγοί. μόναρχος γάρ ο δημος γίνεται, σύνθετος εξς έκ πολλών οι γάρ πολλοί κύριοί είσιν ούγ ώς ξκαστος άλλά πάντες. Ομηρος δε ποίαν λέγει οὐκ ἀγαθὸν είναι πολυ- 27 κοιρανίην, πότερον ταύτην ή όταν πλείους ώσιν οι άρχοντες ως εκαστος, άδηλον. ὁ δ' οὖν τοιοῦτος δῆμος, ἄτε μόναρχος ών, ζητεί μοναρχείν διά τὸ μὴ ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ νόμου, καὶ γίνεται δεσποτικός, ώστε οἱ κόλακες ἔντιμοι καὶ ἔστιν ὁ τοιοῦτος δημος ἀνάλογον τῶν μοναρχιῶν τῆ τυραννίδι. διὸ 28 καὶ τὸ ήθος τὸ αὐτό, καὶ ἄμφω δεσποτικά τῶν βελτιόνων, καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα ώσπερ ἐκεῖ τὰ ἐπιτάγματα, καὶ ὁ δημαγωγὸς καὶ ὁ κόλαξ οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἀνάλογον· καὶ μάλιστα δ' έκάτεροι παρ' έκατέροις Ισχύουσιν, οί μεν κόλακες παρά τυράννοις, οἱ δὲ δημαγωγοὶ παρὰ τοῖς δήμοις τοῖς τοιούτοις. αίτιοι δ' είσὶ τοῦ είναι τὰ ψηφίσματα κύρια άλλὰ 29 μή τους νόμους ούτοι, πάντα άνάγοντες είς τον δήμον. συμβαίνει γὰρ αὐτοῖς γίνεσθαι μεγάλοις διὰ τὸ τὸν μὲν δημον πάντων είναι κύριον, της δε του δήμου δόξης τούτους. πείθεται γάρ τὸ πληθος τούτοις. ἔτι δ' οἱ ταῖς ἀργαῖς 30 έγκαλούντες τον δημόν Φασι δείν κρίνειν ο δε άσμένως

different forms of democracy

dinary sense, and there, as everywhere else,—in fact, it is a necessity of government,— $\psi\eta\phi l\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ were frequent, without superseding the real efficacy of law.

ούχ ώς ἔκαστος άλλὰ πάντες] Compare II, III. 2-4.

"Ounpos] II. II. 204. The language of Homer cannot well bear any but the second sense, for, as Mr. Lewis remarks (Opinion, 243, note B), "Homer's poems contain no traces of a political body, nor do they mention voting."

μοναρχείν] In the sense of τύραννος είναι, the Latin 'dominari.'

28 ἐπιτάγματα] It is difficult to give the distinction in English, the word 'decree' expresses both. In the finely shaded political language of the present French Emperor, 'plébiscite' would express ψήφισμα, 'décret' ἐπίταγμα. The celebrated 'ordonnances' of Charles X. would be a still better rendering of ἐπιτάγματα.

29 δόξης] 'of the opinions of the people.'

30 er, \$\delta i\ \text{l}\$ Not merely do the demagogues 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 inapplicable to the change made by Pericles. Thus the popular assembly grasps the administrative and judical power, as it had before absorbed the legislative.

δέχεται τὴν πρόκλησιν, ώστε καταλύονται πάσαι αἱ ἀρχαί.

The different forms of

εύλόγως δε αν δόξειεν επιτιμάν ο Φάσκων τον τοιαύτην democracy. είναι δημοκρατίαν ού πολιτείαν όπου γάρ μη νόμοι άρ-31 χουσιν, ούκ έστι πολιτεία. δεῖ γὰρ τὸν μὲν νόμον ἄρχειν πάντων, τῶν δὲ καθ' ἕκαστα τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν κρίνειν. ωστ' εἴπερ ἐστὶ δημοκρατία μία τῶν πολιτειῶν, Φανερον ως ή τοιαύτη κατάστασις, εν ή ψηφίσμασι πάντα διοικείται, ούδε δημοκρατία κυρίως ούδεν γάρ ενδέγεται ψήφισμα είναι καθόλου. Τὰ μεν οὖν τῆς δημοκρατίας είδη διωρίσθω τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον.

different

'Ολιγαρχίας δὲ εἴδη, ἐν μὲν τὸ ἀπὸ τιμημάτων εἶναι τλς άρχὰς τηλικούτων ωστε τοὺς ἀπόρους μὴ μετέχειν πλείους forms of οντας, εξείναι δε τῷ κτωμένω μετέχειν τῆς πολιτείας. ἄλλο 1292 Β δέ, όταν ἀπὸ τιμημάτων μακρῶν ὧσιν αἱ ἀρχαὶ καὶ αἰρῶνται αύτοὶ τοὺς ἐλλείποντας. αν μὲν οὖν ἐκ πάντων τούτων τοῦτο ποιῶσι, δοκεῖ τοῦτ' είναι μᾶλλον ἀριστοκρατικόν, 2 έὰν δὲ ἐκ τινῶν ἀφωρισμένων, ὀλιγαρχικόν. Ετερον είδος όλιγαρχίας, όταν παῖς ἀντὶ πατρὸς εἰσίη. τέταρτον δ, όταν ὑπάρχη τό τε νῦν λεχθὲν καὶ ἄρχη μὴ ὁ νόμος ἀλλ' οί άρχοντες. καὶ ἔστιν ἀντίστροφος αυτη ἐν ταῖς ὀλιγαρ. χίαις ωσπερ ή τυραννίς έν ταῖς μοναρχίαις καὶ περὶ ής

> εὐλόγως ἐπιτιμᾶν] 'to urge a reasonable objection.'

> 31 την πολιτείαν κρίνειν] "die Verfassung die Entscheidung haben," Stahr. πολιτείαν would then mean 'the government.' That it may have this meaning is clear from III. vi. I, woλίτευμα έστιν ή πολιτεία, and III. VII. 2, πολιτεία καὶ πολίτευμα σημαίνει ταὐτόν. 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 nocracy to oligarchy 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. xl.

V. I αίρῶνται αὐτοί They form, in The prinfact, a self-electing body. ciple is that of co-optation.

τούτων] Is this 'all who have the required qualifications?'

2 αντίστροφος ωσπερ ή τυραννίς] = αντίστροφος τη τυραννίδι 'corresponds

τελευταίας είπαμεν δημοκρατίας έν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις καὶ καλοῦσι δή τὴν τοιαύτην όλιγαρχίαν δυναστείαν.

'Ολιγαργίας μεν ουν είδη τοσαῦτα καὶ δημοκρατίας. 3 Οὐ δεῖ δὲ λανθάνειν ὅτι πολλαχοῦ συμβέβηκεν ὥστε τὴν Distinction between μεν πολιτείαν την κατά τους νόμους μη δημοτικήν είναι, the form δια δε το ήθος και την άγωγην πολιτεύεσθαι δημοτικώς, of agovernόμοίως δὲ πάλιν παρ' ἄλλοις τὴν μὲν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους είναι πολιτείαν δημοτικωτέραν, τῆ δ' άγωγῆ καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσιν όλιγαρχεῖσθαι μᾶλλον. συμβαίνει δὲ τοῦτο μά-Α λιστα μετὰ τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν πολιτειῶν οὐ γὰρ εὐθὺς μεταβαίνουσιν, άλλ' άγαπῶσι τὰ πρῶτα μικρὰ πλεονεκτοῦντες παρ' άλλήλων, ωσθ' οἱ μεν νόμοι διαμένουσιν προϋπάρχοντες, κρατοῦσι δ' οἱ μεταβάλλοντες τὴν πολιτείαν.

"Οτι δ' ἐστὶ τοσαῦτα είδη δημοκρατίας καὶ όλιγαρ-6

to,' 'is the counterpart of.' Rhet. I. i. I, p. 1354. I.

καλοῦσι δή] 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 δυναστεία. 'The rule of a few powerful families.'

3 την κατά τους νόμους] 'such as it is expressed in the laws.'

70 700s] ' from the character of those who administer it.'

την ἀγωγήν] 'the spirit in which it is administered,' 'the tendency impressed upon it.'

τοις έθεσιν] = τφ ήθει. For ήθος is in fact the sum and expression of a man's

4 τοῦτο] This contrast between the existing constitution and the spirit in which it is administered.

μετά τάς μεταβολάς] This expression is not quite easy. Is the case Aristotle is contemplating that of a counterrevolution, 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 successful. The constitution sprung from it has been accepted, but the administration 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 μέν νόμοι διαμένουσιν οί προϋπάρχοντες, κρατοῦσι δ' οἱ μεταβάλλοντες τὴν πολιτείαν.

àγαπῶσι] 'are content at first.'

VI. I 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, τοσαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα διὰ ταύτας τὰς ardy was, 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

χίας, εξ αύτων των είρημένων Φανερόν έστιν. ανάγκη The reasons for sons for there being γὰρ ἡ πάντα τὰ εἰρημένα μέρη τοῦ δήμου κοινωνεῖν τῆς so many πολιτείας, η τὰ μεν τὰ δε μή. ὅταν μεν οὖν τὸ γεωργικὸν the two καὶ τὸ κεκτημένον μετρίαν οὐσίαν κύριον ή της πολιτείας, governments. πολιτεύονται κατά νόμους. Εχουσι γάρ εργαζόμενοι ζην, ού 2 δύνανται δὲ σχολάζειν, ώστε τὸν νόμον ἐπιστήσαντες ἐκκλησιάζουσι τὰς ἀναγκαίας ἐκκλησίας τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις μετέχειν έξεστιν, δταν κτήσωνται τὸ τίμημα τὸ διωρισμένον ὑπὸ 3 των νόμων. δλως μεν γάρ το μεν μη εξείναι πασιν όλιγαρχικόν, τὸ δὲ δὴ ἐξεῖναι σχολάζειν ἀδύνατον μὴ προσόδων οὐσων. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν είδος ἐν δημοκρατίας, διά ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας, ἕτερον δὲ είδος διὰ τὴν ἐχομένην αίρεσιν. έστι γαρ και πασιν έξειναι τοις άνυπευθύνοις κατά το , γένος, μετέχειν μέντοι δυναμένοις σχολάζειν. διόπερ εν τῆ τοιαύτη δημοκρατία οἱ νόμοι ἄρχουσι, διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι πρόσοδον. τρίτον δ' είδος τὸ πᾶσιν ἐξεῖναι, ὅσοι αν έλεύθεροι ὦσι, μετέχειν τῆς πολιτείας, μὴ μέντοι μετέχειν διά την προειρημένην αίτίαν, ώστ' όναγκαῖον καὶ ἐν ταύτη 5 άρχειν τὸν νόμον. τέταρτον δὲ είδος δημοκρατίας ή τελευ-1293 ταία τοῖς χρόνοις ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι γεγενημένη. διὰ γὰρ τὸ μείζους γεγονέναι πολύ τὰς πόλεις τῶν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς καὶ προσόδων ὑπάρχειν εὐπορίας, μετέχουσι μὲν πάντες τῆς πολιτείας διά την ύπεροχην τοῦ πλήθους, κοινωνοῦσι δὲ καὶ

• [Διδ πασι τοις κτωμένοις έξεστι μετέχειν] Bekker.

bearing of the chapter, its statements are such as to redeem it from the charge of mere repetition.

2 ξχουσι γὰρ ἐργαζόμενοι ζῆν] 'They can live if they work.'

eniorinoartes] 'They set the law over them as supreme, and only attend such assemblies as are indispensable.'

3 exercal If this second exerca be kept, it must be translated: 'But it is impossible they should have it in their power to have leisure unless there are revenues sufficient to secure it them.'

διὰ τὴν ἐχομένην αίρεσιν] This is hard unless we consider αίρεσιν as equivalent to διαίρεσιν, 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.

άνυπευθύνοις] see note on IV. 24. δυναμένοις] 'only if they are able.' 5 τοῖς χρόνοις] 'in point of time.'

τῶν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆs] 'than they were when originally constituted.'

διά την δπεροχην τοῦ πλήθους] * be-

πολιτεύονται διὰ τὸ δύνασθαι σχολάζειν καὶ τοὺς ἀπόρους The reaλαμβάνοντας μισθόν. καὶ μάλιστα δὲ σχολάζει τὸ τοιοῦ- sons for there being τον πλήθος ου γάρ έμποδίζει αυτούς ουθέν ή των ιδίων έπιμέλεια, τοὺς δὲ πλουσίους ἐμποδίζει, ώστε πολλάκις οὐ κοινωνοῦσι τῆς ἐκκλησίας οὐδὲ τοῦ δικάζειν. διὸ γίνεται τὸ τῶν ἀπόρων πληθος κύριον τῆς πολιτείας, ἀλλ' οὐχ οἱ νόμοι. 6 Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς δημοκρατίας είδη τοσαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα διὰ 7 ταύτας τὰς ἀνάγκας ἐστίν· τὰ δὲ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας, ὅταν μὲν πλείους ἔχωσιν οὐσίαν, ἐλάττω δὲ καὶ μὴ πολλὴν λίαν, τὸ της πρώτης όλιγαρχίας είδός έστιν ποιούσι γαρ έξουσίαν μετέχειν τῷ κτωμένω. καὶ διὰ τὸ πληθος είναι τῶν μετε- 8 γόντων τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἀνάγκη μὴ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀλλὰ τον νόμον είναι κύριον όσω γάρ αν πλείον απέγωσι της μοναρχίας, καὶ μήτε τοσαύτην έχωσιν οὐσίαν ωστε σχολάζειν άμελουντας, μήθ' ουτως ολίγην ωστε τρέφεσθαι άπδ της πόλεως, ἀνάγκη τὸν νόμον ἀξιοῦν αὐτοῖς ἄρχειν, ἀλλὰ μη αὐτούς. ἐὰν δὲ δη ἐλάττους ὧσιν οἱ τὰς οὐσίας ἔχοντες ο η οι το πρότερον, πλείω δέ, το της δευτέρας ολιγαργίας γίνεται είδος μάλλον γάρ ἰσχύοντες πλεονεκτείν άξιοῦσιν. διὸ αὐτοὶ μὲν αἰροῦνται ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς εἰς τὸ πολίτευμα βαδίζοντας, διὰ δὲ τὸ μήπω οῦτως ἰσχυροὶ είναι ῶστ' ἄνευ νόμου άρχειν, τὸν νόμον τίθενται τοιοῦτον. ἐὰν δ' ἐπι- το

forms of govern-

cause of the supremacy vested in the majority.'

6 και μάλιστα δέ σχυλάζει] Not only has it the opportunity, 'but more than any other body does it avail itself of that opportunity of leisure.'

ξμποδίζει αὐτούς] 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 dià tautas tas araykas] 'on these strong and compulsory grounds.'

ποιούσι γάρ] From their number already, they are not averse to admit-

ting more, they do not feel a jealous, exclusive spirit.

8 elvai] If not superfluous, it must be translated: 'and because they are a large number between whom the government is shared.'

may depend on ardyun. αὐτοῖς] 'They are compelled,' or, 'it is necessary for them to wish the law to rule for them and not themselves,'άρχειν αὐτοῖς.

9 μᾶλλον γάρ ἰσχύοντες, κ. τ. λ.] power begets in them the desire of increased power.

βαδίζοντας] Compare VIII. (V.) 1,

τοιοῦτον] 'in accordance with their

The reaso many forms of the two governments.

τείνωσι τῷ ἐλάττονες ὅντες μείζονας οὐσίας ἔχειν, ή τρίτη sons for there being επίδοσις γίνεται της όλιγαρχίας, τὸ δι' αὐτῶν μὲν τὰς άργας έγειν, κατά νόμον δε τον κελεύοντα τών τελευτώντων διαδέχεσθαι τους υίεῖς. ὅταν δὲ ἤδη πολύ ὑπερτείνωσι ταῖς οὐσίαις καὶ ταῖς πολυφιλίαις, ἐγγὺς ἡ 11 τοιαύτη δυναστεία μοναρχίας ἐστίν, καὶ κύριοι γίνονται οί ἄνθρωποι, άλλ' οὐχ ὁ νόμος καὶ τὸ τέταρτον είδος τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ἀντίστροΦον τῷ τελευταίφ

της δημοχρατίας. *Ετι δ' είσὶ δύο πολιτεῖαι παρά δημοκρατίαν τε καὶ

111 πολιτεία.

Aristocracy ολιγαρχίαν, ών την μεν ετέρον λέγουσί τε πάντες καὶ είρηται τῶν τεττάρων πολιτειῶν είδος έν λέγουσί δὲ τέτταρας μοναρχίαν, όλιγαρχίαν, δημοκρατίαν, τέταρτον δὲ την καλουμένην άριστοκρατίαν πέμπτη δ' έστιν ή προσαγορεύεται τὸ κοινὸν ὄνομα πασῶν (πολιτείαν γὰρ καλοῦσιν), άλλὰ διὰ τὸ μὴ πολλάκις γίνεσθαι λανθάνει τους πειρωμένους άριθμεῖν τὰ τῶν πολιτειῶν είδη, καὶ χρώνται ταῖς τέτταρσι μόνον, ὧσπερ Πλάτων ἐν ταῖς 1203 Β 2 πολιτείαις. 'Αριστοκρατίαν μέν οὖν καλῶς ἔχει καλεῖν περί ής διήλθομεν έν τοῖς πρώτοις λόγοις την γάρ έκ

> 10 ἐπίδοσις] 'the third stage in the growth or increase.' αἱ ἐπιδόσεις τῶν τεχνων. Είλ. 1. vii. 1, p. 1098, 24; Ibid. п. viii. p. 1109, 17.

> II ταις πολυφιλίαις] 'large numbers of friends,' comp. Eth. 1x. x. 6, p. 1171, 17, πολιτικώς μέν οδν έστι πολλοῖς εἶναι φίλον καὶ μὴ ἄρεσκον ὅντα, άλλ' ώς άληθώς έπιεική.

VII. Ι είρηται τῶν τεττάρων] Aristotle, in the Rhetoric, 1. viii. p. 1365, b. 29, gives the four here mentioned.

την καλουμένην] '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 Eth. viii. xii., and Politics, 111. 7.

 $\pi \ell \mu \pi \tau \eta \delta \eta$ 'there is a fifth.'

διά 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.

έν τοις πολιτείαις] 'in his treatises on Politics.'

2 εν τοις πρώτοις λόγοις] Books III.-V. (III. VII. VIII.). again the language is in favour of a change of arrangement, assuming his own state to have been described.



τῶν ἀρίστων ἀπλῶς κατ' ἀρετὴν πολιτείαν, καὶ μὴ πρὸς Aristocracy ύπόθεσίν τινα άγαθων άνδρων, μόνην δίκαιον προσαγο- πολιτεία. ρεύειν άριστοκρατίαν. ἐν μόνη γὰρ ἀπλῶς ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ πολίτης ἀγαθός ἐστιν· οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀγαθοὶ πρός την πολιτείαν είσι την αύτῶν, οὐ μην άλλ' είσί 3 τινες αι πρός τε τάς ολιγαρχουμένας έχουσι διαφοράς, καὶ καλοῦνται ἀριστοκρατίαι, καὶ πρὸς τὴν καλουμένην πολιτείαν, όπου γε μη μόνον πλουτίνδην άλλά καὶ άριστίνδην αἰροῦνται τὰς ἀρχάς. αὕτη ή πολιτεία διαφέρει τε άμφοῖν καὶ άριστοκρατική καλεῖται. καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς μή 4 ποιουμέναις κοινήν επιμέλειαν άρετης είσλν δμως τινές οί εύδοχιμούντες και δοκούντες είναι έπιειχείς. όπου ούν ή πολιτεία βλέπει είς τε πλούτον καὶ άρετὴν καὶ δημον, οίον έν Καρχηδόνι, αυτη άριστοκρατική έστιν καί έν αίς είς τὰ δύο μόνον, οίον ή Λακεδαιμονίων εἰς ἀρετήν τε καὶ δτμον, και έστι μίξις των δύο τούτων, δημοκρατίας τε καὶ ἀρετῆς. ἀριστοκρατίας μεν οὖν παρά τὴν πρώτηνς την αρίστην πολιτείαν ταῦτα δύο είδη καὶ τρίτον δσαι τῆς καλουμένης πολιτείας ῥέπουσι πρὸς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν μᾶλλον.

Λοιπον δ εστίν ήμῖν περί τε τῆς νομιζομένης πολι-8 τείας εἰπεῖν καὶ περὶ τυραννίδος ετάξαμεν δ οὕτως οὐκ

τὴν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων, κ. τ. λ.]
"The government of the best men absolutely, tried by the standard of moral virtue, and not by some arbitrary standard of excellence," 'this is the only one which we are justified in calling aristocracy.' The first part of the translation I quote from Mr. Lewis on Opinion, p. 252.

δ αὐτόs] 'The same person is at once a good man and a good citizen.'

3 TIVES BC. WOLITEIAL.

δπου γε] 'Since in them.'

4 κοινήν έπιμέλειαν ποιουμέναιs] This is the characteristic of his true αριστοκρατία—his ideal state.

Καρχηδόνι] In the chapter on Car-

thage, Π. II, he gives πλουτίνδην καλ ἀριστίνδην, but it is not easy to justify the δημον. He says, it is true, δημον ἔχουσαν, but the tenor of his remarks is against any democratical admixture. See the notes on that chapter.

VIII. I rομίζομέτης] I should prefer δνομαζομέτης, but perhaps it is safer to leave it as it stands. The καλουμέτης above is in favour of a change, as are one or two other passages later.

eraξαμεν δ' οδτως] 'I have placed them here, not that either the πολιτεία or the aristocracies just mentioned are really deviations, but for this reason, that in strict truth they all fall short The moder ela, what it is.

οὖσαν οἔτε ταύτην, παρέκβασιν, οὖτε τὰς ἄρτι ἡηθείσας αριστοκρατίας, δτι το μέν άληθες πάσαι διημαρτήκασι τῆς όρθοτάτης πολιτείας, ἔπειτα καταριθμοῦνται μετὰ τούτων, είσί τ' αὐτῶν αὖται παρεκβάσεις, ώσπερ ἐν τοῖς κατ' 2 άργην εἴπομεν. Τελευταῖον δὲ περὶ τυραννίδος εὔλογόν έστι ποιήσασθαι μνείαν διά το πασῶν ηκιστα ταύτην είναι πολιτείαν, ήμιν δε την μέθοδον είναι περί πολιτείας. δί ην μέν οδν αιτίαν τέτακται τον τρόπον τοῦτον, είρηται νῦν δὲ δεικτέον ήμῖν περί πολιτείας. Φανερωτέρα γάρ ή δύναμις αύτης διωρισμένων των περί όλιγαρχίας και δημοκρατίας. 3 έστι γαρ ή πολιτεία ώς απλώς είπεῖν μίξις όλιγαρχίας καλ δημοχρατίας, εἰώθασι δὲ καλεῖν τὰς μὲν ἀποκλινούσας τός πρός την δημοκρατίαν πολιτείας, τάς δὲ πρός την όλιγαργίαν μάλλον άριστοκρατίας διά το μάλλον άκολουθείν 4 παιδείαν καὶ εὐγένειαν τοῖς εὐπορωτέροις. ἔτι δὲ δοκοῦσιν έχειν οι εύποροι ων ένεκεν οι αδικούντες αδικούσιν. εθεν καβ καλούς κάγαθούς καὶ γνωρίμους τούτους προσαγορεύουσιν.

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 πολιτεία 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 For οὐκ οὖσαν, οὐ δοκοῦσαν has been proposed. The 871 must be brought into close connection with ἐτάξαμεν. τούτων = τῶν παρεκβάσεων. $ab\tau ai = ai \pi a \rho \epsilon \kappa \beta d\sigma \epsilon is.$ $ab\tau \hat{\omega} \nu = \tau \hat{\eta} s$ πολιτείας και των Ερτι βηθεισων άριστοκρατιών.

3 $\mu l \xi_{is}$, $\kappa.\tau.\lambda$.] It combines the two forms, is, as it were, a compromise between them.

မ်း] is superfluous.

πρός την δημοκρατίαν] The two

elements are difficult to combine on exactly equal terms, and their varying relation will determine the name to be given.

παιδείαν και εὐγενείαν] compare Rhet.

1. 8, p. 1366, 5. · ἀριστοκρατίας
τέλος τὰ πρὸς παιδείαν και τὰ νόμιμα.

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.

 Έπεὶ οὖν ή ἀριστοκρατία βούλεται τὴν ὑπερογὴν ἀπονέμειν τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας εἶναί Φασιν what it is. έκ τῶν καλῶν κάγαθῶν μᾶλλον. δοκεῖ δ' εἶναι τῶν ἀδυνά- 5 1294 των τὸ μὴ εὐνομεῖσθαι τὴν ἀριστοκρατουμένην πόλιν, (άλλὰ πονηροκρατουμένην) όμοίως δε και άριστοκρατείσθαι την μή εύνομουμένην. ούκ έστι δε εύνομία το εύ κεῖσθαι τοὺς νόμους, μη πείθεσθαι δέ. διὸ μίαν μὲν εὐνομίαν ὑπολη- 6 πτέον είναι τὸ πείθεσθαι τοῖς κειμένοις νόμοις, ἐτέραν δὲ τὸ καλῶς κεῖσθαι τοὺς νόμους οἶς ἐμμένουσιν ἔστι γὰρ πείθεσθαι καλ κακώς κειμένοις τοῦτο δ' ενδέχεται διχώς. ή γὰρ τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν ἐνδεχομένων αὐτοῖς, ἢ τοῖς ἀπλῶς

are in the judgment of men, ipso facto, καλοί κάγαθοί και γνώριμοι = εὐγενείς.

βούλεται] 'It is its aim and object.' φασιν] and so as far as they can identify them with aristocracy.

5 δοκεί] 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 καλοί κάγαθοί 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

in the second 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.'

πονηροκρατουμένην] πόνηρος, 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 ἔστι δέ, 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 τοῦτο] is a short expression for τὸ κεῖσθαι καλῶς τοὺς γόμους οζς ἐμμέvovour, and in the next clause the word aptorous is governed by εμμέrevous, when for the sense it would be better to put it in the accusative, but

άρίστοις. δοκεῖ δὲ άριστοκρατία μὲν εἶναι μάλιστα τὸ what it is. τὰς τιμάς νενεμῆσθαι κατ' ἀρετήν· ἀριστοκρατίας μὲν γὰρ τορος άρετή, όλιγαρχίας δὲ πλοῦτος, δήμου δ' ἐλευθερία· τὸ δ΄ δ΄ τι αν δόξη τοῖς πλείοσιν, ἐν πάσαις ὑπάρχει καὶ γὰρ ἐν ὀλιγαρχία καὶ ἐν ἀριστοκρατία καὶ ἐν δήμοις, ὅ τ<u>ι ἄ</u>ν δόξη τῷ πλείονι μέρει τῶν μετεχόντων τῆς πολιτείας, τοῦτ' 8 έστὶ χύριον. 'Εν μὲν οὖν ταῖς πλείσταις πόλεσι τὸ τῆς πολιτείας είδος καλείται μόνον γάρ ή μίξις στογάζεται των εὐπόρων καὶ τῶν ἀπόρων πλούτου καὶ ἐλευθερίας τχεδὸν γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις οἱ εὖποροι τῶν καλῶν κάγαθῶν δοκοῦσι 9 κατέχειν χώραν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τρία ἐστὶ τὰ ἀμφισβητοῦντα τῆς ισότητος τῆς πολιτείας, ἐλευθερία πλοῦτος ἀρετή (τὸ γὰρ τέταρτον, δ καλοῦσιν εὐγένιαν, ἀκολουθεῖ τοῖς δυσίν ἡ γὰρ ? εὐγένειά ἐστιν ἀρχαῖος πλοῦτος καὶ ἀρετή), Φανερὸν ὅτι την μέν τοῦν δυοῖν μίξιν, τῶν εὐπόρων καὶ τῶν ἀπόρων, πολιτείαν λεκτέον, την δε των τριων άριστοκρατίαν μάλιστα το τῶν ἄλλων παρὰ τὴν ἀληθινὴν καὶ πρώτην. ὅτι μὲν οὖν έστι και έτερα πολιτείας είδη παρά μοναρχίαν τε και δημο-

> it seems attracted by the datives κακώς κειμένοις and ols έμμένουσιν.

> 7 αριστοκρατία μέν, κ.τ.λ.] 'Aristocracy is thought especially to consist in having the offices distributed according to virtue.'

> δροs] 'The peculiar characteristic,' " le caractère spécial," St. Hil.

τὸ δ' δ τι, κ.τ.λ.] See Ch. IV. I. As common to all it cannot be the distinction of any one.

8 τὸ τῆς πολιτείας είδος καλείται] The sense of these words is not very certain. Do they mean 'The form of government is called πολιτεία in the great majority of the states where any mixture of the different elements is attempted,' thus limiting the #Acfσταις? '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 χώραν] 'to fill the place of.' Comp. Grote, III. 62, on the sense of these words καλοί κάγαθοί, and similar ones.

9 τὰ ἀμφισβητοῦντα] Compare the long discussion in Book III. xII. 13. for evyevela also, III. XIII. 3.

μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων] 'more than any other form of government, with the exception of the true and ideal form.' πρώτην in the sense of 'perfect.' Compare Rhet. 1. 2, 13, p. 1356, 17, δ πρωτος συλλογισμός.



κρατίαν και όλιγαρχίαν, είρηται, και ποῖα ταῦτα, και τί διαφέρουσιν άλλήλων αι τ' άριστοκρατίαι και αι πολι- what it is. τεῖαι τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας, καὶ ὅτι οὐ πόρρω αὖται ἀλλήλων, Φανερόν.

Τίνα δε τρόπον γίνεται παρά δημοκρατίαν καὶ όλιγαρ-9 χίαν ή καλουμένη πολιτεία, καὶ πῶς αὐτὴν δεῖ καθιστάναι, πολιτεία, λέγωμεν εφεξης τοῖς εἰρημένοις. ἄμα δὲ δηλον ἔσται καὶ to be conοίς δρίζονται την δημοκρατίαν και την όλιγαρχίαν · ληπτέον stituted. γάρ την τούτων διαίρεσιν, είτα έχ τούτων άφ' έχατέρας ώσπερ σύμβολον λαμβάνοντας συνθετέον. Είσὶ δὲ ὅροι τρεῖς 2 της συνθέσεως και μίξεως. ή γαρ αμφότερα ληπτέον ων έκάτεραι νομοθετοῦσιν, οίον περί τοῦ δικάζειν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς όλιγαρχίαις τοῖς εὐπόροις ζημίαν τάττουσιν, αν μή δικάζωσι, τοῖς δ' ἀπόροις οὐδένα μισθόν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις τοῖς μεν ἀπόροις μισθόν, τοῖς δ' εὐπόροις οὐδεμίαν ζημίαν. κοινὸν δὲ καὶ μέσον τούτων ἀμφότερα ταῦτα · διὸ 3 καὶ πολιτικόν : μέμικται γὰρ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν. εἶς μὲν οὖν οὖτος 1294 Β τοῦ συνδυασμοῦ τρόπος, ετερος δὲ τὸ μέσον λαμβάνειν ὧν έκάτεροι τάττουσιν, οίον έκκλησιάζειν οί μεν από τιμήματος ούθενος ή μικρού πάμπαν, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ μακρού τιμήματος κοινὸν δέ γε οὐδέτερον, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέσον ἐκατέρου τιμήματος τούτων. τρίτον δ' έκ δυοίν ταγμάτοιν, τὰ μὲν έκ τοῦ όλι-4 γαργικοῦ νόμου, τὰ δ' ἐκ τοῦ δημοκρατικοῦ. λέγω δ' οἶον δοκεί δημοκρατικόν μέν είναι το κληρωτάς είναι τάς άρχάς, τὸ δ' αίρετας όλιγαρχικόν, καὶ δημοκρατικόν μέν τὸ μὴ ἀπὸ τιμήματος, όλιγαρχικόν δε το άπο τιμήματος. άριστο-ς

IX. 1 yiveral Having described the πολιτεία in itself, he proceeds to the question of its formation.

αμα δὲ δηλον, κ.τ.λ.] 'This will be clear by the simple statement of the characteristics by which men determine democracy and oligarchy.' All that is to be done is to state these, distinguish them, and then take what you want from either, and put the parts together as you would the two

halves of anything cut in two. For the σύμβολον was something cut in two, the parts of which fitted exactly and served as a ticket for the holder. Compare Plato, Symp. 191, D. artowπου σύμβολον, άτε τετμημένος, εξ ένδς δύο.

2 δροι τρείς] 'three different modes.' 3 πολιτικόν It suits the πολιτεία.

τὸ μέσον λαμβάνειν] 'to take the

πυλιτεία. to be constituted.

κρατικόν τοίνυν καὶ πολιτικόν τὸ ἐξ ἐκατέρας ἐκατέρον λαπολιτεία. How it is βεῖν, ἐκ μὲν τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας τὸ αἰρετὰς ποιεῖν τὰς ἀρχάς, έκ δὲ τῆς δημοκρατίας τὸ μὴ ἀπὸ τιμήματος. 'Ο μὲν οὖν - τρόπος της μίζεως οὖτος, τοῦ δ' εὖ μεμῖχθαι δημοκρατίαν καὶ όλιγαρχίαν δρος, δταν ἐνδέχηται λέγειν τὴν αὐτὴν πολιτείαν δημοκρατίαν καὶ ὐλιγαρχίαν δήλον γάρ ὅτι τοῦτο πάσχουσιν οἱ λέγοντες διὰ τὸ μεμῖχθαι καλῶς. πέπονθε δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ μέσον ἐμφαίνεται γὰρ ἐκάτερον The (18. έν αὐτῷ τῶν ἄκρων. Οπερ συμβαίνει περὶ τὴν Λακεδαι-7 μονίων πολιτείαν. πολλοί γαρ έγχειροῦσι λέγειν ώς δημοχρατίας ούσης διά το δημοχρατικά πολλά την τάξιν έχειν, οίον πρώτον το περί την τροφην τών παίδων ομοίως γάρ οἱ τῶν πλουσίων τρέφονται τοῖς τῶν πενήτων, καὶ παιδεύονται τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ὃν αν δύναιντο καὶ τῶν 8 πενήτων οι παιδες. ομοίως δε και επι της εχομένης ήλικίας, καὶ όταν ἄνδρες γένωνται, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον οὐθὲν γὰρ διάδηλος ὁ πλούσιος καὶ ὁ πένης. οὖτω τὰ περὶ τὴν τροφήν ταύτα πάσιν έν τοῖς συσσιτίοις, καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα οἱ πλούσιοι τοιαύτην οίαν αν τις παρασκευάσαι δύναιτο καλ 9 τῶν πενήτων ὁστισοῦν. ἔτι τῶ δύο τὰς μεγίστας ἀργὰς την μέν αίρεῖσθαι τὸν δημον, της δὲ μετέχειν τοὺς μέν γὰρ γέροντας αιρούνται, της δ' εφορείας μετέχουσιν. οι δ' όλιγαρχίαν διά τὸ πολλά ἔχειν όλιγαρχικά, οίον τὸ πάσας αίρετας είναι και μηδεμίαν κληρωτήν, και ολίγους είναι

> 6 δρος τοῦ εδ μεμίχθαι] 'The test or characteristic of the combination having been successfully performed.'

τοῦτο πάσχουσιν] 'feel this.'

7 ώς δημοκρατίας ούσης] 'to speak of it as a democracy,' as though wepl αὐτῆs had preceded.

8 οὐθὲν γὰρ διάδηλος] 'There is no difference to mark.'

τις] is superfluous. There was then at Lacedæmon considerable social equality side by side with great political inequality, and it acted as a compensation for this last. Social equality is an idea 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.

οΐαν αν τις] This τις with the δστισοῦν at the end of the sentence, is quite superfluous.

9 For the matter of this section, compare II. ix. 25. Carátou, II. ix. 25, III. 1. 10.

κυρίους θανάτου καὶ Φυγῆς, καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα πολλά. δεῖ The tests δ' εν τη πολιτεία τη μεμιγμένη καλώς αμφότερα δοκείν πολιτεία. είναι και μηδέτερον, και σώζεσθαι δι' αυτής και μη έξωθεν, το και δι' αύτης μη τῷ πλείους ἔξωθεν είναι τοὺς βουλομένους (είη γὰρ ἀν καὶ πονηρά πολιτεία τοῦς ὑπάρχον) ἀλλὰ τῶ μηδ' αν βούλεσθαι πολιτείαν έτέραν μηθέν των της πόλεως μορίων όλως. Τίνα μέν οθν τρόπον δεί καθιστάναι πολιτείαν, δμοίως δε και τας δνομαζομένας αριστοκρατίας, νῦν είρηται.

Περί δε τυραννίδος ην ήμιν λοιπόν είπειν, ούχ ώς ένού- 10 σης πολυλογίας περὶ αὐτήν, ἄλλ' ὅπως λάβη τῆς μεθόδου 1295_{The} το μέρος, επειδή και ταύτην τίθεμεν τῶν πολιτειῶν τι μέρος. tyranny. περί μέν οδη βασιλείας διωρίσαμεν έν τοῖς πρώτοις λόγοις, έν οίς περί της μάλιστα λεγομένης βασιλείας εποιούμεθα την σκέψιν, πότερον ἀσύμφορον ή συμφέρει ταῖς πόλεσιν, καὶ τίνα καὶ πόθεν δεῖ καθιστάναι, καὶ πῶς. τυραννίδος 2 δ' είδη δύο μεν διείλομεν εν οίς περί βασιλείας έπεσκοπουμεν, διά τὸ τὴν δύναμιν ἐπαλλάττειν πως αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν, διὰ τὸ κατὰ νόμον είναι ἀμφοτέρας

10 εν τη πολιτεία] It would be but a very slight change to read the accusative here, and it is a tempting one, but it is not necessary. Looking at section 6, the actual reading is safer, - εμφαίνεται εν αὐτῷ -and the sense is the same either way. On the other hand, it would be simpler in point of the construction of σώζεσθαι with the accusative.

τφ μηδ' αν βούλεσθαι, κ.τ.λ.] For this expression compare II. IX. 22, which is not so straightforward as this and may derive light from it.

· ouoiws of kai] These last are so closely connected with the modifica, as appears from the last chapter, that it is needless to go into details as to the method of establishing them. are in fact the modifield with an oligarchical tendency impressed upon them.

Χ. Ι ολχ ώς ενούσης, κ.τ.λ.] 'not as though there were much to say upon it.'

της μεθόδου τὸ μέρος. 'Its share of our treatise.'

της μάλιστα] 'in the strictest sense so called,' the παμβασιλεία, III. xIV.-

2 ev ols Compare III. vi. 3, and III. x. 2, 'where.'

αὐτῶν] depends on δύναμιν, the subject to επαλλάττειν πως και πρός την 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 wal may express even more, 'that they are closely connected one with another, and with the Baouxela.'

The tyranny.

Ταύτας τὰς ἀρχάς τε τε γὰρ τῶν βαρβάρων τισὶν αἰροῦνται Αὐτοκράτορας μονάρχους, καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ελλησιν ἐγίγνοντό τινες μόναρχοι τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον, 3 οῦς ἐκάλουν αἰσυμνήτας. ἔχουσι δέ τινας πρὸς ἀλλήλας αὐται διαφοράς. ἤσαν δὲ διὰ μὲν τὸ κατὰ νόμον βασιλικαὶ καὶ διὰ τὸ μοναρχεῖν ἐκόντων, τυραννικαὶ δὲ διὰ τὸ δεσποτικῶς ἄρχειν κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν γνώμην. τρίτον δὲ είδος τυραννίδος, ἤπερ μάλιστ εἶναι δοκεῖ τυραννίς, ἀντίστροφος 4 οὖσα τῆ παμβασιλεία. τοιαύτην δ' ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τυραννίδα τὴν μοναρχίαν, ἤτις ἀνυπεύθυνος ἄρχει τῶν ὁμοίων καὶ βελτιόνων πάντων πρὸς τὸ σφέτερον αὐτῆς συμφέρον, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς τὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων. διάπερ ἀκούσιος οὐθεὶς γὰρ ἐκῶν ὑπομένει τῶν ἐλευθέρων τὴν τοιαύτην ἀρχήν. Τυραννίδος μὲν οὖν εἴδη ταῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα διὰ τὰς εἰρημένας αἰτίας.

The best average constitution is that in which the middle class goverag.

Τίς δ' ἀρίστη πολιτεία καὶ τίς ἄριστος βίος ταῖς πλείσταις πόλεσι καὶ τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων, μήτε πρὸς ἀρετὴν συγκρίνουσι τὴν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἰδιώτας, μήτε πρὸς παιδείαν ἢ Φύσεως δεῖται καὶ χορηγίας τυχηρᾶς, μήτε πρὸς πολιτείαν τὴν κατ' εὐχὴν γινομένην, ἀλλὰ βίον τε τὸν τοῖς πλείστοις κοινωνῆσαι δυνατὸν καὶ πολιτείαν ἦς τὰς πλείστας

των βαρβάρων τω(ν) Niebuhr, Rom. Hist. Vol. 1. 558, note 1257, thinks this alludes to the Roman Dictators. If so, is it not the only allusion we have to their political system?

3 δεσποτικώς] 'quite arbitrarily and absolutely.'

4 τοιαύτην δ' ἀναγκαῖον, κ.τ.λ.] 'Such a tyranny as this we must necessarily recognise in the monarchy, which, free from all responsibility, rules over the equals and superiors of the monarch, in the interest of itself alone, and with no eye to that of its subjects.' Those subjects are in no sense φύσει δοῦλοι, and in this case, therefore, it cannot hold that ἄρχοντι καὶ ἀρχομένφ ταὐτὸν συμφέρει.

XI. I 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.

συγκρίνουσι τρὸς ἀροτὴν, κ.τ.λ.] '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 fortune's gift,' such as in ordinary circumstances cannot be calculated on.

βίον τε] includes both wastela καὶ ἀρέτη, 'virtue and the training to virtue.'



πόλεις ενδέχεται μετασχείν. καὶ γὰρ ᾶς καλοῦσιν ἀριστο- The best κρατίας, περί ων νῦν εἴπομεν, τὰ μεν εξωτέρω πίπτουσι ταῖς constitu-tion is that πλείσταις τῶν πόλεων, τὰ δὲ γειτνιῶσι τῆ καλουμένη πολι- in which τεία διὸ περὶ ἀμφοῖν ὡς μιᾶς λεκτέον. ἡ δὲ δὴ κρίσις περὶ class goἀπάντων τούτων έκ τῶν αὐτῶν στοιχείων ἐστίν. εἰ γὰρ verns. καλώς εν τοῖς τθικοῖς εἴρηται τὸ τὸν εὐδαίμονα βίον εἴναι τὸν 3 κατ' άρετην άνεμπόδιστον, μεσότητα δε την άρετην, τον μέσον άναγκαῖον βίον είναι βέλτιστον, τῆς ἐκάστοις ἐνδεχομένης τυχείν μεσότητος. τους δε αυτούς τούτους δρους άναγκαῖον είναι καὶ πόλεως άρετῆς καὶ κακίας καὶ πολιτείας. ή γαρ πολιτεία βίος τίς έστι πόλεως. 'Εν απάσαις δή 4 1295 Β ταῖς πόλεσίν ἐστι τρία μέρη τῆς πόλεως, οἱ μὲν εὖποροι σφόδρα, οι δε ἄποροι σφόδρα, οι δε τρίτοι οι μέσοι τούτων. έπεὶ τοίνυν ὁ ὁμολογεῖται τὸ μέτριον ἄριστον καὶ τὸ μέσον, Φανερον ότι και των εύτυχημάτων ή κτησις ή μέση βελτίστη πάντων ράστη γαρ τῷ λόγῳ πειθαρχεῖν. ὑπέρκαλον δὲ ής ύπερίσγυρον η ύπερευγενη η ύπερπλούσιον, η τάναντία τούτοις, ὑπέρπτωχον ἡ ὑπερασθενή καὶ σφόδρα ἄτιμον, χαλεπὸν τῶ λόγω ἀκολουθεῖν. γίγνονται γὰρ οἱ μὲν ὑβρισταὶ καὶ μεγαλοπόνηροι μαλλον, οἱ δὲ κακοῦργοι καὶ μικροπόνηροι λίαν τῶν δ' ἀδικημάτων τὰ μὲν γίγνεται δι' ὕβριν, τὰ δὲ

2 τὰ μὲν ἐξωτέρω πίπτουσι] "sont en dehors des conditions," St. Hil., 'in some respects stand too far removed from the generality of states to be applicable.'

άμφοῖν] means not the two forms of aristocracy, but them and the modifica. 3 76] The article should be noticed with a view to a subsequent passage, VIII. (V.) 1. 13. 'If we were right in the Ethics in using the language.'

άνεμπόδιστον] the reference is to Ethics, v11. xiii. 2, p. 1153, 15, and is so far in support of the genuineness of the chapters in which it occurs.

της έκάστοις, «κ.τ.λ.] 'The mean open to each to get.' The construcon is abrupt. Της έκαστοις ενδέχεται τυχείν μεσότητος would have been more regular.

- ή γάρ παλιτεία] 'For it is in the organisation and development of its constitution that a state finds its life.'
- 4 τῶν εὐτυχημάτων] 'of the gifts of fortune.'
- 5 δι' δβριν] 'From the sense of being above law,' 'from insolence.'

διά κακουργίαν] expresses quite an opposite feeling, viz.: the ill-feeling and wish to cause annoyance which is engendered by the conviction tha society and its arrangements are unfavourable and depressing.

obtoi] Are the extremes on either side, whether of wealth, &c., or poverty, &c.

διά κακουργίαν. ἔτι δ' ήκισθ' οὖτοι Φυλαρχοῦσι καὶ βουλ-The best average constitution is that in which the middle class governs.

αρχοῦσιν· ταῦτα δ' άμφότερα βλαβερά ταῖς πόλεσιν. δε τούτοις οι μεν εν ύπεροχαῖς εὐτυχημάτων ὅντες, ἰσχύος καλ πλούτου καλ φίλων καλ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων, ἄρχεσθαι ούτε βούλονται ούτε ἐπίστανται (καὶ τοῦτ' εὐθὺς 6 οἴκοθεν ὑπάρχει παισὶν οὖσικ. διὰ γὰρ τὴν τρυφὴν οὐδ ἐν τοῖς διδασκαλείοις ἄρχεσθαι σύνηθες αὐτοῖς), οἱ δὲ καθ' γ ύπερβολην εν ενδεία τούτων ταπεινοί λίαν. ώσθ' οἱ μὲν άρχειν οὐκ ἐπίστανται άλλ' άρχεσθαι δουλικήν άρχήν, οἱ δ' άρχεσθαι μεν οὐδεμιᾶ άρχη, άρχειν δε δεσποτικήν άρχην. γίνεται οὖν καὶ δούλων καὶ δεσποτῶν πόλις, ἀλλ' οὐκ έλευθέρων, καὶ τῶν μὲν Φθονούντων τῶν δὲ καταφρονούντων. ά πλείστον ἀπέχει Φιλίας καὶ κοινωνίας πολιτικής ή γάρ κοινωνία Φιλικόν · ούδε γάρ όδοῦ βούλονται κοινωνείν τοῖς 8 έχθροῖς. βούλεται δέ γε ή πόλις έξ ίσων είναι και όμοίων ότι μάλιστα, τοῦτο δ' ὑπάρχει μάλιστα τοῖς μέσοις ωστ' άναγκαῖον ἄριστα πολιτεύεσθαι ταύτην τὴν πόλιν ἐστὶν ἐξ ών φαμέν φύσει την σύστασιν είναι της πόλεως. και σώο ζονται δ' έν ταῖς πόλεσιν οὖτοι μάλιστα τῶν πολιτῶν. οὖτε

φυλαρχούσι καὶ βουλαρχούσι] '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 despise 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.

ταῦτα ἀμφότερα] Both the tendency to crime, indicated above, and the aversion to office.

6 οἴκοθεν] 'at home.'

έν τοιs διδασκαλείοις] Compare Plato, Republ. VIII. 560, e, in the waitela δλιγαρχική.

7 των μέν φθονούντων των δέ κατα-

φρονούντων] 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.

å πλείστον, κ.τ.λ.] 'And this is a state of things that is as opposite as possible to friendship.'

φιλικόν] is an element of friendship. ₹ δν There seems something missing. such a word as the ourestnesses. 'The state formed of these elements which according to me are the natural elements from which the state is formed.'

καὶ σώζονται] 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, οί μέσοι τών πολιτών.

γάρ αὐτοὶ τῶν άλλοτρίων ὧσπερ οἱ πένητες ἐπιθυμοῦσιν, οὖτε τῆς τούτων ἔτεροι, καθάπερ τῆς τῶν πλουσίων οἱ πένητες ἐπιθυμοῦσιν· καὶ διὰ τὸ μήτ' ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι μήτ' ἐπι- tion is that βουλεύειν άκινδύνως διάγουσιν. διά τοῦτο καλῶς ηὖξατο Φωχυλίδης

The best average constituthe middle class governs.

πολλά μέσοισιν άριστα ' μέσος θέλω έν πύλει είναι.

δήλον ἄρα ὅτι καὶ ἡ κοινωνία ἡ πολιτικὴ ἀρίστη ἡ διὰ τῶν το μέσων, καὶ τὰς τοιαύτας ἐνδέχεται εὖ πολιτεύεσθαι πόλεις έν αίς δή πολύ το μέσον, και κρείττον μάλιστα μέν άμφοίν, εὶ δὲ μή, θατέρου μέρους προστιθέμενον γὰρ ποιεῖ ροπὴν καὶ κωλύει γίνεσθαι τὰς ἐναντίας ὑπερβολάς. διόπερ εὐτυγία τι μεγίστη τοὺς πολιτευομένους οὐσίαν έχειν μέσην καὶ ἱκανήν, ως όπου οἱ μὲν πολλὰ σφόδρα κέκτηνται οἱ δὲ μηθέν, ἡ δῆ- 1296 μος έσχατος γίγνεται η όλιγαρχία ακρατος ή τυραννίς δι άμφοτέρας τὰς ὑπερβολάς καὶ γὰρ ἐκ δημοκρατίας τῆς νεανικωτάτης και έξ όλιγαρχίας γίνεται τυραννίς, έκ δε τῶν μέσων και τῶν σύνεγγυς πολύ ἦττον. τὴν δ αἰτίαν ὕστερον 12 έν τοῖς περί τὰς μεταβολάς τῶν πολιτειῶν ἐροῦμεν. δ' ή μέση βελτίστη, Φανερόν μόνη γαρ αστασίαστος δπου ... γὰρ πολύ τὸ διὰ μέσου, ἥκιστα στάσεις καὶ διαστάσεις 🔭 γίγνονται τῶν πολιτειῶν. καὶ αἱ μεγάλαι πόλεις ἀστα- 13 σιαστότεραι διά την αύτην αίτίαν, ότι πολύ το μέσον έν δε ταῖς μικραῖς ῥάδιον τε διαλαβεῖν εἰς δύο πάντας, ώστε μηθὲν καταλιπείν μέσον, καὶ πάντες σχεδον ἄποροι η εὖποροί εἰσιν. καὶ αἱ δημοκρατίαι δὲ ἀσφαλέστεραι τῶν ὀλιγαργιῶν εἰσὶ 14 καλ πολυχρονιώτεραι διά τούς μέσους πλείους τε γάρ είσλ

Φωκυλίδης] of Miletus. Fr. 12. Ed. Bergk.

10 πολύ τὸ μέσυν] 'the middle class

προστιθέμενον] 'by its joining one or the other it sways the scale and prevents either of the two opposite extremes being dominant.'

τους πολιτευομένους] 'the citizens,' 'those who actually mix in affairs,' les citoyens actifs.

rearisantains] 'the most unbridled,' 'luxuriant.'

12 ἀστασίαστος Compare III. xv. 9, where this word occurs. Both passages show the great importance Aristotle attached to this point.

διαστάσεις] 'the dividing the state into two parts,' 'the setting the two sides one against the other.' διαλαβείν eis δύο.

The best constituthe middle class governs.

καλ μάλλον μετέχουσι των τιμών έν ταις δημοκρατίαις ή ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις, ἐπεὶ ὅταν ἄνευ τούτων τῷ πλήθει ὑπερtion is that τείνωσιν οι άποροι, κακοπραγία γίνεται και απόλλυνται ταγέως. σημείον δε δεί νομίζειν και το τους βελτίστους νομο-. θέτας είναι τῶν μέσων πολιτῶν. Σόλων τε γὰρ ἦν τούτων 15 (δηλοῖ δ' ἐκ τῆς ποιήσεως) καὶ Λυκοῦργος (οὐ γὰρ ἦν βασιλεύς) καὶ Χαρώνδας καὶ σχεδόν οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἄλλων. 16 Φανερον δ' έκ τούτων καὶ διότι αἱ πλεῖσται πολιτεῖαι αἱ μεν δημοκρατικαί είσιν αι δ' όλιγαρχικαί διά γάρ τὸ έν ταύταις πολλάκις όλίγον είναι τὸ μέσον, αἰεὶ ὁπότεροι αν ύπερέγωσιν, είθ' οἱ τὰς οὐσίας ἔγοντες εἴθ' ὁ δημος, οἱ τὸ μέσον εκβαίνοντες καθ' αυτους άγουσι την πολιτείαν, ώστε 17 ή δήμος γίγνεται ή όλιγαρχίας πρός δε τούτοις διά τὸ στάσεις γίνεσθαι καὶ μάγας πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶ δήμω καὶ τοῖς εὐπόροις. ὁποτέροις ᾶν μᾶλλον συμβή κρατήσαι τῶν έναντίων, οὐ καθιστάσι κοινήν πολιτείαν οὐδ ἴσην, άλλά τῆς νίκης ἄθλον τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τῆς πολιτείας λαμβάνουσιν, 18 καλ οἱ μὲν δημοκρατίαν οἱ δ' ἐλιγαρχίαν ποιοῦσιν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν ήγεμονία γενομένων τῆς Ἑλλάδος πρὸς τὴν παρ' αύτοῖς ἐκατέροι πολιτείαν ἀποβλέποντες οἱ μὲν δημοκρατίας έν ταῖς πόλεσι καθίστασαν οἱ δ' ὀλιγαρχίας, 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 δηλοί ἐκ τῆς ποιήσεως] The general spirit of Solon's remains warrants this, but I do not find any particular passage.

> ού γὰρ ἢν βασιλεύς] This seems an odd reason. Is it Aristotle's?

Χαρώνδας] Grote, IV. 560.

16 άγουσι] Compare v. 3, άγωγή.

17 την δπεροχην της 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 to much discussion, whether this refinement 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. 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.

τῶν πόλεων συμφέρον σκοποῦντες ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ σφέτερον αὐτῶν. ὥστε διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας ἢ μηδέποτε τὴν μέσην γίνεσθαι πολιτείαν ή όλιγάκις καὶ παρ' όλίγοις είς γὰρ ἀνήρ συνεπείσθη μόνος τῶν πρότερον ἐΦ' ἡγεμονία γενομένων ταύτην ἀποδοῦναι τὴν τάξιν. ἦδη δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν έθος καθέστηκε μηδε βούλεσθαι τὸ ἴσον, άλλ' ἡ ἄρχειν ζητεῖν 1296 Β η κρατουμένους ύπομένειν. Τίς μεν ούν άρίστη πολιτεία, καὶ διὰ τίν αἰτίαν, ἐκ τούτων Φανερόν· τῶν δ' ἄλλων πολιτειῶν έπειδή πλείους δημοκρατίας καὶ πλείους όλιγαρχίας Φαμέν είναι, ποίαν πρώτην θετέον και δευτέραν και τοῦτον δη τον τρόπον έγομένην τῶ τὴν μὲν είναι βελτίω τὴν δὲ χείρω, διωρισμένης τῆς ἀρίστης οὐ χαλεπὸν ἰδεῖν. ἀεῖε γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον 2τ είναι βελτίω την εγγύτατα ταύτης, χείρω δε την άφεστηκυΐαν του μέσου πλείον, αν μη πρός υπόθεσιν κρίνη τις. λέγω δὲ τὸ πρὸς ὑπόθεσιν, ὅτι πολλάκις οὖσης ἄλλης πολιτείας αίρετωτέρας ενίοις ούθεν κωλύσει συμφέρειν ετέραν μάλλον είναι πολιτείαν. 1.2. To othere

tion is that in which the middle

Δεῖ Bekker.

18 Compare Thuc. III. 82, on this point. πρός το σφέτερον αυτών-σφίσιν επιτηδείως πολιτεύεσθαι is the historical expression of this.

19 els γαρ ανήρ] 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. 11. 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-dποδοῦναι την τάξιν-which, doubtless, in the eyes of a later generation, looking on την νῦν δημοκρατίαν, would be considered as a πολιτεία τών μέσων.

τοις έν ταις πόλεσιν] simply opposed to the των εν ηγεμονία γενομένων.

20 αρίστη] ες. τοις πλείστοις.

τοῦτον δη τον τρόπον έχομένην] 'and so on in due order.'

21 Ael γdρ] This correction of Spengel's xxv. note 27, scarcely needs the support of V. (VIII.) 1. 2, to make us accept it.

πρός ὑπόθεσιν] Compare vn. 2, and note.

έτέραν μαλλον είναι] ' 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 πολιτεία,

άρίστοις. δοχεῖ δὲ άριστοχρατία μὲν εἶναι μάλιστα τὸ what it is. τὰς τιμὰς νενεμῆσθαι κατ' ἀρετήν· ἀριστοκρατίας μὲν γὰρ 7 ορος άρετή, όλιγαρχίας δε πλοῦτος, δήμου δ' έλευθερία· τὸ δ' δ' τι αν δόξη τοῖς πλείοσιν, ἐν πάσαις ὑπάρχει καὶ γὰρ εν όλιγαρχία και εν άριστοκρατία και εν δήμοις, δ τι άν δόξη τῷ πλείονι μέρει τῶν μετεχόντων τῆς πολιτείας, τοῦτ' 8 έστὶ χύριον. Ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς πλείσταις πόλεσι τὸ τῆς πολιτείας είδος καλείται μόνον γάρ ή μίξις στογάζεται τῶν εὐπόρων καὶ τῶν ἀπόρων πλούτου καὶ ἐλευθερίας το γεδὸν γὰρ παρά τοῖς πλείστοις οἱ εὖποροι τῶν καλῶν κάγαθῶν δοκοῦσι 9 κατέχειν χώραν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τρία ἐστὶ τὰ ἀμφισβητοῦντα τῆς ισότητος της πολιτείας, έλευθερία πλοῦτος άρετή (τὸ γὰρ τέταρτον, δ καλοῦσιν εὐγένιαν, ἀκολουθεῖ τοῖς δυσίν τη γάρ 🤜 εὐγένειά ἐστιν ἀρχαῖος πλοῦτος καὶ ἀρετή), Φανερον ὅτι την μέν τοῖν δυοῖν μίξιν, τῶν εὐπόρων καὶ τῶν ἀπόρων, πολιτείαν λεκτέον, την δε τῶν τριῶν ἀριστοκρατίαν μάλιστα το τῶν ἄλλων παρὰ τὴν ἀληθινὴν καὶ πρώτην. ὅτι μὲν οὖν έστὶ καὶ ἔτερα πολιτείας είδη παρὰ μοναρχίαν τε καὶ δημο-

> it seems attracted by the datives κακῶς κειμένοις and ols εμμένουσιν.

> 7 αριστοκρατία μέν, κ.τ.λ.] 'Aristocracy is thought especially to consist in having the offices distributed according to virtue.'

> "The peculiar characteristic," " le caractère spécial," St. Hil.

> . τὸ δ' ὅ τι, κ.τ.λ.] See Ch. IV. I. As common to all it cannot be the distinction of any one.

> 8 τὸ τῆς πολιτείας είδος καλείται] The sense of these words is not very certain. Do they mean 'The form of government is called πολιτεία in the great majority of the states where any mixture of the different elements is attempted,' thus limiting the #Aciσταις? '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 moditela.

κατέχειν χώραν] 'to fill the place of.' Comp. Grote, III. 62, on the sense of these words καλοί κάγαθοί, and similar

9 τὰ ἀμφισβητοῦντα] Compare the long discussion in Book III. xII. 13, for edyevela also, III. XIII. 3.

μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων] 'more than any other form of government, with the exception of the true and ideal form.' πρώτην in the sense of 'perfect.' Compare Rhet. 1. 2, 13, p. 1356, 17, δ πρῶτος συλλογισμός.



κρατίαν καὶ όλιγαρχίαν, εἴρηται, καὶ ποῖα ταῦτα, καὶ τί διαφέρουσιν άλλήλων αι τ' άριστοκρατίαι και αι πολι- what it is. τεῖαι τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας, καὶ ὅτι οὐ πόρρω αὖται ἀλλήλων, Φανερόν.

Τίνα δε τρόπου γίνεται παρά δημοκρατίαν και όλιγαρ-9 χίαν ή καλουμένη πολιτεία, καὶ πῶς αὐτὴν δεῖ καθιστάναι, πολιτεία, λέγωμεν εφεξης τοῖς εἰρημένοις. ἄμα δὲ δηλον ἔσται καὶ How it is to be conοίς δρίζονται την δημοκρατίαν και την όλιγαρχίαν· ληπτέον stituted. γάρ τὴν τούτων διαίρεσιν, εἶτα ἐκ τούτων ἀΦ' ἐκατέρας ὧσπερ σύμβολον λαμβάνοντας συνθετέον. Είσλ δε δροι τρείς 2 τῆς συνθέσεως καὶ μίζεως. ή γὰρ ἀμφότερα ληπτέον ὧν έκάτεραι νομοθετοῦσιν, οίον περί τοῦ δικάζειν. Εν μεν γάρ ταῖς όλιγαρχίαις τοῖς εὐπόροις ζημίαν τάττουσιν, αν μή δικάζωσι, τοῖς δ' ἀπόροις οὐδένα μισθόν, εν δε ταῖς δημοκρατίαις τοῖς μὲν ἀπόροις μισθόν, τοῖς δ' εὐπόροις οὐδεμίαν ζημίαν. κοινὸν δὲ καὶ μέσον τούτων ἀμφότερα ταῦτα · διὸ 3 καὶ πολιτικόν : μέμικται γὰρ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν. εἶς μὲν οὖν οὖτος 1294 Β τοῦ συνδυασμοῦ τρόπος, ετερος δε το μέσον λαμβάνειν ων έκάτεροι τάττουσιν, οδον έκκλησιάζειν οἱ μέν ἀπὸ τιμήματος ούθενος ή μικροῦ πάμπαν, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ μακροῦ τιμήματος · κοινὸν δέ γε οὐδέτερον, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέσον ἐκατέρου τιμήματος τούτων. τρίτον δ' έκ δυοίν ταγμάτοιν, τὰ μεν έκ τοῦ όλι-4 γαρχικοῦ νόμου, τὰ δ' ἐκ τοῦ δημοκρατικοῦ. λέγω δ' οἶον δοκεί δημοκρατικόν μέν είναι το κληρωτάς είναι τάς άργάς, τὸ δ' αίρετὰς όλιγαρχικόν, καὶ δημοκρατικὸν μέν τὸ μὴ ἀπὸ τιμήματος, όλιγαρχικόν δε το άπο τιμήματος. άριστο-ς

IX. 1 yireral] Having described the πολιτεία in itself, he proceeds to the question of its formation.

αμα δὲ δηλον, κ.τ.λ.] 'This will be clear by the simple statement of the characteristics by which men determine democracy and oligarchy.' All that is to be done is to state these, distinguish them, and then take what you want from either, and put the parts together as you would the two

halves of anything cut in two. For the σύμβολον was something cut in two, the parts of which fitted exactly and served as a ticket for the holder. Compare Plato, Symp. 191, D, ἀνθρώπου σύμβολον, άτε τετμημένος, έξ ένδς δύο.

² Spot Tpeis] 'three different modes.'

³ πολιτικόν] It suits the πολιτεία.

τὸ μέσον λαμβάνειν] 'to take the mean.'

πυλιτεία. How it is

κρατικόν τοίνυν καὶ πολιτικόν τὸ ἐξ ἐκατέρας ἐκατέρον λαβείν, έκ μεν της όλιγαρχίας το αίρετας ποιείν τας άρχάς, us be con- εκ δε της δημοκρατίας το μη άπο τιμήματος. 'Ο μεν ουν - τρόπος τῆς μίξεως οὖτος, τοῦ δ΄ εὖ μεμῖχθαι δημοκρατίαν καλ όλιγαρχίαν δρος, δταν ένδέχηται λέγειν την αὐτην πολιτείαν δημοκρατίαν καὶ ὐλιγαρχίαν δηλον γάρ ὅτι τοῦτο πάσχουσιν οἱ λέγοντες διὰ τὸ μεμῖχθαι καλῶς. ΄΄ πέπονθε δε τοῦτο καὶ τὸ μέσον ἐμφαίνεται γὰρ ἐκάτερον έν αὐτῷ τῶν ἄκρων. "Οπερ συμβαίνει περί την Λακεδαι-7 μονίων πολιτείαν. πολλοί γάρ έγχειροῦσι λέγειν ώς δημοκρατίας ούσης διά τὸ δημοκρατικά πολλά τὴν τάξιν έχειν, οίον πρώτον το περί την τροφήν των παίδων ομοίως γάρ οι των πλουσίων τρέφονται τοῖς των πενήτων, καὶ παιδεύονται τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ον αν δύναιντο καὶ τῶν 8 πενήτων οἱ παιθες. ομοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐχομένης ἡλικίας, καλ δταν άνδρες γένωνται, τον αὐτον τρόπον οὐθεν γάρ διάδηλος ὁ πλούσιος καὶ ὁ πένης. οὕτω τὰ περὶ τὴν τροφήν ταύτα πάσιν έν τοῖς συσσιτίοις, καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα οἱ πλούσιοι τοιαύτην οίαν αν τις παρασκευάσαι δύναιτο καί υ των πενήτων όστισουν. ἔτι τω δύο τὰς μεγίστας ἀρχὰς την μεν αίρεῖσθαι τὸν δημον, της δε μετέχειν τοὺς μεν γάρ γέροντας αίρουνται, της δ' έφορείας μετέχουσιν. οί δ' όλιγαρχίαν διά τὸ πολλά ἔχειν όλιγαρχικά, οἶον τὸ πάσας αίρετας είναι καὶ μηδεμίαν κληρωτήν, καὶ ολίγους είναι

> 6 δρος του εδ μεμιχθαι] 'The test or characteristic of the combination having been successfully performed.'

τοῦτο πάσχουσιν] 'feel this.'

7 ώς δημοκρατίας ούσης] 'to speak of it as a democracy,' as though wepl avris had preceded.

8 οὐθὲν γὰρ διάδηλος] 'There is no difference to mark.'

7:5] is superfluous. There was then at Lacedæmon considerable social equality side by side with great political inequality, and it acted as a compensation for this last. Social equality idea 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.

οΐαν ἄν τις] This τις with the δστισοῦν at the end of the sentence, is quite superfluous.

9 For the matter of this section, compare II. IX. 25. Bardrov, II. IX. 25, III. 1. 10.





κυρίους θανάτου καὶ Φυγής, καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα πολλά. δεῖ The tests δ' εν τη πολιτεία τη μεμιγμένη καλώς άμφότερα δοκείν πολιτεία. είναι και μηδέτερον, και σώζεσθαι δι' αύτης και μη έξωθεν, το καὶ δι' αὐτῆς μὴ τῷ πλείους ἔξωθεν είναι τοὺς βουλομένους (είη γὰρ ἀν καὶ πονηρᾶ πολιτεία τοῦθ ὑπάρχον) ἀλλὰ τῷ μηδ' αν βούλεσθαι πολιτείαν έτέραν μηθέν τῶν τῆς πόλεως μορίων όλως. Τίνα μέν οθν τρόπον δεί καθιστάναι πολιτείαν, όμοίως δε και τας όνομαζομένας αριστοκρατίας, νῦν είρηται.

Περί δὲ τυραννίδος ἢν ήμῖν λοιπὸν εἰπεῖν, οὐχ ὡς ἐνού- 10 σης πολυλογίας περὶ αὐτήν, ἄλλ' ὅπως λάβη τῆς μεθόδου $^{1295}_{The}$ τὸ μέρος, ἐπειδή καὶ ταύτην τίθεμεν τῶν πολιτειῶν τι μέρος. tyranny. περί μέν ουν βασιλείας διωρίσαμεν έν τοῖς πρώτοις λόγοις, έν οίς περί της μάλιστα λεγομένης βασιλείας εποιούμεθα την σκέψιν, πότερον ασύμφορον ή συμφέρει ταῖς πόλεσιν, καὶ τίνα καὶ πόθεν δεῖ καθιστάναι, καὶ πῶς. τυραννίδος 2 δ' είδη δύο μέν διείλομεν έν οίς περί βασιλείας έπεσκοπούμεν, διά τὸ τὴν δύναμιν ἐπαλλάττειν πως αὐτῶν καὶ πρός την βασιλείαν, διά τὸ κατά νόμον είναι άμφοτέρας

10 ἐν τῷ πολιτείφ] It would be but a very slight change to read the accusative here, and it is a tempting one, but it is not necessary. Looking at section 6, the actual reading is safer, - εμφαίνεται εν αὐτφ -and the sense is the same either way. On the other hand, it would be simpler in point of the construction of σώζεσθαι with the accusative.

τῷ μηδ' ἀν βούλεσθαι, κ.τ.λ.] For this expression compare II. IX. 22, which is not so straightforward as this and may derive light from it.

· δμοίως δὲ καί] These last are so closely connected with the πολιτεία, as appears from the last chapter, that it is needless to go into details as to the method of establishing them. They are in fact the modifield with an oligarchical tendency impressed upon them.

Χ. Ι οὐχ ώς ἐνούσης, κ.τ.λ.] 'not as though there were much to say upon it.'

της μεθόδου το μέρος. 'Its share of our treatise.'

της μάλιστα] 'in the strictest sense so called,' the παμβασιλεία, III. xiv.-XVII.

2 ev ols Compare III. vi. 3, and III. x, 2, 'where.'

αὐτῶν] depends on δύναμιν, the subject to έπαλλάττειν πώς και πρός την Basilelar. '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 Barilela, so that they and it run into one another, as it were, and can hardly be kept quite distinct.' The kal may express even more, 'that they are closely connected one with another, and with the Basilela.

The tyranny.

παύτας τὰς ἀρχάς ἔν τε γὰρ τῶν βαρβάρων τισὶν αἰροῦνται αὐτοκράτορας μονάρχους, καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ελλησιν ἐγίγνοντό τινες μόναρχοι τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον, 3 οὖς ἐκάλουν αἰσυμνήτας. ἔχουσι δέ τινας πρὸς ἀλλήλας αὖται διαφοράς. ἦσαν δὲ διὰ μὲν τὸ κατὰ νόμον βασιλικαὶ καὶ διὰ τὸ μοναρχεῖν ἐκόντων, τυραννικαὶ δὲ διὰ τὸ δεσποτικῶς ἄρχειν κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν γνώμην. τρίτον δὲ είδος τυραννίδος, ἤπερ μάλιστ εἶναι δοκεῖ τυραννίς, ἀντίστροφος 4 οὖσα τἢ παμβασιλεία. τοιαύτην δ΄ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τυραννίδα τὴν μοναρχίαν, ἤτις ἀνυπεύθυνος ἄρχει τῶν ὁμοίων καὶ βελτιόνων πάντων πρὸς τὸ σφέτερον αὐτῆς συμφέρον, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς τὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων. διάπερ ἀκούσιος οὐθεὶς γὰρ ἐκῶν ὑπομένει τῶν ἐλευθέρων τὴν τοιαύτην ἀρχήν. Τυραννίδος μὲν οὖν εἴδη ταῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα διὰ τὰς εἰρημένας αἰτίας.

The best average constitution is that in which the middle class governs.

Τίς δ' ἀρίστη πολιτεία καὶ τίς ἄριστος βίος ταῖς πλείσταις πόλεσι καὶ τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων, μήτε πρὸς ἀρετὴν συγκρίνουσι τὴν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἰδιώτας, μήτε πρὸς παιδείαν ἢ Φύσεως δεῖται καὶ χορηγίας τυχηρᾶς, μήτε πρὸς πολιτείαν τὴν κατ' εὐχὴν γινομένην, ἀλλὰ βίον τε τὸν τοῖς πλείστοις κοινωνῆσαι δυνατὸν καὶ πολιτείαν ἦς τὰς πλείστας

των Βαρβάρων τωίν] Niebuhr, Rom. Hist. Vol. 1. 558, note 1257, thinks this alludes to the Roman Dictators. If so, is it not the only allusion we have to their political system?

3 δεσωστικώς] 'quite arbitrarily and absolutely.'

4 τοιαύτην δ' ἀναγκαῖον, κ.τ.λ.] 'Such a tyranny as this we must necessarily recognise in the monarchy, which, free from all responsibility, rules over the equals and superiors of the monarch, in the interest of itself alone, and with no eye to that of its subjects.' Those subjects are in no sense φύσει δοῦλοι, and in this case, therefore, it cannot hold that ἄρχοντι καὶ ἀρχομένφ ταὐτὸν συμφέρει.

XI. I 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.

συγκρίνουσι πρὸς ἀρετὴν, κ.τ.λ.] '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 fortune's gift,' such as in ordinary circumstances cannot be calculated on.

βίον τε] includes both mastela and aρέτη, 'virtue and the training to virtue.'





πόλεις ενδέχεται μετασχείν. καὶ γὰρ ᾶς καλοῦσιν ἀριστο- The best κρατίας, περί ων νῦν εἴπομεν, τὰ μὲν ἐξωτέρω πίπτουσι ταῖς constitution is that πλείσταις τῶν πόλεων, τὰ δὲ γειτνιῶσι τῆ καλουμένη πολι- in which τεία. διὸ περὶ ἀμφοῖν ὡς μιᾶς λεκτέον. ἡ δὲ δὴ κρίσις περὶ the middle ἀπάντων τούτων έκ τῶν αὐτῶν στοιχείων ἐστίν. εἰ γὰρ <u>verns.</u> καλῶς ἐν τοῖς ήθικοῖς είρηται τὸ τὸν εὐδαίμονα βίον είναι τὸν 3 κατ' άρετην άνεμπόδιστον, μεσότητα δε την άρετην, τον μέσον άναγκαῖον βίον είναι βέλτιστον, τῆς ἐκάστοις ἐνδεγομένης τυγείν μεσότητος. τους δε αύτους τούτους δρους άναγκαΐον είναι και πόλεως άρετης και κακίας και πολιτείας. ή γὰρ πολιτεία βίος τίς ἐστι πόλεως. 'Εν ἀπάσαις δη 4 1295 Β ταῖς πόλεσίν ἐστι τρία μέρη τῆς πόλεως, οἱ μὲν εὖποροι σφόδρα, οι δε ἄποροι σφόδρα, οι δε τρίτοι οι μέσοι τούτων. έπεὶ τοίνυν ὁ ὁμολογεῖται τὸ μέτριον ἄριστον καὶ τὸ μέσον, Φανερον ότι και των εύτυχημάτων ή κτησις ή μέση βελτίστη πάντων : ¿άστη γὰρ τῷ λόγῳ πειθαρχεῖν. ὑπέρκαλον δὲ ἢ 5 ύπερίσχυρον ή ύπερευγενή ή ύπερπλούσιον, ή τάναντία τούτοις, ὑπέρπτωχον ἡ ὑπερασθενῆ καὶ σφόδρα ἄτιμον, χαλεπὸν τῷ λόγω ἀκολουθεῖν. γίγνονται γὰρ οἱ μὲν ὑβρισταὶ καὶ μεγαλοπόνηροι μάλλον, οί δε κακούργοι καί μικροπόνηροι λίαν· τῶν δ' ἀδικημάτων τὰ μὲν γίγνεται δι' ὕβριν, τὰ δὲ

2 τὰ μέν έξωτέρω πίπτουσι] " sont en dehors des conditions," St. Hil., 'in some respects stand too far removed from the generality of states to be applicable.

αμφοίν] means not the two forms of aristocracy, but them and the πολιτεία.

3 76] The article should be noticed with a view to a subsequent passage, VIII. (V.) 1. 13. 'If we were right in the Ethics in using the language.'

ανεμπόδιστον] the reference is to Ethics, vii. xiii. 2, p. 1153, 15, and is so far in support of the genuineness of the chapters in which it occurs.

της έκάστοις, κ.τ.λ.] 'The mean open to each to get.' The construcon is abrupt. ής έκαστοις ενδέχεται τυχείν μεσότητος would have been more regular.

obtoi] Are the extremes on either side, whether of wealth, &c., or poverty, &c.

ή γάρ παλιτεία] 'For it is in the organisation and development of its constitution that a state finds its life."

⁴ τῶν εὐτυχημάτων] 'of the gifts of fortune.'

⁵ δι' δβριν] 'From the sense of being above law,' 'from insolence.'

διά κακουργίαν] expresses quite an opposite feeling, viz.: the ill-feeling and wish to cause annoyance which is engendered by the conviction tha society and its arrangements are unfavourable and depressing.

The best average constitution is that in which the middle class governs.

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διά κακουργίαν. ἔτι δ' ήκισθ' οὖτοι Φυλαρχοῦσι καὶ βουλαρχοῦσιν· ταῦτα δ' ἀμφότερα βλαβερὰ ταῖς πόλεσιν. δε τούτοις οι μεν εν ύπεροχαῖς εύτυχημάτων όντες, ίσχύος καὶ πλούτου καὶ φίλων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων, ἄργεσθαι ούτε βούλονται ούτε ἐπίστανται (καὶ τοῦτ' εὐθὺς 6 οἴκοθεν ὑπάρχει παισὶν οὖσικ. διὰ γὰρ τὴν τρυΦὴν οὐδ ἐν τοῖς διδασκαλείοις ἄρχεσθαι σύνηθες αὐτοῖς), οἱ δὲ καθ τ ύπερβολήν εν ενδεία τούτων ταπεινοί λίαν. ώσθ' οἱ μὲν άρχειν οὐκ ἐπίστανται άλλ' άρχεσθαι δουλικήν άρχήν, οἱ δ' άρχεσθαι μεν ούδεμια άρχη, άρχειν δε δεσποτικήν άρχην. γίνεται ούν καὶ δούλων καὶ δεσποτῶν πόλις, άλλ' οὐκ έλευθέρων, καὶ τῶν μὲν Φθονούντων τῶν δὲ καταφρονούντων. ά πλείστον ἀπέχει Φιλίας καὶ κοινωνίας πολιτικής ή γάρ κοινωνία Φιλικόν ούδε γάρ όδου βούλονται κοινωνείν τοίς 8 έγθροῖς. βούλεται δέ γε ή πόλις έξ Ισων είναι καὶ ὁμοίων ότι μάλιστα, τοῦτο δ' ὑπάρχει μάλιστα τοῖς μέσοις ωστ' άναγκαῖον ἄριστα πολιτεύεσθαι ταύτην την πόλιν ἐστὶν ἐξ ων Φαμέν Φύσει την σύστασιν είναι της πόλεως. και σώο ζονται δ' εν ταῖς πόλεσιν οὖτοι μάλιστα τῶν πολιτῶν.

φυλαρχοῦσι καὶ βουλαρχοῦσι] '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 despise 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.

ταῦτα ἀμφότερα] Both the tendency to crime, indicated above, and the aversion to office.

6 olkoθεν] 'at home.'

έν τοις διδασκαλείοις] Compare Plato, Republ. viii. 560, e, in the παιδεία δλιγαρχική.

7 των μέν φθονούντων των δέ κατα-

φρονούντων] 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.

*A πλεῖστον, κ.τ.λ.] 'And this is a state of things that is as opposite as possible to friendship.'

φιλικόν] is an element of friendship.
¿ξῶν] There seems something missing, such a word as τὴν συνεστηκυῖαν.

'The state formed of these elements which according to me are the natural elements from which the state is formed.'

καὶ σόζονται] 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, οἱ μόσοι τῶν πολιτῶν.

γὰρ αὐτοὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ὧσπερ οἱ πένητες ἐπιθυμοῦσιν, οὖτε τῆς τούτων ἔτεροι, καθάπερ τῆς τῶν πλουσίων οἱ πένητες ἐπιθυμοῦσιν· καὶ διὰ τὸ μήτ' ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι μήτ' ἐπιβουλεύειν ἀκινδύνως διάγουσιν. διὰ τοῦτο καλῶς ηὖξατο Φωκυλίδης

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πολλά μέσοισιν άριστα · μέσος θέλω έν πύλει είναι.

δήλον άρα ότι και ή κοινωνία ή πολιτική άρίστη ή διά των 10 μέσων, καὶ τὰς τοιαύτας ἐνδέχεται εὖ πολιτεύεσθαι πόλεις έν αίς δή πολύ το μέσον, και κρείττον μάλιστα μέν άμφοίν, εὶ δὲ μή, θατέρου μέρους προστιθέμενον γὰρ ποιεῖ ροπην καλ κωλύει γίνεσθαι τας έναντίας ύπερβολάς. διόπερ εύτυχία 11 μεγίστη τους πολιτευομένους ουσίαν έχειν μέσην και ίκανήν, ως οπου οι μεν πολλά σφόδρα κέκτηνται οι δε μηθέν, ή δη- 1296 μος έσχατος γίγνεται η όλιγαρχία άκρατος η τυραννίς δι άμφοτέρας τὰς ὑπερβολάς καὶ γὰρ ἐκ δημοκρατίας τῆς νεανικωτάτης και έξ όλιγαρχίας γίνεται τυραννίς, έκ δε τῶν μέσων και τῶν σύνεγγυς πολύ ἦττον. τὴν δ' αἰτίαν ὕστερον 12 έν τοῖς περί τὰς μεταβολάς τῶν πολιτειῶν ἐροῦμεν. Οτι δ' ή μέση βελτίστη, Φανερόν· μόνη γαρ αστασίαστος· δπου ...γαρ πολύ τὸ δια μέσου, ηκιστα στάσεις καὶ διαστάσεις 📈 γίγνονται τῶν πολιτειῶν. καὶ αἱ μεγάλαι πόλεις ἀστα- 13 σιαστότεραι διά την αύτην αίτίαν, δτι πολύ το μέσον έν δε ταῖς μικραῖς ῥάδιόν τε διαλαβεῖν εἰς δύο πάντας, ώστε μηθέν καταλιπείν μέσον, και πάντες σχεδον αποροι ή ευποροί είσιν. καὶ αἱ δημοκρατίαι δὲ ἀσφαλέστεραι τῶν ὀλιγαργιῶν εἰσὶ 14 καλ πολυγρονιώτεραι διά τους μέσους πλείους τε γάρ είσλ

Φωκυλίδης] of Miletus. Fr. 12. Ed. Bergk.

10 πολύ τὸ μέσυν] '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.'

τοὺς πολιτευομένους] 'the citizens,' 'those who actually mix in affairs,' les citoyens actifs.

vearinerdins] 'the most unbridled,'

12 doraciacros] Compare III. xv. 9, where this word occurs. Both passages show the great importance Aristotle attached to this point.

διαστάσεις] 'the dividing the state into two parts,' 'the setting the two sides one against the other.' διαλαβείνεις δύο.

constituthe middle verns.

καὶ μάλλον μετέχουσι τῶν τιμῶν ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ἡ ταῖς ὀλιγαργίαις, ἐπεὶ ὅταν ἄνευ τούτων τῷ πλήθει ὑπερtion is that τείνωσιν οι άποροι, κακοπραγία γίνεται και απόλλυνται ταclass go- χέως. σημεῖον δὲ δεῖ νομίζειν καὶ τὸ τοὺς βελτίστους νομο-. θέτας είναι τῶν μέσων πολιτῶν· Σόλων τε γὰρ ἦν τούτων 15 (δηλοῖ δ' ἐκ τῆς ποιήσεως) καὶ Λυκοῦργος (οὐ γὰρ ἦν βασιλεύς) και Χαρώνδας και σχεδόν οι πλείστοι τῶν ἄλλων. 16 Φανερον δ' έκ τούτων καὶ διότι αι πλεῖσται πολιτεῖαι αί μεν δημοκρατικαί είσιν αι δ' όλιγαρχικαί διά γάρ τὸ έν ταύταις πολλάκις όλίγον είναι το μέσον, αλεί οπότεροι αν ύπερέχωσιν, είθ' οἱ τὰς οὐσίας ἔχοντες εἴθ' ὁ δημος, οἱ τὸ μέσον εκβαίνοντες καθ' αύτους άγουσι την πολιτείαν, ώστε 27 ή δήμος γίγνεται ή όλιγαρχίας πρός δε τούτοις διά τὸ στάσεις γίνεσθαι καὶ μάχας πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῷ δήμω καὶ τοῖς εὐπόροις. ὁποτέροις ἀν μᾶλλον συμβή κρατήσαι τῶν έναντίων, οὐ καθιστᾶσι κοινήν πολιτείαν οὐδ ίσην, άλλά της νίκης ἄθλον την ὑπεροχην της πολιτείας λαμβάνουσιν, 18 καλ οι μεν δημοκρατίαν οι δ' όλιγαρχίαν ποιοῦσιν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν ήγεμονία γενομένων τῆς Ἑλλάδος πρὸς τὴν παρ' αύτοῖς έκατέροι πολιτείαν ἀποβλέποντες οἱ μὲν δημοκρατίας

έν ταῖς πόλεσι καθίστασαν οἱ δ' ὀλιγαρχίας, 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 δηλοί έκ της ποιήσεως] The general spirit of Solon's remains warrants this, but I do not find any particular passage.

οὐ γὰρ ἢν βασιλεύς] This seems an odd reason. Is it Aristotle's? Xαρώνδας] Grote, IV. 560.

16 ἄγουσι] Compare v. 3, ἀγωγή.

17 την ύπεροχην της πολιτείας] ' The supremacy in the government.' rights or claims of the minority are not respected, to use the latest political language. And it is a question open iscussion, 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. 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 Mr. Carlyle, Latter-day so called, Pamphlets.

τῶν πόλεων συμφέρον σκοποῦντες ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ σφέτερον αὐτῶν. ὥστε διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας ἡ μηδέποτε τὴν μέσην γίνεσθαι πολιτείαν ή όλιγάκις καὶ παρ' όλίγοις. είς γὰρ ἀνήρ συνεπείσθη μόνος τῶν πρότερον ἐΦ' ἡγεμονία γενομένων ταύτην ἀποδοῦναι τὴν τάξιν. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν έθος καθέστηκε μηδε βούλεσθαι τὸ ἴσον, ἀλλ' ἡ ἄρχειν ζητεῖν 1296 Β ή κρατουμένους ύπομένειν. Τίς μεν ούν αρίστη πολιτεία, καὶ διὰ τίν αἰτίαν, ἐκ τούτων Φανερόν· τῶν δ' ἄλλων πολιτειῶν έπειδή πλείους δημοκρατίας καὶ πλείους όλιγαρχίας Φαμέν είναι, ποίαν πρώτην θετέον και δευτέραν και τοῦτον δη τον τρόπον έγομένην τῶ τὴν μὲν είναι βελτίω τὴν δὲ χείρω, διωρισμένης τῆς ἀρίστης οὐ χαλεπὸν ἰδεῖν. ἀεῖε γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον 2τ είναι βελτίω την εγγύτατα ταύτης, χείρω δε την άφεστηκυΐαν τοῦ μέσου πλεῖον, αν μὴ πρὸς ὑπόθεσιν κρίνη τις. λέγω δὲ τὸ πρὸς ὑπόθεσιν, ὅτι πολλάκις οὔσης ἄλλης πολιτείας αίρετωτέρας ενίοις ούθεν κωλύσει συμφέρειν ετέραν μάλλον είναι πολιτείαν. 1.2. To othere

tion is that in which the middle

Δεῖ Bekker.

18 Compare Thuc. III. 82, on this point. πρός το σφέτερον αυτών-σφίσιν επιτηδείως πολιτεύεσθαι is the historical expression of this.

19 els yap arho] 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. 11. 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- ἀποδοῦναι την τάξιν-which, doubtless, in the eyes of a later generation, looking on την νῦν δημοκρατίαν, would be considered as a πολιτεία τών μέσων.

τοις έν ταις πόλεσιν] simply opposed to the των εν ήγεμονία γενομένων.

20 άρίστη] ΒC. τοις πλείστοις.

τουτον δή τον τρόπον έχομένην] 'and so on in due order.'

21 Ael γάρ] This correction of Spengel's xxv. note 27, scarcely needs the support of V. (VIII.) 1. 2, to make us accept it.

