

THE NON-CIVIC ELEMENT  
IN PLATO'S IDEAL CITY

by

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## PREFACE

The aim of this thesis is to study the non-civic element as treated in Plato's dialogues. Plato's treatment is to be found chiefly in the Republic and the Laws, in which dialogues the "ideal city" is depicted. The consensus of philosophers and scholars is that both the first-best city of the Republic and the second-best city of the Laws are ideal but there is difference of opinion regarding the meaning of "ideal." The controversy resolves itself into the question how far the ideal city is empirically realizable. If the ideal city be a dialectical construction empirical applications of the ideal are precarious, and the ideal city is a dream. However the ideal city has been regarded as a reconstruction from empirical observation which is held up as an ideal social scheme to which man has hopes of approximating even if he can never quite reach it. This view has evidence from the Republic to support it. In Book 7, 540D, we are told that we have not been building mere castles in the air, but something in a way practicable (i.e., if we find a ruler who is also a philosopher) even if difficult.

However the problem can not be solved as simply as this. It requires a thorough investigation of Plato's metaphysics which cannot be undertaken here. I have

however made some consideration of Plato's method which will be found in Chapter 1. It is necessary to admit that no definite conclusion in this regard has been reached. The tendency of the thesis, however, is away from a purely idealistic interpretation.

The determination of the composition of the non-civic element depends upon the definitions of citizen and non-citizen adopted. The authoritative works consulted are perhaps not clear on this point. In any case the definitions here adopted are different from any definitions implied in these treatises. I do not suggest that these other views are wrong but simply offer my position as another suggestion in the way of interpretation.

Finally, I have considered it desirable to ascertain what the so-called "Greek attitude" was to the classes regarded as composing the non-civic element. The results of this endeavour are set down in Chapter 2.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTORY

The aim of Plato has been generally understood to be the discovery of a region of realities which would provide a principle and point of departure for true Science. "His whole philosophy is from the outset directed far less to the explanation of Becoming than to the Consideration of Being; the Concepts hypostasized in the Ideas represent to us primarily that which is permanent in the <sup>1</sup> Varietude of phenomena." Dialectic discards all assumptions, ascending at once to Real Essence, defining and discriminating by appropriate words the varieties of Essence, and carrying them safely through the cross-examining process of question and answer. <sup>2</sup> The phenomenon is merely a shadow. <sup>3</sup> Plato's effort is to reach "fixed and pure and true and what we call unalloyed knowledge" of the things "which are eternally the same without change or mixture.....and all other things are to be regarded as secondary and inferior." <sup>4</sup> Physical and biological study seems to possess less accuracy than Ethics and Politics. <sup>5</sup> Plato's hesitating tone in the *Timaeus* may be contrasted with his positiveness in the *Republic* and the *Laws*.

1. Zeller, *Plato and the Older Academy*, p. 269.
2. *Rep.* 533E.
3. *Rep.* 515.
4. *Philebus* 59C.
5. e.g. 29C, 59C.

However it was difficult for Plato to turn away from the phenomenal world just when he had obtained a clue to its comprehension. For the Ideas are related to the realm of "sensible things" as causes.<sup>6</sup> But there are other factors which enter into the creation of the world. The world points in four directions: to God, the energy of creation, to the Forms, the pattern for creation, to the Receptacle, the matrix of creation, and to the Good, the motive of creation. The creature is doubly characterized as sensible (physical) and as temporal; it is a world of passage. But the creative factors, including the Receptacle, are unchanging, "never departing from their natures,"<sup>7</sup> timeless, because self-existent and necessary.<sup>8</sup>

It is for this reason that the genuine lawgiver is the philosopher "who fixes his gaze upon the things of the eternal and unchanging order" and becomes "orderly and divine in the measure permitted to man." His task is to stamp on the plastic matter of human nature the patterns that he <sup>envisages</sup> ~~visions~~ in the world of ideas. In the course of the work he will glance repeatedly at "justice, beauty, sobriety and the like," and alternately at the corresponding elements in mankind and mingle the two into the image of God.<sup>9</sup>

6. Meno 98A; Rep. 508C, 517C; Tim. 28C sqq; Phaedo 97Bsq., 100B, Rep. 540.

7. Tim. 50b.

8. This account of creation is condensed from R. Demos: The Philosophy of Plato, 1939, Chapter 1.

9. Rep. 500B=501C.

Is the method thus indicated employed in Plato's political investigations? The answer must be==largely yes although there are other determining factors in the structure of the Republic such as the principle of the division of labour, the parallel of the individual human soul, and the example of the Lacedaemonian and other States. At any rate the argument of this thesis is that whatever the method employed it has results which appear curious and unfortunate, at least to the modern mind. For it results in the degradation of the backbone of the State==the producing classes.

A brief outline of the Republic and the Laws may make more explicit this general position. Plato holds that the essential object of civic life is virtue, and the happiness of the citizens; its chief mission is the education of the people in virtue.<sup>10</sup> Though in the first instance it arises out of physical needs" a society which was limited to the satisfaction of those needs (like the 'natural state' of the Cynics) does not deserve the name of a State.<sup>12</sup> All true virtue rests in scientific knowledge and philosophy. Thus the first condition of every sound polity is the dominion of philosophy, or, which comes to the same thing, the rule of the philosopher.

10. Gorg. 464Bff., 521Dff.; Polit. 309C, Rep. 500D, etc.

11. Rep. 369Bff.

12. Rep. 372D; Polit. 272B.

13

This rule must be absolute and can only be entrusted to the few who are capable of it, for philosophy is not a matter for the multitude.<sup>14</sup>

The constitution of the Platonic State is therefore an aristocracy, the absolute rule of the competent persons, or philosophers, restrained by no law.<sup>15</sup>

In order to give the ruling order the necessary power, and to protect the State externally, the order of warriors must be added to it as a second; while the mass of the population, the agriculturists and artisans, form a third order excluded from all political activity and confined to the acquisition of money.<sup>16</sup>

This separation of orders Plato founds in the principle of the division of labour, but its special motive lies in the conviction that only a minority are capable of cultivation for the higher political functions; and inasmuch as he

also presupposes<sup>17</sup> that the capacity for these functions is as a rule hereditary, the division of the three orders approaches to a distinction of castes. Plato himself

compares them to the three parts of the soul, and apportions the virtues of the community to them, as he had apportioned the virtues of the individual to the three parts of the

soul.<sup>18</sup> But in order that the two higher classes may

13. Rep. 473C; Polit. 293C.

14. Polit. 293A; Rep. 428D.

15. Rep. 428E, 433ff.; Polit. 294Aff., 297Aff.

16. Rep. 373Dff.

17. Rep. 415ff.

18. Rep. 427Dff.

discharge their mission satisfactorily, their education and the arrangements of their life must be entirely conducted by the State and directed to its aims. The State takes care that its future citizens shall be begotten by the best parents under the most favorable circumstances; it gives them by music and gymnastic an education, in which even the girls participate, just as they subsequently share in civic and martial duties. It trains the future governors by mathematical sciences and dialectic for their duties, in order that after many years of practical activity, when they have been approved on every side, they may in their fiftieth year be adopted into the highest order, the members of which conduct the management of the State in succession.

In the Laws the social and economic arrangements are somewhat different. In this later work Plato does not abolish private property, but contents himself with limiting it by law and retaining a fixed number of plots of land (5040); he does not now destroy the family, but carefully supervises marriages and domestic life. The principle of one public education for boys and girls alike is still maintained, and intercourse with foreign countries is carefully controlled and limited. Trade, industry, and agriculture are the exclusive care of the metoeci and slaves. As to the constitution of the State, a combination of monarchical, or more properly oligarchical,

and democratic elements is made the basis, while the organic regulations of the constitution, no less than the civic and penal laws, are carried out with a solicitude which extends to the smallest details.

The lower class of the Republic is entirely excluded from all the advantages enumerated above, for the aristocratic philosopher cares little for it and its banal arrangements. The handicraft arts which among at least some of the Greeks <sup>19</sup> were so scornfully branded as vulgar and paltry also appeared to Plato degrading and unworthy of free men, if only for the reason that they fetter the mind to the corporeal instead of leading it away to something higher. In his opinion these occupations all relate to the satisfaction of merely bodily wants: it is the sensuous, appetitive part of the soul, not reason, nor courage, from which <sup>20</sup> they proceed, and which they call into action. He can therefore only imagine that, in a man who devotes himself to them, the nobler faculties must become weak, and the lower attain the mastery; that such a man wears out his soul and body and acquires no kind of personal <sup>21</sup> efficiency. On this account, in his two political works, he prohibits to the perfect citizens not only

19. The question as to whether or not the Greeks despised the labours of trade, and industry, and, if they did, to what extent, is discussed in the following chapter.

20. Rep. 414 sq.

21. Repl. 590C.

trade and commerce, but even agriculture, which was everywhere except in Sparta held to be a free and noble occupation. Tradesmen and agriculturists are in the Republic condemned to complete political nonage. The State is very little concerned with them, and therefore needn't provide for their education. On similar grounds Plato seems to defend slavery, when he says that the ignorant and base-minded are to be thrust by the statesman into the class of slaves.<sup>22</sup>

22. Polit. 309A. Cp. Rep. 590C, which, however does not here refer to slavery but to the rule of the higher classes over the uneducated masses.

## CHAPTER 2

THE POSITION OF THE "ECONOMIC MAN" IN ANCIENT GREECE

This chapter proposes to deal with the social and political status of industrial labour in Ancient Greece, and particularly in Periclean Athens. The investigation it is hoped will construct a background which will bring Plato's treatment of this class into relief.

Upon embarking on an investigation of authoritative treatises regarding the position of the artisans and traders one is at once embroiled in controversy. Indeed the views of scholars who have endeavoured to determine what moral value was attributed to industrial labour seem to fall into two groups distinct and opposing.

(1). The extremists of one side hold that in the fifth and fourth centuries at least the manual arts and trade were despised on the whole throughout Greece. (2). The other view maintains that commerce and industry were despised only by the aristocratic few and that the degree of contempt fluctuated from generation to generation== in other words, it seeks to modify and limit chronolog= ically the generalizations of the first mentioned group. Moreover both sides quote Plato and Aristotle in support of their respective positions. Not only are the philos= ophers quoted but even the facts of history are invoked on behalf of both sides.

When polemic is rife among experts what is the layman to decide? What indeed! In any case the difficulties resulting from a consideration of these deftly argued disputations cannot be ignored and some attempt must be made at understanding them. It will perhaps be best to outline the standpoints of both parties with specific evidence and then, if possible, reach some basis for explanation.

(1). The latest book which develops the first point of view is J. Hasebroek's Trade and Politics in Ancient Greece (1933). Hasebroek's thesis is that trade in the classical period "was relatively primitive, and that the current view is mistaken which takes trade to have been a preponderant factor in politics and political life" (p. vii). It is in support of this position ===that the Greek world never saw the development of a commercial aristocracy===that he argues that "the Greeks" regarded the labours of commerce and industry as degrading. "Traders" he says, "belonged to the lowest social and economic plane. Any citizen who turned to trade or commerce for a livelihood would have to spend his time among aliens and foreigners; and he would only do this if he was compelled to, by lack of means or owing to some other special circumstances==unless, indeed, he were himself originally an alien and was already a trader when he received citizen rights. The enormous

number of aliens in Athens, and the fact that Athenian policy was always directed towards encouraging and attracting them==that they were thought of as a necessary and useful addition to the population of the State==shows clearly the inability of the Athenian citizens to run their industries for themselves. Even public works had to depend largely (as the inscriptions show) upon the labours of metics and slaves. There can be no doubt whatever that the industrial life of Athens was in the hands not of its citizens (apart from those of them who had been metics before they were citizens), but of foreigners and aliens,<sup>1</sup> (p. 27). "These resident aliens.....enjoyed the right of domicile, but they were politically degraded; they supported themselves; they were highly useful to the State but they drew no income from the public funds, and actually paid to the State the aliens' tax. The fundamental cleavage in the Greek State was between the rentiers who lived at the expense of the State or on the proceeds of their own property and investments and the "cityless" mass of aliens.....These aliens might be domiciled within the territory for a long or a short time: they might be wealthy, free born and of Greek descent: they might (with the slaves) comprise a great part, or perhaps the

1. The underlining is mine in every case.

greater part, of the total population: but they nevertheless remained permanently outside the political pale. The Greeks never believed that men had rights as men==the existence of slavery made the acceptance of that principle impossible==and even the most radical Greek democracy was really an unconcealed oligarchy" (pp. 35-6).<sup>6</sup> "The ordinary good=class citizen looked down even on rich manufacturers (as may be seen from the comedies==whose audiences were composed of good=class citizens). The tendency was for traders and industrialists to retire from their business as soon as they had secured for themselves even a modest income; and this tendency was entirely in accordance with the demands of public opinion....Pericles' employment of citizen workers of all kinds upon his public buildings ==as "carpenters, sculptors, bronze=founders, stone=masons, dyers, goldsmiths, ivory=workers, painters, embroiderers, engravers, wheelwrights, ropemakers, weavers, leatherworkers, roadmakers and miners"==was merely designed to enable him to support those citizens at the public expense. They would not have accepted employment with the State had they any other means of maintaining themselves," (p.39).

argument that the contempt of the Greeks for industry,"

is really an aristocratic prejudice like the upperclass prejudice today, which was given precise formulation particularly by the anti-democratic philosophers Plato and Aristotle. But, says Hasebroek, "even in Homer workmen are not regarded as being worthy of respect or consideration; and what was true in Homer's time was true right through the classical period." The contempt for trade and industry was not merely academic but highly practical. "Local traders, for instance, had to be protected by law from scornful remarks about their occupation, and from the economic losses they might thereby incur" (p. 40).

