

## *Aristotle's Regime of the Americans*

### **Introduction**

The discovery of ancient texts once thought to have been irretrievably lost is a rare event. But it does happen. The discovery a few years ago of the works of Posidippus is a case in point. As far as the texts of Aristotle are concerned, the most dramatic event in modern times was the discovery, in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, of his *Athenaion Politeia* or *Regime of the Athenians*. Not less dramatic is the text that follows and that I offer here for the first time both in the original Greek and in accompanying English translation. How the text came into my hands is a complex story that would take too long to explain, so let me just say that it involves a shadowy Hittite book dealer near ancient Scepsis in the Troad. The text's title of *Amerikanon Politeia*, taken from the opening words, is Aristotelian enough and, as will immediately appear, so is much of its content. Indeed several sentences and paragraphs can easily be paralleled in Aristotle's *Politics*. This gives us, accordingly, some reason to regard the text as his or at least as preserving genuinely Aristotelian thought.

What will give us pause, of course, is the seeming anachronism of the subject matter. The regime of the Americans seems an unlikely, nay, an impossible topic for Aristotle to have written about. Did he not die millennia before the regime came into existence? This question, however, betrays an anachronism of its own. According to Aristotle himself, as we learn from texts undoubtedly his, the world is eternal and experiences periodic cataclysms during which human civilization is reduced to primitive savagery whence it slowly rises, recovering all that was previously lost, until the next cataclysm destroys everything again. Consequently the regime of the Americans, or something like it, has already existed many times in the past. Our current views about the age and origin of the cosmos are not as definite or as complete as altogether to rule out Aristotle's speculations. If so, there is no compelling reason to deny that he could have come to learn about an American-style regime from ancient tales or records. There is also, therefore, no compelling reason to deny that he could have described and assessed that regime in the same way as he did the regimes of the Athenians and Spartans. At all events, one should judge the text that follows, not by its anachronism (for it has none), but by its content. And that content seems Aristotelian enough. To aid the understanding of the content, therefore, I have divided the text into numbered paragraphs and also marked, in the translation, where the author passes from description to criticism.

1. ἡ δὲ Ἀμερικανῶν πολιτεία, ἣν σχεδὸν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν ἔχονται καὶ ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, εἰς εἶδη ἀρχῶν μάλιστα τρία διανέμεται· ὧν δὲ πλείστας μὲν ὁ δῆμος αἰρεῖται, αἱ δὲ τοῦ τρίτου μέγισται ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχῶν καθίστανται. λέγω δὲ τρία τὴν μὲν μοναρχίαν, τοὺς δὲ γέροντάς τε καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τρίτον δὲ τὰ δικαστήρια. καίπερ μὲν γὰρ οἱ Ἀμερικανοὶ τὸν μόναρχον τῆς αὐτῶν μητροπόλεως ὡς τύραννον ὄντα διὰ πολέμου ἐκβαλόντες, ὅμως δὲ τὴν μοναρχικὴν ἀρχὴν σφόδρα φιλοῦσι καὶ μεγάλας ἀρχὰς μόνας μὲν ὄντας κυρίας δὲ πολλῶν τῶν κοινῶν κατέστησαν πανταχοῦ· καλοῦσι δὲ προέδρους ἢ κυβερνήτας ἢ καὶ δημάρχους. οὓς καὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ διαμένειν ἐῶσιν ἔτη πολλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν τοὺς αὐτοὺς πολλάκις αἰροῦνται, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐνίοτε τὸν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν βαδίζειν οὐκ ἐῶσιν πλὴν ἅπαξ ἢ δις. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις περὶ καταστάσεις ἄλλων ἀρχῶν ποιοῦσι πολλῶν τοιούτους μὲν κυρίους εἶναι, τῷ δὲ δήμῳ τοῦ ταύτας αἰρεῖσθαι ἀρχὰς ἐξουσίαν οὐ δίδοντες οὐδεμίαν.

2. μετὰ δὲ τὴν μοναρχίαν εἰσὶ δ' αὐτοῖς ἢ τῶν γερόντων ἀρχὴ καὶ ἢ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἅσπερ ἐχθρὰς πρὸς τοὺς μονάρχους καὶ ἑτέραν πρὸς ἑτέραν κατέστησαν·

### *Description of the Regime*

1. The regime of the Americans, which they have in almost all their cities and in their alliance with each other, is divided into three kinds of office in particular, most of which are elected by the populace though the most important ones among the third kind are appointed by the other offices. The three offices I mean are the monarchy, the senate and assembly, and the courts third. For though the Americans overthrew the monarch of their mother country, whom they accused of tyranny and fought a war against, yet they have an especial love for the office of monarch and have established powerful offices everywhere that are held by one man and are possessed of control over many matters of common concern. These monarchs they call presidents or governors or mayors. Moreover they allow them to hold office for many years and they elect the same men to the same office many times, though in some cases they do not allow the same man to hold the same office more than once or twice. In addition they put such monarchs in control of appointing many other offices where the populace are given no power to do any electing at all.

2. After the monarchy they have the office of senate and assembly, which they have set up as hostile rivals to the monarchs as well as to

οί γὰρ Ἀμερικανοὶ τοῖς μονάρχοις  
καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν ἀρχῇ μάλιστα  
φθονοῦσι καὶ ὡς οὐκ οὖσιν ἱκανῶς  
ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀπιστοῦσιν· εἰ  
καὶ γὰρ δύναμιν αὐτοῖς διδόασι  
μεγίστην, ἀεὶ θέλουσιν αὐτοὺς ὑπ'  
ἄλλων κατέχεσθαι κατὰ τὴν  
βούλησιν. ἔτι δὲ τοὺς γέροντας  
καὶ τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστὰς αἰροῦνται  
πάντες οἱ πολῖται, ὅπερ  
δημοκρατικὸν μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ τοῖς  
Ἀμερικανοῖς αἰτία τοῦ τὴν αὐτῶν  
πολιτείαν καλεῖσθαι  
δημοκρατίαν· ὁμως δὲ ταύτας τὰς  
ἀρχὰς ποιοῦσι πολυχρονιωτέρας  
κατὰ δύο ἢ τέτταρα ἢ καὶ ἕξ ἔτη,  
τοὺς αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν  
αἰρούμενοι πολλάκις, ὅπερ λίαν  
ὀλιγαρχικόν. ἔτι δ' οὐκ ἐκ πάντων  
ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐταιριῶν τινῶν ἢ μερίδων  
πολιτικῶν (ὡς καλοῦσιν)  
ὑπερπλουσίων οὖσων αἰροῦνται  
μόνον, ἐκεῖναι δ' ἐταιρίαι  
δημαγωγοῦσιν καὶ τὰς ἐριθείας  
ἵν' αἰρεθῶνται ποιοῦσιν, ὅπερ  
δαπάνης δεῖται πολλῆς.

3. αἱ μὲν οὖν τῆς αἰρέσεως  
στρατεῖαι (τὰς γὰρ ἐριθείας  
οὕτως καλοῦσιν οἱ Ἀμερικανοί)  
πολλοὺς μῆνους ἢ καὶ ἑνιαυτὸν  
ὅλον διατείνονται, ἐν αἷς  
αἱ ἐταιρίαι πολιτικαὶ πρὸς  
ἑαυτὰς στασιάζουσιν· καὶ τοὺς  
μονάρχους ὁμοίως αἰροῦνται  
στασιάζοντες. ὁ δὲ δῆμος τῇ  
ὀλιγαρχίᾳ τοιαύτη οὐ  
δυσχεραίνει διὰ τὸ μετέχειν μὲν  
ἐξεῖναι τῶν ἐταιριῶν καὶ τῶν  
μεγάλων ἀρχῶν, μάλιστα δὲ διὰ

each other. For the Americans are  
very jealous of their monarchs and  
of all those who hold office and do  
not trust them as being good men,  
for even though they give them  
great power they want them always  
to be checked in their will by others.  
The senates and assemblies are  
elected by all the citizens, which is  
democratic and which is why the  
American regime is called a  
democracy. But they give these  
offices rather long terms, up to two  
or four or even six years, and they  
elect the same people to the same  
office many times over, which is  
extremely oligarchic. In addition  
they do not elect from among  
everyone but only from among  
certain overly rich clubs or political  
parties, as they are called, and in  
order to get elected these clubs  
engage in demagoguery and  
competing for votes, which involve  
great expense.

3. Now these election campaigns,  
as the Americans call such  
competing for votes, also last many  
months and even a whole year, in  
which the political clubs engage in  
factional fighting with each other.  
Their monarchs are chosen in the  
same factional way. But the  
populace are not displeased at this  
sort of oligarchy both because it is  
open to them to join the political  
clubs and to occupy high office  
themselves, and most of all because

τὸ τὰς ἀρχὰς αὐτὸς αἰρεῖσθαι· οὕτως γὰρ τῆς τῶν ἑταιριῶν στάσεως διαιτητῆς ἔστιν ὁ δῆμος καὶ δεσπότης τῶν εὐτυχημάτων πολιτικῶν· διὰ δὴ τοῦτ' αἰεὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων καὶ δυνατῶν κολακεύεται τῶν τὰς ψήφους ὅπως ἀρχῶσιν θηρευόντων.

