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ARISTOTLE
AND
THE EARLIER PERIPATETICS

BEING A TRANSLATION FROM
ZELLER'S 'PHILOSOPHY OF THE GREEKS'

BY
B. F. C. COSTELLOE, M.A.
AND
J. H. MUIRHEAD, M.A.

IN TWO VOLUMES—VOL. I.

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TO

THE MASTER OF BALLIOL
TRANSLATORS' NOTE.

The following translation embraces Part II. Div. II. of the third edition of Dr. Eduard Zeller's work on 'The Philosophy of the Greeks in its Historical Development.' It is made with Dr. Zeller's sanction, and completes the series of volumes issued from time to time by Messrs. Longmans as translations of the various sections of that exhaustive work. Mr. Costelloe is chiefly responsible for the translation of text and notes up to the middle of Chapter VII., and for Chapter XIX. to the end; Mr. Muirhead for the middle portion. In most instances, however, both translators have revised the sheets. In calling attention to the table of Corrigenda, which is longer than might reasonably be expected in a work of this kind, the editors desire to explain that, owing to an accident for which the translator was not responsible, the sheets of that portion of the text in which the greater part of them occur
were passed through the press before he had seen them in proof. In dealing with some parts of Zeller's notes a certain liberty has been taken with the German text with a view to condensing the material where this could be done without impairing its value. The treatise is believed to be the only work accessible to English readers which is a complete and accurate exposition of the Aristotelian doctrine. The student will find ample guidance as to Dr. Zeller's plan in the Table of Contents, which is in fact an index of subject matters; and the arrangement adopted by Dr. Zeller is so logical and clear that it has not been considered necessary to burden the translation with an exhaustive verbal index.
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Addenda and Corrigenda.

Page 74, n. 2. Zeller adds in a later note that Diog. No. 78 gives the Rhetoric only 2 books, but this is not decisive.

129, l. 22. Zeller adds in a later note, that many of these may be in great part explained by the supposition that Aristotle did not always write, but dictated his books.

178, n. 2, for Branius read Brandis

188, n. 1, col. 1, l. 12, for representation read opinion

203, n. 2, l. 4, insert 199, n. 2

210, n. 2, col. 1, l. 18, delete of

224, n. col. 1, ll. 11, 12, for a and an read the same

232, 233, for individual [judgments] read singular

235, n. col. 2, l. 30, for apodeictic read assertorial

249, n. col. 1, 11, 12, for a and an read the same,

257, n. 1, add a further reference to De Vito, l. 10 init.

288, n. 1, col. 2, ll. 18, 21, for equality read identity

302, n. 1, col. 1, 1, 4, for general read universal

340, n. col. 2, 1, 15 from bottom, after possibility insert comma

361, n. col. 1, l. 16, omit semicolon

364, l. 8. Zeller in a later note refers to the criticism of Torsvik (Hermes, ix. 1875, p. 423), and suggests that the word 'disturbance' might be replaced by 'modification.'

390, n. 3, col. 1, l. 17, for Fr. 13 read Fr. 12

395, n. col. 1, l. 9, after (the) ἀκέρατον add that it should be capable of ceasing to be

400, n. 1, col. 2, l. 11, omit not

404, l. 23, for object of thought read intelligible

405, n. 3, col. 1, l. 12, for do read are

407, n. 2, col. 2, l. 18, for motion read moved

412, n. col. 1, l. 5, after καταβαίνει add absolutely

415, l. 16, for forces read Form

417, l. 9, for bodies and masses ... related to them read not only bodies and magnitudes but everything which possesses them or is related to them

427, n. 3, col. 2, l. 8, for masses read magnitudes

428, l. 28, for after read behind

441, n. 2, col. 1, l. 8, for forcible read forced

454, l. 11, for extension read extrusion

459, n. 5, col. 1, l. 17, for But read Again

473, n. 1, col. 1, l. 1, after eight add in the converse case

504, l. 1, for One read The

510, l. 2, for has raised read surrounds
ARISTOTLE
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EARLIER PERIPATETICS

CHAPTER I

THE LIFE OF ARISTOTLE

The lives and circumstances of the three great philosophers of Athens show a certain analogy to the character and scope of their work. As the Attic philosophy began by searching the inner nature of man and went on from this beginning to extend itself over the whole field of existence, so we find that the life of its great masters was at first confined in narrow limits, and gained, as time went on, a wider range. Socrates is not only a pure Athenian citizen, but a citizen who feels no desire to pass beyond the borders of his city. Plato is also an Athenian, but the love of knowledge takes him to foreign lands and he is connected by many personal interests with other cities. Aristotle owes to Athens his scientific training and his sphere of work; but he belongs by birth and origin to another part of Greece, he spends his youth and a considerable part of his manhood out of Athens, chiefly in the rising Macedonian kingdom; and even when he is in Athens, it is as a stranger, not bound up with the political life of the
Aristotle, city, and not hindered by any personal ties from giving to his philosophy that purely theoretic and impartial character which became its distinctive praise.

The birth of Aristotle falls, according to the most probable reckoning, in the first year of the 99th Olympiad.

1 The old accounts of Aristotle's life now extant are (1) Diogenes, v. 1-35 (far the most copious); (2) Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Epist. ad Ammianum, i. 5, p. 727 sq.; (3) Αριστ. Βίος καὶ συγγράμματα αὐτοῦ, by the Anonymous Menagii; (4) another sketch of his life, known to us in three forms: (a) the Βίος first printed in the Aldine ed. of Arist. Opp. 1196-98 (which is there ascribed to Philoponus, elsewhere to Ammonius, but belongs to neither), here cited as the Pseudo-Ammonius (or Amm.); (b) the Life published from the Codex Marcianus by Robbe in 1861, cited as Vita Marciana (or V. Marc.); (c) the Life cited as the Latin Ammonius, preserved in an ancient translation, which approaches more closely to the Vita Marciana than to the Pseudo-Ammonius itself; (5) Ἡσυχίου Μυληνίου περὶ τοῦ Αριστοτέλους; (6) Suidas, sub voce Αριστοτέλης. All of these, except (4b), are to be found in Buhl, Arist. Opp. i. 1-79. Westermann's appendix to Cobet's Diogenes, and his Vite Scriptorum (at p. 397) also contain (3) and (4a); Robbe, op. cit. gives (4b) and (4c). Rose (Arist. Lib. Ord. 245), before the publication of (4b), ascribed the archetypio of (4) to the younger Olympiodorus—a guess which may be called possible but not proven. Of later commentaries, cf. Buhl, Arist. Opp. i. 80-104; Stahr, Aristotelia i. 1-188; Brandis, Gr.-röm. Phil. ii. b, i. pp. 48-65; Grote's Arist. (1872), i. 1-37, and Grant's Arist. (1877) pp. 1-29. Stahr discusses (p. 5 sqq.) the lost works of ancient writers which treated of Aristotle's life. We cannot be sure, as to any of the sources mentioned, what their basis or credibility may be. Rose's view that they one and all rest only on spurious texts and fanciful combinations (p. 115) is entirely unproved and improbable. Their value, however, beyond doubt differs widely; we can only test each statement by its inherent probability.

2 According to Apollodorus apud Dio. 9; no doubt on the basis of the statement (ibid. 10, Dionys. and Amm.) which may be accepted as the safest fixed point as to the date of Aristotle's life, that he died in the archonship of Philocles (Ol. 114, 3), about sixty-three years old (ἔτων τριῶν που καὶ ἕξικοντα, or more exactly, as in Dionys., τρια πρὸς τοῖς ἕξικοντα βίωσας ἔτη). Dionysius agrees, but erroneously talks of Demosthenes as three years younger than Aristotle, whereas he was born in the same year, or at most in the year before (in the beginning of Ol. 99, 1, or end of Ol. 98, 4); vide Stahr i. 30. Gellius' statement (N. A. xvii. 21, 25) that Aristotle was born in the seventh year after the freeing of Rome
b.c. 384.¹ Stagira, the city of his birth, was situated in that district of Thrace called Chalcidice,² which was at that date a thoroughly Hellenic country, with many flourishing cities, whose people were no doubt in full possession of all Greek culture.³ His father Nicomachus

from the Gauls also agrees, since that event is referred to the year 364 A.U.C., or 390 B.C. So also the V. Marc. p. 3, and the Ammon. Latin. p. 12, assert that he was born under Diotrephes (Ol. 99, 1) and died sixty-three years old under Philocles. An otherwise unknown writer, Eumelus (ap. Diog. 6), asserts, on the other hand, that Aristotle lived to be seventy; but there is little reason to follow Rose (p. 116) in preferring this account, since his next words, πιθήκον ἀκούσειν ἐτελεύτησεν, sufficiently show his lack of trustworthiness. In fact, as the manner of Socrates’ death is here transferred to Aristotle, so is his age also; possibly by reason of the spurious Apologia ascribed to Aristotle (v. p. 35, n. 3, infra) and its parallelism with the Platonic Apologia of Socrates. But apart from the probability of this explanation, Eumelus is completely displaced by the agreement of all the other testimony, including that of so careful a chronologist as Apollodorus. A reliable tradition as to the age of their founder must have existed in the Peripatetic School. How could all our witnesses, except this one unknown and badly-informed writer, have come to agree upon a false statement of it when the truth could have been easily ascertained?

¹ That he was born in the first half of the Olympiad, or in 384 B.C., follows from the accounts as to his death above, and would also follow from our information as to his residence at Athens, if the figures are to be taken strictly (cf. p. 6, n. 3, infra). For if, at seventeen, he came to Athens and was with Plato for twenty years, he must have been thirty-seven years old at Plato’s death; so that, if we put his exact age at 36½ and bring down Plato’s death to the middle of 347 B.C., his birth would still fall in the latter half of 384 B.C. It is, however, also possible that his stay in Athens did not cover the full twenty years.

² So called because most of its cities were colonies of Chalcis in Euboea. Stagira itself was originally colonised from Andros, but perhaps (cf. Dionys. ut supra) received a later contribution of second founders from Chalcis. In 348 B.C., it was, with thirty-one other cities of that district, sacked by Philip, but was afterwards on Aristotle’s intercession restored (v. p. 24, infra). Vide Staehr, 23, who discusses also the form of the name (Στάγειος, or Στάγειρα as a neuter plural). We do not know whether Aristotle’s family house (mentioned in his will, ap. Diog. 14) was spared in the destruction of the town or was subsequently rebuilt.

³ Bernays (Dial. Arist. ii. 55, 134) calls Aristotle a ‘half Greek,’ but Grote (i. 3) and
was the body-surgeon and friend of the Macedonian King Amyntas; and it is natural to suppose that the father's profession—long hereditary in the family—must have influenced the mental character and education of the son, and that this early connection with the Macedonian Court prepared the way for the employment of Aristotle in the same Court at a later time. On neither of these points, however, have we any positive information. We may also assume that Nicomachus took his family with

Grant (p. 2) rightly maintain against him that a Greek family in a Greek colony in which only Greek was spoken, could keep their nationality perfectly pure. Aristotle was not an Athenian, and though Athens was his philosophical home, traces can yet be found in him of the fact that his political sense had its training elsewhere; but he was as truly a Hellenas as Pythagoras, Xenophon, Parmenides, Anaxagoras, Democritus, or the rest. The 'un-Greek' element which Bernays and W. von Humboldt (in his letter to Wolf, Werke, v. 125) find in Aristotle is doubtless to be connected not so much with the place of his birth as with the characteristics of his generation and his individual bent of mind. The full-born Athenian Socrates exhibits traits far more singular and seemingly un-Greek as compared with his own people and time than Aristotle, and if the typical writings of Aristotle appear un-Greek in comparison with Plato's, still, on the one hand, this is not true of his Dialogues, and, on the other hand, equally great divergencies are to be found between men whose surroundings and training were so closely similar as those of Schelling and Hegel, or of Bauer and Strauss.

1 Vide Diog. I (quoting Hermippus), Dionys., Ps. Amm., V. Marc., Ammon. Latin., and Suidas. The family of Nicomachus, according to these authorities, traced its descent, as did so many medical families, to Asclepius. Tzetzes, Chil. x. 727, xii. 638, gives no ground for doubting this. The three recensions of the Pseudo-Ammonius repeat this same statement as to the family of Aristotle's mother, Philistis, but erroneously; for Diogenes tells us she was a Stagirite by birth, and Dionysius says that she was a descendant of one of the colonists from Chalcis. This connection might account for the mention of a country house and garden at Chalcis in the testament (Diog. 14). The statement in Suidas, sub voce Nau̇mȧkos, that a person of that name had written six books of Λαρσικά and one book of Φιοσικά refers, according to our text, not to the father of Aristotle (cf. Buhle, 83, Stahr, 34), but to an ancestor of the same name; though no
him to reside near the king,¹ but we cannot tell how old Aristotle then was, or how long this state of things lasted, or what personal relations resulted from it. Equally little knowledge have we as to the early development of his mind, or the circumstances or method of his education.² The sole piece of information we have as to this section of his life is the remark of the Pseudo-Ammonius³ that after the death of both his parents,⁴ one Proxenus of Atarneus⁵ took over his education, so that in later life the grateful pupil did the like service for Proxenus’ son Nicanor, of whom he took charge while he was a child, and to whom he gave his own daughter in marriage. Notwithstanding the untrustworthy character of our informant,⁶ the story seems to be true⁷;

doubt the story did refer originally to his father. The Anon. Menagii (with V. Marc. 1, and Ammon. Latin. 1) mentions a brother and sister of Aristotle.
¹ For Diog. 1, following Hermippus, says expressly: συνεβίω [Νικόμαχος] Ἀμώντα ἅδω Ἀσκληπιάς ὤντος καὶ τῷ ὄντως ἐστὶν ἀντίλημα. He must therefore have taken up his residence in Pella and cannot have left his family in Stagira.
² Galen's statement (Anatom. Administr. ii. 1, vol. ii. 280 k) that the Asclepiad families practised their sons ἑκ παιδών in reading, writing, and ἀνατέμων, does not help us much, as (apart from the question whether the information is fully credible) we do not know how old Aristotle was at his father's death. It is doubtful whether Galen meant human or animal anatomy; cf. p. 89, n. 1 fin.
³ In all three recensions, p. 43 etc., cf. Buhle, I sq. (lege τροφῆος for φήμης) 10 sq. Robbe.
⁴ In his will (Diog. 16) Aristotle mentions his mother and orders a monument to be erected to her. Pliny (II. Nat. xxxv. 10, 106) mentions a picture of her which Aristotle had painted by Protogenes. There may have been many reasons why his father was not mentioned in the will.
⁵ Apparently a relative who had emigrated to Stagira, for his son Nicanor is called ἅδω Ἀσκληπιάς ὤντος καὶ τῷ ὄντως ἐστὶν ἀντίλημα. (Sext. Math. i. 258).
⁶ What trust is to be placed in a writer who tells us, inter alia, that Aristotle was for three years a pupil of Socrates and that he afterwards accompanied Alexander to India? (Ps. Ammon. p. 44, 50, 48, V. Marc. 2, 5, Ammon. Lat. 11, 12, 14).
⁷ Aristotle in his will (Diog. 12) directs that Nicanor is to marry
but it throws no further light on that which necessarily interests us most, the history of Aristotle's intellectual growth.¹

His entrance into the Platonic School² gives us our earliest reliable data on the subject. In his eighteenth year Aristotle came to Athens³ and entered the circle of

his daughter when she is grown up; he charges him to take care of her and her brothers, ὁσ καὶ πατὴρ ἄν καὶ ἀδελφὸς; he orders that the portraits of Nicanor, Proxenus, and Nicanor's mother, which he had projected, should be completed, and that if Nicanor completed his journey successfully (v. infra), a votive offering he had promised should be set up in Stagira. These arrangements prove that Nicanor was adopted by Aristotle, and that Aristotle owed special gratitude to Nicanor's mother as well as to Proxenus, apparently similar to that he owed his own mother, of whom a similar portrait is ordered. If we assume the truth of the story in the Pseudo-Ammonius it will most naturally explain the whole. Dionysius notes that Nicomachus was dead when Aristotle came to Plato. It might appear that, as Aristotle died at sixty-three, the son of his foster-parents would be too old to marry a daughter not then grown up; but this does not follow. If Aristotle was a child at his father's death, and Proxenus a young man, the latter might have left a son twenty or twenty-five years younger than Aristotle, and some ten years younger than Theophrastus (then at least forty-seven) whom Pythias was to marry in case of Nicanor's death (Diog. 13).—This Nicanor is probably the same Nicanor of Stagira whom Alexander sent from Asia to Greece to announce his consent to the return of the exiles at the Olympian games of 324 B.C. (DiNARcn. Adv. Demosth. 81, 103, Diodor. xviii.8; cf. the pseudo-Aristotelian Rhet. ad Alex. 1, 1421, a, 38, and Grote, p. 14). And the vow in Aristotle's will probably relates to a journey to Alexander's headquarters where he had given an account of his mission and been detained on service in Asia. It is probably the same Nicanor who was governor of Cappadocia under Antipater (Arrian apud Phot. Cod. 92, p. 72, a, 6) and who was made away with, in B.C. 318, by Cassander, for whom he had done good service on sea and land (Diodor. xviii. 64 sq. 68, 72, 75). The dates agree exactly with what we know of Pythias, as to whom see p. 20, n. 3, infra.

¹ We know nothing of the age at which Aristotle came to Proxenus, nor of the manner or place of his education, for it was probably not at Atarneus—see above, p. 5, n. 5.

² A silly story in Ps. Amm. 44, V. Marc. 2, and Ammon. Latin. 11 relates that he was sent by the Delphic Oracle.

³ Apollodorus ap. Diog. 9: παραβαλεῖν δὲ Πλάτωνι, καὶ δια-
THE LIFE OF ARISTOTLE

Plato’s scholars,1 to which he continued to belong for

not know, moreover, when Eumelus lived, or from whom he got his information. If, as is possible, he be Eumelus the Peripatetic, whose Περὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας is quoted by a scholiast to Ἀσχινες’ Τιμαρχ. (ed. Bekker, Αστ. d. Berl. Akad. 1836, Hist.-phil. Kl. 230, § 39; cf. Rose, Arist. Libr. Ord. 113), he would belong to the Alexandrine, or possibly even the post-Alexandrine period. In no case, as above shown, can he merit our confidence. As to Epicurus and Timæus vide p. 9, n. 1, infra.—The Vita Marciana finds it necessary to refute the story that Aristotle came to Plato in his fortieth year. The Latin Ammonius reproduces this in a still more absurd form, to which he adapts other parts of his story; for he says that it was thought by many that Aristotle remained forty years with Plato. His translation ‘xi annis immoratus est sub Platone’ probably means that the text of the archetype was μὲ έκεῖνη γεγονός ὢν ὑπὸ Πλάτωνι, or μὲ έκεῖνην ὄν ἐνδι-έπρεβε, &c. If the latter be supposed, the mistake might well have arisen by the dropping out of ὄν in the translator’s MS.

1 Plato himself was probably at the moment absent on his second Sicilian journey (vide Zeller, Plato, p. 32). Stahr (p. 43) suggests that the above-mentioned statement that he was three years with Socrates and after his death followed Plato (Ps. Amm. 44, 50, V. Marc. 2, Ammon. Lat. 11, 12, Olympiod. in Gorg. 42) arose from a misunderstanding of this circumstance. The archetype may have contained the
twenty years until the master died.\(^1\) It would have been of the greatest value if we could have known in detail something of this long period of preparation, in which the foundations of his extraordinary learning and of his distinctive philosophical system must have been laid. Unhappily our informants pass over all the important questions as to the movement and history of his mental development in absolute silence, and entertain us instead with all manner of evil tales as to his life and character. One of these writers had heard that he first earned his bread as a quack-doctor.\(^2\) Another alleges that he first squandered his patrimony, then in his distress went into military service, afterwards, being unsuccessful, took to selling medicines, and finally took refuge in Plato’s school.\(^3\) This gossip, however, was

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\(^1\) Cf. p. 6, n. 3, and Dionysius, \(\mu \iota \sigma \tau \eta \tau \iota \nu\) \(\alpha \nu \tau \alpha \tau \alpha \epsilon \iota \) \(\Pi \lambda \alpha \tau \omega \nu \iota\) \(\chi \rho \omicron \omicron \omicron \nu \epsilon \iota \kappa \sigma \sigma \alpha \tau \eta \) \(\delta \iota \tau \tau \omicron \iota \phi e\) \(\alpha \nu \tau \omega \iota \phi \). \(\text{o} \) \(\alpha \iota \nu \tau \omicron \phi \). or as in \(\text{Amm.\)}}\, \text{τούτου} \, \text{συνεστιν} \, \text{ἐτη} \, \text{εἰκοσι}.\)

\(^2\) \(\text{Aristoc}. \, \text{ap. \ Eus. \\ Præp. \\ Ev. \, xvi. \, 2, \, 1: \pi \omicron \omega \upsilon \ \alpha \nu \ \tau\iota \sigma \epsilon \dot{\alpha} \iota \tau \iota \iota \iota \upsilon \nu \tau \iota \omega \nu \iota \nu \tau \omicron \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \iota \upsilon \nu \tau \omicron \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \iota \upsilon \nu \tau \omicron \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \iota \upsilon \nu \tau \omicron \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \iota \upsilon \nu \tau \omicron \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \iota \upsilon \nu \tau \omicron \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \iota \upsilon \nu \tau \omicron \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \iota \upsilon \nu \tau \omicron \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \iota \upsilon \nu \tau \omicron \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \iota \upsilon \nu \tau \omicron \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \iota \upsilon \nu \tau \omicron \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \iota \upsilon \nu \tau \omicron \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \iota \upsilon \nu \tau \omicron \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \iota \upsilon \nu \tau \omicron \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \iota \upsilon \nu \tau \omicron \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \iota \upsilon \nu \tau \omicron \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \iota \upsilon \nu \tau \omicron \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \iota \upsilon \nu \tau \omicron \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \iota \upsilon \nu \tau \omicron \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \iota \upsilon \nu \tau \omicron \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \iota \upsilon \nu \tau \omicron \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \iota \upsilon \nu \tau \omicron \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \iota \upsilon \nu \tau \omicron \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \iota \upsilon \nu \tau \omicron \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \iota \upsilon \nu \tau \omicron \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \iota \upsilon \nu \tau \omicron \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \iota \upsilon \nu \tau \omicron \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \iota \upsilon \nu \tau \omicron \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \iota \upsilon \nu \tau \omicron \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \iota \upsilon \nu \tau \omicron \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \iota \upsilon \nu \tau \omicron \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \iota \upsilon \nu \tau \omicron \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \iota \upsilon \nu \tau \omicron \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \iota \upsilon \nu \tau \omicron \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \iota \upsilon \nu \tau \omicron \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \iota \upsilon \nu \tau \omicron \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \iota \upsilon \nu \tau \omicron \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \iota \upsilon \nu \tau \omicron \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \iota \upsilon \nu \tau \omicron \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \iota \upsilon \nu \tau \omicron \α τοιού \, \text{εικοσι}.\)

\(^3\) \(\text{Aristoc}. \, \text{ut \ supra: \ πῶς \ γὰρ \ ὁ \ οἶνον \ τε, \ καθάπερ \ φησίν \ Ἐπίκουρος \ ἐν \ τῇ \ περὶ \ τῶν \ ἐπιτηδευμάτων \ ἐπιστολῇ, \ νέον \ μὲν \ δύναται \ καταφαγεῖν \ αὐτὸν \ τὴν \ πατρίδα \ οὐδαμα, \ ἔπειτα \ δὲ \ ἐπὶ \ τὸ \ στρατεύεσθαι \ συνεώθησαι, \ κακῶς \ δὲ \ πράσσουσα \ ἐν \ τούτῳ \ ἐπὶ \ τὸ \ φαρμακοστωλεῖν \ ἐλθεῖν, \ ἔπειτα \ ἀναπεπταμένου \ τοῦ \ Πλάτωνος \ περι-

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rightly rejected even by Aristocles. Greater weight attaches to the story of the breach between Plato and his scholar which is said to have occurred some time before the former died. So early a writer as Eubulides the
dialectician accused Aristotle of ingratitude to his master. Others accuse him of annoying Plato by his showy dress, his overbearing manner, and his jeering. Others relate that even in Plato’s lifetime he attacked his doctrines and set up a school of his own in opposition to the Platonist, and even that on one occasion he took advantage of the absence of Xenocrates to drive the aged master from his accustomed place of resort in the Academy. Many, even among the ancients, neither Aristocles nor any of the trustworthy witnesses mention medical practice, and the two who do, refer to it in such a way as only to raise suspicion; while Aristotle apparently reckons himself among the ‘laymen,’ μη τεχνίται, in medicine (Dicit. 1, 163, a. 6).

Neither Aristocles nor any of the trustworthy witnesses mention medical practice, and the two who do, refer to it in such a way as only to raise suspicion; while Aristotle apparently reckons himself among the ‘laymen,’ μη τεχνίται, in medicine (Dicit. 1, 163, a. 6).

1 ARISTOCLE, ap. EUS. Pr. Er. xv. 2, 3: καὶ Ἐβδουκλίδης δὲ προδήλως ἐν τῷ κατ’ αὐτοῦ βιβλίῳ ἑυθείᾳ... τὰ... τελευτῶν Πλάτων ἐντὸς παραγενόμενοι τὰ τε βιβλία αὐτοῦ διαφθείραι. Neither of the charges is important. His absence at the time of Plato’s death, if that is true, may have had an easy explanation; Plato, indeed, is said to have died quite unexpectedly (cf. ZELLER, Plato, p. 35). The injury to Plato’s books, if it means a falsification of the text, is an obvious and absurd calumny. If, as is possible, it refers to Aristotle’s criticism of Plato, this, as we shall see, though it is keen and not always just, is no indication of any personal misunderstanding, since to Aristotle it meant only natural and impersonal polemics. Besides Aristocles, Diogenes (ii. 109) also rejects Eubulides’ charges as a calumny.

2 ΖΕΛΙΑΝ, V. H. iii. 19, describing Aristotle’s style of dress in detail.

3 Diog. 2: ἀπέστη δὲ Πλάτωνος ἔτη περιόντος ἔστε φησίν ἐκείνων ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπελάκτικως καθαπερεῖτάπωλαρα γεγενηθέντα τὴν ματέρα—καὶ ΖΕΛΙΑΝ, V. H. iv. 9, and HELLADIUS ap. Phot. Cod. 279, p. 533, b. Similarly THEODORIC, Cur. Gr. Aff. v. 46, p. 77, says Aristotle often attacked Plato while he was yet alive: PHILOP. Anal. Post. 51 a, Schol. in Arist. 228, p. 16, that he had especially opposed his master’s Ideal Theory; and AUGUSTINE, Civ. Dei. viii. 12, that he had established even then a numerous school.

4 This occurrence is related by our sole authority (ΕΛΙΑΝ, V. H. iii. 19, cf. iv. 9) in this way: that when Plato was over eighty, and his memory was failing, Aristotle on one occasion, Xenocrates being absent and Speusippus ill, had gone with a band of his own pupils and started a debate with Plato, in which he drove the old man into a corner with such rude pertinacity that Plato withdrew himself from the halls of the Academy into his own garden, and it was
ferred to Aristotle the statement of Aristoxenus that during Plato's Sicilian journey a school was erected in opposition to his own 'by strangers.' All these data, however, are very doubtful, and most of the actual statements deserve no credence. If the assertion of Aristoxenus were to be understood of Aristotle it could not possibly be true, for chronological reasons in the first place, but also because we possess undoubted proofs that Aristotle belonged to Plato's school long after the second Sicilian journey, and held his master in the highest honour. Probably, however, only when Xenocrates returned, three months afterwards, that he reproached Speusippus for his cowardice and forced Aristotle to restore to Plato the disputed territory.

1 Aristocles, De Quatuorv. ii. 324 sq. (Dind.), who, however, does not refer to Aristotle by name any more than Aristoxenus, whose account he repeats and extends. For Aristides the Latin Ammonius (11) substitutes Aristocles; but the Greek Pseudo-Ammomious (p. 44 sq.) limits itself to the remark: 'οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ζώντος τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἀντικοδιμήσας αὐτῷ τὸ Λύκειον ὁ Ἀρ., ὡς τινὲς ὑπολαμβάνουσιν.'

2 Cf. Stahr, i. 46 sqq., not refuted by Hermann, Plat. Phil. p. 81, 125.

3 When Plato returned from his last journey Aristotle was under 24 (cf. p. 2, n. 2, supra, and Zeller, Plato, p. 30 sq.); is it (apart from other questions) likely that he could so early head a school against a master who was then at the height of his fame?

4 The proofs of this are:—(α) Aristotle published several Platonic essays (cf. infra and Zeller, Plato, p. 26). For many reasons (especially perhaps because of their notable departure from the method of teaching laid down by Plato, cf. Zell, Plato, p. 517 sq.) it is unlikely that these fall between the second and third of Plato's Sicilian
that statement did not refer to Aristotle at all.\(^1\) \AElian's story as to driving Plato out of the Academy stands in contradiction with other and older\(^2\) accounts which show that Plato at that time had long removed his school from the open spaces of the Gymnasium of the Academy to his own gardens. But besides, it ascribes to Aristotle a kind of behaviour which we could not believe of a man of otherwise noble character except on the most conclusive proofs: whereas here we have nothing but the testimony of a gossip-grubber, who is known to repeat without discrimination things that are palpably untrue. Against the suggestion that Aristotle had by

journeys. (\(b\)) The \textit{Eudemus of Aristotle} (cf. \textit{infra}) was written on the lines of Plato's \textit{Phaedo}, and Aristotle was probably still in the Platonic School when he wrote it, which was long after the third journey, since it is in memory of a friend who died 352 B.C. (\(c\)) Olympiodorus (\textit{in Gorg.}, \textit{166}, in \textit{Jahn's Jahrb. Supplementb}. \textit{xiv}. 395, and \textit{Bergk}, \textit{Lygr. (Gr.}, p. 504) has preserved some verses of Aristotle's Elegy on Eudemus, which thus describe his relation to Plato:

\begin{quote}
\textit{ἐλθὼν δ' εἰς κλείνου Κεκροπίης}
\textit{δάπεδων}
\textit{εὔσεβῶς σεμνής φιλίης ἱδρύσατο}
\textit{Βασιλεύ \\
ἀνδρός, ὑπὸ σωτ' αἰνείω τοὺς κακοίς:}
\textit{θέμις: [Plato]}
\textit{ὡς μόνος ἡ πρώτος θυγτῇ κατεδείξεν}
\textit{ἐναργώς}
\textit{ὁικείῳ τῷ βίῳ καὶ μεθοδοισι λόγων,}
\textit{ὡς ἀγαθός τε καὶ εὐδαιμόν ἀμα}
\textit{γίνεται ἀνήρ.}
\textit{οὐ νῦν δ' ἐστι λαβεῖν οὐδὲν ταύτα}
\textit{ποτέ.}
\end{quote}

Buhle (\textit{Arist. Opp.} i. 55) doubts their genuineness on grounds that are solved by our view of their application to the Cyprian Eudemus and Plato, instead of to the Rhodian Eudemus and Aristotle himself. In the corrupt last line, Bernays (\textit{Rh. Mus. N. F.} xxxiii. 232) reads \textit{μονάς}. He refers \textit{ἀνδρός}, &c., to Socrates; but this seems unlikely.

\(^1\) Aristocles (\textit{at supra}) says expressly that Aristoxenus always spoke well of Aristotle, against which testimony, founded on a knowledge of his book, the hint to the contrary in Suidas \textit{Ἀριστοτ.} is of no weight. The word \textit{περιπατάτως} was used of other schools besides Aristotle's; cf. Epicurus, cited p. 8, n. 3, \textit{supra}, and the \textit{Index Herculanensis}, 6, 5, where it is used of Speusippus, and 7, 9, of Heraclides. The \textit{τιμᾶς} of Aristoxenus may have referred to Heraclides himself; cf. \textit{Zeller, Plato}, p. 30, n. As to the \textit{Index Hercul.} see \textit{ibid.} p. 553.

\(^2\) In \textit{Diog.} iii. 5, 41; cf. \textit{Zeller, Plato}, p. 25, n.
his general behaviour incurred Plato's disapproval and had so been kept at a distance by him, we could bring many statements which imply that the relation between the two philosophers was of an entirely different kind. We may allow no weight, therefore, to these accounts, which in any case are insufficiently attested, and we need take no notice of sundry other stories, whose inaccuracy is apparent. But we have beyond this decisive reasons which negative, not only Elian's story and the other similar tales, but the whole theory that there was before

1 Buhle, p. 87, sees a proof of this in the fact that Plato does not mention Aristotle, to which circumstance even Stahr, p. 58, attached some weight. But how could he name Aristotle in Socratic dialogues? And probably all Plato's works, except the Lamps, were written before Aristotle came to Athens at all.

2 Philoponus, Aetern. Mund, vi. 27: [Ap.] ουδ' Πλάτωνος τοσούτων τής ἀγχύνοιας ἡγάσθη, ὡς νοῦς τῆς διατριβής ὑπ' αὐτῶν προσαγορεύθη; and Ps. Ammon. 44, says Plato called Aristotle's house οἴκος ἀναγνώστου: cf. also Zeller, Plato, p. 559. To the same tradition belong the very doubtful story cited in Zeller, Plato, p. 26, n., and the account of the altar dedicated with a laudatory inscription by Aristotle to Plato on his death (Amm. 46, Philopon. i.q.v., Schol. in Arist. 11, b, 29), which arose, no doubt, out of a mistranslation of the Elegy to Eudemus, p. 11, n. 4, supra.

3 Such is the idea mentioned by Philoponus (ut supra, 11, b, 23 sqq., where in l. 25, lege 'Αριστοτ—

λος) and by David (ibid. 20, b, 16), that Aristotle was ashamed to mount the teacher's chair while Plato lived, and that this was the origin of the name 'Peripatetic.' There is another theory (Philopon. ut supra, 35, b, 2, David. ibid. 24, a, 6, Ammon. ibid. 25, b, and the Pseudo-Ammon. p. 47, V. Marc. 5, Ammon. Latin. 14) that the name of Peripatetics belonged originally to the Platonic school; that when Aristotle and Xenocrates took over that school after Plato's death, or rather that of Speusippus, Aristotle's followers were called Peripatetics of the Lyceum and the others Peripatetics of the Academy; and that, in the end, the one school were called Peripatetics only, and the other Academics. The origin of this theory is doubtless Antiochus, in whose name Varro in Cic. Acad. i. 4, 17 tells an exactly similar story: which indicates that the whole is only an invention of that Eclecticism, developed by Antiochus, which denied that there was any essential difference between Plato and Aristotle.
Plato's death any breach between him and his scholar. Authorities which are beyond any comparison with Ælian and the rest in their antiquity and credibility, assert that Aristotle remained with Plato twenty years,\(^1\) which plainly could not be true if, although he lived for that time in Athens, he had separated himself from Plato before the end. Dionysius, indeed, expressly adds that in all this time he founded no school of his own.\(^2\) So even in later years and in passages where he is contesting the principles of the Platonic School, Aristotle constantly reckons himself as belonging to it; \(^3\) and he uses language as to the founder of that school and his own personal relation to him such as plainly shows how little the sentiment of respect and affection for his great master had failed in his mind,\(^4\) even where their philosophic opposition was accentuated in the sharpest way. So also we find that he was treated as a Platonist by contemporary opponents;\(^5\) for Cephisodorus

\(^1\) Vide p. 6, n. 3, and p. 8, n. 1, supra.

\(^2\) Ep. ad Autt. i. 7, p. 733: συνέχει Πλάτωνι καὶ διέτρησεν ἐως ἑτάν ἔπτα καὶ τριάκοντα, οὔτε σκολής ἡγούμενος οὔτ' ἰδιὰν πε- ποιηκές άφεσιν.

\(^3\) Aristotle often brackets himself and the Platonists together: cf. καθι' οὗ τρόπους δεικνύειν ὃτι ἕστι τὰ εἶδη κατὰ τὴν ὅπλησιν καθ' ἵν εἶναι φαμέν τὰς ἱδέας, and the like, Metaph. i. 9, 990, b, 8, 11, 16, 23, 992, a, 11, 25, c. 8, 989, b, 18; iii. 2, 997, b, 3, c. 6, 1002, b, 14; cf. Alex. and Asclep. on 990, b, 8; and Alex. on 990, b, 16, 991, b, 3, 992, a, 10.

\(^4\) In a well-known passage of the Ethics which itself seems to point to charges which his logical polemic against Plato had drawn down upon him, Euth. N. i. 4, initi.: τὸ δὲ καθ- ἄλον βέλτιον ἑσσε ἐπισκέψασθαι καὶ διαπορήσαι πῶς λέγεται, καὶ προσάντον τῆς τοιαύτης ζητήσεως γνωμένης διὰ τὸ φιλόν άνδρας εἰσαγαγεῖν τὰ εἶδη, δύξει δ' ἢ ἣ ἑσσε βέλτιον εἶναι καὶ δεῖν ἐπὶ σωτηρία γε τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὰ ὀικεία ἀναφεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ φιλο- σόφους ὑπαν' ἀμφοῖν γὰρ ὄντων φιλον ὀνοι προτιμῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. Cf. Zeller, Plato, p. 512; cf. also Zeller, Ph. d. Gr. i. p. 971, as to Aristotle's own view of his duty to a teacher.

\(^5\) Numen. apud Eus. Pr. Ev. xiv. 6, 8.
the Isocratean, in a book directed against Aristotle, attacked the Platonic doctrine and particularly the 'Ideas,' and Theocritus of Chios accused Aristotle of exchanging the Academy for Macedonia.\(^1\) Again, it is established that he stayed in Athens until Plato’s death, and immediately thereafter left the city for several years, presumably for no other reason than that then for the first time the tie that bound him to the city was dissolved, because his relation to Plato was then for the first time broken. Finally, we are told\(^2\) that Xenocrates journeyed with him to Atarneus; and it is probable from the language in which Aristotle speaks of that Academic’s opinions\(^3\) that they continued to be friends in later times. But in view of the known loyalty of Xenocrates and his unbounded reverence for Plato, it is not to be supposed that he would maintain his relations with Aristotle and keep him company on the visit to Atarneus, if the latter had separated from his master in a disrespectful way, or had, by any such rude conduct as \(\varepsilon l i a n\) ascribes to him, insulted the aged teacher not long before his death.

It is of course altogether probable that so independent a mind as Aristotle’s would not give up its own judgment even in face of a Plato; that as time

\(^1\) In the epigram noticed at p. 20, n. 3, \(i n f r a : \varepsilon l e t o \ \varphi a l \ e i \ \alpha i t \) 'Ακαδημείας Βορβύρου εν προχαίς, B. being a river near Pella.

\(^2\) By \(S t r a b o\) (xiii. 1, 57, p. 610), whom we have no reason to disbelieve.

\(^3\) Others have remarked that Aristotle almost never mentions Xenocrates, and that he avoids his name as if on purpose where he is obviously alluding to him (cf. the cases cited, \(Z e l l e r, \ Pl a t o, \ p. 364, \ n.; \) and notes on p. 585, and later passages), whereas Speusippus is named in parallel cases. This probably indicates not ill-feeling, but rather a desire to avoid the appearance of personal conflict with one who was teaching beside him at Athens.
went on he began to doubt the unconditional validity of the Platonic system and to lay the foundations of his own: and that he perhaps even in these days laid bare many of the weak points of his teacher with the same uncompromising criticism which we find him using later on.\(^1\) If a certain difference between the two men had developed out of such relations, or if Plato had not been more ready than many others since, to recognise in his scholar the man who was destined to carry forward and to correct his own work, it would be nothing wonderful. Yet that any such difference actually arose cannot be proved, and cannot even be shown to be very probable\(^2\): while we have patent facts to disprove the idea that Aristotle brought on any open breach by ingratitude or intentional offence. The same facts make it very improbable that Aristotle opened any philosophic school of his own during his first residence in Athens. If he had done so, his friendly relations with Plato and the Platonic circle could hardly have gone on, and it would be unintelligible that he should leave Athens exactly at the moment when the death of his great rival left the field free for himself.\(^3\)

\(^1\) Even in the books 'On Philosophy' (Arist. Fragm. 10, 11. p. 1475), apparently written before Plato's death, he had openly combated the Ideal Theory, and in the same treatise (Fragm. 17, 18) had maintained the eternity of the world.

\(^2\) We have no right to ascribe to Plato and his circle of friends the later ideas of school-orthodoxy, in any such sense as to suppose that the master could not tolerate the independence of such a scholar as Aristotle. Besides, not to mention Heraclides and Eudoxus, Speusippus himself dropped the Ideal Theory.

\(^3\) The remark of the Pseudo-Ammonius that Chabrias and Timotheus prevented Aristotle from setting up a new school against Plato is absurd. Who could hinder him, if he chose? Chabrias, moreover, died in 358 B.C.; and Timotheus was banished from Athens for life in the following year, being then a very old man.
If, then, Aristotle was connected with Plato, as one of his school, from his eighteenth to his thirty-seventh year, it follows that we cannot well over-estimate the influence of such a relation upon his course of thought. The effect of that education on Aristotle's philosophic system discloses itself at every point. The grateful scholar has himself commemorated the moral greatness and lofty principles of the man 'whom the base have not even the right to praise.' But the reverence for the master would obviously not prevent Aristotle from turning his attention at the same time to all other sources which might carry him onward and help to satisfy his insatiable thirst for knowledge. We may safely assume that he did in fact employ his long years of preparation at Athens in busy acquirement of his marvellous learning, and also that he took a keen interest in researches in natural philosophy, though Plato always treated it as of secondary importance. It is also possible that even while he was still a member of Plato's circle he may himself have lectured, without thereby breaking off his relations with Plato or setting himself up against him as the leader of a competing school. We hear, for instance, that Aristotle taught Rhetoric in opposition to Isocrates; but we know that the great 

1 See the lines on p.12 supra.
2 Strabo (xiii. 1, 57, p. 610) says of Hermias that he heard at Athens both Plato and Aristotle.
3 Cic. De Orat. iii. 35, 141; Aristoteles, cum florere Isocratem nobilitate discipulorum videret, ... mutavit repente totam formam prope disciplinæ suæ [which sounds as if Aristotle had even then a school of his own, though
orator's relations with Plato were no longer good and that he attacked the philosophers. We have distinct indications also which lead us to assign to this same period the commencement of Aristotle's activity as a writer; and the fact that in the writings of this time he imitated his master, both in matter and form, shows clearly how completely he took on the impress of Plato's spirit and made the Platonic methods his own. In time, of course, and no doubt even before he left Athens, Aristotle acquired as a writer a more independent position; and it is manifest that he had in reality outgrown the position of one of Plato's pupils, long before that relation came visibly to an end by the death of the master.


2 See for proof infra. Of the Aristotelian writings known to us the greater part of the Dialogues and some of the rhetorical
That event opens a new chapter of Aristotle's life. So long as Plato led the Academy, Aristotle would not leave it. When Speusippus took his place, Aristotle had nothing to keep him in Athens; since he does not seem to have at first contemplated the foundation of a philosophical school of his own, for which Athens would naturally have been the fittest place. Therefore he accepted, with Xenocrates, an invitation from Hermias, the lord of Atarneus and Assos, who had himself at one time belonged to Plato's school. The prince was the intimate friend of both, and they remained three years with him. Thereafter Aristotle went to Mytilene. This, Strabo says, was for his own safety, because Hermias had fallen into the power of the Persians by treachery; it is probable, however, that Aristotle had left before that event. After the death

texts—perhaps the Συγγερής Τεχνών—seem to belong to the first Athenian period.  

1 This choice has caused surprise, but wrongly. It is possible that Plato had a greater personal liking for Speusippus than for Aristotle, or expected from him a more orthodox continuation of his teaching. Speusippus was a much older man, was Plato's nephew, had been brought up by him, had followed him faithfully for a long period of years, and was also the legal heir of Plato's garden near the Academy. Besides, we do not know whether Plato did himself bequeath the succession or not.  


3 Strabo, xiii. 1, 57, p. 610, Apollodorus. ap. Diog. 9, and Dionys. Ep. ad Amm. i. 5, who agree that Aristotle went to Hermias after Plato's death. The opposite would not follow from the charge cited from Eubulides on p. 10, n. 1, supra, even if that were true. Strabo names Assos as the place where Aristotle lived during this period.  

4 Cf. p. 17, n. 2, supra. Aristotle's enemies (apud Diog. 3, Anon. Menag., and Suidas, 'Ap.), suggest that this friendship was an immoral one, but this is impossible; Boeckh, ibid. 137.  

5 Apollodorus, Strabo, Dionysius, etc., ut supra.  

6 Ol. 108. 4 = 345-4 B.C., in the archonship of Eubulus: see Apollod. and Dionys. ibid.  

7 Boeckh, ibid. 142, refuting Strabo, has shown this to be probable, though not certain.
of Hermias the philosopher married 1 Pythias, who was either the sister or niece of his friend; 2 and of his last-
ing affection for them both he left more than one memorial. 3

1 According to Aristocles (see next note) citing a Letter to Antipater: τεθνεῶτος γὰρ Ἑρμιᾶν δίὰ τὴν πρὸς ἑκείνον εὐνοιαν ἐγγέμεν αὐτὴν, ἄλλως μὲν σώφρονα καὶ ἀγαθὴν οὐσαν, ἀνυχοῦναν μέντοι δίὰ τὰς καταλαβόνας συμφοράς τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτῆς. Strabo (ut supra) says Hermias married her to Aristotle in his lifetime, which is negativised by the Letter, if genuine. Aristoc. (ibid. 4, 8) says that Aristotle was accused in his lifetime of having flattered her brother to win Pythias, and also that Lyco, the Pythagorean, told a foolish story of Aristotle sacrificing to her after her death as Demeter. Diog. (v. 4) caps this by placing the sacrifice immediately after his marriage. Lucian (Enn. c. 9) talks of sacrificing to Hermias; cf. a like hint in Athen. xv. 697 a.

2 The Anon. Menag., Suidas, s. v. 'Ap. Ἑρμιᾶς, and Hesych. call her his daughter, the untrust-
worthy Aristippus (apud Diog. 3) his concubine. Both are dis-
proved by the fact that Hermias was a eunuch (for the state-
ments of Suid. Hesych. and Anon. Menag. as to this are irrecon-
cilable with Demetr. De Erac. 293). Aristocles ap. Eus. xv. 2, 8 sq. cites a letter of Aristotle to Antipater, and a book by Apelli-
con of Teos relating to Hermias and Aristotle, and says that Pythias was the sister and adopted daughter of Hermias. Strabo (xiii. 610) calls her niece, Demetr. of Magnesia (apud Diog. v. 3) daughter or niece. Cf. Boeckh, ibid. 140. Harpocra-

3 Diog. (6) says he had a mon-
ument (whose inscription he cites) erected to Hermias at Delphi. A contemporary lampoon on this by Theocritus of Chios (a witty rhetorician of the Isocratean school and local leader of anti-Macedonian politics) is noticed by Diog. 11, Aristocl. ut supra, and Plut. De Exil. 10, p. 603; cf. Müller, Hist. Gr. ii. 86, and supra, p. 15, n. 1. Aristotle also dedicated to Hermias the poem preserved in Diog. 7, and Athen. xv. 695. As to Pythias, the will directs that, as she wished, her remains should be laid beside his own; as no other burial-place is named, she was probably first buried at Athens, and died, there-
fore, after Ol. 111, 2, but not very long before Aristotle's death, since the Pythias who was then not marriageable was her daugh-
ter (cf. Aristocl., Suidas and the Anon. Menag.). After her death Aristotle 'married' (Ἐγγεμέν) a certain Herpyllis of Stagira, who bore him a son Nicomachus (Aristocl. cf. Diog. 11); and though their union was appa-
rently irregular (v. Timæus ap. Schol. in Hes.'E. k. 'H. v. 375; Diog. v. 1. ap. Müller, Fragm. Hist. Gr. i. 211; Athen. xiii. 589 c, citing Hermippus and call-
In the year 343 or 342 B.C. (Olymp. 109, 2), Aristotle accepted a call to the Macedonian Court to take charge of the education of the young Alexander, then thirteen years old, which before that had not been in the best hands. The invitation probably found him in Mytilene. We have no reliable testimony as to the special reasons which led Philip to think of Aristotle. Most unfortunately, we are almost entirely

ing her a ἱππορία; Suidas and the Anon. Menag.), yet he must have treated her as his wife, and his will speaks of her with honour, provides for her, and begs his friends ἐπιμελεῖόνθα... μνησθέντας ἐμοῦ, καὶ Ἐρυθλίδος, ὥστε σπουδάσα περὶ ἐμὲ ἐγένετο, τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ ἐὰν βούληται ἄλλα λαμβάνειν, ὅπως μὴ ἀνάξιον ἡμῶν δοθῇ (Diog. 13).—As to Aristotle's daughter we know from Sext. Math. (i. 258), the Anon. Menag. and Suidas s.v. 'Αρ., that after Nicanor she had two husbands, Procles of Sparta, and Metrodorus the physician; by the former she had two sons who were scholars under Theophrastus, by the latter a son, Aristoteles, who was commended (being then probably young) by Theophrastus to his friends in his will. Nicomachus was brought up by Theophrastus, but died in youth (μειρακλίσκος) in battle (Aristocl. ap. Eus. xv. 2, 10; Diog. v. 29; Suidas s. v. Θεόφρ. and Νικόμ., confirmed by the terms of Theophrastus' will, apud Diog. v. 51). The six books of Ethicus and the work on his father's Physics, ascribed to him by Suidas, are therefore very doubtful.

1 This date is given by Apol. ap. Diog. 10, and Dionys. ut supra. The Schol. in Arist. b, 47, says Aristotle was at Alexander's Court at Plato's death, but this is obviously wrong.


3 Diog. says fifteen, which must be an oversight, for Apollodorus cannot be wrong in such a date (cf. Stahr, p. 85).

4 Plut. Alex. c. v.; Quintil. i. 1, 9.

5 Stahr (p. 84, 105, A. 2) is not averse to the view that Aristotle first went back from Mytilene to Athens, but none of our biographers know anything of it. On the contrary, Dionys., ut supra, expressly says he went from Mytilene to Philip. Aristotle in a fragment of a letter ap. Demetr. De Eloc. 29, 154, says: ἐγὼ ἐκ μὲν Ἀθηνῶν ἐις Ἐπαφείρα ἠλθὼν διὰ τὸν βασιλέα τὸν μέγαν ἐκ δὲ Ἐπαφείρων εἰς Ἀθηνᾶς διὰ τὸν χειμώνα τὸν μέγαν, but this jocular expression, even if the letter is genuine, proves nothing, as it is clearly meant, not as an exact historical statement, but as a rhetorical antithesis between the termini of his journeys, leaving out the intermediate points.

6 According to a well-known story, Philip had told Aristotle,
without information as to the kind of education he gave the young and ambitious prince, and the influence he had upon him. But we should be forced to assume that before Alexander's birth, that he hoped he would make a great man of him (r. the letter ap. GELL. ix. 3), but the letter is certainly spurious, for Philip could not have written in these extravagant terms to a young man of 27, who had had no chance to distinguish himself; and, again, if he had destined him to be his son's instructor from birth, he would have brought him to Macedonia before Ol. 109, 2. But the prince, who was deeply interested in science and art, and no doubt well informed of what was going on in Athens, may have taken notice of Aristotle after he had become one of the most distinguished of Plato's school, though little weight attaches to Cicero's statement to that effect (De Orat. iii. 35, 111). It is also possible that through his father, Aristotle had relations with the Macedonian court, and he may himself, as Stahr (p. 33) suggests, have been acquainted in his youth with Philip, who was the youngest son of Amyntas and about his own age.

1 There was a work, or perhaps a section of a larger work, 'On the Education of Alexander,' by the Macedonian historian Marsyas (Suid. s. v. Mapor.; cf. Müller, Script. Alex. M. 40, and Geier, Alex. Hist. Script. 320 sq.). Onesicritus had treated of it also in a chapter of his Memorabilia (Geier, ibid. 77; Diog. vi. 84). Yet the accounts we have of it are very scanty, and it is not certain that any are trustworthy. Plutarch (Alex. c. 7 sq.) praises Alexander's thirst for knowledge, his delight in books and learned conversation, and his passion for the poets and historians of his people. He assumes that he was instructed by Aristotle, not only in ethics and politics, but in the deeper secrets of his system, basing this on the well-known letter (q. v. ap. Gell. xx. 5, quoting Andronicus, and ap. Simp. Phys. 2 b), in which Alexander chides Aristotle for publishing his acaeoamic doctrines, and Aristotle replies that those who had not heard them would not understand them. Plutarch also connects Alexander's fancy for medicine, which he sometimes tried personally on his friends, with Aristotle's teaching. These are, however, more or less probable guesses, and what appears most important is least trustworthy, for the letters turn on the theory of an acaeoamic and esoteric teaching confined to a few, as to the incorrectness of which r. p. 112, inf. We hear of two books which Aristotle addressed to his pupil, Περὶ βασιλείας, and Ἱπποτάκης, d. q. r. p. 60, n. 1 inf. Plut. (Alex. 8) says Aristotle revised the text of the Iliad for Alexander. As fellow-pupils of Alexander are named Marsyas (Suid. Mapor.), Callisthenes (Justin. xii. 6; cf. Plut. Alex. 55; Diog. v. 4; Arrian. iv. 10; but vide Geier, Alex. Script. 192 sq.), and perhaps Cassander (Plut. Alex. 74). At
that influence was important and beneficial, even if we had less distinct testimony as to the respect of the great pupil for his teacher, and as to the love of learning which the philosopher imparted to the king.\textsuperscript{1} Alexander was not only the invincible conqueror, but also a far-seeing ruler, ripe beyond his years. He was ambitious to establish the supremacy, not of Grecian arms only, but also of the Hellenic culture. He withstood for years the greatest temptations to overweening pride to which any man could be exposed. In spite of his later errors, he still stands far above all other world-conquerors in nobility of spirit, in purity of morals, in love of humanity, and in personal culture. And for all this the world has in no small degree to thank the tutor who formed his apt intelligence by scientific training and fortified by sound principles his natural instinct for all that was great and noble.\textsuperscript{2} Aristotle himself appears to have made a kindly use of the influence which his position gave him, for we hear that he interceded with the king for individuals and even for whole cities.\textsuperscript{3}

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{Plut. Alex.}, 17.

\textsuperscript{2} That he did not act in practice on Aristotelian principles (\textit{Plut. Virt. Alex.}, i. 6, p. 329; cf. \textit{Stahr}, p. 99, 2; \textit{Droysen}, \textit{Gesch. d. Hellen.}, i. b, 12 sq.) proves nothing to the contrary.

\textsuperscript{3} \textit{Ps. Amm.}, 46, \textit{V. Marc.}, 4, \textit{Amm. lat.}, 13, \textit{Ælian, V. H.}, xii. 54.
Of the latter we are told that Stagira (whose refounda-
tion he procured from Philip\(^1\)), Eresus,\(^2\) and Athens,\(^3\) had at different times to thank him for his advocacy.

When Alexander, at the age of sixteen, was appointed Regent by his father,\(^4\) Aristotle's teaching must naturally have come to an end. It cannot afterwards have been resumed in any regular way, for in the immediately following years the precocious prince took a most active

\(^1\) So PLUT. Alex. c. 7, cf. ADR. COL. 33, 3, p. 1126, and DIO. CHRYS. OR. 2 fin. OR. 47, 224 R.

\(^2\) On the other hand, DIOG. 4, PS. AMM. 47, V. MARC. 4, AMM. LATIN. 13, PLIN. H. NAT. VII. 29, 109, ALIAN. V. II. I. 17, X. 54, VALER. MAX. V. 6, ascribe the restoration of Stagira to Alexander. Plutarch, however, seems on the whole better informed, and is confirmed by the expressions of Aristotle and Theophrastus themselves; cf. p. 25, n. 2, infra. PLUT. (ADR. COL. 32, 9) and DIOG. (4) say that Aristotle also framed laws for the restored city, which is hardly credible, DION (OR. 47) relates that he had to contend with great difficulties in the restoration, of which he complains in a letter, which may or may not be genuine. His work did not last long, for DION (IBID.) and STRABO (VII. FR. 35) describe Stagira as uninhabited: that it succeeded for the time is clear from p. 25, n. 2, & p. 37, n. 3 & 4.

\(^2\) A doubtful story in PS. AMM. p. 47, and in V. MARC. and AMM. LATIN. represents Aristotele as saving Eresus from destruction by Alexander.

\(^3\) V. MARC. 4 and AMM. LATIN. (13) refer to the service that Aristotle did the Athenians in his letter to Philip, and add that a monument was erected to him in consequence on the Acropolis. The story may be suspected of resting on a spurious letter; yet DIOG. (6) also says: φησὶ δὲ καὶ Ἐρεύσσου ἐν τοῖς βίοις, ὅτι πρεσβεύνετο αὐτῶν πρὸς Φίλιππον ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων σχολάρχης ἐγένετο τῇ ἑν Ἀκαδημίᾳ σχολής ἔνεσθαι ἐν Ἀθήναις καὶ θαυμάσιον ἀπ' ἄλλῳ τὴν σχολήν ἐλέσθαι περιπάτου τὸν ἐν Λυκινίῳ. This cannot be true as stated, for at Spenisippus' death, 339 B.C., Aristotle had long been Alexander's tutor, and at that date there could be no question of embassies to Macedonia. Stahr's theory (p. 67, 72) of an embassy in Aristotle's first residence at Athens is untenable. The story may relate to the two years between the battle of Cheronia and Philip's murder, when Aristotle, already influential at the Macedonian Court, might by his intercession have done some service to Athens which Hermippus could describe by some such term as πρεσβεύειν. The favour Alexander showed to the Athenians may have been partly due to Aristotle's influence (PLUT. Alex. c. 13, 16, 28, 60).

\(^4\) Col. 110. 1, = 340 B.C., the year of Philip's campaign against Byzantium. (DIOD. XVI. 77: PLUT. Alex. 9.)
part in his father's decisive campaigns: though that circumstance does not exclude the possibility of some continuance of their intellectual pursuits in the intervals of leisure.\(^1\) Aristotle seems at this time to have withdrawn to the city of his birth.\(^2\) At an earlier period he and his pupil had already left Pella.\(^3\) After Alexander ascended the throne, Aristotle must still have remained some time in the north. But with the beginning of the great war with Persia, the reasons that had bound him to Macedonia came to an end, and there was no longer anything to keep him away from that city, which offered at once the most congenial residence\(^4\) and the best field for his teaching work.\(^5\)

\(^{1}\) During this period Aristotle might or might not be called Alexander's tutor; which accounts probably for the different stories as to the length of his tutorship, given by Dionys. as eight years (his whole residence in Macedonia), and by Justin (xii. 7) as five years, which is itself too long.\(^2\) That the last period before his return to Athens was spent in Stagira, where his family house was (cf. p. 3, n. 2), is assumed in the fragment quoted p. 21, n. 5, the genuineness of which is not beyond doubt. He must have treated Stagira as his home, since in his will (Diog. 16) he orders the votive offering for Nicomachus to be erected there. His second wife was of Stagira (v. p. 20, n. 3), and Theophrastus owned land in the city (Diog. v. 52), with which he shows himself to be well acquainted. Cf. Hist. Plant. iii. 11, 1; iv. 16, 3.\(^3\) PLUT. (Alex. c. 7) says heand Alexander lived at the Nymph-aeum, near Mieza. Stahr (104) takes this to be near Stagira, but Geier (Alexander und Aristot. 33) shows it to be S.W. of Pella, in Emathia.\(^4\) The fragment quoted p. 21, n. 5, says it was the Thracian winter that drove him from Stagira, but this could scarcely be the chief reason.\(^5\) The Ps. Ammon. 47, says Aristotle was, after Speusippus' death, called to Athens by the Athenians, or, according to V. Marc. 5, by the Platonic school, the leadership of which he took over in common with Xenocrates (cf. p. 13, n. 3). The three recensions of this biography, however, contain at this point a chaos of fables. The Ps. Ammon. says Aristotle taught after this call in the Lyceum, had afterwards to fly to Chalcis, went thence again to Macedonia, accompanied Alexander on his Indian expedition, collected in his travels his 255 forms of government, returned after Alexander's
He returned to Athens in Olymp. 111. 2 (B.C. 335-4) thirteen years after Plato’s death. The time thus left for his work in that city was but twelve years, but what he accomplished in that short interval borders on the incredible. Even if we may assume that he had already in great part completed the preparatory work for his philosophy, and that the researches in natural philosophy and the historical collections which supplied the materials for his theoretic labours had perhaps been brought to some kind of conclusion before his return to Athens, it seems certain that almost all his systematic treatises belong entirely to this last period of his life.

dead to his native town, and died there twenty-three years after Plato. The Latin. Amnion. (11, 17) and the Vita Marciana (5, 8) send him with Alexander to Persia collecting his 255 polities, and returning home after the war, and after all this they make him start teaching in the Lyceum, fly to Chalcis and die there, twenty-three years after Plato. The collection of polities in Alexander’s campaigns is noticed also by AMMON. Categ. 5, b; DAVID, Schol. in An. 24, a, 34; Ps.-Porph. ibid. 9, b, 26; Anon. ad Porph. apud ROSE, Ar. pseud. 393. To seek any grains of truth in this confusion would be lost time.

1 APOLLOD. apud Diog. 10, and DIONYS. ut sup., both agree in naming Ol. 111, 2, but do not indicate whether Aristotle came in the first or second half of the year, i.e. end of 335 or spring of 334. For the latter it may be argued that the hostility of Athens to Alexander was only terminated and the Macedonian influence restored after the destruction of Thebes in the summer of 335, and that Alexander did not start on his march into Asia till the spring of 334. For the other view the calculation of Dionys. (see next note) may be quoted, but it is probable that this is merely his own deduction from the years given by Apollod.—Ol. 111, 2, for the arrival in Athens; Ol. 114, 3, for his death; therefore, Ol. 114, 2, for the flight to Chalcis.

2 DIONYS. ut supra: ἐκχώλαζεν ἐν Δυκείῳ χρόνον ἐτῶν διάδεκα τ' ἐν τριςκαιδεκάτῳ, μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτήν, ἐπὶ Κεφισο-δώρου ἀρχοντος, ἀπώρα πλ. Ἀχαλίδα νόσω τελευτᾷ. As Alexander died June 323, and Aristotle in autumn 322 (cf. p. 37), this reckoning will be exact if Aristotle came to Athens in the autumn of 335 and left in the autumn of 323. It would also coincide if Aristotle went to Athens in spring 334 and to Chalcis in summer 322, which, however, is otherwise unlikely, as is shown at p. 36, n. 1, infra.
Parallel with this comprehensive and strenuous labour as a writer went on his work as a teacher, since he now at last began to compete with his great master on a footing of equality as the founder of a new school. The open spaces of the Lyceum were the resort that he chose for his hearers. He was wont to converse with his scholars as he walked up and down in that gymnasium between the rows of trees; and from this custom his school derived the name of the 'Peripatetics.' For a more numerous audience, however, he would naturally have to adopt a different form of teaching. Therefore,

1 It was a gymnasium connected with a temple of Apollo Lykeios, and lay in one of the suburbs (cf. Suid, Harpocration, and Schol. in Aristoph. Pae. v. 352.

2 Hermippus ap. Diog. 2, etc.; Cic. Acad. i. 4, 17; Gell. N. A. xx. 5, 5; Diog. i. 17; Galen. H. phil. c. 3; Philop. in g. v. Schol. in Ar. ii. b, 23 (cf. in Categ. Schol. 35, a, 41 sq.; Ammon. in q. v. Porph. 25, 6; David, in Categ. 23, b, 42 sq., and p.13, n.3 supra); with David, Schol. in Ar. 20, b, 16; Simpl. in Categ. 1 fin. That this derivation is correct rather than the opposite view of Suidas (s. v. 'Ap. and Σωκράτης) and Hesych., which derives the name from the Περίπατος of the Lyceum as the meeting-place of the school is proved, first, by the form of the word, which can be derived only from the verb, and also by the fact that the word Περίπατος in the earliest times was not confined to the Aristotelians (v. p. 13, n. 3); though later it was so limited, and they were called οἱ ἐκ (or ἀπὸ) τοῦ περιπάτου (or οἱ ἐκ τῶν περιπάτων, Strabo, xiii. 1, 54), as the other schools were called οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας, or οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς στοάς (v. Sext. Pyrrh. iii. 181; Math. vii. 331, 369; xi. 45, etc.).

3 Gell. ut supra, says that Aristotle gave two kinds of instruction: the exoteric and the acroamatic. The former related to Rhetoric, and the latter to 'Philosophia remotionis' (= Metaphysics) with Physics and Dialectic. The acroamatic instruction, which was intended only for those who were tried and well prepared, occupied the morning; the exoteric lectures, to which the public was admitted, the afternoon (cf. Quintil. iii. 1, 14, pomeridianis scholis Ar. praeipere artem oratoriam cepit). The former was called the ἐκ-θινόν, the latter the δειλίνος περιπατός: utroque enim tempore ambulans disserebat. It is impossible, however, to address a large audience walking; therefore
as had already happened more or less with Plato, the Socratic fashion of the dialogue had to give place to that of a continuous lecture, whenever he was dealing either with a large number of scholars or with subjects in which there was something essentially new in form and matter to be explained or some inquiry to be carried through with scientific accuracy of detail.¹ On the other hand, wherever these difficulties did not arise, he did no doubt retain the habit of philosophic dialogue with his friends as an alternative method.² In addition to his philosophical teaching he appears also to have revived his earlier school of Rhetoric,³ in connection with which there were exercises in oratory.⁴ It is this, and not

¹ Diog. (3) is doubtless more correct, ἐπειδὴ δὲ πλεῖον ἐγένετο ἤδη καὶ ἐκάθισεν.

² This appears partly from the nature of the case, since Aristotle had among his hearers ripe and notable men like Theophrastus; partly from the fact that at least in earlier years he used the form of dialogue even in his writings; partly from the fashion of peripatetic teaching, which supposes conversation: cf. Diog. iv. 10, speaking of Polemo: ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ καθήκων ἐλεγε πρὸς τὰς θεσεῖς, φασὶ, περιπατῶν δὲ ἐπε-χείρει. The continuous lecture on a definite theme is expressed by πρὸς θέσιν λέγειν: a more cursory treatment by ἐπιχείρειν (cf. following notes).

³ Diog. (3) is not a good witness, since what he appears to state of Aristotle's later time seems to be taken from a source relating to the earlier period of contest with Isocrates (cf. p. 17, n. 3). It is probable, however, from Aristotle's Rhetoric itself that in the oral philosophic teaching rhetoric was not forgotten, and GELL., ut supra, speaks expressly of rhetorical teaching in the Lyceum.

⁴ Diog. 3: καὶ πρὸς θέσιν συν-εγχώματο τοὺς μαθητὰς ἦμα καὶ ἔπτωχῶς ἐπασκόν, the θέσις being a general topic, not a particular question (cf. Cic. Top. 21, 79, Επ. ad Att. ix. 4; QUINTIL. iii. 5. 5. x. 5. 11; and FREI, Quaest.
any popular lectures addressed to large audiences, that
is referred to in the story that he received in the morn-
ing a small and select circle only and in the afternoon
everyone freely. At the same time we must also
think of the Aristotelian school as a society of friends
having on many sides a common life. For friendship its
founder, bred in the intimacy of Plato, always showed
by word and act a tender and beautiful enthusiasm; and
we hear accordingly that, following the fashion of the
Academy, he was wont to gather his scholars about
him at common meals and that he introduced a plan of
definite regulations for these meetings and for the whole
of their common life.

It is said that the aid and appliances which Aristotle
needed for his far-reaching labours were provided for
him by the favour of the two Macedonian rulers, and
especially by the princely generosity of Alexander.

Prot. 150). Cic. Orat. 14, 46: In hac Ar. adolescentes, non ad
philosophorum morem tenuiter
disserrndi, sed ad copiam rheto-
rum in utramque partem, ut
ornatius et uberius dixi posset,
exercuit. Neither says whether
the earlier or the later school of
rhetoric is meant: probably both;
cf. GELL. ibid. ἕκτερυκα διε-
βαντωρ, que ad rhetoricas medi-
tationes facultatemque argutia-
rum civiliumque rerum notitant
conducant...illas vero exoteri-
cas auditiones exercitiumque di-
cendi.

1 Cf. p. 27, n. 3, and GELL.
ibid.

2 Athen. (i. 3, v. 186 b, cf.
186 e) says he wrote for their
common meals νόμοι συμπατικοί,
which may refer, however, to the
work mentioned p. 99, n. 1, infra;
and Diog. (4) preserves a hint of
his arrangement for the internal
government of the school by offi-
cers changing every ten days. Cf.
Zeller, Ph. d. Gr. 1. 839, n. 1.

3 According to Aelian (V. II.
iv. 19), Philip gave him ample
means to pursue his investiga-
tions, πλούτων ἀνενδητ, especially
in Natural History; Athen. (ix.
398) speaks of Alexander de-
voting 800 talents to that work;
and Plin. (H. Nat. viii. 16, 44)
says Alex. placed under his
orders all the hunters, fishers,
and fowlers of the kingdom, and
all overseers of the royal forests,
ponds, and live stock, numbering
many thousands. Pliny's story,
However exaggerated the stories of the ancient writers on this subject may seem to be, and however wealthy we may fairly suppose Aristotle himself to have been by inheritance, it is yet clear that the vast scope of his researches forces us to infer that he possessed advantages which he probably could not have commanded but for such kingly assistance. The deep and wide acquaintance with the writings of his people which his own works disclose to us could hardly be possible without the possession of books; and on this head we are expressly told that he was the first who accumulated a great library. Such works, again, as the Politeiai and the collection of foreign laws could not be produced without laborious and no doubt costly investigations. The books on Natural History especially and the kindred treatises presuppose researches such as no one could have brought to completion unless he had at his disposal or could set in action something more than the resources of a private individual. It was therefore a happy circumstance that the man whose grasp of mind and rare powers of ob-

however, is disproved (v. BRANDIS, p. 117 sq., and HUMBOLDT, Kosm. ii. 191, 427) by the fact that with a few exceptions, such as elephants, Aristotle shows no knowledge of things which would be discovered in Alexander's expedition.  

1 His will proves nothing as to his earlier years, but apart from the calumnies of his opponents, as to his pride and love of display, all we know of his way of life, his choice of residence, his marriage, and the means necessary for his extensive studies, implies that he was not hampered by poverty. As to the worthlessness of the tales of Epicurus and Timaeus, cf. p. 9, n. 1 and 3.  

2 Besides the extant works, we know of others concerning Rhetoric, Poetry, and the History of Philosophy.  

3 STRABO, xiii. 1, 54, p. 608: ἀν ομνικὸν συμμετεχωμεν βιβλία καὶ διδάξας τοὺς ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ βασιλεῖς βιβλιοθήκης σύνταξιν. Cf. ATHEN. i. 3, a. GELL. (iii. 17, 3) says Aristotle paid three Attic talents for the works of Speusippus.
servation marked him as the ablest founder of empirical science and of systematic learning, should have been so favoured by fortune that the needful equipment for his great calling was not denied him.

In the last years of Aristotle's life the good relations between him and his great pupil were disturbed. The philosopher may well have taken offence at many of the things which Alexander did in the intoxication of success, at many measures which he found necessary for the consolidation of his conquests, but which were repugnant to the Hellenic traditions and to the self-respect of independent Greeks, and at the harsh and passionate excess into which the young conqueror was betrayed when he was surrounded by flatterers, embittered by personal opposition and made suspicious by treachery. There would be no lack of tale-bearers to carry gossip true and false to the king, for the learned and philosophic members of his Court were plotting in their personal jealousies to oust each other, and even the courtiers and generals doubtless sought to use the scientific proclivities of the prince as points in the game of their ambitions. As the king's relations with Antipater grew more unfriendly, it seems he was prejudiced against Aristotle also, because of the close relations between the philosopher and the general. But the severest blow to the

1 Cf. p. 23, n. 1, supra. The exchange of letters which is cited as a proof of their friendship is unreliable, because we do not know how much is genuine.
2 Plutarch (cf. p. 23, n. 2, supra) says Aristotle was dissatisfied with Alexander's whole political idea of the fusion of the Greeks and Orientals.
3 For examples cf. Plut. Alex. c. 52, 53, Arrian, iv. 9-11.
4 Cf. Plut. ibid. 74 (though that is after the death of Callisthenes); as to Antipater, cf. Plut. Alex. 39, 49; Arrian, vii. 12; Curt. x. 31; Diodor. xvii 118.
5 This friendship is proved from the fact that Antipater's
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The stiff-necked opposition of that philosopher to the new Oriental fashions of the Court; the bitter and reckless tone of his diatribes against them; the pointed way in which he vaunted his independence and drew upon himself the eyes of all the malcontents of the army; the importance he assumed to himself as Alexander's historian, and the arrogant airs he gave himself accordingly, had long caused the king to look on him with anger and mistrust. This made it the easier for his enemies to persuade the king of his complicity in the conspiracy of the nobles which had placed Alexander's life in the gravest danger, and Callisthenes lost his life 2 with the conspirators, though he was doubtless innocent of their treacherous design. In the heat of his anger the king's suspicions turned against Aristotle 3 also, for he had brought up Callisthenes as a pupil of Aristotle (PLUT. Alex. 71), by the letters of Aristotle to Antipater (Aristoc. apud Eus. Pr. Er. xv. 2, 9; Dio. 27; Demetr. Eluc. 225; Elian, V. H. xiv. 1), and especially by the fact that Antipater is named as chief executor in Aristotle's will, apud Dio. 11. The false story of his complicity in Alexander's death is based on this circumstance (c. infra).

1 As to Callisthenes, see PLUT. Alex. 53-55; Stro. rep. 20, 6. p. 1043, Qu. concr. 1. 6. p. 623; Arrian, iv. 10-14; Curt. viii. 18 sq.; Chares apud Athen. x. 434 d; Theophrast. ap. Cic. Tusc. iii. 10, 21; Seneca, Nat. Qu. vi. 23, 2; and of modern writers, Stahr, Arist. i. 121 sq.; Droysen, Gesch. Alex. ii. 88 sq.; Grote, Hist. of Greece, xii. 290 sq., etc.

2 It is highly improbable he was an accomplice, though we cannot say how far he was to blame for exciting by reckless talk his younger friends.

3 Alex. writes to Antipater (PLUT. Alex. 55): οἱ μὲν πάντες ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων κατελευθηκαντὶ τῶν δὲ σοφιστὴν [Callisth.] ἐγὼ κολάσα τῳ τῶν ἐκπεμψαντας αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ὑποδεχομένους ταῖς πόλεις τῶν ἐμοὶ ἐπιβουλεύσατας. According to Chares (ap. PLUT. ibid.), he had at first intended to try Callisthenes in Aristotle's pres-
sthenes as a kinsman and had afterwards recommended him to the King, though, no doubt, he also warned the reckless young man against imprudence. The suspicion however led to nothing worse than a notable coolness in his relations with Alexander. A story to the effect that Aristotle was concerned with Antipater in the alleged poisoning of Alexander was connected with the death of Callisthenes, but the completely groundless nature of the charge has long ago been proved. So far indeed was Aristotle from having any cause to desire his princely pupil’s death that that event in reality brought serious dangers upon himself.

ence. The statement of Dio. Chrys. (Or. 64, p. 338) that Alexander meant to kill Aristotle and Antipater is merely a rhetorical exaggeration.

1 Plut. ibid.; Arrian, iv. 10, 1; Dio. 4; Suid. Ἀλκαλισθ. 2 Dio. ibid.; Valer. Max. vii. 2; Plut. Alex. 54.

3 Plutarch says this expressly (cf. p. 23, n. 1, supra), and the story in Dio. 10, that Alexander, to mortify his teacher, took Anaximenes of Lampsacus and Xenocrates into favour, would not prove the contrary even if it were more credible; but it is unworthy of both Alexander and Aristotle. Plutarch, ibid., on the contrary, sees in the king’s kindliness to Xenocrates, a consequence of Aristotle’s teaching. Philoponus (apud Arist. Meteorol. ed. Ideler, i. 142) cites a reputed letter of Alexander to Aristotle from India, which proves nothing.

4 The earliest witness to this story is a certain Hagnothemis (apud Plut. Alex. 77) who is said to have heard it from King Antigonus I. Arrian (vii. 27) and Pliny (H. Nat. xxx. 16) mention it, but, like Plutarch, treat it as an invention. Xiphilinus (lxxvii. 7, p. 1293) says the Emperor Caracalla deprived the Peripatetics in Alexandria of their privileges on account of the alleged guilt of Aristotle.

5 The disproof of the charge (cf. Staehr, Ar. i. 136 sq. and Droysen, Gesch. d. Hellen. i. 705 sq.) rests, apart from its moral impossibility, on these grounds: (a) Plut. ibid. shows expressly that the suspicion of poisoning first arose six years after Alexander’s death, when it afforded the passionate Olympias a welcome pretext to slake her hatred against Antipater’s family, and to excite public opinion against Cassander who was said to have administered the poison; (b) equal suspicion attaches to the testimony of Antigonus, which must belong to the time when he was at enmity with Cassander, though we do not know whether he made any charge against
For the unexpected news of the sudden death of the dreaded conqueror called out in Athens a wild excitement against the Macedonian rule, which, as soon as the news was fully confirmed, broke into open war. Athens put herself at the head of all who were willing to fight for the freedom of Greece, and before the Macedonian regent Antipater was fully prepared, he found himself beset by superior forces, which he only succeeded in mastering after a long and risky struggle in the Lamian War. From the first this movement threatened, as was to be expected, the prominent members of the Macedonian party. Aristotle; (c) it is significant that the bitterest opponents of Aristotle, to whom no calumny is amiss, such as Epicurus, Timaeus, Demochares, Lyco, etc., know nothing of the charge; (d) almost all who speak of Alexander's poisoning preserve the story (which was clearly connected with the first publication of the rumour and was well fitted to catch the popular fancy) that it was accomplished by water from the Nonacrian spring—i.e., the Styx—a proof that we are not dealing with history; (e) the accounts Arrian and Plutarch give us from the court chronicles as to the course of Alexander's illness do not in any way suggest poison; (f) if Aristotle's motive was the fate of Callisthenes, that could hardly have caused in him a hatred that would lead six years later to murder, nor could he, after so long a time, have had any fear as to his own safety; (g) it is probable that Aristotle's own adopted son was in Alexander's service, and intrusted with important missions (cf. p. 5, n. 7, supra); (h) finally, the rumour of Alexander's poisoning is refuted by the movement of events afterwards. Alexander's death was the signal for an outbreak in Greece, which in the Lamian war brought Antipater himself to great straits. Anyone acquainted with the politics of the day would clearly foresee such a result. If Antipater were not as much taken by surprise as everyone else was by the king's death, he would have made preparations either to stem or to head the rising. If he had been known as the author of that which the Greeks acclaimed as the beginning of freedom, they would not have begun their revolt by attacking him; and if any part in it had been attributed to Aristotle, he would not have had to fly from Athens.

1 For details, see Droysen, Gesch. d. Hellen. i. 59 sq.
may not have played a political rôle; ¹ but, in any case, his relation as tutor to Alexander and his friendship with Antipater were so well known, his own name was so famous, and his personal enemies, no doubt, so many, that he could not escape attack. The charge brought against him of offences against the established religion—in itself baseless enough—must have been simply a pretext for wreaking political and personal vengeance.² But Aristotle found it best to retire before the rising storm.³ He escaped to Chalcis in Eu-

¹ According to Aristocl. ap. Eus. Pr. Ec. xv. 2, 3, Demochares (doubtless Demosthenes’ nephew, de quo cf. Cic. Brut. 83, 286; De Orat. ii. 23, 95; Seneca, De Ira, iii. 23, 2; Plut. Demosth. 30; Vit. X Orat. viii. 53, p. 847, and Suidas) had alleged that letters of Aristotle’s had been found which were hostile to Athens; that he had betrayed Stagira to the Macedonians, and that after the destruction of Olynthus he had betrayed to Philip the richest citizens of that city. As the last two are impossible, the first is probably untrue, as Aristocles himself recognised.

² The charge was brought by Demophilus on the instigation of the Hierophant Eurymedon, related to the deification of Hermias, and alleged as proofs the poem noticed (p. 20, n. 3), and the alleged sacrifice (p. 20, n. 1): cf. Athen. xv. 696 a, 697 a; Diog. 5; Anon. Menag., Suidas, and Hesych. Origen (c. Cels. i. 65) suggests, out of his own fancy, τινα δούματα τῆς φιλοσοφίας αὐτοῦ & ενόμισαν εἶναι ἀσεβῆ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. The weakness of the charge proves that it was only a blind, although perhaps the Hierophant may have hated the philosopher’s liberalism. An honest charge of atheism in the Athens of that day was hardly possible, although the mass of the people could still be moved by it. Grote (18 sq.) shows how in this connection the Athenians would be impressed by the story that Aristotle had given heroic honours to an eunuch who was first a slave and then a tyrant. Grote also notices (p. 14) how mortifying the mission of Aristotle’s adopted son was for Hellenic pride (c. p. 5, n. 7). The further suggestion of Grote (p. 37. cf. Grant, p. 24) that the enmity of the school of Isocrates had to do with the prosecution of Aristotle may be true, but the fact that Demophilus was son of Ephorus, and that the latter, and perhaps both, belonged to that school is not sufficient proof. We have still less ground to accuse the Academic school of having any share in it.

³ His remarks that ‘he would not give the Athenians a second chance of sinning against philosophy,’ and that ‘Athens was the
bœa,\(^1\) where he had a country house, to which he had sometimes retired before,\(^2\) and his enemies could only inflict on him unimportant insults.\(^3\) To Theophrastus\(^4\) he gave over his teaching work at the Lyceum, as a substitute during his absence. But it was not given

place spoken of by Homer where ὃγχυν ἐπ᾽ ὃγχυν γηρᾶσκει, σύκον δ᾽ ἐπὶ σύκῳ, in allusion to the sycophants, are quoted by Dio\(\text{I}^{\text{g}}\)\(\text{a}^{\text{r}}\) 9; \(\text{E}^{\text{i}}\text{lian}, \text{iii.} 36; \text{Origen, ut supra; Eustath. in Odys. H} 120, p. 1573; \text{A}^{\text{m}o}n\text{. p.} 48; \text{V. Marc.} 8; \text{A}^{\text{m}o}n\text{. Latin.} 17, the last mentioned placing them in a letter to Antipater. Favorinus, \(\text{a}^{\text{p}u} \text{Diog.} 9,\) says the Homeric line occurred in a written Apologia, which is known also to the \(\text{A}^{\text{m}o}n\text{. Mena}^{\text{y}}.\) and to \text{A}^{\text{th}e}n\text{e}n. x\(v\). 697 a, both of whom doubt its genuineness. One does not see why Aristotle, once in safety, should write a useless defence. It was no doubt a rhetorical exercise in imitation of the Socratic Apologia (cf. the fragment given by Athenaeus with Plat. Apol. 26 b sq.)

\(^1\) Apollodorus, \(\text{a}^{\text{p}u} \text{Diog.} 10\) is made to say that this was in \text{Ol.} 114, 3, i.e. in the latter half of 322 B.C. This is improbable, for Strabo (\(x\). 1, 11) and Heraclides \(\text{a}^{\text{p}u}\) Diog. \(x\). 1 speak as if he lived a considerable time in Chalcis; and besides it is more likely that the attack on Aristotle happened in the first uprising against the Macedonian party than that it was begun after Antipater’s decisive victories in Thessaly, and that Aristotle fled in good time instead of waiting through the whole of the Lamian war. Probably, therefore, he left Athens late in the summer of 323, and Apollodorus only said what we find in Dionys. Ep. ad \(\text{A}^{\text{m}o}n\text{.} i\). 5, that Aristotle died in \text{Ol.} 114, 3, having fled to Chalcis. It is not possible to assume (with Sta\(\text{i}^{\text{h}}\)\(\text{r}, i\). 147) an earlier emigration of Aristotle to Chalcis, on the authority of the statement of Heraclides that Aristotle was living in Chalcis when Epicurus came to Athens, τελευτησαντος δ’ Ἀλεξάνδρου . . . μετελθείν ἰ[\(\text{’}^{\text{E}^{\text{i}}\text{πικουρον} \text{e}^{\text{i}}\text{s} \text{K}^{\text{o}l}^{\text{o}}\text{φῶνa}\). For Aristotle’s flight was due only to the danger that threatened him at Athens, which arose only on Alexander’s unexpected death; and he cannot therefore have gone to Chalcis before the news reached Athens, in the middle of 323. Either Heraclides or Diogenes must be inexact. The Pseudo-Ammonius (cf. p. 25, n. 5 supra) and David (\text{Schol. in Ar.} 26 b. 26) assign impossible dates.

\(^2\) Cf. Strabo, \(x\). 1, 11, p. 448.

\(^3\) In a fragment of a letter to Antipater probably of this time (\(\text{a}^{\text{p}u} \text{Ellian}, \text{V.} \text{H.} \text{xiv.} 1, \) cf. p. 44, n. 4 infra) Aristotle makes mention τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς ψηφισθέντων μοι καὶ ἀν ἀφῆμαι νῦν. What this was—whether a monument, procœdia, or other honorary privilege—we do not know. If it was given him by Athens, it may be connected with the services noticed p. 24, n. 3, supra.

\(^4\) Diog. v. 36 and following lines, Suid. s. v. Θεόφρ.
to Aristotle to enjoy his retirement long. In the following year, that is, in the summer of 322 B.C., he succumbed to a disease from which he had long suffered. So it chanced that of his two great contemporaries he survived Alexander by less than a year, and predeceased Demosthenes only by a short interval. His body is said to have been taken to Stagira. His last will is preserved to us, and it is a monument of his

1 Apollod. ap. Diog. 10, v. Marc. 3, Ammon. Latin. 12, and Dion. Ep. ad Amm. i. 5, give Ol. 114, 3 as the year. It was about the time of Demosthenes’ death (Apollod. ibid.), but a little earlier (Gell. N. A. xvi. 21, 35). As that date is given by PLUT. (Dem. 30) as the 16th of Pyanepson Ol. 114, 3 = Oct. 14, 322, Aristotle must have died between July and Sept. of that year.

2 That he died by illness is stated by Apollod. and Dionys. ut supra; cf. Gell. xiii. 5, 1. Censorin. (Di. Nat. 14, 16) adds: hune ferunt naturalem stomachci infirmitatem crerbasque morbidi corporis offensiones adeo virtute animi diu sustentassese, ut magis mirum sit ad annos sexaginta tres eum vitam protulisse, quam ultra non pertulisse. The statement of Eumelus ap. Diog. 6 (de quo v. p. 2, n. 2, p. 6, n. 3 supra) followed by the Anon. Menag. and Suidas, that he poisoned himself with hemlock, or (as Hesych. has it) that he was condemned to drink hemlock, is probably a confusion with the death of Demosthenes or of Socrates. It cannot be historic, because the best evidence is against it, because it is contrary to Aristotle’s own principles (Eth. N. ii. 11, 1116 a, 12, v. 15 init., ix. 4, 1166 b, 11), and because it does not fit the circumstances, for in Euboea he was in no danger. The tale (found only in Aelianus Cretensis, p. 507 D) that he threw himself into the Euripus because he could not discover the causes of his visions, and the variant of the same in Justin. cohort. 36, Greg. Naz. Or. iv. 112, or Procop. De Bello Goth. iv. 579, that his fruitless meditations on a vision wore him out with worry and fatigue, need no refutation, though Bayle (art. Aristotle, n. Z) thinks the latter a fitting end; cf. Stair, i. 155.

3 Related only by V. Marc. 4 and Ammon. Latin. 13, and with the addition that an altar was built on his grave and the council meetings held there; and that a festival (Ἀριστοτέλεια) was instituted and a month named after him. The evidence is not good; but as he was not only the most illustrious citizen but also the re-founder of Stagira (cf. Dio. Or. 47, 224, who says that Aristotle alone had the fortune to be τὴν παρθένον οἰκιστὴν) the story is not wholly improbable.

4 Apud Diog. 11 sq; probably (cf. v. 64) taken, like the wills of Theophrastus, Strato, and Lyco, from Aristo, a noted
faithful attachment and careful provision for all who were connected with him, including his slaves. Theophrastus (circ. 200-250 (lege 'Αρίστων ὁ Κέιος), who will be mentioned in his place. Hermippus (circ. 200-220) cited the same record (v. Athen. xiii. 589 c.), which according to V. Marc. 8, and Ammon. Latin. 17 was also quoted by Andronicus and Ptolemacus for the catalogues of Aristotle's writings, de q. infra. V. Marc. says Aristotle left a διαθήκη ... ἡ φέρεται παρά τε Ἀν-
δρωνίκῳ καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ μετὰ [τῶν] πνείκων [ο ὁ] πάνω αὑτοῦ συγγραμμάτων (Ammon. Latin. 'cum volumi-
nibus suorum tractatum'; cf. Heitz, Verl. Schr. d. Ar. 31). The external evidence for the will is therefore good; the more because it is likely that the wills of Aristotle and his followers would be carefully preserved by the Peripatetic school (for which those of Theophr., Strato, and Lyco were a kind of foundation charter), and because Aristotle was himself the immediate successor of Lyco. The document has also all internal signs of genuineness, and the objections which have been urged against it (cf. Grant, 26) prove little. It is objected that it mentions neither a house in Athens nor a library, both of which Aristotle possessed. A forger, however, would never have omitted the latter, which was the thing of chief interest for the school; but it is very possible that Aristotle had made arrangements about it, which did not require to be re-
peated in the extant will, that being rather a set of directions to friends than, like the three others quoted, a regular disposi-
tion of his whole property. Grant thinks it unlikely that Pythias was not yet marriageable or that Nicomachus was a lad; but this is not so. Why may not Ari-
stotle's wife Pythias, perhaps after the death of older children, have borne him a daughter ten years after their marriage? or why might Aristotle not have by a second wife, for whose remar-
riage he provides, a son who would be a lad when his father was sixty-three? Besides, we know from other sources that the education of Nicomachus was taken over by Theophrastus. The naming of Antipater arouses in Grant a suspicion that the forger inserted him as a historic name; but it is clearly natural that Aristotle might appoint him in order to place the carrying out of his directions for the benefit of those depending on him under the protection of his powerful friend. And this is all that is meant when he is named first in the honorary position of ἐπίτροπος πάντων, whereas the carrying out of the business provisions of the will is left to Theophrastus and the other ἐπι-
μεληταί. Objection is taken to the provisions for four statues of animals which Aristotle is said to have vowed to Zeus Soter and Athene the Preserver, for Nicanor's safety (Diog. 16), as being an imitation of the Socratic votive offering for Aselepios (Plat. Phed. 118, A). This, however, is far-fetched and the point is unimportant. Little as
Aristotle believed in vows or in the mythic personalities of Zeus and Athene, yet it is quite natural that he should erect a monument of his love for his adopted son, Stagira (to which the statues were to be sent), in a fashion which accorded with Greek custom. He himself in Ethics iv. 5 reckons votive monuments and offerings among the forms in which the virtue of μεγαλοπρέπεια shows itself.

1 The pretty story as to the way in which he expressed his choice is well known (GELL. N. A. xiii. 5, where 'Eudemus' must be substituted for 'Menedemus'). It is quite credible, and not unlike Aristotle.

2 STRABO, xiii. 1, 54, p. 608; PLUT. Sulla, c. 26; ATHEN. i. 3, a, with which cf. DIOG. v. 52.

3 DIOG. 2 calls him ἵλικας and μικρόματος, and an abusive epigram in the Anthology (iii. 167, Jac.), which deserves no weight, σμικρός, φαλακρός, and προγόνωστο. We hear of a lip in pronouncing R, to which the word τραύλος (ap. DIOG. 2, ANON. MENAG., SUID., PLUT. Aud. Poet. 8, p. 26, and Adulat. 9, p. 53) refers. Pausanias (vi. 4, 5) mentions a statue said to be of Aristotle; asto others, v. STAHR, i. 161 sq, and as to those extant, especially the life-size sitting statue in the Palazzo Spada at Rome, v. SCHUSTER, Erhalt. Portr. d. griech. Philos. Leipz. 1876, p. 16, where they are photographed. The sitting statue has a lean face, earnest and thoughtful, showing the lines of severe mental labour, and with a delicate, clear-cut profile. It impresses us with its life-like truth to nature, and the workmanship is so excellent that it may well be an original work dating from the time of Aristotle or his immediate successor. Directions are given in Theophrastus' will (DIOG. v. 51) that the Μουσείον begun by him should be finished: έπειτα θ' Ἀριστοτέλους εἰκόνα τεθήναι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καλάλοιπὰ ἀναβήματα δοὺς πρῶτον ὑπήρξεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, which probably is to be understood of a statue already erected.

4 Cf. p. 8 sq. : 19, n. 4; 20, n. 1, 2; 33, n. 4; 35, n. 1, 5,
by his many enemies has for the most part little probability. Nor do the accounts we have give us any right to lay to Aristotle's charge either a self-seeking sort of shrewdness, or a jealous and little-minded greed for fame. The first of these charges concerns chiefly his relations with the Macedonian rulers. The second refers to the criticisms he allows himself to make in writing of his cotemporaries and his forerunners. But it cannot be proved that he ever sought the favour of Philip and Macedonian Court and flattered Alexander, and that at his death 75 (or even 300) dishes were found in his house: or that he was immoral in relation to Pythias and Herpyllis, and was also enamoured of Theodectes of Phaselis: and again that he was so effeminate that he bathed in warm oil (doubtless for medical reasons, cf. Diog. 16 and p. 37, n. 2, supra), and so miserly that he sold the oil afterwards: or that in his youth he was too fashionable for a philosopher (which, as he was rich and brought up at Court, is possible): and that he was impudent and sneering. If there were any facts underlying these stories, we may conclude from the character of the narrators that they were in any case trivial; and we can see in the passages of Lucian and Theodoret and his quotation from Atticus how Aristotle's own statements as to wealth and pleasure were twisted to support these suspicions.

1 THEMIST. Orat. xxiii. 285 talks of a στρατός δόλος of Aristotle's calumniators. By him, Aristoc. (ap. Eus. xv. 2) and Diogenes (11, 16) the following are named: Epicurus, Timæus, Eubulides, Alexinas, Cephisodorus, Lyco, Theocritus of Chios, Demochares, and Deeæarchus, within a generation of Aristotle.

2 Such as the accusations to be found in ARISTOC. and DIOG., ut supra; SUID. 'Αριστ.; ATHEN. viii. 342, xiii. 566; PLIN. II. N. xxxv. 16, 2; ΑL. I. Η. iii. 19; THEODORET, Cur. Gr. Aff. xii. 51, p. 173; LUCIAN, Dial. Mort. 13, 5, and Paras. 36; that Aristotle was a glutton, and for that reason went to the

supra. Another calumny is Tertullian's Ar. familiarem suum Hesemi a turpiter loco excedere fecit (Apolog. 16), which in the context can only mean he betrayed him, a tale so senseless and wicked that it required a Tertullian to invent it. The story of Philo of Byblos ap. SUID. Παλαιφ., as to immoral relations with the historian Pæhephatus of Abydos is equally baseless.

3 Even Stahr (i. 173 sq) pays too much attention to these charges.
Alexander by unworthy means, and it was not to be expected that he should applaud or imitate the follies of a Callisthenes. To impute it to him as an offence, that he attached himself to the Macedonian party, is to apply to him an erroneous and inapplicable standard. By birth and training he was a Greek. But while all his personal ties attached him to the royal house to which he and his father owed so much, no one can say that the consideration of the general position of politics ought necessarily to have turned him against their policy. So satisfied was Plato of the untenable character of the existing political relations, that he had advocated sweeping changes. Plato's follower could the less evade the same conviction, since he had a keener insight into men and things, and had clearly detected the conditions on which the vitality of States and forms of government depends. With his practical acumen he could not put his trust in the Platonic ideal of a State; he was forced to seek the materials for a political reconstruction from among the political relations as they were and the powers already existing. At that day no

1 Stahr thinks it sounds like flattery when Aristotle writes to Alexander (Arist. Fragm. No. 611, apud ΑΕΙΙΑΝ, V. H. xii. 54) δ θυμως καλ η δργη ου προς ίσους (1. ήσσους with Rutgers, Rose and Heitz) ἀλλα προς τους κρειπτονας γίνεται, σοι δε νδελς ισος, but if this is genuine Aristotle said no more than the truth, and he wrote, according to ΑΕΙΙΑΝ, in order to appease Alexander's wrath against certain persons, for which purpose he tells him that one cannot be angry with inferiors, and that he stood above all men, which was surely true of the conqueror of the Persian Empire. We cannot tell whether the letter is genuine. Heitz (Verlor. Schr. d. Arist. 287) suggests that this fragment does not agree with that in Plut. (Tranqu. An. 13, p. 472; Arist. Fragm. 614, 1581, b) in which Aristotle is made to compare himself with Alexander, but the letter is much the more doubtful of the two.
new foundation could be found except in the Macedonian kingdom, for the Greek States were no longer able at once to maintain their independence against the foreigner and to reform their inner life. The whole course of history so far had proved this so conclusively, that even a Phocion was forced to say, in the Lamian War, that unless the moral conditions of Greece were altered there was nothing to be expected from an armed rising against Macedon.\(^1\) Doubtless such a conviction would come far less readily to an Athenian statesman than to a friend of the Macedonian kings, who was a citizen of a small city like Stagira, once destroyed by Philip, and then reorganised as a Macedonian town. Can we blame him if he accepted that view, and, with a just appreciation of the political situation, attached himself to that party which alone had a future, and from which alone, if from any, Greece could still find salvation from the dissension and decay within, and the loss of power to face the enemy without? Can we condemn him if he felt that the old independence of the Greek cities must come to an end, when its basis in the civic virtue of their citizens was gone? Can we object if he believed that in his pupil Alexander was fulfilled the condition under which he held that monarchy was natural and just\(^2\)—where one man stands out so clearly beyond all others in efficiency as to make their equality with him impossible? Can we complain if he preferred to see the hegemony of Hellas rather in the hands of such a man than in those of the ‘great king’ of Persia, for whose favour the Greek cities had

\(^1\) Plut. Phoc. 23.  
\(^2\) Polit. iii. 13 fin.
been bidding against each other ever since the Peloponnesian War, and hoped that he would give the Hellenes the only thing they lacked to become the rulers of the world—a political unity?¹

As for the charge of jealousy of others' fame, it is true that his philosophical polemics are often cutting and sometimes unfair. But they never take on any personal colour, and it would be impossible to prove that they ever rest on any other motive than the desire to make his point as sharply, and establish it as completely as possible. If he does sometimes give us the impression of insisting on his own discoveries, we ought to set off against this the conscientiousness with which he seeks out every seed of truth, even the remotest, in the work of his predecessors; and remembering this, we shall find that all that remains is but a very intelligible and very pardonable self-appreciation.

Still less—to pass over minor matters²—need we attach any importance to the allegation that Aristotle hoped soon to see philosophy completed.³ If he did, it would have been only the same self-deception of which many other thinkers have been guilty, including some who have not been, as he was, the teachers of mankind

¹ *Polit.* vii. 7, 1327 b, 29, reckoning the merits of the Greek race: διόπερ ἐλεόθερον τε διατελεῖ καὶ βέλτιστα πολιτευόμενον καὶ δυνάμενον ἀρχεῖν πάντων μᾶς τυγχάνον πολιτείας.
² Like the tale told by Valer. *Max.* viii. 14, 3, as a proof of Aristotle's sitis in capessenda laude, which is plainly an idle invention based on a misunder-
standing of the *Rhet. ad Alex.* c. 1 fin. (cf. *Rhet.* iii. 9, 1410 b, 2).
³ Cic. *Tusc.* iii. 28, 69: *Aristoteles veteres philosophos accusans qui exstimarissent philosophiam suis ingenii esse perfectam, ait eos aut stultissimos aut gloriosissimos fuisset: sed se videre, quod paucis annis magna accessit factura esse, brevi tempore philosophiam plane absolutam fore.*
for tens of centuries. In fact, the remark seems to have occurred in an early work of Aristotle's, and to have related not to his own system but to Plato's, which professed to open out a prospect of an early completion of all science.

So far as Aristotle's philosophical writings, the scanty fragments of his letters, the provisions of his will, and our incomplete accounts of his life afford us any picture of his personality, we cannot but honour him. Nobility of principles, a just moral sense, a keen judgment, a susceptibility to all beauty, a warm and lively feeling for family life and friendship, gratitude towards benefactors, affection for relatives, benevolence to slaves and those in need, a loyal love for his wife, and a lofty conception of marriage far transcending the traditional theories of Greece—such are the traits that we can see. They all carry us back to that faculty of moral tact to which in his Ethics he reduced all virtue, backed as it was in him by a wide knowledge of men and by deep reflection. We are bound to suppose that the principles he asserts in his Ethics were the guides of his own life, the recoil from all manner of one-sidedness and excess, and the orderly

1 In the dialogue Περὶ φιλα-σοφίας, to which it is rightly referred by Rose (Ar. Fr. No. 1) and Heitz (Ar. Fr. p. 33).

2 As Bywater (Journ. of Philol. vii. 69) also says. In Aristotle's extant works he often refers to the need of further investigation.

3 As to the former, cf. his will, which provides inter alia that none of those who had personally served him should be sold, and that several should be freed and even started in life. As to the latter, cf. his saying, ap. Diog. 17, οἷον τῶν τρόπων, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡλέησα.

4 Cf. his expressions in the Letter to Antipater, ap. ΑELIAN, V. II. xiv. 1 and ap. Diog. 18. In the former fragment he says as to the withdrawal of former honours (de q. v. p. 36, n. 3,
appreciation of things which despises nothing that has its roots in human nature, but attributes an absolute value only to the spiritual and moral factors of life. And if his character, so far as we know it, and in spite of any little weaknesses which may have attached to it, seems to us lofty and honourable, still more are his powers and intellectual achievements altogether astounding. Never have so great a wealth of knowledge, so careful powers of observation, and so untiring a zeal for acquisition, been found in combination with such keenness and power of scientific thinking, with a philosophic insight so capable of piercing into the essence of things, with a width of view so fully capable of at once seeing the unity and coherence of all knowledge, and embracing and subordinating all its branches. In poetic swing, in richness of fancy, in the insight of genius, he cannot compete with Plato. His powers lay wholly on the side of knowledge, not of art.\(^1\) That fascinating witchery of speech with which Plato holds us is hardly ever to be found in the extant works of the Stagirite, though many of those that are lost are praised, doubtless with justice, for their literary grace.\(^2\) But he outstrips his master in all those qualities which mark the full manhood of science—in width and solidity...
of research, in purity of scientific method, in ripeness of judgment, in wary discrimination, in his compact brevity and inimitable keenness of statement, and in the definite use and comprehensive development of a scientific terminology. He cannot inspire us, lay hold of our hearts, weld in one the scientific and the moral energies, at all in the same way as Plato does. His work is drier, more professional, more closely confined to the field of cognition than Plato’s had been. But within these lines he has, so far as one man might, achieved success. For thousands of years he showed philosophy her way. For the Greeks he inaugurated the age of learning. In every field of knowledge then open to him he enriched the sciences by original investigations, and advanced them by new conceptions. Even if we put at their highest possible measure the help he derived from his forerunners, and the assistance he obtained from scholars and friends, and perhaps also from trained slaves, the range of his achievements still runs so far beyond the common standard, that we can scarcely understand how one man in a short life could accomplish it all, especially since we know that his restless soul had to wring from a weakly body the needful vitality for this gigantic work. Aristotle has fulfilled his historic vocation and solved the philosophic task it set him, as scarce any other ever did. Of what he was as a man we know unhappily too little, but we

1 Callisthenes of Babylon is said to have sent him information of astronomical observations there (SIMPL. De Ccelo, Schol. 503, a, 26, following Porph.), but the story is suspicious because of the addition that these observations went back 31,000 years. 2 Cf. p. 37, n. 2, and DIOG. v. 16.
have no reason to believe the attacks of his foes, or to refuse to accord to him that favourable judgment which his own Ethics with many subsidiary indications must demand.
CHAPTER II

ARISTOTLE’S WRITINGS

A.—Consideration of the particular works seriatim

The literary activity of Aristotle startles us at the outset both by its extent and its manysidedness. The works which we have under his name extend over all branches of philosophy, and they exhibit a vast wealth of wide observation and historical learning. Yet to these extant works the ancient catalogues add a great number of others, of which only the titles or slight fragments now remain. Two of these catalogues we have: the first in two recensions, that by Diogenes (V. 21 sqq.), and that called the ‘Anonymous Menagii’: the other in certain Arabic texts.1 The first list contains, in Diogenes, 146 titles, most 2 of which the ‘Anonymous’ 3 has preserved, leaving out 4 a few 5 and adding seven or eight new ones. An appendix adds forty-seven titles—many of which, 6 however, are only repetitions or variants of those already entered—and ten Pseudepigrapha.

1 See both in the Arist. Fragm. of Rose and Heitz (Ar. Opp. v. 1463, Berlin ed., iv. b, 1 sq., Paris ed.)
2 According to the earlier text 111, but as completed by Rose from an Ambrosian MS. 132.
3 According to Rose’s probable conjecture (Ar. Libr. Ord. 48) he was Hesychius of Miletus, who lived about 500.
4 As to the possible grounds of this omission cf. Heitz, Verlor. Schr. Arist. p. 15.
5 14 by one text, 27 by the other.
6 If our count is right there are 9, i.e. Nos. 147, 151, 154, 155, 167, 171, 172, 174, 182, repeating
Both the sources agree in putting the total number of books at nearly 400.¹ The author of the first catalogue cannot be (as Rose imagines ²) identified with Andronicus of Rhodes, the well-known editor and arranger of Aristotle's works,³ though it is not to be doubted that that Peripatetic did compile a catalogue of Aristotle's writings.⁴ For even if we could set aside the fact that Andronicus is said to have given the total number at 1,000 books,⁵ and the circumstance that the extant index includes ⁶ the Περὶ ἔρμηνειάς, which he rejected,⁷ it remains clear that we should look to find in Andronicus's edition those writings above all that are included in our extant Corpus Aristotelicum, which is derived, speaking broadly, from his own. This is far from being true of the extant catalogues, for many important parts of the extant Corpus are either altogether absent or at least are not to be traced under Nos. 106, 7, 111, 91, 98, 16, 18, 39 and 11 of the main list.

¹ Diog. 34, and the Anon. Menag. at the beginning of his list. The titles in Diog. (reckoning the Letters as one book for each correspondent named and the Πολιτείαι as a single book) give 375 books; those in the Anon. as completed by Rose, 391.

² Arist. Pseudopig. 8 sq.
⁴ This is clear from the above-mentioned passage of Plut. (Sulla, 26) from the V. Marc. 8 (cf. p. 37, n. 4, supra) and David, Schol. in Ar. 24, a, 19. It is not credible that Andronicus merely adopted the catalogue of Hermippus (v. Heitz, Ar. Fr. 12) which did not at all correspond with his own work. A similar catalogue of the writings of Theophrastus is ascribed to him by the Scholia at the end of his Metaphysics and at the beginning of the seventh book of the Hist. of Plants.

⁵ David, Schol. in Ar. 24, a, 19.
⁶ This is the more remarkable because we gather from Diog. 34 that the catalogue was to include only works recognised as genuine. Bernays (Dial. d. Ar. 134) therefore supposes that the book was inserted in the catalogue of Andronicus by a later hand.

⁷ Alex. in Anal. Pri. 52.
their later names and in their later form.\(^1\) The converse theory\(^2\) that the list in Diogenes was meant to contain only those writings which were left out of Andronicus’s collection of the didactic works, is negated by the fact that the list contains many important sections of the Corpus, and that it distinctly claims to be a complete review of the philosopher’s works.\(^3\) For similar reasons it is equally impossible that it can owe its origin to Nicolaus of Damascus,\(^4\) or any other to

\(^{1}\) Of the books contained in our Corpus Aristotelicum Diogenes’ list mentions only the following: Nos. 141, The Categories; 142, Π. ἐρμηνείας; 49, Προτέρων ἀναλυτικῶν; 50, Ἀναλ. ὑποτέρων; 102, Π. ψωφίων, 9 books (meaning no doubt the History of Animals, the spurious tenth book of which is afterwards, No. 107, called Ὑπερ τοῦ μὴ γενέσιν); 123, Μηχανικῶν α’; 125, Πολιτικῆς ἀκροάσεως 8 books; 23, Οἰκονομικός a’; 78, Τέχνης ἑπτομῆς α’ β’; 119, Ποιητικῶν α’: and probably also the Topies, under two different names, cf. infra. Also Nos. 90, Π. φύσεως α’ β’ γ’, and 45 (115), Π. κινήσεως α’ (which are probably parts of the Physics); and No. 39, Π. στοιχείων α’ β’ γ’ (meaning probably the two books Π. γενέσεως with our book iii. De Carla, or book iv. Meteor.); 70, Θέσεις ἐπιχειρηματικαὶ κε’ (no doubt a recension of the Problems); 36, Π. τῶν ποσακχῶν λεγομένων (doubtless the treatise, often cited by Ar. under that name, which is now book v. of the Metaphysics); and 38, Ἡθικῶν (only 5 books). Even assuming that all the suggested correspondences are correct, the list still omits important parts of our Corpus. The Anon. Menag. adds the Topies under that name (his No. 52) and the Metaphysics, to which he gives 20 books (if the text is right, de quo infra). The First Analytic is his 134, with 2 books, and the Ethics is 39, Ἡθικῶν κ’ (lege α’ κ’). His appendix adds: 148, Φυσική ἀκροάσις, η’ (lege η’); 149, Π. γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς; 150, Π. κεντρώμονας; 155, Π. ψωφίων ἱστορίας λ’; 156, Π. ψωφίων κινήσεως (as 3 books); 157, Π. ψωφίων μορίων (only 3 books); 158, Π. ψωφίων γενέσεως (also 3 books); 174, Π. Ἡθικῶν Νικουμαικέων.


\(^{3}\) Συνέγραψε δὲ τὰ πάμπλειατα βιβλία ἀπερ ἀκολούθων ἡγηγάμην ἱππογράφαι διὰ τὴν περὶ πάντας λόγους ταῦτα ἀρετῆς, are the introductory words in Dioec. v. 21, but that does not mean that he would exclude the main philosophical treatises. The same is clear from § 34, where Aristotle’s power of work is said to be proved ἐκ τῶν προγεγραμμένων συγγραμματῶν, numbering nearly 400.

\(^{4}\) For his works on Aristotle
whom the edition of Andronicus was already known. Its compiler must have been 1 a scholar of the Alexandrine period, most probably Hermippus; 2 and he must either not have had the means or not have taken the trouble to give us more than a list of the manuscripts which were to be found 3 in a library accessible to him, presumably that of Alexandria. Otherwise it would be impossible for him to have omitted important works which can, as we shall see, be clearly proved to have been in use during the two centuries preceding the date of Andronicus. 4 The first catalogue, therefore, only shows us what writings appeared under Aristotle’s name in the Library of Alexandria.

Of far later date is the other catalogue of Aristotelian writings, which two Arabic writers of the thirteenth century 5 copied from a certain ‘Ptolemy’—probably a Peripatetic of the second century A.D., mentioned also by Greek writers. 6 His list seems to have reached the


2 We are not expressly told that this scholar and Peripatetic, who wrote about 200 B.C., catalogued the works of Aristotle; but it is hardly to be doubted, seeing that he wrote a biography of Aristotle in at least two books which Diogenes used (cf. Diog. v. 1, 2, and Athen. xiii. 589, xv. 696), and that his Αναγραφὴ τῶν Θεοφράστου βιβλίων is mentioned in the Scholia cited, p. 49, n. 4, supra (cf. Heitz, ibid. 49, Ar. Fr. 11). Through what channel it came to the knowledge of Diogenes, we do not know.

3 Brandis (Gr.-röm. Phil. ii. b, 1, 81) has shown that this is probably true of both the catalogues of Aristotle and Theophrastus given by Diogenes.

4 Diogenes himself elsewhere cites works of Aristotle which are not in his list (Brandis, ibid.; Heitz, 17), but this only proves that these references were taken from other sources than those from which he got the Catalogue.

5 De q. v. Rose, Ar. Opp., p. 1469.

6 One of these Arabic writers
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Arabic copyists in an incomplete form. For while Ptolemy put the total of Aristotle’s works at 1,000 Books, their lists comprise only some 100 treatises, counting about 550 Books.\(^1\) Of the component parts of our extant Corpus only a few are wanting, and their absence may be partly accidental.\(^2\) Some others are

(Ibn el Kifīt, d. 1218, \textit{ap. Rose, ibid.}) says this Ptolemy was an admirer of Aristotle, who wrote a book, \textit{Historiae Ar. et Mortis ejus et Scriptorum Ordo}, addressed to Aa’las (or Atthas): the other (Ibn Abī Oṣībīa, d. 1269, \textit{ibid.}) also speaks of his \textit{Liber ad Gallas de vita Ar. et eximia pietate testamenti ejus et indice scriptorum ejus notorum}. Both copy from him biographical details as well as the Catalogue, but seem to know no more of him than that he lived ‘\textit{in provincia Rūm}’ (i.e. the Roman Empire), and that he was a different person from the author of the \textit{Ambages}. What they say, however, corresponds exactly with what David, \textit{Schol. in Ar.} 22, a, 10 (after Proclus, cf. l. 23), says of a Ptolemy who reckoned the total of Aristotle’s books (as did Andronicus, cf. p. 49, n. 5) at 1,000, \textit{ἀναγραφὴν ἀυτῶν ποιησάμενος καὶ τὸν Βίον ἄντοῦ καὶ τὴν δάνεσιν}: and with the remark in \textit{V. Marc.} 8, as to the same, that to his list of Aristotle’s works he added his will. David takes this Ptolemy to be Ptolemaeus Philadelphus, but this merely proves the ignorance of David, or the pupil who recorded his lectures; though we know that Ptolemaeus Philadelphus himself was a collector of Aristotle’s works (\textit{Athen.} i. 3, \textit{David}, and \textit{Ammôn. Schol. in Ar.} 28, a, 13, 43), and was a pupil of Strato (\textit{Dioq.} v. 58). The fact that the Ptolemy who compiled the Catalogue came after Andronicus is clear from the mention of Andronicus at No. 90, and of Apellicon at No. 86. Of the writers of that name known to us, Rose (\textit{Ar. Libr. Ord.} 45) suggests as the same the Neoplatonist Ptolemaeus, named by \textit{Jamb. ap. Stob. Ecl.} i. 904, and by \textit{Proclus In Tim.} 7. Another was a contemporary of Longinus, but he is said (by \textit{Porphy. V. Plot.} 20) to have written no scientific works. The most probable identification would be with the Peri-patetic Ptolemy, whose attack on a definition of grammar by Dionysius Thrax is quoted by \textit{Sext. Math.} i. 60, and by the \textit{Schol. in Bekker’s Anecd.} ii. 750, and whose date therefore must lie somewhere between Dionysius and Sextus (70–220 B.C.).

\(^1\) An exact reckoning is not possible without going into the variations of the numbering in the different texts. If the 171 \textit{Politics} were counted separately, they would raise the total to about 720.

\(^2\) The most important omissions are the \textit{Ethics} and the \textit{Economics}; besides which there are the \textit{Rhetorica ad Alex.}, the book upon Melissus, &c.; and the tracts \textit{Π. ἄκουστῶν, Π. ἀναπνοῖς, Π. ἐνυπνιῶν, Π. μαντικῆς τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὅπνοις, Π. νεὔτητος καὶ γῆρως},
named twice over. The fact that this Arabic catalogue was taken from a Greek original is proved by the Greek titles, often hopelessly miswritten, which are set against most of the items.

It is obvious that catalogues of such a character and origin offer no sufficient security either for the completeness of their reckoning or for the authenticity of the writings they include. Nothing but a full and accurate inquiry into the merits of each case can enable us to decide as to the claims of those texts or fragments which are handed down to us under Aristotle's name. Such an inquiry cannot here be fully carried out; but it will not be out of place to combine with a complete review of all the writings ascribed to Aristotle a concise appreciation of the points to be considered in passing judgment on their authenticity.¹

To begin at the point where the old catalogues end, we may distinguish from the philosophical treatises those writings which dealt with personal matters—the letters, poems, and occasional pieces. Their number is relatively small; and if we exclude those whose genuine-

¹ As to the works known only by titles or fragments, cf. the thorough inquiry of Heitz (Verlor. Schrift. d. Ar., 1863), refuting Val, Rose, whose learned essays, De Ar. Librorum Ordine et Authoritate, 1854, and Ar. Pseud.-epigraphus, 1863, rejected too summarily all the lost and several of the extant books.—The writings named in the ancient Catalogues will be cited in this chapter by Rose's numbers (p. 48, n. 1); of the Catalogues themselves, that of Diogenes will be cited as D., that of the Anonymus Menagii as AN., and the Ptolemy of the Arabic texts as Pt. Ar. Fr. will be used for the collection of the fragments by Rose in Ar. Opp. v. 1463 sq., Berlin ed.; and Fr. Hz,
ness is doubtful or which are certainly forged, there is very little left. A few poems and poetic fragments, and perhaps some part of the matter said to be cited from his Letters, may stand. The so-called Apologia of Aristotle, and the Orations in praise of Plato and Alexander, must be rhetorical inventions of later date.


1 For these, with the notices relating to them, v. BERGK, Lyr. Gr. 504 sq., Rose, Ar. Pseud. 598 sq., Ar. Fr. 621 sq., p. 1583, and Fr. Hz. 333 sq. The most important are those above cited (p. 12, n. 4, p. 20, n. 3), whose genuineness we have no reason to doubt. D. 145 mentions ἑηγάδεα, and An. 138: ἐγκάωμα ἡ ἔμπνευσις appear in An. App. 180.

2 The Letters of Aristotle, praised by DEMETR. Eloc. 230, SIMPL. Categ. 2 γ. Schol. in Ar. 27, a, 43, and others (cf. Rose, Ar. Ps. 587, Heitz, Verl. Schr. 285, and Ar. Fr. 604-620, p. 1579, Fr. Hz. 321 sq.) as the high-water mark of epistolary style, were collected in eight books by one Artemon, otherwise unknown (v. DEMETR. Eloc. 223, DAVID, Schol. in Ar. 24, a, 26, and Pt. No. 87). Andronicus is said to have reckoned twenty books (Pt. No. 90, cf. GELL. xx. 5, 10), but perhaps it was only twenty letters, which is the number in An. 137. D. 144 names letters to Philip, letters to the Selbyrians, four letters to Alexander (cf. DEMETR. Eloc. 234, Ps. Ann. 47), nine to Antipater, and seven to others. The letters of or to Diæres (de quo v. SIMPL. Phys. 120), mentioned by PHILOP. De An. K. 2, are not in D. All extant Fragments seem to come from the editions of Artemon and Andronicus. It is difficult to say if any are genuine, since some are certainly not. Not only Rose (Ar. Ps. 585, Ar. Libr. Ord. 113) but also Heitz (Verl. Schr. 280, Fr. Hz. 321) considers all the letters forged. That the six now extant (ap. STAHR, Ar. ii. 169, and Fr. Hz. 329) are so is clear, and Heitz holds that they could not even have been in Artemon's collection.

3 Cf. p. 35, n. 3, supra; Ar. Fr. 601, p. 1578; Fr. Hz. 320.

4 An Ἐγκάωμον Πλάτωνος is quoted by Olympiod. in Gorg. 166 (v. Jahrb. f. Philol., Suppl., xiv. 395, and Ar. Fr. 603, Fr. Hz. 319); but it is more than suspicious, since no one used what would have been the best source of Platonic biography. A Panegyric on Alexander ap. THEMIST. Or. iii. 55 (Ar. Fr. 602, Fr. Hz. 319) is condemned by the Fr. ap. RUTIL. LUPUS, De Fig. Sent. i. 18, if that belongs to it, Bernays' theory of another Alexander (Dial. Ar. 156) being very improbable. An Ἐγκάωμος Ἀλεξάνδρου is named by AN. (No. 193) as spurious. Books Π. Ἀλεξάνδρου are ascribed by Eustath. ap. DIONYS. Per v. 1140, and An. App. 176, to Aristotle through some confusion between his name and Arrian's. Cf. HEITZ, Verl. Schr.
A second section of the writings may include those which dealt with scientific questions, but were yet essentially distinct in form from all the extant treatises, namely, the *Dialogues*. We have repeated proofs that Aristotle, in one class of his works, did make use of the form of dialogue. It is said that his Dialogues differed from those of Plato in the fact that the individuality of the persons conversing was not carried through, and that the author kept the lead of the conversation in his own hands. Of the known works of this kind, the *Eudemus*, the three books *On Philosophy* and the four books *On Jus-
tice seem to have been the most important. The first two are of particular interest, because they stand in such close relation, not only by their form but by their subjects, to the work of Plato, that there is much to be said for the conjecture that they were written in the period when Aristotle still belonged to the circle of Plato’s scholars, and had not yet fully passed over to his later independent position. There are certain other works on Philosophy, - Journal of Philol. vii. 64 sq. Priscian tells us that the work was a dialogue (Solut. Prom. p. 553), and it is confirmed by the statement (Plut. Arch. Col. ii. 4, Procl. Ap. Philop. Et. M. 2, 2; v. Ar. Fr. 10) that Aristotle had in his Dialogues attacked and renounced the Ideal Theory; cf. Ar. Fr. 11 from the second book Π. φδοεις, arguing against the Ideal Numbers. These three books are referred to (besides D.) by Philodem. Π. έσεβεσας, col. 22, and following him, by Cic. Nat. D. i. 13, 33. The apparent reference in Aristotle. Phys. ii. 2, 194, a, 35 (δικαίος γὰρ τὸ ἐνεκά ἐρημταί δὲ ἐν τοῖς περὶ φιλοσοφίας) is as Heitz says (Verl. Schr. 180) very suspicious, since Aristotle nowhere else cites his Dialogues; but on the other hand the reference will not apply either to the Book on the Good (which could not be called Π. φδοεις, cf. p. 61, n. 1, infra), nor to Metaph. xii. 7, 1072, b, 2, since as Aristotle left that book unfinished he could not quote it in the Physics. Rose’s rejection of the Π. φδοεις is followed by Susemihl, Genet. Ent. d. plat. Phil. ii. 534; but the arguments are insufficient.

1 D. 1, An. 1, Pt. 3, Ar. Fr. 71-77, p. 1427, Bernays, 48, Rose, Ar. Ps. 87, Heitz, Verl. Schr. 169, Fr. H. 19. Cic. Rep. iii. 8, 12, mentions this as a ‘comprehensive’ work in four books. According to Plut. Sto. rep. 15, 6, it was attacked by Chrysippus (Αρ. περὶ δικαιοσύνης ἀντιγράφων); and the attacks of Carneades mentioned by Lact. Epit. 55 (ap. Cic. Rep. iii.) seem to have been also specially directed to this work. Demetr. Elo. 28 cites a passage from it. We are not told that it was a Dialogue, but that is inferred from its position at the head of D., which begins (Bernays, p. 132) with the Dialogues arranged according to number of books. It is, however, true that in the midst of the Dialogues (as No. 12) the Protrepticus comes in, which probably was not a Dialogue. Neither probably were Nos. 17-19. It is a question, therefore, whether the Anon. has not here preserved the original order: so that the Dialogues really include only the first thirteen numbers of Αξ., together with the Symposium which was misplaced in that list by reason of the textual error (e. p. 58, n. 1).

2 This is specially true of the Eudemus. All the fragments of
which are supposed to have been dialogues, mainly by reason of the place assigned them in the catalogues; but some of them are only distantly connected with

this dialogue prove that it was built on the lines of the Phaedo. They have in common not only their subject, the Immortality of the Soul, but also the artistic and philosophic method in which it is treated. Like the Phaedo (60 e), the Eudemus was introduced (Fr. 32) by a revelation in a dream, the direct prototype of which is to be found in the other Dial. relating to the last days of Socrates (Crito, 44 A). As Plato concludes his work (108 D sq.) with an imaginative myth, so the Eudemus had also its mythic ornament (cf. Fr. 40, where the words of Silenus, δαίμονας ἐπιτόνων, etc., remind us also of Rep. x. 617 D, and Fr. 37, which must be taken in a mystical sense). As the Phaedo (69 c) refers to the doctrines of the Mysteries, so Fr. 30 of the Eudemus recognises the validity of the customary honours to the dead. But the most remarkable resemblance between the two Dialogues is in their philosophical contents. Aristotle in the Eudemus insisted not only on Immortality, but also on Pre-existence and Transmigration, defending in his own way the theory that the soul in its entrance into this life forgot the Ideas (Fr. 34, 35). As the Phaedo based the decisive argument for immortality on the relation of the soul to the idea of life (105 c sq.), so the Eudemus also called the soul εἴδως τι (Fr. 42). As Plato worked up to this argument by a detailed refutation of the theory that the soul was the harmony of its body, here also Aristotle followed him (Fr. 41). Exactly on Plato's lines is likewise Fr. 36, where the misery of the soul tied to the body is imaged in a striking comparison; and even if Bywater (Journ. of Phil. ii. 60) and Hirzel (Hermes, x. 94) are right in referring this Fr. to the Protrepticus, still this also seems to have been on the same lines as the Eudemus (cf. p. 60, n. 1, infra). Aristotle took a more independent position against Plato in the books On Philosophy. It is true that the Frs. in which he defends the belief in the gods, the unity of God, and the rational nature of the stars (Fr. 14, 13, 16, 19, 20, 21, and the Fr. ap. Cic. N.D. ii. 49, 125, de g. v. Brandis, ii. b, 1, 84; Heitz, 228, refuting Rose, Ar. Frs. 285), read like Plato, and that Fr. 15 (de g. v. Bernays, 110, and Fr. Hz. 37) is evidently modelled on Rep. ii. 380 D. Nevertheless, Aristotle decisively declared himself in this work (Fr. 10, 11, cf. p. 55, n. 6) against the theory of the Ideas and Ideal Numbers, declared the world to be not only, as Plato said, unending, but also beginningless (v. Frs. 17, 18, with which Bywater, 80, well compares PLUT. Tranq. An. 20, p. 477); and gave in Book I. (v. Bywater's reconstruction thereof from PHILP. in Nicom. Isag.; Cic. Tusc. iii. 28, 69; PROCL. in EUCL. p. 28; cf. Ar. Fr. 2-9) a general theory of the develop-
the philosophic system,¹ and others are of doubtful authenticity.²

1) Aristotelian fragment of humanity to culture and philosophy, which, although it connects with Plato by the remark (*ap. Philop.*) that the spiritual and divine principle, in spite of its own light, appears to us dark διά τὴν ἐπικειμένην τοῦ σώματος ἄχλων, and by the theory of periodic floods whereby humanity was thrown back into savagery (cf. Plato, Tim. 22 D, Laws, iii. 677 A, 681 E), indicates clearly an independent view of history which goes beyond Plato not only in relation to the eternity of the world (Meteor. i. 14, 352 b, 16; Polit. vii. 9, 1329 b, 25; Metaph. xii. 8, 1074 a, 38; cf. Bernays, Theor. ü. d. Fröm- migk. 42), but to the process of spiritual development (Metaph. i. 1, 981 b, 13, and 2, 982 b, 11 sq.). Aristotle’s interest in scholarly inquiries appears in the passages of this work on the Magi, on Orpheus, on the Seven Wise Men, and on the development of philosophy from their time to his own; and his critical sense is shown in his discussion of the story of Orpheus in Fr. 9. Taking all this into consideration, the books On Philosophy show, as compared with the Endemus, a remarkable advance in independence of thought, leading to the suggestion that they were written later, perhaps at the end of Plato’s life.—Krische (Forsch. i. 265) sought to identify the 3 bks, Π. φιλοσ., with Metaph. i., xi., xii.; but this is now untenable (cf. Heitz, 179, and infra, p. 76 sq.). It is more probable that they were used for various passages of Metaph. i., xii., and for the bk. Π. ὀφρανοῦ (cf. Blass, Rhein. Mus. xxx. 1875, p. 481). There must be, however, much variation, and Blass’ view that certain passages are taken verbally from the Π. φιλοσ. is improbable.

² To this class belong the 3 bks. Π. ποιητῶν (D. 2, An. 2, Pt. 6; Bernays, 10 sq., 60, 139; Rose, Ar. Ps. 77; Ar. Fr. 59, 69, p. 1485; Heitz, V.S. 174 sq.; Fr. Hz. 23). That this work was a Dialogue is doubted by Müller, Fr. Hist. ii. 185; but it is proved not only by its place in the Catalogues, but also by an express statement in V. Marc. p. 2, and by the form of Fr. 61. It was probably used as a genuine work of Aristotle by Eratosthenes and Apollodorus, but we cannot be sure that their references (Fr. 60 ap. Dioec. viii. 51) may not point to another work, possibly the Politicai. Aristotle, however, himself refers at the end of Poet. 15 to a discussion in the ἐνδεδωμένων λόγωι, which it is most natural to apply to the Π. ποιητῶν, as in the Rhetorica (which Rose, Ar. Ps 79, suggests) there is no corresponding passage. The few references we have, which are mostly historical notes, show nothing that throws doubt on the genuineness of the work. Fr. 66 contains statements as to Homer, evidently from a tradition current in Ios, which (notwithstanding Nitzsch, Hist. Hom. ii. 87, Müller, ut supra, and Rose, Ar. Ps. 79) do not prove the spuriousness of the book, since they might well have been introduced in the Dial. without being believed by the author.
ARISTOTLE'S WRITINGS

With the Dialogues may be connected another set of writings, which did not take that form, but were

For the title Π. ποιητῶν we find also (Fr. 65, 66, 69; cf. SPENGEL, Abb. d. Münchn. Akad. ii. 213; RITTER, Ar. Poet. x.; HEITZ, V. S. 175) that of Π. ποιητικῆς, which, unless it is a mere confusion, indicates that the work was not purely historical, but contained discussions on the Art of Poetry as well as information about the poets. — After the Dialogues, which made several books, there follows in the lists the Πολιτικός, which consisted, according to D. 4, of 2 books, according to AN. 4, of one (Fr. 70, p. 1487; ROSE, Ar. Ps. 80; BERNAYS, 153; HEITZ, V. S. 189, Fr. Hz. 41); and thereafter, following, in one book each; Π. ἡγομένης ἡ Γρόταλος (D. 5, AN. 5); the Νήμιρθος (D. 6, AN. 6; ROSE, Ar. Fr. 53, p. 1484, Ar. Ps. 73; BERNAYS, 84; HEITZ, V. S. 190, Fr. Hz. 42), doubtless the same as the διάλογοι Κορίνθιος, of which THEMIST. Ὀρ. 33, p. 356 speaks; the Σοφοτῆς (D. 7; AN. 8; Pt. 2; Ar. Fr. 54—56, p. 1484; Ar. Ps. 75; Fr. Hz. 42), of which nothing remains except a few remarks on Empedocles, Zeno, and Protagoras; the Μενάκενος (D. 8, AN. 10), of which there are no fragments; the Ἑρωτικός (D. 9; AN. 12; Ar. Fr. 90—93, p. 1492; Ar. Ps. 105; HEITZ, V. S. 191, Fr. Hz. 43); the Συμπόσιον (D. 10; AN. 19, where συλλογισμῶν is a miswriting; Ar. Fr. 107 sq. p. 1495; Ar. Ps. 119; Fr. Hz. 44; cf. HEITZ, V. S. 192, who rightly questions the application of PLUT. N. P. Stat. V. 13, 4 to this Dialogue); the Π. πλαοῦτον (D. 11; AN. 7; Ar. Fr. 86—89, p. 1491; Ar. Ps. 101; HEITZ, V. S. 195, Fr. Hz. 45) probably attacked by the early Epicurean, Metrodorus, if the proper reading in PHILODEM. De Virt. et Vit. ix. col. 22, be (as seems probable; cf. SPENGEL, Abb. d. Münchn. Akad. v. 449, and HEITZ, l.c.) not Π. πολιτείας, but Π. πλαοῦτον—the Dial. is nowhere quoted by name, and of the fragments reckoned as belonging to it Heitz rightly rejects Fr. 88; and the Π. εἰχῆς (D. 14; AN. 9; Ar. Fr. 44—46, p. 1483; Ar. Ps. 67; Fr. Hz. 55; BERNAYS, 122), to which we possess only one reference that can be identified with certainty, i.e. Fr. 46, which is too closely related to PLAT. Rep. vi. 508 e to permit its rejection.

If we could say absolutely that the Dial. Π. εἰγενεῖς (D. 15; AN. 11; Pt. 5; Ar. Fr. 82—85, p. 1490; Ar. Ps. 96; BERNAYS, 140; HEITZ, V. S. 202; Fr. Hz. 55), which was already questioned by PLUT. Arist. 27, is not genuine, it would follow (as Heitz suggests) that the story that Socrates was accused of bigamy in it rests upon some misunderstanding. This, however, seems hardly probable, because the story in question appears so frequently and so early in the Aristotelian School. As to the genuineness of the Dialogues
yet distinguished, as it seems, from the strictly scientific treatises by their popular style of treatment. These are (at least in part) ascribable to the same period of Aristotle’s work. 1 To that period must also belong

named in the previous note, there are very few as to which we can form an approximate judgment; but there do not seem to be decisive grounds for rejecting any of them.

1 To the same period with the Endemus belongs also the Protrepticus (D. 12; An. 11; Pt. 1 — where it is probably transposed with the Π. φιλος, and is therefore said to have three books. — Ar. Fr. 47-50, p. 1483; Fr. Hr. 46). According to Teles, circa 250 B.C., it was addressed to the Cyprian prince Themiso, and was known to Zeno and to his teacher Crates (c. Stob. Floril. 95, 21). Rose, Ar. Ps. 68 (with a fortasse), Bywater, Journ. of Phil. ii. 55, and Usser, Rhein. Mus. xxviii. 372, suppose it to have been a Dial., and Bernays, 116, gives no opinion; but Heitz, V. S. 196, and Hirzel, Hermes, x. 61, seem to be right in saying that it was a continuous essay. The reasons are (1) that Teles says 'Αρ. προτρεπτικόν δυ έγγει πρός Θεω- σώνα, and although a Dial. like a drama may be dedicated to a man, τινι προγράφειν, yet it cannot be written to anyone, πρός τινα γράφειν: (2) that all other προτρεπτικοί that we know were essays and not dialogues; even the pseudo-Platonic Clitophon, which got an unsuitable second title of Προτρεπτικός (Thrasyll. ap. Diog. iii. 60), is no exception to this, for it is not a dialogue, but a speech introduced only by a couple of conversational remarks, which may therefore as properly be called προτρεπτικός as Menexenus with its longer conversational preface could be called ένιστάφιος (Thrasyll. Protrepticus, c. 1). If Cicero used it as a model for his Hortensius (Script. Hist. Aug. F. Sal. Gallici, c. 2), it may still be questioned whether the dialogue form was part of the imitation. As Usser, ut supra, shows, Cicero also used it for his Somnum Scipionis, Rep. vi., and, mediately or immediately, Censorinus, D. Nat. 18. 11. Bywater, ut supra, has also shown (but cf. Hirzel) that Jamblicus used it for his own Protrepticus.

— Of a kindred nature apparently was the Π. παίδειας (D. 19; An. 10; Pt. 4; Ar. Fr. 51, p. 1484; Ar. Ps. 72; Heitz, V. S. 307, Fr. Hr. 61). As no fragments are preserved, we cannot tell whether the Π. ηδουνής (D. 16, cf. 66; An. 15; Pt. 16; Heitz, V. S. 203; Fr. Hr. 59) was a dialogue or not. The book Π. βασιλείας (D. 18; An. 16; Pt. 7; Ar. Fr. 78, 79, probably also 81, p. 1489; Fr. Hr. 59), which was addressed to Alexander, and apparently referred to by Eratosthenes (ap. Strabo, i. 4, 9, p. 66), was more probably an essay (c. Heitz, V. S. 204) than a dial. (Rose, Ar. Ps. 93, and Bernays, 56). On the other hand, the title Αλέξανδρος ή άνερ (περι) ἀσκίων [-κιῶν], if the text
the treatise *On the Good*. It was an account of the substance of Plato’s lectures, and what little is recorded from or of it gives no reason to doubt its genuineness.

be correct, rather suggests a dial. (D. 17; *Ar. Fr.* 80; Bernays, 56; *Fr. Hz.* 61. *Heitz*, V. S. 204, 207, suggests ἓπε Αλέξ. ὑπερ ἀπολείπων καὶ π. βασιλεῖας. A preferable conjecture would be, ἐν ἀπολείπων α’. π. βασιλεῖας α’). Other fragments which Rose places among the Dials, will be referred to *infra*.

1 The π. τάγαθον consisted, according to *D.* 20, of three books: *An.* 20, one book; *Pt.* 8, five books: *Alex.* *ad Metaph.* iv. 2, 1003 b, 36, 1004 b, 34, 1005 a, 2 repeated quotes Book II., and the regular form of citation is ἐν τοῖς π. τάγαθον. Apart from the Catalogues, we never hear of this work except in the Aristotelian Commentators, whose notices are collected and discussed by Brandis, ‘Perd. Ar. Libr. de Ideis et de Bono,’ *Gr.-röm. Phil.* ii. b, 1, 84; KriscHER, *Forsch*. i. 263; Rose, *Ar. Ps.* 46, *Ar. Fr.* 22-26, p. 1477, and *Heitz*, V. S. 209, *Fr. Hz.* 79. Brandis (*ibid.*) has shown that none of them except Alexander possessed the work itself. Heitz, p. 203, doubts this even as to *Alex.*, because he in one place (p. 206, 19) distinguishes the ἐκλογὴ τῶν ἐνακτιων noticed *Ar. Metaph.* iv. 2, 1004 a, 2 (*de q. infra*) from the second book π. τάγαθον, and in another place (p. 218, 10, 14) identifies them. These passages seem, however, only to show that Alexander knew of no ἐκλ. τ. ἐν, as a separate book, but saw in the second book π. τάγαθον, a discussion to which, as far as the sense went, Aristotle might be referring, so that he was not sure whether Aristotle’s reference referred to the π. τάγαθον, or to a special work. If so, this makes rather for than against Alexander’s knowledge of the π. τάγαθον. *Simpl.* *De An.* 6, b, *PhiloP.* *De An.* C. 2 (cf. *Ar. Fr.* p. 1477 b, 35), *Suid.* Ἀγαθ. p. 35, b, believe that the words ἐν τοῖς περὶ φιλοσοφίας λεγομένοις in *Ar. De An.* i. 2, 404, b, 18, refer to this work, whereas they really refer to Platonic writings (cf. Zeller, ii. a. 636, 4). But this proves only that these writers knew the π. τάγαθον at second hand. Rose’s view that this work was a Dial. is refuted by *Heitz*, V. S. 217. We cannot tell whether Aristotle published in his lifetime his notes upon the lectures of Plato, or whether they became public after his death. If the ἐκλογὴ τ. ἐνακτιων cited by himself, formed part of them, the former would of course be true. It is clear that the book was in use before the end of the third century B.C., and certainly before the time of Andronicus, because of the mention of it in Diog.’s list; cf. p. 48 sq. *supra*.


3 This is proved, against *Suse- miHL*, *Genet. Entw. d. plat. Phil.* 2, 533, in Zeller’s *Plato*, *ad loc.*
There is more doubt about the date of the work On the Ideas, which Aristotle apparently refers to in the Metaphysics, and which Alexander possessed. The Extracts from some of Plato's writings and the monographs on earlier and contemporary philosophers —

1 This work is named in D. 54, and An. 15 (which give it one book only) Π. τῆς ἰδεᾶς or Π. ἰδεᾶς. We have references, however, by Alex. in Metaph. 564, b, 15 to the 1st book Π. εἰδῶν, in 573, a, 12 to the 2nd, and in 566, b, 16 to the 4th (but in the last case we may well read A for Δ, with Rose, Ar. Ps. 191, Ar. Fr. 1509, b, 36). Syrian, In Metaph. 901, a, 19, 942, b, 21 speaks of a work Π. τῶν εἰδῶν in two books. The same is meant in Pt. 14 by the three books De imaginibus, utrum existant an non; but the Arabic title 'fari a i d a l u n' indicates that their Greek text read not Π. εἰδῶν, but Π. εἰδάλων; cf. Rose, Ar. Ps. 185; Ar. Fr. 180–184 p. 1508; Fr. Hz. 86 sq.

2 I. 990 b, 8 sq.; we have not only Alexander's statement that this passage refers to the work on Ideas, but it seems to be the natural inference from Aristotle's text itself that he is referring to some more detailed discussion of the Ideal Theory which is already known to his readers.

3 Rose (Ar. Ps. 186) doubts this, but Alexander's own statements (cited in Ar. Fr. 183 fn., 184 fn.) indicate as much.

1 Τὰ ἐκ τῶν νῦν μόνον Πλάτωνος (D. 21, as 3 Bks., An. 23 as 2).—Τὰ ἐκ τῆς πολυτείας α' β' (D. 22. Procl. in Remp. 350; Ar. Fr. 176, p. 1507).—Τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Τιμίου καὶ τῶν Ἀρχιτείων (alia: καὶ Ἀρχύ-

τοῦ; D. 91; An. 85; Simpl. De Cælo, Schol. 191, b, 37: σύνοψιν ἡ ἐπιτομή τοῦ Τιμίου γράφειν οὐκ ἀπηλείπε; cf. Fr. Hz. 79.

2 Π. τῶν Πυθαγορείων, D. 101 An. 88; no doubt the same as is named Συμαγγηγὴ τῶν Πυθαγορείων ἀριστεῖνων by Simpl. De Cælo, Schol. 492, a, 26 and b, 41 sq.; Πυθαγορικά (ibid. 503, a, 24, 35); Πυθαγορικοὶ [—σα] (Theo. Arithm. 5); Π. τῆς Πυθαγορικῶν δόξης (Alex. Metaph. 560, b, 25), and Π. τῆς Πυθαγορικῆς φιλοσοφίας (Jambil. V, Pyth. 31). Probably the separate title Πρὸς τοὺς Πυθαγορείους, D. 97, is only a part of the same work, as D. gives each of them one book only, while Alexander and Simpl. quote from book 2. The reference in Diod. viii. 34, cf. 19, probably belongs to this treatise (whether we there read ἐν τῷ περὶ κυκλών, or π. κυκλών only, cf. Cobet). Other notices of the work are collected by Rose, Ar. Ps. 193, Ar. Fr. 185–200, p. 1510; Fr. Hz. 68.—We find also three books Π. τῆς Ἀρχιτείου [-του?] φιλοσοφίας in D. 92, An. 83, Pt. 9; cf. Ar. Ps. 211, and Fr. Hz. 77, and cf. last note. Also ἀπὸ τὰ 'Αλκίμαλονος, D. 96, An. 87; Ἀρβλήματα ἐκ τῶν Δημοκρίτου, 7 (2) books, D. 124, An. 116 (cf. Ar. Ps. 213, Ar. Fr. 202 p. 1514, Fr. Hz. 77); ἀπὸ τὰ Μελίσσου, D. 95, An. 86; ἀπὸ τὰ Γαργύρου, D. 98, An. 89; ἀπὸ τὰ Ξενοφάνους, [—κράτους in MSS.] D. 99; ἀπὸ τὰ
so far as these were genuine—must, however, have been mostly compiled during Aristotle's first residence in Athens, or at least before his return from Macedonia. A collection of Platonic *Divisions* ascribed to him was no doubt a forgery.

Far above all these in historic importance stand the works which set out the peculiar system of the Master in strict philosophical form. Speaking broadly, it is these alone which have survived the first century A.D., and have

*Zephyros*, D. 100: our treatise *De Melisse*, &c., to which, besides the lost section as to Zeno, another cited at second hand by *Philop. Phys.* B. 9 as *Πρ. τὴν Παρμενίδου δόξαν* seems to have belonged. We know that this work was used by Simplicius (cf. Zeller, i. 474 sq.). There was also the *Περὶ τῆς Σεπτομικράτους* [*philosophas*], D. 93, AN. 84.

1 We cannot judge as to the genuineness of several, of which we have the titles only. It is not impossible that Aristotle may have left, among his papers, extracts and criticisms on various philosophic systems written down in the course of his studies, and that recensions of these were published. It is also possible that similar collections may have passed themselves off under his name. That the latter was the case with the tracts in our *Corpus* on the Eleatic School is proved in *Zeller*, *Ph. d. Gr.* i. 465 sq. It is more difficult to decide as to the authenticity of the work on the Pythagoreans. If all the fables (see *Zeller*, *Ph. d. Gr.* i. 285) which appear in *Fr.* 186, were related as historic fact, the book could not be Aristotle's, but in view of the character of our informants it is very possible that *they* presented as history what he had only stated as a Pythagorean tradition. Similarly the meanings of the Pythagorean symbols (*Fr.* 190 sq.) and the contents of *Fr.* 188, which Isidor. *ap. Clement. Strom.* vi. 641 falsely attributes to Aristotle himself, are merely references to Pythagorean theories. The rest of the passages cited from this book as to the Pythagorean system give no reason to reject it. The apparent contradiction between *Fr.* 200 (*ap. Simplic. De Celo*, Schol. 492, b, 39 sq.) and *Ar. De Celo* ii. 2, 285, b, 25 is quite reconcileable, without following Alexander in assuming a *falsa lectio*, for which, however, *Fr.* 195, *ap. Simplic. ibid.* 492, a, 18, gives some ground.

2 This is named in the existing lists only by *Pr.* 53, as 'Divisio Platonis' (formerly mistranslated 'justjurandum' or 'testamentum Pl.'). It was, perhaps, the same as the Aristotelian *Simpéoseis* (*v. p. 75, n. 2, infra*) elsewhere mentioned. A similar work, obviously a later recension of the Pseudo-Aristotelian text
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thereby transmitted to mediaeval and modern times a first-hand knowledge of the Aristotelian philosophy. Their preservation itself is no doubt primarily due to the fact that it was in them that that philosophy was first expounded in the systematic maturity in which he set it forth during the years of his teaching at Athens.

If we take what is now extant or otherwise known to us of this class of works, that which first meets us is the important set of treatises which laid the foundation for all later logic: the Categories, the book on

used for the account given of Plato by Diog. iii. 80, is printed by Ross, Ar. Ps. 677-695 (and after him by Pr. He. 91), under the title, Διαμετέω 'Αριστοτέλους, deq. r. ZELL., Ph. d. Gr. ii. a. 382.

