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took place between the notables and the multitude that lasted a long time. For the Athenian constitution was in all respects oligarchical, and in fact the poor themselves and also their wives and children were actually in slavery to the rich; and they were called Clients, and Sixth-part-tenants (for that was the rent they paid for the rich men's land which they farmed, and the whole of the country was in few hands), and if they ever failed to pay their rents, they themselves and their children were liable to arrest; and all borrowing was on the security of the debtors' persons down to the time of Solon: it was he who first became head of the People. Thus the most grievous and bitter thing in the state of public affairs for the masses was their slavery; not but what they were discontented also about everything else, for they found themselves virtually without a share in anything.

III. The form of the ancient constitution that existed before Draco was as follows. Appointment to the supreme offices of state went by birth and wealth; and they were held at first for life, and afterwards for a term of ten years. The greatest and oldest of the offices were the King, the War-lord and the Archon. Of these the office of King was the oldest, for it was ancestral. The second established was the office of War-lord, which was added because some of the Kings proved cowardly in warfare (which was the reason why the Athenians had summoned Ion to their aid in an emergency). The last of these three offices established was that of the Archon, the institution of which is dated by a majority of authorities in the time of

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1 χρονοντονδήμων cod.: see Cl. Kenyon.
2 πελάτης, 'one who approaches as a dependent,' was later used as the Greek for cliens.
3 Apparently this became almost an official title, see c. xxxviii.
Medon, though some put it in that of Acastus, adding in evidence the fact that the Nine Archons swear that they will perform their oaths even as in the time of Acastus, showing that in his time the house of Codrus retired from the Kingship in return for the privileges bestowed on the Archon. Whichever of the two accounts is true, it would make very little difference in the dates; but that this was the last of these offices to be instituted is also indicated by the fact that the Archon does not administer any of the ancestral rites, as do the King and the War-lord, but merely the duties added later; on account of which also the Archonship only became great in recent times, when augmented by the added duties. Legislators were elected many years later, when the elections to the offices were now yearly, to perform the function of publicly recording the ordinances and to preserve them for the trial of litigants; hence this alone of the supreme offices was never tenable for more than a year. These are the intervals between the dates of the institution of the various supreme offices. And the Nine Archons were not all together, but the King had what is now called the Bucolium near the town hall (as is indicated by the fact that even at the present day the union and marriage of the King's Wife with Dionysus takes place there), while the Archon had the President's Hall, and the War-lord the Epilyceum (which formerly used to be called the War-lord's House, but

1 ἦ δὲ τὰ Wilamowitz.
2 ἄκακα (cf. lv. δ ἄκακα ἄρχον) Richards.
3 antitropôdôseos literis valide obscuris scriptum: ἀνταποδôseos? Sandys.

a Son of Codrus (see Fr. 7 above) and life-archon.
b Medon's successor.
c Or, with Sandys's reading, 'corresponding privileges being (at the same time) assigned to the Archon.'
d The official title of the six junior Archons.
new officials had to bail the outgoing Presidents, and Generals and Masters of the Horse till the audit, accepting four surieties from the same rating as that to which the Generals and Masters of the Horse belonged. And the Council was to be formed of four hundred and one members chosen by lot from the citizen body, and lots were to be cast both for this and for the other offices by the citizens over thirty years of age; and the same person was not to hold office twice until the whole number had been gone through, and then lots were to be cast among them again from the beginning. And if any Councillor, whenever there was a sitting of the Council or Assembly, failed to attend the meeting, he paid a fine of 3 drachmae if of Five hundred-measure rank, 2 drachmae if a Knight, and 1 if a Teamster. The Council of Areopagus was guardian of the laws, and kept a watch on the magistrates to make them govern in accordance with the laws. A person unjustly treated might lay a complaint before the Council of the Areopagites, stating the law in contravention of which he was treated unjustly. Loans were secured on the person, as has been said, and the land was divided among few owners.

V. Such being the system in the constitution, and the many being enslaved to the few, the people rose against the notables. The party struggle being violent and the parties remaining arrayed in opposition to one another for a long time, they jointly chose Solon as arbitrator and Archon, and entrusted the government to him, after he had composed the elegy that begins:

Iambus (L.C.L.), vol. i. pp. 104 ff., especially pp. 120-121, 142-143, and 148-153.
I mark, and sorrow fills my breast to see, Ionia's oldest land being done to death,—
in which he does battle on behalf of each party against the other and acts as mediator, and after this exhorts them jointly to stop the quarrel that prevailed between them. Solon was by birth and reputation of the first rank, but by wealth and position belonged to the middle class, as is admitted on the part of the other authorities, and as he himself testifies in these poems, exhorting the wealthy not to be covetous:

Refrain ye in your hearts those stubborn moods,
Plunged in a surfeit of abundant goods,
And moderate your pride! We'll not submit,
Nor even you yourselves will this befit.

And he always attaches the blame for the civil strife wholly to the rich; owing to which at the beginning of the elegy he says that he fears

Both love of money and o'erweening pride—,
implying that these were the causes of the enmity that prevailed.