4. λοιπὸν δὲ τῶν τριῶν εἰπεῖν τὸ δικαστικόν· ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ τούτῳ μόνον ἄλλον καθίστανται, τὸν καλούμενον κριτὴν ἢ δικαιούντα, πλείους δὲ τοιούτους ἐνίοτ' ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ δικαστηρίῳ ποιοῦσιν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔωσιν αὐτοὺς καίπερ δυνατοὺς ὄντας κατὰ πάντα κυρίους εἶναι. ἐπικαλοῦσι γὰρ καὶ τὸν δῆμον τῶν δικαστηρίων κοινωνεῖν, οὐχ ἅμα πάντ' ἀλλὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐκ καταλόγου συλλεχθέντα. οὕτως δὲ τῶν κρίσεων ὁ δῆμος σχεδὸν πασῶν μετέχει, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν μεγίστων (λέγω δὲ τὰς μεγίστας τὰς περὶ θανάτου καὶ ζωῆς καὶ δημεύσεως καὶ ὄσων εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν φέρουσιν). οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ κρίνει μόνον μὲν εἰ ὁ φεύγων ἔνοχος, τὴν δὲ ζημίαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ νόμου ἑρμηνείαν τοῖς μονάρχοις ἀφείς. τούτων δὲ μονάρχων οἱ γε πλείστοι οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου αἰροῦνται, εἰ μὴ ὀλίγοι τὰ μικρὰ κύριοι ὄντες, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχόντων τῶν τε μονάρχων καὶ γερόντων. ἔτι δὲ διὰ βίου κύριοι μένουσιν εἰ μὴ τι κακίστως

it is they who elect the offices. For thus they are arbiters of the factions between the clubs and master of these clubs' political fortunes. Hence it is that the populace are always being flattered by the rich and powerful in their pursuit of votes to win office.

4. The remaining of the three offices to speak about is the judiciary, over which they also set up another monarch, whom they call judge or justice, though sometimes they set up several monarchs in the same court. But they do not allow them, despite their power, to have total control. For they also require the populace to take part in the courts, not all in a mass but according to a selection by turns from the citizen rolls. Thus the populace are involved in the deciding of almost all court cases and especially of the most important ones (I mean those concerning life and death, fines, and anything to do with the regime), save that they are only allowed to decide the question of guilt, while the matter of punishment as well as the interpreting of the law they leave to the monarchs alone. And about these monarchs, they are for the most part not elected by the populace, or only a few with small powers are, but they are appointed instead by the other offices, by the monarchs and the senators.

Furthermore they retain control throughout life, unless they commit

δράσαντες ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦς  
κρίθωσι καταστησάντων καὶ  
ἐκβάλλονται.

5. αὗται μὲν οὖν εἰσὶν ἀρχαὶ τῆς  
πολιτείας τοῖς Ἀμερικανοῖς  
αἱ μέγιστα, ἣν δημοκρατίαν ὡς  
εἰρήκαμεν καλοῦσιν. ὅτι δ' ἐν  
αὐτῇ πολλὰ τῶν ὀλιγαρχικῶν  
ὑπάρχει καὶ τούτων ἓνια τῆς  
ἐσχάτης ὀλιγαρχίας παρεκβάσεις  
δῆλον. ἀλλὰ καλὸν τοῦτο  
νομίζουσι εἶναι καὶ τρόπον τινὰ  
τοῦ σώζειν τὴν δημοκρατίαν.  
ἦ γὰρ δὴ πολιτεία κατὰ δύο  
μάλιστα τρόπους δημοκρατικῶς  
ἔχει, καθ' ἓνα μὲν τὸ πάντα τὸν  
δῆμον τοὺς μονάρχους καὶ  
γέροντας καὶ ἐκκλησιαστάς  
αἰρεῖσθαι, καθ' ἕτερον δὲ τὴν  
αὐτῶν δίαίταν. ζῆ γὰρ σχεδὸν  
ἕκαστος τῶν Ἀμερικανῶν ὡς  
βούλεται καὶ 'εἰς ὃ χρῆζων', ὡς  
φησιν Εὐριπίδης· χρηματιζόμενοι  
δ' οὖν διατελοῦσι διὰ τὸ δεῖσθαι  
τὸ ζῆν οὕτως ἀφθόνου χορηγίας·  
ἔτι δὲ τοιοῦτους σφόδρα τιμῶσιν  
οἷοι τὴν χρηματιστικὴν  
ἐπιτευχῆκασι ποιοῦντες ἢ καὶ  
τοῦ πανταχῆ πλουτεῖν  
ἐπεξευρήκασι κατανοήματα  
καινά. ὡς γὰρ καὶ τις τῶν  
μονάρχων αὐτῶν ποτ' εἶπεν,  
'χρηματιστικὴ χρῆμα τοῖς  
'Αμερικανοῖς'.

6. τοσοῦτο δὴ οὖν φιλοῦσι τὸν  
χρηματισμὸν ὥστε καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς  
ποιεῖσθαι ὠνητὰς μὲν (οὐδενὶ γὰρ  
ἕξεστιν αἰρεῖσθαι ἄρχοντι ᾧ μὴ  
πολλὰ χρήματ' ἢ καὶ φίλοι

some serious wrong, in which case  
those who appointed them can try  
them and remove them.

5. These then are the chief offices  
in the regime of the Americans,  
which, as we said, they call a  
democracy. That it has nevertheless  
many oligarchic features, with  
some of these deviating to extreme  
oligarchy, is clear. But they think  
this to be a noble thing and even a  
way of preserving the democracy.  
For the regime is democratic in two  
ways in particular, in the electing of  
the monarchs and senates and  
assemblies by all the populace, and  
also in their way of life. For pretty  
well every American lives as he  
likes or, as Euripides says, "with a  
view to what he craves." So, since  
living as they like requires  
abundance of resources, they spend  
their lives in getting money, and  
they especially admire those who  
have been successful in business  
and have invented new devices for  
everywhere acquiring wealth. As  
even one of their monarchs once  
said, "the business of America is  
business."

6. So great indeed is their love of  
making money that they both put  
political office up for sale (for no  
one can get elected to office who  
does not have much money himself,  
or rich friends, or belongs to one of

πλούσιοι ἢ καὶ ἑταιρία τις),  
 μισθαρνικὰς δέ· πάντες γὰρ  
 οἱ ἄρχοντες μίσθον ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
 φέρουσι καὶ χρηματίζουσι δι'  
 ἀρχῆς πολλαχῶς, οἷον δὴ δῶρα  
 ἀπὸ τῶν εὐπόρων λαβόντες τῶν  
 χάριτας θελόντων σφίσιν αὐτοῖς  
 νέμεσθαι πολιτικάς· ἔτι δὲ  
 προσόδων ἐκ εἰσφορᾶς κύριοι  
 μεγάλων εἰσὶ παρ' ὧν  
 φυλαττομένων τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς  
 ἐκ τοῦ δήμου διαλαβομένοις  
 μερίζονται· ὥστ' ἀεὶ πάντα ῥεῖ τὰ  
 χρήματα ἄνω τὲ καὶ κάτω, τὰ μὲν  
 ἴδια πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀπὸ τῶν  
 φίλων καὶ τοῦ δήμου, τὰ δ' ἀπ'  
 ἐκείνων πρὸς τούτους κοινά.  
 7. ἀλλὰ τὰ χρήματα οὐ λάθρα μὲν  
 παρ' ἑαυτοῖς σωρεύουσιν καθάπερ  
 οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, φανερώς δὲ  
 δαπανᾶσθαι νομίζουσι δεῖν εἰς  
 εὐημερίαν· ὥστὲ σφόδρα  
 φιλαγοράζονται, μηδ' ἂν εὐροι τις  
 οἰκίαν ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ χώρᾳ μηδεμίαν  
 ὅπου μὴ πλήθυει ὄργανα  
 δαπανηρὰ καὶ χρήσιμα.  
 ὑπερέχουσι γὰρ δὴ κτήμασι  
 πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῶ θ' εὐρεῖν  
 μηχανήματα πρὸς τὸ ποιεῖσθαι  
 καὶ πωλεῖν καὶ πρίασθαι πολλὰ  
 χρήσιμα καὶ ἡδέα. ταῦτ' ἀπὸ γὰρ  
 διωκοῦσι καὶ οἱ πένητες, ὥσθ'  
 οὗτοι μὲν διὰ χρηματιστικῆς  
 παντοίας ἀεὶ εὐποροὶ γίνονται,  
 πλούσιοι δὲ διὰ τυχῆς ἢ τοῦ ζῆν  
 ἀσελγῶς ἄποροι. οὕτως γὰρ δη

the political clubs), and use it as a  
 source of income. For all  
 office-holders receive wages for  
 being in office, and holding office  
 enables them to make money in  
 many ways, as especially in  
 receiving gifts from those of the  
 rich who want political favors to be  
 handed out to them. Further these  
 office-holders have control of large  
 public funds from taxes which they  
 guard and hand out to their friends  
 and followers among the populace.  
 The result is that everything is in  
 perpetual flux, monetarily speaking,  
 both up and down: private funds  
 coming from friends and populace  
 to the office-holders and public  
 funds going from office-holders to  
 friends and populace.

