



THE
WORKS OF ARISTOTLE

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

OECONOMICA

ATHENIENSIVM RESPUBLICA

HB
77
A73
1920



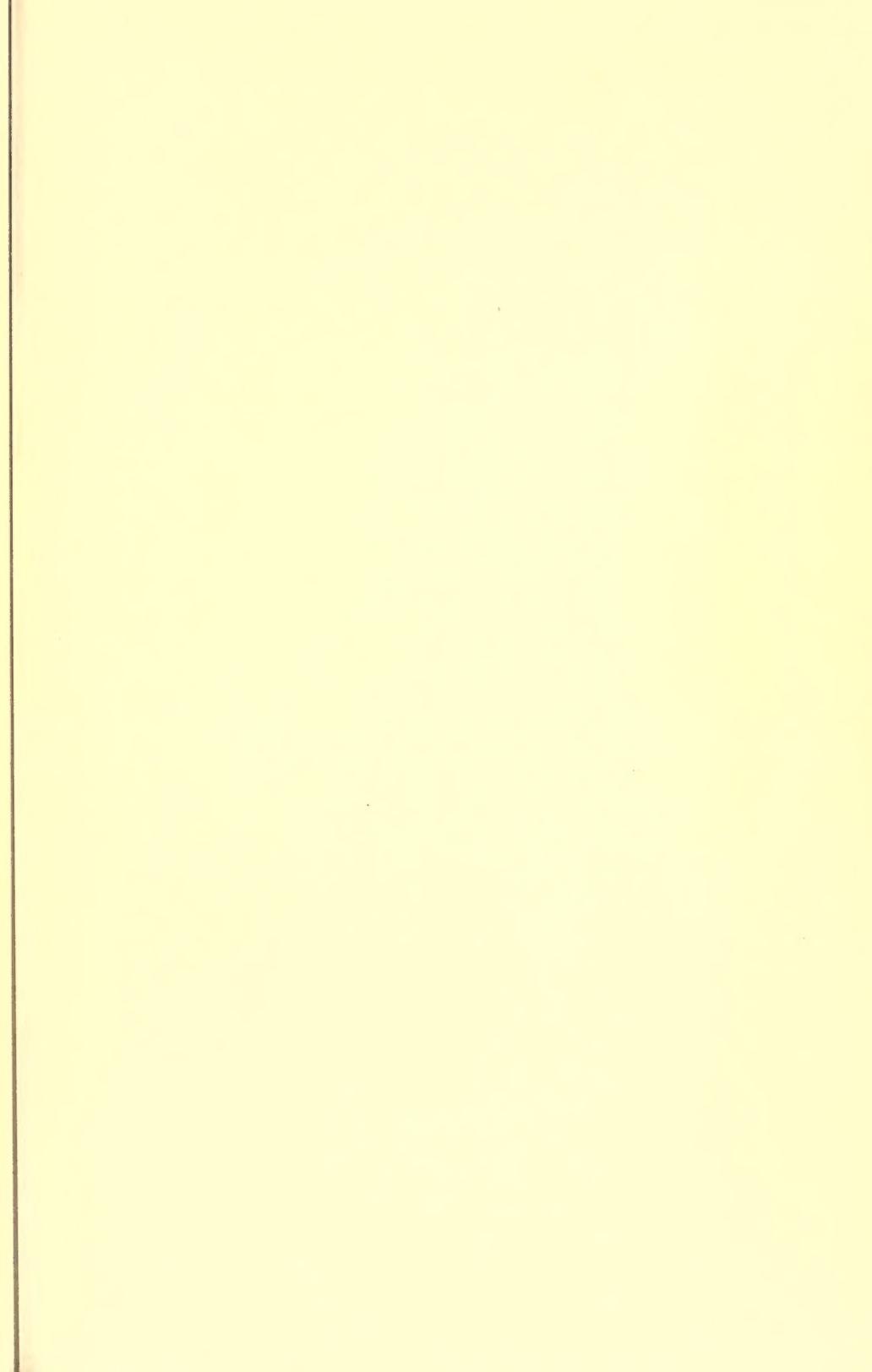
Presented to the
LIBRARY of the
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
by
MOFFATT ST. ANDREW WOODSIDE
1970

M. G. G. Woodside

Victoria College.

Toronto

1930





OECONOMICA

BY

E. S. FORSTER

M.A., LECTURER IN GREEK IN THE UNIVERSITY OF SHEFFIELD
FORMERLY SCHOLAR OF ORIEL COLLEGE

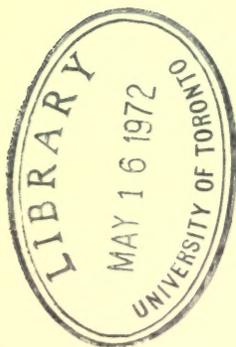
OXFORD

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1920

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON EDINBURGH GLASGOW NEW YORK
TORONTO MELBOURNE CAPE TOWN BOMBAY
HUMPHREY MILFORD
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY

HB
77
A73
1920



PREFACE

THE text used for this translation is that of F. Susemihl (*Aristotelis quæ feruntur Oeconomica*, Leipzig, Teubner, 1887). Mr. W. D. Ross has read through the translation both in manuscript and in proof and has made a number of valuable suggestions which have all been adopted.

Of the two Books of *Oeconomica* which have come down to us in the Aristotelian Corpus neither can be regarded as the work of Aristotle himself. The First Book contains elements derived from Aristotle, but it also owes a good deal to the *Oeconomicus* of Xenophon.¹ It appears to be the work of a Peripatetic writer who was a pupil either of Aristotle himself or of a disciple of that philosopher.² The writer was clearly well acquainted with the writings of Aristotle and, though his doctrines are not purely Aristotelian,³ he certainly wrote at a date before the Peripatetic school had become eclectic and coloured by Stoic influence in the second century B. C.

The Second Book is evidently of a different character and the work of a different writer. It consists of an Introduction, which divides Economics into four kinds, Royal, Satrapic, Political, and Personal—a division quite unknown to Aristotle—and then proceeds to relate a series of anecdotes which have no logical connexion with the introduction and are mainly concerned with questionable methods of raising money. Several of those about whom the anecdotes are related lived after the time of Aristotle,⁴ and the style of the writer is certainly Hellenistic. That the author lived outside Greece proper is indicated by the fact that his examples are mainly derived from Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt.

Susemihl in his edition adds as a Third Book a treatise

¹ A list of parallels with Aristotle's *Politics* and Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* is given by Susemihl, *op. cit.*, pp. vi and vii.

² Possibly Eudemus, see Zeller, *Aristotle and the Later Peripatetics* (Engl. Trans.), vol. ii, p. 498.

³ e. g. Economics is regarded as a separate science from Politics.

⁴ See Susemihl, *op. cit.*, pp. xi and xii.

PREFACE

preserved only in Latin translations dealing with the position and duties of a wife in the household. The author of the original was certainly not Aristotle, but it has been conjectured by Rose,¹ that it is the treatise entitled *Νόμοι ἀνδρὸς καὶ γαμετῆς*, which figures in the appendix of an anonymous index of Aristotelian works extracted from Hesychius Milesius. This treatise has not been translated for the present work.

E. S. F.

THE UNIVERSITY, SHEFFIELD.

June 20, 1919.

¹ *Aristoteles pseudepigr.*, p. 180 ff.

CONTENTS

BOOK I.

- Ch. 1. Economics and Politics.
- Ch. 2. The subject-matter of Economics.
- Chs. 3, 4. The position of the wife in the household.
- Ch. 5. The treatment of slaves.
- Ch. 6. The qualities of the Economist.

BOOK II.

- Royal, Satrapic, Political, and Personal Economy. Examples from history.

OECONOMICA

BOOK I

I THE sciences of politics and economics differ not only as 1343^a
widely as a household and a city (the subject-matter with
which they severally deal), but also in the fact that the
science of politics involves a number of rulers, whereas the
sphere of economics is a monarchy.

Now certain of the arts fall into sub-divisions, and it does 5
not pertain to the same art to manufacture and to use the
article manufactured, for instance, a lyre or pipes; but the
function of political science is both to constitute a city in
the beginning and also when it has come into being to make
a right use of it. It is clear, therefore, that it must be the
function of economic science too both to found a household
and also to make use of it.

Now a city is an aggregate made up of households and land 10
and property, possessing in itself the means to a happy life.
This is clear from the fact that, if men cannot attain this
end, the community is dissolved. Further, it is for this end
that they associate together; and that for the sake of which
any particular thing exists and has come into being is its
essence. It is evident, therefore, that economics is prior in
origin to politics; for its function is prior, since a household 15
is part of a city. We must therefore examine economics
and see what its function is.

2 The component parts of a household are man and
property. But since the nature of any given thing is most
quickly seen by taking its smallest parts, this would apply
also to a household. So, according to Hesiod, it would be 20
necessary that there should be

First and foremost a house, then a wife¹ . . . ,

¹ *Works and Days*, 405.

for the former is the first condition of subsistence, the latter is the proper possession of all freemen. We should have, therefore, as a part of economics to make proper rules for the association of husband and wife; and this involves providing what sort of a woman she ought to be.

25 In regard to property the first care is that which comes naturally. Now in the course of nature the art of agriculture is prior, and next come those arts which extract the products of the earth, mining and the like. Agriculture ranks first because of its justice; for it does not take anything away from men, either with their consent, as do retail trading and the mercenary arts, or against their will, as do the
30 warlike arts. Further, agriculture is natural; for by nature
1343^b all derive their sustenance from their mother, and so men derive it from the earth. In addition to this it also conduces greatly to bravery; for it does not make men's bodies unserviceable, as do the illiberal arts, but it renders them
5 able to lead an open-air life and work hard; furthermore it makes them adventurous against the foe, for husbandmen are the only citizens whose property lies outside the fortifications.

As regards the human part of the household, the first care 3
is concerning a wife; for a common life is above all things natural to the female and to the male. For we have else-
10 where¹ laid down the principle that nature aims at producing many such forms of association, just as also it produces the various kinds of animals. But it is impossible for the female to accomplish this without the male or the male without the female, so that their common life has necessarily arisen. Now in the other animals this intercourse is not based on reason, but depends on the amount of natural instinct which
15 they possess and is entirely for the purpose of procreation. But in the civilized and more intelligent animals the bond of unity is more perfect (for in them we see more mutual help and goodwill and co-operation), above all in the case of man, because the female and the male co-operate
20 to ensure not merely existence but a good life. And the

¹ Cp. *Eth. Nic.* 1162^a 16 ff.; *Pol.* 1252^a 26 ff.

production of children is not only a way of serving nature but also of securing a real advantage ; for the trouble which parents bestow upon their helpless children when they are themselves vigorous is repaid to them in old age when they are helpless by their children, who are then in their full vigour. At the same time also nature thus periodically provides for the perpetuation of mankind as a species, since ²⁵ she cannot do so individually. Thus the nature both of the man and of the woman has been preordained by the will of heaven to live a common life. For they are distinguished in that the powers which they possess are not applicable to purposes in all cases identical, but in some respects their functions are opposed to one another though they all tend to the same end. For nature has made the one sex stronger, ³⁰ the other weaker, that the latter through fear may be the more cautious, while the former by its courage is better ^{1344^a} able to ward off attacks ; and that the one may acquire possessions outside the house, the other preserve those within. In the performance of work, she made one sex able to lead a sedentary life and not strong enough to endure exposure, the other less adapted for quiet pursuits but well ⁵ constituted for outdoor activities ; and in relation to offspring she has made both share in the procreation of children, but each render its peculiar service towards them, the woman by nurturing, the man by educating them.

- 4 First, then, there are certain laws to be observed towards a wife, including the avoidance of doing her any wrong ; for thus a man is less likely himself to be wronged. This is inculcated by the general law, as the Pythagoreans say, ¹⁰ that one least of all should injure a wife as being 'a suppliant and seated at the hearth'.¹ Now wrong inflicted by a husband is the formation of connexions outside his own house. As regards sexual intercourse, a man ought not to accustom himself not to need it at all nor to be unable to rest when it is lacking,² but so as to be

¹ Reading in l. 11 with Scaliger and Wilamowitz ἐφ' ἐστίας ἡμένην. The κοινὸς νόμος will then be that which forbids injury to suppliants, which, says the author, includes injury to a wife. ἀφ' ἐστίας ἡγμένην can scarcely mean 'torn from the hearth'.

² Reading in l. 14 with some MSS. ἀπόνητος.

15 content with or without it. The saying of Hesiod is a good one :

A man should marry a maiden, that habits discreet he may teach her.¹

For dissimilarity of habits tends more than anything to destroy affection. As regards adornment, husband and wife ought not to approach one another with false affecta-
20 tion in their person any more than in their manners ; for if the society of husband and wife requires such embellishment, it is no better than play-acting on the tragic stage.

Of possessions, that which is the best and the worthiest 5 subject of economics comes first and is most essential— I mean, man. It is necessary therefore first to provide one-
25 self with good slaves. Now slaves are of two kinds, the overseer and the worker. And since we see that methods of education produce a certain character in the young, it is necessary when one has procured slaves to bring up carefully those to whom the higher duties are to be entrusted. The intercourse of a master with his slaves should be such as not either to allow them to be insolent or to irritate them.
30 To the higher class of slaves he ought to give some share of honour, and to the workers abundance of nourishment. And since the drinking of wine makes even freemen insolent, and many nations even of freemen abstain therefrom (the Carthaginians, for instance, when they are on military service), it is clear that wine ought never to be given to
35 slaves, or at any rate very seldom. Three things make up the life of a slave, work, punishment, and food. To give them food but no punishment and no work makes them
1344^b insolent ; and that they should have work and punishment but no food is tyrannical and destroys their efficiency. It remains therefore to give them work and sufficient food ; for it is impossible to rule over slaves without offering rewards, and a slave's reward is his food. And just as all other men
5 become worse when they get no advantage by being better and there are no rewards for virtue and punishments for

¹ *Works and Days*, 699.

vice, so also is it with slaves. Therefore we must take careful notice and bestow or withhold everything, whether food or clothing or leisure or punishments, according to merit, in word and deed following the practice adopted by physicians in the matter of medicine, remembering at the same time that food is not medicine because it must be given continually.

The slave who is best suited for his work is the kind that is neither too cowardly nor too courageous. Slaves who have either of these characteristics are injurious to their owners; those who are too cowardly lack endurance, while the high-spirited are not easy to control. All ought to have a definite end in view; for it is just and beneficial to offer slaves their freedom as a prize, for they are willing to work when a prize is set before them and a limit of time is defined. One ought to bind slaves to one's service by the pledges of wife and children, and not to have many persons of the same race in a household, as is the case in a city. One ought to provide sacrifices and pleasures more for the sake of slaves than for freemen; for in the case of the former there are present more of the reasons why such things have been instituted.

- 6 The economist ought to possess four qualities in relation to wealth. He ought to be able to acquire it, and to guard it; otherwise there is no advantage in acquiring it, but it is a case of drawing water with a sieve, or the proverbial jar with a hole in it. Further, he ought to be able to order his possessions aright and make a proper use of them; for it is for these purposes that we require wealth. The various kinds of property ought to be distinguished, and those which are productive ought to be more numerous than the unproductive, and the sources of income ought to be so distributed that they may not run a risk with all their possessions at the same time. For the preservation of wealth it is best to follow both the Persian and the Laconian methods. The Attic system of economy is also useful; for they sell their produce and buy what they want, and thus there is not the need of a storehouse in the smaller establishments. The Persian

system was that everything should be organized and that
 35 the master should superintend everything personally, as Dio
 said of Dionysius; for no one looks after the property of
 others as well as he looks after his own, so that, as far as
 1345^a possible, a man ought to attend to everything himself. The
 sayings of the Persian and the Libyan may not come
 amiss; the former of whom, when asked what was the best
 thing to fatten a horse, replied, 'His master's eye', while
 the Libyan, when asked what was the best manure, answered,
 5 'The landowner's foot-prints'. Some things should be
 attended to by the master, others by his wife, according to
 the sphere allotted to each in the economy of the house-
 hold. Inspections need only be made occasionally in small
 establishments, but should be frequent where overseers are
 employed. For perfect imitation is impossible unless a
 good example is set, especially when trust is delegated to
 10 others; for unless the master is careful, it is impossible for
 his overseers to be careful. And since it is good for the
 formation of character and useful in the interests of economy,
 masters ought to rise earlier than their slaves and retire to
 rest later, and a house should never be left unguarded any
 15 more than a city, and when anything needs doing it ought
 not to be left undone, whether it be day or night. There
 are occasions when¹ a master should rise while it is still
 night; for this helps to make a man healthy and wealthy
 and wise. On small estates the Attic system of disposing
 of the produce² is a useful one; but on large estates, where
 20 a distinction is made between yearly and monthly expendi-
 ture and likewise between the daily and the occasional use
 of household appliances, such matters must be entrusted to
 overseers. Furthermore, a periodical inspection should be
 made, in order to ascertain what is still existing and what
 is lacking.

The house must be arranged both with a view to one's
 25 possessions³ and for the health and well-being of its in-
 habitants. By possessions I mean the consideration of

¹ Reading in l. 16 *τοτέ τε* as suggested by Sylburg.

² Cp. 1344^b 31-3.

³ *κτηματα* is here used in a very wide sense since it includes not only
 produce of the land and clothing, but also slaves and even guests.

what is suitable for produce and clothing, and in the case of produce what is suitable for dry and what for moist produce, and amongst other possessions what is suitable for property whether animate or inanimate, for slaves and freemen, women and men, strangers and citizens. With a view to ³⁰ well-being and health, the house ought to be airy in summer and sunny in winter. This would be best secured if it faces north and is not as wide as it is long. In large establishments a man who is no use for other purposes seems to be usefully employed as a doorkeeper to safe- ³⁵ guard what is brought into and out of the house. For the ^{1345^b} ready use of household appliances the Laconian method is a good one; for everything ought to have its own proper place and so be ready for use and not require to be searched for.

BOOK II

7 THE who intends to practise economy aright ought to be
fully acquainted with the places in which his labour lies
and to be naturally endowed with good parts and deliber-
ately industrious and upright ; for if he is lacking in any
10 of these respects, he will make many mistakes in the
business which he takes in hand.

Now there are four kinds of economy, that of the king
(Royal Economy), that of the provincial governor (Satrapic
Economy), that of the city (Political Economy), and that
of the individual (Personal Economy). This is a broad
method of division ; and we shall find that the other forms
of economy fall within it.

Of these the Royal is the most important and the
15 simplest, the Political is the most varied and the easiest,
the Personal the least important and the most varied.¹
They must necessarily have most of their characteristics in
common ; but it is the points which are peculiar to each
kind that we must consider. Let us therefore examine
20 Royal Economy first. It is universal in its scope, but has
four special departments—the coinage, exports, imports,
and expenditure. To take each of these separately : in
regard to the coinage,² I mean the question as to what
coin should be struck and when it should be of a high and
when of a low value ; in the matter of exports and imports,
what commodities it will be advantageous to receive from
25 the satraps under the Royal rule³ and dispose of and when ;
in regard to expenditure, what expenses ought to be cur-
tailed and when, and whether one should pay what is

which of the goods the
king has received
from his satraps as
a stipulated amount
(ἀποψηφισμένη) it will be profitable
for him to sell, and when
Rostockhoff: See Sim-
on Hell. Geogr. p. 443)

¹ This sentence is clearly corrupt. No mention is made of ἡ σατραπική, and ποικιλοτάτη cannot be applied both to ἡ πολιτική and ἡ ἰδιωτική : it is probably right as applied to ἡ ἰδιωτική, being equivalent to ἀνώμαλος in 1346^a 9.

² Reading as suggested by Bekker ἕκαστον περὶ μὲν τὸ νόμισμα in l. 22.

³ ἐν τῇ ταγῇ in l. 25 is probably corrupt.

expended in coin or in commodities which have an equivalent value.

Let us next take Satrapic Economy. Here we find six kinds of revenue: from land, from the peculiar products of the district, from merchandise, from taxes, from cattle, ³⁰ and from all other sources. Of these the first and most important is that which comes from land (which some call tax on land-produce, others tithe); next in importance is the revenue from peculiar products, from gold, or silver, or copper, or anything else which is found in a particular ³⁵ locality; thirdly comes that derived from merchandise; fourthly, the revenue from the cultivation of the soil and ^{1346^a} from market-dues; fifthly, that which comes from cattle, which is called tax on animal produce or tithe; and sixthly, that which is derived from other sources, which is called the poll-tax or tax on handicraft.

Thirdly, let us examine the economy of the city. ⁵ Here the most important source of revenue is from the peculiar products of the country, next comes that derived from merchandise and customs,¹ and lastly that which comes from the ordinary taxes.

Fourthly and lastly, let us take Personal Economy. Here we find wide divergences, because economy is not necessarily always practised with one aim in view. It is ¹⁰ the least important kind of economy, because the incomings and expenses are small. Here the main source of revenue is the land, next other kinds of property,² and thirdly investments of money.

Further, there is a consideration which is common to all branches of economy and which calls for the most careful attention, especially in personal economy, namely, that the ¹⁵ expenditure must not exceed the income.

Now that we have mentioned the divisions of the subject, we must next consider whether, if the satrapy or city with which we are dealing can produce all,³ or the most important revenues which we have just distinguished, some

¹ ἡ πρόσσδος ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν διαγωγῶν is apparently equivalent to the *diagogion* (*portorium*) of Polyb. 26. 7. 7.

² Reading with Spengel κτημάτων in l. 13.

³ Reading with Schneider and Bekker ἅπαντα (ἀ) in l. 19.

rather than others¹ ought to be employed. Next we must consider which sources of revenue do not exist at all but can be introduced, or are at present small but can be augmented; and which of the expenses at present incurred, and to what amount, can be entirely² dispensed with without doing any harm.

We have now mentioned the various kinds of economy and their constituent parts. We have further made a collection of all the methods that we conceived to be worth mentioning, which men of former days have employed or cunningly devised in order to provide themselves with money. For we conceived that this information also might be useful; for a man will be able to apply some of these instances to such business³ as he himself takes in hand.

Cypselus, the Corinthian, having vowed to Zeus that, if he made himself master of the city, he would dedicate to him all the property of the Corinthians, ordered them to draw up a list of their possessions. When they had done so, he took a tenth part from each citizen and told them to trade with the remainder. As each year came round, he did the same thing again, with the result that in ten years he had all that he had consecrated to the god, while the Corinthians had acquired other property.

Lygdamis, the Naxian, having driven certain men into exile, when no one was willing to buy their possessions except at a low price, sold them to the exiles themselves. And offerings belonging to them which were lying⁴ half finished in certain workshops he sold to the exiles and any one else who wished to buy them, allowing the name of the purchaser to be inscribed upon them.

The Byzantines being in need of money sold the sacred enclosures belonging to the state.⁵ Those which

¹ Reading as suggested by Susemihl (τούτοις μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ἢ ἐκείνοις, ἢ ἐκείνοις μᾶλλον ἢ) τούτοις in l. 20.

² Omitting τὰ in l. 24 with the MSS.

³ Reading in l. 30 ἔστι γὰρ ὅτι (Richards) τούτων ἐφαρμόσει τις (Sylburg) οἷς (Schneider) ἂν αὐτὸς πραγματεύηται.

⁴ Reading with Keil ἀποκείμενα in l. 10.

⁵ The *locus classicus* on such enclosures is the speech of Lysias περὶ τοῦ σηκοῦ.

were fertile they sold on lease, and those which were unproductive in perpetuity. They treated in the same way ¹⁵ the enclosures which belonged to associations and clans and all which were situated on private estates ; for the owners of the rest of the property bought them at a high price. To the associations they sold other lands, viz. the public lands round the gymnasium, or the market-place, or the harbour, and the places where markets were held at which various ²⁰ commodities were sold, and they gave the rights over the sea-fisheries and the sale of salt, and the stands¹ where jugglers, and soothsayers, and druggists, and other such persons plied their trades ; but they ordered them to pay over a third of their profits. And they sold the right of changing money to a single bank, and no one else might ²⁵ either give money in exchange to any one, or receive it in exchange from any one, under penalty of forfeiting the money. And whereas there was a law amongst them that no one should have political rights who was not born of parents who were both citizens, being in want of money they passed a decree that a man who was sprung from a citizen on one side only should become a citizen if he paid down thirty minae. And as they were suffering from want of food and lack of money, they made the ships from ³⁰ the Black Sea put in ; but, as time went on, the merchants protested and so they paid them interest at ten per cent. and ordered those who purchased anything to pay the ten per cent. in addition to the price. And whereas certain resident aliens had lent money on mortgaged ^{1347^a} property, because these had not the right to hold property, they passed a decree that any one who wished could obtain a title to the property by paying a third of the loan to the state.

Hippias, the Athenian, put up for sale the parts of the upper rooms which projected into the public streets, and ⁵ the steps and fences in front of the houses, and the doors which opened outwards. The owners of the property therefore bought them, and a large sum was thus collected. He

¹ Reading as suggested by Susemihl *τοιουτοτρόπων* (τοὺς τόπους) in l. 22.

also declared the coinage then current in Athens to be base, and fixing a price for it ordered it to be brought to him; but when they met to consider the striking of a new type
 10 of coin, he gave them back the same money again. And if any one was about to equip a trireme or a division of cavalry or to provide a tragic chorus or incur expense on any other such state-service, he fixed a moderate fine and allowed him, if he liked, to pay this and be enrolled amongst those who had performed state services. He also ordered
 15 that a measure of barley, and another of wheat, and an obol should be brought to the priestess of Athena-on-the-Acropolis on behalf of any one who died, and that the same offering should be made by any one to whom a child was born.

The Athenians who dwell in Potidaea, being in need of money to carry on war, ordered all the citizens to draw
 20 up a list of their property, each man enrolling not his whole property collectively in his own deme, but each piece of property separately in the place where it was situated, in order that the poor might give in an assessment; any one who possessed no property was to assess his own person at two minae. On the basis of this assessment they contributed each in full to the state the amount enjoined.

25 Sospolis of Antissa, when the city was in want of money, since the citizens were wont to celebrate the feast of Dionysus with great splendour and every year went to great expense in providing, amongst other things, very costly victims, persuaded them, when the festival was near at hand, to vow to Dionysus that they would give double offerings
 30 the next year and collect and sell the dedications for the current year. Thus a substantial sum was collected for the needs of the moment.

The people of Lampsacus, expecting a large fleet of triremes to come against them, ordered the dealers to sell a *medimnus* of barley-meal, of which the market price was four *drachmae*, at six *drachmae*, and a *chous* of oil, the price of which was three *drachmae*, at four *drachmae* and a half,
 35 and likewise wine and the other commodities. The individual seller thus received the usual price, while the
 1347^b

city gained the surplus and so was well provided with money.

The people of Heraclea, when they were sending forty ships against the tyrants on the Bosphorus, not being well provided with money, bought up from the merchants all 5 their corn and oil and wine and the rest of their stores, fixing a date in the future at which they were to make the payment. Now it suited the merchants better to sell their cargoes wholesale rather than retail. So the people of Heraclea, giving the soldiers two months' pay, took the provisions with them¹ on board merchant-vessels and put 10 an official in charge of each of the ships. When they reached the enemies' territory, the soldiers bought up all the provisions from them.² Thus money was collected before the generals had to pay the soldiers again, and so the same money was distributed time after time until 15 they returned home.

When the Samians begged for money for their return home, the Lacedaemonians passed a decree that they would fast for one day, themselves and their households and their beasts of burden, and would give to the Samians the amount that each of them usually expended.

The Chalcedonians, having a large number of foreign 20 mercenaries in their city, owed them pay which they could not give them. They therefore proclaimed that if any citizen or resident alien had any right of seizure against any state or individual and wished to exercise it, they should give in their names. When many did so, they seized the ships which sailed into the Black Sea on a plausible pretext, 25 and appointed a time at which they promised to give an account of their captures. When a large sum of money had been collected they dismissed the soldiers and submitted themselves to trial for their reprisals, and the state out of its revenues made restitution to those who had been 30 unjustly plundered.

¹ Reading with Kirchhoff in l. 9 *διδόντες διμήνου μισθὸν παρήγον ἅμα τὴν ἀγοράν*. With this reading we have an example of the common confusion of λλ and μ.

² An early example of a Field Force Canteen.

When the people of Cyzicus were at variance and the popular party had gained the upper hand and the wealthy citizens had been imprisoned, they passed a decree, since they owed money to their soldiers, that they would not put their prisoners to death, but would exact money from them and send them into exile.

35 The Chians, who have a law that a public register of debts should be kept, being in want of money decreed that
1348^a debtors should pay their debts to the state and that the state should disburse the interest from its revenues to the creditors until they should reach their former state of prosperity.¹

5 Mausolus, tyrant of Caria, when the king of Persia sent and ordered him to pay his tribute, collected together the richest men in the country and told them that the king was demanding the tribute, but he himself could not provide it. And certain men, who had been suborned to do so, immediately promised to contribute and named the amount that each would give. Upon this the wealthier men, partly
10 through shame and partly from fear, promised and actually contributed far larger sums.

On another occasion when he was in need of money, he called together the Mylassians and told them that their city, which was his capital, was unfortified and that the king of Persia was marching against him. He therefore ordered the Mylassians each to contribute as much money
15 as possible, saying that by what they paid now they would save the rest of their possessions.² When a large contribution had been made, he kept the money and told them that at the moment the god would not allow them to build the wall.

Condalus, a governor under Mausolus, whenever during his passage through the country any one brought
20 him a sheep or a pig or a calf, used to make a record of the

¹ The meaning seems to be that all debts were repaid to the state by private debtors instead of to their creditors, and the state then paid interest to the creditors, thus virtually raising a loan for itself. Many editors emend in l. 3 to *ἕως ἂν καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐκπορίσωσι*, 'until they could afford to pay up the capital'.

² Reading in l. 15 τὰ λοιπὰ <ἂν> σφίξειν (Richards).

donor and the date and order him to take it back home and keep it until he returned. When he thought that sufficient time had elapsed, he used to ask for the animal which was being kept for him, and reckoned up and demanded the produce-tax on it as well. And any trees which projected over or fell into the royal roads he used to sell as profits.¹ And if any soldier died, he demanded² a drachma as a toll 25 for the corpse passing the gates; and so he not only received money from this source, but also the officers could not deceive him as to the date of the soldier's death. Also, noticing that the Lycians were fond of wearing their hair long, he pretended that a dispatch had come from the king of Persia ordering him to send hair to make false fringes 30 and that he was therefore commanded by Mausolus to cut off their hair. He therefore said that, if they would pay him a fixed poll-tax, he would send for hair to Greece. They gladly gave him what he asked, and a large sum of money was collected from a great number of them.