1 The title of this work by the common (and probably correct) account is Κατηγορία; but we find it also named as: Π. τῶν Κατηγορίων, Κατηγορία δέκα, Π. τῶν δεκα κατηγοριῶν, Π. τῶν δεκα γενών, Π. τῶν γενών τοῦ ὄντος, Κατηγορία ἦτοι π. τῶν δεκα γενικοτάτων γενών, Π. τῶν καθόλου λόγων, Πρὸ τῶν τοπικῶν (or τόπων); cf. Waitz, Arist. Orig. i. 81, Simpl. in Cat. 4, β, and David, Schol. in Ar. 30, a, 3. The title Τὰ πρὸ τῶν τόπων was known to Andronicus according to Simpl. ibid. 95 ζ, Schol. 81, a, 27, and to Boëthius, In Præd. iv. p. 191 (who obviously got his knowledge from the same source as Simpl., i.e. Porphyry). Herminus, circa 160 a.d., preferred it to the ordinary name. David, however, (Schol. 81, b, 25), D. 59, and An. 57 name a book called Τὰ πρὸ τῶν τόπων, besides the Κατηγορία, which is D. 141, ΑΝ. 132, Pr. 25 b; and do not appear to think them the same. Andronicus was probably right (cf. Simpl. ut supra, Schol. 81, a, 27) in identifying the title of Τὰ πρὸ τ. τόπων with the spurious appendix of the so-called 'Post-predicamenta'; and it may have been invented either, as he supposes, by the writer of that tract, or by some later editor who found the original name, Κατηγορίαι, too limited for the treatise as enlarged by the spurious addition. Aristotle himself refers to his theory of the Categories (De An. i. 1, 5, 402 a, 23, 410 a, 14, Anal. Pri. i. 37, cf. the quotations, infra, p. 189, n. 2, g. v.) as known to his readers, and he assumes this in other places also, which seems to indicate that he had dealt with it in a published work. There is a more definite reference in Eth. N. ii. 1 init. to Categ. c. 8 (cf. Trendelenburg. Hist. Beitr. i. 171). That in Eth. Eud. i. 8, 1217, b 27, may possibly refer not to the Categ. but to some work of Eudemus, and those in Top. ix., (Soph. El.) i. 22. 166, b, 14. 178, a, 5, no doubt refer to the passage as to categories in Top. i. 9, init.,
which, however, is itself so brief and undeveloped that it presupposes an early and better account. Simpl. (Categ. 4 ζ, Schol. 30, b, 36) and David (Schol. 30, a, 24) say that Aristotle had also referred to this work in another place—not now extant—under the title of Κατηγορίαι or Δίκαια Κατ. We are told also that, following Aristotle’s example, Eudemus, Theophrastus, and Phanias, wrote not only ‘Analytica,’ and works ‘Π. ἐρωτευόμεναι,’ but also Κατηγορίαι (AMMON. Schol. 28, a, 40, and in q. r. Porph. 15 m, DAVID, Schol. 19, a, 34, 30, a, 5, ANON. ibid. 32, b, 32, 94, b, 14; but Brandis in the Rhein. Mus. 1. 1827, p. 270, rightly denies this as to Theophrastus, and doubts it as to Eudemus). The references in SIMPL. Cat. 106, a, 107, a, sq., Schol. 89, a, 37, 30, a, 12 do not prove that Strato referred to Aristotle’s Categories. On the other hand, the ancient critics never doubted the genuineness of the extant book, although they rejected a second recension (r. SIMPL. Categ. 4 ζ, Schol. 39, a, 36; ANON. ibid. 33, b, 30; PHILOP. ibid. 39, a, 19, 142, b, 38; AMMON. Cat. 13, 17, and BOETH. In Præd. 113, all following Adrastus, a noted critic circa 100 A. D.; cf. Fr. Hz. 114). The only doubts suggested are by Schol. 33, a, 28 sq., and these apparently were not derived from Andronicus. The internal characteristics of the book, however, are in many ways open to criticisms, which Spengel (Münch. Gel. Anz. 1845, 41 sq.), Rose (Ar. Libr. Ord. 292 sq.), and Prantl (Gesch. d. Logik. i. 90, 5, 204 sq. 243) have used to combat its genuineness, the latter saying that its compiler might be found ‘in any master of a peripatetic school of the age following Chrysippus’ (p. 207). Their critical positions, however, are not all tenable. Prantl (ibid.) takes exception to the number 10; but in the Top. i. 9, the same ten Categories are given, and we know from Dexipp. (In Categ. 40, Schol. 48, a, 46) and Simp. (ibid. 47, b, 40) that Aristotle named these ten in other works also. It is true that Aristotle generally uses a less number; but that may only mean either that he here adjoins all the ten because his object was logical completeness, or that he counted more Categories at an earlier time than he did later. He never assumed, as will be shown later, a fixed number of them. Again, it is objected that the Κατηγορία speaks of δεύτεραι οὐσίαι; but we find as parallels to this not only πρῶται οὐσίαι (e.g. Metaph. vii. 7, 13, 1032, b, 2, 1038, b, 10), but also τρίται οὐσίαι (ibid. vii. 2, 1028, b, 20, 1043, a, 18, 28). The words of Κατηγορία. c. 5, 2, b, 29: ἐκδότως . . . μόνα . . . τὰ ἔδρα καὶ τὰ γένη δεύτεραι οὐσίαι λέγονται, are not to be translated ‘the term δεύτερα οὐσία is used for genera and species and rightly so,’ since it was not commonly so used before Aristotle, but rather, ‘there is reason to treat as a second class of substances only genera and species.’ Again, when it is remarked in Κατηγορία. c. 7, 8, a, 31, 39, that, strictly speaking, πρῶτα τι includes those things only which not merely stand in a definite relation to some other thing, but have their essence in such a relation—οἷς τὸ ἐναὶ ταῖτὸν ἐστι
the parts and kinds of propositions, those on

τὸ πρὸς τὶ πως ἔχειν—there is no need to suspect here any trace of Stoic influence, since the πρὸς τὶ πως ἔχειν appears also in Ar. Top. vi. c. 4, 142, a, 29, c. 8, 164, b, 4; Phys. vii. 3, 247, a, 2, b, 3, and Eth. N. i. 12, 1101, b, 13. It is true, however, that all the objections cannot easily be set aside. Nevertheless, the treatise bears in general a decisively Aristotelian impress; it is closely related to the Topics in tone and contents, and the external evidence is heavily in its favour.—The best conclusion seems to be, not that the whole is spurious, but that the seemingly-un-Aristotelian elements are to be explained by the assumption that the genuine body of the work extends to c. 9, 11, b, 7 only, but that what followed has dropped out of the recension we possess, and is replaced only by the short note, c. 9, 11, b, 8–14. The so-called 'Postprædicamenta' (c. 10–15) were suspected as early as Andronicus (SIMPL. ut suppr. Schol. 81, a, 27; AMMON. ibid. 81, b, 37), and Brandis has now proved they are added by another hand (Ü. d. Reihefolge d. Bücher d. Ar. Org., Abh. d. Berl. Akad. Hist. phil. Kl. 1833, 267, and Gr.-rom. Phil. ii. b, 406). It is another question whether Ἔπος was compiled from Aristotelian fragments, as he suggests. The concluding paragraph, at c. 9, 11, b, 8–14, reads exactly as if it came in the place of further discussions which the editor cut out, justifying himself by the remark that there was nothing in them which did not appear in the earlier part. In the body of the work it is probable also that passages have been left out and others added in this recension; but much of the inconsequence of exposition and language may as easily be due simply to the fact that the Categ. were the earliest of the logical writings, and were written probably many years earlier than the Analytics.

1 This book, Π. εὐμνείας, was in ancient times rejected as not genuine by Andronicus (so ALEX. Anal. pri. 52 a, and Schol. in Ar. 161 b, 40; AMMON. De Interpr. 6 a, and Schol. 97 b, 13; BOETH. ibid. 97 a, 28; ANON. ibid. 94 a, 21; PHILOP. De An. A 13, B 1), followed recently by Gumposch (Log. Schr. d. Ar. Leipz. 1839) and Rose (Ar. Ps. 232). Brandis (Abh. d. Berl. Akad. 263 sq., cf. DAVID, Schol. in Ar. 21 b, 5) takes it to be an incomplete sketch of the work, to which c. 14 (rejected as early as Ammonius and passed over by Porphyry; cf. AMMON. De Interpr. 201 b; Schol. 133 b) has probably been added by a later hand. The external evidence for the work is good enough. Not only do all three lists agree in naming it (D. 152, AN. 133, Pr. 2), but we are told that Theophrastus referred to it in his essay Π. καταφάσεως καὶ ἀποφάσεως (DIOG. v. 14; ALEX. Anal. pri. 124, Schol. 183 b, 1; more explicitly, after Alexander, BOETH. ibid. 97, a, 38; ANON. Schol. in Ar. 94, b, 13; cf. the Schol. ap. WAITZ, Ar. Orig. i. 40, who, on De Interpr. 17, b, 16, remarks: πρὸς τοῦτο φησιν ὁ Θεό- φραστος, etc.; cf. AMMON. De Interpr. 73, a, 122, b). It seems
conclusions and scientific method in general,\(^1\) on the
also that Eudemus \(\Pi. \lambda \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon \) (ALEX. Anal. pri. 6, b, Top. 38, Metaph. 63, 15; ANON. Schol. in Ar. 116, a, 24) may have been an imitation of this book (not, as Schol. 84, b, 15, wrongly suggests, of the Categories; cf. the quotation from Ammon. in preceeding note). This last suggestion, however, is uncertain, and the notices as to Theophrastus are not absolutely clear, for the texts show that he did not name the \(\Pi. \varepsilon \varepsilon \nu \varepsilon \nu \) at all. Alexander thought he saw, from the way in which Theophrastus dealt with the subject (\textit{thaema}) in his own book, reason to infer that he had Aristotle in mind; but whether he was right in that inference or not, we cannot judge. The Schol. ap. Waitz has nothing to show that there reference there quoted from Theophrastus referred to a passage in \textit{this} book, and was not rather a general reference to the frequently recurring Aristotelian law of the excluded middle.—
On the other hand, it is singular that while the \(\Pi. \varepsilon \varepsilon \nu \varepsilon \nu \) is never cited or referred to in any of Aristotle's books (cf. BONITZ, \textit{Ind. Ar.} 102, a, 27), it cites not only the \textit{First Analytic} (c. 10, 19, b, 31: Anal. 46, 51, 6, 36) and the \textit{Topics} (c. 11, 20, 6, 26: Top. ix. 17, 175, b, 39), but also the \(\Pi. \psi \upsilon \chi \nu \iota \) (c. 1, 16, a, 8), and that for a proposition which neither the ancient opponents of Andronicus nor modern scholars have been able to find in it (cf. BONITZ, \textit{Ind. Ar.} 97, b, 49, whose suggestion, however, is not satisfactory). Its remarks on Rhetoric and Poetry (c. 4, 17, a, 5) have no relation to the corresponding treatises of Aristotle. It should be added that the work accords throughout with Aristotle's line of thought, but frequently enlarges in a didactic way on the most elementary points in a fashion which one would suppose Aristotle would not have found necessary at the date at which it must have been written, if by him. The question, therefore, is not only whether it is by Aristotle or by another, but whether it may not, as Grant suggests (\textit{Ar.} 57), have been written out by one of his scholars from oral lectures in which the difficulties of beginners would naturally be kept in view.

\(^1\) Syllogisms are dealt with by the \textit{\'A\nu\alpha\l\nu\o\tau\i\kappa\alpha\ \p\rho\o\tau\i\tau\a}, in two books, and scientific method by the \textit{\'A\nu\alpha\l\nu\o\tau\i\kappa\alpha \p\rho\o\tau\i\tau\a, also in two. The fact that D. 49 and An. 46 give nine books to the \textit{\'A\nu\alpha\l\nu\o\tau\i\kappa\alpha \p\rho\o\tau\i\tau\a,} (though An. 134 repeats the title with two only) points probably only to a different division; but it is also possible that other tracts are included, for the ANON. Schol. in Ar. 33, b, 32 (cf. DAVID, \textit{ibid.} 30, b, 4, PHILOP. \textit{ibid.} 39, a, 19, 142, b, 38, and SIMPL. \textit{Categ.} 4) says that Adrastus knew of forty books of Analytics, of which only the four which are extant were counted genuine.—That these are genuine is proved beyond doubt, both by internal evidence, by Aristotle's own references, and by the fact that his earliest pupils wrote works modelled on them (cf. p. 65, \textit{supra}, and BRANDIS, \textit{Rhein. Mus.} NIEBUHR and BR. I. 267). Thus we know
proof by probability, and on fallacies and their dis-
of an Analytic by Eudemus (ALEX. Top. 70), and we have references to book i. of the Πρότερα ἀναλ. of Theophrastus (ALEX. Anal. pri. 39, b, 51, a, 131, b, Schol. 158, b, 8, 161, b, 9, 184, b, 36; SIMPL. De Calo, Schol. 509, a, 6). Alexander, in his commentary, quotes from both on numerous points in which they developed or improved Aristotle's ἀναλ. πρώτο. (cf. Theophr. Fr. [ed. Wimmer], p. 177 sq. 229; Eudem. Fr. [ed. Spengel], p. 141 sq.). For the Second Analytic the references are less copious; but we know of passages of Theophrastus through Alexander (ANON. Schol. in Ar. 240, b, 2, and ap. EUSK. ibid. 212, a, 17), through THEMIST. ibid. 199, b, 46, and through PHILOP. ibid. 205, a, 46, and through an Anon. Schol. ibid. 248, a, 24, of a remark of Eudemus, all of which seem to refer to the Second Analytic. We know as to Theophrastus not only from the form of the title of the ἀναλ. πρώτο, but also from express testimony (c. DIOG. v. 42; GALEX, Hippocr. et Pl. ii. 2, vol. v. 213, and ALEX. Qu. Nat. i. 26) that he did write a Second Analytic, and it is probable that in that, as in the text, he followed Aristotle. Aristotle himself cites both Analytics under that name: Top. viii. 11, 13, 162, a, 11, b, 32; Soph. El. 2, 165, b, 8; Rhet. i. 2, 1356, b, 9, 1357, a, 29, b, 24, ii. 25, 1403, a, 5, 12; Metaph. vii. 12 init.; Eth. N. vi. 3, 1139, b, 26, 32; also De Interpreter. 10, 19, b, 31; M. Mor. ii. 6, 1201, b, 25; Eth. End. i. 6, 1217, a, 17, ii. 6, 1222, b, 38, c. 10, 1227, a, 10; (cf. other references ap. BONITZ, Ind. Arist. 102, a, 30 sq.). It is therefore the original title, and has always remained in common use, notwithstanding that Aristotle cites certain passages of the First Analytic with the word εν τοις περὶ συλλογισμοῖς (Anal. post. i. 3, 11, 73, a, 14, 77, a, 33), or that Alexander (Metaph. 437, 12, 488, 11, 718, 4) and Pt. 28 call the Second Analytic ἀπολογιστικὴ, or that Galen (De Puls. iv. fin., vol. viii. 765; De Libr. Propr. vol. xix. 41) chooses to substitute, as he says, for the common titles, the names Π. συλλογισμοῦ and Π. ἀποδείξεως; nor have we any right to name them on internal grounds (with GUMPOSCH, Log. Ar. 115) Π. συλλογισμοῦ and Μεθοδικά. BRANDIS justly remarks (Ur. d. Ar. Org. 261 sq.; Gr.-röm. Phil. ii. b, 1, 224, 274) that the First Analytic is far more carefully and evenly worked out than the Second (which Aristotle can hardly have considered as complete); and that the two books of the First Analytic do not appear to have been written together, but with an interval.

Aristotle dealt with this subject in several books, no doubt in connection with his rhetorical teaching. We still have the Topica in eight books, of which, however, the last, and perhaps the third and seventh also, seem to have been worked out long after the others (v. BRANDIS, Ur. d. Ar. Org. 255; Gr.-röm. Phil. ii. b, 330). The genuineness of the work and of its name is established by citations in Aristotle himself (De
proof. Besides these, which are the component parts of our Organon; we have also the names of a great

Interpr. 11, 20, b, 26; Anal. pr. i. 11, 24, b, 12; ii. 15, 17, 64, a, 37, 65, b, 16; Rhet. i. 1, 1355, a, 28, c. 2, 1356, b, 11, 1358, a, 29; ii. 22, 1396, b, 4, c. 23, 1398, a, 28, 1399, a, 6, c. 25, 1402, a, 36, c. 26, 1403, a, 32; iii. 18, 1419, a, 21. For the art of proof by probabilities Aristotle uses the term 'Dialectic' (Top. init., Rhet. init., etc.), and he refers to the Topics in a similar way as πραγματεία π. τήν διαλεκτικήν (Anal. pri. i. 30, 46, a, 30). It is probable, therefore, that by μεθοδικά (Rhet. i. 2, 1356, b, 19) he meant the Topics, which in the opening words announce as their object, μέθοδον εἰδρεῖν, etc., and in which (i. 12, 105, a, 16; viii. 2 init.) the relative passage is to be found, rather than, as Heitz (p. 81 sq., Fr. Hz. 117) suggests, a lost work; cf. Rose, Ar. Libr. Ord. 120; VAHLEN, Wien. Akad. xxxviii. 99; BONITZ, Zschr. Oesterr. Gymn. 1866, 11, 774. It seems, also, that in several MSS. the Topics were headed with the title Μεθοδικά, so that an idea arose that they were distinct works. This idea has been attributed to Dionys. (Ep. I. ad Amm. 6, p. 729, on Rhet. i. 2), but he speaks only of ἀναλυτικὴ καὶ μεθοδική πραγματεία, and does not specially include the Topics in the latter. But D. 52 inserts Μεθοδικά in eight books, and AN. 49, the like title including seven books, although both know the Topics as well. So Diog. (v. 29) distinguishes τὰ τε τοπικά καὶ μεθοδικά; and Simpl. (Cat. 16 a, Schol. 47, b, 40), after Porphyry, appears to regard the latter as belonging, and the former as not belonging, to the 'Hypomnematic' writings. In D. 81 we even find a second entry of Μεθοδικά α'.—The theory of Spengel (Abh. d. Münchn. Akad. vi. 497) that our text of the Topics contains grave lacunae does not seem to be proved by the passages he quotes (Rhet. i. 2, 1356, b, 10; ii. 25, 1402, a, 34). As to the former, which refers to the Topics only for the difference between συνλογιμός and ἐπαγωγή (cf. BRANDIS, 'Ue. d. Rhet. Ar.' ap. Philologus, iv. 13), it is satisfied by Top. i. 1, 12. As to the second, which does not apply to Top. viii. 10, 161, a, 9 sq., the words καθάπερ καί ἐν τοῖς τοπικοῖς, etc., need not be taken as referring to a particular passage, but may be taken as meaning 'of objections there are in Rhetoric, as in Topics, many kinds,' i.e. in oratorical use as opposed to disputation,—a remark that might well be made even if these distinctions were not taken in the earlier book. For similar uses of ἐστὶ πρὸ τοῦ τοπικοῦ, etc., cf. BONITZ, Ind. Ar. 101 b, 44 sq., 52 sq., and VAHLEN, ut supra, 140 (where the phrase in Rhet. ii. 25 is explained as meaning 'Instances are here used in the same way as in Topics, and those of four kinds,' etc.).

1 The Π. σοφιστικῶν ἐλέγχων, or (as ALEX. Schol. 296, a, 12, 21, 29, and Boeth. in his translation have it) Σοφιστ. ἐλέγχων. Waitz (Ar. Org. ii. 528), followed by Bonitz (Ind. Ar. 102, a, 49),
number of kindred writings: treatises on Knowledge and Opinion, on Classification by Genera and Species, on Opposition and Difference, on Particular Kinds of Conceptions, on Expression in Speech, on Affirmation and Negation.

shows that Aristotle in the De Interpr. c. 11, 29, b, 26, and Anal. pri. ii. 17, 65, b, 16, refers to passages of this work (i.e. c. 17, 175, b, 39, c. 30, and c. 5, 167, b, 21), under the name in tois Topikos; that he reckons knowledge of fallacies as part of 'Dialectic' (Soph. El. c. 9 fin., ch. II fin.; cf. Top. i. 1, 100, b, 23); and that c. 34 is the epilogue not only for these but for the whole science of 'Topics.' Again, however, Aristotle seems (in c. 2, 165 b, 8; cf. Rhet. i. 3, 1359, b, 11; cf. Brandis, Gr.-rüm. Phil. ii. b, 148) to distinguish the two, in a way, however, which proves, not that the two were not meant to form a whole, but that the treatise on fallacies was composed later than the rest of the Topics. The lists of D. and An. do not name the Σοφ. ελ. (for that reading in An. 125 is, as Rose shows, wrong), and yet give the Μέθοδικά only eight books, whereas Pt. 29, separates them from the Topics (26 b); possibly, however, in D. 27, Π. εριστικών two books, and An. 27, Π. εριστικών λόγων two books, are the same as our Σοφ. ελ.

1 Π. επιστήμης, D. 40; Π. επιστημών, D. 26, An. 25; Π. δόξης, An. App. 162. The genuineness of the work is doubtful, because it is nowhere else referred to.

2 To this subject refer several titles in Pt.: i.e. No. 60, 'Ὀριστικά, four books (cf. Diog. v. 50, for the same title in the list of Theophrastus' works); 63, on the objects of Definition, two books; 63 b, De Contradictione Definitionum; 63 c, De Arte Definendi; 64, Πρὸς τὸν δραματικό, two books (cf. the same from Theophr., Diog. v. 45), translated De Tabula Definendi. As to the collections of definitions and divisions, cf. infra.

3 Π. εἰδῶν καὶ γενών, D. 31; Π. εἰδῶν, An. 28, otherwise unknown.

4 As to the opposition of concepts there was a book Π. τῶν ἀντικειμένων, doubtless the same as Π. ἐναντίων (D. 30, An. 32). Simplicius, in his commentary on the Catey. (v. Ar. Fr. 115–121, p. 1197, sq.; Fr. Hz. 119), gives us some further information as to this book and its casuistical discussions. Rose (Ar. Ps. 130) refers it to the age of Theophrastus. Pt. 12 has Π. διαφορᾶς, four books.

5 De Relato (Π. τοῦ πρός τι), six books (Pt. 84).

6 De Significatione, Pt. 78; its Greek title is given as 'Γαραμ-κον,' i.e. Γραμματικον or -ων. As to another related title, Π. λέξεως, cf. infra. Pt. 54, Partitio Conditionum quo statutur in vero et ponuntur, four books, may also have been a grammatical treatise.

7 ALEX. Metaph. 286, 23, 680, a, 26, cites this simply as ἐν
isms,¹ and on subjects belonging to the sphere of Topics and Eristics.² Probably, however, the most

¹ Συλλογισμών α' β' (D. 56, Αν. 54); Συλλογιστικών καὶ δροι (D. 57; Αν. 55: -κών δρων); Συλλογισμοί α' (D. 48).

² To this category belong in the first place the treatises placed next to the Μεθοδικά in the lists: Τα πρὸ τῶν τόπων (D. 59, Αν. 57); Ὁροὶ πρὸ τῶν τοπικῶν, 7 books (D. 55); Τοπικῶν πρὸς τοὺς δρόους α' β' (D. 60, Αν. 59, Ρτ. 62 as three books named Ταβολα δεινιτίων τῶν αὐθεντικών Ζαύγα in Topica, i.e. Πρὸς δρούς τοπικῶν); Πός μεν τοπικὰ τοπικά; De Definiendo Topico (i.e. 'On Definition in Topics,' Ρτ. 61); Π. ἰδιῶν (D. 32); Π. ἑρωτήσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως (D. 44, Αν. 44). Brandis, however, believes (ὑποθέσεις) that these names indicate only particular parts of our Τοπικά. He takes Τα πρὸ τῶν τόπων (elsewhere used for the Κατεγ., cf. p. 64, n. 1) to be the first book, which in fact we know to have been so called by some (ΑΝΩΝ. Σχολ. in Αρ. 252, α, 46); the Ὅροι τῶν τόπων (as Βρ. reads it) to be books 2-8; Τοπ. πρὸς τοὺς δρόους, books 6-7; Π. ἰδιῶν, book 5; and Π. ἑρωτ. κ. ἀποκρ., book 8, as to which we learn from ΑΛΕΞ. Σχολ. 292, a, 14, that many named it so, and others again, with a reference to its first words, Π. τάξεως κ. ἀποκρίσεως. These suggestions seem to commend themselves: except that it is easier to suppose as to the seven books of Ὅροι πρὸ τῶν τόπων that the text of D. is wrong. The ΑΝ. gives instead two titles: 51, Ὅροι βιβλίων α'; 52, Τοπικῶν ζ. Here it is natural to refer the Ὅροι to book 1, the first half of which (c. 1-11) consists in definitions and their explanation, and the seven Τοπικά to books 2-8. We conjecture, therefore, in view of the fact that both lists have the number seven, that in D. also the Ὅροι was originally distinct from the Τοπικά, and that his text read: ΟΡΟΙ πρὸ τῶν τοπικῶν α': Τοπικῶν α'-ζ'. D. 65 and ΑΝ. 62 name also Ἔπιχειρήματων α' β' (Ρτ. 55, 39, Β', 83, 1, Β'); D. 33; ΑΝ. 33, Τπομήματα ἐπιχειρήματικα, 3 Μ.; D. 70, ΑΝ. 65, Θέσεις ἐπιχειρήματικαί κ. ήθελόντων διευκρινίσεως. (Πρὸς τέσσερις ἐπιχειρεῖν means 'to develop the πρὸ and ἐν of a given proposition,' v. ΙΝΔ. Αρ. 282, b, 57, 283, a, 6: θέσεις ἐπιχειρηματικά are therefore themes for dialectical development or dialectical exercises with an introduction to the way of working them out.)—The Ἐπιχειρήματα are no doubt identical with the Λογικά ἐπιχειρεῖν the second book of which is quoted by ΦΙΛΙΠ. Σχολ. 227, a, 16, and the Τπομήματα ἐπιχειρεῖν, with that which is cited simply as Ἐπιχειρήματα by ΔΕΞΙΠΠ. Κατ. 40, Σχολ. 48, a, 4, and ΣΙΜΠΛ. Σχολ. 47, b, 39 following Por-
ancient of these tracts were in reality productions of the Peripatetic school at dates subsequent to Aristotle's death.

Next to the Topics in order of subjects come the Rhetorical Works.1 Some of these were written before the Topics in order of time; others only afterwards and at a long interval. Of the many books of Aristotelian or alleged Aristotelian origin which dealt with the theory of skilled speaking,2 or treated

The references in Athen. iv. 173, and xiv. 654 to Ar. θεωροπάστος εί τούς ἐποιηµάτας are not to a defined book so named, but are vague and not to be identified. What relation the Προτάσεις named in Pt. (No. 79 = 33[223] books, and No. 80 = 31 (?) books) bear to the Θέσεις επίχ. we cannot say, but we also find two entries in D. (46 and 47), and one in lnx. (38) of Προτάσεις α'. The Επιχειρηµατικόν λόγον, cited by Aristotle in the opening of c. 2. Π. μνήµ. is not a separate work (cf. Them. 97, a, p. 241), but the first chapter of the work itself (449, b, 13 sq., 450, a, 30 sq., 450, b, 11 sq.; cf. Bonitz, Ind. Ar. 99, a, 38). Under the head of Topics fall also the Ευ-στάσεις, D. 35, lx. 36, Pt. 55, b; the Προτάσεις έρωτικα 3', D. 47, lx. 44; Λύσεις έρωτικα β', D. 28, lx. 29; and Διαιρέσεις σοφιστικα 3', D. 49, lx. 31. As to the Έρωτικον λόγον, cf. p. 68, n. 1 πίν. A tract παρά τήν λέξιν, named by Simpl. Schol. 47, b, 40, was doubted, as he says, even by the ancients (cf. Ar. Fr. 113, p. 1496; Ross. Ar. Ps. 128; Fr. Hz. 116). It dealt probably (cf. Soph. El. 4) with the fallacies παρά τήν λέξιν. 

1 Cf. Rhet. i, 1 init. c. 2, 1356, a, 25; Soph. El. 34, 184, a, 8.

2 Besides the two extant works, this class includes primarily the Theodectean Rhetoric; i.e. D. 82 and lx. 74. τέχνης τῆς θεωδέκτου συναγωγή [? εἰσαγωγή] in one or three books. The extant Rhetoric alludes (iii. 9 μία) to an enumeration εν τοίς θεωδέκτεοι, which must mean a work of Aristotle, and proves, even if Rhet. iii. be spurious, the existence of this book in early times. The compiler of the Rhet. ad Alex. 1. 1421, b, 1 makes Aristotle speak of ταῖς υπ' ἐμοῦ τέχναις θεωδέκτη γραφέσαιας; and this reference also must be at least anterior to Andronicus. The words leave it doubtful whether the writer meant a Rhetoric dedicated to Theodectes, or one written by Aristotle but published by Theodectes in his own name. Later classical writers several times attribute to the name 'Rhetoric of Theodectes' the
of the history of rhetoric,¹ or set out rhetorical

after meaning, in itself most im-
probable (cf. Θεόδεκτικαί τέχναι, ANON. in Ar. Fr. 125, p. 1493, Fr. Hz. 125; QUINTILIAN, ii. 15, 10, gives this explanation with an 'ut crediditum est': VALER. Max. viii. 14, 3 gives it more distinctly); or else they name Theodectes directly as the author (CIC. Orat. 51, 172, 57, 194; QUINTIL. iv. 2, 63: and later writers ap. ROSE, Ar. Ps. 141, Ar. Fr. 123; Fr. Hz. 124 sq.; compare the similar treatment of the title Nicomachean Ethics by Cicero and others, de quo p. 97 infra; or else they ascribe to Ari-
stotle and Theodectes the opinions they find in this book (DIONYS. Comp. Verb. 2, p. 8, De Vi Demos. 48, p. 1101; QUINTIL. i. 4. 18; Ar. Fr. 126). If it is genuine, which the Fr. at least give no reason to doubt, we should consider it certainly not as a work written by Theodectes and published by Aristotle after his death, but as a work of Ari-
stotle dedicated to Theodectes, in which view, since that orator did not survive the date of Alex-
ander’s Eastern expedition, and had become known to Alexander through Aristotle (PLUT. Alex. 17 fin.), it would have been composed during the years of Ari-
stotle’s residence in Macedonia. The name τέχναι (in the Rhet. ad Alex.; cf. ROSE, Ar. Ps. 139) seems to indicate that it had more than one book, though the plural Θεόδεκτεια (Rhet. iii. 9) would not necessarily do so. For further details v. ROSE, Ar. Ps. 135 sq., and HEITZ, 85 sq.—

As to the remaining titles in our lists which relate to Rhetoric,

the Tέχνη[ς] α’ of D. 79, AN. 73 probably meant the extant Rhet. ad Alex. In D. 80 the MSS. vary between άλλη τέχνη and άλλη τεχνάν συναγωγή. If the former is right it would mean a second recension of our Rhetoric: if the latter, a recension of the τεχνών συναγωγή: in neither case would it imply separate works.— Of the special tracts, the Γρύλλος has been mentioned p. 58, n. 1, supra: probably AN. App. 153, Π. ῥητορικῆς is merely a duplicate of it. In the title, Π. λέξεως α’ β’ (D. 87, AN. 79, Π. λέξ. καθαρὰς: cf. on a similar book by Eudemus, p. 698, n. 3) Brandis in the Gr.-röm. Phil. ii. b, 1. 79 detects book 3 of our Rhetoric, whose first twelve chapters deal with that subject. This is the more probable than D. 78 gives the Rhetoric only two books, although AN. 72 has three books. The others, i.e. D. 85, AN. 77, Π. μεγέθους α’ (de quo cf. Rhet. i. 3, 1359, a, 16, ii. 18 sq. 1391, b, 31, 1393, a, 5); D. 88, AN. 80, Π. συμβουλίας [-ῆς] α’ (v. Ar. Fr. 136, p. 1501, Ar. Ps. 118, Fr. Hz. 126): AN. App. 177, Π. ρήτορος ἡ πολιτικά: AN. App. 178, Τέχνη ἐγκωμιαστική, were doubtless all spurious, as was also the Μνημο-

nikών (D. 117, AN. 109) which would be dealt with as an aid to Rhetoric. PT. 68, Παραγγέλματα seems to be the same as the Παραγγ. ρητορικῆς attributed to Theophrastus by Diog. v. 47, but was in any case not by Aristotle.

¹ An exposition of all the rhetorical theories (τέχναι) down to Aristotle’s own time was given in the Τεχνών συναγωγή (D. 77, as two books: AN. 71, and PT.
examples, we have only one preserved to us, in which, however, we possess without doubt the most mature statement of his rhetorical doctrine. The Rhetoric addressed to Alexander is now universally admitted to be spurious. 3

24, as one book), D. 89, *Συναγωγής a' B', and D. 80, "Αλλήλη τεχνῶν συναγωγή (if that is the right reading) seem to be duplicates only. We hear of it in Cíc. De Invent. ii. 2, 6, De Orat. ii. 38, 160, Brut. 12, 48, etc.: v. Ar. Fr. 130–135, p. 1500; Ar. Ps. 115; Fr. Hz. 122. The same work or an abridgment of it seems to be meant by Demetr. Magn. (ap. Dīo. ii. 104) by the title Επιτομὴ βυστόρων.

1 Ενθυμήματα βυστορικά a', D. 84, An. 76; and Ενθυμήματων διαφέσεις a' (D. 84; Δ. 88, miswritten Ενθ. και αἱρέσεων). To the same class belonged An. 127, Προομιλίαν a'; but λ. Παρομιλών, as in D. 138. With these should be reckoned the Χρεῖα—a collection of striking remarks, like Plutarch's Apophthegms, quoted by Stob. Floril. 5, 83, 7, 30, 31, 29, 70, 90, 43, 140, 57, 12, 93, 38, 116, 47, 118, 29. But as a saying of Zeno the Stoic is quoted from it (57, 12), and as we can hardly credit Aristotle with such a collection of anecdotes, it must either be a forgery or else the work of a later writer of the same name, like the grammarian mentioned ap. Dīo. v. 35. Rose believes (Ar. Ps. 611) that 'Αριστοτέλειον is a misreading for 'Αριστότεσον. The same book seems to be what is meant in Stob. (38, 37, 45, 21) by the citation: ἕκ τῶν κοινῶν 'Αριστοτέλειος διατριβῶν. See its Fr. ap. Rose, Ar. Ps. 611, and Fr. Hz. 335.—The two orations, 'Εγκώμιον λόγου and 'Εγκώμιον πλούσιον, are counted as pseudepigrapha in An. 190, 191. The various proverbs and apophthegms quoted from Aristotle (Rose, Ar. Ps. 606 sq.; Fr. Hz. 337 sq.) are collected from different sources.

2 I.e. the three books of the Rhetoric. The date of its composition must be the last residence of Aristotle at Athens; cf. Brandis in 'Ar. Rhet.' Philol. iv. 8. That it has suffered interpolations and transpositions (e.g. in book ii. c. 18–26 ought to precede c. 1–17) was proved by Spengel, Abh. d. Münch. Akad. vi. 483, followed by Vahlen, 'Z. Krit. Ar. Schr.' Wien. Akad. xxxviii. 92, 121. The genuineness of book iii. has been questioned by Sauppe, Dionys. u. Ar., Gött. 1863, p. 32; Rose, Ar. Ps. 137 n.; Heitz, p. 85, 89; Schaar-Schmidt, Samml. Plat. Schr. 108, whose view has been followed in Zeller, Plato, p. 55.

This work was known to the author of our earliest list (c. D. 79), but its authenticity is not to be thought of. Spengel (Συναγ. τεχν. 182, Anaxim. Ars Rhet. Proleg. ix. sq., cf. 99 sq.) attributes it, excepting the first and last chapters, to Aristotle's contemporary Anaximenes of Lampsacus. This suggestion, however, is very questionable; cf. Rose, Ar. Lib. Ord. 100; Kampe, in the Philol. ix. 106 sq. 279 sq. For, apart
Of the writings devoted to the development of his philosophic system, the first place is given to collections of Definitions 1 and Divisions 2—regarded as aids to from the arbitrariness of the separation of the part attributed to Anaximenes from the rest, the influence of the school of Aristotle betrays itself throughout, not only in the persistence of a method of didactic definitions and divisions, but also in the tenor of particular passages. Cf., e.g., c. 2 init. (with Rhet. i. 3); c. 3, 1424, a, 12–19 (Polit. vi. 4, 1318, b, 27–38); c. 5, 1427, a, 30 (Eth. N. v. 10, 1135, b, 11 sqq., Rhet. i. 13, 1374, b, 6); c. 8, 1428, a, 19 sqq. (Rhet. ii. 25, 1402, b, 12 sqq.); c. 8, 1428, a, 25 (Anal. pr. ii. 27 init.); c. 9 init. (Rhet. i. 2, 1357, b, 28); c. 12 init. (Rhet. ii. 21, 1394, a, 22); and the distinction of ἐνθύμημα and γνώμη in c. 11 sqq., though differently put, is of Aristotelian origin (cf. Rhet. ii. 21, 1394, a, 26); c. 17 (Rhet. i. 15, 1376, b, 31 sqq.); c. 28 init. 29 init. (Rhet. iii. 9, 1410, a, 23).

1 D. 64, An. 61, "Orisonol, 13 books: Pt. 59: "Οροι, 16 books, was certainly a later work of the School, analogous to the Platonic Definitions. As to the other title, An. 51, "Oron βιβλίον α', cf. p. 71, n. 2, supra.

2 Besides the 'Platonic Divisions' mentioned p. 63, n. 2, the lists name the following of this class: D. 42, Διαιρέσεις ι' [An. 41, Π. διαιρέσεων]; D. 43, An. 42, Διαιρετικών α' [Rose leg. -κών, as in the duplicate title D. 62]; Pr. 52 gives the Διαιρέσεις (which might extend to any length according to the subjects chosen), 26 books. Whether the work was different from or identical (as seems more probable) with the Platonic Διαιρέσεις, it cannot be genuine. The quotation in ALEX. Top. 126, Schol. 271, a, 42, from Aristotle, ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀγαθῶν διαιρέσει (Ἀρ. Πτ. 110, p. 1496; Πτ. Πτ. 119), is satisfied by M. Mor. i. 2, 1183, b, 20 sq., cf. Eth. N. i. 12, 1101, b, 11, but may have found its way from that source into the Διαιρέσεις also. — Aristotle himself names an Εκλογή τῶν ἐναντίων, in Metaph. iv. 2, 1004, a, 1, where, after the remark that all oppositions finally go back to that of the ἐν or ὤν and its opposite, he adds: τεθεωρησθω δ' ἡμῖν ταῦτα ἐν τῇ Εκλογῇ τῶν ἐναντίων: in the parallel passage, xi. 3, 1061. a, 15, it is only ἐστῶσαν γὰρ αὕτα τεθεωρημέναι: cf. 1004, b, 33, πάντα δὲ καὶ τάλα ἀναγόμενα φαίνεται εἰς τὸ ἐν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος: εἰλήφθω γὰρ ἡ ἀναγωγὴ ἡμῖν. To the same refers also x. 3, 1054, a, 29: ἐστὶ δὲ τοῦ μὲν ἐνός, ὡσπερ καὶ ἐν τῇ διαιρέσει τῶν ἐναντίων διεγραφαμεν, τὸ ταῦτα καὶ ὅμοιον καὶ ἰδιον, ἐκτός: and the ἡμών and ὄντων were themselves given in Metaph. iv. 2, 1003, b, 35, as examples of the εἰδη τῶν ἐνός treated of in the Εκλογή τ. ἐν: cf. also x. c. 4 ad fn. But in Met. xii. 7, 1072, b, 2 the words ἡ διαιρέσις δηλοῖ refer, not to a treatise, but to the division of two kinds of οὗ ἐνεκα given just before. Whether the reference to the Εκλογή τ. ἐν indicates a separate treatise or a section of the work 'On the Good,' even Alexander did not know (cf. p. 61, n. 1); but since the subject
correct appreciation of the subject—but none of these appear to have been genuine. Most important, therefore, is the treatise On the First Philosophy—a torso which is now arbitrarily bound up with a number of other fragments, some genuine, some spurious, to form our Metaphysics. Probably, however, the genuine

on which Aristotle cites the Ἐκλογὴ seems to have been dealt with in the second book Π. τάγαθος, it is probable that Aristotle had only that book in view.

1 This is the name by which the work was originally cited; v. De Motu Anim. 6, 700, b, 8. That Aristotle himself so named it, is probable from Metaph. vi. 1, 1026, a, 15, 24, 30, xi. 4, 1061, b, 19; Phys. i. 9, 192, a, 35, ii. 2
fin.: De Caelo, i. 8, 277, b, 10; Gen. et Corr. i. 3, 318, a, 6; De An. i. 1, 403, b, 16; for πρώτη φιλοσοφία we also find φιλοσοφία alone (Metaph. xi. 3, 4, 1061, b, 5, 25), θεολογία (Metaph. vi. 1, 1026, a, 19, xi. 7, 1064, b, 3), η̂ περὶ τὰ θεία φιλοσοφία (Part. An. i. 5, 645, a, 4), σοφία (Metaph. i. 1, 2), and μέθοδος περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς πρώτης (Phys. viii. 1, 251, a, 7), as Aristotle's expression for the subject of the book; and accordingly the book itself is also spoken of as σοφία, φιλοσοφία, θεολογία (Asclep. Schol. in Ar. 519, b, 19, 31). Cf Bonitz, v. 5, Arist. Metaph. ii. 3 sq.

2 We first find the name μετὰ τὰ φυσικὰ in Nicolaus of Damascus, who (acc. to the Schol. to Theophr. Metaph. p. 323, Brand.) wrote a Θεωρία τῶν Ἀρ. μετὰ τὰ φυσικὰ: afterwards in Plut. Alex. 7, and since then constantly. As this Nicolaus was a younger contemporary of Andronicus, the title (which never appears before, and is permanent after that date) may safely be referred to Andronicus himself, whose collection of Aristotle's writings alone explains it; for it means, not as Simpl. Phys. 1, and the Neoplatonist Herennius (ap. Bonitz, Ar. Metaph. ii. 5) supposed, the Supernatural, but that which in the order of doctrinal development, and of the works as collected, followed after the books on the Natural Sciences (cf. Alex. Metaph. 127, 21; Asclep. Schol. 519, b, 19). It is named in the lists by An. 111, An. App. 154, and Pr. 49. The latter has the usual Greek reckoning of thirteen books; the former has at 111 κ', at 154 I; which leaves it uncertain whether the editions referred to were incomplete, the one having only A-K, and the other A-I, or whether K and I are corruptions of N, i.e. A-N.

3 The question of the arrangement of our Metaphysics has been so far established by Brandis in 'Ar. Met.', Abh. d. Berl. Akad. 1834, I11est. Phil. Kl. p. 63-87, Gr.-röm. Phil. ii. b. 1, 541 sq., and by Bonitz (Ar. Met. ii. 3-35), that it is sufficient to refer the reader for earlier theories to the comprehensive account given by Bonitz at p. 30.
portions were brought into this connection immediately

The main body of the work, begun but not finished by Aristotle, is made up of books i., iii. (B), iv., vi.–ix. In these, after the critical and historical introduction in book i., one and the same inquiry, that as to Being as such, is methodically carried on, although it is neither brought to a conclusion, nor in parts submitted to final revision. Book x. seems to have been intended for a somewhat further advanced section of the same inquiry (cf. x. 2 init. with iii. 4, 1001, a, 4 sq., and x. 2, 1053, b, 16 with vii. 13), but as it is not brought by Aristotle into any express connection with book ix., it has almost the appearance of a separate treatise. Between these connected books there is inserted, in book v., an inquiry into the different meanings of thirty philosophical conceptions and terms, which stands in no connection with either the preceding or the following book. The Aristotelian authorship of this section is beyond doubt. Aristotle himself quotes it (in Metaph. viii. 1 init., x. 1; cf. Gen. et Corr. ii. 10, 336, b, 29, Phys. i. 8, 191, b 29), with the words ἐν τοῖς περὶ τοῦ ποσαχῶς or π. τοῦ ποσ. λέγεται ἐκαστον. The view of Susemihl (Genet. Entw. d. Plat. Phil. ii. 536) that these citations are not satisfied by our book v., and that it is an un-Aristotelian tract which has taken the place of a genuine book with similar contents, is as decisively disproved as that of Rose (Ar. Libr. Ord. 154) that the book is entirely unworthy of Aristotle. The book is alluded to in other passages of the Metaph. (e.g. x. 4, 1055, a, 23, with which cf. v. 10, 1018, a, 25, and x. 6, 1054, b, 34, cf. v. 15, 1021, a. 25); and a discussion reserved in v. 7 ad fin. for another place is to be found in ix. c. 7. The tract Π. τοῦ ποσαχῶς, however, cannot have originally formed part of the work 'On the First Philosophy.' It must have been written much earlier—as is shown by the citations in the Phys. and in the Gen. et Corr.—and as an aid to the exact use and understanding of philosophic terms; and as such it appears in D. 36, and in ΑΝ. 37 with the special addition Π. τ. ποσ. λέγ. ἥ τῶν κατὰ πρώσθεσιν. Nevertheless, Ar. Met. vi. 2 init., alludes unmistakably to v. 7, 1017, a, 7, 22 sq., 31, in the words: ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τὸ ὑπ' ἀπλῶς λεγόμενον λέγεται πολλαχῶς, ὥν ἐν μὲν ἦν τὸ κατὰ συμβεβηκός, etc., in a way which indicates, by the word ἦν, that the discussion had already come under the reader's notice. It appears, therefore, that Aristotle actually intended to incorporate our book v. or the contents of it in this part of his work, but never was able to finish the literary connection. As to book xi., the second half (c. 8, 1065, a, 26 sq.), is a compilation from the Physics, obviously not genuine. The first half exactly corresponds in content with books iii., iv., and vi.; and is therefore either an early sketch of the argument afterwards expanded in them, or else, as Rose (Ar. Libr. Ord. 156) supposes, a later abstract of them. A point in favour of the latter view is the objectionable recurrence,
seven times, of the particle γὲ μὴ, which is otherwise unknown in Aristotle's writing (EUCKEN, De Ar. Dic. Rat. i. 10: Ind. Ar. 147, a, 44 sq.) In view, however, of the arguments from the contents of the book themselves adduced in support of the other view by Bonitz (Ar. Met. ii. 15, 451), this peculiarity is not decisive, especially as the general style of the book has Aristotle's characteristics, and as similar phenomena as to particles are found elsewhere. [Thus τὲ ... τὲ occurs in Aristotle almost exclusively in the Ethics and Politics (EUCKEN, 16); ἄφι γὲ almost exclusively in the Physics (ibid. 33), in which also μὲντοι, καὶ τοι, and τὸννων are much commoner than in the other works (ibid. 35, 51): ἄφα recurs oftener in the later books of the Metaph. than in the earlier (ibid. 50): and among the ten books of the Ethics, there are many variants as between the three last and the sections i.—iv. or v.—vii., which again vary from one another in diction (ibid. 75 sq.). In this first half of book xi. five of the seven cases of γὲ μὴ occur in c. 2. Besides, γὲ is so often inserted by the copyists that it is always possible some early scribe is partly responsible.] Book xii. appears as an independent treatise, which refers to none of the preceding books, but seems to allude to the Phys. viii. 10 (esp. 267, b, 17 sq.) in c. 7, 1073, a, 5, and in c. 8, 1073, a, 32, to Phys. viii. 8 sq., and also to the De Celo ii. 3 sq. It is remarkable that while c. 6–10 develop in some detail the views of Aristotle as to the Godhead and other eternal Essences, c. 1–5 on the contrary give us the doctrine of changeable substances and their causes only in narrow compass, and in a style condensed often to the point of obscurity. This, with the fact that in these chapters the formula μετὰ ταῦτα [σε. λεκτέον] δτι occurs twice (i.e. 3 init., and 1070, a. 4) indicates that it was not a book published by Aristotle, but a set of notes intended as a basis for lectures, in which many points were only hinted at in the the briefest way, with the knowledge that they would be made plain by oral development. The main theme of the lectures consisted of the points which in the second half of book xi. are treated with special care; while the more general metaphysical inquiries which were to serve as an introduction or basis for them were only lightly sketched. The matter the lectures dealt with was no doubt intended to be included in the work on the First Philosophy; and c. 6–10 are, as far as matter is concerned, exactly fitted to be the conclusion of it. C. 1–5, on the other hand, include nothing which is not contained in the earlier books. The polemic of Rose (Ar. Libr. Ord. 160) against this book—which, as will be seen in the next note, is specially well fortified with external evidence—has no value as against its Aristotelian authorship, but only as to its connection with our Metaph. The relation of the remaining two books to the rest is not clear; but there is no reason to hold with Rose (p. 157) that only xiv. is genuine. Aristotle must have originally meant to include them in the same book, for xiii. 2, 1076, a, 39, refers
after Aristotle's death. Of the other writings mentioned which would have stood in close relation with

to iii. 2, 998, a, 7 sq., xiii. 2, 1076, b, 39, to iii. 2, 997, b, 12 sq., xiii. 10, 1086, b, 14 to iii. 6. 1003, a, 6 sq., and in viii. i. 1062, a, 22 he contemplates a treat-ment of Mathematics and the Ideas, which, as appears by xiii. init., was intended to serve as an introduction to Theology (cf. BRANDIS, 542, 413 a). On the other hand, in xiv. 1, the obvious reference to x. 1 is not noticed, and vii. and viii. are not referred to at all in xiii. and xiv. (BONITZ, p. 26). It is inconceivable that Aristotle would have repeated a considerable section almost word for word, as is the case with the present text of i. 6, 9, and xiii. 4, 5. But book i., as a whole, must, as well as book iii., which cites it (iii. 2, 996, b, 8, cf. i. 2, 982, a, 16, b, 4, and 997, b, 3, cf. i. 6 sq.) be older than book xiii. It seems to me, therefore, the most probable conjecture that the argument in i. 9, which is apparently more mature than that in book xiii., was inserted on a second revision of book i., after Aristotle had decided to exclude books xiii. and xiv. from the scope of his main work on Metaphysics. Book ii. (a), a collection of three small essays, written as an introduction to Physics rather than to Metaphysics (v. c. 3 Schol.), is certainly not by Aristotle. The majority of the ancient commentators (oι Παλεος) attributed it to a nephew of Eudemus, Pasicles of Rhodes (Schol. ap. Ar. Opp. 993, a, 29; Schol. in Ar. 589, a, 41; the so-called Philoponus [BEKKER'S Anon. Urbin.] in the Introd. to a, where the name is Pasicles; and Asclep. Schol. 520 a, 6, except that he has erroneously transferred the story from a to A). That it was inserted after the other books were collected is clear, not only from its designa-tion, but from the way in which it breaks the connection of the closely consecutive books A and B, for which reason many of the ancients wished to make it a preface to the Physics, or at least to book i. of the Metaph. (Schol. 589, b, 1 sq.) SYRIAN (ap. Schol. 849, a, 3) mentions that some critics proposed to reject A. These, like Asclepius, probably confused it with a: if not, Syrian was right in thinking their suggestion laughable.

1 This seems probable (cf. ZELLER, Abb. d. Berl. Akad. 1877, Hist. Phil. Kl. 145) because of the circumstance that most of the genuine books of our Metaphysics were in use at the date of the oldest peripatetic books or fragments which we possess, and that they seem to have been gathered together in the same series of books with the rest at a very early date. Book i., as above stated, was not only the model for Theophrastus in book i. of his History of Physics, but has also left clear traces in what we know of Eudemus, and is the source of the point of view taken by the author of the treatise on Melissus, &c. Books iii. (B) and iv. are referred to by Eudemus, the fourth by Theophrastus also; book vi. by Theophrastus; book
the *Metaphysics*, only a few can be considered to be
vii. by Eudemus; book ix. by Theophrastus; book xii. by Theophrastus, Eudemus, the writer of the *Magna Moralia*, and the writer of the Π. "κινήσεως" book xiii. by Eudemus; book xiv. apparently by Theophrastus; and the fifth, the tract Π. τοῦ ποσακής λεγόμενου, by Strato; cf. the following: (1) *Metaph.*. 1, 981, a, 12 sq., *Eudem. Fr.*. 2, Speng.; (2) i. 3, 983, b, 20, *Theophr. Fr.*. 40; (3) ibid. 1, 30, *Eud. Fr.*. 117; (4) i. 5, 986, b, 18; De Melissa, Xenoph. etc., see vol. i. 468, 481; (5) ibid. i. 21 sq., *Theophr. Fr.*. 45; (6) ibid. i. 27, *Theophr. Fr.*. 43, 44, *Eud. Fr.*. 11, 8, 21, 7; (7) i. 6, *Theophr. Fr.*. 48; (8) i. 6, 987, b, 32, *Eud. Fr.*. 11, 8, 22, 7, Sp.; (9) i. 8, 989, a, 30, *Theophr. Fr.*. 46; (10) iii. 2, 396, b, 26, iv. 3, 1005, a, 19, *Eud. Fr.*. 4; (11) iii. 3, 999, a, 6, *Euth. Eud.*. i. 8, 1218, a, 1; (12) iv. 2, 1009, b, 12, 21, *Theophr. Fr.*. 12; (13) iv. 6, 1011, a, 12, c. 7, 1012, a, 20, *Theophr. Fr.*. 12, 26; (14) v. 11, Strato *apud Simp. Categ. Schol. in Arist.*. 90, a, 12-46; (15) vi. 1, 1026, a, 13-16, *Theophr. Fr.*. 12, 1: (16) vii. 1, 1028, a, 10, 20, *Eud. Fr.*. 5; (17) ix. 9, 1051, b, 24, *Theophr. Fr.*. 12, 25; (18) xii. 7 *init.*. cf. c. 8, 1073, a, 22, De Motu *An.*. 6, 700, b, 7; (19) xii. 7, 1072, a, 20, *Theophr. Fr.*. 12, 5; (20) xii. 7, 1072, b, 24, c. 9, 1074, b, 21, 33, *Eth. Eud.*. vii. 12, 1245, b, 16, *M. Mor.*. ii. 15, 1213, a, 1; (21) xii. 10, 1075, b, 34, *Theophr. Fr.*. 12, 2; (22) xii. 1, 1076, a, 28, *Eth. Eud.*. i. 8, 1217, b, 22; (23) xiv. 3, 1090, b, 13, *Theophr. Fr.*. 12, 2. Since, therefore, the parts of our *Metaph.*., like book xii., which did not in fact belong to the main treatise, are in use as commonly and at as early a date as those parts which did, it must be conjectured that the whole was put together in the period immediately following Aristotle’s death. This theory receives remarkable confirmation from the fact that already in the Π. "κινήσεως" (c. 6, 700, b. 8), which belongs undoubtedly to the third century B.C., book xii. itself is quoted by the title reserved by Aristotle for his main treatise on *Metaph.*: i.e. ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς πρώτης φιλοσοφίας (cf. Bonitz, *Isth. Ar.*. 100, a, 47 sq.; the suspicion thrown on the passage by *Krische, Forsch.*. 267, 3, and *Heitz, V.*. S. 182, is groundless). We may assume, then, with some probability that immediately after Aristotle’s death the finished sections of the work on First Philosophy (i.e. books i., iii., iv., vi.-x.) were bound up with the other sketches and notes of a like character left by him (i.e. xi. first part, xii., xiii., and xiv.), and that at the same time book v. was inserted between iv. and vi.; but that book a. and the second half of xi., were first attached by Andronicus to this work, with which they were not connected either by origin or contents. Naturally, we cannot with certainty affirm by whom the first redaction was undertaken. But the statement of *Alex.*. (ap. *Metaph.*. 760, b, 11 sq.), that it was Eudemus, deserves all consideration; while the different story told by *Asclep.*. (*Schol. in Ar.*. 519, b, 38 sq.) is open to the
genuine, and these must have belonged to Aristotle's earlier period.¹

The works on Natural Philosophy form the largest bulk of all Aristotle's productions. We have first a series of important investigations which Aristotle himself connected together. They deal with the general basis and conditions of the material universe, of the earth and the heavenly bodies, of the elements with their properties and relations, and of meteorological phenomena. These are the Physics,² the two con-

¹ Besides the Books on Philosophy (p. 55, n. 5, and 57), on the Good, and on the Ideas (p. 61, n. 1, 62, n. 1), the Περὶ ἔξωθος was probably genuine (v. p. 58, n. 1, fin.). The three books Π. τύχης (AN. App. 152) and the Μαγικὸς were not. The latter is named by Diog. (i. 18, ii. 45), and was also evidently used by Plin. (H. N. xxx. 1, 2) as Aristotle's, but it is reckoned by AN. (191) among the Pseudepigrapha, and we know from Suidas (Ἀντισθέ.) that it was attributed sometimes to the Socratic Antisthenes, sometimes to the Antisthenes who was a Peripatetic of Rhodes circa 180 B.C. (lege, by Bernhardy's happy conjecture, Ἄριστος for Ἀρθρός). On this book, vide AR. Fr 27-30, p. 1479; Fr. Hz. 66; HEITZ, V. S. 294, 8; ROSE, AR. Ps. 50, who considers it to be a Dialogue.—Of the Θεολογομονέα, which was ascribed to Aristotle by Macrobi. (Sat. i. 18), the 'Theogony' mentioned by Schol. Eur. Rhes. (28), and the τελητάλ spoken of by Schol. Laur. in APOLL. RHOD. iv. 973 (v. these and other quotations ap. ROSE, AR. Ps. 615; Fr. Hz. 347) seem to have formed part. It is referred by Rose to the hand of Aristocles of Rhodes, a contemporary of Strato; but this seems unlikely: cf. HEITZ, V. S. 294. It cannot, however, have been a genuine work of Aristotle, and it seems to have contained, not philosophical inquiries as to the Godhead, but collections and probably explanations of myths and religious usages.—The Π. ἄρχης, from its position in the list of D. 41, seems rather to have been a metaphysical or physical tract than a political one, but we know nothing of it.—As to a 'Theology of Aristotle,' which originated in the Neoplatonic School and is preserved to us in an Arabic translation, v. DIETERCI, Abh. d. D. morgenl. Gesellsch. 1877, 1, 117.

² Φυσικὴ ἀκρόασις in 8 books (in AN. 148, leg. ἂς for ἐς), as its own MSS, and those of SIMPL. PHYS. init., AN. 148, Pt. 34, &c., name the treatise. Aristotle himself commonly calls only the first books φυσικὰ or τὰ περὶ φύσεως (PHYS. viii. 1, 251, a, 8, cf. iii. 1,
nected works On the Heavens and On Growth and

vii. 3, 253, b, 7, cf. ii. 1, 192, b, 20, viii. 10, 267, b, 20, cf. iii. 4; Metaph. i. 3, 983, a, 33, c, 4, 985, a, 12, c, 7, 988, a, 22, c, 10, xi. 1, 1059, a, 34, cf. Phys. ii. 3, 7; Metaph. i. 5, 986, b, 30, cf. Phys. i. 2; xiii. 1, c, 9, 1086, a, 23, cf. Phys. i.). The later books he usually calls τὰ περὶ κυησεως (Metaph. ix. 8, 1049, b, 36, cf. Phys. viii. vi. 6; De Celo i. 5, 7, 272, a, 30, 275, b, 21, cf. Phys. vi. 7, 238, a, 20, c, 2, 233, a, 31, viii. 10; De Celo iii. 1, 299, a, 10, cf. Phys. vi. 2, 233, b, 15; Gen. et Corr. i. 3, 318, a, 3, cf. Phys. viii.; De Sensu c. 6, 445, b, 19, cf. Phys. vi. 1; Anal. post. ii. 12, 95, b, 10). But in Phys. viii. 5, 257, a, 34 ἐν τοῖς καθόλου περὶ φύσεως refers to B. vi. 1, 4, Metaph. viii. 1, and φυσικά to B. v. 1; in Metaph. i. 8, 989, a, 24, xii. 8, 1073, 32, the phrase τὰ π. φύσεως refers not merely to the whole of the Physica, but also to other works on Natural Science (cf. Bonitz and Schwieger ad loc.). For more general references see B. iii. 4, De Celo i. 6, 274, a, 21, ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς, B. iv. 12, vi. 1, De Celo iii. 4, 303, a, 23, περὶ χρόνου καὶ κυησεως, and see IND. ARIST. 102, b, 18 sqq.—D. 90, 45 (115) names a Π. φύσεως and a Π. κυησεως, but the former with three books only, and the latter with one (cf. p. 50, n. 1). SIMPL. (Phys. 190, a, 216, a, 258, b, and 320, a) says that Aristotle and his ἔταιροι (i.e. Theophrastus and Eudemos) spoke of the first 5 books as Φυσικά or Π. ἀρχῶν φυσικῶν and of books vii. and viii. as Π. κυησεως. No doubt Porphyry, however, was right (ap. SIMPL. 190, a) when he in-
cluded book v. with book vi., with which it is so closely con-nected, under the name Π. κυησεως. For though in the time of Adrastus (ap. SIMPL. 16, 2, a) many may have named i.—v. Π. ἀρχῶν [φυσικῶν], as others named the whole, while vi.—viii. bore the title Π. κυησεως under which Andronicus (SIMPL. 216, a) also cited them, yet it cannot be shown that this was so in the earliest period. When Theophr. cited book v. as ἐκ τῶν φυσικῶν he may easily have meant not only this whole treatise but others also (at supra: and cf. SIMPL. 216, a). When Damaus the biographer and follower of Eudemus (ap. SIMPL. 216, a, where it is impossible to read Damascius the Neoplatonist) speaks of ἐκ τῆς περὶ φύσεως πραγμάτειας τῆς 'Αρ. τῶν περὶ κυησεως τρία, it does not follow that he means vi., vii., viii., and not rather vi., vi., viii. (cf. Rose, Ar. Libr. Ord. 198; BRANDIS, ii. b, 782). Indeed book vii. gave even ancient critics the impres-sion of a section not properly fitted into the general connection, and SIMPL. (Phys. 242, a) tells us that Eudemus passed it over in his revision of the whole work. It need not on that account be classed as spurious (with Rose, 199), but rather (with BRANDIS, ii. b, 893 sq.) as a collection of preliminary notes which do not belong to the Treatise on Physics. The text has taken on many inter-polations and alterations from a paraphrase, known even in the time of Alexander and Simplicius (r. SIMPL. 245, a, b, 253, b, and cf. SPENGEL, Abb. d. Münchn.
Decay \(^1\) and the Meteorology.\(^2\) Connected with these leading works (so far as they are not to be classed as sections of them under special names, or as spurious),

\(\text{Ar. Meteorol.}\text{. i. 415, ii. 199 (nor from Cic. N. D. ii. 15, and Plut. Plac. v. 20) infer that the Π. ὠφανὸν was originally more complete or existed in a recension different from ours.}\)

\(^1\) The Π. ὠφανὸν in 4, and the Π. γενέσεως καὶ φθοράς in two books. The current division of these books, however, can hardly be derived from Aristotle, for books iii. and iv. of the Π. ὠφανὸν are more nearly connected with the other treatise than are the earlier books. Aristotle recognises both by a short reference to their contents in the beginning of the Meteorol., and by citing De Caelo ii. 7 in Meteorol. i. 3 . . . πετὶ τόν ἄνω τότον . . . ἐν τοῖς πετὶ τοῦ ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν διωρισμένοις; to the Gen. et Corr. i. 10 (not Meteor. iv.) De Sensu c, 3, 440, b, 3, 12 (ἐν τοῖς πετὶ μίκεως); to the Gen. et Corr. ii. 2, De An. ii. 11, 423, b, 29, De Sensu, c, 4, 441, b, 12 (ἐν τοῖς πετὶ στοιχείων). A work Π. ὠφανὸν is ascribed by Simp. (De Caelo, Schol. in Ar. 468, a, 11, 498, b, 9, 42, 502, a, 43) also to Theophrastus, who is said to have followed the lines of Aristotle's book. With this exception the earliest witnesses to the existence of the work are Xenarchus and Nicolaus of Damascus (v. Brandis. Gr.-röm. Phil. ii. b, 952), but there is no doubt of the authenticity either of these books or of the Π. γενέσεως. From STOB. Ecl. i. 486, 536 we cannot, with IDELER

\(\text{Ar. Meteorol.}\text{. i. 415, ii. 199 (nor from Cic. N. D. ii. 15, and Plut. Plac. v. 20) infer that the Π. ὠφανὸν was originally more complete or existed in a recension different from ours.}\)
are a variety of other treatises on natural philosophy.¹

iv. 10, Gen. An. ii. 6, 743, a, 6; cf. Meteor. iv. 6, 383, b, 9, 384, a, 33), it must be taken to be an isolated section, which was not contemplated, in this form, when the Meteorology was begun (v. Meteor. i. 1 ad fin.), but which in the end took the place of the further matter that remained to be dealt with at the end of book iii., which obviously does not itself bring the treatise to a close. As Bonitz (Ind. Ar. 98, b, 53) notices in criticizing Heitz, this book (e. g. 8, 384, b, 33) cites Meteor. iii. 677, 378, a, 15 (cf. on this subject Ideler, ibid. ii. 347–350; Spengel, Ueb. d. Reihenfolge d. naturwissensch. Schriften d. Arist., Abhandl. d. Münch. Akad. v. 150 sq.; Brandis, Gr.-v. Phil. ii. b, 1073, 1075; Rose, Arist. Libr. Ord. 197). The doubts alluded to by Olympiod. ibid. i. 131, as to book i., are unsupported: the reasons given by Ideler (i. xii. sq.) for holding that two recensions of the Meteor. existed in antiquity are not convincing. The points which he supposed to have been found in another edition of this, are for the most part referable to other works, and where that is not so (Sen. Qu. Nat. vii. 28, 1; cf. Meteor. i. 7, 344, b, 18) our informant may be in error. But it is possible that these points may have come from an edition that had been expanded by a later hand or largely added to; cf. Brandis, p. 1075.

¹ The Physics have the following titles: Π. ἀρχῶν ἡ φύσεως a' (AN. 21), εν τοις π. των ἀρχῶν τῆς ὁλης φύσεως (THEMEST. De An. ii. 71, 76), εν τοις π. των ἀρχῶν (ibid. 93), Π. κυρήσεως (D. 45, 115; AN. 102, 1 B.; Pt. 17, 8 B.; the same again as Anexul- tatio physica, at No. 34; and perhaps also as Π. ἀρχῆς at D. 41). In what relation the same work stands to the titles: Π. φύσεως (D. 90 as three books, AN. 81, as one); Φυσικῶν a' (D. 91); or Π. φυσικῶν a' (AN. 82) is not clear. AN. App. 170, Pt. 85: Π. χρύνου might also be only an extract including Phys. iv. 10–14, though it is preferable to think of it as a special treatise by of some of the Peripatetics. Aristotle himself refers with the words ἐν τοῖς π. στοιχείων in the De An. ii. 11, 423, b, 28, and the De Sensu, 4, 411, a, 12, to the Gen. et Corr. ii. 2 sqq. Whether in D. 39, AN. 35, the title Π. στοιχείων γ' only refers to this work (possibly in connection with De Celo iii. and iv., cf. p. 50, n. 1; or with Meteor. iv., cf. Fr. Hz. 158), or whether it means a special collection of several Aristotelian tracts relating to the elements, or whether there was a separate treatise (which could not be considered genuine) must remain an open question.—So, again, as to the book Π. τοῦ πάσχειν ᾗ πεπονθέναι (D. 25): Aristotle in De An. ii. 5, 417, a, 1, and in Gen. Anim. iv. 3, 765, b, 23 refers by the formula, ἐν τοίς π. τοῦ ποιείν καὶ πάσχειν, to Gen. et Corr. i. 7 sq., a reference doubted by Trendelenburg (De An. ibid.) and by Heitz (V. S. 80), but which it seems impossible, on comparison of the passages, to reject (cf. with Gen. An. p. 324, a, 30 sq.; with De An. 416, b, 35, and 323, a, 10 sq.; with De An. 417
Another class of writings, less directly akin, are the
a, 1, τοῦτο δὲ πῶς δυνατὸν ἢ ἀδύνατον, εἰρήκαμεν, etc., and 325, b, 25, πῶς δὲ ἐνδέχεσαι τοῦτο συμπαθεῖν, πάλιν λέγομεν, etc.). It suggests itself, therefore, either to apply the title in Diog. to this section only or to the whole of book i. If, however, a separate treatise is meant, then it seems more likely that it was analogous to the Gen. et Corr. than that (as Trend. Gesch. d. Kategor., 130, supposes) it treated generally of the categories of Action and Passion.—With Physics also was connected the tract De questionibus hylicis, Pt. 50, and perhaps also Pt. 75, De accidentibus universis, both without doubt spurious. So must be also An. Αγγ. 184, Π. κόσμου γενεσέως, which cannot have been written by Aristotle, who so decisively combats the idea of a beginning of the world. The book Π. κόσμου (which is not even known to our three lists) was written at the earliest 50–1 B.C.; cf. Zeller, Ph. d. Gr. iii. a, 558. The so-called quotation from a work Π. μιτέως, given by Minoides Myunas, in his edition of Gennadius against Pletho (Fr. Hz. 157), belongs perhaps to the διαιρεσία spoken of p. 75, n. 2.—Many of the books we hear of as related to the subject of the Meteor. seem to have been spurious. A work Π. ἀνείων (Achill. Tat. in Ar. c. 33, 158 A; Fr. Hz. 350; Rose, Ar. Ps. 622) was ascribed to Aristotle, probably by a confusion between him and Theophrastus (de q. v. Diog. v. 42; Alex. Meteor. 101, b, 106, a, etc.); and so with the Σημείων (D. 112, or ap. An. 99, Σημειών, or in the title ap. Ar. Opp. ii. 973, Π. σημειών), for the Fr. of which v. Ar. Fr. 237 sq. 1521; Fr. Hz. 157; Ar. Ps. 243 sq. The Π. ποιητών (Ps.-Plut. De Flurn. c. 25 ad fin.; Heitz, V. S. 297; Fr. Hz. 349) seems to have been a late compilation. Of much earlier date (according to Rose, either by Theophrastus or of his time) is An. Αγγ. 159; Pt. 22, Π. τῆς τοῦ Νελού ἀναβάσεως, de q. v. Rose, Ar. Ps. 239 sq.; Ar. Fr. p. 1520; Fr. Hz. 211. The treatises De humoribus and De Siccitate, ap. Pt. 73, 74, cannot be genuine, as they are mentioned nowhere else. As to the Π. χρωμάτων, well founded objections have been raised by Prantl (Ar. ii. d. Farben, Münch., 1849, p. 82; cf. 107, 115, 142, etc.).—Alex. in Meteor. 98, b, and Olympia. in Meteor. 36, a (ap. Ideler, Ar. Meteor. i. 287 sq.) allege that Aristotle wrote a book Π. χμῶν, but neither seems to have known it. So Michael of Ephesus, De Vita et M. 175, b, remarks that Aristotle’s Π. φυτῶν καὶ χμῶν was lost, so that it was necessary to rely on Theophrastus. Aristotle himself alludes in Meteor. ii. 3, 359, b, 20, to some more extended inquiry into the qualities of things relating to the sense of taste; and since in the late De Sensu, c. iv. ad fin., further inquiries on the same subject are projected as part of the work on Plants, it is a question whether we should refer the allusion in Meteor. ii. to a separate book Π. χμῶν, and not consider it rather as a later interpolation referring to De Sensu.
mathematical, mechanical, optical, and astronomical tracts.
Next to the *Physics* and the related treatises come the numerous and important works dealing with life. Some of these are descriptive, others are inquiries. To the former class belong the *History of Animals* 1 and the

biable that among Aristotle's genuine *Problems* there were some in Optics. The *De Speculo*, attributed by Arabic and Christian Middle-Age writers to Aristotle, appears to be only Euclid's *Katastrikai* (Rose, *Ar. Ps. 376*).—D. 113; *An. 101*, report an *'Astronoumikov*; and Aristotle himself refers to such a work in *Meteor.* i. 3, 339, b, 7 ('ηδ' γὰρ ἄπται διὰ τῶν ἀστρολογικῶν θεωρημάτων ἡμῖν, *ibid.* c. 8, 345, b, 1 (καθάπερ δείκνυται ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἀστρολογίας θεωρήμασιν), and *De Caelo*, ii. 10, 291, a, 29 (περὶ δὲ τῆς τάξεως αὐτῶν etc. εἰ τῶν περὶ ἀστρολογίας θεωρητῶν: λέγεται γὰρ ἰκανῶς); SIMPL. on the *De Caelo*, Schol. 497, a, 8, appears to have the same in his mind. The existence of the book is accepted, of modern scholars, by Bonitz (*Ind. Ar.* 104, a, 17 sq.) and Prantl (*ad* *Pi. ooph.* p. 303); while Heitz (*S. V.* p. 117) thinks it probable, though in *Fr. Hs.* 160 he refuses to decide. Blass (*Rhein. Mus.* xxx. 504) applies the references to writings by other hands. Ideler (*Ar. Metaph.* i. 415) assumes a varying recension of the *De Caelo*, which has no probability. It does not seem probable that this Astronomical—or as Aristotle would have called it (*v. Heitz, *ibid.*)—Astronomical—work took the form of Problems, since Aristotle repeatedly speaks of *θεωρήματα*. Not to it, but to late interpolated tracts, are the titles to be referred which are mentioned by Hadschi Khalifa (p.159–161): *De siderum arcana*is, *De sideribus corunqve arcana*, *De stellis labentibus*, and *Mille verba de astrologia judiciaria*. As to the accuracy of the other mathematical and related writings, we can decide nothing. The attempt of Rose (*Ar. Libr. Ord.* 192) to prove that none of them can be Aristotle's does not succeed.

1 Π. τὰ ἡμια ἱστορία (Π. ἡμια ἱστορίας ἑ, *An. App.* 155; the same is meant by D. 102 and *An. 91*, Π. *ἡμια*, nine books, and by *Pr.* 42). The Arabic writers count ten, fifteen, or nineteen books, and had no doubt expanded the extant text by various added tracts; cf. WENRICH, *De Auct. Graec. Vers.* 148. Aristotle quotes it by various names: ἱστορίαι [-ia] π. τὰ ἡμια (*Part. Anim.* iii. 14, 674, b, 16; iv. 5, 680, a, 1; iv. 8 *ad fin.*; iv. 10, 689, a, 18; iv. 13, 696, b, 14; *Gen. An.* 4. 717, a, 33; i. 20, 728, b, 13; *Respir.* c. 16, *init.*); ἱστορίαι π. τῶν ἡμια (*Part. Anim.* ii. 1, *init.* c. 17, 660, b, 2; *Gen. Anim.* i. 3, 716, b, 31; *Respir.* c. 12, 477, a, 6); ἡμια ἱστορία (*Part. Anim.* iii. 5, *fin.*); ἱστορία φυσική (*Part. Anim.* ii. 3, 650, a, 31; *Ingr. An.* c. 1, *fin.*), and simply ἱστορίαι or ἱστορία (*De Respir.* 16, 478, b, 1; *Gen. Anim.* 11, 719, a, 10; ii. 4, 740, a, 23; c. 7, 746, a, 14; iii. 1, 750, b, 31; c. 2, 753, b, 17; c. 8 *fin.*; c. 10 *fin.*; c. 11 *fin.*
In its contents, however, it is rather a Comparative Anatomy and Physiology than a description of animals. As to the plan of it, cf. J. B. MAYER, Ar. Thierk. 114 sq. Its genuineness is beyond question, though as to the tenth book, it must be taken to be, not merely with Spengel (Die Ar. Libro X Hist. Anim. Heidelb. 1842), a retranslation of a Latin translation of a section written by Aristotle to follow book vii., but wholly spurious; with Schneider (iv. 262, i. xiii.), Rose (Ar. Libr. Ord. 171), and Brandis (Gr.-röm. Phil. ii. 6, 1257). Apart from anything else the un-Aristotelian assumption of a female semen would prove this of itself. No doubt this book is the same as that in D. 107, AN. 90, ἵπτερ [πείρ] τοῦ μὴ γεννᾶν. As to Alexander's reported assistance for the whole work, cf. p. 29 sq. supra; and as to the sources used by Aristotle, cf. Rose, Ar. Libr. Ord. 206 sq.—Besides this History of Animals, there were known to the ancients various similar works. Athenaeus, for example, uses one work different (as is clear from his own words) from our Hist. An., under the names εν τῷ π. ζωῆς, ἐν τοῖς π. Ζ. (Rose, Ar. Ps. 277, and Heitz, 224, unnecessarily read Ζωίκαν), εν τῷ π. Ζωίκων, εν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ζωίκα, εν τῷ π. Ζωίων ἢ [καὶ] Ἰχθύων, ἐν τῷ π. Ζωίκαν καὶ Ἰχθύων, ἐν τῷ π. Ἰχθύων; but at the same time he curiously cites our Hist. An. ν., as πέμπτων π. ζωῆς μορίων (see the notes of Schweighäuser on the passages in question; e.g. ii. 63, b; iii. 88; c. vii. 281 sq., 286, b; and the Index, and see Rose, Ar. Ps. 276 sq.; Ar. Fr. Nr. 277 sq.; Heitz, 224 sq.; Fr. Hz. 172). So CLEMENS, Pédag. ii. 150, C (cf. Athen. vii. 315, e) seems to refer to the same lost work, and Apollonius (Mirabil. c. 27) mentions it, distinguishing it expressly from the extant Hist. An. (Π. ζωῆς). Parts of this lost work are probably indicated by the names: Π. θηρίων (ERATOSTH. Catasthrismi, c. 41, and therefrom the Scholion in GERMANICUS, Aratvo Phænom. v. 427, Arat. ed. BÜHLE, ii. 88); ἵπτερ τῶν μυθολογομένων ζωῶν (D. 106; AN. 95); ἵπτερ τῶν συνθέτων ζωῶν (D. 105; AN. 92); Π. τῶν φω- λεύστων (Πτολ. 23, ταῖρι τυφώ- λιν). DIOG. v. 44 attributes a treatise of that name, doubtless the same, to Theophrastus, from which come the Fragm. 176-178, Wimm. apud Athen. ii. 63; c. iii. 105 d; vii. 314, b. To it also refers the notice in PLUT. Qu. Conv. 8, 9, 3, which Rose, Ar. Fr. 38, refers to the Dialogue 'Εδεμον,' and HEITZ, Fragm. Ar. 217, to the ιατρικά. The citations from this and similar works, sometimes under the name of Aristotle, sometimes of Theophrastus, will be found in Rose, Ar. Ps. 276-372; Ar. Fr. 257-331, p. 1525 sq.; Fr. Hz. 171 sq. PLIN. (II. Nat. viii. 16, 44) says Aristotle wrote about fifty, and ANTIGNUS (Mirab. c. 60[66]) says about seventy books on Animals. Of all these it is clear that none but the first nine of our Hist. An. were genuine. The work which Athen. used (which is not Aristotle's style, to judge by the Fragm.) seems to have been a compilation from them and other sources, belonging, in view of the passage quoted from Antigonus, to the third century B.C.
Anatomical Descriptions.\textsuperscript{1} The latter class begin with the three books \textit{On the Soul},\textsuperscript{2} on which several other anthropological tracts follow.\textsuperscript{3} The further investi-

\textsuperscript{1} The \textit{Ἀνατομαί} (seven books, in D. 103, An. 93) are very often cited by Aristotle (cf. Bonitz, \textit{Ind. Ar.} 104, a, 4, and \textit{Fr. Hr.} 160), and it is not possible with Rose (\textit{Ar. Libr. Ord.} 188) to explain these references away. We know from \textit{H. An.} i. 17, 497, a, 31, iv. 1, 525, a, 8, vi. 11, 566, a, 15; \textit{Gen. An.} ii. 7, 746, a, 14; \textit{Part. An.} iv. 5, 680, a, 1; and \textit{De Respir.} 16, 478, a, 32, that the \textit{Ἀνατομαί} were furnished with drawings, which were perhaps the principal point of the work. The Schol. on \textit{Ingr. An.} 178, b (after Simpl. \textit{De Anima}), can hardly have cited the work from his own knowledge. Apuleius (\textit{De Mag.} c. 36, 40) talks of a work of Aristotle, Π. \textit{ζών ἀνατομῆς}, as universally known; but it is seldom mentioned elsewhere, and Apuleius himself possibly meant the Π. \textit{ζών μορίων}. The extract from the work—\textit{ἐκλογή ἀνατομῶν}, D. 104, An. 94, Apollon. \textit{Mirab.} c. 39—was certainly not by Aristotle. Heitz (\textit{Fr.} 171) rightly rejects Rose’s opinion (\textit{Ar. Ps.} 276) that the \textit{ἀνατομαί} were one work with the \textit{ζώικα}. An. 187 gives an \textit{ἀνατομή ἀνθρώπου} among the \textit{Pseudepigr.} Aristotle did no human anatomy (cf. \textit{H. An.} iii. 3, 513, a, 12, i. 16 \textit{init.} and see Lewes, \textit{Aristotle}).

\textsuperscript{2} The Π. \textit{ψυχής} is often cited by Aristotle in the lesser treatises presently to be mentioned (Bonitz, \textit{Ind. Ar.} 102, b, 60 sq.), and in the \textit{Gen. An.} ii. 3, v. 1, 7, 736, a, 37, 779, b, 23, 786, b, 25, 288, b, 1, \textit{Part. An.} iii. 10, 673, a, 30, \textit{De Interpr.} i. 16, a, 8, \textit{De Motu An.} c. 6 \textit{init.} and c. 11 \textit{ad fin.}, and must therefore be earlier than these books. Ideler (\textit{Ar. Meteor.} ii. 360) is not correct in saying that the reverse follows from the end of \textit{Meteor.} i. 1. The words in the \textit{Ingr. An.} c. 19 \textit{ad fin.}, which name this book as only projected and the Π. \textit{ζών μορίων} as in existence, are (with Brandis ii. 6, 1078) to be considered as a gloss only. Of its three books the first two seem in a more complete state than the third. Torstrik, in the preface to his edition of 1862, has shown that there are preserved traces of a second recension of book ii., and that confusing repetitions have crept into the present text of book iii., through a combination of two recensions made before the date of Alexander of Aphrodisias; and the same appears to be true of book i. also. Singularly enough D. and An. do not mention the work; but Pr. 38 has it; whereas D. 73 and An. 68 give Θέωσε\textit{π. ψυχής} α’. The \textit{Eudemus} ought also to be reckoned with Aristotle’s psychology: see the accounts of it at pp. 55, n. 4, 56, n. 2, \textit{supra}.

\textsuperscript{3} To this class belong the following extant treatises, which all relate to the \textit{κοινά σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς} ἔργα (\textit{De An.} iii. 10, 433, 20):—(1) Π. \textit{αισθήσεως καὶ αἰσθή-\textit{τῶν}}. Its proper name probably was Π. \textit{αισθήσεως} only (cf. Ideler, \textit{Ar. Meteor.} i. 650, ii. 358); and it is cited by Aristotle in the Π. \textit{ζ. μορίων} and the Π. \texti
γενέσεως (Bonitz, Ind. Ar. 103, a, 8 sq.), De Memor. c. 1, init., De Somno 2, 456, a, 2 (De Motu Anim. c. 11 fin.), and announced as coming in the Meteor. i. 3, 341, a, 14.—Trendelenburg, De An. 118 (106) sq. (contra Rose, Ar. Libr. Ord. 219, 226; Brandis, Gr.-röm. Phil. ii. b, 2, 1191, 284; Bonitz, Ind. Ar. 99, b, 51, 100, b, 30, 40) believes that the Π. αἰσθήσεως is mutilated, and that it is a separated section of it which is preserved as the εἷς τοῖς περὶ ἀκουστῶν, Ar. Opp. ii. 800 sq. It is certain that some of the references in later writings cannot be satisfactorily verified in our present text. According to the Gen. An. v. 2, 781, a, 29, and Part. An. ii. 10, 656, a, 27, it was explained ἐν τοῖς περὶ αἰσθήσεως that the canals of the organs of sense started from the heart; but, on the contrary, in the only applicable passage of the extant treatise (c. 2, 438, b, 25) we are told that the organs of smell and sight are seated near the brain, out of which they are formed, but those of taste and touch in the heart. It is not until the De Vita et M. c. 3, 469, a, 10 that he adds that the heart is the seat of perception for the other senses also (only not φανερῶς as for these); and here l. 22 sq. refers to the passage of the Π. αἰσθήσεως just cited (for it is only there, and not in the Part. An. ii. 10, as cited Ind. Ar. 99, b, 5, that the different positions are assigned to the organs of sense). From these facts it does not follow that a section dealing with this point is omitted in our text, but rather that the words ἐν τοῖς π. αἰσθήσεως in Gen. An. v. 2 and Part. An. ii. 10 are to be taken in a wide sense, as including all the anthropological treatises which are introduced by Π. αἰσθήσεως. 1 init., as by a common preface.—The same explanation will account for the statement in Part. An. ii. 7, 653, a, 19 that Aristotle would speak ἐν τε τοῖς π. αἰσθήσεως καὶ π. ὑπνου διωρισμένως of the causes and effects of sleep. The subject is to be found only in De Somno 2, 3, 458, a, 13 sq, and no fitting place for its introduction can be found in our Π. αἰσθήσεως. Probably it did not occur in the original text either; and we are to understand the reference as indicating by Π. αἰσθήσεως, the general, and by Π. ὑπνοῦ the particular description of one and the same treatise (in which view τε should perhaps be dropped).—So finally in Gen. An. v. 7, 786, b, 23, 788, a, 34 there are allusions to investigations as to the voice ἐν τοῖς π. ψυχῆς and π. αἰσθήσεως. These are to be referred chiefly to De An. ii. 8, and secondarily to c. 1, 437, a, 3 sq., 446, b, 2 sq., and 12 sq., whereas the beginning of c. 4 of the De An. itself tells us that it was beyond the plan of that treatise to give any detailed account of voice and tone, such as we find in the extant fragment Π. ἀκουστῶν. The last-named work is never cited by Aristotle, and contains no express references to any of his books. In fact its own broad and sketchy methods of exposition show it to be the work not of the founder, but of a later scholar of the Peripatetic school, probably however of one of its earliest generations. (2) Π. μηνύμης καὶ ἀναμνήσεως, Πτ. 40, is quoted in the De Motu An. c. 11, ad fin. and by the Commentators. The book of Mnemonics noticed
p. 72, n. 2 fin. supra, has nothing to do with it. (3) Π. ὑπου τον καὶ ἐγγεγόροςεως cited De Longit. V., Part. An., Gen. An., Motu An., and announced as in contemplation (Ind. Ar. 103, a, 16 sq) by De An. iii. 9, 432, b, 11, De Sensu, c. 1, 436, a, 12 sq. It is frequently connected with (2) (but clearly for external reasons only) as if they were one treatise, Π. μνήμης καὶ ὑπου (GELL. vi. 6, ALEX. Top. 279, Schol 296, b, 1, copied SUID. μνήμης, Alex. De Sensu, 125, b, MICHAEL, in Arist De Mem. 127, a, Ptol. 4). It is, however, clear from Arist. Divin. in Somm. c. 2, fin., that it was in fact bracketed with (4) Π. Ἐνυπνίων and (5) Π. τῆς καθ’ ἑπειν ἀνατικής. (4) is also in the De Sommo, 2, 456, a, 27, announced as in preparation. (6) Π. μακροβιότητος καὶ βραχυβιότητος, cited, not by name, Part. An iii. 10, 673, a, 30, and by name Athen. viii. 353, a, Pt. 46, and perhaps also An. App. 141. (7) Π. ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου: to which (8) Π. ἀναπνοής is in Aristotle’s view so closely related that they form one whole (De Vita et M. c. 1, init. 467, b, 11, De Respir. c. 21, 486, b, 21). There was a third tract, Π. νεότητος καὶ γήρας, spoken of by Aristotle (467, b, 6, 10), to which our editors ascribe the first two chapters of the Π. ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου, but clearly without reason, for it seems more probable either that Aristotle never wrote the tract or that it was lost at a very early date (cf. Brandis, 1191, BONITZ, Ind. Ar. 103, a, 26 sq, Heitz, p. 58).—Inasmuch as the De Vita et Morte, c. 3, 468, b, 31 (cf. De Respir. c. 7, 473, a, 27) mentions the Essay on the Parts of Animals as already existing (cf. ROSE, Ar. Libr. Ord., who wrongly refers to Hist. An. iii. 3, 513, a, 21), and as the Essay on Life and Death is spoken of in the De Longit. V. c. 6, 467, b, 6 as the conclusion of the inquiries concerning animals, Brandis (1192 sq.) suggests that only the first half of the so-called ‘Parva Naturalia’ (Nos. 1-5) was composed immediately after the De Anima; and that the rest of these (which in Ptolemy’s catalogue stand at No. 46 sq. divided from the books on Sense, Sleep, and Memory by the books on Zoology) were not written until after the works on the Parts, the Movement, and the Generation of Animals, though projected earlier. And it is true that in the De Generat. Anim. iv. 10, 777, b, 8, we hear that inquiries into the reason of the varying duration of life are projected, and these are not further dealt with in that work. But on the other hand the Part. An. iii. 6, 669, a, 4 refers to De Respir. c. 10, 16, and the same iv. 13, 696, b, 1, and 697, a, 22, to De Respir. c. 10, 13; and Gen. An. v. 2, 781, a, 20, as already observed, to De Vita et Morte, 3, 469, a, 10, sq. (cf. Ind. Ar. 103, a, 23, 34, sq., where the other references are more problematical). If Brandis is right, these references must have been added, as does sometimes happen, to works previously completed. As to the genuineness of the writings already named, it is guaranteed not only by internal evidence, but by the references referred to.—Another projected tract, Π. τόσον καὶ ἄργειας (De Sensu c. 1, 436, a, 17, Long. Vit. c. 1, 464, b, 32, Respir. c. 21, 480, b, 22, Part. An. ii. 7,
gations On the Parts of Animals, with the connected essays on the Generation and the Movement of

653, a, 8), was probably never written (though Heitz, p. 58 and Fr. Ar. 169, thinks otherwise). It is unknown to Alexander, De Sensu, 94, and therefore it is likely that the De Sanitate et Morbo known by the Arabic writers (Hadschi Khalfa arpuu WENRICH, 160) was a forgery. Two books π. ἀρνησις (An. App. 173) and one π. φωνησις (ibid. 164) could hardly be genuine (cf. p. 86, n. 1).—A book π. τροφης seems to be referred to as existing in the De Somno, c. 3, 466, b, 5 (the reference in Meteor. iv. 3, 381, b, 13 being too uncertain), and it is spoken of as a project in De An. ii. 4 fin., Gen. An. v. 4, 784, b, 2, Part. An. ii. 3, 650, b, 10, and c. 7, 653, b, 14, and c. 14, 674 a, 26, and iv. 4, 678, a, 19. The reference in De Motu An. 10, 703, a, 10 (cf. Michael EPHES. ad loc. p. 156, a) is not to a π. τροφης, but to the π. πνευματος: for the words τις μὲν οὖν ἡ σωτηρία τοῦ συμφῶτην πνευματος ἐφίσταται ἐν ἄλλω ἢ τοῦ ἑμφῶτον πνευματος διαμονῆ: (Π. πνευ. init.). (So Bonitz, Ind. Ar. 100, a, 52; but Rose, Ar. Libr. Ord. 167 makes them refer to the π. ψε. κυνής, itself, and Heitz, Fr. Ar. 168 to the π. τροφης.) The work is named in Pt. No. 20, where it is wrongly given three books. It dealt with food and other matters in an aphoristic style; and that it is later than Aristotle is clear from the fact that it recognised the distinction of veins and arteries, which was unknown to him (cf. Ind. Ar. 109, b, 22, sq.). In any case it is Peripatetic; cf. further ap. Rose, Ar. Libr. Ord. 167, sq., and Brandis, p. 1203, who both with Bonitz reject the book.

1 Π. χρων γενέσεως, four books—(in An. App. 157, three books): cited in the De Gen. An., Ingr. An., Motu An. (cf. Ind. Ar. 103, a, 55 sq.), and the De Vita et M. et De Respir. (de g. r. p. 91, supra)—but the De Somno, 3, 157, b, 28 might be referred to De Sensu, 2, 148, b, 28, though De Somno, c. 2, 155, b, 34 may be better paralleled by Part. An. iii. 3, 665, a, 10 sq., than by De Sensu, 2, 148, b, 25 sq. It is spoken of as projected in Meteor. i. 1, 339, a, 7, and Hist. An. ii. 17, 507, a, 25. The first book is a kind of introduction to the zoological works, including the treatises on the Soul, and the activities and conditions of life, and it cannot well have been originally meant for this place (cf. SPENGEL, 'On the order of Aristotle's books on Natural Philosophy,' Abh. d. Münch. Akad. iv. 159, and the others there cited).

2 Π. χρων γενέσεως, five books (in An. App. 158, three books, Pt. No. 44, five books, ibid. No. 77, the same work in two books; the errors are of no significance). It is often referred to by Aristotle, but only in the future (cf. Ind. Ar. 103, b, 8 sq.). DIOG. omits it; but its genuineness is beyond doubt. Book v., however, seems not to belong to it, but to be an appendix to the works on the Parts and Generation of Animals, just as the
Animals, complete his zoological system. Later in date, but earlier in their place in his teaching, were the lost books On Plants. Other treatises touching this

'Parva Naturalia' are to the De Anima. For summaries of the contents of the Part. An. and the General. Anim. see MEYER, Arist. Thierk. 128 sq., and LEWES, Ar. c. 16 sq. The tract De Coitu (Hadschi Khalfa, ap. Wenrich, p. 159) was spurious: for it cannot be referred, as Wenrich refers it, to the title Π. μετέωρα in De Sensu, c. 3 (cf. p. 83, n. 1, supra). As to the book Π. τῶν μη γεννών, v. p. 88, supra.

1 Π. ζῶν τοπελας, cited by that name in Part. An. iv. 11, 690, b, 15 and 692, a, 17, as the Π. τοπελας καὶ κοινῆσως τῶν ζών in Part. An. iv. 13, 696, a, 12, and as Π. τῶν ζῶν κοινῆσως in the De Coitu, ii. 2, 284, b, 13, cf. Ingr. An. c. 4, 5, c. 2, 704, b, 18; yet it itself cites (c. 5, 706, b, 2) the Part. An. iv. 9, 684, a, 14, 31, as an earlier work. According to its concluding words in c. 19 (which, as already suggested at p. 89, n. 2, may be spurious) it is later than the Π. ζῶν μορφῶν, to which also its introductory words seem to refer back; and yet it is frequently cited in that work, and at its close (Part. An. 697, b, 29) there is no hint of an essay on Movement as still to come. Probably it was, in fact, composed while the larger work was in progress.—The tract Π. ζῶν κοινῆσως can hardly be authentic; among other reasons, because it cites the Π. πνεύματος (cf. p. 89, n. 3 fin.). ROSE (Ar. Libr. Ord. 163 sq.) and BRANDIS (in. b, 1, p. 1271, 482) declare it spurious: Barthélemy St. Hilaire (Psych. d’Arist. 237) accepts it as genuine. Of the Indices, An. App. No. 156, and Pt. No. 41, have the Π. ζῶν κοινῆσως, and Pt. No. 45, Π. ζῶν τοπελας.

2 Π. φυτῶν β’ (D. 108, AN. 96, Pt. 48). Promised by Aristotle in Meteor. i. 1, 339, a, 7, De Sensu c. 4, 412, b, 25, Long. Vita, 6, 467, b, 4, De Vita 2, 468, a, 31, Part. An. ii. 10, 656, a, 3, Gen. An. i. 1, 716, a, 1, v. 3, 783, b, 20, and cited in H. An. v. 1, 539, a, 20, Gen. An. i. 23, 731, a, 29 (in the last, it is wrong to change the perfect tense into the future in the words of citation). Though both these references must have been inserted after the books were complete, it is possible that Aristotle may have inserted them. ALEX. p. 183, on De Sensu, i.e., remarks that a book on Plants by Theophrastus was extant, but none by Aristotle. So MICHAEL EPES. on De Vita et M. 175 b, SIMPLICIUS PHILOP. &c. (apud Rose, Ar. Ps. 261, HEITZ, Fr. Ar. 163) say the contrary, but we need not suppose they spoke from personal knowledge of the Π. φυτῶν. Quintil. (xii. 11, 22) proves nothing for, and Cic. (Fin. v. 4, 10) nothing against, their genuineness. What ATHEN. (xiv. 652 a, 653 d, &c.) cites from them (Ar. Fr. 250-4) may as probably be taken from a false as from a genuine book. The two Aristotelian references mentioned make it, however, overwhelmingly probable that Aristotle did write two books on Plants, which were
still extant in the time of Hermippus, though they were afterwards displaced by the more elaborate work of Theophrastus (so HEITZ, Ar. Fr. 250, and Verl. Schrift. 61, though ROSE, Ar. Ps. 261, thinks the books by Theophrastus were ascribed to Aristotle). According to ANTIGONUS (Mirabil. c. 163, cf. 129, ap. Ar. Fr. 253, Fr. Hz. 223) Callimachus as well as Theophrastus seems to have borrowed from these two books. So did the compiler of the Φωτικά, as to which POLLUX x. 170 (ap. Ar. Fr. 252, Fr. Hz. 224) could not say whether they belonged to Theophrastus or to Aristotle, but which no doubt, like the ζωικά mentioned at p. 88, supra, were compiled by a later disciple for lexicographical purposes. In like manner, Athenæus and other similar collectors also used these books (cf. ROSE and HEITZ, ibid.); and they sometimes distinguish between the phrases used by Aristotle and by Theophrastus (Ar. Fr. 254, Fr. Hz. 225).—The two extant books Π. φωτιὸν are emphatically un-Aristotelian. In the older Latin text they have passed already through the hands of two or three translators. MEYER (Pref. to NICOL. DAM. De Plantis, ii. ed. 1841) ascribes them in their original form to Nicolaus of Damascus, though possibly they are only an extract from his book, worked over by a later hand. JESSEN'S suggestion (Rhein. Mus. 1859, vol. xiv. 88) that Aristotle's genuine work is contained in the work of Theophrastus is in no way supported by the fact that the latter closely agrees with what Aristotle elsewhere says, or promises to discuss in his Π. φωτιὸν: for we know how constantly the earlier Peripatetics adopted the teaching and the very words of Aristotle. On the other hand, the only passage cited verbally from Aristotle's books (ATHEN. xiv. 652 a, ap. Ar. Fr. 250) is not in those of Theophrastus, so far as we have them; and the latter contain no direct reference to any of the Aristotelian writings—a circumstance which would be incredible in a work so extensive which touched at so many points the earlier Aristotelian treatises. The very passage (Caus. Pl. vi. 4, 1) in which JESSEN finds one main proof of his theory points to several later modifications of an Aristotelian doctrine which had arisen in the School after his death. Theophrastus, in contrast with Aristotle's view, speaks of male and female plants (cf. Caus. Pl. i. 22, 1, Hist. iii. 9, 2, &c.). But a decisive argument is to be found in the fact that not only does the text of Theophrastus speak of Alexander and his Indian expedition in a way (Hist. iv. 4, 1, 5, 9, Caus. viii. 4, 5) which would be hardly possible in Aristotle's lifetime, but it also refers to what happened in the time of King Antigonus (Hist. iv. 8, 4) and the Archons Archippus, B.C. 321 or 318 (Hist. iv. 14, 11) and Nicodorus, B.C. 314 (Caus. i. 19, 5). It would likewise be clear on a full comparison that the diction and manner of statement in the Theophrastic books makes it impossible to attribute them to Aristotle.
field of work, such as the Anthropology,¹ the Physiognomics,² the works on Medicine,³ Agriculture,⁴ and Hunt-

¹ Π. Ἀνθρώπων φύσεως, only named in AN. App. 183. There are a few items which seem to have belonged to this tract, apud Rose, Ar. Ps. 379, Ar. Fr. 257–264, p. 1525, Fr. Hz. 189 sq.

² Φυσιογνωμονικά (Bekker, 805), [-κ]δρ α' in D. 109, but -κα β' in AN. 97]. An extended recension of this work is indicated by the numerous references to physiognomic theories not to be found in our text, which occur in a treatise on Physiognomy written probably by Apuleius (apud Rose, Anecd. Gr. 61 sq.; cf. Fr. Hz. 191, and Rose, Ar. Ps. 696 sq.).

³ D. mentions two books of Ἰατρικά: the ANON. two books Π. Ἰατρικὴς: ibid. APP. 167, seven books Π. Ἰατρικής: Pt. 70 five books of Προβλήματα Ἰατρικά (from which it appears that the Ἰατρικά in the list of Diog. were also problems, book 1. of our extant Problems being made up of such medical questions and answers): Vita Marc. p. 2 R, Προβλήματα Ἰατρικά: Pt. 71 Π. διαλήτης: ibid. 74 b, De Pulsu: ibid. 92, one book Ἰατρικός: Hadchi Khalfa ap. WENRICH, p. 159, De Sanquiniis Profusione: COEL. AUREL. Celer. Pass. ii. 13, one book De Adjutoriis (perhaps a mistake in the name). Galen in HIPPOCR. De Nat. Hom. i. 1, vol. xv. 25 K, knows of an Ἰατρική συναγωγή in several books, bearing Aristotle's name, which was nevertheless recognised as being the work of his pupil, Meno; and this is possibly identical with the Συναγωγή in two books named by Diog. 89 (as WENRICH, p. 158, suggests).

For the little that remains of it, see Rose, Ar. Ps. 384 sq., Ar. Fr. 335–341, p. 1534; Fr. Hz. 216, but on Fr. 362 cf. p. 88, supra. The genuineness of these writings, or at least of some of them, cannot be maintained. That Aristotle held that medical subjects should be treated in a technical way, and not from the point of view of natural science, is evident from his own declaration which he makes, p. 9, 1 fin. (cf. De Sensu, i. 1, 436, a, 17; Longit. V. 464, b, 32; De Resipir. c. 21, fin.; Part. An. ii. 7, 653, a, 8), and such an indefinite statement as that of Ἀεlian (V. H. ix. 22) cannot prove the contrary. As to the composition Π. νόσου καὶ ὑγιειάς see p. 91 fin.—Galen (as Heitz ibid. justly remarks) can have known no composition of Aristotle on medical science, since he never mentions any such, although he quotes the philosopher more than six hundred times.

⁴ An. 189 mentions the Πευδεπιγραφά amongst the Pseudepigrapha. Pt. 72, on the other hand, gives 15 (or 10) books De Agricultura as genuine, and the statement in GEOPON. iii. 3, 4 (Ar. Fr. 255 sq. p. 1525) on the manuring of almond-trees seems to have been taken from this, and not from the treatise on plants. Rose (Ar. Ps. 268 sq.; Hz. Fr. 165 sq.) mentions other things which may perhaps have come from this source. That Aristotle did not write about agriculture or similar subjects is clear from Polit. i. 11, 1258, a, 33, 39.
ing,¹ are, without exception, spurious. The Problems² are no doubt based on Aristotelian materials;³ but our extant collection under that name can only be described as a set of gradually gathered and unequally developed productions of the Peripatetic school, which must have existed in many other forms parallel to our own.⁴

¹ In the Index of Ptolemy, No. 23, Hadschi Khalfa gives (Π. τῶν φαλεστόντων): De Animalium Captura, nec non de Loici, quibus deversantur atque dellescent, i.


³ Aristotle refers in seven places to the Προβλήματα or Προβληματικά (Prantl, ibid. 364 sq.; Ind. Ar. 163, b, 17 sqq.), but only one of these quotations suits to a certain extent the extant 'Problems'; and the same is true (Pr. ibid. 367 sqq.) of the majority of the later references.

⁴ Prantl, ibid. has abundantly proved this, and he has also shown (Münch. Gel. Anz. 1858, No. 25) that among the 262 further problems which are given by Bussemaker in vol. iv. of the Didot edition of Aristotle, and some of which were at one time erroneously ascribed to Alexander of Aphrodisias (cf. Ussener, Alex. Aphr. Probl., Lib. iii., iv., Berl. 1859, p. ix. sqq.), there is probably nothing written by Aristotle. The same is true of those which Rose (Ar. Ps. 666 sqq.) takes from a Latin MS. of the 10th century. The character ascribed in the text to the collection of 'Problems' may also explain the many varying statements as to its title and the number of books it included. In the MSS, they are sometimes called Προβλήματα, sometimes Φυσικά προβλήματα, and sometimes with the addition κατ' εἴδος συναγωγής ('arranged in accordance with the matter'). Gellius generally says, Problemat (xix. 4), Prob. physica (xx. 4, quoting Probl. xxx. 10): Προβλήματα ἑγκύκλια; Apul. (De Magia, c. 51) has Problemat; Athenaeus and Apollonius (vid. Indices and Prantl, 390 sq.) always Προβλήματα φυσικά; Macrobi. (Sat. vii. 12) Physicae questiones. To collections of problems are also referable the titles: Φυσικών λν' κατά στειχείον (D. 120, An. 110); as to the words κ. στοιχ., the explanation of which in Rose, Ar. Ps. 215, is not clear, they are to be understood of the arrangement of the different books in the alphabetical order of their headings); Προβλήματα (68 or 28 B, Pr. 65); Επίτεθεαμένων προβλημάτων β' (D. 121, An. 112); 'Εγκυκλίων β' (D. 122, An. 113, Προβλήματα ἑγκύκλια 4 bks., Pr. 67); Physica Problemat, Adspec- tica Probl. (Ammon. Latin, p. 58); 'Ἀτακτα β' (D. 127, ἀ]διατάκτων β' An. 119). Præ-
Turning to Ethics and Politics, we have on the former subject three comprehensive works,\(^1\) of which,

missa Questionibus (Pt. 66, says the Greek title is 'hrbimatw brnu-

greaw,' i.e. Προβλημάτων προ-

γραφή, or Προαναγραφή); Σωμικά-

των ζητήματων οβ' (AN. 66 with the additional clause; ὡς φησιν Εὐ-

καίρος δ ἰάκουσθε αὐτοῦ); David

(Schol. in Ar. 24, b, 8) also speaks of 70 books Π. σωμικών ζητήμα-

tων, and the Vita Marc. p. 2, R of

Φυσικά προβληματα in 70 books;

ʾΕξηγημένα (or Ἐξηθασίμενα) κατὰ

géνοι ἰδ' (D. 128, AN. 121). With

regard to the Προβλήματα μηχανικά,

ὑπηρετικά, ἱατρικά, cf. p. 86, n. 1, and

95, n. 3. The spurious composition

Π. προβλημάτων, to which be-

sides D. 51 (and also AN. 48, although the πεῖλ is here wanting)

Alex. Top. 34, Schol. in Ar. 258, a, 16, also refers, seems to have con-

tained a theory as to setting and answering problems. See Rose,

Ar. Ps. 126, Fragm. 109, p. 1496, 

Fr. Hz. 115. On the other hand, book xxx. of our Problems cannot

well be meant (as Heitz, 122, be-

lieves) by the ἑγκύκλια, Eth. Ν. 1,

3, 1096, a, 3. Aristotle seems

rather to indicate what he calls

in other places ἐξαστεροὶ λόγοι, 

and De Ciclo, i. 9, 279, a, 3 Τὰ

ἑγκύκλια φιλοσοφήματα. Cf. Ber-

nays, Dial. of Arist. 85, 93 sqq. 

171; Bonitz, Ind. Ar. 105, a, 27 

sqq. More on this infra.

\(^{1}\) Ἔντικα Νικομάχεια 10 B., 

’Ἡνίκα Εὐδήμια 7 B., ’Ἡνίκα μεγάλα 

2 B. Of our catalogues D. 38 

only names Ἁθικῶν ε’ο. B’; (al-

though Diog. elsewhere (Vita, 

21) cites the seventh book of the 

Etics in connection with Eth. 

Eud. vii. 12, 1245, b, 20); ΑΝ. 

39 has Ἡθικῶν κ (e.g. the Eth. 

Nic., the last book of which is κ), 

and then again in the Appendix 

174: Π. θητών (-κών) Νικομάχεων 

ὑποθήκας (which seems to be an 

extract from the same work); Pt. 

30 sq. the Great Ethics in two 

books, the Eudemian Ethics in 

eight. Aristotle himself quotes 

(Metaph. i. 1, 981, b, 25, and 

in six passages of the Polit.

With the words: φησί δὲ 

Νικομάχος ὁ Ἀριστοτέλους. On the 

other hand Atticus (apud Eus. 

Pr. Er. xv. 4, 6) gives all three 

Ethics with their present names 

as Aristotlean; likewise Simpl. 

in Cat. 1, C. 43, ε and Schol. Porph.

y. Schol. in Ar. 9, b, 22, who 

says the Eudemian Ethics were 

addressed to Eudemus, the Μέγα 

Νικομάχα (Μ. Μορ.) to Nic-

machi ad the father, and the Μικρά 

Νικομάχα (Eth. Ν.) to Nicoma-

chus, the son of Aristotle. The 

same story is told by David, 

Schol. in Ar. 25, a, 40. Eustrat. 

(in Eth. N. 141, a; cf. Arist. Euth. 

Eud. vii. 4 init. c. 10, 1212, b, 2) 

speaks of the Eudemian Ethics 

as the work of Eudemus, that is 

to say, he repeats this statement 

after one of the earlier writers 

whom he used (cf. p. 72, b), and 

who was, it would seem, not alto-

gether unlearned: on the other 

hand, on his own supposition, or

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however, only one—the *Nicomachean Ethics*—is of directly Aristotelian authorship. A mass of smaller

following an equally worthless authority (1, b, m), he represents *Eth. N.* as dedicated to a certain Nicomachus, and *Eth. Eud.* to a certain Eudemus. A Scholion also which is attributed to Aspasius (r
d.Spengel¹ On the Ethical Writings under the name of Aristotle,¹ in the *Abh. d. Münch. Akad.* iii. 439–551, p. 520, cf. ‘Schol. in Ar. *Eth.*’ *Class. Journal*, vol. xxix. 117) must suppose Eudemus to be the author of the Eudemian Ethics, since on this supposition alone can he attribute the treatise on Pleasure to him, *Eth. N.* vii. 12 sqq. The Commentaries known to us (by Aspasius, Alexander, Porphyry, Eustratius) are concerned only with the Nicomachean Ethics. For further materials, cf. Spengel, *ibid.* 445 sqq.

¹ Schleiermacher (‘On the Ethical Works of Aristotle,’ for 1817, W. W. Z. *Philos.* iii. 306 sqq.) gave it as his opinion that, of the three ethical works, the so-called Great Ethics is the oldest, and the Nicomachean Ethics the latest, but the treatise of Spengel already cited makes the opposite view clear, viz. that the genuine work of Aristotle is the Nicomachean Ethics, that the Eudemian Ethics is a supplementary work by Eudemus, and that the Great Ethics is an extract taken directly from the Eudemian. But the position of the three books which are common to the Nicomachean and Eudemian Ethics (*Nic. v.–vii., Eud. iv.–vi.*) is still a moot point. Spengel (480 sqq.) believes that they belong originally to the Nicomachean Eth., but

that, after the corresponding sections of the Eudemian Eth. were lost at an early period, they were employed to fill up the blanks in the Eudemian Eth.; he is inclined to look upon the treatise on pleasure, *Nic. vii.* 12 sqq., which Aspasius also attributes to Eudemus (see preceding note, *fn.*), as a fragment of the Eudemian Ethics (p. 518 sqq.), but without wishing to exclude the possibility of its being a sketch intended by Aristotle for the Nicomachean Eth., and later on replaced by x. 1 sqq. In his *Arist. Stud.* i. 20 (against which Walter argues in *Die Lehre v. d. prakt. Vernunft*, 88 sqq.) *Nic. vi.* 13 is also attributed to Eudemus. On the other hand Fischer (*De Ethicus Eudem. et Nicom. Bonn*, 1847), and with him also Fritzche (*Arist. Eth. Eud. 1851, Prolegg. xxxiv.*) refer only *Nic. v.* 1–14 to the Nicomachean, and *Nic. v.* 15, vii., to the Eudemian Ethics. *Grant (Ethics of Aristot. i. 49 sqq.*) refers the whole of these three books to the Eudemian; whilst Bendixen (*Philologus*, x. 199 sqq., 263 sqq.) on the contrary, for reasons worthy of note, defends the Aristotelian origin of the whole, including vii. 12–15. Brandis (*Gr.-röm. Philii. b, 1555 sq.), Prantl (*D. dienöet. Tugenden d. Ar. Münch.* 1852, p. 5 sqq.), and in the main also Ueberweg (*Gesch. d. Phil. i. 177 sq. 5th ed.*), and Rassow (*Forsch. üb. d. nökom. Ethik*, 26 sqq. cf. 15 sqq.) agree with the conclusions of Spengel; the last-named with this modification, which has much to support it, that *Nic. v.–vii.*, though essentially Aristotelian,
tracts is also named, but probably few of them were genuine. Of the sociological writings only one—the
has been submitted to the after-work of another pen, and has perhaps, in consequence of a mutilation, been supplied from the Eudemian Ethics.

1 Such are (besides the Dialogues mentioned on p. 56, n. 1, 59 sq., P. δικαιοσύνης, Ἐρωτικός, Π. πλοῦτου, Π. εὐγενείας and Π. ἡδονής), the following: the small composition, still extant, Π. ἀρετῶν καὶ κακίων (Arist. Opp. 1249–1251), which is the work of a half-Academic, half-Peripatetic Eclectic, hardly earlier than the first century before Christ; Προτάσεις π. ἀρετῆς (D. 34, AN. 342); Π. ἀρετῆς (AN. App. 163); Π. δικαιών β’ (D. 76, AN. 64—Pt. 11, 4 B.); Π. τοῦ βελτίωνος α’ (D. 53, AN. 50); Π. ἐκουσίου (-ιων) α’ (D. 68, AN. 58); Π. τοῦ αἵρετοῦ καὶ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος α’ (D. 58; Π. αἵρετοῦ καὶ συμβαίνοντος, AN. 56). It is not probable that Aristotle composed a treatise Π. επίθυμας: In the beginning of the De Sensu, he proposes future researches into the faculty of desire, but we do not hear that they were carried out; what we find in Seneca (De Ira, i. 3, 9, 2, 17, 1, iii. 3, 1) may more probably have been contained in the writing Π. παθῶν (or -ου) ὄργης (D. 37, AN. 30), the supposed remnants of which Rose (Ar. Ps. 109 sqq., Ar. Fr. 94–97, No. 1492) and Heitz (Fr. 151 sq.) have put together. Whether it was a dialogue (Rose) or a treatise (Heitz) cannot with certainty be determined; the latter seems the more probable opinion. Its genuineness is, to say the least, undemonstrable, and the title does not sound Aristotelian. D. 61, AN. 60 have also Πάθη α’. Further (besides the Ἐρωτικὸς mentioned on p. 59), Ἐρωτικά (AN. App. 181; Pt. 13, 3 B.) and 4 B. of Θέσεις Ἐρωτικαί (D. 71, AN. 66; Pt. 56, 1 B.) are mentioned, both of them doubtless equally spurious. AN. 162 reckons Π. σωφροσύνης among the Pseudepigrapha. Π. φιλιάς α’ (D. 24, AN. 24, Pt. 25) is supposed not to be a copy from Euth. AN. viii. ix., but a special treatise, which can hardly be genuine. Still less can Aristotle have been the author of Θέσεις φιλικά β’ (D. 72, AN. 67). Of the two writings Π. συμβιώσεως ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναῖκος (AN. App. 165) and Νόμου (-οι) ἀνδρός καὶ γυνείς (ibid. 166), the former is mentioned by other writers several times (e.g. by Clemens, Olympiodor., and David in the passages given by Rose, Ar. Ps. 180 sq., Ar. Fr. 178 sq., p. 1507). Rose (De Ar. Libr. Ord. 60 sqq.) has pointed out two Latin translations of these Νόμοι (or the writing Π. συμβιώσα, if both are not merely different titles of the same book) which profess to be the second book of the Economics: see Ar. Pseud. 644 sqq.; Fr. Hz. 153 sqq. PLUTARCH, ATHENAIUS, and others quote from a writing Π. μέθης, perhaps a dialogue; cf. Rose, Ar. Ps. 116 sqq., Ar. Fr. 98–106, p. 1493 sq.; Fr. Hz. 64 sq. It was certainly not genuine; it may have been identical with the writing of the same name by Theophrastus (HEITZ, ibid.), only in that case Athenaius, who,
eight books of the *Politics*—is preserved; but though it contains some of his most mature and admirable work it is unhappily left, like the *Metaphysics*, unfinished. The *Economics* cannot be considered genuine. Of all the rest we have lost everything in addition to these two, quotes a third by Chamaeleon, must have been indebted for his quotations to various writers, to whom it was known by different names—anot very probable supposition. What is quoted from it is concerned, partly with historical, partly with physiological discussions; whether drunkenness was regarded also from a moral point of view we do not know. Nor do we know any more as to the contents of the *Nómous sýnastikós* (in the MSS., of D. 139, Νόμος συναστικός, of AN. 130 Νόμων συναστικών α', for the circumstance of the Platonic republic being mentioned in it (*Procl. in Remp. 350, Ar. Fr. 177, p. 1507*) gives us no indication; hence we cannot determine whether Rose (Ar. Ps. 179) is right in supposing that there was a discussion in it on the arrangement of, and good behaviour at symposia, or Heitz (Ar. Fr. 307), in believing that it contained a collection of the customs relating to them. Π. συναστίων ἡ συμποσίω (AN. App. 161) is identical with it; not so, however, the three books Συναστικῶν προβλημάτων (AN. 136), the title of which makes us think not so much of questions with regard to meals, as of questions such as are proposed at a meal, like Plutarch's *Συμποσιακά προβλήματα*. For the *Παραγγέλματα* cf. p. 72, n. 2 *πίν.*

1 Aristotle puts this work in the closest connection with the *Ethics*, by treating the latter as auxiliary to politics (*Eth. N.* i. 1, 1094 a, 26 sqq., 1095, a, 2, c. 2 *init.* c. 13, 1102, a, 5, vii. 12 *init. : Rhet. i. 2, 1356, a, 26*). He expects from politics the realisation of the principles laid down by *Ethics* (*ibid.* x. 10). But he does not mean both to be merely two parts of one composition (cf. *Polit. vii. 1, 1323, b, 39, c. 13, 1332, a, 7, 21, ii. 1, 1261, a, 30, iii. 9, 1280, a, 18. c. 12, 1282, b, 19). Even apart from the citation *Rhet. i. 8 *πίν.*, and the mention of it in the catalogue (D. 75, AN. 70), its genuineness cannot be doubted, however seldom it is named by ancient writers (see the remarks of *Spengel, ‘Ueb. d. Politik d. Arist.,’ Abb. d. Münchh. Akad. v. 44 infra*).

2 For further information, see the section on the political philosophy of Aristotle, ch. xiii., *infra.*

3 Of the second book (as to the beginning of which see *Rose, Arist. Libr. Ord. 59 sq.*) this has long been admitted, but Göttling (*Arist. Ebron. p. vii. xvii.*) considers the first to be a section of a genuine Aristotelian writing; it seems more probable that it is the work of a later writer based on *Polit. i.* (See end of ch. xxi., *infra.*) D. 23, AN. 17 name Οἰκονομικός (or -ον) α'. Cf. p. 99 *supra* on another pretended second book.
except a few fragments. 1

Among them the loss of the work, which Rose (Ar. Libr. Ord. 56 sq., Ar. Ps. 395 sq.) disputes, has no weighty arguments against it (as Heitz, p. 246 sqq. shows); and even if the external evidence, of which that of Timeus (apud Polyb. xii. 5, 11) is the oldest producible, did not utterly exclude Rose's supposition that the work was published and circulated in his name soon after Aristotle's death, nevertheless the internal improbability of that theory would be much strengthened by it. The declarations of David, ibid., and the Schol. to Porphyry's Isagoge (vid. Rose, Ar. Ps. 390, Ar. Fr. 1535) favour the supposition that the different states in the Polities are taken in alphabetical order; and this explains why the Athenians (according to Fr. 378, where, however, the reading is uncertain) are treated in the 1st book, and the Ithacans in the 42nd (Fr. 466). The circumstance that the numerous fragments all contain merely isolated notes, without reference to a uniform complete treatise, will not (as Rose, Ar. Ps. 395 holds) serve as a proof of the spuriousness of the work; but, in conjunction with the fact that the Aristotelian writings nowhere refer to the work in question (for even Eth. N. x. 10, 1181, b, 17, refers to the Polities; cf. Heitz, 231 sq.), it supports the view (Heitz, 233 sq.) that the Polities was not a literary completed whole, but a collection by Aristotle, for his own use, of facts which he had gathered partly by personal observation and inquiries, and partly from

1 The political writings named, besides those quoted, are the following: (1) Πολιτείαι, a collection of facts with regard to 158 states (D. 145, An. 135, the text of which Bernays, Rh. Mus. vii. 289, with the approval of Rose, Ar. Ps. 394, has evidently improved), which, according to the fragments and the statements of Cic. Fin. v. 4, 11, and Plut. N. P. Su. V. 10, 4 (who names the work κτισεῖς καὶ πολιτείαι) not only treated of the constitution, but also of the usages, customs, situation of the towns, the history of their foundation, their local traditions, &c. Pt. 81 gives the number of cities as 171 (or 191, according to the view of Herbelot, Bibl. Or. 971, a): Ammon. V. Ar. 48 gives 255: Ammon. Lat. p. 56, Ps.-Porphy. Schol. in Ar. 9, b, 26, and David, ibid. 24, a, 34, say 250, and Philop. ibid. 35, b, 19, about 250, but the increase does not seem to be founded on any later extension of the collection, but merely on clerical mistakes (cf. Rose, Ar. Ps. 394). Simpl. (Categ. 2, γ. Schol. 27, a, 43) seems by the words ἐν ταῖς γνησίαις αὐτῶν πολιτείαις to point to the existence of spurious Polities; πρὶν (158) instead of γνησίαις may be the true reading (Heitz, Ar. Fr. 219), though Ideker, Ar. Meteor. i., xii. 40 can hardly be right in substituting ἐπιστολαίς for πολιτείαις). The numerous fragments of the large collection are found in Müller, Fragm. Hist. ii. 102 sqq. (cf. Bournot, in Philolog. iv. 266 sqq.); Rose, Ar. Ps. 402 sqq.; Ar. Fr. 343-560, p. 1535 sqq.; Fr. Hz. 218 sqq. The genuine-
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Aristotle's collection of forms of government in various cities, is simply irreparable.1

Our Poetics2 is only a fragment; but not even so

writings. If this be so, copies would only be circulated after his death. A chapter out of the Πολιτεία 'Αθηναίων may have given rise to the title Π. τῶν Σίδωνος ἀξίων (AN. App. 110: cf. Müller, ibid., 109, 12).—A similar collection was (2) the Νόμωμα βασιλείων, which are quoted under this title by Appollon. Mirabil. 11; Varro, i. i., vii. 70; AN. App. 186 (νομίμων βασιλ. συναγωγῆ); from this title also the designations Νόμωι α' β' γ' δ' (D. 140), νομίμων δ' (AX. 131), seem to have been wrongly transcribed. To them the νόμωμα 'Ρωμαίων (AN. App. 185) and the νόμωμα Τυρρήνων (Athex. i. 23, d) probably belonged. Among the few fragments (apud Müller, ibid. 178 sqq., Rose, Ar. Ps. 537 sqq., Ar. Fr. 561-568, p. 1570, Fr. Hz. 297 sq.), Nos. 562, 563 and 564 can only be attributed to Aristotle under the supposition that he did not give their contents in his own name, but as traditions somewhere current. — (3) The Δικαίωματα τῶν πόλεων (AMM. Differ. Vocab., Νήσει) or Δικ. Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων (V. Marc. p. 2, R) seem to have dealt with quarrels between the Hellenic states and their settlement; they are also named more briefly Δικαίωματα (D. 129, AN. 120, Harpocrat. Δρυμός).—(4) The Θεωρείς πολιτικοί β' (AN. 69; the same is the right reading in D. 74) were in any case spurious. The Anon. 5 applies the name Π. πολιτικοί to the Gryllus, but that must be a mistake (see above, p. 59).—On the

Πολιτικός cf. p. 57; on Π. βασιλείας and Τῆρ ἀποικῶν, p. 60, sub fin.; on Π. βήτωρος ἡ πολιτικός, p. 72, n. 2, towards the end; on Π. ἀρχή, p. 81, n. 1, fin.; on a bungling forgery of the Middle Ages, Secre
tetum secretorum (or, Aristotelis ad Alexandrum regem de moribus regis dignis), cf. Geier, Arist. und Alex. 234 sq; Rose, Arist. Libr. Ord. 183 sq, Ar. Ps. 583 sq. 

1 Since this was written the Athenian Πολιτεία has been re
covered.

2 This writing, in our editions, is entitled: Π. ποιητικός. Aristot. himself mentions it in the Politics (viii. 7, 1341, b, 38), as a future work; in the Rhetoric (i. 11 fin., iii. 1, 1104, a, 38, c. 2, 1404, b, 7, 28, 1105, a, 5, c. 18, 1419, b, 5, with which cf. p. 74, n. 1), as already existing, with these words: εν τοῖς περὶ ποιητικῶν, or (1404, b, 28) εν τ. π. ποιήσεως. The Indices name: Πραγματείας τεχνης ποιη
tικής β' (D. 83), τεχνης ποιητ. β' (AN. 75), De arte poetica secundum disciplinam Pythagorea, Pr. Fr. (this addition is caused by the combination of two different titles: cf. Rose, Ar. Ps. 194). Ps.-Alex. Soph. El. Schol. in Ar. 299, b, 44, ἐν τῷ π. ποιητ.; likewise Herm. in Phaedr. 111, and Ast, ἐν τῷ π. π.; Simil. Cat. Schol. 43, a, 13, 27: ἐν τῷ π. π.; David, ibid. 25, b, 19, το π. π.; on the other hand AMM. De interpr. Schol. 99, a, 12, ἐν τοῖς π. ποι.; Boeth. De interpr. 290, in libris quos de arte poetica scriptit. The more ancient au

thorities are acquainted with two
much as this remains of Aristotle’s other contributions to the theory and history of Art or of his dissertations on the poets.1 Nor is there much left of the other books on Poetry (a third is mentioned only in the quotations given on p. 58, n. 1, with regard to the writing Π. ποιητῶν), the more modern only with one; except in so far as they copy more ancient writers, as we must suppose was the case with Ammonius and Boëthius. From this alone we might suppose that the writing in question originally had a greater extension than it now has, but this becomes certain from the references to such parts of it as are missing in our recension, as for instance the discussion on the Catharsis promised in Polit. viii. 7, 1341, b, 38, which would naturally have come in the section on Tragedy, and, as we learn from sure traces, actually did occur there (cf. Bernays, ‘Grundz. d. Abb. d. Arist. üb. d. Wirkung d. Trag.’ Abb. d. hist.-phil. Ges. in Breslaus, 160 sqq., 197 sq.; SusEMiHL, p. 12; Vahlen, p. 81 sq. of his edition, and others); the examination of Comedy, promised Poet. c. 6 init., and quoted Rhet. i. 11 fin., of which Bernays (Rh. Mus. viii. 561 sqq.) has pointed out valuable remnants in Cramer’s Anec. Paris., vol. i. app. (now in SusEMiHL, p. 208 sq., Vahlen, 76 sq.); and the discussion on Synonyms, which Simpl. mentions, Categ. Schol. 43, a, 13, 27. In other places also our text shows many greater or smaller gaps, as also interpolations (as c. 12 and many smaller ones), and inversions (the most considerable that of chap. 15, which ought to come after chap. 18), which sufficiently prove that we only possess Aristotle’s work in a mutilated and hopelessly corrupt condition. We cannot here inquire how its present condition may be explained (SusEMiHL, ibid., p. 3 sq., gives an enumeration of the different, and in part widely diverging attempts at explanation). It may be true, as SusEMiHL concludes, that the carelessness of the writing, the caprice of the copyists, and the freaks of accident account for most of the mischief; but we cannot make these factors responsible for the interpolations, except in so far as they may have rendered possible the introduction of some marginal notes into the text.

1 Of the Dialogue Π. ποιητῶν γ’ we have already spoken on p. 58. Besides this AN. 115 gives Κόκλον π. ποιητῶν, likewise in three books. This title may have arisen, by duplication and corruption, from that of the Dialogue, or it may (according to HeITz, 178) designate a work distinct from it: but the ‘κόκλον’ may also have sprung from the ‘ἐγκύκλιον’ (or -ίων) which is found in No. 113.—Allied to it, it would seem, are Π. τραγῳδίων α’ (D. 136, AN. 128) and Κωμικόλ (EROTIAN, Exp. Voc. Hippocr. s. v. Ἦρακλ. νότον). Müller (Hist. Gr. ii. 82), though not rightly, takes the Διδασκαλία (D. 137; AN. 129; ROSE, At. Ps. 550 sq., At. Fr. 575–587, p. 1572 sq.; HeITz, 255, Fr. Hz. 302 sq.), —seemingly a chronological cata-
books named to us, which dealt with subjects outside the main lines of the Aristotelian system; and among
logues based on the existing inscriptions of the tragedies performed in Athens—as a part of the book on tragedies. Further, a series of writings relating to poets is named, which took the form of problems: 'Απορμά-
των ποιητικών α' (ΑΝ. Αρ. Αρμ. 115); Αἰτία ποιητικάι (ibid. 116, where aίτια seems to indicate the form of treatment which is proper to the ἀπορήματα or προβλήματα, viz. that the δία τι is sought, and the reply consists in giving the δύτι or the αἰτία); 'Απορμάτων Ὀμη-
ρικών ζ (D. 118; ΑΛ. 106 ζ; ΗΕΙΤΖ, 258 sq., Fr. Η. 129; ΡΟΣΕ, Ar. Ps. 118 sq., Fr. Fr. 137-175, p. 1501 sq.) or, as the Βιτο Μιτρ. p. 2. names it, Ὀμη-
ρικά; Προβλήματων Ὀμηρι-
κών i' (ΑΝ. Αρμ. 147; ΠΤΟΛ. 91; ΑΜΜΟΝ. Τ. Αρ. 41; ΑΜΜ. ΛΑΤ. 51, probably a duplication of the ἀπορήματα); 'Απορήματα 'Ἡσίωνον α' (ΑΝ. Αρμ. 143); 'Απορ. 'Ἀρχιλόχου, Εὔρυ-
τιδος, Χομιλόου γ' (ibid. 144). To these the 'Απορήματα θεία (ΑΝ. 107) seem also to belong. The treatise: Εἰ δὲ ποτε ὁμήρος ἐπισημά
tάς Ἡσίων βούς; (ΑΝ. Αρμ. 142), is no doubt only one of the Hom-
erian problems.—Of these writings the ones which are more likely to have an Aristotelian origin are the Queries on Homer; but even these may have had later additions made to them. On the other hand the genuineness of the Πεπλος (ΑΝ. 105; ΑΝ. Αρμ. 169; ΡΟΣΕ, Ar. Ps. 503 sqq., Ar. Fr. 594-600, p. 1574 sq.; Fr. Η. 309 sqq.; cf. ΒΕΡΓΚ, ΛΥΡ. Π. 505 sqq.; ΜΥΛΛΕΡ, Φρ. Α. Hist. ii. 188 sqq.) cannot be maintained. More ancient seems to be the book Π. μουσικῆς, which both DIOG. (116, 132) and ΑΝ. (104, 124) give us in two places, and which is identical with the musical problems noticed by LΑΒΒΕΙΟΣ, Ῥιβλ. ΝΟΡΑ, 116 (see ΒΡΑΝΔΙΣ. ii. b, 94); but it is no more genuine than the Π. καλοῦ (D. 69, ΑΝ. 63, Π. κάλ-
λου).

1 To these belong certain minor, mostly historical works, 'Ολυμπι-
οικίας α' (D. 130, ΑΝ. 122); Πυ-
θωνικῶν ἕλεγχου α' (D. 131 and probably also ΑΝ. 125); Πυθω-
νικάι α' (D. 131, ΑΝ. 123, with the strange title, Πυθωνικάς βιβλίων ἐν ὑ Μέναυχου ἐνίκησον); Πυθικὸς α' (D. 133), possibly only a different title for the same writing; Νίκαι Διονυσιακαί α' (D. 135, ΑΝ. 126, Νικών Διον. ἀστικῶν καὶ λη-
ξικῶν α'). About these writings cf. ΡΟΣΕ, Ar. Ps. 515 sqq., Ar. Fr. 572-574, p. 187; ΗΕΙΤΖ, 254 sq., Fr. Η. 300 sq.; ΜΥΛΛΕ-
Ρ. Hist. ii. 182 sq.—Further Π. εὐρηματῶν (CLEΜΕΝΣ, Στρομ. i. 308, A, where, however, an Ar-
ιστοτελικων work with this title which could not be genuine seems to be designated: notes which may have come from the work are given by ΜΥΛΛΕΡ, ibid. 181 sqq.).—Π. θαυμασιανάκοινυμάτων quoted by ΑΘΗΝ. (xii. 541; cf. ΘΑΥΜ. ἄ. c. 96) and, with the title ἐν θαυμασίων, perhaps also by ΑΝ-
ΤΙΓΩΝ. Μιραβίλ. c. 25 (cf. ΘΑΥΜ. ἄκουομ. c. 30), a 'collection of strange phenomena,' the genuine-
ness of which cannot be admitted. For further information on this
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these also there is no doubt that many spurious titles have crept in.

B.—General Questions touching the Aristotelian Writings.

On a general survey of the works which are preserved or known to us as Aristotelian, it is evident that they—apart from the letters and poems—were of two different kinds. The component parts of our Corpus Aristotelicum are without exception didactic treatises in scientific form.¹ And almost all of these which can be called genuine are, as will be seen, connected together by express references in a way that is only to be explained by the theory that they were addressed to one circle of readers as the connected and mutually explanatory parts of one whole. It is quite different in the case of the writings which were afterwards styled 'hypomnematic'—notes, that is to say, made by

work see Westermann, Παράδοξογραφος, p. xxv. sqq., and especially Rose, Ar. Libr. Ord. 51 sq., Ar. Pseud. 279 sq., who refers the main body of the work, consisting of chaps. 1-114, 130-137, 115-129, 138-181, to the middle of the third century. An enlarged treatment of this, or a more extensive specimen of the same sort of work, is perhaps the Παράδοξα, from the second book of which Plut. (Parall. Gr. et Rom. c. 29, p. 312) quotes something which is not found in our Θεωμ. άκ.—Παραμελια α' (D. 138; cf. ΔΝ. 127), a collection of proverbs, the existence of which seems to be proved, inter alia, by Athen. ii. 60 d, although Heitz (Verl. Schr. 163 sq.; Fragm. 219) is doubtful whether there was an Aristotelian work on this subject. We cannot prove whether the references in Eustath. in Od. N 408 and Synes. Enc. Calvit. c. 22 (Ar. Fr. No. 454, No. 2) belong to this or to other works. In addition to these there are two titles which are so indefinite that they furnish no safe clue to the contents of the writings to which they correspond: Παραβολαί (D. 126); Ἀτακτα (to which προβλήματα or ὑπομνήματα may be supplied) ῤθ (D. 127; cf. p. 96, foot).

¹ The 'wonderful stories' are perhaps the only exceptions, but they are not Aristotelian.
Aristotle merely for his own use, and therefore not thrown by him into any such literary form and unity as the works designed for publication. None of the extant works which are genuine is of this class, but several of those which are lost seem to have belonged to it. From these two classes of works, however, there is to be distinguished a third. Cicero, Quintilian, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus praise Aristotle not only for scientific greatness, but equally for the grace and richness of his exposition—"the golden stream of his speech."  

1 Simpl. (in Cat. Schol. in Ar. 24, a, 42): ὑπομνηματικὰ ὑσα πρὸς ὑπόμνησιν ὅσιαν καὶ πλεονά βάσιαν συνέταξεν ὁ φιλόσοφος: these writings cannot, however, be taken as πάντη σπουδὴς ἡξια, and hence we may not draw from them any proofs for the Aristotelian doctrine: ὁ μέντοι Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ ὑπομνηματικὰ συμπερφυμένα φησίν εἶναι καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἕνα σκοτῖν ἀναφέρεσθαι, and for this very reason the others are distinguished from them as συνταγματικὰ. David (Schol. 24, a, 38): ὑπομνηματικὰ μὲν λέγονται εἰν οἰς μόνα τὰ κεφάλαια ἀπεγράφησαι διὰ προοίμιων καὶ ἐπιλόγων καὶ τῆς πρεποῦσας ἐκδόσεως ἀπαγγελια. Cf. Heitz, Verl. Schr. 24 sq.  

2 The Problems, which might occur as an instance, cannot have been written down for his own use alone, since Aristotle often quotes them (see above, p. 96), thereby implying that they are known to his readers. Other instances, such as the Melissus, etc., cannot be supposed genuine. Even if it be true that particular portions of our Corpus were intended to serve as the basis for lectures, or were compiled from them, they would not on that account be merely "hypomnematical writings."

3 E.g., those mentioned on p. 62, n. 4, 5, and perhaps also the Politics (p. 101); whether the Περὶ τάγαθος is also one (as already noted on p. 61, n. 2 fin.), seems doubtful.  

4 Cic. Top. 1, 3: the works of Aristotle are not only recommended by their contents, sed dicendi quoque incredbili qua- datum cum copia tum etiam suavi- tate. De Invent. ii. 2, 6 (on the Συναγωγή τεχνών): Aristotle has left the old orators suavitate et brevitate dicendi far behind. De Orat. i. 11, 49: si item Aristoteles, si Theophrastus, si Carneades . . . eloquentes et in dicendo suaves atque ornati fuere. De Fin. i. 5, 14 (on Epicurus): quod ista Platonis Aristotelis Theophrasti orationes ornamenta neglexerit. Acad. ii. 38, 119: veniet flumen orationis aureum fundens Ari- stoteles. Quintil. Inst. xi. 83: quid Aristotelem? Quem dubito
by him for publication. It is not applicable to any of those which are now extant; and of these, indeed, the two Latin writers probably knew but a small part.¹

We are driven to suppose, therefore, that it was to other works, lost to us, that they ascribed this kind of excellence. The critic who judges of literary form by purely scientific criteria will find, it is true, much to praise in our extant Aristotle. He will acknowledge the apt discrimination of all his ideas, the inimitable precision and compactness of his diction, and his masterly handling of an established terminology. But of the qualities which Cicero emphasises, or any graceful movement of a rich and rolling eloquence, he will find even in the most popular of the extant books but little trace; while in other parts the dry methods of treatment, the rough brevity of statement, the involved construction of long sentences, often broken by anacolutha and parentheses, stand in plain contradiction to Cicero’s description. We can, however, gather for ourselves, even from the scanty fragments of the lost books, that some of these were written in a style far more rich and

¹ Except the Topics and Rhetorica, we have no reason for supposing that any of them knew by personal reading the extant books. Of the others, however, Cicero used several of the writings mentioned on p. 55 sqq., the books on Philosophy, the Eudemus, the Protrepticus, perhaps also the Politicus, Π. βασιλείας and Π. πλούσιου; cf. Fin. ii. 13, 40; Acad. ii. 38, 119; N. D. ii. 15, 42, 16, 44, 37, 95, 49, 125; Divin. i. 25, 55; Fragm. Hort. apud Augustine c. Jul. iv. 78; Fin. v. 4, 11; Ad Quint. Fr. iii. 5; Ad Att. xii. 40, 2, xiii. 28, 2; Off. ii. 16, 56: and above, p. 60, n. 1.
ornate, and approached far more closely to the literary graces of the Platonic Dialogues, than any of the scientific treatises now contained in our Corpus. This difference is to be explained, not merely by the earlier date of the writings in question, but also by the fact that they were not intended to serve the same purpose as the others, nor designed for the same audiences.

Aristotle himself occasionally refers to certain statements of his doctrine, published by him, or then in common use, in terms which seem to imply that a portion of his writings (including these writings in which the references in question occur) were not in the same sense given to the public.

1 On this point see what is preserved in Nos. 12-14, 17 sq., 32, 36, 40, 48, 49, 71, 72 of the Fragments (Academy edition) from the Eudemus, Protrepticus, Π. φιλοσοφίας, Π. δικαστικής, and above, p. 56, n. 2.

2 We shall discuss this immediately.

3 Port. 15, 1151, b, 17: είρηται δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐκδεδομένοις λόγοις ἵκανος, De An. i. 4 init.: καὶ ἄλλη δὲ τις δύα παρακυδόται περὶ ψυχῆς, πιθανὴ μὲν πολλοῖς... λόγους ἀσπέρ δὲ εὐθύνας (for which Bernays, Dial. d. Αρ. 15 sqq. erasing λόγους, reads: ἀσπέρ εὐθύνας δὲ) ἰδεωκυία καὶ τοῖς ἐν κοινῷ γιγνομένοις λόγοις ἅμομίαν γὰρ τινα αὐτὴν λέγουσι, &c. In the first of these places, Bernays says (ibid. 13) that 'published' here means the same as 'already published' (the same explanation of the words is given by Rose, Αρ. Πρ. 79), yet one may well doubt whether this gloss is allowable. The predicate ἐκδεδομένοι would certainly not be there without a purpose, but is meant to distinguish the λόγοι ἐκδεδομένοι from certain other λόγοι. Neither can we translate ἐκδεδομένοι in such a way as to make 'the writings published by me' a mere periphrasis for 'my writings'; partly because such a turn of phrase is not found in Aristotle. When he refers, without indicating a particular work, to something that has gone before, he is accustomed to say merely, ἐν ἰλλοις, ἐν ἐτέρῳ or πρῶτερον. Again the fact that he does not say ὅπερ ἐκδεδομένοι shows that the emphasis falls on ἐκδεδομένοι, as such, and that the λόγοι ἐκδεδομένοι are meant as an antithesis to μὴ ἐκδεδομένοι. Only we have no right to assume that things μὴ ἐκδεδομένοι mean things published later. The anti-
commentators we further learn that one of the points

thesis to ‘published’ is not ‘later published,’ but ‘not published;’ and from the perfect ἐκθέθημεν to read ‘such as had already been published at the time of the writing of the Poetics, and so were earlier than that work,’ is shown to be impossible by the reflection of UEBERWEG on this passage (Arist. üb. d. Dichtk., p. 75) that every author puts himself, in regard to the reader, in the time at which his work will be in the reader’s hands. Hence, if the Poetics were to be laid before the whole reading world, i.e. published, just like the λόγος to which they referred, they would not be designated in contradistinction to the latter, by the predicate ἐκθέθημεν, since each of them would be, in relation to their reader, equally a λόγος ἐκθέθημενος. Rose wished to refer the λόγοι ἐκθέθη, first to former passages in the Poetics (Ar. Libr. Ord. 130), and later (Ar. Pseusd. 79) to the Rhetoric, but he was subsequently (Ar. Ps. 714) right in withdrawing both, since the discussion for which the Poetics refer to the λόγοι ἐκθέθη is found neither in the Rhetoric nor in the Poetics (cf. BERNAYS, ibid. 138): and, even apart from this, the latter could never have been so indicated. Nor can we on the other hand (as ROSE, Ar. Ps. 717, maintains) refer the expression to writings on Poetry by the Platonic school, for we clearly must confine it to Aristotelian writings: and in the second passage, De An. i. 4, the λόγοι ἐν κοινῷ γιγνόμενοι cannot be understood (as TORSTIK, Arist. de An. 123 supposes, he being perhaps preceded by the authors of the variant λεγομένοι instead of γιγνομ. of conversations, such as would occur in educated circles, or (as Rose, Ar. Ps. 717, thinks) of expressions of opinion coming from the Platonic school; for the εἰθώνας δεδοκινεῖ re-fers to some criticism, known to the reader, of the supposition that the soul is the harmony of its body, and cannot mean vague conversations of third persons (cf. also BERNAYS, ibid., 18 sq.). Neither can one refer them to oral statements made by Aristotle to his pupils (PHILOP.: see following note), partly because Aristotle never elsewhere refers to such statements, and in a treatise which, though perhaps primarily intended as a textbook for his school, yet gives no indication anywhere of being meant only for his personal pupils, he could not well appeal to them; partly because the Philosopher had really inserted the criticism referred to in one of his own writings (cf. following note). The latter fact indicates that it is wrong (as SIMPL. does; see following note) to refer the λόγοι ἐν κοινῷ γιγν. to the Platonic Phædo, for which this expression would not be a sufficient indication, nor would it correspond (cf. BERNAYS, p.20) with the manner in which it is in other places mentioned (cf. Meteorol. ii. 2, 355, b, 32). Finally, though Ueberweg (Gesch. d. Phil. i. 173, 5th ed.) understands by the λόγοι ἐν κ. γιγν. (extending the explanation of Philoponus) discussions which occurred in actual conversations, or in writings arranged in the
to which he so refers was to be found in the *Eudemus*.1 We find other and more frequent references of his to the ‘Exoteric Discourses’ as the place where he had dealt with such and such a subject.2 Opinions, however, differ as to the meaning of that name and the

form of dialogues, it seems clear that the latter could not be so named, and that there was here no reason for mentioning the dialogue form of such discussions. From the point of view of grammar, owing to the present tense of ἐγκύκλιοι (to which Bonitz, *Ind. Arist.* 105, a, 46, rightly calls attention), they cannot be explained as: ‘the speeches submitted (i.e. which have been submitted) to publication,’ for in that case it would have been γενομένοι. It can only mean, as Bernays translates it in his *Dial.* d. Arist. 29, ‘the discourses existing in a state of publication, available for the use of all,’ taking the ἐν κοινῷ here in the same sense as in the expressions: ἐν κοινῷ κατατίθεσθαι, ἐν κοινῷ ἀρίθμει (in medio relinquire, *Metaph.* i. 6, 987, b, 11). A similar meaning to that of the λόγοι ἐν κοινῷ γεγραμένοι seems to be attached to ἐγκύκλιοι or ἐγκύκλια φιλοσοφήματα, of which mention is made in *Eth.* i. 3, 1096, a, 2 (καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἄλλως ἰκανῶς γὰρ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐγκυκλίοις ἔργηται περὶ αὐτῶν) and *De Caro*, i. 9, 279, a, 30 (καὶ γὰρ καθὰ περὶ τοῖς ἐγκυκλίοις φιλοσοφήμασι περὶ τὰ θεία πολλάκις προφανέται τοῖς λόγοις ὤτι τὸ θείον ἀμετάβλητον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι, &c.). Ἐγκύκλιοι can, just as well as ἐν κοινῷ γεγραμένοι, mean in medio positus —Bernays’ rendering, *Dial.* d. *Ar.* 124, ‘writings in the common strain,’ is not so appropriate. The phrase is so explained by Simplicius (in *De Caro*, Schol. 487, a, 3: where he says that Aristotle uses ἐγκύκλια. φιλ. to signify τὰ κατὰ τὴν τάξιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῖς πολλοῖς προτιθέμενα, i.e. the ἐξωτερικά). We also see from *Ar.* Fr. 77, 1488, b, 36 sqq., and Fr. 15, 1476, b, 21, that the matter for which Aristotle refers to the ἐγκύκλια, was actually treated in two of his Dialogues. Cf. Bernays, *ibid.* 84 sqq., 93 sqq., 110 sqq.

1 It is shown by the passages quoted in Rose, *Ar.* Fr. 41, p. 1481 sqq., and Heitz, *Ar.* Fr. 73, p. 51, from Philoponus, Simplicius, Themistius, and Olympiodorus (the common source for whom may have been Alexander), that Arist. in the *Eudemus*, after following the *Phædo*, devoted a searching examination to the theory that the soul is the harmony of its body, the principal heads of which examination are given by them. Hence the passages in question must refer to this dialogue, although Philoponus (*De An.* E, 2) leaves us the choice between it and the ἀγραφοὶ συνονοιαὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐταύρους, and Simplicius (*De An.* 14, a) connects it with the *Phædo*.

2 All the passages are quoted below.
relation of these \textit{'Exoteric Discourses'} to our \textit{ex tant Corpus}. The ancients who mentioned them always referred to them as a separate class of Aristotle's works, distinguished from the technical scientific treatises by a less strict method of treatment.\footnote{The only exceptions are two late Byzantine and altogether untrustworthy interpreters of the \textit{Ethics}, Eustratius (90, a) and the Pseudo-Andronicus (Heliodorus, \textit{c.} 1367, cf. p. 69, n. 1), the former of whom understands \textit{ἐξωτερικός λόγοι} the common opinion, the latter, oral instruction, both agree.}\ But they differ among themselves as to details. Cicero\footnote{\textit{Fin.} v. 5, 12: about the highest good, Aristotle and Theophrastus have written \textit{duo gen era librorum, unum populariter scriptum, quod ἐξωτερικά appellabat, alterum limitatis [ἀκριβε στέρως, in a more severe style], quod in commentariis reliquerunt; but in essentials they both agree.}} and Strabo\footnote{\textit{XIII.} 1, 54, p. 609: because the Peripatetics, after Theophrastus, had not his works and those of Aristotle, \textit{πλὴρ ἄλγον καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἐξωτερικῶν}, they happened \textit{µὴδεν ἔχειν} philosophers \textit{πραγματικῶς} [going deeply into the subject, scientific] \textit{αλλὰ} \textit{θέσεις ἂν κυβίζει},.\textit{}}\footnote{Likewise \textit{SIMPL. Phys.} 2, b: the Aristotelian writings are divided into acroamatic and exoteric, \textit{οία τὰ ἱστορικὰ καὶ τὰ διαλογικὰ καὶ ὅλως τὰ μὴ ἀκρας ἀκριβεῖας φροντίζοντα.---PHILOP. \textit{De An. E.}, 2 (ap. STAUR, \textit{Arist.} ii. 261): \textit{τὰ ἐξωτερικὰ συγγράμ ματα, ὃν εἰσί καὶ οἱ διάλογοι ... ἀπερ διὰ τούτο ἐξωτερικά κέκληται ὅτι οὐ πρός τοὺς γνησίους ἀκρατὰς γεγραμμένα.}} speak of the exoteric works in general terms as popular statements.\footnote{\textit{Cf. Ad Att.} iv. 16, 2: \textit{quoniam in singulis libris [of the discourse on the State] utor proemium, ut Aristotles in iis quae ἐξωτερικοὺς vocat. In contradistinction to the Dialogues, the strictly scientific works are called (see preceding note) \textit{commentarii}, continuous expositions, corresponding to the \textit{ἀὐτοπρόσωπα or ἀκροατικα} of the Greek interpreters (see p. 112, n.1, and 113, n. 2).}}\ The former, however, is unmistakably thinking only of the Dialogues,\footnote{\textit{Adr. Col.} 14, 4, p. 1115: Aristotle everywhere attacks the Ideas: \textit{ἐν τοῖς ἡθικοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν} (synonymous with Cicero's \textit{commentarii}; see preceding note), \textit{ἐν τοῖς φυσικοῖς, διὰ τῶν ἐξωτερικῶν διαλόγων.}} which we also find described as \textit{'exoteric'} in Plutarch.\footnote{According to Gellius, the treatises which dealt with}
Rhetoric, Topics, and Politics were named ‘exoteric,’ and those which related to Metaphysics, Physics, and Dialectics ‘acroatic,’ the reason being that the former, as Galen explained, were meant for everyone; the latter only for the philosopher’s scholars. Alexander, in a letter which appears in Andronicus, is supposed to complain to his master of the publication of the ‘acroatic’ writings; but inasmuch as Aristotle is expressly stated to have published them, the notion that he objected to their publication cannot have been in the mind of the writer of that fragment. At a later time we do find this assumption also, and we find connected with it the further theory that Aristotle purposely adopted in his ‘acroatic’

1 N. A. xx. 5: Aristotle's lectures and writings were divided into two classes, the έξωτερικά and the άκροατικά. έξωτερικά διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχαντα για αδ διερχα


3 Cf. Gell. ibid.; Plut. Alex. 7; vide supra, p. 22, n. 1. The wording: οίκων ορθώς έποίησας έκδος τούς άκροατικούς τών λόγων, shows that the distinction between the λόγοι άκροατικοί and έξωτερικοί must have been known to the author of the letter.  