πρός ὑπόθεσιν] Compare vii. 2, and

έτέραν μάλλον «Îvai] '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 particular

Τίς δὲ πολιτεία τίσι καὶ ποία συμφέρει ποίοις, ἐχόμενόν suitable in έστι των είρημένων διελθείν. ληπτέον δή πρώτον περί πασῶν καθόλου ταὐτόν. δεῖ γὰρ κρεῖττον εἶναι τὸ βουλόμενον 12 μέρος της πόλεως τοῦ μη βουλομένου μένειν την πολιτείαν. , ἔστι δὲ πᾶσα πόλις ἔκ τε τοῦ ποιοῦ καὶ ποσοῦ. λέγω δὲ ποιον μεν ελευθερίαν πλοῦτον παιδείαν ευγένειαν, ποσον δε 2 την τοῦ πλήθους ύπεροχήν. ἐνδέχεται δὲ τὸ μὲν ποιὸν ύπάρχειν ετέρω μέρει της πόλεως, εξ ών συνέστηκε μερών ή πόλις, άλλω δε μέρει το ποσόν, οίον πλείους τον άριθμον είναι τῶν γενναίων τοὺς ἀγεννεῖς ἢ τῶν πλουσίων τοὺς ἀπόρους, μη μέντοι τοσούτον ύπερέχειν τῷ ποσῷ όσον λείπε-3 σθαι τῷ ποιῷ. διὸ ταῦτα πρὸς ἄλληλα συγκριτέον. ὅπου μεν οδν ύπερέχει το των άπόρων πλήθος την ειρημένην άνα-ι λογίαν, ἐνταῦθα πέφυκεν είναι δημοκρατίαν, καὶ ἔκαστον είδος δημοκρατίας κατά την ύπερογην τοῦ δήμου έκάστου, οδον έὰν μέν τὸ τῶν γεωργῶν ὑπερτείνη πληθος, τὴν πρώτην δημοκρατίαν, έαν δε το των βαναύσων καλ μισθαρνούντων, την τελευταίαν, δμοίως δε και τας άλλας τας μεταξύ τούτων δπου δε τὸ τῶν εὐπόρων καὶ γνωρίμων μᾶλλον ὑπερτείνει τῷ ποιῷ ἡ λείπεται τῷ ποσῷ, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὀλιγαργίαν, και της όλιγαρχίας τον αύτον τρόπον εκαστον είδος

> XII. 1 δεί γδρ κρείττον, 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.

> την του πλήθους ύπεροχήν] 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 ων συνέστηκε, 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.

συγκριτέον] 'we must compare.' On this subject see Arnold, Rom. Hist. Vol. 1. Ch. xiii. the concluding paragraph.

3 την είρημένην αναλογίαν] · In the proportion stated,' rather implied. -τοσοῦτον τῷ ποσῷ ἄστε μὴ λείπεσθαι τφ ποιφ. Its superiority in number is not overbalanced by its opponent's superiority in other points.

ἐνταῦθα δέ] 'Here then.'



κατὰ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τοῦ ὀλιγαρχικοῦ πλήθους. δεῖ δ' ἀεὶ The con τὸν νομοθέτην ἐν τῆ πολιτεία προσλαμβάνειν τοὺς μέσους suitable in αν τε γαρ ολιγαρχικούς τούς νόμους τιθή, στοχάζεσθαι cases. χρη τῶν μέσων, ἐάν τε δημοκρατικούς, προσάγεσθαι τοῖς 4 νόμοις τούτους. όπου δε το των μέσων υπερτείνει πλήθος η συναμφοτέρων τῶν ἄκρων η καὶ θατέρου μόνον, ἐνταῦθ' ένδέχεται πολιτείαν είναι μόνιμον. ούθεν γάρ φοβερον μή 5 ποτε συμφωνήσωσιν οι πλούσιοι τοῖς πένησιν ἐπὶ τούτους 1297 ούδέποτε γάρ άτεροι βουλήσονται δουλεύειν τοῖς ετέροις. χοινοτέραν δ' αν ζητῶσιν, οὐδεμίαν εύρήσουσιν ἄλλην ταύτης. έν μέρει γάρ άρχειν ούκ αν ύπομείνειαν διά την άπιστίαν την προς άλληλους. πανταγού δε πιστότατος ο διαιτητής, διαιτητής δ' ο μέσος. δσω δ' άν άμεινον ή πολιτεία 6 μιχθη, τοσούτω μονιμωτέρα. διαμαρτάνουσι δε πολλοί καί τῶν τὰς ἀριστοκρατικὰς βουλομένων ποιείν πολιτείας, οὐ μόνον εν τῷ πλεῖον νέμειν τοῖς εὐπόροις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ παρακρούεσθαι τον δημον. ἀνάγκη γὰρ χρόνω ποτὲ ἐκ τῶν ψευδών άγαθών άληθες συμβήναι κακόν · αί γάρ πλεονεξίαι τῶν πλουσίων ἀπολλύουσι μᾶλλον τὴν πολιτείαν ἢ αἱ τοῦ δήμου.

4 εν τη πολιτεία] 'in his constitutional arrangement.

προσάγεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις τούτους] εc. τοὺς μέσους. '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.'

καὶ θατέρου μόνον] 'or even of one of the two only.'

5 ἐν μέρει γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] Comp. xī. 19. ήδη δὲ καί, κ.τ.λ.

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 δέ πολλοί, κ.τ.λ.

έν τῷ πλέον νέμειν] This is essential. The other (ἐν τῷ παρακρούεσθαι τον δημον), 'the deceiving the people,' is not so.

χρόνφ ποτέ] 'that at some time or other, if not at once.'

ἀπολλύουσι μᾶλλον] 'are of a more destructive tendency.'

Various oligarchical contrivances.

> cratical contri-

*Εστι δ' δσα προφάσεως χάριν εν ταῖς πολιτείαις σοφίζονται πρός τον δημον πέντε τον άριθμόν, περί έκκλησίαν, περί τὰς ἀρχάς, περίδικαστήρια, περί ὅπλισιν, περί γυμνασίαν. περί έκκλησίαν μεν το εξείναι έκκλησιάζειν πᾶσι, ζημίαν δὲ ἐπικεῖσθαι τοῖς εὐπόροις ἐὰν μὴ ἐκκλησιά-2 ζωσιν, ή μόνοις ή μείζω πολλώ. περί δε τάς άρχας τὸ τοῖς μὲν ἔχουσι τίμημα μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἐξόμνυσθαι, τοῖς δ' ἀπόροις εξείναι. και περί τὰ δικαστήρια τοῖς μεν εὐπόροις είναι ζημίαν αν μη δικάζωσι, τοῖς δ' ἀπόροις ἄδειαν, ή τοῖς μεν μεγάλην τοῖς δὲ μικράν, ὧσπερ ἐν τοῖς Χαρώνδου 3 νόμοις. ἐνιαχοῦ δ ἔξεστι μὲν πᾶσιν ἀπογραψαμένοις έκκλησιάζειν καλ δικάζειν, έὰν δὲ ἀπογραψάμενοι μήτ' ἐκκλησιάζωσι μήτε δικάζωσιν, ἐπίκεινται μεγάλαι ζημίαι τούτοις, ίνα διά μεν την ζημίαν Φεύγωσι το άπογράφεσθαι, διά δὲ τὸ μὴ ἀπογράΦεσθαι μὴ δικάζωσι μηδ' ἐκκλησιάζωτὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὅπλα κεκτῆσθαι καλ τοῦ γυμνάζεσθαι νομοθετοῦσιν τοῖς μεν γὰρ ἀπόροις έξεστι μη κεκτησθαι, τοῖς δ' εὐπόροις ἐπιζήμιον μη κεκτημένοις καν μη γυμνάζωνται, τοῖς μὲν οὐδεμία ζημία, τοῖς δ' εὐπόροις ἐπιζήμιον, ὅπως οἱ μὲν διὰ τὴν ζημίαν μετέ-The demo 5 χωσιν, οἱ δὲ διὰ τὸ μὴ Φοβεῖσθαι μὴ μετέχωσιν. Ταῦτα μέν οδν όλιγαρχικά σοφίσματα της νομοθεσίας, έν δε ταῖς δημοκρατίαις πρός ταῦτ' ἀντισοφίζονται τοῖς μὲν γὰρ vances. άπόροις μισθον πορίζουσιν έκκλησιάζουσι και δικάζουσιν. 6 τοῖς δ' εὐπόροις οὐδεμίαν τάττουσι ζημίαν. Εστε Φανερον ότι εί τις βούλεται μιγνύναι δικαίως, δεῖ τὰ παρ' έκατέροις συνάγειν και τοῖς μεν μισθον πορίζειν τοῖς δε ζημίαν · οὕτω γάρ αν κοινωνοίεν απαντες, έκείνως δ' ή πολιτεία γίγνεται 1297 Β 7 τῶν ἐτέρων μόνον. Δεῖ δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν είναι μὲν ἐκ τῶν

> XIII. I 8σα σοφίζονται] 'The devices or artifices they have recourse to' προφάσεως χάριν, 'by way of pretext.

² εξόμνυσθαι] 'to decline an office or oath.'

Χαρώνδου νόμοις] Grote, IV. 561.

³ amoypawamévois] 'when they have registered.'

⁶ τῶν ἐτέρων μόνον] 'of one of the two parties only.'

⁷ δεί δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν] 'The government must be in the hands of those who have the arms.'

τὰ ὅπλα ἐχόντων μόνον τοῦ δὲ τιμήματος τὸ πλῆθος The demo-άλλα σκεψαμένους το ποίον επιβάλλει μακρότατον ώστε. τους μετέχοντας της πολιτείας είναι πλείους τῶν μὴ μετεγόντων, τοῦτο τάττειν. ἐθέλουσι γὰρ οἱ πένητες καὶ μὴ 8 μετέχοντες των τιμών ήσυχίαν έχειν, έαν μη ύβρίζη τις αὐτοὺς μήτε ἀΦαιρῆται μηθὲν τῆς οὐσίας. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο οὐ ράδιον ου γαρ αεί συμβαίνει χαρίεντας είναι τους μετέχοντας τοῦ πολιτεύματος. καλ εἰώθασι δέ, ὅταν πόλεμος τζ, ο όκνεῖν, ᾶν μὴ λαμβάνωσι τροφήν, ἄποροι δὲ ὧσιν : ἐὰν δὲ πορίζη τις τροφήν, βούλονται πολεμεῖν. ἔστι δ ή πολιτεία παρ' ἐνίοις οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν ὁπλιτευόντων ἀλλὰ καλ έκ των ώπλιτευκότων έν Μαλιεύσι δε ή μεν πολιτεία ην έκ τούτων, τὰς δὲ ἀρχὰς ἡροῦντο ἐκ τῶν στρατευομένων. καὶ ή πρώτη δὲ πολιτεία ἐν τοῖς Ελλησιν ἐγένετο μετὰ 10 The course τας βασιλείας έκ των πολεμούντων, ή μεν εξ αρχης έκ των of political ίππέων (την γαρ ἰσχύν καὶ την ύπεροχην εν τοῖς ίππεῦσιν in Greece. ό πόλεμος είχεν : ἄνευ μεν γαρ συντάξεως άχρηστον τὸ όπλιτικόν, αίδε περί των τοιούτων έμπειρίαι και τάξεις έν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις οὐχ ὑπῆρχον, ὧστ' ἐν τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν εἶναι τὴν ίσχύν), αὐξανομένων δὲ τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ίσχυσάντων μᾶλλον πλείους μετεῖχον τῆς πολιτείας. διόπερ 11

in those who have borne arms and are now past the military age.'

Maλιεῦσι Compare Grote, II. 378. τούτων] 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 ή πρώτη πολιτεία] 'The first constitution of Greek freemen.'

μετά τὰs βασιλείας] One of the many passages which exclude Basilela from the list of moditeiai.

συντάξεως] 'training,' 'discipline,' 'organisation.'

II διόπερ This is an interesting passage on the progress of political

άπλως μέν 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 xapierras] 'moderate,' 'decorous,' 'intelligent.'

9 βούλονται πολεμείν] This was the feeling of the Roman people at the commencement of the first Punic WAT.

ή πολιτεία] 'The governing body in some cases is not only formed of those who bear arms at the time, but takes of political in Greece.

The course ας νῦν καλοῦμεν πολιτείας, οἱ πρότερον ἐκάλουν δημοexperience πρατίας. ἦσαν δὲ αἱ ἀρχαῖαι πολιτεῖαι εὐλόγως ολιγαρ-- γικαί καί βασιλικαί· δι' όλιγανθρωπίαν γάρ ούκ είχον πολύ τὸ μέσον, ωστ' ὀλίγοι τε ὄντες τὸ πληθος καὶ κατά τὴν $_{12}$ σύνταξιν μᾶλλον ὑ π έμενον τὸ ἄρχεσθαι. Δ ιὰ τίνα μὲν οδν είσλυ αίτίαν αι πολιτείαι πλείους, καλ διά τί παρά τάς λεγομένας έτεραι (δημοκρατία τε γάρ ού μία τον άριθμόν έστι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοίως), ἔτι δὲ τίνες αἱ διαφοραὶ καὶ διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν συμβαίνει, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τίς ἀρίστη τῶν πολιτειών ώς έπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον εἰπεῖν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ποία ποίοις άρμόττει τών πολιτειών είρηται.

powers.

Πάλιν δε και κοινή και χωρίς περι εκάστης λέγωμεν The three περί τῶν ἐΦεξῆς, λαβόντες ἀρχὴν τὴν προσήχουσαν αὐτῶν. *Εστι δή τρία μόρια τῶν πολιτειῶν πασῶν, περὶ ὧν δεῖ θεωρείν τὸν σπουδαίον νομοθέτην έκάστη τὸ συμφέρον . ὧν έγόντων καλώς ἀνάγκη τὴν πολιτείαν ἔγειν καλώς, καὶ τὰς πολιτείας άλλήλων διαφέρειν έν τῷ διαφέρειν έκαστον τού-1298 2 των. ἔστι δὲ τῶν τριῶν τούτων εν μέν τία τὸ βουλευόμε-• τι Bekker.

> ideas, and the gradual enlargement of the social union.

> και κατά την σύνταξιν] This, Stahr makes to depend on δλίγοι, "unbedeutend," and the ohlyou re-kal seems to justify him, 'few in number and unimportant in the military arrangement.'

> 12 παρά τάς λεγομένας] So above, 7, πλείους τῶν εἰρημένων. On this paragraph, as an instance of Aristotle's method, at any point where his subject changes, compare Spengel, pp. 32, 33.

> XIV. I Aristotle enters now on the point stated Ch. II. 5, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τίνα τρόπον δεῖ καθιστάναι ταύτας τὰς πολιτείας, λέγω δε δημοκρατίας τε καθ' ξκαστον είδος και πάλιν όλιγαρχίας. 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 (κοινή). 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 κοινῆ καὶ χωρὶς περὶ ξκάστης.

την προσηκουσαν αὐτῶν] 'The appropriate basis of the discussion.'

2 τι τὸ βουλευόμενον There is an inconsistency in this sentence as it stands in Bekker's text. The most symmetrical arrangement would be to throw out the Ti in both places. But if it is kept in both places, it is diffi-



νον περί τῶν κοινῶν, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ περί τὰς ἀρχάς (τοῦτο δ' The three Νος κολ έστιν ας δεί και τίνων είναι κυρίας, και ποίαν τινά δεί γίγνεσθαι την αίρεσιν αὐτῶν), τρίτον δὲ τί τὸ δικάζον. Κύριον 3 δ' έστι το βουλευόμενον περί πολέμου και είρήνης και συμμαχίας καὶ διαλύσεως, καὶ περὶ νόμων, καὶ περὶ θανάτου καὶ The deli-Φυγής καὶ δημεύσεως, καὶ τῶν εὐθυνῶν. ἀναγκαῖον δ' ήτοι πᾶσι τοῖς πολίταις ἀποδεδόσθαι πάσας ταύτας τὰς κρίσεις ή τισὶ πάσας, οἶον ἀρχῆ τινὶ μιῷ ἡ πλείοσιν, ἡ ἐτέραις έτέρας, ἢ τινὰς μὲν αὐτῶν πᾶσι τινὰς δὲ τισίν. τὸ μὲν 4
In demoοδυ πάντας και περι άπάντων δημοτικόν την τοιαύτην γάρ ισότητα ζητει ο δημος είσι δε οι τρόποι του πάντας πλείους, είς μεν το κατά μέρος άλλα μη πάντας άθρόους, ωσπερ έν τῆ πολιτεία τῆ Τηλεκλέους ἐστὶ τοῦ Μιλησίου (καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις δὲ πολιτείαις βουλεύονται αἱ συναρχίαι συνιοῦσαι, εἰς δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς βαδίζουσι πάντες κατὰ μέρος έκ τῶν Φυλῶν καὶ τῶν μορίων τῶν ἐλαχίστων παντελῶς, έως αν διέλθη δια πάντων), συνιέναι δε μόνον περί τε νομων θέσεως καὶ τῶν περὶ τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ἀκουσομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων. ἄλλος δὲ τρόπος $_5$ τὸ πάντας ἀθρόους, συνιέναι δὲ μόνον πρός τε τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας αίρησομένους καὶ πρὸς τὰς νομοθεσίας καὶ περὶ πολέμου και ειρήνης και πρός εὐθύνας, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τὰς άρχὰς βουλεύεσθαι τὰς ἐφ' ἐκάστοις τεταγμένας, αίρετὰς οὖσας ἐξ ἀπάντων ἢ κληρωτάς. ἄλλος δὲ τρόπος τὸ περὶ 6 τὰς ἀργὰς καὶ τὰς εὐθύνας ἀπαντᾶν τοὺς πολίτας, καὶ περὶ πολέμου βουλευσομένους καὶ συμμαχίας, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τὰς

cult to see why one should be indefinite, the other interrogative. I have made them both interrogative.

repetition of the word wdvras; 'that all should deliberate, but by parts, and not in one collective body.'

Telecles, the Milesian, not known. συναρχίαι] The boards of magis-

τών περί της πολιτείας | 'questions that concern the constitution.'

5 τὰ δ' ἄλλα] There are not many points left of the list given in § 3, θανάτου, φυγής, δημεύσεως, - judicial

³ Κύριον δ' ἐστί] 'The sovereign power resides in.'

διαλύσεως] 'dissolving an alliance.' δημεύσεως] 'confiscation.'

⁴ δημοτικόν] 'democratical,' characteristic of a popular government.'

το κατά μέρος άλλα μη πάντας άθρόους] The sense would seem to require a

cracles,

Advice as

to its organisa-

tion.

άρχας διοικείν αίρετας ούσας, όσας ένδέχεται τοιαύται δ είσ ν δσας άρχειν άναγκαῖον τοὺς ἐπισταμένους. τέταρτος 7 δε τρόπος το πάντας περί πάντων βουλεύεσθαι συνιόντας, τάς δ' άρχας περί μηθενός κρίνειν άλλα μόνον προανακρίνειν: ονπερ ή τελευταία δημοκρατία νῦν διοικεῖται τρόπον, ήν άνάλογόν φαμεν είναι όλιγαρχία τε δυναστευτική καὶ μοναρχία τυραννική. Ούτοι μέν ούν οί τρόποι δημοκρατικοί α πάντες, τὸ δὲ τινὰς περί πάντων όλιγαρχικόν. ἔχει δὲ καὶ τουτο διαφοράς πλείους. όταν μεν γάρ άπο τιμημάτων μετριωτέρων αίρετοί τε ώσι και πλείους διά την μετριότητα τοῦ τιμήματος, καὶ περὶ ὧν ὁ νόμος ἀπαγορεύει, μὴ κινῶσιν άλλ' άκολουθώσι, καὶ ἐξή κτωμένω τὸ τίμημα μετέχειν, όλιγαρχία μέν πολιτική δ' έστιν ή τοιαύτη διά το μετριάζειν. 1498 η όταν δε μή πάντες του βουλεύεσθαι μετέχωσιν άλλ' αίρετοί, κατά νόμον δ' άργωσιν ώσπερ καὶ πρότερου, όλιγαργικόν. ο όταν δε και αιρώνται αυτοί αυτούς οι κύριοι του βουλεύεσθαι. καὶ όταν παῖς άντὶ πατρὸς εἰσίη καὶ κύριοι τῶν νόμων ὧσιν, το όλιγαργικήν άναγκαϊον είναι την τάξιν ταύτην. όταν δὲ τινών τινές, οδον πολέμου μέν καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ εὐθυνών πάντες, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἄρχοντες, καὶ οὖτοι αίρετοὶ ἡ κληρωτοί, άριστοκρατία μεν ή πολιτεία εάν δ ενίων μεν αίρετοι ενίων δὶ κληρωτοί, καὶ κληρωτοί ἢ ἀπλῶς ἢ ἐκ προκρίτων, ἢ κοινῆ αίρετοι και κληρωτοί, τά μεν πολιτείας άριστοκρατικής έστε 11 τούτων, τὰ δὲ πολιτείας αὐτῆς. Διήρηται μέν ουν τὸ βουλευόμενον πρός τάς πολιτείας τοῦτον τον τρόπον, καλ

· διοικεί Bekker.

questions mainly, concerning of course political offenders.

6 δσας ενδέχεται] 'as many as it is possible to have elective.'

7 *poarakpireur] 'previously examine.' This was the function after Cleisthenes of the Boulth, or probouleutic council, and in the ordinary jurisdiction of the

8 κινώσιν] 'They do not feel at liberty to interfere, but simply obey

διοίσει εκάστη πολιτεία κατά τὸν εἰρημένον διορισμόν.

δλιγαρχία μέν, κ.τ.λ.] 'It is an oligarchy, it is true, but one that borders on the wolivela, from its moderation.'

",

10 προκρίτων] 'a body previously selected.

11 Stoloet] So I read, instead of Bekker's διοικεῖ, and the change is easier than διοικείται, which several editors have adopted. Stahr preserves διοικεί; but διοίσει is quite in keeping



συμφέρει δε δημοκρατία τε τῆ μάλιστ' είναι δοκούση δημο- Advice as κρατία νῦν (λέγω δὲ τοιαύτην ἐν ἢ κύριος ὁ δῆμος καὶ τῶν organisaνόμων έστίν) πρός το βουλεύεσθαι βέλτιον το αύτο ποιείν. όπερ ἐπὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων ἐν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις (τάττουσι 12 γαρ ζημίαν τούτοις ους βούλονται δικάζειν, Ίνα δικάζωσιν, οί δὲ δημοτικοί μισθόν τοῖς ἀπόροις), τοῦτο δὲ καὶ περί τὰς ἐκκλησίας ποιείν : βουλεύσονται γὰρ βέλτιον κοινή βουλευόμενοι πάντες, ὁ μὲν δημος μετά τῶν γνωρίμων, οὖτοι δε μετά τοῦ πλήθους. συμφέρει δε και το αίρετους είναι 13 τούς βουλευομένους ή κληρωτούς ίσως έκ τῶν μορίων. συμ-Φέρει δε καν ύπερβάλλωσι πολύ κατά το πλήθος οι δημοτικοί τῶν πολιτικῶν, ἡ μὴ πᾶσι διδόναι μισθόν, ἀλλ' ὅσοι σύμμετροι πρός τὸ τῶν γνωρίμων πληθος, ἢ ἀποκληροῦν 🗥 τοὺς πλείους. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις ἢ προαιρεῖσθαί τινας 14 έκ τοῦ πλήθους, ή κατασκευάσαντας άρχεῖον οἶον ἐν ἐνίαις πολιτείαις έστην ους καλούσι προβούλους και νομοφύλακας, καλ περί τούτων γρηματίζειν περί ων αν οδτοι προβουλεύσωσιν ούτω γὰρ μεθέξει ὁ δημος τοῦ βουλεύεσθαι, καὶ λύειν ούθεν δυνήσεται των περί την πολιτείαν. έτι η ταύτα 15 ψηφίζεσθαι τὸν δημον η μηθεν εναντίον τοῖς εἰσφερομένοις, ή της συμβουλης μέν μεταδιδόναι πάσι, βουλεύεσθαι δε τούς άργοντας, καλ τὸ άντικείμενον δὲ τοῦ ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις γιγνομένου δεί ποιείν άποψηΦιζόμενον μεν γάρ κύριον δεί ποιείν τὸ πληθος, καταψηφιζόμενον δὲ μὴ κύριον, άλλ'

with his general language. Compare § Ι, τὰς πολιτείας διαφέρειν. The Vet. Tr. read διοικεί; he gives "disponitur" as his rendering. It is stated that no MS. reads διοικείται.

13 lows | 'equally from the different parts of the state.'

συμφέρει δὲ κάν] 'It is expedient also if.'

τῶν πολιτικῶν] "politiquement capables," says St. Hilaire rightly.

ἀποκληροῦν] ' exclude by lot the numbers in excess of the limit indicated.'

14 προαιρείσθαι] 'choose beforehand,' not the common Aristotelian sense

of the word, but the strict literal meaning of it, which is the basis of the other.

προβούλουs] Comp. Thuc. VIII. I, 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 περί τούτων] 'decide on these points only.'

15 της συμβουλης 'Advice.'

βουλεύεσθαι] 'the effective deliberation.'

ἀποψηφιζόμενον] 'The veto of the

Advice as to the orof the depower.

έπαναγέσθω πάλιν έπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς πολιganisation τείαις αντεστραμμένως ποιούσιν · οι γαρ ολίγοι αποψηφιliberative σάμενοι μεν κύριοι, καταψηφισάμενοι δε ου κύριοι, άλλ' έπανάγεται είς τους πλείστους αίεί. Περί μέν ούν τοῦ 1299 16 βουλευομένου καὶ τοῦ κυρίου δὴ τῆς πολιτείας τοῦτον διωρίσθω τὸν τρόπον.

The execu-

Έχομένη δε τούτων έστιν ή περί τας άρχας διαίρεσις. έχει γάρ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μόριον τῆς πολιτείας πολλάς δια-Φοράς, πόσαι τε άρχαί, καὶ κύριαι τίνων, καὶ περὶ χρόνου, πόσος εκάστης άρχης (οί μεν γαρ εξαμήνους, οί δε δί ελάττονος, οι δ' ένιαυσίας, οι δε πολυχρονιωτέρας ποιούσι τάς άρχάς), καὶ πότερον είναι δεῖ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀϊδίους, ἡ πολυγρονίους ή μηδέτερον άλλα πλεονάκις τους αυτούς, ή μή τὸν αὐτὸν δὶς ἀλλ' ἄπαξ μόνον ' ἔτι δὲ περὶ τὴν κατάστασιν τῶν ἀρχῶν, ἐν τίνων δεῖ γίνεσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ τίνων καὶ πῶς. 2 περί πάντων γὰρ τούτων δεῖ δύνασθαι διελεῖν κατὰ πόσους ένδέχεται γενέσθαι τρόπους, κάπειτα προσαρμόσαι, ποίαις ποΐαι πολιτεΐαι συμφέρουσιν. έστι δε ούδε τοῦτο διορίσαι ράδιον, ποίας δεῖ καλεῖν ἀρχάς πολλῶν γὰρ ἐπιστατῶν ἡ πολιτική κοινωνία δείται, διόπερ πάντας ούτε τοὺς αίρετοὺς ούτε τούς κληρωτούς άρχοντας θετέον, οίον τούς ίερεῖς πρώτον τοῦτο γάρ ἔτερόν τι παρά τὰς πολιτικάς ἀργάς 3 θετέον. ἔτι δὲ χορηγοί καὶ κήρυκες : αἰροῦνται δὲ καὶ πρεσβευτάς. * είσὶ δὲ αἱ μὲν πολιτικαὶ τῶν ἐπιμελειῶν, ἡ πάντων τῶν πολιτῶν πρός τινα πράξιν, οἶον στρατηγὸς στρατευομένων, ή κατά μέρος, οίον ο γυναικονόμος ή παιδονόμος. αί δ' οἰκονομικαί (πολλάκις γάρ αἰροῦνται σιτομέτρας), * πρεσβευταί Bekker.

great majority is to be allowed, its assent not to be final.'

16 τοῦ κυρίου δή] 'and that which consequently is sovereign.'

XV. I της πολιτείας] 'of the political system.

àïðious] 'for life,' as elsewhere. 2 προσαρμόσαι] 'to adapt them.'

wolas δει καλείν άρχας] 'What are the functions to which we may give this name àpxás.'

3 πρεσβευταί] If this reading is kept, alpoûrras must be passive. I should prefer using it in its usual sense, and reading πρεσβευτάς.

σιτομέτρας The question submitted to these officials would, in Aristotle's



αί δ' ὑπηρετικαί, πρὸς ἄς, ἀν εὐπορῶσι, τάττουσι δουλους. The execuμάλιστα δ' ως άπλως εἰπεῖν ἀρχὰς λεκτέον ταύτας, ὅσαις άποδέδοται βουλεύσασθαί τε περί τινών και κρίναι και έπι-4 τάξαι, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦτο · τὸ γὰρ ἐπιτάττειν ἀρχικώτερόν έστιν. άλλα ταῦτα διαφέρει πρὸς μεν τας χρήσεις οὐθεν ως είπεῖν ου γάρ πω κρίσις γέγονεν άμφισβητούντων περί τοῦ ὀνόματος. ἔχει δέ τιν' ἄλλην διανοητικήν πραγματείαν. ποΐαι δ' άρχαλ καλ πόσαι άναγκαΐαι ελ έσται πόλις, καλ 5 ποῖαι ἀναγκαῖαι μέν οὖ, χρήσιμοι δὲ πρὸς σπουδαίαν πολιτείαν, μᾶλλον ἄν τις ἀπορήσειε πρὸς ἄπασάν τε δή πολιτείαν και δή και τάς μικράς πόλεις. Εν μεν γάρ δή ταῖς 6 μεγάλαις ἐνδέχεταί τε καὶ δεῖ μίαν τετάχθαι πρὸς εν έργον πολλούς τε γάρ είς τὰ άρχεῖα ἐνδέχεται βαδίζειν διά τὸ πολλούς είναι τούς πολίτας, ώστε τὰς μὲν διαλείπειν πολύν χρόνον τὰς δ' ἄπαξ ἄρχειν, καὶ βέλτιον έκαστον έργον τυγχάνει τῆς ἐπιμελείας μονοπραγματούσης ἡ πολυπραγματούσης. ἐν δὲ ταῖς μικραῖς ἀνάγκη συνάγειν 7 1299 Β εὶς ὀλίγους πολλὰς ἀρχάς · διὰ γὰρ ὀλιγανθρωπίαν οὐ ράδιον έστι πολλούς έν ταῖς άρχαῖς είναι τίνες γάρ οἱ τούτους ἔσονται διαδεξόμενοι πάλιν; δέονται δ' ένίστε τῶν αύτῶν ἀρχῶν καὶ νόμων αἱ μικραὶ ταῖς μεγάλαις • πλὴν αἱ μεν δέονται πολλάκις τῶν αὐτῶν, ταῖς δ' ἐν πολλῷ χρόνω

view, more properly concern the interests of the citizens as fathers of families and possessed of property, than as citizens proper. Hence he considers their functions as economical in a sense quite in accordance with his use of the term in the first book.

ầν εὐπορῶσι] Compare I. VII. 5, δσοις έξουσία μη αὐτοὺς κακοπαθείν.

4 το γάρ επιτάττειν άρχικώτερον ¿στιν] 'is more strictly the characteristic of a magistrate,' the highest form of the citizen, to whom the highest political virtue belongs properly, άρχοντος ίδιος άρετη μόνη φρόvnois (III. iv. 17), and ppovnois is, by

Eth. vi. xi. 2, p. 1143, 8, ἐπιτα-KT LKH.

ού γάρ πω κρίσις, κ.τ.λ.] 'For there has as yet no question arisen for decision in consequence of a dispute about the name; still such points have their interest for thought.' Such I take to be the sense, and I believe Stahr agrees with this rendering.

6 τας μέν διαλείπειν] 'so that in holding some, they leave long intervals:' or, in other words, 'they hold some only at long intervals.'

της επιμελείας, κ.τ.λ.] 'If the attention is engaged on one point only, than if it is distracted by being bent on many.'

The execu- τοῦτο συμβαίνει. δίοπερ οὐθεν κωλύει πολλάς επιμελείας ... αμα προστάττειν· οὐ γὰρ ἐμποδιοῦσιν ἀλλήλαις, καὶ πρὸς την ολιγανθρωπίαν άναγκαῖον τὰ άρχεῖα οίον οβελισκολύχνια ποιείν. ἐὰν οὖν ἔχωμεν λέγειν πόσας ἀναγκαῖον ύπάρχειν πάση πόλει, καὶ πόσας οὐκ άναγκαῖον μὲν δεῖ δ ύπάρχειν, ράον άν τις είδως ταῦτα συνάγοι ποίας άρμόττει ο συνάγειν άρχὰς εἰς μίαν άρχήν. άρμόττει δὲ καὶ τοῦτο μη λεληθέναι, ποΐα δεί, κατά τόπον, άρχεία πολλών έπιμε- - ' λεῖσθαι καὶ ποίων πανταγοῦ μίαν άρχὴν είναι κυρίαν, οίον εύκοσμίας πότερον εν άγορα μεν άγορανόμον, άλλον δε κατ' άλλον τόπον, η πανταχοῦ τὸν αὐτόν. καὶ πότερον κατὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα δεῖ διαιρεῖν η κατά τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, λέγω δ' οἶον 10 ένα τῆς εὐκοσμίας, ἢ παίδων ἄλλον καὶ γυναικῶν. καὶ κατὰ τὰς πολιτείας δέ, πότερον διαφέρει καθ έκάστην καὶ τὸ τῶν άρχῶν γένος ή οὐθέν, οίον εν δημοκρατία και όλιγαρχία καὶ άριστοκρατία και μοναρχία πότερον αι αύται μέν είσιν άργαλ κύριαι, οὐκ ἐξ ἴσων δ' οὐδ' ἐξ ὁμοίων, ἀλλ' ἔτεραι ἐν έτέραις. οίον εν μεν ταίς άριστοκρατίαις έκ πεπαιδευμένων, έν δὲ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις ἐκ τῶν πλουσίων, ἐν δὲ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις έχ τῶν ἐλευθέρων, ἢ τυγγάνουσι μέν τινες οὖσαι καὶ κατ' αὐτὰς τὰς διαφοράς τῶν ἀρχῶν, ἔστι δ' ὅπου συμφέρουσιν αὶ αὐταὶ καὶ ὅπου διαφέρουσιν: ἔνθα μὲν γὰρ ἀρμότ-

8 πολλάς ἐπιμελείας, κ. τ. λ.] 'To assign many branches of administration at the same time to the same person.'

δβελισκολύχνια] 'spits for roasting, used as candlesticks.' The general meaning is the same as in the case of the Δελφική μάχαιρα of I. II. 3.

συνάγοι] 'might infer,' 'collect.'

9 κατὰ τόπον] "Bei örtlicher Beschränkung," Stahr; 'from considerations of space and distance,' or is it simply 'local,' as opposed to 'general'?

κατὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα] 'by the subject.'

† κατὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους] 'or with reference to the persons.'

10 πεπαιδευμένων] Rhet. 1. 8, p. 1366,

5, αριστοκρατίας τέλος τα πρός παιδείαν και τα νομίμα.

κατ' αὐτὰς τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν ἀρχῶν] If this is genuine it is a very concise expression. κατ' αὐτὰς τὰς διαφορὰς διαφορὰς τῶν ἀρχῶν, οτ κατὰ ταύτας τὰς διαφορὰς διαφορὰ τῶν ἀρχῶν: either of these forms would express what I conceive to be the meaning of the passage better than the one which Bekker 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.'

διαφέρουσιν] This seems to mean 'where different ones are required.'



111

τει μεγάλας, ένθα δ' είναι μικράς τὰς αὐτάς. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ The execuκαὶ ἴδιαί τινές εἰσιν, οἶον ή τῶν προβούλων αὕτη γὰρ οὐ tive power. δημοκρατική, βουλή δε δημοτικόν. δει μεν γάρ είναι τι 11 τοιοῦτον ῷ ἐπιμελὲς ἔσται τοῦ δήμου προβουλεύειν, ὅπως άσχολῶν ἔσται τοῦτο δ, ἐὰν ὀλίγοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὧσιν, ὀλιγαρχικόν τους δε προβούλους ολίγους αναγκαΐον είναι το πληθος, ώστ' όλιγαργικόν. άλλ' δπου άμφω αύται αί 12 άρχαί, οἱ πρόβουλοι καθεστάσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς βουλευταῖς · ὁ μὲν γάρ βουλευτής δημοτικόν, ὁ δὲ πρόβουλος όλιγαρχικόν. καταλύεται δε και της βουλης ή δύναμις έν ταις τοιαύταις δημοκρατίαις έν αίς αύτὸς συνιών ὁ δημος χρηματίζει περί 1300 πάντων. τοῦτο δὲ συμβαίνειν εἴωθεν, ὅταν εὐπορία τις ἢ 13 ή μισθός τοῖς ἐκκλησιάζουσιν· σχολάζοντες γὰρ συλλέγονταί τε πολλάκις και απαντα αύτοι κρίνουσιν. παιδονόμος δε καλ γυναικονόμος, καλ εί τις άλλος άργων κύριός έστι τοιαύτης ἐπιμελείας, ἀριστοκρατικόν, δημοκρατικόν δ' οὐ πῶς γὰρ οδόν τε κωλύειν εξιέναι τάς των απόρων; οὐδ όλιγαρχικόν. τρυφῶσι γὰρ αἱ τῶν ὀλιγαρχούντων. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τού- 14 των έπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω νῦν, περὶ δὲ τὰς τῶν ἀρχῶν καταστάσεις πειρατέον έξ άρχης διελθείν. είσι δ' αί διαφοραί έν τρισίν δροις, ὧν συντιθεμένων άναγκαῖον πάντας εἰλῆΦθαι τους τρόπους. έστι δε των τριών τούτων εν μεν τίνες οί καθιστάντες τὰς ἀρχάς, δεύτερον δ' ἐκ τίνων, λοιπὸν δὲ τίνα τρόπον. έκάστου δὲ τῶν τριῶν τούτων διαφοραί τρεῖς 15 εἰσίν τη γὰρ πάντες οἱ πολῖται καθιστᾶσιν η τινές, καὶ η

II δπως ἀσχολῶν ἔσται] 'how it shall be kept engaged.'

¹² καθεστᾶσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς βουλευταῖς]
'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 εὐπορία τις ἢ ἡ μισθός] Spengel, p. 40, wishes to read μισθοῦ, relying on VII. (VI.) 11. 6, μισθοῦ εὐπορία. But there is no absolute necessity for the change, for we may conceive the

[†] μισθός introduced to make more precise the meaning of εὐπορία, and the second passage written at first with greater accuracy.

εξιέναι τὰς τῶν ἀπόρων] Comp. VII. (VI.) VIII. 23, διὰ τὴν ἀδουλίαν. There is no possibility of subjecting them to regulations as the simplest necessity of their state of poverty would set any such aside.

¹⁴ ἐν τρισὶν δροις] 'under three heads,' in three points.'

13 cal contrivances.

contri-

*Εστι δ' δσα προφάσεως χάριν εν ταῖς πολιτείαις Various σοφίζονται πρὸς τὸν δημον πέντε τὸν ἀριθμόν, περὶ ἐκκλησίαν, περί τὰς ἀρχάς, περίδικαστήρια, περί ὅπλισιν, περί γυμνασίαν. περί έκκλησίαν μέν το έξεῖναι έκκλησιάζειν πᾶσι, ζημίαν δε επικεῖσθαι τοῖς εὐπόροις εάν μη εκκλησιά-2 ζωσιν, ή μόνοις ή μείζω πολλώ. περί δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς τὸ τοῖς μὲν ἔχουσι τίμημα μη ἐξεῖναι ἐξόμνυσθαι, τοῖς δ ἀπόροις έξεῖναι. καλ περί τὰ δικαστήρια τοῖς μὲν εὐπόροις είναι ζημίαν αν μη δικάζωσι, τοῖς δ' ἀπόροις άδειαν, ή τοῖς μέν μεγάλην τοῖς δὲ μικράν, ὧσπερ ἐν τοῖς Χαρώνδου 3 νόμοις. ἐνιαχοῦ δ' ἔξεστι μὲν πᾶσιν ἀπογραψαμένοις έκκλησιάζειν καλ δικάζειν, έαν δε άπογραψάμενοι μήτ' έκκλησιάζωσι μήτε δικάζωσιν, ἐπίκεινται μεγάλαι ζημίαι τούτοις, ίνα διά μεν την ζημίαν Φεύγωσι το άπογράφεσθαι, δια δε το μη απογράφεσθαι μη δικάζωσι μηδ' εκκλησιάζωτὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὅπλα κεκτῆσθαι καλ τοῦ γυμνάζεσθαι νομοθετοῦσιν τοῖς μεν γάρ ἀπόροις ἔξεστι μη κεκτησθαι, τοῖς δ' εὐπόροις ἐπιζήμιον μη κεκτημένοις καν μη γυμνάζωνται, τοῖς μεν οὐδεμία ζημία, τοῖς δ' εὐπόροις ἐπιζήμιον, ὅπως οἱ μὲν διὰ τὴν ζημίαν μετέ-The demo 5 χωσιν, οἱ δὲ διὰ τὸ μὴ Φοβεῖσθαι μὴ μετέχωσιν. Ταῦτα μέν οὖν όλιγαρχικά σοφίσματα τῆς νομοθεσίας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις πρός ταῦτ' ἀντισοΦίζονται τοῖς μὲν γὰρ vances. άπόροις μισθον πορίζουσιν έκκλησιάζουσι καὶ δικάζουσιν, 6 τοῖς δ' εὐπόροις οὐδεμίαν τάττουσι ζημίαν. ὧστε Φανερον δτι εί τις βούλεται μιγνύναι δικαίως, δεῖ τὰ παρ ἐκατέροις συνάγειν και τοῖς μεν μισθον πορίζειν τοῖς δε ζημίαν · οὕτω γάρ αν κοινωνοίεν απαντες, έκείνως δ' ή πολιτεία γίγνεται 1297 Β 7 των ετέρων μόνον. Δεῖ δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν είναι μὲν ἐκ τῶν

> XIII. Ι δσα σοφίζονται] 'The devices or artifices they have recourse to' προφάσεως χάριν, 'by way of pretext.'

Χαρώνδου νόμοις] Grote, IV. 561.

² εξόμνυσθαι] 'to decline an office or oath.

³ ἀπογραψαμένδις] 'when they have registered.'

⁶ των έτέρων μόνον] 'of one of the two parties only.'

⁷ δεί δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν] 'The government must be in the hands of those who have the arms.'

τὰ ὅπλα ἐχόντων μόνον τοῦ δὲ τιμήματος τὸ πλῆθος The demo-- 5 άπλως μεν δρισαμένους ούκ έστιν είπεῖν τοσοῦτον ὑπάρχειν, άλλα σκεψαμένους το ποίον επιβάλλει μακρότατον ώστε. τούς μετέχοντας της πολιτείας είναι πλείους τῶν μη μετεχόντων, τοῦτο τάττειν. ἐθέλουσι γὰρ οἱ πένητες καὶ μὴ 8 μετέχοντες των τιμών ήσυχίαν έχειν, εαν μη ύβρίζη τις αὐτοὺς μήτε ἀΦαιρῆται μηθὲν τῆς οὐσίας. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο οὐ ράδιον οὐ γὰρ ἀεὶ συμβαίνει χαρίεντας είναι τοὺς μετέχοντας τοῦ πολιτεύματος. καλ εἰώθασι δέ, ὅταν πόλεμος τ, ο όκνεῖν, αν μη λαμβάνωσι τροφήν, ἄποροι δὲ ὦσιν : ἐὰν δὲ πορίζη τις τροφήν, βούλονται πολεμεῖν. ἔστι δ ή πολιτεία παρ' ἐγίοις οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν ὁπλιτευόντων ἀλλὰ καλ έκ των ώπλιτευκότων έν Μαλιεύσι δε ή μεν πολιτεία ην έκ τούτων, τὰς δὲ ἀρχὰς ἡροῦντο ἐκ τῶν στρατευομένων. καὶ ή πρώτη δὲ πολιτεία ἐν τοῖς Ελλησιν ἐγένετο μετὰ το The course τας βασιλείας έκ των πολεμούντων, ή μεν έξ άρχης έκ των of political ίππέων (την γαρ ἰσχύν και την ύπεροχην εν τοῖς ίππεῦσιν in Greece. ό πόλεμος είχεν· ἄνευ μὲν γὰρ συντάξεως ἄχρηστον τὸ όπλιτικόν, αί δε περί τῶν τοιούτων ἐμπειρίαι καὶ τάξεις ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις οὐχ ὑπῆρχον, ὧστ' ἐν τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν εἶναι τὴν ίσχύν), αὐξανομένων δὲ τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις iσχυσάντων μᾶλλον πλείους μετεῖχον τῆς πολιτείας. διόπερ 11

contri-

in those who have borne arms and are now past the military age.'

Maλιεῦσι] Compare Grote, II. 378. τούτων] 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 ή πρώτη πολιτεία] 'The first constitution of Greek freemen.'

μετά τὰς βασιλείας] One of the many passages which exclude Basileia from the list of πολιτείαι.

συντάξεως] 'training,' 'discipline,' 'organisation.'

II διόπερ] This is an interesting passage on the progress of political

άπλως μέν 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 χαρίεντας] 'moderate,' 'decorous,' 'intelligent.'

9 βούλονται πολεμείν] This was the feeling of the Roman people at the commencement of the first Punic war.

ή πολιτεία] 'The governing body in some cases is not only formed of those who bear arms at the time, but takes of political In Greece,

Την απιτική ας νου καλούμεν πολιτείας, οι πρότερου έκάλου όπμοexperience κρατίας. ήσαν δε αι άρχαῖαι πολιτείαι εὐλόγως όλιγας χικαί και βασιλικαί· δι' όλιγανθρωπίαν γας ων είγον πολύ τὸ μέσον, ωστ' όλίγοι τε όντες τὸ πληθος καὶ κατά την 12 σύνταξιν μαλλον υπέμενον το άρχεσθαι. Δια τίνα μέν οδν είσιν αίτιαν αι πολιτείαι πλείους, και διά τί παρά τάς λεγομένας έτεραι (δημοκρατία τε γάρ οὐ μία τὸν ἀριθμόν ἐστι, κα) τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοίως), ἔτι δὲ τίνες αἱ διαζοραὶ καὶ διὰ τίνα αίτίαν συμβαίνει, πρός δε τούτοις τίς άρίστη τών πολιτειών ως έπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον εἰπεῖν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ποία ποίοις άρμόττει τών πολιτειών είρηται.

The three

ΙΙάλιν δε και κοινή και χωρίς περι έκάστης λέγαμεν πορί τῶν ἐΦεξῆς, λαβόντες ἀρχὴν τὴν προσήχουσαν αὐτῶν. "Γίστι δή τρία μόρια των πολιτειών πασών, περί ών δεῖ θειπρείν τον σπουδαίον νομοθέτην έκάστη το συμφέρον - ών έχωντων καλώς ανάγκη την πολιτείαν έχειν καλώς, και τας πολιτοίας άλλήλων διαφέρειν εν τῷ διαφέρειν έκαστον τού-140 μεν τίο το βουλευόμε-• τι Bekker.

ideas, and the gradual enlargement of the social union.

και κατά την σύνταξιν] This, Stahr maken to depend on dalyon, "unbedeutend," and the dalyou re-kal seems to justify him, 'fow in number and unimportant in the military arrangement.

12 παρά τὰι λεγομέναι] So above, IV. 7, πλείους των είρημένων. On this paragraph, as an instance of Aristotle's method, at any point where his subject changes, compare Spengel, pp. 32, 33.

XIV. I Aristotle enters now on the point stated Ch. II. 5, µerà 8è ταῦτα τίνα τρόπου δεί καθιστάναι ταύτας τὰς πολιτείας, λέγω δε δημοκρατίας τε καθ' ξκαστον eldos και πάλιν όλιγαρχίας. 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 (κοινή). 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 κοινῆ καὶ χωρίς περὶ ξκάστης.

την προσηκουσαν αὐτῶν] 'The appropriate basis of the discussion.'

2 τι τὸ βουλευόμενον] There is an inconsistency in this sentence as it stands in Bekker's text. The most symmetrical arrangement would be to throw out the ri in both places. But if it is kept in both places, it is diffi-



νον περί τῶν κοινῶν, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ περί τὰς ἀρχάς (τοῦτο δ' The three Νος κολ έστιν ας δεί και τίνων είναι κυρίας, και ποίαν τινά δεί γίγνεσθαι την αίρεσιν αὐτῶν), τρίτον δὲ τί τὸ δικάζον. Κύριον 3 δ' έστι το βουλευόμενον περί πολέμου και είρήνης και συμμαχίας καὶ διαλύσεως, καὶ περὶ νόμων, καὶ περὶ θανάτου καὶ The deliberative. Φυγής καὶ δημεύσεως, καὶ τῶν εὐθυνῶν. ἀναγκαῖον δ' ήτοι πᾶσι τοῖς πολίταις ἀποδεδόσθαι πάσας ταύτας τὰς κρίσεις ή τισὶ πάσας, οἶον ἀρχῆ τινὶ μιᾶ ἡ πλείοσιν, ἡ ἐτέραις τὸ μὲν 4 In demoέτέρας, ή τινάς μέν αύτῶν πᾶσι τινάς δὲ τισίν. οδν πάντας καὶ περὶ ἀπάντων δημοτικόν τὴν τοιαύτην γὰρ ισότητα ζητεῖ ὁ δῆμος· εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ τρόποι τοῦ πάντας πλείους, είς μεν το κατά μέρος άλλα μη πάντας άθρόους, ώσπερ έν τῆ πολιτεία τῆ Τηλεκλέους ἐστὶ τοῦ Μιλησίου (κα) έν άλλαις δε πολιτείαις βουλεύονται αι συναρχίαι συνιοῦσαι, εἰς δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς βαδίζουσι πάντες κατὰ μέρος έχ τῶν Φυλῶν καὶ τῶν μορίων τῶν ἐλαγίστων παντελῶς, έως αν διέλθη δια πάντων), συνιέναι δε μόνον περί τε νόμων θέσεως καὶ τῶν περὶ τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα άκουσομένους ύπο τῶν ἀρχόντων. ἄλλος δὲ τρόπος 5 τὸ πάντας άθρόους, συνιέναι δὲ μόνον πρός τε τὰς άρχαιρεσίας αίρησομένους και πρός τὰς νομοθεσίας και περί πολέμου και εἰρήνης και πρὸς εὐθύνας, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τὰς άργας βουλεύεσθαι τας έφ' έκαστοις τεταγμένας, αίρετας ούσας εξ άπάντων η κληρωτάς. ἄλλος δὲ τρόπος τὸ περὶ 6 τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς εὐθύνας ἀπαντᾶν τοὺς πολίτας, καὶ περὶ πολέμου βουλευσομένους καλ συμμαχίας, τὰ δ' άλλα τὰς

cult to see why one should be indefinite, the other interrogative. I have made them both interrogative.

repetition of the word warras; 'that all should deliberate, but by parts, and not in one collective body.'

Telecles, the Milesian, not known. συναρχίαι] The boards of magis-

των περί της πολιτείας] 'questions that concern the constitution.'

5 τὰ δ' ἄλλα] There are not many points left of the list given in § 3, θανάτου, φυγής, δημεύσεως, - judicial

³ Κύριον δ' ἐστί] 'The sovereign power resides in.'

διαλύσεως] 'dissolving an alliance.' δημεύσεως] 'confiscation.'

⁴ δημοτικόν] 'democratical,' characteristic of a popular government.'

τὸ κατὰ μέρος ἀλλὰ μὴ πάντας ἀθρόους] The sense would seem to require a

Advice as

to its organis**a-**

tion.

In demo- αλγάς διοικείν αίρετας ούσας, δσας ενδέχεται · τοιαύται δ εὶσὶν ὅσας ἄργειν ἀναγκαῖον τοὺς ἐπισταμένους. ΄ δὲ τρόπος τὸ πάντας περὶ πάντων βουλεύεσθαι συνιόντας, τας δ' αρχάς περί μηθενός κρίνειν άλλα μόνον προανακρίνειν: ένπερ ή τελευταία δημοκρατία νῦν διοικεῖται τρόπον, ήν ανάλογον φαμεν είναι ολιγαρχία τε δυναστευτική και μοναςχία τυςαννική. Ούτοι μέν ούν οι τρόποι δημοκρατικοί ε πάντες, τὸ δὲ τινὰς περὶ πάντων όλιγαρχικόν. ἔχει δὲ καὶ In obserτούτο διαφοράς πλείους. όταν μεν γάρ άπο τιμημάτων μετριωτέρων αίρετοί τε ώσι καὶ πλείους διά τὴν μετριότητα τοῦ τιμήματος, καὶ περὶ ὧν ὁ νόμος ἀπαγορεύει, μὴ κινῶσιν άλλ' άχολουδώσι, χαὶ ἐξῆ χτωμένω τὸ τίμημα μετέχειν, όλιγαρχία μεν πολιτική δ' έστιν ή τοιαύτη διά το μετριάζειν. ιων ε όταν δὲ μὴ πάντες τοῦ βουλεύεσθαι μετέχωσιν άλλ' αίρετοί. κατά νόμον δ' άρχωσιν ωσπερ καί πρότερον, όλιγαρχικόν. ο όταν δε και αιρώνται αυτοί αυτούς οι κύριοι του βουλεύεσθαι, καὶ όταν καῖς άντὶ κατρὸς εἰσίη καὶ κύριοι τῶν νόμων ὧσιν, το όλιγας χικήν άναγκαῖον είναι την τάξιν ταύτην. όταν δὲ τικών τινές, οδον πολέμου μέν καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ εὐθυνών πάντες, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἄρχοντες, καὶ οὖτοι αίρετοὶ ἢ κληρωτοί, ἀριστοκρατία μέν ή πολιτεία · έαν δ' ένίων μέν αίρετοὶ ένίων δὲ κληρωτοί, καὶ κληρωτοὶ ἢ άπλῶς ἢ ἐκ προκρίτων, ἢ κοινῆ αίρετοί και κληρωτοί, τὰ μέν πολιτείας άριστοκρατικής έστί τι τούτων, τὰ δὲ πολιτείας αὐτῆς. Διήρηται μέν οδν τὸ βουλευόμενον πρός τας πολιτείας τοῦτον τον τρόπον, καὶ διοίσει εκάστη πολιτεία κατά τὸν εἰρημένον διορισμόν.

questions mainly, concerning of course political offenders.

6 δσας ἐνδέχεται] 'as many as it is possible to have elective.'

7 *poarampireur] 'previously examine.' This was the function after Cleisthenes of the Boult, or probouleutic council, and in the ordinary jurisdiction of the archons.

8 κινῶσιν] 'They do not feel at liberty to interfere, but simply obey

the law.'

· Bourei Bekker.

δλιγαρχία μέν, κ.τ.λ.] 'It is an oligarchy, it is true, but one that borders on the wolivela, from its moderation.'

'n,

10 προκρίτων] 'a body previously selected.'

II διοίσει] So I read, instead of Bekker's dioixei, and the change is easier than διοικείται, which several editors have adopted. Stahr preserves διοικεί; but διοίσει is quite in keeping

συμφέρει δε δημοκρατία τε τη μάλιστ' είναι δοκούση δημο- Advice as κρατία νῦν (λέγω δε τοιαύτην εν ή κύριος ο δημος καλ τῶν organisaνόμων εστίν) πρός το βουλεύεσθαι βέλτιον το αυτό ποιείν οπερ επί των δικαστηρίων εν ταῖς όλιγαρχίαις (τάττουσι 12 γάρ ζημίαν τούτοις ους βούλονται δικάζειν, Ινα δικάζωσιν, οί δὲ δημοτικοί μισθὸν τοῖς ἀπόροις), τοῦτο δὲ καὶ περί τὰς ἐκκλησίας ποιεῖν : βουλεύσονται γὰρ βέλτιον κοινῆ βουλευόμενοι πάντες, ὁ μεν δημος μετά τῶν γνωρίμων, οὖτοι δε μετά τοῦ πλήθους. συμφέρει δε και το αίρετους είναι 13 τους βουλευομένους ή κληρωτους ίσως έκ τῶν μορίων. συμ-Φέρει δε καν ύπερβάλλωσι πολύ κατά το πλήθος οι δημοτικοί τῶν πολιτικῶν, ἡ μὴ πᾶσι διδόναι μισθόν, ἀλλ' ὅσοι σύμμετροι πρός τὸ τῶν γνωρίμων πληθος, ἢ ἀποκληροῦν ** τοὺς πλείους. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις ἢ προαιρεῖσθαί τινας τ έκ τοῦ πλήθους, ή κατασκευάσαντας άρχεῖον οἶον ἐν ἐνίαις πολιτείαις έστιν ους καλούσι προβούλους και νομοφύλακας, καλ περλ τούτων χρηματίζειν περλ ών αν ούτοι προβουλεύσωσιν· οῦτω γὰρ μεθέξει ὁ δημος τοῦ βουλεύεσθαι, καὶ λύειν ούθεν δυνήσεται των περί την πολιτείαν. Ετι ή ταύτα 15 ψηφίζεσθαι τον δημον ή μηθεν εναντίον τοῖς εἰσφερομένοις, ή της συμβουλης μέν μεταδιδόναι πάσι, βουλεύεσθαι δέ τοὺς άργοντας, καλ τὸ άντικείμενον δὲ τοῦ ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις γιγνομένου δεί ποιείν αποψηφιζόμενον μεν γαρ κύριον δεί ποιείν το πλήθος, καταψηφιζόμενον δε μη κύριον, άλλ'

with his general language. Compare § 1, τας πολιτείας διαφέρειν. The Vet. Tr. read διοικεί; he gives "disponitur" as his rendering. It is stated that no MS. reads διοικείται.

13 Yous | 'equally from the different parts of the state.'

συμφέρει δὲ κάν] 'It is expedient also if.'

τών πολιτικών] "politiquement capables," says St. Hilaire rightly.

ἀποκληροῦν] ' exclude by lot the numbers in excess of the limit indicated.'

14 προαιρείσθαι] 'choose beforehand,' not the common Aristotelian sense of the word, but the strict literal meaning of it, which is the basis of the other.

προβούλους Comp. Thuc. viii. I, 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 περί τούτων] 'decide on these points only.'

15 της συμβουλης 'Advice.'

βουλεύεσθαι] 'the effective delibera-

ἀποψηφιζόμενον] 'The veto of the

The executoro συμβαίνει. δίοπερ οὐθεν κωλύει πολλάς ἐπιμελείας την ολιγανθρωπίαν άναγκαῖον τὰ άρχεῖα οίον οβελισκολύχνια ποιείν. ἐὰν οὖν ἔχωμεν λέγειν πόσας ἀναγκαῖον ύπάργειν πάση πόλει, καὶ πόσας οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον μὲν δεῖ δ' ύπάργειν, ράον αν τις είδως ταῦτα συνάγοι ποίας άρμόττει 9 συνάγειν άρχας είς μίαν άρχήν. άρμόττει δε και τοῦτο μη λεληθέναι, ποῖα δεῖ, κατά τόπον, άρχεῖα πολλῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ ποίων πανταχοῦ μίαν ἀρχὴν είναι κυρίαν, οίον εὐκοσμίας πότερον ἐν ἀγορῷ μὲν ἀγορανόμον, ἄλλον δὲ κατ' άλλου τόπου, η πανταχοῦ τὸν αὐτόν. καὶ πότερου κατά τὸ πράγμα δεῖ διαιρεῖν η κατά τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, λέγω δ' οἶον το ένα της εύκοσμίας, ή παίδων άλλον καὶ γυναικών, καὶ κατά τὰς πολιτείας δέ, πότερον διαφέρει καθ' ἐκάστην καὶ τὸ τῶν άρχῶν γένος ἡ οὐθέν, οίον ἐν δημοκρατία καὶ όλιγαρχία καὶ άριστοκρατία καὶ μοναρχία πότερον αἱ αὐταὶ μέν εἰσιν άργαλ κύριαι, οὐκ ἐξ ἴσων δ' οὐδ' ἐξ ὁμοίων, ἀλλ' ἔτεραι ἐν έτέραις οίον εν μεν ταίς άριστοκρατίαις έκ πεπαιδευμένων, έν δὲ ταῖς ὀλιγαργίαις ἐκ τῶν πλουσίων, ἐν δὲ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις έχ τῶν ἐλευθέρων, ἢ τυγχάνουσι μέν τινες οὖσαι καὶ κατ' αὐτὰς τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν ἀρχῶν, ἔστι δ' ὅπου συμφέρουσιν αί αύταλ καλ οπου διαφέρουσιν: ένθα μεν γάρ άρμότ-

8 πολλάς ἐπιμελείας, κ. τ. λ.] 'To assign many branches of administration at the same time to the same person.'

όβελισκολύχνια] 'spits for roasting, used as candlesticks.' The general meaning is the same as in the case of the Δελφική μάχαιρα of I. II. 3.

συνάγοι] 'might infer,' 'collect.'

9 κατὰ τόπον] "Bei örtlicher Beschränkung," Stahr; 'from considerations of space and distance,' or is it simply 'local,' as opposed to 'general'?

κατὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα] ' by the subject.'

ἡ κατὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους] ' or with reference to the persons.'

κο πεπαιδευμένων] Rhet. 1. 8, p. 1366,

κατ' αὐτὰς τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν ἀρχῶν] If this is genuine it is a very concise expression. κατ' αὐτὰς τὰς διαφορὰς διαφορὰς διαφορὰς τῶν ἀρχῶν, οr κατὰ ταὐτας τὰς διαφορὰς διαφορὰς τῶν ἀρχῶν: either of these forms would express what I conceive to be the meaning of the passage better than the one which Bekker 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.'

5, αριστοκρατίας τέλος τα πρός παιδείαν

καὶ τὰ νομίμα.

διαφέρουσιν] This seems to mean 'where different ones are required.'

11

τει μεγάλας, ένθα δ' είναι μικράς τὰς αὐτάς. οὐ μὴν άλλὰ The execuκαλ ίδιαί τινές είσιν, οίον ή τῶν προβούλων αὐτη γὰρ οὐ tive power. δημοκρατική, βουλή δε δημοτικόν. δει μεν γάρ είναι τι τι τοιούτον ω επιμελές έσται του δήμου προβουλεύειν, δπως άσχολῶν ἔσται τοῦτο δ', ἐὰν ὀλίγοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὧσιν, ὀλιγαρχικόν τους δε προβούλους ολίγους άναγκαῖον είναι τὸ πληθος, ώστ' όλιγαρχικόν. άλλ' ὅπου ἄμφω αὖται αί 12 άρχαί, οι πρόβουλοι καθεστάσιν έπὶ τοῖς βουλευταῖς · ὁ μὲν γάρ βουλευτής δημοτικόν, δ δε πρόβουλος δλιγαρχικόν. καταλύεται δε και της βουλης ή δύναμις εν ταις τοιαύταις δημοκρατίαις έν αίς αὐτὸς συνιών ὁ δημος χρηματίζει περί 1300 πάντων. τοῦτο δὲ συμβαίνειν εἴωθεν, ὅταν εὐπορία τις ἢ 13 η μισθός τοῖς ἐκκλησιάζουσιν· σχολάζοντες γὰρ συλλέγονταί τε πολλάκις καὶ απαντα αὐτοὶ κρίνουσιν. παιδονόμος δὲ καὶ γυναικονόμος, καὶ εἴ τις άλλος άρχων κύριός ἐστι τοιαύτης ἐπιμελείας, ἀριστοκρατικόν, δημοκρατικόν δ' οῦ πῶς γὰρ οδόν τε κωλύειν εξιέναι τάς των απόρων; οὐδ όλιγαρχικόν. τρυφῶσι γὰρ αἱ τῶν ὀλιγαρχούντων. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τού- 14 των έπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω νῦν, περὶ δὲ τὰς τῶν ἀρχῶν καταστάσεις πειρατέον έξ άρχης διελθείν. είσι δ' αί διαφοραί έν τρισίν δροις, ών συντιθεμένων άναγκαῖον πάντας εἰλῆφθαι τους τρόπους. ἔστι δὲ τῶν τριῶν τούτων ἐν μὲν τίνες οἱ ναθιστάντες τὰς ἀρχάς, δεύτερον δ' ἐκ τίνων, λοιπὸν δὲ τίνα τρόπον. ἐκάστου δὲ τῶν τριῶν τούτων διαφοραὶ τρεῖς 15 είσίν η γαρ πάντες οἱ πολῖται καθιστᾶσιν η τινές, καὶ η

II ὅπως ἀσχολῶν ἔσται] 'how it shall be kept engaged.'

¹² καθεστάσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς βουλευταῖς]
'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 εὐπορία τις ἢ ἡ μισθός] Spengel, p. 40, wishes to read μισθοῦ, relying on VII. (VI.) II. 6, μισθοῦ εὐπορία. But there is no absolute necessity for the change, for we may conceive the

[†] μισθός introduced to make more precise the meaning of εὐπορία, and the second passage written at first with greater accuracy.

[¿]ξιέναι τὰς τῶν ἀπόρων] Comp. VII. (VI.) viii. 23, διὰ τὴν ἀδουλίαν. There is no possibility of subjecting them to regulations as the simplest necessity of their state of poverty would set any such aside.

¹⁴ ἐν τρισίν δροις] 'under three heads,' in three points.'

The execu- ἐκ πάντων ἢ ἐκ τινῶν ἀφωρισμένων, οἴον ἢ τιμήματι ἢ γένει tive power. η άρετη ή τινι τοιούτω άλλω, ωσπερ εν Μεγάροις εκ των συγκατελθόντων καὶ συμμαχεσαμένων πρὸς τὸν δημον, καὶ 16 ταῦτα η αίρέσει η κλήρω. πάλιν ταῦτα συνδυαζόμενα, λέγω δε τας μεν τινες τας δε πάντες, και τας μεν έκ πάντων τας 😗 🤏 δ' ἐκ τινῶν, καὶ τὰς μὲν αἰρέσει τὰς δὲ κλήρφ. Τούτων δ' 17 έκάστης ἔσονται τῆς διαφορᾶς τρόποι τέσσαρες. πάντες εκ πάντων αίρεσει, ή πάντες εκ πάντων κλήρω, καὶ ή ἐξ ἀπάντιον ἢ τος ἀνὰ μέρος, οίον κατὰ Φυλὰς καὶ δήμους καὶ Φρατρίας, έως αν διέλθη δια πάντων των πολιτων, η αει έξ 18 άπάντων, και τὰ μεν ούτω τὰ δε εκείνως. πάλιν εί τινες οι καθιστάντες, η έκ πάντων αιρέσει η έκ πάντων κλήρφ, η ἐκ τινῶν αἰρέσει η ἐκ τινῶν κλήρω, η τὰ μὲν οὕτω τὰ δ΄ ἐκείνως, λέγω δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐκ πάντων αἰρέσει τὰ δὲ κλήρω. ώστε δώδεκα οἱ τρόποι γίνονται χωρίς τῶν δύο συνδυασμῶν. 19 τούτων δ' αί μεν δύο καταστάσεις δημοτικαί, το πάντας έκ πάντων αίρέσει ή κλήρω γίνεσθαι ή άμφοῖν, τὰς μὲν κλήρω τας δ' αίρέσει των άρχων το δε μη πάντας αμα μεν καθιστάναι, εξ άπάντων δ' η εκ τινών, η κλήρω η αίρεσει η αμφοίν, ή τας μεν έκ πάντων τας δ' έκ τινών αμφοίν (τὸ δὲ ἀμφοῖν λέγω τὰς μὲν κλήρω τὰς δ' αἰρέσει), πολιτικόν. 20 Καλ τὸ τινὰς ἐκ πάντων τὰς μὲν αἰρέσει καθιστάναι τὰς δὲ κλήρω ή άμφοῖν, τὰς μὲν κλήρω τὰς δ' αἰρέσει, ὀλιγαργικόν · όλιγαρχικώτερον δε καὶ τὸ έξ άμφοῖν. τὸ δε τὰς 1300 Β μεν έκ πάντων τὰς δ' έκ τινῶν πολιτικὸν ἀριστοκρατικῶς, ἡ 21 τὰς μὲν αἰρέσει τὰς δὲ κλήρω. τὸ δὲ τινὰς ἐκ τινῶν ἀλιγαρχικόν, καὶ τὸ τινὰς ἐκ τινῶν κλήρω [μὴ γενόμενον δ' όμοίως], και το τινάς έκ τινών άμφοῖν, το δε τινάς έξ άπάν-22 των. τὸ δὲ ἐκ τινῶν αἰρέσει πάντας ἀριστοκρατικόν. οἰ μεν οὖν τρόποι τῶν περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τοσοῦτοι τὸν ἀριθμόν

των δ' έκάστης, κ.τ.λ.] On this

passage see Nickes, Excursus, vIII.
p. 145. He practically re-writes it.
But, allowing that he does this successfully, and I think he does, the question
occurs, is it worth while? I prefer
leaving the text as it stands.



^{15 &}amp;v Meyapois] Mr Grote, 111. 60, in reference to this allusion speaks of its being of no historical value, for dates and details escape us.

εἰσι, καὶ διήρηνται κατὰ τὰς πολιτείας οὖτως τίνα δὲ τίσι The execuσυμφέρει καὶ πῶς δεῖ γίνεσθαι τὰς καταστάσεις, ἄμα ταῖς tive power.
δυνάμεσι τῶν ἀρχῶν, καὶ τίνες εἰσίν, ἔσται φανερόν. λέγω
δὲ δύναμιν ἀρχῆς, οἶον τὴν κυρίαν τῶν προσόδων καὶ τὴν
κυρίαν τῆς φυλακῆς · ἄλλο γὰρ εἶδος δυνάμεως οἶον στρατηγίας καὶ τῆς τῶν περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν συμβολαίων κυρίας.

Λοιπόν δὲ τῶν τριῶν τὸ δικαστικὸν εἰπεῖν. ληπτέον δὲ 16 καὶ τούτων τοὺς τρόπους κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν. ἔστι tial power. όὲ διαφορά τῶν δικαστηρίων ἐν τρισὶν δροις, ἐξ ὧν τε καὶ περί ων καί πως. λέγω δε εξ ων μέν, πότερον εκ πάντων ή έχ τινών περί ων δέ, πόσα είδη διχαστηρίων το δε πώς, πότερον κλήρω ή αίρέσει. πρῶτον οὖν διαιρείσθω πόσα 2 είδη δικαστηρίων. ἔστι δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὀκτώ, ἐν μὲν εὐθυντικόν, ἄλλο δὲ εἴ τίς τι τῶν κοινῶν ἀδικεῖ, ἔτερον ὅσα εἰς την πολιτείαν Φέρει, τέταρτον καὶ άρχουσι καὶ ἰδιώταις ὅσα περί ζημιώσεων άμφισβητοῦσιν, πέμπτον το περί τῶν ἰδίων συναλλαγμάτων καὶ ἐχόντων μέγεθος, καὶ παρὰ ταῦτα τό τε Φονικόν καὶ τὸ ξενικόν. Φονικοῦ μὲν οὖν εἴδη, ἄν τ' 3 έν τοῖς αὐτοῖς δικασταῖς ἄν τ' έν ἄλλοις, περί τε τῶν ἐκ προνοίας καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀκουσίων, καὶ ὅσα ὁμολογεῖται μέν, άμφισβητείται δε περί τοῦ δικαίου, τέταρτον δε δσα τοῖς Φεύγουσι Φόνου ἐπὶ καθόδω ἐπιΦέρεται, οἶον ᾿Αθήνησι λέγεται καὶ τὸ ἐν Φρεαττοῖ δικαστήριον συμβαίνει δὲ τὸ τοιαῦτα ἐν τῷ παντὶ χρόνω ὀλίγα καὶ ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις

αμα ταῖε δυνάμεσι] in VII. (VI.) 8, this point is treated.

άλλο γὰρ elδos] '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. Ι τούτων] As if he had written τὰ δικαστήρια.

2 δσα είς την πολιτείαν φέρει] 'all constitutional questions.'

περὶ ζημιώσεων] 'appeals against the amount of fines.'

Φρεαττοῖ] Mr Grote, III. 103, note, speaks of this as "obscure."

καl έχόντων μέγεθος] 'and on the condition that they are of some importance,' granting that they are not merely trivial.

³ φονικοῦ είδη] On this question see Hermann, Pol. Antiquities (Eng. Tr.), § 104, p. 203, and the appendices to Müller's Eumenides.

enl καθόδφ] 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."

The main makeour. To be Essendo er mer Espons mode Espons. Alle . Ξένοις πρός άστους. Ετι δε παρά πάντα ταῦτα πεώ τῶν μικοών συναλλαγμάτων, όσα οραγμιαία και πεντάδραγμα και μικού πλείονος : δεί μεν γάς και περί τούτων γίνευ δαι ε κρίτιν, οὺκ ἐμπίπτει δὲ εἰς δικαυτῶν πλήβος. ᾿Αλλὰ κερὶ μέν τούτων άφείσου και των φονικών και των ξενικών, περί οξ των πολιτικών λέγωμεν, πεοί ών μη γινομένων καλώς οιαστάσεις γίνονται και των πολιτειών αι κινήσεις. άναγκη ε ήτοι πάντας πεοί πάντων κοίνειν των διησημένων αίσέσει ιω ή κληρω, ή πάντας περί πάντων τὰ μέν κλήρω τὰ δ αίρε-' σε., ή περί ενίων των αυτών τους μέν κλήρω τους δ' αίρετους. ούτοι μέν ούν οἱ τρόποι τέτταρες τὸν ἀριθμόν, τουούτοι δ΄ έτεροι και οί κατά μέρος * πάλην γάο έκ τινών και οί δικάξοντες περί πάντων αίρεσει, ή έκ τινών περί πάντων κίνημαι, ή τὰ μεν κίνημα τὰ δὲ αίμεσει, ή ένια δικαστήμια τερί των αύτων εκ κληρωτών και αίρετών. ούτοι μέν ούν, ιύσπες επέγρησαν, οι τρόποι τοῖς είρημένοις. Ετι δὲ τὰ מודמ סטיטעת ועבים הביצם ט' סוֹסי דמ עבי בע דמידמי דמ ל בא דואוש דמ ט' בּב מעלסוֹץ. סוֹסץ בּוֹ דסט מטדסט סוֹצמס דקנוֹסט בּוֹבץ ε οί μεν εκ πάντων οί δ' εκ τινών, και ή κλήρου ή αίρεσει ή άμφοῖν. δσους μέν οδυ ένθέγεται τρόπους είναι τὰ δικαστίρια, είρηται · τουταιν δέ τα μέν πρώτα δημοτικά, δσα έχ πάντων ή περί πάνταυ, τὰ δὲ δεύτερα όλιγαρχικά, δσα ἐκ τικύν περί πάντων, τὰ ὑὲ τρίτα άριστοκρατικά καὶ πολιτικά, όσα τὰ μὲν ἐχ πάντων τὰ δ' ἐχ τινῶν.

> 4 mapa merta ravia] cases of summary jurisdiction, questions which do not require a number of judges.'

> 5 των διηρημένων] 'The points distinguished.'

> The combinations here are not defeetive as they were in Ch. XV., and consequently the text does not want re-arranging, as Nickes has done in the case of that other passage. But

these minute details of arrangement, however necessary for the completeness of Aristotle's work, and for its practical utility as bearing on the nice complications of the Greek constitutions, are of no value for the modern student. It would be a mere useless burdening of the memory to attempt to master them.

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.)

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.

$\Pi O \Lambda I T I K \Omega N H.$ (Z.)

ΠΟΣΑΙ μέν οὖν διαφοραί καὶ τίνες τοῦ τε βουλευτι- Different κοῦ καὶ κυρίου τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς combinations of the τάξεως, και περί δικαστηρίων, και ποΐα πρός ποίαν συντέ- elements of democracy, τακται πολιτείαν, ε είρηται πρότερον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τετύχηκεν είδη oligarchy, πλείω δημοκρατίας όντα και τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοίως πολιτειῶν, αμα τε περί έχεινων εί τι λοιπόν, οὐ χεῖρον ἐπισκέψασθαι, καὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον καὶ τὸν συμΦέροντα τρόπον ἀποδοῦναι πρὸς έκάστην. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν τῶν εἰρημένων 3 1317 έπισκεπτέον πάντων τῶν τρόπων ταῦτα γὰρ συνδυαζόμενα ποιεῖ τὰς πολιτείας ἐπαλλάττειν, ὧστε ἀριστοκρατίας τε όλιγαρχικάς είναι καὶ πολιτείας δημοκρατικωτέρας. δὲ τοὺς συνδυασμούς, οῦς δεῖ μὲν ἐπισκοπεῖν, οὐκ ἐσκεμμένοι δ' είσι νῦν, οίον αν το μεν βουλευόμενον και το περί τας άρχαιρεσίας όλιγαρχικῶς ή συντεταγμένου, τὰ δὲ περὶ τὰ

 έτι δὲ περὶ φθορᾶς τε καὶ σωτηρίας τῶν πολιτειῶν ἐκ ποίων τε γίνεται καὶ διά τίνας αίτίας Bekker.

I. I In this first section I omit the clause relating to the revolutions of states, the subject of Book VIII.

2 ἐπεὶ δέ, κ.τ.λ.] '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. wishes to substitute άλλα for άμα. By exclusiv I understand the Boulevτικόν, δικαστικόν, άρχαιρετικόν of the

last Book.

3 τὰς συναγωγάς] συναγωγή is a bringing together, uniting. Here 'the combinations.'

έπαλλάττειν] Here the word is very simple, 'to run into one another, to interchange.'

4 conemuéros elos] The verb seems to he used in a passive sense.

τδ μέν βιυλευόμενον] Spengel would read περί τό after μέν, as he would also substitute τὸ δέ for τὰ δέ. No doubt both changes would be improvements, but they are not very important

δλιγαρχικώς ή συντεταγμένον] 'be arranged on oligarchical principles.

Advice as of the depower.

έπαναγέσθω πάλιν έπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς πολιganisation τείαις άντεστραμμένως ποιοῦσιν · οἱ γὰρ ὀλίγοι ἀποψηΦιliberative σάμενοι μεν κύριοι, καταψηΦισάμενοι δε οὐ κύριοι, άλλ' - ἐπανάγεται εἰς τοὺς πλείστους αἰεί. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ βουλευομένου και τοῦ κυρίου δὴ τῆς πολιτείας τοῦτον διω-

1299 16 ρίσθω τὸν τρόπον.

Έχομένη δε τούτων έστιν ή περί τας άρχας διαίρεσις. The execuέχει γάρ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μόριον τῆς πολιτείας πολλάς δια-Φοράς, πόσαι τε άρχαί, καὶ κύριαι τίνων, καὶ περὶ χρόνου, πόσος έκάστης άρχης (οί μεν γαρ έξαμήνους, οί δε δι' έλάττονος, οί δ' ένιαυσίας, οί δὲ πολυχρονιωτέρας ποιοῦσι τὰς άρχάς), καὶ πότερον είναι δεῖ τὰς άρχὰς ἀϊδίους, ἡ πολυχρονίους ή μηδέτερον άλλα πλεονάκις τους αυτούς, ή μή τὸν αὐτὸν δὶς ἀλλ' ἄπαξ μόνον : ἔτι δὲ περὶ τὴν κατάστασιν τῶν ἀρχῶν, ἐν τίνων δεῖ γίνεσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ τίνων καὶ πῶς. 2 περί πάντων γάρ τούτων δεῖ δύνασθαι διελεῖν κατά πόσους ενδέχεται γενέσθαι τρόπους, κάπειτα προσαρμόσαι, ποίαις ποίαι πολιτείαι συμφέρουσιν. έστι δε ούδε τοῦτο διορίσαι ράδιον, ποίας δεῖ καλεῖν ἀρχάς · πολλῶν γὰρ ἐπιστατῶν ἡ πολιτική κοινωνία δείται, διόπερ πάντας ούτε τοὺς αίρετοὺς ούτε τούς κληρωτούς άρχοντας θετέον, οίον τούς ίερεῖς πρώτον τοῦτο γάρ ετερόν τι παρά τὰς πολιτικάς ἀρχάς

3 θετέον. ἔτι δὲ χορηγοί καὶ κήρυκες · αίροῦνται δὲ καὶ πρεσβευτάς. είσι δε αί μεν πολιτικαί των επιμελειών, ή πάντων τῶν πολιτῶν πρός τινα πρᾶξιν, οἶον στρατηγὸς στρατευομένων, ή κατά μέρος, οίον ο γυναικονόμος ή παιδονόμος.

αί δ' οἰκονομικαί (πολλάκις γάρ αἰροῦνται σιτομέτρας), · πρεσβευταί Bekker.

great majority is to be allowed, its assent not to be final.'

16 τοῦ κυρίου δή] 'and that which consequently is sovereign.'

XV. I της πολιτείας] 'of the political system.

àïðlous] 'for life,' as elsewhere. 2 προσαρμόσαι] 'to adapt them.'

ποlas δεῖ καλεῖν ἀρχάς] ' What are the functions to which we may give this name àpxds.'

3 πρεσβευταί] If this reading is kept. aipoûrras must be passive. I should prefer using it in its usual sense, and reading πρεσβευτάs.

σιτομέτρας The question submitted to these officials would, in Aristotle's αί δ' ὑπηρετικαί, πρὸς ας, αν εὐπορῶσι, τάττουσι δουλους. The execuμάλιστα δ' ώς απλῶς εἰπεῖν ἀρχὰς λεκτέον ταύτας, ὅσαις tive power. άποδέδοται βουλεύσασθαί τε περί τινών και κρίναι και έπι-4 τάξαι, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦτο τὸ γὰρ ἐπιτάττειν ἀρχικώτερόν έστιν. άλλα ταῦτα διαφέρει πρὸς μὲν τὰς χρήσεις οὐθὲν ως είπεῖν ου γάρ πω κρίσις γέγονεν άμφισβητούντων περί τοῦ ὀνόματος. ἔχει δέ τιν ἄλλην διανοητικήν πραγματείαν. Τη επίστη ποΐαι δ' άρχαλ καλ πόσαι άναγκαΐαι ελ έσται πόλις, καλ 5 ποΐαι άναγχαΐαι μέν ού, χρήσιμοι δε πρός σπουδαίαν πολιτείαν, μᾶλλον ἄν τις ἀπορήσειε πρὸς ἄπασάν τε δή πολιτείαν καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰς μικρὰς πόλεις. ἐν μὲν γὰρ δὴ ταῖς 6 μεγάλαις ἐνδέχεταί τε καὶ δεῖ μίαν τετάχθαι πρὸς εν έργον· πολλούς τε γάρ είς τὰ άρχεῖα ἐνδέχεται βαδίζειν διὰ τὸ πολλούς είναι τοὺς πολίτας, ώστε τὰς μὲν διαλείπειν πολύν χρόνον τὰς δ' ἄπαξ ἄρχειν, καὶ βέλτιον έκαστον έργον τυγχάνει της επιμελείας μονοπραγματούσης ή πολυπραγματούσης. ἐν δὲ ταῖς μικραῖς ἀνάγκη συνάγειν 7 1299 Β είς ολίγους πολλάς άρχάς. διά γάρ ολιγανθρωπίαν ού ράδιον έστι πολλούς έν ταῖς άρχαῖς είναι τίνες γάρ οἱ τούτους ἔσονται διαδεξόμενοι πάλιν; δέονται δ' ἐνίστε τῶν αὐτῶν ἀρχῶν καὶ νόμων αἱ μικραὶ ταῖς μεγάλαις • πλην αἱ μεν δέονται πολλάκις τῶν αὐτῶν, ταῖς δ' ἐν πολλῷ χρόνω

view, more properly concern the interests of the citizens as fathers of families and possessed of property, than as citizens proper. Hence he considers their functions as economical in a sense quite in accordance with his use of the term in the first

αν εὐπορώσι] Compare I. VII. 5, δσοις έξουσία μη αὐτοὺς κακοπαθεῖν.

4 τὸ γάρ ἐπιτάττειν ἀρχικώτερόν ¿στιν] 'is more strictly the characteristic of a magistrate,' the highest form of the citizen, to whom the highest political virtue belongs properly, άρχοντος ίδιος άρετη μόνη φρόνησιε (III. IV. 17), and φρόνησιε is, by

Eth. vi. xi. 2, p. 1143, 8, έπιτα-KT IKh.

οὐ γάρ τω κρίσις, κ.τ.λ.] 'For there has as yet no question arisen for decision in consequence of a dispute about the name; still such points have their interest for thought.' Such I take to be the sense, and I believe Stahr agrees with this rendering.

6 τας μέν διαλείπειν] '80 that in holding some, they leave long intervals;' or, in other words, 'they hold some only at long intervals.'

της επιμελείας, κ.τ.λ.] 'If the attention is engaged on one point only, than if it is distracted by being bent on many.'

The executation of the course of the second section of the course of the -αμε προσταπεν ο γαι εμποσιούση αλληλαίς, και πρός TO GENERAL CONTROL TO GENERAL STOP OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROP haysee much. can our cyenish heyen moves avery calor umaryen mar more, wa morar our avayration per bei 6 ύπαιγεκ, ιαπ αι τι είσαι ταθτα συνάγοι ποίας άρμόττει mi hentieval mais sel nata tomor asyela bolliar ebipe- " Teinia. Rai wolan wartayai ulan alyny eisal Rupian, alon EUROCLIAS TOTESON ET ENOSE LES ENOSENOLOS, ELLAN DE RET allow tomos, i mantelyed to autos. Rai noteda Rata τὸ ποιτικ εξι ωαικεί ή κατά τους άνδουπους, λέγο δ' είστ n ene tig eukormas. i sanam alima kai ywankan, kai kata τὰς πιλιτείας με, ποτεροι μιαθεία, καθ έκαυτην και τὸ τῶν asyaw gener i cider vioi èt oquardatia nai dinyasyia nai άριστυκρατία και μοναιγία πέτερου αι αύται μέν είσεν άρyal zuwal, our if it me to but if bullion, all etepal en ÉTÉPAIS WU EN 1121 TRIS BAITTERDRIAIS ER TETRIBEULENON, EN DE TAIS WAYALY ING EX TON TROUTION, EN DE TAIS ONLEMPA-THUS EX THU ELEVIENDE, I TUZY ENDUS MEN THES OUTH RAI אמד מידמה דמה שובל בים דמה ביצים, בנדו ב בדים בישועלב. μυσιν αι αύται και έπευ ωαθέρουσα: ένλα μέν γάρ άρμότ-

> 8 subbles truckers, a. r. A.] 'To assign many branches of alministration at the same time to the same person.'

> υβελισκολύχνια] 'spits for roasting, used as candiesticks.' The general meaning is the same as in the case of the Δελφική μέχαιρα of I. 11. 3.

aurdyn) ' might infer,' ' collect.'

ο κατά τόπον] "Bei örtlicher Beschränkung," Stahr; 'from considerations of space and distance,' or is it simply 'local,' as opposed to 'genecat'?

- БагА тն проград " by the nubject." - ֆ БагА тайз deθρώπουν] " or with ro-Էպթորո to the persons."

допыйопричення Влек. 1. В. р. 1300;

5. Apurtospanius rélos tá após ambelar

If this is genuine it is a very concise expression. The strike vas diagonal time depths vas diagonal time depths, or anter the strike of these forms would express what I conceive to be the meaning of the passage better than the one which Bekker 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.'

διαφέρουσιν] This seems to mean 'where different ones are required.'



111

τει μεγάλας, ἔνθα δ' είναι μικράς τὰς αὐτάς. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ The execuκαλ ίδιαί τινές είσιν, οίον ή τῶν προβούλων αὐτη γὰρ οὐ tive power. δημοκρατική, βουλή δε δημοτικόν. δεῖ μεν γὰρ είναί τι 11 τοιοῦτον ῷ ἐπιμελὲς ἔσται τοῦ δήμου προβουλεύειν, ὅπως άσχολῶν ἔσται τοῦτο δ', ἐὰν ὀλίγοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὧσιν, ὀλιγαρχικόν τοὺς δὲ προβούλους ὀλίγους ἀναγκαῖον είναι τὸ πληθος, ωστ' όλιγαρχικόν. άλλ' δπου άμφω αύται αί 12 άρχαί, οἱ πρόβουλοι καθεστάσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς βουλευταῖς · ὁ μὲν γάρ βουλευτής δημοτικόν, δ δε πρόβουλος όλιγαρχικόν. καταλύεται δε και της βουλης ή δύναμις έν ταις τοιαύταις δημοκρατίαις έν αίς αὐτὸς συνιών ὁ δῆμος χρηματίζει περὶ 1300 πάντων. τοῦτο δὲ συμβαίνειν εἴωθεν, ὅταν εὐπορία τις ἢ 13 ή μισθός τοῖς ἐκκλησιάζουσιν· σχολάζοντες γὰρ συλλέγονταί τε πολλάκις καὶ ἄπαντα αὐτοὶ κρίνουσιν. παιδονόμος δὲ καὶ γυναικονόμος, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἄρχων κύριός ἐστι τοιαύτης ἐπιμελείας, ἀριστοκρατικόν, δημοκρατικόν δ' οὖ · πῶς γὰρ οδόν τε κωλύειν εξιέναι τάζι τῶν ἀπόρων; οὐδ όλιγαρχικόν: τρυφῶσι γὰρ αἱ τῶν ὀλιγαρχούντων. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τού- 14 των έπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω νῦν, περὶ δὲ τὰς τῶν ἀρχῶν καταστάσεις πειρατέον έξ άρχης διελθείν. είσι δ' αί διαφοραί έν τρισίν δροις, ών συντιθεμένων άναγκαῖον πάντας εἰλῆΦθαι τους τρόπους. έστι δε των τριών τούτων εν μεν τίνες οί ναθιστάντες τὰς ἀρχάς, δεύτερον δ' ἐκ τίνων, λοιπὸν δὲ τίνα τρόπον. ἐκάστου δὲ τῶν τριῶν τούτων διαφοραὶ τρεῖς 15 είσίν ή γάρ πάντες οἱ πολίται καθιστάσιν ή τινές, καὶ ή

II δπως ἀσχολῶν ἔσται] 'how it shall be kept engaged.'