Aristotle, the Rhodian, who was governor of Phocaea, 35 was in want of money. Perceiving therefore that there were two parties amongst the Phocaeans, he made secret 1348^b overtures to one party saying that the other faction was offering him money on condition that he would turn the scale in their favour, but that for his own part he would rather receive money from *them* and give the direction of affairs into their hands. When they heard this, those who were present immediately gave him the money, supplying 5 him with all he asked for. He then went to the other party and showed them what he had received from their opponents; whereupon they also professed their willingness to give him an equal sum. So he took the money from both parties and reconciled them one with another. Also, noticing that there was much litigation among the citizens and that there 10 were grievances of long standing among them owing to war, he established a court of law and proclaimed that unless they submitted their cases to judgement within a period³

¹ ἐπικαρπίας is here used in its wider sense of 'profits'; in l. 23 it has the special sense of 'tax on animal produce', as in 1346^a 2.

² Reading in l. 26 διαπύλιον ἔπραττε (Scaliger).

³ Reading in l. 12 χρόνον (Richards).

which he appointed, there would be no further settlement of their former claims. Then getting control of the deposits paid in a number of suits, and the cases which were subject
 15 to appeal with damages¹, and receiving money from both parties by other means, he collected a large sum.

The Clazomenians, when they were suffering from famine and were in want of money, decreed that private individuals who had any olive oil should lend it to the state, which would pay them interest. Now olives are abundant
 20 in this country. When the owners had lent them the oil, they hired ships and sent it to the marts from which their corn came, giving the value of the oil as a pledge. And when they owed pay to their soldiers to the amount of twenty talents and could not provide it, they paid the generals four talents a year as interest. But finding that they did not reduce the principal and that they were
 25 continually spending money to no purpose, they struck an iron coinage to represent a sum of twenty talents of silver, and then distributing it among the richest citizens in proportion to their wealth they received in exchange an equivalent sum in silver. Thus the individual citizens had money to disburse for their daily needs and the state was
 30 freed from debt. They then paid them interest out of their revenues and continually divided it up and distributed it in proper proportions, and called in the iron coinage.

The Selybrians were once in need of money; and so, as they had a law which forbade the export of corn to another state² which was suffering from famine, and they
 35 had a supply of last season's corn, they passed a decree that private persons should hand over their corn to the state at
 1349^a a fixed price, each reserving a year's supply; they then allowed any one who wished to export his supply, fixing a price which they thought would give them a profit.

The people of Abydos, when their land was untilled owing to political dissensions and the resident aliens were paying them nothing because they still owed them money,
 5 passed a decree that any one who was willing should lend

¹ Reading *ἰφ' ἑαυτῶν* for *ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν* in l. 14.

² Reading with Keil (*τοῖς ἄλλοις*) *ἐν* in l. 34.

money to the farmers in order that they might till the soil, providing that they should enjoy the first-fruits of the crop and that the others should have what remained.

The Ephesians, being in need of money, made a law that their women should not wear gold ornaments, but ¹⁰ should lend to the state what they already possessed; and fixing the amount which was to be paid they allowed the name of any one who presented that sum to be inscribed as that of the dedicator on certain of the pillars in the temple.

Dionysius of Syracuse, wishing to collect money, called together an assembly and declared that Demeter had ¹⁵ appeared to him and bade him bring the ornaments of the women to her temple. He had therefore, he said, done so with the ornaments of the women of his own household; and he demanded that every one else should do the same, lest vengeance from the goddess should fall upon them. Any one who refused would, he said, be guilty of sacrilege. When all had brought what they possessed through fear of ²⁰ the goddess and dread of Dionysius, after dedicating the ornaments to the goddess he then appropriated them, saying that they were lent to him by her. And when some time had elapsed and the women began wearing ornaments again, he ordered that any woman who wished to wear jewellery of gold should dedicate a fixed sum in the temple.

And when he was intending to build triremes, he knew ²⁵ that he would be in want of money. He therefore called together an assembly and said that a certain city was to be betrayed to him and that he needed money for this purpose. He therefore asked the citizens to contribute two staters each; and they did so. He then let two or three days elapse, and pretending that he had failed in his attempt, after commending their generosity he gave every man his contribution back again. By this action he won the hearts of the ³⁰ citizens. And so they again contributed, thinking that they would receive their money back again; but he took the money and kept it for building his ships.

And when he was in need of money he struck a coinage of tin, and calling an assembly together he spoke at great

length in favour of the money which had been coined ; and they, even against their will, decreed that every one¹ should regard any of it that he accepted as silver and not as tin.

On another occasion, being in want of money, he asked 1349^b the citizens to give him contributions : but they declared that they had nothing to give. Accordingly he brought out his own household goods and offered them for sale, as though compelled to do so by poverty. When the Syracusans bought them, he kept a record of what each had bought, 5 and when they had paid the price, he ordered each of them to bring back the articles which he had bought.

And when the citizens owing to the taxes could not keep cattle, he said that he had enough up to the present ; those therefore who kept cattle should now be free from a tax on them. But since many soon acquired a large number of cattle, thinking that they could keep them without paying 10 a tax on them, when he thought that a fitting moment had come he gave orders that they should assess their value and then imposed a tax. Accordingly the citizens, angry at having been deceived, slew their cattle and sold them. And when, to prevent this, he ordered them to kill only as many as were needed for daily use, they next devoted them for sacrifice to the gods. Dionysius then forbade them to sacrifice any female beast.

On another occasion when he was in need of money, he 15 ordered all families of orphans to enrol themselves ; and when many² had done so, he enjoyed their property until each member of such families came of age.

And after he had captured Rhegium he called an assembly of the inhabitants together and informed them that he would be quite justified in enslaving them, but under 20 the circumstances he would let them go free if he received the amount which he had spent on the war and three *minav* a head from all of them. The Rhegians then brought to light the wealth which before had been hidden, and the poor borrowed from the richer citizens and from foreigners and provided 25 the sum which he demanded. When he had received it

¹ Reading *ἕκαστον* (Richards) in l. 35.

² Reading with Schneider *πολλῶν* for *ἄλλων* in l. 16.

from them he nevertheless sold them all as slaves, and seized all the treasures which had before been hidden and were now brought to light.

Also having borrowed money from the citizens under promise of repayment, when they demanded it back he ordered them to bring him whatever money any of them possessed, threatening them with death as the penalty if they failed to do so. When the money had been brought, he issued it again after stamping it afresh so that each *drachma* had the value of two *drachmae*, and paid back the original debt and the money which they brought him on this occasion.¹

And when he sailed against Tyrrenia with a hundred ships he took much gold and silver and a considerable quantity of other ornaments of all kinds from the temple of Leucothea. And knowing that the sailors too were keeping many things for themselves, he made a proclamation that every one should bring him the half of what he had and might retain the other half; and he threatened with death any one who failed to deliver up the half. The sailors, supposing that if they gave up the half they would be allowed undisturbed possession of the rest, did so; but Dionysius, when he had received it, ordered them to go back and bring him the other half.

The Mendacians used the proceeds of their harbour customs and their other dues for the administration of their city, but did not exact the taxes on land and houses; but they kept a register of property-owners, and whenever they needed money, those who owed taxes paid them. They thus profited during the time which elapsed by having full use of the money without paying interest.

When they were at war with the Olynthians and needed money, seeing that they had slaves they decreed that a female and a male slave should be left to each citizen and the rest sold, so that private individuals might lend money to the state.²

Callistratus, when the harbour-dues in Macedonia

¹ Reading in l. 32 as suggested by Susemihl (ἀπέδωκε καὶ ὁ νῦν ἀνήνεγκαν).

² Reading ὡς τῇ πόλει for τῇ πόλει ὡς in l. 14.

were usually sold at twenty talents. made them fetch double that price. For, noticing that the richer men always bought them because it was necessary that the sureties provided
 20 for the twenty talents should be possessed of one talent, he proclaimed that any one who liked could purchase them and that sureties should be provided for only a third or any other proportion which¹ he could persuade them each to guarantee.

Timotheus, the Athenian, when he was at war with the Olynthians, and in need of money, struck a bronze
 25 coinage and distributed it to the soldiers. When they protested, he told them that the merchants and retailers would all sell their goods on the same terms as before. He then told the merchants, if they received any bronze money, to use it again to buy the commodities sent in for sale from the country and anything which was brought in as plunder, and said that, if they brought him any bronze money which they had left over, they should receive silver for it.

30 When he was making war in the neighbourhood of Corcyra and was in difficulties, and the soldiers were demanding their pay and refusing to obey him and threatening to go over² to the enemy, he called together an assembly and told them that no money could reach him
 35 owing to the stormy weather, for he had, he declared, such an abundance of supplies that he offered them as a free gift the three months' rations which they had already received.
 1350^b They, supposing that Timotheus would never have made such a valuable concession unless he really expected the money, kept silence about the pay; and he meanwhile achieved the objects which he had in view.

When he was besieging Samos he actually sold to the
 5 inhabitants the fruits and the produce of their lands, and so had abundance of money to pay his soldiers. And when there was a shortage of provisions in the camp owing to the arrival of newcomers, he forbade the sale of corn ready ground, and of any smaller measure than a *medimnus*, and
 10 of any liquid in a smaller quantity than a *metreta*. Accord-

¹ Reading καθ' ὅσον (ἄν) ἐκάστους (Richards) in l. 21.

² Reading ἀποπορεύσασθαι (Richards) in l. 33.

ingly the commanders of divisions and companies bought up provisions wholesale and distributed them to the soldiers, while the newcomers brought their own provisions with them and, when they departed, sold anything that they had left. The result was that the soldiers had an abundance of provisions.

15

Didales, the Persian, having soldiers under his command, could supply their daily needs from the enemy's country, but having no money to give them, and being requested to pay them, when the time came at which it was due he devised the following plan. He called together an assembly and told them that he had no lack of money, but 20 that it was in a certain place which he named. He therefore moved his camp and started to march thither. Then when he was near the place, he went in advance to it and took from the temples there all the embossed silver plate which they contained. He then loaded his mules so that the silver plate was visible, and they looked as though they were carrying solid silver. The soldiers, when they saw it, 25 thought that the loads were all solid silver and were encouraged, thinking that they would receive their pay. But Didales told them that he must go to Amisus and have the silver minted. Now the journey to Amisus was one of many days and exposed to the weather. So all this time he made use of the army, merely giving them their rations.

He kept in his personal service all the skilled artificers 30 in the army and the retailers who carried on traffic in any commodity; and no one else was permitted to do any of these things.

Chabrias, the Athenian, advised Taus, king of Egypt, when he was starting on a warlike expedition and was in need of money, to say to the priests that owing to the 35 expense some of the temples and the majority of the priests must be dispensed with. When the priests heard this, each 1351^a wishing to retain their own temple, they privately offered him¹ money. And when Taus had accepted money from all of them, Chabrias advised him to order them to expend

¹ Reading in l. 2 *ιδία* (cp. 1352^b 23) with Scaliger and Schneider for *ιδία*, and *αὐτῶν* with Sylburg and Schneider for *αὐτοῖς*.

a tenth part of the amount which they formerly spent on
 5 their temple¹ and to lend the rest to him until the war
 against the king of Persia should come to an end. And he
 advised him to fix the necessary amount and demand a
 contribution from each household and likewise from each
 individual; and that, when corn was sold, the buyer and
 the seller should give an obol for each *artabe* over and
 10 above the price; and that he should demand the payment
 of a tenth part of the profits derived from shipping and
 manufactures and any other form of industry. And he
 advised him, when he was leaving the country on an ex-
 pedition, to order that any unminted silver or gold which
 any one possessed should be brought to him: and when
 15 most people brought it, he advised him to make use of it
 and to commend the lenders to the provincial governors so
 that they might repay them out of the taxes.

Iphicrates, the Athenian, when Cotys had collected
 an army, provided him with money in the following way.
 20 He advised him to order the men under his command to
 sow land for him with three *medimni* of corn. The result
 of this was that a great quantity of corn was collected.
 Accordingly he brought it down to the markets and sold it,
 and thus gained an abundance of money.

Cotys, the Thracian, tried to borrow money from the
 25 Peirinthians so that he might collect an army; but the
 Peirinthians refused to give him any. He therefore begged
 them at any rate to grant him some men from among their
 citizens to act as a garrison for certain strongholds, in order
 that he might make full use of the soldiers who were at
 present on duty there. To this request they promptly
 acceded, thinking that they would thus obtain possession of
 30 these strongholds. But Cotys threw into prison those who
 were sent and ordered the Peirinthians to recover them by
 sending him the money which he wished to borrow from
 them.

Mentor, the Rhodian, having arrested Hermeias and
 seized his estates, allowed the overseers whom Hermeias
 35 had appointed to retain their positions. But when they all

¹ Omitting *καὶ εἰς αὐτόν* in l. 4 with F and Schneider.

felt secure and took steps to recover anything which had been hidden or deposited for safety elsewhere, he arrested them and deprived them of all they had.

Memnon, the Rhodian, after making himself master 1351^b of Lampsacus, was in need of money. He therefore exacted a heavy tribute from the richest citizens, telling them that they could collect it from the rest of the citizens. But when the latter had contributed, he ordered them to lend him 5 this sum as well, fixing a period ¹ within which he would pay them back.

On another occasion when he was in need of money, he demanded contributions from them, saying that they should be repaid out of the revenues. They therefore contributed, thinking that they would soon receive their money back. But when the time was at hand for the payment of the revenues, he told them that he needed these revenues as 10 well, but would repay them later with interest.

He also excused himself from paying the rations and wages of those who were serving under him for six days in the year,² declaring that on these days they had no watch to keep, no marching and no expenses, meaning the 'omitted' days.³ As he was already giving the soldiers their rations 15 on the second day of the new month, he thus passed over three days in the first month and five by the following month, and so he gradually gained on them till he reached a total of thirty days.⁴

Charidemus of Orus, who held certain places in Aeolia, when Artabazus was marching against him needed 20 money to pay his soldiers. At first, then, the citizens gave

¹ Reading with Kirchhoff *χρόνον* for *ἐν χρόνῳ* in l. 5.

² Reading with Richards *τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ* in l. 12.

³ Memnon's argument seems to have been that of the twelve months in the year six were 'hollow' months, i. e. had only twenty-nine days, and that since thirty was the proper number of days in a month, he would be paying them for six days too much, if he gave them the same amount for a 'hollow' as for a 'full' month.

⁴ The year consisting of twelve months of twenty-nine and thirty days alternately, in the first month he docked them of three days' pay (one day on the ground that it was a 'hollow' month, and two days by paying them in advance on the second day for the rest of the month); in the second month, which was not a 'hollow' month, he deprived them of two days' pay by paying them in advance on the second day. They thus lost five days in each period of two months, i. e. a total of thirty days in the year.

him contributions, but afterwards they declared that they had nothing left to give. Charidemus then ordered the inhabitants of the place which he thought was richest to send away to another place any coin or other valuable treasure which they possessed, and he promised to give them an
25 escort; at the same time it was clear that he himself was also removing his valuables. When they had obeyed him, he led them a little way outside the city and, after examining what they had, took all that he needed and sent them back again. He also made a proclamation in the
30 cities over which he ruled that no one was to keep any arms in his house, the penalty for so doing being a fine which he specified. He then took no further action and paid no attention to the matter. The citizens, thinking that he had not meant the proclamation to be taken seriously, continued to keep the arms which they happened to possess. But Charidemus suddenly instituted a house to
35 house search and exacted the fine from those in whose houses he found any arms.

A certain Philoxenus, a Macedonian who was satrap of Caria, being in need of money, said that he intended to celebrate the Dionysia, and he nominated the richest of
1352^a the Carians to defray the cost of the choruses and gave directions as to what they had to supply. But seeing that they were annoyed, he sent to them secretly and asked them what they were willing to give to be released from serving. They declared their readiness to give considerably
5 more than they thought it would cost them, in order to be freed from the trouble and the neglect of their private affairs which it would entail. Philoxenus accepted what they offered and put others on the list, until he received from them what he wanted and what each could spare.

Evaeses, the Syrian, being satrap of Egypt, discovering that the provincial governors were on the point of
10 revolting from him, summoned them to the palace and hanged them all, and ordered that their relatives should be told that they were in prison. Their relatives therefore severally began to negotiate on their behalf and tried to buy the release of the captives. Evaeses made an agree-

ment in each case and, after receiving the sums for which 15
he had stipulated, restored them to their relatives—dead.

Cleomenes, an Alexandrian who was satrap of Egypt, when there was a severe famine everywhere else while Egypt was less seriously affected, forbade the export of corn, and when the provincial governors declared that they would not be able to pay the tribute because corn could not be exported, he cancelled the prohibition, but 20
put a heavy tax on the corn. The result was that, if he did not succeed in getting a large tax at the cost of a small exportation, at least¹ the provincial governors lost their excuse.

As he was sailing through the district in which the crocodile is regarded as a deity, one of his slaves was carried off. He therefore summoned the priests and told 25
them that since he had been injured without provocation he intended to take vengeance² on the crocodiles, and gave orders to hunt them. The priests, in order that their god might not be affronted, collected all the gold that they possessed and presented it to him, with the result that he desisted.

When king Alexander commanded him to found a city near the Pharos and to establish there the mart which was 30
formerly held at Canopus, he sailed to Canopus and told the priests and the owners of property there that he had come to transfer them. The priests and inhabitants collected and gave him a sum of money to induce him to leave their mart undisturbed. This he accepted and for the moment 35
left them alone, but afterwards, when he had the material for building ready, he sailed to Canopus and demanded an excessive amount of money from them, which he 1352^b
said represented the difference to him between having the mart near the Pharos and at Canopus. And when they said that they would not be able to give him the money he made them move their city.

And when he had sent some one to make a purchase and discovered that his messenger had got what he wanted

¹ Reading γε for τε (W. D. Ross) in l. 22.

² Reading with Keil ἀμνεῖσθαι for ἀμνεσθαι in l. 25.

5 cheaply but intended to charge him an excessive price, he told the friends of the purchaser that he had heard that he had made his purchases at an excessive price and therefore he should not pay any attention to him; at the same time with assumed wrath he railed against his stupidity. When
 10 they heard this they told Cleomenes that he ought not to believe those who spoke against the messenger until he came himself and rendered his account. When the purchaser arrived they told him what Cleomenes had said; and he, wishing to make a good impression on them and on Cleomenes, submitted the prices at which he had actually bought the goods.

When corn was being sold in the country at ten *drachmae*,
 15 he summoned the dealers and asked them at what price they would do business with him. They named a lower price than that at which they were selling to the merchants. However, he ordered them¹ to hand over their corn at the same price as they were selling to every one else; and fixing the price of corn at thirty-two *drachmae* he then sold it himself.

20 He also called the priests together and told them that the expenditure² on the temples in the country was excessive; consequently some of the temples and the majority of the priests must be abolished. The priests individually and collectively gave him the sacred treasures, thinking that he really intended to carry out his threat and because each wished that his own temple should be un-
 25 disturbed and himself continue to be priest.

Antimenes, the Rhodian, being put by Alexander in charge of the roads³ round Babylon, raised money in the following way. An ancient law existed in Babylonia that anything which was brought into the country should pay a duty of ten per cent., but no one ever enforced it. Antimenes, waiting till all the satraps and armies were
 30 expected and no small number of ambassadors and crafts-

¹ Reading with Bekker *ἐκείνους* in l. 17.

² Omitting *ἀνώμαλον* with some MSS. in l. 20.

³ *ἡμιόδιος* in l. 26 is corrupt, but the right sense is given by the Latin version, which reads *curatione ei data uiarum*.

men summoned from abroad, bringing others with them,¹ and persons travelling on their own private affairs, and many gifts were being brought in, exacted the ten per cent. duty according to the existing law.

On another occasion, when providing the slaves who were to serve in the army, he commanded that any owner who wished should register the value which he put upon them,³⁵ and they were to pay eight *drachmae* a year; if the slave ran away the owner was to receive the price which he had registered.² Many slaves being registered, he amassed a **1353^a** considerable sum of money. And whenever any slave ran away he ordered the satrap of the country³ in which the camp was situated to recover the runaway or else to pay the price to the owner.

Ophelas, the Olynthian, having appointed a super-⁵ intendent over the province of Athribis, when the provincial governors of that district came to him and expressed their willingness to pay of their own accord a much larger sum and begged him to dismiss the superintendent whom he had just appointed, asked them if they would be able to pay what they promised; when they answered in the ¹⁰ affirmative he left the superintendent at his post and bade him exact the amount of tribute which they themselves had assessed. Thus he did not think it right either to degrade the official whom he had appointed or to impose a heavier tribute upon them than they themselves had fixed, but at the same time he himself received a far larger amount of money.

Pythocles, the Athenian, recommended to the Athe-¹⁵ nians that the state should take the lead from the mines at Laurium out of private hands at the market price of two *drachmae* and that they should then themselves fix the price at six *drachmae* and so sell it.

Chabrias, when crews had been enrolled for a hundred and twenty ships and Taus only needed sixty, ordered the ²⁰ crews of the sixty ships which remained behind to supply

¹ Omitting in l. 31 *τοὺς* before *ἀγοντας* (Aldine), but the whole phrase *ἄλλους τοὺς ἀγοντας* is probably corrupt.

² An early example of insuring employees.

³ Reading with Schneider *τῆς* (<γῆς) in l. 3.

those who sailed with two months' provisions, or else to sail themselves. They, wishing to attend to their own affairs, complied with his demand.

Antimenes ordered the satraps to keep the storehouses
 25 filled along the royal roads according to the custom of the country; but whenever an army or any other body of men unaccompanied by the king passed along, he used to send one of his own men and sell the contents of the storehouses.

1353^b Cleomenes, when the first day of the month was approaching and he had to give his soldiers their rations, purposely put back into harbour, and when the new month was approaching he put out again and distributed the rations; he then left an interval from the beginning of the
 5 month until the first day of the next month. The soldiers, therefore, because they had recently received their rations, kept quiet; and Cleomenes by passing over a month deprived them of a month's pay in each year.

Stabelbius, general of the Mysians, when he owed his soldiers pay, called the officers¹ together and told
 10 them that he had no need of private soldiers but only of officers, and that, when he did need soldiers, he gave each officer a sum of money and sent him out to collect mercenaries, and that he would rather give the officers the pay which ought to go to the soldiers. He therefore ordered them each to send away their own levies out of
 15 the country. The officers, thinking that it would be an opportunity to make money, dismissed the soldiers in accordance with his commands. But after a short interval he collected the officers together and told them that just as a flute player was no use without a chorus, so too officers were useless without private soldiers; he therefore ordered them to leave the country.

20 Dionysius, when he was making a round of the temples, whenever he saw a gold or silver table displayed, ordered that a libation should be poured out 'to good luck' and that the table should be carried off; and whenever he saw amongst the statues one which held out a wine cup, he

¹ Reading in l. 8 *ὁ Μυσῶν στρατηγὸς* (Scaliger) *ἀφείλων* (Schneider) *στρατιώταις μισθόν, συγκαλέσας τοὺς ἡγέμονους* (Camerarius) *ἔφησεν*.

would say, 'I accept your pledge', and order the statue to be carried away. And he used to strip the raiment of gold¹ and crowns of silver² from the statues, saying that he²⁵ would give³ them others lighter and more fragrant; he then clad them with white garments and crowns of white violets.

¹ Omitting τε between τὰ and χρυσῶ in l. 24.

² Reading τοὺς στεφάνους <τοὺς ἀργυροὺς> (coni. Susemihl) in l. 24.

³ Reading ἐδώδεστέρ' ἂν δοῦναι (Richards) in l. 26.



INDEX

43^a-53^b = 1343^a-1353^b

- Abydos, 49^a 3.
 Acropolis, 47^a 15.
 Agriculture, prior among the arts, 43^a 25; defined, 43^a 28; a natural art, 43^a 30; conducive to bravery, 43^b 2 ff.
 Alexander, 52^a 28, ^b 26.
 Alexandrian, 52^a 16.
 Aliens, resident, at Abydos, 49^a 4; at Byzantium, 47^a 1; at Chalcodon, 47^b 22.
 Amisus, 50^b 27, 28.
 Antimenes, imposes 10 % duty on imports in Babylonia, 52^b 26; institutes insurance of slaves serving in the army, 52^b 33 ff.; sells the contents of storehouses on the royal roads, 53^a 24 ff.
 Antissa, 47^a 25.
 Aristotle, the Rhodian, raises money from the rival parties at Phocaea, 48^a 35 ff.; obtains control of the law-courts, 48^b 11.
 Artabazus, 51^b 20.
Artabe, 51^a 9.
 Arts, the, their subdivisions, 43^a 5; the mercenary a's, 43^a 29; the warlike a's, 43^a 30; the illiberal a's, 43^b 3. See also *Agriculture*, *Mining*.
 Athena, 47^a 15.
 Athenian, 47^a 4, 8, 18, 50^a 23, ^b 33, 51^a 18, 53^a 15.
 Athribis, province of, 53^a 6.
 Attic system of economy, 44^b 31, 45^a 18.
 Babylon, 52^b 27.
 Banks, right to change money granted to a single b. at Byzantium, 46^b 24.
 Black Sea, ships from, forced to put in at Byzantium, 46^b 31; seized by Chalcedonians, 47^b 25.
 Bosphorus, tyrants on the, 47^b 3.
 Byzantines, raise money by selling sacred enclosures and other property and rights, 46^b 13 ff.; grant right of changing money to a single bank, 46^b 24; grant citizenship to those born of one citizen-parent only, 46^b 27; force ships from Black Sea to put in, 46^b 31; allow resident-aliens to lend money on mortgages, 47^a 1.
 Callistratus, doubles the sum for which harbour-dues in Macedonia are sold, 50^a 16 ff.
 Canopus, 52^a 30, 31.
 Caria, 48^a 4, 51^b 36.
 Carians, 52^a 1.
 Carthaginians, not allowed to drink wine during military service, 44^a 33.
 Chabrias, his advice to Taus, king of Egypt, 50^b 33; his device for obtaining provisions for the fleet, 53^a 19 ff.
 Chalcedonians, pay their mercenaries by seizing passing ships from the Black Sea, 47^b 20 ff.
 Charidemus, obtains money by deceiving the Aeolians, 51^b 19 ff.; forbids the possession of arms, 51^b 29 ff.
 Chians, raise money by forcing debtors to pay the state and paying interest to creditors, 47^b 35.
Chous, 47^a 35.
 Chorus, tragic, 47^a 11, 51^b 37.
 Citizenship, granted at Byzantium to those born of one citizen-parent only, 46^b 27.
 City, the, the subject-matter of Politics, 43^a 2, 7; definition of, 43^a 10; economy of (Political economy), 45^b 14, 46^b 5 ff.
 Clans, property owned by, 46^b 15.
 Clazomenians, raise money by commandeering oil and selling it abroad, 48^b 17 ff.; establish an iron coinage, 48^b 24 ff.
 Cleomenes, places a tax on exported corn, 52^a 16 ff.; obtains money by threatening to hunt sacred crocodiles in Egypt, 52^a 23 ff.; transfers the mart at Canopus to the Pharos, 52^a 29; his device for obtaining goods at a fair price, 52^b 4 ff.; fixes the price of corn,

INDEX

- 52^b 14 ; obtains money by threatening to reduce the number of temples in Egypt, 52^b 20 ff. ; by a trick deprives his soldiers of a month's pay in the year, 53^b 1 ff.
- Coinage, 45^b 22, 23 ; Hippias declares the Athenian c. debased and calls it in, then reissues it, 47^a 8 ; of iron at Clazomene, 48^b 25 ; of tin at Syracuse, 49^a 32 ff. ; debased at Syracuse, 49^b 30 ff. ; of bronze issued for silver by Timotheus, 50^a 23 ff.
- Condalus, raises money by various devices, 48^a 18 ff.
- Corcyræ, 50^a 30.
- Corinthian, 46^a 32, 33, ^b 5.
- Cotys, brings down the price of corn by employing troops for agriculture, 51^a 18 ff. ; obtains money by a trick from the Peirinthians, 51^a 24 ff.
- Crocodiles, sacred, in Egypt, 52^a 24.
- Cypselus, his deception of the Corinthians, 46^a 32 ff.
- Cyzicus, popular party at, pays the army by releasing wealthy citizens from prison on payment of a fine, 47^b 31 ff.
- Demeter, 49^a 15.
- Didales, deceives his soldiers by showing them mule-loads of silver plate, 50^a 16 ff. ; keeps artificers and retailers in his personal service, 50^b 30.
- Dion, 44^b 35.
- Dionysia, 51^b 37.
- Dionysius, of Syracuse, appropriates by a trick the jewellery of the Syracusans, 49^a 14 ff. ; obtains money for the fleet by a trick, 49^a 25 ff. ; issues a tin coinage, 49^a 32 ff. ; obtains money by the trick of selling his own household goods, 49^a 36 ff. ; obtains money by removing the tax on cattle and then reimposing it, 49^b 6 ; appropriates the income of orphan minors, 49^b 14 ff. ; discovers by a trick the hidden treasures of the Rhegians, 49^b 17 ff. ; debases the coinage, 49^b 30 ff. ; obtains by a trick the treasures taken by his sailors from the temple of Leucothea, 49^b 33 ; appropriates offerings and decorations of statues, 53^b 20 ff.
- Druggists, 46^b 22.
- Economics, compared with Politics, 43^a 1 ; its sphere is a monarchy, 43^a 4 ; its subject-matter is the household, 43^a 2, 9 ; prior in origin to Politics, 43^a 15 ; includes rules for the association of husband and wife, 43^a 23.
- Economist, qualities of the, 44^b 22 ff., 45^b 7 ff.
- Economy, systems of, Attic, 44^b 31, 45^a 18 ; Laconian, 44^b 31, 45^b 2 ; Persian, 44^b 30, 34 ; four kinds of, Royal, Satrapic, Political, and Personal, 45^b 11 ff.
- Egypt, 52^a 9, 16, 17.
- Egyptian, 50^b 33.
- Enclosures, sacred, 46^b 13 ; belonging to associations and clans, 46^b 15.
- Ephesians, the, forbid the wearing of gold ornaments, 49^a 9.
- 'Essence' defined, 43^a 13.
- Evaeses, obtains money by a trick from the relatives of governors whom he had hanged, 52^a 9 ff.
- Expenditure, must not exceed income, 46^a 16.
- Export, exports, 45^b 21, 24 ; of corn forbidden at Selybria, 48^b 33 ; this prohibition relaxed, 49^a 1 ; tax on corn exported from Egypt, 52^a 20.
- Farmers, loans to, 49^a 5.
- Female, see *Male and female, Husband and wife*.
- Fisheries, 46^b 20.
- Food, of slaves, 44^a 31 ff.
- Freedom, as a reward of merit in slaves, 44^b 15.
- Harbour dues, in Macedonia, 50^a 16.
- Heraclea, the people of, pay their army by commandeering local supplies and selling them to the soldiers, 47^b 3 ff.
- Hermeias, 51^a 33, 35.
- Hesiod, (*Works and Days*, 405) 43^a 20, (do., 699) 44^a 16.
- Hippias, exacts payment for buildings, &c., projecting into the streets of Athens, 47^a 4 ; declares coinage debased and calls it in, then reissues it, 47^a 8 ; excuses from

INDEX

- state services on payment of a fine, 47^a 11; imposes a payment in grain and money for persons born and dying, 47^a 14.
- Household, the, is the subject-matter of Economics, 43^a 2, 9; its component parts, 43^a 18; the first condition of subsistence, 43^a 22; disposition of, 45^a 24 ff.
- Husband and wife, rules for their association a part of Economics, 43^a 23; the common life natural, 43^b 8 ff., 26; the nature of their intercourse, 43^b 17 ff.; their functions compared, 43^b 27 ff.
- Imports, 45^b 21, 24; 10% duty on, in Babylonia, 52^b 27.
- Income, sources of, should be distributed, 44^b 27; must not be exceeded by expenditure, 46^a 16. See also *Revenue*.
- Insurance of slaves serving in the army, 52^b 33 ff.
- Intercourse, sexual, see *Sexual intercourse*.
- Iphicrates, his advice to Cotys, 51^a 18.
- Iron coinage at Clazomenae, 48^b 25.
- Jugglers, 44^b 21.
- Lacedaemonians fast for a day and give the money thus saved to the Samians, 47^b 16.
- Laconian system of economy, 44^b 31, 45^b 2.
- Lampsacus, 51^b 1, provisions at L. bought up by the state and sold at a profit, 47^b 32.
- Laurium, 53^a 16.
- Lead-mines at Laurium, 53^a 16.
- Leucothea, 49^b 34.
- Levy on property at Potidaea, 47^a 18.
- Libyan, 45^a 2, 4.
- Loans, to farmers, 49^a 5.
- Lycians, the, wear their hair long, 48^a 28; deceived by Condalus, 48^a 30.
- Lygdamis, his trick for raising money, 46^b 7 ff.
- Macedonia, 50^a 16.
- Macedonian, 51^b 36.
- Male and female, necessary to one another, 43^b 11 ff.; their intercourse among the animals and among men compared, 43^a 13 ff.; see also *Husband and wife*.
- Man, a component part of the household, 43^a 18; the worthiest subject of Economics, 44^a 23.
- Man and woman, see *Husband and wife*, *Male and female*.
- Marriage, of slaves, commended, 44^b 17; see also *Husband and wife*.
- Master, the, necessity for personal supervision by, 44^b 34; should rise early and retire late, 45^a 13.
- Mausolus, 48^a 18, 31; the trick by which he paid tribute due to the king of Persia, 48^a 4; raises money by a trick from the Mylasians, 48^a 11.
- Medimnus*, 47^a 33, 50^b 9, 51^a 21.
- Memnon, obtains money by a trick from the inhabitants of Lampsacus, 51^b 1 ff.; by a trick avoids paying his soldiers for 30 days in the year, 51^b 11 ff.
- Mendaeans, only exact property-tax when required, 50^a 6; sell slaves to pay war expenses, 50^a 11.
- Mentor, obtains the possessions of Hermeias by a trick, 51^a 33 ff.
- Mercenaries, 47^b 20, 53^b 11.
- Metreta*, 50^b 10.
- Mines, at Laurium, 53^a 16.
- Mining, the art of, 43^a 26.
- Monarchy, the sphere of Economics is a m., 43^a 4.
- Money-changing, the right of, 46^b 24.
- Mortgaged property, loans on, 47^a 1.
- Mylassians, 48^a 11, 14.
- Mysians, 53^b 8.
- Naxian, 46^b 7.
- Oil, commandeered by the state at Clazomenae and sold abroad, 48^b 17.
- Olynthian, 50^a 12, 23, 53^a 5.
- Ophelas, his device for obtaining more money from the provincial governors, 53^a 5 ff.
- Orus, 51^b 19.
- Peirinthians, 51^a 24, 25.
- Persia, the king of, 48^a 4, 13, 30, 51^a 6.