It is unnerving to find that writers of the opposite school adduce this same law in support of their assertion that traders were respected. They also cite the employment of artisans by Pericles referred to in a preceding paragraph as evidence for their claims.

Again refuting to his satisfaction a point of the opposition Hasebroek expounds as follows: "Pericles, indeed, declares in his funeral oration that in Athens the poor are not despised, but only the idle poor. But that does not prove that the contempt for manual labor was not to be found in democratic States like Athens.

In democracies, it is true, poor men were not disqualified for citizenship, in virtue of their poverty, as they

were in oligarchies. They were rather given public protection and support. The democratic statesman tried, in the public interest, to eliminate idleness among the poor by laws against idleness, and sought to secure that all citizens should have been taught some craft by their parents. But the cause of this was not that work was in itself good and leisure bad. On the contrary, Socrates himself declared that idleness is "the sister of freedom", and leisure the most noble of possessions. What Thucydides is thinking of as disgraceful is not idleness as such, but the idleness of the poor--of those who could only spend their time loitering around the streets and begging. Similarly, when Hesiod says that "work is no disgrace, but idleness is a disgrace, he is clearly thinking not of commercial and industrial labour, but of the work of the small debt-ridden peasant; and in any case the emphasis with which he makes the statement shows that it is in opposition to the commonly accepted view" (pp. 40-41). Regarding trade and its relation to the State, Hasebrook concludes, "Industry and trade, and in particular overseas commerce, really lay right outside the theoretical province of the State. The State existed for the citizens, not for the metics or slaves. It had no interest in trade, and it is quite misleading to talk about its hav-

ing a national industry. In so far as trade existed at all for the citizens (other than the very lowest class), it was merely as a field for the investment of their capital, and a source of their income" (p.43).

There are many other books which take the same position. For instance, in The Greek View of Life by ~~Wm.~~ Lowes Dickinson, we read: "In the Greek conception the citizen was an aristocrat. His excellence was thought to consist in public activity; and to the performance of public duties he ought therefore to be able to devote the greater part of his time and energy. But the existence of such a privileged class involved the existence of a class of producers to support them; and the producers, by the nature of their calling, be they slave or free, were excluded from the life of the perfect citizen. They had not the necessary leisure to devote to public business; neither had they the opportunity to acquire the mental and physical qualities which would enable them to transact it worthily. They were therefore regarded by the Greeks as an inferior class....In Athens the most democratic of all the Greek communities, though they were admitted to the citizenship and enjoyed considerable political influence, they never appear to have lost the stigma

of social inferiority. And the distinction which was more or less definitely drawn in practice between the citizens proper and the productive class was even more emphatically affirmed in theory" (pp. 74=75). "The obverse of the Greek citizen, who realized in the State the highest life, was an inferior class of producers who realized only the means to subsistence" (p. 75).

"The inferiority of the artisan and the trader was further emphasized by the fact that they were excluded by their calling from the cultivation of the higher personal qualities; from the training of the body by gymnastics and the mind by philosophy; from habitual conversance with public affairs; from that perfect balance, in a word, of the physical, intellectual and moral powers which was only to be attained by a process of self-culture, incompatible with the pursuance of a trade for bread" (p.82). "It is because labour with the hands or at the desk distorts or impairs the body, and the petty cares of a calling pursued for bread pervert the soul, that so strong a contempt was felt by the Greeks for manual labour and trade. If then the artisan .....in Athens never altogether threw off the stigma of inferiority attaching to his trade, the reason was that the life he was compelled to lead

was incompatible with the Greek conception of excellence" (p. 134). "The Greeks, on the whole, were quite content to sacrifice the majority to the minority. Their position was fundamentally aristocratic; they exaggerated rather than minimized the distinctions between men, the freeman and the slave, the gentleman and the artisan, regarding them as natural and fundamental, not as the casual product of circumstances. The equality which they sought was proportional, not arithmetical, not of equal rights to all...In a modern state it is different; though class distinctions are clearly enough marked, yet the point of view from which they are regarded is essentially different. They are attributed rather to accidents of fortune than to varieties of nature. The artisan, for example, ranks no doubt lower than the professional man; but no one maintains that he is a different kind of being incapable by nature, as Aristotle asserts, of the characteristic excellence of man" (p.79).

In Greek Ideals, by ~~Wm.~~ C. Delisle Burns, a study of Athenian life in the second half of the fifth century B. C., we find the statements: "It seemed essential that liberty and equality should only be the right of a few males. Slaves and workingmen had no time and no developed capacity for the 'good life'" (p.76).

"Society was conceived only in terms.... of a small social caste" (p. 109). "The Athenian citizen might object to doing manual labour" (p. 112).

Similar assertions are common. Thus Mr. Edwards in Whibley's Companion to Greek Studies: "The prejudice against trades and handicrafts was most pronounced in Sparta: elsewhere, though the political disabilities might be reduced or removed, the social stigma was scarcely diminished==indeed, even the fullest development of democracy at Athens did but stereotype the conventional horror of hard work and proclaimed leisure and not labour to be the citizen's privilege....The marvel is that, amid all this depreciation, mechanical skill and artistic taste should have attained so high a standard" (p. 437).

Gulick in his The Life of the Ancient Greeks says: "The class of artisans comprised callings which among us are regarded as the most dignified professions. Wherever one of these vocations was in disrepute, the cause is found in the fact that the person concerned took money for his services, and was to that extent not independent of others. Even the great artists, painters, and sculptors fell under public contempt simply because they earned money. For the same reason, persons belonging to the more conservative element in politics characterized as greed the eagerness of the dicast for his daily stipend. A few artists, like

Phidias, are said to have enjoyed the friendship of eminent men of aristocratic birth; but most of these stories of intimacy are later exaggerations which have not taken into account the conditions of ancient industrial life. In like manner schoolmasters, teachers of music and gymnastic, sophists, and even physicians were not highly regarded" (pp. 233-234). "Art, letters and politics, claimed the interest of the ordinary citizen far more than they do today, because it was the policy of Pericles to render the democracy of Athens a leisure class, supported by their slaves and the revenues of the empire." (p. 118).

(2). On the other hand writers among whom are Ernest Barker, Alfred Zimmern, A. W. Gomme and La Rue Van Hook, assert that this "all too general conception of an essentially aristocratic Athenian society" is one which is "certainly false in some of its aspects and exaggerated or overemphasized in others." It must therefore be corrected and modified.

The views of the first three writers mentioned above are for the most part identical with those presented in Van Hook's treatment which discusses this vexatious question at some length. In presenting this side of the case I will confine myself to this adequately representative work entitled Greek Life and Thought from

which I will quote somewhat copiously.

Van Hook proceeds as follows: "Almost everywhere the time-honored assertion is made that in Athens all work was despised, labor was condemned, the workers were disdained, and in fact, that any service for which financial remuneration was received was in disrepute and branded with a humiliating social stigma. The free man is supposed to have done little or no work, for surely the aristocratic citizen must have had a completely independent and care-free existence for his manifold, political, social, and religious duties.

"It may well be asked, why is it that this view of Athenian society as intensely aristocratic, if erroneous, is generally held? The reasons are, it would seem, as follows:

(1). Athens, like other Greek states, at an early period in its history, in fact until after Solon and Clisthenes, was, in large measure, oligarchic and aristocratic, both politically and socially. It is mistakenly assumed that these early conditions, particularly in social life, continued.

(2). Certain Greek states, e.g., Sparta, Thebes, and Crete never experienced democratization. The strictly aristocratic conditions which were permanently characteristic of these states are sometimes thought

of as necessarily existing also in Athens.

(3). Modern writers have the tendency implicitly to follow Plato and Aristotle as authorities and imagine that actual fifth century Athenian conditions are accurately reflected in the pages of these philosophers, even when the latter are discussing theoretical politics and imaginary and ideal societies. And yet caution must always be observed in the case of these "haconiz=ing" theorizers who, furthermore, were aristocrats and in many respects distrusted democracy.

(4). It is true that Athens was not a democracy in the complete sense of the word, inasmuch as the vote was denied to women, foreigners and slaves. Slavery was, of course, a recognized institution from time immemorial throughout the ancient world and Athens as well" (p. 81).

Van Hook continues: "So far as native males were concerned Athens was politically a perfect democracy.....Athens was a small community and allowed all citizens directly to participate in the government.... All citizens over eighteen years of age were members of the Athenian Assembly; all citizens over thirty were eligible to membership in the Council of Five Hundred, the members of which were elected annually by lot; and all citizens over thirty were eligible to election by

lot to serve as jurymen in the Heliastic lawcourts. The practice of filling offices by election by lot may not commend itself as the best means to secure efficient officers, but it is eloquent proof of political equality, showing that class distinction of any kind was not prejudicially operative. Furthermore, that lack of means might not prevent participation in public service Pericles introduced the system of a small financial remuneration for office-holders."

Thus there was complete political equality regardless of financial or social position. But democracy has inherent weaknesses. "So in Athens there inevitably arose unscrupulous demagogues such as Cleon, venal statesmen, like Aeschines, professional politicians, like certain rhetors, informers and blackmailers like the sycophants and oligarchical cliques in successive generations, e.g., the pro-Medes, the pro-Lacedaemonians, and the pro-Macedonians. Some of the great Athenian thinkers, even Plato and Aristotle, seeing these defects and fearing that the democracy might degenerate into an ochlocracy (mob-rule) disparage a democratic polity and eulogize the aristocracy or the benevolent monarchy. But they were on the wrong track" (p. 87).

Van Hook then proceeds to scrutinize Athenian

life "for evidences of caste, snobbery, inequality and injustice." We are informed that in the city the houses of rich and poor were very similar. An ancient witness, we are told, testifies that "the Athenian people are no better clothed than the slaves or alien, nor in personal appearance is there any superiority."

"In all forms of social activity all the citizens participated on a parity. All could attend the theatre; all joined in the public festivals and in religious sacrifices and observances. The poor and wealthy enjoyed great advantages and privileges. It is true that some men were wealthier than others and enjoyed certain superior advantages as a result, but there was no overwhelming disparity between rich and poor in matters of dress and house, food and drink, and in physical, mental and spiritual joys and relaxations. Surplus wealth was not at the disposal of the few, but was expended for the good of all. Funds from the public treasury provided the marble temples, buildings and the theater and likewise supported war-orphans and pensioned invalids.

"Individuals who acquired greater means than their fellows were required to use it for the good of the city as a whole. This was accomplished through the liturgies, or public services, which may be com-

pared with modern income taxes."

Van Hook quotes Xenophon's Socrates <sup>2</sup> as does Hasebroek but he does not add as Hasebroek would and has done: "But then Socrates was well known for his fantastic views. Aristarchus and Eutherus were merely upholding the orthodox and commonly accepted belief."<sup>3</sup> Again contradicting Hasebroek, Van Hook says, "Plenty of evidence is available to show that work was esteemed not only in the times portrayed by Homer in the Iliad and the Odyssey and Hesiod in his Works and Days, but in Athens of the fifth century B. C." (p. 94).