¹² καθεστάσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς βουλευταῖς]
'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 εὐπορία τις ἢ ἡ μισθός] Spengel, p. 40, wishes to read μισθοῦ, relying on VII. (VI.) 11. 6, μισθοῦ εὐπορία. But there is no absolute necessity for the change, for we may conceive the

[†] μισθός introduced to make more precise the meaning of εὐπορία, and the second passage written at first with greater accuracy.

έξιέναι τὰς τῶν ἀπόρων] Comp. VII. (VI.) viii. 23, διὰ τὴν ἀδουλίαν. There is no possibility of subjecting them to regulations as the simplest necessity of their state of poverty would set any such aside.

¹⁴ ἐν τρισὶν δροις] 'under three heads,' in three points.'

The execu- έχ πάντων η έχ τινῶν ἀφωρισμένων, οίον η τιμήματι η γένει tive power. ή άρετη ή τινι τοιούτω άλλω, ωσπερ έν Μεγάροις έκ των συγκατελθόντων καλ συμμαγεσαμένων πρός τὸν δημον, καλ 16 ταῦτα ἡ αἰρέσει ἡ κλήρω. πάλιν ταῦτα συνδυαζόμενα, λέγω - δὲ τὰς μὲν τινὲς τὰς δὲ πάντες, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐκ πάντων τὰς τούτων δ' έκ τινῶν, καὶ τὰς μὲν αἰρέσει τὰς δὲ κλήρω. τούτων δ' 17 έχαστης έσονται της διαφοράς τρόποι τέσσαρες. πάντες εκ πάντων αίρεσει, ή πάντες εκ πάντων κλήρω, καὶ ή έξ ἀπάντων ή ως ἀνὰ μέρος, οἶον κατὰ Φυλὰς καὶ δήμους καὶ Φρατρίας, έως αν διέλθη δια πάντων των πολιτων, η αει έξ 18 άπάντων, καὶ τὰ μὲν οῦτω τὰ δὲ ἐκείνως. πάλιν εἰ τινὲς οί καθιστάντες, η έκ πάντων αίρέσει η έκ πάντων κλήρφ, η έκ τινών αίρεσει η έκ τινών κλήρω, η τὰ μεν ούτω τὰ δ' έκείνως, λέγω δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐκ πάντων αἰρέσει τὰ δὲ κλήρω. ώστε δώδεκα οἱ τρόποι γίνονται χωρὶς τῶν δύο συνδυασμῶν. 19 τούτων δ' αί μεν δύο καταστάσεις δημοτικαί, το πάντας έκ πάντων αίρέσει ή κλήρω γίνεσθαι ή άμφοῖν, τὰς μὲν κλήρω τας δ' αίρεσει των αρχων. το δε μή πάντας αμα μεν καθιστάναι, εξ άπάντων δ' ή εκ τινών, ή κλήρω ή αίρεσει ή άμφοῖν, ή τὰς μὲν ἐκ πάντων τὰς δ' ἐκ τινῶν ἀμφοῖν (τὸ δὲ ἀμφοῖν λέγω τὰς μὲν κλήρω τὰς δ' αἰρέσει), πολιτικόν. 20 Καὶ τὸ τινὰς ἐκ πάντων τὰς μὲν αἰρέσει καθιστάναι τὰς δὲ κλήρω ή άμφοῖν, τὰς μὲν κλήρω τὰς δ' αἰρέσει, ὀλιγαρχικόν δλιγαρχικώτερον δε και το έξ άμφοῖν. το δε τάς 1300 Β μεν έκ πάντων τὰς δ' ἐκ τινῶν πολιτικὸν ἀριστοκρατικῶς, ἡ 21 τὰς μὲν αἰρέσει τὰς δὲ κλήρω. τὸ δὲ τινὰς ἐκ τινῶν ἀλιγαργικόν, καὶ τὸ τινὰς ἐκ τινῶν κλήρω [μὴ γενόμενον δ' όμοίως], καὶ τὸ τινὰς ἐκ τινῶν ἀμφοῖν, τὸ δὲ τινὰς ἐξ ἀπάν-22 των. τὸ δὲ ἐκ τινῶν αἱρέσει πάντας ἀριστοκρατικόν. οἰ μεν οὖν τρόποι τῶν περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τοσοῦτοι τὸν ἀριθμόν

^{15 &}amp;v Meyapous] 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 δ' έκάστης, κ.τ.λ.] On this

passage see Nickes, Excursus, vIII.
p. 145. He practically re-writes it.
But, allowing that he does this successfully, and I think he does, the question occurs, is it worth while? I prefer leaving the text as it stands.

είσι, καὶ διήρηνται κατὰ τὰς πολιτείας οὕτως τίνα δὲ τίσι The execuσυμφέρει καὶ πῶς δεῖ γίνεσθαι τὰς καταστάσεις, ἄμα ταῖς tive power.
δυνάμεσι τῶν ἀρχῶν, καὶ τίνες εἰσίν, ἔσται φανερόν. λέγω
δὲ δύναμιν ἀρχῆς, οἶον τὴν κυρίαν τῶν προσόδων καὶ τὴν
κυρίαν τῆς φυλακῆς · ἄλλο γὰρ εἶδος δυνάμεως οἶον στρατηγίας καὶ τῆς τῶν περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν συμβολαίων κυρίας.

Λοιπόν δὲ τῶν τριῶν τὸ δικαστικὸν εἰπεῖν. ληπτέον δὲ 16 καὶ τούτων τοὺς τρόπους κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν. ἔστι The judi όὲ διαφορά τῶν δικαστηρίων ἐν τρισίν ὅροις, ἐξ ὧν τε καὶ περί ων καί πῶς. λέγω δὲ ἐξ ων μέν, πότερον ἐκ πάντων ή ἐκ τινῶν περὶ ὧν δέ, πόσα εἴδη δικαστηρίων τὸ δὲ πῶς, πότερον κλήρω ή αίρέσει. πρῶτον οὖν διαιρείσθω πόσα 2 είδη δικαστηρίων. έστι δὲ τὸν άριθμὸν ὀκτώ, ἐν μὲν εὐθυντικόν, άλλο δε εί τίς τι τῶν κοινῶν άδικεῖ, ἔτερον ὅσα εἰς την πολιτείαν Φέρει, τέταρτον καὶ άρχουσι καὶ ἰδιώταις όσα περί ζημιώσεων άμφισβητοῦσιν, πέμπτον τὸ περί τῶν ἰδίων συναλλαγμάτων καὶ ἐχόντων μέγεθος, καὶ παρὰ ταῦτα τό τε Φονικόν καὶ τὸ ξενικόν. Φονικοῦ μεν οὖν εἴδη, ἄν τ' 3 έν τοῖς αὐτοῖς δικασταῖς ἄν τ' ἐν ἄλλοις, περί τε τῶν ἐκ προνοίας καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀκουσίων, καὶ ὅσα ὁμολογεῖται μέν, άμφισβητείται δε περί τοῦ δικαίου, τέταρτον δε όσα τοῖς Φεύγουσι Φόνου ἐπὶ καθόδω ἐπιΦέρεται, οἶον ᾿Αθήνησι λέγεται καί το εν Φρεαττοῖ δικαστήριον συμβαίνει δε το τοιαῦτα ἐν τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ ὀλίγα καὶ ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις

αμα ται̂s δυνάμεσι] in VII. (VI.) 8, this point is treated.

άλλο γὰρ elδos] '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. Ι τούτων] As if he had written τὰ δικαστήρια,

2 δσα είς την πολιτείαν φέρει] 'all constitutional questions.'

περί ζημιώσεων] 'appeals against the amount of fines.'

Φρεαττοῖ] Mr Grote, 111. 103, note, speaks of this as "obscure."

καὶ ἐχόντων μέγεθος] 'and on the condition that they are of some importance,' granting that they are not merely trivial.

³ φονικοῦ είδη] On this question see Hermann, Pol. Antiquities (Eng. Tr.), § 104, p. 203, and the appendices to Müller's Eumenides.

enl καθόδφ] 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."

The judi- πόλεσιν. τοῦ δὲ ξενικοῦ εν μεν ξένοις προς ξένους, ἄλλο Εένοις πρὸς ἀστούς. ἔτι δὲ παρὰ πάντα ταῦτα περὶ τῶν 4 μικρῶν συναλλαγμάτων, ὅσα δραχμιαῖα καὶ πεντάδραχμα καὶ μικρῷ πλείονος · δεῖ μὲν γὰρ καὶ περὶ τούτων γίνεσθαι 5 κρίσιν, οὐκ ἐμπίπτει δὲ εἰς δικαστῶν πληθος. ᾿Αλλὰ περὶ μεν τούτων άφείσθω και των φονικών και των ξενικών, περί δὲ τῶν πολιτικῶν λέγωμεν, περὶ ὧν μὴ γινομένων καλῶς διαστάσεις γίνονται καλ τῶν πολιτειῶν αἰ κινήσεις. ἀνάγκη δ' ήτοι πάντας περί πάντων κρίνειν τῶν διχρημένων αἰρέσει 1301 ή κλήρω, ή πάντας περί πάντων τὰ μεν κλήρω τὰ δ' αίρε-6 σει, ἢ περὶ ἐνίων τῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν κλήρω τοὺς δ' αἰρετούς. οὖτοι μεν οὖν οἱ τρόποι τέτταρες τὸν ἀριθμόν, τοσοῦτοι δ' ἔτεροι καὶ οἱ κατὰ μέρος • πάλιν γὰρ ἐκ τινῶν καὶ οί δικάζοντες περί πάντων αίρέσει, ή έκ τινῶν περί πάντων κλήρω, η τὰ μὲν κλήρω τὰ δὲ αἱρέσει, η ἔνια δικαστήρια 7 περί τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκ κληρωτῶν καὶ αίρετῶν. οὖτοι μὲν οὖν, ωσπερ ελέχθησαν, οἱ τρόποι τοῖς εἰρημένοις. ἔτι δὲ τὰ αύτα συνδυαζόμενα, λέγω δ' οίον τα μεν εκ πάντων τα δ' έκ τινών τα δ' έξ άμφοῖν, οίον εί τοῦ αύτοῦ δικαστηρίου είεν 8 οί μεν εκ πάντων οί δ' εκ τινών, και ή κλήρω ή αίρεσει ή άμφοῖν. ὅσους μὲν οὖν ἐνδέχεται τρόπους εἶναι τὰ δικαστήρια, είρηται · τούτων δε τὰ μεν πρῶτα δημοτικά, ὅσα ἐκ πάντων ή περί πάντων, τὰ δὲ δεύτερα ὀλιγαρχικά, ὅσα ἐκ τινών περί πάντων, τὰ δὲ τρίτα ἀριστοκρατικά καὶ πολιτικά, δσα τὰ μὲν ἐκ πάντων τὰ δ' ἐκ τινῶν.

> 4 παρά παντά ταῦτα] 'cases of summary jurisdiction, questions which do not require a number of judges.'

ς των διηρημένων] 'The points distinguished.'

The combinations here are not defective as they were in Ch. XV., and consequently the text does not want re-arranging, as Nickes has done in the case of that other passage. But

these minute details of arrangement, however necessary for the completeness of Aristotle's work, and for its practical utility as bearing on the nice complications of the Greek constitutions, are of no value for the modern student. It would be a mere useless burdening of the memory to attempt to master them.

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.)

The execu- έχ πάντων η έχ τινῶν ἀφωρισμένων, οἶον η τιμήματι η γένει tive power. ή άρετη ή τινι τοιούτω άλλω, ωσπερ εν Μεγάροις έκ των συγκατελθόντων καὶ συμμαγεσαμένων πρὸς τὸν δημον, καὶ 16 ταῦτα η αἰρέσει η κλήρω. πάλιν ταῦτα συνδυαζόμενα, λέγω ε δε τάς μεν τινες τάς δε πάντες, και τάς μεν έκ πάντων τάς ς τούτων δ' ἐκ τινῶν, καὶ τὰς μὲν αἰρέσει τὰς δὲ κλήρω. τούτων δ' 17 έκάστης ἔσονται τῆς διαφορᾶς τρόποι τέσσαρες. πάντες ἐκ πάντων αἰρέσει, ἢ πάντες ἐκ πάντων κλήρω, καὶ ἢ έξ ἀπάντων ή ως ἀνὰ μέρος, οἶον κατὰ Φυλὰς καὶ δήμους καὶ Φρατρίας, έως αν διέλθη δια πάντων των πολιτων, ή αει έξ 18 άπάντων, καὶ τὰ μὲν οῦτω τὰ δὲ ἐκείνως. πάλιν εἰ τινὲς οί καθιστάντες, η έκ πάντων αίρέσει η έκ πάντων κλήρφ, η έκ τινών αίρέσει η έκ τινών κλήρω, η τα μεν ούτω τα δ' έκείνως, λέγω δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐκ πάντων αἰρέσει τὰ δὲ κλήρω. ώστε δώδεκα οἱ τρόποι γίνονται χωρίς τῶν δύο συνδυασμῶν. 19 τούτων δ' αί μέν δύο καταστάσεις δημοτικαί, τὸ πάντας ἐκ πάντων αίρέσει ή κλήρω γίνεσθαι ή άμφοῖν, τὰς μὲν κλήρω τας δ' αιρέσει τιῶν ἀρχιῶν: τὸ δὲ μὴ πάντας ἄμα μὲν καθιστάναι, εξ άπάντων δ ή εκ τινών, ή κλήρω ή αίρεσει ή αμφοῖν, ή τὰς μὲν ἐκ πάντων τὰς δ' ἐκ τινῶν ἀμφοῖν (τὸ δὲ ἀμφοῖν λέγω τὰς μὲν κλήρω τὰς δ' αἰρέσει), πολιτικόν. 20 Καὶ τὸ τινὰς ἐκ πάντων τὰς μὲν αἰρέσει καθιστάναι τὰς δὲ κλήρω η άμφοῖν, τὰς μὲν κλήρω τὰς δ' αἰρέσει, όλιγαργικόν ολιγαρχικώτερον δε και το εξ άμφοῖν. το δε τας 1300 Β μεν έκ πάντων τὰς δ' έκ τινῶν πολιτικὸν ἀριστοκρατικῶς, ἡ 21 τὰς μὲν αἰρέσει τὰς δὲ κλήρω. τὸ δὲ τινὰς ἐκ τινῶν ὐλιγαργικόν, καὶ τὸ τινὰς ἐκ τινῶν κλήρω [μὴ γενόμενον δ όμοίως], και το τινάς έκ τινών άμφοῖν, το δε τινάς έξ άπάν-22 των. τὸ δὲ ἐκ τινῶν αἰρέσει πάντας ἀριστοκρατικόν. οἰ μεν οὖν τρόποι τῶν περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τοσοῦτοι τὸν ἀριθμόν

^{15 &}amp; Meyapous] 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 δ' έκάστης, κ.τ.λ.] On this

passage see Nickes, Excursus, vIII.
p. 145. He practically re-writes it.
But, allowing that he does this successfully, and I think he does, the question occurs, is it worth while? I prefer leaving the text as it stands.

είσι, καὶ διήρηνται κατὰ τὰς πολιτείας οὕτως· τίνα δὶ τίσι The execuσυμφέρει καὶ πῶς δεῖ γίνεσθαι τὰς καταστάσεις, ἄμα ταῖς tive power. δυνάμεσι τῶν ἀρχῶν, καὶ τίνες εἰσίν, ἔσται Φανερόν. λέγω δὲ δύναμιν ἀρχῆς, ολον τὴν κυρίαν τῶν προσόδων καὶ τὴν κυρίαν της Φυλακής · άλλο γάρ είδος δυνάμεως οίον στρατηγίας καὶ τῆς τῶν περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν συμβολαίων κυρίας.

Λοιπόν δὲ τῶν τριῶν τὸ δικαστικόν εἰπεῖν. ληπτέον δὲ 16 καὶ τούτων τοὺς τρόπους κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν. ἔστι cial power. όὲ διαφορά τῶν δικαστηρίων ἐν τρισὶν ὅροις, ἐξ ὧν τε καὶ περί ων καί πως. λέγω δε έξ ων μέν, πότερον εκ πάντων ή έκ τινών περί ών δέ, πόσα είδη δικαστηρίων το δε πώς, πότερον κλήρω ή αίρέσει. πρώτον οδν διαιρείσθω πόσα 2 είδη δικαστηρίων. έστι δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὀκτώ, ἐν μὲν εὐθυντικόν, άλλο δε εί τίς τι των κοινών άδικεϊ, έτερον όσα είς τήν πολιτείαν Φέρει, τέταρτον καὶ άρχουσι καὶ ἰδιώταις δσα περί ζημιώσεων άμφισβητοῦσιν, πέμπτον το περί τῶν ἰδίων συναλλαγμάτων καὶ ἐχόντων μέγεθος, καὶ παρὰ ταῦτα τό τε Φονικόν και τὸ ξενικόν. Φονικοῦ μεν οὖν είδη, ἄν τ' 3 έν τοῖς αὐτοῖς δικασταῖς ἄν τ' έν ἄλλοις, περί τε τῶν ἐκ προνοίας και περί τῶν ἀκουσίου, και ὅσα ὁμολογεῖται μέν. άμφισβητείται δε περί τοῦ δικαίου, τέταρτον δε δσα τοῖς Φεύγουσι Φόνου ἐπὶ καθόδω ἐπιΦέρεται, οδον 'Αθήνησι λέγεται καὶ τὸ ἐν Φρεαττοῖ δικαστήριον συμβαίνει δὲ τὸ τοιαῦτα ἐν τῷ παντὶ χρόνῷ ὀλίγα καὶ ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις

άμα ται̂ς δυνάμεσι] in VII. (VI.) 8, this point is treated.

άλλο γὰρ είδος] '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. Ι τούτων] As if he had written τὰ δικαστήρια,

2 δσα είς την πολιτείαν φέρει] 'all constitutional questions.'

περί ζημιώσεων] 'appeals against the amount of fines.'

και έχόντων μέγεθος] 'and on the condition that they are of some importance,' granting that they are not merely trivial.

3 φονικοῦ εΐδη] On this question see Hermann, Pol. Antiquities (Eng. Tr.), § 104, p. 203, and the appendices to Müller's Eumenides.

₹πὶ καθόδφ] 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."

Φρεαττοῖ] Mr Grote, 111. 103, note, speaks of this as "obscure."

Τη ματι πόλεσιν. τοῦ οὲ ξενικοῦ ἐν μὰν ξένοις πρὸς ξένους, ἄλλο - ξένοις ποὸς ἀστούς. Ετι ὸὲ παρὰ πάντα ταῦτα περί τῶν 4 μικούν συναλλαγμάτων, όσα δραχμιαΐα και πεντάδραχμα καὶ μικοώ πλείονος · δεῖ μέν γάρ καὶ πεοὶ τούτων γίνεσθαι 5 κρίσιν, ούκ εμπίπτει δε είς δικαστών πλήθος. 'Αλλά περί μέν τούτου άφείσθο καὶ του φονικών καὶ των ξενικών, περί δε των πολιτικών λέγωμεν, περί ών μη γινομένων καλώς διαστάσεις γίνονται καὶ τιον πολιτειών αι κινήσεις. ἀνάγκη δ' ήτοι πάντας περί πάντιον κρίνειν τίον διτρημένιου αίρεσες 1301 ή κλήριο, ή πάντας περί πάντων τὰ μὲν κλήρω τὰ δ' αἰρέ-6 σει, ή περί ἐνίων τῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν κλήρω τοὺς δ' αἰρετούς. ούτοι μεν ούν οι τρόποι τέτταρες τον άριθμόν, τοσούτοι δ' έτεροι καὶ οἱ κατὰ μέρος · πάλιν γὰρ ἐκ τινών καὶ οί δικάζοντες περί πάντων αίρεσει, ή εκ τινών περί πάντων κλήριο, ή τὰ μεν κλήριο τὰ δὲ αίρεσει, ή ένια δικαστήρια 7 περί των αύτων έκ κληρωτών και αίρετών. ούτος μέν ούν, ώσπερ ελέχθησαν, οι τρόποι τοῖς είρημένοις. Ετι δε τα αύτα συνδυαζόμενα, λέγω δ' οίον τα μέν έκ πάντων τα δ' εκ τικών τα δ' εξ αμφοίν, οίον εί του αυτου δικαστηρίου elev 8 οἱ μὲν ἐκ πάντων οἱ δ' ἐκ τινῶν, καὶ ἡ κλήριο ἡ αἰρέσει ἡ άμφοίν. όσους μεν οθν ενδέχεται τρόπους είναι τα δικαστήρια, είνηται · τούτων δε τὰ μεν πρώτα δημοτικά, διτα έκ πάντων ή περι πάντων, τὰ δὲ δεύτερα όλιγαρχικά, δσα έκ τινίου περί πάντων, τὰ δὲ τρίτα άριστοκρατικά καὶ πολιτικά, όσα τὰ μεν έκ πάντων τὰ δ' έκ τινών.

> A मानको मानामाने मानीमान (cases of summany presentation, questions which do not a outre a number of indges.

these minute details of arrangement, however necessary for the completeness of Aristotle's work, and for its practical utility as bearing on the nice complications of the Greek constitutions, are of no value for the modern student. It would be a mere useless burdening of the memory to attempt to master them.

^{5 -} on Segmulvar The points disit in bod?

in a paratications here are not degood to a strong were in Ch. XV., and on ally the text does not want die Violena hau done in .. , the offer passage. But

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.)

So far for democracies. If the method of their formation is rightly understood, it involves the right understanding of their opposites, the formation of digarchies. 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 has 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 imperil,' modifications which may make such were 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 magistraones which the state requires, whether democratical or obstational. These are enumerated at considerable length.

$\Pi O \Lambda I T I K \Omega N H. (Z.)$

ΠΟΣΑΙ μέν οὖν διαφοραί καὶ τίνες τοῦ τε βουλευτι- Different κοῦ καὶ κυρίου τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς comunaτάξεως, και περι δικαστηρίων, και ποῖα πρὸς ποίαν συντέ- elements of democracy, τακται πολιτείαν, εξρηται πρότερον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τετύχηκεν εζὸη $\frac{\text{oligarchy}}{\&c}$ πλείω δημοκρατίας όντα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοίως πολιτειῶν, αμα τε περί έχεινων εί τι λοιπόν, ου χείρον επισχέψασθαι, καὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον καὶ τὸν συμφέροντα τρόπον ἀποδοῦναι πρὸς έκάστην. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν τῶν εἰρημένων 3 1317 έπισκεπτέον πάντων τῶν τρόπων ταῦτα γὰρ συνδυαζόμενα ποιεί τὰς πολιτείας ἐπαλλάττειν, ώστε ἀριστοκρατίας τε όλιγαρχικάς είναι καὶ πολιτείας δημοκρατικωτέρας. δε τους συνδυασμούς, ους δεί μεν επισκοπείν, ουκ εσκεμμένοι δ' είσὶ νῦν, οίον αν τὸ μεν βουλευόμενον καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς άργαιρεσίας ολιγαρχικώς ή συντεταγμένου, τὰ δὲ περὶ τὰ

- Ετι δὲ περὶ φθορᾶς τε καὶ σωτηρίας τῶν πολιτειῶν ἐκ ποίων τε γίνεται καὶ διά τίνας αίτίας Bekker.
- I. I In this first section I omit the clause relating to the revolutions of states, the subject of Book VIII.
- 2 ἐπεὶ δέ, κ.τ.λ.] '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 άλλα for άμα. By ἐκείνων I understand the βουλευτικόν, δικαστικόν, άρχαιρετικόν of the

last Book.

- · 3 τὰς συναγωγάς] συναγωγή is a bringing together, uniting. Here 'the combinations.'
- ἐπαλλάττειν] Here the word is very simple, 'to run into one another, to interchange.'
- 4 ἐσκεμμένοι εἰσί] The verb seems to be used in a passive sense.
- τὸ μέν βιυλευόμενον] Spengel would read περί τό after μέν, as he would also substitute to bé for ta bé. No doubt both changes would be improvements, but they are not very important ones.

όλιγαρχικώς ή συντεταγμένον] 'be arranged on oligarchical principles.'

PUBLICA COLOR slam.issan et ulbaralte. *--

λιναστικοι άριστοκρατικώς, ή ταύτα μέν και το περί το οιπικών επι τοπιλευομενου όλιγασγικώς, αριστοκρατικώς δε το περί τας .. γαικεσιας, ή κατ άλλον τινά τρόπον μή πάντα συντεθή τά Της πολιτειας οίκεια. Ποία μέν ούν δημοκρατία πρός και λομηττει πόλιν, ποπαύτως δε και ποία των όλιγαρχιών πριου πλιών, και του λοιπούν δε πολιτειών τίς συμφέρει » τιδικ είνται πουτερον. όμως δὲ δεῖ γενέσθαι δηλον μή μοι Μ ποια Τουτικο του πολιτειών αρίστη ταίς πόλεσιν, ιι ιλ και ποις λεί κατκακευάζευ και ταύτας και τάς άλλας έτε (Επικε κιντομές, και πρώτον περί δημοκρατίας είπαper' Aug par une Rese The autinequeung modifeiag Pauepou, 7 λίτι δ' έπτα το καλούσι τωνς ολιγαρχίαν. ληπτέον δὲ μιων πολί τωντικ ττο μετολού πάντα τὰ δημοτικά και τὰ δο-THE TAI, ALLENANTING MEDADUSEY EX YOU TOUTON OUNTI-Sension The Tip hyunkautian siby ylverbai rumbaives, xal # πλεικώς Δίροκε επτικς μικς είναι και διαφόρους. δύο γάρ είσιν αίτιαι δι άτπες πι δημεκρατίου πλείους είσί, πρώτον μον ή λεχθείσα πρότερος, ότι διάφοροι οι δήμοι γίνεται γάρ το μέν γεωργικών πλέρος, το δε βάναυσον και θητικόν του πρώτου το δευτέρο προσλαμβανομένου, καὶ τοῦ τρίτου πάλιν τως άμφοτέροις, οὐ μόνον διαφέρει τῷ βελτίω

Dammila huntimun

> 5 μη παιτα συντεθή, κ.τ.λ.] 'Tho combination be not in all points that of elements akin to the constitution.' "Sed sumpta & diversis et dissimilibus" is part of the comment of Victorius on the passage.

> 6 άρίστη ταις πόλεσικ] Spengel would read aipert moiais (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 much matter which of those two is adopted.

> nal ruitus kal tas anlas etenbunes συντόμως] Does this last verb govern

the two accusatives, or do they depend on karaskevá(eir? Perhaps the best way is to make them depend on κατασκευάζειν, and then let ἐπέλθωμεν συντόμως, and not δήλος precede the interrogative, 'but also let us briefly discuss the point how both these and the other forms are to be established.'

7 mas] 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.

S το δέ βάναυσον και θητικόν] In (IV.) 111. 2, the words are dyspecer Kal Haravov.

καὶ χείρω γίνεσθαι τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ μὴ τὴν Democraαυτήν. δευτέρα δε περί ης νῦν λέγομεν τὰ γὰρ ταῖς δη- binations. μοχρατίαις άκολουθούντα καὶ δοκούντα είναι τῆς πολιτείας οίχεῖα ταύτης ποιεῖ συντιθέμενα τὰς δημοκρατίας ἐτέρας τῆ μὲν γὰρ ἐλάττω, τῆ δ' ἀκολουθήσει πλείονα, τῆ δ' άπαντα ταῦτα. χρήσιμον δ' έκαστον αὐτῶν γνωρίζειν πρός τε τὸ κατασκευάζειν ην ἄν τις αὐτῶν τύχη βουλόμενος, και προς τας διορθώσεις. ζητοῦσι μεν γάρ οι τας το πολιτείας καθιστάντες άπαντα τὰ οἰκεῖα συναγαγεῖν πρὸς την ύπόθεσιν, άμαρτάνουσι δὲ τοῦτο ποιοῦντες." νυνὶ δὲ τὰ ἀξιώματα καὶ τὰ ἤθη καὶ ὧν ἐΦίενται λέγωμεν.

Υπόθεσις μεν οὖν τῆς δημοκρατικῆς πολιτείας ελευθερία. 2 τοῦτο γὰρ λέγειν εἰώθασιν, ως ἐν μόνη τῆ πολιτεία ταύτη Characterμετέχοντας ελευθερίας· τούτου γαρ στοχάζεσθαί Φασι πα- mocracy.

 καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὰς φθορὰς καὶ τὰς σωτηρίας τῶν πολιτειῶν εξρηται πρότερον Bekker.

9 mpds ras biophedess] 'For the reform of existing constitutions.'

10 πρδς την δπάθεσιν] depends on eixeia, '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. Hilaire's "grouper autour de leur principe."

As to the words καθάπερ, κ.τ.λ., which I have omitted from the text consistently with § 1, Spengel would retain them, reading έρουμεν βστερον for είρηται πρότερον. It seems quite the easier plan to get rid of them at once, though this leaves, it must be confessed, the passage very abrupt.

τὰ ἀξιώματα] 'The primary assumptions,' 'the fundamental principles,' in this sense, "les bases sur lesquelles," St. Hil.

τὰ ήθη] Compare V. (VIII.) 1, 2, τὸ γὰρ ήθυς τῆς πολιτείας έκάστης. 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 τὰ ήθη simply expresses the fact that as there are several constitutions, there will be several characters. The amplest discussion of the character of democracy in particular, is that given by M. De Tocqueville in his Démocratie en Amérique.

II. I ὑπόθεσιε] I do not think any distinction need be drawn between this word and τὰ ἀξιώματα of the last chapter for any practical result. Υπόθεσις is not the 'Idea' in Coleridge's sense of the word, but 'the primary assumption on which the given constitution is based.'

τοῦτο γάρ, 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.'

Chamatan can in mineration. Eleubemas de én men ti én mépel apποσπος. γετόαι και άιχεα. Και γαι τι υκκια το δημοτικόν τό girto tyen ber zer andalo bille pi zer afian, rourou ό έντις τυν έκκαιοι τι τλάνος άναγκαιο είναι κύριον, καὶ δ रा के रेस्ट्रेंग रास्ट्रे रस्ट्रेंगर रागेर होना प्रयो रहेरेक प्रयो रागेर हीग्या THE LEASE. CASH 722 YES TOW EVEN EXCEPTED TON HOLITON. dere de rais de manariais especiales ancherépous elvai tous UTIONS TWO EITIONS TRAINS THE ENGL MICHO OF TO TOIS ง สาร์เทา เกรื่อง. อา นอง บาก รจิง อังอากอย่อง ธานะถึงง รอบัรอ, όν τίρενται πάντες οἱ ότιμετικώ τῆς πελιτείας όρου, ἐν δὲ τὸ ζην ως βρίλεται τις τεύτο γαι της ελευθερίας έργον είναι , Φασιν, είπερ του δούλου έντος το ζην μή τος βούλεται. της μέν ών δημοκρατίας δρος εύτος δεύτερος εντεύθεν δ' έλήλυθε τὸ μη άρχεσθαι, μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ μηθενός, εἰ δὲ μή, κατά μέρος. καὶ συμβάλλεται ταύτη πρὸς την έλευθερίαν την ς κατά το ίσον. Τούτων δ' ύποκειμένων καὶ τοιαύτης ούσης τῆς άρχῆς τὰ τοιαῦτα δημοτικά, τὸ αἰρεῖσθαι τὰς άρχὰς πάντας έχ πάντων, τὸ ἄρχειν πάντας μεν έχάστου, έχαστον ι εν μέρει πάντων, τὸ κληρωτὰς είναι τὰς ἀρχὰς ἡ πάσας ἡ δσαι μὴ ἐμπειρίας δέονται καὶ τέχνης, τὸ μὴ ἀπὸ τιμήματος

μηθενός είναι τὰς ἀρχὰς ή ὅτι μικροτάτου, τὸ μὴ δὶς τὸν

2 το δίκαιον το δημοτικόν] 'Justice in the democratical sense.'

τοι̂s πλείοσι] 'To the greater number.'

τοῦτ' εἰναι καὶ τέλος] Is this: 'this should hold good, and be final'? If the καί is kept, I do not well see what clue to make of it.

3 the modificial spor] 'the proper limit or characteristic.'

" le propre," 'the true object,'

4 δεύτεροτ] I place a colon after δεύτεροτ, and take away the full stop after μέρος. 'From this last character-

istic of democracy comes the feeling of the citizens in such a state against every exercise of authority over them; if they cannot secure this, then they accept as the next best theory, an authority which they exercise and submit to in turns, and herein this second characteristic conspires to forward the other, the liberty based in equality.'

5 ὑποκειμένων] Sc. these ὑποθέσεις.

 $\tau \hat{\eta} s \ \delta \rho \chi \hat{\eta} s$] Is this 'the principle from which we start?' or may the word not have quite a different meaning, 'such being the character of the power exercised in a democratical government?' I incline to this latter sense.

αὐτὸν ἄρχειν μηδεμίαν η ολιγάκις η ολίγας έξω τῶν κατὰ Characterπόλεμον, τὸ ολιγογρονίους τὰς ἀρχὰς ἢ πάσας ἢ ὅσας ἐνδέ- mocracy. γεται, τὸ δικάζειν πάντας καὶ ἐκ πάντων καὶ περὶ πάντων ἢ περί τῶν πλείστων καὶ τῶν κυριωτάτων, οἶον περὶ εὐθυνῶν καλ πολιτείας καλ τῶν ἰδίων συναλλαγμάτων, τὸ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κυρίαν είναι πάντων ή τῶν μεγίστων ἀρχὴν δὲ μηδε- 15 παρτίων μίαν μηθενός ή ετι όλιγίστων χυρίαν. των δ' άρχων δημο-6 τικώτατον βουλή, όπου μη μισθοῦ εὐπορία πᾶσιν ἐνταῦθα γάρ άφαιρούνται καὶ ταύτης της άρχης την δύναμιν είς αύτον γαρ ανάγει τας κρίσεις πάσας ο δημος εύποριον μισθού, καθάπερ είρηται πρότερον έν τῆ μεθόδω τῆ πρὸ ταύτης. ἔπειτα τὸ μισθοφορεῖν, μάλιστα μὲν πάντας, ἐκκλησίαν δικαστήρια ἀρχάς, εἰ δὲ μή, τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια και την βουλην και τας έκκλησίας τας κυρίας, η τῶν ἀρχῶν ᾶς ἀνάγκη συσσιτεῖν μετ' ἀλλήλων. ἔτι ἐπειδὴ όλιγαρχία καὶ γένει καὶ πλούτω καὶ παιδεία δρίζεται, τὰ δημοτικά δοκεῖ τάναντία τούτων είναι, άγένεια πενία βαναυσία. ἔτιο δὲ τῶν ἀρχῶν τὸ μηδεμίαν ἀίδιον είναι ἐὰν δέ 8 1218

καὶ τῶν μεγίστων Bekker.
 Bekker's order places ἢ τῶν μεγίστων after ὅτι ὁλιγίστων.
 ἐπί Bokker.

δικάζειν πάντας καὶ ἐκ πάντων] It would seem that we ought to substitute ή for καὶ before ἐκ πάντων.

καὶ τῶν μεγίστων] This is super-

τὸ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, κ.τ.λ.] The order in the text seems to me better than that retained by Bekker, and given at the foot.

6 μισθοῦ εὐπορία] Compare VI. (IV.) xv. 13, note.

ἐνταῦθα γάρ] 'Where there is.'

 $\tau \hat{\eta}$ $\mu \epsilon \theta \delta \delta \phi$ $\tau \hat{\eta}$ $\pi \rho \delta$ $\tau a \delta \tau \eta s$] The reference is to VI. (IV.) xv., but no inference could well be founded on it as to the order of Books VII. VIII. (VI. V.).

7 παιδεία] Is not, strictly speaking, a characteristic of δλιγαρχία, but of

άριστοκρατία, compare VI. (IV.) viii. ix. 3. It is the last-quoted section that explains his language here, διά τὸ μάλλον ἀκολουθεῖν παιδείαν τοῖς εὐπορωτέροις.

Barawoia] The weria 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.

8 \$\(\epsilon\it\) \(\epsilon\) is far better, I think.

Character- τις καταλειφθή εξ άρχαίας μεταβολής, τότε περιαιρείσθαι intics of demorrors την δύναμιν αυτής και εξ αίρετων κληρωτούς ποιείν. τὰ μεν

πίσε στο democracy.

την δύναμιν αὐτης καὶ ἐξ αἰρετῶν κληρωτοὺς ποιείν. τὰ μὲν

ο οὖν κοινὰ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ταῦτ' ἐστί, συμβαίνει δ' ἐκ τοῦ
δικαίου τοῦ ὁμολογουμένου εἶναι δημοκρατικοῦ (τοῦτο δ'
ἐστὶ τὸ ἴσον ἔχειν ἄπαντας κατ' ἀριθμόν) ἡ μάλιστ' εἶναι
δοκοῦσα δημοκρατία καὶ δημος· ἴσον γὰρ τὸ μηθὲν μᾶλλον
ἄρχειν τοὺς ἀπόρους ἡ τοὺς εὐπόρους, μηδὲ κυρίους εἶναι
μόνους ἀλλὰ πάντας ἐξ ἴσου κατ' ἀριθμόν· οὕτω γὰρ ἀν
ὑπάρχειν νομίζοιεν τὴν τ' ἰσότητα τῆ πολιτεία καὶ τὴν
ἐλευθερίαν.

Democratical equality. Τὸ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀπορεῖται πῶς ἔξουσι τὸ ἴσον, πότερον δεῖ τὰ τιμήματα διελεῖν χιλίοις τὰ τῶν πεντακοσίων καὶ τοὺς χιλίους ἴσον δύνασθαι τοῖς πεντακοσίοις, ἡ οὐχ οὕτω δεὶ τιθέναι τὴν κατὰ τοῦτο ἰσότητα, ἀλλὰ διελεῖν μὲν οὕτως, ἔπειτα ἐκ τῶν πεντακοσίων ἴσους λαβόντα καὶ ἐκ τῶν χιλίων, τούτους κυρίους εἶναι τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν καὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων.

• διαφέσων Βokker.

περιαιρεῖσθαι] '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 μηθὰν μᾶλλον This is the passage quoted in the note on VI. (IV.) rv. 22, to which it is sufficient to refer the reader.

III. 1 τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο] 'The next point after this presents a difficulty.'

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, adopting the division given above, to take an equal number out of both bodies, the 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 διελεῦν χιλίοις τὰ τῶν πεντακοσίων, "répartir de manière que," St. Hil.

διαφέσεων] This word again is difficult. Stahr makes no change, but, with Sepulveda, 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. x1. 8. Victorius reads alpéreur in the sense of elections. I prefer apxaipeorain, the reading adopted by St. Hilaire and Lambinus, Tur τε αίρέσεων would make a very good reading. Of course, if διαιρέσεων 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 οξν αύτη ή πολιτεία δικαιοτάτη κατά τὸ δημοτικὸν Democraδίκαιον, ή μάλλον ή κατά τὸ πληθος; Φασί γορ οἱ δημο- equality. τικοί τοῦτο δίκαιον ε τι αν δόξη τοῖς πλείοσιν, οἱ δ' όλι- γαρχικοί ο τι αν δόξη τη πλείονι οὐσία κατά πληθος γάρ ούσίας φασί κρίνεσθαι δείν. Έχει δ' άμφότερα άνισότητα 3 καὶ ἀδικίαν εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὅ τι ᾶν οἱ ὀλίγοι, τυραννίς (καὶ γὰρ ΄ έαν είς έχη πλείω τῶν ἄλλων εὐπόρων, κατα τὸ όλιγαρχικὸν δίκαιον άρχειν δίκαιος μόνος), εὶ δ' δ' τι αν οἱ πλείους κατ' άριθμόν, άδικήσουσι δημεύοντες τὰ τῶν πλουσίων καὶ ἐλαττόνων, καθάπερ είρηται πρότερον. τίς αν οδν είη ἰσότης ήν 4 όμολογήσουσιν άμφότεροι, σκεπτέον έξ ών δρίζονται δικαίων άμφότεροι. λέγουσι γάρ ώς δ τι άν δόξη τοῖς πλείοσι τῶν πολιτῶν, τοῦτ' είναι δεῖ κύριον. ἔστω δὴ τοῦτο, μὴ μέντοι πάντως, άλλ' ἐπειδη δύο μέρη τετύχηκεν ἐξ ὧν ή πόλις, πλούσιοι και πένητες, ο τι αν αμφοτέροις δόξη ή τοῖς πλείοσι, τοῦτο κύριον ἔστω, ἐὰν δὲ τάναντία δόξη, δ τι αν οί πλείους και ών το τίμημα πλείον. οίον οι μεν δέκα οίς δ είκοσιν, έδοξε δε τῶν μεν πλουσίων τοῖς έξ, τῶν δ ἀπορωτέρων τοῖς πεντεκαίδεκα προσγεγένηνται τοῖς μέν πένησι τέτταρες τῶν πλουσίων, τοῖς δὲ πλουσίοις πέντε τῶν πενή-

2 ἡ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος] 'That which looks to number exclusively.'

κρίνεσθαι] 'Amount of property, they say, must be taken as the standard.'

3 àdiciar] 'unfairness.'

ruparuls] It is in principle a tyranny. This point is discussed at greater length, III. XIII. 7.

δημεύοντες Compare III. x. I.

4 δμολογήσουσισ] 'which both alike will acquiesce in, and this must be gathered by booking at the definitions which both alike give of justice,' or 'the definition of justice in which both alike agree.'

ξστω δη τεῦτο, κ.τ.λ.] 'Be it so then, only let us limit the mode in which it is to be.' ol πλείους, κ.τ.λ.] 'The side on which you find number and larger proporty combined.' Compare Nieb. Rom. Hist. 1. 434, note 1017.

5 olov, κ.τ.λ.] I take the following explanation in substance from Sir G. Cornewall 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.

³ τι &ν ἀμφοτέροι: The stress is, as before, on ἀμφοτέροι, 'what both together shall determine, or the majority of both.'

combinaelements of oligarchy, &c.

Different δικαστήρια άριστοκρατικώς, ή ταῦτα μὲν καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸ tions of the βουλευόμενον όλιγαρχικῶς, άριστοκρατικῶς δὲ τὸ περὶ τὰς democracy, άρχαιρεσίας, ή κατ' άλλον τινά τρόπον μή πάντα συντεθή τὰ τῆς πολιτείας οἰκεῖα. Ποία μὲν οὖν δημοκρατία πρὸς ποίαν άρμόττει πόλιν, ώσαύτως δε καλ ποία τῶν ὀλιγαρχιῶν ποίω πλήθει, και των λοιπών δε πολιτειών τίς συμφέρει 6 τίσιν, είρηται πρότερον. δμως δε δεί γενέσθαι δήλον μή μόνον ποία τούτων των πολιτειών αρίστη ταῖς πόλεσιν, άλλὰ καὶ πῶς δεῖ κατασκευάζειν καὶ ταύτας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας έπέλθωμεν συντόμως. και πρώτον περί δημοκρατίας είπωμεν άμα γὰρ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀντικειμένης πολιτείας Φανερόν, 7 αυτη δ' εστίν ήν καλουσί τινες ολιγαργίαν. ληπτέον δε tical com- πρὸς ταύτην τὴν μέθοδον πάντα τὰ δημοτικά καὶ τὰ δοκούντα ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ἀκολουθεῖν εκ γὰρ τούτων συντιθεμένων τὰ τῆς δημοκρατίας είδη γίνεσθαι συμβαίνει, καλ 8 πλείους δημοκρατίας μιᾶς είναι καὶ διαφόρους. δύο γάρ είσιν αίτίαι δι' άσπερ αί δημοκρατίαι πλείους είσί, πρώτον μεν ή λεχθείσα πρότερον, ότι διάφοροι οἱ δημοι· γίνεται γάρ το μεν γεωργικου πληθος, το δε βάναυσον και θητικόν . ὧν τοῦ πρώτου τῷ δευτέρῳ προσλαμβανομένου, καὶ τοῦ τρίτου πάλιν τους άμφοτέροις, ου μόνον διαφέρει το βελτίο

binations.

5 μ \hbar πάιτα συντεθ $\hat{\eta}$, κ.τ.λ.] 'The combination be not in all points that of elements akin to the constitution.' "Sed sumpta è diversis et dissimilibus" is part of the comment of Victorius on the passage.

6 αρίστη ται̂s πόλεσιν] Spengel would read alpert wolars (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 much matter which of these two is adopted.

καὶ ταύτας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπέλθωμεν 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 ἐπέλθωμεν συντόμωs; and not δήλω, precede the interrogative, 'but also let us briefly discuss the point how both these and the other forms are to be established.'

7 μῶs] 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 τὸ δὲ βάναυσον καὶ θητικόν] In (IV.) III. 2, the words are αγοραίον καὶ βάναυσον,

καὶ χείρο γίνεσθαι την δημοκρατίαν, αλλά και το μη την Democraαυτήν. δευτέρα δε περί της νών λέγομεν τα γας ταις δη- binations. μοχρατίαις άχολουδούντα και δοκούντα είναι της κολιτείας olneia tautie roe emiliene tat onuneration eteras. דק עצי אמף באמדדם, דק ל מאטי מטלוקסבו אובושים, דק ל' απαντα ταυτα. χρήσιμου δ ξκαστου αυτών γνωρίζευ πρός τε τὸ κατασκευάζειν ἡν τις αὐτῶν τύχη βουλύμενος, καὶ πρὸς τὰς διωρθώσεις. ζητοῦσι μέν γὰς οἱ τὰς το πολιτείας καθιστάντες άπαντα τὰ ώκεῖα συναγαγείν ποὺς την υπόθεσα, άμαρτάνουσι δε τούτο ποιούντες. ναι δε τὰ ἀξιώματα καὶ τὰ τίσι, καὶ των ἐψίενται λέγωμεν.

Υπόθεσις μέν ουν της δημοκρατικής πωντείας έλευθερία. 2 τοῦτο γὰρ λέγειν εἰκόνου, αις εν μίνη τη πωιτεία ταύτη istics of deμετέχοντας έλευθεμίας· τούτου γὰρ στοχάζεσθαί ζασι πά- mocracy.

· malteres de trais real très phopès mei très autiques très roluteur elogian Tporque Bekker.

form of existing constitutions."

10 mpls the builder or depends on eixeie, '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. Hilaire's "grouper autour de leur principe."

As to the words assisted, a.t.A., which I have omitted from the text consistently with & 1, Spengel would retain them, reading έρουμεν δοτεραν for degree weekers. It seems quite the easier plan to get rid of them at once, though this leaves, it must be confessed, the passage very abrupt.

та абышта] 'The primary аввишрtions,' 'the fundamental principles,' in this sense, "les bases sur lesquelles," St. Hil.

τὰ 46η] Compare V. (VIII.) 1, 2, το γορ τους της πολιτείας έκαστης. The different character required by

9 webs was Supplioners For the re- 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 TR 500 simply expresses the fact that as there are several constitutions, there will be several characters. The amplest discussion of the character of demoeracy in particular, is that given by M. De Toequeville in his Démocratic en Americae.

> IL 1 frifers] I do not think any distinction need be drawn between this word and và à ¿i épara of the last chapter for any practical result. Twoders is not the 'Idea' in Coloridge's sense of the word, but 'the primary assumption on which the given constitution

> τούτο γάρ, 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.

> > £ Z

Character- σαν δημοκρατίαν. ἐλευθερίας δὲ εν μὲν τὸ ἐν μέρει ἄρistics of democracy. χεσθαι καὶ άρχειν. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ δίκαιον τὸ δημοτικὸν τὸ - Ισον έχειν έστι κατ' άριθμον άλλα μη κατ' άξίαν, τούτου δ' όντος τοῦ δικαίου τὸ πληθος ἀναγκαῖον είναι κύριον, καὶ δ τι αν δόξη τοῖς πλείοσι, τοῦτ' είναι καὶ τέλος καὶ τοῦτ' είναι τὸ δίκαιον Φασὶ γὰρ δεῖν Ισον ἔχειν ἔκαστον τῶν πολιτῶν. ώστε εν ταις δημοκρατίαις συμβαίνει κυριωτέρους είναι τους άπόρους τῶν εὐπόρων πλείους γὰρ εἰσι, χύριον δὲ τὸ τοῖς] 3 πλείοσι δόξαν. Εν μεν οδν της ελευθερίας σημεῖον τοῦτο, ον τίθενται πάντες οι δημοτικοί της πολιτείας υρον, εν δε το ζην ως βούλεταί τις τοῦτο γάρ της έλευθερίας έργον είναί · Φασιν, είπερ τοῦ δούλου όντος τὸ ζῆν μὴ ώς βούλεται. τῆς μεν ουν δημοκρατίας υρος ουτος δεύτερος εντεύθεν δ' ελήλυθε τὸ μὴ ἄρχεσθαι, μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ μηθενός, εἰ δὲ μή, κατὰ μέρος. καὶ συμβάλλεται ταύτη πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τὴν ς κατά τὸ ἴσον. Τούτων δ' ὑποκειμένων καὶ τοιαύτης οὖσης της άρχης τὰ τοιαῦτα δημοτικά, τὸ αίρεῖσθαι τὰς άρχὰς πάντας ἐκ πάντων, τὸ ἄρχειν πάντας μὲν ἑκάστου, ἔκαστον δ' εν μέρει πάντων, τὸ κληρωτὰς είναι τὰς ἀρχὰς ἡ πάσας ἡ δσαι μὴ ἐμπειρίας δέονται καὶ τέχνης, τὸ μὴ ἀπὸ τιμήματος μηθενός είναι τὰς ἀρχὰς ἢ ὅτι μικροτάτου, τὸ μὴ δὶς τὸν

> ξν μέν] 'one characteristic,' 'one point.'

> 2 τὸ δίκαιον τὸ δημοτικόν] 'Justice in the democratical sense.'

> τοιs πλείοσι] 'To the greater num-

τοῦτ' είναι καὶ τέλος] Is this: 'this should hold good, and be final'? If the rai is kept, I do not well see what else to make of it.

3 της πολιτείας δρον] 'the proper limit or characteristic.'

έργον] "le propre," 'the true ob-

4 δεύτερος] I place a colon after δεύτερος, and take away the full stop From this last characteristic of democracy comes the feeling of the citizens in such a state against every exercise of authority over them; if they cannot secure this, then they accept as the next best theory, an authority which they exercise and submit to in turns, and herein this second characteristic conspires to forward the other, the liberty based in

5 ὑποκειμένων] Sc. these ὑποθέσεις.

 $\tau \hat{\eta} s \ \hat{\alpha} \rho \chi \hat{\eta} s$] Is this 'the principle from which we start?' or may the word not have quite a different meaning, 'such being the character of the power exercised in a democratical government?' I incline to this latter sense.

αὐτὸν ἄρχειν μηδεμίαν η ὀλιγάκις η ὀλίγας ἔξω τῶν κατὰ Characterπόλεμον, τὸ ὀλιγοχρονίους τὰς ἀρχὰς η πάσας η ὅσας ἐνδέ- mocracy. γεται, τὸ δικάζειν πάντας καὶ ἐκ πάντων καὶ περὶ πάντων ἢ περί τῶν πλείστων αλ τῶν χυριωτάτων, οίον περί εὐθυνῶν καλ πολιτείας καλ τῶν ἰδίων συναλλαγμάτων, τὸ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κυρίαν είναι πάντων ή των μεγίστων άρχην δε μηδε- 15 βραντικές μίαν μηθενός ή δτι όλιγίστων χυρίαν. τῶν δ' ἀρχῶν δημο-6 τικώτατον βουλή, όπου μη μισθοῦ εὐπορία πᾶσιν: ἐνταῦθα γάρ άφαιρούνται καὶ ταύτης τῆς άρχῆς τὴν δύναμιν εἰς αύτὸν γὰρ ἀνάγει τὰς κρίσεις πάσας ὁ δῆμος εὐπορῶν μισθοῦ, καθάπερ είρηται πρότερον ἐν τῆ μεθόδιο τῆ πρὸ έπειτα το μισθοφορείν, μάλιστα μέν πάντας, ἐκκλησίαν δικαστήρια ἀρχάς, εἰ δὲ μή, τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια και την βουλην και τας έκκλησίας τας κυρίας, η τῶν ἀρχῶν ᾶς ἀνάγκη συσσιτεῖν μετ' ἀλλήλων. ἔτι ἐπειδὴ όλιγαρχία καὶ γένει καὶ πλούτω καὶ παιδεία δρίζεται, τὰ δημοτικά δοκεῖ τάναντία τούτων είναι, άγένεια πενία βαναυσία. ἔτιο δε των άρχων το μηδεμίαν άίδιον είναι εάν δέ 8 1218

καὶ τῶν μεγίστων Bekker.

Bekker's order places ή τῶν μεγίστων after ὅτι ὀλιγίστων. · ἐπί Bekker.

δικάζειν πάντας και έκ πάντων] It would seem that we ought to substitute ή for και before ἐκ πάντων.

καὶ τῶν μεγίστων | This is superfluous.

τὸ την ἐκκλησίαν, κ.τ.λ.] The order in the text seems to me better than that retained by Bekker, and given at the foot.

6 μισθοῦ εὐπορία] Compare VI. (IV.) xv. 13, note.

ἐνταῦθα γάρ] 'Where there is.'

τη μεθόδφ τη πρό ταύτης] The reference is to VI. (IV.) xv., but no inference could well be founded on it as to the order of Books VII. VIII. (VI. V.).

7 maideia Is not, strictly speaking, a characteristic of δλιγαρχία, but of αριστοκρατία, compare VI. (IV.) viii. ix. 3. It is the last-quoted section that explains his language here, διά τὸ μάλλον ἀκολουθεῖν παιδείαν τοῖς εὐπορωτέροις.

βαναυσία] The πενία 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.

8 ἔτι] ἐπί may stand, but ἔτι is far better, I think.

Character- τις καταλειφής εξ άρχαίας μεταβολής, τότε περιαιρεῖσθαι istics of democracy.

τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς καὶ εξ αἰρετῶν κληρωτοὺς ποιεῖν. τὰ μὲν οὖν κοινὰ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ταῦτ ἐστί, συμβαίνει δ' ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου τοῦ ὁμολογουμένου εἶναι δημοκρατικοῦ (τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἴσον ἔχειν ἄπαντας κατ' ἀριθμόν) ἡ μάλιστ' εἶναι δοκοῦσα δημοκρατία καὶ δῆμος τόσον γὰρ τὸ μηθὲν μᾶλλον ἄρχειν τοὺς ἀπόρους ἡ τοὺς εὐπόρους, μηδὲ κυρίους εἶναι μόνους ἀλλὰ πάντας ἐξ ἴσου κατ' ἀριθμόν οὖτω γὰρ ἀν ὑπάρχειν νομίζοιεν τὴν τ' ἰσότητα τῆ πολιτεία καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.

Democratical equality.

Τὸ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀπορεῖται πῶς ἔξουσι τὸ ἴσον, πότερον δεῖ τὰ τιμήματα διελεῖν χιλίοις τὰ τῶν πεντακοσίων ι
καὶ τοὺς χιλίους ἴσον δύνασθαι τοῖς πεντακοσίοις, ἡ οὐχ οὕτω
δεὶ τιθέναι τὴν κατὰ τοῦτο ἰσότητα, ἀλλὰ διελεῖν μὲν οὕτως,
ἔπειτα ἐκ τῶν πεντακοσίων ἴσους λαβόντα καὶ ἐκ τῶν χιλίων,
τούτους κυρίους εἶναι τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν * καὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων.

· διαιρέσεων Bekker.

περιαιρεῖσθαι] '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 μηθὰν μᾶλλον] This is the passage quoted in the note on VI. (IV.) IV. 22, to which it is sufficient to refer the reader.

III. 1 τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο] 'The next point after this presents a difficulty.'

wôrepow def] 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 ual 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 διελεῦν χιλίοις τὰ τῶν πεντακοσίων, "répartir de manière que," St. Hil.

διαφέσεων] This word again is difficult. Stahr makes no change, but, with Sepulveda, 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. x1. 8. Victorius reads alpέσεων in the sense of elections. I prefer apxaipeorav, the reading adopted by St. Hilaire and Lambinus. Two τε αίρέσεων would make a very good reading. Of course, if διαιρέσεων 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 οξν αθτη ή πολιτεία δικαιοτάτη κατά τὸ δημοτικὸν Democraδίκαιον, ή μάλλον ή κατά τὸ πληθος; Φασὶ γὸρ οἱ δημο- equality. τικοί τοῦτο δίκαιον ζ τι αν δόξη τοῖς πλείοσιν, οἱ δ' όλιγαρχικοί ο τι αν δόξη τη πλείονι οὐσία κατά πληθος γάρ ούσίας φασί κρίνεσθαι δεῖν. ἔχει δ' άμφότερα άνισότητα 3 καὶ ἀδικίαν εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὅ τι ᾶν οἱ ὀλίγοι, τυραννίς (καὶ γὰρ έαν είς έγη πλείω των άλλων εύπόρων, κατά τὸ όλιγαργικόν δίκαιον ἄρχειν δίκαιος μόνος), εὶ δ' ὅ τι αν οἱ πλείους κατ' άριθμόν, άδικήσουσι δημεύοντες τὰ τῶν πλουσίων καὶ ἐλαττόνων, καθάπερ είρηται πρότερον. τίς αν οὖν είη ἰσότης ἡν 4 όμολογήσουσιν αμφότεροι, σκεπτέον έξ ων δρίζονται δικαίων άμφότεροι. λέγουσι γάρ ώς δ τι άν δόξη, τοῖς πλείοσι τῶν πολιτῶν, τοῦτ' είναι δεῖ κύριον. ἔστω δὴ τοῦτο, μὴ μέντοι πάντως, άλλ' ἐπειδη δύο μέρη τετύχηκεν ἐξ ὧν ή πόλις, πλούσιοι καὶ πένητες, ο τι αν αμφοτέροις δόξη ή τοῖς πλείοσι, τοῦτο κύριον ἔστω, ἐὰν δὲ τάναντία δόξη, ὅ τι αν 🖖 🚟 οί πλείους καὶ ὧν τὸ τίμημα πλεῖον. οἶον οἱ μὲν δέκα οἱς δ' είκοσιν, έδοξε δε τῶν μεν πλουσίων τοῖς έξ, τῶν δ' ἀπορωτέρων τοῖς πεντεκαίδεκα προσγεγένηνται τοῖς μεν πένησι τέτταρες τῶν πλουσίων, τοῖς δὲ πλουσίοις πέντε τῶν πενή-

2 ἡ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος] 'That which looks to number exclusively.'

κρίνεσθαι] 'Amount of property, they say, must be taken as the standard.'

3 àdiklar] 'unfairness.'

τυραννίs] It is in principle a tyranny. This point is discussed at greater length, III. xIII. 7.

δημεύοντες Compare III. x. I.

4 δμολογήσουσισ] 'which both alike will acquiesce in, and this must be gathered by looking at the definitions which both alike give of justice,' or 'the definition of justice in which both alike agree.'

έστω δή τοῦτο, κ.τ.λ.] 'Be it so then, only let us limit the mode in which it is to be.'

ol πλείους, κ.τ.λ.] 'The side on which you find number and larger property combined.' Compare Nieb. Rom. Hist. 1. 434, note 1017.

5 olov, κ.τ.λ.] I take the following explanation in substance from Sir G. Cornewall 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.

⁵ τι δυ ἀμφοτέροις] The stress is, as before, on ἀμφοτέροις, 'what both together shall determine, or the majority of both.'

οποτέρων οδη το τίμημα υπερτείνει συναριθμουμένων Democra- Twy. equality. άμφοτέρων έκατέροις, τοῦτο κύριον. ἐὰν δὲ ἴσοι συμπέ-6 σωσι, κοινήν είναι ταύτην νομιστέον άπορίαν ώσπερ νῦν, εάν 1318 Β δίχα ή έκκλησία γένηται η τὸ δικαστήριον ή γὰρ ἀποκληρωτέον ή άλλο τι τοιούτον ποιητέον. άλλά περί μέν τοῦ ໃσου καλ τοῦ δικαίου, καν ή πάνυ γαλεπον εύρεῖν την άλή-| θειαν περί αὐτῶν, ὅμως ῥᾶον τυχεῖν ἡ συμπεῖσαι τοὺς δυναμένους πλεονεκτείν άει γάρ ζητοῦσι τὸ ίσον και τὸ δίκαιον οί ήττους, οί δε κρατούντες ούδεν Φροντίζουσιν.

Δημοκρατιών δ' οὐσῶν τεττάρων βελτίστη μεν ή πρώτη The formation of the τάξει, καθάπερ εν τοῖς πρὸ τούτων ελέχθη λόγοις εστι δὲ best kind of καὶ ἀρχαιοτάτη πασῶν αὕτη. λέγω δὲ πρώτην ώσπερ ἄν τις διέλοι τοὺς δήμους. βέλτιστος γὰρ δημος ὁ γεωργικός έστιν, ωστε καί ποιείν ενδέχεται δημοκρατίαν, δπου ζή τὸ 2 πληθος ἀπὸ γεωργίας η νομής. διὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ μη πολλην ούσίαν έχεικ ἄσχολος, ώστε μή πολλάκις έκκλησιάζειν : διὰ δὲ τὸλ ἔχειν τἀναγκαῖα πρὸς τοῖς ἔργοις διατρίβουσι μή Bekker.

> συναριθμουμέτων, κ.τ.λ.] 'Both rich and poor being reckened in on either side respectively.'

> 6 ίσοι συμπέσωσι] 'If they chance to come out equal.'

> ἀποκληρωτέον] must exclude by lot as in VI. (VI.) xIV. 13.

άλλα περί μέν του ίσου και του Sikolou] '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 It is ever the on their neighbours. weaker who seek for justice, whilst the strong wholly neglect it.' Compare Thucy. v. 89-105.

IV. 1 rafei] 'in position.' πρό τούτων] See 11. 6, τῆ μεθόδφ τῆ πρό ταύτης.

ώσπερ αν τις διέλοι τους δήμους] |

'adopting the division of the dipos, and making the constitutions in which they are supreme correspond in order with the order established among them.'

βέλτιστος] and as such πρώτος, and the δημοκρατία in which it is supreme will therefore be βελτίστη and so πρῶτη.

ωστε καὶ ποιείν] 'So that you can without difficulty make a democracy,' or 'you can make a democracy which shall be worth something.'

νομηs] below, § 11.

2 τὸ μὴ ἔχειν] The editors and commentators suffer this μh to stand quietly, but it seems to me that it ought to be omitted, in fact that with it the passage is contradictory. 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



καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων οὐκ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ήδιον τὸ ἐργά- The formaζεσθαι τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ ἄρχειν, ὅπου αν μὴ ἢ λήμματα best kind of μεγάλα ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχῶν. οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ μᾶλλον ὀρέγονται τοῦ κέρδους ή τῆς τιμῆς. σημεῖον δέ καὶ γὰρ τὰς ἀρ 3 γαίας τυραννίδας υπέμενον και τας όλιγαρχίας υπομένουσιν, έάν τις αὐτοὺς ἐργάζεσθαι μὴ κωλύη μηδ' ἀφαιρῆται μηθέν• ταχέως γάρ οι μεν πλουτοῦσιν αὐτῶν, οι δ' οὐκ ἀποροῦσιν. ἔτι δὲ τὸ κυρίους είναι τοῦ ἐλέσθαι καὶ εὐθύνειν ἀναπληροῖ 4 την ενδειαν, εί τι Φιλοτιμίας έχουσιν, έπει παρ' ένίοις δήμοις, κάν μή μετέχωσι της αίρέσεως τῶν ἀρχῶν ἀλλά τινες, αίρετοί κατά μέρος έκ πάντων, ώσπερ έν Μαντινεία, τοῦ δὲ βουλεύεσθαι κύριοι ὦσιν, ἱκανῶς ἔχει τοῖς πολλοῖς. καὶ δεῖ νομί- 5 ζειν καὶ τοῦτ' είναι σχημά τι δημοκρατίας, ώσπερ ἐν Μαντινεία ποτ' ήν. διὸ δη καὶ συμφέρον ἐστὶ τῆ πρότερον ρηθείση δημοκρατία καὶ ὑπάρχειν εἴωθεν, αἰρεῖσθαι μὲν τὰς άρχας και εύθύνειν και δικάζειν πάντας, άρχειν δε τας μεγίστας αίρετους και ἀπὸ τιμημάτων, τὰς μείζους ἀπὸ μειζόνων, ή καὶ ἀπὸ τιμημάτων μὲν μηδεμίαν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς δυναμένους. ἀνάγκη δὲ πολιτευομένους οὖτω πολιτεύεσθαι κα- 6 λώς (αί τε γάρ άρχαι άει διά των βελτίστων έσονται, τοῦ δήμου βουλομένου καὶ τοῖς ἐπιεικέσιν οὐ Φθονοῦντος) καὶ τοῖς ἐπιεικέσι καὶ γνωρίμοις ἀρκοῦσαν είναι ταύτην τὴν

necessaries of life. It makes very good sense if the μh is omitted. 'The people has not much property, and therefore it cannot command leisure, but it has the necessaries 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, οὐσία βραχεῖα = τὰναγκαΐα and ἐργασία. Compare II. vii.

3 εάν τις αὐτούς, κ.τ.λ.] Compare for the same idea nearly VI. (IV.)

4 ἀναπληροῖ, κ.τ.λ.] 'Satisfies their want if they feel some ambition.'

èν Μαντινεία] Compare Grote x. 54. Mantinea, "so moderate in its democratical tendencies as to receive a favourable judgment."

5 τους δυναμένους] The enpacity 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 έργων των της άρχης. VIII. (V.)

6 διὰ τῶν βελτίστων] 'in the hands of the best.'

The forma- τάξιν άρξονται γάρ ούχ ὑπ' ἄλλων χειρόνων, καὶ ἄρξουσε tion of the book kind of δικαίως διά το των εύθυνων είναι κυρίους έτέρους. το γάς democracy επανακρέμασθαι, καὶ μὴ πᾶν ἐξεῖναι ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἀν δόξη, 1319 ⁷ συμφέρον ἐστίν· ή γὰρ ἐξουσία τοῦ πράττειν ὅ τι ἀν ἐθέλη τις οὐ δύναται Φυλάττειν τὸ ἐν ἐκάστω τῶν ἀνθρώπων Φαῦλον. ώστε άναγχαῖον συμβαίνειν ὅπερ ἐστὶν ωφελιμώτα-Τον εν ταϊς πολιτείαις, άρχειν τούς επιεικείς αναμαρτήτους · όντας, μηδεν ελαττουμένου τοῦ πλήθους. Οτι μεν οἶν αυτη των δημοκρατιών αρίστη, Φανέρον, και δια τίν αίτίαν, ότι δια τὸ ποιόν τινα είναι τὸν δημον πρὸς δὲ τὸ κατασκευάζειν γεωργόν τον δημον των τε νόμων τινές των παρά τοῖς πολλοῖς κειμένων τὸ ἀρχαῖον χρήσιμοι πάντες, ἡ τὸ όλως μη εξείναι κεκτησθαι πλείω γην μέτρου τινός ή από ο τινος τόπου πρός τὸ ἄστυ καὶ τὴν πόλιν. ἦν δὲ τό γε αρχαίον εν πολλαίς πόλεσι νενομοθετημένον μηδε πωλείν εξείναι τους πρώτους κλήρους. ἔστι δὲ καὶ δυ λέγουσιν

Όξύλου νόμον είναι τοιοῦτόν τι δυνάμενος, το μη δανείζειν

7 ***arampémaréa:] 'to be dependent,' 'relever de.' To be under control and to feel responsibility.

φυλάττειν] 'cannot check,' 'compross,' 'guard against,' for the middle souse appears. See Lobeck ad Phryn. 363.

μηθέν ελαττουμένου τοῦ πλήθους]
"genchmillert," Stahr; "avili et comprind," Mt. Hil. 'Without any loss
to the greater number,' is the translation I prefer. Or is it more subjective, as the two translations I have
quoted seem to make it? 'Without
the majority feeling itself unfairly
treated and shorn of its full rights,'
'Inimis in ordinem cogi.'

N var rdume) the ve of Bekker's test is whelly superfluous with the contest. The sest in § 9, fore \$6 sest in \$10 to the test in \$20 to the test i

I This is similar to the

enactments of the Licinian Laws.

dπό τωνος τόπου] The Greek is not very easy. The best way, perhaps, is to take it just as it stands. 'It was a law either that in no case at all should it be lawful to possess land beyond a certain quantity, or, if not so stringent as that, not beyond a certain quantity in a given district, that district determined by its position relatively to the city.' Why we have both τὸ ἄστυ καὶ τὴν πόλω I do not see. I see no ground for any distinction being required by the sense.

9 μηδέ τωλεῶ] Comp. II. VII. 6. 7.

Oxylus. On this law I cannot make out more than what is gained from this passage.

το μη δανείζειν] 'That it was not lawful to lend money on some specified portion of the original quantity of land owned by each.' The proprietor might borrow on the security, say, of half his



είς τι μέρος της ύπαρχούσης έκάστω γης. νῦν δε δεῖ διορ- The formaθοῦν καὶ τῷ ᾿ΑΦυταίων νόμιω πρὸς γὰρ ὁ λέγομεν ἐστὶ best kind of χρήσιμος. ἐκεῖνοι γάρ, καίπερ ὄντες πολλοὶ κεκτημένοι δὲ γῆν ὀλίγην, ὅμως πάντες γεωργοῦσιν· τιμῶνται γὰρ οὐχ το δλας τὰς κτήσεις, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τηλικαῦτα μόρια διαιροῦντες ωστ' έχειν ὑπερβάλλειν ταῖς τιμήσεσι καὶ τοὺς πένητας. μετά δε το γεωργικον πληθος βέλτιστος δημός έστιν όπου ιτ νομεῖς εἰσὶ καὶ ζῶσιν ἀπὸ βοσκημάτων· πολλὰ γὰρ ἔχει τῆ γεωργία παραπλησίως, κάι τὰ πρὸς τὰς πολεμικάς πράξεις μάλισθ ούτοι γεγυμνασμένοι τὰς έξεις καὶ χρήσιμοι τὰ σώματα καὶ δυνάμενοι θυραυλεῖν. τὰ δ' ἄλλα πλήθη πάντα 12 σχεδόν, έξ ών αι λοιπαί δημοκρατίαι συνεστάσι, πολλώ Φαυλότερα τούτων ὁ γὰρ βίος Φαῦλος, καὶ οὐθὲν ἔργον μετ' άρετης ών, μέταχειρίζεται το πληθος τό τε των βαναύσων και το των άγοραίων άνθρώπων και το θητικόν. Ετι 13 δὲ διὰ τὸ περί τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὸ ἄστυ κυλίεσθαι πᾶν τὸ τοιοῦτον γένος ώς εἰπεῖν ῥαδίως ἐκκλησιάζει οἱ δὲ γεωργοῦντες διὰ τὸ διεσπείρθαι κατὰ τὴν χώραν οὖτ' ἀπαντῶσιν οὖθ' ὁμοίως δέονται τῆς συνόδου ταύτης. ὅπου δὲ καὶ συμ. 14

land, but the other half must be kept clear of all incumbrance.

Aphyteans. The inhabitants of Aphytis in Pallene.

10 τιμώνται γάρ] 'They do not rate the whole of the property each owns,' small though that whole be, 'but they divide it, and rate such a small part of it that even the poor can meet the demand and pay the amount of their rate.' They are consequently free from the temptation to encumber the rest of their property, and so not liable to the great danger of small proprietors, that of having to sell their land to set themselves clear from their obligations. Such seems the meaning of the passage and the bearing of the law in question. We have not knowledge enough to be very confident on such points.

11 έχει] sc. ή νομά.

θυραυλεῖν] 'to bivouac,' and so keep the field. The remarks would apply to the Samnites.

12 obder typer mer' aperis] "keine der Beschäftigungen," Stahr. 'No one of the occupations on which the mass is engaged involves any moral excellence.' Compare for this strong adverse feeling towards the artisan and commercial class, I. XIII. 13, III. v.

μεταχειρίζεται] Thuc. 1. 138, 'have in their hands,' 'handle.'

13 κυλίεσθαι περὶ τὴν ἀγοράν] 'rolling,' 'lounging about,' 'circumforanei homines.' Compare Acts, xvII. 5, ἀγοραῖοι.

of θμοίως δέονται] 'Nor do they equally with a town population feel the want of this meeting.' This stronger social tendency of the latter is merely noticed as a fact, not dwelt on as an

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Tto forma- βαίνει την χώραν την θέσιν έχειν τοιαύτην ώστε την χώραν best kind of πολύ τῆς πόλεως ἀπηρτῆσθαι, ῥάδιον καὶ δημοκρατίαν ποιεῖdemocracy. σθαι χρηστην καὶ πολιτείαν ἀναγκάζεται γὰρ τὸ πληθος έπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀποικίας, ώστε δεῖ, κᾶν ἀγοραΐος όχλος ή, μη ποιείν εν ταίς δημοκρατίαις εκκλησίας 15 άνευ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν χώραν πλήθους. Πῶς μὲν οὖν δεῖ κατασκευάζειν την βελτίστην καὶ πρώτην δημοκρατίαν, εἴρηται. Φανερον δε και πῶς τὰς ἄλλας έπομένως γὰρ δεῖ παρεκ-Ι 1319 Β βαίνειν καὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἀεὶ πληθος χωρίζειν. την δὲ τελευταίαν, διὰ τὸ πάντας κοικυνεῖν, οὖτε πάσης ἐστὶ πόλεως Φέρειν, οὖτε ῥάδιον διαμένειν μη τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσιν 16 εὖ συγκειμένην. πρὸς δὲ τὸ καθιστάναι ταύτην τὴν δημοκρατίαν, και τὸν δημον ποιεῖν ἰσχυρὸν εἰώθασιν οἱ προεστῶτες τῷ προσλαμβάνειν τς πλείστους καὶ ποιεῖν πολίτας μη μόνον τους γνησίους άλλα και τους νόθους και τους έξ όποτερουοῦν πολίτου, λέγω δὲ οἶον πατρὸς ἢ μητρός ἄπαν

> ά δὲ φθείρειν συμβαίνει καὶ ταύτην καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πολιτείας, εἴρηται πρότερον τὰ πλεῖστα σχεδόν Bekker.

17 γαρ είκεῖον τοῦτο τῷ τοιούτῳ δήμῳ μᾶλλον. εἰώθασι μὲν

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.' ἀπηρτῆσθαι occurs in this sense in Demosthenes.

ποιείσθαι τὰς ἀποίκιας = ἀποικίζεσθαι]
'to make settlements in the country, as it were,' "Emigrer de la ville,"
St. Hil.

שמש' '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 Republic furnishes illustrations of the distinction between the town and the country population, and its important bearing on several of the political decisions.

15 ἐπομένως] "Servato ordine." 'They must deviate from the first and best

form in a regular, logical order,' with a due regard to logical consequence.' παρεκβαίνειν seems equivalent to παρεκβαίνειν seems equivalent to παρεκβαίσεις γίνεσθαι. Of course the subject changes in the case of χωρίζειν, which is strictly active.

τοις νόμοις και τοις ξθεσιν] 'In the laws and habits of the people.'

The concluding clause of this section 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 Spengel's remedy and change the past into the future tense, keeping the main part of the remark.

16 καὶ τὸν δῆμον] καί is 'both.'

τῷ προσλαμβάνειι] Compare Herod. τ. 66, προσεταιρίζεται τὸν δῆμον.

ποιείν πολίταs] Compare on this subject III. II. 3, V. VII. 8.

äπαν γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'for none of such

ούν οἱ δημαγωγοὶ κατασκευάζειν οῦτως, δεῖ μέντοι προσλαμ- The other βάνειν μέχρις αν υπερτείνη το πληθος των γνωρίμων καίτῶν μέσων, καὶ τούτου μὴ πέρα προβαίνειν ὑπερβάλλοντες γὰρ ἀτακτοτέραν τε ποιοῦσι τὴν πολιτείαν, καὶ τοὺς γνωρίμους πρός το χαλεπῶς ὑπομένειν τὴν δημοκρατίαν παροξύνουσι μάλλον, όπερ συνέβη της στάσεως αίτιον γενέσθαι περί Κυρήνην όλίγον μέν γάρ πονηρόν παροράται, πολύ δέ γινόμενον εν όφθαλμοῖς μᾶλλόν εστιν. ἔτι δε καὶ τὰ τοι- 18 αῦτα κατασκευάσματα χρήσιμα πρὸς τὴν δημοκρατίαν τὴν tical instiτοιαύτην, οίς Κλεισθένης τε 'Αθήνησιν έχρήσατο βουλόμενος αὐξησαι τὴν δημοκρατίαν, καὶ περὶ Κυρήνην οἱ τὸν δημον καθιστάντες. Φυλαί τε γὰρ έτεραι ποιητέαι πλείους το καὶ Φρατρίαι, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἱερῶν συνακτέον εἰς ὀλίγα καὶ κοινά, καὶ πάντα σοφιστέον ὅπιος ᾶν ὅτι μάλιστα ἀνα-

μιχθῶσι πάντες άλλήλοις, αί δὲ συνήθειαι διαζευχθῶσιν αί πρότερον, έτι δε καὶ τὰ τυραγγικὰ κατασκευάσματα δημο 20 τικά δοκεῖ πάντα, λέγω δ' οἶον ἀναρχία τε δούλων (αὕτη δ' αν είη μέχρι του συμφέρουσα) και γυναικών και παίδων, και τὸ ζῆν ὅπως τις βούλεται παρορᾶν. πολύ γὰρ ἔσται τὸ. τῆ τοιαύτη πολιτεία βοηθοῦν ήδιον γάρ τοῖς πολλοῖς τὸ

classes are quite alien to a democracy of this kind.'

ζην ατακτως ή το σωφρόνως.

17 δει μέντοι, κ. τ. λ.] '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.'

Kuphrnv] Herod. IV. 159, 162, &c. πονηρόν] '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 αὐξησαι] So the Latin 'augere,' 'to increase the power of.'

19 τὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἰερῶν] Break up ' the family religious rites,' or 'the 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 σοφιστέον} '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, Grote, 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 mapopar 'to connive at.' Book VIII. (V.) really preceded this

Eart & Esper to manderen zai two Stoleneres outετάναι τυά τυμύτην τιδιπειών το το παταστήσαι μέγιστον man elym anie aman, elli leus culten aattus man yap I die i tien i perior of priesto medu teliteroperous क रेंग्स कराति. देशे कि प्रदर्भ के किल्पाला के क्रिक्ट के राज्य कला कि nian uni cinami tim stilutemo, ex tortuo serasfan unta-ביצים בי דוף שו בינובס, בונוביים ביינוביים ביינובים ביינוביים ביינובים ביינוב τάκικος με τυσιτος κάκος και τος αγκάφος και τους τος τη του πρώσος τι του πίσοσται μάλιστα τὰ σώζωτα τὰς Transaction and manifest root eight differenties und oalγαιγικών ε κυήσει την κάλο ότι μάλιστα διμικρατείσθαι sa alganyarian all's present yours. et de vur byμαγαγοί γαινήμενα τους δήμους πολλά δημεύουσι διά τών innerganne. in is with twite artweather tous enfoassent the register seasestation in the floor of the same τών καταλικα μείνων καὶ Φερίντων πρός το κοινόν, άλλ' ienn, si wer dar unramment engen atten enyabeit egoktar (τηκιουσται γαι διειας), ο ο Τχλος ήττον καταψηφιεί. A TOM THE MANAGEMEN, ATTESTED MASER MEARON. ETI SE TOC · reference against Bekker.

the need spirit expensive or the product here to his remarks on the pointy AT IBO EXECUS.

A. 8 Shinn (jon ng cyasa san , ghian, in appointments, but the general writing at the book is not sufficiently cureful to mariant we in affecting although Frangel (Ir to) would rejear our

a appl doe with Lines of the promound in farour of the usual order ed strangomous. It is one which it is and presently to got rid of, and, therehan with Nickes and Spougel, I here trust bearquemen deserve, assuming that a change had place to suit the order, which must be reversed when that pulpe to recurrent. It is remarked that thate is no montion in any one of the - philips by stone by mesengayayar

απί τούς άγράφοις και τούς γεγραμmenes 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 riberbas dypapous rousus? Still I leave the words.

οί περιλήφονται μάλιστα] ' which shall embrace as much as possible what tends to the safety of constitutions.'

my roul(cur) The caution is to the same effect as that in Ch. I. x.

3 rois sauous] 'their respective peoples.'

τοὺς κηδομένους] 'The well-wishers to the constitution.'

φερόντων πρός το κοινόν] This is far from easy. Is it best to construe it quite literally 'of the property of those who are condemned, and who concern γινομένας δημοσίας δίκας ως ολιγίστας δει ποιείν, μεγά- Means of λοις ἐπιτιμίοις τοὺς εἰκῆ γραφομένους κωλύοντας οὐ γὰρ democracy. τους δημοτικούς άλλα τους γνωρίμους εἰώθασιν εἰσάγειν, δεῖ δε και τῆ πολιτεία πάντας μάλιστα μεν εΰνους είναι τοὺς πολίτας, εὶ δὲ μή, μη τοί γε ώς πολεμίους νομίζειν τοὺς κυρίους. ἐπεὶ δ' αἱ τελευταῖαι δημοκρατίαι πολυάνθρωποί 5 τέ είσι και χαλεπον έκκλησιάζειν άμίσθους, τοῦτο δ΄ ὅπου πρόσοδοι μή τυγχάνουσιν ούσαι πολέμιον τοῖς γνωρίμοις (ἀπό τε γὰρ εἰσφορᾶς καὶ δημεύσεως ἀναγκαῖον γίνεσθαι καὶ δικαστηρίων Φαύλων, ἃ πολλὰς ήδη δημοκρατίας ἀνέτρεψεν), οπου μεν οὖν πρόσοδοι μή τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι, δεῖ ποιείν ολίγας έκκλησίας, και δικαστήρια πολλών μεν ολίγας δ' ήμέρας. τοῦτο γὰρ Φέρει μεν καὶ πρὸς τὸ μὴ Φο-6 βείσθαι τους πλουσίους τὰς δαπάνας, ἐὰν οι μέν εὖποροι μὴ λαμβάνωσι δικαστικόν, οἱ δ ἄποροι, Φέρει δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ κρίνεσθαι τὰς δίκας πολύ βέλτιον οι γὰρ εὔποροι πολλας μεν ήμερας ούκ εθέλουσιν από των ιδίων απείναι, βραγύν δε γρόνον εθέλουσιν. όπου δ' είσὶ πρόσοδοι, μή ποιείν 67 νῦν οἱ δημαγωγοὶ ποιοῦσιν τὰ γὰρ περιόντα νέμουσιν. Λαμ-

• del Bekker.

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 åes Have we not here the opposite error in the text to that pointed out, VI. (IV.) xI. 21. There δε had crept in for åes; here åes has been substituted for δε . I venture to restore δε .

ekçî] 'temere,' 'without good or sufficient grounds,' Rhet. 1. 1, 2, p. 1354, 6.

μή τοί γε, κ.τ.λ.] 'at any rate, not

to look on the government as hostile to them; robs κυρίουs is the object of νομίζειν.

5 τοῦτο] sc. τὸ μισθοφορεῖν, or τὸ διδόται μισθόν. It does not seem to matter which of these two is adopted.

πολέμων] 'is adverse to,' or more strongly 'involves hostility to the upper classes.'

eiσφορᾶs] 'The property and incometax.' It was a direct tax, in no sense a voluntary contribution to meet the wants of the state. Compare Smith, Dict. Ant.

6 φέρει πρός] 'tends to.'

7 τὰ περιόντα νέμουσιν] 'They divide the surplus.'

Means of βάνουσι δὲ ἄμα, καὶ πάλιν δέονται τῶν αὐτῶν · ὁ τετρημέdemocracy. νος γάρ έστι πίθος ή τοιαύτη βοήθεια τοῖς ἀπόροις. δεῖ τὸν ἀληθινῶς δημοτικὸν ὁρᾶν ὅπως τὸ πληθος μη λίαν άπορον ή τοῦτο γὰρ αίτιον τοῦ μοχθηρὰν είναι τὴν δημο-8 κρατίαν. τεχναστέον οὖν ὅπως ᾶν εὑπορία γένοιτο χρόνιος. έπει δε συμφέρει τοῦτο και τοῖς εὐπόροις, τὰ μεν ἀπὸ τῶν προσόδων γινόμενα συναθροίζοντας άθρόα χρή διανέμειν τοῖς ἀπόροις, μάλιστα μεν εί τις δύναται τοσοῦτον ἀθροίζων δσον είς γηδίου κτησιν, εί δε μή, προς άφορμην εμπορίας 1320 Β 9 καὶ γεωργίας. καὶ εἰ μὴ πᾶσι δυνατόν, άλλὰ κατὰ Φυλὰς ή τι μέρος ετερον εν μέρει διανέμειν εν δε τούτω πρός τας \ άναγκαίας συνόδους τοὺς εὐπόρους εἰσφέρειν τὸν μισθόν, Ι 14 άΦξιμένους των ματαίων λειτουργιών. τοιούτον δέ τινα τρόπου Καρχηδόνιοι πολιτευόμενοι Φίλου κέκτηνται του δημον άει γάρ τινας έκπέμποντες τοῦ δήμου πρός τὰς περιοιτο κίδας ποιούσιν εὐπόρους. χαριέντων δ' ἐστὶ καὶ νοῦν ἐγόν-

· ἀφιεμένους Bekker.

δ τετρημένος πίθος] is like the sieve of the Danaidæ, see L. and S.

τον αληθινώς δημοτικόν] 'The democratical statesman who is worthy of the name.'

8 τεχναστέον] 'Systematic measures must be adopted to secure a permanent prosperity, as this is no less for the interest of the rich,' &c. J. B. Say, Catéchisme d'Economie Politique, p. 295.

γηδίου κτήσιν] 'The acquisition of a small plot of land,' the seven jugera, for instance, of the Roman plebeian.

έμπορίας] Some of the MSS. read εὐπορίας, and certainly ἐμπορίας 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 ebmoplas. On the other hand, Stahr

and St. Hilaire both translate the reading Bekker retains.

9 κατά φυλάς, κ.τ.λ.] 'by tribes or some other division dealing it to them in turns.'

έν τούτφ] '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.

τον μισθόν] 'The pay' required to enable the poor to attend these indispensable meetings.

ἀφειμένους] So I read with Schneider and Coray for Bekker's αφιεμένους. Compare III. v. 3.

πρός τὰς περιοικίδας] 'To the dependent towns in the neighbourhood.' The expression throws light on the parallel passage, έπλ τας πόλεις, II.

10 χαριέντων For the word in this sense, compare VI. (IV.) xIII. 9.

των γνωρίμων καὶ διαλαμβάνοντας τοὺς ἀπόρους ἀφορμὰς Means of [μεν] διδόντας τρέπειν επ' εργασίας. καλώς δ' έχει μι- preserving μεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ Ταραντίνων ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ κοινὰ ποιοῦντες τὰ κτήματα τοῖς ἀπόροις ἐπὶ τὴν χρῆσιν εὖνουν παρασκευάζουσι τὸ πληθος. ἔτι δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς πάσας ἐποίησαν διττάς, τι τας μεν αίρετας τας δε κληρωτάς, τας μεν κληρωτάς δπως ό δημος αὐτῶν μετέχη, τὰς δ' αἰρετὰς ίνα πολιτεύωνται βέλτιον. έστι δε τοῦτο ποιῆσαι και τῆς ταρχής αὐτῆς μερίζοντας, τους μεν κληρωτούς τους δ αίρετους. Πῶς μεν οῦν δεῖ τὰς δημοκρατίας κατασκευάζειν, εἰρηται.

Σχεδον δε και περί τας ολιγαρχίας πῶς δεῖ, Φανερον 6 έκ τούτων. ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων γὰρ δεῖ συνάγειν ἐκάστην όλιγαργίαν πρός την εναντίαν δημοκρατίαν άναλογιζόμενον, Their for mation τὸν μὲν εὖκρατον μάλιστα τῶν ὀλιγαρχιῶν καὶ πρώτην— servation. αύτη δ' έστιν ή σύνεγγυς τῆ καλουμένη πολιτεία, ή δεῖ τὰ 2 τιμήματα διαιρείν, τὰ μεν ελάττω τὰ δε μείζω ποιούντας. έλάττω μεν άφ' ών των άναγκαίων μεθέξουσιν άρχων, μείζω δ' ἀΦ' ὧν τῶν κυριωτέρων· τῷ τε κτωμένω τὸ τίμημα μετέγειν εξείναι της πολιτείας, τοσούτον είσαγομένου τοῦ δήμου πλήθος διά τοῦ τιμήματος, μεθ' οδ κρείττονες έσον-

ral 'also.' The same conjunction seems required before apopulas diδόντας.

διαλαμβάνοντας] 'taking them amongst them as individuals.' It is opposed to συναθροίζοντας άθρόα χρή διανέμειν, ib. § 8. Compare II. x. 14, and note.

T. partlewel Grote v. 320. Müller, Dorians 11. 9, 185. I cannot see that on either point Müller's statements are justified, that either τὰ κτήματα means public property, or that διττάs involves the doubling of the magistra-

κοινά έπι την χρησιν] '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.