INDEX

- Persian, 45^a 2, 50^b 16; P. system of economy, 44^b 30, 34.
- Personal Economy, 45^b 14; its scope, 46^a 8-16.
- Pharos, the (at Alexandria), 52^a 30.
- Philoxenus, obtains money by granting relief from state-services, 51^b 36 ff.
- Phocaea, rival parties at, deceived by Aristotle the Rhodian, 48^a 35 ff.
- Political Economy, 45^b 14; its scope, 46^b 5 ff.
- Politics, compared with Economics, 43^a 1; its subject-matter is the city, 43^a 2, 7; Economics prior to P., 43^a 15.
- Poll-tax, 46^a 4, 48^a 32.
- Potidaea, the Athenians at, levy a tax on property, 47^a 18.
- Procreation, the sole object of sexual intercourse of animals, 43^b 15; in man subserves nature and provides for the support of parents in old age, 43^b 20 ff.; provides for the perpetuation of the species, 43^b 25.
- Property, a component part of the household, 43^a 18; levy on, at Potidaea, 47^a 18; tax on, at Mende, 50^a 11.
- Punishment of slaves, 44^a 35.
- Pythagoreans, 44^a 10.
- Pythocles, advises the Athenians to fix the market-price of lead, 53^a 15 ff.
- Revenue, various kinds of, 45^b 29 ff.; sources of, 46^a 21 ff.; see also *Income*.
- Rhegians, 49^b 22.
- Rhodium, 49^b 17.
- Rhodian, 51^a 33, ^b1, 52^b 26.
- Roads, royal, 48^a 24, 52^b 26, 53^a 24.
- 'Royal' Economy, 45^b 15; its scope, 45^b 19 ff.
- Salt, right to sell, 46^b 21.
- Samians, 47^b 16, 19.
- Samos, 50^b 4.
- Satrap, 45^b 25, 51^b 36, 52^a 9, 16, ^b 29, 53^a 3.
- 'Satrapic' Economy, 45^b 13, 28; its scope, 45^b 29 ff.
- Selybrians, raise money by relaxing prohibition on the export of corn, 48^b 33 ff.
- Sexual intercourse, in animals based on instinct, 43^b 13; rules for, in man, 44^a 13.
- Slaves, necessity for good s., 44^a 25; their education and treatment, 44^a 26 ff.; punishment of, 44^a 35; food of, 44^a 31 ff.; freedom to be offered as prize of merit, 44^b 15; best type of, 44^b 11 ff.; marriage among, 44^b 17; leisure and amusements of, 44^b 19; sold at Mende to pay expenses of war, 50^a 11; insurance of slaves serving in the army, 52^b 33 ff.
- Soothsayers, 46^b 22.
- Sosipolis raises money by selling offerings to Dionysus, 47^a 25 ff.
- Stabelbius, by a trick disbands his soldiers to whom he owes pay, 53^b 8 ff.
- State-services, Hippias excuses from, on payment of fine, 47^a 11; similar device used by Philomenus, 51^b 36 ff.
- Storehouses on royal roads, 53^a 24.
- Suppliants, reverence for, 44^a 11.
- Syracusans, 49^b 4.
- Syracuse, 49^a 14.
- Syrian, 52^a 9.
- Taos, king of Egypt, 53^a 20, obtains money from the priests by threatening that they will be dispensed with, and borrows other money from them, 50^b 33 ff.; taxes corn, 51^a 8; taxes industry, 51^a 10; commandeers unminted gold and silver, 51^a 13.
- Taxes, various kinds of, 45^b 30 ff.; on cattle at Syracuse, 49^b 6; on property at Mende, 50^a 11; on corn and industries in Egypt, 51^a 8 ff. See also *Poll-tax*.
- Thracian, 51^a 24.
- Timotheus, issues bronze for silver coinage, 50^a 23 ff.; by a trick avoids paying his soldiers, 50^a 30 ff.; sells their own produce to the besieged Samians, 50^b 4; allows provisions to be sold wholesale only, 50^b 7.
- Tithe, 45^b 33.
- Trading, retail, 43^a 29.
- Tribute, paid by Mausolus to the king of Persia, 48^a 4.

INDEX

- Tyrants, on the Bosphorus, 47^b 4;
Mausolus t. of Caria, 48^a 5.
- Tyrrhenia, 49^b 33.
- Wealth, acquisition and preservation of, 44^b 23 ff.
- Wife, the, in the household, 43^a 21,
^b 7, 45^a 6; the proper possession
of all freemen, 43^a 22; laws to be
observed towards, 44^a 8. See
also *Husband and wife*.
- Wine, not to be given to slaves,
44^a 31 ff.; not drunk by the
Carthaginians on military service,
44^a 33.
- Woman, see *Male and female*,
Husband and wife, *Wife*.
- Zeus, 46^a 32.

ATHENIENSIMUM
RESPUBLICA

BY

SIR FREDERIC G. KENYON

K.C.B., F.B.A.

HON. FELLOW OF MAGDALEN AND NEW COLLEGES

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1920

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

LONDON EDINBURGH GLASGOW NEW YORK
TORONTO MELBOURNE CAPE TOWN BOMBAY

HUMPHREY MILFORD

PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY

PREFACE

THIS translation of the treatise on the Constitution of Athens is a revision of a translation prepared by me, shortly after the first appearance of the Greek text in 1891, for Messrs. Bell & Son. and is issued with their concurrence. It has been revised throughout, with a view both to improving it in detail and to bringing it into conformity with the text as now established. In particular, the last six chapters, which have been reconstructed out of a large number of fragments and were first printed as a continuous text in the edition prepared by me for the Berlin Academy (1903), are now translated for the first time.

The text taken as the basis is that printed in the Oxford series (*Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis*), which will be published almost simultaneously. It is almost identical with that of the Berlin edition; indeed the extent of variation between this and all recent editions—Thalheim (1909), Sandys (1912), Hude (1916)—is very slight, and in default of the appearance of another manuscript of the treatise, to set beside the British Museum papyrus, the text may be considered as definitely established within very narrow limits.

In translating it, I have endeavoured to follow the matter-of-fact, unadorned style of the original. In the notes I have confined myself to the indication of possible variations of text and the explanation of passages which appear obscure. I have not undertaken any examination of the credibility of the statements made, or of the historical value of the treatise.

I have to thank Mr. W. D. Ross and Prof. J. A. Smith for suggestions on points of detail.

F. G. K.

Dec. 1, 1919.



CONTENTS

I. SKETCH OF ATHENIAN HISTORY (cc. 1-41).

CH.

1. Condemnation [of the Alcmeonidae]. Purification of the city by Epimenides.
2. Oligarchical constitution of the country, and miserable economic condition of the populace.
3. Summary of pre-Draconian constitution. Origin of the Archons; duration of their office, and their official residences. Predominant position of the Areopagus as guardian of the constitution.
4. The constitution of Draco: the franchise given to those who could furnish a military equipment. Qualifications of Archons, Treasurers, Strategi, and Hipparchi. Council of 401. Classification of the population on a property basis. Position of Areopagus maintained.
5. Political strife, leading to appointment of Solon as mediator and Archon: his own description of his task.
6. The Seisachtheia.
7. The constitution of Solon.
The property classes.
8. Mode of election of magistrates. Tribes, Trittyes, and Nau-craries. Council of 400. Council of Areopagus; its powers of supervision. Penalty for indifference in times of civil strife.
9. Democratic features: (1) prohibition of loans secured on the debtor's person; (2) general right to claim redress of wrong; (3) the appeal to the jury-courts.
10. Solon's reforms of the currency and the standards of weights and measures.
11. Popular opinion on Solon's reforms.
12. Quotations from his poems to illustrate his own view of his policy.
13. Continuance of political strife. Damasias's *coup d'état*. The three political parties: (1) the Shore, (2) the Plain, (3) the Mountain.
14. Usurpation of Pisistratus: his first expulsion and restoration.
15. His second expulsion and final restoration. Disarmament of the people.
16. Characteristics of his rule.
17. His death and family.

CONTENTS

CH.

18. The rule of the Pisistratidae. Harmodius and Aristogeiton.
19. Deterioration of the tyrants' administration. Attacks by exiles, headed by Alcmeonidae: many failures, and final success through the Delphic oracle and Spartan help. Expulsion of the Pisistratidae.
20. Cleisthenes: struggle with Isagoras, backed by the Spartans under Cleomenes. Final expulsion of Spartans, and triumph of the people.
21. Reforms of Cleisthenes. Establishment of ten tribes: Council of 500: division of population into demes, grouped in trittyes.
22. The law of ostracism: its application, and growth of popular control of politics. Marathon; the mines of Maroneia and the building of a navy under Themistocles' inspiration; Salamis.
23. Revival of Areopagus through its efficiency in Persian war: its good administration. Aristides and Themistocles. The Ionian League.
24. Aristides and the League: the population of Athens supported by the revenues of the League.
25. Fall of the Areopagus: Ephialtes and Themistocles.
26. Increasing laxity of administration, due to political demagogism. Inefficiency of aristocratic leaders. Zeugitae made eligible for Archonship. Institution of local justices. Restriction of franchise to persons of citizen birth by both parents.
27. Rise of Pericles. Outbreak of Peloponnesian War. Institution of pay for services in law-courts, leading eventually to public demoralization and corruption.
28. Growth of demagogism after Pericles' death. Summary of party leaderships from time of Solon. Deterioration of popular leaders: Cleon, Cleophon, and *progenies uitiosior*. The best statesmen of these later times, Nicias, Thucydides, and Theramenes.
29. Fall of the democracy. Constitution of the Four Hundred: stages in its establishment:
 - (a) Committee of 30: recommend Constituent Assembly of Five Thousand.
 - (b) The Five Thousand appoint 100 commissioners to draft constitution. These draw up (1) a constitution for the future, with Councils composed of men over 30, and
30. (2) a scheme for immediate adoption, based on a Council of Four Hundred with full powers of administration.
31. Rule of the Four Hundred: failure of negotiations with Sparta.
32. Loss of Euboea; fall of Four Hundred: the government entrusted to the Five Thousand, with good results. The Revolution led by Theramenes.
33. The Five Thousand dispossessed: the popular Assembly resumes control. Battle of Arginusae. Spartan offer of peace rejected.

CONTENTS

CH.

- Battle of Aegospotami : fall of Athens. The Thirty established in power by Lysander.
35. Rule of the Thirty : rapid deterioration.
 36. Opposition of Theramenes : nominal Assembly of Three Thousand.
 37. Thrasybulus and the exiles at Phyle. Execution of Theramenes, and admission of Spartan garrison.
 38. Defeat and deposition of the Thirty. Council of Ten. Defection of the populace. Second Council of Ten, which restores peace.
 39. Terms of reconciliation : settlement of partisans of the Thirty at Eleusis.
 40. The restored democracy ; statesmanlike action of Archinus. End of the secession to Eleusis.
 41. Recapitulation of successive constitutions, from Ion to the restored democracy. Payment for attendance at the Assembly.

II. THE CONSTITUTION OF ATHENS IN THE FOURTH CENTURY.

42. Admission to the franchise : the training of the youths.
43. The Council of Five Hundred : its Prytanes. The programme of the Assembly.
44. President of the Prytanes : the Proedri.
45. Criminal jurisdiction of the Council ; its limitation to preliminary investigation.
Examination of magistrates, similarly limited.
46. Examination of naval programme, and inspection of public buildings.
47. Co-operation with other magistrates :
 - (a) The Treasurers.
 - (b) The Poletae [Commissioners for Public Contracts].
48. (c) The Apodectae [Receivers-General].
 - (d) The Logistae [Auditors].
 - (e) The Euthuni [Examiners of Accounts].
49. (f) The Catalogeis [Commissioners of Enrolment]. Inspection of cavalry horses.
 - (g) The Military Treasurer.
 - (h) Examination of paupers.
50. Commissioners for Repairs of Temples.
Astynomi [City Commissioners].
51. Agoranomi [Market Commissioners].
Metronomi [Commissioners of Weights and Measures].
Sitophylaces [Corn Commissioners].
Superintendents of the Mart.
52. The Eleven [Gaal Commissioners].
Eisagogeis [Introducers of Cases].

CONTENTS

CH.

53. The Forty [Local Justices].
Arbitrators.
Eponymi.
54. Hodopoei [Commissioners of Roads].
Auditors.
Clerks of the Assembly.
Hieropoei [Commissioners of Public Worship].
Commissioners of Festivals.
Magistrates for Salamis and Piraeus.
55. The Archons : formalities of their election.
56. (a) The Archon : appointment of Choregi ; share in administration of festivals ; suits which are heard before him.
57. (b) The King : superintendence of the mysteries and Lenaea : trials for homicide.
58. (c) The Polemarch : his religious functions and jurisdiction in actions respecting non-citizens.
59. (d) The Thesmothetae : their legal functions.
60. Athlothetae [Commissioners of Games] : the oil from the sacred olives.
61. Military officials : (a) Strategi, (b) Taxiarchs, (c) Hipparchs, (d) Phylarchs.
62. Modes of election.
Pay for various offices.
- 63-69. Procedure in the law-courts.
63. The apparatus. Qualifications for service as jurors. Tickets.
64. Selection of jurors, and assignment to courts.
65. Precautions against packing of juries.
66. Allotment of presiding magistrates.
Selection of controller of the clock and counters of votes.
67. Allotment of time to the litigants.
68. Size of juries. Form of ballot balls. Method of voting.
69. Counting of votes. Payment of jurors.

ATHENIENSIVM RESPUBLICA

... [They¹ were tried] by a court empanelled from among **1** the noble families, and sworn upon the sacrifices. The part of accuser was taken by Myron. They were found guilty of the sacrilege, and their bodies were cast out of their graves and their race banished for evermore. In view of this expiation², Epimenides the Cretan performed a purification of the city.

After this event there was contention for a long time **2** between the upper classes and the populace. Not only was the constitution at this time oligarchical in every respect, but the poorer classes, men, women, and children, were the serfs of the rich. They were known as Pelātae and also as Hectēmōri,³ because they cultivated the lands of the rich at the rent thus indicated. The whole country was in the hands of a few persons, and if the tenants failed to pay their rent they were liable to be haled into slavery, and their children with them. All loans were secured upon the debtor's person, a custom which prevailed until the

¹ The narrative opens with the trial of the Alcmeonidae for sacrilege. Cylon, a young noble, had attempted to seize despotic power by force; but his attempt failed, and his adherents fled to sanctuary, which they were only induced to leave under a safe conduct. This was violated by the archon Megacles, one of the great house of the Alcmeonidae, who caused them all to be put to death; a sacrilege which was supposed to be the cause of the misfortunes which subsequently befell Athens, until the Alcmeonidae submitted themselves to trial. The date of Cylon's attempt to set himself up as tyrant is shown by this treatise to have been before the time of Draco; and, as Cylon was an Olympic victor in 640 B.C., and was apparently still a young man at the time of his attempt, the latter (which took place in an Olympic year) may be assigned to 632 B.C. The expulsion of the Alcmeonidae did not take place till many years afterwards; the visit of Epimenides probably took place about 596 B.C., shortly before the legislation of Solon. Aristotle is here carrying down the story of Cylon's attempt to its conclusion, and he subsequently goes back to the reforms of Draco.

² Or 'in addition'; but the order of the words is in favour of the other interpretation.

³ i.e. those who paid a sixth portion. Some scholars, however, interpret it to mean tenants who received only a sixth part of the produce, and paid five-sixths to their landlords.

ATHENIENSIVM RESPUBLICA

time of Solon, who was the first to appear as the champion
3 of the people. But the hardest and bitterest part of the
constitution in the eyes of the masses was their state of
serfdom. Not but what they were also discontented with
every other feature of their lot; for, to speak generally, they
had no part nor share in anything.

3 Now the ancient constitution, as it existed before the time
of Draco, was organized as follows. The magistrates were
elected according to qualifications of birth and wealth. At
first they governed for life, but subsequently for terms
2 of ten years.¹ The first magistrates, both in date and in
importance, were the King, the Polemarch, and the Archon.
The earliest of these offices was that of the King, which
existed from ancestral antiquity. To this was added,
secondly, the office of Polemarch, on account of some of the
kings proving feeble in war; for it was on this account that
Ion² was invited to accept the post on an occasion of press-
3 ing need. The last of the three offices was that of the
Archon, which most authorities state to have come into
existence in the time of Medon. Others assign it to the
time of Acastus,³ and adduce as proof the fact that the nine
Archons swear to execute their oaths 'as in the days of
Acastus', which seems to suggest that it was in his time

¹ The absolute monarchy appears to have ended with Codrus, whose traditional date is about 1066 B.C. With the accession of his son, Medon, a change was evidently made in the nature of the kingly power, which is described in the following sentences. The office of Polemarch was already in existence; but at this date the third office, that of Archon, was created, and, according to Aristotle, the descendants of Codrus agreed to surrender the kingship, taking in exchange the archonship, to which the more important functions of the king had been transferred. This agrees with the tradition that the kingship was abolished after the death of Codrus, though in fact it did not absolutely cease to exist, but was reduced to the second rank, retaining little except sacrificial functions. In 752 B.C. the term of the Archon was limited to ten years, the election being still confined to members of the royal house. After four Archons had ruled on these conditions, the office was thrown open to all the Eupatridae, or nobles; and in 682 B.C. the board of nine annual Archons was substituted for the decennial Archon.

² Ion was said to have come to the assistance of his grandfather Erechtheus, when the latter was engaged in war with Eumolpus of Eleusis, and to have been made Polemarch, or commander-in-chief, of the Athenians.

³ The successor of Medon.

CHAPTER 3

that the descendants of Codrus retired from the kingship in return for the prerogatives conferred upon the Archon. Whichever way it be, the difference in date is small ; but that it was the last of these magistracies to be created is shown by the fact that the Archon has no part in the ancestral sacrifices, as the King and the Polemarch have, but exclusively in those of later origin. So it is only at a comparatively late date that the office of Archon has become of great importance, through the dignity conferred by these later additions. The Thesmothētai¹ were appointed many years⁴ afterwards, when these offices had already become annual, with the object that they might publicly record all legal decisions, and act as guardians of them with a view to determining the issues between litigants. Accordingly their office, alone of those which have been mentioned, was never of more than annual duration.

Such, then, is the relative chronological precedence of⁵ these offices. At that time the nine Archons did not all live together. The King occupied the building now known as the Bucolium, near the Prytanēum, as may be seen from the fact that even to the present day the marriage of the King's wife to Dionysus² takes place there. The Archon lived in the Prytaneum, the Polemarch in the Epilycēum. The latter building was formerly called the Polemarchēum, but after Epilycus, during his term of office as Polemarch, had rebuilt it and fitted it up, it was called the Epilyceum. The Thesmothetae occupied the Thesmothetēum. In the time of Solon, however, they all came together into the Thesmotheteum. They had power to decide cases finally on their own authority, not, as now, merely to hold a preliminary hearing. Such then was the arrangement of the magistracies. The Council of Areopagus had as its constitu-⁶ tionally assigned duty the protection of the laws ; but in point of fact it administered the greater and most important part of the government of the state, and inflicted personal punishments and fines summarily upon all who misbehaved

¹ The six junior Archons.

² The wife of the King-archon every year went through the ceremony of marriage to the god Dionysus, at the feast of the Anthesteria.

ATHENIENSIIUM RESPUBLICA

themselves. This was the natural consequence of the facts that the Archons were elected under qualifications of birth and wealth, and that the Areopagus was composed of those who had served as Archons; for which latter reason the membership of the Areopagus is the only office which has continued to be a life-magistracy to the present day.

- 4 Such was, in outline, the first constitution, but not very long after the events above recorded, in the archonship of Aristaichmus,¹ Draco enacted his ordinances. Now his constitution had the following form. The franchise was given to all who could furnish themselves with a military equipment. The nine Archons and the Treasurers
2 were elected by this body from persons possessing an unencumbered property of not less than ten minas, the less important officials from those who could furnish themselves with a military equipment, and the generals [Stratēgi] and commanders of the cavalry [Hipparchi] from those who could show an unencumbered property of not less than a hundred minas, and had children born in lawful wedlock over ten years of age. These officers were required to hold to bail the Prytānes, the Strategi, and the Hipparchi of the preceding year until their accounts had been audited, taking
3 four securities of the same class as that to which the Strategi and the Hipparchi belonged. There was also to be a Council, consisting of four hundred and one members, elected by lot from among those who possessed the franchise. Both for this and for the other magistracies² the lot was cast among those who were over thirty years of age; and no one might hold office twice until every one else had had his turn, after which they were to cast the lot afresh. If any member of the Council failed to attend when there was a sitting of the Council or of the Assembly, he paid a fine, to the amount of three drachmas if he was a Pentacosimedimnus,³
4 two if he was a Knight, and one if he was a Zeugites. The

¹ The name of this Archon is not otherwise known, but the traditional date of Draco is 621 B. C.

² i. e. the other magistracies to which election was made by lot. This does not mean that all the magistrates were at this time elected by lot, which certainly was not the case.

³ The meanings of these terms are explained in ch. 7, 4.

CHAPTER 4

Council of Areopagus was guardian of the laws, and kept watch over the magistrates to see that they executed their offices in accordance with the laws. Any person who felt himself wronged might lay an information before the Council of Areopagus, on declaring what law was broken by the wrong done to him. But, as has been said before,¹ loans were secured upon the persons of the debtors, and the land was in the hands of a few.

Since such, then, was the organization of the constitution, and the many were in slavery to the few, the people rose against the upper class. The strife was keen, and for a long time the two parties were ranged in hostile camps against one another, till at last,² by common consent, they appointed Solon to be mediator and Archon, and committed the whole constitution to his hands. The immediate occasion of his appointment was his poem, which begins with the words:

I behold, and within my heart deep sadness has claimed
its place,
As I mark the oldest home of the ancient Ionian race
Slain by the sword.³

In this poem he fights and disputes on behalf of each party in turn against the other, and finally he advises them to come to terms and put an end to the quarrel existing between them. By birth and reputation Solon was one of the foremost men of the day, but in wealth and position he was of the middle class, as is generally agreed, and is, indeed, established by his own evidence in these poems, where he exhorts the wealthy not to be grasping.

But ye who have store of good, who are sated and overflow,
Restrain your swelling soul, and still it and keep it low:
Let the heart that is great within you be trained a
lowlier way;
Ye shall not have all at your will, and we will not for
ever obey.

¹ Ch. 2, 2.

² The traditional date for Solon's legislation is 594 B. C.

³ A passage of considerable length, which evidently comes from the same poem, is quoted by Demosthenes (*de Fals. Leg.* ch. 255), but this beginning of it is not otherwise known, nor yet the four lines quoted just below.

ATHENIENSIVM RESPUBLICA

Indeed, he constantly fastens the blame of the conflict on the rich; and accordingly at the beginning of the poem he says that he fears 'the love of wealth and an overweening mind', evidently meaning that it was through these that the quarrel arose.

- 6 As soon as he was at the head of affairs, Solon liberated the people once and for all, by prohibiting all loans on the security of the debtor's person: and in addition he made laws by which he cancelled all debts, public and private. This measure is commonly called the *Seisachtheia* [= removal of burdens], since thereby the people had their
- 2 loads removed from them. In connexion with it some persons try to traduce the character of Solon. It so happened that, when he was about to enact the *Seisachtheia*, he communicated his intention to some members of the upper class, whereupon, as the partisans of the popular party say, his friends stole a march on him; while those who wish to attack his character maintain that he too had a share in the fraud himself. For these persons borrowed money and bought up a large amount of land, and so when, a short time afterwards, all debts were cancelled, they became wealthy; and this, they say, was the origin of the families which were afterwards looked on as having been wealthy from primeval times.
- 3 However, the story of the popular party is by far the most probable. A man who was so moderate and public-spirited in all his other actions, that when it was within his power to put his fellow-citizens beneath his feet and establish himself as tyrant, he preferred instead to incur the hostility of both parties by placing his honour and the general welfare above his personal aggrandisement, is not likely to have consented to defile his hands by such a petty and palpable fraud.
- 4 That he had this absolute power is, in the first place, indicated by the desperate condition of the country; moreover, he mentions it himself repeatedly in his poems, and it is universally admitted. We are therefore bound to consider this accusation to be false.
- 7 Next Solon drew up a constitution and enacted new laws; and the ordinances of Draco ceased to be used, with

CHAPTER 7

the exception of those relating to murder. The laws were inscribed on the wooden stands,¹ and set up in the King's Porch, and all swore to obey them; and the nine Archons made oath upon the stone,² declaring that they would dedicate a golden statue if they should transgress any of them. This is the origin of the oath to that effect which they take to the present day. Solon ratified his laws for a hundred ² years; and the following was the fashion in which he organized the constitution. He divided the population according ³ to property into four classes, just as it had been divided before, namely, Pentacosimedimni, Knights, Zeugitae, and Thetes.³ The various magistracies, namely, the nine Archons, the Treasurers, the Commissioners for Public Contracts [Polētae], the Eleven,⁴ and the Exchequer Clerks [Colacretae],⁵ he assigned to the Pentacosimedimni, the Knights, and the Zeugitae, giving offices to each class in proportion to the value of their rateable property. To those who ranked among the Thetes he gave nothing but a place in the ⁴ Assembly and in the juries. A man had to rank as ⁴ a Pentacosimedimnus if he made, from his own land, five hundred measures, whether liquid or solid. Those ranked as Knights who made three hundred measures, or, as some say, those who were able to maintain a horse. In support of the latter definition they adduce the name of the class, which may be supposed to be derived from this fact, and also some votive offerings of early times; for in the Acropolis there is a votive offering, a statue of Diphilus,⁶ bearing this inscription:

¹ i. e. the well-known pillars, which were formed by joining together four rectangular tablets made of wood.

² See ch. 55, 5.

³ The name Pentacosimedimnus means one who possesses 500 measures, as explained in the text below; that of Knight, or Horseman, implies ability to keep a horse; that of Zeugites, ability to keep a yoke of oxen; while the Thetes were originally serfs attached to the soil.

⁴ The superintendents of the state prison; see ch. 52, 1.

⁵ These officers, whose original function was said to have been to 'collect the pieces after a sacrifice', were the Treasury officials in early times, who received the taxes and handed them over to be kept by the Treasurers. In later times the Colacretae seem to have ceased to exist, and they are not mentioned in Aristotle's enumeration of the officials in his own day.

⁶ Mr. A. S. Murray has pointed out that this must be a mistake,

ATHENIENSIUM RESPUBLICA

The son of Diphilus, Anthemion hight,
Raised from the Thetes and become a Knight,
Did to the gods this sculptured charger bring,
For his promotion a thank-offering.

And a horse stands in evidence beside the man, implying that this was what was meant by belonging to the rank of Knight. At the same time it seems reasonable to suppose that this class, like the Pentacosimedimni, was defined by the possession of an income of a certain number of measures. Those ranked as Zeugitae who made two hundred measures, liquid or solid; and the rest ranked as Thetes, and were not eligible for any office. Hence it is that even at the present day, when a candidate for any office is asked to what class he belongs, no one would think of saying that he belonged to the Thetes.

- 8 The elections to the various offices Solon enacted should be by lot, out of candidates selected by each of the tribes. Each tribe selected ten candidates for the nine archonships, and among these the lot was cast. Hence it is still the custom for each tribe to choose ten candidates by lot, and then the lot is again cast among these. A proof that Solon regulated the elections to office according to the property classes may be found in the law still in force with regard to the Treasurers, which enacts that they shall be chosen from the Pentacosimedimni.¹ Such was Solon's legislation with respect to the nine Archons; whereas in early times the Council of Areopagus² summoned suitable persons according to its own judgement and appointed them for the year to the

either of Aristotle, or, more probably, of the copyist. The statue set up by Anthemion must have been his own, not his father's, since the latter, as the inscription proves, could not properly have been represented with a horse, as he was only a member of the Thetes. We should therefore read 'a statue of Anthemion, son of Diphilus'.