7. But the Americans do not, like  
 the Spartans, hoard their money in  
 secret; rather they think money is  
 for enjoyment in being spent  
 openly. So they are in love with  
 shopping and one cannot find a  
 single household in the whole land  
 which is not full of useful and  
 expensive things. For in fact they  
 exceed all other nations in their  
 possessions as well as in  
 discovering inventive ways of  
 making and selling and buying a  
 multitude of things both useful and  
 pleasant. For even the poor adopt  
 the same pursuit and are, through  
 many forms of business, forever  
 becoming well off just as some of  
 the rich through chance or riotous  
 living are forever becoming needy.

πάντες ἴσοι λέγουσιν εἶναι, τῷ  
 πᾶσιν ἐξεῖναι χρηματίζειν καὶ  
 μεγίστας ἀρχὰς ἀρχειν εἰ  
 βούλονται καὶ φιλοπονῶσιν,  
 ἐναντίως δὲ εἰ μή.

8. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἔθνων περὶ  
 ἰδρυμένων ταῦτὰ νομίζει τοῖς  
 Ἀμερικανοῖς καὶ ταῦτὰ βούλεται  
 κτᾶσθαι, ὥστ' ἂν εἴποι τις  
 τούτους ζηλωτοτάτους καὶ  
 μιμητοτάτους γεγονέναι πάντων  
 τῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ. δοκεῖ δὲ  
 ἡ χώρα αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν  
 τὴν κοσμικὴν πεφυκέναι καὶ  
 κεῖσθαι καλῶς· δυοῖν γὰρ  
 ἐπίκειται ταῖς Εὐρώπῃς τε καὶ  
 τῆς Ἀσίας ἡπείροις, τῶν ἔθνων  
 σχεδὸν πάντων ἐν ταύταις  
 ἰδρυμένων. ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν τῆς  
 χρηματιστικῆς χρήσιν καὶ ἔρωτα  
 μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ τὰ ὄπλα καὶ  
 πολεμοῦντες ἀρχὴν κέκτηνται  
 οἱ Ἀμερικανοὶ τῆς γῆς·  
 προσέρχονται γὰρ πρὸς πάντα τὰ  
 ἔθνη χρηματισόμενοι καὶ  
 καπηλευσόμενοι, συζευγνύασί τ'  
 αὐτὰ σὺν ἑαυτοῖς διὰ φιλαυτίαν  
 ἀμφοτέρωθι. ἔτι δ' ἕτεροι πάντες,  
 ὡς εἶπομεν, τοὺς Ἀμερικανοὺς  
 τοῦ πλοῦτου καὶ κτημάτων  
 ζηλοῦσιν, ὅμοιοί τε γενέσθαι  
 ἐπιθυμοῦσιν· ὥστ' ἐκείνους  
 μιμεῖσθαι τῷ τε πρὸς τῇ  
 χρηματιστικῇ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν  
 καὶ τῷ τὰς ἀρχὰς αἰρετὰς  
 ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τὰς ὀλιγαρχικὰς  
 προσδέχεσθαι ἑταιρίας. πᾶσι γὰρ  
 δοκεῖ, λέγουσὶ τ' αὐτοὶ

For this, they say, is how they all  
 are equal, that all may make money  
 and hold high office if they want to  
 and if they work hard, but the  
 opposite if they do not.

8. Many of the nations lying round  
 about agree with the Americans in  
 this and want to have the same as  
 the Americans have, so that one  
 may say that the Americans have  
 become the most envied and most  
 imitated people of all on earth. The  
 land of the Americans seems, in  
 fact, to be naturally fitted and nobly  
 situated for world empire, since it  
 lies opposite the two continents of  
 Europe and Asia where all nations,  
 pretty much, are settled. But it is  
 more through their practice and  
 love of business than through arms  
 and wars that the Americans have  
 won empire over the earth. For they  
 travel to all nations to do business  
 and to engage in trade, binding  
 these nations to themselves by  
 self-interest on both sides.

Moreover, as we said, all others  
 envy the Americans for their  
 wealth and their possessions and  
 wish to be like them. So these  
 others imitate them by also putting  
 their energies into business and by  
 adopting the practice of elections  
 and oligarchic clubs, for all think,  
 and the Americans themselves say,

οἱ Ἀμερικανοί, οὐχ οἷόν τε χρηματιζομένους ἐπιτύχειν ἄνευ τοιαύτης τῆ πολιτεία τάξεως.

9. ἐπιτιμήσειεν δ' ἂν τις ἐν ταύτῃ τῆ πολιτεία πρῶτον μὲν τὸ νομίζειν αὐτὴν δεῖν πρὸς τῆν χρηματιστικὴν τάττεσθαι. μέρος γὰρ μόνον ἢ χρηματιστικὴ τῆς οἰκονομικῆς καὶ πολιτικῆς, ὡς εἶπομεν, καὶ ὄργανον μὲν τοῦ ἔργου τῆς πόλεως καὶ οἰκίας, οὐ δ' αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον. ἀρετὴ γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον καὶ οὐ χρηματιστικὴ. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ χρήσιμον μὲν γνωρίζειν τὰ χρηματιστικά καὶ τοῖς πολιτικοῖς· πολλαῖς γὰρ πόλεσι δεῖ χρηματισμοῦ καὶ τοιούτων πόρων, ὡσπερ οἰκία, μᾶλλον δέ. διόπερ τινὲς καὶ πολιτεύονται τῶν πολιτευομένων ταῦτα μόνον, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν Ἀμερικανῶν. ἀλλ' ἄτοπον νομίζειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἰς τὴν πολιτικὴν κοινωνίαν τοῦ ζῆν ἔνεκεν συνέρχεσθαι καὶ μὴ μᾶλλον τοῦ εὖ ζῆν. τί δὲ λέγομεν τὸ εὖ ζῆν καὶ ὅπως πρὸς αὐτὸ καλῶς ἂν ἡ πολιτεία καθισταῖτο, ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν.

10. εἶτα δὲ τὰ περὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν ψέγοι τις ἂν, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἦν ποιοῦνται τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῶν διαίρεσιν, τῆς μοναρχίας καὶ τῆς τε γερουσίας καὶ ἐκκλησίας καὶ τρίτον τοῦ δικαστηρίου. σχίζουσι γὰρ ταύτας ἀπ' ἀλλήλων,

that great success in business is not possible without such a way of arranging the regime.

### *Criticism of the Regime*

9. The first thing one might criticize in the regime of the Americans is this supposition they have that the regime should be arranged for business. For, as we say, business is only a part of the city and of household-management and is an instrument for doing the work of the city and household and is not itself that work. This work is virtue and not the making of money. Of course it is useful for political rulers to know about these things, for many cities have need of business practices and suchlike revenues, just as households do, only more so. Hence some politicians even focus all their political activity on these matters alone, and among the Americans most of all. Yet it is absurd to suppose that people come together in political communities for life alone and not rather for good life. But what is meant by the good life and how the regime should be best arranged to secure it we will discuss later.

10. The matter of the offices is the next thing one might criticize, and first concerning the division the Americans make of all their offices into the three of the monarchy, the senate and assembly, and third the judiciary. They divide up these



τοῦτο ‘τὸν τῶν δυνάμεων  
χωρισμὸν’ καλοῦντες· λέγουσι δὲ  
καὶ πλείους ἢ μίαν τούτων μὴ δεῖν  
ἅμα τὸν αὐτὸν ἄρχειν, ὅπερ καλὸν  
μέν· ἐν γὰρ ὑφ’ ἐνὸς ἔργον ἀριστ’  
ἀποτελεῖται. δεῖ δ’ ὅπως γίνηται  
τοῦθ’ ὄραν τὸν νομοθέτην, καὶ μὴ  
προστάττειν τὸν αὐτὸν αὐλεῖν καὶ  
σκυτοτομεῖν. ὥστε πολιτικώτερον  
πλείονας μετέχειν τῶν ἀρχῶν, καὶ  
δημοτικώτερον· κοινότερόν τε γὰρ  
καὶ κάλλιον ἕκαστον ἀποτελεῖται  
τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ θάπτον. δῆλον δὲ  
τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν καὶ τῶν  
ναυτικῶν· ἐν τούτοις γὰρ  
ἀμφοτέροις διὰ πάντων ὡς εἰπεῖν  
διελήλυθε τὸ ἄρχειν καὶ τὸ  
ἄρχεσθαι. τοῦτο δὴ καλὸν μὲν  
νομιστέον, τὸν δὲ τῶν  
Ἀμερικανῶν τρόπον μὴ. τοὺς γὰρ  
ἐν ταύτῳ τῆς πόλεως μέρει καὶ  
τάξει ἐῶσιν ἅμ’ ἄρχειν πάσας τὰς  
ἀρχάς, ὥσθ’ ἐν μέρος ἐν τῇ πόλει  
μόνον ἀεὶ ἄρχειν ἄλλα δὲ μήποτε.  
λέγομεν δὲ μέρος ἐν μὲν τοὺς  
πλουσίους ἄλλο δὲ τοὺς πένητες  
ἔτι δ’ ἄλλο τοὺς σπουδαίους·  
φαιμέν δὲ καὶ πολιτείαν ἄλλην  
εἶναι τούτων, οἷον ὀλιγαρχίαν μὲν  
τῶν πλουσίων κυρίων ὄντων,  
δημοκρατίαν δὲ τῶν ἀπόρων,  
ἀριστοκρατίαν δ’ ἢ πολιτείαν τῶν  
σπουδαίων.

11. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ τῶν  
Ἀμερικανῶν πολιτείᾳ τοὺς  
πλουσίους καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν

offices from each other, calling this  
the “separation of powers,” and say  
that the same persons should not  
hold more than one of these offices  
at the same time, which is a fine  
thing, for one man completes one  
work best, and bringing that about  
is what the legislator should look to  
and not bid the same man both to  
play the pipes and be a shoemaker.  
Accordingly it is more political and  
more popular if more take part in  
office since it is more communal  
like this and the same things get  
completed in a nobler and quicker  
way. This is clear in armies and  
navies, for in both of these  
everyone, so to say, is involved in  
ruling and being ruled. But while  
this practice must be deemed noble,  
the way the Americans do it must  
not be. For they allow persons from  
the same part or class in the city to  
occupy all these offices at the same  
time, so that one part alone in the  
city is always ruling while the other  
parts never do. By a part in the city  
we mean the rich as one part and  
the poor as another, and also the  
virtuous as yet another; and we say  
that there is a different regime in  
each case, as that there is oligarchy  
if the rich are in control, democracy  
if the poor are, aristocracy or polity  
if the virtuous are.

11. Now it is a base thing that in  
the regime of the American they  
allow the rich and those from the  
political clubs to occupy all the  
offices at once. But it is baser still

εταιριῶν ἔαν τὰς ἀρχὰς ἅμ' ἀρχειν πάσας φαῦλον· τὸ δὲ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ μίας εταιρίας οὕτως ἀρχειν ἔαν (τοῦτο γὰρ συμβαίνει ἂν εταιρία τις δυνατώτερα εἴη τῶν ἄλλων) ἔτι φαυλότερον. παρεκβάσεις γὰρ ἅμφω μὲν εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν, αὕτη δὲ μάλιστα· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν τῶν δυνάμεων χωρισμὸν ὀλιγαρχικὸν νομιστέον εἶναι σόφισμα τῶν εὐπόρων τῶν δι' αὐτῶν τὴν πολιτείαν βουλομένων εἶναι. πειθοῦσι μὲν γὰρ τὸν δῆμον τούτου δεῖσθαι τοῦ χωρισμοῦ ἵνα μὴ δυνατώτερος ἀρχῶν τις γένηται καὶ τυράννιδα κατασκευάσῃ, τὸ δὲ πάσας ἅμα κέκτησθαι ἀρχὰς αὐτοὶ τε καὶ οἱ ἑαυτῶν φίλοι κρύπτουσιν. τούτου δ' ἄκος τὸ διαιρεῖσθαι τὰς ἀρχὰς μὴ μόνον ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὰ τῆς πόλεως μέρη, ὥστε μετέχειν αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς μὴ πλουσίους καὶ τοὺς μὴ ἐν ταῖς εταιρίαις. ἤδη γὰρ κατὰ τὰ δικαστήρια τοιαύτην ποιοῦνται τάξιν, τὸν δῆμον ἀεὶ κοινωνεῖν ἀναγκάζοντες. ταῦτα δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς, οἷον κατὰ τὴν μοναρχίαν ἣν πολλοὶ συνιόντες συνάρχειν ἂνθ' ἐνὸς δύναιντ' ἂν. ὅπου γὰρ συνέστηκεν ἐξ ὁμοίων καὶ ἴσων ἢ πόλις, οὐ δίκαιον τοὺς μὲν ἀρχειν ἀεὶ τοὺς δὲ μήποτε, ἀλλ' ἀνά μέρος ἀρχεσθαι καὶ ἀρχειν πάντας. νῦν δὲ σύμπασαι αἱ ἀρχαὶ δι' εὐπόρων μὲν εἰσιν,

to allow people from one and the same political club to occupy them all at once (as does happen if one club is more influential than the rest). For these are both deviations toward oligarchy, and the latter especially so. The separation of powers, in fact, must be deemed an oligarchic sophistry of the rich wanting to keep the regime to themselves. For while they impress upon the populace that this separation of powers is needed to prevent any office-holder becoming too powerful and setting up a tyranny, they hide the fact that all these offices are together in the hands of themselves and their friends. A remedy for this would be to divide the offices, not only from each other, but also among the different parts in the city, so that those who are not rich nor members of the clubs also take part in them. For the Americans already adopt this arrangement in their courts where they require the populace always to take part. They should do the same in the other offices as well, as for instance in their monarchies, since these could be occupied by many together ruling jointly instead of by one man. For where all are similar and equal, justice requires, not that some always rule and others never, but that all take turns in ruling and being ruled. As things stand now, however, the offices are all in the control of the rich and the poor are excluded.

διὰ δὲ δήμου οὐδεμία.

12. ἔστι δ' ἐπιτίμησις ἑτέρα κατὰ τὸν τῶν δυνάμεων χωρισμόν, ὅτι ὁ νομοθέτης αἰτίαν στάσεως κατεσκεύασεν αὐτόν· ἐκ γὰρ τούτου δῆλον ὡς οὐδ' αὐτὸς οἶεται δύνασθαι ποιεῖν καλοὺς κάγαθούς τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ἀλλὰ σωτηρίαν νομίζει τῇ πόλει εἶναι τὸ στασιάζειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους· τὰς γοῦν τρεῖς ἀρχὰς καθέστηκεν ἀνταγωνιστάς. εἰώθασι δὲ καὶ οἱ δυνατοί, εἴτ' ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντες εἴτε μή, τὸν δῆμον καὶ τοὺς φίλους διαλαμβάνοντες μοναρχίαν ποιεῖν καὶ στασιάζειν καὶ μάχεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους· καίτοι τί διαφέρει τὸ τοιοῦτον ἢ διὰ τινος χρόνου μηκέτι πόλιν εἶναι τὴν τοιαύτην ἀλλὰ λύεσθαι τὴν πολιτικὴν κοινωσίαν; ἔστι δ' ἐπικίνδυνος οὕτως ἔχουσα πόλις, τῶν βουλομένων ἐπιτίθεσθαι καὶ δυναμένων. ἀλλὰ σώζεται τῶν Ἀμερικανῶν πολιτεία διὰ τὸ πληθύνειν ἀνθρώπων, καθάπερ ἔλεγεν καὶ τῶν μονάρχων τις· διὰ γὰρ τοῦτ' εἰσὶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀεὶ στάσεις πολλάι, καὶ διαλαμβάνειν μὲν ἀεὶ τὸν δῆμον ἅμ' ὅλον οὐ δύναται ἑταιρία οὐδεμία, συγχωρεῖν δὲ δεῖ πάσας συμβόλαιά τε σὺν ἀλλήλαις καὶ συμμαχίαν ποιεῖσθαι. σώζεται δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸν τόπον ἢ Ἀμερικὴ· ξενηλασίας γὰρ τὸ πόρρω πεποίηκεν καὶ τοὺς ἄν ἐπιόντας πλειστοὺς ἀποτέτραφεν.

13. τὸ μὲν οὖν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐξεῖναι

12. Another complaint one might raise about the separation of powers is that the legislator designed it to be a cause of faction. For from this it is clear that he does not think he can make the rulers into gentlemen. Instead he thinks it safety for the regime if they are engaged in factional disputes with each other, for he has set up the three offices as rivals. Moreover, the habit of the powerful, whether in or out of office, is to create rival followings among the populace and their friends, to set up monarchies, to form factions and fight against each other. Yet what is the difference between such behavior and the city periodically ceasing to exist and the political community being destroyed? A city in this condition is in great danger because those who have the desire to attack it will also be able to. But the regime of the Americans is saved by their great numbers, as even one of their monarchs said, for thus it is that there are always many factions among them and no club can always win over the whole populace together to its side but they must all make compromises and form deals and alliances with each other. America is also saved by its position because its distance has acted to keep foreigners out and to deter most who would invade.