4 Thus Plut. Alex. c. 7: είναι δ’ Άλεξάνδρος ού μόνον τῶν θεικῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν παραλαβέν λόγων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων καὶ βαρυτέρων [βαθυτ.] διδασκαλίων, ὥστε οἱ άνδρες ίδιως άκροαματικάς καὶ ἐποπτικὰς [ασ in mysteries] προσαγορεύοντες οίκων δέξιφερον εἰς πολλοὺς μετασχεῖν. Clemens, Strom. v. 575, A: not only the Pythagoreans and the Platonists, but all schools have secret doctrines and secret writings: λέγονις δὲ καί οί Άριστοτέλειος τά μεν έσωτερικά εἶναι τῶν συγγραμμάτων αὐτῶν [-ού] τά δὲ κοινά τε καὶ έξωτερικά. On the same theory, in the Ilhet. ad Alex. c. 1, 1421, a, 26 sq., Aristotle is requested by Alexander to observe the strictest secrecy with regard to this work, while Aristotle, on his part, lays a reciprocal duty of silence on Alexander.
works a form of exposition which must make them unintelligible to any but his scholars;\(^1\) while at the same time it is said that it was here only that he disclosed his views in their full logical connection.\(^2\) On this theory the ‘exoteric’ writings were broadly distinguished from the ‘acroatic,’ just by the fact that they were intended for a wider public, and that they were therefore put in a more popular form, did not cover the more difficult classes of inquiry, and substituted for a severe and scientific method of proof one more accommodated to general comprehension.\(^3\)

\(^1\) This idea is expressed in the answer of Aristotle to Alexander (see GELL. *ibid.*), when he replies to the reproach of the latter with regard to the ακροατικοι λόγοι: ἵσθι οὖν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐκδιδομένους καὶ μὴ ἐκδιδομένους· ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ εἰσὶ μόνοι τοῖς ἴμῳ ἀκούσασιν. See also THEMIST. *Or.* xxvi. 319, A sq., where it is said that Aristotle did not find the same courses suitable for the masses as for the philosophers, and therefore withdrew the highest secrets of his teaching (the τέλεα ιερά, the μυστικὰ) from the former by using obscure language. SIMPL. *Phys.* 2, b, referring to the letters just mentioned, says: ἐν τοῖς ἀκροαματικοῖς ἀσάφειαν ἑπετήθενσε, &c. For the same view see Categ. Schol. 27, a, 38. DAVID, Categ. Schol. 22, a, 20; 27, a, 18 sq. In the same sense LUCIAN, *V. Auct.* c. 26, calls Aristotle διπλοῦς, ἄλλος μὲν ὁ ἐκτόσθεν φαινόμενος ἄλλος δὲ ὁ ἐντοσθεν, exoteric and esoteric.

\(^2\) Alexander remarks, *Top.* 52, that Aristotle speaks at one time λογικὰς in order to unfold the truth as such, at another διαλεκ-

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\(^3\) Besides the testimony already adduced, the statements found in the Neoplatonic com-
The theory just mentioned can be traced as far back as Andronicus, perhaps even farther; but this does not put its correctness beyond question. It is, however, confirmed in the main, even if it requires correction in one point or another, by the utterances of Aristotle himself as to the ‘Exoteric Discourses.’ It is true that in a general sense he may describe as ‘exoteric’ any topic which does not belong to the inquiry immediately immediately
in hand,¹ or any discussion which does not go very deeply into the subject.² It is also true that the title does not always and necessarily denote a distinct class of writings.³ Nevertheless there are passages where we have every reason to refer it to such a class;⁴ and that

¹ Polit. i. 5, 1254, a, 33; ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἄνως ἐξωτερικωτέρας ἐστὶ σκέψεως. Similarly, ibid. ii. 6, 1264, b, 39; 'in the Republic Plato has only imperfectly treated of legislation, τὰ δ’ ἄλλα τοῖς ἐξωθεν λόγοις πεπλήρωκε τὸν λόγον.' The term 'ἐξωθεν λόγοι' covers in this case writings of the most speculative character. In like manner Eudemus Fr. 6 (SIMPL. Phys. 18, b), where instead of the ἐχεῖ δ’ ἀπορίαν... ἰσως δε οὐ πρὸς τὸν λόγον of Aristotle (Phys. i. 2, 185, b, 11) we read: ἐχεῖ δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀπορίαν ἐξωτερικὴν.

² Phys. iv. 10, init.: πρῶτον δὲ καλῶς ἔχει διαπορήσαι περὶ αὐτοῦ [τοῦ χρόνου] καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐξωτερικῶν λόγων. Τὸ ἐξωτ. λόγοι here mean the discussion which follows immediately, and which is called exoteric (in the same way as Aristotle, in other places, puts the logical in opposition to the physical, vid. infra, p. 174, n. 2), because it does not aim at a strict and adequate notion of time (the τί ἐστιν ὁ χρόνος, 218, a, 31), but only takes into consideration certain preliminary properties of it. The question is not here of exoteric writings; but Prantl is none the less wrong (Arist. Physik, 501, 32) in maintaining that by the exoteric discourses we are to understand, not only in the present instance but everywhere, only those conversations on interesting subjects which at that time were everywhere in vogue even at social gatherings. That this does not fit other passages will be shown immediately; as for the passage in question, such a rendering is forbidden by the strictly dialectical and genuinely Aristotelian style of the discussions from p. 217, b, 32 to p. 218, a, 30.

³ Thus, besides the passage given in the preceding note from the Physics, the Eudemian Eth. ii. 1, 1218, b, 33, introduces the division of possessions into the external and the spiritual with the remark: καθάπερ διαιρόμεθα καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐξωτερικοῖς λόγοις. In the parallel passage, Eth. IV. i. 8, 1098, b, 10, Aristotle says: he wishes to speak about happiness καὶ ἐκ τῶν λεγομένων περὶ αὐτῆς, by which, according to the context, only the prevailing views concerning happiness can be meant. It is to these, therefore, that the ἔξωτ. λόγοι of Eudemus must also refer.

⁴ This is true especially of Polit. vii. i. 1323, a, 21: νομίσαντας οὖν ἰκανὰς πολλὰ λέγεσθαι καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐξωτερικοῖς λόγοις περὶ τῆς ἀρίστης ζωῆς καὶ νῦν χρηστέων αὐτοῖς. That by this he does not mean mere oral expressions of opinion in the conversations of daily life is clearly shown by what immediately follows. For Aristotle continues: Ὁς ἀληθῶς γὰρ πρὸς γε μίαν διαλεγόντι
the writings referred to were of a more popular type than our extant Aristotelian texts is made probable

οὐδεὶς ἀμφισβητήσειν, etc. His point may be stated thus: 'from the arguments in the ἐξωτερικοὶ λόγοι, it will be universally re-
cognised that the conditions of happiness include not only exter-
nal and bodily good things but also
and pre-eminently spiritual good things; although it is true that in
common life we are wont to content ourselves with far too small a propor-
tion of such spiritual good.' This line of reasoning necessarily
implies that the ἐξωτερικοὶ λόγοι in question, with which the current
opinion of society is said to be in
partial agreement, are not the same as any form of expression of that current opinion (cf. BERN-
NAYS, Dial. d. Arist. 40). Then,
again, the words: τρίς γε μὲν δι-
αίρεσιν οὐδεὶς ἀμφισβητήσειν point
to definite explanations, set down in writing, not merely existing in
the intangible medium of oral
conversation. It would be easier
to connect them with oral dis-
courses of Aristotle himself (as ONCKEN does in Staatsl. d. Arist.
i. 41-59). We cannot, however,
base this view on the present
λέγομεν (together with the διαρ-
ζώμεθα, Pol. iii. 6, 1278, b, 32),
since Aristotle not only quotes
the writings of others very fre-
quently in this way, but not un-
frequently even his own; cf.
Pol. vii. 13, 1332, a, 8: φα\kai\n
καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἕθικοι; Phys. viii. 1,
251, a, 9: φα\kai\n
δῆ, etc. (Phys.
iii. 1); De Carlo, i. 7, 275, b, 21:
λόγος δὲ ἐν τοῖς περὶ κατήσεως
(ἐστίν); Metaph. v. 30 ἔπ.; λόγος
δὲ τούτον ἐν ἔτροφοι; Eth. vi. 3,
1139, b, 26: ἔσπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς
ἀναλυτικοῖς λέγομεν; ibid. 32:
όποι ἄλλα προσδιοριζόμεθα ἐν τοῖς
ἀναλυτικοῖς. And, on the other
hand, the χρηστέων αὐτοίς is
adverse to this explanation. That
is meant to designate what fol-
lows as something extracted from
the exoteric discourses; but Ari-
stotle would be far more likely to
use such a formula if he was quot-
ing something from a former work
than if he was merely repeating
in writing what he had already
orally delivered. This latter, from
the nature of the case, he must
have had occasion to do as often
as a modern university teacher
does it. The fact, then, that he
expressly mentions that he is
'making an extract from the ἐξω-
τερικοὶ λόγοι,' points, as in the
De Carlo, ii. 13, 295, a, 2, and
Meteor. iii. 2, 372, b, 10 (where
some of the writings which we pos-
sess are quoted with the same
χρηστέον) to an existing written
work. And an Aristotelian writ-
ing must be meant, since that
which follows out of the ἐξωτε-
τικοὶ λόγοι sounds perfectly Aris-
totelian, and forms a whole with
what Aristotle gives in his own
name (ἡμεῖς δὲ ἔρo\kai\n
λέγομεν, 1. 38).
Lastly, although something si-
milar to that which is here quoted
from the ἔξωτος λόγοι is found in
some passages of the Ethics (i.
6 sqq. x. 6 sqq.), which Zeller,
in his second edition, brought
into connection with this quo-
tation, yet he now concedes
to Bernays (ibid. 71 sq.; cf.
ONCKEN, ibid. 13, 5; VAHLEN,
Arist. Anfs. ii. 6) that Aristotle
would not by the designation
both by the express distinction that is drawn between

εξωτερικοι λόγοι have mentioned the Ethics, which in the Politics he repeatedly quotes as ἡθικά, and puts in the closest connection with them (vid. p. 127, n. 2, of Zeller's 2nd ed.). Bernays' theory (73 sqq.), that the first chapter of the seventh book of the Politics strikingly diverges from the usual style of his scientific works, and bears distinct traces of having been extracted from a dialogue can scarcely be supposed after Vahlen's forcible objections (Arist. Lys. ii.) to be established; Zeller, however, feels bound to agree with Bernays that by the 'exoteric discourses' in this passage is meant a written work of the philosopher's which is lost to us, and which Aristotle here seems to follow pretty closely, for which very reason he refers to it, and not to the Ethics, though the parallel passages in the latter were closely connected with it in meaning.—Less convincing with regard to this, in spite of what Bernays says to the contrary (ibid. 38, 51 sqq.), appears to be Polit. iii. 6, 1278, b, 30: ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τῆς ἄρχης τοὺς λεγομένους τρόπους [the δεσποτεία, the οἰκονομική, and the πολιτική ἄρχη] βάδισον διελείν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς εξωτερικοῖς λόγοις διοριζόμεθα περὶ αὐτῶν πολλάκις. These words, looked at in themselves, might refer not only (as ONCKEN, ibid., suggests) to oral disquisitions, but also (by taking the διοριζόμεθα as the collective 'we') to conversations not connected with the School or even with scientific philosophy. That Aristotle here 'refers to the εξωτ. λόγοι, not for the existence' (more correctly 'distinction') 'of different kinds of dominion, but for the exact limitation of their difference' (as Bernays, p. 38 asserts), cannot be inferred from the διοριζό-μεθα, since this expression designates not only the exact distinction, the 'carefully-weighed logical antithesis,' but any kind of distinction whatever. If we compare with it the perfectly analogous use of λέγομεν, διοριζό-μεθα, &c., in the passages given above (p. 115), we shall be prepared to give the same meaning to the διοριζόμεθα here, and when we have persuaded ourselves, from other passages, that Aristotle names certain writings λόγοι εξω-τερικός, the passage appears to fit this interpretation. (And there are certainly some among the lost Aristotelian writings in which the distinction here touched upon may have been given; particularly the πολιτικός and Π. βασιλείας; n. supra, p. 58, n. 1, and 60, n. 1).—The likw is true of Eth. vi. 4 init.: ἐτερων δ' ἐστὶ ποίησις καὶ πρᾶξις· πιστεύο-μεν δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς εξωτερι-κοῖς λόγοις. The connection here unquestionably allows us to suppose that the words refer to discussions in Aristotelian writings of a character different from that of the scientific works which we possess, as for instance the Dialogue on the Poets or Gryllus; but that it forbids any other supposition Bernays (p. 39, 57 sqq.) has not made out. If anybody wished to give to the passage, instead of the narrow meaning assumed by Bernays, the broader one, 'this has already been proved in my other writings,' neither the
meaning of ἔξωτερικός nor the context would stand in his way, since the rendering of the former would be analogous to the examples quoted on p. 115, n. 1, and as regards the latter the question whether Aristotle here refers to scientific or popular writings, is indifferent. If, on the other hand, we wished to understand the ἔξωτ. λόγοι of the λεγόμενα—"what is said by others"—we could parallel the expression by an appeal to Eudemus (see preceding note). Bernays, referring to this, finds it impossible to believe that we are to draw the explanation of such a corner-stone of the Peripatetic system as the connection of ποίησις and πράξις, from the common conversation of well educated persons: but if so, he ought to find it no less absurd to draw from the very same source an explanation of the centre of gravity of all Ethics, the notion of Εὐδαιμονία. And yet we find in Eth. i. 8, init. incontestably: σκέπτεσθαι δὴ περὶ αὐτῆς ... καὶ ἐκ τῶν λεγομένων περὶ αὐτῆς. This may not mean that we are to seek the scientific definition of happiness 'in the conversation of the educated,' but neither would this be affirmed in Eth. vi. 4 init. about that of ποίησις and πράξις, if we were to understand the ἔξωτ. λόγοι in this passage of the λεγόμενα. The appeal to universal conviction would be to establish a general distinction of ποίησις from πράξις; and this is Aristotle's way: τῷ γὰρ ἀληθεὶς πάντα συνάδει τὰ ὑπάρχοντα (Eth. i. 8).—Much more definitely may we discern in Eth. i. 13, 1102, a, 26 an intention of appealing to some Aristotelian writings in the words: λέγεται δὲ περὶ αὐτῆς [sc. τῆς ψυχῆς] καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔξωτερικοῖς λόγοις ἀρκοῦνται ἐνια καὶ χρηστοῖν αὐτοῖς. οἷον τὸ μὲν ἄλογον αὐτῆς εἶναι τὸ δὲ λόγου ἔχον. For though it is by no means so incredible as Bernays, p. 36, believes, that the distinction between the rational and the irrational in the soul may have made its way from the Platonic school into wider circles (Epicharmus, at a much later period, comes very near to it with his νοῦς ὅρα, &c.), and though it could scarcely be said to be an actual impossibility to interpret the words ἔξωτ. λόγοι as referring to opinions current outside the school, yet the introductory words here too much resemble those given above from Polit. vii. 1, and the λέγεται ἀρκοῦνται ἐνια καὶ νῦν χρηστοῖν αὐτοῖς here points too obviously to written discussions, for us to be able to refer this quotation to mere λεγόμενα. If it refers to an Aristotelian work, this must be one of the lost writings—most probably the Eudemus; for the quotation does not agree with Π. Ὑψιστι, 9, 432, a, 22 sqq., and this work would not be cited by such a reference, but, as always in other places, by ἐν τοῖς περὶ ψυχῆς. — Neither in Metaph. xiii. 1, 1076, a, 28 (on the Ideas as such he will only speak ἀπλῶς καὶ ὅσον νόμον χάριν—τεθρόληται γὰρ τὸ πολλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἔξωτερικῶν λόγων) can we understand by the ἔξωτ. λόγοι oral discussions of others. It must mean the work of Aristotle himself, since this alone could dispense him from a fuller criticism of the doctrine of Ideas; and that we are to look for such work neither in the philo-
the exoteric and the scientific treatises,¹ and by the terms that are used in describing the former.² It is not to be

sophist's doctrinal discussions nor in his strictly scientific writings is suggested not only by the designation ἐξωτ. λόγοι, but also by the καὶ (καὶ ὑπὸ τ. ἔξ. λ.), by which the ἐξωτ. λόγοι are distinguished from other not exoteric λόγοι. Still more clearly does this appear from Eudemus, when the latter, probably remembering this passage, in Eth. i. 8, 1217, b, 22 says likewise of the Ideas: ἐπίσκεψαι δὲ πολλοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν τρόποις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐξωτερικοῖς λόγοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν. Cf. following note.

¹ This is indicated by the express statement in the passages quoted in the preceding note, especially from Polit. vii. 1, Eth. i. 13, Metaph. xiii. 1, that certain points have been sufficiently explained 'even in the exoteric discourses;' that is, inasmuch as we should less expect such discussions in them. Eudemus puts it more definitely, by putting the ἐξωτερικόλ λόγοι (see preceding note, fn.) in opposition to the λόγοι κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν. Since the latter are scientific inquiries, the former can only be popular discourses; and, since (as we have seen) writings are meant by them, they can only be popular writings. Now it might indeed appear that the criticism of the doctrine of Ideas, to which Eth. Eud. i. 8, and Metaph. xiii. 1, loc. cit. refer, would of all things have been least suited for popular writings; but we have already seen on p. 76, n. 3, 56, n. 2 med. that he opposed this doctrine, with the greatest re-

² ἔξωτερικὸς in Aristotle means (1) that which exists outside, the external; and (2) that which goes out, refers to the external. The word has the former meaning when for instance a foreign province is called an ἐξωτερικὴ ἀρχὴ (Polit. ii. 10, 1272, b, 19), or when hand and foot are styled ἐξωτερικὰ μέρη (Gen. An. v. 6, 786, a, 26); to these uses cf. the ἐξωτερικὰ ἀγαθὰ, Polit. vii. 1, 1323, a, 25. In the second meaning the expression is used in the combination: ἐξωτερικὰν πράξεις (Polit. vii. 3, 1325, b, 22, 29). If now, in the phrase ἐξωτ. λόγοι, we propose to give it the first meaning, we cannot, by exoteric discourses, in those passages where Aristotelian writings of a particular class or the inquiries contained in them are meant, understand such discourses as lie outside the discussion in which they are referred to as 'other discourses' (like the ἐξωτερικωτέρα σκέψις and the ἔξωθεν λόγοι, p. 115, n. 1 and 3); nor yet (as Bernays thinks in Dial. d. Ar. 92 sq.) such as do not enter into the essence of a thing, but are external to it (as p. 115, n. 2). The latter meaning would not suit, partly because this would be a strange way of speaking of 'popular treatises,' partly because it would not fit those cases in which Aristotle again takes up in later works, as being suitable and adequate, what he had said in the ἐξωτερικὸλ λόγοι (as in the passages of the Politics; Ethics,
inferred either from the words $\varepsilon\omega\tau\epsilon\rho\iota\kappa\omicron\iota\ \lambda\acute{\omicron}g\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$ themselves, or from the surrounding facts, that Aristotle's Dialogues alone were meant. There may have been, and in fact there appear to have been, other works also which were adapted to the understanding of the general public.¹

As to the later theories, the idea that the Master did not intend his strictly scientific work for publication at all is refuted by the contemporary record of the complaints that were made because he published them: ² and the idea that he designedly chose for them a style obscure and unintelligible to the lay mind is disproved by the visible characteristics of the texts themselves. The truth is that, except in cases where we ought to consider them as mere sets of notes for his own use, he takes all manner of trouble to aid the reader, by the use of a strictly devised scientific terminology, by clear definitions, by explanations and illustrations, by methodical processes of thought, and by warnings against possible obscurities, ambiguities or misconceptions. If it be true nevertheless that there occur many particular points of

and *Metaphysics* given on p. 115, n. 4). Such writings could only be called exoteric, in this use of the word, in the sense that they were known and in use even outside the Aristotelian school. But it comes to very much the same thing also if we start (as Zeller prefers to do), with the second meaning of $\varepsilon\omega\tau\epsilon\rho\iota\kappa\omicron\iota$, and understand the $\varepsilon\omega\tau\iota$. $\lambda\acute{\omicron}g\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$ to signify such works as were intended for outsiders or for the general public, the same, in fact, as are included in the terms $\lambda\acute{\omicron}g\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$ $\epsilon\kappa\delta\epsilon\delta\omicron\mu\epsilon\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ or $\epsilon\nu$ $k\omicron\omega\phi\gamma\iota\nu\omicron\mu\epsilon\omicron\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$. That such writings were of a more

popular character was implied in the designation, but not directly expressed in the adjective $\varepsilon\omega\tau\epsilon\rho\iota\kappa\omicron\iota$ as such. When Eudemus puts the $\lambda\acute{\omicron}g\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$ $\varepsilon\omega\tau\iota$ in opposition to those $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\varphi\iota\lambda\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\phi\iota\omicron\omicron\alpha\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\iota\iota\iota$ (see preceding note), we might understand the latter to mean 'such as were intended to serve for scientific instruction'; but at the same time there is nothing against the translation 'both in those intended for the general public and in the scientific treatises.'

¹ Cf. p. 60, n. 1.
² Cf. p. 22, n. 1, 112, n. 3.
difficulty, the reasons are to be found anywhere rather than in the writer's intention. Besides, it is obvious that any such theory attributes to the philosopher a very childish sort of mystification, wholly destitute of any reasonable motive.

It does seem, however, to be true that it was only a portion of his writings which Aristotle published, in the sense of making express provision for their dissemination to a wide circle of general readers. Others which were more closely connected with his oral teaching seem to have been designed primarily for the use of his scholars as classbooks.\(^1\) It was in the case of the former only that he took pains to cultivate that eloquence and artistic completeness and that popular style of exposition for which his 'exoteric' works were famous. The sole aim of the second set of texts was scientific investigation for its own sake, and they were therefore distinguished by a stricter logic and a less artistic dress. It seems that of the former class by far the greater part, if not the whole, consisted of those writings which Aristotle wrote before the opening of the Peripatetic School at Athens, and chiefly while he was still one of the Platonic circle: of all of which nothing remains but a few fragments.\(^2\)

\(^1\) But without our having to suppose that they were forbidden to communicate them to others.

\(^2\) 'In this sense', says Prof. Zeller, 'I had already expressed myself in the second edition, p. 98, as to the probable state of facts with regard to the distinction between exoteric and esoteric writings. On the other hand, I then believed that, in the Aristotelian passages which mention the \(\xi\omega\tau\epsilon\rho\iota\kappa\omicron\lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\omicron\), I could everywhere translate that phrase as meaning such discussions as do not belong to the sphere of the inquiry actually under investigation. (Thus also Schwegler, \textit{Gesch. d. griech. Phil.} 194.) I have now rejected this opinion, and think that the general meaning of \(\xi\omega\tau\epsilon\rho\iota\kappa\omicron\), to designate something external, or relating to the external, is more
such a theory there may have been a great difference in form between the 'exoteric' and the 'acroatic' texts, appropriate. It follows that even in the combination ἐξωτερικὸν λόγος this expression will apply not only to such discussions as lie outside a specified subject (as p. 115, n. 1), or are concerned only with what is external to it (p. 115, n. 2), but also to such as are current outside a particular circle (p. 115, n. 3), or such as are intended for outsiders (p. 115, n. 4). According as we begin from this or that passage in Aristotle, and extend the meaning of the expression in that particular passage to all the other cases, we get this or that rendering of the ἐξωτ. λόγος. This is the explanation of the fact that even now there are the most diverse opinions on the matter. Of these, the farthest removed from the explanation which has prevailed since the time of Andronicus, which understands by this expression a particular class of Aristotelian writings, is the supposition of MADVIG (Exc. vii. on Cic. De Fin.), PRANTL (Arist. Physik, p. 501, 32), SPENGL (Arist. Studien," Abb. d. bayer. Akad. x. 181 sq.), FORCHHAMMER (Arist. und die exoter. Reden, cf. particularly pp. 15, 64), and SUSEMILH (Philol. Anz. v. 674 sq.), that only the conversations of non-philosophical circles are designated by the ἐξωτ. λόγος. Rather nearer to it are RAVAISON (Métoph. d'Arist. i. 209 sq.) and THUROT (Etudes sur Aristote, 209 sq.), who understand by them such dialectic discussions (in contradistinction to the strictly scientific), as proceed by arguments πρὸς δόξαν, occurring either in Aristotelian writings, or in the oral disputations of the school. These, in their view, may be called exoteric, either because they always have to deal with something foreign to the matter (cf. the ἐξω and ἐσω λόγος, Anal. i. 10, 76, b, 24), or because they always treat the subject externally. GROTE (Aristotle, 63 sqq.) agrees with them, except that, besides the Aristotelian Dialogues and some extracts from the acroamatic works, he thinks conversations outside the school are referred to. In like manner (though with the exclusion of conversations outside the school) UEBERWEG (Gesch. d. Phil. i. 113, 5th ed.). Oncken (Staatsl. d. Arist. i. 43 sq.) refers the term to oral discussions, allied to the scientific lectures in which the ἐξωτ. λόγος are mentioned, but of a different class from them. On the other hand RITTER (Gesch. d. Phil. iii. 21 sqq.) holds more closely to the statements of the ancient writers about the two classes of Aristotelian pupils and writings, in assuming (p. 29) that all the strictly scientific works were only written by Aristotle as a help to his lectures and were only published, at a later period, by himself or his pupils, and perhaps at first only for the latter; whereas the remaining writings (which are lost to us), were designed for the use of cultured persons and might, together with any corresponding lectures, be called exoteric. A like position is held, in the main, by BERNAYS (Dial. d. Arist.), who by the exoteric discourses under-
and it may be very true that the matter of the former was less advanced than the systematic doctrine of the Master, as we have it from his riper years; but it is entirely beside the mark to suggest that he sought in either the one case or the other to conceal his opinions or to withdraw them from the reader’s eye.

It is not only, however, the distinction noted between these ‘published’ or ‘exoteric’ books and the others, which points to the conclusion that the extant, closely reasoned writings of Aristotle were written primarily for his scholars, as classbooks only. In the texts themselves there are many indications which it is hard to reconcile with the idea that they were really published, in the full sense of the word, during Aristotle’s lifetime.

In the first place there is the remarkable circumstance¹ that a book which is cited in another nevertheless stands such lectures chiefly.

Heitz (Verl. Schr. d. Ar. 122 sqq.), though agreeing with him in substance, prefers to give the expression (with reference to Phys. iv. 10 init.) the broader meaning, and to make it imply a point of view farther removed from true science. Bonitz (Ind. Arist. 104, b, 44 sqq.; Zeitschriften für östr. Gymn. 1866, 776 sq.) takes a similar view. Stahr (Aristotelia, ii. 239 sqq., cf. especially 275 sq.), and Brandis (Gr.-röm. Phil. ii. b, 101 sqq.) express themselves less decidedly—the former believing that by the exoteric writings are meant partly those in which something was treated merely in passing, partly and principally those which did not essentially belong to the systematic connection of the philosophical writings, such as the Dialogues, partly a special manner of philosophising; the latter broadly identifying the exoteric writings with the popular ones, but abstaining from further definition of them or of the expression “exoteric discourses.” Thomas (De Arist. ἔξωτ. λόγοις) stands quite isolated with his strange whim of looking for Aristotle’s exoteric discourses in the greater Ethics. Space does not permit me a more searching examination of these various suppositions; the principles on which it would be based are contained in what has been said above. Stahr, ibid., gives all the earlier references which bear upon the question.

¹ Ritter (iii. 29) and Brandis (ii. b, 113) have already
ARISTOTLE cites that other book itself: or that an earlier treatise speaks of an inquiry as already completed, and yet a later treatise says it is in contemplation only. These cases are not rare. The Topics is frequently cited in the Analytics,¹ and yet cites the latter four times.² All four may belong to a later-written portion of the Topics, but at any rate they cannot be later than the Analytics, in which these same books are cited as well as the earlier ones.³ When the Physics refers us back to discussions which, as we know them, exist only in the Metaphysics, it might be said that the reference is to a section which existed as a separate treatise before the Metaphysics was compiled; but it cannot be doubted that the zoological noted this and explained in a similar way.

¹ Cf. p. 67, n. 1. Bonitz (Ind. Arist. 102 sq.) gives the passages on which the following explanation is based, so far as they have not been expressly cited here.


³ Anal. Pr. ii. 15, 64, a, 36 (ἐστὶ δὲ δ' ἄλλων ἐρωτημάτων συναλλογίσασθαι βάτερον ἢ ὡς ἐν τοῖς τοπικοῖς ἐλέεθη λαβέσθω) refers to Top. viii. and Anal. Pr. ii. 17, 65, b, 15 (ὀπερ εἴρηται καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοπικοῖς) to the passage Top. ix. 4, 167, b, 21, with which what follows is also closely connected.

¹ In Phys. i. 8, 191, b, 2 Aristotle remarks, after a discussion on the possibility of coming into existence: εἰς μὲν δὴ τρόπος οὗτος, ἄλλος δ' ὃτι ενδεχέσται ταύτα λέγειν κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τούτῳ δ' ἐν ἄλλοις διάφροσύνῃ δι' ἀκριβείας μᾶλλον. This reference is most probably to a passage in the Metaphysics (for to refer it to one of the lost writings is forbidden by the fact that Aristotle is not accustomed in other places to quote these latter, as he cites the dogmatic writings, with the simple ἐν ἄλλους; cf. p. 108, n. 3). In the Metaph., however, it not only agrees with ix. 6 sqq., but also with v. 7, 1017, a, 25 sqq., i.e. the treatise Περὶ τοῦ ποσειγῶς, cf. p. 76, n. 3. The same is true of Gen. et Corr. ii. 10, 336, b, 29, as compared with Metaph. v. 7.
tract cited in the *De Coelo* was written later than that work. The *Meteorology* refers to the *De Sensu* and yet in its own preamble it described itself as the close of the series of investigations as to inorganic nature, after which the works on Animals and Plants were to be taken up. The *Natural History* quotes the book on Plants, which is spoken of in texts that are demonstrably later as being still unwritten.

The same treatise on Plants is referred to in an early section of the Περὶ ζῴων γενέσεως as already existing, and in a later one as yet to come. The lost book on Food is quoted in the *De Somno*; in the later works on the Parts and Generation of Animals, it is promised as in the future. There is a similar relation of cross reference between these same tracts and one of the lesser physiological

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1 *De Coelo*, ii. 2, 284, b, 13: if the world had a right and left side, it would also be obliged to have an above and below, a before and behind; διάφρωσαν μὲν ὁν xlim* θορίου εἰς τοῖς περὶ τὰς τῶν ζῴων κυνήσεις (Ingr. An. 2, 704, b, 18, sqq., ibid. c, 4 sqq.) διὰ τὸ τῆς φύσεως οἰκεία τῆς ἐκεῖνον εἶναι.

2 This is proved not only from *Meteorol*. i. 1 fin. but also because the History of Animals and Π. ζῴων μορίων are quoted; see *Ind. Arist*. 100, a, 55 sq.

3 Η. 2 fin.: ἐστώ δὲ περὶ τούτων ἦμιν τεθεωρημένον ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις διεκκομένους (*De Sensu*, 3) διὰ τὰ μὲν λέγωμεν, τοῖς δὲ ὡς ὑπάρχουσι χρησιμένα αὐτῶν. Still more clearly must we, in *Meteorol*. ii. 3, 359, b, 21, refer the εἰρηται ἐν ἄλλοις to *De Sensu*, 4.

4 Η. An. v. 1, 539, a, 20: ὑσπερ εἰρηται ἐν τῇ θεωρίᾳ τῇ περὶ φυτῶν. On the other hand this composition, as has been shown on p. 93, n. 1, is first promised in works which on their part quote in many places the History of Animals, *De Vita et M.*, *Part. An.*, and *Gen. An.*

5 I. 23, 731, a, 29: ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν φυτῶν ἐν ἐτέροις ἐπεσεμπται. On the other hand v. 3, 783, b, 23: ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων (the falling of the leaves in winter) ἐν ἄλλοις τὸ αὖτις λειτέων (cf. i. 1, 716, a, 1: περὶ μὲν ὁν φυτῶν, αὐτὰ καθ’ αὐτὰ χαρὶς ἐπισκεπτέων, and p. 93, n. 1).

6 C. 3, 156, b, 5: εἰρηται δὲ περὶ τούτων ἐν τοῖς περὶ τροφῆς. Cf. p. 92, and on the chronological relation of the writings Π. ὑπνοῦ, Π. ζῴων μορίων, Π. ζῴων γενέσεως, see Bonitz, *Ind. Arist.* 103, a, 16 sqq., 55 sqq.
texts, making it impossible to say which comes before the other. The tract on the Parts of Animals is cited once in that on the Motion of Animals, which it cites three times itself.

How are we to treat this peculiarity? Are we so to pervert the formulæ of reference in all these cases as to read what ostensibly refers to an earlier writing as if it were only an indication of something intended in a later one? This would be negatived by the number of cases in which the phenomenon recurs—itself a notable fact—and also by the circumstance that in several cases the assumption of the later treatise as a thing already in existence is too intimately interwoven with the tenor of the passage to allow the change. The like reasons stand equally against the theory that these abnormal references crept into the text after Aristotle's death. But there is a far

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1 Π. ἐν αὐτής καὶ θανάτου, together with the connected Π. ἀναπνοής, cf. p. 91 sq.
2 Ingr. An. 5, 706, a, 33: many animals have the front and hind parts near one another, οὖν τὰ τε μαλάκια καὶ τὰ στρομβώδη τῶν ὀστρακοδέρμων εἰρήται δὲ περὶ τούτων πρότερον ἐν ἑτέρων (Part. An. iv. 9, 681, b, 10 sqq., 34, where the same is said of the μαλάκια τε καὶ στρομβώδη τῶν ὀστρακοδέρμων). On the other hand, Part. An. iv. 11, 690, b, 14: ἡ δ' αἰτία τῆς ἀποδίκης αὐτῶν (of snakes) εἰρήται εἰν τοῖς περὶ τῆς πορείας τῶν ἔφων (c. 8, 708, a, 9 sqq.) διαφορακολούθησαν. Ibid. 692, a, 16: περὶ δὲ τῆς τῶν καμπύλων κάμψεως εἰν τοῖς περὶ πορείας (c. 7, 707, b, 7, sqq.) πρότερον ἐπέσκεψαν κοινῷ περὶ πάντων. With reference to the same passage, iv. 13, 696, a, 11: τὸ δ' αὐτίνον ἐν τοῖς περὶ πορείας καὶ κινήσεως τῶν ἔφων εἰρήται.
3 Thus Top. vii. 3, 153, a, 24, where two lines would have to be thrown out in order to remove the reference, and Meteorol. iii. 2 fin. (p. 125, n. 3), where the ὡς ὑπάρχοντι, χρησάμεθα plainly shows that the reference is not to a future exposition. Still more violent than the changes of text here contested is the resource (Ar. Libr. Ord. 118 sq.) of giving to εἰρήται, when necessary, the meaning of ῥηθήσεται, and of denying the reference to the future in expressions like els ἐκείνων τὸν καίρον ἀποκείθατο.
4 Besides the passages given in the preceding note, this suggestion seems especially objectionable in De Celo, ii. 2 (vid.
simpler explanation, if it be true that he did not at once publish those books in which we find references to later texts as already written, but used them for a time only among his scholars and in connection with his oral lectures. In such manuscripts addenda would be introduced—and among them references to works written later would come in from time to time. If the author was never able to give to such a work any final revision for the purpose of publication, it might well happen that in one place a reference would stand in its originally correct form, as to a future work, though in another passage of the same or an earlier text a note might have been incorporated which spoke of the same work as already written. The same theory will explain the fact that the Politics—which we have every reason to consider as a book never finished by Aristotle, and published in its unfinished form after his death—is cited in the Rhetoric, along with the Poetics, which is itself spoken of by the Politics in the future tense. The fact is that Aristotle had written a part of the Politics before he wrote the Rhetoric and Poetics. Therefore he could call the Poetics a future book in the Politics, and yet quote a passage of the Politics in the Rhetoric. If he

supra, p. 125, n. 1) since the ei δὲ δὲὶ καὶ τὸ ὄντιν ψεῖ, &c. (line 18) corresponds with the διώρισται μὲν οὖν (line 13). The whole passage from διώρισται to ἐθλογον ὑπάρχειν εν αὐτῷ (line 20), could be dispensed with, and it would all have to be taken as a post-Aristotelian interpolation.

1 Cf. infra, ch. xiii.

2 The Politics i. 8, 1366, α, 21 (διηκρίβωται γὰρ ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς περὶ τοῦτων), the Poetics frequently, vid. supra p. 102, n. 1.

3 VIII. 7, 1341, b, 39: on the 'catharsis' νῦν μὲν ἀπλῶς, πάλιν δὲ ἐν τοῖς περὶ ποιητικῆς ἐρωτήματον σαφέστερον, which, as Bernays (Abh. d. hist. phil. Ges. in Breslau, p. 139) rightly supposes, probably refers to a lost section of our Poetics, and not to one of the Politics (HEITZ, Verl. Schr. 100 sq.).
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had published the *Rhetoric*, he could not in it have referred as he did to the unpublished *Politics*.¹

The closing words of the *Topics*² seem to indicate that Aristotle’s treatises were meant primarily for his scholars. Addressing his readers, he bespeaks their indulgence or their thanks for the theory he has unfolded to them,³ referring specially to those who have heard his lectures. This does not imply that our *Topics* are only the lecture notes of the Master, or the notebook of one of his hearers. Such a view is negatived both by the wording of the passage,⁴ and by the fact that in later writings he often refers to the *Topics* himself⁵ in words which cannot be explained away as relating either to a lost book of his own or to another author. Such an address would be out of place in a work which was tendered to an unlimited circle of readers by formal publication, but it is entirely natural if the *Topics* was then issued only to Aristotle’s scholars.

¹ It is more difficult to explain the strange fact that *Rhet.* iii. 1, 1404, b, 22 speaks of the actor Theodorns as if he were still living and acting, whilst *Polit.* viii. 17, 1336, b, 27 treats him as one belonging to the past. But here the question arises, whether we possess, in the third book of *Rhetoric*, the work of Aristotle himself, or the work of a later writer, who, in this passage, which seems to be in the genuine style of Aristotle, may have used one of his earlier works. Cf. p. 72, n. 2.

² *Soph.* El. 33 fin.: Aristotle had no predecessor for his theory of demonstration; *ei dè fainetai theassaménos òmìn . . . ëxeyn ò methédos ikainós para tás állassa pragmatelias tás ek paraðúseos nùzēménas, loipôn òn eì ða pàntas òmìn ò tòv òkroµeíwv ègron ò tôis mên paraleleiménois òtis meðhðon synnynàm ò tôis ðò eðrηménov òpollh êxeyn xàrìv.

³ Some MSS. read, instead of òmìn and òmìv, òmìn and òmìv; but Aristotle could not possibly have included himself among those whom he thanks, and to whom he apologises.

⁴ Which distinguishes among the readers the *'ηkroµénavi* from the rest; only by striking out the ò before tôv òkroµeíwv could we get a simple address to listeners, but the MSS. all have it.

⁵ *Ind.* Arist., 102, a, 40 sqq.
as a memorial of the contents of his lectures or as an auxiliary to them.¹ That this was true of some of his books, must be inferred from other passages also. The synopsis of varying meanings of words, which now forms the fifth book of the *Metaphysics*, could never have been published by Aristotle in its present form as a glossary without beginning or end. It can only have been placed in the hands of his scholars simply as an aid to his teaching. Yet he often refers to it, and that even in texts earlier than the *Metaphysics.*² The same argument applies to the often-cited anatomical texts,³ which must have been limited to a narrow circle because of the drawings which were an essential part of them. If it be true, however, that writings which Aristotle cites were published only to his scholars, it follows that the same must be true of those in which these citations occur; for no one could in a published book refer to an unpublished one, or say that a subject not gone into was fully explained in an inaccessible tract.

The same theory by which we explain the group of peculiarities already noticed, will explain others also. The trick of carelessness in style which is so often remarked, the repetitions which surprise us in an exposition otherwise compact, the insertions which upset a naturally well-ordered movement of thought are all explained most easily if we suppose that the author never put the finishing touches to the writings in question, and that various matters were at the time of the

¹ As Stahr, *ibid.*, has sup-
² Cf. pp. 76, n. 3, 124, n. 4.
posed. n. 1.
³ About which see p. 89, n. 1.
posthumous publication added to the original text either from parallel copies or from the author’s notes. This theory becomes extremely probable when, as in the books On the Soul, we find throughout considerable sections clear traces of a double recension, without any reason to say that either recension is not Aristotle’s. The same kind of argument would apply also to the Politics and Metaphysics, but as to these we have independent grounds for the belief that they remained unfinished, and were only published after his death. If this be so, a further inference is forced on us; for we must conclude that if a certain book was a posthumous publication only, all which refer to it in such a way as to show that they follow it in the series cannot have been issued in Aristotle’s life. This line of argument, even if we could apply it with high probability to nothing more than the De Anima, would take us a long way; for that work is cited in many of the books on natural philosophy.

The scope and the modifications of this theory as to the way in which the Aristotelian books were produced, can only be settled by a detailed examination of the indi-

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1 A supposition which a number of scholars have been led to adopt, with various particular modifications: thus Ritter, iii. 29 (cit. supra, p. 121, n. 2 mid.); Brändis, ii. b, 113; Ueberweg, Gesch. d. Phil. i. 174, eighth ed., Susemihl, Arist. Poët. p. 1 sq., Bexays, Arist. Politik, 212. It is also probable that Aristotle, instead of writing, usually dictated: which would account for many of the irregularities of style, such as the lengthy and involved anacolutha.

2 Cf. p. 89, n. 2. It may be otherwise with the repetitions and disarrangements of the connection in the Ethics, especially bks. 5–7. Cf. p. 97, n. 1.


4 Cf. p. 76, n. 3, and infra, Ch. xiii., init.

5 Vid. supra, p. 93, n. 2; Ind. Ar. 102, b, 60 sqq.
vidual texts. But the peculiarities above referred to, the reference to a class of published or 'exoteric' works, the habit of citing later books in earlier ones, the tricks of repetition and disorder which indicate the absence of the author's final revision—all these extend through almost the whole of the extant Corpus. From this and from the fact that, though the Topics and the De Anima were apparently written only for Aristotle's pupils, yet they are frequently cited by later treatises, it seems very probable that the whole of our Corpus, so far as it is genuine, consists of books which were produced in connection with the teaching in the Lyceum, were intended at first for Aristotle's pupils only, and were made generally accessible by formal publication only after the master's death. Of the great majority of them it may also be assumed, not only from their contents, but also from their express internal correlation that Aristotle is in them working up in writing what he had already given his pupils by way of oral lectures, though it is also likely that when they came to be published by third parties explanations were added and whole passages interpolated from Aristotle's papers or his other lectures. A few of the texts may have served him as aids in his teaching, without being themselves matter of lecturing. One of the books of the Metaphysics

1 Cf. p. 129 and 130.
2 Cf. what has been remarked on p. 128 sq. with regard to the closing words of the Topics.
3 As, from what has been said on pp. 76 and 130, seems to have been the case in the Metaphysics and the De Anima.
4 Like the composition Πηλ τοῦ ποιημένου (cf. p. 76, n. 3, at p. 77). One is inclined to think the same of the 'Anatomoal.
5 The twelfth, cf. same note, at p. 78.
seems to have been a plan for a lecture course, though not intended, in its present shape, for communication to his pupils. This, however, cannot well be true of any great portion of the extant writings. That theory is excluded in the first place by the all-pervading system of cross references, which both in number and in manner go far beyond anything that Aristotle could have wanted for himself. Again it is negatived by the fact that, in spite of all the defects already referred to, these works are from a literary point of view far more carefully worked up than they would have been if they were merely sketches for the lecturer’s own use. Then again, the unusual recurrence of formulæ of introduction, transition and conclusion, shows that the author is writing, not for himself, but for others.

1 Bk. xii. of the Metaphysics has in the first half none at all, and in the second, which is worked out much more fully (since the δεδεικται, c. 7, 1073, a, 5, relates to c. 6, 1071, b, 20), a single reference (c. 8, 1073, a, 32: δεδεικται δ' εν τοις φυσικοίς περὶ τούτων). It is otherwise in most of the other works. Still more decisive, however, is the form of the references. No one uses for himself expressions like the φαμέν mentioned in p. 115, n. 4, or circumstantial formulæ, like ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας τῆς περὶ τὰ ζωὴ φαινομένα καὶ τῶν ἀνατομῶν καὶ ὑποτευχύ σεταί εν τοῖς περὶ γενέσεως (Part. Δι. iv. 10, 689, a, 18), and the like (the Ind. Ar. 97, b, sqq. furnishes examples), or like those quoted on p. 115.

2 To this class belongs the conclusion of the Topics (see p. 128, n. 2); the νῦν δὲ λέγωμεν (Soph. El. c. 2, 151; Metaph. vii. 12, init., xii. 10, 1086, b, 16 and supra), ὁσπερ λέγομεν, ὁσπερ ἔλεγομεν (Eth. N. vi. 3, 1139, b, 26, Metaph. iv. 5, 1010, a, 4, Rhet. i. 1, 1055, a, 28 and supra), καθάπερ ἐπήλθομεν (Metaph. x. 2, init., xiii. 2, 1076, b, 39), καθάπερ διειλήμματα (Metaph. vii. 1, init.), ἄ διωρίσαμεν, ἐν οἷς διωρίσαμεν, τὰ διωρισμένα ἡμῶν (Metaph. i. 4, 985, a, 11, vi. 4, ĵin., i. 7, 1028, a, 4), δὴλον ἡμῶν (Rhet. i. 2, 1356, b, 9, 1357, a, 29), τεθεώρηται ἡμῶν ἰκανῶς περὶ αὐτῶν (Metaph. i. 3, 983, a, 33); cf. also those sentences in which what has been discussed before is summed up, and what is going to be treated is announced (e.g. Metaph. xiii. 9, 1086, a, 18 sqq., Rhet. i. 2, 1356, b, 10 sqq.; Soph. El. c. 33, 183, a, 33 sqq.; Meteorol. init.). ONcken (Staatsl. d. Ar., i. 58) cites, from the Nicom. Ethics and
Another unlikely theory\(^1\) is that which suggests that the whole or a great part of our Corpus consists of transcripts in which Aristotle’s pupils had set down the contents of his lectures. We have seen that they are in all probability closely connected with the lecture courses.\(^2\) But whether they are a mere transcript of these, or a free working-up of the same matter, whether they were designed to repeat as correctly as might be the words of the master, or to leave us a spiritual reproduction of his thoughts, whether in fine they were written by his pupils or by himself, is a very different question. The note-theory may rely on the suggestion that it would explain the carelessness of the methods of

the Politics alone, thirty-two passages with such formulas. No one will believe that Aristotle would have had to write down all such expressions in his lecture-book, like a man beginning to teach, who is not sure of a single word.

\(^1\) \textit{Oncken, ibid.} 48 sqq. following Scaliger. O. there remarks (62 sq.) that he thinks he has only made this supposition probable with regard to the Ethics and Politics, but his reasons would hold equally for the majority of our Aristotelian writings.

\(^2\) Oncken, ‘in proof of this, rightly appeals, besides other passages (p. 59 sq.), to those passages of the Ethics in which an audience is spoken of: \textit{Eth.} i. 1, 1095, a, 2, 11: \textit{di} τής πολιτικῆς ὁδὴς ὠ&upsilon; νεός ... \textit{περὶ} ἀκροατής δὲ νέος ... \textit{περὶ} ἀκροατῶν ... \textit{περὶ} ὁδογραφ&omicron;ς τοσαύτα. \textit{Ibid.} c. 2, 1095, b, 4: \textit{di} τοῖς ἔθεσιν ἥχθαι καλῶς τὸν \textit{περὶ} ... τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀκουσ&omicron;μενον. (\textit{Eth.} x. 10, 1079, b, 23, 27; vii. 5, 1147, b, 9, are not relevant here; and \textit{Pol.} vii. 1, 1323, b, 39: \textit{ετέρας γὰρ ἐστιν ἔργον σχολῆς ταύτα, only means ‘this belongs to another inquiry.’) Oncken further proves that, in referring on any point to other works, only such expressions are used as are suited to a person who is \textit{speaking}, such as \textit{εἰρηται, λεκτέων, ἀλλος λόγος}, &c.; but such language was certainly used in referring to \textit{writings} (like the Problems and the \textit{ἐξωτερικοὶ λόγοι}, see above, p. 96, and p. 115, n. 4), and is often so used in our own days. He also refers to the title \textit{πολιτικὴ ἀκρόασις} (\textit{ap. Drog.} v. 24); \textit{φυσικὴ ἀκρόασις} is likewise universally used for the \textit{Physics} (\textit{vid. supr.} p. 81, n. 2); but since we do not know with whom these titles originate, not much can be inferred from them.
statement. But on closer inquiry, this argument comes to nothing. For it is not here a question of any such defects as commonly arise in the redaction of well-ordered lectures badly reported, through omissions and repetitions and the erroneous piecing together of the broken argument. It is more a question of peculiarities of style not restrained by the writer, which are too characteristic and too constant in their character to allow us to make chance and the errors of third persons answerable for them. Such an origin might be thought possible if they appeared in some books and not in others. But as they in fact extend, though in varying degrees, through the whole, they can only be ascribed to Aristotle himself. The very style and form of the

1 And this is the chief ground on which Oncken bases his opinion. The defects of our texts are most easily explained 'from the natural defects of a peripatetic monologue' (he says, p. 62), 'hastily copied in and badly edited from the note-books of the audience.'

2 With these must be reckoned the formation of the sentences (searchingly investigated by Bonitz, *Arist. Stud.* ii. 3 sqq.) especially the explanations, often of considerable length, which are parenthetically introduced, and the anacolutha consequent on this; the frequent use or absence of certain particles (proofs of which are to be found in Eucken, *De Arist. Discendi Ratione*, and in Bonitz's notice of this work in the Ztschr. f. d. östr. Gymn. 1866, 804 sqq.), and similar points. The same is the true view as to the questions occurring so often in all Aristotelian writings, which are put at one time in simple form, at another (as in *De An.* i. 1, 403, b, 7 sqq., *Gen. et Corr.* ii. 11, 337, b, 5, and in the passages explained by Bonitz, *Arist. Stud.* ii. 16 sq., *ibid.* 6, 333, b, 30) in a disjunctive form, but are not answered. That such unanswered questions could not have occurred in a composition (Oncken, *ibid.* 61), one cannot allow — how many, for instance, are found, only to mention one modern writer, in Lessing! Neither can one admit the supposition (*ibid.* 59), that they were answered, in oral discourse, by the audience or the teacher. They seem to be, both in Aristotle and Lessing, a very natural diversion of an acute and lively Dialectic, which would have been more likely to be removed than retained by any reporter.
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writings therefore afford a strong indication that not only their contents but their language is Aristotle's own. A like conclusion follows also (as we have seen) from the series of cross references; for in a lecture a man might allude to one or two past courses, but could hardly refer to a whole series of lectures widely distant in date, as to which he could not assume that the details were in the memory of his present audience. It seems moreover that in many cases, as in the Natural Philosophy, the matter of the various treatises goes too closely into detail for the purposes of oral teaching. Such lectures would have taxed the attention and memory of the most zealous hearer, and it is difficult to see how they could have been transcribed so perfectly. Yet these treatises stand on no different footing from the rest.

We learn that Theophrastus and Eudemus in their Analytics followed Aristotle, not only in the general plan, but in details, and we can bring proof that these followers adopted word for word several passages of the extant Metaphysics. Eudemus adopted the Ethics of

1 See pp. 128, 131.
2 Note, in relation to this point, how one and the same composition is frequently referred to in the most remote places, and how, on the other hand, the most widely differing texts are cited in the same treatise. Thus the Physics, De Celo, Gen. et Corr., Meteor., De Anima, De Sensu, Part. An., are quoted in many passages of the Metaphysics and in the Ethics; the books on Generation and Corruption in the Meteorology, Metaphysics, De Anima, De Sensu, Part. An.; the Metaphysics quote the Analytics, Physics, De Celo, Ethics, the κληρον τῶν ἐναντίων; in the Rhetoric, the Topics, Analytics, Politics, Poetics, and the Θεωδεστία are quoted.
3 The notion of formal dictation can hardly be suggested, but if it were, it would imply that our Aristotelian writings were the work of Aristotle himself and not his pupils' notes.
4 Cf. p. 67.
5 Cf. p. 78, n. 1.
Aristotle, and still more the *Physics*,\(^1\) often verbally, into his own corresponding texts. We actually possess letters in which Eudemus consults Theophrastus as to the text of a particular passage and receives his answer.\(^2\) These facts clearly justify Brandis' remark,\(^3\) that the fashion in which Aristotle's followers clung to the master's writings presupposes that they were dealing with his actual words. As to the *Topics* in particular, it has been already proved that it is not a mere transcript by another hand, but that on the contrary it bears to be and must have been the work of Aristotle (see p. 128).

If it be true that the philosophical works of Aristotle had not yet passed at his death beyond the circle of his personal hearers, this circumstance would make it also intelligible that they might for a long time, even after his death, have been withheld from general publicity, or that they might even by an unlucky accident have been lost to the Peripatetic School. And, according to a curious and well-known story, such an accident was said to have occurred, involving, as was supposed, the loss for two centuries of the texts of Aristotle.

\(^1\) See the section dealing with *Phys.* v. 2, 226, b, 14, and are Eudemus, etc., *infra*, Ch. xix., found in *SIMPL. Phys.* 216 a, and notes thereon.

\(^2\) These have reference to *Gr.-röm. Phil.* ii. b, 114.

\(^3\) Schol. 404, b, 10.
CHAPTER III

HISTORY AND ORDER OF THE WORKS OF ARISTOTLE

Strabo and Plutarch say that the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus passed, at the death of the latter, to his heir, Neleus of Scepsis, and that they were stowed away in a cellar by the heirs of Neleus, discovered only in the early part of the last century B.C. by Apellico of Teos in a decayed condition, brought by him to Athens and thence by Sulla as spoils of war to Rome, where they were afterwards used and republished by Tyrannio and Andronicus.¹ From this story the writers named argue that to the Peripatetics who followed Theophrastus, not only the master's chief works, but also his true philosophical system was unknown, but they do not tell us whether this allegation is grounded on their own opinion, or on definite evidence,

¹ The date of this edition must have fallen somewhere about the middle of the last century B.C. For as Tyrannio was in B.C. 71 taken prisoner in Amisus and released by Muræna (cf. Zeller, Ph. d. Gr., pt. iii. a, 550, 1), he could hardly have settled in Rome before Lucullus' return to Rome (66 B.C.). We know that he was even at the time of his capture a scholar of renown, that he was instructing in B.C. 57 the sons of Cicero, and had some intercourse with the latter and Atticus (Cic. Ad Qu. Fr. ii. 5, Ad Att. iv. 4, 8). His work at Rome could not, therefore, have extended very far beyond the middle of the century, even though he perhaps lived on into the last third of it. (He died according to Suid. s. v. γνατάδ, in the third year of an Olympiad the number of which has unfortunately been miswritten.) About Andronicus cf. Zeller, Ph. d. Gr., pt. iii. a, 549, 3, and above, p. 49, n. 6.
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and if so, what the nature of the evidence might be. Later critics found in the tale a welcome explanation of the incompleteness and irregularities of the existing Corpus. If in truth the case were exactly as Strabo and Plutarch say, we should not only not wonder at the existing defects, but we should rather have expected a far wider and more hopeless corruption than appears in fact to exist. For if it were true of the most important

1 Our authorities for the above narrative are, as we have remarked, Strabo (xiii. 1, 54, p. 608) and Plutarch (Sulla, 26), for Suid. Σύλλας only copies Plutarch. The latter, however, undoubtedly gets his information from Strabo. The only thing which the latter does not give is the remark that Andronicus obtained copies of the Aristotelian works through Tyrannio, published them, and wrote the τοὺς μὲν πάλαι τοὺς μετὰ Θεόφραστον οὐκ ἔχουσιν ὅλως τὰ βιβλία πλὴν ὀλίγων, καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν ἔξωτερων, μὴδὲν ἔχειν φιλοσοφεῖν πραγματικῶς ἀλλὰ θεσεῖς λημνιδίες τοῖς δ᾽ ὀστερον, ἀφ' οὗ τὰ βιβλία ταῦτα προήλθεν, ἀκείνων μὲν ἔκεινον φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ ἀριστοτελεῖς, ἀναγκασθαί μὲντοι τὰ πολλὰ εἰκότα λέγειν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν. But we can only suppose this to have been taken from Andronicus, if we limit the 'younger Peripatetick' (τοῖς δ᾽ ὀστερον, &c.) to those predecessors of Andronicus who were able to use the editions of Apellicio and Tyrannio, and it is very questionable whether anyone could attribute to these men, who are quite unknown to us, an improvement of the Peripatetic doctrine, and a closer insight into Aristotle, such as might with reason be ascribed to Andronicus. As little can we assume Tyrannio or Boëthus (to whom Grote ascribes it, Aristotele, i. 54) as Strabo's source of information, since the former would have taken a different view of his own edition, and the latter of the younger Peripatetick.

2 Thus Buhle, Allg. Enzykl. Sect. i. vol. v. 278 sq., and lately Heitz; see next page, n. 2.
works that the only source of our extant text was to be found in these MSS., which rotted for a century and more in the cellar of Scepsis, till Apellico found them worm-eaten, ruined by damp, and tossed into a disordered heap—if it be true that he, as Strabo says, supplied unskilfully the missing portions, and that Tyrannio and Andronicus also had no further manuscripts they could collate—who then could guarantee that in any number of cases there would not have been foreign matter, found among Neleus' MSS., adopted into Aristotle's text, or connected parts of his own works separated, and other portions blunderingly bound together, or lacunae great and small filled up by the editor's fancy?

Modern criticism has, however, raised doubts about Strabo's story ¹ which even its defenders cannot altogether silence. ² That Theophrastus bequeathed his library to Neleus is beyond doubt. ³ That the MSS. of

¹ After the isolated and disregarded voice of a learned Frenchman, about the beginning of the eighteenth century, had raised doubts as to this narration (see what Stahr gives in Arist. ii. 163 sq. from the Journal des Scéans of the year 1717, p. 655 sqq., as to the anonymous composition Les Aménités de la Critique), Brandis (‘Ueb. die Schicksale d. aris. Bücher,’ Rhein. Mus. v. Niebuhr and Brandis, i. 236 sqq., 259 sqq.; cf. Gr.-röm. Phil. ii. b, 66 sqq.) was the first to deal with it seriously. Kopp (Rhein. Mus. iii. 93 sqq.) supplemented his criticism, and finally Stahr has discussed the question with exhaustive particularity (Aristotelica, ii. 1-166, cf. 294 sqq.). Later scholars have mostly followed them.

² Heitz, Verl. Schr. d. Ar. 9 sqq., 20, 29 sqq.; Grote, Aristotle, i. 50 sqq.; Grant, Ethics of Ar. i. 5 sqq., Aristotle, 3 sqq. Certain errors in Strabo's and Plutarch's representation are indeed admitted by these scholars, but in the main it is said to be correct. It is impossible here to examine in detail the reasons given for this opinion, but the grounds for its rejection are fully dealt with in the text.

³ Theophrastus' will, apud Diog. v. 52; cf. Athen. i. 3, where it is added that Ptolemy Philadelphus bought the whole
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Aristotle and Theophrastus belonging to that library passed to the heirs of Neleus and were by them hidden in a canal or cellar to escape a royal book-collector and were afterwards found by Apellico in a desperate condition, there is no need to doubt. All the facts which Strabo relates as to the matter may therefore be correct enough. And it is also beyond question that Andronicus' edition of the Aristotelian text-books was of epoch-making importance both for the study of the system and for the preservation of the text. If, however, it be maintained that these writings were nowhere to be found outside the Scæpsis cellar and were unknown therefore to the Peripatetic School after the death of Theophrastus, there are the strongest arguments against any such theory.

In the first place, it is almost incredible that an event so singularly notable as the discovery of the lost masterpieces of Aristotle should never have been even alluded to by any of those who, since that time, have concerned themselves with Aristotle, as critics or as philosophers. Cicero says not a word, though he had abundant occasion, for he lived at Rome at the very time when Tyrannio was working among the literary booty of Sulla, and was, in fact, in active intercourse with Tyrannio himself. Alexander, 'the Exegete,' says nothing; nor does any one of the Greek critics who used the very works of Andronicus, either at first or at second collection of Neleus and had it brought to Alexandria.

For when Athenæus, or the epitomiser of his introduction, *ibid.*, asserts that the whole library of Neleus was taken to Alexandria, this may easily be an inexact expression, just as it is inexact, in the opposite way, when, in v 214, he makes Apellico possess not the works, but the library of Aristotle.
hand. Andronicus himself seems to have ascribed to Apellico's discovery so little importance that he based neither the inquiry into the genuineness of a tract nor the discussion of a various reading upon any reference to the MSS. of Neleus.¹ Later editors did not in any way feel themselves bound by his text,² though if Strabo were right, it could be the only authentic one.

On the other hand, the theory that by the loss of the works of Aristotle, the followers of Theophrastus strayed from the original teachings of their school and lost themselves in mere rhetorical developments, is an obvious contradiction of the facts. It may be true that the Peripatetics of the third century strayed away as time went on from the study of natural philosophy and metaphysics, but this change took place not on the death of Theophrastus, but at the earliest on the death of his successor Strato. So far was he from confining himself to ethics and rhetoric, that he devoted himself, on the contrary, with a one-sided preference to physics, though he by no means neglected logic and metaphysics. He frequently contradicted Aristotle; but that could not be by ignorance of the Aristotelian system, because he attacked it expressly.³ It does not appear

¹ With regard to the first, cf. the account given on p. 66, n. 1. as to his doubts about the Ερμηνειας: with respect to the second point, cf. Dei, In Arist. Categ. p. 25, Speng. (Schol. in Ar. 42, a, 30) : πρώτον μὲν οὐκ ἐν ἥπασι τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις τὸ "ὁ δὲ λόγος τῆς οὐσίας" πρόσκειται, ἀς καὶ Βοσθῆς μνημονευεῖ καὶ Ἀνδρόνικος—it is not said that he has settled the dispute by means of Sulla's MSS. (or, if he had not access to the latter, at least by means of the copies of Tyrannio, which, according to Plutarch, he used). It seems, therefore, that these MSS. were not the only copies nor even the original ones of the works in question. Cf. Brandis, Rhein. Mus. i. 241.


³ The proofs will be given,
that the scientific activity of the School came at once to an end, even after Strato's death. The theory that the falling away of the later Peripatetics from Aristotle was due to the loss of his writings from Athens is in every way unnatural. It is much more reasonable to correlate it to the parallel movement in the Academy, which nevertheless was at no loss for texts of Plato.

But who can believe that the most important works of the great philosopher were not extant at the date of his successor's death in any other MSS, than those which Neleus inherited? or that not only in Aristotle's lifetime, but also in the nine Olympiads between his death and that of Theophrastus, not one of his many followers had ever been willing and able to possess himself of the most important sources of the Peripatetic teaching? Who can think that Eudemus, the most loyal of the Aristotelian circle, or Strato, the shrewdest of the Peripatetics, would have done without the Master's books—or that Demetrius of Phalerus did not include them in his zeal for collecting learned works—or that Ptolemy Philadelphus bought other books of Aristotle and Theophrastus for his Library of Alexandria, but omitted to obtain copies of their essential texts?

The story also supposes that the possessors of the manuscripts objected to such uses of them: that Aristotle kept his writings closely under lock and key, and that Theophrastus, for no apparent reason, kept up this

in part, in the following pages. 1 See, at end of vol. ii., the They will also be found in section on the Pseudo-Aristote- the section on Strato, infra, lian texts (infra, Ch. xxi.). Ch. xx., and notes thereon.
secrecy, and laid it as a duty on his heirs. All this is too absurd to need serious refutation.

We are not left, however, wholly to conjecture. The materials are very scanty for the history of a time whose philosophic literature by an unhappy accident we have almost wholly lost; but we can still prove, as to a great part of Aristotle's books, that they were not unknown to the learned men of the two centuries that elapsed between Theophrastus' death and the occupation of Athens by Sulla. Whether Aristotle did or did not himself publish his strictly scientific treatises, they were in any case destined to be the text-books of the School, and to be used by its members. Even those numerous passages in which they refer one to the other offer us a palpable proof that, in the view of the writer, they were not only to be read by his scholars, but closely studied and compared, and, by consequence, that copies were to be kept and multiplied. That this was done is clear, not only from the notices which we find of particular books, but from certain general considerations also.

If it is true that the Peripatetics lost the genuine Aristotelianism when the library of Theophrastus disappeared, it must be because the sources of that teaching were nowhere else to be found. But we hear not only of Theophrastus but of Eudemus also, that he imitated Aristotle\(^1\) not only in the titles but also in the contents of his books; and how close was the imitation both in wording and in the line of thought, we can see for ourselves in the *Ethics* and *Physics* of Eudemus.\(^2\)

\(^1\) For references see pp. 65 and 68.
\(^2\) Cf. p. 148, n. 4, and in the section on Eudemus at Ch. xix., *inf.*
To do this, Eudemus must have possessed Aristotle's texts; especially if, as a reliable story tells us, he used them at a time when he was not living at Athens. Again, it is beyond doubt that the Alexandrian Library included a large number of Aristotle's works. The compilers of the Alexandrine Canon, who place Aristotle among the model writers of philosophy, may have had chiefly in view the more careful style of his exoteric writings; but in the foundation of that great collection it is not possible that the scientific works of Aristotle can have been left out of account. If the Catalogue of Diogenes comes from the Alexandrine Library, it is proof positive that they were there; but even if that conjecture (in itself extremely probable) were erroneous, the Catalogue still proves in any case that the compiler of

\[\text{1 Vide supra, p. 136, n. 3.}\]
\[\text{2 HEITZ (Verl. Schr. 13) indeed thinks that if the Aristotelian works had been universally known and published, it would be incomprehensible that Eudemus in his Physics (and Ethics) should have imitated the words of Aristotle so exactly. It seems, however, that if Eudemus had hesitated to do this with regard to published works, a plagiarism on unpublished ones must have seemed much more unlawful to him. It is impossible, however, to regard his conduct in this light at all, and he himself probably never so regarded it. His Ethics and Physics were never intended to be anything but elaborations of the Aristotelian works universally known in the Peripatetic School, adapted to the needs of his own tuition.}\]
\[\text{3 Besides what has been remarked on p. 142, we have the fact that Ptolemy Philadelphus busied himself zealously about Aristotelian books, paid high prices for them, and thus gave occasion to the forgery of such texts (AMMON. Schol. in Arist. 28, a, 43; DAVID, ibid., 1. 14; SIMPL. Catcy. 2, 6). And such accounts as those noticed at p. 64, n. 1 and 67, n. 1, about the two books of the Categories and the forty of the Analytics which Adrastus found in old libraries, must refer especially to the Alexandrian Library. But it is not to be supposed that the latter obtained only substituted works, and did not possess the genuine ones, by reference to which the forgeries were proved.}\]
\[\text{4 See STAHR, ibid. 65 sq. on this point.}\]
\[\text{5 For which see p. 48 sqq.}\]
it, who lived later than Theophrastus and earlier than Andronicus, had before him a great part of our extant *Corpus Aristotelicum*.\(^1\) Its probable author, Hermippus, was acquainted with the works of Theophrastus (which according to Strabo and Plutarch were buried in Scepsis along with those of Aristotle), as is clear from his catalogue of them, preserved, apparently, by Diogenes.\(^2\) That he at all events knew nothing of the disappearance of the Aristotelian writings, may probably be inferred from the silence of Diogenes on that subject.\(^3\) Another strong evidence of the use of the Aristotelian books in the third century B.C. is to be found in the Stoic teaching, which in its most systematic exposition by Chrysippus follows both in logic and in physics more closely on the Aristotelian than could be possible if the Aristotelian text-books were unknown. There is, indeed, some express evidence that Chrysippus had in fact these texts in view.\(^4\)

\(^1\) Cf. p. 50, n. 1.

\(^2\) Cf. the scholion at the end of the *Metaphysics* of Theophrastus: τούτο τὸ βιβλίον Ἀνδρόνικος μὲν καὶ Ἑρμιππος ἄγνοοισιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ μνεῖαν αὐτοῦ ὄλως πεποίηται ἐν τῇ ἀναγραφῇ τῶν Θεοφράστου βιβλίων. From the same list evidently is taken the scholion at the beginning of the seventh book of the *History of Plants* (apud Usener, *Anal. Theophr. 23*): Θεοφράστου περὶ φυτῶν ἱστορίας τὸ η'. Ἑρμιππος δὲ περὶ φυτευμάτων καὶ ποιεῶν, Ἀν-δρόνικος δὲ περὶ φυτῶν ἱστορίας, *Diog.* (ii. 55) names a book by Hermippus on Theophrastus, of which it probably formed a part. That the lists in Diog. v. 46 sqq., at least in part and indirectly, originated with Hermippus, is the more probable since that writer is mentioned immediately before in v. 45.

\(^3\) For, on the one hand, it is not to be supposed that Hermippus in his copious work on Aristotle (mentioned on p. 51, n. 2) would not have mentioned this circumstance, if he had been aware of it; and, on the other hand, it is very improbable that the author to whom Diogenes is indebted for his many quotations from Hermippus would have passed over this information. Diogenes, to whose literary tastes it must have recommended itself, would have seized upon it, if he found it.

\(^4\) For even if we were not
If the works of Aristotle were first unearthed by Apellico and first fully known through Tyrannio and Andronicus, how could it be said of Critolaus that he imitated the old masters of his school—Aristotle, that is, and Theophrastus?\textsuperscript{1} or how of Herillus the Stoic that he based himself upon them,\textsuperscript{2} or of Panætius that he was always quoting them?\textsuperscript{3} How could we have mention of the constant tendency of Posidonius towards Aristotle?\textsuperscript{4} How could Cicero’s teacher, Antiochus, have explained the Aristotelian teaching as one with the Academic, and attempted their complete and thorough-going amalgamation?\textsuperscript{5} or where could opponents such as Stilpo and Hermarchus have found the material for their attacks on Aristotle?\textsuperscript{6} So again, since Andronicus gives us the alleged letter in which Alexander complains to Aristotle about the publication of his doctrine,\textsuperscript{7} it follows that long before that date writings of Aristotle, including some of those which were afterwards reckoned ‘exoteric,’ must have in fact been public property.

Scanty as are the sources open to us, we can ourselves demonstrate the public use before Andronicus, not only of many of the lost works, which, being inclined to attach much importance to the polemic against one of the discourses mentioned on p. 56, n. 1, yet the expression in \textsc{Plut. Sto. Rep.} 24, p. 1045, supposes acquaintance with Aristotle’s dialectical writings.\textsuperscript{1} Cic. \textit{Fin.} v. 5, 14.\textsuperscript{2} \textit{Ibid.} v. 25, 73.\textsuperscript{3} \textit{Ibid.} iv. 28, 79; cf. \textsc{Zell., Ph. d. Gr.} pt. iii. a, 503, 3, 2nd ed.

\textsuperscript{4} \textit{Ibid.} iii. a, 514, 2.\textsuperscript{5} Fuller particulars, \textit{ibid.} 535 sqq.\textsuperscript{6} Stilpo wrote, according to \textsc{Diog. ii. 120}, an ‘\textit{Αριστοτέλης}, Hermarchus (\textit{ibid.} x. 25) \textit{πρὸς ‘Αριστοτέλην}. From the expression of Colotes \textit{apud Plut. Adv. Col.} 14, 1, p. 1115, we can, however, conclude nothing.\textsuperscript{7} See pp. 22, n. 1, and 112, n. 3.
exoteric or hypomnemmetic,¹ are not here in point, but also of the majority of the scientific treatises themselves.

In the case of the Analytcs we show this by the Catalogue of Diogenes and by the notices as to the use made of them by Theophrastus and Eudemus.² For the Categories and the Περί ἔρμηνειας, we have the Catalogue.³ As to the former, Andronicus found in his MS. the spurious 'Post-predicamenta' added to them, and was acquainted with several recensions, having varying titles and different readings.⁴ It follows, therefore, that the Categories must have been long before his day in the hands of transcribers.⁵ The Topics are in the Catalogue of Diogenes,⁶ and Theophrastus ⁷ and

¹ The letters, vide supra p. 54, n. 2.; the four books, Π. δικαιοσύνης (p. 56, n. 1), taken into consideration by Chrysippus, Teles, Demetrius (Π. ἐρμήν.), probably also by Carneades; the Protrepticus, which is known even to Crates, Zeno, and Teles (p. 60, n. 1), the Eudemus (p. 56, n. 2), which at any rate Cicero used; the discourses on Philosophy (p. 55, n. 6) and on Wealth (p. 58, n. 1 end), which, before him, Philodemus, and also Metrodorus, pupil of Epicurus, made use of; the ἐρωτικά, which, according to Athen. xv. 674, b, Aristo of Ceos knew; the dialogue Π. ποιητών (p. 58, n. 1), which Eratosthenes and Apollodorus seem to have used; the Ολυμπιανίκα, which Eratosthenes (apud Diog. viii. 51), quotes; the Didascalics, which Didymus quotes in the Scholasts to Aristoph. Ar. 1379 (cf. Heitz, Verl. Schr. 56); the Παρουσία, on account of which Aristotle (according to Athen. ii. 60, d) was attacked by Cephi-

² See p. 67, n. 1.
³ See pp. 64, n. 1, 66, n. 1.
⁴ See pp. 64 and 66; p. 141, n. 1.
⁵ The same would follow from the statement (Simpl. Categ., Schol. 79, a, 1), that Andronicus followed pretty closely the Categories of Archytas, since the latter at any rate are imitations of the Aristotelian; Simplicius, however, bases what is here said merely on his false supposition of their genuine-

⁶ Cf. p. 68, n. 1, and 71, n. 2.
⁷ Of Theophrastus this is
his follower Strabo\(^1\) had used them. The *Rhetoric* is imitated and referred to in writings which in all likelihood are themselves earlier than Andronicus;\(^2\) and the same is true of the Theodectine *Rhetoric.*\(^3\) The *Physics* were worked over by Theophrastus and Eudemus, and the latter followed the text so closely that he is actually cited in support of the correctness of a various reading.\(^4\) One of the scholars of Eude-

clear from Alexander In *Top.* p. 5, m. (cf. 68, 72, 31), *In Metaph.* 342, 30, 373, 2 (705, b, 30, 719, b, 27). See *SIMPL. Categ. Schol. in Ar.* 89, a, 15.

\(^1\) Cf. ALEX. *Top.* infra (Schol. 281, b, 2). Among Strabo’s writings is found *apud* DIOG. v. 59, α Τόπων προολογία.

\(^2\) The former in the *Rhetoric ad Alex.* (vide supra, p. 71, n. 3), which Diogenes (No. 79) knows (cf. p. 72, n. 2) as well as cur *Rhetoric* (about which see p. 72, n. 2, *ad fin.*); the latter *apud* DEMETRIUS, *De Elocutione*; quotations from our *Rhetoric* are found here, c. 38, 41 (*Rhet.* iii. 8, 1409, a, 1); c. 11, 34 (*Rhet.* iii. 9, 1409, a, 35, b, 16); c. 81 (*Rhet.* iii. 11, *init.*); to it *ibid.* c 34 refers, which is earlier than the author Archedemus, who was probably the Stoic of that name, circa 140 B.C.

\(^3\) Which (as shown at p. 72, n. 2) is likewise given in Diogenes, and is named by the *Rhetoric ad Alex.*

\(^4\) We get these facts, apart from other proof, from the exceedingly numerous references to the *Physics* in Simplicius; for instance, about Theophrastus, cf. *SIMPL. Phys.* 141, a and b, and 187, a, 201, b, and the same author *In Categ. Schol.* 92, b, 20 sq., with THEMIST. *Phys.* 54, b, 55, a, b (Schol. 409, b, 8, 111, a, 6, b, 28), and BRANDIS, *Rhein. Mus.* 1. 282 thereon; about Eudemus, *SIMPL. Phys.* 18, b (Arist. *Phys.* i. 2, 185, b, 11); also 29, a: ὁ Εὐδήμος τῷ Ἀριστοτέλει πάντα κατακολουθῶν; 120, b, where it is remarked on *Phys.* iii. 8, 208, b, 18: κάλλιον γάρ, οἶμαι, τὸ “ἐξω τοῦ ἀστεω” οὔτως ἀκούειν, ὅσον ὁ Εὐδήμος ἐνοίησε τὰ τοῦ καθηγεμόνος, &c.; so 121, b: ἐν τοῖς ἰδ. [sc. ἀντιγράφοις] ἀντὶ τοῦ “κοινῆς” “πρώτης,” καὶ οὕτω γράφει καὶ ὁ Εὐδήμος; 128, b: Εὐδήμος δὲ τοῦτοι παρακολουθῶν, &c.; 178, b: Eudemus writes, in *Phys.* iv. 13, 222, b, 18, not Πάρων but παρών; 201, b: Ἠδ. ἐν τοῖς ἐναυτῷ φύσικοι παραφράξεων τὰ τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλεους; 216, a: Eudemus immediately connects with what is found in Aristotle at the end of the fifth book, the beginning of the sixth; 223, a: in Aristotle an ἐπὶ τάδε repeated in a different context (*Phys.* vi. 3, 234, a, 1) gives an ambiguity in expression, and so Eudemus puts “ἐπέκεινα” instead of the second ἐπὶ τάδε; 242, a (beginning of the seventh book): Ἐδ. μέχρι τοῦ ἀληθοῦς σχεδὸν πραγματείας κεφαλαίοις ἀκολουθήσας,
mus 1 cited from the Physics of Aristotle the three books ‘on Movement.’ It can also be proved that the same work was known to Strabo, 2 and Posidonius the Stoic showed no less acquaintance with it. 3 The De Calo cannot be shown with certainty to have been known to any writer older than Andronicus except Theophrastus. 4 It is, however, very unlikely that this work disappeared after his time when its continuation—the Περὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς—appears in the Catalogue of Diogenes, 5 and when the Meteorology, which is closely connected with both the one and the other, is known to have been used by many writers of that period. 6 Posidonius, for example, appropriated from it the theory of the elements, 7 and Strabo disputed its account of the heaviness and lightness of bodies. 8 The (spurious) Mechanics, and the Astronomy, are named in the list in Diogenes. 9 The Natural History was adapted not only by Theophrastus, 10 but also by the Alexandrine writer Aristophanes of Byzantium. 11 That it was not

1 Damasus: vide supra, p. 82.
2 Cf. SIMPL. Phys. 153, a (155, b), 154, a, 168, a, 187, a, sqq., 189, b (cf. Phys. iv. 10), 214, a.
3 In the fragment apud SIMPL. Phys. 64, b; of which Simplicius remarks that it is based on Aristotle (Phys. ii. 2).
4 Vide supra, p. 83, n. 1.
5 That is, if No. 39, Π. στοιχείων α’ β’ γ’, refers to it; about which see p. 50, n. 1.
6 Vide supra, p. 83, n. 1.
7 SIMPL. De Calo, Schol. in Ar. 517, a, 31.
8 SIMPL. ibid. 486, a, 5.
9 The former No. 123, the latter 113: vide supra, p. 86, n. 1.
10 DIOG. v. 49 names as his Ἐπιστομῶν Ἀριστοτέλους Π. Ζωντιν’.
11 According to HIEROCL. Hippiatr. Prof. p. 4, this grammarian had written an Ἐπιστομὴ of it, which ARTEMIDOR. Oneirocrit. ii. 14 calls ὑπομήνατα εἰς
unknown during the Alexandrine period is also shown by the Catalogue of Diogenes (No. 102), and by the existence of a popular compilation from it which was much in use.¹ The De Anima was used, after Theophrastus,² by the author of the book on the 'Movement of Living Creatures,' who used also the spurious treatise Περὶ πνεύματος.³ As to the Problems,⁴ it is more than improbable that the working up of that book for the Peripatetic School began later than the time of Andronicus. The Metaphysics was used, as we have seen,⁵ not only by Theophrastus and Eudemus, but after them by Strabo and other Peripatetics. It was probably published by Eudemus; though some sections of it do seem to have been first introduced by Andronicus into the then extant Aristotelian treatise on the First Philosophy. Of the Ethics, it is obvious that it could not have existed only in Theophrastus's MS. so as to be lost with it, for if so it could not have been worked over either by Eudemus or at a later date by the author of Magna Moralia. The Politics, if we are to judge by the list of Diogenes, was to be found in the Library of Alexandria,⁶ along with the first book of our Economics,

¹Ἀριστοτέλην (see Schneider in his edition i. xix.). Demetrius also, De Eloquent. 97, 157 (cf. H. An. ii. 1, 497, b, 28; ix. 2. 32, 610, a. 27, 619, a. 16), or perhaps the earlier writer used by him, knows this epitome.
²About which see p. 87, n. 1, ad fin. From this compilation also the many quotations from the Aristotelian History of Animals in Antigonus' Mirabilia (c. 16, 22, 27-113, 115) are perhaps taken.
³Cf. p. 89, n. 2 ad fin.
⁴As to which cf. p. 96.
⁵See p. 79, n. 1.
⁶Vide supra, p. 100, n. 1 p. 100, n. 3.
which is also cited by Philodemus. It is obvious that the author of that book had the Politics before him; that Dicearchus knew it also is indicated by the notices of his Tripoliticus. The use of it in the Magna Moralia is not so well proven, and we cannot tell to what source Cicero owed the parts of it which he used for his own political works: but it is not doubtful that it must have been accessible to learned persons after the death of Theophrastus. The same is true of the Politeiai, for the use of which in the Alexandrine period we have abundant proofs. That the Poetics

1 De Vit. ix. (Vol. Herc. ii.) col. 7, 38, 47, col. 27, 15, where it is ascribed to Theophrastus.
2 Whom we have rather to seek in Eudemus or one of his Peripatetic contemporaries than in Aristotle: see ch. xxi. infra.
3 On which see infra, ch. xix.

4 Although happiness is here, i. 4, 1184, b, 33 sqq., defined as ἑνεργεία καὶ χρήσις τῆς ἀρετῆς, this has certainly a greater resemblance to Polit. vii. 13, 1332, a, 7 (a passage to which Nickes, De Arist. Polit. Libr. 87 sqq calls attention) than to Eth. X. 6, 5, 6, 7, Eud. ii. 1, since happiness is here certainly called ἑνεργεία κατ' ἀρετὴν (οτ τῆς ἀρετῆς), but the conjunction of the ἑνεργεία and χρήσις is wanting. Then the χρήσις is also spoken of in Eud. 1219, a, 12 sqq. 23, Nic. i. 9, 1088, b, 31, and thus it is quite possible that only these passages were in the mind of the author of the Great Ethics.

5 Zeller had already proved in his 2nd ed., that in Cicero's political writings many things are taken from the Aristotelian Politics, citing Crc. Leg. iii. 6., Rep. i. 25 (cf. Polit. iii. 9, 1280, 6, 29, c, 6, 1278, b, 8, 19, i. 2, 1253, a, 2); Rep. i. 26 (Pol. iii. 1, 1274, b, 36, c. 6, 1278, b, 8, c. 7, 1279, a, 25 sqq.); Rep. i. 27 (Pol. iii. 9, 1280, a, 11, c. 10, 11, 1281, a, 28 sqq., b, 28, c. 16, 1287, a, 8 sqq.); Rep. i. 29 (Pol. iv. 8, 11). Susemihl (Arist. Pol. xlv. 81) also agrees with this. But since Cicero does not name Aristotle in the Republic, and Leg. iii. 6 only refers to him in very indefinite expressions, he seems not to have drawn immediately on Aristotle, and the question arises: where did he get this Aristotelian doctrine from? Susemihl, p. xlv, thinks, from Tyrannius, but we might also presume Dicearchus, whom Cicero was fond of using.

6 The oldest witness for this is Timæus, apud Polyr. xii. 5–11, and the latter author himself. There is also, besides Diog. (Hermeippus) No.145, the Scholiast of Aristophanes, who (according to a good Alexandrine authority)
was also known to the Alexandrine grammarians is placed beyond doubt by recent research.¹

We may sum up the case by saying that of the genuine portions of the extant Corpus, there are only the works on the Parts, Genesis, and Movement of Animals, and the minor anthropological tracts, as to which we cannot show either express proof or high probability for the assertion that they were in use after the disappearance of Theophrastus's library from Athens. Even as to these we have no reason to doubt it—only we cannot positively prove it; and that, when we remember the fragmentary character of our knowledge of the philosophic literature of the period in question, is nothing strange. The belief of Strabo and Plutarch that the scientific writings of Aristotle were after the death of Theophrastus all but wholly withdrawn from access is therefore decisively negatived by the facts. A few of these writings may possibly have suffered the fate which they ascribe to the whole. One book or another may have been lost to the School at Athens when they lost the library of Theophrastus, and may have been again published by Andronicus from the damaged MSS. of Sulla's collection. But that this happened to any or all of the important books is for all reasons antecedently improbable. There must have

quoting the Πολτεία very often; see Arist. Fr. ed. Rose, Nos. 352, 355-358, 370, 373, 407, 420 sq., 426 sq., 470, 485, 498 sq., 525, 533.

¹ Their presence in the Alexandrian library is clear from the Catalogue of Diog. (No. 83), and their having been used by Aristophanes of Byzantium and Didymus from the proofs which Susemihl has collected at p. 20 sq., of his edition (following Trendelenburg, Grammat. Grœc. de Arte Trag. Judic. Rel.) from the Introductions and Scholia to Sophocles and Euripides.
been copies of the important text-books made during the long life of Theophrastus. He who cared so well for his scholars in every other way, by providing for them gardens and houses and a museum and the means of maintaining it, could never have deprived them of his most precious and most indispensable possession—his own and his master’s texts—if a sufficient substitute for them were not at hand. Any theory, therefore, as to an individual book of our collection, that its text rests solely on a MS. from Apellico’s library, ought to rest entirely on the internal evidence of the book itself; for Strabo’s and Plutarch’s suggestion of a general disappearance of the texts could give it no support.

It is not, however, to be denied that many of the books show signs leading to the conclusion that in their present form other hands than the author’s have been at work. We find corruptions of the text, lacunæ in the logical movement, displacement of whole sections, additions that could be made only by later hands, other additions which are Aristotelian but were originally designed for some other context, repetitions which we should not expect in so condensed a style, and which yet can hardly be late interpolations.\(^1\) Strabo’s story, however, does not serve for the explanation of these phenomena, for the reason, among others, that such peculiarities are to be found equally in those texts

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\(^1\) Cf. with regard to this, not to mention other points, what has been said before as to the *Categories* (p. 64, n. 1), *Π. ἐπιμελείας* (p. 66, n. 1), the *Rhetoric* (p. 72, n. 2), the *Metaphysics* (p. 76, n. 3), the seventh book of the *Physics* (p. 81, n. 2 *ad fin.*), the fourth book of the *Meteorology* (p. 83, n. 2), the tenth book of the *History of Animals* (p. 87, n. 1), *Π. ψυχῆς* (p. 89, n. 2), bk. v. *De Gen. An.* (p. 92, n. 2), the *Ethics* (p. 98, n. 1), and the *Poetics* (p. 102, n. 2); and the remarks in ch. xiii. *infra* upon the state of the *Politics.*
which we can prove to have been current before Apellico. We must explain them really as arising in part from the circumstances under which these treatises were written and issued,¹ in part from the way they were used for teaching purposes,² in part from the carelessness of transcribers and the many accidents to which each transcript was exposed.

If we pass to the discussion of the time and sequence in which the writings of Aristotle were produced, we must remember that this is of far less importance than in the case of the writings of Plato. It is clear that Aristotle commenced his career as a writer during his first residence at Athens,³ and it is probable that he continued his literary activity in Atarneus, Mitylene and Macedonia. The extant writings, however, seem all to belong to the second Athenian period, although much preparation may probably have been made for them before. The proof of this lies partly in certain traces of the dates of their production, which control not only those books in which they occur, but also all that are later:⁴ and partly in the common references

¹ Cf. p. 108 sqq.
² How easily, by this means, explanations and repetitions may find their way into the text, and greater or smaller sections may come to be repeated, is perfectly plain, and is proved on a large scale by the parallel case of the Eudemian Physics and Ethics.
³ See p. 56 sqq. He left Athens in B.C. 345-4 and returned in 335-4.
⁴ Thus Meteor. i. 7, 345, a, 1, mentions a comet which was visible when Nicomachus (Ol. 109, 4, B.C. 341) was Archon in Athens, its course and position being accurately described as from subsequent personal inquiry. The Politics refer to the Holy War as an event in the past (v. 4, 1304, a, 10), and to the expedition of Phaëclus to Crete, which took place at its conclusion about Ol. 108, 3 (Diodorus, xvi. 62), with a νεωτρι (ii. 10, fin.), but the same book refers to the assassination of Philip (B.C. 336) in v. 10, 1311, b, 1, without the least indication of its having been a very recent event. The Rhetoric in ii. 23,
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which even the earliest of them contain to Athens and to the place itself where Aristotle taught. If, then, the view already indicated as to the destination of these texts for his scholars, their connection with his teaching, and the character of their cross references be right, it

1397, b, 31, 1399, b, 12, refers without doubt to past events of the years B.C. 338–336; in iii. 17, 1418, b, 27 it mentions Isocrates' Philippus (b.c. 345); of the Rhetorics also Brandis shows (Philologus, iv. 10 sqq.) that the many Attic orators quoted in it and in the Poetics who were younger than Demosthenes, could by no means belong to a time prior to Aristotle's first departure from Athens, and the same is true of the numerous works of Theodectes which are used both here and in the Poetics. In Metaph. i. 9, 991, a, 1, xii. 8, 1073, b, 17, 32, Eudoxus and the still younger Callippus, and in Eth. N. vii. 14, 1153, b, 5, x. 2, init., Spensippus and Eudoxus are spoken of as if they were no longer living. Rose (Arist. Libr. Ord. 212 sqq.) has shown with regard to the History of Animals, from viii. 9, ii. 5. init., and other passages, that it was only written (or at least completed), some time after the battle of Arbela, in which the Macedonians saw elephants for the first time, and probably not before the Indian expedition. The fact that even much earlier events are introduced with a远景—as in Meteor. iii. 1, 371, a, 30, the burning of the temple of Ephesus (Ol. 106, 1, B.C. 356), and in Polit. v. 10, 1312, b, 19, Dion's expedition (Ol. 105, 4 sq.)—proves nothing, by reason of the indefiniteness of that particle. Just as little does it follow from Anal. Pri. ii. 24, that Thebes was not yet destroyed at that time; we might rather gather the contrary, with regard to this work, from Polit. iii. 5, 1278, a, 25.

1 Cf. BRANDIS, GR.-röm. Phil. ii. b, 116. We may give here a few further instances, besides those already noted. Categ. 4, 2, a, 1, c, 9 fin.: ἄνακτον ἐστὶν. Anal. Pri. ii. 24: Athens and Thebes, as examples of neighbours. Likewise in Phys. iii. 3, 202, b, 13; ibid. iv. 11, 219, b, 20: τὸ ἐν Ἀθηναις ἐλαίαν. Metaph. v. 5, 30, 1015, a, 25, 1025, a, 25: τὸ πλεῖστον ἐν ᾿Αθηναις, as an example of a commercial journey. Ibid. v. 24, fin.: the Athenian festivals Dionysia and Thargelia (Aristotle also uses the Attic months e.g. Hist. An. v. 11, &c.; but it is not fair to attach any importance to this). Rhet. ii. 7, 1385, a, 28: δ ’ἐν Ἀθηναις τὸν μακρύν δοῦν. Ibid. iii. 2, 1404, b, 22, Polit. vii. 17, 1336, b, 27: the actor Theodorus. Very frequent mention is also made of Athens and the Athenians (Ind. Ar. 12, b, 34 sqq.). Again the observation on the corona borealis (Meteor. ii. 5, 362, b, 9) suits the latitude of Athens, as Ideler (i. 567), on this passage, shows.

follows that all of them must have been composed during his final sojourn in Athens. Equally decisive, on this head, is the observation that throughout the whole of so comprehensive a collection, there is hardly to be found a single notable alteration of teaching or terminology. All is ripe and ready. All is in exact correspondence. All the important writings are woven closely together, not only by express cross reference, but also by their whole character. There are no scattered products of the different periods of a life. We can only look upon them as the ordered execution of a work planned when the author, having come to a full understanding with himself, had gathered together the philosophic fruit of a lifetime. Even the earlier works which he proposed to connect with his later writing, he revised on a comprehensive plan. Therefore, for our use of these texts, it is no great matter whether a particular book was written sooner or later than any other. The problem, however, must be dealt with nevertheless.

A certain difficulty is caused by the use of cross references already noticed.¹ As such cases are, after all, only exceptions in the general run of the citations, the value of these as an indication of sequence is not so slight as has been supposed. There are, in fact, but few instances in which our judgment as to the order of the writings is placed in doubt by the occurrence of references both ways.

Of the extant books, so far as they are open to this classification,² the logical treatises, excepting the tract on

¹ Cf. p. 124 sqq.
² This, however, is always the case except with writings the genuineness of which can be opposed on other grounds. Not only are none of these quoted in the genuine works, and only a single one in a spurious compo-
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Propositions,¹ may be considered to come first. It is in itself natural and accords with Aristotle's methodical plan of exposition, that he should preface the material development of his system by the formal inquiries which were designed to establish the rules and conditions of all scientific thinking. But it is also made evident by his own citations that the Logic did precede the Natural Philosophy, the Metaphysics, the Ethics and Rhetoric.²

Of the logical tracts themselves, the Categories seems to be the first. The Topics, including the book on Fallacies, came next, and then the two Analytics: the treatise

sition, but only very few of them refer to other writings. On the other hand, there is not one among the works which we consider as genuine, which does not quote the others, or is not quoted by them, or, at least, implied, whilst in most of them examples of all three connections occur. To explain more fully: I. Of the decidedly spurious works: (a) the following are neither quoted nor do they quote others: Π. κόσμου, Π. χρωμάτων, Π. ἀκουστῶν, Φυσιογνωμονικά, Π. φυτῶν (see p. 93), Π. θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων, Μηχανικά, Π. ἀτόμων γραμμῶν, 'Ανέμων θέσεις, Π. ξένο-

φάνους &c., Ἱθικά μεγάλα, Π. ἄρτεων καὶ κακῶν, Οἰκονομικά, Ῥητορικὴ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον. (b) Π. πνεύματος quotes no other, but is quoted in the spurious treatise Π. ζωῆς κυνήσεως. (c) On the contrary, the latter itself is never quoted. But it names some other writings; as does also the Eudemian Ethics, supposing that its quotations refer to Aristotelian works. Π. Among the remaining

² Besides the arguments given on p. 67, n. 1, p. 68, n. 1, we have the decisive passage in Anal. Post. ii. 12, 95, b, 10: μᾶλλον δὲ φανερῶς ἐν τοῖς καθόλου περὶ κινήσεως δεὶ λεξικήναι περὶ αὐτῶν. The Physics, however, is the earliest of the works on Natural Science. A negative line of proof also is found in the fact that in the Categories, the Analytics, and the Topics, none of the other writings are quoted.

¹ On which see p. 66, n. 1.
on Propositions was added afterwards.\(^1\) Later than the *Analytics* but earlier than the *Physics* may be placed the treatise which now forms the fifth book of the *Metaphysics*.\(^2\) The Natural Philosophy came next. In that section the *Physics* comes first. It is projected in the *Analytics* and is referred to in the fifth book of the *Metaphysics*; but the latter is cited or presupposed not only in the metaphysical and ethical works but also in the majority of the other tracts concerning Natural Philosophy, while it on the other hand neither cites nor presupposes any one of them.\(^3\) That the *De Celo*,\(^4\) the treatise on *Growth and Decay*, and the *Meteorology*, follow the *Physics* in the order given, is very expressly stated in the *Meteorology* itself.\(^5\) Whether the *Natural History* or the *De Anima* came next is not settled. It is very possible that the former work, extensive as it is, was begun before the other but completed after it.\(^6\) With the *De Anima* we must connect those lesser tracts which point back to it some-

\(^1\) See pp. 64, n. 1, p. 67, n. 1, p. 68 sqq., and the treatise of Brandis quoted in the first-cited note, which (p. 256 sqq.), by a comparison of the *Analytics* with the *Topics*, establishes the earlier date of the latter.

\(^2\) For, on the one hand, it is mentioned in the *Physics* and *De Gen. et Corr.* (vide supra, p. 76, n. 1, p. 124, n. 4); and, on the other, it seems in c. 30 *Post.* to refer to *Anal. Post.* i. 6, 75, a, 18 sqq., 28 sqq.; though the latter point is not certain.

\(^3\) Vide supra, p. 81 sqq., *Ind. Arist.* 102, a, 53 sqq., 98, a, 27 sqq.

\(^4\) Which we cannot, like Blass (*Rein. Mus.* xxx. 498, 505), consider a ‘hypomnematical’ writing, not merely because of the references made to it, but on other grounds also.

\(^5\) *Meteor.* i. 1, whereon cf. further p. 83, n. 1, *Ind. Arist.* 98, a, 44 sqq., and the quotation of the tract Π. Ἐν πολέμοις in the *De Celo*, ii. 2, given p. 125.

\(^6\) That the completion of the *History of Animals* should not be put too early is clear from what has been said on p. 154, n. 4.
times expressly\(^1\) and always by the nature of their contents. Some of these were no doubt composed after or with the writings on the *Parts*, the *Movement*, and the *Genesis of Animals*.\(^2\) That group of tracts is undoubtedly later than the *Natural History*, the *De Anima*, and the treatises which followed upon it.\(^3\)

On the other hand, it is probably earlier than the *Ethics* and *Politics*, inasmuch as it can hardly be supposed that Aristotle would have broken in upon his studies in Natural Philosophy by undertaking extended works lying in a wholly different direction.\(^4\) It would be less difficult to suppose that the ethical writings as a whole came before the physical.\(^5\) This view is not excluded by any express internal references, excepting the reference to the *Physics* in the *Ethics*.\(^6\) We must, nevertheless, decide in favour of the earlier construction of the Natural Philosophy texts, for a thinker who was so clearly convinced as Aristotle was that the student of ethics must have a knowledge of the human soul,\(^7\) must be supposed to have put his inquiry into the soul before his researches into the moral activities and relations. There are, indeed, in the *Ethics* very unmistakable traces of his theory of the soul and of the treatise thereon.\(^8\)

Immediately after the *Ethics*...
comes the *Politics*. Judging by the internal references, the *Rhetoric* should be later than both, and the *Poetics* should be later than the *Politics* but before the *Rhetoric*. This, however, is probably true only of a part of the *Politics*—or rather only of those parts which Aristotle himself published, for his death seems to have intervened before he had completed that text as a whole. So, again, in our so-called *Metaphysics*, we have in all probability a work which Aristotle left incomplete, and with which several other fragments, some genuine, some spurious, have been amalgamated since.

the bulk of the theoretical writings. But that there are not many more of such traces may perhaps be explained by the fact that Aristotle did not wish to interfere with the practical aim of an ethical work (*Eth. i. 1, 1095, a, 4, ii. 2, init.*) by any discussions which were not indispensable to its purpose; cf. i. 13, 1102, a, 23.

1 See p. 100, n. 1.

2 See p. 127 *supra*, and *infra*, ch. xiii. And if this supposition is correct, it would also go to make it improbable that the *Ethics*, so closely allied with the *Politics*, should have been written before the works on natural science.

3 Cf. p. 76 sqq., and with regard to citations of the *Metaphysics*, see p. 156, n. 2. Rose's supposition (*Arist. Libr. Ord. 135 sqq. 186 sq.*) that the *Metaphysics* preceded all the writings on natural science, or at any rate the zoological ones, makes the actual condition of that work an inexplicable puzzle. But there is also the fact that the *Physics*, as well as the *De Calc*, are quoted in numerous passages of the *Metaphysics* (*Ind. Ar. 101, a, 7 sqq.*) as already existing, while the *Metaphysics* are referred to in *Phys. i. 9, 192, a, 35*, as merely in the future.
CHAPTER IV

THE STANDPOINT, METHOD, AND DIVISIONS OF THE
PHILOSOPHY OF ARISTOTLE

As Plato connects directly with Socrates, so Aristotle with Plato. Yet he made a comprehensive use of the earlier philosophies as well. He was better versed than any of the earlier teachers in the theories and writings of his forerunners, and it is with him a favourite method to preface his own inquiries with a retrospect of earlier opinions. He is wont to let them designate the problems to be dealt with. He is eager to refute their errors, to resolve their doubts, to bring out the truth which underlay their views. But the influence of the pre-Socratic systems upon Aristotle is far less apparent in the general structure of his system than it is in the treatment of special points. In principle, Plato had refuted them all. Aristotle is not under the same necessity to distinguish his position accurately from theirs.\(^1\) He does not, at least in any of the extant writings, devote any space to such pro-paideutic efforts as those by which Plato established the claims of philosophy and the true meaning of know-

\(^1\) Even in *Metaph.* i. 8 their principles are merely criticised briefly from an Aristotelian point of view, and the Eleatics and Heraclitus, about whom Plato busied himself so much, are passed over altogether.
ledge, as against 'the ordinary consciousness' on the one hand, and the Sophists on the other. Aristotle presupposes throughout that general point of view which characterised the Socratico-Platonic Philosophy of Ideas. His task is to work out, on these general lines, a more perfect system of knowledge, by a more exact definition of the leading principles, by a stricter accuracy of method, and by an extension and improvement of all the scientific data? It is true that in his own writings the rare expressions of agreement with his teacher are almost lost sight of by comparison with his keen and constant polemic against Platonic views.1 Yet in reality and in the whole his agreement with Plato is far greater than his divergence,2 and his whole system cannot truly be understood until we treat it as a development and evolution of that of Plato and as the completion of that very Philosophy of Ideas which Socrates founded and Plato carried on.

In the first place, he agrees for the most part with Plato in his general views as to the meaning and office of Philosophy itself. To him, as to Plato, the object of

1 We shall deal later on with this polemic, especially as it was directed against the doctrine of Ideas in Metaph. i. 9, xiii., xiv. &c. Only a few passages are found in which Aristotle expressly declares his agreement with Plato. Besides the passages noted on p. 12, and p. 14, n. 4, see Eth. N. i. 2, 1095, a, 32; ii. 2, 1104, b, 11; De An. iii. 4, 429, a, 27; Polit. ii. 6, 1265, a, 10.

2 Cf. also the valuable remarks of STRÜMPPELL, Gesch. d. theor. Phil. d. Gr. 177. Aristotle, as we have shown on p. 14, n. 3, not unfrequently includes himself in the first person along with the rest of the Platonic school. But his way of treating such a relation is the opposite to that of Plato. Whilst Plato puts his own view, even where it contradicts the original one of Socrates, into the mouth of his teacher, Aristotle not unfrequently attacks his teacher even where they agree in the main point, and only differ in opinion as to secondary matters.
Philosophy can be only Being as such,\(^1\) i.e. Essence, or, to speak more accurately, the universal Essence of that which is actual.\(^2\) Philosophy treats solely of the causes and basis of things,\(^3\) and in fact of their highest and most universal basis, or, in the last resort, of that which presupposes nothing.\(^4\) For the like reasons he ascribes to the philosopher in a certain sense a knowledge of everything, thinking, of course, of the point of unity where all knowledge converges.\(^5\) As Plato had distinguished 'knowledge,' as the cognition of that which is Eternal and Necessary,
from Fancy or 'Opinion,' whose sphere is the contingent, so also Aristotle. To him, as to Plato, knowledge arises out of wonder, out of the bewilderment of the common consciousness with itself. To him, its object is exclusively that which is universal and necessary; for the contingent cannot be known, but only opined. It is an opinion, when we believe that a thing might be otherwise; it is knowledge, when we recognize the impossibility of its being otherwise. So far from 'Opinion' and 'Knowledge' being all the same, it is rather true, as Aristotle holds, that it is utterly impossible to know and to opine about the same subject at the same time. So, again, 'Knowledge' cannot consist in Perception, for that tells us only of individual things, not of the universal, only of facts, not of causes. In like manner Aristotle distinguishes 'Knowledge' from mere 'Experience' by the test that the latter gives us in any matter only a 'That,' while the former gives us a 'Why' also: which is the very mark that Plato used to distinguish 'Knowledge' from 'True Opinion.'


2 Anal. Post. i. 33; cf. ibid. c. 6 fin. c. 8, init. c. 30 sqq. Metaph. vii. 15, vi. 2, 1026, b, 2 sqq. Eth. N. vi. 3, 1139, b, 18, c. 6 init. To this line of thought belongs the refutation of the principle, that for everyone that is true which seems true to him, which is dealt with in Metaph. iv. 5, 6, much as it is treated in Plato's Theaetetus.

3 Anal. Post. i. 31: οὐδὲ δὲ αἰσθήσεως ἐστίν ἐπίστασθαι. For perception has always to do with individuals (more on this subject infra). τὸ δὲ καθόλου καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀδύνατον αἰσθάνεσθαι, &c. Even though we could see that the angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles, or that in an eclipse of the moon the earth stands between the sun and the moon, yet this would be no knowledge, so long as the universal reasons of these phenomena remained unknown to us.

4 Metaph. i. 1, 981, a, 28.
Finally, Aristotle is at one with Plato also in this, that both of them proclaim Philosophy to be the mistress of all other sciences, and Science in general to be the highest and best that man can reach, and the most essential element of his happiness.  

Nevertheless, it is also true that the Aristotelian notion of Philosophy does not completely coincide with the Platonic. To Plato, Philosophy, regarded as to its content, is a term which includes all spiritual and moral perfection, and it comprehends therefore the practical as well as the theoretic side; and yet, when regarded as to its essence, he distinguishes it very sharply from every other form of human activity. Aristotle, on the contrary, marks it off more strictly from the practical side of life; while, on the other

1 See Metaph. i. 2, 982, b, 4: ἀρχικοτάτη δὲ τῶν ἑπιστημῶν, καὶ μᾶλλον ἀρχική τής ὑπηρετούσης, ἡ γνωρίζονσα τίνος ἐνεκέν ἐστι πρακτέον ἐκαστον· τούτο δὲ ἐστὶ τάγαθον ἐν ἑκάστοις. But that science is one which investigates the highest reasons and causes, since 'the good' and 'the highest end' are included among these. Ibid. i. 24: δήλον οὖν, ὡς δὲ ὀδιμιαν αὐτὴν ἐποίειν χρείαν ἠτέρων, ἀλλ' ὁσπερ ἄνθρωπος φαμεν ἐλεύθερος ὁ αὐτὸν ἐνεκα καὶ μὴ ἄλλον ὅπερ, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὴ μόνη ἐλευθέρα οὖσα τῶν ἑπιστημῶν· μόνη γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐνεκέν ἐστιν· διὸ καὶ δικαίως ἄν οὐκ ἄνθρωπήν νομίζοιτο αὐτῆς ἡ κτήσις. . . . ἀλλ' οὕστε τὸ θείον φθονερὸν ἐνδέχεται εἶναι, . . . οὕστε τῆς τοιαύτης ἄλλην χρή νομίζειν τιμωτέραν· ἡ γὰρ θεωτάτη καὶ τιμωτάτη . . . ἀγα-καύτεραι μὲν οὖν πᾶσαι ταῦτας, ἀμείωνων δ' οὐδεμία; xii. 7, 1072, b, 24: ἡ θεωρία τὸ ἱδίοντο καὶ ἱδίοντον. In Eth. N. x. 7: 'theoria' is the most essential ingredient of perfect happiness; cf. e.g. 1117, b, 30: εἰ δὴ θείον δὲ νοῦς πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ δὲ κατὰ τούτον βίος θείον πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπων βίον· οὐ χρή δὲ κατὰ τοὺς παραινοιόντας ἄνθρωπα φρονεῖν ἄνθρωπον ὧντα οὐδὲ θυγατέρα τὸν θυμόν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὅσον ἐνδέχεται ἀθανατίζειν καὶ πάντα ποιεῖν πρὸς τὸ ζῆν κατὰ τὸ κράτιστον τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ . . . τὸ οἰκεῖον ἑκάστῳ τῇ φύσει κράτιστον καὶ ἱδίοντον ἔστιν ἑκάστῳ· καὶ τῷ ἄνθρωπῳ δὴ δὲ κατὰ τὸν νοῦς βίον, εἰτέροτο τούτο μᾶλιστα ἄνθρωπος· οὕτως δρὰ καὶ εὐδαιμονεύσωτος; c. 8, 1178, b, 28: ἐρ' ὅσον δὴ διατείνει ἡ θεωρία, καὶ ἡ εὐδαιμονία. Cf. c. 9, 1179, a, 22, Eth. Eud. vii. 15. fin. See further in chapter xii., infra.
hand, he brings it into a closer relation with the experimental sciences. His view is that Philosophy is exclusively an affair of the theoretic faculty. He distinguishes from it very sharply the practical activities (πράξεις), which have their end in that which they produce (not, like Philosophy, in the activity itself), and which belong not purely to thought but also to opinion and the 'unreasoning part of the soul.' He distinguishes also the artistic creative effort (ποίησις) which is likewise directed to something outside itself. ¹ With Experience, on the other hand, he connects Philosophy more closely. Plato had banished all dealings with the sphere of change and becoming out of the realm of 'Knowledge' into that of 'Opinion.' Even as to the passage from the former to the latter, he had only the negative doctrine that the contradictions of opinion and fancy ought to lead us to go further and to pass to the pure treatment of Ideas. Aristotle, as we shall presently see, allows to Experience a more positive relation to Thought. The latter, with him, proceeds out of the former by an affirmative movement—that, namely, in which the data given in Experience are brought together into a unity.

Furthermore, we find that Plato was but little interested in the descent from the treatment of the Idea to the individual things of the world of appearance—the phenomena. To him, the pure Ideas are the one

¹ Besides the passage just given, see Eth. N. vi. 2, c. 5, 1140, a, 28, b, 25; x. 8, 1178, b, 20; vi. 1, 1025, b, 18 sqq.; xi. 7; De An. iii. 10, 433, a, 14; and De Carlo, iii. 7, 306, a, 16. The same is repeated by Eudemus Eth. i 5 fin., and by the author of Metaph. ii. 1, 993, b, 20.
essential object of philosophic knowledge. Aristotle concedes that scientific knowledge has to do only with the universal essence of things; yet he does not stop at that point, for he regards it as the peculiar task of Philosophy to deduce the Individual from the Universal (as in ἀπόδειξις, vide infra). Science has to begin with the Universal, the Indeterminate; but it must pass on to the Determinate.¹ It has to explain the data, the phenomena.² It must not, therefore, think little of anything, however insignificant, for even there inexhaustible treasures of possible knowledge must lie.³ It is for a like reason that Aristotle makes for scientific thought itself rules less strict than Plato’s. He takes

1 Metaph. xiii. 10, 1087, a, 10: τὸ δὲ τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἔλεισα καθόλου πᾶσαν… ἔχει μὲν μάλιστ’ ἀποριάν τῶν λεγόμενων, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ ἐστὶ μὲν ὡς ἄληθες τὸ λεγόμενον, ἔστι δ’ ὡς οὐκ ἄληθες: ἢ γὰρ ἐπιστήμη, ὀστερ καὶ τὸ ἐπιστασθαί, διδόντων, ὅν τὸ μὲν δυνάμει τὸ δὲ ἐνεργεία: ἢ μὲν οὖν δύναμις ὡς ὑλή [τοῦ] καθόλου οὐσία καὶ ἄριστος τοῦ καθόλου καὶ ἀριστοῦ ἐστίν, ἢ δ’ ἐνέργεια ἄριστομεν καὶ ἀρισμένου τοῦτο διὸ οὐσία τοῦτο τινος.

2 Metaph. i. 9, 992, a, 24 (attacking the doctrine of Ideas): ὥς ὃς δὲ ζητοῦσιν τῆς σοφίας περὶ τῶν φανερῶν τὸ αἴτιον, τούτου μὲν εἰδάκαμεν (οὐδὲν γὰρ λέγομεν περὶ τῆς αἰτίας ἢν ἢ ἄρχη τῆς μεταβολῆς) &c. De Celo, iii. 7, 306, a, 16: τέλος δὲ τῆς μὲν ποιητικῆς ἐπιστήμης τὸ ἐργόν, τῆς δὲ φυσικῆς τὸ φαύνομεν ἄει κυρίως κατὰ τὴν αἰσθήσειν. De An. i. 1, 402, a, 16: ἐσκεῖ δ’ οὐ μόνον τὸ τί ἐστι γραφάναι χρήσιμον εἶναι πρὸς τὸ θεωρήσας τὰς αἰτίας τῶν συμβεβηκτῶν ταῖς οὐσίαις… ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνάμαλον τὰς συμβεβηκτὰ συμβάλλεται μέγα μέρος πρὸς τὸ εἰδέναι τὸ τί ἐστιν· ἐπειδὰν γὰρ ἔχωμεν ἀποδοθάναι κατὰ τὴν φαντασίαν περὶ τῶν συμβεβηκτῶν ἢ πάντων ἢ τῶν πλείστων, τότε καὶ περὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἐξερευνήσαμεν καλλίστα: πάσης γὰρ ἀποδείξεως ἀρχὴ τὸ τί ἐστιν, ὅστε καὶ θάνοις τῶν ὁρισμῶν μὴ συμβαίνει τὰ συμβεβηκτὰ γνωρίζειν… δήλων ὦτι διαλεκτικῶς εἴρηται καὶ κενῶς ἀπαντεῖ Cf. c. 5, 409, b, 11 sq.

3 Part. An. i. 5, 645, a, 5: λοιπὸν περὶ τῆς ζωῆς φύσεως εἰπεῖν, μηδὲν παραλιπόντως εἰς δύναμιν μὴτε ἀτιμῶτερον μὴτε τιμίωτερον· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μὴ κεχαρισμένοις αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν αἰσθήσιν κατὰ τὴν θεωρίαν ὁμοίως ἡ δημιουργήσασα φύσις ἀμηχανοῦς ἴδονας παρέχει τοῖς δυναμένοις τὰς αἰτίας γνωρίζειν καὶ φύσις φιλοσόφοις… διὸ δεῖ μὴ δυσχεραίνειν παιδικῶς τὴν περὶ τῶν ἀτιμώτερων ζώων ἐπισκεφθεῖν· ἐν πάσι γὰρ τοῖς φυσικοῖς ἐστὶν τὰ βαθμαστάν, &c. De Celo, ii. 12, 291, b, 25.
the content of ‘Knowledge,’ and of scientific proof, to include not only the Necessary, but also the Usual (τὸ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ). He deems it a sign of philosophic crudity that a man should demand the same logical strictness of all kinds of investigation, when in fact it depends on the nature of the subject matter what amount of exactitude can be attained in each of the sciences. Where coercive proof fails him, he is content

1 Anal. Post. i. 30, iii. 12 fin. Part. An. iii. 2, 663 b, 27. Metaph. vi. 2, 1027, a, 20, xi. 8, 1064 b, sqq. Eth. N. i. 1, 1094 b, 19.

2 Eth. N. i. 1, 1094 b, 11–27, c. 7, 1098 a, 26, ii. 2, 1104 a, 1, vii. 1 fin. ix. 1, 1165 a, 12 (Polit. vii. 7 fin. is not in point here). It is chiefly as regards the ethical discussions that Aristotle here denies the claim they have to a thorough accuracy, because the nature of the subject does not allow of any such result; for in judging of men and the issues of human action, much rests on estimates which are correct only in the main and as a rule.

3 According to Anal. Post. i. 27, that science is more exact (ἀκριβεστέρα), which besides the διότι settles the δὴ, that which has to deal with purely scientific questions, not with their application to some given case (ἡ μὴ καθ' ὑποκειμένου [ἀκριβεστέρα] τῆς καθ' ὑποκειμένου, οἷον ἀριθμητικῆ ἀριθμονικῆς), and lastly that which deduces its results from a smaller number of assumptions (e.g. Arithmetic as compared with Geometry), or in other words the more abstract (ἡ εἰς ἔλαστόνων τῆς ἐκ προσθέσεως, as is also said in Metaph. i. 2, 982 a, 26, the same example being adduced). The latter is thus expressed (Metaph. xiii. 3, 1078 a, 9): ὅσω δὴ ἂν περὶ προτέρων τῷ λόγῳ (that which, according to its notion or nature, is earlier, or stands nearer to the first principles; cf. p. 330 sqq.) καὶ ἀπλουστέρων τοσ- οὐτῳ μᾶλλον ἐχει τάκριβες. From this it naturally follows, that the first philosophy, according to Aristotle, is capable of the greatest accuracy (cf. Metaph. i. 2, 982 a, 25: ἀκριβεσταται δὲ τῶν ἐπιστημῶν αἱ μᾶλλον τῶν πρᾶτων εἰσὶ), and that every other science is capable of so much the less according as it descends more and more to the world of sensible things (cf. ibid. 1078 a, 11 sqq.); for in the latter πολλὴ ἡ τοῦ ἄριστον φύσις ἐνυπάρχει (Metaph. iv. 5, 1010 a, 3; further infra, in ch. vii. sec. 2). Therefore the natural sciences are necessarily less accurate than those which are concerned with what is constant, like the first Philosophy, pure Mathematics, and the doctrine of souls (of which De An. i. 1 init. extols the ἀκριβεία); and those which have the transient as their object are less exact than Astronomy (Metaph. 1078 a, 11 sqq.). ΚΑΜΠΕ (Erkenntnisstheorie d. Ar. 254) says, that in the scale of ἀκριβεία
to put up with arguments possible and probable, and
to postpone a more definite decision until a further
analysis can be had. It is not, however, the essential
problems of philosophy which Aristotle so treats, but
always special questions of ethics or natural philosophy,
for which Plato himself had relaxed the strictness of
his dialectical procedure, and put probability in the
place of scientific proof. The real difference between
them is only this, that Aristotle includes this kindred
branch of knowledge in Philosophy; whereas Plato
insists on treating everything except the pure Science
of Ideas as merely matter of intellectual discourse, or
as a condescension of the philosopher to the pressure of
practical needs. Why, asks Aristotle rightly, should
the man who thirsts after knowledge not seek to learn
at least a little, even where he cannot establish all?

Aristotle cannot be justly accused of having com-
promised the unity of all spiritual effort by dividing
the science of nature takes the lowest place: but this would
rather, as has been said in the preceding note, be true of Ethics
and Politics.

1 De Ccelo, ii. 5, 287, b, 28
sqq. c. 12 init. Gen. An. iii. 10,
760, b, 27, where to a discussion
on the reproduction of bees he
adds the remark: οὐ μὴν εἰληπταί
γε τὰ συμβαίνοντα ικανώς, ἀλλ’ ἐὰν
ποτε ληφθῇ, τότε τῇ αἰσθήσει
μᾶλλον τῶν λόγων πιστευτέον, καὶ
tοῖς λόγοις, εἰκόνις διαλογούμενα
dιεἰκνύωσι τοῖς φαινόμενοις. Η. Αρν.
ix. 37 fin. c. 42, 629, a, 22, 27. №
Metaph. xii. 8, 1073, b, 10 sqq.
1074, a, 15. Meteor. i. 79, init.: περὶ
tῶν ἀφανῶν τῇ αἰσθήσει
νομίζομεν ικανός ἀποδεδείξθαι κατὰ
τὸν λόγον, ἐὰν εἰς τὸ δυνατὸν
ἀναγάγωμεν. Cf. Eucken, Meth.
d. Arist. Forsch. 125 sqq. See
further on this subject in the
next chapter.

2 Rep. vi. 511, b, sq. vii. 519,
c, sqq.; Pl. 173, e; Tim. 29, b, sqq.
and alib. Cf. Zeller, Ph. d. Gr.,
Pt. i. pp. 490, 516, 536 sqq.

3 De Ccelo, ii. 12 init.: περιτέον
λέγειν τὸ φαινόμενον, αἰδοῦς ἢξιαν
ἐναι νομίζοντας τὴν προθυμίαν
μᾶλλον ἢ θράσος (it does not occur
to him that he himself might be
accused rather of an unphilosophi-
cal modesty), ἐτίς διὰ τὸ φιλοσοφίας
dιεύθυν καὶ μικράς εὔπορίας ἀγάπη
περὶ ἄν τὰς μεγίστας ἐξοµέν ἀπορίας.
Cf. ibid. 292, a, 14, c. 5, 287, b, 31
Perl. An. i. 5, 644, b, 31.
off the theoretic from the practical activities.\(^1\) That distinction is undeniably justified to the full; but the note of unity is expressly preserved in Aristotle's treatment by the fact that while he presents Θεωρία as the completion of the true human life, he also represents the practical activity as an indispensable element therein, as a moral upbringing is an indispensable condition precedent of ethical knowledge.\(^2\) If it be true that this shutting back of 'Theory' upon itself, this exclusion from the notion of Philosophy of all practical need and effort (as it becomes apparent, for example, in the Aristotelian sketch of the Divine Life) did in fact prepare the way for the later withdrawal of the Wise Man from practical usefulness, nevertheless we should not overlook the fact that even here Aristotle only followed in the direction indicated before by Plato; for Plato's 'Philosopher' would also, if left to himself, live for 'theory' alone, and only take part in the life of the Republic on compulsion. Least of all can one agree with those who criticise Aristotle because he conceived the office of Philosophy, not from the point of view of an ideal humanly unattainable, but in a way that could be carried out in the actual world,\(^3\) or with those who attack him by praising Plato for distinguishing between the ideal of knowledge and the scientific attainment of men.\(^4\) If such a view of the relation of the ideal to actuality were in itself and in Aristotle's view well founded, it would only follow that he had sought, as

\(^1\) Ritter, *Ges. d. Ph.* iii. 50 sqq.
\(^2\) Besides the passages to be cited *infra*, on the inquiry into the 'highest good,' cf. *Eth. N.* x. 10, 1179, b, 20 sqq. i. 1, 1094, b, 27 sqq.
\(^3\) Ritter, *ibid.* and p. 56 sq.
every philosopher should, not abstract ideals, but the actual essence of things. Even this, however, is less than the truth. To Aristotle the Idea does in truth reach out beyond the phenomena—it is not entirely realised in any individual phenomenal thing, although it is not an unactual ideal even so. Aristotle recognised both sides with equal clearness. He sees that the goal of knowledge is set very high—that it cannot be reached by everyone—that even by the best it can only be imperfectly attained. Yet he is never content to call it wholly unattainable or to limit the demands he makes upon Philosophy (as such) by the weakness of humanity. Indeed, the whole course of this account must have already shown how complete is his real agreement with Plato on just this very point.

In his philosophic method Aristotle likewise follows out in all essentials the lines which Socrates and Plato opened out. His method is the dialectic method, which indeed he himself carried to its highest perfection. With it he combines the observational method of the student of nature; and even though it be true that he does not succeed in getting a true equilibrium between the two, yet the mere fact that he combined them was one of the highest services rendered to philosophy among the Greeks. By that advance he made good the one-sidedness of the Philosophy of Ideas, so far as that was possible without a complete restatement of its principles. As Socrates and Plato always began by asking for the

1 Metaph. i. 2, 982, b, 28, xii. b, 2 sqq., x. 7, 1177, b, 30, c. 8, 7, 1072, b, 24; Eth. N. vi. 7, 1141, 1178, b, 25; cf. ibid. vii, 1,
idea' of each thing they dealt with, and set this kind of cognition as the basis of all other knowledge, so also does Aristotle delight to begin with an inquiry into the 'idea' of whatever his subject for the time being may be. As Socrates and Plato commonly set out on such inquiries with the simplest questions—examples taken from everyday life, commonly accepted beliefs, arguments from uses of words and ways of speech—so too is Aristotle wont to find his starting-point for the definition of such ideas in prevalent opinions, in the views of earlier philosophers, and particularly in the expressions and names which are in common use on the subject and in the meaning of words. Socrates sought to correct the uncertainty of such beginnings by means of a dialectical comparison of various opinions and experiences gathered from all sides. But in Aristotle this process is far more complete and is directed with more explicit consciousness to the scientific ends in view. As a rule, he commences every important inquiry with an accurate investigation as to the various points of view from which the matter in hand can be treated, as to the difficulties and contradictions which arise from the different views that might be taken, and as to the reasons which make for or against each view; and the task which he sets before the philosopher is simply that of finding, by a more accurate definition of the

1 Thus, for instance, in Phys. ii. 1, iii. 1, iv. 1 sqq. iv. 10 sq. the notions of Nature, Motion, Space and Time are investigated; in De An. i. 1 sqq., ii. 1 sq. the notion of the Soul; in Eth. N. ii. 4 sq. the notion of Virtue; in Polit. iii. 1 sqq. the notion of the State, and so on.

2 It will be shown later what significance universal opinion and the probable arguments deduced from it, had with Aristotle as a foundation for induction.
ideas involved, the solution of the difficulties disclosed. 1 Aristotle is thus working in truth wholly on the ground and along the lines of the Socratico-Platonic method of dialectic. He developed the Socratic Induction into a conscious technical device, and he completed it by the theory of the syllogism which he invented and by all the related logical inquiries. In his own writings he has left us a most perfect example of a dialectical investigation carried through with keen and strict fidelity from all sides of the subject. If we did not know it before, we should recognise at once in Aristotle's philosophical method the work of a scholar of Plato.

With this dialectical process he combines at the same time a mastery in all that concerns the observation of facts, and a passion for the physical explanation of them, which are not to be found in Socrates nor in Plato either. To Aristotle the most perfect definition of an idea is that which exhibits the causes of the thing, 2 for

1 On this also more definite information will be given later.

2 De An. ii. 2 init.: ou γὰρ μόνον τὸ ὅτι δεῖ τῶν ὀριστικῶν λόγων δηλών . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐνυπάρχει καὶ ἐμφανεσθαι. νῦν δὲ ὡσπερ συμπεράσμαθ' οἱ λόγοι τῶν ὄρων εἰσιν': οἰον τί ἐστι τε- τραγωνισμὸς; τὸ ἴσον ἐπερμήκει ὁρθογώνιον εἶναι ἵσοπλευρον· ὃ δὲ τοιοῦτος ὄρος λόγος τοῦ συμπεράσματος· ὃ δὲ λέγων ὃτι ἐστίν ὁ τετραγωνισμὸς μέτης εὐβείας, τοῦ πράγματος λέγει τὸ αἴτιον. Anal. Post. ii. 1 sq.: every inquiry deals with four points, the ὅτι, the διότι, the εἴ ἐστι, the τί ἐστιν. These may, however, be reduced to the two questions: εἴ ἐστι μέσον and τί ἐστι, τὸ μέσον· τὸ μὲν γὰρ αἴτιον τὸ μέσον, εν ἀπασί δὲ τοῦτο ζητεῖται. And after quoting some examples: ἐν ἀπασί γὰρ τούτοις φανερὸν ἐστιν ὅτι τὸ αὑτὸ ἐστι τὸ τί ἐστι καὶ διὰ τί ἐστιν, &c. Ibid. c. 3 init. c. 8 init.; ibid. i. 31, 88, a, 5: τὸ δὲ καθῶς τίμων ὅτι δηλοὶ τὸ αἴτιον. Metaph. vi. 1, 1025, b, 17: διὰ τὸ τῆς αὐτῆς εἶναι διανοίας τὸ τε τί ἐστι δῆλον ποιεῖν καὶ εἰ ἐστιν. Ibid. vii. 17, 1041, a, 27: φανερὸν τοῖνυν ὅτι ζητεῖ τὸ αἴτιον· τούτῳ δὲ ἐστι τὸ τί ἡν εἶναι, ὡς εἰπεῖν λογικῶς. δὲ ἐπὶ ἐνόσιν μὲν ἐστὶ τίνος ἐνεκα, . . . εἴ τό ἐνοσί δὲ τί ἐκλήσθῃ πρῶτον. Cf. Anal. Post. ii. 11 init.: ἐπὶ δὲ ἐπιστασθαι οἴομεθα ὅταν εἰδάμεν τὴν αἰτίαν, αἰτίαι δὲ τέταρται . . . πάσαι αὐται διὰ τοῦ μέσου δεικνυνται.
philosophy ought to explain the phenomena.\(^1\) Therefore, in his view (as we shall see presently), it ought to take account not only of the idea and the final cause of a thing, but of the efficient and the material causes also. Holding as decisively as we shall see he does that a thing is to be explained by its own causes, he could not well be content with a method which should look only to the Universal which the 'Idea' gives, and neglect the immediate definiteness of the things themselves.\(^2\) This is the reason of that careful regard for

\(^1\) Vid. supr. p. 167.  
\(^2\) In this sense Aristotle not unfrequently contrasts the logical consideration of a subject (i.e. that which is only concerned with what is universal in its concept), either with the analytical, which enters more deeply into the peculiarity of the given case, (and which he also calls \(\varepsilon\varepsilon\tau\omega\nu\ \kappa\epsilon\mu\varepsilon\nu\alpha\nu\nu\)), or with the physical research which draws its result not from the concept of a phenomenon merely, but from its concrete conditions. The former, for instance, Anal. Post. i. 21 \(\text{fin.}\), c. 23, 34, a, 7, cf. c. 24, 36, a, 22, c, 32, 88, a, 19, 30; Metaph. vii. 4, 1029, b, 12, 1030, a, 25, c. 17, 1041, a, 28. The latter, Phys. iii. 5, 204, b, 4, 10 (cf. a, 34, Metaph. xi. 10, 1066, b, 21), c. 3, 202, a, 21; De Celo, i. 7, 275, b, 12; Metaph. xii. 1, 1069, a, 27, xiv. 1, 1087, b, 20 (similarly \(\varphi\upicsima\kappa\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\upsilon\kappa\omega\) and \(\kappa\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\upsilon\kappa\alpha\beta\lambda\omicron\nu,\ \) De Celo, i. 10 \(\text{fin.}\), c. 12, 283, b, 17). But here he takes the logical to be so much the more imperfect, the further removed it is from the concrete definiteness of the object. Cf. Phys. viii. 8, 264, a, 7: \(\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\digamma\mu\varepsilon\omicron\nu\ \omicron\omicron\nu\)}
facts which has drawn down on him often enough the reproach of an unphilosophic empiricism. He was not only one of the highest speculative thinkers—he was also one of the most accurate and untiring observers, and one of the most erudite men of learning that the world knows. As in his general theory he conceived of experience as the condition precedent of thought, and of perception as the matter out of which thoughts come forth, so in practice he did not fail to provide for his own system a broad substructure of experiential knowledge, and to base his philosophic dicta upon an all-round appreciation of the data of fact. Especially in regard to any theory of nature he insists that we should first know the phenomena and then look about for their causes. We could not, of course, expect to find in him the sureness and accuracy of method which empirical science has in modern times attained. In Aristotle's day it was only in its infancy, and it suffered from the complete lack of the proper aids to observation and of the support of a developed mathematics. We

1 Thus Schleiermacher, Gesch. d. Phil. p. 120, says of Aristotle: 'We cannot deny that there is a great want of speculative genius;' &c., and on p. 110 he contrasts the older Academics with him, as being 'more speculative'; but he sets out with a principle, according to which Aristotle must certainly come off badly: 'Never has one who first went through a great mass of empirical work become a true philosopher.' Thus also Strümpell, Theoret. Phil. d. Gr. 156, who delivers the judgment—which, however, can scarcely be reconciled with his own observations on pp. 184 sqq., and appears to be in every way untenable—that Aristotle's general bent made him 'more suited for the collective comprehension of empirical and historical data, than for the solving of metaphysical difficulties.'

2 Thus Part. An. i. 1, 639, b, 7 sqq., 640, a, 14.; Hist. An. i. 7, 491, a, 9 sq.; Meteor. iii. 2, 371, b, 21; Anal. Pr. i. 30, 46, a, 17 sqq. Aristotle appeals here (as in Part. An. 639, b, 7) especially to the progress of astronomy about which see infra, ch. ix. (middle). Cf. Eucken, Methodic d. Arist., Forsch. 122 sqq.
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also notice that in Aristotle the empirical effort is still too often crossed by the speculative and dialectic methods which he took over directly from Platonism. Indeed, so far as natural science goes, it would be more just to charge him with too little empiricism than too much. But it would be far truer to say simply that he carried both methods as far as could be expected of his day. The science of the Greeks began with speculation. The empirical sciences only attained to any sort of development at a late date, and largely by the efforts of Aristotle himself. Therefore it was natural that the dialectical method of Socrates and Plato, with its logical dissections and connections of ideas, guided by current opinions and the indications of language, should take precedence of any strict empirical rules. Aristotle stood in a close relation to the dialectical movement, and brought it in theory and practice, as we have just said, to completion. It was not to be expected that the art of empirical investigation should find in him an equally complete exponent, and therefore an accurate discrimination between the two methods was as yet far off. That could only come after the fuller development of the empirical sciences and the direct investigation of the theory of knowledge, which the modern centuries have brought to pass. All the greater is the credit due to Aristotle that his wide and direct scientific instinct led him even so soon to turn to the methods of

1 This charge has been made by Bacon, and, since the above was first written, by Lewes (Aristotle, § 91, 97); and, through a one-sidedness not uncommon with him, by Lange, Gesch. d. Mater. i. 61 sqq.
observation and to connect them as well as he then could with the dialectical treatment of ideas.¹

That Aristotle's dialectic had to do with a far more extensive range of empirical data than Plato had to deal with is the reason why Aristotle's methods of exposition are distinguishable at a glance from Plato's by that air of formal logic which they wear. Aristotle does not limit himself to that unfolding of pure ideas which Plato expected of the philosopher,² though his own attempts at it were in truth but rare and partial. The ideal processes are for ever interrupted, in Aristotle, by references to experience, by examinations of ambiguous terms, by criticism of other views. The more extensive is the matter which he has to bring under the yoke of science, the more eager is he to see that every step in his far-reaching investigations should be assured on the one hand by a copious induction, and on the other by a careful observance of the rules of logic. His manner of presenting his work seems often dry and tedious as compared with Plato's; for the texts we now possess yield us but rare examples of that richness and charm for which his writings were praised no less than his master's. We miss wholly the dramatic life, the artistic finish, the fine mythical presentment which make us love the Dialogues.³ But the Corpus Aristotelicum exhibits the peculiar qualities of a philosophic style in so high a degree that we ought not only

¹ For fuller information on the methodological principles of Aristotle and their application, see the next chapter; and Eucken, Die Methode d. Arist. Forschung (1872); cf. especially pp. 29 sqq. 122 sqq. 152 sqq.
² See Zeller's Plato, passim.
³ Cf. p. 106 sq.
not to call him a 'bad writer,' but ought rather to set him in this respect far above his great forerunner. He is accused of 'formalism,' though where the discussion grows more concrete, as in his physics or ethics, this falls away; but it will not be regarded as a blemish by those who remember how needful even in Plato's view this strict logical effort was—how much bewilderment among ideas must have been cured by keen distinctions in the meanings of words—how many fallacies will have been avoided by the exact analysis of the syllogism. Rather has Aristotle done the world immortal service in that he established a fixed basis for all scientific procedure, and won for thought thereby a security whose value to us we only overlook because we have grown too used to it to remember that it is great.

If, again, we endeavour to appreciate, so far as at this point we can, the standpoint and general view of the universe which we can call Aristotelian, we shall find two things. On the one hand, no one can overlook the basis he inherited from Socrates and Plato. Yet, on the other hand, there is an element of originality so notable and so sustained as to make us stigmatise the notion that Aristotle was a kind of dependent follower of Plato who did nothing but formally work up and complete his master's thought, as an error utterly unjust.  

Aristotle adheres not only to the Socratic proposition that Science has to do with the idea of things, but also to the further consequence which takes us into the heart of Plato's system, that that which is truly actual

1 Ritter, iii. 28.

2 Braniss, Gesch. d. Phil.; see Kant, i. 179 sqq. 207 sq.
in a thing is only its essence as thought in the idea of
it, and that all else is 'actual' only in so far as it
partakes of that ideal essentiality. Yet, whereas to
Plato this 'Essential Being' was a thing existing by
itself, which he relegated to a separate ideal world
beyond the world of experience, his follower recognises
the truth that the Idea, as the essence of things, could
not stand separate from the things themselves. There-
fore he seeks to present the Idea, not as a Universal
existing for itself apart, but as a common essence of
things indwelling in the particular things themselves.
In lieu of the negative relation to which the sundering
of ideas and phenomena had led with Plato, he posits
rather the positive relation of each to the other and
their mutual dependence. Therefore he calls the sen-
sible element the Matter, and the insensible essence the
Form. He puts it that it is one and the same Being,
here developed into actuality, there undeveloped and
lying as a mere basis. So it comes that, for him,
Matter must, by an inner necessity, strive upward to
Form, and Form equally must present itself in Matter.
In this transformation of Plato's metaphysic, it is easy
to recognise the realism of the natural philosopher
whose aim is the explanation of the actual. Just this
is his strongest and ever recurrent charge against the
Ideal Theory, that it leaves the world of phenomena,
the things of Becoming and Change, unexplained. For
his own part, he finds the very root-definitions of his
metaphysic in his treatment of those processes wherein
is the secret of all genesis and all change, whether by
nature or by art.
Yet Aristotle, too, is barred from completing his philosophy in these directions by just that dualism of the philosophy of Ideas which he inherited from Plato. Hard as he tries to bring Form and Matter together, still to the last they always remain two principles, of which he can neither deduce one from the other, nor both from a third. Fully as they are worked out through the range of finite things, still the highest entity of all is nothing but the pure Spirit, left outside the world, thinking in itself—as the highest in man is that Reason which enters into him from without, and which never comes into any true unity with the individual side of his being. In this way, Aristotle is at once the perfection and the ending of the Idealism of Socrates and Plato: its perfection, because it is the most thorough effort to carry it throughout the whole realm of actuality and to explain the world of phenomenal things from the standpoint of the 'Idea'; but also its ending, since in it there comes to light the impossibility of ever holding together the Idea and the Phenomenon in any real unity, after we have once posited, in our definition of the ultimate basis of the world, an original opposition between them.

If we follow out the development of these principles in the Aristotelian system, and seek for that purpose to take a general view of the divisions he adopted, we are met at once with the unfortunate difficulty that, neither in his own writings nor in any trustworthy account of his method, is any satisfactory information on that point to be found. If we should trust the later Peripatetics

1 Cf. for what follows: Ritter, iii. 57 sqq.; Brandis, ii. b, 130
and the Neo-Platonic commentators, Aristotle had divided all philosophy into Theoretic and Practical, assigning to the former the office of perfecting the cognitive part of the soul, and to the latter that of perfecting the appetitive. In Theoretic Philosophy, they say, he again distinguished three parts: Physics, Mathematics, and Theology, also called First Philosophy or Metaphysics. Practical Philosophy likewise fell, it is said, into three: Ethics, Economics, and Politics. There are not wanting indications in the Aristotelian writings which serve to support this statement. Aristotle often opposes to each other the theoretical and the practical reason. He distinguishes between inquiries which are directed to Cognition, and those which are directed to Action. Accordingly we find,
at an early date in his School, a division of Science into theoretic and practical.\(^1\) He himself, however, is accustomed to add a third—the 'poietic science'\(^2\)—because he distinguishes ποίησις or production from πράξις or action, both by its source and by its end, saying that the former originates in the artistic faculty, the latter in the will,\(^3\) and that production has its end outside itself in the work to be brought into being, but action has its end in the activity of the

\(^1\) Metaph. ii. (a), 1, 993, b, 19: ἄρθρος δ' ἔχει καὶ τὰ καλείσθαι τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἐπιστήμην τῆς ἀληθείας, θεωρητικὴς μὲν γὰρ (wherein, however, the whole of philosophy is here included) τέλος ἀλήθειας, πρακτικῆς δ' ἐργον. Eth. End. i. 1, 1214, a, 8: πολλὰς δ' ὄντων θεωρημάτων... τά μὲν αὐτῶν συν-τέτειν πρὸς τὸ γνώσει μόνον, τὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰς κτήσεις καὶ περὶ τὰς πράξεις τοῦ πράγματος, ὡσα μὲν οὖν ἔχει φιλοσοφίαν μόνον θεωρητικὴν, &c.

\(^2\) Metaph. vi. 1, 1025, b, 18 sq.: ἡ φυσικὴ ἐπιστήμη... δηλοῦν ὅτι οὔτε πρακτικὴ ἐστὶν οὔτε ποιητικὴ... ὡστε εἰ πάσα διάνοια ἡ πρακτικὴ ἡ ποιητικὴ ἡ θεωρητικὴ, ἡ φυσικὴ θεωρητικὴ τις ἂν εἴη; c. 2, 1026, b, 4 (xi. 7): οὐδεμία γὰρ ἐπιστήμη ἐπιμελεῖ περὶ αὐτοῦ [sc. τοῦ συμβεβηκότος] οὔτε πρακτικὴ οὔτε ποιητικὴ ἡ θεωρητικὴ. The same division of ἐπιστήμη in Top. vi. 6, 145, a, 15; viii. 1, 157, a, 10. Further cf. Eth. N. vi. 3–5, c. 2, 1139, a, 27, x. 8, 1718, b, 20, and on the difference between poietic and theoretic science in De Caelo, iii. 7, 306, a, 16; Metaph. xii. 9, 1075, a, 1, cf. ix. 2, 1046, b, 2, and Bonitz on this passage. Though Aristotle here speaks merely of an ἐπιστήμη (not of a φιλοσοφία πρακτικὴ and ποιη-τικὴ), these passages would justify our using the latter expression, since φιλοσοφία is synonymous with ἐπιστήμη when the latter signifies not merely knowledge in general, but science in the special sense of the term. And since in Metaph. vi. 1 (vid. inf. 183, n. 3) he gives three φιλοσοφίαι θεωρητικαλ, this undoubtedly supposes that there is a non-theoretical, i.e. a practical or poietic philosophy. But one cannot believe that by the latter is meant, not that science which treats of πράξεις and ποιησις (Ethics, Politics, and the science of Art), but the faculty of the πράξεις and ποιησις itself, namely φύσις and τέχνη (WALTER, Lehre v. d. prakt. Vern. 540 sq.). Φιλοσοφία never has this meaning, and even ἐπιστήμη cannot have it in this context. So again since certain branches are distinguished as practical and poietic from Physics, Mathematics and Metaphysics, which are the theoretic sciences, the former must likewise be really sciences. And what other place would be left for Ethics, &c.?

\(^3\) Metaph. vi. 1, 1025, b, 22:
actor.1 The two coincide, however, as opposed to the theoretic activity in this, that they have to do with the determination of that which can be either one way or another, whereas Knowledge has to do with the determination of that which cannot be any otherwise than as it is.2 Aristotle does also speak of three theoretic Sciences, the first concerning things which are movable and corporeal, the second referring to things unmoved though corporeal, the third dealing with that which is incorporeal and unmoved: these being Physics, Mathematics, and the First Philosophy,3 which

τῶν μὲν γὰρ ποιητικῶν ἐν τῷ ποι- 
οῦντι ἢ ἀρχὴ ἢ νοῦς ἢ τέχνη ἢ δύναμίς 
tis, τῶν δὲ πρακτικῶν ἐν τῷ πρά- 
tοντι ἢ πραγματικός. Hence Eth. vi. 
5, 1140, b, 22: in the province of 
art it is better to err voluntarily; 
in that of morals involuntarily.

1 Eth. vi. 4 init.: ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐστὶ 
ποιήσας καὶ πράξεις; c. 5, 1140, 
b, 3: ἄλλο τὸ γένεον πράξεως καὶ 
ποιήσεως . . . τῆς μὲν γὰρ ποιήσεως 
ἐπειδή τὸ τέλος, τῆς δὲ πράξεως οὐκ ἐν 
ἐνεί ἐστι γὰρ αὐτὴ ἢ εὐπροαί 
tέλος. Ibid. i. 1 init.

2 Eth. vi. 3, 1139, b, 18: ἐπιστήμη μὲν ὁ μὲν 
tι ἐστι ἐνευθέν 
φανερὸν . . . πάντες γὰρ ὑπολογι- 
βάνομεν, δ' ἐπιστάμεθα μη ἐνδέχεσθαι 
ἀλλως ἐξειν; c. 4 init.: τούτῳ δ' ἐνε-
χομένῳ ἀλλως ἐξειν ἐστι τι καὶ 
ποιητικὸν καὶ πρακτικὸν, &c. Cf. c. 2, 
1139, a, 2 sqq. De Ceio, iii. 7, 306, 
a: vid. supra. p 167, n. 2; Part. An. 
i. 1, 640, a, 3: ἡ γὰρ ἀρχὴ τοῖς μὲν 
[the theorists] τὸ ὅν, τοῖς δὲ [the 
technicists] τὸ ἐσύμενον.

3 Metaph. vi. 1 (xi. 7) where 
among other things 1026, a, 13: ἢ 
μὲν γὰρ φυσικὴ περὶ ἀκόριστα μὲν 
ἀλλ' οὖς ἀκίνητα, τῆς δὲ μαθημα-
tικῆς ἐνα περὶ ἀκίνητα μὲν οὐ

χωριστὰ δ' ἐσω, ἄλλ' ὡς ἐν ἡλ. ἢ 
de πρώτῃ [sc. φιλοσοφία] καὶ περὶ 
χωριστὰ καὶ ἀκίνητα . . . ὡστε πρεῖ 
ἀν ἐνείοι φιλοσοφίαι θεωρητικαὶ, μαθη-
ματικὴ, φυσικὴ, θεολογικὴ. Simi-
larly xii. 1, 1096, a, 30, c, 6 init.; 
De An. i. 1, 403, b, 7 sqq. About 
the name of the first philosophy, 
cf. also p. 76, supra. As to Mathem-
atics as the science of numbers and 
quantity, and the abstraction 
perticular to it, whereby it does not 
consider a body according to its 
physical properties, but only from 
the point of view of magnitude in 
space, and, in determining num-
ber and quantity, disregards the 
intrinsic condition of that in 
which they occur, see Phys. ii. 2, 
193, b, 31 sqq.; Anal. Post. i. 10, 
76, b, 3, c. 13, 79 a, 7; Anal. 
Pri. i. 41, 49, b, 35; Metaph. xi. 
4, c. 3, 1061, a, 28, vii. 10, 1036, 
a, 9, xiii. 2, 1077, a, 9 to c. 3 fin., 
i. 2, 997, b, 20, ibid. 996, a, 29; 
De An. iii. 7 fin. Detached state-
ments on Mathematics are found 
in many places, e.g. Metaph. i. 2, 
982, a, 26; De Ceio, iii. 1, 299, a, 
15, c. 7, 306, a, 26; De An. i. 1, 
402, b, 16. Cf. BRANDIS, p. 135
he names also Theology, and treats as the pinnacle of all knowledge.  

If, however, we attempt to apply the suggested division to the contents of the Aristotelian books, we

sqq. The contradiction which Ritter, iii. 73 sq., finds in Aristotle, viz. that a sensible substratum is first denied and afterwards attributed to Mathematics, and that its object is now designated as removed, now as not removed, from what is sensible, is partly solved by the distinction of the purely mathematical from the applied sciences, and partly and chiefly by the remark that Aristotle nowhere says that the object of Mathematics is a 

χαριστεῖν, but only that it is considered as such, i.e. by abstracting from its sensible nature; in Metaph. xii. 8, 1073, b, 3, moreover, Astronomy according to the common reading is not called 'the truest philosophy,' but the οἰκειοτάτη, the most important of the mathematical sciences for the discussion in hand; still Bonitz is right in reading: τῆς οἰκειοτάτης φιλοσοφία τῶν μαθηματικῶν ἐπιστημῶν.

1 Metaph. vi. 1, 1026, a, 21 (and almost the same in xi. 7, 1064, b, 1), after what is given in the preceding note: τὴν τιμωτάτην [ἐπιστήμην] δει περὶ τὸ τιμωτάτον γένος εἶναι. (For, as is said in 1064, b, 5: βελτίων καὶ χειρών ἐκατάτη λέγεται κατὰ τὸ οίκειον ἐπιστημῶν.) αἱ μὲν οὖν θεωρητικαὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιστημῶν αἱρετότεραι, αὕτη δὲ τῶν θεωρητικῶν. He discusses at length in Metaph. i. 2, why the first philosophy especially deserves the name σοφία: because, as perceiving the most universal, it gives the most comprehensive knowledge; because it investigates what is most difficult to be known; because the science of the last reasons is the most accurate (ἀκριβέστατη) and gives the most perfect instruction as to causes: because, more than any other, it pursues knowledge for its own sake; and because, as the science of principles, and hence also of final ends, it must govern all others. In Top. viii. 1, 157, a, 9, the following is given as an example of a division: ὁτι ἐπιστήμη ἐπιστήμης βελτίων ἡ τῷ ἀκριβεστέρᾳ εἶναι ἡ τῷ βελτίων. Aristotle in Metaph. xii. 9, 1074, b, 29 sq. also supposes that the value of knowledge is proportioned to that of its object. The universal pre-eminence of the theoretical over the practical and poietic sciences does not, however, rest on this, nor on their greater exactness, for some of them (the zoological and psychological sciences) have no superiority over Ethics in either respect; but primarily on the fact that knowledge is here an end in itself; cf. Metaph. i. 1, 981, b, 17 sqq. 982, a, 1.