¹ That this qualification was, in Aristotle's own time, purely nominal appears from ch. 47, 1, where it is stated that the person on whom the lot falls holds the office, be he ever so poor.

² This statement is of great value, as nothing was previously known concerning the way in which the Archons and other magistrates were appointed previous to the time of Solon. The elections by the Areopagus, which may have begun as early as the first successors of Codrus, apparently lasted till the reforms of Draco, by which the franchise was conferred on all who could furnish a military equipment, and the magistrates were presumably thenceforward elected in the general Ecclesia or Assembly.

CHAPTER 8

several offices. There were four tribes, as before, and four tribe-kings. Each tribe was divided into three Trittyes [= Thirds], with twelve Naucraries¹ in each; and the Naucraries had officers of their own, called Naucrāri, whose duty it was to superintend the current receipts and expenditure. Hence, among the laws of Solon now obsolete, it is repeatedly written that the Naucrari are to receive and to spend out of the Naucratic fund. Solon also appointed a Council of four hundred, a hundred from each tribe; but he assigned to the Council of the Areopagus the duty of superintending the laws, acting as before as the guardian of the constitution in general. It kept watch over the affairs of the state in most of the more important matters, and corrected offenders, with full powers to inflict either fines or personal punishment. The money received in fines it brought up into the Acropolis, without assigning the reason for the mulct. It also tried those who conspired for the overthrow of the state, Solon having enacted a process of impeachment to deal with such offenders. Further, since he saw the state often engaged in internal disputes, while many of the citizens from sheer indifference accepted whatever might turn up, he made a law with express reference to such persons, enacting that any one who, in a time of civil factions, did not take up arms with either party, should lose his rights as a citizen and cease to have any part in the state.

Such, then, was his legislation concerning the magistracies. There are three points in the constitution of Solon which appear to be its most democratic features: first and most important, the prohibition of loans on the security of the debtor's person; secondly, the right of every person who so willed to claim redress on behalf of any one to whom wrong was being done; thirdly, the institution of the appeal to the jury-courts; and it is to this last, they say, that the masses have owed their strength most of all, since,

¹ It appears from ch. 21, 5 that the Naucraries were local divisions, which, under the constitution of Cleisthenes, were replaced by the demes. The division of tribes into Trittyes and Naucraries existed before the time of Solon, as appears from Herodotus (v. 71), and they are only mentioned here as continuing under Solon's constitution, not as created by him.

ATHENIENSIVM RESPUBLICA

2 when the democracy is master of the voting-power, it is master of the constitution. Moreover, since the laws were not drawn up in simple and explicit terms (but like the one concerning inheritances and wards of state), disputes inevitably occurred, and the courts had to decide in every matter, whether public or private. Some persons in fact believe that Solon deliberately made the laws indefinite, in order that the final decision might be in the hands of the people. This, however, is not probable, and the reason no doubt was that it is impossible to attain ideal perfection when framing a law in general terms: for we must judge of his intentions, not from the actual results in the present day, but from the general tenor of the rest of his legislation.

10 These seem to be the democratic features of his laws; but in addition, before the period of his legislation, he carried through his abolition of debts, and after it his increase in the standards of weights and measures, and of the currency.

2 During his administration the measures were made larger than those of Pheidon, and the mina, which previously had a standard of seventy drachmas, was raised to the full hundred.¹ The standard coin in earlier times was the two-drachma piece. He also made weights corresponding with the coinage, sixty-three minas going to the talent; and the odd three minas were distributed among the stater and the other values.²

11 When he had completed his organization of the constitution in the manner that has been described, he found himself beset by people coming to him and harassing him concerning his laws, criticizing here and questioning there, till, as he wished neither to alter what he had decided on nor yet to be an object of ill will to every one by remaining in Athens,

¹ This is a somewhat curious way of expressing the fact that Solon substituted the Euboic for the Aeginetan standard of coinage. Each mina had 100 drachmas in its own standard, but the weight of the Aeginetan mina was only equivalent to 70 Euboic drachmas. The object of the change was to encourage trade with the great commercial cities of Euboea and with Corinth.

² i.e. the talent was raised by one-twentieth; it still consisted of sixty minas, but these were equal to sixty-three of the old minas, and the increase was distributed proportionately over the smaller values, such as the stater (= four drachmas).

CHAPTER II

he set off on a journey to Egypt, with the combined objects of trade and travel, giving out that he should not return for ten years. He considered that there was no call for him to expound the laws personally, but that every one should obey them just as they were written. Moreover, his position at this time was unpleasant. Many members of the upper class had been estranged from him on account of his abolition of debts, and both parties were alienated through their disappointment at the condition of things which he had created. The mass of the people had expected him to make a complete redistribution of all property, and the upper class hoped he would restore everything to its former position, or, at any rate, make but a small change. Solon, however, had resisted both classes. He might have made himself a despot by attaching himself to whichever party he chose, but he preferred, though at the cost of incurring the enmity of both, to be the saviour of his country and the ideal lawgiver.

The truth of this view of Solon's policy is established alike by common consent, and by the mention he has himself made of the matter in his poems. Thus :

I gave to the mass of the people such rank as befitted
their need,
I took not away their honour, and I granted naught to
their greed ;
While those who were rich in power, who in wealth were
glorious and great,
I bethought me that naught should befall them unworthy
their splendour and state ;
So I stood with my shield outstretched, and both were
safe in its sight,
And I would not that either should triumph, when the
triumph was not with right.

Again he declares how the mass of the people ought to be treated :

But thus will the people best the voice of their leaders
obey,
When neither too slack is the rein, nor violence holdeth
the sway ;

ATHENIENSIVM RESPUBLICA

For indulgence breedeth a child, the presumption that
spurns control,
When riches too great are poured upon men of un-
balanced soul.

- 3 And again elsewhere he speaks about the persons who
wished to redistribute the land :

So they came in search of plunder, and their cravings
knew no bound,
Every one among them deeming endless wealth would
here be found,
And that I with glozing smoothness hid a cruel mind within.
Fondly then and vainly dreamt they ; now they raise an
angry din,
And they glare askance in anger, and the light within
their eyes
Burns with hostile flames upon me. Yet therein no
justice lies.
All I promised, fully wrought I with the gods at hand
to cheer,
Naught beyond in folly ventured. Never to my soul
was dear
With a tyrant's force to govern, nor to see the good and base
Side by side in equal portion share the rich home of
our race.

- 4 Once more he speaks of the abolition of debts and of those
who before were in servitude, but were released owing to the
Seisachtheia :

Of all the aims for which I summoned forth
The people, was there one I compassed not?
Thou, when slow time brings justice in its train,
O mighty mother of the Olympian gods,
Dark Earth, thou best canst witness, from whose breast
I swept the pillars¹ broadcast planted there,
And made thee free, who hadst been slave of yore.
And many a man whom fraud or law had sold
Far from his god-built land, an outcast slave,
I brought again to Athens ; yea, and some,
Exiles from home through debt's oppressive load,
Speaking no more the dear Athenian tongue,
But wandering far and wide, I brought again ;

¹ These were the pillars set up on mortgaged lands, to record the
fact of the encumbrance.

CHAPTER 12

And those that here in vilest slavery
Crouched 'neath a master's frown, I set them free.
Thus might and right were yoked in harmony,
Since by the force of law I won my ends
And kept my promise. Equal laws I gave
To evil and to good, with even hand
Drawing straight justice for the lot of each.
But had another held the goad as I,
One in whose heart was guile and greediness,
He had not kept the people back from strife.
For had I granted, now what pleased the one,
Then what their foes devised in counterpoise,
Of many a man this state had been bereft.
Therefore I showed my might on every side,
Turning at bay like wolf among the hounds.

And again he reviles both parties for their grumblings in the 5
times that followed :

Nay, if one must lay blame where blame is due,
Wer't not for me, the people ne'er had set
Their eyes upon these blessings e'en in dreams:—
While greater men, the men of wealthier life,
Should praise me and should court me as their friend.

For had any other man, he says, received this exalted post,

He had not kept the people back, nor ceased
Till he had robbed the richness of the milk.
But I stood forth a landmark in the midst,
And barred the foes from battle.

Such, then, were Solon's reasons for his departure from 13
the country. After his retirement the city was still torn by
divisions. For four years, indeed, they lived in peace; but
in the fifth year after Solon's government they were unable
to elect an Archon on account of their dissensions, and
again four years later they elected no Archon for the same
reason. Subsequently, after a similar period had elapsed, 2
Damias was elected Archon;¹ and he governed for two years
and two months, until he was forcibly expelled from his
office. After this it was agreed, as a compromise, to elect
ten Archons, five from the Eupatridae, three from the

¹ Probably in 582 B.C.; but several varieties of calculation are possible, and some editors omit the words 'after a similar period had elapsed'.

ATHENIENSIVM RESPUBLICA

Agroeci, and two from the Demiurgi;¹ and they ruled for the year following Damasias. It is clear from this that the Archon was at the time the magistrate who possessed the greatest power, since it is always in connexion
3 with this office that conflicts are seen to arise. But altogether they were in a continual state of internal disorder. Some found the cause and justification of their discontent in the abolition of debts, because thereby they had been reduced to poverty; others were dissatisfied with the political constitution, because it had undergone a revolutionary change; while with others the motive was found in
4 personal rivalries among themselves. The parties at this time were three in number. First there was the party of the Shore, led by Megacles the son of Alcmeon, which was considered to aim at a moderate form of government; then there were the men of the Plain, who desired an oligarchy and were led by Lycurgus; and thirdly there were the men
5 of the Highlands, at the head of whom was Pisistratus, who was looked on as an extreme democrat. This latter party was reinforced by those who had been deprived of the debts due to them, from motives of poverty, and by those who were not of pure descent, from motives of personal apprehension.² A proof of this is seen in the fact that after the tyranny was overthrown a revision was made of the citizen-roll, on the ground that many persons were partaking in the franchise without having a right to it. The names given to the respective parties were derived from the districts in which they held their lands.

14 Pisistratus had the reputation of being an extreme democrat, and he also had distinguished himself greatly in the war with Megara. Taking advantage of this, he wounded himself, and by representing that his injuries had been inflicted on him by his political rivals, he persuaded the people, through a motion proposed by Aristion, to grant him a bodyguard. After he had got these 'club-bearers',

¹ Eupatridae = the aristocrats, Agroeci = the country, or agricultural, party, Demiurgi = the handworkers, or labour party.

² Sc., lest their right to the franchise should be disputed, as it in fact was after the fall of the Pisistratidae.

CHAPTER 14

as they were called, he made an attack with them on the people and seized the Acropolis. This happened in the archonship of Comeas, thirty-one years after the legislation of Solon. It is related that, when Pisistratus asked for his bodyguard, Solon opposed the request, and declared that in so doing he proved himself wiser than half the people and braver than the rest,—wiser than those who did not see that Pisistratus designed to make himself tyrant, and braver than those who saw it and kept silence. But when all his words availed nothing he carried forth his armour and set it up in front of his house, saying that he had helped his country so far as lay in his power (he was already a very old man), and that he called on all others to do the same. Solon's exhortations, however, proved fruitless, and Pisistratus assumed the sovereignty. His administration was more like a constitutional government than the rule of a tyrant; but before his power was firmly established, the adherents of Megacles and Lycurgus made a coalition and drove him out. This took place in the archonship of Hegesias, five years after the first establishment of his rule. Eleven years later¹ Megacles, being in difficulties in a party struggle, again opened negotiations with Pisistratus, proposing that the latter should marry his daughter; and on these terms he brought him back to Athens, by a very primitive and simple-minded device. He first spread abroad a rumour that Athena was bringing back Pisistratus, and then, having found a woman of great stature and beauty, named Phye

¹ There is some error in Aristotle's chronology of the life of Pisistratus, for while he states below that, of the thirty-three years between his first accession and his death, nineteen were spent in possession of the tyranny and fourteen in exile, in the actual enumeration of years he gives twenty-one years of exile and consequently only twelve of rule, of which only one can be assigned to his last period of government, which is always spoken of as the longest. It is therefore tolerably certain that one of the periods of exile is wrongly dated; and as the ten years of the second exile are confirmed by Herodotus, it may be concluded that the eleven years here assigned to the first exile are wrong, and should be reduced to four. It should be noticed that in the *Politics* it is stated that Pisistratus was actually in power only seventeen years out of the thirty-three; but this would reduce the duration of his third tenure of power lower than is at all probable, unless we suppose that the length of the two earlier terms is wrongly given here. For a statement of the various solutions offered by different commentators, see Sandys *ad loc.*

ATHENIENSIVM RESPVBLICA

(according to Herodotus, of the deme of Paecania, but as others say a Thracian flower-seller of the deme of Collytus), he dressed her in a garb resembling that of the goddess and brought her into the city with Pisistratus. The latter drove in on a chariot with the woman beside him, and the inhabitants of the city, struck with awe, received him with adoration.

- 15 In this manner did his first return take place. He did not, however, hold his power long, for about six years after his return he was again expelled. He refused to treat the daughter of Megacles as his wife, and being afraid, in consequence, of a combination of the two opposing parties, he
2 retired from the country. First he led a colony to a place called Rhaicelus, in the region of the Thermaic gulf; and thence he passed to the country in the neighbourhood of Mt. Pangaeus. Here he acquired wealth and hired mercenaries; and not till ten years had elapsed did he return to Eretria and make an attempt to recover the government by force. In this he had the assistance of many allies, notably the Thebans and Lygdamis of Naxos, and also the
3 Eretria. After his victory in the battle at Pallene he captured Athens, and when he had disarmed the people he at last had his tyranny securely established, and was able
4 to take Naxos and set up Lygdamis as ruler there. He effected the disarmament of the people in the following manner. He ordered a parade in full armour in the Theseum, and began to make a speech to the people. He spoke for a short time, until the people called out that they could not hear him, whereupon he bade them come up to the entrance of the Acropolis, in order that his voice might be better heard. Then, while he continued to speak to them at great length, men whom he had appointed for the purpose collected the arms and locked them up in the chambers of the Theseum hard by, and came and made
5 a signal to him that it was done. Pisistratus accordingly, when he had finished the rest of what he had to say, told the people also what had happened to their arms; adding that they were not to be surprised or alarmed, but go home

CHAPTER 15

and attend to their private affairs, while he would himself for the future manage all the business of the state.

Such was the origin and such the vicissitudes of the ¹⁶ tyranny of Pisistratus. His administration was temperate, ² as has been said before, and more like constitutional government than a tyranny. Not only was he in every respect humane and mild and ready to forgive those who offended, but, in addition, he advanced money to the poorer people to help them in their labours, so that they might make their living by agriculture. In this he had two ³ objects, first that they might not spend their time in the city but might be scattered over all the face of the country, and secondly that, being moderately well off and occupied with their own business, they might have neither the wish nor the time to attend to public affairs. At the same time ⁴ his revenues were increased by the thorough cultivation of the country, since he imposed a tax of one tenth on all the produce. For the same reasons he instituted the local ⁵ justices,¹ and often made expeditions in person into the country to inspect it and to settle disputes between individuals, that they might not come into the city and neglect their farms. It was in one of these progresses that, as the ⁶ story goes, Pisistratus had his adventure with the man of Hymettus, who was cultivating the spot afterwards known as 'Tax-free Farm'. He saw a man digging and working at a very stony piece of ground, and being surprised he sent his attendant to ask what he got out of this plot of land. 'Aches and pains', said the man; 'and that's what Pisistratus ought to have his tenth of'. The man spoke without knowing who his questioner was; but Pisistratus was so pleased with his frank speech and his industry that he granted him exemption from all taxes. And so in ⁷ matters in general he burdened the people as little as possible with his government, but always cultivated peace and kept them in all quietness. Hence the tyranny of Pisistratus was often spoken of proverbially as 'the age of gold'; for when his sons succeeded him the government

¹ See ch. 53, 1, where it is stated that their number was at first thirty, but was subsequently increased to forty.

ATHENIENSIVM RESPVBLICA

8 became much harsher. But most important of all in this respect was his popular and kindly disposition. In all things he was accustomed to observe the laws, without giving himself any exceptional privileges. Once he was summoned on a charge of homicide before the Areopagus, and he appeared in person to make his defence; but the prosecutor was afraid to present himself and abandoned the
9 case. For these reasons he held power long, and whenever he was expelled he regained his position easily. The majority alike of the upper class and of the people were in his favour; the former he won by his social intercourse with them, the latter by the assistance which he gave to their private purses, and his nature fitted him to win the hearts
10 of both. Moreover, the laws in reference to tyrants at that time in force at Athens were very mild, especially the one which applies more particularly to the establishment of a tyranny. The law ran as follows: 'These are the ancestral statutes of the Athenians; if any persons shall make an attempt to establish a tyranny, or if any person shall join in setting up a tyranny, he shall lose his civic rights, both himself and his whole house.'

17 Thus did Pisistratus grow old in the possession of power, and he died a natural death in the archonship of Philoneos,¹ three and thirty years from the time at which he first established himself as tyrant, during nineteen of which he
2 was in possession of power; the rest he spent in exile. It is evident from this that the story is mere gossip which states that Pisistratus was the youthful favourite of Solon and commanded in the war against Megara for the recovery of Salamis. It will not harmonize with their respective ages, as any one may see who will reckon up the years of the life
3 of each of them, and the dates at which they died. After the death of Pisistratus his sons took up the government, and conducted it on the same system. He had two sons by his first and legitimate² wife, Hippias and Hipparchus, and two by his Argive consort, Iophon and Hegesistratus, who

¹ 527 B. C.

² Pisistratus's second wife was a foreigner, and therefore not legitimate according to strict Athenian law.

CHAPTER 17

was surnamed Thessalus. For Pisistratus took a wife from 4 Argos, Timonassa, the daughter of a man of Argos, named Gorgilus; she had previously been the wife of Archinus of Ambracia, one of the descendants of Cypsēlus. This was the origin of his friendship with the Argives, on account of which a thousand of them were brought over by Hegesistratus and fought on his side in the battle at Pallene. Some authorities say that this marriage took place after his first expulsion from Athens, others while he was in possession of the government.

Hippias and Hipparchus assumed the control of affairs on 18 grounds alike of standing and of age; but Hippias, as being also naturally of a statesmanlike and shrewd disposition, was really the head of the government. Hipparchus was youthful in disposition, amorous, and fond of literature (it was he who invited to Athens Anacreon, Simonides, and the other poets), while Thessalus was much junior in age, and 2 was violent and headstrong in his behaviour. It was from his character that all the evils arose which befell the house.¹ He became enamoured of Harmodius, and, since he failed to win his affection, he lost all restraint upon his passion, and in addition to other exhibitions of rage he finally prevented the sister of Harmodius from taking the part of a basket-bearer in the Panathenaic procession, alleging as his reason that Harmodius was a person of loose life. Thereupon, in a frenzy of wrath, Harmodius and Aristogeiton did their celebrated deed, in conjunction with a number of confederates.² But while they were lying in wait for Hippias in the Acropolis 3 at the time of the Panathenaea (Hippias, at this moment, was awaiting the arrival of the procession, while Hipparchus was organizing its dispatch) they saw one of the persons

¹ This is a direct contradiction of the narrative of Thucydides (vi. 54), who makes Hipparchus responsible for the outrage which provoked the plot of Harmodius and Aristogeiton. It is impossible to say positively which is right. The exact details would be known to few, and the fact that it was Hipparchus who was killed (though Hippias, and not he, was the person aimed at) would cause men to believe that he was the person to blame.

² Thucydides states expressly (vi. 56) that the conspirators were few in number. Aristotle probably again intends to correct him, silently but pointedly.

ATHENIENSIVM RESPUBLICA

privy to the plot talking familiarly with him. Thinking that he was betraying them, and desiring to do something before they were arrested, they rushed down and made their attempt without waiting for the rest of their confederates. They succeeded in killing Hipparchus near the Leocorëum while he was engaged in arranging the procession, but ruined
4 the design as a whole ; of the two leaders. Harmodius was killed on the spot by the guards, while Aristogeiton was arrested, and perished later after suffering long tortures. While under the torture he accused many persons who belonged by birth to the most distinguished families and were also personal friends of the tyrants. At first the government could find no clue to the conspiracy : for the current story,¹ that Hippias made all who were taking part in the procession leave their arms, and then detected those who were carrying secret daggers, cannot be true, since at that time they did not bear arms in the processions, this being a custom instituted at a later period by the democracy.
5 According to the story of the popular party, Aristogeiton accused the friends of the tyrants with the deliberate intention that the latter might commit an impious act, and at the same time weaken themselves. by putting to death innocent men who were their own friends ; others say that he told no
6 falsehood, but was betraying the actual accomplices. At last, when for all his efforts he could not obtain release by death, he promised to give further information against a number of other persons ; and, having induced Hippias to give him his hand to confirm his word, as soon as he had hold of it he reviled him for giving his hand to the murderer of his brother, till Hippias, in a frenzy of rage, lost control of himself and snatched out his dagger and dispatched him.

- 19 After this event the tyranny became much harsher. In consequence of his vengeance for his brother, and of the execution and banishment of a large number of persons, Hippias became a distrusted and an embittered man.
2 About three years after the death of Hipparchus, finding his

¹ This is the version given by Thucydides (vi. 58), which Aristotle evidently again wishes to correct.

CHAPTER 19

position in the city insecure, he set about fortifying Munichia, with the intention of establishing himself there. While he was still engaged on this work, however, he was expelled by Cleomenes, king of Lacedaemon, in consequence of the Spartans being continually incited by oracles to overthrow the tyranny. These oracles were obtained in the following way. The Athenian exiles, headed by the Alcmeonidae, could not by their own power effect their return, but failed continually in their attempts. Among their other failures, they fortified a post in Attica, Lipsydrium, above Mt. Parnes, and were there joined by some partisans from the city; but they were besieged by the tyrants and reduced to surrender. After this disaster the following became a popular drinking song :

Ah! Lipsydrium, faithless friend!
Lo, what heroes to death didst send,
Nobly born and great in deed!
Well did they prove themselves at need
Of noble sires a noble seed.

Having failed, then, in every other method, they took the contract for rebuilding the temple at Delphi,¹ thereby obtaining ample funds, which they employed to secure the help of the Lacedaemonians. All this time the Pythia kept continually enjoining on the Lacedaemonians who came to consult the oracle, that they must free Athens; till finally she succeeded in impelling the Spartans to that step, although the house of Pisistratus was connected with them by ties of hospitality. The resolution of the Lacedaemonians was, however, at least equally due to the friendship which had been formed between the house of Pisistratus and Argos. Accordingly they first sent Anchimolus by sea at the head of an army; but he was defeated and killed, through the arrival of Cineas of Thessaly to support the sons of Pisistratus with a force of a thousand horsemen. Then, being roused to anger by this disaster, they sent their king, Cleomenes, by land at the head of a larger force; and he, after defeating the Thessalian cavalry when they

¹ The temple at Delphi had been burnt, as is recorded by Herodotus (ii. 180).

ATHENIENSIVM RESPUBLICA

attempted to intercept his march into Attica, shut up Hippias within what was known as the Pelargic wall and blockaded him there with the assistance of the Athenians. 6 While he was sitting down before the place, it so happened that the sons of the Pisistratidae were captured in an attempt to slip out; upon which the tyrants capitulated on condition of the safety of their children, and surrendered the Acropolis to the Athenians, five days being first allowed them to remove their effects. This took place in the archonship of Harpactides,¹ after they had held the tyranny for about seventeen years since their father's death, or in all, including the period of their father's rule, for nine-and-forty years.

20 After the overthrow of the tyranny, the rival leaders in the state were Isagoras son of Tisander, a partisan of the tyrants, and Cleisthenes, who belonged to the family of the Alcmeonidae. Cleisthenes, being beaten in the political clubs, called in the people by giving the franchise to the 2 masses. Thereupon Isagoras, finding himself left inferior in power, invited Cleomenes, who was united to him by ties of hospitality, to return to Athens, and persuaded him to 'drive out the pollution',² a plea derived from the fact that the Alcmeonidae were supposed to be under the 3 curse of pollution. On this Cleisthenes retired from the country, and Cleomenes, entering Attica with a small force, expelled, as polluted, seven hundred Athenian families. Having effected this, he next attempted to dissolve the Council, and to set up Isagoras and three hundred of his partisans as the supreme power in the state. The Council, however, resisted, the populace flocked together, and Cleomenes and Isagoras, with their adherents, took refuge in the Acropolis. Here the people sat down and besieged them for two days; and on the third they agreed to let Cleomenes and all his followers depart, while they summoned Cleisthenes 4 and the other exiles back to Athens. When the people had

¹ The Archon's name was not previously known, but the date is established independently as the year 511-10 B. C. (the Athenian official year beginning in July), apparently in the spring of 510 B. C.

² i. e. to expel the house of the Alcmeonidae, which was still supposed to be polluted by the sacrilege in the the affair of Cylon.

CHAPTER 20

thus obtained the command of affairs, Cleisthenes was their chief and popular leader. And this was natural ; for the Alcmeonidae were perhaps the chief cause of the expulsion of the tyrants, and for the greater part of their rule were at perpetual war with them. But even earlier than the attempts of the Alcmeonidae, one Cedon made an attack on the tyrants ; whence there came another popular drinking song, addressed to him :

Pour a health yet again, boy, to Cedon ; forget not this duty to do,
If a health is an honour befitting the name of a good man and true.

The people, therefore, had good reason to place confidence in Cleisthenes. Accordingly, now that he was the popular leader, three years after the expulsion of the tyrants, in the archonship of Isagoras,¹ his first step was to distribute the whole population into ten tribes in place of the existing four, with the object of intermixing the members of the different tribes, and so securing that more persons might have a share in the franchise.² From this arose the saying ' Do not look at the tribes ', addressed to those who wished to scrutinize the lists of the old families.³ Next he made the Council to consist of five hundred members instead of four hundred, each tribe now contributing fifty, whereas

¹ 508 B. C.

² It is not at first sight evident why a mere redistribution of the population into ten tribes instead of four should give more persons a share in the franchise. But the object of Cleisthenes was to break down the old family and tribal feelings on which political contests had hitherto been based. To do this, he established a new division into tribes, which corresponded to no existing subdivision of the old ones, and at the same time he introduced a large number of new citizens by the enfranchisement of emancipated slaves and resident aliens. There would have been endless difficulties in the way of introducing them into the old tribes, which were organized into clans and families on the old aristocratic basis ; but they were easily included in the new tribes, which had no such associations connected with them.

³ Apparently this means that since the tribes now bore no relation to the ancient families, it was useless to look at the lists of the tribes if any one wished to examine the rolls of the families. Hence the phrase seems to have become a proverbial one for making useless distinctions or refinements. The families (together with the larger units known as phratries or clans) were ancient divisions of the four old tribes, on the basis of kinship, and mainly for social and religious purposes.

ATHENIENSIVM RESPVBLICA

- formerly each had sent a hundred. The reason why he did not organize the people into twelve tribes was that he might not have to use the existing division into trittyes; for the four tribes had twelve trittyes, so that he would not have achieved his object of redistributing the population in
- 4 fresh combinations. Further, he divided the country into thirty groups of demes,¹ ten from the districts about the city, ten from the coast, and ten from the interior. These he called trittyes; and he assigned three of them by lot to each tribe, in such a way that each should have one portion in each of these three localities. ⁴ All who lived in any given deme he declared fellow-demesmen, to the end that the new citizens might not be exposed by the habitual use of family names, but that men might be officially described by the names of their demes; ² and accordingly it is by the names of their demes that the Athenians speak of one another.
- 5 He also instituted Demarchs, who had the same duties as the previously existing Naucrari,—the demes being made to take the place of the naucrari. He gave names to the demes, some from the localities to which they belonged, some from the persons who founded them, since some of the areas no longer corresponded to localities possessing names.
- 6 On the other hand he allowed every one to retain his family and clan and religious rites according to ancestral custom. The names given to the tribes were the ten which the Pythia appointed out of the hundred selected national heroes.

22 By these reforms the constitution became much more

¹ The total number of demes, or parishes, is not given, but from Herodotus it appears to have been a hundred. It gradually increased with the growth of population, and in the third century B.C. there were 176 demes. The demes composing each trittys appear to have been contiguous, but each trittys was separate from its two fellows, so that the party feeling of the tribe was spread over three local divisions, and the old feuds between the different districts of Attica became impossible.

² If the people continued to speak of one another by their family names as hitherto, newly enfranchised citizens, whose fathers had been slaves or aliens, would be markedly distinguished from the older citizens who belonged to ancient families; but by making the name of the deme part of the necessary description of every citizen he broke down the family tradition; moreover, it was easy for any man to establish his claim to citizenship by naming the deme to which he belonged, even though his father's name might be foreign or unfamiliar.

democratic than that of Solon. The laws of Solon had been obliterated by disuse during the period of the tyranny, while Cleisthenes substituted new ones with the object of securing the goodwill of the masses. Among these was the law concerning ostracism. Four years¹ after the establishment of this system, in the archonship of Hermocreon, they first imposed upon the Council of Five Hundred the oath which they take to the present day. Next they began to elect the generals by tribes, one from each tribe, while the Polemarch was the commander of the whole army. Then, 3 eleven years later, in the archonship of Phaenippus they won the battle of Marathon; and two years after this victory, when the people had now gained self-confidence, they for the first time made use of the law of ostracism. This had originally been passed as a precaution against men in high office, because Pisistratus took advantage of his position as a popular leader and general to make himself tyrant; and 4 the first person ostracized was one of his relatives, Hipparchus son of Charmus, of the deme of Collytus, the very person on whose account especially Cleisthenes had enacted the law, as he wished to get rid of him. Hitherto, however, he had escaped; for the Athenians, with the usual leniency of the democracy, allowed all the partisans of the tyrants, who had not joined in their evil deeds in the time of the troubles, to remain in the city; and the chief and leader of these was Hipparchus. Then in the very next year, in the archonship 5 of Telesinus,² they for the first time since the tyranny elected,

¹ This, if correct, would place this event in 504 B. C. But, in the first place, that year belongs to another Archon; and secondly, it is inconsistent with the statement below, that the battle of Marathon occurred eleven years later. Marathon was fought in 490 B. C., therefore the archonship of Hermocreon should be assigned to 501 B. C., for which year no name occurs in the extant lists of Archons. Whether the mistake in the present passage is due to the author or a copyist it is impossible to say.

