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Lecture 2: Ancient Greek and Scholastic Economic Thought

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- **Ancient Greek economic thought**
 - Plato *Republic*
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Ancient Greek and Scholastic Economic Thought

Ancient Greek Economic Thought

Ancient Greek Economic Thought

- Even before the archaic and classical period we have documents concerning economic issues
- During the Mycenaean period (17th-13th c. BCE) we have clay tablets recording economic activity
- These tablets do not constitute economic thought



Ancient Economic Thought



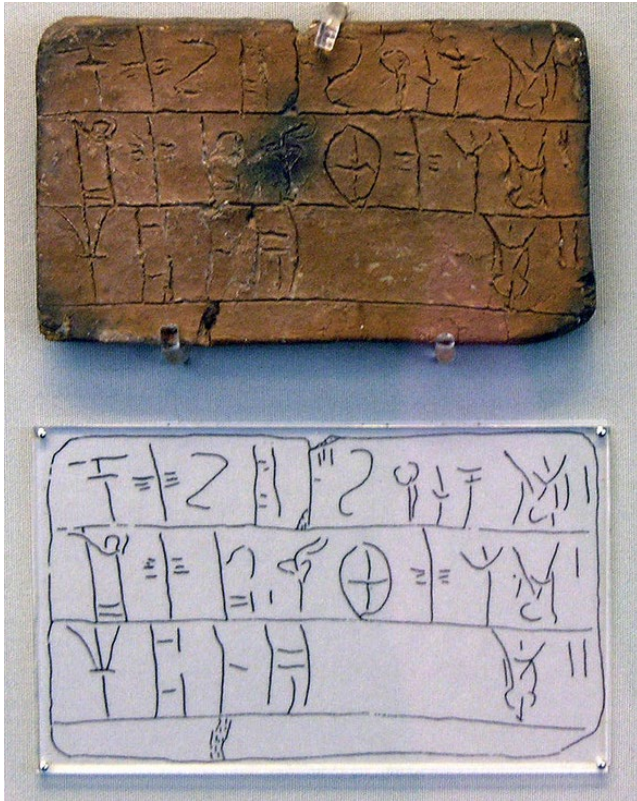
Pre-cuneiform tags, with drawing of goat or sheep and number (probably "10"), Al-Hasakah, 3300–3100 BCE, Uruk culture



Sumerian was the last and most ancient language to be deciphered. Sale of a number of fields, probably from Isin, c. 2600 BC.



Ancient Greek Economic Thought



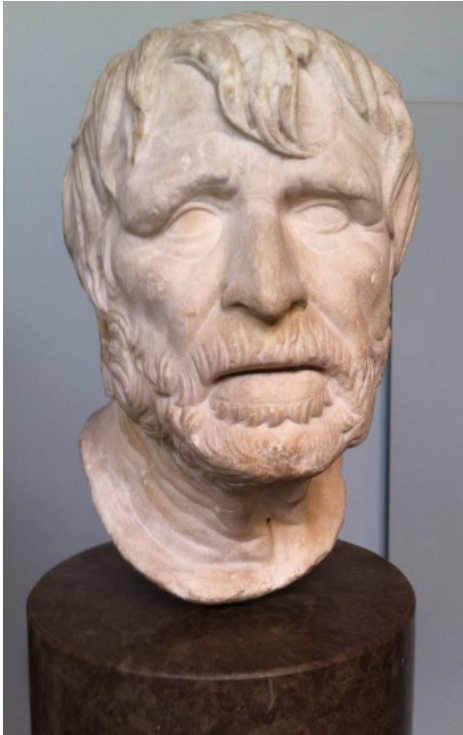
Linear B logograms referring to objects of economic importance

<http://www.ancientscripts.com/linearb.html>

Mycenae: Clay tablet of linear B. 1250 BCE.
National Archaeological Museum, Athens. #7671
Refers to a quantity of wool to be dyed.



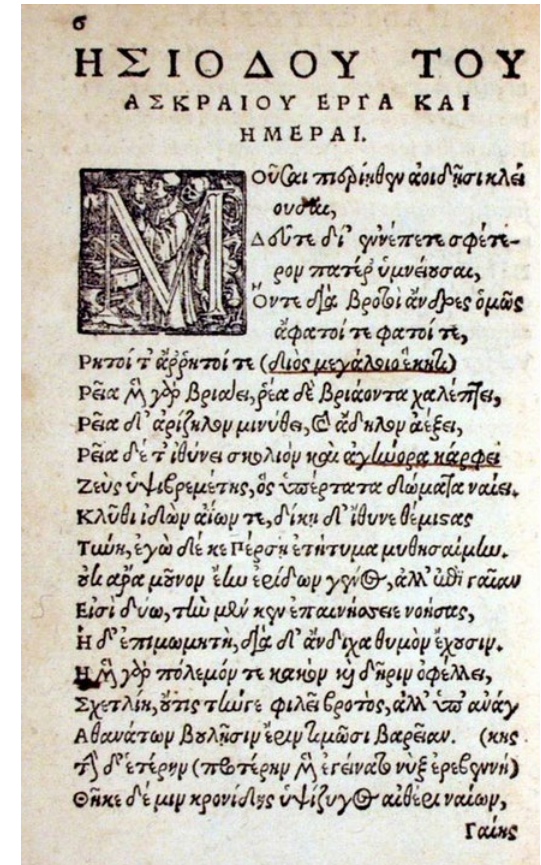
Ancient Greek Economic Thought



Hesiod (c. 750-650 BCE)
Bust at the British Museum



Work and Days, Basel edition 1539, Michael Isingrin



HESIOD

ΕΠΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΗΜΕΡΑΙ

Μούσαι Πιερίηθεν, αοιδῆσι κλείουσαι,
δεῦτε, Δί' ἐννέπετε σφέτερον πατέρ' ὑμνείουσαι,
ὅν τε διὰ βροτοὶ ἄνδρες ὁμῶς ἄφατοὶ τε φατοὶ τε
ῥητοὶ τ' ἄρρητοὶ τε Διὸς μέγαλοιο ἔκητι.

- 5 ῥέα μὲν γὰρ βριάει, ῥέα δὲ βριάοντα χαλέπτει,
ῥεῖα δ' ἀρίζηλον μινύθει καὶ ἀδηλον ἀέξει,
ῥεῖα δέ τ' ἰθύνει σκολιὸν καὶ ἀγήνορα κάρφει
Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης ὃς ὑπέρατα δώματα ναίει.
κλυθὶ ἰδὼν αἰὼν τε, δίκη δ' ἴθυνε θέμιστας
10 τύνη· ἐγὼ δέ κε Πέρση ἐτήτυμα μυθησαίμην.

οὐκ ἄρα μῦνον ἔην Ἐρίδων γένος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν
εἰσὶ δύο τὴν μὲν κεν ἐπαινήσειε νοήσας,
ἣ δ' ἐπιμωμητή· διὰ δ' ἀνδιχα θυμὸν ἔχουσιν.
ἣ μὲν γὰρ πόλεμόν τε κακὸν καὶ δῆριν ὀφέλλει,
15 σχετλίη· οὗ τις τὴν γε φιλεῖ βροτός, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀνάγκης
ἀθανάτων βουλήσιν Ἔριω τιμῶσι βαρείαν.
τὴν δ' ἐτέρην προτέρην μὲν ἐγένιατο Νύξ ἐρεβεινή,

1-16 deest C, 1-42 deest ω₄

1-10 ath. Praxiphanes Aristarchus Crates, om. libri a Praxiphane

Pausania visi

WORKS AND DAYS

WORKS AND DAYS

Muses, from Pieria, glorifying in songs, come here, tell in hymns of your father Zeus, through whom mortal men are unfamed and famed alike, and named and unnamed, by the will of great Zeus. For easily he strengthens, and easily he crushes the strong, easily he diminishes the conspicuous and increases the inconspicuous, and easily he straightens the crooked and withers the proud—high-thundering Zeus, who dwells in the loftiest mansions. Give ear to me, watching and listening, and straighten the verdicts with justice yourself;¹ as for me, I will proclaim truths to Perses.

(11) So there was not just one birth of Strifes after all,² but upon the earth there are two Strifes. One of these a man would praise once he got to know it, but the other is blameworthy; and they have thoroughly opposed spirits. For the one fosters evil war and conflict—cruel one, no mortal loves that one, but it is by necessity that they honor the oppressive Strife, by the plans of the immortals. But the other one gloomy Night bore first; and Cronus' high-throned



HESIOD

- θήκε δέ μιν Κρονίδης ἰνίλιγγος, αἰθέρι ναίων
γαίης τ' ἐν ῥίζησι καὶ ἀνδράσι πολλὸν ἀμείνω·
20 ἦ τε καὶ ἀπάλαμόν περ ὁμῶς ἐπὶ ἔργον ἔγειρεν.
εἰς ἕτερον γάρ τις τε ἰδὼν ἔργοιο χατίζων
πλούσιον, ὃς σπεύδει μὲν ἀρώμεναι ἠδὲ φυτεύειν
οἶκόν τ' εὖ θέσθαι, ζηλοῖ δέ τε γείτονα γείτων
εἰς ἄφενος σπεύδοντ'· ἀγαθὴ δ' Ἔρις ἦδε βροτοῖσιν.
25 καὶ κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ κοτέει καὶ τέκτωνι τέκτων,

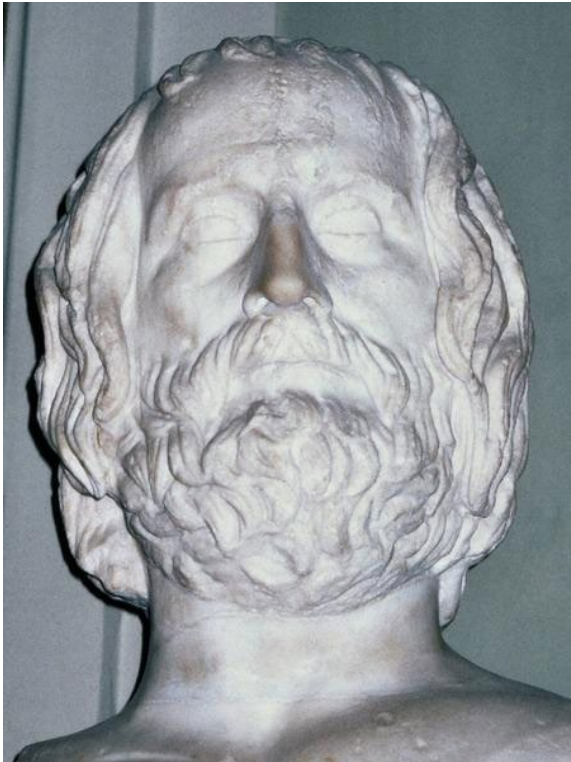
WORKS AND DAYS

son, who dwells in the aether, set it in the roots of the earth, and it is much better for men. It rouses even the helpless man to work. For a man who is not working but who looks at some other man, a rich one who is hastening to plow and plant and set his house in order, he envies him, one neighbor envying his neighbor who is hastening toward wealth: and this Strife is good for mortals. And potter is angry with potter, and builder with builder, and beggar begrudges beggar, and poet poet.

Strife is not perfect competition



Ancient Greek Economic Thought



Aristophanes (c. 446 – 386 BCE)
Bust Musei Capitolini, Rome



ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΒΑΤΡΑΧΟΙ ~

ΞΑΝΘΙΑΣ ΟΥΡΟΛΟΓΙΖΩΝ .



Ι πω τί τ' εἰωθότῳ ὦ
δασοτα,
ἔφ' οἷς αἰεὶ γελῶσι μοι
θιωμῶροι.

Δι. Νὺν τὸν δ' ὅτι Γούλαζε
πλήν τιέρομαι.

Τοῦτο δὲ φύλαξαι πάνυ γρη῏ς ἠδὲ γλή.
Ξα. Μὴ δ' ἔτέρ' ἄστυόν τι Δι. πλὴν γ' ὡς θλίβομαι.
Ξα. Τί δὲ; ἂν πέρυγίλοιοι εἴπω. Δι. νηδία.
Οα. ῥῶν γ' ἐκείνομόνον ὅπως μὴ εἶς. Ξα. ἂν τί.
Δι. Μετὰ βραχέων πένεφορον, ὅτι χεζυτιὰς.
Ξα. Μὴ δ' ὅτι τοσοῦτον ἄχος ἐπ' αὐτοῦ φέρω.
Ἐἰ μὴ καθαρῆσει τίς, ἀποπερδύσομαι.
Δι. Μὴ δὴδ' ἰκετῶν ὡς πλὴν γ' ὅταρ μέλωξέμεσιν.

Εἰ πω τί τ' εἰωθότῳ ὦ
δασοτα, μετὰ γὰρ ἀπὸ
τοῦ οἴματός, καὶ Ὀμηροῦ
ἦν δὲ ἀπὸ πλὴν μαχεστῆντι
ἄρθε, ἀπὸ τῶν πινυτόν ὄξω
θιασ δὲ ὡλ' ἔργου παρρητιου
καὶ ἐξ ὁ μῶρος ἔχει ἠὲ τῶν
ὡμυρ καὶ ἄφορον, ὅπου ἰω
παρρητιου καὶ πάλαι χεζυτι.
δὲ ὁ καὶ ἀστυόν τι λέγει βου
λόμωρος, ἕπὸ θινύσων κω
ἀπ' ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐνοῦ δὲ ὡτῆ ἑσθῆ
ἀπ' ἀπὸ βλάδι τινύσων κω
μυρ ὄξω ὡς ἡλίουσ χρωμῆ
νοῦς ἢ πῆντῆ ἡπυτισ γῆς
θιασ τῶς ἀπὸ φιλὰ κερβείας.
Νὺν δὲ ὅτι ἐλλείγει δὲ θραύτο
ἂν, οἱ πῆντῆ ὀλιθιόνητος
καὶ ὀλιθιόνητος ἀπὸ οὐνοῦ
θραύσων φησὶ ὡς ὀλιθιόνη
το ἦστος, οὐδὲ ὀλιθιόνητος
φῆντῆ τοσοῦτον, ὅ τῶν ὡμ
θλιβομαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀφῆ
σῆσ ὅτι οὐδὲ μὴ ἀπὸ χεζυτι.
το ὀλιθιόνητος ἀπὸ οὐνοῦ.
Πῆντῆ γὰρ ἔσ' ἠδὲ γλή. ὡ
τῆτος πάλιν ἢ ὡς πάλιν καὶ
ἔσ' ὀλιθιόνητος ἀπὸ οὐνοῦ. Ἀλλ'
λασιόνητος ἀπὸ οὐνοῦ, δὲ
ἢ πάλιν ὡς πάλιν ὡς πάλιν
δὲ ὡς πάλιν. εἰνὸς γὰρ
ἑσθῆτος τοῦ πῆντῆ ὡς πάλιν
χοίτης. Ἐἰ ληδοι. ἀπὸ οὐνοῦ

πλοῖον Ἀλλοῦ. ἢ ἄστυόν τι καὶ τῆ. Μὴ πένεφορον ἀπὸ οὐνοῦ
ὡμορ. τὴν ἀφορον δὲ ἐπὶ λογαμφικολομῶν πῆ φαρτῆ ἀπὸ οὐνοῦ ὅτι
Μὴ δὲ ὅτι τοσοῦτον, μὴ οὐτῶ ἀπὸ οὐνοῦ μὴ καὶ πῆ ἀπὸ οὐνοῦ
ὅς τῶν ἀπὸ οὐνοῦ ὡς ὄξω πάλιν. Πάλιν γὰρ ὅτι μὴ ἀπὸ οὐνοῦ, ὅτι
τῆ φησὶ λέγει ἀπὸ οὐνοῦ, ὅτι μέλωξέμεσιν ἢ ὅτι γὰρ ὄξω μὴ οὐ
καὶ ἰω
λ iii

Aristophanes *Nine Comedies*, Venice 1498, Aldus Manutius, Marcus Mousouros edition. [Frogs]

ARISTOPHANES

- ἢ τρόπον ὅστις ἔτ' οἰμώξεται,
 οὐ πολὺν οὐδ' ὁ πίθηκος οὗτος ὁ νῦν ἐνοχλῶν,
 Κλειγένης ὁ μικρός,
 710 ὁ πονηρότατος βαλανεὺς ὅποσοι
 κρατοῦσι κυκησίτεφροι
 ψευδολίτρου τε κοιλίας
 καὶ Κιμωλίας γῆς,
 χρόνον ἐνδιατρίψεν ἰδῶν δὲ τὰδ' οὐκ
 715 εἰρημικὸς ἔσθ', ἵνα μὴ ποτε ἀποδυθῆ
 μεθύων ἄνευ
 ξύλου βαδίζων.

ΚΟΡΥΦΑΙΟΣ

- πολλάκις γ' ἡμῖν ἔδοξεν ἢ πόλις πεποιθέναί
 ταῦτόν εἰς τε τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς καλοὺς τε κἀγαθοὺς
 720 εἰς τε τὰρχαῖον νόμισμα καὶ τὸ καινὸν χρυσίου.
 οὔτε γὰρ τούτοισιν οὔσιν οὐ κεκιβδηλευμένοι,
 ἀλλὰ καλλίστοις ἀπάντων, ὡς δοκεῖ, νομισμάτων
 καὶ μόνους ὀρθῶς κοπέισι καὶ κεκωδωνισμένοις
 ἐν τε τοῖς Ἑλλησι καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροισι πανταχοῦ
 725 χρώμεθ' οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ τούτοις τοῖς πονηροῖς χαλκίοις
 χθές τε καὶ πρόην κοπέισι τῷ κακίστῳ κόμματι.
 τῶν πολιτῶν θ' οὐς μὲν ἴσμεν εὐγενεῖς καὶ
 σώφρονας

711 -τεφροι Radermacher: -τέφρου a 5

FROGS

- of a man"⁶⁹ who's sure to be sorry yet,
 then this monkey who's so annoying now—
 pint-sized Cleigenes,⁷⁰
 the basest bathman of all
 the ash-mixers who lord it over
 fake washing soda
 and fuller's earth—
 he won't be around much longer, and knows it,
 so he's unpeaceable, for fear that some night
 on a drunken stroll without his stick
 he'll be mugged.

CHORUS LEADER

- It's often struck us that the city deals with its fine upstanding
 citizens just as with the old coinage and the new gold.⁷¹ Though
 both of these are unalloyed, indeed considered the finest of all
 coins, the only ones minted true and tested everywhere among
 Greeks and barbarians alike, we make no use of them;⁷² instead
 we use these crummy coppers, struck just yesterday or the day
 before with a stamp of the lowest quality.⁷³ Just so with our
 citizens: the ones we acknowledge

ARISTOPHANES

ἄνδρας ὄντας καὶ δικαίους καὶ καλοὺς τε κάγαθούς
καὶ τραφέντας ἐν παλαίστραις καὶ χοροῖς καὶ
μουσικῇ,

- 730 προσελοῦμεν, τοῖς δὲ χαλκοῖς καὶ ξένοις καὶ
πυρρίαις
καὶ πονηροῖς κάκ πονηρῶν εἰς ἅπαντα χρώμεθα
ὑστάτοις ἀφιγμένοισιν, οἷσιν ἡ πόλις πρὸ τοῦ
οὐδὲ φαρμακοῖσιν εἰκῆ ῥαδίως ἐχρήσατ' ἄν.
ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν, ὠνόητοι, μεταβαλόντες τοὺς τρόπους
735 χρῆσθε τοῖς χρηστοῖσιν αὖθις· καὶ κατορθώσασι
γὰρ
εὐλογον, κἄν τι σφαλῆτ', ἐξ ἀξίου γοῦν τοῦ ξύλου,
ἦν τι καὶ πάσχητε, πάσχειν τοῖς σοφοῖς δοκῆσετε.

Gresham's Law "Bad money drives out good"

Sir Thomas Gresham the Elder (c. 1519–1579)

FROGS

to be well-born, well-behaved, just, fine, and outstanding men,
men brought up in wrestling schools, choruses, and the arts, we
treat them shabbily, while for all purposes we choose the coppers,
the aliens, the redheads, ⁷⁴ bad people with bad ancestors, the
latest arrivals, whom formerly the city wouldn't readily have used
even as scapegoats. But even at this late hour, you fools, do change
your ways and once again choose the good people. You'll be
congratulated for it if you're successful, and if you take a fall, at
least the intelligent will say that if something does happen to you,
you're hanging from a worthy tree.

Enter from the palace XANTHIAS and a SLAVE of Pluto.

SLAVE

By Zeus the Savior, that master of yours is a gentleman.



3/30
2/12

THE
ELEMENTS
OF
POLITICAL ECONOMY.

BY
HENRY DUNNING MACLEOD:

B
179243

No nous imaginons pas que le vrai soit victorieux dès qu'il se montre; il l'est à la fin, mais il lui faut du temps pour soumettre les esprits.

FONTENELLE. *Vie de Corneille.*

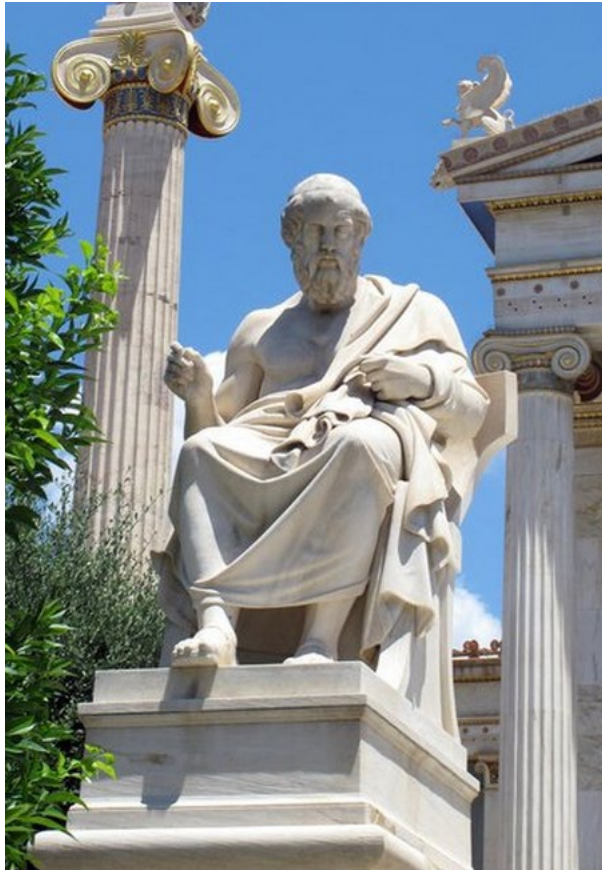
LONDON:
LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, LONGMANS, AND ROBERTS.

MDCCLVIII.

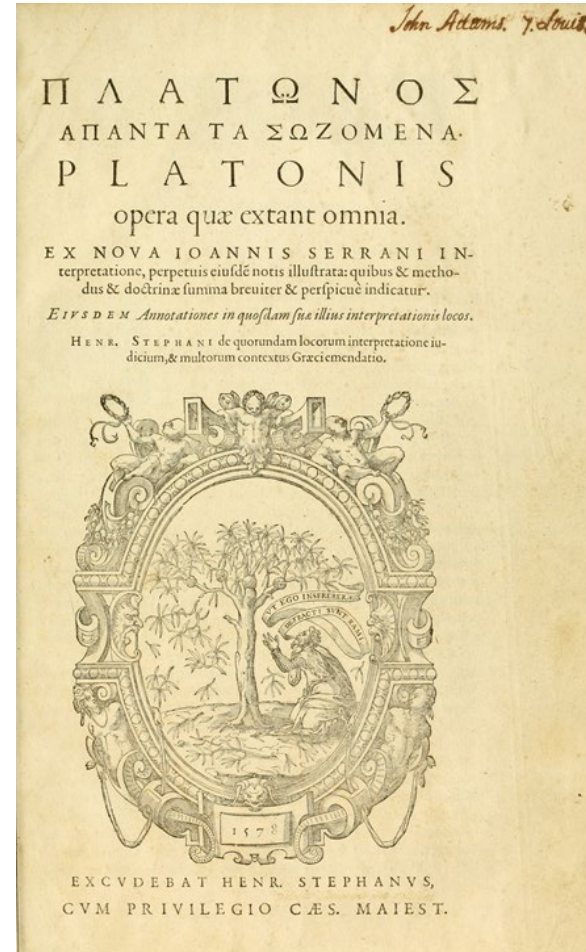
THE AUTHOR RESERVES THE RIGHT OF TRANSLATION.

currency, that good and bad money cannot circulate together. The fact had been repeatedly observed before, as we have seen, but no one, that we are aware, had discovered the necessary relation between the facts, before Sir Thomas Gresham. As this is of fundamental importance in Political Economy, it may perhaps interest our readers to quote the first passage that we are aware of in which it is noticed. It was during the great misery caused by the Peloponnesian war at Athens, that a spurious and debased gold coin was first issued, 407 B.C. The old Attic currency, which was always distinguished for its remarkable purity, immediately disappeared from circulation. And the fact is thus noticed by Aristophanes;* "The state has very often appeared to us to be placed in the same position towards the good and noble citizens, as it is with regard to the old currency and the new gold. For we make no use at all of those which are not adulterated, but the most beautiful of all money, as it would seem, which are alone well coined and ring properly, both among Greeks and foreigners, but of this base copper struck only yesterday, and recently, of a most villainous stamp. And such of the citizens as we know to be well born and prudent, and honorable gentlemen, and educated in the palaestra, and chorus, and liberal knowledge, we insult. But the impudent and foreigners, and the base born, and the rascals, and the sons of rascals, and those most recently come, we employ." This fact thus first noticed by Aristophanes was, as we have already seen, repeatedly noticed by contemporary writers in England. But Sir Thomas Gresham was we believe the first to affirm that one was the cause of the other. He was presented to the Queen only three days after her accession, by Cecil, and she immediately employed him to negotiate a loan which was necessary in the exhausted state of the Treasury left by Mary. Before leaving for Flanders, he

Ancient Greek Economic Thought



Plato (427–347 BCE)
Statue by Leonidas Drossis
Academy of Athens



The Complete Works of Plato
by Henricus Stephanus (Henri Estienne), Geneva 1578.

REPUBLIC

369 ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ζητήσωμεν ποῖόν τί ἐστίν· ἔπειτα οὕτως ἐπισκεψώμεθα καὶ ἐν ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ, τὴν τοῦ μείζονος ὁμοιότητα ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἐλάττονος ἰδέει ἐπισκοποῦντες.

Ἄλλὰ μοι δοκεῖς, ἔφη, καλῶς λέγειν. |

Ἄρ' οὖν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, εἰ γιγνομένην πόλιν θεασαίμεθα λόγῳ, καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτῆς ἴδοιμεν ἂν γιγνομένην καὶ τὴν ἀδικίαν;

Τάχ' ἂν, ἦ δ' ὅς.

Οὐκοῦν γενομένου αὐτοῦ ἐλπίς εὐπετέστερον ἰδέειν ὁ ζητοῦμεν;

b Πολύ γε.

Δοκεῖ οὖν χρῆναι ἐπιχειρῆσαι περαίνειν; οἶμαι μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγον ἔργον αὐτὸ εἶναι σκοπεῖτε οὖν.

Ἔσκεπται, ἔφη ὁ Ἀδείμαντος· ἀλλὰ μὴ ἄλλως ποίει. |

Γίνεται τοίνυν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, πόλις, ὡς ἐγώμαι, ἐπειδὴ τυγχάνει ἡμῶν ἕκαστος οὐκ αὐτάρκης, ἀλλὰ πολλῶν ἐνδεής· ἢ τίς οἶει ἀρχὴν ἄλλην πόλιν οἰκίζειν;

Οὐδεμίαν, ἦ δ' ὅς.

c Οὕτω δὴ ἄρα παραλαμβάνων ἄλλος ἄλλον, ἐπ' ἄλλον, τὸν δ' ἐπ' ἄλλον χρεῖα, πολλῶν δεόμενοι, πολλοὺς εἰς μίαν οἴκησιν ἀγείραντες κοινωνοὺς τε καὶ βοηθοὺς, ταύτη τῇ συνοικίᾳ ἐθέμεθα πόλιν ὄνομα· ἢ γάρ; |

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

Lack of self sufficiency creates the need for the state

BOOK II

then, let's firstly try to find out what kind of a thing it is in states, then let's examine it in this way in each individual too by looking closely at the resemblance of the greater in the form of the lesser."

"Well, I think you've got a good idea there," he said.

"So if we were to look at a state coming into being in theory, we would also be able to see its justice and injustice coming into being, wouldn't we?"

"Probably," he said.

"So that means that when it has taken shape, we can expect to see what we are looking for more easily, doesn't it?"

"Very much so."

"So do you think we should attempt to go through with it? Because I think it is no small undertaking. So, think it over."

"We have done so," said Adeimantus. "Please go ahead."

"Well then as I see it, a state comes into being since each of us is not independent, but actually needs the support of many people.⁴² Or what other way of founding a state do you think there is?"

"None," he said.

"Right then, by associating with each other, one person in need of another, and another of someone else, we need many people, and after bringing many together into one settlement as associates and helpers, we give this community the name of state, do we not?"

"Certainly."

REPUBLIC

Μεταδίδωσι δὴ ἄλλος ἄλλῳ, εἴ τι μεταδίδωσιν, ἢ μεταλαμβάνει, οἰόμενος αὐτῷ ἄμεινον εἶναι;

Πάνυ γε. |

Ἴθι δὴ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τῷ λόγῳ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ποιῶμεν πόλιν ποιήσει δὲ αὐτήν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἡ ἡμετέρα χρεία.

Πῶς δ' οὖν;

d Ἄλλὰ μὴν πρώτη γε καὶ μεγίστη τῶν χρειῶν ἡ τῆς τροφῆς παρασκευὴ τοῦ εἶναι τε καὶ ζῆν ἕνεκα.

Παντάπασί γε.

Δευτέρα δὴ οἰκήσεως, τρίτη δὲ ἐσθήτος καὶ τῶν τοιούτων. |

Ἔστι ταῦτα.

Φέρε δὴ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, πόση⁸ πόλις ἀρκέσει ἐπὶ τοσαύτην παρασκευήν; ἄλλο τι γεωργὸς μὲν εἷς, ὁ δὲ οἰκοδόμος, ἄλλος δὲ τις ὑφάντης; ἢ καὶ σκνυτοτόμον αὐτόσε προσθήσομεν ἢ τι⁹ ἄλλον τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα θεραπευτήν; |

Πάνυ γε.

Εἴη δ' ἂν ἡ γε ἀναγκαιοτάτη πόλις ἐκ τεττάρων ἢ πέντε ἀνδρῶν.

e Φαίνεται.

Τί δὴ οὖν; ἓνα ἕκαστον τούτων δεῖ τὸ αὐτοῦ ἔργον ἅπασιν κοινὸν κατατιθέσθαι, οἷον τὸν γεωργὸν ἓνα ὄντα παρασκευάζειν σιτία τέτταρσιν καὶ τετραπλάσιον χρόνον τε καὶ πόνον ἀναλίσκειν | ἐπὶ σίτου παρασκευῇ καὶ ἄλλοις κοινωνεῖν, ἢ ἀμελήσαντα ἑαυτῷ μόνον τέταρτον

BOOK II

“They each share things with each other, if there is something to share, or exchange them, thinking that it is better for each of them in this way, don't they?”

“Yes.”

“Come on then,” I said, “let's make a theoretical state from scratch. I think our need for it will build it for us.”

“It certainly will.”

“But the first and greatest of our needs is the provision of food in order to survive and live.”

“Absolutely.”

“Secondly we need somewhere to live, thirdly clothes and things like that.”

“That's right.”

“Right then,” I said. “What size of state will be capable of providing for those needs?⁴³ We need one farmer to do one job, a builder to do another; do we need another as a weaver? Shall we also add a shoemaker, or anyone else to deal with our physical needs?”

“Yes.”

“Then our most basic state would consist of four or five people.”⁴⁴

“It looks like it.”

“So what then? Each one of these must do his job for the common good of all; for example, our farmer must provide food for four and spend four times the amount and effort on producing food and share it with the rest. Or he could neglect them and produce a quarter of this

Start from scratch:
Food, shelter, clothes, shoes

REPUBLIC

370 μέρος ποιείν τούτου τοῦ σίτου ἐν τετάρτῳ μέρει τοῦ χρόνου, τὰ δὲ τρία, τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς οἰκίας παρασκευῇ διατρίβειν, τὸ δὲ ἱματίου, τὸ δὲ ὑποδημάτων, καὶ μὴ ἄλλοις κοινωνοῦντα πράγματα ἔχειν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν δι' αὐτὸν τὰ αὐτοῦ πράττειν; |

Καὶ ὁ Ἀδείμαντος ἔφη· Ἄλλ' ἴσως, ὦ Σώκρατες, οὕτω βῆρον ἢ κείνως.

Οὐδέν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, μὰ Δία ἄτοπον. ἐννοῶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς
b εἰπόντος σοῦ, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ἡμῶν φύεται ἕκαστος οὐ πάντῳ ὁμοίως ἐκάστῳ, ἀλλὰ διαφέρων τὴν φύσιν, ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλου ἔργου πρᾶξι. ἢ οὐ δοκεῖ σοι;

Ἔμοιγε.

Τί δέ; πότερον κάλλιον πράττοι ἂν τις εἷς ὢν πολλὰς τέχνας ἐργαζόμενος, | ἢ ὅταν μίαν εἷς;

Ὅταν, ἦ δ' ὅς, εἷς μίαν.

Ἄλλὰ μὴν οἶμαι καὶ τόδε δῆλον, ὡς, ἐάν τις τινος παρῆ ἔργου καιρὸν, διόλλυται.

Δῆλον γάρ. |

Οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι ἐθέλει τὸ πραττόμενον τὴν τοῦ πράττοντος

c σχολὴν περιμένειν, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη τὸν πράττοντα τῷ πραττομένῳ ἐπακολουθεῖν μὴ ἐν παρέργου μέρει.

Ἀνάγκη.

No waste of time:
One task each

BOOK II

food for himself in a quarter of the time, and the other three quarters he could spend on building his house, making his clothes, his shoes and have no dealings in common with the rest, just doing his own job for himself alone?⁴⁵

Now Adeimantus said: "Perhaps the former is easier than the latter, Socrates."⁴⁶

"That would not be at all surprising," I said. "For I myself was reflecting, since you mentioned it, that in the first place we are none of us much like each other, but being different in nature all of us are good at activities which are different from each another; or don't you agree?"

"I do."

"Well then would a man working at many tasks do better than when one man does one job?"

"No: one man one job," he said.

"And furthermore, I think that it is quite clear that if anyone misses the ideal moment for doing some job, the result is fatal."

"Yes that's clear enough."

"For I don't think that the work will wait for the workman's leisure, but the worker must give it his attention and not regard it as a sideline."

"That must be so."



REPUBLIC

Ἐκ δὴ τούτων πλείω τε ἕκαστα γίγνεται καὶ κάλλιον καὶ ῥῆον, ὅταν εἷς ἐν κατὰ φύσιν καὶ ἐν καιρῷ, σχολὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἄγων, πράττη. |

Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν.

Πλείονων δὴ, ὦ Ἀδείμαντε, δεῖ πολιτῶν ἢ τεττάρων ἐπὶ τὰς παρασκευὰς ὧν ἐλέγομεν. ὁ γὰρ γεωργός, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐκ αὐτὸς ποιήσεται ἑαυτῷ τὸ ἄροτρον, εἰ μέλλει καλὸν εἶναι, οὐδὲ σμινύην, οὐδὲ τᾶλλα ὄργανα ὅσα περὶ γεωργίαν. οὐδ' αὖ ὁ οἰκοδόμος· πολλῶν δὲ καὶ τούτῳ δεῖ. ὡσαύτως δὲ ὁ ὑφάντης τε καὶ ὁ σκυτοτόμος.

Ἄληθῆ. |

Τέκτονες δὴ καὶ χαλκῆς καὶ τοιοῦτοί τινες πολλοὶ δημιουργοί, κοινωνοὶ ἡμῖν τοῦ πολιχνίου γιγνόμενοι, συχνὸν αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν.

Πάνν μὲν οὖν.

Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἂν πῶ πάνν γε μέγα τι εἴη, εἰ αὐτοῖς βουκόλους | τε καὶ ποιμένας τοὺς τε ἄλλους νομέας προσθίμεν, ἵνα οἱ τε γεωργοὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄροῦν ἔχοιεν βοῦς, οἱ τε οἰκοδόμοι πρὸς τὰς ἀγωγὰς μετὰ τῶν γεωργῶν χρῆσθαι ὑπόζυγιοις, ὑφάνται δὲ καὶ σκυτοτόμοι δέρμασίν τε καὶ ἐρίοις.

Οὐδέ γε, ἦ δ' ὅς, σμικρὰ πόλις ἂν εἴη ἔχουσα πάντα ταῦτα. |

Ἄλλὰ μήν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, κατοικίσαι γε αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν εἰς τοιοῦτον τόπον οὗ ἐπεισαγωγίμων μὴ δεήσεται, σχεδόν τι ἀδύνατον.

Ἀδύνατον γάρ.

Tools for the job made
by somebody else

BOOK II

“Indeed as a result of this all these things grow and become better and easier when one man does one job according to his aptitudes and opportunities, and leaves everything else alone.”

“Absolutely.”

“Indeed, Adeimantus, we need more than four citizens to produce what we were talking about. Our farmer is not going to be likely to make his own plow, if it is to be a good one, nor a hoe, nor any of the other tools used in farming. The same is also true of the builder. We need more here as well. And the same goes with our weaver and shoemaker, right?”

“Yes, true.”

“Carpenters and blacksmiths and many skilled workers of this sort sharing our little town with us will swell the numbers.”

“They certainly will.”

“Yet it still wouldn't be anything very big, even if we add to these cowherds, shepherds and all the other kinds of herdsmen, in order that the farmers can have oxen to use for plowing, the builders pack animals to deliver their materials along with the farmers, and our weavers and shoemakers skins and fleeces.”

“Yet it certainly wouldn't be a small state either, with all these,” he said.

“And there's another thing,” I said. “It would be almost impossible to build the state itself in the sort of place where there is no call for imported goods.”

“Yes, impossible.”

REPUBLIC

Προσδεήσει ἄρα ἔτι καὶ ἄλλων, | οἱ ἐξ ἄλλης πόλεως αὐτῇ
κομιούσιν ὧν δεῖται.

Δεήσει.

371 Καὶ μὴν κενὸς ἂν ἴη ὁ διάκονος, μηδὲν ἄγων ὧν ἐκείνοι
δέονται παρ' ὧν ἂν κομίζονται ὧν ἂν αὐτοῖς χρεία, κενὸς
ἄπεισιν. ἦ γάρ;

Δοκεῖ μοι.

Δεῖ δὴ τὰ οἴκοι μὴ μόνον ἑαυτοῖς ποιεῖν ἱκανά, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἷα
καὶ ὅσα ἐκείνοις ὧν ἂν δέονται. |

Δεῖ γάρ.

Πλείονων δὴ γεωργῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δημιουργῶν δεῖ
ἡμῖν τῇ πόλει.

Πλείονων γάρ. |

Καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων διακόνων που τῶν τε εἰσαζόντων καὶ
ἐξαζόντων ἕκαστα. οὗτοι δὲ εἰσιν ἔμποροι· ἦ γάρ;

Ναί.

Καὶ ἐμπόρων δὴ δεησόμεθα.

Πάνυ γε.

b Καὶ ἐὰν μὲν γε κατὰ θάλατταν ἡ ἐμπορία γίγνηται, συχνῶν
καὶ ἄλλων προσδεήσεται τῶν ἐπιστημόνων τῆς περὶ τὴν
θάλατταν ἐργασίας.

Συχνῶν μέντοι.

Τί δὲ δὴ; ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει πῶς ἀλλήλοις μεταδώσουσιν ὧν
ἂν ἕκαστοι ἐργάζονται; | ὧν δὴ ἔνεκα καὶ κοινωνίαν
ποιησάμενοι πόλιν ᾠκίσσαμεν.

Δῆλον δὴ, ἦ δ' ὅς, ὅτι πωλοῦντες καὶ ὠνούμενοι.

No state self-sufficient
Surplus. Need for merchants

BOOK II

“Then we shall need yet other things that we lack which will be
brought in from another state.”

“We shall.”

“And there again if the supplier arrives empty handed without
bringing any of the things which are needed by those people who
are supplying what his people need, he will go away empty
handed, won't he?”

“I should think so.”

“So they must make not only enough for their own use, but
also enough of the kind of things the other people need.”

“They must.”

“Then we need more farmers and other artisans for our state.”

“We do.”

“And what's more, other suppliers to import and export every
kind of commodity. And these are our merchants, aren't they?”

“Yes.”

“So we need merchants?”

“Yes.”

“And if our trade is by sea, then we shall also need plenty of
others who understand seafaring.”

“Yes, plenty of those.”

“Now what about this? In the state itself, how will they share
with each other the produce they are each working at? Which is
after all the reason we made a community and built a state.”

“Obviously by buying and selling,” he said.



REPUBLIC

Ἄγορὰ δὴ ἡμῖν καὶ νόμισμα σύμβολον τῆς ἀλλαγῆς ἕνεκα γενήσεται ἐκ τούτου.

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

- c Ἄν οὖν κομίσας ὁ γεωργὸς εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν τι ὧν ποιεῖ, ἢ τις ἄλλος τῶν δημιουργῶν, μὴ εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἦκη τοῖς δεομένοις τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀλλάξασθαι, ἀργήσῃ τῆς αὐτοῦ δημιουργίας καθήμενος ἐν ἀγορᾷ;

Οὐδαμῶς, ἢ δ' ὅς, ἀλλὰ εἰσὶν οἱ τοῦτο ὀρῶντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν διακονίαν τάττουσιν ταύτην, ἐν μὲν ταῖς ὀρθῶς οἰκουμέναις πόλεσι σχεδόν τι οἱ ἀσθενέστατοι τὰ σώματα καὶ ἀχρεῖοί τι

- d ἄλλο ἔργον πράττειν. αὐτοῦ γὰρ δεῖ μένοντας αὐτοὺς περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν τὰ μὲν ἀντ' ἀργυρίου ἀλλάξασθαι τοῖς τι δεομένοις ἀποδόσθαι, τοῖς δὲ ἀντὶ αὐτῆς ἀργυρίου διαλλάττειν ὅσοι τι δέονται πρίασθαι.

Αὕτη ἄρα, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἡ χρεία καπήλων ἡμῖν γένεσιν ἐμποιεῖ τῇ πόλει. ἢ οὐ καπήλους καλοῦμεν τοὺς πρὸς ὠνήν τε καὶ πρᾶσιν διακονοῦντας ἰδρυμένους ἐν ἀγορᾷ, τοὺς δὲ πλαιήτας ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐμπόρους; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

- e Ἐτι δὴ τινες, ὡς ἐγὼμαι, εἰσὶ καὶ ἄλλοι διάκονοι, οἱ ἂν τὰ μὲν τῆς διανοίας μὴ πάνυ ἀξιοκοινωνῆτοι ὦσιν, τὴν δὲ τοῦ σώματος ἰσχὺν ἱκανὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς πόνους ἔχωσιν· οἱ δὴ πωλοῦντες τὴν τῆς ἰσχύος χρεία, τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην | μισθὸν καλοῦντες, κέκληνται, ὡς ἐγὼμαι, μισθωτοί· ἢ γάρ;

Ναί. [πάνυ μὲν οὖν]

Markets and currency

BOOK II

“So we shall have a market place, and coinage as a token of exchange resulting from this?”

“Certainly.”

“If then our farmer, or one of the other workmen, brings some of his produce to the market place, and does not arrive at the same time as those who need to exchange goods, he will be sitting idly in the market place instead of being occupied with his proper work?”

“Not a bit of it,” he said. “There are after all those who see this and set themselves up to provide this service. In properly run states they are generally those who are physically the weakest and are of no use at doing any other work. For they have to stay there around the market place to exchange goods for money with those who want to sell something, and on the other hand exchange money for goods with those who want to buy something.” “This need then gives us the origin of traders in our state,” I said. “Or do we not call those who sweat and toil in the market place in order to buy and sell things traders, and those who wander between states merchants?”⁴⁷

“Certainly.”

“There are still some other workers, I think, who are not altogether worthy of our community in terms of their intelligence, but who have sufficient physical strength for hard labor. Those then who sell the use of their strength call their recompense for this ‘pay,’ and I think I am right that they are known as wage earners, aren’t they?”

“Certainly.”

Contempt for wage-earners

REPUBLIC

Πλήρωμα δὴ πόλεως εἰσιν, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ μισθωτοί. Δοκέει μοι.