2 Thus Ravaission (Essai sur la Méta physique d'Aristote, i. 244 sqq.), who wishes to subdivide theoretical philosophy into Theology, Mathematics and Physics, practical philosophy into Ethics, Economics and Politics, and poietic philosophy into Poetics, Rhetoric and Dialectics.
run at once into manifold troubles. Of all that Aristotle wrote, the only thing which would fall under ‘poietic science’ is the Poetics; for he himself relegates the Rhetoric to another section by indicating that it is a side-branch of Dialectics and Politics,¹ and Dialectics cannot be disconnected from Analytics or Logic.²

If we were to conclude from this difficulty that the division into two groups—theoretic and practical—was preferable to the division into three, we should thereby be cutting ourselves loose from the statements of Aristotle himself. It further appears that in the presentation of his system he took no account of the existence of Mathematics. The one mathematical work to which he gives a reference, and which can with certainty be taken to be genuine—the tract on Astronomy—belongs, according to the classification above indicated, to purposes of Politics; and since the character of a science depends on its purpose, he includes it in the practical section. Hence, although in itself an artistic science, and designated as such by Aristotle (e.g. Rhet. i. 1354, a, 11 sq. b, 21, 1355, a, 4, 33, b, 11, c. 2, 1356, b, 26 sqq.; rhetorical theories are also called τέχναι, cf. supra, p. 72, 2, 73, 1), still he does not seem to give Rhetoric an independent place in the system, as Brandis does (ii. b, 147), and still more decidedly Döring (Kunstl. d. Arist. 78).

¹ Rhet. i. 2, 1356, a, 25: ἢστε συμβαλλει τὴν βιοτικὴν οὐν παραφές τι τῆς διαλεκτικῆς εἶναι καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ ἁπὸ πραγματέας, ἦν δικαῖον ἢστι προαγορεύειν πολιτικῆς. c. 3, 1358, b, 8: ὅπερ γὰρ καὶ πρότερον εἰρήκουσα τυγχάνομεν ἀλλήλας ἢστιν, ὦτι ἡ διαλεκτικὴ σύγκειται μὲν ἐκ τε τῆς ἀναλυτικῆς ἐπιστήμης καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ ἁπὸ πολιτικῆς, ὥμωα δ᾽ ἢστι τὰ μὲν τῇ διαλεκτικῇ τὰ δὲ τοῖς σοφιστικοῖς λόγοις. Eth. i. 1, 1094, b, 2: ὅραμεν δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐντυπωσάς τῶν δυνάμεων ὑπὸ τὰτήν [τὴν πολιτικὴν] ὅσα, οὐν στρατηγικὴν, οἰκονομικὴν, βιοτικὴν ἡχώμεναι δὲ τάς τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν πρακτικῶν ἐπιστημῶν, &c. These expressions seem to have a direct reference to the passage cited from the Rhetoric. Aristotle sees in it an application of Dialectics for the ² So in Top. i. 1 init. c. 2, it is plainly designated as an auxiliary science to philosophy in general, and especially to the theoretical investigations.
Physics. Of the others, they are either of doubtful authenticity or, in any case, the absence of any references leaves us to suspect that these were not considered an essential part of the connected exposition of his system.¹ The Physics, again, is spoken of as the 'second,'² not the third, philosophy—as if there were no thought of Mathematics standing between it and the 'First Philosophy:' and Aristotle himself refers the Mathematical Axioms to the 'First Philosophy.'³

As regards Practical Philosophy, Aristotle does not divide it into Ethics, Economics and Politics⁴—like the later commentators⁵ who were misled in that matter by the spurious Economics. He distinguishes in the first place⁶ the main Ethical Science—which he desires to call 'Politics'⁷—from the auxiliary sciences of Economics, Military Tactics, and Rhetoric⁸: and then in 'Politics' he distinguishes that section which treats of

¹ About these writings cf. p. 86, n. 1, supra.
² Metaph. vii. 11, 1037, a, 14: τῆς φυσικῆς καὶ δεύτερας φιλοσοφίας.
³ Metaph. iv. 3 init. (xi. 4).
⁴ Aristotle in Eth. vi. 9, 1142, a, 9, besides φρόνησις which relates to individual action, certainly names οἰκονομία and πολιτεία also; but in 1141, b, 31 he has divided Politics (i.e. the science of the life in society with the exclusion of Ethics) into οἰκονομία, νομοθεσία, πολιτική, so that, according to this, Economics forms a part of Politics. Still more definitely Eudemus in Eth. Eud. i. 8, 1218, b, 13, combines the πολιτικὴ καὶ οἰκονομικὴ καὶ φρόνησις as the three parts of practical science; this division must consequently belong to the oldest Peripatetics.
⁵ With whom, besides Ravaisson, Ritter, iii. 302, also agrees.
⁶ Eth. i. 1, 1094, a, 18 sqq., vi. 9, 1141, b, 23 sqq.
⁷ Eth. i. 1, ibid., and 1095, a, 2. i. 2 init. and fin., ii. 2, 1105, a, 12, vii. 12 init., cf. i. 13, 1102, a, 23. Rhet. i. 2, 3, vid. supr. p. 185, n. 1.
⁸ Eth. i. 1, 1094, b, 2; Rhet. i. 2, 1356, a, 25. Also in the first book of the Politics, Economics, as far as Aristotle has treated the subject, is taken to belong to the science of the State.
the moral action of the individual from that which treats of the State.\(^1\)

It is also important to remember that in the above division, whether we take it to be twofold or threefold, there is no place for Logic. The later Peripatetics get over this difficulty by the theory—which is a point of controversy between them and the Stoics—that Logic is not a part of Philosophy, but only an instrument for it.\(^2\) Aristotle himself never hints at this distinction,\(^3\) although he does, of course, treat Logic as a Methodology.\(^4\) Nor will the suggestion help us much; for since Aristotle had worked out his Logic with such scientific care, it must have had some definite place in his system.\(^5\) The only conclusion is that the scheme of subdivision, which we deduce from the above-quoted remarks of Aristotle, seems to be in part too wide and in part too narrow for the matter which his books contain.

A different subdivision of the system might be built
on the other remark, that all propositions and problems are either ethical, physical, or logical. Under the logical head, however, Aristotle here comprehends both formal Logic and the First Philosophy or Metaphysics, and this alone would prove that he could not here have meant to indicate a scheme for the presentation of his system, in which these two departments are kept so obviously distinct.

If, then, we are forced to give up the attempt to find in his own isolated remarks any key to the plan of his work which corresponds with the construction itself, nothing remains but to gather from the actual work as we have it, the method of the work he designed. Abstracting from those of his writings which are intended only as preliminary essays, or devoted to historical materials or collections concerning natural history, or taken up with philosophic criticism, we distinguish among Aristotle's writings four main masses. These are his investigations of Logic, of Metaphysics, of Natural History, and of Ethics. A fifth would be the

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1 *Top.* i. 14, 104, b, 19: ἐστὶ δὲ ὡς τύπῳ περιλαβεῖν τῶν προτάσεων καὶ τῶν προβλημάτων μέρη τρία, αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἡθικαὶ προτάσεις εἰσίν, αἱ δὲ λογικαὶ . . . . ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ ποθενματα . . . πρὸς μὲν οὖν φιλοσοφίαν καὶ ἀληθείαν περὶ αὐτῶν πραγματευτέον, διαλεκτικῶς δὲ πρὸς δόξαν. It is of no importance as against this, that, in dealing with the difference between knowledge and representation, Aristotle remarks in *Anal. Post.* i. 33 fin.: τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ποὺ δὲ διανεῖμαι ἐπὶ τε διανοίας καὶ νου καὶ ἐπιστήμης καὶ τέχνης καὶ φρονήσεως καὶ σοφίας τὰ μὲν φυσικῆς τὰ δὲ ἡθικῆς θεωρίας μᾶλλον ἐστίν.

2 As an instance of logical propositions *Top.* ubi sup. mentions the principle, which belongs equally to Methodology or Analytics and to Metaphysics (cf. *Metaph.* iv. 2, 1004, a, 9 sqq., 1005, a, 2), that opposites fall under the same science. Again, in the instances given on p. 174, n. 2, *sýnrap, λογικὸς* at one time stands for logical, at another for metaphysical inquiries; for the latter also in *Eth. Eud.* i. 8, 1217, b, 16.
Philosophy of Art, except that Aristotle did not work out any part of it except the Poetics. He seems to have forgotten to deduce these various branches of work from the idea and problem of philosophy as a whole, or to reduce them to any simpler plan of division. Of these five, the section of Logic and Methodology ought to come first, not only in the time order of the important texts, but also in the order of exposition—for Aristotle himself describes it as a propaideutic for all other inquiries. After the investigation of scientific method, the ‘First Philosophy’ must come. For, although the connected exposition of it belongs in time to the close of Aristotle’s work, nevertheless it contains the key to the philosophical understanding of the Physics and the Ethics, and it is from it we must obtain all the definitions, without which we could take not a step in either of these sciences—such as the definitions of the Four Causes, of Form and Matter, of the different senses of Being, of Substance and Accident, of the Mover and the Moved, &c. The very

1 See supra, p. 156 seq.
2 Metaph. iv. 3, 1005, b, 2: διὰ δ’ ἐγχειροῦσι τῶν λεγόντων τινές περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, ὅπι τρόπον δεὶ ἀποδείκθαι, δι’ ἀπαντησίαν τῶν ἀναλυτικῶν τοῦτο δρῶσιν: δεὶ γὰρ περὶ τούτων ἥκείν προεπισταμένους, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀκούονται ζητεῖν. It is much the same for the question in hand, whether the τούτων is referred to ἀναλυτικῶν, or more correctly to the investigations indicated in the words περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας &c., since from the nature of the thing it comes to the same, whether he says, ‘One must be acquainted with Analytics,’ or ‘One must be acquainted with what Analytics has to discuss.’ Inadmissible, on the other hand, is Prantl’s explanation (Gesch. d. Log. i. 137), which refers the τούτων, not to the words with which it is immediately connected, but to the διάφωματα, about which Aristotle has spoken above. As a consequence of this translation, Prantl thinks it monstrous that this passage should be used as a proof of the precedence of the Analytics.
3 Vid. supr. p. 76 sqq., and p. 160, n.
name of the 'First Philosophy' expresses the fact that in the logical order it precedes all other material investigations, as being concerned with the discussion of the most universal of all presuppositions.¹ The *Physics* follow on after the 'First Philosophy,' and the *Ethics* follow the *Physics*, because the latter is presupposed in the former.² The *Rhetoric* must be taken as belonging to *Ethics*.³ The philosophy of Art, on the other hand, forms a section by itself, which is not brought into any definite connection with the rest. We can only treat it, therefore, as an appendix. To a like position we must relegate also Aristotle's occasional utterances as to Religion—for a Philosophy of Religion, in the true sense, was not within his view.

¹ Still more plainly than by the superlative πρώτη φιλοσοφία is this shown by the comparative: φιλοσοφία προτέρα (φυσικής, μαθημα-
² *Metaph.* vi. 1, 1026, a, 13, τικής), *Gen. et Corr.* i. 318, a, 5,
³ *Vul. supra,* p. 159.
³ *See supra,* p. 185, n. 1.
CHAPTER V
LOGIC

From of old, Aristotle has been renowned as the founder of Logic, and he has deserved his fame. We must not, however, overlook the fact that he treated Logic, not as an independent science, but only from the point of view of Methodology, as the ‘technique’ of his philosophic investigations. In dealing with it, therefore, he does not contemplate by any means a full and uniform account of the powers of thought as a whole, but rather a simple inquiry into the forms and laws of scientific proof. Of the first half of his Logic—the Topics—he admits this himself. Of the other and more important section—the Analytics—it follows partly from single references which assign to it the place of a Propaideutic of Science, partly from the analogy of the Topics aforesaid, but more especially from the whole treatment of the subject. Of the two Analytics, the logical masterpieces of Aristotle, the first is concerned with Syllogisms, the second with the laws of Proof. Only in connection with these investigations, and only in so

1 Top. i. 1 init. ὑ μὲν πρώτεσις τῆς πραγματείας μέθοδον εὑρεῖν, ἢ ὃς ἐνυπήκοος περί παντός τοῦ προτεθέντος προβλήματος ἐξ ἐνδόξων καὶ αὐτῶι λόγων ὑπέχοντες μηθέν ἐροῦμεν ὑπενάντιον. Cf. c. 2. c. 3: ἐξομεν δὲ τελέως τὴν μέθοδον, ὅταν δυσλογος ἐξωμεν ὑσπερ ἐπὶ ἰμητορικῆς καὶ ἰατρικῆς καὶ τῶν τοιούτων δυνάμεων τούτο δ' ἐστι τῷ ἐκ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων ποιεῖν & προαροπομεωθα.
2 Vid. supra, p. 189, n. 2.
3 The common theme of both
far as may be necessary thereto, did he stay to consider the theory of Propositions. It was not until a later period, (if at all) that he extended these hints into a separate treatise in the Περὶ ἐρμηνείας. In the same way, it is from the consideration of the Syllogism that he is led to the logical treatment of Notions. He touches on Definition in the Analytics, merely as a matter connected with Proof; and, in fact, the logical properties of Notions as a whole are only taken up as incidental to the Syllogism. The theory of the Categories, on the other hand, belongs more to Metaphysics than to Logic, because it is not deduced from the logical form of the Notion as such, or from the process of thought involved in its construction, but is derived rather from the natural division of those real relations, to which the Categories, according to their content, are referred. The very name of 'Analytica' indicates that in the

is thus designated in Anal. Pri. init.: πρῶτων μὲν εἰπεῖν περὶ τί καὶ τίνος ἐστὶν ἡ σκέψις, ὡς περὶ ἀποδείξειν καὶ ἑπιστήμης ἀποδεικτικῆς. Likewise at end of Anal. Post. ii. 19 init.: περὶ μὲν ὁν τυλλογισμοῖ καὶ ἀποδείξεως, τι τε ἐκάτερον ἐστὶ καὶ πῶς γίνεται, φαινον, ἀμα δὲ καὶ περὶ ἑπιστήμης ἀποδεικτικῆς τοῦτον γὰρ ἐστιν.

1 Anal. Pri. i. 1-3. Anal. Post. i. 2, 72, b, 7.
2 Vid. supr. p. 66, n. 1.
3 Anal. Post. ii. 3 sqq. and cf. especially c. 10.
4 The little that has to be mentioned with regard to this will be adduced later. The definition of the ὁρός in Anal. Pri. i. 1, 24, b, 16 alone shows (ὁρὸς δὲ καὶ ὁ ἐς ῃν διαλύεται ἡ πρῶταισιν) that Aristotle is going by an analytical method, and just as he proceeds from syllogisms to propositions, so in like manner he passes from propositions to notions. Both are merely considered as factors in the syllogism.

5 Some other writings on Concepts, which were mentioned on p. 70, supra, seem to have had a purely logical character; but probably not one of them was the work of Aristotle.

6 Aristotle not only calls both the principal logical writings Ἀναλυτικά (see p. 67, n. 1), but (vid. supr. p. 189, n. 2, and p. 185, n. 1) he uses the same designation for the science of which they treat.
investigations which we should class under ‘Formal Logic,’ Aristotle was chiefly concerned to determine the conditions of scientific procedure, and especially of scientific processes of proof.¹

Socrates had revealed the method of forming Conceptions; Plato had added that of Division; Aristotle was the discoverer of the theory of Proof. This is to him so clearly the one important point, that he resolves into it the whole science of Methodology. It follows, then, that when the later Peripatetics described Logic² as an ‘instrument’ of philosophy,³ and when accordingly the logical writings of Aristotle were in the end published together under the name of the ‘Organon,’⁴ this was in no way contrary to the

¹ ἀνάλυειν means to reduce a given thing to the parts of which it is composed, or to investigate the conditions through which it is brought about. In this sense Aristotle uses ἀνάλυσις and ἀναλύειν regularly for the reduction of syllogisms to the three figures, e.g. Anal. Pri. 1. 32 init.: εἰ ... τοὺς γεγενημένους [συνισχισμοὺς] ἀναλύομεν εἰς τὰ προειρημένα σχῆματα, for which was written immediately before: πῶς δ’ ἀνάλυομεν τοὺς συνισχισμοὺς εἰς τὰ προειρημένα σχῆματα. Cf. Bonitz, Ind. Arist. 48, b, 16. And since every investigation consists in tracing out the component parts and conditions of that with which it is concerned, ἀναλύειν together with ζητεῖν stands for ‘investigate.’ Thus Eth. Ξ. iii. 5, 1112, b, 15: (βουλεύεται ... οὐδεὶς περὶ τοῦ τέλους’) ἀλλὰ θέμενοι τέλος τι, πῶς καὶ διὰ τίνων ἔσται σκοποῦσι. ... ἐως ἐν ἐλθωσιν ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον αἰτίον, ὃ ἐν τῇ εὑρέσει εἰσχατόν ἔστων· ὃ γὰρ βουλευόμενος ίσως ζητεῖν καὶ ἀναλύειν τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον ὅπερ διάγραμμα. φανεται δ’ ἂν μὲν ζῆσθαι οὗ πάσα εἰναι βούλευσιν, οἷον αἱ μαθηματικαί, ἡ δὲ βούλευσις πᾶσα ζήσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἐσχατον ἐν τῇ ἀναλύει πρῶτον εἶναι ἐν τῇ γενέσει. (Cf. Trendelenburg, Elem. Log. Arist. p. 47 sq.) The ἀναλυτικὴ ἐπιστήμη (Bihet. i. 4, 1359, b, 10) designates accordingly the art of scientific inquiry, or the introduction to it, which is scientific methodology; and similarly τὰ ἀναλυτικὰ means ‘that which deals with scientific inquiry,’ i.e. the theory of it: as in Metaph. iv. 3, 1005, b, 2.

² On this designation, proved to have existed since the time of Cicero, cf. Prantl, Gesch. d. Log. i. 514, 27, 535.

³ Vid. supr. p. 187, n. 2.

⁴ This name is not used by any of the Greek commentators.
Master's own view. The further theory that Logic, as being the 'Organon' of philosophy, could not be also a part of philosophy, he would hardly have approved.

In order rightly to comprehend this Science of Method, it will first be necessary for us to go more closely into Aristotle's views concerning the nature and origin of Knowledge. For it is the conception of Knowledge which determines the aim and the direction of the procedure of Science; and the natural development of Knowledge in the mind of man must point the way for its systematic development in Science also.

All Knowledge relates to the Essence of Things—to the Universal properties which remain identical with themselves in all individual things, and to the Causes of all that is actual. Conversely, however, it is true that the Universal is only to be known through till the sixth century, as applied to the writings; it only came to this use later (cf. WATTZ, Arist. Org. ii. 293 sq.). On the other hand, the texts are, before that time, called by them ὁργανικά, because they refer to the ὁργανόν (or ὁργανικὸν μέρος) φιλοσοφίας; cf. SIMPL. in Cat. Schol. 36, a, 7, 15; DAVID, ibid. 25, a, 3.

1 PRANTL, Gesch. d. Log. i. 136, is in this respect unreasonable, when he denounces 'the school-masters of later antiquity,' who, 'infected with the folly of the Stoic philosophy,' wished at any price to represent Logic as the tool of knowledge. This is really the position and meaning which Aristotle gives it. The theory that in the same sense as Physics and Ethics it has its own end in itself and its own object, or that it is meant to be a philosophically established presentation of the activity of human thought and nothing else (ibid. p. 138 sq.), is a supposition which can neither be proved from any definite statements of Aristotle, nor from the construction of his logical writings. The 'real-metaphysical side of the Aristotelian logic,' however, need not on this account be disregarded. Even if it is regarded as the Science of Method, it may have its foundations in Metaphysics; and even though it precede the latter, yet it may become necessary, in the end, to reduce it to metaphysical principles.

2 Vid. supr. p. 187, n. 2.

3 Vid. supr. pp. 163 sq., 173 sq.
the Individuals, the Essence only through Appearances, the Causes only through their Effects. This follows in part from Aristotle’s metaphysical propositions about the relation of the individual to the universal, which will meet us hereafter; for if it is individual existence alone which can be called originally actual—if the Universals exist, not independently as ‘Ideas’ but only in attachment to individual things as ‘properties’—it follows that the experiential knowledge of Individuals must necessarily precede the scientific knowledge of Universals.1 Quite as directly, to Aristotle, will the same conclusion follow from the nature of man’s powers of knowledge. For while he unhesitatingly admits that the soul must bear within itself the ground-principle of its knowledge, he is equally positive that it is not possible to attain any real knowledge except by means of experience. All learning presupposes, of course, some present knowledge, to which it joins on.2 Out of this axiom there arises the doubt, which had given the earlier thinkers so much trouble,3 about the possibility of learning at all. For either, as it seems, we

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1 Aristotle himself points out this connection of his doctrine of perception with his metaphysics in De An. iii. 8, 432, a, 2: ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐθέντα πράγμα ἀνθέν ἐστι παρὰ τὰ μεγεθή, ὡς δοκεῖ, τὰ αἰσθητὰ κεχωρισμέναν, ἐν τοῖς εἶδει τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς τὰ νοητά ἐστι (cf. c. 4, 430, a, 6: ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐξουσιω ὑλὴν δυνάμει ἐκαστόν ἐστι τῶν νοητῶν) τὰ τε ἐν αφαιρέσει λεγόμενα [abstract notions] καὶ οὐκ αὐτὸν αἰσθητῶν ἐξεις καὶ πάθη, καὶ διὰ τούτου οὔτε μὴ αἴσθημαν μὴθέν ὁμοίων ἐν μάθου αὐθέν ἐξουσία ὑπανέγειρεν τε θεωρή, ἀνάγκη ἀμα φαντασμά τι θεωρεῖν· τὰ γὰρ φαντάσματα ὧσπερ αἰσθήματα ἐστὶ, πλην ἀνεύ ὑλῆς.

2 Anal. Post. i. init: πᾶσα διδασκαλία καὶ πᾶσα μάθησις διανοητικὴ ἐκ πρωταρχοῦσης γίνεται γνώσεως—which he immediately proceeds to prove as to the different sciences, both as regards syllogistic and inductive proof. The like in Metaph. i. 9, 992, b, 30; Eth. vi. 3, 1139, b, 26.

3 See ZELL., Ph. d. Gr. pt. i. 996, and pt. ii. a, 696.
must already be possessed of that knowledge from which all the rest is to be deduced—which is not in fact true—or else we have still to acquire it, in which case the said axiom does not hold for that which is the highest knowledge of all. It was this difficulty that Plato sought to avoid by his doctrine of 'Anamnesis'—the latent recollection of a prior knowledge. But apart from all the other objections which he finds to lie against the pre-existence of the soul, Aristotle is unable to reconcile himself with this theory, because it seems to him unthinkable that we should have in us a knowledge without knowing it; not to speak of all the various absurdities to which a closer analysis of the notion of the existence of the Ideas in the soul would obviously lead. His solution lies rather in that conception by means of which he has answered so many of the questions of metaphysics and natural philosophy—in the notion of 'Development'—in the distinction between the groundwork of potentiality and the completed actuality. The soul, he says, must certainly bear within itself in some sense its knowledge. For if even our Sense Perception

1 Anal. Post. ii. 19, 99, b, 20: Every knowledge by argument supposes acquaintance with the highest principles (the ἀρχαί ἀμεσου, vid. inf.): τὸν δ’ ἀμεσων τὴν γνώσιν . . . διαπορθήσειν ἰν τις . . . καὶ πότερον οὐκ ἐνοῦσαι αἱ εἴσεις [the γνώσεις of the ἀρχαί] ἐγγραφόνται ἢ ἐνοῦσαι λεξίβασιν. εἰ μὲν δὴ ἐξομεν αἰτός, ἀτοποι· συμβαίνει γὰρ ἀκριβεστέρας ἐχοντας γνώσεις ἀποδείξεως λαμβάνειν. εἰ δὲ λαμβάνομεν μὴ ἐξοντες πρότερον, πῶς ἢ γνωρίζομεν καὶ μανθάσωμεν ἐκ μη προς παρχοῦσης γνώσεως· ἀδύνατον γὰρ . . . φανερῶν τοῖνυν, δι’ οὐτ’ ἐχειν οἶδ’ τε, οὐτ’ ἀγνοοῦτι καὶ μηδεμιαν ἐχονσιν ἔξειν ἐγγίνοσθαι.
2 Cf. the section as to the relation of soul and body, infra, ch. x. init.
3 Anal. Post. loc. cit., and Metaph. i. 9, 992, b, 33.
4 Top. ii. 7, 113, a, 25: if ideas were in us they would have also to move with us, &c. Still Aristotle himself would scarcely have laid much stress on this merely dialectical line of attack.
is to be regarded, not as a passive reception of things given, but rather as an activity for which such reception is the occasion,¹ then the same must à fortiori be true of Thought,² which has no outward object at all. Because our pure thought is not different from the things thought,³ therefore there lies in its nature as such the possibility of knowing with an immediate knowledge those highest principles, which are presupposed by all derivative and mediate knowledge as its condition and starting-point.⁴ So far, then, the soul may be de-

¹ De An. ii. 5, 417, b, 2 sqq. Aristotle here says that neither consciousness nor thought ought to be called a πάσχειν and an ἀλλοιώσις, unless we distinguish two kinds of suffering and change: τὴν τε ἐπὶ τὰς στέρησικὰς διαβέβαιεις μεταβολὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὰς ἔξεις καὶ τὴν φύσιν. Similarly in iii. 5, 429, b, 22 sqq., iii. 7, 431, a, 5.

² De An. ii. 417, b, 18: καὶ τὸ κατ' ἑνέργειαν [αισθάνεσθαι] δὲ ὀμολογεῖ διάστημα τῷ θεωρῆν διαφέρει δὲ, ὡς τοῦ μὲν τὰ ποιητικὰ τῆς ἑνέργειας ἔξεις, τὸ δρατόν εtc. αὐτῶν δὲ ὡς τῶν καθ' ἑκαστὸν καὶ τῇ ἑνέργειαν αἰσθήσις, ἡ δ' ἑπιστήμη τῶν καθόλου· ταῦτα δ' ἐν αὐτῇ πῶς ἦστι τῇ ψυχῇ, διὸ νοῆσαι μὲν ἐπὶ αὐτῷ ὅταν βούληται, αἰσθάνεσθαι δ' ὁνὴ ἐπὶ αὐτῷ· ἀναγκαίον γὰρ ὑπάρχειν τὸ αἰσθήσιν.

³ De An. iii. at 430, a, 2 (following the passage to be cited presently on p. 199, n. 2), he says: 192, 3: καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ [ὁ νοῦς] νοητός ἔστιν ὡσπερ τὰ νοητὰ. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄνωθεν θαυμάσια τὸ αὐτὸ ἐστὶ τὸ νοητὸν καὶ τὸ νοούμενον· ἡ γὰρ ἑπιστήμη ἡ θεωρητικὴ καὶ τὸ ὁμοίως ἐπιστήμην τὸ αὐτὸ ἔστιν. Ibid. iii. 7 init.: τὸ δ' αὐτὸ ἐστὶν ἡ κατ' ἑνέργειαν ἑπιστήμη τῷ πράγματι. Metaph. xii. 7, 1074, b, 38: ἡ ἐπ' ἐνίων ἡ ἑπιστήμη τὸ πράγμα; ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ποιητικῶν ἄνωθεν ἡ νοητία καὶ τὸ τι ᾗν ἐστιν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν θεωρητικῶν ὁ λόγος τὸ πράγμα καὶ ἡ νοητία.

⁴ Anal. Post. ii. 19, 100, b, 8: ἐπὶ δὲ . . . οὐδὲν ἑπιστήμην ἀκριβείστερον ἄλλο γένος ἡ νοῦς, αἰ δ' ἄρχαὶ τῶν ἀποδείξεως γνωριμώτεραι, ἑπιστήμη δ' ἀπασα μετὰ λόγου ἔστι, τῶν ἄρχων ἑπιστήμη μὲν οὐκ ἄν ἔσται, ἐπὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἀληθεύστερον ἐνδεχέσται εἶναι ἑπιστήμης ἡ νοῦς, νοῦς ἄν ἐν ἔτω τῶν ἄρχων . . . εἰ οὖν μηδὲν ἄλλο παρ' ἑπιστήμην γένος ἐξόμοι ἀληθὲς, νοῦς ἄλλω ἐπίστημης ἄρχη. Eth. vi. 6: τῆς ἄρχης τοῦ ἑπιστητοῦ οὔτε ἐν ἑπιστήμῃ εἰ ἐνθε τέχνη ὀδύτε φρόνησις . . . λειτοπτεῖ νοῦν εἶναι τῶν ἄρχων. c. 7, 1141, a, 17, b, 2, c. 9, 1142, a, 25: ὅ μὲν γὰρ νοὺς τῶν ὕψων, ἄν οὔκ ἔστι λόγος. c. 12, 1143, a, 35 (with which cf. Trendelenburg, Histor. Beitr. ii. 375 sqq.; Walter, Die Lehre v. d. prakt. Vernunft, etc., 38 sqq.): ὁ νοῦς τῶν ἐσχάτων ἐπὶ ἀμφότερα· καὶ γὰρ τῶν πρῶτων ὄρων καὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων νοῦς ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ λόγος, καὶ δ' μὲν κατὰ τὰ ἀποδείξεις τῶν ἀκινήτων ὄρων καὶ πρῶτων, δ' ἐν ταῖς πρακτικῶς τοῦ ἐσχάτου καὶ ἐνδεχόμενου etc. (More will be
scribed as the 'place of the Ideas,' and it may be said of the faculty of Thought that it is in itself all that is

said as to the latter, in ch. xi. and xii. infra.) This recognition of principles is an immediate knowledge (άμεσον), for the root principles of all argument cannot, in their turn, be proved: (cf. Anal. Post. i. 2, 3, 72, a, 7, b, 18 sqq. c, 22, 84, a, 30; ii. 9 init. c. 10, 94, a, 9; and Metaph. iv. 4, 1006, a, 6, 1011, a, 13; more fully later). But on this very account it is always true. For error only consists in a false conjunction of perceptions, and hence arises only in the Proposition by reason of the conjunction of the Predicate with a Subject (Categ. 4 fin.; De Interpr. i. 16, a, 12; De An. iii. 8, 432, a, 11): immediate knowledge, on the other hand, is concerned with pure conceptions relating to no subject distinct from themselves, which we can only know or not know, but as to which we cannot be deceived; De An. iii. 6 init.: ή μεν ουν των διαμετέρων νόσησι εν τούτοις περι η ουκ έστι τo ψεύδος: εν ους δι κα τo ψεύδος κατo τo άληθες, σύνθεσις τoς ήδη νομισμάτων ως ευτυχος; and ibid. at the end: εστι δ' η μεν φάσις τι κατά τινος άσπερ ή καταφάσις, καθ' άληθής ή ψεύδης πάσα. Ο δε νούς ου πας, άλλα το τι έστι κατά τo τi ήν είναι άληθής, καθ' ου τι κατά τινος· άλλ' άσπερ τo δράξι του ιδίου άληθες, εί δ' άνθρωπος τo λευκόν ή μη, ουκ άληθες δει, ούτως έχει ουα άνω δύνης. Metaph. ix. 10: επει δε· τo · τo · τo των πραγμάτων έστι τo συγκείσια ή διηγηθαι· πότε έστι η ουκ έστι τo άληθες λεγώμενον ή ψεύδος. . . . περι δε δη τα άστονθεσα τι τo είναι ή μη είναι κατo τo άληθες κατo τo ψεύδος; . . . ή άσπερ οιδε τo άληθες επι τοιοτων τo αυτo, ούτως οιδε τo είναι, άλλ' έστι τo μεν άληθες τo δε ψεύδος, τo μεν θυγει κα καί ταναληθες . . . τo δ' άγνοειν μη θυγγάνει· άπατηθήναι γαρ περι τo τi έστι τω ουκ έστιν άλλ' ή κατα συλβεβηκός . . . οτα δη έστιν άπερ είναι τι και ενεργεια, περι ταυτα ουκ έστιν απατηθήναι άλλ' ή νοειν ή μη . . . τo δε άληθες τo νοειν αυτα· τo δε ψεύδος ουκ έστιν, οδ' άπάτη, άλλ' άγνοαι. According to these passages we should understand by the προτάσεις άμεσοι, which express the ultimate principles (Anal. Post. i. 2, 23, 33, 72, a, 7, 84, b, 30, 88, b, 36), only those propositions in which the predicate is already contained in the subject, not those in which it attaches to a subject different from itself: or in other words, only analytical a priori judgments. In like manner the δρισμός των άμεσων (ibid. ii. 10, 94, a, 9) is a θείας τού τι έστιν άναιδεικτ'ων, in which nothing is affirmed as to the existence or non-existence of a conception, nor of its connection with a stated subject. Lastly, when the principle of contradiction (in Metaph. iv. 3 sq. 1005, b, 11, 1006, a, 3) is designated as the βεβαιοτάτη άρχη πασών περί ήν διαφανθήναι αδύνατον, here also only the fundamental principle of all analytical judgments is in question—the formal identity of every conception with itself.

1 De An. iii. 4, 429, a, 27: και ευ δη οι λέγοντες την ψυχην είναι τοτον ειδων (see on this ZELLER'S Plato), πλήν δτι ουτε δλη άλλ'
thinkable.¹ This contained knowledge, however, can only become actual knowledge in the active exercise of cognition. It follows, therefore, that, prior to experience, it cannot be in the soul except in the way of a possibility and a basis; and so, according to him, it is, in virtue of the fact that the soul has the faculty of forming its notions out of itself by its own inherent activity.²

¹ De An. iii. 8 init.: νῦν δὲ περὶ ψυχῆς τὰ λεχθέντα συγκε- 

² ἡ νοητική, οὕτω ἑντελεχεία ἀλλὰ 

υνξάμει τὰ εἶδη.

De An. iii. 4, 429, a, 15: ἀπάθες ἡ ἀρα δεῖ εἶναι [before the Nous experiences the effect of the νοητῶν, it must be without πάθος; cf. Bonitz, Ind. A. 72, a, 36 sqq.], δεκτίκων δὲ τοῦ εἴδους καὶ δυνάμει τοιούτου [sc. οἷον τὸ εἴδος] ἀλλὰ μὴ τούτο, καὶ ὅμως ἔχειν, ὄσπερ τὸ αἰσθητικὸν πρὸς τὰ αἰσθήτα, οὗτω τὸν νῦν πρὸς τὰ νοητά... δ' ἄρα καλούμενος τῆς ψυχῆς νοῦς... οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἐνεργεία τῶν νυόν πρὶν νοεῖν... καὶ εὐ δὴ etc. (vid. supra p. 198, n. 1). Ibid. b, 30: δυνάμει πῶς ἐστὶ τὰ νοητὰ τὸ νοῦς, ἀλλ' ἑντελεχεία οὐδὲν, πρὶν ἀν νοηῇ. δεὶ δ' οὕτως ὄσπερ ἐν γραμματείᾳ ὑπὲρ ὃπερ ὑπάρχει ἑντε- 

λεχεία γεγραμμένον. ὃπερ συμβαίνει ἐπὶ τοῦ νοῦ. Here (b, 5) and in ii. 5, 417, a, 21 sqq. a still more accurate distinction is made between two meanings of the δυνάμει: we can call a man δυνάμει ἑπιστήμων not only when he has as yet learned nothing, but possesses the capacity for learning something, but also when he knows something, but has not at a given moment this knowledge actually present to his mind. It was in the latter sense that Plato conceived of innate knowledge, whereas Aristotle conceived of it under the former analogy. This is the meaning of his comparison of the soul with the book that is not yet written on: and it was a misapprehension when this comparison was understood in the sense of the later Sensation-theory of knowledge. (Cf. Hegel, Gesch. d. Phil. ii. 342 sq.; Trendelenburg, on this passage, p. 485 sq.) Aristotle only wants to illustrate by it the difference between the δυνάμει and ἐνεργεία. He does not here go on to inform us in what way potential knowledge becomes actual. But, according to what has gone before (429, a, 15), it is not the αἰσθητα but the νοητα by whose action the tablet of the νοῦς, blank in itself, is written upon, so that we have to deal in fact with a theory far removed from the Sensation-philosophy.
Throughout his whole treatment of this question, there runs a certain obscurity, the grounds of which we can of course indicate, but which we cannot altogether remove without doing violence to the statements of the Master himself. On the one hand, Aristotle contests the possibility of any innate knowledge, and insists that all our notions arise out of perception. On the other hand, he speaks of an immediate knowledge of those truths on which all others depend, and allows that all the knowledge which in the course of our lives we gain lay in our soul from the beginning in germ. Of course, this last view is not to be taken to imply that the soul, prior to all experience, carried in itself the said knowledge in so far as the content thereof is concerned, or that the function of such experience was merely to cause it to be brought out into consciousness.

1 Cf. pp. 195 sq., 205 sq.
2 Cf. p. 197, n. 4.
4 There is no necessity to interpret in that sense the passages given above. On the contrary, when he says in De An. iii. 8 (nupta, p. 199, n. 1) that 'the soul is in a certain sense everything,' he immediately explains this phrase by adding (431, b, 28): αυς γη δ' ή αυτα χ τα ελθη ελναι. αυτα μεν γαρ δη ου· ου γαρ δ λιθος εν τη ψυχη, άλλα το ελθων· ζωτε ή ψυχη ζωστε ή χειρ εστιν· και γαρ ή χειρ οργανων εστιν οργανων, και δ νοις ελθος ελθων και ή αισθησις ελθος αισθητων. Since the hand indeed forms and uses the tools, but still can only form them from some given material, this comparison does not carry us further than the thought that the soul is everything inasmuch as it is capable of having the forms (or images) of all things within itself. That it produces them out of itself is not stated. On the contrary, as the power of perception is called ελθος αισθητων, because it receives into itself the forms of the αισθητα, so the νοις may, in the same sense, be called ελθος ελθων, inasmuch as it is the faculty to receive the insensible forms; and τοιος ελθων (p. 198, n. 1) may be taken in the same sense. The statement that 'universals are in the soul itself' (in De An. ii. 5, cited at p.197, n. 2), occurs in a passage which has no reference to the growth of knowledge in itself, but where Aristotle is endeavouring to illustrate the progress from the power of perception to
For this would take us back again to the theory of innate ideas which Aristotle so decidedly rejects.\(^1\)

It would be equally wrong, however, to make him a pure Empiricist, and attribute to him the view that the Universal, 'without any limitation, comes to the soul from the external world.'\(^2\) If this were his view, he could not possibly have derived the highest concepts of all—the *principia* of all knowledge—from that faculty of immediate cognition by which the *Nous* is, according to him, distinguished from all other forms of thinking activity.\(^3\)

For it is plain that concepts which we can only come at by an ascent from individuals to universals, cannot be the data of any immediate kind of knowledge, but must be data of that kind of knowledge which is the most entirely mediate of all. Our cognitive faculties, he asserts, do, in fact, take this way to arrive at these *principia*; but he cannot have regarded the thoughts in which these *principia* come for us into consciousness as the mere precipitate of a progressively refined experience, or the act by which we present them to ourselves as only the last of these successive gene-

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1 As Kampe *Erkenntniss-theorie d. Arist.* p. 192 objects, not without reason, though his citation of *Metaph.* i. 9, 993, a, 7 sqq. is not in point.

2 So Kampe, *ibid.*; but it is hard to reconcile with this exposition his attempt in the next following pages to reduce that true perception which is, for Aristotle, the basis of all knowledge to some kind of Intuitive Thought, essentially differing both from Knowledge and Opinion.

3 On this see p. 197, n. 4, supra.
ralisations upon a matter given in experience. Each of these generalisations consists in an induction, the result of which can only be expressed as a judgment and a conclusion, and which therefore is, like all judgments, either false or true. But, on the other hand, the activity of the Nous in knowledge is by him distinguished from all mediate cognition, and what we attain by it is not judgments but ideas—not that which may be either false or true, but that which is always true—that which we may either have or not have, but as to which, if we have it, we cannot be deceived. So, again, as all induction starts from perception, which has relation to that which is compounded of Form and Matter and is sensible, and as the quality of contingency, the possibility of being and not-being, is inseparable from all that is Matter, therefore by induction alone we can never attain to anything which is unconditionally necessary. For those ideas which rest entirely on experience can have no higher certainty than that on which they rest. But of the knowledge of the principia, Aristotle holds that it is of all knowledge the most certain, and he will allow nothing to rank among the principia except what is necessarily true. It follows, then, that the immediate knowledge referred to can only be an intuition—and that it can only be a spiritual intuition, as contrasted with all sensible perception. But the spirit of man has not these ideas innate in itself. Therefore, the intuition by

1 About which see ch. v. infra.  
2 Cf. p. 197, n. 4.  
3 Cf. infra in the second part of ch. vii., and the notes there on these points.  
4 Anal. Post. i. 2, 71, b, 19, 72, a, 25 sqq.; ii. 19, 100, b, 9.  
5 Anal. Post. i. 6 init.
which it finds them cannot consist in any self-intuition or act of introspection, making us conscious of the *principia* as of a truth already within us.\(^1\) It must be something whereby certain thoughts and ideas arise through an action of that which is thought upon the spirit thinking it, in some way analogous to that in which perception arises through an action of that which is perceived upon the percipient. And Aristotle does, in fact, base himself on this very analogy when he says that the *Nous* is related to the thinkable as sense is to the perceivable;\(^2\) or that it knows the thinkable because it 'touches' it;\(^3\) or that as perception in itself must be always true, so must thought be, in so far as it relates to ideas as such.\(^4\)

In this way we get a theory which is for the moment intelligible and consistent. But the further questions remain wholly unanswered—What is this, by the intuition of which we get the *principia* of all mediate knowledge and the most universal of all ideas and axioms? What kind of being belongs to it? In what way does it act upon our spirit? Of what sort are these *principia* which we so attain? Do all of

\(^1\) This was Zeller's view in his second edition.

\(^2\) *De An.* iii. 4, 429, a, 15; see p.

\(^3\) *Metaph.* ix. 10, 1051, b, 24 (vid. supr. p. 197, n. 4): in perception of the ἀνόητα is τὸ μὲν ἑρωτεύει καὶ φαναὶ ἀνηθές... τὸ δὲ ἀνηθεῖν μὴ θυγγάνειν; xii. 7, 1072, b, 20: αὐτὸν δὲ νοεῖ δ νοῦς [the divine νοῦς] κατὰ μετάληψιν τοῦ νοητοῦ [by taking itself as a νοητὸν]· νοητὸς γὰρ γίγνεται θυγγάνων καὶ νοῶν. Remembering, doubtless, the first of these passages, Theophrastus also says in Fr. 12 (*Metaph.*) 25: 'If we begin with observation we can, up to a certain point, explain things from their causes: ὅταν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὰ τὰ ἄκρα μεταβαλλόμεν ὀίκετι δυνάμεθα, either because these have no causes, or because our eye cannot see in a full light, τάχα δ' ἐκείνῳ ἀληθέστερον ὡς αὐτῷ τῷ νῷ ἡ θεορία θειόντα καὶ οἷον ἀφαμένοις.'

\(^4\) *De An.* iii. 6 fin.; cited supr. p. 197, n. 4.
them merely express the formal laws of thought (as does the law of contradiction), or are there also metaphysical ideas which are so given, such as the ideas of Being, of Cause, of God? This might prove to be a natural conclusion from the theory of Aristotle; but it would take us very near to the Platonic teaching as to the intuition of the Ideas, except that, since for Aristotle the 'Forms' of things could not belong to another world, the intuition of them would necessarily be transferred also from the future to the present.

The final explanation of Aristotle's want of clearness on this subject is, however, to be found in the fact that he had only half emancipated himself, as we shall see, from Plato's tendency to hypostatise ideas. The 'Forms' had for him, as the 'Ideas' had for Plato, a metaphysical existence of their own, as conditioning all individual things. And keenly as he followed the growth of ideas out of experience, it is none the less true that these ideas, especially at the point where they are farthest removed from experience and immediate perception, are metamorphosed in the end from a logical product of human thought into an immediate presentment of a supersensible world, and the object, in that sense, of an intellectual intuition.

Plato conceived that the picture of the Ideas which slumbers within us could only awake to any sensible intuition by an actual recollection, and that the spiritual eye could only accustom itself to receive the light of the Ideas by a long course of preparation. So with Aristotle is it self-evident that at the beginning of our spiritual development we are at the
farthest possible distance from that knowledge which is its goal; and that consequently our ascent to knowledge can only come by a gradual approximation to that goal, through a progressive deepening of our comprehension, advancing from particulars to universals, from phenomena to the essence, from effects to causes. Knowledge, which we neither possess as a perfect gift of nature nor derive as a consequence from something higher than itself, must issue out of that which is lower: that is, out of Perception.1 The development in time of our ideas is therefore exactly the inverse of their logical order. That which is absolutely first is relatively to us last; and whereas by virtue of its nature the universal has greater certainty than the particular, and the principle than the deductions which depend upon it, yet individuals and things of sense have more of certainty for us.2 And in like manner we find

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1 Anal. Post. ii. 19, 100, a, 10: οὕτω δὴ ἐνυπάρχουσαν ἄφωρωσιμένα αἱ ἔξεις (vid. supra. 196, n. 1), οὕτω ἀπὸ ἀλλῶν ἔξεων γίνονται γνωστικώτεροι, ἄλλα ἀπὸ αἰσθήσεως.

2 Anal. Post. i. 2, 71, b, 33: πρότερα δ’ ἐστὶ καὶ γνωριμώτερα διχῶς· ὅτι γὰρ ταῦτα πρῶτον τῇ φύσει καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς πρῶτον οὐδὲ γνωριμώτερον καὶ ἡμῖν γνωριμώτερον· λέγω δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς μὲν πρῶτον καὶ γνωριμώτερα τὰ ἐγγύτερα τῇ αἰσθήσει, ἀπλῶς δὲ πρῶτα καὶ γνωριμώτερα τὰ πορφότερα· ἐστὶ δὲ πορφοτάτω μὲν τὰ καθόλου μάλιστα, ἐγγύτατω δὲ τὰ καθ’ ἐκαστα. Phys. i. 1, 184, a, 16: πέροντε δὲ έκ τῶν γνωριμώτερον ἡμῖν ὡς δόδος καὶ σαφεστέρων ὡς τὰ σαφεστέρα τῷ φύσει καὶ γνωριμώτερα· οὗ γὰρ ταῦτα ἡμῖν τε γνώριμα καὶ ἀπλῶς;
that the kind of proof which proceeds from the particular is to us more clear than a deduction from the general.\(^1\)

The way in which actual knowledge is evolved from the rudimentary possibilities of knowledge is this. The first stage is always, as we have remarked, sensible perception. Without this we can have no actual thought.\(^2\) The man who is deprived of one of the organs of sense must of necessity also lack all the corresponding knowledge, for the general axioms of every kind of science can only be discovered by induction, and induction rests upon perception.\(^3\) Now particular things are the proper objects of perception;\(^4\) but inasmuch as a universal, although it may be as yet undistinguished, is contained in every particular, therefore perception is also conversant mediately with universals.\(^5\) Or, to speak more accurately, what the senses perceive is, not the individual substance of the particular as such, but rather certain of its properties. These again are related to the particular substance after the manner of a universal, for they are not a 'this' (\(\tau\omicron\delta\omicron\\)) but a 'such'

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\(^1\) Anal. Pr. ii. 23 fin.: φύσει μὲν οὖν πρότερος καὶ γνωριμώτερος ὁ διὰ τοῦ μέσου συλλογισμός, ἡμῶν δὲ ἐναργέστερος ὁ διὰ τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς.

\(^2\) De An. iii. 8, 432, a, 4 (evid. supr. p. 195, n. 1). De Sensu, c. 6, 445, b, 16: οὐδὲ νοεῖ ὁ νοῦς τὰ ἐκτὸς μὴ μετ' αἰσθήσεως ὑπὰ.

\(^3\) An. Post. i. 18.

\(^4\) An. Post. i. 18, 81, b, 6: τῶν καθ' ἐκατον ἡ αἴσθησις. The same idea recurs frequently, e.g. An. Post. i. 2 (evid. supr. p. 205, n. 2), c. 31 (vide p. 207, n. 1). Phys. i. 5 fin., De An. iii. 5, 417, b, 22, 27, Metaph. i. 1, 981, a, 15.

\(^5\) De An. iii. 8, as at p. 195, n. 1.
and although in perception they never come under our intuition in the form of a universal, but always as belonging to this or that thing, and in a definite individual instance, yet still they are virtually universals, and out of our perception of them the thought of the universal can be developed.¹ Now the way in which it is developed is this. In sensible perception itself the several sensible properties, and therefore also the relative universals, which inhere in the individual substance, are discriminated.² Out of such perception is next developed by the help of memory a general

¹ An. Post. i. 31, init. : οὔδὲ δὲ αἰσθήσεως ἐστὶν ἐπίστασθαι. εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἔστιν ἡ αἰσθήσεις τοῦ τοιὸν καθόλου καὶ μὴ τοῦ ὂντος [only the τόδε, however, is an individual substance: οὔδὲν σημαίνει τῶν κοινών κατηγορομενών τόδε τι ἀλλὰ τοιὸν-δε; Metaph. vii. 13, 1039, a, 1 : of which more infra], ἀλλ' αἰσθάνεσθαι γε ἀναγκαίων τόδε τι καὶ ποῦ καὶ πώς. τὸ δὲ καθόλου καὶ ἑπὶ πᾶσιν ἀλάμβανον αἰσθάνεσθαι, οὐ γὰρ τὸν οὔδὲ οὔδὲ νῦν. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἢν καθόλου . . . ἐπὶ ὅσι ἂν μὲν ἀποδείξεις καθόλου, ταῦτα δ' οὐκ ἐστίν αἰσθάνεσθαι, φανερὸν ὅτι οὔδ' ἐπίστασθαι δὲ' αἰσθάνεσθαι ἐστιν. So in ii. 19, 100, a, 17: αἰσθάνεται μὲν τὸ καθ' ἐκατόν, ἡ δ' αἰσθήσεις τοῦ καθόλου ἐστὶν, οἷον ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλ' οὐ τὰ Καλλία ἀνθρώπου: i. c. Perception, has, it is true, a definite individual Kallias for its immediate object; but what it gives us is the image of a man with these definite properties, and the circumstance of this man’s being Kallias has no influence upon the content of our perception. Cf. further De An. ii. 12, 424, a, 21 sqq.; and Phys. i. 5, 189, a, 5. What

² De An. iii. 2, 426, b, 8 sqq. Hence the αἰσθήσεις in An. Post. ii. 19, 99, b, 35, cf. De An. iii. 3, 428, a, 4, c. 9 init., is called a δόναμις σύμφωνος κριτικῆ.
representation, for that which has steadily recurred in several perceptions is fixed and retained by the mind. Thus arise in the first place experience, and next, when several experiences have condensed into general principles, art and science 1 also, until at last we reach the most universal principles of all; and of these in like manner a scientific comprehension is only to be gained by a further methodical repetition of the same process—in other words, by induction. The result may be put thus. Plato sought to get at the Idea by turning the mental eye away from the phenomenal world, on which, in his view, the most that was to be seen was a reflection of the idea and not the idea itself. Aristotle’s theory of the ascent to knowledge rests it, on the contrary, rather upon a striving after the universal element in appearances as such. In other words, while both demand abstraction from the immediate data and reflection on the underlying universal, still the relation between the two elements is quite different. To Plato the abstraction from the given

1 Anal. Post. ii. 19, 100, a, 2: ἐκ μὲν οὖν αἰσθήσεως γίνεται μνήμη, ἐσπερ λέγομεν, ἐκ δὲ μνήμης πολλάκις τοῦ αὐτοῦ γνωρεμίας ἐμπειρία, αὐτὴ γὰρ πολλαὶ μνήμαι τῷ ἀριθμῷ ἐμπειρία μία ἐστίν. ἐκ δ' ἐμπειρίας ἢ ἐκ παντὸς δρεμέναντος τοῦ καθόλου εἰς τῇ ἐγκύῃ, τοῦ ἐνδὲ παρὰ τὰ πολλὰ, ὅ ἄν ἐν ἀπασίν ἐν ἑνῇ ἑκείνῳ τοῦ ἑσόν, τέχνην ἄρχῃ καὶ ἐπιστήμην, ἐὰν μὲν περὶ γένεσιν, τέχνης, ἐὰν δὲ περὶ τὸ ὄν, ἐπιστήμης. Metaph. i. 1, 980, b, 28: γίγνεται δ' ἐκ τῆς μνήμης ἐμπειρία τοῖς ἀνθρώποις; αὐτὴ γὰρ πολλαὶ μνήμαι τοῦ αὐτοῦ πράγματος μιᾶς ἐμπειρίας δύναμιν ἀποτελοῦσιν . . . ἀποβαίνει δ' ἐπιστήμην καὶ τέχνη διὰ τῆς ἐμπειρίας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις . . . γίνεται δὲ τέχνη, ὅταν ἐκ πολλῶν τῆς ἐμπειρίας ἐννοημάτων μία καθόλου γένηται περὶ τῶν ὑμιῶν ὑπόληψις. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔχειν ὑπόληψιν ὅτι Καλλία κάμνουτι τηρῆι τὴν νόσον τοῦτο συνήγεγε καὶ Σωκράτει καὶ καθέκαστον οὕτω πολλοῖς, ἐμπειρίας ἐστίν: τὸ δ' ὅτι παίσι τοὺς τοιοῦτοις κατ' εἶδος ἐν ἀφορισθείσαι, κάμνουσι τηρῆι τὴν νόσου, συνήγεγεκεν. . . . τέχνης. In the same passages is also found more to the like purpose. In Phys. vii. 3, 247, b, we have, ἐκ γὰρ τῆς κατὰ μέρος ἐμπειρίας τῆς καθόλου λαμβάνουν εἰπιστήμην.
is the first thing, and only on the presupposition of such abstraction will he recognise the possibility of coming to any knowledge of universal essence at all. To Aristotle the *direction* of the mind *upon* the common essence of the empirical data is the main point, and it is only as an inevitable consequence of this that abstraction from the particulars of sense comes in. For a like reason, Aristotle also defends the truth of the knowledge derived by sensation against the objectors; for he shows that, notwithstanding the contradictions and deceptions of the senses, a true perception is still possible, and that the actuality of what we perceive is beyond doubt, although its value is relative: in a word, that the doubts attaching to sensible perception are due solely to want of caution in the use we make of it. He even maintains that perception of itself never leads us astray, and that it is in our imaginations and our judgments that we are first exposed to error.

1 Cf. Metaph. iv. 5, 6, 1010, b, sqq., where, among other things (1010, b, 30 sqq.), it is stated that although we might say in a certain sense that without a perceiving being there would be no *aisthētā* as such, still it is impossible to say that without the *aisthēsia* the *υποκείμενα* & *ποιεῖ* τὴν αισθήσιν could not exist—οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἡ γ’ αισθήσις αὐτὴ ἑαυτὴ ἐστίν, ἀλλ’ ἐστι τι καὶ ἕτερον παρὰ τὴν αῖσθησιν, ὃ ἀνάγκη πρότερον εἶναι τῆς αἰσθήσεως: τὸ γὰρ κινοῦν τοῦ κινούμενον πρότερον ἐστὶ. Likewise Cat. c. 7, 7, b, 36: τὸ γὰρ αἰσθητῶν πρότερον τῆς αἰσθήσεως δοκεῖ εἶναι, τὸ μὲν γὰρ αἰσθητόν ἀναπέθεν συναναιρεῖ τὴν αἰσθήσιν, ἢ δὲ αἰσθήσις τὸ αἰσθητὸν οὐ συναναιρεῖ . . . ξέον γὰρ ἀναπεθέντος αἰσθήσεως μὲν ἀναιρεῖται, αἰσθητῶν δὲ ἐσται, οἷον σῶμα, βερμόν, γλυκό, πικρὸν καὶ τάλλα δύο ἐστὶ δεύτερα.

2 To this refer Metaph. iv. 5, 1010, b, 3 sqq., 14 sqq.; xi. 6, 1062, b, 13 sqq.

3 De An. iii. 3. 427, b, 11: ἡ μὲν γὰρ αἰσθήσεως τῶν ἱδίων ἄλλης καὶ πάσης ὑπάρχει τοῖς ζώοις, διανοείσθαι δ’ ἐνδεχόμεναι καὶ ἐνευδώς καὶ οὐδενὶ ὑπάρχει ὑπὸ καὶ λόγος. Ibid. 428, a, 11: αἱ μὲν [the αἰσθήσεις] ἄλλης αἰεὶ, αἱ δὲ φαντασίαι γίνονται αἱ πλείους ἐνευδές. Similarly ii. 6, 418, a, 11 sqq.; and in Metaph. iv. 5, 1010, b, 2: οὗτ’ ἡ αἰσθήσεως ἐνευδῆς τοῦ ἱδίου ἐστὶν, ἀλλ’ ἡ φαντασία οὐ ταύτων τῇ αἰσθήσει.
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He shows in fact that simple-minded confidence in the truth of sensible perceptions which is natural to every uncritical consciousness. This is in his case the more easy to understand because he has as little notion as the other Greeks of making any close inquiry into the part which a subjective activity plays in the construction of our experience, and refers it simply to an operation of the objects upon us whereby they impress their images upon the soul; \(^1\) while, on the other hand, the philosopher who attributed so high a value to observation, and the naturalist who required so wide a basis of empirical facts, could hardly be expected to take sufficient account of the attacks which some of his predecessors had made upon the trustworthiness of the senses.\(^2\) Of course he does not seek to deny the delu-

\(^1\) See the account of Aristotle's theory of sensation, infra, ch. x. ad fin.

\(^2\) It has been shown at p. 209, n. 1, how Aristotle, in Cat. 7, treats as given objectively even those sensible properties which Democritus had already shown to be merely subjective (ZELL. Ph. d. Gr. i. 772, l. 783, 2). Similarly in Phys. viii. 3, in combating the opinion (of Parmenides), πάντα ἥρεμείν, he follows up the striking remark (254, a, 30) that such a view could not explain δόξα and φαντασία as movements of the soul (it would have been more exact to say "of the changing series of mental images") with the sweeping observation that to investigate such a view is ζητεῖν λόγον ὧν βέλτιον ἔχομεν ἢ λόγον δείξον, and κακῶς κρίνειν τὸ πιστῶν καὶ τοῦ μὴ πιστῶν καὶ ἀρχὴν καὶ μὴ ἀρχὴν. The same objection holds, in his opinion against the theories that everything is always being moved, or that one thing is always moved and another never. πρὸς ἀπαντα γὰρ πάντα ἵκανη μὲν πίστις ὁρῶμεν γὰρ ἐνα ὅτε μὲν κυνομένα ὅτε δ' ἰημερῶντα. Ibid. 253, a, 33, in opposing the doctrine πάντ' ἥρεμείν, he says, τοῦτον ζητεῖν λόγον ἀφεῖναι τὴν αἰτίαν, ἀρρωστία τίς ἐστι διανοιάς, and such speculations seem to him abnormal and non-natural. All such questions as how we know whether we are awake or asleep, whether we are in our sound senses, &c., Aristotle considers altogether misleading: πάντων γὰρ λόγον ἀξιόων ὅτι εἶναι ... λόγον γὰρ ζητοῦσιν ὧν οὐκ ἐστι λόγος: ἀποδείξεις γὰρ ἀρχῆ ὡς ἀποδείξεις ἐστὶ. (Metaph. iv. 6, 1011, a, 8 sqq. cf. below, p. 247, n. 2). He thinks it a self-evident proposition that we can only decide upon the sensible properties of things—as upon the good and the evil, the beautiful and the
sions of sense, but he believes that our sensations, as such, are not to blame. He holds that each sense represents to us always, or almost always, with truth the special colour, sound, etc., which it perceives, but that illusion first arises in the referring of these properties to definite objects, and in the discriminating of that which is immediately given in perception from that which is only got by abstraction therefrom.

To these views, then, as to the nature or origin of knowledge, the arrangement of Aristotle's theory of scientific knowledge—his Analytics—corresponds. It is the function of Science to explain the phenomena by their principles, which must be sought for in the Universal Causes and Laws. The deduction, therefore, of the ugly—in a normal state of the senses and the mind.

1 In this sense Aristotle himself illustrates his principle in De An. iii. 3, 428, b, 18: ἡ αἴσθησις τῶν μὲν ἴδιων ἀληθὲς ἐστιν ἢ ὅτι ἀληθίστων ἔχουσι τὸ ψεύδος. δεύτερον δὲ τοῦ συμβεβηκέναι ταῖς καὶ ἑνύπαθα ἤδη ἐνδέχεται διαψεύδεσθαι: ὅτι μὲν γὰρ λευκὸν, οὐ ψεύδεται εἰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ λευκὸν, ἢ ἄλλο τι [whether the white thing is, e.g., a cloth or a wall], ψεύδεται. (So also at the end of c. 6.) πρῶτον δὲ τῶν κοινῶν καὶ ἐπομένων τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν, οἷς ὑπάρχει τὰ ἴδια λέγον δὲ ὧν κίνησις καὶ μέγεθος, & συμβεβηκε τοῖς ἀισθητοῖς περὶ ἀ μάλιστα ἤδη ἐστιν ἀπατηθῆναι κατὰ τὴν αἴσθησιν. (About these κοινὰ see also De Sensu, c. i. 437, a, 8.) De Sensu, iv. 442, b, 8: περὶ μὲν τούτων [the κοινὰ just mentioned] ἀπατῶνται, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἴδιων οὐκ ἀπατῶνται, οἷον ὡς περὶ χρώματος καὶ ἀκοῆς περὶ ψύχων. Metaph. iv. 5, 1010, b, 14. We can only trust the deliverance of each sense with regard to its own particular objects, those of sight with regard to colour, &c.: ἀν [αἰσθήσεων] ἐκάστη ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρώματι περὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὑπέδεικτε φθονὶν ἀμα ὁντω καὶ οὐχ ὁντως ἔχειν. ἀλλ' οὖν ἐν ἐτέρῳ χρώματι περὶ τὸ πάθος ἡμαρμαρθησεν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῷ δὲ συμβεβηκε τὸ πάθος. The same wine may taste to us at one time sweet, at another not: ἀλλ' οὖν τὸ γε γλυκὸ ὁδὸν ἐστιν ὅταν ἔτη, οὐδεπότεμετέβαλεν, ἀλλ' ἄεὶ ἀληθεύει περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐστὶν ἐς ἀναγκης τὸ ἑσόμενον γλυκὸ τοιοῦτον. Perception shows us primarily (as has been already said on pp. 206-7) only certain sets of qualities. The subjects to which these qualities belong are not immediately and exclusively determined by perception; nor are those other properties which are only inferred from what we perceive.
particular from the universal and of effects from causes, or in one word *Demonstration*, forms the task of Science: for in such deduction, according to Aristotle, consists all Proof. The premises, however, from which these deductive proofs must start cannot be themselves deduced by the same method. Nor are they immediately given in any innate kind of knowledge. It is only by working upwards from phenomena that we can reach the principles that underlie them: only from particulars that we can rise to universals. To do this scientifically is the business of *Induction*. Demonstration and Induction are accordingly the two component parts of the scientific process, and the essential subjects of Methodology. Both, however, presuppose the general elements of Thought, and cannot be explained without a knowledge of them. Aristotle, therefore, prefaces his theory of Proof with an examination of the Syllogism; and in connection with this he finds himself compelled to go more closely into the nature of the Judgment and the Proposition, as being the component parts of the Syllogism. It was not till a later period of his work (as we have already explained) that he went on to treat them separately, and even then this part of his Logic remained distinctly undeveloped. The same remark applies still more strongly to his doctrine of Concepts.1 Nevertheless, it is with these last that we must begin, in order to proceed thereafter to the theory of judgments, and lastly to the Syllogism—inasmuch as certain definite views as to concepts are always presupposed by Aristotle in his discussion of Syllogistic Logic.

1 Cf. pp. 192 sqq.
It was the search for general concepts which gave to philosophy under Socrates that new direction which not only Plato but also Aristotle followed in all essentials. As a natural result of this, we find that Aristotle, generally speaking, takes for granted the Socratico-Platonic theory of the nature of concepts and the problem of abstract thought. But as we shall find him in his metaphysics contradicting Plato’s doctrine of the independent reality of the Universal which we think in the Concept, so also in the matter of the logical handling of concepts he feels it necessary in connection with this criticism to obtain more accurate and definite conclusions on many points. Plato had required that in conceptual definition attention should be restricted to the essential as opposed to the accidental properties of things; and yet at the same time he had exalted all general notions to an absolute independence as Ideas, without any further distinction between conceptions of property and substance. This distinction Aristotle introduces, for to him, as we shall see, the individual thing alone is Substance. But he does not merely separate the accidental from the essential. He goes on

1 Cf. pp. 162 sq. and 172 sq.
4 Ibid. 584 sqq.
5 As to the distinction of the συμμεταφηκός from the καθ’ αὐτό. cf. Anal. Post. i. 4, 73, a, 34 sqq.; Top. i. 5, 102, b, 4; Metaph. v. 7, c. 9 init., c. 18, 1002, a, 24 sqq., c. 30, 1025, a, 14, 28, c. 6 init.; Waitz, in Categ. 5, b, 16; Anal. Post. 71, b, 10. According to these passages everything belongs to any object ‘καθ’ αὐτό’ which is, mediately or immediately, contained in the concept of that object; and all is ‘κατά συμμεταφηκός’ which does not follow from the concept. To be a biped belongs to any man καθ’ αὐτό.
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to make a further subdivision of the latter head by distinguishing the Universal from the Genus, and both from the Concept or conceptual Essence of things.\(^1\) A Universal is everything that appertains to several objects in common, not merely by accident, but by virtue of their nature.\(^2\) If this common element is a qualification of the essence derived from some other more general, then the Universal is a property-concept, and indicates an essential property.\(^3\) If it is of the essence of the things in question, then the Universal becomes a Genus.\(^4\) If to the common distinguishing

for every man, as such, is a biped. To be educated is to him κατά συμβεβηκός. Αν συμβεβηκός is (Top. ibid.) δε ενδέχεται ὑπάρχειν ὑπόν έν και τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ μὴ ὑπάρχειν. Hence, what is said of a thing καθ’ αὑτῷ is true of all things which fall under the same concept; but what is said κ. συμβεβηκός is only true in particular cases; and therefore all universal determinations are καθ’ αὑτό. \(\text{Metaph.} \ v. 9, 1017, b, 35: \) τά γάρ καθόλου καθ’ αὑτά ὑπάρχει, τά δὲ συμβεβηκότα οὐ καθ’ αὑτά ἄλλ’ ἐπὶ τῶν καὶ ἐκκατα ἄπλως λέγεται. Cf. note 2, below. For more about the συμβεβηκός, see the second part of ch. vii., infra.

1 Thus \(\text{Metaph.} \ v. 13, 1038, b, 11.\) Of last note but one.

\(^2\) Such an essential quality Aristotle calls καθ’ αὑτῷ ὑπάρχων, κ. πάθος καθ’ αὑτῶ, or κ. συμβεβηκός καθ’ αὑτό, understanding in the last case by συμβεβηκός (the term being used in a sense different from that discussed above) broadly that κ. συμβαίνει τωι, i.e. a quality; cf. \(\text{Metaph.} \ v. 30 \) fin. c. 7, 1017, a, 12, iii. 1, 995, b, 18, 25, c. 2, 997, a, 25 sqq. iv. 1, iv. 2, 1004, b, 5, vi. 1, 1025, b, 12, vii. 4, 1029, b, 13; \(\text{Anal. Post.} \ i. 22, 83, b, 11, 19, c. 4, 73, b, 5, c. 6, 75, a, 18, c. 7, 75, a, 42; \(\text{Phys.} \ i. 3, 186, b, 18, ii. 2, 193, b, 26, c. 3, 195, b, 13, iii. 4, 203, b, 33; \(\text{De An.} \ i. 1, 402, b, 16; \(\text{Rhet.} \ i. 2, 1355, b, 30; \) \(\text{Waits.} \) on \(\text{Anal. Post.} \ 71, b, 10; \text{Trendelenburg, De An.} \ 189 sq.; \) \(\text{Bonitz, on Metaph.} \ 1025, a, 4 \) Top. 1. 5, 102, a 31: γένος δ’ ἐστι τὸ κατὰ πλειόνων καὶ διαφθοράν των τῷ εἶδεν ἐν τῷ τὶ ἐστι κατηγοροῦμεν. ἐν τῷ τὶ ἐστι δὲ κατηγορεῖναι τὰ τοιαῦτα λεγόμενο, ὅσα ἀριθμοὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἐρωτηθέντα τὶ ἐστι τὸ προκείμενον (e.g. in a man: τὶ ἐστι: ζῷον). \(\text{Metaph.} \ v. 28,\)
qualities included in the notion of the Genus are added other marks which are again essential with reference to a certain part of the whole class, and by which such part is distinguished from the rest of the same Genus, then we arrive at the Species, which, accordingly, is made up of the Genus and the specific differences. 1 If,

1024, a, 36 sqq., where, among different meanings of γένος, the following are given: τὸ ὑποκειμένον ταῖς διαφοραῖς τῷ πρῶτῳ ἐνυπάρχον δέ λέγεται ἐν τῷ τί ἐστι ... οὗ διαφοραί λέγονται αἱ ποιότητες (that these two descriptions apply to the same meaning of γένος is shown by Bonitz on this passage). Ibid. x. 3, 1054, b, 30: λέγεται δὲ γένος δ ἄμωφα ταύτι λέγονται κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν τὰ διά

fol. 7

λεγόμενα; x. 8, 1057, b, 37: τὸ γὰρ τοιοῦτον γένος καλά, δ ἄμωφα ἐν ταύτι λέγεται, μὴ κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς ἐχον διαφοράν. Τοπ. vii. 2, 153, a, 17: κατηγορεῖται δ' ἐν τῷ τί ἐστι τὰ γένη καὶ αἱ διαφοραί. Every γένος is consequently a καθόλου, but not every καθόλου α γένος; cf. Metaph. iii. 3, 998, b, 17, 999, a, 21, xii. 1, 1069, a, 27, &ca., with i. 3, 992, b, 12, vii. 13, 1038, b, 16, 25 sq.; and Bonitz on Metaph. 299 sqq. To the distinction between genus and property is also partly referable the statement in Categ. c. 2, 1, a, 20 sqq. c. 5, that everything either (1) καθ' ὑποκειμένου τινὸς λέγεται, ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ δέ ὡσδὲ ἐστιν, or (2) ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ μὲν ἐστὶ καθ' ὑποκειμένου δὲ οὐδὲν ἐστὶ, or (3) καθ' ὑποκειμένου τε λέγεται καὶ ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ ἐστίν, or (4) οὕτω ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ ἐστιν οὕτω καθ' ὑποκειμένου λέγεται. Of these divisions, the fourth comprises particular things: the first refers to genera and (c. 5, 3, a, 21) specific differences: the second to properties, activities and conditions—in fact, the συμβεβηκότα. To the first belongs the term 'man,' to the second the term 'grammar,' and to the fourth the term 'Socrates.' But the uncertainty of the whole division immediately appears in the description of the third class, for if there are notions which are predicated both καθ' ὑποκειμένου and ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ—i.e. which are at once genera and properties (the example Aristotle gives is the concept of 'science,' which is in the soul as its ὑποκειμένος, and is also predicated of each of the particular sciences)—then the genera and properties cannot be distinct and co-ordinate classes of universals. How undefined was the boundary between a 'genus' and a 'property' will be seen also in his treatment of Substance (on which see the first part of ch. vii., infra). 1 Metaph. x. 7, 1057, b, 7: ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ γένους καὶ τῶν διαφορῶν τὰ ἔδη (for instance, the specific concepts 'black' and 'white' are made up of the generic notion χρώμα and the distinguishing qualities διακριτικός and συγκριτικός: white is the χρώμα διακριτικόν, black is the χρώμα συγκριτικόν). Τοπ. vi. 3, 140, a, 28: δὲι γὰρ τῷ μὲν γένους ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων καρικεῖν [the generic concept distinguishes
finally, an object is in this way, by the aggregate of its

what belongs to a genus from
every other], τὴν δὲ διαφορὰν ἀπὸ τινος εἰ τῷ αὐτῷ γένει. Ibid. vi.

they are not accidental but
essential determinations (Metaph. vii. 4, 1029, b, 14, 1030, a, 14; Top. vi. 6, 144, a, 24: οὐδεμιᾷ γὰρ διαφορὰ τῷ κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς ὑπάρχοντων ἐστὶ, καθάπερ οἰδὲ τῇ γένος: οὐ γὰρ ἐνδεχεται τὴν διαφο-

and that they 'express something

substantial' (Top. vii. 2, vid. supr. p. 214, n. 4; and yet, looked at in
themselves, they are not sub-
stances but qualities, for they express not a τὶ, but a ποιὸν τὶ (Top.
v. 2, 122, b, 16, c. 6, 128, a, 26, vi. 6, 144, a, 18, 21; Phys. v. 2, 226, a, 27; Metaph. v. 14 init.). The apparent contradiction between Ari-

stant contradiction between Ari-

This image is a rich source of philosophical discourse from Aristotle, focusing on the concept of a species and the aggregation of distinctive marks. Aristotle argues that an object is defined in this way, by the aggregate of its distinctive marks, which makes it applicable to no other object, thus forming its Concept. This Concept is therefore the

The image contains multiple references to Aristotle's works, such as "Aristotle vii.

they 'express something substantial' (Top. vii. 2, vid. supr. p. 214, n. 4; and yet, looked at in themselves, they are not substances but qualities, for they express not a τὶ, but a ποιὸν τὶ (Top. iv. 2, 122, b, 16, c. 6, 128, a, 26, vi. 6, 144, a, 18, 21; Phys. v. 2, 226, a, 27; Metaph. v. 14 init.). The apparent contradiction between Aristotle's different statements on the subject (brought out by TRENDLENBURG, Hist. Beitr., z. Phil. i. 56 sqq., and BONITZ, on Metaph. v. 14) may be solved in the manner indicated; cf. WAITZ, ut supra.

1 Annl. Post. ii. 13, 96, n. 24. Many properties of things are also accidental to other things which fall under the same genus. Τὰ δὲ τοιαύτα ληπτέα [in the de-
termination of concepts] μεχρὶ τῶν, ἡς τοιαύτα ληφθῇ πρῶτον, ἂν έκαστον μὲν ἐπὶ πλείον ὑπάρξει [is accidental also to other things], ἀπαντὰ δὲ μὴ ἐπὶ πλείον. ταῦτα γὰρ ἀνάγκη οὐδίπερ εἶναι τοῦ πράγματος—which will be further illustrated below. Ibid. 97, a, 18: we get the concept (λόγος τῆς οὐσίας) of a given object by dividing the genus into its species, and then the species to which our object belongs into its sub-species, and thus proceeding till we arrive at a group ἄν μηκέτι ἐστὶ διαφορὰ, i.e. that which is indivisible into any farther sets of opposed species, to one or other of which the object in question would belong (but about the actual tenableness of this
Substance, or more accurately the determinate Substance or peculiar Essence of the things in question; 1 and the

theory, cf. BONITZ, Arist. Metaph. ii. 346, 1). So also Metaph. vii. 12, 1037, b, 29: οὐθὲν γὰρ ἔτερον ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ δριμῷ, πλὴν τὸ τε πρῶτον λεγόμενον γένος καὶ αἱ διαφοραὶ (or as it stands 1038, a, 8: ὁ δριμὸς ἐστὶν ὁ ἕκ τῶν διαφορῶν λόγος). The genus is divided into its species, the latter into their sub-species, and this is continued ἐως ἡ ἐλθη ἐς τὰ ἀδιάφορα (ibid. l. 15); and since in this series every subsequent differentia includes the preceding one (e.g. the διπόνων includes the ὑπόνων), therefore the intermediate terms which fall between the genus and the lowest specific difference do not need to be repeated in the definition (cf. also Part. An. i. 2 init.). So it follows (Met. ibid. 1038, a, 28): ὅτι ἡ τελευταία διαφορὰ ἡ οὐσία τοῦ πράγματος ἐσται καὶ ὁ δριμὸς: in which, however, we have to understand by the τελευταία διαφορὰ, not only the last specific difference as such, but the specific concept as determined by it, which embraces the higher species and the genus.

1 For the designation of that which is thought of in the concept, Aristotle makes use of various expressions. Besides οὐσία and εἶδος (of which we shall have more to say in dealing with the Metaphysics), we have to notice in this connection his way of marking out the idea which a word expresses by placing a ὅτι before it, as: ὅτι ὅν, or ὅτι ἐν (Phys. 3, 186, a, 32 sqq.), for 'Being, as such,' or 'One, as such' (cf. BONITZ, Ind. Arist. 533, b, 36 sqq.); and also his special use of εἶναι with a dative annexed (for instance, τὸ ἀνθρώπω εἶναι, &c., τὸ ἐνι εἶναι τὸ ἀδιαίρετω ἐστὶν εἶναι, Metaph. x. 1, 1052, b, 16: ὁ γὰρ ἔστι τὸ σοὶ εἶναι τὸ μονοικὸ εἶναι, ibid. vii. 4, 1029, b, 14, cf. Ind. Ar. 221, a, 34); and the phrase τὸ τί ἢν εἶναι.—In the second of these expressions the dative must (according to TRENDELENBURG, Phil. Mus. 1828, 481; SCHWEGLER, Ar. Metaph. iv. 371) be taken possessively, so that ἀνθρώπω εἶναι is equivalent to εἶναι τὸ τί ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπω = 'to be that which belongs to man'; and so τὸ ἀνθρώπῳ εἶναι designates the manner of being that is peculiar to man = 'Man's Being'; whereas ἀνθρώπῳ εἶναι only signifies the condition of one who is a man, or the actual participation in human nature. For the proof of this explanation such passages as the following will serve: τὸ εἶναι αὐτῷ ἔτερον, τὸ ξῆν τοῖς ξωσι τὸ εἶναι ἐστὶν (BONITZ, Ind. Ar. 221, a, 42, 54 sq., Arist. Stud. iv. 377). The fact that the article is never put before the dative (for Aristotle does not say τὸ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ εἶναι) does not stand in the way; for the τῷ in this case after τὸ would be very awkward as a matter of diction; and moreover this very omission of the article makes it clearer that in the ἀνθρώπῳ εἶναι we are dealing with that 'being' which belongs to man as such.—The τί ἢν εἶναι is also, as a rule, construed with the dative of the object (τὸ τί ἢν εἶναι ἐκάστῳ, &c.; cf. Ind. Ar. 764, a, 60 sq.); for it is (as ALEX. says, in Schol. 256, b, 14 on Top. 24 m.)
Concept itself is nothing else but the thought of this

equivalent to δ' τί εστι τό είναι αὐτῷ δηκὼν λόγος. But to this account must be added the explanation of the force of the peculiar imperfect, which is meant to designate that in things which does not belong to the moment, but which throughout the whole course of their existence has represented their proper esse, i.e. the essential as distinguished from the contingent and transitory. (Cf. Πλατ., Thetet. 136, 

A: the Heracliteans maintain ὅσ τὸ πάν κίνησις ἦν καὶ ἄλλο υόδεν, and other examples ared 

SCHWEGLER, ut supra, 373 sq.). Hence τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι ἀνθρώπω 

properly means, 'that which in a man was his proper esse', the true 'being' of man, that belonging to him which is also called the πρώτη υόσια υόδος ἐκάστῳ (Metaph. vii. 13, 1038, b, 10; vii. 7, 7 id. inf.; vii. 5 fin.) But this is simply his Ideal Being, that of which we think, when we abstract from what is contingent to the phenomenal man before us, and from the material element on which that contingency rests; cf. Metaph. vii. 4, 1029, b, 19: ἐν ὧς ἄρα μὴ ἐνέσται λόγῳ αὐτῷ, λέγοντι αὐτῷ. υότος δ' λόγος τοῦ τί ἦν εἶναι εκάστῳ. So ch. 7, 1032, b, 14: λέγω δ' υόσιαν ἄρνῃ θλῆς τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι. Ibid. xii. 9, 1075, a, 1: ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ποιητικῶν ἄκε ὕλης ἢ υόσια καὶ τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι [sc. τὸ πρῶγμα ὑμυῖοι]. And ch. 8, 1074, a, 35: τὸ δὲ τί ἦν εἶναι οὐκ ἐξει ύλῶν τὸ πρῶτον ἐντελεχεία γὰρ. The τί ἦν εἶναι, therefore, goes with the εἰδος. 

Metaph. vii. 7, 1032, b, 1: εἰδὸς δὲ λέγω τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι ἐκάστου καὶ τὴν πρώτην υόσίαν. Ibid. ch. 10, 1035, b, 32: εἰδὸς δὲ λέγω τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι. Phys. ii. 2, 194, a, 20: τοῦ εἴδους καὶ τοῦ τί ἦν εἶναι. In Phys. ii. 3, 194, b, 26: one of the four causes is τὸ εἴδος καὶ τὸ παρά-

 phenomenon: τότῳ δ' ἐστιν δ λόγος δ' τοῦ τί ἦν εἶναι καὶ τὸ τοῦτον γένη—

this being what Aristotle, in Metaph. i. 8, 938, a, 27, calls τὴν υόσιαν καὶ τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι, but immediately afterwards τὸν λόγον also. In fact, all these expressions are constantly interchanged by him. Compare, for example, the De An. ii. 1, 412, b, 10, where υόσια ἢ κατὰ τὸν λόγον is explained by τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι: Metaph. vi. 1, 1025, b, 28: τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι καὶ τὸν λόγον; vili. 5, 1030, b, 26: τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἀριστόδα (similarly Part. An. i. 1, 31, 31, 29, cf. Phys. ii. 2, ut supra); Eth. ii. 6, 1107, a, 6: κατὰ μὲν τὴν υόσιαν καὶ τὸν λόγον τὸν τί ἦν εἶναι λέγοντα.—The τί ἦν εἶναι stands to the simple τί ἐστι as the particular and definite to the universal and indefinite. Whilst τί ἦν εἶναι' only designates the form or peculiar being of a thing, the question, 'τί ἐστιν,' may be answered by giving either the matter only or that which includes both matter and form, or even by giving merely a property; and even when it is answered by giving the ideal form, the answer need not embrace the whole concept of the thing, but may be confined to the genus, or the specific difference (the proof of this is given by SCHWEGLER, Arist. Metaph. iv. 375 sqq.). The τί ἦν εἶναι is, consequently, a definite species of the τί ἐστι (hence De An. iii. 6, 430, b, 28: τοῦ τί ἐστι κατὰ τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι = 'Being on its essential side'); and thus, as very com-


**Essence.**

And this is arrived at by the process of making the Universal of the Genus determinate by means of the aggregate of distinguishing marks. But

monly happens in Aristotle, the latter may be used in the narrower meaning of the τί ἦν εἶναι, whereas the other phrase never has the looser sense of the τί ἦστι, so as to designate merely the matter of the thing or a mere property, or a generic universal without the specific differences.—The like relation exists between εἶναι with the dative and εἶναι with the accusative: τὸ λευκὸν εἶναι designates the idea of what is white; τὸ λευκὸν εἴναι, the property of being white. Cf. SCHWEGLER, loc. cit. p. 370; Phys. iii. 5, 204, a, 23, et alibi.—Aristotle undoubtedly introduced the formula τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι. Even if Stilpo really used it (see ZELLER, Ph. d. Gr. pt. i. 223, 3), he probably took it from Aristotle. Again, Antisthenes could hardly have used the mere τί ἦν to designate the concept: at least, this does not follow from the references in ZELL. *ibid.* p. 252, n. 1.—The following writers treat at length of the τί ἦν εἶναι and the allied phrases: TRENDLENBURG (who was the first to examine this subject thoroughly), Rhein. Mus. v. Niebuhr und Brandis, ii. (1828), 457 sqq.; De Anima, 192 sqq., 471 sqq.; Hist. Betr. i. 34 sqq.; SCHWEGLER, ut supra, 369 sqq. (who cites other authors); HERTLING, *Mat.* u. Form. b. Arist. 47 sq.

1 *Anal. Post.* ii. 3, 90, b, 30, 91, a, 1: ὁρισμὸς μὲν γὰρ τοῦ τί ἐστι καὶ οὐδὲς ... ὃ μὲν οὖν ὁρισμὸς τί ἐστι δημοτ. *Ibid.* ii. 10 *init.*: ὁρισμὸς ... λέγεται εἶναι λόγος τοῦ τί ἐστι. (The same ibid. 94, a, 11.) Trop. vii. 5, 154, a, 31: ὁρισμὸς ἐστὶ λόγος δὲ τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι σημαίνων. Metaph. v. 8, 1017, b, 21: τὸ τί ὑπ οὐν δ λόγος ὁρισμὸς, καὶ τούτο ὁσία λέγεται ἐκδότου. So also vii. 4, 1030, a, 6, cf. a, 16, b, 4, and ch. 5, 1030, b, 26; also *Part. An.* i. 1, 642, a, 25. Hence Aristotle also designates the concept (in the subjective meaning) by the expressions: ὁ λόγος ὁ ὁρισμὸς τὴν οὐσίαν (Part. An. iv. 5, 678, a, 34), τὸ λόγος τὸ τί ἐστι λέγον (Metaph. v. 13, 1020, a, 18) and similar phrases. (Λόγος or λόγος τής οὐσίας, in relation to the objective meaning of λόγος, stands for the form or the Being of things: e.g. Gen. An. i. 1, 715, a, 5, 8; De An. i. 1, 403, b, 2; ii. 2, 414, a, 9, &c.; and cf. preceding note.)—By the nature of the case ὁρισμὸς is synonymous with ὁρισμὸς, e.g. in *Top.* i. 5 *init.*: ἐστι δὲ ὁρισμὸν μὲν λόγοσ δ τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι σημαίνων. So ch. 4, 101 b, 21, and ch. 7, 103, a, 25; *Anal. Post.* i. 3, 72, b, 23; ii. 10, 37, b, 26; Metaph. vii. 5, 1081, a, 8; ch. 13, 1089, a, 19; viii. 3, 1043, b, 28; ch. 6, 1045, a, 26; *Post.* ch. 6, 1449, b, 23. But the same word, in a further sense, signifies either of the two terms of a proposition (subject and predicate), and is therefore the standing expression for the three terms of the syllogism; *Anal. Pri.* i. 1, 24, b, 16: ὁρισμὸς δὲ καλῶ εἰς ὅν διαλύεται ἡ πρώτασις, etc., ch. 4, 25, b, 32, ch. 10, 30, b, 31, ch. 34, 48, a, 2; *Anal. Post.* i. 10, 76, b, 35 et supra.

2 Cf. pp. 215, n. 1, 216, n. 1. Aristotle expresses the relation
the essence of things, according to Aristotle, consists only in their form.\(^1\) It is therefore only with the form that the Concept is concerned, and no concept of sensible objects \textit{as such} can be presented to the mind.\(^2\) For although a definite relation of Form to Matter does belong to the peculiar Essence and therefore also to

between these two elements, by designating the genus as the matter and the specific difference as the form of the concept; and by this he explains how in the concept the two are one. The genus is that, in other words, which, in itself indefinite, first becomes definite in the specific concept—the substratum (\textit{όποκείμενον}), whose properties are the matter, and whose form is made up of the distinguishing marks. But the substratum never actually exists without properties, nor the matter without form, and therefore neither does the genus exist outside the species, but only in them; looked at in itself, it only contains the universal presupposition, the possibility of that which exists in reality in the lowest species; \textit{Metaph.} viii. 6, cf. ch. 2, 1013, a, 19: v. 6, 1016, a, 25: ch. 28, 1024, b, 3; vii. 12, 1038, a, 25: x. 8, 1058, a, 23: cf. ch. 3, 1051, b, 27: \textit{Phys.} ii. 9 fin.; \textit{Gen. et Corr.} i. 7, 324, b, 6 (\textit{Part. An.} i. 3, 613, a, 24, does not come in here).


\(^2\) See p. 219, n. 1, and \textit{Metaph.} vii. 11, 1036, b, 28: τοῦ γὰρ καθόλου καὶ τοῦ ἐδίκου ὁ ὀρισμός. So ch. 15.\textit{init.}: by Substance is meant sometimes the \textit{λόγος} alone, sometimes the \textit{λόγος} ὑπὸ τὴν ἑλάθαννελημμένος (the σύνολον). ὃσα μὲν \textit{οὖν} (sc. \textit{οὕσια}) \textit{οὕτω} [in the sense of the σύνολον] λεγομαι, τούτων μὲν ἐστὶ φθορὰ: καὶ γὰρ γένεσις τοῦ δὲ λόγου οὐκ ἐστὶν \textit{οὕτως} ἢ \textit{οὕτως} \textit{φθερεθαι}: οὐδὲ γὰρ γένεσις (οὐ γὰρ γίγνεται τὸ ὦκία εἶναι ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς τῇ ὦκίᾳ) ... διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τῶν \textit{οὐσίων} τῶν αἰσθητῶν τῶν καθ' ἑκαστα ὦκία ὄρθρους οὐτ' ἀπόδειξις ἂν, ὥστε \textit{ἐχοσιν} ἐλαθα ὡς \textit{φαίς} \textit{τινί κατὰ} ὡς' \textit{ἐνδέχεσθαι} καὶ \textit{εἶναι} καὶ μὲ: διὸν φαστὰ πάντα τὰ καθ' \textit{ἑκαστα} αὐτῶν. εἰ \textit{οὖν} ἡ τ' \textit{ἀπόδειξις} τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ ὁ ὀρισμὸς \textit{ἐπιστημονικός}, καὶ οὐκ \textit{ἐνδέχεται}, \textit{ὡσπερ} \textit{οὖν} \textit{ἐπιστήμην} ὅτε \textit{μὲν} \textit{ἐπιστήμην} \textit{ὅτε} δ' \textit{ἀγνοιαν} εἶναι, ἀλλὰ \textit{δόξα} τὸ τοιοῦτον \textit{ἐστιν} (\textit{eid. synra} p. 163), \textit{οὕτως} \textit{οὖν} \textit{ἀπόδειξις} \textit{οὕτ'} ὀρισμὸν, ἀλλὰ \textit{δόξα} \textit{ἐστὶ} τοῦ \textit{ἐνδεχόμενον} \textit{ἀλλως} \textit{ἐχειν}, \textit{δήλων} ὅτι \textit{οὐκ} \textit{ἐν} \textit{εἰ} αὐτῶν \textit{οὕτε} \textit{ἀπόδειξις}. Ας \textit{soon} as we perceive it \textit{no longer}, we \textit{do not know whether it is now the same as we think it to be.} (\textit{Cf. Top.} v. 3, 131, b, 21; \textit{Anal. Pri.} ii. 21, 67, a, 39.) \textit{And in} ch. 10, 1053, b, 34: τοῦ λόγου μέρη τα τοῦ \textit{ἐδίκου} \textit{μόνον} \textit{ἐστιν}, ὁ δ' \textit{λόγος} \textit{ἐστι} τοῦ \textit{καθόλου} τὸ γὰρ \textit{κύκλω} εἶναι καὶ \textit{κύκλου} καὶ \textit{ψυχὴ} \textit{εἶναι} καὶ \textit{ψυχὴ} \textit{ταύτα}: τοῦ δ' \textit{συνόλου} ὡς, οἷον \textit{κύκλου} \textit{τουδὲ}, \textit{τῶν} \textit{καθέκαστα} \textit{τινος} ἢ \textit{ἀισθητός} ἢ \textit{νοητός} (λέγω δὲ \textit{νοητός} \textit{μὲν} \textit{οἷον} \textit{τοὺς} \textit{μαθηματικοὺς}, \textit{αισθητός} \textit{δὲ} \textit{οἷον} \textit{τοὺς} \textit{χαλκοὺς} καὶ \textit{τοὺς} \textit{ξύλινους—} but even the former have \textit{a ὄλη, only it is a ὄλη} \textit{νοητῆ}, 1036, a, 9 sqq.), \textit{τούτων} δὲ
the Concept of any object, yet it is not this object of sense itself, but only this determinate mode of sensible existence, only the universal form of the object, which can be defined. It follows as a consequence of this that the conception does not relate to individual objects of sense as such; but this applies also to all Individuals in general. Knowledge, in fact, aims always at a Universal, and the words of which a definition is made up are themselves general terms. Each concept

οὗκ ἐστιν ὃρισμὸς ἄλλα μετὰ νοζ-σεως ἢ αἰσθήσεως γνωρίζονται, ἀπελθούσας [-τα] δ' ἐκ της ἐντελε-χείας οὗ δὴλον πέτερον ποτε εἰσίν ἢ οὐκ εἰσίν, ἀλλ' ἄει λέγονται καὶ γνωρίζονται τῷ καθόλου λόγῳ: ἢ δ' ἐλη ἄγνωστος καθ' αὐτήν.

1 As in the concept of the house (Metaph. vii. 15, see preceding note), the soul, the axe (De An. i. 403, b, 2; ii. 1, 412, b, 11), of the simûn (Metaph. vii. 5, &c.), in fact in all concepts of material and natural things. Cf. Phys. ii. 9 fin.: although the material causes are subservient to the ideal or final causes, still in explaining natural phenomena we must give both: ἵνα δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ἑστι τὸ ἀναγκαῖον [i.e. because the physical or material causes belong to the concepts of things], δρισαμένω γὰρ τὸ ἔργον τοῦ πρίεων, ὅτι διαίρεσις τοιαῦτα: αὐτὴ δ' οὖκ ἐσται, εἰ μὴ ἔξει ἄλλοντα τοιουσί: οὕτως δ' οὖ, εἰ μὴ σιδη-ροῦς. ἑστι γὰρ καὶ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ἐνα μόρα ἢς ἐλη τοῦ λόγου. Cf. Metaph. vii. 10, 1035, a, 1, b, 14, and ch. 11, 1037, a, 29.

2 If on the one hand we deny that matter belongs to the concept of a thing, and on the other are obliged to admit that numberless things cannot be defined without giving their matter, this seems, at first sight, a contradiction. In the passage referred to (Metaph. vii. 10) Aristotle seeks to escape this contradiction by saying that in such cases, not this individual object, formed by the combination of a specific concept with this definite matter, is defined, but only its form; it is not this circle, but the circle, or the κύκλῳ εἶναι, not this soul, but the soul, the ψυχῇ εἶναι. But the difficulty is, indeed, by no means removed in this way. If, for instance, the soul is the 'Entelechy' of an organic body (De An. ii. 1), the τῇ ἑν εἶναι τῷ τοιῷσδε σώματι (Metaph. ibid. 1035, b, 16), then a matter constituted in a stated way belongs to the concept of the soul.

3 Metaph. vii. 15, 1039, b, 27, as at p. 220, n. 2, supra.

4 Vid. supra, p. 163, n. 2.

5 Metaph. ibid. 1040, a, 8: not only are sensible things incapable of definition, but also ideas: τῶν γὰρ καθ' ἑκαστὸν ἡ ἱδέα, ὡς φασί, καὶ χωριστὴ. ἀναγκαῖον δ' εἴξ ἄνοματον εἶναι τὸν λόγον: ὅνομα δ' οὗ ποιήσει ὁ ἰδριζόμενος, ἄγνωστον
embraces several individuals, or at least can embrace several;¹ and even if we descend to the lowest species we are still always met by universal determinations only. Within these, the individual entities are distinguished no longer by anything relating to species, but only by accidental marks of difference.² Between

¹ Loc. cit. 1, 14, Aristotle proposes the objection: μηδὲν καλὸνες χωρίς μὲν πάντα πολλαίοι, ἢμα δὲ μόνοι τοινώ ὑπάρχειν (which is really the case in the determination of concepts, see Metaph. iii, 4, init.: εἰτε γὰρ μὴ ἔστι τι παρὰ τὰ καθ- ἐκαστα, τὰ δὲ καθἐκαστά ἀπειρα, τῶν δ’ ἀπείρων πῶς ἐνδεχεται λαβεῖν ἐπιστήμην; cf. ii. 2, 991, b, 20 sqq.; Top. ii. 2, 109, b, 14; Anal. Post. i. 24, 86, a, 3 sqq.; and ibid. c. 19–21. the proof that argument cannot be continued to infinity either upwards or downwards. In this Aristotle exactly follows Plato: see Zell. Ph. d. Gr. pt. i. p 524,3,587,1.– Aristotle designates singulars by the phrases: τὰ καθ’ ἐκαστα (or κ. ἐκαστον), τὸ ἀπείρῳ ἐν (Metaph. iii. 4,999, b, 34; Categ. c. 2, 1, b, 6, et supra; see Waitz on this passage), τὰ τίνα, ὅ τις ἄνθρωπος, κ. c. (Categ. ibid. 1, 4, b; Anal. Post. i. 24, 85, a, 34; Metaph. vii. 13, 1038, b, 33), τὸ δὲ τι (Categ. c. 5, 3, b, 10; Metaph. ix. 7, 1049, a, 27 et supra; see Waitz on this passage of the Categories), also τὰ ἄτομα (e.g. Categ. c. 2, 1, b, 6, c. 5, 3, a, 35; Metaph. iii. 1, 995, b, 29. It is true

² Metaph. vii. 10 (rid. supra. p. 220, n. 2): ὅ λόγος ἐστι τον καθόλου. Anal. Post. ii. 13, 37, b, 26: αἰεὶ δ’ ἐστι πᾶς ὁρος καθόλου. The determination of concepts may be continued till all specific differences are exhausted, and the τελευτα’α διάφορα is reached; but below this there only remain individuals which are no longer specifically distinguished (see Metaph. x. 9, 1058, a, 34 sqq. and supra, p. 216, n. 1), and are in a sense ὁμοία (Anal. Post. ii. 13, 97, a, 37, b, 7): these, however, continue to form a multiplicity, and, in fact, an indefinite multiplicity, and for this reason cannot be the object of science and of the concept; Metaph. iii. 4. init.: εἰτε γὰρ μὴ ἔστι τι παρὰ τὰ καθ- ἐκαστα, τὰ δὲ καθἐκαστά ἀπειρα, τῶν δ’ ἀπείρων πῶς ἐνδεχεται λαβεῖν ἐπιστήμην; cf. ii. 2, 991, b, 20 sqq.; Top. ii. 2, 109, b, 14; Anal. Post. i. 24, 86, a, 3 sqq.; and ibid. c. 19–21. the proof that argument cannot be continued to infinity either upwards or downwards. In this Aristotle exactly follows Plato: see Zell. Ph. d. Gr. pt. i. p 524,3,587,1.– Aristotle designates singulars by the phrases: τὰ καθ’ ἐκαστα (or κ. ἐκαστον), τὸ ἀπείρῳ ἐν (Metaph. iii. 4,999, b, 34; Categ. c. 2, 1, b, 6, et supra; see Waitz on this passage), τὰ τίνα, ὅ τις ἄνθρωπος, κ. c. (Categ. ibid. 1, 4, b; Anal. Post. i. 24, 85, a, 34; Metaph. vii. 13, 1038, b, 33), τὸ δὲ τι (Categ. c. 5, 3, b, 10; Metaph. ix. 7, 1049, a, 27 et supra; see Waitz on this passage of the Categories), also τὰ ἄτομα (e.g. Categ. c. 2, 1, b, 6, c. 5, 3, a, 35; Metaph. iii. 1, 995, b, 29. It is true
this accidental difference and the specific differences lie those attributes which belong exclusively to the members of a certain species, without, however, being directly included in their Concept; and Aristotle calls these Properties (ίδια). But in a wider sense this name is also used by him to include specific differences on the one side and accidental qualities on the other.

What falls under one Concept must be, so far as this is the case, identical. What does not fall under

that the lowest species, which do not divide into sub-species — the ἀνδίαφορα, vid. supra, p. 216, n. 1—are given the same name: but in that case, whenever this meaning does not appear from the context itself, he uses, not merely τὰ ἄτομα, but ἄτομα εἶδη and similar expressions (cf. Metaph. iii. 3, 999, a, 12, v. 10, 1018, b, 6, vii. 8 ἤν., x. 8, 9, 1058, a, 17, b, 10, xi. 1, 1059, b, 35) or τὰ ἐνοχατα, because in descending from the most universal they come last (Metaph. xi. 1, 1059, b, 26; Eth. N. vi. 12, 1143, a, 29, 33; De An. iii. 10, 433, a, 16; De Mem. c. 2, 451, a, 26).

1 In Top. i. 4, 101, b, 17, he distinguishes γένος, ἰδίων, and συμβεβηκός; and as soon as he has divided the ἰδίων again into ὀρος and ἰδίων in the narrower sense, he defines the latter, c. 5, 102, a, 17: ἰδίων ὤ' ἐστὶν ἡ μὴ δηλοῦ μὲν τὸ τ' ἢν εἶναι, μόνον ὤ' ὑπάρχει καὶ ἀντικατηγορεῖται τοῦ πρόναμαστο [is related to it as an interchangeable concept], ὥστε ἰδίων ἀνθρώπου τὸ γραμματικὸς εἶναι δεκτικοῦ, &c.

2 Already (loc. cit.) he distinguishes the ποτέ ἡ πρὸς τι ἰδίων from the ἀπλῶς ἰδίων, and in the 5th book, which deals with the topical treatment of the ἰδία (c. 1) he distinguishes the ἰδίων καθ' αὐτὸ from the ἰδίων πρὸς ἔτερον, the ἅλ ἰδίων from the ποτέ ἰδίων. He himself, however, remarks (129, a, 32) of the ἰδίων πρὸς ἔτερον, and it is true in any case of the ποτέ ἰδίων, that it belongs to the συμβεβηκότα. On the other hand, he gives as examples of the ἰδία καθ' αὐτὸ and ἅλ essential marks such as ζόον ἀδάνατον, ζόον θνητόν, τὸ ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος συγκειμένον (128, b, 19, 35, 129, a, 2). Cf. preceding note.

3 Aristotle does not say so in these words, but it is shown by his discussions on the various meanings of ταύτων. In Top. i. 7 (cf. viii. 1, 151, b, 29; 152, b, 31) three of these are distinguished: γένει ταύτων is what belongs to one genus, εἶδει ταύτων what belongs to one species (cf. Metaph. x. 8, 1058, a, 18), and ἀριθμῷ ταύτων, ὧν ὄνοματα πλεῖο τὸ δὲ πράγμα ἐν. This last kind of identity may be expressed in various ways: κυριάτατα μὲν καὶ πρῶτως ὅταν ὄνοματι ἡ ὄρο τοῦ ταύτων ἀπόδοθη, καθάπερ ἰμάτιον λωτίς καὶ ζόον πεζὸν ὄντων ἀνθρώπω, δεύτερον ὤταν τῷ ἰδίῳ, καθάπερ τῷ ἐπιστήμης
one concept is different. Complete Identity, however, implies unity of matter also, for individuals between which there is no difference of a species are yet different numerically, because in each of them the same concept presents itself in a different matter. Conceptual distinction in the highest degree gives us Contrary Opposition; whereas simple difference produces Contradictory Opposition. For Contraries (έναντία) are such as, within the same Genus, lie as far as possible asunder. Contrary opposition, in fact, is

δεκτικὸν ἀνθρώπῳ... τρίτον ἔσται ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἀνθρώπουσαν ἢ τὸ καθισμένον ἢ τὸ κυματικὸν κυκλάτει. There is a somewhat different division in Metaph. v. 9. Aristotle there distinguishes, first, the ταῦτα κατὰ συμβεβηκός and ταῦτα καθ’ αὐτὰ; then the ταῦτα εἶδος and ἄρτικα, both of which are affirmed partly of that which has a Matter, partly of that which has an Essence (fuller at x. 3, 1054, a, 32; that is identical in number which both in Matter and in Form is one). As a general explanation he gives us a formula which is easily reducible to the one cited above: ἡ ταῦτατη ἔνατης τῆς ἐστὶν ἢ πλείοντον τοῦ εἶναι ἢ ὅταν χρήσθαι ὡς πλεῖον (as in αὐτὸ αὐτῷ ταῦτα). Since, however (according to ch. 10, 1018, a, 35), Unity and Being can be used in different senses, the meaning of the ταῦτα, ἐτερον, &c. must vary accordingly.

1 Metaph. v. 9, 1018, a, 9: ἐτερον δὲ λέγεται ὅν ἢ τὰ εἶδος πλεῖον ἢ ἡ ἑλή ἢ ὁ λόγος τῆς ὀνοσίας καὶ ὅλως ἀντικειμένως τῷ ταύτῳ λέγεται τὸ ἐτερον. On εἶδος and γένει ἐτερον, cf. ibid. x. 8, v. 10, 1018, a, 38 sqq. and ch. 28, 1024, b, 9.

2 See preceding note and p. 222, n. 2. That the individual differences of things must be based on Matter will be further shown later on, in the second part of ch. vii. infra.

3 Aristotle states this definition, Cat. c. 6, 6, a, 17; Eth. N. ii. 8, 1108, b, 33, as one already in use (ὅρισταί); but in Metaph. x. i init., he puts it forward in his own name, and he there establishes the proposition that opposites must belong to the same genus, by observing expressively: τὰ μὲν γὰρ γένεις διαφέροντα οὐκ ἔχει οὐδὲν εἰς ἄλλα, ἀλλ’ ἀπέχει πλεῖον καὶ ἀσύμβλητα (e.g. a sound and a colour are not opposed to one another, because they cannot at all be compared, they are ἀσύμβλητα). Yet, on the other hand, we read in Metaph. v. 10, 1018, a, 25: ἐναντία λέγεται τὰ τῇ μὴ δυνατὰ διὰ τὸ αὐτῷ παρείναι τῶν διαφερόντων κατὰ γένος, καὶ τὰ πλείους διαφέροντα τῶν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ γένει, καὶ τὰ πλείουστον διαφέροντα τῶν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ δεκτικῷ (that the ἐναντία are
nothing but specific difference made absolute. Contra-
dictory opposition, on the other hand, is the relation

accidental to one and the same δεκτικον is confirmed by Metaph. x. 4, 1055, a, 29; De Somn. No. 1, 453, b, 27), and τά πλειστον διαφέ-

ροντα των υπ’ την αυτήν δύναιν, καὶ ὧν ἡ διαφορά μεγίστη ἡ ἀπλῶς ἡ
c. Another margin: κατά γένος ἢ κατ’ εἴδος. τὰ δ’ ἄλλα

έναστια λεγεται τὰ μὲν τῷ τὰ τοιαύτα ἔχειν, τὰ δὲ τῷ δεκτικά εἶναι
tων τοιαύτων, &c. (and the like in x. 4, 1055, a, 33), and Categ. c. 11 frn. also has: ἀνάγκη δὲ πάντα
tὰ ἐναστία ἡ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ γένει
eιναι [like black and white], ἡ

ἐν τοῖς ἐναστίοις γένεσιν [like just and unjust], ἡ αὐτὰ γένη εἶναι
[like good and evil]. SIMPL. cites something similar (In Categ. Scho-

ul. 84, a, 6; Ar. Fr. 117) from the treatise Π. ἀντικειμέ-
nων, about which cf. p. 70, n 4.—The more mature and correct statement is which is given in Metaph. x. (e.g. good and evil could not be contraries if they did not fall under the same generic concept, that of moral behaviour); and, in fact, Aris-

totle himself (at 1055, a, 23 sqq.) resolves the earlier state-
ments by bringing them into line with the idea of the ἐναρτον as there defined. It is only in reference to that definition of the ἐναρτον that we can understand Aristotle's important axiom (Metap.

h. iii. 2, 996, a, 20; iv. 2, 1004, a, 9, 1005, a, 3; xi. 3, 1061, a, 18; An. Pri. 1. 36, 48, b, 5; De An. iii. 3, 427, b, 5, et alibi; see BONITZ and SCHWEGLER on Metaph. iii. 2, loc. cit.), τῶν ἐναρ-
tίων μία ἐπιστήμη. That is the same science which deals with the same things; things which belong to different genera, like sound and colour, belong also to different sciences: cf. loc. cit. 1055, a, 31.—Further, from the same definition of the ἐναρτον (ibid. 1055, a, 19, cf. De Caio, i. 2, 269, a, 10, 14, and Phys. i. 6, 189, a, 13) Aristotle deduced the principle that to each thing there can only be one contrary. Between contraries there may lie an indefinite number of inter-

mediate grades, which are compo-

unded of these contraries (as colours out of light and dark). Such intermediate grades are not found, however, between every pair of contraries, but only be-

tween those pairs of which one or other predicate does not necessa-

rily belong to the subject con-

cerned, and in which there is a gradual transition from one to the other. (Metaph. x. 7; Categ. c. 10, 11, b, 38 sqq., 12, b, 25 sqq. cf. SIMPL. Categ. Scho. in Ar.84, a,15 sqq.,28 sqq.) What Aristotle had in his mind in this doctrine of the ἐναρτον is the scale of changes in the natural sciences; for every change is a transition from one condition to the opposite; Phys. v. 3, 226, b, 2, 6, i. 4, 187, a, 31, c. 5, 188, a, 31 sqq.; Gen. et Corr. i. 7, 323, b, 29.—To the above definition of the ἐεδεί ἐναρτον corresponds that of the ἐναρτον κατὰ τόπον in Meteor. ii. 6, 363, a, 30, and Phys. v. 3, 226, b, 32.—The correct way of formulating oppositions was dealt with in the treatise Π. ἀντικειμένων (vid. supra p. 70, n, 4, and SIMPL. loc. cit. 83, b, 39 sqq.; Ar. Fr. 116).

1 The διαφορά τέλεως of Mel-

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between such concepts as stand to one another in the relation of Yes to No.\(^1\) of affirmation to negation, and between which, therefore, no third or middle term can lie,\(^2\) and of which as applied to every given object one or other must be true.\(^3\) This kind of opposition, to put it differently, arises when everything which is not contained in a certain concept is collected into one negative expression.\(^4\) i.e. where the aggregate of all possible determinations is divided between two concepts by the test of identity with or difference from some given determinant. Between contrary and contradictory opposition Aristotle places that of privation and possession,\(^5\) though he is not able quite to establish the difference\(^6\) between this and the other two kinds of

taph. x. 4, 1055, a, 10 sqq., 22 sqq. Since this opposition only occurs between abstract concepts and not between concrete things, the tract Π. ἀντικειμένων maintained that only the concepts (e.g. φόνησις and ἀφοσισία) were to be called ἀπελῶς εἰς τί, not the beings to which these concepts apply (such as the φόνωσις and the ἀφοσιον). SIMPL. loc. cit. 83, b, 24 sqq., cf. PLATO, Phado, 103 R.

\(^1\) Aristotle's standing formula for this kind of opposition is therefore, ἕνα κατάφασις καὶ ἀπόφασις ἀνταφέσθαι. In a judgment the like opposition is called ἀντίφασις (vid. n. 6, &c., infra); and in Phys. v. 3, 227, a, 8 and Metaph. iv. 7 init., v. 10 init., the opposition of concepts is included under the same word.

\(^2\) Metaph. iv. 7, xi. 6, 1063, b, 19; Phys. loc. cit., and cf. what will be said presently about contradictory judgment. The kind of opposition is the same there as here: see Categ. c. 10, 12, b, 10.

\(^3\) Categ. c. 10, 11, b, 16 sqq., 13, a, 37 sqq.; and Metaph. x. 1057, a, 33.

\(^4\) Ἄν ὅνωμα ὡς ῥήμα ἀφοσισς; vid. infra, p. 232, n. 2.

\(^5\) Ἐξ ἔσεσι καὶ στέρησις, e.g. 'seeing' and 'blind.' For what follows, cf. TRENDelenburg, Hist. Beitr. i. 103 sqq.

\(^6\) In Metaph. v. 22 (and, referring to this, x. 4, 1055, b, 3) Aristotle distinguishes three meanings of the στέρησις: (1) ἃν μὴ ἔξυρις τῶν πεφυκότων ἔχεσθαι, κἂν μὴ αὐτὸ ἢ πεφυκός ἔχειν, οἱ οὖν φυτῶν ἄμματων στέρησθαι λέγεται. (2) ἃν πεφυκός ἔχειν, ἢ αὐτὸ ἢ τὸ γένος, μὴ ἔχερ. (3) ἃν πεφυκός καὶ ὡς πεφυκός ἔχειν μὴ ἔχερ. Only in the first meaning would 'privation' be synonymous with 'negation' (for 'blind' = 'not-seeing'), and we could affirm of the opposites κατά στέρησιν καὶ ἕξιν that which we are told by Categ. c. 10, 13, b, 20 sqq. (that is to say, by the
opposition. Notions of relation are adduced as the
author of the Post-predicamenta) can not be affirmed of them, namely that ‘everything is either one or the other’ (either ‘seeing’ or ‘blind’); in such a case, therefore, the relation between στέρησις and ἕξις would be reduced to that of ἀντίφασις. In the other two senses of στέρησις this is not the case, for in them the στέρησις itself, as is admitted in Metaph. iv. 12, 1019, b, 3 sqq., expresses something positive, and is a kind of ἕξις; and thus, if we take ‘privation’ in this sense, the opposition of the ἕξις comes under the definition of the ἐναντίον.—The distinction of the two in the Post-predicamenta (Categ. c. 10, 12, b, 26 sqq.) is founded on the following argument: of those ἐναντία, which have no middle term between them (as ‘straight’ and ‘crooked’), one or other must necessarily apply to everything capable of the distinction (e.g. ‘every number must be either odd or even’); when, on the other hand, there is a middle term between two ἐναντία, such a conclusion never follows (we cannot say, ‘Everything which is capable of colour must be either white or black’); but in the case of στέρησις and ἕξις, neither one nor the other of these results will arise; we cannot say that ‘to everything capable of the distinction one or other of such opposites must apply,’ for there may be some time at which neither of the two will apply to it—τὸ γὰρ μήπω πεφυκός ὤψ ἔχειν οὔτε τυφλόν οὔτε ὤψ ὤψ ἔχειν λέγεται; but neither can we reckon this class of opposites with those between which there is a middle term—ὅταν γὰρ ἡ ὤψ πεφυκός ὤψ ἔχειν, τότε ἡ τυφλόν ἢ ὤψ ἔχειν ὑπῆρξε: μι. It is, however, to be observed that (1) so long as the thing in question is not πεφυκός ὥς ἔχειν, it is not δεκτικόν ὄψεως either, and therefore the instance adduced is not to the point; and (2), on the other hand, there is much that is intermediate between ‘possession’ and ‘privation,’ for there are all the degrees of partial possession: there are not only ‘seeing’ things and ‘blind’ things, but also things ‘half blind.’—A further distinction of the ἐναντία from the opposites κατὰ στέρησιν καὶ ἕξιν is said to lie in the fact (Categ. c. 10, 13, a, 18), that in the former the transition from one to the other is mutual (white can become black and black white), but in the latter only one-sided, from possession to privation, and not conversely. But this is likewise incorrect: not only can things which see become blind or the rich poor, but blind things may become seeing and the poor rich; and even if this is not possible in every actual case, the same is just as true of the ἐναντία themselves; neither can every sick man get well, nor every black thing become white. For the logical relation of concepts, such a distinction would in any case be of no importance.—Lastly, in Metaph. x. 4, 1055, b, 3, 7, 14, it is said that the στέρησις is a kind of ἀντίφασις, namely the ἀντίφασις ἐν τῷ δεκτικῷ, and the ἐναντίον is a kind of στέρησις (thus also in xi. 6, 1063, b, 17); so that, according to this, these three
subjects of a fourth sort of opposition. Of all these kinds of opposition the general proposition holds good, that 'opposites fall within one and the same science.'

concepts would form a kind of gradation from the higher to the lower. But this also can only be said when the concept of στέρησις is not accurately determined; as soon as this is done, the relation of στέρησις and ἕξις falls either under ἀντίφασις or under ἐναντίως. To the latter result Anal. Post. i. 4, 73, b, 21 points: ἐστι γὰρ τὸ ἐναντίον ἡ στέρησις ἢ ἀντιφάσις ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ γένει, οἷον ἄρτιον τὸ μὴ περιττὸν ἐν ἀρμοίοις; for, to be an ἐναντίον, the στέρησις must express a positive concept, and this not merely indirectly, like the ἀντίφασις from which it is here distinguished. The same is true of passages like Metaph. vii. 7, 1033, a, 7 sqq., where the sick person—who is elsewhere the ἐναντίον of the healthy person—is given as his στέρησις; ibid. xii. 4, 1070, b, 11: ὃς μὲν εἶδος [ἀιτία τῶν σωμάτων] τὸ θερμὸν καὶ ἄλλον τρόπον τὸ ψυχρὸν ἡ στέρησις, for cold forms a contrary opposition to warm, and if it is an εἶδος, it cannot be merely a negation; and hence, though it is given as a negation with other analogous concepts (e.g. De Caelo, ii. 3, 286, a, 25), yet Aristotle himself in other passages admits that, in certain cases, it is a natural property, and not merely a defect (Part. An. ii. 2, 649, a, 18), and that it has the power of acting (Gen. et Corr. ii. 2, 329, b, 24), which cannot possibly be true of a mere στέρησις. Cf. TRENDELENBURG, loc. cit. 107 sqq., and STRÜMPPELL, Gesch. d. theor. Phil. 27 sq.—The tract Ⅱ. ἀντικειμένων also treated of στέρησις and ἕξις; SIMPL. Schol. in Ar. 86, b, 41, 87, a, 2; Ar. Fr. 119. We shall have to discuss hereafter the metaphysical signification of στέρησις and its relation to the ἕξις.

1 Cat. c. 10, 11, b, 17, 24 sqq.; Top. ii. 2, 109, b, 17, c. 8, 113, b, 15, 114, a, 13, v. 6, 135, b, 17; Metaph. x. 4, 1055, a, 38, c. 3, 1054, a, 23. Instances of such relative concepts are (see Cat., loc. cit., and c. 7; Metaph. v. 15): double and half—in fact, the manifold and its part, the ὑπερέξον and ὑπερεχώμενον; the active and the passive; the measurable and the measure; the knowable and knowledge. Though in Metaph. v. 10, two further forms of opposition are named, yet BONITZ, on this passage, and WAITZ, Arist. Org. i. 308, have demonstrated that these latter come under the four already given. Conversely, Phys. v. 3, 227, a, 7 only mentions two (ἀντίφασις and ἐναντίωτης).

2 See n. on p. 225, and as to the extension of the above principle to all ἀντικειμένων, cf. Metaph. iv. 2, 1004, a, 9; Top. i. 11, 105, b, 33, ii. 2, 109, b, 17, viii. 1, 155, b, 30, c. 13, 163, a, 2. The foundation of this proposition lies mainly in the fact that, of opposites, one cannot be known without the other. This has different causes in different cases: in contradictory opposition, it arises from the negative concept Non-A immediately presupposing and containing the positive one A; in correlative concepts it arises
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But concepts taken by themselves cannot, so far, produce Discourse of any kind; they are neither true nor false. Definite expression, and therewith truth and falsehood likewise, are first found in the Proposition. The coupling of the Noun or Name-word with the Verb or Time-word, of the Subject with the Predicate, presents us with a unit of discourse (or spoken thought, λόγος); and if this discourse takes the form of Assertion, if anything is affirmed or denied in it, we get, as distinguished from other modes of thought expressed in words, the Proposition or Judgment (ἀπόφασις)—for which Aristotle regards the simple Categorical Judgment as the type. A judgment is true, when the thought whose inner process is from their mutually presupposing one another; in contrary opposition, and in contrary opposition, and in contrary opposition, and ἐκ (so far as that applies here) it arises because the knowledge of the opposed specific differences presupposes that of the common genus.  

1 Vid. supra, p. 202, &c.; De Interpr. c. 4, c. 5, 17, a, 17; Metaph. vi. 4; cf. ZELLER, Ph. d. Gr. pt. i., p. 527, 5; p. 528, 1.

2 As to ὅνωμα and ὑμα (the latter of which, however, includes both copula and predicate), see De Interpr. c. 1, 16, a, 13, c. 2, 3, c. 10, 19, b, 11; Poet. c. 20, 1457, a, 10, 14; Rhet. iii. 2, 1404, b, 26. This is also Platonic; see ZELL. Ph. d. Gr. pt. 1, pp. 557, n. 5, 532, n. 2.

3 De Interpr. c. 4; and Rhet., ut supra.

4 Such as wish, request, &c. In Anal. Pr. i. 1, 24, a, 22; Top. i. 10, 104, a, 8 (cf. WAITZ, Arist. Org. i. 352). Interrogation is put under the concept of ἐρωτάσις, but it is distinguished as ἐρωτάσις διαλεκτική from ἐρωτάσις ἀποδεικτική, in that the latter is ἔργος ταχέροι μορίον τῆς ἀντιφάσεως, and the former, on the other hand, ἐρωτάσις ἀντιφάσεως. Similar definitions of ἐρωτάσις will be found in De Interpr. ii. 20, b, 23, and Anal. Post. i. 2, 72, a, 8; cf. Soph. Else. 6, 169, a, 8, 14.

5 ἐρωτάσις; on the expression cf. BIESE, Phil. d. Arist. i. 128, 2; WAITZ, Arist. Org. i. 363; BONITZ, Ind. Ar. 651, a, 33 sqq.

6 De Interpr. c. 4, 17, a, 1; Anal. Pr. i. 1, 24, a, 16.

7 De Interpr. c. 5, 17, a, 20: ἡ μὲν ἀπλὴ ἐστὶν ἀπόφασις ... ἡ δὲ ἐκ τούτων συγκειμένη ... ἐστὶ δὲ ἡ μὲν ἀπλὴ ἀπόφασις φονῇ σημαντικῇ περὶ τοῦ ὑπάρχειν τι ἡ μὴ ὑπάρχειν, ὡς οἱ χρόνοι διηρήνται.
signified by the spoken words, 1 regards that as conjoined or divided which is so conjoined or divided in actuality: it is false in the opposite case. 2 The most fundamental distinction between judgments is therefore that of affirmative and negative. 3 Every affirmation stands opposed to a negation which forms with it an exclusive (contradictory) opposition (αντίφασις), in such wise that one or the other of them must be true and no third is possible. 4 On the other hand, certain affirmative propositions are related to certain negatives (as, for instance, universal affirmatives to the corresponding

1 On the definition of speech as σύμβολον τῶν εἰς τῇ ψυχῇ παθωμάτων, see De Interpr. c. 1, 16, a, 3, c. 2 init. c. 4, 17, a, 1: Soph. El. c. 1, 165, a, 6; De Sensu, c. 1, 137, a, 14; Rhet. iii. 1, 1404, a, 20. The events in the soul which words express are, according to these passages, the same in all men; their designation in speech, on the other hand, is (like written signs) a matter of convention, and thus differs in different persons.

2 Metaph. vi. 4, ix. 1 init.

3 De Interpr. c. 5 init.: ἐστι δὲ εἰς πρῶτος λόγος ἀποφαντικὸς κατάφασις εἰσα ἀπόφασις· οἱ δὲ ἀλλοι πάντες συνδέσμω εἰς. Further, ibid. c. 5, 6; Anal. Pr. i. 1, 24, a, 16; Anal. Post. i. 25, 86, b, 33. The πρῶτας καταφατικὴ is also called κατηγορικὴ, the ἀποφατικὴ also στερητική. Anal. Pr. i. 2, c. 4, 26, a, 18, 31, c. 6, 28, a, 20, b, 6, 15, c. 13, 32, b, 1.

4 De Interpr. c. 6, c. 7, 17, b, 16; Anal. Post. i. 2, 72, a, 11: ἀπόφασις δὲ ἀντιφάσεως ὑποτερον-οῦν μόριον, ἀντίφασις δὲ ἀντιθεσις ἢς οὐκ ἐστι μεταξὺ καθ' αὐτήν.
universal negatives) in the way of contrary opposition, which does not exclude a third possible case.¹

But in truth we must not expect a perfectly clear exposition of these relations from Aristotle. As he was not yet able to distinguish the Copula expressly from the Predicate,² he was naturally unable to discover the true status of the Negative. He nowhere states that negation concerns the Copula alone, that it

which by the result. But Aristotle only regards as ‘true’ those assertions which assert actuality; and since this, in the given case, is itself undetermined, no definite proposition can, with truth, be then affirmed. When it is equally possible that something will happen, and that it will not happen, the assertion that it will happen is neither true nor false; it only becomes one or other, according as a corresponding or a contradictory state of fact arises. Cf. SIMPL. Categ. 103, B Bas.: according to the teaching of the Peripatetic school only the disjunctive proposition is true, ‘A will either be or not be’; but which part of this disjunction will be true, and which false, ἀληθέν ἐναι τῇ φύσει καὶ ἀστατον. Hence all that class of assertions, ἢ σὲ μὲν οὐκ ἑστιν ἢ ἀληθὴν ἢ ἑφυή ἑστιν δὲ ἢ τοῖα ἢ τοῖα.—It is from the Megareans that Aristotle took the subject-matter of the ‘Aporia’ which he discusses in the passage cited: cf. ZELLER, Ph. d. Gr. pt. i. p. 220, 1.

¹ De Interpr. c. 7, 17, b, 20: cf. what has been said at pp. 224–5, about the ἐναντιότης. The particular affirmative and particular negative propositions which, according to later terminology, are opposed as subcontrarieties, are, in Anal. Pr. ii. 8, 59, b, 10, reckoned among the ἐναντιόν ἀντι- κειμέναι. Aristotle, however, remarks (c. 15 init.) that this is only ‘according to the words, not as to the thing itself.’

² Vid. supr. p. 229, n. 2. In De Interpr. c. 10, 19, b, 19, a case is certainly before his mind, ὅταν τὸ ἐστιν τρίτον προσκαταγράφηται, as in the proposition ἐστι δίκαιος ἀνθρώπος. This, however, does not relate to the separation of the copula from the predicate, but only to the fact that, in existential propositions: ἐστιν ἀνθρώπος, οὐκ ἐστιν ἄ., &c., the subject can be expanded by means of an added adjective, which itself may be put either affirmatively (δίκαιος ἄ.), or negatively (οὐ δίκαιος ἄ.): ἐστι δίκ. ἄ. means ‘there is a just man,’ which is different from ἀνθρώπος δίκαιος ἐστι, ‘man is just.’ Aristotle nowhere says that every proposition, or even that the existential proposition logically considered, consists of three parts; and the treatise Π. ἐρωτ- νεῖα even shows a preference for selecting examples from those existential propositions which fall into two parts only.
ARISTOTLE has to do only with the connection of the subject to the predicate, and does not in fact deny the subject or the predicate itself. The omission caused him to treat propositions with a negative subject or predicate as a special class, whereas there is in fact no ground for doing so.

Aristotle proceeds to consider the Quantity of Judgments, distinguishing between those which relate to many objects at once and those which relate to one, and then subdividing the former into universals and particulars. He has therefore a general division into judgments universal, particular, and individual. But

1 In Anal. Pr. i. 46 init. c. 3, 25, b, 19, he shows that there is a distinction between μὴ εἶναι τὸ δὲ and εἶναι μὴ τοῦτο, μὴ εἶναι λευκὸν and εἶναι μὴ λευκὸν, inasmuch as propositions of the last kind have the form of affirmative propositions; but he does not detect the real reason of this either here or in De Interpr. c. 12 (to which BRANDIS, p. 165, refers).

2 De Interpr. c. 3, 16, a, 30, b, 12, he says: οὔκ ἄνθρωπος ἐστὶν ὄνομα, and οὐχ ἰδαίτερα πρὸς ῥῆμα; but he wants to call the former ὄνομα ἄριστον, and the latter ῥῆμα ἄριστον: and in c. 10, along with the propositions ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος, οὐκ ἐ. ἅ., &c., he introduces also the corresponding ones made up of negative concepts: ἐστὶν οὔκ ἄνθρωπος, οὐκ ἐστὶν οὐκ-ἄ., ἐστὶν οὐδὲίκαις οὐκ ἄνθρ., οὐκ ἐστὶν οὐ-ἄικ. οὐκ ἄνθρ., &c. Theophrastus called these propositions: ἐκ μεταβέσεως (AMMON. De Interpr. 128, b, 129, a., and PHIL. Schol. in Ar. 121, a), or κατὰ μετάβασιν (ALEX. Analyt. 134, a.).

3 For that in which consists the form of the judgment—the definite conjunction of the subject with the predicate—remains the same, whether the subject and predicate be positive or negative concepts. And Aristotle himself admits (Anal. Pr. i. 3, 25, b, 19, cf. c. 13, 32, a, 31), that expressions such as: ἕνδεχεται μηδένι ὑπάρχειν, ἐστιν οὐκ ἀγαθὸν, have a σχῆμα καταφασικὸν.

Still, this is only the case in De Interpr. c. 7. Universal judgments, which are also called ἐπὶ τῶν καθόλου ἀποφαίνονται καθόλου, and particulars, which are also called ἐν μέρει ορ κατὰ μέρος (Anal. Pr. i. 1, 24, a, 17, c. 2, 25, a, 1, 10, 20, &c.), are also designated as those which ἐπὶ τῶν καθόλου μὲν μὴ καθόλου δὲ ἀποφαίνονται, i.e. in both the subject is a καθόλου, δ ἐπὶ πλεῖστοις πέφυκε κατηγορεῖσθαι, but in the one the predicate is affirmed of the subject in its whole extension, in the other not so. The Analytics, on the other hand, does not mention individual
he adds what he calls the 'indefinite judgments,' and thus is led to bring in, here as elsewhere, a distinction which really has nothing to do with the logical form of thought-connection at all, but solely with the grammatical form of the expression.  

Aristotle also devotes much attention to the Modality of Judgments, on account of the importance of this subject in connection with the Syllogism. He distinguishes between judgments which assert actuality, necessity, and possibility, but this division does not coincide with that which is now in use—of Assertory, Apodeictic, and Problematic—for Aristotle in his classification does not regard subjective degrees of certainty, but the objective nature of things. By 'possible' he does not mean what may perhaps exist, but only what may exist but does not exist necessarily, and therefore may or may not exist indifferently.  

judgments (see following note); and although it is true that they are without meaning for the main object of that treatise, which is the doctrine of the syllogism, yet we should expect that, if Aristotle at the time he wrote it had already had his attention called to this form of judgment, he would have expressly stated why he passed it over. We may infer, if the composition Π. ἐρμηνείας be really his, that the peculiar notes of individual judgments must have struck him after he had written Analytics.  

1 In the De Interpr. he adds nothing as to indefinite judgments. In Anal. Pr. i. 1, 24, a, 16 (cf. c. 2, 25, a, 4, c. 4, 26, b, 3, etc.) he says: πρότασις ... ἣ καθόλου ἢ ἐν μέρει ἢ ἀδιόριστος; but the examples which are there given—τῶν ἐναντίων εἶναι τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιστήμην, τὴν ἡδονὴν ὑπὸ εἶναι ἀγαθόν,—belong, logically considered, to the class of universal propositions; others which might be adduced, such as ἡsigma ἀνθρώπου δίκαιος, are particular. Aristotle himself makes no further use in the Analytics of the προτάσεις ἀδιόριστοι. Theophrastus designated under this name the particular negative (ALEX. Analyt. 21, b), or perhaps as AMMON. De Interpr. 73, a, states, particular propositions in general.

2 Anal. Pr. i. 2 init.: πᾶσα πρότασις ἡτιν ἣ τοῦ ὑπάρχειν ἢ τοῦ εἶ ἀνάγκης ὑπάρχειν ἢ τοῦ ἐνδεχεσθαι ὑπάρχειν.

3 Anal. Pr. i. 13, 32, a, 18 λέγω δ' ἐνδεχεσθαι καὶ τὸ ἐνδεχόμε-
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which may equally happen or not happen (Anal. Pr. i. 13, 32, b, 4 sqq.). Hence he maintains in Anal. Pr. i. 13, 32, a, 29 (cf. De Caelo, i. 12, 282, a, 4), that from the ἐνδέχεσθαι ὑπάρχειν the ἐνδέχεσθαι μὴ ὑπάρχειν also invariably follows, and from the παντὶ ἐνδέχεσθαι the ἐνδέχεσθαι μηδενὶ and μὴ παντὶ (i.e. the possibility of the predicate in question occurring to none, or not to all, for Prantl, Gesch. d. Log. i. 267, explains the words wrongly); for since the possible is nothing necessary, the contrary of all that is (merely) possible may happen.—And for the same reason Aristotle refuses (ibid. c. 17, 36, b, 35) to allow, in possible propositions, the simple conversion of the universal negative judgment. For, since the negative judgment, ‘it is possible that no B is A,’ according to him, includes the affirmative, ‘it is possible that every B is A,’ so the simple conversion of the former would include the simple conversion of a universal affirmative judgment; and universal affirmative judgments cannot be converted simply. Theophrastus and Eudemus denied these assertions, because they understood by ‘possible,’ everything that can happen, and lost hold of the statement that it must also at the same time be able not to happen; and thus they included some things necessary in the possible (ALEX. Anal. Pr. 51, b, m, 64, b, 72, a, b, m, 73, a). Aristotle

corollaries which he deduced from his definitions were partly confuted by critics as old as Theophrastus and Eudemus. 1 To what is called the ‘Relation of Judg-

1 Aristotle says that in a ‘possibility,’ the possibility of the contrary is also contained (see preceding note, and De Interpr. c. 12, 21, b, 12: δοκεῖ δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ δύνασθαι καὶ εἶναι καὶ μὴ εἶναι; ix. 9 init.: ὅπα γὰρ κατὰ τὸ δύνασθαι λέγεται, ταῦταν ἐστὶ δύνασθαι τάν-

αντία: i.e. what can be healthy can also be ill, what can rest can also move, he who can build can also destroy.
ments' Aristotle pays as little attention as to the Hypothetical and Disjunctive Syllogisms. Only in what he himself admits (Anal. Pr. i. 3, 25, a, 37; De Interpr. c. 13, 22, b, 29; cf. Metaph. ix. 2 init. c. 5, 1048, a, 4, c. 8, 1050, b, 30 sqq.) with regard to the forces of nature (δυνάμεις) which only act in one direction, that the necessary also may be called a possible (δυνατὸν), and that, allowing this, universal negative possible-propositions can be converted simply, and that we may conclude from necessity to possibility—but he also adds that this is not true as to his own concept of the possible.—Two further points of dispute, on which Alexander wrote a work (ALEX. Anal. 40, b, 83, a), arose between Aristotle and his pupils upon the question about the mood of conclusions in syllogisms, the premisses of which are in different moods. Aristotle says that where one premiss is a possible- and the other an actual-proposition, a perfect syllogism can only be had in the case where the major proposition is a possible-proposition; if, however, it is the minor, we get, first of all, an imperfect syllogism, i.e. one in which the conclusion is only obtained by a deductio ad absurdum and not immediately from the given premisses, and secondly, in the case of a negative syllogism (more correctly: in all cases), the possibility in the conclusion must be taken in the improper sense (i.e. not as confined to that which both can and cannot be) (Anal. Pr. i. 15). Theophrastus and Eudemus, on the contrary, were of opinion that even in this case there was a perfect possible-syllogism (ALEX. loc. cit. 56, b). Both sides are right, according to their concepts of the possible. If we understand by ‘possible’ everything that can be, including also the necessary, the syllogisms are quite correct and simple: ‘Every B is A, every C can be B, therefore every C can be A’; ‘No B is A, every C can be B, therefore it is possible that no C is A.’ If, on the other hand, we take ‘possible’ to mean only that of which the contrary is likewise possible, we cannot make such syllogisms, because in this supposition the minor, ‘every C can be B,’ includes the negative proposition, ‘every C can be not-B.’ And also, as Theophrastus and Eudemus merely adhered to the principle that the modality of the conclusion is conformed to the weaker premiss (ALEX. ibid.), they asserted, on the same principle, that when one premiss is assertorial and the other apodeictic, the conclusion is apodeictic (ALEX. ibid. 40, a, 42, b, and from him PHILOP. Schol. in Arist. 158, b, 18, 159, a, 6). whilst, according to Aristotle (Anal. Pr. i. 9 sqq.) it is apodeictic when the major is so. In this case also, according to the meaning which we attach to the modality of propositions, both assertions may be made. If the propositions ‘B must be A,’ ‘B cannot be A,’ are supposed to express that between B and A there is (or is not) a contingent, but a necessary connection, it follows that between every-
saying of contradictory opposition do we find the kernel of the late doctrine of disjunctive judgments. On the other hand, he is copious in his treatment of the Conversion of Propositions, laying down the well-known rules, but he treats it solely in connection with his theory of the Syllogism.

This theory of the Syllogism was expounded by Aristotle at full length, and it may truly be called his most original discovery. As he was the first to introduce the name of the Syllogism into the scientific vocabulary, so he was also the first to remark that all connections and all advances in our thought depend upon the syllogistic combination of judgments. A 'Syllogism' is a chain of thoughts, in which, from certain matters assumed, and by virtue of these alone, there issues of necessity some further matter different from them.

thing contained in $B$ and $A$, by the same necessity, there is, or is not, a connection (if all living beings, by reason of a necessity of nature, are mortal, the same is also true of every kind of living beings, e.g. of men), as Aristotle, loc. cit. 30, a, 21 sqq. shows quite clearly. If, on the other hand, these propositions are meant to state that we are obliged to think $A$ connected or not connected with $B$, the proposition, ' $C$ must (or cannot) be $A$' can only be deduced from the proposition ' $B$ must (or cannot) be $A$,' when we are obliged to consider $C$ implied in $B$. If, however, we only know as a fact (assertorially) that $C$ is $B$, then we only know as a fact, likewise, that $C$ is or is not that which we are obliged to think connected or not connected with $B$.

1 *Vid. supr. p. 230.
2 *Anal. Pr.* i. 2, 3, cf. c. 13, 32, a, 29 sqq. c. 17, 36, b, 15 sqq. ii. 1, 53, a, 3 sqq.
3 Simple conversion of universal negative and particular affirmative judgments, particular conversion (later so-called *conversio per accidens*) of universal affirmative, and no conversion at all of particular negative judgments—for the *conversio per contrapositionem* was not as yet known to him.
4 As he himself says, *Soph. El.* c. 34, 183, b, 34, 184, b, 1.
6 *Anal. Pr.* i. 24. b, 18: συλλογισµός δὲ ἦστι λόγος ἐν τῶν τεθέντων τινῶν ἐτερῶν τι τῶν κει-
The principle that this process in its simplest form involves no more than two assumptions, or more accurately two judgments, from which a third is derived, and that therefore no syllogistic conclusion can have more than two premisses, is nowhere expressly proved by Aristotle in the beginning of his treatise, though he refers to it later.¹ Now the deduction of a third judgment from two given judgments can only arise out of some bringing into connection of the concepts, which in these given judgments were as yet unconnected.² This is impossible, except a mediation be effected between them by another concept connected with both of them.³ Every syllogism must therefore necessarily contain three concepts, no more and no less;⁴ and of these the intermediate is connected in the one premiss with the first and in the other with the third, in such a way as to bring out the connection between the first and third in the con-

² A principle which Aristotle does not state in this form, but which follows immediately from his definition of Judgment, if we apply it to the case before us.

³ Cf. Anal. Pr. i. 23, b, 30 sqq., but especially 41, a, 2.

⁴ Anal. Pr. i. c. 25, init. Ibid. 42, b, 1 sqq. on the number of concepts in whole series of syllogisms. Of the three concepts of a syllogism (ὅροι, ἴδια, ὑπόθεσις), the minor proposition in Eth. N. vi. 12, 1143, b, 3, vii. 5, 1147, b, 9 = ἡ ἑτέρα (οὐ τελευταία) πρῶτος; the conclusion invariably = συμπέρασμα. In Anal. Pr. ii. 1, 53, a, 17 sqq., however, συμπέρασμα stands for the subject of the conclusion.
clusion. But this result may come in three ways. As all judgments consist in the connecting of a subject with a predicate (for Aristotle leaves hypothetical and disjunctive judgments out of his reckoning), and as the connecting of two judgments into a conclusion, or, in other words, the deduction of the conclusion from the premises, rests upon the relation of the intermediate concept or middle term to the other two, it follows that the mode of the connecting ('the form of the syllogism') will be determined by the way in which the middle term is related to the others.\footnote{The position of the propositions has, as we know, no influence on the form of the syllogism. The precedence of the major, customary since then, seemed more natural to Aristotle than to us. In laying down a syllogism, he begins not, as we are accustomed to do, with the subject, but with the predicate of the major: Α ὑπάρχει παντὶ τῷ Β, Β ὑπάρχει παντὶ τῷ Γ: so that, even in his form of expression, there is a constant descent from the greater to the middle concept, and from that to the lesser. Cf. UEBERWEG, loc. cit. p. 276.}

Now there are only three ways possible: the middle term may either be related as subject to the higher and as predicate to the lower concept, or as predicate to both, or as subject to both.\footnote{Aristotle does not take any direct notice of a fourth possible case, in which it is the subject of the lower and predicate of the higher; but we need not greatly blame him, for this fourth arrangement can only}

33 sq.; or the major concept is called briefly ἄκρον, and the minor τρίτον.

\footnote{1 Anal. Pr. i. 23, 41, a, 13, at the end of the section on the syllogistic figures, Aristotle, after having treated of the necessity and significance of the Middle concept as a connecting-link between Major and Minor, continues: εἰ δὲν ἄναγκη μὲν τι λαβεῖν πρὸς ἄμφω κοινῶν, τοῦτο δὲ ἐνδεχεται (ἢ γὰρ τὸ Α τοῦ Γ καὶ τοῦ Γ τοῦ Β καταγορέσανται, ἢ τὸ Γ κατ' ἄμφοι, ἢ ἄμφω κατ' τοῦ Γ), ταύτα δ' ἐστὶ τα εἰρημένα σχῆματα, φανερὸν ὅτι πάντα συλλογισμὸν ἄναγκη γίνεσθαι διὰ τούτων τινώς τῶν σχηματῶν. Cf. c. 32, 47, a, 40 sqq., and the searching discussion in UEBERWEG's Logik, § 103, p. 276 sqq.}
never occur in a single and rigorous chain of reasoning. We obtain, then, three Figures (σχήματα) which together sum up the categorical syllogism. The so-called fourth figure of later logic is ignored, and neither the hypothetical nor the disjunctive syllogisms are treated of as special forms in any way.

If we ask what syllogisms are possible in these three figures, it is to be observed that every syllogism must contain a universal, and must also contain an affirmative proposition; that the conclusion can only be universal when both the premisses are so; and that in every syllogism at least one of the premisses must resemble

1 The proof of this cannot be well given here.
2 Cf. Zeller, Ph. d. Gr. iii. a, 738, 2nd ed.: and consult especially Prantl, Gesch. d. Log. i. 570 sq.
3 Whether this is a failing or, as Prantl (Gesch. d. Leg. i. 295) thinks, an advantage of Aristotelian logic, it is not necessary here to inquire; but when that learned writer, as well as Biese (Phil. d. Arist. i. 155), endeavours to find that Aristotelian account of hypothetical syllogisms, which others miss, in the remarks on supposition-syllogisms (συλλογισμοὶ ἐξ ὑποθέσεως) at Anal. Pr. i. 23, 40, b, 25, 41, a, 21 sqq. c. 29, 45, b, 22, c. 44, he confounds two different things. Aristotle means by a 'hypothetical syllogism' that which begins with an unproved supposition (cf. Waitz, on Anal. 40, b, 25). We understand by it that of which the major is a hypothetical judgment. And the two classes do not by any means necessarily coincide, for an unproved supposition may be expressed in a categorical proposition, and conversely a hypothetical proposition may be fully demonstrable. The same statement, can, in fact, without changing its meaning, be expressed both categorically and hypothetically. Our modern distinction of categorical and hypothetical propositions regards exclusively the form of the judgment, not the scientific certainty of the proposition.
4 Anal. Pr. i. 24 init. : ἐτε ἐν ἀπαντι [sc. συλλογισμῷ] δὲ κατηγορικὸν τινα τῶν ὑπον ἐλναι καὶ τὸ καθόλου ὑπάρχειν. The former is not further proved, as Aristotle supposes it to be clear from his preceding explanation of the syllogistic figures. By way of proving the second, he proceeds: ἄνεν γὰρ τοῦ καθόλου ἥν ἐστι συλλογισμὸς, ἥν ὅποι τὸ κείμενον, ἥ τὸ ἵπτασι αἰτήσεται which will be explained in detail in what follows infra.
5 Loc. cit. 41. b, 23.
the conclusion, both as to its quality and also as to its modality.¹ Yet Aristotle has nowhere deduced these rules on general principles from the nature of the syllogistic method. They are merely generalisations from his observation of the various forms of syllogism themselves. This analysis, however, he carries out with very great care. He is not satisfied with proving the well-known moods for the three figures,² but he also investigates minutely the influence which the modality of the premisses in pure and in mixed syllogisms must exercise upon the conclusion and upon the whole syllogistic process.³ He regards the syllogisms of the first figure alone as perfect,¹ because, according to his view, they alone immediately reveal the necessity of the syllogistic sequence. Both the others yield 'imperfect' syllogisms, and require to be completed through the first. Their demonstrative value rests upon and is proved by the fact that they can be reduced to the first figure, either apagogically or by conversion.⁴ These syllogistic forms are of course employed in the reductio ad impossibile, as well as in 'hypothetical' arguments generally.⁵

¹ Loc. cit. 1. 27.
² For the first figure (to use the Scholastic designations) the moods: Barbara, Darii, Celenrent, Ferio (Anal. Pr. i. 4); for the second: Cesare, Camenes, Festino, Baroko (ibid. c. 5); for the third: Darapti, Felapton, Disamis, Datisi, Bocardo, Fresison (c. 6).
³ Anal. Pr. i. c. 8–23; cf. the discussion in n. 1 to p. 234, supra.
⁴ See the sections cited, especially c. 4 fin., c. 5 fin., c. 6 fin., c. 7, 29, a, 30, b, 1 sqq., c. 23, cf. c. 1, 24, b, 22; τέλειον μὲν οὖν καλὸν συλλογισμὸν τὸν μηδενός ἄλλον προσδεόμενον παρὰ τά εἰδημένα πρὸς τὸ φανῆναι τὸ ἀναγκαῖον, ἀτελή δὲ τῶν προσδεόμενον ἢ ἐνὸς ἢ πλείονος, & ἐστί μὲν ἀναγκαῖα διὰ τῶν ύποκειμένων δραν όν μὴν εὑρηται διὰ προτάσεων. It is not necessary here to defend Aristotle's view.
⁵ Ibid. c. 23, 41, a, 21 sqq.; cf. supra, p. 238, n. 1.
With equal fulness does Aristotle set forth rules for the proper treatment of these forms in scientific use, and the errors to be avoided. He shows in the first instance what kind of propositions are more difficult to prove but more easy to confute, and vice versa. ¹ Next he provides rules for the discovery of the fitting premisses, having regard to the quality and quantity of the conclusion to be proved, ² and in doing so he takes occasion to censure ³ in passing the Platonic method of division. ⁴ On this head he treats minutely of the rules and methods which must be observed in order to reduce the materials of proof so discovered to the exact syllogistic form. ⁵ Furthermore he discusses the capacity of syllogisms in relation to the comprehension of their contents; ⁶ the syllogisms giving true conclusions from false premisses; ⁷ the circleus in argu-

¹ Ibid. c. 26.
² Ibid. c. 27–29, here also (c. 29) with express application to apagogic and supposition-syllogisms.
³ To seek to define concepts by means of continuous divisions, he says (c. 31), is of no use; we have then to suppose the chief point that is to be proved. When it is a question of the concept of man as a ζήν θυμή, then, he says, from the propositions ‘All living beings are either mortal or immortal; man is a living being,’ it would only follow that man is either mortal or immortal: that he is a ζήν θυμή is a mere postulate. Hence Aristotle says of division, that it is ὅ τιν ἄσθενής [not valid] συλλογισμός. Similarly in Anal. Post. ii.5. Also in Part. An. i. 2 sq., the Platonic method is blamed because (contrary to the rule given at p. 216, n. 1) it multiplies unnecessarily the intermediate divisions, introduces the same thing under different genera, gives negative qualities, divides from all kinds of opposite points of view, &c. Cf. MEYER, Arist. Thierkunde, 71 sqq.
⁴ See ZELL. Ph. d. Gr. pt. i. 523 sqq.
⁵ Loc. cit. c. 32–46.
⁶ Anal. Pr. ii. 1.
⁷ Ibid. c. 2 init. (cf. Top. viii. 11 sq., 162, a, 9, b, 13): ζῆν ἀληθῶν μὲν ὡν ὅν ἐστὶ ψεῦδος συλλογισμός ἀσθανός, ἐκ ψευδῶν δ’ ἔστιν ἀληθείς, πλήρων ὡν διότι ἀλλ’ ὅτι τοῦ γὰρ διότι ὅν ἔστιν ἐκ ψευδῶν συλλογισμός (because false premisses give the ground itself, the ἁπάντα, falsely; cf. supra, p. 173, n. 2). Under what
endo; 1 the 'conversion' of the syllogism; 2 the Reductio ad absurdum; 3 syllogisms which result from the conversion of premisses into their opposites, 4 together with the various syllogistic fallacies and the means of meeting them. 5 Lastly he inquires into those kinds of proof which do not arise by demonstration, in the strict sense of the word, 6 and establishes the method of argument peculiar to each. 7 We cannot at this point conditions this is possible in the different figures, is discussed in c. 2–4.