Again from Van Hook: "Participation in public life and fulfilment of the demands and duties of citizenship did not exact from the average Athenian anything like the major part of his working hours. The Assembly met four times in each prytany...i.e., about once in eight days. The attendance was voluntary and only a fraction of all who were entitled to attend were ever present as convenience or interest dictated. The Council was limited to five hundred citizens and no one might serve more than twice; furthermore fifty only of the Council....were continuously on duty, so that the majority thus were free to attend to their political

2. Van Hook: p. 93, quoting Xenophon's Mem. ii, 7, 7.

3. Hasebroek: p. 40.

affairs" (p. 95). Since the number of wealthy citizens was small, how did the ordinary citizen gain his livelihood? It was by means of agriculture, handicrafts, trades, wholesale and retail business, and daily labor. No occupation was more respected and admired than agriculture. Farms were small, tenancy almost unknown. The small farmer tilled his fields with his own hands. In the arts and crafts and in labor no one needed to be idle, for the state policies of Pericles and the great building operations not only gave employment to all the residents of Athens, whether free men or slaves, but attracted workers from far and near. Thousands of citizens, perhaps a third of the whole, gained a livelihood by labor. While commerce was largely in the hands of resident aliens, and the heaviest drudgery was performed by slaves, the mass of the skilled workers were free citizens. Stone-cutters, masons and sculptors had their shops or yards where they worked privately with their apprentices, or they might be engaged in public work, such as the building operations on the Acropolis, working side by side with other citizens, with metics, and with slaves.

"Modest means was the rule in Athens and was no bar to achievement and distinction. Life and its needs were simple, and money in itself as an accumulation was

not desired. A uniform wage was paid practically to all skilled workmen alike. Everyone who had skill or art was an artist, a term applied to sculptors, painters, physicians, and cobblers. Plato, to be sure who was wealthy, speaks harshly of those sophists and teachers who were compelled to take money for teaching. There were, indeed, some charlatans in this profession, but we may be certain that such sophists as Gorgias, Protagoras, Isocrates and Alcidas (all of whom were professors who accepted tuition fees from countless students who were only too glad to pay it) were held in esteem in Athens. So were lawyers and speechwriters for pay, such as Antiphon, Lysias, and Isaeus. Literary men who accepted pay, poets who received purses for prizes and actors who profited financially by their labors were in good social repute. The prestige of physicians depended on their skill and personality. The ignorant and the charlatan were contemned; the skilled and public-spirited surgeon might be richly rewarded and given an honorary crown and public thanks. The elementary-school teacher, the music and gymnastic instructor, were not highly regarded, not because they received money for their services, but because most of them were ignorant men and often of inferior breeding. As for the great artists, sculptors and painters, it is

impossible to believe, as we have been told, that they fell under public contempt simply because they earned money. Could this be true of a Phidias, a Polygnotus, an Ictinus, or a Knesicles? But we know that Phidias was a warm and extremely intimate personal friend of Pericles.....A typical vase-making establishment would engage the services of some twelve persons who might be citizens, metics, and slaves, all working side by side in equality. Citizen artists and artisans proclaim with pride, and do not conceal in shame, their occupations. Vase-painters and makers signed their wares" (pp. 97-98).

Thus we have two quite different pictures, and while it is difficult to decide in favor of either, it is possible to judge that both may be somewhat one-sided and both partly right. It is also very likely that the first mentioned view is at least an over-generalization. Moreover it is possible to reason about some of the evidence which we have examined, though it would be impossible for the layman at any rate to go over each quotation in the preceding pages and categorically state where lies truth and where falsity.

~~In the first place in regard to Hasebroek's contention that "there can be no doubt whatever that the~~

First of all, there is one book, Ancient Greece at Work (1926), by G. Glotz, which seems to effect something of a compromise and thus more closely to approximate to the truth than do the other works which have been quoted. Glotz proceeds as follows: "Herodotos had already observed that the difference of opinions obtaining on this subject was a question, not of race, but of government and economy. He said that the contempt of the barbarian peoples for the mechanical arts was shared by the warlike aristocracies of Greece.....Indeed the cities in which the nobility was in power had nothing but disdain for the labouring classes. Often the name of citizen seemed to them incompatible with the exercise of any trade whatever.....Even in the cities won over to democratic ideas the minority held obstinately to the notions beloved of oligarchy....In a country in which the classes were mingled by their daily life, the theories in favour among the philosophers spread from the circles which welcomed them out of interest to those which affected them out of snobbishness. The agrarian system had left a hereditary stamp on the whole population, and still formed men's minds in the country demes. The merchants and manufacturers for their part differentiated between the professions according to the chances of fortune, the degree

of independence and the facilities for work. While abolishing political and legal distinctions, the democracy did not prevent social distinctions. Thus a rough order of precedence among the trades became established. Between one profession and another either there was a feeling of envy or airs of superiority were assumed. The self-satisfaction of the "best" people, the vanity of upstarts, and the conceit of intellectuals are the same in all times.

"In industry the distinctions established were for a long time of a moral order. Solon had forbidden respectable people to manufacture perfumes; when the prohibition disappeared a prejudice survived. But from the fifth century the heads of great factories, men like Cleon or Cephalos, were in a different rank from the mere craftsmen, and labour in the workshop was considered superior to that in the mines. However the difference cannot yet have been perceptible between the master and his men anymore than between the skilled worker and the labourer. All wages alike were one drachma a day, for the man who carried the scaffolding as for the architect and the sculptor, for the slave as well as for the citizen. Later, in the fourth century, when the labourer still drew his old salary and the skilled worker or craftsman got one and a half, two, or even two and a half drachmas a day, these differences in remuneration were clearly related to the consideration

in which the various trades were held, and, within each trade, the various classes of worker. There are no definite lines of division. In the depths we discern a crowd dedicated to the hard drudgery, the repulsive and degrading tasks. There the waste of society crouches together with the slaves. Above them are all the professions suitable to free men, Metics or citizens. But a further division soon came into being in this class. After a few generations the citizens lost the inclination for work on the land, or in trade or in industry. Those who could, ceased to take a personal part in their business. Pericles had a steward to manage his properties; chiefs of industry and craftsmen hired out slaves whom they had trained, and sometimes even a mine or workshop complete with staff. Thus the Athenians became rentiers, men without profession living on their income. For them the great attraction was politics.... Plain citizens left their field or shop for whole years to serve in the Council or in a magistracy. A time came when it was no longer true that in Athens every one was equally able to attend to the affairs of the State and to his own business. Furthermore the sons of craftsmen and merchants aimed at professions which gave less work to the hand than to the head... As time went on from the mass of "liberal" professions certain arts which are especially "liberal" became more and more detached, and

the citizens of Athens were more and more disposed to confine themselves to these. They did not despise the commercial or industrial careers, but they insensibly abandoned them for art and letters, administration and politics....Here we see clearly the stages through which many families in Attica passed; the countrymen allured by the town, go into trade and industry, and the sons of successful merchants and craftsmen turn to the liberal careers."

Then we can appeal to reason, and in regard to Hasebroek's contention that "there can be no doubt whatever that the

industrial life of Athens was in the hands not of its citizens but of foreigners and aliens," we must bear several points of fact in mind. For one thing all agriculture was carried on by citizens, for foreigners, with few exceptions, could not hold land. Again, all mining and quarrying was conducted, with rare exceptions, by citizens, for the same reason. These added to the undoubtedly numerous citizen craftsmen of all sorts place a large proportion of Athenian industry exclusively in the hands of citizens. With this point established we are perhaps justified in the inference that these people at any rate did not despise industry.

Secondly, Plato's criticisms of the Athenian democracy would have no point if the large majority of the inhabitants belonged, as Hasebroek says, to the rentier class, or, if very poor were enabled to live as soldiers or dicasts by State pay for their services. This condition where every citizen could give his whole time to public affairs is just what Plato desires. His whole argument is that a man can only do one thing well, and that public work is a whole-time affair, for which special training is required. How then can the industrial classes have either the training or the leisure for it?

While the conflicting views presented above appear

to present a dilemma it also might at first seem difficult to discern a consistent point of view in Plato. In the Laws and the Republic Plato insists on the gulf which should separate the citizen from the mechanic or trader. His ideal state of the Laws rests upon agriculture and all the citizens are landed gentry forbidden to engage in trade. In this ideal polity trade and commerce are to be insignificant and the productive class is debarred from all political rights. A caste system is presupposed. Moreover the industrial arts are repeatedly referred to as "base" and "vulgar."<sup>4</sup>

However, Plato can be and has been invoked in defense of trade and commerce.<sup>5</sup> In the Laws the profession of the retailer and the function of money as auxiliary to it he pronounces to be useful and almost indispensable to society, for the purpose of rendering different articles of value commensurable with each other, and of ensuring a distribution suitable to the requirements of individuals. This could not be done without retailers, merchants, hired agents, etc. But if we read further we are told that though retailing is thus useful if properly conducted it slides

4. Rep. 495C=496B, 522B, 590C; Laws 919C.

5. Laws 918ff.; Cp. Rep. 371 where the like view of retail trade is given.

almost naturally into cheating, lying, extortion, and so on, from the love of money inherent in most men. Such abuses must be restrained; at any rate they must not be allowed to corrupt the best part of the community. Accordingly none of the citizens will be allowed either to practise retailing, or to exercise any hired function, except for senior relatives and of a dignified character. The discrimination of what is dignified and not dignified must be made according to the liking or disliking of such citizens as have obtained prizes for virtue.<sup>6</sup> None must be permitted to sell by retail except non-citizens, and these must be kept under strict watch by the Nomophylakes or Guardians of the Laws.<sup>7</sup>

In the following chapter it will be expedient to determine just what is a non-citizen.

6. Laws 919

7. Laws 920B=C.

## CHAPTER 3

WHAT IS A NON-CITIZEN?

This thesis maintains that the scheme of government proposed by Plato recognises one separate class of inhabitants, relieved from all money-getting employments and constituting exclusively the citizens of the commonwealth. This small class is in effect the city==the commonwealth; the remaining inhabitants are not a part of the commonwealth; they are only appendages to it==indispensable indeed, but still appendages. In the Republic this narrow aristocracy ~~was~~<sup>is</sup> not allowed to possess private property or separate families, but forms one inseparable brotherhood. In the Laws, this aristocracy forms a distinct caste of private families each with its separate property.

Plato's Republic is an aristocracy on a very narrow scale. The great mass of the inhabitants are thrust out altogether from all security and good government, and are placed without reserve at the disposal of the small band of armed citizens.

There is but one precaution on which Plato relies for ensuring good treatment from the citizens towards their inferiors, and that is the finished and elaborate education which the citizens or citizens-to-be are to receive. Men so educated according to Plato, would be= have as perfectly in the relation of superior to inferior,

as in that of equal to equal<sup>1</sup> of citizen to citizen.

Yet assuming this supposition were to prove true the mass of the people would receive nothing more than that degree of physical comfort and mild usage which can be made to consist with subjection and with the exaction of compulsory labour. The inferior man would meet with protection, but his mind must be kept in a degradation suitable to his position. He must be deprived of all moral and intellectual culture; he is excluded from any participation in government; he must be content to receive whatever is awarded, without for an instant imagining that he has any voice in deciding his fate. Plato is not concerned to disguise or mitigate the inevitable depravation which he assigns to all the inhabitants excepting his favoured class.<sup>2</sup>

But it may be urged: In the Republic are not the elements Temperance and Justice allotted to these inhabitants as well as to the others? Yes, they are; however when the peculiar meanings attached by Plato to temperance, and justice are examined it will be seen that the terms are used in no sense which would indicate a particular solicitude for the well-being of

1. Rep. 375ff.

2. Rep. 522B, 530C.

the third class. The notions of Temperance and Justice are discovered in the following manner.

The Platonic Socrates lays down as the generating principle of human society, the reciprocity of need and service indispensable to human beings.<sup>3</sup> Socrates then provides that each man shall be specialized for the service to which he is peculiarly adapted and confined to that alone.<sup>4</sup> Incidentally Plato here implies in advance the very doctrine of justice which his construction is intended to prove. How such specialization is to be applied in detail among the multitude of cultivators and other producers, Plato does not tell us. Each is to have his own employment; we know no more. But in regard to the two highest classes he gives more information; first, there is the small cabinet of rulers; next, the body of soldiers who execute the orders of this cabinet, and defend the territory against enemies. Respecting both of these Plato carefully prescribes both the education which they are to receive and the circumstances under which they are to live. They are to be of both sexes intermingled; but to know neither family nor property: they live together in

3. Rep. 369D.

4. Rep. 387E.

barrack and with common tables, receiving subsistence and the means of decent comfort, but no more, from the producers.<sup>5</sup>

Plato then regards his city as brought to consummation. He thinks himself farther entitled to proclaim it as perfectly good, and therefore as including the four constituent elements of Good: that is, as being wise temperate, brave and just.<sup>6</sup> He then looks to find wherein each of these four elements resides: wisdom resides specially in the cabinet of rulers, courage specially in the auxiliaries, temperance and justice in these two, but in the producing multitude also. The two last virtues are universal in the commonwealth. Temperance consists in the harmony of opinion between the multitude and the two higher classes as to obedience: the auxiliaries are as ready to obey as the rulers to command; the multitude are also for the most part ready to obey—but should they ever fail in obedience the auxiliaries are ready to lend their<sup>7</sup> constraining force to the authority of the rulers. Having thus settled three out of the four elements of Good, which enumeration he holds to be exhaustive—

5. Rep. 416E.

6. Rep. 427D, 428A.

7. Rep. 421, 431-2.

Plato assumes that what remains must be Justice.