Ἄρ' οὖν, ὦ Ἀδείμαντε, ἤδη ἡμῖν ἠϋξῆται ἡ πόλις, ὥστ' εἶναι τελέα; |

Ἴσως.

Ποῦ οὖν ἂν ποτε ἐν αὐτῇ εἴη ἡ τε δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἡ ἀδικία; καὶ τίτι ἅμα ἐγγενομένη ὧν ἐσκέμμεθα;

372 Ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφη, οὐκ ἐννοῶ, ὦ Σώκρατες, εἰ μὴ που ἐν αὐτῶν τούτων χρεῖα τινὶ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

Ἄλλ' ἴσως, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, καλῶς λέγεις· καὶ σκεπτέον γε καὶ οὐκ ἀποκνητέον. |

Πρῶτον οὖν σκεψώμεθα τίνα τρόπον διαιτῆσονται οἱ οὕτω παρεσκευασμένοι. ἄλλο τι ἢ σῖτόν τε ποιοῦντες καὶ οἶνον καὶ ἱμάτια καὶ ὑποδήματα; καὶ οἰκοδομησάμενοι οἰκίας, θέρους μὲν

b τὰ πολλὰ γυμνοὶ τε καὶ ἀνυπόδητοι ἐργάσονται, τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος ἡμφιεσμένοι τε καὶ ὑποδεδεμένοι ἱκανῶς· θρέψονται δὲ ἐκ μὲν τῶν κριθῶν ἄλφιτα σκευαζόμενοι, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πυρῶν ἄλευρα, τὰ μὲν πέψαντες, τὰ δὲ μάξαντες, μάζας γενναίας καὶ ἄρτους ἐπὶ κάλαμόν τινα παραβαλλόμενοι | ἢ φύλλα καθαρὰ, κατακλιθέντες ἐπὶ στιβάδων ἐστρωμένων μίλακί τε καὶ μυρρίναις, εὐωχῆσονται αὐτοὶ τε καὶ τὰ παιδία, ἐπιπίνοντες τοῦ
c οἶνου, ἐστεφανωμένοι καὶ ὑμνοῦντες τοὺς θεοὺς, ἡδέως συνόντες ἀλλήλοις, οὐχ ὑπὲρ τὴν οὐσίαν ποιούμενοι τοὺς παῖδας, εὐλαβούμενοι πενίαν ἢ πόλεμον.

Possibility of a simple living
with no luxuries

BOOK II

“So that means that those who make up the full complement of our state are the wage earners, it seems.”

“I think so.”

“So, Adeimantus, is our state now expanded enough to be complete?”

“Perhaps.”

“Whereabouts then would justice and injustice be in it? In which of those areas we’ve been examining did they originate?”

“For my part, Socrates,” he said, “I have no idea, unless I suppose it was in the need of those same people regarding their mutual interests.”

“Well, perhaps you are right there,” I said. “We must look at it and not shy away from it.

“First of all then, let’s look at the kind of life the people will live who have been provided for in this way. Will they make anything other than food, wine, clothing and shoes? They will also build houses, in summer working for the most part naked and unshod, while in winter they will be adequately wrapped up and wearing shoes. They will be fed on barley meal which they prepare themselves; they will make flour from wheat, cook or knead some of it, serve excellent barley cakes and bread on a reed, or clean leaves; lie on straw beds strewn with holm oak and myrtle; they and their children will eat sumptuously, drink wine, wear garlands and sing praises to the gods, while living in harmony with each other, not producing children beyond their means, taking care to avoid hunger and war.”

REPUBLIC

Καὶ ὁ Γλαύκων ὑπολαβὼν, ἄνευ ὄψου, ἔφη, ὡς ἔοικας, ποιεῖς τοὺς ἀνδρας ἐστιωμένους.

Ἄληθῆ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, λέγεις. ἐπελαθόμεν ὅτι καὶ ὄψου ἐξουσι, | ἅλας τε δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἐλάας καὶ τυρόν, καὶ βολβούς καὶ λάχανά γε, οἷα δὴ ἐν ἀγροῖς ἐρήματα, ἐρήσονται. καὶ τραγήματά που παραθήσομεν αὐτοῖς τῶν τε σύκων καὶ ἐρεβίνθων καὶ κνάμων, d καὶ μύρτα καὶ φηγούς σποδιοῦσιν πρὸς τὸ πῦρ, μετρίως ὑποπίνοντες· καὶ οὕτω διάγοντες τὸν βίον ἐν εἰρήνῃ μετὰ ὑγείας, ὡς εἰκός, γηραιοὶ τελευτῶντες ἄλλον τοιοῦτον βίον τοῖς ἐκγόνοις παραδώσουσιν.

Καὶ ὅς, εἰ δὲ ὑῶν πόλιν, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔφη, | κατεσκεύαζες, τί ἂν αὐτὰς ἄλλο ἢ ταῦτα ἐχόρταζες;


Ἄλλὰ πῶς χρή, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὦ Γλαύκων;

e Ἄπερ νομίζεται, ἔφη· ἐπὶ τε κλινῶν κατακέεισθαι οἶμαι τοὺς μέλλοντας μὴ ταλαιπωρεῖσθαι, καὶ ἀπὸ τραπεζῶν δειπνεῖν, καὶ ὄψα ἄπερ καὶ οἱ νῦν ἔχουσι καὶ τραγήματα.

Εἶεν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ· μανθάνω. οὐ πόλιν, ὡς ἔοικε, σκοποῦμεν μόνου ὅπως γίγνεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρυφῶσαν πόλιν. ἴσως οὖν οὐδὲ κακῶς ἔχει· σκοποῦντες γὰρ καὶ τοιαύτην τάχ' ἂν | κατίδοιμεν τήν τε δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀδικίαν ὅπη ποτὲ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐμφύονται. ἢ μὲν οὖν ἀληθινὴ πόλις δοκεῖ μοι εἶναι ἢν διεληλύθαμεν, ὥσπερ ὑγιῆς τις· εἰ δ' αὖ βούλεσθε, καὶ 373 φλεγμαίνουσαν πόλιν θεωρήσωμεν· οὐδὲν ἀποκωλύει. ταῦτα γὰρ δὴ

BOOK II


Glaucon retorted: "It seems you are making your people dine without relishes."⁴⁸

"That's true," I said. "I had forgotten they will have relishes. Of course they will have salt, olives and cheese, also boil up roots and herbs, the sort of vegetables they boil up in the country; and I  imagine we shall add to these dried figs, chickpeas and beans; they will roast myrtle berries and acorns in the ashes near the fire while they drink in moderation. So, it seems, they will spend their lives in peace and good health; they will reach old age and pass on to their successors a life just like this one."

"If you were setting up a city of pigs, Socrates," said Glaucon, "what else would you feed them on but this?"⁴⁹

"Well how should I feed them then, Glaucon?" I asked.

"In the customary way," he said. "I think that to avoid suffering any hardship they should recline on couches, eat off tables and eat food and desserts as people do nowadays."

"Well then," I said, "I see. It looks as if we are not only considering how a state comes into being, but also one that is  luxurious. Perhaps then it is not that bad an idea, for in examining one like that also, we may observe where justice and injustice take root in states. Now the genuine state seems to me to be the one we've dealt with and gone through in detail as a healthy one. But again if you want, we can look at an inflamed one. There's nothing to stop us."

We can have simple luxuries, but we are not pigs. We need not a healthy but an inflamed state

REPUBLIC

τισιν, ὡς δοκεῖ, οὐκ ἐξαρκέσει, οὐδὲ αὕτη ἡ δίαίτα, ἀλλὰ κλῖναι τε προσέσονται καὶ τράπεζαι καὶ τᾶλλα σκέη, καὶ ὄψα δὴ καὶ μύρα καὶ θυμιάματα καὶ ἐταῖραι καὶ πέμματα, ἕκαστα τούτων παντοδαπά. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἅ τὸ πρῶτον ἐλέγομεν οὐκέτι τἀναγκαῖα θετέον, | οἰκίας τε καὶ ἱμάτια καὶ ὑποδήματα, ἀλλὰ τήν τε ζωγραφίαν κινητέον καὶ τὴν ποικιλίαν,⁹ καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἐλέφαντα καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα κτητέον. ἦ γάρ;

b Ναί, ἔφη.

Οὐκοῦν μείζονά τε αὖ τὴν πόλιν δεῖ ποιεῖν· ἐκείνη γὰρ ἡ ὑγιεινὴ οὐκέτι ἱκανή, ἀλλ' ἤδη ὄγκου ἐμπληστέα καὶ πλήθους, ἃ οὐκέτι τοῦ ἀναγκαίου ἕνεκά ἐστιν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, | οἷον οἱ τε θηρευταὶ πάντες οἱ τε μιμηταί, πολλοὶ μὲν οἱ περὶ τὰ σχήματά τε καὶ χρώματα, πολλοὶ δὲ οἱ περὶ μουσικὴν, ποιηταί τε καὶ

c τούτων ὑπηρέται, βραψωδοί, ὑποκριταί, χορευταί, ἐργολάβοι, σκευῶν τε παντοδαπῶν δημιουργοί, τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν γυναικείον κόσμον. καὶ δὴ καὶ διακόνων πλείονων δεησόμεθα· ἢ οὐ δοκεῖ δεήσειν παιδαγωγῶν, τιτθῶν, τροφῶν, κομμωτριῶν, κουρέων, καὶ αὖ ὀψοποιῶν τε καὶ μαγείρων; ἔτι δὲ καὶ σιμβωτῶν προσδεησόμεθα· τοῦτο γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐν | τῇ προτέρῃ πόλει οὐκ ἐνῆν—ἔδει γὰρ οὐδέν—ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ καὶ τούτων προσδεήσει. δεήσει δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βοσκημάτων παμπόλλων, εἴ τις αὐτὰ ἔδεται· ἦ γάρ;

Πῶς γὰρ οὔ;

States must become bigger to accommodate for demands for more luxuries

BOOK II

You see I can assure you that these conditions apparently will not satisfy some people, nor even this way of life, unless they also have beds, tables and other furnishings; relishes, perfumes, incense and call girls; and each and every kind of pastry. Moreover what we were describing: houses, clothes and shoes, must no longer be taken as the bare essentials: but we must call into play painting and embroidery, and we must acquire gold, ivory and all such things as that. Isn't that so?"

"Yes," he said.

"In that case we must make our state even bigger, mustn't we? For our healthy one is no longer adequate, but already must be filled with hordes of people who are no longer in our states for essential purposes, such as all the huntsmen and all the artists: many of whom are concerned with form and color, many with music; poets and their attendants; professional reciters, actors, dancers;⁵⁰ contractors; makers of all kinds of products, both for the adornment of women and for other purposes. And on top of that we shall need even more servants. If that were not enough, don't you think we shall need minders, nurses and nannies,⁵¹ dressers, barbers and again cooks and butchers? Furthermore we shall need swineherds, as we didn't have any in our previous state: we didn't need them, but we shall in this one. We shall also need other animals in very large numbers, if anyone is going to eat them, won't we?"

"Of course."

REPUBLIC

- d Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἰατρῶν ἐν χρεΐᾳ ἐσόμεθα πολὺ μᾶλλον οὕτω
διαιτώμενοι ἢ ὡς τὸ πρότερον;
Πολύ γε.
Καὶ ἡ χώρα που, ἢ τότε ἱκανὴ τρέφειν τοὺς τότε, | σμικρὰ δὴ
ἐξ ἱκανῆς ἔσται. ἢ πῶς λέγομεν; Οὕτως, ἔφη.
Οὐκοῦν τῆς τῶν πλησίον χώρας ἡμῖν ἀποκτητέου, εἰ
μέλλομεν ἱκανὴν ἔξειν νέμειν τε καὶ ἀροῦν, καὶ ἐκείνοις αὖ τῆς
ἡμετέρας, ἐὰν καὶ ἐκείνοι ἀφώσιν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ χρημάτων κτήσιν
ἄπειρον, ὑπερβάντες τὸν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὄρον;
- e Πολλὴ ἀνάγκη, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες.
Πολεμήσομεν δὴ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο, ὦ Γλαύκων; ἢ πῶς ἔσται;
Οὕτως, ἔφη.
Καὶ μηδὲν γέ πω λέγωμεν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, μήτ' εἴ τι | κακὸν μήτ'
εἰ ἀγαθὸν ὁ πόλεμος ἐργάζεται, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον μόνον, ὅτι
πολέμου αὖ γένεσιν ἠύρηκαμεν, ἐξ ὧν μάλιστα ταῖς πόλεσιν
καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ κακὰ γίγνεται, ὅταν γίγηται.
Πάνν μὲν οὖν.
374 Ἐπι δὴ, ὦ φίλε, μείζονος τῆς πόλεως δεῖ οὐ τι σμικρῶ, ἀλλ'
ὄλω στρατοπέδῳ, ὃ ἐξελθὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς οὐσίας ἀπάσης καὶ ὑπὲρ
ὧν ἰνυδὴ ἐλέγομεν διαμαχίται τοῖς ἐπισούσιν.
Τί δέ; ἦ δ' ὅς· αὐτοὶ οὐχ ἱκανοί;
Οὐκ, εἰ σύ γε, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἅπαντες ὁμολογήσαμεν
καλῶς, | ἠνίκα ἐπλάττομεν τὴν πόλιν·

We then outgrow our needs, and we must take our neighbours' land. Need for professional army

BOOK II

- “So we shall need doctors even more than in our previous state, if that’s the way we are going to live.”
“Indeed we shall.”
“Also I suppose the country which in our previous model was sufficient to feed the people we had in it then will be small instead of adequate. Do you agree?”
“Yes,” he said.
“In which case, shall we have to appropriate part of our neighbors’ land if we are going to have enough for stock and arable farming? And will they do the same to us, if they too indulge themselves in the limitless acquisition of material goods and go beyond the bounds of basic necessities?”
“That’s bound to happen, Socrates,” he said.
“Consequently we shall go to war, Glaucon. Unless you see it differently?”
“No, you are absolutely right.”
“Well let’s say nothing as yet about whether war accomplishes anything good or bad,” I said, “but only this much: that we have further discovered the origins of war out of which, when it happens, the greatest evil ensues for our states both collectively and individually.”
“Certainly.”
“Yet again, my friend,” I said, “the state must become bigger, not by some small unit, but by a whole army which can go out and fight the assailants to defend all our property and the things we were talking about just now.”
“Just a moment,” he said, “you mean the citizens are not capable of doing it by themselves?”
“No,” I said, “if you yourself and all of us were happy with the agreement we made when we formed our state.

REPUBLIC

ὠμολογοῦμεν δέ που, εἰ μέμνησαι, ἀδύνατον ἓνα πολλὰς καλῶς ἐργάζεσθαι τέχνας.

Ἄληθῆ λέγεις, ἔφη.

b Τί οὖν; ἦν δ' ἐγώ· ἡ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἀγωνία οὐ τεχνικὴ δοκεῖ εἶναι;

Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη.

Ἦ οὖν τι σκυτικῆς δεῖ μάλλον κηδεσθαι ἢ πολεμικῆς; | Οὐδαμῶς.

Ἄλλ' ἄρα τὸν μὲν σκυτοτόμον διεκωλύομεν μήτε γεωργὸν ἐπιχειρεῖν εἶναι ἅμα μήτε ὑφάντην μήτε οἰκοδόμον ἀλλὰ σκυτοτόμον, ἵνα δὴ ἡμῖν τὸ τῆς σκυτικῆς ἔργον καλῶς γίγναιτο, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐν ἐκάστῳ ὡσαύτως ἐν ἀπεδίδομεν, | πρὸς δ' ἐπεφύκει ἕκαστος καὶ ἐφ' ᾧ ἔμελλε τῶν ἄλλων σχολὴν ἄγων διὰ

c βίου αὐτὸ ἐργαζόμενος οὐ παριεῖς τοὺς καιροὺς καλῶς ἀπεργάσεσθαι· τὰ δὲ δὴ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον πότερον οὐ περὶ πλείστου ἐστὶν εὖ ἀπεργασθέντα; ἢ οὕτω ῥάδιον, ὥστε καὶ γεωργῶν τις ἅμα πολεμικὸς ἔσται καὶ | σκυτοτομῶν καὶ ἄλλην τέχνην ἠντινοῦν ἐργαζόμενος, πεπτευτικὸς δὲ ἢ κυβευτικὸς ἰκανῶς οὐδ' ἂν εἷς γένοιτο μὴ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐκ παιδὸς ἐπιτηδεύων,
d ἀλλὰ παρέργῳ χρώμενος; καὶ ἀσπίδα μὲν λαβὼν ἢ τι ἄλλο τῶν πολεμικῶν ὄπλων τε καὶ ὀργάνων αὐθημερὸν ὀπλιτικῆς

Warfare is a specialized
business

BOOK II

I think we agreed, if you recall, it is impossible for one person to carry out many skilled tasks well."

"You're right," he said.

"So then," I said. "Don't you think that fighting a war is one of our skilled tasks?"⁵²

"Very much so," he said.

"So ought there to be any more concern for shoemaking than warfare?"

"Absolutely not."

"Well, we prevented our shoemaker from trying to be a farmer at the same time, or a weaver, or a builder. He had to be a shoemaker in order that the job of making our shoes would be done well. So in the same way we gave one job to each one of the others for which he was suited by nature and at which he was to work all his life free from the other tasks, and not let his opportunities pass for making a fine job of it. So, as to the business of warfare, isn't it of the utmost importance that it should be carried out to perfection? Or is it so easy that even one of our farmers will be simultaneously competent in warfare, or even one of our shoemakers, or someone practicing any other art whatsoever; yet no one playing draughts, or dice, would become sufficiently competent, if he had treated it as a mere sideline and not practiced it since childhood? And, if he took up a shield or any other weapon or instrument of war, would he become that very same day a competent

REPUBLIC

ἢ τινος ἄλλης μάχης τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ἰκανὸς ἔσται ἀγωνιστής, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὀργάνων οὐδὲν | οὐδένα δημιουργὸν οὐδὲ ἀθλητὴν ληφθὲν ποιήσει, οὐδ' ἔσται χρήσιμον τῷ μήτε τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐκάστου λαβόντι μήτε τὴν μελέτην ἰκανὴν παρασχομένῳ;

Πολλοῦ γὰρ ἂν, ἢ δ' ὅς, τὰ ὄργανα ἦν ἄξια.

e Οὐκοῦν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὅσῳ μέγιστον τὸ τῶν φυλάκων ἔργον, τοσοῦτῳ σχολῆς τε τῶν ἄλλων πλείστης ἂν εἴη καὶ αὐτῆς τέχνης τε καὶ ἐπιμελείας μεγίστης δεόμενον.

Οἶμαι ἔγωγε, ἢ δ' ὅς.

Ἄρ' οὖν οὐ καὶ φύσεως ἐπιτηδείας εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα; |

Πῶς δ' οὐ;

Ἡμέτερον δὴ ἔργον ἂν εἴη, ὡς ἔοικεν, εἴπερ οἰοί τ' ἐσμέν, ἐκλέξασθαι τίνες τε καὶ ποῖαι φύσεις ἐπιτήδεια εἰς πόλεως φυλακὴν.

Ἡμέτερον μέντοι.

Μὰ Δία, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, οὐκ ἄρα φαῦλον πρῶγμα ἠράμεθα· ὁμως δὲ οὐκ ἀποδεικνύεται, ὅσον γ' ἂν δύναμις παρέιχη.

375 Οὐ γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη.

Οἶει οὖν τι, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, διαφέρειν φύσιν γενναίου σκύλακος

εἰς φυλακὴν νεανίσκου εὐγενοῦς;

Τὸ ποῖον λέγεις; |

Οἷον ὁξύν τέ που δεῖ αὐτοῖν ἐκάτερον εἶναι πρὸς

BOOK II

warrior as a hoplite, or in any other kind of fighting in war, though no other implement once taken up will make anyone a craftsman or an athlete, or be useful to him if he has not gained the knowledge of each one, or if he has not put in enough practice?"

"Implements would be worth a great deal, if they could do that," he said.

"So the job of the guardians⁵³ would require freedom from other jobs in proportion to its extreme importance, and what is more, it needs the greatest skill and attention."

"I certainly think so," he said.

"Then we need a suitable nature for this very pursuit, don't we?"

"Of course."

"It seems that it will be our job to select, if we can, who and what kind of people are by nature fit to guard our state."

"Yes, that's right."

"Zeus," I said, "so it was no small undertaking we've been taking on. Well we mustn't balk at it as long as our strength allows."

"No we mustn't."

"Do you think then, when it comes to guarding, that there is any difference in nature between a well-bred dog and a young man of good family?"

"What kind of differences are you talking about?"

"For example, both of them must be keen sighted and

Guardians must be fit to guard the state

REPUBLIC

αἰσθησιν καὶ ἐλαφρὸν πρὸς τὸ αἰσθανόμενον διωκάθειν, καὶ ἰσχυρὸν αὖ, ἐὰν δέη ἐλόντα διαμάχεσθαι.

Δεῖ γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη, πάντων τούτων.

Καὶ μὴν ἀνδρείον γε, εἶπερ εὖ μαχεῖται. |

Πῶς δ' οὖ;

Ἀνδρείος δὲ εἶναι ἄρα ἐθελήσει ὁ μὴ θυμοειδῆς εἴτε ἵππος

- b εἴτε κύνων ἢ ἄλλο ὀτιοῦν ζῶον; ἢ οὐκ ἐννενόηκας ὡς ἄμαχόν τε καὶ ἀνίκητον θυμός, οὗ παρόντος ψυχῆ πᾶσα πρὸς πάντα ἄφοβός τέ ἐστι καὶ ἀήττητος;

Ἐννενόηκα.

Τὰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦ σώματος οἷον δεῖ τὸν φύλακα εἶναι, δηλα. Ναί.

Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς, ὅτι γε θυμοειδῆ.

Καὶ τοῦτο.

Πῶς οὖν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὦ Γλαύκων, | οὐκ ἄγριοι ἀλλήλοις ἔσονται καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις¹⁰ πολίταις, ὄντες τοιοῦτοι τὰς φύσεις;

Μὰ Δία, ἦ δ' ὅς, οὐ βραδίως.

- c Ἀλλὰ μέντοι δεῖ γε πρὸς μὲν τοὺς οἰκείους πράξιους αὐτοὺς εἶναι, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους χαλεπούς· εἰ δὲ μή, οὐ περιμενοῦσιν ἄλλους σφᾶς διολέσαι, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ φθήσονται αὐτὸ δράσαντες. |

Ἀληθῆ, ἔφη.

Need to train them in order not to have problems

BOOK II

nimble at pursuing their prey when they have spotted it, and again strong when they need to fight it out when they have captured their quarry.”

“Yes, they need all of those things,” he said.

“And be brave too, if they are going to fight successfully.”

“Of course.”

“Will any animal, a horse, a dog, or any other be ready to be brave, if it is not strong in spirit? Or have you not noticed what an unconquerable and steadfast thing the spirit is which by its presence makes every soul fearless and invincible against everything?”⁵⁴

“Yes, I have.”

“So the physical qualities we need for a man to be a guardian are evident.”

“Yes.”

“And correspondingly, those of the soul, I mean strength of spirit?”

“Yes, that too.”

“Then how can it be, Glaucon,” I said, “that they won’t be savage toward each other and the rest of our citizens⁵⁵ if that is what they are like by nature?”

“Zeus!” he said, “it won’t be easy.”

“Yet the fact is that they must be amenable toward their own people, but intractable against their enemies: otherwise they will not wait for others to destroy them, but will do it themselves first.”

“That is true,” he said.

- ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς πλάττων, ἴσοι μὲν ὑμῶν ἱκανοὶ ἄρχειν, χρυσὸν ἐν τῇ γενέσει συνέμειξεν αὐτοῖς, διὸ τιμιώτατοί εἰσιν· ὅσοι δ' ἐπίκουροι, ἄργυρον· σίδηρον δὲ καὶ χαλκὸν τοῖς τε γεωργοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δημιουργοῖς. ἄτε οὖν συγγενεῖς ὄντες πάντες τὸ
- b μὲν πολὺ ὁμοίους ἂν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς γεννηῶτε, ἔστι δ' ὅτε ἐκ χρυσοῦ γεννηθείη ἂν ἀργυροῦν καὶ ἐξ ἀργύρου χρυσοῦν ἕκγονον καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα οὕτως ἐξ ἀλλήλων. τοῖς οὖν ἄρχουσι καὶ πρῶτον καὶ μάλιστα παραγγέλλει ὁ θεός, ὅπως μηδενὸς οὕτω ἢ φύλακες ἀγαθοὶ ἔσονται μηδ' οὕτω σφόδρα φυλάξουσιν μηδὲν ὡς τοὺς
- c ἐκγόνους, ὅτι αὐτοῖς τούτων ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς παραμέμικται, καὶ ἕαν τε σφέτερος ἕκγονος ὑπόχαλκος ἢ ὑποσίδηρος γένηται, μηδενὶ τρόπῳ κατελεήσουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῇ φύσει προσήκουσαν τιμὴν ἀποδόντες ὥσουσιν εἰς δημιουργοὺς ἢ εἰς γεωρούς, καὶ ἂν αὖ ἐκ τούτων τις ὑπόχρυσος ἢ ὑπάργυρος φύη, τιμήσαντες ἀνάξουσιν τοὺς μὲν εἰς φυλακὴν, τοὺς δὲ ἢ εἰς ἐπικουρίαν, ὡς χρησιμοῦ ὄντος τότε τὴν πόλιν διαφθαρήναι, ὅταν αὐτὴν ὁ σιδηροῦς φύλαξ ἢ ὁ χαλκοῦς φυλάξῃ. τοῦτον οὖν τὸν μῦθον ὅπως ἂν πεισθεῖεν, ἔχεις τινα μηχανήν; Οὐδαμῶς, ἔφη, ὅπως γ' ἂν αὐτοὶ οὕτοι· ὅπως μὲντᾶν οἱ τούτων ἑνὲς καὶ οἱ ἔπειτα οἱ τ' ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι οἱ ὕστερον.
- d Ἄλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, εὖ ἂν ἔχοι πρὸς τὸ μᾶλλον αὐτοῦς τῆς πόλεως τε καὶ ἀλλήλων κηδεσθαι· σχεδὸν γάρ τι μαυθάνω ὁ λέγεις. Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν δὴ

Myth of the metals

storytelling, 'but during the creation the god mixed gold in the production of those of you who are competent to govern, for which reason they are worthy of the greatest respect, and he put silver into those who are auxiliaries, iron and bronze in farmers and other artisans. For the most part you would produce offspring similar to yourselves, but, inasmuch as you are all fellow kinsmen, there are times when silver may be produced in the offspring from gold and gold from silver and all the others from each other in the same way. The god instructs his governors first and foremost that there is nothing of which they will be such good guardians and nothing they will protect so keenly as the mixture of metals in the souls of their offspring. Indeed if one of their offspring is born with a proportion of bronze or iron in him, then they will take no pity on him in any way, but will treat him according to his nature and thrust him out into the midst of the artisans or the farmers. Then again if any of them are born with a proportion of gold or silver in him, they will elevate some to be guardians and others auxiliaries on the grounds that there is an oracle that the city will be destroyed on that day when a guard with iron or bronze in him is on duty.' So, do you have any scheme to make this story plausible?"

"None at all that would convince these people themselves," he said, "However as to their sons, the following generations and the rest of the population who come after, that's a different matter."

"Yet even this would do," I said, "to get them to take greater care of the state and each other: for I can more or less understand what you are saying. This matter will go



ΠΛΟΥΤΟΛΟΓΙΑ

ΥΠΟ

Ι. Α. ΣΟΥΤΣΟΥ

Καθηγητοῦ τῆς πολιτικῆς Οἰκονομίας ἐν τῷ Ἑθνικῷ
Πανεπιστημίῳ.

—
ΤΟΜΟΣ Α΄.

—
ΕΚΔΟΣΙΣ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ

Μετὰ διορθώσεων, εὐρυτέρων ἐξηγήσεων καὶ προσθηκῶν.

ΕΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ,

ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΤΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΙΟΥ Ν. Γ. ΠΑΣΣΑΡΗ

—
1882.

ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΝ.

Περὶ τῆς ἐργασίας κατ' ἴδιαν θεωρουμένης
καὶ περὶ τῶν ὄρων καθ' οὓς αὕτη
καθίσταται δραστηριωτέρα.

§ 2. Περὶ ἐνεργείας τοῦ καταμερισμοῦ τῶν ἔργων.

— 96 —

Ὁ Πλάτων ἐν Βιβλ. Β'. Κεφ. ια'. τῆς Πολιτείας αὐτοῦ λέγει·

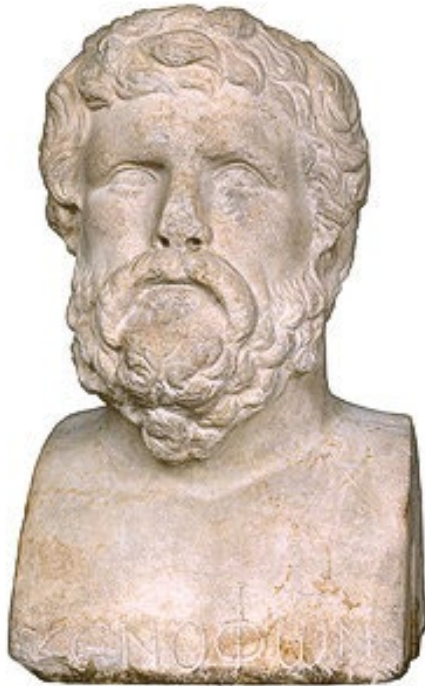
«Γίγνεται τοίνυν, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, πόλις, ὡς ἐγ' ᾧμαι, ἐπειδὴ τυγχάνει ἡμῶν ἕκαστος οὐκ αὐτάρκης, ἀλλὰ πολλῶν ἐνδεής, ἢ τιν' οἶει ἀρχὴν ἄλλην πόλιν οἰκίζειν; Οὐδεμίαν, ἢ δ' ἔσ. Οὕτω δὴ ἄρα παραλαμβάνων ἄλλος ἄλλον ἐπ' ἄλλου, τὸν δ' ἐπ' ἄλλου χρεία, πολλῶν δεόμενοι, πολλοὺς εἰς μίαν οἴκησιν ἀγείραντες κοινωνοὺς τε καὶ βοηθοὺς ταύτῃ τῇ ξυνοικίᾳ ἐθέμεθα πόλιν ὄνομα· ἢ γάρ; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν. Μεταδίδωσι δὴ ἄλλος ἄλλῳ εἴ τι μεταδίδωσιν, ἢ μεταλαμβάνει, οἴομενος αὐτῷ ἄμεινον εἶναι. Πάνυ γε. Ἴθι δὴ, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, τῷ λόγῳ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ποιῶμεν πόλιν, ποιήσῃ δ' αὐτήν, ὡς εἴοικεν ἢ ἢ μετέρα χρεία. Πῶς δ' οὐ; Ἀλλὰ μὴν πρώτη γε καὶ μεγίστη τῶν χρειῶν ἡ τῆς τροφῆς παρασκευὴ τοῦ εἶναι τε καὶ ζῆν ἕνεκα. Παντάπασι γε. Δευτέρα δὴ οἰκίσεως, τρίτη δ' ἐσθῆτος καὶ τῶν τοιοῦτων. Ἔστι ταῦτα. Φέρε δὴ, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, πῶς ἢ πόλις ἀρκέσει ἐπὶ τσσαύτην παρασκευήν; ἄλλο τι γεωργός μὲν εἷς, ὁ δὲ οἰκοδόμος, ἄλλος δὲ τις ὑψάντης; ἢ καὶ σκυτοτόμον αὐτόσε προσθήσομεν ἢ τιν' ἄλλον τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα θεραπευτήν; Πάνυ γε. Εἴη δ' ἂν ἢ γε ἀναγκαιοτάτη πόλις ἐκ τεττάρων ἢ πέντε ἀνδρῶν. Φαίνεται. Τί δὴ οὖν; Ἐνα ἕκαστον τούτων δεῖ τὸ αὐτοῦ ἔργον ἅπασιν κοινὸν κατατιθέσθαι· οἶον, τὸν γεωργὸν ἕνα ὄντα παρασκευάζειν σιτία τέτταρσι καὶ τετραπλάσιον χρόνον τε καὶ πόνον ἀναλίσκειν ἐπὶ σίτου παρασκευῇ καὶ ἄλλοις κοινωνῶν; ἢ ἀμελήσαντα ἑαυτῷ μόνῳ τέταρτον μέρος ποιεῖν τούτου τοῦ σιτίου ἐν

Xenophon (430 – 344 BCE)

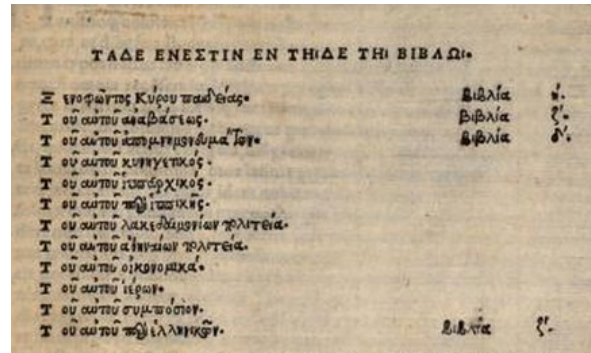
- *Cyropaedia*
- *Oeconomicus*
- *Ways and means*



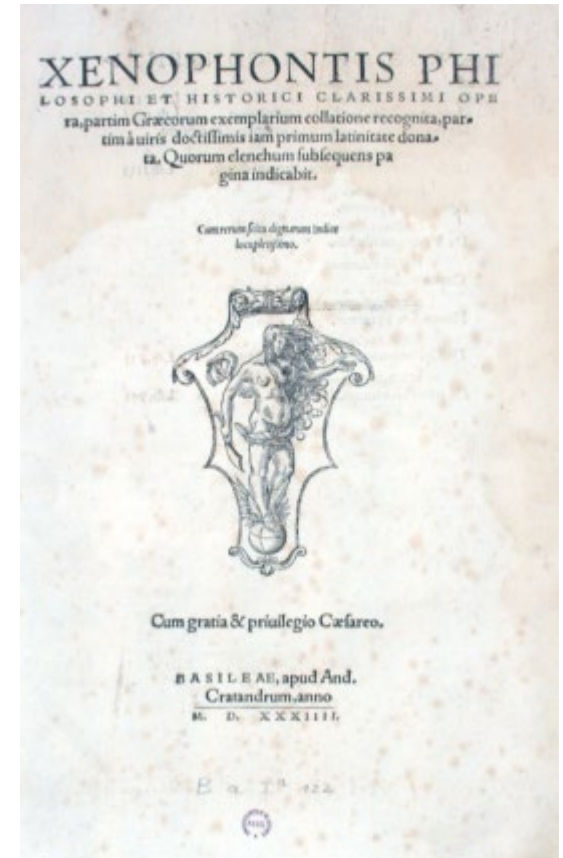
Ancient Greek Economic Thought



Xenophon (430 – 344 BCE)
Bibliotheca Alexandrina
Museum, Aegypt

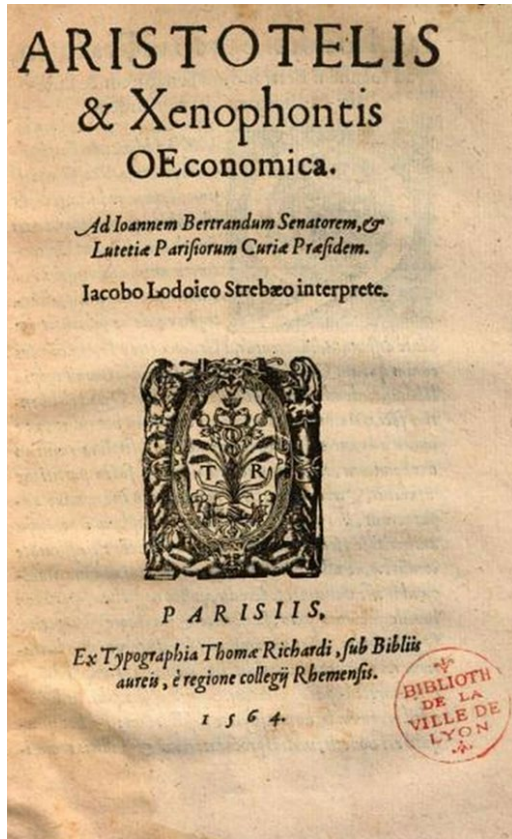


First edition of complete works
Boninus, Giunta, Florence 1516.

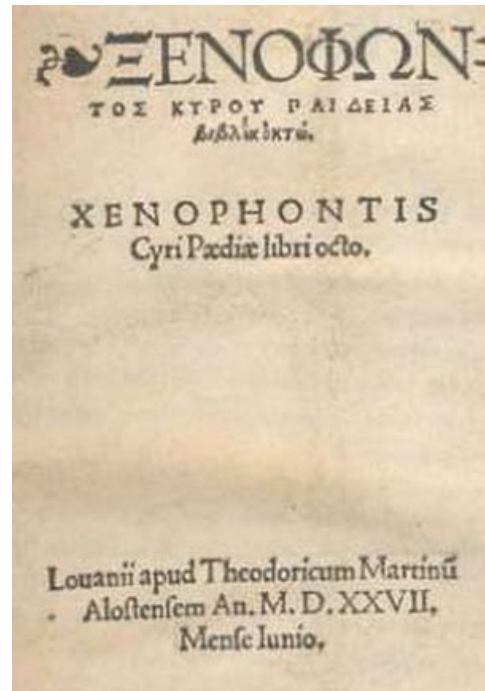


Latin edition of complete works
Andreas Cratander, Basel, 1534

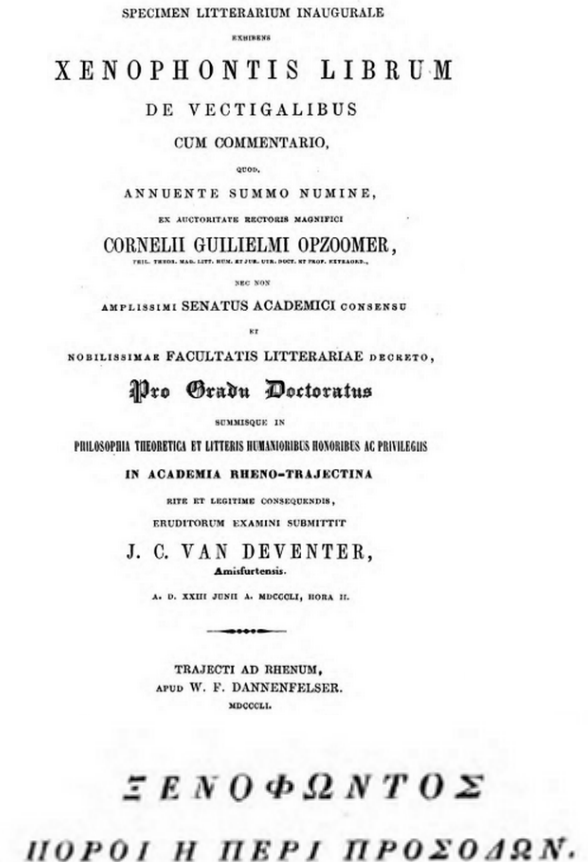
Ancient Greek Economic Thought



Joint edition of
economic works by
Aristotle and Xenophon
in Latin, Paris, 1564



Xenophon,
Cyropaedia, Aalst,
Belgium, 1527



Doctoral dissertation on
Ways and Means,
Utrecht, 1851

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝ

ἦν τι δέονται. ἔτι δὲ καὶ οὐ τούτων μόνον ἕνεκα τῶν εἰρημένων εὐφραίνει τὰ πεμπόμενα παρὰ βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι καὶ ἡδονῇ πολὺ διαφέρει τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλέως τραπέζης.

5. καὶ τοῦτο μέντοι οὕτως ἔχειν οὐδέν τι θαυμαστόν ὥσπερ γὰρ καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι τέχναι διαφερόντως ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις πόλεσιν ἐξειργασμένοι εἰσὶ, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τὰ παρὰ βασιλεῖ σῖτα πολὺ διαφερόντως ἐκπετόνηται. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς μικραῖς πόλεσιν οἱ αὐτοὶ ποιοῦσι κλίνην, θύραν, ἄροτρον, τράπεζαν, πολλάκις δ' ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος καὶ οἰκοδομεῖ, καὶ ἀγαπᾷ ἦν καὶ οὕτως ἱκανοὺς αὐτὸν τρέφειν ἐργοδότας λαμβάνη· ἀδύνατον οὖν πολλὰ τεχνώμενον ἄνθρωπον πάντα καλῶς ποιεῖν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς μεγάλαις πόλεσιν διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς ἐκάστου δεῖσθαι ἀρκεῖ καὶ μία ἐκάστῳ τέχνη εἰς τὸ τρέφεσθαι· πολλάκις δὲ οὐδ' ὅλη μία· ἀλλ' ὑποδήματα ποιεῖ ὁ μὲν ἀνδρεία, ὁ δὲ γυναικεία· ἔστι δὲ ἐνθα καὶ ὑποδήματα ὁ μὲν νευρορραφῶν μόνον τρέφεται, ὁ δὲ σχίζων, ὁ δὲ χιτῶνας μόνον συντέμνων, ὁ δὲ γε τούτων οὐδέν ποιῶν ἀλλὰ συντιθεὶς ταῦτα. ἀνάγκη οὖν τὸν ἐν βραχυτάτῳ διατρίβοντα ἔργῳ τοῦτον καὶ ἄριστα διημαγκάσθαι¹ τοῦτο ποιεῖν.

6. Τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο πέποιθε καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ τὴν διαίταν. ᾧ μὲν γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς κλίνην στρώννυσι, τράπεζαν κοσμεῖ, μάττει, ὅσα ἄλλοτε ἄλλοια

CYROPAEDIA, VIII.

and in a position to secure for them anything they may want. Moreover, it is not for these reasons only that that which is sent by the king gives delight, but the food that is sent from the king's board really is much superior in the gratification also that it gives.

5. That this, however, should be so is no marvel. For just as all other arts are developed to superior excellence in large cities, in that same way the food at the king's palace is also elaborately prepared with superior excellence. For in small towns the same workman makes chairs and doors and plows and tables, and often this same artisan builds houses, and even so he is thankful if he can only find employment enough to support him. And it is, of course, impossible for a man of many trades to be proficient in all of them. In large cities, on the other hand, inasmuch as many people have demands to make upon each branch of industry, one trade alone, and very often even less than a whole trade, is enough to support a man: one man, for instance, makes shoes for men, and another for women; and there are places even where one man earns a living by only stitching shoes, another by cutting them out, another by sewing the uppers together, while there is another who performs none of these operations but only assembles the parts. It follows, therefore, as a matter of course, that he who devotes himself to a very highly specialized line of work is bound to do it in the best possible manner.

6. Exactly the same thing holds true also in reference to the kitchen: in any establishment where one and the same man arranges the dining couches, lays the table, bakes the bread, prepares now one sort of dish

Specialization
desirable even in the
kitchen

The division of labour is limited by the extent of the market

Ὅτι, φάναι, ὁ διδάσκαλος με ὡς ἤδη ἀκριβοῦντα τὴν δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἄλλοις καθίστη δικάζειν. καὶ τοίνυν, φάναι, ἐπὶ μὲ ποτε δίκη πληγὰς ἔλαβον ὡς οὐκ ὀρθῶς δικάσας.

17. ἦν δὲ ἡ δίκη τοιαύτη. παῖς μέγας μικρὸν ἔχων χιτῶνα παῖδα μικρὸν μέγαν ἔχοντα χιτῶνα ἐκδύσας αὐτὸν τὸν μὲν ἑαυτοῦ ἐκείνου ἡμφίεσε, τὸν δ' ἐκείνου αὐτὸς ἐνέδν. ἐγὼ οὖν τούτοις δικάζων ἔγνω βέλτιον εἶναι ἀμφοτέροις τὸν ἀρμόττοντα ἐκάτερον χιτῶνα ἔχειν. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ

XENOPHON

με ἔπαισεν ὁ διδάσκαλος, λέξας¹ ὅτι ὁπότε μὲν τοῦ ἀρμόττοντος εἶην κριτῆς, οὕτω δέοι ποιεῖν, ὁπότε δὲ κρῖναι δέοι ποτέρου ὁ χιτῶν εἴη, τοῦτ' ἔφη, σκεπτέον εἶναι τίς κτήσις δικαία ἐστί, πότερα τὸν βίη ἀφελόμενον ἔχειν ἢ τὸν ποιησάμενον ἢ πριάμενον κεκτήσθαι· ἐπεὶ δ' ἔφη, τὸ μὲν νόμιμον δίκαιον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἄνομον βίαιον, σὺν τῷ νόμῳ ἐκέλευεν αἰεὶ τὸν δικαστὴν τὴν ψῆφον τίθεσθαι. οὕτως ἐγὼ σοι, ὦ μητὲρ, τά γε δίκαια παντάπασιν ἤδη ἀκριβῶς ἦν δέ τι ἄρα προσδέωμαι, ὁ πάππος με, ἔφη, οὕτως ἐπιδιδάξει.

