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 19th 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.
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
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
to the archon, he is elected. So 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 υπό τῶν αὐτῶν κρίθωσι καταστησάντων καὶ ἐκβάλονται.

5. αὐταὶ μὲν οὖν εἰσίν ἄρχαι τῆς πολιτείας τοῖς Ἀμερικανοῖς αἱ μέγισται, ἡν δημοκρατίαν ὡς εἰρήκαμεν καλοῦσιν. ἓτι δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ πολλὰ τῶν ὀλιγαρχικῶν ὑπάρχει καὶ τούτων ένεια τῆς ἐσχάτης ὀλιγαρχίας παρεκβάσεις δήλον. ἀλλὰ καλὸν τούτο νομίζουσιν εἶναι καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τοῦ σώζειν τὴν δημοκρατίαν.

ἡ γὰρ δὴ πολιτεία κατὰ δύο μάλιστα τρόπους δημοκρατικῶς ἔχει, καθὸ ἑνὸν μὲν τὸ πάντα τὸν δῆμον τοὺς μονάρχους καὶ γέροντας καὶ ἐκκλησιαστὰς ἀφείσθαι, καθ’ ἑτερον δὲ τὴν αὐτῶν διαταγὰν. ζῇ γὰρ σχεδὸν ἑκαστὸς τῶν Ἀμερικανῶν ὡς βουλεύει καὶ ἐὰς ὅ χρήζων, ὡς φησιν Εὐριπίδης· χρηματίζομενοι δ’ οὖν διατελοῦσι διὰ τὸ δεῖσθαι τὸ ζῆν οὔτως ἀφθόνου χορηγίας· ἐτὶ δὲ τοιοῦτοι σφόδρα τιμῶσιν οἷοι τὴν χρηματιστικὴν ἐπιτευγχήσασιν ποιοῦντες ἢ καὶ τοῦ πανταχῇ πλουτεῖν ἐπεξευρήκασι κατανοήματα καταν. ὡς γὰρ καὶ τις τῶν μονάρχων αὐτῶν ποτ’ εἶπεν, ἡ χρηματιστικὴ χρῆμα τοῖς Ἀμερικανοῖς.

6. τοσοῦτο δὲ οὖν φιλοῦσι τὸν χρηματισμὸν ὡστε καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ποιεῖσθαι ὄνητας μὲν (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐξεστιν ἀφείσθαι ἄρχοντι ὃ μὴ πολλὰ χρήματ’ ἢ καὶ φίλοι

some serious wrong, in which case those who appointed them can try 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
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 ἵσοι λέγουσιν εἶναι, τῷ πάσιν ἐξείναι χρηματίζειν καὶ μεγίστας ἀρχαῖς ἀρχεῖν εἰ βούλονται καὶ φιλοποιώσιν, ἐναντίως δὲ εἰ μὴ.

8. πολλά δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν περὶ ἱδρυμένων ταύτα νομίζει τοῖς Ἀμερικανοῖς καὶ ταύτα βούλεται κτάσθαι, ὡστ' ἄν εἶποι τις τούτοις ζηλωτότατος καὶ μιμητότατος γεγονέναι πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ. δοκεῖ δὲ ἡ χώρα αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχήν τὴν κοσμικήν πεφύκειν καὶ κείσθαι καλῶς· δυσὶν γὰρ ἐπίκειται τὰς Εὐρώπης τέ καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἡπείρους, τῶν ἐθνῶν σχεδὸν πάντων ἐν ταύταις ἱδρυμένων. ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν τῆς χρηματιστικῆς χρήσιν καὶ ἔρωτα μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ τὰ ὁπλὰ καὶ πολεμιώντες ἀρχὴν κέκτηνται οἱ Ἀμερικανοὶ τῆς γῆς· προσέρχονται γὰρ πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη χρηματισόμενοι καὶ κατηλευσόμενοι, συζευγνώσας τὸ αὐτὰ σὺν ἕαντος διὰ φιλανθίαν ἀμφότεροι. ἔτι δὲ ἔτεροι πάντες, ὡς εἰπομεν, τοὺς Ἀμερικανοὺς τοῦ πλοῦτου καὶ κτημάτων ζηλούσιν, ὁμοίως τε γενέσθαι εἰπθυμούσιν ὡστ' ἐκεῖνοι μιμεῖσθαι τῷ τῆς τῆς χρηματιστικῆς προσέχειν τῶν νοῦν καὶ τῷ τὰς ἀρχαῖς αἰρετὰς ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τὰς ὀλιγαρχικὰς προσδέχεσθαι ἑταίριας. πάσι γὰρ δοκεῖ, λέγουσι 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 Ἀμερικανοὶ, σὺς δὲν τε
χρηματιζομένους ἐπιτύχειν ἀνευ
tοιαύτης τῇ πολιτείᾳ τάξεως.