This remainder he declares to be that each of the three portions of the commonwealth performs its own work and nothing else. Justice and Temperance are thus common to all the three portions of the state, while wisdom belongs entirely to the rulers and courage entirely to the auxiliaries.

The four virtues are virtues of a State considered in fact as an "individual writ large" and are concerned with its well-being and not necessarily with the welfare of the particular individuals composing it.<sup>9</sup> Indeed Plato announces explicitly the purpose of all his arrangements to be to obtain happiness for the whole city supposed to<sup>be</sup> capable of happiness or misery apart from any class of individuals composing it.<sup>10</sup> Each individual is to do the work for which he is best fitted contributory to the happiness of the whole==and to do nothing else. Each must be content with such happiness<sup>11</sup> as consists with his own exclusive employment.

We are now perhaps able to see that the bestowal of Temperance and Justice upon the third class contains no particular connotation of moral elevation or of

8. Rep. 433.

9. 368B-E, 421B-C.

10. Rep. 420-421.

11. Rep. 421C.

benefit or of happiness. Indeed as elements in a society this class possesses neither reason nor spirit but appetite alone.

At this point it may be well to examine the parallel which Plato suggests between the State and the individual. Plato constructs a State to illustrate the nature of the individual soul. In so doing he makes a petitio principii. For he builds a State to illustrate man; but he presupposes a knowledge of man in building it. The State being a product of the human soul, its construction proceeds along lines suggested by a conception of the soul as a threefold thing. First, Plato holds, there is in the soul, an irrational or appetitive element of desire, the ally of pleasure and satisfaction, from which spring<sup>12</sup> love, hunger, thirst and the other appetites. Then there is an element of reason which has two functions; for by it men both learn to know and (because they have learned to know) are ready to love. It is an element which will necessarily be of supreme importance in the State; it will be at once a guide of action and a bond of union for its members. Lastly midway between the two comes an element of spirit. The specific function of this element is that <sup>it</sup> inspires men for battle; but it is chiefly as an auxiliary to reason that it presents

12. Rep. 439D.

itself to Plato: "in the battle of the soul it takes  
 13  
 its stand by reason's side."

In the State there are three classes, as we have seen, and these three classes correspond to the three parts of the soul. The three elements of mind or soul which constitute the State are actually distinct as classes in its organization. This implies that each of the several elements (appetite, spirit and reason) is particularly and essentially prominent in particular individuals or groups of individuals. There is one small group in which reason is prominent, another, and larger, which is dominated by spirit; a third, by far the largest, in which appetite is paramount.

However while the State may be and indeed is a product of mind, it does not follow that the State should be divided into classes which correspond to the different elements of mind. In each individual mind all those elements are present; but if in the State each man is limited to an activity which corresponds to one element only he seems to be forced to live as a member of society with a single part of his mind. Since the ruler must live by reason he must abandon appetite; he is therefore brought under a communistic system which prevents the play of appetite, and thus involves  
 13. Rep. 440B.

a sterilization of an integral element in human nature. Again, the producer must live for the satisfaction of appetite; he must be regulated in that life by the external reason of the ruler; and hence his rational self is paralysed.

Thus there is a great line of division between the producing and the ruling classes. And this division is doubtless inevitable on Plato's analysis of the human mind applied to the State. Plato maintains that the presence of conflict in the mind indicates the presence of several contradictory elements. For instance there is a struggle between appetite and reason<sup>14</sup> "which is like the struggle of factions in a State." But the mind, heterogeneous as it is, must be reduced to unity; and this is the function of reason. The rational principle, with the spirited principle as its ally, must rule the concupiscent, which in each of us is the largest part of the soul. Reason is the little part which rules having a knowledge of what is for the interest alike of each of the three parts and of the whole.<sup>15</sup>

That the division of classes is not without advantages must be acknowledged. It makes possible the

14. Rep. 440B.

15. Rep. 441E=442C.

excellence which specialised capacity alone can attain. Again what may be called political unselfishness is consummated in the separation of classes, especially in the separation of the producing from the governing class. "On one side stands the economic Society: on the other rises the State==a State carefully detached by a system of communism from economic Society, and likely neither to interfere with it nor to be influenced by it. The distinction between Society and the State, which the Greeks tended to ignore may here be said to find a full expression."<sup>16</sup>

Yet in the Republic the question how the State is to be made at one with itself is a prominent one. Plato had noticed that when some piece of good or ill fortune befel individual members of an ordinarily constituted State, some of their fellows sympathised with them, while others did not; and he seems to have ascribed this disharmony of feeling to the existence of separate households and separate rights of property.<sup>17</sup> Carry the element of community further till the distinction of meum and tuum ceased to exist in relation to women, children and property, and the whole society would feel as one man. This was the end he had in view. But in

16. Ernest Barker: p. 175.

17. Rep. 462=3.

the Republic the communistic scheme is confined to the upper section of the State. Plato seems to aim at securing the harmony of the whole State by securing the internal harmony of the guardians. If the guardians are at one the other citizens are sure to be at one,  
 18  
 also.

But will the unity postulated for the guardian class secure unity through<sup>out</sup> the State? Aristotle remarks that the Republic will be not one city but two cities, with tendencies more or less adverse to each other: the guardians, who undergo many years of education and who are placed under peculiar communistic regulations, will form one city; while the remaining people, who have no part either in the one or the other, but are private proprietors with separate families, will form another city. Thus we observe an extreme divergence of sentiment, character, pursuits and education between the guardians and the rest of the people which would render mutual sympathy very difficult. The probabilities of mutual alienation appear to be almost as great as if separate interests were allowed to subsist among the guardians. Moreover it is likely that the sentiment of the gold and silver  
 18. Rep. 465B.

men towards the brass and iron men will have in it too much of contempt to be consistent with civic fraternity. Plato himself seems proud of his own ideal training so as to ascribe to those who receive it a sentiment akin to that of the Olympic victors, while he employs degrading analogies to signify the pursuits and enjoyments of the untrained multitude who are assimilated to the appetite or lower element in the organism, existing only as a mutinous crew necessary to be kept down. 19

The rest of the people are left without any cultural training--without even so much as would enable them properly to appreciate superior training in the few who obtain it--without any powers of self-defence or self-helpfulness. The education for the sons of producers is to be apprenticeship to the trade of their fathers. 20 Plato's fundamental postulate, that every man shall do only one thing, when applied to the ordinary pursuits of life reduces every man to a special machine, unfit for any other purpose than its own. Thus the body of the people seem to exist partly as producers to maintain, partly as governable matter to obey, the guardians, and to be cared for by them.

Indeed the industrial and trading class seem to

19. Rep. 465D, 495C-496B, 522B, 590C; Laws 919C.

20. Rep. 467A.

be introduced merely to justify the provision of <sup>a</sup>professional army. <sup>21</sup> No one can become a good shoemaker without being trained for the job. Every one must confine himself exclusively to that business for which he is naturally fit; no one is allowed to engage in two distinct occupations. This rule is above all essential for the business of war. The soldier must perform the duties of a soldier and undertake no others. But once the guardians are on the scene we see almost nothing more of the producing class, except for an occasion in Book V (463B). There they are told that they may address the guardians as "fellow-guardians" and that, as against the custom of some other cities, where they might be called "slaves," they are to receive the title of wage-payers and supporters.

A very different picture of the third class is presented by Prof. A. E. Taylor. He describes the "civilian" class as follows:

"Thus the demiourgoi include not only the so-called "working class," but the whole body of professional men, and the whole class of employers of labor. Since the two superior classes are expressly forbidden to have any kind of property, personally or as classes, it follows that the "whole" of the state is in the hands

21. This thought and its expression is a condensation from Warner Pite's *The Platonic Legend* (1934) Chap. 2



of the demiourgoi. A "merchant prince," under such a classification, is just as much one of the "industrial" as his clerks and office=boys".<sup>22</sup> But in pages 421=22 Plato enjoins his guardians to see that neither poverty nor wealth is permitted to enter the ideal city. No one is to be rich enough to drop his work and live in idleness. Hence there will be no "merchant princes" and no "capitalism." As for "the body of professional men" the only functionaries corresponding to this description are the physicians and judges proposed in Book III 409=10; and these are invested with powers of life and death that seem clearly to place them among the guardians.

Thus we see that Plato's Republic is an aristocracy and that the guardians were to constitute the governing=class. They were to do the administering, the directing and the defending of the city. Indeed in at least one place Plato speaks of them as if they were the whole city.<sup>23</sup> They were to hold no property, or rather they were to hold none privately, but rather in common. But they would control all property. The trading and industrial class would be tax=payers; but the guardians would appoint the assessors and fix the app=

22. Plato, the Man and His Work (1926), p. 276.

23. Rep. 462.

reproiations.

The contention of this thesis is (and it hinges upon a definition of the term citizen) that the guardians are the only true, effective, ideal citizens. The others constitute a part of the non-civic element. They are called citizens<sup>a</sup> (at least, part of the time, though not nearly so often as ~~the~~ Jowett's translation would have one believe)<sup>b</sup> but they are rather in the city than of it. They are nominal citizens only. They occupy an anomalous position: they pay the piper but do not call the tune. They have no part in the guiding, administering, or defending of the city which according to the treatment of citizenship in the Laws is essential to citizenship. <sup>24</sup>

This thesis holds that the word citizen is used in the Republic in two senses: (1) when it applies to the guardian class, in what we regard as its true meaning. There it denotes, as it does in the Laws, one who participates in "public life," i.e., in the defence or the administration of a State. Here the word is used in a functional sense. (2) It is used in a geographical sense indicating native inhabitants of a city. This is a broad and loose usage and is <sup>24</sup>. Laws 737, 738, 771, 823, 812.

(a) Vide 414E-417, 423D.

(b) e.g. In Rep. 401B Jowett translates "citizen," whereas the Greek is "guardian." In 419A and 422D Jowett has "citizen" where the correct translation is "these men" and "they," referring to the guardians. This thesis which identifies "guardian" with "citizen" might seem to sanction Jowett's figurative translation. However it is clear that Jowett applies the word "citizen" to all three classes indiscriminately because as often as not the Greek is not "citizen" at all but some word referring specifically to one or other of the three classes. Also in Rep. 423E and 451C Jowett's translation implies that all the inhabitants of the Rep. were to receive the same elaborate education, which in fact applies only to the guardian class. Here too there are mistranslations.

equivalent to the term subject in a monarchical state. All classes in the ideal state whether civic or essentially non-civic would be subsumed under the term citizen in this second sense.

That this separation of the term citizen into two meanings is justified we believe to have been demonstrated above where it has been shown that a great gulf separates the guardians from the labouring class—a gulf which renders any common interests inconceivable. In the Laws Plato is explicit in separating all citizens from the industrial and commercial class who are aliens and slaves.

We have now defined the citizen as one who functions as a contributor to the direction, or to the administration, or to the defence of the Ideal City. But it is necessary to be more explicit. The citizens will not only be adult males, but their wives as well, for in both the Republic and the Laws women are to follow the same pursuits as men.

Plato's wish is to bring women out into the light  
 25 of day and prevent them dragging the men down to their own level. Women are to render military service and to be eligible for office,  
 26 though not quite

25. Laws 791C.

26. Laws 785B.

under the same conditions as men. It is not indeed clear that Plato intends all offices to be accessible to them; he may be speaking in the passage just referred to only of offices appropriated to women, like the one mentioned in Laws 784A (cp. 795D). Nor is it said whether they are to serve in the assembly and dicasteries. There would apparently be nothing to exclude a woman from positions of this kind, if she succeeded to one of the lots of land. Must a woman succeed to a lot in order to become eligible for offices not appropriated to her sex? It is difficult to say; in any case, it would seem that being a citizen, whether male or female, is a matter of growth.

There appear to be degrees of citizenship. The minimal qualification for citizenship appears to be military service which begins at the age of seventeen or eighteen when the youth joins the Ephebi, beginning his military service.<sup>27</sup> But he does not as yet share in full citizenship rights. In fact, the citizenship rights of all men whose fathers were still living would be much limited, and as a man might marry as early as twenty-five years of age (or according to another passage, thirty) he might have a son who

27. Laws 810, 813, Rep. 537A-C.  
cf. Alcibiades

cf. Laws 760. The Agronomi must be at least 25 years of age.

would be excluded from full citizenship for the first forty or fifty years of his life.