18. Ἄλλ' οὐ ταῦτά, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, παρὰ τῷ πάππῳ καὶ ἐν Πέρσαις δίκαια ὁμολογεῖται. οὗτος μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐν Μήδοις

understand thoroughly.”

“How so?” said Mandane.

“Because,” said he, “my teacher appointed me, on the ground that I was already thoroughly versed in justice, to decide cases for others also. And so, in one case,” said he, “I once got a flogging for not deciding correctly.

17. The case was like this: a big boy with a little tunic, finding a little boy with a big tunic on, took it off him and put his own tunic on him, while he himself put on the other's. So, when I tried their case, I decided that it was better for them both that each should keep the tunic that fitted him. And thereupon the master flogged me,

CYROPAEDIA, I.

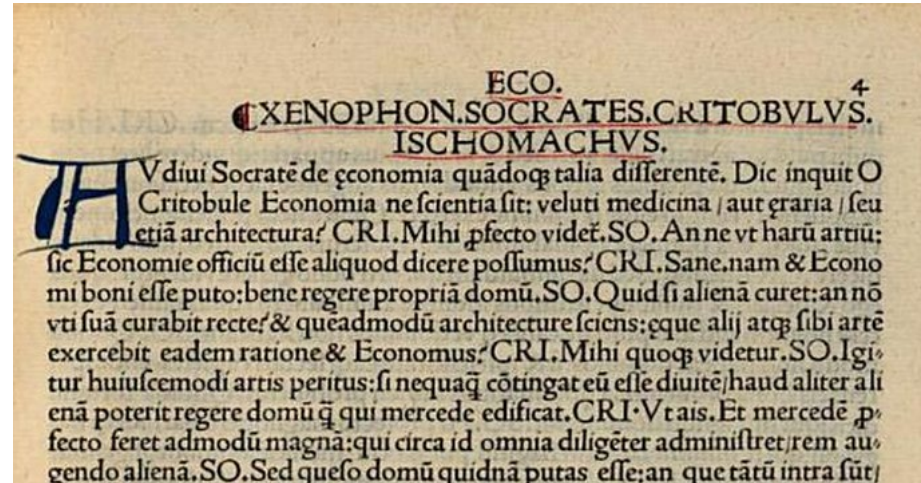
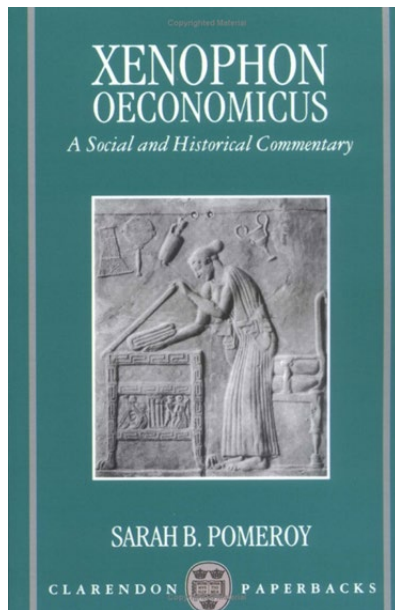
saying that when I was a judge of a good fit, I should do as I had done; but when it was my duty to decide whose tunic it was, I had this question, he said, to consider—whose title was the rightful one; whether it was right that he who took it away by force should keep it, or that he who had had it made for himself or had bought it should own it. And since, he said, what is lawful is right and what is unlawful is wrong, he bade the judge always render his verdict on the side of the law. It is in this way, mother, you see, that I already have a thorough understanding of justice in all its bearings; and,” he added, “if I do require anything more, my grandfather here will teach me that.”

His training in
justice

Cyropaedia, 1.3.16-17 Not Pareto optimum

Xenophon (430 – 344 BCE)

- Oeconomicus



Latin translation, Paris 1506

S. B. Pomeroy, *Xenophon, Oeconomicus. A Social and Historical Commentary*, Oxford Clarendon Press, 1994.



Xenophon (430 – 344 BCE)



German edition, Hamburg, 1734

XENOPHON

1. Ἦκουσα δέ ποτε αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ οἰκονομίας τοιαύδε διαλεγομένου.
Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, ἀρά γε ἡ οἰκονομία ἐπιστήμης τινὸς ὄνομά ἐστιν, ὥσπερ ἡ ἰατρικὴ καὶ καλκευτικὴ καὶ τεκτονικὴ;
Ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος.
2. Ἦ καὶ ὥσπερ τούτων τῶν τεχνῶν ἔχοιμεν ἂν εἰπεῖν ὅ τι ἔργον ἐκάστης, οὕτω καὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας δυναίμεθ' ἂν εἰπεῖν ὅ τι ἔργον αὐτῆς ἐστι;
Δοκεῖ γοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, οἰκονόμου ἀγαθοῦ εἶναι εὖ οἰκεῖν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ οἶκον.
3. Ἦ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον δὲ οἶκον, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, εἰ ἐπιτρέποι τις αὐτῷ, οὐκ ἂν δύναίτο, εἰ βούλοίτο, εὖ οἰκεῖν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ; ὁ μὲν γὰρ τεκτονικὴν ἐπιστάμενος ὁμοίως ἂν καὶ ἄλλω δύναίτο ἐργάζεσθαι ὅτιπερ καὶ ἑαυτῷ, καὶ ὁ οἰκονομικὸς γ' ἂν ὡσαύτως.
Ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, ὦ Σώκρατες.
4. Ἔστιν ἄρα, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, τὴν τέχνην ταύτην ἐπισταμένῳ, καὶ εἰ μὴ αὐτὸς τύχοι χρήματα ἔχων, τὸν ἄλλον οἶκον οἰκονομοῦντα ὥσπερ καὶ οἰκοδομοῦντα μισθοφορεῖν;

OECONOMICUS 1

1. I once heard him also discuss the subject of estate management as follows.

“Tell me, Critobulus, is estate management the name of a branch of knowledge, like medicine, smithing, and carpentry?”

“I think so,” replied Critobulus.

“And can we say what the function of estate management is, just as we can say what is the function of each of these occupations?”

“Well, I suppose that the business of a good estate manager is to manage his own estate well.”

“Yes, and in case he were put in charge of another man’s estate, could he not, if he chose, manage it as well as he manages his own? Anyone who understands carpentry can do for another exactly the same work as he does for himself; and so, I presume, can a good estate manager.”

“I think so, Socrates.”

“Is it possible, then, for one who understands this art, even if he has no property of his own, to earn money by managing another man’s estate, just as he might do by building him a house?”

Object of economic art
A manager can work for others
A manager increases wealth

XENOPHON

- Νῆ Δία καὶ πολὺν γε μισθόν, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, φέροιτ' ἂν, εἰ δύναιτο οἶκον παραλαβὼν τελεῖν τε ὅσα δεῖ καὶ περιουσίαν ποιῶν αὔξειν τὸν οἶκον.
- 5 Οἶκος δὲ δὴ τί δοκεῖ ἡμῖν εἶναι; ἄρα ὅπερ οἰκία ἢ καὶ ὅσα τις ἔξω τῆς οἰκίας κέκτηται, πάντα τοῦ οἴκου ταῦτά ἐστιν;
Ἐμοὶ γοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, δοκεῖ καὶ εἰ μὴδ' ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει εἶη τῶ κεκτημένῳ, πάντα τοῦ οἴκου εἶναι, ὅσα τις κέκτηται.
- 6 Οὔκουν καὶ ἐχθροὺς κέκτηνταί τινες;
Νῆ Δία καὶ πολλοὺς γε ἔνιοι.
Ἥ καὶ κτήματα αὐτῶν φήσομεν εἶναι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς;
Γελοῖον μεντὰν εἶη, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, εἰ ὁ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὔξων προσέτι καὶ μισθὸν τούτου φέροι.
- 7 Ὅτι τοι ἡμῖν ἐδόκει οἶκος ἀνδρὸς εἶναι ὅπερ κτῆσις.
Νῆ Δεῖ, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, ὅ τι γέ τις ἀγαθὸν κέκτηται· οὐ μὰ Δεῖ οὐκ εἴ τι κακόν, τοῦτο κτῆμα ἐγὼ καλῶ.
Σὺ δ' εἰσικας τὰ ἐκάστῳ ὠφέλιμα κτήματα καλεῖν.
Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη· τὰ δέ γε βλάπτοντα ζημίαν ἔγωγε νομίζω μᾶλλον ἢ χρήματα.
- 8 Κἂν ἄρα γέ τις ἵππον πριάμενος μὴ ἐπίστηται αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καταπίπτων ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κακὰ λαμβάνη, οὐ χρήματα αὐτῷ ἐστὶν ὁ ἵππος;
Οὐκ, εἶπερ τὰ χρήματά γ' ἐστὶν ἀγαθόν.
Οὐδ' ἄρα γέ ἡ γῆ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐστὶ χρήματα, ὅστις οὕτως ἐργάζεται αὐτήν, ὥστε ζημιουῖσθαι ἐργαζόμενος;

OECONOMICUS 1

- “Yes, of course; and he would get a good salary if, after taking over an estate, he continued to pay all the bills, and to increase the estate by showing a balance.”
- “But what do we mean now by an estate? Is it the same thing 5 as a house, or is all property that one possesses outside the house also part of the estate?”
- “Well, I think that even if the property is situated in different cities, everything a man possesses is part of his estate.”
- “Do not some men possess enemies?” 6
- “Of course; some in fact possess many.”
- “Shall we include their enemies in their possessions?”
- “It would be ridiculous, surely, if one actually received a salary for increasing the number of a man’s enemies!”
- “Because, you know, we supposed a man’s estate to be the 7 same as his property.”
- “That’s true—meaning at least anything good that he possesses; of course I don’t call anything bad that he may possess property.”
- “You seem to use the word property of whatever is profitable to its owner.”
- “Certainly; but what is harmful I regard as loss rather than wealth.”
- “And so if a man buys a horse and doesn’t know how to manage 8 it, and so keeps on getting thrown and injuring himself by trying to ride it, the horse is not wealth to him, I presume?”
- “Not if we assume that wealth is a good thing.”
- “It follows that land is not wealth either to a man who works it in such a way that his work results in loss.”

Οὐδὲ ἡ γῆ μέντοι χρήματά ἐστιν, εἴπερ ἀντὶ τοῦ τρέφειν πεινῆν παρασκευάζει.

- 9 Οὐκοῦν καὶ τὰ πρόβατα ὡσαύτως, εἴ τις διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπίστασθαι προβάτοις χρῆσθαι ζημιούτο, οὐδὲ τὰ πρόβατα χρήματα τούτῳ εἶη ἄν;

Οὐκοῦν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ.

Σὺ ἄρα, ὡς ἔοικε, τὰ μὲν ὠφελούντα χρήματα ἡγῆ, τὰ δὲ βλάπτοντα οὐ χρήματα.

Οὕτως.

- 10 Ταῦτά ἄρα ὄντα τῷ μὲν ἐπισταμένῳ χρῆσθαι αὐτῶν ἐκάστοις χρήματά ἐστι, τῷ δὲ μὴ ἐπισταμένῳ οὐ χρήματα· ὥσπερ γε αὐλοὶ τῷ μὲν ἐπισταμένῳ ἀξίως λόγου αὐλείν χρήματά εἰσι, τῷ δὲ μὴ ἐπισταμένῳ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἢ ἄχρηστοι λίθοι.

Εἰ μὴ ἀποδίδοιτό γε αὐτούς.

- 11 Τοῦτ' αὖ φαίνεται ἡμῖν, ἀποδιδόμενοι μὲν οἱ αὐλοὶ χρήματα, μὴ ἀποδιδόμενοι δέ, ἀλλὰ κεκτημένοι οὐ, τοῖς μὴ ἐπισταμένοις αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι.

Καὶ ὁμολογουμένως γε, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν χωρεῖ, ἐπεὶπερ εἶρηται τὰ ὠφελούντα χρήματα εἶναι. μὴ πωλούμενοι μὲν γὰρ οὐ χρήματά εἰσι οἱ αὐλοὶ· οὐδὲν γὰρ χρήσιμοί εἰσι πωλούμενοι δὲ χρήματα.

- 12 Πρὸς ταῦτα δ' ὁ Σωκράτης εἶπεν· Ἄν ἐπίστηταί γε πωλεῖν. εἰ δὲ πωλοῖη αὖ πρὸς τοῦτο, ᾧ μὴ ἐπίσταιτο χρῆσθαι, οὐδὲ πωλούμενοί εἰσι χρήματα κατὰ γε τὸν σὸν λόγον.

Λέγειν ἔοικας, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὅτι οὐδὲ τὸ ἀργυρίον ἐστι χρήματα, εἰ μὴ τις ἐπίσταιτο χρῆσθαι αὐτῷ.

“To be sure: not even land is wealth if it makes us starve instead of supporting us.”

“And won't the same hold true of sheep? If a man loses through ignorance of sheep farming, his sheep too will not be wealth to him?”

“Not in my opinion.”

“It seems, then, that in your view what is profitable is wealth, what is harmful is not wealth.”

“Quite so.”

“That is to say, the same things are wealth and not wealth according as one understands or does not understand how to use them. A flute, for example, is wealth to one who is competent to play it, but to an incompetent person it is no better than useless stones.”

“True—unless he sells it.”

“We now see that to persons who don't understand its use, a flute is wealth if they sell it, but not wealth if they keep it instead of selling.”

“Yes, Socrates, and our argument runs consistently, since we have said that what is profitable is wealth. For a flute, if not put up for sale, is not wealth, because it is useless: if put up for sale it becomes wealth.”

“Yes,” commented Socrates, “provided he knows how to sell; but again, in case he sells it for something he doesn't know how to use, even then the sale doesn't convert it into wealth, according to you.”

“You imply, Socrates, that even money isn't wealth to one who doesn't know how to use it.”

You can always sell them for something useful. But you have to know how to use money

XENOPHON

- 13 Καὶ σὺ δέ μοι δοκεῖς οὕτω συνομολογεῖν, ἀφ' ὧν τις ὠφελείσθαι δύναται χρήματα εἶναι. εἰ γοῦν τις χρῶτο τῷ ἀργυρίῳ, ὥστε πριάμενος οἶον ἐταίραν διὰ ταύτην κάκιον μὲν τὸ σῶμα ἔχει, κάκιον δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν, κάκιον δὲ τὸν οἶκον, πῶς ἂν ἔτι τὸ ἀργύριον αὐτῷ ὠφέλιμον εἴη;
- Οὐδαμῶς, εἰ μὴ πέρ γε καὶ τὸν ὑοσκίαμον καλούμενον χρήματα εἶναι φήσομεν, ὑφ' οὗ οἱ φαγόντες αὐτὸν παραπληγες γίνονται.
- 14 Τὸ μὲν δὴ ἀργύριον, εἰ μὴ τις ἐπίσταιτο αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι, οὕτω πόρρω ἀπωθείσθω, ὃ Κριτόβουλε, ὥστε μηδὲ χρήματα εἶναι. οἱ δὲ φίλοι, ἣν τις ἐπίστηται αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι ὥστε ὠφελείσθαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν, τί φήσομεν αὐτοὺς εἶναι;
- Χρήματα νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, καὶ πολὺ γε μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς βοῦς, ἣν ὠφελιμώτεροί γε ὄσι τῶν βοῶν.
- 15 Καὶ οἱ ἐχθροί γε ἄρα κατὰ γε τὸν σὸν λόγον χρήματά εἰσι τῷ δυναμένῳ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὠφελείσθαι.
- Ἔμοι γοῦν δοκεῖ.
- Οἰκονόμου ἄρα ἐστὶν ἀγαθοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπίστασθαι χρῆσθαι ὥστε ὠφελείσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν.
- Ἴσχυρότατά γε.
- Καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὄρῳς, ἔφη, ὃ Κριτόβουλε, ὅσοι μὲν δὴ οἶκοι ἰδιωτῶν ηὔξημένοι εἰσὶν ἀπὸ πολέμου, ὅσοι δὲ τυράννων.
- 16 Ἄλλὰ γὰρ τὰ μὲν καλῶς ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ λέγεσθαι, ὃ

OECONOMICUS 1

- “And you, I think, agree with me to this extent, that what a man can derive profit from is wealth. At any rate, if a man uses his money to buy, say, a mistress who makes him worse off in body and soul and estate, how can his money be profitable to him then?”
- “By no means, unless we are ready to maintain that the weed called nightshade, which drives you mad if you eat it, is wealth.”
- “Then money is to be kept so far away, Critobulus, if one doesn't know how to use it, that it does not even count as wealth. But how about friends? If one knows how to make use of them so as to profit by them, what are they to be called?”
- “Wealth, of course, and much more so than cattle, if it's true that they are more profitable than cattle.”
- “Yes, and it follows from what you say that enemies too are wealth to anyone who can derive profit from them.”
- “Well, that is my opinion.”
- “Consequently it is the business of a good estate manager to know how to deal with enemies so as to derive profit from them too.”
- “Most decidedly.”
- “In fact, Critobulus, you cannot fail to notice that many private persons have been indebted to war for the increase of their estates, and many rulers too.”
- “Yes, so far so good, Socrates. But what about the fact

Wealth is anything you can use to your benefit

XENOPHON

Σώκρατες, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος· ἐκείνο δ' ἡμῖν τί φαίνεται, ὅποταν ὀρῶμέν τινας ἐπιστήμας μὲν ἔχοντας καὶ ἀφορμάς, ἀφ' ὧν δύνανται ἐργαζόμενοι αὐξῆσαι τοὺς οἴκους, αἰσθανόμεθα δὲ αὐτοὺς ταῦτα μὴ θέλοντας ποιεῖν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὀρῶμεν ἀνωφελεῖς οὖσας αὐτοῖς τὰς ἐπιστήμας; ἄλλο τι ἢ τούτοις αὐτοῖς οὔτε αἱ ἐπιστήμαι χρήματά εἰσιν οὔτε τὰ κτήματα;

17 Περὶ δούλων μοι, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἐπιχειρεῖς, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, διαλέγεσθαι;

Οὐ μὰ Δεῖ, ἔφη, οὐκ ἔγωγε, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ εὐπατριδῶν ἐνίων γε δοκούντων εἶναι, οὓς ἐγὼ ὀρῶ τοὺς μὲν καὶ πολεμικάς, τοὺς δὲ καὶ εἰρηνικάς ἐπιστήμας ἔχοντας, ταύτας δὲ οὐκ ἐθέλοντας ἐργάζεσθαι, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ οἶμαι, δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὅτι δεσπότης οὐκ ἔχουσιν.

18 Καὶ πῶς ἂν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, δεσπότης οὐκ ἔχοιεν, εἰ ἐυχόμενοι εὐδαιμονεῖν καὶ ποιεῖν βουλόμενοι ἀφ' ὧν ἔχοιεν ἀγαθὰ ἔπειτα κωλύονται ποιεῖν ταῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων;

Καὶ τίνες δὴ οὗτοί εἰσιν, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, οἱ ἀφανεῖς ὄντες ἄρχουσιν αὐτῶν;

19 Ἄλλὰ μὰ Δεῖ, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, οὐκ ἀφανεῖς εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ φανεροί. καὶ ὅτι πονηρότατοί γέ εἰσιν οὐδὲ σὲ

20 λαυθάουσι, εἶπερ πονηρίαν γε νομίζεις ἀργίαν τ' εἶναι καὶ μαλακίαν ψυχῆς καὶ ἀμέλειαν. καὶ ἄλλαι δ' εἰσὶν ἀπατηλαί τινες δέσποναι προσποιούμεναι ἡδοναὶ εἶναι, κυβεῖαι τε καὶ ἀνωφελεῖς ἀνθρώπων ὁμιλίας, αἱ προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἑξαπατηθείσι καταφανεῖς γίνονται ὅτι λῦπαι ἄρα

OECONOMICUS 1

that we sometimes come across people who have the knowledge and means for increasing their estates if they work, yet we find that they are unwilling to do so; and consequently we see that their knowledge is without profit for them. What are we to make of that? In these cases, surely, neither their knowledge nor their property is wealth?"

"Are you trying to start a discussion about slaves, Critobulus?" 17

"Oh no, not at all: I mean even people regarded as men of the highest lineage, of whom I observe that some are skilled in the arts of war, some in the arts of peace, but who are unwilling to practice these arts, and the reason, I think, is precisely because they have no master over them."

"What, no master over them, when in spite of their prayers for prosperity and their desire to do what will bring them good they are thwarted in their intentions by those who rule them?" 18

"And who, pray, may these unseen rulers be?"

"No, not unseen, but open and undisguised, surely! And very vicious rulers they are too, as you yourself must see, if at least you regard idleness and moral cowardice and negligence as vices. And then there are some deceitful mistresses that pretend to be pleasures—such as gambling and consorting with bad companions: even the victims of their deception find as time goes on that these, after all, are really pains concealed beneath a thin veneer of pleasures," 19 20

There are vicious rulers that can destroy you

XENOPHON

- 2 Τί οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἄρα, εἰ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπανέλθοιμεν
ὅσα συνομολογούντες διεληλύθαμεν, ἴν', ἦν πως δυνώμεθα,
πειραθῶμεν οὕτω καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ διεξιέναι συνομολογούντες;
- 3 Ἦδὺ γοῦν ἐστίν, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, ὥσπερ καὶ χρημάτων
κοινωνήσαντας ἀναμφιλόγως διελθεῖν, οὕτω καὶ λόγων
κοινωνούντας περὶ ὧν ἂν διαλεγώμεθα συνομολογούντας
διεξιέναι.
- 4 Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἐπιστήμης μὲν τινος ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν
ὄνομα εἶναι ἡ οἰκονομία, ἡ δὲ ἐπιστήμη αὕτη ἐφαίνετο, ἥ οἴκους
δύναται αὐξεῖν ἄνθρωποι, οἶκος δ' ἡμῖν ἐφαίνετο ὅπερ κτήσις ἡ
σύμπασα, κτήσιν δὲ τοῦτο ἔφαμεν εἶναι, ὅ τι ἐκάστω εἴη
ὠφέλιμον εἰς τὸν βίον, ὠφέλιμα δὲ ὄντα εὐρίσκειτο πάντα,
- 5 ὅπόσοις τις ἐπίσταιτο χρῆσθαι. πάσας μὲν οὖν τὰς ἐπιστήμας
οὔτε μαθεῖν οἶόν τε ἡμῖν ἔδόκει συναποδοκιμάζομέν τε ταῖς
πόλεσι τὰς βαναυσικὰς καλουμένας τέχνας, ὅτι καὶ τὰ σώματα
- 6 καταλυμαίνεσθαι δοκοῦσι καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς καταγίνουσι.
τεκμήριον δὲ σαφέστατον γενέσθαι ἂν τούτου ἔφαμεν, εἰ
πολεμίων εἰς τὴν χώραν ἰόντων διακαθίσας τις τοὺς γεωργούς
καὶ τοὺς τεχνίτας χωρὶς ἐκατέρους ἐπερωτῶη, πότῃρα δοκεῖ
- 7 ἀρήγειν τῇ χώρῃ ἢ ὑφεμένους τῆς γῆς τὰ τεύχη διαφυλάττειν.
οὕτως γὰρ ἂν τοὺς μὲν ἀμφὶ γῆν ἔχοντας ὥσμεθ' ἂν ψηφίζεσθαι
ἀρήγειν, τοὺς δὲ τεχνίτας μὴ μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅπερ πεπαιδευντά
- 8 καθῆσθαι μῆτε πουσούντας μῆτε κινδυνεύοντας. ἔδοκιμάσαμεν
δὲ ἀνδρὶ καλῷ τε κάγαθῷ ἐργασίαν εἶναι καὶ ἐπιστήμην

Recap

OECONOMICUS 6

"I suggest then," resumed Socrates, "that we should first recapitulate those points of our discussion on which we have already reached agreement, so that we may try to agree as thoroughly when we go through the remaining steps." 2

"Yes, certainly: just as it is pleasant when business associates have no disagreement when reviewing the accounts, so it is for us, as the interested parties in a discussion, to agree as we go over the several steps." 3

"Well now, we thought that estate management is the name of a branch of knowledge, and this knowledge appeared to be that by which men can increase estates, and an estate appeared to be identical with the total of one's property, and we said that property is that which is useful for supplying a livelihood, and useful things turned out to be all those things that one knows how to use. We thought that it is impossible to learn all the branches of knowledge, and we agreed with our cities in rejecting the so-called banausic occupations because they seem to spoil the body and enervate the mind. We said¹¹ that the clearest proof of this would be evident if in the course of a hostile invasion the farmers and craftsmen were made to sit apart, and each group were asked whether they voted for defending the land or withdrawing from the open and guarding the city walls. We thought that in these circumstances the men who are occupied with the land would vote to defend it, the craftsmen not to fight but to sit still, as they have been brought up to do, and to avoid exertion and danger. We came to the conclusion that for a gentleman the best occupation 4 5 6 7 8

XENOPHON

- 9 *κρατίστην γεωργίαν, ἀφ' ἧς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἄνθρωποι πορίζονται. αὕτη γὰρ ἡ ἐργασία μαθεῖν τε ῥῆσθη ἐδόκει εἶναι καὶ ἡδίσθη ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ τὰ σώματα κάλλιστά τε καὶ εὐρωστότατα παρέχεσθαι καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἥκιστα ἀσχολίαν παρέχειν φίλων*
- 10 *τε καὶ πόλεων συνεπιμελείσθαι. συμπαροξύνειν δέ τι ἐδόκει ἡμῖν καὶ εἰς τὸ ἀλκίμους εἶναι ἡ γεωργία ἔξω τῶν ἐρμμάτων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια φύουσα τε καὶ τρέφουσα τοὺς ἐργαζομένους. διὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ εὐδοξοτάτη εἶναι πρὸς τῶν πόλεων αὕτη ἡ βιοτεία, ὅτι καὶ πολίτας ἀρίστους καὶ εὐνουστάτους παρέχεσθαι δοκεῖ τῷ κοινῷ.*
- 11 *Καὶ ὁ Κριτόβουλος, "Ὅτι μὲν, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔφη, κάλλιστόν τε καὶ ἄριστον καὶ ἡδιστόν ἀπὸ γεωργίας τὸν βίον ποιείσθαι, πάνυ μοι δοκῶ πεπεῖσθαι ἰκανῶς· ὅτι δὲ ἔφησθα καταμαθεῖν τὰ αἷτια τῶν τε οὕτω γεωργοῦντων, ὥστε ἀπὸ τῆς γεωργίας ἀφθόνως ἔχειν ἂν δέονται καὶ τῶν οὕτως ἐργαζομένων, ὡς μὴ λυσιτελεῖν αὐτοῖς τὴν γεωργίαν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἂν μοι δοκῶ ἡδέως ἐκάτερα ἀκούειν σου, ὅπως ἂ μὲν ἀγαθὰ ἔστι ποιῶμεν, ἂ δὲ βλαβερὰ μὴ ποιῶμεν.*
- 12 *Τί οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, ἦν σοι ἐξ ἀρχῆς διηγήσωμαι, ὡς συνεγενόμην ποτὲ ἀνδρὶ, ὃς ἐμοὶ ἐδόκει εἶναι τῷ ὄντι τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἐφ' οἷς τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα δικαίως ἔστιν, ὃ καλεῖται καλὸς τε κάγαθος ἀνὴρ;*
Πάνυ ἂν, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, βουλοίμην ἂν οὕτως ἀκούειν, ὡς καὶ ἔγωγε ἐρῶ τούτου τοῦ ὀνόματος ἄξιος γενέσθαι.

OECONOMICUS 6

and the best branch of knowledge is farming, from which people obtain what is necessary to them. For this occupation seemed to be the easiest to learn and the most pleasant to practice, to afford the body the greatest measure of strength and beauty, and to afford the mind the greatest amount of spare time for attending to the interests of one's friends and city. Since farm crops grow and cattle graze outside the city walls, farming seemed to us to help in some measure to make those who work at it brave. And so this way of making a living appeared to be held in the highest esteem by our cities, because it seems to turn out citizens who are the bravest and most loyal to the community."

"I have already heard enough, I think, Socrates, to convince me that farming is the fairest, noblest, and most pleasant way to earn a living. But you told me that you have discovered the reasons why some farmers are so successful that farming yields them all they need in abundance, and others are so inefficient that they find farming unprofitable. I should like to hear the reasons in each case, so that we may do what is good and avoid what is harmful."

"Well then, Critobulus, what if I give you a complete account of an interview I once had with a man whom I took to be really one of those who are justly styled true gentlemen?"

"I would greatly like to hear it, Socrates, for I long to deserve that title myself."

Best economic activity is farming

XENOPHON

13 Δέξω τοίνυν σοι, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ὡς καὶ ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὴν
σκέψιν αὐτοῦ. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθοὺς τέκτονας, ἀγαθοὺς
χαλκείας, ἀγαθοὺς ζωγράφους, ἀγαθοὺς ἀνδριαντοποιοὺς καὶ
τὰ ἄλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα πάνν ὀλίγος μοι χρόνος ἐγένετο ἰκανὸς
περιελθεῖν τε καὶ θεάσασθαι τὰ δεδοκιμασμένα καλὰ ἔργα
14 αὐτοῖς εἶναι. ὅπως δὲ δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἔχοντας τὸ σεμνὸν ὄνομα
τοῦτο τὸ καλὸς τε κάγαθὸς ἐπισκεψαίμην, τί ποτ' ἐργαζόμενοι
τοῦτ' ἀξιούντο καλεῖσθαι, πάνν μου ἡ ψυχὴ ἐπεθύμει αὐτῶν τινι
15 συγγενέσθαι. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι προσέκειτο τὸ καλὸς τῷ
ἀγαθῷ, ὅντινα ἴδοιμι καλόν, τούτῳ προσήειν καὶ ἐπειρώμην
καταμανθάνειν, εἶπον ἴδοιμι προσηρητημένον τῷ καλῷ τὸ
16 ἀγαθόν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄρα εἶχεν οὕτως, ἀλλὰ ἐνίους ἐδόκουν
καταμανθάνειν τῶν καλῶν τὰς μορφὰς πάνν μοχθηροὺς ὄντας
τὰς ψυχὰς. ἔδοξεν οὖν μοι ἀφόμενον τῆς καλῆς ὄψεως ἐπ' αὐτῶν
17 τινα ἐλθεῖν τῶν καλουμένων καλῶν τε κάγαθῶν. ἐπεὶ οὖν τὸν
Ἰσχόμαχον ἤκουον πρὸς πάντων καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ
ξένων καὶ ἀστῶν καλόν τε κάγαθὸν ἐπονομαζόμενον, ἔδοξέ μοι
τούτῳ πειραθῆναι συγγενέσθαι.

7. Ἰδὼν οὖν ποτε αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ἑλευθερίου στοᾷ
καθήμενον, ἐπεὶ μοι ἔδοξε σχολάζειν, προσῆλθον αὐτῷ καὶ
παρακαθιζόμενος εἶπον

Τί, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, οὐ μάλα εἰωθὼς σχολάζειν κάθησαι; ἐπεὶ
τά γε πλείστα ἢ πράττοντά τι ὁρῶ σε ἢ οὐ πάνν σχολάζοντα ἐν
τῇ ἀγορᾷ.

2 Οὐδὲ ἂν γε νῦν, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, ὦ Σώκρατες,

OECONOMICUS 7

“Then I will tell you how I came to investigate him. For it took 13
me very little time to visit our good builders, good smiths, good
painters, good sculptors, and other people of the kind, and to
inspect what were considered their finest works; but my soul very 14
much desired to meet one of those who are called by that grand
name ‘gentleman,’ which implies ‘beautiful’ as well as ‘good,’ in
order to consider what they did to deserve it. And, first, because 15
the epithet ‘beautiful’ is added to ‘good,’ I went up to every person
I noticed, and tried to discover whether I could anywhere see
goodness in combination with beauty. But it was not that way at all: 16
I thought I discovered that some who were beautiful to look at
were thoroughly depraved in their souls. So I decided to let good
looks go and to seek out someone known as a gentleman. And 17
since I heard the name applied to Ischomachus by men, women,
citizens, and foreigners alike, I decided to try to meet him.¹²

7. So, happening one day to see him sitting in the stoa of the
temple of Zeus Eleutherius apparently at leisure, I approached,
and sitting down at his side, said:

“Why sitting still, Ischomachus? You are not much in the habit
of doing nothing; for generally when I see you in the marketplace
you are either busy or at least not completely idle.”

“True, and you would not have seen me so now, Socrates, 2

Ischomachus is a gentleman, but
Socrates finds him at the
marketplace

XENOPHON

έώρας, εἰ μὴ ξένους τινὰς συνεθέμην ἀναμένειν ἐνθάδε.

“Ὅταν δὲ μὴ πράττης τι τοιοῦτον, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ἔφην ἐγώ, πού διατρίβεις καὶ τί ποιεῖς; ἐγὼ γάρ τοι πάνν βούλομαί σου πυθέσθαι, τί ποτε πράττων καλὸς τε κάγαθὸς κέκλησαι, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔνδον γε διατρίβεις οὐδὲ τοιαύτη σου ἡ ἔξις τοῦ σώματος καταφαίνεται.

3 Καὶ ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος γελάσας ἐπὶ τῷ τί ποιῶν καλὸς κάγαθὸς κέκλησαι καὶ ἡσθεῖς, ὡς γ’ ἐμοὶ ἔδοξεν, εἶπεν· Ἄλλ’ εἰ μὲν ὅταν σοι διαλέγωνται περὶ ἐμοῦ τινες, καλοῦσί με τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα, οὐκ οἶδα· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὅταν γέ με εἰς ἀντίδοσιν καλῶνται τριηραρχίας ἢ χορηγίας, οὐδεῖς, ἔφη, ζητεῖ τὸν καλὸν τε κάγαθόν, ἀλλὰ σαφῶς, ἔφη, ὀνομάζοντές με Ἰσχόμαχον πατρόθεν προσκαλοῦνται. ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὁ με ἐπήρου, οὐδαμῶς ἔνδον διατρίβω. καὶ γὰρ δὴ, ἔφη, τά γε ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ μου πάνν καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ γυνὴ ἔστιν ἱκανὴ διοικεῖν.

4 Ἄλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο, ἔφη, ἔγωγε, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, πάνν ἀν ἡδέως σου πυθείμην, πότερα αὐτὸς σὺ ἐπαίδενσας τὴν γυναῖκα, ὥστε εἶναι οἷαν δεῖ, ἢ ἐπισταμένην ἔλαβες παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῆς μητρὸς διοικεῖν τὰ προσήκοντα αὐτῇ.

5 Καὶ τί ἀν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐπισταμένην αὐτὴν παρέλαβον, ἢ ἔτη μὲν οὐπω πεντεκαίδεκα γεγονυῖα ἦλθε πρὸς ἐμέ, τὸν δ’ ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον ἔζη ὑπὸ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας, ὅπως ὡς ἐλάχιστα μὲν ὄψοιτο, ἐλάχιστα δὲ ἀκούσοιτο, ἐλάχιστα δ’

6 ἐροίη; οὐ γὰρ ἀγαπητόν

OECONOMICUS 7

had I not made an appointment with some guests here.”

“And where *do* you spend your time,” I asked, “and what *do* you do when you’re not doing something of that sort? For I want very much to learn how you came to be called a gentleman, since you do not pass your time indoors and your condition does not suggest that you do so.”

Smiling at my question, How did you come to be called a gentleman? and apparently pleased, Ischomachus answered, 3
“Well, Socrates, I don’t know whether people call me that when they talk to you about me. Certainly when they challenge me to an exchange of property in order to escape an obligation to maintain a warship or train a chorus,¹³ nobody goes looking for the gentleman but the challenge refers to me as plain Ischomachus, my father’s son. And, Socrates, since you ask the question, I certainly do not pass my time indoors, for my wife is quite capable of managing the household, even by herself.”

“Ah, Ischomachus,” I said, “that is just what I want to find out 4
from you. Did you yourself train your wife to be of the right sort, or did she know her household duties when you received her from her father and mother?”

“And just what knowledge could she have had, Socrates, when 5
I took her as my wife? She was not yet fifteen when she came to me, and up to that time she had lived under diligent supervision, seeing, hearing, and speaking as little as possible. If when she 6
came she knew no more

Ischomachus’ wife is managing the estate. He married her when she was 14-15 years old and taught her economics

XENOPHON

σοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, εἰ μόνον ἦλθεν ἐπισταμένη ἔρια παραλαβούσα ἰμάτιον ἀποδείξαι καὶ ἑωρακῦα, ὡς ἔργα ταλάσια θεραπεύουσαι δίδονται; ἐπεὶ τὰ γε ἀμφὶ γαστέρα, ἔφη, πάννυ καλῶς, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἦλθε πεπαιδευμένη ὅπερ μέγιστον ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ παιδεύμα εἶναι καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν.

- 7 Τὰ δ' ἄλλα, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὦ Ἰσχομάχε, αὐτὸς ἐπαίδευσας τὴν γυναῖκα ὥστε ἰκανὴν εἶναι ὣν προσήκει ἐπιμελείσθαι;
Οὐ μὰ Δῖ, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχομάχος, οὐ πρὶν γε καὶ ἔθυσσα καὶ εὐξάμην ἐμέ τε τυγχάνειν διδάσκοντα καὶ ἐκείνην μαθάνουσαν τὰ βέλτιστα ἀμφοτέροις ἡμῖν.
- 8 Οὐκοῦν, ἔφην ἐγώ, καὶ ἡ γυνή σοι συνέθυε καὶ συνῆχετο ταῦτά ταῦτα;
Καὶ μάλα γ', ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχομάχος, πολλὰ ὑποσχομένη μὲν, <εὐχομένη δὲ>⁸ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς γενέσθαι οἷαν δεῖ, καὶ εὐδηλος ἦν ὅτι οὐκ ἀμελήσει τῶν διδασκομένων.
- 9 Πρὸς θεῶν, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὦ Ἰσχομάχε, τί πρῶτον διδάσκειν ἤρχου αὐτήν, διηγοῦ μοι ὡς ἐγὼ ταῦτ' ἂν ἤδιόν σου διηγουμένου ἀκούοιμι ἢ εἴ μοι γυμνικὸν ἢ ἵππικὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν κάλλιστον διηγοῖο.
- 10 Καὶ ὁ Ἰσχομάχος ἀπεκρίνατο, Τί δέ; ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐπεὶ ἤδη μοι χειροσῆθης ἦν καὶ ἐτετιθάσεντο ὥστε διαλέγεσθαι, ἠρόμην αὐτήν, ἔφη, ὧδέ πως:
Εἰπέ μοι, ὦ γύναι, ἄρα ἤδη κατενόησας, τίνας ποτὲ ἔνεκα ἐγὼ τε σὲ ἔλαβον καὶ οἱ σοὶ γονεῖς ἔδωσαν σε

OECONOMICUS 7

than how, when given wool, to turn out a cloak, and had seen only how the spinning tasks are allocated to the slaves, isn't that as much as could be expected? For in control of her appetite, Socrates, she had been excellently trained; and I regard that sort of training to be the most important for man and woman alike."

- "But in other respects, Ischomachus, did you train your wife yourself, so that she should be competent to perform her duties?" 7
"Oh no, Socrates, at least not until I had first offered sacrifice and prayed that I might really teach, and she really learn what was best for us both."
"Didn't your wife join with you in these same sacrifices and prayers?" 8
"Oh yes, and she earnestly promised <and prayed> to the gods to behave as she ought to, and it was easy to see that she would not neglect the lessons she had been taught."
"Do tell me, Ischomachus, what was the first lesson you taught her: I would sooner hear this from you than an account of the noblest athletic competition or horse race!" 9
"Well, Socrates, as soon as I found her sufficiently tamed and domesticated to carry on a conversation, I questioned her along the following lines:
"Tell me, wife, have you thought about my reasons for taking you and your parents' reasons for giving you to me?" 10

XENOPHON

τῶν σκευῶν καθ' ἡμέραν χρῶνται οἱ οἰκέται, οἷον σιτοποιικοῖς, ὀψοποικοῖς, ταλασιουργικοῖς, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτον, ταῦτα μὲν αὐτοῖς τοῖς χρωμένοις δείξαντες ὅπου δεῖ τιθέναι

10 παρεδώκαμεν καὶ ἐπετάξαμεν σῶα παρέχειν ὅσοις δ' εἰς ἑορτὰς ἢ ξηνοδοκίας χρωμέθα ἢ εἰς τὰς διὰ χρόνου πράξεις, ταῦτα δὲ τῇ ταμίᾳ παρεδώκαμεν καὶ δείξαντες τὰς χώρας αὐτῶν καὶ ἀριθμήσαντες καὶ γραψάμενοι ἕκαστα εἵπομεν αὐτῇ διδόναι τούτων ὅτῳ δέοι ἕκαστον, καὶ μεμνήσθαι ὅ τι ἂν τῷ διδῶ, καὶ ἀπολαμβάνουσαν κατατιθέναι πάλιν ὅθεν περ ἂν ἕκαστα λαμβάνη.

11 Τὴν δὲ ταμίαν ἐποίησάμεθα ἐπισκεψάμενοι, ἥτις ἡμῖν ἐδόκει εἶναι ἐγκρατεστάτη καὶ γαστρος καὶ οἶνον καὶ ὕπνου καὶ ἀνδρῶν συνουσίας, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ ἢ τὸ μνημονικὸν μάλιστα ἐδόκει ἔχειν καὶ τὸ προνοεῖν, μή τι κακὸν λάβῃ παρ' ἡμῶν ἀμελοῦσα, καὶ σκοπεῖν, ὅπως χαριζομένη τι ἡμῖν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀντιτιμῆσεται. ἐδιδάσκομεν δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχειν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὅτ' εὐφραϊνοίμεθα, τῶν εὐφροσυνῶν μεταδιδόντες καὶ εἴ τι ληπτηρὸν εἴη, εἰς ταῦτα παρακαλοῦντες. καὶ τὸ προθυμείσθαι δὲ συναύξειν τὸν οἶκον ἐπαιδεύομεν αὐτὴν ἐπιγινώσκειν αὐτὴν 12 ποιοῦντες καὶ τῆς εὐπραγίας αὐτῇ μεταδιδόντες. καὶ 13 δικαιοσύνην δ' αὐτῇ ἐνεποιούμεν τιμιωτέρους τιθέντες τοὺς δικαίους τῶν ἀδίκων καὶ ἐπιδεικνύοντες πλουσιώτερον καὶ ἐλευθεριώτερον βιοτεύοντα τῶν ἀδίκων· καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ κατετάττομεν.

14 Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις πᾶσιν εἶπον, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐγὼ

OECONOMICUS 9

that we showed the slaves who have to use them where to keep the utensils they require daily; for baking, cooking, spinning and so forth; handed them over to their care and charged them to see that they were safe and sound. The things that we use only for festivals 10 or entertaining guests, or on rare occasions, we handed over to the housekeeper, and after showing her their places and counting and making a written inventory of all the items, we told her to dispense what each slave needed but to remember what she had given to each of them, and when she got it back to put it in the place where she takes items of its kind.