9. ἐπιτιμήσεις δὲ ἂν τις ἐν ταύτῃ
tῇ πολιτείᾳ πρῶτον μὲν τὸ
νομίζειν αὐτὴν δεῖν πρὸς τὴν
χρηματιστικὴν τάξεσθαι, μέρος
gάρ μόνον ἡ χρηματιστικὴ τῆς
οἰκονομίας καὶ πολιτικῆς, ὡς
eἴπομεν, καὶ ὁργανὸν μὲν τοῦ
ἔργου τῆς πόλεως καὶ οἰκίας, οὐ δ’
αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον. ἠρέτη γὰρ ἑστὶ
tοῦτο τὸ ἔργον καὶ οὐ
χρηματιστικὴ, οὐ μὴν ἄλλα
χρήσιμον μὲν γνωρίζειν τὰ
χρηματιστικά καὶ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς
πολλαῖς γὰρ πόλεσι δεῖ
χρηματισμοῦ καὶ τοὐτῶν πόρων,
ὁσπερ οἰκία, μάλλον δὲ. διόπερ
tινας καὶ πολιτεύουσα τῶν
πολιτευομένων ταῦτα μόνον, καὶ
μᾶλλον τῶν Ἀμερικανῶν. ἄλλ’
ἀτοπον νομίζειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
eἰς τὴν πολιτικὴν κοινωνίαν τοῦ
ζῆν ἑνεκεν συνέχεσθαι καὶ μὴ
μάλλον τοῦ εὗ ζῆν. τί δὲ λέγομεν
tὸ εὗ ζῆν καὶ ὅπως πρὸς αὐτὸ
καλῶς ἂν ἡ πολιτεία καθισταῖτο,
ὔστερον ἐρώμεν.

10. εἶτα δὲ τὰ περὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν
ψέγατι τις ἂν, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἡν
ποιοῦνται τῶν τρῖον ἀρχῶν
diaφέρειν, τῆς μοναρχίας καὶ τῆς
tε γερουσίας καὶ ἐκκλησίας καὶ
τρίτον τοῦ δικαστηρίου. σχίζουσι
γὰρ ταύτας ἀπ’ ἄλληλων,

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
τούτο ‘τόν τῶν δυνάμεων χωρισμόν’ καλούντες· λέγουσι δὲ καὶ πλείους ἢ μίαν τούτων μὴ δεῖν ἁμα τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀρχειν, ὅπερ καλοῦν μέν ἐν γὰρ υψ’, ενὸς ἔργου ἄριστον ἀποτελεῖται. δεῖ δ’ ὅπως γίνηται τούθ’ ὅραν τὸν νομοθέτην, καὶ μὴ προστάττειν τὸν αὐτὸν αὑλεῖν καὶ σκυτωμεῖν, ἡντε πολιτικῶτερον πλείονας μετέχειν τῶν ἀρχῶν, καὶ δημοτικῶτερον κοινότερον τε γὰρ καὶ κάλλιον ἐκαστὸν ἀποτελεῖται τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ θάττουν, ἀδήλου δὲ τούτο ἐπὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν καὶ τῶν ναυτικῶν ἐν τούτοις γὰρ ἀμφότερος διὰ πάντων ὡς εἰπεῖν διελήθην τὸ ἀρχεῖν καὶ τὸ ἀρχεσθαι. τούτο δὴ καλὸν μὲν νομιστέον, τὸν δὲ τῶν Ἀμερικανῶν τρόπον μὴ. τοὺς γὰρ ἐν ταύτῳ τῆς πόλεως μέρει καὶ τάξει ἑώσιν ἢμ’, ἀρχεῖν πάσας τὰς ἀρχάς, ὡσθ’ ἐν μέρος ἐν τῇ πόλει μόνον ἄει ἀρχεῖν ἄλλα δὲ μήποτε. λέγομεν δὲ μέρος ἐν μὲν τοὺς πλουσίους ἄλλο δὲ τοὺς πένητες ἢτι δ’ ἄλλο τοὺς σπουδαίους· φαμέν δὲ καὶ πολιτείαιν ἄλλην εἶναι τούτων, σῶον ὀλιγαρχίαν μὲν τῶν πλουσίων κυριών ὄντων, δημοκρατίαν δὲ τῶν ἀπόρων, ἀριστοκρατίαν δ’ ἡ πολιτείαι τῶν σπουδαίων.

11. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀμερικανῶν πολιτεία 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
εταιρίων εάν τάς ἀρχάς ἀμίρχειν πάσας φαύλων τό δε τοὺς ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ μίας εταιρίας σύντως ἀρχεῖν εάν (τούτο γάρ συμβαίνει ἢν εταιρία τις δυνατώτερα εἰς τῶν ἄλλων) ἔτι φαύλοτερον. παρεκβάσεις γάρ ἀμφω μὲν εἰς ὁλιγαρχίαν, αὕτη δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν δυνάμεων χωρίσμον ὁλιγαρχικὸν νομίστεν εἶναι σόφισμα τῶν εὐπόρων τῶν δι’ αὐτῶν τὴν πολιτείαν βουλομένων εἶναι. πειθοῦσι μὲν γάρ τὸν δήμον τούτου δεῖσθαι τοῦ χωρίσμου ἵνα μὴ δυνατώτερος ἀρχών τις γένηται καὶ τυράννιδα κατασκευάζῃ, τὸ δὲ πάσας ὁμα κέκτησθαι ἀρχάς αὐτοῖς τε καὶ οἱ ἔκατον φίλοι κρύπτουσιν. τούτου δ’ ἄκος τὸ διαρείσθαι τάς ἀρχάς μὴ μόνον ἀπ’ ἄλληλων ἄλλα καὶ εἰς τὰ τῆς πόλεως μέρη, ὡστε μετέχειν αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς μὴ πλουσίους καὶ τοὺς μὴ ἐν ταῖς εταιρίαις. ἢδη γὰρ κατὰ τὰ δικαστήρια τοιαύτην ποιοῦνται τάξην, τὸν δήμον ἀεὶ κοινωνεῖν ἀναγκάζοντες. τάυτα δεὶ ποιεῖσθαι καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς, οἷον κατὰ τὴν μοναρχίαν ἢν πολλοὶ συνίοντες συνάρχειν ἀνθ’ ἐνὸς δύναντι’ ἄν. ὅπου γὰρ συνέστηκεν εξ ὁμοίων καὶ ἴσων ἡ πόλις, οὐ δικαίων τοὺς μὲν ἀρχεῖν ἀεὶ τοὺς δὲ μήποτε, ἀλλ’ ἀνα μέρος ἀρχεοῦσθαι καὶ ἀρχεῖν πάντας, νῦν δὲ σύμπασσαι αἱ ἀρχαι δι’ εὐπόρων μὲν εἰσιν,
διά δὲ δήμου οὐδεμία.
12. ἦστι δ’ ἐπιτίμησις ἑτέρα κατὰ τὸν τῶν δυνάμεων χωρισμὸν, ὅτι ὁ νομοθέτης οὐτὶ καὶ στάσεως κατεσκευάσεσσεν αὐτὸν ἐκ γὰρ τούτου δῆλον ὡς οὐδὲ αὐτός οὐκ ἦταν δύνασθαι ποιεῖν καλοὺς κάγαθοὺς τοὺς ἁρχοντας, ἀλλὰ σωτηρίαν νομίζει τῇ πόλει εἶναι τὸ στασίαζειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους· τὰς γοῦν τρεῖς ἀρχὰς καθεστηκεν ἀνταγωνιστᾶς. εἰσέθη δὲ καὶ οἱ δυνατοὶ, εἰτ’ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὑπεν ἡτος ἐνε μή, τὸν δήμον καὶ τοὺς φίλους διαλαμβάνουτες μοναρχίαν ποιεῖν καὶ στασίαζειν καὶ μάχεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους· καὶ ταῖς διὰ διαφέρει τὸ τοιοῦτον ἡ διὰ τοῦ χρόνου μηκέτι πόλιν εἶναι τὴν τοιαύτην ἀλλὰ λύσθαι τὴν πολιτικὴν κοινωνίαν; ἦστι δ’ ἐπικίνδυνος οὕτως ἡχοῦσα πόλις, τῶν βουλομένων ἐπιθεσθαι καὶ δυσαρέσθαι, ἀλλὰ σώζεται τῶν Ἱπερικανῶν πολιτεία διὰ τὸ πληθυνὼν ἀνθρώπων, καθ’ ἂν ἕλεγεν καὶ τῶν μονάρχων τις διὰ γὰρ τοῦτ’ εἰσίν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀεὶ στάσεις πολλαί, καὶ διαλαμβάνειν μὲν ἀεὶ τὸν δῆμον ὧμ’ ὄλον οὐ δύναται ἐπιτίμησις οὐδεμία, συγχωρεῖν δὲ δεῖ πάσας συμβόλαια τε σὺν ἀλλήλαις καὶ συμμαχίαις ποιεῖσθαι, σώζεται δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸν τόπον ἢ Ἰπερική· ξενηλασίας γὰρ τὸ πόρρω πεποίηκεν καὶ τοὺς ἂν ἐπιόντας πλειστούς ἀποτέλεσαν.
13. τὸ μὲν οὖν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἔξεινα
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
τάς αὐτὰς ἀρχὰς πολλ. ἔτη ἀρχεῖν (πολυχρονιῶτεραί γὰρ ἐίσι καὶ δύναται ὁ αὐτὸς ἐφεξῆς ἐφαιρεῖσθαι) φαύλον ἔστιν· τὴν γὰρ πολιτείαν ποιεῖ ὀλιγαρχικὴν, ὡς εἰρήται πρότερον. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν κακουργίαν ἐπαυξάνει· οὗ γὰρ ὁμοίως ῥάδιον κακουργῆσαι ὀλίγον χρόνον ἄρχοντας καὶ πολὺν. φαίνονται δὲ γε καταδωροδοκούμενοι καὶ καταχαριζόμενοι πολλά τῶν κοινῶν τοῖς φίλοις τε καὶ ἐταίροις ὃι κεκοινωνικότες τῶν ἀρχῶν. τὸ γὰρ πολὺν χρόνον ἀρχεῖν μεῖζὸν ἔστι γέρας τῆς ἀξίας αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸ μὴ κατὰ γράμματα ἀρχεῖν ἀλλὰ πολλ. αὐτογνώμονας ἐπισφαλεῖς, μάλιστα δ’ ἐπικίνδυνον τὸ ἔξειναι αὐτοῖς ἀρχὰς ἄλλας καὶ μεγάλας κατὰ βούλησιν καθίσταναι· οὐ γὰρ κατ’ ἁρετὴν ἢ ἀξίαν τῶν καθεσταμένων τότε δρώσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ φιλίαν· τοῖς γὰρ ἐταίροις ὡς νικητὴς ἄθλου ταύτας τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀποδιδόσας καὶ ὡς ἀνταπόδοσιν τῆς τ’ ὀφελίας καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἀπ’ ἐκείνων πρὸς τὴν ἐρίθειαν ληφθέντων· πρεσβευτάς γε πόλους καὶ κριτὰς οὕτως καθίστανται. ταῦτα δ’ ἢ πάντα βέλτιον γινέσθαι κατὰ νόμον ἢ κατ’ ἀνθρώπων βούλησιν· οὐ γὰρ ἀσφαλῆς 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
μὴ ἀνευθύνους εἶναι· νῦν δὲ εἰσίν.