² 487 B. C. The date here given is valuable, because it had hitherto been a matter of doubt whether Callimachus, the polemarch at Marathon, on whose casting vote the fighting of that battle depended, was elected by lot or by open vote. The words of Herodotus (vi. 109), strictly interpreted, imply the former; but it is repugnant to common sense to suppose that an officer holding so important a position was elected by lot, and it is now clear that, until three years after Marathon, the Archons were still elected by direct vote, and, as stated above in this

ATHENIENSIVM RESPVBLICA

tribe by tribe, the nine Archons by lot out of the five hundred¹ candidates selected by the demes, all the earlier ones having been elected by vote;² and in the same year Megacles son of Hippocrates, of the deme of Alopēcē, was
6 ostracized. Thus for three years they continued to ostracize the friends of the tyrants, on whose account the law had been passed; but in the following year they began to remove others as well, including any one who seemed to be more powerful than was expedient. The first person unconnected with the tyrants who was ostracized was
7 Xanthippus son of Aripbron. Two years later, in the archonship of Nicodemus,³ the mines of Maroneia were discovered, and the state made a profit of a hundred talents from the working of them. Some persons advised the people to make a distribution of the money among themselves, but this was prevented by Themistocles. He refused to say on what he proposed to spend the money, but he bade them lend it to the hundred richest men in Athens, one talent to each, and then, if the manner in which it was employed pleased the people, the expenditure should be charged to the state, but otherwise the state should receive the sum back from those to whom it was lent. On these terms he received the money and with it he had a hundred triremes built, each of the hundred individuals building one; and it was with these ships that they fought the battle of Salamis against the barbarians. About this time Aristides
8 the son of Lysimachus was ostracized. Three years later, however, in the archonship of Hypsichides,⁴ all the

same chapter, the polemarch was the chief of the army, the ten generals (who subsequently became the chief military commanders) being his subordinates.

¹ It is probable that there is a mistake in this number. It appears from ch. 8, 1 that under the Solonian constitution the number of candidates nominated by each tribe was ten, and that the same was the number in the writer's own day; and it is hardly likely that the higher number of fifty ever prevailed at an intermediate period. The Greek numerals for 100 and 500 are easily confused.

² This statement can only apply to the period after the expulsion of the tyrants and the reforms of Cleisthenes, since under the Solonian constitution (ch. 8, 1) the Archons were elected by lot out of forty candidates selected by the tribes.

³ 483 B. C.

⁴ 481 B. C. The name of this Archon is new.

CHAPTER 22

ostracized persons were recalled, on account of the advance of the army of Xerxes ; and it was laid down for the future that persons under sentence of ostracism must live between Geraestus and Scyllaeum,¹ on pain of losing their civic rights irrevocably.

So far, then, had the city progressed by this time, growing 23 gradually with the growth of the democracy ; but after the Persian wars the Council of Areopagus once more developed strength and assumed the control of the state. It did not acquire this supremacy by virtue of any formal decree, but because it had been the cause of the battle of Salamis being fought. When the generals were utterly at a loss how to meet the crisis and made proclamation that every one should see to his own safety, the Areopagus provided a donation of money, distributing eight drachmas to each member of the ships' crews, and so prevailed on them to go on board. On these grounds people bowed to its prestige ; and during this period Athens was well administered. At this time they devoted themselves to the prosecution of the war and were in high repute among the Greeks, so that the command by sea was conferred upon them, in spite of the opposition of the Lacedaemonians. The leaders of the 3 people during this period were Aristides, son of Lysimachus, and Themistocles, son of Neocles, of whom the latter appeared to devote himself to the conduct of war, while the former had the reputation of being a clever statesman and the most upright man of his time. Accordingly the one was usually employed as general, the other as political adviser. The rebuilding of the fortifications they conducted 4 in combination, although they were political opponents ; but it was Aristides who, seizing the opportunity afforded by the discredit brought upon the Lacedaemonians by Pausanias, guided the public policy in the matter of the defection

¹ So the MS., but one of the grammarians, who probably drew from this passage, says that ostracized persons were compelled to live *outside* these boundaries ; and it is possible that the MS. reading here should be altered by the insertion of *μὴ* or the substitution of *ἐκτός* for *ἐντός*. Certainly in later times we find ostracized persons living beyond these limits ; and the balance of probability perhaps leans this way. Geraestus is at the extreme south of Euboea, and Scyllaeum at the extreme east of Argolis.

ATHENIENSIVM RESPUBLICA

5 of the Ionian states from¹ the alliance with Sparta. It follows that it was he who made the first assessment of tribute from the various allied states, two years after the battle of Salamis, in the archonship of Timosthenes;² and it was he who took the oath of offensive and defensive alliance with the Ionians, on which occasion they cast the masses of iron into the sea.³

24 After this, seeing the state growing in confidence and much wealth accumulated, he advised the people to lay hold of the leadership of the league, and to quit the country districts and settle in the city. He pointed out to them that all would be able to gain a living there, some by service in the army, others in the garrisons, others by taking a part in public affairs; and in this way they would secure the leadership. This advice was taken; and when the people had assumed the supreme control they proceeded to treat their allies in a more imperious fashion, with the exception of the Chians, Lesbians, and Samians. These they maintained to protect their empire, leaving their constitutions untouched, and allowing them to retain whatever dominion³ they then possessed. They also secured an ample maintenance for the mass of the population in the way which Aristides had pointed out to them. Out of the proceeds of the tributes and the taxes and the contributions of the allies more than twenty thousand persons were maintained. There were 6,000 jurymen, 1,600 bowmen, 1,200 Knights, 500 members of the Council, 500 guards of the dockyards, besides fifty guards in the Acropolis. There were some 700 magistrates at home, and some 700⁴ abroad. Further, when they subsequently went to war, there were in addition 2,500 heavy-armed troops, twenty guard-ships,⁵ and other

¹ The MS. has 'and'; but the sense of the passage requires the alteration, since there is no indication of Athens having made an alliance with Sparta at this time.

² 478 B. C.

³ For this ceremony, as a sign of a determination which should last until the metal floated to the top of the sea, cf. Herodotus (i. 165) and Horace (*Epod.* xvi. 25, 26).

⁴ The number seems to be repeated by mistake on the part of the copyist.

⁵ The normal crew of a trireme was 200 men. At that rate these

ships which collected the tributes, with crews amounting to 2,000 men, selected by lot; and besides these there were the persons maintained at the Prytanēum, and orphans, and gaolers, since all these were supported by the state.

Such was the way in which the people earned their ²⁵ livelihood. The supremacy of the Areopagus lasted for about seventeen years after the Persian wars, although gradually declining. But as the strength of the masses increased, Ephialtes, son of Sophonides, a man with a reputation for incorruptibility and public virtue, who had become the leader of the people, made an attack upon that Council. First of all he ruined many of its members by ² bringing actions against them with reference to their administration. Then, in the archonship of Conon,¹ he stripped the Council of all the acquired prerogatives from which it derived its guardianship of the constitution, and assigned some of them to the Council of Five Hundred, and others to the Assembly and the law-courts. In this ³ revolution he was assisted by Themistocles,² who was himself a member of the Areopagus, but was expecting to be tried before it on a charge of treasonable dealings with Persia. This made him anxious that it should be overthrown, and accordingly he warned Ephialtes that the Council intended to arrest him, while at the same time he informed the Areopagites that he would reveal to them

twenty guard-ships represent 4,000 men, and the 2,000 men mentioned in the next clause presumably represent ten ships.

¹ 462 B. C.

² This is one of the most striking of the new views of history brought to light by the reappearance of Aristotle's work. The current opinion (based mainly on Thucydides) is that Themistocles was ostracized about 471 B. C., that the charge of complicity with Pausanias in his intrigues with Persia was brought against him about 466 B. C., and that he reached Persia in his flight about 465 B. C., the year in which Artaxerxes succeeded Xerxes. It now appears (if the evidence of this work is to be accepted) that he was in Athens in 462 B. C., and his ostracism cannot, therefore, be placed earlier than 461 B. C., and his flight to Persia may have occurred in 460 B. C. This statement is irreconcilable with the narrative of Thucydides (i. 137) that in his flight he was nearly captured by the Athenian fleet then engaged in the siege of Naxos, which is generally assigned to the year 466 B. C.; and most critics reject it. It is evident, however, that Thucydides' system of chronology for this period was not the only one current in antiquity.

ATHENIENSIVM RESPVBLICA

certain persons who were conspiring to subvert the constitution. He then conducted the representatives delegated by the Council to the residence of Ephialtes, promising to show them the conspirators who assembled there, and proceeded to converse with them in an earnest manner. Ephialtes, seeing this, was seized with alarm and took
4 refuge in suppliant guise at the altar. Every one was astounded at the occurrence, and presently, when the Council of Five Hundred met, Ephialtes and Themistocles together proceeded to denounce the Areopagus to them. This they repeated in similar fashion in the Assembly, until they succeeded in depriving it of its power. Not long afterwards, however, Ephialtes was assassinated by Aristodocus of Tanagra. In this way was the Council of Areopagus deprived of its guardianship of the state.

- 26 After this revolution the administration of the state became more and more lax, in consequence of the eager rivalry of candidates for popular favour. During this period the moderate party, as it happened, had no real chief, their leader being Cimon son of Miltiades, who was a comparatively young man¹, and had been late in entering public life; and at the same time the general populace suffered great losses by war. The soldiers for active service were selected at that time from the roll of citizens, and as the generals were men of no military experience, who owed their position solely to their family standing, it continually happened that some two or three thousand of the troops perished on an expedition; and in this way the best men alike of the lower and the upper classes were exhausted.
- 2 Consequently in most matters of administration less heed was paid to the laws than had formerly been the case. No alteration, however, was made in the method of election of the nine Archons, except that five years after the death of Ephialtes it was decided that the candidates to be submitted to the lot for that office might be selected from

¹ This is inconsistent with the received chronology, and also with the words which immediately follow: hence various conjectures (e.g. *ναθρόν*, 'sluggish', for *νεώτερον*) have been proposed, none wholly satisfactory.

the Zeugitae as well as from the higher classes.¹ The first Archon from that class was Mnesitheides.² Up to this time all the Archons had been taken from the Pentacosio-medimni and Knights, while the Zeugitae were confined to the ordinary magistracies, save where an evasion of the law was overlooked. Four years later, in the archonship of³ Lysicrates,³ the thirty 'local justices',⁴ as they were called, were re-established; and two years afterwards, in the archonship of Antidotus,⁵ in consequence of the great⁴ increase in the number of citizens, it was resolved, on the motion of Pericles, that no one should be admitted to the franchise who was not of citizen birth by both parents.

After this Pericles came forward as popular leader,²⁷ having first distinguished himself while still a young man by prosecuting Cimon on the audit of his official accounts as general. Under his auspices the constitution became still more democratic. He took away some of the privileges of the Areopagus, and, above all, he turned the policy of the state in the direction of sea power, which caused the masses to acquire confidence in themselves and consequently to take the conduct of affairs more and more into their own hands. Moreover, forty-eight years after the² battle of Salamis, in the archonship of Pythodōrus,⁶ the Peloponnesian war broke out, during which the populace was shut up in the city and became accustomed to gain its livelihood by military service, and so, partly voluntarily and partly involuntarily, determined to assume the administration of the state itself. Pericles was also the first to institute³ pay for service in the law-courts, as a bid for popular favour to counterbalance the wealth of Cimon. The latter, having

¹ It is evident from ch. 7, 4 that the eligibility to the archonship was never, strictly speaking, extended beyond this, though in practice members of the lowest order, the Thetes, often held the office.

² The archonship of Mnesitheides was in 457 B. C.; and as the death of Ephialtes was in 462 B. C., and it has just been stated that the alteration in the law was made five years later, it follows that a Zeugites was elected for the first year in which the members of that order were eligible.

³ 453 B. C.

⁴ See chapters 16, 5 and 53, 1.

⁵ 451 B. C.

⁶ 432-1 B. C.; and as the war broke out four months before the end of Pythodorus' year of office (Thuc. ii. 2), the actual date falls in the spring of 431 B. C.

ATHENIENSIVM RESPUBLICA

private possessions on a regal scale, not only performed the regular public services magnificently, but also maintained a large number of his fellow-demesmen. Any member of the deme of Laciadae could go every day to Cimon's house and there receive a reasonable provision; while his estate was guarded by no fences, so that any one who liked might
4 help himself to the fruit from it. Pericles' private property was quite unequal to this magnificence and accordingly he took the advice of Damonides of Oia (who was commonly supposed to be the person who prompted Pericles in most of his measures, and was therefore subsequently ostracized), which was that, as he was beaten in the matter of private possessions, he should make gifts to the people from their own property; and accordingly he instituted pay for the members of the juries. Some critics accuse him of thereby causing a deterioration in the character of the juries, since it was always the common people who put themselves forward for selection as jurors, rather than the men of better
5 position. Moreover, bribery came into existence after this, the first person to introduce it being Anytus, after his command at Pylos.¹ He was prosecuted by certain individuals on account of his loss of Pylos, but escaped by bribing the jury.

28 So long, however, as Pericles was leader of the people, things went tolerably well with the state; but when he was dead there was a great change for the worse. Then for the first time did the people choose a leader who was of no reputation among men of good standing, whereas up to this time such men had always been found as leaders of the
2 democracy. The first leader of the people,² in the very beginning of things, was Solon, and the second was

¹ Pylos was recaptured by the Spartans, owing to the neglect of Anytus to relieve it, in 411 B. C. Anytus was one of the leaders of the moderate aristocratic party (ch. 34, 3), and one of the prosecutors of Socrates.

² It is evident that this designation 'leader of the people' became a sort of semi-official title. There is no sufficient evidence that there was ever a regular process of appointment to the post; but there was always some recognized chief of the democratic party to whom the name was given. The leader of the aristocratic party does not seem to have had any equally well recognized designation.

CHAPTER 28

Pisistratus, both of them men of birth and position. After the overthrow of the tyrants there was Cleisthenes, a member of the house of the Alcmeonidae; and he had no rival opposed to him after the expulsion of the party of Isagoras. After this Xanthippus was the leader of the people, and Miltiades of the upper class. Then came Themistocles and Aristides,¹ and after them Ephialtes as leader of the people, and Cimon son of Miltiades of the wealthier class. Pericles followed as leader of the people, and Thucydides, who was connected by marriage with Cimon, of the opposition. After the death of Pericles, Nicias, who subsequently fell in Sicily, appeared as leader of the aristocracy, and Cleon son of Cleaenetus of the people. The latter seems, more than any one else, to have been the cause of the corruption of the democracy by his wild undertakings; and he was the first to use unseemly shouting and coarse abuse on the Bema,² and to harangue the people with his cloak girt up short about him, whereas all his predecessors had spoken decently and in order. These were succeeded by Theramenes son of Hagnon as leader of the one party, and the lyre-maker Cleophon of the people. It was Cleophon who first granted the two-obol donation for the theatrical performances,³ and for some time it continued to be given; but then Callicrates of Paeania ousted him by promising to add a third obol to the sum. Both of these persons were subsequently condemned to death; for the people, even if they are deceived for a time, in the end generally come to detest those who have beguiled them into any unworthy action. After Cleophon the popular leadership was occupied successively by the men who chose to talk the biggest and pander the most to the tastes of the majority, with their eyes fixed only on the interests of the moment.

¹ Themistocles and Aristides were both of them leaders of the democracy, as is stated in ch. 23, 3. It is a mistake to regard Aristides as an aristocratic leader.

² The Bema was the platform or tribune from which orators spoke in the Athenian Assembly.

³ Two obols was the price of a seat in the theatre; and after the time of Cleophon (the date had hitherto been placed earlier, Plutarch appearing to assign the measure to Pericles) the necessary sum was provided, for all citizens who chose to apply for it, by the state.

ATHENIENSIVM RESPUBLICA

5 The best statesmen at Athens, after those of early times, seem to have been Nicias, Thucydides, and Theramenes. As to Nicias and Thucydides, nearly every one agrees that they were not merely men of birth and character, but also statesmen, and that they ruled the state with paternal care. On the merits of Theramenes opinion is divided, because it so happened that in his time public affairs were in a very stormy state. But those who give their opinion deliberately find him, not, as his critics falsely assert, overthrowing every kind of constitution, but supporting every kind so long as it did not transgress the laws: thus showing that he was able, as every good citizen should be, to live under any form of constitution, while he refused to countenance illegality and was its constant enemy.

29 So long as the fortune of the war continued even, the Athenians preserved the democracy; but after the disaster in Sicily, when the Lacedaemonians had gained the upper hand through their alliance with the king of Persia, they were compelled to abolish the democracy and establish in its place the constitution of the Four Hundred. The speech recommending this course before the vote was made by Melobius, and the motion was proposed by Pythodorus of Anaphlystus; but the real argument which persuaded the majority was the belief that the king of Persia was more likely to form an alliance with them if the constitution were on an oligarchical basis. The motion of Pythodorus was to the following effect. The popular Assembly was to elect twenty persons, over forty years of age, who, in conjunction with the existing ten members of the Committee of Public Safety,¹ after taking an oath that they would frame such measures as they thought best for the state, should then prepare proposals for the public safety. In addition, any other person might make proposals, so that of all the schemes before them the people might choose the
3 best. Cleitophon concurred with the motion of Pythodorus, but moved that the committee should also investigate the

¹ This committee is probably the same as that which we know from Thucydides to have been appointed immediately after the news of the Sicilian disaster was received in Athens.

CHAPTER 29

ancient laws enacted by Cleisthenes when he created the democracy, in order that they might have these too before them and so be in a position to decide wisely; his suggestion being that the constitution of Cleisthenes was not really democratic, but closely akin to that of Solon. When the committee was elected, their first proposal was that the Prytanes¹ should be compelled to put to the vote any motion that was offered on behalf of the public safety. Next they abolished all indictments for illegal proposals, all impeachments and public prosecutions, in order that every Athenian should be free to give his counsel on the situation, if he chose; and they decreed that if any person imposed a fine on any other for his acts in this respect, or prosecuted him or summoned him before the courts, he should, on an information being laid against him, be summarily arrested and brought before the generals, who should deliver him to the Eleven² to be put to death. After these preliminary³ measures, they drew up the constitution in the following manner. The revenues of the state were not to be spent on any purpose except the war. All magistrates should serve without remuneration for the period of the war, except the nine Archons and the Prytanes for the time being, who should each receive three obols a day. The whole of the rest of the administration was to be committed, for the period of the war, to those Athenians who were most capable of serving the state personally or pecuniarily, to the number of not less than five thousand. This body was to have full powers, to the extent even of making treaties with whomsoever they willed; and ten representatives, over forty years of age, were to be elected from each tribe to draw up the list of the Five Thousand, after taking an oath on a full and perfect sacrifice.

These were the recommendations of the committee; and when they had been ratified the Five Thousand³ elected

¹ See ch. 43, 4.

² See ch. 52, 1.

³ This mention of the Five Thousand appears to be in direct contradiction to the statement in ch. 32, 3, that the Five Thousand were only nominally selected, which is also in accordance with the statement of Thucydides (viii. 92). There are two possible explanations: either all

ATHENIENSIVM RESPUBLICA

from their own number a hundred commissioners to draw up the constitution. They, on their appointment, drew up and produced the following recommendations. There should be a Council, holding office for a year, consisting of men over thirty years of age, serving without pay. To this body should belong the Generals, the nine Archons, the Amphictyonic Registrar [Hieromnemon],¹ the Taxiarchs, the Hipparchs, the Phylarchs,² the commanders of garrisons, the Treasurers of Athena and the other gods, ten in number, the Hellenic Treasurers [Hellenotamiae],³ the Treasurers of the other non-sacred moneys, to the number of twenty. the ten Commissioners of Sacrifices [Hieropoei], and the ten Superintendents of the mysteries. All these were to be appointed by the Council from a larger number of selected candidates, chosen from its members for the time being. The other offices were all to be filled by lot, and not from the members of the Council. The Hellenic Treasurers who actually administered the funds should not sit with the Council.⁴ As regards the future, four Councils were to be created, of men of the age already mentioned, and one of these was to be chosen by lot to take office at once, while the others were to receive it in turn, in the order decided by the lot. For this purpose the hundred commissioners were

persons possessing the necessary qualification of being able to furnish arms were temporarily called the Five Thousand until the list of that body could be properly drawn up (thus the so-called Five Thousand which took over the government after the fall of the Four Hundred actually included all persons able to furnish arms); or the Five Thousand nominated by the hundred persons mentioned at the end of the last chapter was only a provisional body, and a fresh nomination was to be made when the constitution had been finally drawn up.

¹ This is the title of one of the two members sent by each Amphictyonic state to the general councils. He served as secretary, while the other, the Pylagoras, was the actual representative of his state.

² For these military officers see ch. 61, 3-6.

³ These were the officers appointed to receive the contribution of the allied states of the Confederacy of Delos, or, as these states subsequently became, the subject-allies of the Athenian empire. After the loss of the empire by the result of the Peloponnesian war these officers were no longer required, and consequently ceased to exist.

⁴ If this is not to be taken as directly contradicting the statement made just above, it must be supposed that the actual handling of the money was confined to a few of the Hellenotamiae (probably in rotation), the duties of the rest being to advise and superintend.

to distribute themselves and all the rest¹ as equally as possible into four parts, and cast lots for precedence, and the selected body should hold office for a year. They² were 4 to administer that office as seemed to them best, both with reference to the safe custody and due expenditure of the finances, and generally with regard to all other matters to the best of their ability. If they desired to take a larger number of persons into counsel, each member might call in one assistant of his own choice, subject to the same qualification of age. The Council was to sit once every five days, unless there was any special need for more frequent sittings. The casting of the lot for the Council was to be held by the nine Archons; votes on divisions were to be counted by five tellers chosen by lot from the members of the Council, and of these one was to be selected by lot every day to act as president. These 5 five persons were to cast lots for precedence between the parties wishing to appear before the Council, giving the first place to sacred matters, the second to heralds, the third to embassies, and the fourth to all other subjects; but matters concerning the war might be dealt with, on the motion of the generals, whenever there was need, without balloting. Any member of the Council who did not enter 6 the Council-house at the time named should be fined a drachma for each day, unless he was away on leave of absence from the Council.

Such was the constitution which they drew up for the time to come, but for the immediate present they devised 31 the following scheme. There should be a Council of Four Hundred, as in the ancient constitution,³ forty from each tribe, chosen out of candidates of more than thirty years of age, selected by the members of the tribes. This Council should appoint the magistrates and draw up the form of oath which they were to take; and in all that concerned the laws, in the

¹ i. e., apparently, all the rest of the Five Thousand who were over thirty years of age.

² Mr. J. A. R. Munro (*Classical Quarterly*) proposes to transfer this sentence and the next, so as to make them precede the two previous sentences, and relate to the Hellenic Treasurers. This transposition would make the sense much clearer.

³ i. e. as in the constitution of Solon.

examination of official accounts, and in other matters generally, they might act according to their discretion. They must, however, observe the laws that might be enacted with reference to the constitution of the state, and had no power to alter them nor to pass others. The generals should be provisionally elected from the whole body of the Five Thousand, but so soon as the Council came into existence it was to hold an examination of military equipments, and thereon elect ten persons, together with a secretary, and the persons thus elected should hold office during the coming year with full powers, and should have the right, whenever they desired it, of joining in the deliberations of the Council. The Five Thousand¹ was also to elect a single Hipparch and ten Phylarchs; but for the future the Council was to elect these officers according to the regulations above laid down. No office, except those of member of the Council and of general, might be held more than once, either by the first occupants or by their successors. With reference to the future distribution² of the Four Hundred into the four successive sections, the hundred commissioners must divide them whenever the time comes for the citizens to join in the Council along with the rest.

32 The hundred commissioners appointed by the Five Thousand drew up the constitution as just stated; and after it had been ratified by the people, under the presidency of Aristomachus, the existing Council, that of the year of Callias,³ was dissolved before it had completed its term of office. It was dissolved on the fourteenth day of the month

¹ The subject is not expressed in the original, but as it is stated that *in the future* the Council was to elect these officers, it seems certain that the provisional arrangement was that the Five Thousand should elect them, as in the case of the generals, the Council not being yet properly constituted.

² i.e. the distribution mentioned in the preceding chapter. Apparently the sense intended is that the division into the four sections should take place so soon as the remaining citizens from whom the four Councils were to be drawn up (viz. the members of the Five Thousand over thirty years of age) had been associated with the Four Hundred who formed the provisional Council, i. e., practically, so soon as the list of the qualified members of the Five Thousand was ready.

³ Callias' year of office began in 412 B.C., and was now within two months of its end. The date of the entry of the Four Hundred into office is consequently in May, 411 B.C.

CHAPTER 32

Thargelion, and the Four Hundred entered into office on the twenty-first; whereas the regular Council, elected by lot, ought to have entered into office on the fourteenth of Scirophorion.¹ Thus was the oligarchy established, in the archonship of Callias, just about a hundred years after the expulsion of the tyrants. The chief promoters of the revolution were Pisander, Antiphon, and Theramenes, all of them men of good birth and with high reputations for ability and judgement. When, however, this constitution had been established, the Five Thousand were only nominally selected, and the Four Hundred, together with the ten officers on whom full powers had been conferred,² occupied the Council-house and really administered the government. They began by sending ambassadors to the Lacedaemonians proposing a cessation of the war on the basis of the existing position; but as the Lacedaemonians refused to listen to them unless they would also abandon the command of the sea, they broke off the negotiations.

For about four months the constitution of the Four Hundred lasted, and Mnasilochus held office as Archon of their nomination for two months of the year of Theopompus, who was Archon for the remaining ten. On the loss of the naval battle of Eretria, however, and the revolt of the whole of Euboea except Orëum, the indignation of the people was greater than at any of the earlier disasters, since they drew far more supplies at this time from Euboea than from Attica itself. Accordingly they deposed the Four Hundred and committed the management of affairs to the Five Thousand, consisting of persons possessing a military equipment. At the same time they voted that pay should not be given for any public office. The persons chiefly responsible for the revolution were Aristocrates and Theramenes, who disapproved of the action of the Four Hundred in retaining the direction of affairs entirely in their own hands, and referring nothing to the Five Thousand. During

¹ Roughly equivalent to June, the last month of the official year at Athens. The 'regular Council' means the Council which, in the ordinary course of things under the democracy, should have been elected by lot to succeed that belonging to the year of Callias.

² i. e. the ten Generals appointed as provided for in ch. 31, 2.

ATHENIENSIVM RESPUBLICA

this period the constitution of the state seems to have been admirable, since it was a time of war and the franchise was in the hands of those who possessed a military equipment.¹

- 34 The people, however, in a very short time deprived the Five Thousand of their monopoly of the government.² Then, six years after the overthrow of the Four Hundred, in the archonship of Callias of Angēlē,³ the battle of Arginusae took place, of which the results were, first, that the ten generals who had gained the victory were all⁴ condemned by a single decision, owing to the people being led astray by persons who aroused their indignation; though, as a matter of fact, some of the generals had actually taken no part in the battle, and others were themselves picked up by other vessels.⁵ Secondly, when the Lacedaemonians proposed to evacuate Decelēa and make peace on the basis of the existing position, although some of the Athenians supported this proposal, the majority refused to listen to them. In this they were led astray by Cleophon, who appeared in the Assembly drunk and wearing his breastplate,⁶ and prevented peace being made, declaring that he would never accept peace unless the Lacedaemonians abandoned their claims on all the cities allied with them.⁷ They mismanaged their

¹ This is an echo of the commendation which Thucydides expresses at greater length (viii. 97).

² Probably after the battle of Cyzicus, in 410 B.C., when the fleet, which was democratic in its sympathies, returned to Athens.

³ 406 B.C. This was, however, five years after the overthrow of the oligarchy, not six, so that either Aristotle calculated from the beginning and not the end of the rule of the Four Hundred, or the numeral must be altered in the MS.

⁴ This is probably inexact. Two of the generals, Conon and Leon, can hardly have been included in the accusation, as Conon was blockaded in Mytilene and Leon is never mentioned in connexion with either the battle or the trial. It is true that Aristotle says below that some of the condemned generals had not taken part in the battle, but if this had actually been the case, Xenophon could hardly have helped noticing it. Xenophon does expressly name the eight generals who were present at the battle, and states their positions in the Athenian line; and, of these eight, six stood their trial and were executed, while the remaining two declined to return to Athens and were, no doubt, condemned in absence.

⁵ And therefore were in no condition to be picking up the survivors on other disabled ships, for neglecting which they were condemned.

⁶ As a warlike demonstration, like a politician appearing in khaki.

⁷ Cleophon retorted against the Lacedaemonians the ground on which they had refused to accept the Athenian overtures in 411 B.C.

opportunity then, and in a very short time they learnt their mistake. The next year, in the archonship of Alexias, they suffered the disaster of Aegospotami, the consequence of which was that Lysander became master of the city, and set up the Thirty as its governors. He did so in the following manner. One of the terms of peace stipulated³ that the state should be governed according to 'the ancient constitution'. Accordingly the popular party tried to preserve the democracy, while that part of the upper class which belonged to the political clubs,¹ together with the exiles who had returned since the peace, aimed at an oligarchy, and those who were not members of any club, though in other respects they considered themselves as good as any other citizens, were anxious to restore the ancient constitution. The latter class included Archinus, Anytus, Cleitophon, Phormisius, and many others, but their most prominent leader was Theramenes. Lysander, however, threw his influence on the side of the oligarchical party, and the popular Assembly was compelled by sheer intimidation to pass a vote establishing the oligarchy. The motion to this effect was proposed by Dracontides of Aphidna.

In this way were the Thirty established in power, in the³⁵ archonship of Pythodorus.² As soon, however, as they were masters of the city, they ignored all the resolutions which had been passed relating to the organization of the constitution,³ but after appointing a Council of Five Hundred and the other magistrates out of a thousand selected candidates,⁴ and associating with themselves ten Archons in Piraeus, eleven superintendents of the prison, and three hundred 'lash-bearers' as attendants, with the help of these they kept the city under their own control. At² first, indeed, they behaved with moderation towards the citizens and pretended to administer the state according to the ancient constitution. In pursuance of this policy they

¹ i. e. the extreme oligarchs.

² The year 404-403 B. C.

³ The Thirty were appointed avowedly to draw up a scheme for the constitution, like the hundred commissioners mentioned in ch. 30.

⁴ MS. 'out of candidates selected from the thousand'; but nothing is known about any such body. The other magistrates were probably included in the Council (cf. ch. 30, 2), so that 500 names had to be chosen from 1000.

ATHENIENSIVM RESPVBLICA

took down from the hill of Areopagus the laws of Ephialtes and Arcestratus relating to the Areopagite Council; they also repealed such of the statutes of Solon as were obscure.¹ and abolished the supreme power of the law-courts. In this they claimed to be restoring the constitution and freeing it from obscurities; as, for instance, by making the testator free once for all to leave his property as he pleased, and abolishing the existing limitations in cases of insanity, old age, and undue female influence, in order that no opening might be left for professional accusers.² In other
3 matters also their conduct was similar. At first, then, they acted on these lines, and they destroyed the professional accusers and those mischievous and evil-minded persons who, to the great detriment of the democracy, had attached themselves to it in order to curry favour with it. With all of this the city was much pleased, and thought that the
4 Thirty were doing it with the best of motives. But so soon as they had got a firmer hold on the city, they spared no class of citizens, but put to death any persons who were eminent for wealth or birth or character. Herein they aimed at removing all whom they had reason to fear, while they also wished to lay hands on their possessions; and in a short time they put to death not less than fifteen hundred persons.