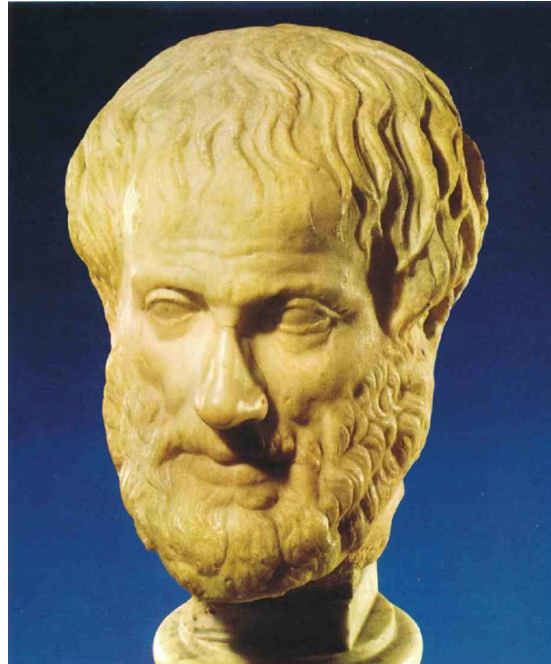
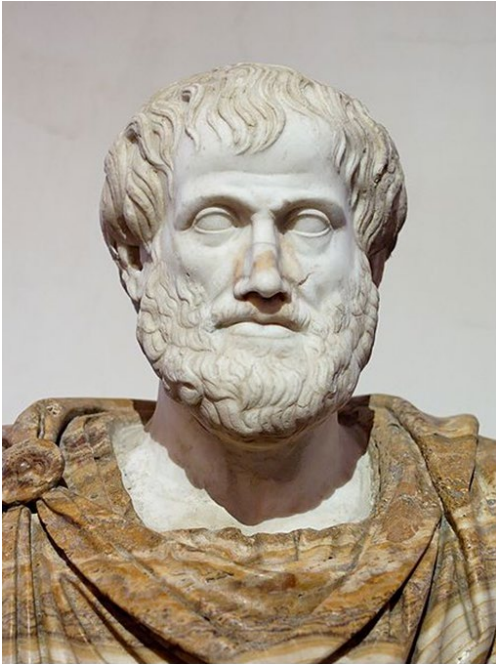
“In appointing the housekeeper, we chose the woman whom 11 on consideration we judged to have the most self-control in eating, wine drinking, sleeping²⁰ and intercourse with men, the one, too, who seemed to have the best memory; to be most careful not to offend us by neglecting her duties, and to think most how she could earn some reward by obliging us. We also taught her to be 12 loyal to us by making her a partner in all our joys and, if we had any trouble, inviting her to share that too. We trained her to be 13 eager for the improvement of our estate by making her familiar with it and by allowing her to share in our success. And we developed in her a sense of justice by giving more honor to the just than to the unjust, and by showing her that the just live in greater wealth and freedom than the unjust. And so we appointed her to that position.

“When all this was done, Socrates, I told my wife that 14

But eventually all tasks have been assigned to a female housekeeper



Aristotle (384 – 322 BCE)







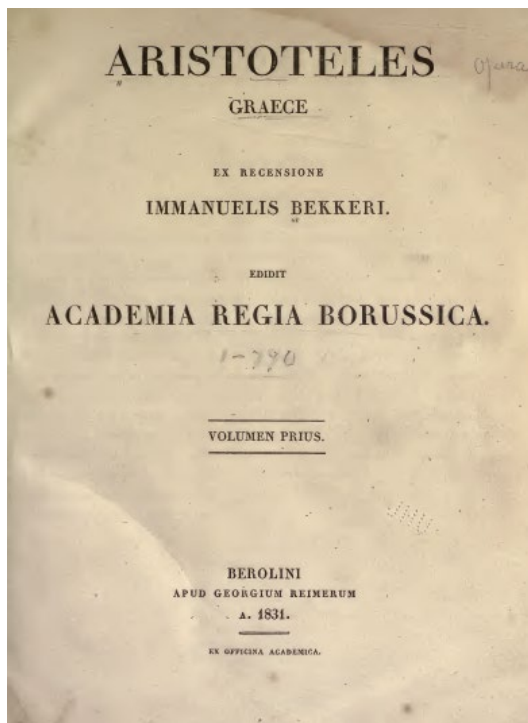
Raffaello Sanzio, School of Athens (Cognitio
Causarum), 1509
Stanza della Segnatura, Palazzi Pontifici,
Vatican



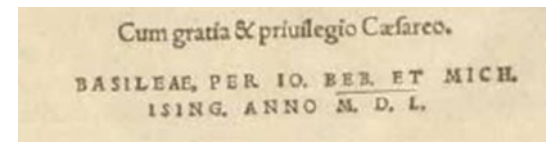
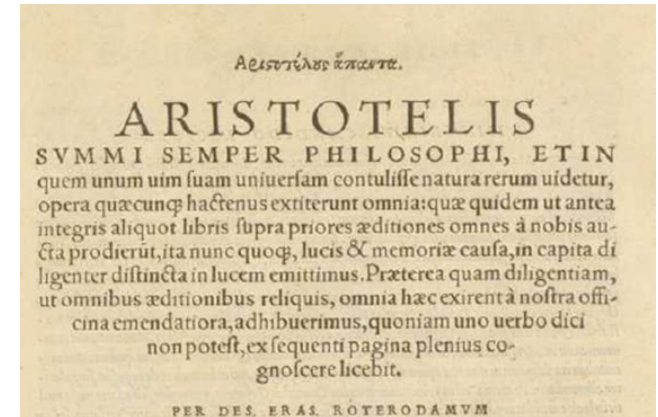
Stanza della Segnatura

Aristotle (384 – 322 BCE)

- *Nicomachean Ethics*
- *Politics*
- *Oeconomica* (ps.-Aristotelian)



The canonical edition of the complete works by Immanuel Bekker, Berlin, G. Reimer 1831



The Erasmus edition, Basel 16th c.



ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Α.

Ἐπειδὴ πᾶσαν πόλιν ὁρῶμεν κοινωνίαν τινα εἶσαν καὶ πᾶσαν κοινωνίαν ἀγαθὸν τινὸς ἕνεκεν συνεσκευῆσαν (τὸ γὰρ εἶναι δοκίμως ἀγαθὸν χάριν πάντα πράττειν πάντες), δηλονότι ὡς πᾶσαι μὲν ἀγαθὸν τινὸς ζητοῦσιν, μάλιστα δὲ καὶ τὸ κυριωτάτου πάντων, ἢ πασῶν κυριωτάτη καὶ πάσας περιέχουσα τὰς ἄλλας· αὐτὴ δ' ἐστὶν ἢ καλλίστη πόλις καὶ ἢ κοινωμία ἢ πολιτικὴ. ἔτσι μὲν ἔν οἴονται πολιτικὸν καὶ βασιλικὸν καὶ οἰκονομικὸν καὶ δεσποτικὸν εἶναι τὸν αὐτόν, ἢ καλῶς λέγουσιν· πληθεὶ γὰρ καὶ ὀλιγότῃ νομίζουσι διαφέρειν, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἶδει τέτων ἕκαστον, οἷον ἂν μὲν πλειόνων, δεσπότην, ἂν δὲ πλειόνων, οἰκονόμον, ἂν δ' ἔτι πλειόνων, πολιτικὸν ἢ βασιλικόν, ὡς οὐδὲν διαφέρουσιν μεγάλην οἰκίαν ἢ μικράν πόλιν, καὶ πολιτικὸν δὲ καὶ βασιλικόν, ἔταν μὲν αὐτὸς ἐφεστῆκη, βασιλικόν, ἔταν δὲ κατὰ λόγους τῆς ἐπιστήμης τῆς τοιαύτης, κατὰ μέρος ἄρχων καὶ ἀρχόμενος, πολιτικόν. ταῦτα δ' ἔτι ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ, δηλονότι ἔστι καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον ἐπισκοποῦσι κατὰ τὴν ὑψηλὴν μέθοδον. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ σύνθετον μέχρι τῶν ἀσυνθέτων ἀνάγκη διαίρειν (ταῦτα γὰρ ἐλάττω μέρη τῷ παντός), οὕτω καὶ πόλιν ἐξ ὧν σύγκειται σκοπῶντες ἐβόμεθα καὶ περὶ τῶν μᾶλλον, τί τε διαφέρουσιν ἀλλήλων, καὶ εἴ τι τεχνικὸν ἐνδέχεται λαβεῖν περὶ ἕκαστων τῶν ῥηθέντων.

2 Εἰ δὲ τις ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὰ πράγματα φύσιμα βλέψειεν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις, καὶ ἐν τούτοις κάλλιστ' ἂν ἔτω θεωρήσειεν. ἀνάγκη δὲ πρῶτον συνδυάζεσθαι τὰς ἀνεπαρκῶν μὴ δυναμένων εἶναι, οἷον θῆλυ μὲν καὶ ἄρρεν τῆς γενέσεως ἕνεκεν (καὶ τὸτο ἔτι ἐκ προαιρέσεως, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῴεις καὶ φυτοῖς φυσικὸν τὸ ἐφίεσθαι, οἷον αὐτὸ, τοῖσδε καταλιπεῖν ἕτερον), ἄρχων δὲ φύσει καὶ ἀρχόμενον διὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ δυνάμενον τῇ διανοίᾳ προορᾶν ἄρχων φύσει καὶ δεσποζῶν φύσει, τὸ δὲ δυνάμενον τῷ σώματι ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἀρχόμενον καὶ φύσει δέδωκεν. διὸ δεσπότη καὶ δέλω καὶ αὐτὸ συμφέρει. φύσει μὲν

οὖν διώριστα τὸ θῆλυ καὶ τὸ δέλω. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἡ φύσις ποιεῖ τοιούτων οἷον χαλκοτύποι τὴν Δελφικὴν μάχαιραν πενηχρῶς, ἀλλ' ἐν πρὸς ἑν' ἔτω γὰρ ἂν ἀποτελοῖτο κάλλιστα τῶν ὀργάνων ἕκαστον, μὴ πολλοῖς ἐργοῖς ἀλλ' ἐν δουλεύον. ἐν δὲ τοῖς βαρβάροις τὸ θῆλυ καὶ δούλον τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει τάξιν. αἴτιον δ' ἔστι τὸ φύσει ἄρχων ἢ ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ γίνεταί ἡ κοινωμία αὐτῶν δέλης καὶ δέλω. διὸ φασιν οἱ ποιηταὶ "βαρβάρων δ' Ἑλλήνας ἄρχων εἰκός," ὡς ταῦτο φύσει βάρβαρον καὶ δούλον ἔν. ἐκ μὲν ἔν τῶν τῶν δύο κοινωνιῶν οἰκία πρώτη, καὶ ὀρθῶς Ἡσίοδος εἶπε ποιήσας "οἶκον μὲν πρότις αἰσθητὰ τε βῆν τ' ἀροτῆρα." ὁ γὰρ βούς ἀντ' οἰκίτη τοῖς πέποιθ' ἐστίν. ἢ μὲν οὖν εἰς πᾶσαν ἡμέραν συνεστηκυῖα κοινωμία κατὰ φύσιν οἰκός ἐστιν, ἔς Χαρώνδας μὲν καλεῖ ὁμοσιπύνας, Ἐπιμενίδης δὲ ὁ Κρήν ὁμοκάπους· ἢ δ' ἐκ πλειόνων οἰκίῶν κοινωμία πρώτη χρήσεως ἕνεκεν μὴ ἐφημέρου κόμης. μάλιστα δὲ κατὰ φύσιν οἰκίαν ἢ κόμην ἀποικία οἰκίας εἶναι· οὐς καλοῦσιν οἱ ὁμογάλακτας παιδάς τε καὶ παίδων παιδάς, διὸ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐβασιλεύοντο αἱ πόλεις, καὶ νῦν ἔτι τὰ ἔθνη ἐκ βασιλευσμένων γὰρ συνῆλθον. πᾶσα γὰρ οἰκία βασιλεύεται ὑπὸ τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ, ὡςτε καὶ αἱ ἀποικίαι διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν. καὶ τῶν ἐστὶν ὁ λέγει "Ὀμηρος, "θεμιστεύει δὲ ἕκαστος παίδων ἢ δ' ἀλόχων." σποράδες γὰρ καὶ ἔτω τὸ ἀρχαῖον φων. καὶ τὸς θεὸς δὲ διὰ τῶτο πάντες φασὶ βασιλεύεσθαι, ἔτι καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ μὲν ἔτι καὶ νῦν, οἱ δὲ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐβασιλεύοντο· ὥσπερ δὲ καὶ τὰ εἶδη ἑαυτοῖς ἀφομοιοῦσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ἔτω καὶ τὸς βίους τῶν θεῶν. ἢ δ' ἐκ πλειόνων κοινῶν κοινωμία τέλειος πόλις, ἢ δὲ πάσας ἔχουσα πέρας τῆς αὐταρκείας ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, γνωμὴ μὲν ἔν τῷ ζῆν ἕνεκεν, ἔτα δὲ τὸ εὖ ζῆν. διὸ πᾶσα πόλις φύσει ἐστίν, εἴπερ καὶ αἱ πρῶται κοινωμίαι· τέλος γὰρ αὐτὴ ἐκείνῳ, ἢ δὲ φύσις τέλος ἐστίν· οἷον γὰρ ἕκαστὸν ἐστὶ τῆς γενέσεως τελεσθεῖσης, ταύτην φασὶν τὴν φύσιν εἶναι ἐκάστῳ, ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπῳ, ἵππῳ, οἰκίας. ἔτι τὸ ἔνεκα καὶ τὸ τέλος βέλ-

Codices *QI²M²Q²S²T²U²F²V²*.

10. εἰς *T²*. || 14. ἐφεστῆκει *QT²*. || 15. κατὰ τοὺς λόγους *I²*. || 18. γὰρ om *M²*. || 22. εἰ τῆ] ἔτι *S²*. || 26. συνδιαζέσθαι *S²*. || 30. τοῦτο *M²*. || ἄρχων *T²*.

2. μάχαιραν *T²*. || 14. χειρῶν *Q*. || ὁμοσιπύνας corr *M²*. || 15. ὁμοκάπους Parisiensis 1857. || 19. ἐκβασιλεύοντο *Q*. || 21. ὑπὸ *S²*. || 31. κοινῶν om *M²*. || 32. γὰρ om *S²*.

Key

* Authenticity disputed.

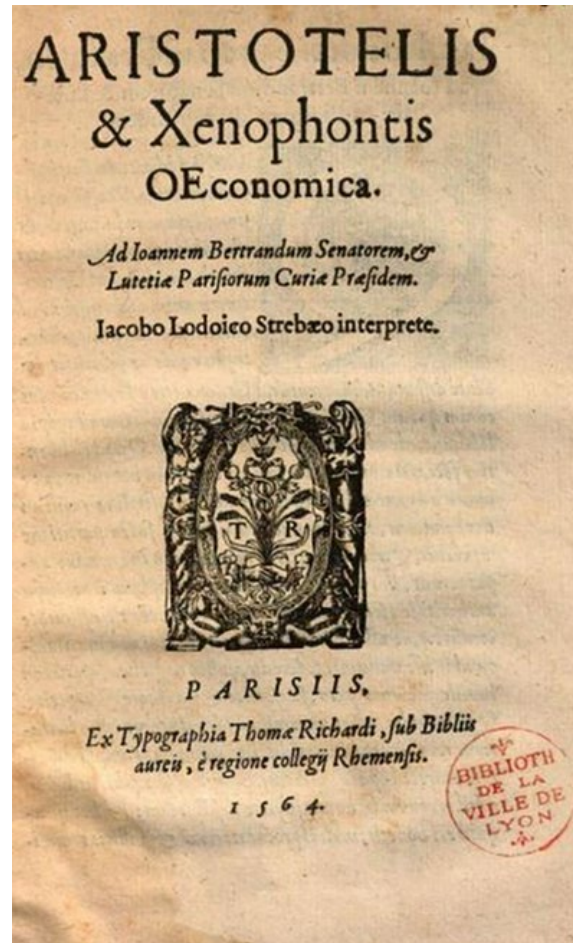
[] Generally agreed to be spurious.

Bekker number	Work	Latin name
Logic		
Organon		
1a	<i>Categories</i>	<i>Categoriae</i>
16a	<i>On Interpretation</i>	<i>De Interpretatione</i>
24a	<i>Prior Analytics</i>	<i>Analytica Priora</i>
71a	<i>Posterior Analytics</i>	<i>Analytica Posteriora</i>
100a	<i>Topics</i>	<i>Topica</i>
164a	<i>On Sophistical Refutations</i>	<i>De Sophisticis Elenchis</i>
Physics (natural philosophy)		
184a	<i>Physics</i>	<i>Physica</i>
268a	<i>On the Heavens</i>	<i>De Caelo</i>
314a	<i>On Generation and Corruption</i>	<i>De Generatione et Corruptione</i>
338a	<i>Meteorology</i>	<i>Meteorologica</i>
391a	[<i>On the Universe</i>]	[<i>De Mundo</i>]
402a	<i>On the Soul</i>	<i>De Anima</i>
Parva Naturalia ("Short Works on Nature")		
436a	<i>Sense and Sensibilia</i>	<i>De Sensu et Sensibilibus</i>
449b	<i>On Memory</i>	<i>De Memoria et Reminiscentia</i>
453b	<i>On Sleep</i>	<i>De Somno et Vigilia</i>
458a	<i>On Dreams</i>	<i>De Insomniis</i>
462b	<i>On Divination in Sleep</i>	<i>De Divinatione per Somnum</i>
464b	<i>On Length and Shortness of Life</i>	<i>De Longitudine et Brevitate Vitae</i>
467b	<i>On Youth, Old Age, Life and Death, and Respiration</i>	<i>De Juventute et Senectute, De Vita et Morte, De Respiratione</i>
481a	[<i>On Breath</i>]	[<i>De Spiritu</i>]

Corpus Aristotelicum

486a	<i>History of Animals</i>	<i>Historia Animalium</i>
639a	<i>Parts of Animals</i>	<i>De Partibus Animalium</i>
698a	<i>Movement of Animals</i>	<i>De Motu Animalium</i>
704a	<i>Progression of Animals</i>	<i>De Incessu Animalium</i>
715a	<i>Generation of Animals</i>	<i>De Generatione Animalium</i>
791a	[<i>On Colors</i>]	[<i>De Coloribus</i>]
800a	[<i>On Things Heard</i>]	[<i>De audibilibus</i>]
805a	[<i>Physiognomonics</i>]	[<i>Physiognomonica</i>]
815a	[<i>On Plants</i>]	[<i>De Plantis</i>]
830a	[<i>On Marvellous Things Heard</i>]	[<i>De mirabilibus auscultationibus</i>]
847a	[<i>Mechanics</i>]	[<i>Mechanica</i>]
859a	<i>Problems*</i>	<i>Problemata*</i>
968a	[<i>On Indivisible Lines</i>]	[<i>De Lineis Insecabilibus</i>]
973a	[<i>The Situations and Names of Winds</i>]	[<i>Ventorum Situs</i>]
974a	[<i>On Melissus, Xenophanes, and Gorgias</i>]	[<i>De Melisso, Xenophane, Gorgia</i>]
Metaphysics		
980a	<i>Metaphysics</i>	<i>Metaphysica</i>
Ethics and politics		
1094a	<i>Nicomachean Ethics</i>	<i>Ethica Nicomachea</i>
1181a	<i>Great Ethics*</i>	<i>Magna Moralia*</i>
1214a	<i>Eudemian Ethics</i>	<i>Ethica Eudemia</i>
1249a	[<i>On Virtues and Vices</i>]	[<i>De Virtutibus et Vitiis Libellus</i>]
1252a	<i>Politics</i>	<i>Politica</i>
1343a	<i>Economics*</i>	<i>Oeconomica*</i>
Rhetoric and poetics		
1354a	<i>Rhetoric</i>	<i>Ars Rhetorica</i>
1420a	[<i>Rhetoric to Alexander</i>]	[<i>Rhetorica ad Alexandrum</i>]
1447a	<i>Poetics</i>	<i>Ars Poetica</i>

Joint edition of
“economic” books
by Aristotle and
Xenophon in Latin,
Paris 1564



In Aristotle's *Oeconomica* we find a reference to four types of economies: royal, satrapic, political, and private

ARISTOTLE

B

1345 b I. Τὸν οἰκονομεῖν μέλλοντά τι κατὰ τρόπον τῶν τε τόπων, περὶ οὓς ἂν πραγματεύηται, μὴ ἀπείρους ἔχειν, καὶ τῇ φύσει εὐφύη εἶναι καὶ τῇ προαιρέσει φιλόπονον τε καὶ δίκαιον· ὃ τι γὰρ ἂν ἀπῆ τούτων τῶν μερῶν, πολλὰ διαμαρτήσεται περὶ τὴν πραγματείαν ἣν μεταχειρίζεται.

Οἰκονομῆαι δὲ εἰσι τέσσαρες, ὡς ἐν τύπῳ διελέσθαι (τὰς γὰρ ἄλλας εἰς τοῦτο ἐμπιπτούσας εὐρήσομεν), βασιλικὴ σατραπικὴ πολιτικὴ ἰδιωτικὴ.

15 Τούτων δὲ μεγίστη μὲν καὶ ἀπλουστάτη ἡ βασιλική, . . .¹ ποικιλωτάτη δὲ καὶ βῆσθη ἡ πολιτικὴ, ἐλαχίστη δὲ καὶ ποικιλωτάτη ἡ ἰδιωτικὴ. ἐπικοινωνεῖν μὲν τὰ πολλὰ ἀλλήλαις ἀναγκαῖον ἐστίν· ὅσα δὲ μάλιστα δι' αὐτῶν ἐκάστη συμβαίνει, ταῦτα ἐπισκεπτέον ἡμῖν ἐστίν.

20 Πρῶτον μὲν τοῖσιν τὴν βασιλικὴν ἰδομεν. ἐστὶ δὲ αὕτη δυναμένη μὲν τὸ καθόλου, εἶδη δὲ ἔχουσα τέσσαρα, περὶ νόμισμα, περὶ τὰ ἐξαγώγιμα, περὶ τὰ εἰσαγώγιμα, περὶ τὰ ἀναλώματα.

Τούτων δὲ ἕκαστον [μὲν] περὶ . . . τὸ νόμισμα

OECONOMICA, II. 1

BOOK II

I. Right administration of a household demands in the first place familiarity with the sphere of one's action²; in the second place, good natural endowments; and in the third, an upright and industrious way of life. For the lack of any one of these qualifications will involve many a failure in the task one takes in hand.

Of such administrations there are four main types, under which all others may be classified. We have the administration of a king; of the governors under him; of a free state; and of a private citizen.

2 Of these, that of a king is the most extensive, yet at the same time the simplest. A governor's office is also very extensive, but divided into a great variety of departments. The administration of a free state is again very varied, but it is the easiest to conduct; while that of a private individual presents the like variety, but within limits which are narrowest of all. For the most part, all four will of necessity cover the same ground; we will, however, take them in turn, and see what is especially characteristic of each.

Taking first the royal administration, we see that while theoretically its power is unlimited, it is in practice concerned with four departments, namely currency, exports, imports, and expenditure.

3 Taking these severally, I assign to that of currency



ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ

ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ

ΒΙΒΛΙΑ ΟΚΤΩ.

ARISTOTELIS.

DE OPTIMO STATV REIP.

LIBRI OCTO.



FLORENTIAE APVD IVNTAS

M. D. LII.

ARISTOTLE

ARISTOTLEAOTΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ Α

1 I. Ἐπειδὴ πᾶσαν πόλιν ὁρῶμεν κοινωνίαν τινὰ οὖσαν, καὶ
πᾶσαν κοινωνίαν ἀγαθοῦ τινος ἕνεκεν συνέστηκεν (τοῦ γὰρ
εἶναι δοκοῦντος ἀγαθοῦ χάριν πάντα πράττουσι πάντες), δῆλον
5 ὡς πᾶσαι μὲν ἀγαθοῦ τινος στοχάζονται, μάλιστα δὲ καὶ τοῦ
κυριωτάτου πάντων ἢ πασῶν κυριωτάτη καὶ πάσας περιέχουσα
τὰς ἄλλας· αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ καλουμένη πόλις καὶ ἡ κοινωνία ἡ
πολιτική. ὅσοι μὲν οὖν οἴονται πολιτικὸν καὶ βασιλικὸν καὶ
οἰκονομικὸν καὶ δεσποτικὸν εἶναι τὸν αὐτόν, οὐ καλῶς λέγουσιν·
10 πληθεὶ γὰρ καὶ ὀλιγότητι νομίζουσι διαφέρειν ἄλλ' οὐκ εἶδει
τούτων ἕκαστον, οἷον ἂν μὲν ὀλίγων, δεσπότην, ἂν δὲ πλειόνων,
οἰκονόμον, ἂν δ' ἔτι πλειόνων, πολιτικὸν ἢ βασιλικόν, ὡς οὐδὲν
15 διαφέρουσαν μεγάλην οἰκίαν ἢ μικρὰν πόλιν· καὶ πολιτικὸν δὲ
καὶ βασιλικόν, ὅταν μὲν αὐτὸς ἐφεστήκη, βασιλικόν, ὅταν δὲ

The state is the supreme partnership
and aims at the supreme good.
Not similar to a household

POLITICS, I. I.

ARISTOTLE'S POLITICS

BOOK I

1 I. Every state is as we see a sort of partnership,^a and every
partnership is formed with a view to some good (since all the
actions of all mankind are done with a view to what they think to
be good). It is therefore evident that, while all partnerships aim at
some good, the partnership that is the most supreme of all and
includes all the others does so most of all, and aims at the most
supreme of all goods; and this is the partnership entitled the state,
2 the political association. Those^b then who think that the natures of
the statesman, the royal ruler, the head of an estate^c and the
master of a family are the same, are mistaken; they imagine that
the difference between these various forms of authority is one of
greater and smaller numbers, not a difference in kind—that is,
that the ruler over a few people is a master, over more the head of
an estate, over more still a statesman or royal ruler, as if there were
no difference between a large household and a small city; and also
as to the statesman and the royal ruler, they think that one who
governs as sole head is royal, and one who,

Book I. THE
FAMILY.

The State differs
generically from the
Family.

1252 a κατὰ λόγους τῆς ἐπιστήμης τῆς τοιαύτης κατὰ μέρος ἄρχων καὶ ἀρχόμενος, πολιτικόν· ταῦτα δ' οὐκ ἔστιν ἀληθῆ. δῆλον δ' ἔσται τὸ λεγόμενον ἐπισκοποῦσι κατὰ τὴν ὑψηγμένην μέθοδον·

20 ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ σύνθετον μέχρι τῶν ἀσυνθέτων ἀνάγκη διαιρεῖν (ταῦτα γὰρ ἐλάχιστα μόρια τοῦ παντός), οὕτω καὶ πόλιν ἐξ ὧν σύγκειται σκοποῦντες ὀψόμεθα καὶ περὶ τούτων μᾶλλον τί τε διαφέρουσιν ἀλλήλων καὶ εἴ τι τεχνικὸν ἐνδέχεται λαβεῖν περὶ ἕκαστον τῶν ῥηθέντων.

25 Εἰ δὴ τις ἐξ ἀρχῆς¹ τὰ πράγματα φνόμενα βλέπειεν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ἐν τούτοις κάλλιστ' ἂν οὕτω θεωρήσειεν.

ἀνάγκη δὴ πρῶτον συνδυάζεσθαι τοὺς ἄνευ ἀλλήλων μὴ δυναμένους εἶναι, οἷον θῆλυ μὲν καὶ ἄρρεν τῆς γενέσεως² ἕνεκεν (καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐκ προαιρέσεως, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ζώοις καὶ φυτοῖς φυσικὸν τὸ ἐφίεσθαι οἷον αὐτὸ τοιοῦτον καταλιπεῖν ἕτερον), ἄρχον δὲ καὶ ἀρχόμενον φύσει,³ διὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν (τὸ μὲν γὰρ δυνάμενον τῇ διανοίᾳ προορᾶν ἄρχον φύσει καὶ δεσπότην φύσει, τὸ δὲ δυνάμενον τῷ σώματι ταῦτα ποιεῖν⁴ ἀρχόμενον καὶ φύσει δούλον διὸ δεσπότην καὶ δούλον

1252 b ταὐτὸ συμφέρει). φύσει μὲν οὖν διώριστα τὸ θῆλυ καὶ τὸ δούλον (οὐθέν γὰρ ἢ φύσις ποιεῖ τοιοῦτον οἷον χαλκοτύποι τὴν Δελφικὴν μάχαιραν πενιχρῶς, ἀλλ' ἐν πρὸς ἐν·

while the government follows the principles of the science of royalty, takes turns to govern and be governed is a statesman; but

3 these views are not true. And a proof of what we assert will appear if we examine the question in accordance with our regular method of investigation. In every other matter it is necessary to analyse the composite whole down to its uncompounded elements (for these are the smallest parts of the whole); so too with the state, by examining the elements of which it is composed we shall better discern in relation to these different kinds of rulers what is the difference between them, and whether it is possible to obtain any scientific precision in regard to the various statements made above.

In this subject as in others the best method of investigation is 4 to study things in the process of development from the beginning. The first coupling together of persons then to which necessity gives rise is that between those who are unable to exist without one another, namely the union of female and male for the continuance of the species (and this not of deliberate purpose, but with man as with the other animals and with plants there is a natural instinct to desire to leave behind one another being of the same sort as oneself), and the union of natural ruler and natural subject for the sake of security (for one that can foresee with his mind is naturally ruler and naturally master, and one that can do 5 these things^a with his body is subject and naturally a slave; so that master and slave have the same interest). Thus the female and the slave are by nature distinct (for nature makes nothing as the cutlers make the Delphic knife,^b in a niggardly way, but one thing for one

The Family the primary association, for the necessities of life.

Method of investigation: examine the composite to its individual elements. By nature, male and female, natural master and natural slave. Things are made for a specific purpose.

ARISTOTLE

1252 b 5 οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἀποτελοῖτο κάλλιστα τῶν ὀργάνων ἕκαστον, μὴ πολλοῖς ἔργοις ἀλλ' ἐνὶ δουλείῳ). ἐν δὲ τοῖς βαρβάροις τὸ θῆλυ καὶ τὸ¹ δούλον τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει τάξιν· αἴτιον δ' ὅτι τὸ φύσει ἄρχον οὐκ ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ γίνεται ἡ κοινωνία αὐτῶν δούλης καὶ δούλου. διὸ φασιν οἱ ποιηταὶ

βαρβάρων δ' Ἑλληνας ἄρχειν εἰκόσ,

10 ὡς ταῦτό φύσει βάρβαρον καὶ δούλον ὄν. ἐκ μὲν οὖν τούτων τῶν δύο κοινωνιῶν οἰκία πρώτη, καὶ ὀρθῶς Ἡσίοδος εἶπε ποιήσας

οἶκον μὲν πρότιστα γυναῖκά τε βοῦν τ' ἄροτῆρα· ὁ γὰρ βοῦς ἀντ' οἰκέτου τοῖς πένησιν ἔστιν. ἡ μὲν οὖν εἰς πᾶσαν ἡμέραν συνεστηκυῖα κοινωνία κατὰ φύσιν οἶκός ἐστιν, οὗς Χαρώνδας

15 μὲν καλεῖ ὀμοσιπύους, Ἐπιμενίδης δὲ ὁ Κρήτης ὀμοκάπους.²

Ἡ δ' ἐκ πλείονων οἰκιῶν κοινωνία πρώτη χρήσεως ἔνεκεν μὴ ἐφημέρου κόμης. μάλιστα δὲ κατὰ φύσιν ἔοικεν ἡ κόμη ἀποικία³ οἰκίας εἶναι, οὗς καλοῦσιν τινες ὀμογάλακτας [παῖδας

20 τε καὶ παίδων παῖδας].⁴ διὸ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐβασιλεύοντο αἱ πόλεις καὶ νῦν ἔτι τὰ ἔθνη· ἐκ βασιλευσμένων

POLITICS, I. I.

purpose; for so each tool will be turned out in the finest perfection, if it serves not many uses but one). Yet among barbarians the female and the slave have the same rank; and the cause of this is that barbarians have no class of natural rulers, but with them the conjugal partnership is a partnership of female slave and male slave. Hence the saying of the poets—

'Tis meet that Greeks should rule barbarians,^a—

6 implying that barbarian and slave are the same in nature. From these two partnerships then is first composed the household, and Hesiod^b was right when he wrote:

First and foremost a house and a wife and an ox for the ploughing—

for the ox serves instead of a servant for the poor. The partnership therefore that comes about in the course of nature for everyday purposes is the 'house,' the persons whom Charondas^c speaks of as 'meal-tub-fellows' and the Cretan Epimenides^d as 'manger-fellows.'^e

7 On the other hand the primary partnership made up of several households for the satisfaction of not mere daily needs is the village. The village according to the most natural account seems to be a colony from^f a household, formed of those whom some people speak of as 'fellow-nurslings,' sons and sons' sons.^g It is owing to this that our cities were at first under royal sway and that foreign races are so still, because they were made up of parts that were

Related families formed a Village.

ARISTOTLE

1252 b γὰρ συνῆλθον, πᾶσα γὰρ οἰκία βασιλεύεται ὑπὸ τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου, ὥστε καὶ αἱ ἀποικίαι διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ὃ λέγει Ὅμηρος,

θεμιστεύει δὲ ἕκαστος

παίδων ἢ δ' ἀλόχων

25 σποράδες γάρ· καὶ οὕτω τὸ ἀρχαῖον ᾗσκουν. καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς δὲ διὰ τοῦτο πάντες φασὶ βασιλεύεσθαι, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ μὲν ἔτι καὶ νῦν οἱ δὲ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐβασιλεύοντο· ὥσπερ δὲ καὶ τὰ εἶδη ἑαυτοῖς ἀφομοιοῦσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς βίους τῶν θεῶν.

Ἡ δ' ἐκ πλείονων κωμῶν κοινωνία τέλειος πόλις, ἥδη

30 πάσης ἔχουσα πέρας τῆς αὐταρκείας ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, γινομένη¹ μὲν οὖν τοῦ ζῆν ἕνεκεν, οὕσα δὲ τοῦ εὖ ζῆν. διὸ πᾶσα πόλις φύσει ἐστίν, ἔπειρ καὶ αἱ πρῶται κοινωνίαι· τέλος γὰρ αὕτη ἐκείνων, ἣ δὲ φύσις τέλος ἐστίν, οἷον γὰρ ἕκαστόν ἐστι τῆς γενέσεως τελεσθείσης, ταύτην φαμὲν τὴν φύσιν εἶναι ἐκάστου,

1253 a ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπου, ἵππου, οἰκίας. ἔτι τὸ οὗ ἕνεκα καὶ τὸ τέλος βέλτιστον· ἣ δ' αὐτάρκεια τέλος καὶ βέλτιστον. ἐκ τούτων οὖν φανερόν ἐστι τῶν φύσει ἢ πόλις ἐστίν, καὶ ὅτι ὁ ἄνθρωπος φύσει πολιτικὸν ζῷον, καὶ ὁ ἄπολις διὰ φύσιν καὶ οὐ διὰ τύχην ἦτοι

5 φαῦλός ἐστιν ἢ κρείττων ἢ ἄνθρωπος (ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ ὕψ' Ὀμήρου λαιδορηθεὶς

ἀφρήτωρ, ἀθέμιστος, ἀνέστιος,

- Self-sufficiency the goal of a state.
- State made for life, it exists for the good life
- Man by nature a political animal

POLITICS, I. I.

under royal rule; for every household is under the royal rule of its eldest member, so that the colonies from the household were so too, because of the kinship of their members. And this is what Homer^a means:

And each one giveth law

To sons and eke to spouses—

for his Cyclopes live in scattered families; and that is the way in which people used to live in early times. Also this explains why all races speak of the gods as ruled by a king, because they themselves too are some of them actually now so ruled and in other cases used to be of old; and as men imagine the gods in human form, so also they suppose their manner of life to be like their own.^b

5 The partnership finally composed of several villages is the city-state; it has at last attained the limit of virtually complete self-sufficiency, and thus, while it comes into existence for the sake of life, it exists for the good life. Hence every city-state exists by nature, inasmuch as the first partnerships so exist; for the city-state is the end of the other partnerships, and nature is an end, since that which each thing is when its growth is completed we speak of as being the nature of each thing, for instance of a man, a horse, a household. Again, the object for which a thing exists, its end, is its chief good; and self-sufficiency is an end, and a chief good. From these things therefore it is clear that the city-state is a natural growth, and that man is by nature a political animal, and a man that is by nature and not merely by fortune citiless is either low in the scale of humanity or above it (like the 'clanless, lawless, hearthless' man reviled by Homer;^c for he is by nature citiless

Neighbouring villages formed a City-state, for the good life.

οικαιον κρισις.

1253 b II. Ἐπεὶ δὲ φανερὸν ἐξ ὧν μορίων ἡ πόλις συνέστηκεν,
ἀναγκαῖον πρῶτον περὶ οἰκονομίας εἰπεῖν· πᾶσα γὰρ σύγκειται
πόλις ἐξ οἰκιῶν. οἰκονομίας δὲ μέρη ἐξ ὧν πάλιν οἰκία
5 συνέστηκεν· οἰκία δὲ τέλειος ἐκ δούλων καὶ ἐλευθέρων. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν
τοῖς ἐλαχίστοις πρῶτον ἕκαστον ζητητέον, πρῶτα δὲ καὶ
ἐλάχιστα μέρη οἰκίας δεσπότης καὶ δούλος, καὶ πόσις καὶ
ἄλοχος, καὶ πατὴρ καὶ τέκνα, περὶ τριῶν ἂν τούτων σκεπτέον
εἴη τί ἕκαστον καὶ ποῖον δεῖ εἶναι, ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ δεσποτικὴ καὶ
γαμικὴ

1 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
2 proper constitution and character of each of these three relationships, I mean that of mastership, that of marriage^a (there is no exact

The head of the Family as master, husband, and father.

- State made of households, so we must discuss household management (economics)
- Three minimum pairs:
 1. Master and slave=>mastership
 2. Husband and wife=>relationship of marriage
 3. Father and children=>progenitive

1253 b 10 (ἀνώνυμον γὰρ ἡ γυναικὸς καὶ ἀνδρὸς σύζευξις) καὶ τρίτον
 τεκνοποιητικῆ¹ (καὶ γὰρ αὕτη οὐκ ὀνόμασταί ἰδίῳ ὀνόματι)
 ἔστωσαν δὴ² αὗται τρεῖς ἅς εἶπομεν. ἔστι δέ τι³ μέρος ὃ δοκεῖ
 τοῖς μὲν εἶναι οἰκονομία τοῖς δὲ μέγιστον μέρος αὐτῆς, ὅπως δ'
 ἔχει, θεωρητέον· λέγω δὲ περὶ τῆς καλουμένης χρηματιστικῆς.
 15 Πρῶτον δὲ περὶ δεσπότου καὶ δούλου εἴπωμεν, ἵνα τὰ τε
 πρὸς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν χρεῖαν ἴδωμεν, κἂν εἴ τι πρὸς τὸ εἰδέναι
 περὶ αὐτῶν δυναίμεθα λαβεῖν βέλτιον τῶν νῦν
 ὑπολαμβανομένων. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ δοκεῖ ἐπιστήμη τέ τις εἶναι ἡ
 20 δεσποτεία, καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ οἰκονομία καὶ δεσποτεία καὶ πολιτικὴ καὶ
 βασιλική, καθάπερ εἶπομεν ἀρχόμενοι· τοῖς δὲ παρὰ φύσιν τὸ
 δεσπόζειν, νόμῳ γὰρ τὸν μὲν δούλον εἶναι τὸν δ' ἐλεύθερον,
 φύσει δ' οὐθὲν διαφέρειν, διόπερ οὐδὲ δίκαιον, βίαιον γάρ.
 Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἡ κτησις μέρος τῆς οἰκίας ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ κτητικὴ
 25 μέρος τῆς οἰκονομίας⁴ (ἄνευ γὰρ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀδύνατον καὶ
 ζῆν καὶ εὖ ζῆν⁵), ὥσπερ δὲ⁶ ταῖς ὀρισμέναις τέχναις ἀναγκαῖον
 ἂν εἴη ὑπάρχειν τὰ οἰκεία ὄργανα εἰ μέλλει ἀποτελεσθήσεσθαι
 τὸ ἔργον, οὕτω καὶ τῶ οἰκονομικῷ, τῶν δ' ὀργάνων τὰ μὲν ἄψυχα
 τὰ δ' ἔμψυχα (οἶον

Is mastership a science, or is
 slavery contrary to nature?
 We must discuss the nature of
 tools. Some tools are inanimate,
 other have soul

term denoting the relation uniting wife and husband), and thirdly
 the progenerative 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 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.^a

and as man of
 business.

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
 3 theoretic knowledge of the subject. For some thinkers hold the
 3 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.

Mastership and
 Slavery.

Various theories.

Since therefore property is a part of a household and the art of
 acquiring property a part of household management (for without
 4 the necessaries even life, as well as the good life,^b 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

The slave a live tool
 for service (not for
 production).

- 1253 b 30 τῷ κυβερνήτῃ ὁ μὲν οἶαξ ἄψυχον ὁ δὲ πρωρεὺς ἐμψυχον, ὁ γὰρ ὑπηρέτης ἐν ὄργανου εἶδει ταῖς τέχναις ἐστίν), οὕτω καὶ τὸ κτῆμα ὄργανου πρὸς ζωὴν ἐστὶ, καὶ ἡ κτήσις πλῆθος ὀργάνων ἐστὶ, καὶ ὁ δούλος κτῆμά τι ἐμψυχον. καὶ ὡσπερ ὄργανον πρὸ ὀργάνων πᾶς ὑπηρέτης· εἰ γὰρ ἡδύνατο ἕκαστον τῶν ὀργάνων
- 35 κελουστὴν ἢ προαισθανόμενον ἀποτελεῖν τὸ αὐτοῦ ἔργον, ὡσπερ τὰ Δαιδάλου φασὶν ἢ τοὺς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τρίποδας, οὕτως αἱ κερκίδες ἐκέρκιζον αὐταὶ καὶ τὰ πλήκτρα ἐκθάριζεν, οὐδὲν ἂν
- 1254 a ἔδει οὔτε τοῖς ἀρχιτέκτοσιν ὑπηρετῶν οὔτε τοῖς δεσπόταις δούλων. τὰ μὲν οὖν λεγόμενα ὄργανα ποιητικὰ ὄργανά ἐστι, τὸ δὲ κτῆμα πρακτικόν· ἀπὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς κερκίδος ἕτερόν τι γίνεται
- 5 παρὰ τὴν χρῆσιν αὐτῆς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐσθῆτος καὶ τῆς κλίνης ἡ χρῆσις μόνον. ἔτι δ' ἐπεὶ διαφέρει ἡ ποίησις εἶδει καὶ ἡ πράξις, δέονται δ' ἀμφοτέραι ὀργάνων, ἀνάγκη καὶ ταῦτα τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν διαφοράν. ὁ δὲ βίος πρᾶξις, οὐ ποίησις ἐστὶν· διὸ καὶ ὁ δούλος ὑπηρέτης¹ τῶν πρὸς τὴν πρᾶξιν.
- 10 Τὸ δὲ κτῆμα λέγεται ὡσπερ καὶ τὸ μόριον· τὸ² γὰρ μόριον οὐ μόνον ἄλλου ἐστὶ μόριον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπλῶς³ ἄλλου, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸ κτῆμα. διὸ ὁ μὲν δεσπότης τοῦ δούλου δεσπότης μόνον,

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

5 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,² or the tripods of Hephaestus which the poet says 'enter self-moved the company divine,'³—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 action⁴; for from a shuttle we get something else

6 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 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,

belonging wholly to the master.

If we had “robots” we would not need slaves
Poiesis (production) vs. *Praxis* (action)

- 1254 a ἐκείνου δ' οὐκ ἔστιν· ὁ δὲ δούλος οὐ μόνον δεσπότου δούλος
 ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλως ἐκείνου.
- 15 Τίς μὲν οὖν ἡ φύσις τοῦ δούλου καὶ τίς ἡ δύναμις, ἐκ
 τούτων δηλον· ὁ γὰρ μὴ αὐτοῦ φύσει ἀλλ' ἄλλου ἄνθρωπος ὢν,
 οὗτος φύσει δούλος ἐστιν, ἄλλου δ' ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος ὃς ἂν
 κτῆμα ἢ ἄνθρωπος ὢν, κτῆμα δὲ ὄργανον πρακτικὸν καὶ
 χωριστόν. πότερον δ' ἐστὶ τις φύσει τοιοῦτος ἢ οὐ, καὶ πότερον
 20 βέλτιον καὶ δίκαιόν τι διουλεύειν ἢ οὐ, ἀλλὰ πᾶσα δουλεία
 παρὰ φύσιν ἐστὶ, μετὰ ταῦτα σκεπτέον. οὐ χαλεπὸν δὲ καὶ τῷ
 λόγῳ θεωρῆσαι καὶ ἐκ τῶν γινομένων καταμαθεῖν. τὸ γὰρ
 ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι οὐ μόνον τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν
 συμφερόντων ἐστὶ, καὶ εὐθύς ἐκ γενετῆς ἔνια διέσθηκε τὰ μὲν
 25 ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρχεσθαι τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρχειν. καὶ εἶδη πολλὰ καὶ
 ἀρχόντων καὶ ἀρχομένων ἐστίν (καὶ αἰεὶ βελτίων ἢ ἀρχῆ ἢ τῶν
 βελτιόνων ἀρχομένων, οἷον ἀνθρώπου ἢ θηρίου, τὸ γὰρ
 ἀποτελούμενον ἀπὸ τῶν βελτιόνων βέλτιον ἔργον, ὅπου δὲ τὸ
 μὲν ἄρχει τὸ δ' ἄρχεται, ἐστὶ τι τούτων ἔργον)· ὅσα γὰρ ἐκ
 30 πλείονων συνέστηκε καὶ γίνεται ἐν τι κοινόν, εἴτε ἐκ συνεχῶν
 εἴτ' ἐκ διηρημένων, ἐν ἅπασιν ἐμφαίνεται τὸ ἄρχον καὶ τὸ
 ἀρχόμενον, καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς ἀπάσης φύσεως ἐνπάρχει τοῖς
 ἐμψύχοις· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μὴ μετέχουσι ζωῆς ἐστὶ

the slave is not merely the slave of the master but wholly belongs
 to the master.