dei δ' οὖν αὐτοῖς εὐθύνας διδόναι
κατὰ νόμον τεταγμένας παιντός
ἐκώπων τοῦ δήμου. τούτῳ τοι
ποιεῖσθω ὅποταν ἐκ τῶν ἀρχῶν
ἐξέρχωνται καὶ πρὶν εἰς τὰς
ἀρχὰς βαδίζειν. τού δὲ μὴ
κλέπτεσθαι τὰ κοινὰ ἡ παράδοσις
gιγνέσθω τῶν χρημάτων παρόντων
πάντων τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ τοῦ δὲ
ἀκεράδως ἄρχειν τιμὰς εἶναι δεὶ
γενομοθετήμενας τοῖς
eὐδοκιμοῦσιν. τὸ γὰρ
ἐπανακρέμασθαι καὶ μὴ πάν
ἐξεῖναι ποιεῖν ὃ τι ἂν δόξη
συμφέρου ἐστὶν· ἡ γὰρ ἐξουσία
tοῦ πράττειν ὃ τι ἂν ἐθέλῃ τις οὐ
dύναται φυλάττειν τὸ ἐν ἐκάστῳ
tῶν αὐθρώπων φαύλον.

15. ἀναγκαίοτατον μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ
tῶν Ἀμερικανῶν πολιτείᾳ τὸ τοὺς
ἀρξύνας εὐπορεῖν οὐδεὶς γὰρ
οἶδος τῇ ἄρχων γίγνεσθαι εἰ μὴ
σχολάζει καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαρίζει
ψηφοφορίαν μηνστεύων. ἀλλὰ οὖν
ἐστιν ἰκανὸν τοῖς εὐ ἀρξύνας
εὐπορεῖν ἐχεῖν ἐὐπορία γέ ἐς
tοιοῦταις εμπόδιος ἐστιν
ὑπερβάλλουσα. τὸ γὰρ ὑπέρκαλον
dὲ ἡ ὑπερίςχυρον ἡ ὑπερευγενή ἡ
ὑπερπλούσιον χαλεπὸν τῷ λόγῳ
ἀκολουθεῖν· γίγνονται γὰρ
ὑβριστὰ καὶ μεγαλοπόνηροι
μάλλον. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οἱ ἐν
ὑπερχαῖρεσ ἐνυπηχμάτων ὄντες
(ἰσχύος καὶ πλοῦτοι 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 τασάτων) ἄρχεσθαι οὔτε βουλοῦται οὔτε ἑπιστανται, καὶ τοῦτ᾽ εὐθὺς ὁμοθέν ὑπάρχει πασίν οὐσίν διὰ γὰρ τὴν τροφὴν οὐδ᾽ ἐν τοῖς διδασκαλεῖσι ἄρχεσθαι σύνηθες αὐτοῖς, ὥστε ἄρχειν μὲν ἑπιστανται μόνον δεσποτικὴν ἄρχην, κατὰ μέρος δ᾽ ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἄρχειν ὡς ἵσοι μή, τὸ δὲ δέσμευσθαι τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, μάλιστα τοῖς ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις ἄρχαις, ἄρετὴ πολιτικὴ ἐξ ἄρχης οὐν τοῦθ᾽ ὀρᾶν ἐστὶ τῶν ἀναγκαιῶτατων, ὅπως οἱ βέλτιστοι δύσωται σχολάζειν καὶ μηδὲν ἄσχημουν, μὴ μόνον ἄρχοντες ἀλλὰ μηδ᾽ ἱδιωτεύοντες. εἰ δὲ δεὶ βλέπειν καὶ πρὸς εὐπορίαν χάριν σχολής, φαύλον τὸ τάς μεγίστας ὀνήτας εἶναι τῶν ἄρχων, τάς τε προεδροῦν