11 Sirrás] 'twofold,' 'constructed on two principles.'

ἔστι δέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'the result may be secured by a division in each office itself,' see VIII. (V.) v. I, for mepl-Corras.

VI. Ι έκ τῶν ἐναντίων γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'For you must draw your conclusions from the contrary premises, and consider each oligarchy with reference to the particular democracy to which it is opposed.'

2 f] 'and in this.'

διαιρείν τὰ τιμήματα here is simply 'to distinguish,' 'make two classes of valuations.' Compare Ch. III. I., where διελείν τα τιμήματα is used apparently in quite a different sense.

τηπουτον είσαγομένου του δήμου. κ.τ.λ.] 'The people being introduced,

Oligarchies. Their formation and preservation.

ται τῶν μὴ μετεχόντων. ἀεὶ δὲ δεῖ παραλαμβάνειν ἐκ τοῦ βελτίονος δήμου τους κοινωνούς. όμοίως δε και την εγομένην όλιγαρχίαν επιτείνοντας δει μικρον κατασκευάζειν. δ' άντικειμένη τη τελευταία δημοκρατία, τη δυναστικωτάτη 3 καὶ τυραννικωτάτη τῶν ὀλιγαργιῶν, ὅσω περ γειρίστη, το-4 σούτω δεῖ πλείονος Φυλακῆς. ὧσπερ γὰρ τὰ μὲν σώματα εὖ διακείμενα πρὸς ὑγίειαν καὶ πλοῖα τὰ πρὸς ναυτιλίαν καλῶς ἔχοντα τοῖς πλωτῆρσιν ἐπιδέχεται πλείους άμαρτίας ωστε μη φθείρεσθαι δι' αὐτάς, τὰ δὲ νοσερῶς ἔχοντα τῶν σωμάτων και τὰ τῶν πλοίων ἐκλελυμένα και πλωτήρων τετυχηκότα Φαύλων οὐδὲ τὰς μικρὰς δύναται Φέρειν άμαρτίας, ούτω και των πολιτείων αι γείρισται πλείστης δέονται 1321 5 Φυλακής. τὰς μὲν οὖν δημοκρατίας ὅλως ἡ πολυανθρωπία σώζει· τοῦτο γὰρ ἀντίκειται πρὸς τὸ δίκαιον τὸ κατὰ τὴν άξίαν την δ' όλιγαργίαν δήλον ότι τουναντίον, ύπο της εύταξίας δεῖ τυγγάνειν τῆς σωτηρίας.

military

Έπελ δὲ τέτταρα μέν ἐστι μέρη μάλιστα τοῦ πλή. θους, γεωργικόν βάναυσον άγοραῖον θητικόν, τέτταρα δε τά χρήσιμα πρὸς πόλεμου, ἱππικὸυ ὁπλιτικὸυ ψιλὸυ ναυτικόυ. όπου μέν συμβέβηκε την χώραν είναι ίππάσιμον, ένταῦθα μεν εύφυῶς έχει κατασκευάζειν τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν ἰσχυράν (ή

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 ἐπιτείνοντας 'slightly μικρόν] tightening it.'

4 καλώς έχοντα τοίς πλωτήρσιν] This is the construction Victorius adopts, "bene instructæ nautis," It might be ἐπιδέ-'well-manned.' χεται τοις πλωτήρσιν, 'admit in their crew,' 'allow their crew.' The first translation has in its favour the subsequent expression, πλωτήρων τετυχητότα φαύλων.

φυλακής πλείστης] 'greatest precautions.'

5 ἀντικείται] '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.

ebrafias] 'Right conduct in the oligarchs.' Stahr is right, I think, in affixing this definite sense to the word.

VII. Ι χώραν Ιππάσιμον] 'fit for the action of cavalry,' compare Herod. ίππάσιμον ποιήσαντες τον v. 63. χῶρον.

εὐφυῶς ἔχει] 'it is naturally easy.'



γάρ σωτηρία τοῖς οἰκοῦσι διὰ ταύτης ἐστὶ τῆς δυνάμεως, αί δ' ίπποτροφίαι τῶν μακράς οὐσίας κεκτημένων εἰσίν), οπου δ' όπλίτην, την έχομένην όλιγαρχίαν· το γάρ όπλι-τικον τῶν εὐπόρων ἐστὶ μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἀπόρων, ἡ δὲ ψιλὴ 2 δύναμις καὶ ναυτική δημοκρατική πάμπαν. Νῦν μὲν οὖν όπου τοιοῦτον πολὺ πληθός ἐστιν, ὅταν διαστῶσι, πολλάκις άγωνίζονται γείρω δεί δε πρός τοῦτο Φάρμακον παρά τῶν πολεμικῶν λαμβάνειν στρατηγῶν, οἱ συνδυάζουσι πρὸς την ίππικην δύναμιν και την όπλιτικην την άρμόττουσαν τῶν ψιλῶν. ταύτη δ' ἐπικρατοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς διαστάσεσιν 3 οί δήμοι των εύπόρων. Ψιλοί γαρ όντες πρός ίππικήν καί όπλιτικήν άγωνίζονται ραδίως. το μεν ούν έκ τούτων καθιστάναι ταύτην την δύναμιν έφ' έαυτούς έστι καθιστάναι, δει δε διηρημένης της ήλικίας, και των μεν δυτων πρεσβυτέρων τῶν δὲ νέων, ἔτι μὲν ὄντας νέους τοὺς αὐτῶν υίεῖς διδάσκεσθαι τὰς κούφας καὶ τὰς ψιλὰς ἐργασίας, ἐκκεκριμένους δε έκ παίδων άθλητας είναι αύτους τῶν ἔργων. Τὴν 4 δε μετάδοσιν γίνεσθαι τῷ πλήθει τοῦ πολιτεύματος ήτοι

The four kinds of military force.

τοῖς οἰκοῦσι] Βε. χώραν ταὐτην. al ἐπποτροφίαι] Compare VI. (IV.) III. 2, 3.

δπλ(την] I should make this an adjective in sense quite as much as lππάσιμον, 'fit for regular infantry.' Compare the adjectival use of the word "Ελλην. L. and S.

2 τοιοῦτον] εc. ψιλόν καὶ ναυ τικόν,

διαν διαστῶσι, κ.τ.λ.] 'When the two parties quarrel and range themselves one against the other, it not unfrequently 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 advantage lay with the less disciplined but more available forces. The experience 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 τούτων] ες. τῶν δήμων.

διηρημένης] 'resting on the distinction of age that exists.'

ἐκκεκριμένους δὲ ἐκ παίδων] "Sobald sie aus dem Knabenalter getreten sind," Stahr. The δέ answering to the μὲν in ἔτι μὲν νέους διτας seems to determine that these words apply to the sons. But allowing this, it is not easy to fix their meaning.

4 the merdsoone The previous remarks have been directed to the means of securing in case of quarrels the power to the oligarchy. The re-

tending to of oligarchies.

Procautions καθάπερ εἴρηται πρότερου, τοῖς τὸ τίμημα κτωμένοις, ἡ καθάπερ Θηβαίοις, ἀποσχομένοις χρόνον τινὰ τῶν βαναύσων έργων, ή καθάπερ εν Μασσαλία, κρίσιν ποιουμένους ς τῶν ἀξίων τῶν ἐν τῷ πολιτεύματι καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ταῖς κυριωτάταις, ᾶς δεῖ τοὺς ἐν τῆ πολιτεία κατέχειν, δει προσκεισθαι λειτουργίας, ίν έκων ὁ δήμος μή μετέχη και συγγνώμην έχη τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ὡς μισθὸν πολύν 6 διδοῦσι τῆς ἀρχης. άρμόττει δε θυσίας τε εἰσιόντας ποιεῖσθαι μεγαλοπρεπεῖς καὶ κατασκευάζειν τι τῶν κοινῶν, ἵνα τῶν περί τὰς ἐστιάσεις μετέχων ὁ δῆμος καὶ τὴν πόλιν όρῶν κοσμουμένην τὰ μὲν ἀναθήμασι τὰ δὲ οἰκοδομήμασιν άσμενος δρά μένουσαν την πολιτείαν συμβήσεται δε καλ 7 τοῖς γνωρίμοις είναι μνημεῖα τῆς δαπάνης. άλλὰ τοῦτο νύν οἱ περὶ τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας οὐ ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον • τὰ λήμματα γὰρ ζητοῦσιν οὐχ ἦττον ἢ τὴν τιμήν, διόπερ

> 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 abstinence 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. II.

Θηβαίοις] III. v. 7. δέκα ἐτῶν is the χρόνον τινά.

Massalia] Grote III. 532.

έν τῷ πολιτεύματι] must here mean not the 'government,' but those 'within the pale of citizenship,' the πολίται hitherto excluded from the government. των έξωθεν would mean probably any body of resident foreigners. Or in the absence of any details, can the words εν τῷ πολιτεύματι keep their natural meaning, and the relow wowμένους 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 ας δεί τους έν τη πολιτεία κατέχειν] 'Which members of the governing body must hold.' This seems the meaning of πολιτεία here, the body of really active citizens, the governing body in the largest sense, as distinct from the executive magistrates.

κατέχειν] 'obtinere,' 'hold,' perhaps even more, 'hold firmly.'

λειτουργίαs] The munera sedilitia at Rome are an instance of this.

6 κατασκευάζειν τι τῶν κοινῶν] "construire quelques monuments publics." St. Hil. κατασκευάζειν has the sense of some permanent construction, not sacrifices or games, but temples or aqueducts, for instance.

7 τὰ λήμματα, κ.τ.λ.] On this compare his language, οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄμα χρηματίζεσθαι έκ των κοινών καλ τιμασθαι, Eth. viii. xvi. 3. p. 1163, b. 8. εὖ ἔχει λέγειν ταύτας εἶναι δημοκρατίας μικράς. Πῶς μὲν τ32 ἐ οὖν χρὴ καθιστάναι τὰς δημοκρατίας καὶ τᾶς ὀλιγαρχίας, διωρίσθω τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον.

'Ακόλουθον δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐστὶ τὸ διηρῆσθαι καλῶς 8 τὰ περὶ τὰς ἀρχάς, πόσαι καὶ τίνες καὶ τίνων, καθάπερ εἰρηται καὶ πρότερον τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἀναγκαίων ἀρχῶν χωρὶς ἀδύνατον εἶναι πόλιν, τῶν δὲ πρὸς εὐταξίαν καὶ κόσμον ἀδύνατον οἰκεῖσθαι καλῶς. ἔτι δ' ἀναγκαῖον ἐν μὲν ταῖς πλείους, ὧσπερ τυγχάνει πρότερον εἰρημένον ποίας οὖν ἀρμόττει συνάγειν καὶ ποίας χωρίζειν, δεῖ μὴ λανθάνειν. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐπιμέλεια τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἡ περὶ τὴν ἀγο-8 ράν, ἐΦ΄ ἦ δεῖ τινὰ ἀρχὴν εἶναι τὴν ἐΦορῶσαν περί τε τὰ συμβόλαια καὶ τὴν εὐκοσμίαν σχεδὸν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσι τὰ μὲν ώνεῖσθαι τὰ δὲ πωλεῖν πρὸς τὴν ἀλλήλων ἀναγκαίαν χρείαν, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ὑπογυιότατον πρὸς αὐτάρκειαν, δι' ἡν δοκοῦσιν εἰς μίαν πολιτείαν συνελ-

Magis-

δημοκρατίαs μικράς] '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, Schlosser, 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. I ἀκόλουθον δέ] Compare I. I. ἄμα δὶ περὶ ἐκείνων εί τι λοιπόν, with which this passage connects.

τίνων] On what does this depend? It is simplest, looking at VI. (IV.) xv. I, to supply κύριαι πόσαι τε ἀρχαί,

καλ κύριαι τίνων.

2 συνάγειν] 'to combine.' χωρίζειν] 'to keep distinct.'

3 πρώτον] πρώτη, as Coray suggests, would, I think, be an improvement.

την ἐφορῶσαν] 'whose province it is to watch over the transactions that take place, and also to see that order be kept.'

 $\sigma \chi \epsilon \delta \delta \nu$] 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.

δπογυιότατον] "the readiest means," Liddell and Scott, "das unmittelbar nächste," Stahr.

δι' ἡν δοκοῦσιν] '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

Tte forma- βαίνει τὴν χώραν τὴν θέσιν ἔχειν τοιαύτην ώστε τὴν χώραν best kind of πολύ τῆς πόλεως ἀπηρτῆσθαι, ῥάδιον καὶ δημοκρατίαν ποιεῖdemocracy. σθαι χρηστὴν καὶ πολιτείαν ἀναγκάζεται γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος έπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀποικίας, Ѿστε δεῖ, κᾶν ἀγοραΐος όχλος ή, μη ποιείν έν ταίς δημοκρατίαις έκκλησίας 15 άνευ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν χώραν πλήθους. Πῶς μὲν οὖν δεῖ κατασκευάζειν την βελτίστην καὶ πρώτην δημοκρατίαν, εξρηται.

Φανερον δε και πῶς τὰς ἄλλας επομένως γὰρ δεῖ παρεκ-| 1319 Β βαίνειν καὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἀεὶ πληθος χωρίζειν. τὴν δὲ τελευταίαν, διὰ τὸ πάντας κοικυνεῖν, οὖτε πάσης ἐστὶ πόλεως Φέρειν, οὖτε ῥάδιον διαμένειν μὴ τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσιν 16 εὖ συγκειμένην. * πρὸς δὲ τὸ καθιστάναι ταύτην τὴν δημοκρατίαν, και τον δημον ποιείν ισχυρον ειώθασιν οι προε-

στώτες τω προσλαμβάνειν ώς πλείστους καὶ ποιείν πολίτας μη μόνον τους γνησίους άλλα και τους νόθους και τους έξ όποτερουοῦν πολίτου, λέγω δὲ οἶον πατρὸς ἢ μητρός άπαν 17 γαρ είκεῖον τοῦτο τῷ τοιούτω δήμω μαλλον. εὶώθασι μὲν

 ά δè φθείρειν συμβαίνει καὶ ταύτην καὶ τὰς άλλας πολιτείας, εἴρηται πρότερον τὰ πλείστα σχεδόν Bekker.

advantage. In fact it was not so in Aristotle's eyes.

14 την χώραν πολύ, κ.τ.λ.] 'The country which is cultivated is very distant from, far removed from the city.' ἀπηρτῆσθαι occurs in this sense in Demosthenes.

ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀποίκιας = ἀποικίζεσθαι]'to make settlements in the country, as it were.' "Emigrer de la ville," St. Hil.

אמֹץ] '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 Republic furnishes illustrations of the distinction between the town and the country population, and its important bearing on several of the political decisions.

15 έπομένως] "Servato ordine." 'They must deviate from the first and best

form in a regular, logical order,' ' with a due regard to logical consequence.' παρεκβαίνειν seems equivalent to παρεκβάσεις γίνεσθαι. Of course the subject changes in the case of xwpl(civ, which is strictly active.

τοις νόμοις και τοις έθεσιν 'In the laws and habits of the people.'

The concluding clause of this section 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 Spengel's remedy and change the past into the future tense, keeping the main part of the remark.

16 καὶ τὸν δῆμον] καί is 'both.'

τῷ προσλαμβάνειι] Compare Herod. ν. 66, προσεταιρίζεται τὸν δημον.

ποιείν πολίτας] Compare on this subject III. п. 3, V. vп. 8.

 $d\pi \alpha \nu \gamma d\rho$, $\kappa.\tau.\lambda$.] 'for none of such

οὖν οἱ δημαγωγοὶ κατασκευάζειν οῦτως, δεῖ μέντοι προσλαμ- The other βάνειν μέχρις αν ύπερτείνη το πληθος των γνωρίμων καὶ τῶν μέσων, καὶ τούτου μὴ πέρα προβαίνειν ὑπερβάλλοντες γάρ άτακτοτέραν τε ποιοῦσι τὴν πολιτείαν, καὶ τοὺς γνωρίμους πρός το χαλεπῶς ὑπομένειν τὴν δημοκρατίαν παροξύνουσι μάλλον, όπερ συνέβη της στάσεως αίτιον γενέσθαι περί Κυρήνην· όλίγον μέν γάρ πονηρόν παροράται, πολύ δὲ γινόμενον εν όφθαλμοῖς μᾶλλόν εστιν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ τοι- 18 αῦτα κατασκευάσματα χρήσιμα πρὸς τὴν δημοκρατίαν τὴν tical instiτοιαύτην, οίς Κλεισθένης τε 'Αθήνησιν έχρήσατο βουλόμενος αὐξησαι την δημοκρατίαν, καὶ περὶ Κυρήνην οἱ τὸν δημον καθιστάντες. Φυλαί τε γὰρ έτεραι ποιητέαι πλείους 19 καὶ Φρατρίαι, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἱερῶν συνακτέον εἰς ὁλίγα καὶ κοινά, καὶ πάντα σοφιστέον ὅπιος αν ὅτι μάλιστα ἀναμιχθῶσι πάντες άλλήλοις, αί δὲ συνήθειαι διαζευχθῶσιν αί πρότερον. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ τυραννικὰ κατασκευάσματα δημο 20 τικά δοκεῖ πάντα, λέγω δ' οἶον ἀναργία τε δούλων (αὕτη δ' αν είη μέχρι του συμφέρουσα) καλ γυναικών καλ παίδων, καλ τὸ ζῆν ὅπως τις βούλεται παρορᾶν. πολύ γὰρ ἔσται τὸ. τῆ τοιαύτη πολιτεία βοηθοῦν ήδιον γάρ τοῖς πολλοῖς τὸ ζην ατάκτως ή τὸ σωφρόνως.

classes are quite alien to a democracy of this kind.'

17 δει μέντοι, κ. τ. λ.] '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.'

Kuphunu] Herod. IV. 159, 162, &c. πονηρόν] '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 αὐξῆσαι] So the Latin 'augere,' 'to increase the power of.'

19 τὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἰερῶν] Break up ' the family religious rites,' or 'the 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 σοφιστέον] '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, Grote, 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.' Book VIII. (V.) really preceded this Means of preserving democracy

Εστι δ έργον τοῦ νομοθέτου καὶ τῶν βουλομένων συνιστάναι τικά τοιαύτην πολιτείαν ου το καταστήσαι μέγιστον 🤻 έργου ολλέ μίνου, άλλ' όπως σωζηται μάλλου μίαν γάρ τ δύο τ τρείς τμέρας ου χαλεπον μείναι πολιτευομένους • iπωσούν. οιο οεί, περί ων θεωρήσομεν υστερον, τίνες σωτηρίαι καὶ Φροραί τῶν πολιτειῶν, ἐκ τούτων πειρασθαι κατασχευάζειν τὰν ἀσ ζάλειαν, εὐλαβουμένους μὲν τὰ Φθείροντα. τιδεμένους δε τοιούτους νόμους και τους άγράφους και τους τος γεγραμμένους οι περιλήθονται μάλιστα τὰ σώζοντα τὰς πολιτείας, και με νομίζειν τουτ' είναι δημοτικόν μηδ' όλιγαιγικών ο πωτίσει την πόλιν ότι μάλιστα δημοκρατείσθαι 3 τ ολιγαργείσται, άλλ ο πλείστον χρόνου. οί δε νύν δημαγωγοί γαριζόμενοι τους δέμως πολλά δημεύουσι διά τῶν δικαστερίων. διο δεί πρός ταύτα άντιπράττειν τούς κηδομένους τζες πολιτείας, νομοθετούντας μηδέν είναι δημόσιον των καταδικαζομένων και Φερόντων πρός το κοινόν, άλλ' ίερον οι μέν γαρ αδικούντες ούδεν ήττον εύλαβείς έσονται (ζημιώσονται γαρ όμοιως), ὁ δ όχλος ήττον καταψηφιεί-4 ται των κρινομένων, λήψεσθαι μηθέν μέλλων. έτι δε τάς • referieuren sporeser Bekker.

one, a reference might have been expected here to his remarks on the policy of the tyrant.

V. 1 Ipper One of these two 'Ipper' is superfluous, but the general writing of the book is not sufficiently careful to warrant us in rejecting either. Spengel (p. 39) would reject one.

2 weel δν, κ.τ.λ.] 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 Spengel, I here read δεωρήσομεν δυνερον, 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 μεταβολών.

mil robs dypdpois and robs yeypaumirous] 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 ribertha dypdpous rópous? Still I leave the words.

of republicant additional 'which shall ombrace as much as possible what tends to the safety of constitutions.'

my roul(ser) The caution is to the same effect as that in Ch. I. x.

3 vois bimos] 'their respective peoples.'

τους απόδομένους] 'The well-wishers to the constitution.'

performs upds to newfor. This is far from easy. Is it best to construe it quite literally 'of the property of those who are condemned, and who concern

γινομένας δημοσίας δίκας ως όλιγίστας δεί ποιείν, μεγά- Means of λοις ἐπιτιμίοις τοὺς εἰκῆ γραφομένους κωλύοντας οὐ γὰρ democracy. τους δημοτικούς άλλα τους γνωρίμους εἰώθασιν εἰσάγειν, δεῖ δε και τῆ πολιτεία πάντας μάλιστα μεν εύνους είναι τοὺς πολίτας, εὶ δὲ μή, μη τοί γε ώς πολεμίους νομίζειν τοὺς χυρίους. ἐπεὶ δ' αἱ τελευταῖαι δημοκρατίαι πολυάνθρωποί 5 τέ εἰσι καὶ χαλεπὸν ἐκκλησιάζειν ἀμίσθους, τοῦτο δ' ὅπου πρόσοδοι μή τυγχάνουσιν ούσαι πολέμιον τοῖς γνωρίμοις (ἀπό τε γὰρ εἰσφορᾶς καὶ δημεύσεως ἀναγκαῖον γίνεσθαι καλ δικαστηρίων Φαύλων, ά πολλάς ἥδη δημοκρατίας ἀνέτρεψεν), δπου μεν οδν πρόσοδοι μή τυγχάνουσιν οδσαι, δεῖ ποιείν ολίγας έκκλησίας, και δικαστήρια πολλών μέν ολίγας δ' ήμέρας. τοῦτο γὰρ Φέρει μεν καὶ πρὸς τὸ μὴ Φο-6 Βεῖσθαι τοὺς πλουσίους τὰς δαπάνας, ἐὰν οἱ μὲν εὔποροι μὴ λαμβάνωσι δικαστικόν, οἱ δ ἄποροι, Φέρει δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ κρίνεσθαι τὰς δίκας πολύ βέλτιον οι γὰρ εὔποροι πολλάς μεν ήμέρας οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπεῖναι, βραγὺν δε χρόνον εθέλουσιν. ὅπου δ' είσὶ πρόσοδοι, μὴ ποιείν ο 7 νῦν οἱ δημαγωγοὶ ποιοῦσιν τὰ γὰρ περιόντα νέμουσιν. Λαμ-

· del Bekker.

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. 2I. There & a had crept in for del; here del has been substituted for bei. I venture to restore δεί.

elký] 'temere,' 'without good or sufficient grounds,' Rhet. I. I, 2, p. 1354, 6.

μη τοί γε, κ.τ.λ.] 'at any rate, not

to look on the government as hostile to them;' robs kuplous is the object of νομίζειν.

5 τοῦτο] ΒC. τὸ μισθοφορεῖν, Ος τὸ διδόναι μισθόν. It does not seem to matter which of these two is adopted.

πολέμιον] 'is adverse to,' or more strongly 'involves hostility to the upper classes.

είσφοραs] 'The property and incometax.' It was a direct tax, in no sense a voluntary contribution to meet the wants of the state. Compare Smith, Dict. Ant.

6 φέρει πρός] 'tends to.'

7 τὰ περιόντα νέμουσιν] 'They divide the surplus,'

Means of βάνουσι δὲ αμα, καὶ πάλιν δέονται τῶν αὐτῶν · ὁ τετρημέpreserving democracy. νος γάρ ἐστι πίθος ἡ τοιαύτη βοήθεια τοῖς ἀπόροις. ἀλλὰ δεῖ τὸν ἀληθινῶς δημοτικὸν ὁρᾶν ὅπως τὸ πληθος μὴ λίαν άπορον ή τοῦτο γὰρ αίτιον τοῦ μοχθηράν είναι τὴν δημο-8 κρατίαν. τεχναστέον οὖν ὅπως ᾶν εὐπορία γένοιτο χρόνιος. - ἐπεὶ δὲ συμφέρει τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς εὐπόροις, τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν προσόδων γινόμενα συναθροίζοντας άθρόα χρή διανέμειν τοῖς ἀπόροις, μάλιστα μὲν εἴ τις δύναται τοσοῦτον ἀθροίζων όσον εlς γηδίου κτῆσιν, εὶ δὲ μή, πρὸς ἀφορμὴν ἐμπορίας 1320 Β 9 καὶ γεωργίας. καὶ εἰ μὴ πᾶσι δυνατόν, άλλὰ κατὰ Φυλὰς ή τι μέρος ετερον εν μέρει διανέμειν εν δε τούτω πρός τας \ άναγκαίας συνόδους τους εύπόρους είσφέρειν τον μισθόν, Ι ικ άφξιμένους των ματαίων λειτουργιών. τοιούτον δέ τινα τρόπου Καρχηδόνιοι πολιτευόμενοι Φίλου κέκτηνται του δημον άελ γάρ τινας έκπέμποντες τοῦ δήμου πρός τὰς περιοιτο κίδας ποιούσιν εὐπόρους. χαριέντων δ' ἐστὶ καὶ νοῦν ἐχόν-

ἀφιεμένους Bekker.

δ τετρημένος πίθος] is like the sieve of the Danaidæ, see L. and S.

τον αληθινώς δημοτικόν] 'The democratical statesman who is worthy of the name.'

8 τεχναστέον] 'Systematic measures must be adopted to secure a permanent prosperity, as this is no less for the interest of the rich,' &c. J. B. Say, Catéchisme d'Economie Politique, p. 295.

γηδίου κτησιν] 'The acquisition of a small plot of land,' the seven jugera, for instance, of the Roman pleboian.

έμπορίαs] Some of the MSS. read εὐπορίας, and certainly ἐμπορίας 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 ebwoplas. On the other hand, Stahr and St. Hilaire both translate the reading Bekker retains.

9 κατά φυλάς, κ.τ.λ.] 'by tribes or some other division dealing it to them in turns.'

έν τούτφ] '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.

τον μισθόν] 'The pay' required to enable the poor to attend these indispensable meetings.

ἀφειμένους] So I read with Schneider and Coray for Bekker's αφιεμένους. Compare III. v. 3.

πρός τας περιοικίδας] 'To the dependent towns in the neighbourhood.' The expression throws light on the parallel passage, έπὶ τὰς πόλεις, II.

10 χαριέντων] For the word in this sense, compare VI. (IV.) xIII. 9.

των γνωρίμων καὶ διαλαμβάνοντας τοὺς ἀπόρους, ἀφορμὰς Means of [μεν] διδόντας τρέπειν επ' εργασίας. καλώς δ' έχει μι- preserving μεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ Ταραντίνων ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ κοινὰ ποιοῦντες τὰ κτήματα τοῖς ἀπόροις ἐπὶ τὴν χρῆσιν εὖνουν παρασκευάζουσι τὸ πληθος. ἔτι δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς πάσας ἐποίησαν διττάς, τι τάς μεν αίρετας τάς δε κληρωτάς, τάς μεν κληρωτάς ὅπως ό δημος αὐτῶν μετέχη, τὰς δ' αἰρετὰς ίνα πολιτεύωνται βέλέστι δὲ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι καὶ τῆς (άρχῆς αὐτῆς μερίζοντας, τούς μέν κληρωτούς τούς δ αίρετούς. Πῶς μέν οὖν δεί τας δημοκρατίας κατασκευάζειν, είρηται.

Oligar-

Σχεδον δε και περί τας ολιγαρχίας πῶς δεῖ, Φανερον 6 έκ τούτων. έκ τῶν ἐναντίων γὰρ δεῖ συνάγειν ἐκάστην ολιγαρχίαν προς την εναντίαν δημοκρατίαν άναλογιζόμενον, Their formation τὸν μὲν εὔκρατον μάλιστα τῶν ολιγαρχιῶν καὶ πρώτην— servation. αύτη δ' έστιν ή σύνεγγυς τη καλουμένη πολιτεία, ή δει τὰ 2 τιμήματα διαιρείν, τὰ μὲν ἐλάττω τὰ δὲ μείζω ποιοῦντας, έλάττω μὲν ἀφ' ὧν τῶν ἀναγκαίων μεθέξουσιν ἀρχῶν, μείζω δ άφ' ων των κυριωτέρων τω τε κτωμένω το τίμημα μετέχειν εξείναι της πολιτείας, τοσούτον είσαγομένου τοῦ δήμου πλήθος διά τοῦ τιμήματος, μεθ' οδ κρείττονες έσον-

ral] 'also.' The same conjunction seems required before αφορμάς διδόντας.

διαλαμβάνοντας] 'taking them amongst them as individuals.' It is opposed to συναθμοίζοντας άθρόα χρή διανέμειν, ib. § 8. Compare II. x. 14, and note.

T partirer Grote v. 320. Müller, Dorians II. 9, 185. I cannot see that on either point Müller's statements are justified, that either τὰ κτήματα means public property, or that διττάs involves the doubling of the magistra-

κοινά έπὶ τὴν χρησιν] '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.

II Sirrds] 'twofold,' 'constructed on two principles.'

ἔστι δέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'the result may be secured by a division in each office itself,' see VIII. (V.) v. I, for mepl-CONTAS.

VI. Ι ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'For you must draw your conclusions from the contrary premises, and consider each oligarchy with reference to the particular democracy to which it is opposed.'

2 f and in this.'

διαιρείν τὰ τιμήματα here is simply 'to distinguish,' 'make two classes of valuations.' Compare Ch. III. 1., where διελείν τὰ τιμήματα is used apparently in quite a different sense.

τοπούτον είσαγομένου του δήμου, $\kappa.\tau.\lambda.$] 'The people being introduced,

Y

Oligarmation and preservation.

ται τῶν μὴ μετεχόντων. ἀεὶ δὲ δεῖ παραλαμβάνειν ἐκ τοῦ Their for- βελτίονος δήμου τοὺς κοινωνούς. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐγομένην όλιγαρχίαν επιτείνοντας δεῖ μικρὸν κατασκευάζειν. δ' άντικειμένη τῆ τελευταία δημοκρατία, τῆ δυναστικωτάτη 3 καλ τυραννικωτάτη τῶν ὀλιγαρχιῶν, ὅσω περ χειρίστη, το-4 σούτω δεῖ πλείονος Φυλακῆς. ὧσπερ γὰρ τὰ μὲν σώματα εῦ διακείμενα πρός ύγίειαν καὶ πλοΐα τὰ πρός ναυτιλίαν καλῶς ἔγοντα τοῖς πλωτῆρσιν ἐπιδέγεται πλείους ἁμαρτίας ώστε μη Φθείρεσθαι δι' αὐτάς, τὰ δὲ νοσερῶς ἔχοντα τῶν σωμάτων και τὰ τῶν πλοίων ἐκλελυμένα και πλωτήρων τετυχηκότα φαύλων ούδε τας μικράς δύναται φέρειν άμαρτίας, ούτω καὶ τῶν πολιτεῖων αἱ χείρισται πλείστης δέονται 1321 5 Φυλακής. τας μέν ουν δημοκρατίας δλως ή πολυανθρωπία σώζει τοῦτο γὰρ ἀντίκειται πρὸς τὸ δίκαιον τὸ κατὰ τὴν άξίαν την δ' όλιγαρχίαν δήλον ότι τούναντίον, ύπο τής εὐταξίας δεῖ τυγγάνειν τῆς σωτηρίας.

The four kinds of military force.

Έπει δε τέτταρα μέν έστι μέρη μάλιστα τοῦ πλήθους, γεωργικόν βάναυσον άγοραῖον θητικόν, τέτταρα δὲ τὰ χρήσιμα πρὸς πόλεμον, ἱππικὸν ὁπλιτικὸν ψιλὸν ναυτικόν, οπου μεν συμβέβηκε την χώραν είναι ιππάσιμον, ενταθθα μεν εύφυῶς έχει κατασκευάζειν τὴν όλιγαρχίαν ἰσχυράν (ή

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 Exitelyoutas μικρόν] 'slightly tightening it.'

4 καλώς έχοντα τοῖς πλωτῆρσιν] This is the construction Victorius adopts. "bene instructæ nautis," 'well-manned.' It might be ἐπιδέχεται τοῖς πλωτῆρσιν, 'admit in their crew,' 'allow their crew.' The first translation has in its favour the subsequent expression, πλωτήρων τετυχηκότα φαύλων.

φυλακής πλείστης] 'greatest precautions.'

5 artikeltai] '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 objec-

ebragias] 'Right conduct in the oligarchs.' Stahr is right, I think, in affixing this definite sense to the word.

VII. Ι χώραν ἱππάσιμον] 'fit for the action of cavalry,' compare Herod. v. 63. ίππάσιμον ποιήσαντες τον χῶρον.

εὐφυῶς ἔχει] 'it is naturally easy.'

γάρ σωτηρία τοῖς οἰκοῦσι διὰ ταύτης ἐστὶ τῆς δυνάμεως, αί δ' ίπποτροφίαι τῶν μακράς οὐσίας κεκτημένων εἰσίν), οπου δ' όπλίτην, την έχομένην όλιγαρχίαν το γάρ όπλιτικον τῶν εὐπόρων ἐστὶ μᾶλλον ἡ τῶν ἀπόρων, ἡ δὲ ψιλή , δύναμις καὶ ναυτική δημοκρατική πάμπαν. Νῦν μὲν οὖν οπου τοιοῦτον πολύ πληθός ἐστιν, ὅταν διαστῶσι, πολλάκις άγωνίζονται χείρω. δεῖ δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο Φάρμακον παρά τῶν πολεμικῶν λαμβάνειν στρατηγῶν, οὶ συνδυάζουσι πρὸς την ίππικην δύναμιν και την όπλιτικην την άρμόττουσαν τῶν ψιλῶν, ταύτη δ' ἐπικρατοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς διαστάσεσιν 3 οί δημοι των εύπόρων. Ψιλοί γάρ όντες πρός ίππικήν καί όπλιτικήν άγωνίζονται ραδίως. το μεν ουν έκ τούτων καθιστάναι ταύτην την δύναμιν έφ' έαυτούς έστι καθιστάναι, δεί δε διηρημένης της ηλικίας, και των μεν δυτιον πρεσβυτέρων τῶν δὲ νέων, ἔτι μὲν ὅντας νέους τοὺς αὐτῶν υίεῖς διδάσκεσθαι τὰς κούφας καὶ τὰς ψιλὰς ἐργασίας, ἐκκεκριμένους δε έκ παίδων άθλητας είναι αύτους των έργων. Την 4 δὲ μετάδοσιν γίνεσθαι τῷ πλήθει τοῦ πολιτεύματος ήτοι

The four kinds of military force.

τοῖς οἰκοῦσι] εc. χώραν ταύτην. al ἐπποτροφίαι] Compare VI. (IV.) III. 2, 3.

δπλίτην] I should make this an adjective in sense quite as much as lππάσιμον, 'fit for regular infantry.' Compare the adjectival use of the word "Ελλην, L. and S.

2 τοιούτον] ΒC. ψιλόν καὶ ναυ τικόν.

διαν διαστῶσι, κ.τ.λ.] 'When the two parties quarrel and range themselves one against the other, it not unfrequently 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 advantage lay with the less disciplined but more available forces. The experience 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 τούτων] ες. τῶν δήμων.

διηρημένης] 'resting on the distinction of age that exists.'

Et: $\mu \in \nu$, κ, τ, λ] 'whilst their sons are yet young, to have them taught.'

έκκεκριμένους δὲ ἐκ παίδων] "Sobald sie aus dem Knabenalter getreten sind," Stahr. The δέ answering to the μὲν in ἔτι μὲν νέους διτας seems to determine that these words apply to the sons. But allowing this, it is not easy to fix their meaning.

4 the merddoous] The previous remarks have been directed to the means of securing in case of quarrels the power to the oligarchy. The re-

the safety of oligarchies.

Procautions καθάπερ είρηται πρότερου, τοῖς τὸ τίμημα κτωμένοις, ή καθάπερ Θηβαίοις, άποσχομένοις χρόνον τινά τῶν βαναύσων έργων, ή καθάπερ έν Μασσαλία, κρίσιν ποιουμένους - τῶν ἀξίων τῶν ἐν τῷ πολιτεύματι καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ταῖς κυριωτάταις, ᾶς δεῖ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ κατέγειν, δει προσκείσθαι λειτουργίας, ίν' έκων ὁ δημος μη μετέχη και συγγνώμην έχη τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ὡς μισθὸν πολύν 6 διδοῦσι τῆς ἀρχης. άρμόττει δὲ θυσίας τε εἰσιόντας ποιεῖσθαι μεγαλοπρεπεῖς καὶ κατασκευάζειν τι τῶν κοινῶν, ἵνα τῶν περί τὰς ἐστιάσεις μετέχων ὁ δῆμος καὶ τὴν πόλιν όρῶν κοσμουμένην τὰ μὲν ἀναθήμασι τὰ δὲ οἰκοδομήμασιν άσμενος δρά μένουσαν την πολιτείαν συμβήσεται δε καλ 7 τοῖς γνωρίμοις είναι μνημεῖα τῆς δαπάνης. άλλὰ τοῦτο νῦν οἱ περὶ τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας οὐ ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον. τὰ λήμματα γὰρ ζητοῦσιν οὐχ ἦττον ἢ τὴν τιμήν, διόπερ

> 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 abstinence 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. II.

Θηβαίοις III. v. 7. δέκα έτῶν is the χρόνον τινά.

Mασσαλία] Grote III. 532.

έν τῷ πολιτεύματι] must here mean not the 'government,' but those 'within the pale of citizenship,' the πολίται hitherto excluded from the government. τῶν ἔξωθεν would mean probably any body of resident foreigners. Or in the absence of any details, can the words έν τῷ πολιτεύματι keep their natural meaning, and the κρίσιν ποιουuévous 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 ας δεί τους έν τή πολιτεία κατέχειν] 'Which members of the governing body must hold.' This seems the meaning of modifield here, the body of really active citizens, the governing body in the largest sense, as distinct from the executive magistrates.

κατέχειν] 'obtinere,' 'hold,' perhaps even more, 'hold firmly.'

λειτουργίαs] The munera ædilitia at Rome are an instance of this.

6 κατασκευάζειν τι τῶν κοινῶν] "construire quelques monuments publics," St. Hil. κατασκευάζειν has the sense of some permanent construction, not sacrifices or games, but temples or aqueducts, for instance.

7 τὰ λήμματα, κ.τ.λ.] On this compare his language, οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄμα χρηματίζεσθαι έκ τών κοινών καί τιμασθαι, Eth. viii. xvi. 3. p. 1163, b. 8. εὖ έχει λέγειν ταύτας εἶναι δημοκρατίας μικράς. Πῶς μὲν 1321 Β οὖν χρη καθιστάναι τὰς δημοκρατίας καὶ τᾶς ὀλιγαρχίας, διωρίσθω τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον.

'Ακόλουθον δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐστὶ τὸ διηρῆσθαι καλῶς 8 τὰ περὶ τὰς ἀρχάς, πόσαι καὶ τίνες καὶ τίνων, καθάπερ Magistracies. είρηται καί πρότερου. των μεν γάρ άναγκαίων άρχων χωρίς : άδύνατον είναι πόλιν, των δε πρός εὐταξίαν και κόσμον άδύνατον οἰκεῖσθαι καλῶς. ἔτι δ' ἀναγκαῖον ἐν μὲν ταῖς 2 μιχραῖς ἐλάττους είναι τὰς ἀρχάς, ἐν δὲ ταῖς μεγάλαις πλείους, ώσπερ τυγχάνει πρότερον είρημένου ποίας οὖν άρμόττει συνάγειν καὶ ποίας χωρίζειν, δεῖ μὴ λανθάνειν. Πρώτον μέν οὖν ἐπιμέλεια τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἡ περὶ τὴν ἀγο- 3 ράν, ἐΦ' ἦ δεῖ τινὰ ἀργὴν εἶναι τὴν ἐΦορῶσαν περί τε τὰ συμβόλαια καὶ τὴν εὐκοσμίαν· σχεδον γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον πάσαις ταις πόλεσι τὰ μεν ώνεισθαι τὰ δὲ πωλείν πρὸς τὴν άλλήλων άναγκαίαν χρείαν, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ὑπογυιότατον πρός αὐτάρχειαν, δι' ήν δοχοῦσιν εἰς μίαν πολιτείαν συνελ-

δημοκρατίας μικράς] '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, Schlosser, 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. I ἀκόλουθον δέ] Compare Ι. Ι. άμα δὲ περὶ ἐκείνων εί τι λοιπόν, with which this passage connects.

τίνων] On what does this depend? It is simplest, looking at VI. (IV.) xv. 1, to supply κύριαι, πόσαι τε άρχαί,

καλ κύριαι τίνων.

2 συνάγειν] 'to combine.'

xwp[[eiv] 'to keep distinct.'

3 πρώτον] πρώτη, as Coray suggests, would, I think, be an improvement.

την έφορῶσαν] '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.

ὑπογυιότατον] "the readiest means," Liddell and Scott, "das unmittelbar nächste," Stahr.

δι' ην δοκοῦσιν] '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

Magistracies.

έτέρα δε επιμέλεια ταύτης εγομένη και σύνεγγυς ή τῶν περὶ τὸ ἄστυ δημοσίων καὶ ἰδίων, ἔπως εὐκοσμία ξ, καὶ τῶν πιπτόντων οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ ὁδῶν σωτηρία καὶ διόρθωσις, καὶ τῶν ὁρίων τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὅπως ἀνεγκλήτως έχωσιν, καλ ίσα τούτοις άλλα της ἐπιμελείας ὁμοιότροπα. 5 καλοῦσι δ' ἀστυνομίαν οἱ πλεῖστοι τὴν τοιαύτην ἀργήν, έχει δε μόρια πλείω τον άριθμόν, ών επέρους εφ' επερα καθιστάσιν έν ταῖς πολυανθρωποτέραις πόλεσιν, οίον τειγιποιούς καὶ κρηνῶν ἐπιμελητὰς καὶ λιμένων Φύλακας. 6 Αλλη δ' άναγκαία τε καὶ παραπλησία ταύτη περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν μὲν γάρ, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὴν χώραν ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰ έξω τοῦ ἄστεος καλοῦσι δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τούτους οἱ μὲν άγρονόμους οἱ δ' ὑλωρούς. Αὖται μὲν οὖν ἐπιμέλειαί εἰσι τούτων τρεῖς, ἄλλη δ' άρχη πρὸς ην αι πρόσοδοι τῶν κοινῶν άνα Φέρονται, παρ' ων Φυλαττόντων μερίζονται πρός έκάστην διοίκησιν καλούσι δ' ἀποδέκτας τούτους καὶ ταμίας. 7 Έτερα δ' άρχη προς ην άναγράφεσθαι δεῖ τά τε ίδια συμβύλαια καὶ τὰς κρίσεις ἐκ τῶν δικαστηρίων παρὰ δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις καὶ τὰς γραφάς τῶν δικῶν γίνεσθαι δεῖ καὶ τας είσαχωγάς. ενιαχοῦ μεν οὖν μερίζουσι καὶ ταύτην είς πλείους, έστι δε μία χυρία τούτων πάντων καλούνται δε

airdρκεια, which is the object of the social union, but on the more distant χρεία, which, δοκεί, 'is thought to be so by some.'

4 δημοσίων και ἰδίων] need not be limited as Stahr's translation, "Gebäude," limits it, but generally 'public and private property.'

δπως ἀνεγκλήτως ἔχωσιν] 'That there may be no opening for mutual complaints.'

τούτοις] depends on δμοιδτροπα.

5 &ν έτέρους, 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.

6 ἀγρονόμουs] The agrimensores of Rome.

ύλωρούs] commissioners of woods and forests.

παρ' δν φυλαττόντων] 'Who keep them, and from whose hands the distribution is made for the wants of each department,'

διοίκησιν] 'department,' 'branch of administration.'

7 ἀναγράφεσθαι] 'registered.'

τὰς κρίσεις τὰς ἐκ τῶν δικαστηρίων] 'The decisions of the courts of justice.'

τὰs εἰσαγωγάs] "opening of the pleadings," L. and S.

ὶ ερομνήμονες καὶ ἐπιστάται καὶ μνήμονες καὶ τούτοις ἄλλα Μαςιεδονόματα σύνεγγυς. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην ἐχομένη μὲν ἀναγθονόματα σύνεγγυς. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην ἐχομένη μὲν ἀναγθενιστάτη δὲ σχεδὸν καὶ χαλεπωτάτη τῶν ἀρχῶν ἐστὶν ἡ β περὶ τὰς πράξεις τῶν καταδικασθέντων καὶ τῶν προτιθε- \ μένων κατὰ τὰς ἐγγραφὰς καὶ περὶ τὰς Φυλακὰς τῶν σω- 1322 μάτων. χαλεπὴ μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ διὰ τὸ πολλὴν ἔχειν ἀπέ- 9 χθειαν, ὥστε ὅπου μὴ μεγάλα ἔστι κερδαίνειν, οὖτ' ἄρχειν ὑπομένουσιν αὐτὴν οὖθ' ὑπομείναντες ἐθέλουσι πράττειν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους· ἀναγκαία δ' ἐστίν, ὅτι οὐδὲν ὅΦελος γίνεσθαι μὲν δίκας περὶ τῶν δικαίων, ταύτας δὲ μὴ λαμβάνειν τέλος, ὧστ' εἰ, μὴ γιγνομένων, κοινωνεῖν ἀδύνατον ἀλλήλοις, καὶ πράξεων μὴ γιγνομένων. διὸ βέλτιον μὴ μίαν το εῖναι ταύτην τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλ' ἄλλους ἐξ ἄλλων δικαστηρίων. καὶ περὶ τὰς προθέσεις τῶν ἀναγεγραμμένων ώσαὐτως πειρᾶσθαι διαιρεῖν. ἔτι δ' ἔνια πράττεσθαι καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς

in which

lepoμνήμοres] 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 μνήμονες, 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 μνήμοτες.

8 τῶν προτιθεμένων κατὰ τὰς ἐγγραφάς] "mit eintreibung der verhängten
Strafgelder," says Stahr, "with the
collection of the fines imposed." But
this is not a close rendering of the
words. I take προτιθεμένων as passive
and masculine, 'proscriptorum' in its
primary sense, and with Stahr I make
it depend on πράξεις. '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 passage.

9 ξχειν ἀπέχθειαν] 'involves much odium,' or 'has great odium attached to it.'

λαμβάνειν τέλος] 'be executed, put in force;' similar expressions are λαμβάνειν δψος, τιμήν.

10 A16] Because of the unpopularity that attaches to the office.

τὰς προθέσεις τῶν ἀναγεγραμμένων] πρόθεσις is 'the proscription,' 'the posting up' of those registered or recorded. So in substance the expression is equivalent to the one noticed, § 8, τῶν προτιθεμένων κατὰ τὰς ἐγγραφάς. And so Stahr takes it.

ἔτι δ' ἔνια] The Greek of this passage is very hard. What is the meaning of the καί before τὰς ἀρχάς? Again, what is the sense of τῶν νέων, τὰς νέας, τῶν ἐνεστώτων? I do not see that Stahr translates the καί, and the sense he attaches to the νέων, νέας, "fresh cases, fresh magistracies," is, I should think, open to question. At the same time, I do not see what better solution

τάς τε ἄλλας καὶ τὰς τῶν νέων, μᾶλλον τὰς νέας, καὶ τὰς - τῶν ἐνεστώτων ἑτέρας καταδικασάσης ἑτέραν εἶναι τὴν πραττομένην, οίον ἀστυνόμους τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἀγορανόμων, τὰς 11 δὲ παρὰ τούτων ἐτέρους. ὅσω γὰρ ᾶν ἐλάττων ἀπέχθεια ενή τοις πραττομένοις, τοσούτω μάλλον λήψονται τέλος αί πράξεις· τὸ μὲν οὖν τοὺς αὐτοὺς εἶναι τοὺς καταδικάσαντας καὶ πραττομένους ἀπέχθειαν ἔχει διπλην, τὸ δὲ περὶ πάντων τους αυτούς πολεμίους πάσιν. πολλαγοῦ δὲ διήρηται Ι καὶ ή Φυλάττουσα πρὸς τὴν πραττομένην, οἶον 'Αθήνησι 12 [ή] τῶν ἔνδεκα καλουμένων. διὸ βέλτιον καὶ ταύτην χωρίζειν, καί 🕫 σόφισμα ζητεῖν καὶ περὶ ταύτην. ἀναγκαία μέν γάρ έστιν ούχ ήττον της είρημένης, συμβαίνει δε τούς μεν επιεικείς Φεύγειν μάλιστα ταύτην την άρχην, τούς δε μοχθηρούς ούκ άσφαλες ποιείν κυρίους αύτοι γάρ δέονται 13 Φυλακής μαλλον ή Φυλάττειν άλλους δύνανται. διό δεί μή μίαν ἀποτεταγμένην άρχην είναι πρός αὐτοῖς, μηδε συνεχῶς την αὐτήν, άλλὰ τῶν τε νέων, ὅπου τις ἐφήβων ἡ Φρουρῶν Bekker's text has not this ή. b τό Bekker.

to offer. No satisfactory rendering presents itself.

ένεστώτων] 'the actually existing cases; "herkömmlichen," Stuhr.

τας παρά των αγορανόμων] 'Those which come from.'

τσιε πραττομένοις] 'at-II dvĝ taches to those who execute the sentences.'

πολεμίους πασω '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 ξχει, 'involves their being.'

των ενδεκα καλουμένων] Corny reads h before this genitive, and Stahr also inserts the article, though in brackets. It is required by the sense, and I have followed Stahr in inserting it. On the functions of 'the Eleven,' compare Herman, Jul. Ant. § 139. This passage seems to limit their functions. ταύτην] εc. την φυλάττουσαν.

12 τι σόφισμα] 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 charge, II. v. 29. tar ut to oof (wrtai. What is the device, τὸ σόφισμα, which is alluded to, if the article is kept? "Des moyens adroits," St. Hil., and "Das passende auskunftsmittel," Stahr.

13 πρὸς αὐτοῖς] '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 (τοις μοχθηροις), sc. the bad whom alone you can expect to find ready to act as jailers,

άλλὰ τῶν τε νέων] 'But,' he goes on

of deflect of the fit doing war a surrely the functioner and I on me I respectively for many guess, and John old summer magneticing of the only consisting should Live, is not much billy guildent Than English, a. it will, go to Exert also).

έστὶ τάξις, καὶ τ<u>ῶν</u> ἀ<u>ργῶ</u>ν δεῖ κατὰ μέρη ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπι-Magistracies. μέλειαν έτέρους. Ταύτας μεν οθν τάς άρχας ώς άναγκαιοτάτας θετέον είναι πρώτας, μετά δε ταύτας τάς άναγκαίας μεν ούθεν ήττον, εν σχήματι δε μείζονι τεταγμένας καλ γάρ έμπειρίας καὶ πίστεως δέονται πολλης, τοιαῦται δ' εἰσὶ 14 αί τε περί την Φυλακήν της πόλεως, και όσαι τάττονται πρός τὰς πολεμικὰς χρείας. δεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνη καὶ ἐν πολέμω πυλών τε καὶ τειχών φυλακης όμοίως ἐπιμελητὰς Ι είναι, και έξετάσεως και συντάξεως των πολιτών. ένθα μέν οὖν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις ἀργαὶ πλείους εἰσίν, ἔνθα δ' ἐλάττους, οίον έν ταῖς μικραῖς πόλεσι μία περί πάντων. καλοῦσι δὲ ες στρατηγούς και πολεμάργους τούς τοιούτους. ἔτι δὲ κᾶν 1322 Β ωσιν Ιππεῖς ἡ ψιλοὶ ἡ τοξόται ἡ ναυτικόν, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων έκάστων ένίστε καθίστανται άρχαί, αὶ καλοῦνται ναυαρχίαι καὶ ἱππαρχίαι καὶ ταξιαρχίαι, καὶ κατὰ μέρος δὲ αἱ ὑπὸ ταύτας τριηραρχίαι καὶ λοχαγίαι καὶ Φυλαρχίαι καὶ ὅσα (τούτων μόρια το δε παν έν τι τούτων έστιν είδος επιμελείας πολεμικών. περί μέν οδν ταύτην την άρχην έχει τον τρό- 16 πον τοῦτον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔνιαι τῶν ἀρχῶν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πᾶσαι, διαχειρίζουσι πολλά των κοινών, άναγκαῖον επέραν είναι την

• elev Bekker.

to say, 'both of the young there must be some, and the regular magistrates must take in turns this duty.'

πρώτας] 'in order of time.'

èν σχήματι μείζονι τεταγμέναs] 'Speciosi magis ministerii,' 'holding a higher position,' 'of more importance in the scale.'

14 eloi] elev [av] is Stahr's reading. I do not see why eloi should not at once be substituted for elev, which cannot be construed.

δμοίωs is to be taken with ἐν εἰρήνη καὶ ἐν πολέμφ.

¿¿erdoews] ' reviewing.'

συντάξεως] 'disciplining.'

15 κατὰ μέρος] 'in detail.' VI. (IV.)
1. 1. κατὰ μόριον.

 $b\pi b \tau ab \tau as j$ Eth. 1. i. 4, p. 1094. 10, Soal b' eloly $b\pi b$ μlav $\tau \nu a$ b' $\nu a\mu \nu v$, $\kappa. \tau. \lambda$.

φυλαρχίαι] Compare Smith, Dict. Ant., art. Phylarchi.

ξυτι τούτων έστιν eldos] Again compare VI. (IV.) I. I, περί γένος ξυτι τελείαις οδσαις.

16 διαχειφίζουσι] ' have pass through their hands.'

προσευθυνοῦσαν] 'and besides bring to an account,' L. and S. Compare Smith, Dict. Ant., art. Euthyne, p. 479.

διαχειρίζουσα»] I should give this verb here a slightly different sense from the one above, and its more usual sense of 'managing.'

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ληψομένην λογισμόν καὶ προσευθυνοῦσαν, αὐτὴν μηθὲν διαχειρίζουσαν έτερον καλοῦσι δε τούτους οἱ μεν εὐθύνους, οἱ 17 δε λογιστάς, οι δε εξεταστάς, οι δε συνηγόρους. Παρά πάσας δὲ ταύτας τὰς ἀρχὰς ἡ μάλιστα κυρία πάντων ἐστίν: | ή γὰρ αὐτὴ πολλάκις ἔχει τὸ τ $\frac{i}{2}$ λος καὶ τὴν εἰ $\frac{1}{2}$ Φοράν, ἢ προκάθηται τοῦ πλήθους, ὅπου κύριός ἐστιν ὁ δῆμος · δεῖ γὰρ είναι τὸ συνάγον τὸ κύριον τῆς πολιτείας. καλεῖται δὲ ἔνθα μεν πρόβουλοι διά το προβουλεύειν, οπου δε πληθός έστι, 18 βουλή μάλλον. Αί μεν ούν πολιτικαί των άρχων σχεδόν τοσαῦταί τινές εἰσιν, ἄλλο δ' εἶδος ἐπιμελείας ή περὶ τοὺς θεούς, οίον ίερεῖς τε καὶ ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν περὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τοῦ σώζεσθαί τε τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ ἀνορθοῦσθαι τὰ πίπτοντα τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα τέτακται πρὸς τοὺς 19 θεούς. συμβαίνει δε την επιμέλειαν ταύτην ένιαχοῦ μεν είναι μίαν, οίον έν ταῖς μικραῖς πόλεσιν, ένιαχοῦ δὲ πολλάς καλ κεχωρισμένας της ιερωσύνης, οίον ιεροποιούς καλ ναοφύ-20 λακας καὶ ταμίας τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων. ἐχομένη δὲ ταύτης ή πρὸς τὰς θυσίας άφωρισμένη τὰς κοινὰς πάσας, ὅσας μὴ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἀποδίδωσιν ὁ νόμος, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς κοινῆς ἑστίας

συνηγόρουs] Not the common sense of the word. The common sense is 'advocates,' and I can only refer to the *Dict. Ant.* p. 1086, b, where the conjectures on the subject are given.

17 τὸ τέλος καὶ τὴν εἰσφοράν] "La fixation et la rentrée des impôts," St. Hilaire's translation, is not in harmony with the passage, if conceivably justifiable on other grounds, which I should doubt. Stahr gives a better sense, "der Ausgang der Dinge gleichwie der Vortrag derselben ruht," 'have in their hands the final ratification as well as the primary introduction of any measure.' Thus I give τὴν εἰσφοράν its literal signification, 'the bringing in.' ἐφορείαν, the reading of one MS., has been adopted by several, but is not necessary, and the context is in fa-

vour of the usual reading retained by Bekker.

δεῖ γὰρ εἶναι τὸ συνάγον] 'There must exist the body which can call together the sovereign body,' and this body, τὸ συνάγον, will have in its hands the introduction of the measures to be discussed.

δπου δὲ πλῆθός ἐστι] Where the government is a popular one. See below, § 24.

19 της lepωσύνης] 'from the priestly function itself.'

20 ἀπὸ τῆς κοινῆς, κ.τ.λ.] "deren Besorgung von dem gemeinschaftlichen heiligen Staatsheerde ausgeht." Stahr; 'all those sacrifices which derive their claim to attention from their connexion with the public or state hearth.'

έχουσι την τιμήν· καλοῦσι δ' οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντας τούτους, οἰ δὲ βασιλεῖς, οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις. Αἱ μὲν οὖν ἀναγκαῖαι ἐπι-μέλειαί είσι περί τούτων, ώς είπεῖν συγκεφαλαιωσαμένους, 21 περί τε τὰ δαιμόνια καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ καὶ περὶ τὰς προσόδους και περί τὰ ἀναλισκόμενα, και περί ἀγορὰν και περί τὸ άστυ καλ λιμένας καλ την χώραν, έτι τὰ περλ τὰ δικαστήρια καὶ συναλλαγμάτων ἀναγραφὰς καὶ πράξεις καὶ Φυλακὰς καλ έπιλογισμούς τε καλ έξετάσεις, καλ πρός εὐθίνας τῶν άρχόντων, και τέλος αι περί το βουλευόμενον είσι των κοιίδία δε ταῖς σχολαστικωτέραις καὶ μᾶλλον εὐημερού- 22 σαις πόλεσιν, έτι δε Φροντιζούσαις εύχοσμίας, γυναικονομία, νομοφυλακία, παιδονομία, γυμνασιαρχία, πρός δὲ τούτοις 1323 π ερὶ ἀγῶνας ἐ π ιμέλεια γυμνικούς καὶ Δ ιονυ σ ιακούς, καν εἴ τινας έτέρας συμβαίνει τοιαύτας γίνεσθαι θεωρίας. τούτων 23 δ' ένιαι Φανερώς είσιν οὐ δημοτικαί τῶν ἀρχῶν, οἶον γυναικονομία και παιδονομία. τοῖς γὰρ ἀπόροις ἀνάγκη χρῆσθαι καὶ γυναιξί καὶ παισίν ὤσπερ ἀκολούθοις διὰ τὴν ἀδουλίαν. τριῶν δ' οὐσῶν ἀρχῶν καθ' άς αἰροῦνταί τινες ἀρχὰς τὰς 24 κυρίους, νομοφυλάκων προβούλων βουλης, οἱ μὲν νομοφύ-

Ερχων βασιλεύς combining the two terms. On the general question, comp. Hermann, Pol. Ant. § 56, and note 11, where the authorities are given: also above, III. xiv. 13.

21 ἐπιλογισμούs] not, I think, as L. and S. give it, a "reckoning over, calculation," but in a more technical sense, 'a review of the accounts by the λογισταί,' as ἐξετάσεις is a review by the officers called ἐξετασταί, § 16.

τῶν κοινῶν] Should περί be supplied, or does the genitive depend on the relative? Stahr takes it in the first way, and perhaps that is the sefer, though in any way it is awkward.

22 σχολαστικωτέρας] Compare V. (VIII.) vi. 11, σχολαστικώτεροι γάρ γιγνόμενοι διά τὰς εὐπορίας.

νομοφυλακία] Compare Smith, Dict. Ant. The position of the word here prevents its being applied to any very high magistracy, such as those mentioned in the article as existing in other states of Greece.

23 διὰ τὴν ἀδουλίαν] 'from their not having any slaves.'

24 καθ' as alpoῦνται] This passage is not easy, and I do not feel sure of more than the general meaning. 'There are three forms of magistracy, which are adopted when the supreme magistrates are being chosen, these three are, &c., and of them the first is, &c.' So I translate it. The distinction between πρόβουλοι and the βούλη is sufficiently familiar to all readers of Greek history.

Whether any other points relating

Magistracies. λακες αριστοκρατικόν, όλιγαρχικόν δ' οἱ πρόβουλοι, βουλή δὲ δημοτικόν. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν αρχῶν, ὡς ἐν τύπω, σχεδὸν εἶρηται περὶ πασῶν.

to the βουλευτικόν and δικαστικόν were treated of here, we cannot say. At any rate, the book is short, and the 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. justice of a desire is no justification in its eyes. καν ή πάνυ χαλεπὸν εύρειν την άληθειαν περί αύτων, δμως ράον τυχειν ή συμπείσαι τούς δυναμένους πλεονεκτείν άει γαρ ζητούσι το ίσον και το δίκαιον οι ήττους, οί 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, irremoveable. Of course such a state must, as I said before, lead to greater vicissitudes, to periods of crisis, to revolutions, to $\mu \epsilon \tau \alpha \beta o \lambda \alpha i$. 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—πανταχοῦ διὰ τὸ ἄνισον 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 στάσις 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. 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, But the abruptness is in the form merely, for the subject of this concluding book has been adequately worked out. 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.

Magistracies.

θείν. επέρα δε επιμέλεια ταύτης εχομένη καλ σύνεγγυς ή τῶν περί τὸ ἄστυ δημοσίων καὶ ἰδίων, ἔπως εὐκοσμία ξ, καὶ 4 τῶν πιπτόντων οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ ὁδῶν σωτηρία καὶ διόρθωσις, καὶ τῶν ὁρίων τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὅπως ἀνεγκλήτως έχωσιν, καλ ίσα τούτοις άλλα τῆς ἐπιμελείας ὁμοιότροπα. 5 καλούσι δ' άστυνομίαν οἱ πλεῖστοι τὴν τοιαύτην άρχήν, έξχει δε μόρια πλείω τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὧν ἐτέρους ἐΦ' ἔτερα καθιστάσιν έν ταῖς πολυανθρωποτέραις πόλεσιν, οἶον τειχιποιούς καλ κρηνῶν ἐπιμελητὰς καλ λιμένων Φύλακας. 6 Αλλη δ' άναγκαία τε καὶ παραπλησία ταύτη περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν μὲν γάρ, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὴν χώραν ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰ έξω τοῦ ἄστεος καλοῦσι δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τούτους οἱ μὲν άγρονόμους οἱ δ' ὑλωρούς. Αὖται μὲν οὖν ἐπιμέλειαί εἰσι τούτων τρεῖς, ἄλλη δ' ἀρχὴ πρὸς ἡν αἱ πρόσοδοι τῶν κοινῶν άναφέρονται, παρ' ών φυλαττόντων μερίζονται πρός έκάστην διοίκησιν καλούσι δ' άποδέκτας τούτους καὶ ταμίας. 7 Έτερα δ' άρχη προς ην άναγράφεσθαι δεῖ τά τε ίδια συμβύλαια καὶ τὰς κρίσεις ἐκ τῶν δικαστηρίων παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ι αὐτοῖς τούτοις καὶ τὰς γραφὰς τῷν δικῷν γίνεσθαι δεῖ καὶ | τὰς εἰσ<u>αγω</u>γάς. ἐνιαχοῦ μὲν οὖν μερίζουσι καὶ ταύτην εἰς πλείους, έστι δε μία χυρία τούτων πάντων καλούνται δε

abrapκειa, which is the object of the social union, but on the more distant χρεία, which, δοκεῖ, 'is thought to be so by some.'

4 δημοσίων καὶ ἰδίων] need not be limited as Stahr's translation, "Gebäude," limits it, but generally 'public and private property.'

δπως ἀνεγκλήτως ἔχωσιν] 'That there may be no opening for mutual complaints.'

τούτοις] depends on δμοιδτροπα.

5 &ν ἐτέρους, 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.

6 ἀγρονόμουs] The agrimensores of Rome.

ύλωρούs] commissioners of woods and forests.

παρ' δν φυλαττόντων] 'Who keep them, and from whose hands the distribution is made for the wants of each department,'

διοίκησιν] 'department,' 'branch of administration.'

7 ἀναγράφεσθαι] 'registered.'

τὰς κρίσεις τὰς ἐκ τῶν δικαστηρίων] 'The decisions of the courts of justice.'

τὰs εἰσαγωγάs] "opening of the pleadings," L. and S.

ἷερομνήμονες καὶ ἐπιστάται καὶ μνήμονες καὶ τούτοις ἄλλα Μαgistracies.

δνόματα σύνεγγυς. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην ἐχομένη μὲν ἀναγκαιοτάτη δὲ σχεδὸν καὶ χαλεπωτάτη τῶν ἀρχῶν ἐστὶν ἡ
περὶ τὰς πράξεις τῶν καταδικασθέντων καὶ τῶν προτιβε- \
μένων κατὰ τὰς ἐγγραφὰς καὶ περὶ τὰς Φυλακὰς τῶν σω- 1322

μάτων. χαλεπὴ μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ διὰ τὸ πολλὴν ἔχειν ἀπέ- 9

χθειαν, ὥστε ὅπου μὴ μεγάλα ἔστι κερδαίνειν, οὖτ ἄρχειν
ὑπομένουσιν αὐτὴν οὖθ ὑπομείναντες ἐθέλουσι πράττειν
κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἀναγκαία δ' ἐστίν, ὅτι οὐδὲν ὅφελος

γίνεσθαι μὲν δίκας περὶ τῶν δικαίων, ταύτας δὲ μὴ λαμβάνειν τέλος, ὥστ' εἰ, μὴ γιγνομένων, κοινωνεῖν ἀδύνατον ἀλλήλοις, καὶ πράξεων μὴ γιγνομένων. διὸ βέλτιον μὴ μίαν το
εἴναι ταύτην τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλ' ἄλλους ἐξ ἄλλων δικαστηρίων.
καὶ περὶ τὰς προθέσεις τῶν ἀναγεγραμμένων ὡσαὐτως πειρᾶσθαι διαιρεῖν. ἔτι δ' ἔνια πράττεσθαι καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς

leρομνήμονεs] 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 μνήμονες, 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 μνήμοτες.

8 τῶν προτιθεμένων κατὰ τὰς ἐγγραφάς] "mit eintreibung der verhängten
Strafgelder," says Stahr, "with the
collection of the fines imposed." But
this is not a close rendering of the
words. I take προτιθεμένων as passive
and masculine, 'proscriptorum' in its
primary sense, and with Stahr I make
it depend on πράξως. '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 passage.

9 ξχειν ἀπέχθειαν] 'involves much odium,' or 'has great odium attached to it.'

λαμβάνειν τέλος] 'be executed, put in force;' similar expressions are λαμβάνειν δψος, τιμήν.

10 A16] Because of the unpopularity that attaches to the office.

τὰς προθέσεις τῶν ἀναγεγραμμένων] πρόθεσις is 'the proscription,' 'the posting up' of those registered or recorded. So in substance the expression is equivalent to the one noticed, § 8, τῶν προτιθεμένων κατὰ τὰς ἐγγραφάς. And so Stahr takes it.

έτι δ' ένια] The Greek of this passage is very hard. What is the meaning of the καί before τὰς ἀρχάς? Again, what is the sense of τῶν νέων, τὰς νέας, τῶν ἐνεστώτων? I do not see that Stahr translates the καί, and the sense he attaches to the νέων, νέας, "fresh cases, fresh magistracies," is, I should think, open to question. At the same time, I do not see what better solution

रद्भ रह केरिक्य सक्ष रक्ष रक्ष भ्रम्क प्रकारिक रक्षेत्र भ्रम्बद्ध, स्वी रक्षेत्र דמש באברדמודמו בדב מב אמדמנואמנימנים בדב במע בנימנו דאי אףמדτομένια, ώου αιτινομούς τος παρά του άγορανόμου, τάς υ θε τανά τουται έτενους. Έσαι γάν αν ελάτταν ἀπέχθεια ενί τοις πρεττυμένους, του ουτο μάλλον λήθονται τέλος αί πράξεις τὸ μέν ούν τοὺς κύτοὺς είναι τοὺς καταδικάσαντας και τραττομένους απέγθειαν έγει διπλάρι, το δε περί πάντων τους κύτους κυλειώους κάσω. πολλαγού δε δηρηται Ι καὶ τ΄ Φωίκττουσα τοὺς την πραττομένην, οδον 'Αθήνησι 19 [1] Two ENERS RED.DULENON. WE SEATHER ROL TOUTHY YOUP! देहार, प्रयां दिन कांद्री हाम देवाहरू प्रयो बहुने प्रयोगार. वेश्वपृथ्यीय μέν γάρ έσταν σύχ ήπου της είσημένης, συμβαίνει δε τούς μέν έπιεικείς Φείγειν μαίμετα ταύτην την άργήν, τούς δέ μοχηγούς σύα άσφαλες κειείν κυρίους αύτοι γαρ δέονται 13 Φιλακής μάλλου ή Φυλάττειν άλλους δύνανται. διό δεί μή μίαν άποτεταγμένην άρχην είναι πρός αύτοις, μηδέ συνεχώς την αύτην, άλλα των τε νέων, όπου τις έφήβων ή φρουρών · Bekker's text has not this in

b 76 Bekker.

to offer. No satisfactory rendering presents itself.

evertorur] 'the actually existing cases; "herkommlichen."

τὰς παρά τῶν ἀγορανόμων] 'Those which come from!

II lvg rdie πραττομένοις] turlies to those who execute the sen-Loncon.

πολεμίους πασιν] 'Makes them enenties to all, places them, that is, in a hostile relation to all. There is no regular construction of the accusative. Home verb must be supplied from fast, 'involves their being.'

THE BERTH HEARINGTONE [COTTY TORGE A latura this goodiive, and Stahr also inserts the article, though in brackets. It is required by the souse, and I have followed Stater in insuring R. On the two thous of 'the Eleven,' compare Haymann Ash Ant & City This passsage seems to limit their functions. דבלדקט | פכ, דאט שעאבדדסטטעט.

12 TI σόφισμα] 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. dar uh ti σοφίζωνται. What is the device, τὸ σόφισμα, which is alluded to, if the article is kept? "Des moyens adroits," St. Hil., and "Das passende auskunftsmittel," Stahr.

13 προς αὐτοῖς] 'for these objects,' "für diese Geschäfte," Stahr; the expression is irregular altogether. Can it be 'Therefore there must not be one definite magistracy set apart in addition to them (τοῖς μοχθηροῖς), so, the bad whom alone you can expact to find ready to act as jailers, &c.

AAAA vor ve vew] 'But,' he goes on

. . . in Enterer and somers, and John ole Jung shoul ...Digitized by Graz Carles,

έστὶ τάξις, καὶ τ<u>ῶν ἀρχῶ</u>ν δεῖ κατὰ μέρη ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπι-Magisμέλειαν έτέρους. Ταύτας μεν οθν τάς άρχας ώς άναγκαιοτάτας θετέον είναι πρώτας, μετά δε ταύτας τας άναγκαίας μεν ούθεν ήττον, έν σχήματι δε μείζονι τεταγμένας καλ γάρ έμπειρίας και πίστεως δέονται πολλής, τοιαῦται δ' εἰσι 14 αί τε περί την Φυλακήν της πόλεως, και δσαι τάττονται πρός τὰς πολεμικάς χρείας. δεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνη καὶ ἐν πολέμω πυλών τε καὶ τειχών φυλακής δμοίως ἐπιμελητὰς Ι είναι, και έξετάσεως και συντάξεως των πολιτών, ένθα μέν οὖν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις ἀρχαὶ πλείους εἰσίν, ἔνθα δ' ἐλάττους, οδον έν ταῖς μικραῖς πόλεσι μία περί πάντων. καλοῦσι δὲ ες στρατηγούς και πολεμάρχους τούς τοιούτους. ἔτι δὲ κᾶν 1322 Β ωσιν ίππεῖς ἡ ψιλοί ἡ τοξόται ἡ ναυτικόν, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων έκάστων ενίοτε καθίστανται άρχαί, αι καλούνται ναυαρχίαι καὶ ἱππαργίαι καὶ ταξιαργίαι, καὶ κατὰ μέρος δὲ αἱ ὑπὸ ταύτας τριηραρχίαι καὶ λοχαγίαι καὶ Φυλαρχίαι καὶ δσα (τούτων μόρια το δε παν έν τι τούτων εστίν είδος επιμελείας πολεμικών. περί μέν οδν ταύτην την άρχην έχει τον τρό- 16 πον τοῦτον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔνιαι τῶν ἀρχῶν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πᾶσαι, διαχειρίζουσι πολλά τῶν κοινῶν, ἀναγκαῖον ἐτέραν είναι τὴν

· elev Bekker.

to say, 'both of the young there must be some, and the regular magistrates must take in turns this duty.'

ust take in turns this duty."

***mperas | 'in order of time.'

èν σχήματι μείζονι τεταγμένας] 'Speciosi magis ministerii,' 'holding a higher position,' 'of more importance in the scale.'

14 elos eler [hr] is Stahr's reading. I do not see why elos should not at once be substituted for eler, which cannot be construed.

δμοίως is to be taken with εν είρηνη και εν πολέμω.

¿¿erdoews] 'reviewing.'

συντάξεως] 'disciplining.'
15 κατὰ μέρος] 'in detail.' VI. (IV.)

1. Ι. κατὰ μόριον.

δπό ταύτας] Είλ. Ι. i. 4, p. 1094. 10, δσαι δ' elσίν ύπο μίαν τινά δύναμιν, κ.τ.λ.

φυλαρχίαι] Compare Smith, Dict. Ant., art. Phylarchi.

εντιτούτων έστιν elδos] Again compare VI. (IV.) I. I, περί γένος εντι τελείαις οδσαις.

16 διαχειρίζουσι] ' have pass through their hands.'

speculouvivar] 'and besides bring to an account,' L. and S. Compare Smith, Dict. Ant., art. Euthyne, p. 479.

διαχειρίζουσα»] I should give this verb here a slightly different sense from the one above, and its more usual sense of 'managing.'

Wanfa. maias

hardenessay herefore and thousandous with units in-Association seconds and other of that of the entirent of - le nogratore di le fontare, di le rungorme Hasa TORRE SE TOWARD THE ROYAL TO HALLOTTE MINICE TRUTTED ENTER if you mire thanking Eyes to those the settences. TERESTITE TO TATITUE TOTAL THE TOTAL TOTAL TOTAL TOTAL THE 723 tions is supplied in adding the traited and even is even DAY TONOMIAN THE TH TONOMIANERS. THE TARTING FOTE, M SASTA WILLAND. AL USO WID THAT THE TOP TO THE TYPING amainant turis euro, rata à enne expresseus à rest tros hown how leasy to and exceptain the test to less the η Αλλισγεί το τα υπάργοστα και αυτοδιάσδαι τα πίστωτα אונין אינולאשוניות אמו דפים מוצושים מהם דברשבדם דאוב דיים 11, 101/12. A MICHINE IN THE EXPLENEED TOOTHE ENLAYED LED έναι μίνα, άνα έν τούς μικρούς πόλεστο, ένταγοδ δε πολλάς MILL MAYIMPHAPIÁVILG TÃS LEGOSÓNAS, OLOS LEGOSONOS ZOL SOCÇÓ-», γ.ν.κιις καί ταμίας των ιερών χρημάτων. Εγομένη δε ταύτης ή πρίη τὰς ὑισκις άφωρισμένη τὰς κοινάς κάσας, όσας μή τίξη λορίτσην λαπιλίδιοσην ὁ νόμος, άλλ' άπο της κοινής έστίας

numpforms Not the common sense of the word. The common sense is indicated, and I can only refer to the filet. Ant. p. 1080, b, where the conjectures on the subject are pixel.

the state and the elaphopde of the the introduced of the rentries destinated."

At Hillstein termshitten, is not in hermour with the passage, if conceivably positioned the passage is not the Auspaug development. "The passage of the their hands the fluid intification of the their passage is the passage in the passage of the there are passage in the passage of the pass

vour of the usual reading retained by Bekker.

8εί γὰρ είναι τὸ συνάγον] 'There must exist the body which can call together the sovereign body,' and this body, τὸ συνάγον, will have in its hands the introduction of the measures to be discussed.

δπου δὸ πλῆθός ἐστι] Where the government is a popular one. See below, § 24.

19 ths lepwowns] 'from the priestly function itself.'

20 dwb τῆς κοινῆς, κ.τ.λ.] "deren lieuorgung von dem gemeinschaftlichen heiligen Staatsheerde ausgeht." Stahr; 'all those sacrifices which derive their claim to attention from their connexion with the public or state hearth'

έχουσι την τιμήν· καλοῦσι δ' οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντας τούτους, οἰ δε βασιλείς, οι δε πρυτάνεις. Αι μεν οδν άναγκαῖαι έπιμέλειαί είσι περί τούτων, ώς είπεῖν συγκεφαλαιωσαμένους, 21 περί τε τὰ δαιμόνια καὶ τὰ πολεμικά καὶ περὶ τὰς προσόδους και περί τὰ ἀναλισκόμενα, και περί ἀγορὰν και περί τὸ άστυ καὶ λιμένας καὶ τὴν χώραν, ἔτι τὰ περὶ τὰ δικαστήρια καὶ συναλλαγμάτων ἀναγραφὰς καὶ πράξεις καὶ φυλακὰς καλ έπιλογισμούς τε καλ έξετάσεις, καλ πρός εὐθίνας τῶν άρχόντων, και τέλος αι περί το βουλευόμενόν είσι των κοιίδία δὲ ταῖς σχολαστικωτέραις καὶ μᾶλλον εὐημερού- 22 σαις πόλεσιν, έτι δε Φροντιζούσαις εύχοσμίας, γυναιχονομία, νομοφυλακία, παιδονομία, γυμνασιαρχία, πρός δὲ τούτοις 1323 περί άγῶνας ἐπιμέλεια γυμνικούς καὶ Δ ιονυσιακούς, κάν εἴ τινας έτέρας συμβαίνει τοιαύτας γίνεσθαι θεωρίας. τούτων 23 δ΄ ἔνιαι Φανερῶς εἰσιν οὐ δημοτικαὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν, οἶον γυναικονομία καὶ παιδονομία τοῖς γὰρ ἀπόροις ἀνάγκη χρῆσθαι καὶ γυναιξί καὶ παισὶν ὤσπερ ἀκολούθοις διὰ τὴν ἀδουλίαν. τριῶν δ' οὐσῶν ἀρχῶν καθ' ᾶς αἰροῦνταί τινες ἀρχὰς τὰς 24 κυρίους, νομοφυλάκων προβούλων βουλής, οί μεν νομοφύ-

άρχοντας] At Athens we have the άρχων βασιλεύς combining the two terms. On the general question, comp. Hermann, Pol. Ant. § 56, and note 11, where the authorities are given: also above, III. xiv. 13.

21 ἐπιλογισμούς] not, I think, as L. and S. give it, a "reckoning over, calculation," but in a more technical sense, 'a review of the accounts by the λογισταί, 'as ἐξετάσεις is a review by the officers called ἐξετασταί, § 16.

τῶν κοινῶν] Should περί be supplied, or does the genitive depend on the relative? Stahr takes it in the first way, and perhaps that is the safer, though in any way it is awkward.

22 σχολαστικωτέραs] Compare V. (VIII.) vi. 11, σχολαστικώτεροι γάρ γιγνόμενοι διά τὰς εὐπορίας.

rομοφυλακία] Compare Smith, Dict.
Ant. The position of the word here
prevents its being applied to any very
high magistracy, such as those mentioned in the article as existing in other
states of Greece.

23 διὰ τὴν ἀδουλίαν] 'from their not having any slaves.'

24 καθ' as alpoῦνται] This passage is not easy, and I do not feel sure of more than the general meaning. 'There are three forms of magistracy, which are adopted when the supreme magistrates are being chosen, these three are, &c., and of them the first is, &c.' So I translate it. The distinction between πρόβουλοι and the βούλη is sufficiently familiar to all readers of Greek history.

Whether any other points relating

Magia-tracies.

λακες άριστοκρατικόν, όλιγαρχικόν δ' οἱ πρόβουλοι, βουλή δὲ δημοτικόν. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀρχῶν, ὡς ἐν τύπω, σχεδὸν είρηται περί πασων.

to the βουλευτικόν and δικαστικόν were treated of here, we cannot say. At any rate, the book is short, and the | has discussed.

two subjects mentioned as much wanted an additional discussion as the one he

BOOK VIII. (V.) SUMMARY.

TN the summary of Book VI. (IV.) I have given the position of 1 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. justice of a desire is no justification in its eyes. καν ή πάνυ χαλεπόν εύρειν την άλήθειαν περί αὐτών, δμως ράον τυχειν ή συμπείσαι τοὺς δυναμένους πλεονεκτείν άει γαρ ζητούσι το ίσον και το δίκαιον οι ήττους, οί 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 They are wrung from its weakness, and given with conciliations. They are stimulants to the growing strength of its reluctance.

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, irremoveable. Of course such a state must, as I said before, lead to greater vicissitudes, to periods of crisis, to revolutions, to µeraβoλal. 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-πανταγοῦ διὰ τὸ ἄνισον ή 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 στάσις 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.

L. 7. i. p. 1988. D): περεγεγούοθω μέν οδν τάγαθον ταύτη, δεί γων ίσως ύποινεώσει πρώτον, εξί ύστερον άναγράψαι. δόξειε δ' άν πώντος είναι ποιαγαγείν και διασθρώσει τὰ καλώς έχοντα τή περιγραφή, καὶ ὁ χουνος τών τοικότων εύρετης ή συνεργός άγαθός είναι, όθεν και τών τεχνών γεγάνασαν αὶ έπιδόσεις παυτός γάρ προσθείναι κὶ ελλείτων.

$\Pi O \Lambda I T I K \Omega N \Theta$. (E.)

ΠΕΡΙ μεν οὖν τῶν ἄλλων ὧν προειλόμεθα σχεδον εἴρηται The object σf the περὶ πάντων ἐκ τίνων δὲ μεταβάλλουσιν αὶ πολιτεῖαι book.

καὶ πόσων καὶ ποίων, καὶ τίνες ἐκάστης πολιτείας Φθοραί, καὶ ἐκ ποίων εἰς ποίας μάλιστα μεθίστανται, ἔτι δὲ σωτηρίαι τίνες καὶ κοινῆ καὶ χωρὶς ἐκάστης εἰσίν, [ἔτι δὲ διὰ τίνων ἀν μάλιστα σώζοιτο τῶν πολιτειῶν ἐκάστη,] σκεπτέον ἐφεξῆς τοῖς εἰρημένοις. δεῖ δὲ πρῶτον ὑπολαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν, 2 ὅτι πολλαὶ γεγένηνται πολιτεῖαι πάντων μὲν ὁμολογούντων τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ κατ' ἀναλογίαν ἴσον, τούτου δ' ἀμαρτα-

VIII. I. I. 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 φθοραί first and then the σωτηρίαι, of the causes of destruction before the means of conservation, points to the preceding construction in VI. VII. (IV. VI.).

meρl μέν, 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.

êκ τίνων δέ] This is done in Chaps.

I.—IV. We must remark that his language is πολιτεῖαι, and that the earlier chapters are limited to these πολιτεῖαι and do not touch on μοναρχία, which was not to him a πολιτεία.

ἐκάστης πολιτείας] V.—VII.

σωτηρίαι τίνες] VIII.—IX.

Eτι 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 φθοραί and μεθίστανται, but none such here between σωτηρίαι and σώζοιτο. I have therefore, as in other passages, enclosed the words in brackets.

2 ὁπολαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν] " von dem früher ausgesprochenem Satze ausgehen," Stahr, 'assume as our starting point.'

τό δίκαιον καί] Spengel, p. 38, note 34, wishes to read elva for rai, and I think the sense much better. Stahr retains kal. change into elva is, I believe, countenanced 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

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THE OHER PHOTON, OFFICE BOTTON AND THITTEN. TOPONG LED YOU THE with 19674 for this being tende bette deethe texture atthis atthis atthis simul give que éléveeu raires innine arins iru sina mui-(pan), lispacja le ex ro inicos, és a loras litas sina ווויאים יתונים בין מונים עבל יותר שבים ומונים שינים ביותר ביותר וויאים בין ביותר מונים וויאים בין ביותר מונים וויאים בין ביותר מונים וויאים בין ביותר מונים בין ביותר בין ביותר ביות หน่องเก งลัก เงลก น้าเกิดเ ฉะงะบุระก, น่ น ล่ง น้าแดงน นักระด (Almantin liturio in in 120 alima amera. Exposi alea זירן / אורוו בייורוג וודבים ביו דוב ביוודים, בדמבים שובים. נו שונים לו לואמנית מדם עצו מו הדמהוצ'ונו. ובו ביים לו ניינים IAN * About in it not gotte graciones. Despete Jes η εδίτεργου λυίστους λατλώς είναι τύστους μύσου. Είσε 🔅 τους זיון לעור לחודת דעיודון י פירופיבול אמף בליםו סימשיהוי של יצמיγει πριγίνιου Ιτρετή και πλώτως. 'Αρχαί μέν στο ώς είπειο μίται και πηγαί των στάσεων είσιν, όλεν στασιάζωσειν. * Διλ καί αι μεταβολαί γίγνονται διχώς δτε μεν γάρ πρός

and what is equal proportionately, but fall in attaining justice, in realizing this their idea of what is equal and just. Their agreement goes no further than their language, as soon as they came to action, they are at laste as to the practical application of the language in which they agree. This leaves a definite and good sense for lickhar's test, which I have therefore and altered

4 har' abalar! 'In proporty.'

4 nderme the famel 'minulity in all things."

propositive (qualitary Mic Risk. v. 2. 19: 11 pr 1140; le y, flores πλεονέκτης τους δατι η Hemore τους γηρ περιχορικά muche, Polonic wor molie not, pppping authorities boloni," Static. The app fight to be to the theories simply as a

justification of his use of *Accounted.

5 ήμαρτημένει δ' ἐπλῶs] Spengel in the passage quoted above would read here ήμαρτηκοῦει δὲ τοῦ ἐπλῶs, but the reading in the text seems to be quite defensible.

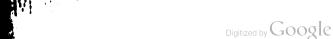
κατὰ τὴν ὑπόληψω] 'according to the view which they respectively entertain.'

6 wdvrwv 86] For all this language compare III. xII. 13.

7 ebγενείs] Compare VI. (IV.) vIII. 9, ἀρχαίος πλούτος και άρετή.

δθεν στασιάζουσιν] not in the sense of δθεν ή κίνησις, but οδ ένεκα, Eth. ▼1. 2. 4°, p. 1139, 31.

8 $\Delta i\delta$ και αι μεταβολαί, κ. τ. λ.] και αι μεταβολαί, the revolutions, the changes of the government, as well as the dissensions whilst the



την πολιτείαν, όπως έκ της καθεστηκυίας άλλην μεταστήσωσιν, οδον εκ δημοκρατίας ολιγαρχίαν ή δημοκρατίαν εξ revolution. όλιγαρχίας, ή πολιτείαν καὶ άριστοκρατίαν ἐκ τούτων, ή ταύτας έξ έκείνων ότε δ' οὐ πρός την καθεστηκυῖαν πολιτείαν, άλλα την μεν κατάστασιν προαιρούνται την αὐτήν, δι' αύτῶν δ' είναι βούλονται ταύτην, οίον την όλιγαργίαν η την μοναρχίαν. Ετι περί του μάλλον και ήττον, οίον ή ο όλιγαρχίαν οὖσαν εἰς τὸ μᾶλλον όλιγαρχεῖσθαι ἡ εἰς τὸ ήττον, ή δημοκρατίαν οὖσαν εἰς τὸ μᾶλλον δημοκρατεῖσθαι η είς τὸ ήττον · όμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πολιτειῶν, ἡ 📆 🚧 ΐνα ἐπιταθῶσιν ἡ ἀνεθῶσιν. ἔτι πρὸς τὸ μέρος τι κινῆσαι 10 τῆς πολιτείας, οίον ἀρχήν τινα καταστῆσαι ἡ ἀνελεῖν, ώσπερ εν Λακεδαίμονί Φασι Λύσανδρόν τινες επιχειρήσαι καταλύσαι τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ Παυσανίαν τὸν βασιλέα τὴν καλ εν Έπιδάμνω δε μετέβαλεν ή πολιτεία

government remains unchanged; this last is ordors. The connexion which did 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. 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.

 $\delta \tau \in \mu \in \gamma d\rho$, κ . τ . λ .] 'At one time it assumes the form of an attack on the existing constitution.' question of the form of government.

πολιτείαν και άριστοκρατίαν] Compare II. xi. 5, and VI. (IV.) Ch. vii. VIII.