VI. Solon having become master of affairs made the people free both at the time and for the future by prohibiting loans secured on the person, and he laid down laws, and enacted cancellations of debts both private and public, the measures that are known

Nonnulli legunt: Solon 14.}

1 κλωνιωμένη, καρφωμένη nonnulli legunt: καλομένη (? Edmonds.
2 μέτρωσι Wilamowitz-Kaibel metri gratia (et tèræsthe, 'cut to measure,' Edmonds).
3 πάρε nonnulli legunt: τάσι Edmonds.
4 φαλοχρησια legit Edmonds (cf. φαλοχρησιάς Plutarch, Solon 14).
2 kalodsw, ws apousiatiemenwv ton barios. En ois perioctai tineis diaballeneis auton' synbhi gar to Solaio melioti potein tinei seiasabean proeitein toi toin gnwrimoiv, epeidi, os mei ois dihostikoi legousi, paraostatraghthnai dia twn filow, ws ois boilomenei blaspheymeis, kai auton koinwnei. daniexamevei gar otopi sunepramanto polliwc xwarai, kai met' o o plol ois twn xreion apokoptes geonemias' eploutun othen fasi genvsathai tous 3 uspeteron dokoutas einai paleiaploutous. ou mhn allla pithanwteros o twn dihostikwn logos. ou gar eikos en mei tous allous otiu meitroin genvsathai kai koinwn owo', eixoi autw tous eteroi upo-pouikamaiveon turraneis tis polwes, amfosteroi apechelthai kai peri plleiwos pouismatha to kalwv kai twn tis polwos swtorian h twn autou pllewv-exov, en otopi de mikrois kai anagios kataarpai-4 nev einai. oti de tautwn eixe twn ezousan, ta te pragmatata vosoduna marturei, kai en tois poih-4mavon autou pollyaxo meunetai, kai oi akri avnomologhthai pantes. tautw men ouin chri nomi-żevn xevh th twn aistian einai.

1 VII. Poluteian de katetopse kai vnomos ethekei allous, tois de Drakontos thesmoi epauna emeis plh twn founikon. anagrasies te tois

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ARISTOTLE

24

Athenian Constitution, vi. i—vii. 1

as 'the Shaking-off of Burdens,' meaning that the people shook off their load. In these matters some people try to misrepresent him; for it happened 2 that when Solon was intending to enact the Shaking-off of Burdens, he informed some of the notables beforehand, and afterwards, as those of popular sympathies say, he was out-maneuvred by his friends, but according to those who want to malign him he himself also took a share. For these persons borrowed money and bought up a quantity of land, and when not long afterwards the cancellation of debts took place they were rich men; and this is said to be the origin of the families subsequently reputed to be ancestrally wealthy. Nevertheless, the account of those of popular sympathies is more credible; for considering that he was so moderate and public-spirited in the rest of his conduct that, when he had the opportunity to reduce one of the two parties to subjection and so to be tyrant of the city, he incurred the enmity of both, and valued honour and the safety of the state more than his own aggrandizement, it is not probable that he besmirched himself in such worthless trifles. And that he got 4 this opportunity is testified by the disordered state of affairs, and also he himself alludes to it in many places in his poems, and everybody else agrees with him. We are bound therefore to consider this charge to be false.

VII. And he established a constitution and made 1 other laws, and they ceased to observe the ordinances of Draco, except those relating to homicide. They

a Apparently certain well-known families, but not alluded to elsewhere.

2 Apparently certain well-known families, but not alluded to elsewhere.

1 Mayor: apousiatiemenwv cod.
2 Rutherford: geonemias cod.
3 favepop incerte legit Rutherford.
wrote up the laws on the Boards and set them in the Royal Colonnade, and all swore to observe them; and the Nine Archons used to make affirmation on oath at the Stone that if they transgressed any one of the laws they would dedicate a gold statue of a man; owing to which they are even now still sworn in with this oath. And he fixed the laws to stay unaltered for 2 a hundred years. And he arranged the constitution in the following way: he divided the people by assessment into four classes, as they had been divided before, Five-hundred-measure man, Horseman, Teamster and Labourer, and he distributed the other offices to be held from among the Five-hundred-measure men, Horsemen and Teamsters—the Nine Archons, the Treasurers, the Vendors of Contracts, the Eleven and the Paymasters, assigning each office to the several classes in proportion to the amount of their assessment; while those who were rated in the Labourer class he admitted to the membership of the assembly and law-courts alone. Any man had to be rated as a Five-hundred-measure man the produce from whose estate was five hundred dry and liquid measures jointly, and at the cavalry-rate those who made three hundred—or as some say, those who were able to keep a horse, and they adduce as a proof the name of the rating as being derived from the fact, and also the votive offerings of the ancients; for there stands dedicated in the Acropolis a statue of Diphilus on which are inscribed these lines:

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... the altar of Zeus Agoraios.
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Three-sided (or perhaps four-sided) structures of wood (or perhaps stone) revolving on pivots; set up in the Stoa Basilike, the court of the King-Archon, on the west side of the Agora.
ARISTOTLE

Δυβιλον Ἀνθεμίδων τήνδ' ἀνέθηκε θεοίς ... θητικοὶ ἄντι τέλους ἐπάδ' ἀμεθάμενοι—καὶ παρέστηκεν ἵππος ἐκμαρτυρῶν' ώς τὴν ἐπάδα τοῦτο σημαίνοντα. ὥν μὴν ἄλλα εἰς λογισμὸν τοῦς μέτρους διηρήσατο καθάπερ τοὺς πεντακοσιομεδίμνους. ξενοῦσιν δὲ τελεί τοὺς διακόσια τὰ συνάμφω τιοῦντας· τοὺς δ' ἀλλοὺς θητικῶν, οὐδεμίας μετέχοντος ἀρχῆς, διὸ καὶ νῦν ἐπειδὴν ἔρηται τὸν μέλλουσαν κληροδίαν τῶν ἀρχηθοῶν τέλος τελεῖ, οὐδ' ἄν εἰς εἴποι θητικῶν.