καὶ κυβερνητῶν. ἐντιμου γὰρ ὁ νόμος οὕτως ποιεῖ τῶν πλουτῶν μᾶλλον τῆς ἄρετῆς, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὄλην φιλοχρήματον. ὅτι δ᾽ ἀν ὑπολαβῆ τίμιον εἶναι τὸ κύριον, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν δόξαν ἀκολουθεῖν τούτοις. ὅπου δὲ μή μᾶλιστα ἄρετὴ ἄμαται, ταύτῃν ὄνομα τὸν καλὸν ἔχειν τὴν πολιτείαν. ἐθείζεσθαι δ᾽ εὐλογον κερδαίνειν τοὺς ἰὼμένους, 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.
άτοπον γάρ εἰ πένης μὲν ὅν ἐπιεικής δὲ βουλήσεται
κερδαίνειν, φαυλότερος δὲ ὃν οὐ βουλήσεται δαπανήσας. διὸ δεὶ
tοὺς δυναμένους ἀριστ' ἄρχειν,
tοῦτους ἄρχειν. νῦν δὲ μόναρχοι
οὗτοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄρχοντες
μεγάλων κύριοι καθεστώτες, ἃν
eὐτελεῖς ὡσι καὶ μὴ σπουδαῖοι,
μεγάλα βλάπτομεν καὶ ἐβλασφάν
ἡδη τὴν πολιτείαν τὴν τῶν
Ἀμερικανῶν.
16. ἔτι δ' εἰ καὶ τάχ' ἂν εἴπειε τις
συμφέρειν τῇ πόλει τὰς ἄρχας τὰς
tῶν γερόντων καὶ ἐκκλησιαστῶν
καὶ κριτῶν καὶ μονάρχων
ἐπιεικῶν ὄντων καὶ
πεπαίδευμένων ἰκανῶς πρὸς
ἀνδραγαθίαν, καὶ τοῖς τῷ γε διὰ
βίου κυρίου εἶναι τῶν μεγίστων
(ἐάν συμβῇ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐφεξῆς
ἐφορεῖσθαι) ἀμφισβητήσιμον.
ἔστι γάρ, ὡσπερ καὶ σώματος, καὶ
dιανοίας γῆρας.
17. ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν τῶν
ἄρχων αἴρεσιν φαύλως.
ολιγαρχικά γάρ ἔστι διὰ τὰς
ἐρήμες. μόνοι γοῦν οἱ
ὑπερβάλλοντες πῶς τοῦ ὄχλου καὶ
ἐμφανείς ὄντες οίοι τε ψήφους
πολλὰς κτάσθαι, ὡπερ πλουσίοις
μὲν καὶ γνωρίμωις ράξιοι, ἀπόροις
dὲ χαλέπου ἢ καὶ νῆ Δί' ἀδύνατον.
βέλτιον ἄρ' ἂν εἴη καὶ τῷ κλήρῳ
χρήσθαι 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
καλώς δ' ἔχει μιμεῖσθαι τὰ Ἄρχας πᾶσας ἐποίησον διττάς, τὰς μὲν αἱρετὰς τὰς δὲ κληρωτάς, τὰς μὲν κληρωτάς ὅπως ὁ δῆμος αὐτῶν μετέχῃ, τὰς δ' αἱρετὰς ἵνα πολιτεύωνται βέλτιον. ἔστι δὲ τούτῳ ποιήσας καὶ τῆς αὐτής ἀρχῆς μερίζοντας, τοὺς μὲν κληρωτάς τοὺς δ' αἱρετοὺς. τούτω δὴ τρόπῳ καὶ τοῖς πένησιν τοῖς τ' ἐπείκεσι μὲν ἀπόροις δ' ἔξεστιν ἀρχεῖν.

18. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς βουλὰς, διὸ ἐπιτροπὰς καλοῦσιν, οὐκ ἔχει καλώς, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ περὶ τὸν τούτων πρόεδρον' αὐτὰ μὲν γὰρ τῇ γερουσίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προβουλεύονται τίνα δεὶ εἰσφέρειν ἢ μὴ, ὅπερ ἔργον ἔστι μέγιστον' ὁ δὲ πρόεδρος τούτων κυριεύει κατὰ τὸν Ἀμερικανῶν τρόπον ὡς μόναρχος. φαύλου οὖν τούτον καὶ τοὺς βουλευτάς κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν αἰρεῖσθαι· λέγω δὲ δύναμιν μὲν ὑπόσους γέροντας ἢ ἐκκλησιαστάς ἔχει τις φίλους, ἡλικίαν δ' ὄποιον' ἔτη τις ἐν ἀρχῇ διαμεμένην. βούλαις γὰρ αὐτοῖς, δυνατωτέρως ἢ δὴ ἐχούσαι καὶ ὡς ὀλιγαρχία ἐν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ, ἐτὶ ὀλιγαρχικάτεραι τῶν τῷ τρόπῳ γίγνονται· ὥστε πρῶτον μὲν λίιν ὀλίγοι κύριοι δυντες 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
όλλοις ἐπικρατοῦσιν τοῖς ἐν τῇ
gερουσίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ,
deúteron δὲ ἐπ’ ἑκεῖνοις
dεσποτεύει ὁ εἰς τούτῳ δ’ ἀκος ἢ
tὸ μὴ τοιαύτας βούλας ἔχειν, ἢ
ἔχειν μὲν, εἰπέρ δέον, κυρίας δὲ
μήτε τοσοῦτον εἶναι μήτε τοὺς
βουλευτάς καὶ τὸν πρόεδρον
ἀρμετοὺς· κληρωτοὶ δὲ μᾶλλον
ἐστωσαν ἐκ πάνων ἀλλ’ οὖν εἶξ
ὀλίγων τῶν καθ’ ἡλικίαν
ὑπερεχόντων ἡ δύναμιν.
19. ὁλιγαρχικὸν δ’ αὖ τὸ ἑξείναι
μὲν πάσιν ψηφοφορεῖν ἀναγκαίον
dὲ μὴ, ὡστε τῶν μὲν εὐπόρων καὶ
tῶν ἑταίρων πλείστους μετέχειν,
tὸ δὲ δήμου ὀλίγους. τί γάρ
διαφέρει τὸ ἑξείναι μὲν μὴ
ἐνεργεῖν δὲ καὶ τὸ μὴ ἑξείναι;
tαῦτο γὲ δὴ συμβαίνει. βέλτιον
οὖν ἂν εἰ ὁ δήμος νόμος ἄναγκαζεσθαι ψηφοφορεῖν ἢ καὶ
μισθὸν πορίζειν. ἀλλὰ τούτ’ οὖν
ἀρέσκει τοῖς Ἀμερικανοῖς, οὐ μὴν
οὐδὲ τὸ δήμου· τὴν γὰρ ἀνάγκην
ὑπενάντιον εἶναι τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ τοῦ
ζῆν ὡς ἂν βούληται τις· ὥσεὶ
dήμου αἰρόμενοι μὲν τοὺς αὐτῶν
ἀρχοντας εἰὲν δοῦλοι, μὴ
ἀιρόμενοι δ’ ἐλεύθεροι. καὶ τοῖς οὐ
dεὶ οἰεσθάι δουλεῖαν γέ τὸ ζῆν
πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν, ἀλλὰ
σωτηρίαν.
20. πρὸς δὲ τούτους τὸ αὐτὸν
ἀιτεῖσθαι τὸν ἀξιοσθησόμενον
τῆς ἀρχῆς οὖν ὀρθῶς ἔχει, νῦν δὲ
dὴ τούτῳ εὐδοκιμεῖ 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
τούς άρχειν θέλοντας πρῶτον μὲν ἐταιρίαν τινὰ προσποιεῖσθαι, εἴτε δὲ οἰτεὶσθαι τὴν ψήφον τὸν δήμου μηνιστεύοντας. ἀλλὰ δεὶ καὶ βουλόμενον καὶ μὴ βουλόμενον ἁρχεῖν τὸν ἀξίον τῆς ἀρχῆς. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἃν ἁρχεῖν οἰτεἰσαι μὴ φιλότιμος ὅν. καὶ τῶν γ᾽ ἀδικημάτων τὰ πλείστα συμβαίνει σχεδὸν διὰ φιλοτιμίαν καὶ διὰ φιλοχρηματίαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