7 These considerations therefore make clear the nature of the
 slave and his essential quality: one who is a human being
 belonging by nature not to himself but to another is by nature a
 slave, and a person is a human being belonging to another if being
 a man he is an article of property, and an article of property is an
 instrument for action separable from its owner. But we must next
 5 consider whether or not anyone exists who is by nature of this
 character, and whether it is advantageous and just for anyone to be
 a slave, or whether on the contrary all slavery is against nature.
 And it is not difficult either to discern the answer by theory or to
 learn it empirically. Authority and subordination are conditions not
 only inevitable but also expedient; in some cases things are marked
 6 out from the moment of birth to rule or to be ruled. And there are
 many varieties both of rulers and of subjects (and the higher the
 type of the subjects, the loftier is the nature of the authority
 exercised over them, for example to control a human being is a
 higher thing than to tame a wild beast; for the higher the type of
 the parties to the performance of a function, the higher is the
 9 function, and when one party rules and another is ruled, there is a
 function performed between them)—because in every composite
 thing, where a plurality of parts, whether continuous or discrete, is
 combined to make a single common whole, there is always found a
 ruling and a subject factor, and this characteristic of living things is
 present in them as an outcome of the whole of nature, since even
 in things that do not partake of life there

The distinction of
 ruler and ruled
 pervades all nature
 and life.

1254 a τις ἀρχή, οἷον ἀρμονίας.¹ ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἴσως ἐξωτερικωτέρας
 35 ἐστὶ σκέψεως. τὸ δὲ ζῶον πρῶτον συνέστηκεν ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ
 σώματος, ὃν τὸ μὲν ἄρχον ἐστὶ φύσει τὸ δ' ἀρχόμενον. δεῖ δὲ
 σκοπεῖν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ φύσιν ἔχουσιν μᾶλλον τὸ φύσει, καὶ μὴ ἐν
 τοῖς διεφθαρμένοις. διὸ καὶ τὸν βέλτιστα διακείμενον καὶ κατὰ
 1254 b τῶν γὰρ μοχθηρῶν ἢ μοχθηρῶς² ἔχόντων δόξειεν ἂν ἄρχειν
 πολλάκις τὸ σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς διὰ τὸ φαύλως καὶ³ παρὰ φύσιν
 ἔχειν. ἐστὶ δ' οὖν, ὡς περ λέγομεν, πρῶτον ἐν ζῴῳ θεωρησαί
 5 καὶ δεσποτικὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ πολιτικὴν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ψυχὴ τοῦ
 σώματος ἄρχει δεσποτικὴν ἀρχήν, ὁ δὲ νοῦς τῆς ὀρέξεως
 πολιτικὴν καὶ βασιλικήν· ἐν οἷς φανερόν ἐστιν ὅτι κατὰ φύσιν
 καὶ⁴ συμφερὸν τὸ ἄρχεσθαι τῷ σώματι ὑπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῷ
 παθητικῷ μορίῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ νοῦ καὶ τοῦ μορίου τοῦ λόγον ἔχοντος,
 10 τὸ δ' ἐξ ἴσου ἢ ἀνάπαλιν βλαβερόν πᾶσιν. πάλιν ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ
 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῴοις ὡσαύτως· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἡμέρα τῶν ἀγρίων
 βέλτιον τὴν φύσιν, τούτοις δὲ πᾶσι βέλτιον ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ
 15 ἀνθρώπου, τυγχάνει γὰρ σωτηρίας οὕτως. ἔτι δὲ τὸ ἄρρεν πρὸς
 τὸ θῆλυ φύσει τὸ μὲν κρείττον τὸ δὲ χείρον, τὸ μὲν ἄρχον τὸ δ'
 ἀρχόμενον. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων
 ἀνθρώπων· ὅσοι μὲν οὖν τοσοῦτον διεστᾶσιν ὅσον ψυχὴ
 σώματος

is a ruling principle, as in the case of a musical scale.^a However,
 10 this matter perhaps belongs to an investigation lying somewhat
 outside our subject. But in the first place an animal consists of soul
 and body, of which the former is by nature the ruling and the latter
 the subject factor. And to discover what is natural we must study it
 preferably in things that are in a natural state, and not in
 specimens that are degenerate. Hence in studying man we must
 consider a man that is in the best possible condition in regard to
 11 both body and soul, and in him the principle stated will clearly
 appear,—since in those that are bad or in a bad condition it might
 be thought that the body often rules the soul because of its vicious
 11 and unnatural condition. But to resume—it is in a living creature,
 as we say, that it is first possible to discern the rule both of master
 and of statesman: the soul rules the body with the sway of a
 master, the intelligence the appetites with constitutional or royal
 12 rule; and in these examples it is manifest that it is natural and
 expedient for the body to be governed by the soul and for the
 emotional part to be governed by the intellect, the part possessing
 reason, whereas for the two parties to be on an equal footing or in
 12 the contrary positions is harmful in all cases. Again, the same holds
 good between man and the other animals: tame animals are
 superior in their nature to wild animals, yet for all the former it is
 advantageous to be ruled by man, since this gives them security.
 Also, as between the sexes, the male is by nature superior and the
 female inferior, the male ruler and the female subject. And the
 13 same must also necessarily apply in the case of mankind generally;
 therefore all men that differ as widely as the soul

ARISTOTLE

1254 b καὶ ἄνθρωπος θηρίου (διάκεινται δὲ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ὅσων
 ἐστὶν ἔργον ἢ τοῦ σώματος χρῆσις καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν
 20 βέλτιστον), οὗτοι μὲν εἰσι φύσει δούλοι, οἷς βέλτιόν ἐστιν
 ἄρχεσθαι ταύτην τὴν ἀρχήν, εἶπερ καὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις. ἔστι γὰρ
 φύσει δούλος ὁ δυνάμενος ἄλλον εἶναι (διὸ καὶ ἄλλον ἐστίν) καὶ
 ὁ κοινωνῶν λόγου τοσοῦτον ὅσον αἰσθάνεσθαι ἀλλὰ μὴ ἔχειν
 25 τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα ζῶα οὐ λόγῳ αἰσθανόμενα¹ ἀλλὰ παθήμασιν
 ὑπηρετεῖ. καὶ ἡ χρεία δὲ παραλλάττει μικρόν· ἡ γὰρ πρὸς
 τὰναγκαῖα τῷ σώματι βοήθεια γίνεται παρ' ἀμφοῖν, παρὰ τε
 τῶν δούλων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἡμέρων ζῶων. βούλεται μὲν οὖν ἡ
 φύσις καὶ τὰ σώματα διαφέροντα ποιεῖν τὰ τῶν ἐλευθέρων καὶ
 30 τῶν δούλων, τὰ μὲν ἰσχυρὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν χρῆσιν, τὰ δ'
 ὀρθὰ καὶ ἄχρηστα πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας ἐργασίας, ἀλλὰ χρήσιμα
 πρὸς πολιτικὸν βίον (οὗτος δὲ καὶ γίνεται διηρημένος εἰς τε τὴν
 πολεμικὴν χρείαν καὶ τὴν εἰρηλικήν), συμβαίνει δὲ πολλάκις
 καὶ τούναντίον, τοὺς μὲν τὰ σώματ' ἔχειν ἐλευθέρων τοὺς δὲ τὰς
 35 ψυχὰς μόνον². ἐπεὶ τοῦτό γε φανερόν, ὡς εἰ τοσοῦτον γένοιτο
 διάφοροι τὸ σῶμα ὅσον αἰ τῶν θεῶν εἰκόνες, τοὺς
 ὑπολειπομένους πάντες φαίεν ἂν ἀξίους εἶναι τούτοις δουλεύειν.
 εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦτ' ἀληθές, πολλὴ δικαιοτέρον ἐπὶ τῆς
 ψυχῆς τοῦτο διωρίσθαι· ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁμοίως ῥάδιον ἰδεῖν τό τε τῆς
 1255 a ψυχῆς κάλλος καὶ τὸ τοῦ σώματος. ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν εἰσὶ φύσει
 τιτὲς

POLITICS, I. II.

does from the body and the human being from the lower animal
 (and this is the condition of those whose function is the use of the
 body and from whom this is the best that is forthcoming)—these
 are by nature slaves, for whom to be governed by this kind of
 authority is advantageous, inasmuch as it is advantageous to the
 subject things already mentioned. For he is by nature a slave who
 is capable of belonging to another (and that is why he does so
 belong), and who participates in reason so far as to apprehend it
 but not to possess it; for the animals other than man are
 14 subservient not to reason, by apprehending it, but to feelings. And
 also the usefulness of slaves diverges little from that of animals;
 14 bodily service for the necessities of life is forthcoming from both,
 from slaves and from domestic animals alike. The intention of
 nature therefore is to make the bodies also of freemen and of
 slaves different—the latter strong for necessary service, the former
 erect and unserviceable for such occupations, but serviceable for a
 life of citizenship (and that again divides into the employments of
 war and those of peace); though as a matter of fact often the very
 opposite comes about—slaves have the bodies of freemen and
 15 freemen the souls only; since this is certainly clear, that if freemen
 were born as distinguished in body as are the statues of the gods,
 everyone would say that those who were inferior deserved to be
 these men's slaves; and if this is true in the case of the body, there
 is far juster reason for this rule being laid down in the case of the
 soul, but beauty of soul is not so easy to see as beauty of body. It is
 manifest therefore that there are cases of people of whom some
 are

Some men fitted by
 mind and body for
 slavery.

although because
 misfits do occur its
 justice is criticized.

ARISTOTLE

1255 b 5 καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶ τινες¹ οἱ μὲν φύσει δούλοι οἱ δ' ἐλεύθεροι, δῆλον
καὶ ὅτι ἓν τισι διώρισται τὸ τοιοῦτον, ὃν συμφέρει τῷ μὲν τὸ
δουλεύειν τῷ δὲ τὸ δεσπόζειν, καὶ δίκαιον καὶ δεῖ τὸ μὲν
ἄρχεσθαι τὸ δ' ἄρχειν ἢν πεφύκασιν ἀρχὴν ἄρχειν, ὥστε καὶ
10 δεσπόζειν τὸ δὲ κακῶς ἀσυμφόρως ἐστὶν ἀμφοῖν (τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ
συμφέρει τῷ μέρει καὶ τῷ ὅλῳ καὶ σώματι καὶ ψυχῇ, ὁ δὲ δούλος
μέρος τι τοῦ δεσπότου, οἷον ἔμφυχόν τι τοῦ σώματος
κεχωρισμένον δὲ μέρος· διὸ καὶ συμφέρον ἐστὶ τι καὶ φιλία
20 δούλῳ καὶ δεσπότῃ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοῖς φύσει τούτων
15 ἡξιωμένοις, τοῖς δὲ μὴ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἀλλὰ κατὰ νόμον καὶ
βιασθείσι τοῖναντίου).

Φανερόν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τούτων ὅτι οὐ ταυτόν ἐστι δεσποτεία καὶ
πολιτικὴ οὐδὲ πᾶσαι ἀλλήλαις αἱ ἀρχαί, ὥσπερ τινές φασιν. ἡ
μὲν γὰρ ἐλευθέρων φύσει ἡ δὲ δούλων ἐστίν, καὶ ἡ μὲν
οἰκονομικὴ μοναρχία (μοναρχεῖται γὰρ πᾶς οἶκος), ἡ δὲ
πολιτικὴ ἐλευθέρων καὶ ἴσων ἀρχή. ὁ μὲν οὖν δεσπότης οὐ
λέγεται κατ' ἐπιστήμην ἀλλὰ τῷ τοιούτῳ εἶναι, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ
δούλος καὶ ὁ ἐλεύθερος. ἐπιστήμη δ' ἂν εἴη καὶ δεσποτικὴ καὶ
δουλική,

POLITICS, I. II.

20 this dispute, and that in some instances it is not the case that one
20 set are slaves and the other freemen by nature; and also that in
some instances such a distinction does exist, when slavery for the
one and mastership for the other are advantageous, and it is just
and proper for the one party to be governed and for the other to
govern by the form of government for which they are by nature
fitted, and therefore by the exercise of mastership, while to govern
badly is to govern disadvantageously for both parties (for the same
thing is advantageous for a part and for the whole body or the
whole soul, and the slave is a part of the master—he is, as it were,
21 a part of the body, alive but yet separated from it; hence there is a
certain community of interest and friendship between slave and
master in cases when they have been qualified by nature for those
positions, although when they do not hold them in that way but by
law and by constraint of force the opposite is the case).

22 And even from these considerations it is clear that the
authority of a master over slaves is not the same as the authority of
a magistrate in a republic, nor are all forms of government the
same, as some assert. Republican government controls men who
are by nature free, the master's authority men who are by nature
slaves; and the government of a household is monarchy (since
every house is governed by a single ruler), whereas statesmanship
22 is the government of men free and equal. The term 'master'
therefore denotes the possession not of a certain branch of
knowledge but of a certain character, and similarly also the terms
'slave' and 'freeman.' Yet there might be a science of mastership
and a slave's science—the latter being the sort of knowledge that

Recapitulation.

Mastership distinguished from government of free men, supervision of slaves' tasks, and acquisition of slaves.

1255 b 25 δουλική μὲν οἶαν περὶ ὅ ἐν Συρακούσαις ἐπαίδευεν (ἐκεῖ γὰρ λαμβάνων τις μισθὸν ἐδίδασκε τὰ ἐγκύκλια διακονήματα τοὺς παίδας)· εἴη δ' ἂν καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον τῶν τοιούτων μάθησις, οἷον ὀψοποιική καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα γένη τῆς διακονίας· ἔστι γὰρ ἕτερα ἑτέρων τὰ μὲν ἐντιμότερα ἔργα τὰ δ' ἀναγκαϊότερα, καὶ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν

30 δούλος πρὸ δούλου, δεσπότης πρὸ δεσπότητος.

αἱ μὲν οὖν τοιαῦται πᾶσαι δουλικαὶ ἐπιστημαί εἰσι, δεσποτική δ' ἐπιστήμη ἐστὶν ἡ χρηστική δούλων· ὁ γὰρ δεσπότης οὐκ ἐν τῷ κτᾶσθαι τοὺς δούλους, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ χρῆσθαι δούλοις. ἔστι δ' αὕτη ἡ ἐπιστήμη οὐδὲν μέγα ἔχουσα οὐδὲ σεμνόν· ἂ γὰρ τὸν

35 δούλον ἐπίστασθαι δεῖ ποιεῖν, ἐκείνου δεῖ ταῦτα ἐπίστασθαι ἐπιτάττειν. διὸ ὅσοις ἐξουσία μὴ αὐτοὺς κακοπαθεῖν, ἐπίτροπος λαμβάνει ταύτην τὴν τιμὴν, αὐτοὶ δὲ πολιτεύονται ἢ φιλοσοφοῦσιν. ἡ δὲ κτητικὴ ἑτέρα ἀμφοτέρων τούτων ἡ δικαία, οἷον¹ πολεμική τις οὔσα ἢ θηρευτική. περὶ μὲν οὖν δούλου καὶ

40 δεσπότητος τοῦτον διωρίσθω τὸν τρόπον.

1256 a III. Ὅλος δὲ περὶ πάσης κτήσεως καὶ χρηματιστικῆς θεωρήσωμεν κατὰ τὸν ὑψηλότερον τρόπον, ἐπεὶ περὶ καὶ ὁ δούλος τῆς κτήσεως μέρος τι ἦν. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἀπορήσειεν ἂν

5 τις πότερον ἡ χρηματιστικὴ ἢ αὐτὴ τῇ οἰκονομικῇ ἐστὶν ἡ μέρος τι ἢ ὑπηρετική, καὶ εἰ ὑπηρετική, πότερον

The art of mastering slaves is one of no particular importance or dignity

Is the art of getting wealth the same as household management?

used to be imparted by the professor at Syracuse (for there used to be a man there who for a fee gave lessons to servants in their ordinary duties); and indeed there might be more advanced scientific study of such matters, for instance a science of cookery and the other such kinds of domestic service—for different servants have different functions, some more honourable and some more menial, and as the proverb says,

Slave before slave and master before master.²

23 The slave's sciences then are all the various branches of domestic work; the master's science is the science of employing slaves—for the master's function consists not in acquiring slaves but in employing them. This science however is one of no particular importance or dignity: the master must know how to direct the tasks which the slave must know how to execute.

Therefore all people rich enough to be able to avoid personal trouble have a steward who takes this office, while they themselves engage in politics or philosophy. The science of acquiring slaves is different both from their ownership and their direction—that is, the just acquiring of slaves, being like a sort of warfare or hunting. Let this then stand as our definition of slave and master.

1 III. But let us follow our normal method and investigate generally the nature of all kinds of property and the art of getting wealth, inasmuch as we saw the slave to be one division of property. In the first place therefore one might raise the question whether the art of getting wealth is the same as that of household management, or a part of it, or subsidiary to it; and if subsidiary, whether it is so in the sense in which

Business, or the supply of goods: its relation to household management.

chrematistics vs economics

ARISTOTLE

1256 a ὡς ἡ κερκιδοποικὴ τῇ ὑφαντικῇ ἢ ὡς ἡ χαλκουργικὴ τῇ
 ἀνδριαντοποιίᾳ (οὐ γὰρ ὡσαύτως ὑπηρετοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἢ μὲν
 ὄργανα παρέχει, ἢ δὲ τὴν ὕλην· λέγω δὲ ὕλην τὸ ὑποκείμενον ἐξ
 10 οὗ τι ἀποτελεῖται ἔργον, οἷον ὑφάντη μὲν ἔρια, ἀνδριαντοποιῶ
 δὲ χαλκόν).

Ἔστι μὲν οὖν οὐχ ἡ αὐτὴ ἡ οἰκονομικὴ τῇ χρηματιστικῇ,
 δῆλον, τῆς μὲν γὰρ τὸ πορίσασθαι, τῆς δὲ τὸ χρῆσασθαι—τίς
 γὰρ ἔσται ἡ χρησομένη τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν παρὰ τὴν
 οἰκονομικήν; πότερον δὲ μέρος αὐτῆς ἐστὶ τι ἢ ἕτερον εἶδος, ἔχει
 15 διαμφισβήτησιν. εἰ γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῦ χρηματιστικοῦ θεωρησάσαι
 πόθεν χρήματα καὶ κτήσις ἔσται, . . . ¹ ἢ δὲ κτήσις πολλὰ
 περιείληφε μέρη καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος, ὥστε πρῶτον ἢ γεωργικὴ
 πότερον μέρος τι τῆς οἰκονομικῆς² ἢ ἕτερόν τι γένος; καὶ
 καθόλου ἢ περὶ τὴν τροφήν ἐπιμέλεια καὶ κτήσις.

Ἄλλα μὴν εἶδη γε πολλὰ τροφῆς, διὸ καὶ βίοι πολλοὶ καὶ
 20 τῶν ζώων καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶν· οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε ζῆν ἄνευ
 τροφῆς, ὥστε αἱ διαφοραὶ τῆς τροφῆς τοὺς βίους πεποιήκασιν
 διαφέροντας τῶν ζώων. τῶν τε γὰρ θηρίων τὰ μὲν ἀγελαῖα τὰ δὲ
 25 σποραδικὰ ἔστιν, ὁποτέρως συμφέρει πρὸς τὴν τροφήν αὐτοῖς
 διὰ τὸ τὰ μὲν ζωοφάγα τὰ δὲ καρποφάγα τὰ δὲ παμφάγα αὐτῶν
 εἶναι· ὥστε

Wealth-getting is not economics, but is it
 part of economics or a different science?
 But acquisition of goods is of many kinds.
 Farming part of economics

POLITICS, I. III.

the art of making shuttles is subsidiary to the art of weaving or in
 that in which the art of casting bronze is subsidiary to the making
 of statues (for the two are not subsidiary in the same way, but
 shuttle-making supplies tools whereas bronze-founding supplies
 material—and by material I mean the substance out of which
 certain work is produced, for example fleeces are material for a
 weaver and bronze for a statuary).

² Now it is clear that wealth-getting is not the same art as
 household management, for the function of the former is to
 provide and that of the latter to use—for what will be the art that
 will use the contents of the house if not the art of household
 management? but whether wealth-getting is a part of the art of
 household management, or a different sort of science, is open to
 debate. For if it is the function of the getter of wealth to study the
 source from which money and property are to be procured, . . . ^a
 But property and riches comprise many divisions; hence first of all
 is husbandry a division of the household art, or is it a different
 kind of science? and so in general of the superintendence and
 acquisition of articles of food.

Husbandry

³ But furthermore, there are many sorts of food, owing to which
 both animals and men have many modes of life; for it is impossible
 to live without food, so that the differences of food have made the
 lives of animals different. Among wild animals some are nomadic
 and others solitary, according to whichever habit is advantageous
 for their supply of food, because some of them are carnivorous,
 others graminivorous, and others eat all kinds of food; so that
 nature has differentiated

Food is provided by
nature:

1256 a πρὸς τὰς βρωτώνας καὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν τὴν τούτων ἢ φύσιν τοὺς
βίους αὐτῶν διώρισεν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐ ταῦτ' ἑκάστῳ ἡδὺ κατὰ φύσιν
ἀλλ' ἕτερα ἑτέροις, καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ζωοφάγων καὶ τῶν
30 καρποφάγων οἱ βίοι πρὸς ἄλληλα διεστᾶσιν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ
τῶν ἀνθρώπων, πολλὸν γὰρ διαφέρουσιν οἱ τούτων βίοι. οἱ μὲν
οὖν ἀργότατοι νομάδες εἰσὶν (ἡ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμέρων τροφή
ζῶων ἄνευ πόνου γίνεται σχολάζουσιν, ἀναγκαῖον δ' ὄντος
μεταβάλλειν τοῖς κτήνεσι διὰ τὰς νομάς καὶ αὐτοὶ
35 ἀναγκάζονται συνακολουθεῖν, ὥσπερ γεωργίαν ζῶσαν
γεωργοῦντες)· οἱ δ' ἀπὸ θήρας ζῶσι, καὶ θήρας ἕτεροι ἑτέρας,
οἷον οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ ληστείας, οἱ δ' ἀφ' ἀλιείας ὅσοι λίμνας καὶ ἔλη
καὶ ποταμοὺς ἢ θάλατταν τοιαύτην προσοικοῦσιν, οἱ δ' ἀπ'
ὄρνιθων ἢ θηρίων ἀγρίων· τὸ δὲ πλείστον γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων
40 ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ζῆ καὶ τῶν ἡμέρων καρπῶν. οἱ μὲν οὖν βίοι
τοσοῦτοι σχεδὸν εἰσιν, ὅσοι γε αὐτόφυτον ἔχουσιν τὴν ἐργασίαν
1256 b καὶ μὴ δι' ἀλλαγῆς καὶ καπηλείας πορίζονται τὴν τροφήν,
νομαδικὸς γεωργικὸς ληστικὸς ἀλιευτικὸς θηρευτικὸς· οἱ δὲ
καὶ μιγνύντες ἐκ τούτων ἡδέως ζῶσι, προσαναπληροῦντες τὸν
5 ἐνδεέστερον βίον ἢ τυγχάνει ἑλλείπων πρὸς τὸ αὐτάρκης εἶναι,
οἷον οἱ μὲν νομαδικὸν ἅμα καὶ ληστικόν, οἱ δὲ γεωργικὸν καὶ
θηρευτικόν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἄλλους—ὡς ἂν ἡ χρεία
συναναγκάζῃ, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον διάγουσιν. ἡ μὲν

Different types of economic life: nomadic, farming, brigandage, fishing, hunting and mixing them, not by barter or trade

their modes of life to suit their facilities and their predilection for those articles of food. And as different kinds of animals by nature relish different sorts of food, and not each kind the same, even within the classes of carnivorous and graminivorous animals their
4 modes of life differ from one another. And similarly in the human race also, for there are wide differences of life among mankind. The idlest men are nomads (for to procure food from domesticated animals involves no toil or industry; but as it is necessary for the herds to move from place to place because of the pastures, the people themselves are forced to follow along with them, as though they were farming a live farm). Other men live from hunting, and different people from different kinds of hunting, for instance some from brigandage,³ others from fishing—these are those that dwell on the banks of lakes, marshes and rivers or of a sea suitable for fishing,—and others live on wild birds
5 and animals. But the largest class of men live from the land and the fruits of cultivation. This then virtually completes the list of the various modes of life, those at least that have their industry sprung from themselves and do not procure their food by barter and trade—the lives of the herdsman, the husbandman, the brigand, the fisherman, the hunter. Others also live pleasantly by combining some of these pursuits, supplementing the more deficient life where it happens to fall short in regard to being self-sufficing: for instance, some combine a pastoral life and brigandage, others husbandry and hunting, and similarly with the others—they pass
6 their time in such a combination of pursuits as their need compels. Property of this sort then seems to be

υπερσυν, ως φησὶ οὐκ αὐτὸν ὁμοίως ὡς τὸν πολέμον.

Ἐν μὲν οὖν εἶδος κτητικῆς κατὰ φύσιν τῆς οἰκονομικῆς μέρους ἐστίν, καθὸ δὲ ἤτοι ὑπάρχειν ἢ πορίζειν αὐτὴν ὅπως ὑπάρχει ὧν ἐστὶ θησαυρισμὸς

Ktetike vs chrematistike

Acquisition for self-sufficiency and good life has a limit

ARISTOTLE

1256 b 30 χρημάτων πρὸς ζωὴν ἀναγκαίων καὶ χρησίμων εἰς κοινωνίαν πόλεως ἢ οἰκίας. καὶ ἔοικεν ὃ γ' ἀληθινὸς πλούτος ἐκ τούτων εἶναι. ἢ γὰρ τῆς τοιαύτης κτήσεως αὐτάρκεια πρὸς ἀγαθὴν ζωὴν οὐκ ἀπειρός ἐστιν, ὥσπερ Σόλων φησὶ ποιήσας πλούτου δ' οὐθέν τέρμα πεφασμένον ἀνδράσι κείται·

35 κείται γὰρ ὥσπερ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τέχναις· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὄργανον ἀπειρον οὐδεμιᾶς ἐστὶ τέχνης οὔτε πλήθει οὔτε μεγέθει, ὃ δὲ πλούτος ὀργάνων πλήθός ἐστιν οἰκονομικῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν. ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν ἐστὶ τις κτητικὴ κατὰ φύσιν τοῖς οἰκονόμοις καὶ τοῖς πολιτικοῖς, καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτία, δηλον.

40 Ἔστι δὲ γένος ἄλλο κτητικῆς ἣν μάλιστα καλοῦσι, καὶ

1257 a δίκαιον αὐτὸ καλεῖν, χρηματιστικὴν, δι' ἣν οὐδὲν δοκεῖ πέρασ εἶναι πλούτου καὶ κτήσεως· ἦν ὡς μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τῇ λεχθέντι πολλοὶ νομίζουσι διὰ τὴν γειννάσιν· ἐστὶ δ' οὔτε ἢ

5 αὐτῇ τῇ εἰρημένῃ οὔτε πόρρω ἐκείνης. ἐστὶ δ' ἡ μὲν φύσει ἢ δ' οὐ φύσει αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἐμπειρίας τινὸς καὶ τέχνης γίνεται μᾶλλον. λάβωμεν δὲ περὶ αὐτῆς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐντεῦθεν· ἐκάστου γὰρ κτήματος διττὴ ἡ χρῆσις ἐστίν, ἀμφοτέραι δὲ καθ' αὐτὸ

11 μὲν ἄλλ' οὐχ ὁμοίως καθ' αὐτό, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν οἰκεία ἢ δ' οὐκ οἰκεία τοῦ πράγματος, οἷον ὑποδήματος ἢ

hence even the art of war will by nature be in a manner an art of acquisition (for the art of hunting is a part of it) that is properly employed both against wild animals and against such of mankind as though designed by nature for subjection refuse to submit to it, inasmuch as this warfare is by nature just.

One kind of acquisition therefore in the order of nature is a part of the household art,^a in accordance with which either there must be forthcoming or else that art must procure to be forthcoming a supply

so moderate acquisition of supplies is the business of the householder.

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of those goods, capable of accumulation, which are necessary for life and useful for the community of city or household. And it is of these goods that riches in the true sense at all events seem to consist. For the amount of such property sufficient in itself for a good life is not unlimited, as Solon^a says that it is in the verse But of riches no bound has been fixed or revealed to men; for a limit has been fixed, as with the other arts, since no tool belonging to any art is without a limit whether in number or in size, and riches are a collection of tools for the householder and the statesman. Therefore that there is a certain art of acquisition belonging in the order of nature to householders and to statesmen, and for what reason this is so, is clear.

But there is another kind of acquisition that is specially called wealth-getting, and that is so called with justice; and to this kind it is due that there is thought to be no limit to riches and property. Owing to its affinity to the art of acquisition of which we spoke, it is supposed by many people to be one and the same as that; and as a matter of fact, while it is not the same as the acquisition spoken of, it is not far removed from it. One of them is natural, the other is not natural, but carried on rather by means of a certain acquired skill or art. We may take our starting-point for its study from the following consideration: with every article of property there is a double way of using it; both uses are related to the article itself, but not related to it in the same manner—one is peculiar to the thing and the other is not peculiar to it. Take for example a shoe—there is its wear as a shoe and there is its use

Trade sprang from barter of household supplies.

“dual use”:
value in use
value in exchange
Wealth-getting has no limit

1257 a 10 τε ὑπόδεσις καὶ ἡ μεταβλητικὴ ἀμφοτέραι γὰρ ὑποδήματος
 χρήσεις, καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀλλαπτόμενος τῷ δεομένῳ ὑποδήματος ἀντὶ
 νομίσματος ἢ τροφῆς χρῆται τῷ ὑποδήματι ἢ ὑπόδημα, ἀλλ' οὐ
 τὴν οἰκείαν χρῆσιν, οὐ γὰρ ἀλλαγῆς ἔνεκεν γέγονεν. τὸν αὐτὸν
 15 δὲ τρόπον ἔχει καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων κτημάτων· ἔστι γὰρ ἡ
 μεταβλητικὴ πάντων, ἀρξαμένη τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ
 φύσιν, τῷ τὰ μὲν πλείω τὰ δὲ ἐλάττω τῶν ἰκανῶν ἔχειν τοὺς
 ἀνθρώπους. ἢ καὶ δῆλον ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι φύσει τῆς
 χρηματιστικῆς¹ ἢ καπηλικῆς ὅσον γὰρ ἰκανὸν αὐτοῖς,
 20 ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ποιείσθαι τὴν ἀλλαγὴν ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ πρώτῃ
 κοινωνίᾳ (τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν οἰκία) φανερὸν ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἔργον
 αὐτῆς, ἀλλ' ἤδη πλειόνων² τῆς κοινωνίας οὕσης. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν
 αὐτῶν³ ἐκοινώνουν πάντων, οἱ δὲ κεχωρισμένοι⁴ πολλῶν πάλιν
 καὶ ἐτέρων, ὧν κατὰ τὰς δεήσεις ἀναγκαῖον⁵ ποιείσθαι τὰς
 25 μεταδόσεις, καθάπερ ἔτι πολλὰ ποιεῖ καὶ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν
 ἔθνων, κατὰ τὴν ἀλλαγὴν· αὐτὰ γὰρ τὰ χρήσιμα πρὸς αὐτὰ
 καταλλάττονται, ἐπὶ πλέον δ' οὐθέν, οἶνον οἶνον πρὸς σῖτον
 διδόντες καὶ λαμβάνοντες, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων
 ἕκαστον. ἢ μὲν οὖν τοιαύτη μεταβλητικὴ οὔτε παρὰ φύσιν οὔτε
 30 χρηματιστικῆς ἐστὶν εἶδος οὐδὲν, εἰς ἀναπλήρωσιν γὰρ τῆς
 κατὰ φύσιν ἀταρκείας ἦν· ἐκ μέντοι ταύτης ἐγένετ' ἐκείνη



Originally trade between people is by nature if it is done to replenish natural self-sufficiency

as an article of exchange; for both are ways of using a shoe, inasmuch as even he that barter a shoe for money or food with the customer that wants a shoe uses it as a shoe, though not for the use proper to a shoe, since shoes have not come into existence for the purpose of barter. And the same also holds good about the other articles of property; for all of them have a use in exchange related to them, which began in the first instance from the natural order of things, because men had more than enough of some
 12 things and less than enough of others. This consideration also shows that the art of trade is not by nature a part of the art of wealth-getting^a; for the practice of barter was necessary only so far as to satisfy men's own needs. In the primary association therefore (I mean the household) there is no function for trade, but it only arises after the association has become more numerous. For the members of the primitive household used to share commodities that were all their own, whereas on the contrary a group divided into several households participated also in a number of commodities belonging to their neighbours, according to their needs for which they were forced to make their interchanges by way of barter, as also many barbarian tribes do still; for such tribes do not go beyond exchanging actual commodities for actual commodities, for example giving and taking wine for corn, and so
 13 with the various other things of the sort. Exchange on these lines therefore is not contrary to nature, nor is it any branch of the art of wealth-getting, for it existed for the replenishment of natural self-sufficiency; yet out of it the art of business

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1257 a κατὰ λόγον. ξενικωτέρας γὰρ γενομένης¹ τῆς βοηθείας τῶ
 εἰσάγεσθαι ὧν ἐνδεεῖς καὶ ἐκπέμπειν ὧν ἐπλεόναζον, ἐξ
 ἀνάγκης ἢ τοῦ νομίσματος ἐπορίσθη χρήσις. οὐ γὰρ
 35 εὐβάστακτον ἕκαστον τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἀναγκαίων· διὸ πρὸς τὰς
 ἀλλαγὰς τοιοῦτόν τι συνέθεντο πρὸς σφῶς αὐτοὺς διδόναι καὶ
 λαμβάνειν ὃ τῶν χρησίμων αὐτὸ ὅν εἶχε τὴν χρεῖαν
 εὐμεταχείριστον πρὸς τὸ ζῆν, οἷον σίδηρος καὶ ἄργυρος κἂν εἴ
 40 τι τοιοῦτον ἕτερον, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπλῶς ὀρισθὲν μεγέθει καὶ
 σταθμῶ, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον καὶ χαρακτῆρα ἐπιβαλλόντων ἵνα
 1257 b ἀπολύσῃ τῆς μετρήσεως αὐτούς· ὃ γὰρ χαρακτῆρ ἐτέθη τοῦ
 ποσοῦ σημεῖον. πορισθέντος οὖν ἤδη νομίσματος ἐκ τῆς
 ἀναγκαίας ἀλλαγῆς θάτερον εἶδος τῆς χρηματιστικῆς ἐγένετο,
 τὸ καπηλικόν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπλῶς ἴσως γινόμενον, εἴτα δι'
 5 ἐμπειρίας ἤδη τεχνικώτερον, πόθεν καὶ πῶς μεταβαλλόμενον
 πλείστον ποιῆσει κέρδος. διὸ δοκεῖ ἡ χρηματιστικὴ μάλιστα
 περὶ τὸ νόμισμα εἶναι, καὶ ἔργον αὐτῆς τὸ δύνασθαι θεωρῆσαι
 πόθεν ἔσται πλῆθος,² ποιητικὴ γὰρ³ εἶναι πλοῦτου⁴ καὶ
 χρημάτων· καὶ γὰρ τὸν πλοῦτον πολλάκις τιθέασι νομίσματος
 10 πλῆθος, διὰ τὸ περὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι τὴν χρηματιστικὴν καὶ τὴν
 καπηλικήν. ὅτε δὲ πάλιν λήρος εἶναι δοκεῖ τὸ νόμισμα, καὶ
 νόμος παντάπασι φύσει δ' οὐθέν, ὅτι μεταθεμένων τε τῶν
 χρωμένων οὐθενὸς ἄξιον, οὔτε χρήσιμον πρὸς οὐδὲν τῶν

Creation of money. Readily portable.
 Metals. Size and weight, then stamp.
 Initially currency in simple form.
 Chrematistics related to money. At
 times money is a convention.

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in due course arose. For when they had come to supply themselves
 more from abroad by importing things in which they were
 deficient and exporting those of which they had a surplus, the
 employment of money necessarily came to be devised. For the
 14 natural necessities are not in every case readily portable; hence
 for the purpose of barter men made a mutual compact to give and
 accept some substance of such a sort as being itself a useful
 commodity was easy to handle in use for general life, iron for
 instance, silver and other metals, at the first stage defined merely
 by size and weight, but finally also by impressing on it a stamp in
 15 order that this might relieve them of having to measure it; for the
 stamp was put on as a token of the amount. So when currency had
 been now invented as an outcome of the necessary interchange of
 goods, there came into existence the other form of wealth-getting,
 trade, which at first no doubt went on in a simple form, but later
 became more highly organized as experience discovered the
 sources and methods of exchange that would cause most profit.
 Hence arises the idea that the art of wealth-getting deals specially
 with money, and that its function is to be able to discern from what
 source a large supply can be procured, as this art is supposed to be
 16 creative of wealth and riches; indeed wealth is often assumed to
 consist of a quantity of money, because money is the thing with
 which business and trade are employed. But at other times, on the
 contrary, it is thought that money is nonsense, and entirely a
 convention but by nature nothing, because when those who use it
 have changed the currency it is worth nothing, and because it is of
 no use for any of the necessary needs of life

Money, invented to
 facilitate exchange
 originates
 Commerce

Natural wealth
 limited to needs of
 the good life (not
 bodily enjoyment)

1257 b ἀναγκαίων ἐστὶ καὶ νομίματος πλουτῶν πολλάκις ἀπορήσει
 15 τῆς ἀναγκαίας τροφῆς, καίτοι ἄτοπον τοιοῦτον εἶναι πλούτου οὐ
 εὐπορῶν λιμῶ ἀπολείται, καθάπερ καὶ τὸν Μίδα ἐκέινον
 μυθολογοῦσι διὰ τὴν ἀπληστίαν τῆς εὐχῆς πάντων αὐτῶ
 γιγνομένων τῶν παρατιθεμένων χρυσῶν. διὸ ζητοῦσιν ἕτερόν
 20 τι τὸν πλούτου καὶ τὴν χρηματιστικὴν, ὀρθῶς ζητοῦντες· ἔστι
 γὰρ ἑτέρα ἡ χρηματιστικὴ καὶ ὁ πλούτος ὁ κατὰ φύσιν, καὶ
 αὕτη μὲν οἰκονομική, ἡ δὲ καπηλική, ποιητικὴ πλούτου¹ οὐ
 πάντως ἀλλὰ² διὰ χρημάτων μεταβολῆς· καὶ δοκεῖ περὶ τὸ
 νόμισμα αὕτη εἶναι, τὸ γὰρ νόμισμα στοιχείον καὶ πέρασ τῆς
 ἀλλαγῆς ἐστίν. καὶ ἄπειρος δὴ οὗτος ὁ πλούτος ὁ ἀπὸ ταύτης
 25 τῆς χρηματιστικῆς· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡ ἰατρικὴ τοῦ ὑγιαίνειν εἰς
 ἄπειρόν ἐστι καὶ ἐκάστη τῶν τεχνῶν τοῦ τέλους εἰς ἄπειρον (ὅτι
 μάλιστα γὰρ ἐκεῖνο βούλονται ποιεῖν), τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὸ τέλος οὐκ
 εἰς ἄπειρον (πέρασ γὰρ τὸ τέλος πάσαις), οὕτω καὶ ταύτης τῆς
 30 χρηματιστικῆς οὐκ ἐστὶ τοῦ τέλους πέρασ, τέλος δὲ ὁ τοιοῦτος
 πλούτος καὶ χρημάτων κτήσις. τῆς δ' οἰκονομικῆς
 χρηματιστικῆς³ ἔστι πέρασ· οὐ γὰρ τοῦτο τῆς οἰκονομικῆς
 ἔργον. διὸ τῇ μὲν φαίνεται ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι παντὸς πλούτου
 πέρασ, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν γινομένων ὀρώμεν⁴ συμβαίνειν τούναντιον

17

15

and a man well supplied with money may often^a be destitute of the
 bare necessities of subsistence, yet it is absurd that wealth should
 be of such a kind that a man may be well supplied with it and yet
 die of hunger, like the famous Midas in the story; when owing to
 the insatiable covetousness of his prayer all the viands served up to
 17 him turned into gold. Hence people seek for a different definition
 of riches and the art of getting wealth, and rightly; for natural
 wealth-getting and natural riches are different: natural wealth-
 getting belongs to household management, whereas the other kind
 belongs to trade, producing wealth not indiscriminately but by the
 method of exchanging goods. It is this art of wealth-getting that is
 thought to be concerned with money; for money is the first
 element and limit of commerce. And these riches, that are derived
 from this art of wealth-getting, are truly unlimited^b; for just as the
 art of medicine is without limit in respect of health, and each of
 the arts is without limit in respect of its end (for they desire to
 produce that in the highest degree possible), whereas they are not
 without limit as regards the means to then-end (for with all of
 15 them the end is a limit to the means), so also this wealth-getting
 has no limit in respect of its end, and its end is riches and the
 acquisition of goods in the commercial sense. But the household
 branch of wealth-getting has a limit, inasmuch as the acquisition of
 money is not the function of household management. Hence from
 this point of view it appears necessary that there should be a limit
 to all riches, yet in actual fact we observe that the opposite takes
 place; for all

If there is a limit (end) then it is by
 nature
 M-E-M'

1257 b 35 πάντες γὰρ εἰς ἄπειρον αὔξουσιν οἱ χρηματιζόμενοι τὸ νόμισμα. αἴτιον δὲ τὸ σύνεγγυς αὐτῶν. ἐπαλλάττει γὰρ ἡ
 χρήσις τοῦ αὐτοῦ οὐσα ἑκατέρας¹ τῆς χρηματιστικῆς· τῆς γὰρ
 αὐτῆς ἐστὶ κτήσεως χρήσις,² ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ ταυτόν, ἀλλὰ τῆς
 μὲν ἕτερον τέλος, τῆς δ' ἡ αὔξησις. ὥστε δοκεῖ τισὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι
 40 τῆς οἰκονομικῆς ἔργον, καὶ διατελοῦσιν ἢ σῶζειν οἰόμενοι δεῖν
 ἢ αὔξειν τὴν τοῦ νομίσηματος οὐσίαν εἰς ἄπειρον. αἴτιον δὲ
 1258 a ταύτης τῆς διαθέσεως τὸ σπουδάζειν περὶ τὸ ζῆν ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ εὖ
 ζῆν· εἰς ἄπειρον οὖν ἐκείνης τῆς ἐπιθυμίας οὐσης, καὶ τῶν
 ποιητικῶν ἀπέριον ἐπιθυμοῦσιν. ὅσοι δὲ καὶ τοῦ εὖ ζῆν
 ἐπιβάλλονται, τὸ πρὸς τὰς ἀπολαύσεις τὰς σωματικὰς
 5 ζητοῦσιν, ὥστ' ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐν τῇ κτήσει φαίνεται ὑπάρχειν,³
 πᾶσα ἡ διατριβὴ περὶ τὸν χρηματισμὸν ἐστὶ, καὶ τὸ ἕτερον
 εἶδος τῆς χρηματιστικῆς διὰ τοῦτ' ἐλήλυθεν. ἐν ὑπερβολῇ γὰρ
 οὐσης τῆς ἀπολαύσεως, τὴν τῆς ἀπολαυστικῆς ὑπερβολῆς
 ποιητικὴν ζητοῦσιν· κἂν μὴ διὰ τῆς χρηματιστικῆς δύνωνται
 10 πορίζειν, δι' ἄλλης αἰτίας τοῦτο πειρῶνται, ἐκάστη χρώμενοι
 τῶν δυνάμεων οὐ κατὰ φύσιν. ἀνδρείας γὰρ οὐ χρήματα ποιεῖν
 ἐστὶν ἀλλὰ θάρσος, οὐδὲ στρατηγικῆς καὶ ἰατρικῆς, ἀλλὰ τῆς
 μὲν νίκην τῆς δ' ὑγίειαν. οἱ δὲ πάσας ποιοῦσι χρηματιστικάς,
 ὡς

men engaged in wealth-getting try to increase their money to an unlimited amount. The reason of this is the close affinity of the two branches of the art of business. Their common ground is that the thing that each makes use of is the same; they use the same property, although not in the same way—the one has another end in view, the aim of the other is the increase of the property. Consequently some people suppose that it is the function of household management to increase property; and they are continually under the idea that it is their duty to be either
 19 safeguarding their substance in money or increasing it to an unlimited amount. The cause of this state of mind is that their interests are set upon life but not upon the good life; as therefore the desire for life is unlimited, they also desire without limit the means productive of life. And even those who fix their aim on the good life seek the good life as measured by bodily enjoyments, so that inasmuch as this also seems to be found in the possession of property; all their energies are occupied in the business of getting wealth; and owing to this the second kind of the art of wealth-getting has arisen. For as their enjoyment is in excess, they try to discover the art that is productive of enjoyable excess; and if they cannot procure it by the art of wealth-getting, they try to do so by some other means, employing each of the faculties in an unnatural
 20 way. For it is not the function of courage to produce wealth, but to inspire daring; nor is it the function of the military art nor of the medical art, but it belongs to the former to bring victory and to the latter to cause health. Yet these people make all these faculties means for the business of providing wealth, in the



1258 a τοῦτο τέλος ὄν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ τέλος ἅπαντα δέον ἀπαντᾶν.