A citizen does not appear to have reached the ultimate of citizenship-development until he becomes a priest at the age of sixty. Of course the great majority of citizens never become priests but there are intermediate stages. Such a stage is marriage. Then the candidate for the full rights of a citizen is entitled to one of the two houses on the citizen-ship lot. Even so he is still on the "waiting list." He does not become a full citizen until he succeeds to the ownership of one of the 5040 lots, which ownership entitles him to membership in the Assembly. Then it is possible to advance further, provided, as a rule, one has the minimum property-qualifications.

As we are now reasonably clear regarding the status of citizen, it is possible to determine the composition of the non-civic element. The non-civic element will comprise all inhabitants of the City who do not participate in any of the functions of citizenship, viz., directing, administering, and defending. It will then consist chiefly of: the producing class

in general==the artisans and the farmers, then the  
traders, slaves in general, schoolteachers, and no  
doubt the families of the aforementioned classes,  
strangers, heretics, and the children of citizens.  
In the several chapters to follow these classes as  
Plato treats them in the Republic and the Laws chiefly  
will be subjected to detailed study.

28. In the model city the farms are owned and "managed"  
by the citizens, but the work of ploughing, etc.,  
is done by practical farmers who belong to the  
serf class.

## CHAPTER 4

TRADERS, ARTISANS AND STRANGERS

Plato's ideal city is an agricultural community; commerce and industry are reduced to a minimum, and no citizen is permitted to engage in either. Consequently these businesses must be undertaken by foreigners.<sup>a</sup> Foreigners or aliens are of two sorts: metics (resident aliens) and passing strangers (visitors and traders). It will be convenient to divide the metics into two classes, traders and artisans. Thus we have three groups of foreigners,<sup>b</sup> traders, artisans and strangers. While the functions of these groups somewhat overlap, and also the regulations for them, they will be treated separately in this chapter for the sake of clarity.

- a At any rate in the city of the Laws. The nationality of the third class of the Republic is not clear.
- b Slaves also are originally foreigners. But they have been "naturalized," so to speak, that is, they remain permanently in the country, while the others are but temporary residents.

TRADERS

Plato's pronouncements concerning traders and trade in the Ideal City are found chiefly in the Laws. Trading is but briefly mentioned in the Republic and certain other dialogues.

The ideal state imagined by Plato in the Laws has to be founded at a distance of at least eighty<sup>1</sup> stadia from the coast. It is true that it has a good<sup>2</sup> harbour but the district of the city is to supply<sup>3</sup> the inhabitants with nearly all necessities, so that<sup>4</sup> only very little has to be imported. For, says Plato, if the city were situated by the sea, possessed a good harbour and lay in a district which did not provide all necessities, it would be a superhuman task to prevent bad morals from sneaking into it. For though it might seem to be an advantage to a town to be situated by the sea, in reality it has to pay for this advantage with the loss of honesty and sincerity in its citizens, as cunning and unrelia-<sup>5</sup>bleness are bound to become in-herent in those who occupy themselves with trade and with the acquisition of money. With a view to this

1. Laws 704B; 705A.
2. Laws 704B.
3. Laws 704C.
4. Laws 704D.
5. Laws 705A.

fact Plato emphatically stipulates that no citizen may be a retail trader or a merchant.<sup>6</sup> In the Republic Plato declares that in a well regulated state retail trade should be in the hands of worklings and of those who are not fit to do anything else.<sup>7</sup> A second reason why neither the citizens of the ideal state, nor their slaves, are allowed to occupy themselves with trade is that the citizens are to work exclusively for the state and the slaves must till the soil for their masters, as landed property is the only source of income allowed to the citizens.<sup>8</sup> Everyone ( and this principle Plato tries to follow out very rigorously) is allowed to perform but one task, as only then will it be well performed.<sup>9</sup> Trespassers against the above mentioned interdict on trading are liable to one year's imprisonment and for each repetition of the offence the time of imprisonment is to be doubled.<sup>10</sup>

The few merchants wanted will consist entirely of foreigners,<sup>11</sup> while retail trade will be conducted either by metics or strangers.<sup>12</sup> In order to repress the pernicious influence of the contingent riches of these people on the morals of the citizens Plato fixes a limit to their fortunes and to their stay in the city.<sup>13</sup>

6. Laws 919E.

7. Rep. 371C.

8. Laws 806D.

9. Laws 846D and 847A.

10. Laws 920A.

11. Laws 952E.

12. Laws 920A.

13. Laws 915A-B

In the Republic Plato gives as his ideal a town which does not require any imports but at the same time sees the practical impossibility of this ideal. <sup>14</sup>

In order to reduce export Plato decrees that the district of the town must not produce much more than the inhabitants require for their own use. <sup>15</sup> On what is exported no export duties will be paid, and in the same way the goods imported will be free of import duties. <sup>16</sup> Only those things which are absolutely necessary for the citizens may be imported, <sup>17</sup> and only those goods may leave the city, the citizens' want of which has been entirely satisfied. <sup>18</sup> Here we have the phenomenon, paradoxical in our eyes, of abolition of customs joined to restriction of import, as usually customs are abolished in order to promote import. Especially the import of perfume, such as incense, used in sacrifices to the Gods is interdicted by Plato and also bright and purple fabrics. <sup>19</sup> As regards victuals Plato in the Republic advises frugality in meals, so that foreign dainties need not be imported. <sup>20</sup>

As goods the import of which is allowed, he mentions~~s~~ arms and materials like wood and metals, which are necessary for making war supplies, for the city cannot do

- 14. Rep. 370E.
- 15. Laws 705B.
- 16. Laws 847B.
- 17. Laws 847B.
- 18. Laws 847C.
- 19. Laws 847C.
- 20. Rep. 559A=B.

without these. These things however must not be furnished to the citizens by importers, but the buying and selling of them will be entirely in the hands of the commanders of the horse and the generals.<sup>21</sup>

The merchants who import these goods are foreigners and belong to a group which Plato compares to birds of passage,<sup>22</sup> because in summer, the season for navigation, they fly from one country to another, to trade with their goods. These foreign traders are not allowed to enter the city itself, but the magistrates assign them a place in a harbour, a market or a public building outside the town.<sup>23</sup> Plato would prefer to deny these and similar foreigners all admittance to the district of the town, but he sees the impossibility of this and moreover he fears that this would bring his projected city into disfavour with other cities.<sup>24</sup> So he doesn't advise prohibiting and expelling foreigners, things which happened from time to time at Sparta.<sup>25</sup>

Plato does not object to selling what is no longer absolutely necessary for citizens, probably in order to pay the importers. For as there is no city in the neighbourhood,<sup>26</sup> and as hardly any wood suitable for ship=

- 21. Laws 847D.
- 22. Laws 952E.
- 23. Laws 952E.
- 24. Laws 950A.
- 25. Laws 342A.
- 26. Laws 704C.

building grows there it is practically impossible for the citizens themselves to export these goods apart from the interdict on trade. So the citizens are free to have these superfluous goods sold in the town-markets or to exchange them with the foreign traders for the things they need from these foreigners. The magistrates however pay for arms and war material and with current

Greek coins. Current Greek coins of gold and silver must not be in the possession of the citizens; for the possession of precious metals of any kind is not allowed

to them. Gold and silver coins are to be found only in the public treasury and are used by the magistrates only when the city or its citizens enter into relations with foreign countries. For daily use to pay farmers and labourers, Plato supposes the citizens to be in the possession of coins that will be current only in the

ideal city. In the Republic Plato considers the eliminating of all means of exchange an impossibility.

Thus the state is provided with the few things it wants from elsewhere. The victuals produced in the district of the town and the cattle which are not used for agriculture will be distributed every month.

27. Laws 705C.

28. Laws 742A.

29. Laws 742A and 801B; cf. Rep. 417A.

30. Laws 742A.

31. Rep. 371C.

32. Laws 847E.

One third part of them will be distributed among the citizens and their families for their own use, another third for their slaves, and the rest will be taken to a market by means of foreigners or slaves appointed for that purpose,<sup>33</sup> in order to be sold there to artisans<sup>34</sup> and to strangers generally. The city is divided into twelve parts and each part has its market, under the supervision of the agoranomi.<sup>35</sup> These agoranomi are charged with the supervision of the temples of the market, see that goods are sold in an orderly fashion, and must make certain that only one third of the victu<sup>36</sup>als are sold. If their orders are not obeyed they may chastise the slaves and foreigners and fine the citizens.

No citizen is allowed to buy or sell in the above mentioned markets. On the first day of every month the strangers, and metics and their slaves will buy there their stock of corn for the whole month, on the tenth day liquids (probably wine and oil are principally meant hereby), on the twentieth day cattle, hides and things made of these.<sup>37</sup> On the last mentioned market day the sellers are peasants of the environs of the

- 33. Laws 849B.
- 34. Laws 848A.
- 35. Laws 849A.
- 36. Laws 848A.
- 37. Laws 848B.

town, but we may assume that here too Plato thought of the mediation of slaves or foreigners.

Besides these three market=days every month, two markets are regularly held. In the first where both buyers and sellers are foreigners, victuals are sold by retail. Here these victuals will be found that have been sold in large quantities on one of the above mentioned market=days, and any that have been imported. Wood will be sold in any quantity but of course not in the market with a view to the difficulties in the transport of it and the large extent of market=ground that would be necessary for selling it. Here too the sellers are not the citizens themselves, but foreigners especially designated for that purpose who are only allowed to sell to foreigners. These retailers buy the wood wholesale from the "managers in the districts"==other foreigners or slaves who act for the citizens. 38

The so-called public market will serve for all merchandise other than victuals and wood; in this market the agoranomi and the astynomoi assign a special part 39 of the market=ground to every kind of merchandise.

If a bargain is struck in another place than the part of the market=ground assigned for it, and afterwards

38. Laws 849D, 849E.

39. Laws 849E.

a lawsuit is pressed regarding it, the state would not  
 find a true bill for the case.<sup>40</sup> Perhaps the citizens,  
 too, may sell (or make somebody else sell for them)  
 in this market what they no longer want themselves.<sup>41</sup>  
 Plato emphatically states that no market=dues will be  
 claimed.<sup>42</sup>

The object of these regulations no doubt is to  
 stamp market=traffic (since market=holding proves to  
 be an indispensable thing)<sup>43</sup> as a trade which is dis=  
 honourable for citizens, by which the state must in  
 no way profit, and in which the state has only to in=  
 tervene to prevent too great moral damage being done to  
 its inhabitants.<sup>44</sup> This tendency appears most clearly  
 in the stipulation that not a single form of credit  
 will be acknowledged and protected by the state.<sup>45</sup>  
 This stipulation makes a trading transaction of any  
 importance impossible, which is in accordance with the  
 legislator's intention.<sup>46</sup> Plato emphatically forbids  
 money or goods to be handed over unless an equivalent is  
 at once received. If this stipulation is trespassed  
 against, all further risk is for the seller.<sup>47</sup>

40. Laws 915E.

41. Vide England's edition of the Laws: 849E note.

42. Laws 850B.

43. Rep. 371E.

44. Laws 916C.

45. Laws 742C, 849E, 915E.

46. Rep. 558A.

47. Laws 849E, 915E.

The interdict on laying out money on deposit or lending it out at interest points in the same direction.<sup>48</sup> If a sum of money is lent out at interest, Plato gives the borrower leave to keep the capital as well as the interest.<sup>49</sup> Friends are allowed to lend money to each other without interest, but in this case, too, the state will not find a true bill if afterwards difficulties should arise.<sup>50</sup> When speaking of these loans Plato exclusively thinks of those that have as ~~an~~ nonproductive object, viz. of helping a man who is short of money. But neither would he have approved of loans with a productive object, which enable traders to do business on a larger scale, partly with foreign capital.