13. Now, that the same individuals

τὰς αὐτὰς ἀρχὰς πολλ' ἔτη ἄρχειν  
 (πολυχροσιώτεροι γὰρ εἰσι καὶ  
 δύναται ὁ αὐτὸς ἐφεξῆς  
 ἐφαιρεῖσθαι) φαῦλόν ἐστιν· τὴν  
 γὰρ πολιτείαν ποιεῖ ὀλιγαρχικὴν,  
 ὡς εἴρηται πρότερον. ἔτι δὲ καὶ  
 τὴν κακουργίαν ἐπαυξάνει· οὐ  
 γὰρ ὁμοίως ῥάδιον κακουργῆσαι  
 ὀλίγον χρόνον ἄρχοντας καὶ  
 πολὺν. φαίνονται δὲ γὰρ  
 καταδωροδοκούμενοι καὶ  
 καταχαριζόμενοι πολλὰ τῶν  
 κοινῶν τοῖς φίλοις τε καὶ ἑταίροις  
 οἱ κεκοινωνηκότες τῶν ἀρχῶν. τὸ  
 γὰρ πολὺν χρόνον ἄρχειν μεῖζόν  
 ἐστὶ γέρας τῆς ἀξίας αὐτοῖς, καὶ  
 τὸ μὴ κατὰ γράμματα ἄρχειν  
 ἀλλὰ πολλ' αὐτογνώμονας  
 ἐπισφαλές. μάλιστα δ'  
 ἐπικίνδυνον τὸ ἐξεῖναι αὐτοῖς  
 ἀρχὰς ἄλλας καὶ μεγάλας κατὰ  
 βούλησιν καθιστάναι· οὐ γὰρ κατ'  
 ἀρετὴν ἢ ἀξίαν τῶν  
 καθεσταμένων τοῦτο δρῶσιν,  
 ἀλλὰ κατὰ φιλίαν· τοῖς γὰρ  
 ἑταίροις ὡς νίκης ἄθλον ταύτας  
 τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀποδιδόασιν καὶ ὡς  
 ἀνταπόδοσιν τῆς τ' ὠφελείας καὶ  
 τῶν χρημάτων ἀπ' ἐκείνων πρὸς  
 τὴν ἐριθείαν ληφθέντων·  
 πρεσβευτὰς γε πολλοὺς καὶ  
 κριτὰς οὕτως καθίστανται. ταῦτα  
 δὴ πάντα βέλτιον γινέσθαι κατὰ  
 νόμον ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπων βούλησιν·  
 οὐ γὰρ ἀσφαλὴς ὁ κανὼν.  
 14. βέλτιον δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας

can occupy the same office for  
 many years (because the terms  
 themselves are rather long and the  
 same individual can be re-elected  
 many times in succession) is a base  
 thing, since it makes the regime  
 oligarchic, as was said earlier. But  
 it also increases crime. For criminal  
 activity is not as easy for those who  
 rule a short time as it is for those  
 who rule a long time. At any rate,  
 as regards many matters of  
 common concern those in office  
 have been conspicuous in taking  
 bribes and showing favoritism to  
 friends and followers. Serving for  
 long periods is a greater privilege  
 than they deserve and their  
 exercising rule in many respects by  
 their own discretion and not by  
 written rules is not safe. It is  
 particularly dangerous that they  
 should be able to appoint other and  
 powerful offices as they wish. For  
 they do not do this on the basis of  
 virtue or worth in those they  
 appoint but on the basis of  
 friendship, since they hand over  
 these offices as a prize of victory to  
 their companions in the political  
 clubs and in repayment for the  
 money or help these companions  
 gave them for their election  
 campaign. Many ambassadors and  
 judges, at any rate, are appointed in  
 this way. It would be better if all  
 such things took place according to  
 law and not human wish which is  
 no safe standard.

14. It would also be better for the

μη άνευθύνους εἶναι· νῦν δ' εἰσίν.  
 δεῖ δ' οὖν αὐτοὺς εὐθύνας διδόναι  
 κατὰ νόμον τεταγμένας παντὸς  
 ἐνώπιον τοῦ δήμου. τοῦτό τοι  
 ποιείσθω ὁπόταν ἐκ τῶν ἀρχῶν  
 ἐξέρχωνται καὶ πρὶν εἰς τὰς  
 ἀρχὰς βαδίζειν. τοῦ δὲ μὴ  
 κλέπτεσθαι τὰ κοινὰ ἢ παράδοσις  
 γιγνέσθω τῶν χρημάτων παρόντων  
 πάντων τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ τοῦ δὲ  
 ἀκερδῶς ἄρχειν τιμὰς εἶναι δεῖ  
 νενομοθετημένας τοῖς  
 εὐδοκιμοῦσιν. τὸ γὰρ  
 ἐπανακρέμασθαι καὶ μὴ πᾶν  
 ἐξεῖναι ποιεῖν ὃ τι ἂν δόξη  
 συμφέρον ἐστίν· ἢ γὰρ ἐξουσία  
 τοῦ πράττειν ὃ τι ἂν ἐθέλη τις οὐ  
 δύναται φυλάττειν τὸ ἐν ἐκάστω  
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων φαῦλον.

15. ἀναγκαιότατον μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ  
 τῶν Ἀμερικανῶν πολιτείᾳ τὸ τοὺς  
 ἀρξοντας εὐπορεῖν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ  
 οἶός τ' ἀρχῶν γίγνεσθαι εἰ μὴ  
 σχολάζει καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαρίζει  
 ψηφοφορίαν μνηστεύων. ἀλλ' οὐκ  
 ἐστὶν ἱκανὸν τοῖς εὐ ἀρξουσιν  
 εὐπορίαν ἔχειν· εὐπορία γὰρ δὴ  
 τοιούτοις ἐμπόδιός ἐστιν  
 ὑπερβάλλουσα. τὸ γὰρ ὑπέρκαλον  
 δὲ ἢ ὑπερίσχυρον ἢ ὑπερευγενῆ ἢ  
 ὑπερπλούσιον χαλεπὸν τῷ λόγῳ  
 ἀκολουθεῖν· γίνονται γὰρ  
 ὑβριστὰ καὶ μεγαλοπόνηροι  
 μάλλον. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οἱ ἐν  
 ὑπεροχαῖς εὐτυχημάτων ὄντες  
 (ἰσχύος καὶ πλούτου καὶ φίλων

offices not to go unaudited. Now  
 they are, however. They should,  
 then, be subjected to regular audits  
 according to law and in the  
 presence of all the populace. So let  
 this be done at the term of any  
 office and before anyone takes up  
 office. And to ensure there is no  
 theft of common funds let the  
 handing over of monies be done in  
 the presence of all the citizens, and  
 to ensure that rule brings no profit  
 legislation has to have been passed  
 giving honors to those of good  
 repute. For it is of advantage to be  
 kept always responsible to others  
 and not to be able to do whatever  
 one thinks good. The license or  
 right to do whatever one wishes is  
 incapable of providing defense  
 against the base element in each  
 man.

15. A very necessary thing in the  
 regime of the Americans is that  
 anyone who is going to rule must  
 be well off. For no one can gain  
 office if he does not have leisure  
 and can bestow favors on the  
 populace while soliciting their  
 votes. But, if one is to rule well,  
 being well off is not enough. An  
 excess of means is even an  
 impediment to good rule. For  
 whatever is exceedingly beautiful  
 or strong or well-born or wealthy  
 finds it hard to follow reason. Such  
 as these grow rather insolent and  
 wicked in great matters. In addition  
 those who are surrounded by an  
 excess of good fortune (strength,

καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων) ἄρχεσθαι οὔτε βούλονται οὔτε ἐπίστανται, καὶ τοῦτ' εὐθύς οἴκοθεν ὑπάρχει παισὶν οὖσιν· διὰ γὰρ τὴν τρυφήν οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς διδασκαλείοις ἄρχεσθαι σύνηθες αὐτοῖς. ὥστ' ἄρχειν μὲν ἐπίστανται μόνον δεσποτικὴν ἀρχήν, κατὰ μέρος δ' ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἄρχειν ὡς ἴσοι μὴ. τὸ δὲ δέομενον τοῖς ἀρχουσιν, μάλιστα τοῖς ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις ἀρχαῖς, ἀρετὴ πολιτικὴ· ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὖν τοῦθ' ὄραν ἔστι τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων, ὅπως οἱ βέλτιστοι δύνωνται σχολάζειν καὶ μηδὲν ἀσχημονεῖν, μὴ μόνον ἄρχοντες ἀλλὰ μηδ' ἰδιωτεύοντες. εἰ δὲ δεῖ βλέπειν καὶ πρὸς εὐπορίαν χάριν σχολῆς, φαῦλον τὸ τὰς μεγίστας ὠνητὰς εἶναι τῶν ἀρχῶν, τὰς τε προέδρων καὶ κυβερνητῶν. ἐντιμον γὰρ ὁ νόμος οὗτος ποιεῖ τὸν πλοῦτον μᾶλλον τῆς ἀρετῆς, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην φιλοχρήματον. ὅ τι δ' ἂν ὑπολάβῃ τίμιον εἶναι τὸ κύριον, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν δόξαν ἀκολουθεῖν τούτοις. ὅπου δὲ μὴ μάλιστα ἀρετὴ τιμᾶται, ταύτην οὐχ οἶόν τε καλῶς ἔχειν τὴν πολιτείαν. ἐθίζεσθαι δ' εὐλογον κερδαίνειν τοὺς ὠνουμένους, ὅταν δαπανήσαντες ἄρχωσιν·

wealth, friends, and other things of the sort) neither wish nor know how to be ruled, and this is something that begins immediately at home when they are still children. For, because of the luxury they live in, being ruled is not something they get used to, even at school. So they only know how to rule like masters over inferiors and not to rule and be ruled in turn like equals. What is most needed by those who are to rule, especially in the greatest offices, is political virtue. Hence one of the most important matters right from the beginning is to see to it that the best are able to be at leisure and can avoid doing anything unseemly not only when in office but also when out of it. For even if the need for leisure when it comes to office requires one to pay attention also to prosperity, still it is a base thing to put the greatest offices, president and governor, up for sale. This law makes wealth rather than virtue to be the object of honor, that is, it makes the whole city to be in love with money. For the opinion that those in control have about what is honorable will inevitably be followed in the thinking of the other citizens as well, and a regime in which virtue is not held in highest honor cannot be ruled nobly. One can reasonably expect that those who buy office will get accustomed to making a profit out of it, since it is by having spent money that they are in office.

