

# ARISTOTLE

IN TWENTY-THREE VOLUMES

XXI

## POLITICS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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ἄμα γὰρ φύσει τοιοῦτος καὶ πολέμου ἐπιθυμη-  
 τής) ἅτε ὧν ὥσπερ ἄζυξ ἐν πεπτοῖς. διότι δὲ 10  
 πολιτικὸν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ζῶν<sup>3</sup> πάσης μελίτης καὶ  
 παντὸς ἀγελαίου ζῶου μάλλον, δηλον. οὐθὲν γάρ,  
 10 ὥς φαμέν, μάτην ἢ φύσει ποιεῖ λόγον δὲ μόνον  
 ἄνθρωπος ἔχει τῶν ζώων. ἢ μὲν οὖν φωνὴ τοῦ  
 λυπηροῦ καὶ ἡδέος ἐστὶ σημείον, διὸ καὶ τοὺς  
 ἄλλους ὑπάρχει ζῴους (μέχρι γὰρ τούτου ἢ φύσει  
 αὐτῶν ἐλήλυθεν, τοῦ ἔχειν αἰσθησιν λυπηροῦ καὶ  
 15 ἡδέος καὶ ταῦτα σημαίνειν ἀλλήλους), ὁ δὲ λόγος  
 ἐπὶ τῷ δηλοῦν ἐστὶ τὸ συμφέρειν καὶ τὸ βλαβερόν,  
 ὥστε καὶ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ ἄδικον· τούτο γὰρ 11  
 πρὸς τὰλλα ζῶα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἴδιον, τὸ μόνον<sup>4</sup>  
 ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ καὶ δικαίου καὶ ἀδίκου καὶ τῶν  
 ἄλλων αἰσθησιν ἔχειν, ἢ δὲ τούτων κοινωνία ποιεῖ  
 οἰκίαν καὶ πόλιν.

Καὶ πρότερον δὴ τῇ φύσει πόλις ἢ οἰκία καὶ  
 20 ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ἐστίν. τὸ γὰρ ὅλον πρότερον  
 ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τοῦ μέρους· ἀναιρουμένου γὰρ τοῦ  
 ὅλου οὐκ ἔσται πούς οὐδὲ χεὶρ εἰ μὴ ὁμωνύμως,  
 ὥσπερ εἴ τις λέγει τὴν λιθίνην· διαφθαρεῖσα γὰρ<sup>4</sup>  
 ἔσται τοιαύτη, πάντα δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ ὠρισταὶ καὶ  
 τῇ δυνάμει, ὥστε μηκέτι τοιαῦτα ὄντα οὐ λεκτέον  
 25 τὰ αὐτὰ εἶναι ἀλλ' ὁμώνυμα. ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἢ πόλις 12  
 καὶ φύσει<sup>5</sup> πρότερον ἢ ἕκαστος, δηλον· εἰ γὰρ  
 μὴ αὐτάρκης ἕκαστος χωρισθείς, ὁμοίως τοῖς  
 ἄλλοις μέρεσιν ἔξει πρὸς τὸ ὅλον, ὁ δὲ μὴ δυνά-

<sup>1</sup> sic? Richards: ἅτε περ ἄζυξ ὧν ὥσπερ.

<sup>2</sup> [ἔφον]? ed.

<sup>3</sup> γὰρ οὐκ Schöll. <sup>4</sup> καὶ φύσει καὶ codd. plurimi.

<sup>5</sup> Or 'a hand thus spoiled will not be a hand at all.'

and also a lover of war) inasmuch as he resembles  
 10 an isolated piece at draughts. And why man is a  
 political animal in a greater measure than any bee  
 or any gregarious animal is clear. For nature, as  
 we declare, does nothing without purpose; and man  
 alone of the animals possesses speech. The mere  
 voice, it is true, can indicate pain and pleasure, and  
 therefore is possessed by the other animals as well  
 (for their nature has been developed so far as to have  
 sensations of what is painful and pleasant and to  
 signify those sensations to one another), but speech  
 is designed to indicate the advantageous and the  
 harmful, and therefore also the right and the wrong;  
 11 for it is the special property of man in distinction  
 from the other animals that he alone has perception  
 of good and bad and right and wrong and the other  
 moral qualities, and it is partnership in these things  
 that makes a household and a city-state.

