

DODATEK 1

Language does matter!

Translating the first general term of social theory, *koinōnía* in Aristotle's *Politics*

An introductory story

I have written this Appendix for those English-speaking readers who would like to learn what this book is about to a greater extent than they will know from the table of contents and a short summary. However, the focus will be here on just one but important thread running through Part II of the book – the history of translating a key term of Aristotle's social theory, *koinōnía*. The germ of this Appendix was my note *Language matters!* which appeared in May 2010 in the Newsletter of the ISA Research Committee #42 (Social Psychology) – as a reply to *Pequeñitos Pensamientos*, a note which I had found in an earlier issue (May 2009) of the same newsletter¹. That note was written by Guillermina Jasso de los Santos who followed a suggestion of Michel Vieviorka (the then President of the International Sociological Association) to communicate in Spanish and French, or two other ISA official languages.

I met Willie Jasso in June 1993 in Paris as a co-participant of the centennial congress of International Institute of Sociology. Her full name, then without “de los Santos”, was written on the official poster in the form Jasso Guillermina against the rule (first name followed by surname) that holds good for most European languages (Hungarian is an exception). The per-

¹ ISA RC42 Newsletter is available only on ISA website (www.isa-sociology.org).

son who edited the list of names to be placed on the poster did not notice that Guillermina is the feminine counterpart of Guillermo/Guillaume/Guglielmo/Wilhelm/William.

I brought that poster from Paris to Poland and hung it on the wall over my desk. The names of the speakers on plenary sessions and those of the persons who chaired working group meetings remind me every day the truth that scientific knowledge has always been produced by individual minds, even if interacting, rather than collective bodies (I mean institutes, committees, etc., rather than “invisible colleges” that protect us from autism in doing theory).

Men and women of science think and express their thoughts in their native languages – that’s another truth. However, they need a common language that would enable them to share their thoughts with the users of different languages. Latin ceased to be the international language of science long ago. Now you have to learn English unless you can enjoy the privilege of being its native speaker. Why English? When my teacher from Britain asked me to give an example of an “unreal if-clause,” I answered to tease him: If French imperialism were more vigorous than British, I would have to learn French instead of English. Actually, I learned both languages and mastered French well enough to write my first mathematical paper in graph theory by myself. I did not know then that my tedious job did not need to be done. The French journal *Mathématiques et Sciences Humaines* as early as in the 1970s published papers written in English too. Today I would no longer be able to repeat that feat. I stopped learning for practical use any languages other than English, as soon as I noticed that the knowledge of Shakespeare’s language is both necessary and sufficient for survival in the world of science.

Nevertheless, I am deeply convinced that social theorists should follow old masters of sociological thought who read sociological literature in few languages. Some of them even learnt foreign languages to read historical sources, as did Max Weber to study the statutes of medieval guilds written in old Italian and Spanish. New celebrities of social theory also seem to appreciate multilinguality. I remember Anthony Giddens’s linguistic show in amphitéâtre Richelieu at Sorbonne during the congress I mentioned. To please the hosts, he read in French the beginning of his paper *Sociologie et sexualité*.

Linguistic relativity

Jasso is right, language does matter. The language we use to express our *grandes o pequeños pensamientos* may have by itself an immense effect on *what* we can or cannot say and *how* we say what we can say. However, to discover that language is not a transparent medium of thought, you must know at least one language which significantly differs – in terms of syntax, semantics or pragmatics – from your native language.

English plays quite well the role of *hē koinē dialektos* of the scientists. In the natural sciences, it supplements the only fully international language, the language of mathematics. However, in the humanities, the prevalence of English may have affected to some extent the way in which some topics have been treated. For example, a *speech act* is analytically decomposed into *illocutionary force* and *propositional content*. According to the theory developed by Anglo-Saxon philosophers of language (Austin, Searle)² these two components are independent, but they seem to be more so in English than in Latin or French and other languages which have the counterpart of *subjonctif* (compare *Je pense qu'il est bon/je veux qu'il soit bon*, I think he is good/I want him to be good) – the grammatical mode whose function is to connect in one statement the intention expressed by the speaker with the proposition which describes the desired state of affairs.

The language problem raised by Jasso had to do with theory and research on *distributive justice*, the branch of social psychology she has enriched with her mathematical contributions³. She noticed in her note that Spanish does not have a counterpart of pairs of verbs *underpay–overpay* and *souspayer – surpayer* (French). You will not find in ordinary Spanish *subpagar – sobrepagar* (only the noun *sobrepaga* is occasionally used). You can say *malpagar* (badly pay) and *pagar demasiado* (pay too much), but the language does not help you evaluate rewards in terms of lying below or above the level considered *just*. Jasso's observation brought to my mind Aristotle's remark (in *Nicomachean Ethics*) on the lack – in some cases – of appropriate words in Greek for some of the three concepts co-defining a given virtue (the golden mean and two extremities on both sides). As it were, Aristotle was able to describe the *concepts* of which the *names* were missing in the language he used to express his thoughts. His remark and Jasso's example may not

² See M. Green, *Speech Acts*, In: *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 2007, <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/speech-acts/>.

³ G. Jasso, *A New Theory of Distributive Justice*, "American Sociological Review" 45 (1980), 3–32.

therefore be taken as an argument for the linguistic relativity hypothesis. In its strongest form that hypothesis was presented in 1929 by Sapir in the following words:

Human beings do not live in the objective world alone ... but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society. No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached⁴.

Whether we do or do not accept the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, we can't ignore the fact – explainable in terms of linguistic relativity but important in itself – that translating between two languages is often hard if possible at all. The differences between languages not only make it difficult to compare particular *semantic fields*, but there are reasons to believe that defining the very domain of the phenomena or entities to be dealt with by *social* theory depends on a particular natural language, as it may prompt a definite meaning of “social.” The logicians used to compare *the* natural language with the fully codified formal language of mathematics, for which saying that it is *the* language is not an abuse of language. There is no one natural language. There are many *ethnic languages* in which there do or do not exist the counterparts of English words of Latin origin *social* (adjective) and *society* (noun) traditionally invoked in defining the subject matter of sociology.

The first sociological term of the first language of science

In ancient Greek, the first language of science, *κοινωνία* (*koinōnía* – Greek text will be written here in Latin transliteration with *ē* and *ō* standing, respectively, for η=eta, and ω=omega) was the most general term used by Plato and Aristotle to refer to phenomena or entities which were to be studied by sociologists many centuries later. *Koinōnía* and *koinotēs* are nouns which share their root *koin* with the adjective *koinos* being the counterpart of Latin *communis* and *common/commun/común* in the official ISA lan-

⁴ See Chapter 9, section 4.6 in J. Lyons, *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics*, Cambridge 1971.

guages⁵. *Koinotēs* is related to *koinos* like “goodness” to “good” in English, while *koinōnia* comes from the verb *koinōnein* (have in common or make common) like “communication” from “communicate.”

In the Byzantine Greek, *koinōnia* meant, first of all, communion in the religious sense. Toward the end of 19th century the word acquired the current main meaning: *society/société/sociedad*. Hence, sociology’s name in contemporary Greek is *koinōniologia*, the science of society. *Koinōnia* was retained in 3 out of 4 translations of *Politics* into modern Greek (I have them in my collection owing to the courtesy of Professor Peonidis from Aristotle University of Thessaloniki), however, the intended meaning was new. Only the oldest translation (Magginas, 1979) has *koinotēs*, which word (its *dēmotikē* version is *koinotēta*) has become the counterpart of community in modern Greek. Aristotle occasionally used it too (*gynaikōn koinotēs*). When he criticized Plato’s communism, he could not write *gynaikōn koinōnia* because this could be understood as a relation between women rather than their common possession by men.