ἄτοπον γὰρ εἰ πένης μὲν ὦν ἐπιεικῆς δὲ βουλήσεται κερδαίνειν, φαυλότερος δ' ὦν οὐ βουλήσεται δαπανήσας. διὸ δεῖ τοὺς δυναμένους ἄριστ' ἄρχειν, τούτους ἄρχειν. νῦν δὲ μόναρχοι οὔτοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄρχοντες μεγάλων κύριοι καθεστῶτες, ἂν εὐτελεῖς ὥσι καὶ μὴ σπουδαῖοι, μεγάλα βλάπτουσι καὶ ἔβλαψαν ἤδη τὴν πολιτείαν τὴν τῶν Ἀμερικανῶν.

16. ἔτι δ' εἰ καὶ τάχ' ἂν εἴπειέ τις συμφέρειν τῇ πόλει τὰς ἀρχὰς τὰς τῶν γερόντων καὶ ἐκκλησιαστῶν καὶ κριτῶν καὶ μονάρχων ἐπιεικῶν ὄντων καὶ πεπαιδευμένων ἱκανῶς πρὸς ἀνδραγαθίαν, καίτοι τό γε διὰ βίου κυρίου εἶναι τῶν μεγίστων (ἐὰν συμβῇ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐφεξῆς ἐφαιρεῖσθαι) ἀμφισβητήσιμον· ἔστι γάρ, ὥσπερ καὶ σώματος, καὶ διανοίας γῆρας.

17. ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν τῶν ἀρχῶν αἵρεσιν φάυλως. ὀλιγαρχικὰ γάρ ἐστι διὰ τὰς ἐριθείας. μόνον γοῦν οἱ ὑπερβάλλοντες πῶς τοῦ ὄχλου καὶ ἐμφανεῖς ὄντες οἷοί τε ψήφους πολλὰς κτᾶσθαι, ὅπερ πλουσίοις μὲν καὶ γνωρίμοις βράδιον, ἀπόροις δὲ χαλεπὸν ἢ καὶ νῆ Δί' ἀδύνατον. βέλτιον ἄρ' ἂν εἴη καὶ τῷ κλήρῳ χρῆσθαι καὶ μὴ αἰρέσει μόνον.

For if someone respectable but poor is going to want to make a profit, it would be strange if a baser man, already out of pocket, is not going to. That is why those should rule who have the ability to do it best. But as it is, these monarchs and other offices, being set in control of important matters, cause much damage when they are not virtuous but of a low sort, which is what they have already done in the regime of the Americans.

16. In addition, while one might say that the senates and assemblies, as well as the judgeships and monarchs, would be of advantage to the Americans if their members were decent men and adequately educated in manly goodness, yet even so, allowing them to have control over the greatest matters throughout life (if the same individuals happen to keep getting re-elected) is a debatable practice. There is an old age of thought as well as of the body.

17. The way the offices are elected is also in a base condition, for election campaigns make the thing oligarchic. At any rate only those who are conspicuous and stand out from the crowd in some way are able to win many votes, and this is easy for the rich and notables but hard or even, by Zeus, impossible for the needy. It would be better therefore if the Americans also used the device of the lot and not just that of election. A noble thing

καλῶς δ' ἔχει μιμεῖσθαι τὰ  
 Ταραντίνων. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ τὰς  
 ἀρχὰς πάσας ἐποίησαν διττάς,  
 τὰς μὲν αἵρετὰς τὰς δὲ κληρωτάς,  
 τὰς μὲν κληρωτάς ὅπως ὁ δῆμος  
 αὐτῶν μετέχη, τὰς δ' αἵρετὰς ἵνα  
 πολιτεύωνται βέλτιον. ἔστι δὲ  
 τοῦτο ποιῆσαι καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς  
 ἀρχῆς μερίζοντας, τοὺς μὲν  
 κληρωτάς τοὺς δ' αἵρετούς. τούτω  
 δὴ τρόπῳ καὶ τοῖς πένησιν τοῖς τ'  
 ἐπιείκεσι μὲν ἀπόροις δ' ἕξεστιν  
 ἄρχειν.

18. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς  
 βούλας, ἃς ἐπιτροπὰς καλοῦσιν,  
 οὐκ ἔχει καλῶς, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ  
 περὶ τὸν τούτων πρόεδρον· αὐταὶ  
 μὲν γὰρ τῇ γερουσίᾳ καὶ τῇ  
 ἐκκλησίᾳ προβουλεύουσι τίνα δεῖ  
 εἰσφέρειν ἢ μὴ, ὅπερ ἔργον ἐστὶ  
 μέγιστον· ὁ δὲ πρόεδρος τούτων  
 κυριεύει κατὰ τὸν Ἀμερικανὸν  
 τρόπον ὡς μόναρχος. φαῦλον οὖν  
 τοῦτον καὶ τοὺς βουλευτάς κατὰ  
 τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν  
 αἵρεῖσθαι· λέγω δὲ δύναμιν μὲν  
 ὀπόσους γέροντας ἢ  
 ἐκκλησιαστὰς ἔχει τις φίλους,  
 ἡλικίαν δ' ὀπόσ' ἔτη τις ἐν ἀρχῇ  
 διαμεμένηκεν. βούλαι γὰρ αὐταὶ,  
 δυνατωτέρως ἤδη ἔχουσαι καὶ ὡς  
 ὀλιγαρχία ἐν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ, ἔτι  
 ὀλιγαρχικώτεραι τῷδε τῷ τρόπῳ  
 γίνονται· ὥστε πρῶτον μὲν λίαν  
 ὀλίγοι κύριοι ὄντες ἐπὶ τοῖς

is to imitate what the Tarentines do,  
 for they have made all their offices  
 double, one set is elected and the  
 other chosen by lot, so that by  
 means of the latter the populace get  
 a share and by means of the former  
 the government is carried on in a  
 better way. But it is possible also to  
 do this by dividing up the selfsame  
 office and having some of the  
 members elected and others chosen  
 by lot. In this way the poor and the  
 men of quality lacking means can  
 also rule.

18. Moreover, their councils,  
 which they call committees, are not  
 in a noble condition and in  
 particular as regards the chairman  
 of them. For, on the one hand, these  
 councils do the advance  
 deliberating about what proposals  
 are to be brought or not brought  
 before the senate and assembly,  
 which is a very important job;  
 while, on the other hand, the  
 chairman lords it over them in the  
 American fashion as a monarch. So  
 it is base for this chairman and the  
 council members to be chosen  
 according to power and seniority, I  
 mean according to how many  
 friends someone has in the senate  
 or assembly and to how long he has  
 remained in office. For in this way  
 these councils, which are very  
 powerful and already form a sort of  
 oligarchy within the oligarchy,  
 become more oligarchic still and  
 the result is that, first, an extremely  
 small number of people get control



ἄλλοις ἐπικρατοῦσιν τοῖς ἐν τῇ  
γερουσίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ,  
δεύτερον δὲ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις  
δεσποτεύει ὁ εἷς. τούτου δ' ἄκος ἢ  
τὸ μὴ τοιαύτας βούλας ἔχειν, ἢ  
ἔχειν μὲν, εἴπερ δέον, κυρίας δὲ  
μήτε τοσοῦτον εἶναι μήτε τοὺς  
βουλευτὰς καὶ τὸν πρόεδρον  
αἵρετούς· κληρωτοὶ δὲ μᾶλλον  
ἔστωσαν ἐκ πάντων ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐξ  
ὀλίγων τῶν καθ' ἡλικίαν  
ὑπερεχόντων ἢ δύναμιν.