Curiously in contrast with this aloofness of the state in questions of lending out money is the stipulation concerning the furnishing of security. Just as Plato demands that, but for exceptional circumstances, all kinds of agreements must be fulfilled to the letter, and allows action to be taken if they are not carried out,<sup>51</sup> so he also gives the following stipulations on the furnishing of security. If a man furnishes security

- 48. Laws 742C, 921C.
- 49. Laws 742C.
- 50. Laws 915E.
- 51. Laws 920D.

for another he must fully explain in writing the conditions under which he engages himself, in the presence of at least three witnesses if the sum for which he gives security is less than a thousand drachmae, in the presence of at least five witnesses if the sum exceeds a thousand drachmae.<sup>52</sup>

If there has been a cash payment, and in the part of the market-ground assigned for it, the buyer can invoke the protection of the law, if it should appear afterwards that he has been duped. With a view to this fact a stipulation is made that anyone who, in a transaction acknowledged by the state, has sold any article at a price of not less than fifty drachmae, must remain in the city for ten days, and his place of residence must be made known to the buyer.<sup>53</sup> A broker will be liable to the same extent as the seller himself, if fraud is practised; the broker shall act as security for the seller should the latter have no real right to the goods sold or be unable to guarantee their possession.<sup>54</sup>

Plato explicitly discusses the cases in which the bargain may be annulled and so restoration of property take place. He considers the sale of a slave who suffers from consumption, calculus in the bladder, strangury,

52. Laws 953E.

53. Laws 918E, 918A.

54. Laws 954A.

epilepsy, or from any other physical or psychic deviation of long duration and difficult to cure, the symptoms of which are unknown to laymen. Such a transaction will be declared valid if the buyer is a physician or a gymnastic<sup>i.e.</sup>teacher~~==~~ an expert, or if the seller has truthfully informed the buyer of the state of health of the slave. <sup>55</sup> But in this case if the seller

is an expert and the buyer a layman, the buyer may demand annulment of the bargain within six months after the transaction. In case of epilepsy this request may even be made within a year. The action shall be tried before a bench of doctors chosen by mutual consent, and the party that loses his case shall pay double the selling price of the slave. <sup>56</sup> If both buyer and seller are

laymen, the person condemned will only have to pay the purchase price. <sup>57</sup> In case a man sells a slave who has committed a murder, nullification will not take place if this fact was known to both buyer and seller. If the buyer was unacquainted with the murder, the bargain may be annulled. If at the same time the seller is proved to have been acquainted with the fact, he has to pay the buyer three times the purchase price, apart from purify=

55. Laws 916A.

56. Laws 916B.

57. Laws 916C.

ing the buyer's house.

By various laws Plato tries to repress extravagances by the sellers in the market. It is however impossible to conclude with any certainty from his words whether he meant to fix maximum prices for the various goods.<sup>59</sup> He does demand however that the seller who has once fixed the price of his wares, will keep to this price for the whole day.<sup>60</sup> The stipulation that the college of Nomophylakes shall fix the margin of profit for the various goods, after having been enlightened on this subject by experts, also points in the direction of fixing maximum prices (though it is not to be identified with it).<sup>61</sup> A similar enlightenment by experts is demanded by Plato for the Nomophylakes and the agoranomoi regarding acts of fraud and other wrongful acts of sellers. When they have been sufficiently enlightened on these matters, the aforesaid officials draw up regulations for sellers which are posted on a pillar in front of the office of the agoranomoi.

Regarding the marketing of adulterated goods Plato declares that if a slave or a metic able to judge of the goods informs a magistrate of the adulteration he is allowed to take possession of the goods by way of recom-

59. Laws 850A.

60. Laws 917B.

61. Laws 920C.

pense. A citizen who detects adulterated goods has to make mention of it, if he wants to be taken for a worthy citizen, and has to consecrate the goods to the gods under whose protection the market has been placed. He who is condemned will not only be punished by seizure of the merchandise, but will also get as many lashes as the merchandise is worth drachmae, while in the market a herald cries out at the top of his voice

the reason for this lashing. <sup>62</sup> In this connection

Plato not <sup>only</sup> disapproves of varying market prices, but also of the recommending of the goods and adjurations by the gods which were to enforce the words of the sellers. Plato gives a citizen who is over thirty the right of chastising a trader whom he hears sinning

against this regulation. <sup>63</sup> It seems however that Plato did not want to deny to foreigners mutually the use of oaths to enforce their words, not even in trading transactions; because he considered these people's stay in the city too short to corrupt the morals of the citizens. <sup>64</sup>

For this is Plato's leading motive in his laws and regulations concerning trade: in what way can I

62. Laws 917D-E.

63. Laws 917C.

64. Laws 949B.

see to trade, which cannot be entirely abolished, exercising a minimum of demoralizing influence on the citizens.<sup>65</sup> Consequently Plato deprives the citizens of the liberty and possibility of trading, restricts the trading of non-citizens to what is strictly necessary,<sup>66</sup> and makes the above mentioned regulations for repressing the extravagances of the traders who have also been reduced to a minimum.

The low opinion of trade, manifested by Plato in his ideal state, is also based on his opinion <sup>of</sup> ~~on~~ the acquisition of money in general. All human endeavour is divided by Plato into three parts, viz., that which relates to the soul, to the body and the least laudable part which has the increasing of a man's fortune for its sole object.<sup>67</sup> The element of desire is called Love of Gain, because it is especially by money that many desires are satisfied. Above this the desire for honour is placed and on the highest level the desire for wisdom. In this way the work of a business man

is called ignoble, compared with the task of a gymnastic<sup>68</sup>-teacher or a physician. For the latter look

65. Laws 919C.

66. Laws 919C, 920B.

67. Laws 743E.

68. Gorgias 518A.

after the human body while he who strives after money  
does not look after himself (his soul) nor after that  
which is his (his body).<sup>69</sup>

Trading has the object of providing sustenance.<sup>70</sup>  
He who practises this art, however, is at the same time  
called "procurer of riches."<sup>71</sup> Abolition of poverty  
cannot but be in the line of Plato, who detests poverty  
as well as wealth;<sup>72</sup> he objects however against the  
insatiability of the business men, who when they have  
driven out poverty, strive after wealth which is an  
equally great evil.<sup>73</sup>

According to Plato this insatiability is very  
obvious in retail trading. For, says he, if one con-  
siders the real nature of retailing, it should be a  
blessing to the city, as it everywhere brings the stock  
of goods in good and equal proportion to the wants of  
individuals. Traders however have become notorious for  
losing their simple habits as soon as they have an oppor-  
tunity of getting much money; because they make immen-  
se profit, while they might be satisfied with moder-  
ate gain.<sup>74</sup> If only the best people would keep inns and  
engage in retail trade, these professions, says Plato,

69. Alcib. 131B.

70. Gorgias 477E.

71. Gorgias 452C.

72. Laws 679B, 729A, 918B.

73. Laws 918D.

74. Laws 918D.

64.

75

would soon be esteemed and liked. But unfortunately the best people are too rare and precious to be used for such purposes.

As Plato considers landed property to be the only respectable basis for a man's income,<sup>76</sup> his disapproval is directed indiscriminately against all traders, and artisans also. We call those people slaves, says Plato,<sup>77</sup> whom we have bought and who are our property. There are however also free men who voluntarily count themselves among the group of menials and who mutually transport and exchange the products of agriculture and the results of other professions. Some of these establish themselves in the market, others go from one town to the other, exchanging money for merchandise or one kind of merchandise for another. Thirst for money, says Plato, changes peaceful and kind people into traders, ship-owners, and servants, and those of a more turbulent nature into robbers, burglars and plunderers of temples.<sup>78</sup> In the Charmides<sup>79</sup> the trade of a seller of salt-fish is represented as ignominious, as well as that of a cobbler and a prostitute. The traders do not know whether the

75. Laws 918E.

76. Laws 741E, 846D, 847A, 919D.

77. Polit. 289D.

78. Laws 831E.

79. Charmides 163B.

goods they deal in are good for the body or harmful  
to it; they recommend everything they have for sale. <sup>80</sup>

And all this from love of gain, for which all kinds of  
faults are committed. As data for the slave-trade we  
may take the fact that according to Plato some people  
prompted by greed, betake themselves to kidnapping and  
sell their victims as slaves. <sup>81</sup> In another place he  
discusses the fact that a father sells his son or daugh-  
ter, in order to gain possession of money. <sup>82</sup>

The worst of it is, says Plato, that the people  
approve of the excesses of greed. <sup>83</sup> The adulteration  
of merchandise for instance is not disapproved of by  
the people, if only it is done at the right time. In  
the beginning peace reigned and quarrels were unknown  
because the people, were temperate and simple-minded. <sup>84</sup>  
But now the real purpose of money, viz., supplying the  
wants of mankind, especially taking care of mind and  
body, <sup>85</sup> is often overlooked. Therefore gold and silver  
coins are the greatest calamity for a city, <sup>86</sup> for in  
his striving after riches man has no time for other  
occupations. <sup>87</sup>

So we see that Plato speaks disparagingly of all

- 80. Laws 315D.
- 81. Rep. 575B.
- 82. Rep. 589E.
- 83. Laws 916D.
- 84. Laws 679B.
- 85. Laws 743D.
- 86. Laws 705E.
- 87. Laws 831C.

kinds of trade and money-making. In a few passages however he sounds a somewhat less rigorous moral. We must teach people, he says,<sup>88</sup> that, with a view to their own happiness, they should only try to grow rich justly and temperately. In another place he also approves of the acquisition of gold and silver, if it is attended with virtue.<sup>89</sup>

Thus in general Plato objects to traders and trade, because he disapproves of the incentives to trade, and because he is afraid of the corrupting influence of traders.

Traders are both resident aliens and strangers. Even retail traders may be either.<sup>90</sup> One and all, however, if residents, must depart, as a rule, after twenty years.<sup>91</sup> But artisans must necessarily be resident aliens only, as they are settlers,<sup>92</sup> and they will be treated next.

#### ARTISANS

The basic principle of the Republic, that each man should pursue a single and specific function, is the same in the Laws. It is this principle which inspires

88. Laws 870B.

89. Meno 78E.

90. Laws 920A.

91. Laws 850B, 915B.

92. Laws 848E.

the rule that the citizen shall practise no art or craft other than that of a perfect citizenship: it is this principle equally which inspires the rule that no alien shall practise more than a single art.<sup>93</sup>

But subject to this principle and subject to these rules, Plato admits a large play of industrial activity. There are to be thirteen divisions of alien artisans, one in the city and one in each district. In each of these districts the local division of artisans is to be properly distributed among the different villages, and every village is thus to contain every type of art or craft which is necessary for the convenience of all the neighbouring farms.<sup>94</sup> The chief officers of the wardens of the country shall be the supervisors, determining how many and what craftsmen each place requires and where they shall dwell so as to be of least trouble and greatest use to the farmers. The officers of the wardens of the city shall see to similar matters in the city.

Artisans constitute a most variegated class, including builders, weavers, shoemakers, carpenters, smiths, barbers, joiners, painters, etc.<sup>95</sup> In one place in the Laws the artisans are grouped together with the military, thus investing them with a quasi-civic status. Both the

93. Laws 846D-847A.

94. Laws 848E.

95. Rep. 371

artisans and the military are under special divine protection==the artisans under Hephaestus and Athena, and the military under Ares and Athena. Both serve continually the interest of the land and its inhabitants, the one class are leaders in war and the others produce for pay instruments and works. Both practise crafts, though of different sorts==the one class practising the craft of military security, the other, the crafts by which the community is furnished with the necessary housing and equipment.

Foreigners, including, of course, artisans, must necessarily buy food from the citizens, and they buy it through the retailers. Plato, accordingly, as we have seen, sets aside a third of the produce of the country for their use.<sup>96</sup> Moreover the artisans must necessarily sell, as the citizens must necessarily buy, the products of their arts. Here again retail trade is a necessity, and is permitted provided the element of money-making is limited. The provision of necessities for foreigners and the sale of their products was dealt with in "traders" above, and need not be repeated.

Artisans enter the ideal city to practise their crafts on fixed terms: the foreigner must be "willing and able" to reside in the state, he must have a craft,

96. Laws 920E, 921D.

97. Laws 948A.

and he must remain in the city not more than twenty years from the date of his registration, marking his entrance. He will not need to pay even a small aliens' tax, except virtuous conduct, or any other tax for any buying or selling. When his time has expired, he shall depart, taking with him his own property. However if within the period of twenty years it should happen that he has proved his merit by doing some signal service to the state, and if he believes that he can persuade the council and the assembly to grant his request and authorize a postponement of his departure, or even an extension of his residence for life, whatever request he thus succeeds in persuading the state to grant him shall be carried out for him in full. For the children of craftsmen the period of residence shall commence from the fifteenth year, and these after remaining for twenty years from that date shall depart, or if they desire to remain they shall gain permission in like manner. All who depart must first cancel the entries previously made by them in the register at the magistrate's office.

98

As we have seen, each craftsman shall have one craft and one only by which he makes his living. The wardens of the city enforce this law punishing the

98. Laws 850B=C.

artisan who breaks it by imprisonment money=fines, and expulsion from the state. As regards wages due to craftsmen and the cancellation of work ordered, and any injustice which they either receive or inflict, the wardens of the city act as arbitrators in any action not involving more than fifty drachmae. In respect of larger sums the public courts shall adjudicate as the law directs.