21. εἰςὶ δὲ καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἀιρέσεις διητταί· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ πρόκρισιν ποιοῦνται οἱ ἐταιρίαι οὐπερ ἐκάστῃ τὸν αὐτής ἀγωνιστὴν οἰκεῖται, δεύτερον δὲ ἐκ τῶν τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν δεὶ τὸν ὅχλον τὸν ἀρξόντα οἰκεῖσθαι. ἀλλὰ τὸ ἢ αἰρέτων αἰρείσθαι ἐπικίνδυνον· τοῖς γὰρ ἐταιρίοις μᾶλις ἡ καὶ μόνον ἐξεστὶ τὸν αὐτῶν αἰρείσθαι ἀγωνιστὴν, ὡστ' ὁλίγοι τοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς αἰρείσθαι. τούτω γε δὴ τὸ τρόπῳ ὁλίγοις ἔστων ἐξ ὁλίγων τὰς ἀρχὰς καθίστασθαι. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐταιρία τις παρὰ τῶν δήμων ἐστὶ που δυσατωτερα (τούτο δὲ δὴ πολλάκις συμβαίνει διὰ τὸ κυρίας εἶναι τὰς ἐταιρίας τῆς τοῦ δήμου εἰς φυλᾶς ψηφοφόρους διανομῆς), ἀναγκαῖον ἂεὶ τὸν ταύτης ἀγωνιστὴν νικᾶν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν βαδίζειν. εἰ δὲ ἱσορρόπαι πάσαι, οὐδὲν ἤττον δεὶ τῶν δήμων εἰς τῶν προκρίτων αἰρείσθαι. ὡστ' ἐὰν συστήναι τινὲς θέλουσι καὶ μέτριοι τὸ πλήθος, 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 ἀφεθήσονται βούλησιν ἀρχοντες.
22. ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπιτιμήσεις ἂν τις τὴν ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἄμερικανῶν πολιτείας δημαγωγίαν. πάντως γὰρ
deι τοὺς ἀρχεῖν σπουδάζοντας τὸν ὀχλὸν δημαγώγειν, οἷον ἐν Λαρίσῃ ὁι πολιτοφύλακες ἐδημαγώγουν
dιὰ τὸ οἰρείσθαι αὐτοὺς τὸν ὀχλὸν. δημαγώγουσί γε δὴ ἐν ὀσαῖς
pολιτείαις οὓς οὕτωι οἰροῦνται
tὰς ἀρχὰς ἔξ ὅν οἱ ἀρχοντές ἐσιν, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν ἀρχαὶ ἐκ τιμμάτων
mεγάλων ἐσιν ἡ ἐταιρία, oἰροῦνται δ᾽ οἱ μέσοι ἡ ὁ δήμος,
ὅπερ ἐν Ἀβύδῳ μὲν συνεβαίνειν
νῦν δὲ μάλλον ἐν Ἀμερικῇ.
23. ἔτι δὲ δημαγωγίαν οὐ διτταί
ἀφέσεις ἐκποιήσουσιν διὰ τὸ
deῖν τοὺς ἀρξεῖν θέλοντας τὸν
dήμου διὰς μνηστεύειν. τούτους γὲ
χρῆ τὸν δήμον παραγελλοῦντας οἵ
περιέναι καὶ τίνες εἴσιν
kηρύττειν καὶ τίνος ἑταιρίας καὶ
πῶς ἐν ἀρχῇ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑποχέοντών·
ωστε μᾶχονται πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῷ
dήμῳ χαρίζοντες πάντες.
φιλονεικοὶ δ᾽ οὗν γίγνονται πολλὰ
tῷ δήμῳ ὑποχειρὸύμενοι. πρὸς δὲ
τούτοις ἀλλήλων κατηγοροῦσιν
καὶ μέμφονται εἰτ' ἀληθῶς εἶτε μή,
ὅπερ καθ᾽ αὐτὸ μὲν οἰσχρόν (τίς
gὰρ ἐπεικῆς τοιαύτ' ἄν ἔκων
dράσειεν), τῷ δὲ πολιτείας
βλαβερόν.
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
οἱ πολιτεῖαι ἐπὶ τούτοις γίνεται ὀίς ἀναγκαῖον πρῶτον μὲν τὰς ἁρχὰς πωλεῖν ἐπείτη πρίωνται· πῶς δὲ τὸν τοιούτον τοῦ ἁρχεῖν εἶν ἄξιος; εἰ καὶ ἡ πλοῦτω ὑπερέχοντον ἐνοικὶ πρίωσθαι τὰς ἁρχὰς ἄνευ τοῦ πρῶτον πωλεῖν (τοὺτο γὰρ ποιεῖν τινὲς δύνανται), πῶς ἐστὶ βέλτιον; οὔδὲν γὰρ ἠττου ὁλιγαρχία, καὶ τοσοῦτον χείρων δῶς σπανιώτεροι καὶ πλουσιώτεροι οἱ ἁρχοντες. αἱ γοὺς πλεονεξία τῶν πλουσίων πᾶλλον ἀπολύουσι τὴν πολιτείαν ἢ αἱ τοῦ δήμου.