δι' αύτῶν] It is a personal question. They accept the constitution, they wish it to be placed in their own hands to administer.

9 [71] It is a question of degree. Victorius looks on the two cases indicated by Eti in §§ 9, 10 as varieties of the second form of revolution, 876 8' οὐ πρός, κ.τ.λ., and finds in this view the justification of the διχώς γίγνονται ai μεταβολαί. I rather look on them as proceeding from his careful attention to all distinctions, his wish to exhaust the cases. They are simply subsidiary.

10 μέρος τι] 'Some one part.'

ώσπερ εν Λακεδαίμονι] Mr Grote, 1x. 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.

Παυσανίαν] On this see Grote, II. 464, 467, v. 362.

'Επιδάμυφ] Of Epidamnus, we have had notices, II. vii. 23, III. xvi. I.

Inequality

κατά μόριον άντι γάρ των Φυλάρχων βουλήν εποίησαν. τι είς δε την Ηλιαίαν επάναγκές εστιν έτι των εν τω πολιτουματιτής τευματι βαδίζειν τας αρχάς, όταν επιψηφίζηται αρχή τις. πικικο εγιλαθχικον ος και ο αρχαν ο είδ μη εκ τμ κογιτεία ταπτή. πανταγού γάρ διά το άνισον ή στάσις. ού μην τοῖς άνίσοις ύπαρχει ανάλογον αίδιος γαρ βασιλεία ανισος, έαν ή έν τι ίσως τλως γάς το έσων ζητούντες στασιάζουσιν. έστι δέ केराके रहे किया रहे क्षेत्र पूर्वेड वेड्राईपर्क रहे हैं। κατ वेर्द्रावर है दर्गर.

> Me choos ar its country on coos धोला धोला अस्य वर वेटाओं अने पर स्थापना In a garaceitter There is a mining " II E som

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there will be dissension if citizens unequal in position have their rights proportioned to that inequality. In was sense it is true this case prosents an inequality, but it is an inequality which is really just. There as no violation of proportion. So I would paraphrase the passage, agreeing with Sair in the sense I attach to in home allowing that it is simply conrectural. The only other way I can suggest is: in all cases alike where there is discension, inequality is the cause of that dissension, but it is not at all cases that inequality produces insensor. people may be unequal and me are gracied, for though unwas, in the distribution of political nower to provideges, a proportionate square may be preserved. The cases a water measurements in dissenone are there there where over and source the inequality, there is in the communical many marriage, a violarou if the tripurchments equality. 🗅 > жығы ратайсын жердін тоғе, the root we change the sense of the words at the other. and the ground bests of the two is sent; much the same. I suspect the Lebrary is being abspected discreted. 🗽 🚵 refer dender some w refer servenily is the most of Specia and more librar à voti à 🛫 commerce was provided incide the female ismus anatas an

and the second section of the section of the second section of the second section of the second section of the section of the second section of the section of the

λέγω δὲ ἀριθμῷ μὲν τὸ πλήθει ἡ μεγέθει ταὐτὸ καὶ ἴσον, Inequality κατ' ἀξίαν δὲ τὸ τῷ λόγω, οἶον ὑπερέχει κατ' ἀριθμὸν μὲν of political disturb-ໃσον τὰ τρία τοῖν δυοῖν καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ ἐνός, λόγω δὲ τέτταρα τοῖν δυοῖν καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ ἐνός ' ἴσον γὰρ μέρος τὰ δύο τῶν τεττάρων καὶ τὸ ἐν τῶν δυοῖν· ἄμφω γὰρ ἡμίση. ὁμο- 13 Idea of λογούντες δε το άπλώς είναι δίκαιον το κατ' άξίαν, διαφέ- equality. ρονται, καθάπερ ελέχθη πρότερον, οἱ μὲν ὅτι, ἐὰν κατά τι ໃσοι ώσιν, όλως Ισοι νομίζουσιν είναι, οί δ ότι, έαν κατά τι άνισοι, πάντων ανίσων αξιούσιν ξαυτούς. διό και μάλιστα 14 δύο γίνονται πολιτεῖαι, δῆμος καὶ ὀλιγαρχία· εὐγένεια γὰρ 1302 καλ άρετη έν ολίγοις, ταῦτα δ' έν πλείοσιν εύγενεῖς γάρ κονιών το καὶ ἀγαθοὶ οὐδαμοῦ ἐκατόν, ἄποροι δὲ πολλοὶ πολλαγοῦ. τὸ δὲ ἀπλῶς πάντη καθ' ἐκατέραν τετάχθαι τὴν ἰσότητα

v. x. 4, p. 1134, 27, ἐλευθέρων καὶ ίσων, ή κατ' αναλογίαν ή κατ' αριθμόν. The two passages compared show, as does also § 13 compared with § 2 in this chapter, that κατ' αναλογίαν is equivalent to kar' agiar. Numerical is opposed to proportionate equality.

13 δμολογούντες δέ, κ. τ. λ.] The text as I have given it differs from Bekker's in its view of the article τό before and in its stopping-Bekker places a comma after discuss. 'Whilst agreeing in the statement,' such I make the force of τό, '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 superiority in goodness is generally accompanied 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 Hence, also, to speak dissensions. generally, there are two, and only two constitutions.

ταῦτα δ' ἐν πλείοσιν] The elements of these, δήμος καὶ όλιγαρχία.

twopoi] Some MSS. read etwopoi. Stahr conjectures that the text originally included both. It would be better if it did. εύποροι δέ και άποροι πολλοί πολλαχοῦ. But it may stand as it is; either involves the other. 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 inevitable if the poor are dominant.

καθ έκατέραν Ισότητα] 'according to either of the two equalities.'

ldes of equality.

Τάτιλο. Σανελο δ΄ εκ του συμβαίνοντες ελδεμία γαρ μίνισης εκ του τωνίτου κυιτειών. τείτου δ΄ αίτιου ότι τό λίνατο άκι του τωνίτου κυιτειών. τείτου δ΄ αίτιου ότι άκανταν είς τὶ τείτες κακίν τι. διὸ δεί τὰ μὲν ἀριθμητική ἐσέτητι γρηγόλα, τὰ δε τη κατ ἀξιαν. διμος δε ἀσφαλεκότητι γρηγόλα, τὰ δε τη κατ ἀξιαν. διμος δε ἀσφαλεκότες καὶ ἀστασίαστες μαλλον ή λημοκρατία της όλιγαρχίας εγγίνονται δύο, η τε κλος ἀλλίνους στάσις καὶ έτι ή κρὸς τὸν δημον, εν δε ταϊς ἐπιμεκρατίας ή τρὸς τὸν όλιγαρχίαν μόνον αὐτῷ δὲ πρὸς ἀντίν, ὁ τι καὶ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν, οὐκ ἐγγίγνεται τῷ δήμιο στάσις. ἔτι δε ή ἐκ τῶν μέσων πολιτεία ἐγγυτέρω τοῦ δήμω ή ή τῶν ὸλίγων, ήπερ ἐστὶν ἀσφαλεστάτη τῶν τοιού-

'Επεὶ δὲ σκοπούμεν ἐκ τίνων αι τε στάσεις γίγνονται καὶ αι μεταβολαὶ περὶ τὰς πολιτείας, ληπτέον καθόλου πρῶτον τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς αἰτίας αὐτῶν. εἰσὶ δὲ σχεδὸν • 84 Bokker.

in row sumbairorres] 'from that which is habitually the result.'

15 my dwarfar] 'There should not result in the end.'

τὰ μὲν ἀριθμητικῆ, 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.

δμωτ δέ | This refers to the οδδεμία γάρ μάνιμοτ. Still, though no such form is permanent, there is more safety and loss liability to quarrels in demoneacy than in oligarchy.

Spec as aspectively Instances are not difficult to find, if we wish to touty the truth of Aristotle's remark. It deserves attention in itself, and from the content it offers to the general estimate of these forms of agreement, which the influence of Island sympathics 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 opportunity of studying.

16 δ τι καὶ άξιον εἰπεῖν] This expression occurred II. xi. 2.

· ήπερ] 'and this,' ή τῶν μέσων, 'it is that is the most secure.'

τῶν τοιούτων πολιτειῶν] 'of such forms of government as we are now discussing,' the actual and imperfect forms.

II. I καθόλου] as opposed to Ch. V. I, καθ έκαστον elles μερίστες. So that Chaps. II. III. IV. form one division of the book.

86] I prefer this reading of one MS. to Bekker's reading, 86. ώς εἰπεῖν τρεῖς τὸν ἀριθμόν, ᾶς διοριστέον καθ' αὐτὰς τύπω The causes πρώτον. δει γαρ λαβείν πώς τε έχοντες στασιάζουσι και sions of disτίνων ένεκεν, καὶ τρίτον τίνες άρχαὶ γίνονται τῶν πολιτικῶν generally. ταραγών και τών προς άλλήλους στάσεων. Του μέν οδυ αύτους έχειν πως πρός την μεταβολήν αιτίαν καθόλου μά- 2 λιστα θετέον περί ής ήδη τυγχάνομεν είρηκότες. οἱ μὲν γαρ ισότητος εφιέμενοι στασιάζουσιν, αν νομίζωσιν έλαττον ἔγειν ὄντες ἴσοι τοῖς πλεονεκτοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ τῆς ἀνισότητος καλ της ύπεροχης, αν ύπολαμβάνωσιν όντες ανισοι μή πλέον έχειν άλλ' Ισον ή έλαττον. τούτων δ' έστι μέν δρέγεσθαι 3 δικαίως, έστι δε και άδίκως ελάττους τε γάρ όντες όπως Ισοι ώσι στασιάζουσι, καὶ Ισοι όντες υπως μείζους. μέν ουν έχοντες στασιάζουσιν, είρηται. Περί ων δέ στασιάζουσιν, έστι κέρδος και τιμή και τάναντία τούτοις και γαρ ατιμίαν Φεύγοντες και ζημίαν, η ύπερ αύτων ή των Φίλων, στασιάζουσιν έν ταῖς πόλεσιν. Αἱ δ' αἰτίαι καὶ 4 άρχαλ τών χινήσεων, δθεν αύτοί τε διατίθενται τον είρημένον τρόπου καὶ περὶ τῶν λεχθέντων, ἔστι μὲν ὡς τὸν ἀριθμὸν έπτὰ τυγγάνουσιν οὖσαι, ἔστι δ' ως πλείους. ὧν δύο μὲν 5 έστι ταύτα τοῖς εἰρημένοις, άλλ' οὐχ ιώσαύτως δια κέρδος

καθ' αὐτάς] 'by themselves,' without any explanation attached, clear from any admixture of matter, the matter in this case being the instances from history,

πωs τε έχοντες] '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 apxal. 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 them.

² έχειν πως] 'being affected in one manner or another.'

τοις πλεονεκτούσιν] simply those who have advantages over

³ ἐλάττουs] 'unfairly depressed.'

ίσοι όντες όπως μείζους] 'really equal, they strive to raise themselves above their fair position.' This interpretation seems required by the ydp.

^{4 8}θεν] Compare Eth. v1. ii. 4, p. 1139. 31, άρχη προαίρεσις, δθεν ή κίνησις άλλ' οὐχ οὖ ἔνεκα. So here it is not the object aimed at,-that is given just before, weel do, -that is meant by apxal, 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

Το σου γάς και λιά τιμήν παρηξίνηνται πρλη άλληλους σύχ ένα sions of the profession of the prices and the states expense profession, and senerally, execuse acousting truly all directors truly of edizons presentations THOSE 6 TOS TOSTOND. ETI Suà SEGUE, Suà CARON, Suà EMESONYAP, Suà प्रकार के क्षेत्रकार है। ये को देवतान क्षेत्र का कार्य के वार्य के क्षेत्रकार है। वेहे άλλου τρόπου δι' εριβείαν, δι' όλυγαρίαν, διά μυκρότητα, δι' η ανημιώτητα. Τυύτων δε ύρους μέν και κέρλος τίνα έγουσι Explans δίναμιν καὶ τῶς αντια, σχελόν ἐστι ζανερόν τιβριζέντων τε emmen γας των εν ταϊς αςχαίς και πλεινεκτιώντων στασιάζιωσι και τους αλλήλως και ποις τας πηλιτείας τας διλούσας την egnolas. i ve averegia liberal ous ass and two lylan ous 2 कें बंद्र के राजि प्रकारका. ब्रिकेट कें प्रयो में राष्ट्र प्रयो मां केंक्रवरया και κώς αιτία στάσεως. και γας αυτοί ατιμαζόμενοι και άλλους έρωντες τιμομένους στασιάζουσιν ταῦτα δὲ άδίκος μέν γίνεται, όταν παρά την άξίαν ή τιμώνταί τινες ή άτι-3 μάζωνται, δικαίως δέ, δταν.κατά την άξίαν. Δι ύπεροχήν δέ. όταν τις τη τη δυνάμει μείζου, η είς ή πλείους, η κατά την πόλιν και την δύναμιν τοῦ πολιτεύματος γίνεσθαι γάρ είωθεν έχ των τοιούτων μοναρχία ή δυναστεία. διο ένιαγοῦ εἰωθασιν όστρακίζειν, ολον έν Αργει καὶ Αθήνησιν,

> discontent with the existing arrangements. They wish to remedy an injustice which they see.

έτέρους δρώντες] 'because they see others.'

6 ἐριθείαν] For the explanation of this term we must look to what Aristotle says below, III. 9, διὰ τὰς ἐριθείας, ὅτι ἡροῦντο τοὺς ἐριθεωρμένους. Compare De Wette, Handbuch zum neuen Testament, Rom. ii. 9, where he speaks of the senses of the word in the various passages in which it occurs in St. Paul's Epistles, and of the sense of 'party-spirit' which since Aristotle had been its usual one; and this is the sense in which Liddell and Scott take

III. I mpds rax meatreins] 'against the constitutions which afford them scope.'

and raw islaw] 'from private property,' 'at the expense of individuals.'

2 άλλους δρώντες] Comp. Niebuhr, Rom. Hist. II. 602, on the character of M. Manlins, and the feelings with which he beheld the honours heaped on Camillus.

3 ħ κατὰ τὴν τόλιν, 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.'

¿ν "Αργει] For this see Grote IV.
216. For ostracism generally, above,
III. XIII.

καίτοι βέλτιον εξ άρχης όραν οπως μη ενέσονται τοσούτον Explanaύπερέχοντες, ἢ ἐάσαντας γενέσθαι,ἰᾶσθαι ὕστερον. Διὰ δὲ Φόβον στασιάζουσιν οί τε ήδικηκότες, δεδιότες μή δῶσι δίκην, καὶ οἱ μέλλοντες ἀδικεῖσθαι, βουλόμενοι Φθάσαι πρὶν 4 άδικηθηναι, ώσπερ εν 'Ρόδω συνέστησαν οι γνώριμοι επί τον δημον διά τάς επιφερομένας δίκας. Διά καταφρόνησιν 5 δε καλ στασιάζουσι καλ επιτίθενται, οδον έν τε ταῖς όλιγαρχίαις, όταν πλείους ώσιν οι μή μετέχοντες τῆς πολιτείας (κρείττους γάρ οδονται εδναι), καὶ ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις οἰ εύποροι καταφρονήσαντες της αταξίας και αναργίας, οίον καὶ ἐν Θήβαις μετὰ τὴν ἐν ΟἰνοΦύτοις μάχην κακῶς πο-λιτευομένων ἡ δημοκρατία διεφθάρη, καὶ ἡ Μεγαρέων δι λιτευομένων η δημοκρατία οιεφυαρη, και η ινιεγαρεων οι άταξίαν καὶ ἀναρχίαν ήττηθέντων, καὶ ἐν Συρακούσαις πρὸ της Γέλωνος τυραννίδος, καὶ ἐν 'Ρόδω ὁ δημος πρὸ της έπαναστάσεως. Γίνονται δὲ καὶ δι' αὔξησιν τὴν παρά τὸ 6 άνάλογον μεταβολαί τῶν πολιτειῶν. ὧσπερ γὰρ σῶμα έκ μερών σύγκειται καὶ δεῖ αὐξάνεσθαι ἀνάλογον, ἵνα μένη συμμετρία, εὶ δὲ μή, Φθείρεται, ὅταν ὁ μὲν ποὺς τεττά-

indicated.

4 'Pόδφ] Compare Ch. V. 2. Nieb. über alte Gesch., Vol. IV. followed a time of internal dissension, with regard to which the accounts that remain are obscure." I translate from the German.

διά τάς επιφερομένας δίκας] 'on account of the suits with which they were threatened.' The Corcyrean Sedition (Thuc. III. 70) is a case in point.

5 πλείους οί μη μετέχοντες] Compare in Xenoph. Hell. 11. 3, § 38, et sqq., the argument of Theramenes as to the dangerous policy adopted by Critias and the extreme party.

er Θήβαις] Grote, v. 466, Thuc. 1. 113, we have the fact of the change in Bœotia given us as the result of the battle of Coronea. The internal causes are not given.

Meγαρέων] Grote, 111. 59, 60. No dates or details. Thuc. 1. 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.

Συρακούσαις] 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.

πρὸ τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως] ' previous to the rising of the oligarchical party against them,' the fact given above in the words συνέστησαν οι γνώριμοι. ἐπὶ τον δημον.

6 την παρά, 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.

indicated.

Explana- ρουν πηχών ή τὸ δ' άλλο σώμα δυοίν σπιθαμαίν, ἐνίστε tion of the δὲ κᾶν εἰς ἄλλου ζώου μεταβάλλοι μορφήν, εἰ μὴ μόνον κατά τὸ ποσὸν άλλά και κατά τὸ ποιών αυξάνωτο παρά ¹³⁰³ τὸ ἀνάλογον, ούτω καὶ πόλις σύγκειται ἐκ μερῶν, ὧν πολλάκις λανθάνει τι αὐξανόμενον, οἶον τὸ τῶν ἀπόρων η πλήθος έν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις καὶ πολιτείαις. συμβαίνει δ' ενίστε τούτο καὶ διὰ τύχας, οδον εν Τάραντι ήττηθέντων καὶ ἀπολομένων πολλών γνωρίμων ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰαπύγων μικρον υστερον των Μηδικών δημοκρατία εγένετο έκ πολιτείας, καὶ ἐν Αργει τῶν ἐν τῆ ἐβδόμη ἀπολομένων ὑπὸ Κλεομένους τοῦ Λάκωνος ήναγκάσθησαν παραδέξασθαι τῶν περιοίκων τινάς, καὶ ἐν ᾿Αθήναις ἀτυχούντων πεζή οἱ γνώριμοι ελάττους εγένοντο διά το έχ καταλόγου στρατεύεσθαι 8 ύπο τον Λακωνικόν πόλεμον. συμβαίνει δε τοῦτο και έν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις, ήττον δέ πλειόνων γὰρ τῶν ἀπόρων

> 7 διὰ τύχας] 'some sudden accidents.' Τάραντι] Herod. VL 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."

> 'Apyei] Herod. vi. 78-82, Hermann, Pol. Ant. 33.

> έβδόμη] The origin and meaning of this name was, says Stahr, unknown even to the later Greeks.

> repoiner The language of Herodotus is, "Αργος άνδρων έχηρώθη ούτω ώστε οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτέων ἔσχον πάντα τὰ πρήγματα άρχοντές τε και διέποντες. The Argive Periceci, Hermann, Pol. Ant. § 19, conjectures, were called Orneatæ.

> ἀτυχούντων πείξη] 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 ύπο τον Λακωνικόν πόλεμον.

in 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 autopur] This word is doubtful. Several MSS. read evitopur, 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 aroper. 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 At any rate, where the πολιτεία. 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, by making it a good mixture, make it a wolitela. But an increase in the number of the poor would be a sound ground for inferring that wealth was becoming γινομένων ή των ούσιων αύξανομένων μεταβάλλουσιν είς Explanaόλιγαργίας και δυναστείας. Μεταβάλλουσι δ' αι πολιτείαι καλ άνευ στάσεως διά τε τὰς ἐριθείας, ώσπερ ἐν Ἡραία (ἐξ αίρετῶν γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο ἐποίησαν κληρωτάς, ὅτι ἡροῦντο τοὺς 9 έριθευομένους), καὶ δι' όλιγωρίαν, δταν ἐάσωσιν εἰς τὰς ἀρχὰς τας κυρίας παριέναι τούς μη της πολιτείας Φίλους, ώσπερ έν 'Ωρεώ κατελύθη ή όλιγαρχία των άρχόντων γενομένου Ήρακλεοδώρου, δς εξ όλιγαρχίας πολιτείαν καὶ δημοκρατίαν κατεσκεύασεν. *Ετι διά τὸ παρά μικρόν λέγω δὲ παρά το μικρόν, δτι πολλάκις λανθάνει μεγάλη γινομένη μετάβασις των νομίμων, όταν παρορώσι το μικρόν, ώσπερ εν Άμβρακία μικρον ήν το τίμημα, τέλος δ ούθενος ήρχον, ώς έγγιον ή μηθεν διαφέρον τοῦ μηθεν τὸ μικρόν. Στασιωτικόν δε τι καλ τὸ μὴ ὁμόφυλον, ἔως Εν συμπνεύση · ωσπερ γὰρ οὐδ ἐκ τοῦ τυχόντος πλήθους πόλις γίγνεται, οῦτως οὐδ' ἐν τῶ τυχόντι χρόνω. διὸ όσοι ήδη συνοίκους εδέξαντο ή εποίκους,

indicated.

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 Such a condition of things another. would lead to an oligarchy, and gradually to its closest and narrowest form (δυναστείαν).

των οὐσιων αὐξανομένων] The increase of the poor, or the increase of the standard of wealth in the case of the wealthy, are but two sides of the same condition of things. As the poor grow poorer, the rich grow richer. Their numbers do not increase, but the wealth gets enormous in the hands of the few who share it. Compare Arnold, Rom. Hist. Vol. 1.

9 Kal aven ordoews] 'even without any open rupture.'

'Hoala] In Arcadia.

ήροῦντο] 'They were in the habit of

choosing the members of the same party.'

τàs κυρίαs] 'the supreme,' those in which the government really lay.

'Ωρεφ] Founded in the place of Histizea, in the time of Pericles. Grote, vi. 469, Niebuhr, über alte Gesch. Vol. IV. 179. The object was to keep Eubœa under control. Of Heracleodorus nothing is known.

10 των νομίμων] of the 'institutions.'

παρορώσι] This word occurs III. VIII. I.

'Aμβρακία] 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.

έγγιον] 'quite close.'

II έως αν συμπνεύση] 'until the alien element shall have become amalgamated with the other,' 'coaluerit.'

τυχόντι χρόνφ] Compare VII. (VI.)

συνοίκους] expresses nothing more

The object νόντων, ωσπερ είρηται καὶ πρότερον. δημος μεν γαρ εγένετο έχ τοῦ Ισους ότιοῦν όντας οἴεσθαι άπλῶς ἴσους εἶναι book. - (δτι γὰρ ἐλεύθεροι πάντες ὁμοίως, ἀπλῶς ἴσοι εἶναι νομίζουσιν), όλιγαρχία δε έκ τοῦ ἀνίσους εν τι ὅντας ὅλως εἶναι άνίσους ὑπολαμβάνειν (κατ' οὐσίαν γὰρ ἄνισοι ὅντες ἀπλῶς 4 άνισοι ὑπολαμβάνουσιν είναι). είτα οἱ μὲν ὡς ἰσοι ὄντες πάντων των Ισων άξιουσι μετέχειν, οι δ ώς άνισοι όντες 5 πλεονεκτείν ζητούσιν το γάρ πλείον άνισον. έχουσι μέν οὖν τι πᾶσαι δίκαιον, ήμαρτημέναι δ' ἀπλῶς εἰσίν· καὶ διὰ ταύτην την αἰτίαν, ὅταν μη κατὰ την ὑπόληψιν ην -ἐκάτεροι τυγγάνουσιν έγοντες μετέγωσι της πολιτείας, στασιάζουσιν. 6 πάντων δε δικαιότατα μεν ᾶν στασιάζοιεν, ήκιστα δε τοῦτο 1301 Β πράττουσιν οἱ κατ' άρετὴν διαφέροντες : μάλιστα γὰρ 7 εὖλογον ἀνίσους ἀπλῶς εἶναι τούτους μόνον. εἰσὶ δέ τινες οὶ κατὰ γένος ὑπερέγοντες οὐκ ἀξιοῦσι τῶν ἴσων αὑτοὺς διὰ την άνισότητα ταύτην εύγενεῖς γὰρ είναι δοκοῦσιν οίς ὑπάργει προγόνων άρετη καὶ πλοῦτος. 'Αρχαὶ μὲν οὖν ώς εἰπεῖν αὖται καὶ πηγαὶ τῶν στάσεών εἰσιν, δθεν στασιάζουσιν. 8 Διὸ καὶ αἱ μεταβολαὶ γίγνονται διχῶς τότὲ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς

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' οὐσίαν] 'in property.'

4 πάντων τῶν ἴσων] 'equality in all things.'

πλεονεκτεῖν ζητοῦσιν] So Εth. v. 2. 10, 11, p. 1129, b 9, δοκεῖ πλεονέκτης εἶναι. ἐστι δ' ἄνισος· τοῦτο γὰρ περι-έχει καὶ κοινόν, "denn wer mehr sei, müsse auch mehr haben," Stahr. The γάρ I take to be inserted simply as a

justification of his use of πλεονεκτεῦν.

5 ἡμαρτημέναι δ' ἀπλῶs] Spengel in the passage quoted above would read here ἡμαρτηκυῖαι δὲ τοῦ ἀπλῶs, but the reading in the text seems to be quite defensible.

κατὰ τὴν ὑπόληψιν] 'according to the view which they respectively entertain.'

6 πάντων δέ] For all this language compare III. xII. 13.

7 εὐγενεῖς] Compare VI. (IV.) VIII. 9, ἀρχαῖος πλοῦτος καὶ ἀρετή.

δθεν στασιάζουσιν] not in the sense of δθεν $\hat{\eta}$ κίνησις, but οδ ένεκα, Eth. $\forall i$. 2. 4^2 , p. 1139, 31.

8 Διὸ καὶ αἱ μεταβολαἱ, κ. τ. λ.] καὶ αἱ μεταβολαὶ, the revolutions, the changes of the government, as well as the dissensions whilst the





την πολιτείαν, δπως έκ της καθεστηκυίας άλλην μεταστήσωσιν, οδον έκ δημοκρατίας όλιγαρχίαν ή δημοκρατίαν έξ revolution. όλιγαργίας, ή πολιτείαν καὶ άριστοκρατίαν ἐκ τούτων, ή ταύτας εξ εκείνων ότε δ' ού πρός την καθεστηκυΐαν πολιτείαν, άλλα την μεν κατάστασιν προαιρούνται την αὐτήν, δι' αύτῶν δ' είναι βούλονται ταύτην, οίον τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν η την μοναρχίαν. ἔτι περί τοῦ μᾶλλον καὶ ήττον, οἶον ή ο ολιγαρχίαν ούσαν είς το μαλλον ολιγαρχεϊσθαι ή είς το ήττον, ή δημοκρατίαν ούσαν εἰς τὸ μᾶλλον δημοκρατεῖσθαι ή είς τὸ ήττον · όμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πολιτειῶν, ἡ 📆 🗸 ϊνα έπιταθῶσιν ἡ ἀνεθῶσιν. ἔτι πρὸς τὸ μέρος τι κινῆσαι 10 της πολιτείας, οίον άρχην τινα καταστησαι ή άνελεῖν, ώσπερ εν Λακεδαίμονί φασι Λύσανδρόν τινες επιχειρήσαι καταλύσαι την βασιλείαν και Παυσανίαν τον βασιλέα την καὶ ἐν Ἐπιδάμνω δὲ μετέβαλεν ή πολιτεία

government remains unchanged; this last is ordors. The connexion which did 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. 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.

δτὲ μὲν γάρ, κ. τ. λ.] 'At one time it assumes the form of an attack on the existing constitution.' question of the form of government.

πολιτείαν και άριστοκρατίαν] Compare II. xi. 5, and VI. (IV.) Ch. vii. VIII.

δι' αύτῶν] It is a personal question. They accept the constitution, they wish it to be placed in their own hands to administer.

9 [71] It is a question of degree. Victorius looks on the two cases indicated by Eti in §§ 9, 10 as varieties of the second form of revolution, 876 8' οὐ πρός, κ.τ.λ., and finds in this view the justification of the διχώς γίγνονται al μεταβολαί. I rather look on them as proceeding from his careful attention to all distinctions, his wish to exhaust the cases. They are simply subsidiary.

10 μέρος τι] 'Some one part.'

ώσπερ εν Λακεδαίμονι] Mr Grote, 1x. 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.

navoariar On this see Grote, II. 464, 467, v. 362.

'Επιδάμνφ] Of Epidamnus, we have had notices, II. vII. 23, III. xvI. I.

of political disturbance.

κατά μόριον άντι γάρ των Φυλάρχων βουλήν εποίησαν. 11 είς δε την Ηλιαίαν επάναγκές εστιν έτι των εν τω πολι-Inequality the ground τεύματι βαδίζειν τὰς ἀρχάς, ὅταν ἐπιψηΦίζηται ἀρχή τις. όλιγαρχικον δε και ο άρχων ο είς ην εν τη πολιτεία ταύτη. πανταγοῦ γὰρ διὰ τὸ ἄνισον ή στάσις οὐ μὴν τοῖς ἀνίσοις ύπάργει ἀνάλογον ἀίδιος γὰρ βασιλεία ἄνισος, ἐὰν ἢ ἐν 12 Ισοις: Έλως γάρ τὸ Ισον ζητοῦντες στασιάζουσιν. ἔστι δὲ διττον το Ισον το μέν γαρ αριθμώ το δε κατ αξίαν εστίν.

> 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.

> κατά μόριον] 'by a change in one part.'

> II εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἡλιαίαν, κ.τ.λ.] 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 τους είς το πολίτευμα βαδίζοντας, 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 Heliza,' the "occasional public assembly" mentioned by Mr Grote in the passage above quoted.

> ἐπιψηφίζηται] Is this active or passive in sense? "Appointed by vote." L. and S. quoting this passage.

> άρχων δ els] "still retaining the original single-headed archon." pare III. xvi. I.

> πανταχοῦ γάρ, κ. τ. λ.] There are few harder passages than this in the For the connection, I should consider all since στασιάζουσιν, § 7, as a parenthesis, and connect πανταχοῦ γὰρ immediately with that These are the sources of dissension, 'for in all cases alike it is from inequality that dissension pro-

> > τοις άνίσοις ύπαρχει άναλογον] I do not mean to say that

there will be dissension if citizens unequal in position have their rights proportioned to that inequality. one sense it is true this case presents an inequality, but it is an inequality which is really just. 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 of why 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 attios Basilela seems to refer especially to the cases of Sparta and Epidamnus. If it does it would seem more appropriate before the general remark πανταχοῦ γάρ.

12 $\tau \delta$ $\mu \epsilon \nu$ $\gamma \delta \rho$ $\delta \rho \iota \theta \mu \phi$, $\kappa. \tau. \lambda.] Eth.$

λέγω δὲ ἀριθμῷ μὲν τὸ πλήθει ἡ μεγέθει ταὐτὸ καὶ ἴσον, Inequality κατ' ἀξίαν δὲ τὸ τῷ λόγω, οἶον ὑπερέχει κατ' ἀριθμὸν μὲν οι political disturbίσον τὰ τρία τοῖν δυοῖν καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ ἐνός, λόγφ δὲ τέτταρα τοῖν δυοῖν καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ ἐνός 'Ισον γὰρ μέρος τὰ δύο τῶν τεττάρων καὶ τὸ ἐν τῶν δυοῖν· ἄμφω γὰρ ἡμίση. ὁμο- 13 Idea of λογούντες δε το άπλως είναι δίκαιον το κατ' άξίαν, διαφέ- equality. ρονται, καθάπερ ελέχθη πρότερον, οἱ μεν ὅτι, ἐὰν κατά τι Ισοι ώσιν, όλως Ισοι νομίζουσιν είναι, οί δ ότι, έαν κατά τι άνισοι, πάντων άνίσων άξιοῦσιν έαυτούς. διὸ καὶ μάλιστα 14 δύο γίνονται πολιτεῖαι, δήμος καὶ όλιγαρχία εὐγένεια γάρ 1302 και άρετη έν ολίγοις, ταῦτα δ' έν πλείοσιν' εύγενεῖς γὰρ κονείτε το και άγαθοι οὐδαμοῦ έκατόν, ἄποροι δὲ πολλοί πολλαγοῦ. τὸ δὲ ἀπλ<u>ῶς</u> πάντη καθ' ἐκατέραν τετάχθαι τὴν ἰσότητα

v. x. 4, p. 1134, 27, έλευθέρων καλ ίσων, ή κατ' αναλογίαν ή κατ' αριθμόν. The two passages compared show, as does also § 13 compared with § 2 in this chapter, that κατ' αναλογίαν is equivalent to kat' aglar. Numerical is opposed to proportionate equality.

13 δμολογούντες δέ, κ. τ. λ.] The text as I have given it differs from Bekker's in its view of the article 76 before and in its stopping-Bekker places a comma after discuor. 'Whilst agreeing in the statement,' such I make the force of 76, '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 $\delta i \delta \kappa a \lambda \mu d \lambda i \sigma \tau a$ 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 superiority in goodness is generally accompanied 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.

ταῦτα δ' ἐν πλείοσιν] The elements of these, δημος καὶ ὀλιγαρχία.

άποροι] Some MSS. read εδποροι. Stahr conjectures that the text originally included both. It would be better if it did. εύποροι δέ και άποροι πολλοί πολλαχοῦ. 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 inevitable if the poor are dominant.

καθ έκατέραν Ισότητα] 'according to either of the two equalities.'

Idea of equality.

Φαῦλον. Φανερὸν δ' ἐκ τοῦ συμβαίνοντος οὐδεμία γὰρ μόνιμος ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων πολιτειῶν. τούτου δ' αἴτιον ὅτι ἀδύνατον ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ τοῦ ἐν ἀρχῆ ἡμαρτημένου μὴ ἀπαντᾶν εἰς τὸ τέλος κακόν τι. διὸ δεῖ τὰ μὲν ἀριθμητικῆ ἰσότητι χρῆσθαι, τὰ δὲ τῆ κατ' ἀξιαν. ὅμως δὲ ἀσφαλειστέρα καὶ ἀστασίαστος μᾶλλον ἡ δημοκρατία τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις ἐγγίνονται δύο, ἢ τε πρὸς ἀλλήλους στάσις καὶ ἔτι ἡ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, ἐν δὲ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ἡ πρὸς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν μόνον αὐτῷ δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅ τι καὶ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν, οὐκ ἐγγίγνεται τῷ δήμω στάσις. ἔτι δὲ ἡ ἐκ τῶν μέσων πολιτεία ἐγγυτέρω τοῦ δήμου ἡ ἡ τῶν ὀλίγων, ἤπερ ἐστὶν ἀσφαλεστάτη τῶν τοιού-

'Επεὶ δὲ σκοποῦμεν ἐκ τίνων αἴ τε στάσεις γίγνονται καὶ αὶ μεταβολαὶ περὶ τὰς πολιτείας, ληπτέον καθόλου πρῶτον τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς αἰτίας αὐτῶν. εἰσὶ δὲ σχεδὸν • δή Βοkker.

έκ τοῦ συμβαίνοντος] 'from that which is habitually the result.'

15 μη ἀπαντῶν] 'There should not result in the end.'

τὰ μὲν ἀριθμητικῆ, 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.

δμως δέ] This refers to the οὐδεμία γὰρ μόνιμος. Still, though no such form is permanent, there is more safety and less liability to quarrels in democracy than in oligarchy.

δμωτ δὲ ἀσφαλεστέρα] Instances are not difficult to find, if we wish to vorify the truth of Aristotle's remark. It deserves attention in itself, and from the contrast it offers to the general estimate of these forms of

mment, which the influence of sympathics 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 opportunity of studying.

16 8 τι καὶ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν] This expression occurred II. xi. 2.

τῶν τοιούτων πολιτειῶν] 'of such forms of government as we are now discussing,' the actual and imperfect forms.

II. I καθόλου] as opposed to Ch.
 V. I, καθ' ἔκαστον είδος μερίζοντας.
 So that Chaps. II. III. IV. form one division of the book.

δέ] I prefer this reading of one MS. to Bekker's reading, δή.



ώς εἰπεῖν τρεῖς τὸν ἀριθμόν, ἃς διοριστέον καθ' αὐτὰς τύπφ The causes πρώτον. δει γαρ λαβείν πώς τε έχοντες στασιάζουσι και sions of disτίνων ένεκεν, και τρίτον τίνες άρχαι γίνονται των πολιτικών generally. ταραχών και τών προς άλλήλους στάσεων. Του μέν οθν αύτους έχειν πως πρός την μεταβολήν αιτίαν καθόλου μά-2 λιστα θετέον περί ής ήδη τυγχάνομεν είρηκότες. οί μέν γαρ ισότητος εφιέμενοι στασιάζουσιν, αν νομίζωσιν ελαττον ἔχειν ὄντες Ισοι τοῖς πλεονεκτοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ τῆς ἀνισότητος καλ της ύπεροχης, αν ύπολαμβάνωσιν όντες άνισοι μη πλέον έγειν άλλ' Ισον ή έλαττον. τούτων δ' έστι μέν όρέγεσθαι 3 δικαίως, έστι δε και άδίκως ελάττους τε γάρ όντες όπως ໃσοι ώσι στασιάζουσι, καὶ Ισοι όντες υπως μείζους. πῶς μέν οὖν ἔχοντες στασιάζουσιν, εἴρηται. Περὶ ὧν δὲ στασιάζουσιν, έστὶ κέρδος καὶ τιμὴ καὶ τάναντία τούτοις καὶ γαρ ατιμίαν Φεύγοντες καὶ ζημίαν, ἢ ὑπὲρ αὑτῶν ἢ τῶν Φίλων, στασιάζουσιν εν ταῖς πόλεσιν. Αὶ δ' αἰτίαι καὶ 4 άργαλ τῶν κινήσεων, ὅθεν αὐτοί τε διατίθενται τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον καὶ περὶ τῶν λεχθέντων, ἔστι μὲν ώς τὸν ἀριθμὸν έπτὰ τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι, ἔστι δ' ώς πλείους. ὧν δύο μέν 5 έστι ταύτὰ τοῖς εἰρημένοις, άλλ' ούχ είσαύτως διὰ κέρδος

nas abras] 'by themselves,' without any explanation attached, clear from any admixture of matter, the matter in this case being the instances from history,

πωs τε έχοντες] '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 apxal. 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 έχειν πωs] 'being affected in one manner or another.'

τοῖς πλεονεκτοῦσιν] simply 'to those who have advantages over them.'

³ ἐλάττους] 'unfairly depressed.'

You bries brows mel(ous] 'really equal, they strive to raise themselves above their fair position.' This interpretation seems required by the $\gamma d\rho$.

⁴ δθεν] Compare Eth. vi. ii. 4, p. 1139. 31, ἀρχὴ προαίρεσις, δθεν ἡ κίνησις ἀλλ' οὐχ οῦ ἔνεκα. So here it is not the object aimed at,—that is given just before, περί ὧν,—that is meant by ἀρχαί, 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

The causes γὰρ καὶ διὰ τιμὴν παροξύνονται πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐχ ἵνα and occa-sions of dis- κτήσωνται σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, ώσπερ είρηται πρότερον, ἀλλ' turbance generally, ετέρους ορώντες τους μέν δικαίως τους δ' αδίκως πλεονεκτούν-1302 Β 6 τας τούτων. ἔτι διὰ ὕβριν, διὰ Φόβον, διὰ ὑπεροχήν, διὰ καταφρόνησιν, δια αυξησιν την παρα το ανάλογον. Ετι δε άλλον τρόπου δι' ἐριθείαυ, δι' ὀλιγωρίαυ, διὰ μικρότητα, δι' 3 ανομοιότητα. Τούτων δὲ υβρις μὲν καὶ κέρδος τίνα ἔχουσι Explana-tion of the δύναμιν καὶ πῶς αἴτια, σχεδόν ἐστι Φανερόν· ὑβριζόντων τε γὰρ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ πλεονεκτούντων στασιάζουσι causes indicated. καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς τὰς πολιτείας τὰς διδούσας τὴν έξουσίαν ή δε πλεονεξία γίνεται ότε μεν από των ιδίων, ότε 2 δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν. Δῆλον δὲ καὶ ἡ τιμής καὶ τί δύναται καὶ πῶς αἰτία στάσεως καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἀτιμαζόμενοι καὶ άλλους όρωντες τιμωμένους στασιάζουσιν ταῦτα δὲ ἀδίκως μεν γίνεται, όταν παρα την άξίαν ή τιμιονταί τινες ή άτι-3 μάζωνται, δικαίως δέ, δταν.κατά την άξίαν. Δι' ύπερογην δέ, όταν τις ή τῆ δυνάμει μείζων, ή εἶς ή πλείους, ή κατά την πόλιν και την δύναμιν τοῦ πολιτεύματος · γίνεσθαι γάρ είωθεν έκ τῶν τοιούτων μοναρχία ἢ δυναστεία. διὸ ἐνια-

γοῦ εἰώθασιν ὀστρακίζειν, οἶον ἐν ᾿Αργει καὶ ᾿Αθήνησιν.

discontent with the existing arrangements. They wish to remedy an injustice which they see.

έτέρους δρώντες] 'because they see others.'

6 ἐριθείαν] For the explanation of this term we must look to what Aristotle says below, III. 9, διὰ τὰς ἐριθείας, δτι ἡροῦντο τοὺς ἐριθειομένους. Compare De Wette, Handbuch zum neuen Testament, Rom. ii. 9, where he speaks of the senses of the word in the various passages in which it occurs in St. Paul's Epistles, and of the sense of 'party-spirit' which since Aristotle had been its usual one; and this is the sense in which Liddell and Scott take the word



III. I πρὸς τὰς πολιτείας] 'against the constitutions which afford them scope.'

àπὸ τῶν ἰδίων] 'from private property,' 'at the expense of individuals.'

² άλλους δρώντες] Comp. Niebuhr, Rom. Hist. 11. 602, on the character of M. Manlius, and the feelings with which he beheld the honours heaped on Camillus.

³ ħ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, 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.'

èν 'Αργεί] For this see Grote iv. 216. For ostracism generally, above, III. xIII.

καίτοι βέλτιον εξ άρχης όραν όπως μη ενέσονται τοσούτον Explanaύπερέχοντες, ή ἐάσαντας γενέσθαι,ἰᾶσθαι ὕστερον. $\Delta \iota \hat{\alpha} \delta \hat{\epsilon}$ Φόβον στασιάζουσιν οί τε ηδικηκότες, δεδιότες μη δῶσι δίκην, καὶ οἱ μέλλοντες ἀδικεῖσθαι, βουλόμενοι Φθάσαι πρὶν 4 άδικηθήναι, ώσπερ εν 'Ρύδω συνέστησαν οι γνώριμοι επί τον δημον διά τάς επιφερομένας δίκας. Διά καταφρύνησιν 5 δὲ καὶ στασιάζουσι καὶ ἐπιτίθενται, οἶον ἔν τε ταῖς ὁλιγαρχίαις, όταν πλείους ώσιν οἱ μὴ μετέχοντες τῆς πολιτείας (κρείττους γάρ οδονται εδναι), καλ έν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις οἱ εὖποροι καταφρονήσαντες τῆς ἀταξίας καὶ ἀναρχίας, οἶον καὶ ἐν Θήβαις μετὰ τὴν ἐν ΟἰνοΦύτοις μάχην κακῶς πο-q λιτευομένων ἡ δημοκρατία διεφθάρη, καὶ ἡ Μεγαρέων δι άταξίαν καὶ ἀναρχίαν ήττηθέντων, καὶ ἐν Συρακούσαις πρὸ της Γέλωνος τυραννίδος, καὶ ἐν 'Ρόδω ὁ δημος πρὸ της έπαναστάσεως. Γίνονται δὲ καὶ δι' αὔξησιν τὴν παρὰ τὸ 6 άνάλογον μεταβολαί τῶν πολιτειῶν. ὧσπερ γὰρ σῶμα έχ μερῶν σύγκειται καὶ δεῖ αὐξάνεσθαι ἀνάλογον, ἵνα μένη συμμετρία, εὶ δὲ μή, Φθείρεται, ὅταν ὁ μὲν ποὺς τεττά-

4 'Pόδφ] Compare Ch. V. 2. Nieb. über alte 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.

διά τάς έπιφερομένας δίκας] 'on account of the suits with which they were threatened.' The Corcyrean Sedition (Thuc. III. 70) is a case in

5 πλείους οί μη μετέχοντες Compare in Xenoph. Hell. 11. 3, § 38, et sqq., the argument of Theramenes as to the dangerous policy adopted by Critias and the extreme party.

ἐν Θήβαις] Grote, v. 466, Thuc. 1. 113, we have the fact of the change in Bœotia given us as the result of the battle of Coronea. The internal causes are not given.

Meγαρέων] Grote, 111. 59, 60. No dates or details. Thuc. 1. 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.

Συρακούσαις] 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.

πρό της επαναστάσεως] 'previous to the rising of the oligarchical party against them,' the fact given above in the words συνέστησαν οί γνώριμοι. ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον.

6 την παρά, 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.

Taylors for Trigger ?, To be alle some boils substance, exist time of the δε κάν είς άλλης ζώνο μεταθάλλοι μερθής, εί μα μίσου κατά το κοτίο άλλα και κατά το κών αθέσουτο καθά ¹³⁰ τὸ ἀνάλογος, νότω καὶ πόλις σύγκειται ἐκ μερῶν, ὧν πυλλάκις λαγλάνει τι αυξανόμενος του το του άπόρου η πιλήνις έν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις καὶ πολιτείαις. σομέκουσε δ' ένδιτε τώπο καὶ διὰ τύγας, όδο έν Τάραστι ήττηθέντων καὶ άπολομένων πολλών γνωρίμων ύπὸ τῶν Ἰαπόγων μικρίν υστεριν των Μηλικών δημοκρατία έγένετο έκ ποιλιτείας, και εν "Αργει των εν τη έβλομη απολομένων ύπο Κλεομένους τοῦ Λάκωνος ήναγχάστησαν παραδέξασται τῶν περικίκων τινάς, καὶ ἐν ᾿Αθήναις ἀτυχούντων πεζη οἱ γρώριμοι ελάττους εγένοντο διά τὸ έχ χαταλόγου στρατεύεσθαι συμβαίνει δε τοῦτο και έν 8 Ιπό τὸν Λακωνικόν πόλεμον. ταϊς δημοκρατίαις, ήττον δέ πλειόνων γαρ των απόρων

> 7 διὰ τύχαι] 'some sudden accidents.' Taparri] Herod. VI. 83, VII. 170; (IriAn, 111. 519, v. 320, and note. Mr (bride remarks justly, "that the expression gives reason to suppose that even before this event the constitution had been popular."

> "Apyer] Herod, vt. 78-82, Hermann, Pol. Ant. 33.

> iβδόμη | The origin and meaning of this name was, says Stahr, unknown even to the later Greeks.

> wepulkwy] The language of Heroιλικικ ίκ, "Αργος Ενδρων έχηρώθη οδτω **Μ**ητε υί διιύλιι αυτέων ξσχον πάντα τὰ πρήγματα Ερχοντές το και διέποντες. The Argive Perioci, Hermann, Pol. Ant. § 19, conjectures, were called Ornesta.

> άτυχούντων πεζή] 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 ύπο τον Λακωνικόν πόλεμον.

'- Takoyou! 'from the register of itizone.' Incidentally it ilhistorical 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 ἀπόρων] This word is doubtful. Several MSS. read evaluer, 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 ἀπόρων. 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 πολιτεία. 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, by making it a good mixture, make it a πολιτεία. But an increase in the number of the poor would be a sound ground for inferring that wealth was becoming γινομένων ή των οὐσιων αὐξανομένων μεταβάλλουσιν εἰς Explanaόλιγαργίας καὶ δυναστείας. Μεταβάλλουσι δ' αἱ πολιτεῖαι καλ άνευ στάσεως διά τε τὰς ἐριθείας, ώσπερ ἐν Ἡραία (ἐξ αίρετῶν γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο ἐποίησαν κληρωτάς, ὅτι ἡροῦντο τοὺς 9 έριθευομένους), καὶ δι' όλιγωρίαν, ὅταν ἐάσωσιν εἰς τὰς ἀρχὰς τας κυρίας παριέναι τους μή της πολιτείας Φίλους, ώσπερ έν 'Ωρεώ κατελύθη ή όλιγαρχία των άρχόντων γενομένου Ήρακλεοδώρου, δς εξ ολιγαρχίας πολιτείαν καὶ δημοκρατίαν κατεσκεύασεν. *Ετι διὰ τὸ παρὰ μικρόν λέγω δὲ παρὰ το μικρόν, δτι πολλάκις λανθάνει μεγάλη γινομένη μετάβασις των νομίμων, όταν παρορώσι το μικρόν, ώσπερ έν 'Αμβρακία μικρον ήν το τίμημα, τέλος δ' ούθενος ήρχον, ώς έγγιον ή μηθεν διαφέρον τοῦ μηθεν τὸ μικρόν. Στασιωτικόν δὲ 11 καλ τὸ μὴ ὁμόφυλον, ἔως Ον συμπνεύση · ωσπερ γάρ οὐδ έκ τοῦ τυχόντος πλήθους πόλις γίγνεται, οῦτως οὐδ' ἐν τῶ τυχόντι χρόνω. διὸ όσοι ήδη συνοίκους ἐδέξαντο ή ἐποίκους.

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 (δυναστείαν).

τών οὐσιών αὐξανομένων] The increase of the poor, or the increase of the standard of wealth in the case of the wealthy, are but two sides of the same condition of things. As the poor grow poorer, the rich grow richer. Their numbers do not increase, but the wealth gets enormous in the hands of the few who share it. Compare Arnold, Rom. Hist. Vol. 1. p. 141.

9 και άνευ στάσεως] 'even without any open rupture.'

'Hpala] In Arcadia.

ήροῦντο] 'They were in the habit of

choosing the members of the same party.'

τàs κυρίαs] 'the supreme,' those in which the government really lay.

'Ωρεφ] Founded in the place of Histizea, in the time of Pericles. Grote, vi. 469, Niebuhr, über alte Gesch. Vol. IV. 179. The object was to keep Eubœa under control. Of Heracleodorus nothing is known.

10 των νομίμων] of the 'institutions.'

παρορώσι] This word occurs III.

'Aμβρακία] 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.

ξγγιον] 'quite close.'

II έως αν συμπνεύση] 'until the alien element shall have become amalgamated with the other,' 'coaluerit.'

τυχόντι χρόνφ] Compare VII. (VI.)

συνοίκουs] expresses nothing more

Explanation of the causes indicated.

οί πλείστοι εστασίασαν, οδον Τροιζηνίοις 'Αχαιοί συνώκησαν Σύβαριν, είτα πλείους οἱ Αχαιοὶ γενόμενοι ἐξέβαλον τούς Τροιζηνίους δθεν τὸ άγος συνέβη τοῖς Συβαρίταις. 12 Καλ εν Θουρίοις Συβαρίται τοίς συνοικήσασιν πλεονεκτείν γαρ αξιούντες ως σφετέρας της χώρας έξέπεσον καί Βυζαντίοις οι έποιχοι επιβουλεύοντες Φωραθέντες εξέπεσον διά μάχης, καὶ 'Αντισσαῖοι τοὺς Χίων Φυγάδας εἰσδεξάμενοι δια μάγης εξέβαλον, Ζαγκλαΐοι δε Σαμίους υποδεξάμενοι 13 εξέπεσον καὶ αὐτοί. Καὶ ᾿Απολλωνιᾶται οἱ ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνω πόντω ἐποίκους ἐπαγαγόμενοι ἐστασίασαν, καὶ Συρακούσιοι 1303 Β μετά τὰ τυραννικὰ τοὺς ξένους καὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους πολίτας ποιησάμενοι έστασίασαν καί είς μάχην ήλθον, καί 'Αμφιπολίται δεξάμενοι Χαλκιδέων άποίκους εξέπεσον ύπο τού-14 των οι πλείστοι αὐτῶν. Στασιάζουσι δ' έν μέν ταῖς όλιγαρχίαις οἱ πολλοὶ ὡς ἀδικούμενοι, ὅτι οὐ μετέχουσι τῶν

than the fact that the new settlers join with the old.

'Emolkous | means here 'a fresh band of immigrants from the mother country.'

Tpoi(nvlois] For this see Grote, III. 499. Niebuhr, über alte Geschichte, 111. 218. The foundation of Sybaris was probably a result of the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus.

12 Govplois 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.

Busartious] A second colony was sent from Megara in the year B.C. 628. For its internal changes, see Smith, Geogr. Dict. 659, b, Grote, 1x. 508. Antissa, one of the Lesbian

Zαγκλαίοι] Compare Herod. vi. 23, Mr Grote, v. 284, note, considers this brief notice in Aristotle not to be set against the perspicuous narrative of Herodotus.

Ι3 'Απολλωνιαται έν τῷ Εὐξείνω]

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.

Συρακούσιοι] 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 τὰ τυραννικά] "after the Gelonian dynasty." The results of this quarrel and battle are not known. The new citizens were defeated, and "probably" expelled.

'Αμφιπολίται] Niebuhr üb. a. Gesch. "To protect themselves IV. 234. against the Edonians, the Athenian colonists invited in as fellow-citizens, the Chalcidians. These became the majority," and hence Amphipolis joined Sparta. See Thuc. IV. 103, Grote, VI. 555.

αὐτῶν] Is this to be taken with ὑπὸ τούτων, 'by these very men,' "selbst von diesen," or is it not better to take ίσων, καθάπερ είρηται πρότερον, ίσοι όντες, έν δε ταῖς δημοχρατίαις οἱ γνώριμοι, ὅτι μετέχουσι τῶν ἴσων οὐχ ἴσοι όντες. Στασιάζουσι δὲ ἐνίοτε αἱ πόλεις καὶ διὰ τοὺς τό- 15 Locality a πους, δταν μη εύφυῶς έχη ή χώρα πρὸς τὸ μίαν είναι πόλιν, οίον έν Κλαζομεναίς οἱ έπὶ Χύτρω πρὸς τοὺς έν νήσω, καὶ Κολοφώνιοι και Νοτιείς και Αθήνησιν ούχ δμοίως είσίν, άλλα μάλλον δημοτικοί οί τον Πειραιά οἰκούντες των το άστυ. ωσπερ γαρ έν τοῖς πολέμοις αἱ διαβάσεις τῶν όχε- 16 τῶν, καὶ τῶν πάνυ σμικρῶν, διασπῶσι τὰς φάλαγγας, οὕτως έοικε πάσα διαφορά ποιείν διάστασιν. Μεγίστη μέν οδν Ίσως διάστασις άρετη καὶ μοχθηρία, είτα πλοῦτος καὶ πενία, καὶ οῦτω δη ἐτέρα ἐτέρας μᾶλλον. ὧν μία καὶ ή εἰρημένη 18. 1 - 1 - 1000 έστίν. Γίγνονται μέν οὖν αἱ στάσεις οὐ περὶ μικρῶν ἀλλ' 4 έκ μικρών, στασιάζουσι δὲ περί μεγάλων. μάλιστα δὲ καὶ between the αὶ μικραὶ ἰσχύουσιν, ὅταν ἐν τοῖς κυρίοις γένωνται, οἶον

and the object.

it as dependent on πλείστοι, 'The greater number of them?'

15 και διά τοὺς τόπους] 'even from mere local causes, from difference of place.'

μη εὐφυῶς ἔχη] 'is not naturally favourable.'

ol enl Χύτρφ] Smith, Geogr. Dict. art. Clazomenæ, p. 632.

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.

Norieis | Thuc. III. 34.

ούχ δμοίως, κ. τ. λ.] The statement is familiar to all readers of Athenian history. The opposition is prominent in the policy of Themistocles.

16 ποιείν διάστασιν] 'Any difference whatever seems to have a tendency to produce opposition.'

διάστασις This is even more active. 'It is the greatest cause of division, of opposition.'

καl οδτω δή] and so on in order, one is more efficacious than another.

ή εἰρημένη] ΒC. ή διά τοὺς τόπους, " la cause toute physique," Hilaire.

IV. I 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 αἱ μικραί] 'even where the cause is really slight.'

between the occasion and the object.

ances.

Distinction συνέβη καὶ ἐν Συρακούσαις ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρόνοις · μετέβαλε γάρ ή πολιτεία έκ δύο νεανίσκων στασιασάντων, έν ταῖς ἀργαῖς ὄντων, περὶ ἐρωτικὴν αἰτίαν. θατέρου γὰρ _ άποδημοῦντος έταῖρος ὧν τις τὸν ἐρώμενον αὐτοῦ ὑπεποιήσατο, πάλιν δ' έκεῖνος τούτω χαλεπήνας τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ άνέπεισεν ώς αύτον έλθειν. δθεν προσλαμβάνοντες τούς έν 3 τῷ πολιτεύματι διεστασίασαν πάντας. διόπερ ἀρχομένων εύλαβεῖσθαι δεῖ τῶν τοιούτων, καὶ διαλύειν τὰς τῶν ἡγεμόνων καὶ δυναμένων στάσεις : ἐν ἀρχῆ γὰρ γίγνεται τὸ ἁμάρτημα, ή δ άρχη λέγεται ημισυ είναι παντός, ωστε καὶ τὸ έν αὐτῆ μικρὸν ἁμάρτημα ἀνάλογόν ἐστι πρὸς τὰ ἐν τοῖς 4 άλλοις μέρεσιν. δλως δε αι τῶν γνωρίμων στάσεις συναποof political λαύειν ποιοῦσι καὶ τὴν ὅλην πόλιν, οἶον ἐν Ἑστιαία συνέβη disturbμετά τὰ Μηδικά, δύο ἀδελφῶν περὶ τῆς τῶν πατρωων νομῆς διενεχθέντων · ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀπορώτερος, ώς οὐκ ἀποφαίνοντος θατέρου την οὐσίαν οὐδὲ τὸν θησαυρὸν ὅν εὖρεν ὁ πατήρ, προσήγετο τους δημοτικούς, ὁ δ' έτερος , έχων ούσίαν πολλήν, 5 τους ευπόρους. και έν Δελφοίς έκ κηδείας γενομένης δια-1304 Φοράς άρχη πασών έγένετο τών στάσεων τών υστερον δ μεν γαρ οἰωνισαμενός τι σύμπτωμα, ώς ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν νύμφην, οὐ λαβων ἀπηλθεν, οἱ δ΄ ως ὑβρισθέντες ἐνέβαλον τῶν ἱερῶν

καὶ ἐν Σιρακούσαις] The conjunction has no meaning, as far as I can see.

έν τοιs άρχαίοις χρόνοις I can find nothing to throw light on this statement.

2 ύπεποιήσατο] 'gained by underhand tricks,' Demosth. 365.

έκεινος] is the same as the ἀπο-

δθεν προσλαμβάνοντες] 'From this beginning they proceeded to associate with themselves the members of the government, until they ranged them entirely in two factions.'

3 ἐν ἀρχή γάρ] Eth. 1. 7, 21. p. 1098. b. 7.

τὸ ἐν αὐτῆ, κ.τ.λ.] 'is proportionally more important than a fault in any other.'

4 συναπολαύειν] Stahr quotes not inaptly from Hesiod, πολλάκι καλ ξυμπασα πόλις κακοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπαυρεῖ.

'Εστιαία] see note on 111. 9.

οὐκ ἀποφαίνοντος] 'on the ground that he did not produce fully, set clearly forth.'

τοὺς δημοτικούς] 'The democratical party.'

5 έκ κηδείας] ' on a marriage question.'

των δστερον] 'which followed at a later period.'

οίωνισάμενός τι σύμπτωμα] 'having taken some chance occurrence as an unfavourable omen.' The expression. neutral in itself, is by usage limited as in the translation.

 $\ell \nu \epsilon \beta \alpha \lambda o \nu$, κ. τ. λ.] 'put in some



χρημάτων θύοντος, κάπειτα ώς ἱερόσυλον ἀπέκτειναν. καὶ Instances περί Μιτυλήνην δε έξ έπικλήρων στάσεως γενομένης πολλών disturbέγένετο άρχη κακῶν καὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Αθηναίους, έν ῷ Πάχης ἔλαβε τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν Τιμοφάνους γὰρ τῶν εύπόρων τινός καταλιπόντος δύο θυγατέρας, δ περιωσθείς και ού λαβών τοῖς υίέσιν αύτοῦ Δόξανδρος ἦρξε τῆς στάσεως καὶ τοὺς ᾿Αθηναίους παρώξυνε, πρόξενος ῶν τῆς πόλεως. καὶ ἐν Φωκεῦσιν ἐξ ἐπικλήρου στάσεως γενομένης περὶ Μνα- 7 σέαν τον Μνήσωνος πατέρα καλ Εύθυκράτη τον 'Ονομάρχου, ή στάσις αθτη άρχη τοῦ ἱεροῦ πολέμου κατέστη τοῖς Φωκεῦσιν. μετέβαλε δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἐπιδάμνω ή πολιτεία ἐκ γαμικῶν · ὑπομνηστευσάμενος γάρ τις θυγατέρα, ώς ἐζημίωσεν αὐτὸν ὁ τοῦ ὑπομνηστευθέντος πατήρ γενόμενος τῶν ἀρχόντων, άτερος συμπαρέλαβε τοὺς έκτὸς τῆς πολιτείας ώς ἐπηρεασθείς. μεταβάλλουσι δε καὶ εἰς όλιγαρχίαν καὶ εἰς δῆμον 8 καλ εἰς πολιτείαν ἐκ τοῦ εὐδοκιμῆσαί τι ἢ αὐξηθῆναι ἢ ἀρχεῖον ή μόριον της πόλεως, οίον ή εν Αρείω πάγω βουλή εύδοκιμήσασα έν τοῖς Μηδικοῖς ἔδοξε συντονωτέραν ποιῆσαι τὴν πολιτείαν, καὶ πάλιν ὁ ναυτικὸς ὅχλος γενόμενος αἴτιος τῆς

of the sacred property when he was sacrificing.'

6 Matulahrap For the Mitylenian revolt see Thuc. III. 2, and foll. 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.

πρξε τῆς στάσεως] 'began the dissension,' and when the quarrel had broken out, then, as Thucydides says, ίδία κατά στάσιν μηνυτής έγένετο.

7 Φωκεῦσιν] Bp. Thirlwall, vi. 263, 275, remarks that of the sacred or Phocian war, the main causes are

more clear than the immediate occasion.

τὸν 'Ονομάρχου] ες. πατέρα.

όπομνηστευσάμενος] 'having betrothed underhand or beforehand.' This latter meaning suits the context best.

¿ζημίωσεν] 'fined him.'

8 ἡ ἐν 'Αρείφ πάγφ] Grote, V. 148.

συντονωτέραν ποιῆσαι] 'to have strained tighter the constitution,' given greater vigour and intensity to its anti-democratical element. Comp. VI. (IV.) III. 8.

δ ναυτικός δχλος] Grote, v. 369, 483. "Here, then, were two forces, not only distinct, but opposite and conflicting, both put into increased action at the same time." changes.

Instances περί Σαλαμίνα νίκης καὶ διὰ ταύτης της ήγεμονίας διὰ την of political κατά θάλατταν δύναμιν την δημοκρατίαν Ισχυροτέραν έποίκαὶ ἐν ᾿Αργει οἱ γνώριμοι εὐδοκιμήσαντες περὶ τὴν έν Μαντινεία μάχην την πρός Λακεδαιμονίους έπεχείρησαν καταλύειν τον δημον, και έν Συρακούσαις ο δημος αίτιος γενόμενος τῆς νίκης τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς `Αθηναίους ἐκ πολιτείας είς δημοκρατίαν μετέβαλεν, καὶ ἐν Χαλκίδι Φόξον τον τύραννον, μετά τῶν γνωρίμων ο δημος ἀνελών εὐθὸς είγετο τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ ἐν ᾿Αμβρακία πάλιν ώσαύτως Περίανδρον συνεκβαλών τοῖς ἐπιθεμένοις ὁ δῆμος τὸν τύ-10 ραννον είς έαυτὸν περιέστησε την πολιτείαν. καὶ όλως δη δεῖ τοῦτο μὴ λανθάνειν, ὡς οἱ δυνάμεως αἴτιοι γενόμενοι, καὶ ίδιῶται καὶ άρχαὶ καὶ Φυλαὶ καὶ ὅλως μέρος καὶ ὁποιονοῦν πλήθος, στάσιν κινούσιν ή γαρ οἱ τούτοις Φθονούντες τιμωμένοις, ἄρχουσι τῆς στάσεως, ἡ οὖτοι διὰ τὴν ὑπερογὴν 11 οὐ θέλουσι μένειν ἐπὶ τῶν ἴσων. κινοῦνται δ' αἱ πολιτεῖαι 1304 Β καὶ ὅταν τὰναντία εἶναι δοκοῦντα μέρη τῆς πόλεως ἰσάζη άλλήλοις, οίον οἱ πλούσιοι καὶ ὁ δῆμος, μέσον δ' ἢ μικρὸν ἡ μηθέν πάμπαν άν γὰρ πολὺ ὑπερέχη ὁποτερονοῦν τῶν μερῶν πρός το Φανερώς κρείττου, το λοιπου ού θέλει κινδυνεύειν. 12 διὸ καὶ οἱ κατ' ἀρετήν διαφέροντες οὐ ποιοῦσι στάσιν ώς είπεῖν ολίγοι γὰρ γίγνονται πρὸς πολλούς. Καθόλου μέν οὖν περὶ πάσας τὰς πολιτείας αἱ ἀρχαὶ καὶ αἰτίαι τῶν στά-

> διὰ ταύτης] 'and by this victory been the founder of the supremacy of Athens.' της ηγεμονίας depends on altios.

9 ἐν "Αργει] Grote, VII. 124. Συρακούσαις] Grote, x. 539.

Χαλκίδι] For the early greatness of Chalcis, see Niebuhr ü. a. Gesch. IV. 177, Grote, 111. 220.

είχετο της πολιτείας] 'grasped the The government of government.' Chalcis was oligarchical very early; a tyranny was the natural result of this; but of Phoxus I can find nothing.

'Aμβρακία] occurs again Ch. x. 16. Grote (III. 538) considers this Periander as probably related to the Corinthian tyrant.

10 καὶ δλως δή] 'It follows, then, as a general rule from these particular instances.'

στάσιν κινοῦσιν] 'are a cause of disturbance,' either direct or indi-

11 lσd(p] 'be just balanced.'

πρός το φανερώς κρείττον] 'on the side of an evident superiority of strength.'

12 καθόλου μέν οδν] returns on п. 1.



σεων καὶ τῶν μεταβολῶν τοῦτον ἔχουσι τὸν τρόπον. Κινοῦσι Modes of δὲ τὰς πολιτείας ότε μεν διὰ βίας ότε δε δι' ἀπάτης, διὰ βίας the change. μεν η εύθυς εξ άρχης η υστερον άναγκάζοντες. xal yàp ή 13 άπάτη διττή ότε μεν γάρ εξαπατήσαντες το πρώτον έκον-.των μεταβάλλουσι τὴν πολιτείαν, εἶθ' ῧστερον βία κατέχουσιν ακόντων, οδον επί των τετρακοσίων τον δημον εξηπάτησαν, Φάσκοντες τον βασιλέα χρήματα παρέξειν προς τον πόλεμον τον προς Λακεδαιμονίους, ψευσάμενοι δε κατέχειν έπειρώντο την πολιτείαν ότε δε εξάρχης τε πείσαντες καί υστερον πάλιν πεισθέντων εκόντων άρχουσιν αὐτῶν. Απλῶς μεν οδν περί πάσας τας πολιτείας έκ των είρημένων συμβέβηκε γίγνεσθαι τὰς μεταβολάς.

Kıvovoı 8€ He has stated generally the causes and beginnings of disturbance and revolution. He adds a few remarks on the modes in which they are effected; they are the two simple and permanent ones of force and fraud. The first may be applied at once, or had recourse to later, when the other is seen through.

13 h dwarn birth | The second form of andry hardly comes under our ideas of deceit. It is 'persuasion' rather.

έπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων] Grote, VIII. 35. Thue. viii. 53, 54, δ δήμος το πρώτον χαλεπώς ξφερε, σαφώς δε διδασκόμενος, κ.τ.λ.

κατέχεω] 'keep it firm in their hands, and that against the will of the people awake to the deceit practised on them.'

ότὲ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, κ.τ.λ.] If Aristotle really means this to be a form of deceit, it then is that worst form by which a people deceived at first is so trained and governed as to acquiesce in the result. For a nation, like an individual, may be blinded and demoralised, and ultimately accept, and even glory in a state which at another time it would reject as evil.

rulers under whom such demoralisation takes place may point with complacency to the result, which, properly viewed, is their strongest condemnation.

That he degraded, rather than improved, the character of his countrymen, has been justly selected by Arnold as the crowning point in the infamy of the elder Dionysius,-that which in the highest degree justifies the brand of tyrant. But such a sentence is not to be reserved solely for the Greek ruler,-it has been justly deserved by many governments of more recent times. It is, if we rightly consider them, that which constitutes in our own country's history the peculiar disgrace of the miserable Stuart kings. It is the stigma which rests on the later Bourbons in France before the revolution; in Spain and Naples in the present time. It is a point for other governments to consider, our own not excepted, whether their acceptance by the nation they govern is the result of a sound judgment or of the acquiescence which is the offspring of a low state of public morality.

The causes γάρ καὶ διὰ τιμὴν παροξύνονται πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐχ ἵνα and occa-sions of dis- κτήσωνται σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, ώσπερ είρηται πρότερον, ἀλλ' turbance generally. ἐτέρους ὁρῶντες τοὺς μὲν δικαίως τοὺς δ' ἀδίκως πλεονεκτοῦντι του τούτων. Ετι διά υβριν, διά Φόβον, διά υπεροχήν, διά καταφρόνησιν, δια αυξησιν την παρα το ανάλογον. Ετι δε άλλον τρόπου δι' ἐριθείαν, δι' ὀλιγωρίαν, διὰ μικρότητα, δι' 3 ανομοιότητα. Τούτων δὲ ὕβρις μὲν καὶ κέρδος τίνα ἔγουσι δύναμιν καὶ πῶς αἴτια, σχεδόν ἐστι Φανερόν : ὑβριζόντων τε tion of the causes γαρ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ πλεονεκτούντων στασιάζουσι καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς τὰς πολιτείας τὰς διδούσας τὴν έξουσίαν ή δε πλεονεξία γίνεται ότε μέν από τῶν ιδίων, ότε 2 δε από τιον κοινών. Δηλον δε και ή τιμής και τι δύναται καὶ πῶς αἰτία στάσεως καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἀτιμαζόμενοι καὶ άλλους δρώντες τιμωμένους στασιάζουσιν ταῦτα δὲ άδίκως μεν γίνεται, όταν παρα την άξίαν ή τιμώνταί τινες ή άτι-3 μάζωνται, δικαίως δέ, δταν.κατά την άξίαν. Δι' ύπεροχην δέ, όταν τις ή τῆ δυνάμει μείζων, ή εἶς ή πλείους, ή κατά την πόλιν και την δύναμιν τοῦ πολιτεύματος · γίνεσθαι γάρ είωθεν έκ τῶν τοιούτων μοναρχία ή δυναστεία. διὸ ἐνια-

χοῦ εἰώθασιν ὀστρακίζειν, οἶον ἐν Αργει καὶ ᾿Αθήνησιν.

discontent with the existing arrangements. They wish to remedy an in-

έτέρους δρώντες] 'because they see others.'

justice which they see.

6 εριθείαν] For the explanation of this term we must look to what Aristotle says below, 111. 9, διὰ τὰs έριθείας, δτι ήροῦντο τοὺς έριθευομένους. Compare De Wette, Handbuch zum neuen Testament, Rom. ii. 9, where he speaks of the senses of the word in the various passages in which it occurs in St. Paul's Epistles, and of the sense of 'party-spirit' which since Aristotle had been its usual one; and this is the sense in which Liddell and Scott take the word.



III. Ι πρός τας πολιτείας] 'against the constitutions which afford them всоре.'

àπὸ τῶν ἰδίων] 'from private property,' 'at the expense of indivi-

² ἄλλους δρώντες] Comp. Niebuhr, Rom. Hist. 11. 602, on the character of M. Manlius, and the feelings with which he beheld the honours heaped on Camillus.

³ ή κατά την πόλιν, 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 govern-

έν "Αργει] For this see Grote IV. 216. For ostracism generally, above, III. xiii.

καίτοι βέλτιον εξ άρχης όραν όπως μη ενέσονται τοσούτον Explanaύπερέχοντες, ή ἐάσαντας γενέσθαι ἰᾶσθαι ὕστερον. Διὰ δὲ Φόβον στασιάζουσιν οί τε ήδικηκότες, δεδιότες μη δῶσιδίκην, καὶ οἱ μέλλοντες ἀδικεῖσθαι, βουλόμενοι Φθάσαι πρὶν 4 άδικηθήναι, ώσπερ εν 'Ρόδω συνέστησαν οι γνώριμοι επί τὸν δημον διὰ τὰς ἐπιΦερομένας δίκας. Διὰ καταΦρόνησιν 5 δὲ καὶ στασιάζουσι καὶ ἐπιτίθενται, οίον ἔν τε ταῖς ὁλιγαρχίαις, όταν πλείους ώσιν οι μή μετέχοντες της πολιτείας (κρείττους γάρ οδονται είναι), καὶ εν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις οἱ εύποροι καταφρονήσαντες της άταξίας και άναρχίας, οίον καλ έν Θήβαις μετά την έν Οίνοφύτοις μάχην κακώς πολιτευομένων ή δημοκρατία διεφθάρη, και ή Μεγαρέων δι άταξίαν καὶ άναρχίαν ήττηθέντων, καὶ ἐν Συρακούσαις πρὸ ο της Γέλωνος τυραννίδος, καὶ ἐν 'Ρόδω ὁ δημος πρὸ της έπαναστάσεως. Γίνονται δε καλ δι' αὔξησιν τὴν παρὰ τὸ 6 άνάλογον μεταβολαί τῶν πολιτειῶν. ὧσπερ γὰρ σῶμα έκ μερών σύγκειται καλ δεῖ αὐξάνεσθαι ἀνάλογον, ἵνα μένη συμμετρία, εί δὲ μή, Φθείρεται, ὅταν ὁ μὲν ποὺς τεττά-

4 'Pόδφ] Compare Ch. V. 2. Nieb. über alte Gesch., Vol. IV. followed a time of internal dissension, with regard to which the accounts that remain are obscure." I translate from the German.

διά τάς έπιφερομένας δίκας] 'on account of the suits with which they The Corcyrean were threatened.' Sedition (Thuc. III. 70) is a case in point.

5 πλείους οί μη μετέχοντες Compare in Xenoph. Hell. 11. 3, § 38, et sqq., the argument of Theramenes as to the dangerous policy adopted by Critias and the extreme party.

èν Θήβαις] Grote, v. 466, Thuc. 1. 113, we have the fact of the change in Bœotia given us as the result of the battle of Coronea. The internal causes are not given.

Meγαρέων] Grote, 111. 59, 60. No dates or details. Thuc. 1. 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.

Συρακούσαιs] 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.

πρό της επαναστάσεως] 'previous to the rising of the oligarchical party against them,' the fact given above in the words συνέστησαν οί γνώριμοι έπλ τὸν δημον.

6 την παρά, 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.

Explanation of the causes indicated.

ρων πηχῶν ἢ τὸ δ' ἄλλο σῶμα δυοῖν σπιθαμαῖν, ἐνίοτε δὲ κᾶν εἰς ἄλλου ζώου μεταβάλλοι μορΦήν, εἰ μὴ μόνον κατά τὸ ποσὸν άλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὸ ποιὸν αὐξάνοιτο παρὰ τὸ ἀνάλογον, οὖτω καὶ πόλις σύγκειται ἐκ μερῶν, ὧν πολλάκις λανθάνει τι αὐξανόμενον, οίον τὸ τῶν ἀπόρων 7 πλήθος εν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις καὶ πολιτείαις. συμβαίνει δ' ένίστε τοῦτο καὶ διὰ τύχας, οδον έν Τάραντι ήττηθέντων καὶ ἀπολομένων πολλῶν γνωρίμων ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰαπύγων μικρόν υστερον των Μηδικών δημοκρατία έγένετο έκ πολιτείας, καὶ ἐν ᾿Αργει τῶν ἐν τῆ ἑβδόμη ἀπολομένων ὑπὸ Κλεομένους τοῦ Λάκωνος ήναγκάσθησαν παραδέξασθαι τῶν περιοίκων τινάς, καὶ ἐν ᾿Αθήναις ἀτυχούντων πεζη οἱ γνώριμοι ἐλάττους ἐγένοντο διὰ τὸ ἐκ καταλόγου στρατεύεσθαι δὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις, ἤττον δέ πλειόνων γὰρ τῶν ἀπόρων

> 7 διὰ τύχας] 'some sudden accidents.' Tάραντι] Herod. VI. 83, VII. 170; Grote, 111. 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."

> 'Apyei] Herod. vi. 78-82, Hermann, Pol. Ant. 33.

> έβδόμη The origin and meaning of this name was, says Stahr, unknown even to the later Greeks.

περιοίκων] The language of Herodotus is, "Apyos άνδρων έχηρώθη οδτω ώστε οί δοῦλοι αὐτέων ἔσχον πάντα τὰ πρήγματα ἄρχοντές τε καὶ διέποντες. The Argive Periceci, Hermann, Pol. Ant. § 19, conjectures, were called Orneatæ.

ἀτυχούντων πεξή 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 ύπο τον Λακωνικόν πόλεμον.

έκ καταλόγου] 'from the register of Athenian citizens.' Incidentally it il-Lustrates 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 ἀπόρων] This word is doubtful. Several MSS. read εὐπόρων, 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 ἀπόρων. 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 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, by making it a good mixture, make it a πολιτεία. But an increase in the number of the poor would be a sound ground for inferring that wealth was becoming γινομένων ή των οὐσιων αὐξανομένων μεταβάλλουσιν εἰς Explanaόλιγαρχίας καὶ δυναστείας. Μεταβάλλουσι δ' αὶ πολιτεῖαι καλ άνευ στάσεως διά τε τὰς ἐριθείας, ὥσπερ ἐν Ἡραία (ἐξ αίρετῶν γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο ἐποίησαν κληρωτάς, ὅτι ήροῦντο τοὺς 9 έριθευομένους), καὶ δι' όλιγωρίαν, ὅταν ἐάσωσιν εἰς τὰς ἀρχὰς τὰς χυρίας παριέναι τοὺς μὴ τῆς πολιτείας Φίλους, ὧσπερ έν 'Ωρεώ κατελύθη ή όλιγαρχία των άρχόντων γενομένου Ήρακλεοδώρου, δς εξ όλιγαρχίας πολιτείαν καὶ δημοκρατίαν κατεσκεύασεν. Έτι διά τὸ παρά μικρόν λέγω δὲ παρά το μικρόν, δτι πολλάκις λανθάνει μεγάλη γινομένη μετάβασις τῶν νομίμων, ὅταν παρορῶσι τὸ μικρόν, ὧσπερ ἐν ᾿Αμβρακία μικρόν ήν το τίμημα, τέλος δ' ούθενος ήρχον, ώς έγγιον ή μηθεν διαφέρον τοῦ μηθεν τὸ μικρόν. Στασιωτικόν δὲ 11 καλ τὸ μὴ ὁμόφυλον, ἔως Ον συμπνεύση · ωσπερ γὰρ οὐδ' ἐκ τοῦ τυχόντος πλήθους πόλις γίγνεται, οὕτως οὐδ' ἐν τῷ τυχόντι χρόνω. διὸ όσοι ήδη συνοίκους ἐδέξαντο ή ἐποίκους,

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 (δυναστείαν).

των οὐσιων αὐξανομένων] The increase of the poor, or the increase of the standard of wealth in the case of the wealthy, are but two sides of the same condition of things. As the poor grow poorer, the rich grow richer. Their numbers do not increase, but the wealth gets enormous in the hands of the few who share it. Compare 'Arnold, Rom. Hist. Vol. 1.

9 kal aven ordoews] 'even without any open rupture.'

'Hpaia] In Arcadia.

pourto] 'They were in the habit of

choosing the members of the same party.'

ràs kuplas] 'the supreme,' those in which the government really lay.

'Ωρεφ] Founded in the place of Histizea, in the time of Pericles. Grote, vi. 469, Niebuhr, über alte Gesch. Vol. IV. 179. The object was to keep Eubœa under control. Of Heracleodorus nothing is known.

10 των νομίμων] of the 'institutions.'

παρορώσι] This word occurs III. VIII. I.

'Αμβρακία] 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.

"γγιον] 'quite close.'

II έως αν συμπνεύση] 'until the alien element shall have become amalgamated with the other,' 'coaluerit.'

τυχόντι χρόνψ] Compare VII. (VI.)

συνοίκουs] expresses nothing more

Explanation of the causes indicated.

οί πλείστοι εστασίασαν, οδον Τροιζηνίοις 'Αγαιοί συνώκησαν Σύβαριν, είτα πλείους οἱ Αχαιοὶ γενόμενοι ἐξέβαλον τους Τροιζηνίους δθεν τὸ άγος συνέβη τοῖς Συβαρίταις. 12 Καὶ ἐν Θουρίοις Συβαρίται τοῖς συνοικήσασιν πλεονεκτείν γαρ αξιούντες ώς σφετέρας της χώρας εξέπεσον καί Βυζαντίοις οι έποικοι επιβουλεύοντες Φωραθέντες εξέπεσον διά μάχης, καὶ 'Αντισσαῖοι τοὺς Χίων Φυγάδας εἰσδεξάμενοι δια μάχης εξέβαλον, Ζαγκλαΐοι δε Σαμίους ύποδεξάμενοι 13 έξέπεσον καὶ αὐτοί. Καὶ ᾿Απολλωνιᾶται οἱ ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνω πόντω εποίκους επαγαγόμενοι εστασίασαν, καὶ Συρακούσιοι 1303 Β μετά τὰ τυραννικά τους Εένους καὶ τους μισθοφόρους πολίτας ποιησάμενοι εστασίασαν καὶ εἰς μάχην ήλθον, καὶ Άμφιπολίται δεξάμενοι Χαλκιδέων ἀποίκους εξέπεσον ύπο τού-4 των οί πλείστοι αύτων. Στασιάζουσι δ' έν μέν ταῖς όλιγαργίαις οἱ πολλοὶ τος ἀδικούμενοι, ὅτι οὐ μετέχουσι τῶν

than the fact that the new settlers join with the old.

Ereiros | means here 'a fresh band of immigrants from the mother country.'

Transprious] For this see Grote, III. 490. Niebuhr, über alte Geschichte, 111, 218. The foundation of Sybaris was probably a result of the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus.

12 Coopies 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, anda vi. 17.

Bejarries] A second colony was eent from Megare in the year R.C. 028. For its internal changes, see Smith, Grayer, Dier. 659, b, Grate, 1x. 50S. Antissa, one of the Losbian towns.

Zapadaior] Compare Herod. vi. 23. Mr Grote, v. 284, note, considers this brief notice in Aristotle not to be set Aget the perspicuous narrative of

addormiras de rei Edfeire)

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.

Esperatorial 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.

mera ra reparried "after the Gelonian dynasty." The results of this quarrel and battle are not known. The new citizens were defeated, and "probably" expelled.

'Αμφιπελέται] Niebuhr üb. a. Gesch. IV. 234. "To protect themselves against the Edonians, the Athenian colonists invited in as fellow-citizens, the Chalcidians. These became the majority," and hence Amphipolis joined Sparta. See Thuc. IV. 103, Grote, VI.

arror] Is this to be taken with ond review, 'by these very men,' "selbst von diesen," or is it not better to take ίσων, καθάπερ είρηται πρότερον, ίσοι όντες, έν δε ταῖς δημοκρατίαις οἱ γνώριμοι, ὅτι μετέχουσι τῶν ἴσων οὐκ ἴσοι όντες. Στασιάζουσι δε ενίστε αἱ πόλεις καὶ διὰ τοὺς τό- 15 Locality a πους, όταν μη εύφυῶς έχη ή χώρα πρός τὸ μίαν είναι πόλιν, οίον εν Κλαζομεναίς οἱ ἐπὶ Χύτρω πρὸς τοὺς ἐν νήσω, καὶ Κολοφώνιοι καὶ Νοτιείς καὶ Αθήνησιν ούχ όμοίως είσίν, άλλα μάλλον δημοτικοί οί τον Πειραιά οἰκούντες των το άστυ. ωσπερ γαρ έν τοῖς πολέμοις αἱ διαβάσεις τῶν όγε- 16 τῶν, καὶ τῶν πάνυ σμικρῶν, διασπῶσι τὰς Φάλαγγας, οὖτως έοικε πάσα διαφορά ποιείν διάστασιν. Μεγίστη μέν οδν ໃσως διάστασις άρετη καὶ μοχθηρία, είτα πλοῦτος καὶ πενία, καὶ οὖτω δη ἐτέρα ἐτέρας μᾶλλον. ὧν μία καὶ ή εἰρημένη 15. 🗀 🕬 έστίν. Γίγνονται μὲν οὖν αἱ στάσεις οὐ περὶ μικρῶν ἀλλ' $\frac{1}{2}$ εκ μικρῶν, στασιάζουσι δὲ περὶ μεγάλων. μάλιστα δὲ καὶ between the αί μικραί ισχύουσιν, όταν έν τοῖς κυρίοις γένωνται, οῖον and the

object.

it as dependent on πλείστοι, 'The greater number of them?'

15 ral did tous towous] 'even from mere local causes, from difference of place.'

μη εὐφυώς έχη] 'is not naturally favourable.'

ol enl Χύτρφ] Smith, Geogr. Dict. art. Clazomenæ, p. 632.

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 v1. 326.

Norieis] Thuc. III. 34.

οὐχ δμοίωs, κ. τ. λ.] The statement is familiar to all readers of Athenian history. The opposition is prominent in the policy of Themistocles.

16 ποιείν διάστασιν] 'Any difference whatever seems to have a tendency to produce opposition.'

διάστασις] This is even more active. 'It is the greatest cause of division, of opposition.'

καὶ οῦτω δή] and so on in order, one is more efficacious than another.

ή εἰρημένη] Βc. ή διὰ τοὺς τόπους, " la cause toute physique," St. Hilaire.

IV. I 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 αί μικραί] 'even where the cause is really slight.'

l'intinction bet ween the MANIA and the MARKE

MIII 64,

συνέβη και εν Συρακούσαις εν τοις άρχαίοις χρόσοις μετέβαλε γὰρ ή πολιτεία έχ δύο νεανίσκων στασιασώντων, έν ταῖς άρχαῖς δυτων, περὶ έρωτική, αἰτίαν. θατέρου γάρ , άπιλη,μούντος έταϊρος ών τις τον έρώμενον αύτοῦ ὑπεποιήσατο, πάλιν δ' έκείνος τούτφ χαλεπήνας την γυναίκα αὐτοῦ άνέπεισεν ώς αύτον έλθειν. όθεν προσλαμβάνοντες τους έν 3 τώ πολιτεύματι διεστασίασαν πάντας. διόπερ άρχομένων εύλαβεῖσθαι δεῖ τῶν τοιούτων, καὶ διαλύειν τὰς τῶν ἡγεμόνων και δυναμένων στάσεις · ἐν ἀρχῆ γὰρ γίγνεται τὸ ἀμάρτημα, ή δ' άρχη λέγεται ημισυ είναι παντός, ώστε καὶ τὸ έν αύτη μικρον αμάρτημα ανάλογόν έστι πρός τα έν τοῖς 4 άλλοις μέρεσιν. δλως δε αί τῶν γνωρίμων στάσεις συναποαι μοιοιών λαύειν ποιούσι και την όλην πόλιν, οίον εν Εστιαία συνέβη μετά τὰ Μηδικά, δύο ἀδελφῶν περὶ τῆς τῶν πατρώων νομῆς διενεχθέντων ι μεν γαρ απορώτερος, ώς ούκ αποφαίνοντος θατέρου την οὐσίαν οὐδὲ τὸν θησαυρὸν ὅν εὖρεν ὁ πατήρ, πριπήγετο τους δημοτικούς, δ δ' έτερος έχων οὐσίαν πολλήν. η τούς είπορους. καλ έν Δελφοίς έκ κηδείας γενομένης διαινη Φυράς άρχη πασών έγένετο τών στάσεων τών υστερον δ μέν γιλρ ολουισαμενός τι σύμπτωμα, ώς ήλθεν έπλ την νύμφην, αιί καιβαίν απήλθεν, οι δ' ως ύβρισθέντες ενέβαλου των ιερών

ны) в Веринования The conjunction han an mounting, an far an I can soo.

be this Apxuluis xpovois I can find milling to throw light on this state-

4 hasauhaaru] 'gained by underhand tele ka, Domouth. 365.

fastini is the same as the dwo-Aun et.

PPLY # pur A appld vortes | 'From this logituiting they proceeded to associate with themselves the members of the personned, until they ranged them sufferly in two Bettons'

I be drive new total in the all the regul to 1

that make a cold to backenticamily -Amegatant than a fault in any

4 συναπολαύειν] Stahr quotes not inaptly from Hesiod, πολλάκι καλ ξυμπάσα πόλις κακοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπαυρεῖ.