1 To κύκλῳ καὶ ἐξ ἀλλήλων διέκανωθα. This consists in the conclusion of a syllogism (which, however, must of course be shown to be true from other sources) being used in conjunction with the converse of one premiss to prove the other. For the cases where this is possible, see loc. cit. c. 5–7. Against the vicious circle in argument, see Anal. Post. i. 3, 72, b, 25.

2 The destruction of one premiss by the other in conjunction with the contradictory or contrary of the conclusion; loc. cit. c. 8–10.

3 The Reductio ad absurdum. ὁ δὲ τοῦ ἀνώματος συλλογισμὸς, c. 11–14, cf. Top. viii. 2, 157, b, 34, c. 12, 162, b, 5, and Anal. Post. i. 26, where it is remarked that direct proof is of greater scientific value.

4 Loc. cit. c. xv.

5 The petitio principii (τὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ αἰτεῖσθαι), c. 16, cf. Top. viii. 13; the μὴ παρὰ τούτῳ συμβαίνειν τὸ ψεύδος, c. 17; the πρῶτον ψεύδος, c. 18, cf. Top. viii. 10; rules for disputation deduced from this, c. 19, sq.; on deception by too hasty suppositions, c. 21; on proving certain suppositions by the transposition of the propositions in a syllogism, c. 22. 6 Induction, c. 23; example, c. 24 (cf. Anal. Post. i. 1, 71, a, 9; Ilhet. i. 2, 1356, b, 2, 1357, b, 25, ii. 20); ἀπαγωγή (reduction of one problem to another more easy to solve), c. 25; objection (ἐνστασις), c. 26; the syllogism from the probable (εἰκὸς) or certain marks (ἐμεία), which Aristotle calls the 'Enthymeme,' c. 27. The most important of these is 'Induction,' which we shall discuss later on. It consists in the major proposition being proved by the minor and the conclusion. E.g., we may prove apodictically 'All animals which have little gall are long-lived; man, the horse &c. have little gall, and are therefore long-lived;' but the inductive proof will go thus: 'Man, the horse &c. are long-lived; man &c. have little gall; therefore animals which have little gall are long-lived.' This, however, only applies when the minor concept ('animals which have little gall') has an equal extension with the middle concept ('man &c.'), and when the minor proposition ('man &c. have little gall') can be simply transposed, so that in its place 'the animals which have little gall are man &c.' can be put (loc. cit. c. 23).

7 See for a fuller discussion of these points, Prantl, p. 299–
follow him into these researches, although we undoubtedly owe much to them in the application of the syllogistic method, and though they prove most clearly the care with which the great logician worked out its many-sided detail.

The syllogistic system forms the foundation upon which Aristotle built the theory of Scientific Proof, which he set out in the second *Analytics*. All proof is syllogistic, but not every syllogism is proof. It is only the *Scientific Syllogism* which deserves this name.\(^1\) Science consists in the cognition of causes, and the cause of a phenomenon is that from which it of necessity arises.\(^2\) Proof, therefore, and apprehension by means of proof are only possible when something is explained from its original causes.\(^3\) Nothing can be the subject of proof except that which is necessary. Proof is a conclusion from necessary premisses.\(^4\) That which is ordinarily (though not without exception) true can be

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321.—In the selection and sequence of the different sections no strict order is observed, although related subjects are put together. On the division of the *Prior Analytics* as a whole, see Brandis, p. 204 sq., 219 sq.

\(^1\) *Anal. Post.* i. 2, 71, b, 18: ἀπὸ δειξεὶς δὲ λέγω συνλογισμῶν ἐπιστημονικῶν. And after giving the requisites for such an argument, he adds: συνλογισμῷ μὲν γὰρ ἔσται καὶ ἀνευ τοῦτων, ἀπὸ δειξεὶς δὲ οὐκ ἔσται· οὐ γὰρ ποιήσει ἐπιστήμην.

\(^2\) *Loc. cit.* c. 2 *init.*: ἐπιστασθαι δὲ όδιμεθ’ ἐκαστὸν ἀπλῶς... διὰ τὴν τ’ αἰτίαν οἰώμεθα γνώσκειν δι’ ἣν τ’ ἐπαγμά ἔστιν, ὅτι ἐκείνον αἰτία ἔστιν, καὶ μὴ ἐνδέχεσθαι τοῦτ’ ἄλλως ἔχειν. Further references in support of this, *supra*, p. 163, n. 3.

\(^3\) *Ibid.* 71, b, 19: ἐὰν τοῖνυν ἔστι τὸ ἐπιστασθαι οἶδαν θεομεν, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὴν ἀποδεικτικὴν ἐπιστήμην εἰς ἀληθῶν τ’ εἶναι καὶ πρῶτων καὶ ἀμέσων [about this below] καὶ γνωριμωτέρων καὶ προτέρων τοῦ συμπεράσματος’ οὔτω γὰρ ἐσονται καὶ αἰ ἄρχαλ οἰκεῖαι τοῦ δεικνυμένου. *Ibid.* line 29: αἰτίας τε... δεῖ εἶναι [sc. that from which a proof is deduced]... ὅτι τότε ἐπιστάμεθα διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν εἰδώμεν.

\(^4\) *Ibid.* c. 4 *init.*: ἔπετε δ’ ἀδύνατον ἄλλως ἔχειν οὐ ἔστιν ἐπιστήμην ἀπλῶς, ἀναγκαίον δὲ εἰς τὸ ἐπιστητὸν τὸ κατὰ τ’ ἀποδεικ...
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included under matters of proof only in a limited sense. ¹ On the other hand, the contingent cannot be proved—
cannot even be known scientifically. ² And since neces-
sary truth is that only which proceeds from the essence
and the idea of the subject, while everything else is
contingent, so it may be said that all proof relates to
and is founded exclusively upon the essential character-
istics of things, and that the concept of each thing is
at once its starting-point and goal. ³ The purer and
more perfect the information, therefore, which any
form of Proof secures to us concerning the conceptual
nature and the causes of an object, the higher is
the kind of knowledge which it warrants; and so, other
things being equal, a universal proof ranks above a
particular, a positive proof above a negative, a direct
above an apagogic, one which enables us to know the
cause above that which merely instructs us in the fact. ⁴

¹ Metaph. xi. 8, 1065, a, 4:
epistēmē mēn γάρ πάσα τοῦ ἀεὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ, τὸ δὲ συμβεβηκὸς ἐν οὐδὲτέρῳ τοίτων ἐστὶν. 


³ Ibid. c. 6 init.: ei oiv ἐστίν ἡ ἀποδεικτικὴ ἐπιστήμη ἢ ἀναγκαίων ἀρχῶν (δ ἢ γάρ ἐπίσταται οὐ δυνατῶν ἄλλως ἔχειν) τὰ δὲ καθ’ αὐτὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἀναγκαῖα τοίς

⁴ Anal. Post. i. 14, c. 24-27.
If we take demonstration as a whole, and consider the building up of a scientific system, it is an axiom that the knowledge of the universal must precede that of the particular. The same considerations lead up from another point of view to a principle which is deeply rooted in Aristotle's whole way of thinking: that nothing can be demonstrated except from its own peculiar principles, and that it is inadmissible to borrow proofs from without. Demonstration, he thinks, should start from the essential characteristics of the object in question, and any properties which belong to another genus can only accidentally attach to it, seeing that they form no part of its concept. All demonstration, consequently, hinges on the concept of the thing. Its problem consists in determining, not only the properties which attach to any object by virtue of the conception of it, but also the media by which they are attached to it. Its function is to deduce the particular from the universal, phenomena from their causes.

Is this process of 'mediation' unending, or has it a necessary limit? Aristotle takes the latter alternative, from three points of view.

1 Phys. iii. 1, 200, b, 24: ὅστερα γάρ ἡ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων θεωρία τῆς περὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἐστὶν.
2 Anal. Post. i. 7 init.: οὐκ ἀρα ἐστὶν εἷς ἄλλου γένους μετάβαντα δείχαι, οἷον τὸ γεωμετρίκου ἀριθμητική. τρία γάρ ἐστὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἀποδείξεσιν, ἐν μέν τὸ ἀποδεκυμένον τὸ συμπέρασμα· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ὑπάρχον γένει τινὶ καθ' αὐτῷ. ἐν δὲ τὰ δεξιώματα· δεξιώματα δ' ἐστὶν εἷς ὧν [sc. αἱ ἀποδείξεις εἰσίν]. τρίτον τὸ γένος τὸ ὑποκείμενον, οὗ τὰ πάθη καὶ τὰ καθ' αὐτὸ συμβεβηκότα δῆλοι ἡ ἀποδείξεις. εἰς ὧν μὲν οὖν ὡν ἡ ἀπό-

δείξεις, ἐνδείχεται τὰ αὐτὰ εἶναι· ὅν δὲ τὸ γένος ἔτερον, ἢσπερ ἀριθμητικής καὶ γεωμετρίας, οὐκ ἐστὶ τὴν ἀριθμητικὴν ἀποδείξειν ἐφαρμίζει ἐπὶ τὰ τοῖς μεγέθεσι συμβεβηκότα ... ἢςτι ἢ ἀπλῶς ἀνάγκη τὸ αὐτὸ εἶναι γένος ἡ πρὶ, εἰ μέλλει ἡ ἀποδείξεις μεταβαίνειν. ἄλλως δ' ὅτι ἄδιναντον, ἄδιναντον· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους ἀνάγκη τὰ ἄκρα καὶ τὰ μέσα εἶναι. εἰ γάρ μὴ καθ' αὐτὰ, συμβεβηκότα ἐστοί, διὰ τοῦτο ... οὐκ ἐστὶ δείχαι ... ἄλλη ἐπιστήμη τὸ ἔτερον, ἂλλ' ἡ ὡσα οὕτως ἔχει πρὸς ἄλληλα ὡςτ' εἶναι βάτερον ὧν ὀπό βάτερον;
We may rise from the particular to the general—from the subject, beyond which there is nothing of which it can be predicated—to continually higher predicates: and we may, on the other hand, descend from the most universal point—from that predicate which is the subject of no other predicate—down to the particular. But in any case we must arrive eventually at a point where this progression ceases, otherwise we could never reach an effectual demonstration or definition. The argument excludes also the third hypothesis, that there may exist an infinite number of intermediate terms between a definite subject and a definite predicate. If the list of middle terms is not infinite, it follows that there are things of which there cannot be a demonstration or derived knowledge. For wherever the middle terms cease, immediate knowledge must necessarily take the place of demonstration. To demonstrate everything is not possible. If we attempt it we are either brought round again to that progression ad infinitum already mentioned, which annuls all possibility of knowledge and Proof, or else to ‘arguing in a circle,’ which is equally incapable of producing a solid demonstration. There remains, therefore, but one

9 init.: φανερὸν ὅτι ἐκαστὸν ἀποδείξαι οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλλὰ ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἐκαστὸν ἀρχῶν, &c. We return to this later on.

1 For he says at 83, b, 6, 84, a, 3: τὰ ἀπειρὰ οὐκ ἔστι διεξελθεῖν νοοῦντα. Cf. note 4 infra.

2 I.aid. ch. 19—22. The details of this treatment, in parts not very clear, cannot well be repeated here. We have already seen at p. 222, n, 2, that Aristotle supposes a limit to the number of concepts above as well as below.

3 Ch. 22, 84, a, 30; and so Metaph. iii. 2, 997, a, 7: περὶ πάντων γὰρ ἀδύνατον ἀπόδειξιν εἶναι ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἐκ τινῶν εἶναι καὶ περὶ τὶ καὶ τινῶν τὴν ἀπόδειξιν.

4 After Aristotle (Anal. Post. i. 2) has shown that the proof-power of syllogisms is conditional on the scientific knowledge of the premisses, he continues, in ch. 3:
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conclusion, that in the last resort demonstration must
start from propositions which, by reason of their
immediate certainty, neither admit nor stand in need of
proof.¹ These 'principles' of all proof² must possess

'Many conclude from this, that no knowledge at all is possible; others, that everything can be proved.' But he confutes both assertions. Of the former he says: if μὲν γὰρ ὑποθέμενοι μὴ εἶναι διός ἐπιστασθαι, οὓτοι εἰς ἡπειρον ἄξιον ἀνάγκῃ εἰς οὐκ ἦν ἐπιστασθένως τὰ ὅστερα διὰ τὰ πρῶτα, ὅτι μὴ ἐστὶ πρῶτα, ὅρθως λέγοντες, ἀδύνατον γὰρ τὰ ὅστερα διελθεῖν, εἰ τε ἵσταται καὶ εἰσίν ἄρχαι, ταῦτας ἀγνώστους εἶναι ἀποδείξεως γε μὴ οὕσης αὐτών, ὅπερ φαίην εἰν τὸ ἐπιστασθαι μόνον: εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐστὶ τὰ πρῶτα εἰδέναι, οὐδὲ τὰ ἐκ τούτων εἶναι ἐπιστασθαι ἀπλῶς οὐδὲ κυρίως, ἀλλ' εἰς ὑποθέσεως, εἰ ἐκείνα ἐστίν. He admits that what is deduced would not be known if the principles (ἄρχαι) are not known, and that if mediante knowledge, by way of proof, is the only knowledge, then there can be no knowledge of ἄρχαι. Yet he himself in the same treatise denies this very thing at p. 72, b, 18; cf. Metaph. iv. 4, 1006, a, 6: ἐστὶ γὰρ ἀπαθενεία τὸ μὴ γνωνάσκειν, τίνων δὲ ζητεῖν ἀπόδειξεν καὶ τίνων οὐ δεῖ· ὅλως μὲν γὰρ ἀπάντων ἀπαθενείως ἀποδείξειν εἶναι· εἰς ἡπειρόν γὰρ ἄν βαδίζω, ὅστε μὴ δ' οὕσης εἶναι ἀπόδειξειν. As to the second of the above propositions, Aristotle states it at p. 72, b, 16, in other words—πάντων εἶναι ἀποδείξειν οὐδὲν καλῶς· ἐνδεχὴσθαι γὰρ κύκλῳ γίνεσθαι τὴν ἀπόδειξιν καὶ εξ ἄλληλον—and then at ll. 25 sqq. of the same page he goes on to refute it by reference to his earlier exposition on the subject of 'reasoning in a circle' (δὲ ημων v. supra, p. 242, n. 1).

¹ Anal. Post. c. 2, 71, b, 20: ἀνάγκη καὶ τὴν ἀποδεικτικὴν ἐπιστήμην εξ ἀληθῶν τι εἴναι καὶ πρῶτων καὶ ἀμέσων καὶ γνωριμιώτερων καὶ πρῶτην καὶ αἰτίων τού νομιμότροπος... ἐκ πρῶτων δ' ἀναποδείκτων, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιστῆσεται μὴ ἔχων ἀποδείξειν αὐτῶν [because otherwise if they were not ἀναποδείκτωτι we could, likewise, only know them by proof]; τὸ γὰρ ἐπιστασθαι ἦν ἄποδείξεις ἐστί μὴ κατὰ συμβεβηκός, τὸ ἔξειν ἄποδειξεν ἐστίν. c. 3, 72, b, 18: ἤμεις δὲ φαμεν οὗτε πάσαν ἐπιστήμην ἀποδεικτικὴν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῶν ἀμέσων ἀναποδεικτον... καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐπιστήμην ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄρχην ἐπιστήμην εἰναι τινα φαμεν, ὡς τοὺς ἢρως γνωρίζομεν. Cf. supra, p. 197, n. 6, and 210, n. 2. On the other hand, the circumstance that a thing is always so is no reason for rejecting proof by causes, for even the eternal may have its causes on which it is conditional; see Gen. An. ii. 6, 742, b, 17 sqq.

² Ἀρχαὶ, ἄρχαὶ ἀποδείξεως, ἄρχαὶ συλλογιστικαὶ, ὁ ἰμεσοὶ, προτάσεις ἰμεσοὶ, Anal. Post. 72, a, 7, 14, c. 10 init. (λέγω δ' ἄρχας εν ἐκάστῳ γένει ταῦτας, ὅτι ἐστὶ μὴ ἐν- δεχεται δειξαι); ii. 19, 99, b, 21, cf. p. 197, n. 4; Gen. An. ii. 6, 742, b, 29 sqq.; Metaph. v. 1, 1013, a, 14, iii. 1, 2, 995, b, 28, 996, b, 27, iv. 3, and also cf. Ind.
even a higher certainty than anything deduced from them. Consequently, the soul must contain a faculty of immediate knowledge higher and more sure than any mediate cognition. And, in fact, Aristotle finds in the *Nous*—the pure reason—just such a faculty; and he maintains that it never deceives itself, that in every case it either has its object or has it not, but never has it in a *false* or illusive way.²

Yet it must be admitted that he has neither proved the possibility nor the infallibility of any such knowledge. This immediate certainty, he says, is of two kinds. There are three elements in every process of demonstration: that which is proved, the principles from which it is proved,³ and the object of which it is proved. The first of these is not matter of immediate knowledge, for it is deduced from the other two. These, again, are themselves distinguished in this way, that the axioms are common to different fields of knowledge, but the postulates relating to the special

Arist. 111, b, 58 sqq. In *Anal. Post.* i. 2, 72, a, 14, Aristotle proposes to call the unproved premiss of a syllogism *θέσις*, if it refers to a particular fact, *ἄξιωμα* if it expresses a universal presupposition of all proof. Again, if a *θέσις* contains an affirmation as to the existence or non-existence of an object, it is a *ὑπόθεσις*; if otherwise, a *ὅραμα*. *θέσις* is used in a broader meaning in *Anal. Pr.* ii. 17, 65, b, 13, 66, a, 2, and *Anal. Post.* i. 3, 73, a. 9; in a narrower one in *Top.* i. 11, 104, b, 19, 35. (For further references see *Ind. Ar.* 327, b, 18 sqq.)—For *ἄξιωμα*, which is also used in a wider sense, see *Anal. Post.* i. 7, 75, a, 41, c. 10, 76, b, 14, and *Metaph.* iii. 2, 997, a, 5, 12.—*Ἀίτημα* is distinguished from *ὑπόθεσις* in *Anal. Post.* i. 10, 76, b, 23 sqq. ¹

² *Vide supra*, p. 197 sqq., where Aristotle's view of this 'immediate knowledge' is explained. ³ *Anal. Post.* i. 7 (as cited *supra*, p. 245,n.3), and *ibid.*, ch.10, 76, b, 10: *πᾶσα γὰρ ἀποδεικτικὴ ἐπίστημα περὶ τρὶς ἐστὶν, ὡσα τε ἐναὶ τίθεται*, *καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα κοινὰ*
matter are peculiar to the particular science. It is only upon postulates which are proper to a particular department that he allows a binding demonstration to be founded. But these postulates are just as little capable as the universal axioms of being deduced from a higher law. They must be supplied to us by our knowledge of that particular object to which they relate. They are therefore matter of observation—of experience. How such an experience could come to

1 Anal. Post. i. 7, cit. supra. p. 245, n. 3, and ibid. c. 10, 76, a, 37: έστι δ' δι' χρώνται εν ταῖς ἀποδεικτικαῖς ἐπιστήμαις τὰ μὲν ἱδιά ἐκάστης ἐπιστήμης τὰ δὲ κοινά... Ηδιά μὲν οὖν γραμμήν εἶναι τοιαῦτα καὶ τὸ εὐθὺ, κοινά δὲ οὖν τὸ ἴσον ἀπὸ τούτων ἀν ἀφελή ὁτι ἢσα τὰ λοιπὰ. c. 32 init.: τὰς δ' αὕτας ἀρχὰς ἀπαντῶν εἶναι τῶν συλλογισμῶν ἀδύνατον, and after this has been proved at length he says at the end: αἱ γὰρ ἀρχαὶ δινται, έξ ὦν τε καὶ περὶ δ' αἱ μὲν οὖν εἶναι τὰ κοινά, αἱ δὲ περὶ δ' ἱδιαί, οὐν καίθες, μέγεθος. More about the ἀποδεικτικαὶ ἀρχαὶ or the κοινὰ δόζαι εἴ ὄν ἀπαντῶσ ἄπεικνύουσιν will be found in the passages cited at p. 247, n. 2.


3 Anal. Post. i. 9, 76, a, 16 (following on the passage cited supra. p. 245, n. 3.): εἰ γὰρ φαινόν τούτο, φαινόν καὶ οὕτως έστιν ἡ ἐκάστου ἱδιαί ἀρχὰς ἀποδείξειν: ἐξορράνοι γὰρ [for there would be] ἐκεῖναι ἀπαντῶν ἀρχαὶ καὶ ἐπιστήμη ἢ ἐκείνων κυρία πάνων. Cf. ch. 10, cited p. 248, n. 3 supra.

4 Anal. Pr. i. 30, 46, a, 17: οὐδεὶς ἡ γάρ ἐκάστης [ἐπιστήμη] αἱ πλείοστα [ἀρχαὶ τῶν συλλογισμῶν]. διὸ τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς τὰς περὶ ἐκάστου ἑμπειρίας ἐστὶ παραδούσαι. λέγω δὲ οὖν τὴν ἀστρολογικὴν μὲν ἑμπειρίαν τῆς ἀστρολογικῆς ἐπιστήμης. ληφθέντος γὰρ ἰκανῶς τῶν φαινομένων οὕτως εὑρέθησαν αἱ ἀστρολογικαὶ ἀποδείξεις. So in Hist. An. i. 7 init.: we have first to describe the peculiar properties of animals, and then to discuss their causes: οὕτω γάρ κατὰ φύσιν ἐστὶν ποιεῖσαι τὴν μέθοδον, ὑπαρχοῦσι τῆς ἱστορίας τῆς περὶ ἐκάστου, περὶ δ' οὖν τε γὰρ καὶ τὸ εἶναι δεὶ τὴν ἀποδείξειν, ἐκ τούτων γίνεται φαινόν.

5 Cf. preceding note, and the remark in Eth. vi. 9, 1142, a, 11 sqq., that young people can make advances in the knowledge of Mathematics, but not in Natural History or the wisdom of life, ὅτι τὰ μὲν [Mathematics] δὲ ἀφαιρέσεως ἄστιν [is an abstract
pass, he does not further inquire. Sense-perception he treats as a simple datum, whose elements he does not try to analyse. He even includes cases which are to us merely judgments upon given materials, among what he calls immediate certainties. It is therefore impossible to give a clear and sufficient account of the faculties to which, according to him, we are indebted for the immediate truths in question.

To enumerate the special presuppositions of all the various sciences is also obviously impossible. Even a general view of the universal axioms is not to be found

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1 It is said in Eth. iii. 5, 1112, b, 33, that practical reflection (βούλευσις) is concerned with τὰ καθ’ ἐκαστα, οὖν εἰ ἀρτος τοῦτο ἢ πέπεπται ὡς δεὶ· αἰσθήσεως γὰρ ταύτα. Ibid. vi. 9, 1142, a, 23 sqq. Aristotle explains that, in contradiction to ἐπιστήμη, φρονήσις is, like νοῦς, an immediate knowledge; but whilst the latter is concerned with the ὅροι, ἦν οὔκ ἔστι λόγος (the ‘highest principles,’ which in this case are practical principles), φρονήσις is a knowledge τοῦ ἐσχάτου, οὐ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπιστήμη ἀλλ’ αἰσθήσεις, οὐχ ἡ τῶν ἰδιῶν [the sensible properties of things] ἀλλ’ οία αἰσθανόμεθα, ώστε τὸ ἐν τοῖς μαθηματικῶς ἐσχατον τρίγωνον (i.e. the last thing obtained in analysing a figure is a triangle). Here, therefore, the judgment ‘This is a triangle’ is explained as a matter of αἰσθήσεις (and so also in Anal. Post. i. 1, 71, a, 20) and the minor premisses of practical syllogisms, such as ‘This deed is just,’ ‘This is useful,’ &c., are referred to an αἰσθήσις in like manner. (See also the discussion of φρονήσις in ch. xii. infra.) So in Eth. iii. 12, 1143, b, 5, referring to the same class of propositions he says: τούτων οὖν ἔχειν δεῖ αἰσθήσιν, αὕτη δ’ ἐστὶ νοῦς. Now, although (as is indicated in c. 9 ἰδι.) αἰσθήσις is here to be taken as in Polit. i. 2, 1253, a, 17, in the wider signification of ‘consciousness,’ still it always means an ‘immediate knowledge,’ as distinguished from an ἐπιστήμη.

KAMPE (Erkenntnisst. d. Ar. 220 sq.) finds in the above passages, a proof that Book VI. of the Nicomachean Ethics originally belonged to the Eudemian; but Polit. i. 2, shows how unfounded is this conclusion. As little does it follow from Eth. vi. 3, 1139, b, 33—where the εἰ μὲν γὰρ πῶς πιστεύει, &c., does not mean ‘we have knowledge when we have any conviction,’ but ‘knowledge consists in a definite kind of conviction based on known principles.’

2 For proof of this, see ch. xii. infra.
in Aristotle. He merely seeks to determine which of all principles is the most incontestable, obvious, and unconditional,¹ so that it can involve no possible error. This he finds in the Law of Contradiction.² No one can seriously doubt this principle, though many may pretend to do so; but just because it is the highest principle of all, it admits of no demonstration—it cannot, that is to say, be deduced from any higher law. It is certainly possible to defend it against objections of every kind, by showing either that they rest upon misunderstandings, or that they themselves presuppose the axiom in question and destroy themselves in attacking it.³ He has, however, carefully guarded against any

¹ *Metaph. iv. 3*, 1005, b, 11:

βεβαιωσάτε ὅτι ἀρχή πασῶν περὶ ἣν διαφευγοῦσαι ἀδύνατον. γνωριμωτά-

tην τε γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὴν τοιαύτην (περὶ γὰρ δὴ μὴ γνωρίζουσιν ἀπατῶνται πάντες) καὶ ἀνυπόθετον. ἢν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον ἔχειν τὸν ὅτι οὖν ἐξεντα τῶν ὑπότων, τούτῳ οὐχ ἤποθετοι.

² Line 19 (xi. 5 init.): τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ ἄμα υπάρχειν τε καὶ μὴ υπάρ-

χειν ἀδύνατον τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ· καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα προσδιορισαίμεθ’ ἂν, ἐστο προσδιορισμένα πρὸς λογι-

κάς δυσχερεῖς, αὐτὴ δὴ πασῶν ἐστὶ βεβαιωσάτε τῶν ἀρχῶν. The axiom that ‘opposites cannot belong to the same thing in the same respect, is only a form of this. And the further principle that ‘no one can really ascribe such opposites at once to anything’ is so closely connected that sometimes the latter is proved from the former, at other times the former from the latter; cf. *Anal. Post.*, ut supra, line 26: εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐνδεχεται ἄμα υπάρχειν τῷ αὐτῷ τἀναντία (προσδιωρίσθω δ’ ἡμῖν καὶ τάστη τῇ προτάσει τὰ εἰσεθείτα), ἐναντιὰ δ’ ἐστὶ δόξα δόξη ἡ τῆς ἀντιφάσεως, φανερὸν ὅτι ἀδύνατον ἄμα ὑπολαμβά-

νειν τῷ αὐτῶν εἶναι καὶ μὴ εἶναι τῷ αὐτῷ· ἄμα γὰρ ἄν ἔχου τὰς ἑναντίας δόξας ἀ διευνεμένοι περὶ τούτου. *Ibid.* c. 6, 1011, b, 15: ἐπεὶ δ’ ἀδύνατον τὴν ἀντιφάσιν ἀλληθεύεσθαι ἄμα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν [for which at line 20 he substitutes ἄμα καταφά-

ναι καὶ ἀποφάναι ἀλληθοῖς], φανερὸν ὅτι οὐδὲ τἀναντία ἄμα υπάρχειν ἐν-

dεχεται τῷ αὐτῷ . . . ἀλλ’ ἢ π’ ἄμφω, ἢ βάτερον μὲν π’ βάτερον δὲ ἄπλῶς.

³ In this sense Aristotle in *Metaph. iv. 4* sq. confutes the statement (which, however, he only ascribes to certain of the older schools as being in his view an inference from their tenets; cf. ZELLER, *Ph. d. Gr.* part i. 600 sq., 910, 4), that ‘an object can both be and not be the same thing at the same time,’ by proving that in every statement the principle of non-contradic-
sophistical misuse of it to deny the connection of
different properties in one subject, or the possibility of
becoming and of change, by that detailed exposition of it
in which he shows that it is not absolutely impossible
that contradictions should be predicated of the same
subject, but only that they should be so predicated
together and in the same relation.¹

By similar arguments to these with which he esta-
blished the Law of Contradiction, he lays down that of
the Excluded Middle² as an incontestable Axiom.³
But he does not expressly deduce the one from the
other.

Though Aristotle maintains so decidedly that every
kind of knowledge brought about by demonstration is
doubly conditioned by an immediate and undermon-
strable conviction of the mind, yet he is far from repre-
senting this conviction as itself incapable of scientific
verification. The starting-point of all demonstration is
undemonstrable—it is incapable of being deduced from
any other principle as from its cause. Yet it can be
shown from the given facts to be the condition which
underlies them, and which their existence presu-

1 See preceding note.
2 Οὐδὲ μεταξὺ ἀντιφάσεως ἐνδε-
χεται εἰςα οὐδὲν; cf. p. 230, supra.
3 Metaph. iv. 7; in applying
his argument, Aristotle has
adopted here those reasons
which are borrowed from the con-
sideration of Change in Nature,
evidently wishing to prove his
tory not only as a logical, but
also as a metaphysical principle.
poses. So in the place of Demonstration, comes in Induction.¹ There are thus two lines of scientific thinking which require to be distinguished: the one which leads up to principles, the other which leads down from principles ²—the movement from the universal to the particular, from that which is in itself the more certain to that which is so for us; and the reverse movement from the individual, as that which is best known to us, to the universal, which is in its own nature the more sure. In the former direction goes syllogism and scientific demonstration: in the latter goes induction.³ And by one or other of these ways all knowledge comes to be. That which by virtue of its

¹ Cf. with what follows the references on p. 242, n. 6 supra. The name ‘ἐπαγωγή’ refers either to the adducing of particular instances, from which a universal proposition or concept is abstracted (TRENDELENBURG, Elem. Log. Arist. 84: HEYDER, Vergl. d. arist. und hegel. Dialektik, p. 212 sq.), or to the introduction to these instances of the person to be instructed (WAITZ, Arist. Org. ii. 300). In favour of the latter explanation there are certain passages, in which ‘ἐπάγειν’ has as its object the person knowing; as Top. viii. 1, 156, a, 4: ἐπάγοντα μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν καθ- ἐκαστὸν ἐπὶ τὰ καθόλω, but especially Ἀναλ. Post. i. 1, 71, a, 19: ὅτι μὲν γὰρ πάν τρίγωνον ἔχει δυοῖν ὀρθὰς ἱσας, προθέθηκε ὅτι δὲ τὸ ἐκ τριγώνων ἐστὶν, ἀμα ἐπαγόμενοι ἐνάρισεν ... πρὶν δ’ ἑπαξθήναι δὲ λαβέιν συλλογισμὸν, τρίγων μὲν τινα ἰσος φατέων ἐπιστεσθαι, &c.; c. 18, 81, b, 5: ἑπαξθήναι δέ μὴ ἔχοντας ἀλθοὶν ἀδύνατον. ‘Ἐπά- γειν,’ however, also means ‘to prove by induction,’ as in ἐπάγειν τὸ καθόλου, Top. i. 18, 108, b, 10; Soph. El. 15, 174, a, 34.

² Eth. N. i. 2, 1095, a, 30; cf. ZELLER, Ph. d. Gr. pt. i. 191, 2; and see p. 205, n. 2 supra.

³ Besides Induction, HEYDER (Vergl. d. arist. und hegel. Dial. 232 sq.) finds in Aristotle (Phys. i. 1, 184, a, 21 sqq.) indications of another process, by which we should proceed from the universal of sensible perception to the concept, as the more particular and definite—just as in induction we go from the particular in perception to the universal of the concept. But he himself rightly observes that this is only an induction reversed (though this case is not usually made very prominent by Aristotle). When a universal is brought out as that which is common to many individual cases, it is thereby
nature admits of no demonstration must be established by induction.¹ We have already remarked that this undemonstrable element of thought need not necessarily be abstracted from experience, but that Aristotle rather regards the universal axioms as apprehended by the spontaneous activity of the reason.² But as he sees that this activity of reason is only gradually developed in the individual under the guidance of experience, so he believes there are no other means of scientifically verifying its content and deliverance but by a comprehensive induction.³ Many difficulties are involved in this. For inductive reasoning is founded,

¹ Anal. Pri. ii. 23, 68, b, 13: ἀπαντά γὰρ πιστεύομεν ἃ διὰ συνλογισμὸν ἂν ἐπαγωγή. Ibid. at line 35; vid. supra. p. 206, n. 1; Eth. i. 7, 1098, b, 3: τῶν ἀρχῶν δʼ ἂ μὲν ἐπαγωγὴν θεωροῦνται, ἂ δʼ αἰσθήσεις, &c.; vi. 3, 1139, b, 26: ἐκ προγνωσκομένων δὲ πάσα διδασκαλία: ... ἂ μὲν γὰρ διʼ ἐπαγωγῆς, ἂ δὲ συνλογισμῷ. ἂ μὲν δὴ ἐπαγωγῆ ἀρχὴ ἐστὶ καὶ τοῦ καθόλου, ὁ δὲ συνλογισμός ἐκ τῶν καθόλου. εἰσὶν ἀρχαί ἂ δὲν ὁ συνλογισμὸς, ἃν οὐκ ἐστὶ συνλογισμὸς ἐπαγωγῆ ἀρχα. (TRENDELB. I. 366 sq., and BRANDIS, ii. b, 2, 1443, would like to cut out the last two words, on the ground that all unproved knowledge does not rest on induction; but the form of statement is not more universal than in the other parts of this passage, and the explana-

² See p. 197 sqq., and 246 sqq. supra.

³ See also the citation infra (in note 1 on p. 256) from Top. i. 2.
as we have shown, upon such a mutual relation of concepts as will admit of the conversion of the universal affirmative minor premiss. It assumes that the minor and the middle of the syllogism have the same extension. In other words, no cogent induction is possible, unless a predicate can be shown to be common to all the individuals of that genus of which it is to be predicated. Such an exhaustive acquaintance with every individual case is impossible. It would seem, therefore, that every induction is imperfect, and that every assumption which bases itself upon induction must remain uncertain. To meet this difficulty, it was requisite to introduce an abbreviation of the inductive method, and to find something which would make up for the impossibility of complete observation of every individual instance. This Aristotle finds in Dialectic or Probable Demonstration, the theory of which he lays down in the Topics. The value of dialectic consists, he says, not only in the fact that it is an intellectual discipline, nor that it teaches argumentation as a fine art: it is also of essential service in scientific research, inasmuch as it teaches us to explore and estimate the different

1 P. 242, n. 6.
2 Cf. Anal, Pr. ii. 24 fin.:
3 Even if we supposed we
4 On this narrower meaning of the 'dialectical' in Aristotle, see Waitz, Arist. Org. ii. 435 sqq.; cf. following note.
aspects under which an object can be contemplated. It is especially useful in establishing the scientific principles; for as these cannot be deduced by demonstration from anything more certain than themselves, there is nothing left for us but to get at them from the side of probability.

Such an attempt must start from the prevailing tenets of humanity. What all the world, or at least the experienced and intelligent part of it, believes, is always worthy of consideration, since it carries with it a presumption that it rests upon a real experience.

1 Top. i. 1: Ἡ μὲν πρόθεσις τῆς πραγματείας, μὲθὸδον εὐθείαν, ἀφ’ ἑς δυνημόθεα συλλογίζεσθαι περὶ παντὸς τοῦ προτεθέντος προβλήματος εἷς ἐνδόξων, καὶ αὐτοῦ λόγον ὑπέχοντε κυρίως ἐρωτήμεν ὑπεντανίαν... διαλεκτικῶς δὲ συλλογισμὸς ὁ ἐς ἐνδόξων συλλογι-ζόμενος... ἐνδόξα δὲ τὰ δικαίωτα πάσιν ἡ τοῖς πλείοσιν ἡ τοῖς οὕτωις, καὶ τούτοις ἡ πάσιν ἡ τοῖς πλείοσιν ἡ τοῖς μάλιστα γνωριμίας καὶ ἐνδόξοις. Iibid.i.2: ἐστὶ δὴ πρὸς τρ.α [χρῆσιμος ἡ πραγματεία], πρὸς γνωμασίαν, πρὸς τὰς ἐννέαξεις, πρὸς τὰς κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν ἐπιστήμας... πρὸς δὲ τὰς κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν ἐπιστήμας, ὅτι δυνάμειν πρὸς ἀμφότερα διαπορησθαι βρῶν ἐν ἐκάστως καταφύγεια τάλαθες τε καὶ τὸ ψεύδος. ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τὰ πρώτα τῶν περὶ ἐκάστης ἐπιστήμης ἄρχων, ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ὁικείων τῶν κατὰ τὴν προτεθένταν ἐπιστήμην ἄρχων ἀδύνατον εἰπεῖν τι περὶ αὐτῶν, ἐπείδη πρῶται αἱ ἀρχαὶ ἀπάντων εἰσὶν, διὰ δὲ τῶν περὶ ἐκάστα ἐνδόξων ἀνάγκη περὶ αὐτῶν διελθεῖν, τοῦτο δὲ ὧν ἡ μάλιστα ὁικείων τῆς διαλεκτικῆς ἐστὶν ἐξεταστικὴ γὰρ οὖσα πρὸς τὰς ἀπασῶν τῶν μεθόδων ἄρχας ὀδὸν ἔχει. Aristotle (Top. viii. 11, 162, a, 15) calls the dialectical syllogism ἐπιστήμη. THIROT, Études sur Arist. 201 sqq., compares the different statements of Aristotle on the office and use of Dialectics; but he has laid rather too much stress upon the partial inaccuracy of Aristotle's language. Cf. on the Topics also p. 6s, n. 1, supra.

2 Dirin. in S. c. 1 init.: περὶ δὲ τῆς μαντικῆς τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὑπνοῖς γνωμήνης... οὕτε καταφρονήσαι βάδιον οὕτε πεισθῆναι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πάντας ἡ πολλοὶς ὑπολαμβάνειν ἔχειν τι σημειῶδες τὰ ἐννύπνια παρ- ἔχεται πάσιν ὡς ἐξ ἐμεπιρίας λε- γόμενιν, &c.; Eth. i. 8 init. vi. 12, 1143, b, 11; Eth. i. 1, 1355, a, 15; Eth. i. 2: εἰκόνες τὰς πρεσβύτας ἀρχών, τοῦτο δὲ ὧν ἡ μάλιστα ὁικείων τῆς διαλεκτικῆς ἐστὶν ἐξεταστικὴ γὰρ οὖσα πρὸς τὰς ἀπασῶν τῶν μεθόδων ἄρχας ὀδὸν ἔχει. Aristotle (Top. viii. 11, 162, a, 15) calls the dialectical syllogism ἐπιστήμη. THIROT, Études sur Arist. 201 sqq., compares the different statements of Aristotle on the office and use of Dialectics; but he has laid rather too much stress upon the partial inaccuracy of Aristotle's language. Cf. on the Topics also p. 6s, n. 1, supra. For the same reason, Eth. vii. 14, 1153, b, 27 appeals to Hesiod (Ἑκ. ἠμ. 763): φῆμι δ’ οὐ τί γε πάμπαν ἀπόλλυται, ἥν τινα λαόν πολλοῖ... and SYNES. Calv. Ene. c. 22 (Ar. Fr. No. 2) quotes as Aristotelian: ὅτι [sc. αἱ παροιμίαι] πολλαὶς εἰσὶ φιλοσοφίας ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις ἀνθρώπων φθοραῖς ἀπολο- μένης ἐγκατελείμματα περισσεύοντα
Such a foundation may appear unstable; and the sense of this forced on Aristotle the need (which had likewise driven Socrates to form his dialectic) of supplying its deficiencies by combining the different points of view which cross one another in popular opinion, and by balancing them one with the other. From this he got his habit of prefacing his dogmatic dissertations with Ἀπορίας; of enumerating the different sides from which the subject may be touched; of testing conclusions by mutual comparison and by established standards; and, finally, of raising difficulties by this testing process and obtaining a ground for a scientific exposition from their solution.¹ These dialectical elucidations prepare the way for positive scientific conclusions by clearing up the questions which are in issue, by grouping the inductive results under a certain number of general aspects, and by making them explain each other and so combining them into an aggregate result. From them, our thought is led on into the...
explicit problems, the true solution of which brings us to philosophic knowledge.\(^1\)

It is true that neither this theory nor the actual practice of Aristotle can satisfy the stricter requirements of modern science.

Whether we consider his procedure in the working out from the observed facts of the laws and definitions of Science, or in the establishment of natural phenomena themselves, we must admit that it shows serious omissions and defects. Of Induction, for example, he says that it consists in the collection, from all the instances of a given class, of a proposition which expresses as a universal law that which was true of all these particular cases.\(^2\) In truth, Induction consists in inferring such a proposition from all the cases known to us; and in considering the principle on which the inductive method rests, the main point is to inquire how we are justified in concluding from all the cases known to us, a law for all like cases. Aristotle can hardly be blamed for not raising exactly this question, since none of his successors succeeded in stating it clearly until Stuart Mill wrote his Logic; and even he could find no answer but an inadequate and self-contradictory theory. But it was an inevitable result of Aristotle's position that his theory of Induction does not help us over the real difficulty, which is to ascertain how the correctness of an inductive proof can be assumed in spite of the fact that the range of experiences on which it rests is not complete. The fact is that Aristotle, as we have

\(^1\) *Metaph.* iv. 2, 1004, b, 25:

\(^2\) Cf. *supra*, p. 242, n. 6, and ἐστὶ δὲ ἡ διαλεκτικὴ πειραστική περὶ p. 255.

ἀν ἡ φιλοσοφία γνωστική.
already indicated, has tried to fill up the gap by the invention of the 'proof from probability,' and by the dialectical treatment of the ἀπορίας. In the latter his acuteness and his scientific width of view are conspicuous throughout. But it cannot make up for a satisfactory and methodical comparison of observed facts, if only for the reason that the theories discussed are not themselves based on pure observation, but on the ἐνδοξοῦ—on views, that is, in which guesses, inferences and fancies have, or at least may have, become mixed up with actual experience. Even where Aristotle is dealing with actual observation, he falls, in many respects, far short of the standard which we are accustomed to set to the scientific observer. As to the conditions of a trustworthy observation, or the methods to be applied for establishing the correctness of one's own observations or controlling the accuracy of information given by others, we have only here and there a chance remark. As he is too little conscious of the part which a subjective mental activity plays in all perception,\(^1\) so it was natural that his method should not adequately provide for the subjective control of the errors of observation.

In his own work there is, on this side of it, much to criticise. It is true that he has brought together, especially in the zoological writings, an extraordinary volume of statements of fact, the overwhelming majority of which (so far as they can now be verified \(^2\)) have been

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\(^1\) Cf. p. 210 and *infra*, ch. x. 
\(^2\) For this is not always possible, partly because it is often uncertain which animal is meant by this or that name, partly because not all the animals mentioned by Aristotle are sufficiently known to us.
found to be correct. Most of these, of course, are patent enough to any observer; but there are also many cases among them where careful investigation would be required. The methods of experiment he did not altogether neglect. His historical studies excite our

1 Thus we see from Part. An. iii. 4, 665, a, 33 sqq. (cf. Lewes, Arist. § 394), that he had made experiments on the development of the embryo in the egg, since he there remarks that we often find in eggs, even on the third day, the heart and the liver as isolated points. So in Gen. An. ii. 6, he makes remarks on the order of appearance of the different parts of the body; from which, as even Lewes (§ 475) admits, we see that Aristotle studied embryonic development. A statement, long considered fabulous, about the appearance of a placenta in a kind of shark (H. An. vi. 10, 565, b, 1) has been confirmed (by Joh. Müller, Abh. d. Berl. Ak. 1840, Phys. math. Kl. 187, cf. Lewes, loc. cit. § 205); the same is the case (cf. Lewes, § 206–208) with Aristotle’s statements about the embryo of the ink-fish (Gen. An. iii. 8, 758, a, 21); about fishes which build a nest (H. An. viii. 30, 607, b, 19); about the eyes of the mole (De An. iii. 1, 425, a, 10, H. An. i. 9, 491, b, 28 sqq.), and about a gland which a certain kind of stag has under the tail (H. An. ii. 15, 506, a, 23, cf. W. Rapp in Müller’s Archiv. f. Anat. 1839, 363 sqq.). With regard to his description of the cephalopods, Lewes remarks (§ 340 sq.) that it could only spring from a great familiarity with their forms; and we see in it the unmistakeable traces of personal knowledge.

2 Eucken, Meth. d. Arist. Forsch., p. 163 sqq., gives instances from Meteor. ii. 3, 359, a, 12, 358, b, 34 (H. An. viii. 2, 590, a, 22); H. An. vi. 2, 560, a, 30 (Gen. An. iii. 1, 752, a, 4); De An. ii. 2, 413, b, 16; De Respir. iii. 471, a, 31; H. An. vi. 37, 580, b, sqq. (if this was really an experiment, and not rather a chance observation). Then again there are others introduced with a λέγοντα, Gen. An. iv. 1, 765, a, 21 (which is later on disputed by himself), and Hist. An. ii. 17, 508, b, 4 (though in Gen. An. iv. 6, 774, b, 31 the same is stated in his own name). Some of these experiments are of such a questionable kind, that we may well doubt whether Aristotle himself conducted them; and, on the whole, he appeals to experiments so seldom that we cannot avoid seeing how little he, or Greek science in general, recognised their value.
high admiration by their extent and their accuracy.¹ To received accounts he so far takes a critical attitude that he is careful to correct many false views,² to direct attention to the untrustworthiness of some of his authorities,³ and to attack even universally accepted myths.⁴ Where he lacks adequate means of observation, he is willing to reserve his judgment;⁵ where there might be a tendency to close an inquiry too precipitately, he gives us warning that we should first weigh all the objections suggested by the matter in hand before we decide.⁶ In a word, he shows himself not only an untiring inquirer whose thirst⁷ for the knowledge of all things great and small was never satisfied,
but also an observer of care and common sense. Nevertheless, we find that glaringly incorrect statements are not rare in Aristotle, and occur sometimes in cases where, even with the simple methods to which he was limited, the correction of the error should have been easy enough.\footnote{Cf. Eucken, loc. cit. 155 sqq. Such cases are: that Aristotle gives the male sex more teeth than the female (Hist. An. ii. 3, 501, b, 19; on the conjectured cause of this error see Lewes, Arist. § 332, A. 19); that the human male has three sutures in the skull, and the female only one running around it (ibid. i. 8, 491, b, 2); that man has only eight ribs on each side (ibid. i. 15, 493, b, 14)—a supposition, as it would seem, universally held at that time, and explained by supposing that it was founded, not on anatomical observations of human corpses, but on observations of living bodies; cf. p. 89, n. 1; that the lines in the hand indicate longer or shorter span of life (ibid. 493, b, 32 sqq.); that the hinder part of the skull is empty (H. An. i. 8, 491, a, 34; Part. An. ii. 10, 656, b, 12; Gen. An. v. 4, 784, b, 35). Further examples in Lewes, § 149 sqq., 154 sqq., 315, 332, 347, 350, 352, 386 sq., 398, 400, 411, 486. When, however, it is said that Aristotle in the Part. An. iii. 6, 669, a, 19, asserted that only man has a pulsation of the heart (so Lewes, § 399, c, where he adds: 'According to this passage one might think that Aristotle never held a bird in his hand;' and Eucken, 155, 2), this is an inaccurate accusation. Aristotle distinguishes, in De Respir. 20, 479, b, 17, the σφυγμός or heart-beat always going on, on the πνευσίς τῆς καρδιᾶς—the strong throb of the heart in passion. And even the latter he does not confine to men, for he says in the tract referred to that it sometimes becomes so strong that animals die of it. All that is said in the passage cited is: ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ τε γὰρ συμβαίνει μόνον ῥεντέκαινι—i.e. the passion-throb occurs almost exclusively in Man.}
skilled in the art of analysing the phenomena methodically into their real factors, of following out each fact to its causes and the laws of its action, and of unravelling the conditions of the causal nexus. He has not mastered—even in the degree which with the scanty technical skill of Greece was possible to him—the best methods of establishing and analysing facts, of checking observations and theories, or of applying experiment to science. He does not, in a word, come up to the standard to which in our day a student of nature is expected to attain. There is nothing strange in this; rather would it be strange if it were otherwise.

If Aristotle were without the faults we note in his theory and practice, he would not only be far more in advance of his own time than in fact he was—he would have belonged to another and much later period of human thought. Before science could attain to that certitude, correlation and exactness of procedure by which we excel the ancients, it was necessary in all ranges of scientific and historical inquiry that the facts should be collected and all manner of experiments made, that the laws of particular classes of phenomena should be sought out and gradually universalised, that hypotheses should be proposed for the elucidation of various series of facts, and these again continually checked and revised by the facts themselves. To this end no general disquisitions on methodology, but only scientific work itself could assist. Until the experimental sciences had passed far beyond the position at which they stood in Aristotle's time, it was not possible that either the methodology or the methods of experimental knowledge
should really advance beyond the form in which he stated them. In the then state of science it was already a great thing that observed facts should be collected in such vast masses and with such care. It was not to be expected that they should also be with the like care tested, or that his personal observations should be exactly discriminated from information otherwise received, and the value of the latter critically appraised. Many of the assertions which we find absurd, were probably taken by Aristotle from others in all good faith, and were not doubted by him, merely because the knowledge of nature which he possessed gave him no reason to think them impossible. When we are surprised by the rashness with which the Greeks often built hypotheses or theories upon facts whose falsity is obvious to us at first sight, we do not stop to think how utterly they were ignorant of all our aids to accurate observation, and how greatly this poverty of tools must have hindered every sort of helpful experiment. To fix time without a watch, to compare degrees of heat without a thermometer, to observe the heavens without a telescope and the weather without a barometer—these and the like were the tasks which the natural philosophers of Greece had to set themselves. Where there is no basis for accuracy as to facts, the difficulties that attend the classification of phenomena, the discovery of natural laws, and the correction of hypothesis by experience are so vastly increased, that we cannot wonder if scientific inquiry rises but slowly and insecurely above the levels of prescientific fancy. The service which Aristotle nevertheless did for the world in
the collection of data, and the acuteness with which he strove to explain the facts he knew, cannot but be appreciated if we try to judge him by any standards that conform to the knowledge and the opportunities of his day.

To enter into the details of Aristotle's *Topics*, or to examine his refutation of the Sophistic fallacies, are equally beyond our present scope. No wider view of his scientific principles is to be got from them, but only an application of them to a field beyond the limits of Science properly so called.¹ But this is the proper place to touch upon his researches into Definition, which we find partly in the second *Analytics*, partly in the *Topics*.² As the Concept forms the starting point of all scientific research, so we may say conversely that a complete acquaintance with the Concept—which is Definition—is the goal toward which it strives. Knowledge is indeed nothing but insight into the grounds of things, and in the concept this insight is summed up. The 'what' is the same as the 'why.' We apprehend the concept of the thing as soon as we apprehend its causes.³ So far, Definition has the same problem as Demonstration. In both we try to discover the means by which the object has been brought to be what it is.⁴ Nevertheless, they do not, with Aristotle, entirely coincide. In the first place, it is clear that

¹ Brandis, pp. 288–345 gives a sketch of both.
² Besides the general works on Aristotelian Logic, see Kühn, *De notionis definitione*, etc., and Rassow, Arist. de notionis definitione (cf. supra, p. 212, n. 2);
³ Vid. supra, p. 163, n. 2, and p. 173, n. 2.
⁴ Vid. supra, p. 173, n. 2.
every thing which admits of demonstration does not equally admit of definition; for negatives, particulars, and propositions predicating properties, can all be demonstrated, whereas definition is always universal and affirmative, and is not concerned with mere properties but with the substantial essence only. The converse is no less true—not everything that can be defined admits of demonstration, as may be seen at once from the fact that demonstrations must start from undemonstrable definitions. Indeed, it seems to be true in general, that the contents of a definition are undemonstrable by syllogisms: for demonstration presupposes a knowledge of the essence of the object, while this is precisely what definition seeks. The one points out that a property belongs as predicate to a certain subject; the other does not concern itself with individual properties, but with the essence itself. The one inquires for a 'that,' the other for a 'what'; and in order to specify what anything is, we must first know that it is. Here, however, we must draw a distinction. The fact is that a definition cannot be derived through a single syllogism. We cannot take that which is asserted in the definition of an object and use it as the predicate of a middle term in our major premiss, in order to attach it again in the conclusion to the object which was to be defined: for if, in such a process, we are dealing with not merely one or other of the properties, but with the whole concept of the object, then it must

1 Anal. Post. ii. 3. 2 Ibid. 90, b, 18 sqq. (cf. supra, p. 246 sqq.). Another kindred reason is there given also.
3 δὴ ἢ ἐστι τὸδε κατὰ τοῦδε ἢ οὐκ ἐστὶν. 4 Anal. Post. ibid. 90, b, 28 sqq.; cf. c. 7, 92, b, 12.
5 Ibid. c. 7, 92, b, 4.
follow that both major and minor premisses would be alike definitions—the one of the middle term and the other of the minor. A proper definition, however, cannot be applied to any other object except the one to be defined.\footnote{Vid. supra, p. 216 sqq.} Consequently, in every definition, the subject and the predicate must be equal in comprehension and extension, so that the universal affirmative proposition which expresses the definition, must always be simply convertible. Therefore it follows that, by such a process as we have described, we should only be demonstrating the same by the same,\footnote{Anal. Post. ii. 4. As an illustration he uses the definition of the soul as ‘a self-moving number.’ If we wished to establish this by means of the syllogism: ‘everything that is itself the cause of life is a self-moving number; the soul is itself the cause of life, &c,’ this would be insufficient, for in this way we could only prove that the soul is a self-moving number, and not that its whole essence, its concept, is contained in this definition. In order to show this, we should have to argue: ‘the concept of that which is itself the cause of life consists in its being a self-moving number; the concept of the soul consists in its being itself the cause of life,’ &c.} and should get, not a real definition, but a verbal explanation.\footnote{Anal. Post. ii. c. 7, 92, b, 5, 26 sqq.; cf. c. 10 init. i. 1, 71, a, 11; Top. i. 5 init.; Metaph. vii. 4, 1030, a, 14.}

Plato’s method of arriving at the idea by means of division is no better; for the division presupposes the concept.\footnote{Vid. supra, p. 241, n. 3.} The same objection also applies to the method\footnote{Which one of the philosophers of that time (we know not who) had likewise made.} of assuming a definition and proving its validity \textit{a posteriori} by reference to individuals; for how can we feel certain that the hypothesis which we assumed, does really express the idea of the object, and not merely a number of particular marks?\footnote{Anal. Post. ii. c. 6, and also Waitz.} If, lastly, we endeavoured to bring definition within the province
of the epagogic process, we should be met with the difficulty that induction never brings us to a 'what,' but always to a 'that.' 1 But although definition can neither be obtained by demonstration nor by induction, so long as they are separately used, yet Aristotle thinks it possible to reach it by a union of the two. When experience in the first instance has taught us that certain characteristics appertain to an object, and we begin to search for their causes, or for the conception which links them to their subject, we are so establishing by demonstration the essence of the thing; 2 and if we continue this process until the object is defined in all its aspects, 3 we at last obtain the concept of it. Although syllogistic demonstration, therefore, may be insufficient to constitute a perfect definition, yet it helps us to find it, 4 and in this sense definition may be said to be under another form a demonstration of the essence. 5 This process is admissible in every case but that of things the being of which is not dependent on any causes outside themselves; and the conception of

1 Loc. cit. c. 7, 92, a, 37: Induction shows that something in general is of such and such a kind, by proving that it is so in all particular instances; but this is equivalent to proving merely a ὅτι ἐστιν ή οὐκ ἐστιν, not the τί ἐστι.
2 Ibid. c. 8, 93, a, 14 sqq.
3 It is necessary at this point to fill out the too short hints of Aristotle's statement by reference to the argument cited at p. 216, n. 1 supra, from Anal. Post. ii. 13.
4 Anal. Post. ii. 8 fin.: οὐδ' ἀποδειξις, δὴ λογιστήροι διὰ συλλογισμοῦ καὶ δὲ ἀποδειξισι, ὃς ἐστιν ἀνευ ἀποδειξισι ἐστὶν ὡς ρήμα τὸ τί ἐστιν τὸ ἐστίν αὐτὸν ἧλιον, ὃς ἐστὶν ἀποδειξις αὐτοῦ.
5 Ibid. c. 10, 94, a, 11: ἐστὶν ἀναποδεικτὸς, εἰς μὲν λόγος τοῦ τί ἐστιν ἀναποδεικτός, εἰς δὲ συλλογισμὸς τοῦ τί ἐστι, πτώσει διαφέρον τῆς ἀποδειξισι, τρίτος δὲ τῆς τοῦ τί ἐστιν ἀποδειξισι συμπέμψμα: the fuller explanation of which is given above. That definitions of the latter kind do not suffice, Aristotle tells us in De An. ii. 2; vid. supra, p. 173, n. 2.
these can only be postulated as immediately certain, or elucidated by induction.\(^1\)

From these researches into the nature and conditions of Definition we obtain some important rules as to the method by which in practice it is arrived at. Since the essential nature of an object\(^2\) can only be defined genetically by the indication of its causes, Definition must embrace those distinctive characteristics by which the object is actually made to be what it is. It must, by Aristotle’s rule, be got at by means of that which is prior and more known; nor must these principles be such as are prior in our knowledge, but such as are prior and more known in themselves. It is allowable to prefer the former only in the case of scholars who are incompetent to understand the latter; but in such a case they get nothing which really elucidates the essence of the object.\(^3\) This rule, indeed, follows from the axiom that Definition consists of the genus and the specific differences: for the genus is

\(^1\) *Anal. Post.* ii. c. 9: ἐστὶ δὲ τῶν μὲν ἐτερὸν τι αἰτίον, τῶν δ’ οὐκ ἐστὶν. ἢστε δὴ λοι οτι καὶ τῶν τι ἐστι τὰ μὲν ἄμεσα καὶ ἀρχαί εἰσιν, δι καὶ εἶναι καὶ τι ἐστιν ὑποθέται τι ἀλλον κρόπον φαινερά ποιήσαι. Cf. preceding note and *Anal. Post.* ibid. 94, a. 9: δ ἐστὶν ἀμέσων ὁμοιῶς δέσις ἐστὶ τοῦ τι ἐστιν ἀναπόδεικτος. *Metaph.* ix. 6, 1048, a. 35: δὴ λοι δ’ ἐπὶ τῶν καθέκασα τῇ ἐπαγωγῇ δ ὑποθέκῳ λέγειν, καὶ οὐ δὲ παντὸς δρόν ἐπείγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἀνάλογον συναφῆ; and above, p. 253. To Induction also belongs the process which is described in *De An.* i. 1, 402, b, 16: δοκεῖ δ’ οὐ

\(^2\) Of course with the exception of the ἄμεσα just mentioned, i.e. that which is conditional on no principle other than itself.

\(^3\) *Top.* vi. 4; cf. p. 205, n. 2 *supra.*
prior and more certain than its contents, and the differentiae are prior to the species which they mark off. Inversely we obtain the same result: for if Definition consists in specifying the aggregate determining characteristics by which the object is conditioned in its essential nature, it must include the genus and the differentiae, for these are simply the scientific expression of those causes which in their coincidence produce the object. But these, in their turn, are definitely related to one another in an order of superiority and inferiority. The genus is narrowed by the first of the differentiating marks; then the species so produced is further narrowed by the second, and so on. It is not, therefore, a matter of indifference in what order the separate properties shall follow in any definition. A definition, in fact, implies not a mere enumeration of the essential marks, but also the completeness and the proper sequence of them. Bearing this in mind, it will be found that in the descent from universals to particulars the practice of


2 This follows from the passages cited *supra*, p. 173, n. 2, compared with pp. 215, n. 1, 244, n. 3. By reason of this connection *Topics* vi. 5 sq., immediately after the remarks on the πρώτερα καὶ γνωριμώτερα, gives rules for the correct determination of the definition by γένος and διαφορά.

3 *Anal. Post.* ii. 13, 96, b, 30; cf. 97, a, 23 sqq.

4 Τὰ ἐν τῷ τί ἐστι κατηγορούμενα, ἀν τῶν γένως διαφοράι. It is obvious that only such things can occur in the definition; cf. p. 217 sqq., *Anal. Post.* ii. 13, 96, b, 1 sqq., i. 23, 84, a, 13., *Top.* vi. 6, and other passages WALTZ on *Categ.* 2, a, 20.

5 It has been already remarked on p. 216, that the number of intermediate grades must be a limited one. Cf. also *Anal. Post.* ii. 12, 95, b, 13 sqq.

6 *Anal. Post.* ii. 13, 97, a, 23: εἰς δὲ τὸ κατασκευάζειν ὅρον διὰ τῶν διαφέροντων τριῶν δεῖ στοιχάζεσθαι, τοῦ λαβεῖν τὰ κατηγορούμενα ἐν τῷ τί ἐστι, καὶ ταῦτα τάχιστα τι πρῶτον ἢ δεύτερον, καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα.
progressive division is our surest method, while a correspondingly gradual building up of concepts is equally proper to the upward process towards the universal. And thus Plato's method, though Aristotle could not accept it as a satisfactory process for deducing definitions, was yet recognised and further worked out by him as a means to their discovery.

Supposing, then, that we have defined and surveyed the whole field of the knowledge of concepts on this method, we shall obtain a system of ideas such as Plato looked for, carrying us in an unbroken line from the Summa Genera through all the intermediate members down to the lowest species. And since scientific deduction must consist in the specification of causes, and since each specific difference in the upward scale implies the introduction of a new cause, and every added cause creates a corresponding differentia, it results that our logical structure must exactly correspond with the actual sequence and concatenation of causes. Plato never undertook actually to set forth that derivation of everything knowable out of unity, which he saw ahead as the end and goal of science. Aristotle

1 Aristotle includes both, without further separating them, in the concept of Division. For this he gives full rules in Anal. Post. ii. 13, 96, b, 15–97, b, 25; Top. vi. 5, 6; Part. Anim. i. 2, 3. Like Plato (Zeller, Ph. d. Gr. pt. i. p. 524 sq.), he also considers that the most important thing is that the division should be continuous, should omit no intermediate grade, and should totally exhaust the object to be divided; and lastly (to which Plato devoted less attention), that it should not proceed by means of deduced or contingent differences, but by the essential ones. Cf. preceding note.

2 Two further rules, contained especially in the sixth book of the Topics—where he enumerates at length the mistakes made in defining—are omitted here.

3 See Zell. ibid. p. 525, 588.
ARISTOTLE

considers such a demonstration to be quite impracticable. The highest genera, according to him, are no more capable of being derived from any one higher principle than are the special postulates of each science.\(^1\) They are connected, not by any complete community of nature, but only by a kind of analogy,\(^2\) and the reason

\(^1\) *Anal. Post.* i. 32, 88, a, 31 sqq., &c.; *vid. supra* p. 246. sqq. Aristotle says, in *Metaph.* xii. 4, 1070, b, 1 (*παρά γὰρ τὴν ὁμοιότητα καὶ τὰλλα τὰ καταγεγραμμένα οὐθὲν ἐστι κοινὸν*), that the categories especially can be deduced neither from one another nor from a higher common genus: v. 28, 1024, b, 9 (where the same is said of *Form and Matter*; xi. 9, 1065, b, 8; *Phys.* iii. 1, 200, b, 34; *De An.* i. 5, 410, a, 13; *Eth.* N. i. 4, 1096, a, 19, 23 sqq.; cf. TRENDELENBURG, *Hist. Beitr.* i. 149 sq. The concepts, which one would be most inclined to consider the highest genera, ‘Being’ and ‘One,’ are no ἓκεια: *Metaph.* iii. 3, 998, b, 22; viii. 6, 1045, b, 5; x. 2, 1053, b, 21; xi. 1, 1059, b, 27 sqq.; xii. 4, 1070, b, 7; *Eth.* N. *ibid.*; *Anal. Post.* ii. 7, 92, b, 14; *Top.* iv. i, 121, a, 16, c. 6, 127, a, 26 sqq. Cf. TRENDELENBURG, *loc. cit.* 67; BONITZ and SCHWEGL *on Metaph.* iii. 3 (more on p. 276 *infra*). Therefore the principle ‘that eventually everything is contained in a single highest concept as in a common genus,’ which STRÜMPPEL, *Gesch. d. theor. Phil. d. Gr.* p. 193, gives as an assertion of Aristotle, is not really Aristotelian.

\(^2\) In *Metaph.* v. 6, 1016, b, 31, four kinds of Unity are distinguished (somewhat different is the other fourfold enumeration in *Metaph.* x. 1, in which the unity of analogy does not occur): the unity of number, of species, of genus, and of analogy. Each of these unities includes in it the subsequent unities (i.e. that which in number is one is also one in species, &c.); but not *vice versa*. Hence the unity of Analogy can occur even in those things which belong to no common genus (cf. *Part. An.* i. 5, 645, b, 26: τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἔχουσι τὸ κοινὸν κατ’ ἀναλογίαν, τὰ δὲ κατὰ γένος, τὰ δὲ κατ’ εἶδος). It occurs in everything ὅσα ἔχει ὡς ἄλλα πρὸς ἄλλο. It consists in identity of relation (*ισθεῖα λογίαν*), and hence supposes at least four members (*Eth.* N. v. 6, 1131, a, 31). Its formula is: ὡς τοῦτο ἐν τούτῳ ἐν τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦτο, τὸ ἐν τῷ ἀπὸ τῷ ἐν τῷ τὸ ἐν τῷ τὸ ἀπὸ τῷ (*Metaph.* ix. 6, 1048, b, 7; cf. *Post.* 21, 1457, b, 16). It is found not only in quantitative identity, such as arithmetical and geometrical (*Eth.* N. v. 7, 1131, b, 12, 1132, a, 1), but also in qualitative identity, such as similarity (*Gen. et Corr.* ii. 6, 333, a, 26 sqq.), or in identity of operation (cf. *Part. An.* i. 5, 645, b, 9: τὸ ἀνάλογον τὴν αὐθεν ἔχον δύναμιν; *ibid.* i. 4, 644, b, 11; ii. 6, 652, a, 3), and in fact in all categories (*Metaph.* xiv. 6, 1093, b, 18). Besides those in the passages just mentioned, other instances are given in *De Part.*
why the sciences are not all one, is just because each class of actual existences has its own peculiar sort of knowledge which applies to it. If it be true that among the sciences we find one which is a science of first principles—the 'First Philosophy'—we must not expect it to develop its subject-matter out of any single principle of being. On the contrary, we shall find it necessary, before proceeding to any further researches, that we should inquire into all the most general points of view from which the world of actual existence can be considered, or, in other words, enumerate the highest generic concepts themselves.

This it is with which the doctrine of the Categories is concerned, and these form accordingly the true connecting link, in Aristotle's philosophic system, between Logic and Metaphysics.
CHAPTER VI

INTRODUCTORY INQUIRIES TOUCHING ARISTOTLE'S METAPHYSICS

1. The Categories

All the objects of our thought fall, according to Aristotle, under one or other of the following ten concepts: Substance, Quantity, Quality, Relation, Where, When, Situation, Possession, Action, Passion.

These highest concepts—the Categories—neither mean to him merely subjective forms of thought, which would be utterly foreign to his Realism, nor are they merely concerned with logical relations. What they ex-


2 Categ. c. 2 init.: τῶν λεγομένων τὰ μὲν κατὰ συμπλοκὴν λέγεται, τὰ δ' ἂνευ συμπλοκῆς.

3 Aristotle uses various expressions to designate them (cf. TRENDENLEBENBURG, loc. cit. at p. 6 sqq., and Bonitz, ut supra, at p. 23 sqq., and in the Ind. Arist.
press is rather the different forms of the Actual.¹ Not all forms of the Actual, however, are categories or divisions of categories; but only those which represent the different formal points of view under which the Actual may be treated. Therefore he does not reckon among the

378, a, 5 sqq.). He calls them τὰ γένη (scilicet, τοῦ ὄντος, cf. De An. i. 1, 402, a, 22), τὰ πρῶτα Metaph. vii. 9, 1034, b, 7), also διαφόρεσις (Top. iv. 1, 120, b, 36, 121, a, 6), and πτώσεις (Metaph. xiv. 2, 1089, a, 26, with which cf. Eth. Eud. i. 8, 1217, b, 29), τὰ κοινὰ πρῶτα (Anal. Post. ii. 13, 96, b, 20, and Metaph. vii. 9, 1034, b, 9); but most frequently κατηγορία, κατηγορίματα, γένη or σχήματα τῶν κατηγορίων (τῆς κατηγορίας).—BONITZ (with whom LUTHE, Heittr. zur Logik, ii. 1 sqq. agrees) rightly explains the last expression by simply translating κατηγορία = ‘assertion’; and consequently γένη or σχήματα τ. κατ. = ‘the chief genera or fundamental forms of assertion,’ = ‘the various senses in which an object can be spoken of.’ The same meaning is conveyed also by the shorter κατηγορίαι = ‘the various modes of assertion,’ or κατηγορίαι τοῦ ὄντος (Phys. iii. 1, 200, b, 28; Metaph. iv. 28, 1024, b, 13, ix. 1, 1045, b, 28, xiv. 6, 1093, b, 19, &c.); the latter phrase implying that every such assertion is concerned with being.—The meaning of ‘predicate,’ which κατηγορία often has in other places, and which BRENTANO (loc. cit. 105 sq.) and SCHUPPE give it here, does not suit the Aristotelian categories, for the latter designate the different senses of the τὰ κατὰ µηδεµίαν συµπλοκήν λεγόµενα, whereas the predicate, as such, can only occur in the proposition. Hence it is needless to ask the question (over which SCHUPPE, loc. cit. 21 sq., gives himself unnecessary trouble) in what sense ‘Substance,’ which is not a predicate-concept (vide infra, ch. vii. init.), can belong to the scheme of the categories. Any concept becomes a predicate by being asserted of something, and this may occur even with concepts expressing substance (cf. Metaph. vii. 3, 1029, a, 23, τὰ µὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τῆς οὐσίας κατηγορεῖται αὕτη δὲ τῆς ὕλης). For instance, in the proposition, ‘this man is Socrates,’ Socrates is predicate. From this logical function, which a substance-concept may take on in a proposition, it by no means follows that such an idea, when regarded out of this special relation and with reference solely to the content of the idea itself, is to be regarded as signifying anything dependent, or in the nature of a property or συµβεβηκός.

—STRÜMPFEL is mistaken in saying (Gesch. der theor. Phil. b. d. Griechen, p. 211) that the categories treat of the various ways of predicating or the distinctions to be drawn in the ways of combining concepts, though in other respects he correctly apprehends the merely formal character of the categories.

¹ Metaph. v. 7, 1017, a, 22;
categories either those concepts which are so universal as to be predicatable of things of the most different kinds, and to have a different meaning according to the relation in which they are used (such as the concepts of Being and of Unity 1), or any of those more definite expressions which concern the concrete condition of

καθ' αυτ' δ' είναι λέγεται δισαπερ σημαίνει τά σχήματα τής κατηγορίας: δισαχώς γάρ λέγεται, τοσ- αυταχώς τό είναι σημαίνει (cf. Eth. N. i. 4, 1096, a, 23). Hence the categories are called κατηγορίαι τοῦ δύνατον (see preceding note). That of which they represent the various meanings is the δυν ῥ (Metaph. vi. 2 init. ix. 1, 1045, b, 32; De An. i. 5, 410, a, 13: ἐτι δε πολλακῶς λεγομένον τοῦ δύνατον, σημαίνει γάρ το μὲν τόδε τι, &c.); cf. Ind. Arist. 378, a, 13 sqq.—Logical relations of concepts, on the other hand (such as ὁρός, γένος, ἰδιόν, συμβεβηκὸς), are not expressed in separate categories, but run indifferently through them all. In answer to the question τι ἐστι; for instance, you may get according to circumstances an οὐσία, a ποσόν, &c.; see Top. i. 9.—As little are the categories concerned with the opposition of true and false, which has reference, not to the nature of things, but to our relation to them (Metaph. vi. 4, 1027, b, 29). Yet Aristotle sometimes does make, after all, an ontological application of the categories, as when, for example, he deduces the different kinds of change from the circumstance that one kind is concerned with things as to their substance, another as to their quality, a third as to quan-

tity, and a fourth as to place; cf. following note.

1 These two concepts (which κατά πάντων μᾶλστα λέγεται τῶν ὑπων, according to Metaph. iii. 3, 998, b, 22 sqq.; x. 2, 1053, b, 16 sqq.; viii. 16, 1045, b, 6, cf. supra, p. 272, n. 1), are no γένη, but predicates which may be applied to all that is possible. That they cannot be genera, Aristotle proves in Metaph. iii. 3, by observing that 'a genus can never be predicated of the mark which stands to it as a specific difference, but that Being and Unity must be predicatable of every mark which can be added to the δύνατον οὐσία.'—Both the concepts are used in various meanings. Metaph. v. 7, gives four senses of 'Being,' while ix. 10 (cf. xiv. 2, 1089, a, 26, where the κατά συμβεβηκὸς λεγόμενον ἐν is omitted) gives three, one of these being that κατά τα σχήματα τῶν κατηγορίων, which suggests that a different kind of Being corresponds to each category, and therefore implies that 'Being' cannot as such coincide with any single category. The same is true of 'Unity': τὸ ἐν ἐν παντὶ γενεί ἐστὶ τις φύσις, καὶ οὐθένος τούτο γ' αὐτὸ ἡ φύσις, τὸ ἐν (= 'there is nothing whose essence consists in Unity as such'). It likewise occurs in all categories,
any object and its physical or ethical properties.\(^1\) 
Equally does he exclude from the number of categories those general metaphysical conceptions which serve to explain concrete peculiarities and processes, such as the conceptions of the Actual and the Possible, of Form and Matter, and of the four kinds of Cause.\(^2\) The

but adds to the concept of the object, of which it is predicated, no new mark; and Aristotle concludes from this, δι ταυτό σημαίνει πως τὸ ἐν καὶ τὸ διν (Metaph. x. 2, 1054, a, 9 sqq.), the τὸ ἐν καὶ τὸ διν ταύτων καὶ μία φών πω ἀκολούθειν ἀλλὰς . . . ἀλλ' ὅχ ὃς ἐνι λόγῳ δηλούμενα (Metaph. iv. 2, 1003, b, 22), and that both have the same extension (ἀντιστρέφει, xi. 3, 1061, a, 15 sq., cf. vii. 5, 1030, b, 10, c. 16, 1040, b, 16). Upon 'Unity,' cf. also Metaph. x. 1 sqq. (where in particular 'unity of measure' is treated of), and the references at p. 272, n. 2 supra; and see also HERTLING, De Arist. notione unius, Berl. 1864. As to the διν, see particularly BRENTANO, Von der mannigfachen Bedeutung des Seienden.

\(^1\) For this reason such a concept as Movement (or Change) is not put among the categories; it is rather, according to Aristotle, a physical concept which, through the different categories, receives its further determination as substantial change, qualitative or quantitative change, or movement in space (Phys. v. 1 fin., c. 2 init., ibid. 226, a, 23, iii. 1, 200, b, 32; Gen. et Corr. i. 4, 319, b, 31; De Caelo, iv, 3, 310, a, 23; Metaph. xii. 2, 1069, b, 9; more about this infra). He allows that, looked at in itself, it may be put in the category of Action and Passion (Top. iv. 1, 120, b, 26; Phys. v. 2, 225, b, 13, iii. 1, 201, a, 23; De An. iii. 2, 426, a, 2; TRENDELENBURG, Hist. Beitr. i. 135 sqq.), and in this sense it is even used in Metaph. viii. 4, 1029, b, 22, to illustrate how the categories other than Substance have a substratum, yet it does not itself become a category. Still less would it be a category if we were to accept the belief of the later Peripatetics (which is not established by Metaph. v. 13, 1020, a, 26; SIMPL. Categ. 78, 5, § 29 Bas.) that it belonged to the category of the ποιητικόν, or as others preferred (SIMPL. ibid. 35, 5, § 38) to the πρῶτον τι. — So also, when Eudemus (Eth. Eud. 1217, b, 26) gives Motion (in place of Action and Passion) among the categories, it is not Aristotelian. Other Peripatetics, notably Theophrastus, said more correctly, that it 'runs through many categories' (SIMPL. ibid. 35, 5, § 38; Phys. 94, a). — In the same way the 'Good' is to be found in various categories (Eth. N. i. 4, 1096, a. 19, 23).

\(^2\) None of these concepts is reckoned among the categories or comprised under any one of them. On the contrary, when Aristotle is considering the various meanings of 'Being,' he mentions the distinction of διν-
purpose of 'categories' is not to describe things by their actual qualities, nor yet to set forth the general conceptions which are needful for this purpose. They are confined to pointing out the different sides which may be kept in view in any such description. In Aristotle's intention, they are meant to give us, not real conceptions, but only the framework into which all real conceptions are to be set, whether they are confined to one division of the framework or extend to several.¹

¹ Thus also BRANDIS, ii. b, 394 sqq. On the other hand TRENDelenburg, ibid. 162 sq. explains the absence of 'Possibility and Actuality' from the categories by saying that the latter are 'separated predicates,' whilst the former is 'no real predicate.' It seems, however, that precisely the opposite is the case. The categories are not themselves directly taken as predicates, but only as designating the place of certain predicates in the scale; whereas the distinction of Possible and Actual is based on real and definite facts, the contrast between the different conditions of development in individual things, and the opposition in the universe as a whole between the corporeal and the spiritual. The one kind of distinction is only an abstract, metaphysical expression of the other. But it is not possible entirely to agree with Bonitz when he says on p. 18, 21, that the categories 'are only meant to render possible a survey of what is contained in the empirical data,' and hence that 'such concepts are excluded as extend beyond the comprehension of empirical data, to any kind of explanation of them.' For the concept of Motion is given by experience just as much as that of Action and Passion, and the concept of Substance is as valuable for 'explaining the data' as that of form and matter, or of...
Of the completeness of this framework, Aristotle is convinced, but he nowhere tells us how he came to set actuality and possibility.—Nor does it seem possible to say with BRENTANO (loc. cit. p. 82 sq.), that the categories are 'real concepts;' if by this we are to understand such concepts as designate the common object-matter of a series of experiences, such as are the concepts of weight, extension, thought, &c. For those very categories which are most frequently and universally applied—substance, quantity, quality, relation, action, and passion—designate merely formal relations, and hence are adapted to cover and apply to a content of the most diverse character; and though this is not so absolutely true of others—such as ποι, ποτέ, or κείσθαι—that peculiarity only proves that Aristotle was not able strictly to carry out through them all the point of view with which he started his category-scheme as a whole. BRENTANO himself, at p. 131 sq., admits that 'the distinction of the categories is not a real distinction.'

1 PRANTL, Gesch. d. Log. i. 204 sqq., denies that Aristotle adopted any absolutely fixed number of categories; but it is clear, not only from the enumerations given at p. 274, n. 2 and p. 282, n. 3, but also from many other expressions, that he did. Thus we have in Soph. El. c. 22, init.: ἐπείπερ ἐχομέν τὰ γένη τῶν κατηγοριῶν—namely, the ten enumerated in Top. i. 9, to which at c. 4, 166, b, 14, after mentioning τὸ (ταύτῳ), ποιῶν, ποιῶν, ποιοῖν, πάσχον, διακειμένον (really only a kind of ποιῶν, the διάθεσις: see Categ. c. 8, 10, a, 35 sqq. Metaph. v. 20), he refers back with the words: καὶ τάλαλα δ’ ὡς διήρηται πρότερον. De An. i. 1, 402, a, 24: πότερον τόδε τι καὶ οὐσία ἢ ποιῶν ἢ ποσὸν ἢ καὶ τοῖς άλλη τῶν διαφεβεῖσιν κατηγορίαν. Ibid. c. 5, 410, a, 14: σημαίνει γὰρ τὸ μὲν τόδε τι τὸ δὲ ποσόν ἢ ποιῶν ἢ καὶ τίνα ἀλλή τῶν διαφεβεῖσιν κατηγορίαν. Anal. Pri. i. 37: τὸ δ’ ὑπάρχειν τὸδε . . . τοσανταχὼς ληπτέον ὡσάχως αἱ κατηγορίαι διήρηται. Metaph. xii. 1, 1069, a, 20: πρῶτον ἢ οὐσία, εἰσα τὸ ποιῶν, εἰσα τὸ ποσόν; vi. 2, 1026, a, 36: τὰ σχήματα τῆς κατηγορίας, οἷον τὸ μὲν τι, τὸ δὲ ποιῶν, τὸ δὲ ποσόν, τὸ δὲ ποιῶν, τὸ δὲ ποτέ, καὶ εἰ τί ἄλλο σημαίνει τῶν πρῶτων ποιῶν; vii. 4, 1030, a, 18: καὶ γὰρ τὸ τί ἐστιν ἕνα μὲν τράπον σημαίνει τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ τὸ τόδε τι, ἄλλον δὲ ἕκαστον τῶν κατηγορουμένων, ποιῶν, ποσόν, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα; xii. 4, 1070, a, 33: it is a question of, πότερον ἐστεραι ἢ αἱ ἀκτιά ἀρχαί στοιχεῖα τῶν οὐσιῶν καὶ τῶν πρῶτοι τι, καὶ καθ’ ἐκάστην δὲ τῶν κατηγοριῶν ομοιώς. Likewise in Metaph. vii. 9, 1034, b, 9, xiv. 2, 1089, a, 7; Phys. iii. 1, 203, b, 26, after mentioning some of the categories, he refers to the rest with a mere 'αἱ ἄλλαι κατηγορίαι,' as to something well known, and in Anal. Post. i. 22, 83, b, 12, a, 21, the impossibility of an infinitely extended argument is proved by the assertion that the number of categories is limited to those there named. The completeness of Aristotle's list of categories is also supposed by the proof referred to at the end of p. 276, n. 2, that
out these categories and no others; and among the
categories themselves there is so little indication of
any fixed principles for their evolution that we are
there are only three kinds of
motion (in the narrower sense),
qualitative, quantitative, and
local (Phys. v. 1 sq.), inasmuch
as that theorem is proved by the
process of exclusion. 'Motion,'
Aristotle argues, 'does not occur
in the categories of substance,
&c. : therefore only those three
categories remain.'

1 Even in the lost writings no
such demonstration seems to
have occurred; otherwise the
early commentators would have
appealed to it. Whereas, on the
contrary, Simplic. Schol. in Ar. 79,
a. 44, says: ἰδίως οὐδαμοῦ περι
tῆς τάξεως τῶν γενῶν οὐδὲμίαν
αἰτίαν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ἀπεφήνατο.

2 To Trendelenburg (in his
dissertation De Arist. Categoris
[Berl. 1833] and the Elementa
Logices Aristotelicae, p. 54)
belongs the credit of having first
endeavoured to find one. But
even his repeated explanation in
Hist. Beitr. i. 23 sqq., 194 sq. has
not persuaded us that he has
really succeeded in doing so. It
seems rather that the objections
which Ritter, iii. 80, and still
more exhaustively Bonitz, loc.
cit. 35 sqq., have brought against
his opinion, are well justified.
Trendelenburg (and after him
Biese, Phil. d. Arist. i. 54 sq.)
believes that in setting out these
ten genera Aristotle was proxim.
ately influenced by grammatical
distinctions. He suggests
that oμα corresponds to the
substantive, πον and πον to
the adjective; with προς τι cor-
respond such forms of expres-
sion as those referred to in
Categ. c. 7; πον and πον are re-
presented by the adverbs of place
and time; the last four cate-
gories are to be looked for in the
verb, for ποιεῖν and πάσχειν trans-
late into a general concept the
force of the active and passive
voices, as κεῖσθαι renders one side
of the intransitive, and εἰσέχειν
the special force of the Greek per-
flect.—But, in the first place, as
Bonitz, p. 41 sqq., fully proves,
Aristotle himself nowhere gives
any indication of his having
arrived at his categories in this
way. On the contrary, he does
not distinguish the parts of
speech on any such method as
that which Trendelenburg's
theory of the categories would
presuppose, for he nowhere ex-
pressly distinguishes the adverbs,
he treats the adjective (as ἰμα)
along with the verb, and in fact
the only 'parts of speech' which
he names (apart from the article
and conjunction) are the ὄνομα
and the ἰμα. It is therefore
not probable that grammatical
forms to which, as 'parts of
speech' he paid no attention,
should nevertheless have guided
him in distinguishing the classes
of concepts. And, again, the
two series do not in fact corre-
spond to any such extent as we
should have expected if Trende-
lenburg's supposition were
correct. For 'quantity' and
'quality' may just as well be ex-
pressed by substantives (e.g. λευ-
cότης, θερμότης, &c., Categ. c. 8,
9, a, 29) or verbs (λειλακωται,
reduced to supposing that he obtained them empirically, by putting together the main points of view from which the data of experience can be practically treated. It is true that a certain logical progress is to be found among them. We begin with the Substantial—the Thing. Next in order to this, he deals with Quali-

&c.) as by adjectives; 'action and passion' as well by substantives (πράξις, πάθος, &c.) as by verbs; 'time' not only by adverbs but also by adjectives (χρόνος, δημοτεραίος, &c.); very many substantives designate no substance (Categ. c. 5, 4, a, 14, 21); and for 'relation' a corresponding grammatical form cannot be found.—BRENTANO, loc. cit. p. 148 sqq., also seeks to defend the Aristotelian categories against the charge of having no scientific derivation and suggests another scheme. He believes that in arranging them Aristotle first distinguished 'substance' from 'accidents,' and, among the latter, distinguished the absolute from the relative; and that he went on to divide the former into (1) inferences (material = ποσὸν, and formal = πολὺν); (2) affections (ποιεῖν and ποιόπησι, to which, at one time, Aristotle added τέλεσθαι); (3) external circumstances (ποὺ and ποτὲ, and, for a time, κείσθαι). The question is not, however, whether it is possible to bring the ten categories into some logical scheme (for that could be done with any series, unless it were merely put together at haphazard), but whether Aristotle arrived at them by means of a logical deduction. And against any such supposition there are two facts: first, that Aristotle in speaking of the categories, never indicates such a deduction, and next, that none can be found into which they naturally fit. Even in Brentano's ingenious scheme, this is not the case. If the ten categories had come about in the way he suggests, they would have been enumerated by Aristotle in a corresponding order. Instead of that, the πρῶτον τι, which, according to Brentano, should come last, stands in the middle in every enumeration (see p.274, n. 1 and p.282, n.3), and its regular place (the only exception being Phys. v. 1) is immediately after the 'inferences.' After it, again, the 'affections' do not follow (as they should according to Brentano's order), but the 'external circumstances.' Nor is the distinction of inferences and affections itself Aristotelian.—So far as a logical disposition of the categories ex post facto is concerned, Zeller gives on p. 288 infra, that which he prefers, although he does not believe that Aristotle arrived at his list of categories by any method in which he had in his mind beforehand either that or any other logical scheme into which they were to fit.
ties: first (in the \( \piοον \) and \( \piοιον \)), those qualities which belong to a thing in itself, and then (in the \( \piρος \tauι \)), those which belong to a thing in its relation to other things. From these he passes to the external conditions of sensible existence—Space and Time. And he ends the list with the concepts which express changes and the conditions thereby produced. This cannot be called a deduction in the strict sense; for that, according to Aristotelian principles, was not possible in the case of the highest general conceptions at all.\(^1\)

In fact, the order of the categories is not always the same.\(^2\) It even seems that ten is somewhat arbitrarily fixed as their number. Aristotle himself so far recognises this, that in his later writings he passes over the categories of Possession and Situation, in places where he apparently intends to give a complete enumeration.\(^3\) It is possible that it may have been the example of the Pythagoreans,\(^4\) and the predilection

\(^1\) Vide supra, pp. 216 and 272.

\(^2\) Examples will be found in what follows, and also at p. 279, n. 1. The most striking thing with regard to this is that in Cat. c. 7, contrary to the otherwise constant rule, and even to the order given in c. 4, \( \piρος \tauι \) precedes \( \piοιον \). No satisfactory reason can be found for this, but it would be rash to conclude anything from it against the genuineness of the work, since a later writer would probably be less likely to permit a divergence from the order given than would Aristotle himself, for whom it was not firmly established.

\(^3\) Anal. Post. i. 22, 83, a, 21: ὣστε \( \eta \) ἐν τῷ τι ἐστὶν [κατηγορεῖται]

\(^4\) See ZELL. Ph. d. Gr. pt. 1,

\[325.\]
for a decimal system inherited from them by the Platonists,\(^1\) which made it at first seem to Aristotle natural that he should find a round number of categories. But we cannot well suppose any further connection between his doctrine and the Pythagorean;\(^2\) nor is the conjecture\(^3\) much more probable, that he borrowed his categories from the school of Plato.\(^4\) It is true that almost all of them appear in Plato’s writings;\(^5\) but we cannot attribute any great weight to this coincidence, for the reason that in Plato they are merely used as occasion arises, without any attempt to arrive at a full enumeration of all the categories in one scheme.

Among the categories themselves, much the most

\(^1\) ZELLE, ibid. p. 857 sqq.

\(^2\) As Petersen supposed in Philos. Chrysipp. Fundamenta, p. 12.

\(^3\) ROSE, Arist. Libr. Ord. 238 sqq.

\(^4\) In the first place, there is no trace whatever of the ten categories among the Platonists; and it is not likely that information about so notable a point would neither have been transmitted through their writings nor through Chrysippus and other scholars of the Alexandrian period to the later Peripatetics, and through them to us. And again, the theory of the categories is so closely connected with the other opinions of Aristotle that it is not likely to have sprung up on other ground. Take, for example, merely the fundamental statements as to the \(\sigma\omega\alpha\) and its relation to properties, on which the whole division of the categories in Aristotle is based. These are certainly not Platonic; in fact it is one chief point of dispute between Aristotle and his master that the latter conceded to ideas of quality the position of substances and made the \(\pi\sigma\omega\nu\) an \(\sigma\omega\beta\lambda\). —We might rather suppose (as Ueberweg does in his Logik, § 47, atp. 100) that Aristotle was led to his theory of Categories in his recoil against the theory of Ideas, and, in particular, by the reflection that the Ideas only represented things under the form of substantiality, whereas things in the actual world exhibit many different forms of existence. But as this explanation itself presupposes the distinction of substance from properties, &c., too much importance must not be attached to the theory.

important is that of Substance, which may here be fitly treated at once in detail. Substance, in the strict sense, is individual Substance. That which can be set out in parts is a Quantum. If these parts are divided, then the Quantum is a discrete Quantum, a multitude; if they are interdependent, then it is a constant Quantum, a quantity; if they are in a definite position (θέσις), the quantity is extensive; if they are only in an order (τάξις) without position, then it is non-extensive. The undivided, or the unity by means of which quantity is distinguished, is the measure of it. This is the distinguishing mark of quantity, that it is measurable and has a measure. As Quantitas belongs to a divisible

1 Metaph. v. 13 init.: ποσὸν λέγεται τὸ διαιρετὸν εἰς ἐννοπάρχοντα, ἢν ἐκάστρον ἢ ἐκαστόν ἐν τι καὶ τόδε τι πέφυκεν εἰναι. The ἐννοπάρχοντα, however, are, the constituent parts as distinguished from the logical elements of the concept. Thus, e.g., in Metaph. iii. 1, 996, b, 27, c, 3 init. he inquires whether the γένη or the ἐννοπάρχοντα are the highest principles; ibid. viii. 17 fin. the στοιχεῖον is defined as that εἰς ὃ διαιρεῖται [sc. τι] ἐννοπάρχον [Acc.] ὡς θλῆν. Similarly in viii. 2, 1043, a, 19, cf. Gen. An. i. 21, 729, b, 3: ὡς ἐννοπάρχον καὶ μόριον ἐν εὐθείᾳ τοῦ γινομένου σώματος μιγνύμενον τῇ θλῇ. Ibid. c. 18, 724, α, 24: ὁσα ὡς ἡ γλυκεσθαι τὰ γιγνόμενα λέγομεν, ἐκ τινος ἐννοπάρχοντος . . . ἐστίν. Cat. c. 2, 1, α, 24, c, 5, 3, α, 32, &c. (Ind. Arist. 257, a, 39 sqq.) The ποσὸν is consequently that which is made up of parts, like a body, and not of logical elements, like a concept. But since num-

2 Metaph. v. 13 (where also ποσὸν καθ' αὐτὸ καὶ κατὰ συμβεβη-

3 Cat. c. 6 init., ibid. 5, α, 15 sqq. Aristotle does not here ex-

4 Metaph. x. 1, 1052, b, 15

ber and time are also ποσὰ, we must not suppose that these 'parts' are merely material ones and in Metaph. v. 13, the τόδε τι must be understood not of individual substance, but in a wider sense, as signifying anything numerically distinct (ἀριθμῷ ἐν).

The undivided, or the unity by means of which quantity is distinguished, is the measure of it. This is the distinguishing mark of quantity, that it is measurable and has a measure. As Quantitas belongs to a divisible
and substantial whole, so Qualitas expresses the differences whereby the conceptual whole is divided; for under Qualitas, in the stricter sense of the word, Aristotle understands nothing else but the distinguishing mark, or further determination wherein a given Universal particularises itself. As the two chief divisions of qualities, he notes those which express an essential distinction, and those which express a movement or activity. Elsewhere he names four determinations of quality as the most important, but these again fall...
under the same heads.1 He treats as the peculiar mark of Qualitas, the opposition of the like and the unlike.2 But in dividing off this category from others Aristotle finds himself in difficulties.3 To the category of Relativity4 belongs that of which the peculiar essence consists in a definite relation to something else;5 and in this sense Relativity is the category which expresses

κατὰ δύναμιν φυσικὰν ἃ δύναμιν λέγεται (a class which, however, cannot be strictly distinguished from the ἐξεις and διαθέσεις; see TRENDLELENBURG, ibid. 98 sqq. More about the δύναμις later). (3) The passive equalities, παθητικαὶ ποιότητες, also called πάθος in the meaning of ποιότης καὶ ἰν ἀλλαοιοῦσθαι ἐνδεχεται (Metaph. v. 21), and distinguished from the πάθη (which fall under the category of πάσχειν), by their duration. Aristotle, however, understands by them not only the qualities which are produced by a πάθος (such as white and black colour) but also those which produce a πάθος or an ἀλλοιωσις on our senses: cf. De An. ii. 5 init. (4) Figure (σχῆμα καὶ μορφὴ).

1 For the first two and a part of the third express ‘activities and movements’; the rest, ‘essential properties.’
2 Cat. c. 8, 11, a, 15; on the other hand (ibid. 10, b, 12, 26), the ἐναντιώτης and the μᾶλλον καὶ ἴπτον (= ‘difference of degree’) do not belong to all quantities. The notion of Similarity, cf. Top. i. 17; Metaph. v. 9, 1018, a, 15, x. 3, 1054, a, 3, and infra, p. 287, n. 2.
3 For, on the one hand, the remark in Cat. c. 8, 10, a, 16, that the concepts of rarity and density, roughness and smoothness, designate no quality, but a situation of the bodily parts (i.e. a κείσθαι), would (as TRENDLELENBURG rightly perceives, Hist. Beitr. i. 101 sqq.) equally apply to many other things which Aristotle includes under Quality; whilst, on the other hand, the impossibility of a constant definition of the categories is seen from the fact that a generic concept (e.g. ἐπιστήμη) may belong to the πρός τι, when a corresponding specific concept (γραμματική) belongs to the ποιεῖν (Cat. c. 8, 11, a, 20; Top. iv. 124, b, 18; whereas in Metaph. v. 15, 1021, b, 3, ἢτρυκή is counted under πρός τι, that it may follow its generic concept, ἐπιστήμη).
4 That the category of Relativity, in Cat. c. 7, precedes that of Quality (vide supra) is contrary to the natural relation of both, as is clear, not only in all other enumerations and in the express explanation in Metaph. xiv. 1, 1088, a, 22, but indirectly also (in Cat. c. 7 itself) from the fact that the ὅμοιον and ὅσον (qualitative and quantitative equality) is in 6, b, 21 counted as πρός τι; cf. Top. i. 17; TRENDLELENBURG, ibid. p. 117.
5 Thus Cat. c. 7, 8, a, 31: ἐστι τὰ πρός τι οἷς τῷ ἐναι ταύτον ἐστι τῷ πρός τι πῶς ἢ ἐξεις; where the earlier verbal explanations are expressly declared (at the
beginning of the chapter) to be insufficient. Cf. Top. vi. 4, 142, a, 26, c. 8, 146, b, 3.

1 Metaph. ut supra: τὸ δὲ πρὸς τί πάντων [for which ALEX. read πασῶν] ἡκιστὰ φύσις τὶς ἡ ὀντία τῶν κατηγορίων ἐστι, καὶ ὑστέρα τοῦ ποιου καὶ ποσοῦ, &c.; b, 2: τὸ δὲ πρὸς τί οὕτε δυνάμει ὀντία οὕτε ἐνεργεία. Eth. N. i. 4; 1096, a, 21: παραφυάδι γὰρ τούτον ἐστι καὶ συμβεβηκότι τού ὁστος.

2 Metaph. n. 15: the πρὸς τί appears in the following forms: (1) καθ' ἄριθμὸν καὶ ἄριθμον πάθη (and in other related forms); to this head belong the ἴσον, διόμον, ταῦτα in so far as these are concerned with relations to a given unity: ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ ὃν μὴ ὁ ὀντία, ὴμοια δὲ ὃν ἡ ποιησις μιὰ, ἓστα δὲ δὲν τὸ ποιηθὲν ἐν (the latter also in Gen. et Corr. ii. 6, 333, a, 29); (2) κατὰ δύναμιν ποιητικὴν καὶ παθητικὴν, like the θερμαντικὸν and the θερμαντόν; (3) in the sense which comprises such expressions as μετρητικῶν, ἐπίστητον, διανοητῶν. The first two kinds come also in Phys. iii. 1,200, b, 28.

3 Metaph. ibid. 1021, a, 26: In the first two of the cases adduced the πρὸς τί is called τῷ ὑπὲρ ἐστὶν ἄλλον λέγεσθαι αὐτὸ τὸ ἐστὶν (double is ἡμῖσις διπλᾶσιον, that which warms θερμαντικὸν θερμαντικὸν). In the third case it is τῷ ἄλλο πρὸς αὐτὸ λέγεσθαι (what can be measured or thought has its proper essence indepen-
dently from the fact that it is measured or thought, and only becomes a relative in so far as that which measures and thinks enters into relation with it). The like also in Metaph. x. 6, 1056, b, 34, 1057, a, 7.

4 Another division is found in Top. vi. 4, 125, a, 33 sqq.

5 The various peculiarities of the Relative which are mentioned in Cat. c. 7 are all found, as is there remarked, only in a part of that class: e.g. the ἐπιστητης (6, b, 15, cf. Metaph. x. 6, 1056, b, 35, c. 7, 1057, a, 37, and also Trendelenburg, 123 sqq.), the μᾶλλον καὶ ἤπτον, the property of correlatives to be simultaneous (Cat. 7, b, 15), which is not found in the relative of the second class (the ἐπιστητης, &c., see note 3, supra). But it is a universal mark of every relative, to have a corresponding correlative (τὸ πρὸς ἀντιστρέφοντα λέγεσθαι, Cat. 6, b, 27 sqq.), which, in the main, tallies with the statement made at first (c. 7 init.) and afterwards repeated (8, a, 33), that the πρὸς τί is ὅσα αὐτὰ ὑπὲρ ἐστὶν ἐτέρων εἶναι λέγεται ἡ ὅπωσον ἄλλος πρὸς ἐτέρων, the latter statement differing merely by being less exact. Individual substances (πρῶται ὀνόματι) cannot be relative; but generic concepts (δεύτεραι ὀνόματι) may be. Cat. 8, a, 13 sqq.

6 Thus in Cat. c. 7, 6, b, 2, the ἔξις, διάθεσις, αὐλοθεσία, ἐπι-

the least reality.' Aristotel distinguishes three kinds of Relativity, which are not consistent throughout, nor has he been able to find any sure marks of this category, or to avoid confusing it in many ways with others.
ARISTOTLE

The remaining categories are dealt with so briefly in the treatise on the *Categories*—and, indeed, wherever Aristotle mentions them—that an extended account of them cannot be given here.¹

The essential meaning of the theory of the categories lies in the fact that it indicates to us how to distinguish the different meanings of concepts and the different corresponding relations of the actual. Thus, in the first place, the original and unchangeable essence or substance of each thing is distinguished from all that is derivative.² Among things which are derivative, a division is again made between the qualities, the activities, and the external circumstances. Of the qualities, one class belong to things in themselves, and in this case they express sometimes a quantitative and sometimes a qualitative determination—that is to say, they have relation either to the substratum or to the form;³

οὐτήμη, θέσις are referred to πρὸς τι, of which, however, the first four belong also to Quality, the last to Position; ποιεῖν and πᾶσχειν, according to *Metaph.* v. 15, 1020, b, 28, 1021, a, 21, are relative concepts; the parts of a whole (πτειάλιον, κεφαλὴ, &c.) are also said to be relative (*Cat.* c. 7, 6, b, 36 sqq., cf., however, 8, a, 24 sqq.). Also Matter (*Phys.* ii. 2, 194, b, 8); and if so, why not Form as well?

¹ In the abrupt ending of the genuine *Categories*, c. 9 (as to which, see the latter part of n. 1 to p. 64, supra) it is merely said of the category of ποιεῖν and πᾶσχειν, that it is susceptible of opposition and of More and Less. As to the other categories, there is nothing but a reference to what has gone before. *Gen. et Corr.* i. 7, treats Action and Passion more at length, but that passage deals with the physical meaning of these terms, and we shall have to mention it later on. "Είς is discussed etymologically in *Metaph.* v. 15, and in *Cat.* c. 15 (in the *Postprædicamenta*).

² Cf. note 4 on next page.

³ As TRENDLENBURG, p. 103, rightly remarks, the Quale is related to the Form, the Quantum to the Matter; vide supra, 284, n. 1 and 4, p. 285, n. 2, cf. p. 219, n. 2. Thus similarity also, which, according to Aristotle, consists in qualitative equality (see p. 286, n. 3, 287, n. 2), is defined, in another place, as equality of Form (*Metaph.* x. 3, 1054, b, 3: διότι δὲ εἰρήν ὑπὸ ταύτα
another class belong to things only in relation to other things—that is to say, they are relative. With regard to activities, the most far-reaching opposition is that of Action and Passion; on the other hand, the categories of Possession and Situation, as has been already remarked, have only a precarious rank, and are afterwards dropped by Aristotle himself sub silentio. Finally, as regards external circumstances, these are taken on the one hand in terms of Space, and on the other in terms of Time, in the categories of the Where and the When. In strictness, however, both of these ought to have been ranged under the Category of Relation; and perhaps it was this kinship which led Aristotle to place them as a rule next in order after that category. All the categories, however, lead back to Substance as their base.

1 All concepts of relation refer to something which is conditioned; substances are not πρός τι: vide supra.

2 Vide supra, p. 282.

3 That this is not without exception is clear from p. 282, n. 3.

4 Anal. Post. i. 22, 83, b, 11: πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα [ποιῶν, &c.] συμβεβήκε καὶ κατὰ τῶν οὐσίων καταγροφεῖται (about συμβεβηκός in this meaning see p. 275 sqq.). Similarly i. 19, ibid. a, 25, c, 4, 73, b, 5. Phys. i. 1, 185, a, 31: οὐδεὶς γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων χαριστῶν ἐστι παρὰ τὴν οὐσίαν· πάντα γὰρ καθ’ ὑποκειμένου τῆς οὐσίας λέγεται (but what is asserted καθ’ ὑποκειμένου is a συμβεβηκός in the further sense: Anal. Post. i. 4, 73, b, 8; Metaph. v. 30 fin. &c); c, 7, 190, a, 34: καὶ γὰρ ποιῶν καὶ ποιῶν καὶ πρὸς ἑτερον καὶ ποτὲ καὶ ποὺ γίνεται ὑποκειμένον τινὸς διὰ τὸ μόνην τὴν οὐσίαν μηθεῦσα κατ’ ἄλλου λέγεσθαι ὑποκειμένου τὰ δ’ ἄλλα πάντα κατὰ τῆς οὐσίας; iii. 4, 203, b, 32. Metaph. vii. 1, 1028, a, 13, ibid. i. 32: πάντων ἡ οὐσία πρῶτον καὶ λόγῳ καὶ γνάσει καὶ χρόνῳ (cf. the whole chapter); c, 4, 1029, b, 23, c, 13, 1038, b, 27, ix. 1 init. xi. 1, 1059, a, 29, xiv. 1, 1088, b, 4: ὅστερον γὰρ [τῆς οὐσίας] πάνται αἱ κατηγορίαι. Gen. et Corr. i. 3, 317, b, 8. Hence in all the enumerations οὐσία goes first. Cf. also infra, ch. vii. init.
An inquiry, therefore, into Substance, or Being as such, must be the starting-point in the investigation of the Actual.

2. *The First Philosophy as the Science of Being.*

As Science in general has for its task the investigation of the grounds of things,¹ so the highest Science must be that which refers to the last and most universal of the grounds of things. For this gives us the most comprehensive knowledge, everything else being comprehended under the most universal. It gives us the knowledge which is most difficult to attain, as the most universal principles are the furthest removed from sense experience. It gives us the surest knowledge, since it has to do with the most simple concepts and principles. It gives us the most instructive knowledge, because it points out the highest grounds, and all instruction is a setting forth of the grounds of things. It gives us that knowledge which is most truly an end to itself, in that it is concerned with the highest object of knowledge. It gives us that which dominates all other knowledge, for it establishes that end to which all knowledge serves.²

1 Vide supra, p. 163 sqq. For this we may especially cite *Metaph.* i. 1, where, with reference to prevailing views as to wisdom, it is shown (981, b, 30) that ἐὰν μὲν ἐμπέμφω τῶν ὅπως ἀνακύκλωσιν ἐξόντων αἴσθησιν εἶναι δοκεῖ σοφώτερον, ὅ ό δὲ τεχνὴ τῶν ἐμπείρων, χειροτέχνων δὲ ἀρχιτέκτων, αἱ δὲ θεωρητικαὶ τῶν ποιητικῶν μάλλον. Hence: ὅτι μὲν ὅπως ἡ σοφία περὶ τινας αἰτίας καὶ ἀρχὰς ἐστὶν ἐπιστήμη, δῆλον.

2 *Metaph.* i. 2, where the above is thus summed up (982, b, 7): ἐκ ἀπαντῶν ὅπως εἰρημένων ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιστήμην πίπτει τὸ γητομένον ὅνομα [σοφία]; δὲι γὰρ ταῦτα τῶν πρώτων ἀρχῶν καὶ αἰτίων εἶναι θεωρητικά. Cf. i. i. 3, 998, b, 8 sqq. *Eth.* N. vi. 7. *Metaph.* vi. 1, 1026, a, 21: τὴν τιμωτάτην [ἐπιστήμην] δὲι περὶ τὸ τιμωτάτον γένος εἶναι, αἱ μὲν ὅπως θεωρητικαὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἐπιστήμων αἱρετώτεραι, αἰτίη δὲ τῶν θεωρητικῶν.
set forth the ultimate grounds of things must clearly include all actuality, for these ultimate grounds are simply those which explain Being as such.1 Other sciences, such as Physics and Mathematics, may limit themselves to a particular sphere, the conception of which they take no further. The science of the ultimate grounds of things must go through the whole world of things, and must take them back, not to finite principles, but to their eternal causes, and, in the last resort, to that which is unmoved and incorporeal, from which proceeds all movement and formation in the corporeal world.2 This science is the First Philosophy, which

1 Metaph. iv. 1: έστιν έπιστήμη τις ἡ θεωρεῖ τό ὄν ἡ ὄν καὶ τά τούτων ὑπάρχοντα καθ’ αὐτό. αὐτή δ’ έστιν οὐδέμια τῶν ἐν μέρει λεγομέναις αὐτής. οὐδεμιαγαρτών ἄλλων ἐπισκοπεῖ καθόλου περί τῶν ὄντων ἡ ὄν, ἀλλὰ μερὶς αὐτοῦ τι ἀποτελεῖ-μεναι περί τούτων θεωροῦσι τό σωμβεβηκός... ἐπεὶ δὲ τάς ἀρχας καὶ τάς ἀκροτάτας αὐτίας ἔτοιμεν, δὴλον ὢσ φύσεως τινος αὐτάς ἀναγκαίοι εἰναι καθ’ αὐτήν, τόδε καὶ ἡμὶ τοῦ ὄντος ἡ ὄν τας πρώτας αἰτίας λεγόμενοι. Cf. note 2 and Eux., ch. iv. p. 283.

2 See the previous note, and see also Metaph. vi. 1: αἱ ἄρχαι καὶ τὰ αἰτία γενέται τῶν ὄντων, δὴλον δὲ τί ἡ ὄντα. Every science has to do with certain principles and causes, ἀλλὰ πάσαι αὐταὶ ἱλατρικῆ, μαθηματικῆ, &c.] περὶ τι καὶ γενοὺς τι περιγραφάμενε περὶ τούτων πραγματεύονται, ἀλλ’ οὔχι περὶ ὄντως ἀπλῶς οὐδὲ ἡ ὄν, οὐδὲ τοῦ τί ἐστιν οὐθένα λόγον ποιοῦνται ἀλλ’ εἰ τούτου αἰ μὲν αἰσθητεία πνεύμασα αὐτῷ δῆλον, αἱ δ’ ὑπόθεσιν λαβοῦσα το τί ἐστιν οὔτω τά καθ’ αὐτά ὑπάρχοντα τῷ γίνει περὶ δ’ εἰσιν ἀποδεκινύουσιν ἢ ἀναγκαίωτερον ἢ μαλακώτερον... ὁμοίως δὲ οὖθ' εἰ ἐστιν ἡ μὴ ἐστι τό γένος περὶ δ’ πραγματεύονται οὐδέν λέγομεν διὰ τὸ τῆς αὐτής εἰναι διανοιάς τό τε τί ἐστι δήλον ποιεῖν καὶ εἰ ἔστιν. So it is with Physics and Mathematics, the former being concerned with that which is moved and in which the Form is not separated from the Matter, the latter being at the best concerned with that which is abstracted from Matter and Movement, but which does not exist of itself as immaterial and unmoved (cf. p. 183, n. 3): εἰ δὲ τί ἐστιν ἀδίδον καὶ ἀκίννητον καὶ χοριστόν, φανερὸν ὅτι θεωρητικῆς τό γνώναι. οὗ μέντοι φυσικῆς γε... οὐδὲ μαθηματικῆς, ἀλλὰ πρωτερὰ ἀμφότερον. The object of this science is the χωριστά καὶ ἀκίνητα: ἀνάγκη δὲ πάντα μὲν τά αἰτία ἀδίδα εἶναι, μάλιστα δὲ ταῖται... ταύτα γάρ αἰτία τοῦτος φαινομένος τῶν θεῶν. In them, if anywhere, τὸ θεῖον must be sought; with them stands or falls the possibility of

v 2
Aristotle also names Theology, and its task is to investigate all actuality and the ultimate grounds thereof, which, as being ultimate, are necessarily also the most universal, and concern, not any part of the actual, but the whole.

It is true that the possibility of such a science is open to much question. How can one and the same science treat of causes which are of different kinds, and which do not act collectively together? And, on the other hand, if we were to refer the causes of each genus to a special science, how could any one of these sciences claim to be that which is described above—since in this case the qualities claimed for it would rather be divided up among the special sciences? Again, it is a question whether the First Philosophy is to draw into its scope the principles of scientific procedure, or whether these belong at all to any definite science, inasmuch as all sciences make use of them and it is impossible to assign any definite object to which they relate. Or, again, is it to be a single science, or more than one, which will deal with all classes of the actual? If there are more than one, the next question is, whether they are all of the same kind or no, and which of them is the First Philosophy. If there be only one, then it would seem that that one must include all

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1 *Metaph. loc. cit. et alib.; vid. supra.*
2 *Metaph. iii. 1, 995, b, 4, c. 2 init.*
3 *Ibid. c. 1, 995, b, 6, c. 2, 996, b, 26; cf. supra, ch. v. passim.*
objects of knowledge, and thereby the multiplicity of the special sciences would disappear. 1 Finally we may ask whether this single science is to relate only to substances or to their qualities also. The first alternative seems inadmissible, because it would be then impossible to say what kind of science had to do with the qualities of Being. The latter seems untenable, because substances cannot be known by the same method of demonstration as qualities. 2

Aristotle answers these questions by remarking that not only that which falls under the same conception, but also that which relates to the same object, belongs to one and the same science. 3 This, he says, is the case as regards Being. Only that which is itself Substance, or is somehow related to substance, can be named Being. All those conceptions which are in question denote either that which is Substantial, or else qualities, activities and circumstances of Substance, and in the end they all lead up to certain elementary pairs of opposites, and opposites fall under the same science. 4 For these reasons he concludes that it is one and the same science which has to deal with all Being as such. 5 The difficulty

1 Metaph. ibid. 995, b, 10, c. 2, 997, a, 15.
2 C. 1, 995, b, 18, c. 2, 997, a, 25. Among the συμβεβηκότα ταῖς οὐσίαις must be counted also the concepts of ταύτων, ἑτέρων, διόυς, ἑαυτῶν, &c. enumerated in 995, b, 20; cf. iv. 2, 1003, b, 34 sqq. 1004, a, 16 sqq. The farther Apories of the third book, which are concerned not only with the concept of the First Philosophy but also with its contents, will be mentioned later on.
3 Metaph. iv. 2, 1003, b, 12: οὐ γὰρ μόνον τῶν καθ’ ἐν λεγομένων ἐπιστήμης ἐστὶ θεωρῆσαι μιᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πρὸς μιᾶν λεγομένων φύσιν. Ibid. 1. 19, 1004, a, 24, cf. note 4; and as to the difference between καθ’ ἐν and πρὸς ἐν, see Metaph. vii. 4, 1040, a, 34 sqq.
4 On this point see p. 224, supra.
5 Metaph. iv. 2: τὸ δὲ ὅν λέγεται μὲν πολλαχῶς. ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐν καὶ μὲν τινὰ φύσιν (for which later: ἀπαν πρὸς μιᾶν ὀρχήν) καὶ
that this science must needs resume in itself the content of all other sciences, is removed in Aristotle's mind by the distinction he draws between the different senses of Being. As Philosophy in general has to do with Essential Being, so there will be as many sections of Philosophy as there are kinds of Essential Being. 1 As Being determinate is distinguished from Being in general, so is the First Philosophy as the universal science distinguished from the special sciences. It deals with the particular also, not in its particularity, but as a form of Being. It abstracts from the peculiarities whereby a particular thing distinguishes itself from others, in order to have regard to that only in it which appertains to all Being. 2 The objection that Substance itself must needs be treated in other ways than that

1 Metaph. iv. 2, 1004, a, 2, &c.
2 Metaph. iv. 2, 1004, a, 9 sqq.

Since the concepts of the One and the Many, of Identity and Distinction, &c., relate to one and the same object, therefore one and the same science must deal with them; 1004, b, 5: επει δὲν τοῦ ἕνος ἢ ἔν καὶ τοῦ ὅντος ἢ ὁν τάτα καθ' αὐτὰ ἐστὶ πάθη, ἀλλ' ὅδε ἢ ἀριθμοὶ ἡ γραμμαὶ ἡ πύρ. δὴν ὁτι ἐκεῖνη τῆς ἐπιστήμης καὶ τί ἐστί γνωρίσαι καὶ τα συμβεβηκότ' αὐτοῖς. As the mathematical and physical properties of things form a special province, ὕστα καὶ τῷ ὅντι ἢ ὁν ἐστὶ τινὰ ἁδία, καὶ ταύτ' ἐστὶ περὶ ἰν τοῦ φιλοσοφοῦ ἐπισκέψασθαι τάληθες. Ibid. 1005, a, 8. This is further illustrated in xi. 3, 1061, a, 28 sqq.
which proceeds by deducing its essential attributes would not trouble Aristotle,\(^1\) since the same thing would be true of the fundamental conceptions of any science whatever. To the question whether the First Philosophy would also deal with the general principles of scientific procedure, Aristotle answers in the affirmative, inasmuch as these principles themselves relate to Being in general rather than to any particular class of Being. In fact, he proceeds immediately to a detailed investigation of the law of Contradiction and the Excluded Middle, which by reason of its relation to Methodology has been already discussed at p. 251. By Aristotle, however, these inquiries are, in the present connection treated ontologically, as giving knowledge of the actual, for which reason he includes them in his First Philosophy.\(^2\)

3. The Fundamental Questions of Metaphysics and their Treatment by earlier Philosophers.

The forerunners of Aristotle had left him a series of problems in the way of metaphysical inquiry for which he found it necessary to obtain a new solution. The most important of these, to the answering of which the fundamental ideas of his system are immediately directed, were the following:

1. First of all, how are we to think of the actual? Is there nothing but corporeal existence, as the pre-Socratic natural philosophy assumed? Or is there, beside and above that, something uncorporeal, as

\(^1\) It is nowhere expressly answered in the *Metaphysics.*

\(^2\) *Metaph.* iv. 3.
Anaxagoras, the Megarians and Plato said? Are the ultimate grounds of things of the nature of matter only, or is form to be distinguished from matter as a peculiar and a higher principle?

2. Connected with this is the question of the relation of the Individual to the Universal. What is that which is essential and in the last resort actual? Is it the individual things or the universal ideas, or is there perhaps in truth only one universal Being? The first was the common view which had lately come out, bluntly enough, in the Nominalism of Antisthenes; the second was the theory of Plato; the third that of Parmenides and of Euclidean after him.

3. Seeing that unity of being and manifold existence are both given in experience, how can we hold these two together in thought? Can the One be at the same time a manifold, including in itself a number of parts and qualities? Can the Many come together in an actual unity? These questions also were variously answered. Parmenides and Zeno had denied that the two ideas could be reconciled, and had therefore declared the manifold to be a delusion, while the Sophists used the assumption of the manifold for their theory of argument, as Antisthenes for his theory of knowledge.1 The Physicists of the Atomic and Empedoclean schools limited the relation between the Many and the One to that of an external and mechanical juxtaposition of parts. The Pythagoreans found in number, and Plato, with keener philosophic insight, in his Ideas, a means of combining a multitude of different

1 See Zeller, *Ph. d. Gr.* pt. 1, pp. 985 etc.
determinations of being in an inner unity, while the corresponding relation in sensible things explained itself, according to Plato, by impact.

4. Equally different were the views held as to the passing of the one into another—that is, as to the theory of Change and Becoming. How can being become not-being, or not-being being? How can anything come to be or cease to be? How is movement possible, or change? Such were the questions that Parmenides and Zeno had asked in doubt, and the Megarians and the Sophists had repeated their questionings. The like difficulties drove Empedocles and Anaxagoras, Leucippus and Democritus to explain the coming to be and ceasing to be of all things by the combinations and separations of unchangeable matter. Plato himself so far agreed with them that he confined change to the sphere of appearances, and excepted from it all that was truly actual.

Aristotle has all these questions clearly in view. To the first two problems related most 1 of the ἀπορίαι with which he opens his great work on Metaphysics, after the introductory discussions of the first book. Are sensible things the only essential being, or is there besides them some other? Is the 'other' of one kind, or is it manifold like the Ideas and mathematical entities of Plato? 2 The limitation of Being to sensible things is contradicted by the series of arguments on which Plato had already based his Ideal Theory: such as, that the

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1 With the exception of those just mentioned, which are concerned with the office of the First Philosophy in general.

2 Metaph. iii. 2, 997, a, 34 sqq. (xi. 1, 1059, a, 38, c. 2, 1060, b, 23), iii. 6, viii. 2.
particular things of sense, passing and indistinct as they are, can be no object of knowledge; ¹ and that all the world of sense, as passing, presupposes an eternal—as moved, presupposes an unmoved—as formed, presupposes a forming cause. ² These Platonic assumptions, however, as we presently find, are beset by all manner of difficulties. The problem returns in the form of the question ³ whether the ultimate grounds of things are to be sought for in their genera, or in their constituent parts—the latter being the basis of their material conditions, the other the basis of their formal determinations. ⁴ For either view plausible arguments may be adduced. On the one hand there is the analogy of corporeal things, whose constituent parts we name when we have to explain their character. On the other hand there are the conditions of knowledge, which we attain to by a process of determination through concepts in the assignment of genera and species. And as between these again there arises immediately the question, whether the highest genera or the lowest species ought to be treated as the true principia. The former would be universal, including all individual existence as an ultimate principle should do. The latter would be determinate conceptions, and out of such only could the individual in its peculiarity of character be obtained. ⁵

¹ *Metaph.* vii. 15, 1039, b, 27; iv 5, 1009, a, 36, 1010, a, 3, cf. i. 6, 987, a, 34; xiii. 9, 1086, a, 37, b, 8.  
² *Ibid.* iii. 4, 999, b, 3 sqq.  
³ *Metaph.* iii. 3; πότερον δεί τὰ γένη στοιχεία καὶ ἀρχὰς ὑπολαμ-βάνειν ἢ μᾶλλον ἢ ὁ ἐνυπαρχόντων ἐστὶν ἕκαστον πρῶτον (xi. 1, 1059, b, 21).  
⁴ Vide supra, ch. v.  
⁵ *Metaph.* iii. 998, b, 14 sqq. (xi. 1, 1059, b, 34). Among the varied and often intricate forms of Aristotle's dialectic, it is only possible to state here the leading line of reasoning.
On the like considerations rests the other difficulty, to which Aristotle rightly gives special prominence— the question whether it is only individual things that are actual, or whether the universal of the genera be actual also. The former theory seems untenable because the sphere of individual existences is unlimited and of that which is unlimited no knowledge is possible, and since all knowledge in any case is of universals. The latter is open to all the objections which lie against the theory of a universal existing independently, or the Ideal Theory of Plato. An application of this question to a particular case is contained in the further inquiry, whether the conceptions of the One and of Being denote anything substantial or are only predicates for some subject of a different nature. Those who accept universals at all (e.g. Number) as in any way substantial, must affirm the first proposition; but the opposite opinion is not only supported by the analogy of the whole world of concrete things, but also by the argument that you cannot treat the One as substance without denying, as did Parmenides, the existence of

1 *Metaph.* iii. 4 *init.* c. 6 *fin.* (cf. vii. 13 sq.), xiii. 6, xi. 2 *init.*, ibid. 1060, b, 19. In the first passage this *Aporia* is called the πασῶν χαλεπωτάτη και άναγκαιωτάτη θεωρήσαι; similarly in xiii. 10, 1086, a, 10; and we shall find later on, that its importance and difficulty rest not merely on the opposition of Aristotle to Plato, but also on the intrinsic contradiction involved in the foundations of his own system.

2 That this *Aporia* coincides with that adduced on p. 298, Aristotle himself asserts in

3 *Metaph.* iii. 4, 999, b, 1: εἶ μὲν οὖν μηθὲν ἐστι παρά τὰ καθ’ ἐκαστά, οὐθὲν ἄν εἰτη νοητῶν ἄλλα πάντα αἴσθητα, and hence he here again adduces the reasons, which were there mentioned.

Only another expression for the above is the question (iii. 4, 999, b, 24, xi. 2 *fin.*), whether the ἀρχαί are εἰ δει ἐν οὐ ἄρθρῳ ἐν: τὸ γὰρ ἄρθρῳ ἐν ἦ τὸ καθέκαστον λέγειν διαφέρει οὐθὲν (999, b, 33 cf. c. 6, 1002, b, 30).
the Many, as such. To the same head belongs the question whether Numbers and Figures are Substances or no, and to this also opposite answers are possible. For as the qualities of bodies are mere predicates from which we distinguish the bodies themselves as their substrata, and as these bodies presuppose, as their elements, the surface, the line, the point, and unity, it would seem that surface and unity must be as substantial as body is; while on the other hand these have not any existence for themselves but only in corporeal things, and they do not come to be and cease to be, as Substances do. Yet another difficulty which leads back to the relation of the individual to the Universal is this. The principia must on the one hand, as it seems, be of a potential character, since possibility precedes actuality: on the other hand, they must be actual, since otherwise Being would be merely accidental. Individual things, indeed, do actually exist: whereas the universal concept, except in so far as it has found for itself a place in individual entities, exists only potentially. And finally, if there be besides the corporeal, an uncorporeal, and beside the changing, an eternal, the final question must be whether both of these have the same principia or not. If we say Yes, it seems impossible to explain the difference between them. If we say No, then we must

1 Metaph. iii. 4, 1001, a, 3 sqq., and, referring to this, x. 2, xi 1, 1059, b, 27, c. 2, 1060, a, 36.
2 Metaph. iii. 5 (cf. xi. 2, 1060, b, 12 sqq., and on p. 1002, b, 32: viii. 5 init. c. 3, 1043, b, 15). We shall meet with further objections to this view in the criticism of the Pythagorean and Platonic doctrines.
3 Ibid. iii. 6, 1002, b, 32 cf. Bonitz and Schweigler on this passage.
decide whether the *principia* of the changeable are themselves changeable or unchangeable. If they be changing, then we must go back to deeper *principia*, with which the same dilemma will recur. If they be unchangeable, then we have to explain how it can be that out of the unchanging, in one case the changeable, in another the unchangeable, arises.\(^1\) The like difficulty, in truth, applies to all the different classes of Being. How, for example, is it possible that things which fall under wholly different categories, such as those of Substance and Relation, can lead back to principles that are one and the same?\(^2\)

The other questions stated above—those relating to the unity of the manifold, and the possibility of change—were clearly present to Aristotle's mind, and he sought in the first principles of his *Metaphysics* to find a solution for them. The combination of the manifold into unity, concerns him chiefly as leading up to the inquiry how the genus and the differentia can be one in conception;\(^3\) though he recognises that the same question may be raised in all cases where things of a different nature are combined.\(^4\) Aristotle's answer, in all such

\(^1\) *Metaph.* iii. 4, 1000, a, 5 sqq. (xi. 2, 1060, a, 27).

\(^2\) *Ibid.* xii. 4. Aristotle answers (*ibid.* 1070, b, 17) that the final grounds of things are only analogically the same for all.

\(^3\) This question also occurs in *Anal. Post.* ii. 6, 92, a, 29. In *De Interpr.* c. 5, 17, a, 13, it is proposed, discussed more fully in *Metaph.* vii. 12, again touched upon in viii. 3, 1043, b, 4 sqq., 1044, a, 5, and settled in the manner stated in the text by viii. 6.

\(^4\) Thus with regard to numbers (*Metaph.* viii. 3, 1044, a, 2, c. 6 *init.*), and to the relation between soul and body (c. 6, 1045, b, 11; *De An.* ii. 1, 412, b, 6 sqq.); but also in many other cases: cf. *Metaph.* viii. 6, 1045, b, 12: καί τοι ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος ἐπὶ πάντων, &c.
cases, as will be seen, is in its essence one and the same. It is based upon the relation of the possible and the actual—of Matter and Form. The problems of Becoming and Change are of still greater importance for the Aristotelian system. If a thing comes to be, does it arise out of being or out of not-being? If a thing ceases to be, does it become something, or nothing? Does change mean the becoming of opposite out of opposite, or of the same out of the same? The one seems to be impossible—because nothing can come out of nothing; nor can anything return to nothing, nor take on it the qualities of its opposite (e.g. warmth the qualities of cold). The other alternative is equally impossible, because it is absurd that anything should at a definite time come to be that which it already is. A similar case is the analogous problem whether those things which act upon each other are likes or opposites. In all these questions, difficulties are brought to light which are soluble only by a careful inquiry into the first principles of philosophy.

1 Cf. Phys. i. 2 fin., where Lycophron and others are blamed for running into difficulties by the inference that one must at the same time be many: ἄσπερ οὐκ ἐνδεχόμενον ταῦτα ἐν τε καὶ πολλὰ εἶναι, μὴ τὰ ντικείμενα δὲ· ἐστι γὰρ τὸ ἐν καὶ δυνάμει καὶ ἐντέλεσθα.
2 Cf. Phys. i. 6, 189, a, 22, c. 7, 190, b, 30, c. 8 init. ibid. 191, b, 10 sqq., Gen. et corr. i. 3 init. ibid. 317, b, 20 sqq. Metaph. xii. 1 fin.
3 See Gen. et corr. i. 7; Phys. i. 6, 189, a, 22, c. 7, 190, b, 29, c. 8 191, a, 34. To Aristotle this question coincides with the other, as to Change, since that which acts corresponds with that which suffers: ἄστι ἀνάγκη τὸ πάσχον εἰς τὸ ποιὸν μεταβάλλειν (Gen. et corr. i. 7, 324, a, 9). Hence it is true that, on the one hand, things which are not opposed cannot act upon one another: οὐκ ἐξίστησι γὰρ ἄλληλα τῆς φύσεως δοσά μὴτ' ἐναντία μὴτ' ἐξ ἐναντίων ἐστὶ (ibid. p. 323, b, 28): but on the other hand, neither can absolute opposites: ὑπτ' ἄλληλων γὰρ πάσχειν τάναντια ἄδύναστον (Phys. i. 7, 190, b, 33).
The contributions which his forerunners had made towards their solution, did not in any way satisfy Aristotle. He takes exception to most of the pre-Socratic philosophies primarily because of their materialism, which made it impossible for them to reach out to the first principles of the incorporeal; and he further objects that they practically took no account of ideal and final causes.

The earlier Ionic school is criticised by him because of the difficulties which beset every one of their presuppositions, because of their tendency to overlook the moving cause, and because of the superficial way in which they erected an arbitrarily chosen element into the universal basis of things, whereas the sensible qualities and changes of bodies are conditioned by the opposition of different elements.

The same criticism holds for Heraclitus, in so far as he agrees with the Ionic school in assigning a material element as the basis. To his peculiar doctrine as to the flux of all things and the meeting of opposites, Aristotle has other objections. He thinks that the doctrine of the flux is on the one hand not accurately thought out, while on the other hand it overlooks the

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1 For what follows cf. STRUMPELL, Gesch. d. theor. Phil. d. Gr. 157–184; BRANDIS, ii. b, 2, p. 589 sqq. Aristotle's criticism of earlier philosophers is here dealt with only in so far as it concerns their fundamental doctrines.

2 Metaph. i. 8 initi. cf. iv. 5, 1009, a, 36, 1010, a, 1.

3 Metaph. i. 7, 988, a, 34 sqq. b, 28, Gen. et Corr. ii. 9, 335, b, 32 sqq., Gen. An. v. 1, 778, b, 7.

4 See De Caelo, iii. 5, Metaph. i. 8, 988, b, 29 sqq.

5 Metaph. i. 8, 988, b, 26; Gen. et Corr. ii. 9, 335, b, 24

6 Gen. et Corr. ii. 1, 329, a, 8; De Caelo, iii. 5, 304, b, 11, cf. ibid. i. 3, 270, a, 14; Phys. i. 7, 190, a, 13 sqq. iii. 5, 205, a, 4.

7 Aristotle, indeed, generally puts him along with Thales, Anaximenes, &c.; see ZELLER, Ph. d. Gr. pt. i. 585, 1.
fact that every change presupposes a substratum; that under alterations of matter, the form maintains itself; that it is not all kinds of change which could go on \textit{ad infinitum}; and that from the changeableness of earthly things we ought not to draw any conclusion as to the universe as a whole.\footnote{Metaph. iv. 5, 1010, a, 15 sqq.; Phys. viii. 3, 253, b, 9 sqq.} The theory of the unity of opposites he dismisses by the argument that Heraclitus is in conflict with the Law of Contradiction.\footnote{See Zeller, Ph. d. Gr. i. 600 sqq., and 483, 1.}

The objections to Empedocles cover various points of detail regarding his natural philosophy which cannot be gone into here, but they reach also to the fundamentals of his system. His assumptions as to the immutability of the original matter are held to involve the impossibility of qualitative change, of the passage of the elements into one another as seen in experience, and of their combination into unity in the derivative forms of matter, and also of the doctrines, upheld by Empedocles himself, as to the quantitative identity of the elements and their co-existence in \textit{the Sphere}.\footnote{Metaph. i. 8, 989, a, 22-30; Gen. et Corr. ii. 1, 329, b, 1, c. 7, 334, a, 18, 26, c. 6 \textit{init. ibid.} i. 1, 314, b, 10, 315, a, 3, c. 8, 325, b, 16. In \textit{De Caelo}, iii. 7 \textit{init}, he gives a detailed refutation of the atomistic reduction (by EMPEDOCLES) of \textit{άλλαωσις τω ēκκρισις}.} Aristotle also objects that the derivation of these elements is not shown, and that they are not carried back to the original divisions of material being,\footnote{The opposites \textit{warm and cold}, &c., on which Aristotle bases his own theory of the elements.} which are only incompletely presented in the definite kinds of matter known to us as fire, water, &c.\footnote{Gen. et Corr. i. 8, 325, b, 19, ii. 3, 330, b, 21.} He remarks that the opposition of heavy and light is not explained
at all,\(^1\) and that in the theory of the pores and effluxes an explanation of the mutual influence of bodies is put forward which would logically lead to absolute Atomism.\(^2\) The two ‘causes of motion’ in the Empedoclean system he considers not to be properly deduced from first principles nor to be sufficiently distinguished, since Love not only unites but also divides, and Hate not only divides but also unites;\(^3\) and he remarks that since no laws of their working are laid down, an inordinate scope is left, in the fashioning of the world, to Chance.\(^4\) He holds the assumption of alternating states of the world to be arbitrary and untenable,\(^5\) and the theory of the composition of the soul out of the elements to be beset with difficulties of all kinds.\(^6\) Finally, Aristotle believes that the philosophy of Empedocles would lead in the end to a sensationalism which would make all truth uncertain.\(^7\)

The criticisms on the Atomic theory are of a similar kind. Aristotle admits that the theory has a very plausible basis. If we start from the Eleatic presuppositions, and if we desire nevertheless to save the ideas of the manifold and of movement, then an Atomic theory is the most convenient way of escape. So if we think it an impossibility to suppose bodies to be actually divisible \textit{ad infinitum}, the only alternative seems to lie in the assumption of indivisible atoms as their ultimate

\(^1\) \textit{De Caelo}, iv. 2, 309, a, 19. \hspace{1cm} \textit{Part. An.}, i. 1, 640, a, 19; \textit{Phys.} viii. 1, 252, a, 4.
\(^2\) \textit{Gen. et Corr.} i. 8; cf. Zeller, \textit{Ph. d. Gr.} part i. 635, 3. \hspace{1cm} \textit{Phys.} viii. 1, 251, b, 28 sqq.: \textit{De Caelo}, i. 10, 280, a, 11; \textit{Metaph.} iii. 4, 1009, b, 12.
\(^3\) See Zeller, \textit{Ph. d. Gr.} pt. i. 698, 2, and \textit{Metaph.} iii. 8, 986, a, 25. \hspace{1cm} \textit{De An.} i. 5, 409, b, 23–410, b, 27; \textit{Metaph.} iii. 4, 1000, b, 3.
\(^4\) \textit{Gen. et Corr.} ii. 6, 333, b, 2 sqq. (cf. Zeller, \textit{ibid.} 703, 1); \hspace{1cm} \textit{Metaph.} iv. 5. 1009, b, 12; cf. Zeller, \textit{ibid.} 727, 1.
constituents.1 Aristotle, however, neither admits these Eleatic presuppositions, nor does he concede that the division of bodies can ever reach its limit,2 or that the coming of definite things into being could be treated as a combination of minima, or their passing out of existence as a resolution into atoms.3 Rather does he hold that indivisible bodies are impossible, since every fixed quantity can be divided into fixed quantities, which again must be divisible.4 He says that atoms which are neither qualitatively distinguished nor capable of acting on each other could not explain the different qualities and the interaction of bodies or the passage of the elements into one another or the processes of becoming and change.5 The theory that the atoms are infinite in number and kind is also rejected, because the phenomena can be explained without this hypothesis, since all differences of quality or of form are reducible to certain fundamental types, and since the situation and movement of the elements in nature are also limited by number; and it is Aristotle's view that a limited number of original entities is always to be preferred to an infinity of them, because the limited is better than the limitless.6 The assumption of empty space, so far

1 Gen. et Corr. i. 8, 324, b, 35 sqq. c. 2, 316, a, 13 sqq.; cf. Zeller, ibid. 764 sqq.
2 Gen. et Corr. i. 2, 317, a, 1 sqq. But Aristotle expresses himself more exactly on this point, though without explicit reference to the Atomic theory, in Phys. iii. 6 sq.
3 Gen. et Corr. i. 2, 317, a, 17 sqq.
4 Phys. vi. i; De Celo, iii. 4, 303, a, 20.
5 Gen. et Corr. i. 8, 325, b, 34 sqq. c. 9, 327, a, 14; De Celo, iii. 4, 303, a, 24; ibid. c. 7, c. 8, 306, a, 22 sqq. We shall have more to say on this subject later.
6 De Celo, iii. 4, 303, a, 17 sqq. 29 sqq. b, 4; cf. Phys. i. 4 fin. viii. 6, 259, a, 8.
from being necessary to explain phenomena such as those of movement, would rather be inconsistent with the characteristic movement of bodies and the differences of weight, for in a vacuum nothing could have any particular place towards which it would tend, and everything would necessarily move with equal quickness. He finds that movement and its different kinds are, in the Atomic Philosophy, simply presupposed, and not deduced from first principles. He objects that the school completely overlooks the teleology of nature, and that instead of giving us any principles on which phenomena rest, it refers us to an unsolved necessity, or to the assertion that in fact things have always been as they are. There are further polemical passages, which can only here be mentioned in passing: against the theory of an infinite number of co-existent worlds; against Democritus' explanation of sense-perception; against his doctrine concerning the soul, and his acceptance of sensory appearance as truth.

The natural philosophy of Anaxagoras is so closely connected with the physics of the Atomists and Empedo-

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1 Phys. iv. 7-9, cf. c. 6. More on this later.
2 Phys. iv. 8, 214, b, 28 sqq.; De Caelo, i. 7, 275, b, 29, 277, a, 33 sqq. ii. 13, 294, b, 30, iii. 2, 300, b, 8. With regard to the theory of Weight held by Democritus, see further De Caelo, iv. 2, 6; as to the influence of Aristotle's attack upon the changes which Epicurus made in the atomic theory, see Zeller, Ph. d. Gr. pt. iii. a, 378.
3 Metaph. xii. 6, 1071, b, 31.
4 See Zeller, Ph. d. Gr. pt. i. 788 sqq., and Gen. An. v. 8 vers. fin., where Aristotle's criticism of the mechanical explanation of nature by Democritus, is very similar to Plato's criticism in the Phaedo of that proposed by Anaxagoras.
5 De Caelo, i. 8; see Zeller, ibid. 797, 2.
6 De Sensu, c. 4, 442, a, 29.
7 De An. i. 3, 406, b, 15, cf. c. 2, 403, b, 29, 405, a, 8.
8 Zeller, ibid. 822.
doeles that it is open for the most part to the same objections. The infinite number of his primary bodies is not only needless, inasmuch as a small number would do equally well, but it is also mistaken inasmuch as it would make all knowledge of things impossible. Again, since the primary differences of kinds of matter are limited in number, so must be the primary bodies also. Since all bodies have a natural magnitude, their constituent parts (the so-called ὀμοιομερῆ) cannot be of indefinite size; and since all bodies are limited, there cannot be in each thing, as Anaxagoras was logically obliged to hold, constituents belonging to the infinitely various kinds of matter. Further, if primary matter is to be looked for in the simplest bodies, few of the ὀμοιομερῆ could be considered as primary matter. Anaxagoras recognises the existence of change in things, but the doctrine of the unchangeability of their constituent parts is inconsistent with that admission. The continuity of bodies is negated by the infinite number of their constituents, in spite of Anaxagoras's weak attack upon the theory of empty space. Aristotle finds that Anaxagoras is as little able to account for differences of weight as was Empedocles. The original mingling of all kinds of matter, as Anaxagoras states it, would be unthinkable; 

1 Phys. i. 4, 187, b, 7 sqq.; De Caelo, iii. 4. For a further remark as to the infinite in space, see Phys. iii. 5, 205, b, 1.
2 De Caelo, iii. 4, 302, b, 14.
3 Gen. et Corr. i. 1; Phys. iii. 4, 203, a, 19. Further objections of a similar kind, but not especially directed against Anaxagoras, will be dealt with in the latter part of ch. viii. infra.
4 Phys. iv. 6, 213, a, 22.
5 De Caelo, iv. 2, 303, a, 19.
6 Besides the physical objections which are raised against it in Metaph. i. 8, Gen. et Corr. i. 10, 327, b, 19, Aristotle asserts both of this statement and of the corresponding one (that, at all times, everything is in ever-y-
but if it were more correctly stated it would lead to the substitution of 'matter' (conceived of as one and without qualities) for the infinite variety of primary bodies which Anaxagoras assumed. But if it were more correctly stated it would lead to the substitution of matter (conceived of as one and without qualities) for the infinite variety of primary bodies which Anaxagoras assumed.1 The theory, common to him and others, of a beginning of movement among matter, after infinitely continued rest, would contradict the regularity of the order of nature.2 Aristotle freely recognises the advance made when Anaxagoras formulated the doctrine of universal mind, but he considers it to be still unsatisfactory, inasmuch as, on the one hand, it did not bear fruit in the explanation of nature, and, on the other hand, as applied even to man, it misconceived the distinction between the spirit and the soul.3

With regard to the Eleatics (among whom he takes little account of Xenophanes and Melissus),4 Aristotle's first point is that their philosophy contains no basis for any explanation of phenomena.5 Their primary axioms he takes to be vitiated by grave obscurities; they talk of 'the unity of being' without keeping distinct the different meanings of unity; and thus they attribute to being such qualities as negate in turn its unconditional unity (e.g. limit in Parmenides, and limitlessness in Melissus). They do not understand that every proposition involves the duality of subject and predicate, of

1 Metaph. i. 8, 939, a, 30.
2 Phys. viii. 1, 252, a, 10 sqq.
3 See Zeller, ibid. 887, 4, 893, 2; De An. i. 2, 404, b, 1, 405, a, 13.
4 Metaph. i. 5, 986, b, 26; 5 Metaph. i. 5, 986, b, 10 sqq.; Phys. i. 2, 184, b, 25; De Cielo, iii. 1, 298, b, 14; Gen. et Corr. i. 8, 325, a, 17; cf. Sext. Math. x.
thing and quality, so that we cannot even say that 'Being is' without distinguishing between Being as substance and the Being we attribute to it as quality—which latter, if there were only one Being, would necessarily be something other than Being, i.e. not-being. The Eleatics assert the unity of Being and deny not-being, whereas in fact 'Being' is only a common predicate of all things, and 'Not-being' is perfectly thinkable as the negation of some definite kind of being (e.g. not large, &c.). They attack the divisibility of Being, and yet at the same time describe it as extended in space. They deny all 'Becoming;' and therefore the multiplicity of things, on the ground that every process of becoming must start either from Being or from Not-being, and both hypotheses are untenable. They overlook a third possibility, which not only makes Becoming conceivable, but is the sole expression of any actual process of becoming—namely, that anything becomes what it is, not out of absolute Not-being, but out of that which is relatively not-being.

Aristotle holds that Zeno's polemic against movement rests upon similar misconceptions, inasmuch as he treated space and time not as fixed but as discrete quantities, and argued on the assumption

1 This is the essential point of the complicated dialectical discussion in Phys. i. 2, 105, a, 20-e. 3 vers. fin. On the second half of these discussions (c. 3), cf. PLATO, Parm. 142, b sq., Soph. 244, b sqq.; and see ZELLER, ibid. p. 562 sq.
2 Phys. i. 3, 187, a, 3; cf. ZELLER, ibid. 563 sq.
3 Metaph. iii. 4, 1001, b, 7; cf. ZELLER, ibid. 541.
4 Phys. i. 8, cf. Metaph. xiv. 2, 1009, a, 26 sqq. (The point will be treated more in detail in ch. viii. infra.) On the other hand, the Eleatic hypothesis is answered in Gen. et Corr. i. 8, 325, a, 13 merely by a reference to the opposed facts of experience.
that they consisted of an infinite number of actual subdivisions, whereas in fact they merely include potentially in themselves all possible subdivisions.\(^1\) Still less importance does he attach to the arguments used by Melissus to prove that Being is limitless and motionless.\(^2\) How can it be supposed that ‘All is One,’ unless we are prepared to ignore all the differences of things, and to represent even contradictory opposites as one and the same?\(^3\) Here also Aristotle finds unproved assumptions as to the principles of things, and an absolute failure to solve the weightiest questions of philosophy.

Neither does he find a solution among the Pythagoreans, who attempted a philosophy of nature, although their principles made movement and change, which are the basis of all natural processes, inconceivable.\(^4\) They proposed to explain the corporeal by referring it to number. Yet how can that which is extended in space be derivable from numbers, or how can weight arise out of that which is neither light nor heavy?\(^5\) How, in fine, can the qualities of things be so derived at all?\(^6\) What is the meaning of saying that in the formation of the world, the One, as corporeal size, was ‘the centre which drew unto itself portions of the limitless’?\(^7\)

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\(^1\) *Phys.* vi. 9, c. 2, 233, a, 21; cf. Zeller, *ibid.* 545 sqq.


\(^3\) *Phys.* i, 2, 185, b, 19 sqq.

\(^4\) *Metaph.* i, 8, 989, b, 29 sqq.

\(^5\) *Metaph.* i, 8, 990, a, 12 sqq.

\(^6\) *Metaph.* xiv. 5, 1092, b, 15. The passage refers to Platonics and Pythagoreans together. Other remarks, which refer immediately to Plato and his school, but also apply to the Pythagoreans, need not be here cited.

\(^7\) *Metaph.* xiii. 6, 1080, b, 16, xiv. 3, 1091, a, 13; cf. Zeller, *ibid.* 331 sq. 349, 4.
Again, where things different in character are explained by one and the same number, are we to distinguish between different classes of numbers by reason of the differences of the things they signify, or are we to deny the variety of these things by reason of the likeness of the numbers that denote them?  

How, again, can universal conceptions such as the One and the Infinite be of the nature of substance?  

Finally, if we proceed to inquire as to the way in which the Pythagoreans applied their theory of numbers, we come upon singular superficiality and caprice.  

The theory of number itself is very incompletely worked out, and there are numerous untenable positions in their theory of physics which Aristotle marks with censure.

Not only the earlier schools of Natural Philosophy, but also the later systems called, in Aristotle’s view, for fundamental reconsideration. Only one of the later schools can be specially dealt with here, because in this connection there is no account to be taken of the Sophists.

What they taught was to Aristotle’s mind only a mock wisdom, which dealt in the contingent, the unessential, and the unreal.  