1 VIII. Τάς δ' ἀρχαὶ ἐποίησε κληρωτικὰς ἐκ προκριτῶν οὕς ἐκάστη προκρίνεις τῶν φιλῶν. προκρίνεις δ' εἰς τοὺς ἐννέα ἀρχαίτας ἐκάστη δέκα, καὶ τοῦτον ἐκλήρους: δὴν ἐπὶ διαμένει ταῖς φυλαῖς τὸ δέκα κληρονομοῦν ἐκάστην, εἰς ἐκ τούτων κυναμενεῖν. σημεῖον δ' ὅτι κληρωτικὰς ἐποίησε ἐκ τῶν τιμιματῶν ὅ περι τῶν τιμιματῶν νόμος ἦ κραμένοις διατελοῦσιν ἐπὶ καὶ νῦν κελεύει γὰρ κληρονομοῦ τοὺς ταμίας ἐκ πεντακοσιομεδίμνων.

2 Σολών μὲν ὅν οὕτως ἐμολύνετο περὶ τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχαίον ὅ γὰρ ἀρχαίον ἢ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάρῳ βούλῃ ἀνακελασμένη καὶ κρίσαςα καθ' αὐτὴν τὸν ἐπιτίθεντο ἐφ' ἐκάστη τῶν ἀρχών ἐπ' ἐνναυτὸν ἀρχών ἀπεστάλλει. φυλαὶ δ' ἦσαν δ'...  

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Athenian Constitution, vii. 4—viii. 3

Anthemion Diphilus's son dedicated this statue to the gods ... having exchanged the Labourer rating for the Cavalry—and a horse stands beside him, in evidence that 'cavalry' meant the class able to keep a horse. Nevertheless it is more probable that the cavalry were distinguished by their amounts of produce as the Five-hundred-measure men were. And men had to be rated in the Teamster class who made two hundred measures, wet and dry together; while the rest were rated in the Labourer class, being admitted to no office: hence even now when the presiding official asks a man who is about to draw lots for some office what rate he pays, no one whatever would say that he was rated as a Labourer.

VIII. For the offices of state he instituted election by lot from candidates selected by the tribes severally by a preliminary vote. For the Nine Archons each tribe made a preliminary selection of ten, and the election was made from among these by lot; hence there still survives with the tribes the system that each elects ten by lot and then they choose from among these by ballot. And a proof that he made the offices elective by lot according to assessments is the law in regard to the Treasurers that remains in force even at the present day; for it orders the Treasurers to be elected by lot from the Five-hundred-measure men. Solon, therefore, legislated thus about the Nine Archons; for in ancient times the Council on the Areopagus used to issue a summons and select independently the person suitable for each of the offices, and commission him to hold office for a year. And by the four tribes; whereas in the writer's day the preliminary election was also by lot and produced one hundred from the ten tribes.

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1 εἰς μαρτυροῦν coni. Blass.  
2 Gertz: προκρίνεις cod.  
3 καὶ Gomperz (sed cf. xxx. 1, xxxi. 1).  
4 Kaibel-Wilamowitz: τοῦ ... λήηκου cod.  
5 Bury: ἐποίησεν cod.  
6 Kaibel: διακατάθεσα Kenyon: ... τα vel ... σα cod.

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* Apparently the property qualification was ignored, without being formally repealed.  
* i.e. nine were taken by lot out of forty elected by vote.
there were four Tribes, as before, and four Tribal Kings. And from each Tribe there had been assigned three Thirds and twelve Ship-boards to each, and over the Ship-boards there was established the office of Ship-commissioners, appointed for the levies and the expenditures that were made; because of which in the laws of Solon, which are no longer in force, the clauses frequently occur, 'the Ship-commissioner to levy' and 'to spend out of the Ship-commission Fund.' And he made a Council of four hundred members, a hundred from each tribe, but appointed the Council of the Areopagus to the duty of guarding the laws, just as it had existed even before as overseer of the constitution, and it was this Council that kept watch over the greatest number and the most important of the affairs of state, in particular correcting offenders with sovereign powers both to fine and punish, and making returns of its expenditure to the Acropolis without adding a statement of the reason for the outlay, and trying persons that conspired to put down the democracy, Solon having laid down a law of impeachment in regard to them. And as he saw that the state was often in a condition of party strife, while some of the citizens through slackness were content to let things slide, he laid down a special law to deal with them, enacting that whoever when strife prevailed did not join forces with either party was to be disfranchised and not to be a member of the state.

IX. This then was the nature of his reforms in regard to the offices of state. And the three most to defray the equipment of one battle-ship. Their presidents were Naucrarii. Every four Naucrariae formed a Tritys, of which there were three in each Tribe.