Thus also the city-state is prior in nature to the  
 household and to each of us individually. For the  
 whole must necessarily be prior to the part; since  
 when the whole body is destroyed, foot or hand will  
 not exist except in an equivocal sense, like the sense  
 in which one speaks of a hand sculptured in stone as  
 a hand; because a hand in those circumstances will  
 be a hand spoiled,<sup>a</sup> and all things are defined by their  
 function and capacity, so that when they are no  
 longer such as to perform their function they must  
 not be said to be the same things, but to bear their  
 12 names in an equivocal sense. It is clear therefore  
 that the state is also prior by nature to the individual;  
 for if each individual when separate is not self-  
 sufficient, he must be related to the whole state as  
 other parts are to their whole, while a man who is

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μενος κοινωνεῖν ἢ μὴθὲν δεόμενος δι' αὐτάρκειαν οὐθὲν μέρος πόλεως, ὥστε ἢ θηρίον ἢ θεός.

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Φύσει μὲν οὖν ἢ ὀρμῇ ἐν πᾶσιν ἐπὶ τὴν τοιαύτην κοινωνίαν· ὁ δὲ πρῶτος συστάσας μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν αἷτιος· ὥστε γὰρ καὶ τελεωθὲν<sup>1</sup> βέλτιστον τῶν ζώων ὁ<sup>2</sup> ἀνθρωπός ἐστιν, οὕτω καὶ χωρισθὲν νόμον καὶ δίκης<sup>3</sup> χείριστον πάντων. χαλεπωτάτη γὰρ ἀδικία ἔχουσα ὄπλα, ὁ δ'<sup>4</sup> ἀνθρωπος ὄπλα<sup>5</sup> ἔχων φύεται φρονήσει καὶ ἀρετῇ<sup>6</sup> οἷς ἐπὶ τὰναντία ἐστι χρῆσθαι μάλιστα. διὸ ἀνοσιώτατον καὶ ἀγριώτατον ἀνευ ἀρετῆς καὶ πρὸς ἀφροδίσια καὶ ἐδωδὴν χείριστον. ἢ δὲ δικαιοσύνη πολιτικόν· ἢ γὰρ δίκη<sup>7</sup> πολιτικῆς κοινωνίας τάξις ἐστίν, ἢ δὲ δίκη τοῦ δικαίου κρίσις.

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II. Ἐπεὶ δὲ φανερόν ἐξ ὧν μορίων ἡ πόλις συν-<sup>1</sup>έστηκεν, ἀναγκαῖον πρῶτον περὶ οἰκονομίας εἰπεῖν· πᾶσα γὰρ σύγκειται πόλις ἐξ οἰκίων. οἰκονομίας δὲ μέρη ἐξ ὧν πάλιν οἰκία συνέστηκεν· οἰκία δὲ τέλειος ἐκ δούλων καὶ ἐλευθέρων. ἐπεὶ δ'<sup>2</sup> ἐν τοῖς ἐλαχίστοις πρῶτον ἕκαστον ζητητέον, πρῶτα δὲ καὶ ἐλάχιστα μέρη οἰκίας δεσπότης καὶ δοῦλος, καὶ πόσις καὶ ἄλοχος, καὶ πατήρ καὶ τέκνα, περὶ τριῶν αὖ τούτων σκεπτέον εἴη τί ἕκαστον καὶ ποῖον δεῖ εἶναι, ταῦτα δ'<sup>3</sup> ἐστὶ δεσποτικὴ καὶ γαμικὴ<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> τελεωθὲν secl. Jackson.

<sup>2</sup> ὁ om. codd. cet. et Ald.

<sup>3</sup> χωρισθὲν—δίκης secl. Jackson.

<sup>4</sup> ἀρετῇ <ἐπιτήδεια> ? Pearson.

<sup>5</sup> τὸ γὰρ δίκαιον Richards.

<sup>6</sup> The Greek word properly denotes the marriage ceremony, not the married state.

incapable of entering into partnership, or who is so self-sufficing that he has no need to do so, is no part of a state, so that he must be either a lower animal or a god.

Therefore the impulse to form a partnership of this kind is present in all men by nature; but the man who first united people in such a partnership was the greatest of benefactors. For as man is the best of the animals when perfected, so he is the worst of all when sundered from law and justice. For unrighteousness is most pernicious when possessed of weapons, and man is born possessing weapons for the use of wisdom and virtue, which it is possible to employ entirely for the opposite ends. Hence when devoid of virtue man is the most unscrupulous and savage of animals, and the worst in regard to sexual indulgence and gluttony. Justice on the other hand is an element of the state; for judicial procedure, which means the decision of what is just, is the regulation of the political partnership.