His task in regard to them was, not
to establish any metaphysical propositions, but to combat the scepticism which brought all manner of truth into question, and to prove the untenable nature of their sophisms.\footnote{The former in Metaph. iv. 5, cf. c. 4, 1007, b, 20, x. 1, 1053, a, 35, xi. 6 \emph{init.} ; the latter in the treatise on the fallacies.}  The services rendered by Socrates to philosophy are by no means minimised by Aristotle, although at the same time he emphasises the limitation of Socrates' achievement to the sphere of ethics, and observes that in this connection Socrates did not establish any metaphysical basis.\footnote{Cf. the passages cited, \textit{Zeller}, \emph{ibid.} at pp. 94, 2, and 1143. That even the Ethics of Socrates are one-sided, is shown by Aristotle in \textit{Eth. Nic.} iii. 7, 1113, b, 14 sq. c. 11, 1116, b, 3 sqq. 1117, a, 3, vi. 13, 1114, b, 17 sqq.} Of the lesser Socratic schools Aristotle criticised only the Megarians, for their assertions about the relation of the possible and the actual,\footnote{\textit{Metaph.} ix. 3 (cf. \textit{Zeller, ibid.} 220, 1). Aristotle here confutes the Megarian principle, that the merely possible is actual, by proving that it would not only destroy all motion and change, but also all possession of skill or power: one who does not now hear would be deaf; one who is not actually building would be no architect.} and the Cynics, in regard to their theory of knowledge and ethics.\footnote{The former are spoken of in \textit{Metaph.} v. 29, 1024, b, 32, viii. 3, 1043, b, 23 (cf. \textit{Zeller, ibid.} 252 sq.), and in \textit{Eth. Nic.} x. 1, 1172, a, 27 sqq. Aristotle attacks the exaggerations of the moral doctrine of the Cynics.}

The attention which Aristotle pays, however, to Plato and the Platonic school is as thoroughgoing as his treatment of the other Socratics is slight. His own system grew directly out of that of Plato. He was compelled, therefore,\footnote{\textit{Supra}, pp. 14, 56 sq., 162, \&c.} to distinguish his views from those of Plato exhaustively, and to set out the arguments which led him to go beyond the Platonic school. Thus it is
in no spirit of jealousy or detraction that Aristotle comes back again and again to discuss the Platonic doctrines, and to set out their defects from all points of view with untiring patience; for such a criticism of his master was unavoidable if he was to defend his own philosophic individuality, and his right to found a new school, against the fame of his predecessor and the prestige of the flourishing Academy. His main criticism, leaving out of account incidental objections, is directed against three leading points: first, against the Ideal Theory, as such; secondly, against the later 'Pythagorising statement of the Theory'; and, thirdly, against the principles laid down concerning the ultimate basis of things, Matter and the One.\footnote{Vide supra, p. 300 sqq.}

The Ideal Theory of Plato rested upon his conviction that it is only the universal essence of things that can be an object of knowledge. This conviction was shared by Aristotle.\footnote{Vide supra, pp. 163, 300, &c.} So likewise did Aristotle accept without criticism Plato's doctrine as to the mutability of all sensible things (which for Plato was the second buttress of the Ideal Theory), and the necessity to pass beyond these to something stable and essential.\footnote{Cf. Zeller, \textit{Platon. Studien}, p. 197 sqq.} But when Plato draws from this the conclusion that it is only the Universal, as such, which can be actual, and that it must exist for itself as something substantial beyond phenomena, Aristotle parts company with him. This, therefore, is the central point about which revolves the whole Aristotelian attack on Plato's Metaphysics. For Aristotle holds as to this assumption that it is
devoid of all scientific basis in itself; that it leads in its results to difficulties and contradictions absolutely insoluble, and that instead of explaining the world of phenomena, it makes them impossible.

He holds that the hypothesis of the Ideas is not established; of the Platonic arguments for it, there is not one that is not open to decisive objections. The ends that Plato sought thereby to attain are and must be attainable otherwise. The content of each of these Ideas is, indeed, exactly the same as the corresponding thing of which it is said to be ‘the Idea;’ for in the conception of the ideal man, of man as such, exactly the same marks are included as in the conception of man in the ordinary sense, there being no difference between the two beyond the addition of the word ‘ideal’ (τὸ αὐτό). In this view, the Ideas appear as nothing more than a needless reduplication of the world of things, and the introduction of the Ideas to explain things is to Aristotle as if a man who could not count in small numbers should attempt to count in large ones. But even apart from the failure of proof, the Ideal Theory is in his view in itself untenable; for Substance cannot

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1 Cf. Metaph. i. 9, 990, b, 8 sqq. xiii. 4, 1079, a.
2 Metaph. iii. 2, 997, b, 5: πολλαξι κ’ ἐχόντων δυσκολίαν, οὐθένδε ἦττον ὄτον τὸ φάναι μὲν εἰναι τινας φύσεις παρὰ τὰς ἐν τῷ ὁμοριφή, ταὐτας δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς φάναι τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς πλὴν ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἅδια τὰ δὲ φθαρτά· αὐτὸ γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνον φασιν εἰναι καὶ ἤπειρον καὶ ὑγιεῖαν, ἀλλὰ δὲν οὐδὲν, παραπλήσιον ποιώντες τοῖς θεοῖς μὲν εἰναι φάσκουσιν ἀνθρώποιειδεῖς δὲν οὗτε γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι οὐθὲν ἀλλὰ ἐποίουν, ἦ ἀνθρώπους αἰδίους, οὐθ' οὕτω τὰ εἶθα ἄλλα ἢ αἰσθητὰ ἅδια. Similarly Metaph. vii. 16, 1040, b, 32: ποιώντων οὖν [τὰς ἰδέας] τὰς αὐτὰς τῷ εἶδε τοῖς φθαρτοῖς, αὐτοάνθρωπον καὶ αὐτοτῦπον, προστιθέντες τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς τὸ ρῆμα τὸ αὐτό. Ibid. xiii. 9, 1086, b, 10 cf. Eth. N. i. 4, 1096, a, 34, Eud. i. 8, 1218, a, 10.
3 Metaph. i. 9 init. xiii. 4, 1078, b, 32.
be separate from that whereof it is the Substance, nor Genus from that to which (as forming part of the essence) it belongs.\(^1\) This proposition, in fact, summarises the whole difference between the Platonic and Aristotelian systems. Aristotle holds, however, that even if this were waived, the Platonist would only pass out of one difficulty into another. It would appear, for instance, that in reason there could only be Ideas of that which was substantial; and the Platonic school accordingly ascribed Ideas only to natural things. Yet when once it is admitted that the Universal Essence is divided among individual things, it must follow that Ideas should be ascribed also to privative and relative conceptions and to artificial products of all kinds;\(^2\) and even among the Ideas themselves, the most of them must have Ideas over them to which they stand in the relation of copies, so that it would be true of them that the same thing would be at the same time type and copy.\(^3\) Thus also for every thing—inasmuch as it must fall under a series of genera, superior and subordinate in form—there must be several Ideas;\(^4\) or again, the various general marks which together make up a concept must be themselves so many Substances, and it would follow that one Idea would be made out of many Ideas, or one Substance out of many real Substances,

\(^1\) *Metaph.* i. 9, 991, b, 1: δὲ ἐὰν ἀδύνατον, εἶναι χωρὶς τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ σὲ ἡ οὐσία; xiii. 9, 1085, a, 23, cf. vii. 6, 1031, a, 31, c. 14, 1039, b, 15.

\(^2\) *Metaph.* i. 9, 990, b, 11 sqq. 22, 991, b, 6, xiii. 4, 1079, a, 19, c. 8, 1084, a, 27; *Anal. Post.* i. 24, 85, b, 18; cf. Zeller, *Ph. d.* Gr. pt. i. 587, 2.

\(^3\) *Metaph.* i. 9, 991, a, 29, xiii. 5, 1079, b, 34. In the first of these passages we should read: ὁν τὸ γένος, ὃς γένος, ἐξῆλθεν (sc. παράδειγμα ἐσται).

\(^4\) *Metaph.* i. 9, 991, a, 26.
and these sometimes of opposite kinds.\(^1\) Or again, if the Idea is to be Substance, it cannot at the same time be a general concept;\(^2\) for it is not the unity of many individual things, but an individual itself among other individuals.\(^3\) Conversely, the things of which it is predicated could not be true subjects.\(^4\) Of Ideas of this kind any definition would be as impossible as it is of other individuals,\(^5\) and since the Idea, like the individual, is numerically one, it follows that one or other of the contradictory predicates by which we subdivide the genus must always be predicable of it, in which case it clearly cannot be itself the genus also.\(^6\)

Aristotle considers the assertion that the Ideas contain the essence of things to be inconsistent with the view that they are at the same time incorporeal. He represents Plato as speaking sometimes of a 'matter of the Ideas' (that being inconsistent with the notion that they are not in space\(^7\)), and as holding at other times that in the case of all natural objects matter and the process of becoming belongs to the essence and conception of them, in which case the conception of them cannot exist by itself separately.\(^8\) Similarly, he argues that the ethical conceptions cannot be separated from

\(^1\) *Metaph.* vii. 13, 1039, a, 3, c. 14; cf. c. 8, 1033, b, 19, i. 9, 991, a, 29, xiii. 9, 1085 a, 23.

\(^2\) *Metaph.* xiii. 9, 1086, a, 32, vii. 16, 1040, a, 26 sqq. cf. iii. 6, 1003, a, 5.

\(^3\) *Metaph.* i. 9, 992, b, 9, xiii. 9, ut supra.

\(^4\) *Metaph.* vii. 6, 1031, b, 15; cf. DONITZ and SCHWEGLER on this passage, and the citation at p. 215, *supra*, from *Categ.* c. 2.

\(^5\) *Metaph.* vii. 15, 1040, a, 8–27.

\(^6\) *Top.* vi. 6, 143, b, 23. Length in itself must be either ἀπάρατος or παράτος ἔχον, and then the genus must be at once a species also.

\(^7\) *Phys.* iv. 1, 209, b, 33; cf ZELL. *ibid.* 556 sqq., 628 sq.

\(^8\) *Phys.* ii. 2, 193 b, 35 sqq.
their objects. There can be no 'Idea of the Good' standing by itself, for the conception of the Good appears under all possible categories, and determines itself differently according to the different circumstances; and as there are different sciences that deal with the Good, so there are different kinds of good, among which there is, in fact, an ascending scale—a fact which of itself excludes the possibility of a common Idea existing by itself.¹

A further objection is that the theory of Ideas logically carried out would be a process ad infinitum: for if an Idea is always to be posited in every case where more things than one meet in a common definition, the common essence of the Idea and its phenomenon must always come in as a third term different from either of them.²

Even if the Ideal Theory were better founded and

¹ Eth. V. i. 4 (End. i. 8); cf. preceding notes. As to the principle that what is πρῶτος and ἄστρων cannot be reduced to a common generic concept, see Polit. iii. 1, 1275, a. 34 sqq. (Zell. ibid. 571 sqq.). On the same principle in Eth. Nic. loc. cit. Aristotle remarks in criticising the 'Idea of the Good,' that the upholders of the doctrine of Ideas themselves say that there is no idea of that which stands in the relation of Before and After; but this is actually the case with the Good, for it is found in all the categories: e.g., a substantial good is the Divinity and Reason, a qualitative good is Virtue, a quantitative good is Measure, a relative good is the Useful, &c. Thus these different Goods stand in a relation of Before and After, and can consequently be included in no common generic concept, and therefore in no idea, but (1096, b, 25 sqq.) only in a relation of analogy. (Vide supra, p. 276 sqq.)

² Metaph. i. 9, 991, a, 2, vii. 13, 1039, a, cf. vii. 6, 2, 1031, b, 28. Aristotle expresses this objection here by saying that the doctrine of Ideas leads to the τρίτος ἄνθρωπος. Cf. Zell., Plat. Stud. p. 257, and Ph. d. Gr. pt. i. p. 623, 5. He finds the parallel of the τρίτος ἄνθρωπος (which, however, is equally true of the Ideas themselves, cf. Soph. El. c. 22, 178, b, 36) in the change of the universal into an individual of the same name.
less untenable, Aristotle would still say that it could by no means fulfil the task of a true Philosophy, which is to exhibit the basis and principles of the world of appearances. As the Ideas are not in things, they cannot make up the essence of things, and they cannot contribute anything to the being of things.1 Even the relation of the one to the other cannot be stated clearly, for Plato’s own references to some kind of copying and participation are always unintelligible metaphors.2 The principle of motive power, without which no process of becoming and no explanation of nature is conceivable, is wholly wanting.3 So also is the principle of final cause.4 Even in regard to the theory of Knowledge, the Ideas cannot render us that service which Plato expected from them, for if they are outside of things, then they are not truly the essence of things, and therefore the knowledge of the Idea leads to no sure conclusion as to the thing itself.5 And how, on the other hand, could we arrive, asks Aristotle, at any knowledge of the Ideal, since innate Ideas are not to be assumed?6 All these difficulties will be vastly increased if we are to follow Plato and his school in translating the Ideas into Numbers, and so interpolating

1 Metaph. i. 9, 991, a, 12 (xiii. 5, init.).
2 Metaph. i. 9, 991, a, 20, 992, a, 28 (xiii. 5, 1079, b, 24), i. 6, 987, b, 13, viii. 6, 1045, b, 7, xii. 10, 1075, b, 34.
3 Metaph. i. 9, 991, a, 8, 19 sqq. b, 3 sqq. (xiii. 5) 992, a, 24 sqq. b, 7, c, 7, 988, b, 3, vii. 8, 1053, b, 26, xii. 6, 1071, b, 14, c. 10, 1075, b, 16, 27; Gen. et Corr. ii. 9, 335, b, 7 sqq. cf. Eth. Eud. i. 8, 1217, b, 23.
4 Metaph. i. 7, 988, b, 6, c. 9, 992, a, 29 (where, instead of δδ’, δ’ δ should be read).
5 Metaph. i. 9, 991, a, 12 (xiii. 5, 1079, b, 15), vii. 6, 1031, a, 30 sqq. cf. Anal. Post. i. 22, 83, a, 32: τὰ ἅπα εἰδή χαράτω ἡ τετει- σματά τε γὰρ ἐστι, &c.;
6 Vide supra, p. 202, &c.
between the Ideas and the things of sense the whole science of Mathematics. The difficulties which would thus arise were set out by Aristotle with a painstaking thoroughness most tiresome to the modern mind, though in his day it may possibly have been needful in order to cut off all ways of escape for the Pythagorising school, led by such men as Xenocrates and Speusippus. He asks how we are to think to ourselves the causality of numbers,¹ or how they can contribute to the existence of things.² He shows how capricious and contradictory is the application of these numbers to natural objects.³ He points out the difference in character between conceptual determinations, which are qualitative, and numerical determinations, which are quantitative, remarking that two numbers make up one number, but two Ideas do not make one Idea, and that among the numbers which make up numbers no qualitative differences can be posited, whereas there must be units qualitatively different if there were Ideal Numbers.⁴ With minute and careful thoroughness,⁵ he controverts the various suggestions as to the relations of mathematics to the Ideal Numbers which were thrown out by Plato and his school and the devices they resorted to in order to maintain a conceivable difference

¹ *Metaph.* i. 9, 991, b, 9, with the answer: if things are likewise numbers, one does not see of what use the ideal numbers are to them; if, on the other hand, things are only arranged according to number, the same would be true of the ideas of them, which would not be numbers, but λόγοι ἐν ἀριθμοῖς τινῶν (ὑποκειμένων).
² *Metaph.* xiv. 6 *init.*, *ibid.* 1093, b, 21 cf. c. 2, 1090, a, 7 sqq.
³ *Loc. cit.* from 1092, b, 29; cf. the commentaries on this passage.
⁴ Cf. ZELL. *Ph. d.* *Gr.* pt. i. p. 568 sq. 854, 867 sq. 884.
⁵ *Loc. cit.* i. 9, 991, b, 21 sqq. 992, a, 2.
between the Numbers and the units which compose them.\footnote{Metaph. xiii. 6–8.} But in this, as in other branches of the argument, his main point is always that there is a fundamental contradiction between the notion of a unit of number and the fact of differences of kind. It is not, of course, necessary here to recapitulate those of his objections to Ideal Numbers which apply also to the Ideal Theory in general.\footnote{As in Metaph. xiii. 9, 1085, a, 23, and in xiv. 2, 1080, a, 7 sqq. c. 3, 1090, a, 25–b, 5, they are used against Speusippus.} But it is to be noticed that, in Aristotle's view, if once we assumed the existence of Ideas and Ideal Numbers, the ordinary mathematical numbers would lose their status, for they could only have the same component parts and therefore the same nature as the Ideal Numbers themselves.\footnote{Metaph. i. 9, 991, b, 27; xiv. 3, 1090, b, 32 sqq.} The position of magnitudes would be equally dubious; for quâ ideal they must go by ideal numbers, and quâ mathematical they must go by mathematical number;\footnote{Ibid. i. 9, 992, a, 10; xiii. 9, 1085, a, 7, 31.} and from the way in which the theory of magnitudes is deduced, he considers that the further dilemma arises that either it must be possible for a surface to exist without line, and a solid without surface, or else all three must be one and the same.\footnote{Cf. Zeller, Ph. d. Gr. pt. i. 628 sq., 805.}

Finally, as concerns the ultimate principles of things, in which Plato and the Platonists had sought to find the ultimate basis and constituents of their Numbers and Ideas,\footnote{Metaph. i. 9, 292, b, 13; xiv. 3, 1090, b, 20.} Aristotle asserts that it is impossible to know the constituent parts of all being, since that
knowledge cannot be derived from any prior knowledge.¹ He doubts whether all being can have the same constituent parts,² or whether out of the combination of the same elements, at one time a number and at another time a magnitude could arise.³ He remarks that such constituent parts can only be ascribed to substances, and only to those substances which have some admixture of materiality.⁴ He further demonstrates that such constituent parts could neither be thought as individual nor as universal: not as individual, because they would not then be cognisable and could not be the constituents of more things or Ideas than one; not as universal, because in that case they would not be of the nature of substance.⁵ In another connection, he takes exception to the variance of the Platonic suggestions as to the 'material element,'⁶ and rejects altogether the assumption of Speusippus that there are more than one original but different principia.⁷ A closer inquiry into the two Platonic ultimate principles, 'the One,' and 'the Great and Little,' leads Aristotle to declare that they are both misconceived. He asks how the One can be a thing existing by itself, when no universal is a substance. The notion of unity expresses only a

¹ Metaph. i. 9, 992, b, 24; against which, indeed, his own distinction of demonstrative and inductive knowledge might be used.
² This is suggested, without mention of Plato, in Metaph. xii. 4, 1070, a, 33 sqq.; cf. what was adduced on pp. 300-301, supra.
³ Metaph. iii. 4, 1001, b, 17 sqq.
⁴ Ibid. i. 9, 992, b, 18; xiv. 2 ini.
⁵ Metaph. xiii. 10, 1086, b, 19, 1087, a. 4.
⁶ Metaph. xiv. 1, 1087, b, 4, 12, 26, c. 2, 1089, b, 11; cf. Zeller, Ph. d. Gr. pt. i. p. 628, 3.
⁷ Of it the remark in Metaph. xiv. 3, 1090, b, 13 sqq. is true, that Nature is not ἐπεισοδιώδης ὡσπερ μοιχήρα τραγῳδία, and in xii. 10 fin. the οὐκ ἄγαθων πολυκοράνη. Further cf. Zeller, ibid. p. 851 sq. and the passages there adduced.
quality—or, more exactly, a determination of measure. This, however, presupposes something measured, and even that is not necessarily anything substantial, but may also be a magnitude, or a quality, or a relation, or any of the most different kinds of things, and, according as it is one or the other of these, 'the One' will be variously determined, as predicated of one or other of the similar kinds of subjects.¹ Whoever seeks to deny this will be driven to explain 'the One' as the only Substance, as did the Eleatics—a position which, apart from other objections, would make Number itself impossible.² Again, if with Plato we are to say that the One is the same as the Good, then there will arise other intolerable difficulties,³ not worse, however, than those which would be raised if, with Speusippus, we attempt to distinguish the One from the Good as a special principle by itself.⁴ As for 'the Great and Little,' this conception indicates nothing but bare qualities, or rather, bare relations—and these, indeed, of such a kind as could least of all be taken for anything in the nature of substance, since they manifestly require a substratum. How can substances, he asks again, consist of that which is not substantial, and how can constituent parts be at the same time predicates?⁵ Or if we are to take this second principle to be more closely related to the first, as not-being is to being, such a theory would be altogether perverse. Plato believed that he could only escape the monism of Parmenides by assuming a prin-

¹ Metaph. x. 2; xiv. 1, 1087, b. 36 sqq., b, 13, 20 sqq.
² Metaph. iii. 4, 1001, a, 29.
³ Metaph. xiv. 4, 1091, a, 29, 1, 1088, a, 15 sqq.
⁴ Metaph. 1091, b, 16, 22, c. 5 supra, p. 312, n. 2, and p. 272, n. 2. init.
⁵ Metaph. i. 9, 992, b, 1; xiv.
ciple of not-being. This assumption is not necessary for the purpose, since Being itself is not of one kind only; and it would also fail of the purpose, since the manifold character of Being cannot be explained by the simple opposition of Being and not-Being. According to Aristotle, Plato has not sufficiently defined Being and not-Being, and in his deduction of 'the manifold' from them he has been thinking of substance only, and not either of qualities, magnitudes, &c., or of movement; for if the 'Great and Little' produced movement, then must the Ideas whose matter it is be likewise moved.

The main defect of the Platonic view lies in the position that opposition as such is the first and original principle of all things. If all does arise out of an opposition, still it is not out of mere opposition as such, which is negation, but out of relative opposition out of the substratum to which negation attaches. Everything which comes to be, presupposes a matter out of which it comes, and this matter is not simply a kind of Not-Being, but a kind of Being—which is not as yet that which it is about to become. The nature of matter in this regard was misunderstood by Plato. He had in view merely the opposition of matter as against the formative principle, and so he thinks of it as the Bad and the Not-Being, and overlooks the other side of the question—namely, that it is the positive substratum of all formative action and of all becoming. By this

1 Metaph. xiv. 2, 1088, b, 35 sqq. cf. p. 223, supra.
2 Ibid. 1089, a, 12.
3 Ibid. l. 15, 31 sqq.
4 Ibid. i. 9, 992, b. 7.
5 Metaph. xiv. 1 init. c. 4, 1091, b, 30 sqq.; xii. 10, 1075, a, 32 sqq.; Phys. i. 9, cf. Zeller, Ph. d. Gr. pt. i. p. 614.
oversight he involves himself in this contradiction, that matter tends to its own annihilation, that the evil tends to the good and must of necessity assume it into itself.  

Further contradictions arise in the considerations that the Great and Little (as was above remarked of the 'Unlimited' of the Pythagoreans) must be a thing existing for itself, a substance; whereas at the same time as a determination of number and magnitude it cannot possibly be so, and that the same principle would of necessity have to be given in actuality as unlimited, which is a position in fact unthinkable. If, finally, we ask the Platonists in what way the numbers can be deduced from their ultimate principles, distinct statements are entirely wanting. We ask if they arise by a mixture, or by a composition, or by a generation, and there is no answer. We are not told how out of the One and the Many could be produced those units of which numbers are composed, or whether number be itself limited or unlimited. There is no deduction of the first uneven number or of any of the rest except the first ten. We are not shown from whence those unities arise out of which is made up the indefinite duality which, by its combination with the One, is to generate the remaining units: and we are not shown how the duality of the Great and Little can, with the aid of the One, bring forth any numbers which could

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1 Phys. i. 9, 192, a, 19.; Metaph. xiv. 4, 1092, a, 1.
2 Phys. iii. 5, 204, a, 8–34, cf. c. 4, 203, a, 1 sqq.
3 Metaph. xiv. 5, 1092, a, 21 sqq.; xiii. 9, 1085, b, 4 sqq.; cf. c. 7, 1082, a, 20.
4 Metaph. xiii. 9, 1085, b, 12 sqq. an argument immediately directed against Speusippus.
5 Ibid. 1085, b, 23, c. 8, 1083, b, 36 sqq.; xii. 8, 1073, a, 18.
7 Metaph. i. 9, 991, b, 31.
not arise by the doubling of the One.\footnote{Metaph. xiv. 3, 1091, a, 9.} There are a multitude of similar objections to be found in Aristotle, but these will be more than sufficient.

These criticisms of the Platonic theory are not all of equal value. Not a few of them, at least in the form in which Aristotle directly states them, rest undeniably upon a misunderstanding of Plato.\footnote{Cf. \textit{Zeller, Platon. Stud.} 257 sqq.} Nevertheless, it cannot be gainsaid that Aristotle has noted the weak points of Plato's theory with a keen insight, and has conclusively exposed its defects. Not only has he completely exhibited the obscurities and dilemmas of the theory of Ideal Numbers, but he has also refuted once for all the Ideal Theory and the assertions of Plato as to the original basis of things. Among the arguments which he uses in his attack, there are two which stand out as decisive, and to which all the others mediatly or immediately return: \textit{first}, that all universal concepts (such as those of the One, of Being, of the Great and Little, of the Unlimited, and in fact all the concepts involved in the Ideas) are in no sense substantial, and that they denote only certain qualities and relations, and at the most only the genera and species of things, and not the things themselves; \textit{second}, that the Ideas are devoid of motive power, and not only cannot explain, but would actually make impossible the changes of phenomena, the coming to be and ceasing to be of things, change and movement, with all the natural properties of things that rest thereon.\footnote{Aristotle frequently insists 991, a, 8: \textit{πάντων δὲ μάλιστα}} In the direction
of Aristotle's polemical energy to these points, we may recognise in him the spirit of the Natural Philosopher reaching out towards clear definitions of the actual world and towards an explanation of facts. His powers of abstraction are not inferior to Plato's, and he is superior to him in dialectic skill. But he is determined to give currency to such conceptions only as verify themselves by experience, in that they either combine into unity a series of phenomena, or take them back to their common cause. To the logical Idealism of Plato there is wedded in Aristotle the Realism of the student of Nature.

So far the attempt has been to state the objections Aristotle urged against his predecessors. It is time to turn to his own answers to those questions the solution of which he failed to find in them.
CHAPTER VII.
CONTINUATION.

The Main Inquiry of Metaphysics.

There are three main questions which now fall to be discussed. In so far as the First Philosophy has to do with Actuality in general, with Being as such, it follows that the question of the original essence of the actual, which is the inquiry into the conception of Substance, must precede all other investigations. To this question Plato in his Ideal Theory had answered that that which in a true and original sense is actual was to be sought for only in the common essence of things or in their classes, which are expressed by general conceptions. Aristotle, as has been seen, was not content with the answer: but for that very reason he attributed the more importance to the relation between the individual and the universal. It was in the inaccurate statement of this relation that he found the fundamental error of Plato's view, and he felt that it was from the true conception of the same relation that any revision of Platonism must start. The first question for Philosophy, therefore, must be an inquiry into the conception of 'substance,' which is an inquiry into the relation of the individual to the universal. But inasmuch as Aristotle defines that relation in such a way as to throw

1 See p. 290 sqq. supra.
essential actuality to the side of the individual, it follows that the Form, or the εἴδος, which Plato had made identical with the universal, becomes detached from the universal in Aristotle and takes on an altered meaning. To him Form is essence determinate and developed into full actuality: undetermined universality, which is the possibility of Being, not yet determined this way or that, is considered as Matter in opposition to Form. The relation of Form and Matter accordingly furnishes the second main object of Metaphysics. Form, in fine, is essentially related to Matter, and Matter to Form; and this relation consists in the fact that Matter becomes definite through Form. This process is Movement. All movement, however, presupposes a first cause of movement, and in this way movement and the first motor constitute the third pair of concepts with which Metaphysics is concerned. In the following pages Aristotle's theory will be set forth under these three heads.

(1) The Individual and the Universal.

Plato had taken as the essential element in things the universal as it is thought in conception, and had ascribed Being, in its fullest and original sense, to that only. It was by a limitation of this Being, by a combination of Being with Not-Being, that individual entities could arise. These, therefore, had, outside and above them, as something other than themselves, the universal essences, which were the Ideas. Aristotle denies this, for he finds the fundamental error of the Ideal Theory in this separation of the conceptual essence from
A universal is that which belongs to many things in common, or, more accurately, that which belongs to them by reason of their nature, and therefore, necessarily and always. It follows that all universal concepts denote only certain of the properties of things; or, in other words, are predicates and not subjects. Even when a number of these properties are combined to make the conception of a genus, we get thereby something which belongs to all the things pertaining to the genus in question, but by no means a universal subsisting beside them as distinct. For Plato's εν παρά τα πολλα is substituted Aristotle's εν κατά πολλάν. If, then, the universal is not anything subsisting by itself, it cannot be Substance. It is true that the name of Substance is used in various

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1 See p. 316, n. 1, supra. Metaph. xiii. 9, 1086, b, 2: τὸ ότο δ᾽ [the doctrine of Ideas]. . . ἐκ γάρ μὲν Σωκράτης διὰ τῶν ὁρισμῶν, οὐ μὴν ἐξ οὗ ἔχως γε τῶν καθ᾽ ἐκαστὸν καὶ τῶν ὁρισμῶν ἐνέφερεν οὐ χαράσσον . . . οἷον μὲν γὰρ τῷ καθόλου οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐπιστήμην λαβεῖν, τὸ δὲ χαράσσειν αὐτῶν τῶν συμβαίνοντων δύνα-χερεν περὶ τὰς ιδέας ἐστὶν. Cf. c. 1, 1078, b, 30 sq.

2 Metaph. vii. 13, 1038, b, 11; τὸ δὲ καθόλου κοινῶν τὸν γὰρ λέγεται καθόλου ὁ πλείστων ὑπάρχειν περικεῖν; iii. 4, 929, b, 34: οὕτω γὰρ λέγομεν τὸ καθέκαστον τὸ ἀρίθμῳ ἐν, καθόλου δὲ τὸ ἐπί τούτων. De Interpr. 7, 17, a, 39; Part. An. i. 4, 644, a 27, and supra.

3 Anal. Post. i. 4, 73, b, 26: καθόλου δὲ λέγω δὲν κατὰ παντὸς τὸ ὑπάρχει καὶ καθ᾽ αὐτό καὶ ἣ αὐτό. φανερόν ἄρα ὅτι διὰ καθόλου εἰς ἀνάγκης ὑπάρχει τοῖς πράγμασιν; c. 31, 87, b, 32: τὸ γὰρ ἰδεῖ καὶ

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3 Aristotle's οὐδα is of course here and elsewhere translated by 'substance.' It is strange to find this translation attacked (by STRÜMPPELL, Gesch. d. theor. Phil. b. d. Gr. 213 sq.; cf. ZELLER, Ph. d. Gr. pt. i. 555, 1) on the ground that Aristotle nowhere understands by οὐδα 'the unknown, constant, and real substratum of variable attributes.' It cannot, however, be expected that we should cease to use for
senses, but it applies originally only to that which can neither be stated as a definition of the essence of anything else, nor can depend upon anything else as a derivative. In other words, Substance is that which is only subject and never predicate. Or again, Substance is Being in its original sense, the source from which all other being is drawn. These conditions Aristotle finds fulfilled only in individuals. The universal, as he proved against Plato, does not subsist for itself. Every universal, even the genus, has its existence only in the individuals of which it is predicated. It is always in something other than itself. It denotes not 'this thing,' but only a stated condition of things. The individual alone is that which belongs to itself only, which is not borne up by some other, which is what it is by reason of itself, and not upon the basis of some

an Aristotelian term the word which the custom of 1,500 years has consecrated to it, simply because Herbart connects the same word with another sense.

1 On the different meanings of τοῦτο, see p. 374 sqq., infra.

2 Cat. c. 5: τοῦτο δὲ ἔστιν ἡ κυριωτάτη τε καὶ πρῶτος καὶ μάλιστα λεγομένη, ἡ μήτε καθ' ὑποκειμένου τινός λέγεται μήτ' ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ τινὶ ἐστὶν, οἷον ὅ τις ἀνθρωπος ὅ ὁ τίς ἢ πόσος. Cf. further TRENDelenburg, Hist. Beitr. i. 53 sqq.


4 Metaph. vii. 1 init.: τὸ ὅν λέγεται πολλαχῶς [in the different categories]. . . φανερὸν ὅτι τούτων πρῶτον ὑν τὸ τί ἐστιν, ὅπερ σημαίνει τὸν οὐσίαν . . . τὰ δ' ἄλλα λέγεται ὅντα τῷ τοῦ ὠς ὅντως τὰ μὲν ποιότητας εἶναι, τὰ δὲ πο' ὄντες, &c. . . . ὡστε τὸ πρῶτος ὅν καὶ αὖ τὶ ὅν [what is nothing else than itself and applies to nothing else; cf. Anal. Post. i. 4, and the remarks which follow] άλλα ὅν ἀπλῶς ἡ οὕσια ἄν εἴη; c. 7, 1030, a, 22: τὸ τί ἐστιν ἀπλῶς τῇ οὕσιᾳ ὑπάρχει. See further on p. 289.
other being.¹ Only in a derivative sense can the genera be called substances: in so far, that is to say, as they set forth the common essence of a certain number of substances; ² and they claim a kind of

¹ (Cf. c. 5, 2, a, 31: τὰ δὲ ἀλλα πάντα ἐτοιμακαθ ὑποκειμένων λέγεται τῶν πρῶτων οὐσίων ἢ ἐν ὑποκειμένως αὐταις ἐστὶν . . . μὴ οὐθέν οὐν τῶν πρῶτων οὐσιῶν ἀδύνατον τῶν ἀλλων τι εἶναι. *Metaph.* I. 4, 73, b, 5, where Aristotle calls καθ' αὐτὸν that οἱ μὴ καθ' ὑποκειμένων λέγεται ἀλλοι τινὶς, οἷον τὸ βαδίζων ἐτερίν τίον βαδίζον ἐστὶ καὶ λεονίων, ἢ δ' οὐσία, καὶ ὅσα τὸδε τι, οἷς ἐτερίν τι ὑπάν ἐστὶν οὕτω εἰγεν. τα μὲν δὴ μὴ καθ' ὑποκειμένων [sc. λεγημένα] καθ' αὐτὰ λέγω, τὰ δὲ καθ' ὑποκειμένων συμβεβηκτα. *Metaph.* vii. 1, 1028, a, 27: that which supports all qualities is said to be ἡ οὐσία καὶ τὸ καθ' ἐκατότον . . . τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἀλλων κατηγοριάτων οὐθὲν χωρίστων, αὐτὴ δὲ μόνη; c. 3, 1029, a, 27: τὸ χωριστὸν καὶ τὸ τὰς τι υπάρχειν δοκεῖ μάλιστα τῇ οὐσίᾳ; c. 4, 1030, a. 19: τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ τὸ τὸδε τι; c. 10, 1035, b, 28: καθὸλου δ' οὐκ ἐκεῖν οὐσία; c. 12, 1037, a, 27: ἡ οὐσία ἐν τι καὶ τὸδε τι σημαίνει ἃς φαίνει; c. 13, 1038, b, 10: πρῶτη οὐσία ἰδίου ἐκίστερον ἢ οὐχ ὑπάρχει ἀλλ' δι καθ' ἀλλων κατηγορίας. *Gen. An.* iv. 3, 767, b, 33: τὸ καθεκαστὸν τούτῳ γὰρ ἡ οὐσία. All other categories indicate mere accidents (συμβεβηκτα) of substance; cf. p. 289, *supra.* Aristotle finds it therefore quite natural (Metaph. vii. 16, 1010, b, 26 sq.) that the ideas should be made into a χωριστὸν if they are taken for substances. The error of the doctrine of ideas consisted only in regarding the universal as such a substantial idea. (Her- ling. *Mat. und Form.* 44, 1, has misunderstood this statement.)

² (Cf. c. 5, 2, a, 15: δευτερα δὲ οὐσία λέγονται ἐν οἷς εἰδέσθαι αἱ πρῶτες οὐσίαι λεγόμεναι ὑπάρχουσιν, ταύτα τε καὶ τὰ τῶν εἰδών τοιῶν γενή . . . οἷον ὅ τε ἄνθρωπος καὶ τὸ γίγνεται. And so further on. Otherwise the expression δευτέρα οὐσία does not occur in Aristotle. As, however, he elsewhere uses πρῶτη οὐσία for 'substance in the primary sense,' and πρῶτη οὐσία for 'third class of substances,' no objection can be taken, as we have already remarked (in n. 1 to p. 64).
substantial character with the more right the nearer they approach to individual substances, so that the species deserves to be called substantial in a higher degree than the genus.\(^1\) According to the strict conception of substance, however, that term cannot be applied to them at all, because they are predicated of individuals,\(^2\) and because it is true of them, as of every universal, that they are not a ‘This,’ but a ‘Such’ — not substantive, but adjective—and that they express, not substance, but a condition of substance.\(^3\)

The further marks of substance which Aristotle gives us, likewise refer, in so far as they are really characteristic of that conception, to individual substances only.\(^4\) The so-called secondary substance of

\(^1\) Cat. c. 5, 2, b, 7 sq. Aristotle, indeed, seems to say the opposite in Metaph. viii. 1, 1042, a, 13: ἐὰν ἄλλως [συμβολεῖ] τὸ γένος μᾶλλον τῶν εἴδων [οὐσίαν εἶναι] καὶ τὸ καθόλου τῶν καθέκαστα; but he does not intend to express his own view in these words; cf. vii. 13; Bonitz and Schwegler in loco.

\(^2\) Cat. c. 5, 2, a, 19 sq., b, 15–21.

\(^3\) See n. 1 on last page. Cat. c. 5, 3, b, 10: πᾶσα δὲ οὐσία δοκεῖ τὸς τοῖς σημαίνειν. Of, πρῶται οὐσίαι this holds unconditionally: ἐφι δὲ τῶν δευτεριών οὐσίων φαίνεται μὲν ὁμοίως τῷ σχήματι τῆς προσηγορίας τόσο τοῖς σημαίνειν . . . οὖ μὲν ἄλλες γε, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ποιῶν τοῖς σημαίνειν: οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἐστι τὸ ὑποκειμένων ὑπόπτη οὐσία. Ἀλλὰ κατὰ πολλῶν ὅ τῶν ἄνθρωπος λέγεται καὶ τὸ ζῷον.

\(^4\) The first characteristic of substance was τὸ μὴ καθ’ ὑποκειμένον λέγεσθαι. That this is true only of individual substance has been shown. A second (Cat. 5, 3, a, 6 sq., and p. 331, n. 2, supra) is τὸ μὴ ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ εἶναι. But this characteristic belongs also to the class, and not to it alone, but likewise (Cat. c. 5, 3, a, 21 &c.) to the specific difference, since this is likewise contained in the conception of the thing to which it applies; while (according to Aristotle, ibid.) only that is ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ which does not belong to the conception of that of which it is predicated, but which is a quality in a substance quite independent of it: e.g. in the sentence ‘the body is white,’ λευκὸν ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ; on the other hand, in the sentence ‘man is two-legged,’ δίπων is not ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ. A further peculiarity of substance is (Cat. c. 5, 3, b, 24) τὸ μὴ δὲν αὐτὰς ἐναντίον εἶναι. And yet Aristotle himself remarks that the same
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Aristotle cannot be treated as exactly identical with quality, but neither can it properly be considered substance. It denotes substance on the side of its qualities only. For it is the combination of the essential properties of a definite class of substances. In contrast with it, it is the individual substances alone which are of that self-sufficient and independently subsisting nature to which the name of substance, in its original sense, belongs.

This view, however, is not without its difficulties. If all knowledge is concerned with the actual, then it is only the actual, in the highest and truly original sense of the word, which can furnish the original and ultimate object of knowledge. If knowledge is the recognition of reality, it must relate, in the first place, to real Being, which is the substance of things. If this substance is individual substance, it follows that,

is the case with determinations of quantity and many other conceptions. And the same reply may be made if (ibid. 1. 33) it be said that substance is susceptible of no difference of degree, no greater or less. For while, perhaps, we might say that one is more or less of a 'man' than another, yet we could in no sense say that he is more or less 'two-legged.' If, finally (ibid. 4, a, 10, b, 3, 17), we take as the most distinctive quality of substance: to ταυτόν καὶ ἐν ἀριθμῷ ἐν τῶν ἐναντίων εἶναι δεκτικόν, τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἐαντήν μεταβολὴν δεκτικὴν τῶν ἐναντίων εἶναι, this holds only of individual substance, since to classes the conceptions of numerical unity and change are inapplicable. The statement, moreover, contains a questionable identification of substance with matter, to which we shall have again to refer.

1 Cat. c. 5, 3, b, 18: (after the passage quoted in n. 3 on p. 333): οὐκ ἀπλῶς δὲ ποιών τι σημαίνει, ὡσπερ τῶν λευκῶν. ὁδέν γὰρ ἄλλο σημαίνει τὸ λευκὸν ἄλλα τί ποιών. τὸ δὲ εἴδος καὶ τὸ γένος περὶ οὐσίαν τὸ ποιών ἀφορίζει· ποιῶν γάρ τινα οὐσίαν σημαίνει. Cf. SIMPL. Cat. 26, β Bas, who explains ποιά τις οὐσία by ποιώτης οὐσίωδης.

2 See p. 162.

3 Ibid. and p. 219, n. 1.

4 Metaph. vii. 4, 1030, b, 4: ἐκεῖνον δὲ φανερῶν ὅτι δ' πρῶτος καὶ ἀπλῶς ὁμοιός καὶ τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι τῶν οὐσιῶν ἔστιν. See also p. 219, n. 1.
in the last resort, all knowledge is of the individual, and that individual things furnish, not only the starting-point, but the whole essential content and object of knowledge. This conclusion, however, Aristotle decisively rejects. He is convinced that Science relates, not to the individual, but to the universal, and even when it descends furthest to particulars, it addresses itself all the while, not to the individual things, as such, but to general conceptions only. This contradiction in his system cannot be met by the observation that it is only in the realm of natural being that the individual is first, whereas in the realm of spirits the universal is first. Aristotle himself knows nothing of any such distinction. He says, without any kind of limitation, that knowledge is directed to the universal only, and, equally without qualification, that it is individual essence only which is substantial; and he chooses the examples with which he illustrates both propositions from the natural and the spiritual world alike. Even God is individual Substance. The fact that Substance and Form run together proves nothing: for, as will be seen, there recurs in the working out of the conception of Form the same difficulty which now engages us with regard to Substance.

Aristotle himself recognised the full weight of the difficulty, and he seems to indicate another way
of escape in the remark ¹ that Knowledge, considered in posse, is indeterminate and is directed to the universal, but that in actual practice, on the contrary, it is always directed to something determinate. This, however, does not take us very far. The knowledge of the particular arises only by the application of universal propositions. The certitude of that knowledge depends on their certitude. Such knowledge, therefore, as Aristotle expressly recognises,² has not for its object the individual as such, but, on the contrary, the individual is known by it only in the form of universality.³ On the other hand, if the individual be that which is original actuality, then it ought to be precisely, quâ individual, the proper object of knowledge, and the knowledge of the universal ought to depend upon it for its truth and certainty. In fact, it would be the individual—and not, as Aristotle taught,¹ the universal—which should be in its own nature the better known and the more certain.⁵

² See especially p. 220, &c., supra.
³ Tὸ καθόλου λόγῳ, as Aristotle expresses it, Metaph. vii. 10 (see pp. 220 sqq., supra).
⁴ See p. 205, n. 2, supra.
⁵ Rassow’s solution (Aristot. de Notionis Definitione Doctrina, p. 57) is equally unsatisfactory. He appeals to Metaph. vii. 10, 1035, b, 28 (where, moreover, after the words ὅσ καθόλου, which stand in opposition to the following καθ’ ἐκκαστον, we have simply to supply an ἐπείη), and tries to solve the contradiction by remarking that in definition and in science generally the individual is regarded...
If, conceding this, we were to say that the genus had in itself more of the essential than the species, but that, on the contrary, *for us* the species had more than the genus,¹ we should thereby place ourselves in opposition to the definite statements of Aristotle, who continually insists that all Substance, in the strict sense of the word, is individual Substance—not that it appears to *us* as such. There is only one case which would make it possible to escape the difficulty: that is, if there were a principle which, being individual, could be at the same time truly universal, for this could be at the same time, as substantial, a basis of actuality, and, as universal, a basis of truth. Such a principle seems to be found in the keystone of Aristotle’s entire system—namely, in his theory of Pure Thought, or of God. To him the Divine, as thinking Essence, is Subject; as the End, Mover and Form of the world, it is also a true universal. The conception of it has existence in one individual Essence, not merely contingently,² but by reason of its own nature; whereas, in all finite things, the universal presents itself, or at least might present itself, in a number of individuals.³ From this standpoint it would be possible to seek a solution of the difficulties suggested, by saying that in God, as the

not as individual, but from the universal side of its being. That is just the reason why it would require to be otherwise if the individual were the substantial.

¹ Brandis, ii. b. 568, whose answer to this question is not altogether clear.

² As perhaps that of the sun or of the moon; see p. 222, n. 2.

³ Metaph. xii. 10, 1074, a, 33; ὅσα ἄριθμῳ πολλά [everything of which several examples are contained in the same class] θλην ἔχει· εἰς γὰρ λόγος καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς πολλῶν, οίον ἀνθρώπου, Ἑκατάθης δὲ εἰς· τὸ δὲ τί ἦν εὐνικ ἔχει θλην τὸ πρῶτον, ἐντελέχεια γάρ.

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ultimate principle, absolute certitude for thought coincides with absolute actuality of being, but that, in all derivative forms of being, the greater actuality falls to the share of the individual and the greater cognisability to the share of the universal. That this solution, however, would be in accordance with all Aristotle's premises is not yet proven. Aristotle himself does not draw the distinction. He says without any qualification that all knowledge consists in the cognition of the universal, and that substantiality pertains to individuals alone. Even if we were to limit the first of these propositions to the world of sense, its incompatibility with the second would not disappear. Aristotle's view is not that knowledge is directed to the universal because we are incapable of perfectly knowing the individual as such. It is, on the contrary, that in spite of the fact that the individual things of sense are better known to us, the universal must furnish the sole object of knowledge in the strict sense, because it is in itself more original and more cognisable because it alone possesses that immutability which anything that is to be the object of knowledge must afford. The further conclusion is inevitable, that, in comparison with the individual things of sense, it must possess a higher degree of actuality also. And we shall also find the individual can only arise through the combination

1 As G. V. Hertling does, Mat. u. Form b. Arist. 43, f., remarking that the form of universality is not in all spheres the indispensable condition of knowledge, but only where we are dealing with the knowledge of the material world. Here it is the only resource we have in face of the partial unknowableness of all material things.

2 See pp. 205 and 220, supra.

3 Infra, p. 368.
of Form with Matter. But one cannot understand how reality can belong in a higher degree and a more primary sense to that which is a combination of Form and Matter, of Actual and Possible, than to that which is pure Form as it is known in universal concepts, i.e. to the Actual which is limited by no element of mere Possibility. It only remains, then, to recognise in this point, not merely a lacuna, but a deep contradiction in the philosophy of Aristotle. He has set aside the Platonic attempt to hypostatise the universal concepts, but he leaves standing its two main pillars, the assumptions, namely, that it is only the universal that can be the object of knowledge and that the truth of knowledge keeps pace with the actuality of its object. How was it possible to hold these two positions together in thought without involving contradictions?

We need not expect, therefore, to avoid contradictions in working out the further developments of his theory, by which Aristotle sought a solution of the questions which the Ideal theory and the doctrines connected therewith had left unanswered.

1 Even HERTLING fails to make this intelligible, when he goes on to say in the passage just quoted that that only is object of knowledge which is of permanent worth in things. This in the sphere of sense is never the whole thing, but is entangled with all that is accidental and that has its source in matter. He thus suggests the question how the thing in which the permanent worth is mixed with the accidental can be anything more substantial than the form which presents it pure.

2 Since RITTER, iii.130, called attention to this difficulty it has been further discussed by HEYDER; cf. Arist. und hegel. Dial. 180, 183 sq., and ZELLER's first edition, p. 405 sq., which was followed by BONITZ, Arist. Metaph. ii. 569. SCHWEGLER, Arist. Metaph. iii. 133. Cf. also STRÜMPPELL, Gesch d. Phil. 251 sq.

3 Cf. ZELLER, Ph. d. Gr. pt. i. 541 sq.
(2) Form and Matter: the Actual and the Possible.

We must now go back to Plato. In the Ideas he had distinguished the non-sensible essence of things from their sensible appearance. Aristotle refused to think of the former as a universal subsisting for itself outside of things. Yet he does not wish to abandon the distinction, and the grounds on which he bases it are the same as those of Plato—namely, that the non-sensible Form can alone be an object of knowledge, and that it alone is permanent amid the change of appearances. He says, as Plato said, that as perception is different from knowledge, it is equally clear that the object of knowledge must be something other than sensible things. All that is sensible is passing and changeable; it is a 'contingent' which may be one way or may be another. What knowledge requires, on the contrary, is an object as unchangeable and necessary as itself, which can as little change into its own as knowledge can into ignorance. Of sensible things we can have neither a concept nor a proof; it is the Form alone with which knowledge has to do.¹ Form, indeed, is also the indispensable condition of all Becoming: since everything that becomes, comes to be something from being something else. Becoming, then, consists in this, that some matter takes on a definite Form. This Form must therefore be posited before each case

¹ Metaph. vii. 11, 15 (see p. 220, supra), with which cf. ibid. iii 4, 999, b, 1: εἰ μὲν οὖν μηθὲν ἐστὶ παῖδα τὰ καθ’ ἑκαττά, οὐδὲν ἄν εἰ η η νοητῶν ἀλλὰ πίνακα αἰσθητὰ καὶ ἐπιστήμη οὐθενός, εἰ μὴ τις εἶναι λέγει τὴν αἰσθησιν ἐπιστήμην. έτι 5’ οὐδ’ Αἰδων οὐθεν ο’ Α’ Αἰκίνητον; iv. 5, 1010, a, 25: κατ’ τὸ εἴδος ἀπαντα γιγνώσκομεν.
of Becoming as the aim and end thereof; and even supposing that in any particular case the Form could itself originate in the process of Becoming, yet in any case such a supposition could not be carried ad infinitum, for if it could, we should never arrive at a true instance of actual Becoming. The fact of Becoming, in other words, is inexplicable unless it be true that before anything came to be there was a Form which itself had not come to be.

For the same reason there must also be Matter as the correlative of Form. The relation of these two should not be defined, as Plato defined it, merely as one

1 Eidos, μορφή, λόγος (see p. 219, n. 1, supra), οὐσία (infra, p. 275), τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι (see p. 217, n. 1, supra).

2 *Metaph.* iii. 4, 999, b, 5: ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰ γε ἄδιδὼν οὐδὲν ἐστὶν, οὐδὲ γένεσιν εἰςαὶ δυνατὸν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ εἰναι τὸ τί γεγονόμενον καὶ ἐξ οὗ γίγνεται καὶ τοῦτων τὸ ἐσχάτων ἀγέννυτον εἴπερ ίσαται τε καὶ ἐκ μὴ ὄντος γενεσθαι ἀδύνατον… ἐτε δ’ εἴπερ ἡ ὑλή ἐστι διὰ τὸ ἀγέννυτον εἶναι, πολὺ ἐτε μᾶλλον εἰλογίον εἰς οὗ συστατὴ ὁ ποτε ἐκείνη γίγνεται. [οὐσία as that which only becomes] εἰ γὰρ μὴν τοῦτο ἐστι σὲ καὶ ἐκείνη, οὐδὲν ἐστὶ τὸ παράπαν. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀδύνατον, ἀνάγκη τε εἰς πᾶρ τὸ σύνολον τῆς μορφῆς καὶ τὸ εἶδος; vii. 8 init.: ἐτεί δὲ ὑπὸ τινὸς τὸ τί γίγνεται τὸ γεγονόμενον… καὶ ἐκ τινος [e.g. out of brass]… καὶ τὸ γίγνεται [e.g. a ball]… ὡσπερ ἐις ὑποκειμένον ποιεῖ τὸν χαλκὸν, ὡστε σαφέως εἰ μὴ κατὰ συμβεβηκής… ἕνας δ’ ὅτι τὸν χαλκὸν στρογγύλον ποιεῖ ἐστὶν οὐ τὸ στρογγύλον ἢ τὴν σφαίραν ποιεῖ, ἀλλ’ ἐτερὸν τι, οἷον τὸ εἶδος τούτο ἐν ἀλληφ. The form, again, could only come from another form, and so on ad infinitum, since all coming to be is the embodiment of form in matter. façemūν ἄρα ὅτι οὖθε τὸ εἶδος… οὐ γίγνεται… οὖθε τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι… ὅτι τὸ μὲν ὡς εἶδος ἡ οὐσία λεγόμενον οὐ γίγνεται, ἡ δὲ σινόδος ἡ κατὰ ταὐτὴν λεγομεῖν γίγνεται, καὶ ὅτι ἐν παντὶ τῷ γεγονόσῃ ὑλῇ ἔνεστι, καὶ ἐστὶ τὸ μὲν τὸ δὲ τὸ τέλειον τρίτον; c. 9, 1031, b, 7: οὐ μόνον δὲ περὶ τῆς οὐσίας ὁ λόγος δηλοῖ τὸ μὴ γίγνεσθαι τὸ εἶδος, ἀλλὰ περὶ πάνων ὡς τῶν πρῶτων κοινῶν ὁ λόγος, οἷον ποσόν ποιοῦ, &c. It is not the ball, nor is it the brass, that comes to be, but the brass ball, not poïnum but poïnum eîdoi; xii. 3 inst.: οὐ γίγνεται οὔτε ἡ ὑλή οὔτε τὸ εἶδος, λέγω δὲ τὰ ἐσχάτα, πᾶν γὰρ μεταβαλλεῖ τι καὶ ὅποι τινες καὶ εἰς τινας. ύφ᾽ ὃ μὲν τοῦ πρῶτου κινούμενος ὁ δὲ, ἡ ὑλή εἰς δὲ, τὸ εἶδος. εἰς ἀπειρον οὖν εἰςε τινας, εἰ μὴ μονόν ὁ χαλκός γίγνεται στρογγύλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ στρογγύλον ἡ ὁ χαλκὸς· ἀνάγκη δὲ στερεά. I bid. 1070, a, 15, viii. 3, 1043, b, 16, c. 5, 1044, b, 22.
of opposition, in the sense that all true Being would fall exclusively to the share of Form, and that there would remain for Matter only the sphere of Not-Being. Here again arises the old question of the possibility of Becoming. It might seem that out of Being nothing could come to be, since it is already: and out of Not-Being nothing also, for \( ex \) *nihilo nihil fit*. Aristotle finds it possible to avoid this difficulty only by saying that all which comes to be starts in the process of Becoming out of that which *is* only in a relative sense and in a relative sense *is not*. That from which anything comes to be cannot be absolutely Not-Being, but at the same time it cannot be that which it is only on its way to become. There remains, therefore, as the only possible alternative, that it is that which it is to be in possibility, but not as yet in actuality. If, for example, an uneducated man becomes an educated man, he does so out of the condition of a man not educated, but as truly out of the condition of a man capable of education. In fact, it is not the uneducated, as such, that becomes educated, but it is the uneducated *man*—the subject, that is, which has a predisposition towards education, but in actuality is not yet educated.

All Becoming is a passing over of possibility into actuality. Becoming, in general, therefore, presupposes a substratum whose essence it is to be pure possibility, which has not in any relation become actuality.\(^2\) All

1 Cf. pp. 302, 309 sqq.
2 This relation is fully developed in *Phys.* i. 6-10, from which the following are extracts: c. 7: "φαίνει γὰρ γίνεσθαι ἐξ ἄλλου ἄλλο καὶ ἐξ ἑτέρου ἑτερον ἡ τὰ ἀπλὰ *λέγοντες ἦ συνάκελμα* [the former, if I say 'the man becomes cultured,' or 'the uncultured becomes cultured'; the latter, if I say 'the uncultured man becomes a cultured man']. τῶν δὲ *μνημο-
becomes that which it comes to be out of its opposite. What becomes warm must before have been cold. He becomes a man of knowledge must before have been without knowledge. Opposites as such, however, can-

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éνων ὡς τὰ ἀπλὰ λέγομεν γίνεσθαι, τὸ μὲν ὑπομένων λέγομεν γίνεσθαι, τὸ δ' οὖχ ὑπομένον. ὁ μὲν ἀνθρώπους ὑπομένει μουσικὸς γινόμε

νος ἀνθρώπος καὶ ἐστι, τὸ δὲ μὴ μουσικὸν καὶ τὸ ἁμουσόν οὔτε ἄπλῶς οὔτε συντιθέμενον ὑπομένει. Διαφορ

μένον δὲ τούτων ἐξ ἀπάντητων τῶν γινομένων τούτω ἐστὶ λαβέιν εάν τις ἐπιβλέψῃ, ἄσπερ λέγομεν, ὅτι ἐὰν ἐὰν ὑποκείσαται τὸ γινόμενον, καὶ τούτῳ εἰ καὶ ἀριθμῷ ἐστὶν ἐν, ἀλλ' ἐὰς γε οὖχ ἐν, . . . οὐ γὰρ ταύτων τὸ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ τὸ ἁμουσόν εἶναι. καὶ τὸ μὲν ὑπομένει, τὸ δ' οὖχ ὑπομένει· τὸ μὲν μὴ ἀντικείμε

νον ὑπομένει (ὁ γὰρ ἀνθρώπος ὑπομένει) τὸ μουσικὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἁμουσόν οὖχ ὑπομένει. *Ibid.* 100, a, 31: in the case of all else that becomes the oúßia is the substratum of the change; ὅτι δὲ καὶ αἱ οὐσίαι καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἄπλῶς ὑπάρχει εἰς ὑποκείμενον τινὸς γίνεται, ἠσκαποῦντι γένοιτ' ἃν φανερόν. This he goes on to prove by the examples of plants, animals, products of art and chemical changes (ἀλλοίωσεις), and then proceeds: ὡστε δὴλον καὶ τῶν εἰρημένων, ὅτι τὸ γινόμενον ἄπαν ἄπαν δὲν συνθετόν ἐστιν, καὶ ἐστὶ μὲν τὶ γινόμενον, ἐστὶ δὲ τὶ τούτο γίνεσθαι, καὶ τόσο διηθόντά ὅ γὰρ τὸ ὑποκεί-

μενον ἢ τὸ ἀντικείμενον, λέγω δὲ ἄντικείσαθι μὲν τὸ ἁμουσόν, ὑποκεί-

σαι δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀσχημοσύνην καὶ τὴν ἁμορφίαν τὴν ἀτάξιαν τὸ ἀντικείμενον, τὸν δὲ χαλκὸν ἢ τὸν λίθον ἢ τὸν χρυσὸν τὸ ὑποκείμενον, φανερόν ὅπως . . . ὅτι γίγνεται πώς ἐκ τοῦ ὑποκείμε-

νον καὶ τῆς μορφῆς . . . ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ ὑποκείμενον ἀριθμῷ μὲν ἐν, εἰδεὶ δὲ διό, viz. (1) matter as such and (2) the negation of form (στε-}

ρησις) as property (συμβεβηκός) of matter. It is just this distinction, c. 8 goes on, which solves the difficulty previous philosophers felt in dealing with the possibility of becoming which they ended by totally denying: οὔτε γὰρ τὸ ὑπὸ γίνεσθαι (ἐίναι γὰρ ἢδη) ἐκ τε μὴ ὅντος οὐδὲν ἀν γεν

εσθαι . . . ἢμεις δὲ καὶ αὐτό: οὐμεν γίγνεσθαι μὲν οὐδὲν ἄπλῶς ἐκ μὴ ὅντος, ὅπως μέντοι γίγνεσθαι ἐκ μὴ ὅντος, οἷον κατὰ συμβεβηκός· ἐκ γὰρ τῆς στερῆσεως, ὅ ἐστι καὶ αὐτὸ μὴ ὅν, οὐκ ἐνυπάρχοντος γίγνεται τι (i.e. a thing becomes what it is not from its negative which in and for itself does not exist: man, for example, becomes what he is not—cultured from being uncultured) . . . εἰς μὲν ὑπὸ τρόπον ὅντος άλλος δ' ὃ ἐν δὲν ἐξελεῖται ταῖτα λέγειν κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν. *Gen. et Lerr. i. 3, 317, b, 15: τρόπον μὲν τινα ἐκ μὴ ὅντος ἄπλῶς γίνεται, τρόπον δὲ ἄλλον ἐκ ὅντος ἀεί, τὸ γὰρ δυνάμει ὑπὸ εντε-

λεχεία δὲ μὴ ὑπὸ ανάγκην προσπάρχειν γινώμενον ἀμφότερας. Cf. *Metaph. xii. 2 (an exposition in complete agreement with that of the Physics); ibid. c. 4, 1070, b, 11, 18, c. 5, 1071, b, 8, iv. 5, 1009, a, 30 and p. 341, n. 2, supra.

1 See infra, and *Phys. ii. 5, 205, a, 6.*
not change into their opposites, nor even act upon their opposites. Cold does not become warmth: ignorance does not become knowledge; but the former cease when the latter begin. Becoming is not the passing over of one property into the opposite property, but the passage out of one condition into the opposite condition, by the interchange of one property with another. Thus it follows that all Becoming presupposes some Being on the basis of which such an interchange takes place, and which underlies as their subject the changing properties and conditions, and maintains itself in them. This substratum certainly is in a sense the opposite of that which it is to become, but it is so not in itself, but derivatively. It has not as yet those properties which it is to receive, and in place of them it has their opposites; and in so far it stands in a negative relation to that which is to come out of it. This negative relation, however, concerns not its own essence, but only the determinations of quality which attach to it.¹

¹ Cf. besides the above nn. and p. 323 sq., Phys. i. 6, 189, a, 20; for the explanation of phenomena it is not enough to assume two principles standing to one another in the relation of opposites, ἀπορθεσείς γὰρ ὅτι πᾶσα ἡ ἡ πυκνότης τῆς μανὴτης ποιεῖν τι πέφυκεν ἢ αὐτῇ τὴν πυκνότητα. ὡμοὶς δὲ καὶ ἄλλῃ ὑποιαοῦ ἐναντιότητι, &c.; c. 7, 190, b, 29: διὸ ἔστι, μὲν ὡς δύο λεκτέων εἶναι τὰς ψυχὰς, ἐστὶ δὲ ὅσες τρεῖς. καὶ ἐστὶ μὲν ὡς τάναντα, οἶον εἶ τίς λέγοι τὸ μορφικὸν κ. κ. τὸ ἀμφισθανὴ τὸ δὲ τῆς μορφῆς καὶ τὸ ὑψιχρον ἢ τὸ ἱμασμένον καὶ τὸ ἀνάμοστον ἐστὶ δὲ ὅσον ὁ ὡς ὁ ὅπερ ἄλληλων γὰρ πάσχειν τάναντι ἀδινατον. We obtain three principles (ἀρχαὶ) (ibid. 191, a, 12) if besides ὑποκειμένον and λόγον we take especial account of στέρησις, otherwise only two. A thing's opposite is its principle in so far as its matter is infected with στέρησις or the contrary of the form it is going to receive; something other than its opposite is its principle in so far as the matter in itself is as capable of the one determination as of the other; c. 9, 192, a, 16: Plato errs in identifying the material simply with the non-existent. ἦν τὸν γὰρ τινος θελόν καὶ ἄγαθόν καὶ έφεσον, τὸ μὲν ἐναντίον αὐτῷ φασιν εἶναι,
it is a presupposition of all Becoming, this substratum cannot ever itself have had a commencement; and since everything which perishes resolves itself finally into the same substratum, it is imperishable also.\(^1\) This beginningless basis of Becoming\(^2\) is Matter;\(^3\) and so we have Matter alongside of Form as a second term.\(^4\)

The notion and the relation of these two principles is more accurately determined in the doctrine that Form is the Actual and Matter the Possible.\(^5\) Both

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\(^1\) See p. 341, n. 2, *supra*. *Phys.* i. 9, 192, a, 28: αὕθαρτον καὶ ἀγέννητον ἀνάγκη αὐτὴν εἶναι, εἰτε γὰρ ἐξίγνυτο, ὑπόκεισαι τι δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἑπτάνων τὸν ἑπτάνων, τὸ δὲ εἰτέ περάσχω τοὺς ἑπτάνων... εἰτε φεβείσαι, εἰς τοῦτο ἀφίζεται ἐκχαίτων.


\(^3\) *Phys.* *ibid.* i. 31: λέγω γὰρ ὑλὴν τῷ πρῶτον ὑποκείμενον ἐκάστη, εἰς οὖν γίνεται τι ἐνυπάρχοντος μὴ κατὰ συμβεβηκόν. (*Gen. et Corr.* i. 4 ὁ μ. : ἵστη δὲ ὑλὴ μάλιστα μὲν καὶ κυρίως τὸ ὑποκείμενον γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς δεκτικῷ, τρόπον δὲ τινι καὶ τὸ τάσι ἀλλαισ μεταβολαῖσ *Metaphr.* i. 3, 983, a, 29: ἐτέρων δὲ ἵστην ὑλὴν, ἄστερ ἢν εἰ θηλην ἄρρενοι καὶ αἰσχρῶν καλοῦ (see p. 325, n. 1, *supra*).

\(^4\) Cf. the foregoing and the next n. *As στίρησις* constitutes of itself no independent principle, but merely belongs to matter as such, *i.e.* to matter as still formless, it is assigned a place beside form and matter only in a very few passages and with a certain reservation; see *Phys.* i. 7 (p. 314, n. 1); *Metaphr.* xii. 2, 1063, b, 32, c. 4, 1076, b, 10, 18, c. 5, 1071, a, 6, 16.

\(^5\) *De An.* ii. 1, 412, a, 6: λέγομεν γείον εν τι των οὐσιων την οὐσιαν, ταύτης δὲ τὸ μὲν ἢ ὑλή, ὡς καθ’ αἶτο μὲν εἰ οὖν ἐστι τὸδε τι, ἐστιν δὲ μορφὴ καὶ εἴδος, καθ’ ἦν ἤδη λέγεται τοῦτο τι καὶ τρίτον τὸ ἕκ τότιν. ἐστι δ’ ἢ μὲν ὧν δύναμις, τὸ δ’ εἴδος ἐπιτέλεσθαι. So c. 2, 414, a, 14 sq.; *Gen. et Corr.* ii. 9, 335, a, 32: ὡς μὲν οὖν ὑλή τοῖς γεννητοῖς ἐστιν εἴτε τὸ δυνα-
conceptions have been obtained entirely out of the consideration of the distinction between the two poles of the ἐσχάτη ὑλή, he must make the same reply to the question as to the ὑλή ἐκάστου, the matter of these determinate things. If the earth cannot be said to be δυνάμει ἀνθρώπων, neither can it be called according to Metaph. viii. 4, 1041, a, 35, b. 1 sq., 'the matter of man'; and what the same passage calls δυνάμει οὐδία, 1019, b, 8 sq. designates ὑλή. On the other hand, πρώτη ὑλή is simply δυνάμει ὑ. So far, therefore, as there remains any distinction between the two pairs of conceptions, it concerns not so much their actual content as the point of view from which we regard it. In the antithesis of form and matter we distinguish between different elements, in that of ἐνεργεία and δυνάμει between different states or conditions of things. The former refers to the relation of substance to attribute; the latter, to the relation of the earlier to the later condition, of the incomplete to the complete. But since the very essence of matter consists in possibility of form in actuality, we can conceive no case in which more than a grammatical change is necessary in order that we may substitute the latter for the former expressions. And vice versa we may in most cases substitute matter and form for the possible and the actual. The only difficulty that can possibly arise is in the case where we are speaking, not of two things related to one another as the possible to the actual, but of one and the same
between which all Change and Becoming moves.¹ If we abstract in any given case from all that a given object is about for the first time to become, we shall have a definite Matter which is in want of a definite Form, and is consequently as yet only capable of receiving it. If we abstract entirely from anything which is a product of Becoming—that is to say, if we think to ourselves a kind of object which has not as yet become anything, then we shall have pure Matter without any determination by Form. This will be that which is nothing, but can become everything—the Subject, namely, or substratum to which no one of all the thinkable predicates belongs, but which precisely on that account is equally receptive of them all. In other words, it is that which is all in Possibility and nothing in Actuality: it is purely potential Being,²

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¹ That Aristotle's conception of matter and with it the distinction between matter and form thus originated in the attempt to explain 'becoming,' which seemed to presuppose it, is clear also from the statement that nothing to which 'becoming' is inapplicable can be said to have a matter; *Metaph.* viii. 5, 1041, b, 27: οὖθε παντὸς ἡλίος ἐστὶν ἀλλ' ὅσων γένεσις ἐστὶ καὶ μεταβολὴ εἰς ἄλληλα. ὡς δ' ἀνευ τοῦ μεταβάλλως ἐστὶν ἡ μη, οὐκ ἐστὶ τούτων ἡλίος. Cf. vii. 7 (previous n.)

² To δυνάμει ὑν. A somewhat different meaning attaches to δύναμις when it indicates power or faculty in the sense of the ἄρχη μεταβλητική, whether we speak of a faculty for doing or for suffering, a rational or an irrational power (cf. *Metaph.* ix. 1-6, v. 12); Aristotle, however, again mixes up both significations (cf. Bonitz on *Metaph.* 379 sq., and p. 234, n. 1, *supra*).
without any kind of actual existence. If conversely we take an object and abstract from it everything that is merely rudimentary and only on its way to completion, if we think of the end of its growth as fully attained, we obtain the pure and complete realisation of its conception, to which nothing formless, no matter that is still unformed, any longer attaches. The Form, or intelligible essence of a thing, corresponds with its perfect realisation, and Form in general with Activity. Just as a statue is contained only potentially in the unwrought material, and comes into actual existence only through the Form which the artist communicates to the material, Aristotle under-

From this second meaning of διναμος we have Aristotle's application of it to the material in which a determinate power resides, as in Part. An. ii. 1, 646, a. 14 sq., where moist and dry, warm and cold substances, Gen. An. i. 18, 725, b. 14, where certain liquids, Meteor. ii. 3, 359, b. 12, where salts and alkalis, De Sensu, 5, 444, a. 1, where fragrant scents are called διναμειας. 1 This pure matter, which, however (see infra), is never present as such, Aristotle calls πρωτη ολη. Its opposite in this sense is ολη εσχατη (Θιος, οικεια εκαστου), or the matter which unites itself, immediately, without requiring further preparation, with a determinate form. Πρωτη ολη is the material as it precedes all elementary differences; the εσχατη ολη, e.g., of the statue is the stone or brass: the εσχατη ολη of man is τα καταμήρια. Metaph. v. 4, 1015, a. 7, c. 24 init., viii. 6, 1045, b. 17. c. 4, 1044, a. 15, 31, b. 1, ix. 7, 1049, a. 24. Some verbal confusion is caused by the fact that the expression πρωτη ολη is applied equally to matter which is absolutely, and to matter which is only relatively, first (to the θιος πρωτη and to the πρωτη αυτο πρωτη ολη); see Metaph. v. 4, viii. 4, 1044, a. 18, 23; Phys. ii. 1, 193, a. 28, and cf. Metaph. v. 4, 1014, b. 26. Cf. Bonitz, Ind. Arist., 786, b. 10. 2 Ενεργειαι or έντελεχειαι (in the concrete το ένεργεια οη, το έντελεχεια οη), expressions which properly differ as activity or actualisation differs from completeness or actuality, but which are commonly used by Aristotle without distinction. Cf. infra, p. 379 sq.
stands by Potentiality in general Being as mere susceptibility—indeterminate, undeveloped self-existence, capable, indeed, of becoming a definite reality, but not yet made into one. By Actuality, on the other hand, he means the same being considered as a developed totality or Being which has wrought out all that it contains into full existence. When accordingly he identifies Form with actual, Matter with potential, being, he means to say that the former is the totality of the qualities which the latter does not possess but is capable of acquiring.¹ Matter as such, the so-called πρότη ὀλη,² is without form or definite character, being just that which precedes all Becoming and all formation; the centre of indifference to all opposites and definite qualities; the substratum which as yet possesses none of the qualities that make the Form of things.³

¹ *Metaph.* ix. 6, 1048, a. 30: ἐστι δ' ἡ ἐνέργεια τὸ ὑπάρχειν τὸ πράγμα μὴ οὕτως ὡσπερ λέγομεν δυνάμει. Λέγομεν δὲ δυνάμει οἷον ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ Ἐραμὴ καὶ ἐν τῇ ὑλῇ τῷ ἡμίσειαν, ὅτι ἀφαίρεθη τῇ ἕν, καὶ ἐμπάθημα καὶ τὸν ἐμὴ θεωροῦμα, ἄν δυνάτος ἦ θεωρῆσαι. τὸ δ' ἐνέργεια. δήλον δ' ἐπί τῶν καλέστατα τῇ ἐπαγωγῇ διανύσασθαι λέγειν, καὶ οἷς δὲ παντὸς δρόν ζητεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἀτάλογον συνορᾶν, ὅτι ἄσ τὸ ὅς καὶ δομοῦν πρὸς τὸ οἰκοδομικόν, καὶ τὸ ἐγχιρορός πρὸς τὸ καθεῖδιν, καὶ τὸ δρόν πρὸς τὸ μῦν μὲν ὕφιν δὲ ἐχθρικόν, καὶ τὸ ἀποκειμένων ἐκ τῆς ὑλῆς πρὸς τὴν ὑλήν, καὶ τὸ ἀπειρογασμένων πρὸς τὸ ἀπεργαστόν. τ.υ. τ.ἡς δὲ τῆς διαφορᾶς θάτερον μίρον ἑστω ἡ ἐνέργεια ἀφροσιμίαν, βαθέρον δὲ τὸ δύνατόν; c. 8, 1050, a, 21; *Phys.* i. 7, 191, a, 7: ἡ δ' ὕποκειμενή φύσις ἐπιστητῇ κατ' ἀναλογίαν.

² See p. 314, n. 1. *s.w.r.a*

³ *Metaph.* vii 3, 1029, a, 20: λίγω δ' ὑλήν ἢ καθ' αὐτὴν μῆτε τῇ μήτε ποσὸν μῆτε ἄλλο μηθεὶν λέγεται οἷς ἄριστα τῷ ὑν; c. 11, 1037, a, 27: μετὰ μὲν γὰρ τῆς ὑλῆς οἷκ ἔστων [ἀόγοι], ἄριστων γὰρ; i. 7, 1019, a, 21: εἰ δὲ τί ἐστι πρῶτος, ὶ ὡς μὴττι κατ' ἄλλου λέγεται ἐκείνον [of such and such a nature], πούτο ἀπότη ὀλή; viii. 1, see p. 315, n. 5. *s.w.r.a.* iv. 4, 1007, b, 28: τὸ γὰρ δυνάμει ὄν καὶ ἐντελεχεία τὸ ἀποριστὸν ἐστι. *Phys.* i. 7; see above, n. 1, and iv. 2, 209, b, 9: passing from this it becomes
Considered in this aspect, it is also unlimited or infinite, not in the spatial sense (for Aristotle, as we shall see, does not admit the existence of infinity in space), but in the wider sense according to which the infinite is that which, as fixed and circumscribed by no determinate Form, has reached no conclusion or completion. And since what is wholly indeterminate cannot be known, Matter, as such, is unknowable. It is only by analogy that we can gain any conception of it, by supposing a substratum for things of sense in general which is related to them in much the same way as a special material is to the things that are made out of it. To Form, on the other hand, we attribute all the qualities of things, all definiteness, limitation, and intelligibility.
and Matter, therefore, require nothing further to mediate between them in order to produce a whole, but are immediately united: Form is the definiteness of Matter in itself indefinite; Matter receives into itself directly the lacking definiteness of Form. When the Potential passes into the Actual, these elements do not stand opposed to one another as two separate things, but one and the same thing looked at as Matter is the Potentiality of that of which the Actuality is its Form.1

But just as we may not regard Form and Matter in their mutual relation as two heterogeneous substances, so neither may we regard either of them in any case as a single substance, so as to imply that one Matter and one Form constitute the fundamental elements which in various combinations produce the aggregate of things. Aristotle recognises, indeed, in the Divine Spirit a being which is pure Form without Matter. Yet he does not treat this as the intelligible idea of all Forms, the universal, spiritual substance of all things, but as an individual being, beside which all other individual beings exist as so many substances. In like manner Aristotle recognises a fundamental matter, which, while in the elements and generally in all particular kinds of matter it assumes different forms and qualities, yet is in itself one and the same in all bodies. Yet this primitive

1 *Metaph.* viii. 6, 1045, b. 17: to the question how the elements of a conception or of a number can be one, Aristotle answers that they are related to one another as matter and form (see p. 220, n. 2, κύρια): ἐστι δ' ὡσπερ εἰρηται καὶ ἡ ἐσχάτη ὅλη [cf. p. 348, n. 1] καὶ ἡ μορφή ταῦτα καὶ ἐν τῷ μὲν δυνάμει τῷ δὲ ἐνεργείᾳ. [So BONITZ reads, but BEKKER has: ταῦτα καὶ δυνάμει τῷ ἐν.] ἐν γαρ τι ἐκαστὸν καὶ τῷ δυνάμει καὶ τῷ ἐνεργείᾳ ἐν πάν ἐστιν.
matter is never present except in the definite form of one of the elements.¹ Nor can it be otherwise, since pure, indeterminate Matter is mere Potentiality without any Actuality whatsoever. This original corporeal Matter, moreover, does not exhaust the conception, and Aristotle goes on to speak also of an incorporeal Matter which he finds, for example, in conceptions and in mathematical figures. To this belongs whatever, without being itself corporeal, stands to something else in the same relation as corporeal Matter stands to Form.² Hence we see that not only does each of these conceptions denote a single existence or definite class of things, but they are used, though undoubtedly obtained in the first instance by abstraction from corporeal things,³ whereasover a relation subsists analogous to that which they originally express.⁴ Thus in analysing conceptions into their

¹ Phys. iii. 5, 204, b, 32: οὐκ ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον σώμα αἰσθητὸν παρὰ τὰ στοιχεῖα καλούμενα, otherwise the four elements must needs resolve themselves into this, which is not the case. Gen. et Corr. ii. 1, 329, a, 8. Ibid. i. 21: ἥμεις δὲ φαμέν μὲν εἶναι ταῖς ἤλιαν τῶν σωμάτων τῶν αἰσθητῶν, ἀλλὰ ταύτην οὐ χωριστὴν, ἀλλ’ ἂει μετ’ ἐναντίωσεως. ἦς ἦς γίνεται τὰ καλούμενα στοιχεῖα. Ibid. i. 5, 320, b, 12 sq.

² Metaph. viii. 6, 1045, a, 33: ἐστὶ δὲ τῆς ἤλιας ἡ μὲν νοητὴ ἡ δ’ αἰσθητή, καὶ ἂεί τοὐ πάλαγον τὸ μὲν ἤλιον τὸ δ’ ἐνέργειά ἐστὶν; vii. 11, 1036, b, 35: ἐστὶ γὰρ ἤλιον ἐνίων καὶ μὴ αἰσθητῶν καὶ παντὸς γὰρ ἤλιον τὰ ἐστὶν ὃ μὴ ἐστὶ τι ἢν εἶναι καὶ εἶδος αὐτὸ καὶ ἂν ἤλιον ἡ μὲν αἰσθητῆ ἡ δ’ νοητή. Ibid. c. 10, 1036, a, 9: ἤλιον δ’ ἡ μὲν αἰσθητὴ ἐστὶν ἢ δ’ νοητή ... νοητή δὲ ἡ ἐν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς ὑπάρχουσα μὴ ἡ αἰσθητὰ, οἷα τὰ μαθηματικά.

³ This is evident from the examples which Aristotle uses in illustration; cf. pp. 341, n. 2, 342, n. 2, and 345 n. 5, αν. Of matter he remarks also in Gen. et Corr. i. 4, 320, a, 2, that we are to understand by it μάλιστα καὶ κυρίως τὸ ὑποκείμενον γενέσεως καὶ φόρμας δεκτικῶν.

⁴ Metaph. xii. 4: τὰ δ’ αὐτίκα καὶ αἱ ἄρχαι ἄλλα ἄλλων ἐστὶν ὡς, ἐστὶ δ’ ὡς ἀν καθόλου λέγη τίς καὶ κατ’ ἀναλογίαν, ταύτα πάντων ... οἱον ἰσα τῶν αἰσθητῶν σωμάτων ἡς μὲν εἶδος τὸ θερινό καὶ ἄλλον τρόπον τὸ ψυχρόν ἡ στέρησις, ἤλιον δὲ τὸ δυναμεῖ ταύτα πρῶτον καὶ αὐτό ... πάντων δὲ οὕτω μὲν εἰπέων
two elements, Aristotle attributes to the genus the same significance as Matter, while he identifies the specific difference with the Form. Similarly in the scheme of the universe, in physiology, in zoology, in psychology, the upper and the lower spheres and elements, the soul and the body, the male and the female, the Active and the Passive Reason, stand to one another in the same relation as the Form and the Matter. The same is true, it need hardly be remarked, of Potentiality and Actuality. These also express a definite relation which may subsist between all possible kinds of objects, and which can best be explained by analogy. Aristotle applies them in precisely the same way as Matter and Form. He uses them, for instance, to elucidate the connection between the genus and the specific differences, and in general to show the possibility of several properties belonging to one and the same thing. By them he explains the relation between the passive and the active

1 See p. 219, n. 2, supra.
2 De Celo, iv. 3, 4, 310, b, 14,
3 De An. ii. 1, 412, b, 9 sq. c. 2, 414, a, 13 sq. and often.
4 Gen. An. i. 2 init., ii. 1, 732, a, 3, ii. 4, 738, b, 20, and often.
5 Metaph. i. 6, 988, a, 5, v. 28, 1024, a, 34.
6 Metaph. ix. 6; see p. 319, n. 1, supra. Ibid. 1048,b, 6: λέγεται δ' ἐνεργεία οὐ πάντα δραίοις, ἀλλ' ἢ τῷ ἀνάλογον, ὡς τούτο ἐν τούτῳ ἢ πρὸς τούτο, τῷ δ' ἐν τῷ θεῷ ἢ πρὸς τόδε, τῷ μὲν γὰρ ὡς κίνησις πρὸς δύναμιν, τῇ δ' ὡς οὐσία πρὸς τινὰ ὑλήν. Cf. xii. 5, 1071, a, 3, cited p. 352, n. 4.
7 De An. iii. 5.
understanding.\(^1\) It follows that one and the same thing may be viewed in one aspect as Matter, in another as Form: as Potentiality in the first, as Actuality in the second. The elements, for instance, which contain the material of all other bodies, are Forms of the primitive Matter; the brass which supplies the material for a statue has its own peculiar Form as a specific metal. While the soul in general is viewed as the Form of the body, yet even in its own highest and most immaterial part a distinction is made between two elements which are related to one another as Form and Matter.\(^2\) Indeed, we shall find that everything except the "eternal immaterial substances" contains some element of Matter,\(^3\) while on the other hand, as we already know,\(^4\) Matter never actually presents itself to us except as endowed with Form.

We may therefore distinguish several stages\(^5\) in the development of Matter into Form. The first purely formless Matter lies at the foundation of all things: but it is also true that everything has its own peculiar and ultimate Matter. Between these two lie all the material formations through which the original Matter has to pass before it becomes the particular Matter with which the Form of the thing immediately unites itself.\(^6\) The same holds true of the ἥναμι.\(^7\) We ascribe potential knowledge

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\(^{1}\) Metaph. viii. 6, 1045, a, 23, b, 16. Phys. i. 2 fin.; see p. 219, n. 2, p. 351, n. 1, p. 301, n. 3 and supra.

\(^{2}\) Cf. Gen. et Corr. ii. 1, 329, a, 32; Phys. iii. 1, 201, a, 29; De An. p. 375 sq., 440.

\(^{3}\) Cf. p. 352, n. 2.

\(^{4}\) See p. 352, n 1, supra, and compare p. 348, n. 1.

\(^{5}\) Cf. the passages quoted p. 348. n. 1, e.g. Metaph. viii. 4, 1044, a, 20: γίγνεται δὲ πλείους ὑλὰς τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὅταν θατέρου ἡ ἐτέρα ἢ, ὅλων φλέγμα αὐτὰ λιπαρὸν καὶ γλυκέος, εἰ τὸ λιπαρὸν ἐκ τοῦ γλυκέος, εἰ δὲ χολῆς τῷ ἀναλύεται εἰς τὴν πρώτην ὑλὴν τὴν χολήν.

\(^{6}\) See p. 351, n. 1.

\(^{7}\) Phys. viii. 4, 255, a, 33; De An. ii. 5, 417, a, 21 sq.
not only to the man of learning when he is conceived as not actually engaged in scientific activity, but also to the learner, and even to man in general. But the sense in each case varies, and we have to distinguish between the degrees of proximity to ἐνέργεια. Nothing attains the realisation of that which it had at first the mere capacity to be, except by degrees; and in the universe at large there are an infinite number of intermediate stages between mere Potentiality or the first Matter, and complete Actuality, which is pure Form or God.

Now in the phenomenal world, Form presents itself under the aspect of a threefold principle of causality, while Matter contains the ground of all impressibility and of all incompleteness, of natural necessity and chance.

Aristotle is in the habit of enumerating four kinds of Cause—the material, the conceptual or formal, the efficient and the final. These, however, on closer examination are reducible from no higher. Cf. Metaph. v. 1, 1013, a, 17: πασῶν μὲν οὖν κοινῶν τῶν ἀρχῶν τὸ πρῶτον ἐναι οὐδὲν ἢ ἔστιν ἢ γίγνεται ἢ γεγονόσκειται: τούτων δὲ αἱ μὲν ἐνυπάρχουσαι εἰσὶν αἱ δὲ ἐκτὸς. Anal. Post. i. 2, 72, a, 6; Top. iv. 1, 121, b, 9.

1 Gen. An. ii. 1, 735, a, 9: ἐγγύτερον δὲ καὶ πορωτέρον αὐτὸν ἐνδέχεται εἶναι δυσμένει, ὡσπερ ὁ καθεδρὸν γεωμέτρης τοῦ ἐργηγορ-ὸν πορωτέρον καὶ οὐντος τοῦ θεωρ-οῦντος.

2 Ἀρχή. On the meaning of this expression see Metaph. v. 1, with the comments of Schwegrler and Bonitz, and also xi. 1 fin., Gen. et Corr. i. 7, 324, a, 27, Phys. i. 5, 188, a, 27, viii. 1 fin., Gen. An. v. 7, 788, a, 14; also Poet. c. 7, 1450, b, 27; Waitz, Arist. Org. i. 457 sq., the Ind. Arist. under ἀρχή, and p. 247, n, 2, supra. Ἀρχή indicates the first in every series, and in this sense it is used for all kinds of causes, but more especially of first causes, i.e. such as are deducible from no higher. Cf. Metaph. v. 1, 1013, a, 17: πασῶν μὲν οὖν κοινῶν τῶν ἀρχῶν τὸ πρῶτον ἐναι οὐδὲν ἢ ἔστιν ἢ γίγνεται ἢ γεγονόσκειται: τούτων δὲ αἱ μὲν ἐνυπάρχουσαι εἰσὶν αἱ δὲ ἐκτὸς.

3 Phys. ii. 3, 191, b, 23: ἕνα μὲν οὖν τρίτον αἰτίων λέγεται τὸ ἐξ οὗ γίγνεται τι ἐνυπάρχοντος, οἷον χαλκὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπως, &c.: ἀλλον δὲ τὸ εἰδος καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα· τούτο δ' ἔστιν δ ὁ λόγος ὁ τοῦ τί ἢν εἶναι καὶ τὰ τούτου γένη [i.e. the classes above it] ... ἔτι οὐδὲν ἢ ἀρχή τῆς μεταβολῆς ἢ πρᾶτη ἢ τῆς ἱματίσεως ... ἔτι ὡς τὸ τέλος· τούτο δ' ἔστι τὸ ὁδ' ἐνεκα (= Metaph. v. 2); 195, a, 15: one class of causes is ὡς τὸ ἐξ οὗ αἴτια, and of these τὰ μὲν ὡς τὸ ὑποκείμενον, τὰ δὲ ὡς τὸ
inspection, are found to be resolvable into the two first mentioned. The concept of a thing is not different from its end, since to realise an end is to actualise a concept. But it is likewise possible to identify the concept with the efficient cause, whether it sets the thing in motion from within as its soul, or whether the motion comes from without. Even in the latter case it is the conception of the thing which produces motion, alike in works of nature and of art. Only man can beget man. Only the conception of health can determine the physician to labour in producing health.¹ In like

ti ἤν εἶναι; next we have causes ὅθεν ἡ ἄρχη τῆς μεταβολῆς ἢ στάσεως καὶ κινήσεως; lastly τὸ τέλος καὶ τάγματον. Metaph. i. 3 init.: τὰ δ’ αἰτία λέγεται τετραχῶς, ὥν μ’ αὖ μὲν αἰτίαν φαμέν εἶναι τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ τὸ τί ἤν εἶναι . . . ἐπεραν δὲ τὴν ἔλυν καὶ τὸ ὑποκείμενον, τρίτην δὲ ὅθεν ἡ ἄρχη τῆς κινήσεως, τετάρτην δὲ ἀντικείμενον αἰτίαν ταύτη, τὸ οὐ ἔνεκα καὶ τάγματον. Ibid. viii. 4. 1014, a, 32, Annal. Post. ii. 11 init., De Somno, 2, 155, b, 11, Gen. An. i. 1 init., v. 1, 778, b, 7, and elsewhere: cf. Ind. Arist. 22, b, 29. On the different terms used for the four causes, ibid. and Waiz, Arist. Org. ii. 407; on what follows, Ritter, iii. 166 sqq. The further modifications of the doctrine of the four causes in Phys. ii. 3, 195, a, 26 sq. (cf. Metaph. v. 2, 1013, b, 28), are unimportant, as is also the distinction of the οὗ ἔνεκα into person and thing, on which cf. De An. ii. 4, 415, b, 2: τὸ δ’ οὗ ἔνεκα διστῶν, τὸ μέν οὗ τὸ δὲ φ. See also Phys. ii. 2, 194, a, 35, and Metaph. xii. 7, 1072, b, 2 (where we must read ἔστι γὰρ τινί τὸ οὗ ἔνεκα καὶ
tbios—the end is in the one case to heal the sick, and in the other to establish health).

¹ Phys. ii. 7, 198, a, 24: ἐρχεται δὲ τὰ τρ’ εἰς τὸ ἐν πολλὰκις: τὸ μὲν γὰρ τί ἐστι καὶ τὸ οὐ ἔνεκα ἐν ἐστι [cf. 198, b, 3], τὸ δ’ ὅθεν ἡ κίνησις πρῶτον τῷ εἰδε ταύτη τούτοις: ἀνθρώπος γὰρ ἀνθρώπων γεννᾶ. Cf. i. 7, 190, b, 17 sq. De An. ii. 4, 115, b, 7: ἔστι δὲ ἡ ψυχή τοῦ ἑωτοῦ σώματος αἰτία καὶ ἄρχη. ταύτα δὲ πολλαχῶς λέγεται, ὑμώοις δ’ ἡ ψυχή κατὰ τῶν διαφαμένων πρῶτος τρεῖς αἰτία καὶ γὰρ ὅθεν ἡ κίνησις αὕτη, καὶ οὐ ἔνεκε, καὶ ὡς ἡ οὐσία τῶν ἐμφύσεων σωμάτων ἡ ψυχή αἰτία, which he goes on to prove more fully. Metaph. xii. 5, 1071, α, 18: πάντων δὴ πρῶτοι ἄρχαι τὸ ἐνεργεία πρῶτον, τὸ εἰδε, καὶ ἄλλο δυνάμει. Elsewhere now one and now another of these three causes is identified with the third. So Metaph. viii. 4, 1044, b, 1: ἵσως δὲ ταύτα (i.e. εἴδος and τέλος) ἁμώρ τὸ αὐτό. Gen. An. i. 1 init.: ὑπόκειται γὰρ αἰτία τέταρτης, τὸ τε οὗ ἔνεκα ὧς τέλος, καὶ δ’ λόγος τῆς οὐσίας: ταύτα μὲν
manner we shall in the highest cause, which is God, find the pure Form, the ultimate end of the world and the source of its movement united in one. Nor does Aristotle in his physics distinguish more than two kinds

οὗν ὡς ἐν τι σχεδον ὑπολαβεῖν δεί, τρίτων δὲ καὶ τέσσαρτον ἤ ὤλη καὶ δόθην ἢ ἄρχη τῆς κινήσεως. *Ibid.* ii. 1, 732, a 3, where the female is called the ὄλη, the male the αἰτία κινώσα πρῶτη, ἢ δ λόγος ὑπάρχει καὶ τὸ εἶδος, and c. 6, 742, a, 28; where, as in i. 1, the formal and the final cause are identified, and only three principles are enumerated: the τέλος οὗ ἐνεκα, the ἄρχη κινητική καὶ γεννητική καὶ τον χρήσιμον φ ἐρήμα το τέλος. *Part. Ll.* i. 1, 611, a, 25: τής φύσεως δικῶς λεγομενής καὶ ὄσθης τῆς μεν ἤλης τῆς δ' ὄς οὐσίας [which = eidos] καὶ ἕστιν αὐτῇ καὶ ἦς ἢ κινώσα καὶ ὧς τὸ τέλος. *Phys.* ii. 8, 199, a, 30: καὶ ἐπεί ἡ φύσις ἀντὶ ἡ μὲν ἢ ὄλη ἢ δ' ὡς μορφή, τέλος δ' αὐτή . . . αὐτή ἄν εἰ ἡ αἰτία ἢ οὗ ἐνεκα. *Ibid.* c. 9, 200, a, 14: τὸ δ' οὗ ἐνεκα καὶ τῷ λόγῳ. *I. 34:* τὸ τέλος τὸ οὗ ἐνεκα καὶ ἢ ἄρχη ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρισμου καὶ τοῦ λόγου. The artist's method is nature's also: ἐπεί ἡ οἰκία τούτῳ, τάδε δεὶ γλύφεσθαι . . . διὰς καὶ εἶ ἄνθρωπος τοὐδ', ταὐτ. *Part. Ll.* i. 1, 639, b, 14: φανέται δὲ πρώτη [αιτία] ἡ λεγομεν ἐνεκά τινος λόγος γάρ οὖσα. *De An.* i. 1, 403, b, 6: τὸ εἶδος, ἐνεκα τούτῳ. *Gen. et Corr.* ii. 9, 335, b, 5: ὃς μὲν ὄλη τοὐτ', ἕστιν οὗτων τοῖς γεννητοῖς, ὃς δὲ τὸ οὗ ἐνεκα ἢ μορφή καὶ τὸ εἶδος τούτῳ δ' ἕστιν δ' τῆς ἐκάστου οὐσίας, and previously: εἰσὶν οὖν [αι ἄρχαλ τῆς γεννήσεως] καὶ τῶν ἀριθμὸν ὑσαι καὶ τῷ γένει αἰ αὐτῶν ἄπερ ἐν τοῖς αἰδίοις τε καὶ πρῶτοι· ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν ὡς ὄλη, ἢ δ' ὡς μορφή· δεί δὲ καὶ τὴν τρίτην ἤτι προσπαράχειν. *Metaph.* xii. 3, see p. 311, n. 1, *fin.* *Metaph.* vii. 7 *init.*: πάντα τὰ γιγνομένα ὑπὸ τέ τινος γίγνεται καὶ ἐκ τίνος καὶ τί. Of the ὑφ' οὗ it is said further on: καὶ ὑφ' οὗ, ἢ κατὰ τὸ εἶδος λεγομενή φύσις ἡ ὁμοιοῦσιν [sc. τῷ γενομένῳ], αὕτη δ' ἐν ἀλλ. ἀνθρώπου γὰρ ἀνθρώπου γεννᾷ, and further, 1032, b, 11: ὅστε συμβαίνει τρίτοις τά ἐξ ὑγιείας τὴν ὑγιείας γίγνεσθαι, καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐξ οἰκίας, τῆς ἀνευ ὄλης τὴν ἔχουσαν ὄλην· ἢ γὰρ ἱατρικὴ ἐστι καὶ ἡ οἰκοδομική τὸ εἶδος τῆς ὑγιείας καὶ τῆς οἰκίας· λέγον δ' οὐσίαν ἀνευ ὄλης τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι. (Cf. *Gen. An.* ii. 4, 740, b, 28: ἢ δὲ τέχνη μορφή τῶν γινομένων ἐν ἀλλ. *Part. Ll.* i. 1, 610, a, 31: ἢ δὲ τέχνη λόγος τοῦ ἐργου δ' ἀνευ τῆς ὄλης ἐστίν; so in *Gen. et Corr.* ii. 9, 355, b, 33, 35, μορφὴ corresponds to τέχνη; the art, however, is elsewhere treated as the true efficient cause, the artist only as a secondary cause; e.g. *Gen. et Corr.* i. 7, 324, a, 34.) *Metaph.* xii. 4 *fin.*: ἐπεί δὲ τὸ κινοῦν ἐν μὲν τοῖς φυσικοῖς ἀνθρώποις (read ἄνθρωπο, approved by SCHWEGLER and BONITZ) ἀνθρώπος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀπὸ διανοιας τὸ εἶδος ἢ τὸ ἐναντίον, τρόπον τινά τρία αἰτία ἂν εἴη, ἢ δὲ τότε ἱατρή ὑγιεία γάρ πως ἡ ἱατρική, καὶ οἰκίας εἶδος ἢ οἰκοδομική, καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀνθρώπου γεννᾷ· c. 3 *fin.*: ἢ γὰρ ἱατρικὴ τέχνη δ' λόγου τῆς ὑγιείας ἐστίν. Speaking of health again,
of Cause, necessary and final, in the operation of Matter and that of Form or concept. This is the only distinction, therefore, which we must regard as fundamental; that between formal, efficient and final causes is merely a secondary subdivision. For though the three are not always combined in the individual, yet in themselves and in their essence they are one, and it is only in the phenomena of sense that they are found separate. The created universe has several causes; the eternal has only one—the essential concept itself.

Again, as the Form is at once the efficient and the final force, so Matter as formless and indeterminate it is said in Gen. et Corr. i. 7, 324 b, 15, that as the ὁ ἐνέκα it is not πονητικόν.

1 For a fuller discussion on this, see pp. 319 sq. supra. At this point, it will be enough to refer the reader to Part. An. i. 1. Cf. p. 612, a, 1: εἰσίν ἄρα δύο αὕται: αὕται, τὸ θ' ὁ ἐνέκα καὶ τὸ ε' ἀνάγκης. The opposition is indicated in l. 17 in the words: ἄρχον γὰρ ἡ φύσις μᾶλλον τής ὑλῆς, with which cf. further the passages quoted in the foregoing note from Phys. ii. 8, and Part. An. i. 1.

2 For although in Gen. An. v. 1, 778, a, 34, the moving cause is classed along with the necessary and efficient, yet as Ritter, appealing to Phys. ii. 9, 200, a, 30, rightly remarks, the moving cause is not here considered by itself, but only as united with matter. Cf. also ibid. l. 14: ἐν γὰρ τῇ ὑλῇ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον, τὸ δ' ὁ ἐνέκα ἐν τῷ λόγῳ.

3 So that, as is remarked Phys. ii. 3, 195, a, 8, of two things each may be the cause of the other, but in a different sense: physical exercise, e.g., may be the efficient cause of health, health the final cause of exercise. This is the meaning of πολλάκις in Phys. ii. 7 (p. 356, n. 1).

4 Cf. Metaph. ix. 8, 1049, b, 17: τῷ δὲ χρόνῳ πρῶτερον [sc. ενέργεια δυνάμεως] ἄδει· τὸ τῷ εἴδει τῷ αὐτῷ ἐνέργοις πρῶτερον [i.e. every potentiality presupposes a similar actuality], ἀνισόμενος δ' ὧς· for, as this is explained, the seed indeed precedes the plant which springs from it, but this seed itself comes from another plant, so that it is still the plant that produces the plant. Ibid. vii. 9, 1034, b, 16: ἰδιὸν τῆς ὁσιάς . . . ὡς ἀνάγκη πρώτηρχειν ἐτέραν ὀσιὰν ἐντελεχεία ὀσιὰν ἡ ποιητέου, ὁδὸν ἐφ' ἡγεῖται ὁφ'ν.

5 Gen. An. ii. 6, 742, b, 33: ἀρχὴ δ' ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἀκώντοις τῷ τῇ ἑστίν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς γενομένοις ἓνθ' πλείον, τρόπον δ' ἄλλον καὶ οὐ πᾶσιν τὸν αὐτὸν· ἄν μία τὸν ἀρτιμὸν, οὗθεν κἀκινητός ἐστιν.

6 See p. 318 sq. supra.
is at once the passive subject of all impressions and the cause of all blind operations unregulated by any purpose. Matter alone can receive impressions, for all πάθος is a process of determination, and nothing is susceptible of such a process but that which is not yet determined: nothing, that is, but the indeterminate and therefore determinable—in other words, nothing but Matter, which can exhibit every activity and every quality, for the simple reason that, taken in itself, it has no quality or operative force. But though Matter is wholly devoid of any such active and positive force, Aristotle nevertheless attributes to it every obstruction to the plastic energy exercised by Form. To what other source, indeed, could this be traced? And so, since Form always works with a purpose, it is in Matter that we must seek the ground of all phenomena that are independent of this final purpose and antagonistic to it, the principle of blind natural necessity and chance.

The first of these obstructive forces is to be explained by Nature’s need of certain materials and the consequent dependence of her creatures upon the same. Though this material element is in no sense efficient cause, yet it is an indispensable condition of the realisation of Nature’s ends. Though it is not necessary in itself, it is so conditionally: for if a certain particular being has to be pro-

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1 Gen. et Corr. i. 7, 324, b, 4: ὡσα μὲν οὖν μὴ ἐν ὠλὴ ἔχει τὴν μορφὴν, ταῦτα μὲν ἀπαθῆ τῶν ποιητικῶν, ὡσα δ’ ἐν ὠλῃ, παθητικά. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ὠλὴν λέγομεν ὁμοίως ὡς εἰπεῖν τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι τῶν ἀντικειμένων ὑποτερομοῦν, ὅσπερ γένους ὑν. ibid. i. 18: ὡς ὠλὴ ἡ ὠλὴ παθητικάν; ii. 9, 335, b, 29: τῆς μὲν γὰρ ὠλῆς τὸ πάθημα ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ κινεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ κινεῖν καὶ ποιεῖν ἐτέρας δυνάμεως. Of Matter as moved and Form as mover we shall have more to say immediately. How exclusively passivity was limited by Aristotle to Matter, appears especially in his anthropology.
duced certain particular materials must be ready to hand. For the same reason, the extent to which Nature

1 Plato had already sharply distinguished the αἰτία from the συναίτια, the efficient causes (ὅσον γίγνεται τι) from the indispensable conditions (ἄνευ ὧν οὐ γίγνεται); cf. Dir. i. 612 sqq. Aristotle also adopts this distinction. His whole view of nature turns on the opposition between design and natural necessity, between what is required by the conception or form of a thing and what proceeds from the nature of its material: the former is the δὴ τὸ, the latter the οὐδὲν ὧν; the former is independent and unconditioned, the latter is for a purpose and conditionally necessary. To these two there is added a third kind of necessity, viz. compulsion, which, however, does not further concern us here (upon this as distinguished from the necessity of the conception, cf. Phys. viii. 4, 254, b, 13; An. Post. ii. 11, 94, b, 37; Metaph. v. 6, 1015, a, 26 sqq., vi. 2, 1026, b, 27, xi. 8, 1051, b, 33) Cf. Metaph. xii. 7, 1072, b, 11: τὸ γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον τοσταυχῶς, τὸ μὲν βιά ὧτι παρὰ τὴν ὀρμήν, τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἄνευ τοῦ εἴ, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐνδεχόμενον ἄλλως ἀλλ᾽ ἀπλῶς. Prior. An. i. 1, 633, b, 21: τὸ δ᾽ εἴ ἀνάγκης οὐ πάσιν ὑπάρχει τοῖς κατὰ φύσιν ὑμῖν . . . ὑπάρχει δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀπλῶς τοῖς ἀδίσοις, τὸ δ᾽ εἴ ὑπόθεσας καὶ τοῖς ἐν γενέσει πάσιν. Ibid. 642, a, 1: εἰσὶν ἄρα διὸ ἂν ἄρτι αὐτὰ, τὸ δ᾽ οὐ ἐνεκα καὶ τὸ δὲ ἀνάγκης· πολλὰ γὰρ γίνεται ὦτι ἀνάγκη. Ισως δ᾽ ἄν τις ἀπορησίας ποιῶν λέγουσιν ἀνάγκην οἱ λέγουσιν εἰς ἀνάγκης· τῶν μὲν γὰρ διὸ τρόπων οὐδέτερον οἶδ᾽ τινὶ ὑπάρχειν, τῶν διαφορμεῖν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν [the necessity imposed by the conception and that of compulsion]. ἦστι δ᾽ ἐν γε τοῖς ἔχουσι γίνεσιν ἡ τρίτη. Λέγομεν γὰρ τὴν τροφὴν ἀνάγκην τι κατ᾽ οὐδέτερον τούτων τῶν τρόπων, ἀλλ᾽ οὐΚ οἶδον τε ἄνευ ταύτης εἶναι. τοῦτο δ᾽ ἔστιν ὁπετερ ἐξ ὑπόθεσεως. Gen. An. i. 4, 717, a, 15: πάν ὡς φύσις ἡ διὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ποιεῖ ἡ διὰ τὸ βελτίωσιν; ii. 6, 743, b, 16: πάντα δὲ ταῦτα, καθάπερ εἰσομαι (713, a, 36), λεκτέων γίνεσθαι τῇ μὲν εἰς ἀνάγκης, τῇ δ᾽ οὐκ εἰς ἀνάγκης ἀλλ᾽ ἑκείκα τινος; iv. 8, 776, b, 32: δὲ ἀμφιτέρας τὰς αἰτίας, ἑνεκά τε τοῦ βελτίωσιν καὶ εἰς ἀνάγκης. Phys. ii. 2 inif.: τὸ δ᾽ ἐς ἀνάγκης πότερον εἰς ὑπόθεσιν ὑπάρχει καὶ ἀπλῶς; usually we look for the necessity in the nature of the material parts; ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ὧν οὐκ ἄνευ μὲν τούτων γέγοσιν, οἱ μὲν τοια ὄντα τινὰ πάντων ὡς δὴ ἔλθων . . . ὡμιάς δὲ καὶ εἰς τοῖς ἄλλοις πάσιν, εἰ ὥσιος τὸ ἑκείκα τὸν ἑστίν, οὐκ ἄνευ μὲν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐχόμενον τὴν φύσιν, οὐ μεντοι γε διὰ ταῦτα ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἐλθῶν . . . εἰς ὑπόθεσιν δὴ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ὥς τέλος· ἐν γὰρ τῇ ὑλῇ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον, τὸ δ᾽ οὖν ἔνεκα ἐν τῷ μὲν ἀπλῶς. De An. i. 20: φαινομένοι δὴ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις εἰς τοῖς φυσικοῖς τὸ ὡς ἐλθέται λέγεσθαι καὶ αἰ κινήσεις αἱ ταύτης. De An, ii. 4, 416, a, 9: δικεὶ δὲ τῶν ὡς τοῦ πυρὸς φύσις ἀπλῶς αἰτία τῆς τροφῆς καὶ τῆς αὐξησεως εἶναι . . . τὸ δὲ συναίτιον μὲν ποιὸς ἐστίν, οὐ μὴν ἀπλῶς γε αἰτίον, ἀλλὰ κάλλους ἡ ψυχῆ. Gen. et Conv. ii. 9, 335, b, 24 sq.: it is not the matter which is the producing cause, for it is merely passive and moved; the κυριωτέρα
can realise her end—the mode and the perfection in which the Form manifests itself—are conditioned by the character of these materials: that is, by their capacity for receiving and exhibiting the Form. Just in proportion as this capacity is wanting, will the formations be imperfect and degenerate from their true patterns and the proper purposes of nature, or perhaps we shall have productions which serve no end at all, but are developed incidentally as the result of some natural coherence and necessity, in the course of the realisation of Nature’s purposes.¹

¹ Part. An. iv. 2, 677, a, 15: "καταχρηται μὲν ὁδὴ ἐνιοτε ἡ φύσις εἰς τὸ ὁφέλημα τοῦ περιττόμασιν, οὐ μὴν διὰ τὸ ποιῆται γενεὰν πάντα ἔνεκα τίνος, ἀλλὰ ποιῶν ἐντὸν ταὐτότητα, τότε ἐναγκάζεται συμβαίνει διὰ ταύτα πολλά." So according to Gen. An. v. 1, 778, a, 30, only that which has an end to serve which appears universally in all nature’s productions or in certain classes of them; individual varieties on the other hand have none: the eye has an end to serve; the fact that it is blue has none: *ibid.* c. 8 fin., mention is made of phenomena ἵνα γίνονται συμβαίνει μὴ ἐνεκά τοῦ ἀλλ’ ἐν ἀνάγκης καὶ διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν τὴν κυπτήριαν. According to *Metaph.* viii. 4, 1044, b, 12, the eclipses of the moon appear to serve no end; ἦν δὲ Ζεὺς ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ στότου αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἀνάγκης: τὸ γὰρ ἀναχθέν ψυχῆν ἀνανεῖ καὶ τῷ ἑαυτῷ θαυμάζει.
We shall hereafter have occasion to observe how deeply this view is rooted in Aristotle's whole theory of Nature, and how many phenomena he accounts for by the resistance of Matter to Form. Again the same property of Matter is also the source of all contingency in Nature. 1 By 'the contingent,' 2 Aristotle, who was the first carefully to examine this conception, 3 understands in general all that can equally well belong or not belong to a thing: that which is neither contained in its essence nor supported by the necessity of its being, 4 and which accordingly is neither necessary nor normal. 5 That we must assume the existence of

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1 Whether also of all freedom of choice in man, from which alone contingent effects really spring (to it alone at least these are referred in De Interpr. c. 9, 18, b, 31, 19, a, 7), Aristotle does not tell us. In Phys. i. 5, 196, b, 17, sq., he expressly excludes free purpose, as such, from the domain of τύχη.

2 Συμβεβηκός in the narrower sense, τὸ ἀπὸ τύχης.

3 As he says himself, Phys. ii. 4.

4 An. Post. i. 4, 73, a, 34, b, 10: Aristotle calls καθ' αὐτὰ, ὅσα ὑπάρχει τε ἐν τῷ τί ἐστὶν . . . καὶ ὅσοι τῶν ἐνυπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ἐνυπάρχουσι τῷ τί ἐστὶ δηλοῦντι . . . ὅσα δὲ μηδετέρα ὑπάρχει, συμβεβηκότα; further, τῷ μὲν δὲ αὐτῷ ὑπάρχον ἐκάστῳ καθ' αὐτῷ, τὸ δὲ μὴ δὲ αὐτῷ συμβεβηκός.

5 Metaph. v. 30, init.: συμβεβηκός λέγεται ὃ ὑπάρχει μὲν τινι
such a principle, and not ascribe everything to the operation of necessity, Aristotle proves in the first place by the witness of universal experience, and in particular by the fact of the Freedom of the Will. But he finds the true rationale of all contingency in the fact that all finite existence contains the potentiality of being and not-being, and that Matter as the indeterminate renders opposite determinations possible. It follows from this property of Matter that many things happen independently of the final action of efficient causes. The latter have always a definite object in view, but they frequently fail of its perfect accomplishment—owing to the indeterminate nature of the Matter which they use, while at other times, owing to the same disturbing cause, they incidentally produce results which they did not originally design. A contingent or accidental event is
caused by the diversion of free or compulsory purposeful action to results alien from its purpose through the influence of external circumstances. Now, since these disturbing circumstances are always found in the nature of the material means by which ends are realised, and in the system of nature to which these means belong, Contingency, in Aristotle's sense of the word, may be defined as the disturbance by intermediate causes of an activity directed to a purpose. But activity in obedience to a purpose is that by which the essence or conception of an object is realised. That which does not proceed from it is unessential; and there-

5, 196, b, 17: τῶν δὲ γινομένων τὰ μὲν ἔνεκά τοῦ γένεται, τὰ δὲ οὕτως... ἐστι δ' ἔνεκά τοῦ ὑπά τε ἀπὸ διανοίας ἀν πραξθείη καὶ ὡσά ἀπὸ φύσεως, τὰ δὲ τιμαύτα ὅταν κατὰ συμβεβηκός γένηται, ἀπὸ τύχης φαίνεται ὅτι... τὸ μὲν οὖν καθ' αὐτοῖς αἵρεσιν, τὸ δὲ κατὰ συμβεβηκός ἀἵρεσιν· ἀπειρὰ γὰρ ἂν τῷ ἐν συμβαῆ. It is chance, for instance, if one comes to a place for another purpose and is rewarded in a way he had not thought of; or if he (Metaph. v. 39) digs a hole and finds a treasure; or if he desires to sail to one place and is carried to another; or, generally, if from action directed to a definite end something else results, by reason of the intervention of external circumstances, than that which was intended (ὅταν μὴ τοῦ συμβαύνοις ἔνεκα γένηται, οὐ ἐξω τοῦ αἴτιον, Phys. ii. 6, 197, b, 19). If the action is one of voluntary choice (προαιρετῶν) such a chance (according to the passage just quoted from Phys. ii.) must be called τύχη, otherwise αὐτόματον, so that the latter is the wider conception. Both, however, stand equally opposed to purposed action; ἦταν ἐπειδὴ ἀὕριστα τὰ οὕτως αἴτια, καὶ ἡ τύχη ἀὕριστον (Phys. ii. 5, 197, a, 20).

1 Akin to this, but unimportant for our present investigation, is the coincidence in time of two circumstances between which no causal relation of any kind exists, e.g. a walk and an eclipse of the moon. Such a coincidence (which is the purest and simplest case of contingency) Aristotle calls σύμπτωμα, Divin. p. S. i. 462, b, 26 sqq.

2 See p. 356 sqq. supra.

fore Aristotle says that the contingent borders on the non-existent.¹ After what has been already said about the nature of Knowledge, it scarcely needs, therefore, to be explicitly stated that such a principle as Contingency can be no object of Science.

While it is obvious from what has just been said about the nature of Matter, that it is something far more primordial than might have been expected from the first definition given of its concept, this becomes still clearer from other considerations. From 'Matter' Aristotle is not contented with deducing merely what one is apt to consider as accidental and unessential, but also certain properties of things which essentially belong to the conception of them and contribute to determining their generic character. The distinction, for example, between male and female is said to be merely one of material;² and yet procreation, which depends upon it,³ occupies a most important place in the scheme of the philosopher.⁴

¹ Anal. Post. i. 6, 75, a, 18, c. 30, 33 init. Metaph. ibid. 1026, b, 2, 1027, a, 19 (xi. 8).
² Metaph. vii. 5, 1030, b, 21, sex is reckoned one of the essential attributes, the καθ' αὐτὰ υπάρχουσα; but x. 9 init. it is asked διὰ τί γυνὴ ἄνδρος οὐκ εἶδει διαφέρει... οὐδὲ ζῷον θῆλυ καὶ ἄρρεν ἔτερον τῷ εἶδει, καίτοι καθ' αὐτὸ τοῦ ζῴου αὐτῆ διαφορά καὶ οὐχ ἢς λευκότης καὶ μελανία, ἀλλ' ἢ ζῷον, καὶ τὸ θῆλυ καὶ τὸ ἄρρεν υπάρχει; and the answer is that a distinction in kind rests on ἐναντίότητες ἐν τῷ λόγῳ alone, not on those ἐν τῇ δικῇ, τὸ δὲ ἄρρεν καὶ θῆλυ τοῦ ζῷου οἰκεῖα ἐν πίθο, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ δικῇ καὶ τῷ σώματι. διὸ τὸ αὐτὸ σπέρμα θῆλυ ἢ ἄρρεν γίγνεται παθὸν τι πάθος. Cf. Gen. An. iv. 3, 767, b, 8 sqq., ii. 3, 737, a, 27, and p. 353, n. 4, supra.
³ De An. ii. 4, 415, a, 26, and other passages. That this is incompatible with the statement in Metaph. x. 9, was rightly remarked by ENGEL, Ueb. d. Bedeut. d. ἑλή Arist., Rhein. Mus. N.F. vii. 410.
⁴ It is even stated, Gen. An. i. 2, 716, a, 17, b, 8, that the sexual distinction, depending as it does on difference of function, is κατὰ τὸν λόγον and is one οὐ κατὰ τὸ τυχόν μόριον οὐδὲ κατὰ τὴν τυχούσαν δύναμιν.
Similarly we shall have occasion to observe that the lower animals, which Aristotle always represents as even in their physical nature different in kind from human beings, are yet at the same time to be regarded as imperfect formations which have been prevented (owing, we must suppose, to the properties of Matter) from developing into the form of man. Furthermore, it is to Matter that we must refer the mutability and corruptibility of earthly things; and the same must be

1 This follows from the general consideration that all Change and Becoming presupposes material (see p. 342, n. 2 sq. supra) which, as δυνάμει ὄν contains the possibility alike of being and not-being (Gen. et Corr. ii. 9; Metaph. vii. 7, and other passages. Cf. p. 345, n. 5), as Aristotle himself distinctly says. Cf. Metaph. vii. 15 (see p. 220, n. 2, supra), ix. 8, 1050, b, 7: ἐστι δ' οὕδε δυνάμει αἰῶνων. [Or as this is expressed Phys. iii. 1, 203, b, 30: εὐδέχεσθαι γὰρ ἢ εἰστι οὐδὲν διαφέρει ἐν τοῖς ἁθίδιοις.] λόγος δὲ δόδε. πῶς δύναμις ἀνα τῆς ἀντιφάσεως ἐστιν [the possibility of being involves the possibility of not being, &c.]

... τὸ ὁρα ὑπατῶν εἶναι εὐδέχεται καὶ εἶναι καὶ μὴ εἶναι(cf. p. 234, n. 1),

... τὸ δ' εὐδέχεσθαι μὴ εἶναι φθαρτὸν (similarly, xiv. 2, init.).
The motion, therefore, of every perishable thing is combined with effort, for only thus is the possibility of the opposite state (the δύναμις τῆς ἀντιφάσεως, ll. 25, 30 supra) overcome: ἡ γὰρ οὕτω ὑλή καὶ δύναμις ὁδὸς, ὅλ' ἐνεργεία, αἰτία τούτου; viii. 4, 1041, b, 27: οὐδὲ παντὸς ὑλή ἐστιν ἀλλ' ὅσων γένεσις ἐστὶ καὶ μεταβολὴ εἰς ἐλάλημα. ὅσα δ' ἰνευ τοῦ μεταβαλλέων ἔστιν ἡ μὴ, ὅικ ἐστι τούτων ὑλή; vii. 10, 1035, a, 25: ὅσα μὲν ὅνω συνειλημμένα τὸ ἔδος καὶ ἥ ὑλή ἐστιν ... ταῦτα μὲν φθειρείται εἰς ταῦτα ... ὅσα δὲ μὴ συνειλήμπται τῇ ὑλῇ, ἀλλ' ἰνευ ὑλῆς ... ταῦτα δ' οὐ φθειρεῖται ἡ ὑλῆς ἡ οὕτως οὕτω γε (similarly it is said of immaterial forms, xii. 3, 1070, a, 15: οὐδ' ἐστὶ γένεσις καὶ φθορά τούτων, ἀλλ' ἄλλων τρόπων εἰσὶ καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶν οἰκία τε ἡ ἰνευ ὑλῆς καὶ ὑγίεια καὶ πᾶν τὸ κατὰ τέχνην: not the form as such, as we must understand 1. 22, but only its union with this or that material has a beginning and end); xii. 1, 1069, b, 3: ἡ δ' αἰσθητὴ οὐσία μεταβλητὴ; 2, 1069, b, 21: πῶς τοῦ ὑλῆν ἔχει ὅσα μεταβαλλεῖ. Longit. v. 3, 465, b, 7: ὃ μὴ ἐστὶν ἐναντίον καὶ ὅποι μὴ ἐστὶν ἀδύνατον ἐν εἰς φθαρμαίν. But we may not infer from this the indestructibility of any material thing: ἀδύνατον γὰρ τῷ ὑλῆν ἔχοντι μὴ ὑπάρχειν πως τὸ ἐναντίον. πάντες μὲν γὰρ ἔνειναι τὸ θερμὸν ἢ τὸ εὐθύν ἐνδεχέσθαι, πᾶν δ' εἶναι ἀδύνατον ὡς θερμόν ἢ εὐθύν ἢ λευκόν· ἐσται γὰρ τὰ πάθη κεχωρισμένα [· for in this case these qualities would be independent exist-
said of all badness and imperfection, although the per-

crances ²). ei ὀὖν, ὅταν ἀμα ἢ τὸ ποιητικόν καὶ τὸ παθητικόν, ἀεὶ τὸ μὲν ποιεῖ τὸ δὲ πάσχει, αὐτόνων ἢ μεταβάλλειν. De Caelo, i. 12, 283, a. 29: nothing that is without beginning can have an end, and nothing that is without end can have had a beginning, since this could only be if it were its nature at some time to be, at another not to be. τῶν δὲ τοιούτων ἢ αὐτὴ δύναμις τῆς ἀντιφάσεως καὶ ἡ ὅλη αὐτὰ τοῦ ἂν εἶναι καὶ μὴ. ¹

¹ Metaph. ix. 9, 1051, a, 15; Aristotle seems, indeed, to assert the very opposite of this: ἀνάγκη δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κακῶν τὸ τέλος καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν εἶναι χειρὸν τῆς δύναμεος. τὸ γὰρ δυνάμεον ταῦτα ἀμφο τάναντι. δὴ λογο ὅτι εὖτ᾽ εἶστι τὸ κακὸν παρὰ τὰ πράγματα. ὅστερον γὰρ τῇ φύσει τὸ κακὸν τῆς δύναμεος. But this only means that since every δύναμις contains the possibility of opposite determinations (see p. 254, n. 1, supra) to what is merely δυνάμει ὅν we cannot attribute one of two mutually exclusive qualities, such as good and bad, as the Platonists had done in explaining matter as evil (cf. Dir. i. 642, 6, 721, 737). Nevertheless, the ultimate cause of evil can only reside in the δυνάμει ὅν, in other words, in matter, and this is indicated by Aristotle himself when, in the passage just quoted, he proceeds: οὐκ ἄρα ὅτι ἐν τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῖς ἄδιδοις οὐδὲν ἐστὶν οὐτε κακόν οὐτέ ἀμάρτημα οὐτέ διειρθαμένον καὶ γὰρ η ἀναφέρα τὰς κακῶν ἐστίν. There is no imperfection in the eternal, since it exists continually ἐνεργεία, and therefore excludes the possibility of opposites, since its conception has for ever been realised in it and will always continue to be realised. Evil and imperfection, on the other hand, consist in nothing else than a discrepancy between the concept of a thing and its actual state. While, therefore, on the one hand, the δυνάμει ὅν cannot be itself evil, yet is it, on the other hand, the ultimate cause and condition of it. Accordingly Aristotle himself speaks (Phys. i. 9, 192, a, 15) of the κακοποιῶν of the ὅλη. He admits that it is not evil in itself and in its essence, but only in a secondary sense, and in so far as, being without form, it lacks also the quality of goodness (cf. p. 324, n. 5, and p. 341, n. 1). But it is precisely upon this want and this indeterminateness that the possibility of its turning out bad as well as good depends. Eternal reality excludes evil, since it has neither matter at all, or one which, as perfectly definite and formed, is incapable of opposite determinations — while mutability and change, on the other hand, are sure indications of evil and imperfection. (On this subject cf also Eth. Ν. vii. 15, 1154, b, 28: μεταβολὴ δὲ πάντωΝ γλυκύτατον, κατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν, διὰ πονηρίαν τιά. ὅπερ γὰρ ἀνθρωπος εὐμεταβάλλος δο πονηρός, καὶ ἡ φύσις ἢ δεισμένη μεταβολῆς· οὐ γὰρ ἀπλὴ ὁὐδ' ἐπεικισθ. And so we shall find that Aristotle traces all imperfect forms of natural existence to the resistance which the matter offers to the form: and by a parity of reasoning he would have been forced to refer the
feet and imperishable heavenly bodies are no less formed of a definite material.\(^1\) In Matter alone we must seek for the cause of change and motion, which result from an innate striving of Matter after Form.\(^2\) Matter, finally, is the source of individual existence, in all those things at least which are formed of the union of Matter and Form. Aristotle certainly did not treat of the principle of Individualisation with the universality and definiteness that we could have wished: and thereby he bequeathed to his followers in the Middle Ages a rich opportunity for scientific controversy. We shall find hereafter that, in addition to corporeal beings, he recognises in the Deity, the spherical spirits and the rational part of man, incorporeal beings free from any taint of Matter, which we must nevertheless regard as being also individual existences.\(^3\) Yet when the Form becomes actual in any material, it is the latter alone which explains why the source of moral evil to the body, which in his general scheme is alone passive and changeable, had he not, as we shall see hereafter, left this question wholly vague.

\(^1\) Aristotle himself has not overlooked this objection. He meets it (Metaph. viii. 4, 1044, b, 6) with the remark: \(\epsilonπι \ δε \ των \ \φυσικων \ μεν \ \alpha\deltaιαν \ \chiει \ \thetaυγος, \ \xiων \ \gammaαρ \ \epsilonνα \ \οικ \ \epsilonχει \ \υλην, \ \ η \ \ου \ \ταιατη \ \(\text{as the \ φυσικα και \ γεννηται \ ο\'σιαι} \) \ \Alphaλα \ \mu\'ονον \ \κατα \ \tauοπον \ \kωνη\').. Similarity xii. 2, 1069, b, 24. The ether, for instance, of which the heavens and the heavenly bodies consist, is said to have no \(\epsilonναντιωσις\) and therefore to be subject to no change in its substance. It has none of the qualities on which rest the mutual opposition of the elements and their transformation into one another (cf. p. 358 sqq.). The question is, how it \(\text{can be so, if it is really matter and if all matter is a} \ \delta\nu\'αμεν \ \alpha\nu \ \text{and all } \delta\nu\'αμεν \ \text{contains the possibility of opposite states.} \)

\(^2\) On this, more \textit{infra}.

\(^3\) The solution which the Schoolmen in their doctrine of angels devised, to the effect that each of these pure spirits, as specifically different from every other and itself the only member of the species, is therefore at once specifically and numerically single, is nowhere suggested by Aristotle.
Form is never present in it except under certain limiting conditions and with certain definite properties, which are not contained in the Form as such—that is, in the pure Concept of the thing. The Form or Concept is always a Universal,\(^1\) denoting not a thing but a kind,\(^2\) and capable of being thought, but not of existing, by itself apart from things.\(^3\) Between the Individuals into which the *infima* species resolve themselves no difference of kind or Form any longer exists,\(^4\) and consequently they must be distinguished from one another by their Matter.\(^5\) Aristotle is unable to apply this principle unwaveringly\(^6\) through-

1. See p. 219, n. 4, and p. 221, *supra*; and upon *eidos* as the object of the conception see notes on pp. 216 and 341, &c., and cf. p. 173, n. 2.

2. *Metaph. viii.* 8, 1033, b, 21: the form is not something apart from definite material things, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοιώνδε σημαίνει, τὸδὲ καὶ ὁφραμένον οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ ποιεῖ καὶ γενεῖ ἐκ τούτῳ τοιώνδε. But this is itself the distinctive mark of universality; see pp. 333, &c. *supra.*


4. See notes at pp. 216, 221, &c. *supra.*

5. *Metaph.* vii. 8 *infra.* (cf. c. 10, 1035, b, 27 sqq.): the form unites with the matter, τὸ δ’ ἔστιν ἵδιν τὸ τοιώνδε εἰδῶς ἐν ταύτῃ ταῖς σαρκὶς ὁτοῖς Καλλίας καὶ Σωκράτης καὶ ἑτερον μὲν διὰ τὴν ὑλήν, ἑτέρα γὰρ, ταύτῳ δὲ τῷ εἰδῶς: ἄτομον γὰρ τὸ εἰδῶς; x. 9, 1058, a, 37: ἐπειδὴ ἐστὶ τὸ μὲν λόγος τὸ δ’ ὑλή, διαμιᾶν ἐν τῷ λόγῳ εἰδῶς ἐναντιότητι εἰδεὶ ποιοῦσι διαφορὰν, δοσι δ’ ἐν τῷ
out; but it is clear that his system leaves no room for

essence of several individual things; on the contrary, the
former always resolves itself finally into the latter. *Metaph.*
xii.5, 1071, a, 27, it is said: καὶ τῶν ἐν ταύτῃ εἰδεί έτερα [sc. τὰ στοιχεῖα ἐστίν], οὐκ εἰδεί, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τῶν καθέκαστων ἄλλο, ἡ τε σὴ ἔλγη καὶ τὸ κινήσαν καὶ τὸ εἴδος καὶ ἡ ἐμὴ, τὰ καθόλου δὲ λόγῳ ταυτά. While, however, accord-
ing to this passage everyone has an εἴδος of his own different from that of everyone else, still the one does not differ from the other in kind. They will differ from one another, therefore, only in so far as they belong to different subjects: or in other words, in their actual embodiment, not in their char-
acter—ἀρτιφαὶ, not εἰδεί. *Metaph.* vii.3 (cf. p.372,n.3),1029, a, 1, it is said: the name οὐσία seems to belong in the first place to the ὑποκείμενον πρώτων· ταύτων δὲ τρόπων μὲν τινα, ἡ ὕλη λέγεται, ἄλλων δὲ τρόπων ἡ μορφή, τρίτων δὲ τὸ ἐκ τούτων. Since, then, by ὑποκείμενον or substance the indi-
vidual thing as the subject of all its predicates is elsewhere under-
stood (cf. pp.332sq., 300, &c.), we should naturally refer μορφή here to the form of the individual thing *qua* individual. But from the further explanation, c. 8, it appears that this μορφή ἐν τῷ αἰσθητῷ (1033, b, 5), this ἦς εἴδος ἢ οὐσία λεγόμενον, is only the un-
realised form which first makes this definite thing into a thing which is defined in this or that way (τὸ ὀδόντος,1.23) in the actual thing, *i.e.* in the matter, but which on the other hand itself stands related to individual things as man is to

Callias or Socrates. The only ground of individuality lies in the matter: ἐν παντὶ τῷ γενομένῳ ἔλγῃ ἐνεστὶ, καὶ ἐστὶ [and there-
fore is] τὸ μὲν τὸ τὸ ὀδὸς τοῦ (l.18). Exactly the same is true of *Metaph.* viii. 1, 1042, a, 26 (ἔστι δ’ οὐσία τὸ ὑποκείμενον, ἄλλως μὲν ἡ ὕλη . . . ἄλλως δ’ ὁ λόγος καὶ ἡ μορφή, τινὲς τὰς τοῦ τῷ λόγῳ χωριστῶν ἐστὶ. τρίτον δὲ τὸ ἐκ τούτων, ὅδ’ γενέσεως μόνον καὶ φθορά ἐστι καὶ χωριστῶν ἀπάλως), and of the similar statement, *Metaph.* v. 8 (see p.372,n.2,infra). The form is a τὸ ὀδὸς in so far as it expresses a definite kind of being (man, beast, &c.); but it becomes the form of a definite individual thing in being united with a definite material. Considered apart from this union it is a universal, and it is not true to conclude, as HEBERT does (Form u. Mat. 56), from the fact that *Phys.* iv. 3, 210, b, 29 sq., seems to reckon the εἴδος as well as the ὕλη a constituent element of the thing, that it is 'the con-
stitutive principle of individual being.' This is true rather of the material in which the form is first individualised. Even *De

*An.* ii. 1, 412, a, 6 leads to no other conclusion. It is there said: λέγομεν δὴ γένος ἐν τὶ τῶν ὄντων τὴν οὐσίαν, ταύτης δὲ τὸ μὲν ὡς ὑλὴ, δ’ καὶ’ αὐτὸ μὲν οὐκ ἔστι τὸ ὀδὸς τὶ, ἐτέρον δὲ μορφή καὶ εἴδος, καθ’ ἦν μορφή λέγεται τὸ ὀδὸς τὶ, καὶ τρίτον τὸ ἐκ τούτων. The thing is called this definite thing, *i.e.* a thing of this kind, because its material has received this form; so the τὸ ὀδὸς τὶ means here also, not the individ-
ual, but the specific peculiarity. —Still less in such passages as
Every Individual

Every Individual

forms of sensible things. 1 Every Individual

Metaph. xii. 5, 1071, a, 20 (ἀρχή γὰρ τὸ καθ’ ἐκαστὸν τῶν καθ’ ἐκαστὸν. ἀθρωπὸς γὰρ ἀνθρώπου καθό- λου. ἀλλ’ ἐστὶν οὐδείς, ἀλλὰ Πηλεὺς Ἀχιλλέως, &c.) it is (as HERTLING says at p. 57), stated 'in plain words that the form, like all first principles, must be individual.' Pelleus, however, is not the mere form of an individual but a real individual; and he has become so by the union of the form man with this particular human body. Moreover, ἰδιὸν εἴδος (Metaph. xii. 5, 1071, a, 14) refers, not to the individual form of this or that man, but to the form man in general. So also the remark (De An. i. 3, 407, b, 23) that any soul may not enter any body, since all have their ἰδιὸν εἴδος καὶ μορφὴν, must be taken to refer to bodies and souls of different kinds, and to mean that the soul of a man may not wander into the body of a beast. And when Gen. An. iv. 1, 766, a, 66 sqq. explains the origin of the female sex on the ground that the male principle cannot transform the material into its ἰδιὸν εἴδος, it is not dealing with the individual type, but with the form of the male sex. It does not alter the case here that difference of sex according to Metaph. x. 9 (see p. 365, n. 2, supra) resides not in the οὐσία (= εἴδος) of the ζῷον but only in the ὄλη and the σῶμα: for even although it be true that to Aristotle this difference concerns not the essence of man or animal as such, but only the form of the body, yet it is not on that account a mere question of individuality. 1 HERTLING (Form u. Mat. 48 sq.) believes that the form in Aristotle must necessarily be an individual thing, since it gives to the individual its peculiar nature, and is thus distinguished from the essence (τὸ τι ὑπ' εἶναι), which is always, at least in sensible things, a universal. He admits, however, that these two conceptions, which in certain passages Aristotle undoubtedly recognises as distinct, are as a rule used interchangeably by him. It seems more correct to say, on the contrary, that it was Aristotle's conscious intention to identify the two, and to treat the form as well as the essence as a universal. If we find individual expressions in him which do not wholly harmonise with this view, this is an inconsistency which the actual facts of the case forced upon him. It is not the expression of the view with which he started and which was only afterwards obscured. That the essence of each thing lies in its form is to Aristotle an incontrovertible position, and is stated by him with the greatest definiteness. The opposite he never stated in express words; it can only be deduced from casual expressions to which we cannot certainly prove that Aristotle himself consciously attached this significance. As a matter of fact the boundary line between the essential marks which constitute the class conception, and the essential which constitute mere individual difference, is very impalpable. In every attempt to define it and to explain certain differences among things as class differences, others as individual varieties within the same class, we shall come upon cases in which a certain indefiniteness is
therefore implies a material element, and everything that has a body is an Individual. Aristotle uses the two terms 'object of sense' and 'individual' indifferently. If Matter is the cause of all this, it is impossible to suppose that it is distinguished from Form only by privation and non-existence: rather must it contribute something of its own to Form.

Matter, viewed in this light, must be rated at even inevitable. That Aristotle experienced this difficulty is undeniable: but it does not therefore follow that he did not make the attempt, and that he intended from those εἶδη which coincide with class conceptions to distinguish a second kind of εἶδη which represent, not what is common to the class, but what is peculiar to the individual. The truth is that there is no place in his scheme for such individual forms. For since according to the well-known view that the form has neither origin nor end (see p. 342—and this must hold also of the form which as τόδε τι is in an individual existence—see preceding note) the individual forms of sensible things, if there are such, must be in actual fact separable from the things whose form they are; but this in Aristotle's view is wholly inadmissible.

1 Metaph. vii. 11, 1037, a. 1: καὶ παντὸς γὰρ ὤλη τίς ἐστὶν ὁ μὴ ἐστὶ τῇ ἡ εἰναὶ καὶ εἰδὸς αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ ἀλλὰ τόδε τι. Ibid. xii. 8, cited p. 339, n. supra. This only refers, however, as has there been already remarked, to the individual members of an ἑιμικά species.

2 See e.g. Metaph. i. 6, 988, a. 1: Plato makes matter the source of multiplicity, καὶ τοιούτων συμβαίνει: γ' ἐπαντισί . . . οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ὄλης πολλὰ ποιοῦσιν . . . φαίνεται δ' ἐκ μίας ὄλης μ'/α τράπεζα: which, however, Plato did not deny, since it is just because the same material gives only one specimen, that material things constitute a plurality even when there is no distinction of kind between them—as Aristotle also holds.

3 Cf. Metaph. iii. 4 (cited p. 342, n. supra) where he says: if there were nothing but individual things, there would be nothing but sensible existence; xii. 3, 1070, a. 9: οὐσίας δὲ τρεῖς, ἡ μὲν ὄλη τόδε τι οὖσα τῷ φαινεθαι . . . ἡ δὲ φύσει (here = εἴδος) τόδε τι. εἰς ἡν, καὶ ἔξις τις ἐπὶ τρίτη ἤ ἐκ τοῦτον, ἢ καθ' ἑκάστα. De Celo, i. 9, 227, b, 30 sq. (cf. p. 219, n.): Form as such is something different from the material; and if, for instance, there existed only one single circle, the circle would still continue to be something different from this circle. The one would be the εἴδος, the other εἴδος ἐν τῇ ὄλη καὶ τῶν καθ' ἑκάστων, ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐστὶν δ' οὐράνιος αἰσθήτως τῶν καθ' ἑκάστων ἐν εἰς, τὸ γὰρ αἰσθητὸν ἄπαν ἐν τῇ ὄλη ὑπήρχειν. 'Individual reality' and εἴδος ἐν τῇ ὄλη here signify the same thing.
a higher value, when we recollect that Aristotle allowed substantiality in its full sense to the Individual alone. If the Individual alone is Substance, and if Form, as we have just seen, is always universal, and if therefore the true ground of individual existence is Matter—then we cannot escape the consequence that Matter supplies the ground also of substantial being, and that it is not pure Form, but the composite result of Form and Matter which alone is Substance. Indeed, since we have defined Substance as 'the substratum' \( \upsilon \omega \kappa e \imath \mu e o i \) and have also recognised in Matter the substratum of all Being; this would seem to give Matter the right to claim that it alone should be regarded as the primitive Substance of all things. Yet it is impossible for Aristotle to admit this. Full and original reality belongs to Form alone; Matter, on the contrary, is no more than the bare Potentiality of that whereof the Actuality is Form. Not only, therefore, is it impossible that Matter can be substantial, but from its union with Form there can be produced nothing higher than pure Form. Moreover, there are innumerable passages in which Aristotle expressly identifies Form with Substance. He declares that in all primitive and absolute existences, the intelligible essence is not different from the thing to which it belongs, so that it constitutes the Substance

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1 See pp. 331 sqq.
2 See pp. 300, 333, and notes.
3 See pp. 314 sqq.
4 E.g., Metaph. i. 3, 983, a, 27; iii. 4, 999, b, 12 sqq.; vii. 4, 1030, b, 5, c, 7, 1032, b, 1, 14 (εἶδος δὲ λέγω τὸ τί ἢν εἶναι Part. An. i. 1, 641, a, 25; Gen. ἐκάστον καὶ τὴν πρᾶτην οὐσίαν An. i. 1, 714, a, 5. Cf. p. 214, n.
5 Metaph. vii. 6 in answer to
of the thing. Further, he will not suffer anything else to be considered absolutely real except absolutely immaterial Form, or pure spirit. It is not a sufficient solution to recall the different senses in which the term Substance (οὐσία) is used,¹ since it is not here a question merely of the use of language but of the claim to actuality in the full and strict sense of the word. The question is whether we are to assign it to individual things as such, or only to their intelligible essence, i.e. to a Form which is unaffected by change in the individual thing and remains for ever self-identical. Here we detect a difficulty, or rather a contradiction, which threatens to shake the very foundations of the system.

Aristotle did not succeed in evading it altogether. In his Metaphysics he asks the question where we ought to look for the substance of things—in the Form, or in the Matter, or in the composite Whole produced by the question (1031, a, 15) πάντων ταῦτα ἐστιν ἢ ἔτερον τὸ τί ἢ

1 Cf. the following notes and Metaph. v. 8, 1017, b, 23: συμβάνει δὴ κατὰ δύο τρόπους τὴν οὐσίαν λέγεσθαι, τὸ θ' ὑποκειμένον ἐκ σατον, δὲ μηκέτι κατ' ἄλλο λέγεσθαι, καὶ δ' ἐν τῷ τί ὅν καὶ χωριστὸν ἢς ἢς [where, however, as Schwegler and Bonitz rightly remark upon this passage, we can only understand the λόγῳ χωριστὸν to be meant; on which cf. viii. 1; see p. 369, n. 6, συμβα]
the combination of both. But his answer is far from satisfactory. He admits that Matter cannot properly be termed Substance, yet, on the other hand, he does not venture to deprive it altogether of this title, since it is the substratum of all Being, the permanent amid change. Nor is it sufficient to maintain that Matter is substantial in a different sense from Form, the latter being actually, the former only potentially so; for how can we conceive of a Substance

τούτον δὲ ἐκάστον ἡ μορφὴ καὶ τὸ εἶδος.

1 VII. 3 init. (cf. at p. 370): we may use ‘substance’ in various ways: as equivalent to the τί ἐν ἔναι, the καθόλου, the γένος, the ὑποκείμενον. By the last, again, we may understand either the ἔνα or the μορφή or the composite product of both. Of these, however, the καθόλου, and with it the γένος (on the relation of which to the καθόλου, see p. 213 sq.), are quietly set aside, c. 13 (cf. p. 333, συγγεία) and since the μορφή coincides with the τί ἐν ἔναι there only remain the three above-mentioned significations of ὄντα. Cf. c. 13 init., viii. 1, 1042, a, 26 sqq.; ibid. c. 2; De An. ii. 1 (see p. 369, n. 6, συγγεία); Ind. Arist. 545, a, 23 sq.

2 Metaph. vii. 3, 1029, a, 27; after adducing several reasons in support of the view that the substance = the matter, he goes on: ἀδύνατον δὲ καὶ γὰρ τὸ χωριστὸν καὶ τὸ τόδε τι ὑπάρχειν δοκεῖ μάλιστα τῇ ὄντι, διὸ τὸ εἶδος καὶ τὸ ἐκ ἄμφοις ὄντα δύσειν ἃν ἐνεῖνα μᾶλλον τῆς ὑλῆς. Cf. further, p. 345 sqq.

3 Metaph. viii. 1, 1042, a, 32: ὅτι δ’ ἐστὶν ὄντα καὶ ἡ ὑλὴ δῆλον, ἐν πᾶσις γὰρ ταῖς ἀντικειμέναισι μεταβολαίς ἐστὶ τι τὸ ὑποκείμενον ταῖς μεταβολαῖς. Cf. p. 344. Ibid. ix. 7, 1049, a, 31: the substratum of the τόδε τι is ὕλη καὶ ὄντα ὑλικῆς; vii. 10, 1053, a, 1: ἐι οὖν ἐστι τὸ μὲν ὄν ὧν τὸ δ’ εἶδος τὸ δ’ ἐκ τούτων, καὶ ὄντα ἡ τῇ ὑλῇ καὶ τὸ εἶδος καὶ τὸ ἐκ τούτων. Phys. i. 9, 192, a, 3 (cf. pp. 342 sqq. and notes): ἦμεις μὲν γὰρ ὑλὴ καὶ στέρησιν ἐτέρων φαμέν εἶναι, καὶ τούτων τὸ μὲν ὄν ὧν εἶναι κατὰ συμβεβηκός, τὴν ὑλήν, τὴν δὲ στέρησιν καθ’ αὐτὴν, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐγγύς καὶ ὄνταν πως, τὴν ὑλήν, τὴν δὲ στέρησιν οὐδαμῶς. De An. ii. 1 (see p. 669, n. 6, συγγεία).

4 Metaph. viii. 1, 1042, a, 26: ἐστὶ δ’ ὄντα τὸ ὑποκείμενον, ἄλλως μὲν ἢ ὑλή, . . . ἄλλως δ’ ὁ λόγος καὶ ἡ μορφή, . . . τρίτον δὲ τὸ ἐκ τούτων; c. 2 init.: ἐπεὶ δ’ ἡ μὲν ἄσ πορευμένη καὶ ἢ ὑλή ὄντα ὁμολογεῖται, αὕτη δ’ ἐστὶν ἡ δυνάμεις, λοιπὸν τὴν ἢ ἐνέργειαν ὄνταν τῶν αἰσθήτων εἰπεὶ τίς ἐστιν. Ibid. fin.: διὰ εἰρήμενον τίς ἡ αἰσθητή ὄντα ἐστὶ καὶ πῶς . . . ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὡς ὑλή, ἢ δ’ ἢ μορφή, δι’ ἐνέργεια . . . δὲ τρίτη ἢ ἕκ τούτων; xiv. 1, 1088, b, 1 (against the Platonic doctrine of an abso-
which is merely potential: that is, an absolute existence which does not yet actually exist? If we grant that Form is the proper Substance of things, actual existence in the highest sense, and that as such it is opposed not only to Matter but also to the composite product of Matter and Form,¹ yet Aristotle has done nothing at all to show how this is possible, considering that Form in itself is always a Universal, and that the Individual is always burdened with Matter, and that Substance is originally individual Substance. In like manner he fails to tell us how mere Form can be the essence and substance of things which cannot be conceived apart from a definite material composition;² or again how Matter devoid of quality and determination can produce the individual determinateness of particular existences which are not related to each other as so many impressions of a die but are differentiated from one another qualitatively by definite properties. Finally, it is not easy to see why birth and extinction should pertain to things that are the joint product of Form and Matter, and yet not to Form

¹ Metaph. viii. 3 init.: ένδοτε λαμβάνει πότερον σημαίνει τό ἐνομα τὴν σύνθεσιν οὐσίαν ἦ τὴν ἐνέργειαν καὶ τὴν μορφήν, οἷον ἡ οἰκία πότερον σημεῖον τοῦ κοινοῦ ὑπὶ σκέπασμα ἐκ πλάνων καὶ λίθων ὡς κειμένων, ἐφ᾽ ἐνέργειας καὶ τοῦ εἴδους ὑπὶ σκέπασμα; vii. 3, 1029, a, 5: εἰ τὸ εἴδος τῆς ὀληρᾶς πρότερον καὶ μᾶλλον ὄν, καὶ τοῦ ἔξ ἀμφοῖν ἡ ἐφ᾽ ἐπίτερον ἐσταί; line 29: τὸ εἴδος καὶ τὸ ἔξ ἀμφοῖν οὐσία δοξείειν ἰν ἔργου μᾶλλον τῆς ὀληρᾶς. τὴν μὲν τοῖνοι εἰς ἀμφότερον οὐσίαν, λέγω δὲ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ὀληρᾶς καὶ τῆς μορφῆς, ἀφετέρους ἰστερὰ γὰρ καὶ δῆλη.

² Aristotle frequently distinguishes between conceptions of pure form and of form inherent in a definite material; the standing example of the latter is the σμόν as distinguished from the κοῦλον; so also axe, saw, house, statue, and even soul. Cf. Phys. ii. 1, 194, a, 12, ii. 9 fin. De An. i. 1, 403, b, 2, ii. 1, 412, b, 11. Metaph. vii. 5, c. 10, 1035, a, 1 sqq. b, 74, c. 11, 1037, a, 29.
or Matter separately. For even if we can suppose that Matter as such had no beginning, it is hard to imagine that the Forms of created things were uncreated, if they neither exist independently as Ideas nor are originally inherent in Matter. All these difficulties exhibit the same conclusion that we discerned in dealing with the notion of Substance. The fact is that Aristotle combines in his Metaphysics two different points of view, which he fails to harmonise. On the one side he adheres to the Socratico-Platonic principle that the true essence of things is to be found in their Concept, and this is always Universal. On the other side he acknowledges that this Universal has no existence apart from the Individual, which he therefore declares to be the Substance. He cannot explain how these two positions may coexist in one philosophy, and hence the above-mentioned contradictions arise. At one time the Form, at another the Individual which is the product of the union of Form and Matter, appears to be the Actual. Matter causes results incompatible with mere Potentiality. It is represented at the same time as indefinite Universality and as the ground of individual determinateness. So the un-

1 Metaph. vii. 15 cited at p. 219, n. 4, supra, and the passage from c. 10 cited at p. 366, n. 1; ibid. viii. 1, 1042, a, 29: τρίτον δὲ τὸ ἐκ τούτων [form and matter], οὐ γένεσις μόνον καὶ φθορά ἐστι; c. 3, 1043, b, 10: οὐδὲ δὴ ὁ ἀνθρώπως ἐστὶ τὸ ἔννοι καὶ δίπουν, ἀλλὰ τί δεῖ εἶναι ὁ παρὰ ταῦτα ἐστιν, εἰ ταῦτ' ὑπὲρ τίνος ἐστιν καὶ χάριον καὶ ὁ ἀνθρώπως ἐστιν, εἰ ταῦτ' αὕτην τοῦ εἶναι καὶ ὁ δὲ τοῦ ὁδοίαν λέγοιεν, ἀνάγκη δὴ ταύτην ἡ ἄδιδον εἶναι ὁ φθορά ἐν τῷ φθειρέσθαι καὶ γεγονέναι ἄνευ τοῦ γίγνεσθαι . . . τὸ εἰδῆς οὐδεὶς ποιεῖ οὐδὲ γεννᾷ, ἀλλὰ ποιεῖται τόδε γίγνεται δὲ τὸ ἐκ τούτων; c. 5 init.: ἐπει δ' ἐνα ἄνευ γενέσεως καὶ φθοράς ἐστι καὶ οὐκ ἐστιν, οἰον αὐτῷ στηγμα, εἰπερ εἰσὶν, καὶ δῶς τὰ εἰδη καὶ αἱ μορφαὶ, οὐ γάρ τὸ λευκὸν γίγνεται, ἀλλὰ τὸ ξύλον λευκόν. Cf. pp. 341 sqq., and notes there.
certainty goes on, until we cease to wonder that Aristotle's doctrine of Matter and Form, Particular and Universal, received the most various interpretations and supported the most contradictory assertions not only among the Greek Peripatetics but also and to a far greater extent among the logicians of the Middle Ages.