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31

The Naucrariae were forty-eight administrative districts into which the country was divided for taxation, each having 30

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2 The Naucrariae were forty-eight administrative districts into which the country was divided for taxation, each having 30
democratic features in Solon's constitution seem to be these: first and most important the prohibition of loans secured upon the person, secondly the liberty allowed to anybody who wished to exact redress on behalf of injured persons, and third, what is said to have been the chief basis of the powers of the multitude, the right of appeal to the jury-court—for the people, having the power of the vote, becomes sovereign in the government. And also, since the laws are not drafted simply nor clearly, but like the law about inheritances and heiresses, it inevitably results that many disputes take place and that the jury-court is the umpire in all business both public and private. Therefore some people think that Solon purposely made his laws obscure, in order that the people might be sovereign over the verdict. But this is unlikely—probably it was due to his not being able to define the ideal in general terms; for it is not fair to study his intention in the light of what happens at the present day, but to judge it from the rest of his constitution.

X. Solon therefore seems to have laid down these enactments of a popular nature in his laws; while before his legislation his democratic reform was his cancellation of debts, and afterwards his raising the standard of the measures and weights and of the coinage. For it was in his time that the measures were made larger than those of Pheidon, and that the mina, which previously had a weight of seventy drachmae, was increased to the full hundred. The ancient coin-type was the two-drachma piece. Solon also instituted weights corresponding to the cur-
XI. When Solon had organized the constitution in the manner stated, people kept coming to him and worrying him about his laws, criticizing some points and asking questions about others; so as he did not wish either to alter these provisions or to stay and incur enmity, he went abroad on a journey to Egypt, for the purpose both of trading and of seeing the country, saying that he would not come back for ten years, as he did not think it fair for him to stay and explain his laws, but for everybody to carry out their provisions for himself. At the same time it befell him that many of the notables had become at variance with him because of the cancellations of debts, and also that both the factions changed their attitude to him because the settlement had disappointed them. For the people had thought that he would institute universal communism of property, whereas the notables had thought that he would either restore the system in the same form as it was before or with slight alteration; but Solon went against them both, and when he might have been tyrant if he had taken sides with whichever of the two factions he wished, he chose to incur the enmity of both by saving the country and introducing the legislation that was best.

XII. That this is how it happened is the unanimous account of everybody, and in particular Solon himself in his poetry recalls the matter in these words:

For to the people gave grace enough,
Nor from their honour took, nor proffered more;
But what did I leave unachieved, of all
The ends for which I did unite the people?
Whereof before the judgement-seat of Time
The mighty mother of the Olympian gods,
Black Earth, would best bear witness, for 'twas I
Removed her many boundary-posts a implanted:
Ere then she was a slave, but now is free.
And many sold away I did bring home
To god-built Athens, this one sold unjustly,
That other justly; others that had fled
From dire constraint of need, uttering no more
Their Attic tongue, so widely had they wandered,
And others suffering base slavery
Even here, trembling before their masters' humours,
I did set free. These deeds I made prevail,
Adjusting might and right to fit together,
And did accomplish even as I had promised.
And rules of law alike for base and noble,
Fitting straight justice unto each man's case,
I drafted. Had another than myself
Taken the goad, unwise and covetous,
He'd not have held the people! Had I willed
Now that pleased one of the opposing parties,
And then whate er the other party bade them,
The city had been bereft of many men.
Wherefore I stood at guard on every side,
A wolf at bay among a pack of hounds!

And again in his taunting reply to the later 5
querulous complaints of both the parties:
If openly I must reprove the people.
Ne'er in the dreams of sleep could they have seen

\[ a \text{ i.e. posts marking mortgaged estates.}\]
The things that they have now...

While all the greater and the mightier men
Might praise me and might deem me as a friend;
for had another, he says, won this office,
He had not checked the people nor refrained,
Ere he had churned and robbed the milk of cream;
But I as twere betwixt their armed hosts
A frontier-post did stand.

XIII. Accordingly Solon made his journey abroad 1 for these reasons. And when he had gone abroad, though the city was still disturbed, for four years they kept at peace; but in the fifth year after Solon's archonship because of party strife they did not appoint an archon, and again in the fifth year after that they enacted a suspension of the archonship for the same cause. After this at the same interval of time Damasias was elected Archon, and held the post for two years and two months, until he was driven out of the office by force. Then because of the civil strife they decided to elect ten Archons, five from the nobles, three from the farmers and two from the artisans, and these held office for the year after Damasias. This shows that the Archon had very great power; for we find that they were always engaging in party strife about this office. And they continued in a state of general internal disorder, some having as their incentive and excuse the cancellation of debts (for it had resulted in their having become poor), others discontented with the constitution because a great change had taken place, and some because of their mutual rivalry. The factions

1 περὶ αὔτ&oaelig;ς ebd. ex Plutarcho: περὶ αὐτοῦ cod.
3 ἄρχην Vollgraf.
ATHENIAN CONSTITUTION, xiii. 4—xiv. 2

were three: one was the party of the Men of the Coast, whose head was Megacles the son of Alcmaeon, and they were thought chiefly to aim at the middle form of constitution; another was the party of the Men of the Plain, who desired the oligarchy, and their leader was Lycurgus; third was the party of the Hillmen, which had appointed Peisistratus over it, as he was thought to be an extreme advocate of the people. And on the side of this party were also 5 arrayed, from the motive of poverty, those who had been deprived a of the debts due to them, and, from the motive of fear, those who were not of pure descent; and this is proved by the fact that after the deposition of the tyrants the Athenians enacted a revision of the roll, because many people shared the citizenship who had no right to it. The different parties derived their names from the places where their farms were situated.