In *Nicomachean Ethics*, *koinōnia* occurs for the first time (in the passage referred to by Bekker page 1108a) in the phrase *logōn kai praxeōn koinōnia*. The first 20th century English translation (Ross, 1925) of Aristotle’s main ethical work has in this place *intercourse in words and actions*, so one can say that *lapidarity*⁶ of the original phrase has been preserved. The first 19th century French translation (Thurot, 1823) has there a longer description: *commerce des hommes dans la société, tant par leurs discours que par leurs actions*. Note that the double meaning of *commerce* in French (*échange de marchandises* and *relations de personnes*) reflects semantic affinity between exchange and any social relation. Interestingly, this old idea reappeared in Homans’ seminal paper (*Social Behavior as Exchange*, 1958).

Book VIII of *Nicomachean Ethics*, where Aristotle analyzes the notion of *philia* (friendship or rather any interpersonal relation such that the parties aim at rewarding each other), contains the following statement (1161b): *en koinōnia men oun pasa philia estin* (Ross: “friendship, then, involves association.”). Thurot’s French translation (*toute amitié, sans doute, consiste dans*

⁵ For the languages having grammatical gender, adjectives will be referred to by their masculine form. The neuter form is often used to denote the noun created from an adjective (thus, *sociale et commune* means the social and the common).

⁶ Jasso quotes in her note Ortega y Gasset’s saying *Yo soy yo y mi circunstancia* (What I am is me and the world around me; Latin *circumstare* means “stand around”). It is its lapidarity that makes this statement worth citing in the original. The Polish translation (*Ja jestem mną i moimi okolicznościami*) I found in the Polish edition (2008) of *Meditaciones del Quijote* is a bit clumsy. I would translate it more concisely: *ja – to ja i to co mnie otacza*.

une sorte de communauté [de goûts, d'intérêts, d'opinions, de sentiments]) has *communauté* instead of *association*. A similar statement, *en koinōnia gar hē philia* (literally “in community, then, [is] friendship”; Ross: “friendship depends on community”), which appears few pages earlier (1159b), is followed by Aristotle’s explicit explanation that “community” inherent in *philia* involves the common possession of goods. Thus, *koinōnia* may not be equated with any interpersonal relation *tout court* because a sort of communality is part of the meaning of the Greek term. In particular, it was the communal meaning of *koinōnia allaktikē* (exchange relation) that forced Aristotle to assume the existence of a common (monetary) value of exchanged goods. Language really matters in doing social theory!

Koinōnia* in Aristotle’s *Politics

In *Politics*, *koinōnia* is a generic term⁷ referred to all types of collective entities from *polis* (city-state), *kōmē* (neighborhood, *barrio*), and *oikia* (household-family) to groups of people traveling together in a ship. The second social treatise of the Stagirite begins from the following passage

Επειδή πάσαν ΠΟΛΙΝ ὁρώμεν ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑΝ τινά ούσαν καί πάσαν κοινωνίαν ΑΓΑΘΟΥ τινος ἕνεκεν συνεστηκυίαν (του γαρ εἶναι δοκούντος ἀγαθοῦ χάριν πάντα ΠΡΑΤΤΟΥΣΙ πάντες), δήλον ως πάσαι μεν ἀγαθοῦ τινος στοχάζονται, μάλιστα δε καί του κυριωτάτου πάντων η πασών ΚΥΡΙΩΤΑΤΗ καί πάσας περιέχουσα τας άλλας. αὕτη δ’εστίν η καλουμένη πόλις καί η κοινωνία η πολιτική.

The initial passage is quoted here in the original ancient Greek spelling except for replacing all 3 tonic accents over vowels (acute, grave, circumflex) with one (the acute accent), as it became the rule in modern Greek few decades ago. The mark ‘ before a vowel at the beginning of a word is retained here to show the “aspiration” that is rendered in *transliteration* by adding *h* (e.g. ὁρώμεν, which means “we see,” will be transliterated as *horōmen*).

My first encounter with Greek alphabet took place nearly 50 years ago. I tried to decipher Greek inscriptions under the scenes from *Iliad* painted on the walls of the entrance hall of the Nowodworski high school in Cracow. Greek was no longer taught, only one class learned Latin as an alternative to

⁷ William Newman (*Politics of Aristotle*, vol. I, Oxford 1887, pp. 41–42) was first to notice the importance of this term in Aristotle’s work.

English, French or German, the second foreign language taught besides Russian. Auguste Comte learned ancient Greek in a *lycée* in Montpellier like my father some 80 years later in Lvov. Today ancient Greek is becoming more and more forgotten language, although many educated people still realize that most scientific terms come from Greek; the mathematicians know at least the alphabet.

The original Greek text of *Ta Politika* (political matters, or any matters related to polis) has been included in the corpus of “Greek and Roman materials” stored on an American website (www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/) where the user will also find built-in search procedures. Thus, you can locate all 64 occurrences of *koinōnia* and analyze each context with the Liddell-Scott-Jones dictionary also given there. Anyone can do this, yet the knowledge of the alphabet may not suffice, as “anyone” means here “any user of English acquainted with the basics of ancient Greek grammar”.

Let’s look now at the earliest (1598) English translation of the initial passage (16th century spelling) and the latest (1998) one.

For as much as we see that euery Citie or Comonweale is a companie, and euery companie is ordained to some good (for all men attempt and doe all things for that end and purpose, which in their opinion is good). It is certaine that all companies tend unto some good, and most chiefly and specially that the principall and most excellent companie of all companies, and comprehending all other societies, namely, the Citie or Ciuill societie, doth tend and endeauor to attain unto the principall and most excellent good of all others.

We see that every CITY-STATE (polis) is a COMMUNITY (*koinōnia*) of some sort, and that every community is established for the sake of some GOOD (*to agathon*) (for everyone performs every ACTION for the sake of what he takes to be good). Clearly then, while every community aims at some good, the community that has the most AUTHORITY of all and encompasses all the others aims highest, that is to say, at the good that has the most authority of all. This community is the one called a city-state, the community that is political (*hē koinōnia hē politikē*).

The author of the latest translation, C.D.C Reeve, did a job that any translator should do (yet few do it) every time one has to translate a scientific treatise rather than a piece of belles-lettres. He identified the set of *key terms* used in *Politics* by *le grand Aristote, la plus forte tête de toute l'antiquité*, as Auguste Comte called the Stagirite in the 4th volume of *Cours de philosophie positive* (1839).

How to recognize which words in a scholarly treatise in the humanities are key terms? The author can help the readers by turning their attention to some terms he introduced and most important passages that contextually define the meaning of each term. Sometimes the authors coin new words (neologisms) such as Comte's *sociologie* or *structuration* Giddens invented in *The Constitution of Society* (1979).

One can also generate the list of distinct words and find their frequencies of occurrence to look for key terms among those which are high on that list with words arranged in a descending order of frequency. Auxiliary words (in English texts, the list always begins from *the, of, and*) and commonly used words having no specific meaning which prevail on the top should of course be skipped in such a *quantitative content analysis*⁸.

The frequency criterion confirms the importance of *politikos* (*politikē politikon/politika*) as a key term in Aristotle's *Politics*. Interestingly, the adjective *koinōnikos* that corresponds to *koinōnia* occurs there only once (in Book III, 1283a), however in a noteworthy statement, Aristotle's claim that *dikaiousunē* (justice) is a *koinōnikē aretē* (social virtue). Why did "the strongest head of all antiquity" prefer here *koinōnikē* to *politikē*? He wrote earlier in Book I that: *hē de toutōn koinōnia poiēi oikian kai pōlin*, that is, "the community of *those* makes the household and polis." "Of those" may mean "of those *people* who share [the understanding of justice]" or, as in *quarum rerum communio facit domus et civitatem*, the Latin translation-interpretation of this sentence by Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda (1548), "of those *things* [views on what is just]". Thus, Aristotle believed that the notion of justice makes sense for *two* communities. That's why he needed in this context a more general term than *politikos*. He did not use the adjective *koinōnikos* elsewhere in *Politics* because his work focused on *polis* as a special type of community. Hence, *polis* is called *koinōnia politikē* in the first paragraph of his work. Although *polis* "encompasses all the others," the rules of justice that apply to it may differ from those applying to the household-family.