36 Theramenes, however, seeing the city thus falling into ruin, was displeased with their proceedings, and counselled them to cease such unprincipled conduct and let the better classes have a share in the government. At first they resisted his advice, but when his proposals came to be known abroad, and the masses began to associate themselves with him, they were seized with alarm lest he should make himself the

¹ See ch. 9, 2.

² Solon's law allowed a man who had no legitimate children to leave his property as he chose, provided his will was made while he was of sound mind and subject to no undue influence. These provisions were reasonable enough in themselves, but a class of hangers-on of the law-courts had sprung up, who made a profession of challenging the legality of testamentary dispositions on these grounds, no doubt in the hope of extorting money. In order to put an end to this trade the Thirty abolished the qualifications in the law of Solon on which it was based.

leader of the people and destroy their despotic power. Accordingly they drew up a list of three thousand¹ citizens, to whom they announced that they would give a share in the constitution. Theramenes, however, criticized this scheme also, first on the ground that, while proposing to give all respectable citizens a share in the constitution, they were actually giving it only to three thousand persons, as though all merit were confined within that number; and secondly because they were doing two inconsistent things, since they made the government rest on the basis of force, and yet made the governors inferior in strength to the governed. However, they took no notice of his criticisms, and for a long time put off the publication of the list of the Three Thousand and kept to themselves the names of those who had been placed upon it; and every time they did decide to publish it they proceeded to strike out some of those who had been included in it, and insert others who had been omitted.

Now when winter had set in, Thrasybūlus and the exiles³⁷ occupied Phylē, and the force which the Thirty led out to attack them met with a reverse. Thereupon the Thirty decided to disarm the bulk of the population and to get rid of Theramenes; which they did in the following way. They introduced two laws into the Council, which they commanded it to pass; the first of them gave the Thirty absolute power to put to death any citizen who was not included in the list of the Three Thousand, while the second disqualified all persons from participation in the franchise who should have assisted in the demolition of the fort of Eētioneia,² or have acted in any way against the Four Hundred who had organized the previous oligarchy. Theramenes had done both, and accordingly, when these

¹ The MS. says two thousand, but this must be a copyist's error, as the Three Thousand is mentioned immediately below, and that number is confirmed by the other authorities.

² The Four Hundred had begun to build this fort, which commanded the entrance to the Piræus, in the later days of their rule; but Theramenes and others of the moderate party, suspecting that it was intended to enable the oligarchs to betray the port to the Spartans, incited the populace to destroy it. This was one of the most serious blows dealt to the power of the Four Hundred.

ATHENIENSIVM RESPVBLICA

laws were ratified, he became excluded from the franchise and the Thirty had full power to put him to death.¹ Theramenes having been thus removed, they disarmed all the people except the Three Thousand, and in every respect showed a great advance in cruelty and crime. They also sent ambassadors to Lacedaemon to blacken the character of Theramenes and to ask for help; and the Lacedaemonians, in answer to their appeal, sent Callibius as military governor with about seven hundred troops, who came and occupied the Acropolis.

38 These events were followed by the occupation of Munichia by the exiles from Phyle, and their victory over the Thirty and their partisans. After the fight the party of the city retreated, and next day they held a meeting in the market-place and deposed the Thirty, and elected ten citizens with full powers to bring the war to a termination. When, however, the Ten had taken over the government they did nothing towards the object for which they were elected, but sent envoys to Lacedaemon to ask for help and to borrow money. Further, finding that the citizens who possessed the franchise were displeased at their proceedings, they were afraid lest they should be deposed, and consequently, in order to strike terror into them (in which design they succeeded), they arrested Demarētus, one of the most eminent citizens, and put him to death. This gave them a firm hold on the government, and they also had the support of Callibius and his Peloponnesians, together with several of the Knights; for some of the members of this class were the most zealous among the citizens to prevent the return of the exiles from Phyle. When, however, the party in Piraeus and Munichia began to gain the upper hand in the war, through the defection of the whole populace to them, the party in the city deposed the original Ten, and elected another Ten,² consisting of men of the highest repute. Under

¹ This is quite different from Xenophon's dramatic account (ii. 3. 23-56) of the totally illegal arrest and execution of Theramenes.

² No other authority seems to distinguish between these two boards of Ten. Practically, the rule of the first is ignored, and only that of the second, which brought the war to a conclusion, is recognized; but the appointment of this board is assigned to the days immediately following the defeat of the Thirty, and it is not recognized that a con-

CHAPTER 38

their administration, and with their active and zealous co-operation, the treaty of reconciliation was made and the populace returned to the city. The most prominent members of this board were Rhinon of Paeania and Phayllus of Acherdus, who, even before the arrival of Pausanias, opened negotiations with the party in Piraeus, and after his arrival seconded his efforts to bring about the return of the exiles. For it was Pausanias, the king of the Lacedaemonians, who brought the peace and reconciliation to a fulfilment, in conjunction with the ten¹ commissioners of arbitration who arrived later from Lacedaemon, at his own earnest request. Rhinon and his colleagues received a vote of thanks for the goodwill shown by them to the people. and though they received their charge under an oligarchy and handed in their accounts under a democracy, no one, either of the party that had stayed in the city or of the exiles that had returned from the Piraeus, brought any complaint against them. On the contrary, Rhinon was immediately elected general on account of his conduct in this office.

This reconciliation was effected in the archonship of **39** Euclides,² on the following terms. All persons who, having remained in the city during the troubles, were now anxious to leave it, were to be free to settle at Eleusis, retaining their civil rights and possessing full and independent powers of self-government, and with the free enjoyment of their own personal property. The temple at Eleusis should be common ground for both parties, and should be under the superintendence of the Ceryces and the Eumolpidae,³ according to primitive custom. The settlers at Eleusis should not be allowed to enter Athens, nor the people of Athens to enter Eleusis, except at the season of the mysteries, when both parties should be free from these restrictions. The secessionists should pay their share to the fund for the considerable time, apparently about six months, elapsed between this event and the restoration of the democracy.

¹ Xenophon says fifteen, and some editors alter the present text accordingly.

² i. e. late in the summer of 403 B. C.

³ Two ancient Athenian families, who from the earliest times had retained the duty of superintending the Eleusinian mysteries. See ch. 57, 1.

ATHENIENSIVM RESPUBLICA

common defence out of their revenues, just like all the
 3 other Athenians. If any of the seceding party wished to
 take a house in Eleusis, the people would help them
 to obtain the consent of the owner; but if they could not
 come to terms, they should appoint three valuers on either
 side, and the owner should receive whatever price they
 should appoint. Of the inhabitants of Eleusis, those whom
 the secessionists wished to remain should be allowed to do
 4 so. The list of those who desired to secede should be made
 up within ten days after the taking of the oaths in the case
 of persons already in the country, and their actual departure
 should take place within twenty days; persons at present
 5 out of the country should have the same terms allowed to
 them after their return. No one who settled at Eleusis
 should be capable of holding any office in Athens until he
 should again register himself on the roll as a resident in the
 city. Trials for homicide, including all cases in which one
 party had either killed or wounded another, should be
 6 conducted according to ancestral practice.¹ There should be
 a general amnesty concerning past events towards all persons
 except the Thirty, the Ten, the Eleven, and the magistrates
 in Piraeus; and these too should be included if they should
 submit their accounts in the usual way. Such accounts
 should be given by the magistrates in Piraeus before a
 court of citizens rated in Piraeus, and by the magistrates in
 the city before a court of those rated in the city.² On these
 terms those who wished to do so might secede. Each
 party was to repay separately the money which it had
 borrowed for the war.

40 When the reconciliation had taken place on these terms,
 those who had fought on the side of the Thirty felt con-
 siderable apprehensions, and a large number intended to
 secede. But as they put off entering their names till the last
 moment, as people will do, Archinus, of serving their numbers,
 and being anxious to retain them as citizens, cut off the
 remaining days during which the list should have remained

¹ The reading of this passage is rather doubtful.

² The exact reading of this passage also is doubtful, but the general sense appears to be that here given (inserting *ἐν τῷ ἄστει* after *ἐν τοῖς*).

CHAPTER 40

open; and in this way many persons were compelled to remain, though they did so very unwillingly until they recovered confidence. This is one point in which Archinus appears to have acted in a most statesmanlike manner, and another was his subsequent prosecution of Thrasybulus on the charge of illegality, for a motion by which he proposed to confer the franchise on all who had taken part in the return from Piraeus, although some of them were notoriously slaves. And yet a third such action was when one of the returned exiles began to violate the amnesty, whereupon Archinus haled him to the Council and persuaded them to execute him without trial, telling them that now they would have to show whether they wished to preserve the democracy and abide by the oaths they had taken; for if they let this man escape they would encourage others to imitate him, while if they executed him they would make an example for all to learn by. And this was exactly what happened; for after this man had been put to death no one ever again broke the amnesty. On the contrary, the Athenians seem, both in public and in private, to have behaved in the most unprecedentedly admirable and public-spirited way with reference to the preceding troubles. Not only did they blot out all memory of former offences, but they even repaid to the Lacedaemonians out of the public purse the money which the Thirty had borrowed for the war, although the treaty required each party, the party of the city and the party of Piraeus, to pay its own debts separately. This they did because they thought it was a necessary first step in the direction of restoring harmony; but in other states, so far from the democratic parties¹ making advances from their own possessions, they are rather in the habit of making a general redistribution of the land. A final reconciliation was made with the secessionists at Eleusis two years after the secession, in the archonship of Xenaenētus.²

This, however, took place at a later date; at the time of which we are speaking the people, having secured the control

¹ Or 'victorious democracies' (reading *οἱ δῆμοι κρατήσαντες*).

² 401 B. C. The date is not elsewhere definitely recorded.

ATHENIENSIVM RESPUBLICA

of the state, established the constitution which exists at the present day. Pythodorus was Archon at the time, but the democracy seems to have assumed the supreme power with perfect justice, since it had effected its own return by its own exertions.¹ This was the eleventh change which had taken place in the constitution of Athens. The first modification of the primaeval condition of things was when Ion and his companions brought the people together into a community, for then the people was first divided into the four tribes, and the tribe-kings were created. Next, and first after this, having now some semblance of a constitution,² was that which took place in the reign of Theseus, consisting in a slight deviation from absolute monarchy. After this came the constitution formed under Draco, when the first code of laws was drawn up. The third was that which followed the civil war, in the time of Solon; from this the democracy took its rise. The fourth was the tyranny of Pisistratus; the fifth the constitution of Cleisthenes, after the overthrow of the tyrants, of a more democratic character than that of Solon. The sixth was that which followed on the Persian wars, when the Council of Areopagus had the direction of the state. The seventh, succeeding this, was the constitution which Aristides sketched out, and which Ephialtes brought to completion by overthrowing the Areopagite Council; under this the nation, misled by the demagogues, made the most serious mistakes in the interest of its maritime empire. The eighth was the establishment of the Four Hundred, followed by the ninth, the restored democracy. The tenth was the tyranny of the Thirty and the Ten. The eleventh was that which followed the return from Phyle and Piraeus; and this has continued from that day to this, with continual accretions of power to the masses. The democracy has made itself master of

¹ The text here is corrupt. There is no natural contrast between the fact that Pythodorus was Archon and the assumption of the control of the state by the democracy, since the Archon had for a long time been nothing more than a figure-head. Probably some words have dropped out.

² This is the first of the eleven changes to which Aristotle has just referred. The constitution of Ion is not reckoned in the enumeration, since it was the original establishment and not a change.

CHAPTER 41

everything and administers everything by its votes in the Assembly and by the law-courts, in which it holds the supreme power. Even the jurisdiction of the Council has passed into the hands of the people at large; and this appears to be a judicious change, since small bodies are more open to corruption, whether by actual money or influence. than large ones. At first they refused to allow ³ payment for attendance at the Assembly; but the result was that people did not attend. Consequently, after the Prytanes had tried many devices in vain in order to induce the populace to come and ratify the votes, Agyrrhius,¹ in the first instance, made a provision of one obol a day, which Heracleides of Clazomenae,² nicknamed 'the king', increased to two obols, and Agyrrhius again to three.

The present state of the constitution is as follows. The ⁴² franchise is open to all who are of citizen birth by both parents. They are enrolled among the demesmen at the age of eighteen. On the occasion of their enrolment the demesmen give their votes on oath, first whether the candidates appear to be of the age prescribed by the law (if not, they are dismissed back into the ranks of the boys), and secondly whether the candidate is free born and of such parentage as the laws require.³ Then if they decide that he is not a free man, he appeals to the law-courts, and the demesmen appoint five of their own number to act as accusers; if the court decides that he has no right to be enrolled, he is sold by the state as a slave, but if he wins his case he has a right to be enrolled among the demesmen without further question. After this the Council examines those who have been ²

¹ A politician of no very great repute, who flourished at the end of the fifth century and in the early part of the fourth. It is clear from many allusions in the *Ecclesiazusae* of Aristophanes that the rate of pay had been raised to three obols shortly before the performance of that play in 392 B. C.; and the first establishment of payment for attendance at the Assembly cannot be placed many years before that date.

² Heracleides is only known otherwise by a mention in the *Ion* attributed to Plato, in which he is referred to as a foreigner who had held office at Athens.

³ i. e. whether he is born of two citizen parents.

ATHENIENSIVM RESPUBLICA

enrolled, and if it comes to the conclusion that any of them is less than eighteen years of age, it fines the demesmen who enrolled him. When the youths [Ephēbi] have passed this examination, their fathers meet by their tribes, and appoint on oath three of their fellow tribesmen, over forty years of age, who, in their opinion, are the best and most suitable persons to have charge of the youths; and of these the Assembly elects one from each tribe as guardian, together with a director, chosen from the general body
3 of Athenians, to control the while. Under the charge of these persons the youths first of all make the circuit of the temples; then they proceed to Piraeus, and some of them garrison Munichia and some the south shore.¹ The Assembly also elects two trainers, with subordinate instructors, who teach them to fight in heavy armour, to use the bow and javelin, and to discharge a catapult. The guardians receive from the state a drachma apiece for their keep, and the youths four obols apiece. Each guardian receives the allowance for all the members of his tribe and buys the necessary provisions for the common stock (they mess together by tribes), and generally superintends everything.
4 In this way they spend the first year. The next year, after giving a public display of their military evolutions, on the occasion when the Assembly meets in the theatre,² they receive a shield and spear from the state; after which they
5 patrol the country and spend their time in the forts. For these two years they are on garrison duty, and wear the military cloak, and during this time they are exempt from all taxes. They also can neither bring an action at law, nor have one brought against them, in order that they may have no excuse for requiring leave of absence; though exception is made in cases of actions concerning inheritances and wards of state,³ or of any sacrificial ceremony connected

¹ Ἀκτῆ = the southern side of Piraeus.

² This was on the occasion of the great Dionysiac festival in each year, when the whole people was gathered together in the theatre, together with numbers of visitors from foreign countries.

³ When a man died leaving a daughter, but no son, his estate, though not becoming her property, was attached to her, and the nearest of kin could claim her in marriage; and the property went to the sons born of such marriage. If she was poor, the nearest of kin

with the family.¹ When the two years have elapsed they thereupon take their position among the other citizens. Such is the manner of the enrolment of the citizens and the 43 training of the youths.

All the magistrates that are concerned with the ordinary routine of administration are elected by lot, except the Military Treasurer, the Commissioners of the Theoric fund,² and the Superintendent of Springs.³ These are elected by vote, and hold office from one Panathenaic festival to the next.⁴ All military officers are also elected by vote.

The Council of Five Hundred is elected by lot, fifty from ² each tribe. Each tribe holds the office of Prytanes in turn, the order being determined by lot; the first four serve for thirty-six days each, the last six for thirty-five, since the reckoning is by lunar years.⁵ The Prytanes for the time ³ being, in the first place, mess together in the Tholus,⁶ and receive a sum of money from the state for their maintenance; and, secondly, they convene the meetings of the Council

was obliged either to marry her or to provide her with a dowry. If there were more daughters than one, the estate seems to have been divided among them under similar conditions. These heiresses were under the special protection of the Archon (see ch. 56, 6, 7), and may therefore be described as wards of state.

¹ Only members of the older houses belonged to 'families' in the technical sense, these being one of the earliest subdivisions of the population of Attica, and having sacrificial observances connected with them. See ch. 21, 6, where it is said that Cleisthenes, though breaking up the old tribal organization and introducing new citizens, allowed the families and the sacrificial observances to remain according to the ancient system.

² This was the fund which provided the populace with the price of admission to the theatre (and, eventually, with something in addition) at the festivals.

³ Athens was scantily supplied with fresh water, and consequently this officer was of some importance.

⁴ The Panathenaic festival was at the end of the first month of the Attic year (July). The other magistrates probably came into office at the beginning of that month; the Archons certainly did so.

⁵ The ordinary Attic year was of 354 days, divided into twelve lunar months of thirty and twenty-nine days alternately. The deficiency was made up by inserting intercalary months, at first every alternate year, then three in eight years, and subsequently seven in nineteen. In an intercalary year the duration of the prytanies was thirty-nine and thirty-eight days, in place of thirty-six and thirty-five.

⁶ The official residence of the Prytanes, supposed to represent the centre of the public life of Athens.

ATHENIENSIIUM RESPUBLICA

and the Assembly. The Council they convene every day, unless it is a holiday, the Assembly four times in each prytany. It is also their duty to draw up the programme of the business of the Council and to decide what subjects are to be dealt with on each particular day, and where the sitting is to be held. They also draw up the programme for the meetings of the Assembly. One of these in each prytany is called the 'sovereign' Assembly; in this the people have to ratify the continuance of the magistrates in office, if they are performing their duties properly, and to consider the supply of corn and the defence of the country. On this day, too, impeachments are introduced by those who wish to do so, the lists of property confiscated by the state are read, and also applications for inheritances and wards of state,¹ so that nothing may pass unclaimed without the cognizance of any person concerned. In the sixth prytany, in addition to the business already stated, the question is put to the vote whether it is desirable to hold a vote of ostracism or not; and complaints against professional accusers, whether Athenian or aliens domiciled in Athens, are received, to the number of not more than three of either class, together with cases in which an individual has made some promise to the people and has not performed it. Another Assembly in each prytany is assigned to the hearing of petitions, and at this meeting any one is free, on depositing the petitioner's olive-branch, to speak to the people concerning any matter, public or private. The two remaining meetings are devoted to all other subjects, and the laws require them to deal with three questions connected with religion, three connected with heralds and embassies, and three on secular subjects. Sometimes questions are brought forward without a preliminary vote of the Assembly to take them into consideration.

Heralds and envoys appear first before the Prytanes, and the bearers of dispatches also deliver them to the same officials.

¹ If there was no direct heir, the next of kin had to apply to the state, in the person of the Archon, to have his claim recognized. The claims on wards of state have been mentioned in note 3 to ch. 42. 5.

CHAPTER 44

There is a single President of the Prytanēs, elected by lot, 44
 who presides for a night and a day; he may not hold the
 office for more than that time, nor may the same individual
 hold it twice. He keeps the keys of the sanctuaries in
 which the treasures and public records of the state are
 preserved, and also the public seal; and he is bound to
 remain in the Tholus, together with one-third of the
 Prytanēs, named by himself. Whenever the Prytanēs ²
 convene a meeting of the Council or Assembly, he appoints
 by lot nine Proedri, one from each tribe except that which
 holds the office of Prytanēs for the time being; and out of
 these nine he similarly appoints one as President, and hands
 over the programme for the meeting to them. They take ³
 it and see to the preservation of order, put forward the
 various subjects which are to be considered, decide the
 results of the votings, and direct the proceedings generally.¹
 They also have power to dismiss the meeting. No one
 may act as President more than once in the year, but he
 may be a Proedrus once in each prytany.

Elections to the offices of General and Hipparch and all ⁴
 other military commands are held in the Assembly, in such
 manner as the people decide; they are held after the sixth
 prytany by the first board of Prytanēs in whose term of
 office the omens are favourable. There has, however, to be
 a preliminary consideration by the Council in this case also.²

In former times the Council had full powers to inflict 45
 fines and imprisonment and death; but ³ when it had con-
 signed Lysimachus ⁴ to the executioner, and he was sitting
 in the immediate expectation of death, Eumelides of Alopēcē
 rescued him from its hands,⁵ maintaining that no citizen
 ought to be put to death except on the decision of a court

¹ In the fifth century the Prytanēs themselves acted as presidents at meetings of the Council and Assembly; but in the fourth century the Proedri appear to have been instituted, as here described.

² As with all business submitted to the Assembly: see ch. 45, 4.

³ The MS. has 'and', but is perhaps imperfect.

⁴ Neither the story nor the person is otherwise known. He may have been one of the partisans of the Thirty (Xen. *Hell.* ii. 4, 8).

⁵ Or 'deprived it of its powers'.

of law.¹ Accordingly a trial was held in a law-court, and Lysimachus was acquitted, receiving henceforth the nickname of 'the man from the drum-head';² and the people deprived the Council thenceforward of the power to inflict death or imprisonment or fine, passing a law that if the Council condemn any person for an offence or inflict a fine, the Thesmothetae shall bring the sentence or fine before the law-court, and the decision of the jurors shall be the final judgement in the matter.

2 The Council passes judgement on nearly all magistrates, especially those who have the control of money; its judgement, however, is not final, but is subject to an appeal to the law-courts. Private individuals, also, may lay an information against any magistrate they please for not obeying the laws, but here too there is an appeal to the

3 law-courts if the Council declare the charge proved. The Council also examines those who are to be its members for the ensuing year, and likewise the nine Archons.³ Formerly the Council had full power to reject candidates for office as unsuitable, but now they have an appeal to the law-courts.

4 In all these matters, therefore, the Council has no final jurisdiction. It takes, however, preliminary cognizance of all matters brought before the Assembly, and the Assembly cannot vote on any question unless it has first been considered by the Council and placed on the programme by the Prytanes; since a person who carries a motion in the Assembly is liable to an action for illegal proposal on these grounds.⁴

46 The Council also superintends the triremes that are already in existence, with their tackle and sheds,⁵ and builds new triremes or quadriremes,⁶ whichever the Assembly

¹ It should be observed that throughout the treatise a 'law-court' (*δικαστήριον*) always means one of the large popular jury-courts, the constitutional importance of which is described in ch. 9.

² This, though verbally close to the original, is rather a paraphrase than a translation. The original apparently denotes that Lysimachus was about to be executed by the method of beating or bastinadoing to death.

³ See ch. 55, 2.

⁴ i. e. if this procedure has been omitted.

⁵ i. e. the sheds in which the ships were laid up when in dock.

⁶ Quadriremes were first built at Athens a few years before 330 B. C.,

votes, with tackle and sheds to match. The Assembly appoints master-builders for the ships by vote; and if they do not hand them over completed to the next Council, the old Council¹ cannot receive the customary donation—that being normally given to it during its successor's term of office. For the building of the triremes it appoints ten commissioners, chosen from its own members. The Council² also inspects all public buildings, and if it is of opinion that the state is being defrauded, it reports the culprit to the Assembly, and on condemnation² hands him over to the law-courts.

The Council also co-operates with the other magistrates⁴⁷ in most of their duties. First there are the treasurers of Athena,³ ten in number, elected by lot, one from each tribe. According to the law of Solon—which is still in force—they must be Pentacosimedimni, but in point of fact the person on whom the lot falls holds the office even though he be quite a poor man. These officers take over charge of the statue of Athena, the figures of Victory, and all the other ornaments of the temple, together with the money, in the presence of the Council. Then there are the Commissioners² for Public Contracts [Polētac], ten in number, one chosen by lot from each tribe, who farm out the public contracts. They lease the mines and taxes in conjunction with the Military Treasurer and the Commissioners of the Theoric fund, in the presence of the Council, and grant, to the persons indicated by the vote of the Council, the mines which are let out by the state, including both the workable and in 325 B.C. they began to build quinqueremes. As the latter are not mentioned here, we seem to get a lower limit of date for the composition (or revision) of the treatise. The upper limit is fixed by ch. 54, 7 as 329 B.C.

¹ Grammatically the subject of this sentence should be the master-builders, but the facts are stated in the speech of Demosthenes against Androtion in closely parallel language.

² According to the text of the MS. (καταγνώσα), the condemnation is by the Council; but this has already been expressed before the reference to the Assembly (ἀδικεῖν δόξῃ), and if condemnation by the Council sufficed for the case to be brought before the courts, the reference to the Assembly would be otiose. Hence the emendation καταγνώστος.

³ Each of the temples seems to have possessed a treasury, but that of the temple of Athena was far the most important.

ATHENIENSIVM RESPUBLICA

ones, which are let for three years, and those which are let under special agreements for [ten?] years.¹ They also sell, in the presence of the Council, the property of those who have gone into exile from the court of the Areopagus, and of others whose goods have been confiscated, and the nine Archons ratify the contracts. They also hand over to the Council lists of the taxes which are farmed
3 out for the year, entering on whitened tablets the name of the lessee and the amount paid. They make separate lists, first of those who have to pay their instalments in each prytany, on ten several tablets, next of those who pay thrice in the year, with a separate tablet for each instalment, and finally of those who pay in the ninth prytany. They also draw up a list of farms and dwellings which have been confiscated and sold by order of the courts; for these too come within their province. In the case of dwellings the value must be paid up in five years, and in that of farms,
4 in ten. The instalments are paid in the ninth prytany. Further, the King-archon brings before the Council the leases of the sacred enclosures, written on whitened tablets. These too are leased for ten years, and the instalments are paid in the [ninth] prytany; consequently it is in this
5 prytany that the greatest amount of money is collected. The tablets containing the lists of the instalments are carried into the Council, and the public clerk takes charge of them. Whenever a payment of instalments is to be made he takes from the pigeon-holes² the precise list of the sums which are to be paid and struck off on that day, and delivers it to the Receivers-General. The rest are kept apart, in order that no sum may be struck off before it is paid.

48 There are ten Receivers-General [Apodectac], elected by lot, one from each tribe. These officers receive the tablets, and strike off the instalments as they are paid, in the presence of the Council in the Council-chamber, and give the tablets back to the public clerk. If any one fails to pay

¹ This is the apparent reading of the passage, but the MS. is considerably damaged in this part.

² The exact meaning of the word here (following Sir. J. Sandys) translated 'pigeon-holes' is doubtful.

his instalment, a note is made of it on the tablet; and he is bound to pay double the amount of the deficiency, or, in default, to be imprisoned. The Council has full power by the laws to exact these payments and to inflict this imprisonment. They receive all the instalments, therefore, on one day, and portion the money out among the magistrates; and on the next day they bring up the report of the apportionment, written on a wooden notice-board, and read it out in the Council-chamber, after which they ask publicly in the Council whether any one knows of any malpractice in reference to the apportionment, on the part of either a magistrate or a private individual, and if any one is charged with malpractice they take a vote on it.

The Council also elects ten Auditors [Logistae] by lot from its own members, to audit the accounts of the magistrates for each prytany. They also elect one Examiner of Accounts [Euthūnus] by lot from each tribe, with two assessors [Paredri] for each examiner, whose duty it is to sit at the ordinary market hours,¹ each opposite the statue of the eponymous hero of his tribe; and if any one wishes to prefer a charge, on either public or private grounds, against any magistrate who has passed his audit before the law-courts, within three days of his having so passed, he enters on a whitened tablet his own name and that of the magistrate prosecuted, together with the malpractice that is alleged against him. He also appends his claim for a penalty of such amount as seems to him fitting, and gives in the record to the Examiner. The latter takes it, and if after reading it he considers it proved he hands it over, if a private case, to the local justices who introduce cases² for the tribe concerned, while if it is a public case he enters it on the register of the Thesmothetae. Then, if the Thesmothetae accept it, they bring the accounts of this magistrate once

¹ Reading *ταῖς ἀγοραῖς*, and accepting Wilamowitz's interpretation. The alternative translation, 'on the days of the tribal meetings', is not satisfactory, since the complaints had to be lodged within three days.

² All cases had to be brought before the courts by some magistrate. Several instances in which one of the Archons, or the Thesmothetae collectively, or the Arbitrators, or some other magistrate, performed this function for specific classes of cases are mentioned in the following chapters.

ATHENIENSIMUM RESPUBLICA

more before the law-court, and the decision of the jury stands as the final judgement.

49 The Council also inspects the horses belonging to the state. If a man who has a good horse is found to keep it in bad condition, he is mulcted in his allowance of corn; while those which cannot keep up or which shy and will not stand steady, it brands with a wheel on the jaw, and the horse so marked is disqualified for service. It also inspects those who appear to be fit for service as scouts, and any one whom it rejects is deprived of his horse. It also examines the infantry who serve among the cavalry,¹ and any one whom it rejects ceases to receive his pay. The roll of the cavalry is drawn up by the Commissioners of Enrolment [Catalôgeis], ten in number, elected by the Assembly by open vote. They hand over to the Hipparchs and Phylarchs the list of those whom they have enrolled, and these officers take it and bring it up before the Council, and there open the sealed tablet containing the names of the cavalry.² If any of those who have been on the roll previously make affidavit that they are physically incapable of cavalry service, they strike them out; then they call up the persons newly enrolled, and if any one makes affidavit that he is either physically or pecuniarily incapable of cavalry service they dismiss him, but if no such affidavit is made the Council vote whether the individual in question is suitable for the purpose or not. If they vote in the affirmative his name is entered on the tablet; if not, he is dismissed with the others.

3 Formerly the Council used to decide on the plans for public buildings and the contract for making the robe of Athena;³ but now this work is done by a jury in the law-

¹ This means infantry who fought among the ranks of the cavalry. The *περόδρομοι* above are also a military body, meaning light cavalry who acted as advance guard or skirmishers. There was a special corps so named in the army of Alexander.

² i. e. the names of those already in the cavalry, before the new enrolment.

³ This was the robe which was carried in procession at the great Panathenaic festival. It was embroidered with mythological subjects, and was woven on each occasion by a number of girls, under the superintendence of two of superior family.

CHAPTER 49

courts appointed by lot, since the Council was considered to have shown favouritism in its decisions. The Council also shares with the Military Treasurer the superintendence of the manufacture of the images of Victory and the prizes at the Panathenaic festival.

The Council also examines infirm paupers; for there is a law which provides that persons possessing less than three minas, who are so crippled as to be unable to do any work, are, after examination by the Council, to receive two obols a day from the state for their support. A treasurer is appointed by lot to attend to them.

The Council also, speaking broadly, co-operates in most of the duties of all the other magistrates; and this ends the list of the functions of that body.

There are ten Commissioners for Repairs of Temples, elected by lot, who receive a sum of thirty minas from the Receivers-General, and therewith carry out the most necessary repairs in the temples.