'Εστιαία] see note on III. 9.

οὐκ ἀποφαίνοντος] 'on the ground that he did not produce fully, set clearly forth.'

τούς δημοτικούς] 'The democratical party.

5 de endelas] 'on a marriage question.'

TWV BOTEPOY | 'which followed at a later period.'

υίωνισάμενος τι σύμπτωμα] 'having taken some chance occurrence as an unfavourable omen.' The expression, neutral in itself, is by usage limited as in the translation.

dreβaλer, κ. τ. λ.] 'put in some



χρημάτων θύοντος, κάπειτα ώς ἱερόσυλον ἀπέκτειναν. περί Μιτυλήνην δε έξ έπικλήρων στάσεως γενομένης πολλών disturbέγένετο άρχη κακῶν καὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Αθηναίους, έν ῷ Πάχης ἔλαβε τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν Τιμοφάνους γὰρ τῶν εύπόρων τινός καταλιπόντος δύο θυγατέρας, δ περιωσθείς καὶ οὐ λαβών τοῖς υἱέσιν αύτοῦ Δόξανδρος ἦρξε τῆς στάσεως καλ τοὺς 'Αθηναίους παρώξυνε, πρόξενος ῶν τῆς πόλεως. καὶ ἐν Φωκεῦσιν ἐξ ἐπικλήρου στάσεως γενομένης περὶ Μνα- 7 σέαν τὸν Μνήσωνος πατέρα καὶ Εὐθυκράτη τὸν 'Ονομάρχου, ή στάσις αθτη άρχη τοῦ ἱεροῦ πολέμου κατέστη τοῖς Φωμετέβαλε δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἐπιδάμνω ή πολιτεία ἐκ γαμικῶν · ὑπομνηστευσάμενος γάρ τις θυγατέρα, ὡς ἐζημίωσεν αύτὸν ὁ τοῦ ὑπομνηστευθέντος πατήρ γενόμενος τῶν ἀρχόντων, άτερος συμπαρέλαβε τοὺς ἐκτὸς τῆς πολιτείας ὡς ἐπηρεασθείς. μεταβάλλουσι δε καὶ εἰς όλιγαρχίαν καὶ εἰς δῆμον 8 καὶ εἰς πολιτείαν ἐκ τοῦ εὐδοκιμῆσαί τι ἢ αὐξηθῆναι ἡ ἀρχεῖον ή μόριον της πόλεως, οίον ή εν Αρείω πάγω βουλή εύδοκιμήσασα έν τοῖς Μηδικοῖς ἔδοξε συντονωτέραν ποιῆσαι τὴν πολιτείαν, καλ πάλιν ο ναυτικός όχλος γενόμενος αίτιος τῆς

xal Instances

of the sacred property when he was sacrificing.'

6 Μιτυλήνην] For the Mitylenian revolt see Thuc. III. 2, and foll. On this passage Mr Grote (vi. 299) remarks that the fact may be true, but the conception of it as a cause is Yet I cannot see why incorrect. 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.

πρέε της στάσεως] 'began the dissension,' and when the quarrel had broken out, then, as Thucydides says, ίδία κατά στάσιν μηνυτής έγέ-**₽€**Т0,

7 Φωκευσιν] Bp. Thirlwall, VI. 263, 275, remarks that of the sacred or Phocian war, the main causes are more clear than the immediate occa-

τὸν 'Ονομάρχου] ες. πατέρα.

ύπομνηστευσάμενοs] 'having betrothed underhand or beforehand.' This latter meaning suits the context best.

¿ζημίωσεν] 'fined him.'

8 ἡ ἐν 'Αρείφ πάγφ] Grote, ∇. 148.

συντονωτέραν ποιησαι] 'to have strained tighter the constitution,' given greater vigour and intensity to its anti-democratical element. Comp. VI. (IV.) III. 8.

δ ναυτικός δχλος | Grote, v. 369, 483. "Here, then, were two forces, not only distinct, but opposite and conflicting, both put into increased action at the same time."

of political

περί Σαλαμίνα νίκης και διά ταύτης της ήγεμονίας διά την changes. κατά θάλατταν δύναμιν την δημοκρατίαν ἰσχυροτέραν ἐποίκαὶ ἐν ᾿Αργει οἱ γνώριμοι εὐδοκιμήσαντες περὶ τὴν έν Μαντινεία μάγην την πρός Λακεδαιμονίους έπεχείρησαν καταλύειν τὸν δημον, καὶ ἐν Συρακούσαις ὁ δημος αἴτιος γενόμενος της νίκης τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς `Αθηναίους ἐκ πολιτείας εἰς δημοκρατίαν μετέβαλεν, καὶ ἐν Χαλκίδι Φόξον τὸν τύραννον, μετά τῶν γνωρίμων ὁ δῆμος ἀνελών εὐθὺς είχετο τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ ἐν ᾿Αμβρακία πάλιν ώσαύτως Περίανδρον συνεκβαλών τοῖς ἐπιθεμένοις ὁ δῆμος τὸν τύ-10 ραννον είς έαυτὸν περιέστησε την πολιτείαν. καὶ δλως δή . δεῖ τοῦτο μὴ λανθάνειν, ώς οἱ δυνάμεως αἴτιοι γενόμενοι, καὶ ίδιῶται καὶ άργαὶ καὶ Φυλαὶ καὶ ὅλως μέρος καὶ ὁποιονοῦν πληθος, στάσιν κινούσιν ή γάρ οἱ τούτοις Φθονούντες τιμωμένοις, ἄρχουσι τῆς στάσεως, ἡ οὖτοι διὰ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τι οὐ θέλουσι μένειν ἐπὶ τῶν ἴσων. κινοῦνται δ' αἱ πολιτεῖαι 1304 Β καὶ όταν τάναντία είναι δοκούντα μέρη τῆς πόλεως ἰσάζη άλλήλοις, οδον οἱ πλούσιοι καὶ ὁ δῆμος, μέσον δ' ἢ μικρὸν ἢ μηθέν πάμπαν : αν γάρ πολύ ύπερέχη όποτερονοῦν τῶν μερῶν πρός το Φανερώς κρείττου, το λοιπου ού θέλει κινδυνεύειν. 12 διό καλ οί κατ' άρετην διαφέροντες ού ποιοῦσι στάσιν ώς είπεῖν ολίγοι γὰρ γίγνονται πρὸς πολλούς. Καθόλου μέν οὖν περὶ πάσας τὰς πολιτείας αἱ ἀρχαὶ καὶ αἰτίαι τῶν στά-

> διά ταύτης] 'and by this victory been the founder of the supremacy of της ηγεμονίας depends on Athens.' αἴτιος.

9 Er Apyei] Grote, VII. 124. Zυρακούσαις] Grote, x. 539.

Χαλκίδι] For the early greatness of Chalcis, see Niebuhr ü. a. Gesch. IV. 177, Grote, 111. 220.

είχετο της πολιτείας] 'grasped the government.' The government of Chalcis was oligarchical very early; a tyranny was the natural result of thic 'ut of Phoxus I can find no-

'Aμβρακία] occurs again Ch. x. 16. Grote (III. 538) considers this Periander as probably related to the Corinthian tyrant.

10 καὶ δλως δή] 'It follows, then, as a general rule from these particular instances.'

στάσιν κινοῦσιν] 'are a cause of disturbance,' either direct or indi-

II lod(n) 'be just balanced.'

πρός τὸ φανερώς κρείττον] 'on the side of an evident superiority of strength.'

12 καθόλου μέν οδν] returns on



σεων καὶ τῶν μεταβολῶν τοῦτον ἔχουσι τὸν τρόπον. Κινοῦσι Modes of δὲ τὰς πολιτείας ότε μεν διὰ βίας ότε δε δι' ἀπάτης, διὰ βίας the change. μὲν $\hat{\eta}$ εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς $\hat{\eta}$ ὕστερον ἀναγκάζοντες. καὶ γὰρ $\hat{\eta}$ $\frac{1}{13}$ άπάτη διττή ότε μεν γάρ εξαπατήσαντες το πρώτον εκόν-.των μεταβάλλουσι την πολιτείαν, είθ' υστερον βία κατέγουσιν άκόντων, οίον επί των τετρακοσίων τον δημον εξηπάτησαν, Φάσκοντες τον βασιλέα χρήματα παρέξειν προς τον πόλεμον τον προς Λακεδαιμονίους, ψευσάμενοι δε κατέχειν έπειρώντο την πολιτείαν ότε δε εξάρχης τε πείσαντες καί υστερον πάλιν πεισθέντων έκόντων άρχουσιν αὐτῶν. 'Απλῶς μεν οὖν περί πάσας τὰς πολιτείας ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων συμβέβηκε γίγνεσθαι τὰς μεταβολάς.

Kινοῦσι δέ] He has stated generally the causes and beginnings of disturbance and revolution. He adds a few remarks on the modes in which they are effected; they are the two simple and permanent ones of force and The first may be applied at once, or had recourse to later, when the other is seen through.

13 ή ἀπάτη διττή | The second form of andry hardly comes under our ideas of deceit. It is 'persuasion' rather.

έπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων] Grote, VIII. 35. Thuc. viii. 53, 54, δ δήμος τὸ πρώτον χαλεπώς ξφερε, σαφώς δε διδασκόμενος, κ.τ.λ.

κατέχεω] 'keep it firm in their hands, and that against the will of the people awake to the deceit practised on them.'

ότὲ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆs, κ.τ.λ.] If Aristotle really means this to be a form of deceit, it then is that worst form by which a people deceived at first is so trained and governed as to acquiesce in the result. For a nation, like an individual, may be blinded and demoralised, and ultimately accept, and even glory in a state which at another time it would reject as evil.

rulers under whom such demoralisation takes place may point with complacency to the result, which, properly viewed, is their strongest condemnation.

That he degraded, rather than improved, the character of his countrymen, has been justly selected by Arnold as the crowning point in the infamy of the elder Dionysius,-that which in the highest degree justifies the brand of tyrant. But such a sentence is not to be reserved solely for the Greek ruler,-it has been justly deserved by many governments of more recent times. It is, if we rightly consider them, that which constitutes in our own country's history the peculiar disgrace of the miserable Stuart kings. It is the stigma which rests on the later Bourbons in France before the revolution; in Spain and Naples in the present time. It is a point for other governments to consider, our own not excepted, whether their acceptance by the nation they govern is the result of a sound judgment or of the acquiescence which is the offspring of a low state of public morality.

Revolutions in democracies.

Καθ' έκαστον δ' είδος πολιτειας έκ τούτων, μερίζοντας τὰ συμβαίνοντα δεῖ θεωρεῖν. Αἱ μὲν οὖν δημοκρατίαι _ μάλιστα μεταβάλλουσι διὰ τὴν τῶν δημαγωγῶν ἀσέλγειαν• 5 τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἰδία συκοΦαντοῦντες τοὺς τὰς οὐσίας ἔχοντας α συστρέφουσιν αὐτούς (συνάγει γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ἐχθίστους ὁ κοινός Φόβος), τὰ δὲ κοινή τὸ πλήθος ἐπάγοντες. καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἄν τις ἴδοι γιγνόμενον οὕτως. καὶ γὰρ έν Κώ ή δημοκρατία μετέβαλε πονηρών έγγενομένων δημαγωγών (οι γάρ γνώριμοι συνέστησαν) και εν 'Ρόδω. μισθοφοράν τε γάρ οἱ δημαγωγοὶ ἐπόριζον, καὶ ἐκώλυον 3 ἀποδιδόναι τὰ όφειλόμενα τοῖς τριηράρχοις οἱ δὲ διὰ τὰς έπιφερομένας δίκας ήναγκάσθησαν συστάντες καταλῦσαι τον δημον. κατελύθη δε και έν Ήρακλεία ο δημος μετά 4 τὸν ἀποικισμὸν εὐθὺς διὰ τοὺς δημαγωγούς αδικούμενοι γὰρ ύπ' αύτῶν οἱ γνώριμοι ἐξέπιπτον, ἔπειτα ἀθροισθέντες οἱ έκπίπτοντες καὶ κατελθόντες κατέλυσαν τον δημον. παραπλησίως δε και ή εν Μεγάροις κατελύθη δημοκρατία οί γαρ δημαγωγοί, ίνα χρήματα έχωσι δημεύειν, εξέβαλλον

CHAP. V. I Kab' Ekastov & elds!
'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.'

μερίζονταs] Demosth. 1297. 21, κατὰ μέρος, the exact opposite to καθόλου, would be nearly equivalent to μερίζοντας.

τὰ συμβαίνοντα] "das in ihnen wirklich vorkommende," Stahr.

ἀσέλγειαν] 'intemperate conduct,' importunitas,' or 'libido.

idia] 'as individuals.'

συστρέφουσιν] 'They force them to combine.'

κοινή] 'on them as a body,' "ihnen allen," Stahr.

2 Kφ̂] The internal history does not seem to be known.

'Pόδφ] See . III. 4.

μισθοφοράν] pay for the people as members of the ecclesia or the courts of justice. Compare Thuc. viii. 67, μήτε μισθοφοράν, the proposal of the oligarchical conspirators, that no civil functions hereafter should be salaried. Grote, viii. 41, and foll.

ἐπόριζον] 'wished to furnish.'

τοῖς τριηράρχοις] These would be from the wealthier classes.

3 'Ηρακλεία] Of the numerous towns of this name, the one on the Pontus Euxinus seems the one here meant. Nieb. ü. a. Gesch. rv. 252. Smith, Geogr. Dict.

ἀποικισμόν] 'soon after the foundation of the colony.' So Stahr translates it. The result of these dissensions was a permanent tyranny; but this does not appear from Aristotle.

4 Meydpois Compare in. 5 and VI. (IV.) xv. 15. The three allusions seem to refer to the same events.

πολλούς τῶν γνωρίμων, ἔως πολλούς ἐποίησαν τούς Φεύγοντας· οἱ δὲ κατιόντες ἐνίκησαν μαχόμενοι τὸν δῆμον democraκαὶ κατέστησαν τὴν όλιγαρχίαν. συνέβη δὲ ταὐτὸν καὶπερί Κύμην ἐπὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἡν κατέλυσε Θρασύμα γος. 1305 σχεδον δε και επί των άλλων άν τις ίδοι θεωρών τάς μετα-ς βολάς τοῦτον ἐχούσας τὸν τρόπον. ὁτὲ μὲν γάρ, ἵνα χαρίζωνται, άδικοῦντες τοὺς γνωρίμους συνιστᾶσιν, ή τὰς ούσίας άναδάστους ποιοῦντες η τὰς προσόδους ταῖς λειτουργίαις · ότε δε διαβάλλοντες, ϊν' έχωσι δημεύειν τὰ κτήματα τῶν πλουσίων. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἀρχαίων, ὅτε γένοιτο 6 ό αύτὸς δημαγωγὸς καὶ στρατηγός, εἰς τυραννίδα μετέβαλλον. σχεδον γάρ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀρχαίων τυράννων ἐχ δημαγωγών γεγόνασιν. αἴτιον δὲ τοῦ τότε μὲν γίγνεσθαι 7 νῦν δὲ μή, ὅτι τότε μὲν οἱ δημαγωγοὶ ἦσαν ἐκ τῶν στρατηγούντων (οὐ γάρ πω δεινοί τσαν λέγειν), νῦν δὲ τῆς ρητορικής ηύξημένης οι δυνάμενοι λέγειν δημαγωγούσι μέν, δι' ἀπειρίαν δε τῶν πολεμικῶν οὐκ ἐπιτίθενται, πλην εί που βραχύ τι γέγονε τοιοῦτον. ἐγίγνοντο δὲ τυραννίδες ε

14

Κύμην] The Campanian city of that name, partly of Chalcidian origin, partly of Æolian, was early powerful. The decline of its power is attributed by Mr. Grote, III. 473, first to the growth of hostile powers in the interior, the Tuscans and Samnites, next to violent intestine dissensions and a destructive despotism. The particular fact in the text is obscure.

5 avadaστους Compare the expression, ἐπὶ γης ἀναδασμφ.

ταs προσόδους] 'Their incomes.'

ταιs λειτουργίαιs] 'by the various public offices which they have to serve at their own expense.'

6 δτε γένοιτο δ αὐτός] 'Whenever the same man happened to be. was this a rare case.' Such seems the force of the optative.

τών άρχαίων τυράννων] For some considerable period of Greek experience, despots or tyrants were unknown in Greece proper. Prior to that period, they looked back on an age of despots or tyrants, and their actual experience of later, more Aristotelian times, had revived their dislike of this form of government, though in many essential features the spirit was changed, and changed for the. The word tyrant in its full sense is only applicable as a general rule to the later rulers who bore that On this distinction between the earlier and later tyrants, see Niebuhr, ü. a. Gesch. 1. 328.

7 On this separation of civil and military powers, compare Heeren's Political History of Greece.

obe emiriberrai] 'They do not attempt to seize power,' as a general rule, that is; there may be some few instances of their doing so.

A A 2

Revolutions in democracies.

πρότερον μάλλον ή νῦν καὶ διὰ τὸ μεγάλας ἀρχὰς ἐγχειρίζεσθαί τισιν, ώσπερ έν Μιλήτω έχ της πρυτανείας πολλών γαρ ήν καὶ μεγάλων κύριος ὁ πρύτανις. ἔτι δὲ δια τὸ μη μεγάλας είναι τότε τὰς πόλεις, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν οἰκείν τὸν δῆμον ἄσχολον ὄντα πρὸς τοῖς ἔργοις, οἱ προστάται τοῦ δήμου, ότε πολεμικοί γένοιντο, τυραννίδι ἐπετίθεντο. 9 πάντες δε τοῦτο ἔδρου ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου πιστευθέντες, τ δε πίστις ην ή ἀπέχθεια ή προς τους πλουσίους, οδον 'Αθήνησί τε Πεισίστρατος στασιάσας πρός τους πεδιακούς, καὶ Θεαγένης εν Μεγάροις των εύπόρων τὰ κτήνη ἀποσφάξας, το λαβών παρά τον ποταμον έπινέμοντας. καὶ Διονύσιος κατηγορών Δαφναίου καὶ τών πλουσίων ήξιώθη της τυραννίδος, δια την έχθραν πιστευθείς ως δημοτικός ών. μεταβάλλουσι δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς πατρίας δημοκρατίας εἰς τὴν νεωτάτην δπου γάρ αίρεται μέν αι άρχαι, μη άπο τιμημάτων δέ, αίρεῖται δὲ ὁ δημος, δημαγωγούντες οἰ σπουδαρχιώντες είς τοῦτο καθιστάσιν ώς κύριον είναι τον τι δημον καλ των νόμων. ἄκος δὲ τοῦ ή μη γίνεσθαι ή τοῦ

8 ἐγχειρίζεσθαι] 'being placed in the hands of.'

en της 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.

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 rechi, who fell by

the necessary absence of their supporters. Niebuhr, Lect. Rom. Hist. II. p. 334, Lect. 27.

9 Newforparos] Grote, III. 206. Geayérns] Grote, III. 59.

λαβόν, κ.τ.λ.] 'Having caught them turning them out to graze on the river side.' For ἐπυέμοντας, compare Demosth. 1274.

10 Aurbous] Grote, x. 539, 608.

πατρίας δημοκρατίας] I am inclined to read μετρίας. If πατρίας 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 II. xii. 4.

σπουδαρχιώντες] 'ambitious of office,' Aristoph. Ach. 595.

is, 'in divisions, and not collectively.'

γίνεσθαι ήττον τὸ τὰς Φυλὰς Φέρειν τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ἀλλὰ Revoluμή πάντα του δημου. Των μεν ουν δημοκρατιών ai democraμεταβολαί γίγνονται πάσαι σχεδόν διά ταύτας τάς αὶτίας.

Αἱ δ' ὀλιγαργίαι μεταβάλλουσι διὰ δύο μάλιστα 6 τρόπους τοὺς Φανερωτάτους, ένα μεν έαν άδικῶσι τὸ πληθος· πᾶς γὰρ ἰκανὸς γίνεται προστάτης, μάλιστα δ' oligarchies. έταν έξ αὐτῆς συμβῆ τῆς όλιγαρχίας γίνεσθαι τὸν ἡγεμόνα, καθάπερ εν Νάξω Λύγδαμις, δς καὶ ετυράννησεν υστερον τῶν Ναξίων. ἔχει δὲ καὶ ή ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀρχὴ στάσεως 2 1305 Β διαφοράς. ότε μεν γαρ έξ αὐτῶν τῶν εὐπόρων, οὐ τῶν δυτων δ' εν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς, γίγνεται κατάλυσις, ὅταν ὀλίγοι σφόδρα ώσιν οι έν ταῖς τιμαῖς, οίον έν Μασσαλία καὶ έν ἄλλων Bekker.

φέρειν τους άρχοντας] "wählen," . Lech Stahr, 'create the requisite magistrates,' 'provide them.' The smaller bodies are more amenable to local and traditional influences.

> VI. I Náte Niebuhr, ü. a. Gesch. IV. 189. Grote, IV. 143.

> 2 exes 86] Is it here that we find the second form of revolution or destruction of an oligarchy? Does Exer δέ answer to ένα 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 allos τρόπος answering to the first clearly marked one. Schneider finds the answer to eva mér in mádiota dé, 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 dissensions within the oligarchical body itself, whether there be or be not misgovernment of the 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. runs the two causes into one another. and is not inconsistent with Aristotle's very concise method of statement.

αύτῶν] I prefer this reading to the one Bekker retains. άλλων. He mentions another, αὐτῶν, but I follow Nickes in substituting αὐτῶν. '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 wal ή έξ αύτῶν.

έν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς] = έν ταῖς τιμαῖς. two words are here evidently used indiscriminately.

Antho "Leen an is Horriso an a thing that thereises. diameter & 420 an appropriate the action makes and appropriate THE DESIGN TOTEON THE MELTING WITTEN I'VE PENTENL wice imagni is a restrictions and a marting mentions un the un riverser rivers à la la la latte h in hour attendences. & Homisa i E continue 4 mg famenting finder. artistale de ma en Kondon i ill-בינידוב בינה שבינה שבינים שבינים שבינים ביני ביניתון 1,41, 11 Kilyun usteyen un andaren Bontal & Taria WHI WA PATEYER, OTH & TRESONS TREATING THE THE ANA GARAN SELACIONEME 723 ETECTOS OTROS À TERRES ביו לווצוחי המתדודדים בע דפס קישונותשה, בדוובתבשוב בצוב tripes unbest you to statiane. zai in Embanis in In 11/4 Tim Burindin insyappias & this asyains you VIIIC. MINTER MILLING EXILLENDIÉSES TES ES TE TENTESE LES נונו און וחי ווו ליווין ווין לבי משמעדה בי ביו און ווין ווין ווין און ווין און און און און און און און און און कार महिला है। अर्थां मारा है को की Α 1411 Ανί 14 εικίουν λαμολιγιογούντων. ή ότρασγαγία δε διττή. I way by plotting this onlyons (eyylvetan yas demarayes xan

tree pdr] 'At Marneilles.' Niebuhr is a, Grack iv. 639, speaks of its "reputation for good order." Grote, iii. 532, and note. "The senate was originally a body completely close, which gave rise to discontent on the part of the wealthy men not included in it. a miligation took place by admitting into it, accessionally, men selected to an the latter."

Antist stigning ! Anally ended!

4 Rulling the Internal history un-

"Helene | 'Int only

5 'Epospais] but little known, Grote, III. 243, note 2.

τῶν ἐν τῷ πολετείᾳ] is the subject to ἐπιμελομένων, 'although those in the government exercised their power well.'

φιλονεικίαν] 'from personal rivalry.'

6 of περί 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. Fratosth. p. 125, the expression Χαρικλεῖ καὶ Κριτία καὶ τῆ ἐκείνων ἐταιρεία supports Aristotle's remark, and after the death of Critias, he is considered by Mr Grote as the leader of the more violent party, VIII. 370.



s "Mappe I latera on the Braysthenes | in historically, agreemely chaones.

L deluming 'keigh nightating.'

πάνυ όλίγοι ὦσιν, οίον ἐν τοῖς τριάκοντα ᾿Αθήνησιν οἱ περὶ Χαρικλέα Ισχυσαν τους τριάκοντα δημαγωγούντες, και oligarchies. έν τοῖς τετρακοσίοις οἱ περὶ Φρύνιχον τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον), ή όταν τὸν όχλον δημαγωγώσιν οἱ ἐν τῆ όλιγαργία ὅντες. οίον εν Λαρίσση οι πολιτοφύλακες διά το αιρεισθαι αύτους τον όχλον εδημαγώγουν και έν όσαις όλιγαρχίαις ουχ οὖτοι αἰροῦνται τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐξ ὧν οἱ ἄρχοντές εἰσιν, ἀλλ' αἱ μεν άρχαι έχ τιμημάτων μεγάλων είσιν ή έταιριών, αίρουνται δ' οἱ ὁπλῖται ἡ ὁ δημος, ὅπερ ἐν ᾿Αβύδω συνέβαινεν. καὶ ὅπου τὰ δικαστήρια μὴ ἐκ τοῦ πολιτεύματός ἐστιν. δημαγωγούντες γάρ πρός τάς κρίσεις μεταβάλλουσι την πολιτείαν, ὅπερ καὶ ἐν Ἡρακλεία ἐγένετο τῆ ἐν τῷ Πόντω. έτι δ' δταν ένιοι είς ελάττους έλχωσι την ολιγαργίαν · οί γάρ το Ισον ζητούντες αναγκάζονται βοηθον επαγαγέσθαι γίγνονται δε μεταβολαί τῆς όλιγαρχίας καί ε δταν άναλώσωσι τὰ ίδια ζῶντες ἀσελγῶς καὶ γὰρ οἱ τοιοῦτοι καινοτομείν ζητούσι, και ή τυραννίδι επιτίθενται αὐτοί 1306 ή κατασκευάζουσιν έτερον, ώσπερ Ίππαρίνος Διονύσιον έν Συρακούσαις. καὶ ἐν ᾿Αμφιπόλει, ιδ ὄνομα ἢν Κλεότιμος, τους εποίκους τους Χαλκιδέων ήγαγε, και ελθόντων

ol περί Φρύνιχον] Mr Grote, VIII. 85, takes this expression as singular 'Phrynichus.' As in the last case, we should from Xenophon have considered Critias as the more prominent member of the Thirty, so, from Thucydides, Antiphon would here have taken the place of Phrynichus, yet the assassination of this latter seems to show that, in the common opinion, the leadership assigned him by Aristotle was correctly assigned him.

Λαρίσση] Herm. Pol. Ant. § 178. Compare also III. 2, 2, a passage which bears witness to internal dis-

πολιτοφύλακες] The word occurs again II. 8, 9, as one of the forms of superior magistrates.

'Aβύδω Little else known of Abydos'

internal history. It was a colony of Miletus, Herm. Pol. Ant. § 78.

7 μη έκ του πολιτεύματος] 'are not formed of members of the govern-

πρός τὰς κρίσεις] 'with a view to influence decisions.'

8 ἀσελγῶs] 'dissolutely,' Ch. V. I. This is the great point urged in Plato, Repub. viii., and almost the only one dwelt on.

'Ιππαρίνος] Grote, x. 599, xi. 69, 76. Arnold, Rome, Vol. 1. Ch. 21. He was father of Dion. It appears that he completely re-established his fortune.

'Αμφιπόλει] Ch. III. 4, where those whom he here calls exolkous, are called anolkous. Cleotimus not known.

to a vertainer with the the metale mi a light THE THE THE THE THE LAND THE BETWEEN THE DEPOSITE RETERMENT LIGO THE TRANSPORT OF THE THE PARTY STEED. THE MED WAT ETITENTAL TI MOSO, THE TE METTENTI THE MOST DES TOS along staniform i dou i i tois tentos payiponi χίλετωτας, ίπες ὁ Απιλιωία συέξη τζ ὁ τῷ Πύτφ. minumma le ingangia da educiones it estes. etμένο / ή έν Φαργάλου πιλιτεία. έπείναι γαν δλίγαι έντες करारामा कार्या होता होता होते का पूर्वतीया क्यांका कार्या क्यांक्र אינדמני אינדמני אינדמני בין היא אינדמני אינדמ ιι γνιο έμπουδοτιο. τούτο δ' έστιο όταν του παντός πολιτεύμπιτος διλήνοι δοντος τών μεγίστων άρχων μη μετέχωστο δί Ινίνοι πάρτες, όπες έρ "Ηλιδι συρέξη ποτέ της πολιτείας γάρ δι' δικίγιου ούσης του γερόντου όλίγοι πάμπαν έγινοντο ιιά τι άθλισης είναι ένενήκοντα όντας, την δ' αίρεσιν δυναπτειπικήν είναι και όμοιαν τη των έν Λακεδαίμονι γερόντων.

is Abstract to this apparently well known tensor than

To novelve to effect some political change."

sphe whenhel "unter sich," Stahr, scheeing it and obtor to the same people. Yet the Greek hardly war-cate this, however much the sense tony require it.

struct " The thiever,"

'Annaamely | Hou above, 111, 13.

the spinosovae st., s.t.s., 'An oligarchy if the last avoid dissension, and me in moment, is not easily destroyed by any healt of the own.' Such is the they blade takes of the passage, 's tied atold beach durch three eigeness health on through greatest.' There is much in the manufact to severe this tiem. There is another admissible, I think to make particular admissible of the content of the passage.' The

bμόνοια, 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 "HAto] 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 (treek states.

dλίγοι πάμπαν, 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 contain families, and in a manner similar to that of the Gerontes at Lacadamacu,' Müller, Dorians, II. 100.

γίγνεται δε μεταβολή τῶν ὀλιγαργιῶν καὶ ἐν πολέμω καὶ ἐν εἰρήνη, ἐν μὲν πολέμω διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἀπιστίαν στρα- oligarchies. ανων τιώταις ἀναγκαζομένων χρησθαι (ῷ γὰρ αν ἐγχειρίσωσιν, 12 ούτος πολλάκις γίγνεται τύραννος, ώσπερ ἐν Κορίνθω Τιμο-Φάνης. αν δε πλείους, ούτοι αυτοίς περιποιούνται δυναστείαν). ότε δε ταῦτα δεδιότες μεταδιδόασι τῷ πλήθει τῆς πολιτείας διὰ τὸ ἀναγκάζεσθαι τῷ δήμῳ χρῆσθαι. ἐν δὲ τῷ εἰρήνη διὰ 13 την άπιστίαν την πρός άλληλους έγχειρίζουσι την Φυλακην στρατιώταις και άρχοντι μεσιδίω, δς ενίστε γίνεται κύριος άμφοτέρων, δπερ συνέβη εν Λαρίσση επί της των 'Αλευαδῶν ἀρχῆς τῶν περί Σῖμον καὶ ἐν ᾿Αβύδω ἐπὶ τῶν ἐταιριῶν ών ην μία ή Ίφιάδου. γίνονται δε στάσεις και έκ τοῦ 14 περιωθεϊσθαι ετέρους ύφ' ετέρων των εν τη ολιγαργία αὐτῶν καὶ καταστασιάζεσθαι κατά γάμους ή δίκας, οίον έκ γαμικής μέν αίτίας αι ειρημέναι πρότερον, και την έν Έρετρία δ' όλιγαρχίαν την τῶν ἱππέων Διαγόρας [δὲ]

· δλιγαρχικών Bekker.

12 όλιγαρχιών I see no objection to adopting with Stahr this change for Bekker's δλιγαρχικών. Not that in the other case there is any difficulty. It is so easy to supply πολιτειών.

στρατιώταις] 'Mercenaries,' 'professional soldiers,' such as those maintained by the Spartan government at Athens, under the Thirty.

\$ γὰρ ἄν, κ.τ.λ.] 'He in whose hand they place the command.' Compare Grote, XI. 194.

Timopdens] The brother of Timoleon, commanded the Corinthian troops in the war against Argos. "stood forth as despot, taking the whole government into his hands."

13 μεσιδίφ] '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." Middle Ages, 1. 395, 6.

τών περί Σίμον] unknown really, as the doubts on the name seem to show.

'Ιφιάδου] Grote, x. 521, note, with the conjecture there given.

14 περιωθείσθαι] passive, 'repulsam ferre.'

αὐτῶν] Coray suggests δντων, and the proposal is attractive, as αὐτῶν seems not at all wanted. Stahr retains αὐτῶν. 'Themselves also of the oligarchy.'

παταστασιάζεσθαι] 'being borne down by party.'

'Ερετρία] 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 άδικηθείς περί γάμον. ἐκ δὲ δικαστηρίου κρίtions in oligarchies. σεως ή εν Ἡρακλεία στάσις εγένετο καὶ εν Θήβαις, επ' αίτία μοιχείας δικαίως μέν στασιωτικώς δε ποιησαμένων την το κόλασιν τῶν μὲν ἐν Ἡρακλεία κατ' Εὐρυτίωνος, τῶν δ' ἐν 1306 Β Θήβαις κατ' 'Αρχίου' έφιλονείκησαν γάρ αὐτοὺς οἱ έχθροὶ 16 ώστε δεθήναι έν άγορα έν το χύφωνι, πολλαί δε καί διά τὸ ἄγαν δεσποτικάς είναι τὰς όλιγαρχίας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῆ πολιτεία τινών δυσχερανάντων κατελύθησαν, ώσπερ ή έν Κνίδω και ή έν Χίω ολιγαρχία. γίγνονται δε και άπο συμπτώματος μεταβολαί και της καλουμένης πολιτείας καί τῶν ὀλιγαρχιῶν ἐν ὅσαις ἀπὸ τιμήματος βουλεύουσι καὶ 17 δικάζουσι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἄρχουσιν. πολλάκις γὰρ τὸ ταχθὲν πρῶτον τίμημα πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας καιρούς, αστε μετέχειν έν μεν τη όλιγαρχία όλίγους έν δε τη πολιτεία τούς μέσους, εύετηρίας γιγνομένης δι' εἰρήνην ή δι' άλλην τιν' εύτυγίαν συμβαίνει πολλαπλασίου γίγνεσθαι τιμήματος άξίας τὰς αὐτὰς κτήσεις, ώστε πάντας πάντων μετέγειν, ότε μεν έκ προσαγωγής και κατά μικρον γινομένης της μεταβολης καὶ λανθανούσης, ότε δε καὶ θάττον. 18 Αί μεν ουν όλιγαρχίαι μεταβάλλουσι καὶ στασιάζουσι διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας. δλως δέ ai δημοκρατίαι καὶ όλιγαρχίαι έξίστανται ένίστε ούχ είς τὰς έναντίας πολιτείας άλλ' είς

· Kai Bekker.

15 Θήβαις] 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.

στασιωτικώς] ' in a factious spirit.'

ἐφιλονείκησαν] 'They carried so far their desire for personal or party vengeance on them.'

κυφῶνι] ' pillory.'

16 $X[\phi]$ To what period does this refer? for the oligarchy at Chios, before its revolt from Athens, B.C. 412, is mentioned as singularly pru-

ἀπὸ συμπτώματος] 'from an accident.'

τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχάς] Compare the language in III. 1, 6, 7.

17 mpds robs mapowras kaupows] 'For the time being,' 'to suit the then circumstances.'

πολλαπλασίου, 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.

ἐκ προσαγωγῆs] 'by degrees.'

18 I have omitted nat. Bekker

τὰς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ γένει, οἷον ἐκ τῷν ἐγνόμων δημοκρατιῶν καὶ όλιγαρχιών εἰς τὰς χυρίους καὶ ἐκ τούτων εἰς ἐκείνας.

Έν δὲ ταῖς ἀριστοκρατίαις γίγνονται αἱ στάσεις αἱ 7 μέν διά τὸ ὀλίγοις τῶν τιμῶν μετέχειν, ὅπερ εἴρηται κινεῖν καὶ τὰς όλιγαργίας διὰ τὸ καὶ τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν όλιγαρχίαν είναι πως εν άμφοτέραις γάρ ολίγοι οι άρχοντες, οὐ μέντοι διά ταύτον όλίγοι, έπει δοκεί γε διά ταῦτα και ή τε τίστης τολιο άριστοχρατία όλιγαρχία είναι. μάλιστα δε τοῦτο συμβαίνειν ἀναγκαῖον, ὅταν ἢ τιο πληθος τῶν πεφρονηματισμέ- 2 νων ως ομοιον κατ' άρετήν, οδον έν Λακεδαίμονι οἱ λεγόμενοι Παρθενίαι (ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων γὰρ ἦσαν), οθς Φωράσαντες ἐπιβουλεύσαντας απέστειλαν Τάραντος οἰκιστάς. ή όταν τινες ατιμάζωνται μεγάλοι όντες και μηθενός ήττους κατ' άρετην ύπο τινών έντιμοτέρων, οίον Λύσανδρος ύπο τών βασιλέων. ή όταν ανδρώδης τις ών μη μετέχη των τιμών, 3 οδον Κινάδων ο την έπ' Αγησιλάω συστήσας έπίθεσιν έπλ τους Σπαρτιάτας. έτι όταν οι μεν άπορῶσι λίαν, οι δ' εύπορῶσιν καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις τοῦτο γίνεται. συνέβη δε και τοῦτο έν Λακεδαίμονι ὑπὸ τὸν Μεσσηνιακὸν

· τδ Bekker.

mentions its omission by one MS. 'despotical,' 'absolute,' κυρίους] "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.

VII. I διά τὸ καὶ τήν, κ.τ.λ.] Of course, so far as they agree, they would be liable to the same influences.

δοκεί γε] 'seems,' 'and yet is not.' 2 τι πλήθος] This change I consider imperatively required by the sense, as in VII. (VI.) viii. 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 omelow to δμοιον as far as sense goes, and it is adopted by Coray. But Suciou may be referred to πληθος, and the change is not absolutely necessary.

Παρθενίαι] Müller, Dorians, II. 85, Grote, 111. 512.

έκ των δμοίων γάρ ήσαν] If this is genuine, I am at a loss to understand it. It must, I think, be the addition of some ignorant commentator.

Λύσανδρος] See Ch. I. 10, note.

3 ἐπ' 'Αγησιλάφ] This must mean 'in the reign of Agesilaus,' but I should prefer to read 'Aynoilie, the genitive. This is the commoner construction of emi, when it is used to mark time. Schneider reads 'Aynouldou. For Cinadon's conspiracy, see Xenophon, Hell. 111. 3.

Revolutions in aristocracies.

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Revolutions in aristocracies.

πόλεμον. δηλον δε και τοῦτο εκ της Τυρταίου ποιήσεως της καλουμένης Εύνομίας θλιβόμενοι γάρ τινες διά τὸν πόλεμον ήξίουν ανάδαστον ποιείν την χώραν. Ετι έαν τις 4 μέγας ή καὶ δυνάμενος ἔτι μείζων είναι, ἵνα μοναρχή, ὧσπερ έν Λακεδαίμονι δοκεί Παυσανίας δ στρατηγήσας κατά τον 5 Μηδικόν πόλεμον καὶ ἐν Καρχηδόνι Αννων. λύονται δὲ μάλιστα αί τε πολιτείαι καὶ αἱ ἀριστοκρατίαι διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῆ τῆ πολιτεία τοῦ δικαίου παρέκβασιν. ἀρχὴ γὰρ τὸ μή μεμίχθαι καλώς έν μεν τη πολιτεία δημοκρατίαν καὶ όλιγαρχίαν, εν δε τῆ άριστοκρατία ταῦτά τε καὶ τὴν άρετήν, μάλιστα δὲ τὰ δύο λέγω δὲ τὰ δύο δῆμον καὶ ἀλιγαρχίαν ταῦτα γὰρ αἱ πολιτεῖαί τε πειρῶνται μιγνύναι καὶ 6 αἱ πολλαὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἀριστοκρατιῶν. διαφέρουσι γὰρ τῶν ὀνομαζομένων πολιτειῶν αἱ ἀριστοκρατίαι τούτω, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' εἰσὶν αἱ μὲν ἦττον αἱ δὲ μᾶλλον μόνιμοι αὐτῶν. τὰς γὰρ ἀποκλινούσας μᾶλλον πρὸς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν ἀριστοκρατίας καλοῦσιν, τὰς δὲ πρὸς τὸ πληθος πολιτείας. διόπερ ασφαλέστεραι αἱ τοιαῦται τῶν ἐτέρων εἰσίν κρεῖττόν τε γάρ τὸ πλεῖον, καὶ μᾶλλον άγαπῶσιν ἴσον ἔχοντες. 7 οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς εὐπορίαις, ἀν ἡ πολιτεία διδῷ τὴν ὑπεροχήν, ύβρίζειν ζητοῦσι καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν. ὅλως δ' ἐΦ' ὁπότερον

⁴ Tupraiou] For his life and history, with the necessary references, see Smith, Biogr. Dict.

τον Μεσσηνιακον πόλεμον] The second Messenian war.

Europias] Grote, II. 573.

àνάδαστον] see Ch. V. 5.

ໃνα μοναρχή] sc. στασιάζει.

navoarias] see Ch. I. 10.

[&]quot;Appen" Grote, x. 552, note. Heeren, African Nations, 1. 112; also Justin, xxi. 4, "regnum invadere, interfecto senatu, conatus est Hanno."

⁵ ἐν αὐτῆ τῆ πολιτεία] 'In the actual constitution of the government.'

èν μèν τῆ πολιτεία, κ.τ.λ.] This is consistent with his language, VI. (IV.) viii. 8, 9.

⁶ διαφέρουσι] Is this 'differ and are superior to?'

δνομαζομένων] See VI. (IV.) VIII.

I. This passage is in favour of the change there advocated of νομιζομένη into δνομαζομένης.

αί τοιαῦται] sc. αί πρός τὸ πληθος άποκλίνουσαι.

τὸ πλεῖον] sc. ἀρίθμφ ' in number,' the numerical majority.

μάλλον 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 rost content with this, but grow insolent, and grasp at more.'

αν έγκλίνη τ΄ πολιτεία, έπὶ ταῦτα μεθίσταται έκατέρων τὸ σΦέτερον αὐξανόντων, οίον ή μεν πολιτεία εἰς δῆμον, ἀρι- aristocraστοκρατία δ' εἰς όλιγαρχίαν. ἡ εἰς τάναντία, οἶον ἡ μὲν άριστοκρατία εἰς δημον (ώς άδικούμενοι γάρ περισπώσιν εἰς 8 τουναντίον οι απορώτεροι), αι δε πολιτεΐαι είς ολιγαργίαν. μόνον γαρ μόνιμον τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἴσον καὶ τὸ ἔχειν τὰ αύτων. συνέβη δε το είρημένον έν Θουρίοις διά μεν γάρ 9 τὸ ἀπὸ πλείονος τιμήματος είναι τὰς ἀρχὰς εἰς ἔλαττον μετέβη καὶ εἰς ἀρχεῖα πλείω, διὰ δὲ τὸ τὴν χώραν ὅλην τούς γνωρίμους συγκτήσασθαι παρά τὸν νόμον ή γάρ πολιτεία όλιγαρχικωτέρα ήν, ωστε εδύναντο πλεονεκτείν ο δε δημος γυμνασθείς εν τῶ πολέμω τῶν Φρουρῶν ἐγένετο κρείττων, έως άφεισαν της χώρας όσοι πλείω ήσαν έχοντες. έτι διὰ τὸ πάσας τὰς ἀριστοκρατικὰς πολιτείας ὀλιγαρ- 10 χικάς είναι μαλλον πλεονεκτοῦσιν οἱ γνώριμοι, οἶον καὶ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι εἰς ολίγους αὶ οὐσίαι ἔρχονται καὶ ἔξεστι ποιείν ο τι αν θέλωσι τοίς γνωρίμοις μαλλον, και κηδεύειν

7 ἐπὶ ταῦτα] 'It is into this one of its two constituent elements that it changes.'

έκατέρων] 'As each of the two tries to increase its influence.'

8 περισπώσιν] ΒC. περίελκει, περιάγει, 'They draw it round to.'

μόνιμον το κατ' άξίαν ίσον, κ.τ.λ.] In other words, μόνον γάρ μόνιμον τὸ Slkaiov. These are the two great divisions of political justice; the first is the principle of τὸ διανεμητικὸν δίκαιον, the second, that of τὸ διορθωτικόν, Είλ. v. Chs. vi. vii.

9 τὸ εἰρημένον] What does this refer to? Must it be carried back to § 5, the την εν αὐτη τη πολιτεία του δικαίου παρέκβασιν, or should it be rather, 'We have an instance of this twofold change in Thurii'? The original constitution leant towards wealth, an oligarchy. This tendency was not checked, and the government became

more oligarchical. Hence came a reaction in a democratical sense.

#Aelovos] 'too high a qualification,' "Un cens trop élevé," St. Hilaire.

els ξλαττον, 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.

δλιγαρχικωτέρα] 'had a strong oligarchical tendency.'

τῶν φρουρῶν] 'The guards, mercenary, it would appear, maintained by the oligarchs.'

10 δλιγαρχικάς είναι μάλλον] 'having more of the oligarchical than of the democratical character.'

καὶ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι] So that Aristotle considers the proper character of the Lacedæmonian constitution to have been aristocratical.

Revolutions in democracies.

Καθ' έκαστον δ' είδος πολιτειας έκ τούτων, μερίζοντας τὰ συμβαίνοντα δεῖ θεωρεῖν. Αἱ μὲν οὖν δημοκρατίαι - μάλιστα μεταβάλλουσι διὰ τὴν τῶν δημαγωγῶν ἀσέλγειαν• 5 τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἰδία συκοφαντοῦντες τοὺς τὰς οὐσίας ἔχοντας α συστρέφουσιν αὐτούς (συνάγει γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ἐχθίστους ὁ κοινός Φόβος), τὰ δὲ κοινή τὸ πλήθος ἐπάγοντες. καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἄν τις Ιδοι γιγνόμενον οῦτως. καὶ γὰρ έν Κω ή δημοκρατία μετέβαλε πονηρών έγγενομένων δημαγωγών (οἱ γὰρ γνώριμοι συνέστησαν) καὶ ἐν Ῥόδω. μισθοφοράν τε γάρ οἱ δημαγωγοὶ ἐπόριζον, καὶ ἐκώλυον 3 άποδιδόναι τὰ όφειλόμενα τοῖς τριηράρχοις οἱ δὲ διὰ τὰς ἐπιΦερομένας δίκας ήναγκάσθησαν συστάντες καταλῦσαι τὸν δημον. κατελύθη δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἡρακλεία ὁ δημος μετά 4 τὸν ἀποικισμὸν εὐθὺς διὰ τοὺς δημαγωγούς ἀδικούμενοι γὰρ ύπ' αύτῶν οἱ γνώριμοι ἐξέπιπτον, ἔπειτα ἀθροισθέντες οἰ έκπίπτοντες καὶ κατελθόντες κατέλυσαν τὸν δημον. παραπλησίως δε και ή έν Μεγάροις κατελύθη δημοκρατία: γαρ δημαγωγοί, ΐνα χρήματα έχωσι δημεύειν, εξέβαλλον

CHAP. V. I Kab' Ekactor o' elocs]
'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.'

μερίζονταs] Demosth. 1297. 21, κατὰ μέροs, the exact opposite to καθόλου, would be nearly equivalent to μερίζονταs.

τὰ συμβαίνοντα] "das in ihnen wirklich vorkommende," Stahr.

ἀσέλγειαν] 'intemperate conduct,' 'importunitas,' or 'libido.

ίδία] 'as individuals.'

συστρέφουσιν] 'They force them to combine.'

kowfi] 'on them as a body,' "ihnen allen," Stahr.

2 K\$\varphi\$] The internal history does not seem to be known.

'Pόδφ] See Ch. III. 4.

μισθοφοράν] pay for the people as members of the ecclesia or the courts of justice. Compare Thuc. vIII. 67, μήτε μισθοφοράν, the proposal of the oligarchical conspirators, that no civil functions hereafter should be salaried. Grote, vIII. 41, and foll.

ἐπόριζον] 'wished to furnish.'

τοῖς τριηράρχοις] These would be from the wealthier classes.

3 'Ηρακλεία] Of the numerous towns of this name, the one on the Pontus Euxinus seems the one here meant. Nieb. ü. a. Gesch. rv. 252. Smith, Geogr. Dict.

ἀποικισμόν] 'soon after the foundation of the colony.' So Stahr translates it. The result of these dissensions was a permanent tyranny; but this does not appear from Aristotle.

4 Meγάροιs] Compare 111. 5 and VI. (IV.) xv. 15. The three allusions seem to refer to the same events.

πολλούς τῶν γνωρίμων, ἔως πολλούς ἐποίησαν τοὺς Revolu-Φεύγοντας· οἱ δὲ κατιόντες ἐνίκησαν μαχόμενοι τὸν δῆμον democraκαλ κατέστησαν την όλιγαργίαν. συνέβη δε ταύτον καλπερί Κύμην έπι της δημοκρατίας ην κατέλυσε Θρασύμαγος. 1305 σχεδον δε και επί των άλλων άν τις ίδοι θεωρών τας μετα- 5 βολάς τοῦτον έχούσας τὸν τρόπον. ὑτὲ μὲν γάρ, ἵνα χαρίζωνται, άδικοῦντες τοὺς γνωρίμους συνιστᾶσιν, ή τὰς ούσίας άναδάστους ποιοῦντες ἡ τὰς προσόδους ταῖς λειτουργίαις· ότε δε διαβάλλοντες, ϊν' έχωσι δημεύειν τὰ κτήματα τῶν πλουσίων. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἀρχαίων, ὅτε γένοιτο 6 δ αύτδς δημαγωγός και στρατηγός, είς τυραννίδα μετέβαλλον. σχεδον γάρ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀρχαίων τυράννων ἐχ δημαγωγών γεγόνασιν. αἴτιον δὲ τοῦ τότε μὲν γίγνεσθαι 7 νῦν δὲ μή, ὅτι τότε μὲν οἱ δημαγωγοὶ ἦσαν ἐκ τῶν στρατηγούντων (οὐ γάρ πω δεινοί τσαν λέγειν), νῦν δὲ τῆς ρητορικής ηθξημένης οἱ δυνάμενοι λέγειν δημαγωγοῦσι μέν, δι' άπειρίαν δὲ τῶν πολεμικῶν οὐκ ἐπιτίθενται, πλην εἴ που βραγύ τι γέγονε τοιοῦτον. ἐγίγνοντο δὲ τυραννίδες ε

14

Κύμην] The Campanian city of that name, partly of Chalcidian origin, partly of Æolian, was early powerful. The decline of its power is attributed by Mr. Grote, III. 473, first to the growth of hostile powers in the interior, the Tuscans and Samnites, next to violent intestine dissensions and a destructive despotism. The particular fact in the text is obscure.

5 ἀναδάστους | Compare the expression, έπλ γης αναδασμφ.

τας προσόδους] 'Their incomes.'

ταις λειτουργίαις] 'by the various public offices which they have to serve at their own expense.'

6 δτε γένοιτο δ αὐτός] 'Whenever the same man happened to be. Nor was this a rare case.' Such seems the force of the optative.

των αρχαίων τυράννων] For some considerable period of Greek experience, despots or tyrants were unknown in Greece proper. Prior to that period, they looked back on an age of despots or tyrants, and their actual experience of later, more Aristotelian times, had revived their dislike 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 On this distinction between the earlier and later tyrants, see Niebuhr, ü. a. Gesch. 1. 328.

7 On this separation of civil and military powers, compare Heeren's Political History of Greece.

our emitibertai] 'They do not attempt to seize power,' as a general rule, that is; there may be some few instances of their doing so.

Revolutions in cies.

πρότερον μάλλον ή νῦν καὶ διὰ τὸ μεγάλας ἀρχὰς ἐγχειρίdemocra- ζεσθαί τισιν, ώσπερ έν Μιλήτω έκ τῆς πρυτανείας πολλών γαρ ήν και μεγάλων κύριος ο πρύτανις. ἔτι δὲ δια τὸ μὴ μεγάλας είναι τότε τὰς πόλεις, άλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν οἰκεῖν τὸν δημον ἄσχολον ὄντα πρὸς τοῖς ἔργοις, οἱ προστάται τοῦ δήμου, ὅτε πολεμικοὶ γένοιντο, τυραννίδι ἐπετίθεντο. 🗝 🗫 🥱 ο πάντες δε τοῦτο ἔδρων ύπο τοῦ δήμου πιστευθέντες, ή δε πίστις ην ή ἀπέγθεια ή πρὸς τοὺς πλουσίους, οίον 'Αθήνησί τε Πεισίστρατος στασιάσας πρός τούς πεδιακούς, καλ Θεαγένης εν Μεγάροις των ευπόρων τὰ κτήνη ἀποσφάξας, το λαβών παρά τον ποταμόν έπινέμοντας. καί Διονύσιος κατηγορών Δαφναίου καὶ τών πλουσίων ήξιώθη τῆς τυραννίδος, διά την έχθραν πιστευθείς ώς δημοτικός ών. μεταβάλλουσι δε καὶ έκ της πατρίας δημοκρατίας είς την νεωτάτην δπου γάρ αίρεται μέν αι άρχαι, μη άπο τιμημάτων δέ, αίρεῖται δὲ ὁ δημος, δημαγωγούντες οί σπουδαρχιώντες είς τοῦτο καθιστάσιν ώς κύριον είναι τὸν τι δημον και των νόμων. ἄκος δὲ τοῦ ή μη γίνεσθαι ή τοῦ

> 8 εγχειρίζεσθαι] 'being placed in the hands of.'

> ek 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.

έτι δέ] 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 Πεισίστρατος] Grote, III. 206. Geayérns] Grote, III. 59.

λαβών, κ.τ.λ.] 'Having caught them turning them out to graze on the river side.' For emireportas. compare Demosth. 1274.

10 Aurboios] Grote, x. 539, 608.

πατρίας δημοκρατίας] I am inclined to read perplas. If marplas 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 II. xii. 4.

σπουδαρχιώντες] 'ambitious of office,' Aristoph. Ach. 595.

II τàs φυλάς] 'The people,' that is, 'in divisions, and not collect-



γίνεσθαι ήττον τὸ τὰς Φυλὰς Φέρειν τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ἀλλὰ Revoluμή πάντα τον δημον. Των μέν ουν δημοκρατιών ai democraμεταβολαί γίγνονται πασαι σχεδον διά ταύτας τάς ... αίτίας.

Αί δ' ολιγαργίαι μεταβάλλουσι διὰ δύο μάλιστα 6 τρόπους τοὺς Φανερωτάτους, ενα μεν εάν άδικῶσι τὸ πληθος πας γαρ ίκανος γίνεται προστάτης, μάλιστα δ' oligarchies. έταν έξ αὐτῆς συμβῆ τῆς όλιγαρχίας γίνεσθαι τὸν ἡγεμόνα, καθάπερ ἐν Νάξω Λύγδαμις, δς καὶ ἐτυράννησεν ὕστερον τῶν Ναξίων. ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀρχὴ στάσεως 2 1305 Β διαφοράς. ότε μεν γάρ εξ αὐτῶν τῶν εὐπόρων, οὐ τῶν ὄντων δ' ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς, γίγνεται κατάλυσις, ὅταν ὀλίγοι σφόδρα ώσιν οι έν ταῖς τιμαῖς, οίον έν Μασσαλία καὶ έν ἄλλων Bekker.

φέρειν τους άρχοντας] "wählen," Glack Stahr, 'create the requisite magistrates,' 'provide them.' The smaller bodies are more amenable to local and traditional influences.

> VI. I Nátel Niebuhr, ü. a. Gesch. IV. 189. Grote, IV. 143.

2 Exe Sé] Is it here that we find the second form of revolution or destruction of an oligarchy? Does Exer δέ answer to ένα 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 allos τρόπος answering to the first clearly marked one. Schneider finds the answer to ένα μέν in μάλιστα δέ, 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 dissensions within the oligarchical body itself, whether there be or be not misgovernment of the 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 state-

αύτῶν] I prefer this reading to Bekker the one retains, He mentions another, αὐτῶν, but follow Nickes in substituting αὐτῶν. '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 kal ή έξ αύτῶν.

έν ταις άρχαις] = έν ταις τιμαις. two words are here evidently used indiscriminately.

Revolu- "Ιστρω καὶ ἐν Ἡρακλεία καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις πόλεσι συμβέβηκεν. oligarchies. οί γάρ μη μετέχοντες τῶν ἀρχῶν ἐκίνουν, ἔως μετέλαβον οἰ πρεσβύτεροι πρότερον τῶν ἀδελΦῶν, ὕστερον δ' οἱ νεώτεροι 3 πάλιν· οὐ γὰρ ἄρχουσιν ἐνιαχοῦ μὲν ἄμα πατήρ τε καὶ υίός, ένιαχοῦ δὲ ὁ πρεσβύτερος καὶ ὁ νεώτερος άδελφός. καὶ ἔνθα μὲν πολιτικωτέρα ἐγένετο ἡ ὀλιγαρχία, ἐν Ἰστρω δ' εἰς δημον ἀπετελεύτησεν, ἐν Ἡρακλεία δ' ἐξ ἐλαττόνων 4 εἰς ἐξακοσίους ἢλθεν. μετέβαλε δὲ καὶ ἐν Κνίδω ἡ όλιγαργία στασιασάντων τῶν γνωρίμων αὐτῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς διά τὸ ὁλίγους μετέχειν καὶ καθάπερ εἴρηται, εἰ πατήρ, υίον μη μετέχειν, μηδ' εἰ πλείους ἀδελΦοί, ἀλλ' ή τὸν πρεσβύτατον επιλαβόμενος γάρ στασιαζόντων ο δημος, καλ λαβών προστάτην έκ τῶν γνωρίμων, ἐπιθέμενος ἐκρά-5 τησεν άσθενες γάρ τὸ στασιάζου. καὶ ἐν Ἐρυθραῖς δὲ έπὶ τῆς τῶν Βασιλιδῶν ὀλιγαρχίας ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρόνοις, καίπερ καλῶς ἐπιμελομένων τῶν ἐν τῇ πολιτεία, ὅμως διὰ τὸ ὑπ' ὀλίγων ἄρχεσθαι ἀγανακτῶν ὁ δημος μετέβαλε την πολιτείαν, κινούνται δ' αι όλιγαργίαι έξ αύτων καλ 6 διά Φιλονεικίαν δημαγωγούντων. ή δημαγωγία δε διττή, ή μεν έν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὀλίγοις (ἐγγίνεται γὰρ δημαγωγὸς κᾶν

² Ίστρφ] Istros on the Borysthenes is, historically, extremely obscure.

^{3 ¿}klvouv] 'kept agitating.'

ένθα μέν] 'At Marseilles.' Niebuhr ü. a. Gesch. Iv. 639, speaks of its "reputation for good order." Grote, III. 532, and note. "The senate was originally a body completely close, which gave rise to discontent on the part of the wealthy men not included in it: a mitigation took place by admitting into it, occasionally, men selected from the latter."

ἀπετελεύτησιν] 'finally ended.'

⁴ Κνίδφ] its internal history unknown.

άλλ' ή τον πρεσβύτατον] 'but only 'he eldest.'

^{5 &#}x27;Ερυθραΐs] but little known, Grote, III. 243, note 2.

τῶν ἐν τῷ πολιτείᾳ] is the subject to ἐπιμελομένων, 'although those in the government exercised their power well.'

φιλονεικίαν] 'from personal rivalry.'

⁶ of περί 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 Χαρικλέι και Κριτία και τῆ ἐκείνων ἐταιρεία supports Aristotle's remark, and after the death of Critias, he is considered by Mr Grote as the leader of the more violent party, VIII. 370.

πάνυ όλίγοι ὦσιν, οίον ἐν τοῖς τριάκοντα ᾿Αθήνησιν οἱ περὶ Χαρικλέα Ίσχυσαν τοὺς τριάκοντα δημαγωγοῦντες, καὶ oligarchies. έν τοῖς τετρακοσίοις οἱ περὶ Φρύνιχον τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον), ή δταν τον δχλον δημαγωγώσιν οἱ ἐν τῆ ὀλιγαρχία ὅντες, οίον εν Λαρίσση οι πολιτοφύλακες διά το αιρεϊσθαι αὐτοὺς τὸν ὅχλον ἐδημαγώγουν καὶς ἔν ὅσαις ὁλιγαρχίαις οὐχ οὖτοι αἰροῦνται τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐξ ὧν οἱ ἄρχοντές εἰσιν, ἀλλ' αἱ μεν άρχαι έκ τιμημάτων μεγάλων είσιν ή έταιριῶν, αίροῦνται δ' οἱ ὁπλῖται ἡ ὁ δημος, ὅπερ ἐν ᾿Αβύδω συνέβαινεν. καὶ ὅπου τὰ δικαστήρια μὴ ἐκ τοῦ πολιτεύματός ἐστιν. δημαγωγούντες γάρ πρός τάς κρίσεις μεταβάλλουσι την πολιτείαν, δπερ καὶ ἐν Ἡρακλεία ἐγένετο τῆ ἐν τῷ Πόντω. ἔτι δ' ὅταν ἔνιοι εἰς ἐλάττους ἕλκωσι τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν · οἰ γάρ το Ισον ζητούντες άναγκάζονται βοηθον έπαγαγέσθαι γίγνονται δε μεταβολαί τῆς όλιγαρχίας καί ε δταν άναλώσωσι τὰ ίδια ζῶντες ἀσελγῶς καὶ γὰρ οἱ τοιοῦτοι καινοτομείν ζητούσι, και ή τυραννίδι επιτίθενται αυτοί 1306 ή κατασκευάζουσιν έτερον, ώσπερ Ίππαρῖνος Διονύσιον έν Συρακούσαις. καὶ ἐν ᾿Αμφιπόλει, ιος ὅνομα ἢν Κλεότιμος, τούς εποίκους τούς Χαλκιδέων ήγαγε, και ελθόντων

ol περl Φρόνιχον] Mr Grote, VIII.

85, takes this expression as singular 'Phrynichus.' As in the last case, we should from Xenophon have considered Critias as the more prominent member of the Thirty, so, from Thucydides, Antiphon would here have taken the place of Phrynichus, yet the assassination of this latter seems to show that, in the common opinion, the leadership assigned him by Aristotle was correctly assigned him.

Λαρίσση] Herm. Pol. Ant. § 178. Compare also III. 2, 2, a passage which bears witness to internal disputes.

πολιτοφύλακες] The word occurs again II. 8, 9, as one of the forms of superior magistrates.

'Aβύδφ] Little else known of Abydos'

internal history. It was a colony of Miletus, Herm. Pol. Ant. § 78.

7 μħ ἐκ τοῦ πολιτεύματος] 'are not formed of members of the government.'

πρὸς τὰς κρίσεις] 'with a view to influence decisions.'

8 ἀσελγῶs] 'dissolutely,' Ch. V. I. This is the great point urged in Plato, Repub. viii., and almost the only one dwelt on.

'Imapîvos] Grote, x. 599, xi. 69, 76. Arnold, Rome, Vol. 1. Ch. 21. He was father of Dion. It appears that he completely re-established his fortune.

'Αμφιπόλει] Ch. III. 4, where those whom he here calls ἐποίκους, are called ἀποίκους. Cleotimus not known.

11

διεστασίασεν αύτους πρός τους εύπόρους. καὶ ἐν Αιγίνη ὁ uligarchies την πράξιν την πρός Χάρητα πράξας ένεχείρησε μεταβα-9 λείν την πολιτείαν διά τοιαύτην αιτίαν. ότε μέν οδν έπιγειροῦσί τι κινεῖν, ότε δε κλέπτουσι τὰ κοινά: ὅθεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς στασιάζουσιν ή οὖτοι ή οἱ πρὸς τούτους μαχόμενοι κλέπτοντας, όπερ εν 'Απολλωνία συνέβη τη εν τω Πόντω. 10 όμονοοῦσα δὲ όλιγαρχία ούκ εὐδιάφθορος έξ αὐτῆς. σημείον δε ή εν Φαρσάλω πολιτεία εκείνοι γάρ ολίγοι όντες πολλιον κύριοί είσι διά τὸ χρησθαι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καλώς. καταλύονται δε και δταν έν τῆ όλιγαρχία ετέραν όλιγας-11 χίαν έμποιωσιν. τουτο δ' έστιν όταν του παντός πολιτεύματος ολίγου όντος των μεγίστων αρχών μή μετέχωσιν οί ολίγοι πάντες, όπερ εν "Ηλιδι συνέβη ποτέ της πολιτείας γὰρ δι' ὀλίγων οὖσης τῶν γερόντων ὀλίγοι πάμπαν ἐγίνοντο διά τὸ ἀϊδίους είναι ένενήκοντα όντας, τὴν δ' αϊρεσιν δυνα-

στευτικήν είναι καὶ ὁμοίαν τῆ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι γερόντων.

9 Alylun την πράξιν] I can find no allusion to this apparently well known transaction.

τι κινείν] 'to effect some political change.'

πρὸς αὐτούς] "unter sich," Stahr, referring it and obton to the same people. Yet the Greek hardly warrants this, however much the sense may require it.

obroil " The thieves."

'Aπολλωνία] See above, III. 13.

10 δμονοοῦσα δέ, 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 Grunde gerichtet." There is much in the context to favour this view. There is another admissible, I hink, 'is not easily destroyed from ithout, by external causes.' The assage illustrates the chapter on δμόνοια, Ελλ. 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 "Ηλιδι] 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.

δλίγοι πάμπαν, 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, 11. 100.

γίγνεται δε μεταβολή των όλιγαρχιών και έν πολέμω και έν εἰρήνη, ἐν μὲν πολέμω διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἀπιστίαν στρα- tions in oligarchies. οντιώταις ἀναγκαζομένων χρῆσθαι (ῷ γὰρ αν ἐγχειρίσωσιν, 🚾 ούτος πολλάκις γίγνεται τύραννος, ώσπερ έν Κορίνθω Τιμο-Φάνης άν δε πλείους, ούτοι αύτοῖς περιποιούνται δυναστείαν). ότε δε ταῦτα δεδιότες μεταδιδόασι τῷ πλήθει τῆς πολιτείας διὰ τὸ ἀναγκάζεσθαι τῷ δήμω χρῆσθαι. ἐν δὲ τῷ εἰρήνη διὰ 13 την απιστίαν την προς αλλήλους έγχειρίζουσι την Φυλακην στρατιώταις καὶ ἄρχοντι μεσιδίω, δς ἐνίοτε γίνεται κύριος άμφοτέρων, όπερ συνέβη εν Λαρίσση επί της των 'Αλευαδῶν ἀρχῆς τῶν περὶ Σῖμον καὶ ἐν ᾿Αβύδω ἐπὶ τῶν ἐταιριῶν ών ην μία ή Ίφιάδου. γίνονται δε στάσεις και έκ τοῦ 14 περιωθείσθαι έτέρους ύφ' έτέρων τῶν ἐν τῆ ὀλιγαργία αὐτῶν καὶ καταστασιάζεσθαι κατὰ γάμους ή δίκας, οἶον ἐκ γαμικής μέν αίτίας αι ειρημέναι πρότερου, και την έν Έρετρία δ' όλιγαρχίαν την τῶν ἱππέων Διαγόρας [δὲ]

· ὀλιγαρχικών Bekker.

12 δλιγαρχιών] I see no objection to adopting with Stahr this change for Bekker's δλιγαρχικών. Not that in the other case there is any difficulty. It is so easy to supply πολιτειών.

στρατιώταις] 'Mercenaries,' 'professional soldiers,' such as those maintained by the Spartan government at Athens, under the Thirty.

& γαρ αν, κ.τ.λ.] 'He in whose hand they place the command.' Compare Grote, XI. 194.

Timopdens The brother of Timoleon, commanded the Corinthian troops in the war against Argos. "stood forth as despot, taking the whole government into his hands."

13 μεσιδίφ] '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." Middle Ages, 1. 395, 6.

τών περί Σίμον] unknown really, as the doubts on the name seem to show.

'Ιφιάδου] Grote, x. 521, note, with the conjecture there given.

14 περιωθείσθαι] passive, 'repulsam ferre.'

αὐτῶν] Coray suggests ὅντων, and the proposal is attractive, as αὐτῶν seems not at all wanted. Stahr retains αὐτῶν. 'Themselves also of the oligarchy.'

παταστασιάζεσθαι] 'being borne down by party.'

'Ερετρία] 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.

Revolu-

κατέλυσεν άδικηθείς περί γάμον. ἐκ δὲ δικαστηρίου κρίoligarchies. σεως ή εν Ἡρακλεία στάσις εγένετο καλ εν Θήβαις, επ αίτία μοιγείας δικαίως μέν στασιωτικώς δε ποιησαμένων την τς κόλασιν τῶν μὲν ἐν Ἡρακλεία κατ' Εὐρυτίωνος, τῶν δ' ἐν 1306 Β Θήβαις κατ' 'Αρχίου' έφιλονείκησαν γάρ αὐτοὺς οἱ έχθροὶ 16 ώστε δεθήναι έν άγορα έν το κύφωνι, πολλαί δε καί διά τὸ ἄγαν δεσποτικάς είναι τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῆ πολιτεία τινών δυσχερανάντων κατελύθησαν, ώσπερ ή έν Κνίδω και ή έν Χίω όλιγαρχία. γίγνονται δε και άπο συμπτώματος μεταβολαί και της καλουμένης πολιτείας καί τῶν ὀλιγαργιῶν ἐν ὅσαις ἀπὸ τιμήματος βουλεύουσι καὶ τη δικάζουσι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἄρχουσιν. πολλάκις γὰρ τὸ ταχθὲν πρῶτον τίμημα πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας καιρούς, αστε μετέγειν ἐν μὲν τῆ ὀλιγαργία ὀλίγους ἐν δὲ τῆ πολιτεία τους μέσους, εύετηρίας γιγνομένης δι' εἰρήνην ή δι' άλλην τιν' εύτυγίαν συμβαίνει πολλαπλασίου γίγνεσθαι τιμήματος άξίας τὰς αὐτὰς κτήσεις, ώστε πάντας πάντων μετέχειν, ότε μεν έκ προσαγωγής και κατά μικρον γινομένης της μεταβολής και λανθανούσης, ότε δε και θάττον. 18 Αί μεν οὖν όλιγαρχίαι μεταβάλλουσι καὶ στασιάζουσι διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας. δλως δέ αἱ δημοκρατίαι καὶ ὀλιγαργίαι έξίστανται ένίστε ούχ είς τὰς έναντίας πολιτείας άλλ' είς

· naí Bekker.

15 Θήβαις] 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.

στασιωτικώς] 'in a factious spirit.'

¿φιλονείκησαν] 'They carried so far their desire for personal or party vengeance on them.'

κυφώνι] ' pillory.'

16 Xiq] To what period does this refer? for the oligarchy at Chios, before its revolt from Athens, B.C. 412, is mentioned as singularly prudent.

άπό συμπτώματος] 'from an accident.'

τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχάς Compare the language in III. 1, 6, 7.

17 πρός τους παρόντας καιρούς] 'For the time being,' 'to suit the then circumstances.'

πολλαπλασίου, 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.

έκ προσαγωγήs] 'by degrees.' 18 I have omitted Kal. Bekker



τὰς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ γένει, οἶον ἐκ τῶν ἐννόμων δημοκρατιῶν καὶ όλιγαρχιών είς τὰς χυρίους καὶ ἐκ τούτων εἰς ἐκείνας.

Έν δὲ ταῖς ἀριστοκρατίαις γίγνονται αἱ στάσεις αἱ 7 μεν διά τὸ ὀλίγοις τῶν τιμῶν μετέχειν, ὅπερ εἴρηται κινεῖν καὶ τὰς ὀλιγαργίας διὰ τὸ καὶ τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν ὀλιγαρχίαν είναι πως εν άμφοτέραις γαρ όλίγοι οἱ άρχοντες, οὐ μέντοι διά ταύτον όλίγοι, έπεὶ δοκεί γε διά ταῦτα καὶ ή κατωρικών άριστοκρατία όλιγαρχία είναι. μάλιστα δε τοῦτο συμβαίνειν ἀναγκαῖον, ὅταν ἢ τι πληθος τῶν πεφρονηματισμέ- 2 νων ως δμοιον κατ' άρετήν, οδον έν Λακεδαίμονι οἱ λεγόμενοι Παρθενίαι (ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων γὰρ ἦσαν), οθς Φωράσαντες ἐπιβουλεύσαντας ἀπέστειλαν Τάραντος οἰκιστάς. ή δταν τινες ατιμάζωνται μεγάλοι όντες και μηθενός ήττους κατ' άρετην ύπο τινών έντιμοτέρων, οίον Λ ύσανδρος ύπο τών βασιλέων. ἢ ὅταν ἀνδρώδης τις ὧν μὴ μετέχη τῶν τιμῶν, 3 οδον Κινάδων ὁ τὴν ἐπ' Αγησιλάω συστήσας ἐπίθεσιν ἐπλ τους Σπαρτιάτας. έτι όταν οι μέν άπορῶσι λίαν, οι δ' εύπορῶσιν καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις τοῦτο γίνεται. συνέβη δε και τοῦτο έν Λακεδαίμονι ὑπὸ τὸν Μεσσηνιακὸν

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• τὸ Bekker.

mentions its omission by one MS. ' despotical,' 'absolute,' κυρίους] "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.

VII. 1 διά τὸ καὶ τήν, κ.τ.λ.] Of course, so far as they agree, they would be liable to the same influences.

δοκεί γε] 'seems,' 'and yet is not.'

2 τι πλήθος] This change I consider imperatively required by the sense, as in VII. (VI.) viii. 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 δμοίων to δμοιον as far as sense goes, and it is adopted by Coray. But 8µ010v may be referred to πληθος, and the change is not absolutely necessary.

Παρθενίαι] Müller, Dorians, II. 85. Grote, 111. 512.

έκ των δμοίων γάρ ήσαν] If this is genuine, I am at a loss to understand it. It must, I think, be the addition of some ignorant commentator.

Λύσανδρος | See Ch. I. 10, note.

3 ἐπ' 'Αγησιλάφ This must mean 'in the reign of Agesilaus,' but I should prefer to read 'Αγησιλίω, the genitive. This is the commoner construction of ¿mí, when it is used to mark time. Schneider reads 'Αγησιλάου. For Cinadon's conspiracy, see Xenophon, Hell. 111. 3.

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πόλεμον. δηλον δε καὶ τοῦτο εκ της Τυρταίου ποιήσεως της καλουμένης Εύνομίας θλιβόμενοι γάρ τινες διά τὸν πόλεμον ηξίουν ανάδαστον ποιείν την χώραν. Ετι έαν τις 4 μέγας ή καὶ δυνάμενος έτι μείζων είναι, ίνα μοναρχή, ώσπερ έν Λακεδαίμονι δοκεί Παυσανίας ό στρατηγήσας κατά τὸν 5 Μηδικόν πόλεμον καὶ ἐν Καρχηδόνι Αννων. λύονται δὲ μάλιστα αί τε πολιτείαι καὶ αί άριστοκρατίαι διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῆ τῆ πολιτεία τοῦ δικαίου παρέκβασιν. ἀρχὴ γὰρ τὸ μή μεμίχθαι καλώς εν μεν τη πολιτεία δημοκρατίαν καλ όλιγαρχίαν, έν δὲ τῆ ἀριστοκρατία ταῦτά τε καὶ τὴν ἀρετήν, μάλιστα δε τὰ δύο λέγω δε τὰ δύο δημον καὶ ὀλιγαργίαν ταῦτα γὰρ αἱ πολιτεῖαί τε πειρῶνται μιγνύναι καὶ 6 αἱ πολλαὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἀριστοκρατιῶν. διαφέρουσι γὰρ των ονομαζομένων πολιτειών αι άριστοκρατίαι τούτω, καλ διὰ τοῦτ' εἰσὶν αι μεν ήττον αι δε μᾶλλον μόνιμοι αὐτῶν. τὰς γὰρ ἀποκλινούσας μᾶλλον πρὸς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν ἀριστοκρατίας καλοῦσιν, τὰς δὲ πρὸς τὸ πληθος πολιτείας. διόπερ ἀσφαλέστεραι αἱ τοιαῦται τῶν ἐτέρων εἰσίν κρεῖττόν τε γάρ τὸ πλεῖον, καὶ μᾶλλον ἀγαπῶσιν ἴσον ἔχοντες. 7 οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς εὐπορίαις, ἀν ή πολιτεία διδῷ τὴν ὑπεροχήν, ύβρίζειν ζητοῦσι καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν. ὅλως δ' ἐΦ' ὁπότερον

4 Τυρταίου] For his life and history, with the necessary references, see Smith, Biogr. Dict.

τον Μεσσηνιακον πόλεμον] The second Messenian war.

Eŭvoµías] Grote, II. 573. àνάδαστον] see Ch. V. 5. ໃνα μοναρχή] ες. στασιάζει.

Παυσανίας] see Ch. I. 10.

"Avvov] Grote, x. 552, note. Heeren, African Nations, 1. 112; also Justin, xxi. 4, "regnum invadere, interfecto senatu, conatus est Hanno."

5 εν αὐτη τη πολιτεία] ' In the actual constitution of the government.'

έν μέν τῆ πολιτεία, κ.τ.λ.] This is consistent with his language, VI. (IV.) viii. 8, 9.

6 διαφέρουσι] Is this 'differ and are superior to?'

δνομαζομένων] See VI. (IV.) VIII. I. This passage is in favour of the change there advocated of romiconern into ονομαζομένης.

αί τοιαῦται] sc. αί πρός τὸ πληθος άποκλίνουσαι.

τὸ πλείον] sc. ἀρίθμφ ' in number,' the numerical majority.

μάλλον 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.'

αν εγκλίνη τ΄ πολιτεία, επί ταῦτα μεθίσταται εκατέρων το σφέτερον αύξανόντων, οίον ή μεν πολιτεία είς δημον, άρι- aristocraστοκρατία δ' εἰς ολιγαρχίαν. ἡ εἰς τάναντία, οἶον ἡ μὲν άριστοκρατία εἰς δημον (ώς ἀδικούμενοι γὰρ περισπῶσιν εἰς 8 τούναντίον οἱ ἀπορώτεροι), αἱ δὲ πολιτεῖαι εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν· μόνον γαρ μόνιμον τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἴσον καὶ τὸ ἔγειν τὰ αύτων. συνέβη δε το είρημένον έν Θουρίοις διά μεν γάρ 9 τὸ ἀπὸ πλείονος τιμήματος είναι τὰς ἀρχὰς εἰς ἔλαττον μετέβη καὶ εἰς ἀρχεῖα πλείω, διὰ δὲ τὸ τὴν χώραν ὅλην τοὺς γνωρίμους συγκτήσασθαι παρά τὸν νόμον ή γάρ πολιτεία όλιγαργικωτέρα ήν, ώστε εδύναντο πλεονεκτείν ο δε δημος γυμνασθείς έν τῷ πολέμφ τῶν Φρουρῶν ἐγένετο κρείττων, έως άφεισαν της χώρας δσοι πλείω ήσαν έχοντες. έτι διὰ τὸ πάσας τὰς ἀριστοκρατικὰς πολιτείας ὀλιγαρ- 10 χικάς είναι μακλον πλεονεκτούσιν οι γνώριμοι, οίον και έν Λακεδαίμονι είς όλίγους αὶ οὐσίαι ἔρχονται καὶ ἔξεστι ποιείν ο τι αν θέλωσι τοίς γνωρίμοις μαλλον, και κηδεύειν

7 ἐπὶ ταῦτα] 'It is into this one of its two constituent elements that it changes.'

έκατέρων] 'As each of the two tries to increase its influence.'

8 περισπώσιν] ΒC. περίελκει, περιάγει, 'They draw it round to.'

μόνιμον το κατ' άξιαν ίσον, κ.τ.λ.] In other words, μόνον γάρ μόνιμον τὸ δίκαιον. These are the two great divisions of political justice; the first is the principle of τὸ διανεμητικόν δίκαιον, the second, that of τὸ διορθωτικόν, Eth. v. Chs. vi. vii.

9 τὸ εἰρημένον] What does this refer to? Must it be carried back to § 5, the την έν αὐτη τη πολιτεία του δικαίου παρέκβασιν, or should it be rather. 'We have an instance of this twofold change in Thurii'? The original constitution leant towards wealth, an This tendency was not oligarchy. checked, and the government became more oligarchical. Hence came a reaction in a democratical sense.

πλείονος] 'too high a qualification,' "Un cens trop élevé," St. Hilaire.

els ξλαττον, 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.

δλιγαρχικωτέρα] 'had a strong oligarchical tendency.'

των φρουρών] 'The guards, mercenary, it would appear, maintained by the oligarchs.'

10 όλιγαρχικάς είναι μάλλον] 'having more of the oligarchical than of the democratical character.'

nal er Aanedaluovi] So that Aristotle considers the proper character of the Lacedæmonian constitution to have been aristocratical.

Revolutions in cies.

1307 B

διὸ καὶ ή Λοκρῶν πόλις ἀπώλετο ἐκ τῆς ότω θέλωσιν. aristocra- π ρὸς Δ ιονύσιον κηδείας \cdot δ έν δημοκρατία οὐκ $\hat{\alpha}$ ν έγένετο, ούδ αν έν αριστοκρατία εξ μεμιγμένη. Μάλιστα δε λαν-¹¹ θάνουσιν αἱ ἀριστοχρατίαι μεταβάλλουσαι τῷ λύεσθαι κατὰ μικρόν, δπερ είρηται έν τοῖς πρότερον καθόλου κατά πασῶν τῶν πολιτειῶν, ὅτι αἴτιον τῶν μεταβολῶν καὶ τὸ μικρόν έστιν. δταν γάρ τι προώνται τῶν πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν, μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλο μικρῷ μεῖζον εύγερέστερον κινοῦσιν, ἔως ἀν 12 πάντα κινήσωσι τὸν κόσμον. συνέβη δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Θουρίων πολιτείας. νόμου γάρ όντος διά πέντε ετών στρατηγείν, γενόμενοί τινες πολεμικοί τῶν νεωτέρων καὶ παρά τῷ πλήθει τῶν Φρουρῶν εὐδοκιμοῦντες, καταΦρονήσαντες των έν τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ νομίζοντες ράδίως κατασχήσειν, τοῦτον τὸν νόμον λύειν ἐπεχείρησαν πρῶτον, ὧστ έξειναι τούς αὐτούς συνεχῶς στρατηγείν, ὁρῶντες τὸν δημον 13 αύτοὺς γειροτονήσοντα προθύμως. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τούτω τεταγμένοι τῶν ἀρχόντων, οἱ καλούμενοι σύμβουλοι, ὁρμήσαντες τὸ πρῶτον ἐναντιοῦσθαι συνεπείσθησαν, ὑπολαμβάνοντες τοῦτον κινήσαντας τον νόμον ἐάσειν τὴν ἄλλην πολιτείαν, ύστερον δε βουλόμενοι κωλύειν άλλων κινουμένων οὐκέτι πλέον ἐποίουν οὐθέν, ἀλλὰ μετέβαλεν ή τάξις πᾶσα τῆς πολιτείας είς 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

11 πρότερον] Ch. III. 10.

τι προώνται] 'have abandoned some one point.'

εὐχερέστερον] 'more easily.'

καὶ ἐπί] Not only did the changes mentioned, § 9, take place, but this

12 διὰ πέντε ἐτῶν] 'At an interval

of not less than five years.'

τῶν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι] 'Those in power.'

κατασχήσειν] 'hold their own,' 'succeed,' or supplying τὰ πρέγματα, 'get the government into their hands.'

13 em τούτφ] 'to prevent this.'

σύμβουλοι] We find this term in use at Athens, Pol. Ant. 138, but in such a sense as the one here required, I cannot find it elsewhere.

τῶν ἐπιχειρησάντων] 'in the han's of the men who attempted the

πάσαι δ' αἱ πολιτείαι λύονται ότὲ μὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν ὅτὲ δ' έξωθεν, δταν έναντία πολιτεία ή ή πλησίον ή πόρρω μεν aristocraέχουσα δε δύναμιν. δσπερ συνέβαινεν επ' Αθηναίων καὶ -Λακεδαιμονίων οι μεν γάρ 'Αθηναΐοι πανταχοῦ τὰς όλι- 14 γαρχίας, οἱ δὲ Λάκωνες τοὺς δήμους κατέλυον. Οθεν μεν οδν αί μεταβολαί γίγνονται τῶν πολιτειῶν καὶ αἱ στάσεις, είρηται σχεδόν.

Περί δε σωτηρίας και κοινή και χωρις εκάστης πολι-8 τείας εχόμενον εστιν είπεῖν. Πρῶτον μεν ουν δηλον ότι, stability είπερ έχομεν δι' ῶν Φθείρονται αι πολιτεῖαι, έχομεν καὶ δι' and conservation, ών σώζονται των γαρ εναντίων τάναντία ποιητικά, Φθορά δὲ σωτηρία ἐναντίον. ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς εὖ κεκραμέναις πολι- 2 τείαις, ώσπερ άλλο τι δεί τηρείν δπως μηθέν παρανομώσι, καλ μάλιστα το μικρον Φυλάττειν. λανθάνει γαρ έπεισ- ζέπισδυωδύουσα ή παράβασις, ώσπερ τὰς οὐσίας αἱ μικραὶ δαπάναι Απας Κυρρινο δαπανῶσι πολλάκις γινόμεναι. λανθάνει δε ή μετάβασις 3 διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀθρόα γίγνεσθαι· παραλογίζεται γὰρ ἡ διάνοια ύπ' αύτῶν, ώσπερ ὁ σοφιστικὸς λόγος εἰ έκαστον μικρόν, καὶ πάντα. τοῦτο δ' ἔστι μὲν ως, ἔστι δ' ως οῦ τὸ γὰρ δλον καὶ τὰ πάντα οὐ μικρόν, ἀλλὰ σύγκειται ἐκ μικρών. μίαν μεν οὖν Φυλακήν πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν δεῖ 4

14 ἐξ αὐτῶν] This would seem to determine the sense of vi. 10.

πόρρω μέν, κ.τ.λ.] 'Though distant, yet powerful.'

¿π' 'Αθηναίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων] This is an odd expression. In the time when these 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 ώσπερ άλλο τι] See IV. (VII.) xvii. 8, 'as much as any other point,' 'more than anything

ἐπεισδύουσα] 'creeping in.'

δαπανῶσι] 'spend,' 'run out,' 'exhaust.' Compare the expression in Thucydides IV. 3, δαπανάν την πόλιν, with Arnold's note.

3 λανθάνει δὲ ἡ μετάβασις] clause seems to me superfluous. By a slight change in the stopping, putting a colon at γινόμεναι, I have detached it as much as possible.

παραλογιζεται] I take this in the passive sense. 'The mind is led to an erroneous conclusion.

ύπ' αὐτῶν] ες, τῶν δαπάνων,

δ σο‡ιστικός λόγος] The fallacy 'acervus' says Schneider.

4 πρός ταύτην την άρχην] 'Against this commencement of the change.'.

Causes of ποιείσθαι, έπειτα μή πιστεύειν τοίς σοφίσματος χάριν πρὸς stability and conservation.

111

τὸ πληθος συγκειμένοις εξελέγχεται γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἔργων. ποῖα δὲ λέγομεν τῶν πολιτειῶν σοΦίσματα, πρότερον ¹³⁰⁸ ⁵ εἴρηται. ἔτι δ' ὁρᾶν ὅτι ἔνιαι μένουσιν οὐ μόνον ἀριστοκρατίαι άλλὰ καὶ όλιγαρχίαι οὐ διὰ τὸ ἀσφαλεῖς είναι τὰς πολιτείας, άλλα δια το εξ χρησθαι τους έν ταις άρχαις γινομένους καὶ τοῖς ἔξω τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῶ πολιτεύματι, τούς μεν μή μετέχοντας τῷ μή ἀδικεῖν καὶ τῷ τοὺς ήγεμονικούς αὐτιον εἰσάγειν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν Φιλοτίμους μη άδικεῖν εἰς άτιμίαν τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς εἰς κέρδος, πρές αύτους δε και τους μετέχοντας τῷ χρῆσθαι ἀλλή-6 λοις δημοτικώς. δ γάρ ἐπὶ τοῦ πλήθους ζητοῦσιν οἱ δημοτικοί τὸ ἴσον, τοῦτ' ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοίων οὐ μόνον δίκαιον άλλά καὶ συμφέρον ἐστίν. διὸ ἐάν πλείους ὧσιν ἐν τῷ πολιτεύματι, πολλά συμφέρει των δημοτικών νομοθετημάτων, ολον τὸ ἐξαμήνους τὰς ἀρχὰς είναι, ἵνα πάντες οἱ ὅμοιοι μετέχωσιν έστι γάρ ωσπερ δημος ήδη οί δμοιοι, διό καὶ ἐν τούτοις εγγίγνονται δημαγωγοί πολλάκις, ώσπερ είρηται ηπρότερον, έπειθ ήττον είς δυναστείας έμπίπτουσιν αί όλιγαρχίαι καὶ άριστοκρατίαι. οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως ῥάδιον κακουργήσαι ολίγον χρόνου άρχοντας καὶ πολύν, ἐπεὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις καὶ δημοκρατίαις γίγνονται

σοφίσματος χάριν Comp. VI. (IV.) XIII. Ι, δσα προφάσεως χάριν σοφίζονται. In neither place is it very easy to translate the expression, 'in the way of devices,' 'to answer the purpose of.'