Reeve used capitals to highlight 5 *key concepts* he found in the initial passage: CITY-STATE (*polis*), COMMUNITY (*koinōnia*), GOOD (*to agathon*, in Latin *bonum*, which is the noun obtained from the *neuter* form

⁸ To give an example of such an analysis, let me show the list of nouns and adjectives with a more specific meaning which were used by Comte in the 4th volume of *Cours* more than 200 times (frequency in brackets): *social* (967), *politique* (746), *général* (596), *esprit* (500), *philosophie* (461), *humain* (448), *nature* (343), *science* (326), *scientifique* (320), *indispensable* (320), *intellectuel* (298), *développement* (287), *phénomène* (281), *principal* (274), *nécessaire* (263), *philosophique* (256), *ordre* (255), *naturel* (248), *positif* (243), *principe* (242), *société* (241), *système* (241), *doctrine* (219), *loi* (203).

of the adjective), ACTION, and AUTHORITY. The latter two nouns do not have nouns as counterparts in the Greek original (in this context). Instead, we find there the verb *prattein* (act, accomplish) and the superlative form *kuriōtatos* of the adjective *kurios*⁹ which, according to the Liddell-Scott-Jones dictionary, meant “having power, powerful”. The true meaning of Aristotle’s claim that *polis* is *pasōn kuriōtatē* (the most powerful of all [*koinōniai*, communities]) has long remained unnoticed by most translators who followed the customary Latin translation of *kuriōtatē* as *principalissima*. However, it is a minor problem compared to translating *koinōnia*.

I show later in this paper how this term has been translated or rather interpreted over centuries. I could have examined its history, having collected almost all translations of the initial passage of *Politics* into the languages of six largest EU members, as well as Latin and modern Greek, and two Slavic languages besides Polish (Russian and Czech).

Earliest translations of *koinōnia*

Politics was for the first time translated in 1260s by William of Moerbeke (Willem van Moerbeke). His translation of the initial passage is given here after *Aristotelis politicorum libri octo cum vetusta translatione Latina Guilelmi de Moerbeka* (1872), or the bilingual edition of Aristotle’s work prepared by the German scholar Franz Susemihl.

Quoniam omnem CIVITATEM videmus COMMUNITATEM quandam existentem et omnem communitatem boni alicuius gratia institutam (eius enim quod videtur BONI gratia omnia OPERANTUR omnes), manifestum quod omnes quidem bonum aliquod coniecturant, maxime autem principalissimi omnium MAXIME PRINCIPALIS et omnes alias circumplectens, haec autem est quae vocatur civitas et communicatio politica.

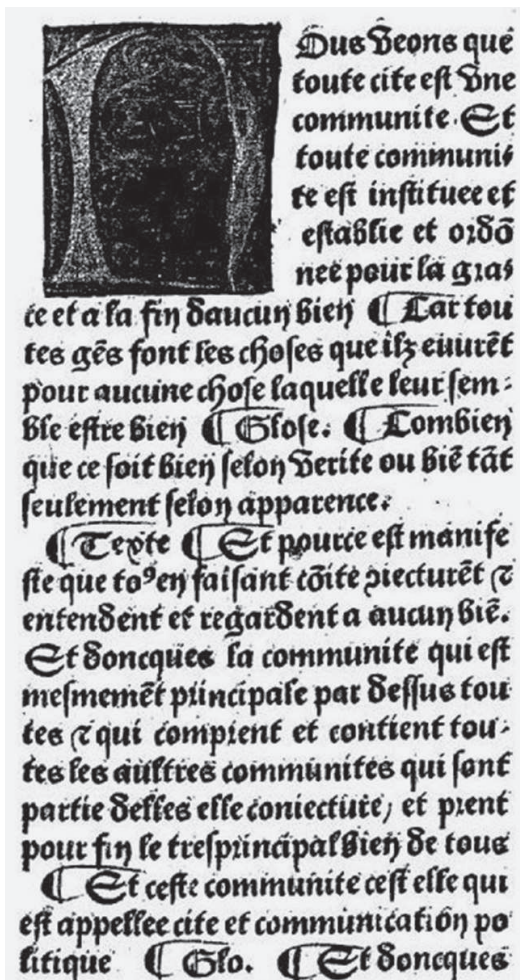
To render *koinōnia* in Latin, William used three nouns *communitas*, *communio* and *communicatio*, which enabled him to mark semantic differences between various contexts in which the Greek word means a collective entity,

⁹ *Kurios* is also a noun which means “lord”. Its form *kurie* (the vocative case) is known to every Roman Catholic, as the Latin speaking Christians retained *Kurie eleison* (Lord, have mercy on us) in the Greek form in the Latin mass along with Hebrew *Amen* and *Hosannah*. While the latter two holy words are still used daily, regrettably, the Greek phrase is now heard in the church solely during very solemn masses.

a state of affairs or a process. In the last case, the most adequate translation is the noun *communicatio*, derived from the verb *communicare*, the counterpart of Greek *koinōnein*.

In 1370s William's translation was used by Nicolas Oresme to produce the first translation into a modern language. His translation into old but still understandable French begins from *Nous veons [voyons] que toute cite est une communité* [in today's French *communauté*].

I could write a long report on gathering sources for my study. I found most 19th century translations of *Politics* in the Internet but I had to contact few national libraries too¹⁰. The incunable edition (1489) of Oresme's translation (the photo with my transcript is given below) is available online at Bibliothèque nationale de France.



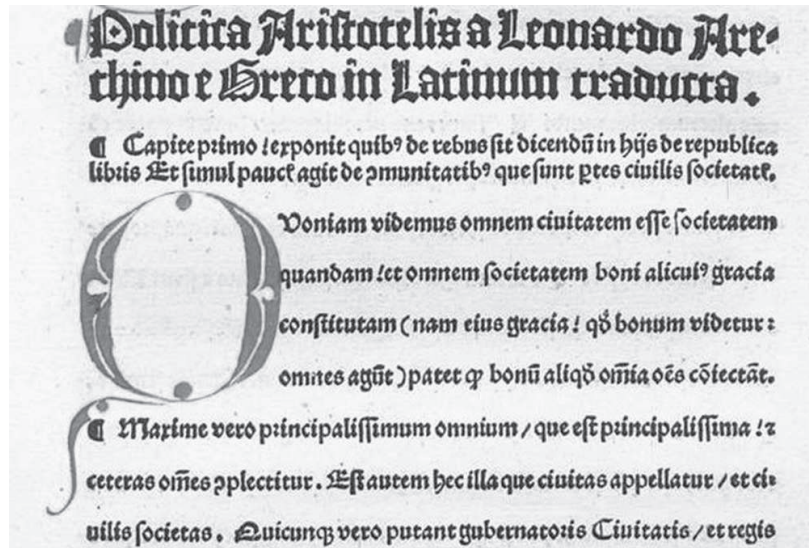
Nous veons que toute CITE est une COMMUNITE. Et toute communité est instituée et établie et ordonnée pour la grace et a la fin daucun bien. Car toutes gens FONT LES CHOSES que ilz eurent pour aucune chose laquelle leur semble estre BIEN [Glose: Combien que ce soit bien selon verité ou bien tant seulement selon apparence

[?] Et pource est manifeste que tous en faisant communité coniecturent et entendent et regardent a aucun bien. Et doncques la communité qui est mesmement PRINCIPALE par dessus toutes et qui compient et contient toutes les aultres communités qui sont partie d'elles elle coniecture, et pient pour fin le tres principal bien de tous.

Et ceste communité cest elle qui est appelée cite et communication politique.

¹⁰ I'd like to praise the National Library of Australia for quick and perfect service and Bibliothèque nationale de France for unlimited online access to its digital resources. The British require login and password to get online access to the collection of digitized old English books. However, the librarians in Oxford (Bodleian Library) reply to email queries in a reasonably short time and help foreign users.