There are also ten City Commissioners [Astynōmi], of whom five hold office in Piraeus and five in the city. Their duty is to see that female flute- and harp- and lute-players are not hired at more than two drachmas, and if more than one person is anxious to hire the same girl, they cast lots and hire her out to the person to whom the lot falls. They also provide that no collector of sewage shall shoot any of his sewage within ten stadia of the walls; they prevent people from blocking up the streets by building, or stretching barriers across them, or making drain-pipes in mid-air with a discharge into the street, or having doors¹ which open outwards; they also remove the corpses of those who die in the streets, for which purpose they have a body of state slaves assigned to them.

Market Commissioners [Agoranōmi] are elected by lot, five for Piraeus, five for the city. Their statutory duty is to see that all articles offered for sale in the market are pure and unadulterated.

Commissioners of Weights and Measures [Metronōmi],

¹ Or possibly 'windows'.

ATHENIENSIVM RESPUBLICA

are elected by lot, five for the city, and five for Piraeus. They see that sellers use fair weights and measures.

3 Formerly there were ten Corn Commissioners [Sitophylāces], elected by lot, five for Piraeus, and five for the city; but now there are twenty for the city and fifteen for Piraeus. Their duties are, first, to see that the unprepared corn in the market is offered for sale at reasonable prices, and secondly, to see that the millers sell barley meal at a price proportionate to that of barley, and that the bakers sell their loaves at a price proportionate to that of wheat, and of such weight as the Commissioners may appoint; for the law requires them to fix the standard weight.

4 There are ten Superintendents of the Mart, elected by lot, whose duty is to superintend the Mart, and to compel merchants to bring up into the city two-thirds of the corn which is brought by sea to the Corn Mart.

52 The Eleven also are appointed by lot to take care of the prisoners in the state gaol. Thieves, kidnappers, and pick-pockets are brought to them, and if they plead guilty they are executed, but if they deny the charge the Eleven bring the case before the law-courts; if the prisoners are acquitted, they release them, but if not, they then execute them. They also bring up before the law-courts the list of farms and houses claimed as state-property; and if it is decided that they are so, they deliver them to the Commissioners for Public Contracts. The Eleven also bring up informations laid against magistrates alleged to be disqualified: this function comes within their province, but some such cases are brought up by the Thesmothetae.

2 There are also five Introducers of Cases [Eisagōgeis], elected by lot, one for each pair of tribes, who bring up the 'monthly' cases¹ to the law-courts. 'Monthly' cases are these: refusal to pay up a dowry where a party is bound to do so, refusal to pay interest on money borrowed at 12 per cent.²,

¹ i.e. cases which have to be decided within a month, as being considered to be of a pressing nature.

² If the rate of interest was higher, the creditor could not make use of this procedure.

or where a man desirous of setting up business in the market has borrowed from another man capital to start with; also cases of slander, cases arising out of friendly loans or partnerships, and cases concerned with slaves, cattle, and the office of trierarch, or with banks. These are brought up as 'monthly' cases and are introduced by these officers; but the Receivers-General perform the same function in cases for or against the farmers of taxes. Those in which the sum concerned is not more than ten drachmas they can decide summarily. but all above that amount they bring into the law-courts as 'monthly' cases.

The Forty¹ are also elected by lot, four from each **53** tribe, before whom suitors bring all other cases. Formerly they were thirty in number, and they went on circuit through the demes to hear causes; but after the oligarchy of the Thirty they were increased to forty. They have full powers to decide cases in which the amount at issue does not exceed ten drachmas, but anything beyond that value they hand over to the Arbitrators. The Arbitrators take up the case, and, if they cannot bring the parties to an agreement, they give a decision. If their decision satisfies both parties, and they abide by it, the case is at an end; but if either of the parties appeals to the law-courts, the Arbitrators enclose the evidence, the pleadings, and the laws quoted in the case in two urns, those of the plaintiff in the one, and those of the defendant in the other. These they seal up and, having attached to them the decision of the arbitrator, written out on a tablet, place them in the custody of the four justices whose function it is to introduce cases on behalf of the tribe of the defendant. These officers take them and bring up the case before the law-court, to a jury of two hundred and one members in cases up to the value of a thousand drachmas, or to one of four hundred and one in cases above that value. No laws or pleadings or evidence may be used except those which were adduced

¹ These are the officials elsewhere described as the local justices, who were instituted by Pisistratus (ch. 16, 5) and revived in 453 B. C. (ch. 26, 3).

ATHENIENSIVM RESPUBLICA

before the Arbitrator, and have been enclosed in the urns.

- 4 The Arbitrators are persons in the sixtieth year of their age ; this appears from the schedule of the Archons and the Eponymi. There are two classes of Eponymi, the ten who give their names to the tribes, and the forty-two of the years of service.¹ The youths, on being enrolled among the citizens, were formerly registered upon whitened tablets, and the names were appended of the Archon in whose year they were enrolled, and of the Eponymus who had been in course in the preceding year ; at the present day they are written on a bronze pillar, which stands in front of the Council-chamber, near the Eponymi of the tribes. Then the Forty take the
5 last of the Eponymi of the years of service, and assign the arbitrations to the persons belonging to that year, casting lots to determine which arbitrations each shall undertake ; and every one is compelled to carry through the arbitrations which the lot assigns to him. The law enacts that any one who does not serve as Arbitrator when he has arrived at the necessary age shall lose his civil rights, unless he happens to be holding some other office during that year, or to be out of the country. These are the only persons who escape
6 the duty. Any one who suffers injustice at the hands of the Arbitrator may appeal to the whole board of Arbitrators, and if they find the magistrate guilty, the law enacts that he shall lose his civil rights. The persons thus condemned
7 have, however, in their turn an appeal. The Eponymi are also used in reference to military expeditions ; when the men of military age are despatched on service, a notice is put up stating that the men from such-and-such an Archon and

¹ These Eponymi are unknown except from this passage and quotations from it in the grammarians. It would appear that, just as the Eponymi of the tribes were the ten heroes who gave their names to the ten tribes, so a cycle of forty-two years was arranged, to each of which the name of a hero was assigned as its Eponymus. Then, as every Athenian was liable to military service for forty-two years (18 to 59 inclusive), each man had to go through the complete cycle before he was free from liability to serve. During the last year of his cycle, however, he was required to serve not as a soldier but as an Arbitrator ; and accordingly each year the Forty took the list of those who were commencing their last year of service, and assigned to them the duties which they were to undertake as arbitrators during the year.

Eponymus to such-and-such another Archon and Eponymus are to go on the expedition.

The following magistrates also are elected by lot: Five 54
Commissioners of Roads [Hodopoei], who, with an assigned body of public slaves, are required to keep the roads in order: and ten Auditors, with ten assistants, to whom all persons who have held any office must give in their accounts. These are the only officers who audit the accounts of those who are subject to examination,¹ and who bring them up for examination before the law-courts. If they detect any magistrate in embezzlement, the jury condemn him for theft, and he is obliged to repay tenfold the sum he is declared to have misappropriated. If they charge a magistrate with accepting bribes and the jury convict him, they fine him for corruption, and this sum too is repaid tenfold. Or if they convict him of unfair dealing, he is fined on that charge, and the sum assessed is paid without increase, if payment is made before the ninth prytany, but otherwise it is doubled. A tenfold fine is not doubled.

The Clerk of the Prytany, as he is called, is also elected by 3 lot. He has the charge of all public documents, and keeps the resolutions which are passed by the Assembly, and checks the transcripts of all other official papers and attends at the sessions of the Council. Formerly he was elected by open vote, and the most distinguished and trustworthy persons were elected to the post, as is known from the fact that the name of this officer is appended on the pillars recording treaties of alliance and grants of consulship² and citizenship. Now, however, he is elected by lot. There is, in addition, 4 a Clerk of the Laws, elected by lot, who attends at the sessions of the Council; and he too checks the transcript of all the laws. The Assembly also elects by open vote 5 a clerk to read documents to it and to the Council; but he has no other duty except that of reading aloud.

¹ Every person who had held any public office had to submit himself and his accounts to examination before a jury at the end of his term of office; on which occasion any citizen might impeach his conduct during his office.

² i. e. of representation of a foreign state.

ATHENIENSIVM RESPUBLICA

6 The Assembly also elects by lot the Commissioners of Public Worship [Hieropoei], known as the Commissioners for Sacrifices, who offer the sacrifices appointed by oracle, and, in conjunction with the seers, take the auspices whenever
7 there is occasion. It also elects by lot ten others, known as Annual Commissioners, who offer certain sacrifices and administer all the quadrennial festivals except the Panathenaea. There are the following quadrennial festivals: first that of Delos (where there is also a sexennial festival), secondly the Brauronia, thirdly the Heracleia, fourthly the Eleusinia, and fifthly the Panathenaea: and no two of these are celebrated in the same place.¹ To these the Hephaestia has now been added, in the archonship of Cephisophon.²

8 An Archon is also elected by lot for Salamis, and a Demarch for Piraeus. These officers celebrate the Dionysia in these two places, and appoint Chorēgi. In Salamis, moreover, the name of the Archon is publicly recorded.

55 All the foregoing magistrates are elected by lot, and their powers are those which have been stated. To pass on to the nine Archons, as they are called, the manner of their appointment from the earliest times has been described already. At the present day six Thesmothetae are elected by lot, together with their clerk, and in addition to these an Archon, a King, and a Polemarch. One is elected from each tribe. They are examined first of all by the Council of Five Hundred, with the exception of the clerk. The latter is examined only in the law-court, like other magistrates (for all magistrates, whether elected by lot or by open vote, are examined before entering on their offices); but the nine Archons are examined both in the Council and again in the law-court. Formerly no one could hold the office if the Council rejected him, but now there is an appeal to the law-court, which is the final authority in the
3 matter of the examination. When they are examined, they

¹ The reading is rather doubtful, and the meaning might be 'no two of them take place in the same year'; but with five festivals in four years, two of them must have fallen in the same year.

² This date (329 B. C.) gives us a limit of time after which this work must have been written, or (since the words have the air of a parenthetical or later addition) at least revised. See note 5 on ch. 46, 1.

are asked, first, 'Who is your father, and of what deme? who is your father's father? who is your mother? who is your mother's father, and of what deme?' Then the candidate is asked whether he possesses an ancestral Apollo and a household Zeus, and where their sanctuaries are; next if he possesses a family tomb, and where; then if he treats his parents well, and pays his taxes, and has served on the required military expeditions. When the examiner has put these questions, he proceeds, 'Call the witnesses to these facts'; and when the candidate has produced his witnesses, ⁴ he next asks, 'Does any one wish to make any accusation against this man?' If an accuser appears, he gives the parties an opportunity of making their accusation and defence, and then puts it to the Council to pass the candidate or not, and to the law-court to give the final vote. If no one wishes to make an accusation, he proceeds at once to the vote. Formerly a single individual gave the vote, but now all the members are obliged to vote on the candidates, so that if any unprincipled candidate has managed to get rid of his accusers,¹ it may still be possible for him to be disqualified before the law-court. When the examination ⁵ has been thus completed, they proceed to the stone on which are the pieces of the victims, and on which the Arbitrators take oath before declaring their decisions, and witnesses swear to their testimony. On this stone the Archons stand, and swear to execute their office uprightly and according to the laws, and not to receive presents in respect of the performance of their duties, or, if they do, to dedicate a golden statue. When they have taken this oath they proceed to the Acropolis, and there they repeat it; after this they enter upon their office.

The Archon, the King, and the Polemarch have each two ⁵⁶ assessors, nominated by themselves. These officers are

¹ i. e. by inducing them not to press their charges. It appears that originally, if no accusation was brought before the Council, the examination by the law-court was a mere formality, a single member voting for the whole jury. But it was found that candidates sometimes escaped an accusation before the Council by 'squaring' their accusers; and to meet this the law-court was made to examine and vote independently.

ATHENIENSIVM RESPUBLICA

examined in the law-court before they begin to act, and give in accounts on each occasion of their acting.

- ² As soon as the Archon enters office, he begins by issuing a proclamation that whatever any one possessed before he entered into office, that he shall possess and hold until the
- ³ end of his term. Next he assigns Chorēgi to the tragic poets, choosing three¹ of the richest persons out of the whole body of Athenians. Formerly he used also to assign five Choregi to the comic poets, but now the tribes provide the Choregi for them. Then he receives the Choregi who have been appointed by the tribes for the men's and boys' choruses² and the comic poets at the Dionysia, and for the men's and boys' choruses at the Thargelia (at the Dionysia there is a chorus for each tribe, but at the Thargelia one between two tribes, each tribe bearing its share in providing it); he transacts the exchanges of properties for them,³ and reports any excuses that are tendered, if any one says that he has already borne this burden, or that he is exempt because he has borne a similar burden and the period of his exemption has not yet expired, or that he is not of the required age; since the Choregus of a boys'
- ⁴ chorus must be over forty years of age. He also appoints Choregi for the festival at Delos, and a chief of the mission⁴ for the thirty-oar boat which conveys the youths thither. He also superintends sacred processions, both that in honour of Asclepius, when the initiated keep house, and that of the

¹ Only three tragic poets might contend at the festivals, and it was the duty of the Archon to decide what poets should be admitted to the honour. In Comedy, as stated below, five competitors were allowed, but this number applies only to the fourth century, before which time the number was limited to three. The duty of the Choregus was to defray the expense of training, maintaining, and equipping the chorus required for a play or a dithyrambic contest.

² These are dithyrambic choruses, which were quite unconnected with the dramatic representations, and in which the several tribes competed against one another.

³ If any person considered that he had been unduly saddled with one of the burdens which rich men were called upon to bear for the state (such as the equipment of a chorus or a trireme), he might require any one on whom he thought the burden should rather have been laid either to undertake it, or else to submit to an exchange of properties.

⁴ i.e. chiefs of the sacred deputation sent from Athens to the Delian festival. It is uncertain whether there was more than one such chief, and some editors read ἀρχιθεώ[ρους].

CHAPTER 56

great Dionysia--the latter in conjunction with the Superintendents of that festival. These officers, ten in number, were formerly elected by open vote in the Assembly, and used to provide for the expenses of the procession out of their private means; but now one is elected by lot from each tribe, and the state contributes a hundred minas for the expenses. The Archon also superintends the procession ⁵ at the Thargelia, and that in honour of Zeus the Saviour. He also manages the contests at the Dionysia and the Thargelia.

These, then, are the festivals which he superintends. The suits and indictments which come before him, and ⁶ which he, after a preliminary inquiry, brings up before the law-courts, are as follows. Injury to parents (for bringing these actions the prosecutor cannot suffer any penalty);¹ injury to orphans (these actions lie against their guardians); injury to a ward of state (these lie against their guardians or their husbands);² injury to an orphan's estate (these too lie against the guardians); mental derangement, where a party charges another with destroying his own property through unsoundness of mind; for appointment of liquidators, where a party refuses to divide property in which others have a share; for constituting a wardship; for determining between rival claims to a wardship; for granting inspection of property to which another party lays claim; for appointing oneself as guardian; and for determining disputes as to inheritances and wards of state. The ⁷ Archon also has the care of orphans and wards of state, and of women who, on the death of their husbands, declare themselves to be with child; and he has power to inflict a fine on those who offend against the persons under his charge, or to bring the case before the law-courts. He also leases the houses of orphans and wards of state until they reach the age of fourteen, and takes mortgages on them; and if the guardians fail to provide the necessary food for

¹ In most cases the prosecutor was subject to penalties if he failed to receive a fifth part of the votes of the jury.

² The state still continued its protection of heiresses even after they were married. It scarce only ceased when they had children capable of inheriting the property.

ATHENIENSIVM RESPUBLICA

the children under their charge, he exacts it from them. Such are the duties of the Archon.

- 57 The King in the first place superintends the mysteries, in conjunction with the Superintendents of Mysteries. The latter are elected in the Assembly by open vote, two from the general body of Athenians, one from the Eumolpidae, and one from the Cerȳces. Next, he superintends the Lenaeon Dionysia,¹ which consists of a procession and a contest. The procession is ordered by the King and the Superintendents in conjunction; but the contest is managed by the King alone. He also manages all the contests of the torch-race; and to speak broadly, he administers all the ² ancestral sacrifices. Indictments for impiety come before him, or any disputes between parties concerning priestly rites; and he also determines all controversies concerning sacred rites for the ancient families² and the priests. All actions for homicide come before him, and it is he that makes the proclamation requiring polluted persons to keep away from ³ sacred ceremonies. Actions for homicide and wounding are heard, if the homicide or wounding be wilful, in the Areopagus; so also in cases of killing by poison, and of arson. These are the only cases heard by that Council. Cases of unintentional homicide, or of intent to kill, or of killing a slave or a resident alien or a foreigner, are heard by the court of Palladium. When the homicide is acknowledged, but legal justification is pleaded, as when a man takes an adulterer in the act, or kills another by mistake in battle, or in an athletic contest, the prisoner is tried in the court of Delphinium. If a man who is in banishment for a homicide which admits of reconciliation³ incurs a further charge of killing or wounding, he is tried in Phreatto, and he makes

¹ The lesser of the two chief festivals of Dionysus, held in January. Many of the plays which have come down to us were first performed at this festival, but it was not such a magnificent occasion as the great Dionysia, at which strangers from the rest of Greece were usually present in great numbers.

² See note 2 on ch. 20, 2.

³ A person who committed an involuntary homicide had to give pecuniary satisfaction to the relatives of the deceased, and he was compelled to go into exile for a year unless they gave him leave to return earlier.

his defence from a boat moored near the shore. All these 4 cases, except those which are heard in the Areopagus, are tried by the Ephetae on whom the lot falls.¹ The King introduces them, and the hearing is held within sacred precincts and in the open air. Whenever the King hears a case he takes off his crown. The person who is charged with homicide is at all other times excluded from the temples, nor is it even lawful for him to enter the market-place; but on the occasion of his trial he enters the temple and makes his defence. If the actual offender is unknown, the writ runs against 'the doer of the deed'. The King and the tribe-kings also hear the cases in which the guilt rests on inanimate objects and the lower animals.²

The Polemarch performs the sacrifices to Artemis the 58 huntress and to Enyalios, and arranges the contest at the funeral of those who have fallen in war, and makes offerings to the memory of Harmodius and Aristogeiton. Only private actions come before him, namely those in which 1 resident aliens, both ordinary and privileged, and agents of foreign states are concerned. It is his duty to receive these cases and divide them into ten groups, and assign to each tribe the group which comes to it by lot; after which the magistrates who introduce cases for the tribe hand them over to the Arbitrators. The Polemarch, however, brings 3 up in person cases in which an alien is charged with deserting his patron or neglecting to provide himself with one,³ and also of inheritances and wards of state where aliens are concerned; and in fact, generally, whatever the Archon does for citizens, the Polemarch does for aliens.

The Thesmothetae in the first place have the power of 59

¹ The Ephetae were a very ancient board of magistrates who used to hear these kinds of cases, but whether they are spoken of here is doubtful, as the word in the MS. is lost in a lacuna. It is, however, supplied from passages in Harpocration and other grammarians.

² This is a relic of a very primitive custom, by which any object that had caused a man's death was put upon its trial. In later times it may have served the purpose of a coroner's inquest. Cases of this kind, and those in which the culprit was unknown, were tried in the court of the Prytaneum, and it is probable that the name occurred in the treatise, but has dropped out of the MS.

³ Every alien resident in Athens was required to provide himself with a patron from among the citizens.

ATHENIENSIVM RESPUBLICA

prescribing on what days the law-courts are to sit, and next of assigning them to the several magistrates; for the latter must follow the arrangement which the Thesmothetae assign.

2 Moreover they introduce impeachments before the Assembly, and bring up all votes for removal from office, challenges of a magistrate's conduct before the Assembly, indictments for illegal proposals, or for proposing a law which is contrary to the interests of the state, complaints against Proedri or their president for their conduct in office, and the accounts

3 presented by the generals. All indictments also come before them in which a deposit has to be made by the prosecutor, namely, indictments for concealment of foreign origin, for corrupt evasion of foreign origin (when a man escapes the disqualification by bribery), for blackmailing accusations, bribery, false entry of another as a state debtor, false testimony to the service of a summons, conspiracy to enter a man as a state debtor, corrupt removal from the list

4 of debtors, and adultery. They also bring up the examinations of all magistrates,¹ and the rejections by the demes

5 and the condemnations by the Council. Moreover they bring up certain private suits in cases of merchandise and mines, or where a slave has slandered a free man. It is they also who cast lots to assign the courts to the various magis-

6 trates, whether for private or public cases. They ratify commercial treaties, and bring up the cases which arise out of such treaties; and they also bring up cases of perjury

7 from the Areopagus. The casting of lots for the jurors is conducted by all the nine Archons, with the clerk to the Thesmothetae as the tenth, each performing the duty for his own tribe. Such are the duties of the nine Archons.

60 There are also ten Commissioners of Games [Athlothētai], elected by lot, one from each tribe. These officers, after passing an examination, serve for four years; and they manage the Panathenaic procession, the contest in music and that in gymnastic, and the horse-race; they also provide the robe of Athena² and, in conjunction with the Council,

¹ i. e. the examination to which all magistrates were subjected before entering office. See ch. 55, 2.

² See note 3 on ch. 49, 3.

CHAPTER 60

the vases,¹ and they present the oil to the athletes. This oil is collected from the sacred olives. The Archon² requisitions it from the owners of the farms on which the sacred olives grow, at the rate of three-quarters of a pint from each plant. Formerly the state used to sell the fruit itself, and if any one dug up or broke down one of the sacred olives, he was tried by the Council of Areopagus, and if he was condemned, the penalty was death. Since, however, the oil has been paid by the owner of the farm, the procedure has lapsed, though the law remains; and the oil is a state charge upon the property instead of being taken from the individual plants.² When, then, the Archon has³ collected the oil for his year of office, he hands it over to the Treasurers to preserve in the Acropolis, and he may not take his seat in the Areopagus until he has paid over to the Treasurers the full amount. The Treasurers keep it in the Acropolis until the Panathenaea, when they measure it out to the Commissioners of Games, and they again to the victorious competitors. The prizes for the victors in the musical contest consist of silver and gold, for the victors in manly vigour, of shields, and for the victors in the gymnastic contest and the horse-race, of oil.

All officers connected with military service are elected by⁶¹ open vote. In the first place, ten Generals [Stratēgi], who were formerly elected one from each tribe, but now are chosen from the whole mass of citizens. Their duties are assigned to them by open vote; one is appointed to command the heavy infantry, and leads them if they go out to war; one to the defence of the country, who remains on the defensive, and fights if there is war within the borders of the country; two to Piraeus, one of whom is assigned to Munichia, and one to the south shore, and these have charge of the defence of the Piraeus; and one to superintend the

¹ The vases given as prizes at the Panathenaea, of which a considerable number still exist.

² The meaning is that the oil is now a fixed charge on the estate, so that the owner would be liable for the amount, whatever happened to the plants.

ATHENIENSIVM RESPUBLICA

symmories,¹ who nominates the trierarchs² and arranges exchanges of properties³ for them, and brings up actions to decide on rival claims in connexion with them. The rest are dispatched to whatever business may be on hand at the moment. The appointment of these officers is submitted for confirmation in each prytany, when the question is put whether they are considered to be doing their duty. If any officer is rejected on this vote, he is tried in the law-court, and if he is found guilty the people decide what punishment or fine shall be inflicted on him ; but if he is acquitted he resumes his office. The Generals have full power, when on active service, to arrest any one for insubordination, or to cashier him publicly, or to inflict a fine ; the latter is, however, unusual.

3 There are also ten Taxiarchs, one from each tribe, elected by open vote ; and each commands his own tribesmen and
4 appoints captains of companies [Lochāgi]. There are also two Hipparchs, elected by open vote from the whole mass of the citizens, who command the cavalry, each taking five tribes. They have the same powers as the Generals have in respect of the infantry, and their appointments are also subject to
5 confirmation. There are also ten Phylarchs, elected by open vote, one from each tribe, to command the cavalry, as the
6 Taxiarchs do the infantry. There is also a Hipparch for Lemnos, elected by open vote, who has charge of the cavalry
7 in Lemnos. There is also a treasurer of the Paralus, and another of the Ammonias, similarly elected.⁴

62 Of the magistrates elected by lot, in former times some

¹ The companies into which the richer members of the community were formed (first in 377 B. C.) for the payment of the extraordinary charges in war-time.

² The trierarchs were the persons (chosen from the richest men in the community) who were required to undertake the equipment of a trireme at their own expense. Like the office of Choregus (ch. 56, 3, 4) it was a public duty performed by private individuals.

³ See note 3 on ch. 56, 3.

⁴ These are the two triremes, usually known as 'sacred', which were used for special state services. According to the grammarians the two originally so employed were the Paralus and Salaminia ; e. g. it was the latter that was sent to fetch Alcibiades back from Sicily to stand his trial. The Ammonias appears to have taken the place of the Salaminia in the time of Alexander, when the Athenians sent sacrifices to the god Ammon in it.

CHAPTER 62

including the nine Archons, were elected out of the tribe as a whole, while others, namely those who are now elected in the Thesēum, were apportioned among the demes; but since the demes used to sell the elections, these magistrates too are now elected from the whole tribe, except the members of the Council and the guards of the dockyards, who are still left to the demes.

Pay is received for the following services. First the members of the Assembly receive a drachma for the ordinary meetings, and nine obols for the 'sovereign' meeting. Then the jurors at the law-courts receive three obols; and the members of the Council five obols. The Prytanes receive an allowance of an obol for their maintenance. The nine Archons receive four obols apiece for maintenance, and also keep a herald and a flute-player; and the Archon for Salamis receives a drachma a day. The Commissioners for Games dine in the Prytanēum during the month of Hecatombaeon in which the Panathenaic festival takes place, from the fourteenth day onwards. The Amphictyonic deputies to Delos receive a drachma a day from the exchequer of Delos. Also all magistrates sent to Samos, Scyros, Lemnos, or Imbros receive an allowance for their maintenance. The military offices may be held any number of times, but none of the others more than once, except the membership of the Council, which may be held twice.

The juries for the law-courts are chosen by lot by the nine Archons, each for their own tribe, and by the clerk to the Thesmothetae for the tenth. There are ten entrances into the courts, one for each tribe; twenty rooms in which the lots are drawn, two for each tribe; a hundred chests, ten for each tribe; other chests, in which are placed the tickets of the jurors on whom the lot falls; and two vases. Further, staves, equal in number to the jurors required, are placed by the side of each entrance; and counters are put into one vase, equal in number to the staves. These are inscribed with letters of the alphabet beginning with the eleventh (*lambda*), equal in number to the courts which require to be filled. All persons above thirty years of age are qualified to

ATHENIENSIIUM RESPUBLICA

serve as jurors, provided they are not debtors to the state and have not lost their civil rights. If any unqualified person serves as juror, an information is laid against him, and he is brought before the court; and, if he is convicted, the jurors assess the punishment or fine which they consider him to deserve. If he is condemned to a money fine, he must be imprisoned until he has paid up both the original debt, on account of which the information was laid against him, and also the fine which the court has imposed upon him.

4 Each juror has his ticket of box-wood, on which is inscribed his name, with the name of his father and his deme, and one of the letters of the alphabet up to *kappa*;¹ for the jurors in their several tribes are divided into ten sections, with approximately an equal number in each letter. When the Thesmothetes has decided by lot which letters are required to attend at the courts, the servant puts up above each court the letter which has been assigned to it by the lot.

64 The ten chests above mentioned are placed in front of the entrance used by each tribe, and are inscribed with the letters of the alphabet from *alpha* to *kappa*. The jurors cast in their tickets, each into the chest on which is inscribed the letter which is on his ticket; then the servant shakes them all up, and the Archon draws one
2 ticket from each chest. The individual so selected is called the Ticket-hanger [Empēctes], and his function is to hang up the tickets out of his chest on the bar which bears the same letter as that on the chest. He is chosen by lot, lest, if the Ticket-hanger were always the same person, he might tamper with the results. There are five of these bars in each of the
3 rooms assigned for the lot-drawing. Then the Archon casts in the dice and thereby chooses the jurors from each tribe, room by room. The dice are made of brass, coloured black or white; and according to the number of jurors required, so many white dice are put in, one for each five tickets, while

¹ The tenth letter of the alphabet. Thus the whole body of jurors was divided into ten sections, indicated by the letters from *alpha* to *kappa*; and the courts for which jurors were required were indicated by the requisite number of letters from *lambda* onwards.

CHAPTER 64

the remainder are black, in the same proportion.¹ As the Archon draws out the dice, the crier calls out the names of the individuals chosen. The Ticket-hanger is included among those selected. Each juror, as he is chosen and answers to his name, draws a counter from the vase, and holding it out with the letter uppermost shows it first to the presiding Archon; and he, when he has seen it, throws the ticket of the juror into the chest on which is inscribed the letter which is on the counter, so that the juror must go into the court assigned to him by lot, and not into one chosen by himself, and that it may be impossible for any one to collect the jurors of his choice into any particular court. For this purpose chests are placed near the Archon, as many in number as there are courts to be filled that day, bearing the letters of the courts on which the lot has fallen.

The juror thereupon, after showing his counter again to the attendant, passes through the barrier into the court. The attendant gives him a staff of the same colour as the court bearing the letter which is on his counter, so as to ensure his going into the court assigned to him by lot; since, if he were to go into any other, he would be betrayed by the colour of his staff. Each court has a certain colour painted on the lintel of the entrance. Accordingly the juror, bearing his staff, enters the court which has the same colour as his staff, and the same letter as his counter. As he enters, he receives a voucher from the official to whom this duty has been assigned by lot. So with their counters and their staves the selected jurors take their seats in the court, having thus completed the process of admission. The unsuccessful candidates receive back their tickets from the Ticket-hangers. The public servants carry the chests from each tribe, one to each court, containing the names of the members of the tribe who are in that court, and hand them

¹ Thus the process of selection is as follows. The Ticket-hanger arranges all the tickets on a bar, which establishes their order. Then the Archon draws a die; if it is white, the owners of the first five tickets on the bar serve on the jury, while if it is black they are rejected; and so on through the whole number. The selected jurors are then assigned to the several courts in accordance with the lots drawn from the vases.

ATHENIENSIUM RESPUBLICA

over to the officials¹ assigned to the duty of giving back their tickets to the jurors in each court, so that these officials may call them up by name and pay them their fee.