15 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς τε μὴ ἀναγκαίας χρηματιστικῆς, καὶ τίς καὶ δι' αἰτίας τίνα ἐν χρείᾳ ἐσμὲν αὐτῆς, εἴρηται, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀναγκαίας, ὅτι ἑτέρα μὲν αὐτῆς οἰκονομικὴ δὲ κατὰ φύσιν ἢ περὶ τὴν τροφήν, οὐχ ὥσπερ αὐτῇ¹ ἀπειρος ἀλλ' ἔχουσα ὄρον.

20 Δῆλον δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀπορούμενον ἐξ ἀρχῆς, πότερον τοῦ οἰκονομικοῦ καὶ πολιτικοῦ ἐστὶν ἢ χρηματιστικῆς ἢ οὐ, ἀλλὰ δεῖ τοῦτο μὲν ὑπάρχειν (ὥσπερ γὰρ καὶ ἀνθρώπους οὐ ποιεῖ ἢ πολιτικὴ ἀλλὰ λαβοῦσα παρὰ τῆς φύσεως χρῆται αὐτοῖς, οὕτω καὶ τροφήν² τὴν φύσιν δεῖ παραδοῦναι γῆν ἢ θάλατταν ἢ ἄλλο τι), ἐκ δὲ τούτων ὡς δεῖ ταῦτα διαθεῖναι προσήκει τὸν οἰκονόμον. οὐ γὰρ τῆς ὑφαντικῆς ἔρια ποιῆσαι ἀλλὰ χρῆσασθαι αὐτοῖς, καὶ γινῶναι δὲ τὸ ποῖον χρηστὸν καὶ ἐπιτήδειον ἢ φαῦλον καὶ ἀνεπιτήδειον. καὶ γὰρ ἀπορήσειεν ἂν τις διὰ τί ἢ μὲν

30 χρηματιστικῆς μόνον τῆς οἰκονομίας ἢ δ' ἰατρικῆς οὐ μόνον, καίτοι δεῖ ὑγιαίνειν τοὺς κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν, ὥσπερ ζῆν ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔστι μὲν ὡς τοῦ οἰκονόμου καὶ τοῦ ἄρχοντος καὶ περὶ ὑγείας ἰδεῖν, ἔστι³ δ' ὡς οὐ, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἱατροῦ, οὕτω καὶ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἔστι μὲν ὡς

belief that wealth is the end and that everything must conspire to the end.

We have therefore discussed both the unnecessary branch of wealth-getting, defining it and also explaining the cause why we require it, and the necessary branch, showing that this branch which has to do with food is different from the unnecessary branch and is by nature a part of household management, not being like that branch unlimited but having a limit.

21 And we can also see the answer to the question raised at the beginning,^a whether the art of wealth-getting belongs to the householder and the statesman, or whether on the contrary supplies ought to be provided already, since just as statesmanship does not create human beings but having received them from nature makes use of them, so also it is the business of nature to bestow food by bestowing land or sea or something else, while the task of the householder is, starting with these supplies given, to dispose of them in the proper way. For it does not belong to the art of weaving to make fleeces, but to use them, and also to know

22 what sort of fleece is good and suitable or bad and unsuitable.

Otherwise the question might be raised, why the getting of wealth is a part of the household art whereas the art of medicine is not a part of it, although the members of the household ought to be healthy, just as they must be alive or fulfil any of the other essential conditions. But inasmuch as although in a way it does belong to the householder and the ruler to see even to health, yet in a way it does not belong to them but to the physician, so also with regard to wealth, although in a way it is the affair of the householder,

Natural Business a necessary subsidiary of Household Management.

Natural business subsidiary to economics

1258 a 35 τοῦ οἰκονόμου, ἔστι¹ δ' ὡς οὐ, ἀλλὰ τῆς ὑπηρετικῆς. μάλιστα δέ, καθάπερ εἴρηται πρότερον, δεῖ φύσει τοῦτο ὑπάρχειν. φύσεως γάρ ἐστιν ἔργον τροφῆν τῷ γεννηθέντι παρέχειν παντὶ γάρ, ἐξ οὗ γίνεται, τροφή τὸ λειπόμενόν ἐστιν. διὸ κατὰ φύσιν ἐστὶν ἡ χρηματιστικὴ πᾶσιν ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν καὶ τῶν ζώων.

40 Διπλῆς δ' οὐσης αὐτῆς, ὥσπερ εἶπομεν, καὶ τῆς μὲν

1258 b καπηλικῆς τῆς δ' οἰκονομικῆς, καὶ ταύτης μὲν ἀναγκαίας καὶ ἐπαινουμένης, τῆς δὲ μεταβλητικῆς ψεγομένης δικαίως (οὐ γὰρ κατὰ φύσιν ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἐστίν), εὐλογώτατα μισεῖται ἡ ὀβολοστατικὴ διὰ τὸ ἀπ'² αὐτοῦ τοῦ νομίσματος εἶναι τὴν
5 κτήσιν καὶ οὐκ ἐφ' ὅπερ ἐπορίσθη· μεταβολῆς γὰρ ἐγένετο χάριν, ὃ δὲ τόκος αὐτὸ ποιεῖ πλέον (ὄθεν καὶ τοῦνομα τοῦτ' εἴληφεν· ὅμοια γὰρ τὰ τικτόμενα τοῖς γεννωσίν αὐτὰ ἐστίν, ὃ δὲ τόκος γίνεται νόμισμα ἐκ νομίσματος)· ὥστε καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ φύσιν οὗτος τῶν χρηματισμῶν ἐστίν.

10 IV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ πρὸς τὴν γνῶσιν διωρίκαμεν ἱκανῶς, τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν δεῖ διελθεῖν· πάντα δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα τὴν μὲν θεωρίαν ἐλεύθερον ἔχει, τὴν δ' ἐμπειρίαν ἀναγκαίαν. ἔστι δὲ τῆς χρηματιστικῆς μερῆ χρήσιμα τὸ περὶ τὰ κτήματα³ ἐμπειρον εἶναι, ποῖα λυσιτελέστατα καὶ ποῦ καὶ πῶς, οἷον ἵππων κτήσις ποῖα τις ἢ βοῶν ἢ προβάτων, ὁμοίως δὲ

23

1

in a way it is not, but is a matter for the subsidiary art. But best of all, as has been said before, this provision ought to be made in advance by nature. For it is the work of nature to supply nourishment for her offspring, since every creature has for nourishment the residue of the substance from which it springs.² Hence the business of drawing provision from the fruits of the soil and from animals is natural to all.

23 But, as we said, this art is twofold, one branch being of the nature of trade while the other belongs to the household art; and the latter branch is necessary and in good esteem, but the branch connected with exchange is justly discredited (for it is not in accordance with nature, but involves men's taking things from one another). As this is so, usury is most reasonably hated, because its gain comes from money itself and not from that for the sake of which money was invented. For money was brought into existence for the purpose of exchange, but interest increases the amount of the money itself (and this is the actual origin of the Greek word: offspring resembles parent, and interest is money born of money); consequently this form of the business of getting wealth is of all forms the most contrary to nature.

1 IV. And since we have adequately defined the scientific side of the subject, we ought to discuss it from the point of view of practice; although, whereas the theory of such matters is a liberal study, the practical pursuit of them is narrowing. The practically useful branches of the art of wealth-getting are first, an expert knowledge of stock, what breeds are most profitable and in what localities and under what conditions, for instance what particular stock in

Trade justly disliked;
Usury unnatural.

Outline of practical
treatise on Trade.

Metabletike (the art of exchange)
justly discredited, especially usury,
for money has not been created to
make more money but to facilitate
exchange

1258 b 15 καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ζώων (δεῖ γὰρ ἔμπειρον εἶναι πρὸς ἄλληλά τε
 τούτων τίνα λυσιτελέστατα, καὶ ποῖα ἐν ποίοις τόποις, ἄλλα
 γὰρ ἐν ἄλλαις εὐθηνεῖ χώραις)· εἶτα περὶ γεωργίας, καὶ ταύτης
 ἤδη ψιλῆς τε καὶ πεφυτευμένης, καὶ μελιττουργίας, καὶ τῶν
 20 ἄλλων ζώων τῶν πλωτῶν ἢ πτηνῶν ἀφ' ὧν ἔστι τυγχάνειν
 βοηθείας. τῆς μὲν οὖν οἰκειοτάτης χρηματιστικῆς ταῦτα μόρια
 καὶ πρῶτα¹. τῆς δὲ μεταβλητικῆς μέγιστον μὲν ἐμπορία (καὶ
 ταύτης μέρη τρία, ναυκληρία φορτηγία παράστασις· διαφέρει
 25 δὲ τούτων ἕτερα ἐτέρων τῶν τὰ μὲν ἀσφαλέστερα εἶναι τὰ δὲ
 πλείω πορίζειν τὴν ἐπικαρπίαν), δεύτερον δὲ τοκισμός, τρίτον δὲ
 μισθαρνία (ταύτης δ' ἡ μὲν τῶν βαναύσων τεχνῶν,² ἡ δὲ τῶν
 ἀτέχνων καὶ τῶ σώματι μόνῳ χρησίμων)· τρίτον δὲ εἶδος
 χρηματιστικῆς μεταξὺ ταύτης καὶ τῆς πρώτης (ἔχει γὰρ καὶ τῆς
 30 κατὰ φύσιν τι μέρος καὶ τῆς μεταβλητικῆς), ὅσα³ ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ
 τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς γινομένων ἀκάρπων μὲν χρησίμων δέ, οἷον
 ὑλοτομία⁴ τε καὶ πᾶσα μεταλλευτική· αὕτη δὲ πολλὰ ἤδη
 περιείληφε γένη, πολλὰ γὰρ εἶδη τῶν ἐκ γῆς μεταλλευομένων
 ἐστίν. εἰσὶ δὲ⁵ τεχνικώταται μὲν τῶν ἐργασιῶν ὅπου ἐλάχιστον
 τῆς τύχης, βαναυσόταται δ' ἐν αἷς τὰ

horses or cattle or sheep, and similarly of the other animals also
 (for the farmer must be an expert as to which of these animals are
 most profitable compared with one another, and also as to what
 breeds are most profitable on what sorts of land, since different
 breeds thrive in different places); secondly, the subject of
 agriculture, and this again is divided into corn-growing and fruit-
 farming; also bee-keeping, and the breeding of the other creatures
 2 finned and feathered which can be used to furnish supplies. These
 then are the branches and primary parts of wealth-getting in the
 most proper sense. Of the kind that deals with exchange, the
 largest branch is commerce (which has three departments, ship-
 owning, transport and marketing; these departments differ from
 each other in the fact that some are safer and others carry larger
 profits); the second branch is money-lending, and the third labour
 for hire, one department of which is that of the mechanic^a arts and
 the other that of unskilled labourers who are useful only for bodily
 service. And there is a third form of wealth-getting that lies
 3 between the latter and the one placed first, since it possesses an
 element both of natural wealth-getting and of the sort that
 employs exchange; it deals with all the commodities that are
 obtained from the earth and from those fruitless but useful things
 that come from the earth—examples are the felling of timber^b and
 all sorts of mining; and of mining itself there are many classes,
 3 since there are many sorts of metals obtained out of the earth.
 The^c most scientific of these industries are those which involve the
 smallest element of chance, the most mechanic those in which

its three branches.

Quarries and mines
an intermediate
class.

Three types of the art of exchange

1. Commerce

I. Shipping

II. Transport by land

III. Retailing

2. Money lending

3. Labour for hire

Risk-return
trade-off

1258 b 35 σώματα λωβῶνται μάλιστα, δουλικώταται δὲ ὅπου τοῦ σώματος πλείσται χρήσεις, ἀγενέσταται δὲ ὅπου ἐλάχιστον προσδεῖ ἀρετῆς. περὶ ἐκάστου δὲ τούτων καθόλου μὲν εἴρηται καὶ νῦν, τὸ δὲ κατὰ μέρος ἀκριβολογείσθαι χρήσιμον μὲν πρὸς τὰς ἐργασίας, φορτικὸν δὲ τὸ ἐνδιατρίβειν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐστὶν ἐνίοις γεγραμμένα περὶ τούτων, οἷον Χαρητίδῃ τῷ Παρίῳ καὶ Ἀπολλοδώρῳ τῷ Λημνίῳ περὶ γεωργίας καὶ ψιλῆς καὶ πεφυτευμένης, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις περὶ ἄλλων, ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ τούτων θεωρεῖται ὅτι ἐπιμελές· ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα σποράδην δι' ὧν ἐπιτευχήκασιν ἐνίοι χρηματιζόμενοι δεῖ συλλέγειν· πάντα γὰρ ὠφέλιμα ταῦτ' ἐστὶ τοῖς τιμῶσι τὴν χρηματιστικὴν, οἷον καὶ τὸ Θάλεω τοῦ Μιλησίου· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι κατανόημά τι χρηματιστικόν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ μὲν διὰ τὴν σοφίαν προσάπτουσι, τυγχάνει δὲ καθόλου τι ὅν. ὄνειδιζόντων γὰρ αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν πενίαν ὡς ἀνωφελοῦς τῆς φιλοσοφίας οὔσης, κατανοήσαντά φασι αὐτὸν ἐλαιῶν φορὰν ἐσομένην ἐκ τῆς ἀστρολογίας ἔτι χειμῶνος ὄντος, εὐπορήσαντα χρημάτων ὀλίγων ἀρραβῶνας διαδοῦναι τῶν ἐλαιουργίων τῶν τ' ἐν Μιλήτῳ καὶ Χίῳ πάντων, ὀλίγου μισθωσάμενον ἅτ' οὐθενὸς ἐπιβάλλοντος· ἐπειδὴ δ' ὁ καιρὸς ἦκε, πολλῶν ζητουμένων ἅμα καὶ ἐξαίφνης, ἐκμισθοῦντα ὅν τρόπον ἠβούλετο πολλὰ χρήματα συλλέξαντα,

It is boring to provide details. There are management textbooks for that. Thales of Miletus cornering the market (Monopoly)

the operatives undergo the greatest amount of bodily degradation, the most servile those in which the most uses are made of the body, and the most ignoble those in which there is the least requirement of virtue as an accessory. But while we have even now given a general description of these various branches, yet a detailed and particular account of them, though useful for the practice of the industries, would be illiberal as a subject of prolonged study. There are books on these subjects by certain authors, for example Charetides^a of Paros and Apollodorus^b of Lemnos have written about both agriculture and fruit-farming, and similarly others also on other topics, so these subjects may be studied from these authors by anybody concerned to do so; but in addition a collection ought also to be made^c of the scattered accounts of methods that have brought success in business to certain individuals. All these methods are serviceable for those who value wealth-getting, for example the plan of Thales^d of Miletus, which is a device for the business of getting wealth, but which, though it is attributed to him because of his wisdom, is really of universal application. Thales, so the story goes, because of his poverty was taunted with the uselessness of philosophy; but from his knowledge of astronomy he had observed while it was still winter that there was going to be a large crop of olives, so he raised a small sum of money and paid round deposits for the whole of the olive-presses in Miletus and Chios, which he hired at a low rent as nobody was running him up; and when the season arrived, there was a sudden demand for a number of presses at the same time, and by letting them out on what terms he liked he realized a large sum of

Other writers on industries.

Thales and Monopoly.

1259 a ἐπιδείξει ὅτι ῥᾶδιόν ἐστι πλουτεῖν τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἂν
 βούλωνται, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ περὶ ὃ σπουδάζουσιν. Θαλῆς μὲν
 οὖν λέγεται τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐπίδειξιν ποιήσασθαι τῆς
 20 σοφίας· ἔστι δ' ὥσπερ εἴπομεν, καθόλου τὸ τοιοῦτον
 χρηματιστικόν, ἕάν τις δύνηται μονοπωλίαν αὐτῷ
 κατασκευάζειν· διὸ καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἔναια τοῦτον ποιοῦνται τὸν
 πόρον ὅταν ἀπορῶσι χρημάτων, μονοπωλίαν γὰρ τῶν ὀνίων
 ποιοῦσιν. ἐν Συκελίᾳ δέ τις τεθέντος παρ' αὐτῷ νομίσματος
 25 συνέπριετο πάντα τὸν σίδηρον ἐκ τῶν σιδηρείων, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
 ὡς ἀφίκοντο ἐκ τῶν ἐμπορίων οἱ ἔμποροι, ἐπώλει μόνος, οὐ
 30 πολλὴν ποιήσας ὑπερβολὴν τῆς τιμῆς, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐπὶ τοῖς
 πεντήκοντα ταλάντοις ἐπέλαβεν ἑκατόν. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὁ
 Διονύσιος αἰσθόμενος τὰ μὲν χρήματα ἐκέλευσεν
 ἐκκομίσασθαι, μὴ μέντοι γ' ἔτι μένειν ἐν Συρακούσαις, ὡς
 πόρους εὐρίσκοντα τοῖς αὐτοῦ¹ πράγμασιν ἀσυμφόρους. τὸ
 μέντοι ὄραμα² Θάλεω καὶ τοῦτο³ ταῦτόν ἐστιν· ἀμφοτέρω γὰρ
 35 ἑαυτοῖς ἐτέχνασαν γενέσθαι μονοπωλίαν. χρήσιμον δὲ
 γνωρίζειν ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς πολιτικοῖς· πολλαῖς γὰρ πόλεσι δεῖ
 χρηματισμοῦ καὶ τοιούτων πόρων, ὥσπερ οἰκίᾳ, μᾶλλον δὲ
 διόπερ τινὲς καὶ πολιτεύονται τῶν πολιτενομένων ταῦτα μόνον.
 V. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τρία μέρη τῆς οἰκονομικῆς ἦν, ἐν μὲν δεσποτική,
 περὶ ἧς εἴρηται πρότερον, ἐν δὲ πατρική, τρίτον δὲ γαμική⁴—
 καὶ γὰρ γυναικὸς

money, so proving that it is easy for philosophers to be rich if they
 6 choose, but this is not what they care about. Thales then is
 reported to have thus displayed his wisdom, but as a matter of fact
 this device of taking an opportunity to secure a monopoly is a
 universal principle of business; hence even some states have
 recourse to this plan as a method of raising revenue when short of
 7 funds: they introduce a monopoly of marketable goods. There was
 a man in Sicily who used a sum of money deposited with him to
 buy up all the iron from the iron foundries, and afterwards when
 the dealers came from the trading-centres he was the only seller,
 though he did not greatly raise the price, but all the same he made
 8 a profit of a hundred talents^a on his capital of fifty. When
 Dionysius^b came to know of it he ordered the man to take his
 money with him but clear out of Syracuse on the spot,^c since he
 was inventing means of profit detrimental to the tyrant's own
 affairs. Yet really this device is the same as the discovery of Thales,
 for both men alike contrived to secure themselves a monopoly. An
 acquaintance with these devices is also serviceable for statesmen,
 for many states need financial aid and modes of revenue like those
 described, just as a household may, but in greater degree; hence
 some statesmen even devote their political activity exclusively to
 finance.

1 V. And since, as we saw,^d the science of household
 management has three divisions, one the relation of master to
 slave, of which we have spoken before,^e one the paternal relation,
 and the third the conjugal^f—for

Government
 monopolies.

The husband's office
 political, the father's
 royal,

Wealth-getting through monopoly

- 1259 a 40 ἄρχειν καὶ τέκνων (ὡς ἐλευθέρων μὲν ἀμφοῖν, οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ
 1259 b τρόπον τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀλλὰ γυναικὸς μὲν πολιτικῶς, τέκνων δὲ
 βασιλικῶς): τό τε γὰρ ἄρρειν φύσει τοῦ θήλεος ἡγεμονικώτερον
 (εἰ μὴ που συνέστηκε παρὰ φύσιν) καὶ τὸ πρεσβύτερον καὶ
 5 τέλειον τοῦ νεωτέρου καὶ ἀτελοῦς. ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς πολιτικαῖς
 ἀρχαῖς ταῖς πλείσταις μεταβάλλει τὸ ἄρχον καὶ τὸ ἀρχόμενον
 (ἐξ ἴσου γὰρ εἶναι βούλεται τὴν φύσιν καὶ διαφέρειν μηθέν),
 ὁμοῦ δὲ ὅταν τὸ μὲν ἄρχῃ τὸ δ' ἄρχῃται ζητεῖ διαφορὰν εἶναι
 καὶ σχήμασι καὶ λόγοις καὶ τιμαῖς, ὥσπερ καὶ Ἄμασις εἶπε τὸν
 10 περὶ τοῦ ποδανιπτῆρος λόγον· τὸ δ' ἄρρειν αἰετὸς πρὸς τὸ θῆλυ
 τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον. ἡ δὲ τῶν τέκνων ἀρχὴ βασιλική· τὸ γὰρ
 γεννήσαν καὶ κατὰ φιλίαν ἄρχον καὶ κατὰ πρεσβείαν ἐστίν,
 ὅπερ ἐστὶ βασιλικῆς εἶδος ἀρχῆς (διὸ καλῶς Ὅμηρος τὸν Δία
 προσηγόρευσεν εἰπὼν
 πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε
 15 τὸν βασιλέα τούτων ἀπάντων). φύσει γὰρ τὸν βασιλέα
 διαφέρειν μὲν δεῖ, τῷ γένει δ' εἶναι τὸν αὐτόν· ὅπερ πέπονθε τὸ
 πρεσβύτερον πρὸς τὸ νεώτερον καὶ ὁ γεννήσας πρὸς τὸ τέκνον.
 Φανερόν τοίνυν ὅτι πλείων ἡ σπουδὴ τῆς οἰκονομίας περὶ
 20 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἢ περὶ τὴν τῶν ἀψύχων κτήσιν καὶ περὶ τὴν
 ἀρετὴν τούτων ἢ περὶ τὴν τῆς κτήσεως, ὃν καλοῦμεν πλοῦτον,
 καὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων μᾶλλον ἢ δούλων.

- 2 it is a part of the household science to rule over wife and children
 (over both as over freemen, yet not with the same mode of
 government,^a but over the wife to exercise republican government
 and over the children monarchical); for the male is by nature
 better fitted to command than the female (except in some cases
 where their union has been formed contrary to nature) and the
 older and fully developed person than the younger and immature.
 It is true that in most cases of republican government the ruler
 and the ruled interchange in turn (for they tend to be on an equal
 level in their nature and to have no difference at all), although
 nevertheless during the period when one is ruler and the other
 ruled they seek to have a distinction by means of insignia and titles
 and honours, just as Amasis made his speech about the foot-bath^b;
 but the male stands in this relationship to the female continuously.
 The rule of the father over the children on the other hand is that
 of a king; for the male parent is the ruler in virtue both of affection
 and of seniority, which is characteristic of royal government (and
 therefore Homer^c finely designated Zeus by the words 'father of
 men and gods,' as the king of them all). For though in nature the
 king must be superior, in race he should be the same as his
 subjects, and this is the position of the elder in relation to the
 younger and of the father in relation to the child.

- 3 It is clear then that household management takes more interest
 in the human members of the household than in its inanimate
 property, and in the excellence of these than in that of its property,
 which we style riches, and more in that of its free members than in
 that of slaves.

and more important
 ownership of goods.

ARISTOTLE

B

1260 b I. Ἐπεὶ δὲ προαιρούμεθα θεωρῆσαι περὶ τῆς κοινωνίας τῆς
πολιτικῆς ἢ κρατίστη πασῶν τοῖς δυναμένοις ζῆν ὅτι μάλιστα
30 κατ' εὐχὴν, δεῖ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπισκέψασθαι πολιτείας αἷς τε
χρῶνται τινες τῶν πόλεων τῶν εὐνομείσθαι λεγομένων κἂν εἴ
τινες ἕτεροι τυγχάνουσιν ὑπὸ τινῶν εἰρημέναι καὶ δοκοῦσαι
καλῶς ἔχειν, ἵνα τό τ' ὀρθῶς ἔχον ὀφθῆ καὶ τὸ χρήσιμον, ἔτι δὲ
τὸ ζητεῖν τι παρ' αὐτὰς ἕτερον μὴ δοκῆ πάντως εἶναι
35 σοφίζεσθαι βουλομένων, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μὴ καλῶς ἔχειν ταύτας
τὰς οὖν ὑπαρχούσας, διὰ τοῦτο ταύτην δοκῶμεν ἐπιβαλέσθαι
τὴν μέθοδον.
Ἄρχῃν δὲ πρῶτον ποιητέον ἢ περ πέφυκεν ἀρχὴ ταύτης τῆς
σκέψεως. ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἦτοι πάντας πάντων κοινωνεῖν τοὺς
πολίτας, ἢ μηδενός, ἢ τινῶν μὲν τινῶν δὲ μή. τὸ μὲν οὖν μηδενός
40 κοινωνεῖν φανερόν ὡς ἀδύνατον (ἢ γὰρ πολιτεία κοινωνία τίς
ἔστι, καὶ πρῶτον ἀνάγκη τοῦ τόπου κοινωνεῖν, ὃ μὲν γὰρ τόπος
1261 a εἷς ὁ τῆς μιᾶς πόλεως, οἱ δὲ πολῖται κοινωνοὶ τῆς μιᾶς πόλεως)
ἀλλὰ πότερον ὅσων

Types of property:

1. All in common
2. Nothing in common
3. Some things in common and others not

POLITICS, II. I.

BOOK II

1 I. And since we take for our special consideration the study of
the form of political community that is the best of all the forms for
a people able to pursue the most ideal mode of life, we must also
examine the other constitutions actually employed by certain of
the states said to be well governed, as well as any others
propounded by certain thinkers and reputed to be of merit, in
order that we may discern what there is in them that is right and
expedient, and also in order that it may not be thought that to seek
for something different from them springs entirely from a desire
to display ingenuity; but that we may be thought to enter upon this
inquiry because these forms of constitution that already exist are
2 not satisfactory.
2 We must first adopt as a starting-point that which is the natural
point of departure for this inquiry. There are three possible
systems of property: either all the citizens must own everything in
common, or they must own nothing in common, or some things
must be common property and others not. To have nothing in
common is clearly impossible; for the state is essentially a form of
community, and it must at any rate have a common locality: a
single city occupies a single site, and the single city belongs to its
citizens in common. But is it better for a city

Book II.
EXISTING
CONSTITUTION
IDEAL AND
ACTUAL.

1261 a ἐνδέχεται κοινωνῆσαι πάντων βέλτιον κοινωνεῖν τὴν μέλλουσαν οἰκῆσθαι πόλιν καλῶς, ἢ τινῶν μὲν τινῶν δ' οὐ βέλτιον;

5 ἐνδέχεται γὰρ καὶ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ κτημάτων κοινωνεῖν τοὺς πολίτας ἀλλήλοις, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ τῇ Πλάτωνος ἐκεῖ γὰρ ὁ Σωκράτης φησὶ δεῖν κοινὰ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας εἶναι καὶ τὰς κτήσεις. τοῦτο δὲ πότερον ὡς νῦν οὕτω βέλτιον ἔχει, ἢ κατὰ τὸν ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ γεγραμμένον νόμον;

10 Ἐχει δὲ δυσχερείας ἄλλας τε πολλὰς τὸ πάντων εἶναι τὰς γυναικας κοινὰς, καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίαν φησὶ δεῖν νενομοθετῆσθαι τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ὁ Σωκράτης οὐ φαίνεται συμβαίνειν ἐκ τῶν λόγων· ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τὸ τέλος ὃ φησι τῇ πόλει δεῖν ὑπάρχειν, ὡς
15 μὲν εἶρηται νῦν, ἀδύνατον, πῶς δὲ δεῖ διελεῖν,¹ οὐδὲν διώριστα λέγω δὲ τὸ μίαν εἶναι τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν ὡς ἄριστον ὅτι μάλιστα, λαμβάνει γὰρ ταύτην ὑπόθεσιν ὁ Σωκράτης.

Καίτοι φανερόν ἐστιν ὡς προϊούσα καὶ γινομένη μία μᾶλλον οὐδὲ πόλις ἔσται· πλήθος γάρ τι τὴν φύσιν ἐστὶν ἢ
20 πόλις, γινομένη τε μία μᾶλλον οἰκία μὲν ἐκ πόλεως, ἀνθρώπων δ' ἐξ οἰκίας ἔσται, μᾶλλον γὰρ μίαν τὴν οἰκίαν τῆς πόλεως φαίμεν ἂν καὶ τὸν ἕνα τῆς οἰκίας· ὥστ' εἰ καὶ δυνατὸς τις εἴη τοῦτο δρᾶν, οὐ ποιητέον, ἀναιρήσει γὰρ τὴν πόλιν. οὐ μόνον δ' ἐκ πλείονων ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ εἶδει διαφερόντων. οὐ

Having all property and wives in common not practical: it would make the state into a family

that is to be well ordered to have community in everything which can possibly be made common property, or is it better to have some things in common and others not? For example, it is possible for the citizens to have children, wives and possessions in common with each other, as in Plato's *Republic*, in which Socrates says that there must be community of children, women and possessions. Well then, which is preferable, the system that now obtains, or one conforming with the regulation described in *The Republic*?

3 Now for all the citizens to have their wives in common involves a variety of difficulties; in particular,^b (1) the object which Socrates advances as the reason why this enactment should be made clearly does not follow from his arguments; also (2) as a means to the end which he asserts should be the fundamental object of the city, the scheme as actually set forth in the dialogue is not practicable; yet (3) how it is to be further worked out has been nowhere definitely stated. I refer to the ideal of the fullest possible unity of the entire state, which Socrates takes as his fundamental principle.

4 Yet it is clear that if the process of unification advances beyond a certain point, the city will not be a city at all; for a state essentially consists of a multitude of persons, and if its unification is carried beyond a certain point, city will be reduced to family and family to individual, for we should pronounce the family to be a more complete unity than the city, and the single person than the family; so that even if any lawgiver were able to unify the state, he must not do so, for he will destroy it in the process. And not only does a city consist of a multitude of human beings, it consists of human beings

Plato's communistic Republic.

(1) Unity of State not desirable because numerical plurality is essential.

ARISTOTLE

1261 a 25 γὰρ γίνεται πόλις ἐξ ὁμοίων. ἕτερον γὰρ συμμαχία καὶ πόλις·
 τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῷ ποσῷ χρησίμων, κἂν ἢ τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ εἶδει (βοηθείαι
 γὰρ χάριν ἢ συμμαχία πέφυκεν), ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ σταθμὸς πλείον
 ἐλκύσειε,¹ ἐξ² ὧν δὲ δεῖ ἐν γενέσθαι εἶδει δεῖ διαφέρειν³ (διοίσει
 30 δὲ τῷ τοιούτῳ καὶ πόλις ἔθλους ὅταν μὴ κατὰ κόμας ὧσι
 κεχωρισμένοι τὸ πλῆθος ἀλλ' οἷον Ἀρκάδες). διόπερ τὸ ἴσον⁴
 τὸ ἀντιπεποιθὸς σφύζει τὰς πόλεις, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἠθικοῖς
 εἴρηται πρότερον. ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐλευθέροις καὶ ἴσοις ἀνάγκη
 35 ἐνιαυτὸν ἢ κατὰ τινα ἄλλην τάξιν ἢ χρόνον· καὶ συμβαίνει δὴ
 τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ὥστε πάντας ἄρχειν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ
 μετέβαλλον οἱ σκυτεῖς καὶ οἱ τέκτονες καὶ μὴ οἱ αὐτοὶ ἀεὶ
 σκυτοτόμοι καὶ τέκτονες ἦσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ βέλτιον οὕτως ἔχειν καὶ
 τὰ περὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν τὴν πολιτικὴν, δῆλον ὡς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀεὶ
 6 βέλτιον ἄρχειν, εἰ δυνατὸν· ἐν οἷς δὲ μὴ δυνατὸν διὰ τὸ τὴν
 φύσιν ἴσους εἶναι πάντας, ἅμα δὲ⁵ καὶ δίκαιον, εἴτ' ἀγαθὸν εἴτε
 φαῦλον τὸ ἄρχειν, πάντας αὐτοῦ μετέχειν, τοῦτο δὲ μιμνῆται τὸ
 ἐν μέρει τοὺς ἴσους εἴκειν τὸ ἀνομοίους⁶ εἶναι ἐξ ἀρχῆς· οἱ μὲν
 γὰρ ἄρχουσι οἱ δ'

POLITICS, II. I.

differing in kind. A collection of persons all alike does not
 constitute a state. For a city is not the same thing as a league; a
 league is of value by its quantity, even though it is all the same in
 kind (since the essential object of the league is military strength),
 just as a weight would be worth more if it weighed more, whereas^a
 5 components which are to make up a unity must differ in kind (and
 it is by this characteristic that a city will also surpass a tribe of
 which the population is not scattered among villages but organized
 like the Arcadians). Hence reciprocal equality^b is the preservative
 of states, as has been said before in *Ethics*. For even among the
 free and equal this principle must necessarily obtain, since all
 cannot govern at once: they must hold office for a year at a time or
 by some other arrangement or period; and in this manner it does
 actually come about that all govern, just as all shoemakers would
 be also carpenters if the shoemakers and the carpenters kept on
 6 changing trades instead of the same persons being shoemakers and
 carpenters always. But since such permanence of function is better
 for the political community also, it is clear that it is better for the
 same persons to govern always, if possible; and among peoples
 where it is impossible because all the citizens are equal in their
 nature, yet at the same time it is only just, whether governing is a
 good thing or a bad, that all should partake in it, then for equals
 thus to submit to authority in turn imitates their being originally
 dissimilar^c; for some govern and others are governed

classes are
 necessary.

- 1261 b 5 ἄρχονται παρὰ μέρος, ὡσπερ ἂν ἄλλοι γενόμενοι, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν
 δὴ τρόπον ἀρχόντων ἕτεροι ἐτέρας ἄρχουσιν ἀρχάς. φανερόν
 τοίνυν ἐκ τούτων ὡς οὔτε πέφυκε μίαν οὕτως εἶναι τὴν πόλιν
 ὡσπερ λέγουσί τινες, καὶ τὸ λεχθὲν ὡς μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ἐν ταῖς
 10 πόλεσιν ὅτι τὰς πόλεις ἀναιρέῃ· καίτοι τό γε ἐκάστου ἀγαθὸν
 σφίξει ἕκαστον.—ἔστι δὲ καὶ κατ' ἄλλον τρόπον φανερόν ὅτι τὸ
 λίαν ἐνσὺν ζητεῖν τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀμεινον. οἰκία μὲν γὰρ
 αὐταρκέστερον ἐνός, πόλις δ' οἰκίας, καὶ βούλεται γ' ἦδη τότε
 εἶναι πόλις ὅταν αὐτάρκη συμβαίη τὴν κοινωνίαν εἶναι τοῦ
 15 ἐν τοῦ μᾶλλον αἰρετώτερον.
 Ἄλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' εἰ τοῦτο ἀριστόν ἐστι, τὸ μίαν ὅτι μάλιστ'
 εἶναι τὴν κοινωνίαν, οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἀποδείκνυσθαι φαίνεται κατὰ
 τὸν λόγον 'ἐὰν πάντες ἅμα λέγωσι τὸ ἐμὸν καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐμὸν'.
 20 τοῦτο γὰρ οἶεται ὁ Σωκράτης σημείον εἶναι τοῦ τὴν πόλιν
 τελέως εἶναι μίαν. τὸ γὰρ πάντες διττόν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ὡς ἕκαστος,
 τάχ' ἂν εἴη μᾶλλον ὁ βούλεται ποιεῖν ὁ Σωκράτης (ἕκαστος γὰρ
 νῖον ἑαυτοῦ φήσει τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ γυναῖκα δὴ τὴν αὐτήν, καὶ περὶ
 25 τῆς οὐσίας καὶ περὶ ἐκάστου δὴ τῶν συμβαινόντων ὡσαύτως):
 νῦν δ' οὐχ οὕτω φήσουσιν οἱ κοινὰς χρώμενοι ταῖς γυναῖξιν καὶ
 τοῖς τέκνοις, ἀλλὰ πάντες μὲν, οὐχ ὡς ἕκαστος δ' αὐτῶν, ὁμοίως
 δὲ καὶ

Communism not practical

- by turn, as though becoming other persons; and also when they
 7 hold office in the same way different persons hold different
 offices. It is clear then from these considerations that it is not an
 outcome of nature for the state to be a unity in the manner in
 which certain persons say that it is, and that what has been said to
 be the greatest good in states really destroys states; yet surely a
 thing's particular good acts as its preservative.—Another line of
 consideration also shows that to seek to unify the state excessively
 is not beneficial. In point of self-sufficiency the individual is
 surpassed by the family and the family by the state, and in
 principle a state is fully realized only when it comes to pass that
 the community of numbers is self-sufficing; if therefore the more
 self-sufficing a community is, the more desirable is its condition,
 then a less degree of unity is more desirable than a greater.
 8 Again, even granting that it is best for the community to be as
 complete a unity as possible, complete unity does not seem to be
 proved by the formula all the citizens say "Mine" and "Not mine"
 at the same time,' which Socrates^a thinks to be a sign of the city's
 being completely one. 'All' is an ambiguous term. If it means 'each
 severally,' very likely this would more fully realize the state of
 things which Socrates wishes to produce (for in that case every
 citizen will call the same boy his son and also the same woman his
 wife, and will speak in the same way of property and indeed of
 9 everything that falls to his lot); but *ex hypothesi* the citizens,
 having community of women and children, will not call them
 'theirs' in this sense, but will mean theirs collectively and not
 severally, and similarly they will call property

and numbers give
independence.

(2) Unity not
secured (a) either by
communism of the
family.

because sense of
property will be
destroyed.

ARISTOTELIS

OPERA OMNIA

QVÆ EXTANT.

Græcè & Latinè.

VETERVM AC RECENTIORVM INTERPRETVM, VTI
Adriani Turnebi, Isaaci Casauboni, Iulij Pacij studio emendatissima.

CVM KYRIACI STROZÆ PATRITII FLORENTINI LIBRIS DVOBVS
Græcolatinis de Republicâ in supplementum Politicorum Aristotelis.

Sed nouissima huic Editioni omnium quæ hætenus prodierunt, ornata acceffit breuis ac perpetuus in omnes Aristotelis libros Commentarius, sive Synopsis Analytica Doctrinæ Peripateticæ, non antehac visa, in quâ ut in expeditiore tabellâ, Aristotelis Philosophia omnis, prout ea suo ordine descripta est, perspicue breuiterque indicatur, & pro rerum dignitate exponitur.

Auctore GUILLELMO D'YVAE Pontefiano, Philosophiæ Græcæ & Latinæ in Parisiensi Academia Regio Professore, & Doctore Medico; qui & præter operosam illam Synopsin, adiecit Anthologiam Anatomicam ex scriptis Hippocratis & Galeni, ad libros Aristotelis de historiâ, generatione & partibus animalium; & præterea libros quatuordecim diuinius Philosophiæ seu Metaphysicorum; notis & argumentis auxit ac illustrauit, quatuorque eorum postremos hætenus male collocatos, in legitimum ordinem restituit.

Indices tres operum molem claudunt ac velati absqueant. Primus, quæst Catalogus, nomina recenset Auctorum etiam iuniorum, qui Philosophiam Aristotelis suis scriptis illustrarunt. Secundus, curas & commentarios singulorum distinguit. Tertius est Thesaurus veram oberrimus.



Lutetiæ Parisiorum Typis Regiis.

M. DCXIX.

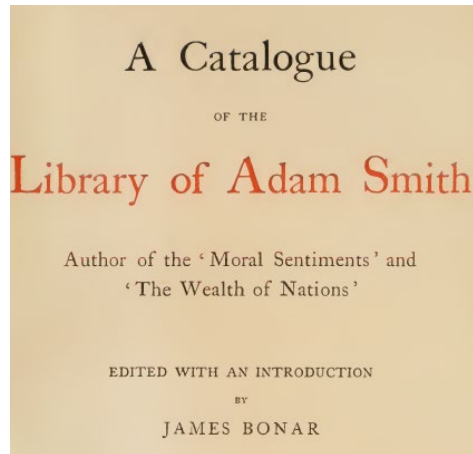
CVM PRIVILEGIO REGIS CHRISTIANISSIMI.

limento sunt aequales. Oportet ergo, rationē & comparationē habere adificandiorem, tot numero calceos cum domo aut reparari. Nam si hoc non ita fiet, neque erit societas. Non poterunt autē commodammodo sint aequalia. Ergo quemadmodum dixi, unum quiddam esse oportet, quod imeritatur. Hoc autē re quidē vera visus, est: quæ omnia continent. Nam si nulla sint, aut si non similiter egerēt: vel nulla esset permutatio. Sed in indigentia locū nisi compacto & conuento quodammodo immutatio: ob hanc causam vocatur societas, id est, a lege: quia non natura, sed est in nobis se cum immutare, inuitē. Erat igitur tum permissio mutua & reciproca fuerint exæquatæ. Itaque quam rationē sola ad futurū, eandem rationē habere deus ad opus agricoltæ. Sunt autem tum in certatione deducendi, cum permutaturum non fiet, alterum extremum veramque habebit. Verumtamen cum suas res haeræquales inter se, ac socij, quia hæc æquales potest. Agricola A, alimentum C, is futuri exæquatam cum alimento D.

modo non liceret, vicissim perpeti seu a societas esset, nulla communitas. Indis societatem hominum contineri, tandem, quod vinculi instar sit, ex eo periculum vbi aut neuter eger re alterius, aut non eger, permutatio inter eos contrahi modum cum eius quod quis habet, et puta vini, exportandi frumenti sit postur oportet exæquatam esse. In permutatam autem, si forte re aliqua nunc non ac vis nobis facultatem & copiam foretis, veluti sponsor nummus intercedit, a vicique eam rem qua egerat, accipere nummum attulerit. Sed idem nummodum accidit: non enim semper æqualem Verumtamen immutabiliter ac stabilior ler. Itaque debent esse res omnes æstimationem permutatio semper futura est. permutatio, erit & societas. Nummus iam veluti mensura, res apta quadam & conuenientia concordis inter se & is reddidit, cas exæquat. Nam neque si mutatio, societas costare potuisset: neque permutatio loci vnaquæ fuisset: neque iam re compositione, & conuenientia, erigunt inter se tam dissimiles ac disparatissimas, nulla communi mensura inter nec coherere possunt: sed quod ad veritatem indigentiamque attinet, satis commodè possunt. quiddam exare necesse est, idque hominum instituto, & ex conditione. Quapropter apum. n. res inter se disparatæ apta quadam compositione & conuenientia concordis efficit. Nihil non metiatur nummus. Sit domus A, minx decem B, lectus C, A igitur dimidium B fuerit,

Guilielmo Du Val, *Aristotelis Opera Omnia quae extant, graece & latine, veterum ac recentiorum interpretum*, Lutetiae Parisiorum (Paris), Typis Regiis, apud Societatem Graecarum Editionum, 1629.

A copy of this edition was in Adam Smith's Library



ARISTOTLE. Opera Omnia, Graece et Latine. Ed. W. du Val. Q C
 4 vols. Folio. Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1729.

ΠΕΡΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗΣ.

THE FIFTH BOOK
OF THE
NICOMACHEAN ETHICS
OF
ARISTOTLE.