The third translation, again from Greek into Latin, was made in the 1430s by Leonardo Bruni from Arezzo, hence also known as Aretino. Various editions of his work are available in many libraries. I used the 1502 edition accessible online in a digitized form in Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich.



Quoniam videmus omnem CIVITATEM esse SOCIETATEM quandam et omnem societatem boni alicuius gratia constitutam (nam eius gratia quod BONUM videtur omnes AGUNT) patet quod bonum omnia omnes coniectant. Maxime vero principalissimum omnium, que est PRINCIPALLISSIMA et ceteras omnes complectitur. Est autem haec illa que civitas appellatur, et civilis societas

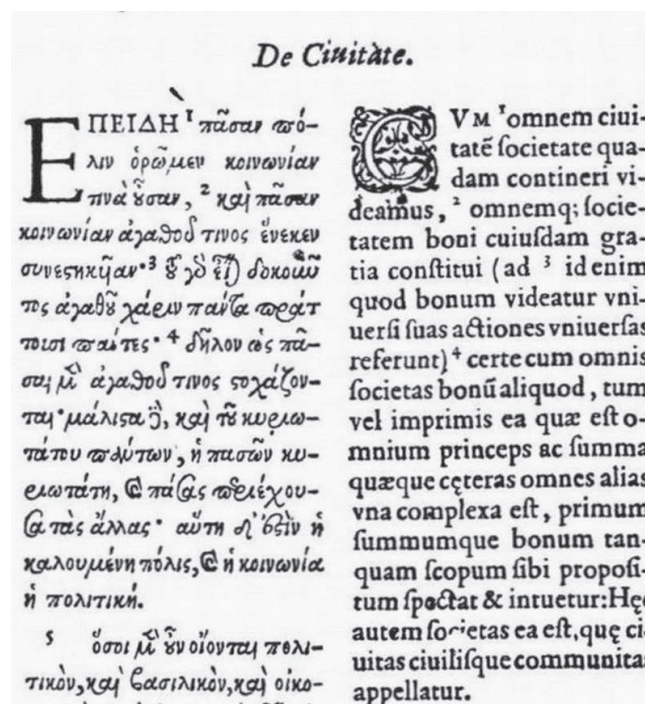
Aretino's decision to replace everywhere *communitas* with *societas* was probably inspired by reading Cicero's works. Cicero's famous statement from *De re publica* (*Quid est enim civitas nisi iuris societas civium?* What is the state if not an association of citizens united by law?) contains *societas* instead *communitas*. However, *communitas* is found in other writings of Cicero, first of all, in *De officiis* (*On Duties*). In this work, the two nouns are often used side by side (as in the expression *societas hominum inter ipsos et vitae quasi communitas*), as if the Roman thinker intended to mark both the complementarity of the two concepts and a subtle but clear difference in meaning between them. Common life (*vita communis*, *communitas vitae*) does not reduce to *relational* bonds people (*homines*) develop between themselves (*inter ipsos*).

Aretino's translation of Aristotle's *Politics* heavily influenced further reception of ancient social thought in the West. Every social scientist knows

today the phrase *social animal* coming from Latin *socialis animal*. Although it appeared in earlier Latin commentaries, it was Aretino who did most for its later prominence in social discourse. He translated *politikon zōon* as *socialis animal* in the passage (Bekker page 1253a), where it is said that man is by nature more “social” than bee or any other gregarious animal. Aristotle found the adjective *politikos* more appropriate than *koinōnikos* because of his teleological understanding of nature. According to him an *anthrōpos* achieves the highest state of humanity by becoming a *politēs* (*citizen/citizen/ciudadano*).

New Latin translations. *Koinōnia* becomes “company” in four vernacular languages in the 16th century

After the first incunable editions in the 1470s, Aretino’s translation was reprinted many times throughout the 16th century. Simultaneously, there appeared in print more Latin translations: Joachim Perionius (Périon), 1542; Jacques Louis Strebée (Strebaeus), 1542; Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda¹¹, 1548; Denis Lambin (Lambinus), 1567; Pierre de la Rameé (Ramus), 1601; Hubert van Giffen (Gifanius), 1608.



¹¹ Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda was a Dominican priest also known as the opponent of Bartolomé de las Casas at the Valladolid debate before the king Carlos of Spain, the polyglot *quién hablaba inglés con sus caballos* (see Jasso’s note).

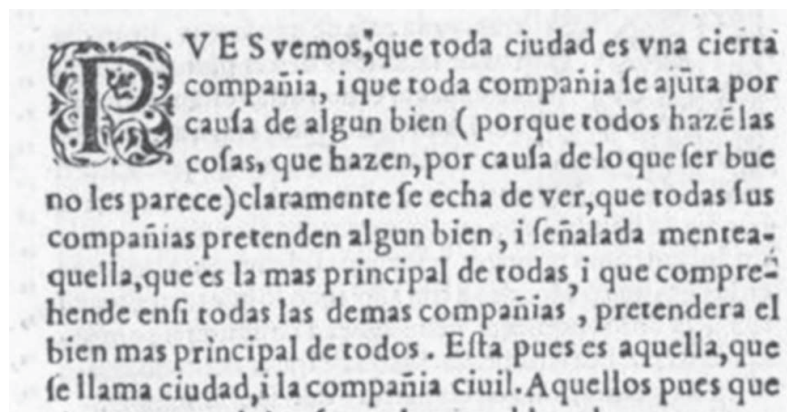
All translators except Gifanius followed Aretino in translating *koinōnia* as *societas*, however, the issue of how to translate *koinōnia politikē* divided the translators. Pierre de la Ramée¹², Sepúlveda, and van Giffen accepted Bruni's decision to retain *communitas* in this phrase, while Lambin and Périon chose *civilis societas*. The most probable reason for the use of *civilis communio* by Strebée was only to differ from others, but some decisions of the Renaissance translators seem to reflect their theoretical thinking. Thus, Pierre de la Ramée and Périon tell us that a city-state should be seen as *containing* a society rather than as *being* a society. In addition, Périon changed *bonum* to *utilitas*.

The translations of Sepúlveda and Lambin were considered best by 19th century philologists, but it was Aretino's work that in his time and later had the widest audience and became the source for the translators who did not know Greek. An anonymous author used it to produce the first Spanish version of *Politics* published in 1509. Some 100 years later (1605) there appeared in Cracow the first Polish translation. Whereas Poland had to wait until the middle of 20th century for the next translation and the first from the Greek original (Piotrowicz, 1953), the number of *versiones de la Política en español* which have appeared in Spain and in Latin America since 1509 until today has already exceeded that of English versions.

A bibliographical note on Spanish translations was placed in the Web (www.filosofia.org/ave/001/a240.htm) to commemorate the 500th anniversary of the first Spanish translation. The historical account was supplemented with 18 versions of *párrafo inicial*. The initial passage of the *traducción de Pedro Simón Abril dal griego al español* (Zaragoza 1584, the 2nd Spanish translation) was given there in two variants taken from two modernized editions of Abril's work published in the 20th century (1925, 1985). In the 1985 edition, *compañia* was replaced by *comunidad*. Below you can see this passage next to the original 16th century text¹³ I found in the digital collections of Biblioteca Nacional de España.

¹² The beginning of his translation shown here comes from the digital copy of the bilingual edition of *Politics* with the Latin translation by Petrus Ramus (University of Göttingen, <http://gdz.sub.uni-goettingen.de/dms/load/img/?IDDOC=273798>).

¹³ If you look at the old print, you will see there *vemos* (we see). Why was *vemos* replaced by *observamos*? The answer will be given later in the subsection on English translations.



Si observamos que toda CIUDAD es una cierta COMUNIDAD, y que toda comunidad se ajusta por causa de algún bien – porque todos HACEN LAS COSAS que hacen por causa de lo que ser BUENO les parece – claramente se echa de ver que todas sus comunidades pretenden algún bien, y muy señaladamente aquella, que es LA MAS PRINCIPAL de todas, y que comprende en sí todas las demás, pretenderá el bien más principal de todos. Ésta es, pues, la ciudad y la comunidad civil.