XIV. Peisistratus, being thought to be an extreme advocate of the people, and having won great fame in the war against Megara, b inflicted a wound on himself with his own hand and then gave out that it had been done by the members of the opposite factions, and so persuaded the people to give him a bodyguard, the resolution being proposed by Aristophon. He was given the retainers called Club-bearers, and with their aid he rose against the people and seized the Acropolis, in the thirty-second year after the enactment of his laws, in the archonship of 360 e.o. It is said that when Peisistratus asked for 2 the guard Solon opposed the request, and said that he was wiser than some men and braver than others—he was wiser than those who did not know that

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A by Solon's legislation.

b Perhaps the hostilities that ended in the Athenians' capture of Nisaea about 570 B.C.

42
Peisistratus was aiming at tyranny, and braver than those who knew it but held their tongues. But as he failed to carry them with him by saying this, he brought his armour out in front of his door and said that for his part he had come to his country’s aid as far as he could (for he was now a very old man), and that he called on the others also to do the same. Solon’s exhortations on this occasion had no effect; and Peisistratus having seized the government proceeded to carry on the public business in a manner more constitutional than tyrannical. But before his government had taken root the partisans of Megacles and Lycurgus made common cause and expelled him, in the sixth year after his first establishment, in the archonship of Hegesias. In the twelfth year after this Megacles, being harried by party faction, made overtures again to Peisistratus, and on terms of receiving his daughter in marriage brought him back, in an old-fashioned and extremely simple manner. Having first spread a rumour that Athena was bringing Peisistratus back, he found a tall and beautiful woman, according to Herodotus a member of the Paeanian deme, but according to some accounts a Thracian flower-girl from Collytus named Phye, dressed her up to look like the goddess, and brought her to the city with him, and Peisistratus drove in a chariot with the woman standing at his side, while the people in the city marvelled and received them with acts of reverence.

XV. In this way his first return took place. After 1 wards, as he was expelled a second time in about the seventh year after his return—for he did not maintain his hold for long, but came to be afraid of both

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44

Aristotle

ARISTOTLE

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Athenian Constitution, xiv. 2—xv. 1

Peisistratus was aiming at tyranny, and braver than those who knew it but held their tongues. But as he failed to carry them with him by saying this, he brought his armour out in front of his door and said that for his part he had come to his country’s aid as far as he could (for he was now a very old man), and that he called on the others also to do the same. Solon’s exhortations on this occasion had no effect; and Peisistratus having seized the government proceeded to carry on the public business in a manner more constitutional than tyrannical. But before his government had taken root the partisans of Megacles and Lycurgus made common cause and expelled him, in the sixth year after his first establishment, in the archonship of Hegesias. In the twelfth year after this Megacles, being harried by party faction, made overtures again to Peisistratus, and on terms of receiving his daughter in marriage brought him back, in an old-fashioned and extremely simple manner. Having first spread a rumour that Athena was bringing Peisistratus back, he found a tall and beautiful woman, according to Herodotus a member of the Paeanian deme, but according to some accounts a Thracian flower-girl from Collytus named Phye, dressed her up to look like the goddess, and brought her to the city with him, and Peisistratus drove in a chariot with the woman standing at his side, while the people in the city marvelled and received them with acts of reverence.

XV. In this way his first return took place. After wards, as he was expelled a second time in about the seventh year after his return—for he did not maintain his hold for long, but came to be afraid of both
the factions owing to his unwillingness to live with Megacles' daughter as his wife, and secretly withdrew; and first he collected a settlement at a place near the Gulf of Thermae called Rhaecelus, but from there he went on to the neighbourhood of Pangaeus, from where he got money and hired soldiers, and in the eleventh year went again to Eretria, and now for the first time set about an attempt to recover his power by force, being supported in this by a number of people, especially the Thebans and Lygdamis of Naxos, and also the knights who controlled the government of Eretria. Winning the battle of 3 Pallenis, he seized the government and disarmed the people; and now he held the tyranny firmly, and he took Naxos and appointed Lygdamis ruler. The way in which he disarmed the people was this: he held an armed muster at the Temple of Theseus, and began to hold an Assembly, but he lowered his voice a little, and when they said they could not hear him, he told them to come up to the forecourt of the Acropolis, in order that his voice might carry better; and while he used up time in making a speech, the men told off for this purpose gathered up the arms, locked them up in the neighbouring buildings of the Temple of Theseus, and came and informed Peisistratus. He, when he had finished the rest of his speech, told his audience not to be surprised at what had happened about their arms, and not to be dismayed, but to go

1 KAI fortasse delendum Kenyon. 2 TOTE Blass. 3 PAREITLO Rutherford. 4 ΔΡΑΣΩΙΕΣ LEGUNT NONNULI. 5 KOUTOS: ΤΟΥΣ. ASIN (F) COD: ΨΙΕΘΕΙΝΕ η έΠΟΘΟΒΩΝ WILNMOWITZ-KAIBEL: KAI ΧΡΟΝΟΥ ΠΡΟΣΘΕΘΟΒΕΝ KENYON.
away and occupy themselves with their private affairs, while he would attend to all public business.