Yet the doctrine is of vital importance to the System. Aristotle finds the best solution of the difficulties which perplexed earlier philosophers in his distinction between Form and Matter, Potential and Actual. By means of this distinction he explains how Unity can also be Multiplicity; how the Genus and Differences form one Concept; how the many Individuals constitute one Species; how Soul and Body make one Being.\footnote{Cf. pp. 219, n. 2, 351, n. 1, and 369, n. 5.} It is this alone which enables him to solve the problem of Becoming, over which Plato as well as all others had stumbled. Indeed, the distinction of which we are speaking serves especially, as has been seen, for the elucidation of this problem. Form and Matter being related to each other as Actual and Potential, they are in a position of essential correlation; the notion of the Potential implies the possibility of its becoming Actual; the notion of the Actual implies that it is the Actuality of the Potential. Everything that is to become actual must be potential; and conversely everything that is potential must at some time or other become actual, since what is never to be actual cannot be called potential.\footnote{Aristotle, indeed (\textit{Metaph.} ix. 3) controverts the Megarian assertion that a thing is potential only so long as it is actual; but he forbids us also to say (\textit{ibid.} c. 4 init.) \textit{οὐδὲν ἔσται μὲν τοῦτῳ \ οὐκ ἔσται δὲ, since this could only}
by Potentiality any mere logical or formal but also real Potentiality. Matter is in itself or in its capacity that whereof the Actuality is Form; and consequently Matter of itself implies Form, requires Form, owns a natural inclination or longing (as Aristotle expresses it) for it, is provoked by it to move and develop itself.¹ On the other hand Form is that which gives completeness to Matter by realising its potential capacities; it is the Energy or Entelechy of Matter.² But the

be said of that which by its very nature could not be; but this could not be potential, and he therefore denies (as was pointed out at p. 366, n. 1) that in things of eternal duration there can be any potentiality without actuality.

¹ Cf. the passage, Phys. i. 9, quoted p. 344, n. 1. Matter is said by nature ἐφίεσθαι καὶ ὅργεσθαι τοῦ θείου καὶ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἐφετοῦ, and this is the principle upon which we must explain the movement of the world by God and of the body by the soul. Cf. such expressions as Metaph. xii. 7, 1072, b, 3: καὶ ἡ ἑρωμενήν; ibid. a, 26: τὸ ὀρέκτον καὶ τὸ νοητόν καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑπονόημαν. The longing referred to is no conscious desire, but a mere natural impulse, and is frequently referred to by Aristotle as the cause of the natural movements of bodies. Thus (Phys. ii. 1, 192, b, 18) we are told: a work of art οὐδεμίαν ὄρμην ἐχει μεταβολής ἔμφυτον, whereas the product of nature has. Cf. Metaph. v. 23, 1023, a, 8, where κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν and κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ὄρμην are parallel phrases; Anal. Post. ii. 11, 94, b, 37, where inner necessity, ἀνάγκη κατὰ τὴν φύσιν καὶ ὄρμην, is distinguished from compulsion, ἀνάγκη παρὰ τὴν ὄρμην, and the falling of a stone quoted as an example of the former (similarly Metaph. v. 5, 1015, a 26, b, 1, c. 23, 1023, a, 17 sq., xii. 7, 1072, b, 12; cf. Hertling, Met. u. Form, 91). Nevertheless we cannot but recognise in the use of these expressions the psychological analogy from which the terminology is borrowed, reminding us as it does of the earlier hylozoism.

² Aristotle as a rule makes no distinction between these two terms (see Trendelenburg, De An. 296 sq.; Schweigler, Arist. Metaph. iv. 221 sq., 173 sq.; Bonitz, Ind. Arist. 253, b, 35 sqq., also p. 348, n. supra), and if he seems to do so in individual passages, yet is the distinction of each from the other so loosely defined that in different passages the same is assigned to both. Thus motion is usually called the entelechecia of matter, the soul the entelechecia of the body (cf. Phys. iii. 1, 200, b, 26, 201, a, 10, 17, 28, 30, b, 4; viii. 1, 251, a, 9; De An. ii. i. 412, a, 10, 21, 27, b, 5, 9, 28, 413, a, 5 sqq., c. 4,
Entelechy of Matter or the actualisation of Potentiality is Motion. The correlation therefore of Form and Matter leads us to consider Motion and its Causes.

(3) **Motion and the first Cause of Motion.**

Aristotle has himself explained what he meant by the definition we have quoted. Motion is the Entelechy of that which exists potentially—in other words, it is energetic, and yet again it is said to differ from energy as the incomplete from the complete, so that only such activity as contains its own end in itself, e.g. sight, thought, life, happiness, is called entelecheia (κίνησις εἶναι), and so c. 8, 1050, a, 22. Also De An. ii. 5, 417, b, 4, 7, 16, 418, a, 4, entelecheia stands for the completed state. (That Metaph. xi. 9, 1065, b, 16, 33, repeatedly uses entelecheia where Phys. iii. 1 has ἐντελέχεια, is of no importance, on account of the spuriousness of the former passage.) Elsewhere motion is called ἐνέργεια ἀτέλης, ἐν τού ἀτέλος, and as such is distinguished from the ἀπλῶς ἐνέρ-
the process by which that which existed previously only in capacity is brought to reality, the determination of Matter by Form, the transition from Potentiality to Actuality. The movement of building, for example, consists in fashioning the materials of which a house can be made, into an actual house. But motion is the entelechy of potential existence only \textit{qua} potential and not in any other relation. The movement of the brass, for instance, out of which a statue is cast, does not concern it in so far as it is brass—\textit{for qua} brass it remains unaltered and has always had a certain sort of actuality—but only in so far as it contains the potentiality of being made into a statue. This distinction, however, can, it
is clear, be only applied to the case of special or particular movement; for such movement is always carried on in material that has already an actuality of some sort of its own. If, on the other hand, we take the general notion of movement, it may be defined as the process by which Potentiality is actualised, the development of Matter by Form, since the material qua material is mere Potentiality which has not yet in any respect arrived at Actuality. This definition includes all Alteration of every kind, all coming into being and destruction. It does not, however, apply to absolute origination and annihilation, for this would necessitate the birth or destruction of matter, which is never assumed by Aristotle.\(^1\) It follows from what we have said, that when he refuses to regard becoming and decaying as forms of motion, maintaining that though every motion is change, all change is not motion\(^2\)—this distinction must be accepted as a relative one which does not hold of the general idea of motion; and so Aristotle himself on other occasions\(^3\) employs motion and change as synonymous terms. The doctrine, however, of the different kinds of motion belongs to Physics.

We have seen that motion is intermediate between potential and actual being; it is Potentiality struggling into Actuality, and Actuality not yet freed from Potentiality—in other words, imperfect Actuality. It is distinguished from mere Potentiality by being an Entelechy, and from an Energy in its strictest sense by the fact that in Energy the activity which is directed

\(^1\) See pp. 341 sqq. supra.

\(^2\) *Phys.* v. 1, 225, a, 20, 34, and passim; see infra.

\(^3\) *E.g. Phys.* iii. 1, 201, a, 9
to an object has also attained its object—thought, for instance, is both a process of search and also a mental possession of the object of thought—whereas motion ceases in the attainment of the object, and is therefore only an unaccomplished effort.\(^1\) Hence each particular motion is a transition from one state of being into an opposite—from that which a thing ceases to be into that which it has to become. Where there is no opposite, there is also no change.\(^2\) Consequently all motion implies two principles—that which moves, and that which is moved, an actual and a potential being.

Mere Potentiality is unable to produce motion, for it lacks Energy; and so likewise is pure Actuality, since it contains nothing imperfect and undeveloped. Motion can only be conceived as the operation of the Actual or

\(^1\) Phys. iii. 2, 201, b, 27: τοί δὲ δοκεῖν ἀνδρίστως εἶναι τὴν κίνησιν αἰτίον ὅτι οὕτως εἰς δύναμιν τῶν ὑπότων οὕτω εἰς ἐνέργειαν ἔστι θείαι αἰτίνα ἀπλῶς· οὕτω γὰρ τὸ δυνατὸν ποιῶν εἰς κινεῖται ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὅτε τὸ ἐνέργεια ποιῶν, ἡ τε κίνησις ἐνέργεια μὲν τις εἰς δοκεί, ἀτελής δὲ· αἰτίον δ’ ὅτι ἀτέλεις τὸ δυνατόν, οὐ̂ ε ὅτι ἐνέργεια. It is therefore neither a στέρησις, nor a δύναμις. Nor an ἐνέργεια ἀπλὴ (So *Metaph. xi. 9, 1066, a, 17.) VIII. 5, 257, b, 6: κινεῖται τὸ κινητὸν· τούτο δ’ ἐστὶ δυνάμει κινοῦμεν ὡς ἐντελεχεῖα· τὸ δὲ δυναμές εἰς ἐντελεχείας βαδίζει, ἐστι δ’ ἡ κίνησις ἐντελέχεια κινητῶν ἀτέλεις· τὸ δὲ κινοῦ ἡ ἑνεργεῖα ἐστ’ ὅ. *Metaph. ix. 6, 1048, b, 17: ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν πράξεων ὁ ἐστὶν πέρας ύποδέμαι τέλος ἀλλὰ τῶν περὶ τὸ τέλος, οὖν τὸν ἵσχυανες ἡ ἵσχυανε, αὐτά δὲ ὅταν ἵσχυαν ἐντωσ ἐστὶν ἐν κινήσει, μὴ ὑπάρχοντα δὲν ἐνεκα ἡ κίνησις, οὐκ ἐστὶν τῶτα πράξεις ἡ ὁ τελεία γε’ ὁ γὰρ τέλος, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνη ἐνυπάληξε τὸ τέλος καὶ ἡ πράξις . . . οὐ γὰρ ἀμα βαδίζει καὶ βεβάδικεν, οὐ’ οἰκοδομεῖ καὶ ἐκοδικηκεν, &c. ἔστω δὲ καὶ ὅρι ἀμα τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ νοεὶ καὶ νεόρθηκεν: τὴν μὲν οὖν τοιαύτην ἐνέργειαν λέγω, ἐκείνην δὲ κ’ ἐν. Cf. c. 8, 1050, a, 23 sqq. and p. 379, n. 2, εὐμέρα ; De An. ii. 5, 417, a, 16: καὶ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ κίνησις ἐνέργεια τίς ἀτελής μέντοι; iii. 7, 431, a, 6: καὶ ἡ κίνησις τοῦ ἀτελοῦς ἐνέργεια ἢν, ἡ δ’ ἀπλῶς ἐνέργεια ἑτέρα ἡ τοῦ τετελεσμένου.

\(^2\) Phys. v. 1, 224, b, 26 sqq. 225, a, 10 ; *Metaph. viii. 1, 1042, a, 32, xii. 2, 1069, a, 13: εἰς ἐναντίωσις ὁν εἰς τὰς καθεκαστον αἱ μεταβολαί· ἀνάγκη δ’ μεταβάλλει τὴν ἤλπιν δυναμενὴν ἄμφω· ἐπεὶ δὲ διηττὸν τὸ ὅν, μεταβάλλει πάν ἐκ τοῦ δυναμεῖ ὑπότο εἰς τὸ ἐνέργεια ὅν. Cf. p. 342 sqq.
Form upon the Potential or Matter: even in that which moves itself we always find the motive force separate from what it moves, just as in living creatures the soul is different from the body, and in the soul itself, as we shall see below, the active part is different from the passive. While Becoming, therefore, is impossible without matter or potential being, some Actuality is not less indispensable as an antecedent and motive cause. Even in cases where an individual has developed itself from mere Potentiality to Actuality, and consequently the former principle precedes the latter in it, yet another individual must have come before it in actual existence. The organic individual is produced from seed, but the

1 *Phys.* iii. 2 (p. 383, n. 1), viii. 5, 257, b, 8; *Metaph.* ix. 8 esp. 1050, b, 8 sqq. xii. 3; *Phys.* vii. 1: ἀλλὰ τὸ κινούμενον ὑπὸ τινὸς ἀνάγκης κινεῖται: even in the case of that which apparently is self-moved, the material which is moved cannot be at the same time the moving cause, since if a part of it is at rest the whole of it must also be at rest; but neither can rest and movement in the self-moved be dependent on anything else. The true explanation is to be found in the above account, and *Phys.* iii. 2; *Gen. et Corr.* ii. 9: neither form in itself nor matter in itself explains becoming; τὸς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλος τὸ πάσχειν ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ κινεῖται, τὸ δὲ ποιεῖν καὶ κινεῖν ἐτέρας δυνάμεως. See further, p. 341 sqq.

2 See preceding note and *Phys.* iii. 4, 255, a, 12: it is impossible that a συνεχὲς καὶ συμφωνεῖ should be self-moved; γὰρ ἐν καὶ συνεχὲς μὴ ἀφῇ, ταύτη ἀπαθῆς [cf. *Metaph.* ix. 1, 1046, a, 28]: *κεχάριστα, ταύτη τὸ μὲν πέφυκε ποιεῖν τὸ δὲ πάσχειν. Nothing that is single, therefore, is self-moved, ἀλλὰ ἀνάγκη διηρήθη τὸ κινοῦν ἐν ἑκάστῃ πρῶς τὸ κινούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀψύχων ὀρᾶμαν, διὸν κινητὶ τὰν ἐμψυχον αὐτὰ ἀλλὰ συμβαίνει καὶ ταύτα ὑπὸ τινὸς ἀεὶ κινεῖται. γένοιτο δὲ ἀν φανερὸν διαφορὰς τὰς αἰτίας; c. 5, 257, b, 2; ἀδινατὸν δὴ τὸ αὐτὸ αὐτοῦ κινεῖ, κινεῖν αὐτὸ αὐτὸ· φέρουτο γὰρ ἐν ὀλίγον καὶ φέροι τὴν αὐτήν φοράς, ἐν ὑμν καὶ ἄτομων τῷ εἰδικῷ, &c., ἐτί διώρισται ὃτι κινεῖται τὸ κινητὸν, &c. (see p. 383, n. 1). Therefore, we certainly hear nothing in Aristotle of any 'Identity of Mover and Moved' (*Biese*, *Phil. d. Arist.* i. 402, 7, 481) nor does the existence of something which at the same time moves and is moved (*Phys.* iii. 2, 202, a, 3 and above) in any way prove it, if the above explanations are true.
seed is contributed by another individual—the egg is not antecedent to the hen.¹ Conversely, where an actual meets with a potential being, and no obstruction from without intervenes, then the corresponding motion is necessarily produced.² The object in which this process takes place is the thing moved or Matter; that by which it is effected is the motive power or Form. Motion, therefore, is the common function of both, though it takes

¹ Metaph. ix. 8, 1049, b, 24: ἀς έκ του δυνάμει ὑντος γίγνεται τά ἐνεργείαι ον ὑπὸ ἐνεργείας ὑντος, οἰον ἄνθρωπος εἷς ἄνθρωπον, μονιστὸς ὑπὸ μονιστοῦ, ἀς κινοῦντος τινος ἀρτοῦν. 1050, b, 3: φανερὸν ὅτι πρότερον τῇ οὐφα ἐνεργεία δυνάμεως... εἶ δὲ μελλέω γένεσιν καὶ φθορὰ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ δὲ εἶναι ἀς ἐνεργοῦν ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος. Gen. An. ii. 1, 734, b, 21: διοι ὀφείλει γίνεται ἡ τέχην ὑπ’ ἐνεργείας ὑντος γίνεται ἐκ τοῦ δυνάμει θαυμοῦν. Phys. iii. 2 fin.: εἰδὼς δὲ ἄς οἴσεται τι τὸ κίνουν, δέ ἐσται ἀρχὴ καὶ αἴτιον τῆς κινήσεως, ὅταν κινῆται, οἴον ἐντελεχεία ἄνθρωπος ποιεῖ ἐκ τοῦ δυνάμει ὑντος ἄνθρωπον ἄνθρωπον. Ibid. c. 7; viii. 9, 265, a, 22; Metaph. vii. 7, c. 9 fin., ix. 9 fin., xii. 7, 1072, b, 30 sqq.; De An. ii. 4 init. iii. 7 init.; cf. also p. 355–6, supra.

² Phys. viii. 4, 255, a, 34 sqq. Only an apparent exception to this is introduced by Metaph. ix. 5, where it is said (1047, b, 35): we must distinguish between irrational and rational forces;

κάκεινας... ἀνάγκη, ὅταν ὁς δύνανται [under the conditions which limit their activity and passivity] τὸ ποιητικὸν καὶ τὸ πάθητικὸν πλησίον ὑπεύθυνον, τοῦ μὲν ποιεῖν τὸ δὲ πάθεις, ἐκείνας δ’ οὐκ ἀνάγκη: αἴτια μὲν γάρ [the irrational] πᾶσαι μὲν ἔνοικοι ποιητική, ἐκείνα δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων, ὅσα ἀμα ποιήσῃ τάναντα (so that if necessity forced this power of choice to be exercised on both alternatives, opposite effects must be produced at one and the same time). For even in the case of the latter, so soon as the choice has been made, the result necessarily follows: ὅποτέρον γὰρ ἄν ὀφέγησιν κυρίως, τοῦτο ποίησε, ὅταν ὁς δύνανται ὑπάρχῃ καὶ πλησίας ἵ τῷ παθητικῷ (1048, a, 11); but the will must decide on the one side or the other, if the condition of action is to be present: for to produce opposite effects at the same time is impossible, οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχει αἴτιον τῇ δύναμιν οὐδ’ ἑστι τοῦ ἁμα ποιεῖν ἥ δύναμις (1. 22). Finally, it follows also that the effect is necessarily produced when the active and passive principles are in the condition ὁς δύνανται ποιεῖν καὶ πάθεις; and the general reasons of this have already been stated at p. 378–9.
opposite directions in each: the motive power excites the latent activity in the thing moved, while the thing moved realises it for itself. Aristotle conceives of the operation of the motive principle upon the thing moved as conditioned by continuous contact between them.

1 Phys. iii. 3, where this is discussed at length. V. 1. 224, b, 4, ibid. 1. 25: ἡ κίνησις οὐκ ἐν τῷ εἶδει ἀλλὰ ἐν τῷ κινουμένῳ καὶ κινητῷ κατ' ἐνέργειαν. vii. 3: the ἀλλοίωσις takes place only in the material thing. De An. iii. 2, 126, a, 2: εἰ δὲ ἑστιν ἡ κίνησις καὶ ἡ ποίησις καὶ τὸ πάθος ἐν τῷ ποιούμενῳ ... ἡ γὰρ τοῦ ποιητικοῦ καὶ κινητικοῦ ἐνέργεια ἐν τῷ πάσχοντι ἐγγίνεται. Ὑπὸ όμως ἀνάγκη τοῦ κινοῦν κινεῖται ... ἡ ποίησις καὶ ἡ πάθησις ἐν τῷ πάσχοντι ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἐν τῷ ποιοῦντi. See further p. 358-9.


3 Phys. iii. 2 fin.: ἡ κίνησις εἰσ-τελέσχει τοῦ κινητοῦ ἡ κινητῶν αὐτ-βάινει δὲ τοῦτο διέξει τοῦ κινητικοῦ, ὥσ' ἄμα καὶ πάσχει. vii. 1, 242, b, 21, vii. 2, init.: τὸ δὲ πρῶτον κινοῦν ... ἄμα τῷ κινουμένῳ ἐστὶ· λέγω δὲ τὸ ἄμα, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐστὶν αὐτῶν μεταξύ τούτων γὰρ κοινῷ ἐπὶ παντὸς κινουμένου καὶ κινοῦντος ἐστὶν—which is then shown to be true of all kinds of motion. Ibid. viii. 2, 255, a, 34, c. 1, 251, b, 1 sqq.; Gen. et Cor. i. 6, 322, b, 21, c. 9, 327, a, 1; Gen. An. ii. 1, 734, a, 3: κινεῖν τε γὰρ μὴ ἀπτόμενον ἀδύνατον; Metaph. ix. 5. Cf. n. 1 supra, and p. 387, n. 3. That this contact of the moving force with that which is moved, is conceived of by Aristotle as not merely a momentary one giving the first impulse only, but as lasting during the whole continuance of the motion, is obvious especially from his account of the motion of throwing. Here the motion of the thrown seems to continue after contact with the thrower has ceased. But this Aristotle cannot admit to be the case. He therefore assumes (Phys. viii. 10, 266, b, 27 sqq., 267, b, 11, cf. iv. 8, 215, a, 14; De Inven. 2, 459, a, 29 sqq.) that along with the thing thrown the thrower moves also the medium through which it moves (e.g. the air or water) and that the motion of the thing which is moved is communicated to it from this, when it has passed from the thrower. But since this motion continues after that of the thrower has ceased, while (according to his presupposition) the motion of the medium must cease simultaneously with that of the thrower, he adopts the curious solution that the medium can still produce motion even when it has itself ceased to be moved: οὐχ ἄμα παύεται κινοῦν καὶ κινοῦμενον ἀλλὰ κινουμένον μὲν ἄμα ὅταν δ' κινῶν παύωνται κινών, κινοῦν δὲ ἐτι ἑστιν (267, a, 5). The law of inertia, according to which motion persists until it is met by an opposing force, was not, therefore, known to him. How the natural motion of the elements, which carries each of these to its proper place, can spring from contact with a moving force, it would be hard to say. By what is said of these, however (Phys. viii. 4, 254, b, 33 sqq., De Carlo, iv. 3 fin.), it is
Indeed, this appears to him so necessary that he asserts even of what is absolutely incorporeal that it acts only through contact: even thought apprehends its object by touching it—the latter, however, is related to the thinking subject as Form to Matter—and in like manner God, as the first cause of motion, is said, as we shall shortly see, to be in contact with the world. But in what sense such expressions can be used of immaterial things, Aristotle has not further explained.

It follows from this that Motion is as eternal as Form and Matter, whose essential correlation it represents, and that it has neither beginning nor end. For if it had a beginning, the movens and the motum must either have existed before this beginning or not. If they did not exist, they must have come into being, and so a movement would have taken place before the first motion. If they did exist, we cannot suppose that they were at rest, since it was of their very nature to move. But if it be granted that they did move, some active force must have operated to endow them

not proved even that they are moved by anything else at all.

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1 Cf. p. 203, n. 3.
2 *Metaph.* xii. 9, 1074, b, 19, 29; *De An.* iii. 4, 429, b, 22, 29 sqq.
3 *Gen. et Corr.* i. 6, 322, b, 21: nothing can affect another without being in contact with it, and in the case of things which at the same time move and are moved, this contact must be mutual (323, a, 20 sqq.); *ἐστι δ* ὣς ἐνιστε φαμεν τὸ κατὰ ἀπέσθαι μόνον τοῦ κινομένου, τὸ δ ἀπόγεινον μὴ ἀπέσθαι ἀποτομένου [that which touches is not touched by anything which touches it again]

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... ἔστε ἐλ τί κινεῖ ἀκίνητον ὅν, ἐκεῖνο μὲν ἄν ἀποστο ὁτοῦ κινητοῦ, ἐκεῖνο δὲ οὐδέν· φαμεν γὰρ ἐνιστε τὸν λυποῦντα ἀπέσθαι ὁμόν, ἀλλ’ ὡ κ αὐτῶ ἐκεῖνον. That this, however, is no more than a play upon words is obvious.

1 See p. 341, n. 2, 345, n. 1.
with the property of motion, and thus we should in this case also arrive at a movement before motion. It is equally impossible to conceive of motion as destructible. The cessation of a movement is always conditioned by another movement which puts an end to the first. As in the former argument we were forced to admit a process of change antecedent to the first, so here we cannot escape one subsequent to the last. Motion is therefore without beginning or end; the world was never created and it will never perish.

Yet, although Motion from this point of view is infinite, there is another aspect in which it is limited. Since every motion presupposes a motive principle, it follows that the idea of motion in general involves the assumption of a first motive force which is not moved by anything else. Without this assumption we should be involved in an infinite series of moving causes, which could never produce actual motion, because they would never bring us to a first cause—and without

1 The above account contains the essence of the discussion in Phys. viii. 1. That motion must be eternal is also asserted in Metaph. xii. 6, 1071, b, 6: ἀλλ’ ἀδύνατον κίνησιν ἢ γενέσθαι ἢ φθαρῆναι· ἄει γὰρ ἦν. Further, if Time is without beginning and end (on this see infra, p. 406, &c.) motion must be so also, since Time, as we shall find, cannot be conceived of apart from motion. Cf. Phys. viii. 1, 251, b, 12: εἰ δὴ ἐστὶν ὁ χρόνος κινήσεως ἀριθμὸς ἢ κίνησις τις, εἰπέρ δὲι χρόνος ἐστὶν, ἀνάγκη καὶ κίνησιν ἀδύνατον εἶναι, and after proving the infinity of time in both directions he goes on at 1. 26: ἄλλα μὴν εἶγε χρόνον, φανερῶν ὅτι ἀνάγκη εἶναι καὶ κίνησιν, εἰπέρ ὁ χρόνος πάθος τι κινήσεως. With reference apparently to this passage, Metaph. xii. 6 proceeds: οὐδὲ χρόνον· οὐ γὰρ οἶδον τε τὸ πρῶτον καὶ ὅστερον εἶναι μὴ ὅντος χρόνου. καὶ ἡ κίνησις ἄρα οὕτω συνεχὴς ἀποτελεῖται καὶ ὁ χρόνος· ἢ γὰρ τὸ αὐτὸ ἢ κινήσεως τὶ πάθος. The same inference follows from the statement (Phys. vi. 6, 236, b, 32 sqq.; Metaph. ix. 8, 1050, b, 3) that every change and process presupposes a previous one.

2 In this form, viz. the question as to the eternity of the world, the present subject will recur in Ch. ix. infra.
that, none of the succeeding causes could operate. This conclusion cannot be avoided by presuming that the object moved produces its own motion, since it is necessary for the motive force already to be what the object moved is to become: \(^1\) and hence the same thing cannot at the same time and in the same relation be both moved and moving. We are forced, therefore, to admit a primum mobile. That principle, again, might be either something moved and therefore something self-moving, or something unmoved. The first of these cases, however, resolves itself into the second, for even in a self-impelling substance the motive force must of necessity be different from what it moves. Consequently there must be an Unmoved Substance, which is the cause of all motion.\(^2\) Or—as this is elsewhere more briefly demonstrated—since all motion must start from a motive principle, a motion which has no beginning presupposes a motive principle which is as eternal as the motion itself, and which, as the presupposition of all motion, must be itself unmoved.\(^3\) Thus, then, we obtain three elements: that which merely is moved and never causes motion, = Matter; that which both causes motion and is itself moved, = Nature; that which causes motion without itself being moved, = God.\(^4\)

Our previous pages will have shown that this position

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\(^1\) Cf. p. 384, supra.

\(^2\) Phys. viii. 5, cf. vii. 1 and ii. (a), 2, where it is agreed that neither efficient nor formal nor even final causes permit of a regressus ad infinitum.

\(^3\) Metaph. xii. 6, 1071, b, 4: ἀνάγκη εἶναι τίνα ἄδινων οὐσίαν ἀκίνητον, αἱ τῇ γὰρ οὐσίᾳ πρῶται τῶν ὑπότων, καὶ εἴ πᾶσαι φθαρτα, πάντα φθαρτά. ἀλλ’ ἄδινων κίνησιν ἡ γενέσθαι ἡ φαρμανεὶ ἄει γὰρ ἱπ. c. 7, 1072, a, 21: ἐστι τι ἄει κινούμενον κίνησιν ἀπαυστον ... ἐστι τοῖνυν τι καὶ δ κινεῖ.

\(^4\) Phys. viii. 5, 256, b, 20; Metaph. xii. 7, 1072, a, 24 (as emended by Bonitz); De An. iii. 10, 433, b, 13.
is not an isolated one in Aristotle's philosophy. Actuality in the highest sense is synonymous with Pure Form devoid of Matter—the Absolute Subject which as perfect Form is at once the motive force and the end of the Universe.¹ The gradations of existence, ascending from the first formless Matter, reach their consummation in God. And this thesis actually formed the starting-point for a demonstration of the existence of God in Aristotle's treatise on Philosophy.² In the same work he deduced the belief in the gods from two principles—from reflection upon self-revealing traces of the divine nature in the presentiments of the soul and from the contemplation of the heavens.³ A well-known fragment shows what stress he laid upon the witness of beauty and order in the universe to the existence of God.⁴ Nor are these arguments without their justifi-

¹ Cf. pp. 355, &c., and the passages quoted, pp. 395 sqq., on God as highest form, pure energy and supreme end. Metaph. xii. 7, 1072, a, 35: ἐστιν ἀριστον ἄλ [in every sphere of being] ἡ ἀνάλογον τῷ πρᾶτον.

² Simpl. De Carlo, 130, Schol. in Ar. 487, a, 6 (Ar. Fr. 15): λέγει δὲ περὶ τούτου ἐν τοῖς περὶ Φιλοσοφίας (as to which see Ch. II. supra) "καθόλου γὰρ ἐν οἷς ἐστὶ τὶ βέλτιον, ἐν τούτοις ἐστὶ τι καὶ ἀριστον, ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐν τοῖς οὖν ἐστὶν ἄλλο ἄλλον βέλτιον, ἐστὶν ἀρα τι καὶ ἀριστον, ὑπὲρ ἐτή ἄν τὸ βείον."

³ Fr. 13, b, Sext. Math. ix. 20: Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἀπὸ δυούν ἀρχῶν ἐννοεῖ τοὺς ἑλεγε γεγονέναι ἐν τοῖς αὐθρόποις, ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς συμβαίνοντων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μετεώρων, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς συμβαίνοντων διὰ τοῦ ἐν τοῖς ψυκτὸν γινομένου ταύτης ἐνθουσιασμοὶ καὶ τὰς μαυτέιας. ὅταν γὰρ θεόν, ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ καθ' ἐαυτὴν γένηται ἡ ψυχὴ, τότε τὴν ἱδιον ἀπολαβόντα φύσιν προμαντεύεται τε καὶ προαγορεύει τὰ μέλλοντα. τοιαύτη δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸν θάνατον χωρίζεσθαι τῶν σωμάτων. So Homer represents Patroclus and Hector as prophesying at death. ἐκ τούτων οὖν, θεόν, ὑπενόησαν οἱ αὐθρόποι εἶναι τι θεόν τὸ καθ' ἐαυτὸν [ὁ] ἔοικος τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ πάνω ἐπιστημονικότατον, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μετεώρων θεασάμενοι γὰρ μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν ἦλιον περιπολούντα, νῦντωρ δὲ τὴν εὐτακτὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἀτέρων κίνησιν, εὐμομοίουν εἰναὶ τινα θεόν τὴν τῆς τοιαύτης κίνησις καὶ εὐταξίας αἰτίαν.

⁴ In the brilliant Fr. 14 (prob. also from the Π. φιλοσοφίας in
cation in his system, although there are, no doubt, certain points of them which must be interpreted in the light of a less rigid logic, or perhaps referred to an earlier form of his teaching more akin to Platonism. Presentiments which exhibit themselves in prophetic dreams and inspired states of feeling are only an obscure manifestation of the force which under the form of the Active Understanding unites the human and the divine intelligence.¹ The beauty of the world, the harmonious connection of its parts, the purpose observable in their arrangement, the splendour of the stars, and the inviolable order of their motions, point not only to astral spirits (in whom we shall have hereafter to recognize the guiding forces of the heavenly spheres), but also to a Being placed far above them, from whom alone the simple movement of the universe and the harmony between the whole and all the parts proceed.² Conse-

¹ Cic. N. D. ii. 37, 95, which reminds us at the beginning, of Plato’s picture of the dwellers in the cave (Rep. vii. init.): ‘si essent, qui sub terra semper habitavissent ... acceperissent autem fama et auditione, esse quoddam numen et vim Deorum: deinde aliquo tempore, patefactis terrae facultibus, ex illis abditis esse Deos et hæc tanta opera sedibus evadere in hac loca, quæ nos incolimus, atque exire potuissent: cum repente terram et maria caelumque vidissent, nubium magnitudinem ventorumque vim cognovissent adspexitentque solem ejusque tum magnitudinem pulchritudinemque tum etiam efficientiam cognovissent, quod is diem efficeret toto coelo luce diffusa; cum autem terras nox opacasset, tum celum totum cernerent astris distinctum et ornatum luneque luminum varietatem tum crescentis tum senescentis eorumque omnium ortus et occasus atque in omni æternitate ratos immutabilesque cursus: haec cum viderent profecto esse Deos et haec tanta opera Deorum esse arbitrarentur.’ According to Cic. N. D. ii. 49, 125, Aristotle seems to have pointed to the instinct of animals as a teleological argument for the being of God.

² Besides the passage from De Cælo, i. 9 quoted infra, in n. 6 at p. 395, cf. Metaph. xii. 7, 1072, a,
quently the arguments which Aristotle puts forward, in the passages indicated, to prove the existence of God, though based, like those of Socrates and Plato, upon teleological principles—as well as the identification which he elsewhere establishes between the force of nature working to fixed ends and God—are not a mere adaptation of his views to unscientific notions, but are in harmony with the spirit of his whole system. The

35 sqq., where God is described as the ἄριστον or οὖν ἐνεκάς, and as thus the efficient cause of motion in the world; but especially c. 10, where the question is discussed: ποιέρος ἔχει ἵ τοῦ ὅλου φύσις τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ ἄριστον, ποιέρον κεχωρισμένον τι καὶ αὐτὸ καθ’ αὐτό, ἢ τὶν τάξιν, ἢ ἀκατάρειαν. Ὑστερον στράτευμα. In the case of an army the good resides as well in the general as in the order of the whole: in the former, however, in a still more primary sense than in the latter. The universe is compared to an army: πάντα δὲ συν- τέτακται πως, ἄλλ’ οὐχ ὑμοίως, καὶ πλωτὰ καὶ πτηρὰ καὶ φυτὰ: καὶ οὐχ ὤντως ἔχει, ὅπερ μὴ εἶναι θατέρον πρὸς θάτερον μηθὲν, ἄλλ’ ἐστὶ τι πρὸς μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἀπαίστω συνεπάγεται, except that each creature is more fully subject to this order just in proportion to the nobility of its nature, even as in a household the freeborn are subjected to a stricter discipline than the slaves. τοιαύτη γὰρ ἐκάστου ἀρχὴ ἀυτῶν ἡ φύσις ἔστιν. λέγω δ’ οἶον ἐπὶ γὰρ τὸ διακριθήναι ἀνάγκη ἄπασιν ἐλθεῖν, καὶ ἄλλα ὤντως ἔστιν ὅν κακῶνει ἀπαίστω εἰς τὸ ὅλον. All other systems are founded of necessity upon the opposite principle: Aristotle’s is the only exception, οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐναντίον τῷ πρῶτῳ οὐθέν (1075, b, 21, 24). If, like Spensippus, we accept a whole series of primary principles we destroy the unity of all being (see the passage, Div. I. p. 854, 1); τὰ δὲ όντα οὐ βούλεται πολι- τευσθαι κακῶς. “οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πο- λιτείαν· εἰς κοινωνίαν ἔστω.” Cf. xiv. 3, 1090, b, 19, where he is again attacking Spensippus: οὐκ ἔσθε δ’ ἡ φύσις ἐπεισοδιώξης οὕσα ἐκ τῶν φαινομένων, ὑστερον μοχθηρὰ τραγωδία. We have the same point of view in Fr. 16, preserved to us only by an unknown scholiast, where Aristotle says: given several ἁρχαί, they must be either ordered or disordered. But the latter is impossible, since from disorder no natural order, no κ’ ὁμοίοις, could have arisen; εἰ δὲ τεταγμέναι· ἐκείναι ἥ ἐκατόν ἐναχθη- σαν· ἥ ὑπὸ ἐξωθέν τινὸς αἰτίας; but even in the former case ἔχουσι τι κοινὸν τὸ συνάπτον αὐτὰς κάκεινο ἡ ἁρχὴ. The comparison of the order of the world with that of an army is further developed in Sext. Math. ix. 26 sqq., which perhaps follows Aristotle Peri philoσoφias.
unity of the world and its adaptation to fixed ends can only be explained by the unity of the Supreme Cause. It is not without good reason, also, that Aristotle in his most important treatises connected the proof of the reality of the Supreme Being with his theory of motion: for this is the point at which the Changeable is seen most directly to lean upon an Unchangeable, as itself the condition of all change.

The further characteristics of the Supreme Being may be determined from what has gone before. Motion being eternal, it must be continuous (συνεχής), and so it must be one and the same throughout. But such a single motion is the product of a single mobile and a single motum. Hence the primum mobile is single and is as eternal as motion itself.\(^1\) In the next place what has been said about the continuity and uniformity of motion implies that this motive principle is absolutely unmoved; since that which is moved, being itself subject to change, cannot impart an unbroken and uniform movement,\(^2\) and consequently it is of the essence of the primum mobile to exclude the possibility of change.\(^3\) It is unchangeable and absolutely necessary; and this unconditional necessity is the law by

\(^1\) Phys. viii. 6, 259, a, 13; Metaph. xii. 8, 1073, a, 23 sqq., where in connection with the πρώτη ἄδιδος καὶ μιὰ κίνησις, that of the fixed stars, it is shown how single motion presupposes a single moving cause. Cf. p. 391, n. 2. On the constancy and unity of motion we shall have more to say in the next chapter.

\(^2\) Phys. viii. 6, 259, b, 22, c. 10, 267, a, 24 sqq.

\(^3\) In Fr. 15 (preserved to us by SIMPL. De Cielo, 130, 45, K., Schol. in Ar. 487, a, 6), from the treatise Π. φιλοσοφίας, the immutability of God is proved on the ground that the κράτιστον can neither suffer change from anything else nor feel in itself the need of any such change. (It must be granted to BERNAYS, Dial. d. Arist. 113, and HEITZ, Ar. Fragm. p. 37, that
which the universe is held together. It is further involved in this that it is incorporeal. Only that is indestructible which cannot possibly cease to be; on the other hand all that is merely potential is by nature destructible; 3 only that can operate as primum mobile in which there is no element of realised possibility. 3 But the Potential is necessarily material. A Being that contains in itself nothing that is merely potential must

this amplification also belongs to the Aristotelian fragment. The passage in PLATO's Republic, ii. 380, d sqq., as Simpl. remarked, served as the original of it.) The same reason is assigned also in the De Caelo, i. 9 (see p. 335, n. 6) for the immutability of God, and in Metaph. xii. 9, 1074, b, 26, for the doctrine that God must always think the same thing; cf. p. 397, n. 2.

1 Metaph. xii. 7, 1072, b, 7: ἐπεὶ δ' ἐστὶ τι κινοῦν αὐτὸ ἀκινητὸν ὑν, ἐνέργεια ὑν, τοῦτο οὐκ ἐνδεχεται ἄλλας ἐχειν νομιμως . . . ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἁρ νηστὶν ὑν. καὶ ἡ ἀνάγκη καλῶς [i.e. in so far as it is necessary it is good, since, as is immediately explained, its necessity is neither external nor merely relative, but absolute— μὴ ἐνδεχομενον ἄλλας, ἁλλ' ἀπλῶς ἀναγκαῖον] . . . ἐκ τοιαύτης ἁρα ἁρχής ξῆρτησι ὁ νόμαρος καὶ ἡ φύσις.

2 After showing that the ἐνέργεια precedes the δύναμις in all the three respects of λόγος, χρόνῳ and οὐσία Aristotle goes on, Metaph. ix. 8, 1050, b, 6 (following immediately on the passage quoted at p. 385, n. 1): ἀλλὰ μὴ καὶ κυριατέρως [actuality has a higher reality than the δύναμις]. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄδια πρίτερα τῇ οὐσίᾳ τῶν φθάρτων, ἐστι δ' οὐδὲν δυνάμει αἰθιον. This he then goes on to prove. That which is merely potential can both be and not be. τὸ δ' ἐνδεχόμενου μὴ εἶναι φθαρτόν, ἡ ἀπλῶς, ἡ τούτο αὐτῷ [relatively to that], δὲ λέγεται ἐνδεχομαι μὴ εἶναι [the former, if I say, 'it is possible for Α not to be;'] the latter, if I say, 'it is possible for Α not to be in this place, or not to be so great, or not to have this quality . . . ἀπλῶς δὲ τὸ πατ' οὐσίαν [but that is absolutely perishable whose substance can cease to be], οὐδὲν ἁρα τῶν ἄφθαρτων ἀπλῶς δυνάμει ἐστιν ὑν ἀπλῶς . . . οὐδὲ τῶν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὑπον. 3 Metaph. xii. 6, 1071, b, 12: if there were a κινητικὸν which did not realise itself in action there would be no eternal uninterrupted motion; ἐνδεχεται γὰρ τὸ δύναμιν ἔχον μὴ ἐνέργειν. But this would be equally true, εἰ ἐνεργησει ἡ δ' οὐσία αὐτῆς δύναμις: οὐ γὰρ ἔσται κίνησις αἰθίων ἐνδεχεται γὰρ τὸ δύναμει ὅ μὴ εἶναι. δει ἁρα εἶναι ἁρχὴν τοιαύτην ὃς ἡ οὐσία ἐνέργεια. The leading thought of this proof (ἐνδεχομαι ἡ εἶναι οὐδὲν διαισθῆτε εἰ τοῖς αἰθίων) Aristotle states also Phys. iii. 4, 203, b, 30, and he shows in Metaph. ix. 4 that it is inadmissible to say,
be immaterial and therefore incorporeal. Only the incorporeal can be unchangeable; on the other hand, everything which has a material side is subject to motion and change, and can alter its state. Moreover all bodies have magnitude, and magnitude is always limited. But the limited cannot possibly produce an infinite activity like eternal motion, for its power is just as surely limited as that of the infinite is illimitable. It follows that the primum mobile must be absolutely incorporeal, indivisible and unconditioned by space, motionless, passionless, changeless: in a word, it must be absolute Reality and pure Energy.

1 Cf. p. 347 sq. and Metaph. xii. 7 fin. 2 Plin. viii. 10, 266, a, 10 sqq. 267, b, 17; Metaph. xii. 7 fin. 3 See p. 394, n. 3, and Metaph. vii. 7, 1032, a, 20, c. 10, 1035, a, 25.
By a converse process, it follows that, since all multiplicity partakes of matter, the *primum mobile* and that which it moves are single. The cause of all motion, or God, is therefore Pure Being, absolute Form (*τὸ τί ἢν εἶναι τὸ πρῶτον*), incorporeal Substance—or, in other words, is Thought. Nothing but pure self-centred thought is free from materiality, for even the soul has an essential relation to the body, and in all corporeal substances form is involved with matter. Again, perfect activity exists in thought alone. Neither constructive (ποιητική) nor practical (πρακτική) activity is perfect, since the end of both is external to themselves, and therefore they require material to work with.

But the Supreme Being has no end beyond itself, because it is the ultimate end of everything. It is
true that in analysing Thought we separate Potentiality from Actuality—the faculty of thinking from actual Thought (thèseoria). But this distinction does not apply to the Deity, for his substance contains no undeveloped potentiality; and even in the case of man, it is only his finite nature which renders him incapable of uninterrupted thought. The nature of the Deity consists of unceasing sleepless contemplation and absolutely perfect activity,\(^1\) an activity that cannot alter, since to a perfect being alteration would involve a loss of perfection.\(^2\) God, therefore, is the absolute activity of thought, and, as such, He constitutes absolute reality and vitality and is the source of all life.\(^3\)

What, then, are the contents or subject-matter of this Thought? All thinking derives its value from the object of thought; but the Divine Thought cannot be dependent for its validity on anything beyond itself, nor can it relate to anything except the best. But the best is

\(^1\) Eth. N. x. 8, 1078, b, 20: τῷ δὴ ζῶντι τοῦ πρᾶστεων ἄφαιρουμένου, ἐτί δὲ μᾶλλον τοῦ ποιεῖν, τί λειπεται πλὴν θεωρία; ὡστε ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνέργεια, μακαριότερη διαφέρουσα, θεωρητικὴ ἄν εἰπ. καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων δὴ ἡ ταύτη συγγενεστάτη εὐδαιμονικωτάτη. Metaph. xii. 7, cf. p. 398, n. 5; c. 9, 1074, b, 28: we cannot think of the divine thought either as resting or as in a state of mere potentiality, for εἰ μὴ νόσις [actual thought] ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ δύναμις, εὐλογοῦ ἐπιστουν εἰναι τὸ συνεχής αὐτῷ τῆς νοῆσεως. Ibid. 1075, b, 7 (following Bonitz’s text): pure reason is indivisible; as is therefore the discursive thought of

\(^2\) Metaph. xii. 9, 1071, b, 25: δὴλον τοῖνυν ὡτὶ τὸ θειότατον καὶ τιμίατατον νοεῖ καὶ οὐ μεταβάλλει εἰς χείρον γὰρ ἡ μεταβολὴ καὶ κίνησις τίς ἢδη τὸ τοιούτων.

\(^3\) Metaph. xii. 7, 1072, b, 28: φαμέν δὲ [δὴ] τὸν θεὸν εἶναι ξύνον ἄῤῥητον ἀρίστου, ὡστε ζωῆς καὶ αἰών συνεχῆς καὶ ἄῤῥητον ὑπάρχῃ τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς. De Celo, ii. 3, 286, a, 9: θεοῦ δ᾿ ἐνέργεια ἰδανασια· τούτῳ δ᾿ ἐστὶ ζωῆς ἄῤῥητος.
nothing but itself. Consequently God contemplates Himself, and his thought is the thought of thought. In the thought of God, therefore, as must necessarily be the case with Pure Spirit, thought and its object are identical. This unalterable repose of thought upon itself—the indivisible unity of the thinking subject and the object of thought—constitutes the absolute blessedness of God.

1 Still less, of course, can God be affected by any emotion from without. Hence the statement (Eth. X. viii. 9, 1158, b, 35, 1159, a, 4, or more definitely Euc. vii. 3, 12. 1238, b, 27, 1214, b, 7, 1243, b, 14, and from this treatise M. Mor. ii. 11, 1208, b, 27), that God does not love but is only loved, and that between Him and man there is too wide a separation to permit of mutual filia.

2 Metaph. xii. 9, 1074, b, 17: εἰπε γὰρ υπὲρν νοεῖ, τί ἣν εἰθ τὸ σεμνόν, ἀλλὰ ἔχει ὁμοίως ἢ αὐτὸν ἢ ἱερόν καθεύδουν· εἰτε νοεῖ, τοῦτον δὲ ἄλλο κύριον, ἢ νόησε τὴν ἀριστερή πολιτεία εἰς τὸ γὰρ τοῦ νοεῖν τὸ τίμιον αὐτῷ ὑπάρχει· ἐτι δὲ τί νοεῖ; ἢ γὰρ αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἢ ἐτέρον τι. . . . ποτέρον οὐν διαφέρει τι ὁ θεός ἢ τὸ τυχόν; ἢ καὶ ἄτομον τὸ διανοεῖται περὶ ἐνῶν; δῆλον τοῦ νοοῦν . . . (as at p. 397, n. 2): further, at 1. 29, if νοεῖ were the mere power of thinking, δῆλον, ὧτι ἄλλο τι ἦν εἰθ τὸ τιμωτέρον ἢ τὸ νοεῖν καὶ ἡ νόησις ὑπάρχει καὶ τὸ κεχριστὸν νοοῦν· ἢστι εἰ φευσκὸν τοῦτο, . . . οὐκ ἤν εἰθ τὸ ἁγιότον ἡ νόησις· αὐτὸν δὲ νοικεῖ, ἢστερ ἐστὶ τὸ κράτηστον, καὶ ἔστιν ἡ νόησις νοῆσεως νόησις. c. 7 (see n. 4). De An. iii. 6, 430, b, 24: εἰ δὲ τις μὴ ἔστιν ἐναντίων τῶν αἰτίων [?], αὐτὸ ἕναντι γινώσκει καὶ ἐνεργείᾳ ἐστὶ καὶ χωριστῶν.

3 See preceding note and Metaph. xii. 9: φαίνεται δ' ἄλλον ἡ ἐπιστήμη, . . . ἢ ἐπὶ ἑνῶν ἡ ἐπιστήμη τὸ πράγμα; ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν πνευματικῶν ἄνευ ὑλῆς ἡ ὁσιά καὶ τὸ τί ἢν εἶναι, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἑφαρμοσμένων ὁ λόγος τὸ πράγμα καὶ ἡ νόησις. οὐχ ἐτέρον οὖν ὄντος τοῦ νοοῦμεν καὶ τοῦ νοεῖν, ὡσα μὴ ὑλῆ ἐχεῖ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐσται, καὶ ἡ νόησις τοῦ νοοῦμεν μιᾶ. De An. iii. 4 fin. (cf. c. 5 and c. 7 init.)· ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄνευ ὑλῆς τοῦ αὐτὸ ἐστι τὸ νοεῖν καὶ τὸ νοοῦμεν.

4 Metaph. xii. 9: 1075, b, 7: αἰνιαρετοῦ πάν τὸ μὴ έχον ὑλην, &c., see p. 397, n. 1, supra.

5 This view is set forth in the passage immediately following that quoted p. 394, n. 1: διαγωγὴ δ' ἐστιν [sc. τῷ πρώτῳ κινούμεν] οίᾳ ἡ ἀριστερή μικρὸν χρόνον ἡμῖν. οὐτῳ γὰρ ἀλε ἐκείνῳ ἔστιν· οἱμὲν μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκδοκάτον, ἐπει καὶ ἑδονή ἡ ἐνέργεια [so Bonitz, rightly following Alexander, instead of ἡ ἑδ. ἐνέργ.] τοῦτον· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο [i.e. because not God's activity alone, but activity in general, is pleasant, for in this passage, as often in this book, lucidity is sacrificed to an excessive brevity of style] ἐγκήρυγος αἰτίον καὶ ὑοῦσις νόησις ἡ ἔστιν ἐξ ἐν παρ. καὶ μνήμη διὰ ταύτα. ἡ δὲ νόησις ἡ
These propositions of Aristotle concerning the Divine Spirit contain the first attempt to find a scientific basis for Theism. Here first the idea of God as self-conscious intelligence was logically deduced from the principles of a philosophical system instead of being borrowed from religious notions. And on the very threshold we are confronted with the difficulty the solution of which is the final problem of all systems of theistic speculation: how are we to define the idea of God so that while maintaining his essential difference from all finite reality, we may yet preserve his personality, and vice versa? Aristotle represents God as self-conscious Spirit; on the other hand, he deprives Him of body and senses, and, not content with this, declares not only action and creation, but the direction of the will itself towards an object, to be incompatible
with divine perfection,¹ and confines his thought within

¹ That neither ποëσις nor πάθες (on the difference between them cf. p. 182 sq.) can be attributed to God is definitely stated by Aristotle in many passages; e.g. Eth. x. 8, 1178, b, 7 sq. The position that perfect bliss consists in thought alone, he there proves by showing that everyone considers the gods blessed and that the question then is: πάθες δὲ ποιάς ἀπονεύμα τερεων αὐτοῖς; πότερα τὰς δίκαιας; ... ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀνδρείους ... ἡ τὰς ἐλευθερίους; ... αἱ δὲ σάφηρων τί ἐν εἷν; All these being inconceivable (διεξεύουσι δὲ πάντα φαύνοντ' ἀν τὰ περὶ τὰς παράξεις μικρὰ καὶ ἄναξίά θεῶν), he concludes: τῇ δὴ ζωτί, &c. (as at p. 397, n. 1). De Cerlo ii. 12, 292, a, 22: ήοικε γὰρ τῷ μὲν ἀριθμῷ ἐχουντ' ὑπάρχειν το εὖ ἀνέω πράξεως, τῷ δὲ ἐγγύτατα [the heavenly bodies of the outer sphere] δίὰ ἀλήθειας καὶ μιᾶς. Ibid. b, 1, cited p. 396, n. 3, supra; Gen. et Corr. i. 6, 323, a, 12: since every ποιεῖν involves a corresponding πάθειαν, we cannot ascribe a ποιεῖν to every movere, but only to such as must itself be moved in order that it may in turn move; κινεῖν, therefore, is a more comprehensive conception than ποιεῖν. These details are much too explicit to permit the assertion (BRENTANO, Psychol. d. Arist. 247 sq.) that Aristotle desires to deny to Deity only such actions (πράττειν; universal 'action' must be ascribed to God on any view) as result from a felt need, and that therefore, while denying that πράττειν contributes anything to the blessedness of God, he does not deny that it belongs to Him generally. Aristotle does not recognise any such limitation, which, moreover, would be wholly inconsistent with his other views (for since, according to the passage quoted p. 394, n. 1, all God's properties must be absolutely necessary, none can belong to Him which He does not require for his perfection and blessedness, and which therefore He could not dispense with without prejudice to these). On the contrary, he says without any reservation (Eth. x. 8; see p. 397, n. 1, supra), that neither ποιεῖν nor πράττειν can be attributed to God; that perfection in action (practical virtue) can only find a place in human intercourse and among beings who are subject to human passions (Eth. x. 8, 1178, a, 9, b, 5, vii. 1, 1145, a, 25); that every action is a means to an end different from itself, and therefore that it cannot be attributed to God, for whom there is no end not yet attained (De Cerlo, as quoted above). Nor is it any objection to this view that Aristotle elsewhere (Eth. vii. 15, see p. 398, n. 5 ἰδ.; Polit. vii. 3, 1325, b, 28) speaks of God's παράξεις, since the word here used in the wider sense in which it occurs in Eth. vi. 2, 5, 1139, b, 3, 1140, b, 6 (where it is said that παράξεις differs from ποιεῖν in having its end in itself, εὐπραξία being the τέλος) and includes every form of activity, even the pure activity of thought. No other meaning will suit the words, Eth. vii. 15, ἄει ἡ αὐτὴ παράξεις; and in a similar sense Polit., as above, l. 16 sqq., distinguishes παράξεις πρὸς ἐτέρους, τὰς τῶν ἀποβαινόντων χάριν γιγνομένας ἐκ τοῦ πράττειν—in a word,
the limits of an isolated self-contemplation. But this

πράξεως ἐξωτερικά, actions which elsewhere are called simply πράξις in the narrower sense of the word— from τὰς αὐτοτελεῖς, καὶ τὰς αὐτῶν ἑνεκα θεορίας καὶ διανοήσεις, and attributes only the latter to God, in opposing the view that the practical life is superior to the theoretic; σχολή γὰρ ἐν τῷ θεώς ἔχοι καλῶς καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος, οἷς οὐκ εἰσίν ἐξωτερικά πράξεως παρὰ τὰς οἰκείας τὰς αὐτῶν. Still less is it a pertinent objection that in using popular language Aristotle ascribes ποιεῖν to God, as in De Carlo, i. 4 hic. (οὐκ ἂν ἐν τῷ θεώς καὶ ἡ φύσις οὐδὲν μάτνη ποιούσων), Gen. et Corr. ii. 10, 336, b, 31 (συνεπλήρωσε τὸ διὸν ἃ θεός, ἐντελεχή ποιήσας τὴν γένεσιν). Θεός here means the divine force which governs nature, whose relation to the first cause of motion is left, as we shall see, wholly undefined; nor can we draw any conclusion from this use as to Aristotle's view of God as the absolute supramundane reason, any more than from the frequent use of θεός as in Eth. x. 8, quoted above, and ibid. viii. 14, 1162, a, 4, x. 9, 1179, a, 24, we may argue that Aristotle was a polytheist. Ποιεῖν also in these passages seems to be used quite generally and not to be limited any more than ποιητικόν, Metaph. xiii. 6, 1071, b, 12 (to which BRENTANO appeals, but which is nowhere directly applied to God by Aristotle) to the narrower sense discussed p. 182; it bears merely the general signification of creation or production, as in the phrase νοῦς ποιητικός, and merely indicates causality in general with-

out further specification of its nature.—But if action does not belong to God, neither can will, for as will (προαιρεῖς) is ἀρχὴ πράξεως and originates in turn in a desire on the one hand and the conception of an end on the other, it always presupposes an ἡθική εἴσ (Eth. vi. 2, 1139, a, 31): and these ideas it is impossible to reconcile with Aristotle's conception of God. Furthermore, θεολογίας, De An. iii. 10, 433, a, 23, is defined as rational desire; but desire cannot in any sense be ascribed by Aristotle to God; nor can we admit the assertion of BRENTANO, p. 246, that because he ascribes to Him ἡθική, he must also have ascribed to Him something corresponding to desire in us. It is only of sensuous λύπη and ἡθική that Aristotle says (De An. ii. 2, 413, b, 23) that it involves ἐπίθυμα; he expressly adds that he is not here speaking of Nous; and ibid. iii. 7, 431, a, 10 he declares ὄρκυκτον and φυκτικόν to be identical with αἰσθητικόν, and remarks iii. 9, 10, 432, b, 27, 433, a, 14, cf. Eth. vi. 2, 1139, a, 35, that the νοῦς θεορητικός (therefore also the divine) does not deal with the φυκτον and διωκτον by which desire is always conditioned. It is evident that those passages in which Aristotle uses the common conceptions of God as generally admitted premisses from which conclusions may be drawn—e.g. Top. iv. 5, 126, a, 34; Eth. x. 9, 1179, a, 24, or, indeed, such quotations as Eth. vi. 2, 1139, b, 9, Rhet. ii. 23, 1398, a, 15—prove nothing. Such statements as that God 'in making Himself the
solution is wholly unsatisfactory. On the one hand, personal existence implies activity of will no less than of thought. On the other hand, thought personal is always in transition from possibility to actuality—in other words, in a state of development—and is determined as much by the variety of its objects as by changes of intellectual states. Aristotle by destroying these conditions and confining the function of the Divine Reason to a monotonous self-contemplation, not quickened into life by any change or development, merges the notion of personality in a mere abstraction.

The difficulties which perplex us when we come to consider the operation of God upon the world are not object of desire for his own sake desires the universe and the whole order of nature (BRENT. 247), receive no support whatsoever from Aristotle. Such a conception, on the contrary, is wholly irreconcilable with his idea of God, for all desire is an effort after something not yet attained, and in a φύσις τοῦ ἀριστού τετυγχανότα (Metaph. xii. 8, 1074, a. 19) any such effort is inconceivable.

1 On this point also Aristotle has expressed himself with a definiteness that leaves no room for doubt. Neither the view of BRENT. (Psych. d. Arist. 246 sq.), that in knowing Himself, God knows the whole creation as well, nor SCHNEIDER's modification of it (De Causa finali Arist. 79 sq.; cf. also KYM, Metaphys. Unters. 252, 256), to the effect that God knows the intelligible world as the totality of the forms that are contained in his thought, finds any justification in Aristotle's writings. The passage Metaph. xii. 10 (see p. 391, n. 2, supra) offers no support to either. Aristotle is here inquiring in what way the world contains the good. The only answer which he gives, however, to this question is contained in the words καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ τάξει τὸ ἐδ. καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς, καὶ μᾶλλον οὕτως: οὐ γὰρ οὕτως διὰ τὴν τάξιν ἄλλῳ ἑκείνῃ διὰ τοῦτον ἐστιν. If we apply this to the idea of God and the world it certainly follows that the perfection of the universe resides in the first place in God as the first cause of motion, and secondly in the universal order that owes its origin to it. On the other hand, the comparison of the world to an army gives no clue to the method in which the order of the universe proceeds from God (for this was not the question under discussion). As we evidently cannot conclude from it that God sketches plans, issues commands to his subordinates, &c. (though this way of representing God's government of the
less weighty. Aristotle describes God, as we have seen, not only as the primum mobile, but also more generally as the highest principle\(^1\) and the ground of the collective cosmos.\(^2\) While we are not justified in attributing to him a belief in a Providence which extends its care to individuals,\(^3\) we may yet see that he acknowledges the world to be the work of Reason,\(^4\) that

universe is common enough), neither does it follow that God produces the order of the world by a process of thought which has for its object the world itself or its individual parts. That point can only be decided by a reference to declarations elsewhere made by Aristotle. Still further at variance with the spirit of the above comparison is the statement of KyM, p. 246 sq., that the good or God does not merely exist outside the world as an individual being, but is immanent in it as order and design. ‘God’ and ‘the good’ are not, however, to Aristotle convertible terms (cf. e.g. Eth. i. 4, 1096, a, 23, Bonitz, Ind. Ar. 3, b, 35 sqq.), and the general is quite different from the order of the army. Cf. further p. 413 sq.

\(^1\) Metaph. xi. 2, 1060, a 27, cannot, indeed, be quoted in support of this statement; for the words εἴπερ ἐστι τις οὐσία καὶ ἄρχη τοιαύτη τὴν φύσιν ὅπως ἦτοίμως, καὶ αὕτη μιὰ πάντων καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ τῶν ἄνθρωπων τε καὶ φθαρτῶν, not only, as may be seen from the context and from the parallel passage iii. 4, 1000, a, 5 sqq., leave it in doubt whether there be such an ἄρχη or not, but they do not speak of God as an individual being. The words in iii. 4, are:

\[ \piοτερον \alpha\i\nu\tauαλ τῶν φθαρτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄφθαρτων ἄρχαλ εἰσιν. \]

On the other hand we read in Metaph. xi. 7, 1064, a, 34 sqq.: if there be an οὐσία χωριστή καὶ ἀκίνητος, ἑστήθ' ἄν εἰρεῖν οἱ καὶ τὸ θεῖον, καὶ αὕτη ἄν εἰ ἡ πρώτη καὶ κυριωτάτη ἄρχη.

\(^2\) Metaph. xii. 7, 10; see p. 394, n. 1, and p. 391, n. 2, supra, De Civ. i. 9; see p. 395, n. 6.

\(^3\) On this subject cf. p. 422, n. 1; see Ch. XVI. infra. How little the passages referred to are to be taken literally is obvious from the fact that the gods (θεοὶ) are always spoken of in them in the plural. But if we have thus first to translate them into language possible to the philosopher in order to discover his true meaning, it is a question whether we have not to make as great a deduction from their literal content as in the parallel cases which will be discussed infra, at the end of the section in Ch. IX. on the Universe.

\(^4\) Anaxagoras is praised (Metaph. i. 3, 984, b, 15, cf. Phys. viii. 5, 256, b, 24) for having made νοῦς αἰτίος τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῆς τάξεως πάσης, and it is remarked Phys. ii. 6, 198, a, 9, that αὐτόματον and τύχη always pre-suppose a νοῦς and a φύσις.
he recognises, 1 in the adaptations of nature, traces of the operation of God, and that he finds in human Reason an indwelling element of Divinity. 2 But if we attempt to bring these convictions into harmony with his theology as above discussed, we are met by many questions to which it is not easy to find an answer.

In the first place, it is obvious that if God exercises neither creative nor practical activity in relation to anything else, He cannot be the *primum mobile*. Here, however, we are met by the notion to which we have already alluded: that Form, without moving itself, exercises a power of attraction over Matter, causing it to move in its direction.  

God moves the world in this way: the object of desire and the object of thought cause motion without moving themselves. But these two motive forces are ultimately the same (the absolute object of thought is the absolutely desirable or pure good); for the object of desire is apparent beauty, while the original object of will is real beauty; but desire is conditioned by our notion (of the value of the object) and not *vice versa*. Thought, therefore, is the starting-point or principle. Thought, however, is set in motion by the object of thought; but only one of the two series is absolutely intelligible, 3 and in

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1 Cf. p. 421, and p. 466 sq.
2 *Eth. ix*. 7, 9, 1177, a, 13, b, 30, 1179, a, 26; *Gen. An*. ii. 3, 736, b, 27, 737, a, 10; *De An*. i. 4, 408, b, 29; *Part. An*. ii. 10, 656, a, 7, iv. 10, 686, a, 28, 373.
3 Ναυγή δὲ ἡ ἐτέρα συνοστοξα καθ' αὐτήν. By this ἐτέρα συνοστοιχια we are to understand, as the more recent commentators rightly point out, and as is obvious from 1.35, the series of being and good. The expression refers to the Pythagorean and Platonic doctrine of the universally prevalent antithesis of being and non-being, perfection and imperfection, &c., which Aristotle had discussed at length in the Ἐκλογή τῶν Ἐναντίων (see p. 61, n. 1,
this Being stands first, defined as simple and actual."¹ "The final cause operates like a loved object, and that which is moved by it communicates motion to the rest."² God, therefore, is the *primum mobile* only in so far as He is the absolute end of the world,³ the Governor, as it were, whose will all obey, but who never sets his own hand to the work.⁴ And He fulfils this function by being absolute Form. As Form in general moves Matter by inviting it to pass from potentiality into actuality, the operation of God upon the world must be of the same sort.⁵ Without doubt

1 *Metaph.* xii. 7, 1072, a, 26; see Bonitz and Schwegler.
3 As also do the movers of the celestial spheres (to be discussed *infra*, Ch. IX. in the section on the Spheres); these cause motion, according to *Metaph.* xii. 8, 1074, a, 23, ὡς τέλος ὧν οὖσα φορᾶς.
4 Cf. *Metaph.* xii. 10 *init.* and *fin.*
5 The subject, however, is here only treated generally: the question is not whether God moves the world but how He moves it, and it is therefore irrelevant when Brentano, *ibid.* 235 sqq. contests the assertion that God "is not the first operative principle, but only the final cause, of being"; that according to Aristotle "no operation at all belongs" to Him. This assertion would certainly be strange, for if God is the first mover He must be the first operator, since the κινητικὸν αἰτίων and the ποιητικὸν are the same (*De An.* iii. 5 *init.*; *Gen. An.* i. 21, 729, b, 13; *Metaph.* xii. 6, 1071, b, 12; *Gen. et Corr.* i. 7, 324, b, 13: ἐστι δὲ τὸ ποιητικὸν αἰτίων ὃς ὁθεν η ἀρχή τῆς κινήσεως) and only a certain kind of ποίησις is denied of God (see p. 400, n. 1). But it is quite another thing to say that according to Aristotle God operates upon the world not directly but indirectly, not by Himself exercising activity upon it, but as perfect being by eliciting its activity by his mere existence; He is efficient cause only in virtue of his being final cause. Nor is it sufficient to discredit this statement to adduce passages in which God is described in general as the moving or efficient principle of the world. No one doubts that this is so. To prove our view wrong, it would be necessary to produce passages in which direct action upon the world is attributed to Him; it would be further neces-

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¹ supra and often alludes to elsewhere; cf. *Metaph.* iv. 2, 1004, a, 1, ix. 2, 1046, b, 2, xiv. 6, 1093, b, 12, i. 5, 986, a, 23; *Phys* iii. 2, 201, b, 25, i. 9, 192, a, 14; *Gen. et Corr.* i. 3, 319, a, 14.
³ As also do the movers of the celestial spheres (to be discussed *infra*, Ch. IX. in the section on the Spheres); these cause motion, according to *Metaph.* xii. 8, 1074, a, 23, ὡς τέλος ὧν οὖσα φορᾶς.
⁴ Cf. *Metaph.* xii. 10 *init.* and *fin.*
⁵ The subject, however, is here only treated generally: the question is not whether God moves the world but how He moves it, and it is therefore irrelevant when Brentano, *ibid.* 235 sqq. contests the assertion that God "is not the first operative principle, but only the final cause, of being"; that according to Aristotle "no operation at all belongs" to Him. This assertion would certainly be strange, for if God is the first mover He must be the first operator, since the κινητικὸν αἰτίων and the ποιητικὸν are the same (*De An.* iii. 5 *init.*; *Gen. An.* i. 21, 729, b, 13; *Metaph.* xii. 6, 1071, b, 12; *Gen. et Corr.* i. 7, 324, b, 13: ἐστι δὲ τὸ ποιητικὸν αἰτίων ὃς ὁθεν η ἀρχή τῆς κινήσεως) and only a certain kind of ποίησις is denied of God (see p. 400, n. 1). But it is quite another thing to say that according to Aristotle God operates upon the world not directly but indirectly, not by Himself exercising activity upon it, but as perfect being by eliciting its activity by his mere existence; He is efficient cause only in virtue of his being final cause. Nor is it sufficient to discredit this statement to adduce passages in which God is described in general as the moving or efficient principle of the world. No one doubts that this is so. To prove our view wrong, it would be necessary to produce passages in which direct action upon the world is attributed to Him; it would be further neces-
this doctrine harmonises admirably with the whole system. It gives us, in fact, the proper coping-stone of the Metaphysics, by clearly exhibiting the ultimate unity of formal, efficient, and final causes, and their relation to the material cause. We find in it, moreover, the ultimate principle of union between the Metaphysics and the Physics—the point at which the investigations into the nature of the Unmoved and the Moved meet and find a common issue. It enables Aristotle to trace to absolutely immaterial and unmoved Being the ultimate source of all movement and change, and to make God the central, controlling principle of the universe without involving Him in its machinery on the one hand or disturbing the uniformity of natural law by personal interference with it on the other. It further furnishes him with the means of reconciling the eternity of the world with its dependence upon a divine supernatural Being. If the existence or the order or the motion of the universe be referred to definite acts of Deity, we are forced to assume that the world had a beginning, since every single act and that which is produced by it has a beginning in time.\(^1\) On the other hand, a system which is gravitating towards a fixed and definite point, and which owes its motion to the attraction which is thus exercised upon it (and Aristotle's Cosmos is such a system), can be conceived of indifferently as with or without beginning. But the

\[^1\] Cf. p. 412, n. 1.
more important the above doctrine is for Aristotle, the more obviously does it reveal the weak side of his theory. The notion of the *motum* naturally desiring the *mobile*, the Corporeal seeking the Divine, is so obscure\(^1\) as to be almost unintelligible to us.\(^2\) Further, if, as

\(^1\) As Theophrastus easily discerned, *Fr. 12* (*Metaph.*), 8: 
\(\text{ei } \delta \eta \varepsilon \rho \varepsilon \sigma \iota \iota, \alpha \lambda \lambda \omega \varsigma \tau \epsilon \kappa \alpha \iota \tau \upsilon \delta, \mu \varepsilon \tau \alpha \psi \chi \zeta \varsigma, \ldots \varepsilon \mu \varphi \upsilon \chi \varsigma, \ \alpha \nu \varepsilon \iota \tau \alpha \varsigma \nu \varepsilon \mu \nu \varsigma\); 

\(^2\) We are not, of course, therefore justified in denying that Aristotle held this notion in the face of his own plain and repeated statements and the interpretations of them in this sense by the most faithful of his disciples; all the less as it is hard indeed (as the discussion in Theophrastus, *Fr. 12* 5, clearly proves) to say in what other way motion can, on Aristotle's principles, be conceived as proceeding from the absolutely unmoved. Brentano (as above, 239 sq.) thinks, indeed, that there is nothing so totally in contradiction to the Aristotelian doctrine as the view that 'matter is the efficient principle because it moves of itself to meet God, who is its end.' As little, he says, can 'the end produce anything of itself without an efficient principle.' But nobody has asserted either the one or the other. When it is said that God causes motion by causing the desire for his own perfection, it is not meant that the matter in which this desire is produced causes the motion; as little can it mean that the end produces it by itself alone, apart from any efficient principle. The fact is that the efficient cause is not here regarded as different from the final. Though we should perhaps in such a case conceive of two independent causes at work, the attractive force and the thing that permits itself to be attracted, Aristotle represents the relationship otherwise. He ascribes to the mover a *δύναμις ποιητική*, to the motion merely a *δύναμις παθητική* (*Metaph.* v. 15, 1021, a, 15, ix. 1, 1046, a, 16 sqq.). It is impossible, therefore, for him to attribute to that which owes its motion to something else, any independent efficiency of its own. On the contrary, the efficient and the final cause, as has been shown at p. 356 sq., he conceives of as in essence one. Their apparent severance under certain circumstances is only a phenomenon of the sensible world, where form realises itself in matter, and therefore (cf. pp. 368 sq.) in a plurality of individuals. In the intelligible world, however, efficient and final cause are always one and the same, and accordingly it is impossible to speak of an end producing anything apart from a principle
Aristotle supposes, the motum must be in contact with the mobile, it follows that the Universe must be in contact with the primum mobile, as, indeed, Aristotle explicitly states. It is true that he endeavours to exclude the notion of contiguity in space from this idea; for he often employs the expression ‘contact’ when the context clearly proves that he does not allude to juxtaposition in space, but only to an immediate connection between two things. Moreover, he asserts that the motum is in contact with the primum mobile, but not vice versa. But even though we overlook the contradiction that is here involved, we find the notion of efficiency. — Similar to the action of God Himself is that of the sphenal spirits, which produce motion in their respective spheres as being themselves the end of the motion; cf. p. 405, n. 3. — It is still more strange that Brentano goes beyond the view which he combats, in saying, p. 210, that according to Metaph. xii. 7, 1072, a, 26: ‘God moves as known;’ for since matter, as he himself avails, cannot know God, it would follow from this that God does not move matter at all. The assertion, however, rests upon a misunderstanding. Aristotle says (cf. p. 404): τὸ ὅρμετον καὶ τὸ νοητὸν κυιεὶ οὐ κινούμενον . . . νοῦς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ νοητοῦ κυιεῖται . . . . κυιεὶ δὲ ὡς ἐφάμενον. As νοητὸν God moves only Nous (to which, however, motion can be ascribed only in an improper sense; cf. Ch. XI. at the commencement and at the end, infra); the world, on the other hand, He moves as ἐφάμενον by means of the ὅρεξις which He causes. We, indeed, should not think of ascribing any such quality to matter, and we should hesitate scarcely less to attribute to plants and animals a ‘longing after the divine’ as Aristotle does in De An. ii. 4, 415, a, 26 sqq. (see Ch. X. pt. 2, infra). Even the doctrine of a plant and animal soul would scarcely justify such a view in our eyes, as from such a soul the thought of God is necessarily excluded. But just as Aristotle here attributes to non-rational existence an unconscious yearning after τὸ βεῖαν, so the conception of a world animate throughout, so natural to the Greek and yet resting ultimately on an untenable anthropological analogy, enables him to view the astral spheres, which he holds to be of a far higher nature than any earthly existence (see Ch. IX. on the Universe), in the same light.

1 Cf. supra, p. 386.
2 Gen. et Corr. i. 6, 323, a, 20.
3 Cf. supra, p. 203, n. 3.
of existence in space forced upon us still more remarkably by the further assertion that God in setting the world in motion starts from its circumference. For since generally the primordial motion is taken to be motion in space,¹ and of the original motions in space none is absolutely continuous and uniform except circular motion,² the operation of the first mover upon the world must consist in the production of circular motion.³ According to Aristotle, this might be effected either from the centre or the circumference of the world, for both of these places are ἄρχαι, and command the whole movement. He prefers the latter, however, because it is clear that the circumference moves faster than the centre, and that which is nearest to the cause of motion ought to move at the quickest rate.⁴ In defending this position he might hope to evade the objection that he places God in a particular locality by his peculiar theory of space, which excluded from the notion everything that lay beyond the limits of the world.⁵ It is obvious, however, that we cannot accept this defence. Again as the Deity, relatively to Himself, is confined to the unvarying exercise of uniform self-contemplation, so, in his relation to the world, He has no other function but that of monotonously causing circular motion. To explain the rich variety of finite existence with the

¹ *Phys.* viii. 7, 9; see p. 421
² *Ibid.* c. 8 sq.; *De Caeo*, i. 2; *Metaph.* xii. 6, 1071, b, 10.
³ *Phys.* viii. 6 fin.; c. 8 fin.; *Metaph.* xii. 6 fin.; c. 8, 1073, a, 23 sqq.
⁴ *Phys.* viii. 10, 267, b, 6; *De Caeo*, i. 9, 279, a, 16 sqq. (see p. 395, n. 6, supra). Hence the assertion (*Sext. Math.* x. 23; *Hypotyp.* iii. 218) that God is to Aristotle τὸ πέρας τοῦ ὀφραυοῦ.
⁵ Cf. *De Caeo*, i. 9 (cited as above, at p. 395, n. 6) and p. 432, n. 5.
infinite diversities and subdivisions of its motion, by means of this simple and uniform activity, would be impossible. Aristotle himself admits as much with reference to the heavenly bodies; and accordingly he adds to the first mover a number of subordinate but equally eternal substances, whose business it is to cause the special motions of the planets.\footnote{Metaph. xii. 8, 1073, a, 26. For fuller explanation see Ch. IX. infra.} The same provision must, however, be made to account for special motion of all kinds and for every separate property of things. As the First Cause of motion cannot have produced them, seeing that it exercises one general function in the world and nothing more, we are driven to assume some special cause for them.\footnote{Metaph. xii. 6, 1072, a, 9: \textit{μέλλει γένεσις καὶ φθορά εἶναι, ἄλλο δὲ εἶναι ἐνεργοῖν ἄλλως καὶ ἄλλως.} to secure the uniformity of the motion of the world (\textit{περιὸδος} l. 10 is prob. corrupt), \textit{δὲι τι δὲι μένειν ὡσαύτως ἐνεργοῖν. εἰ δὲ} \textit{Gen. et Morr. ii. 10, 336, a, 23; see the section of Ch. IX. infra, which deals with the earthly world.} Only it will not do to point merely to something which is equally general in its operation: for example, to the inclination of the orbit of the sun and planets, from which Aristotle deduces the phenomena of growth and destruction.\footnote{Cf., besides p. 350 sq., the passages quoted infra, p. 432, n. 5.} The special character of everything must be ascribed to its own particular nature and Form.\footnote{Metaph. xii. 6, 1072, a, 9: \textit{μέλλει γένεσις καὶ φθορά εἶναι, ἄλλο δὲ εἶναι ἐνεργοῖν ἄλλως καὶ ἄλλως.} Here a new question rises: what position do these particular Forms, which operate as creative forces in finite things and constitute their peculiar essence, occupy with respect to the highest form, the primordial motive force, or God? Or what are we to say of those beings which, belonging as they do to the supernatural world, are unaffected by...}
the changes of birth and destruction—the heavenly spheres with the spirits that move and animate them, and the immortal part of the human soul. What explanation does Aristotle offer us of the existence and peculiar nature of these beings? We cannot suppose them to be God’s creatures; for not only does such a notion obtain no support from his system and writings,

1 That these three classes of being are uncreated and indestructible not only follows from the eternity of the world and its motion, but is also expressly stated by Aristotle; cf. p. 474 sq. and Ch. IX. infra.

2 As Brentano holds them to be, Psych. d. Arist. 198, 234 sqq. Bullinger goes even further, Des. Arist. Erhabenheit über allen Dualismus etc. (1878), p. 2 sq. According to his view, Aristotle supposed not only the whole world, but even the material of which it is made, to originate in a divine act of creation. Thus ‘the material out of which God creates the world’ would, according to Aristotle, be nothing else than the power and might eternally actual in God, whereby the world is actualised,’ &c. (p. 15). It will be sufficiently evident from the account already given in the text that speculations are here attributed to Aristotle which are as foreign to the range of his thought as they are in conflict with his definite declarations.

3 That God is called πρώτη ἀρχή (see p. 403, supra), proves nothing; for this may mean, not only that He has produced everything, but also that He is the condition of the eternal order and activity of the world: ἀρχή, indeed (Metaph. v. 1, 1013, a, 16, 20 sq.), is used in as many senses as αἱτίων, and includes especially the conception of final cause. Since it is God who, as the most perfect being in the universe, gives unity of aim to the whole, and who causes the all-governing motion of the first sphere, He is also the πρώτη καὶ κυριωτάτη ἀρχή, on Him the whole order of the universe may be said to depend (p. 394, n. 1, and 395, n. 6), and to Him we are justified in applying “εἰς καλανος ἐστώ” (p. 391, n. 2). The commander, however, is not therefore the creator of his subordinates. And as little does it follow from Metaph. ix. 8, 1050, b, 3 (see p. 385, n. 1, supra) that the creative activity of God precedes all being in time; for the dei κυνὸν πρῶτος does not (as Ps. Alex. in loc. certainly thought) refer to God as the first cause of motion in the universe. On the contrary (as is obvious from the explanation upon p. 1049, b, 17 sqq. which the ὡσπερ εἴπομεν recalls), the reference is here to the fact that every individual thing presupposes as the condition of its production another similar already existing thing, and this likewise another, εἰς τοῦ δεὶ κυνῷν τοὺς πρῶτος: i.e. until we come to the first member of the
but it would involve us in the contradiction of supposing the uncreated to be at the same time created, that which has been declared to be eternal to have had a beginning in time. The same question arises with

series in question which has given the first impulse to the whole series, the primus movens in each case (not the πρῶτον κυκλών); and this is the reason why the δεῖ κυκλ. πρ. is repeated from p. 1049, b, 26, where (as Phys. vii. 10, 267, a, 1, 3) this is undoubtedly its meaning. Aristotle was precluded from holding any theory of creation by his view of the eternity of the world. Such a theory, moreover, is incompatible, not only with the assertion that to God belongs neither πρῶτειν nor ποιεῖν (see p. 400, n. 1), but also with the principle ex nihil nihil fit (Phys. i. 1, 187, a, 34, c. 7, 190, a, 14; Gen. An. ii. 1, 733, b, 24: Metaph. iii. 4, 999, b, 6, vii. 7, 1052, a, 13, 20, b, 30, c. 8 init., ix. 8, 1049, b, 28, xi. 6, 1062, b, 24), from which we have not the smallest right to make an exception in favour of the Deity, as Brentano, 249, does.

1 Brentano, p. 240, indeed, believes that the eternity in time of immaterial substances as little dispenses with the necessity of an efficient principle for them as the eternity of motion dispenses with the necessity of a mover; in other words, he endeavours to reconcile the eternity of the world with the theory of its creation by means of the conception of an eternal creative activity in God. But upon the principles of the Aristotelian as of every subsequent theism this is impossible. One who conceives of God as the substance of the world, and of finite things as mere manifestations of the divine force immanent in them, may, and even must, in consequence, declare that the one is as eternal as the other. One, on the other hand, who treats God as a personal being outside the world, distinguishing other beings from Him as so many independent substances, would involve himself in a palpable contradiction were he to hold that the latter are eternally created by the former. Creation as an act proceeding from a personal will must necessarily be in time, and an individual being in order to produce other beings must necessarily exist before them. For only cause immanentes have contemporaneous effects; cause transcendentes always precede their effects: the father precedes the son, the artist the work of art, the creator the creature. Such a contradiction we should be justified in attributing to Aristotle, only if we could show that he held alike to the eternity of the world and to a creative activity of God. The opposite, however, is the case. Aristotle holds, indeed, quite definitely the doctrine of the eternity of the world, but of a creative activity in God we not only find no word in his writings, but he expressly de-
respect to the Forms of sensible things, and to the order of nature which results from their union with Matter: they also are uncreated.\(^1\) It is equally impossible upon Aristotle’s showing to explain the adaptations of nature as the result of any personal interference on the part of God.\(^2\) If, finally, the ancient Greek view of the universe as interpenetrated by divine forces is in open disagreement with Aristotle’s dualistic theism,\(^3\) this does not, where the question is one of his scientific views, justify us in setting aside or explaining away his own definite and well-considered statements, on the ground that he has neglected to bring them into harmony with views that were pressed upon him from another side.

Brandis adopts another method of solving the above difficulties. He believes that Aristotle regarded the Forms as the eternal thoughts of God, whose self-development produces alteration in individual things, and the harmony of whose transmutations is guaranteed by the fundamental unity which underlies them.\(^4\) But, clares that no ροιείν belongs to Him at all. Cf. also infra, Ch. XI. near the end.

\(^1\) As is shown in reference to the forms p. 341, n. 2; in reference to the universe as a whole, p. 387.

\(^2\) Such interference is expressly denied of God (see p. 368, n. 1), nor on the theory that the world is eternal can we understand when it could have taken place; cf. p. 412.

\(^3\) Cf. infra, p. 420 sq.

\(^4\) Gr.-rom. Phil. ii. b, 575, where he says that in order to fully understand Aristotle’s meta-

physics, we must supply certain important conceptions, and goes on: ‘Indeed, that all existences must be traced back to, referred ultimately to, living thoughts of God, and that these must be treated as the simple substrata upon which concrete existences and their mutations ultimately rest, hardly requires to be expressly stated, and is indicated by the question (Metaph. xii. 9, see p. 298, n. 2, supra): If nothing is attained by the thought of the divine spirit, wherein consists its worth? We may, moreover, as-
in the first place, this statement can apply only to the Forms as such, and leaves the existence of the eternal substances (the spherical spirits, &c.) wholly unexplained. In the second place, it is untenable even with respect to the Forms. It finds no support in Aristotle's own utterances, and in more than one point it contradicts what he indisputably taught. The object of Divine Thought, according to Aristotle's definite statement, cannot be other than God Himself: not only are finite existences, as these particular things, excluded, but even the specific concepts or forms, which constitute their internal essence, must remain remote from Him, since they are always something different from Himself, and stand far below that which alone can be matter of his thought—viz. divine and perfect

sume that Aristotle—anticipating Leibnitz's doctrine of monads—more or less consciously intended to refer the changes in the qualities or essence of individual existences to the self-development of the divine thought on which they rest, and the obstructions and disturbances in this self-development to its connection with matter or potentiality; and the harmonious variations in the developments of different individual existences, by an anticipation of the conception of a harmonia praestabilita, to the unity and perfection of the ultimate reality, the unconditioned spirit of God, which is their common substratum.' Cf. further his p. 578, where the central point of the Aristotelian theology is sought for in the doctrine 'that all determination in the world is referable to dynamic activities, and these again to the eternal thought of God:' and p. 577 n.: 'That dynamic activities which have gone out from God, and therefore also finite being which is animated by these, should seek to return to Him, is quite comprehensible.' So also ibid. iii. a, 113 sq.

1 Even Metaph. xii. 9 contains nothing to support BRANDIS's view (cf. also KYM, Metaph. Un ters. 258). Aristotle there asks how we are to conceive of the thought of the divine spirit: if nothing is thought of by him (not: if 'nothing is attained by his thought') his power of thought must be as worthless as that exercised in sleep; if something other than Himself is thought of, then is the worth of his thought to be measured by the worthiness of its object? But this does not mean that the Divine thoughts constitute the essence of things.
Conversely, the Forms of things cannot be thoughts of the Deity, since, according to Aristotle, the Form is the substance of the thing, and Substance can neither be predicated of nor belong to anything. Thoughts cannot be substances, since they exist in the soul as their substratum. Again, we find no analogy in Aristotle for the notion of a self-development of the divine thoughts: indeed, it is directly contradicted by the proposition that there is no change in the thought of God, no transition from one thing to another. Finally, while Brandis maintains that all things strive towards Deity, because the active forces which emanate from Him struggle to return to Him again, Aristotle himself rather ascribes this striving, like all motion, to Matter, which desires to complement and complete itself by means of the forces. Nor is it the least important objection to this view that it clashes with the whole character of Aristotle's system. For supposing the thoughts of Deity to be the supporters of concrete existences and of their mutations, the relation of finite reality to God would be one of immanence: the Deity would by virtue of his thoughts be inherent in things, and the latter would have in God the permanent ground of their shifting properties. Instead of Aristotle's dualistic theology, we should arrive at a system of dynamic pantheism. But not only is it impossible to

1 See p. 398, n. 1, and p. 397, n. 2, supra.
2 See p. 330 sq., and p. 373 sq. supra.
3 Ἑπιστήμη is the very example which Aristotle mentions of that which is at once predicate and inherent attribute of a substratum; see p. 214, n. 4 fin. supra.
4 P. 397, n. 2, supra.
5 Cf. p. 404 sq., p. 344, n. 1, and p. 379, n. 1, and on the doctrine that motion resides in the motum and therefore in the material, 386, n. 1.
6 This is made still more
discover such a system in the works of the Philosopher, but even his school were unacquainted with anything of the sort, until the influence of Stoic opinions introduced that fusion of things diverse and fundamentally distinct which meets us in the spurious book upon the World and still more in Neoplatonism. Aristotle leaves it quite uncertain how we are to define the relation of the particular and individual Forms to the Deity. From his utterances upon the subject we can only say that he placed them side by side, without explaining satisfactorily the existence and the special motions of finite things by the operation of the Deity, or even attempting such an explanation. They are given factors, just as Matter is a given factor which he does not attempt to deduce from Form or Deity. It is true that the unity of his system, the _oúk áγαθον πολυκοιρανιή_, is thus rendered more than doubtful.1

This brings us to the conclusion of the Metaphysics. God being defined as the First Cause of Motion, philosophy passes from the Unmoved to the Moved—or, in other words, to Nature.

obvious by Kým; cf. _ibid._ p. 242 246 sq., 256, 258 sq., and p. 402, n. 1, in _supra_. According to Kým, God is said to be, not only the creative conception, but also the material cause of the world, the indwelling purpose and the productive force that is immanent in it. This, however, is a mere assertion, and is not proved to be Aristotle’s own opinion by any detailed investigation into his declarations on the subject.

1 Cf. _Theophr._ _Fr._ 12 (Me- toph._), 7: τὸ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτ’ ἢ ἡ λόγου δεῖται πλείονος περὶ τῆς ἐφέσεως, ποία καὶ τίνων, ἐπειδη πλείω τὰ κυκλικὰ [the heavenly spheres] καὶ αἱ φοράι τρόπον τινὰ ὑπεναντίας καὶ τὸ ἀνύντων [? we should have expected ἀγαθὸν or ἄριστον] καὶ οὐ χάριν ἀφανές. εἴτε γὰρ ἐν τῷ κινοῦν, ἄτοπου τὸ μὴ πάντα τὴν ἀνύντην [sc. φοράν κινεῖσθαι]: εἴτε καθ’ ἐκαστὸν ἔτερον, αἱ τ’ ἀρχαί πλείους, ὡστε [?] τὸ συμφωνον αὐτῶν εἰς δρεῖν ἰδντων τὴν ἄριστην οὐδαμῶς φανερῶν.
Chapter VIII

Physics

A. The Idea of Nature and the most General Conditions of Natural Existence

First Philosophy, according to the view of Aristotle, has to deal, as we have seen, with unmoved and incorporeal reality: though, in treating of this its proper subject, we were in fact obliged to include some notice of the opposite principle. Natural Philosophy is occupied with the aggregate of corporeal existence which is subject to Motion. All natural substances are bodies, or united to bodies; and under the name of natural existence we include bodies and masses—everything, in fact, which possesses them or is related to them. Hence the whole domain of corporeal existence belongs to Natural Science. But it regards form only in its connection with matter, and the soul in its con-

1 Cf. p. 183, n. 3.
2 De Cielo, i. 1 init.: ἡ περὶ φύσεως ἐπιστήμη σχεδὸν ἡ πλεῖστη φαίνεται περὶ τε σώματα καὶ μεγέθη καὶ τὰ τούτων εἰναι πάθη καὶ τὰς κινήσεις, ἐτι δὲ περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς, ὡσαὶ τῆς τοιαύτης οὐσίας εἰσὶν τῶν γὰρ φύσει συνεστῶτων τὰ μὲν ἐστὶ σώματα καὶ μεγέθη [as the human body], τὰ δ’ ἐχεῖ σῶμα καὶ μέγεθος [as man], τὰ δ’ ἀρχαὶ τῶν ἐχόντων εἰσὶν [as the soul]; iii.

1, 298, b, 27: ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν φύσεως λεγομένων τὰ μὲν ἐστὶν οὐσίαι τὰ δ’ ἔργα καὶ πάθη τούτων [by οὐσίαι, however, he here means both simple and composite bodies] . . . φανερῶν ὅτι τὴν πλεῖστην συμβαίνει τῆς περὶ φύσεως ἱστορίας περὶ σωμάτων εἰναι· πάσας γὰρ ἀι φυσικαὶ οὐσίαι ἡ σώματα ἡ μετὰ σωμάτων γίγνονται καὶ μεγεθῶν.
3 Metaph. vi. 1, 1025, b, 26 sq. (xi. 7) and elsewhere; see infra.
It must, however, be remembered that material existence pertains to Nature and to Natural Philosophy only in so far as it is subject to motion and repose. Mathematical bodies are not natural bodies; indeed, Mathematics may be distinguished from Physics by the fact that the former deals with immovable, the latter with movable, substances.

Furthermore, movable existence can only be regarded as 'natural' when it contains within itself the principle of motion; and this is the point of difference between natural things and the productions of art. The distinction, on the other hand, which is drawn between rational and irrational forces, on the ground that the former may act in either of two opposite directions, the latter only in one, and that the former, therefore, are free, the latter necessary—is only a subdivision within the realm of Nature. Yet since in all substance Form and Matter are distinguishable, we are met by this question: Does the essential reality of nature consist in the Form

1 Metaph. vi. 1, 1026, a, 5: περὶ ψυχῆς ἐνίας θεωρῆσαι τοῦ φυσικοῦ, διότι μὴ ἀνευ τῆς ἡλίου ἐστὶν. De An. i. 1, 403, b, 7. Purt. An. i. 1, 641, a, 21, 32.

2 Phys. ii. 2, 193, b, 31: the mathematician as well as the physicist is occupied with the form of bodies, ἀλλ' οὖν ἡ φυσικὸν σῶματος πέρας ἐκαστον' οὐδέ τὰ συμβεβηκότα θεωρεῖ ἡ τοιοῦτος [sc. φυσικοῖς] οὖτι συμβεβηκέν. διὸ καὶ χωρίζει χωριστὰ γὰρ τῇ νοησει κινήσεως ἐστὶ... τὸ μὲν γὰρ προστὸν ἔσται καὶ τὸ ἀρτιόν, etc. ἀνευ κινήσεως, σὰρξ δὲ καὶ οὐσίων καὶ ἄθροπος οὐκέτι. Cf. what follows and 183, n. 3, supra.

3 Phys. ii. 1, 192, b, 13: τὰ μὲν γὰρ φύσει ὑπάρχαν πάντα φαίνεται ἐχοντα, ἐν ἐαυτοῖς ἀρχήν κινήσεως καὶ στάσεως, τὰ μὲν κατὰ τόπον, τὰ δὲ κατ' ἀυξήσιν καὶ φθίσιν, τὰ δὲ κατ' ἀλλοιώσιν... κλινῇ δὲ καὶ ἰμάτιον, etc... οὐδεμίαν ὅρμην ἔχει μεταβολῆς ἐμφύτου, as he proceeds in the rest of the chapter further to explain. Metaph. xii. 3, 1070, a, 7: ἡ μὲν οὖν τέχνη ἀρχὴ ἐν ἄλλῳ [similarly ix. 2, 1046, b, 4] ἡ δὲ φύσις ἀρχὴ ἐν αὐτῷ.

4 Metaph. ix. 2 init. c. 5, c. 8, 1050, a, 30 sqq. De Interpr. c. 13, 22, b, 39.
or in the Matter? In support of the second alternative it might be asserted that everything requires some material in order to be what it is. Yet Aristotle is forced to maintain the first alternative. The essence of things invariably resides in the Form; it is only by its Form and purpose that a natural object becomes what it is. The true causes are the final causes; the material causes are only the indispensable conditions of natural existence. If, therefore, we wish to determine the general definition of Nature, we must not consider what in it is material, so much as the moving and informing force. Nature is the cause of motion and rest in everything which possesses these conditions of being originally and not merely in some derivative fashion. A natural thing is one that has such a motive force within itself.

But Aristotle does not help us greatly in defining
the character of this ‘force’ with accuracy. On the one side he considers Nature as a Single Being, attributing to her a life which permeates the world throughout, and a definite design which determines and unifies all its parts. He talks of the aims which she attempts to realise in her creations, although the properties of matter often thwart her purpose. In a word, he uses expressions that can scarcely be explained except by the analogy of the human soul and the Platonic *anima mundi,* although he distinctly argues against this idea as conceived by Plato. Though he remarks that the designs of Nature are not determined by deliberation like those of an artist, and though in general we cannot attribute to him any real and intentional personification of Nature, yet the analogy remains. On the other side, however, he undoubtedly regards living beings as individual substances. He ascribes an individual principle of life to them, and he never indicates, or sets himself to discover, how this principle is related to the single force of Nature. Nor does he teach us how Nature is related to the divine causality. When insisting upon the exact significance of divinity, he denies it to any but rational beings;  

1 See the end of this chapter.  
2 Proofs of this are innumerable; it will suffice to refer to the discussion of design in nature which follows in the text.  
3 As will be shown in its proper place.  
4 By ‘analogy’ is meant, not identity, but similarity.  
5 Cf. with what follows BRAN-DIS, iii. a, 113 sqq.  
6 As in *Part. An.* ii. 10, 656,
and from this point of view he will not allow that Nature as a whole is divine, but only demonic. Yet there are other passages in which he seems to follow the popular theology of the Greeks, who recognised and revered an immediate exhibition of divine force in natural phenomena. Nature and God are so used synonymously, and a share in divinity is conceded to all natural existences, however trivial. Indeed, this vacillation of view is deeply rooted in Aristotle's philosophy. So far as God is the first cause of motion, all motions in the universe must proceed from Him; natural forces can only be an emanation of his force, and natural causes a manifestation of his causality. On the other hand, if we confine the functions of the *primum movens* to setting the outer sphere of heaven in motion, these conclusions are impossible. If even in the heavenly sphere we have to assume in addition to the Supreme Mover a series of subordinate and eternal beings, it is still more necessary in order to explain the much greater variety of movements in the realm of nature to assume a train of independent substances endowed with motive power of their own. How the harmony of these movements or their conjunction in an orderly system is effected, it is hard to say. It cannot be by the

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1 *Divin. p. S. c. 2, 463, b, 12:*

2 *De Coro, i. 4 fin.:*

3 *Eth. N. vii. 14, 1153, b, 32: πάντα γὰρ φύσει ἔχει τί θεῖον.*
natural operation of the \textit{primum movens} upon the world. Aristotle's philosophy, moreover, excludes the conception of God's immediate interference in the course of the universe; and it would be illegitimate to attribute to Aristotle the popular belief in Providence, on the strength of a passing allusion to it in his writings.\footnote{Eth. N. x. 9, 1179, a. 22: \textit{δέ κατὰ νοῦν ἐνεργῶν καὶ τούτον θεραπεύων καὶ διακείμενος ἁριστα καὶ θεοφιλέστατος ἔοικεν εἶναι: εἰ γὰρ τις ἐπιστήμη τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ὑπὸ θεῶν γίνεται, ἢσπερ δοκεῖ, καὶ εἰὴ ἄν εἰδοὺν χαίρειν τε αὐτοὺς τῷ ἁριστῷ καὶ τῷ συγγενεστάτῳ (τότο δ' ἂν εἰϑ ὁ νοῦς) καὶ τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας μᾶλιστα τοῦτο καὶ τιμῶντας ἀντεύ-\textit{ποιεῖν ὡς τῶν φίλων αὐτοῖς ἐπιμελουμένως καὶ ὅρθῶς} τε καὶ καλῶς πράσσοντας. \textit{ὅτι δὲ} πάντα ταῦτα τῷ σοφῷ μάλιστ' ὑπάρχει, οὐκ ἀδηλον. θεοφιλέστατος ἦρα. It is obvious that Aristotle is here arguing from popular conceptions; he himself ascribes to God no external operation. \textit{Cf. pp. 389 sqq. supra.}} Consequently it remains in obscurity whether we are to regard Nature as a single force or as an assemblage of forces, as something independent or as an emanation from the divine activity; or, on the other hand, whether we ought to combine these two points of view, and, if so, how we ought to do it. But meantime we may permit Aristotle further to unfold his view of Nature.

The most important idea with which we have to deal in the Philosophy of Nature is that of Motion. In our earlier researches we had to examine this idea in its general bearing; therefore what now remains is that we should supplement our previous conclusions with an analysis of physical motion in its stricter and more special sense.

Motion was defined generally on p. 380 sq. as the actualisation of what exists potentially. By analysing the different sorts of Motion we arrive at the special definition of its physical character. Aristotle distin-
guishes three kinds: quantitative motion, or increase and decrease; qualitative motion, or alteration; and motion in space, or locomotion—to which may be added as a fourth kind, birth and destruction. Now all these kinds of movement may be ultimately resolved into the third kind—Motion in Space. For, if we examine them more closely, we find that increase or growth, to begin with, consists in the addition of fresh material to matter which has already received a certain form: the increment is potentially but not actually identical with that which it augments, and assumes its form; in other

1 Phys. v. 1, 225, a, c. 2, 226, a, 23 (Metaph. xi. 11, 12), cf. Metaph. viii. 1, 1042, a, 32, xii. 2 init., Phys. viii. 7, 260, a, 26, 261, a, 32 sqq., vii. 2 init. Gen. et Corr. i. 4, 319, b, 31; De An. i. 3, 406, a, 12,; Long. v. 3, 465, b, 30; De Carlo, iv. 3, 310, a, 25. Cat. c. 14 init. Aristotle here distinguishes generally three kinds of change (μεταβολή): transition from being to being, from being to not-being, and from not-being to being. The first is motion in the stricter sense, the second destruction, the third origination. Motion he then divides into the kinds mentioned in the text (κίνησις κατά μέγεθος, κατὰ πάθος and κατὰ τόπον, as he calls them Phys. viii. 7, 260, b, 26), and, taking birth and destruction again together, thus enumerates four kinds of μεταβολή: ἡ κατὰ τὸ τί (γένεσις καὶ φθορά), ἡ κατὰ τὸ πάσον (ἀγείρησις καὶ φθίσις), ἡ κατὰ τὸ ποιόν (ἄλλωσις), ἡ κατὰ τὸ ποώ (φορά). That these are the only categories under which motion can be thought, is shown Phys. v. 2, where change of sub-

stance (birth and destruction) is not admitted to be motion (similarly c. 5, 229, a, 30; cf. SIMPL. Phys. 201, b, who extends the statement to the Peripatetic school in general, remarking, however, that Theophrastus, among others, did not keep strictly to this use of language); elsewhere Aristotle treats this also as a form of motion, and uses ‘motion’ as synonymous with ‘change.’ See p. 382, n. 3, supra. Phys. vii. 2, 243, a, 21 (cf. De An. i. 3, 406, a, 4) distinguishes two kinds of locomotion: that which is self-originated and that which is caused by something else. The latter again is of four kinds: ἐξίς, ἀνίς, ὁχησίς, δινησίς, the third and fourth of which, however, may be resolved into the first two. Cf. viii. 10, 267, b, 9 sqq.; De An. iii. 10, 433, b, 25; Ingr. An. c. 2, 704, b, 22 (Mot. An. c. 10, 703, a, 19); the statement in Rhet. i. 5, 1361, b, 16, is less exact. ἀνίς is either ἀνίς in the stricter sense, or τόπος; Meteor. iv. 9, 386, a, 33; De An. ii. 8, 419, b, 13, and cf. Probl.
words, such increase is an augmentation of matter, the form remaining constant. Similarly decrease is the diminution of matter without change of form. Quantitative alteration, therefore, implies both qualitative movement and locomotion. But the second of these two is prior to the first; for every transformation results from the coincidence of something which produces it with something in which it is produced, of an active and a passive element. This coincidence, then, can only take place by local contact, for (although the converse is not necessarily true) the patient must always be touched by the agent, and contact cannot be effected without locomotion.

Even the last species of change, birth and destruction, is eventually founded upon movement in space. If one were to assume an absolute beginning or end of existence, such a transmutation could not, indeed, be called a movement, since in such a case the substratum of the movement would itself begin or end. But birth and annihilation in this absolute sense are really impossible. Everything starts from...
being of some sort, and is resolved into being again. It is only a particular object, as such, that begins and ends its existence. Its beginning is the end, and its end the beginning, of something else. Consequently, in so far as generation and destruction are different from change, this difference only affects the individual object. The individual changes when it survives as a whole, although its qualities alter, but it is generated or destroyed when it, as a whole, begins or ceases to exist. If on the contrary we regard the universe and not the individual, then generation and destruction coincide partly with composition and division, partly with the transmutation of materials. Now both of these processes are occasioned by movement in space. Everything that comes into being has its cause; all 'becoming' implies a 'being' by which it is

in the πάθη, birth and destruction by change in the υποκειμένων, whether in respect of its form (άγος) or its matter; c. 4, 319, b, 10: ἀλλοίωσις μὲν ἐστιν, ὅταν υπομενοντος τοῦ υποκειμένου, αἰσθητοῦ ὄντος, μεταβάλλῃ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ πάθεσιν . . . . ὅταν δὲ ὅλον μεταβάλλῃ μὴ υπομενοντος αἰσθητοῦ τινος ὡς υποκειμένου τοῦ αὐτοῦ . . . γένεσις ἡδή το τοιοῦτον, τοῦ δὲ φθορᾶ.

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4 C. F. Meteor. iv. 1, 378, b, 31 sqq., where he argues that generation is effected by definite materials becoming transmuted and determined in certain ways by the agency of efficient forces; destruction, on the other hand, by the conquest of the passive matter over the determining form.

5 Cf. Phys. viii. 7, 260, b, 8:
produced. Since this, as we saw in the case of alteration, cannot operate without movement in space, such movement must precede all generation. Again, if movement in space precedes generation, it must of necessity precede growth, change, decrease, and destruction; since these processes can only be carried on in that which has previously been generated. Therefore this species of motion is the first in the order of causality, as well as in the order of time and in the logical order also.

Notwithstanding what has just been said, Aristotle is far from explaining natural phenomena by the merely mechanical principle of motion in space, as the Atomists had done. Even purely physical occurrences cannot, in his opinion, be satisfactorily accounted for by this method, seeing that many of them are only to be conceived as modes of qualitative alteration, or the transmutation of materials. Physics do not by any means exhaust the conception of Nature. Final Causes

1 *Phys. ibid.* 261, a, 1 sqq. *Gen. et Corr.* ii. 10 init.

2 *Phys. ibid.* b, 7. It is here further pointed out in proof of the priority of 'movement in space,' that, while it is presupposed by the others, it does not presuppose them. Without the movement of the heavens, neither generation nor destruction, neither growth nor material change, could take place. Movement itself, on the other hand, is indepen-dent of these conceptions, and none of them are applicable to the heavens (260, b, 19 sqq. *Gen. et Corr.* ii. 10 init.). So also movement in space is the only one of these conceptions which has to do with the eternal, and is of infinite duration (260, b, 29, 261, a, 27 sqq.). Aristotle also argues that because it is the last in time in respect to individual existences, it must be the first in nature (260, b, 30, 261, a, 13); and he holds that it causes the least change in the nature of the thing moved, and is the motion which the self-moving produces in preference to every other (261, a, 20).


4 See p. 304, n. 3, and p. 306, n. 5.
rise above the material causes which subserve them; and these are not provided for in the philosophy of a Democritus. Lastly, if it be true that 'becoming' is a transition from potentiality to actuality, or a process of development, and that the importance of Aristotle's natural philosophy consists, to a great extent, in having first made this notion of development possible and consciously given it the foremost place, it is clear that Aristotle could not favour opinions which started with an express denial of any 'becoming' or qualitative alteration, and left us nothing but a movement in space of unalterable materials. Therefore qualitative alteration must be added to locomotion, even in the domain of matter, as a second source of natural occurrences: but over against both, Aristotle sets the teleology of nature, which uses as means to its end all that is corporeal and determined by natural necessity.

Next to Motion in Space, and not without direct relation to it, come investigations by which Aristotle further illustrates the idea of motion in his Physics: and these include discussions upon the Infinite, Space, Time, the Unity and Continuity of Motion, &c.

The Infinite had played an important part in pre-
Aristotelian philosophy. Plato and the Pythagoreans went so far as to make it an element of all things, and therefore a substance. Aristotle begins by proving this to be impossible: 'infinity' does not belong to the order of substances but of qualities. Then he shows that an 'infinite magnitude' is inconceivable. For suppose it to be a body, body is that which is limited by superficies; or if it be a number, numbers are capable of being counted, and that which can be counted is not infinite. Lastly, and more especially, an infinite body could neither be composite nor simple. It could not be composite, since, the elements being limited in number, an infinite body could not be made up of them unless one of them were infinite in magnitude, and such an element would leave no room for the rest. And to think of it as simple is equally impossible. In the first place, as far as this world is concerned, no bodies exist except the four elementary ones, nor can there be any out of which alone everything could come, since all becoming moves between two opposites; and if there be several primitive bodies, it is quite impossible that one should be infinite. Again, every body has its natural place, in which it abides, and to which it tends; and this law determines the difference in weight between bodies; every body without exception must exist in a definite space, in a locality; but in the infinite there is no definite locality, no distinction of up and down, centre and circumference, before and after, right and left. Moreover, whereas it is manifest that bodies

\[1\] Phys. iii. 5, 204, a; see p. 312, i. 7 init.
\[2\] Phys. ibid. 204, b, 4.
\[3\] Ibid. 204, b, 11, cf. De Cælo, iv. 8, 215, a, 8. De Cælo, i. 6
either move in a circle like the celestial spheres or in straight lines up and down like the elemental bodies, infinity admits of neither of these movements. The former is impossible, because circles are by their nature circumscribed, and circular movement is rotation round a centre, whereas in the infinite there is no centre;\(^1\) the latter, because lineal motion has a starting point and end.\(^2\) Indeed, 'infinity' could not move at all, since it would take infinite time to traverse the smallest conceivable space.\(^3\) Finally, Aristotle uses an argument conclusive with Greeks, who could not imagine formless being: the infinite, as such, is incomplete and without shape—we call that infinite the magnitude of which is indeterminable, which is never finished and complete, which cannot be limited in such a way as not to leave some portion of it outside.\(^4\) The infinite first becomes a whole and complete when it is enclosed by means of form. But the world cannot be conceived except as complete and a whole.\(^5\)

\(^1\) Aristotle's words are: \(\textit{ov }\gamma\alpha\rho \ \textit{ov }\mu\nu\theta\delta\nu \varepsilon\xi\omega, \ \dot{\alpha}\lambda\lambda' \ \textit{ov }\dot{\alpha}\iota \ \dot{\varepsilon}\xi\omega \ \dot{e}\sigma\tau\iota, \ \tau\omega\upsilon' \ \dot{\alpha}\pi\varepsilon\iota\rho\omega \ \acute{e}\sigma\tau\iota,\) where, however, the antithesis is merely verbal, \(\textit{ov }\mu\nu\theta\delta\nu \varepsilon\xi\omega\) meaning 'that beyond which nothing exists', \(\textit{ov }\dot{\alpha}\iota \ \dot{\varepsilon}\xi\omega,\) on the other hand, 'that of which a part always remains beyond.'

\(^2\) As is shown, at unnecessary length, \textit{De Caelo}, i. 5, 271, b, 26 sqq. 272, b, 17 sqq. c. 7, 275, b, 12.

\(^3\) \textit{De Caelo}, i. 6 \textit{init.} Also c. 7, 275, b, 15 sqq.

\(^4\) \textit{Ibid.}, c. 6, 272, a, 21 sqq. \textit{Phys.}, vi. 7, 238, a, 36.

\(^5\) \textit{Ibid.}, c. 6, 272, a, 21 sqq. \textit{Phys.}, vi. 7, 238, a, 36.
the infinite, as such, should really exist as an in-
terminable magnitude.\footnote{Phys. iii. 5 fin. : ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἐνεργεία οὐκ ἐστὶ σώμα ἄπειρον, φανέρον ἐκ τούτων. c. 6, 206, a, 16: τὸ δὲ μεγέθος ὅτι κατ' ἐνεργείαν οὐκ ἐστὶν ἄπειρον, εἴρηται; ibid. b, 24.}

Yet we cannot entirely do without it. Time, and
motion, which is measured by time, are without be-
ingning or end. Magnitudes are capable of infinite
division, number of infinite increase.\footnote{Phys. iii. 6, init.: ὅτι δ' εἰ μὴ ἐστὶν ἄπειρον ἀπλᾶς, πολλὰ ἀδύνατα συμβαίνει, δήλον, τοῦ τε γὰρ χρόνου ἐσται τις ἀρχή καὶ τέλειον, καὶ τὰ μεγέθη οὐ διαστάτε εἰς μεγέθη, καὶ ἀρθμῶς οὐκ ἐσται ἄπειροι. Aristotle proves in par-
ticular: (1) the eternity of time, and with it the eternity of motion which is measured by time. Be-
sides the passages quoted p. 388, n. 1, see Phys. viii. 1, 251, b, 10 sqq. and cf. Metaph. xii. 6, 1071, b, 7. He argues that as every pre-
sent is the middle point between the past and the future, and every moment is a present, it is
wholly impossible to conceive of any moment of time which has not a before and after, and there-
fore of any which could be a first or a last moment, a begin-
ing or an end of time. (2) He proves the infinite divisibility of magnitudes, by showing that no-
thing which is continuous, whe-
must conclude that the infinite exists in one sense and not in another: or in other words, that it has a potential but not an actual existence. The divisibility of magnitudes in space is indefinite; yet we may not therefore argue that there is an infinitely small particle. The multiplication of numbers has no limit; yet there is no infinitely great number. In a word, the infinite can never be represented in actuality. It is always potential, and in its two manifestations takes opposite directions—extension being capable of infinite division, but not of infinite augmentation: number, on the other hand, of infinite augmentation, but not of infinite division, since the unit is the smallest number.

Again, all change is excluded in things indivisible, for change involves division between an earlier and a later condition (Phys. vi. i init.). In particular, when we come to the indivisible elementary bodies and surfaces of Democritus and Plato, we shall find these beset by a whole series of new difficulties in addition to the above. (3) Lastly, as there is no highest number, number is capable of infinite multiplication. This, however, has never been disputed, and therefore requires no proof.

1 Phys. iii. 6, 206, a, 12 sqq.: πώς μὲν ἐστιν [τὸ ἀπειρον], πώς δ' οὖ. λέγεται δὴ τὸ εἰναι τὸ μὲν δυνάμει τὸ δὲ ἑντελεχεία, καὶ τὸ ἀπειρον ἐστὶ μὲν προσοθέσει ἐστι δὲ καὶ ἀφαιρέσεις, τὸ δὲ μέγεθος ὅτι μὲν καὶ ἐνέργειαν οὐκ ἐστιν ἀπειρον, εἴπηται, διαφάνεις δ' ἐστιν· οὐ γάρ χαλέπον ἀνελεῖν τὰς ἀτόμους γραμμάτων· λειτεται οὖν δυνάμει εὑρεῖ· τὸ ἀπειρον. Only we must not suppose that this potentiality can ever become actual, ὡστε τὸ ἀπειρον οὐ δει λαμβάνειν ὡς τόδε τι... ἀλλ' ἀεὶ ἐν γενέσει ἢ ἡθορα, &c.; c. 7, 207, b, 11 (on the infinity of number): ὡστε δυνάμει μὲν ἐστιν, ἐνέργεια δ' οὖ· ἀλλ' ἀεὶ ὑπερβάλλει τὸ λαμβανόμενον παντὸς ἀριθμοῦν πλῆθους. ἀλλ' οὐ χωριστὸς ὁ ἀριθμὸς ὑπὸ τῆς διχοτομίας, οὐδὲ μὲν εἰ ἡ ἀπειρὰ ἀλλὰ γίνεται, ὡσπερ καὶ ὁ χρόνος καὶ ὁ ἀριθμὸς τοῦ χρόνου. It is shown also, Gen. et Corr. i. 2, 316, a, 14 sqq., with respect to infinite divisibility, that it never can be actually realised in fact and therefore exists only potentially. It is just because it is merely εἶν δυνάμει that the Infinite is reckoned among material causes (see p. 350, n. 1, supra).

2 Phys. iii. 7. Time, however, even Aristotle holds to be infinite in both directions.
as an infinity of force. This also, however, is manifested only in a series which is never exhausted, and in the endless motion of the world.¹

In proceeding to the notion of Space, we may remark, in the first place, that Aristotle did not regard it as the boundary-line or shape of individual bodies; for in this case bodies would not move in a space, but with their space, and several bodies could not successively enter the same space. No more can it be identified with the matter of bodies, since this also is inseparable from the body which is in space: nor is it that which circumscribes, but that which is circumscribed. In the third place, we may not regard it as the distance between the boundaries of bodies, since this distance changes with the bodies, whereas space remains always the same, whatever may exist and move within it.² Space may more properly be defined as the limit of the surrounding body in respect to that which it surrounds.³ The place of each particular body ⁴ is therefore formed by the (internal) limits of that which surrounds it, and space in general by the limits of the world.⁵

¹ See notes to p. 395, supra.
² Phys. iv. 1–4, cf. esp. 211, b, 5 sqq., 209, b, 21 sqq.
³ Τὸ πέρας τοῦ περιέχοντος σῶματος, or, more accurately, τὸ τοῦ περιέχοντος πέρας ἀκίνητον πρῶτον. Cf. De Cielo, iv. 3, 310, b, 7.
⁴ Ἰδιὸς τόπος, as it is called Phys. iv. 2 init., as opposed to τόπος κοινός. It is also called δ’ πρῶτος τόπος ἐν ὧν ἐστὶν ἐκαστον; ibid. c. 4, 211, a, 28.
⁵ Phys. iv. 5, 212, a, 31, b, 18.

It is strange that space should here be called as in c. 4, 212, a, 20 (cf. n. 3, supra) τοῦ ὑφαντοῦ τι ς ἐσχάτον καὶ ἀπτόμενον τοῦ κυμητοῦ σῶματος πέρας ἤρεμον; for we are told (c. below and p. 377) that the vault of heaven moves continually in a circle. Aristotle means, however (c. 4, 212, a, 18 sqq. c. 5, 212, a, 31 sqq., viii. 9, 265, b, 1 sqq.) that just as in the case of a ball which spins round its own axis without otherwise moving the circumference is as
Aristotle obtains the notion of Time by a similar process.\(^1\) Time cannot exist without motion, since it is only by the movement of thoughts that we perceive it. Yet it is not motion, since motion itself is inseparable from the object moved, and therefore is in one case faster, in another slower; whereas time is universally the same, and its movement is always equally fast. It follows that time stands in a special relation to motion, but is different from it. It is the measure or the number of motion in respect to what is earlier and later.\(^2\) The unit of this number is the ‘now.’ Time is occasioned by the movement of the ‘now.’ It is this that makes time at once a continuous and a discrete magnitude: continuous, in so far as ‘now’ is the same in the present moment as it was in the past; discrete, in so far as its being is different in each moment.\(^3\)

These notions of Time and Space involve the infinity of the former and the finitude of the latter; and we already know Aristotle’s further reasons for this distinction between them.\(^4\) In like manner his concep-

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\(^1\) *Phys.* iv. 10, 11.

\(^2\) *Aristotelis libri quattuor* 11, 9.


\(^4\) Cf. p. 428 sqq., and 387, *supra.* Aristotle, however, here
tion of Space implies the impossibility of a vacuum. If Space is the limit of the enclosing body in relation to the enclosed, we cannot but conclude that there is no space where there is no body: empty space would be an enclosure that encloses nothing. Aristotle tries on this point, with minute and patient arguments, to confute the widely-received assumption of a vacuum, which, owing mainly to the teaching of the Atomists, had become part of the current Natural Philosophy.

The reasons with which they had supported it appear to him inconclusive. Movement does not need to be explained by such an hypothesis, since we can imagine that another body quits the space which the object in motion enters. Condensation may be referred to the exit of air or other matter from the bodies in question; rarefaction to its entrance into them. The expansion which water, for example, experiences when passing into air (that is, into steam) may be explained by the alteration of materials, which necessitates another degree of rarity: or the phenomena of gravity by the tendency of the elements to reach their natural place. The vacuum would rather put a stop to the possibility of motion. Since emptiness yields equally on all sides, one cannot imagine anything capable of determining a body to follow one direction rather than another. It would afford no distinction of natural localities. No special motion could take place in it. On the other hand, it distinguishes, as Plato had done (Tim. 37, D, 38, B), between the endless time in which mutable existence moves, and eternity (aiow) or the timeless being of the immutable. Phys. iv. 12, 221, b, 3. De Caelo, i. 9, 279, b, 11–28; see p. 395, n. 6, supra.

1 Phys. iv. 7, 214, a, 24 sqq., c. 8 init. c. 9.
would be equally impossible, on the hypothesis of infinite vacuity, to assign any reason for rest in Nature. Again, if bodies fall or rise with a rapidity proportioned to the rarity of the medium through which they are moving, everything would have to fall or rise with infinite rapidity through the infinite rarity of the void. On the other hand, if, ceteris paribus, greater masses fall or rise quicker than smaller ones because they more easily overcome the withstanding medium, then in the void, where there is no resistance to overcome, the smallest would move as quickly as the greatest. Lastly, how are we to conceive that an empty space exists beyond the space occupied by bodies, since, if a body entered that space, there would then be two spaces, an empty and a full, the one within the other? And what is the use of such a void space, since every body has its own extension? Besides, by maintaining that there is empty space or any space at all beyond the world, one would end in the contradiction of asserting that a body could be where no body can.

If empty Space is impossible, empty Time, filled with no movement, is equally inconceivable, since Time is nothing but the number of motion. Aristotle, in fact, maintains the eternity of motion as having neither be-

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1 *Phys*. iv. 8; cf. *De Caelo*, iv. 2. In estimating the force of these arguments we must, of course, take account of the state of scientific knowledge at the time, and of the presuppositions which were shared by Aristotle and the Atomists alike. See p. 442, infra.

2 *De Caelo*, i. 9, 279, a, 11: ἢμα δὲ δὴλον ὅτι οὐδὲ τόπος οὐδὲ κεῖτε φρόνος ἐστιν ἐξω τοῦ ύματος: ἕν ἄπαντι γὰρ τόπῳ δυνατόν ὕπαρξαι σῶμα: κεῖτο δ᾽ εἰναι φασιν ἐν ὃ μὴ εὐπάρχει σῶμα, δυνατὸν δ᾽ ἐστὶ γενόσθαι... ἔχω δὲ τοῦ ύματος διέπεσται ὅτι οὔτ' ἐστιν οὔτ' ἐνδέχεται γενόσθαι σῶμα.

3 *Phys*. viii. 1, 251, b, 10: τὸ πρότερον καὶ ὑστέρον πῶς ἐστιν χρόνου μὴ υἱός; ἡ δ᾽ χρόνος μὴ ὁβσῆς κινήσεως; εἰ δὴ ἐστιν ὁ

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gimming nor end. On this point he suggests the remarkable question: whether there could be Time without a soul? And he answers it by saying that Time in its essence is implicit in motion, but that in reality it cannot be without the soul, because number does not exist without a calculator, and reason is the only calculator. But we should make a mistake if we sought to discover in this remark any inclination to the idealist theory of Time which has obtained so vast an importance in modern philosophy. Its apparent bias towards Idealism proceeds from Aristotle’s not conceiving the ideas of Time and Space in as pure and abstract a sense as is familiar to us. Although he does not go so far as Plato, who identified Space with extended substance, and Time with the motion of the stars, yet he never attempts to make an accurate distinction between Space and Time of its existence; v. TORSBERG in Rh. Mus. xii. 1857, p. 161 sqq., ón on e i e nthexetai kímpovn evnαι òn e ν ψυχής. Aristotle is not quite consistent in his answers to the question, what faculty of the soul it is that perceives time. According to the above passage and De An. iii. 10, 433, b, 5 sqq., we must suppose that it is the reason, and that the sense of time is limited to rational beings. In the De Mem. i. 450, a, 9–23, on the other hand, he assigns it to the πρώτον αισθητικών, and attributes memory, which involves the perception of time (ibid. 449, b, 28), to many of the lower animals (ibid. and c. 2, 453, a, 7 sqq. Hist. An. i. 1, 488, b, 25). 3 See ZELL. Ph. d. Gr. Abth. i. pp. 613, 684, 2.

1 See p. 387, supra.

2 Phys. iv. 14, 223, a, 16 sqq. esp. 1 25: ei δε μηδέν ἄλλο πέφυκεν ἄριθμειν ἡ ψυχή καὶ ψυχῆς νοῦς, ἀδύνατον εἶναι χρόνον ψυχῆς μὴ ὁμορρη, ἀλλὰ ἡ τούτο ὁ πατὸν ὃν ἐστίν ὁ χρόνος [apart from the soul time, as such, cannot exist, but only that which constitutes the essence of time, the reality that lies beneath it as the substratum
as universal forms of sense, and the existence in which they are manifested. We have seen 1 that he cannot conceive of space without physical locality, higher and lower, gravity and levity. 2 He limits existence in space, in its strictest sense, to that which is surrounded by another body different from itself, arguing from this position that there is no space beyond the world, and that the world as a whole is not in space, but only its single parts. 3 In the same way the homogeneous parts of a coherent body, as parts of the whole, are only potentially in space; they are not actually so until separated from the whole. 4 It is the same with Time. Time, being the number of motion, presupposes an object moved on the one hand, and on the other a counting subject. He remarks expressly, however, that when Time is called the number of motion, we must not understand by the word number that by which one counts, but what is counted. 5 Number, that is, must be taken not in its subjective but its objective sense. Far from considering Time as a mere form of our perception, he regards it rather as something pertaining to motion, and, indeed, to the body moved. Outside the world, where bodies cease, Time also ceases to exist. 6

In the further discussion of Motion which is found in Aristotle’s Physics, our attention is chiefly drawn to the points which bear more directly upon his doctrine of the *primum movens* and the structure of the universe. He

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1 P. 428, *supra*.
2 He says, therefore, *Phys. iv.* 1, 208, b, 8: the movements of simple bodies (fire, earth, &c.) show ὃν μόνον ὅτι ἐστι τι δ ὁ τόπος, ἀλλὰ ὅτι καὶ ἔχει τινὰ δύναμιν (a real significance).
3 *see p. 429, n. 5, supra*.
4 *Phys. iv.* 5, 212, b, 4.
5 *Phys. iv.* 11, 219, b, 5.
6 *De Caelo,* i. 9; *see p. 435, n. 3, supra,* and p. 357, n. 6.
defines the meaning of coexistence in space, of contact, of intermediate space, of succession, of continuity, &c. 1 He distinguishes the different relations in which the unity of motion can be spoken of, 2 finding the absolute unity of motion in continuous or unbroken movement— that is, in such as belongs to one and the same object in the same relation at one and the same time. 3 He asks what constitutes uniformity of motion and its opposite: 4 in what cases two movements, or movement and repose, may be said to be opposed to each other; how far the natural or unnatural character of a movement has to be considered in either instance. 5 After proving further that all continuous magnitudes are divisible ad infinitum, 6 that time and space in this respect correspond, and that in reality it is only with

1 *Phys.* v. 3: ἀμα μὲν οὖν λέγεται ταῦτ' εἶναι κατὰ τόπον, όσα ἐν ενί τόπῳ ἔστι πρώτω, χωρίς δὲ όσα ἐν ἐπέρφω, ἀπεταθαὶ δὲ ὀν τὰ ἄκρα ἀμα, μεταξὶ δὲ εἰς ὅ περυκε πρῶτον ἀρχικευθαὶ τὸ μεταθάλλον... ἐφεξῆς δὲ οὐ μετὰ τὴν ἁρχὴν μόνον δυτος... μηθὲν μεταξὶ ἐστὶ τῶν ἐν ταῦτῳ γενεῖ καὶ [join with ταυτῷ] οὐ εφεξῆς ἐστιν. ... ἐχόμενον δὲ [immediately successive] δ ἐν εφεξῆς ὄν ἀπτηταὶ... λέγω δὲ εἶναι συνεχεῖς [continuous], όταν ταυτῷ γενεῖται καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐκατέρων πέρας οἷς ἀπτοταῖ. In the συνεχεῖς, therefore, there must be unity as well as contact. On ἀφι cf. *Gen. et Corr.* i. 6, 328, a, 3.

2 *Phys.* v. 4 *init.*: motion is either γένει or εἶδει or ἀπλῶς μία. For other senses in which motion is said to be 'one,' see *ibid.* 228, b, 11 sqq. Cf. vii. 1, 4, pp. 125, 139, of Bekker's smaller edition.

3 *Phys.* v. 4, 227, b, 21: ἀπλῶς δὲ μία κ νήσις ἡ τῇ οὐσίᾳ μία καὶ τῷ ἀρέθῳ, the latter is the case when not only the thing moved and the kind of its motion (ἀλλοϊωσις, φορά, &c., together with their special varieties) but also the time is the same, 228, a, 20: τὴν τε ἀπλῶς μίαν [κ'νησιω] ἀνάγικη καὶ συνεχῇ εἶναι... καὶ εἰ συνεχῆς, μία.


5 *Phys.* v. 5, 6.

6 *Ibid.* vi. 1 sq.; see p. 430, n. 2, *supra*. The indivisible unit of space and time (the point and the moment) is therefore (as is shown *De An.* iii. 6, 430, b. 17 sqq.) never found existing actually and independently as a χωριστὸν, but only as contained potentially in the divisible, and not ever known except as a negation.
finite spaces traversed in a finite time that motion has to do—whereas infinite spaces are only said to be traversed in the same sense in which the time of motion is infinite \(^1\)—he establishes the indivisibility of the present moment, and concludes that in this unit neither motion nor rest are possible. \(^2\) He discusses the divisibility of motion and of the body moved, \(^3\) remarking that every alteration attains completion in an indivisible moment, but that the moment of its beginning is never capable of being accurately determined. \(^4\) He shows that it is equally impossible to measure a merely finite space in infinite time or an infinite space in finite time, and consequently that an infinite magnitude cannot move any distance at all in a finite time. \(^5\) These conclusions supply him with the means of refuting Zeno's arguments against motion, \(^6\) and enable him to prove that the indivisible can neither move nor change in any way. \(^7\) Finally, he prepares the way for investigating the movement of the universe and its cause, by asking \(^8\) whether there can be a single movement of infinite duration. After establishing the eternity of motion and

\(^1\) Phys. vi. 2, 233, a, 13 sqq.
\(^2\) Ibid. c. 3, and again c. 8, where he adds: in the transition from motion to rest, the motion lasts as long as the transition lasts; while, therefore, a thing is coming to rest, it is moving still.
\(^3\) Ibid. c. 4 (cf. also p. 430, n. 2). Motion according to this passage is divisible in a double sense: first in respect of the time occupied, and secondly in respect of the object moved.
\(^4\) Ibid. c. 5, 6. We see from Simpl. Phys. 230, a, m. 231, b, m. and Themist. Phys. 55, a, m., that difficulties had already suggested themselves to Theophrastus and Eudemus in connection with this view.
\(^5\) Phys. vi. 7; cf. p. 429, n. 3, supra. Aristotle shows, Phys. viii. 9, 265, b, 16, that his predecessors also treated motion in space as the most primary.
\(^6\) Phys. vi. 9, cf. c. 2, 233, a, 21, viii. 8, 263, a, 4, and p.*311, supra.
\(^7\) Phys. viii. 10.
\(^8\) At the end of this chapter.
the necessity of a *primum movens*, he gives this answer: ¹ if there is a continuous and single movement without beginning or end, it must be movement in space, for not only does this precede every other,² but every other is a transition between opposites; ³ and where this is the case the first motion ceases at a certain point, at which a new movement may begin in another direction, but one and the same cannot continue without a break.⁴ The same argument proves that only circular motion answers all the necessary requirements. If all movement in space must be either in a straight line, or circular, or mixed,⁵ a mixed movement could only be of endless duration and continuous if both the others could. Movement in a straight line cannot have this character, since every finite rectilinear movement ⁶ has terminal points at which it ceases, and though between these terminal points it may be infinitely often repeated, yet these repeated movements do not constitute one continuous motion. Circular motion is, therefore, the only kind of movement which, continuing one and the same in unbroken sequence, can be without beginning and end.⁷ It unites the repose of the universe with unceasing motion, since it enables it to move

¹ *Phys.* viii. 1-6; see p. 387 sq. *supra*.
² *Phys.* viii. 7; see p. 423 sq. *supra*.
³ Generation from not-being to being; destruction from being to not-being; increase from less to greater; decrease from greater to less; alteration from one state to another, *e.g.* from water to steam.
⁵ Among mixed forms of motion we must in this division reckon all curves except the circle.
⁶ An infinite one is impossible, not only in itself (see p. 430, n. 2, *supra*) but also because the world is not infinite.
⁷ All this is explained at length, *Phys.* viii. 8, 261, a, 27-263, b, 3, 264, a, 7 sqq. c. 9 *init*. 
without changing its place as a whole.\(^1\) It is the measure for all other movement. It alone is entirely uniform, whereas in rectilinear\(^2\) movement rapidity increases in proportion to the distance from the starting-point.\(^3\) How this eternal rotation is brought about by the operation of the *primum movens*\(^4\) we have already shown.

Important though movement in space is, as the most primitive kind of change on which all others are dependent, Aristotle cannot agree with the mechanical theory of physics in merging all forms of change in this one, and in assuming only the combination and separation, while rejecting the transmutation, of materials. Three questions arise upon this point. Is there a qualitative distinction between sorts of matter? Is there a qualitative alteration of materials? Is there such a combination of materials as to cause the change of their

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\(^1\) *Phys.* viii. 9, 265, b, 1; cf. p. 398, 4.

\(^2\) Those, namely, which Aristotle treats as the natural motions of elementary bodies: in other words, the downward motion of heavy, and the upward motion of light bodies. With forcible movements the opposite is the case.

\(^3\) *Phys.* viii. 9, 265, b, 8 sqq.

\(^4\) The seventh book of the *Physics* is passed over in the above account, because it was not originally a part of the work (see p. 81, n. 2, *supra*). Its contents are as follows. After it has been explained in c. 1 that every movement must have its source in a *primum movens*, and in c. 2 (see p. 386, n. 3, and p. 423, n. 1, *ad fin.*) that the latter must move along with the motion, c. 3 goes on to show that αλλαίωσις concerns only the sensible qualities of things; c. 4 inquires in what case two movements are commensurable, and c. 5 finally proves that the same force moves half the mass in the same time twice as far, in half the time the same distance as the whole; likewise that the same mass is moved, by the same force, in the same time, the same distance, in half the time half the distance, while half the mass is moved by half the force the same distance; on the other hand, it does not follow that twice the mass is moved by the same force half as far as half the mass, or the same mass by half the force half as far as by the whole force; for the force may not perhaps be able to move it at all. The same is true of the other kinds of change.
qualities? The Atomists answered all three of these questions, Anaxagoras and Empedocles at least the second and the third, in the negative. Aristotle feels himself obliged to answer all affirmatively, combating the mechanical theory of his predecessors, and seeking the solution of their difficulties in the peculiar tenets of his own system. That he wholly succeeded in this attempt the natural science of our day will certainly refuse to admit, and will even be frequently inclined, with Bacon,\(^1\) to take the part of Democritus against him. Yet this is just a case in which we have to guard against a too hasty criticism of a man who occupies one of the first places among the scientific investigators as well as the philosophers of antiquity. In order to form an impartial judgment of Aristotle in his contest with the mechanical theory of physics, and to appreciate his own views, we must never forget that we have not here to do with the atomistic philosophy of our days, but with that of Democritus, which differed from it \textit{toto coelo}. Aristotle, like his opponents, possessed nothing but the scantiest rudiments of the methods and processes of observation which we have to so boundless an extent at our command. He had to define the elementary physical conceptions of an age whose observations did not extend beyond the reach of the naked eye, and whose experiments were confined to a few simple and for the most part very unreliable empirical processes. Of all\(^2\) our mathematical, optical, and

\(^1\) Cf. \textsc{Kuno Fischer}, \textit{Franz Bacon}, 262 sqq. (Eng. tr.).

\(^2\) Cf. also \textsc{Brandis}, ii. b, 1213 sq., 1220 sq., and \textsc{Meyer's references (Arist. Thierkunde, 419 sq.) to Aristotle's method in testing heat.}
physical instruments, he possessed only the rule and compasses, together with the most imperfect substitutes for some few others. Chemical analysis, correct measurements and weights, and a thorough application of mathematics to physics, were unknown. The attractive force of matter, the law of gravitation, electrical phenomena, the conditions of chemical combination, pressure of air and its effects, the nature of light, heat, combustion, &c.—in short, all the facts on which the physical theories of modern science are based, were wholly, or almost wholly, undiscovered. It would have been more than a miracle, if under such circumstances Aristotle had developed views in natural philosophy of which we could have availed ourselves without alteration at the present time. It is the business of a history to show how he explained phenomena consistently with the position of knowledge in his own day.¹

None of the ancient systems presents so pure a form of mechanical physics as the atomic, to which the theory of the elements adopted by Plato from Philolaus is closely allied. Both deny qualitative variety in matter, and consider differences of shape and magnitude as the only original and real distinction. Aristotle opposes this view, not merely because it maintains the existence of infinitely small bodies or superificies, but also because it denies specific difference in matter. In both respects, according to his judgment, the weaknesses of the Platonic theory are most striking.² It contradicts mathematics, because it regards bodies as composed of superificies, which brings us logically to the assumption

of indivisible lines, 1 nay, further, to the resolution of magnitudes into points. 2 Again it destroys the divisibility of bodies. 3 Moreover, the figures of the elements assumed by Plato do not fill the space within the world, and yet he allows no vacuum. 4 Lastly, it is impossible to form any coherent bodies out of them. 5 Nor are the difficulties which beset this theory from the point of view of physics less important. For how can bodies which have weight consist of surfaces which have none? 6 And how, according to this hypothesis, could the specific gravity or levity of the single elements be produced? Fire would have to become heavier and ascend more slowly in proportion to its bulk; much air would be heavier than a little water. 7 Again, while experience shows that all the elements are mutually transmutable, Plato only admits this with respect to the three just mentioned; 8 even in their case difficulties arise from the circumstance that superfluous

1 Plato, indeed, and Xenocrates actually adopted this assumption; cf. ZELL. Ph. d. Gr. pt. i. pp. 807, 2 ad fin. 868.
2 De Celo, iii. 1, 299, a, 6, 300, a, 7, c. 7, 306, a, 23. Cf. Gen. et Corr. ii. 1, 329, a, 21: since the πρώτη ὅλη of the Timæus is not a superficies, elementary matter cannot be resolved into superficies.
3 De Celo, iii. 7, 305, b, 31, 306, a, 26: primary atoms of the elements cannot be divisible (nor are they according to Plato and Democritus) seeing that when fire or water is divided, each part is again fire or water—whereas the parts of a ball or pyramid are not balls or pyramids.

4 Ibid. c. 8 init.; cf. ZELL. Ph. d. Gr. pt. i. 670, 3.
5 Ibid. 306, b, 22 sqq.
6 De Celo, iii. 1, 299, a, 25 sqq. b, 31 sqq. (where, however, we must read τὰ σώματα τῶν ἐπίπεδων, the gen. ἐπίπεδων being governed by πλῆθει); cf. the corresponding objection to the Pythagoreans, p. 311, n. 5, 6 supra.
7 De Celo, iv. 2, 308, b, 3 sqq. c. 5, 312, b, 20 sqq. It has already been shown how we are to interpret these objections in the mouth of Aristotle.
8 De Celo, iii. 7, 306, a, 1 sqq. ZELL. Ph. d. Gr. pt. i. 676, 1, 2.
triangles are left over, and that it is as easy to think of a superimposition of surfaces as of the composition assumed by Plato. Furthermore, the theory of unchangeable type forms of the elements contradicts the fact that the shape of simple bodies—water and earth, for instance—is determined by the surrounding space.

In the last place, how are we to comprehend the qualities and movements of the elements by these hypotheses of Plato? Democritus supposed that fire was formed of globes, on account of its mobility and disruptive force; Plato thought it was made of pyramids, but that the earth was made of cubes, on account of its comparative immobility. Yet both of these elements are hard to move in their own locality, and easy to move in a strange one, since they strive to escape from the latter and not from the former. Aristotle is therefore forced to regard Plato’s theory of the elements as in every respect mistaken.

The Atomic theory of Democritus and Leucippus is treated by him with more respect; but he holds that

2 *De Caelo,* iii. 1, 299, b, 23.
4 *Ibid.* 306, b, 29 sqq., where it is further objected that balls and pyramids are easily moved only in a circle, whereas fire has an upward movement. Again, if it is its corners that give to fire its heat-producing power, all elementary bodies must likewise produce heat as well as everything that has mathematical shape, for they all have corners. Fire changes things which it seizes into fire; a pyramid or a ball does not change that with which it comes into contact into balls or pyramids. Fire separates only dissimilars, whereas it unites similars. Further, if heat be united to a particular shape, so also must cold.

5 *Proclus* at a later date defended it in a separate treatise against his attacks; *Simpl., Schol. in Ar.* 515, a, 4.
6 Cf. the discussion in *Gen. et Corr.* i. 2, 315, b, 30 sqq., the chief sentences of which are cited in *Zell. Ph. d. Gr.* pt. i. 771, 4; also, on the Platonic theory, cf. *De Caelo,* iii. 7, 306, a, 5 sqq.
it also is far from having proved that everything may be deduced from a primitive matter of absolutely homogeneous quality. In the first place, it is open to all the objections which beset the hypothesis of indivisible bodies.\(^1\) Next, as in the case of Plato, it is clear that the materials could not adjust their shape to the space in which they find themselves, if we attribute a distinct elementary figure to them.\(^2\) In the next place, we already \(^3\) know the reasons why Aristotle is not inclined to admit an infinite variety of difference of shape among the atoms; and if the elementary atoms are to be distinguished only by their size, one element could not be developed from another.\(^4\) If all the atoms are homogeneous, one does not see how they are separate, and why they do not join when brought into contact with one another. If they are composed of heterogeneous materials, we should have to seek the cause of phenomena in this circumstance, and not in the difference of shape, and then they would influence one another while in con-

\(^1\) See, besides p. 306, the statements quoted p. 430, n. 2, all of which are more or less directly aimed at the atomists. Here also, we must continually remind ourselves of the state of science at the time, and of the peculiar character of the theory which Aristotle attacked. When, for instance, he shows that atoms could not cohere in a solid body, he is not speaking of the atoms of modern physics, which attract and repel one another, are held in equilibrium, &c., in many different ways, but of the atoms of Democritus, which act upon one another only mechanically by pressure or collision. It is certainly hard to see how a cohesive body could be constituted of such atoms. The means which Democritus adopted for securing this end by attributing corners and hooks to atoms, by which they may hang on to one another (ZELL. Ph. d. Gr. i. 796, 2, 798, 4), could not but appear to Aristotle, as they appeared (according to Cic. Acad. ii. 38, 121) to his follower Strato, fantastic and absurd.

\(^2\) See p. 445, n. 3, supra.

\(^3\) See p. 331 sqq.

\(^4\) De Cielo, iii. 4, 393, a 24 sqq. Cf. p. 306, n. 6.
tact, which is what the Atomists deny.\(^1\) In the same way a reciprocal influence would exist between them if certain qualities—like warmth, for instance—were coupled with a certain shape; it is, however, equally impossible to imagine the atoms without qualities and to suppose them endowed with definite properties.\(^2\) Again, there is no reason why there should be only small and invisible atoms and not also large ones.\(^3\) Lastly, if the atoms are moved by another power, they experience an influence, and their apathy is destroyed: if they move themselves, the motive force is either inside them and different from what is moved—in which case they are not indivisible—or opposite properties are united in one and the same object.\(^4\)

Again, Aristotle believed that Democritus was quite as unable as Plato to explain the physical qualities of things. The one makes fire spherical, the other pyramidal in form, but both are equally wrong.\(^5\) Aristotle, however, derives his most conclusive argument against the homogeneity of matter from the very phenomenon by which modern science is accustomed to support it—the phenomenon of gravity. Democritus, like Aristotle, was ignorant that all bodies mutually attract each other, that within the terrestrial atmosphere they all gravitate to the centre of the earth, that the inequality in the rate of their descent is caused by

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\(^1\) Gen. et Corr. i. 8, 326, a, 29 sqq., to which, however, it might be replied that they refuse to unite because they are not liquid but solid bodies.

\(^2\) Ibid. 326, a, 1-24.

\(^3\) Ibid. at line 24.

\(^4\) Ibid. 326, b, 2.

\(^5\) In the passage quoted p. 445, n. 4, supra, Aristotle attacks both views alike and on the same grounds. Cf. also Gen. et Corr. i. 8, 326, a, 3.
the resistance of the air, and that the pressure of the atmosphere occasions the ascent of fire, vapour, &c. Democritus believed that all the atoms fall downwards in the void, but that the greater fall quicker than the less, deducing from this hypothesis the concussion of the atoms and the pressure by which the lesser are driven upwards. For the same reason, he held that the weight of composite bodies, supposing their circumference equal, corresponds to their magnitude after subtraction of the empty interstices.\(^1\) Aristotle demonstrates\(^2\) that this hypothesis is false: there is no above or beneath in infinite space, and consequently no natural tendency downwards; all bodies must fall with equal rapidity in the void,\(^3\) nor can the void within bodies make them lighter than they really are. But being equally unacquainted with the actual phenomena which have to be explained. Aristotle repudiates the only true point in the system of Democritus, in order to avoid the consequences which he saw to be implied in the Atomic hypothesis, but the truth of which Democritus was as far from recognising as he was. On the strength of what he assumed to be facts, he opposes a theory which, originally speculative, could only be supported by a verification of the facts it had assumed, such as was wholly beyond the reach of ancient science. It is true, as he says, that in a vacuum everything must sink with equal rapidity; but this

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\(^1\) Cf. ZELL. \textit{Ph. d. Gr.} i. 779 sq., 791 sq.

\(^2\) \textit{Phys.} iv. 8, 214, b, 28 sqq. \textit{De Celo}, iv. 2, 308, a 34–309, a, 18; see p. 428, n. 5, \textit{supra}.

\(^3\) EPICURUS, indeed, had recognised this, not, however, as a real advance upon the atomic theory, but only as a means of making his own arbitrary assumption of deviations in the atoms comprehensible. See p. 307, n. 4, \textit{supra}. 
appears to him so inconceivable that he considers it sufficient ground for rejecting the hypothesis of empty space.¹ He goes on to say that if all bodies be composed of the same matter, they must all be heavy, and there would be nothing that was in itself light and by virtue of its own nature disposed to rise, but only some things that remain behind in the downward movement or are driven upwards by something else. Although it may be that of two bodies of equal size, the denser might be the heavier, nevertheless a great mass of air or fire would necessarily be heavier than a small quantity of earth or water. This, however, he thinks impossible,² and he says it is manifest when we consider that certain bodies always tend upwards, rising quicker in proportion to the increase of bulk—a phenomenon which seems to Aristotle quite inexplicable on the hypothesis of absolute homogeneity in matter. If gravity be determined by bulk, then a greater mass of rarer material would be heavier than a small one of denser, and accordingly would move downwards. If, on the contrary, it is said that the more vacuum a body contains the lighter

¹ Cf. Phys. iv. 8, 216, a, 13: ὁρώμεν γὰρ τὰ μείζων ῥοπῆν ἐχοντα ἡ βάρος ἡ κοσμότητος, εἶν τάλλα ὄμοις ἐχει τοῖς σχήμασι, ὑστῶν φερόμενατὸ ἤσον χώριον, καὶ κατάλογον ὃν ἔχοντα ἡ μεγέθη πρὸς ἄλληλα. ὡστε καὶ διὰ τοῦ κενοῦ. ἄλλ’ ἄδύνατον. διὰ τίνα γὰρ αἰτίαν οἰσθήσεται βάσταν; ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς πλήσεις ἔξι ἀνάγκης βάσταν γὰρ διαιρεῖ τῇ ἑσχύν τὸ μείζον ... ἵσοταχῇ ἀρα πάντων ἐσται [in a vacuum]. ἄλλον ἄδύνατον.

² De Caelo, iv. 2, 310, a, 7: τῷ [as Prantl rightly reads, instead of τῷ] δὲ μίαν ποιεῖν φύσιν τῶν τῷ μεγέθει διαφέροντων ἀναγκαίων ταύτων συμβαίνειν τοῖς μιᾶν ποιεῖσιν ἡλη, καὶ μήθ’ ἀπλῶς εἶναι μηθέν κοφον μήτε φερόμενον ἄνω, ἄλλ’ ἡ ὑστερίζον ἡ ἐκθλιβόμενον, καὶ πολλὰ μικρά [small atoms] ὀλγῶν μεγάλων βαρύτερα εἶναι. εἴ δὲ τούτῳ ἐσταί, συμβήσεται πολὺν ἀέρα καὶ πολὺ πύρ ὅσας εἶναι βαρύτερα καὶ γῆς ὀλγῆς. τούτῳ δ’ ἐστίν ἄδύνατον. Cf. previous n. Ibid. c. 5, 312, b, 20 sqq. (where, however, in 1. 32 we must read εἶναν δὲ δύο, τὰ μεταξὺ πᾶς ἐσται ποιεῖσιν, &c., as Prantl does in his translation, though not in his text).
it is, it may be answered that a great mass of denser and heavier substance includes more vacuum than a small one of the rarer sort. Finally, if the weight of every body corresponded to the proportion between its bulk and the empty interstices, ever so great a lump of gold or lead might sink no faster, and ever so great a bulk of fire rise no faster, than the smallest quantity of the same stuff. He concludes that we are driven to assume the existence of certain bodies heavy or light in themselves, which move respectively towards the centre or the circumference of the world; and this is possible only when we conceive of them as distinguished from each other by the qualities of the matter composing them and not merely by the figure or magnitude of the elementary ingredients.