The first Spanish translation (1509) also has *compañia*, although Are­tino's *civilis societas* became there *sociedad de ciudadanos*. Why did *compañia* appear to a 16th century anonymous learned monk a better counterpart of *societas* than *sociedad*? Did a connection between *compañia* and *societas* already exist prior to the founding of *Compañia de Jesús* (*Societas Jesu*), which took place two decades later? Possibly, the translator had been acquainted with the Greek original and wanted to preserve the communal sense of the Greek word. *Compañia* could seem suitable to him because of the origin of this word. *Companio* meant in “vulgar” Latin (from which the Romance languages have evolved) “someone who eats with others the same bread (*panis*).” Indeed, Aristotle pointed to having common meals as an important characteristic of *oikos/oikia* (household). He cited (1252b) a certain Charondas who said that the members of such a community *stanno ad un medesimo pane* (stay on the same bread).

The sentence I've quoted comes from *Trattato dei governi di Aristotile tradotto di Greco in lingua vulgare fiorentina da Bernardo Segni, gentiluomo ed accademico fiorentino*. In Segni's translation (1549, its 1905 edition is available in the Internet) we read that *ogni città è una certa compagnia*. However, his immediate predecessor (1542) Antonio Brucioli¹⁴ used *società* and so

¹⁴ Brucioli was probably the first translator of *Politics* into Italian, but the title (*Gli otto libri della repubblica, che chiamono Politica di Aristotile. Nuouamente tradotti di greco in uul-*

did the third translator, Matteo Ricci, three centuries later in *Trattato della politica di Aristotele: volgarizzamento dal greco* (1853).

The idea to interpret *koinōnia/societas* as *compañía*, born in Spain at the beginning of the 16th century, traveled across Europe to reach England by the very end of that century. From Italy the idea moved to France where *compagnia* became *compagnie* in the second French translation (1568), first from Greek. The translation by Loys Le Roy was used in turn by a certain I.D. to produce the first English translation (1598). Its initial passage (rewritten from a photo I received from Bodleian Library) has already been shown in this paper along with its counterpart in the latest English translation (1998). Notice that French *compagnie* reappeared in I.D.'s translation as *compagnie*, but *compagnie civile* became *civil society*, which expression has its own long and complicated history that must be left unsaid in this paper.

I can't explain why one had to wait so long for the first English translation of *Politics* from the original language. Greek had been well known to English scholars at the turn of 16th century, once they were able to edit King James Bible which appeared in print (1611) only 13 years later¹⁵. Why did the unknown translator (suspected to be John Dee, the astrologist of Queen Elizabeth I) prefer French text to Latin as a source?

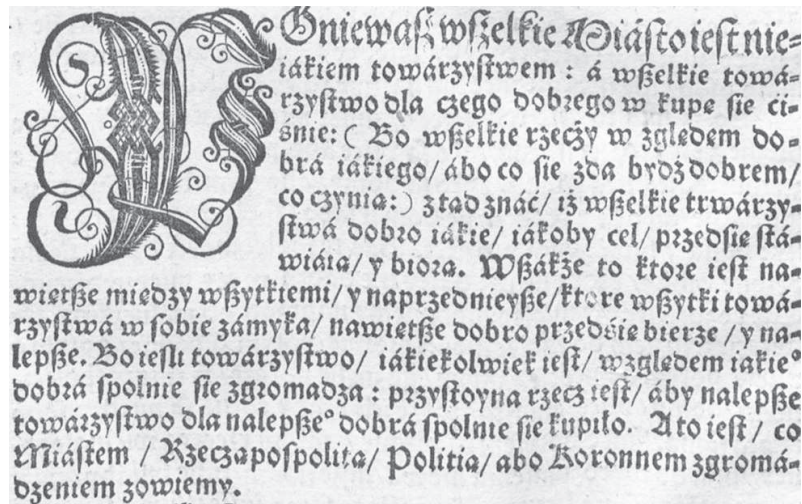
The first Polish translation of *Politics*. The social in few Slavic languages

In 16th century Poland, few people knew French or English, but Latin was known to all clergy and nobility active in the public sphere. Thus, many educated people could read Aretino and compare his Latin *Politica Aristotelis* with the first Polish translation (1605) by Sebastian Petrycy¹⁶.

gare italiano) contains “translated anew from Greek into popular Italian”. My knowledge of the history of translating *Politics* up to the end of 18th century is based mainly on the extensive preface with which Jules Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire preceded the first edition (1837) of his translation.

¹⁵ Interestingly, as yet no one has ever used *fellowship* to translate *koinōnia* in *Politics*. We find *fellowship* in King James Bible, in Acts 20, 42–44, where living in community was shown as one of 4 “pillars” of Christianity along with the Apostles’ teaching, the Eucharist, and common prayer.

¹⁶ The initial passage is reproduced here by courtesy of the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow.



Petrycy translated *societas* as *towarzystwo*, which noun comes from the noun *towarzysz* (companion, fellow, *socius* in Latin, *koinōnos* in Greek) and means today *association* (*Polskie Towarzystwo Socjologiczne* = Polish Sociological Association) or *company* as in “in the company of friends.” The respective adjective *towarzyski*, which now means “sociable,” finally lost its original meaning “social” in the 19th century. There was, however, another adjective, *społeczny*, and the derived noun *społeczność*. To translate *societas* in *societas quotidiana* in Aristotle-Aretino’s statement (*Quotidiana igitur societas secundum naturam constituta domus est*) about *domus* (*oikia*, household-family), Petrycy decided to render *societas* in this context as the connection of two nouns: *towarzystwo i społeczność* (*i*=and). The second noun, *społeczność*, is used in current Polish to denote local or professional communities (Internet communities are also recently called *społeczności*). The adjective *społeczny* is now translated into English as *social*. Its meaning had remained very close to that of the adjective *wspólny* (common, in the meaning “belonging to many”) until the middle of 19th century. The Polish-English dictionary published by Erazm Rykaczewski in 1851 shows that the process of separating the two twin concepts had reached the stage at which two entries, *społeczny* i *wspólny* must have received different explanations, “social” and “common,” respectively.

While Greek reduces the social to the common¹⁷, Latin does distinguish between *sociale* and *commune* and so do those European languages which inherited this distinction from Latin. In German, like in Latin, the common

¹⁷ Comte might have been aware of this peculiarity of Greek when he named the new science *sociologie*. As it were, he could point to the inadequacy of the Greek root to defend his decision against the purists who blamed him for having produced “a hybrid term compounded of Latin and Greek parts” (L. Coser, *Masters of Sociological Thought*, 1977, p. 3).

and the social spring from two different roots, but the relation between *Gemeinschaft* (community) and *Gesellschaft* (society, association, company) is characterized by opposition and tension rather than complementarity. In addition, the opposition has an axiological dimension. *Gemeinschaft* appears a more noble form of interpersonal ties than *Gesellschaft*.

Polish falls under the fourth type which is characterized by mingling *sociale* with *commune*. This may have to do with the fact that *społeczny* i *wspólny* grow from the same root *społ/spół*. The morpheme of which *spół* and *społ* are phonetic variants (*ó* is always pronounced in Polish as *u*; it was pronounced in Old Polish as the French vowel written *au* or *eau*) represents the meaning similar to Latin *co-*(*col/com/con*) and Greek *sy-*(*syl/sym/syn*). These prefixes, coming from prepositions *cum* and *syn*, the counterparts of *with* in Latin and ancient Greek, convey the meaning of “togetherness” as, for instance, in Latin *connexio* (tying together) and Greek *symbiosis* (living together).