XVI. This was the way, therefore, in which the tyranny of Peisistratus was originally set up, and this is a list of the changes that it underwent. Peisistratus’s administration of the state was, as has been said, moderate, and more constitutional than tyrannic; he was kindly and mild in everything, and in particular he was merciful to offenders, and moreover he advanced loans of money to the poor for their industries, so that they might support themselves by farming. In doing this he had two objects, to prevent their stopping in the city and make them stay scattered about the country, and to cause them to have a moderate competence and be engaged in their private affairs, so as not to desire nor to have time to attend to public business. And also the land’s being thoroughly cultivated resulted in increasing his revenues; for he levied a tithe from the produce. And for this reason he organized the Local Justices, and often went to the country on circuit in person, inspecting and settling disputes, in order that men might not neglect their agriculture by coming into the city. For it was when Peisistratus was making an expedition of this kind that the affair of the man on Hymettus cultivating the farm afterwards called Tax-free Farm is said to have occurred. He saw a man at farm-work, digging mere rocks, and because of his surprise ordered his servant to ask what crop the farm grew; and the man said, “All the aches and pains that there are, and of these aches and pains
Peisistratus has to get the tithe.” The man did not know who it was when he answered, but Peisistratus was pleased by his free speech and by his industry, and made him free from all taxes. And in all other matters too he gave the multitude no trouble during his rule, but always worked for peace and safeguarded tranquillity; so that men were often to be heard saying that the tyranny of Peisistratus was the Golden Age of Cronos; for it came about later when his sons had succeeded him that the government became much harsher. And the greatest of all the things said of him was that he was popular and kindly in temper. For he was willing to administer everything according to the laws in all matters, never giving himself any advantage; and once in particular when he was summoned to the Areopagus to be tried on a charge of murder, he appeared in person to make his defence, and the issuer of the summons was frightened and left. Owing to this he remained in his office for a long period, and every time that he was thrown out of it he easily got it back again. For both the notables and the men of the people were most of them willing for him to govern, since he won over the former by his hospitality and the latter by his assistance in their private affairs, and was good-natured to both. And also the laws of Athens concerning tyrants were mild at those periods, among the rest particularly the one that referred to the establishment of tyranny. For they had the following law: ‘These are the ordinances and ancestral principles of Athens: if any persons rise in insurrection in
A hill above the sea and the two other harbours.

Athenian Constitution, xviii. 4—xix. 2

died later, having been taken into custody and tortured for a long time. Under the strain of the tortures he gave the names of a number of men that belonged by birth to families of distinction, and were friends of the tyrants, as confederates. For they were not able immediately to find any trace of the plot, but the current story that Hippias made the people in the procession fall out away from their arms and searched for those that retained their daggers is not true, for in those days they did not walk in the procession armed, but this custom was instituted later by the democracy. According to the account of people of popular sympathies, Aristogeiton accused the tyrants' friends for the purpose of making his captors commit an impiety and weaken themselves at the same time by making away with men who were innocent and their own friends, but others say that his accusations were not fictitious but that he disclosed his actual accomplices. Finally, as do what if he would he was unable to die, he offered to give information against many more, and induced Hippias to give him his right hand as a pledge of good faith, and when he grasped it he taunted him with giving his hand to his brother's murderer, and so enraged Hippias that in his anger he could not control himself but drew his dagger and made away with him.

XIX. After this it began to come about that the tyranny was much harsher; for Hippias's numerous executions and sentences of exile in revenge for his brother led to his being suspicious of everybody and embittered. About four years after Hipparchus's death the state of affairs in the city was so bad that he set about fortifying Munychia, with the intention
proceeded to expel as accursed seven hundred Athenian households; and having accomplished this he tried to put down the Council and set up Isagoras and three hundred of his friends with him in sovereign power over the state. But the Council resisted, and the multitude banded together, so the forces of Cleomenes and Isagoras took refuge in the Acropolis, and the people invested it and laid siege to it for two days. On the third day they let Cleomenes and his comrades go away under a truce, and sent for Cleisthenes and the other exiles to come back. The people having taken control of affairs, Cleisthenes was their leader and was head of the People. For almost the chief initiative in the expulsion of the tyrants was taken by the Alcmaeonids, and they accomplished most of it by party faction. And even before the 5 Alcmaeonids Cedon had attacked the tyrants, owing to which people also sang in his honour in their catches:

Now fill to Cedon, boy! let’s drink him too,
If duty bids us toast good men and true.

XXI. These were the causes, therefore, that led the 1 people to trust in Cleisthenes. And when this time he had become Chief of the multitude, in the fourth year after the deposition of the tyrants, in the archonship of Isagoras, he first divided the whole body into 2 ten tribes instead of the existing four, wishing to mix them up, in order that more might take part in the government: from which arose the saying, 'Don’t draw distinctions between tribes,' addressed
Hipparchus was the leader and chief of these persons. But directly afterwards, in the next year, in the 5 archonship of Telesinus, they elected the Nine 487 BC Archons by lot, tribe by tribe, from a preliminary list of five hundred chosen by the demesmen: this was the date of the first election on these lines, after the tyranny, the previous Archons having all been elected by vote. And Megacles son of Hippocrates of the deme Alopeke was ostracized. For three years 6 they went on ostracizing the friends of the tyrants, at whom the legislation had been aimed, but afterwards in the fourth year it was also used to remove any other person who seemed to be too great; the first person unconnected with the tyranny to be ostracized was Xanthippus son of Ariphron. Two 7 years later, in the archonship of Nicomedes, in consequence of the discovery of the mines at Maronea, the working of which had given the state a profit of a hundred talents, the advice was given by some persons that the money should be distributed among the people; but Themistocles prevented this, not saying what use he would make of the money, but recommending that it should be lent to the hundred richest Athenians, each receiving a talent, so that if they should spend it in a satisfactory manner, the state would have the advantage, but if they did not, the state should call in the money from the borrowers. On these terms the money was put at his disposal, and he used it to get a fleet of a hundred triremes built, each of the hundred borrowers having one ship built, and with these they fought the naval battle at Salamis against the barbarians. And it was during this period that Aristeides son of Lysimachus was