- 66 When all the courts are full, two ballot boxes are placed in the first court, and a number of brazen dice, bearing the colours of the several courts, and other dice inscribed with the names of the presiding magistrates. Then two of the Thesmothetae, selected by lot, severally throw the dice with the colours into one box, and those with the magistrates' names into the other. The magistrate whose name is first drawn is thereupon proclaimed by the crier as assigned for duty in the court which is first drawn, and the second in the second, and similarly with the rest. The object of this procedure is that no one may know which court he will have, but that each may take the court assigned to him by lot.
- 2 When the jurors have come in, and have been assigned to their respective courts, the presiding magistrate in each court draws one ticket out of each chest (making ten in all, one out of each tribe), and throws them into another empty chest. He then draws out five of them, and assigns one to the superintendence of the water-clock, and the other four to the telling of the votes. This is to prevent any tampering beforehand with either the superintendent of the clock or the tellers of the votes, and to secure that there is
- 3 no malpractice in these respects. The five who have not been selected for these duties receive from them a statement of the order in which the jurors shall receive their fees, and of the places where the several tribes shall respectively gather in the court for this purpose when their duties are completed; the object being that the jurors may be broken up into small groups for the reception of their pay, and not all crowd together and impede one another.
- 67 These preliminaries being concluded, the cases are called on. If it is a day for private cases, the private litigants are called. Four cases are taken in each of the categories

¹ The correct reading is perhaps 'the five officials'.

defined in the law, and the litigants swear to confine their speeches to the point at issue. If it is a day for public causes, the public litigants are called, and only one case is tried. Water-clocks are provided, having small supply-tubes,¹ into which the water is poured by which the length of the pleadings is regulated. Ten gallons² are allowed for a case in which an amount of more than five thousand drachmas is involved, and three for the second speech on each side. When the amount is between one and five thousand drachmas, seven gallons are allowed for the first speech and two for the second ; when it is less than one thousand, five and two. Six gallons are allowed for arbitrations between rival claimants, in which there is no second speech. The official chosen by lot to superintend the water-clock places his hand on the supply-tube whenever the clerk is about to read a resolution or law or affidavit or treaty. When, however, a case is conducted according to a set measurement of the day, he does not stop the supply, but each party receives an equal allowance of water.³ The standard of measurement is the length of the days in the month Poseideon⁴ The measured day is employed in cases when imprisonment, death, exile, loss of civil rights, or confiscation of goods is assigned as the penalty.

Most of the courts consist of 500 members . . . ; and 68 when it is necessary to bring public cases before a jury of 1,000 members, two courts combine for the purpose, [while the most important cases of all are brought before] 1,500 jurors, or three courts. The ballot balls are made of brass

¹ Or, reading *αὐλοῦς τε ἔχουσαι καὶ ἔκροισ*, with Sandys, 'having supply-tubes and outlets'; but it is difficult to say that water is poured into an outlet. The water is poured in through the supply-tube, and trickles out through an opening at the bottom. When the aperture at the top is closed, the water ceases to run out.

² The *χοῖς* is really equivalent to about three-quarters of a gallon.

³ In ordinary suits, fixed allowances of water (i. e. of time as measured by the water-clock) were given for each speech, and the time occupied in the reading of affidavits, &c., was not included in the allowances, so that the water-clock was stopped while they were read. In more important cases a certain portion of the day was allotted to either side, without allowance for the time occupied by reading documents.

⁴ i. e. December to January, when the days are shortest. A mutilated passage follows.

ATHENIENSIVM RESPUBLICA

with stems running through the centre, half of them having the stem pierced and the other half solid. When the speeches are concluded, the officials assigned to the taking of the votes give each juror two ballot balls, one pierced and one solid. This is done in full view of the rival litigants, to secure that no one shall receive two pierced or two solid balls. Then the official designated for the purpose takes away the jurors' staves, in return for which each one as he records his vote receives a brass voucher marked with the numeral 3 (because he gets three obols when he gives it up). This is to ensure that all shall vote; since no one can get a voucher unless he votes. Two urns, one of brass and the other of wood, stand in the court, in distinct spots so that no one may surreptitiously insert ballot balls; in these the jurors record their votes. The brazen urn is for effective votes,¹ the wooden for unused votes; and the brazen urn has a lid pierced so as to take only one ballot ball, in order that no one may put in two at a time.

4 When the jurors are about to vote, the crier demands first whether the litigants enter a protest against any of the evidence; for no protest can be received after the voting has begun. Then he proclaims again, 'The pierced ballot for the plaintiff, the solid for the defendant'; and the juror, taking his two ballot balls from the stand, with his hand closed over the stem so as not to show either the pierced or the solid ballot to the litigants, casts the one which is to count into the brazen urn, and the other into the wooden urn.

69 When all the jurors have voted, the attendants take the urn containing the effective votes and discharge them on to a reckoning board having as many cavities as there are ballot balls, so that the effective votes, whether pierced or solid, may be plainly displayed and easily counted. Then the officials assigned to the taking of the votes tell them off on the board, the solid in one place and the pierced in another, and the crier announces the numbers of the

¹ i. e. those which record the juror's actual vote. Each juror receives two ballots, and uses one (pierced or solid according as he votes for the plaintiff or the defendant) to record his vote, and throws the other away.

CHAPTER 69

votes, the pierced ballots being for the prosecutor and the solid for the defendant. Whichever has the majority is victorious; but if the votes are equal the verdict is for the defendant. Then, if damages have to be awarded, they vote again in the same way, first returning their pay-vouchers and receiving back their staves. Half a gallon of water is allowed to each party for the discussion of the damages. Finally, when all has been completed in accordance with the law, the jurors receive their pay in the order assigned by the lot.

INDEX

References are to chapters and sections.

- Acastus, 3, 3.
 Acherdus, deme of, 38, 3.
 Acropolis, 7, 4; 8, 4; 14, 1; 15, 4; 18, 3; 19, 6; 20, 3; 37, 2; 55, 5; 60, 3.
 Acté (south shore of Piraeus), 42, 3; 61, 1.
 Aegospotami, battle of, 34, 2.
 Agoranomi (Market Commissioners), 51, 1.
 Agroeci, 13, 2.
 Agyrrius, 41, 3.
 Alcmeonidae, 1; 19, 3; 20, 2, 4, 5; 28, 2.
 Alexias, archon, 34, 2.
 Aliens, jurisdiction of Polemarch over, 58, 3.
 Alopece, deme of, 22, 5; 45, 1.
 Ammonias, sacred trireme, 61, 7.
 Amphictyonic deputies, 62, 2.
 Anacreon, 18, 1.
 Anaphlystus, deme of, 29, 1.
 Anchimolus, 19, 5.
 Angele, deme of, 34, 1.
 Anthemion, 7, 4.
 Antidotus, archon, 26, 4.
 Antiphon, 32, 2.
 Anytus, 27, 5; 34, 3.
 Aphidna, deme of, 34, 3.
 Apodectae (Receivers), 47, 5; 48, 1, 2; 50; 52, 3.
 Arbitrators, 53, 2-6; 58, 2; oath of, 55, 5.
 Archestratus, 35, 2.
 Archinus of Ambracia, 17, 4.
 Archinus, political leader, 34, 3; 40, 1, 2.
 Archon, the, 3, 2-3, 5; 60, 2, 3; constitutional importance of, 13, 2; functions of, 56.
 Archon, for Salamis, 54, 8; 62, 2.
 Archons, the nine, 3; 4, 2; 7, 1, 3; 8, 1, 2; 29, 5; 30, 2; 47, 2; 63, 1; 64; 66, 1; election of, 22, 5; 26, 2; 55; examination of, 45, 3; oath of, 55, 5; pay of, 62, 2. See also King-Archon, Polemarch. Thesmothetae.
 Archons, in Piraeus, 35, 1.
 Archons, chronological sequence of, B. C.
 621 Aristaichmus, 4, 1.
 594 Solon, 5, 2.
 582 (?) Damasias, 13, 2.
 560 Comeas, 14, 1.
 555 Hegesias, 14, 3.
 528 Philoneos, 17, 1.
 511 Harpactides, 19, 6.
 508 Isagoras, 21, 1.
 501 Hermocreon, 22, 2.
 490 Phaenippus, 22, 3.
 487 Telesinus, 22, 5.
 483 Nicodemus, 22, 7.
 481 Hypsicrides, 22, 8.
 478 Timosthenes, 23, 5.
 462 Conon, 25, 2.
 457 Mnesitheides, 26, 2.
 453 Lysicrates, 26, 3.
 451 Antidotus, 26, 4.
 432 Pythodorus, 27, 2.
 412 Callias, 32, 1, 2.
 [411 Mnasiloachus, 33, 1.]
 411 Theopompus, 33, 1.
 406 Callias, 34, 1.
 405 Alexias, 34, 2.
 404 Pythodorus, 35, 1; 41, 1.
 403 Euclides, 39, 1.
 401 Xenaenetus, 40, 4.
 329 Cephisophon, 54, 7.
 Archons, ten, 13, 2.
 Areopagus, Council of, 3, 6; 4, 4; 8, 2, 4; 16, 8; 23, 1; 25, 1-4; 27, 1; 35, 2; 47, 2; 57, 3; 60, 2, 3.
 Arginusae, battle of, 34, 1.
 Argos, 17, 4; 19, 4.
 Aristaichmus, archon, 4, 1.
 Aristides, 22, 7; 23, 3-5; 24, 3; 28, 2; 41, 2.
 Aristion, 14, 1.
 Aristocrates, 33, 2.
 Aristodicus, of Tanagra, 25, 4.
 Aristogeiton, 18, 2-6; 58, 1.
 Aristomachus, 32, 1.

INDEX

- Artemis, sacrifices to, 58, 1.
 Asclepius, procession of, 56, 4.
 Assembly (Ecclesia) 4, 3; 25, 2, 4;
 41, 2; 42, 4; 43, 3-6; 44, 2, 4;
 45, 4; 46, 1, 2; 49, 2; 54, 3, 5;
 pay for, 41, 2.
 Assessors to Archons, 56, 1; to
 Euthuni, 48, 4.
 Astynomi, 50.
 Athena, 14, 4; robe of (peplus), 49,
 3; 60, 1.
 statue of, 47, 1.
 Athens, constitutions of:
 Ion, 41, 2.
 Theseus, 3; 41, 2.
 Draco, 4; 41, 2.
 Solon, 5-12; 41, 2.
 Pisistratus, 14-16; 41, 2.
 Cleisthenes, 21; 41, 2.
 Areopagite, 23-25; 41, 2.
 Democracy, 26-28; 41, 2.
 Four Hundred, 29-33; 41, 2.
 Democracy restored, 33, 1-34;
 39-41, 2.
 Thirty, 34, 3-38; 41, 2.
 Athens, empire of, 24.
 Athlothetae (Commissioners of
 Games), 60, 1, 3; 62, 2.
 Auditors, 48, 3; 54, 2.

 Brauronia, festival of, 54, 7.
 Bribery, 27, 5.
 Bucolium, 3, 5.
 Buildings, public, 46, 2; 49, 3.

 Callias, archon (412-411 B. C.), 32,
 1, 2.
 Callias, archon (406-405 B. C.), 34, 1.
 Callibius, 37, 2; 38, 2.
 Callicrates, 28, 3.
 Catalogeis (Commissioners of En-
 rolment), 49, 2.
 Cavalry, examination of, 49, 1, 2.
 Cedon, 20, 5.
 Cephisophon, archon, 54, 7.
 Ceryces, 39, 2; 57, 1.
 Choregi, 54, 8; 56, 3, 4.
 Cimon, 26, 1; 27, 1, 3; 28, 2.
 Cineas, of Thessaly, 19, 5.
 City, Commissioners of, 50.
 Cleisthenes, 20, 1-22, 4; 28, 2;
 29, 3; 41, 2.
 Cleitophon, 29, 3; 34, 3.
 Cleomenes, 19, 2, 5; 20, 2, 3.
 Cleon, 28, 3.
 Cleophon, 28, 3; 34, 1.

 Clerk of the Council, 47, 5; 48, 1.
 — of the Laws, 54, 4;
 — of the Prytany, 54, 3.
 — Reading, 54, 5.
 — to Archons, 55, 1, 2.
 — to Thesmothetae, 55, 1; 59, 7;
 63, 1.
 Clocks, water, in law-courts, 67,
 2-5.
 Codrus, 3, 1, note; 3, 3.
 Coinage, Solon's reform of, 10.
 Colacretae, 7, 3.
 Collytus, deme of, 14, 4; 22, 4.
 Comeas, archon, 14, 1.
 Confederacy of Delos, 23, 5.
 Confiscated properties, 47, 2, 3;
 52, 1.
 Conon, archon, 25, 2.
 Contracts, Commissioners for, 47,
 2; 52, 1.
 Corn, Commissioners, 51, 3.
 Council of 500, 21, 3; 22, 2; 25,
 2; 41, 2; 43, 2-49; 55, 2-4;
 membership of, 62, 3; pay for,
 62, 2.
 — of 500 (under the Thirty), 35, 1.
 — of 400, 8, 4; 31.
 — of 401, 4, 3.
 Councils under constitution of Four
 Hundred, 30.
 Cylon, 1, note.

 Damasias, archon, 13, 2.
 Damonides, 27, 4.
 Decelea, 34, 1.
 Delos, festival of, 54, 7; 56, 4;
 missions to, 62, 2.
 Delphi, oracle of, 19, 4; 21, 6.
 Delphinium, court of, 57, 3.
 Demarchs, 21, 5
 — for Piraeus, 54, 8.
 Demaretus, 38, 2.
 Demes, 20, 4-6; elections by, 62, 1.
 Demes, names of:
 Anaphlystus, 29, 1.
 Angele, 34, 1.
 Aphidna, 34, 3.
 Collytus, 14, 4; 22, 4.
 Laciadae, 27, 3.
 Oia, 27, 4.
 Paeania, 14, 4; 28, 3; 38, 3.
 Demiurgi, 13, 2.
 Dionysia, festival of, 56, 3-5.
 Superintendents of, 56, 4.
 — Lenaeon, festival of, 57, 1.
 — in Salamis and Piraeus, 54, 8.
 Diphilus, 7, 4.

INDEX

- Draco, legislation of, 4; 7, 1; 41, 2.
 Dracontides, 34, 3.
- Eetioneia, fort of, 37, 1.
- Eisagogeis (Introducers of Cases),
 52, 2; 58, 2.
- Elections by lot, 43, 1, 2; 44, 1;
 47, 1, 2; 48, 1, 3, 4; 50; 51,
 1-4; 52, 1, 2; 53, 1; 54, 1-4,
 6-8; 55, 1; 56, 4; 60, 1; 62, 1.
 — by vote, 43, 1; 44, 4; 46, 1;
 49, 2; 54, 3, 5; 56, 4; 57, 1;
 61, 1, 3-7.
- Eleusinia, festival of, 54, 7.
 Eleusis, 39, 1-4; 40, 4.
- Eleven, the (Police Commissioners),
 7, 3; 29, 4; 35, 1; 39, 5; 52, 1.
- Empectes (Ticket-hanger), 64, 2, 3;
 65, 3.
- Enrolment, Commissioners of, 49,
 2.
- Enyalios, sacrifices to, 58, 1.
- Ephebi, examination of, 42, 1, 2;
 53, 4; training, 42, 2-5.
- Ephetae, 57, 4.
- Ephialtes, 25; 28, 2; laws of, 35,
 2; 41, 2.
- Epilyceum, 3, 5.
- Epimenides, 1.
- Eponymi (eponymous heroes), of
 tribes, 21, 5; 48, 4; 53, 4.
 — of years of service, 53, 4-7.
- Eretria, 15, 2; battle of, 33, 1.
- Euboea, 33, 1.
- Eucleides, archon, 39, 1.
- Eumelides, 45, 1.
- Eumolpidae, 39, 2; 57, 1.
- Eupatridae, 13, 2.
- Euthuni (Examiners of Accounts),
 48, 4.
- Examination of Magistrates, 45, 2,
 3; 48, 4, 5; 55.
- Examiner of Accounts, 48, 4.
- Family deities, 55, 3.
- Festivals, Commissioners for, 54, 7.
- Festivals, quadriennial, 54, 7.
- Five Thousand, Assembly of, 29,
 5; 30, 1; 31, 2, 3; 32, 1, 3; 33,
 1; 34, 1.
- Forty, the. *See* Justices, Local.
- Four Hundred, constitution of, 29-
 33.
- Four Hundred, Council of, 8, 4;
 21, 3; 31, 1; 32, 1, 3.
- Franchise, citizen, 4, 1; 7, 3, 4;
 21, 2; 26, 4; 42.
- Games, Commissioners of, 60, 1, 3;
 62, 2.
 — prizes in, 60, 3.
- Geraestus, 22, 8.
- Gorgilus, 17, 4.
- Harmodius, 18, 2-4.
 — and Aristogeiton, memorial
 offerings to, 58, 1.
- Harpactides, archon, 19, 6.
- Hectemori, 2, 2.
- Hegesias, archon, 14, 3.
- Hegesistratus (Thessalus), 17, 3.
- Hellenotamiae, 30, 2.
- Hephaestia, festival of, 54, 7.
- Heracleia, festival of, 54, 7.
- Heracleides, of Clazomenae, 41, 3.
- Hermocreon, archon, 22, 2.
- Hieromnemon, 30, 2.
- Hieropoei (Commissioners of Public
 Worship), 30, 2; 54, 6.
- Hipparchs, 4, 2; 30, 2; 31, 3; 49,
 2; 61, 4; election of, 44, 4.
 — for Lemnos, 61, 6.
- Hipparchus, son of Charmus, 22, 4.
- Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, 17,
 3-18.
- Hippias, son of Pisistratus, 17, 3-
 19, 5.
- Hodopoei (Commissioners of
 Roads), 54, 1.
- Homicide, cases of, 57, 3, 4.
- Horses, state examination of, 49, 1, 2.
- Hypsichides, archon, 22, 8.
- Imbros, magistrates for, 62, 2.
- Introducers of Cases, 52, 2; 58, 2.
- Ion, 3, 2; 41, 2.
- Iophon, 17, 3.
- Isagoras, son of Tisander, 20, 1-3;
 21, 1; 28, 2.
- Jurors, qualifications of, 63, 3.
- Justices, local, 16, 5; 26, 3; 48, 5;
 53.
- King-Archon, 3, 2, 3, 5; 47, 4; 55, 1;
 56, 1; functions of, 57.
- Knights, 4, 3; 7, 3, 4; 24, 3; 26, 2;
 38, 2.
- Laciadae, deme of, 27, 3.
- Law-courts, appeal to, 42, 1; 45,
 1-3; 48, 4, 5; 49, 3; 55, 2.
 — jurisdiction of, 52, 2; 53, 2, 3;
 54, 2; 55, 2, 4; 56, 6, 7; 61, 2.
 pay for service in, 27, 3.

INDEX

- Law-courts, power of, 9, 1; 35, 2; 41, 2.
 — procedure in, 63-69.
 Laws, Clerk of, 54, 4.
 Law-suits, categories of, 56, 6; 57, 2-4; 58, 2; 59, 2, 3.
 Leaders of the people (*προστάτης τοῦ δήμου*), 2, 2; 20, 4; 23, 3; 25, 1; 28, 2, 3; 36, 1.
 Lemnos, Hipparch for, 61, 6; magistrates for, 62, 2.
 Lenaea, festival of, 57, 1.
 Leocoreum, 18, 3.
 Lipsydrium, 19, 3.
 Lochagi, 61, 3.
 Logistae (Auditors), 48, 3; 54, 2.
 Lot. *See* Elections.
 Lycurgus, 13, 4; 14, 3.
 Lygdamis, tyrant of Naxos, 15, 2.
 Lysander, 34, 2, 3.
 Lysicrates, archon, 26, 3.
 Lysimachus, 45, 1.

 Magistrates, audit of accounts of, 48, 4; 54, 2.
 — examination of, 45, 2; 55; 59, 4.
 Marathon, battle of, 22, 3.
 Market, Commissioners of, 51, 1.
 Maroneia, mines of, 22, 7.
 Mart, Superintendents of, 51, 4.
 Medon, 3, 3.
 Megacles, son of Alcmeon, 13, 4; 14, 4.
 Megacles, son of Hippocrates, 22, 5.
 Megara, war with, 14, 1; 17, 2.
 Melobius, 29, 1.
 Metronomi (Commissioners of Weights and Measures), 51, 2.
 Miltiades, 28, 2.
 Mnasiloachus, archon, 33, 1.
 Mnesitheides, archon, 26, 2.
 'Monthly' suits, 52, 2.
 Munichia, 19, 2; 38, 1; 42, 3; 61, 1.
 Musicians, state control of, 50.
 Myron, 1.
 Mysteries, Superintendents of, 57, 1.

 Naucrari, 8, 3; 21, 5.
 Naucraries, 8, 3; 21, 5.
 Naxos, 15, 3.
 Nicias, 28, 2, 5.
 Nicodemus, archon, 22, 7.

 Oaths, on a stone, 7, 1; 55, 5.
 Oia, deme of, 27, 4.
 Olives, sacred, 60, 2.
 Oreus, 33, 1.

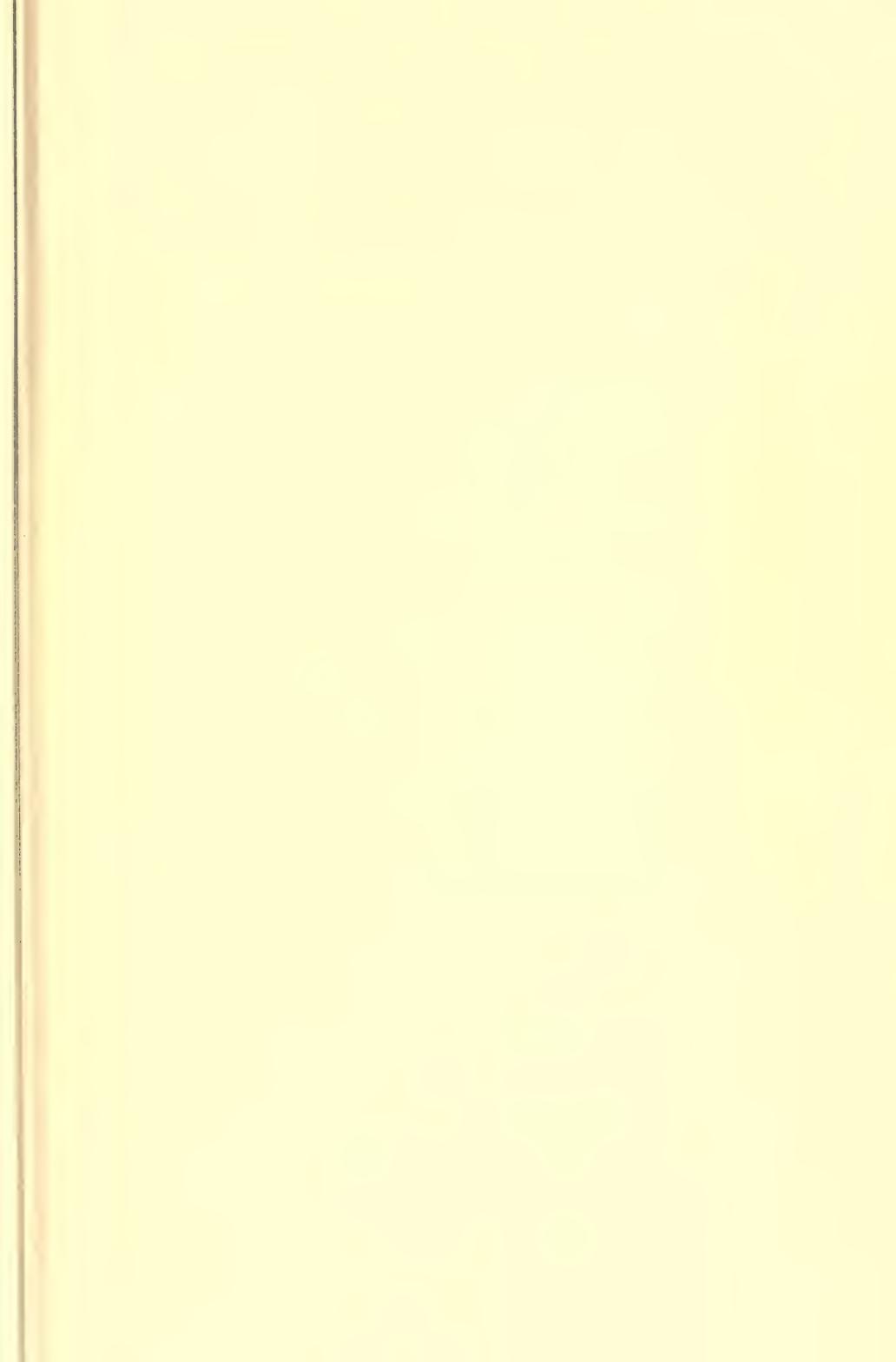
 Orphans, state control of, 56, 7.
 Ostracism, 22, 1-8; 27, 4; 43, 5.

 Paeania, deme of, 14, 4; 28, 3; 38, 3.
 Palladium, court of, 57, 3.
 Pallene, battle of, 15, 3; 17, 4.
 Panathenaic Festival, 18, 2, 3; 43, 1; 49, 3; 54, 7; 60, 1, 3; 62, 2.
 Pangaeus, Mt., mines of, 15, 2.
 Paralus, sacred trireme, 61, 7.
 Paredri, of Archons, 56, 1.
 — of Euthuni, 48, 4.
 Paupers, 49, 4.
 Pausanias, king of Sparta, 38, 3, 4.
 Pausanias, regent of Sparta, 23, 4.
 Pay for public service, 24, 3; 27, 3; 62, 2.
 Pelatae, 2, 2.
 Peloponnesian War, 27, 2.
 Pentacosimedimnus, 4, 3; 7, 3; 8, 7; 26, 2; 47, 1.
 Pericles, 26, 4; 27, 1-28, 3.
 Persia, king of, 29, 1.
 Phaenippus, archon, 22, 3.
 Phayllus, 38, 3.
 Philoneos, archon, 17, 1.
 Phormisius, 34, 3.
 Phreatto, court of, 57, 3.
 Phye, 14, 4.
 Phylarchs, 30, 2; 31, 3; 49, 2; 61, 5.
 Phyle, 37, 1; 38, 2; 41, 2.
 Piraeus, 38, 3, 4; 39, 5; 40, 2, 3; 42, 3; 61, 1.
 — Archons in, 35, 1.
 — Commissioners of, 50.
 — Commissioners of Weights and Measures of, 51, 2.
 — Corn Commissioners of, 51, 3.
 — Demarch for, 54, 8.
 — Market Commissioners of, 51, 1.
 Pisander, 32, 2.
 Pisistratus, 13, 4; 14-17; 22, 3; 28, 2.
 Polemarch, 3, 2, 3, 5; 22, 2; 55, 1; 56, 1; functions of, 58.
 Polemarcheum, 3, 5.
 Poletae, 7, 3; 47, 2; 52, 1.
 Prodrumi (scouts), 49, 1.
 Proedri, 44, 2, 3.
 Prytanes, 4, 2; 29, 4, 5; 41, 3; 43, 2-44; 45, 4; 62, 2.
 — President of, 44, 1, 3.
 Prytaneum, 3, 5; 24, 3; 62, 2.
 — Court of, 57, 4, note.
 Prytany, Clerk of the, 54, 3.
 Pylos, 27, 5.

INDEX

- Pythia, of Delphi, 19, 4; 21, 6.
 Pythodorus, archon (432-431 B.C.),
 27, 2.
 Pythodorus, archon (404-403 B.C.),
 35, 1; 41, 1.
 Pythodorus, of Anaphlystus, 29, 1.
- Quadriremes, 46, 1.
- Receivers-General, 47, 5; 48, 1, 2;
 50; 52, 3.
 Rhaicelus, 15, 2.
 Rhinon, 38, 3, 4.
 Roads, Commissioners of, 54, 1.
- Salamis, archon for, 54, 8; 62, 2.
 — battle of, 22, 7; 23, 1.
 Samos, magistrates for, 62, 2.
 Sanitation, control of, 50.
 Scouts, 49, 1.
 Scyllaeum, 22, 8.
 Scyros, magistrates for, 62, 2.
 Seal, public, 44, 1.
 Seisachtheia, 6; 12, 4.
 Shipbuilding, 46.
 Sicily, Athenian defeat in, 29, 1.
 Simonides, 18, 1.
 Sitophylaces (Corn Commissioners),
 51, 3.
 Solon, 5-14; 17, 2; 22, 1; 28, 2;
 laws of, 7-10; 35, 2; poetry of,
 5, 2, 3; 12.
 Sophronistae (guardians), 42, 2, 3.
 Sparta, 19, 2, 4-6; 23, 2, 4; 37, 2;
 38, 41.
 Springs, Superintendent of, 43, 1.
 Strategi, 4, 2; 22, 2; 26, 1; 30, 2;
 31, 2; 61, 1, 2; election of, 44, 4.
 Symmories, 61, 1.
- 'Tax-Free Farm', 16, 6.
 Taxiarchs, 30, 2; 61, 3.
 Telesimus, archon, 22, 5.
 Temples, Commissioners for repair
 of, 50.
 Ten, the (first board of), 38, 1; 39, 5.
 Ten, the (second board of), 38, 3.
 Thargelia, festival of, 56, 3, 5.
 Theatre, pay for attendance at, 28, 3.
 Thebes, 15, 2.
- Themistocles, 22, 7; 23, 3; 25, 3,
 4; 28, 2.
 Theopompus, archon, 33, 1.
 Theoric Fund, Commissioners of,
 43, 1; 47, 2.
 Theramenes, 28, 3, 5; 32, 2; 33,
 2; 34, 3; 36, 1, 2; 37, 1, 2.
 Theseum, 15, 4; 62, 1.
 Thesmothetae, 3, 4; 45, 1; 48, 5;
 52, 1; functions of, 59; 63, 4.
 See also Archons.
 Thesmotheteum, 3, 5.
 Thessalus, 17, 3; 18, 1.
 Thetes, 7, 3, 4.
 Thirty, the, 34, 2; 35-40.
 Tholus, 43, 3; 44, 1.
 Thrasybulus, 37, 1; 40, 2.
 Three Thousand, Assembly of
 (under the Thirty), 36, 1, 2; 37, 1.
 Thucydides, 28, 2, 5.
 Ticket-hangers, 64, 2, 3.
 Timonassa, 17, 4.
 Timosthenes, archon, 23, 5.
 Treasurers, 4, 2; 7, 3; 8, 1; 30, 2;
 60, 3.
 — Military, 43, 1; 47, 2; 49, 3.
 — of Ammonias and Paralus, 61, 7.
 — of Athena, 47, 1.
 Tribe-kings, 8, 3; 41, 2; 57, 4.
 Tribes, four, 8, 3; 41, 2.
 — ten, 21, 2; election by, 8, 1; 43,
 2; 44, 2; 47, 1, 2; 48, 1, 3, 4;
 52, 2; 53, 1; 56, 3; 60, 1; 61, 1,
 3; 62, 1; tribal division of
 jurors, 63-69, *passim*.
 Trierarchs, 61, 1.
 Triremes, 22, 7; 46.
 Trittyes, 8, 3; 21, 3, 4.
- Victory, figures of, 47, 1; 49, 3.
- Wards of state, 42, 5; 43, 4; 56, 7.
- Weights and Measures, Commis-
 sioners of, 51, 2.
 — Solon's reform of, 10.
- Worship, Commissioners of, 54, 6.
- Xanthippus, son of Ariphron, 22,
 6; 28, 2.
- Xenaenetus, archon, 40, 4.
- Zeugites, 4, 3; 7, 3, 4; 26, 2.







PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY

HB	Aristoteles	
77	[Oeconomica. English.
A73	1920]
1920	Oeconomica	