19. ὀλιγαρχικὸν δ' αὖ τὸ ἐξεῖναι  
μὲν πᾶσιν ψηφοφορεῖν ἀναγκαῖον  
δὲ μὴ, ὥστε τῶν μὲν εὐπόρων καὶ  
τῶν ἐταίρων πλείστους μετέχειν,  
τοῦ δὲ δήμου ὀλίγους. τί γὰρ  
διαφέρει το ἐξεῖναι μὲν μὴ  
ἐνεργεῖν δὲ καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐξεῖναι;  
ταῦτο γὰρ δὴ συμβαίνει. βέλτιον  
οὖν ἂν εἴη τὸν δῆμον νόμοις  
ἀναγκάζεσθαι ψηφοφορεῖν ἢ καὶ  
μισθὸν πορίζειν. ἀλλὰ τοῦτ' οὐκ  
ἀρέσκει τοῖς Ἀμερικανοῖς, οὐ μὴν  
οὐδὲ τῷ δήμῳ· τὴν γὰρ ἀνάγκην  
ὑπενάντιον εἶναι τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ τοῦ  
ζῆν ὡς ἂν βούληταί τις· ὥσει  
δήπου αἰρούμενοι μὲν τοὺς αὐτῶν  
ἄρχοντας εἶεν δούλοι, μὴ  
αἰρούμενοι δ' ἐλεύθεροι. καίτοι οὐ  
δεῖ οἶεσθαι δουλείαν γὰρ τὸ ζῆν  
πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν, ἀλλὰ  
σωτηρίαν.

20. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸ αὐτὸν  
αἰτεῖσθαι τὸν ἀξιοθησόμενον  
τῆς ἀρχῆς οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔχει. νῦν δὲ  
δὴ τοῦτο εὐδοκίμει παρὰ τοῖς  
Ἀμερικανοῖς. ἀναγκάζονται γὰρ

and dominate all the rest in the  
senate and assembly and, second,  
one man gets to dominate over  
them. A cure for this would be  
either to have no such councils or,  
if they are needed, to have them but  
not to make them so powerful nor  
to have their members and the  
chairman elected. Let them rather  
be chosen from all by lot and not  
from the few who excel in power  
and seniority.

19. Oligarchic too is that everyone  
is allowed to vote but not everyone  
is required to do so, whence it  
results that while most of the rich  
and of those in the clubs vote few  
of the populace do. For what is the  
difference between being able to  
vote but not voting and not being  
able to vote? The same result  
follows. Accordingly it would be  
better to compel the populace to  
vote by law or even to pay them to  
do so. But this does not please the  
Americans, not even the populace,  
since they say compulsion is  
contrary to their freedom to live as  
they like—as if, I suppose, they  
were slaves when they choose their  
rulers and free when they do not.  
However, one ought not to think it  
slavery but safety to live according  
to the regime.

20. Moreover, it is not right that  
anyone who is going to be judged  
worthy of office should himself  
have to ask for it. Yet this practice  
is held in high repute among the  
Americans. They compel those

τοὺς ἄρχειν θέλοντας πρῶτον μὲν  
 ἑταιρίαν τινὰ προσποιεῖσθαι, εἴτα  
 δ' αἰτεῖσθαι τὴν ψῆφον τὸν δῆμον  
 μνηστεύοντας. ἀλλὰ δεῖ καὶ  
 βουλόμενον καὶ μὴ βουλόμενον  
 ἄρχειν τὸν ἄξιον τῆς ἀρχῆς.  
 οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἂν ἄρχειν αἰτήσαιτο  
 μὴ φιλότιμος ὢν. καίτοι τῶν γ'  
 ἀδικημάτων τὰ πλεῖστα  
 συμβαίνει σχεδὸν διὰ φιλοτιμίαν  
 καὶ διὰ φιλοχρηματίαν τοῖς  
 ἀνθρώποις.

21. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς  
 αἰρέσεις διτταί· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ  
 πρόκρισιν ποιοῦνται αἱ ἑταιρίαι  
 οὐπερ ἑκάστη τὸν αὐτῆς  
 ἀγωνιστὴν αἰρεῖται, δεύτερον δ'  
 ἐκ τούτων τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν δεῖ τὸν  
 ὄχλον τὸν ἄρξοντα αἰρεῖσθαι.  
 ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐξ αἰρετῶν αἰρεῖσθαι  
 ἐπικίνδυνον· τοῖς γὰρ ἑταίροις  
 μάλιστ' ἢ καὶ μόνον ἕξεσσι τὸν  
 αὐτῶν αἰρεῖσθαι ἀγωνιστὴν, ὥστ'  
 ὀλίγοι τοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς αἰρεῖσθαι.  
 τούτῳ γὰρ δὴ τῷ τρόπῳ ὀλίγοις  
 ἔστιν ἐξ ὀλίγων τὰς ἀρχὰς  
 καθίστασθαι. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἑταιρία  
 τις παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ ἐστὶ που  
 δυνατώτερα (τοῦτο δὲ δὴ  
 πολλάκις συμβαίνει διὰ τὸ  
 κυρίας εἶναι τὰς ἑταιρίας τῆς τοῦ  
 δήμου εἰς φυλάς ψηφοφόρους  
 διανομῆς), ἀναγκαῖον αἰεὶ τὸν  
 ταύτης ἀγωνιστὴν νικᾶν καὶ εἰς  
 τὴν ἀρχὴν βαδίζειν. εἰ δ'  
 ἰσορροποὶ πᾶσαι, οὐδὲν ἥττον δεῖ  
 τὸν δῆμον ἐκ τῶν προκρίτων  
 αἰρεῖσθαι. ὥστ' εἰ συστήναί τινες  
 θέλουσι καὶ μέτριοι τὸ πλῆθος,

who want to rule first to get the  
 support of some political club and  
 then go out soliciting the populace  
 for their votes. But if a man is  
 worthy of office he should rule  
 whether he wants to or not. No one  
 would ask to rule who was not in  
 love with honor. Yet men commit  
 most voluntary wrongs more or less  
 from love of honor and money.

21. The Americans also have  
 double electing. For the political  
 clubs first have a primary election  
 in which each chooses its candidate,  
 and then afterwards the crowd  
 elects from among these candidates  
 which one will hold office. But it is  
 dangerous to elect from those  
 already elected. For those who elect  
 the candidates for the clubs are  
 mainly or even only those who  
 belong to the clubs, and thus a few  
 elect the candidates. In this way,  
 indeed, the offices can be set up by  
 a few people from a few people.  
 For if one club somewhere has  
 more influence among the populace  
 (which happens often enough  
 because the clubs have control over  
 the division of the populace into  
 their voting tribes), its candidate  
 must always win and come to hold  
 office. And if the clubs are all equal,  
 nevertheless the populace must  
 elect from those already elected.  
 The result is that if even a few are  
 willing to band together those

αἰεὶ κατὰ τὴν τούτων  
αἰρεθήσονται βούλησιν ἄρχοντες.  
22. ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπιτιμήσειεν ἄν  
τις τὴν ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀμερικανῶν  
πολιτεία δημαγωγίαν. πάντας γὰρ  
δεῖ τοὺς ἄρχειν σπουδάζοντας τὸν  
ὄχλον δημαγῶγειν, οἷον ἐν Λαρίσῃ  
οἱ πολιτοφύλακες ἐδημαγῶγουν  
διὰ τὸ αἰρεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς τὸν ὄχλον.  
δημαγῶγουςί γε δὴ ἐν ὅσαις  
πολιτείαις οὐχ οὗτοι αἰροῦνται  
τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐξ ὧν οἱ ἄρχοντές εἰσιν,  
ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν ἀρχαὶ ἐκ τιμημάτων  
μεγάλων εἰσὶν ἢ ἐταιριῶν,  
αἰροῦνται δ' οἱ μέσοι ἢ ὁ δῆμος,  
ὅπερ ἐν Ἀβύδῳ μὲν συνέβαινε  
νῦν δὲ μάλιστα ἐν Ἀμερικῇ.  
23. ἔτι δὲ δημαγωγίαν αἱ διτταὶ  
αἰρέσεις ἐπαυξάνουσι διὰ τὸ  
δεῖν τοὺς ἄρξειν θέλοντας τὸν  
δῆμον δις μνηστεύειν. τούτους γὰρ  
χρῆ τὸν δῆμον παραγγέλοντας αἰεὶ  
περιέναι καὶ τίνες εἰσὶν  
κηρύττειν καὶ τίνος ἐταιρίας καὶ  
πῶς ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντες ὠφελήσουσιν·  
ὥστε μάχονται πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῷ  
δῆμῳ χαρίζοντες πάντες.  
φιλόνηκοι δ' οὖν γίνονται πολλὰ  
τῷ δῆμῳ ὑπισχνούμενοι. πρὸς δὲ  
τούτοις ἀλλήλων κατηγοροῦσιν  
καὶ μέμφονται εἴτ' ἀληθῶς εἴτε μή,  
ὅπερ καθ' αὐτὸ μὲν αἰσχρὸν (τίς  
γὰρ ἐπεικῆς τοιαῦτ' ἂν ἔκων  
δράσειεν;), τῇ δὲ πολιτεία  
βλαβερὸν.  
24. καὶ δὴ καὶ τοὺς πλουσίους  
μνηστεύουσι νόμισμα

elected to office will always be the  
ones they want.