bined proceeds of the tributes and the taxes and the
allies served to feed more than twenty thousand men.
For there were six thousand jurymen, one thousand
six hundred archers and also one thousand two
hundred cavalry, five hundred members of the
Council, five hundred guardians of the docks, and
also fifty watchmen in the city, as many as seven
hundred officials at home and as many as seven
hundred abroad; and in addition to these, when later
they settled into the war, two thousand five hundred
hoplites, twenty guard-ships and other ships con-
veying the guards to the number of two hundred
elected by lot; and furthermore the Prytaneum,8
orphans, and warders of prisoners—for all of these
had their maintenance from public funds.

XXV. By these means the people were provided
with their food-supply. The constitution remained
under the leadership of the Areopagites for about
seventeen years after the Persian War, although it
was being gradually modified. But as the popu-
lation increased, Ephialtes son of Sophonides, hav-
ing become head of the People 6 and having the reputation
of being incorruptible and just in regard to the
constitution, attacked the Council. First he made away with 2
many of the Areopagites by bringing legal proceed-
ings against them about their acts of administration;
then in the archonship of Conon he stripped the Prytaneum,8
Council of all its added powers which made it the
safeguard of the constitution, and assigned some of
the number is probably repeated from the previous line
by mistake; otherwise ‘also’ would be added.
8 The town-hall, probably in the old Agora, south of the
Agora; in it a fire was kept continually burning, and
the Prytaneum dined.
9 See ii. 8 n.
But we must consider first what the good life consists in and how it is to be obtained—whether all of those who receive the designation 'happy' acquire happiness by nature, as is the case with tallness and shortness of stature and differences of complexion, or by study, which would imply that there is a science of happiness, or by some form of training, for there are many human attributes that are not bestowed by nature nor acquired by study but gained by habituation—bad attributes by those trained in bad habits and good attributes by those trained in good ones.

Or does happiness come in none of these ways, but either by a sort of elevation of mind inspired by some divine power, as in the case of persons possessed by a nymph or a god, or, alternatively, by fortune? for many people identify happiness with good fortune.

Now it is pretty clear that the presence of happiness is bestowed upon men by all of these things, or by some or one of them: for almost all the modes in which it is produced fall under these principles, inasmuch as all the acts that spring from thought may be included with those that spring from knowledge.

But to be happy and to live blissfully and finely may consist chiefly in three things deemed to be most desirable: some people say that Wisdom is the greatest good, others Goodness and others Pleasure. And certain persons debate about their importance in relation to happiness, declaring that one contributes more to it than another—some holding Practical Wisdom, prudentia, 'prudence,' as distinct from sapientia, 'speculative wisdom.'

It must always be remembered that the Greek term is less limited in meaning than 'virtue,' and may denote excellence in any department, not only moral goodness.
that Wisdom is a greater good than Goodness, others the reverse, and others that Pleasure is a greater good than either of them; and some think that the happy life comes from them all, others from two of them, others that it consists in some one of them.

1 II. Having then in regard to this subject established its essential conditions, that everybody able to live according to his own purposeful choice should set before him some object for noble living to aim at—either honour or else glory or wealth or culture—on which he will keep his eyes fixed in all his conduct (since clearly it is a mark of much folly not to have one's life regulated with regard to some End), it is therefore most necessary first to decide within oneself, neither hastily nor carelessly, in which of the things that belong to us the good life consists, and what are the indispensable conditions for men's possessing it. For there is a distinction between health and the things that are indispensable conditions of health, and this is similarly the case with many other things; consequently also to live finely is not the same as the things without which living finely is impossible. And in the latter class of things some that are indispensable conditions of health and life are not peculiar to special people but common to practically all men—both some states and some actions—for instance, without breathing or being awake or participating in movement we could not possess any good or any evil at all; whereas others are more peculiar to special types of natural constitution—for instance, eating meat and taking walking exercise after dinner are not closely related to health in the same way as the conditions mentioned. And these facts...
III. Now to examine all the opinions that any people hold about happiness is a superfluous task. For children and the sick and insane have many opinions which no sensible man would discuss, for these persons need not argument but the former time in which to grow up and alter and the latter medical or official chastisement (treatment with drugs being chastisement just as much as flogging is). And similarly it is also superfluous to examine the opinions of the multitude either; for they talk at random about almost everything, and especially about happiness. We ought to examine only the opinions of the wise; for it is out of place to apply reasoning to those who do not need reasoning at all, but experience. But since every subject has special difficulties related to it, it is clear that there are such in regard to the highest life and the best mode of existence; it is then well to examine the opinions putting these difficulties, since the refutations advanced by those who challenge them are demonstrations of the theories that are opposed to them.

Moreover to notice such matters is especially advantageous with a view to the subjects to which all inquiry ought to be directed—the question what are the means that make it possible to participate in living well and finely (if ‘blissfully’ is too invidious

5 must not be overlooked, for these are the causes of the disputes about the real nature of happiness and about the means of procuring it; for some people regard the things that are indispensable conditions of being happy as actual parts of happiness.