25 ὁλιγαρχικῆς δὲ οὕσης τῆς πολιτείας ἁρίστα εκφεύγουσιν, ὡς εἰπομεν, τῷ τὸν δήμον ἂει πλουτεῖν δύνασθαι, οὑ γὰρ μόνον τὸ πλούτειν οἱ Ἀμερικανοὶ διώκουσιν τοὺς τ´ ἄλλους ἐπ´ αὐτὸ παρακαλοῦσιν (ὡςτε μετάδοσις γίνεται τῷ πλῆθει τοῦ πολιτεύματος), ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινοφυεὶν τῶν ἐταυρίων ἑώς τὸν τυχόντα τοῦ τ´ ἁρχεῖν ἁγιοιστὴν γίνεσθαι θελόμενον καὶ δυνάμενον. ἔτι δ´ ὁμιλεῖν σὺν ἀλλήλοις σφόδρα ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἀλλοι κατ´ ἄλλα (οίον κατά τὰς γνώμας τὰς τῆς εἰσεβείας 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
21

ή τῆς χρηματιστικῆς ή τῆς πολιτικῆς ή τῶν τοιούτων), καὶ ἐκατορίας καθίστασθαι πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν αὐτοῖς ἀγαθὸν, ὅπερ ἵδιον συμφέρον, καλοῦσιν. τούτο δὲ ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἀπόροις ἐξέστιν, οἱ συνελθόντες ἐνίστε πλουσίωτεροι καὶ δυνατώτεροι τῶν εὐπόρων μὲν ὀλιγωτέρων δὲ γίγνονται. οὕτως γε ὑπὲρ συμβαίνει τοὺς πένητας ὡς πλουσίους πρὸς πλουσίους ἀνταγωνίζεσθαι καὶ τὰ τῆς πολιτείας ὀλιγαρχικὰ εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ποὺς περιστάναι.

26. καί περὶ σοῦ οὖν σὺναι καλλιστῇ ὀλιγαρχικὴν τὴν πολιτείαν οὐκ ἐπὶ λιαν ὀλίγους ἐπιτείνωσιν, ἀλλὰ τινῶν μὲν ἀπελθόντων εἰσέρχονται δ’ ἀεὶ ἀλλοί, ὡστε μηδὲνα ἁγανακτεῖν μὴ κοινωνοῦντα· γνωρίζει γὰρ ἐκάστος αὐτῷ θέλοντι κοινωνεῖν ἐξείναι καὶ πλοῦτον πρὸς τὸ τούτο δράν κτάσθαι· δεὶ μὲν οὖν πάσιν ἐξείναι, ὡς φασί γε, πλουτεῖν καὶ ἀρχεῖν, μὴ μόνον ὅτι τοῖς ἢδη πλουτοῦσιν ἢ γένους τινῶν ἢ ὁικῶν γεγόνοσιν. τούτῳ γὰρ ἰῶνται καὶ ποιοῦσι μόνιμον τὴν πολιτείαν. ἀλλὰ τὸ χῶραν εὐπορωτάτην εἶναι τὴν Ἁμερικῆν καὶ πρὸς τὴν τε χρηματιστικὴν καὶ τὴν καπηλικὴν κεῖσθαι καλῶς τὸχης ἐστὶν ἐργὸν, δεὶ δὲ ἀστασάστους τοὺς πολλοὺς εἶναι διὰ τῶν νομοθέτην. νῦν δὲ, ἃν ἀτυχία γένηται τις καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἀποστῇ τῶν ἀρχομένων, οὐδὲν ἐστὶ φόρμακον 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
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.