22. Above all one might blame the  
demagoguery in the regime of the  
Americans. All those eager for  
office must become demagogues to  
the crowd, as the regime guardians  
used to do in Larissa, because it is  
the crowd that elects them. The  
same is true of all regimes where  
those who provide the rulers are not  
those who elect to office but the  
offices are filled from high  
property qualifications or from  
political clubs, and those possessed  
of moderate wealth or the populace  
do the electing. This used to happen  
in Abydos and happens now  
especially in America.

23. The double electing also  
increases the demagoguery,  
because those who want to be in  
office must solicit the populace  
twice. At any rate they must go out  
and about summoning the populace  
and telling them who they are and  
which club they belong to and what  
they will do for them if they are  
elected. So they must all fight each  
other for the favor of the populace.  
They compete, therefore, in  
multiplying promises to the  
populace. In addition they blame  
and accuse each other, whether  
truthfully or not, and this is both  
base in itself (for what decent man  
could willingly do such things?)  
and harmful to the regime.

24. They also solicit the rich for  
money to cover the costs they incur

αἰτησόμενοι πρὸς τὸ τίνειν τα  
 δαπανήματα ἅπερ ὀφλισκάνουσι  
 τὰς δόξας πανταχοῦ κηρύττοντες  
 τὸν τε δῆμον ἀπ' ἄλλων πρὸς  
 ἑαυτοὺς προτρέποντες· ἔτι δ'  
 ἐκείνοις ἄρχοντές γ'  
 ἀντωφελήσειν ὑπισχνοῦνται. ὥσθ'  
 ἢ πολιτεία ἐπὶ τούτοις γίγνεται  
 οἷς ἀναγκαῖον πρῶτον μὲν τὰς  
 ἀρχὰς πωλεῖν ἵν' ἔπειτα πρίωνται·  
 πῶς δ' ἂν τοιοῦτοι τοῦ ἄρχειν εἶεν  
 ἄξιοι; εἰ καὶ ἤδη πλούτῳ  
 ὑπερέχουσιν ἔνιοι ὥστε πρίασθαι  
 τὰς ἀρχὰς ἄνευ τοῦ πρῶτον  
 πωλεῖν (τοῦτο γὰρ ποιεῖν τινὲς  
 δύνανται), πῶς ἐστὶ βέλτιον;  
 οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦττον ὀλιγαρχία, καὶ  
 τοσοῦτῳ χείρων ὅσω σπανιώτεροι  
 καὶ πλουσιώτεροι οἱ ἄρχοντες.  
 αἱ γοῦν πλεονεξίαι τῶν πλουσίων  
 μᾶλλον ἀπολλύουσι τὴν  
 πολιτείαν ἢ αἱ τοῦ δήμου.  
 25 ὀλιγαρχικῆς δ' οὐσης τῆς  
 πολιτείας ἀριστα ἐκφεύγουσιν, ὡς  
 εἶπομεν, τῷ τὸν δῆμον ἀεὶ  
 πλουτεῖν δύνασθαι. οὐ γὰρ μόνον  
 τὸ πλουτεῖν οἱ Ἀμερικανοὶ  
 διώκουσιν τοὺς τ' ἄλλους ἐπ' αὐτὸ  
 παρακαλοῦσιν (ὥστε μετάδοσις  
 γίγνεται τῷ πλήθει τοῦ  
 πολιτεύματος), ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 κοινωνεῖν τῶν ἑταιριῶν ἐῶσι τὸν  
 τυχόντα τοῦ τ' ἄρχειν ἀγωνιστὴν  
 γίγνεσθαι θελούμενον καὶ  
 δυνάμενον. ἔτι δ' ὁμιλεῖν σὺν  
 ἀλλήλοις σφόδρ' ἐπιθυμοῦσιν  
 ἄλλοι κατ' ἄλλα (οἷον κατὰ τὰς  
 γνώμας τὰς τῆς εὐσεβείας

in advertising their opinions  
 everywhere and in turning the  
 populace away from others towards  
 themselves. They then in addition  
 make promises to these rich of  
 what they will do for them when  
 they possess office. The result is  
 that the regime falls into the hands  
 of those who must buy their office  
 by first selling it, and how can such  
 persons be fit to rule? Even if some  
 already have an excess of wealth of  
 their own and can buy office  
 without first selling it (for there are  
 certain people who can do this),  
 how is that better? For it is  
 oligarchy all the same and so much  
 the worse an oligarchy the fewer  
 and wealthier the office-holders.  
 The graspings of the rich, at any  
 rate, do more to ruin the regime  
 than those of the populace.  
 25. But though the regime is  
 oligarchic, they have, as we said, a  
 very good way of escaping the  
 consequences by the populace  
 always being able to get rich. For  
 not only do the Americans pursue  
 wealth and encourage others to do  
 the same (so that the multitude are  
 given a share in the regime), but  
 they also allow anyone at all to join  
 the political clubs and even, if he  
 wants to and has the ability, to  
 become a candidate for office. In  
 addition they have a great love of  
 forming associations with each  
 other, some for this reason and  
 others for that (as for example their  
 opinions in religion or economics

ἢ τῆς χρηματιστικῆς ἢ τῆς πολιτικῆς ἢ τῶν τοιούτων), καὶ ἑταιρίας καθίστασθαι πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν αὐτοῖς ἀγαθόν, ὃν ‘ἴδιον συμφέρον’ καλοῦσιν. τοῦτο δὲ ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἀπόροις ἔξεστιν, οἱ συνελθόντες ἐνίοτε πλουσιώτεροι καὶ δυνατώτεροι τῶν εὐπόρων μὲν ὀλιγωτέρων δὲ γίνονται. οὕτως γὰρ δὴ συμβαίνει τοὺς πένητας ὡς πλουσίους πρὸς πλουσίους ἀνταγωνίζεσθαι καὶ τὰ τῆς πολιτείας ὀλιγαρχικὰ εἰς ἑαυτοὺς πῶς περιστάναι.

26. καίπερ οὖν οὖσαν μάλιστ’ ὀλιγαρχικὴν τὴν πολιτείαν οὐκ ἐπὶ λίαν ὀλίγοις ἐπιτείνωσιν, ἀλλὰ τινῶν μὲν ἀπελθόντων εἰσέρχονται δ’ αἰεὶ ἄλλοι, ὥστε μηδένα ἀγανακτεῖν μὴ κοινωνοῦντα· γνωρίζει γὰρ ἕκαστος αὐτῷ θέλοντι κοινωνεῖν ἐξεῖναι καὶ πλοῦτον πρὸς τὸ τοῦτο δρᾶν κτᾶσθαι· δεῖ μὲν οὖν πᾶσιν ἐξεῖναι, ὡς φασί γε, πλουτεῖν καὶ ἄρχειν, μὴ μόνον δὲ τοῖς ἤδη πλουτοῦσιν ἢ γένων τινῶν ἢ οἰκιῶν γεγόνοσιν. τούτῳ γὰρ ἰῶνται καὶ ποιοῦσι μόνιμον τὴν πολιτείαν. ἀλλὰ τὸ χῶραν εὐπορωτάτην εἶναι τὴν Ἀμερικὴν καὶ πρὸς τὴν τε χρηματιστικὴν καὶ τὴν καπηλικὴν κεισθαι καλῶς τύχης ἐστὶν ἔργον, δεῖ δὲ ἀστασιάστους τοὺς πολλοὺς εἶναι διὰ τὸν νομοθέτην. νῦν δέ, ἂν ἀτυχία γένηται τις καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἀποστῆ τῶν ἀρχομένων, οὐδὲν ἐστὶ φάρμακον διὰ τῶν νόμων τῆς

or politics or the like), and of setting up clubs to further their common good, which they term a “special interest”. Even the poor can do this, and the poor, when united, may sometimes be richer and more powerful than a few who are well off. Hence it comes about, indeed, that the poor can compete as rich against rich and turn the oligarchic elements in the regime in some way to their own advantage.

26. Accordingly, although the regime is very oligarchic, yet the oligarchy is not narrow but people are forever entering it or leaving it. So no one is upset to be excluded for everyone knows he can share in it if he wishes, and accumulate wealth for this purpose too. For, as they say at any rate, everyone should have the right to become rich and hold office and not just those who are already rich or come from certain clans or families. In this way they effect a cure and give stability to the regime. But that America is a rich land and nobly adapted to business and trade is the work of chance, whereas the legislator should be the one responsible for making the many free of faction. As it is, if some misfortune happens and the multitude of the ruled revolt, there is no cure in the laws for restoring

ἡσυχίας.

27. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς Ἀμερικανῶν  
πολιτείας ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω·  
ταῦτα γὰρ ἔστιν ἃ μάλιστ' ἂν τις  
ἐπιτιμήσειεν.

calm.

27. Let so much then be said about  
the regime of the Americans. For  
these are the things that one might  
most of all criticize.