Spół is a combination of *z* and *pół*, where *z* is both a preposition (equivalent to English *with*) and a prefix. *Pół* means half, but in Russian *пол* means not only half (prefixed to nouns, e.g. *полчаса*, half an hour) but sex (male vs. female). Although etymological dictionaries do not relate *społ* and *пол* to Latin *copula* (it became *couple* in English) represented as *co-pula*, I would not exclude a kinship tie between the Slavic morpheme and the Latin one, which would prompt the hypothesis that sexual relationship was perceived by Slavic peoples as the *prototype* of any social relationship. Notice that the first social relationship described in the Bible is a combination of *commune* and *sociale*. Eve was given by God to Adam to become his *socia*. Adam accepted her as his companion as soon as he realized that Eve and himself share *common* human nature, that is, they both belong to the same species different than animal species God had shown to Adam before He decided to make the second human being from the first.

The simplest Polish word containing the morpheme *społ* is *społem*, which means “together” (*społem* is rarely used in current Polish, as it was replaced by *razem*; note that *spolu* means “together” in Czech). The other members of the family are: *spółka* (company, ltd.), *społeczny* (social but also societal), *wspólny*, *społeczność*, and many other words, including *społeczeństwo* –the counterpart of *society* in the meaning this noun has in “Polish society, industrial society,” etc., that is, in the meaning that is endemic to the social sciences.

Russian like Polish and Czech is a Slavic language. Interestingly, in its way of conceptualizing the social Russian is closer to Greek than to these two West Slavic languages, even if they have the counterparts of the root

общ (*obshch*), found in the adjective *общий* (*obshchii*), the exact counterpart of Greek *koinos*. The family of words with this root contains the noun *общество* (*obshchestvo*) that is used to translate *society*. The adjective *общественный* (*obshchestvennyi*), which comes from it and corresponds to *koinōnikos*, is usually translated as *social* but, for its morphological relation to *общество*, often it should be rendered as *societal*. For its meaning having a communal connotation, this adjective could not suffice to express in Russian various modern uses of “social” in the languages which took this word from Latin. Hence, in 18th century, there appeared in Russian another adjective, *социальный* (*sotsialnyi*), which is a loanword from Latin via French and German¹⁸. It has been used, in particular, to produce Russian counterparts of many specific terms of the *social sciences* (*общественные науки* or *социальные науки*), *social network* (*социальная сеть*) being a recent example.

In the first Russian translation of *Politics* (1865), *koinōnia* was translated as *общежитие* (*obshchezhitie*), which noun means social intercourse, common life, and dormitory (it became the main meaning of this word in current Russian). The noun *общение* (*obshchenie*), related to Polish *obcowanie* (*obcowanie świętych=communio sanctorum*), was used in the second Russian translation (1911). It is the exact counterpart of *koinōnia* in terms of preserving the morphological relations within the family of words which share the root *koin* (*общ*).

Czech has a rich collection of nouns which share the morpheme *spol*. Three of them, *společenstvo* (now referred mainly to animal “societies”), *společnost*, and *společenství* appear in two old translations of *Politics* (1895, 1939) as counterparts of *koinōnia*. The third noun (*společenství*), which now means *community* as opposed to *society* (*společnost*), was consistently used in the latest, third translation (1999). *Společnost* unlike *społeczność* in Polish also means in Czech *company* in the business sense. This may have been a consequence of the impact of German, where the noun *Gesellschaft* also has many meanings. To counteract any foreign influence on their language, the Czech people took to revitalizing old Slavic words like *obec*, which was used to translate *polis* and *civitas*, though its main meaning is local community as administrative unit (the Polish counterpart, *gmina*, comes from German *Gemeinde*).

¹⁸ The adjective *sozial*, which is a loanword also in German, is used by German writers along with *gesellschaftlich*. While the native word overwhelmingly prevails in Marx's *Das Kapital*, we find the opposite in Simmel's writings. Weber used *sozial* as a generic term covering *gesellschaftlich* and *gemeinschaftlich*.

Unlike the second Spanish translation of *Politics* (1584), which is still readable for 20th century Spanish-speaking students of ancient social thought, the first Polish translation (1605) can serve now only as a valuable source text for the students of old Polish (the book is already available in the digitized form (www.dbc.wroc.pl)). The second translation (1953), where *koinōnia* was rendered as *wspólnota*, has been found satisfactory by Polish readers, though some modifications may be desirable (translating *pasōn kuriōtatē*), a task to be done by a good classical philologist competent in the social science.

Further history of translating *koinōnia*: from the age of Enlightenment to our time

Compared to *społeczność*, *społeczeństwo* is a fairly young word. It appeared for the first time in a Polish-German-French dictionary published in Leipzig in 1764 by M.A. Trotz. *Société* and *society* also had to wait until the age of Enlightenment for their discovery. The first step, which led to their prominence in “social theory”, had been made as early as in 15th century by Leonardo Aretino who found it indispensable to expel *communitas* from *Politics*, or interpret Greek social thought in the light of Latin individualism. The next step came with a stream of new translations of *Politics* into modern languages following the publication of Rousseau’s *Du Contrat social* (1762). The first in the series, the 2nd English translation, and the 1st from Greek, by William Ellis, appeared in 1776. Since it was printed, as the title page informs, for Thomas Paine, Aristotle’s treatise could have been read in the vernacular by the father-founders of the future superpower. Ellis’ translation is still used (it is available in the Internet). The initial passage reads as follows

As we see that every city is a society, and every society is established for some good purpose – for an apparent good is the spring of all human actions – it is evident that it is the principle upon which they are every one founded, and this is more especially true of that which has for its object the best possible, and is itself the most excellent, and comprehends all the rest. Now this is called a city, and the society thereof a political society.

The sequence of 4 new French translations was initiated by *Citoyen* Champagne (1797, *association*) and continued by *Messieurs* Millon (1803, *société*), Thurot (1824, *association*), and Saint-Hilaire (1837, *association*). *Professeur* Saint-Hilaire enjoyed great authority both inside and outside his

country. The second corrected edition of his translation (1848), reprinted in 1873, served the French until 1960 when Jean Aubonnet published his translation. This and all subsequent translations (Tricot, 1962; Pellegrin, 1993; Louis, 1996) have *communauté* instead of *association* or *société*. Below you can read (or just see if you don't know French) the translations of the initial passage of *Politiques* by Saint-Hilaire and Aubonnet

Tout État est évidemment une association; et comme le lien de toute association c'est l'intérêt, les hommes ne faisant jamais rien qu'en vue de leur avantage personnel, il est clair que toutes les associations visent à satisfaire des intérêts, et les plus importants de tous doivent être l'objet de la plus importante des associations, de celle qui renferme toutes les autres; et celle-là, on la nomme précisément État et association politique.

Puisque nous voyons que toute cité (ou État) est une sorte de communauté et que toute communauté est constituée en vue d'un certain bien (car tous les hommes font tout en vue de ce qui leur paraît un bien), il est évident que toutes visent un certain bien et que précisément le bien souverain entre tous est la fin de la communauté qui est souveraine entre toutes et inclut toutes les autres: c'est elle qu'on nomme la cité ou communauté politique.

Saint-Hilaire's translation – I mean its first version published in 1837 (Comte could have read it as it appeared when he was working on 4th volume of *Cours de philosophie positive*) – is remarkable for translating *to agathon* as *intérêt*. All preceding translations have *bonum/bien* (French and Spanish)/*bene/good* with two exceptions¹⁹. Clearly, Saint-Hilaire's intention was to “modernize” Aristotle. I don't know if he realized by himself that he had gone too far or acknowledged a criticism from a fellow professor of classical philology, but he replaced *intérêt* by *bien* in the second edition (1848). Despite this mistake his academic authority has remained unbeaten for a century. When François Thurot's (1824) translation was republished in 1881 in a revised form, his correct translation of *pasōn kuriōtatē* (*plus puissante que toutes les autres*) was changed to Saint-Hilaire's version (*la plus importante*).

The second edition of Saint-Hilaire's translation was taken by Patricio de Azcárate for the basis of a new Spanish translation (1873).

¹⁹ In Péron (1542), we see *omnem societatem UTILITATIS alicuius causa constitutam*, but, on the other hand, we have there *omnes* (all [people]) *ad id quod BONUM videatur omnes suas actiones referunt*. In the first German translation (Schlosser, 1798) *alle Menschen* act so as to reach what *ihnen nützlich scheint* (appears useful to them). The second German translator Christian Garve (1799) had *Gut*.