5 τους ήγεμονικούς είσαγειν] '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 άλλήλοις δημοτικώς] ' By acting towards one another on democratical principles.' The true principle of -- 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 ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοίων] 'in the case of the peers.' The use of ol 8µ0101 as a political term at Sparta is well known.

δημος ήδη, κ.τ.λ.] 'By virtue of their equality, they are, within the limits of their own body, a democracy.'

είρηται πρότερον] See above Ch.

7 ἔπειθ' ἦττον] 'Again by this arrangement as to the offices.'

τυραννίδες ή γάρ οἱ μέγιστοι ἐν ἐκατέρα ἐπιτίθενται Causes of τυραννίδι, ένθα μεν οι δημαγωγοί ένθα δ' οι δυνάσται, ή οι and conτάς μεγίστας έχοντες άρχάς, όταν πολύν χρόνον άρχωσιν. Σώζονται δ' αἱ πολιτεῖαι οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸ πόρρω είναι τῶν 8 διαφθειρόντων, άλλ' ένίοτε καὶ διὰ τὸ έγγύς. Φοβούμενοι γάρ διά χειρών έχουσι μάλλον την πολιτείαν, ώστε δεί τους της πολιτείας Φροντίζοντας Φόβους παρασκευάζειν, ίνα Φυλάττωσι καὶ μὴ καταλύωσιν ώσπερ νυκτερινὴν Φυλακὴν την της πολιτείας τήρησιν, και το πόρρω, έγγυς ποιείν. Ετι 9 τάς τῶν γνωρίμων Φιλονεικίας καὶ στάσεις καὶ διὰ τῶν νόμων πειράσθαι δεί Φυλάττειν, καὶ τοὺς έξω τῆς Φιλονεικίας όντας, πρίν παρειληφέναι και αθτούς, ως το έν άρχη γινόμενον κακόν γνωναι ού τοῦ τυχόντος άλλά πολιτικοῦ πρός δὲ τὴν διὰ τὰ τιμήματα γιγνομένην μετα- 10 βολήν έξ όλιγαρχίας καὶ πολιτείας, όταν συμβαίνη τοῦτο μενόντων μεν τῶν αὐτῶν τιμημάτων εὐπορίας δε νομίσματος γιγνομένης, συμφέρει τοῦ τιμήματος ἐπισκοπεῖν τοῦ κοινοῦ τὸ πληθος πρὸς τὸ παρελθὸν [κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον], έν δσαις μέν πόλεσι τιμώνται κατ' ένιαυτόν, έν δε ταῖς 1308 Β μείζοσι διὰ τριετηρίδος ή πενταετηρίδος καν ή πολλαπλάσιον ή πολλοστημόριον τοῦ πρότερον, ἐν ῷ αἱ τιμήσεις

oi Surdorai] 'the members of the powerful oligarchical families.'

8 διά τὸ πόρρω] As was the case in Crete, see II. x. 15.

διά χειρών έχουσι] 'keep it in hand.' The presence of danger enforces modera-

νυκτερινήν φυλακήν] 'watch in the night.'

9 φιλονεικίας] 'rivalries.'

πρίν παρειληφέναι και αυτούς] 'Before it has absorbed them too.' So I construe it, taking the subject of παρειληφέναι from φιλονεικίας.

ώς τὸ $\ell \nu$ ἀρχ $\hat{\eta}$, κ.τ.λ.] 'It requires precautions, since it is not every one that can trace the evil at its very beginning, that is the characteristic of the statesman.'

ΙΟ εὐπορίας νομίσματος γιγνομένης] 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 attainable by a very much larger number, 'as the result of a large supply of money.'

ἐπισκοπεῖν, κ.τ.λ.] 'to revise the amount of the general valuation.'

τιμώνται κατ' ένιαυτόν] 'They take the census annually.'

πολλοστημόριον] ' many smaller.' "Vielfach kleiner," Stahr. Eth. x. v. 11, p. 1176, 29.

εν & al τιμήσεις] 'When the valuations were settled.'

BB

and conservation.

Causes of κατέστησαν της πολιτείας, νόμον είναι καὶ τὰ τιμήματα έπιτείνειν η άνιέναι, έαν μεν ύπερβάλλη, επιτείνοντας κατά 🕼 την πολλαπλασίωσιν, έὰν δ' έλλείπη, ἀνιέντας καὶ έλάττω τι ποιούντας την τίμησιν. Εν μεν γαρ ταϊς όλιγαρχίαις καὶ ταῖς πολιτείαις μὴ ποιούντων μεν ούτως ἔνθα μεν όλιγαργίαν ένθα δε δυναστείαν γίγνεσθαι συμβαίνει, έκείνως δε έκ μέν πολιτείας δημοκρατίαν, έκ δ' όλιγαρχίας πολι-12 τείαν ή δήμον. κοινόν δε και έν δήμω και όλιγαρχία [] καὶ πάση πολιτεία μήτ' αὐξάνειν λίαν μηθένα παρά την συμμετρίαν, άλλα μαλλον τειράσθαι μικράς καλ πολυχρονίους διδόναι τιμάς ή ταχύ μεγάλας (διαφθείρονται γάρ, και Φέρειν οὐ παντός ἀνδρὸς εὐτυχίαν), εὶ δὲ μή, μή τοί γ' άθρόας δόντας άφαιρεῖσθαι πάλιν άθρόας, άλλ' έκ προσαγωγής καὶ μάλιστα μὲν πειρᾶσθαι τοῖς νόμοις οὕτως ἄγειν ώστε μηθένα ἐγγίγνεσθαι πολὺ ύπερέχοντα δυνάμει μήτε Φίλων μήτε χρημάτων, εὶ δὲ μή, 13 άποδημητικάς ποιεῖσθαι τὰς παραστάσεις αὐτῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἰδίους βίους νεωτερίζουσιν, δεῖ ἐμποιεῖν ἀργήν τινα την έποψομένην τούς ζώντας άσυμφόρως πρός την πολιτείαν, εν μεν δημοκρατία πρός την δημοκρατίαν, εν δε όλιγαρχία πρὸς τὴν όλιγαρχίαν όμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτειών εκάστη. και το εύημερούν δε της πόλεως άνα 14 μέρος Φυλάττεσθαι διά τας αυτάς αίτίας. τούτου δ' άκος

* καὶ μοναρχία Bekker.

κατὰ τήν] 'to meet,' 'to correspond with 'the multiplication.

II οδτως] refers to ανιέντας καλ έλάττω ποιούντας; εκείνως to επιτεί-POPTOS.

12 και μοναρχία] which Bekker incloses in brackets, must be rejected. μοναρχία is not a πολιτεία. 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 addition; there are so many other instances in which, unfortunately, we can only suspect one.

διαφθείρονται γάρ] 'For men get corrupted.'

μή τοί γε] 'at any rate not.'

τοις νόμοις ουτως άγειν] 'So to conduct matters by the laws and institutions of the state.' Compare the use of άγωγή, VI. (IV.) v. 3.

ἀποδημητικάς ποιείσθαι] 'Το remove their supporters from home.'

τάς παραστάσεις] = τοὺς παραστάτας, 'their followings,' clientela.

13 ἀρχήν τινα] The institution of a censorship.

τό εὐημεροῦν, κ.τ.λ.] 'Το be on your

τὸ ἀεὶ τοῖς ἀντιχειμένοις μορίοις ἐγχειρίζειν τὰς πράξεις Causes of καὶ τὰς ἀρχάς· λέγω δ' ἀντικεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς τῷ πλήθει and conκαὶ τοὺς ἀπόρους τοῖς εὐπόροις. καὶ τὸ πειρᾶσθαι ἢ συμ- servation. μιγνύναι τὸ τῶν ἀπόρων πληθος καὶ τὸ τῶν εὐπόρων, ἡ τὸ μέσον αύξειν τοῦτο γάρ διαλύει τὰς διὰ τὴν ἀνισότητα στάσεις. Μέγιστον δε έν πάση πολιτεία το και τοῖς νό- 15 μοις καὶ τῆ ἄλλη οἰκονομία οὕτω τετάχθαι ὢστε μὴ εἶναι τὰς ἀρχὰς κερδαίνειν. τοῦτο δὲ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς ὀλιγαργικαῖς δεῖ τηρεῖν. οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἀγανακτοῦσιν εἰργόμενοι 16 τοῦ ἄρχειν οἱ πολλοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαίρουσιν ἐάν τις ἐῷ πρὸς τοῖς ἰδίοις σχολάζειν, ὡς μέαν οἴωνται τὰ κοινὰ κλέπτειν τοὺς άρχοντας τότε δ' άμφότερα λυπεῖ, τό τε τῶν τιμῶν μὴ μετέχειν και το των κερδών. μοναχώς δε και ένδέχεται 17 άμα είναι δημοκρατίαν καὶ άριστοκρατίαν, εἰ τοῦτο κατασκευάσειέ τις ενδέχοιτο γαρ αν καλ τούς γνώριμους καλ το 1300 πληθος έχειν α βούλονται αμφοτέρους. το μέν γαρ έξειναι πάσιν άρχειν δημοκρατικόν, το δε τους γνωρίμους είναι έν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἀριστοκρατικόν. τοῦτο δ' ἔσται, ὅταν μὴ ἢ 18 κερδαίνειν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχῶν. οἱ γὰρ ἄποροι οὐ βουλήσονται άρχειν τῷ μηδέν κερδαίνειν, άλλὰ πρὸς τοῖς ἰδίοις είναι μάλλον οί δ' εὖποροι δυνήσονται διὰ τὸ μηδέν προσδεῖσθαι τῶν κοινών, ώστε συμβήσεται τοῖς μεν ἀπόροις γίγνεσθαι εὐπόροις διὰ τὸ διατρίβειν πρὸς τοῖς ἔργοις, τοῖς δὲ γνωρίμοις μη άρχεσθαι ύπὸ τῶν τυχόντων. τοῦ μὲν οὖν μη κλέπτε- 19

guard against a prosperous class, or the prosperity of a class.' Or is it a somewhat different meaning, one more consonant with the general sense of dνά μέρος, 'To guard against the fluctuations of prosperity, which visits the different parts of the state in turns,' so that now one class is formidable, now another? These changes require precaution.

14 τὸ ἀεὶ τοῖς, κ.τ.λ.] That is, never to let one or other of the opposite classes monopolise the government.

τους ἐπιεικεῖς] Here the political sense of the word is quite evident.

¹⁵ τη άλλη οἰκονομία] 'The general administration of the state,' or, as we might say, 'the economy.'

¹⁶ προς τοις lolois σχολάζειν] 'suis negotiis vacare.'

τότε] 'where this is not done,' 'to have leisure to attend to their own private concerns.'

¹⁷ τοῦτο] ες. τὸ μη κερδαίνειν τὰς àρχάs.

¹⁸ mpds rois idlois | 'at their own business.'

¹⁹ του μέν οδν, κ.τ.λ.] ' With a view

THE I THE SE WHEN S TENESTY STREETING THE TIME THE VICTOR TIPTON TON TURTON, WILL ENT-DELIN THER CONrang er. da jou en Cidag randumen en le exembe र्श्वा राज्य हेण्य कि क्यानिस्त्राक्ष्य राजे होते हात्राकार niel's les rie ir livertrum tos est ans Ceneris. 23 aritiga i is such the thetsica livius princess. בי בים לא בים לאולונים בשונים בים לאולים לא לאולים לאולים לאולים לאולים לאולים לאולים לאולים לאולים לאולים भारत्य कर्म कर्म राज्याच्यात् हे वेडचा ज्ञान केंग्र राज्यात् स्था nastananya za bea kita empera o i ideanyia THE WOMEN STABLES THEFUL THUS. IL THE STYRE עלט אין ויינער דער דער אינער אינער אינער דער אינער אייער אינער אייער אינער אייער אינער איי ยาสารคา ยนุ รบารบนุ นะเมื่อ รน อาสาเมน เรียน ที่ น้ำ สน้อง อบัน yeng, are themen i muy to aith althurus vita que às conference ai viriai des xai tes àtices de entoa was as authorouses there. The said as in unaga-דינו ענו ים ווואימנילים דפה מושמה ז' והודודם ז' במציצום זיב-ענות דיונק אנדית ציוושרויהו דדי דיוודבים, בו עבו פֿדעש דפונ είπουμ, ἐν δ διαγαργία τοῦς ἀπορις, πλην έσαι ἀργαί κύμμι της κυιιτίνας ταύτας ότι τους έχ της κολιτείας פינים בין בונים על אינונים בין בינים ואינים ולינים ולינים

> my time order that the public money a would not be needed if the offices were HAY WA 'A MELANZINI," '60 COLLING 1.5.

untipagal 'enplies,' 'duplicates.'

themos generally, at any rate, a military term. In Xenophon, Hiero 12 3, it has a civil with, difpyrat per γημ βπυπαι οί πάλεις, οί μεν κατά φυλάς, ul he κυτα μπίρας, al δέ κατά λόχους. The passages Behneider in his note quotes from the Hellenies, only support hor view on the supposition that in Argos and Thebes, the civil and military divisions corresponded.

> Ι μισθός τις δοτέος τοῦτο δέ yepus, is his language in p, 1134 b, 6; and honours

a source of gain. Compare note on VII. (VI.) vii. 7.

20 rds ktifueis] See Ch. V. S. where we have ras ovolas, and for rows καρπούς here we have τας προσό-Bous.

μή κατά δόσιν] 'not by gift or bequest, but by inheritance on the principle of family; there should be, however, a limitation in the number,' and consequently on the amount, 'imposed by the society,' μηδέ πλειόνων ή μιας του αὐτου κληρονομείν.

21 τοις έκ της πολιτείας equivalent to τοις έν τῷ πολιτεύματι, 'The

Τρία δέ τινα χρη έχειν τους μέλλοντας ἄρξειν τὰς The qualiκυρίας ἀρχάς, πρῶτον μεν Φιλίαν πρὸς τὴν καθεστῶσαν for office. πολιτείαν, έπειτα δύναμιν μεγίστην τῶν ἔργων τῆς ἀρχῆς, τρίτον δ' άρετην καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐν ἐκάστη πολιτεία την πρός την πολιτείαν εί γαρ μη ταύτον το δίκαιον κατά πάσας τὰς πολιτείας, ἀνάγκη καὶ τῆς δικαιοσύνης είναι δια-Φοράς. ἔχει δ' ἀπορίαν, ὅταν μὴ συμβαίνη ταῦτα πάντα 2 περί τὸν αὐτόν, πῶς χρὴ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν διαίρεσιν οίον εἰ 1309 Β στρατηγικός μέν τις είη, πονηρός δε καί μη τη πολιτεία Φίλος, ὁ δὲ δίκαιος καὶ Φίλος, πῶς δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν αῖρεσιν; έοικε δε δείν βλέπειν είς δύο, τίνος πλείον μετέγουσι πάντες καλ τίνος έλαττον. διό έν στρατηγία μέν εἰς τὴν ἐμπειρίαν 3 μάλλον της άρετης έλαττον γάρ στρατηγίας μετέχουσι, τῆς δ' ἐπιειχείας πλεῖον ' ἐν δὲ Φυλακῆ καὶ ταμιεία τάναντία. πλείονος γάρ άρετης δείται η όσην οι πολλοί έχουσιν, ή δε ἐπιστήμη κοινὴ πᾶσιν. ἀπορήσειε δ' ἄν τις κᾶν δύναμις 4 ύπάρχη της πολιτείας καὶ Φιλία, τί δεῖ της άρετης; ποιήσει γαρ τὰ συμφέρουτα καὶ τὰ δύο. ἡ ὅτι ἐνδέχεται τοὺς τὰ

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. I The three qualifications are given repeatedly. Compare the speech of Pericles, Thuc. II. 60, γνώναι τὰ δέοντα καὶ έρμηνεῦσαι ταῦτα, φιλόπολίς τε καὶ χρημάτων κρείσσων. In Aristotle, Rhet. II. Ch. I.

δύναμιν μεγίστην] 'a very great capacity for the duties of the office.'

δικαιοσύνην] Είλ. v. 10, 5², p. 1135, 3, όμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ μὴ φυσικὰ ἀλλ' ἀνθρώπινα δίκαια οὐ ταὐτὰ΄ πανταχοῦ, ἐπεὶ οὐδ' αὶ πολιτεῖαι, ἀλλὰ μία μόνον πανταχοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ἡ ἀρίστη.

2 συμβαίνη] 'are not found combined in the same person.'

διαίρεσιν] In this passage the two words διαίρεσιν and αΐρεσιν seem used almost indifferently. This may help in the difficult passage, VI. (IV.) vI. 3.

τίνος πλείον, κ.τ.λ.] 'Which, as a general rule, men are likely to have a larger amount of.'

- 3 ξλαττον γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'For more men share in goodness than in the qualifications required in a general;' or, 'there is a smaller portion of these falls to the lot of men in general, than there is of goodness.'
- $\dot{\eta}$ επιστήμη] 'The knowledge required.'
- 4 καν δύναμις] 'Supposing that there exist the capacity to administer the state.'

*H 871 'Is it not that?' Compare for the thought contained in the

The quali- δύο ταῦτα ἔχοντας ἀκρατεῖς εἶναι, ὧστε καθάπερ καὶ αὐτοῖς for office. ούγ ύπηρετοῦσιν εἰδότες καὶ Φιλοῦντες αύτούς, οῦτο καὶ ς πρός τὸ κοινὸν οὐθὲν κωλύει ἔχειν ἐνίους. Απλῶς δέ, ὅσα έν τοῖς νόμοις ώς συμφέροντα λέγομεν ταῖς πολιτείαις, απαντα ταυτα σώζει τὰς πολιτείας. καὶ τὸ πολλάκις General precepts. είρημένον μέγιστον στοιχεΐον, τὸ τηρείν ὅπως κρεῖττον έσται τὸ βουλόμενον τὴν πολιτείαν πληθος τοῦ μὴ βουλο-6 μένου. παρά πάντα δὲ ταῦτα δεῖ μὴ λανθάνειν, δ νῦν λανθάνει τὰς παρεκβεβηκυίας πολιτείας, τὸ μέσον πολλά γάρ τῶν δοκούντων δημοτικῶν λύει τὰς δημοκρατίας καὶ η τῶν ὀλιγαρχικῶν τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας. οἱ δ οἰόμενοι ταύτην είναι μίαν άρετην ελκουσιν είς την ύπερβολήν, άγνοούντες ότι καθάπερ δίς έστι παρεκβεβηκυῖα μέν την εὐθύτητα την καλλίστην πρὸς τὸ γρυπὸν ή τὸ σιμόν, άλλ' όμως ἔτι καλή καὶ χάριν ἔχουσα πρὸς τὴν ὅψιν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἐπιτείνη τις έτι μάλλον είς την ύπερβολήν, πρώτον μεν αποβαλεί την μετριότητα του μορίου, τέλος δ' ούτως ώστε μηδε έινα ποιήσει Φαίνεσθαι διά την ύπεροχην και την έλλειψιν τῶν έναντίων τον αύτον δε τρόπον έχει και περί τῶν ἄλλων

> passage, δοτε καθάτερ, κ.τ.λ., Butler's Sermons, Sermon I., concluding paragraph, where the statement is just reversed.

5 'Arlês &{] 'Passing from all particular points of the question as to how constitutions are preserved, we may say in general terms,' &cc.

έν τοῖς νόμοις] "Leges quibus civitates continentur," 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.

ταίς πυλιτείαις] democracies and oligarchies, with their varieties and wired forms, no thought of mo-Ch. II. I.

"us elpnulvov] VI. (IV.) xII. I.

VIL (VI.) vl. 2.

ε μορίων. συμβαίνει δή τοῦτο καὶ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας πολιτείας.

μέγισταν στοιχείον] 'the most important elementary principle.'

7 rawrer elvau plan aperfur] 'The strengthening of the constitution as it exists is the only right thing.' Such I conceive to be the meaning. Compare VII. (VI.) 1. 10.

τὴν μετριότητα τοῦ μορίου] 'Its due proportion as a part.'

rûr érariur] 'of all the counterbalancing parts.' It needs the relief of the other features.

8 περί τὰς ἄλλας πολιτείας] Göttling and Stahr defend the ἄλλας from the sequel. I conceive it to have been introduced to match ἄλλων in ἄλλων μορίων, but unlike that, to be entirely unneeded and out of place.



καὶ γὰρ ὀλιγαρχίαν καὶ δημοκρατίαν ἔστιν ώστ' ἔχειν ίκανῶς, καίπερ έξεστηκυίας τῆς βελτίστης τάξεως εὰν δέ τις έπιτείνη μάλλον έκατέραν αὐτῶν, πρῶτον μεν χείρω ποιήσει την πολιτείαν, τέλος δ' οὐδὲ πολιτείαν. τοῦτο μη άγνοεῖν τὸν νομοθέτην καὶ τὸν πολιτικόν, ποῖα σώζει τῶν δημοτικῶν καὶ ποῖα Φθείρει τὴν δημοκρατίαν, καὶ ποῖα τῶν ὀλιγαργικῶν τὴν ὀλιγαργίαν. οὐδετέραν μεν γαρ ενδέχεται αὐτῶν είναι καὶ διαμένειν ἄνευ τῶν εὐπόρων καὶ τοῦ πλήθους, άλλ' ὅταν ὁμαλότης γένηται τῆς ούσίας, ἄλλην ἀνάγκη είναι ταύτην την πολιτείαν, ώστε 1310 Φθείροντες τοῖς καθ' ὑπεροχὴν νόμοις Φθείρουσι τὰς πολι-ταις όλιγαρχίαις, έν μεν ταις δημοκρατίαις οι δημαγωγοί, οπου τὸ πληθος κύριον τῶν νόμων δύο γὰρ ποιοῦσιν ἀελ την πόλιν, μαχόμενοι τοῖς εὐπόροις, δεῖ δὲ τοὐναντίον αἰεὶ δοκείν λέγειν ύπερ εύπόρων, έν δε ταίς όλιγαρχίαις ύπερ τοῦ δήμου τοὺς ὀλιγαρχικούς, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους ἐναντίους ἡ νῦν ὀμνύναι τοὺς ὀλιγαρχικούς. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἐνίαις τι όμνύουσι " καὶ τῷ δήμφ κακόνους ἔσομαι καὶ βουλεύσω ὅ τι αν έχω κακόν " χρη δε και ύπολαμβάνειν και ύποκρίνεσθαι

καίπερ έξεστηκυίας, κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Eth. vii. vii. 6, p. 1149, b. 34, έξέστηκε τῆς φύσεως. By βελτίστη τάξις I conceive he means not his ἀρίστη κρατία, or ideal πολιτεῖα, but the best arrangement of these corrupt forms, democracy and oligarchy.

9 δταν δμαλότης] If equality of property is introduced, it may be a good or an evil, but at any rate it changes the constitution.

φθείροντες τοῖς καθ' ὑπεροχὴν νόμοις] If this reading is the true one, I see no other way of interpreting it than this: 'so that whilst only wishing by their laws to destroy the antagonist principles or their opponents in whom that principle is embodied, they really are destroying the constitution.' But I suspect that the true reading is

χαίροντες, see § 13, ofs χαίρουσιν, 'so that, whilst taking delight in passing laws based on their superiority, whilst glad of every opportunity of carrying out their principle, they are in reality destroying the constitution,' τοῖς καθ' ὑπεροχὴν νόμοις. This is open to two renderings, I think. By the one it would be equivalent to καθ' ὑπερβολὴν, 'laws carried to excess;' by the other, 'laws based on the superiority existing,' 'corresponding to it.'

11 δμνύουσι] Mr Grote viii. 400, speaks of this "plainspoken oligarchical oath."

καὶ ὑπολαμβάνειν, κ.τ.λ.] 'To view it in quite the opposite light, or, if not, to pretend they do,'

Education. τούναντίον, επισημαινομένους εν τοῖς δρχοις δτι "οὐχ άδικήσω τον δημον." Μέγιστον δε πάντων των είρημέναν πρός το διαμένειν τας πολιτείας, ου νον ολιγωρούσι πάντες, 12 το παιδεύεσθαι προς τας πολιτείας. ἔΦελος γαρ ούθεν τῶν ἀφελιμωτάτων νόμων καὶ συνδεδοξασμένων ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν πολιτευομένων, εἰ μὴ ἔσονται εἰθισμένοι καὶ πεπαιδευμένοι έν τῆ πολιτεία, εὶ μεν οἱ νόμοι δημοτικοί, δημοτικῶς, εί δ' όλιγαρχικοί, όλιγαρχικώς. είπερ γάρ έστιν έφ' ένος 13 άκρασία, έστι και έπι πόλεως. έστι δε το πεπαιδεῦσθαι πρός την πολιτείαν ού τοῦτο, τὸ ποιείν οίς χαίρουσιν οί όλιγαρχοῦντες ή οἱ δημοκρατίαν βουλόμενοι, άλλ' οἶς δυνήσονται οί μεν όλιγαρχεῖν οἱ δε δημοκρατεῖσθαι. νῦν δ έν μεν ταις όλιγαρχίαις οι των άρχόντων υίοι τρυφωσιν, οι δε τῶν ἀπόρων γίγνονται γεγυμνασμένοι καὶ πεπονηκότες, 14 ώστε καὶ βούλονται μάλλον καὶ δύνανται νεωτερίζειν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ταῖς μάλιστα είναι δοκούσαις δημοκρατικαῖς τούναντίον τοῦ συμφέροντος καθέστηκεν. τούτου δτι κακῶς δρίζονται τὸ ἐλεύθερον. δύο γάρ ἐστιν οίς ή δημοκρατία δοκεῖ ώρίσθαι, τῷ τὸ πλεῖον είναι κύριον 15 καὶ τῆ ἐλευθερία. τὸ μὲν γὰρ δίκαιον ἴσον δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἴσον δ' δ τι αν δόξη τῷ πλήθει, τοῦτ' είναι κύριον, ἐλεύθερον δὲ καλ ίσον τὸ ο τι αν βούληταί τις ποιείν. Εστε ζη ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις δημοκρατίαις έκαστος ως βούλεται, καλ είς δ χρή

ἐπισημαινομένουs] 'affichant,' 'putting forward ostentatiously.'

οδ νῦν δλιγωροῦσι] Compare V. (VIII.) 1., and I. xIII. 15.

τὸ παιδεύεσθαι] Compare V. (VIII.)

12 συνδεδοξασμένων] 'assented to and fully accepted by a joint act of all the citizens.'

ei un torrai] Unless the citizens are by habit and education in harmony with their constitution, so that their feelings and characters answer to it fully.

είπερ γάρ εστιν] above § 4. Eth. vii.

13 νῦν δέ] We find the same language in Plato, Republic VIII. 536, D. Ισχνός ἀνὴρ πένης, ἡλιωμένος, παραταχθείς ἐν μάχη πλουσίφ ἐσκιατροφηκότι, πολλάς ἔχοντι σάρκας ἀλλοτρίας, ἴδη, ἀσθματός τε καὶ ἀπορίας μεστόν, κ.τ.λ.

14 τουναντίον τοῦ συμφέροντοs] 'The contrary of their true interest,' for the expression, see II. ix. 37.

δύο γάρ ἐστιν, κ.τ.λ.] VII. (VI.) II. I—4, where the statements are practically equivalent, though differing in form and more full.

15 els δ χρῆζων] Eur. Fr. 91, p. 189, Ed. Dind. 8vo., 'as you will.' ζων, ώς φησὶν Εὐριπίδης. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ φαῦλον οὐ γὰρ Education. δεῖ οἴεσθαι δουλείαν εἶναι τὸ ζῆν πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν, ἀλλὰ 16 σωτηρίαν. ἐξ ὧν μὲν οὖν αἱ πολιτεῖαι μεταβάλλουσι καὶ φθείρονται, καὶ διὰ τίνων σώζονται καὶ διαμένουσιν, ώς ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν τοσαῦτά ἐστιν.

Λείπεται δ' ἐπελθεῖν καὶ περὶ μοναρχίας, ἐξ ὧν τε 10
Φθείρεται καὶ δι' ὧν σώζεσθαι πέφυκεν. σχεδὸν δὲ παρα- Monarchy.
πλήσια τοῖς εἰρημένοις περὶ τὰς πολιτείας ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ συμβαίνοντα περὶ τὰς βασιλείας καὶ τὰς τυραννίδας. ἡ μὲν 2 1310 n
γὰρ βασιλεία κατὰ τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν ἐστίν, ἡ δὲ τυραννὶς
ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας τῆς ὑστάτης σύγκειται καὶ δημοκρατίας οἰο
δὴ καὶ βλαβερωτάτη τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐστίν, ἄτε ἐκ δυοῖν
συγκειμένη κακῶν καὶ τὰς παρεκβάσεις καὶ τὰς ἀμαρτίας
ἔχουσα τὰς παρ' ἀμφοτέρων πολιτειῶν. ὑπάρχει ο' ἡ 3
Οrigin of
γένεσις εὐθὺς ἐξ ἐναντίων ἐκατέρα τῶν μοναρχιῶν · ἡ μὲν γὰρ Μοπαrchy
βασιλεία πρὸς βοήθειαν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῖς ἐπιεικέσι
γέγονεν, καὶ καθίσταται βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐπιεικῶν καθ'
ὑπεροχὴν ἀρετῆς ἡ πράξεων τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἡ καθ'
ὑπεροχὴν τοιούτου γένους, ὁ δὲ τύραννος ἐκ τοῦ δήμου καὶ

16 τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶ φαῦλον] 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, Libertė du Travail, Vol. 1. p. 23 and foll.

X. I καl περί μοναρχίαs] He passes from the πολιτείαι, 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.

mepl rds modirelas] 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 ἀριστοκρατίαι, will hold good for the βασιλεία.

3 $\delta\pi d\rho \chi \epsilon \iota \delta \epsilon$, $\kappa.\tau.\lambda$.] 'And to begin with, at once, their origin is,' &c.

 $\pi \rho \delta s$ $\beta \circ \eta \theta \epsilon i \alpha \nu$, $\kappa.\tau.\lambda.$] 'With a view to assistance against the people.'

τοῖε ἐπιεικέσι] "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.'

τοιούτου γένους] sc. κατ' άρετην ὑπερέχοντος. Compare III. xviii, I, An addition

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Printers Grove, v. 277 and foll.

Function the society Sicher types. So had been general in a war with Megara. See Climon, F. H. 1. a.c. 60Å.

Krischer Harrid, v. 92.
7 mar' Blow deprise & mark yesses]
Compare III. xviii, i.

κατ' εὐεργεσίας, ή κατὰ ταῦτά τε καὶ δύναμιν. ἄπαντες Origin of γὰρ εὐεργετήσαντες ἢ δυνάμενοι τὰς πόλεις ἢ τὰ ἔθνη εὐερ- γ ετεῖν ἐτύ γ χανον τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης, οἱ μὲν κατὰ πόλεμον 8 κωλύσαντες δουλεύειν, ώσπερ Κόδρος, οἱ δ' ἐλευθερώσαντες, ώσπερ Κύρος, ή κτίσαντες ή κτησάμενοι χώραν, ώσπερ οί Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλείς και Μακεδόνων και Μολοττών. Βούλεται δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς είναι Φύλαξ, ὅπως οἱ μὲν κεκτημένοι 9 1311 τας οὐσίας μηθὲν ἄδικον πάσχωσιν, ὁ δὲ δημος μη ὑβρίζηται μηθέν. ή δὲ τυραννίς, ὥσπερ εἴρηται πολλάκις πρὸς οὐδὲν compared, άποβλέπει κοινόν, εί μη της ίδίας ώφελείας γάριν. ἔστι δε σκοπός τυραννικός μεν το ήδύ, βασιλικός δε το καλόν. διό και τῶν πλεονεκτημάτων τὰ μὲν χρήματα τυραννικά, 10 τὰ δ' εἰς τιμὴν βασιλικὰ μᾶλλον. καὶ Φυλακή βασιλική μεν πολιτική, τυραννική δε διά ξένων. "Οτι δ' ή τυραννίς τι Τyranny. έχει κακά καὶ τὰ τῆς δημοκρατίας καὶ τὰ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας, Φανερόν, έκ μέν όλιγαρχίας το το τέλος είναι πλοῦτον (ούτω γάρ καὶ διαμένειν άναγκαῖον μόνως τήν τε Φυλακήν καὶ τὴν τρυφήν) καὶ τὸ τῷ πλήθει μηδέν πιστεύειν, διὸ καὶ

κατ' εὐεργεσίας] III. XIV. 12.

δύναμιν] "auf Macht dazu," Stahr. 'The possession of power to enable them to seize the kingly dignity.'

8 aπαντες] sc. of βασιλείς, to the exclusion of τύραννοι.

Kόδρος This passage seems to inply 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 station by his services. It places him on a level with Cyrus.

Makedovwv] 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 marvellously multiplied." For the Molossi, IV. 22.

9 βούλεται δέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'The idea of a king is that he is a guardian.' Compare Rhet. 1. viii. 5, p. 1366, 6, τυραννίδος τέλος φυλακή.

εί μη της iδίας, κ.τ.λ.] ' Except so far as the tyrant's own personal interests are served thereby.'

τὸ ἡδύ] Of course 'personal enjoyment,' "to gorge each prevailing passion," Arn. Rome, I. Ch. xxi. p. 474.

10 είς χρήματα] The preposition is required before xphuara, the sense is not complete without it.

πωλιτική] 'Formed from the citizens.'

11 8τι δέ, κ.τ.λ.] Returns on § 2, τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἔχουσα.

Τyranny. την παραίρεσιν ποιούνται των δπλων καὶ τὸ κακούν τὸν όχλον και τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος ἀπελαύνειν και διοικίζειν ἀμΦο-12 τέρων κοινόν, καὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ τῆς τυραννίδος. δημοχρατίας δε το πολεμείν τοίς γνωρίμοις και διαφθείρειν λάθρα καὶ Φανερῶς καὶ Φυγαδεύειν ὡς ἀντιτέχνους καὶ πρὸς την άρχην έμποδίους εκ γάρ τούτων συμβαίνει γίγνεσθαι καὶ τὰς ἐπιβουλάς, τῶν μὲν ἄρχειν αὐτῶν βουλομένων, τῶν 13 δε μη δουλεύειν. όθεν και το Περιάνδρου πρός Θρασύβου-111 λον συμβούλευμά έστιν, ή τῶν ὑπερεχόντων σταχύων κόλουσις, ώς δέον ἀεὶ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας τῶν πολιτῶν ἀναιρεῖν. καθάπερ οὖν σχεδὸν ἐλέχθη, τὰς αὐτὰς ἀρχὰς δεῖ νομίζειν περί τε τὰς πολιτείας είναι τῶν μεταβολίον καὶ περὶ τὰς μοναρχίας διά τε γὰρ ἀδικίαν καὶ διὰ Φόβον καὶ διὰ κατα-Φρόνησιν ἐπιτίθενται πολλοί τῶν ἀρχομένων ταῖς μοναργίαις, της δε άδικίας μάλιστα δι' υβριν, ενίστε δε και διά 14 την τῶν ἰδίων στέρησιν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὰ τέλη ταὐτά, καθάπερ κάκεῖ, καὶ περὶ τὰς τυραννίδας καὶ τὰς βασιλείας. . μέγεθος γὰρ ὑπάρχει πλούτου καὶ τιμῆς τοῖς μονάρχοις, ών εφίενται πάντες. Των δ' επιθέσεων αι μεν επί το σωμα γίγνονται τῶν ἀρχόντων, αἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. αἱ μὲν οδν Monarchy. 15 δι' ὕβριν ἐπὶ τὸ σῶμα. τῆς δ' ὕβρεως οὖσης πολυμεροῦς, Itsdangers. Έκαστον αὐτῶν αἴτιον γίγνεται τῆς ὀργῆς· τῶν δ' ὀργιζομένων σχεδον οι πλείστοι τιμωρίας χάριν ἐπιτίθενται, άλλ

τὴν παραίρεσιν] 'The common tyrannical measure of seizing the arms.'

διοικίζειν] Compare the treatment of Mantinea, for instance, by the Spartan oligarchy.

12 autitéxvous] 'Rivals.'

καθάπερ οδυ] 'As was hinted then.'
της άδικίας, κ.τ.λ.] άδικία is
γλεονεξία, and that as may be seen ${\bf v}$ in § 10 is partly τῶν χρημάτων, ${\bf v}$ τίμης, or as it is here ή

μέν διὰ τὴν τῶν ἰδίων στέρησιν, ἡ δὲ δι' ὅβριν.

τιμωρίας χάριν] 'Therefore they attack the tyrant's person.' It is revenge they seek, not their own advantage.

¹³ το Περιάνδρου] The statement here is consistent with III. xIII. 16, on which see note.

¹⁴ τὰ τέλη] 'The ends they aim at are the same (καθάπερ κὰκεῖ) as on oligarchies and democracies, the constitutions of freemen, so also,' &c.

at $\mu \ell \nu$] 'Some attack the life, others the power.'

¹⁵ αὐτῶν] 'Of the several kinds.' Compare his chapter on δργή, Rhet. II. ii. p. 1378, 31.

ούχ ύπεροχης, οίον ή μεν τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν διὰ τὸ προ- Monarchy. πηλακίσαι μεν την Αρμοδίου άδελφήν, επηρεάσαι δ' Αρμόδιον ὁ μὲν γὰρ 'Αρμόδιος διὰ τὴν άδελφήν, ὁ δ' 'Αριστογείτων διά τὸν Αρμόδιον. ἐπεβούλευσαν δὲ καὶ Πε- 16 ριάνδρω τῷ ἐν ᾿Αμβρακία τυράννω διὰ τὸ συμπίνοντα μετὰ τῶν παιδικῶν ἐρωτῆσαι αὐτὸν εἰ ήδη ἐξ αὐτοῦ κύει. ή δὲ 1311 Β Φιλίππου ύπο Παυσανίου διά το έασαι ύβρισθηναι αύτον ύπὸ τῶν περὶ "Ατταλον, καὶ ἡ 'Αμύντου τοῦ μικροῦ ὑπὸ Δέρδα διὰ τὸ καυχήσασθαι εἰς τὴν ήλικίαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ή τοῦ εὐνούχου Εὐαγόρα τῷ Κυπρίω διὰ γὰρ τὸ τὴν γυναῖκα παρελέσθαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, ἀπέκτεινεν ὡς ὑβρισμένος. πολ-17 λαί δ' ἐπιθέσεις γεγένηνται καί διά τὸ εἰς τὸ σῶμα αἰσγύνεσθαι τῶν μονάρχων τινάς, οἶον καὶ ἡ Κραταίου εἰς ᾿Αρχέλαον άεὶ γὰρ βαρέως εἶχε πρὸς τὴν ὁμιλίαν, ὧστε ἰκανὴ καὶ ἐλάττων ἐγένετο πρόφασις, διότι τῶν θυγατέρων οὐδεμίαν ἔδωκεν όμολογήσας αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν προτέραν, κατεχόμενος ύπὸ πολέμου πρὸς Σίρραν καὶ Αρράβαιον, ἔδωκε τῷ βασιλεῖ τῷ τῆς Ἐλιμείας, τὴν δὲ νεωτέραν τῷ υίεῖ 'Αμύντα, οἰόμενος οὕτως αν ἐκεῖνον ἥκιστα διαφέρεσθαι καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἀλλὰ τῆς γε ἀλλοτριότητος ὑπῆρ-

προπηλακίσαι, κ.τ.λ.] Quoted in the Scholia to Aristophanes, Ach. 990, Ed. Dind. Grote iv. 152.

16 Periander, above v. 9.

Philip's death in 336 B.C., is the latest event noticed in this work of Aristotle's, Grote, xi. 711.

ύπὸ τῶν περὶ "Ατταλον] 'By Attalus.' Compare, for the expression, Ch. vi. 6.

'Aµortov] This allusion is obscure. The mention of Derdas seems to point to Amyntas II., the father of Philip, for Derdas, prince of Elymia, was a kinsman of his, who acted in concert with him. It is a point on which Aristotle was likely to be correct; but we have a want of historical data.

Εὐαγόρα] For his history, see Grote, x. 18, and foll.; for this particular

incident, p. 33, with note. The eunuch's name was Thrasydæus.

διὰ γὰρ τό, κ.τ.λ.] 'For because his son, the son of Evagoras, had taken away from him his wife, he killed Evagoras, as feeling that he had been insulted by him.' So I render the passage with Stahr.

17 Κραταίου] This name varies. Grote, x. 63. Krateuas is the form there given.

'Αρχέλαον] See Thuc. 11. 100.

καl ἐλάττων] 'even a somewhat slight ground, viz., that.'

'Αρράβαιον] King of the Lyncestæ is mentioned Thuc. IV. 79.

διαφέρεσθαι] 'quarrel.'

Kλεοπάτραs] She, it appears, was his father's widow.

άλλοτριότητος] 'alienation.'

Monarchy. χεν άρχη το βαρέως Φέρειν προς την άφροδισιαστικήν χάριν. συνεπέθετο δὲ καὶ Ἑλλανοκράτης ὁ Λαρισσαῖος διὰ τὴν 18 αὐτὴν αἰτίαν · ως γὰρ χρώμενος αὐτοῦ τῆ ἡλικία οὐ κατῆγεν ύποσχόμενος, δι' υβριν καὶ οὐ δι' ἐρωτικὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ῷετ' είναι την γεγενημένην όμιλίαν. Πάρρων δε και Ήρακλείδης οί Αίνιοι Κότυν διέφθειραν τῷ πατρί τιμωροῦντες, 'Αδάμας δ' ἀπέστη Κότυος διὰ τὸ ἐκτμηθῆναι παῖς ῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὡς 19 ύβρισμένος. πολλοί δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ εἰς τὸ σῶμα αἰκισθῆναι πληγαίς δργισθέντες οι μέν διέφθειραν οι δ' ένεχείρησαν ώς ύβρισθέντες, καὶ τῶν περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ βασιλικὰς δυναστείας, οίον έν Μιτυλήνη τους Πενθαλίδας Μεγακλής περιιόντας καλ τύπτοντας ταις κορύναις επιθέμενος μετά τῶν Φίλων ἀνεῖλεν, καὶ ὕστερον Σμέρδις Πένθιλον πληγάς παβών καὶ παρά τῆς γυναικὸς ἐξελκυσθεὶς διέφθειρεν. καὶ της 'Αρχελάου δ' επιθέσεως Δεκάμνιχος ήγεμών εγένετο, παροξύνων τοὺς ἐπιθεμένους πρῶτος αἴτιον δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς ότι αὐτὸν ἐξέδωκε μαστιγῶσαι Εὐριπίδη τῷ ποιητῆ: ὁ δ' Εύριπίδης έχαλέπαινεν είπόντος τι αύτοῦ είς δυσωδίαν τοῦ στόματος. και άλλοι δὲ πολλοί διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας οἰ 21 μεν άνηρέθησαν οί δ' έπεβουλεύθησαν. όμοίως δε καλ διά Φόβον εν γάρ τι τοῦτο τῶν αἰτίων ἦν, ὧσπερ καὶ περὶ τὰς πολιτείας καὶ τὰς μοναρχίας οἶον Ξέρξην Αρταπάνης

> 18 οὐ κατηγεν ύποσχόμενος] 'he did not restore him, though he had promised to do so.' Hellanocrates then was an exile.

> Parrhon. Smith, Dict. Biog., reads Python. Mr Grote, also, x. 516.

> Adamas. Grote, 1. 21, note. I can find no historical notice of him.

> Kότυν] For the history of this prince, see Grote, x. 408, and foll.

19 καὶ τῶν περὶ τὰς ἀρχάς, κ.τ.λ.] A difficult passage. Stahr, in his translation, makes των περί, κ.τ.λ., nend on the verbs διέφθειραν, ενεyour, "selbst ihre Obrigkeiten leherrscher getödted oder zu tödmucht." It would be quite as

natural to make it depend on moddel, of $\mu \in \nu$, of $\delta \in$. I do not see what is to be done with the passage.

Πενθαλίδας] Grote, 1. 225, note, deriving their name from Penthilus, son of Orestes. Compare also II. 27, III. 84,

Μεγακλής] Nothing more known, any more than of Smordis.

20 Euripides. On this anecdote of Euripides, see Grote, x. 63.

Δεκάμνιχος] This revenge was not till six years after the death of Euri-

21 καl τάς μοναρχίας] 'So also in the case of monarchies.'

Εέρξην 'Αρταπάνης] Grote, vi. 493.



Φοβούμενος την διαβολην την περί Δαρείου, ότι ἐκρέμασεν Monarchy. ού κελεύσαντος Ξέρξου, άλλ' ολόμενος συγγνώσεσθαι ώς άμνημονοῦντα διὰ τὸ δειπνεῖν αἱ δὲ διὰ καταφρόνησιν, 22 1312 ωσπερ Σαρδανάπαλον ίδων τις ξαίνοντα μετά των γυναικών, εὶ ἀληθη ταῦτα οἱ μυθολογοῦντες λέγουσιν εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐπ' ἐκείνου, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἄλλου γε ᾶν γένοιτο ἀληθές. καὶ Διο- 23 νυσίω τῷ ὑστέρω Δίων ἐπέθετο διὰ τὸ καταφρονεῖν, ὁρῶν τούς τε πολίτας ούτως έχοντας και αύτον άει μεθύοντα. καλ τών Φίλων δέ τινες ἐπιτίθενται διά καταφρόνησιν διά γάρ τὸ πιστεύεσθαι καταφρονοῦσιν ώς λήσοντες. καὶ οί 24 ολόμενοι δύνασθαι κατασχεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν τρόπον τινὰ διὰ τὸ καταφρονείν ἐπιτίθενται : ώς δυνάμενοι γὰρ καὶ καταφρονουντες του κινδύνου διά την δύναμιν έπιχειρούσι ραβίως, εύσπερ οἱ στρατηγούντες τοῖς μονάρχοις, οἶον Κύρος 'Αστυάγη καὶ τοῦ βίου καταφρονών καὶ τὴς δυνάμεως διὰ τὸ την μεν δύναμιν έξηργηκέναι, αὐτὸν δε τρυφάν, καὶ Σεύθης ό Θράξ 'Αμαδόκω στρατηγός ών. οἱ δὲ καὶ διὰ πλείω 25 τούτων ἐπιτίθενται, οίον καὶ καταφρονούντες καὶ διὰ κέρδος, ιύσπερ 'Αριοβαρζάνη Μιθριδάτης. μάλιστα δε δια ταύτην την αιτίαν έγχειροῦσιν οι την Φύσιν μέν θρασεῖς, τιμην δ' έχοντες πολεμικήν παρά τοῖς μονάρχοις· ἀνδρία γὰρ δύνα-

24 κατασχείν] 'To hold when they have seized it.'

Kupos] Was Cyrus then the general of Astyages? See Winer, Wörterbuch, art. Kyros. The early history of Cyrus is very obscure, and the subject of many conflicting statements.

έξηργηκέναι] ' was worn out.'

Σεύθης] Xenophon, Hell. III. ii. 2. Anab. vit. ii. 32.

25 Μιθριδάτης] Ariobarzanes was merely a satrap of the region near the Propontis and Hellespont. revolted from the Persian king 367-366, and was joined by Datames, a Carian officer of Artaxerxes in Cappadocia. Mithridates, son of Ario-

¹x. 3. If the account there given is correct, the only change required in the passage is to place the ov 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. 1. iii. 3, p. 1095, b 2, as a type of luxury.

²³ Alwr] Smith, Dict. Biog. Grote, XI. 121.

οδτως έχοντας ες. καταφρονούντας.

The quali- δύο ταῦτα ἔχοντας ἀκρατεῖς εἶναι, ιδστε καθάπερ καὶ αὐτοῖς

fications for office. οὐχ ὑπηρετοῦσιν εἰδότες καὶ Φιλοῦντες αὐτούς, οῦτω καὶ ς πρός το κοινόν ούθεν κωλύει έχειν ένίους. Απλώς δέ, δσα έν τοῖς νόμοις ώς συμφέροντα λέγομεν ταῖς πολιτείαις, General απαντα ταῦτα σώζει τὰς πολιτείας. καὶ τὸ πολλάκις precepts. είρημένον μέγιστον στοιχείον, τὸ τηρείν ὅπως κρείττον έσται το βουλόμενον την πολιτείαν πληθος του μη βουλο-6 μένου. παρά πάντα δὲ ταῦτα δεῖ μὴ λανθάνειν, δ νῦν λανθάνει τὰς παρεκβεβηκυίας πολιτείας, τὸ μέσον πολλά γάρ τῶν δοκούντων δημοτικῶν λύει τὰς δημοκρατίας καὶ η τῶν ὀλιγαρχικῶν τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας. οἱ δ οἰόμενοι ταύτην είναι μίαν άρετην έλκουσιν είς την ύπερβολήν, άγνοοῦντες ότι καθάπερ ρίς έστι παρεκβεβηκυῖα μέν την εὐθύτητα την καλλίστην πρὸς τὸ γρυπὸν η τὸ σιμόν, άλλ' όμως ἔτι καλή καὶ γάριν ἔγουσα πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἐπιτείνη τις έτι μάλλον είς την ύπερβολήν, πρώτον μέν ἀποβαλεῖ την μετριότητα τοῦ μορίου, τέλος δ' οὕτως ώστε μηδε ρίνα ποιήσει Φαίνεσθαι διά την ύπεροχην και την έλλειψιν τῶν έναντίων τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον ἔχει καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων 8 μορίων. συμβαίνει δή τοῦτο καὶ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας πολιτείας.

> passage, ἄστε καθάπερ, κ.τ.λ., Butler's Sermons, Sermon I., concluding paragraph, where the statement is just reversed.

5 'Aπλωs δέ] 'Passing from all particular points of the question as to how constitutions are preserved, we may say in general terms,' &c.

ἐν τοῖς νόμοις] "Leges quibus civitates continentur," 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.

ταις πολιτείαις democracies and oligarchies, with their varieties and kindred forms, no thought of monarchy. Ch. II. 1.

πολλάκις είρημένου] VI. (IV.) ΧΠ. Ι.

VII. (VI.) vi. 2.

μέγιστον στοιχείον] 'the most important elementary principle.'

7 ταύτην είναι μίαν άρετήν] 'The strengthening of the constitution as it exists is the only right thing.' Such I conceive to be the meaning. Compare VII. (VI.) 1. 10.

την μετριότητα τοῦ μορίου] 'Its due proportion as a part.'

τῶν ἐναντίων] 'of all the counterbalancing parts.' It needs the relief of the other features.

8 περί τὰς ἄλλας πολιτείας] Göttling and Stahr defend the anas from the sequel. I conceive it to have been introduced to match ἄλλων in ἄλλων μορίων, but unlike that, to be entirely unneeded and out of place.



καὶ γὰρ ὀλιγαργίαν καὶ δημοκρατίαν ἔστιν ώστ' ἔγειν General ίκανῶς, καίπερ έξεστηκυίας τῆς βελτίστης τάξεως έὰν δέ τις επιτείνη μάλλον εκατέραν αὐτῶν, πρῶτον μεν χείρω ποιήσει την πολιτείαν, τέλος δ' οὐδὲ πολιτείαν. διὸ δεῖ 9 τοῦτο μὴ άγνοεῖν τὸν νομοθέτην καὶ τὸν πολιτικόν, ποῖα σώζει τῶν δημοτικῶν καὶ ποῖα Φθείρει τὴν δημοκρατίαν, καὶ ποῖα τῶν ὀλιγαρχικῶν τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν. οὐδετέραν μεν γάρ ενδέχεται αὐτῶν είναι καὶ διαμένειν ἄνευ τῶν εὐπόρων καὶ τοῦ πλήθους, ἀλλ' ὅταν ὁμαλότης γένηται τῆς . οὐσίας, ἄλλην ἀνάγκη είναι ταύτην τὴν πολιτείαν, ώστε 1310 Φθείροντες τοῖς καθ' ὑπεροχὴν νόμοις Φθείρουσι τὰς πολιτείας. Αμαρτάνουσι δε καὶ εν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις καὶ εν το ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις, ἐν μὲν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις οἱ δημαγωγοί, δπου τὸ πληθος κύριον τῶν νόμων δύο γὰρ ποιοῦσιν ἀελ την πόλιν, μαχόμενοι τοῖς εὐπόροις, δεῖ δὲ τοὐναντίον αἰεὶ δοκεῖν λέγειν ὑπὲρ εὐπόρων, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὀλιγαργίαις ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τοὺς όλιγαρχικούς, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους ἐναντίους ἡ νῦν όμνύναι τοὺς όλιγαρχικούς. νῦν μεν γάρ ἐν ἐνίαις τι όμνύουσι "καὶ τῷ δήμφ κακόνους ἔσομαι καὶ βουλεύσω ὅ τι αν έχω κακόν " χρη δε και υπολαμβάνειν και υποκρίνεσθαι

καίπερ εξεστηκυίας, κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Eth. vii. vii. 6, p. 1149, b. 34, εξέστηκε τῆς φύσεως. By βελτίστη τάξις I conceive he means not his ἀρίστη κρατία, or ideal πολιτεῖα, but the best arrangement of these corrupt forms, democracy and oligarchy.

9 δταν δμαλότης] If equality of property is introduced, it may be a good or an evil, but at any rate it changes the constitution.

φθείροντες τοῖς καθ' ὑπεροχὴν νόμοις] If this reading is the true one, I see no other way of interpreting it than this: 'so that whilst only wishing by their laws to destroy the antagonist principles or their opponents in whom that principle is embodied, they really are destroying the constitution.' But I suspect that the true reading is

χαίροντες, see § 13, οἶς χαίρουσιν, 'so that, whilst taking delight in passing laws based on their superiority, whilst glad of every opportunity of carrying out their principle, they are in reality destroying the constitution,' τοῖς καθ' ὁπεροχὴν νόμοις. This is open to two renderings, I think. By the one it would be equivalent to καθ' ὑπερβολὴν, 'laws carried to excess;' by the other, 'laws based on the superiority existing,' 'corresponding to it.'

11 δμνόουσι] Mr Grote VIII. 400, speaks of this "plainspoken oligarchical oath."

καὶ ὑπολαμβάνειν, κ.τ.λ.] 'To view it in quite the opposite light, or, if not, to pretend they do,' Education. τουναντίον, επισημαινομένους εν τοῖς δραοις ότι "οὐα ἀδικήσω τον δημον." Μέγιστον δε πάντων των είρημέναν πρός τὸ διαμένειν τὰς πολιτείας, οὖ νῦν ὀλιγωροῦσι πάντες, 12 τὸ παιδεύεσθαι πρὸς τὰς πολιτείας. ἔΦελος γὰρ οὐθὲν τῶν ἀφελιμωτάτων νόμων καὶ συνδεδοξασμένων ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν πολιτευομένων, εἰ μὴ ἔσονται εἰθισμένοι καὶ πεπαιδευμένοι έν τῆ πολιτεία, εὶ μὲν οἱ νόμοι δημοτικοί, δημοτικῶς, εὶ δ' όλιγαρχικοί, όλιγαρχικῶς. εἴπερ γάρ ἐστιν ἐΦ' ἑνὸς 13 άκρασία, έστι και έπι πόλεως. έστι δε το πεπαιδεῦσθαι πρός την πολιτείαν ού τοῦτο, το ποιείν οίς χαίρουσιν οί όλιγαρχούντες ή οἱ δημοκρατίαν βουλόμενοι, άλλ' οἶς δυνήσονται οι μεν όλιγαρχείν οι δε δημοκρατείσθαι. νῦν δ έν μέν ταις όλιγαρχίαις οἱ τῶν ἀρχόντων υἱοὶ τρυφῶσιν, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἀπόρων γίγνονται γεγυμνασμένοι καὶ πεπονηκότες, 14 ώστε καὶ βούλονται μάλλον καὶ δύνανται νεωτερίζειν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ταῖς μάλιστα είναι δοκούσαις δημοκρατικαῖς τούναντίον τοῦ συμφέροντος καθέστηκεν. αἴτιον δὲ τούτου δτι κακῶς δρίζονται τὸ ἐλεύθερον. δύο γάρ ἐστιν οίς ή δημοκρατία δοκεῖ ώρίσθαι, τῷ τὸ πλεῖον είναι χύριον 15 καὶ τῆ ἐλευθερία. τὸ μὲν γὰρ δίκαιον ἴσον δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἴσον δ' δ΄ τι αν δόξη τῷ πλήθει, τοῦτ' είναι κύριον, ἐλεύθερον δὲ καλ Ισον τὸ ὅ τι αν βούληταί τις ποιεῖν. ωστε ζῆ ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις δημοκρατίαις έκαστος ως βούλεται, καλ είς ο χρή-

> ἐπισημαινομένουs] 'affichant,' 'putting forward ostentatiously.'

οδ νῦν ὀλιγωροῦσι] Compare V. (VIII.) 1., and I. xiii. 15.

τό παιδεύεσθαι] Compare V. (VIII.)

12 συνδεδοξασμένων] 'assented to and fully accepted by a joint act of all the citizens.'

el µn toorral] Unless the citizens are by habit and education in harmony with their constitution, so that their feelings and characters answer to it lly.

περ γάρ ἐστιν] above § 4. Eth. vii. 3°, p. 1152. 20,

13 νῦν δέ] We find the same language in Plato, Republic VIII. 536, D. ἰσχνὸς ἀνὴρ πένης, ἡλιωμένος, παραταχθείς ἐν μάχη πλουσίφ ἐσκιατροφηκότι, πολλὰς ἔχοντι σάρκας ἀλλοτρίας, ἴδη, ἀσθματός τε καὶ ἀπορίας μεστόν, κ.τ.λ.

14 τουναντίον τοῦ συμφέροντος] 'The contrary of their true interest,' for the expression, see II. IX. 37.

δύο γάρ ἐστιν, κ.τ.λ.] VII. (VI.) II. I—4, where the statements are practically equivalent, though differing in form and more full.

15 els δ χρῆζων] Eur. Fr. 91, p. 189, Ed. Dind. 8vo., 'as you will.' ζων, ώς Φησίν Εὐριπίδης. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ Φαῦλον οὐ γὰρ Education. δεῖ οἰεσθαι δουλείαν είναι τὸ ζῆν πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν, άλλὰ 16 σωτηρίαν. ἐξ ὧν μὲν οὖν αἱ πολιτεῖαι μεταβάλλουσι καὶ Φθείρονται, καὶ διὰ τίνων σώζονται καὶ διαμένουσιν, ώς άπλῶς εἰπεῖν τοσαῦτά ἐστιν.

Λείπεται δ' ἐπελθεῖν καὶ περὶ μοναρχίας, ἐξ ὧν τε 10 Φθείρεται καὶ δι' ὧν σώζεσθαι πέφυκεν. σχεδὸν δὲ παρα- Monarchy. πλήσια τοῖς εἰρημένοις περί τὰς πολιτείας ἐστί καὶ τὰ συμβαίνοντα περί τὰς βασιλείας καὶ τὰς τυραννίδας. ή μέν 2 1310 11 γάρ βασιλεία κατά την άριστοκρατίαν έστίν, ή δε τυραννίς έξ όλιγαργίας της ύστάτης σύγκειται καὶ δημοκρατίας. διὸ συγκειμένη κακών καὶ τὰς παρεκβάσεις καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας έχουσα τὰς παρ' ἀμφοτέρων πολιτειῶν. ὑπάρχει ο' ή 3 Origin of γένεσις εύθὺς εξ εναντίων εκατέρα τῶν μοναρχιῶν ἡ μεν γὰρ Monarchy βασιλεία προς βοήθειαν την από τοῦ δήμου τοῖς ἐπιεικέσι γέγονεν, καὶ καθίσταται βασιλεύς ἐκ τῶν ἐπιεικῶν καθ' ύπεροχὴν ἀρετῆς ἢ πράξεων τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἢ καθ ύπεροχήν τοιούτου γένους, ὁ δὲ τύραννος ἐκ τοῦ δήμου καὶ

16 τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶ φαῦλον] 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 και περί μοναρχίας] He passes from the πολιτείαι, 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.

περί τὰς πολιτείας] This expression

excludes monarchy from the constitutions, as I have remarked before.

2 κατά την άριστοκρατίαν] 'stands on the same level with,' 'answers to,' "schliesst sich an," Stahr. So that the reasoning which holds good for the άριστοκρατίαι, will hold good for the βασιλεία.

3 ὑπάρχει δέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'And to begin with, at once, their origin is,' &c.

πρός βοήθειαν, κ.τ.λ.] 'With a view to assistance against the people.'

τοῖς ἐπιεικέσι] "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.'

τοιούτου γένους] sc. κατ' άρετην ὑπερέχουτος. Compare III. xvIII. I.

Origin of του πλήθους έπὶ τους γναφίμους, όπως ὁ δήμος ἀδικήται μηθέν ύπ' αύτῶν. Φανερον δ' έκ τῶν συμβεβηκότων σχεδον γάρ οί πλείστοι τῶν τυράννων γεγόνασιν ἐκ δημαγωγῶν ώς 5 είπεῖν, πιστευθέντες ἐχ τοῦ διαβάλλειν τοὺς γνωρίμους. μέν γάρ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον κατέστησαν τῶν τυραννίδων, ήδη τῶν πόλεων ηὐξημένων, αἱ δὲ πρὸ τούτων ἔχ τε τῶν βασιλέων παρεκβαινόντων τὰ πάτρια καὶ δεσποτικωτέρας άρχης όρεγομένων, αί δ' έκ των αίρετων έπὶ τὰς κυρίας άρχάς (τὸ γὰρ ἀρχαῖον οἱ δημοι καθίστασαν πολυχρονίους τας δημιουργίας και κας θεωρίας), αι δ' έκ των όλιγαρχιών 6 αίρουμένων ένα τινά χύριον έπὶ τὰς μεγίστας ἀργάς. πᾶσι γαρ ύπηρχε τοῖς τρόποις τούτοις τὸ κατεργάζεσθαι ραδίως. εὶ μόνον βουληθεῖεν, διὰ τὸ δύναμιν προϋπάρχειν τοῖς μέν βασιλικής άργης, τοῖς δὲ τὴν τῆς τιμής, οἶον Φείδων μὲν περί *Αργος καί ετεροι τύραννοι κατέστησαν βασιλείας ύπαρχούσης, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν καὶ Φάλαρις ἐκ τῶν τιμών, Παναίτιος δ' έν Λεοντίνοις καὶ Κύψελος έν Κορίνθα καλ Πεισίστρατος 'Αθήνησι καλ Διονύσιος έν Συρακούσαις 7 και έτεροι του αὐτου τρόπου έκ δημαγωγίας. καθάπερ οδυ είπομεν, ή βασιλεία τέτακται κατά την άριστοκρατίαν. κατ' άξίαν γάρ έστιν, ή κατ' ιδίαν άρετην ή κατά γένους, ή

⁴ ἐκ τῶν συμβεβηκότων] ' from actual instances that have occurred.' Compare Grote, III. 25.

⁵ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον] ἐκ δημαγωγῶν.

ξα τε τῶν βασιλέων] The τε is superfluous.

παρεκβαινόντων] 'Wishing to overstep the hereditary limits of their power.'

τας δημιουργίας και τας θεωρίας] 'the magistracies civil and religious.' See Grote, 11. 320; note on Theôrs.

> κατεργάζεσθαι βαβίως] 'Facility uplishing their object.' There successful conspirator as he the executive.

της τιμης] ' Of their office.'

Pheidon, Grote, 11. 427, Niebuhr 5. a. Gesch. 1. 313, where he is placed very early, quite in the pre-historic times.

περί την 'Ιωνίαν] The putting down of these despots at the time of the Ionic revolt is a well authenticated historical fact. Their rise and government is obscure.

Phalaris, Grote, v. 273 and foll. Panætius, the earliest Sicilian tyrant. He had been general in a war with Megara. See Clinton, F. H. I., B.C. 608.

Κύψελος] Herod. v. 92.

⁷ κατ' ίδίαν άρετην ή κατά γένους] Compare III. xviii, I.

κατ' εὐεργεσίας, ἢ κατὰ ταῦτά τε καὶ δύναμιν. ἄπαντες Origin of γάρ εὐεργετήσαντες η δυνάμενοι τὰς πόλεις η τὰ έθνη εὐεργετεῖν ἐτύγχανον τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης, οἱ μὲν κατὰ πόλεμον 8 κωλύσαντες δουλεύειν, ώσπερ Κόδρος, οι δ' έλευθερώσαντες, ώσπερ Κῦρος, η κτίσαντες η κτησάμενοι χώραν, ώσπερ οί Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλείς και Μακεδόνων και Μολοττών. Βούλεται δ' δ βασιλεύς είναι Φύλαξ, δπως οί μεν κεκτημένοι 9 1311 τὰς οὐσίας μηθὲν ἄδικον πάσχωσιν, ὁ δὲ δῆμος μὴ ὑβρίζηται 'The king and the The king μηθέν. ή δὲ τυραννίς, ὤσπερ εἴρηται πολλάκις πρὸς οὐδὲν compared. άποβλέπει κοινόν, εί μὴ τῆς ίδίας ώΦελείας χάριν. ἔστι δὲ σχοπὸς τυραννικὸς μὲν τὸ ἡδύ, βασιλικὸς δὲ τὸ καλόν. διό καὶ τῶν πλεονεκτημάτων τὰ μὲν χρήματα τυραννικά, 10 τὰ δ' εἰς τιμὴν βασιλικὰ μᾶλλον. καὶ Φυλακή βασιλική μεν πολιτική, τυραννική δε διά ξένων. "Οτι δ' ή τυραννίς τι Τyranny. έχει κακά καὶ τὰ τῆς δημοκρατίας καὶ τὰ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας, Φανερόν, έκ μεν όλιγαρχίας το το τέλος είναι πλοῦτον (ούτω γάρ καὶ διαμένειν άναγκαῖον μόνως τήν τε Φυλακήν καὶ τὴν τρυφήν) καὶ τὸ τῷ πλήθει μηδεν πιστεύειν, διὸ καὶ

κατ' εὐεργεσίας] ΙΙΙ. ΧΙΥ. 12.

δύναμιν] "auf Macht dazu," Stahr.
'The possession of power to enable
them to seize the kingly dignity.'

8 ἄπαντες] sc. οἱ βασιλεῖς, to the exclusion of τύραννοι.

Kóōpos] 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 station by his services. It places him on a level with Cyrus.

Mareδόνων] 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 marvellously multiplied." For the Molossi, IV. 22.

9 βούλεται δέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'The idea of a king is that he is a guardian.' Compare Rhet. 1. viii. 5, p. 1366, 6, τυραννίδος τέλος φυλακή.

 $\epsilon i \mu \dot{\eta} \tau \hat{\eta} s l\delta(as, \kappa.\tau.\lambda.]$ 'Except so far as the tyrant's own personal interests are served thereby.'

τὸ ἡδύ] Of course 'personal enjoyment,' "to gorge each prevailing passion," Arn. Rome, I. Ch. xxi. p. 474.

10 είs χρήματα] The preposition is required before χρήματα, the sense is not complete without it.

πωλιτική] 'Formed from the citizens.'

11 δτι δέ, κ.τ.λ.] Returns on § 2, τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἔχουσα.

Τγτακαγ. την παραίρεσιν ποιούνται των οπλων καί το κακκούν τὸ δγλον και το έκ τοῦ ἄστεος ἀπελαύνειν και διοικίζειν ἀμφα-12 τέρων χοινόν, χαὶ τῆς όλιγαρχίας χαὶ τῆς τυραννίδος. δημοκρατίας δε το πολεμείν τοις γνωρίμοις και διαφθείσει λάθρα καὶ Φανερῶς καὶ Φυγαδεύειν ώς ἀντιτέχνους καὶ κώς την άργην έμπολίους. Εκ γάρ τούτων συμβαίνει γέγνεσίαι καὶ τὰς ἐπιβουλάς, τῶν μὲν ἄργειν αὐτῶν βουλομένων, τῶν 13 δε μή δουλεύειν. Ένεν και το Περιάνδρου πρός Θρασύβουλον συμβούλευμά έστιν, ή τῶν ὑπερεχόντων σταχύων κέλουσις, ώς δέον ἀεὶ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας τῶν πολιτῶν ἀναιρεῖν. καθάπερ οδυ σχεδου ελέχθη, τὰς αὐτὰς ἀρχὰς δεῖ τομίζειτ περί τε τὰς πολιτείας είναι τῶν μεταβολίον καὶ περὶ τὰς μοναρχίας διά τε γὰρ ἀδικίαν καὶ διὰ Φόβον καὶ διὰ κατα-Φρόνησιν επιτίθενται πολλοί τῶν ἀρχομένων ταῖς μοναςγίαις, της δε άδικίας μάλιστα δι' υβριν, ενίστε δε και διά 14 την των ιδίων στέρησιν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὰ τέλη ταὐτά, καθάπερ κάκεῖ, καὶ περὶ τὰς τυραννίδας καὶ τὰς βασιλείας. μέγεθος γὰρ ὑπάρχει πλούτου καὶ τιμῆς τοῖς μονάρχοις, ών εφίενται πάντες. Των δ' επιθέσεων αι μεν επί το σωμα γίγνονται των άρχόντων, αἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν άρχήν. αἱ μὲν οδν Μοπατολύ. " επι το σωμα. της δ' υβρεως ούσης πολυμερούς, Indangers. Έκαστον αὐτῶν αἴτιον γίγνεται τῆς ὀργῆς· τῶν δ' ὀργιζομένων σχεδον οι πλείστοι τιμωρίας χάριν επιτίθενται, άλλ'

την παραίρεσιν] 'The common tyrannical measure of seizing the arms.'

διοικίζει»] Compare the treatment of Mantinea, for instance, by the Spartan oligarchy.

12 duritéxvous] 'Rivals.'

13 76 Hepidudpou] The statement here is consistent with III. xIII. 16, on which see note.

καθάπερ οἶν] 'As was hinted then.'
της ἀδικίας, κ.τ.λ.] ἀδικία is
πλεονεξία, and that as may be seen
' 10 is partly τῶν χρημάτων,
τιμης, or as it is here ἡ

μὲν διὰ τὴν τῶν ἰδίων στέρησω, ἡ δὲ δι' δριν.

14 τὰ τέλη] 'The ends they aim at are the same (καθάπερ κὰκεῖ) as on oligarchies and democracies, the constitutions of freemen, so also,' &c.

al $\mu \ell \nu$] 'Some attack the life, others the power.'

15 αδτών] 'Of the several kinds.' Compare his chapter on δργή, Rhet. II. ii. p. 1378, 31.

τιμωρίας χάριν] 'Therefore they attack the tyrant's person.' It is revenge they seek, not their own advantage.

ούχ ύπεροχης, οίον ή μεν των Πεισιστρατιδών διά τό προ- Monarchy. πηλακίσαι μεν την Αρμοδίου άδελφήν, επηρεάσαι δ Αρμόδιον ὁ μὲν γὰρ 'Αρμόδιος διὰ τὴν ἀδελΦήν, ὁ δ' 'Αριστογείτων διά τον Αρμόδιον. ἐπεβούλευσαν δὲ καὶ Πε- 16 ριάνδρω τῷ ἐν ᾿Αμβρακία τυράννω διὰ τὸ συμπίνοντα μετὰ τῶν παιδικῶν ἐρωτῆσαι αὐτὸν εἰ ἤδη ἐξ αὐτοῦ κύει. ἡ δὲ 1311 Β Φιλίππου ύπο Παυσανίου διά το έασαι υβρισθήναι αυτον ύπὸ τῶν περὶ "Ατταλον, καὶ ἡ 'Αμύντου τοῦ μικροῦ ὑπὸ Δέρδα διὰ τὸ καυχήσασθαι εἰς τὴν ήλικίαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ή τοῦ εύνούχου Εύαγόρα τῷ Κυπρίω διὰ γὰρ τὸ τὴν γυναῖκα παρελέσθαι τὸν υίὸν αὐτοῦ, ἀπέκτεινεν ὡς ὑβρισμένος. πολ-17 λαί δ' επιθέσεις γεγένηνται καί διά τὸ είς τὸ σῶμα αἰσχύνεσθαι τῶν μονάρχων τινάς, οἶον καὶ ἡ Κραταίου εἰς ᾿Αρχέλαον άεὶ γὰρ βαρέως είχε πρὸς τὴν ὁμιλίαν, ώστε ἰκανὴ καλ ελάττων εγένετο πρόφασις, διότι τῶν θυγατέρων οὐδεμίαν έδωκεν όμολογήσας αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν προτέραν, κατεχόμενος ὑπὸ πολέμου πρὸς Σίρραν καὶ Αρράβαιον, ἔδωκε τῷ βασιλεῖ τῷ τῆς Ἐλιμείας, τὴν δὲ νεωτέραν τῷ υίεῖ 'Αμύντα, ολόμενος ούτως αν έκεῖνον ηκιστα διαφέρεσθαι καλ τὸν ἐκ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἀλλὰ τῆς γε ἀλλοτριότητος ὑπῆρ-

προπηλακίσαι, κ.τ.λ.] Quoted in the Scholia to Aristophanes, Ach. 990, Ed. Dind. Grote iv. 152.

16 Periander, above v. 9.

Philip's death in 336 B.C., is the latest event noticed in this work of Aristotle's, Grote, xI. 711.

ύπο τῶν περί "Ατταλον] 'By Attalus.' Compare, for the expression, Ch. vi. 6.

'Aubrrov] This allusion is obscure. The mention of Derdas seems to point to Amyntas II., the father of Philip, for Derdas, prince of Elymia, was a kinsman of his, who acted in concert with him. It is a point on which Aristotlo was likely to be correct; but we have a want of historical data.

Εὐαγόρα] For his history, see Grote, x. 18, and foll.; for this particular

incident, p. 33, with note. The eunuch's name was Thrasydæus.

διὰ γὰρ τό, κ.τ.λ.] 'For because his son, the son of Evagoras, had taken away from him his wife, he killed Evagoras, as feeling that he had been insulted by him.' So I render the passage with Stahr.

17 Kparaíov] This name varies. Groto, x. 63. Krateuas is the form there given.

'Αρχέλαον] See Thuc. 11. 100.

καl ἐλάττων] 'even a somewhat slight ground, viz., that.'

'Aρράβαιον] King of the Lyncestæ is mentioned Thuc. IV. 79.

διαφέρεσθαι] 'quarrel.'

Κλεοπάτραs] She, it appears, was his father's widow.

άλλοτριότητος] 'alienation.'

Monarchy. χεν άρχη το βαρέως Φέρειν προς την άφροδισιαστικήν χάριν. συνεπέθετο δε και Έλλανοκράτης ο Λαρισσαΐος δια τίν 18 αὐτὴν αἰτίαν · ως γὰρ χρώμενος αὐτοῦ τῆ ἡλικία οὐ κατῆγεν ύποσχόμενος, δι' υβριν καὶ οὐ δι' έρωτικὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ὧετ' είναι την γεγενημένην όμιλίαν. Πάρρων δε καί Ήρακλείδης οἱ Αίνιοι Κότυν διέφθειραν τῷ πατρὶ τιμωροῦντες, 'Αδάμας δ' ἀπέστη Κότυος διὰ τὸ ἐκτμηθῆναι παῖς ὧν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὡς 19 ύβρισμένος. πολλοί δε καί διά το είς το σωμα αλκισθήναι πληγαίς δργισθέντες οι μεν διέφθειραν οι δ' ένεχείρησαν ώς ὑβρισθέντες, καὶ τῶν περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ βασιλικὰς δυναστείας, οίον ἐν Μιτυλήνη τοὺς Πενθαλίδας Μεγακλής περιιόντας καὶ τύπτοντας ταῖς κορύναις ἐπιθέμενος μετὰ τῶν Φίλων ἀνείλεν, καὶ ὕστερον Σμέρδις Πένθιλον πληγάς 20 λαβών καὶ παρά τῆς γυναικὸς ἐξελκυσθεὶς διέφθειρεν. της 'Αρχελάου δ' επιθέσεως Δεκάμνιχος ήγεμών εγένετο. παροξύνων τοὺς ἐπιθεμένους πρῶτος αἴτιον δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς ότι αὐτὸν ἐξέδωκε μαστιγῶσαι Εὐριπίδη τῷ ποιητή δο Εύριπίδης έχαλέπαινεν είπόντος τι αύτοῦ εἰς δυσωδίαν τοῦ στόματος. και άλλοι δὲ πολλοί διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας οί 21 μεν άνηρέθησαν οἱ δ' ἐπεβουλεύθησαν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ διὰ Φόβον εν γάρ τι τοῦτο τῶν αἰτίων ἦν, ὧσπερ καὶ περὶ τὰς πολιτείας καὶ τὰς μοναρχίας οἶον Ξέρξην Αρταπάνης

> 13 οὐ κατηγεν ὑποσχόμενος] 'he did not restore him, though he had promised to do so.' Hellanocrates then was an exile.

> Parrhon. Smith, Dict. Biog., reads Python. Mr Grote, also, x. 516.

> Adamas. Grote, 1. 21, note. I can find no historical notice of him.

Kότυν] For the history of this prince, see Grote, x. 408, and foll.

19 καὶ τῶν περὶ τὰς ἀρχάς, κ.τ.λ.]
A difficult passage. Stahr, in his translation, makes τῶν περί, κ.τ.λ., depend on the verbs διέφθειραν, ἐνε"selbst ihro Obrigkeiten cher getödted oder zu töd-

" It would be quite as

natural to make it depend on $\pi o \lambda \lambda o i$, of $\mu \epsilon \nu$, of $\delta \epsilon$. I do not see what is to be done with the passage.

Πενθαλίδαs] Grote, 1. 225, note, deriving their name from Penthilus, son of Orestes. Compare also II. 27, III. 84, 265.

Meγακλη̂s] Nothing more known, any more than of Smerdis.

20 Euripides. On this anecdote of Euripides, see Grote, x. 63.

Δεκάμνιχος] This revenge was not till six years after the death of Euripides.

21 και τὰς μοναρχίας] 'So also in the case of monarchies.'

Εέρξην 'Αρταπάνης] Grote, VI. 493.

Φοβούμενος την διαβολην την περί Δαρείον, ότι εκρέμασεν Monarchy. ού κελεύσαντος Ξέρξου, άλλ' ολόμενος συγγνώσεσθαι ώς άμινημονοῦντα διὰ τὸ δειπνεῖν \cdot αἱ δὲ διὰ κατα Φ ρόνη σ ιν, 22 1312 ώσπερ Σαρδανάπαλον ιδών τις ξαίνοντα μετά τῶν γυναικῶν, εὶ ἀληθη ταῦτα οἱ μυθολογοῦντες λέγουσιν εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐπ' ἐκείνου, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἄλλου γε ᾶν γένοιτο ἀληθές. καὶ Δ 10-23 νυσίω τῷ ὑστέρω Δίων ἐπέθετο διὰ τὸ καταφρονεῖν, ὁρῶν τούς τε πολίτας ούτως έχοντας καὶ αὐτὸν ἀεὶ μεθύοντα. καὶ τιον Φίλων δέ τινες ἐπιτίθενται διὰ καταφρόνησιν διὰ γάρ τὸ πιστεύεσθαι καταφρονοῦσιν τός λήσοντες. καὶ οί 24 ολόμενοι δύνασθαι κατασχεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν τρόπον τινὰ διὰ τὸ καταφρονείν επιτίθενται ώς δυνάμενοι γάρ και καταφρονούντες του κινδύνου διά την δύναμιν έπιχειρούσι ραβίως, ιδσπερ οἱ στρατηγοῦντες τοῖς μονάρχοις, οἶον Κῦρος 'Αστυάγη καὶ τοῦ βίου καταφρονών καὶ τὴς δυνάμεως διὰ τὸ την μεν δύναμιν έξηργηκέναι, αὐτὸν δε τρυφαν, καὶ Σεύθης ό Θράξ 'Αμαδόκω στρατηγός ών. οἱ δὲ καὶ διὰ πλείω 25 τούτων ἐπιτίθενται, οίον καὶ καταφρονούντες καὶ διὰ κέρδος, ιύσπερ Αριοβαρζάνη Μιθριδάτης. μάλιστα δε διά ταύτην την αιτίαν έγχειρούσιν οι την Φύσιν μεν θρασείς, τιμην δ έχοντες πολεμικήν παρά τοῖς μονάρχοις : ἀνδρία γὰρ δύνα-

¹x. 3. If the account there given is correct, the only change required in the passage is to place the où 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. 1. iii. 3, p. 1095, b 2, as a type of luxury.

²³ Alwr] Smith, Dict. Biog. Grote,

οδτως έχοντας] εc. καταφρονοῦντας.

²⁴ κατασχείν] 'To hold when they have seized it.'

Kupos] Was Cyrus then the general of Astyages? See Winer, Wörterbuch, art. Kyros. The early history of Cyrus is very obscure, and the subject of many conflicting statements.

έξηργηκέναι] 'was worn out.'

Σεύθηs] Xenophon, Hell. III. ii. 2. Anab. vII. ii. 32.

²⁵ Μιθριδάτης] Ariobarzanes was merely a satrap of the region near the Proportis and Hellespont. revolted from the Persian king 367-366, and was joined by Datames, a Carian officer of Artaxerxes in Cappadocia. Mithridates, son of Ario-

American pre formate to the grant of the contraction of the times PARTY TO THE THE THE THE BE HE COURT שונה מתרונות ביות ביות ביות ביות ביות דומו דומו דומו A ROW LANGE TOTER OF THE BOTH BITS THE THORSEN MAYOUR DOTE HET TO HELD MIN THE TENTE Were the first and the Latentine standers has every retain, with I ofte him thing the populate מווע דענ בוניונון זידים אנון דען נוסים ווען בין אומונים או A referencial continuera romerina tita en en rea est ביות עודות עוד מוו מבוועם בותום שותו עוד ביותו היה ביותום Mounted, paragripe das 13 to 120 langua adje gar-A TIEND, AD UN USANT ZITITY TED TO TIRE IN IN ZERAND his yes del ero Linong handardio, in trains it reces erre-अंतरिया कार्रायोज् देवहीयह १७३ पटन विज्ञा केर्नाव्यक्तक देव TORRIST LESSON LITE TWO THE RETURN THE TREET, Mes el auxilia eticianta tre gre entre truban televistan. क्ष क्ष्रीतक प्रवासित है पूर्व प्रतास की कि विकास के विकास के विकास के विकास

Carponia assess interf. Includes. Our appropriate and Autologrammes. Outles. A 466.

Roboto betti, typett Tharmelima gogeth, thant, that east confluence. I mapent this of being an addition later, and sound prafer the passings without it. In that case, budgeripes would refer to the prome and coper receptable.

Arrows, There is another form!

of horses the terms, area of the me they would do in the case of any other remarkable action. The authorization in this case aims not at gain or present that its object is the renown to extend which the action will confer to be the leve of fame by

27 jours et in 1 benter sense.

he an account supposing him not best to it is supposing him not best to it is need in the enterprise. It is supposed to the same force in stands alone with the same force.

25 of simAnother, a.r.A.] On these ought to wain. There ought ever to be present with them the view of Dr. a. Circle speaks, xn. 118. of his manifer-matic temperament.

διου περ αν δύνηται προελθείν] tat the point to which he should have been able to a lyance.'

in why air of, m.r.A.] 'He was content that he should have got so far, and so far only, towards his object.'

νὶς ἔνα μὲν τρόπου, ιδοπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκάστη πολιτειῶν, Monarchy. έξωθεν, εαν εναντία τις ή πολιτεία κρείττων. τὸ μὲν γὰρ βούλεσθαι δήλον ώς ὑπάρξει διὰ τὴν ἐναντιότητα τῆς προαιρέσεως ά δε βούλονται, δυνάμενοι πράττουσι πάντες. έναν- 30 τίαι δ' αἱ πολιτείαι, δημος μὲν τυραννίδι καθ Ἡσίοδον ώς κεραμεί κεραμεύς (και γαρ ή δημοκρατία ή τελευταία τυραννίς έστιν), βασιλεία δὲ καὶ ἀριστοκρατία διὰ τὴν έναντιότητα της πολιτείας. διό Λακεδαιμόνιοι πλείστας κατέλυσαν τυραννίδας καὶ Συρακούσιοι κατά τὸν χρόνον δν ἐπολιτεύοντο καλῶς. Ενα δ΄ ἐξ αὐτῆς, ὅταν οἱ μετέχοντες 3τ στασιάζωσιν, ώσπερ ή τῶν περί Γέλωνα καὶ νῦν ή τῶν περί Διονύσιον, ή μεν Γέλωνος Θρασυβούλου τοῦ Ἱέρωνος άδελφοῦ τὸν υίὸν τοῦ Γέλωνος δημαγωγοῦντος καὶ πρὸς ήδονας δρμώντος, Ιν' αύτος άρχη, των δ' ολκείων συστάντων, Ίνα μή τυραννὶς όλως καταλυθή άλλὰ Θρασύβουλος· οἱ δὲ συστάντες αὐτῶν, ώς καιρὸν ἔχοντες, ἐξέβαλον ἄπαντας

29 διά την έναντιότητα] 'on account of the opposition between them in principle.'

30 Aakedaiµóvioi] Thuc. 1. 18, for the fact.

Συρακούσιοι] This statement would seem to refer to the period of more than fifty years that elapsed between the expulsion of the Gelonian dynasty and the accession of Dionysius the elder, "the best and most prosperous portion of Sicilian history." other despots were then expelled. Grote, v. 316.

31 έξ αύτηs] See VI. 10, for the same expression.

ol μετέχοντες] The tyrant's family or friends, the associates of his power.

'in our own day.'

ή μέν Γέλωνος] supp. στάσις or μεταβολή, 'The revolution in the case of Gelon.' Grote, v. 310.

δημαγωγούντος] κολακεύοντος would be more strictly correct, but it makes no practical difference which word is used in such a place. Compare VI. (IV.) ΙΨ. 28, καὶ ὁ δημαγωγὸς καὶ ὁ κόλαξ οι αύτοι και ανάλογον. 'Flattering his worst propensities, and urging him on to gratification.'

δρμώντος] is here active. "He contrived to put him indirectly aside, and thus to seize the government for himself."

olkelow] seem to mean the same as οί μετέχοντες.

οί δὲ συστάντες αὐτῶν] Schneider and Coray wish to understand kard, but this is not satisfactory. The ol ouστάντες seems to refer to the same persons as οἰκείων συστάντων, but ἄπαντας abrous, on the other hand, seems to include these oixeior. The easiest change would be to make of 86 refer to another party, the party who expelled them, and read συστάντων. 'But the expelling party, availing themselves of the opportunity thus afforded them, as a result of their combination, expelled them one and all, Thrasybulus

Monarchy. αὐτούς. Διονύσιον δε Δίων στρατεύσας, κηδεστής ών καὶ -προσλαβών τὸν δῆμον, ἐκεῖνον ἐκβαλών διεφθάρη. δύο δὲ ³² οὐσῶν αἰτιῶν δι' ας μάλιστ' ἐπιτίθενται ταῖς τυραννίσι, μίσους καὶ καταφρονήσεως, θάτερον μεν δεῖ τούτων ὑπάρχειν τοῖς τυράννοις, τὸ μῖσος, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ καταφρονεῖσθαι πολλαὶ 33 γίνονται τῶν καταλύσεων. σημεῖον δέ τῶν μὲν γὰρ κτησαμένων οι πλεῖστοι καὶ διεφύλαξαν τὰς ἀρχάς, οι δὲ παραλαβόντες εύθυς ώς είπεῖν ἀπολλύασι πάντες · ἀπολαυστικῶς γάρ ζώντες εὐκαταφρόνητοί τε γίγνονται καὶ πολλούς καιρούς παραδιδόασι τοῖς ἐπιτιθεμένοις. μόριον δέ τι τοῦ μίσους και την όργην δεῖ τιθέναι τρόπον γάρ τινα τῶν 34 αὐτῶν αἰτία γίνεται πράξεων. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ πρακτικώτερον τοῦ μίσους συντονώτερον γὰρ ἐπιτίθενται διὰ τὸ μη χρησθαι λογισμώ το πάθος. μάλιστα δε συμβαίνει τοῖς θυμοῖς ἀκολουθεῖν διὰ τὴν ὕβριν, δι' ἡν αἰτίαν ή τε τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν κατελύθη τυραννὶς καὶ πολλαὶ τῶν 35 άλλων. άλλα μαλλον το μίσος ή μεν γαρ όργη μετα

> 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), "He (Thrasybulus) provoked amongst the Syracusans intense and universal hatred, shared even by many of the old Gelonian partizans," may be taken as favourable to this last rendering.

32 κηδεστήs] He had married Arete, the daughter of Dionysius by A --- - mache.

δεί] 'must exist.' It is quite inconceivable that it should not, is Aristotle's meaning. It is a necessity of his position, connoted, in fact, by 'Though the term tyrant. must exist, it is often from tempt, &c.'

33 καιρούς] 'opportunities.'

μόριον δέ τι] for the relation between µîoos and dopph, compare Rhet. II. iv. 30, 31, p. 1382, 1.

34 πρακτικώτερον] 'It is more efficient.'

συντονώτερον] 'more impetuously.' 'vehemently.'

μη χρησθαι λογισμώ] Είλ. VII. vii. 9, p. 1149, 25. It does not calculate consequences, it does to a certain extent reason out its grounds, ἀκολουθεῖ τῷ λόγφ πως.