EDITED FOR THE SYNDICS OF THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

BY

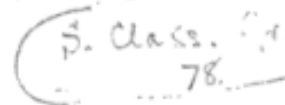
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ARISTOTLE

- 11 ὅλης ἀρετῆς ἐστὶ τῶν νομίμων ὅσα νενομοθέτηται περὶ παιδείαν τὴν πρὸς τὸ κοινόν. περὶ δὲ τῆς καθ' ἕκαστον παιδείας, καθ' ἣν ἀπλῶς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐστὶ, πότερον τῆς πολιτικῆς ἐστὶν ἢ ἐτέρας, ὕστερον διοριστέον· οὐ γὰρ ἴσως ταῦτ' ἀνδρὶ τ' ἀγαθῷ εἶναι καὶ πολίτῃ παντί.
- 12 Τῆς δὲ κατὰ μέρος δικαιοσύνης καὶ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὴν δικαίου ἐν μὲν ἐστὶν εἶδος τὸ ἐν ταῖς διανομαῖς τιμῆς ἢ χρημάτων ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα μεριστὰ τοῖς κοινωνοῦσι τῆς πολιτείας (ἐν τούτοις γὰρ ἔστι καὶ ἄνισον ἔχειν καὶ ἴσον ἕτερον ἐτέρου¹), ἐν δὲ τὸ ἐν τοῖς συναλλάγμασι διορθωτικόν. τούτου δὲ μέρη δύο· τῶν γὰρ συναλλαγμάτων τὰ μὲν ἐκούσια ἐστὶ τὰ δ' ἀκούσια, ἐκούσια μὲν τὰ τοιαῦδε οἷον πρᾶσις, ὠνή, δανεισμός, ἐγγύη, χρῆσις, παρακαταθήκη, μίσθωσις (ἐκούσια δὲ λέγεται, ὅτι ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν συναλλαγμάτων τούτων ἐκούσιος), τῶν δ' ἀκούσιων τὰ μὲν λαθραῖα, οἷον κλοπή, μοιχεία, φαρμακεία, προαγωγεία, δουλαπατία, δολοφονία, ψευδομαρτυρία, τὰ δὲ βίαια, οἷον αἰκία, δεσμός, θάνατος, ἀρπαγή, πῆρωσις, κακηγορία, προπηλακισμός.
- iii Ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ τ' ἀδίκος ἄνισος καὶ τὸ ἀδικὸν ἄνισον, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ μέσον τί ἐστὶ τοῦ ἀνίσου, τοῦτο

- Distributive Justice
- Corrective Justice
 - voluntary
 - involuntary
 - furtive
 - violent

NICOMACHEAN ETHICS, V.

- 11 that fits a man for social life are the rules productive of virtue in general. As for the education of the individual as such, that makes a man simply a good man, the question whether this is the business of Political Science or of some other science must be determined later: for it would seem that to be a good man is not in every case the same thing as to be a good citizen.^a
- 12 Particular Justice on the other hand, and that which is just in the sense corresponding to it, is divided into two kinds. One kind is exercised in the distribution of honour, wealth, and the other divisible assets of the community, which may be allotted among its members in equal or unequal shares. The other kind is that which supplies a corrective principle in private transactions. This Corrective Justice again has two sub-divisions, corresponding to the two classes of private transactions, those which are voluntary and those which are involuntary.^b Examples of voluntary transactions are selling, buying, lending at interest, pledging, lending without interest, depositing, letting for hire; these transactions being termed voluntary because they are voluntarily entered upon.^c Of involuntary transactions some are furtive, for instance, theft, adultery, poisoning, procuring, enticement of slaves, assassination, false witness; others are violent, for instance, assault, imprisonment, murder, robbery with violence, maiming, abusive language, contumelious treatment.
- iii Now since an unjust man is one who is unfair, and the unjust is the unequal, it is clear that corresponding to the unequal there is a mean, namely that which

Particular Justice: (i)
Distributive, (ii)
Corrective.

Distributive Justice.

2 δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἴσον· ἐν ὁποίᾳ γὰρ πράξει ἐστὶ τὸ πλεόν καὶ τὸ
 3 ἔλαττον, ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ ἴσον. εἰ οὖν τὸ ἀδίκον ἀνίσου, τὸ δίκαιον
 4 ἴσον ὅπερ καὶ ἀνευ λόγου δοκεῖ πᾶσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ ἴσον μέσον, τὸ
 δίκαιον μέσον τι ἂν εἴη, ἔστι δὲ τὸ ἴσον ἐν ἐλαχίστοις δυσίν.
 ἀνάγκη τοίνυν τὸ δίκαιον μέσον τε καὶ ἴσον εἶναι [καὶ πρὸς τι
 καὶ τισίν],¹ καὶ ἡ μὲν μέσον, τινῶν (ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ πλείον καὶ
 5 ἔλαττον), ἡ δ' ἴσον ἐστίν, <ἐν>² δυσίν, ἡ δὲ δίκαιον, τισίν.
 ἀνάγκη ἄρα τὸ δίκαιον ἐν ἐλαχίστοις εἶναι τέτταρσιν· οἷς τε
 6 γὰρ δίκαιον τυγχάνει ὄν δύο ἐστί, καὶ ἐν οἷς [τὰ πράγματα]³
 δύο. καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ ἔσται ἰσότης οἷς καὶ ἐν οἷς· ὡς γὰρ ἐκέῖνα ἔχει
 [τὰ ἐν οἷς],⁴ οὕτω κἀκεῖνα ἔξει⁵. εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἴσοι, οὐκ ἴσα ἔξουσιν,
 ἀλλ' ἐντεῦθεν αἰ μάχαι καὶ τὰ ἐγκλήματα, ὅταν ἡ ἴσοι μὴ ἴσα ἢ
 7 μὴ ἴσοι ἴσα ἔχωσι καὶ νέμονται. ἔτι ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ἀξίαν τοῦτο
 δηλον· τὸ γὰρ δίκαιον ἐν ταῖς διανομαῖς ὁμολογοῦσι πάντες
 κατ' ἀξίαν τινὰ δεῖν εἶναι, τὴν μέντοι ἀξίαν οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν
 λέγουσι πάντες [ὑπάρχειν],⁶ ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν δημοκρατικοὶ
 8 ἐλευθερίαν, οἱ δ' ὀλιγαρχικοὶ πλοῦτον, οἱ δ' εὐγένειαν, οἱ δ'
 ἀριστοκρατικοὶ ἀρετήν. ἔστιν ἄρα τὸ δίκαιον ἀνάλογόν τι. τὸ
 γὰρ ἀνάλογον οὐ μόνον ἐστὶ μοναδικοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ἴδιον, ἀλλ'
 30 ὅλως ἀριθμοῦ· ἡ γὰρ ἀναλογία ἰσότης ἐστὶ λόγων, καὶ ἐν
 τέτταρσιν ἐλαχίστοις.

Distributive Justice is proportional
 Four terms at least
 Assignment by desert
 Criterion of assignment different

- Democrats Free birth
- Oligarchic Wealth
- Aristocratic Birth

2 is equal; for every action admitting of more and less admits of the
 3 equal also. If then the unjust is the unequal, the just is the equal—
 a view that commends itself to all without proof; and since the
 4 equal is a mean, the just will be a sort of mean too. Again, equality
 involves two terms at least. It accordingly follows not only (a) that
 the just is a mean and equal [and relative to something and just for
 certain persons²], but also (b) that, as a mean, it implies certain
 extremes between which it lies, namely the more and the less; (c)
 that, as equal, it implies two shares that are equal; and (d) that, as
 5 just, it implies certain persons for whom it is just. It follows
 therefore that justice involves at least four terms, namely, two
 6 persons for whom it is just and two shares which are just. And
 there will be the same equality between the shares as between the
 25 persons, since the ratio between the shares will be equal to the
 ratio between the persons; for if the persons are not equal, they
 will not have equal shares; it is when equals possess or are allotted
 unequal shares, or persons not equal equal shares, that quarrels
 and complaints arise.

7 This is also clear from the principle of 'assignment by desert.'
 All are agreed that justice in distributions must be based on desert
 of some sort, although they do not all mean the same sort of
 desert; democrats make the criterion free birth; those of
 8 oligarchical sympathies wealth, or in other cases birth; up holders
 of aristocracy make it virtue. Justice is therefore a sort of
 proportion; for proportion is not a property of numerical quantity
 only, but of quantity in general, proportion being equality of ratios,
 and involving four terms at least.

ARISTOTLE

- 9 (Ἡ μὲν οὖν διηρημένη ὅτι ἐν τέτταρσι, δῆλον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ
 συνεχής· τῷ γὰρ ἐνὶ ὧς δυσὶ χρήται καὶ δις λέγει, οἷον ὧς ἡ 1131 b
 τοῦ α^1 πρὸς τὴν τοῦ β^1 ,¹ οὕτως καὶ ἡ τοῦ β^1 πρὸς τὴν τοῦ γ^1 .¹ δις
 οὖν ἡ τοῦ β^1 εἴρηται· ὥστ' ἐὰν ἡ τοῦ β^1 τεθῆ δις,² τέτταρα ἔσται
 τὰ ἀνάλογα.)
- 10 "Ἔστι δὴ³ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἐν τέτταρσιν ἐλαχίστοις, καὶ ὁ
 11 λόγος ὁ αὐτός. διήρηνται⁴ γὰρ ὁμοίως οἷς τε καὶ ἄ· ἔσται ἄρα 5
 ὡς ὁ πρῶτος ὄρος πρὸς τὸν δεύτερον, οὕτως ὁ τρίτος πρὸς τὸν
 τέταρτον, καὶ ἐναλλάξ ἄρα, ὡς ὁ πρῶτος πρὸς τὸν τρίτον, ὁ
 δεύτερος πρὸς τὸν τέταρτον. ὥστε καὶ τὸ ὅλον πρὸς τὸ ὅλον·
- 12 ὅπερ⁵ ἡ νομὴ συνδυάζει, κἂν οὕτως συντεθῆ, δικαίως
 συνδυάζει. ἡ ἄρα τοῦ πρώτου ὄρου τῷ τρίτῳ καὶ ἡ τοῦ δευτέρου
 τῷ τετάρτῳ σύζευξις τὸ ἐν διανομῇ δίκαιόν ἐστι, καὶ μέσον τὸ 10
 δίκαιον τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τοῦ παρὰ⁶ τὸ ἀνάλογον· τὸ γὰρ ἀνάλογον
 μέσον, τὸ δὲ δίκαιον ἀνάλογον.

$$\alpha/\beta = \gamma/\delta$$

NICOMACHEAN ETHICS, V.

- 9 (That a discrete proportion^a has four terms is plain, but so also
 has a continuous proportion, since it treats one term as two, and
 repeats it: for example,^b as the line representing term one is to the
 line representing term two, so is the line representing term two to
 the line representing term three; here the line representing term
 two is mentioned twice, so that if it be counted twice, there will be
 four proportionals.)
- 10 Thus the just also involves four terms at least, and the ratio
 between the first pair of terms is the same as that between the
 second pair. For the two lines representing the persons and shares
 11 are similarly divided^c; then, as the first term is to the second, so is
 the third to the fourth; and hence, by alternation, as the first is to
 the third, so is the second to the fourth; and therefore also, as the
 first is to the second, so is the sum of the first and third to the sum
 of the second and fourth. Now this is the combination effected by
 a distribution of shares, and the combination is a just one, if
 12 persons and shares are added together in this way. The principle of
 Distributive Justice, therefore, is the conjunction of the first term
 of a proportion with the third and of the second with the fourth;
 and the just in this sense is a mean between two extremes that are
 disproportionate,^d since the proportionate is a mean, and the just
 is the proportionate.

13 (Καλοῦσι δὲ τὴν τοιαύτην ἀναλογίαν γεωμετρικὴν οἱ
μαθηματικοί· ἐν γὰρ τῇ γεωμετρικῇ συμβαίνει καὶ τὸ ὄλον πρὸς
14 τὸ ὄλον ὅπερ ἐκάτερον πρὸς ἐκάτερον.—ἔστι δ' οὐ συνεχῆς
αὕτη ἢ ἀναλογία· οὐ γὰρ γίνεται εἰς ἀριθμῶ ὄρος, ᾧ καὶ ὁ.)

Τὸ μὲν οὖν δίκαιον τοῦτο τὸ ἀνάλογον, τὸ δ' ἄδικον τὸ παρὰ
τὸ ἀνάλογον· γίνεται ἄρα τὸ μὲν πλέον τὸ δὲ ἔλαττον ὅπερ καὶ
15 ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων συμβαίνει· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀδικῶν πλέον ἔχει, ὁ δ'
ἀδικούμενος ἔλαττον τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ ἀνάπαλιν·
16 ἐν ἀγαθοῦ γὰρ λόγῳ γίνεται τὸ ἔλαττον κακὸν πρὸς τὸ μείζον
κακόν· ἔστι γὰρ τὸ ἔλαττον κακὸν μᾶλλον αἰρετὸν τοῦ μείζονος,
τὸ δ' αἰρετὸν ἀγαθόν, καὶ τὸ μᾶλλον μείζον.

17 Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐν εἶδος τοῦ δικαίου τοῦτ' ἐστίν.

iv Τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐν τὸ διορθωτικόν, ὃ γίνεται ἐν τοῖς
2 συναλλάγμασι καὶ τοῖς ἐκουσίοις καὶ τοῖς ἀκουσίοις. τοῦτο δὲ
τὸ δίκαιον ἄλλο εἶδος ἔχει τοῦ προτέρου. τὸ μὲν γὰρ
διανεμητικὸν δίκαιον τῶν κοινῶν αἰεὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν ἐστὶ
τὴν εἰρημένην (καὶ γὰρ ἀπὸ χρημάτων κοινῶν ἐὰν γίγνηται ἡ
διανομή, ἔσται κατὰ τὸν λόγον τὸν αὐτὸν ὄνπερ ἔχουσι πρὸς
3 δικαίῳ τούτῳ παρὰ τὸ ἀνάλογόν ἐστιν· τὸ δ' ἐν τοῖς
συναλλάγμασι δίκαιον ἐστὶ μὲν ἴσον τι, καὶ τὸ ἄδικον

Distributive Justice: geometrical proportion

13 (This kind of proportion is termed by mathematicians
geometrical proportion²; for a geometrical proportion is one in
14 which the sum of the first and third terms will bear the same ratio
to the sum of the second and fourth as one term of either pair
bears to the other term.—Distributive justice is not a continuous
proportion, for its second and third terms, a recipient and a share,
do not constitute a single term.)

The just in this sense is therefore the proportionate, and the
unjust is that which violates proportion. The unjust may therefore
be either too much or too little; and this is what we find in fact, for
15 when injustice is done, the doer has too much and the sufferer too
little of the good in question; though *vice versa* in the case of an
16 evil, because a lesser evil in comparison with a greater counts as a
good, since the lesser of two evils is more desirable than the
greater, but what is desirable is good, and the more desirable it is,
the greater good it is.

17 This then is one kind of Justice.

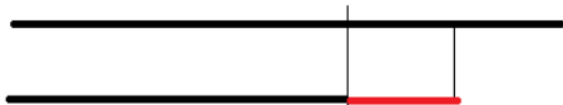
iv The remaining kind is Corrective Justice, which operates in
2 private transactions, both voluntary and involuntary. This justice is
of a different sort from the preceding. For justice in distributing
common property always conforms with the proportion we have
described (since when a distribution is made from the common
stock, it will follow the same ratio as that between the amounts
which the several persons have contributed to the common stock);
3 and the injustice opposed to justice of this kind is a violation of this
proportion. But the just in private transactions, although it is the
equal in a

ἄνισον, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν ἐκείνην ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν 1132 a
 ἀριθμητικὴν. οὐθὲν γὰρ διαφέρει, εἰ ἐπιεικῆς φαῦλον
 ἀπεστέρησεν ἢ φαῦλος ἐπιεικῆ, οὐδ' εἰ ἐμοίχευσεν ἐπιεικῆς ἢ
 φαῦλος· ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦ βλάβους τὴν διαφορὰν μόνον βλέπει ὁ
 4 νόμος, καὶ χρῆται ὡς ἴσοις, εἰ ὁ μὲν ἀδικεῖ ὁ δ' ἀδικεῖται, καὶ εἰ
 ἐβλαψεν ὁ δὲ βέβλαπται. ὥστε τὸ ἀδικον τοῦτο ἄνισον ὄν
 ἰσάζειν πειρᾶται ὁ δικαστής· καὶ γὰρ ὅταν ὁ μὲν πληγῇ ὁ δὲ
 πατάξῃ, ἢ καὶ κτείνῃ ὁ δ' ἀποθάνῃ, διήρηται τὸ πάθος καὶ ἡ
 5 πρᾶξις εἰς ἄνισα· ἀλλὰ πειρᾶται τῇ ζημίᾳ ἰσάζειν, ἀφαιρῶν τὸ
 κέρδος.¹ (λέγεται γὰρ ὡς ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις, κἂν εἰ
 6 μὴ τισιν οἰκείον ὄνομα εἴῃ, τὸ κέρδος, οἷον τῷ πατάξαντι, καὶ ἡ
 ζημία τῷ παθόντι· ἀλλ' ὅταν γε μετρηθῇ τὸ πάθος, καλεῖται τὸ
 μὲν ζημία τὸ δὲ κέρδος.) ὥστε τοῦ μὲν πλείονος καὶ ἐλάττονος τὸ
 ἴσον μέσον, τὸ δὲ κέρδος καὶ ἡ ζημία τὸ μὲν πλεόν τὸ δ'
 15 ἐλαττον ἐναντίως, τὸ μὲν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ πλεόν τοῦ κακοῦ δ'
 ἐλαττον κέρδος, τὸ δ' ἐναντίον ζημία· ὣν ἦν μέσον τὸ ἴσον, ὁ
 λέγομεν εἶναι δίκαιον· ὥστε τὸ ἐπανορθωτικὸν δίκαιον ἂν εἴῃ τὸ
 μέσον ζημίας καὶ κέρδους.

sense (and the unjust the unequal), is not the equal according to
 geometrical but according to arithmetical proportion.^a For it
 makes no difference^b whether a good man has defrauded a bad
 man or a bad one a good one, nor whether it is a good or a bad
 man that has committed adultery; the law looks only at the nature
 of the damage, treating the parties as equal, and merely asking
 whether one has done and the other suffered injustice, whether
 4 one inflicted and the other has sustained damage. Hence the
 unjust being here the unequal, the judge endeavours to equalize it:
 inasmuch as when one man has received and the other has
 inflicted a blow, or one has killed and the other been killed, the
 line^c representing the suffering and doing of the deed is divided
 into unequal parts, but the judge endeavours to make them equal
 5 by the penalty or loss^d he imposes, taking away the gain. (For the
 term 'gain' is used in a general way to apply to such cases, even
 though it is not strictly appropriate to some of them, for example
 6 to a person who strikes another, nor is 'loss' appropriate to the
 victim in this case; but at all events the results are called 'loss' and
 'gain' respectively when the amount of the damage sustained
 comes to be estimated.) Thus, while the equal is a mean between
 more and less, gain and loss are at once both more and less in
 contrary ways, more good and less evil being gain and more evil
 and less good loss; and as the equal, which we pronounce to be
 just, is, as we said, a mean between them, it follows that Justice in
 Rectification^e will be the mean between loss and gain.

Corrective Justice: arithmetical proportion

7 Διὸ καὶ ὅταν ἀμφισβητῶσιν, ἐπὶ τὸν δικαστὴν
καταφεύγουσιν τὸ δ' ἐπὶ τὸν δικαστὴν ἰεῖναι ἰεῖναι ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τὸ
δίκαιον· ὁ γὰρ δικαστὴς βούλεται εἶναι οἷον δίκαιον ἔμφυτον.
καὶ ζητοῦσι δικαστὴν μέσον, καὶ καλοῦσιν ἔνιοι μεσιδίους, ὡς
8 ἐὰν τοῦ μέσου τύχωσι, τοῦ δικαίου τευξόμενοι. μέσον ἄρα τι τὸ
δίκαιον, εἴπερ καὶ ὁ δικαστὴς. ὁ δὲ δικαστὴς ἐπανισοῖ, καὶ
ὡσπερ γραμμῆς εἰς ἄνισα τετμημένης, ᾧ τὸ μείζον τμήμα τῆς
ἡμισείας ὑπερέχει, τοῦτ' ἀφέϊλε καὶ τῷ ἐλάττω τμήματι
προσέθηκεν. ὅταν δὲ δίχα διακρεθῆ τὸ ὅλον, τότε φασὶν ἔχειν τὰ
9 ἰσῶν,⁴ ὅταν λάβωσι τὸ ἴσον. [τὸ δ' ἴσον² μέσον ἐστὶ τοῦ³
μείζονος καὶ ἐλάττωτος κατὰ τὴν ἀριθμητικὴν ἀναλογίαν.] διὰ
τοῦτο καὶ ὀνομάζεται δίκαιον, ὅτι δίχα ἐστίν, ὡσπερ ἂν εἴ τις
10 εἴποι δίχαιον, καὶ ὁ δικαστὴς διχαστὴς.* ἐπὰν γὰρ δύο ἴσων
ἀφαιρεθῆ ἀπὸ θατέρου, πρὸς θάτερον δὲ προστεθῆ, δυσὶ
τούτοις ὑπερέχει θάτερον· εἰ γὰρ ἀφῆρη μὲν, καὶ προστέθη
δέ, ἐνὶ ἂν μόνον ὑπερέχειν. τοῦ μέσου ἄρα ἐνί, καὶ τὸ μέσον
11 <τοῦ>⁴ ἀφ' οὗ ἀφῆρηθῆ ἐνί. τούτῳ ἄρα γνωρισόμεν τί τε ἀφελῆν
δεῖ ἀπὸ τοῦ πλέον ἔχοντος, καὶ τί προσθεῖναι τῷ ἐλάττω
ἔχοντι· ᾧ μὲν γὰρ τὸ μέσον ὑπερέχει,



7 This is why when disputes occur men have recourse to a judge.
To go to a judge is to go to justice, for the ideal judge is so to speak
justice personified. Also, men require a judge to be a middle term
or *medium*—indeed in some places judges are called *mediators*—,
for they think that if they get the mean they will get what is just.
Thus the just is a sort of mean, inasmuch as the judge is a medium
between the litigants.
5 Now the judge restores equality: if we represent the matter by
a line divided into two unequal parts, he takes away from the
greater segment that portion by which it exceeds one-half of the
whole line, and adds it to the lesser segment. When the whole has
been divided into two halves, people then say that they ‘have their
9 own,’ having got what is equal. ²This is indeed the origin of the
word *dikaion* (just): it means *dicha* (in half), as if one were to
pronounce it *dichaion*; and a *dikast* (judge) is a *dichast* (halver).
10 The equal is a mean by way of arithmetical proportion between
the greater and the less. For when of two equals^b a part is taken
from the one and added to the other, the latter will exceed the
former by twice that part, since if it had been taken from the one
but not added to the other, the latter would exceed the former by
once the part in question only. Therefore the latter will exceed the
mean by once the part, and the mean will exceed the former, from
11 which the part was taken, by once that part. This process then will
enable us to ascertain what we ought to take away from the party
that has too much and what to add to the one that has too little we
must add to the one that has too little the amount whereby the
mean between them exceeds him,

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- 12 τούτο προσθεῖναι δεῖ τῷ ἑλαττον ἔχοντι, ᾧ δ' ὑπερέχεται, ἀφελείν ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγίστου. ἴσαι αἱ ἐφ' ὧν AA BB ΓΓ ἀλλήλαις ἀπὸ τῆς AA ἀφηγήσθω τὸ AE, καὶ προσκείσθω τῇ ΓΓ τὸ ἐφ' ᾧ ΓΔ, ὥστε ὅλη ἡ ΔΓΓ τῆς EA ὑπερέχει τῷ ΓΔ καὶ τῷ ΓΖ· τῆς ἄρα BB τῷ ΓΔ. [ἔστι¹ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνῶν τοῦτο ἀνηροῦντο γὰρ ἄν, εἰ μὴ ἐποίει τὸ ποιῶν, καὶ ὅσον καὶ οἶον καὶ τὸ πάσχον, ἔπασχε τοῦτο καὶ τοσοῦτον καὶ τοιοῦτον.]
- 13 Ἐλήλυθε δὲ τὰ ὀνόματα ταῦτα, ἧ τε ζημία καὶ τὸ κέρδος, ἐκ τῆς ἐκούσιου ἀλλαγῆς· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πλεόν ἔχειν ἢ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ κερδαίνειν λέγεται, τὸ δ' ἑλαττον τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ζημιούσθαι, οἶον
- 14 ἐν τῷ ὠνείσθαι καὶ πωλεῖν καὶ ἐν ὅσοις ἄλλοις ἄδειαν δέδωκεν ὁ νόμος· ὅταν δὲ μῆτε πλεόν μῆτ' ἑλαττον ἀλλ' αὐτὰ δι' αὐτῶν γένηται, τὰ αὐτῶν φασὶν ἔχειν καὶ οὔτε ζημιούσθαι οὔτε κερδαίνειν. ὥστε κέρδους τινὸς καὶ ζημίας μέσον τὸ δίκαιόν ἐστι τῶν παρὰ τὸ ἐκούσιον, τὸ ἴσον ἔχειν καὶ πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον.
- v Δοκεῖ δὲ τισι καὶ τὸ ἀντιπεποιθὸς εἶναι ἀπλῶς δίκαιον, ὥσπερ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι ἔφασαν· ὠρίζοντο γὰρ ἀπλῶς τὸ δίκαιον τὸ ἀντιπεποιθὸς ἄλλω.
- 2 Τὸ δ' ἀντιπεποιθὸς οὐκ ἐφαρμόττει οὔτ' ἐπὶ τὸ

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- 12 and take away from the greatest^a of the three the amount by which the mean is exceeded by him. Let the lines^b AA', BB', CC' be equal to one another; let the segment AE be taken away from the line AA', and let the segment CD be added to the line CC', so that the whole line DCC' exceeds the line EA' by CD + CF; then DCC' will exceed BB' by CD. ^c
- 13 The terms 'loss' and 'gain' in these cases are borrowed from the operations of voluntary exchange. There, to have more than one's own is called gaining, and to have less than one had at the
- 14 outset is called losing, as for instance in buying and selling, and all other transactions sanctioned by law;^d while if the result of the transaction is neither an increase nor a decrease, but exactly what the parties had of themselves, they say they 'have their own' and have neither lost nor gained. Hence Justice in involuntary transactions is a mean between gain and loss in a sense: it is to have after the transaction an amount equal to the amount one had before it.
- v The view is also held by some that simple Reciprocity is Justice. This was the doctrine of the Pythagoreans, who defined the just simply as 'suffering reciprocally with another.'^e
- 2 Reciprocity however does not coincide either with

Corrective Justice
ctd.: Reciprocity

Reciprocity

ARISTOTLE

- 3 διανεμητικὸν δίκαιον οὐτ' ἐπὶ τὸ διορθωτικόν (καίτοι
 βούλονται γὰρ τοῦτο λέγειν καὶ τὸ Ῥαδαμάνθους δίκαιον
 εἶ κε πάθοι τά τ'¹ ἔρεξε, δίκη κ' ἰθεία γένοιτο).
- 4 πολλαχοῦ γὰρ διαφωνεῖ· οἷον εἰ ἀρχὴν ἔχων ἐπάταξεν, οὐ δεῖ
 ἀντιπληγῆναι, καὶ εἰ ἀρχοντα ἐπάταξεν, οὐ πληγῆναι μόνον δεῖ
 5 ἀλλὰ καὶ κολασθῆναι. ἔτι τὸ ἐκούσιον καὶ τὸ ἀκούσιον
 6 διαφέρει πολὺ. ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν ταῖς κοινωνίαις ταῖς ἀλλακτικαῖς
 συνεχεῖ τὸ τοιοῦτον δίκαιον, τὸ ἀντιπεπονθός, κατ' ἀναλογίαν²
 καὶ μὴ κατ' ἰσότητα. τῷ ἀντιποιεῖν γὰρ ἀνάλογον συμμένει ἢ
 πόλις· ἢ γὰρ τὸ κακῶς ζητοῦσιν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, δουλεία δοκεῖ εἶναι [εἰ
 7 μὴ ἀντιποιήσῃ]³. ἢ τὸ εὖ, εἰ δὲ μὴ, μετάδοσις οὐ γίνεται, τῇ
 1133 α μεταδόσει δὲ συμμένουσιν. διὸ καὶ Χαρίτων ἱερὸν ἐμποδῶν⁴
 ποιοῦνται, ἵν' ἀνταπόδοσις ᾗ· τοῦτο γὰρ ἴδιον χάριτος·
 ἀνθυπηρετῆσαί τε γὰρ δεῖ τῷ χαρισσαμένῳ καὶ πάλιν αὐτὸν
 ἄρξαι χαριζόμενον.
- 8 Ποιεῖ δὲ τὴν ἀντίδοσιν τὴν κατ' ἀναλογίαν ἢ κατὰ διάμετρον
 σύζευξις, οἷον οἰκοδόμος ἐφ' ᾧ Α, σκυτοτόμος ἐφ' ᾧ Β, οἰκία ἐφ'
 ᾧ Γ, ὑπόδημα ἐφ' ᾧ Δ. δεῖ οὖν λαμβάνειν τὸν οἰκοδόμον παρὰ
 τοῦ σκυτοτόμου τοῦ ἐκείνου ἔργου, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκείνῳ

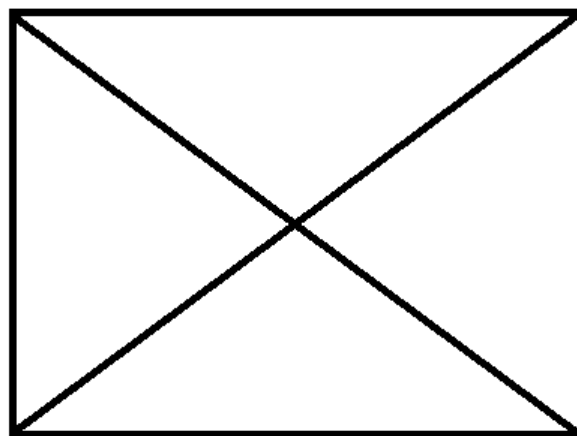
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- 25 3 Distributive or with Corrective Justice (although people mean to
 identify it with the latter when they quote the rule of
 Rhadamanthys—
 An a man suffer even that which he did,
 Right justice will be done).
- 20 4 For in many cases Reciprocity is at variance with Justice: for
 example, if an officer strikes a man, it is wrong for the man to
 strike him back; and if a man strikes an officer, it is not enough for
 5 the officer to strike him, but he ought to be punished as well.
 Again, it makes a great difference whether an act was done with or
 6 without the consent of the other party.³ But in the interchange of
 services Justice in the form of Reciprocity is the bond that
 maintains the association: reciprocity; that is, on the basis of
 proportion, not on the basis of equality. The very existence of the
 state depends on proportionate reciprocity; for men demand that
 they shall be able to requite evil with evil—if they cannot, they
 feel they are in the position of slaves.—and to repay good with
 good—failing which, no exchange takes place, and it is exchange
 7 that binds them together. This is why we set up a shrine of the
 Graces in a public place, to remind men to return a kindness; for
 that is a special characteristic of grace, since it is a duty not only to
 repay a service done one, but another time to take the initiative in
 doing a service oneself.
- 5 Now proportionate requital is effected by diagonal
 conjunction. For example, let A be a builder, B a shoemaker, C a
 house, and D a shoe. It is required that the builder shall receive
 from the shoemaker a portion of the product of his labour, and
 give him

Reciprocity not always justice. It applies only in the interchange of services. It is the bond of states

builder
α
οικοδόμος

shoemaker
β
σκυτοτόμος



γ
οικία
house

δ
υπόδημα
shoe

Diagonal conjunction

ARISTOTLE

μεταδιδόναι τοῦ αὐτοῦ. ἐὰν οὖν πρῶτον ἢ τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν ἴσον, εἴτα τὸ ἀντιπεπονηθὸς γένηται. ἔσται τὸ λεγόμενον εἰ δὲ μή, οὐκ ἴσον, οὐδὲ συμμένει. οὐθὲν γὰρ κωλύει 9 κρεῖττον εἶναι τὸ θατέρον ἔργον ἢ τὸ θατέρον, δεῖ οὖν ταῦτα ἰσασθῆναι. ἔστι¹ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνῶν ἀνηροῦντο γὰρ ἄν, εἰ μὴ ἐποίει² τὸ ποιῶν, καὶ ὄσον καὶ οἶον καὶ τὸ 15 πάσχον, ἔπασχε τοῦτο καὶ τοσοῦτον καὶ τοιοῦτον. οὐ γὰρ ἐκ δύο ἰατρῶν γίνεται κοινωνία, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἰατροῦ καὶ γεωργοῦ, καὶ ὅλως 10 ἐτέρων καὶ οὐκ ἴσων· ἀλλὰ τούτους δεῖ ἰσασθῆναι. διὸ πάντα συμβλητὰ δεῖ πως εἶναι, ὧν ἐστὶν ἀλλαγὴ. ἐφ' ὃ τὸ νόμισμα³ ἐλήλυθε, καὶ γίνεται πως μέσον· πάντα γὰρ μετρεῖ, ὥστε καὶ 20 τὴν ὑπεροχὴν καὶ τὴν ἔλλειψιν, πόσα ἅττα δὴ ὑποδήματ' ἴσον οἰκίᾳ ἢ τροφῇ. δεῖ τοίνυν ὅπερ οἰκοδόμος πρὸς σκυτοτόμον, τοσαδὶ ὑποδήματα

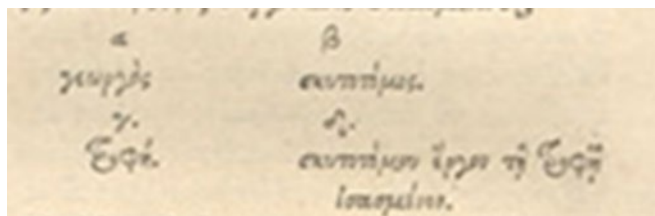
Money functions as a common measure to make things comparable

NICOMACHEAN ETHICS, V.

10 a portion of the product of his own. Now^a if proportionate equality between the products be first established, and then reciprocation take place, the requirement indicated will have been achieved; but if this is not done, the bargain is not equal, and intercourse does not continue. For it may happen that the product of one of the 15 parties is worth more than that of the other, and in that case 9 therefore they have to be equalized. This holds good with the other arts as well; for they would have passed out of existence if the active element did not produce, and did not receive the equivalent in quantity and quality of what the passive element receives.^b For an association for interchange of services is not 20 formed between two physicians, but between a physician and a farmer, and generally between persons who are different, and who 10 may be unequal, though in that case they have to be equalized. Hence all commodities exchanged must be able to be compared in some way. It is to meet this requirement that men have introduced money; money constitutes in a manner a middle term, for it is a measure of all things, and so of their superior or inferior value, that is to say, how many shoes are equivalent to a house or to a given quantity of food. As therefore a builder is to a shoemaker,^c so must such and such a number of

- πρὸς οἰκίαν [ἢ τροφήν].¹ εἰ γὰρ μὴ τοῦτο, οὐκ ἔσται ἀλλαγὴ
 11 οὐδὲ κοινωνία· τοῦτο δ', εἰ μὴ ἴσα εἴη πως, οὐκ ἔσται.—δεῖ ἄρα 25
 ἐνὶ τινι πάντα μετρεῖσθαι, ὥσπερ ἐλέγχθη πρότερον. τοῦτο δ'
 ἐστὶ τῇ μὲν ἀληθείᾳ ἢ χρεία, ἢ πάντα συνέχει· εἰ γὰρ μηθὲν
 δέοιτο ἢ μὴ ὁμοίως, ἢ οὐκ ἔσται ἀλλαγὴ ἢ οὐχ ἡ αὐτή. οἶον δ'
 ὑπάλλαγμα τῆς χρείας τὸ νόμισμα γέγονε κατὰ συνθήκην· καὶ
 12 διὰ τοῦτο τοῦνομα ἔχει νόμισμα, ὅτι οὐ φύσει ἀλλὰ νόμῳ ἐστί, 30
 καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῖν μεταβαλεῖν καὶ ποιῆσαι ἄχρηστον. ἔσται δὲ
 ἀντιπεπονητός, ὅταν ἰσασθῇ, ὥστε ὅπερ γεωργὸς πρὸς
 σκυτοτόμου, τὸ ἔργον τὸ τοῦ σκυτοτόμου πρὸς τὸ τοῦ γεωργοῦ.
 εἰς σχῆμα δ' ἀναλογίας λογίας [οὐ]² δεῖ ἄγειν, ὅταν 1133 b
 ἀλλάξωνται· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀμφοτέρας ἔξει τὰς ὑπεροχὰς τὸ ἕτερον
 ἄκρον· ἀλλ' ὅταν ἔχωσι τὰ αὐτῶν, οὕτως ἴσοι, καὶ κοινοί, ὅτι
 αὕτη ἢ ἰσότης δύναται ἐπ' αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι (γεωργὸς Α, τροφή
 Γ, σκυτοτόμος Β, τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ τὸ ἰσασμένον Δ)· εἰ δ' οὕτω 5
 13 μὴ ᾗν ἀντιπεπονηθέναι, οὐκ ἂν ᾗν κοινωνία. ὅτι δ' ἡ χρεία
 συνέχει ὥσπερ ἓν τι ὄν, δηλοῖ ὅτι ὅταν μὴ ἓν χρεία ὦσιν
 ἀλλήλων ἢ ἀμφοτέροι ἢ ἄτερος, οὐκ ἀλλάττονται

Need (*chreia*) is the common
 measure that holds everything
 together



- shoes be to a house [or to a given quantity of food]^a; for without
 this reciprocal proportion, there can be no exchange and no
 association; and it cannot be secured unless the commodities in
 question be equal in a sense.
- 11 It is therefore necessary that all commodities shall be
 measured by some one standard, as was said before. And this
 standard is in reality demand, which is what holds everything
 together, since if men cease to have wants or if their wants alter,
 exchange will go on no longer, or will be on different lines. But
 demand has come to be conventionally represented by money; this
 is why money is called *nomisma* (customary currency), because it
 does not exist by nature but by custom (*nomos*), and can be altered
 and rendered useless^b at will.
- 12 There will therefore be reciprocal proportion when the
 products have been equated, so that as farmer is to shoemaker,^c so
 may the shoemaker's product be to the farmer's product. And
 when they exchange their products they must reduce them to the
 form of a proportion, otherwise one of the two extremes will have
 both the excesses^d; whereas when they have their own,^e they then
 are equal, and can form an association together, because equality
 in this sense can be established in their case (farmer A, food C,
 shoemaker B, shoemaker's product equalized D^f); Whereas if it
 were impossible for reciprocal proportion to be effected in this
 way, there could be no association between them.
- 13 That it is demand which, by serving as a single standard, holds
 such an association together, is shown by the fact that, when there
 is no demand for mutual service on the part of both or at least of
 one of the parties, no exchange takes place between

[ὥσπερ¹ ὅταν οὐ ἔχει² αὐτὸς δέηται τις, οἷον οἶνον διδόντες
 14 σίτου ἐξαγωγῆν³]. δεῖ ἄρα τοῦτο ἰσασθῆναι. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς
 μελλούσης ἀλλαγῆς, εἰ νῦν μηδὲν δέεται, ὅτι ἔσται ἐὰν δεηθῆ,
 τὸ νόμισμα οἷον ἐγγυητής ἐστ' ἡμῖν· δεῖ γὰρ τοῦτο φέροντι
 εἶναι λαβεῖν. πάσχει μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ αὐτό, οὐ γὰρ ἀεὶ ἴσον
 δύναται· ὁμῶς δὲ βούλεται μένειν μᾶλλον. διὸ δεῖ πάντα
 τετιμησθαι· οὕτω γὰρ ἀεὶ ἔσται ἀλλαγή, εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, κοινωμία.
 τὸ δὲ νόμισμα ὥσπερ μέτρον σύμμετρα ποιήσαν ἰσάζει· οὔτε
 γὰρ ἂν μὴ οὔσης ἀλλαγῆς κοινωμία ἦν, οὔτ' ἀλλαγῆ ἰσότητος
 μὴ οὔσης, οὔτ' ἰσότης μὴ οὔσης συμμετρίας. τῇ μὲν οὖν
 ἀληθείᾳ ἀδύνατον τὰ τοσοῦτον διαφέροντα σύμμετρα γενέσθαι,
 15 πρὸς δὲ τὴν χρείαν ἐνδέχεται ἰκανῶς. ἐν δὲ τι δεῖ εἶναι, τοῦτο δ'
 ἐξ ὑποθέσεως (διὸ νόμισμα καλεῖται)· τοῦτο γὰρ πάντα ποιεῖ
 σύμμετρα· μετρεῖται γὰρ πάντα νομίσματι. οἰκία Α, μναῖ δέκα
 Β, κλίνη Γ. τὸ δὲ Α τοῦ Β ἥμισυ (εἰ πέντε μῶν

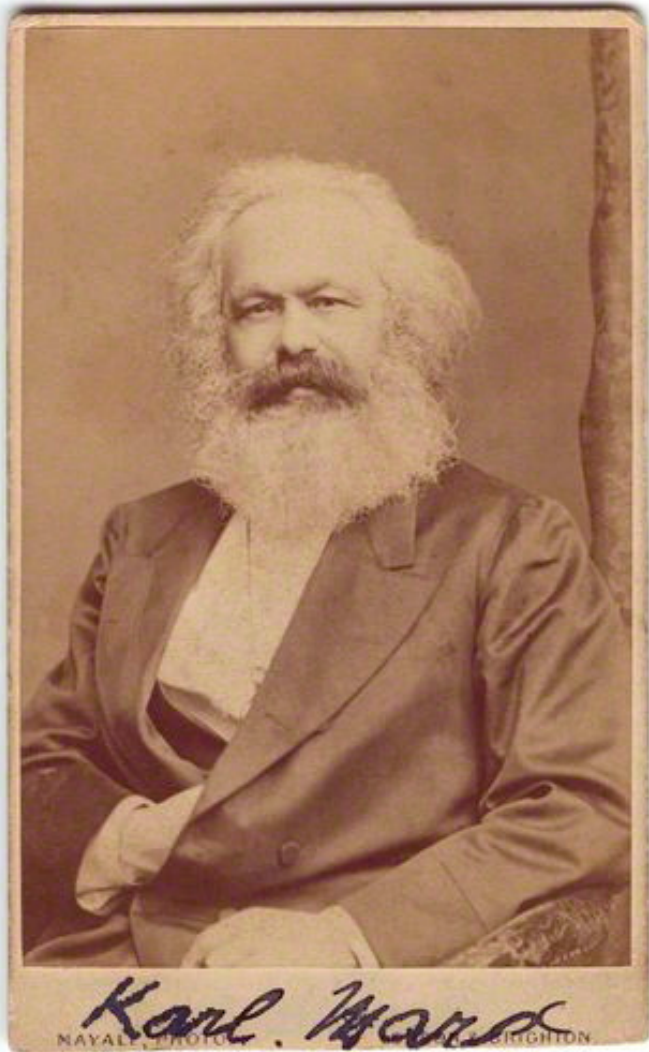
ἀξία ἢ οἰκία, ἢ ἴσον), ἢ δὲ κλίνη δέκατον μέρος τὸ Γ τοῦ Β·
 16 δηλον τοίνυν πόσαι κλίμαι ἴσον οἰκία, ὅτι πέντε. ὅτι δ' οὕτως ἢ
 ἀλλαγή ἦν πρὶν τὸ νόμισμα εἶναι, δηλον διαφέρει γὰρ οὐδὲν ἢ
 κλίμαι πέντε ἀντὶ οἰκίας, ἢ ὅσον αἰ πέντε κλίμαι.
 17 Τί μὲν οὖν τὸ ἄδικον καὶ τί τὸ δίκαιόν ἐστιν, εἴρηται.

them [as when someone needs something that one has oneself, for
 instance, the state offering a license to export corn in exchange for
 wine].^a This inequality of demand has therefore to be equalized.

14 Now money serves us as a guarantee of exchange in the future:
 supposing we need nothing at the moment, it ensures that
 exchange shall be possible when a need arises, for it meets the
 requirement of something we can produce in payment so as to
 obtain the thing we need. Money, it is true, is liable to the same
 fluctuation of demand as other commodities, for its purchasing
 power varies at different times; but it tends to be comparatively
 constant. Hence the proper thing is for all commodities to have
 their prices fixed: this will ensure that exchange, and consequently

association, shall always be possible. Money then serves as a
 measure which makes things commensurable and so reduces them
 to equality. If there were no exchange there would be no
 association, and there can be no exchange without equality, and no
 equality without commensurability. Though therefore it is
 impossible for things so different to become commensurable in
 the strict sense, our demand furnishes a sufficiently accurate
 15 common measure for practical purposes. There must therefore be
 some one standard, and this accepted by agreement (which is why
 it is called *nomisma*, customary currency); for such a standard
 makes all things commensurable, since all things can be measured
 by money. Let A be a house, B ten minae and C a bedstead. Then
 A = B/2 (supposing the house to be worth, or equal to, five minae),

16 and C (the bedstead) = B/10; it is now clear how many bedsteads
 are equal to one house, namely five. It is clear that before money
 existed this is how the rate of exchange was actually stated—five
 beds for a house—since there is no real difference between that
 and the price of five beds for a house.