Todo Estado es evidentemente una asociación, y toda asociación no se forma sino en vista de algún bien, puesto que los hombres, cualesquiera que ellos sean, nunca hacen nada sino en vista de lo que les parece ser bueno. Es claro, por lo tanto, que todas las asociaciones tienden a un bien de cierta especie, y que el más importante de todos los bienes debe ser el objeto de la más importante de las asociaciones, de aquella que encierra todas las demás, y a la cual se llama precisamente Estado y asociación política.

The 3rd Spanish version of *Politics* (with *asociación*) has had numerous editions in both hemispheres. Later in 19th century there appeared another translation (Zozaya, 1885, *asociación*). In the remaining translations, all published in 20th century, *koinōnia* has been rendered as *asociación* 4 times, as *comunidad* 9 times, and once as *agrupación* (Gallach, 1933).

The history of translating *Politics* into German begins at the end of 18th century. The initial passage from the translation of Johann Georg Schlosser (1798) looks as follows.

Es ist offenbar, daß ein jeder Staat aus einer Gesellschaft besteht. Eine jede Gesellschaft hat aber, wenn sie sich verbindet, die Absicht, einen gewissen Vortheil zu erreichen. Denn alle Menschen handeln bloß, um das zu erreichen, was ihnen nützlich scheint. Es ist also auch kein Zweifel, daß die Gesellschaften alle in dieser Absicht zusammen treten, und daß die wichtigste und die vortrefflichste, nämlich der Staat, oder die bürgerliche Gesellschaft, auch auf den höchsten und vortrefflichsten Vortheil hinzielt.

The first four translators (Schlosser, 1798; Garve, 1799; A. Stahr, 1839; Lindau 1843) were not fully aware of the role of *koinōnia* as a key term nor did they fully grasp its source meaning in Greek. Johann Schlosser and August F. Lindau consistently translated the Greek noun as *Gesellschaft*, and Adolf Stahr as *Verein*; Christian Garve used *Verbindung* and *Vereinigung* alongside *Gesellschaft*. *Gemeinschaft* appeared for the first time in the 5th translation (Jacob Bernays, 1872) and has since then been used in all 6 subsequent German translation from Franz Susemihl (1879) to Eckhart Schütrumpf (1991). I will cite here Susemihl's translation, most popular due to the translator's scholarly reputation.

Alles, was Staat heißt, ist ersichtlich eine Art von Gemeinschaft, und jede Gemeinschaft bildet sich und besteht zu dem Zwecke, um irgend ein Gut zu erlangen. Denn um Dessen willen, was ihnen ein Gut zu sein scheint, thun überhaupt Alle Alles was sie thun. Wenn nun aber sonach eine jede Gemeinschaft irgend ein

Gut zu erreichen strebt, so that Dies offenbar ganz vorzugsweise und nach dem vornehmsten von allen ist und alle anderen in sich schließt. Dies ist aber (eben) der sogenannte Staat und die staatsbürgliche Gemeinschaft.

Susemihl was certainly one of those *Professoren* Germany can be proud of for his pedantic philological studies, but even he translated *pasōn kuriōtatē* as *vornehmste von allen* (most distinguished/excellent of all).

An overview of English translations

When I embarked on this project I heard only about Jowett's translation, probably the best known of all English translations of *Politics* and still widely read in the English speaking world (ask the students of philosophy or political sciences). Benjamin Jowett was the most representative of those translators who aimed at being faithful to the original Greek "social thought" and thus rejected Aretino's latinization of *Politics*. Hence, you will find "community" in his translation (given below) rather than "society" as in Ellis.

Every state is a community of some kind, and every community is established with a view to some good; for mankind always act in order to obtain that which they think good. But, if all communities aim at some good, the state or political community, which is the highest of all, and which embraces all the rest, aims at good in a greater degree than any other, and at the highest good.

All nouns which were used throughout 400 years of translating *Politics* into English are given in the following table

<i>koinōnia</i>	Translations of Book I of <i>Politics</i>
<i>company</i>	I.D. (1598)
<i>society</i>	Ellis (1776), Taylor (1811), Walford (1848)
<i>community</i>	Gillies (1797), Jowett (1885), Simpson (1997), Reeve (1998)
<i>association</i>	Bolland (1877), Welldon (1883), Barker (1946), Warrington (1959), Sinclair (1962), Apostle & Gerson (1986), Saunders (1995)
<i>partnership</i>	Gillies (1797) ²⁰ , Rackham (1932), Lord (1985)

²⁰ Gillies (see the 3rd edition, 1813, at <http://books.google.pl/books?id=yGsMAAAAYAAJ>) appended a footnote with an alternative translation; in addition, the main text also contains "association".

Jowett (1885) translated *pasōn kuriōtatē* as *highest of all*. If he looked into the Latin translation by Lambin, he would find there *omnium maxime princeps ac domina*, the first correct reading of this phrase.

Ernest Barker – as a political scientist – was more familiar with the concept of *sovereignty* than philologists. His translation looks as follows

Observation shows us, first, that every polis (or state) is a species of association, and, secondly, that all associations are instituted for the purpose of attaining some good – for all men do all their acts with a view to achieving something which is, in their view, a good. We may therefore hold [on the basis of what we actually observe] that all associations aim at some good; and we may also hold that the particular association which is the most sovereign of all, and includes all the rest, will pursue this aim most, and will thus be directed to the most sovereign of all goods. This most sovereign and inclusive association is the polis, as it is called, or the political association.

Did Barker read Gillies' translation (1813), where “sovereign” appears in the footnote? Or was he inspired by *sovraana tra tutte* in the 4th Italian translation by Vincenzo Costanzi (1918)?

Poichè vediamo che ogni città è un'associazione e che ogni associazione è costituita col fine di raggiungere qualche bene (infatti tutti gli uomini compiono qualsivoglia operazione per raggiungere quel che loro sembra bene), è manifesto che, se tutte le associazioni tendono a qualche bene, a più forte ragione vi deve tendere quella che è sovraana tra tutte e tutte le altre comprende: questa è quella che vien chiamata città e associazione politica.

Barker's original contribution to translating Book I of *Politics* was an “empirical” interpretation of Aristotle's *horómen* at the very beginning of the initial passage. When we say that “we see that any polis is a community”, what do we mean by “we see”? Do we see in any polis a sort of a community because we have a theoretical model of a community and decide to apply this model to social wholes like Athens? Or our decision is not in the least arbitrary but rests on *observation*? According to Barker, who chose the second interpretation, Aristotle was an empirical scientist who began his work from a general proposition about polis (that it is a community), which proposition he treated as an empirically verifiable truth (arrived at by induction) rather than a theoretical assumption.

Barker's interpretation of *horómen* appeared convincing for many subsequent English translators (except Lord, 1985; Simpson, 1997; Reeve, 1998)

who followed him literally or with slight modifications (Warrington, 1959, replaced Barker's "Observation shows us" with "Experience teaches us"). Even the modernization of the second 16th century Spanish translation (Abril, 1584) published in 1985 has *observamos* instead of *vemos*.

The chronological list of translations is given as the last section of Appendix 1. It is the table in which you will see how three important concepts of Aristotelian socio-political science (CITY-STATE, COMMUNITY, AUTHORITY – in Reeve's translation) have been translated over centuries into 8 languages (L=Latin, F=French, S=Spanish, I=Italian, E=English, P=Polish, G=German, R=Russian, C=Czech). Other concepts used in this theoretically "thick" text in social science, the concept of purposeful ACTION that Aristotle applied to individuals and communities, as well as that of GOOD (a real good or what appears good to the actor) the Stagirite needed to describe the "goal-orientation" of any action, have appeared much less troublesome for the translators.