1 II. And now that it is clear what are the component parts of the state, we have first of all to discuss household management; for every state is composed of households. Household management falls into departments corresponding to the parts of which the household in its turn is composed; and the household in its perfect form consists of slaves and freemen. The investigation of everything should begin with its smallest parts, and the primary and smallest parts of the household are master and slave, husband and wife, father and children; we ought therefore to examine the proper constitution and character of each of these three relationships, I mean that of mastership, that of marriage<sup>a</sup> (there is no exact

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<sup>10</sup> (ἀνώνυμον γὰρ ἡ γυναικὸς καὶ ἀνδρὸς σύζευξις) καὶ τρίτον τεκνοποιητικῇ<sup>1</sup> (καὶ γὰρ αὕτη οὐκ ἀνόμασται ἰδίῳ ὀνόματι). ἔστωσαν δὲ<sup>2</sup> αὐταὶ τρεῖς ὡς εἴπομεν. ἔστι δέ τι<sup>3</sup> μέρος ὃ δοκεῖ τοῖς μὲν εἶναι οἰκονομία τοῖς δὲ μέγιστον μέρος αὐτῆς, ὅπως δ' ἔχει, θεωρητέον. λέγω δὲ περὶ τῆς καλουμένης χρηματιστικῆς.

<sup>15</sup> Πρῶτον δὲ περὶ δεσπότου καὶ δούλου εἰπωμεν, ἵνα τὰ τε πρὸς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν χρῆσαν ἴδωμεν, καὶ εἴ τι πρὸς τὸ εἶδέναι περὶ αὐτῶν δυνάμεθα λαβεῖν βέλτιον τῶν νῦν ὑπολαμβάνομένων. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ<sup>3</sup> δοκεῖ ἐπιστήμη τέ τις εἶναι ἡ δεσποτεία, καὶ ἡ αὐτῇ οἰκονομία καὶ δεσποτεία καὶ πολιτικὴ καὶ βασιλική, καθάπερ εἴπομεν ἀρχόμενοι. τοῖς δὲ<sup>4</sup> παρὰ φύσιν τὸ δεσπόμεν, νόμῳ γὰρ τὸν μὲν δούλον εἶναι τὸν δ' ἐλεύθερον, φύσει δ' οὐθὲν διαφέρειν, διόπερ οὐδὲ δίκαιον, βίαιον γάρ.

Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἡ κτῆσις μέρος τῆς οἰκίας ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ κτητικὴ μέρος τῆς οἰκονομίας<sup>4</sup> (ἀνευ γὰρ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀδύνατον καὶ ζῆν καὶ εἶ ζῆν<sup>5</sup>), ὥσπερ<sup>4</sup> δὲ<sup>6</sup> ταῖς ὠρισιμέταις τέχραις ἀναγκαῖον ἂν εἴη ὑπάρχειν τὰ οἰκεῖα ὄργανα εἰ μέλλει ἀποτελεσθῆσθαι τὸ ἔργον, οὕτω καὶ τῷ οἰκονομικῷ, τῶν δ' ὀργάνων τὰ μὲν ἀψυχα τὰ δ' ἔμψυχα (οἷον

<sup>1</sup> τεκνοποιητικὴ: πατρικὴ Ar.

<sup>2</sup> δὴ Susemihl: δ' codd.

<sup>3</sup> ἔστι δ' ἐπὶ τέταρτον τι (i.e. δ' τι) Schmidt.

<sup>4</sup> καὶ—οἰκονομίας secl. Susemihl.

<sup>5</sup> [καὶ εἶ ζῆν] ? ed.: om. ΓMP.

<sup>6</sup> δὴ Susemihl.

<sup>a</sup> No English word covers all the associations of the Greek, which means 'dealing in χρήματα, 'things,'—goods, property, money—and so 'business.'

term denoting the relation uniting wife and husband), and thirdly the progenitive relationship (this too has not been designated by a special name). Let us then accept these three relationships that we have mentioned. There is also a department which some and as man of business. people consider the same as household management and others the most important part of it, and the true position of which we shall have to consider: I mean what is called the art of getting wealth.<sup>a</sup>

Let us begin by discussing the relation of master and slave, in order to observe the facts that have a bearing on practical utility, and also in the hope that we may be able to obtain something better than the notions at present entertained, with a view to a theoretical knowledge of the subject. For some thinkers hold the function of the master to be a definite science, and moreover think that household management, mastership, statesmanship and monarchy are the same thing, as we said at the beginning of the treatise; others however maintain that for one man to be another man's master is contrary to nature, because it is only convention that makes the one a slave and the other a freeman and there is no difference between them by nature, and that therefore it is unjust, for it is based on force.

Since therefore property is a part of a household and the art of acquiring property a part of household management (for without the necessities even life, for production), as well as the good life,<sup>b</sup> is impossible), and since, just as for the definite arts it would be necessary for the proper tools to be forthcoming if their work is to be accomplished, so also the manager of a household must have his tools, and of tools some are lifeless and

<sup>b</sup> 'As well as the good life' is probably an interpolation.