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In the ms. this clause comes before the preceding one,
(εἰ τὸ μακάριος ἐπιφθονώτερον εἰσέτοι), καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐπίθεται τῆς περὶ ἐκαστα γενομένην ἀν τῶν ἐπισκόπων. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς διὰ τὴν ἐκεῖνον σὲ ἕτοις διὰ φύσιν τὸ καλὸς ἔτη ἐστίν, ἀναιληπτόν ἀν ἐγὼ πολλοῖς, οὐ γὰρ ἐστι δὲ ἐπιμελείας ἕτ.

οὲν, αὐτοὶ ὅπερ ἐν τῷ αὐτῶν πράξεις, κοινότερον ἢ ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ καὶ διατέρατον, κοινότερον μὲν τῷ πλείουσιν ἐνδεχεσθαι μετασχεῖν, διατέρατον δὲ τῷ καθαίρετῳ τῆς ἐνδιαμοιμνήθης αὐτοῦ παρακενάζωσι ποιοῦς τινας καὶ τῆς πράξεως.

2ο. Ἐσται δὲ φανερὰ τὰ πλείοντα τῶν ἁμφῶν, 1 βιομοιομένων καὶ διαμοιμομένων καὶ διάλογον ὁμιλητὴ τί χρή νομίζει εἰναι τὴν ενδιαμοιμίαν, πόσον ἐν τῷ ποιῶν τινα μόνον εἶναι τὴν ψυχήν, καθάπερ τόσος ὄρθιος τῶν σωμάτων καὶ προσβολῶν, ἡ δὲ μὲν καὶ ποιῶν τινα ὑπάρχειν αὐτῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ τός πράξεως εἶναι ποιὸς τινας.

Διαμοιμομένων δὲ τῶν βιῶν καὶ τῶν μὲν οὐ only 2 ἀμφισβητοῦντων τῆς τινατοῦ εὐεργείας ἀλλ' ἀλλοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων χάρων σπουδαζομένων, οίον τῶν περὶ τὰς τέχνας τῶν φορτικῶν καὶ τῶν βαπτίστη τοῖς καὶ τῶν περὶ χρηματισμῶν (λέγω δὲ βορτικός μὲν τῶς πρὸς δοξάσεως επιμετοχομένως μοῖον, βαπτιστής δὲ τὸς ἐθάνατος καὶ μισθαποτικός,

1 Βικτ., τῷ τῷ Φρ.: τῷ.
2 οὐδὲ om. Sp.
3 οὐδὲ δεδ. P9.
4 K. εἰ τοῖς: ἐν τῷ... παράκεναζεν? See.
5 οὐδὲ add. Be.
7 Sp. καὶ τὰς βαπτισσόμενοι τῆς κηρυκτομένης.

a The word ψυχή, usually rendered 'soul,' has no term exactly corresponding to it in English, as it denotes the whole

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an expression)—and with a view to the hope that we may have of the things that are good in the various departments. For if living finely depends on things that come by fortune or by nature, it would be beyond the hopes of many men, for then its attainment is not to be secured by effort, and does not rest with men themselves and is not a matter of their own conduct; but if it consists in oneself and one's own actions having a particular quality, the good would be more common and more divine—more common because it would be possible for more people to share it, and more divine because happiness would then be in store for those who made themselves and their actions of a particular quality.

1 IV. Most of the points debated and the difficulties raised will be clear if it be satisfactorily determined what the proper conception of happiness is—does it consist merely in a person's possessing some particular quality of spirit, as some of the sages and the older thinkers held, or although a particular personal character is indeed an indispensable condition, is a particular quality of conduct even more necessary?

2 There are various different modes of life, and some do not lay any claim to well-being of the kind under consideration, but are pursued merely for the sake of things necessary—for instance the lives devoted to the vulgar and mechanic arts and those dealing with business (by vulgar arts I mean those pursued only for reputation, by mechanic the sedentary and wage-earning pursuits, and by arts of business those

vitality of a living creature, with the unconscious factors of nutrition and growth as well as conscious feelings or emotions and thoughts.

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concerned with market purchase and retail selling); but on the other hand, the things related to the happy conduct of life being three, the things already mentioned as the greatest possible goods for men—goodness, wisdom and pleasure, we see that there are also three ways of life in which those to whom fortune gives opportunity invariably choose to live, the life of politics, the life of philosophy, and the life of enjoyment. Of these the philosophic life denotes being concerned with the contemplation of truth, the political life means being occupied with honourable activities (and these are the activities that spring from goodness), and the life of enjoyment is concerned with the pleasures of the body. Owing to this, different people give the name of happy to different persons, as was said before too; and Anaxagoras of Clazomenae when asked 'Who is the happiest man?' said 'None of those whom you think, but he would seem to you an odd sort of person.' But Anaxagoras answered in that way because he saw that the man who put the question supposed it to be impossible to receive the appellation 'happy' without being great and beautiful or rich, whereas he himself perhaps thought that the person who humanly speaking enjoys bliss is he that lives by the standard of justice without pain and in purity, or participates in some form of divine contemplation.

V. While there are many different things as to Various Opinions as to Life's Goods

The physical philosopher, 500-428 B.C., born at Clazomenae in Ionia, taught at Athens.

* i.e. the man who displays the virtues of Temperance, Justice and Wisdom (the fourth cardinal virtue, Courage, is omitted), enhanced by pleasure or freedom from pain. This passage illustrates how Aristotle prepared the way for the hedonism of Epicurus.