μάλιστα δέ των άλλων] Ραrenthetical. τοι ε θυμοι ε ακολουθείν, 'Το follow one's impulses blindly.'

35 άλλά μαλλον τὸ μῖσος] "Mehr



λύπης πάρεστιν, ώστε οὐ ῥάδιον λογίζεσθαι, ή δ' ἔχθρα Monarchy. άνευ λύπης. ' $\Omega_{\mathcal{G}}$ δ' ἐν κεφαλαίοις εἰπεῖν, ὅσας αἰτίας εἰρή- $\frac{\text{Its dangers.}}{}$ καμεν της τε όλιγαρχίας της άκράτου καὶ τελευταίας καὶ 🔾 🛶 💞 🖰 της δημοκρατίας της έσχάτης, τοσαύτας και της τυραγνίδος θετέον καὶ γὰρ αὖται τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι διαιρεταὶ τυραννίδες. βασιλεία δ ύπο μεν των έξωθεν ηκιστα Φθείρεται, 36 διὸ καὶ πολυχρόνιός ἐστιν· ἐξ αὐτῆς δ' αἱ πλεῖσται Φθοραὶ συμβαίνουσιν. Φθείρεται δὲ κατὰ δύο τρόπους, Ενα μὲν 1313 στασιασάντων τῶν μετεχόντων τῆς βασιλείας, ἄλλον δὲ τρόπου τυραννικώτερου πειρωμένων διοικεῖν, δταν είναι κύριοι πλειόνων άξιῶσι καὶ παρὰ τὸν νόμον. οὐ γίγνονται δ' ἔτι 37 βασιλεΐαι νῦν, άλλ' ἄν περ γίγνωνται* μοναρχίαι, τυραννίδες μάλλον, διά τὸ τὴν βασιλείαν έκούσιον μεν άργὴν είναι, μειζόνων δὲ χυρίαν, πολλούς δ' είναι τούς όμοίους, καὶ μηδένα διαφέροντα τοσούτον ώστε άπαρτίζειν πρός τὸ μέγεθος και το άξίωμα της άρχης. ωστε διά μεν τοῦτο έκοντες ούχ υπομένουσιν αν δε δι απάτης αρξη τις ή βίας, ήδη δοκεῖ τοῦτο είναι τυραννίς. ἐν δὲ ταῖς κατὰ γένος βα- 38

· γίγνωνται, μοναρχίαι και τυραννίδες Bekker.

dagegen thut dies der Hass," Stahr. 'Still hatred is a stronger impelling power than anger,' though the latter may be more vehement. Οτ μᾶλλον χρῆται τῷ λογισμῷ, 'it acts more deliberately.'

ή μèν γὰρ ὀργή] Rhet. II. ii. I. p. 1378, 31, and for the contrast the passage I have quoted above.

αδται] δλεγαρχία καὶ δημοκρατία.

διαιρεταί τυραντίδες] 'Tyrannies in more hands than one.' Compare VII. (VI.) VII. 7, δημοκρατίας μικράς.

36 τῶν μετεχόντων] See § 31. St. Hilaire takes it of the agents it employs. I should rather take it of the royal family.

πειρωμένων] 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.'

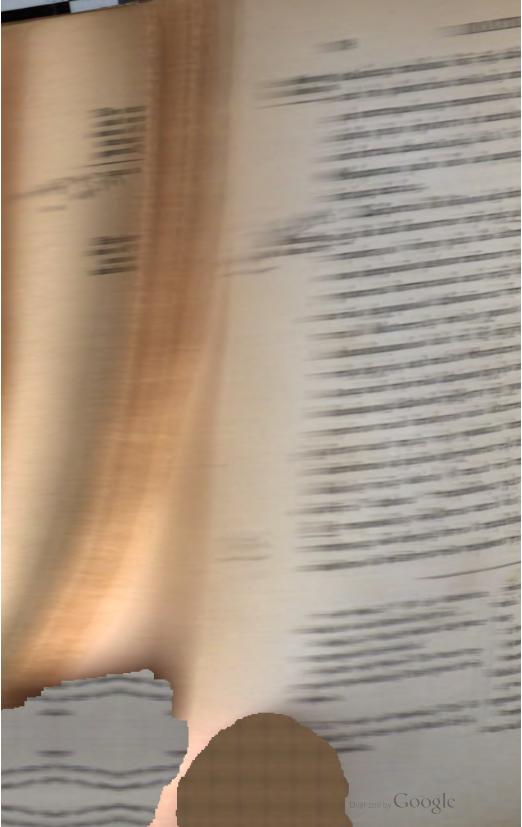
πολλούς δ' $\epsilon l\nu a l$ 'Whereas now there is a large body of equals.'

ἀπαρτίζειν, κ.τ.λ.] 'As to square with the greatness and high estimation of the office.'

έκόντες] 'With their will,' and if against their will, this of itself constitutes a tyranny.

38 κατὰ γένος] 'hereditary monarchies.'

c c 2



καταστήσαι Περίανδρον του Κορίνθιου· πολλά Tyranny. τῆς τῶν Περσῶν ἀρχῆς ἔστι τοιαῦτα λαβεῖν. τε πάλαι λεχθέντα πρὸς σωτηρίαν, ώς οἶόν τε, 5 ίδος, τὸ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας κολούειν καὶ τοὺς ε άναιρεῖν, καὶ μήτε συσσίτια ἐᾶν μήτε ἑταιρίαν 1313 Β είαν μήτε άλλο μηθέν τοιοῦτον, άλλὰ πάντα έθεν είωθε γίνεσθαι δύο, Φρόνημά τε καὶ πίστις, γολάς μήτε ἄλλους συλλόγους ἐπιτρέπειν γίνεσθαι κούς, καὶ πάντα ποιεῖν ἐξ ὧν ὅτι μάλιστα ἀγνῶτες εσονται πάντες ή γάρ γνῶσις πίστιν ποιεῖ μᾶλάλλήλους, καὶ τὸ τοὺς ἐπιδημοῦντας ἀεὶ Φανε- 6 καὶ διατρίβειν περὶ θύρας ουτω γάρ αν ηκιστα υ τί πράττουσι, καὶ Φρονεῖν αν ἐθίζοιντο μικρὸν εύοντες, καὶ τάλλα όσα τοιαῦτα Περσικά καὶ τυραννικά έστιν πάντα γὰρ ταὐτὸν δύναται. καὶ 7 ενθάνειν πειράσθαι όσα τυγχάνει τις λέγων ή πράτάρχομένων, άλλ' είναι κατασκόπους, οίον περί Συες αί ποταγωγίδες καλούμεναι, καὶ τοὺς ώτακουστὰς τεν Ίέρων, όπου τις είη συνουσία καὶ σύλλογος. ιάζονταί τε γάρ ήττον, Φοβούμενοι τοὺς τοιούτους, ερρησιάζωνται, λανθάνουσιν ήττον. καλ τὸ διαβάλ-8 κλήλοις καὶ συγκρούειν καὶ Φίλους Φίλοις καὶ τὸν δηες γνωρίμοις και τους πλουσίους έαυτοῖς, και το πένηοιείν τους άρχομένους, τυραννικόν, όπως μήτε Φυλακή

τῶν Περσῶν ἀρχῆs] 'The Perstem of government.'

οδόν τε] 'as far as is possible.'
φρονηματίαs] Those of high
Grote, viii. 351.

πριά τε και πίστις] 'confidence meself, and confidence in others,' it and mutual confidence.'

coλάs] 'literary assemblies or ré-

υλλόγους σχολαστικούς] Is this settings for discussion'? The retions between the present French overnment and the Academy are a prious illustration of this passage.

δτι μάλιστα ἀγνῶτες] a still further application of the maxim 'divide et impera.'

6 και τάλλα, κ.τ.λ.] 'and all other measures of this kind, which are derived from the Persians or barbarians, are suitable to tyranny.'

7 al ποταγωγίδες] = προσαγωγίδες, 'tale-bearers.'

παρρησιάζονται] Grote, v. 304, xi.

8 συγκρούειν] 'to produce clashing.'

ὅπως μήτε φυλακή τρέφηται] "sa garde ne lui coûte rien à entretenir,"

τρέφηται καὶ πρὸς τῷ καθ ἡμέραν ὄντες ἄτχολοι ὧσιν ἐπιβουλεύειν. παράδειγμα δε τούτου αί τε πυραμίδες αί περί Its safety. 9 Αίγυπτον καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα τῶν Κυψελιδῶν καὶ τοῦ 'Ολυμπίου ή οἰκοδόμησις ὑπὸ τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν, καὶ τῶν περί Σάμον έργα Πολυκράτεια πάντα γάρ ταῦτα δύναται το ταυτόν, ασχολίαν και πενίαν των άρχομένων. και ή είσ-Φορά τῶν τελῶν, οἶον ἐν Συρακούσαις. ἐν πέντε γὰρ ἔτεσιν έπι Διονυσίου την ουσίαν απασαν είσενηνοχέναι συνέβαινεν. έστι δὲ καὶ πολεμοποιὸς ὁ τύραννος, ὅπως ἄσγολοί τε ὧσι καὶ ήγεμόνος ἐν χρεία διατελῶσιν ὅντες. καὶ ἡ μὲν βασιλεία σώζεται δια τῶν Φίλων, τυραννικὸν δὲ τὸ μάλιστ άπιστεῖν τοῖς Φίλοις, ὡς βουλομένων μὲν πάντων, δυναμένων τι δὲ μάλιστα τούτων. καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν δὲ γιγνόμενα την τελευταίαν τυραννικά πάντα, γυναικοκρατία τε περίτας οἰκίας, Ιν' ἐξαγγέλλωσι κατά τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ δούλων άνεσις διά την αυτην αιτίαν ουτε γάρ επιβουλεύουσιν οἱ δοῦλοι καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες τοῖς τυράννοις, εὐημεροῦντάς

St. Hilaire, 'That he may not have to maintain a large force.'

πρὸς τῷ καθ' ἡμέραν] See note on Ch. VIII, 18. See Plato, Rep. 1x. 567. 8.

9 'Ολυμπίου] Grote, 1v. 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 ἡ 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.

πολεμοποιός] 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-

'volution c'est la guerre of Louis Napoleon at Bordeaux—L'Empire c'est la paix—seem to show that war is by no means a necessary characteristic of governments which may fairly be classed as tyrannical. The elder Napoleon, on the other hand, found his interest, as he thought, in war, as did the government of the elder Bourbons.

iγεμόνος ἐν χρεία] This, of course, supposes in the tyrant the ability to take the command in war; otherwise, as men like Tiberius and Domitian felt, there is a great danger in this respect,—the successful commander so easily becomes an aspirant to the supreme power.

11 Compare Plato, Republic, VIII. 562, Ε., καταδύεσθαι είς τε τὰς iδίας οἰκίας καὶ τελευτᾶν μέχρι τῶν θηρίων τὴν ἀναρχίαν ἐμφυομένην, κ.τ.λ.

δούλων άνεσις] Plato, as above, οἰ ἐωνημένοι καὶ αἱ ἐωνημέναι μηδὲν ἡττον ἐλεύθεροι ὧσι τῶν πριαμένων.







τε άναγκαῖον εὖνου εἶναι καὶ ταῖς τυραννίσι καὶ ταῖς δημο. Tyranny. κρατίαις και γήμος είναι βούλεται μόναρχος. διό και ο κόλαξ παρ τη τοτέροις έντιμος, παρά μεν τοῖς δήμοις ο 12 δημαγωγός (ἔστι γὰρ ὁ δημαγωγὸς τοῦ δήμου κόλαξ), παρὰ δε τοῖς τυράννοις οἱ ταπεινῶς ὁμιλοῦντες, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἔργον 1314 κολακείας. και γάρ διά τοῦτο πονηρόφιλον ή τυραννίς: κολακευόμενοι γάρ χαίρουσιν, τοῦτο δ' οὐδ' άν είς ποιήσειε Φρόνημα έχων ελεύθερον, άλλα Φιλοῦσιν οἱ ἐπιεικεῖς ἡ οὐ κολακεύουσιν. καλ χρήσιμοι οί πονηρολ είς τὰ πονηρά . ήλω 13 γάρ ὁ ήλος, ώσπερ ή παροιμία. καὶ τὸ μηδενὶ χαίρειν σεμνώ μηδ έλευθέρω τυραννικόν αύτον γάρ είναι μόνον άξιος τοιούτον ο τύραννος, ο δ' άντισεμνυνόμενος και έλευθεριάζων άφαιρείται την ύπεροχην και το δεσποτικόν της τυραννίδος: μισούσιν ούν ώσπερ ξαταλύοντας την άρχην. Καὶ 14/Κ τὸ χρησθαι συσσίτοις καὶ συνημερευταῖς ξενικοῖς μάλλον ή πολιτικοῖς τυραννικόν, ώς τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους τοὺς δ' οὐκ άντιποιουμένους. ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τυραννικά μὲν καὶ σωτήρια της άρχης, οὐθὲν δ' ἐλλείπει μοχθηρίας. "Εστι δ ώς είπεῖν πάντα ταῦτα περιειλημμένα τρισίν είδεσιν. στογάζεται γάρ ή τυραννίς τριῶν, ένδς μέν τοῦ μικρά ις Φρονείν τους άρχομένους (ούδεν) γάρ αν μικρόψυχος έπιβουλεύσειεν), δευτέρου δε τοῦ διαπιστεῖν άλλήλοις οὐ καταλύεται γάρ πρότερον τυραννίς πρίν ή πιστεύσουσί τινες αύτοῖς διὸ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιεικέσι πολεμοῦσιν ώς βλαβεροῖς πρός την άρχην ού μόνον διά το μή άξιοῦν άρχεσθαι δε-

12 Epyor Kolakelas The characteristic of the flatterer.

πονηρόφιλον] 'Is fond of low associates.' Compare Eth. viii. vii. 5, p. 1158, 27, on the friends chosen by men in power.

13 ¶λφ γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] 'For one nail drives out another.'

σεμνφ] 'of high bearing.'

endepid(ωr) and having a free

14 οὐθὲν δ' ἐλλείπει μοχθηρίας] Ια 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.

περιειλημμένα] 'comprehended under three heads.'

15 τοῦ διαπιστείν] 'their thoroughly distrusting one another.'

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common and guarding according according the point was accompany wall understood by its is made amperers especially by the conserve it the system. Augustus and Theorems.

musisussus] For if he once give up

va besidence] the primary requisite,'
VIL (VL) m. 1, 'the fundamental
condition.'

rà bi binesir] sc. worde.

harmanta hupeas rountas] 'lavishing it in such gifts.' Compare Hal-

τὰ πλήθη χαλεπαίνουσιν, δταν ἀπ' αὐτῶν μὲν λαμβάνωσιν Tyranny. Its safety. έργαζομένων και πονούντων γλίσχρως, διδῶσι δ' έταίραις καὶ ξένοις καὶ τεχνίταις άφθόνως, λόγον τε άποδιδόντα τῶν και. λαμβανομένων και δαπανωμένων, όπερ ήδη πεποιήκασί τινες τῶν τυράννων οὖτω γὰρ ἄν τις διοικῶν οἰκονόμος ἀλλ' οὐ τύραννος είναι δόξει, ού δεί δε Φοβείσθαι μή ποτε άπο- 20 ρήση χρημάτων κύριος ών της πόλεως. άλλα τοῖς γ' ἐκτο- ἐκ, Το ἡ ్ πίζουσι τυράννοις άπὸ τῆς οἰκείας καὶ συμφέρει τοῦτο μᾶλλον ή καταλιπείν άθροίσαντας. ήττον γάρ αν οι Φυλάττοντες ἐπιτιθεῖντο τοῖς πράγμασιν. εἰσὶ δὲ Φοβερώτεροι τῶν τυράννων τοῖς ἀποδημοῦσιν οἱ Φυλάττοντες τῶν πολιτῶν. οί μεν γάρ συναποδημούσιν, οί δε ύπομένουσιν. ἔπειτα 21 τας είσφορας και τας λειτουργίας δεί φαίνεσθαι της τε οίκονομίας ένεκα συνάγοντα, κάν ποτε δεηθή χρήσθαι πρός τοὺς πολεμικούς καιρούς, όλως τε αύτον παρασκευάζειν Φύλακα καλ ταμίαν ώς κοινῶν άλλὰ μὴ ώς ιδίων. καὶ Φαίνεσθαι μη γαλεπον άλλα σεμνόν, έτι δε τοιούτον ώστε μη Φοβεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐντυγγάνοντας ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον αἰδεῖσθαι. τού- 22 του μέντοι τυγχάνειν οὐ ράδιον οντα εὐκαταφρόνητον διὸ δεῖ κᾶν μὴ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιῆται, ἀλλὰ τῆς

lam, Mid. Ag. 1. 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."

γλίσχρως] 'with scanty earnings.' δόξει] should surely be δόξειεν.

20 τοις ἐκτοπίζουσι] "von ihrem Lande entfernt," Stahr. 'To tyrants who are absent from home.'

τοῦτο] sc. τὸ ἀπορεῖν χρημάτων. Compare Hume's remarks on Stephen, Vol. 1. 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."

eiol δè φοβερώτεροι, 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 τὰs εἰσφοράs, κ.τ.λ.] συνάγειν τὰs εἰσφοράs is simple enough, but not so συνάγειν.

τὰς λειτουργίας] This word must have a very general sense, 'services.'

τη̂s τε οἰκονομίαs, κ.τ.λ.] 'for the administration of the state, both in peace and war.' The tyrant was to be οἰκονόμος by § 19.

KOUPÊP] To identify himself with the state.

τοὸς ἐντυγχάνοντας] 'those whom he meets.'

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THE REST OF STREET THE STREET, STILL The man erro Dense or expension in it will not a er en er en till en tille erfen for fo 3 ETT. HELDE E BEL TOU BESTE EYED YMAIRAS THE TH ना भी भी स्थापन के स्थापन के स्थापन के स्थापन के स्थापन के स्थापन LA LEGICA TEL TE TOE DEPLICATION THE COMPANIED TWIND וויוען כמיך לפי משפורות משומור של במוד לי יצוד עוד and the court of the parties interest and מו שווים ביותר שותושל שניים בי מיבות מב A Εγαιώνο το μοποιούς θεναιώνου. Ελλά μάλιστο Les estates - in montrage à le sin si ye d'airestat THE REAL MAN WITH SET STATE OF STATE The said a manual of a growing, all ELECTION TO MEETED TE TESTED TO TELEU NEXTENTO THE STATE WITH THE BOL ME THEODOR . EST DE THE THE - - - Comerciante de l'enteriore de Cercaras. Attor TOTAL TO FEEL TO FEED TO FEEL TOTAL The time to st williams a tree of supplayous with the second - The The TSD TO TOP THE THE OUTER on a recorder to the RE THE LES THERETES THERE AND The state of the s The same of the same same same to happen with the wind street Francis Topiesses you are The second are the tone to tone may any to to ye

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necessary to raise one, then the renedy noise be in raising others with him, as a check.

ήθος θρασύν ἐπιθετικώτατον γὰρ τὸ τοιοῦτον ήθος περὶ πά- Tyranny. σας τὰς πράξεις. κᾶν τῆς δυνάμεώς τινα δοκῆ παραλύειν, έκ προσαγωγής τοῦτο δράν καὶ μὴ πάσαν άθρόον άφαιρεῖσθαι την έξουσίαν. έτι δε πάσης μεν υβρεως είργεσθαι, 28 παρά πάσας δε δυοίν, της τε είς τὰ σώματα κολάσεως καὶ της είς την ήλικίαν. μάλιστα δε ταύτην ποιητέον την εύλάβειαν περί τους Φιλοτίμους. την μέν γαρ είς τα χρήματα όλιγωρίαν οἱ Φιλοχρήματοι Φέρουσι βαρέως, τὴν δ΄ εἰς ἀτιμίαν οι τε Φιλότιμοι και οι έπιεικείς των άνθρώπων. διόπερ 29 η μη χρησθαι δεί τοίς τοιούτοις, η τας μεν κολάσεις πατρικώς Φαίνεσθαι ποιούμενον καλ μή δι' όλιγωρίαν, τάς δε πρὸς τὴν ἡλικίαν ὁμιλίας δι' ἐρωτικὰς αἰτίας άλλὰ μὴ δι' ἐξουσίαν, όλως δε τας δοκούσας ατιμίας εξωνείσθαι μείζοσι τιμαῖς. τῶν δ' ἐπιχειρούντων ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος διαφθο- 30 ράν οὖτοι Φοβερώτατοι καὶ δέονται πλείστης Φυλακῆς, ὅσοι μή προαιρούνται περιποιείσθαι το ζην διαφθείραντες. διό 31 7 μάλιστα εύλαβεῖσθαι δεῖ τοὺς ὑβρίζεσθαι νομίζοντας ἡ αὑτους ή ων κηδόμενοι τυγχάνουσιν · άφειδως γαρ έαυτων έχουσιν οί διά θυμόν ἐπιχειροῦντες, καθάπερ καὶ Ἡράκλειτος είπε, χαλεπον Φάσκων είναι θυμιο μάχεσθαι . ψυχής γάρ έπει δ' αι πόλεις έκ δύο συνεστήκασι μορίων, 32 έχ τε τῶν ἀπόρων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν εὐπόρων, μάλιστα μὲν άμφοτέρους ύπολαμβάνειν δεῖ σώζεσθαι διὰ τὴν άρχήν, καὶ τους ετέρους ύπο των ετέρων άδικεῖσθαι μηδέν, όπότεροι δ' αν ωσι κρείττους, τούτους ιδίους μάλιστα ποιείσθαι της άρ-

παραλύειν] 'to remove from.'

²⁸ την μέν γάρ είς τά χρηματα] See Ch. X. 10, where the preposition was omitted.

όλιγωρίαν] 'carelessness,' 'neglect of their interests.' Such a neutral translation will make the word suit both χρήματα and ατιμίαν.

²⁹ δι' εξουσίαν] 'in the wantonness of power."

^{&#}x27; redeem,' ' compenłξωνείσθαι] sate.'

³⁰ δσοι μή, κ.τ.λ.] 'who have no purpose of securing their life when they have destroyed their enemy.'

^{31 &#}x27;Hpdacheiros] Eth. II. ii. 10, p. 1105, 8.

ψυχης γάρ ώνεῖσθαι] "denn sie setzen ihr Leben aufs Spiel," Stahr. 'Ils jouent leur vie,' 'They stake their life.'

³² lolous woieiobai] 'attach them as much as possible to the government.'

Γνικουν. γης, ώς, με ύπαρξη τοῦτο τοῖς πράγρασιο, οὖτε δούλασο έλει-ί ίκοστο ανάγκη κυκίσθαι του τύρανου όντε δκλαον καραίσεσιο ικαιών γαι δάτερου μέρος πρός τη δυνάμει προστιή-इ प्रथम, जेराह प्रकाराकाद हीका रके हेप्रामीहमहंगकर. प्रहर्महरूप δὲ τὸ λέγειν καθ έκαστον τῶν τοιούτων · ὁ γὰρ σκοπὸς Φατης η γερός, ότι δεί μη τροαγγικόν άλλ' οίκονόμου καί βασιλική είναι δαίνεσθαι τοῦς ἀργομένοις καὶ μὰ σφετεριστὰν ἀλλί έπίτραπου, καὶ τὰς μετριότητας τοῦ βίου διώκειν, μιὴ τὰς ύπερώλλας, έτι δὲ τοὺς μὲν γνωρίμιος καθομιλείν, τοὺς δὲ 34 πολλούς δημαγωγείν. ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀναγκαΐον οὐ μόνον την αργήν είναι καλλίω και ζηλωτετέραν τῷ βελτιόνων άργειν και αλ τεταπεινωμένων μηδέ μισούμενον και Φοβούμενον διατελείν, άλλά και την άρχην είναι πολυχρονία. τέραν. έτι ο αύτον διακείσθαι κατά το ήθος ήτοι καλώς πολίς άσετζο ή ήμιγοηστου όντα, καὶ μή πουηρόυ άλλ' ήμι-TŚTĘSOW.

12

Καίτα πασών άλιγογονιώτεραι τών πολιτειών είσλο όλι-Direction of γαρχία και τυραντής. πλεύστου γαρ έγένετο χρόνου ή περί and τηταπί. Σικυώνα τυραννίς, ή των 'Ορλαγόρου παίδων καὶ αὐτοῦ 'Ορ-र्रवार्वेडका: इसम् के वर्णमा केर्ड्यहाम्हम देखवर्षम. स्वर्णनका के वर्णमान ότι τοῖς ἀργομένοις ἐγρώντο μετρίως καὶ πολλά τοῖς νόμως εδούλευον, και διά το πολεμικός γενέσθαι Κλεισθένης

> To sease restel 'If you have secuted this support of your power, if you have the stronger on your side.

wpds vy devance] . The military force he maintains, § 18.

33 spereportiv] one looking to his own interest. 'Tout pour la France, rien pour moi-même,' was the expression of the intellectual perception of this truth by one who has shown that his appreciation of it is purely intellectual, wholly without influence on his practice.

natopulair | 'conciliate, bend to himpelf 1-7 intercourse."

> ¹² αχήν] Compare I. v. 2, ή άρχη ή των βελτιόνων

ἀρχομένων, οἶου ἀνθρώτου ἡ θηρέου,

mirly Successful, E.T.A.] Compare on the whole of this chapter, Machiavelli. Il Principe, especially Chs. xvIII.

XII. I smirou] 'And yet after all.' 'Optayópeo] Grote, III. 43, 49, 51.

έχρώντο μετρίως] 'They treated their subjects with mildness.'

Tais empereious] 'By their careful attention to the interests of the people.' "durch sorgfältige Wahrnehmung seiner Interessen," Stahr.

For Cleisthenes of Κλεισθένης] Sicyon, see Herod. vi. 126, and foll.

ούκ ην εύκαταφρόνητος, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις ἐδη- Duration of μαγώγουν. λέγεται γοῦν Κλεισθένης τὸν ἀποκρίναντα τῆς and tyrannies. νίκης αὐτὸν ὡς ἐστεφάνωσεν ἔνιοι δ' εἰκόνα φασὶν εἶναι τοῦ tyrannies. κρίναντος οὕτω τὸν ἀνδριάντα τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾶ καθήμενον. 2 Φασὶ δὲ καὶ Πεισίστρατον ὑπομεῖναί ποτε προσκληθέντα δίκην εἰς Αρειον πάγον. Ποευτέρα δε περί Κόρινθον ή τῶν 3 Κυψελιδών και γάρ αυτη διετέλεσεν έτη τρία και έβδομήκοντα καὶ ἐξ μῆνας Κύψελος μὲν γὰρ ἐτυράννησεν ἔτη τριάκοντα, Περίανδρος δε τετταράκοντα καὶ τέτταρα, Ψαμμήτιγος δ' ὁ Γορδίου τρία έτη. τὰ δ' αίτια ταὐτὰ 4 καὶ ταύτης δ μὲν γὰρ Κύψελος δημαγωγός ην καὶ κατά την άρχην διετέλεσεν άδορυφόρητος, Περίανδρος δ' εγένετο μεν τυραννικός, άλλα πολεμικός. τρίτη δ' ή των Πεισισ- 5 τρατιδιον 'Αθήνησιν, ούκ εγένετο δε συνεχής : δίς γάρ εφυγε Πεισίστρατος τυραννών, ώστ' έν έτεσι τριάκοντα καὶ τρισίν έπτακαίδεκα έτη τούτων έτυράννευσεν, όκτωκαίδεκα δε οί παίδες, ώστε τὰ πάντα έγένετο έτη τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε. τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ή περὶ Ἱέρωνα καὶ Γέλωνα περὶ Συρακούσαις. έτη δ' οὐδ' αΰτη πολλά διέμεινεν, άλλά τὰ σύμπαντα δυοῖν 6 δέοντα είκοσι. Γέλων μέν γάρ έπτά τυραννεύσας τῷ ὀγδόω τον βίον ἐτελεύτησεν, δέκα δ' Ἱέρων, Θρασύβουλος δὲ τῶ ένδεκάτω μηνὶ ἐξέπεσεν. αἱ δὲ πολλαὶ τῶν τυραννίδων όλιγοχρόνιαι πάσαι γεγόνασι παντελώς.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν περί τὰς πολιτείας καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς μοναρ- 7 1316 χίας, εξ ών τε Φθείρονται καὶ πάλιν σώζονται, σχεδον Sequence of govern-

² Πεισίστρατον | Grote, IV. 145.

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 rerταράκοντα to influence him and put τέτταρα for εξ 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 συνεχής] 'Continuous,' and eccepted as such by the governed.

περί Συρακούσαις] Vet. Int. has circa Syracusas, 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.

.. govern

SHARE ELPHTO, TEL TESTED! . G: T TACTIER ATTENDED TEN THE METALLIANS OF TO SHEETEN, & HEFTE ETTIN KUNWE TI, TE YOU OUTTE TUNESDE THE THEFTE DETE Слеув тт. игтарилт йон. Эпо уд. віты жен т MEREN MINE: WAL ET THE REGION HETMONARMS MINE EINE TOUTON ON EXITOITA TOUR TERROR OF THE USUMOIR TRADE YETAL AFTEN THE TO ORTHOGRAPHETTO. E-THE TOTTO YEATTON STEERLY, M. T. DECEM. THE DOOR DULUNOU, MU. MPETTOU, TI, MULGERA, THUT: HE: OF MET ASYMPTOW, UT MARKET PRESTA YOU SHEET THE DU THE VINYA KU. YEVETTA, THOUNGIOU. AVORE ADVERTED. ZE. 25 T. 4: PHO. EN METABONY TO, OF SECONS APPRIESE, EDETE אינים אונים אונים אונים אונים אינים אינים אינים אינים אינים אונים THE WITH THE WILL TE TO YOUR . C. O. ATTE METE Duriner, Ra To un auto affaire atyrious auto sestant-ALL WINE E. TO TROOTEDE THESE EYEVETS THE TOTAL THE BILL AL LIETUZZILIAE. TIGG. GE TOUTOL MO TH BUTTON D. TOUTE IL THE LEAST PROPERTY METALLICIAE. TARROUND POLICE TO THE THE METALINE, AND THEOR. A. TOLITERS, T. THE O'VER THE E SUTTO: 1.970; 20. TIED. TIEN WILLIAM HETEROLAIN -The incircording Dong . Metadollike el to darperyen . W THAT IS ES, OTHER DOCTORS, EL. THORNWOOD & B. STREET, B. в: 1. игго. ни. ичитили изтирийлогот. иот эх отим за бы-

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SECRETARY OF THE PROPERTY AND ADDRESS. OTHER BAND

γαρχίαν, καὶ μᾶλλον ἡ εἰς μοναρχίαν. ἔτι δὲ τυραννίδος οἱ governoù λέγει οὕτ' εἰ ἔσται μεταβολὴ οὕτ' εἰ μὴ ἔσται, διὰ τίν menta.

αἰτίαν καὶ εἰς ποίαν πολιτείαν. τούτου δ' αἴτιον ὅτι οὐ ραδίως ἀν εἴχε λέγειν ἀόριστον γάρ, ἐπεὶ κατ' ἐκεῖνον δεῖ εἰς τὴν πρώτην καὶ τὴν ἀρίστην οῦτω γὰρ ἀν ἐγίγνετο συνεχὲς καὶ κύκλος. ἀλλὰ μεταβάλλει καὶ εἰς τυραννίδα τα τυραννίς ὥσπερ ἡ Σικυῶνος ἐκ τῆς Μύρωνος εἰς τὴν Κλεισθένους, καὶ εἰς ὁλιγαρχίαν, ὥσπερ ἡ ἐν Χαλκίδι ἡ ᾿Αντιλέοντος, καὶ εἰς ὁλιγαρχίαν, ὥσπερ ἡ τῶν Γέλωνος ἐν Συρακούσαις, καὶ εἰς ἀριστοκρατίαν, ὥσπερ ἡ Χαριλάου ἐν Λακεδαίμονι καὶ ἐν Καρχηδόνι. καὶ εἰς τυραννίδα μετα- 13 βάλλει ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας, ὥσπερ ἐν Σικελία σχεδὸν αὶ πλεῖσται τῶν ἀρχαίων, ἐν Λεοντίνοις εἰς τὴν Παναιτίου τυραννίδα καὶ ἐν Γέλα εἰς τὴν Κλεάνδρου καὶ ἐν Ὑργίφ εἰς τὴν

would come full circle."

12 Mbperos] 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
Orthagoridæ and Kleisthenes.

'Aντιλέοντος] Nothing apparently known.

Χαριλάου] On this version of the history of Charilaus, see Smith's Biogr. Dict. Grote, Π. 461, note. καταλαβών τον Χάριλλον τυραννικώς άγοντα, are the words of Heraclides Ponticus, Π. 4. Ed. Didot, Vol. XXIX. p. 210.

Kaρχηδόνι] On this statement, which it is difficult to reconcile with a previous one II. π. 2, μήτε στάσιν γεγενήσθαι μήτε τύραννον, see Grote, x. 552, note.

13 Σικελία] Grote, v. 276. 'Αναξιλάου] Grote, III. 507.

μᾶλλον ή] 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.

obt' el $\ell\sigma\tau au$, $\kappa.\tau.\lambda$.] 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 $\mu\dot{\eta}$. The first obt' el $\ell\sigma\tau au$ 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 els \piolav $\pio\lambda\iota\tau elav$ (he places it after $\mu e\tau a\beta o\lambda\dot{\eta}$) would of course clear the passage. As it stands, it is defective.

aδριστον γdρ] "denn es ist nicht bestimmbar," Stahr. 'It does not admit of a determination.' This seems the sense if the word will bear it.

συνεχές] 'There would be no disruption of continuity,' and "the wheel THE E COL TO MESTIC SE TRIPOZION DIA TROTO, META, SAXis or liveryment an youngered it is raily de yaily. and the of the animal reservoirs the violence of discuss בשובים ביותר ביו ישובי שני שוריבילוני בי ביונים בי ביונים בי הוא ביונים ביונים ביונים ביונים ביונים ביונים ביונים ביונים ביונים Treatiliston bill mun sen ni maduers; in Kasyaon ie runkamuner zagamijeru na nira geradeSAhis comme direction in the control of Accounting restricts i transfer Lidne to un rainte nim emora ine in trans mouse som igado indoes; edenes ול דפאר ביין פוני מצומו ל דמובים יום קודים עבדים. LOURS SE FLOR E BARROTHE EN THERE EXEMPLE ער די פרדופט על פטון מין בין בו מנו יו או אוא אוריינים בין איניינים The most to entrance was in the managers of the managers of - my mile. Thinker is nother rither is an gignerial at meta-Caroli granderen territar dir 😤 kojing thausiam artum דערשע ז שני דובודמשי. דונה ז פודו שפונים, מאא שמות מולו ביני הוא בינים בינים אונים בינים אונים בינים עם בינים עם בינים עם בינים בינים עם בינים בינים ge manderse imm de roos Alitane, miles gigneral dessis. Roll astrational risk and an interne sig figure & sig Tilly tillinger. En le nas tillin un artelagu, nas

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Appropriate of the mean in the contract of the matter than the prime the

many of revolution, not in the positive iscrease of wealth in the case of one.

ir and I have inserted this before correspondings, in common with many editors, including States, described in its proper sense admires via alorem, DL IV. 1. 5-2, IV. 2. 54.

amerosciere] They are ripe for something fresh. move tabales. In II. un 6, we have the adjective conservator in a rather different, though kindred sense. Αδικώνται ή ύβρίζωνται, στασιάζουσι καὶ μεταβάλλουσι Sequence τας πολιτείας, καν μη καταδαπανήσωσι την ούσίαν δια τὸ εξείναι ότι αν βουλωνται ποιείν ου αιτίαν την άγαν ελευθερίαν είναι φησιν. πλειόνων δ' ούσῶν όλιγαρχιῶν καὶ δημοχρατιών, ώς μιας ούσης έχατέρας λέγει τὰς μεταβολάς ο Σωχράτης.

| Plato's enumeration, is what Aristotle 18 of airlar] Plato, Rep. viii. 555. The want of detail in objects to in this chapter.

INDICES.

πολιτικής, καὶ δόξαν ἐμποιεῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ τοιαύτην. ἔτι δὲ μή μόνον αὐτὸν φαίνεσθαι μηθένα τῶν ἀρχομένων ὑβρίζοντα, μήτε νέον μήτε νέαν, άλλα μηδ άλλον μηδένα τῶν περί 23 αὐτόν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰς οἰκείας ἔχειν γυναῖκας πρὸς τὰς άλλας, ώς καὶ διὰ γυναικῶν ὕβρεις πολλαὶ τυραννίδες ἀπολώλασιν. περί τε τὰς ἀπολαύσεις τὰς σωματικὰς τούναντίον ποιείν ή νῦν τινες τῶν τυράννων ποιοῦσιν οὐ γὰρ μόνον εύθυς ξωθεν τοῦτο δρῶσιν, καὶ συνεχῶς πολλάς ήμέρας, άλλά καλ φαίνεσθαι τοῖς άλλοις βούλονται τοῦτο πράττοντες, ίν 24 ως εύδαίμονας καὶ μακαρίους θαυμάσωσιν. άλλα μάλιστα μεν μετριάζειν τοῖς τοιούτοις, εἰ δε μή, τό γε Φαίνεσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις διαφεύγειν οὖτε γὰρ εὐεπίθετος οὖτ' εὐκατα-Φρόνητος ὁ νήφων, ἀλλ' ὁ μεθύων, οὐδ' ὁ ἄγρυπνος, ἀλλ' ό καθεύδων, τούναντίον τε ποιητέον τῶν πάλαι λεχθέντων σχεδον πάντων κατασκευάζειν γαρ δεί και κοσμείν την πό-25 λιν ως ἐπίτροπον ἔντα καὶ μὴ τύραννον. ἔτι δὲ τὰ πρὸς τους θεους Φαίνεσθαι άελ σπουδάζοντα διαφερόντως. ήττόν τε γάρ Φοβούνται τὸ παθείν τι παράνομον ύπὸ τῶν τοιού-1315 των, εάν δεισιδαίμονα νομίζωσιν είναι τὸν ἄργοντα καὶ Φροντίζειν τῶν θεῶν, καὶ ἐπιβουλεύουσιν ἦττον ὡς συμμάγους 26 έγοντι καὶ τοὺς θεούς. δεῖ δ' ἄνευ άβελτηρίας Φαίνεσθαι τοιούτον. τούς τε άγαθούς περί τι γιγνομένους τιμών ούτως ώστε μή νομίζειν αν ποτε τιμηθήναι μαλλον ύπο των πολιτῶν αὐτονόμων ὄντων. καὶ τὰς μὲν τοιαύτας τιμὰς ἀπονέμειν αὐτόν, τὰς δὲ κολάσεις δι' ἐτέρων ἀρχόντων καὶ δι-27 καστηρίων. κοινή δὲ Φυλακή πάσης μοναρχίας τὸ μηθένα ποιείν ένα μέγαν, άλλ' είπερ, πλείους τηρήσουσι γάρ άλλήλους. ἐὰν δ' ἄρα τινὰ δέη ποιῆσαι μέγαν, μή τοι τό γε

²² ἄλλον μηδένα] These words are of course the subject of φαίνεσθαι ὑβρίζοντα.

²³ δμοίως δέ, κ.τ.λ.] 'So too must the women of his family bear themselves towards other women.' This danger had been especially felt in the history of Persia.

²⁴ εὐεπίθετος] 'open to attack.'

²⁶ ἀβελτηρίας] 'silliness,' 'weak ness,' 'niaiserie.'

τούς τε άγαθούς, κ.τ.λ.] He must conciliate the distinguished in every department.'

²⁷ ἀλλ' εἴπερ] 'If it is absolutely necessary to raise one, then the remedy must be in raising others with him, as a check.'

ήθος θρασύν επιθετικώτατον γαρ το τοιούτον ήθος περί πά- Tyranny. σας τὰς πράξεις. κᾶν τῆς δυνάμεώς τινα δοκῆ παραλύειν, έκ προσαγωγής τοῦτο δρᾶν καὶ μὴ πᾶσαν άθρόον άφαιρεῖσθαι την έξουσίαν. έτι δε πάσης μεν υβρεως είργεσθαι, 28 παρά πάσας δὲ δυοῖν, τῆς τε εἰς τὰ σώματα κολάσεως καὶ της είς την ηλικίαν. μάλιστα δε ταύτην ποιητέον την εύλάβειαν περί τους Φιλοτίμους την μέν γάρ είς τα γρήματα όλιγωρίαν οἱ Φιλογρήματοι Φέρουσι βαρέως, τὴν δ' εἰς ἀτιμίαν οι τε Φιλότιμοι και οι ἐπιεικεῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων. διόπερ 29 η μη χρησθαι δεί τοίς τοιούτοις, ή τας μέν κολάσεις πατρικώς φαίνεσθαι ποιούμενον καὶ μὴ δι όλιγωρίαν, τὰς δὲ πρός την ηλικίαν όμιλίας δι' έρωτικάς αίτίας άλλά μη δι' έξουσίαν, δλως δε τας δοκούσας ατιμίας εξωνεῖσθαι μείζοσι τιμαῖς. τῶν δ' ἐπιχειρούντων ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος διαφθο- 30 ράν οὖτοι Φοβερώτατοι καὶ δέονται πλείστης Φυλακῆς, ὅσοι μή προαιρούνται περιποιείσθαι το ζην διαφθείραντες. μάλιστα εύλαβεῖσθαι δεῖ τοὺς ὑβρίζεσθαι νομίζοντας ἡ αὑτους ή ών κηδόμενοι τυγχάνουσιν άφειδως γάρ έαυτων έχουσιν οἱ διὰ θυμὸν ἐπιχειροῦντες, καθάπερ καὶ Ἡράκλειτος είπε, γαλεπὸν Φάσκων είναι θυμώ μάχεσθαι · ψυχῆς γὰρ κύνεῖσθαι. ἐπεὶ δ' αἱ πόλεις ἐκ δύο συνεστήκασι μορίων, 32 έκ τε τῶν ἀπόρων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν εὐπόρων, μάλιστα μὲν άμφοτέρους ὑπολαμβάνειν δεῖ σώζεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ τους ετέρους υπό των ετέρων άδικεῖσθαι μηδέν, υπότεροι δ' αν ωσι κρείττους, τούτους ιδίους μάλιστα ποιεῖσθαι τῆς ἀρ-

παραλύειν] 'to remove from.'

28 την μέν γάρ είς τὰ χρηματα] See Ch. X. 10, where the preposition was omitted.

όλιγωρίαν] 'carelessness,' 'neglect of their interests.' Such a neutral translation will make the word suit both χρήματα and ατιμίαν.

29 & ¿¿ouvlar] in the wantonness of power."

έξωνείσθαι] ' redeem,' ' compensate.'

30 δσοι μή, κ.τ.λ.] 'who have no purpose of securing their life when they have destroyed their enemy.'

31 'Hpákheitos] Eth. 11. ii. 10, p. 1105, 8.

ψυχής γάρ ώνεῖσθαι] "denn sie setzen ihr Leben aufs Spiel," Stahr. 'Ils jouent leur vie,' 'They stake their life.'

32 lolous moieiobai] 'attach them as much as possible to the government.'

Τγιαλην. γης, ώς, αν ὑπάρξη τοῦτο τοῖς πράγμασιν, οὕτε δούλων ἐλ≥-θέρωσιν ανάγκη ποιείσθαι τον τύραννον ούτε δπλων καιρεσιν ικανον γάρ θάτερον μέρος πρός τη δυνάμει προστέ 33 μενον, ώστε κρείττους είναι των επιτιθεμένων. περίεργο δὲ τὸ λέγειν καθ έκαστον τῶν τοιούτων · ὁ γὰρ σκοκὸς ζε-1315 τ νερός, ότι δεί μη τυραννικόν άλλ' οίκονόμον καί βασιλικ είναι φαίνεσθαι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις καὶ μὴ σφετεριστὴν ἀλί έπίτροπου, καὶ τὰς μετριότητας τοῦ βίου διώκειν, μὴ τὰ ύπερβολάς, έτι δε τούς μεν γνωρίμους καθομιλείν, τούς έ 34 πολλούς δημαγωγείν. ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀναγκαίον οὐ μένη την άρχην είναι καλλίω και ζηλωτοτέραν τῷ βελτιόνων έχειν και μή τεταπεινωμένων μηδε μισούμενον και Φοβονμενον διατελείν, άλλὰ καὶ τὴν άρχὴν είναι πολυχρονιατέραν. ἔτι δ' αὐτὸν διακεῖσθαι κατὰ τὸ ήθος ήτοι καλές πρός άρετην η ήμίχρηστον όντα, και μη πονηρον άλλ' ήμι-

Καίτοι πασῶν όλιγοχρονιώτεραι τῶν πολιτειῶν εἰσὶν όλι-Duration of σαρχία καὶ τυραννίς. πλεῖστον γὰρ ἐγένετο χρόνον ή περὶ and tyrannics. Σικυῶνα τυραννίς, ή τῶν 'Ορθαγόρου παίδων καὶ αὐτοῦ 'Οςθαγόρου έτη δ αύτη διέμεινεν έκατόν. τούτου δ αίτιον ότι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις έχρῶντο μετρίως καὶ πολλά τοῖς νόμοις έδούλευον, καὶ διὰ τὸ πολεμικὸς γενέσθαι Κλεισθένης

> το ὑπάρξη τοῦτο] 'If you have secured this support of your power,' if you have the stronger on your side.

πρός τῆ δυνάμει] 'The military force he maintains,' § 18.

33 σφετεριστήν] one looking to his own interest. 'Tout pour la France, rien pour moi-même,' was the expression of the intellectual perception of this truth by one who has shown that his appreciation of it is purely intellectual, wholly without influence on his practice.

καθομιλείν] 'conciliate, bend to himself by intercourse.'

34 την ἀρχήν] Compare I. v. 2, άει βελτίων ή άρχη ή των βελτιόνων άρχομένων, οίον ανθρώπου ή θηρίου.

αὐτὸν διακεῖσθαι, κ.τ.λ.] Compare on the whole of this chapter, Machiavelli, Il Principe, especially Chs. xvIII. XIX.

XII. Ι καίτοι] 'And yet after all.' 'Ορθαγόρου] Grote, 111. 43, 49, 51.

εχρώντο μετρίως] 'They treated their subjects with mildness.'

ταιs επιμελείαιs] 'By their careful attention to the interests of the people,' "durch sorgfältige Wahrnehmung seiner Interessen," Stahr.

Κλεισθένης For Cleisthenes of Sicyon, see Herod. vi. 126, and foll.

οκ ην ευκαταφρόνητος, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις ἐδη- Duration of 🔭 ερίναντος ούτω τὸν ἀνδριάντα τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορῷ καθήμενον. 🗝 Þασὶ δὲ καὶ Πεισίστρατον ὑπομεῖναί ποτε προσκληθέντα " δίκην εἰς "Αρειον πάγον. 9 δευτέρα δὲ περὶ Κόρινθον ή τῶν 3 '- Κυψελιδών και γαρ αυτη διετέλεσεν έτη τρία και έβδομήε κοντα καὶ εξ μήνας. Κύψελος μεν γάρ ετυράννησεν ετη τριάκοντα, Περίανδρος δὲ τετταράκοντα καὶ τέτταρα, · Ψαμμήτιχος δ' ὁ Γορδίου τρία έτη. τὰ δ' αἴτια ταὐτὰ 4 🚟 καὶ ταύτης · ὁ μὲν γὰρ Κύψελος δημαγωγὸς ἦν καὶ κατὰ 🌣 την άρχην διετέλεσεν άδορυφόρητος, Περίανδρος δ' έγένετο 🗈 μεν τυραννικός, άλλα πολεμικός. τρίτη δ' ή τῶν Πεισισ- 5 έν τρατιδών Αθήνησιν, ούκ έγένετο δὲ συνεχής δὶς γὰρ ἔφυγε 🧗 Πεισίστρατος τυραννῶν, ὥστ' ἐν ἔτεσι τριάκοντα καὶ τρισὶν έπτακαίδεκα έτη τούτων ετυράννευσεν, όκτωκαίδεκα δε οί παίδες, ώστε τὰ πάντα έγένετο έτη τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε. τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ή περὶ Ἱέρωνα καὶ Γέλωνα περὶ Συρακούσαις. έτη δ' οὐδ' αΰτη πολλά διέμεινεν, άλλά τὰ σύμπαντα δυοίν 6 δέοντα είκοσι. Γέλων μεν γάρ έπτα τυραννεύσας τω όγδόω τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησεν, δέκα δ' Ἱέρων, Θρασύβουλος δὲ τῶ ένδεκάτω μηνὶ έξέπεσεν. αἱ δὲ πολλαὶ τῶν τυραννίδων όλιγογρόνιαι πάσαι γεγόνασι παντελώς.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν π ερὶ τὰς πολιτείας καὶ τὰ π ερὶ τὰς μοναρ- 7 1316 χίας, ἐξ ὧν τε Φθείρονται καὶ πάλιν σώζονται, σχεδὸν $\frac{\text{Sequence}}{\text{of govern-}}$

2 Пенбіотратов] Grote, IV. 145.

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 τετταράκοντα to influence him and put τέτταρα for ξξ μῆνας.

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 συνεχήs] 'Continuous,' and accepted as such by the governed.

περὶ Συρακούσαις] Vet. Int. has circa Syracusas, 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.

είσηται πεω πάντων. Έν δε τη πολιτεία λέγεται κέν. περι τίου μετακολιών επό του Σωκράτους, ου μέντοι λέγεται אמציים בינות בינ μένειν μηθεν άλλ' έν τινι περιόδα μεταβάλλειν, άςχην δ' είναι τούτουν όδο επίτριτης πυθμήν πεμπάδι συζυγείς δύο άρμονίας παρέχεται, λέγων ότων ο τοῦ διαγράμματος άρθυλς τούτου γένηται στερεός, ώς της φύσεώς ποτε Φυούστς Φινίλους και κρείττους της παιδείας, τοῦτο μεν ούν αὐτό γελων με ως υρ κακώς. εκυεχεται λαυ સραι τιρας ορς καισερο βήναι και γενέσθαι σπουδαίους ανδρας άδύνατον. άλλ' αύτη τί λυ ίδιος είη μεταβολή της ύπ' εκείνου λεγομένης αρίστης πολιτείας μάλλον ή των άλλων πασών καὶ των γιγνομένων πάντων; και διά τε τοῦ χρόνου, δι' δυ λέγει πάντα μεταβάλλειν, και τὰ μὴ ἄμα ἀρξάμενα γίγνεσθαι ἄμα μεταβάλλει, οίον εί τῆ προτέρα ήμέρα εγένετο τῆς τροπῆς, αμα ακα το μεταβάλλει. προς δε τούτοις δια τίν αιτίαν έχ ταύτης είς την Λακιινικήν μεταβάλλει; πλεονάκις γάρ είς την έναντίαν μεταβάλλουσι πάσαι αί πολιτείαι ή την σύνεγγυς. • δ' πύτλη λόγης και περί των άλλων μεταβολών εκ γάρ της Λιικιονικής, Φησί, μεταβάλλει είς την όλιγαρχίαν, έχ δ) ταίτης είς δημοκρατίαν, είς τυραννίδα δε έκ δημοκρατίας. τι Κιμίτηι και άνάπαλιν μεταβάλλουσιν, οίον έκ δήμου είς όλι-

to op noticely) The passage referred | to hapter, Republication, p. 545. C.

(from | 'Specially,' 'in any way pocultive to that form,' 'keineswegs promitments b.' State.

& processed letive

quarroce rife ambrine! boyond the testioning of his economics, exceptional rife and a both his system connects. It is according to the such remarks to the more marks to the more marks.

Plato's meaning is, I should think, certain, but I believe no one now pretends to understand it.

9 Set To Too Xpérou] I do not see much hope for this passage, which in different parts both Schneider and Stahr agree in pronouncing incurable.

10 την Λακωνικήν] The τιμακρατία of Plato's system, *Ropubl.* vIII. 544. C. ή τε ύπλ τῶν πολλῶν ἐπανουμένη, ή Κρητική τε καὶ Λακωνική αύτη.

II καὶ ἀνάπαλιν] 'In the reverse order also.'



γαρχίαν, καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ εἰς μοναρχίαν. ἔτι δὲ τυραννίδος δεquence οὐ λέγει οὕτ' εἰ ἔσται μεταβολὴ οὕτ' εἰ μὴ ἔσται, διὰ τίν ments.
αἰτίαν καὶ εἰς ποίαν πολιτείαν. τούτου δ' αἴτιον ὅτι οὐ ράδίως ἀν εἶχε λέγειν ἀδριστον γάρ, ἐπεὶ κατ' ἐκεῖνον δεῖ εἰς τὴν πρώτην καὶ τὴν ἀρίστην · οὕτω γὰρ ᾶν ἐγίγνετο συνεχὲς καὶ κύκλος. ἀλλὰ μεταβάλλει καὶ εἰς τυραννίδα 12 τυραννίς ὥσπερ ἡ Σικυῶνος ἐκ τῆς Μύρωνος εἰς τὴν Κλεισθένους, καὶ εἰς ὁλιγαρχίαν, ὥσπερ ἡ ἐν Χαλκίδι ἡ ᾿Αντιλέοντος, καὶ εἰς ὁλιγαρχίαν, ὥσπερ ἡ τῶν Γέλωνος ἐν Συρακούσαις, καὶ εἰς ἀριστοκρατίαν, ὥσπερ ἡ Χαριλάου ἐν Λακεδαίμονι καὶ ἐν Καρχηδόνι. καὶ εἰς τυραννίδα μετα-13 βάλλει ἐξ ὁλιγαρχίας, ὥσπερ ἐν Σικελία σχεδὸν αὶ πλεῖσται τῶν ἀρχαίων, ἐν Λεοντίνοις εἰς τὴν Παναιτίου τυραννίδα καὶ ἐν Γέλα εἰς τὴν Κλεάνδρου καὶ ἐν Ὑργίω εἰς τὴν

μάλλον #] 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.

obt' ei lotal, $\kappa.\tau.\lambda$.] 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 μh . The first obt' ei lotal 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 els $\pi olar$ $\pi o\lambda \iota \tau elar$ (he places it after $\mu e \tau a \beta o \lambda h$) would of course clear the passage. As it stands, it is defective.

àδριστον γάρ] "denn es ist nicht bestimmbar," Stahr. 'It does not admit of a determination.' This seems the sense if the word will bear it.

συνεχές] 'There would be no disruption of continuity,' and "the wheel would come full circle."

12 Móperos] 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 Orthagoridæ and Kleisthenes.

'Artiléortes] Nothing apparently known.

Χαριλάου] On this version of the history of Charilaus, see Smith's Biogr. Dict. Grote, Π. 461, note. καταλαβών τὸν Χάριλλον τυραννικώς άγοντα, are the words of Heraclides Ponticus, Π. 4. Ed. Didot, Vol. XXIX. p. 210.

Kαρχηδόνι] On this statement, which it is difficult to reconcile with a previous one II. II. 2, μήτε στάσιν γεγενήσθαι μήτε τύραννον, see Grote, x. 552, note.

13 Σικελία] Grote, v. 276. 'Αναξιλάου] Grote, III. 507.

to bright and a line triber first brace. It were the le son or herina an his worker has the nestelle-Tan in Charaguan an paguaren u e rui espec THE LIE BY THE R THERE WERE THE BETWEEN THE more and in lesign in their the second me ni me leng e think to highly our feet. popular lettre time pour son u minures; à Kryt-ישונים של או או אויים הישונים הישונים אויים אויי grand. Étado le ra a Capa lun tiling som tro àyenyana tiantun en tenten. tayen eite adiine te herman recuie i moorne filing ne un reces e-A error ine i en reurs; mone, sono èvada èvides; mani, יניבים ביות משהעות ל משנות מושים ליום ביותים TOURD BE THE E THE PROPERTY OF THE PARTY & erion, se er in im en dichenfam em siegere i en Tinonic et eleman un il les richars il le roceper. ביום אושר ברייות בי שורשו הרושה הרושה בי ביום הרושה היום הרושה היום הרושה הרוש Mar ni ista kilik man in marandan ka karana-ביות שליות ביות ביות ביות ביותר שליות ביותר שליות ביותר שליות ביותר שליותר שליו rusus i sin tibism. suit i ett vedas ill' ion en ou igenum ous éculatur de vicue aun-ATURDITO, ITED 18 THE ELLING, MISS POPETE BEATE, EST क्षा के के विकास के कि का कि का विकास है के Din riinen. in le en rum en entresa, en

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emoremotion] 'They are ripe for something iresh,' 'nowe tabule.' In II so to we have the adjective conversion in a rather different, though kindred sense.

ments.

αδικώνται ή ύβρίζωνται, στασιάζουσι καὶ μεταβάλλουσι Sequence τας πολιτείας, καν μή καταδαπανήσωσι την ούσίαν διά τὸ εξείναι ότι αν βούλωνται ποιείν ου αιτίαν την άγαν ελευθερίαν είναι φησιν. πλειόνων δ' ούσων όλιγαρχιων καί δημοχρατιών, ώς μιᾶς ούσης έχατέρας λέγει τὰς μεταβολὰς δ Σωχράτης.

18 of airlar] Plato, Rep. viii. 555. | Plato's enumeration, is what Aristotle πλειόνων] The want of detail in | objects to in this chapter.

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ORDER OF THE BOOKS.

Congreve.	Bekker.	Congreve.	Bekker.
Ĭ	I.	v	VIII.
II	II.	VI	IV.
III	. III.	VII	VI.
IV	VII.	VIII	v.

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

Subjunctive.
Optative.
Infinitive.

Participle.

Middle Voice.

Passive Voice.

The Nouns and Participles are arranged according to the order of their cases.

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15. VIII. m. 15. EK TOXXED FYP κεινται μορίων VI. IV. 9. μέγαλαι VI. XI. 13. πόλεων IV. VI. 9. & έτέραις τῶν πόλεων ΙΙΙ. VIII. 6. ταῖς πόλεσι II. IX. 29. III. XIII. 22: XV. 2: XVII. 8. IV. VI. 7. VIII. II. 3. ἐν ταῖς II. III. 6. III. XIII. 25. IV. IV. 6. VI. XI 19. Brais moderir VI. III. 3. vas oinelais II. XII. I. vais maeistas VI. II. 4. τὰς πόλεις III. ΧΙ. 9. VIII. v. 8: Χ. 8. ἐπὶ τάς ΙΙ. ΣΙ. 15. περί τάς ΙΙ. VI. 10. III. XIII. 19. μικράς πόλεις VI. XV. 5. πολιτεία ΙΙ. x. 14. VIII. IV. 1, 7: VI. 10. αριστοκρατική VI. τι. 3.

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1. 1. αὐτῆς VΙΙ. ΙΥ. 10. δημουργοί ΙΙ. ΧΙΙ. 1. δημοκρατία παρέκβασις ΙΙΙ. ΥΙΙ. 5. διαφερούσης (τῆς πολιτείας) λυαγκαϊον και την πόλιν είναι μη την αυτήν ΙΙΙ. III. 7. είδη πλείω ΙΙΙ. IV. 3. είδη πόσα VI. 1. 8. είδος III. xv. 3: XVI. I. VIII. V. I. είδος καλείται VI. VIII. 8. έκάστης VI. 1. 11. VIII. 1. 1. έχει τι ΙΙ. x. 14. κύριοι ΙΙΙ. VIII. 2. μετεχόντων ΙV. Χ. 9. μιᾶς τυγχάνον ΙV. VII. 3. της καλουμένης VIII. VI της όλης ΙΙ. ν. 18. της προκειμένης αὐτοῖς ΙΙ. ΙΧ. Ι. τῆς τῷ κοινώ προσαγορευομένης δνόματι VI. 11. 1. τοις έξω της VIII. VIII. 5.

1 4 · AL 4 · u. שטרנדדוף, CAVOR TIT **VI. O. πολιτοφυλακάς ΙΙ. VIII.** 9. 5. ἐπίστασθαι ἀμφότερα καὶ μεπολλάκις II. vII. 18: IX. 2, 19. III. XIII. 19. VI. IV. 9, 15. VIII τέχειν αμφοίν ΙΙΙ. 17. 11. Ετερον καθ' έκάστην πολιτείαν ΙΙΙ. 1. 9. ш. 6, 10: ч. 12. ήδη λέγομεν φ έξουσία κοινωνείν πολλαπλάσιος (όχλος) ΙΙ. VI. 6. τω λαπλασίου VIII. VI. 17. τελλε άρχης βουλευτικής η κριτικής ΙΙΙ. Ι. 12. πρός τό χρήσιν ΙΙΙ. Π. 1. τόν πλάσιον VIII. ΨΙΙΙ. 10. έξ αμφοτέρων πολιτών και θατέρου πολλαπλασίασυ πολλαπλ**άσιω**σις. μόνον ΙΙΙ. 11. Ι. πολίται ΙΙΙ. 1. 2: VIII. 8, 10. 111. 11. 1. 3. πολιται 111. 1. 2: XIII. 2: XIV. 7: XV. 9. πολιτών II. III. 5. III. XI. 6. VII. II. 2. VIII. XI. 26. γνησίων III. V. 8. ἔνα τινα III. XVI. 3. παρὰ τῶν III. XIV. 7. τὸ κοινόν III. XIII. 12. πολίται II. 1. 2: V. 20. VIII. III. 13. ἀγαθοὺς καὶ δικαίους III. XI 8. εἰναι μένα πως III. τ. ξ. ξ. 2. ΣΥ. 8. εἰναι μένα πως III. τ. ξ. ξ. 2. ΣΥ. 8. εἰναι μένα πως III. τ. ξ. ξ. 2. ΣΥ. Εἰναι μένα πως III. τ. ξ. ξ. 2. ΣΥ. Εἰναι μένα πως III. τ. ξ. ξ. 2. ΣΥ. Εἰναι μένα πως III. τ. ξ. ξ. 2. ΣΥ. Εἰναι μένα πως III. τ. ξ. ξ. 2. ΣΥ. Εἰναι μένα πως III. τ. ξ. ξ. 2. ΣΥ. Εἰναι μένα πως III. τ. ξ. ξ. 2. ΣΥ. Εἰναι μένα πως III. τ. ξ. 2. ΣΥ. Εἰναι μένα πως III. ΣΥ. ΣΥ. Εὐναι μένα πως III. ΣΥ. ΣΥ. Εὐναι μένα Εὐναι Ε πολλαχοῦ ΙΙΙ. ι. 4. VI. ιν. 21. 🞹 I. 14. πολλαχώς III. 3, 4. πολλοστημόριος. πολλοστημόμου VIII. VIII. 10. πολυανθρωπία. σώζει τὰς δημοιραία VII. VI. 5. πολυανθροπία IV. π. IX. 8. είναι μέν πως III. 1. 5. έπλ 13. πολυανθρωπίαν IV. VI. I, 7. πολυάνθρωπος ΙV. IV. 6. τολεύ θρωποι αι πολιτείαι δημοκρετία VII. v. 5. πολυανθρωποτέραι VII. τούς ΙΙΙ. ΧΙΥ. 7. οὐ θετέον πάντας ων άνευ οὐκ αν είη πόλις ΙΙΙ. ν. 2. τούς εν τη σπουδαία πόλει ΙΙΙ. Ιν. 5. τοὺς λεγομένους ΙΙΙ. 1. 8. τοὺς VIII. 5. ούτω μετέχοντας ΙΙΙ. Ι. 8. ή γάρ πολυκοιρανίη. πολυκοιρανίην ποίαν Πού πολίτας ή δεί κοινωνείν του συμφέ-IV. 27. ροντος III. VII. 2. πολυλογία, πολυλογίας VI. Χ. Ι. πολιτικός ΙΙΙ. v. 10. IV. xIV. 20. πολυμερής. πολυμεροῦς VIII. I. 15 βίος IV. 11. 5. πολιτική Ι. 111. 4. VI. xiv. 8. VIII. x. 10. δύναμις III. xii. 1. κοινωνία VI. 1. 2: xv. πολύοχλος. πολύοχλα VI. IV. 21. πολύπους. πολύποδα ΙΙΙ. 🗓 2. πολυπραγματούσε πολυπραγματέω. πολιτικοῦ ἀνδρός VIII. VIII. 9. VI. xv. 6. πολύς, πολύ Ι. v. 11. III. III. 5 xiii. 16. IV. III. 8. VI. 11. 2 xiv. 13. VII. v. 6. τὸ πολύ III. xv. 8. ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ VI. 11. 19 βίου IV. 111. 1. πλήθους IV. VI. 9: x. 6. τοῦ πολιτικοῦ ΙΙΙ, 1, 1. Εργον ΙV. II. 12. πολιτικῆς VIII. XI. 22. διανοίας IV. II. 4. κοι-νωνίας ΙΙ. 1. 1. ΙΙΙ. VIII. 2. IV. πολύν χρόνον ΙΙ. ΙΧ. ΙΙ. πολίφ 3. συνέσεως έργον VI. 1v. 14. τῷ πολιτικῷ IV. 1v. 3: xiv. 13. πολιτικόν I. 1. 2. III. III. 6: xvii. Alar ovolar II. IX. 14. TOAAsi III. XVI. Ι. πολλοί πολλοίς ΙΙΙ ΙΥΙ. 12. οί πολλοί ΙΙ. VII. 10, 19. 3. IV. 11. 13: 1x. 9. VI. 1. 7: xv. 19. VIII. 1x. 9. ἄνδρα III. xviII. 1. βίον IV. γι. 7. δίκαιον VIII. III. 14. τοιοῦτοι καὶ ρῦν III. V. 3. (αί) πολλαί ΙΙΙ. XV. 1. 14 πολλών ΙΙΙ. ΧΙ. 18. ἐπί VIII. Υ. III. XIII. 22. κοινόν και μέσον VI. IX. 3. τον ως άληθως VI. I. 3. 1. πολλών δυτων ΙΙΙ. XI. 2. τω πολλών ΙΙΙ. ΧΙΙΙ. 8. πολλούς ΙΙΙ. φύσει ΙΙΙ. VI. 3: XVII. 1. πολιτικήν άρχήν ΙΙΙ. IV. 14. ἐπιστήμην ΙΙ. VIII. 18. ἰσχύν ΙΙΙ. ΧΙΙΙ. 15. XVI. II. Tous moddous III. XI. 2. VIII. XI. 33. TÀ TOANH II. TIL 14. φιλοσοφίαν ΙΙΙ. ΧΙΙ. 2. παλιτικών ΙΙ. νι. 19: νιι. 1. VI. 1ν. 17: ΧΙΥ. 13. VIΙΙ. 11. δικαίων ΙΙΙ. ΧΙΙ. 3. ἐπὶ τῶν ΙΙΙ. ΧΙΙ. 7. περὶ τῶν VI. ΧΥΙ. 5. πολιτικοῖς Ι. ΧΙ. πολυτεκνόω. Ινα μή πολυτεκνώς: Π πολυτελής. πολυτελεί κόσμ ϕ Π . $\forall \Pi$. 1. πολυφιλία. πολυφιλίας ΙΙΙ. XIII. 24 πολυφιλίαν ΙΙΙ. ΧΙΙΙ. 15. πολυφιλίαις VI. VI. 11. πολύχειρ. πολύχειρα ΙΙΙ. ΧΙ. 2. πολύχρηστος. πολυχρήστους V. III. πολυχρόνιος VIII. π. 36. πολυχρονίους VIII. VIII. 12: X. 5. TOAUXPOPT ωτέραν VIII. XI. 3, 34. πολυχρονтікотеров II. хі. 14. πολυχρονιπολιτικώς Ι. ΧΠ. Ι. ΙΙΙ. Π. Ι. IV. ιώτεραι VI. xi. 14. ωτέρας VI. xv. I. πονέω. πονοῦσι Ι. χ. τ. πονούντων έκ πολίτιδος III. II. 3. δ έκ VIII. xi. 19. (τοι̂s) πονούσι IV. ΧVII. 6. πονούντας δλίγα ΙΙ. ν. 3

πολίτιδος έν τισι δημοκρατίαις πολίτης έστιν ΙΙΙ. ν. 7.

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Χουσι τόδε τὸ πὰν Ι. Υ. 8. συνεχῶν Ι. Υ. 8.
συνεχῶς Τὸ Κὴν αὐτὸ κοινωνίαν και ΧΙΙ. ΙΧ. 15. ΥΙΙ. ΥΙΙ. 4. ΧΙ. 23. Κοχειν ΙΙΙ.
21. ΥΙΙ. 12. ΧΙ. 23. Κοχειν ΙΙΙ. συναποδημέω. idian συναναγκάς» I. VIII. 9 XI. 20. owexes VIII. τυναπόδημος. συναποδημούσιν ΥΙΙΙ. κοινωνίαι ΙΙ. γ. 4. τυναπολαύω. συναπολαύειν VIII. IV. συναποδήμων τυνάπτω. III. m. 1. συνάπτει πρός την είρημένην 111. Π. 1. υναριθμέω. συναριθμουμένων VII. Π. OUNTYOPOS,
OUNTYOPOS,
OUNTYOPOUS VIL. VII. annylybons AH. AH. 16. Ourhous Ourhous VI XI 6. ψραρχία, αι συναρχίαι V 1. ΧΙΥ. ά συναρχίαι V 1. ΧΙΥ. ά συναρχίαι V 1. ΧΙΥ. ά συναρχίαι V 1. ΧΙΥ. 12. συνημερευτής. συνημερευταίς VIII, ΣΙ, al ouvapxia VI. XIV. 4 ύναρχος, συναρχους 111. Ανί. 12.

πατιλία συναρχόντων ΙΙ. Χ. 13. υνάρχω. των συναρχοντων ΔΙ. χ. 10. οίνθεσις, συνθέσεως VI IX. 2. αν είδος σύναθεσιν και Typoedis, ourresens VI. IX. 2. ar elous volerson VI. III. 8. ourreson kal πολλοίς 11. ΧΙ. δ.
συνδεδοξασμένων VIII. ΙΧ. συνθετόον VI. IX. 10. ο. σύνθετον VI. IX. 1. συνθήκη. δ σύνθετον I. I. 3. ΠΙ. ΙΧ. 8. ο. συνθήκας ΙΠ. ΙΧ. 8. ο. συνθήκας ΙΠ. Χ υρδυάζω.
συνδυάζωσθαι Ι. Π. 2. VII. VII. 2.

Εθέντων ΙΥ. ΧΥΙ. ΙΙ. 3. συνδυάζωμενα
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XIII συστήναι ΙΙ. ΤΙ. 22. συστων. στηκυία ΙΙΙ. ΤΙ. 22. συστων. στηκυία ΙΙΙ. ΤΙ. 9. τ. 31. συνεστοκοιίας (πολλησίας) δυαίν ή κιάς συνεστηκυία ΙΙΙ. ΥΙ. 9.
στηκυίας (πολιτείας) της καλώς συνε1. ΥΙ. ΙΙΙ. 8. συνεοτηκοία μιάς
συνεοτάσα καλώς

3. ἡ βελτίστη οὐ ποιήσει βάναυσον πολίτην ΙΙΙ. Ψ. 3. ήδη πόλις ΙΙΙ. ή έκ πλειόνων κωμών IX. I2. κοινωνία τέλειος ή δη πάσης έγουσα πέρας της αὐταρκείας, ὡς ἔπος εἶπεῖν, γινομένη μέν οδν τοῦ ζην ἔνεκεν, οδσα δέ του εδ ζην Ι. 11. 8. ή του εδ ζήν κοινωνία και ταις οίκίαις και τοις γένεσι, ζωής τελείας χάριν καί αὐτάρκους ΙΙΙ. ΙΧ. 12. κοινωνία Ι. Ι. 1. πολιτών ΙΙΙ. ΙΙΙ. 7. κοινωνία των έλευθέρων ΙΙΙ. VI. ΙΙ. κοινωνία τῶν δμοίων ΙΥ. ٧ΙΙΙ. 4. οὐ γίνεται έξ δμοίων ΙΙ. π. 3. οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ τυχόντος πλήθους γίνεται VIII. 111. ΙΙ. οὐκ ἔστι κοινωνία τόπου καὶ τοῦ μη άδικεῖν σφας αὐτοὺς καὶ τῆς μεταδόσεως χάριν ΙΙΙ. ΙΧ. 12. οὐ μία III. IX. 9. πάσα VI. III. 4. πασα δείται τεχνιτών ΙΙ. ٧١11. 10. πάσα έκ τοῦ ποιοῦ καὶ ποσοῦ VI. ΧΙΙ. Ι. πάσα έξ οἰκιῶν σύγκειται Ι. 111. 1. πληθός τι την φύσιν ΙΙ. 11. 2.
 πολιτών τι πληθός ΙΙΙ. 1. 2. πόθ' ή πόλις έπραξε καὶ πότε οὐχ ή πόλις III. 11. 1. σύγκειται ἐκ μερῶν
 VIII. 111. 6. τίνος χάριν συνέστηκε
 III. vi. 2. τί ποτ' ἐστίν ΙΙΙ. 1. 1. τῶν συγκειμένων ΙΙΙ. 1. 2. πόλεως III. v. 10: xIII. 13, 15. IV. 1. 11. VI. III. 4. VIII. 1v. 6. ανδρία, δικαιοσύνη, φρόνησις IV. I. 12. ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας VI. x1. 3. άρίστης III. xviii. I. είδη ΙΫ. VIII. 5. ἔργον IV. 1√. 5. κύριοι III. viii. 3. μέτεστι III. ix. 15.δλης III. xiii. 12. οὐ πάσης ἐστὶ φέρειν VII. IV, 15. πάσης μέρη πλείω τον άριθμόν VI. III. I. τῆς μιᾶς ΙΙ. 1. 2. της οἰκείας άρχειν ΙV. xiv. 20. της πρώτης VI. 1V. 12. τὸ κύριον ΙΙΙ. Χ. Ι. πόλει III. XIV. 1. et TIVI VI. 1. 4. ev μία δύο πόλεις ΙΙ. Ψ. 20. ἐν μία πάντες III. xIII. 4. τῆ ίδία οἰκία ώσπερ πόλει ΙΙΙ. ΙΧ. ΙΙ. πόλιν ΙΙ. XII. 8. III. XI. 7: XIII. 6. δεῖ εἶναί πως μίαν ἀλλ' οὐ πάντως ΙΙ. V. 14. δύο ποιοῦσιν ἀεί VIII. ΙΧ. 10. εὐδαίμονα είναι την ἀρίστην ΙV. Ι. 11. (ην βίον πολιτικόν ΙΙ. τι. 7. κατά την VIII. 11. 3. κοινωνίαν τινα Ι. 1. 1. μηκέτι είναι ΙΙ. χ. 15. δλην VIII. τν. 4. δλην δεί πολείν εὐδαίμονα τὸν νομοθέτην ΙΙ. V. 27. πασαν ούχ εν μέρος άλλα πλείω έχειν VI. IV. 7. πρός το πόλιν είναι ΙΙΙ. ΧΙΙΙ. Ι. τά κατά (πόλιν) ΙΙΙ. ΧΙΥ. 13. τελέως είναι μίαν ΙΙ. III. Ι. την πόλιν—τον ένα IV. 11. 2. την φύσει δούλην VI. IV. ΙΙ. τὸ πρὸς τήν ΙΥ. Χ. ΙΙ. τὸ τῶν τοιούτων πληθος ίκανδυ πρός αὐταρ-

κείαν ζωής ΙΙΙ. Ι. 12. πόλεις ΙΙΙ. ΙΙΙΙ. 15. VIII. 111. 15. ἐκ πολλῶν σύγκεινται μορίων VI. 17. 9. μέγελει VI. xi. 13. πόλεων IV. vi. 9. θ έτέραις των πόλεων III. viii. 6. ταις πόλεσι II. IX. 29. III. III. 22: XV. 2: XVII. 8. IV. VL 7. VIII. 11. 3. êv ταῖs II. III. 6. III. xiii. 25. IV. IV. 6. VI. II. 19. δσαις πόλεσιν VI. III. 3. τώ olkelais II. XII. I. Tais Abeletus VI. II. 4. Tas Toleis III. II. 9 VIII. v. 8: x. 8. em rds II. II. 15. περὶ τάς ΙΙ. VI. 10. III. XIII. 19. μικράς πόλεις VL IV. 5 πολιτεία ΙΙ. Χ. 14. VIII. IV. 1, VI. 10. αριστοκρατική VI. VIL 3 έναντία κρείττων VIII. Σ. 29. 🦠 έκ πλειόνων συγκειμένη βελτίω ${
m I}$ VI. 18. ἡ ἐκ τῶν μέσων VII. 1. 16. ἡ καλουμένη VI. II. 1. κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος VII. III. 2. 🛉 🛍 οδν περί ής είρηκεν ΙΙ. τ. 28. τ πρώτη VI. ΧΙΙΙ. 10. κονεία έστίν ΙΙ. 1. 2. ΙΙΙ. 17. 3. μία δλιγαρχίας και δημοκρανίας VI. VIII. 3. STAY TO TABOS TOPS TO κοινόν πολιτεύηται συμφέρου 13λείται το κοινον δνομα πασών τώ πολιτειών ΙΙΙ. VII. 3. σου leta δπου μη νόμοι άρχουσι VI. π. μ οὐ πολιτεία άλλά δυναστεία ΙΙ. Σ 14. πολιτεία και πολίτευμα στ μαίνει ταυτόν ΙΙΙ. VII. 2. τοξί πόλεως των άρχων III. TL. I. τάξις ταις πόλεσιν περί τὰς ἀρχάι VI. 1. 10. τάξις τις τῶν τὴν τὸω οἰκούντων ΙΙΙ, 1. 1. τάξις τὰ ἀρχῶν VI. ΙΙΙ. 5. τῶν ἐτέρων VI. XIII. 6. πολιτείας II. XI. 5. III. II 10: хvін. 2. VI. і. 5: п. 2: п. 4 VIII. 1, 9. VII. II. 5. VIII. 1 10: III. 5, 7: IV. 9: VI. 11, 12: XII. 7. altion Beatlores V. 1.2 άλλότριον (της) ΙΙ. VIII. 11. στης I. XIII. 16. III. XIII. 24 1. Ι. Ι. αὐτῆς VII. ΙΥ. 10. ἡμο ουργοί ΙΙ. ΧΙΙ. Ι. δημοκροτί παρέκβασις ΙΙΙ. VII. 5. δαφτορίστις παρέκβασις (Τῶς πα) το Επικρούστις (Τῶς πα) ρούσης (της πολιτείας) αναγκαίος κα την πόλιν είναι μη την αυτήν !!! III. 7. είδη πλείω III. IV. 3 elon móra VI. 1. 8. elos III. II. 3: XVI. I. VIII. V. 1. εἰλτ καλεῖται VI. VIII. 8. ἐκάστης VI. I. 11. VIII. I. Ι. έχει τι II. 1 14. κύριοι ΙΙΙ. VIII. 2. μετεχέτ των IV. x. 9. μιας τυγχάνον IV. VII. 3. της καλουμένης VIII. 11. 16. της δλης ΙΙ. v. 18. της τρ κειμένης αὐτοῖς ΙΙ. ΙΧ. Ι. τῆς τρ κοινώ προσαγορευομένης δυόματι 1. ΙΙ. Ι. τοις έξω της VIII. VIII. 5

IV. XIV. B. TOLITHY. ATLES III. VI. 6. WOLFTOPSLEES IL VIII. 9 TOLLÁKIS II. VII. 18: IX. 2, 19. III. 1. 5. ἐπίστασθαι ἀμφότερα καὶ μετέχειν αμφοίν ΙΙΙ. ΙΥ. ΙΙ. Ετερον XIII. 19. VL IV. 9, 15. VIII. καθ' έκάστην πολιτείαν ΙΙΙ. Ι. 9. 111. 6, 10: VI. 12. ήδη λέγομεν φ εξουσία κοινωνείν πολλαπλάσιος (δχλος) Π. ΥΙ. 6. τιλ. άρχης βουλευτικής η κριτικής ΙΙΙ. 1. λαπλασίου VIII. VI. 17. Telle-12. πρός το χρήσιν ΙΙΙ. 11. 1. τον πλάσιον VIII. VIII. 10. έξ άμφοτέρων πολιτών και θάτέρου μόνον ΙΙΙ. 11. 1. πολίται ΙΙΙ. 1.2: ΧΙΙΙ. 2: ΧΙΥ. 7: ΧΥ. 9. πολιτών ΙΙ. 111. 5. ΙΙΙ. ΧΙ. 6. VΙΙ. 11. 2. πολλαπλεσίασο πολλαπλάσιωσις. VIII. 8, 10. πολλαχοῦ ΙΙΙ. Ι. 4. VI. IV. 21. VIII. I. I4. VIII. xi. 26. γνησίων ΙΙΙ. v. 8. πολλαχώς ΙΙΙ. 3, 4. πολλοστημόριος. πολλοστημόμεν VIII ἔνα τινα ΙΙΙ. ΧΨΙ. 3. παρά τῶν III. XIV. 7. TO KOIPÓP III. XIII. VIII. IO. πολυανθρωπία. σώζει τὰς δημοκρατίας 12. πολίτας ΙΙ. 1. 2: v. 20. VIII. VII. VI. 5. πολυανθρωπία Ι. Π. 111. 13. ἀγαθούς καὶ δικαίους ΙΙΙ.
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X.

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ESSAYS.

I.

SLAVERY.

ότι μεν τοινύν είσι φύσει τινες οι μεν ελεύθεροι οι δε δούλοι, φανερόν, οις και συμφέρει το δουλεύειν και δίκαιόν έστι.
— I. v. 11.

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. rests further on an alleged inequality, which, however, is historically also a fact, existing between the various races of 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. 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

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 longland. For there are few questions on which public

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. 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. 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 breakup of the system of slavery.

^{*} Written in 1855.



all devices to avert it— τa δλογαρχικά 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 Neapolitan 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. 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

Pol. II. vi. 22.

IIII some hesitation I redeem an engagement made in my notes on the second book, at the close of Aristotle's review of the systems of Plato. I do not attach much value to the dictum of Coleridge, that every man is born either an Aristotelian or a Platonist. But it is certain that there are at present two schools amongst those who read and think on such matters. Amongst the classically educated there is a reaction, I think, in favour of Plato, and against the philosophical superiority of Aristotle. Not that such reaction leads in most cases to the pure and simple acceptance of Plato's philosophical system. That is nearly impossible, except for some minds singularly trained. But it does lead them to estimate him very highly, and to shrink from the criticisms of Aristotle, even upon his political philosophy, as unworthily conceived. And to say nothing of this conflict of opinion, there is the real inherent difficulty of the subject. This is such, that I shall touch but very lightly upon it,the more lightly, inasmuch as from what I have already said, it is clear which side I adopt in the points under discussion. And of course I confine myself to the political and social side of the question.

M. Brandis has remarked that there is much more agreement between the two philosophically than is generally supposed; that it is more in the method of reaching and supporting their conclusions, than in the conclusions themselves, that they differ. I should imagine that on no point is their difference much more strongly marked than on the questions of political science. And yet even here there is a very considerable agreement. It is true that whilst the origin of society is found by Plato in the wants of man, Aristotle makes those wants only the occasion. He insists upon the truth, neglected or not seen by Plato, that man's nature is essentially social, that society is so necessary to man, that even if all that is generally meant by the term

pendent 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. Plate these 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 minimizarial 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 pollowances that the difference between them becomes striking. And it is to this difference of tendency that may be traced that the gence on some two or three fundamental paints, which has given occasion to the criticism of Aristonic.

I imagine that they would both have allowed that much greater power was wielded by the legislator that is emission with our ideas. They thought secret emission mondance, a thing to be fashioned a priori and at pleasure. I do not know that this is anywhere definitely stated, but some sum 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 contraction from from any perience, an idea which has been powerful at all times, and is by no means sufficiently exploided, even now.

But though so far both were agreed. An society sources judgment emancipated him much the more fully from the consequences of this idea. The evile of existing states escaped neither the one nor the other, but Para was set by his sense of them to sketch out an emire removeming 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

ESSAYS.

I.

SLAVERY.

ότι μεν τοινύν είσι φύσει τινες οι μεν ελεύθεροι οι δε δούλοι, φανερόν, οις και συμφέρει το δουλεύειν και δίκαιόν έστι.
— I. v. 11.

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. rests further on an alleged inequality, which, however, is historically also a fact, existing between the various races of 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. 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



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.

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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—

of our present system. This is shown by the incompetency of the classes in whom it places power to produce rulers of any sufficient ability. This incompetency seems admitted by all. It is the remedy that is disputed. Nor does the evil extend only to the governing classes. The other classes, which though hitherto excluded from, are yet considered as admissible to, political power, are equally struck with this paralysis. This proceeds in great measure from the absence of any intelligent appreciation of their position, or in other words, from the absence of any political convictions different from those entertained by the governing classes whom they would supplant. They think they could manage matters better, they do not see that it is not a mere question of management, but of a change in the very conditions of government. Both are in the main agreed upon the ends, their difference as to means is comparatively uninteresting, especially to those who observe that within their own sphere the mercantile and commercial seem as incapable of wise and successful conduct of their concerns as the more directly political classes are in the affairs of the nation.

With reference to these political classes, this result, this incompetency, is not to be wondered at. The influences of what is called society are, to say the least, not favourable to the growth of enlarged intellectual ability, and still less favourable to that of the moral energy and strength of conviction which are infinitely more important than the intellect, on which in fact any large intellectual power depends. For to attain high political power in England, I except of course those born in the purple, a man must devote himself, for a long period, to that object, must play a game, must push himself, either in so-called influential circles, or on the hustings, or both, and the chances are very strongly against him; the improbability very strong, that when his object is attained the character is not warped or enfeebled by the length and nature of the struggle. Such seems the cause, politically, of the weakness which is allowed to characterise our 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 irresistible 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 I allude to the sympathies, more active now than at any recent period, and daily increasing in activity, between the proletariate 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. 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. 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

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

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 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 The smaller states of Germany or Italy may kingdoms. serve to illustrate my meaning.

WAR.

ό μεν γαρ πύλεμος αναγκάζει δικαίους είται και σωφρουείν, ή δε της εὐτυχίας ἀπόλαυσις και το σχολάζειν μετ' εἰρήνης ὑβριστας ποιεί μαλλον.—ΙV. (VII.) xv. 3.

THE legitimate objects of war, as conceived by Aristotle. are stated in the previous chapter. They are three, and two of them are still allowed to be legitimate, by the general practice, if not the theory, of mankind. They are self-defence; conquest for the good of the conquered; the ground on which rest, I suppose, the three great instances of attempts to conquer, with which we are at this day familiar, that of the French in Algeria, of the English in India, of the Russians in the Caucasian provinces; lastly, the conquest of those who, by nature slaves, do not submit to this condition, unless compelled by force of arms. The third kind we wholly reject, in common with the theory of slavery, from which it is inseparable. And of the second it may be remarked, that the assent to it becomes every day more hesitating, whilst the number of those who dissent from it in-Another ground for war, which has assumed a cercreases. tain prominence lately, finds no mention in Aristotle, any more than does that principle on which so many of the wars of the last three centuries have proceeded—the maintenance of the balance of power. This last may be said, however, to be a modification of war for self-defence. But the other ground to which I allude is quite distinct from that of selfdefence; it is a question of moral obligation. It is said to be the duty of states which have the power, to interfere to prevent oppression of the weaker by the stronger.

The justice of strictly defensive war is practically not contested. From no point of view need it present any difficulty. There is much more room for discussion on the second case, as there is evidently great danger in admitting, as a justifi-

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 re-There has been a great drain on our resources, stored to us. 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. 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

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 The early forcing system injures the is an unsound one. 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



the legislator to order the subsequent stages in the process, for the education of the boy and youth, for the interval between childhood and manhood? This question he answers, without hesitation, in the affirmative. But the order agreed upon may still leave the education in the hands of the family, or it may take it out of the family, and make it a state concern, make it a public, as distinct from a home education. And it is in favour of the public, the education in common, that Aristotle decides. Where the result is intimately bound up with the interest of the community, the means taken to secure that result should be under the supervision of the community. Such is the ground for Aristotle's decision.

It introduces us to a question beset with difficulties, most of which, however, I shall wholly avoid. For I do not intend to enter on the propriety of a state education as opposed to the voluntary system, of secular as opposed to religious, with all the entanglements into which these discussions have got, and from which there seems no immediate prospect of our extrication. When Aristotle speaks of education as a question concerning the community, we must again call to mind the state of things to which his remarks apply. It was the small city community of Greece which he had in view. The Greek state should see that its citizens were trained up in the right appreciation of their position, and in such a way as to fit them for becoming proper members of it. They would do this under the eye of the generation they were to succeed, and with all the influences of their home and their country strong upon them. The aim of their education should be to form their character in accordance with that of the institutions under which, when men, they were to live.

So that when we use the word public as applicable to the system advocated by Aristotle, the sense the word bears is different from that which attaches to it in our own system. With him it expresses an education free from the caprices of individual parents, but not alienating the subject of it from the legitimate influences of his home and relations. With us it expresses an education from which the element of home is wholly eliminated for the far greater portion of the time devoted to it. It is this difference to which I would draw

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

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 constitution 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 difference being that the first is absolutely discouraged.

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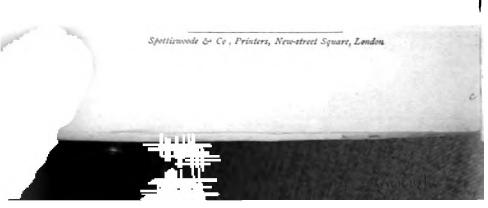
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