When a man does not fulfil his contract, he being under no legal or other impediment, the case shall be brought before the court of the tribes if not previously settled by arbitration. If any craftsman fail to execute his work within the time named, owing to baseness, not revering the god who gives him his livelihood, but deeming him (in his blindness of mind) to be merciful because of his kinship, he shall, in the first place, pay a penalty to the god, and, secondly, there shall be a law enacted to suit his case: he shall owe the price of the works regarding which he has lied to the person who gave him the order, and within the stated time he shall execute them all over again gratis. The contractor, like the seller, is enjoined by law to charge the simple value of his work; in a free city, art should

99. Laws 846D-847B.

100. Laws 920D.

be a true thing, and the artist should not be practising on the ignorance of others. If, on the other hand, he who has ordered the work does not pay the workman according to agreement, and for the sake of making a little money, dishonours Zeus and Athene, and breaks the bonds of society the law shall punish him. If he does not pay at the time agreed, let him pay double; and although interest is forbidden in other cases, let the workman receive after the expiration of a year compound interest at the rate of an obol a month for every drachma (equal to 200 per cent. per annum).  
101

Such are the regulations for artisans. We may now turn to consider passing strangers who must be dealt with in a friendly manner.  
102

#### STRANGERS

Strangers are of four classes. The first, an inevitable immigrant is the merchant. He comes over the sea in the summer time to exhibit his wares. These strangers must be received in markets and public buildings outside the city, by proper officers, who shall see that they receive justice, and shall also watch against any political designs which they may entertain; no more intercourse is to be held with them than is

101. Laws 920D-921D.

102. Laws 952D.

absolutely necessary. The second type of stranger is he who is an inspector of all that appertains to musical festivals. These visitors shall be lodged at the temples, and the priests and temple-keepers must show them care and attention. They may sojourn for a reasonable length of time, after which, if no harm has been done or suffered by them, they shall be dismissed. If injustice is done, the priests shall act as judges if the claim does not exceed fifty drachmae; if a greater claim is made, the trial for these strangers must take place before the market-stewards. Thirdly, there are ambassadors of foreign states. These are to be honourably received by the generals and prytanes, and placed under the care of the persons with whom they are lodged. Fourthly, there is the philosophical stranger, who will rarely make his appearance. He must be not less than fifty years of age, and will come to see whatever is great and noble in the state. He must be received with honour, and be a welcome guest at the houses of the director of education and other noble persons, who are to instruct and be instructed by him. When the strangers are received in this manner, Zeus, the Patron of Strangers, will be honoured, and the stranger will not be driven away,

as in Egypt, by distinctions of meats and sacrifices,  
 103  
 and by savage proclamations.

Hospitable treatment of strangers is also re=  
 marked elsewhere. Engagements with strangers are to be  
 deemed most sacred, because the stranger having no law  
 to protect him is immediately under the protection of  
 the god of strangers. A prudent man will avoid sinning  
 104  
 against the stranger. Moreover the stranger may  
 pluck grapes and figs which are not used for storing,  
 and also pears, apples, and pomegranates, without pay=  
 105  
 ment, as a right of hospitality. A man must keep  
 his hands off a stranger; instead of chastising the  
 stranger when he is insolent, the injured man shall  
 bring him before the wardens of the city who shall  
 do the punishing, inflicting upon him as many blows  
 106  
 as he has given.

Finally there are provisions for strangers, as  
 well as for all other foreigners, in the criminal code.  
 If a foreigner robs a temple he shall be branded in  
 the face and hands and scourged and then cast naked  
 beyond the border. This may improve him, for the law  
 aims at the reformation of the criminal as well as at

103. Laws 952D-953E.

104. Laws 729E.

105. Laws 845A-C.

106. Laws 879D-E.

the repression of crime. Again, if a foreigner involuntarily kills another, anyone may proceed against him in the proper manner: and the homicide, if a metic, shall be banished for a year; if an entire stranger, whether he has killed metic, citizen or stranger, he shall be banished forever; and if he returns he shall be punished with death, and his property shall go to the next of kin of the murdered man. Should he be shipwrecked on the coast of the country he must bivouac with his feet in seawater, ready to take the first boat that serves; should he be brought violently back, the authorities must release him and dismiss him from the land under safe conduct.

107. Laws 854.

108. Laws 865.

## CHAPTER V

### HERETICS

Heretics find a place in the non-civic element; for from the day that the heretic is imprisoned he is considered as civilly dead, his children being placed under wardship as orphans. It will therefore be necessary to consider Plato's treatment of this group.

Plato declared that all impiety, either in word or deed, springs from one of three heretical doctrines. 1. The heretic does not believe in the gods at all. 2. He believes the gods to exist, but believes also that they do not interest themselves about human affairs, or at least that they interfere only to a small extent. 3. He believes that they exist, and that they direct everything, but that it is perfectly practicable to appease their displeasure and to solicit their<sup>1</sup> favour by means of prayer and sacrifice.

If a person displays impiety either by word or deed, in either of these three ways, he shall be denounced to the archons by any citizen who becomes acquainted with the fact. The archons on pain of taking the impiety on themselves, shall assemble the dicastery, and put the person accused on trial. If found guilty he shall be put in chains and

1. Laws 885

confined in one or other of the public prisons. These public prisons are three in number: one in the market-place for ordinary offenders; a second called the House of Correction, attached to the building in which the Supreme Board of Magistrates hold their nocturnal sittings; a third, situated in the middle of the country in the wildest and loneliest spot possible, and known by the designation "retribution".<sup>2</sup>

Suppose the heretic, under any one of the three heads, to be found guilty of heresy pure and simple, but suppose his conduct to have been just, temperate, seemly, and that he has steadily manifested proper social dispositions, esteeming the society of just men and shunning that of the unjust.<sup>3</sup> There is still danger that by open speech or scoffing he might shake the orthodox belief of others: he must therefore be placed in the House of Correction for a term not less than five years. During this term no citizen whatever shall be admitted to see him except the members of the Nocturnal Council of Magistrates. These men will commune with him, administering exhortation for the safety of his soul and for his improvement. If at the expiration of the five years, he appears to be cured of his heresy and restored to a proper state of mind, he shall be set at liberty, and allowed to live with other reformed persons.

2. Laws 908A

3. Laws 908B-E

But if no such cure be effected, and if he be found guilty a second time of the same offence, he shall suffer the penalty of death.<sup>4</sup>

Again, the heretic may be found guilty not of heresy pure and simple in one of its three varieties, but of heresy manifesting itself in bad conduct and with aggravating circumstances. He may conceal his real opinion, and acquire the reputation of the best dispositions, employing that reputation to overreach others, and combining dissolute purposes with superior acuteness and intelligence: he may practice stratagems to succeed as a despot, a public orator, a general, or a sophist: he may take up, and will more frequently take up, the profession of a prophet or religious ritualist or sorcerer, professing to invoke the dead or to command the aid of the gods by prayer and sacrifice. He may thus try to bring ruin upon citizens, families, and cities.<sup>5</sup> A heretic of this description, says Plato, deserves death not once or twice only, but several times over, if it were possible. If found guilty, he must be kept in chains for life in the central penal prison, not allowed to see any freeman, not visited by anyone except the slave who brings him his daily rations. When he dies his body must be cast out of the territory without

4. Laws 909A.

5. Laws 908-909.

burial, and any freeman who may try to bury it, shall himself incur the penalty of impiety. The heretic when imprisoned is deprived of all rights of citizenship, and his children are placed under wardship as orphans.<sup>6</sup>

Moreover Plato enacts, as a further measure for reaching and punishing these dangerous heretics that no one shall erect any temple or altar or establish any separate worship or sacrifice in his own private precincts. When a man wants to offer prayer and sacrifice he must do it at the public temples, through and along with recognised priests and priestesses. If a man keep in his house any sacred object to which he offers sacrifice, the archons shall require him to bring it into the public temples, and shall punish him until he does so. But if he be found guilty of sacrificing either at home or in the public temples, after the commission of any act which the dicastery may consider grave impiety, he shall be condemned to death.<sup>7</sup>

In justifying this stringent enactment, Plato not only proclaims that the proper establishment of temples and worship can only be dictated by a man of the highest intelligence, but he also complains of the violent and irregular working of the religious feeling in the minds of individuals. Many men, Plato says, when sick, or in danger or in troubles of

6. Laws 909C.

7. 909-910

any other kind, or when alarmed by dreams or by spectres seen in their waking hours, or when calling to mind and recounting similar narratives respecting the past, or again when experiencing unexpected good fortune - many men under such circumstances, and all women, are accustomed to give a religious color to the situation, and to seek relief by vows and sacrifices to the gods. Hence private houses and villages become full of such proceedings. Such religious sentiments and fears, springing up spontaneously in the minds of individuals, are considered by Plato to require strict suppression. He will allow no religious worship or manifestation except that which is public and officially authorized.

Such is the Act of Uniformity promulgated by Plato for his ideal city, and such the terrible sanctions by which it is enforced. The lawgiver is the supreme and exclusive authority, on matters religious as well as on matters secular. No dissenters from the orthodoxy prescribed by him are admitted. Those who believe more than he does, and those who believe less, however blameless their <sup>conduct</sup> content, are deprived alike of their citizenship rights, are imprisoned, and may be executed. Thus these members of the non-civic element are regarded as criminals, and among the worst of criminals

8. Laws 909E-910A.

even if they do nothing more than state their opinions.

## CHAPTER VI

### SLAVES

Slaves are property; and, as Plato says, the most critical variety of property. The question of slavery is full of difficulty, and there is much difference of opinion on the matter. Some speak of slaves as deserving trust and good treatment, in proof of which various anecdotes are cited; others again regard them as incorrigibly debased, fit for nothing better than the whip and spur, like cattle. Then moreover the modified form of slavery, such as that of the Helots in Laconia, and the Penestae in Thessaly, has been found full of danger and embarrassment though the Spartans themselves are well satisfied with it.<sup>1</sup> This form of slavery in which the slaves are of the same race and language, with reciprocal bonds of sympathy towards each other Plato denounces as specially dangerous. Care must be taken that there shall be among the slaves as little fellowship of language and feelings as possible; but they must be well fed: moreover everything like cruelty and insolence in dealing with them must be avoided, even more carefully than in dealing with freemen. This Plato describes partly for the protection of the slave himself but still more for the interest of the master whose intrinsic virtue or want

1, Laws 776C.

of virtue will be best tested by his behaviour as a master. The slaves must be punished judicially when they deserve it (and incidentally the punishment is most severe). The master however must do no punishing. He remains aloof from this sort of thing, for the sake of virtue. The master must never even exhort or admonish them, as he would address himself to a freeman: he must never say a word to them, except to give an order: above all, he must abstain from all banter and joking, either with male or female slaves. Many foolish masters indulge in such behaviour which emboldens the slaves to give themselves airs, and renders the task of governing them almost impracticable.<sup>2</sup>

In the Republic we are told that Greek cities should never enslave Greeks, or allow any others to do so, and this for fear of falling into slavery. themselves at the hands of the barbarians, if they waste the strength of their nation by depriving its members of liberty.<sup>3</sup> Here Plato recognises the right of every member of the Greek world to liberty. However, the principle of slavery is not impugned, so long as the slaves are of barbarian origin. Plato points to the man in whom there is a natural weakness of the higher

2. Laws 777D-E.

3. Republic 469B.

principle as a being designed to be enslaved to another who can supply the deficiency.<sup>4</sup> Again, we are told that the timocratic man is harsh toward his slaves, unlike the educated man who is too proud for that.<sup>5</sup> But Plato nowhere says that the Ideal City of the Republic is actually to contain slaves. It is quite possible that slaves may be employed as domestics by the third class. Tutors also are doubtless slaves.<sup>6</sup> They escort the children to and from school and watch over their morals.<sup>7</sup> It is uncertain whether the nurses and "playground matrons" are slaves or freewomen.<sup>8</sup> At Athens they were, as a rule, slaves.

Plato's slaves seem to be principally a serf class, who till the land for the "gentleman farmer" citizens. They hold the land by a sort of metayer tenancy, paying part of the produce as their rent. This slavery is like the serfdom of the Helots of Sparta. Slavery, in the strict sense of the word, as indicating personal chattels, and not landed serfs, does not seem to exist in the Laws, except among the aliens, any more than, as we have seen, it seems to exist in the Republic. Plato's citizens do not, as Athenian citizens did, own industrial slaves, though such slaves belong to resident aliens; and the city itself has not, as Athens had, so we are told,

4. Republic 590C=D; cp. Polit. 309A.

5. Republic 549A.

6. Lysis 208C.

7. Lysis 223.

8. Laws 790C.

public slaves in its service.