Not only are the materials of the world different in quality, but they are also subject to qualitative transformation. Unless we admit this, we must explain the apparent transmutation of matter either (with Empedocles, Anaxagoras and the Atomists) by a simple extrusion of existing materials, or (with Plato) by a change in the figures of the elements. We have already seen how far Aristotle is from agreeing with the latter solution as maintained by Plato. On the other hand, were we to imagine that one and the same corporeal substance, like wax, assumed first one and then another elementary form, and that this metamorphosis was in

1 Aristotle here follows Plato's view; see Zell. Ph. d. Gr. i. 678 sq. Strato, on the other hand, returned to that of Democritus; see infra, Ch. XX.
2 De Celo, 308, a, 21 sqq. 309, b, 27 sqq. c. 5, 312, b, 20 sqq. b, 27 sqq. c. 5, 312, b, 20 sqq. Cf. the section concerning the Elements, infra.
3 Cf. De Celo, iii. 7.
4 P. 444 sqq.
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fact the transmutation of materials, the indivisibility of these elementary substances would follow,¹ and this he finds to be at direct variance with the nature of corporeity.² As to the theory of Empedocles and the Atomists, it is clear that, according to them, those substances into which others seem to be transformed existed previously in a state of interminglement with the latter, and are merely extruded from them. Aristotle thinks that this conception is, in the first place, at variance with the testimony of our senses.³ Experience shows us a metamorphosis of materials in which the elementary properties of substances alter. One substance passes into another, or a third is formed of several. When water freezes or ice melts, the phenomenon is not, he says, occasioned by a mere alteration in the position and order of the parts, nor has a mere separation or combination of materials taken place, but, while the substance remains the same, certain of its qualities have changed.⁴ Again, when water is made from air, a body comes into existence heavier than air, yet not, he thinks, as a consequence of the separation and compression of certain portions of the air. Conversely, when air is produced

¹ De Caelo, iii. 7, 305, b, 28 sqq., 306, a, 30. The meaning is that we may suppose the elements formed of atoms of a definite shape—earth of cubical, fire of quadrilateral, atoms—without adopting Plato's view of the constitution of these bodies, and that the conversion of one element into another may be explained, not as its resolution into its primal surfaces and the combination of these into a new form, but as a transformation of the material that underlies all the elements alike (as was actually done by Philolaus, cf. ZELL. Ph. d. Gr. i. 376 sqq.). By thus conceiving of the atoms of the elements as divisible, however, we should involve ourselves in the difficulty already mentioned, p. 444, n. 3.

² See p. 430, n. 2, supra.

³ Gen. et Corr. i. 1, 314, b, 10 sqq. De Caelo, iii. 7, 305, b, 1. Metaph. i. 8, 989, a, 22 sqq.

⁴ Gen. et Corr. i. 9, 327, a, 14 sqq.
by evaporation from water, the former occupies so large a space in comparison with the latter that it even bursts the vessel. How is this to be explained on the hypothesis that it had previously existed in the water without change or difference?¹ If a body grows or dwindles, it is not merely that new parts are added to it, but all its parts increase or diminish in size—and this involves a general change in the material.² When bones and flesh are formed from food, they are not taken ready made from what we eat, like bricks from a wall or water from a cask, but the food passes into a new material.³ Moreover, it is clear that the elements themselves come into existence and perish: fire is kindled and goes out; water is precipitated from the air and passes into steam again. How are we to conceive of such formation and dissolution? There must be definite points at which they begin and end, as in the case of all Becoming, else we should be driven to suppose an infinite progression in two directions. Yet these terminal points cannot consist of indivisible bodies—whether absolutely indivisible (or atoms) as we have already seen,⁴ or such

¹ De Caelo, as above, 305, b, 5 sqq. Aristotle’s view of gravity precludes the admission that the greater weight of water as compared with steam is due merely to its greater density. The atomists of that time could not possibly explain the expansion of fluids into steam as the result of increased repulsion in the atoms; at least the atoms of Democritus are certainly incapable of internal change. Empedocles and Anaxagoras (with whom Aristotle, ibid. i. 16 sqq., first deals) were obliged to explain steam as a kind of air which emanates from water; nor could atomists generally regard it as other than a complex of atoms emanating from water in which they had previously been imprisoned. As against such theories Aristotle’s objections are valid.

² Gen. et Corr. i. 9, 327, a, 22.

³ Ibid. ii. 7, 334, a, 18, 26; cf. De Caelo, iii. 7, 305, b, 1. Cf. p. 457 sqq.

⁴ In the passage from De Caelo, iii. 4, cited at pp. 306, n. 6, and 446, n. 4.
as are divisible by nature but are never actually divided; for why should the smaller resist division, when larger bodies of similar substance do not do so? No more can the elements be produced from incorporeal substance, or from a body different from themselves; for if the latter were not one of the elements, it could have no gravity or natural locality, and hence would be a mathematical and not a physical body, and would not exist in space. Hence we are driven to suppose that the elements are developed from one another. But this process can only be conceived as one of transformation. For if there were not a transformation of the elements, but only a putting forth of something which they already contained complete within themselves, one substance could not be entirely dissolved into another, but an insoluble remnant would be left: and so any complete transmutation of substances, such as is given in experience, would be impossible. Coarse and fine materials could never be completely converted into each other. Lastly, how are we to imagine the reciprocal influence of substances on one another, unless they are capable of qualitative change? Empedocles and Democritus made bodies enter each other by means of 'pores.' But not only can this hypothesis be dis-

1 As is proved at superfluous length, and with some obscurity, in the De Celo, iii. 7, 305, a, 16 sqq.
2 De Celo, iii. 6.
3 This objection is first brought against Anaxagoras in the Phys. i. 4, 187, b, 22 sqq.: in De Celo, iii. 7, 305, b, 20 sqq. it is used against all who explain material change as an extrusion—in the latter case with justice, since if steam, for
example, consists of a different material or different atoms from water, steam might be extruded from water, but water could not be wholly resolved into steam.
4 De Celo, iii. 4, 303, a 24, where the words ὑπολείψει γὰρ ἂν, &c., must mean 'since the larger atoms would fail to obtain release,' so that in water, for example, a residuum would be left which could not be turned into air.
pensed with, since bodies only require to be divisible, and need not be actually divided in order to experience reciprocal influences; but it really serves no purpose, for, if two bodies cannot affect each other by contact, those parts of them which interpenetrate by means of pores will not do so either. Therefore while the mechanical theory of nature confined itself to a movement of the elementary ingredients in space, Aristotle maintained their qualitative alteration. Where the former had explained apparent metamorphosis as a mere process of extension, Aristotle assumed the operation of real changes under certain conditions. His predecessors restricted the reciprocal operation of bodies to pressure and impulse: he extended it to the internal nature of bodies, whereby they transform their primitive qualities.

It is precisely this process which he understands by 'action and passion' in their stricter sense. The conditions of such transformation, as of all movement, are contained in the correlation of potentiality and actuality. When two things meet, of which one is actually what the other is potentially, then, so far as this is the case, the latter is patient, the former agent: and a change is produced in the one, which proceeds from

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1 Gen. et Corr. i. 8, 326, b, 6–28, c. 9, 327, a, 7 sqq.
2 Gen. et Corr. i. 6, 323, a, 12: if the movement is likewise partly motum, partly immobile, this must be true also of the agent: καὶ γὰρ τὸ κινοῦν ποιεῖν τ᾽ θάνατο καὶ τὸ ποιοῦν κινεῖν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ διαφερεῖ γε καὶ δεὶ διαφέρειν: οὐ γὰρ οἰόν τε πᾶν τὸ κινοῦν ποιεῖν, εἰπερ τὸ ποιοῦν ἀντιθέσομεν τῷ πάσχοντι, τούτῳ δ᾽ οἷς ἡ κίνησις πάθος, πάθος δὲ καὶ ὁ δὴ ὁ ἀλλοιοῦν- 

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3 Ἡθοδ. c. 9 init.: τίνα δὲ τρόπον ὑπάρχει τοῖς οὕσι γεννάν καὶ ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν, λέγωμεν λαβῶντες ἀρχὴν τὴν πολλάκις εἰρημένην, εἰ γὰρ ἢστι τὸ μὲν δύναμι τὸ δ' ἐντελεχεία τοιούτων, πέφυκεν οὐ τῇ μὲν τῇ δ' οὐ πάσχειν, ἀλλὰ πάντῃ καὶ ὁ δὴ ἢστι τοιοῦτον, ἢπττον δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ τοιοῦτον μᾶλλον ἢστι καὶ ἢπττον.
the other. 1 Action and passion, like all movement, presuppose on the one hand the distinction of a movens and a motum, on the other their direct or indirect contact. Where one or other of these conditions fails, no passion and no alteration is possible; where both are present, it is inevitable. 2 Again, this consequence depends upon the agent being partly similar and partly opposed to the patient; since of things which belong to wholly different genera, as a figure and a colour, for example, neither can produce any change in the other; and the same is true of such things as are completely similar, since change is always a passage from one condition into an opposite, and that which does not stand in any opposition to another thing cannot produce in it an opposite condition. Hence the agent and the patient must be generically similar, but specifically different; and so the old moot point as to whether likes or unlikes influence each other is decided by the law that neither the one nor the other do so absolutely, but both in certain relations. 3 The agent and patient are opposed within the limits of the same genus; 4 and the change consists in the removal of this opposition, in the agent's making the patient like itself. 5 Hence

1 It has been already shown, p. 386, n. 1, that all motion has its seat in the motum, not in the movens.
2 Ibid. 327, a, 1, c. 8, 326, b, 1. Longit. Vit. 3, 465, b, 15. Cf. p. 378 sq. supra.
3 Gen. et Corr. i. 7, 323, b, 15–324, a, 14, with which cf. the quotations on p. 340 sqq.
4 Like all évántia. See p. 224, n. 3, supra.
the patient is in the position of the 'matter,' to which a determinate 'form' is communicated by the agent.\(^1\) In so far as it has not yet received this form or has another form, it is opposed to the agent; inasmuch as it must be capable of receiving it, it is similar in kind. If the agent is also a patient, so that the two mutually act upon each other, both must be of the same material, and in this respect belong to the same genus.\(^2\) But this condition does not universally apply to agents: for as the primum movens is unmoved, so the first active power is without passivity, and therefore without matter; whereas, on the contrary, the lowest force that acts immediately upon another is material, and its operation is conditioned by a πάθος on its own part.\(^3\) The reason why all parts of the patient are affected by this active influence and by the alteration it occasions, is to be found in the nature of corporeity. Body, as potential, is subject in its whole extent to the transition to actuality, i.e. to change, and being divisible at all points, nowhere offers an absolute resistance to the active force.\(^4\)

The question about the mixture of materials must be judged from the same points of view. A mixture\(^5\) is a combination of two or more materials,\(^6\) in which

\(^1\) A relation obviously identical with that which he expresses in the passage quoted p. 454, n. 3, under the form of potentiality and actuality.

\(^2\) Ibid. 324, b, 6: τὴν μὲν γὰρ ὥλην λέγομεν ὁμοίως ὡς εἰπεῖν τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι τῶν ἀντικειμένων ὑποτε- Ρωνοῦν, ὡσπερ γένος ὑπω. The γένος stands to the εἶδος generally in the relation of matter; see p. 219, n. 2. supra.

\(^3\) For the above, see Gen. et Corr. ibid. from 324, a, 15 to the end of the chapter; and cf. c. 10, 328, a, 17.

\(^4\) Gen. et Corr. i. 9 init. (see p. 454, n. 3, supra). Ibid. 327, a, 6 sqq.

\(^5\) According to Gen. et Corr. i. 10.

\(^6\) Aristotle shows, ibid. 327, b,
neither the one is merged in the other, nor both exist together unchanged, but a third is formed which is itself ὀμοιομερὲς. In other words, it consists neither in the absorption of one sort of matter into another, nor in a merely mechanical junction or interminglement of both, but in a chemical combination. When two materials are mixed, neither of them remains the same, preserving its original qualities. They are not merely blended in invisibly minute particles, but both have wholly passed into a new material, wherein they remain only potentially, inasmuch as they can be again extracted from it. Such a relation, however, only

13 sqq. 328, a, 19 sqq., that only the union of substances (χωριστά), not that of qualities or of the form with the matter or of the immaterial efficient cause with its passive object, can be called a mixture (μική). To us this seems superfluous; but according to Metaph. i. 9, 991, a, 14 (cf. Zell. Ph. d. Gr. i. 800, n. 4, and ibid. i. 881 sqq.) he had some occasion to make this reservation. That the substances, moreover, which are mixed can only be of a material nature is self-evident: for the incorporeal is ἀπαθές.

1 As happens in the case of burning (Gen. et Corr. i. 9, 327, b, 10), where it is not a mixture that takes place, but the production of fire and the destruction of wood, or, in other words, the change of wood into fire. The same is true of nutrition, and generally of all cases in which one material is transformed into another (ibid. 1. 13, 328, a, 23 sqq.). This is not a case of μική but ἀλλοϊωσις.

2 Ibid. 328, a, 10: ἐναμεν

3 ἐπει δ' ἐστι τὰ μὲν δυνάμει τὰ δ' ἐνεργείᾳ τῶν ὑπότων, ἐνδεχεται τὰ μιχθέντα είναι πως καὶ μὴ εἶναι, ἐνεργείᾳ μὲν ἐπέρα τῶν τού γεγονότος ἢ στὰ ἄρτων, δυνάμει 3' ἐπει ἐκατέρων ἀπερ ἦσαν πρὶν μιχθήναι καὶ οὐκ ἀπολωλότα... σώζεται γὰρ ἡ δυναμις ἄρτων, just because they can be again separated; and 1. 31 sqq. In later usage com-
occurs when the materials brought together are mutually capable of acting and being acted on; and when, moreover, the forces of both stand in a certain equilibrium, so that one of them does not get merged in the other and its qualities absorbed like a drop of wine in a hundred gallons of water; and lastly when they are easily divisible, so as to act upon each other at as many points as possible, like fluids. Where these conditions meet, materials affect each other in such a manner that both, while combining, change at the same moment. This combination, attended by the simultaneous transmutation of the materials combined, is mixture.

Aristotle is not content with substituting the theory of qualitative differences and transformations in matter for that of the mechanical physicists. He goes further, and shows that he is far from being satisfied with that physical view of things which is confined to material causes and their laws. Material causes are only intermediate—merely the means and indispensable conditions of phenomena. Above them stand final causes;
above material necessity, the design of the universe; above the physical explanations of nature, the teleological.

Our researches up to this point have already led to the conclusion that everything in nature has its End. If Nature is the inner cause of motion, every motion has its goal by which its measure and direction are determined. If the essence of things consists in their form, the form is not to be distinguished from their End. If everything which moves must of necessity be moved by something else, it follows that the ultimate cause of movement resides in that which moves the universe as its Final Cause, and movement in general can only be conceived as the action of form upon matter, in which the former is the 'object of desire,' and so the goal towards which the latter strives. Aristotle cannot conceive of regulated and orderly events except under the analogy of human action directed towards an end. Hence while combating the theory of an anima mundi in the form in which it had been held by Plato, he adopts himself a similar view. He

1 See p. 341, n. 2, supra.
3 See p. 404, and p. 396, n. 3.
5 De An. i. 3, 406, b, 25 sqq.; De Caelo, ii. 1, 284, a, 27 sqq.; Metaph. xii. 6, 1071, b, 37.

Aristotle rejects this theory in the first place because he cannot regard the soul as in any sense a motum and therefore not even as éautó kínoiv (see the beginning of Ch. X. infra). He further objects that Plato conceives of the soul of the world as something extended in space. But it would be impossible to suppose that its thought consists of circular motion, or of any motion at all. It would be inconsistent with its perfect happiness that it should be intermixed with the body of the world and, burdened with the latter, should have uninterruptedly to produce, like an Ixion with his wheel, a motion which had no affinity with its nature and which therefore involved exertion. Nor, indeed, is it shown how it produces it. Lastly, the soul cannot be ἀρχή as asserted in the Phaedrus, if, according to the Timaeus, it comes into existence only with the world.
refers not only the movement of the outermost sphere, which communicates itself to all others, but also that of the stars, like Plato, to the action of spirits, which are related to the spheres moved by them as the human soul is to the body. He even treats the forces of nature in general, to a certain extent, from the same point of view: in the eternity of motion he recognises the immortal life of nature, and he even ascribes a sort of animation to the elements. Every vital activity is also, as we shall see, an activity guided by a purpose, for everything in living beings is related to the soul as the incorporeal unity of the corporeal existence. Hence it follows that by regarding nature as a living whole,

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1 Cf. p. 373 sq. and see the section in the next chapter concerning the Spheres. Aristotle is so far justified from his own point of view in treating both the world as a whole, and its individual parts as animated with life, as he does also De Caelo, ii. 12 followed by Eudemus (Fr. 76 b, SIMPL. Phys. 283 m.; cf. SIEBECK, D. Lehre d. Ar. e. d. Leben d. Universum, in Fichte’s Ztschr. f. Phil. ix. 31). God is a part of the universe in the same sense in which reason is a part of the man; and of the same nature is the relation of the spherical spirits to their spheres. Each of these spirits, however, animates only the sphere which it moves and the primum movens only the πρῶτος υδρανός. While the movement of the latter, indeed, extends to all the other spheres, yet in their case it is something communicated from without like the motion of the driver on a carriage; their own proper motion, on the other hand, is due, not to the primum movens, but to particular motors. Although the whole world is thus animated, yet Aristotle refuses to call it with Plato ζωή, because its life springs from no single principle of motion.

2 Phys. viii. 1 init.: Πότερον δὲ γεγονέ ποτε κίνησις οὐκ οὕτως πρότερον, καὶ φθείρεται πάλιν οὕτως ὡστε κινεῖται μηδέν, ἢ οὔτε ἐγένετο οὔτε φθείρεται, ἀλλ’ αἱ ἂν καὶ ἂν ἔσται, καὶ τούτ’ ἂδανατον καὶ ἄπαυστον ὑπάρχει τοῖς οὐσίσι, οἶοι ζωῆς οὐσία τοῖς φύσει συνεστῶσι πάσιν. In these words Aristotle seems to have in mind the passage from Heraclitus, quoted ZELL. Ph. d. Gr. i. 586, 2.

3 Gen. An. iii. 11, 762, a, 18: γίνεται δ’ ἐν γῇ καὶ ἐν ὑγρῷ τὰ ἄνεο ὡστε τὰ φυτὰ διὰ τό ἐν γῇ μὲν ὑδωρ ὑπάρχειν, ἐν δ’ ὑδατί πνεύμα, ἐν δὲ τούτῳ παντὶ θερμότητα ψυχίκης, ὃς ὁ τρόπον τινά πάντα ψυχῆς εἶναι πλήρη.

4 At the commencement of Chap. X. infra.
and deducing its movement from the incorporeal forms which govern all material change and shape, Aristotle is driven, as was Plato on similar grounds,\(^1\) to adopt of necessity a teleological theory of nature.\(^2\) God and nature, he says, do nothing without a purpose; nature always strives, as far as circumstances permit, to realise perfection; nothing is superfluous, profitless, or incomplete in her; of her productions we may say with truth, and far more truly than of those of art, that there is nothing accidental in them, but that everything has its own purpose;\(^3\) it is, indeed, this very prominence of design in nature which constitutes the beauty of her creations and the charm with which even the least of them repay investigation.\(^4\) The essence of Nature, as

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\(^1\) See ZELL. Ph. d. Gr. i. 642 sqq.

\(^2\) With what follows, cf. RITTER's exhaustive treatment of the whole subject, iii. 213 sqq. 265 sqq.

\(^3\) De Caro, i. 4 fin.: ο θεὸς καὶ ἡ φύσις οὐδὲν μάτην ποιοῦσιν. ii. 8, 289, b, 26, 290, a, 31: οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς φύσεις τὸ ὡς ἐτυχεῖν... οὐδὲν ὡς ἐτύχει ποιεῖ ἡ φύσις.

\(^4\) De Vita et M. c. 4, 469, a, 28: τὴν φύσιν δρόμων ἐν πᾶσιν ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν ποιοῦσαν τὸ κάλλιστον, Ἰγν. An. ii. 6, 744, b, 36: οὐδὲν ποιεῖ περιέργον οὐδὲ μάτην ἡ φύσις. Likewise c. 4, 739, b, 19, Ημηρ. An. c. 2, 704, b, 15: ἡ φύσις οὐδὲν ποιεῖ μάτην ἀλλ’ ἰδίως ἐκ τῶν ἑνδεχομένων τῇ οὐσίᾳ περὶ ἐκαστον γένους καὶ τὸ κάλλος ἐν τοῖς τῆς φύσεως ἔργοις ἢ ἐν τοῖς τῆς τέχνης. iv. 10, 687, a, 15 (cf. ii. 14): ὡς ἡ φύσις ἐκ τῶν ἑνδεχομένων ποιεῖ τὸ καλλίστον, c. 12, 694, a, 15: οὐδὲν ἡ φύσις ποιεῖ περιέργον, De An. iii. 9, 432, b, 21: ἡ φύσις μήτε ποιεῖ μάτην μηθὲν μὴτ’ ἀπολείπει τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων πλῆθ ἐν τοῖς πημόρασι καὶ τοῖς ἀτελεσιν, Ἰγν. et Corr. ii. 10, 333, b, 27: ἐν ἀπασιν ἰδίως τοῦ βελτίωνος ὑπερεθαλλανεν τὴν φύσιν.

\(^1\) Part. An. i. 5, 615, a, 15:
he shows, is Form, but the form of everything is determined by the function for which it is designed.\(^1\) All Becoming has its goal, and the terminal point of all motion is also its end or object.\(^2\) This pursuit of fixed designs in nature is demonstrated to our experience by the order and coherence of the universe and the regularity with which certain effects are produced by certain means. It is impossible to ascribe to chance what happens always or even usually.\(^3\) He lays especial stress upon the motions of the heavenly bodies, the birth of living creatures from seed, the instinct of animals, the evidences of design in the structure of animals and plants, and also upon human action, inas-

\(^{1}\) Cf. also Meteor, iv. 12, 390, a, 10: ἀπαντά δι' ἐστιν ὀρισμένα τῷ ἔργῳ· τὰ μὲν ἄρα δυνάμενα ποιεῖν τοῖς ἀντὶς ἐργάσθη ἐστὶν ἐκαστά, οἷον ὁ ὀφθαλμός [sc. ἀληθῶς ὀφθαλμός ἐστίν] εἰ ὀρᾷ, τὸ δὲ μὴ δυνάμενον δωμαίμας, οἷον ὁ τεθνεῖος ἢ ὁ λίθος.

\(^{2}\) Phys. ii. 2, 191, a, 28 : ὡς ἔστιν τέλος καὶ ὁ ἐνεκά· ὡς ἄρα συνεχοῦς τῆς κινήσεως ὁσιής ἐστι τὶ τέλος τῆς κινήσεως, τούτο ἐσχάτουν καὶ τὸ ὁδ ἐνεκα. c. 8, 199, a, 8 : ἐν ὡσι τέλος ἐστὶ τι, τούτο ἕνεκα πράσσει τὸ πρῶτον καὶ τὸ ἔφεξης, κ. c. I bid. i. 30, see p. 356, supra. Part. An. i. 1. 641, b, 23 : πανταχοῦ δὲ λέγομεν τίδε τοῦ ἕνεκα, ὅπως ἂν φαίνεται τέλος τὶ πρὸς ἡ κινήσεως πραιτείται μηδενὸς ἐμποδίζοντος, ὡστε εἶναι φανερον ὅτι ἐστὶ τοῖσον, δὴ καὶ καλοῦμεν φύσις. Phys. ii. 1, 193, b, 12 : ἡ φύσις ἡ λεγομενή ἃς γένεσις [see Metaph. ν. 4 init.] ὁδὸς ἐστιν εἰς φύσιν . . . ἡ ἀρα μορφή φύσις. De An. ii. 4, 415, b, 16 : ὅπερ γὰρ ἐν νοῦν ἐνεκά τοῦ ποιεῖν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ἡ φύσις. De Phys. ii. 8, 198, b, 34, 199, b, 15, 23 ; Part. An. iii. 2, 663, b, 28 : Gen. An. i. 19, 727, b, 29, cf. p. 362, n. 5 ; De Caelo, ii. 8, 289, b, 26 : οὐκ ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς φύσει τὸ ὁδ τετυχειν, οὔτε τὸ πανταχοῦ καὶ πάσιν ὑπάρχουν ὁ ἀπό τύχης.
much, that is to say, as all art is an imitation or completion of nature, and the design of the one therefore implies that of the other.\(^1\) If we cannot deny the evidences of design throughout the world of mortal things, he argues that we must admit the same in a far greater measure with regard to the universe at large, where the order is more strict, and the regularity more unbroken. Whence, indeed, could the laws which govern the former have sprung except from the latter?\(^2\) Consequently the discovery of final causes forms the first and most important problem of natural science. It must direct its attention, not to the individual, but to the whole which the individual subserves—not to the matter but to the form.\(^3\) But if it is suggested that, in

\(^1\) *Phys.* ii. 8, 198, b, 32–199, b, 26, cf. viii. 1, 252, a, 11: ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲν γε ἀτακτὸν τῶν φύσει καὶ κατὰ φύσιν: ἢ γὰρ φύσις αἰτία πᾶσι τάξεωσ. *Partl. An.* i. 1, 641, b, 12–30; *De Caelo,* ii. 8, 289, b, 25; *Gen. An.* iii. 10, 760, a, 31; *Metaph.* xii. 10, xiv. 3; see p. 391, n. 2, *supra.*

\(^2\) *Partl. An.* i. 1, 641, b, 12: ἡ φύσις ένεκά τοῦ ποιεῖ πάντα. φαίνεται γὰρ, ὀσπερ ἐν τοῖς τεχνατοῖς ἑστὶν ἡ τέχνη, οὕτως ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς πράγμασιν ἄλλη τις ἁρχὴ καὶ αἰτία τοιαύτη, ἥν ἔχομεν καθάπερ [as well as] τὸ θερμῶν καὶ ψυχρῶν ἐκ τοῦ παντός. διὸ μᾶλλον εἰκὸς τῶν οὐρανῶν γεγενήσθαι ὑπὸ τοιαύτης αἰτίας, εἰ γέγονε, καὶ εἶναι διὰ τοιαύτης αἰτίας μᾶλλον ἡ τά έφα τὰ θυγτα· τὸ γοῦν τεταγμένον καὶ τὸ ὄραμαν πολὺ μᾶλλον φαίνεται ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἡ περὶ ἡμᾶς, τὸ δ’ ἄλλοτε ἄλλως καὶ ἢς ἔτυχε περὶ τὰ θυγτά μᾶλλον. οἱ δὲ τῶν μὲν ζῴων ἐκαστὸν φύσι ταῖς φαιν εἶναι καὶ γενέσθαι, τῶν δ’ οὐρανῶν ἀπὸ τύχης καὶ τοῦ αὐτομάτου τοιοῦτον συστήναι, ἐν δ’ ἀπὸ τύχης καὶ ἀταξίας οὐδ’ ὁτιοῦν φαίνεται. Cf. also *Zell. Ph.* d. *Gr.* i. 650, 579, 1.

\(^3\) *Phys.* ii. 9, 200, a, 32 (after the passage quoted p. 360, n. 1): καὶ ἁμωὶ μὲν τὰ φυσικὰ λειτεῖαι αἱ αἰτίαι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἡ τίνος ἑνεκα’ αἰτίων γὰρ τοῦτο τῆς θης [inasmuch as Nature chooses her materials with a view to the thing that is to be produced] ἀλλ’ οὐχ ἀὑτή τοῦ τέλους. *Gen. et Corr.* ii. 9, 335, b, 29: it is not sufficient to give the material causes of a thing. Matter is merely the *motum*, the *moerens* in the province both of nature and art is something quite different; the *kuriostēra* aitia is the form. Materialistic physics, instead of giving us the real causes, can tell us only of implements of production: as if one in answer to the question ‘Who saws the wood?’ were to reply,
order to pursue definite ends, Nature must be capable of conscious deliberation, Aristotle considers this unreasonable. Even Art, he remarks, does not reflect, but works in the artist unconsciously. Moreover, it is just this which, as we already know, forms to Aristotle's mind the distinction between Art and Nature, that the productions of the former have their motive principle outside themselves, and those of the latter within. We thus arrive for the first time at the important conception of immanent design, a point so essential to Aristotle's system that we might define Nature, according to his view, as the realm of internal activity toward a fixed end.

1 The saw. Cf. p. 360, n. 1, and the passages quoted p. 303, n. 3, and p. 307, n. 4, and ZELL. Ph. d. Gr. pt. i. 788, 1. 3, 893, 2, on the neglect of final causes in ancient physics. Part. An. i. 1, 639, b, 14: φαίνεται δὲ πρῶτη [se. αἰτία] ἦν λέγομεν ἐνεκά τινος λόγος γὰρ ὀντος, ἀρχή δ' ὁ λόγος ὧν ὑπὲρ ἐν τε τοῖς κατὰ τέχνην καὶ ἐν τοῖς φύσει συνεστηκόσιαν. Ibid. c. 5, 645, a, 30: in the investigation of the animal organism the question is, not of the individual parts or the matter, but of the ὄλη μορφή, of the σύνθεσις and the ὄλη υούσια.

2 We thus arrive for the first time at the important conception of immanent design, a point so essential to Aristotle's system that we might define Nature, according to his view, as the realm of internal activity toward a fixed end.

Aristotle has here in view the art that has become a fixed habit and second nature in the artist. Such art he conceives of, however, not as belonging to the artist, but as inherent in 'Art' itself, seeing that the creative principle resides, not in the artist, but in the artistic conception which operates in him, and which Aristotle therefore identifies with the τέχνη itself: cf. the passages quoted from Metaph. vii. 7, Gen. An. ii. 4, Part. An. i. 1, in n. 1, p. 356, and Gen. et Corr. i. 7, 324, a, 34: ὅσα γὰρ μὴ ἔχει τὴν αὐτὴν ὀληρίας, ποιεῖ ἀπαθὴ όντα, οἷον ἡ ιατρική· αὐτὴ γὰρ πουοῦσα ὑγίειαν οὐδὲν πᾶσχε ὧπο τοῦ ύγιαζομενον. See p. 418, n. 3, supra. In this sense Nature, as the internal operative principle in living things, is also expressly opposed to the human understanding, which operates upon them from without (θυραθεν νοῦς); cf. Gen. An. ii. 6, 744, b, 21.
But this action in obedience to purpose cannot obtain a complete mastery in nature: for, along with the free operation of form, we have the necessary element of matter which cannot be entirely overcome by form. We have already shown (p. 359 sqq.) that Aristotle finds in matter the groundwork of chance and blind natural necessity. Both, in fact, ultimately coincide, since chance is precisely that which does not happen as the fulfillment of some design, but is produced by the way, in consequence of the operation of intervening causes which are indispensable to the attainment of a further end. This characteristic of natural existence renders it impossible to assign a purpose for everything in the world. Nature, indeed, works towards definite ends, but, in the realization of her plans, she produces many things parenthetically, by the way, from mere necessity; yet she still endeavours as far as possible to make use of such chance products, employing her superfluities for purposes of her own, and, like a good housewife, taking care that nothing be lost.

It follows that natural science, in like manner, cannot always proceed with the same rigour, but must take into account the disturbances introduced into the designs of nature by necessity and chance, admitting exceptions to rules, and feeling satisfied when her generalisations hold in the majority of instances.

1 See p. 361, n. 1, supra.
2 Gen. An. ii. 6, 744, b, 16: ἀνεπο δι κοινόμοις ἀγαθῶς, καὶ ὁ φύσις ὁυθὲν ἀποβάλλειν εἶπεν ἐκ ἐν ἐστὶν ποιησαὶ τι χρηστόν. He points especially to uses to which superfluous materials (περιττώματα, on which see Gen. An. i. 18, 724, b, 23 sqq.) are put in the formation and nutrition of animal organisms; Gen. An. ii. 4, 738, a, 37 sqq., iii. 2, 663, b, 31. Cf. also p. 361, n. 1, and Part. An. iv. 5, 679, a, 29, where he says of the juice of the cuttle-fish: ἡ δὲ φύσις δὲν τῷ τοιούτῳ περιττώματι καταχρητικὴν πρὸς βοηθεῖαν καὶ σωτηρίαν αὐτῶν.
3 Part. An. iii. 2, 663, b, 27,
It is from this resistance offered by matter to form that Aristotle derives all irregular natural phenomena (τέρατα), such as abortions and the like. He regards them as the stoppage of nature in the midst of an unfulfilled design, as a mutilation and failure of the result which she originally intended. Such phenomena arise from form not being completely master over matter. Moreover, we may note that he even considers it a kind of abortion or failure of the ends of nature when children do not resemble their parents, and especially their father, when a good man begets a bad son and vice versa, when the nature of the body cf. *Metaph.* ii. 3 *pin.* and p. 168, n. 1, 2, *supra.* Ritter's statement (see his p. 212) that the doctrine of Nature rests according to Aristotle rather on opinion than on science, seems to be due to a mistranslation of *Anal.* Post. i. 33, 89, a, 5, where ἡ φύσις ἡ τοιαύτη (i.e. Τό ἐνδεχόμενον καὶ ἄλλως ἔχειν, as is clear from the context) is taken as = ἡ φύσις τοιαύτη—and Nature is so also (i.e. ἅβεβαιοι).

1 *Gen.* An. iv. 3, 759, b, 10 sqq. Aristotle is here speaking of abortions which want essential parts of the human body as well as those which have more than the proper number, and applies the above explanation to both: τέλος γὰρ τῶν μὲν κινήσεων (form-giving motion) λυμένων, τῆς δ' θλης οὐ κρατούσιν, μένει τὸ καθόλου μάλιστα: τούτο δ' ἐστὶ ζων... τὸ τέρας ἀναπηρία τῆς ἐστίν. Cf. also 767, b, 13: τὸ δὲ τέρας οὐκ ἀναγκαὶ οὖν πρὸς τὴν ἑνεκά του καὶ τὴν τοῦ τέλων αἰτίαν, ἄλλα κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς ἀναγκαίον.

2 *Phys.* ii. 8, 199, b, 1: εἰ δὴ ἐστὶν ἕνα κατὰ τέχνην ἐν οἷς τὸ ὀρθὸν ἑνεκά του, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀμαρταιομένοις ἑνεκά μὲν τινὸς ἐπιχειρεῖται ἄλλα ἀποτυγχάνει, ὡμοίως ἡ φύσις καὶ τὰ τέρατα ἀμαρτήματα ἐκείνου τοῦ ἑνεκά του.

3 *Gen.* An. iv. 1, 770, b, 9: ἐστὶ γὰρ τὸ τέρας τῶν παρὰ φύσιν τι. παρὰ φύσιν δ' οὐ πάσιν ἄλλα τὴν ἡπὶ τὸ πολὺ· περὶ γὰρ τὴν ἀκίνητος οὐδὲν γίνεται παρὰ φύσιν (a proposition which was afterwards applied by theologians to the miracles, and in this application has become famous, although it is not generally known that it comes from Aristotle). Even a τέρας, therefore, is in a certain sense κατὰ φύσιν, όταν μὴ κρατήσῃ τὴν κατὰ τὴν ἡπίν ἡ κατὰ τὸ εἶδος φύσις. Cf. previous n.

4 *Gen.* An. ii. 3, 767, b, 5: ὁ μὴ έυκός τοῖς γονεύσιν ἡδὴ τρόπων τινὰ τέρας ἐστίν. 5 *Polit.* i. 6, 1255, b, 1: ἄξιον γὰρ, ἄκουσεν εἰς ἀνθρώπων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἐκ θηρίων γίνεσθαι θηρίων, οὕτω καὶ εἰς ἄγαθάν ἄγαθόν.
does not correspond to that of the soul. Indeed, he looks on all the female sex as imperfect and mutilated in comparison with the male, because the informing force of the man was insufficient to overcome the matter taken from the woman in the act of procreation. Again the brutes are dwarfish as compared with human beings, because the upper members of their body are not properly proportioned to the lower; they are the imperfect attempts of nature to make men—a form of development analogous to that of children. Moreover, among the animals we may discern a further malformation in the case of single tribes—the mole, for instance—or, to speak more accurately, we may distinguish between more perfect and less perfect animals: such as have blood are more perfect than such as have none; the tame than the wild; those which possess but one centre of organic life than those which are provided with several.

In like manner, vegetables, as compared

1 Polit. i. 5, 1254, b, 27: θεον δ' ευποιου χαλαρέο ζύμων νομίσαντι, ό τι μέντον δύναται.
2 Cf. infra, the section in Ch. X. on Sex in Animals.
3 Part. An. iv. 10, 686, b, 20: πάντα γάρ ἐστι τά ζώα γανότης τάλα παρά τῶν ἄνθρωπων. Cf. c. 12, 695, a, 8. Children also, for the same reason, are γανότης; Part. An. iv. 10, 686, b, 10; Ingr. An. 11, 710, b, 12; De Mem. c. 2 fin. and passim.
4 Hist. An. viii. 1, 588, a, 31: the soul of children hardly differs from that of a beast.
5 Hist. An. iv. 8, 533, a, 2.
6 Gen. An. ii. 1, 732, a, 16.
7 Polit. i. 5, 1254, b, 10: τις μέν ἠμερα [ζώα] τῶν ἁγίων βελτίω τῆς φύσεως. Aristotle admits, however, himself, Part. An. i. 3, 643, b, 3, that the division of animals into tame and wild is a false one, as all tame animals are found also in a wild condition. The greater perfection of tame animals is therefore something that is acquired; so far as it is φύσεως, it consists in a mere capacity.
8 Part. An. iv. 5, 682, a, 6, where also it is added: nature, indeed, desires to give to such creatures only one central organ, but, being unable to do this, she is forced to give them several. In the Problems (x. 45) the writer goes so far as to say that
with animals, are incomplete. They display design but in a less developed form; and they too, as we shall see, have an animate existence, although only in the lowest stage of its development and in its most rudimentary outline. Aristotle even goes further and recognises a degree of life, though the least possible, in what appears to be inorganic. Thus Nature as a whole is the gradual conquest of Form over Matter—a continual progression towards more perfect development of life. That which is absolutely first, or Form, in its temporal origin is last, since all Becoming is a movement out of Matter into Form, and the beginning (that which comes first in the order of thought) is also in every case the end. It follows that complex existences must be posterior to simple ones—the organic to the inorganic. Aristotle, however, does not carry this thought beyond the sphere of earthly existence. He applies it chiefly to organic nature, in which he first had the insight to discover a continuous progress from inanimate to animate, from imperfect to perfect forms of existence.

nature produces wild plants and animals in greater quantity than tame ones, because it is easier to make what is imperfect than what is perfect, and because nature, like art, is only able to create the better after long practice. This, however, is an exaggeration of the Aristotelian doctrine of nature's weakness.

2 Phys. ii. 8, 199, b, 9: καὶ ἐν τοῖς φυτοῖς ἐνεστὶ τὸ ἐνεκά του, ἦττον δὲ διὰρθωσαί.
3 See p. 460, n. 3, supra; and Ch. X. infra, at the end of pt. i.

1 Part. An. ii. 1, 646, a, 25: τὰ ὑστερα τῇ γενέσει πρῶτα τὴν φύσιν ἔστι, καὶ πρῶτον τὸ τῇ γενέσει τελευταίον ... τῷ μὲν ὁν ὁρῶν προτέραν τὴν ὕλην ἀναγκαῖον εἰναι καὶ τὴν γένεσιν, τῷ λόγῳ δὲ τὴν ἐκάστον μορφήν. Metaph. ix. 8, 1050, a, 7: ἢπαν ἀρχὴν βαδίζει τὸ γιγνόμενον καὶ τέλος· ἀρχὴ γὰρ τὸ οὐ ἐνεκα, τοῦ τέλους δὴ ἐνεκα ἡ γένεσις. See also p. 205, n. 2, supra.

5 Part. An. 646, b, 4. Meteor. iv. 12, 388, b, 29: ἀεὶ δὲ, μᾶλλον δὴλον [τι ἐκάστον] ἐπὶ τῶν ὑστέρων καὶ ὅλως δ' οὖν ὄργανα καὶ ἐνεκά
CHAPTER IX
CONTINUATION

B.—The Universe and the Elements

Turning now from these more general inquiries into nature to the consideration of the actual constitution of the world, Aristotle comes upon a question which had occupied a leading place in previous metaphysical discussions—the question, namely, of creation. His predecessors had without exception assigned to the world in which we live a definite beginning in time—some, such as Anaxagoras, Plato, and the Pythagoreans, holding that this world is the only one; others that the world we see is only one among an infinite series of other worlds both past and present. Aristotle was the first to declare that our world is eternal and unbegotten. This conviction seems to have early forced itself upon him. Although in his system it is not


1 On the latter cf. ZELL. Ph. d. Gr. pt. i. 378 sqq. 410 sq.
2 The atomic school held the existence of both; Anaximander, Anaximenes, Diogenes, and Empedocles placed the series in the past. On Heraclitus cf. ZELL. Ph. d. Gr. pt. i. 586, 2 ad fin., 629, 1 ad fin. and on Xenophanes, ibid. 498, 3 fin.
3 As he says himself in the De Caelo, i. 10, 279, b, 12.
4 Cic. Acad. ii. 38, 119 (Ar. Fr. 18), quotes probably from
placed in direct connection with the doctrine of the eternity of motion, yet it follows, equally with it, from the consideration that the operation of creative force in the world must be as eternal and unchangeable as that force itself, and that therefore the universe which is produced by it, however the individual parts may change, cannot as a whole have had a beginning in time. Aristotle, indeed, nowhere expressly states this result in the works that have come down to us, although he approaches very near to it. He contents himself, in

the treatise Π. φιλοσοφίας (see p. 56 sq. supra), at any rate from one of the dialogues, as Aristotle’s view: ‘Neque enim ortum esse unquam mundum, quod nulla fuerit novo consilio inito tam praeclarri operis inceptio, et ita esse unum undique aptum ut nulla vis tantos quatenus mutatio- emque moliri, nulla senectus intumitate temporum existere at hic omnus unquam dilapsus occidat.’ (Cf. Plato, Tim. 34, b, 68, r, and elsewhere.) So Ps. Philo, Αἰείνα, M. ii. 489 (Ar. Fr. 17), where it is declared to be διαίη ἄδειατος to regard the ἄφατος θέας as no better than any human product.

1 See p. 387, supra. The latter is even quite compatible with the doctrine of the birth and destruction of the world.

2 On this, cf. p. 468, n. 3.

3 Phys. viii. 1, 251, a, 20 sqq. where, in opposing the view that motion had ever a beginning, he says: had the mover and the mobile existed without producing any motion, the transition from rest to motion could only have been effected by a previous change either in one or both of them, and we should have to suppose a προτέρα μεταβολή τῆς πρώτης. Similarly we should have to conclude that as a preliminary to the transition from creation to destruction of the world or vice versa a change must take place in the creative force or in the material upon which it works. If both remain unchanged their mutual relation must also remain unchanged, and therefore also the resultant effect. But according to Aristotle, God is eternal, and unchangeable; matter, on the other hand (setting aside the doctrine of the immutability of the material of which the heavens are made), we know can only suffer change through the operation of the moving cause. If, therefore, the latter is unchangeable, its relation to the matter and the universe which is its product must be unchangeable. This is the argument indicated by Cicero in the passage quoted above, where Aristotle declares it to be inconceivable that so perfect a product as the world could
his investigations into the origin of the world, with proving that motion is eternal, and refuting the doctrine that the world has a beginning but no end. The doctrine, however, is clearly involved in his metaphysics. For if the \textit{primum movens} is unchangeable, the effect which it produces upon the world must always be the same. It cannot at one time act as a creative, at another as a destructive, force. The same conclusion follows also from Aristotle's scientific doctrine of the immutability of the material of which the heavenly spheres and the stars are made. Not only, therefore, does the doctrine of a beginning and end of the world in the sense of an absolute birth and destruction find no place in Ari-
stotle's system, but even such a fundamental change in the constitution of the world as is presupposed by Heraclitus and Empedocles is wholly inconsistent both with his cosmology and his metaphysics. The question for Aristotle is not of any origin of the world in time, but only of its actual character and constitution.

The universe is divided, according to Aristotle, into two halves of opposite character—the one terrestrial, and the other celestial. This opposition is at once revealed by the testimony of our senses: and Aristotle can hardly have come to it in any other way. The unalterable nature of the stars and the changeless regularity of their movements form, in his opinion, so strong a contrast to terrestrial corruptibility and change, that we are forced to recognise two essentially different realms, subject to different laws. The more important this opposition seems to him to be, the more he strives to demonstrate its necessity. All natural bodies, he argues, are capable of movement in space. But movement in space is either rectilinear or circular or a compound of both. The third of these being derived from the first two, it follows that the latter alone are simple and original—rectilinear motion proceeding from the centre to the circumference, or *vice versa*, and circular motion revolving round the centre. If these are the first natural motions, there must be certain bodies which by reason of their nature are the subjects of such movement, and which are consequently the

11 sqq.; cf. ZELL. Ph. d. Gr. pt. and destruction.  
1. 629, 1 *ad fin.*) that it attributes to the world a mere change of of this which led Aristotle in form and not a veritable birth the first instance to make his
most primitive and ancient bodies. Those, on the contrary, which exhibit a composite movement, must be formed by combination from them, and receive their particular bias from the constituent which preponderates in their composition. That which is natural is always earlier than that which is opposed to nature and violent. It follows that circular, and also rectilineal, movement must be naturally fitted for some body or other, the more so that rotation is the only unbroken and interminable movement, and nothing that is contrary to nature fulfils these conditions. Accordingly there must exist two sorts of simple bodies—the one originally destined for rectilineal, the other for circular, movement.\(^1\) Rectilineal movement has opposite directions: it is either upwards or downwards, passing from centre to circumference, or vice versa. Consequently, the bodies which exhibit it must be of opposite natures, destined for the one or the other kind of motion: that is, they must be either light or heavy. Circular motion, on the other hand, exhibits no such contraries. It starts from any point towards any point in the circumference. So the body which is naturally qualified for it must likewise be without contrariety. It can neither be heavy nor light, since it does not rise or fall, and in fact it cannot exhibit any kind of rectilineal motion. It is even impossible to communicate either upward or downward motion to it by force, since if the one were unnatural to it the other must\(^2\) be 

distinction between two realms of being is obvious from his whole treatment of the subject. Cf. also p. 366, n. 1.

\(^1\) De Caelo, i. 2, 268, b, 14 sqq. 

\(^2\) According to the principle already laid down (c. 2, 269, a, 10, 14) as the basis of the discussion (see p. 224, n. 3), \(\epsilon\nu\ \epsilon\nu\ \epsilon\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\), which, when thus universally expressed, is certainly open to dispute.
its natural motion.\(^1\) The body that is destined for circular motion is also without beginning or ending, subject to neither increase nor diminution, neither impression nor change.\(^2\) His argument for this is that everything that comes into being springs from its opposite, and everything that perishes is resolved into the same;\(^3\) all increase and decrease depend upon addition or subtraction of the matter out of which a thing has grown, and therefore that which, being without beginning, possesses no such matter, cannot increase or decrease; all bodies, finally, which alter, either increase or decrease, and where there is no such process neither is there any alteration.\(^4\)

\(^{1}\) *Ibid.* c. 3, 269, b, 18-270, a, 12; nor can the position βια μεν γάρ ἐνδέχεται τὴν ἄλλον καὶ ἐπτερον [sc. κίνησιν κινεῖται] (c. 2, 269, a, 7) be accepted except provisionally as of universal validity. As is shown in the sequel, it is inapplicable to the ether. The position upon which the latter conclusion rests, (viz. that movement in a circle has no opposite), Aristotle, indeed, endeavours (c. 4) further to establish by special proofs. But he cannot prove that the motion may not be crooked or oblique; for if we have two opposite motions on the same or on parallel lines which deviate in opposite directions, it does not make the slightest difference whether the lines are straight or circular. Moreover, the courses of the fixed stars and of the planets are actually in opposite directions; why may these bodies not, then, consist of different aetherial substance? We are not warranted, however, with Meyer (Aristot. Thierkunde, 393) in casting a doubt upon Aristotle's clearly expressed meaning, merely on the ground of the actual difficulties that beset the theory.

\(^{2}\) He says, *De Celo*, i. 3, 270, a, 13, b, 1: ἀγενητον καὶ ἀφθαρτον καὶ ἀναφέξει καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον, ἀδίον καὶ οὔτ’ αὔξεσιν ἔχον οὕτε φθίσιν, ἀλ’ ἀγήρατον καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον καὶ ἀπαθεῖς. Cf. *Metaph.* viii. 4, 1014, b, 7, xii. 1, 2, 1069, a, 30, b, 25.

\(^{3}\) On this point, cf. also p. 341 sq.

\(^{4}\) *De Celo*, i. 3, 270, a, 13–35. The immutability of the body which has no opposite might have been proved more simply and conclusively from the proposition (p. 341, and p. 353 sq. above) that all change means transition from one state into its opposite, and that a thing can only be operated upon by its opposite. Aristotle, however, does not here adopt this method, as his investigation into the conception of change and affection was not published until later—in his
This position draws further support from experience. For he contends that if the spaces of the heavens, as well as the intermediate space between heaven and earth, were full of air or fire, then the bulk of these elements, considering the magnitude of the stars and their distance from each other, would be so hugely disproportioned to that of the remaining elements that the latter could not preserve their equilibrium, but would be swallowed up by them. A proper proportion between the elements can therefore only be maintained on the hypothesis that the celestial space is filled with a body different from the matter of the elements. We are also led to believe that this body is superior to all change, by the fact that antiquity, so far as tradition reaches, furnishes us with no evidence of the least alteration in the fabric of the heaven or its parts. Finally, the unthinking belief of humanity harmonises with this conviction, and such a belief deserves respect as the inheritance of unnumbered generations. All nations have placed the residence of the gods in heaven, because they were convinced of its immortal and divine nature. The name ‘aether’ may be traced to the same source, for Aristotle, like Plato, derives it from ἀέτθεῖν, from the restless rotation of

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1. Such a proportion involves that there is as much air and as much fire as will be produced by the transformation of all water into air and all air into fire on the basis of the existing quantitative extent of these bodies.
3. *De Coelo*, i. 3, 270, b, 11.
4. οὐ γὰρ ἀπαξ οὔδε δὲι ἄλλα ἀπειράκις δει νομίζειν τὰς αὕτας ἀφικνείσθαι δόξας εἰς ἡμᾶς. *De Coelo*, 270, b, 19. See *Meteor*. 339, b, 27, where the same reason is given in almost the same words, and *Metaph.* xii. 8 ad fin. See *infra*, the section of Ch. IX. on the Heavens, and Ch. XII. pt. 2.
5. PLATO, *Crat.* 410, B.
the celestial globes, and not from aịθευν.\textsuperscript{1} The conclusion is that the æther must be distinguished from all elementary matter.\textsuperscript{2} Without opposition and without

\textsuperscript{1} De Celo, 1. 3, 270; b, 4–25; Meteor. 1. 3, 339, b, 19 sqq.; and following these passages De Mundo, c. 2, 392, a, 5. On the name ‘æther,’ cf. ZELL. Ph. d. Gr. i. 897, 4 ad fin.

\textsuperscript{2} Although it is called πρωτον στοιχείον, De Celo, iii. 1. 298, b, 6; Meteor. i. 1, 338, b, 21; c, 3, 339, b, 16. 340, b, 11, το των ἀστρων στοιχείων; Gen. An., iii. 3, 737, a, 1, it is yet expressly distinguished in these passages from the four στοιχεία. Gen. An. ii. 3, 736, b, 29, it is called ἐτερω σώμα καὶ θεωτέρον των καλομενων στοιχείων; Meteor. i. 3, 340, b, 7 (cf. p. 188, n. 3, infra), ἐτέρων σώμα πυρὸς τε καὶ ἄτρως; and De Celo, i. 2, 260, a, 30: ὅσια σώματα ἀλη παρὰ τὰς ἑπτάδα συστάσεις θεισέρα καὶ πρωτέρα τούτων ἀπάντων; cf. ibid. c. 3 (following n.). If, therefore, we understand by στοιχεία only such simple bodies as stand to one another in the relation of opposites, and pass into one another, we cannot reckon the æther among these. Only when we extend the meaning of the word to embrace all simple bodies can we call it a στοιχείον. On the other hand, it is, to say the least of it, inaccurate and misleading to say that according to Aristotle the celestial spheres have ‘no material substratum’ (BRENTANO, Psychol. d. Arist. 198; HERTLING, Mat. und Form, 22), that ‘the æther consists of a material which is ‘no material, of an immaterial material’ (KAMPE, Erkennt-

\textit{nissth.} d. Arist. 30 sq.) that all that is meant by the Ὠη of the stars is the potentiality they possess of motion and change in space, and that in this sense we might even attribute Ὠη to \textit{noisi} (HERTLING, ibid. 23). Aristotle certainly says, Metaph. viii. 4. 1044, b, 7: in the case of γεννηταὶ ὦσια, we have to deal both with their matter and form; it is otherwise with φυσικαὶ μὲν ἄδια δὲ ὦσια. ‘ισως γάρ ἐνα ὡσὶ ἐχει ὤη, ἢ οὐ τοιαῦτῃ ἄλλα μόνον κατὰ τότων κυητήν.’ Matter, however, is denied of the heavenly bodies only in the sense in which it belongs to temporal things. Aristotle means that if we understand by Ὠη that of which a thing is made, the ὅποκείμενον γενεσεως καὶ φοράς δεκτικόν (as it is defined, Gen. et Corr. i. 4, 320, a, 2), the uncreated and eternal has no Ὠη in this sense; but if we take it in the more general sense of the substratum of change, the δυνάμει ὦν, it has Ὠη, inasmuch as it is capable of movement in space. That this is all that Aristotle means is obvious from the parallel passages, xii. 2. 1060, b, 24: πάντα δ’ ὢην ἐχει ὡσα μεταβάλλει . . . καὶ τῶν ἀδίδων ὡσα μὴ γεννητα κυητη δέ φορᾷ, ἄλλ’ ὡ γεννητην, ἄλλα πόθεν ποι; viii, 1. 1042, b, 5: ὡ γάρ ἀνάγκη, εἰ τί ὢην ἐχει τοτικην. τοῦτο καὶ γεννητην καὶ φθαρτην ἔχει; c. 8, 1050, b, 20: οὖδ’ εἰ τι κινούμενον ἀδίδων, οὐκ ἐστὶ κατὰ δύναμιν κινούμενου ἄλλ’ ἢ πόθεν ποι; [only in respect of
mutation, it stands above the strife of the elements: these belong to the terrestrial, it to the celestial, world: of it are formed the heavenly spheres and stars; it is the god-like in the realm of matter.¹

The four elements are different in all respects. If circular movement is peculiar to the æther, their movement is rectilineal. But, as we have remarked, rectilineal motion follows two opposite directions, upward and downward, toward the circumference and toward the centre. That which tends naturally downwards is heavy; that which rises is light. Accordingly the elements exhibit the opposites of heavy and light.² This opposition cannot, he holds, be reduced to quantitative differences of magnitude, of mathematical figure, or density; it is original and qualitative. The peculiarities of the elementary materials we cannot explain either, with Plato and Democritus, by the mathematical qualities of atoms, or, with the elder physicists, by the rarefaction and condensation locality can it be said to move merely δυνάμει and not ἐνέργεια, inasmuch as it is not yet in the place to which it is moving] τοῦτον δ' [1. c. τοῦ πόθεν ποι κινεῖσθαι] ὅλην οὐδὲν καλοῦσι ὑπάρχειν. De Celo, i. 9, 278, a, 10 sqq. Aristotle expressly says: δ οὐρανός as a universal conception is different from ὅδε δ οὐρανός; the former is εἴδος καὶ μορφή, the latter τῇ θλη μεμηχανον. Still less can we infer from Metaph. viii. 4, that the celestial globes are incorporeal beings (like the æther, they are frequently called θεία σφάτα, &c.: see Ind. Ar. 742, a, 43-60); we cannot, therefore, suppose for a moment that ὅλη is denied of them in the same sense as it is denied of the immaterial Nous, or that it can be attributed to the latter in the same sense as to the former.

¹ It is called θεῖος, Meteor. i. 3, 339, b, 25; also, similarly, De Celo, i. 3, 270, b, 11, 20: ἡ πρῶτη οὐσία τῶν σωμάτων, τὸ πρῶτον σῶμα, ἐτερὸν τίν τιν παρὰ τὴν καὶ πῦρ καὶ ἄερα καὶ θάλας. Ibid. ii. 1, 284, a, 4 Later philosophers, such as Cicero's Epicurean (N. De. i. 13, 33, cf. KRISCHE, Forsch., 306 sqq.) and the pseudo-Justin Cohort. c. 5, 36, identify on this ground God and the æther.

² See p. 473 sq.
of one and the same primitive material. We have already proved this point with regard to the first hypothesis. But those who deduce the differences of matter from a condensation and rarefaction of some one original element are, besides other arguments, met by the objection that they do not explain the distinction between light and heavy substance. They confine the difference between the elements to a mere relation of magnitudes, and accordingly represent it as something merely relative. To Aristotle's mind, the opposition of rectilineal movements and natural localities at once demands a qualitative difference between the elements. Rectilineal motion being just as primitive as circular motion, there must be certain bodies which are especially designed for it. Again, since it includes two tendencies, upward and downward, we must in the first place assume two bodies, of which one naturally sinks, the other rises, the one tending to the centre, the other to the circumference of the world. In the second place, we must imagine an intermediate element, or rather a pair of elements, the one approximating to the former, and the other to the latter. Of these four bodies, the first two are earth and fire, the other two water and air. Earth is absolutely heavy and entirely devoid of lightness; fire is absolutely light and entirely devoid of heaviness. The one moves straight to the centre, and therefore sinks below all other bodies; the other moves straight to the circumference, and therefore

1 See p. 443 sqq. 2 Aristotle discusses this view 3 See p. 473.
rises above all other bodies. Water and air, on the other hand, are only relatively heavy, and therefore also relatively light. Water is heavier than air and fire, but lighter than earth; air heavier than fire, but lighter than water and earth. Under no possible circumstances, unless compelled by forcible movement, does fire sink of itself into the place of air; nor, again, does earth rise into that of water. Air and water, on the contrary, sink into the lower regions when the matter which fills them is withdrawn. Earth is everywhere heavy; water, everywhere except in earth; air, everywhere except in earth and water; fire, nowhere. Therefore of two bodies the one which holds the more air may be heavier in air but lighter in water than the other—a hundredweight of wood, for instance, than a pound of lead.

We may arrive at these four elements even more definitely by another process of reasoning. All

1 Properly, indeed, they ought to rise into the higher; Aristotle admits himself, De Caelo, iv. 5, 312, b, sqq., that this does happen unless external force be applied, —without, however, explaining a circumstance which has so important a bearing upon his theory.

2 That even air has weight is obvious from the fact that a bladder full of air is heavier than an empty one; ibid. c. 4, 311, b, 9.

3 Aristotle, in the passage just referred to, finds in this theory an explanation of the difference between absolute and specific gravity.

4 De Caelo, iv. 3–5. The same ideas occur, in a somewhat different application, ii. 3, 286, a, 12 sqq. It is there said that the world cannot consist of aether alone, for it must have an immovable centre. There must therefore be a body whose nature it is to rest at the centre and move towards it, and therefore also one of an opposite nature. We thus have earth and fire, which in turn require water and air as intermediate elements.

5 For what follows, see Gen. et Corr. ii. 2, 3. The true author of this theory of the elements is said to be Hippocrates (according to IDELER, Arist. Meteor. ii. 389, who appeals to GALEN, De Elem. sec. Hippocr. i. 9, Opp. ed. Kühn, i. 481 sq.). This, however, is uncertain for several reasons. In the first place, neither of the works here referred to, Π. φισιός ἀνθρώπος and Π. σαρκῶν, can be
bodies capable of being perceived by the senses are prehensible; but all qualities perceptible by the sense of touch, with the exception of gravity and levity, are reducible to four—warmth, cold, dryness, moisture. Aristotle regards the first two of these properties as active, the others as passive.\(^3\) Now, by joining these

attributed to Hippocrates. The former is without doubt the work, or an extract from a work, of Polybus, his son-in-law; the latter is of post-Aristotelian origin, cf. KÜHN, Hippocr. Opp. I. cxlvii., clv.; LINETRE, Œuvres d' Hippocrate, i. 345 sqq. 384. Again, while the treatise Π. φύσων ἀνθρώπου recognizes (c. 1 init.) Empedocles’s four elements and even makes heat and cold, dryness and moisture the constituent elements of every living thing (e. 3), it yet does not bring these two positions together as Aristotle does, or deduce each of the four elements from the various combinations of those four properties into pairs; nor, indeed, does GALEN (see supra) claim this for it. The treatise Π. σάρκων, on the other hand, refers (at i. 125, K) to the Aristotelian account of the elements, but this merely proves that it is later than Aristotle. That heat and cold, dryness and moisture, were regarded as the elements of things in the medical schools of his time, is corroborated by PLATO, Sym. 186, d. 187, d. The early physicists regarded the conflict of heat and cold as the primary principle of evolution and frequently united with it that of dryness and moisture, without, however, as yet expressly combining these four as the primary properties of things. Cf. ZELL, Ph. d. Gr. i. 205, 241, 519 sq. 897.

\(^1\) We have not here to do with these, as they do not indicate a particular kind of action and passion; the elements, on the other hand, stand to one another in that particular relation of action and passion (ibid. 329, b. 20), which the treatise on birth and destruction chiefly discusses.

\(^2\) Ibid. 329, b. 24: θερμὸν δὲ καὶ ψυχρόν καὶ ύδρων καὶ ξηρόν τὰ μὲν τῷ ποιητικὰ εἶναι τὰ δὲ τῷ παθητικὰ λέγεται. θερμὸν γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ συγκρίνον τὰ ὄμων ἀδριανὸν [from which it follows that fire separates heterogeneous elements], ψυχρὸν δὲ τὸ συνάγον καὶ συγκρίνων ὄμως τὰ τε συγγενεῖ καὶ τὰ μὴ διαφόρα, ύδρων δὲ τὸ ἀδριανὸν οἰκείῳ δρόφῳ εὐφροσύνην ἔχει, ἄθρων δὲ τὸ ἀδριανὸν μὲν οἰκείῳ δρόφῳ, δυσφροσύνην δὲ. (Cf. Meteor, iv. 4, 381, b. b. 29.) The qualities λεπίδων, παχύ, γλυκύρων, κραύγου, μαλακών, σκληρῶν are reduced to these primary qualities; διέρον and βεβλημένον form two kinds of moisture, ἔθρον in its narrower sense and ἐπηργὸς of dryness.

\(^3\) Meteor. iv. 1 init.: ἐπεὶ δὲ τέταρτα διάφορα αἰτία τῶν στοιχείων, . . . ὅτι τὰ μέν δύο ποιητικὰ, τὸ θερμὸν καὶ τὸ ψυχρόν, τὰ δὲ δύο παθητικὰ, τὸ ἄθρων καὶ τὸ ύδρων. ἡ δὲ πίστις τούτων ἐκ τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς. φαίνεται γὰρ ἐν πάσιν ἡ μὲν
four properties in pairs, we obtain, after eliminating two impossible combinations, four that are possible, in which one active and one passive property are always united, and thus four simple bodies or elements are exhibited—

1—warm and dry, or fire; warm and moist, or air; 2—cold and moist, or water; cold and dry, or earth. These are the four sorts of matter of which all composite bodies consist, which are excreted from all,

1 In his description of these four primary substances and their fundamental attributes Aristotle is not quite consistent. Thus Gen. et Corr. ii. 2, 329, b, 7, 13, c. 3, 330, a, 30, 33, and Meteor. i. 2, 339, a, 13, he calls the latter (heat, cold, &c.) both στοιχεῖα and ἄρχαι, the bodies of which they are attributes, ἀπλὰ σῶματα. Ind. Arist. 76, b, 15 sqq. Again, they are frequently called στοιχεῖα with the addition τὰ καλούμενα [Phys. i. 4, 187, a, 26, iii. 5, 304, b, 33. Gen. et Corr. ii. 1, 328, b, 31, 329, a, 26. Meteor. i. 3, 339, b, 5. Gen. An. ii. 3, 736, b, 29. Metaph. i. 4, 985, a, 34: τὰ ὡς ἐν ἀληθείᾳ εἶδει λεγόμενα στοιχεῖα], Purt. An. ii. 1, 646, a, 13 even τὰ καλούμενα ὑπὸ τῶν στοιχεῶν, so that we clearly see that he is merely following in this the usage of others. On the other hand, στοιχεῖων—which in its most general sense indicates constituent parts of any kind (ἐνυπ-άρχοντα), and thus even the component parts of a conception or a demonstration, as well as the form as constituent part of the thing, but in a more special sense the ἐνυπάρχον ὡς ῥήμα (BONITZ, Ind. Arist. 702, a, 18 sqq.)—stands for the ultimate material constituents of bodies themselves, that εἰς δ ἀναρέεται τα σώματα ἐσχάτα, ἐκείνα δὲ μηκὰὶ εἰς ἄλλα εἶδει διαφέροντα [Metaph. v. 3, 1014, a, 32; cf. i. 3, 983, b, 8], εἰς δ τἀλλα σώματα διαρεῖται, ἐνυπάρχον δυνάμει ἡ ἐνεργεία, αὐτὸ δ' ἐστὶν ἀδιάρετον εἰς ἕτερα τῷ εἶδει (De Caelo, iii. 3, 303, a, 15). So Gen. et Corr. ii. 7 init.; Meteor. i. 1 init. (τῶν στοιχείων τῶν σωματικῶν); ii. 2, 355, b, 1, iv. 1 init.; De Caelo, iii. 3 init. c. 5 init., and innumerable other places. The original oppositions, moreover, which succeed primary substance as the second principle of existence (as the elements are the third, Gen. et Corr. i. 1, 329, a, 32), are called αὐτα τῶν στοιχεῶν, Meteor. iv. 1 init.


and into which all are resolved. Their own primitive and indecomposable nature is proved by the fact that though they can, by transmutation, pass into each other, they never excrete any other body from themselves. Every composite body in the terrestrial kingdom contains all of them. Yet they are never revealed to our experience in perfect purity. For example, elemental fire must not be confounded with a flame, which is produced by an intensification of its warmth, as ice is by an intensification of the cold natural to water. Elemental fire is caloric, or warm and dry evaporation; flame, on the contrary, is no constant

1 De Cato, iii. 3, Metaph. v. 3, see p. 481, n. 1, and elsewhere.
2 De Cato, iii. 3, 302, a, 19 sqq.
3 As is more fully proved, Gen. et Corr. ii. 8.
4 Gen. et Corr. ii. 3, 330, b, 21: οὐκ ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ πῦρ καὶ ὁ ἄγρι καὶ ἐκαστὸν τῶν εἰρημένων ἀπλοῦν, ἀλλὰ μικτὸν τὰ δ’ ἀπλὰ τοιαύτα μὲν ἐστὶν, οὐ μέντοι ταῦτα [ταῦτα], οἷον εἰ τῷ πυρὶ ὑμίων, πυρειδέες, οὐ πῦρ, καὶ τὸ τῷ ἀερί ἀεροειδείς ὑμίως δὲ κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων. Cf. Meteor. ii. 4, 355, b, 32, where, referring to the distinction between wet and dry vapour, which is discussed below, he says: ἔστι δ’ ὡστε τὸ ὕγρων ἄνευ τοῦ ἔχρου ὡστὲ τὸ ἔχρον ἄνευ τοῦ ὕγρου, ἀλλὰ πάντα ταῦτα λέγεται κατὰ τὴν ὑπέροχην. Ibid. ii. 5, 362, a, 9: dry vapours are only produced where moisture is present. Ibid. iv. 8. According to Phys. iv. 7, 214, a, 32, air is intermingled with water; whereas, in De Sensu, c. 5, 443, a, 4, this is controverted; cf. Meyer, Arist. Thierkunde, 404 sqq.
5 Gen. et Corr. ii. 3, 330, b, 25: τὸ δὲ πῦρ ἐστὶν ὑπέρβολὴ θερμότητος, ὑπσερ καὶ κρύσταλλος ψυχρότητος. ἢ γὰρ πῆξις καὶ ἡ ζέσις ὑπερβολαί τινες εἰσιν, ἢ μὲν ψυχρότητος ἢ δὲ θερμότητος. εἰ οὖν ὁ κρύσταλλος ἐστὶ πῆξις ὑγροῦ ψυχροῦ, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐστὶ ζέσις ἔχρου θερμοῦ, διὸ καὶ οὐδὲν οὐτ’ ἐκ κρυστάλλου γίγνεται οὐτ’ ἐκ πυρὸς. The same remark is made about fire, Meteor. i. 3, 340, b, 21, c. 4, 341, b, 22; cf. 1. 13: πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τὴν ἐγκύλου φοιάν ἐστι τὸ θερμὸν καὶ ἔχρον, ἢ λέγουμεν πῦρ ἀνώνυμον γὰρ τὸ κοινὸν, &c. What is called ‘fire’ is a kind of inflammable material (σπέκκαυμα) which, like smoke, can be kindled by a little motion. Heraclitus had identified fire with heat in general (see Zell. Ph. d. Gr. i. 588 sq.); the distinction between fire and the heat of fire appears in his school (Plato, Crat. 413, c). Aristotle had a special reason for emphasising this distinction, as is indicated by the above passage from the Meteorology. For it was impossible that between the aerial and the celestial sphere there should
material, but a phenomenon occasioned by the transmutation of moist and dry substance (air and earth).

Again, while each of the elements exhibits two essential properties, one of which in each case is its proper and distinctive characteristic—the dryness of earth, the cold of water, the 'moisture' or fluidity of air, the warmth of fire.

Since, finally, each element includes a passive and an active quality, it follows that all act upon and are acted on by one another, that they mingle and are transformed into one another—a process, indeed, which would not otherwise be conceivable.

Each element may pass into all the rest, for everything goes from be a region of fire, as he was forced to hold there was, if 'fire' included only visible flame.


In the latter passage Aristotle says, among other things, that earth and water alone are inhabited by living beings (on which *vide* below), because they alone are ὑπὸ τῶν σωμάτων. For although cold is held by Aristotle to be the primary quality of water, moisture of air, he yet tells us here: λέγεται δὲ τῶν στοιχείων ἰδιότητα ξηροῦ μὲν γῆ, ὑγροῦ δὲ ὑδατ . . . τιθέμεθα δὲ ὑγροῦ σώμα ὑδατ, ξηροῦ δὲ γῆν (iv. 4, 5, 382, a, 3, b, 3); and since dryness and moisture are regarded as the passive or material qualities (see p. 450, *supra*), earth and water are held to be the matter of all bodies. Fire, on the other hand, represents in a special sense the element of form (*Gen. et Corr.* i. 8, 335, a, 9 sq.), for here, as elsewhere, the containing element stands to the contained in the relation of form to matter (*De Caelo*, iv. 4, 312, a, 11) Similarly, more reality is attributed to heat than to cold, inasmuch as the former is a positive, the latter a negative, attribute; the one is classed as being, the other as not-being (*Gen. et Corr.* i. 3, 318, b, 14).

3 See pp. 479 sq. *supra*.

4 *Gen. et Corr.* ii. 2, 329, b, 22, c. 7, and elsewhere; see pp. 450 sq. *supra*.
opposite to opposite; but the elements are all opposed to each other just in the same way as their distinctive properties (warmth, cold, dryness, and moisture) are opposed. The more complete this opposition is, the more difficult and the slower is the process of transition from one to the other; the less complete, the easier. Therefore, when two elements exhibit respectively a conflict of both their essential properties, the process is slower and more difficult than when they have one property in common and conflict only in respect of the other. In the latter case the alteration of one property in one of them occasions a complete transmutation into the other; while in the former case we only gain one step by such a change—for only the element intermediate between the two that are opposed is produced, and it requires a second transmutation before the metamorphosis is complete. For instance, by removing the cold of water, we obtain air; but it is only when the humidity common to water and air has been removed that we obtain fire. If the humidity of water disappears, earth is produced; but in order to generate fire, the coldness common to earth and water must be withdrawn. Hence it follows that the elements which are wholly opposed to one another are metamorphosed by an indirect process; those which are but partially opposed are transformed directly. Fire passes directly into air or earth, indirectly into water; air directly into fire or water, indirectly into earth; water directly into air or earth, indirectly into fire; earth directly into water or fire, indirectly into air.\footnote{Gen. et Corr. ii. 4.} Thus all the
elements, as Heraclitus and Plato had already demonstrated,\(^1\) form together one complete whole, a self-contained circle of generation and destruction,\(^2\) the parts of which are incessantly undergoing transformation, but steadfastly maintaining the law of their metamorphosis, preserving the same forms and proportions in the midst of the ceaseless transmutation of their matter.\(^3\)

These propositions concerning the nature of the elementary bodies are enough to prove that there is only one world. For if each body has its natural place, and if its very essence consists in its having it, then all bodies, unless hindered by force, must move to these their natural localities—earth to the centre, æther to circumference, and the other elements to the intermediate spaces. Hence it is impossible that there should be more than one region of earth, water, air, fire, and æther, and consequently that there should be another world besides the one in which we live. We cannot suppose that a body is forcibly retained in a locality beyond the world, since such a locality must be

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\(^1\) Cf. ZELL. *Ph. d. Gr.* i. 619, and *ibid.* ii. 680.

\(^2\) *Gen. et Corr.* *ibid.* 331, b, 2: ἣσιν φανερὸν ὅτι κύκλῳ τε ἐστιν ἡ γένεσις τοῖς ἀπλοῖς σώμασι, &c.

\(^3\) *Meteor.* ii. 3, 357, b, 27: it is asked, πότερον καὶ ἡ βαλαττα αἰεὶ διαμεῖν τῶν αὐτῶν οὕσα μορίων ἀριθμῷ, ἡ τῷ εἰδει καὶ τῷ ποιῷ μεταβαλλόντων αἰεὶ τῶν μερῶν, καθάπερ ἄν ἢ τὸ πότιμον ὑθωρ καὶ τὸ πῦρ, ἀεὶ γὰρ ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο γίνεται τοῦτων ἐκατόντος, τὸ δ' εἰδὸς τοῦ πλήθους ἐκάστου τοῦτων μένει, καθάπερ τὸ τῶν βεοτῶν ὑδάτων καὶ τὸ τῆς φλογὸς ῥεῖμα, φανερὸν δὴ τοῦτο καὶ πιθανὸν, ὅς ἀδύνατον μὴ τῶν αὐτῶν εἶναι περὶ πάντων τούτων λόγων, καὶ διαφέρειν συχνῇτε καὶ βραδυτῇ τῇς μεταβολῆς ἐπὶ πάντων τε καὶ φθορᾶν εἶναι καὶ γένεσιν, ταύτην μὲν τοῖς τεταγμένοις συμβαίνειν πάσιν αὐτοῖς. 358, b, 29: οὕτω ἀεὶ τὰ αὐτὰ μερή διαφέρουσα, οὕτε γῆς οὕτε λαβάττης, ἀλλὰ μόνον ὁ πᾶς ὄγκος. καὶ γὰρ καὶ περὶ γῆς ὄμοιος δει ύπολαβεῖν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀνέρχεται τὸ δὲ πάλιν συγκαταβαίνει καὶ τοὺς τόπους συμμεταβάλλει τὰ τ＇ ἐπιστηλοῦσα καὶ τὰ κατιόντα πάλιν. Cf. also ZELL. *Ph. d. Gr.* i. 2, 576, 620.
the natural place of some other body; and if all bodies in this one world have their place, there can be no body outside it, and consequently no space, since space is only that in which a body is or can be.\(^1\) The same conclusion is arrived at also from another side. Several worlds would presuppose several first causes of motion, which would be specifically similar, and consequently only different in their matter. But the *primum movens* has no matter: it is single and complete in itself. It follows that the world which derives its continuous and eternal motion from the first cause must be so too.\(^2\) If, however, we are told that the concept of the world, like all concepts, must manifest itself in several individuals, Aristotle bids us answer that this argument would be only conclusive if there were an extra-mundane matter in which this concept could incorporate itself, but since our world embraces the whole of matter, it is of necessity single in its kind, although we ought always to distinguish between its concept and the phenomenal manifestation of the same which is present to our senses.\(^3\) If there are not several worlds now in existence, no more can there be such in the future, or have been at any past period. This world of ours is one, and single, and complete.\(^4\)

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\(^1\) *De Caelo*, i. 8, c. 9, 278, b, 21 sqq. 279, a, 11.

\(^2\) This metaphysical proof, held in prospect *De Caelo*, i. 8, 277, b, 9, is given *Metaph. xii*. 8, 1074, a, 31 sqq.; cf. also p. 388 sq., and on matter as the source of multiplicity, p. 368 sq.

\(^3\) *De Caelo*, i. 9; cf. p. 222.

\(^4\) *Ibid. 279, a, 9*: ὁσὶ ὧτε νῦν εἰσὶ πλείους οὐφανοὶ οὕτ' ἐγένοντο οὕτ' ἐνδέχεται γενεσθαι πλείους ἀλλ' εἰς καὶ μόνος καὶ τέλειος οὗτος οὐφανὸς ἐστιν. *Ibid. i. 1 fin.*: particular bodies are infinite in number; τὸ δὲ πᾶν οὐ ταύτα μόρια τέλειον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι καὶ καθάπερ τούθωμα σημαίνει, πάντη, καὶ μὴ τῇ μὲν τῇ δ’ οὐ.
Furthermore, the shape of the universe is determined by the nature of the five simple bodies. Since circular motion is proper to one of them, and rectilinear motion to the rest, we obtain in the first place the distinction, touched upon above, between the two chief regions of the world—that in which circular motion rules, and that in which the opposite movements up and down hold sway: *i.e.* that which is full of æther, and that which contains the four elements. In both of them the materials lie in spherical layers one above the other. For since similar materials uniformly strive to reach their natural localities, which in turn are determined by their distance from the centre of the world, it follows that the materials of each sort are conglobated in spheres which are at all points equidistant from the centre. In the middle of the whole lies the earth—a solid sphere,1 but in extent a relatively small portion of the world.2 Its fixture in this locality proceeds partly

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1 Besides the argument quoted in the text, Aristotle proves the rotundity of the earth (*De Celo*, ii. 14, 297, a, 6 sqq.) from the form of its shadow on the moon during an eclipse, from the different stars visible in the north and the south, and the fact (already touched on 296, b, 18) that falling bodies do not move in parallel lines but only at similar angles towards the earth. With regard to the last, there is room for doubt whether it had been ascertained by accurate observation and experiment, or whether it was not an inference from the theory that all bodies which have weight gravitate towards the centre.

2 In proof of this statement Aristotle, *Meteor*. i. 3, 339, b, 6, 340, a, 6, refers generally to the ἀστρολογικά θεώρηματα, *De Celo*; as above. 297, b, 30 sqq., he adduces the fact that when we move even a short distance north or south, some of the stars visible over the horizon seem to change their positions. He remarks here that mathematicians reckon the circumference of the earth at 400,000 stadia (50,000 miles: about double, therefore, the true measurement), and that as compared with the size of the celestial bodies this is a comparatively small figure. The hypothesis (so important in later times for Columbus's discovery)
from the nature of its material, and partly from its position in the universe: observation, moreover, assures us of the fact. The hollows on the surface of the earth are filled with water, the upper surface of which is spherical. Around the water and the earth are hollow spheres—first of air, then of fire. Aristotle, however, not unfrequently identifies the two last, remarking that what we call air is composed partly of moist and partly of dry vapour, the latter produced from earth, the former from water and the moisture of the earth: the drier kinds mount upwards, the more humid, from their

that the Indian and Atlantic Oceans are all one sea, he further thinks worthy of respect. De An. iii. 3, 428, b, 3, Meteor. i. 8, 345, b, 2, he tells us that the sun is larger than the earth.

De Caelo, ii. 14, where Aristotle opposes the view that the earth moves, both in the form in which it was held by Philolaus (Zell. Ph. d. Gr. i. 388), and in the form given to it by Hicetas, Ephantus, Heraclides (ibid. i. 459, ii 1, 857 sqq.), and attributed also to Plato (ibid. ii. 1, 682, 2). His chief reason is (296, a, 27, b, 6, 25) that circular motion is contrary to the elemental nature of the earth, in virtue of which its proper motion is rectilinear and toward the centre. For the same reason all other motions must be denied of it. For since its natural motion is toward the centre, and all bodies rest when they arrive at the place toward which they naturally gravitate, motion away from the centre cannot belong to any part of it and the whole must be at rest.

The rotation of the world presupposes a fixed centre, which Aristotle conceives of as corporeal; see p. 480, supra.

Thus, heavy bodies when thrown upwards in a straight line return to their starting-point (ibid. 296, b, 25 sqq.). Moreover, astronomical phenomena find a satisfactory explanation on the hypothesis that the earth rests (297, a, 2), while on the opposite hypothesis irregularities must result; for instance, the stars could not always rise and set at the same points (297, a, 34 sqq.). The 'motion' referred to in Anal. Post. ii. 1, 89, b, 30, is the earthquake.

The proof of this, De Caelo, ii. 4, 287, b, 1 sqq., is as follows: as water always accumulates in the deepest parts, and the nearer the centre the deeper any part is, water must continue to flow towards the centre until all the deep places are filled up, i.e. until its surface is at all points equidistant from the centre. The proper place for water is the space occupied by these, Meteor. ii. 2, 355, a, 35, b, 15, 356, a, 33.
greater gravity, sink downward; so the former fill the upper, the latter the lower, region of the atmosphere.¹

The spherical form of the lower world involves that of the celestial region which surrounds the former and touches it at all points.² But considered in themselves, the heavens could scarcely be supposed to have another shape,³ since the sphere is the first and most perfect figure, and therefore the one appropriate to the first body. Moreover, it is only this figure which can revolve within the space which it encloses,⁴ and external to the heavens there is no space. Lastly, the motion of the heavens, being the measure of all movement, must be the most rapid; but the most rapid is that which has the shortest journey, and a circle is the shortest road from the same point to the same point.⁵

¹ Meteor. i. 3, 340, b, 19 sqq. 341, a, 2, c. 4, 341, b, 6–22; cf. i. 7, 344, b, 8, c. 8, 345, b, 32; ii. 2, 354, b, 4 sqq.; De Caelo, ii. 4, 287, a, 30; on the difference between dry and moist vapours (ἀναθύμιασις, or κανῦς and σγῦς), v. also Meteor. ii. 4, 359, b, 28, 360, a, 31, iii. 6, 378, a, 18.
² De Caelo, ii. 4, 287, a, 30 sqq. As there can be no space which is void (see pp. 432 sq.), it follows that the celestial and the fiery spheres are at all points in contact with one another.
³ For what follows see De Caelo, ii. 4.
⁴ Ibid. 287, a, 11. This statement is certainly strange, for as ALEX. apud SIMPL. in loco, Schol. 493, b, 22, observed at an early date, a whole series of figures share this attribute with the sphere, viz. all those which are described by the spinning of a smooth body, and of which, therefore, each section which cuts the axis at right angles forms a circle whose centre is on the line of the axis. Simplicius gets out of the difficulty by remarking that, while in the case of other shapes there is only one axis that will serve the purpose, in a sphere you may take any you please; an explanation with which we may rest content on so trifling a point.
⁵ Or as SIMPLICIUS, in loco, explains it: of all lines which return to the point from which they started, and thus inclose a space, the circle is the shortest; just as of all surfaces of equal extent that which is circular, of all bodies of equal bulk that which is globular, has the smallest circumference. Even with this
The finer and more uniform its matter is, the more perfectly spherical will be the shape of the celestial world: 1 as, indeed, in the most perfect body matter must be perfectly adapted to its form, and as the arguments by which the spherical shape of heaven is proved 2 require. Still we cannot regard the matter of the heavens as uniformly homogeneous. Nature, in Aristotle's opinion, reconciles all opposites by a gradual process, and the purity of the æther, which composes heaven, diminishes as it approaches the terrestrial atmosphere. 3

In proceeding to investigate the disposition of the heavens, Aristotle is guided by observation. 4 All the explanation the argument is a lame one. It is obvious that Aristotle accepts the globular form of the earth on the direct evidence of the senses, and merely adds these other proofs as supplementary evidence.

1 Ibid. 287, b, 14: ὅτι μὲν οὖν σφαιροειδῆς ἔστιν ὁ κόσμος δήλον ἐκ τούτων, καὶ ὅτι κατ' ἀκριβείαν ἐντορνὸς οὕτως ὠστε μηθεὶν μήτε χειρόκμητον ἐχειν παραπλησίως μήτ' ἄλλο μηθεὶν τῶν παρ' ἕμιν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς φαινομένων, no terrestrial body being so completely adapted for an exactly symmetrical form.

2 According to the above argument, the smallest elevation or depression in the outer surface of the celestial globe would presuppose a void space outside of it.

3 Meteor. i. 3, 340, b, 6: τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄνω καὶ μέχρι σελήνης ἑτερον εἶναι σῶμα φαμεν πυρὸς τε καὶ ἀέρος, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ γε τὸ μὲν καθαρώτερον εἶναι τὸ δ' ἦττον ἐλικρινές, &c. Kampe is wrong in supposing that it is the air as the matter of the fiery region and not the æther that is here spoken of. The ἄνω μέχρι σελήνης does not mean the region below the moon, but the upper regions reaching down as far as the moon, and lying between it and the starry heavens. Moreover, σῶμα ἑτερον ἄέρος cannot possibly mean the air, but, as l. 10 immediately says, the πρῶτον στοιχεῖον κύκλῳ φερόμενον or the æther. We must not, however, conceive of a mixture of elementary substances which cannot extend to the region of circular motion, but merely of differences in the degree of density.

4 According to Eudemus (in Simpl. De Caeo, Schol. in Arist. 498, a, 45) Plato had thus stated the problem of astronomy: τίνων ὑποστεισῶν ὄμαλῶν καὶ τεταγμένων κυρίσεων διασαβή τὰ περὶ τὰς κυρίσεις τῶν πλανωμένων φαινόμενα,
heavenly bodies seem daily to move from east to west, but seven of them move besides in longer periods of

and from this time forth Greek astronomy held to the view that its function consisted in discovering hypotheses which would explain the phenomena as satisfactorily as (on their somewhat hardy assumption) the motion of the stars is explained by the theory of uniform motions. The highest criterion of the truth of a theory is to solve the task of the former.

To take only a few instances: cf. the quotations from and about Heraclides, in ZELL. Ph. d. Gr. i. 881, 1, and in BÖCKH, D. kosm. Syst. d. Platon, 134 sqq.; Aristotle’s statements about Callippus, Metaph. xii. 8, 1073, b, 35: τὸ δ’ ἥλιον καὶ τῷ σελήνης δύο μὲν ἡμέρας εἰς ἰσομερῆς, τὰ δὲ φαινόμενα εἰ μέλλει τις ἀποδώσει; the statements and quotations from Geminus, in SIMPL. Phys. 64, b, and what the latter says of the old astronomers partly following Eudemus and Sosigenes, De Caelo, Schol. in Arist. 472, a, 42, 498, a, 43, 499, a, 7, 500, a, 25, 501, b, 28, 502, b, 5 sqq. 503, a, 23, 504, b, 32 sqq. Aristotle adopts the same criterion. He argues only those positions which are warranted by the facts; where the latter are inadequately known, or do not speak with sufficient plainness, he makes no pretence of absolute certainty, but is content with probability. Thus Metaph. xii. 8, 1073, b, 38, 1074, a, 14, after declaring (1073, a, 11) that the investigation is not yet concluded, he says: ἀναγκαῖον δὲ εἰ μέλλουσι συντεθεῖσαι πάσαι τὰ

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very unequal lengths in the opposite direction, *i.e.* from west to east, around the earth. That these bodies could move freely in space was a thought beyond the reach of ancient astronomers. They fancied each star fixed in its sphere, and therefore were obliged to imagine at least as many celestial spheres as they saw stars differing in their movements and periods.\(^1\) Aristotle does not get beyond this view. The stars, he says,\(^2\) as well as the whole heaven, appear to move; and since the earth is fixed, this phenomenon must be explained by a real movement of the heaven or the stars, or of both. It is not conceivable that both should

\(^1\) Many of the older philosophers held that the stars were carried round by the air or the rotation of the world. Besides Xenophanes and Heraclitus, who held that the stars were nebulous masses, this view was shared by Anaxagoras, Democritus, and perhaps even Anaximenes; Empedocles held that it was true of the planets but not of the fixed stars, which were set immovably in the arch of heaven (see ZELL. *Ph. d.* Gr. i. 226 sq., 500, 622, 715, 799, 898, 3). Anaximander seems to have been the first to start the theory of spheres (*ibid.* 206 sq.) which was subsequently adopted by the Pythagoreans (*ibid.* 384, 1, 449) and by Parmenides (*ibid.* 528). Plato adopted it from the Pythagoreans (*ibid.* i. 685), and was followed by Eudoxus and Callippus, the leading astronomers of Aristotle's time (see p. 497 sq., *infra*). It seemed forced upon them by the difficulty they had in conceiving of a free motion of the stars, the idea of universal gravitation not yet having dawned upon them. It seemed, moreover, to be demanded by the nature of the stellar motions themselves, which, if they were one and the same every day round the earth, were more naturally explained by a single motion of the whole sphere of the fixed stars than by a number of separate motions. A like hypothesis seemed to afford the best explanation of the movements of the planets, including the sun and moon; their proper motion being the result of the rotation of their spheres, which takes place, however, in a direction opposite to that of the fixed stars, while their daily course was to be explained on the ground that the rotation of the stellar regions included them also.

\(^2\) *De Caelo*, ii. 8. This argument is stated with some fullness, because it shows the important fact that Aristotle already presupposes the existence of different stellar spheres.
move independently, for in this case how could we explain the exact correspondence between the rate at which the stars move and that of their spheres? We cannot refer an invariably regular phenomenon to an accidental coincidence. The same may be said about the hypothesis that the stars move while their spheres are fixed. In this case also the rate of the astral movement would have to correspond to the size of their circle, although there is no real connection between the two. Hence we are driven to suppose that the spheres move, but the stars are fixed and carried round by them. This hypothesis satisfactorily explains why, among concentric circles, the larger move at a more rapid rate. It is further seen to be necessary because the stars, from their spherical shape, in order to get into motion, must either roll or spin. Mere rolling, however, would not carry them on their way; and the fact that the moon always shows us the same side proves that they do not spin. Moreover, their shape is the least adapted to progressive movement, since they are devoid of locomotive organs, obviously because nature has not intended them for any such movement.

1 Τῶς μὲν κύκλως κυνεῖσθαι τὰ δὲ ἀστρα ἡμερεῖν [i.e. they have no motion of their own within their own spheres, but move with them] καὶ ἐνδεδεμένα τοῖς κύκλωσις φέρεσθαι, 289, b, 32.

2 That this is their form is demonstrated, *ibid.* c. 11, both by the shape of the moon in its different phases, and by the teleological argument that since nature does nothing in vain she must have given the stars, which require no organs of locomotion, the corresponding shape, viz. rotundity.

3 Moreover, Aristotle adds, it is only the sun which appears to roll at its rising and setting: and this, like the twinkling light of the fixed stars, is merely an optical delusion.

4 Cf. also ZELL. *Ph. d. Gr* i. 681, 1.

5 In his refutation of the doctrine of the harmony of the spheres (c. 9 ἕν.), which we
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Now in order to explain the motion of the heavenly bodies upon this hypothesis, it was assumed that every sphere revolved on its own axis at a perfectly uniform rate. Accordingly, so far as the movements of the separate stars varied from a perfect circle, or progressed at unequal rates, they were regarded as composite movements capable of being analysed into pure and uniform rotations. Therefore, each star required as many spheres as were found necessary for the resolution of its apparent movement into pure circular revolutions. Aristotle was bound to accept these various hypotheses, since even he never doubted that the heavenly spheres and the matter which composed them performed such revolutions only as our eyesight seems to witness to; moreover, he was obliged to suppose that the spheres contained within the universal globe, in which there was no vacuum whatever, had no room for any other kind of movement.¹ He went further, and connected may omit, Aristotle gives another reason, viz. that infinite confusion would result if the movements of the stars were free.

¹ Cf. what has already been said upon the movement of the heavens, p. 489, and on the circular movement of the primeval body, p. 473. It was a universal presupposition among ancient astronomers, traceable to Plato (see p. 490, n, supra, and the references to Eudoxus and Callippus, p. 500 sq. infra), that the movement of the spheres must be perfectly uniform. Aristotle endeavours to establish its truth in the first instance in connection with the πρῶτος οὐρανός, the sphere of the fixed stars. Increase and decrease of velocity is possible only, he asserts, in a movement which has beginning, middle, and end; it is impossible in circular motion, which is alike without beginning and end. Unequal motion presupposes change either in motum or movens, or both, but this is impossible with regard to the heavens. For it is obvious to the senses that the parts of the (highest) heavens are uniform in their movements, while with regard to the heavens as a whole the same conclusion is forced upon us when we consider that unequal motion is only possible where force is either added or withdrawn, and that every with-
his peculiar theory of motion with these views. All motion depends upon the contact of a mobile with a motive body, and this law must apply to the motion of the spheres, since one *mover* in the same matter can only produce one kind of motion, and since every motion ultimately proceeds from an unmoved cause, and every motion which has no beginning from an eternal cause of movement, we must imagine as many eternal and unmoved substances for the production of the movement of the spheres as there are spheres required for the phenomena to be accounted for. The heavenly bodies are no dead masses, but living beings; there

drawal of force (άδυναμία) is an unnatural condition inapplicable to the heavens, &c. All these reasons hold equally of the spheres of the planets considered individually and apart from the influence of their spheres upon one another as of the first heaven. Aristotle, at 288, a, 14 of the passage quoted above, confines himself to the latter only. The movements of the lower spheres are compounded of those of the higher. The true account of the motions of the planets (attributing to them acceleration and retardation of velocity) is declared to be παντελῶς ἠλόγον καὶ πλάσματι ὅμοιον, 289, a, 4.

1 *Phys.* viii. 6, 259, a, 18 (v. above p. 293, n. 1): μία ἑ [ἡ κίνησις] εἰ δφ̑' ἐνός τε τοῦ κινοῦτος καὶ ἐνός τοῦ κινούμενου.

2 Cf. p. 388 sq., and on the way in which motion is produced by the unmoved mover, p. 401.

3 After showing the necessity of an eternal incorporeal cause of motion, *Metaph.* xii. 7, Aristotle asks, c. 8: πότερον μίαν θετέον τὴν τοιαύτην οὐδόν ἡ πλείους, καὶ πόσας; and answers, 1073, a, 26: έπει δὲ τὸ κινούμενον ἀνάγκη ὑπὸ τινος κινεῖται, καὶ τὸ πρῶτον κινοῦν ἀκίνητον εἶναι καθ’ αὐτὸ, καὶ τὴν ἁδίου κίνησιν ὑπὸ ἁδίου κινεῖται καὶ τὴν μίαν ἱφ’ ἐνός, ὄρωμεν δὲ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς τὴν ἀπλῆν φορᾶν ἡν κινεῖν φαίνει τὴν πρῶτην οὐσίαν καὶ ακίνητον, ἄλλας φορὰς οὐσίας τὰς τῶν πλανήτων ἁδίους . . . ἀνάγκη καὶ τοῦτων ἑκάστην τῶν φορῶν ὑπ’ ἁκίνητον τε κινεῖται καθ’ αὐτὸ καὶ ἁδίου οὐσίας. ἦ τε γὰρ τῶν ἁπτρῶν φύσει ἁδίου οὐσία τις οὐσία, καὶ τὸ κινοῦν ἁδίου καὶ πρότεροντοῦ κινούμενου, καὶ τὸ πρότερον οὐσίας οὐσίαν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι. φανερὸν τὸνν ὅτι τοσαῦτα τε οὐσίας ἀναγκαῖον εἰναι τῆς τε φύσεως ἁδίους καὶ ἁκίνητους καθ’ αὐτάς καὶ ἅνευ μεγέθους. *Brentano’s* view that these eternal beings were created by God has already been discussed at p. 412, *supra*.

4 De Ceo, ii. 12, 292, a, 18 (cf. b, 1): ἀλλ’ ἡμείς ὡς περὶ σωμάτων αὐτῶν μόνον καὶ μονάδων τάξιν
must be as many 'souls,' to preside over their motions, as there are spheres. The fabric of the heavens consists, therefore, of a system of concentric hollow balls or spheres, so placed within each other as to leave no empty interspace.¹ The centre of this system is called the bottom, the circumference the top; and so the outer spheres are uppermost, the inner are nethermost, and each locality in space is higher or lower according as it has a greater or less distance from the centre.² It is only indirectly, and relatively to the motion of the

¹ Aristotle denies that there is any 'void' (see p 433, sq. supra), and accordingly conceives not only of the astral spheres but of all the others, even the lowest, as in immediate contact with one another. Meteor. i. 3, 340, b, 10 sqq. 341, a, 2 sqq.; De Cælo, ii. 4, 287, a, 5 sqq.

² Cf. pp. 473 and 478, supra; Phys. iii. 5, 205, b, 30 sqq.; De Cælo, i. 6 init. ii. 4, 287, a, 8, and elsewhere.
spheres, that the terms above and beneath are applied to opposite points in the circumference, and consequently that we come to speak of right and left, front and back, in the world. In this case, reckoning from the sphere of the fixed stars, we call the southern half of the globe the upper, reckoning from the planetary sphere, the northern.  

1 Each sphere has its own peculiar motion will be that which carries the point in the periphery which has received the push past one who stands in the line of the axis in front of him; in other words, that which proceeds from the right in a forward direction and thence to the left. This, however, will be the case with the motion of the sphere of the fixed stars only if the head of one standing inside of it be upon the south pole; with that of the spheres of the planets which move from west to east, on the other hand, only on the opposite supposition. According to Aristotle, therefore, our antipodes are in the upper hemisphere, which he also calls (obviously from a different point of view than that just indicated) the right side of the world; we in the lower hemisphere and on the left side. On the other hand, reckoning from the courses of the planets, ours is the upper and right-hand, theirs the lower and left-hand, side. He points out, indeed, that we cannot properly speak of a right and a left at all in connection with the world as a whole (284, b, 6-18: ἐπειδὴ δὲ τινὲς εἰσὶν οἱ φασὶν εἶναι τι δεξιῶν καὶ ἀριστερῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ . . . εἶπερ δὲ προσάπτειν τῷ τοῦ παντὸς σώματι ταῦτας τὰς ἀρχὰς

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1 See De Celo, ii. 2 (cf. Phys. passage just referred to) and the lucid explanation in Böckh, D. kosm. Syst. d. Platon, p. 112 sqq. The differences here spoken of apply only to motion, and therefore properly only to that which is living and self-moved; to such the upper is (285, a, 23) τὸ θεν ἡ κίνησις, the right hand τὸ ἀριστέρον, the front τὸ ἐφ' ὄ, the right hand ἡ κίνησις. (Cf. Ingr. An. c. 4, 705, b, 13 sqq.) If we apply this to the world, that is the right side of the πρῶτος οὐρανὸς from which its motion proceeds—in other words, the east. This motion is conceived of (285, b, 19), as it was by Plato (see Zell. Ph. d. Gr. i. 684, 1), as proceeding in a circle towards the right, as when in a circle of men anything (as, for instance, the cup or the talk at table, PLATO, Symp. 177, p, 214, b, c, 222, e, 223, c) is passed along by each to his neighbour on the right. The πρῶτος οὐρανὸς is therefore represented (285, a, 31 sqq.) as standing inside the circle of the heavens in the line of its axis, touching one of the poles with its head, the other with its feet, and as giving the ball at some point upon its equator the push with its right hand which sets it spinning. The natural direction of such
motion, communicated by the presiding incorporeal being: but in all cases the motion is uniform, without beginning or ending, round an axis; but the direction and the rapidity of this rotation vary in the several spheres. At the same time the spheres are connected with each other in such a way that the inner, or lower, are carried round by the outer, just as if the axis of each sphere were inserted at its poles into the next above. Consequently, the problem arises how we are, under the

A similar connection of the inner with the surrounding spheres Plato had conceived of as existing between the spheres of the planets and of the fixed stars, when in Tim. 36, c, 39, a (cf. Ph. d. Gr. i. 683), he represents the axis of the former as inserted in the latter, and accordingly attributes to the planets a spiral motion compounded of the motions of both circles. One would suppose from Arist. Metaph. xii. 8, 1073, b, 18, 25, Simp. De Celo, Schol. in Arist. 488, b, 36, that Eudoxus and Callippus also conceived of the stars collectively as carried round by the sphere of the fixed stars, and the planets collectively by a sphere moving in the line of the ecliptic. It is clear, however, from the further explanations of Simplicius and from Aristotle's enumeration of the spheres (which differed from that of Callippus only in the addition of the οὐρανῶν άνελίττουσαι) that this was not the case. Plato's proof that the spheres of the planets are carried round by the sphere of the fixed stars appeared to them fantastic. Only those spheres they conceived of as connected with one another which belonged
specified circumstances, to determine both the number of the spheres and also the direction and rapidity of their rotation, so as to explain the motions of the stars revealed to us by observation.\footnote{1}

For this purpose Eudoxus, the famous astronomer of Cnidos, who may be regarded as the first founder of a complete theory of the spheres based upon accurate observation,\footnote{2} sketched out a system of twenty-seven spheres, twenty-six of which belong to the planets. Considering the simple nature of its motion, he thought one sphere enough for the heaven of the fixed stars, and in this sphere the whole assemblage of the stars was fastened. On the other hand, he assigned four spheres to each of the five upper planets, and three apiece to the sun and moon, which, in agreement with Plato, he placed lowest in the planetary scale. The first sphere of each planet was intended to explain its daily revolution in concert with the heaven of the fixed stars, since it accomplished every day a rotation from east to

to the same planet. Aristotle, on the contrary, extended Plato's doctrine to the relation of all the upper spheres to those that are contained within them, as is clear from his hypothesis of retrogressive spheres (see \textit{infra}). (Cf. also \textit{De Cielo}, ii. 12, 293, a, 5: \textit{πολλά σώματα κινούσιν αἱ πρὸ τῆς τελευταίας καὶ τῆς ἐν ἀστρον ἔχουσιν. ἐν πολλαῖς γὰρ σφαίραις ἡ τελευταία σφαίρα ἐνδεδειγμένη φέρεται. Ibid. c. 10.) He justifies this view on the ground that the upper spheres stand to the lower as the form to the matter, \textit{De Cielo}, iv. 3, 4, 310, b, 14, 312, a, 12; \textit{v. supra}, p. 325, n. 2); and that, as all spheres are in close and immediate contact with one another (see p. 496, n. 1, \textit{supra}), each can communicate its motion to the one next below it. This relation need not apply with equal strictness to the elementary spheres as to the heavenly, seeing that they do not, like the latter, consist of a body whose nature it is to move in a circle. Aristotle, however, supposes in \textit{Meteor}. i. 3, 341, a, 1, ii. 4, 361, a, 30 sqq. that the winds circle round the earth, being carried round by the rotation of the world.

\footnote{1}{ Cf. p. 490, n. 4, \textit{supra}.}

\footnote{2}{ Eudemus and Sosigenes in \textit{Simpl. De Cielo, Schol. in Ar. 498}, a, 45, b, 47, cf. \textit{supra}, p. 451, n. 2,}
west. The second, which was fastened into it, revolved in the opposite direction, completing its course in the space of time required by each planet (in the sun's case 365¹/₄ days) to traverse the zodiac in the plane of the ecliptic. The others, likewise carried round by the surrounding spheres, but differing from them in direction and the period of rotation, were meant to explain the variations which are observable between the apparent motion of the stars and that produced by the two first spheres. The lowest sphere of each planet supports the star itself.¹ Callippus ² added seven other spheres—two apiece for the sun and moon, and one apiece for Mercury, Venus, and Mars.³ Aristotle approves of this, as being the more probable theory,⁴ without remarking

¹ Aristotle
³ For a fuller account of the theories of Eudoxus and Callippus, see besides the scanty allusion in Aristotle (Metaph. xii. 8, 1073, b, 17) SIMPL. ibid. 498, b, 5—500, a, 15, who depends partly upon the work of Eudoxus N. Taçwv, partly upon the account of Sosigenes, but has not altogether avoided falling into mistakes, and Theo. Astronom. p. 276 sqq. ed. Martin, in whom, however, his editor (p. 55 sqq.) points out serious errors. In explanation, cf. IDELER, ibid. 73 sqq.; KRISCHE, Forschungen, p. 288 sqq., who are followed by Bonitz, Arist. Metaph. ii. 507 sq., and SCHWEBLER, Arist. Metaph. iv. 274 sq.; PRANTL, 'Arist. p. ovp. 303 sqq.
⁴ According to SIMPL. ibid. 498, b, 28, 500, a, 23, this astro-

NOMER was a pupil of Eudoxus (or perhaps only of his pupil Polemarchus) who on the death of the latter betook himself to Aristotle at Athens. Simplicius knows of no work by him, but gives some account, taken from Eudemus' History of Astronomy, of the reasons which led him to dissent from Eudoxus.

³ ARIST. ibid. 1073, b, 32; SIMPL. ibid. 500, a, 15 sqq.; THEO, ibid. 278 sq.; IDELER, 81 sq.; KRISCHE, 294 sq.
¹ It is obvious from the passage quoted p. 490, n. 4, supra, that he did not attribute complete certainty to it. According to SIMPL. 503, a, 3, he even brought forward several objections to it in the Problems. The passage, however, does not occur in this treatise as we have it, which makes it all the more difficult to decide upon its genuineness.
that his own doctrine of the connection of the spheres in one coherent whole renders the first sphere assigned by Eudoxus and Callippus to each planet superfluous. At the same time he judges an important rectification of the theory to be needful, on account of this very coherence of the heavenly system. For if each sphere carries round in its course all those which are contained in it, the motions of the lower planets must be greatly disturbed by those of their superiors, and the whole result of the assumed spherical system would be altered unless precautions be taken to neutralise the communication of movement from the spheres of one planet to those of another. To meet this difficulty Aristotle, accordingly, inserts some other spheres between the lowest of each planet and the highest of that which comes next beneath, meaning them to obviate the action of the first upon the second. But the premises of the whole theory require that these fresh spheres should move at the same rate as those which they are destined to neutralise, but in an exactly opposite direction; and again that there should be as many

1 For, as Simplicius also remarks, 503, a, 38 sqq. (where, however, l. 41, we must read συν-πολεμιστικον, a special sphere is not required to explain the daily rotation of the planets from east to west, since, in consequence of this connection the motion of the spheres of the fixed stars communicates itself to all that are contained in it.

2 For if two concentric spheres, whose axes lie in the same line, and of which the inner one is fixed to the outer by the poles of its axis, spin round the common axis with relatively equal velocities in the opposite directions, each point of the inner sphere is at each moment precisely in the position in which it would be if both spheres were at rest. The two motions have completely neutralised one another in their effect upon the inner sphere and all that depends upon it, as Sosigenes, in SIMPL. ibid. 500, b, 39, truly explains.
retrogressive or retarding spheres\(^1\) as the movements they are used to obviate. In other words, the collective motions peculiar to each planet have to be considered: none of these may be communicated to another planet, whereas the daily revolution from east to west excited in each planet by its first sphere does not require to be neutralised.\(^2\) It is only the moon which requires no retrogressive sphere beneath the one which carries her, since there is no planet below the moon that she could interrupt. Aristotle, consequently, adds twenty-two retrogressive spheres to the thirty-three of Callippus, three apiece for Saturn and Jupiter, four apiece for

\(^1\) Σφαίραι ἀνελιπτοῦσαι (supply τὰς τῶν ὑποκάτω φερουμένων ἀστρῶν σφαίρας, not as Sosigenes does, SIMPL. ib. 502, a, 43, τὰς τῶν ὑποκάτω κινήσεις, 1074, a, 2–12), i.e. ‘spheres which serve to turn those beneath them backwards,' to communicate to them a motion opposite to that of the next above them, and in this way to keep them in the same position relatively to the fixed stars as they would have held had the planetary spheres above them produced no effect upon them at all ('τὰς ἀνελιπτοῦσας καὶ οἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ἀποκαθιστάσας τῇ θέσει τὴν πρώτην σφαίραν δὲ τῷ ὑποκάτῳ τεταγμένου ἀστρον'); Metaph. ibid. 1074, a, 1 sqq. Theophrastus called these spheres ἀνταναφέρουσαι, because they carry those that are beneath them back, and ἀνατροποὶ, because not only some, but all of them are starless (SIMPL ibid. 498, b, 41, where, however, the retrogressive spheres appear to be confounded with the starless spheres of individual constellations); cf. ibid. 502, a, 40.

\(^2\) This supposition is as erroneous as the view, discussed p. 501, supra, that the theory of a special sphere for each of the planets with daily rotation from east to west is compatible with Aristotle's system of the spheres. For since, according to his view, the sphere of the fixed stars in its revolution carries round with it all that is contained in it, each further sphere which revolved in the same direction and at the same velocity would only add one more to the number of the daily rotations of the spheres contained in it, unless this result were obviated by a special arrangement of retrogressive spheres. Aristotle has obviously overlooked this. If he had remarked it, he would not have neutralised the action of the primeval spheres of each planet which run parallel with the heaven of fixed stars, but would have abolished them altogether.
Mars, Venus, Mercury, and the sun; giving in all fifty-five or, if we add in the sphere of fixed stars, fifty-six spheres, together with as many eternal incorporeal unmoved entities from whom the motions of the spheres proceed. The progress of observation could not fail to show that the theory of spheres, even as thus conceived, was inadequate to explain the phenomena; accordingly, as early as the middle of the third century before Christ, Apollonius of Perga advanced his theory of ‘epicycles’ triumphantly against it. Yet even the antagonists of Aristotle’s system admitted that his theory of retrogressive spheres was an ingenious attempt to rectify and supplement the hypothesis of Eudoxus.¹

¹ Metaph. ibid. cf. SIMPL. ibid. 500, a, 34 sqq.; KRISCHE, ibid. 206 sqq.; IDELER, ibid. 82; BONITZ and SCHWEGLER on the passage in the Metaphysics. There Aristotle expressly says, l. 17 sqq., that more spheres are not required, for, since every motion exists for the sake of that which is moved, there can be no motion and therefore no sphere in the heavens which is not there for the sake of a star. έι δὲ μηδεμιαν οἶνον τ’ εἶναι φοράν μη συντείνουσαν πρὸς ἀστρον φοράν, ἐτι δὲ πᾶσαν φύσιν καὶ πᾶσαν οὐσίαν ἀπαθὴ καὶ καθ’ αὕτην τοῦ ἀρίστου τετυχεύοντα τέλος εἶναι δεὶ νομίζειν, οὐδεμιὰ ἀν εἶ ἑκ παρὰ ταῦτα ἐτέρα φύσις [sc. ἀπαθὴς &c.], ἀλλὰ τούτων ἀνάγκη τῶν ἀριθμῶν εἶναι τῶν οὐσιῶν. εἰτε γάρ εἶναι ἐτέρα κινεῖν ἄν ὡς τέλος οὐσία φορᾶς. (Instead of τέλοσ, however, in l. 20, we must clearly read with BONITZ τέλοσ; BRENTANO’S objection to this emendation, Psychol. d. Ar. 344 sqq., is groundless; the traditional reading is obviously meaningless.) Here also we can see that his theory is founded upon observation. In l. 12 he remarks that if we were to leave the sun and the moon out of our reckoning, the number of the (planetary) spheres would be 47; but the difficulty is so obvious that Sosigenes conjectured this to be a slip for 49 (SIMPL. ibid. 502, a, 11 sqq.). KRISCHE, with whom BONITZ and seemingly also SCHWEGLER agree, refers the remark to the eight retrogressive spheres under Mercury and the sun; but it is not easy to see low the σφαῖραν ἀνελίπτονσαί belonging to the sun and the moon could have been left out.

² Upon which cf. esp. IDELER, ibid. 83 sq., LÜBBERT, ‘On the Greek Theory of the Moon’s Orbit,’ Rhein. Mus. xii. (1857), 120 sq.

³ Of the Peripatetic Sosigenes (as to whom, see ZELL. Ph. d. Gr. i. 696, 701) SIMPL. says,
One circle of fixed stars, or the ‘first heaven,’ as Aristotle called it, is the most perfect portion of this celestial world. Stationed next to Deity, the best and most perfect object, it accomplishes its purpose by a single motion. In its single sphere it carries an innumerable multitude of heavenly bodies.\(^1\) Its motion is pure, unalterable, uniform rotation,\(^2\) starting from the better side and following the better direction, from right to right.\(^3\) Moving without trouble, it requires no Atlas to support it nor any sail to carry it round by few motions, the next above that and the next again reach higher attainments, the former by the aid of many, the latter by the aid of few, motions. Finally the highest heavens attain the highest with one single motion.

\(^1\) *De Caelo*, ii. 12, Aristotle asks how it is that the number of motions belonging to each planet does not increase with their distance from the *primum movens*, but the three middle planets have one motion more than the two above and below them; and, further, why the first sphere contains so many stars while the converse is the case with the others, several spheres being assigned to each star. In reply to the former question (292, a, 22) he says that whereas the Most Perfect needs no action (see p. 396, n. 2, 3, and p. 397, n. 1), of all that is beneath Him one thing attains its end by a few actions, another requires many, others still make no effort to attain their end at all, but content themselves with a distant approach to perfection. The earth does not move at all, that which lies nearest to it has few motions, the next above that and the next again reach higher attainments, the former by the aid of many, the latter by the aid of few, motions. Finally the highest heavens attain the highest with one single motion. In answer to the second question, Aristotle remarks that the first sphere far excels the others in vital and original energy (νοησι αγα τής ζωής καὶ τής ἀρχῆς ἐκάστης πολὴν ὑπεροχὴν εἶναι τῆς πρώτης πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας, 292, a, 28); but that the nearer each is to first the more are the bodies which it carries, seeing that the lower spheres are carried round by the upper. Aristotle himself seems, from the way in which he introduces them, 291, b, 21, 292, a. 14 (cf. p. 169, n. 3, and p. 490, n. 4) to place no great reliance upon these explanations. The problem, however, appears to him too important to be altogether passed over. There are questions which he approaches with a species of religious awe, but which nevertheless lie very near his heart.

\(^2\) See p. 494, n. 1, *supra*.

\(^3\) See p. 497, n. 1, *supra*. 
force. Its motion embraces all and generates all motion. Unbegotten and indestructible, affected by no earthly distress, comprehending in itself all time and space, it rejoices in the most complete existence that has been allowed to any bodily thing. Less perfect is the region of the planetary spheres. Instead of one sphere bearing countless heavenly bodies, we here perceive a multiplicity of spheres, several of which are required to bear one star on its course. Their motion proceeds from the left side of the world, and though, considering each sphere by itself, it is a pure and uniform rotation, yet the general result is not so, since the lower spheres are carried round by the upper, and as a consequence motions composite and deviating

1 See p. 459, n. 5.
2 De Cel. ii. 1 init.: ἔστιν εἰς καὶ ἄδιδος [ὁ πᾶς οὐρανὸς]: Aristotle, however, has principally in view the πρῶτος οὐρανός, which, in i. 9, 278, b, 11, is called by preference simply οὐρανός] ἀρχή ἡ μὲν καὶ τελευτήν οὐκ ἔχων τοῦ παντοῦ αἰῶνος, ἔχων δὲ καὶ περιεχόν ἐν αὐτῷ τὸν ἀπειρον χρόνον... διόπερ καλῶς ἔχει συμπείθειν ἐαυτόν τοὺς ἀρχαῖους καὶ μάλιστα πατρίους ἡμῶν ἀλήθειας εἶναι λόγους, ὡς ἔστιν ἀδανάτω τι καὶ θείω τῶν ἐχύντων μὲν κίνησιν ἐχύντων δὲ τοιαύτην ὡστε μηθεν εἰναι πέρας αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ταύτην τῶν ἄλλων πέρας. τὸ τε γὰρ πέρας τῶν περιεχόντων ἐστὶ, καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ κυκλοφορία τέλειος οὖσα περιέχει τὰς ἀτελείας καὶ τὰς ἔχυσις πέρας καὶ παύλαν, αὐτὴ μὲν οὐδεμιαν οὕτω ἀρχὴν ἔχουσα οὕτω τελευτήν, ἄλλῃ ὑπαντος οὖσα τὸν ἀπειρον χρόνον, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τῶν μὲν αἰτία τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν δὲ δεχομένη τὴν παύλαν. The ancients were right when they assigned the heavens, as alone indestructible, to the gods, for it is ἄφθαρτος καὶ ἄγενντος, ἐπὶ δὲ ἀπάθης πάσης θυητῆς δυσχερείας ἔστιν, πρὸς δὲ τούτων ἄπονοι διὰ τὸ μηδεμίας προσδείσην βιαίας ἀνάγκης, ἡ κατέχει καλώσυνα φέρεσθαι περικύκτοι αὐτῶν ἄλλως· τὰν γὰρ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπίτονον, δοσφερὰν ἀν ἀδιώστερον δ', καὶ διαθέσεως τῆς ἀριστης ἀμοίραν. I. 9, 279, a, 10: εἰς καὶ μόνος καὶ τέλειος οὐτος οὐρανὸς ἔστιν. The passage which follows (quoted p. 395, n. 6), refers partly to the same subject, even although the description contained in it refers primarily to God and not to the heavens. All that was said of the aether, p. 473 sq., is equally applicable to the πρῶτος οὐρανὸς, which, according to the account p. 490, n. 3, is formed of the purest aether.
from the circle are produced. Moreover the rate of these motions is affected by the relation of the lower to the upper spheres, which in itself is a further proof of their less complete self-sufficingness. Nevertheless, these spheres belong to the most divine part of the visible universe, to that which is removed from mutability and impression from without, and which partakes of perfection. As the aether is superior to the four elements, so the stars without exception occupy a position of superiority to the earth. They form the celestial world, in comparison with which the terrestrial seems but an unimportant and transient portion of the whole.
Aristotle, like Plato, thought the stars were bodies animated by rational spirits, and ascribed to these beings a nature far more godlike than man's. Therefore he attributes a priceless value to the smallest iota of knowledge which we can boast to have acquired about them. In this view we can trace the consequences of a metaphysic which deduced all motion ultimately from incorporeal essences; but it is also possible to recognise in it a reflection of those modes of doctrine, *Metaph.* i. 9, 990, b, 34, 991, b, 13, iii. 6, 1002, b, 15, 17, 22, 467.

1 *Eth.* N. vi. 7, 1141, a, 34: άνθρώπου πολύ θεότερα τήν φύσιν, οίνον φανερώτατά γε εξ διό κόσμος συνέστηκεν. *De Cælo*, i. 2; see preceding note.

2 *Part. An.* i. 5 init.: the beings in the world are either unbegotten and imperishable, or begotten and perishable: συμβεβηκε δὲ περὶ μὲν ἑκείνας τιμίας ὀθόνας καὶ θείας ἐλάστως ἡμῖν ὑπάρχειν θεωρίας . . . περὶ δὲ τῶν φαράκων φυτῶν τε καὶ ζώων εὐπορούμεν μᾶλλον πρὸς τὴν γραμμὰν διὰ τὸ σύντροφον. ἔχει δ' ἐκάτερα χάριν, τῶν μὲν γὰρ εἰ καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ἐφαπτόμεθα, δυνάμεν διὰ τὴν τιμιότητά του γνωρίζειν ἤδιον ἢ τὰ παρ' ἕμιν ἅπαντα, δώσετε καὶ τῶν ἐφωμένων τὸ τυχόν καὶ μικρὸν μόριον κατιδεῖν ἤδιον ἔστιν ἢ πολλὰ ἑτέρα καὶ μεγάλα δ' ἀκριβείας ἰδεῖν· τὰ δὲ διὰ τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ πλείω γνωρίζειν αὐτῶν λαμβάνει τὴν τῆς ἐπιστήμης ὑπεροχήν, ἐτί δὲ διὰ τὸ πλησιαστέρα ἡμῶν εἶναι καὶ τῆς φύσεως οἰκειότερα ἀντικαταλάττεσται τι πρὸς τὴν περὶ τὰ θεία φιλοσοφίαν. Cf. also *De Cælo*, ii. 12 (supra, p. 169, n. 3).
thought which lay at the root of the natural religion of the Greeks, and which stamped themselves in similar notions upon the philosophy of Plato. Aristotle himself, indeed, is perfectly conscious of this connection between his theories and the ancient faith of his nation.

The relation between the terrestrial world and the celestial spheres gives rise to the motions and change of earthly things. The laws that govern the earth are necessarily different from those of heaven, because of the difference of materials, if for no other reason. The nature of the elements forces them to move in opposite directions and to exhibit opposite qualities, to act and be acted upon, to pass into and to intermingle with one another. But since everything that is moved must be moved by something else, it follows that the reciprocal interaction of the elements receives

1 ZELL. Ph. d. Gr. i. p. 686 sq.
2 See p. 505, n. 2, supra, and p. 475, supra. Metaph. xii. 8, 1074, a, 38: παραδεδο-
3 ται δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ παυ-
4 παλαιῶν εἰς μίθου σχῆματι κατα-
5 λειμέμενα τοῖς ύστερον ὅτι θεῷ τὸ
6 εἰςα ὦτοι [the starry heavens] καὶ
7 περιέχει τὸ θείον τὴν ἄλην φύσιν. τὰ
8 δὲ λοιπὰ μυθικῶς ἤδη προσήκται πρὸς
tὴν πειθὸν τῶν πολλῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν εἰς
tὸς νόμον καὶ τὸ συμφέρον χρῆσιν· ἀνθρώπο-
9 έδεισι τῇ γὰρ τούτοις καὶ τῶν
10 ἄλλων θέων ὑμοίους τοῖς λέγουσιν,
11 καὶ τούτοις ἔτερα ἀκόλουθα καὶ
12 παραπλήσια τοῖς εἰρημένοις· ὅν
13 εἴ τις χωρίασα αὐτὸ λαβοὶ μόνον τὸ
14 πρῶτον ὅτι θεοὺς φύστο τὰς πρώτας
15 υὐσίας εἶναι θεῖος ἄν εἰρήθαι νομί-
16 σειν καὶ κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς πολλάκις
17 εἰρημένης εἰς τὸ δυνατὸν ἑκάστης
18 καὶ τέχνης καὶ φιλοσοφίας καὶ πάλιν
19 φθειρομένων καὶ ταῦτα τὰς δόξας
20 εἰκείων ὁδὸς λείψανα περιεσχέθαν Damascus μέχρι τοῦ νῦν. ἡ μὲν ὅπων πάτρων
21 δόξα καὶ ἡ παρὰ τῶν πρῶτων ἐπὶ
tοσοῦτον ἡμῖν φανέρα μόνων.
an impulse from without. The immediate sources of these motions are the heavenly bodies.\(^1\) Their movement occasions the changes of warmth and cold, which, in the opinion of Aristotle, are the most generally active forces in the elementary bodies.\(^2\) Although the stars and their spheres are neither warm nor cold,\(^3\) yet, by their movement, they generate light and heat in the stratum of air that lies nearest to them; as, indeed, all swiftly moving bodies warm and even set fire to surrounding substances by friction. This is particularly true of the place in which the sun is fastened, since it is neither so far off as the fixed stars,\(^4\) nor yet

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\(^1\) Meteor. i. 2, 339, a, 21: ἠστὶ δέ ἀνάγκης συνεχῆς πως οὕτος [ὁ περὶ τὴν γῆν κόσμον] ταῖς ἀνω ψωφάς, ὡστε πίσιν αὐτοῦ τῆν δύναμιν κυβερνᾶσθαι ἐκεῖθεν. . . . ὡστε τῶν συμβαίνοντων περὶ αὐτῶν πῦρ μὲν καὶ γῆν καὶ τὰ συγγενή τούτων ὡς ἐν ὕλῃ εἶδε τῶν γιγαντιῶν αἰτία χρῆ νομίζειν, . . . τὸ δ’ οὕτως αἰτίων ὡς δέδω ἡ τῆς κινήσεως ἀρχή τὴν τῶν ἀεὶ κινουμένων αἰτιατέον δύναμιν; c. 3, 340, a, 14.

\(^2\) See p. 180, n. 3, supra.

\(^3\) It is impossible that they should be, seeing that the aether, of which they consist, admits none of the opposites which constitute the qualities of the elements. Some further reasons against the view that they are of a fiery nature are given, Meteor. i. 3 ibid.

\(^4\) De Caelo, ii. 7, 289,a, 19: the stars do not consist of fire. ἡ δὲ θερμότης ἀπ’ αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ φῶς γίνεται παρεκπερισσοῦν τοῦ ἀέρος ὑπὸ τῆς ἑκέινων φορᾶς. Motion causes wood, stone, and iron to burn, and the lead of arrows and bullets to melt (on this widely spread error of the ancients, cf. IDELER, Arist. Meteor. i. 359 sq.); it must therefore heat the air that surrounds them. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν αὐτὰ ἐκθερμαίνεται διὰ τὸ ἐν ἀέρι φέρεσθαι, δια διὰ τὴν πληγήν τῇ κινήσει γίγνεται πῦρ τῶν δὲ ἀνω ἐκαστὸν ἐν τῇ σφαίρᾳ φέρεται, ὡστ’ αὐτὰ μὲν μὴ ἐκπυρωθοῦσα, τού δ’ ἀέρος ὑπὸ τὴν τοῦ κυκλικοῦ σώματος σφαιρὰν ὄντος ἀνάγκης φερομένης ἐκείνης ἐκθερμαίνεσθαι, καὶ ταῦτῃ μάλιστα ἡ ἡλίου τετύχηκεν ἐνυδαθεμένος. διὸ δὴ πλησιαζοῦσα τοι αὐτῶν καὶ ἀνίσχυρος καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς ὄντος γίγνεται ἡ θερμότης. That the sun has this effect is explained, Meteor. i. 3, 341, a, 19, in the course of an exposition which agrees with the passage just quoted, in terms similar to the above. See further Meteor. i. 3, 340, b, 10, i. 7, 314, a, 8. The whole account, however, would suggest many difficulties even to an Aristotelian. For how can light and heat proceed from a
so slow of motion as the moon. Again the solar movement frequently causes the fire which has raised the air, to burst and rush violently downward.\(^1\) If the motion of the sun were uniformly the same in relation to the earth it would produce a simple and unvarying effect either of generation or of destruction. But the inclination of the sun’s path makes it unequal. The sun is sometimes nearer and sometimes further from the different parts of the earth, and the alternation of birth and death is a result of this circumstance.\(^2\) Whether one connects the former with the proximity and the latter with the remoteness of the sun, the one with the approach of warmer and the other with that of colder seasons of the year,\(^3\) or whether one regards generation as the consequence of a proportionate mixture of heat and cold, and destruction as produced by a prepon-

\(^1\) *Meteor*, i. 3, 341 a, 28.

\(^2\) *Gen. el. Curr.* ii. 10: ἐπεὶ ἡ κατὰ τὴν φορὰν κίνησιν δεδεικται ὡς ἄδιος, ἀνάγκη τούτων ὀντων καὶ γένεσιν εἶναι συνεχῶς, ἢ τὰ φορὰ ποιήσει τὴν γένεσιν ἐνδεξαγοράς διά τὸ προσάγειν καὶ ἀπάγειν τὸ γεγονητικὸν. . . . But as both birth and death are eternal, φανερῶν ὡς μᾶλλον όνομαί ὅτι ποιήθηκε γίγνεσθαι ἀμφότερον τῷ ἐναντίῳ εἶναι τῷ γράφειν καὶ ὀφασίως ἔχον ἢ τὸ αὐτὸ πέρικε ποιεῖν, ὡστε ἢτοι γένεσις ἢπί ἐσται ὑφορά.  

\(^3\) As is done in the preceding note and in the passages quoted, p. 512, n. 1, *infra.*
derance of one over the other, still the facts are the same. The double movement of the heavens occasions the interaction of the elements upon one another, and, by causing their mutual metamorphosis, prevents their flying to the different localities which, if prevented by no controlling influence, they would severally occupy. The materials of the world are thus continually conducted in a never-ceasing stream of reciprocal transmutation downwards from above and upwards from below. The endlessness of this process communicates a sort of infinity to perishable things. The substances which are further removed from the highest cause having no right to indestructible existence, the Deity has endowed them with perpetual 'becoming' instead, and has thus left no gap or discontinuity in the universe.

1 Gen. An. iv. 10, 777, b, 16: the generation, evolution, and the life of animals have their natural periods, which are determined by the revolution of the sun and the moon, as we might expect: καὶ γὰρ θερματηται καὶ ψύξεις μεχρὶ συμμετρίας τῶν ποιοῦν τὰς γενέσεις, μετὰ δὲ ταῖτα τὰς φθορὰς. τούτων δὲ ἔχουσι τὸ πέρας καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς τελευτατῆς αἱ τούτων κινήσεις τῶν ἀστρῶν.

The changes in the temperature of the air depend upon the sun and moon; those in the water upon air and wind. Whatever is or comes into being in them must adjust itself to their state. (Then follows the passage quoted p. 363, n. 4.)

2 Gen. et Corr. ii. 10, 337, a, 7: ἡμὰ δὲ δὴ λοὺν ἐκ τούτων ὅ τινες ἀπορούσιν, διὰ τὴν ἐκάστου τῶν σωμάτων εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν φερομένου χώραν ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ χρόνῳ οὐ διεστάσατο τὰ σώμata. αὐτίνον γὰρ τοῦτον ἔστιν ἡ εἰς ἀληθεία μετάβασις: εἰ γὰρ ἐκάστου ἔμενεν ἐν τῇ αὐτῷ χώρᾳ καὶ μὴ μετέβαλεν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλησίον, ἣδη ἂν διεστήκεσαν. μεταβάλλει οὖν διὰ τὴν φωρᾶν διπλὴν οὖν: διὰ δὲ τὸ μεταβάλλειν οὐκ ἐνδεχότατο μένειν οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ χώρῃ τεταγμένῃ. Here also it is only by variations of temperature that the sun effects the constant transmutation of the elements, as is placed beyond a doubt by the arguments in the Meteorology which are discussed below.

3 Gen. et Corr. ii. 10, 336, b, 26: τούτῳ δ᾿ εὐλόγως συμβεβηκὲν· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐν ἀπασίν ἀεὶ τοῦ βελτίωνος ὁργεῖσαι φαμεν τὴν φύσιν, βελτιων δὲ τὸ ἐκαίνυ ἡ τὸ μή ἐκαίνα, ... τούτῳ δ᾿ ἐνδυνατον ἐν ἀπασίν ὑπάρχειν διὰ τὸ πόρῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀφίστασθαι, τῷ λειπομένῳ τρόπῳ συνεπληρώσετο τὸ ὄλον ὁ θεὸς ἐνσελεχή (better: εὐθελ.) ποίησα τὴν γένεσιν· οὕτω
Accordingly a higher order is mirrored in the law of this mutation: for as the heavenly bodies approach the earth and move away from it at fixed and equal intervals, nature has ordained that birth and death should occur coincidently with these periods; and as the movement of the heavens is circular, the opposite motions of the elements in the terrestrial world also accomplish their kind of circle, inasmuch as each of them passes into all the others, and finally returns upon itself.  

Aristotle’s *Meteorology* is occupied with the phenomena produced by the motion, reciprocal action and mixture of the elements. He first describes those which belong to the fiery circle; next those of the lower portion of the atmosphere; and finally those...
which are exhibited within the sphere of the earth. The latter part of his treatise does not seem to have been finished. Aristotle appears, instead of continuing the work, to have composed the separate essay which now forms the fourth book of the Meteorology and which offers a proper point of transition to the science of animate existence in its discussion of topics which we should refer to the province of inorganic and organic chemistry.\(^1\) In the first of these sections various phenomena, such as meteors and aerolites,\(^2\) together with the Comets and the Galaxy, are explained to be collected masses of dry and inflammable vapours set on fire by the motion of the stars.\(^3\) Comets are bodies of this vapour in a state of slow combustion, moving freely or in the train of a star.\(^4\) Similar in kind is the Milky Way, its vaporous material being excreted and inflamed by the movement of the whole heaven.\(^5\) In the lower portion of the atmosphere are observable all circumstances connected with the formation of the clouds. Under the influence of solar warmth the moisture on the surface of the earth evaporates. The rising mists cool themselves in the higher regions of the air, imparting a portion of their heat to the fiery

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\(^1\) See p. 83, n. 2, supra.
\(^2\) Meteor, i. 4, 5.
\(^3\) Cf. pp. 482, n. 4, 479, n. 4, 490, n. 3, and 509, n. 4.
\(^4\) Ibid. c. 6–7, especially 344, a, 16 sqq. and c. 8, 345, b, 32 sqq. In harmony with the account of the nature of comets which he here gives, Aristotle endeavours (344, b, 18 sqq.) to explain those meteorological phenomena (e.g. storm and drought) which they were thought to forecast. On Meteor. i. 396 IDELER points out that Aristotle's account of comets held its ground among the most distinguished astronomers until the time of Newton.
\(^5\) Ibid. c. 8, esp. 346, b, 6 sqq. where the attempt is made to explain in detail, on the basis of this supposition, the form and appearance of the Milky Way.
sphere, and losing the rest in contact with the chillness of the upper atmosphere. Then they condense, change from air to water, and fall again to earth. In this manner there is formed a stream of air and water, moving up and down in a circle: when the sun is near, the column of air, or warm exhalation, rises; when it retreats, the stream of water flows downwards. Aristotle makes use of this phenomenon to explain the clouds and mists, dew, rime, rain, snow and hail, and goes on to connect with it the nature and origin of rivers and of the sea. The former are produced in part by the products of the atmosphere and in part by a transmutation of vapour into water within the earth. The sea, though no less eternal than the world, is always yielding a portion of its waters in the form of vapour, which returns to it through the rivers after having been again transformed into water in the atmosphere and discharged in this form. Its salt and bitter taste is occasioned by earthy particles which obtain their bitterness in combustion: for when dry vapours are generated in the earth, a change ensues from earth to fire—in other words, combustion. These vapours, then, carry the result of this combustion aloft with them, which mingles with the water of the rain and the streams, and being by reason of its weight unaffected by evaporation, it remains

1 The reason of this is given, *ibid.* i. c. 3, 340, a, 26.
2 Air, which is a compound of moisture and heat, when it cools down, is transformed into moisture and cold, *i.e.* water: see p. 484, *supra*.
4 *Ibid.* at 346, b, 32.
6 *Ibid.* c. 13, 349, b, 2–c. 14 *infra*, where he gives a survey of the most noted rivers and their sources. The matter of c. 14 will be further touched upon *infra*.
behind in the sea. Dry evaporation causes wind, as moist evaporation rain. Both are mingled in the lower atmosphere, but the dry exhalations rise aloft and are carried round by the rotation of the upper regions. This excretion of the warmer matter causes the remaining moisture to cool and be condensed into rain; and this refrigeration being communicated to the warm vapours of the upper strata, causes them to rush towards the earth in the shape of wind. Consequently, the alternations of wind and rain depend upon the fluctuations of moist and dry vapours continually changing place with one another. Masses of vapour penetrating the interior of the earth as winds produce earthquakes. Similar in their origin are thunder and lightning, whirlwinds and simooms, while halos round the sun and moon, rainbows, parhelia, and light-streaks in the clouds may be explained by the reflection of light in moist exhalations and water. In the earth itself stones are produced from dry exhalations, together with all other minerals which are incapable of fusion; damp vapours, on the other hand, by hardening, before passing into water, become metals.

At the end of the third book of the Meteorology

1 *Ibid.* i. c. 13, 349, a, 12 sqq., ii. 4–6, especially c. 4, where the subject is further developed. Cf. also IDELER, i. 541 sqq.; *Meteor.* i. 3, 341, a, 1; *Probl.* xxvi. 26.
2 Upon this ἀντιπεριστάσεις, a conception which plays a great part in Aristotle's philosophy of nature, as it did in Plato's before, and in the Stoics' after, him, see also *Meteor.* i. 12, 348, b, 2; *De Somno*, 3, 457, b, 2.
3 *Meteor.* ii. 7, 8. An enumeration of the various hypotheses advanced by the ancients to explain earthquakes is given by IDELER, *in loco*, 582 sqq.
4 *Ibid.* ii. 9, and iii. 1.
5 These phenomena are dealt with in *Meteor.* iii., chapters 2–6.
6 *Meteor.* iii. 6, 7, 378, a, 15 sqq.
Aristotle promises to give a fuller description of these bodies. But the fourth book, which is not properly connected with the others, makes a new start. Taking the four elementary characteristics, and regarding warmth and cold as active, dryness and moisture as passive, principles, Aristotle first considers the former and then the latter, in their several manifestations. From warmth and cold he derives generation on the one hand and corruption on the other: generation, when these principles, being combined in due proportion and acting on the material substratum of a being, obtain complete ascendency over its substance; corruption, when the warmth peculiar to the moist elements of a being is withdrawn by some external heat, and consequently form and distinctness are destroyed.

Among phenomena of a similar description, but not involving generation or destruction, may be reckoned digestion, ripening, boiling, roasting, &c. Of the two

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1 Cf. p. 513, supra.
2 See p. 480, n. 3, supra.
3 Meteor. iv. 1, 378, b, 28: πρῶτον μὲν οὖν καθόλου ἡ ἀπλὴ γένεσις καὶ ἡ φυσικὴ μεταβολὴ τούτων τῶν δυνάμεων ἐστὶν ἐργὸν καὶ ἡ ἀντικειμένη φθορὰ κατὰ φύσιν.
5 Ibid. 379, a, 2: ὅταν δὲ μὴ κρατή, κατὰ μέρος μὲν μάλιστα καὶ ἀπεφίέμενα γίνεται, τῇ δ’ ἀπλῇ γενέσει ἐναντίον μάλιστα κοινών σήμειον πᾶσα γὰρ ἡ κατὰ φύσιν φθορὰ εἰς τούθ’ ὅδοις ἔστιν. L. 16; σήμεια δ’ ἐστὶ φθορὰ τῆς ἐν ἐκάστῳ υγρᾷ οἰκείας καὶ κατὰ φύσιν θερμότητος ὑπ’ ἀλλοτρίας θερμότητος· αὗτη δ’ ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ περιέχοντος. Corruption may also be described as the joint effect of ψυχρότης οἰκεία, and θερμότητα ἀλλοτρία. Moisture, however, is (acc. to 1. 8 sqq.) a necessary means, all generation being the result of the action of moisture (which is εὐφόριστον; see p. 480, n. 2, supra) upon dryness in obedience to the efficient force of nature; destruction begins ὅταν κρατή τοῦ ὄριστον τὸ ὄριζόμενον διὰ τὸ περιέχον.
6 πέψις, πέπανσις, ἐψις, ὄπτησις
passive principles moisture and dryness, the former is in its nature the more easily determinable; moisture, therefore, must needs determine the characteristics of dryness and not vice versa; neither of the two, however, can exist without the other, but both (and therefore also the two elements, whose fundamental qualities they are) must subsist together in all bodies.  

Every body, again, which has its own definite form must be stiff; and all stiffness is a form of dryness. Consequently, we are next led to treat of the nature and kinds of drying, melting, and stiffening, together with the materials subject to these processes.

Homogeneous bodies are formed of earth and water by the influence of warmth and cold. Aristotle proceeds at once as effects of heat, ἀπεψία, ὁμόστης, μάλλοις, στάτευσις as effects of cold. Cf. Meteor. iv. 2 sq.

1 Ibid. c. 4: εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ μὲν ἀρχαὶ τῶν σωμάτων αἱ παθητικαὶ ὑγρῶν καὶ ξηρῶν ... επεὶ δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ μὲν ὑγρὸν εὐδρῶστον, τὸ δὲ ξηρὸν δυσφόριστον [see p. 480, n. 2, συμφα], ὃμοιόν τι τῷ ὑψῷ καὶ τοῖς ἠδύσμασι πρὸς ἄλληλα πάσχουσιν· τὸ γὰρ ὑγρὸν τῷ ξηρῷ αἰτίων τῶν δριζευθα ... καὶ διὰ τὸ τούτῳ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἔστι τὸ ὀρισμένον σώμα, λέγεται δὲ τῶν στοιχείων ἰδιαίτερα ἔτηρον μὲν γῆ, ὑγροῦ δὲ ὄδωρ [see p. 483, n. 2, συμφα]. διὰ ταύτα ἀπαντά τὰ ὀρισμένα σώματα ἑνταῦθα [added because the statement does not apply to ethereal regions] οὐκ ἄνευ γῆς καὶ ὄδωτος.

2 Ibid. 382, a, 8 sqq. c. 5 init.

3 τὸ ὀρισμένον σῶμα οἰκέω ὄρφ (cf. p. 480, n. 2), as distinguished from that which has its form imposed on it from without, as water in a vessel.  

4 Ibid. c. 5 init.

5 Ibid. c. 5–7.

6 Ibid. c. 8 init. c. 10, 388, a, 20 sqq. On the nature of homogeneity, cf. Part I, 879, 2. Homogeneous bodies (ὁμοομέρη) are defined in general as those composed of one kind of material, whether that material be simple and elementary or compound, in the narrower sense as those composed of the latter. Opposed to the homogeneous is the heterogeneous (ἄνομοομέρες), or that which is composed of different materials mechanically held together, as is the case especially with organic bodies. See, besides the passages referred to above, Meteor. iv. 10, 388, a, 13. c. 12 init.; De An. i. 5, 411, a, 16-21, cf. b, 24 sqq, where besides ὀμοομερῆς we have ὄμωιεδῆς, which is further expanded into τὸ
to describe their qualities and composition,\(^1\) passing to
the detailed discussion of living beings with the remark
that homogeneous bodies serve as the matter of hetero-
geneous ones, and that the designs of nature are more
clearly exhibited in the latter than in the former.\(^2\) In
fact, however, everything which we find scattered over
the later writings about the objects of sense-perception,
light, colour, sound, smell, &c., belongs to that portion of
physics which is treated of in the *Meteorology*. We cannot
therefore here do more than refer to these suggestions,\(^3\)

\[\delta \lambda \nu \nu \tau \epsilon \varsigma \mu \nu \rho \lambda \iota \varsigma \circ \omicron \omega \iota \iota \varsigma \delta \epsilon \varsigma, \text{Part. An.}
\text{ii. 9, 655, b, 21, where \(\delta \mu \omega \omega \mu \epsilon \rho \eta \) is explained by \(\sigma \nu \nu \pi \alpha \nu \eta \nu \alpha \tau \omicron \varsigma \varsigma \) \(\tau \div \mu \epsilon \rho \eta \); cf. the *Ind. Arist.* under the}
\text{word. According to *Philop.*}
Aristotle distinguished in his *Eudemus* between elementary
homogeneous and organic bodies. In a quotation from this dialogue
occur the words (*Ar. Fr.* 1482, a. 10, cf. p. 482, *sivra*); \(\alpha \sigma \mu \omega \mu \epsilon \tau \rho \iota \alpha \tau \omicron \varsigma \iota \omicron \omega \iota \omega \varsigma \) \(\epsilon \alpha \tau \omicron \iota \tau \varsigma \) \(\tau \omega \nu \delta \rho \epsilon \mu \mu \epsilon \rho \alpha \tau \omicron \) \(\eta \) \(\alpha \sigma \iota \varsigma \) \(\delta \omega \sigma \varsigma \) \(\ldots \tau \omega \nu \delta \rho \epsilon \mu \mu \epsilon \rho \alpha \tau \omicron \omega \iota \) \(\alpha \sigma \iota \varsigma \delta \omega \sigma \varsigma \) \(\ldots \tau \omega \nu \delta \rho \epsilon \mu \mu \epsilon \rho \alpha \tau \omicron \delta \omega \sigma \varsigma \) \(\tau \omega \nu \delta \rho \epsilon \mu \mu \epsilon \rho \alpha \tau \omicron \omega \iota \) \(\eta \) \(\alpha \sigma \iota \varsigma \delta \omega \sigma \varsigma \\ldots \) \(\tau \omega \nu \delta \rho \epsilon \mu \mu \epsilon \rho \alpha \tau \omicron \omega \iota \) \(\alpha \sigma \iota \varsigma \delta \omega \sigma \varsigma \); they are
perhaps, however, only inserted by the reporter by way of ex-
planation.

\(^1\) *Ibid.* c. 8-11. Caps. 8 and 9
\(^2\) *Arist.*
\(^3\) Aristotle distinguishes in his *Eudemus* between elementary
homogeneous and organic bodies. In a quotation from this dialogue
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\(^1\) *Ibid.* c. 8-11. Caps. 8 and 9
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perhaps, however, only inserted by the reporter by way of ex-
planation.
as it will be now necessary to pass at once, in the next volume, to Aristotle's observations and conclusions as to Organic Nature.

result of a motion which passes from an object to the eye through the transparent medium (De An. ii. 7, 419, a, 9, 13, iii. 1, 424, b, 29, c. 12, 435, a, 5; De Sensu, 2, 438, b, 3).—That, he says, which by its presence causes light, by its absence darkness, is also that which on the border of transparent things produces Colour. For colour resides only on the surface of bodies, and belongs, therefore, only to those which have definite limits: as light is said to be εν ὄριστῳ τῷ διαφανεί (De Sensu, c. 3, 439, a, 26), so colour is defined (ibid. 439, b, 11) as τὸ τοῦ διαφανοῦς ἐν σάματι ὑποσμένῳ πέρας. White and black correspond on the surface of bodies to light and darkness (439, b, 16), and from these two primary colours come all the others, not merely by the mechanical confusion of their atomic elements, nor by the shining of one through the other, but also by a real process of mixture, such as is described at p. 420. If they are mixed in simple numerical proportion, we have pure colours; if otherwise, impure. Inclusive of black and white, Aristotle enumerates in all seven primary colours (ibid. 439, b, 18 to the end of the chapter, and also c. 6, 445, b, 20 sqq., and c. 4, 442, a, 19 sqq. Cf. De An. ii. 7 init.; ibid. 419, a, 1 sqq.; Meteor. iii. 4, 373, b, 32 sqq., i. 5, 342, b, 4). The treatise upon colour starts from somewhat different premises; vide PRANTL, who treats Aristotle's doctrine of colour from different points of view in the most exhaustive manner, pp. 86-159, as also BÄUMKER, Arist. Lehre v. d. Sinnesvermúgen (1877), p. 21 sqq.—Sound is said to be motion caused by the concussion of hard bodies and transmitting itself through the medium of the air. It was to describe this idea of the sound-medium that Theophrastus and other Peripatetics invented the word διαφανία, formed upon the analogy of διαφανής, just as in like manner they invented διαφανές to describe the medium by which smell is transmitted, PHILOP. De An. L, 4; cf. ibid. M, 8, o. 10, o. Those notes are high which make a forcible impression on the ear in a brief time, i.e. quick notes; those on the other hand are deep which take a longer time to produce a weak impression, i.e. slow ones (De An. ii. 8, 419, b, 4-420, b, 5). Bodies which are fastened into others and carried round by them as the stars are, produce no sound by their motion (De Celto, ii. 9, 291, a, 9 sqq.)—Smell is held to be caused by dry materials which are dissolved in moisture, i.e. in water or air (ἐγχυμος ἡπρότης, 443, a, 1, b, 4; note that the earlier and provisional description of ὄσμη as καπνώδης ἀναθυμίας, De Sensu, 2, 438, b, 21, is rejected, ibid. c. 5, 443, a, 21). This is how they become objects to the sense (De Sensu, c. 5, 442, b, 27-443, b, 16; De An. ii. 9, 421, a, 26 sqq., 422, a, 6; cf. BÄUMKER, 28 sqq.)—In the same way Taste is the effect of the union of dry or earthy material
with moisture, which, however, in this case is not that of water and air, as in the case of smell, but of water alone. The object of the sense of taste is χυμόι: χυμός again is defined as τὸ γεγυμένου ὑπὸ τοῦ εἰρημένου ξηροῦ [viz. τοῦ τροφίμου ξηροῦ] πάθος ἐν τῷ ὑγρῷ, τῆς γεύσεως τῆς κατὰ δύναμιν ἀλλοιωτικοῦ ἐις ἐνέργειαν [i.e. which causes our sense or faculty of taste actually to feel a sensation, 441, b, 19], τοῦ τροφίμου ξηροῦ πάθος ἡ στέρησις (ibid. 1. 24). As all colours are a mixture of white and black, so all tastes (Ἀπαρὸν and Ἁλμωρὸν, δρμῶ and ἀνατηρῶν, στροφῆναν and ὤξον) are a mixture of sweet and bitter; if these elements are mingled in a certain proportion we have pleasant tastes; otherwise, unpleasant ones (De Sensu, c. 4; De An. ii. 10, ΒΑΥΜΚ. 32 sq.). In this way the law discovered by the Pythagoreans which declared that the harmony and discord of sounds depended upon certain numerical relations is considered also to apply, not only to colours, but to tastes (χυμόι). De Sensu, 1, 442, a, 19 sqq. c. 7, 418, a, 15. Aristotle compares seven principal tastes to the seven primary colours. Further investigations into the nature of χυμόι he reserves (De Sensu, c. 4 fin.) for the φυσιολογία περὶ τῶν φυτῶν. Upon the treatise attributed to him π. χυμόν, see p. 84, n. 1.—The sense of Touch has for its object all those general qualities of bodies (De An. ii. 11, 422, b, 25, 423, b, 26), which are ultimately resolvable into terms of the elementary oppositions referred to on p. 479, supra, and do not, therefore, call for further special notice here.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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