The problem of translating *koinōnia politikē* reduces to finding an adequate counterpart for *koinōnia*, provided that the phrase is decomposed into *genus proximum* (*koinōnia*) and *differentia specifica* (*politikē*). The multitude of expressions (in English translations we find: *civil society*, *political society*, *political association*, *political community*, *political partnership*) simply results from various ways of translating *koinōnia*. Thus, Reeve's decision not to treat *koinōnia politikē* as a single key word was right. However, if any state *contains* a society, as Petrus Ramus read in Aristotle, then a special name may be needed (for Ramus it was *civilis communitas*).

The list of translations of Book I of Aristotle's *Politics*

Year	Translator/s	Lng	<i>koinōnia</i>	<i>polis</i>	<i>pasōn kuriōtatē</i>
1260s	Willem van Moerbeke	L	communitas	civitas	omnium maxime principalis
1370s	Nicolas Oresme	F	communité	cite	principale par dessus toutes
1430s	Leonardo Bruni	L	societas	civitas	principalissima
1509	Anonymous	S	compañía	ciudad	la más principal de todas
1542	Jacques Louis Strebée	L	societas	civitas	illarum princepe

Year	Translator/s	Lng	<i>koinōnia</i>	<i>polis</i>	<i>pasōn kuriōtatē</i>
1542	Joachim Périon	L	societas	civitas	principatum tenet
1542	Antonio Brucioli	I	società	città	la principalissima
1548	Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda	L	societas	civitas	quae cunctarum est facile princeps
1549	Bernardo Segni	I	compagnia	città	che infra tutte l'altre è la principalissima
1567	Denis Lambin	L	societas	civitas	quae est omnium maxime princeps ac domina
1568	Loys Le Roy	F	compagnie	Cité	principale de toutes
1584	Pedro Simón Abril	S	compañía	ciudad	la más principal de todas
1598	I.D.	E	companie	Citie or Comon-weale	principall and most excellent of all
1601	Pierre de la Ramée	F	societas	civitas	quae est omnium princeps ac summa
1605	Sebastian Petrycy	P	towarzystwo	miasto	nawiętsze między wszystkiemi y naprzednieysze
1608	Hubert van Giffen	L	communitas	civitas	quae sit summa
1776	William Ellis	E	society	city	most excellent
1797	Jean François Champagne	F	association	cité	société par excellence
1797	John Gillies	E	community or partnership	political society	great, sovereign

Year	Translator/s	Lng	<i>koinōnia</i>	<i>polis</i>	<i>pasōn kuriōtatē</i>
1798	Johann G. Schlosser	G	Gesellschaft	Staat	die wichtigste und die vortrefflichste
1799	Christian Garve	G	Gesellschaft vereinigter Menschen, Verbindung	gemeine Wesen	die oberste aller
1803	Charles Millon	F	société	État	principale
1811	Thomas Taylor	E	society	city	principal of all
1824	François Thurot	F	association	cité	plus puissante que toutes les autres
1837	Jules Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire	F	association	État	la plus importante
1839	Adolf Stahr	G	Verein	Staat	der allervorzüglichste
1843	August Ferdinand Lindau	G	Gesellschaft	Staat	allerhöchste
1848	Edward Walford	E	society	state	most excellent
1853	Matteo Ricci	I	società	stato	che di ogni altra è la piú perfetta
1860	Adolf Stahr, Carl Stahr	G	Verein	Staat	bedeutendste
1865	Николай Скворцов	R	общество	государство	которая стоит выше всех
1872	Jacob Bernays	G	Gemeinschaft	Staat	alleroberste
1873	Patricio de Azcárate	S	asociación	Estado	la más importante de las asociaciones
1877	W.E. Bolland	E	association	state	highest of all

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1879	Franz Susemihl	G	Gemeinschaft	Staat	vorzugsweise und vornehmste von allen
1880	Julius Hermann Kirchmann	G	Gemeinschaft	Staat	die vornehmste und über allen anderen stehende
1881	François Thurot, nouvelle édition	F	association	cit�	la plus importante
1883	James E.C. Welldon	E	association	state	supreme
1885	Benjamin Jowett	E	community	state	highest of all
1885	Antonio Zozaya	S	asociaci�n	Estado	la m�s importante
1895	Pavel Vychodil	C	spole�enstvo	st�t	nejp�redn�j�s� a v�sichni
1911	Сергей А. Жебелев	R	общение	госу- дарство	которое является наиболее важным из всех
1912	Eugen Rolfes	G	Gemeinschaft	Staat	vornehmste von allen
1918	Vincenzo Costanzi	I	associazione	citt�	sovrana tra tutte
1920	Nicol�s Est�vanez	S	asociaci�n	ciudad	la m�s importante de todas ellas
1932	Harris Rackham	E	partnership	state	most supreme of all
1933	Francisco Gallach	S	agrupaci�n	ciudad	la superior entre ellas
1936	Francesco Calderaro	I	associazione	stato	che tra tutte ha la maggiore importanza

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1938	Arturo Beccari	I	società	Stato	che è di tutte la principale
1939	Marcelino A. Ortiz	S	asociación	Estado	la más importante
1939	Antonin Kříž	C	společnost, společenství	obec	ze všech má největší přednost
1946	Ernest Barker	E	association	polis, state	most sovereign
1950	Marcel Prélot	F	société	État	principale
1951	Julián Marías, María Araujo	S	comunidad	ciudad	la principal entre todas
1953	Ludwik Piotrowicz	P	wspólnota	państwo	ze wszystkich najprzedniejsza
1954	Natividad Massanés	S	asociación	ciudad	las más importante de todas ellas
1955	Olof Gigon	G	Gemeinschaft	Staat	bedeutendste von allen
1955	Carlo Augusto Viano	I	comunità	città	che regge
1959	John Warrington	E	association	state	supreme
1960	Jean Aubonnet	F	communauté	cité (ou État)	souveraine entre toutes
1961	Giuseppe Saitta	I	società	città	la piú sovrana fra tutte
1962	Jules Tricot	F	communauté	cité	la plus haute de toutes
1962	Thomas A. Sinclair	E	association	state	supreme
1963	Antonio Gómez Robledo	S	comunidad	ciudad	la comunidad suprema entre todas
1964	Francisco Samaranch	S	comunidad	ciudad o estado	la comunidad superior a todas

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1966	Renato Laurenti	I	comunità	stato	che è di tutte la piú importante
1974	Julio Pallí Bonet	S	comunidad	ciudad	la soberana entre todas
1977	Carlos García Gual, Aurelio Pérez	S	comunidad	ciudad	la que es superior
1980	Massimo Venturi Ferriolo	I	comunità	pólis	comunità piú importante di tutte
1985	Carnes Lord	E	partnership	city	most authoritative of all
1985	Pedro Simón Abril, ed. by Alegre, Santolaria, Lavado	S	comunidad	ciudad	la más principal de todas
1986	Hippocrates G. Apostle, Lloyd P. Gerson	E	association	state	most authoritative
1988	Manuela García Valdés	S	comunidad	ciudad	la soberana entre todas
1989	Manuel Briceño	S	comunidad	polis	la más poderosa de todas
1989	Franz F. Schwarz	G	Gemeinschaft	Staat	die bedeutendste von allen
1991	Eckhart Schütrumpf	G	Gemeinschaft	staatliche Verband	die höchste von allen
1993	Pierre Pellegrin	F	communauté	cité	la plus éminente de toutes
1995	Trevor J. Saunders	E	association	state	most sovereign of all
1996	Pierre Louis	F	communauté	cité	qui est au-dessus de toutes

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1997	Peter L. Phillips Simpson	E	community	city	that has the most control of all
1998	C.D.C. Reeve	E	COMMUNI- TY	CITY- STATE	that has the most AUTHORITY of all
1999	Milan Mráz	C	společenství	obec	ze všech nejvýznamnější
2005	Pedro López, Estela García	S	comunidad	ciudad	la más importante de todas
2005	Isabel Santa Cruz, Inés Crespo	S	comunidad	ciudad	la que está por encima de todas