But it would be ill-advised to say that Plato transcends the ordinary Greek view of slavery. He couples the slave with the child as having a mind imperfectly developed.<sup>9</sup> In the provisions of his criminal code, Plato is ~~Sometimes~~ less harsh to the slave than to the citizen,<sup>10</sup> and sometimes again, decidedly harsher;<sup>11</sup> but in either case his assumption is the same, that the slave is a different and lower being. That assumption appears most clearly in the law of murder,<sup>12</sup> and in the distinction there drawn between murder by freemen and murder by slaves, and again between murder of freemen and murder of slaves.

Plato also enacts laws for freedmen, those who have been slaves but have been manumitted. The freedman if he omits to pay "proper attention" to his manumitter, may be laid hold of by the latter and re-enslaved. Proper attention consists in: going three times per month to the house of his former master, to tender service in all lawful ways; not contracting marriage without consulting his former master; not acquiring so much wealth as to become richer than his former master, who may appropriate all that is

9. Laws 793E, 937A.  
10. Laws 854E, 941E.  
11. Laws 845A, 872B.  
12. Laws 865-874.

above the limit if the freedman should do so. The freedman, when liberated, does not become a citizen, but only a metie. He is therefore subject to the same necessity as all other metics - of departing from the territory after a residence of twenty years, and of never acquiring more wealth than is possessed by the second class of citizens enrolled in the schedule.<sup>13</sup>

## CHAPTER VII

### CHILDREN AND SCHOOLTEACHERS

The ideal city makes a special effort for the education of its future citizens. Instruction should not be compulsory, but by play. Nothing learned under compulsion stays in the mind; moreover, compulsion is not appropriate to a free soul. The older people must reverence the young, teaching them not so much by admonition as by example.<sup>1</sup>

Premature introduction to philosophy is bad. Boys who get a taste for dialectic use it as a sport, becoming keener for victory in argument than for the truth.<sup>2</sup> Thus the way of education is long; it begins with gymnastics and music, gymnastics for the hardening of the body, and music, that is, literature and the fine arts, in order to give the children an insight into the good through myth. The function of education is primarily moral, the inculcation of virtuous habits in prospective citizens.<sup>3</sup> Vocational education for non-citizens will be by the apprenticeship method.<sup>4</sup> A man may have considerable mental accomplishments and yet be uneducated; for the purpose of education is not to teach the child how to make money or to train him in a vocation, or to make his body strong, but to make him a perfect citizen,

1. Laws 729C.

2. Republic 558-559.

3. Laws 655.

4. Republic 467A, Laws 643B-C

understanding how to rule and to be ruled rightly.<sup>5</sup>

In order to secure a community with a stable disposition, there should be fixed rules for games. Since the children, while playing, are forming their future characters, alterations in games are causes of serious mischief. The lawgiver must follow the example of Egypt and fix the type of his musical and choric exhibitions and training, and must forbid all innovation.<sup>6</sup> If ever games are changed the quiet temper of stability will change with them, and a new generation, practiced in new games, will seek when it reaches maturity to change the laws as before it changed the games.<sup>7</sup>

The minister of education has a position of supreme importance in the state.<sup>8</sup> Under him are the examiners and inspectors who are carefully chosen by the general assembly.<sup>9</sup> The actual teachers however are dealt with in a single phrase. They are to be resident aliens, and they are to be paid.<sup>10</sup> They instruct their pupils in all subjects relating to war and music.

Education begins with the cradle. Till the child is three years old he should be carried about by nurses, and should be neither indulged nor hardened. At three children must be taken to the village temples: there the nurses

5. Laws 643E.

6. Laws 657, 653, 797.

7. Laws 798B-C

8. Laws 764D

9. Laws 765A-C

10. Laws 804D

keep them in order while they play, and official matrons keep the nurses in order. At the age of six the sexes are separated, and physical drill, which probably includes singing and dancing is studied. At the age of ten the child becomes a schoolboy requiring a tutor to escort him to school and watch his behaviour, and teachers and studies to chasten him. Plato even assigns to any citizen the right to correct the young student (and his tutor and teacher too), "as men correct slaves".<sup>11</sup>

This last stage of education embraces three subjects - literature, music, and elementary mathematics. The study of literature is to last for the three years from ten to thirteen; and the study of music from thirteen to sixteen. The study of mathematics also ends at sixteen, though we are not told when it begins. The study of literature includes learning to read and write, which needn't however be pursued to any fine point of perfection. Moreover there are many dangerous writings in prose and poetry. However the discourses contained in the laws are excellent; it will be well, therefore, if teachers are required to learn and approve these discourses and, if pupils again are required to learn them from their teachers.<sup>12</sup> Thus, the children are trained not only in the spirit of the

11. Laws 808-809.

12. Laws 811D-E.

laws, but in the laws themselves, and the path to perfect citizenship, the end of all education, is made more certain.

During the years after ten, boys and girls are serving in what might be called an officers training corps: they are learning archery and slinging, and are practiced in manoeuvres, marches, and camps.<sup>13</sup> At the age of sixteen, except for those few who pursue the study of higher mathematics, education would seem to be completed. Yet it is not till the age of twenty-five that a young man may marry;<sup>14</sup> and twenty-five is the earliest age at which a young man may begin to serve as an associate of the inspectors of the country in their journeys.<sup>15</sup> Plato leaves a gap between the age of sixteen and that of twenty-five; and it is difficult to fill this gap, even if we assume that much of the system of military training may belong to this interval. It is particularly difficult to see why Plato fixes the age of the associates of the agronomoi as high as twenty-five. At Athens young men came of age (to the extent, at any rate, of being recognised as owners of property) at the age of eighteen; and for the next two years, under the name of Epheli, they were put through a course of military training. It is clear at any rate that at the age of twenty-five young men have entered upon the duties of citizenship as defined in Chapter III above, though exactly when they "come of age" it is impossible to say.

13. Laws 813D-E.

14. Laws 772E'.

15. Laws 760C.

It is also expected that all the children once come of age shall undertake some citizenship duty. Each citizen, in dying, though, leaves but one son as successor to his lot; if he has more than one, he may choose which of them he prefers. If the citizen has other sons, they will be adopted into the families of other citizens who happen to be childless: if he has daughters he will give them out in marriage, but without any dowry. Finally if there are still young people who have not been provided for, there is always the device of sending out a colony.<sup>16</sup> It is unlikely however that some of these contingencies will arise as the lawgiver must keep in view, as far as he can, to obtain from each married couple two children, one boy and one girl.<sup>17</sup>

Regarding orphans, Plato says that a man may in his will name guardians for his children if they need them. If he fails to do so the Nomophylakes must appoint such from among relatives and friends - two, on the father's side, and two on the mother's, and one from friends. Moreover the fifteen oldest Nomophylakes shall look after all guardians and orphans, three each year.<sup>18</sup>

The general welfare of orphans is entrusted to their second fathers, the fifteen, and to them and to guardians is addressed the following exhortation: "It will be well to

16. Laws 740-742.

17. Laws 930C

18. Laws 924A.

acquiesce with the lawgiver in the general belief that the dead exercise influence over the living. So that besides the gods there are the spirits of the departed parents, whose wrath must be shunned and whose favour must be courted by all who have to deal with orphans. The aged too among the living are to be reckoned with by those who misuse orphans. In the face of all these, guardians and others should count that kindness to orphans is really kindness to themselves, and that ill-treatment of them will bring on themselves twice as heavy a penalty as would ill-treatment of others." Guardians, then, and officials who have orphans in charge must treat them in all respects as they would their own children. The court of "select judges" shall try cases of ill-treatment or neglect on the part of guardians or officials, even within five years after the lapse of official connexion - inflicting double penalties on the officials and quadruple on the guardians, and superseding the official guardian if necessary.

## CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

In the preceding chapters we have endeavoured to describe the non-civic element. Through this description we believe that we have shown that a great gulf separates the non-civic element, with the exception of the children of citizens, from the civic class—a gulf which renders any common interests inconceivable. Thus we feel justified in declaring that the unity prescribed for the Ideal City is found to be illusory when the determining factors by which it is expected to be consummated are examined. The steps by which this conclusion has been reached may be summed up as follows.

The object of civic life is the virtue of the citizen<sup>1</sup>. A society limited to the satisfaction of physical needs does not deserve the name of a State.<sup>2</sup> Ruling is to be done by competent persons or philosophers who will constitute a minority as only a small number are capable of cultivation for political functions.<sup>3</sup> Thus the Platonic State is an aristocracy.

The arrangements of the lives of the citizens must be conducted by the State and directed to its aims. The State takes care that its future citizens are begotten under the most favourable circumstances; it gives them

1. Gorg. 464ff.; Polit. 300C, Rep. 500D.
2. Rep. 372D; Polit. 272B.
3. Rep. 415ff.

by music and gymnastics an education in which girls as well as boys participate just as they subsequently share in civic and martial duties. Intercourse with foreign countries is carefully controlled and limited so as to reduce the citizens' contact with the contaminating influence of trade to a minimum. The banausic businesses of commerce, industry and agriculture are the concern of non-citizens.

This great majority of the non-civic element is excluded from all the advantages of citizens enumerated above. Trade and industry which among at least the aristocratic element in Greece were branded as vulgar and paltry also appeared to Plato degrading and unworthy of free men. Plato holds that these occupations relate to the satisfaction of merely bodily wants. They proceed from the sensuous, appetitive part of the soul, and it is this part which they call into action.<sup>4</sup> In a man who devotes himself to them, the nobler faculties must become weak, and the lower attain the mastery.<sup>5</sup> On this account, Plato in the Republic and the Laws prohibits to the perfect citizens not only trade and commerce, but even agriculture. The producers and farmers, on the other hand, are prohibited from all political activity. The state of the Republic is little concerned

4. Rep. 414ff.

5. Rep. 590C.

with tradesmen and agriculturists and their only education is apprenticeship to some trade.

Thus the mass of the inhabitants of Plato's state are thrust out of government and placed at the disposal of the armed citizens. They exist in subjection, for the mind of the inferior man must be kept in a degradation suitable to his position. He is deprived of all moral and intellectual culture, without even so much as would enable him to appreciate superior training in those who attain it, and must be content to receive whatever is awarded.

In the Republic the ruled class participates in the *virtues* ~~elements~~ Temperance and Justice. But Temperance indicates merely obedience on the part of the multitude to the wills of the rulers. Justice means simply that each producer performs one business and one only. Taken as elements in a society the producers possess neither wisdom nor courage but appetite alone. The producer must live for the satisfaction of appetite; he must be regulated in that life by the external reason of the ruler; and hence his rational self is paralysed. Indeed the untrained multitude exist only as a mutinous crew necessary to be kept down. Thus there is a great division between the rulers and the ruled.

... seen.

Thus it seems necessary to conclude that the "Ideal City" will really be two cities==one city composed of the citizens, the other comprising the non=civic element; and that the unity postulated for the whole city is merely verbal. Moreover, the "organic" metaphor appears to occur just once in the Republic, namely, in Book 5, 462C=D, where Socrates likens the perfect community to the individual man, in whom when his finger is injured it is he who feels the pain. This passage occurs just before the single passage after Book 2 in which Plato remembers his large class of artisans and brings them upon the stage to tell them that in his city they will be known not as slaves but as taxpayers. When the artisans are not present the organic metaphor seems to be forgotten.

Plato's ideal constitution demanded that the division of labor be scientifically ordered==and thus disposed of. The economic part was not the nobler part of his city and its ordering contained little of "spiritual significance." What did have significance was the supremacy in the Republic of the military class directed by philosopher=statesmen. The potters, shoemakers, weavers, etc., must remember that by nature

they are not fitted for politics. Moreover, in discussing the nature of the soul, Plato tells us that that which controls and that which is controlled must of necessity be two and not one==reason on the one hand, and passion on the other. So in the community we have the rulers on the one hand and the ruled on the other.

Only twice in the Republic does Plato inquire what any of the inhabitants of his ideal city would have to say about it: once at the opening of Book 4 when Adeimantus suggests that the guardianship would be rather empty of enjoyment, and again in Book 5, 463, where the producers are given the title of "paymasters." What there must be is order. The one thing important is the ideal pattern, and the place of the individual will be determined by what the pattern demands. Socrates' reply to Adeimantus about the delights of guardianship is as follows: suppose that in painting a statue we were criticised for failing to apply the most beautiful of the colors to the eyes, what would be the proper reply? "Don't expect us, quaint friend, to paint the eyes so fine that they will not be like eyes at all....But observe whether by assigning what is proper to each we render the whole beautiful."

1. Rep. 420D.

Plato's "Ideal City" is constructed according to a pattern in which the principle of geometrical order is the dominant factor. The city depends upon a hierarchy of social classes and upon the institution of producers whose business was to play a part in the picture but not to share in the conversation. Thus, Plato's "Ideal City" was to be divided vertically by his distinction of classes, and, as we have endeavoured to show, this distribution results, not in one city, but in two cities, distinct and opposed.

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