1818-1883

Das Kapital.

Kritik der politischen Oekonomie.

Von

Karl Marx.

Erster Band.

Buch I: Der Produktionsprocess des Kapitals.

Zweite verbesserte Auflage.

Das Recht der Uebersetzung wird vorbehalten.

Hamburg

Verlag von Otto Meissner.

1872.

Die beiden zuletzt entwickelten Eigenthümlichkeiten der Aequivalentform werden noch fassbarer, wenn wir zu dem grossen Forscher

zurückgehn, der die Werthform, wie so viele Denkformen, Gesellschaftsformen und Naturformen zuerst analysirt hat. Es ist diess Aristoteles.

Zunächst spricht Aristoteles klar aus, dass die Geldform der Waare nur die weiter entwickelte Gestalt der einfachen Werthform ist, d. h. des Ausdrucks des Werths einer Waare in irgend einer beliebigen andren Waare, denn er sagt:

„5 Polster = 1 Haus“ („Κλίνας πέντε ἀντὶ οἰκίας“)

„unterscheidet sich nicht“ von:

„5 Polster = so und so viel Geld“

(„Κλίνας πέντε ἀντὶ . . . ὅσου αἱ πέντε κλίνας“).

Er sieht ferner ein, dass das Werthverhältniss, worin dieser Werthausdruck steckt, seinerseits bedingt, dass das Haus dem Polster qualitativ gleichgesetzt wird, und dass diese sinnlich verschiedenen Dinge ohne solche Wesensgleichheit nicht als kommensurable Grössen auf einander beziehbar wären. „Der Austausch“, sagt er, „kann nicht sein ohne die Gleichheit, die Gleichheit aber nicht ohne die Kommensurabilität“ („οὐτ' ἰσότης μὴ οὐσης συμμετρίας“). Hier aber stutzt er und giebt die weitere Analyse der Werthform auf. „Es ist aber in Wahrheit unmöglich („τῆ μὲν οὖν ἀληθείᾳ ὀδύνατον“), dass so verschiedenartige Dinge kommensurabel“, d. h. qualitativ gleich seien. Diese Gleichsetzung kann nur etwas der wahren Natur der Dinge Fremdes sein, also nur „Nothbehelf für das praktische Bedürfniss“.

Aristoteles sagt uns also selbst, woran seine weitere Analyse scheitert, nämlich am Mangel des Werthbegriffs. Was ist das Gleiche, d. h. die gemeinschaftliche Substanz, die das Haus für den Polster im Werthausdruck des Polsters vorstellt? So etwas kann „in Wahrheit nicht existiren“, sagt Aristoteles. Warum? Das Haus stellt dem Polster gegenüber ein Gleiches vor, soweit es das in Beiden, dem Polster und dem Haus, wirklich Gleiches vorstellt. Und das ist — menschliche Arbeit.

Dass aber in der Form der Waarenwerthe alle Arbeiten als gleiche menschliche Arbeit und daher als gleichgeltend ausgedrückt sind, konnte Aristoteles nicht aus der Werthform selbst herauslesen, weil die griechische Gesellschaft auf der Sklavenarbeit beruhte, daher die Ungleichheit der Menschen und ihrer Arbeitskräfte zur Naturbasis hatte. Das Geheimniss des Werthausdrucks, die Gleichheit und gleiche

3*

Gültigkeit aller Arbeiten, weil und insofern sie menschliche Arbeit überhaupt sind, kann nur entziffert werden, sobald der Begriff der menschlichen Gleichheit bereits die Festigkeit eines Volksvorurtheils besitzt. Das ist aber erst möglich in einer Gesellschaft, worin die Waarenform die allgemeine Form des Arbeitsprodukts, also auch das Verhältniss der Menschen zu einander als Waarenbesitzer das herrschende gesellschaftliche Verhältniss ist. Das Genie des Aristoteles glänzt grade darin, dass er im Werthausdruck der Waaren ein Gleichheitsverhältniss entdeckt. Nur die historische Schranke der Gesellschaft, worin er lebte, verhindert ihn herauszufinden, worin denn „in Wahrheit“ diess Gleichheitsverhältniss besteht.

Thus the equivalent form has a third peculiarity: private labour takes the form of its opposite, namely labour in its directly social form.

The two peculiarities of the equivalent form we have just developed will become still clearer if we go back to the great investigator who was the first to analyse the value-form, like so many other forms of thought, society and nature. I mean Aristotle.

In the first place, he states quite clearly that the money-form of the commodity is only a more developed aspect of the simple form of value, i.e. of the expression of the value of a commodity in some other commodity chosen at random, for he says:

5 beds = 1 house

(Κλῖναι πέντε ἀντὶ οἰκίας)

is indistinguishable from

5 beds = a certain amount of money

(Κλῖναι πέντε ἀντὶ . . . ὄσου αἱ πέντε κλῖναι)

He further sees that the value-relation which provides the framework for this expression of value itself requires that the house should be qualitatively equated with the bed, and that these things, being distinct to the senses, could not be compared with each other as commensurable magnitudes if they lacked this essential identity. 'There can be no exchange,' he says, 'without equality, and no equality without commensurability' ('οὐτ ἰσοτης μὴ οὐσης συμμετρίας'). Here, however, he falters, and abandons the further analysis of the form of value. 'It is, however, in reality, impossible ("τῆ μὲν οὖν ἀληθεία ἀδύνατον") that such unlike things can be commensurable,' i.e. qualitatively equal. This form of equation can only be something foreign to the true nature of the things, it is therefore only 'a makeshift for practical purposes'.*

Aristotle therefore himself tells us what prevented any further analysis: the lack of a concept of value. What is the homogeneous element, i.e. the common substance, which the house represents from the point of view of the bed, in the value expression for the bed? Such a thing, in truth, cannot exist, says Aristotle. But why not? Towards the bed, the house represents something equal, in so far as it represents what is really equal, both in the bed and the house. And that is – human labour.

However, Aristotle himself was unable to extract this fact, that

*The quotations in this paragraph are from Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* Bk V, Ch. 5 (Loeb edition, London, 1926, pp. 287–9).

KARL MARX

Capital

A Critique of
Political Economy

Volume One

Introduced by
Ernest Mandel

Translated by
Ben Fowkes

Penguin Books

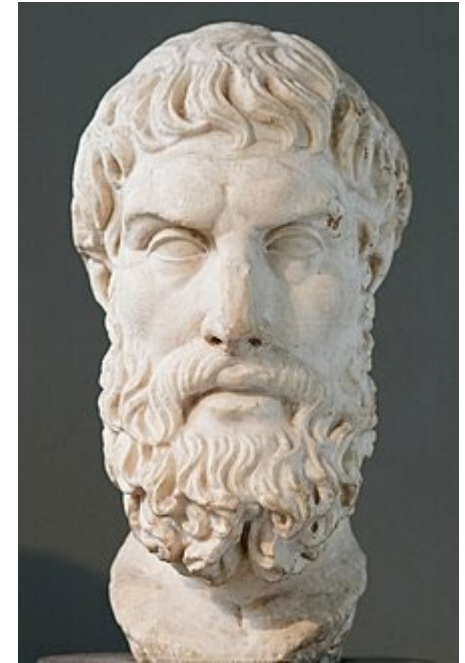
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152 *Commodities and Money*

in the form of commodity-values, all labour is expressed as equal human labour and therefore as labour of equal quality, by inspection from the form of value, because Greek society was founded on the labour of slaves, hence had as its natural basis the inequality of men and of their labour-powers. The secret of the expression of value, namely the equality and equivalence of all kinds of labour because and in so far as they are human labour in general, could not be deciphered until the concept of human equality had already acquired the permanence of a fixed popular opinion. This however becomes possible only in a society where the commodity-form is the universal form of the product of labour, hence the dominant social relation is the relation between men as possessors of commodities. Aristotle's genius is displayed precisely by his discovery of a relation of equality in the value-expression of commodities. Only the historical limitation inherent in the society in which he lived prevented him from finding out what 'in reality' this relation of equality consisted of.

Ancient Greek & Roman Economic Thought

- Epicurus (341-270 BCE)
- Stoics
 - Zeno of Citium(334-262 BCE)
 - Chrysippus of Soli (279-206 BCE)
 - Cicero (106-43 BCE)
 - Seneca (4 BCE-65 CE)
 - Epictetus (50-135 CE)
 - Marcus Aurelius(121-180 CE)



Roman bust of
Epicurus



Romans on agriculture

- [For the Roman agronomists e.g., Cato, Varro, Columela, Palladius, See in French *Les agronomes latins : Caton, Varron, Columelle, Palladius: avec la traduction en français / publiés sous la direction de M. Nisard*, \(1864\). Marcus Terentius Varro, *On Agriculture* and Marcus Porcius Cato, *On Agriculture* from the website of \[Bill Thayer\]\(#\) who also has them in the Latin original. For the Latin texts see the anthology *Scriptores rei rusticae veteres Latini Cato, Varro, Columella, Palladius. Quibus nunc accedit Vegetius de mulo-medicina et Gargilii Martialis fragmentum. Adiectae notae et lexicon rei rusticae curante I.M. Gesnero* \(1735\) or the Internet Archive in general. \[Gargilius Martialis, Quintus\]\(#\); \[Vegetius Renatus, Flavius\]\(#\); \[Cato, Marcus Porcius, 234-149 B.C\]\(#\); \[Columella, Lucius Junius Moderatus\]\(#\); \[Palladius, Rutilius Taurus Aemilianus\]\(#\); \[Varro, Marcus Terentius. Rerum rusticarum\]\(#\)](#)



CATO *On Agriculture*

COLUMELLA *On Trees*

HESIOD *Works and Days*

PHILO *Concerning Noah's Work as a Planter*

PHILO *On Husbandry*

PHILOSTRATUS THE ELDER *Imagines 1.31. Xenia*

PHILOSTRATUS THE ELDER *Imagines 2.34. Horae*

VARRO *On Agriculture*

VIRGIL *Georgics*

[VIRGIL] *Appendix Vergiliana. Dirae*

[VIRGIL] *Appendix Vergiliana. Moretum*

[VIRGIL] *Appendix Vergiliana. Priapea*

VITRUVIUS *On Architecture*

XENOPHON OF ATHENS *Oeconomicus*

The Great Gap

- Joseph A. Schumpeter “The Great Gap”
- Islamic Economic Thought
- Economic Thought in Byzantium

M. Yassine Essid, “Islamic Economic Thought”, In S. Todd Lowry (ed.), *Pre-Classical Economic Thought: From the Greeks to the Scottish Enlightenment*, [Series: Recent Economic Thought, Vol. 10], Springer 1987.

Angeliki E. Laiou, “Economic Thought and Ideology”, in: eadem (ed.), *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, Dumbarton Oaks, 2007 [online: <http://www.doaks.org/resources/publications/doaks-online-publications/economic-history-of-byzantium>]



Ancient Greek and Scholastic Economic Thought

Scholastic Economic Thought

Scholastic Economic Thought

- 13th – 16th c.
- Roman Catholic Theologians
- Thought based on the
 - Bible
 - Fathers of the Church
 - Roman Law
 - Aristotle





Laurentius de Voltolina: *Liber ethicorum des Henricus de Allemania*. Henricus de Allemania (1245-1340) and his students. Bologna School. Painting on parchment, 2nd half of 14th c.

Albertus Magnus (1193/1206 –1280)



differentia secundum labores et expensae

opus diximus esse usum vel utilitatem vel
indigentiam

Value according to labour and expenses

Value according to utility and need

St. Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274)

The Triumph of St. Thomas Aquinas:
Aristotle on his right, Plato on his left.

At his feet, the
great Arab
philosopher
Averroes





Benozzo Gozzoli, The Triumph of St. Thomas Aquinas (1470-5)

Benozzo di Lese di Sandro, dit GOZZOLI
Florence, vers 1420/1422 - Pistoia, 1497

Le Triomphe de saint Thomas d'Aquin
Vers 1470 - 1475

H. : 2,30 m. ; L. : 1,02 m.

http://cartelen.louvre.fr/cartelen/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=1203

St. Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274)

- *Summa theologica*
- *Sententiae libri Ethicorum*



0 224

SANCTI
THOMAE AQUINATIS

DOCTORIS ANGELICI
OPERA OMNIA

IUSSU IMPENSAQUE
LEONIS XIII P. M.

EDITA

TOMUS NONUS

SECUNDA SECUNDAE SUMMAE THEOLOGIAE

A QUAESTIONE LVII AD QUAESTIONEM CXXII

AD CODICES MANUSCRIPTOS VATICANOS EXACTA

CUM COMMENTARIIS

THOMAE DE VIO CAJETANI ORDINIS PRAEDICATORUM

S. R. E. CARDINALIS

CURA ET STUDIO

FRATRUM EIUSDEM ORDINIS



ROMAE
EX TYPOGRAPHIA POLYGLOTTA
S. C. DE PROPAGANDA FIDE
MDCCCXCVII



QUAESTIO LXXVII, ARTICULUS I

147

QUAESTIO SEPTUAGESIMASEPTIMA

DE FRAUDULENTIA QUAE COMMITTITUR IN EMPTIONIBUS
ET VENDITIONIBUS

IN QUATUOR ARTICULOS DIVISA

DEINDE considerandum est de peccatis quae sunt circa voluntarias commutationes *. Et primo, de fraudulentia quae committitur in emptionibus et venditionibus; secundo, de usura, quae fit in mutuis *. Circa alias enim commutationes voluntarias non invenitur aliqua species peccati quae distinguatur a rapina vel furto. Circa primum quaeruntur quatuor.

Primo: de iniusta venditione ex parte pretii:

scilicet, utrum liceat aliquid vendere plus quam valeat.

Secundo: de iniusta venditione ex parte rei venditae.

Tertio: utrum teneatur venditor dicere vitium rei venditae.

Quarto: utrum licitum sit aliquid, negotiando, plus vendere quam emptum sit.

ARTICULUS PRIMUS

UTRUM ALIQUIS LICITE POSSIT VENDERE REM PLUS QUAM VALEAT

AD PRIMUM SIC PROCEDITUR. Videtur quod aliquis licite possit vendere rem plus quam valeat. Iustum enim in commutationibus humanae vitae secundum leges civiles determinatur. Sed secundum eas * licitum est emptori et venditori ut se invicem decipiant: quod quidem fit in quantum venditor plus vendit rem quam valeat, emptor autem minus quam valeat. Ergo licitum est quod aliquis vendat rem plus quam valeat.

2. PRAETEREA, illud quod est omnibus commune videtur esse naturale et non esse peccatum. Sed sicut Augustinus refert, XIII *de Trin.* *, dicit cuiusdam mimi fuit ab omnibus acceptatum: *Vili vultis emere, et care vendere.* Cui etiam consonat quod dicitur *Prov. xx* *: *Malum est, Malum est, dicit omnis emptor: et cum recesserit, gloriatur.* Ergo licitum est aliquid carius vendere et vilis emere quam valeat.

3. PRAETEREA, non videtur esse illicitum si ex conventionie agatur id quod fieri debet ex debito honestatis. Sed secundum Philosophum, in VIII *Ethic.* *, in amicitia utilis recompensatio fieri debet secundum utilitatem quam consecutus est ille qui beneficium suscepit: quae quidem quandoque excedit valorem rei datae; sicut contingit cum aliquis multum re aliqua indiget, vel ad periculum evitandum vel ad aliquod commodum consequendum. Ergo licet in contractu emptionis et venditionis aliquid dare pro maiori pretio quam valeat.

SED CONTRA EST quod dicitur *Matth. vii* *: *Omnia quaecumque vultis ut faciant vobis homines, et vos facite illis.* Sed nullus vult sibi rem vendi carius quam valeat. Ergo nullus debet alteri vendere rem carius quam valeat.

RESPONDEO DICENDUM quod fraudem adhibere ad hoc quod aliquid plus iusto pretio vendatur, omnino peccatum est: in quantum aliquis decipit proximum in damnum ipsius. Unde et Tullius dicit, in libro *de Offic.* *: *Tollendum est ex rebus contrahendis omne mendacium: non licitorem venditor, non qui contra se licitet emptor apponet.*

Si autem fraus deficit, tunc de emptione et venditione dupliciter loqui possumus. Uno modo, secundum se. Et secundum hoc emptio et venditio videtur esse introducta pro communi utilitate utriusque: dum scilicet unus indiget re alterius et e converso, sicut patet per Philosophum, in I *Polit.* * Quod autem pro communi utilitate est inductum, non debet esse magis in gravamen unius quam alterius. Et ideo debet secundum aequalitatem rei inter eos contractus institui. Quantitas autem rerum quae in usum hominis veniunt * mensuratur secundum pretium datum: ad quod est inventum numisma, ut dicitur in V *Ethic.* * Et ideo si vel pretium excedat quantitatem valoris rei, vel e converso res excedat pretium, tollitur iustitiae aequalitas. Et ideo carius vendere aut vilis emere rem quam valeat est secundum se iniustum et illicitum.

Alio modo possumus loqui de emptione et venditione secundum quod per accidens cedit in utilitatem unius et detrimentum alterius: puta cum aliquis multum indiget habere rem aliquam, et alius laeditur si ea careat. Et in tali casu iustum pretium erit ut non solum respiciatur ad rem quae venditur, sed ad damnum quod venditor ex venditione incurrit. Et sic licite poterit aliquid vendi plus quam valeat secundum se, quamvis non vendatur plus quam valeat habenti.

* *Co. 2^o, lxxv, introd.*

* *Qu. lxxviii.*

* *Co. 1^o, xlv, de Resol. lxx, art. 2, 1^o.*

3

* *Cap. iii.*

* *Vers. 11.*

* *Cap. xlv, n. 11, 8^o, Th. lect. 111.*

* *Vers. 12.*

* *1^o, III, cap. xv, n. 1^o.*

* *Cap. iii, n. 11, 8^o, Th. lect. 111.*

* *Cap. v, n. 11, 8^o, Th. lect. 111.*

3. minus. - emittit adit B.
3. ex. - legitur in P; et dem pro non alteri loco, mcc.

7. veniunt. - rei. - veniunt BFP, veniunt D, rei. - venit P.

St. Thomas Aquinas

The Summa Theologica

(Benziger Bros. edition, 1947)
Translated by
Fathers of the English Dominican Province

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(D) BY SINS COMMITTED IN BUYING AND SELLING (Question [77])

OF CHEATING, WHICH IS COMMITTED IN BUYING AND SELLING (FOUR ARTICLES)

Deinde considerandum est de peccatis quae sunt circa voluntarias commutationes.

- Et primo, de fraudulentia quae committitur in emptionibus et venditionibus;
- secundo, de usura, quae fit in mutuis.

Circa alias enim commutationes voluntarias non invenitur aliqua species peccati quae distinguatur a rapina vel furto.

Circa primum quaeruntur quatuor.

Primo, de iniusta venditione ex parte pretii, scilicet, utrum liceat aliquid vendere plus quam valeat.

Secundo, de iniusta venditione ex parte rei venditae.

Tertio, utrum teneatur venditor dicere vitium rei venditae.

Quarto, utrum licitum sit aliquid, negotiando, plus vendere quam emptum sit.

We must now consider those sins which relate to voluntary commutations.

- First, we shall consider cheating, which is committed in buying and selling;
- secondly, we shall consider usury, which occurs in loans.

In connection with the other voluntary commutations no special kind of sin is to be found distinct from rapine and theft.

Under the first head there are four points of inquiry:

[\(1\)](#) Of unjust sales as regards the price; namely, whether it is lawful to sell a thing for more than its worth?

[\(2\)](#) Of unjust sales on the part of the thing sold;

[\(3\)](#) Whether the seller is bound to reveal a fault in the thing sold?

[\(4\)](#) Whether it is lawful in trading to sell a thing at a higher price than was paid for it?

Whether it is lawful to sell a thing for more than its worth?

Ad primum sic proceditur. Videtur quod aliquis licite possit vendere rem plus quam valeat. Iustum enim in commutationibus humanae vitae secundum leges civiles determinatur. Sed secundum eas licitum est emptori et venditori ut se invicem decipiant, quod quidem fit in quantum venditor plus vendit rem quam valeat, emptor autem minus quam valeat. Ergo licitum est quod aliquis vendat rem plus quam valeat.

Praeterea, illud quod est omnibus commune videtur esse naturale et non esse peccatum. Sed sicut Augustinus refert, XIII de Trin., dictum cuiusdam mimi fuit ab omnibus acceptatum, vili vultis emere, et care vendere. Cui etiam consonat quod dicitur Prov. XX, malum est, malum est, dicit omnis emptor, et cum recesserit, gloriatur. Ergo licitum est aliquid carius vendere et vilius emere quam valeat.

Praeterea, non videtur esse illicitum si ex conventionem agatur id quod fieri debet ex debito honestatis. Sed secundum philosophum, in VIII Ethic., in amicitia utilis recompensatio fieri debet secundum utilitatem quam consecutus est ille qui beneficium suscipit, quae quidem quandoque excedit valorem rei datae; sicut contingit cum aliquis multum re aliqua indiget, vel ad periculum evitandum vel ad aliquod commodum consequendum. Ergo licet in contractu emptionis et venditionis aliquid dare pro maiori pretio quam valeat.

Sed contra est quod dicitur Matth. VII, omnia quaecumque vultis ut faciant vobis homines, et vos facite illis. Sed nullus vult sibi rem vendi carius quam valeat. Ergo nullus debet alteri vendere rem carius quam valeat.

Respondeo dicendum quod fraudem adhibere ad hoc quod aliquid plus iusto pretio vendatur, omnino peccatum est, in quantum aliquis decipit proximum in damnum ipsius. Unde et Tullius dicit, in libro de Offic., tollendum est ex rebus contrahendis omne mendacium, non licitorem venditor, non qui contra se licitetur emptor apponet.

Objection 1: It would seem that it is lawful to sell a thing for more than its worth. In the commutations of human life, civil laws determine that which is just. Now according to these laws it is just for buyer and seller to deceive one another (Cod. IV, xlv, De Rescind. Vend. 8,15): and this occurs by the seller selling a thing for more than its worth, and the buyer buying a thing for less than its worth. Therefore it is lawful to sell a thing for more than its worth.

Objection 2: Further, that which is common to all would seem to be natural and not sinful. Now Augustine relates that the saying of a certain jester was accepted by all, "You wish to buy for a song and to sell at a premium," which agrees with the saying of Prov. 20:14, "It is naught, it is naught, saith every buyer: and when he is gone away, then he will boast." Therefore it is lawful to sell a thing for more than its worth.

Objection 3: Further, it does not seem unlawful if that which honesty demands be done by mutual agreement. Now, according to the Philosopher (Ethic. viii, 13), in the friendship which is based on utility, the amount of the recompense for a favor received should depend on the utility accruing to the receiver: and this utility sometimes is worth more than the thing given, for instance if the receiver be in great need of that thing, whether for the purpose of avoiding a danger, or of deriving some particular benefit. Therefore, in contracts of buying and selling, it is lawful to give a thing in return for more than its worth.

On the contrary, It is written ([Mt. 7:12](#)): "All things . . . whatsoever you would that men should do to you, do you also to them." But no man wishes to buy a thing for more than its worth. Therefore no man should sell a thing to another man for more than its worth.

I answer that, It is altogether sinful to have recourse to deceit in order to sell a thing for more than its just price, because this is to deceive one's neighbor so as to injure him. Hence Tully says (De Offic. iii, 15): "Contracts should be entirely free from double-dealing: the seller must not impose upon the bidder, nor the buyer upon one that bids against him."

Si autem fraus deficit, tunc de emptione et venditione dupliciter loqui possumus. Uno modo, secundum se. Et secundum hoc emptio et venditio videtur esse introducta pro communi utilitate utriusque, dum scilicet unus indiget re alterius et e converso, sicut patet per philosophum, in I Polit. Quod autem pro communi utilitate est inductum, non debet esse magis in gravamen unius quam alterius. Et ideo debet secundum aequalitatem rei inter eos contractus institui. Quantitas autem rerum quae in usum hominis veniunt mensuratur secundum pretium datum, ad quod est inventum numisma, ut dicitur in V Ethic. Et ideo si vel pretium excedat quantitatem valoris rei, vel e converso res excedat pretium, tolletur iustitiae aequalitas. Et ideo carius vendere aut vilius emere rem quam valeat est secundum se iniustum et illicitum.

Alio modo possumus loqui de emptione et venditione secundum quod per accidens cedit in utilitatem unius et detrimentum alterius, puta cum aliquis multum indiget habere rem aliquam, et alius laeditur si ea careat. Et in tali casu iustum pretium erit ut non solum respiciatur ad rem quae venditur, sed ad damnum quod venditor ex venditione incurrit. Et sic licite poterit aliquid vendi plus quam valeat secundum se, quamvis non vendatur plus quam valeat habenti. Si vero aliquis multum iuvetur ex re alterius quam accepit, ille vero qui vendidit non damnificatur carendo re illa, non debet eam supervendere. Quia utilitas quae alteri accrescit non est ex vendente, sed ex conditione ementis, nullus autem debet vendere alteri quod non est suum, licet possit ei vendere damnum quod patitur.

Ille tamen qui ex re alterius accepta multum iuatur, potest propria sponte aliquid vendenti supererogare, quod pertinet ad eius honestatem.

But, apart from fraud, we may speak of buying and selling in two ways. First, as considered in themselves, and from this point of view, buying and selling seem to be established for the common advantage of both parties, one of whom requires that which belongs to the other, and vice versa, as the Philosopher states (Polit. i, 3). Now whatever is established for the common advantage, should not be more of a burden to one party than to another, and consequently all contracts between them should observe equality of thing and thing. Again, the quality of a thing that comes into human use is measured by the price given for it, for which purpose money was invented, as stated in Ethic. v, 5. Therefore if either the price exceed the quantity of the thing's worth, or, conversely, the thing exceed the price, there is no longer the equality of justice: and consequently, to sell a thing for more than its worth, or to buy it for less than its worth, is in itself unjust and unlawful.

Secondly we may speak of buying and selling, considered as accidentally tending to the advantage of one party, and to the disadvantage of the other: for instance, when a man has great need of a certain thing, while an other man will suffer if he be without it. In such a case the just price will depend not only on the thing sold, but on the loss which the sale brings on the seller. And thus it will be lawful to sell a thing for more than it is worth in itself, though the price paid be not more than it is worth to the owner. Yet if the one man derive a great advantage by becoming possessed of the other man's property, and the seller be not at a loss through being without that thing, the latter ought not to raise the price, because the advantage accruing to the buyer, is not due to the seller, but to a circumstance affecting the buyer. Now no man should sell what is not his, though he may charge for the loss he suffers.

On the other hand if a man find that he derives great advantage from something he has bought, he may, of his own accord, pay the seller something over and above: and this pertains to his honesty.

Ad primum ergo dicendum quod, sicut supra dictum est, lex humana populo datur, in quo sunt multi a virtute deficientes, non autem datur solis virtuosus. Et ideo lex humana non potuit prohibere quicquid est contra virtutem, sed ei sufficit ut prohibeat ea quae destruunt hominum convictum; alia vero habeat quasi licita, non quia ea approbet, sed quia ea non punit. Sic igitur habet quasi licitum, poenam non inducens, si absque fraude venditor rem suam supervendat aut emptor vilis emat, nisi sit nimius excessus, quia tunc etiam lex humana cogit ad restituendum, puta si aliquis sit deceptus ultra dimidiam iusti pretii quantitatem.

Sed lex divina nihil impunitum relinquit quod sit virtuti contrarium. Unde secundum divinam legem illicitum reputatur si in emptione et venditione non sit aequalitas iustitiae observata. Et tenetur ille qui plus habet recompensare ei qui damnificatus est, si sit notabile damnum. Quod ideo dico quia iustum pretium rerum quandoque non est punctaliter determinatum, sed magis in quadam aestimatione consistit, ita quod modica additio vel minutio non videtur tollere aequalitatem iustitiae.

Ad secundum dicendum quod, sicut Augustinus ibidem dicit, nimis ille vel seipsum intuendo, vel alios experiendo vili velle emere et care vendere, omnibus id credidit esse commune. Sed quoniam revera vitium est, potest quisque adipisci huiusmodi iustitiam qua huic resistat et vincat. Et ponit exemplum de quodam qui modicum pretium de quodam libro propter ignorantiam postulanti iustum pretium dedit. Unde patet quod illud commune desiderium non est naturae, sed vitii. Et ideo commune est multis, qui per latam viam vitiorum incedunt.

Ad tertium dicendum quod in iustitia commutativa consideratur principaliter aequalitas rei. Sed in amicitia utilis consideratur aequalitas utilitatis, et ideo recompensatio fieri debet secundum utilitatem perceptam. In emptione vero, secundum aequalitatem rei.

Reply to Objection 1: As stated above ([FS, Question \[96\], Article \[2\]](#)) human law is given to the people among whom there are many lacking virtue, and it is not given to the virtuous alone. Hence human law was unable to forbid all that is contrary to virtue; and it suffices for it to prohibit whatever is destructive of human intercourse, while it treats other matters as though they were lawful, not by approving of them, but by not punishing them. Accordingly, if without employing deceit the seller disposes of his goods for more than their worth, or the buyer obtain them for less than their worth, the law looks upon this as licit, and provides no punishment for so doing, unless the excess be too great, because then even human law demands restitution to be made, for instance if a man be deceived in regard to more than half the amount of the just price of a thing [*Cod. IV, xlv, De Rescind. Vend. 2,8*].

On the other hand the Divine law leaves nothing unpunished that is contrary to virtue. Hence, according to the Divine law, it is reckoned unlawful if the equality of justice be not observed in buying and selling: and he who has received more than he ought must make compensation to him that has suffered loss, if the loss be considerable. I add this condition, because the just price of things is not fixed with mathematical precision, but depends on a kind of estimate, so that a slight addition or subtraction would not seem to destroy the equality of justice.

Reply to Objection 2: As Augustine says "this jester, either by looking into himself or by his experience of others, thought that all men are inclined to wish to buy for a song and sell at a premium. But since in reality this is wicked, it is in every man's power to acquire that justice whereby he may resist and overcome this inclination." And then he gives the example of a man who gave the just price for a book to a man who through ignorance asked a low price for it. Hence it is evident that this common desire is not from nature but from vice, wherefore it is common to many who walk along the broad road of sin.

Reply to Objection 3: In commutative justice we consider chiefly real equality. On the other hand, in friendship based on utility we consider equality of usefulness, so that the recompense should depend on the usefulness accruing, whereas in buying it should be equal to the thing bought.

(E) BY SINS COMMITTED IN LOANS (Question [78])

OF THE SIN OF USURY (FOUR ARTICLES)

Deinde considerandum est de peccato usurae, quod committitur in mutuis. Et circa hoc quaeruntur quatuor.

Primo, utrum sit peccatum accipere pecuniam in pretium pro pecunia mutuata, quod est accipere usuram.

Secundo, utrum liceat pro eodem quamcumque utilitatem accipere quasi in recompensationem mutui.

Tertio, utrum aliquis restituere teneatur id quod de pecunia usuraria iusto lucro lucratus est.

Quarto, utrum liceat accipere mutuo pecuniam sub usura.

We must now consider the sin of usury, which is committed in loans: and under this head there are four points of inquiry:

(1) Whether it is a sin to take money as a price for money lent, which is to receive usury?

(2) Whether it is lawful to lend money for any other kind of consideration, by way of payment for the loan?

(3) Whether a man is bound to restore just gains derived from money taken in usury?

(4) Whether it is lawful to borrow money under a condition of usury?

I answer that, To take usury for money lent is unjust in itself, because this is to sell what does not exist, and this evidently leads to inequality which is contrary to justice. In order to make this evident, we must observe that there are certain things the use of which consists in their consumption: thus we consume wine when we use it for drink and we consume wheat when we use it for food. Wherefore in such like things the use of the thing must not be reckoned apart from the thing itself, and whoever is granted the use of the thing, is granted the thing itself and for this reason, to lend things of this kin is to transfer the ownership. Accordingly if a man wanted to sell wine separately from the use of the wine, he would be selling the same thing twice, or he would be selling what does not exist, wherefore he would evidently commit a sin of injustice. In like manner he commits an injustice who lends wine or wheat, and asks for double payment, viz. one, the return of the thing in equal measure, the other, the price of the use, which is called usury.

On the other hand, there are things the use of which does not consist in their consumption: thus to use a house is to dwell in it, not to destroy it. Wherefore in such things both may be granted: for instance, one man may hand over to another the ownership of his house while reserving to himself the use of it for a time, or vice versa, he may grant the use of the house, while retaining the ownership. For this reason a man may lawfully make a charge for the use of his house, and, besides this, revendicate the house from the person to whom he has granted its use, as happens in renting and letting a house.


Now money, according to the Philosopher (Ethic. v, 5; Polit. i, 3) was invented chiefly for the purpose of exchange: and consequently the proper and principal use of money is its consumption or alienation whereby it is sunk in exchange. Hence it is by its very nature unlawful to take payment for the use of money lent, which payment is known as usury: and just as a man is bound to restore other ill-gotten goods, so is he bound to restore the money which he has taken in usury.

COMMENTARY ON THE NICOMACHEAN ETHICS


by
Thomas Aquinas

translated by
C. I. Litzinger, O.P.


Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1964, 2 volumes




Deinde cum dicit: quanta quaedam etc., ostendit quomodo, secundum commensurationem praedictam fit commutatio. Licet enim domus sit magis aliquid in pretio quam calciamentum, tamen aliquanta calceamenta adaequant in pretio unam domum, vel et cibum unius hominis per aliquod longum tempus. Oportet igitur ad hoc quod sit commutatio ut tanta calceamenta dentur pro una domo vel pro cibo unius hominis, quantum aedificator vel etiam agricola excedit coriarium in labore et expensis, quia si hoc non observetur, non erit commutatio rerum, neque homines sibiinvicem sua bona communicabunt. Id autem quod dictum est, scilicet quod aliqua calceamenta dentur pro una domo, non poterit esse nisi aliquo modo sint aequalia calceamenta domui.



Deinde cum dicit: oportet enim etc., assignat rationem praedictae commensurationis, quae fit per numisma. Et dicit, quod ideo possunt omnia adaequari, quia omnia possunt commensurari per aliquid unum, ut dictum est; hoc autem unum, quod omnia mensurat secundum rei veritatem est indigentia, quae continet omnia commutabilia, in quantum scilicet omnia referuntur ad humanam indigentiam; non enim appetantur res secundum dignitatem naturae ipsorum: alioquin unus mus, quod est animal sensibile, maioris pretii esset quam una margarita, quae est res inanimata: sed rebus pretia imponuntur, secundum quod homines indigent eis ad suum usum.



980. Next [1, a, ii], at ‘W certain number,’ he shows how exchange takes place according to the preceding commensuration. Although a house is worth more than a sandal, nevertheless, a number of sandals are equal in value to one house or the food required for one man during a long period. In order then to have just exchange, as many sandals must be exchanged for one house or for the food required for one man as the builder or the farmer exceeds the shoemaker in his labor and costs. If this is not observed, there will be no exchange of things and men will not share their goods with one another. But what has been said, that a number of sandals are exchanged for one house, is not possible unless the sandals are equated with the house in some way.



981. At “Therefore, it is” [i, a, iii] he indicates the nature of this commensuration made by means of money. He states that for this reason it is possible to equate things because all things can be measured by some one standard, as was pointed out (957). But this one standard which truly measures all things is demand. This includes all commutable things inasmuch as everything has a reference to human need. Articles are not valued according to the dignity of their nature, otherwise a mouse, an animal endowed with sense, should be of greater value than a pearl, a thing without life. But they are priced according as man stands in need of them for his own use.

Scholastic Economic Thought

Just price: *iustum praetium*
Social hierarchy or competitive price?

Labor & Expensae
Bonitas intrinseca
Virtuositas
Raritas
Utilitas
Complacibilitas

res tantum valet quantum
vendi potest, sed
communiter

Usury (lending at interest):

Usura

Acceptable reasons for taking
interest

Damnum emergens
Lucrum cessans
Stipendium laboris
Periculum sortis
Ratio incertitudinis

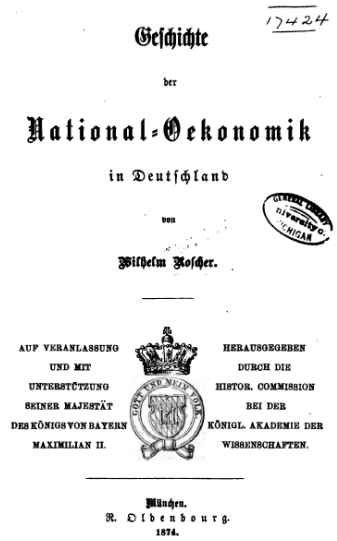


Inter-esse

num im Lande durchzugehen und zu schätzen, was Jeder an Waaren nöthig hat, um zur Genüge fortzubauern (19c.) Dabei ist der Mittelweg zwischen den Extremen zu suchen: zwischen solcher Niedrigkeit des Preises, daß die artifices, rustici, mercatores se eorum laboribus convenienter sustentare non possent, und solcher Höhe, daß die homines pauperes et communes, quorum laboribus omnes vivere oportet, necessaria sibi non possent comparare. Doch soll im Zweifel der Preis lieber zu niedrig, als zu hoch gesetzt worden. Auch der Einzelne kann die richtige Preishöhe seiner Waare danach berechnen, daß er

2*

Hugo von Langenstein 13th c.



Scholastic Economic Thought

St. Augustine, De Civitate Dei, lib. XI, cap. XVI

Chapter 16.— Of the Ranks and Differences of the Creatures, Estimated by Their Utility, or According to the Natural Gradations of Being.

For, among those beings which exist, and which are not of God the Creator's essence, those which have life are ranked above those which have none; those that have the power of generation, or even of desiring, above those which want this faculty. And, among things that have life, the sentient are higher than those which have no sensation, as animals are ranked above trees. And, among the sentient, the intelligent are above those that have not intelligence, — men, e.g., above cattle. And, among the intelligent, the immortal such as the angels, above the mortal, such as men. These are the gradations according to the order of nature; but according to the utility each man finds in a thing, there are various standards of value, so that it comes to pass that we prefer some things that have no sensation to some sentient beings. And so strong is this preference, that, had we the power, we would abolish the latter from nature altogether, whether in ignorance of the place they hold in nature, or, though we know it, sacrificing them to our own convenience. Who, e.g., would not rather have bread in his house than mice, gold than fleas? But there is little to wonder at in this, seeing that even when valued by men themselves (whose nature is certainly of the highest dignity), more is often given for a horse than for a slave, for a jewel than for a maid. Thus, the reason of one contemplating nature prompts very different judgments from those dictated by the necessity of the needy, or the desire of the voluptuous; for the former considers what value a thing in itself has in the scale of creation, while necessity considers how it meets its need; reason looks for what the mental light will judge to be true, while pleasure looks for what pleasantly titillates the bodily sense. But of such consequence in rational natures is the weight, so to speak, of will and of love, that though in the order of nature angels rank above men, yet, by the scale of justice, good men are of greater value than bad angels.

[XVI] In his enim, quae quoquo modo sunt et non sunt quod Deus est a quo facta sunt, praeponuntur uiuentia non uiuentibus, sicut ea, quae habent uim gignendi uel etiam appetendi, his, quae isto motu carent; et in his, quae uiuunt, praeponuntur sentientia non sentientibus, sicut arboribus animalia; et in his, quae sentiunt, praeponuntur intellegentia non intellegentibus, sicut homines pecoribus; et in his, quae intellegunt, praeponuntur immortalia mortalibus, sicut angeli hominibus. Sed ista praeponuntur naturae ordine; est autem alius atque alius pro suo cuiusque usu aestimationis modus, quo fit, ut quaedam sensu carentia quibusdam sentientibus praeponamus, in tantum, ut si potestas esset ea prorsus de natura rerum auferre uellemus, siue quem in ea locum habeant ignorantes, siue etiamsi sciamus nostris ea commodis postponentes. Quis enim non domui suae panem habere quam mures, nummos quam pulices malit? Sed quid mirum, cum in ipsorum etiam hominum aestimatione, quorum certe natura tantae est dignitatis, plerumque carius comparetur equus quam seruus, gemma quam famula? Ita libertate iudicandi plurimum distat ratio considerantis a necessitate indigentis seu uoluptate cupientis, cum ista quid per se ipsum in rerum gradibus pendat, necessitas autem quid propter quid expetat cogitat, et ista quid uerum luci mentis appareat, uoluptas uero quid iucundum corporis sensibus blandiatur spectat. Sed tantum ualet in naturis rationalibus quoddam ueluti pondus uoluntatis et amoris, ut, cum ordine naturae angeli hominibus, tamen lege iustitiae boni homines malis angelis praeferantur.

Scholastic Economic Thought

Petrus Olivi (1248-1298)

San Bernardino da Siena (1380-1444)

Sant'Antonino da Firenze
(1389-1459)



San Bernardino da Siena



Sant'Antonino da Firenze

Scholastic Economic Thought

Salamanca School



Martín de Azpilcueta (1493–1586)
Doctor Navarrus



Luis de Molina
(1535–1600)

Scholastic Economic Thought

Salamanca School



Diego de Covarrubias y Leiva
(1512-1577)
Portrait by El Greco

THE SCHOOL OF SALAMANCA

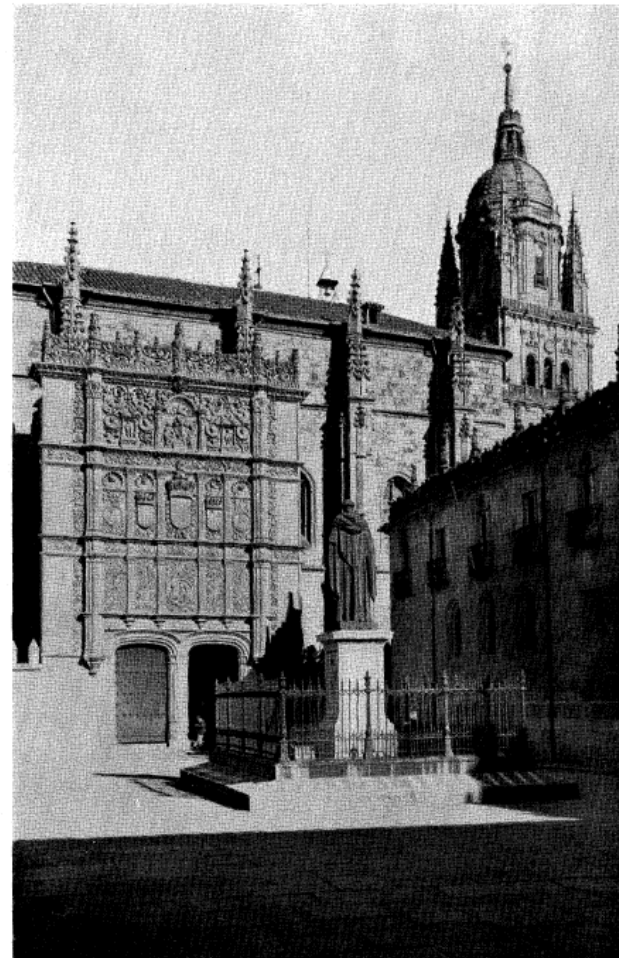
READINGS IN
SPANISH MONETARY THEORY
1544-1605

BY
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OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
1952



UNIVERSITY OF SALAMANCA
PATIO DE LAS ESCUELAS

Scholastic Economic Thought

Salamanca School

Those who measure the just price by the labor, costs, and risk incurred by the person who deals in the merchandise or produces it, or by the cost of transport or the expense of traveling ... or by what he has to pay the factors for their industry, risk, and labor, are greatly in error, and still more so are those who allow a certain profit of a fifth or a tenth. For the just price arises from the abundance or scarcity of goods, merchants, and money ... and not from costs, labor, and risk. If we had to consider labor and risk in order to assess the just price, no merchant would ever suffer loss, nor would abundance or scarcity of goods and money enter into the question. Prices are not commonly fixed on the basis of costs. Why should a bale of linen brought overland from Brittany at great expense be worth more than one which is transported cheaply by sea? ... Why should a book written out by hand be worth more than one which is printed, when the latter is better though it costs less to produce? ... The just price is found not by counting the cost but by the common estimation. **Luis Saravía de la Calle 1544**

End of Lecture