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τῷ κυβερνήτῃ ὁ μὲν οἷαξ ἄψυχον ὁ δὲ πρῶμεις  
 80 ἔμψυχον, ὁ γὰρ ὑπηρέτης ἐν ὀργάνῳ εἶδει ταῖς  
 τέχναις ἐστίν), οὕτω καὶ τὸ κτῆμα ὄργανον πρὸς  
 ζωὴν ἐστί, καὶ ἡ κτῆσις πληθὸς ὀργάνων ἐστί,  
 καὶ ὁ δοῦλος κτῆμά τι ἔμψυχον. καὶ ὥσπερ  
 ὄργανον πρὸ ὀργάνων πᾶς ὑπηρέτης· εἰ γὰρ ὁ  
 ἡδύνατο ἕκαστον τῶν ὀργάνων κελυσθὲν ἢ προ-  
 85 αἰσθανόμενον ἀποτελεῖν τὸ αὐτοῦ ἔργον, ὥσπερ τὰ  
 Δαίδαλου φασὶν ἢ τοὺς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τρίποδας,  
 οὓς φησιν ὁ ποιητὴς αὐτομάτους θεῶν δύνεσθαι  
 ἀγῶνα, οὕτως αἱ κερκίδες ἐκέρκισον αὐταὶ καὶ τὰ  
 πληῖκτρα ἐκιδάριζεν, οὐδὲν ἂν εἶδει οὔτε τοῖς  
 1254 a ἀρχιτέκτοσιν ὑπηρέτῶν οὔτε τοῖς δεσπόταις δούλων.  
 τὰ μὲν οὖν λεγόμενα ὄργανα ποιητικὰ ὄργανά ἐστι,  
 τὸ δὲ κτῆμα πρακτικόν· ἀπὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς κερκίδος  
 ἕτερον τι γίνεται παρὰ τὴν χρήσιν αὐτῆς, ἀπὸ δὲ  
 6 τῆς ἐσθῆτος καὶ τῆς κλίνης ἡ χρήσις μόνον. ἐπὶ  
 δ' ἐπεὶ διαφέρει ἡ ποίησις εἶδει καὶ ἡ πράξις,  
 δέονται δ' ἀμφοτέραι ὀργάνων, ἀνάγκη καὶ ταῦτα  
 τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν διαφοράν. ὁ δὲ βίος πράξις, οὐ  
 ποίησις ἐστίν· διὸ καὶ ὁ δοῦλος ὑπηρέτης<sup>1</sup> τῶν  
 πρὸς τὴν πράξιν.

Τὸ δὲ κτῆμα λέγεται ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ μόριον· τὸ<sup>2</sup>  
 10 γὰρ μόριον οὐ μόνον ἄλλου ἐστὶ μόριον, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ ἀπλῶς<sup>3</sup> ἄλλου, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸ κτῆμα. διὸ  
 ὁ μὲν δεσπότης τοῦ δούλου δεσπότης μόνον,

<sup>1</sup> [ὑπηρέτης] ? gloss ed.; cf. 1253 b 30.

<sup>2</sup> τὸ ed.: τὸ τε codd. <sup>3</sup> ἀπλῶς Γ, ἀπλῶς δλως M<sup>1</sup>, δλως cet.

\* This legendary sculptor first represented the eyes as open and the limbs as in motion, so his statues had to be

others living (for example, for a helmsman the rudder is a lifeless tool and the look-out man a live tool—for an assistant in the arts belongs to the class of tools), so also an article of property is a tool for the purpose of life, and property generally is a collection of tools, and a slave is a live article of property. And every assistant is as it were a tool that serves for several tools; for if every tool could perform its own work when ordered, or by seeing what to do in advance, like the statues of Daedalus in the story,<sup>a</sup> or the tripods of Hephaestus which the poet says 'enter self-moved the company divine,'<sup>b</sup>—if thus shuttles wove and quills played harps of themselves, master-craftsmen would have no need of assistants and masters no need of slaves. Now the tools mentioned are instruments of production, whereas an article of property is an instrument of action<sup>c</sup>; for from a shuttle we get something else beside the mere use of the shuttle, but from a garment or a bed we get only their use. And also inasmuch as there is a difference in kind between production and action, and both need tools, it follows that those tools also must possess the same difference. But life is doing things, not making things; hence the slave is an assistant in the class of instruments of action.

And the term 'article of property' is used in the same way as the term 'part': a thing that is a part belonging wholly to the master, is not only a part of another thing but absolutely belongs to another thing, and so also does an article of property. Hence whereas the master is merely the slave's master and does not belong to the slave, chained to prevent them from running away (Plato, *Meno* 97 D).

<sup>c</sup> i.e. with it we do not make something but do something (e.g. wear a dress, lie in a bed).